

Eero Junkkaala

Three Conquests of Canaan

A Comparative Study of Two Egyptian Military Campaigns and
Joshua 10-12 in the Light of Recent Archaeological Evidence





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Cover figure:

Part of Shishak's inscription on the temple of Amon at Karnak.

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PREFACE

The Bible and archaeology have been my major interests through many decades. As a Bible teacher, my main passions have always been historical and geographical questions. As an archaeologist – first on voluntary basis and later as field supervisor – I have participated in excavation projects at several sites in Israel over a twenty-year period. My first instructor was Professor Moshe Kochavi at Aphek-Antipatris in 1984. I am very grateful that Professor Kochavi, who has trained one whole generation of Israeli archaeologists, was also my teacher and friend over many years. His encouragement and support were much appreciated, especially on the long, but inspirational and educational project of the Land of Geshur in Golan.

I have also been involved in digs under the leadership of Dr. Eliot Braun and Dr. Mikko Louhivuori. Dr. Braun is the most precise archaeologist and I learned a lot under his direction. I am particularly indebted to Mikko Louhivuori who as early as in the 1970s, had aroused my interest in the archaeological world. Our innumerable discussions in Israel and tours to many different sites have deepened my knowledge of the archaeology and history of the Lands of the Bible. Collaborating with him on the Emmaus-Nicopolis excavation project 1994-2002 marked a new phase in my practical archaeological skills. My studies at the Institute of Holy Land Studies in Jerusalem also contributed inspiration and aid to my understanding of the historical geography of Israel.

I started my doctoral studies under the guidance of Professor Timo Veijola at Helsinki University and my studies received a further boost when I moved to Åbo Akademi and Professor Antti Laato became my teacher. Professor Laato's great knowledge and tireless guidance was of invaluable help and without his encouragement and critical tutorship I would never have achieved my goal and completed this thesis.

Discussions with several Israeli archaeologists have been helpful in gaining a better understanding of what archaeology is all about. I am

grateful to Professor Amihai Mazar for many rewarding conversations as well as professors Abraham Biran, Israel Finkelstein and Amnon Ben-Tor for their good advice. Dr. Raz Kletter read my manuscript and offered many useful recommendations.

As an Egyptologist, Professor Kenneth Kitchen gave me much valuable information. Jaana Toivari-Viitala, Docent in Egyptology, read parts of the manuscript and contributed crucial observations. It is also necessary to mention two distinguished institutions and their personnel in Jerusalem: the Shalhevetjah Center in Jerusalem and the Library of Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française. I have spent altogether several months in both of them during my studies. I also want to express my gratitude to my Finnish friends Dr. Timo Eskola, Dr. Magnus Riska and TM Leif Nummela for our many fruitful discussions.

I am extremely thankful to the Stiftelsen för Åbo Akademi forskningsinstitut for the scholarship I have received during my studies. My warm thanks are due to my previous employers, the Finnish Theological Institute, for the two sabbatical years, which made this work possible. The English revision of the text has been done by Michael Cox and Elizabeth Nyman and I am grateful to both of them for the very good work.

Last but not least, I wish to express my gratitude to my family. My adult children have given me very real help: Jouni with the computer work, Anna for her help with English and Johanna with discussion on how to work academically – all of them using their special skills. Most of all, I am especially and deeply grateful to my beloved wife Pirkko. She has endured everything. Her love and encouraging attitude has been the best help in my life as well as in this work.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The purpose of the study

According to the Bible, the Israelites conquered the Promised Land under the leadership of Joshua. The historicity of this episode has been questioned in many recent studies. On the basis of archaeological evidence many scholars no longer regard the accounts of the Books of Joshua and Judges as historically reliable when discussing the beginning of the Iron Age in Canaan. The aim of this study is to address this particular problem with regard to the relevance of the archaeological evidence in the explanation of the Israelite settlement.

However, our purpose is not to solve all historical problems related to the Israelite settlement, nor to answer all literary or archaeological questions concerning the origins of Israel. Rather, this is a comparative study which benefits from the methodological considerations of using archaeological evidence in historical reconstructions. This study focuses on Egyptian documents illustrating the military campaigns of Pharaohs in Canaan and investigates how archaeological evidence corresponds to the accounts found in these documents. Then analogies are assessed between these correlations and the correlation between the archaeological evidence and information provided in the Book of Joshua. Such a comparative study does not attempt to solve the problem as to whether the stories in the Book of Joshua are historical or not. Rather, it aims at a methodological evaluation of the archaeological evidence in the cases of the military campaigns in historical records in general and in the Book of Joshua in particular. In addition to the archaeological research, which is the main focus of this study, certain considerations of toponymy and historical geography will also be useful.

The materials for the comparison consist of two Egyptian campaigns, those of Thutmose III and Shishak. Thutmose III undertook his military campaign(s) in Canaan some 250 years before the probable time of Joshua (from the end of the 13th century to the middle of the 12th century). Shishak's invasion is dated 250-300 years

after that time. Thus we have one Egyptian campaign predating the time of Joshua and another later than his time. Moreover, the inscriptions describing these two Egyptian campaigns include long and legible lists of the conquered sites in the Land of Canaan. Therefore, it is fairly easy to assess the way in which the Egyptian military campaigns recorded in the Egyptian documents are related to the archaeological evidence. The historicity of the records of the campaigns of these Pharaohs are often regarded as reliable by scholars. Is it possible to demonstrate that the records of these campaigns correspond better to the archaeological evidence than the stories of the Israelite “conquest” recorded in the Book of Joshua?

Although numerous studies have been made of both Thutmose III's and Shishak's military campaigns and of biblical accounts of conquests no research has been undertaken to compare these campaigns from an archaeological point of view. Michal G. Hasel's book *Domination and Resistance* (1988) comes closest to such an approach, as his study is of Egyptian military activities in Canaan in the period c. 1300-1185 BCE which he then relates to the biblical settlement stories.¹

This study focuses on the fundamental problem of the current debates in Old Testament studies and Egyptology. In the Introduction to their book *From Nomadism to Monarchy* Finkelstein and Na'aman comment with regard to earlier studies that they “emphasised either the historical-biblical aspects of the problem, with little use, no use or misuse of the archaeological data, or the archaeological material, with insufficient treatment of the available written sources.”² The writers themselves attempted to bridge this gap by presenting a collection of archaeological, historical and cultural investigations related to the rise of Early Israel. Likewise, new advances in Egyptology emphasise the interaction between texts and archaeology: “In order to fully explore Egypt's New Kingdom military bases and broader issues surrounding them, it is vital that both textual and archaeological evidence be considered.”³

¹ Hasel 1998.

² Finkelstein & Na'aman 1994, 9.

³ Morris 2005, 3. See also Hasel 1998, xii.

In recent years many scholars have compared Egyptian and other ancient military documents with the biblical accounts of conquest from a literary perspective.⁴ They have found striking literary similarities between these accounts. The focus of the present study is archaeological rather than literary. The advantage of employing archaeological evidence is that every document can be treated in a similar way. It is possible to examine archaeologically whether the cities mentioned in these three records existed (i.e. were inhabited) and whether the evidence indicates that the cities were destroyed.

Nevertheless, we must be aware of the fact that despite many similarities these three recorded campaigns display many differences as well. The campaign of Thutmose III was directed against the Canaanite city-states and thus reinforced the Egyptian presence in the region. The biblical conquest narratives, on the other hand, account for the migration of the Israelite tribes to the Land of Canaan. Finally, the military campaign of Shishak was made against the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah – assuming that the biblical accounts in 1 Kings provide us with a reliable picture of the situation. Nevertheless, the historical differences behind the records is not emphasised here. The study simply examines the way in which the archaeological evidence correlates to the information contained in these accounts

If the stories in question represent actual history, what traces might an archaeologist hope to find? When I was writing the first drafts of this study in autumn 2003, American troops were marching towards Baghdad. They fought some battles on the road and in a number of villages. They also conquered a few towns before arriving in Baghdad but did not destroy them. It will not be possible in the future to find many signs of this conquest by archaeological means, probably only slight signs of destruction here and there, perhaps hardly any evidence will be found. Even though there will be textual evidence concerning the war, nevertheless, there might be discussion as to whether any war ever took place. What might be found are traces from the towns mentioned in historical sources, and a conclusion reached that they were occupied at the time. Thus, although it will not

⁴ See e.g. Younger 1990, Hoffmeier 1994, 165-179, Walton 1994, 181-190, Younger 1994, 207-227, and Hess 2002, 493-506. A good introduction to Egyptian military inscriptions, see Spalinger 1982.

be absolutely certain that a war took place, the lack of evidence of contemporary towns would lead to the conclusion that the conquerors were telling interesting stories, fictional, but not historical. In addition, the American invasion was intended to be swift – and some sources may report a rapid conquest – yet the war is still continuing.

At the end of chapter 1 is a brief historical overview of research in the field. My focus in this survey of research is the way in which archaeological evidence has been employed by a number of prominent theologians and archaeologists who have studied the question of the emergence of Israel.

In chapter 2 I present the methodological procedure adopted in this study. I examine every town mentioned in the records on the basis of the same three levels. The first level concerns toponymy. The Egyptian and Canaanite writing systems differ from each other but have common roots. Transliterated hieroglyphs are the basic texts behind the studies of the identification of the Canaanite sites. After the identification of a certain name an attempt is made to locate it geographically. Historical geography is thus the second level of the methodological procedure and has rules of its own for identifying towns. When a candidate has been found for a site in question it is examined with the available archaeological evidence (the third level). Dating is usually done with the help of ceramics, which may reveal the archaeological stratum. Therefore, in chapter 2 I shall present the main lines and features of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery assemblages.

In chapter 3 the role of textual materials and the nature of archaeological investigation is presented. I briefly deal with the most important Egyptian topographical texts from the New Kingdom and the Amarna Letters, which together give us a good historical overview of the history of Canaan and describe the presence of the Egyptian hegemony there. It is clear that these sources also play an important role when in chapter 4 the question is discussed of how archaeology and other evidence supports the assumption of the existence of Egyptian hegemony in certain towns. If Egyptian historical records mainly originate from the period to which the documents refer, the situation is strikingly different from the biblical books of Joshua and Judges, which contain the Israelite “conquest” tradition. I deal briefly

with the nature of the biblical sources in chapter 3. Finally, I consider the nature of the archaeological evidence and the difference between excavations and surveys.

Chapter 4 forms the main part of the study. In this chapter the archaeological analysis of the three military campaigns are presented. The military expeditions to Palestine and Syria made by Pharaohs Thutmose III and Shishak are examined in sections 4.1 and 4.2, respectively. The main focus is on the archaeological data. All the places which can be identified are examined, although some of these, however, have not yet been excavated or surveyed. Archaeological evidence is used for two purposes: were the sites occupied in the time of the Pharaoh in question, and are there any destruction levels for the associated time of military invasion?

Assuming that the Egyptian stories are based on historical events, then at least an occupation level for the period in question should be found in an archaeological survey. If a destruction level is found, the military campaign seems even more apparent in the light of the archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, in both cases (occupation and destruction levels) many uncertain factors still remain. For example, it cannot be known for certain who caused the destruction, because there may have been local conflicts between inhabitants and wandering semi-military troops, as well as between neighbouring towns.

In some cases identification of the sites is uncertain. Moreover, the archaeological results are never absolute but often open to strikingly different interpretations. Archaeological surveys do provide much information but at the same time they may miss some periods of time, for example, layers can be hidden by massive subsequent layers, or pottery types which are less detectable by a surface survey. Some of the surveys are many decades old and the results from such surveys may not always be reliable. All these uncertain factors are mentioned in the analysis and taken into account when reaching conclusions.

In any case, there is a great deal of important data from the times of the Egyptian Pharaohs. In addition to Egyptian topographical inscriptions the Amarna Letters are examined, and they provide much information concerning the historical period following the campaign of Thutmose III. This may help to confirm the names of the sites that

were settled at the time. If a place is mentioned in several Egyptian literary documents, this fact speaks in favour of Egyptian hegemony, even if the identity and the location of the town remains uncertain.

After going through the military lists of Thutmosis III and Shishak I deal with the biblical stories in the Book of Joshua, concentrating on chapters 10-12 because their form is the closest equivalent to the Egyptian topographical lists. The list of conquered cities in these chapters also contains all towns mentioned elsewhere in the accounts in the Book of Joshua. As in the case of the lists of Thutmosis III and Shishak, the correlation between the archaeological evidence and literary sources are taken into account. Archaeological remains which are relevant in the case of Joshua 10-12 date from the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age.

While examining this correlation I am, of course, well aware of the problem that with the biblical stories more difficulties have to be faced than with the Egyptian ones. The biblical books belong to the Deuteronomistic History Work and may have been given their final form in about the sixth century BCE. The period of time, therefore, to the beginning of the Iron Age, about 1200 BCE, is considerable. For example, in his article *The 'Conquest of Canaan' in the Book of Joshua and in History* Nadav Na'aman writes, "It is clear that a gap of several centuries separates the date of composition of the conquest narratives from the time to which they are assigned (the early Iron Age)." He points out many discrepancies between the conquest stories and the archaeological evidence and concludes that "the immense problems involved with the historical investigation of the conquest narratives are the direct result of this literary situation."⁵

In spite of this major discrepancy between the written records and events the possibility cannot be excluded that the biblical texts contain older written material and oral traditions.⁶ The age of the traditions behind the Deuteronomistic redaction is definitely not known⁷ and in addition, the geographical information in ancient texts is often very old. Therefore, names preserved during the centuries and memories

⁵ Na'aman 1994, 222, 230.

⁶ It is interesting that archaeologists have found clear historical reflections in the ancient Greek myths, see e.g. Negbi 1998b, 87-93 and Doumas 1998, 129-137.

⁷ E.g. Gottwald (1999, 151) claims that Joshua 1-12 may date from pre-monarchic times.

of earlier borders are valid even though many generations have passed.⁸ It is clear that all these problems cannot be solved in this study. The interest here is in testing the way in which archaeological evidence can be used to exclude the hypothesis that the new people (presumably Israelites) settled in the country at the beginning of the Iron Age (about 1200 BCE), and that the Book of Joshua has preserved ancient data concerning that era. Therefore, this archaeological evidence cannot be used in isolation but only in comparative perspective to the Egyptian documents.

In my analysis I exploit the normal methods employed in all archaeological studies. By examining the available archaeological material, through surveys or excavations, I reach a conclusion concerning the time of occupation of the sites in question. If a site contains remains, for instance, from the Late Bronze Age II, it was inhabited at that period. If the site has been investigated but no remains found it is concluded that it was probably uninhabited during the period in question. In chapter 5 I make some concluding remarks.

1.2 A historical survey of research

In this survey a brief overview of the history of research on the subject of the Israelite settlement is presented, because it is the main focus of this study. Theories about the origins of Israel have usually been characterized by three models or schools: the military conquest model of Albright, the peaceful infiltration model of Alt and Noth, and the peasant revolt model of Mendenhall and Gottwald.⁹

Since the presentation of these theories, research has made considerable progress over the past few decades. Furthermore, the lines between these basic models are rather unclear. Noth, for

⁸ See e.g. Rainey 1996, 11-12. He points out that the description of Canaan in Num. 34:7-11 is a real geographical concept that originally goes back to the Late Bronze Age and probably earlier, regardless of the date of the passage. Na'aman (1994, 218) too, admits that "even a superficial glimpse at the recorded histories of David and Solomon indicates that their author had before them original documents". Moreover, Finkelstein (1996d, 227), before he changed his opinion in chronological topics, writes that biblical material "although dating from the late Iron Age II, may reflect a territorial system which was created as early as the Iron Age I".

⁹ See e.g. Weippert 1971, 1-62 and Finkelstein 1988, 295-314. A good survey including later phases is to be found in: Noort 1998, 6-14.

instance, also referred to military campaigns, and Albright did not altogether reject the idea of a gradual infiltration. Alt primarily investigated biblical literature, and Albright was an archaeologist, although they both used each of these methods. Noth, a student of Alt, developed his teacher's theories. Later, Mendenhall and Gottwald began to explore a brand new field of study. They emphasised sociological methods and investigated the internal origins of Israel.

In the 1970s and 1980s archaeological scholarship took two major steps forward. The surveys which Israeli archaeologists initiated all over the country provided new means of understanding the process of settlement at the beginning of the Iron Age.

Another modern innovation was the genesis of a new paradigm. The representatives of this new paradigm kept their distance from the traditional history of Israel asserting that it had been far too dependent on the text of the Bible. Their approach has sometimes been called the minimalist or revisionist view. This new paradigm has found increasing support and sometimes even formed the centre of discussions. No modern study of the history of early Israel can ignore it. However, this view has also been challenged, and many scholars still find it relevant to operate with the biblical tradition as one of the sources for the history of Israel.

The purpose of this survey is to investigate various approaches to the question of the origin of Israel, especially in respect to the use made of archaeological material. In order to interpret archaeological data a stance is required with regard to literary sources, biblical and others, and to other branches of science, such as ethnology and sociology.

From Wellhausen to Alt: the dawn of biblical archaeology

Julius Wellhausen authored his pioneering works on the history of Israel several decades before scientific archaeological research actually began to flourish.¹⁰ However, based solely on a critical study of the biblical texts Wellhausen developed several theories concerning the

¹⁰ Wellhausen's main volumes in this field are: *Geschichte Israels I* (1878), later editions since 1883: *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels; Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1894). The earliest scientific archaeological excavations in Palestine were undertaken in the 1890s and in the first decade of the twentieth century. The first large-scale excavations took place after the World War I, in the 1920s (Mazar 1990, 10-16).

biblical history which can still be considered tenable today. He stated that the core of the Exodus story might be historical although many of its details are fictional.¹¹ Interestingly, he dated the Exodus to about 1250 BCE, although he had no ideas that archaeological research would later suggest approximately the same date, instead of the traditional “biblical” dating in the 15th century BCE.¹²

According to Wellhausen, the “Leah tribes” have never been in Egypt and the oldest Israel consisted of seven tribes: Joseph, Ruben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar and Zebulun. The other tribes arrived from Egypt and joined their relatives in Palestine. The emergence of the Philistines was the main reason for establishing a connection between the different tribes, and this also created the need for the Kingdom. The first Israelites were nomads. Later, in connection with settlement in the country, they adopted agriculture. Wellhausen emphasised that the stories in the Books of Joshua and Judges should not be read as consecutive but as parallel.¹³

One of the first to report on archaeological excavations when writing a history of Israel was Rudolf Kittel. He referred to the chief results of the excavations from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The main sites were Lachish, Gezer, Taanach, Megiddo and Jericho.¹⁴ Otherwise he followed Wellhausen and others, asserting that the tribes of Israel arrived in the land at different times, and not all of them were in Egypt. According to Kittel, the date of Exodus was at the end of the reign of Pharaoh Merneptah in c. 1220.¹⁵

A famous supporter of this Wellhausen-Kittel line was Albrecht Alt. In his book *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina* (1925) Alt claimed

¹¹ Wellhausen 1919, 10: “Die bestimmten und farbenreichen Einzelheiten, welche die Sage über die wunderbare Morgendämmerung der Geschichte Israels berichtet, können allerdings nicht als glaubwürdig gelten. Nur die großen Grundzüge der Vorgeschichte, die allgemeinsten Voraussetzungen aller einzelnen Erzählungen über die selbe, lassen sich nicht als erdichtet begreifen.”

¹² Ibid. 11. For biblical arguments in favour of dating the Exodus in the 15th century BCE, see e.g. Archer 1974, 225-234. On the archaeological attempt to come to the same conclusion, see Bimson 1981, 215-223. According to Dever, “today only a handful of diehard fundamentalists would argue in its favor”, Dever 2003, 8.

¹³ Wellhausen 1919, 14-20, 34, 46.

¹⁴ Kittel 1912, 106-132.

¹⁵ Ibid. 444-455, 599.

that the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites is first and foremost the story of nomadic tribes. According to him, the problem is that the best source we have, the Old Testament, is often inadequate and includes material from a considerably later period. Alt studied the history of the land from Egyptian sources from the time before the arrival of the Israelites. The coming of the Israelites took place gradually. According to Alt, the most important passage in the Bible, for him, was Judges 1. , and he maintained that the Book of Joshua was an ideological picture of the history of Israel. Writing in the 1920s, Alt had nothing to say about archaeology.¹⁶

Fourteen years later, in his article *Erwägungen über die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina* (1939), Alt had much more to say concerning the archaeology of this period. He writes that Manasseh had a special status among the Israelite tribes, because its area was large and it was the inheritance of Joseph. This tribe arrived in the land in the 13th and 12th centuries BCE. Furthermore, in this region the symbiotic life between the Israelites and Canaanites took place for the first time. In addition, Alt finds it possible that “Israel” in the Merneptah Stele referred to the tribe of Manasseh.¹⁷

However, his view of the process of the arrival of the Israelites had not changed. The Book of Joshua was not, in this case, a relevant text, because the way in which it referred to battle after battle and the view of the land being settled at the same time could not be historical. It must have been written hundreds of years after the events it described. The reality was that the single tribes had arrived at different times and from different directions.¹⁸

Alt gives the example of the excavations at Lus/Bethel. The excavators dated the destruction of the site in the first half to the 13th century, but Alt thought that there are chronological difficulties connected with that date; it does not fit with the arrival of the tribes in

¹⁶ Alt 1925, 1-35. The only mention of archaeology is on page 5, footnote 5: “Man wird eine weitere Vermehrung des archäologischen Materials abwarten müssen, bevor man sicher urteilen kann.”

¹⁷ Alt 1939, 10-12, 49-51. According to Alt (1939, 10), it is certain that Manasseh “eine Sondergestaltung war, zu der sich in der Frühgeschichte keines anderen israelitischen Stammes eine genaue entsprechende Parallele findet.” It is interesting to compare this statement with the archaeological survey by Zertal (1998, 238-250).

¹⁸ Alt 1939, 8, 13, 61-63.

the country.¹⁹ Alt, however, was quite modern in observing that not all the destruction levels from the period in question could be the work of the Israelites. Some of the destructions may have been caused by the Egyptians, the Philistines or the other Canaanite tribes.²⁰

Interestingly, Finkelstein (1988) was much later to argue that the modern excavations in the Hill Country accord well with the ideas of Alt. He reminds us that Alt was “the first scholar to recognize the value of geography, ecology and sociology as tools for studying Israelite Settlement.”²¹

Albright: Archaeology as a testimony

In his article *The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology* William F. Albright argues against two theories. On the one hand, he rejects the views of Garstang and Marston concerning the conquest in the 15th century BCE, and on the other hand, the views of Alt and Noth, who were sceptical of the military occupation of Canaan by Israel in the 13th century.²²

However, in his obituary for Albrecht Alt, Albright wrote that with Alt was lost the greatest biblical historian of the age. After mentioning several good points in Alt’s work, Albright pointed out that Alt’s greatest weakness was to overemphasise the continuity of territorial history. In the stories of the conquest of Canaan, Alt rejected a new tool called “tradition-history”. The oral and written traditions behind the texts are ancient, but this does not necessarily falsify the historical facts; rather it rendered them of service for didactic and religious purposes.

Alt’s views of the conquest have, according to Albright, been proven wrong by recent archaeological discoveries. According to Albright, more and more evidence has emerged to testify to a total destruction in the land of the Canaanites at the end of the Late Bronze Age. He refers to such sites as Lachish and Tell Beit Mirsim. He writes about Noth, “If he were right, it would be practically hopeless to expect any valid archaeological control of the Israelite accounts of the

¹⁹ Alt 1939, 51.

²⁰ Alt 1939, 40-43.

²¹ Finkelstein 1988, 302-306, quotation from page 303.

²² Albright 1939, 12-23.

Conquest.”²³ According to Albright, Noth sees the individual traditions from the time of the conquest in the Old Testament either as heroic sagas or as aetiological traditions.

However, Albright admits that the archaeology of the city of Ai is problematic, because the last occupation level and its destruction can be dated to about the 22nd century BCE. He maintains that the story may refer to the nearby city of Bethel, which was destroyed in the 13th century. In fact, he must agree with his opponents that some aetiological elements lie behind the story. It may even reflect a much older Canaanite tradition with regard to the fall of the Early Bronze Age city.²⁴

The excavation results from Jericho are problematic, too. In his time, Albright had at his disposal only the data from the work of Watzinger and Garstang. Consequently, he concluded that the fall of Canaanite Jericho took place some time between c. 1375 and c. 1300 BCE. Nevertheless, Albright concludes that the burden of proof now rests entirely with those scholars who wish to place the main phase of the Israelite conquest of Palestine before the 13th century or who deny the historicity of the event.²⁵

Nowadays it is easy to say that the archaeological picture of the land of Israel was very limited in the time of Albright. Only a few large tells had been excavated and no modern surveys had been conducted. Therefore, it was possible to interpret connections with the Bible and archaeology in a rather simplistic way. With good reason this view of Albright’s has been criticized as too one-sided and inadequate.²⁶

Noth: critical of archaeological evidence

Martin Noth developed his famous theory of the ancient Israelite amphictyony, by which he meant a sacral association of tribes dwelling around a particularly shrine.²⁷ The number twelve in the Israelite system is probably an artificial device. However, Noth

²³ Albright 1939, 12. See also Albright 1979, 109-121.

²⁴ Albright 1939, 16.

²⁵ Albright 1939, 20-23.

²⁶ A good critical view of Albright’s model is to be found in Finkelstein 1988, 295-302. At that time Finkelstein followed Al’s view.

²⁷ Noth 1963, 83-104.

believes that the Israelite occupation took place mainly in the 13th century BCE, but that the earliest possible date is the second half of the 14th century and the latest c. 1100 BCE. The process of settlement was both peaceful and warlike and occurred progressively, in all likelihood within a few decades. One important reason for this dating is the mention of the city of Ramses in Exodus 1:11. Noth considers this to be a reliable tradition and says that Ramses II may be regarded as the Pharaoh of the oppression.²⁸

Noth is quite sceptical when it comes to the possibility that archaeology might reveal anything about the origins of Israel. Our main source is the witness of the Old Testament. He admits that it is possible to assign related strata of settlements on ancient excavated sites to a period of only a few decades. Moreover, there is the evidence of the destroyed cities in Palestine, which could be related to the period of the appearance of Israel. However, so far, according to Noth, there has been no absolutely definite evidence of this kind, and such evidence is in fact hardly likely to appear. The settlement of the Israelite tribes was mainly peaceful, and mostly they occupied the unoccupied parts of the country. The destruction was more probably the result of internal Canaanite conflicts and the wars against the Philistines. Therefore, the beginning of the Israelite settlement cannot be dated exactly using archaeological methods; the evidence of the literary tradition must be resorted to as well. Most of the stories in Joshua are aetiological fiction.²⁹

Interestingly, without the knowledge of the results of modern excavations, Noth suggests that before the time of the Israelite occupation the central hill country was very sparsely settled and that isolated towns or groups of towns were only found here and there. Concurrent with the arrival of the Israelite tribes in the land, an important movement came from another direction. About 1200 BCE the migration of the 'Sea Peoples' from the Mediterranean occurred, and this had far-reaching consequences for the history of Israel, because according to the Old Testament tradition these were the

²⁸ Ibid. 114.

²⁹ Ibid. 79-80. Noth argues against Albright saying: "Diesen Versuch hat von allem W. F. Albright in zahlreichen Aufsätzen immer erneut unternommen." See also Noth 1953, 9-17.

Philistines, who played a significant role in the history of the Israelites.³⁰

Noth, like Alt, was fairly well-acquainted with the archaeological results of his time and used them in his theological studies. However, the archaeology of Iron Age I was, according to him, not clear enough to provide reliable information about the origins of Israel. On the other hand, his conclusions about the settlement of the Hill Country are surprisingly tenable.

In the 1960s Yohanan Aharoni and Yigael Yadin developed a “second round” of the former theories formulated by Alt and Albright. Aharoni was closer to Alt, and Yadin to Albright, but both of them had access to better archaeological knowledge than their predecessors.³¹

Mendenhall & Gottwald: from archaeology to sociology

George Mendenhall opened up a new aspect in the discussion concerning the origins of Israel. He spoke of a social revolution that was the main reason for the emergence of the nation of Israel. He challenged such previously very popular terms as ‘nomads’ and ‘tribes’ that were used to describe the background of that process. It was too simple to describe the early Israelites as nomads in contrast to sedentary people, because even Bedouins are both nomads and villagers. The tribes should be considered as a larger unit of society, not necessarily as any ethnic group. The name ‘Hebrew’ meant the same as *hapiru*, mentioned in the Amarna Letters, and therefore no one could be born a ‘Hebrew’; one only became such by one’s own actions.³²

Mendenhall took his model from both the ancient and the modern world: “There can be no doubt that the conditions of urban society in antiquity as also today, resulted in the disvaluation of that society on the part of groups and individuals.” The early Israelites were under the domination of the Canaanite cities and withdrew from urbanized society. One group may have escaped from captivity in Egypt. Their

³⁰ Ibid. 38-43. An attempt to reconstruct the early history of Israel on the lines of the approach of Alt and Noth is the work of Yeivin 1971.

³¹ See e.g. Aharoni 1979 and Yadin 1975.

³² Mendenhall 1962, 68-71.

radical rejection of Canaanite religious and political ideology and their devotion to the Yahwistic faith were common factors.³³

From this point of view the history of early Israel should be rewritten. Mendenhall argues, "There was no radical displacement of population, there was no genocide, there was no large scale driving out of population, only of royal administrators (of necessity!); in summary, there was no real conquest of Palestine at all; what happened instead may be termed, from the point of view of the secular historian interested only in socio-political process, a peasant's revolt against the network of interlocking Canaanite city states."³⁴

In his book *The Tribes of Yahweh* Norman Gottwald attempts to combine traditional literary, historical and theological methods with sociological ones. He was deeply involved with the theories of Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Karl Marx and they provided him with "a rich body of analytic tools and substantive conclusions with which to reflect on my own social experience and the social experience of ancient Israel".³⁵

Gottwald challenges the older conquest and immigration models as a naïve and superficial reading of the biblical text. Instead, Mendenhall's theory of the revolt model is the one that he wishes to develop.³⁶ He sees the emergence of Israel as the antithesis of the feudal-imperial Canaanite system. Israel could also be understood as a greatly expanded *hapiru* movement. This movement was inflated by the increase of peasants and pastoralists breaking away from city-states. Among the underclass of the Canaanite highlands were proto-Israelites whose Yahwism gave rise to Yahwistic Israel.³⁷

Mendenhall and Gottwald have been criticized for not paying sufficient attention to archaeological findings. Their tendency to emphasise sociological theories distorted their conclusions.³⁸ However, they opened a new chapter in the discussion on the origins

³³ Ibid. 71-77, quotation from page 71.

³⁴ Ibid. 73.

³⁵ Gottwald 1999, xxv.

³⁶ Ibid. 192-219.

³⁷ Ibid. 489-492.

³⁸ See e.g. Finkelstein 1988, 306-314.

of Israel. It is no longer possible to ignore the possibility of the indigenous origins of Israel.

Finkelstein (early) & Mazar: archaeological surveys

A major step forward in the study of the early history of Israel has been the influence of the Israeli archaeological surveys since the 1970s.³⁹ The first major surveys in the hill country were conducted by Zertal (Manasseh), Finkelstein (Ephraim) and Ofer (Judah). Representative presentations of this can be found in Israel Finkelstein's book *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (1988)⁴⁰ and in the book *From Nomadism to Monarchy* (1994).⁴¹ Amihai Mazar also follows this line in the book referred to a little further on in this chapter.

Finkelstein reviewed the archaeological data concerning the Israelite Settlement sites from the beginning of the Iron Age. He states: "we believe that the archaeological research in our generation must first attempt to reconstruct the process of Settlement on the basis of new work in the field".⁴² After reviewing all regions of the country, Finkelstein concentrated on the territory of Ephraim, and he described the architecture and pottery of the early Iron Age.

Finkelstein's book suggests that clues regarding the earliest Israelite settlement are to be found as early as the late 13th century BCE. The ceramic and architectural evidence from such sites as Mt. Ebal, Giloh and Izbeth Sartah lead to this conclusion. The other very early sites are Beth-zur, Tell el-Full, Tell en-Nasbeh and Bethel.

³⁹ The first large-scale survey was conducted by Aharoni in Upper Galilee in the 1950's. The following Israeli surveys were conducted in the late 1960s, but the major projects were launched in the 1970s. Finkelstein 1988, 18-19.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Thompson 1992, 158-161. He praises Finkelstein's book profusely, for example in the following terms: "Finkelstein's book offers a new perspective, which, I believe, radically changes our approach to the field of Israel's origins. We now have a well presented, synthetic account of the archaeological remains of the Early Iron Age that opens this period to historical research, wholly independent of the hitherto dominant issues of biblical historiography and historicity. Finkelstein's survey makes it abundantly clear that the conquest theory is dead. ... Finkelstein's book is a landmark in biblical archaeological research, now finally moving it out of the historical crisis ... His book establishes a firm foundation for all of us." It is ironic that later on Finkelstein repudiated the view presented in this book – most probably under the influence of Thompson.

⁴¹ In this book, edited by Finkelstein and Na'aman, thirteen authors describe the present-day situation of archaeological surveys in every part of the country.

⁴² Finkelstein 1988, 22.

However, such sites as Ai, Shiloh and Khirbet Raddana belong to a later phase of settlements, towards the end of the 12th century or the middle of the 11th century. The most densely occupied area in Iron Age I was the Central Hill Country, the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh. Approximately 220 sites have been found in these areas. In Judah there were only 10 sites and in Benjamin approximately 12. The settlement pattern shows that the manner of this occupation was similar to that of pastoralists, not of villagers. The expansion of the site from east to west took place in the second phase of the process, and during this period the remote regions of southern Upper Galilee and the Beersheba Valley were also settled.⁴³

Prior to modifying his view, Finkelstein thought that the shift from the Late Bronze to Iron Age I marked a turning-point not only in settlement patterns, but also in material culture. The urban culture of the Canaanites in the Late Bronze Age was replaced by the rural structure of the hill country in Iron Age I. Points of cultural continuity were obvious on the Coastal Plain and the valleys, outside the Israelite Settlement. In his book Finkelstein even writes, "The unmistakable signs of Israelite Settlement sites - such as pillared buildings and collared-rim store jars - must be evaluated quantitatively, geographically, and functionally and not simply on the basis of presence or absence at a given site. Such analyses demonstrate that these cultural traits originated in the central hill country at the beginning of the Iron Age."⁴⁴

Since publishing this standard work of archaeology Finkelstein has written several articles and books which make it clear that he has changed his mind with regard to many of the aforementioned questions. Therefore, it will be necessary to return to Finkelstein later in this chapter.

A major volume on the history of Israel from the archaeological point of view is Amihai Mazar's book *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* (1990).⁴⁵ Mazar gives a review of the sites mentioned in the biblical conquest stories and studies their archaeology from the end of the

⁴³ Ibid. 320-323, 352-356.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 355.

⁴⁵ See also a brief overview in Mazar 2003b, 85-98.

Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. There are cities where the archaeological data does not correlate well with the historical reliability of the biblical narratives, for instance Kadesh-Barnea, Arad, Yarmuth, Jericho and Ai.

Conversely, there are cities where archaeological information confirms or at least does not contradict the biblical tradition, for instance Beth-shemesh, Timnah, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tel Halif, Hazor, Dan, Bethel, Shechem, Lachish and the list of the so-called unconquered cities in Judges 1:27-35 and Joshua 13:2-6. Furthermore, there emerged hundreds of new small sites in the Central Hill Country. According to Mazar, this “can be related to Israelite tribes, though the ethnic attribution in some of these regions is still questionable”.⁴⁶

After reviewing the settlement planning and architecture, pottery and religious practices Mazar concludes that the picture we gain corresponds with the social structure described in the biblical sources concerning this period. It is difficult to determine the ethnic identity of the new non-urban, sedentary population of small communities. They had no traditions of their own and adopted elements of the material culture of the Canaanites, but the nature of the settlement patterns and culture of the new settlers was totally different from that of the Canaanites. Archaeological findings do not point to foreign traditions or objects from outside the country.⁴⁷

According to Mazar, it seems possibly that the emergence of the Israelites was linked with the unsettled Late Bronze Age groups, such as the *hapiru* and *shasu* known from the Egyptian sources. “Such a theory perhaps explains the origin of the components of the Israelite confederation, but it still does not elucidate the identity of that confederation’s nuclear group, which initiated Yahwism and was responsible for the traditions concerning slavery in Egypt, the Exodus, Mount Sinai, and the role of Moses. At present archaeology can not make any contribute to the answering of this question.”⁴⁸

The views of Finkelstein (early) and Mazar are not far from the theories of Alt and Noth, although they are much more sophisticated

⁴⁶ Mazar 1990, 334.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 328-355.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 355.

and based on the huge amount of archaeological research undertaken since their time. This view has also been later challenged, as mentioned above, by Finkelstein (late) himself and many others. It has been criticized for over-dependence on the Bible.⁴⁹ Then again, and this is noteworthy, Finkelstein has distanced himself from his interpretations in his previous studies, but neither he nor anyone else has been able to demonstrate that the archaeological findings presented in his book of 1988 are wrong.

Thompson & Lemche: a new paradigm

Thomas L. Thompson's book *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives* (1974) constitutes an early starting-point for a new paradigm. In the 1970s and 1980s several other books were published which distanced themselves from the earlier, more Bible-based interpretation of the early history of Israel.⁵⁰ Since the 1990s this "new paradigm" has been gaining new adherents.⁵¹ I shall refer to some main arguments put forward by Lemche and Thompson, first by Lemche in the 1980s and then by Thompson in the 1990s.

Nils Peter Lemche criticizes both biblical scholars and archaeologists for allowing neither the excavation results nor the Old Testament to speak for themselves. He cites examples of sites where excavations and the biblical tradition seem to be in conflict, such as Arad, Heshbon, Jericho, Ai, Gibeon, Jarmuth, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Debir.⁵²

According to Lemche, the long gap between the events and the writing of the biblical texts makes it impossible to know almost anything reliable about the origins of Israel. As a case in point, he chooses as a historical example the text of Pharaoh Merneptah, who

⁴⁹ See e.g. Finkelstein 1998, 172, where he criticizes an article by Mazar as follows: "The main obstacle which distracts Mazar from viewing the archaeological data on their own terms is his sentimental, somewhat romantic approach to the archaeology of the Iron Age... Mazar (like many before him) adheres to the orthodox biblical ideology of the singularity of Israel... Mazar clings to the Albright school, which sought the origin of Israel outside Palestinian arena."

⁵⁰ E.g. Hayes & Miller 1977, Van Seters 1983, Soggin 1984, Lemche 1985 and 1988, Coote & Whitelam 1987 and Thompson 1987.

⁵¹ E.g. Thompson 1992, Davies 1992, Ahlström 1993, and Thompson 1999. The discussion continues in this millennium, e.g. with Finkelstein & Silberman 2001.

⁵² Lemche 1985, 386-391.

mentions Israel for the first time in Egyptian history. Merneptah boasts of having destroyed a number of Palestinian towns. According to Lemche, one might conclude from this that the historical Israel, the twelve-tribe union described in the Old Testament, was already in existence. The name could refer to a single tribe or a group of tribes. Lemche claimed that the location of this 'Israel' was in the part of the country where the tribes which later composed the historical Northern Kingdom of Israel resided, because the campaign of Merneptah took place from Ashkelon and on to Gezer and Janoam.⁵³

Lemche said jokingly, "If Joshua wanted to conquer Jericho around 1200 BCE, then he arrived 300 years too late," meaning that there was no archaeological evidence for the origins of Israel. He argued that both archaeological and biblical data indicate that the story of the Israelite conquest is ahistorical.⁵⁴

Whatever the case may be, he concluded that at least some of the later Israelite tribes already existed around 1200 BCE in the central areas of the country. Another group that could be identified from that time is the group of people called *hapiru* in the Amarna Letters. They were not organized into tribes and their bands probably consisted of rootless individuals. An Egyptian inscription from c. 1300 BCE, found at Beth Shean, tells of a punitive expedition against the *hapiru*. This might be the name of a tribe, but it seems very unlikely because nowhere in the Old Testament does this name appear as a tribal name.⁵⁵

Lemche suggested that there were people living in the Hill Country and that they might have been groups of *hapiru* or some early Israelite tribes. They made some technological advances (cisterns, terraces, introduction of iron tools, etc.) that enabled them to establish permanent settlements and begin cultivating the land. This development of Israelites into sedentary mountain peasants took place over one or two centuries, and can be traced in archaeological surveys. Lemche agreed with Mendenhall and Gottwald that this evolution was internal. The reason being that the material culture seemed to be a continuation of the culture which had characterized

⁵³ Lemche 1985, 431.

⁵⁴ Lemche 1988, 111.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 88-90.

the land for centuries. Lemche writes, in disagreement with Finkelstein's (early) book of 1988, that "there is no indication that either a new people or a new nation arrived on the scene".⁵⁶

Lemche attempted to show how a random number of individuals developed into an organized society in the pre-national period. This model that concentrated on families, lineages, clans and tribes was adopted from the social sciences. However, he made use of the Bible as well, quoting such passages as Josh. 7, Ex. 21 and Num. 1 and 3, although he stated that these texts were written much later and were therefore almost unusable. He also thought that the Israel mentioned in the Merneptah inscription may have been a tribal alliance consisting of the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh and perhaps Benjamin or else groups, which later constituted these tribes. Other coalitions may also have existed, such as some in the north, which had a connection with the Song of Deborah. Similarly, the tribe of Judah in the south may have emerged out of an earlier tribal league, which had taken its name from the place where it was based. These events may have taken place early in the Iron Age or at the end of the Bronze Age.⁵⁷

The Palestinian city-states continued to exist throughout the Iron Age. Materially they prospered, and there was no particular pressure from the outside before the 11th century, which saw the emergence of a new political entity, the Philistines. The Philistine incursions represented a permanent crisis for the Israelite tribes and changed the Israelite social and political system quite radically.

Lemche opposed the hypothesis of Noth concerning the Amphictyony, because there was no central sanctuary of religious importance for the people. There was also nothing to demonstrate that Israel was a permanent coalition, or that there was any conception of a united Israel. The twelve-tribe ideology was a product of the Deuteronomistic tradition. Accordingly, there was no Israelite league in the time of the Judges in which a pan-Israelite tradition could have emerged. However, Lemche maintained that the Israelite twelve-tribe

⁵⁶ Ibid. 110.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 90-105.

league developed into permanent institutions shortly before the beginning of the monarchy.⁵⁸

Thompson, in his *Early History*, praises the inheritance of Wellhausen as of far-reaching value for biblical research.⁵⁹ Of later authors Hayes & Miller and Soggin in particular are going in the right direction, but still remain too dependent on the biblical material.⁶⁰ Finkelstein's book of 1988 is "a landmark in Biblical archaeological research." Based on Finkelstein's studies Thompson mentions that the contrast between the Hill Country settlements and the contemporary Iron Age settlements in the low land reflects distinctive economic units. However, according to Thompson, the ethnic identification of the Hill Country inhabitants as "Israelites" is inadequate.⁶¹ Both the terms "Israel" and "Canaan" are known to us from historical texts and from the Bible but it is misleading to use them in the archaeological context of Iron Age I.⁶² According to him, the origins of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are to be dated to the ninth and seventh centuries. They were wholly separate and did not share a common ethnic base any more than any two neighbouring states in the southern Levant.⁶³

In his book *Mythic Past* Thompson expressed his belief that we could not possibly understand anything about the origins of Israel because there is a thousand-year gap between the primary sources (archaeology) and the secondary sources (the Bible). Iron Age Palestine was never a political power, and it never developed a common history except when it was controlled by a foreign power, such as Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia.⁶⁴ Although there is extra-biblical evidence concerning the same events as the Bible, this, according to Thompson, makes no mention whatsoever of the historicity of the biblical stories. "The Bible's language is not a historical language. It is the language of high literature, of story, of

⁵⁸ Ibid. 105-108.

⁵⁹ Thompson 1992, 1-5.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 106-110.

⁶¹ Ibid. 159-163, 221-239.

⁶² Ibid. 310.

⁶³ Ibid. 412.

⁶⁴ Thompson 1999, 9.

sermon and of song.”⁶⁵ The name ‘Israel’ in the inscription of Pharaoh Merneptah does not prove that there was a historical Israel. The text contains the earliest known usage of the name, that is all.⁶⁶

Thompson argued, “While it is a hard-won principle of Biblical archaeology that the historicity of ancient Biblical narratives about old Israel cannot be affirmed unless we have extrabiblical evidence, it is just as important to be aware that even when we do have such extrabiblical confirmation, it is more likely to confirm the Bible’s literary and metaphorical tropes than to establish it as historical record-keeping... The evidence suggests that the Bible, like Shakespeare, often invokes fictional kings in confecting its stories. This is the very nature of literature.”⁶⁷ The conclusion reached by Thompson is that we must not search for any historical signs in the biblical stories regarding the origins of Israel. Even the story of the Philistines and their *pentapolis* on the southern coast of Palestine is fictional.⁶⁸

To summarize, similar to his idol Wellhausen before the age of modern archaeology, Thompson tries to create the picture of ancient Israel without archaeological evidence. He is aware of modern excavations but does not link them with the biblical tradition. Although the view represented by Lemche and Thompson is an extreme one and is rejected by many, it has become a substantial part of the modern discussion on the Israelite settlement.⁶⁹

Finkelstein (late) & Silberman: the nomadic origin

A recent book close to the “new paradigm” hypothesis deserves mentioning, namely *The Bible Unearthed* (2001). This popular book is referred to here, and later in this study Finkelstein’s several articles concerning his change of opinion are also mentioned. The authors, Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman propose that “a reassessment of finds from earlier excavations and the continuing

⁶⁵ Ibid. 99.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 79.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 14-15.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 41, 155-164, 234.

⁶⁹ See e.g. Finkelstein & Silberman 2001, 128, “Yet from a purely literary and archaeological standpoint, the minimalists have some points in their favor... On the other hand, strong arguments have been marshaled to counter some of the minimalist’s objections.”

discoveries by new digs have made it clear that scholars must now approach the problems of Biblical origins and the ancient Israelite society from a completely new perspective".⁷⁰

However, the view represented by the authors is not "completely new". Indeed, they base their view on modern archaeology, as all scholars do nowadays, and on the critical study of the Bible. Their basic claim was that there was no Exodus, no Conquest of the land and no vast empires of David and Solomon. Their contribution was that they dated the Exodus and Conquest stories to the time of Josiah in the 7th century BCE. King Josiah was a "new Joshua" and "the book of Joshua brilliantly highlights the deepest and most pressing of seventh-century concerns".⁷¹

According to Finkelstein and Silberman, the first Israelites dwelt in the country as early as around 1200 BCE. At the beginning of the Iron Age they were new settlers in the hill country who had abandoned their former nomadic lifestyle, relinquished most of the animals, and moved to permanent agriculture. Gradually the former nomads became farmers. These people tended to keep the layout of the traditional tent encampment in the arrangement of their permanent settlement. The new villages contained no public buildings, palaces, storehouses or temples, and were very small, often no more than a single acre in size, and the estimated population was about fifty individuals per settlement. According to the authors, such a transformation was and still is very common in the Middle East.⁷²

But where did these new settlers come from? According to Finkelstein and Silberman, they were Canaanites who lived in the area and were previously nomads. There was no sign of a violent invasion or even an infiltration of a clearly defined ethnic group. What can be noticed, is a revolution in lifestyle. Accordingly, "the early Israelites were - irony of ironies - themselves originally Canaanites!"⁷³

The hypothesis of Finkelstein and Silberman is closely related to that of Gottwald and Mendenhall, because all four emphasise the

⁷⁰ Finkelstein & Silberman 2001, vi. In this book and in many earlier articles Finkelstein has changed his opinion considerably in comparison with his *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (1988).

⁷¹ Ibid. 58-96.

⁷² Ibid. 98-116.

⁷³ Ibid. 117-118.

indigenous origins of the Israelites. However, the two former strongly take their distance from the latter two, and, indeed, there is a difference as regards the reason why the Canaanites moved to the hill country and settled new areas - and the identity of these Canaanites.⁷⁴ Finkelstein and Silberman agreed with Thompson and Lemche in their tendency to deny the possibility that the Books of Joshua and Judges could have any historical value.

In summarize it can be said that Finkelstein and Silberman also have some problems in discovering the origins of the first Israelites. On the one hand, they mention that modern scholarship may find even slight traces of a nomadic people,⁷⁵ but on the other hand they have not found remains of the nomadic Canaanites who then became Hill Country settlers and "Israelites". In addition, one may ask why they would want to call newcomers to highland villages "Israelites", although they were Canaanites and the biblical tradition concerning the beginning of the Israelites is irrelevant.⁷⁶

As we have seen, Finkelstein 2001 differs greatly from Finkelstein 1988. Interestingly, nothing in the archaeological findings of his book of 1988 have been changed. What has been changed is the interpretation of the conclusions. In his article *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan* (1991) Finkelstein explains why he has changed his views "or at least sharpened them", although no new material has appeared since the writing of his earlier book.⁷⁷ He would leave "the first part [of his book] which deals with the results of excavations and surveys in the past, unchanged", but he would extend his study to the other regions of the country as well. He would like to be more flexible regarding the ethnicity of the Iron Age I Hill Country people and emphasise the regional contexts. In addition, he would like to study the cyclic nature of the settlement history of the country.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Ibid. 104.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 63, "Modern archaeological techniques are quite capable of tracing even the very meager remains of hunter-gatherers and pastoral nomads all over the world."

⁷⁶ Ibid 107, "Although there is no way to know if ethnic identities had been fully formed at this time, we identify these distinctive highland villages as 'Israelite' since many of them were continuously occupied well into the period of the monarchies - an era from which we have abundant sources, both biblical and extrabiblical, testifying that their inhabitants consciously identified themselves as Israelites."

⁷⁷ Finkelstein 1991, 52.

⁷⁸ Finkelstein 1991, 52-56.

The reason for this alteration is beyond the scope of this study. We may assume that the influence of Thompson and Lemche has had an effect, although Finkelstein does not agree with all of their views.

In this study the material from Finkelstein's earlier book is used because its archaeological results are valid, as admitted by Finkelstein himself.

Dever: the new paradigm challenged

William G. Dever is a strong opponent of Finkelstein, although their views on the origins of Israel did not, at first, differ greatly.⁷⁹ Dever also opposes Thompson and Lemche and others, calling them revisionists or nihilists.⁸⁰ His own theory is that the hill country people at the beginning of the Iron Age were "Proto-Israelites". Their background was in the Canaanite society in the country, not outside it. In this he agrees with Gottwald and Mendenhall, and with Finkelstein, too. The difference is that while the sociological school spoke of a social revolution and Finkelstein of the nomadic origin of the people, Dever proposes a more complex origin. He argues that a totally nomadic origin is impossible because the number of the new settlers is too large for that. Rather, the main reason for the people's move to the hill country may have been the unstable times at the end of the Late Bronze Age. There may have been some nomads but it was mainly peasants who moved their settlements to other types of terrain in the land. The process was a kind of land reform and the people "agrarian reformers". This withdrawal process bears striking similarities to the view of Gottwald and Mendenhall, but is slightly more complex.⁸¹

Interestingly, Dever compares the continuity and discontinuity between the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I, and between Iron Age I and Iron Age II. He looks at eight different traits: settlement type and distribution; demography; technology (terraces, cisterns, iron, pottery); house design; economy; social structure; political organization, and last: art, ideology, religion and language. In six of them he found discontinuity and in two (technology and art etc.)

⁷⁹ Finkelstein and Dever have engaged in debate in many articles and books, see e.g. Finkelstein & Na'aman 1994, 9-14, Dever 1998, 220-237, and Dever 2003, 153-166, 175-176.

⁸⁰ See e.g. Dever 2003, 137-143.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 157, 176-189.

continuity in the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age. He concludes that the differences between the two eras are proof of differences in ethnicity. Rather, the transition from Iron Age I to Iron Age II is much more reminiscent of continuity and tells of the same ethnic background.⁸²

Furthermore, for Dever the testimony of the Merneptah Stele is strong: there already existed an ethnic group called "Israel" in the 13th century BCE in the Hill Country of the land.⁸³ He likes to call the group "Proto-Israelites" although he could just as well call them "Israelites".⁸⁴

While Finkelstein believes in the nomadic origin of the first Israelites, Dever is of a different opinion. Dever claims that there is insufficient archaeological material to verify the view of Finkelstein. Dever could also be criticized because his theory of the rural background presents some problems; archaeological arguments are also lacking. Finkelstein emphasised continuity and Dever discontinuity between the Canaanite and Israelite cultures. Neither is able to suggest a good solution to the problem of the new identity or ethnicity of the Israelites. Dever even admits that "my theory is speculative, of course; and like Mendenhall's and Gottwald's peasant's revolt it has little direct archaeological evidence to support it."⁸⁵

The Comparative literary approach

In the 1990s several scholars compared the conquest stories in the Books of Joshua and Judges to ancient extra-biblical, Egyptian and Mesopotamian, texts. Although this is not an archaeological method it is of some interest for the purpose of this study because the goal is to compare the same material from an archaeological point of view.

⁸² Ibid. 192-200.

⁸³ Ibid. 208-210.

⁸⁴ Dever relates that some of his friends, for example Amihai Mazar, have asked him why not simply call them Israelites. Dever has hesitated for two reasons: it is very difficult to define ethnicity in the archaeological record and these proto-Israelites were not yet Israelites in the full sense of being part of the later state of Israel, although they were their authentic progenitors. Ibid. 206. However, the term "proto-Israelites" is very problematic. E.g. the British were, before being British, Celts, Scots, Normans etc. but never "proto-British", see Kletter (forthcoming) 560.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 179.

Younger has studied Egyptian and Assyrian conquest accounts, Hoffmeier Egyptian ones, Hess West-Semitic texts and Walton Mesopotamian inscriptions. Kitchen takes material from all these areas. This “comparative studies school” has challenged earlier scholarship, especially the supporters of the new paradigm, arguing that the Books of Joshua and Judges contain many striking parallels with the ancient extra-biblical material.

K. Lawson Younger Jr. claims that Egyptian texts have been neglected almost entirely in discussions of ancient Israelite historiography. He mentions that it is illegitimate to compare ancient Near Eastern historiography to a twentieth century historicist or positivist model.⁸⁶ In his book *Ancient Conquest Accounts* Younger conducts a careful analyses based on both the Egyptian military stories and the stories in Joshua chapters 9-12. He finds many similarities and asserts that they do not prove the historicity of either the biblical or Egyptian descriptions but “it is no compelling reason to break up this narrative of Joshua and dismiss it as history writing”.⁸⁷ The text of Joshua may be a composite of many separate traditions, but Younger does not find this the best solution. He thinks that it is more likely that the section is “a narrative unit exhibiting a typical ancient Near Eastern transmission code commonly employed in the history writing of conquest accounts”.⁸⁸

Both the Egyptian and biblical writers employed various literary methods, such as hyperbole. The word “conquest” may have different meanings, and the phrase “all the land” is a common hyperbole. From this point of view, according to Younger, there are no significant differences between the accounts of Joshua and Judges.⁸⁹ After reviewing his material, the author challenges modern theories concerning the origins of Israel: “While our reading effects most directly the ‘Peasant Revolt’ model of Israelite origins, it has implications for a number of other recent models in which Israel is indigenous to the land. These theories are usually based on archaeological evidence since the Biblical data is considered to be very

⁸⁶ Younger 1990, 165-166.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 204.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 241.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 190-194, 243-249.

unreliable. Unfortunately, this conclusion is usually based on a superficial, literal reading of text. The work of such scholars as Finkelstein, Lemche, Coote and Whitelam, and Callaway fall under this assessment."⁹⁰

Kenneth Kitchen has shown that many features of the narratives of Joshua and Judges have direct echoes and equivalents in other texts of the world of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I. Some examples are the obstruction of a river, the sending of the spies, the acts of divine commission and divine interventions, night time manoeuvres, the war report profiles, the rhetorical style, the names of peoples, places and individuals, the breaking of taboos (in the Achan story, etc.), the topographical lists and the format of land grants.⁹¹

Studying the country from the archaeological point of view, Kitchen emphasises that in the biblical accounts only three of the Canaanite cities are said to have been burnt: Jericho, Ai and Hazor. Consequently, we must not look for the total destruction of the entire country. Nor did the Egyptians usually burn cities; they often turned them into tax-paying vassals. Kitchen gives a summary of the archaeological data of twenty-four biblical sites mentioned in Joshua and concludes that there are finds indicating Late Bronze Age II occupation at twenty sites out of the twenty-four; only in four of them are the finds lacking. These four are Makkedah, Shechem, Jericho and Ai, but in all four cases good explanations can be found for the fact that the expected remains are lacking.⁹² Kitchen is here illogical because 24 cities are not the total number mentioned in Joshua. There are 31 in the list of Josh. 12.

With regard to the theory of the indigenous origins of Israel, Kitchen argues that the speed at which the population grew was far too fast, at least fivefold in some decades, to explain this kind of development. The peasant revolt or moving nomads from the area inside the country could not explain such rapid growth. The only possibility is that the people came from outside the country.⁹³ Finally,

⁹⁰ Ibid. 256.

⁹¹ Kitchen 2003, 164-182.

⁹² Ibid. 182-190.

⁹³ Ibid. 224-230.

Kitchen concludes that “all this favours the authenticity of the Joshua-Judges narratives, regardless of the final date of Joshua and Judges as books”.⁹⁴

James Hoffmeier has studied the structure of Joshua 1-11 and the Annals of Thutmose III. He concludes that the similarities between these texts “may be attributed to the Hebrews’ borrowing of the Egyptian daybook scribal tradition for recording military actions”.⁹⁵ Hoffmeier, too, challenges modern theories concerning the origins of Israel, although “this comparison does not necessarily give a date for the Joshua narratives”.⁹⁶

Other contributors to the discussion are John Walton, who has compared Joshua 10:12-15 and Mesopotamian Celestial Omen Texts, and Richard Hess, who has studied the boundary lists of Joshua 13-19. Both scholars come to the conclusion that it is possible to date the stories to the period between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age.⁹⁷ In his doctoral dissertation Pekka Pitkänen studies the history of the centralization of worship in the period between the settlement and the building of Solomon’s temple. He concludes that “the book of Joshua may originate from as early as before the disaster at Aphek and the rejection of Shiloh, even though some parts of the book such as city lists are likely to derive from the period of the monarchy”.⁹⁸

These studies are not archaeological ones and therefore cannot be utilized in this study. They merely provide a parallel phenomenon when we compare ancient Egyptian texts with the Biblical ones from the archaeological point of view. In addition, it is not very difficult to criticize the articles and books mentioned above. The similarities that they have found are interesting but not very strong, and the time span between them and the biblical tradition is very long. More detailed criticism of these articles is beyond the scope of our study.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 239.

⁹⁵ Hoffmeier 1994, 176. See also Hoffmeier 1996, 25-51.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 165-166, 176-179. See also Hoffmeier 2005.

⁹⁷ Walton 1994, 181-190 and Hess 1994, 191-205. See also Kofoed 2005, 5-33, Millard 1994, 37-64, and Yamauchi 1994, 1-36.

⁹⁸ Pitkänen 2003, XIII.

1.3 Conclusion

Until the 1960s the discussion concerning the origins of Israel was a battle between the critical, textual studies of the Bible (Wellhausen, Alt, Noth) and archaeological studies (Albright and others). Both sides acknowledged the settlement of the Israelites as a real event that took place in approximately 1200 BCE, but the former emphasised a gradual, peaceful infiltration and the latter a rapid, military intervention. Both agreed that the people of Israel arrived in the country from the outside and at least partly from Egypt.

The hypothesis of the indigenous origins of Israel made its emergence in the 1960s. Mendenhall and Gottwald, and later a great many other scholars, argued that there were no indications of people arriving in the country from the outside. A variety of new theories appeared. Mendenhall and Gottwald emphasised a social revolution, Finkelstein and Silberman developed the hypothesis of a nomadic origin, and Dever argued for agrarian, rural reform. Some scholars (Thompson and others) went even further, claiming that nothing can be known about the origins of Israel. All we know is the Biblical fictional story, which has nothing to do with the real history.

Archaeology has been included in the discussion since Alt and Noth. Sometimes it has been adopted as a tool to testify to the historical reliability of the Bible (Albright), sometimes to the contrary: the Bible has been proved unreliable because archaeological evidence contradicts its account (Thompson and Lemche). The text (Joshua and Judges) is generally agreed to be from a much later date, approximately from the time of the exile. Several scholars (Mazar, Dever and others) have pointed out that the late origin of the written biblical text does not exclude the possibility that reliable historical material has been preserved.

The data in archaeological surveys of recent decades have not been disputed, in the sense of the existence of sites, pottery etc. But the interpretations change with regard to several questions, e.g. dating, the question of ethnicity and the question of continuity and discontinuity between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

Because archaeology plays a central role when discussing the origins of Israel, it is important to study the best way to make use of it. All

archaeologists are familiar with the same ruins and the same potsherds. Nevertheless, their historical conclusions differ. When we wish to derive historical assumptions from archaeological results, we need the help of textual evidence. The interaction between text and archaeology is unavoidable.

The purpose of this study is not historical, but methodological. It is not an attempt to resolve the question of the origins of Israel but to offer a methodological contribution to the discussion. Two Egyptian military campaigns are taken into account and the archaeology of the sites mentioned in the inscriptions studied. After which, the biblical conquest narratives in Joshua 10-12 are dealt with in a similar way. The main point is to compare these three conquest stories and to search for similarities and differences. If the picture found is roughly the same in all three it may be possible to conclude that they are comparable. The possible historicity behind the texts is similar. This study will add one point to the discussion as to whether we can make use of archaeology to test the reliability or unreliability of the biblical conquest story.

2 METHODS IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

2.1 Historical geography

2.1.1 Transliteration of Canaanite words in Middle Egyptian

Language and writing are essential subjects when discussing Egyptian topographical texts referring to Syro-Palestinian toponymy. The following discussion explains some of the main principles and problems in this area.⁹⁹

The Egyptian language belongs to a group of African and Near Eastern languages that have similarities in grammar and vocabulary suggesting a common linguistic ancestry (the so-called Hamito-Semitic or Afro-Asiatic language family). In spite of the common historical roots of Egyptian and the Semitic languages, it should be noted that Egyptian differs considerably from the Semitic languages.¹⁰⁰ This being the case, one of the most important methodological questions faced in this study is how Canaanite toponomical names were transmitted in Egyptian in general and in the inscriptions of Thutmosis III and Shishak in particular, and how the names should be transcribed back to the Semitic language. There are the two main problems in transmitting Canaanite toponomical names to Egyptian ones.

The *first* factor concerns the nature of the Egyptian language. The Egyptian script contains three major types of sign, each of which has a different function. The 'ideogram' or 'logogram' represents a complete word and the 'phonogram' a sound, while the 'determinative' indicates the precise meaning of a word. Ideograms are impractical because every word needs a picture. Therefore, quite early on the language developed a system of employing principally phonograms.

⁹⁹ The main sources and reference books we have used are the following: Boree 1930, Simons 1937, Helck 1971, Görg 1974, Gardiner 1979, Ahituv 1984, Hoch 1994, Davies 1988, and Allen 2000.

¹⁰⁰ Gardiner 1979, 2-3.

Phonograms include uniliteral, biliteral and triliteral signs, the first being the most important group.¹⁰¹

The nature of the Egyptian writing system implies that transcriptions of Egyptian names can be carried out in different ways. It is not always easy to decide how different signs should be interpreted. Nevertheless, there were ancient historical contacts (both military and economic) between Egypt and the Land of Canaan, which implies that the tradition of transmitting Canaanite toponymy in the Egyptian language was established in early times. The Egyptians had already established contacts with the Canaanites in pre-dynastic times, and in the Old and Middle Kingdom Periods. Copper mines in the Sinai were places where Egyptians encountered Semitic-speaking people. The Phoenician port city of Byblos was an important Egyptian colony. The Execration Texts, from the beginning of the second millennium BCE, tell of hostile attitudes towards Canaanite cities. In the New Kingdom Egyptian contacts with Semitic speaking people increased greatly and finally Egypt was to establish hegemony over Canaan. Furthermore, large numbers of Semitic people were living in Egypt as slaves or labourers, and some of them were there on a diplomatic basis. For these reasons, there are many Semitic words in the Egyptian language.¹⁰² Because Egyptian political hegemony was present in Canaan during almost the entire second millennium, the Canaanite toponomical names in the lists of Thutmosis III and Shishak even appear in other Egyptian documents. This cumulative evidence often makes it easier to identify toponomical names in the Egyptian documents.

The *second* factor relates to the date of inscriptions. All languages develop and this produces certain changes in their system. This also holds true for the transmission of foreign toponomical names. Aharoninotes: "some of the consonantal equivalents used during the New Kingdom differ from those of preceding periods."¹⁰³ The ancient Egyptian language may be divided into five stages of development: Old Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Gardiner 1979, 6-9, Davies 1988, 30-40, Allen 2000, 1-9.

¹⁰² Hoch 1994, 3-5.

¹⁰³ Aharoni 1979, 112.

¹⁰⁴ Gardiner 1979, 5, Davies 1988, 6-10, Allen 2000, 1-2.

The script employed in the topographical lists of Thutmose III and Shishak – the main Egyptian sources for this study – is Middle Egyptian hieroglyphic. Middle Egyptian, as a spoken language, was in use about 2100 – 1600 BCE but it was the standard hieroglyphic script, which was used even in later times, in particular in monumental inscriptions.¹⁰⁵ Accordingly, Middle Egyptian was the language of most of the monuments of Thutmose III and Shishak.

As Canaanite toponymical names were modified from Egyptian to Canaanite and Hebrew forms, it is important to realize that the Egyptian writing tradition is older than the Canaanite writing system. This means that Egyptian toponymical names were mainly based on an oral rather than a written tradition. In addition, the Canaanite writing system was from the very beginning alphabetical, while the Egyptian language was developed from ideograms. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the Canaanites' own writing system was influenced by the Egyptian. The earliest examples of the Canaanite script were found at Byblos, in the mining district in southern Sinai, and in the Egyptian administrative centres in Canaan. Proto-Canaanite inscriptions were discovered in many places in Canaan, for example, in Gezer, Beth-shemesh, Lachish, Tell el-Hesi, Tel Nagila, Tel Halif, Tell el-Ajjul and Qubur el-Walaida. All these places also contain evidence of Egyptian political and economic influence. The Canaanite script may be seen as a selective adoption of Egyptian writing, even when it is a wholly separate system.¹⁰⁶

From the Proto-Canaanite script the alphabetic Ugaritic and Canaanite/Hebrew scripts were developed. The proto-Canaanite script and Ugaritic contained more letters than Canaanite/Hebrew, i.e. 27. At some point in the 13th century BCE the number of letters was reduced to 22, which was then reflected in West-Semitic languages such as Phoenician and Hebrew. This means that the Hebrew toponymical names in the Old Testament are partly the result of this reductive process in the alphabets.

The study of toponymy must take into account the basic differences in rendering place-names between the Egyptian and Canaanite/Hebrew writing systems. Unfortunately, we do not know

¹⁰⁵ Gardiner 1979, 1.

¹⁰⁶ Singer 1994, 332-333. See also Davies 1988, 57-60.

exactly how Egyptian was pronounced, so in this regard the transcription of hieroglyphs must remain hypothetical. For example, the Egyptian script did not distinguish between *r* and *l*. The Egyptians usually replaced the Semitic *l* with the Egyptian sign for *r*, and sometimes they transliterated the Semitic *l* as *n*. The consonants *g*, *k* and *q* were variable. The Egyptians had many signs expressing more than one consonant, and employed some bilateral signs to express a consonant plus a weak consonant or semi-vowel. These were transliterated e.g. with the signs *3*, *ì*, *w*, *y*.¹⁰⁷ Sometimes it is impossible to know the exact meaning or pronunciation of an Egyptian name unless it can be compared to a related biblical or Akkadian name. For instance, the spelling *m-k-t* may represent one of the following three Semitic words: *m-k-t* or *m-k-d* or *m-g-t*.¹⁰⁸

As examples of the Egyptian, Akkadian, and Hebrew forms of the same place-names could be mentioned Megiddo: Egyptian *m-k-t*, Akkadian *Magidda*, Hebrew מגידו;¹⁰⁹ Kadesh: Egyptian *q-d-š*, Akkadian *Qidša*, Hebrew קדש;¹¹⁰ Lebo(-hammath): Egyptian *r-b-n*, Akkadian *Labana*, Hebrew לבן;¹¹¹ Hazor: Egyptian *h-d-r*, Akkadian *Hasura*, Hebrew חצור;¹¹² Shunem: Egyptian *š-n-m*, Akkadian *šunama*, Hebrew שנום,¹¹³ and Acco: Egyptian *'-k-3*, Akkadian *Akka*, Hebrew עכא.¹¹⁴

Beside Egyptian and Canaanite/Hebrew toponomical sources, Akkadian sources must also be taken into account. Many important Canaanite toponomical names are preserved in the Amarna Letters, written in Akkadian. Problems of transcription between Akkadian and Canaanite/Hebrew are not as difficult as between Egyptian and Canaanite/Hebrew because both are Semitic languages. Nevertheless, the gutturals (*'*, *h*, *ch*, *'*) did not exist in Sumerian and therefore they are not represented in the cuneiform script. This makes it possible to transcribe the Canaanite place-names containing gutturals in different

¹⁰⁷ The sign 3 is called by Egyptologists "aleph" but this is not the same as the Semitic aleph. The sign *ì* serves as both *y* and *i*. These signs have no consonantal value in New Kingdom Egyptian; see Hoch 1994, 12 and Allen 2000, 14.

¹⁰⁸ Aharoni 1979, 111-112, Keel et al. 1984, 317-333.

¹⁰⁹ Simons 1937, 115, Görg 1974, 137-155, Ahituv 1984, 139.

¹¹⁰ Simons 1937, 115, Görg 1988, 23-26.

¹¹¹ Simons 1937, 116, Ahituv 1984, 131.

¹¹² Simons 1937, 116, Görg 1974, 107-118, Ahituv 1984, 116.

¹¹³ Simons 1937, 116, Ahituv 1984, 177, 178.

¹¹⁴ Simons 1937, 117, Ahituv 1984, 48. See also Aharoni 1979, 159-163.

ways. Phonetically related sibilants (*s, ts, z*), dentals (*d, t, t**) and velars (*g, k, q*) could be represented by the same Akkadian sign. It is also worthy of note that Aharoni warns against uncritical use of Knudtzon's edition of the Amarna Letters. He writes, "today the Assyriologist has at his disposal a standard syllabary by which to distinguish the various phonemes, something which J. A. Knudtzon regretted not having."¹¹⁵

2.1.2 Preservation of ancient names

When studying the name lists of ancient documents one may wonder if it is at all possible to determine geographical locations after some three thousand years. However, the general conclusion has been that the toponomical names have been transmitted reliably through the centuries, as Aharoni puts it: "The names of places and regions were preserved in Palestine throughout thousands of years with surprisingly few changes."¹¹⁶ There are two main reasons for this reliable transmission of place names: 1. Over the centuries the population of the area spoke Semitic languages that were more or less closely related to one another. 2. In spite of the changes in population, there was often continuity in the settlements so that each new wave of migrants inherited the older names from their predecessors. Moreover, the settlements often remained in the same places from century to century, building on mounds on top of the earlier towns. Sometimes the cities may have moved slightly from one place to another, but generally not far from the original location.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Aharoni 1979, 113.

¹¹⁶ Aharoni 1979, 107.

¹¹⁷ Aharoni 1979, 105-107. Aharoni (1979, 129) has calculated that out of c. 475 place-names mentioned in the Bible only about 262 have been identified with any degree of certainty, i.e. 55 %. Of these, 190 are based upon preservation of the name (40% of the overall total). Of these, 158 (33.3%) are places still bearing the name, and 32 (6.7%) where the name was found somewhere in the vicinity of the ancient site. 72 names (15%) have been identified in situations where the ancient name is not to be found anywhere in the vicinity. According to my calculations, there are approx. 575 place-names in the Hebrew Bible including Palestine and the neighbouring areas, excluding names in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Aharoni's figure 475 may, perhaps, include only the names within the Palestinian area. In any case, the exact number is difficult to determine because of the variations of the same name and because we do not always know if the place name or e.g. a personal name is in question. The Book of Joshua contains approx. 353 place names.

The main reasons for choosing a certain place for a settlement were that it had a strategic location that could be defended, had a water supply close by, was surrounded by agricultural land, and had easy accessibility to international thoroughfares.¹¹⁸ On some occasions, the need for water and the need for security conflicted. Water sources were located at the bottom of a slope and the best location for the city was on a hill. In such cases, it was important to build water channels in the rock conducting water to the city, as was done, for example, at Jerusalem, Hazor, Gibeon and Megiddo. Large cisterns were also built inside the cities. The routes of ancient roads provide a great amount of information concerning the locations of the cities.¹¹⁹ All these natural and strategical factors have led to the settlements being situated on the same sites for centuries.

In most cases, the original name or a variation of it remained in its original place over the centuries. Sometimes, however, the name was transferred to a nearby location. This could happen when the settlement moved to a new site. One example of this is Jericho where we have three different locations, all quite close to each other. Usually the new place was not far from the previous one. On rare occasions, the distance could be greater. For example, as a rule a high tell was deserted during the Persian or Hellenistic periods and the settlement moved to the surrounding field.¹²⁰ Moreover, many names of the cities altered in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The new names were quite often given in honour of the rulers or their relatives, as is the case with Acco-Ptolemais, Aphek-Antipatris, Beth Shean-Skythopolis, Samaria-Sebaste, Dan-Antiochia, Beth Guvrin-Eleutheropolis, Lod-Diospolis, Emmaus-Nicopolis, and Jerusalem-Aelia Capitolina.¹²¹

The place-name itself may indicate something about its topographical location, for instance Gibeah/Geba/Gibeon (hill), Ramah/Merom (high place) and Ai/Aiath (ruins). Some cities contain divine names and may indicate the presence of ancient shrines at the site. These include Bethel, Beth-dagon, Beth-horon, Beth-anath, Beth Shean and Beth-shemesh. According to Keel et al., these names belong

¹¹⁸ The first list of different kind of names was made by Borée (1930).

¹¹⁹ Aharoni 1979, 105-107, Keel et al. 1984, 289-294.

¹²⁰ Aharoni 1979, 123-124.

¹²¹ Keel et al. 1984, 305-317.

to the Canaanite Pantheon and are pre-Israelite. Examples of theophoric place-names are Baal-gad, Baal-hazor, Baal-peor and Baalath. Some names have agricultural connotations, for instance Tirzah, Hopher, Ophrah, Jabesh, Gath and Gittaim. Names such as Abel, Aphek, Beer, Beeroth, Gebim, Hammath, Nahalal and Achzib may hint at water sources. Some places are named after particular buildings, for instance Dor, Mahanaim, Maon, Succoth, Ataroth and Hazor. Animals and plants have also given names to places.¹²²

To summarise this discussion, it may be concluded that it is appropriate to adopt the following methodological procedure for identifying ancient settlements:

Firstly, the names of the site will be analysed using different sources, taking into consideration the linguistic differences between Egyptian, Canaanite/Hebrew and Akkadian literature. In this connection, the preservation of the name in certain geographical areas will be studied and relevant later documents will be considered, where references to the name and any possible change are discussed.

Secondly, information from ancient Egyptian and Akkadian literature and the Bible will be studied, concerning the location of the site and compared with the geographical details. Often scholars complete the discussion regarding location by considering the archaeological evidence related to the possible sites.¹²³ However, in this study the use of archaeological evidence to determine location is controversial. Since the problem is defined in section 1.1, archaeological material may be used to control how reliable the information given in the topographical lists of Thutmose III and Shishak is in comparison with the lists in Joshua 10-12. This being the case, in this study using archaeological evidence to identify sites will be avoided. Consequently, toponymy and historical geography will be used in order to identify sites and archaeology in order to test whether the site was occupied or destroyed during the time of the three invasions in question.

¹²² Aharoni 1979, 124-129, Keel et al. 1984, 294-301.

¹²³ See e.g. Keel et al. 1984, 333-347.

2.2 Ceramic chronology

The purpose of this chapter is to present the main features of ceramic chronology and to show how this ceramic chronology will be used to date the archaeological strata. Archaeological excavations have provided increasing amounts of material, which has made ceramic chronology much more precise. However, an overview is important because ceramic chronology is not interpreted in the same way by all scholars. One example is the case of the so-called Low Chronology (see later in the text) – which makes it important to explain how the writer of this study interprets ceramic chronology.

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) established the principles of detailed typological study, making acute observations on the subject of stratigraphy in his groundbreaking work in the 1890s at Tel el-Ajjul in southern Palestine. His publications demonstrated for the first time a proper understanding of the chronological significance of the comparative study of minute changes in pottery, when they are seen in the context of the layered structure of an archaeological site. Petrie's work laid the foundations for modern Egyptology, and demonstrated how early phases in Palestinian archaeology could be dated using comparative methods. Petrie made an immense contribution to the development of world archaeology.¹²⁴

In Palestine, the significance of Petrie's work was not immediately understood. A major step forward was taken by W. F. Albright (1881-1971), Director of the American School of Oriental Studies in Jerusalem. He adopted Petrie's ingenious methods and carefully studied the rather poor quality, everyday pottery at Tell Beit Mirsim, setting typological changes against the stratigraphic analysis of the site.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ See e.g. Petrie's studies on Tell el-Amarna and Sinai (1898 and 1906). On his career, see e.g. Rice 1987, 25, "Most modern archaeological studies of pottery are based on three approaches; classification, decorative analyses, and compositional studies. Classificatory studies of pottery form and compare groupings of vessels or sherds representative of a particular culture at a particular time. These groupings are the basis for archaeological dating and go back to the late nineteenth-century work of Sir Flinders Petrie in Egypt." Or, to take a modern example, the article of Anson F. Rainey, *The 'Amarnah Texts a Century after Flinders Petrie* (2002).

¹²⁵ See e.g. Albright 1939 and 1971.

The detailed study of pottery chronology has since been adopted by numerous Israeli and foreign expeditions in the country. Excavations at key sites such as Tel Hazor (Yigal Yadin) have contributed volumes of pottery data to scholarship. The thorough work, at this and other sites up to the 1960s has been excellently catalogued by Ruth Amiran, herself a student of Albright, in *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (1969).¹²⁶ The basic source book for ceramic studies in general is *Pottery Analysis* (1987) by Prudence M. Rice. The progress of research at important sites with well-preserved strata constantly adds to the accuracy and scope of ceramic typology, the chronological and cultural backbone of modern archaeology.

However, despite the concentrated work on pottery typology, distribution mapping and stratigraphy, a number of uncertainties remain, even in the essential dating of Palestinian sites. One important reason for the vagueness is the nature of the evidence itself: while some types of pottery change very sharply or appear in a clearly defined cultural context, providing excellent chronological key indicators, many if not most of the types evolve more slowly and show a great degree of continuity between archaeological periods. This has been illustrated by the so-called battleship-shaped pattern (Fig. 1). The pattern in Fig. 1 is based on the idea that each type has a "life": it begins, thrives and reaches its climax, and then "dies out".

¹²⁶ The second edition of this classic work is in progress.

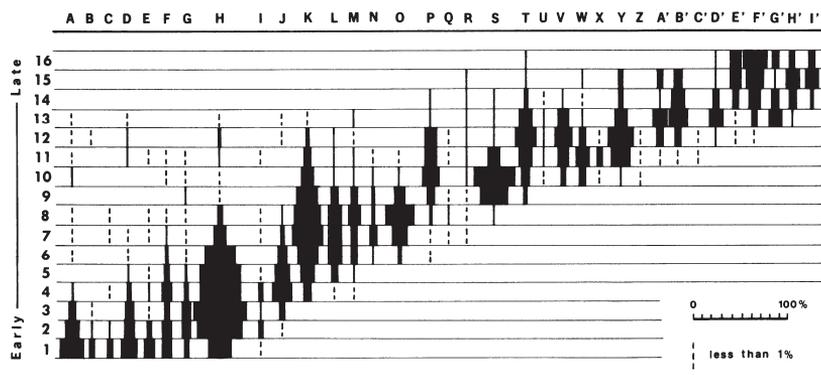


Fig. 1. An example of a frequency seriation of thirty-five pottery types in sixteen levels. The levels are arranged chronologically by stratigraphic order. The increase and decrease in popularity of each type through the times results in a "battleship-shaped" pattern.¹²⁷

In this chapter the evidence is examined for the dating of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age pottery and the main sequences and types of importance are described. Amihai Mazar provides the following general chronology from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age and we follow it as a general outline of the interesting features of the periods in question.

Chalcolithic Period	4300-3300	BCE
Early Bronze I	3300-3050	BCE
Early Bronze II-III	3050-2300	BCE
Middle Bronze I	2300-2000	BCE
Middle Bronze IIA	2000-1750	BCE
Middle Bronze IIB-C	1750-1550	BCE
Late Bronze I	1550-1400	BCE
Late Bronze IIA-B	1400-1200	BCE
Iron Age I	1200-1000	BCE
Iron Age IIA	1000-925	BCE
Iron Age IIB	925-720	BCE
Iron Age IIC	720-586	BCE ¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Rice 1987, 437.

¹²⁸ Mazar 1990, 30.

These periods are adopted as the starting-point for this study. The discussion of the exact border-lines between e.g. Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I, and between Iron Age I and II, are still under discussion. It must also be stressed that large assemblages are needed to provide adequate dating and this is very difficult at sites that are only surveyed. Moreover, not everything in pottery dating has an entirely archaeological basis; sometimes the results are derived from fixed or hypothetical historical dates.

2.2.1 The Late Bronze Age

The Late Bronze Age in Canaan was characterised by lively international trade. This was one of the dominant features of the period in the eastern Mediterranean. Illustrative of this is the abundance of Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery, and of Syrian and Egyptian wares. These finds allow scholars to connect different Canaanite archaeological strata in terms of relative chronology with the archaeological periods in Cyprus, Greece, Syria, and Egypt. Attention will first be paid to this imported pottery.

Imported pottery

(1) All forms of **Cypriote** ceramic vessels produced in Cyprus were imported into Canaan during the Late Bronze Age, in contrast to the situation during the Middle Bronze II B-C, when only some forms occur. Cypriote traders were active in the Levant as early as the Middle Bronze Age but the Late Bronze Age (15th and 14th centuries) was the real zenith of the Cypriote economic invasion. The Amarna Letters (EA 34, 39, and 40) indicate that Cypriote traders had good economic contacts with Egypt. For this reason, Cypriote vessels provide excellent chronological indicators for Late Bronze Age I and II strata. Typical assemblages are known as White Slip Ware I and II, Base Ring Ware I and II, Monochrome Ware, White Shaved, White Painted IV and V, and Bucchero.¹²⁹

White Slip Ware I appeared in the Middle Bronze Age and in Late Bronze Age I. White Slip Ware II is common throughout the entire Late Bronze Age. The difference between them is in decoration. In White Slip II the style is more schematic and the ladder pattern

¹²⁹ Amiran 1969, 172, Mazar 1990, 261-262.

predominates. A very thin bowl is called a “milk bowl” and its handles a “wish-bone handle”. Juglets often have a long neck and a characteristic insertion of the handle into the body of the vessel. Some of them are called “bilbils”, which are of fired metallic clay and brownish-grey reddish slip. White Slip I has been found in Megiddo X (Middle Bronze Age IIC), and White Slip II in Megiddo VIIB (Late Bronze Age II).¹³⁰ Such pottery has also been found at Akko.¹³¹

Base Ring Ware I and II are mostly juglets, jugs, flasks, bowls, and bull-shaped libation vessels. The typical model is the so-called ‘bilbil’ jug of hard well-fired metallic clay and brownish-grey reddish slip. Base Ring Ware I appears in Late Bronze Age I and IIA and Base Ring II in Late Bronze Age IIA and B. The main differences between them are in size and decoration. Base Ring I is more plastic but Base Ring II is painted white. Base Ring I vessels have been found in Lachish Temple I and Base Ring II in Temple II.¹³² At Tell Nebi Mend (Kadesh) a few sherds of both White Slip Ware and Base Ring Ware have been discovered.¹³³

In Monochrome Ware the clay and technique are similar to those in Base Ring Ware, but the forms are different. It appears in all Late Bronze Age strata. Such bowls and juglets have been found in Late Bronze Age tombs at Lachish, Megiddo, and Jerusalem. White Shaved Ware (or Knife-Shaved) is an imitation of the Canaanite juglet, hand-made and knife-shaved all over. It has been discovered in Late Bronze Age II, and, for example, in Lachish Temple II and Abu Hawam V.¹³⁴ At Joppa, too, some Monochrome vessels and Base Ring Ware were found.¹³⁵

White Painted Ware IV and V occur in Middle Bronze Age II but continue to Late Bronze Age I. Typical of these vessels is brownish-black painted decoration on a light background. They are mostly small juglets or teapots and resemble White Shaved Ware. Examples have been found at Megiddo, in Lachish tombs, in Lachish Temple II,

¹³⁰ Amiran 1969, 121-123, 172-175.

¹³¹ Dothan 1976, 9.

¹³² Amiran 1969, 173-177.

¹³³ Parr 1983, 107.

¹³⁴ Amiran 1969, 173, 178.

¹³⁵ Kaplan & Kaplan 1992-III, 947.

and at Akko.¹³⁶ Bucchero Ware comprises jugs with a ribbed body and occurs in Late Bronze Age II A and B, and has been found in Lachish Temple III and in a tomb at Jerusalem.¹³⁷

At Chinnereth Stratum VII the main ceramic assemblage consists of White Slip Ware, Chocolate on White Ware, and Bichrome Ware.¹³⁸ At Debir/Khirbet Rabud a rich assemblage of Cypriote pottery was found in the late Bronze Age cemetery. The following types of this ceramic were found: White Slip Ware I, Base Ring Ware I, Monochrome, and White Painted Ware.¹³⁹ Cypriote pottery has also been found at Hebron,¹⁴⁰ Tel Haror (Gerar),¹⁴¹ and Jokneam.¹⁴²

(2) Imported **Mycenaean** pottery was distributed throughout the Mediterranean from southern Italy to the coast of Turkey and Egypt. In Greece and the Aegean Islands this type of pottery is called Late Helladic. It has been divided into four major stages as follows: Late Helladic I-IIA (c. 1675/1650 - 1490/1470 BCE), Late Helladic IIB-III A1 (c. 1490/1470 – 1390/1370 BCE), Late Helladic IIIA2-IIIB (c. 1390/1370 – 1190 BCE), and Late Helladic IIIC (c. 1190-1050 BCE).

For Levantine Late Bronze Age chronology the following subdivision is essential. The absolute years are open to discussion and largely depend on Pharaonic dates and the interpretation of key C-14 datings of Mediterranean archaeological sites. However, there is currently wide consensus with regard to this framework.

¹³⁶ Amiran 1969, 121-123, 173, 178. Dothan 1976, 9.

¹³⁷ Amiran 1969, 173, 176-177. Mazar 1990, 261. Cypriote sherds have also been found at Afula (Ophrah) Stratum IIIB (Late Bronze Age IIB); see Dothan 1955, 42, 46. We may also mention the renewed excavations at Hazor, where about one hundred sherds of Cypriote pottery were found, although according to Zuckerman (2003, xii) "the chronological value of them is very limited."

¹³⁸ Fritz & Münger 2002, 11.

¹³⁹ Kochavi 1974, 20-23.

¹⁴⁰ Ofer 1993-II, 607.

¹⁴¹ Oren et al. 1986, 70.

¹⁴² Ben-Tor & Rosenthal 1978, 81.

Mycenaean IIB	(c. 1490/1470 – 1435/1405 BCE)
Mycenaean IIIA1	(c. 1435/1405 – 1390/1370 BCE)
Mycenaean IIIA2	(c. 1390/1370 – 1320/1300 BCE)
Mycenaean IIIB	(c. 1320/1300 – 1190 BCE)
Mycenaean IIIC	(c. 1190 – 1050 BCE) ¹⁴³

Mycenaean IIB would correspond to Late Bronze Age I, Mycenaean IIIA and B to Late Bronze II, and Mycenaean IIIC to the beginning of the Iron Age. Attempts to outline further distinctions between Late Bronze Age IIA and B material cultures along the lines of Mycenaean IIIA and B have not been convincing nor widely accepted.

One needs to be very careful when evaluating the diagnostic significance of individual Mycenaean vessels even when they are found in a good stratigraphic context. These beautiful vessels were valuable imported objects and may have survived for a period of time. *Ante quem* dates are obviously more reliable in such cases and the evidence must be weighed in the wider context of objects contained in the deposit.

Typical of the Mycenaean vessels was that they were made on a fast wheel out of very fine clay. A light cream lustrous slip covered the surface and it had a dark brown decoration. The decoration usually consisted of horizontal bands, concentric circles, spirals and various pictures of animals. The first imported Mycenaean wares in the Levant belong to the group of Late Helladic/Mycenaean IIB but they are very few in number. In Canaan only a kylix has been discovered in Lachish Fosse Temple I.¹⁴⁴

Mycenaean IIIA pottery has been discovered, for example, at the following sites: Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Taanach, Hazor, and the Jerusalem tomb. Mycenaean IIIA2 corresponds to the Amarna Age in Egypt. This very brief period gives a good chronological anchor for dating the levels containing this type of pottery.¹⁴⁵ One Mycenaean IIIA sherd has been found at Khirbet Rabud (Debir).¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ http://projectsx.dartmouth.edu/classics/history/bronze_age/lessons/les/24.html. (14.12.05) The chronology given by Stubbings (1951, 3), based on the dating of Furumark, differs slightly from that presented above.

¹⁴⁴ Amiran 1969, 179, Mazar 1990, 262.

¹⁴⁵ Stubbings 1951, 90, Amiran 1969, 179-181, Glock 1993-IV, 1432.

¹⁴⁶ Kochavi 1974, 22.

Mycenaean IIIB is dated to Late Bronze Age IIB. The majority of Mycenaean pottery found in Palestine belongs to this group. The findings are at Lachish, Megiddo, Gezer, Tell el-Hesi, Beth Shemesh, Abu Hawam near Haifa,¹⁴⁷ Taanach,¹⁴⁸ and Tel Abu Kudeis (Kedesh).¹⁴⁹ At Tell Kamid el-Loz (Kumidi) Mycenaean IIIA (Stratum 12), IIIB (Strata 12 and 11), and IIIC (Stratum 10) pottery has been found.¹⁵⁰ In the renewed excavations at Hazor more than one hundred Mycenaean IIIA2 and IIIB1 sherds were found, belonging to the latest phase before the destruction of the Late Bronze Age city.¹⁵¹ At Megiddo Mycenaean IIIB pottery was found in Stratum VIIIB and in small numbers also in Stratum VIIA. According to Finkelstein, this is a very important chronological anchor, together with the presence and absence of carinated bowls. He dates the latest evidence of Mycenaean IIIB and Cypriote vessels to c. 1200 BCE and suggests the foundation of Megiddo VIIA in c. 1200 BCE.¹⁵² Mycenaean pottery has also been found at Afula but it remains unclear as to which stratum is involved.¹⁵³ At Jarmuth no building remains but local Canaanite pottery with imported Cypriote and Mycenaean wares have been found in Stratum Acr-VI which is dated to Late Bronze IIB.¹⁵⁴ At Aphek, Mycenaean IIIB and Cypriote wares have been discovered in the Late Bronze Age IIB stratum.¹⁵⁵ The end of the Late Bronze Age signified the disappearance of imported Mycenaean and Cypriote pottery in the Levant.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁷ Amiran 1969, 181, Aharoni 1979, 219, Mazar 1990, 263.

¹⁴⁸ Glock 1992-VI, 289.

¹⁴⁹ Stern 1993-III, 860.

¹⁵⁰ Weippert 1998, 7.

¹⁵¹ Zuckerman 2003, xii. Yadin (1975, 36) dated the destruction of Late Bronze Age Hazor to about 1250-1230 BCE.

¹⁵² Finkelstein 1996b, 171.

¹⁵³ The information given by Dothan (1955, 19-52) concerning Mycenaean pottery at Afula is unclear. In his Introduction he writes that the finds include "a considerable number of sherds from the Late Bronze Age, especially Mycenaean and Cypriote imports" (21). Then he sets out the results of Stratum III – which is the only stratum studied in that paper – and states that "the Mycenaean sherds found on the tell, but not in stratum III itself." (42). He concludes the study of Stratum III with a reference to "the absence of both Mycenaean and 'Philistine' pottery" (51).

¹⁵⁴ Miroschedji 1999, 17

¹⁵⁵ Beck & Kochavi 1985, 34-36.

¹⁵⁶ Amiran 1969, 179-181. Mazar 1990, 262-264, 287-288.

(3) Imported **Syrian** Wares are mostly narrow flasks including small juglets. They appear in Late Bronze Age I and II and have been found in Lachish Temple I, Abu Hawam V, Gezer, and the Jerusalem tomb. Such flasks have been discovered over a very extensive area, from the Hittite empire to Cyprus, Canaan, and Egypt.¹⁵⁷ Syrian grey juglets have also been found in Stratum VII at Chinnereth.¹⁵⁸

(4) Imported **Egyptian** pottery appears in surprisingly small quantities, considering the great extent of Egyptian influence in Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. It is obvious that ceramic cannot be used as a criterion of political hegemony, because in that period Cypriote wares dominate rather than Egyptian. Egyptian wares have been found at Lachish, Megiddo, and Ajjul.¹⁵⁹

Local pottery

Following the style of the preceding Middle Bronze Age, local Canaanite pottery gradually changed in form, method of manufacture and decoration. It became "coarser and rougher, and there is evidence of a mass production of rough, cheap, local ware."¹⁶⁰

Rounded bowls in Late Bronze Age I were carinated in shape, continuing the trend of the preceding period, and in Late Bronze Age II the bowls have either gently rounded or straight sloping sides. Cooking pots are very characteristic and easily identifiable. The colour is brownish-red or nearly black. The rim is the best guide for distinguishing different phases of the Late Bronze Age. In Late Bronze Age I the rim is either everted and rounded or everted triangular. In Late Bronze Age IIA the everted triangular rims are the most common, and in Late Bronze Age IIB the rim is somewhat longer with a more edged triangle. The large storage jar is a Canaanite innovation that found its way through commerce to Egypt, Ugarit and the Aegean areas. The typical jar has a narrow rounded base and the handles are in the middle of the body. Another version is Pithos, found in large quantities at Hazor. Both of these jars, as well as cooking pots, continued to be used in Iron Age I.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Amiran 1969, 167, 171.

¹⁵⁸ Fritz & Münger 2002, 11.

¹⁵⁹ Amiran 1969, 138-139, 187-188.

¹⁶⁰ Mazar 1990, 259.

¹⁶¹ Amiran 1969, 124-145.

A new contribution in the Late Bronze Age was a vessel called a “**Pilgrim Flask**”. It differs from other ceramic wares both in its shape and in the manufacturing technique employed. It was made in several stages on a wheel and then the parts were attached. The flask has two handles on both sides of the neck and a round body of a vessel. In Late Bronze Age I the neck and the handles resemble Middle Bronze types and differ from the following periods. In Late Bronze IIA flasks the handles are attached to the neck and body. Some are decorated with red painted concentric circles. In Late Bronze Age IIB most typical pilgrim flasks were small in size, and the relation between body and neck differs from the preceding types. These have been found e.g. at Hazor, Lachish, Megiddo, Abu Hawam, the Jerusalem tomb, Ajjul, and Aphek.¹⁶²

A typical pottery style of Late Bronze Age Canaan is the so-called **Bichrome Ware**. It has beautiful red and black decoration, and the earliest specimens are from around 1600 BCE. Bichrome Ware continued to be manufactured throughout the 16th and early 15th centuries. It is a homogenous group with some roots in the local Syro-Palestinian Middle Bronze Age tradition, but there are also signs of the influence of Cypriote pottery. According to Amihai Mazar, its final period was perhaps the time of Thutmose III. Amiran, however, has pointed out that this type of vessel has been found at Megiddo even in Stratum VIII, which belongs to Late Bronze Age II. Consequently, the Bichrome Ware also occurred after the time of Thutmose III.¹⁶³

The term **Chocolate on White Ware** was first given by Sir F. Petrie to a distinctive type of local Canaanite pottery. Its tradition dated back to the Middle Bronze Age and its main period was Late Bronze Age I. The vessels have harmonious globular forms and demonstrate advanced technical wheel-work. It has chocolate brown or reddish brown painted decoration. The sites where this ware has been discovered include Megiddo, Beth Shean, Jericho, Ajjul, and Tel el-Farah (North). It has also been found in Transjordan.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Amiran 1969, 166-169. Beck & Kochavi 1985, 38-39.

¹⁶³ Amiran 1969, 152-157. Mazar 1990, 259-262.

¹⁶⁴ Amiran 1969, 158-161, Mazar 1990, 261, Mazar 1993b, 216.

In Canaan, some of the key sites from the Late Bronze Age are Hazor, Megiddo, Beth Shean, Gezer, Tel Batash, Tel Miqne (Ekron), Ashdod, Lachish and Tel Halif.¹⁶⁵ At both Hazor and Megiddo new archaeological projects were carried out in the 1990s. The other sites are large mounds where the excavations have already concluded. The sites of Hazor, Megiddo, Beth Shean, Aphek, Gezer and Tel Halif are examined later in this study.

2.2.2 Iron Age I

The transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age is clearly indicated by the number of inhabitants and the settlement patterns of the Land of Canaan. However, it is not so evident from the pottery types. The differences in ceramic traditions may have been caused by the varied regional circumstances as well as by ethnic or cultural distinctions. Several pottery types have their roots in the Late Bronze Age. Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish some typical features of Iron Age I pottery from those of the previous period.¹⁶⁶

The beginning of the Iron Age is a transitional period of both continuity and change. It is possible to differentiate three diverse elements in the land of Canaan concerning the material culture (especially pottery and settlement patterns).

Firstly, the remains of the **Late Bronze Age culture** continued in many areas, mainly along the Coastal and Acco Plains, and in the Jezreel Valley. Megiddo, although disputed in detail, may serve as an example. The first Iron Age level (or last Late Bronze Age II level, late 13th-early 12th century) is Stratum VIIA (Level F-7 in the renewed excavations). The pottery is typical of the Late Bronze Age, including Mycenaean IIIB ware. The next Strata VIB and VIA differ from the

¹⁶⁵ See e.g. Mazar 1990, 242.

¹⁶⁶ See e.g. Amiran 1969, 192, "Almost every pottery type can be traced back to its origins in the Bronze Age. On the other hand, the profound changes brought about in Canaan by the settlement of the Israelite tribes are easily discernible in various material phenomena, first and foremost in the pottery." See also Finkelstein 1988, 270-291. On the other hand, this view has also been refuted, see e.g. Thompson (1992, 301) who acknowledges the distinctiveness of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I pottery in the Ephraim settlements but argues that "the distinctiveness between the pottery traditions of Late Bronze and Iron I occupations seems far less marked on sites in areas such as the Shephelah, the hills of Benjamin, and the valleys of the Jezreel and Hazor". On the debate between Dever and Finkelstein & Na'aman concerning continuity and discontinuity, see Finkelstein & Na'aman 1994, 10.

previous ones but their layout and pottery are typical of the Late Bronze Age. Stratum VB (Level K-3 in the renewed excavations) shows clear Iron Age features both in material culture and layout.¹⁶⁷

Secondly, many new settlements emerged in the **Central Hill Country**. Characteristic features were relatively small sites, settlement patterns (not fortified, no public buildings, several pillared buildings, and silos around the houses), and simple and relatively meagre pottery.¹⁶⁸

Thirdly, waves of **Sea Peoples** arrived in the Levant. They comprised several groups, e.g. Philistines, Sherden, Sikils, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh. At least the Philistines, Sikils, and Sherden directed their attacks towards the Land of Canaan. The Sikils settled Dor, and the Philistines large areas of the Palestine Coastal Plain.¹⁶⁹ The Philistine material culture has been studied in detail and it has several characteristic features.¹⁷⁰ Aphek may serve as an example. Egyptian hegemony dominated there up to Level X12 (13th century BCE). Levels X11-X9 (12th –11th centuries) are periods where Philistine pottery has been found. The next stratum, Level X8 (10th century) “denotes a sharp change in the material culture of the site,” with stone-lined silos as a typical feature.¹⁷¹ This indicates that the “Hill Country Culture” reached as far as the Coastal Plain during the 10th century BCE.

In this study, the continuation of the Late Bronze Age culture is designated as “Coastal Plain culture” (C) although the label could as well be “Jezreel Valley culture”. The new phenomenon arriving on the mountains is referred to in the study as “Hill Country culture” (H). The most well known group of Sea People are the Philistines and their civilization is called “Philistine culture” (P). Although the first two labels are geographical and the third ethnic, it is the cultural and material aspects that are being emphasised.

¹⁶⁷ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 592-596.

¹⁶⁸ Finkelstein 1988, 27-33.

¹⁶⁹ See e.g. Stern 1994, 19-22.

¹⁷⁰ See Dothan 1982.

¹⁷¹ Kochavi 1981, 82. On the stratigraphy of Aphek, see Beck & Kochavi 1985, 30.

The Coastal Plain culture

In Iron Age I, the Late Bronze Age culture continued in many places. According to Finkelstein, "the characteristics of Canaanite sites are generally easy to define, for their material culture, especially the pottery and small finds, directly continues that of their Late Bronze Age predecessors."¹⁷² Examples of these sites are provided by Tell Keisan on the Acco Plain, Beth Shean, Taanach, Afula, and Megiddo in Jezreel Valley, and Gezer on the southern Coastal Plain.¹⁷³

At Tell Keisan the first Iron Age levels are Strata 12-9. The great influence of foreign pottery was especially apparent in Stratum 10, including Cypriote vessels and Mycenaean IIC ware. Petrographic analysis has demonstrated that they were of local origin, and some Philistine ware was also discovered. The destruction of Stratum 9A is dated to about 1000 BCE.¹⁷⁴

At Beth Shean, Strata Late VII and VI belong to the 12th century BCE. They contain a large amount of Egyptian-style pottery, both imported and locally made. In addition, sherds of Mycenaean IIC vessels, imported from Greece or Cyprus, were found. Stratum Upper VI from the 11th century BCE shows contacts with Canaanite culture.¹⁷⁵

At Taanach the evidence of Iron Age I is meagre but some remains have been found. Period IA is dated to the first half of the 12th century BCE and its pottery reflects Late Bronze Age traditions. In the next Period IB the same culture seems to continue.¹⁷⁶ At 'Afula the Late Bronze Age II level is Stratum IIIB and the Iron Age I is Stratum IIIA. The latter was a continuation of the previous tradition. Its pottery resembles Strata VIII-VIA at Megiddo.¹⁷⁷ At Megiddo the first Iron Age levels are VIIA-VIB-VIA, as was related above.

At Gezer the archaeology is complicated and disputed.¹⁷⁸ The first Iron Age levels are attributed to Strata XIII-XI (12th – 11th centuries BCE). The pottery is a mixture of local traditions and Philistine

¹⁷² Finkelstein 1988, 28.

¹⁷³ Gal 1994, 42, 46.

¹⁷⁴ Humbert 1993-III, 864-866.

¹⁷⁵ Mazar 1997a, 156-162.

¹⁷⁶ Rast 1978, 3-4, Glock 1992-VI, 289, Finkelstein 1988, 88. See more detailed discussion in Finkelstein 1998b, 208-218.

¹⁷⁷ Dothan 1955, 47-49.

¹⁷⁸ See e.g. Dever 1993b, 33-54, Finkelstein 2002b, 262-296, and Dever 2003b, 259-282.

Bichrome wares. These strata include mostly Philistine pottery although it is quite meagre.¹⁷⁹ The next levels, Strata X-IX, are, according to Dever, “post-Philistine/pre-Solomonic” (11th –10th century BCE?). The architecture is poor and the pottery was no longer painted. Unburnished, thin, red-slip small bowls are typical of these strata.¹⁸⁰ Finkelstein admits the strata as post-Philistine although his “low-chronology” dating differs slightly from that of Dever. According to Finkelstein, Strata X-IX should be dated to the 10th century BCE.¹⁸¹ Accordingly, Gezer, although controversial, may serve as an example of how the Late Bronze Age culture continued into the Iron Age, albeit mixed with the Philistine culture.

Examples of pottery types showing continuation from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age I can be seen in the large carinated bowls from Megiddo VI and Beth-shemesh III¹⁸² and in craters found at Megiddo VI with painted decoration and multiple handles, or with two or more horizontal handles, or standing on three loop-handles.¹⁸³ The Bichrome Style can be seen in different vessels, e.g. in the pilgrim flasks.¹⁸⁴

Typical Iron Age cooking pots have a carinated body and a rounded base and, at the beginning of the period, were usually without handles. The elongated rim with a triangular section has various modifications, which act as a criterion for dating the vessels. The sharp carination differentiates this model from the Hill Country types, such as those at Hazor.¹⁸⁵ Storage jars also change slightly from the Late Bronze types to Iron I types. Earlier jars have a high neck but later the neck is almost entirely lacking and is rounded with a thick rim.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ Finkelstein 2002b, 282.

¹⁸⁰ Dever 1992-II, 1001.

¹⁸¹ Finkelstein 2002b, 282.

¹⁸² Amiran 1969, 193-194.

¹⁸³ Amiran 1969, 218-219.

¹⁸⁴ Amiran 1969, 269.

¹⁸⁵ Amiran 1969, 228-229.

¹⁸⁶ Amiran 1969, 216-218, 227-235.

The Hill Country culture

The great number of small settlements increased dramatically at the beginning of the Iron Age in the Central Hill Country.¹⁸⁷ The main feature of the beginning of the Iron Age in the Hill Country is specifically this: the emergence of hundreds of new small settlements. The key excavated sites are Shiloh, Giloh, Ai, Mount Ebal, Izbet Sartah, Khirbet ed-Dawara, and Tell el-Ful. These sites – except Shiloh – were not settled in the Late Bronze Age.

Although the Hill Country pottery has similar features to the Coastal Plain culture, there are also differences between them.¹⁸⁸ In particular, the pottery repertoire in the Hill Country settlements was relatively poor and limited.¹⁸⁹ Most common vessels in the Hill Country were collar-rim jars and cooking pots.¹⁹⁰ In spite of the common features they also have variations in different parts of the country. The variety of rim profiles is so great that finding two identical ones is difficult.¹⁹¹ The first red-slip and hand-burnished vessels appear.¹⁹²

Finkelstein (early) studied collar-rim storage jars from Iron Age I and concluded that there are no clear grounds for distinguishing any chronological order between the subtypes. In some cases ornamentations have been found on the handles and rims. Collar-rim storage jars have since been found at Megiddo VIIB and VI and at Tell Keisan. These jars do not appear in the Late Bronze Age, although they display some similarities with the Middle Bronze Age IIB-C pithoi. Most collar-rim jars belong to the 12th and 11th centuries BCE, but they were still recovered from the first half of the 10th century. Geographically they were known from the Hill Country and in small

¹⁸⁷ Finkelstein 1994, 154. See the table on page Table 290. In addition, Finkelstein points out that there were waves of settlements over the centuries. In the Middle Bronze Age the number of Hill Country sites was 248.

¹⁸⁸ Finkelstein & Na'aman 1994, 10. See also Finkelstein 1988, 270, "During the Iron I period, there were striking differences between the ceramic assemblages of the coastal plain, the Shephelah, and the northern valleys on the one hand, and the hilly interior regions on the other."

¹⁸⁹ E.g. in Zertal's survey (1998, 242) an average Iron Age I site included some 20 pottery types, compared with 42 on average at Late Bronze Age sites.

¹⁹⁰ Amiran 1969, 227-239, Finkelstein 1988, 27-33, 270-291, Mazar 1990, 346-348.

¹⁹¹ Finkelstein 1988, 271.

¹⁹² Mazar 1998, 368-378.

quantities also in Transjordan, and in some sites on the Coastal Plain and in the Jezreel Valley (e.g. Tell Qasile, Megiddo and Sahab). They were absent from most parts of Galilee, except at Tel Dan and Kinneret.¹⁹³ Accordingly, although the collar-rim jar is very common in the Hill Country settlements, it also appears at several other sites.

Shiloh seems to have been an isolated cultic site in the Late Bronze Age. Iron Age remains were found in Areas C and E. Stone-lined silos were located in both areas. The ceramic assemblage in Area C was very rich. The most common vessel was the collar-rim jar, typical of Iron Age I sites in the Hill Country. Seven such jars were discovered in Building 335. Several Iron Age cooking pots were also found.¹⁹⁴

At Giloh the pottery of Iron Age I was very homogenous. The most common vessels are collar-rim pithoi, usually grey or brown-red in colour with reverted rims. The next common type was the cooking pot. Two distinct types of rims were found; one is characteristic of the Late Bronze Age and the other of Iron Age I. However, this early type is similar to Taanach Period I and Tel el-Ful Periods I-II, where no Late Bronze Age material was found. This may point to the very early occupation of this Iron Age I site. Accordingly, this one-period site is dated to the 12th century BCE.¹⁹⁵

Ai (Et-Tell) was unoccupied in the Late Bronze Age but settled at the beginning of the Iron Age. Pottery, such as collar-rim jars, connects Ai with other contemporary sites in the Hill Country.¹⁹⁶ At the Mount Ebal site two strata have been differentiated. Stratum II was dated to the second half of the 13th century BCE and Stratum I to the first half of the 12th century. The site was later abandoned. In Stratum II there seems to have been a modest cultic place on the site. The pottery is similar to Iron Age I in other Hill Country settlements. In Stratum I a larger building, probably also a sacred place, had been built.¹⁹⁷

Izbet Sartah has yielded three inhabited strata, all from Iron Age I. In Stratum III, the influence of the Late Bronze Age was evident, and some late Mycenaean IIIB ware has been found. Stratum II was

¹⁹³ Finkelstein 1988, 276-285. Pakkala et al. 2004, 20.

¹⁹⁴ Finkelstein 1988, 220-228.

¹⁹⁵ Mazar 1981, 18-31, Mazar 1994, 78-91.

¹⁹⁶ Finkelstein 1988, 69-72, Callaway 1992-I, 129-130.

¹⁹⁷ Zertal 1994, 61-65.

different, containing four-roomed houses and many stone-lined silos (altogether 43). Philistine vessels were also discovered.¹⁹⁸ According to Finkelstein (early), Stratum III was characteristic of pastoral society at the beginning of the establishment of permanent sedentarisation, and Strata II and I typical of Iron Age I Hill Country settlements. Dothan, by contrast, attributed Strata III and II to the Philistines and Stratum I to the Hill Country inhabitants.¹⁹⁹

Most Iron Age I Hill Country settlements were unoccupied in the Late Bronze Age. On the other hand, there were cities already inhabited before the Iron Age, for instance Bethel, Khirbet Rabud, Tell el-Farah, Hebron, Shechem, and Jerusalem (City of David). Not very much can be said about the pottery of Iron Age I at those sites.

Bethel was a fortified city in the Late Bronze Age – a very rare phenomenon in that period. It was destroyed late in the 13th century, and pottery from the following period is similar to that from other Iron Age I sites.²⁰⁰ At Hebron the first Iron Age I settlements were quite small but contained typical Hill Country material, e.g. collar-rim jars.²⁰¹

The Philistine culture

After the disappearance of Mycenaean culture and Mycenaean IIIA-B pottery a new cultural phenomenon appeared in the Levant, the arrival of the Sea Peoples.²⁰² In connection with this migration process a new style of pottery emerged, called “Mycenaean IIIC”. One subgroup of this is Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, which was very common in Cyprus and in Canaan. The special feature of this pottery is monochrome brownish black painting on light, white-slipped background with typical Mycenaean motifs, such as spirals, various geometric patterns, birds and fish. The earliest discoveries in Canaan are from Ashdod XIII and Ekron VII. Because it is connected with the Philistine invasion, the pottery repertoire is called “Philistine”. The

¹⁹⁸ The opinions differ as to the amount of Philistine ware. According to Dothan (1982, 89), about 50 percent of the total pottery was Philistine; according to Finkelstein (1988, 33), “Philistine pottery does appear at ‘Izbet Sartah, but extremely small quantities”, only 1-2 percent.

¹⁹⁹ Dothan 1982, 89-90, Finkelstein 1988, 31-33, 73-80.

²⁰⁰ Albright & Kelso 1968, 28-35, Finkelstein 1988, 323.

²⁰¹ Ofer 1993-II, 609, Chadwick 2005, 33.

²⁰² We have studied Mycenaean I-III development on pages 49-51. On Mycenaean IIIA-B, see also Stubbings 1951.

background in the pottery is in the Mycenaean style from the Aegean area but it also displays the influence of Cypriote, Egyptian and local Canaanite elements.²⁰³

Locally made Philistine pottery, appears from the first half of the 12th century BCE, and disappears, that is, assimilates into the local pottery, according to Dothan, around the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 10th century BCE.²⁰⁴ In the first phase this pottery is monochrome but later it appears as Bichrome with red and black decoration. The latter is the hallmark of Philistine culture. Mazar has divided the phases of Philistine material into three different periods. He dates the Monochrome period to the first half of the 12th century BCE and the Bichrome period from the second half of the 12th century to the 11th century.²⁰⁵ Finkelstein (late) dates Monochrome to the late 12th century BCE and Bichrome from the 11th to early 10th century BCE.²⁰⁶

The most important sites containing this material are Tel Miqne (Ekron), Ashdod, Tel 'Eton, Tell es-Safi (Gath), Gezer, Tell Qasile, and Megiddo.

Tel Miqne is a representative example of the large excavated sites that illustrate the emergence of Philistine pottery. The last Late Bronze Age levels, Strata IX and VIII contain typical Late Bronze Age pottery, including imported Cypriote and Mycenaean vessels. In the first Iron Age I level, Stratum VII (Phases 9A-D), Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery appears. In Phase 9B a kiln was found which may have produced this pottery. In Stratum VI (Phases 8A-D) Bichrome pottery emerges for the first time. Killebrew dates the appearance of Philistine pottery to the early 12th century BCE, and the reason for this dating is historical/biblical.²⁰⁷

At Ashdod the last Late Bronze Age level is Stratum XIV. In Stratum XIII Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery makes its first appearance. It continues into Strata XII and XI, and the amount of this ceramic type increases greatly. Both Monochrome and Bichrome vessels are of local

²⁰³ For a comprehensive description of Philistine pottery, see Dothan 1982, 94-218. See also Amiran 1969, 266-269 and Mazar 1990, 295-327.

²⁰⁴ Dothan 1982, 218.

²⁰⁵ Mazar 1985, 95-107.

²⁰⁶ Finkelstein 1998c, 140-147.

²⁰⁷ Killebrew 1998, 379-405.

manufacture. The last Iron Age I level, Stratum X, yielded small quantities of Philistine pottery together with the earliest hand-burnished red-slip ware.²⁰⁸ At Tel 'Eton, several hundred metres from the mound, a large cemetery with rich assemblages of Philistine pottery has been discovered. Dothan dated it to the 12th century BCE.²⁰⁹

2.2.3 Iron Age IIA

The pottery assemblage becomes much richer in Iron Age IIA. There are major difficulties in defining precise characteristics for the pottery of this time. The most typical feature is the abundance of red-slip and rough, irregular burnish applied by hand on various vessels.²¹⁰ The first red-slip and hand-burnished vessels had already appeared in Iron Age I.²¹¹

The styles in the northern part of the country begin to differ from that further to the south. Key sites in the northern areas include Hazor, Beth Shean, Megiddo, Taanach, Jokneam, Tel Rehov, Tell el-Far'ah (Tirzah) and Samaria. Important sites in the southern areas include Jerusalem (City of David), Gezer, Aphek, Tel Halif, Arad and the Philistine cities such as Tel Miqne (Ekron), Tell Qasile and Ashdod. There are great difficulties, especially in the south, in finding stratigraphically reliable material typical of this period.²¹²

In the north, red burnished slip is a common feature in bowls. Amiran differentiates the following kinds of bowls: carinated bowls, straight-sided bowls, rounded bowls, deep bowls, bowls with bar-handles or a ridge below the rim and bowls on three stump legs.²¹³ Herzog and Singer-Avitz also note that "red-slip and hand-burnish are among the most characteristic features of bowls of this period". By

²⁰⁸ Dothan 1982, 36-42.

²⁰⁹ Dothan 1982, 44. See also Mazar 1990, 312. Surprisingly, Ayalon (1985, 54-62) and Zimhoni (1985, 63-90) in their reports from Iron Age Tel 'Eton do not comment on the Philistine occupation of the site. Their studies concentrate on Iron Age II; nevertheless, it is noteworthy that no mention of the Philistines appears.

²¹⁰ See e.g. at Taanach (Rast 1978, 6), Tel Rehov (Mazar 1999, 37-39, Mazar & Carmi 2001, 1337-1340), Lachish (Ussishkin 2004b, 76), and Tel Eton (Zimhoni 1985, 63-90).

²¹¹ See e.g. Mazar 1998, 368-378. Against Holladay (1990, 63), who dates the introduction of red-slip ware to Late Bronze Age IIA.

²¹² Amiran 1969, 191-265, Mazar 1990, 372-373, 507-509. See also Finkelstein 1988, 274.

²¹³ Amiran 1969, 195-199.

“this period” they mean their Iron Age IIA, which extends from the mid 10th century to the late 9th or mid 8th centuries BCE. According to Herzog and Singer-Avitz, there is a sharp contrast with bowls of the following period (Iron Age IIB), where red-slip is uncommon and wheel-burnish replaces hand-burnish.²¹⁴

At Tel Rehov, for example, Strata VI-IV are the first Iron Age II levels, containing a large amount of red-slip and hand-burnished ware. The “Hippo”-type storage jar was a common vessel in Strata V and IV.²¹⁵ At Megiddo red-slip and hand-burnished pottery was common in Strata VB (Area B9) and Strata VA-IVB (Area C).²¹⁶ At Hazor the Iron Age IIA levels are Strata X-IX. They contain several bowls, typical of this period, but not many of them are red-slip or hand-burnished. The cooking pots continue to be Iron Age I types, without any major change. The same type of cooking pots are known at almost all Iron Age II sites.²¹⁷ At Jokneam the Iron Age IIA levels are Strata XVI-XIV. They include red-slip and hand-burnished bowls, kraters and jugs.²¹⁸

In the south, three main groups of bowls may be distinguished: rounded-carinated bowls, bowls with degenerated horizontal handles and bowls with bar-handles. A typical feature is that the vessels often had hand-burnished, or “irregularly burnished” slip. Sometimes this was only on the inside. Kraters are not very common in southern pottery types. They differ from the northern ones, often being smaller and with a narrower mouth. The storage jars are like those in Iron Age I, but with more prominent shoulders.²¹⁹

An example is Arad, which, although controversial as to the exact dating of its strata, contains large assemblages of Iron Age II vessels. In the first two strata, XII and especially in XI some of the red-slipped and hand-burnished bowls were found, and cooking pots, storage jars and amphoriskoi which are other typical vessels from Iron Age IIA.²²⁰

²¹⁴ Herzog & Singer-Avitz 2004, 210.

²¹⁵ Mazar 1999, 37-39.

²¹⁶ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 274-281, 284-296.

²¹⁷ Ben-Tor & Ben-Ami 1998, 13-24. See also Yadin et al. 1989, Plates CLXXI, CLXXIV, CLXXV.

²¹⁸ Zarzeki-Peleg 1997, 263.

²¹⁹ Amiran 1969, 199, 217-221, 238-239

²²⁰ Singer-Avitz 2002, 110-123.

The debate between conventional chronology and “low chronology”

There is an ongoing and rather heated debate concerning the chronological limits of Iron Age I and II. The discussion between Amihai Mazar and Israel Finkelstein concerning the merits of the conventional chronology and the alternative one (“low chronology”) is representative. It affects the interpretation of the dating of the excavated strata at Megiddo and Beth Shean, and also later at Tel Rehov.²²¹ The question is significant because, according to Finkelstein, “the data from these two sites (Megiddo and Beth Shean) are of great importance for the reconstruction of the historical and cultural processes that took place in northern Israel, and in the entire Levant in the 13-11th centuries BCE.”²²²

Both Finkelstein and Mazar agree that there is no basis for an absolute chronology between the Egyptian domination in the late 12th century and the Assyrian conquest of the second half of the 8th century BCE.²²³ Mazar represents the conventional view, which places the arrival of the Philistines in the time of Ramses III in the early 12th century BCE and the major building projects at Megiddo in the time of Solomon in the 10th century BCE. Finkelstein, by contrast, argues that the usual dating must be lowered by fifty to one hundred years.²²⁴

Finkelstein has challenged the traditional dating for the following reasons. Firstly, Egyptian domination lasted in southern Canaan until the reign of Ramses VI, c. 1135. The initial Philistine pottery, locally-made Monochrome Ware (Mycenaean IIIC:1b), has not been found in any of the 20th dynasty Egyptian strongholds. Consequently, the Philistine occupation could not have begun before 1135 BCE, but perhaps the date must be placed even later, at the beginning of the 11th century.²²⁵

²²¹ The most important articles by Finkelstein and Mazar are Finkelstein 1996b, 170-184, Finkelstein, 1996a, 177-187, Mazar 1997c, 157-167, Finkelstein 1998, 167-174, Finkelstein, 1998c, 140-147, Mazar 2001, 289-309, Coldstream & Mazar, 2003, 29-48, and Finkelstein 2004, 181-188.

²²² Finkelstein 1996b, 170.

²²³ Finkelstein 1996a, 180, Mazar 1997c, 157.

²²⁴ Mazar 1997c, 158, 164, Finkelstein 1996a, 185.

²²⁵ Finkelstein 1996a, 180.

Secondly, the dating of the Philistine Bichrome Ware (developed from the Monochrome by absorbing Canaanite and Egyptian traditions) must be moved from the traditional 12th century to the 11th or early 10th century.²²⁶ Then this new low chronology will account better for a 'black hole' in 9th century archaeology. Traditionally, there have been many findings from the 10th and 8th centuries, but very few, almost none, from the 9th century.²²⁷

Finally, Finkelstein claims that the traditional view was based too much on the Biblical stories of the Solomonic buildings. The earlier excavators of Megiddo attributed the great six-chamber gate and the pillared buildings of Stratum IV to the time of King Solomon. Although this view has since been rejected by many scholars, other conclusions have not been put forward.²²⁸ Moreover, Finkelstein suspects Mazar's motives and accuses him of representing "the ideal, harmonic picture of the Bible archaeology" and of returning to Albright's time. Finkelstein refers to the results of the excavations at Megiddo, Jezreel, Beth Shean, Lachish, Arad, Gezer, Taanach, Hazor, and Kuntillet 'Ajrud and claims that these support his low chronology. He doubts the value of C14 testing because this method often gives contradictory results. He later defended this method because he claimed that it supported his Low Chronology.²²⁹

Mazar argues that the vast quantities of Philistine Monochrome pottery found at Ashdod and Ekron may be contemporaneous with the Egyptian domination at other sites in the country. Therefore there is no reason to lower the date of the Philistine Monochrome pottery from the early 12th century.²³⁰ Consequently, Philistine Bichrome pottery must not be lowered from the 12th century to the 11th century BCE.²³¹ With regard to the 'black hole' of 9th century archaeology, Mazar agrees that there are sites where the 9th century was not kept sufficiently distinguished from the 8th century level. Yet there are many other sites (e.g. Hazor, Dan, Tel Chinnereth, Tel Keisan, Ashdod, Gezer, Lachish, Tel Beer-sheba, and Arad) where it is

²²⁶ Finkelstein 1996a, 179, 180.

²²⁷ Finkelstein 1996a, 181, 184.

²²⁸ Finkelstein 1996a, 178.

²²⁹ Finkelstein 1998, 167-173. Finkelstein & Piasetzky 2003, 283-295.

²³⁰ Mazar 1997c, 158.

²³¹ Mazar 1997c, 159.

impossible to lower the date because there are so many different levels inhabited from the 10th to 8th centuries. Mazar concludes that “it seems to me that the ‘mystery of the missing century’ is a mere illusion”.²³² He also points to several C14 test results which support the traditional dating.²³³ In summary, Mazar states: “I see no difficulty in retaining the ‘Solomonic’ date of the monumental Ashlar buildings 6000 and 1723 and the six-chamber gate at Megiddo as well as six-chamber gates at Hazor and Gezer.”²³⁴

Later Mazar introduced results from the Tel Rehov excavations into the discussion. He claims that C14 dates at Tel Rehov support his conventional dating. This means that Tel Rehov Stratum VI and Megiddo Strata VB and IVB-VA belong to the 10th century BCE. In addition, a comparison of Greek pottery found at Tel Rehov with that from other sites resulted in the same conclusion.²³⁵ In his response Finkelstein points out that Mazar has been inconsequential in his arguments. He also challenges the C14 dating of Tel Rehov, and concludes that Tel Rehov Stratum V should be dated to the early 9th century (rather than Mazar’s 10th century). Megiddo Stratum V should be equated with Tel Rehov Stratum IV (rather than Mazar’s Stratum V). Finally Finkelstein writes, “These corrections result in one casualty: the Biblical image of the great Solomon... It is time to separate archaeology from these late-monarchic, Judah-centric images.”²³⁶

Several scholars have supported Mazar’s conventional dating.²³⁷ The severest criticism of Finkelstein comes from Kletter.²³⁸ But Finkelstein also has his supporters. To conclude, this debate mostly

²³² Mazar 1997c, 163.

²³³ Mazar 1997c, 160, 162, 164.

²³⁴ Mazar 1997c, 164. The excavators of the City of David project in Jerusalem, De Groot & Ariel (2000, 93-94), argue that the new chronology suggested by Finkelstein creates more problems than it solves, and therefore use the conventional chronology as proposed by Mazar.

²³⁵ Coldstream & Mazar 2003, 29-48.

²³⁶ Finkelstein 2004, 181-188.

²³⁷ See Ben-Tor 2001a, 301-303, DeGroot & Ariel 2000, 93-94, Gal 2003, 147-150, Faust 2003, 147-161, Cahill 2004, 20-31, 62-63, Ortiz 2004, 121-147, Kletter 2004, 13-54, and Harrison 2004, 11-13.

²³⁸ E.g. Kletter (2004, 44), “The LC [Low Chronology] is not based on sound methodology, but largely, on negative evidence and on an outdated model of social evolution. It does not include methodological contributions, but rather suffers from some several methodological errors. Hence, the LC is not a new paradigm.”

deals with the question of the half-century time-span from the beginning of Iron Age II. A good attempt to bridge this gap is made by Herzog and Singer-Avitz; who lengthen the period of Iron Age IIA from a single century (the 10th century BCE in High Chronology and the 9th century in Low Chronology) to cover periods of approximately 150-200 years (from the mid 10th to the late 9th or mid 8th centuries BCE).²³⁹ This question is raised again in chapter 3, where the archaeology of the various sites is surveyed

Dating	Rehov		Megiddo		BethShean		Hazor	
	trad.	low	trad.	low	trad.	low	trad.	low
mid 9 th cent.	IV	V-IV		VA-IVB			VIII	X
10 th /9 th cent.	V		VA-IVB				IX	
10 th cent.	VI		VB	VIA	UpperV	UpperVI	X	
11 th cent.			VIA	VIB	UpperVI		XI	
12 th cent.			VIIA	VIIA	LowerVI	LowerVI	XII	
13 th cent.			VIIIB		VII	VII	XIII	

Table 1. Comparing traditional chronology and “low chronology”.

²³⁹ Herzog & Singer-Avitz 2004, 209-244.

3 PRESENTATION OF THE MATERIAL

3.1 Egyptian topographical texts

The main purpose of this study is to compare two Egyptian military texts (Thutmosis III and Shishak) with the biblical conquest story. In this chapter a brief overview of the most important Egyptian topographical texts is provided

The topographical or geographical texts are largely rosters of cities, countries or nations beyond the borders of Egypt, which the Egyptian Pharaohs claimed to have conquered.²⁴⁰ The lists were inscribed on temple walls, pylons, column bases, sphinxes and colossi. Their purpose was to glorify the Pharaohs. The cities and states mentioned in the lists were described as conquered by Pharaoh.²⁴¹ The foreign place-names are usually arranged in a series of oval "name-rings". Each ring represents a fortified town and its king.²⁴²

The historical reliability of these lists has not been debated very much by scholars. Their general historicity has not been rejected although many details have been discussed.²⁴³

The most important texts which contain topographical information are the following:²⁴⁴

- the Execration Texts

²⁴⁰ The main sources are Simons 1937, ANET, and Hallo 2000 and 2002. See also Aharoni 1979, 92-96 and Ahituv 1984, 11-42.

²⁴¹ Wilson 2005, 36-46 emphasises that the purpose of a topographical list was "to depict the pharaoh as victorious over the whole world and to magically enact the defeat of the people and places listed" (quotation from page 46). According to him, the idea was not so much to celebrate the victory of the king as to curse his enemies, as was the case with the Execration Texts.

²⁴² A good overview of these texts is found in Spalinger 1982.

²⁴³ The topographical texts are described as historical events by e.g. Simons 1937, 1-108, Noth 1938a, 50, Aharoni 1979, 156, Ahituv 1984, 1-11, Hayes & Miller 1990, 246-251, Mazar 1990, 233, Hoffmeier 1992, 291-299, Frankel 1994, 19, Kuhrt 1995, 186-188, Grimal 1997, 213-217, Hasel 1998, and Morris 2005. Wilson 2005, 46-47, 65, represents a more critical view of the possibility of making any historical reconstructions on the basis of the topographical lists.

²⁴⁴ ANET 230-264, 328-329, 475-479, Lichtheim 1976, 11-81, Aharoni 1979, 92-96, Hallo 2000, 7-41, Hallo 2002, 9-17.

- the tomb inscription of Ahmose
- the Annals and the topographical list of Thutmose III
- the campaigns of Amenhotep II
- Papyrus Petersburg (Hermitage) 1116A²⁴⁵
- two Egyptian stelae, the relief and the topographical list of Seti I
- the reliefs, the stelae and the topographical list of Ramesses II
- the victory hymn of Merneptah
- Papyrus Anastasi I
- Ramses III's battles against the Sea Peoples
- the inscription of Shishak

The Execration Texts

The oldest important Egyptian information concerning Canaanite place-names is a collection of Egyptian Execration Texts from the 20th and 19th centuries BCE. The texts are fragments of pottery bowls inscribed with the names of enemies. The names of the cities of these enemies were written on the pieces of pottery, and then they were smashed while uttering curses. This was thought to violate the enemies. Such sherds are preserved in the museums of Berlin, Cairo and Brussels. The pieces of pottery contain many names of cities of Canaan. They include Lebo, Acco, Mishal, Achshaph, Rehob, Aphek, Eglon, Hormah, Laish, Hazor, Kedesh, and Jerusalem.²⁴⁶

The tomb inscription of Ahmose

The best source regarding the expulsion of the Hyksos is an inscription in the tomb of Ahmose, an Egyptian officer and captain of a Nile ship. He served in the Egyptian army under three Pharaohs: Ahmose I (1550-1525 BCE), Amenhotep I (1525-1504 BCE), and Thutmose I (1504-1491 BCE). Ahmose tells of the successive attacks on the Hyksos in Egypt and of military campaigns in Asia. Pharaoh Ahmose I reunified Egypt and restored Egyptian hegemony in Canaan. After having defeated the Hyksos in Avaris, Ahmose himself

²⁴⁵ Epstein 1963, 49-56.

²⁴⁶ The Berlin material was published by Sethe 1926 and Posener 1940. See ANET 328-329 and Aharoni 1979, 144-147.

crossed Sinai and engaged in battle with the Hyksos troops at Sharuhen.²⁴⁷

Sharuhen, the battlefield of Ahmose, is either Tell el-Farah (south) or Tell el-Ajjul. A very large number of Egyptian scarabs from the Hyksos period were found at Tell el-Ajjul. Tell el-Ajjul and Tell el-Farah, Tel Malhata and Tel Masos in that region were totally destroyed at the end of the Hyksos period. This must have been part of the process of expelling the Hyksos.²⁴⁸

Amenhotep I extended Egyptian influence in Nubia. Thutmose I moved his court from Thebes to Memphis in the north, and leaving his monuments and inscriptions at several sites in Upper and Lower Nubia. He is even said by later writers to have initiated a military expedition against Mitanni in the north, at the River Euphrates. The next Pharaoh, Thutmose II (1491-1479 BCE), did not reign very long, and his widow, Hatshepsut (1479-1457 BCE), is better known.²⁴⁹

The Annals and the topographical list of Thutmose III

The young son of Thutmose II, Thutmose III (1479-1425 BCE), acted first as the co-regent of his mother Hatshepsut, and then ascended to the throne after her death in 1457.²⁵⁰ Thutmose III conducted seventeen military campaigns in Palestine and Syria, perhaps reaching all the way to the Euphrates.²⁵¹ Thutmose III erected his stela close to that of his grandfather, Thutmose I, on the bank of the Euphrates. He has been called "Egypt's Alexander the Great"²⁵² and "the greatest of

²⁴⁷ ANET 233-234.

²⁴⁸ Aharoni 1979, 152, Mazar 1990, 194 and Weinstein 1991, 106. See also Kempinski 1974, 145-152, Hoffmeier 1989, 184-185, and Hoffmeier 1991, 118-120.

²⁴⁹ In the Egyptian historical overview we refer mostly to books by Kuhrt 1995, 185-210, Grimal 1997, 199-308, and Shaw 2000, 218-338. In agreement with them we follow the so-called low chronology for the regnal years of the Pharaohs. This chronology has become more or less a consensus among Egyptologists after the International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology in 1987 held in Gothenburg, Sweden; see Hoffmeier 1989, 182. On the other hand, Kuhrt (1995, 185) declares that there is no final solution to this question. On Egyptian chronology, see also Kitchen 1991, 201-208 and Kitchen 1996, 1-13.

²⁵⁰ A double cartouche of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut found at Tell el-Ajjul is evidence of this co-regency; see Kempinski 1974, 148.

²⁵¹ See e.g. ANET 234-241, Simons 1937, 27-44, 109-127, Faulkner 1946, 39-42, Görg 1997, 26-32, Hallo 2002, 7-19, Redford 2003, and Kitchen 2004, 260-265.

²⁵² Zuhdi 1998-1999, 74.

all the Pharaohs".²⁵³ His expedition reports are found in a number of inscriptions, the so-called Annals, and in the topographical lists. The whole reign of Thutmose III was 54 years but he was sole ruler for only 32 years. The main phases of his reign as Pharaoh are as follows:²⁵⁴

- 1479 ascension to the throne as a child
- 1457 the first year as the sole rule
- 1456 the first campaign to Megiddo (year 23)
- 1450 the fifth Asiatic campaign (year 29)
- 1449 the sixth Asiatic campaign (year 30)
- 1446 the eighth campaign to Euphrates (year 33)
- 1437 the Annals inscription, the seventeenth (last) campaign (year 42)
- 1425 the end of the rule

The most detailed text is the description of the first campaign and the battle in the vicinity of Megiddo. This battle has been described in four distinct Pharaonic documents: the Annals on the north wall of the eastern hall of the Temple of Ipet-Isut, Karnak; the Armant Stele, a slab of red granite broken and reused in the construction of Armant in Upper Egypt; the Barkal Stele, a granite slab erected in the 47th year of Thutmose III at Gebel Barkal near the Fourth Cataract of the Nile; and Thutmose's catalogue of the Feasts of Victory in the temple of Karnak.²⁵⁵

More than one hundred Canaanite cities participated in the war. This was the greatest alliance of Canaanite kings ever to offer resistance to Egyptian authority. The alliance was led by the kings of Kadesh on the Orontes and the king of Megiddo, with assistance from the king of Mitanni. The battle is described in vivid terms, and many geographical details are given.

²⁵³ Simons 1937, 27. About the monuments made by Thutmose III see already Petrie 1906, 102-108.

²⁵⁴ Gardiner 1961, 188-205 (the dates differ), Shaw 2000, 243-248, Hallo 2000, 7-13, Redford 2003, 185-260, and Morris 2005, 115-129.

²⁵⁵ See ANET 234-238, and Zuhdi 1998-1999, 70. On the early study of the Barkal Stele, see Yeivin 1934, 194-229.

The departure of the Egyptian army took place in the fortress of Sile, the traditional starting point for Egyptian military excursions into Western Asia. The date was "Year 22, 4th month of the second season, day 25". Thutmosis III reached Gaza ten days later (after covering approx. 250 km), celebrated the first anniversary of his coronation as undisputed king, and continued his campaign the following day. Between the references to Sile and Gaza the text has two very corrupt columns. Some details are given regarding Sharuhen as an Egyptian outpost. The text also includes a rhetorical warning to the effect that beyond Sharuhen there are only rebellious enemies extending to the uttermost ends of the earth.²⁵⁶

From Gaza, the Pharaoh continued his journey northward to Yaham (or Yehem), which he reached in another ten or eleven days. Yaham is probably Khirbet Yamma located on the Sharon Plain close to the Hill Country, south of Mount Carmel, 120 km north of Gaza. Pharaoh spoke to his army concerning the huge number of enemies gathered at Megiddo. Their leader was the king of Kadesh, and there were in addition "princes of [every] foreign country [which had been loyal to Egypt]"²⁵⁷.

At Yaham Thutmosis' officers informed the Pharaoh that there were three possible routes to Megiddo. The most direct led through the narrow Aruna Pass. "It is reported that the enemy is there," they said and warned their king not to go there, because "will not horse have to go after horse and the army and the people similarly? Will our vanguard be fighting while the rearguard is waiting there in Aruna unable to fight?" They recommended that he choose one of the other two routes, either to the east via Taanach or to the north via Djefti (or Zephtah/Khirbeth Sitt Leila/Tel Zafi), which possibly means that the route went via the Jokneam pass. In spite of the warnings Pharaoh chose the narrow route. He declared, "My majesty shall proceed upon this Aruna road! Let him who wishes proceed upon these roads of which you speak, and any of you who wishes come in the train of my majesty." The generals decided to follow the king. The army crossed

²⁵⁶ Murnane (1989, 188) thinks that when referring to Sharuhen the text points backwards to the expedition of Ahmose almost one hundred years earlier.

²⁵⁷ ANET 235.

the Carmel Ridge and was able to surprise the enemy, who had not expected the Egyptians to take that route.²⁵⁸

The battle, which took place in the vicinity of Megiddo was a very short one and according to the Egyptian reports it ended in complete victory for Egypt. Describing his spoils Thutmose III lists, for example, the following items: 340 live prisoners, 2,238 horses, 924 chariots, 502 bows, 1,929 cattle, 2,000 goats and 20,500 sheep. The battle was decisive for the Egyptian domination of Palestine and Syria.²⁵⁹

The battle of Megiddo was a turning-point in Egypt's policy towards its northern neighbours. For the next twenty years Pharaoh reports almost annually on new campaigns. The best reported are the fifth campaign in the 29th year of his reign, the sixth campaign in his 30th year, the seventh campaign in his 31st year, the eighth campaign in his 33rd year, the ninth campaign in his 34th year, and the final campaign in his 42nd year. The eighth campaign conducted against Mitanni reached the Euphrates and was another great victory for him.²⁶⁰

Thutmose III was the first Pharaoh who listed the cities that he claimed to conquer. There are several copies of these lists. "The great topographical list" was reproduced in three copies: Ia,b, and c. A much shorter list (II), two fragments of destroyed lists (III,IV) and an extract from the great lists (V) have been preserved. List Ia consists of 117 names, list Ib of 119 names and Ic of more than 300 names. Lists Ia and Ib are included in list Ic, and form a basis for a geographical analysis of Thutmose III's campaigns in the areas of Palestine and Syria. This list (Ia/Ib) is often called the Palestine list, because the places it refers to are in the land of Canaan. The other names in list Ic are located farther north as far as the Euphrates, and the majority of them are rather or totally illegible.²⁶¹

This Palestine list of Thutmose III is one of the main foci of this study. What is the date and the origin of this list, does it describe one

²⁵⁸ ANET 235.

²⁵⁹ ANET 237.

²⁶⁰ ANET 238-241, Morris 2005, 115-126.

²⁶¹ Simons 1937, 28-31, ANET 242-243.

campaign or several, or is it merely a well-known itinerary of the period? These questions will be discussed in chapter 4.1.1.

The campaigns of Amenhotep II

Pharaoh Amenhotep II (1425-1398 BCE) conducted two military campaigns in the land of Canaan. Both of them followed the main south-north route, which was later to be called Via Maris. The first place mentioned in the text is Shemesh-adam. Then Amenhotep II crossed the Orontes River, "the dangerous waters", and fought a hard battle by the river bank. He took as spoils two princes and six *maryannu* (noble warriors), their chariots and all their weapons. On the return journey Pharaoh reached Ni and Ikat. The exact location of these sites is unknown, but it is possible that Ikat is Ugarit.²⁶²

The next place mentioned in the text is Kadesh, which is Kadesh on the Orontes. There the Pharaoh hunted in a forest and he caught gazelles, hares and wild donkeys. He passed by the Plain of Sharon and arrived in Memphis. He boasts on the list of the plunder that it included 550 *maryannu*, 240 of their wives, 640 Canaanites, 232 royal sons, 323 royal daughters, 270 royal concubines, 2,214 horses, and 820 chariots.

Two years later Pharaoh launched his second campaign. The first place mentioned is Aphek, which is probably Aphek in Sharon. The next towns are Yaham and Socoh. The farthest site is Anaharath, which is also mentioned in the list of Thutmose III. After returning to Memphis, Amenhotep II lists his spoils as: 127 rulers of Retenu, 179 brothers of rulers, 3,600 *apiru*, 15,200 live Shasu, 36,300 Huru, 15,070 living Neges and 30,652 families; a total of 89,600 men and their goods, chariots of silver and gold, painted chariots of wood, and their weapons of warfare.²⁶³

The cities mentioned in the inscription of Amenhotep II and in this study are the following: Hazor, Megiddo, Lebo, Shemesh-edom, Aphek, and Achshaph.

The next Egyptian rulers were Thutmose IV (1398-1390 BCE), Amenhotep III (1390-1352 BCE) and Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten)

²⁶² ANET 246. Aharoni (1979,155), too, considers it possible that Amenhotep II marched as far as Ugarit.

²⁶³ See Simons 1937, 44-46, 129-130, ANET 245-248 and Hallo 2002, 18-23.

(1352-1336 BCE). Faced with the danger posed by the expanding Hittite empire Thutmosis IV endeavoured to establish good relations with the king of Mitanni. He succeeded in this by such measures as royal marriages. During the reign of Amenhotep III the period of peace with Mitanni continued and encouraged economic growth. The reign of Akhenaten was the famous Amarna period about which we find detailed information in the archives of Tell el-Amarna, first discovered in the 1870s. Akhenaten created a new cult of Aten, the sun-god, and built a new capital in honour of this god, Akhetaten.²⁶⁴ The Amarna letters are dealt with in the next chapter.

Papyrus Petersburg (Hermitage) 1116A

Papyrus Petersburg (Hermitage) 1116A is a papyrus first published by W. Golenischeff in 1913. It has been dated either to the second half of Thutmosis III's reign or to the time of Amenhotep II.²⁶⁵ The papyrus provides information concerning ethnic and social life in northern Canaan and Syria. There are several place-names mentioned in lines 68-78 of the text. The passage refers to a record of the rations distributed by the Egyptian palace officials to foreign envoys from eleven towns. The following names are identifiable: Megiddo, Chinnereth, Achshaph, Shimron, Ta'anach, Mishal, Sharon, Ashkelon and Hazor.²⁶⁶

Two victory stelae, the relief and the topographical list of Seti I

The second Pharaoh of Dynasty XIX, Seti I (or Sethos I) (1294-1279 BCE) attempted to reorganise the Empire after the Amarna period. As part of this project he conducted military campaigns against Canaan and the Hittites. In the first year of his reign Seti I led an expedition which has been recorded in a variety of ways. There are inscriptions on two victory stelae and in a relief in the temple of Amon in Karnak. There is also a topographical list.

A basalt stele found at Beth Shean mentions at least four cities by name: Beth Shean, Rehob, Hammath and Yenoam. All of them are

²⁶⁴ See e.g. Reeves 2001.

²⁶⁵ Epstein (1962, 49-56) calls the text Papyrus Hermitage 1116A and dates it to Thutmosis III's reign; Goren et al. (2004, 231) refer to it as Papyrus Petersburg 1116A, dating it to the time of Amenhotep II.

²⁶⁶ Epstein 1963, 49-50.

situated not far from Beth Shean. On another stele there is an inscription referring to *hapiru* from Mount Yarmuta who attacked the Asiatics of Rehem. The Pharaoh sent his troops to the land of Djahi (Canaan) and gained victory after two days. Yarmuta is perhaps to be associated with the Jarmut-Remeth located north-west of Beth Shean. A Karnak relief tells the story of a battle with the Shasu. In addition, some Asiatics are said to have cut down trees for the Pharaoh in the town of Qeder in the land of Henem. Likewise, Yenoam and the town of Canaan were conquered.

The topographical list of Seti I mentions a group of seventeen towns several times. Aharoni gives them Hebrew names and places them in the following order: Pehel, Hammath, Beth Shean, Yenoam, Acco, Gamma(dim), Ullaza, Tyre, Usu (Hosah?), Beth-anath, Gedor? (or Kedesh?), Kiriath-anab?, Hazor, and Raphia. The order does not form a logical route through the land of Canaan, but Aharoni placed the names on the map in an attempt to establish the route of the expedition. The starting-point is Raphia and the next stop is Ganaan, probably the town of Gaza. Although Megiddo is not mentioned in the list, Aharoni suggests that this is the city in which the troops divided into two or three groups. Some of the troops marched east to Beth Shean, Rehob, Pehel, Hammath and even Kirjath-anab, while others went north to Yenoam, Hazor, Kedesh and Beth-anath. Another main direction in which the troops travelled was to the coast, to Acco, Usu, Tyre and Ullaza.²⁶⁷

The reliefs, stelae and topographical list of Ramses II

Pharaoh Ramses II (1279-1213 BCE) was one of the greatest Pharaohs of the Egyptian New Kingdom. The first inscription referring to him is a text on a cliff near Nahr el-Kalb between Beirut and Byblos. It testifies to his having conducted an extensive military campaign as early as his fourth year of his reign. His most famous battle at Kadesh on the Orontes took place the following year. The report of this war is the longest description of a war written on Egyptian temple walls.

The starting point, as was customary, was Sile. Then the following places located in Lebanon are mentioned: Lebo, Arnem, Shabtuna and

²⁶⁷ Aharoni 1979, 164-169; see also Simons 1937, 52-63, 137-147, ANET 253-255, and Hallo 2000, 23-30.

Timna (the Taminta of Hittite sources). Ramses II boasted that this battle was his greatest triumph, but in fact he was not victorious. On the contrary, he was unable to conquer Kadesh, and moreover, Hittite sources describe their invasion of the Damascus region.

Later on Ramses II conducted several campaigns in Canaan in order to strengthen Egyptian authority, which had declined after the battle of Kadesh. In an inscription he says that he conquered Ashkelon. In his eighth year as Pharaoh he captured Kerepna in the mountainous area of Beth-anath, and Kanah, Merom and Deper in the land of Amurru (probably near Kadesh in Lebanon). Another relief mentions the conquest of Acco. A stele from the ninth year of Ramses II reign was found at Beth Shean. Another text found at Luxor mentions for the first time two Transjordanian sites, Moab and Dibon. The name of Dor is also mentioned.

The twenty-first year of Ramses II reign (c. 1259 BCE) was very important, because at that time a peace treaty was concluded between Egypt and the Hittites. There are reports of this from both empires. Later this alliance provided opportunities for royal marriages between these two countries. The Hittite king gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the Egyptian Pharaoh. The peace lasted until the collapse of the Hittite empire at the end of the 13th century BCE or the beginning of the 12th century BCE.²⁶⁸

The victory hymn of Merneptah

Ramses II was succeeded to the throne by Merneptah (1213-1203 BCE), who also carried out a campaign in Canaan. This has been documented in a black granite stele found in 1896 by Sir Flinders Petrie. This famous monument, also called the "Israel Stele", comes from the fifth year of Merneptah's reign (c. 1208 BCE).²⁶⁹ The text is a song of victory after his triumph over the Libyans, but some lines were added at the end celebrating his previous victory in Canaan. The following is a famous passage from the hymn:

²⁶⁸ Simons 64-77, 148-163, ANET 255-258, and Hallo 2000, 32-40.

²⁶⁹ Studies on the Merneptah Stele include Yurco 1986, 189-215, Bimson 1991, 3-29, Kitchen 1994, 71-76, Hasel 1994, 45-61, Görg 1997, 58-63, Whitelam 2000, 8-22, Hallo 2000, 40-41, Rainey 2001, 57-75, Hjelm & Thompson 2002, 3-18, and Kitchen 2004, 259-272.

The chieftains lie prostrate, saying: "Peace"
No one lifts his head among the Nine Bows.
Libya is captured, while Hatti is pacified.
Canaan is plundered, Ashkelon is carried off, and Gezer is captured.
Yenoam is made into non-existence;
Israel is wasted, its seed is not;
and Hurru has become a widow because of Egypt.
All lands united themselves in peace.
Those who went about are subdued by the king
of Upper and Lower Egypt...Merneptah.²⁷⁰

Of the places in the land of Canaan, Ashkelon²⁷¹ is located on the southern coastal plain, Gezer in the Shephelah, and Yenoam in the northern Jordan Valley. Consequently, the campaign may have reached at least the southern part of Galilee.

This text contains the only mention of Israel in ancient Egyptian sources. The reference to "Israel" has given rise to much discussion, likewise the expression "his seed is not". The name "Israel" does not have the determinative as do the other place-names in the text. The others have a determinative that gives a meaning of city-state/land/region. By contrast, "Israel" has a determinative relating to a people, a socio-ethnic entity. "Seed" has the usual meaning of grain or fruit. In some contexts it has the extended meaning of descendants or offspring.²⁷² According to Hasel, in this context, as compared to the three city-states, "Israel" is a type of agricultural society. Further, he states that this Israel does not seem to consist of a pastoral nomadic population.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ Hallo 2000, 41.

²⁷¹ Ashkelon is mentioned in Papyrus Petersburg 1116A as the only city in the southern part of the land of Canaan; see Epstein 1963, 49-56.

²⁷² See e.g. Görg 1997, 59, "Von der soziographischen Größe Israel wird in agrarischer und geprägter Terminologie geredet."

²⁷³ Hasel 1994, 45-61. Hasel (1994, 54) challenges our study by concluding his article, "Attempts to establish an archaeological continuity between the socioethnic entity Israel of the Merneptah stela, the settlement of the large population in the central hill country during the Iron Age, and monarchical Israel continues to challenge present and future attempts to document the history of Israel's origins."

Another text from the time of Merneptah speaks of an officer who arrived from “the Wells of Merneptah”, a place located in a mountainous area. According to Aharoni, this could be a reference to the well of Me-neptoah, “the waters of Neptoah”, which sounds like a place-name mentioned in Josh. 15:9 and 18:15. This place is located at Lifta, approximately five kilometres west of Old Jerusalem.²⁷⁴

Papyrus Anastasi I

Papyrus Anastasi I is a satirical letter from the end of the 13th century BCE (late IX Dynasty). A royal official called Hori received a letter from a scribe named Amen-em-Opet, and responded in a sarcastic tone. The papyrus contains many geographical names and, therefore, gives information relevant to the purpose of this study. The sites mentioned in the text are Byblos, Beirut, Sidon, Zareptah, Usu, Tyre, the River Litani, Acco and Achshaph etc. From the Galilee the names Hazor, Hammath, Yenoam and Adamim are mentioned. The writer also passes by Rehob, Beth Shean, the Brook Qina, Megiddo, Wadi Ara and Joppa. Several names occur in the following passage: “Pray, teach me about the appearance of Qiyen, let me know Rehob, explain Beth Shean and Tirqa-El. The stream of Jordan, how is it crossed? Let me know the way to pass Megiddo, which is above it.”²⁷⁵

Ramses III’s battles against the Sea Peoples

Ramses III (1184-1152 BCE) was the second ruler of Dynasty XX.²⁷⁶ In the eighth year of his reign, he fought against the Sea Peoples, and this battle has been documented in the temple of Medinet Habu at Thebes. The Pharaoh tells of the great strength of the enemy but also boasts of his total victory. Here is a passage from that report:

“The foreign countries made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were removed and scattered in the fray. No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alashiya on, being cut off at [one time]. A camp [was set up] in one place in Amor. They isolated its people, and its land was like that which has never

²⁷⁴ Aharoni 1979, 184.

²⁷⁵ ANET 475-479, Hallo 2002, 9-14. The Egyptian text is found in: Fischer-Elfert 1992.

²⁷⁶ ANET 260-263.

come into being. They were coming forward toward Egypt, while the flame was prepared before them. Their confederation was the Philistines, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denye(n), and Weshesh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the lands as far as the circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: 'Our plans will succeed!'"²⁷⁷

A few lines later Pharaoh continues:

"Those who reached my frontier, their seed is not, their heart and their soul are finished forever and ever. Those who came forward together on the sea, the full flame was in front of them at the river-mouths, while a stockade of lances surrounded them on the shore. They were dragged in, enclosed, and prostrated on the beach, killed, and made into heaps from tail to head. Their ships and their goods were as if fallen into water."²⁷⁸

The battle with the Sea Peoples was one step towards the rapid weakening of Egyptian control over Canaan. However, a degree of Egyptian influence continued in the coastal areas, despite Philistine migration to that region.²⁷⁹

The inscription of Shishak

The New Kingdom came to an end with the last Pharaoh of the Ramessid period, Ramses XI (1098-1069 BCE). The following period is called the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BCE). For the purposes of our study, the only Pharaoh that requires mentioning is the founder of the 21st Dynasty, Sheshonq I or Shishak (945-924 BCE). Shishak was the first ruler for hundreds of years whose background was not Egyptian by birth. His parents were Libyans. Therefore, in his first years he concentrated on consolidating his status as king. He secured all the leading positions in Thebes for his family, appointing, for example, his second son to the post of High Priest of Amun. He also

²⁷⁷ ANET 262.

²⁷⁸ ANET 262-263.

²⁷⁹ Weinstein 1998, 188.

rededicated an old statue of Thutmose III at Thebes. Sheshonq I renewed old Egyptian links with Byblos and may have marched to Nubia to open trade relations to the south. He is known to have conducted a military campaign in Palestine.²⁸⁰

A long topographical list of Canaanite place-names from the reign of Pharaoh Shishak has been preserved on the southern side of the Bubastite Portal of the main temple of Amon at Karnak.²⁸¹ The campaign of Shishak is also mentioned in 1 Kings 14:25-28 and 2 Chronicles 12:1-12. This took place in the last quarter of the 10th century BCE, usually dated to 925 BCE.²⁸²

It is commonly accepted that the list of Shishak is based on historical fact, in other words that this Egyptian Pharaoh directed a military campaign against his northern neighbours. It is also "one of the strongest connections between the Bible and other ancient Near Eastern evidence".²⁸³ The stele erected by Shishak at Megiddo also confirms this historicity.²⁸⁴

The list of Shishak seems to indicate that the principal places along the route of the expedition were situated in the Negev area and in the northern Kingdom of Israel. There are a total of 150 names in the list. The first 65 are towns in central Palestine and the following 85 are in the Negev. In addition, there is a third group of about 30 names, but only the last five in the southern coastal region have been preserved.

²⁸⁰ Kitchen 1986, 287-302, Currid 1997 174-180.

²⁸¹For studies of Shishak's list, see Noth 1938, 277-304, B. Mazar 1957, 57-66, Aharoni 1979, 323-330, Herrman 1964, 55-79, Kitchen 1986, 432-447, Currid 1997, 172-202, Finkelstein 2002, 109-135, and Wilson 2005. See also Kitchen 2003c, 121-125. The text with its transliteration, notes and a schematic diagram is found in Simons 1937, 178-186.

²⁸² Finkelstein (2002, 110-111) states that this campaign could have taken place almost any time in the mid- to late 10th century BCE. Wilson (2005,1) dates it "around the year 926 B.C.E."). According to Shortland, the best suggestion is 917 BCE; see Mazar 2004, 1.

²⁸³ Currid 1997, 173. See also Kitchen (1986, 432), "The great topographical list of Shoshenk I at Karnak is a document of the greatest possible value for the history" und Görg (1997, 91), "Als Quelle topographischen Wissens über das Palästina des 10. Jahrhunderts v.Ch. ist die Schoschenkliste gleichwohl unersetzlich und weiteren Detailstudien dringend anempfohlen." On the other hand, Wilson 2005, 97-99, argues that the Karnak inscription does not preserve a reliable historical account of Shishak's campaign, but, interestingly, the biblical account does. According to him, it is probable that Shishak attacked Jeroboam who was his ally but attacked Jerusalem to help Jeroboam. His argument is based on his hypothesis that the pharaonic reliefs were not depicting stories relating to the military campaigns but were connected with religious curses on all enemies, real or assumed.

²⁸⁴ Currid 1997, 184-186. See this study on Megiddo (pages 175-182).

Each town is pictured as a human figure with a slave-rope. Most of the slaves have beards, long hair, and headbands, signs of Asiatic foreigners.²⁸⁵

The list of the Negev settlements gives more place names from the Negev area than any other ancient inscription. Unfortunately, only a very few towns mentioned in the list can be identified.²⁸⁶ 65 names in the three main sections of the list describe sites along the Via Maris and areas in the central hill country, the Jordan Valley and the Jezreel Valley. Of these 65 names, 35 can be read and studied. The possible route of Shishak's campaign has also been the subject of debate.

The list of Shishak is one of the main focal points of this study. The order of the route is studied in chapter 4.2.1. and the archaeology of the sites in chapter 4.2.2.

3.2 The Amarna Letters

The archive of Tell el-Amarna contains 381 clay tablets from the palace of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) (1379-1362 BCE) written in Akkadian cuneiform script.²⁸⁷ For this study the reign of Amenhotep II and this group of ancient texts are important for several reasons. Firstly, the Amarna Letters give us information about Egyptian hegemony at the sites where these letters were found. The Egyptian administration in Canaan, which was established during the reign of Thutmosis III, still dominated in Late Bronze Age II. Secondly, the Amarna period itself was brief and its pottery distinctive in comparison with other periods. Therefore it helps us in dating archaeological levels containing this material. Thirdly, it includes a great number of Canaanite geographical names from Late Bronze Age II. They are of great assistance in identifying ancient cities mentioned in the topographical lists studied in this dissertation.

In the 14th century BCE Egyptian control in Canaan still dominated, although slight signs of its weakening were visible. The Amarna Letters mainly consist of correspondence between the Canaanite kings

²⁸⁵ See Currid 1997, 183.

²⁸⁶ See Aharoni 1979, 328 and Kitchen 1986, 296.

²⁸⁷ Rainey 2002, 46. The old principal editions of the text of the Amarna Letters are Knudtzon 1908 and Mercer 1939. A supplementary edition is Rainey 1978. In the edition of Moran (1987, xv) the number of letters is 382.

and the Egyptian rulers. The former often ask for help to suppress rebellions in their region. One group causing internal unrest were the *hapiru*. This indicates the great dependence of the Canaanites on the Egyptians.²⁸⁸ It was a strange phenomenon that almost all Canaanite cities were unfortified in that period and this has been seen as a sign of the Egyptian policy. It could “weaken the power of the semi-independent city-states and prevent uprisings and revolts.”²⁸⁹

Tell el-Amarna is a single-period site and therefore very important from an archaeological point of view.²⁹⁰ The entire period of Late Bronze IIA includes the Amarna age and the latter part of the 18th Dynasty (according to Mazar about 1400-1300 BCE). The previous period is Late Bronze IB from Thutmose III to the Amarna age, and the following one Late Bronze IIB, which is parallel with the 19th Dynasty.²⁹¹ Little Egyptian pottery from the Amarna period has been found in Palestine. Tell el-Ajjul has yielded a few fragments. The decoration consists of leaf patterns, mainly lotus leaves, painted in bright colours, mostly blue, red, white, black and yellow.²⁹² Mycenaean IIIA2 pottery is also an indicator of the Amarna age.²⁹³

The main interest of the study lies in topographical and geographical questions. The Land of Canaan consisted of smaller or larger city-states which remained under Egyptian control. The main cities in the Shephelah were Gezer, Lachish, and probably Gath. The coastal plain was more densely occupied than the inner areas of the country. The Amarna Letters, more than the Egyptian topographical lists, catalogue more towns in the Hill Country areas than on the Coastal Plain. The main centres were Jerusalem and Shechem. They ruled a much broader area than the cities on the Coastal Plain and the Shephelah. The dominant city-states in the northern part of the country were Hazor and Ashtaroth. Altogether the Amarna Letters

²⁸⁸ Aharoni 1979, 170, 176. See also Rainey 2003, 169.

²⁸⁹ Gonen 1984, 70.

²⁹⁰ Amiran 1969, 124, Rainey 2002, 46. The time span of the Amarna archive was about thirty years or perhaps as little as fifteen years (Moran 1987, xxxiv).

²⁹¹ Mazar 1990, 239.

²⁹² Amiran 1969, 187.

²⁹³ Stubbings 1951, 90.

mention more than 60 names of towns in the land of Canaan and in Syria.²⁹⁴

It is noteworthy that concerning Jerusalem the Amarna Letters give a totally different picture from the archaeological excavations. According to this scriptural evidence, Jerusalem was the seat of a king nominated by the Pharaoh. The king lived in a palace, and an Egyptian garrison of about 50 soldiers was stationed there. Archaeologically we have very little data from that time.²⁹⁵ This shows us that “the absence of evidence is no evidence of absence”.²⁹⁶

The cities in our study, mentioned in the Amarna Letters, are the following: Hazor, Megiddo, Acco, Kumidi, Kadesh, Achshaph, Taanach, Beth Shean, Joppa, Gath, Gezer, Ashtaroth, Shimron, Shunem, Lebo, Damascus, Tob, Gath-padalla, Rubute, Lachish, and Jerusalem.²⁹⁷

3.3 The biblical text

The Book of Joshua

The Book of Joshua describes the invasion, conquest, and division of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites. Literarily it is a continuation of the theme and style of Deuteronomy. Usually it is classified as part of the Deuteromistic History Work (the biblical books of Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, and 1-2 Kings).²⁹⁸ It is still debated whether there were one or more Deuteronomistic writers, and the exact date of the composition of the work is uncertain. Usually it is dated to the 7th to 6th centuries BCE. In addition, it is commonly agreed that the work includes older, pre-Deuteronomistic traditions - how old, it is very

²⁹⁴ Aharoni 1979, 172-175.

²⁹⁵ Na'aman 1996, 17-27.

²⁹⁶ Rainey 1996, 12 uses this phrase in connection with Late Bronze Age archaeology and the Amarna Letters.

²⁹⁷ Hess (1989, 209-216) has studied languages beyond the personal names in the Amarna Letters and found seven language families (Anatolian, Egyptian, Hurrian, Indo-Aryan, West Semitic, Kassite, and Akkadian) represented in the etymologies of the names. He lists the names of the city rulers and compares them with the geographical areas in the country. The following names are in our list: Acco, Achshaph, Damascus, and Megiddo with Indo-Aryan linguistic affiliation, Gath-padalla, Gaza, Ashtaroth, Hazor, Shimron, and Shechem with West Semitic affiliation, Kumidi of Egyptian derivation, and Jerusalem with a Hurrian connection.

²⁹⁸ See e.g. Smend 1978, 110-125.

difficult to know.²⁹⁹ The historical value of the Book of Joshua has also been a controversial topic. Some scholars emphasise its folkloristic and ahistorical nature.³⁰⁰ Others consider it important that the book relates historical events, although opinions differ in several details.³⁰¹

The Book of Joshua contains a number of conquest narratives. In chapters 6-8 the Israelites fight against Jericho and Ai. Chapter 9 includes the Gibeonite deception and a treaty between four cities, Gibeon, Kephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath Jearim. Chapter 10 describes the battle in the Shephelah and the conquest of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir. The kings of Jarmuth and Jerusalem are also mentioned among the forces uniting against Israel. In addition, the king of Gezer is described as providing help for Lachish. Chapter 11 moves the scene to Northern Galilee. The kings of Hazor, Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph make an alliance against the Israelites and a battle takes place at the Waters of Merom after which Joshua and his people attack Hazor and burn it. The conquests of Jericho and Ai are narrated in detail but the later conquests read more like a catalogue of the other battles. Chapter 12 is a different kind of list and seems to be a summary of all the conquered cities in the country. Accordingly, it has been pointed out that chapters 9-12 form a distinct literary unit, which has many similarities with ancient Near Eastern military inscriptions.³⁰²

The other extensive city lists are found in chapters 13-21, where the division of the country between the tribes of Israel is described. This is beyond the scope of this study, but some words are in order here regarding the dating of these chapters. There are three main opinions concerning the date of the tribe lists. Firstly, the traditional view held by Alt, Noth and Albright was that the boundary lists or at least parts of them may originate from the pre-monarchic period, although they include later traditions. Hess has supported this view.³⁰³ Secondly, some have pointed out that the best dating for these chapters is the period of the United Monarchy, because this was the only time in the

²⁹⁹ See e.g. Buttler 1983, xx-xxiii, Boling & Wright 1988, 37-72, Fritz 1994, 2-9.

³⁰⁰ E.g. Nelson 1997, 3-4.

³⁰¹ Woudstra 1985, 25-26. See also Butler 1983, xxxix-xlii and Hess 1996, 56-62.

³⁰² Hoffmeier 1994, 165-179, Younger 1990, 197-237, and Walton 1994, 181-190.

³⁰³ Hess 1994, 191-205. For a strong criticism of Hess, see de Vos 2002, 309.

history of Israel when it was actual historical reality.³⁰⁴ Thirdly, de Vos has studied the border descriptions of the tribe of Judah and come to the conclusion that the account developed over a long period of time, but that the core is from the 7th century, the time of Manasseh.³⁰⁵ For this study the question of the dating of the Book of Joshua is not essential. The hypothesis of the Deuteronomistic History Work is accepted, but modified by the belief that there are older traditions behind it.

Chapters 10-12 are the main focus of this study, because all the cities described in chapters 10-11 are also included in the list in 12: 9-24, and this list is taken as the starting-point. However, there is one obvious discrepancy in the list, which is the fact that it includes cities which are said to be unconquered by Joshua in other passages of the book. These are at least Jerusalem, Gezer, Taanach, Megiddo, and Dor (Josh. 15:63; 16:10; 17:11-12). Passages such as Josh. 11:22; 13:1-5, and 23:12 also mention that not all the country was settled by the Israelites.

When reading the corresponding account in the Book of Judges more cities are found in the group of "unconquered cities" (Judg. 1:21, 27-33: Jerusalem, Beth Shean, Taanach, Dor, Ibleam, Megiddo, Gezer, Kitron, Nahalol, Acco, Sidon, Ahlab, Aczib, Helbah, Aphek, Rehob, Beth Shemesh, and Beth Anath). Both Joshua and Judges give a coherent picture of the areas which remained unoccupied in the time of Joshua and the Judges. The Hill Country (excluding Jerusalem) seems to have been inhabited, but the valleys and the Coastal Plain were uninhabited (Josh. 13:1-5; 17:11-12, Judg. 1:21-33).

On the other hand, Joshua specifically gives another picture of the whole country as having been settled. The summaries that give this impression are in Josh. 11:16, 17, 23 and 21:43-45. The list in chapter 12 is also this kind of review. It is significant that in the middle of the first summary, in Josh. 11:18, the text reads, "Joshua made war for a long time with all those kings." This tells us that the writer of the book was aware of the long duration of the settlement of the country.

In this study the list of Josh. 12:9-24 is taken and studied as regards the archaeological significance of all the sites mentioned in that

³⁰⁴ Hess 1994, 194-196.

³⁰⁵ de Vos 2002, 318-331.

summary. The question is whether the cities in the list were occupied at the end of Late Bronze Age II and the beginning of Iron Age I. Also studied is the question of whether there are any differences in material culture between the cities in the lists of “conquered cities” compared with the cities in the lists of “unconquered cities”.

The Book of Judges

The Book of Judges is a continuation of the Book of Joshua, because it begins in a similar way. While Joshua commences with the words “And it happened after the death of Moses”, the first words of Judges are “And it happened after the death of Joshua”. The book portrays the situation in Israel after the settlement in Canaan. Its main message is that time and again God’s people deserted Him and in consequence Yahweh’s wrath was directed against the tribes of Israel, but time and again God sent men (and one woman) to deliver his people. These deliverers “judged” or “saved” Israel.

Boling divides the tradition history of the Book of Judges into four main stages: First, the oldest composition of individual narrative units and the formation of an early Israelite epic. Second, a didactic collection of such stories completed by the eighth century. Third, incorporation of the collection in a seventh century Deuteronomistic historical work, and finally, a sixth-century updating to produce the final or Deuteronomic edition of the same books.³⁰⁶ According to Boling, the basic text is chiefly premonarchic.³⁰⁷ He has found many similarities between the Book of Judges and the Amarna Letters, the tablets of Ugarit and even with the much earlier Mari texts. For these reasons, Boling regards the contents of the stories as historical.³⁰⁸

The question of the dating of Judges is of no great concern for the purpose of this study. As part of the Deuteronomistic History Work its latest version may come from the 7th or 6th centuries BCE, but it seems to contain earlier traditions, as does the Book of Joshua. Our main interest lies in the city lists in Judg. 1:18-36, which complement the picture gained from Joshua, especially concerning the “unconquered

³⁰⁶ Boling 1985, 30, 31.

³⁰⁷ Boling 1985, 35.

³⁰⁸ See Boling 1985, 12-18, 32.

cities".³⁰⁹ Both books reveal the incomplete settlement of the country, although Joshua has a view of the entire conquest of the Promised Land. In Judges the central topic is the incomplete conquest. Several foreign peoples attack Israel, and the Israelites living among the Canaanite tribes are in constant danger of losing their religious identity. The main opponents of the Israelites are the Philistines (the Samson narratives).

Judges 1 contains some inconsistencies in its conquest narratives. On the one hand, Jerusalem is conquered by the Judeans (1:8) but on the other hand, left unconquered by the Benjaminites (1:21). In addition, according to the Masoretic Text, Judah is said to have conquered the Coastal Plain cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron (1:18), but according to the next verse was unable to drive out the people of the plains (1:19). The Septuagint, however, reads verse 1:18 in the opposite way: "Judah did not take Gaza... Ashkelon...Ekron." The text of the LXX could be a correction, because it is consistent with the next verse, or it may have retained the original form of the text.³¹⁰ These inconsistencies may also reflect different traditions behind the text.³¹¹

It has been considered important to note that the difference between the conquered and unconquered areas is geographically the same in Joshua and Judges. One of the main passages in Judges is 1:19: "The Lord was with the men of Judah. They took possession of the hill country, but they were unable to drive the people from the plains, because they had iron chariots." This division between the Coastal Plain and the Hill Country is essential for our study.

³⁰⁹ Boling 1985, 66: "Judg 1 is intended neither as a rival account of the conquest period nor as a corrective to the normative statement."

³¹⁰ See e.g. Soggin (1981, 23): "'Not' is missing in MT and Vg, but is to be added with LXX." On the contrary, Gray (1986, 239) sees the mention of Gaza, Ashkelon and Ekron as an anachronistic note reflecting the time of Josiah. Hamlin (1990, 35) considers the possibility that this tradition originally referred to an attack on the pre-Philistine Canaanites who lived on the plain. But the mention of only three of the five Philistine cities may mean, according to him, that these three were the only ones still in existence at the time of the writing of the book.

³¹¹ Boling 1985, 63: "It is certainly not a unified literary composition, but is built up of preformed narrative units together with archival details and notices of various sorts."

3.4 Archaeological sites in Israel

3.4.1 The historical setting

The Late Bronze Age (c. 1550-1200 BCE) in Canaan was a time of Egyptian domination. Instead of being occupied by a single nation, the area was divided between several Canaanite city-states. Besides Egypt, two northern powers, the Mitanni and Hittite Empires, attempted to extend their territory towards the Land of Canaan. Subsequently, internal unrest was rife.³¹²

The beginning of the Iron Age was a time of major changes in the Near East, with great empires and cities collapsing. This period marked the end of the Mycenaean civilization, the Hittite Empire and the city of Ugarit. It is difficult to know the reasons for these dramatic changes. Various natural causes and mass migrations have been suggested, including the mass movements of the Sea Peoples. The Canaanite city-state system was replaced by new ethnic entities such as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Arameans, Philistines and Israelites.³¹³

The arrival of the Sea Peoples altered the ethnic situation in the Near East. The Egyptian Empire began to weaken and the coastal area of the Land of Canaan was settled by the new comers. During the past few decades archaeological excavations have unearthed a great amount of evidence concerning the material culture of the Philistines.³¹⁴ Egyptian influence diminished but did not cease because trade relations with the Philistine coastal areas continued.³¹⁵

The demographic change in the land of Canaan at the beginning of Iron Age I was great. A large number of new inhabitants settled in the inner areas of the country. These new settlements were relatively

³¹² See e.g. Gonen 1984, 61-73, Mazar 1990, 232-238, and Gonen 1992, 211-257.

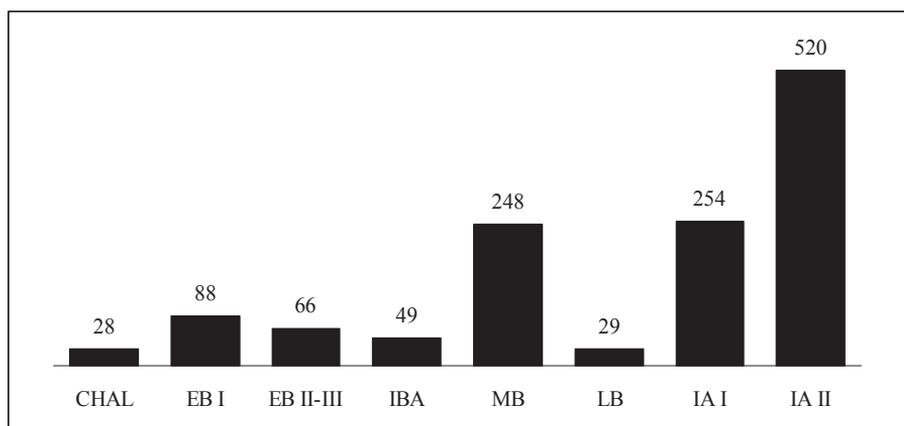
³¹³ A number of different theories concerning this major crisis are catalogued by Hasel 1998, 2. See also Morris 2003, 8: "In all the various scenarios and explanations offered for this widespread catastrophe - including natural causes such as drought and famine - the most consistent element involves the relocation of people in large numbers and the re-formation of social groups in new locales and new forms of communities."

³¹⁴ See e.g. Dothan 1982. Silberman (1998, 268-275) and Sherrat (1998, 292-313) warn against overemphasizing the influence of the Sea Peoples, but they, too, agree on its historical significance.

³¹⁵ Weinstein 1998, 191-192.

small and most of them were located in the Central Hill Country. The sites were unfortified and had no public buildings. Around the houses were small silos dug into the ground, typical of periods when habitation is in its initial phase, and the storage of grain must be arranged.³¹⁶ The same kind of cultural change also took place in the Transjordan.³¹⁷

In Iron Age II the number of settlements in the Hill Country increased considerably. From 254 Iron Age I Hill Country sites it grew to 520 Iron Age II sites (see Table 2).³¹⁸ It is obvious that in spite of the growing number of sites the same cultural phenomenon continued in the area. In addition, new fortified cities were built and large public buildings began to appear. From this time we have many more written sources. This first phase (Iron Age IIA) is termed from the biblical point of view the period of the United Monarchy.³¹⁹



*Table 2. Number of sites in the Hill Country from the Chalcolithic Period to Iron Age II*³²⁰

³¹⁶ Finkelstein 1988, 29-31.

³¹⁷ See e.g. McGovern 1986, 335-344.

³¹⁸ Finkelstein 1994, 154. The rural population seems first to decrease at the end of Iron Age I and then to increase and become part of an urbanized state; see Faust 2003, 147-161.

³¹⁹ See e.g. Mazar 1990, 368-402.

³²⁰ Finkelstein 1994, 154.

Excursus: Egyptian monuments found in the Late Bronze Age Canaan

It is possible to see immediately that Egyptian domination in Canaan was a reality in the Late Bronze Age by visiting the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. One small, round room, the South Octagon, contains twelve Egyptian discoveries made in the Land of Canaan. Two of them are large basalt monuments from the time of the Pharaohs Seti I and Ramses III, the former a text and the latter a statue. The Pharaohs represented by these twelve items are: Tutankhamon, Seti I, Ramses II, Seti II, Ramses III and Ramses VI. They cover the period from the late 14th century to the late 12th century BCE. The sites where these discoveries were made are Beth Shean, Tell el-'Ajjul, Tell el-Farah (south) and Megiddo.

The items are the following:

1. A gold ring bearing the throne name of Thutankhamon, found at Tell el-'Ajjul.
2. A basalt stele of Seti I, found at Beth Shean.
3. A serpentine cylinder seal bearing the throne name of Ramses II.
4. Fragments of a pottery jar bearing the name of Seti II, found at Tell el-Farah (south).
5. A basalt statue of Ramses III, found at Beth Shean.
6. Fragment of a door lintel bearing the name of Ramses III, found at Beth Shean.
7. Fragment of a door jamb from the time of Ramses III, found at Beth Shean.
8. A bronze stand (for a statue) bearing the name of Ramses VI, found at Megiddo.
9. A stele of the goddess Anat, from the 12th century BCE.
10. A granite statue of a seated man, found at Tell el-'Ajjul.
11. Fragment of a diorite statuette of a woman, found at Megiddo in a Late Bronze temple, style from the 12th Dynasty.
12. Fragment of a serpentine statuette of a woman, found at Tell el-'Ajjul, in the Late Bronze cemetery, made during the 12th Dynasty.

3.4.2 Excavations and surveys

The difference between the excavated sites and the sites where only surveys have been conducted is essential for our study. Although in past decades large-scale surveys have increased enormously our knowledge of the history of Palestine in general, they cannot give very exact data with regard to every single site and all the periods represented.

The surveys have already covered large section of the country and the work still continues. The publications of these surveys are to be found in the series *Archaeological Survey of Israel*. Approximately half of Israel has been surveyed, and for about one-third of the country the maps have been published by the Israel Antiquities Authority. Good summaries of these surveys are available in the books mentioned above by Finkelstein (1988) and Finkelstein & Na'aman (1994). In the next chapter the main results of these books are briefly referred to from the point of view of Iron Age I.

All the surveys give good reviews of the main phases of settlement of the country. Thousands of sites have been numbered and studied. Numbers for the sites of different ancient periods found in the area in question are available. One disadvantage of the surveys is their random nature. It is possible to find all the important phases of occupation at the site but it is just as possible that some levels remain undiscovered. Consequently, if pottery is found from a particular period it is assumed that the site was inhabited during the period in question. However, if no remains are found, it does not indicate for definite that the site was unsettled. A good example is Late Bronze Age Jerusalem, as was mentioned previously. The Amarna Letters prove that there was settlement in the city but archaeological findings are almost non-existent.³²¹

Shimron is another example. An exceptionally large amount of textual evidence (Execration texts, Thutmosis III, Papyrus Petersburg, Amenhotep III, and Amarna Letters) mentions this city, and it is clear that it must have been inhabited during the Late Bronze Age. However, the surveys at Tell Shimron have given different results. The former opinion was that the site was occupied in the Late Bronze

³²¹ Rainey 1996.

Age, but the following survey (part of the project of *Archaeological Survey of Israel*) seemed to demonstrate that there was no settlement at that time. However, the latest research has found some Late Bronze Age remains.³²²

Excavations have been carried out in most of the ancient ruins in Israel. The stratigraphy of the sites gives us the relative dating of each levels of occupation: the lower level is older than the level above it. Moreover, pottery analysis provides a relative dating. This can be subdivided into cross-dating and sequence dating. The former is in question if we find similar vessels from different sites. Then it may be concluded that they are possibly contemporaneous. The latter involves ordering items in a series according to their decoration or style. This kind of seriation dating is to be anchored to a known starting-point or ending point.³²³

There are a variety of different methods for obtaining absolute (or chronometric) dating. The most common is radiocarbon dating, which can be used on organic material e.g. wood, bone, shell or plants. Ceramic radiocarbon dating is possible if the pottery contains at least 1% organic material. Otherwise archaeomagnetism or thermoluminescence dating are better tools. Petrographic methods may also be helpful when studying the origins of clay used in pottery vessels.³²⁴

In this study the excavated sites and the surveyed sites were placed in different categories and in third category was included “others”, which were neither excavated nor surveyed. The first group is the most important and has been studied more carefully. Naturally, there are differences between the excavated sites as concerns the age and accuracy of the excavation work. Similarly, some surveys are new and exact, while others are old and possibly not as reliable. The starting-points are those sites, which are most representative of the goals of the study. The study, therefore, commences at Hazor (Thutmosis III and Joshua), and Megiddo (Shishak).

³²² See this study, pages 144-145.

³²³ See e.g. Rice 1987, 435-438.

³²⁴ Rice 1987, 438-445.

The excavated sites in this study are the following:

Thutmosis III: Hazor, Acco, Chinnereth, Kumidi, Kadesh, Laish/Dan, Achshaph, Taanach, Aphek, Beth Shean, Megiddo, Joppa, Gath, Gezer, Jokneam, Ophrah/Afula, and Anaharath.

Shishak: Megiddo, Arad, Taanach, Beth Shean Rehob, Gezer, Tirzah, Succoth, Gaza, Migdal, and Gibeon.

Joshua (“conquered cities”): Hazor, Lachish, Bethel, Debir, Tirzah, Eglon, Hormah, Hebron, Jarmuth, Jericho, Ai, and Arad.

Joshua (“unconquered cities”): Megiddo, Jerusalem, Gezer, Dor, Taanach, Jokneam, Aphek, Achshaph, Kedesh, and Dan.

The surveyed sites are the following:

Thutmosis III: Ashtaroth, Shimron, Raphon, Shunem, Mishal/T. Regev, Ibleam, Allamelech/T. en Nahl, Socoh, Gibbethon/T. Malat, Rabbah, Kishion/T. el Ajjul, Helkath/T. Qashis, Lebo-hamath, Adamim/Kh. et-Tell, Shemesh-Edom/T. Qarnei Hittin, and Lod.

Shishak: Aruna, Borim, Gath-Padalla/Jett, Yaham, Shunem, Penuel, Mahanaim, Adam, Zemaraim, Socoh, Rubute, Beth-Horon, Kiriathaim/T. el-Azar, Aijalon/Yalo, Raphia/T. Rafah, and Laban/T. Abu Suleimeh.

Joshua (“conquered cities”): Tappuah, Hephher/T. el-Muhaffar, Madon/T. Qarnei Hittin, Makkedah/Kh. el-Qom, and Libnah/T. Bornat.

4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE SITES

4.1 Thutmosis III's list

4.1.1 The nature of the list

Thutmosis III conducted several campaigns in Canaan and at least one of them (the eighth campaign of his 33rd year) reached the River Euphrates. The one best documented is his first campaign to Megiddo in 23rd year of his reign. From the many documents the principal topographical list of the conquered Canaanite and southern Syrian cities – all together 119 names – is the focus of our analysis in this section 4.1. This text has been preserved in two different versions and is also included in a third much longer version, which contains 231 new names from northern Syria as far as the Euphrates. The study concentrates on the names in versions a and b, which contain Canaanite toponyms – which indeed reflect a good knowledge of local topographical and geographical conditions.³²⁵ The place-names in northern Syria or those beyond the Euphrates, which are mentioned in version c are not of relevance. The important question for our purposes is what is the relationship between Pharaoh's expeditions recorded in his annals and this principal topographical list of 119 names. When were these names included in the list and what was the purpose of such a list?

The introductory words in these lists indicate that the principal list of 119 names is in some way connected with the Pharaoh's first campaign to Megiddo. The introduction of versions a and c is as follows:

“Roster of the foreign countries of Upper Retenu which his Majesty shut up in the town of vile Megiddo, and whose children His Majesty carried off as living captives to the slum in Karnak, on his first victorious campaign, as his father had ordained, viz. Amun who led him by good roads.”

³²⁵ Redford 2003, 44.

Version b introduces the text in the following words:

“All the difficult lands of the remotest parts of Asia whom His Majesty carried off as living captives... and which had never been transversed by any other kings except His Majesty. The name of a brave [lies in what he has accomplished], and will never be expunged in this land [for ever].”³²⁶

Assuming that the list mainly describes Thutmose III's first campaign to Megiddo, one must be able to explain why there are so many sites located north of Megiddo. For example, Kadesh is included in the list and this city was not conquered by the Egyptian army before the sixth campaign. On the other hand, there is a possibility that Kadesh in the list may also refer to Kedesh in Galilee. In that case, the cities beyond Megiddo could have been taken by the task forces or “flying columns”, or the list in fact includes cities conquered during the later campaigns of Thutmose.³²⁷

Redford rejects the idea of flying columns saying that such an “army day-book” where someone other than the king could give reports from the battles did not exist in Egyptian documents.³²⁸ Nevertheless, Redford acknowledges that this “army day-book” theory might explain geographical names and the illogical sequence of the routes.³²⁹ Kitchen, on the other hand, has pointed out that the strategy of flying columns really was in use during the Egyptian New Kingdom. These task forces conducted their own battles but accredited them to the king.³³⁰ Accordingly, it is possible that such “army day-books” lie behind the topographical list of Thutmose III. As far as the purpose of this study is concerned, the problem does not need to be solved as to whether the topographical list of Thutmose is related to the first campaign with the flying columns or not. There is always a relevant possibility to suggest that this topographical list is the result of the first and also the later campaigns, which Pharaoh

³²⁶ Redford 1982, 56.

³²⁷ Noth 1938a, 26-65, Na'aman 1994b, 183-184, Morris 2005, 117.

³²⁸ Redford (2003, 44-45) explains that the names in the lists must have been known before the campaigns, because “they were not simply heard by the recording scribe on the lips of the besieged head-men as they emerged from the gate of Megiddo, or in the mouth of the dying as another fortified town crashed to ruin.”

³²⁹ Redford 1982, 57-58.

³³⁰ Kitchen 1986, 444. See another example of a task force in Faulkner 1946, 40.

directed towards Canaan. In that case, the comparison between the information given in the topographical list and archaeological evidence is essentially the same. There is no principal methodological difference as to whether cities mentioned in the list were conquered by Thutmosis in his first campaign or his later campaigns. The aim of this section 4.1 is to test in which way the archaeological evidence can provide support for the claim of Thutmosis in the topographical list.

Scholars have also discussed the order of the names in the list. One attractive suggestion has been that the names reflect the administrative areas in Canaan. The theory of an administrative list is presented by Yeivin and Aharoni.³³¹ Aharoni adheres to the Amarna Letters and divides the roster into ten regions. These are: Southern Lebanese Beqa'a, Damascus and its vicinity, Bashan, the Northern Jordan Valley, the Plains of Jezreel and Acco, the Coastal Plain and the Sharon, the Judean Hills and the Shephelah, the Ephraimite Hill Country, Northern Lebanese Beqa'a and Upper Galilee. According to him, the first four belong to the district of Kumidi, the next four to the district of Gaza, and the latter two to Sumur. According to Aharoni, the administrative division corresponds to the three commissioner's centres in the Amarna Letters.³³² The problem with Aharoni's theory is that although the list of the names may reflect political areas their sequence in the list is not logical for this theory.³³³

Another theory explaining the order of the names in the list is the view that it is a compilation of well-known itineraries. This theory has been suggested by Ronald Redford. The advantage of this hypothesis is that it provides an explanation for the names of several geographical names in the list, such as spring, wadi, mountain, and valley. Redford argues, moreover, that the accounts of Thutmosis III's Annals and the topographical list give conflicting data concerning the first campaign. The topographical list does not mention the first two, important sites, Sile and Gaza, on the journey from Egypt to

³³¹ Yeivin 1950, 51-62, Aharoni 1979, 152-166. Actually, Aharoni (1979, 156) combines these two views saying that the list "must have been composed after Thutmose's first campaign which culminated in the victory beside Megiddo."

³³² Aharoni 1979, 152-166.

³³³ Aharoni (1979, 164) has catalogued the regions into three districts but the picture is not coherent. In Kumidi there are sites numbers 3-11, 12-20, 21-30, 31-34, and 55-56, in Gaza numbers 2, 35-54, 57-71, 103-106, and 107-117, and in Sumur numbers 1, 72-79, 80-102.

Megiddo.³³⁴ Redford tries to prove his theory by searching for an itinerary on the eastern side of Jordan.³³⁵ This theory has been strongly criticised by Na'aman.³³⁶

Obviously, it is not essential for the study to solve this problem, as to whether the names mentioned in this topographical list are due to the administrative or itinerary theories. The most important point is that the list reflects the battle plan of the first campaign of Thutmose III and apparently also a summary of several later campaigns. It is noteworthy that in the introductory verses of version b, Megiddo is absent and is replaced with "the remotest parts of Asia". According to Redford, the text "might better have glossed the scene of version c, on the opposite (north) face of the 7th Pylon, which does indeed contain the "Naharin' toponyms."³³⁷ "The Naharin toponyms" belong to the text from Thutmose III's 8th campaign against the king of Mitanni at the Euphrates River.³³⁸ The two different headings of the list may reflect the fact that the Megiddo battle was the most decisive war in the country, but together with other campaigns, particularly the eighth one, the Pharaoh became the real ruler over the entire Levant. This is also the view of Kitchen, who emphasises that versions a and b can be dated to the year 23, because they start with the names Kadesh and Megiddo and depict cities that took part in that major battle. However, together with the longer list c the information may encompass all other campaigns and then it includes data from campaigns in the years 30, 33 and possibly even 42.³³⁹

The discrepancy between the toponyms mentioned in the Annals, on the one hand and in topographical list on the other, is not a great problem because not all the lists recount the stories in the same way. The best example is the great variety concerning the 8th campaign, where there are 13 different sources referring to the same battle. They

³³⁴ Redford 1982, 55-74, Redford 2003, 45.

³³⁵ Redford 1982, 60-74.

³³⁶ Na'aman's 1994b, 184 n7. According to Na'aman, "toponyms no. 92-101 were either identified by similarity of names with sites that have no Late Bronze I remains or with Late Bronze Age sites whose names are different. In no site is there both similarity of name and Late Bronze I pottery." Redford (2003, 46) answers Na'aman's criticism saying that, "The list encompasses places, not necessarily settlements."

³³⁷ Redford 1982, 56.

³³⁸ Faulkner 1946, 39-42, Redford 2003, 220-232.

³³⁹ Kitchen in his letter to the author 2.8. 2005.

all contain different elements but it is possible to make one harmonious picture, even though some problems remain. However, there is no doubt about the historicity of the war.³⁴⁰

In summary, we may conclude that there is good reason to regard the topographical list of Thutmose III as referring to the military campaigns of the Pharaoh and the aim of this section is to test the way in which archaeological finds support the content of this list. The important question is whether this list should be expected to contain the cities which Pharaoh destroyed in his campaign or only those he conquered. The lack of a destruction level has sometimes been confused with the question of the historicity of the expeditions.³⁴¹

Hoffmeier has pointed out that the Egyptian texts explaining the conquests of the Pharaohs do not presuppose that the cities in question were destroyed.³⁴² The Egyptian keyword is *h3k* which means “to plunder” or “to capture”. The word for “destruction” was *ski* or *sksk*, or in the Old Kingdom, *b3*. In Thutmose III’s list the verb “plunder” is most often used. It does not exclude the possibility of destruction but its connotation is to plunder, which means that something is taken away from a city. It was much more practical to take spoils and force the rebels to submit. The Egyptians needed to provide food for the troops and horses for future campaigns. At the battle of Megiddo, it is reported that the fields around the city were cultivated and Egyptian inspectors were appointed to reap the harvest. Hoffmeier emphasises that “while it is true that Thutmose III was concerned to have order and loyalty in Canaan, he was not going to destroy cities that could be useful to him.”³⁴³

To conclude, the question will be examined as to whether an occupation level can be found from the Late Bronze Age in the cities mentioned in the list of Thutmose III. If there are destruction levels at the sites, it indicates that in those cases there was a bloody battle in

³⁴⁰ See Redford 2003, 220-228.

³⁴¹ With Redford 1982, 57. On the problem, see also Kofoed 2005, 45.

³⁴² See Hoffmeier 1989, 181-193. He was criticized by Dever 1990, 75-81 and Weinstein 1991, 105-115. The answers to the criticism, see Hoffmeier 1990, 83-89 and 1991, 117-124. This debate did not change the overall picture presented above.

³⁴³ Hoffmeier 1989, 187.

the city followed by its destruction. However, even in these cases we cannot be absolutely certain that the destruction was caused by Thutmosis III. It is possible that there were some local conflicts, preceding or following the invasion of Thutmosis.

4.1.2 Archaeological evidence

In this chapter all the sites are studied that are mentioned in Thutmosis III's topographical list that can be identified geographically. The transcription of the Egyptian names is first dealt with and then the question is posed as to what can be known about the names from other ancient sources. Subsequently, attempts are made to locate it on the map. Finally, the main archaeological results are described from the site of the Late Bronze Age I. If the town in question was inhabited during that period we shall assume that Thutmosis III may have visited it. If there is a destruction level from that time it is possible that the city was destroyed by Thutmosis III.

The towns studied were the following:

(in parentheses is the commonly accepted number of the site in this list)

Kadesh (1), Megiddo (2), Kumidi (8), Lebo-hamath (10), Damascus (13), Berothai (19), Tob (22), Kenath (26), Ashtaroth (28), Raphon (29), Laish (31), Hazor (32), Chinnereth (34), Shimron (35), Adamim (36), Kishion (37), Shunem (38), Mishal (39), Achshaph (40), Taanach (42), Ibleam (43), Allamelech (45), Acco (47), Shemesh-edom (51), Anaharath (52), Ophrah (53), Joppa (62), Gath (63), Lod (64), Ono (65), Aphek (66), Socoh (67), Kedesh (80), Merom (85), En-(hazor) (86), Rehob (87), Beth-shemesh (89), Edrei (91), Abel(-beth-maacah) (92), Ijon (95), Gibbethon (103), Gezer (104), Rabbah (105), Beth Shean (110), Helkath (112), and Jokneam (113). In total 46 cities.

The sites are arranged into three groups. Group a) comprises the Excavated sites: Hazor, Acco, Chinnereth, Kumidi, Kadesh, Laish, Achshaph, Taanach, Aphek, Beth Shean, Megiddo, Joppa, Gath, Gezer, Jokneam, Ophrah, and Anaharath,. Group b) comprises the Surveyed sites: Ashtaroth, Shimron, Raphon, Shunem, Mishal, Ibleam, Allamelech, Socoh, Gibbethon, Rabbah, Kishion, Helkath, Lebo-

hamath, Adamim and Shemesh-edom and Lod. Group c) comprises the sites where neither excavations nor surveys have been conducted: Damascus, Berothai, Rehob, Tob, Kenath, Ono, Kedesh, Merom, En-(hazor), Beth-shemesh, Edrei, Abel(-beth-maacah), and Ijon.

a) Excavated sites

Hazor

Number 32 is *h-d-r*.³⁴⁴ The earliest mention of this name is found in the Egyptian Execration Texts. There is a prince of *Hd̄w3í*. Another variant of the name is *Hd̄wí3*.³⁴⁵ In the Mari documents there is a city with the name *Ha-su-ra* or *Ha-su-ra-a*. This is the only Palestinian town mentioned in the document.³⁴⁶ It is clear that these names are to be identified with Hazor.³⁴⁷ Later it occurs in Papyrus Petersburg 1116A.³⁴⁸ In Pharaonic texts the name appears besides Thutmose III in Amenhotep II in the form *h-d-r*³⁴⁹ and Seti I in the form *h-d-<w>-r*.³⁵⁰ In the Amarna Letters the name *aluHa-zu-ra/aluHa-zu-ri/aluHa-zu-raki* is mentioned in four letters (EA 148:41; 227:3, 21; 228:15, 23; 256a:18).³⁵¹ Papyrus Anastasi I (21:7) also refers to the city of Hazor.³⁵²

The first person to give geographical identification to historical Hazor was J. L. Porter in 1875. Later J. Garstang – maybe without knowing this identification – rediscovered Hazor.³⁵³ Its location at Tel Hazor/Tell el-Qedah (map reference 203.269)³⁵⁴ has now been generally accepted.

The tell is the largest ancient mound in all of Palestine, and in the Late Bronze Age it was “the most powerful city-state in the country”.³⁵⁵ Several Middle Bronze and Late Bronze inscriptions

³⁴⁴ Simons 1937, 116.

³⁴⁵ Posener 1940, 73, ANET 329.

³⁴⁶ Malamat 1960, 13. See also Malamat 1984, 55-62.

³⁴⁷ Müller 1907, 14, Noth 1938a, 55, Yadin 1958, 4, Helck 1971, 129, Görg 1974, 107-118, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 116.

³⁴⁸ Epstein 1963, 50.

³⁴⁹ Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, no. 18, Simons 1937, 129, ANET 242.

³⁵⁰ Karnak, Great Temple of Amon, no. 64, Simons 1937, 140, ANET 242.

³⁵¹ Knudtzon 1908, 614, 766, 768, Mercer 1939, 487, 619, 620, 621, 623, 667.

³⁵² ANET 477. See also Kitchen 2002, 311.

³⁵³ Yadin 1958, 3.

³⁵⁴ SMM 15-2, 424.

³⁵⁵ Mazar 1990, 243.

found at Hazor show the importance of the city as a trade centre.³⁵⁶ The reference in the Mari Letters proves the same: it was a considerable commercial centre. Its strategic location on the northern branch of Via Maris was one reason for its significance. The mound consists of the smaller but no less important Upper City and a much larger Lower City.

The site has been very thoroughly excavated and was first excavated by John Garstang in 1928. A major expedition was carried out by Yigael Yadin in 1955-58 and 1968. In 1990 Amnon Ben-Tor initiated a new project, which is ongoing. Yadin's last volume on Hazor was published posthumously in 1997 by Ben-Tor.

Yadin uncovered areas A, B, BA, G, L, and M in the Upper City and areas C, D, E, F, H, and P in the Lower City.³⁵⁷ Ben-Tor has concentrated on areas A and M. Both the Upper City and the Lower City were inhabited during the Late Bronze Age. Strata XV, XIV, and XIII in the Upper City are identified as the Late Bronze Age strata. The corresponding strata in the Lower City are 2, 1B, and 1A.³⁵⁸

Yadin's expedition unearthed a part of a large building from Stratum XV. It was designated "the Orthostat Temple". Yadin did not report any special destruction from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, except that of building activities of the next stratum XIV.³⁵⁹ Yadin and Aharoni disagreed as to when this temple was abandoned, whether in Stratum XIV or XIII. In any case, Stratum XIII was the last LB stratum in Area A, and it was entirely destroyed.³⁶⁰ According to the excavators, Mycenaean IIIB pottery provided the evidence to date the destruction around 1230 BCE.³⁶¹ Late Helladic/Mycenaean IIIB has been dated to the period 1320/1300 – 1190 BCE.³⁶² This makes it possible to date the destruction level as being some decades later.

The new project headed by Ben-Tor is concentrating on two areas: Area A at the top of the Upper City and Area M at the northern end of

³⁵⁶ Zwickel 2003, 47. See also Horowitz & Shaffer 1992a, 165-167, Horowitz & Shaffer 1992b, 21-33, Hess 2001, 237-243, and Kitchen 2003b, 24.

³⁵⁷ Ben-Tor et al. 1997, 2-3.

³⁵⁸ Yadin et al. 1989, xiii, 11-25.

³⁵⁹ Yadin et al. 1989, 11-13, Ben-Tor et al. 1997, 1-4.

³⁶⁰ Yadin et al. 1989, 23-25.

³⁶¹ Yadin 1975, 35-36.

³⁶² See this study page 49-51.

the Upper City. This renewed excavation project continued the work on the “Orthostat Temple” calling it the “Canaanite Palace”. This monumental building dominates Area A. According to Ben-Tor, it was entirely destroyed by fire at the end of the Late Bronze Age.³⁶³ The excavators found in Area A significant Egyptian materials, e.g. two Egyptian amulets and a fragment of an ivory box depicting the head of the goddess Hathor,³⁶⁴ parts of an Egyptian royal statue³⁶⁵ and an Egyptian amulet of semi-precious stone, portraying a sphinx, all from the Late Bronze Age Palace.³⁶⁶ The Lower City was at the peak of its prosperity in the Late Bronze Age. Mycenaean IIIA pottery has been found in Stratum 1B, and Mycenaean 1A pottery in Stratum 1A. The former fits with the Amarna period.³⁶⁷

The main architectural construction in Area M is called the “Podium Complex”. It served as a portal from the lower city to the upper city. In Area M a small fragment of an Egyptian inscription was found, apparently part of an Egyptian stele or statue. Accurate dating for this stele is still not certain.³⁶⁸ There seem to be two destruction levels in Area M: one from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age and the other from the end of the period.³⁶⁹ The first of these destruction levels may have been caused by Thutmose III.

The Late Bronze Age pottery of Ben-Tor’s excavation work has been published in Sharon Zuckerman’s doctoral dissertation. Zuckerman enters into a detailed typological discussion of the pottery assemblage but does not distinguish between the different Late Bronze Age phases, as she concentrates mostly on issues concerning the Late Bronze Age II.

As regards Mycenaean pottery Zuckerman notes that “more than a hundred Mycenaean sherds were found in the renewed excavations at the site, most of which can be attributed to the final destruction level”.³⁷⁰ Interestingly, Garstang argued for the total absence of

³⁶³ Ben-Tor 1996, 264-265.

³⁶⁴ Ben-Tor 1999, 270, 273.

³⁶⁵ Ben-Tor 1998, 278.

³⁶⁶ Ben-Tor 1998, 275.

³⁶⁷ Yadin 1993-II, 595-597.

³⁶⁸ Ben-Tor 1999, 273, Zuckerman 2003, ii-v.

³⁶⁹ Ben-Tor 2000, 249.

³⁷⁰ Zuckerman 2003, xii.

Mycenaean pottery. Yadin, however, discovered many items, all pre-dating the destruction of the city.³⁷¹ On the other hand, Ben-Tor mentions that “the scarcity of imported ware in the Hazor assemblage – Cypriote as well as Mycenaean – is noteworthy”.³⁷² His explanation of this discrepancy is that one hundred sherds over a period of many years is “scarce”.³⁷³

When the relative chronology is inserted into the historical data, we obtain, according to Yadin, the following results:³⁷⁴

Upper City	Lower City	Period
Stratum XVI	3	Middle Bronze Age II
Stratum post XVI		MB IIC transitional
Stratum XV	2	Late Bronze Age I
Stratum XIV	1B	Late Bronze Age IIA
Stratum XIII	1A	Late Bronze Age IIB.
Stratum XII		Iron Age I

Ben-Tor has not yet differentiated between various phases in the Late Bronze Age, except for saying that there are some hints of an earlier destruction - Late Bronze I - before the final destruction of the city.³⁷⁵

Yadin gives the following years for the different strata: XV – 15th century BCE, XIV – 14th century BCE, and XIII 13th century BCE.

Looking at Thutmose III’s conquest of Hazor, it seems clear that the city was inhabited in the time of this Pharaoh, in the 15th century BCE. Egyptian influence at the site is very obvious during the Late Bronze Age. Yadin includes the name of Thutmose III in his description of Stratum XV, but does not refer to any destruction level from that time.³⁷⁶

By contrast, Ben-Tor states that the earlier Late Bronze Age destruction in Area M “may have been the result of the military

³⁷¹ Yadin 1975, 33-37, 63.

³⁷² Ben-Tor 1997, 263.

³⁷³ Ben-Tor in an e-mail to the author on April 11th, 2005.

³⁷⁴ Yadin et al. 1989, xiii, 11-25.

³⁷⁵ Ben-Tor 2000, 248, 249.

³⁷⁶ Yadin et al. 1989, xiii.

campaign led by Thutmose III".³⁷⁷ The final reports from the renewed excavations may clarify the situation in Late Bronze Age Hazor. Thus far it seems apparent that the strong influence of Egyptian culture is a result of the military campaign of Thutmose III (and of his successors) and that the first Late Bronze Age destruction was probably also caused by him.

Acco

Number 47 is '-k-3'.³⁷⁸ The identification with Acco is commonly accepted.³⁷⁹ The earliest inscriptional references to Acco are found in the Egyptian Execration Texts.³⁸⁰ In addition to Thutmose's list, the name occurs in the form '-k-<3>' in texts of Seti I³⁸¹ and in the same form in Ramses II in the Karnak relief, "the town which his majesty desolated, Acre".³⁸² Papyrus Anastasi I refers to the city thus: "Come, set (me) on the way southward to the region of Acre."³⁸³ Acco occurs several times in the Amarna Letters (written *alAk-ka* and *alAk-kaki* e.g. EA 8:19, 38; 88:46; 232:4, 233:5; 234:3, 28; 290a:22).³⁸⁴ Furthermore, Acco is mentioned in the Ras-Shamra texts and in many Assyrian sources.³⁸⁵

Ancient Acco has been located at Tell el-Fukhar/Tel Acco (map reference 158.258).³⁸⁶ It lies to the north-east of the River Na'aman, about 700 metres from the sea. The first settlement of Acco was established on the hill, and was much larger than the present area of the tell. In the third century BCE, it moved from this location westwards to the bay. The excavations were carried out between 1973 and 1989 in twelve seasons, under the direction of Moshe Dothan.³⁸⁷

³⁷⁷ Ben-Tor 2001, 238.

³⁷⁸ Simons 1937, 117.

³⁷⁹ Müller 1907, 17, Saarisalo 1929, 27-28, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 126, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 48.

³⁸⁰ ANET 329.

³⁸¹ Simons 1937, 139.

³⁸² Simons 1937, 161, ANET 256. ANET gives the form "Acre".

³⁸³ ANET 477.

³⁸⁴ Knudtzon 1908, 86, 420, 772, 774, 776. Mercer 1939, 27, 313, 625, 627, 629, 725.

³⁸⁵ See e.g. ANET 287, 300, Dothan 1976a, 1-2.

³⁸⁶ SMM 15-2, 015.

³⁸⁷ The first report Dothan 1975, 1-48. Later, see Dothan 1980, 198-200, brief reports by Dothan in IEJ 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1983, and 1984. See also Dothan 1993-I, 19-23.

The excavated areas are: A, B, AB, C, D, E, H, F, G, K, L, M, and S. The final excavation report has not yet been published.

The main constructions discovered at the tell in Area B were a rampart and a city gate built in Middle Bronze Age II. Pottery found at the site dates mainly from the Middle Bronze Age, but there are also vessels from the Late Bronze Age. Among the Late Bronze Age findings there were a number of imported wares, most of them from Cyprus. These vessels belong to the groups of White Painted and White Slip and Red-slip Ware. Sherds of Chocolate on White pottery were also discovered.³⁸⁸ In addition, Bichrome Ware, a fragment of Amarna Ware and Mycenaean sherds were found.³⁸⁹

Two Late Bronze Age strata (10 and 9) in Area B were unearthed overlying the Middle Bronze Age ruins. There are traces of several destructions in these strata. A scarab from the time of Thutmose III was found in the upper stratum. Dothan considers that this may demonstrate that the Pharaoh was responsible for the destruction of the earthen rampart.³⁹⁰ The most recent pottery found in Late Bronze Age levels was from the mid-thirteenth century, including Cypriote imports. There is a destruction level, which, according to Dothan, belongs to the city destroyed by Ramses II.³⁹¹ Dothan emphasises that throughout antiquity Acco was “a very cosmopolitan city with groups of residents, including the Israelites of the Asher tribe, living alongside the general population”.³⁹²

The stratigraphy of Tel Acco is as follows:³⁹³

Stratum 10	Late Bronze Age
Stratum 9	Late Bronze Age
Stratum 8	Iron Age I
Stratum 7-5	Iron Age II

³⁸⁸ Dothan 1976, 9-10. Dothan & Raban 1980, 35-39.

³⁸⁹ Dothan 1975, 165.

³⁹⁰ Dothan 1979, 227.

³⁹¹ Dothan 1977, 242.

³⁹² Dothan 1985, 49.

³⁹³ Dothan 1973, 258, Dothan 1977, 242.

In addition, a large collection of Egyptian scarabs, 176 in total, was found at Acco many years before the excavation project. At least thirteen of these scarabs bear the sign of Pharaoh Thutmosis III, testifying to the strong influence of Egypt in Acco at the time.³⁹⁴ During the 1983 season several scarabs, some of them set in gold rings, were also found in a tomb in Area H dated to early Late Bronze Age I.³⁹⁵

Accordingly, it seems clear that during the reign of Thutmosis III the city was inhabited. The destruction level from the period may indicate that this Pharaoh was responsible for the damage to the city. Furthermore, in the collection of the scarabs of Thutmosis III we have the most direct connections with this Pharaoh.

Chinnereth

Number 34 is *k-n-n-r-t* or *k-n-(r)-t*.³⁹⁶ The name is also mentioned in Papyrus Petersburg 1116A together with ten other Canaanite cities, among them Hazor, Megiddo, Taanach and Ashkelon.³⁹⁷ The reading Chinnereth is generally agreed upon.³⁹⁸

Chinnereth/Tell el-'Oreimeh/Tel Kinrot (map reference 200.252)³⁹⁹ is located on the north-western coast of the Sea of Galilee. The site was first explored by P. Karge from 1909 to 1911. It was identified with ancient Chinnereth by Dalman (1921) and Albright (1923).⁴⁰⁰ The first excavations were carried out in 1932 and 1939 by P. Köppel, and the next project in 1963 by G. Edelstein. The first period of the latest excavations directed by Volkmar Fritz took place in 1982-1985.⁴⁰¹ The next period was 1994-1999. The third period with this same organisation began in 2001; this project is on going and until 2003 was directed by Fritz. In recent years the Universities of Berne, Mainz, and Helsinki have participated in the project directed by Stefan Münger, Juha Pakkala and Jürgen Zangenberg. The earlier excavations

³⁹⁴ Giveon & Kertez, 1986, 7, 16-19.

³⁹⁵ Dothan 1984, 190.

³⁹⁶ Simons 1937, 116.

³⁹⁷ Epstein 1963, 50, also Fritz 1984, 241 and Fritz 1990, 176-178.

³⁹⁸ Müller 1907, 15, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 128, Aharoni 1979, 160, Ahituv 1984, 126, Fritz 1992-I, 909.

³⁹⁹ SMM 15-2, 262.

⁴⁰⁰ Fritz & Münger 2002, 2.

⁴⁰¹ Fritz 1993a-I, 299.

concentrated on the summit of the mound and the later campaigns have been investigating several areas on the south-eastern slope. Despite the numerous seasons only a fraction of the site is known thus far.⁴⁰²

During the excavation period 1982-1985 neither Middle Bronze nor Late Bronze Age buildings were discovered. Only some Late Bronze Age sherds were found. Most of the archaeological findings are from the Iron Age. The oldest settlement at the site, however, is from the Early Bronze Age. The excavation areas in the 1980s were Area A on the northern hill, Area B on the eastern side of the southern hill, Area C on the western edge of the tell, and Area D in the depression on the eastern boundary of the tell.⁴⁰³

At the beginning of the excavations in the 1990s the areas E, F, G, H, J, and K were opened. In Area G a large wall was discovered that was dated to Middle Bronze Age II/Late Bronze Age I. The pottery came from the end of Middle Bronze Age II and the wall may have been in use until Late Bronze Age I.⁴⁰⁴

Later in the 1990s several new areas were opened: Q, M, N, R, S, U, and W.⁴⁰⁵ It was confirmed that the wall was built in Stratum VIII in Middle Bronze II and continued to exist until Late Bronze Age I. The wall and a huge glacis formed a fortification system, which was later destroyed and rebuilt. Middle Bronze II/Late Bronze I remains have been found in areas G, H, Q, and R. The pottery has similarities with Megiddo strata X-IX, Hazor XVI, and Dan IX, all of them Middle Bronze II strata. Stratum VII was built above the destruction of Stratum VIII. The typical pottery from Stratum VII includes

Cypriote White Slip Ware, Syrian grey juglets, Chocolate on White Ware and Bichrome Ware, all of these types resembling the Late Bronze I period. The next stratum VI was not inhabited until Iron Age I.⁴⁰⁶

The stratigraphy formulated at the end of the 1990s was as follows:⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰² Pakkala et al. 2004, 11.

⁴⁰³ Fritz 1982, 256, Fritz 1990, 8, Fritz 1993b, 187, 211-212.

⁴⁰⁴ Fritz & Vieweger 1996, 84.

⁴⁰⁵ Pakkala et al. 2004, 12.

⁴⁰⁶ Fritz & Münger 2002, 10-12, Pakkala et al. 2004, 13-16.

⁴⁰⁷ Fritz & Münger 2002, 8.

Stratum IX	Early Bronze II	30 th –27 th centuries
Stratum VIII	Middle Bronze IIC/ Late Bronze I	16 th century
Stratum VII	Late Bronze I	15 th century
Stratum VI	Iron Age I	11 th century

According to Fritz and Münger, the town in Stratum VII correspond well with the inscription of Thutmosis III. In addition, the lack of any mention of Chinnereth in the Amarna Letters and in all Late Bronze Age II Egyptian sources is in good concordance with the results of the excavations. Both archaeology and literary evidence seem to show that the site was uninhabited during Late Bronze Age II. A minor exception is a scarab bearing the name of Queen Teje/Tye, who was the mother of Akhenaten. It indicates that some activities could be dated to the 14th century BCE.⁴⁰⁸

Another important document is the fragment of a stele discovered in 1928 at Chinnereth. It is 27 cm. in length, 18 cm. in width and has a thickness of 16 cm, and weighs approximately 25 kg.⁴⁰⁹ The four lines of hieroglyphs can be translated as follows: “There was recited to him the royal degree... I have repelled the foreigners of Mitanni (so that it has become) as one that never existed... that which I have done (?)...” According to Albright and Rowe, nearly all the allusions to the name Mitanni belong to Thutmosis III. The text was most probably written by Thutmosis III after his eighth campaign in 1446 (Albright and Rowe: 1468), because we have no previous mention of Thutmosis III extending his campaigns beyond the Euphrates.⁴¹⁰

Because of the excavations, the stele, and the reference in the city-list we have exceptionally strong evidence supporting the possibility that Thutmosis III was indeed present at Chinnereth.

⁴⁰⁸ Pakkala et al. 2004, 15, Fritz & Münger 2002, 11, “Die Stadt von Stratum VII geht konform mit der Erwähnung von Chinnereth durch Thutmosis III... Dem Schweigen der ägyptischen Quellen, insbesondere in der Amarna-Korrespondenz, im weiteren Verlauf des Neuen Reiches entspricht die Besiedlungsglücke in Chinnereth zwischen den Strata VII und VI.” See also Fritz 1999, 104.

⁴⁰⁹ Albright & Rowe (1928, 281) claim that the stele could not have been carried from any other site because it is so heavy and because there are no other Late Bronze Age sites in the vicinity.

⁴¹⁰ Albright & Rowe 1928, 281-287.

Kumidi

Number 8 in the list is *k-m-t*.⁴¹¹ This name is mentioned five times in the Amarna Letters (written as *aluKu-mi-di* EA 116:75; *alu ki Ku-mi-di* 129:85; *aluKu-me-di* 132:49; 197:38, and *aluKu-mi-diki* 198:5).⁴¹² In the El-Amarna period this Kumidi was one of the three headquarters of Egyptian commissioners, the other two being Gaza and Sumur.⁴¹³

The first suggestion for the identification of Kumidi with Kamid el-Loz came from H. Guthe as early as 1897. Müller, however, thought that this location is too far to the north.⁴¹⁴ According to Pitard, Kumidi could be Kamid el-Loz but there are other possibilities as well.⁴¹⁵ After a long period of excavations, and principally because of the inscriptions found at the site, it is now clear that Kamid el-Loz is in fact the location of ancient Kumidi (map reference 226.337).⁴¹⁶

Tell Kamid el-Loz is located in the southern part of the Beqa'a Valley on its eastern edge, and is one of the largest tells in the valley. Mountains rise to the height of approx. 3,000 metres on both sides of the valley, which is about ten kilometres wide. This valley is part of the region's most important ancient north-south route. Its location is strategically important.⁴¹⁷

At Tell Kamid el-Loz the first excavation project was in nineteen seasons, from 1963 to 1981, directed by A. Kuschke and R. Hachmann. The next project started in 1997 and is on going.⁴¹⁸ Archaeological studies in the first project indicated that the site was occupied from

⁴¹¹ Simons 1937, 116.

⁴¹² Knudtzon 1908, 506, 552, 562, 728, Mercer 1939, 389, 429, 441, 585.

⁴¹³ Aharoni 1979, 158, 159, Klengel 1992, 91. Hachmann (1982, 46) says that "In Palästina gab es mindestens zwei Verwaltungszentren, in Gaza und in Bethsean; in Syrien waren es ebenfalls zwei, Sumur und Kumidi". See also Na'aman 1988, 179-193.

⁴¹⁴ "Das Kumidi von Amarna scheint viel zu nördlich, wenn gleich mit modernen Kamid el Lauz, zu dem allerdings Amarna 142 gut passen würde." Müller (1907, 10). However, even Petrie (1898,175) identified Kumidi with Kamid el Lauz.

⁴¹⁵ Pitard (1987, 62n49) says that the location of Kumidi as Kamid el-Loz is slightly more complex than is usually supposed. In Egyptian sources we find two different names that can be connected with the Egyptian spelling of Kumidi. These are in separate lists of Syro-Palestinian towns, one in Thutmose III's list and the other in the Karnak list of Seti I. The other possible geographical location could be by the coastal way. In any case, according to Pitard, the identification of ancient Kumidi as Kamid el-Loz is highly likely.

⁴¹⁶ Noth 1938a, 63, Aharoni 1979, 438, Hachmann 1982, 17-18. <http://www.orient.uni-freiburg.de/archaeologie/kamid/loz1999.html>. (7.12.2004)

⁴¹⁷ Metzger 1975, 10.

⁴¹⁸ http://www.orient.uni-freiburg.de/archaeologie/Kamid_2004/kamid2004.html (15.12.2005)

the Neolithic Period to the Persian era. Quite a few discoveries have been made from the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages. The city seems to have been at its largest in the Middle Bronze Age. However, the most flourishing period was the Late Bronze Age. Eight archaeological strata have been found, dating from the Middle Bronze to the Iron Age, although many buildings or parts of buildings (also the temples and the palaces) were used during many different periods. In the Iron Age the site was more modest, in fact village-like.⁴¹⁹

The cuneiform tablets found between 1969 and 1978 are among the most interesting finds. They are from the periods of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (Akhnaton). Seven of these tablets are known to be from Kamid el-Loz, possibly also other inscriptions whose origin is not clear. Letters which were sent by Pharaoh to the ruler of Kumidi, give the final affirmation as to the location of the site. In addition, they confirm that the Egyptian hegemony was a reality in this region in the 15th to 14th centuries BCE.⁴²⁰

Several small finds have been discovered in the so-called Treasure House ("Schatzhaus"). Six metal models of swimming water birds and numerous other vessels indicate contacts with the Late Bronze Age Egypt. A cartouche of Thutmosis III written in one scarab of a silver ring gives one *terminus post quem* dating, and is also an indication of a strong Egyptian influence in the area.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ Weippert 1998, 1-2. See also Kaiser 2000, 416.

⁴²⁰ Hachmann 1982, 17-49, Pitard 1987, 71, Na'aman 1988, 179-193, and Hachmann 2001, 130-149.

⁴²¹ Weippert 1998, 1-2,7,16-19. Concerning the palace where the treasure house was situated, see also Hachmann 1993, 1-8.

The Late Bronze Age stratigraphy of Kamid el-Loz according to Weippert is as follows:

Schicht 13	T3c/d	P5	c. 1550-1480	
Schicht 12	T3b	P4	c. 1480-1400	Myc. IIIA pottery
Schicht 12	T3a	P4	c. 1400-1340	Myc. IIIA pottery
Schicht 12	T3a	P3	c. 1340-1200	Myc. IIIB pottery
Schicht 11	T2a/b/c	P3	c. 1200-1150	Myc. IIIB pottery
Schicht 10	T1	P2	c. 1150-	Myc. IIIC pottery

Schicht or *Bauschicht* means different building strata. Not all of them could be differentiated by ceramics.⁴²² T means various temples and P palaces.⁴²³ It is obvious that the date 1480 has been given for historical reasons, from the time of Thutmose III. The dates given by Weippert differ slightly from the dates assigned to the Mycenaean pottery chronology in this study.⁴²⁴ The period of Mycenaean IIIA is 1435/1405–1320/1300). Hence, the time of Thutmose III would be Stratum 13 (T3c/d, P5), not Stratum 12 (T3b/P4). According to Weippert, Temple T2 was built probably during the reign of Pharaoh Seti II and Temple T1 during the last days of Ramses III.⁴²⁵ This dating is apparent because the reign of Seti II was 1216-1210 BCE and Ramses III 1184-1152 BCE.⁴²⁶

The new project, directed by M. Heinz, gave a web-site report on its sixth season in 2002. It strengthened the view that Kamid el-Loz was a major city in southern Beqa'a Valley especially in the Late Bronze Age, and it was identified with Kumidi. The excavation areas are assigned as I, II, and III. In addition a deep trench has been dug. The Late Bronze Age building periods are numbered 4 and 5. The numbers of palaces (1-5) and temples (1-3) are the same. No exact dates are given. A temple, a palace, a workshop area and some graves

⁴²² Weippert (1998, 7), "Definition keramische Typen überhaupt keine Rolle spielen."

⁴²³ Weippert (1998, 9), "Für monumentale Bauten, für den Tempel- und Palastbezirk, ist deshalb eine eigene Nomenklatur reserviert... so werden der Tempel ... in der Spätbronzezeit mit T3 – T1 bezeichnet, während die nacheinander errichteten spätbronzezeitlichen Paläste als P5 – P1 gezählt sind."

⁴²⁴ See pages 49-51 of this study.

⁴²⁵ Weippert 1998, 7-12, 33.

⁴²⁶ See e.g. Kuhrt 1995, 205.

formed the main architectural structures of which remains have been excavated. The archaeology supports the view that the city was an important seat of the Egyptian administration in the area. When Egyptian power diminished, Kumidi lost its important position. It was only a small village during the Iron Age.⁴²⁷

Consequently, the scarab of Thutmose III gives a hint of the Pharaoh's visit to the city, although it may alternatively be a sign of later contacts with Egypt. Whatever the case may be, Egyptian dominance at Kamid el-Loz is apparent because of the evidence of the cuneiform texts and rich Late Bronze Age habitation. All of this is in accordance with inscriptional evidence of Thutmose III's campaign at the site.

Kadesh

The first name in the list of Thutmose III is *q-d-š*.⁴²⁸ The same city is also mentioned in the inscription of Seti I when he carried out his campaign to the north: "The going up which Pharaoh - life, prosperity, health! - made to desolate the land of *q-d-š* and the land of Amurru."⁴²⁹

Ramses II scribes describe vividly his battle against the Hittites at this very same city. It is recounted that he crossed the Orontes and met there an alliance of foreign countries. There are boasts that "every foreign country was trembling before him, their chiefs were presenting their tribute, and all the rebels were coming, bowing down through fear of the glory of his majesty."⁴³⁰ Despite this bragging about the victory the battle was not a great success for Ramses II.⁴³¹ The Hittite documents use the name *Kinza* for the city.⁴³²

The same name *Kinza* also appears in the Amarna Letters as *aluKi-in-za* (EA 54:22, 27; 174:12) or *mātuKi-in-za* (EA 175:10; 176:10), and these letters clearly show that the city *Kinza* was responsible for the anti-

⁴²⁷ <http://www.orient.uni-freiburg.de/archaeologie/kamid/loz1999.html>. (7.12.2004)

⁴²⁸ Simons 1937, 115. In transliterations in this chapter I follow the reading of Simons. Müller (1907, 8) writes the name K(e)d-šu but suggests identification with Kadesh.

⁴²⁹ ANET 254, Simons 1937, 138, 158.

⁴³⁰ ANET 255-256. See also e.g. Mayer & Mayer Opificius 1994, 321-368.

⁴³¹ See e.g. Götze 1929, 832-838. Yeivin (1950, 101-107) has pointed out that the description of the battle of Ramses II at Kadesh has a close resemblance with the battle of Thutmose III at Megiddo.

⁴³² Noth 1948, 223.

Egyptian coalition and received support from the Hittite Kingdom. The same city appears in the El-Amarna Letters with other orthographic variants: *aluKi-id-ši* (EA 151:60), *aluKi-id-ša* (EA 162:22), *mātuGi-id-ši* (EA 189:11) and *aluGi-iz-za* (EA 197:27, 32).⁴³³ These El-Amarna orthographic variants make it reasonable to conclude that the city *q-d-š* mentioned in the list of Thutmose III is the same city.⁴³⁴

This literary evidence also indicates that the city was an important site at least from the 15th to the 13th centuries BCE. There is only one practical possibility to identify this city near the River Orontes, namely Kadesh.⁴³⁵ It should be noted that even Kedesh in Galilee has been suggested as the *q-d-š* in Thutmose III's list.⁴³⁶ However, Kadesh on the Orontes is a much more likely alternative not only on the basis of the above orthographic argumentation but also because we know that Thutmose III engaged in battle there and because Kadesh was the head of the alliance crushed near Megiddo.⁴³⁷

Kadesh on the Orontes is generally identified with Tell Nebi Mend, which is situated near the river (map reference 291.444).⁴³⁸ Tell Nebi Mend is a large mound located along one of the most important ancient trade routes. Two small inscriptions found at the site confirm the identification. The inscriptions are letters from a ruler of Kadesh called Nigmadda. The same name appears in the Amarna Letters.⁴³⁹

The first archaeological excavations at Tell Nebi Mend were carried out by Maurice Pezard in 1921 and 1922.⁴⁴⁰ The excavated area was very small and the results quite meagre. An important find was a stele of Seti I.⁴⁴¹ The next project started in 1975 and was led by Peter Parr. There is no final report available but some preliminary reports have been published.⁴⁴² The history of the site is a long one, beginning in

⁴³³ Mercer 1939, 497, 523, 571, 897; Knudtzon 1964, 1118, 1577. On the names, see also Klengel 1969, 140-141. The modern petrographic analysis made from EA 189 accords with the geology in the vicinity of Tell Nebi Mend, taken from a collection of selected Late Bronze vessels from the site, see, Goren et al. 2004, 97-98.

⁴³⁴ On the form of the name, see also Görg 1988, 23-26.

⁴³⁵ Müller 1907, 8, Aharoni 1979, 159, Avalos 1992-IV, 3-4.

⁴³⁶ Müller 1907, 8.

⁴³⁷ Simons 1937, 35-36, Aharoni 1979, 156, Klengel 1992, 96.

⁴³⁸ Aharoni 1979, 437, Klengel 1969, 139, Parr 1983, 99, Klengel 1992, 157.

⁴³⁹ Parr 1983, 103, 107.

⁴⁴⁰ Pezard 1931.

⁴⁴¹ Pezard 1931, 19-20. On the scanty results, see Noth 1948, 223-224 and Parr 1983, 99.

⁴⁴² See Parr 1983, Mathias & Parr 1989, Parr 1994, and Parr 1998.

the Neolithic Period. Four main areas were opened, Trenches II, III, V, and VIII. A Late Bronze Age level was revealed in Trench II. Two rooms with mud-brick walls were found. According to Parr, a sherd of a necked bottle with blue paint was probably an imported Egyptian vessel from the 18th Dynasty. A few sherds of imported Mycenaean III B, Cypriote Base-Ring and White Slip pottery were found as well. The former type occurs in Late Bronze Age II (more exact 1320/1300-1190 BCE) and the latter ones are common both in Late Bronze Age I and II.⁴⁴³

Another Late Bronze Age level was found in Trench III. A thick layer of burnt mud-brick material contained Middle Bronze Age sherds. A mud-brick building with plastered walls and floors was located above it. The pottery was partly from the Middle Bronze Age but included Late Bronze Age features. The next Late Bronze Age levels revealed at least six distinct phases of reconstruction from the 14th and 13th centuries BCE. The monumental structure may have been a palace or an administrative building. The abandonment of the Late Bronze Age city took place probably in the latter part of the 13th century BCE.⁴⁴⁴

Accordingly, Tell Nebi Mend was inhabited during the time of Thutmosis III. No data about the destruction level from that period is available. The stele of Seti I and the Egyptian vessel indicate that the Egyptian influence had reached this area during the 18th and 19th dynasties.

Laish

Number 31 is *r-w-š*⁴⁴⁵ and has been identified as Laish. The name Laish also appears in the Egyptian Execration Texts in the form *3wsj*.⁴⁴⁶ It also occurred in the Mari documents in the 18th century BCE before its mention in the list of Thutmosis III.⁴⁴⁷ It is commonly accepted that the site is Tell el Qadi/Tel Dan.⁴⁴⁸ The Book of Judges (18:27-31) recounts how the name Laish was changed to Dan.

⁴⁴³ Parr 1983, 107.

⁴⁴⁴ Parr 1983, 107-108. See also Klengel 1969, 139-141 and Avalos 1992-IV, 3-4.

⁴⁴⁵ Simons 1937, 116.

⁴⁴⁶ Posener 1940, 92.

⁴⁴⁷ ANET 329, Biran 1994, 21-22.

⁴⁴⁸ Müller 1907, 14, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 129, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 130.

Tel Dan is located at the northern tip of Israel (map reference 211.294).⁴⁴⁹ The first exploratory excavation was carried out in 1963 by Z. Yeivin. Salvage excavations were conducted in 1966 and 1967 by Abraham Biran. Since then, this project has become one of the largest excavations in the country and currently continuing.⁴⁵⁰

Remains from the Late Bronze Age have been found in all the excavated areas of the site.⁴⁵¹ Vessels from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age I showed continuity from the previous period. However, Late Bronze Age I was a time of growth, development and cultural exchange. A massive stone construction has been found and even some hints of the beginning of the metal industry. No evidence for the destruction or abandonment of Late Bronze I Laish (Stratum VIII) has been found. The Late Bronze II city (Stratum VII) was very much like the previous one. The material culture of Late Bronze II was more prosperous and shows that it was a commercial and cultural centre. Tomb 387 belongs to this Stratum. It yielded a large amount of Mycenaean pottery. Altogether 491 items, including 108 pottery vessels were discovered. The imported ceramic included some Cypriote “milk bowls” and Base Ring II Ware but mostly Mycenaean IIIA2 or early IIIB pottery. These can be dated to the second half of the 14th century and early 13th century BCE.⁴⁵²

Two Egyptian fragments of statues have been discovered. One is a red figure of a man in a sitting position. The name of the man is Nefertem. It is a well-known type used in the ritual of the dead during the 19th dynasty in the 14th century BCE. Another fragment was originally from the Middle Kingdom but has a secondary inscription of the Ptolemaic period.⁴⁵³ These give hints of Egyptian influence over the centuries.

The stratigraphy of Tel Dan from Middle Bronze Age II to the Iron Age I is as follows:⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁴⁹ SMM 15-2, 280.

⁴⁵⁰ Biran 1993-I, 324.

⁴⁵¹ Biran 1994, 105, Ben-Dov 2002, 35.

⁴⁵² Biran 1994, 105-123. The official report of Tel Dan’s Late Bronze Age (Strata VIII and VII) will be released in a forthcoming publication, see Ben-Dov 2002, 35.

⁴⁵³ Biran 1987, 105.

⁴⁵⁴ Biran & Ben-Dov 2002, 4.

Stratum XII	Middle Bronze IIA	20 th – 19 th centuries
Stratum XI	Middle Bronze IIA-B	18 th century
Stratum X	Middle Bronze IIB	18 th – 17 th centuries
Stratum IX	Middle Bronze IIC	17 th – 16 th centuries
Stratum VIII	Late Bronze I	16 th – 15 th centuries
Stratum VII	Late Bronze II	14 th – 13 th centuries
Stratum VI	Iron Age I	12 th century
Stratum V	Iron Age I	12 th – first half of 11 th century

For this study it may be concluded that Dan was inhabited during the time of Thutmosis III, but no destruction level has been found. Strategically located, it was the city where various foreign groups must have passed by. Few Egyptian finds indicate the influence of this powerful southern neighbour.

Achshaph

Number 40 is *ì-k-s-p*⁴⁵⁵ and could be identified as Achshaph.⁴⁵⁶ It is first mentioned in the Egyptian Execration texts in the form *'Ikspi*.⁴⁵⁷ The name Achshaph also occurs in Papyrus Petersburg 1116A.⁴⁵⁸ In the Amarna Letters the name is in the form *alAk-ša-pa* (e.g. EA 222a:1; 290a:23). In the first passage the Pharaoh writes to Intaruda, "To Intaruda, the man of the city of Akšapa, say. Thus saith the king: I have caused this tablet to be brought to say to thee: 'Beware, let the place of the king which is near thee be guarded.'" In the next passage Suwardata sends a letter to the Pharaoh asking for help. He writes, "Zurata the man of the city of Acco and Endurata the man of the city of Akšapa are my helpers with 50 chariots."⁴⁵⁹

In Papyrus Anastasi 1 the writer asks the way to Achshaph, "Come, set (me) on the way southward to the region of Acre. Where does the Achshaph road come? At what town?"⁴⁶⁰ In the Bible (Josh. 11:1) Achshaph is mentioned as one of the Canaanite cities in the

⁴⁵⁵ Simons 1937, 116.

⁴⁵⁶ Müller 1907, 16, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 127, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 48.

⁴⁵⁷ Posener 1940, 70, ANET 329.

⁴⁵⁸ Epstein 1963, 50.

⁴⁵⁹ Mercer 1939, 613, 724.

⁴⁶⁰ ANET 477, Frankel 1998, 56-57. See also Aharoni 1979, 112.

northern alliance.⁴⁶¹ All this indicates that Achshaph was an important city during the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age. The sources also give information of its location: near Acco.

The location somewhere in the Plain of Acco is also confirmed by the Bible, because it is mentioned in the Book of Joshua as one of the southern towns in the inheritance of Asher (Josh 19:25-26). Three suggestions have been made of which the following two are noteworthy: Tell Keisan/Tel Kison (map reference 164.253)⁴⁶² and Tel Regev/Khirbet el-Harbaj (map reference 158.240).⁴⁶³ Tel Kabri (earlier en-Nahr or et-Tel, map reference 164.268) has also been suggested.⁴⁶⁴

Tell Keisan is a large mound on the Plain of Acco, and it must have had an important strategic position in earlier times. A survey made in the 1920s revealed pottery from e.g. the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Ages and from the Iron Age.⁴⁶⁵ An early excavation project in the 1930s unearthed building remains with Egyptian hieroglyphs, which may be from the time of Seti I in 1300 BCE⁴⁶⁶ Later excavations, directed by Humbert in 1971-1980, have revealed some remains of Late Bronze Age pottery, mostly from Late Bronze Age II.⁴⁶⁷ Several Egyptian scarabs have also been discovered at Tell Keisan. One of them is similar to the scarab of Thutmosis III, although it may be a later copy. Humbert does not give any biblical identification for Tell Keisan, although the most serious candidate is Achshaph.⁴⁶⁸

Tel Regev is located approx. 13 kilometres south-southwest from Tell Keisan. A salvage excavation was conducted at the site in 1993. A large amount of the Early Bronze Age pottery was discovered. On the surface several sherds from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and also from the Iron Age were found. No regular excavations have been carried out at the site.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶¹ See also Gal 1994, 43.

⁴⁶² SMM 15-2, 609, Ahituv 1984, 49, Humbert 1992-IV, 14-16, Hess 1996, 272, Goren et al. 2004, 231-233.

⁴⁶³ SMM 15-2, 016, CBA 207, Görg 1974, 24, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Frankel 1998, 57.

⁴⁶⁴ SMM 15-2, 490, Saaristo 1930, 9-10 and Boling & Wright 1988, 453.

⁴⁶⁵ Peterson 1977, 20-24.

⁴⁶⁶ Humbert 1992-IV, 15.

⁴⁶⁷ ESI 1982, 64, Gunneweg & Perlman 1994, 559-561.

⁴⁶⁸ Briand & Humbert 1980, 270-271, and plate 88. Humbert (1992-IV, 14-16) considers that perhaps this region was never under Israelite control, and the list of cities in the Book of Joshua is the work of a later redactor from one of the post-exilic Jewish communities.

⁴⁶⁹ Lipkunsy & Horowitz 1999, 20*. See also Goren et al. 2004, 231-233.

Both sites have archaeological remains from Late Bronze Age I. From the historical-geographical point of view, Rafael Frankel gives four reasons why he prefers Tel Regev. First, comparison between Thutmosis' list and the "list of unconquered cities" in Judges 1 shows that the towns in this region in Thutmosis' list are south of Akko. Tell Keisan *is* located east of Akko. Second, the order of the places in Thutmosis' list suggests that Mishal is further north than Achshaph. These two arguments seem to have presupposed that both Thutmosis and Judges give points of the compass when they catalogue cities. Third, the Amarna Letters mention both Akko and Achshaph as centres of city states, and therefore Tell Keisan is too close to Akko to be identified with Achshaph. Fourth, the identification at Tel Regev places the Biblical triplet Hali Beten Achshaph (Josh. 19:25) that form a group in the southeastern part of the tribal territory. However, Frankel admits that the same arguments allow for the identification of Achshaph at Tel el 'Amar (map reference 155.237), a large site four kilometres south of Tel Regev. In this case Beten should be identified with Tel Regev.⁴⁷⁰

Frankel's arguments are unconvincing. Firstly, he presupposes that the sites in Thutmosis III's list and in Judges 1 are in exact geographical order. In most instances, this is not the case. In addition, the order of the names in neither list favours Frankel's theory. The names in question in Thutmosis' list are: Shunem (38), Mishal (39), Achshaph (40), Taanach (42), Ibleam (43), Allamelech (45), and Acco (47). All the names are south or southeast of Acco, including both Tel Regev and Tell Keisan. Judges 1 refers to the names Acco, Sidon, Ahlab, Achzib, Helbah, Apeh, and Rehob. In this list Achshaph is not mentioned at all.

The second argument is odd: why should Mishal in Thutmosis' list be further north than Achshaph as the order Shunem-Mishal-Achshaph would be better from south to north, if there is any geographical order.

Thirdly, the reference in the Amarna Letters may indicate the opposite direction: Acco and Achshaph are located quite near each other but not just side by side. From Acco to Tell Keisan is approx. 10 kilometres and to Tel Regev approx. 20 kilometres.

⁴⁷⁰ Frankel 1998, 57-58.

Finally, the biblical triplet Hali Beten Achshaph is the best argument. If Hali is Khirbet Ras Ali (map reference 164.241)⁴⁷¹ and Beten Tell el Far/Khirbet Ibtin (map reference 160.241),⁴⁷² these cities are located in a line with Tel Regev, with some kilometres (2 to 5km) distance in between. However, if we choose Tell Keisan as Achshaph, the picture is not much different: from Beten to Hali approx. 5 kilometres and from Hali to Tell Keisan approx. 10 kilometres. In addition, in Josh. 19:25 there is no triplet but “fourlet”, because there are four cities mentioned in the verse: Helkath, Hali, Beten and Achshaph. Furthermore, Helkath (Tell el-Qassis, map reference 160.232),⁴⁷³ is approx. 10 kilometres south of Beten. Accordingly, the four cities mentioned in Joshua give a wider area than the three cities suggested by Frankel.

According to Ahituv, Tel Regev is not a likely alternative, because the archaeological findings do not correspond with the history of Achshaph. Because Achshaph was an important city during the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, the tell must have been occupied in Middle Bronze Age II. This fits better with Tell Keisan than with Tel Regev. Tell Keisan is also much larger than Tel Regev.

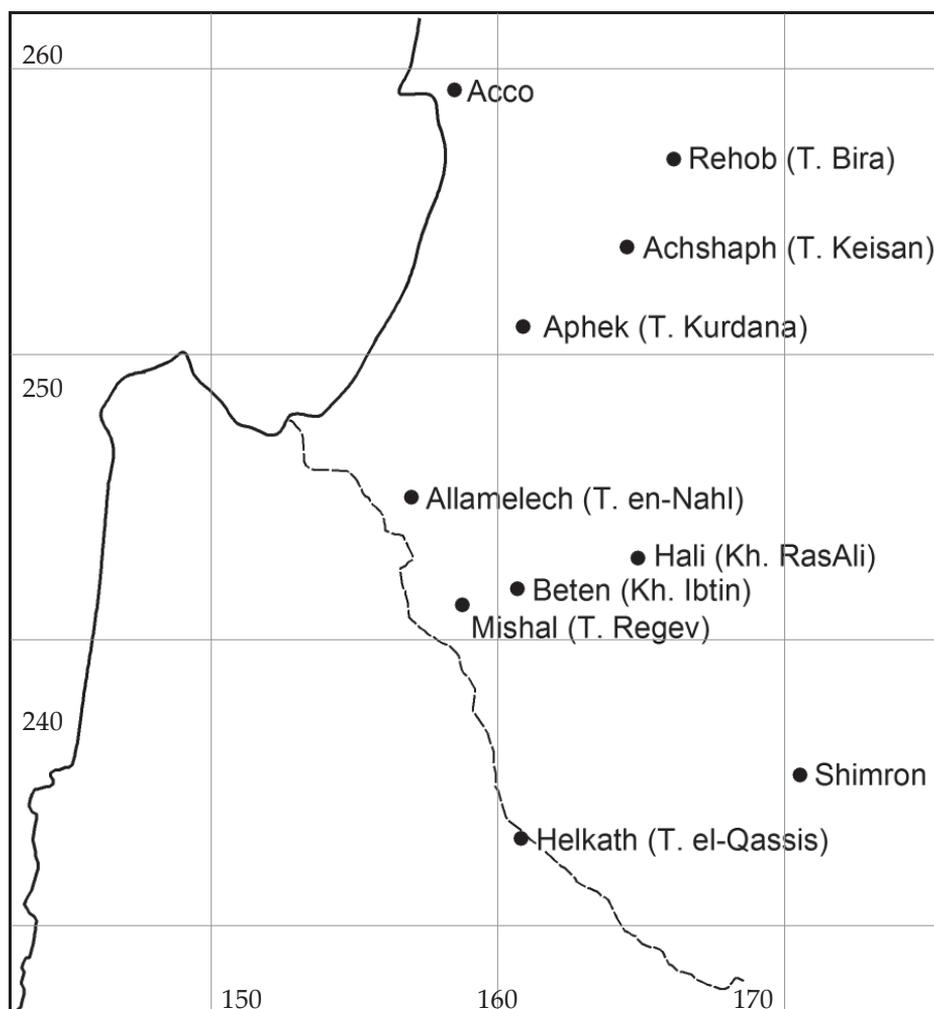
A petrographic analysis was made from the tablet used in the Amarna letter EA 223, which was sent by the same Enderuta as in EA 222, and accordingly from Achshaph, and compared it with the geological material taken from both Tell Regev and Tell Keisan. According to this test, Tell Keisan seems to be a more likely candidate for Achshaph.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ SMM 15-2, 408, Frankel 1998, 68.

⁴⁷² SMM 15-2, 155, Frankel 1998, 68.

⁴⁷³ SMM 15-2, 428.

⁴⁷⁴ Goren et al. 2004, 231-233.



Map 1. The sites of Thutmosis III's list on the Acco Plain.

We may conclude that Achshaph occurs in several Egyptian sources. The strategic situation, Late Bronze Age pottery, although scarce in Late Bronze I, and the Egyptian hieroglyphs and scarabs found at Tell Keisan make it the most probable candidate to identify it with Achshaph. The petrographic analysis confirms this conclusion.

Taanach

Number 42 is *t-'-n-k*.⁴⁷⁵ In the ancient documents, the name occurs in the list of Shishak's campaign (no. 14) in the form *t-'-n-k-ì3*.⁴⁷⁶ *Ta-'[a]-na-ki* is also one of the cities mentioned in Papyrus Petersburg 1116 A.⁴⁷⁷ In the Amarna Letters the name *aluTa-ah[nu-k]a*, EA 248:13⁴⁷⁸ may refer to Taanach but this connection is uncertain.⁴⁷⁹ Eusebius too, refers to the name in his Onomasticon.⁴⁸⁰ There are good reasons to identify this name as Taanach.⁴⁸¹ Taanach appears seven times in the Bible: Josh. 12:11; 17:11; 21:25, Judges 1:27; 5:19, 1 Kings 4:12 and 1 Chr. 7:29.

It is generally agreed that Taanach is Tell Ti'innik (map reference 171.214),⁴⁸² a mound at the southern end of the Jezreel Valley, between Megiddo and modern Jenin. Its name is derived from the village of Ti'innik on the southeastern slope of the tell. Taanach has no natural pass over Mount Carmel, as do Jenin and Megiddo. There is also no natural spring in Taanach: the water collection system depended on cisterns.

The first excavations were carried out in 1902-1904 by Ernst Selling. Paul Lapp conducted the next archaeological project in 1963, 1966 and 1968. A third project took place in 1982 and 1985-87 under the leadership of A. E. Glock.⁴⁸³

After his first season in 1963, Lapp concluded that the Late Bronze Age I settlement on the site continued until the campaign of Thutmosis III. The site was then unoccupied for more than one hundred years and was rebuilt a little before 1300 BCE.⁴⁸⁴ The next two seasons in 1966 and 1968 pointed out that the LB I period was the most prosperous period in Taanach's history, ending in huge

⁴⁷⁵ Simons 1937, 116.

⁴⁷⁶ Simons 1937, 181.

⁴⁷⁷ Epstein 1963, 50, Rainey 1999, 154*.

⁴⁷⁸ Knudtzon 1908, 798, Mercer 1939, 647.

⁴⁷⁹ Glock 1993-IV, 1428.

⁴⁸⁰ Glock 1992-VI, 287.

⁴⁸¹ Müller 1907, 16, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 127, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 184, 185.

⁴⁸² SMM 15-2, 787.

⁴⁸³ Glock 1992-VI, 287.

⁴⁸⁴ Lapp 1964, 8.

destruction. Subsequently the site was abandoned for over a century.⁴⁸⁵

In his report, Glock follows Lapp's results with some changes concerning Late Bronze Age periods. According to Glock, there was at least a partial abandonment following the battle of Thutmosis but architectural remains reveal traces of some settlement from the next century. Small assemblages of Mycenaean IIIA1 and IIIA2 and early IIIB pottery were found. Although most of it dates from the Mycenaean IIIA2 period (1390/1370-1320/1300 BCE), according to Glock, "there is no significant occupation between the mid-fifteenth and the late thirteenth centuries BCE".⁴⁸⁶ Finkelstein redated Iron Age Taanach, but as concerns the archaeology of the Late Bronze Age he writes, "the LB I settlement was destroyed by a fire that has been attributed to Thutmose III".⁴⁸⁷

A very important document is the collection of the Taanach Letters found by Sellin and Lapp at the site at the beginning of the 20th century. This cuneiform archive consists of thirteen documents containing approx. 80 personal names. Very probably, the letters are from the mid-15th century BCE. Unfortunately, they can be dated only on paleographic grounds, because they were discovered in a debris layer, not from any stratigraphic level. Four of the letters were written to Talwashur, the ruler of Taanach. Two are from Amanhatpa, who was possibly son and co-regent of Thutmosis III and the future Amenhotep II. In one letter the Egyptian writer blames the ruler of Taanach for not showing respect to him during his visit to Gaza, the Egyptian base in Palestine. In another letter the writer asks Talwashur to send military personnel and horses and chariots for the Egyptian army in Megiddo.⁴⁸⁸

To conclude, Taanah in Late Bronze Age I was a prosperous city, and it was destroyed at the end of that period and this is in accordance with the historical information about Thutmosis III and his campaign towards these regions. The name in Papyrus Petersburg 1116 A points to the time of Thutmosis III or Amenhotep II. Despite

⁴⁸⁵ Lapp 1967, 21, and 1969, 30-31.

⁴⁸⁶ Glock 1992-VI, 289, Glock 1993-IV, 1432.

⁴⁸⁷ Finkelstein 1988, 88.

⁴⁸⁸ Glock 1983, 57-66, Glock 1992-VI, 289-290. See also Malamat 1961, 218-227, Görg 1988b, 15-18 and Rainey 1999, 153*-162*.

the destruction in the 15th century BCE, the site did not stay totally unoccupied because remains of subsequent layers have been found. A peculiar detail is that the Taanach Letters show a strong Egyptian influence following the destruction. It may be concluded therefore that the city was rebuilt and taken into the hands of the Egyptians as one of the governmental centres of the Pharaoh.

Aphek

Number 66 is *ì-p-q-n*.⁴⁸⁹ The earliest mention of this city is in the Egyptian Execration Texts in the form *ʾIpkw̄m*.⁴⁹⁰ Both of them have been identified with Aphek.⁴⁹¹ Later Amenhotep II in his second campaign to Canaan mentions Aphek as the first city in operation. His scribe writes, "Year 9, 3rd month of the first season, day 25. His majesty proceeded to Retenu on his second victorious campaign, against the town of Aphek. It came out in surrender to the great victory of Pharaoh – life, prosperity, health! His majesty went forth by chariot, adorned with weapons of warfare, against the town Yehem."⁴⁹²

There are at least four different biblical sites with the name Aphek.⁴⁹³ One was located on the Sharon Plain (Tell Ras el-ʾAin, map reference 143.168).⁴⁹⁴ The second was situated in the Golan (possibly En Gev, map reference 210.243 or Tel Soreq, map reference 216.242).⁴⁹⁵ The third could be identified with Tell Kurdana in the Acco Plain (map reference 160.250).⁴⁹⁶ The fourth is Afqa in Lebanon.⁴⁹⁷

The one in the list of Thutmosis is most probably Tell Ras el-ʾAin/Tel Aphek-Antipatris (map reference 143.168). Its location in the list between Ono and Socoh favours this identification although not

⁴⁸⁹ Simons 1937, 117.

⁴⁹⁰ Posener 1940, 69, ANET 329.

⁴⁹¹ Müller 1907, 21, Helck 1971, 121, Görg 1974, 33-34, Aharoni 1979, 161 and Ahituv 1984, 61.

⁴⁹² ANET 246.

⁴⁹³ Kochavi (2000, 12-14) lists even five possible sites called Aphek or Apheqa.

⁴⁹⁴ SMM 15-2, 067.

⁴⁹⁵ SMM 15-2, 069, 070. Tel Soreq is located below Kibbutz Afiq. En Gev and Tel Soreq have been excavated as a part of the Project of the Land of Geshur, directed by Moshe Kochavi, see Kochavi et al. 1992, 30-44, 84-85.

⁴⁹⁶ SMM 15-2, 068.

⁴⁹⁷ Aharoni 1979, 430.

all the names are in geographical order.⁴⁹⁸ The mention of Amenhotep II supports this because Yaham/Yehem is on the same route northwards from Aphek. There are no other suitable candidates for Aphek in the region. Tell Ras el-'Ain lies in a very strategic place by Via Maris, where all the troops marching from Egypt northwards would have to pass by.⁴⁹⁹

The first excavations at the site took place in 1934-35 and the next in 1961. The latest large-scale project was directed by Moshe Kochavi from 1972 to 1985. The areas A, B, C, D, F, G, H, and X have been excavated. Late Bronze Age remains have been found in the areas A10 and A9, D6 and D5, G6, and X12 and X11.⁵⁰⁰

Aphek in the Middle Bronze Age II was a large city with many palaces over the centuries. In Area A two well-preserved winepresses were found. Each of their storage pits had a capacity of 3,500 litres. They can be dated with Stratum A9/X12, hence they belong to the last Late Bronze Age city.⁵⁰¹

The summit of the acropolis is Area X. The last palace (Palace III, Stratum X15) was destroyed in the middle of the 16th century BCE.⁵⁰² A large palace of the 15th to 14th centuries BCE (Palace IV, Stratum X14) was built directly on top of the ruins of the Middle Bronze stronghold and in the same position. According to Kochavi, this palace reflects the establishment of Thutmosis' imperial administration. The next palace (Palace V, Stratum X13, in the 14th to 13th centuries BCE) was located further to the south and had a different layout and orientation.⁵⁰³

Strong Egyptian influence is indicated, especially in the next period, Stratum X12, where the Egyptian governor's residence was

⁴⁹⁸ Kochavi 2000, 16, "The position of Aphek in the "topographical list" of Thutmose III between Lod and Ono to the south and Socho to the north was instrumental in its identification."

⁴⁹⁹ SMM 15-2, 067, Maisler 1935, 79, Aharoni 1979, 49, Kochavi 1981, 77, 78, and Kochavi 2000, 16. Noth (1938a, 46n2) considered that Ras el-'Ain could be a possible candidate for no. 66 in Thutmosis' list, but because there are, according to him, neither Late Bronze nor Iron Age pottery, a better location is Tell el-Muchmar approx. four kilometres to the northwest. As we shall see, the excavations at Ras el-'Ain changed this situation

⁵⁰⁰ Kochavi 1981, 76, Kochavi 1993-I, 65-66, Feldman 2002, 54.

⁵⁰¹ Kochavi 1993-I, 68.

⁵⁰² Beck & Kochavi 1985, 29-30. In page 29 must be a mistake, because the destruction of Palace III is said to have destroyed in the middle of the 15th century, but in reality, as the Table 1 in page 30 shows, it took place in mid-16th century. Also the footnote in page 29 is illogic.

⁵⁰³ Beck & Kochavi 1985, 29-30. See also Kochavi 2000, 17.

found. Pottery from Stratum X12 corresponds with Gezer Stratum VIIb, Megiddo Stratum VIIb, Beth Shean Stratum VII, Lachish Fosse Temple III and Level VII. This Egyptian influenced Canaanite history ended with this stratum, which can be dated to 1240/1230 BCE. The exact dating comes from an Akkadian cuneiform tablet where the names Takuhlinu and Haya appear. The names are known from historical sources.⁵⁰⁴

The stratigraphy of Middle Bronze Age IIB to Late Bronze Age II in Area X on the acropolis of Tel Aphek is as follows:⁵⁰⁵

Stratum X16	Middle Bronze IIB	18 th –17 th cent.	Palace III
Stratum X15	Middle Bronze IIB	destroyed mid-16 th cent	Palace III
Stratum X14	Late Bronze I	15 th –14 th cent.	Palace IV
Stratum X13	Late Bronze II	14 th –13 th cent.	Palace V
Stratum X12	Late Bronze II	destroyed 1240/1230 BC	Palace VI ⁵⁰⁶

For our purposes we may assume that Tell Ras el-'Ain/Tel Aphek is the site mentioned in Thutmosis III's list and that it was inhabited in the Late Bronze Age I. Palace IV in Stratum X14 is a remnant from that time. The new orientation of the next palace may reflect some change in the history of the city after Thutmosis III's campaign.

Beth Shean

Number 110 is *b-t š-ì-r*,⁵⁰⁷ is identified with the name Beth Shean.⁵⁰⁸ The name also occurs in the list of Seti I⁵⁰⁹ and in the text of Ramses II.⁵¹⁰ In the Amarna Letters it is in the form *bit-sa-a-ni* (e.g. EA 289, 20). The king of Jerusalem writes to the Pharaoh, "Behold, the land of Gintikirmil belongs to Tagi, and the people of G[i]nti are a garrison in Betsani."⁵¹¹ The name also appears in Papyrus Anastasi. The writer

⁵⁰⁴ Beck & Kochavi 1985, 29-41, Feldman 2002, 56.

⁵⁰⁵ Beck & Kochavi 1985, 30.

⁵⁰⁶ Beck & Kochavi 1985, 30 writes 1230 BCE but Kochavi, according to Feldman (2002, 56), mentions 1240 BCE.

⁵⁰⁷ Simons 1937, 118.

⁵⁰⁸ Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 128, Aharoni 1979, 163.

⁵⁰⁹ Simons 1937, 142.

⁵¹⁰ Mazar 1993b, 214.

⁵¹¹ Knudtzon 1908, 874, Mercer 1939, 719.

mentions many place-names, "Pray, teach me about the appearance of Qiyen, let me know Rehob, explain, Beth-Shan and Tirqa-El. The stream of Jordan, how is it crossed? Let me know the way to pass Megiddo, which is above it."⁵¹² All these references point to the large city of Beth Shean (map reference 197.212),⁵¹³ situated in the eastern Jezreel Valley close to the River Jordan has been settled almost continuously from at least the Chalcolithic Period up to modern times.⁵¹⁴

Archaeological projects, on the mound, were conducted during 1921-1933 by the University of Pennsylvania. In 1983, Yigael Yadin directed a short period of excavations.⁵¹⁵ The most recent project was carried out by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem under the leadership of Amihai Mazar in 1989-1996.⁵¹⁶

In the Late Bronze Age the site was occupied by the Egyptians, and much Egyptian material has been found there.⁵¹⁷ Stratum IX was the first Late Bronze Age level uncovered by the Pennsylvania group. The Pennsylvania group found a temple and attributed it to the 18th Egyptian Dynasty. The renewed excavations of the Hebrew University worked in areas R, S, N, and Q. In Area R Stratum IX was subdivided into three different strata. They found an earlier temple below the courtyard of the former temple complex. The dates of these are not very clear.⁵¹⁸ The latest suggestion for the stratigraphy of Beth Shean is as follows:⁵¹⁹

⁵¹² ANET 253, 477.

⁵¹³ SMM 15-2, 206.

⁵¹⁴ McGovern 1992-I, 695.

⁵¹⁵ See Yadin & Geva 1986.

⁵¹⁶ Mazar 2001, 289.

⁵¹⁷ Morris (2005, 15, 16) notes that it is not easy to discern artefacts of Egyptian origin and of local manufacture. At Beth Shean the materials were local but the artisans may not have been. See also Mazar 1997a, 157.

⁵¹⁸ Mazar in an e-mail message to the writer 25.11.2005: "In the first publications things were less clear and even now it is difficult to say if the temple of our Stratum R-2 is earlier or later than Thutmose III. We have no good criteria to resolve this question." Indeed, in Mazar 1993b, 216 the first temple was attributed to Stratum R3 but in Mazar 1997a, 151 to Stratum R2. In both cases it was thought to precede the Egyptian occupation of Beth Shean.

⁵¹⁹ http://www.rehov.org/project/tel_beth_shean.htm (7.12.2004).

Pennsylvania	Hebrew University	Period	Date
Stratum XA	R3	Middle Bronze II	16 th century
Stratum IX	R2	Late Bronze IA-B	15 th century
Stratum IX	R1b	Late Bronze IB	late 15 th century
Stratum IX	R1a	Late Bronze IIA	14 th century – destruction
Strata VIII-VII	S5	Late Bronze IIB	13 th century

The earliest temple at the site is now attributed to Stratum R2, in the 15th century BCE. The building has a unique plan with three different rooms. The most exceptional feature was the access to the main hall through a corner entrance way. The dimensions of the building are 11.70 x 14.60 metres, and all the walls, benches, and floors were coated with white plaster. According to Mazar, this is the earliest example of a group of non-monumental, irregular temples, which differ from the mainstream Canaanite temples that otherwise has a direct approach to the main hall of the complex. The temple was intentionally abandoned, perhaps due to earthquake damage. This stratum belongs possibly to the period before the Egyptian domination at the site.⁵²⁰

Stratum R1b yielded a large building with several rooms. In the southern part of the area a casemate structure was found. It belonged to a residence or a palace, not to an outer wall as previously thought. In one of the rooms a “lion and dog” orthostat was discovered. Pottery contains mostly local Canaanite types but also quite a few imported wares. Several Egyptian forms of local manufacture indicates an Egyptian presence at Beth Shean at this time. Also a sherd with a man playing a trumpet of Egyptian type was found. Stratum R1a belongs to the 14th century and it ended with a massive destruction.⁵²¹

A stele found at Beth Shean contains a text, “Mekal, the god of Beth Shan.” It was written by an Egyptian architect Amen-em-Opet and his

⁵²⁰ Mazar 1997a, 151-152, Mazar 1997b, 67.

⁵²¹ http://www.rehov.org/project/tel_beth_shean.htm (7.12.2004).

son.⁵²² It belongs to Stratum IXA which corresponds to R1b/a. Three basalt stelae have been found, two of them belonging to Seti I and one to Ramses II.⁵²³ Seti I writes on one of them e.g., “The wretched foe who is in the town of Hamath is gathering to himself many people, while he is seizing the town of Beth-Shan. Then there will be an alliance with them of Pahel. He does not permit the Prince of Rehob to go outside.”⁵²⁴ In 1993 an inscribed Akkadian cylinder was discovered at the site. It is a letter from Tagi to Lab’aya, which is a well-known name from the Amarna Letters.⁵²⁵ In addition, a statue of Ramses III has been unearthed at Beth Shean.⁵²⁶

No special Canaanite settlement from the Late Bronze Age was found at Beth Shean. The site seems to have been the Egyptian headquarters in northern Canaan, and no other than administrative buildings were discovered.⁵²⁷ The Egyptian influence increased in the following centuries.⁵²⁸

In conclusion, we may say that Beth Shean fell into the hands of the Egyptians in the 15th century BCE. Probably the first stratum including Egyptian material is Stratum IX-R1b. Historically this was the period of Thutmose III. Egyptian domination at the site began with him, and he made Beth Shean one of his headquarters in northern Canaan. No destruction level from that period is found.

Megiddo

Number 2 in the list is *m-k-t-<y>*.⁵²⁹ Besides the list of Thutmose III, *m-k-t-<y>* which is generally agreed to be Megiddo, plays a central role in the Annals of the Pharaoh when his battles at the site are described. This battle of Megiddo is one of the most famous wars in ancient times. According to Thutmose III, more than 100 Canaanite cities participated in the warfare. After he arrived at the city, the following is recounted, “What is it like to go [on] this [road] which becomes (so) narrow? It is [reported] that the foe is there, waiting on [the outside,

⁵²² ANET 249.

⁵²³ Mazar 1993b, 217.

⁵²⁴ ANET 253.

⁵²⁵ Horowitz 1996, 208-218, see also Horowitz 1997, 97-100.

⁵²⁶ See Higginbotham 1999, 225-232.

⁵²⁷ Mazar 1997b, 67.

⁵²⁸ Mazar 1997b, 68-73, see also McGovern et al. 1993, 1-27.

⁵²⁹ Simons 1937, 115.

while they are] becoming (more) numerous. Will not horse (have to) go after [horse, and the army] and the people similarly? Will our vanguard be fighting while the [rear guard] is waiting here in Aruna, unable to fight? Now two (other) roads are here. One of the roads - behold, it is [to the east of] us, so that it comes out at Taanach. The other - behold, it is to the north side of Djefti, and will come out to the north of Megiddo."⁵³⁰

Megiddo also appears in Papyrus Petersburg 1116A from the time of Thutmosis III or Amenhotep II.⁵³¹ It occurs in the list of Seti I, too.⁵³² Megiddo is mentioned in several Amarna Letters (written as *aluMa-gi-daki* EA 234:19; 242:4; 244:24, and *aluMa-ki-daki* EA 243:11; 42; 245:26).⁵³³ In one of the letters (243) Biridja of Megiddo writes to the Pharaoh, "I have heard the words of the king, my lord and my sun, and, behold, I protect Makida, the city of the king, my lord."⁵³⁴ All of these inscriptions indicate Megiddo's firm loyalty to Egypt in the Late Bronze Age.⁵³⁵

Megiddo is identified with Tell el-Mutesellim (map reference 167.221),⁵³⁶ which is located in the western part of the Jezreel Valley, close to the foot of Mount Carmel. It is quite near the northern mouth of Wadi Ara, which was one of the main routes across the Carmel ridge. This location was of great strategic importance. Because of this and its location on the fertile valley with good water sources, Megiddo became one of the most important cities in the country throughout antiquity.⁵³⁷

Gottlieb Schumacher directed the first excavation project in the years 1903-1905 on behalf of the German Society for Palestinian Research.⁵³⁸ The second and much longer project was conducted by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago between 1925 and

⁵³⁰ ANET 235.

⁵³¹ Epstein 1963, 50, Goren et al. 2004, 231.

⁵³² Simons 1937, 147.

⁵³³ Knudtzon 1908, 776, 786, 788, 790, 792, 794, Mercer 1939, 629, 637, 639, 641, 643.

⁵³⁴ Mercer 1939, 639. The pottery used in the Amarna tablets sent from Megiddo has been analysed; it was made of a very special clay, only used at Megiddo, see Goren et al. 2004, 246.

⁵³⁵ See also Ussishkin 1992, 666.

⁵³⁶ SMM 15-2, 586. Petrie 1898, 176, Müller 1907, 8, Noth 1938a, 55, Görg 1974, 137-155, Aharoni 1979, 159, Ahituv 1984, 139.

⁵³⁷ Ussishkin 1992, 666, 672.

⁵³⁸ The report: Schumacher 1908.

1939 under the direction of Clarence S. Fischer, P.L.O. Guy and Gordon Loud.⁵³⁹ At the time, this was the largest single excavation site in Israel. Later Yigael Yadin carried out three short seasons excavating Megiddo in the 1960s and early 1970s on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1992 the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University initiated a new project under the direction of Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin and Baruch Halpern. This project is ongoing.⁵⁴⁰

The excavations by Chicago University have laid a foundation for later studies at the site. They formed the following stratigraphical order from Middle Bronze Age II to the Iron Age:⁵⁴¹

Stratum XII	(1750-1700)	Middle Bronze II (1750-1500)
Stratum XI	(1700-1650)	
Stratum X	(1650-1550)	
Stratum IX	(1550-1479)	Late Bronze I (1500-1350)
Stratum VIII	(1479-1350)	
Stratum VII	(1350-1150)	Late Bronze II (1350-1200)
Stratum VI	(1150-1100)	Early Iron I (1200-1100)
Stratum V	(1050-1000)	Early Iron II (Late Iron I) (1050-1000)

Later the dates of the different Late Bronze Age strata have been slightly modified by different scholars. The dating of the Iron Age is more controversial but it will be studied later. Amihai Mazar suggests the following Late Bronze Age stratigraphy:⁵⁴²

Stratum IX	(c. 1550-1470)	Late Bronze IA Late Bronze IB
Stratum VIII	(1400-1300)	Late Bronze IIA
Stratum VIIIB	(1300-1200)	Late Bronze IIB

⁵³⁹ The excavation report: Loud 1948.

⁵⁴⁰ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 1.

⁵⁴¹ Loud 1948, 5.

⁵⁴² Mazar 1990, 242.

In both stratigraphies one division line is the year 1479 (c. 1470). This exact year has been calculated from a historical point of view, and it marks the conquest by Thutmose III.⁵⁴³ In addition, there are many shortcomings in the methodology of the Chicago University excavations. Sherds were not recorded and therefore the quantitative aspect could not be analysed. The stratigraphic accuracy of some sections was also not exact.⁵⁴⁴ The excavation reports show no wholesale destruction from this period.⁵⁴⁵ However, Aharoni notes that "Stratum VIII follows immediately upon the destruction of stratum IX (probably at the hands of Thutmose III)", and he continues that despite that conquest and destruction "no signs of decline are evident in stratum VIII. In fact this is one of the periods of Canaanite Megiddo's greatest material wealth."⁵⁴⁶

The renewed project by Finkelstein, Ussishkin and Halpern excavated areas G, F, H, J, and K. Late Bronze Age strata have been uncovered only in Area F, which is located in the lower terrace of the mound. The stratigraphy seems as follows:⁵⁴⁷

Level F-10	Stratum IX	Late Bronze I	15 th century
Level F-9	Stratum VIII?	Late Bronze II	14 th or 13 th century
Level F-8	Stratum VIIB?	Late Bronze II	13 th century
Level F-7	Stratum VIIA?	Late Bronze II	Late 13 th -early -12 th century

According to the Chicago University project, the first Late Bronze Age period (Stratum VIII) contained a massive city gate and a large palace. The city gate was already found in Stratum IX or even in Stratum X, and was destroyed in Stratum VIIA.⁵⁴⁸

The renewed project agreed with the view that Late Bronze Age I had a large city gate. The problem was that there were no walls

⁵⁴³ Mazar 1990, 239. Kempinski (1989, 10) suggests that Stratum VIII, instead of commonly thought Stratum IX, is the city surrendered by Thutmose III. According to Bourke (1996, 60), Kempinski's results are "a partisan interpretation of the Megiddo strata".

⁵⁴⁴ See this criticism in Finkelstein et al. 2000, 223.

⁵⁴⁵ Loud 1948, 16, Gonen 1987, 97, Finkelstein et al. 2000, 594.

⁵⁴⁶ Aharoni 1993-III, 1010-1011.

⁵⁴⁷ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 11, 594, 599. According to him, "absolute dates of the LBII strata are not clear."

⁵⁴⁸ Loud 1948, 18-33.

associated with the gate. Actually, no evidence of Late Bronze Age walls was found. Indeed, most of the Late Bronze Age cities in Canaan were unfortified.⁵⁴⁹ But the problem is why Thutmosis III had to surround the city for seven months if it had no walls around it. Before the publication of the final report of the Late Bronze Age excavations three possible explanations have been suggested. First, the earlier, massive Middle Bronze Age fortifications continued to function in the Late Bronze Age. Second, the Late Bronze Age city was protected by a belt of houses forming a defence system. Third, the city was unfortified like almost all Late Bronze Age cities in the country, and Thutmosis III surrounded the city and patiently waited for the city to surrender.⁵⁵⁰

The excavations in Area F confirmed that the Late Bronze Age I settlement (Level F-10, contemporary with Stratum IX of the upper mound) was unfortified. Only some traces of this settlement were revealed, but it seems obvious that after the major building efforts of Middle Bronze Age II, there was a period of decline in the lower mound in Late Bronze Age I. Level F-9 seems to signify a period of prosperity at the site. Megiddo extended over both upper and lower mounds, similar to Hazor.⁵⁵¹

The opinions of Finkelstein and Ussishkin differ in the dating of strata VIII-VIIA. According to Finkelstein, Stratum VIII (F9) can hardly post-date the mid-14th century BCE and the pottery of Stratum VIIB (F8) must be dated to the first half of the 13th century. Stratum VIIA (F7) belongs to the late 13th century, and the city was destroyed in the second half of the 12th century. Ussishkin, instead, dates Stratum VIII (F9) to the 13th century BCE. According to him, in the Amarna Age a relatively modest settlement existed at Megiddo. The final report from this period is forthcoming in the next volume of the Megiddo Expedition reports.⁵⁵²

Thus far, no special archaeological evidence of Egyptian influence at Late Bronze Age Megiddo has been found, although the textual

⁵⁴⁹ See e.g. Gonen 1984, 61-73.

⁵⁵⁰ Finkelstein & Ussishkin 1994, 31-33. See also Gonen 1987, 97 and Ussishkin 1992, 672. Gonen (1992, 213) argues that "it is odd that no fortifications of that period have been uncovered at the site."

⁵⁵¹ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 592-593.

⁵⁵² Finkelstein et al. 2000, 594-595.

evidence for this is strong. A similar phenomenon is to be found at Dor where we have several inscriptions from the 12th-11th century BCE displaying Egyptian presence at the site, but no archaeological evidence illustrates this.⁵⁵³ According to Gonen, the Egyptian domination may indeed have left its mark, but in invisible form: Megiddo ended the custom of conducting intra-mural burial customs and therefore no Egyptian signs were left.⁵⁵⁴ The El Amarna period is a little problematic, too. The Amarna Letters show a lively situation in the city but archaeological finds have revealed a relatively modest settlement. Before and after the El Amarna period Megiddo was more prosperous.⁵⁵⁵ In Jerusalem we have the same discrepancy: great deal of information in the Amarna Letters and hardly any archaeological remains at the city itself.⁵⁵⁶

Before the final report of the renewed excavation on Late Bronze Age Megiddo it can only be said that the city was occupied during the time of Thutmose III. No special destruction level is to be found from that period.

Joppa

Number 62 is *y-p-<w>*.⁵⁵⁷ The name occurs in many ancient sources, e.g. in Papyrus Harris, in the Amarna Letters in the form *alula-a-puki* and *alula-pu*, EA 138:6, 85; 248a:26; 294:20; 296:33.⁵⁵⁸ It could be identified with Joppa.⁵⁵⁹ The ancient city is located inside the modern Tel-Aviv-Yafo, at its southern edge (map reference 126.162).⁵⁶⁰ During the 18th Dynasty Joppa was, together with Gaza, one of the main administrative centres in southern Canaan.⁵⁶¹

Surveys and excavations were carried out at Joppa from 1948 to 1950 by P. L. O. Guy, and from 1955 to 1964 in six seasons by J. Kaplan.⁵⁶² Later Ze'ev Herzog conducted an expedition there in the

⁵⁵³ See Stern 1997, 132.

⁵⁵⁴ Gonen 1987, 97.

⁵⁵⁵ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 595, Gonen 1987, 97-98.

⁵⁵⁶ See Na'aman 1996, 17-27.

⁵⁵⁷ Simons 1937, 117.

⁵⁵⁸ Knudtzon 1908, 579, 884, 890, Mercer 1939, 457, 461, 649, 731, 735.

⁵⁵⁹ Müller 1907, 19, Helck 1971, 121, Aharoni 1979, 161.

⁵⁶⁰ SMM 15-2, 483.

⁵⁶¹ Singer 1994, 291, 307.

⁵⁶² Kaplan 1972, 78, Kaplan & Kaplan 1992-III, 947.

years 1997-1999.⁵⁶³ Level VI belongs to Late Bronze I. It contained remains of stone foundations of some mud-brick buildings. The pottery finds from that period included Bichrome and grey-burnished ware and some Monochrome vessels and Base Ring Ware imported from Cyprus, all typical of Late Bronze Age Canaan.⁵⁶⁴ Herzog's expedition studied the Late Bronze Age I gate and parts of a citadel from that period. Several Egyptian objects were found but mostly of a secondary context. Among them were two scarabs from Amenhotet III.⁵⁶⁵

Hence, according to the ancient documents and archaeological research Joppa was an important city in Late Bronze Age I.

Gath

Number 63 is *k-n-t*.⁵⁶⁶ The same name may appear four times in the list of Thutmosis III. No. 44 is *k-n-t í-s-n*, no. 70 is *k-n-t*, and no. 93 is *k-n-t-t*.⁵⁶⁷ Moreover, in the Amarna Letters it is to be found a few times in the forms *aluGin-tiki*, *aluGim-tiki* and *aluGin-ti-ki-ir-mi-il*, e.g. EA 288:26; 289:18, 19; 290:9.⁵⁶⁸ The name occurs in ancient texts sometimes as such and sometimes in connection with other names, such as Gath-Carmel, Gath of the Philistines, Gath-Rimmon, Gath-Padalla, and Gath-Hepher. The latter part of these names distinguishes them from the other Gaths.⁵⁶⁹ In the Bible the name Gath appears some 30 times and Gittaim twice. Consequently, the name was very common in ancient Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Aharoni mentions five different cities named Gath and in addition, Gittaim and Moresheth-gat. Two of them are located in the northern part of the country (Gath in Asher, Jett, map reference 172.264 and Gath-Hepher, Khirbet ez-Zurra, 180.238), one in the central part of the country, on the northern Sharon Plain (Gath-Padalla, Jett, 154.200), one by the Yarkon River, north of Yafo (Gath-Rimmon, Tell Gerisa, 132.166), one in the northern Shephelah, close to Gezer (Gittaim, Ras

⁵⁶³ Sweeney 2003, 54.

⁵⁶⁴ Kaplan & Kaplan 1992-III, 947.

⁵⁶⁵ Sweeney 2003, 54-65.

⁵⁶⁶ Simons 1937, 117.

⁵⁶⁷ Simons 1937, 116-118.

⁵⁶⁸ Knudtson 1908, 870, 874, 876, Mercer 1939, 715, 719, 721.

⁵⁶⁹ B. Mazar 1954, 227.

Abu Humeid, 140.145) and one in the southern Shephelah (Gath of the Philistines, Tell es-Safi, 135.123). Moresheth-gat (Tel el-Judeideh, 141.115) is even further to the south of Tell es-Safi.⁵⁷⁰

According to B. Mazar, Gath-Padalla on the Sharon Plain is no. 70 in the list of Thutmosis III, no. 250 in the Amarna Letters and no. 34 in the list of Shishak. According to him, Gath-Rimmon by the Yarkon River is number 63 in the list of Thutmosis III, and Gittaim might be Gath of the Philistines.⁵⁷¹ Aharoni agrees with the identification of no. 70 in the list of Thutmosis but disagrees with that of no. 63. According to him, this number refers to Tell es-Safi, which is consequently also the Gath of the Philistines.⁵⁷² Anson F. Rainey has also clearly proved that the identification of Tell es-Safi with Gath of the Philistines is very well justified in the light of both textual and geographical evidence. He takes several biblical and post-biblical examples to prove this.⁵⁷³ After seven seasons of excavations at Tell es-Safi Aren M. Maeir concluded that the "excavations strongly suggest that the site should be identified as 'Gath of the Philistines'." He mentions four points that favour this identification: the extensive amount of Philistine material culture, the large size of the site during Iron Age I and II, the compatibility with the biblical description during Iron Age IIA, and the decreasing of the size of the site after the early 8th century.⁵⁷⁴

Gath no. 63 in Thutmosis' list must be located on the southern Sharon Plain or in southern Shephelah because it is in the list inside the group with Joppa, Lod, Ono, and Aphek. This supports the identification with Tell es-Safi, which lies not far from those sites. If Gath no. 70 does not refer to the same place, it could be Gath-Padalla/Jett, which lies in northern Sharon. Numbers 44 and 93 are more uncertain. Gath mentioned in Shishak's list is most probably Gath-Padalla/Jett.⁵⁷⁵

Accordingly, the concentration here is on Tell es-Safi, because it is the most obvious candidate for Gath of Thutmosis III no 63. The site is

⁵⁷⁰ Aharoni 1979, 434-435, 439.

⁵⁷¹ B. Mazar 1954, 227-235.

⁵⁷² Aharoni 1979, 434-435.

⁵⁷³ Rainey 1975, 63*-76*. See also Seger 1992-II, 909.

⁵⁷⁴ Maeir 2004, 321-322.

⁵⁷⁵ See page 205 of this study.

a very high mound approx. 100 metres above the surrounding valley, and dominates the area and the main roads in Shephelah. The tell is some 25-30 hectares in size.⁵⁷⁶

Tell es-Safi was first excavated by Frederick J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister in 1899. Over the next decades, there were a few occasional digs until a new archaeological project was launched under the direction of Aren Maeir in 1996.⁵⁷⁷ The excavation areas included A, E, and C, and since 2004 also F. According to these excavations, the site has been almost continuously inhabited since the Chalcolithic period. In 2001 the team found in Area E a Late Bronze Age level. The city ended with a destruction which was, according to the excavators, the last stage of Canaanite Gath. They also found an incised proto-Canaanite inscription, several Egyptian or Egyptian-style seals and a great amount of local and imported pottery. One discovery was made as a result of aerial photography. It revealed a large trench encircling the tell. The trench was very deep, and its lowest levels contained Iron Age II pottery. According to Maeir and Ehrlich, large trenches of this kind are described in two ancient texts: the description of Thutmosis III's siege of Megiddo and the Zakkur inscription from northern Syria.⁵⁷⁸

According to the most recent report, the earliest in-situ remains date to the Early Bronze II-III, which is immediately below the terminal Late Bronze Age strata (Temporary Strata 9-10). The exact dating of these strata is not confirmed.⁵⁷⁹

Because no final archaeological report from Tell es-Safi is available, we must be reconciled to the present situation and conclude that Tell es-Safi is the most probable candidate for Thutmoses III's Gath (no 63) and at least some remains from Late Bronze Age I have been found.

Gezer

Number 104 is *q-d-r*.⁵⁸⁰ The name also appears in a brief text of Thutmosis IV, found in his mortuary temple in western Thebes.⁵⁸¹ In

⁵⁷⁶ Schneider 1997, 250.

⁵⁷⁷ Maeir 2004, 320-322. <http://faculty.biu.ac.il/~maeira> (29.11.2005).

http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/Tell_esSafiGath.htm (29.11.2005)

⁵⁷⁸ Maeir & Ehrlich 2001, 22-31.

⁵⁷⁹ <http://faculty.biu.ac.il/~maeira/> (29.11.2005)

⁵⁸⁰ Simons 1937, 118.

the Amarna Letters there is *aluGaz-riki* or *aluGa-azrki* (e.g. EA 253:22; 254:22; 287:14; 290:8; 292:43; 299:4 and probably 300:5,⁵⁸² in addition e.g. 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 292, 297).⁵⁸³ It is commonly agreed that the Egyptian *q-d-r* and the forms in the Amarna Letters are to be identified with Gezer.⁵⁸⁴ Ayyaluna (biblical Aijalon) and Sarha (biblical Zorah) belonged to the territory of Gezer, according to tablet EA 273. Gezer is also one of the sites mentioned in the Merneptah Stele: "Carried off is Ashkelon; seized upon is Gezer; Yanoam is made as that which does not exist; Israel is laid waste, his seed is not."⁵⁸⁵

Tell el-Jazari/Tel Gezer is a large mound in northern Shephelah (map reference 142.140).⁵⁸⁶ It was first excavated in 1902 and 1909 by R. A. S. Macalister, and later in the 1930s by A. Rowe. The most recent projects were launched in 1964 and lasted until the 1980s under the direction of W. G. Dever and J. D. Seger.⁵⁸⁷

Gezer was settled from the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages, throughout all the biblical periods. However, Late Bronze Age IA (early 15th century BCE) is represented only marginally. According to Dever, "a partial desertion may have taken place following the Thutmose III destruction".⁵⁸⁸ The next level, Stratum XVII from Late Bronze Age IB (late 15th century) is also poorly known, except for one cave, where a rich assembly of imported wares was found.⁵⁸⁹

The stratigraphy of Tel Gezer from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age is as follows:⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸¹ ANET 248.

⁵⁸² Knudtzon 1908, 810, 812, 864, 876, 880, 894, Mercer 1939, 659, 661, 711, 721, 729, 739, 741.

⁵⁸³ Goren et al. 2004, 270-279.

⁵⁸⁴ Müller 1907, 28, Noth 1938a, 55, Görg 1974, 79-89, Aharoni 1979, 163. Helck (1971, 128) reads *qasira* and suggests Gadara.

⁵⁸⁵ ANET 378. See e.g. Hasel 1994, 45-61.

⁵⁸⁶ SMM 15-2, 387.

⁵⁸⁷ Dever 1992-II, 998.

⁵⁸⁸ Dever 1992-II, 1000. In his excavation report Dever (1974, 36) writes, "there was a gap in occupation following the massive Str. 7 destruction."

⁵⁸⁹ Dever 1992-II, 1000.

⁵⁹⁰ Dever 1986b, 29.

General Stratum	Date
Strata XIX-XVIII	17 th –16 th cent.
Stratum XVII	15 th cent.
Strata XVI-XV	14 th cent.
Stratum XIV	13 th / 12 th cent.

The Cave, numbered I.10A, contained a great deal of Late Bronze Age I material. The tomb consisted of four different stratigraphic levels. The oldest of these was “The Lower Tomb Phase” which was dated to 1450-1380 BCE. The material showed international connections with Cyprus, Crete, and Egypt. Several Egyptian vessels pointed to Egyptian influence in the region. A few scarabs were discovered, and two of them belonged to Thutmose III (scarabs Sub-G1 and N3).⁵⁹¹

In spite of the large excavation project the information about Late Bronze Age Gezer is quite scanty. The habitation and Egyptian influence are clear and a destruction level in the time of Thutmose III has been found.

Jokneam

Number 113 is *'-n q-n-'-m*⁵⁹² and it can be identified with Jokneam.⁵⁹³ The name appears four times in the Bible (Josh.12:22; 19:11, and 21:34, and 1 Kings 4:12 in the form Jokmeam). It is a large tell in the Jezreel Valley by a slope of Mount Carmel. This Tell Qeimun/Tel Jokneam (map reference 160.230)⁵⁹⁴ dominates the exit of Wadi Milh and has therefore had a strategic position throughout history. The site was occupied from the Early Bronze Age onwards, and also in the Late Bronze Age.⁵⁹⁵

Excavations at Jokneam have been carried out since 1977 by Amnon Ben-Tor.⁵⁹⁶ Twenty-three occupation levels have been encountered, from Middle Bronze I to the Ottoman period. The transition from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age seems

⁵⁹¹ Seger 1988, 45-53. About the scarabs, see Weinstein 1988, 91-93.

⁵⁹² Simons 1937, 118.

⁵⁹³ Müller 1907, 30, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 126, Aharoni 1979, 163, and Ahituv 1984, 123.

⁵⁹⁴ SMM 15-2, 482.

⁵⁹⁵ Peterson 1977, 105, Ben-Tor 1992-III, 933.

⁵⁹⁶ Mazar 1990, 17.

to have been peaceful since no destruction between Strata XXI and XX was encountered. The practice of infant burials in jars under the house floors is characteristic of these strata. The Late Bronze Age city was probably unfortified. That the history of this city ended in a great catastrophe is evidenced by a destruction level that is 1.5 metres thick. This destruction took place probably in the second half of the 13th century BCE, and the site was subsequently abandoned for about one hundred years.⁵⁹⁷

Hence, Jokneam was settled in Late Bronze Age I but no destruction level at that time is to be found.

Ophrah

Numbers 53 and 54 are *'p-r wr* and *'p-r šr*⁵⁹⁸ and signifying "little" and "great" *'pra*.⁵⁹⁹ The name should probably be read Ophrah. This name appears in the Bible as the hometown of Gideon (Judg. 6:11). The geographical location of Ophrah is uncertain. Several different suggestions have been made. The traditional site for Ophrah is 'Afula (map reference 177.223).⁶⁰⁰ However, the other candidates for Ophrah are Hapharaim,⁶⁰¹ Far'ata,⁶⁰² Jinsafut,⁶⁰³ as well as many others.⁶⁰⁴ Etymologically, because Egyptian *r* and Semitic *l* are interchangeable it is possible to connect *'pra* with 'Afula. Although this identification is not certain it can be regarded as the most probable one.

The first excavations at 'Afula were carried out by E. L. Sukenik in 1937. He found burial sites from different periods, e.g. from the Late Bronze Age and similarly, a few sherds were found from that time.⁶⁰⁵ The next project took place under the direction of I. Ben-Dor and M. Dothan in 1950 and 1951. These projects confirmed the presence of remains from the Late Bronze Age. Although the main occupation

⁵⁹⁷ Ben-Tor 1992-III, 933-934.

⁵⁹⁸ Simons 1937, 117.

⁵⁹⁹ Müller 1907, 18, Dothan 1955, 22, 23, Helck 1971, 131, Aharoni 1979, 160. Interestingly, Helck, Dothan and Aharoni read no. 53 as "great" and no. 54 as "little", but Müller (1907, 18), mistakenly, the other way round.

⁶⁰⁰ SMM 15-2, 655, Dothan 1955, 23, Aharoni 1979, 440, Hamilton 1992-V, 27-28. According to Dothan, no. 53 is Tell 'Afula, and no. 54 el-Fule or Hapharaim.

⁶⁰¹ Gal 1982, 83.

⁶⁰² Na'aman 1989, 15.

⁶⁰³ Knauf 1991, 37-39.

⁶⁰⁴ See Na'aman 1989, 14-15 and Knauf 1991, 36.

⁶⁰⁵ Sukenik 1948, 16, Dothan 1955, 19.

level found in the excavations was Stratum III, the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, there were many sherds from the earlier periods, which testifies to continuous occupation since the Middle Bronze Age. The Late Bronze Age pottery consisted mainly of Mycenaean and Cypriot imported vessels, although the information Dothan gives is unclear.⁶⁰⁶

According to Dothan, the bulk of the Late Bronze Age material should be “in the not yet excavated parts of the tell”.⁶⁰⁷ The later short excavations in 1989 and 1999 did not provide more information concerning Late Bronze Age ‘Afula.⁶⁰⁸

For the purpose of this study Ophrah is one of the sites where the identification of the name and the geographical location remain quite uncertain. If Ophrah is the excavated ‘Afula some signs of Late Bronze Age I should be seen.

Anaharath

Number 52 is *ì-n-h-r-t*,⁶⁰⁹ signifying Anaharath.⁶¹⁰ The name also occurs in the text of Amenhotep II, as the Pharaoh took spoils from Anaharath, “The day of the Feast of Royal Coronation of his Majesty: Anaharath was plundered. List of booty of his majesty alone on this day: living maryanu: 17; children of princes: 6; living Asiatics: 68; hands: 123; teams: 7; chariots of silver and gold: 7; in addition to all their weapons of warfare; bulls: 443; cows: 370; and all (kinds of) cattle, without limit. Then the army presented very abundant booty.” This long list indicates that Anaharath must have been a large town with the status of a city-state.⁶¹¹ Anaharath appears in Josh. 19:19 as one of the cities allotted to the tribe of Issachar.

The most probable location is Tell el-Mukharkhash/Tel Rekes (map reference 194.228),⁶¹² which is located seven kilometres southeast of Mount Tabor. Tel Rekes is a large and high mound and, according to

⁶⁰⁶ Dothan 1955, 19-52. See the confused information in this study page 31n31.

⁶⁰⁷ Dothan 1955, 23.

⁶⁰⁸ Gal & Covello-Paran, 1996, 25-65, and Gal & Hana 2002, 27*.

⁶⁰⁹ Simons 1937, 117.

⁶¹⁰ Müller 1907, 18, Noth 1938a, 56, Helck 1971, 131, Aharoni 1979, 160, Ahituv 1984, 59, CBA 33.

⁶¹¹ ANET 247, Aharoni 1979, 152, Goren et al. 2004, 240.

⁶¹² SMM 15-2, 057, Aharoni 1979, 430. Gal 1982, 84, Frankel 1992-I, 221-222. Dothan (1955, 23) suggests that Anaharath might be identified with Tell el -Ajjul. Peterson (1977, 156), following Albright, identifies Tel Mukharkhash with Kishion.

Aharoni, “the only site which fits the situation and importance of Anaharath.”⁶¹³ Later Zvi Gal supported this identification.⁶¹⁴ The village nearby N’aurah may have preserved the name. The land around is good for agriculture and it has a rich water supply at the crossing of two wadis. The site has a good strategic location, because it is surrounded by higher hills on the east, north and south, and steep slopes make it a difficult climb.

The site was surveyed first by Albright and Saarisalo, and then by Peterson.⁶¹⁵ All discovered pottery from the Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Ages, but mostly from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. Later the site was surveyed and excavated by Zvi Gal at the beginning of the 1980s. This group of researches confirmed the identification of Anaharath, and found also remains from the Late Bronze Age.⁶¹⁶

The last survey was made in 1998. The impression that the Tel Rekes Regional Project revealed was slightly different to earlier ones as they found that the most extensive settlement at the site had been during the Middle Bronze Age, and they also recovered smaller quantities of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I and II pottery⁶¹⁷

Anaharath must have been an important city because the Egyptians had military interests in it. Tel Rekes was the major Late Bronze Age city in Lower Galilee and the most probable candidate for Anaharath.

b) Surveyed sites

Ashtaroth

Number 28 is ‘-s-t-r-t,⁶¹⁸ commonly identified with Ashtaroth. The name is probably already mentioned in the Egyptian Execration texts in the form ‘s...3tm.⁶¹⁹ In the Amarna Letters it is *aluAštarte/ aluAštarti*

⁶¹³ Aharoni 1979, 188 n86.

⁶¹⁴ Gal 1994, 36, 40, 45.

⁶¹⁵ Peterson 1977, 151-156.

⁶¹⁶ Gal 1982, 84, Frankel 1992-I, 221-222.

⁶¹⁷ Joffe et al. 1999, 140.

⁶¹⁸ Simons 1937, 116.

⁶¹⁹ Posener 1940, 78, ANET 329.

(EA 197:10; 256:21).⁶²⁰ The tablet EA 364 indicates that the site had a common border with Hazor.⁶²¹

Ashtaroth can most probably be located at Tell Ashtarrah.⁶²² The first archaeologist to survey Tell Ashtarrah (map reference 243.244) was W. F. Albright. He did this on horseback in the spring of 1925. His team travelled from Quneitra to Nawa, which Albright suggested might be Nwn in the list of Thutmosis III (no. 75). South of Nawa they found three mounds: Sheikh Sa'd, Tell Ashtarrah and Tell el-Ash'ari. According to Albright, these have all been identified with Ashtaroth or with Karnaim or both. After gathering pottery from each mound Albright concluded that being a very large and mainly artificial mound Tell 'Ashtarrah is the ancient Ashtaroth. He found sherds from the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Ages and from the beginning of the Iron Age.⁶²³

To date there have been no excavations at Tell Ashtarrah,⁶²⁴ however, the identification of the site with Ashtaroth seems to have become widespread since the 1920s. Aharoni assumes that the name Ashtaroth was in its original form Beth-Ashtarot, because many theophoric names started with "Beth", meaning "house" or "temple".⁶²⁵ Ashtaroth was the ancient capital of Bashan and its location on the great north-south highway, the so-called King's Highway, made its location very suitable for military campaigns to utilise.⁶²⁶

Tell Ash'ari is almost as large as Tell Ashtarrah, and pottery has been found there from the Early Bronze and Late Bronze Ages, but the site seems to have been occupied mainly in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Albright identified Tell Ash'ari with the ancient city of Raphon/Raphana. Sheikh Sa'd he identified with Karnaim, because

⁶²⁰ Knudtzon 1908, 728, 816, Mercer 1939, 583, 665.

⁶²¹ Goren et al. 2004, 218. Petrographic analysis indicates that tablets EA 334, 336 and 337 are nearly identical and indicate a northern Canaanite provenance.

⁶²² Müller 1907, 13, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 129, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 156.

⁶²³ Albright 1925, 14-15.

⁶²⁴ Peterson 1992-I, 647-648.

⁶²⁵ Aharoni 1979, 108.

⁶²⁶ Aharoni 1979, 53-56, 140. He says also that Ashtaroth is located by a branch of Via Maris, which does not seem very logical, because Via Maris extends far to the other side of the Jordan and the picture of the roads in Aharoni's book does not show a connection with Via Maris.

the richest pottery was from the Maccabaeian and Herodian periods. Both of these mounds also contained sherds from the Late Bronze Age.⁶²⁷

The location, name and size of Tell Ashtarah, and a reference to it in the Amarna Letters, makes it probable that the site is to be identified with Ashtaroth. The surveys, although very old, prove the existence of the site in the Late Bronze Age.

Shimron

Number 35 is *š-m-n*.⁶²⁸ The name occurs in several ancient texts and there are an exceptional number of different variants of this name in ancient texts.⁶²⁹ The earliest mention is in the Egyptian Execration texts where it occurs in the form *š-mw-’-nw*. The second one is in Thutmose III's list. The name also occurs in Papyrus Petersburg 1116 A in a form which could be read as *ša-m-du-na*. Amenhotep III uses the name in the form *ša-m-’u-na*.⁶³⁰ In the Amarna Letters the name appears in the form *uruSa-am-hu-na* (EA 225:4) which can be read *šam’ona*.⁶³¹

It is generally agreed, that *š-m-n* is to be identified with Shimron and that its geographical location is Khirbet Sammuniyeh /Tell Shimron (map reference 170.234).⁶³² The site is located about eight kilometres west of Nazareth, and the close contacts with Acco and Hannathon, according to the Amarna Letters, support this identification.

Tell Shimron has not been excavated systematically but surface surveys have been carried out. The oldest surveys have found remains from all the periods from the Middle Bronze Age to the Iron Age.⁶³³ According to the following archaeologist to survey the site, there were

⁶²⁷ Albright 1925, 15-16.

⁶²⁸ Simons 1937, 116.

⁶²⁹ Rainey 1976, 57, "Of all the toponymic problems in biblical geography, that of Shimron is perhaps the most complex."

⁶³⁰ Rainey 1976, 59-61, see also Epstein 1963, 50.

⁶³¹ Rainey 1976, 62.

⁶³² Rainey 1976, 62, Görg 1974, 178-184, Aharoni 1979, 160, Ahituv 1984, 182, 183, Na'aman 1986, 123, Benjamin 1992, V-1219, and SMM 15-2, 760. Müller (1907, 15) argues that the identification with *Sa-am-hu-na* mentioned in Amarna Letters no. 220 is uncertain. According to Helck (1971, 128), it is possible that the site is Tell el-'Ubaidijeh on the southern coast of the Sea of Galilee, but he mentions Samhuna as well.

⁶³³ Rainey 1976, 63.

only early settlements in Middle Bronze Age II and the subsequent ones were in Iron Age I and II.⁶³⁴ However, Goren et al. note in their report that “in addition to the geological mapping we also conducted a limited survey of the site, collected Late Bronze Age sherds from surface and prepared thin-sections from them.”⁶³⁵ This discrepancy shows that different surveys may arrive at different conclusions because they may find pottery from different periods.

Many inscriptional references show that Shimron must have been an important city during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. It was one of the three important cities (Megiddo, Jokneam and Shimron) in the western Jezreel Valley.⁶³⁶

Indeed, there is an exceptional amount of textual evidence from Shimron and extremely scanty archaeological evidence concerning the occupation in the periods in question. In point of fact, this is the situation in several other sites, too. The remains may have been lost or the archaeologists have not found them because they were not present on the surface. Thus, concerning Shimron, there is enough evidence to testify to there being a settlement in the Late Bronze Age.

Raphon

Number 29, *nw-r-p-i*,⁶³⁷ is not very easy to decipher, but it is commonly identified with Raphon.⁶³⁸ In the list it is near Ashtaroth and might have been positioned close by. Albright was the first to suggest that Tell el-Ashari (map reference 258.255) is the ancient Raphon. The mound is almost as large as Tell Ashtarath and has a good natural location, being protected on one side by the pass of the Wadi Ehreir (Wadi al-Harir? a tributary of the Yarmuk). Albright concluded “for a number of reasons” that Tell el-Ashari is Raphon.⁶³⁹ The modern name of the site is er-Rafeh (map reference 258.255), and it is located 13 km northeast of Sheikh Sa’ad (probably Karnaim).⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁴ Portugali 1982, 183.

⁶³⁵ Goren et al. 2004, 233.

⁶³⁶ Fritz 1969, 150, Aharoni 1979, 118, Fritz 1992-V, 1219, and Ben-Tor 1978, 57.

⁶³⁷ Simons 1937, 116.

⁶³⁸ Müller 1907, 13, Helck 1971, 129, and Aharoni 1979, 160.

⁶³⁹ Albright 1925, 16.

⁶⁴⁰ Aharoni 1979, 441, Reddit 1992-V, 622-623, CBA 33.

Because of the preservation of the name it may be considered as the location of ancient Raphon. The site was especially important in the Hellenistic-Roman Period, and it has yielded ample remains of classical antiquities. The earliest pottery found at the site is from the Early and Late Bronze Ages providing information on the population during those periods.⁶⁴¹

Shunem

Number 38 is *š-n-m*⁶⁴² and is commonly accepted as Shunem.⁶⁴³ It is mentioned in the Amarna Letters as *aluSu-na-ma* (EA 250:43)⁶⁴⁴ and in Shishak's inscription. In the Bible the name occurs three times: Josh. 19:18, 1 Sam. 28:4, and 2 Kgs 4:8.

Shunem might be identified with the Arab village of Solem/Sulem (map reference 181.223),⁶⁴⁵ located south of the Hill of Moreh. Surface surveys at the site have yielded remains from the Middle Bronze Age up to the Islamic Period. The references in the Amarna Letters and in the Bible hint at the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age.⁶⁴⁶ For the reason that the name has been preserved this identification is the most feasible one.

Mishal

Number 39 is *m-š-ì-r*.⁶⁴⁷ The same name occurs in the Egyptian Execration texts⁶⁴⁸ and also in Papyrus Petersburg 1116A.⁶⁴⁹ Given that the Egyptian *r* changes to Semitic *l* the name is identified with Mishal.⁶⁵⁰ The name appears in the Book of Joshua (19:26) in the description of the inheritance of Asher. Mishal belongs to the list of three cities, together with Allamelech and Amad, and is the last city north of Mount Carmel.

There are three main alternatives for the geographical identification of Mishal. One proposal is Tell Keisan/Tel Kison (map

⁶⁴¹ Albright 1925, 16.

⁶⁴² Simons 1937, 116.

⁶⁴³ Müller 1907, 16, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 128, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 176, 177.

⁶⁴⁴ Knudtzon 1940, 804, Mercer 1939, 655, Gal 1982, 83.

⁶⁴⁵ SMM 15-2, 762.

⁶⁴⁶ Huwiler 1992-V, 1228, 1229.

⁶⁴⁷ Simons 1937, 116.

⁶⁴⁸ Mazar 1990, 186.

⁶⁴⁹ Epstein 1963, 50.

⁶⁵⁰ Müller 1907, 16, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 127, Aharoni 1979, 114, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 143.

reference 164.253).⁶⁵¹ Tell Keisan is a large mound on the Plain of Acco, and it must have had an important strategic position in earlier times. Surveys and excavations at the site revealed pottery from the Early Bronze Age to the Iron Age.⁶⁵² Tell Keisan is identified with Achshaph for several reasons: the strategic situation, several Egyptian finds and the petrographic analysis (see pages 117-121 of this study).

Another suggestion is Tell en-Nahl (map reference 156.245), which lies northeast of the modern refinery area in Haifa Bay.⁶⁵³ According to Ahituv, the archaeological history of Tell en-Nahal/Nahl correlates with the history of Mishal. Similarly, Frankel admits that the site had Late Bronze Age pottery, although he identifies it with Allammelech.⁶⁵⁴

The third candidate for Mishal is Khirbet el-Harbaj/Tel Regev (map reference 158.240).⁶⁵⁵ In 1993, a salvage excavation was conducted at the site, and three excavation areas were opened with pottery being discovered mainly from the Early Bronze Age. On the surface several sherds from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and also from the Iron Age were found.⁶⁵⁶

Mishal is mentioned in several Egyptian sources and therefore must have been a very important city. Since Tell Keisan has been identified as Achshaph and Tell en-Nahl as Allamelech (see below), Tel Regev remains without any ancient identification. As a large Late Bronze Age site it is a good candidate for Mishal. If Amad is Tell ed 'Idham (map reference 157.245),⁶⁵⁷ the biblical triplet Allamelech, Amad, Mishal might be identified as Tell en-Nahl, Tell ed 'Idham and Tel Regev, all three are located quite close to each other on the southern Acco Plain. Tel Regev is located on the important route which connected the Plain of Acco with the Jezreel Valley, and it contains remains from the Late Bronze Age.

⁶⁵¹ Aharoni 1979, 160, 439, SMM 15-2, 609, CBA 214 with two question marks, and Frankel 1998, 58.

⁶⁵² Peterson 1977, 20-24, Humbert 1993-III, 862-867.

⁶⁵³ Helck 1971, 127, and Ahituv 1984, 143.

⁶⁵⁴ Frankel 1998, 58.

⁶⁵⁵ SMM 15-2, 016, suggesting an identification with Achshaph.

⁶⁵⁶ Lipkunsky & Horowitz 1999, 20*. See also Goren et al. 2004, 231-233.

⁶⁵⁷ Frankel 1998, 68.

Ibleam

Number 43 is *y-b-r'-m*,⁶⁵⁸ probably denotes Ibleam.⁶⁵⁹ It is mentioned three times in the Bible: Josh. 17:11, Judg. 1:27 and 2 Kings 9:27. It is commonly accepted that the site is Khirbet Bel'ameh (map reference 177.205),⁶⁶⁰ and the pottery tells of occupation from the Early Bronze Age up to the Iron Age and still later.⁶⁶¹ The preservation of the ancient name and its location on the southern side of the Jezreel Valley confirms the identification of the site.

Allamelech

Number 45 is *r-t-m-r-k*.⁶⁶² The name is not very easy to read but most often it has been identified with Allamelech. The name is mentioned in Josh. 19:26 as one of the sites allotted to the tribe of Asher.⁶⁶³ Hunt suggests that Allamelech should be identified with Tell en-Nahl/Nahal (map reference 157.245)⁶⁶⁴ According to Saarisalo's survey in 1928, at Tell en-Nahl there was pottery from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages.⁶⁶⁵ Neither Aharoni nor the modern maps (SMM & CBA) give any location for this site.

Frankel agrees with the identification of Tell en-Nahl. According to Frankel, the site has Late Bronze Age pottery and the name Nahl may have retained the ancient name, because "*mem* is known to change to *nun* and *kap* to the Arabic *het*".⁶⁶⁶ This identification seems most probable.

Socoh

Number 67 is *ś-<w>-k* or *ś-<3?>k*,⁶⁶⁷ commonly identified as Socoh.⁶⁶⁸ There are many sites of this name in Palestine. In the Book of Joshua

⁶⁵⁸ Simons 1937, 116.

⁶⁵⁹ Müller 1907, 16, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 127, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 120.

⁶⁶⁰ Phythian-Adams 1922, 142-147, SMM 15-2, 445, Hess 1996, 260, also Helck, Aharoni and Ahituv op.cit.

⁶⁶¹ Ahituv 1984, 120, Hunt 1992-III, 355.

⁶⁶² Simons 1937, 117.

⁶⁶³ Müller 1907, 17, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 127, Aharoni 1979, 160, and Ahituv 1984, 58.

⁶⁶⁴ Hunt 1992-I, 158.

⁶⁶⁵ Saarisalo 1929, 37-38.

⁶⁶⁶ Frankel 1988, 58. In another article he locates Allamelech "in the southern part of the Galilean coastal plain together with Mishal, Achshaph and Helkath mentioned in the Thutmosis' list", see Frankel 1994, 19.

⁶⁶⁷ Simons 1937, 117.

two different cities with the name Socoh are mentioned. In Josh. 15:35 Socoh lies close to Azeka in the Shephelah and in Josh. 15:48 Socoh seems to be in the Hill Country close to Jattir. Socoh mentioned in 1 Kings 4:10 and 1 Chr. 4:18 may be situated on the Sharon Plain.

Socoh in the Shephelah may be Khirbet Abbad (map reference 147.121) which lies in the Valley of Elah, four kilometres east of Azekah. Socoh in the Hill Country is probably Khirbet Shuweika (map reference 150.090), some 15 kilometres southwest from Hebron. The third Socoh is Shuweiket er-Ras (map reference 153.194) in the Sharon Plain, three kilometres south of Yaham.⁶⁶⁹

The town mentioned in Thutmosis' list is most certainly Shuweiket er-Ras, because it is located by the Via Maris, north of Ono and Aphek. The importance of the city comes from its location at the junction of the main road and a crossroad branching eastward from it toward Shechem and the Jordan River crossings. According to old surveys, the site was occupied from Middle Bronze Age II, throughout all the ancient periods until the Middle Ages.⁶⁷⁰

Gibbethon

In Number 103 the letters may be *q-p-t*⁶⁷¹ and a possible identification is Gibbethon.⁶⁷² Two possibilities have been suggested for the location of Gibbethon and both are located on the Coastal Plain not far from Gezer. One is Ras Abu Hamid (map reference 140.145),⁶⁷³ and the site is quite small and not a very credible candidate for Gibbethon. The earliest pottery found there was from the Iron Age.⁶⁷⁴

The other suggestion is Tell Malat (map reference 137.140). This tell is quite large and was occupied for many periods with pottery being found there from the Late Bronze Age. Some salvage excavations have

⁶⁶⁸ Müller 1907, 22, Maisler 1935, 79, Noth 1938a, 46, Helck 1971, 121, Aharoni 1979, 161, and Ahituv 1984, 178, 179.

⁶⁶⁹ SMM 15-2, 771-773, Aharoni 1979, 442 and Lance 1992-VI, 99 catalogue three different sites.

⁶⁷⁰ Ahituv 1984, 178, 179, Lance 1992-VI, 99.

⁶⁷¹ Simons 1937, 118.

⁶⁷² So Aharoni 1979, 163. Müller (1907, 26), too, thinks it possible to read the name as Gibbethon. Helck (1971, 128) writes "unbekannt".

⁶⁷³ SMM 15-2, 398. Peterson 1977, 319, 330. SMM suggests that Ras Abu Hamid is Gittaim.

⁶⁷⁴ Peterson 1977, 330-339. An earlier survey made on the site reported Iron Age I pottery, but later Peterson found no Iron I pottery, the earliest was from Iron Age II.

been made at the site but the results have not yet been published. Accordingly, this site is the better candidate for ancient Gibbethon.⁶⁷⁵

Rabbah

Number 105 could be read as *r-b-t*⁶⁷⁶ and this gives the place name Rubute/Rabbah.⁶⁷⁷ Rubute appears in the Amarna Letters as *aluRu-bu[d]a* or *aluRu-bu-teki* (e.g. EA 289, 13 and 290, 11). Abdi-Hiba of Jerusalem writes to the Pharaoh and asks help, because “they have conquered the land of the city of Rubute, the land of the king has fallen away to the Hapiru”.⁶⁷⁸ Probably the same name appears in the Taanach Letter no. 1, “Send back to me word about the servant girl, Kan... who is in Rubbuti regarding her welfare and if she is willing sell her off for ransom money or to the overlord.”⁶⁷⁹

The location of Rubute is not very clear and B. Mazar and Aharoni in his early edition of *The Land of the Bible* suggest that it is Beth-shemesh.⁶⁸⁰ Later Aharoni made a new suggestion and located Rubute/Rabbath on the small mound called Khirbet Hamideh/Khirbet el-Hilu close to Latrun (map reference 149.137).⁶⁸¹

At Rabbah/ Khirbet Hamideh/Khirbet el-Hilu archaeological surveys have produced material from Middle Bronze Age IIB, Late Bronze Age II and the Early Iron Age.⁶⁸² Located just after Gezer in Thutmosis III’s list, Khirbet Hamideh is a preferable candidate for Rabbah, although Beth-shemesh is also quite close. Gezer and Rabbah are probably successive cites also in the Shishak’s list. In the book of Joshua Beth-shemesh and Rabbah seem to be two different places (Josh. 15:10, 60), and for this reason it is logical to search for them in different locations. Thus, the identification of Khirbet Hamideh with

⁶⁷⁵ SMM 15-2, 389, B. Mazar 1954, 234, B. Mazar 1960, 68, Peterson 1977, 326, Aharoni 1979, 435, Peterson 1992-II, 1006-1007. Interestingly, CBA (211) has identified Gibbethon with Ras Abu Hamid, although one of its authors is Aharoni, who supports Tell Malat in his book. This must be the opinion of the later authors of CBA, Rainey and Safrai.

⁶⁷⁶ Simons 1937, 118.

⁶⁷⁷ Müller 1907, 28, Helck 1971, 128, Aharoni 1979, 163.

⁶⁷⁸ Knudtzon 1908, 872, 876, Mercer 1939, 719, 721.

⁶⁷⁹ Glock 1983, 60. See also the slightly different translation in Rainey 1999, 156*.

⁶⁸⁰ Aharoni 1967, 286, 287.

⁶⁸¹ Aharoni 1979, 174, 441. Ahituv (1984, 165-167) thinks this alternative is possible but not very likely. He would like to locate it in the Judean mountains, but he is not able to suggest any other exact location for it.

⁶⁸² Ahituv 1984, 167.

Rabbah is most the most credible.⁶⁸³ If Rabbah is Khirbet Hamideh it corresponds archaeologically with the text of Thutmosis III having Late Bronze Age material in it.

Kishion

Number 37 is *q-s-n*,⁶⁸⁴ and may be read Kishion.⁶⁸⁵ The name appears twice in the Bible, both in Joshua as part of the cities allotted to the tribe of Issachar (Josh. 19:20 and 21:28). The location of the city is not certain, but three suggestions have been made.

One proposal is to identify it with Khirbet Qasyon /Tel Qishion (map reference 187.229),⁶⁸⁶ which is located two kilometres south of the base of Mount Tabor. The main period of settlement was the Early Bronze Age, but sherds from the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, and Iron Age have also been found. According to Peterson, it is not likely that this was the location of ancient Kishion, because Khirbet Qasyun is not an ancient name. The older name of the site was El-Khirba.⁶⁸⁷

The other suggestion is Tell el-Mukharkhash/Tel Rekes (map reference 194.228).⁶⁸⁸ This site was initially identified with Kishion by Albright, and later Peterson supported this view. The mound is located seven kilometres southeast of Mount Tabor with the land around it favourable for agriculture and a rich water supply at a crossing of two wadis. The place has some remains from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages, but it was a “dominant Late Bronze-Iron I site”.⁶⁸⁹ Tel Rekes is suggested by many scholars as the ancient Anaharath.⁶⁹⁰

The third candidate for Kishion is Tell el-Ajjul (north) (map reference 185.225). It is located two kilometres southwest of En-dor and northeast of the Hill of Moreh. The mound is quite high and surrounded by several wadis indicating a plentiful water supply. The site has been surveyed by a number of scholars, e.g. by Albright, Garstang, Tsori and Aharoni, but no one has conducted excavations

⁶⁸³ So also SMM 15-2, 688, Kotter 1992-V, 600, and Hess 1996, 255.

⁶⁸⁴ Simons 1937, 116.

⁶⁸⁵ Müller 1907, 16, Helck 1971, 128, and Aharoni 1979, 160.

⁶⁸⁶ Helck 1971, 128, Aharoni 1979, 438. Also SMM 15-2, 540.

⁶⁸⁷ Peterson 1977, 159-165.

⁶⁸⁸ Peterson 1977, 151-156.

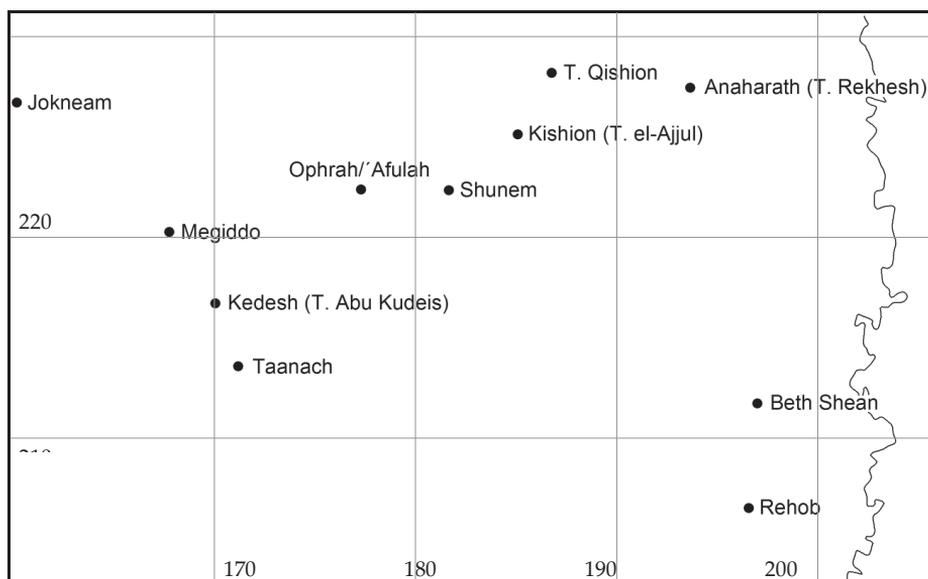
⁶⁸⁹ Peterson 1977, 155, Peterson, 1992-IV, 89.

⁶⁹⁰ See Anaharath in this study page 141-142.

on the site. Peterson collected survey material and found pottery sherds from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age as well as the Hellenistic and Roman/Byzantine periods.⁶⁹¹

Concisely, it could be said that the commonly accepted identification for Kishion, Khirbet Qasyon, is not the most probable, since the ancient name of the site, El-Khirba, does not favour this identification. Tel Rekes, for its part, is the best candidate for Anaharath. As a result, Tell el-Ajjul (north)⁶⁹² is the best possible location to identify Kishion. Moreover, the name Kishion is almost the same as that of the River Kishon. This river flows along the Jezreel Valley towards the Mediterranean, but its sources are located close to the Hill of Moreh, not far from Tell el-Ajjul.

Accordingly, Tell el-Ajjul (north) is the most probable alternative and it also contains material from Late Bronze Age I.



Map 2. Sites of Thutmose III in Southern Galilee and in the Jezreel Valley

⁶⁹¹ Peterson 1977, 143-148.

⁶⁹² Tell el-Ajjul (south) is located in the southern Coastal Plain (map reference 093.097), see SMM 15-2, 753. It has been excavated by Petrie in 1930-1934, see Mazar 1990, 13.

Lebo

Number 10 in the list is *r-b-n*.⁶⁹³ Because the Egyptians did not distinguish the letters *r* and *l*, the same name probably appears in the Amarna Letters in the form *aluLa-pa-na* (EA 53:57; 54:27, 32).⁶⁹⁴ It is not clear if *l-b-y* in the Execration texts, *l-bi-w* in Amenhotep II, and *l-bw-* in Ramses II is the same site. According to Aharoni, all these names belong to the same site, and *r-b-3*, no 82 in Thutmose III's list, as well.⁶⁹⁵ Instead, Na'aman argues that the names Labu and Lapana refer to two different sites. According to Na'aman, the name in Execration texts, Amenhotep II, Ramses II, and no 82 in Thutmose III indicate Labu. On the other hand, *Lapana* in the Amarna Letters and *r-b-n* in Thutmose III no 10 indicate another site, Labana.⁶⁹⁶

The name *l-b-y/l-bi-w* has been identified with Lebo/Labu, and connected with Lebweh, because of the similarities of the names.⁶⁹⁷ If *r-b-n/ aluLa-pa-na* is the same place then all the ancient texts may point to Lebwe.. According to Na'aman, Lebweh refers to another site and it must be sought near the borders of Kedesh, although he does not give any exact identification. Accordingly, we have just one good candidate for the geographical location of Lebo/Labu/Lapana and it is Lebweh.⁶⁹⁸

Lebo is the biblical Lebo Hamath that could be translated "The entrance of Hamath".⁶⁹⁹ Lebo Hamath has been mentioned twelve times in the Bible: Num. 13:21; 34:8, Josh. 13:5, Judg. 3:3, 1 Kings 8:65, 2 Kings 14:25, 1 Chr. 13:5, 2 Chr. 7:8, Ezek. 47:15, 20; 48:1, and Amos 6:14.⁷⁰⁰ In most, if not all of those passages, it is mentioned in connection of the northern border of the Promised Land.

The land of Hamath was a well-known area around the Orontes River in Syria. It is not certain, whether Lebo Hamath signifies a town

⁶⁹³ Simons 1937, 116.

⁶⁹⁴ Knudtzon 1908, 326, 330, Mercer 1939, 233, 235.

⁶⁹⁵ Aharoni 1979, 72.

⁶⁹⁶ Na'aman 1999, 419-420.

⁶⁹⁷ E.g. Aharoni 1979, 159, Ahituv 1984, 131, Na'aman 1999, 417-420. Instead, Müller (1907, 10) suggests, "Lebonah südlich von Sichem in Ephraim, dessen moderne Form Lubban."

⁶⁹⁸ Na'aman 1999, 420.

⁶⁹⁹ According to Na'aman (1999, 417) "Lebo-hamath is a place name and should not be translated "the entrance of Hamath" or "the Hamath corridor".

⁷⁰⁰ Na'aman 1999, 417 counts eleven passages. He is missing Ezek. 47:15 which refers only Lebo. LXX adds Hamath.

or just an area through which one entered the land of Hamath. With regard to the larger area, three alternatives have been suggested. First, the Orontes Valley between Antioch and Seleucia. Second, an area near Wadi Nahr el-Barid. Third, the area in the Beqa'a Valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains, at the source of the Orontes River.⁷⁰¹

As for the city of Lebo of Thutmosis III, the most probable identification is modern Lebweh, which seems to have preserved a memory of the ancient name and its location corresponds well with this strategic point. Lebweh (map reference 277.397) is a large tell situated north of the watershed between the Orontes and the Litani.⁷⁰² A. Jirku surveyed the site in 1930 and found pottery from the Bronze Age through to the Iron Age.⁷⁰³ A. Kuschke then studied the site and found only pottery from the Roman period with just one piece from Iron I. Four years later Kuschke again visited Lebweh and found sherds from Iron Age I.⁷⁰⁴ Aharoni and Na'aman noted without hesitation that Lebweh contains Late Bronze Age pottery.⁷⁰⁵

The archaeological data from Lebweh is old and quite uncertain and although Late Bronze Age elements most probably have been found the textual background is much richer. Combining all the ancient sources mentioned previously about the site, the data is very strong. Even if there are two sites behind the ancient names both of them are mentioned more than once and nevertheless all the information leads to Lebweh being the ancient Lebo-hamath, and the site of Thutmosis III's campaign.

Helkath

Number 112 is *h-r-q-t*⁷⁰⁶ and could be Helkath.⁷⁰⁷ The city is mentioned in the Bible as a city of the tribe of the territory of Asher: Josh. 19:25 and 21:31. In the first passage it includes the following list: "Helkath,

⁷⁰¹ Wei 1992-III, 36, 37

⁷⁰² Wei 1992-III, 36.

⁷⁰³ Jirku 1930, 159.

⁷⁰⁴ Kuschke (1954, 128), "Doch kam mir bei der kurzen Suche eine Scherbe in die Hand, die ganz unzweideutig die Ringpolitur der Eisen -I-Periode aufwies"). Later: Kuschke 1958, 96.

⁷⁰⁵ Aharoni 1979, 72, Na'aman 1999, 421.

⁷⁰⁶ Simons 1937, 118.

⁷⁰⁷ Müller 1907, 30, Noth 1938a, 56, Helck 1971, 126, Aharoni 1979, 163, Ahituv 1984, 117, 118.

Hali, Beten, Achshaph," and in the latter: "Mishal, Abdon, Helkath and Rehob." Three sites have been suggested for Helkath. One is Tell Amar (map reference 159.237).⁷⁰⁸ The second suggestion is Tel Regev/Tell Harbaj (map reference 158.240). According to Ahituv and Peterson, this is the most probable candidate for Helkath. It was occupied in the Late Bronze Age.⁷⁰⁹

The third candidate is Tell el-Qassis /Tel Qasis (map reference 160.232),⁷¹⁰ a small mound by the River Kishon, two kilometres north of Jokneam. The largest assembly of pottery is from the Early Bronze Age, but there were remains from the Late Bronze Age and from later periods, too.⁷¹¹ Tel Regev has been identified with Mishal (see previously). Tel Qasis is the best suggestion for Helkath because its location, close to Jokneam by the River Kishon, is suitable both for the list of Thutmosis and the lists of Joshua.

Adamim and Shemesh-edom

Number 36 has various suggested transliterations. It has been read *ì-t-m-m*⁷¹² or *(e)-ti-m(e)-n*⁷¹³ or *'(a)-ta-m-m*.⁷¹⁴ The nearest equivalence is the name Adamim. This name may be the same as Adummim mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi I.⁷¹⁵

Number 51 is *š-m-š ì-t-m*.⁷¹⁶ Amenhotep II mentions Shemesh-edom⁷¹⁷ as being the first place cited in the Land of Canaan before the campaign in Orontes. The scribe writes, "His majesty proceeded to Retenu on his first victorious campaign to extend his frontiers, made from the property of them who are not loyal to him, his face terrible like (that of) Bastet, like Seth in his moment of raging. His majesty

⁷⁰⁸ Hess 1996, 272.

⁷⁰⁹ Ahituv 1984, 118. SMM 15-2, 016 identifies Tell Harbaj as Achshaph.

⁷¹⁰ SMM 15-2, 428, CBA 212 (with a question mark), Aharoni 1979, 436, Boling & Wright 1988, 453, Frankel 1998, 68.

⁷¹¹ Peterson 1977, 41-43. According to the map of Mazar (1990, 177) Tel Qasis was inhabited only in the Middle Bronze Age.

⁷¹² Simons 1937, 116 and Aharoni 1979, 160 (Aharoni also in the form *i-d-m-m* in pages 61 and 183).

⁷¹³ Müller 1907, 15.

⁷¹⁴ Helck 1971, 128.

⁷¹⁵ ANET 477.

⁷¹⁶ Simons 1937, 117.

⁷¹⁷ ANET 245.

reached Shemesh-Edom. He hacked it up in a short moment, like a lion fierce of face, when he treads the foreign countries."⁷¹⁸

These two names are similar to each other that they are studied together. The two main proposals for locations identified with these names are the biblical sites Adamah (Josh. 19:36) and Adami-nekeb (Josh. 19:33). Consequently, there are two different sites in both Thutmosis III and Joshua with names comparable to each other. Most probably both are located in Lower Galilee since the other names adjacent to them in the list of Thutmosis III list are situated in that region. Correspondingly, in the biblical description, both of these names are among the tribe of Naphtali; Adami-nekeb a border town and Adamah a fortified city.

Different Septuagint variants in Josh. 19: 33 and 36 may also reflect some confusion between these names. LXX reads two different names in Adami-nekeb. It is Ἀρμαὶ καὶ Νακεβ (LXX A) and Ἀρμε καὶ Ναβωκ (LXX B). Adamah is Ἀδαμὶ (LXX A) and Ἀρμαίθ (LXX B).

In Eastern Lower Galilee there are two sites in which the names of these two cities may have preserved as memories. They are Khirbet ed-Damieh, some ten kilometres west of the Sea of Galilee⁷¹⁹ and Khirbet Madin five kilometres north of Khirbet ed-Damieh.⁷²⁰ Close to Khirbet ed-Damieh lies Khirbet et-Tell (map reference 193.239),⁷²¹ and close to Khirbet Madin lies Tel Qarnei Hittin (map reference 193.245).⁷²² These are the main candidates for Adamim and Shemesh-edom. On linguistic grounds it is impossible to decide between these two alternatives. The major of the sites is Tel Qarnei Hittin. If we assume that the site mentioned in Amenhotep II, Shemesh-edom, is the more important it should be located at Qarnei Hittin. Shemesh-edom may also be the same as Madon mentioned in Josh.11:1 and 12:19 (see Madon in this study page 262).

⁷¹⁸ ANET 245.

⁷¹⁹ Aharoni 1979, 122, 126, 127.

⁷²⁰ Na'aman 1986, 123 and Gal 1994, 43.

⁷²¹ SMM 15-2, 022.

⁷²² SMM 15-2, 021.

When looking for the biblical names the most common interpretation for Shemesh-edom is its shortened form Adamah.⁷²³ And this linked with Adamim and Adami-negeb, gives following alternatives:

Thutmosis III	Joshua	Tell	Name preserved
Adamim (T36)	Adami-negeb (19:33)	Khirbet et- Tell (tell)	Kh. ed-Damieh
Shemesh-edom (T51)	Adamah/Madon (19:36)	Tel Qarnei Hittin (tell)	Kh. Madin

Archaeological excavations have not been carried out in any of these sites. There are three ruins close to Khirbet Damieyh, and Khirbet et-Tell (map reference 193.239)⁷²⁴ is the highest of these.⁷²⁵ Damin may be an intermediate Aramaic form between the biblical Adami(m) and the Arabic Damiyeh,⁷²⁶ and could have preserved this name close to Khirbet et-Tell. Therefore Khirbet et-Tell as the highest mound in the area is the most viable identification for Adamim. According to the surveys, the site was occupied in the Late Bronze Age and in the Iron Age.⁷²⁷

Tel Qarnei Hittin, as an old volcano, is a really very distinct landmark in the region and the summit was the largest ancient city in the area. It was located by the main road from the Jordan River towards Acco and the Mediterranean in Lower Galilee.⁷²⁸ No archaeological excavations have taken place at Qarnei Hittin. The survey at the site has shown remains from Late Bronze Age II and from Iron Age I.⁷²⁹

⁷²³ Müller 1907, 18, Aharoni 1979, 160, CBA 33, 207, SMM 15-1/2, 021. According to Frezt (1992-I, 69), the exact location of Adamah is unknown. Ahituv (1984, 53, 54) identifies Adamim with Adamah and locates it at Tel Qarnei Hittin He states that this tell "conceals an important city, commanding the Plain of Jabneel and its roads, and overlooking all of the eastern Lower Galilee."

⁷²⁴ SMM 15-2, 022.

⁷²⁵ Aharoni 1979, 160, 183, H. Thompson 1992-I, 69.

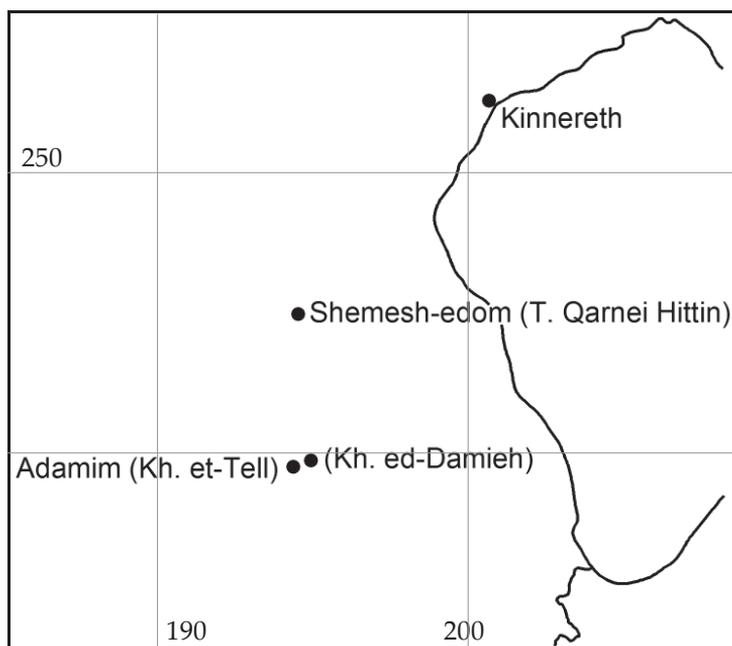
⁷²⁶ So Aharoni 1979, 126, 429.

⁷²⁷ H. Thompson 1992-I, 69.

⁷²⁸ Aharoni 1979, 28.

⁷²⁹ Na'aman 1986, 123, "An experimental dig showed that the site was fortified on its southern summit during the 14th-13th centuries BCE and again in Iron Age II. Pottery from Iron Age I was also recovered." Gal 1994, 43-44.

Accordingly, Adamim was inhabited during Late Bronze Age I but Shemesh-edom probably not until Late Bronze Age II.



Map 3. Sites of the Thutmose III's list west of the Sea of Galilee.

Lod

Number 64 is *r-<w>-t-n*.⁷³⁰ Because the Egyptian *r* is often read as Semitic *l* and *t* and *d* may be interchangeable, this name has been identified with Lod.⁷³¹ The name probably occurs already in the Egyptian Execration Texts.⁷³² In the Hebrew Bible Lod appears in Neh. 7:37 (=Ezra 2:23), Neh. 11:35 and 1 Chr. 8:12. The site is located on the southern bank of Wadi el-Kabir in the area of modern Lod (map reference 140.151).⁷³³

The ruins of ancient Lod are completely covered by modern buildings, making it almost impossible to conduct excavations. In

⁷³⁰ Simons 1937, 117.

⁷³¹ Müller 1907, 21, Noth 1938a, 46, Helck 1971, 121, Aharoni 1979, 66, 114, 161.

⁷³² Aharoni 1979, 146.

⁷³³ SMM 15-2, 550, Hunt & Kaplan 1992-IV, 346.

1951-1952 a short project was carried out in three small areas and the remains found were from the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze I periods.⁷³⁴ Later many salvage digs have been carried out at the site. According to these evidence of continuous occupation from the Neolithic to the Ottoman Period has been uncovered, including Late Bronze Age pottery.⁷³⁵

It is clear that the city, located at a strategic place close to the Via Maris, and mentioned at least in two Egyptian documents, has been inhabited in Late Bronze Age I.

c) Other sites

Damascus

Number 13 is *t-m-s-q*.⁷³⁶ The same name occurs in the funerary temple of Amenhotep III in the form *ti-ms-q3*.⁷³⁷ It is commonly accepted that this refers to Damascus.⁷³⁸ Damascus is also described in the Amarna Letters written as *aluTi-ma-aš-gí* (EA 53:63) *aluDu-ma-aš-ka* (107:28), and *aluDi-maš-ka* (197:21). In the preceding text, a high Egyptian officer, Biriawaza, sends a letter asking for help from the Pharaoh and informing him that he has escaped from his enemies and after reaching Damascus has moved on to Kumidi.⁷³⁹

Damascus belonged to the land of Upi in the Amarna Period, as the text shows, "My Lord, as Damascus in the land of Upi is at your feet, just so Qatna is at your feet." (EA 53:63). Damascus may not have been very important at that time,⁷⁴⁰ but the land of Upi/Ube/Abu is often mentioned in ancient sources.⁷⁴¹ The name occurs for the first time in the Egyptian Execration texts from the 19th century BCE. The Amarna Letters point out that the area of Upi was in the district administered from Kumidi. Thanks to these texts we know that

⁷³⁴ Hunt & Kaplan 1992-IV, 347.

⁷³⁵ Gophna & Beit-Arieh 1997, 11*, 66*-68*.

⁷³⁶ Simons 1937, 116.

⁷³⁷ Pitard 1987, 65.

⁷³⁸ Müller 1907, 11, Noth 1938a, 55, Helck 1971, 129, Aharoni 1979, 159, Ahituv 1984, 87, and Klengel 1992, 91.

⁷³⁹ Knudtzon 1908, 328, 474, 726, Mercer 1939, 233, 361, 583.

⁷⁴⁰ Pitard 1987, 61, 79.

⁷⁴¹ Klengel 1992, 104.

Damascus and the land of Upi were under Egyptian control at least from the reign of Thutmosis III. Upi was the north-eastern boundary which acted as a safeguard against the great empires of Mitanni and Hatti.⁷⁴²

The site of ancient Damascus is located on the border of the great Syrian Desert, along the banks of the Barada River, which is the only major water source in the region. The water and the excellent soil of the basin have made the area of Damascus one of the richest agricultural areas in the Near East. It was also a significant post on the main north-south caravan route in ancient times.

Ancient Damascus (esh-Sham, map reference 272.324)⁷⁴³ lies under the present Old City, and no excavations beyond the Roman period have yet taken place. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Damascus was inhabited, and also part of the objectives of Thutmosis III campaigns in the Late Bronze Age, because the name is mentioned in several historical sources.

Rehov

Number 87 is *r-h-b*.⁷⁴⁴ The same name occurs in several ancient texts and it has been established that the correct reading is Rehov.⁷⁴⁵

The first literal mention of Rehov is in the Egyptian Execration Texts.⁷⁴⁶ The second one is a basalt stele of the Pharaoh Seti I from Beth Shean. This stele describes a revolt by three cities in the region of Beth Shean against Egyptian administration. Only Rehov remained loyal to the Pharaoh. The Pharaoh's scribes recount, "On this day one came to speak to his majesty, as follows: The wretched foe who is in the town of Hamath is gathering to himself many people, while he is seizing the town of Beth-Shan. Then there will be an alliance with them of Pahal. He does not permit the Prince Rehob to go outside."⁷⁴⁷

In Papyrus Anastasi I 22:8 there is a passage, "Pray, teach me about the appearance of Qiyen, let me know Rehob, explain Beth Shean and Tirqa-El. The stream of Jordan, how is it crossed? Let me know the

⁷⁴² Pitard 1987, 54-56. Pitard 1992-II, 5-6.

⁷⁴³ Aharoni 1979, 433.

⁷⁴⁴ Simons 1937, 118.

⁷⁴⁵ Müller 1907, 25, Helck 1971, 127, Görg 1974, 164-177, Aharoni 1979, 162, Mazar 1999, 3.

⁷⁴⁶ ANET 329.

⁷⁴⁷ ANET 253.

way to pass Megiddo, which is above it.”⁷⁴⁸ In a Taanach Letter (2:22) Ahiammi is mentioned, who was a ruler of the city *Rahabu* and although this Akkadian letter is from the Late Bronze Age the exact date is not known.⁷⁴⁹ Rehov is also mentioned in Shishak’s list, which will be studied later in this research.

At least four different cities called Rehov/Rehob are known in ancient Palestine. Two of them were mentioned among the city lists of Asher (Josh. 19:28-30) in the western part of the country. These would probably be Tell el-Balat (map reference 177.280) in Upper Galilee⁷⁵⁰ and Tell Bir el-Gharbi (map reference 166.256) on the Acco Plain.⁷⁵¹ The third one is in Syria (2 Sam. 10:6,8), and the fourth is Tel Rehov (map reference 197.207)⁷⁵² in the Jordan Valley, though this last one is not mentioned by name in the Bible. It is not clear which one is the Rehov cited in Thutmosis III but Amihai Mazar considers that Thutmosis III probably refers to Rehov in Upper Galilee.⁷⁵³ Aharoni suggests that Rehov in Thutmosis’ list no 87 is the one mentioned in Josh. 19:28 but no 107 emeq/Valley may refer Rehob in the Beth Shean Valley.⁷⁵⁴

At least Papyrus Anastasi I and Shishak mention Rehov in connection with Beth Shean and very probably refer to Tel Rehov. As to the archaeology of this site, Tel Rehov is situated in the eastern edge of the Jezreel Valley, five kilometres south of Beth Shean. It is one of the largest ancient mounds in the area. As all of the above-mentioned ancient texts locate Rehov somewhere in the Beth Shean Valley, it is apparent that it is the same Tel Rehov that is in question.

The excavation project at Tel Rehov, directed by Amihai Mazar, started in 1997 and is still ongoing. The first preliminary report was published after the first two seasons,⁷⁵⁵ and the following reports are on the internet. Two excavation areas were opened on the upper mound (A, B), and five on the lower mound (C, D, E, F, G), these

⁷⁴⁸ ANET 477.

⁷⁴⁹ Glock 1983, 59-60. He states that “Rahabu has usually been indentified with Tell el-Sarem, 5.5 kms south of Tell el-Husn (Beth-Shan)”. It is the same as Tel Rehov, see SMM 15-2, 708.

⁷⁵⁰ SMM 15-2, 707.

⁷⁵¹ SMM 15-2, 706.

⁷⁵² SMM 15-2, 708.

⁷⁵³ <http://www.rehov.org/Rehov/Results.htm> (22.11.2005).

⁷⁵⁴ Aharoni 1979, 162-163.

⁷⁵⁵ Mazar 1999, 1-42.

demonstrated that Rehov was occupied from the Early Bronze Age to Iron Age II.⁷⁵⁶

Area D on the lower mound is the most important Late Bronze area on the site. The stratigraphy of Tel Rehov in Area D from Late Bronze Age I A to Iron Age I is as follows:⁷⁵⁷

Stratum D-11	Middle Bronze/Late Bronze I	16 th cent.
Stratum D-10	Late Bronze I-IIA	15 th –14 th cent.
Stratum D-9b	Late Bronze IIB	13 th cent.
Stratum D-9a	Late Bronze IIB	13 th cent.
Stratum D-8	Late Bronze IIB	13 th cent.
Stratum D-7	Iron Age IA	c. 1200-1150 BCE
Stratum D-6	Iron Age IA	c. 1200-1150 BCE
Stratum D-5	Iron Age IB	11 th cent.
Stratum D-4	Iron Age IB	11 th cent.
Stratum D-3	Iron Age IB	late 11 th – early 10 th cent.

Stratum D-11 consists of a layer of dark brown silt and ash, and the few pottery sherds found may be dated to the end of Middle Bronze Age II or the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Stratum D-10 has almost no findings, except one Late Bronze Age carinated bowl. Stratum D-9b belongs to the Late Bronze Age IIA and contains remains of buildings.⁷⁵⁸ No evidence of Late Bronze Age city walls were found.⁷⁵⁹

Whether this is the Rehov no 87 in Thutmosis' list is difficult to say. The position in the list favours a location in Upper Galilee, because the adjacent names are no 80 possibly Galil, 82 Lebo, 85 Meromim, 86 En (possibly –Hazor), 89 possibly Beth-shemesh, 91 Edrei, 92 Abel(-beth-maachah), 95 Ijon. On the other hand, many of those names are uncertain and the list does not follow any exact geographical order. Archaeologically Tel Rehov, close to Beth Shean, has very few remains

⁷⁵⁶ Mazar & Camp 2000, 39-43. <http://www.rehov.org/Rehov/Results.htm> (22.11.2005).

⁷⁵⁷ Mazar 2003, 171. <http://www.rehov.org/Rehov/stratigraphic.htm> (22.11.2005).

⁷⁵⁸ <http://www.Rehov.org/Rehov/Results.html> (20.11.2004)

⁷⁵⁹ Mazar & Camp 2000, 43. See also Mazar 2002, 38*.

from the Late Bronze Age and this does not strengthen the view that the city was one of the conquered cities of Thutmose III.

At Tell el-Balat neither excavations nor surveys have been conducted, and therefore, we must leave open the question of Rehov in the lists of Thutmose III.

Berothai

Number 19, *b-i-r-t*,⁷⁶⁰ could be identified with Berothai/Berothah.⁷⁶¹ It is mentioned in the Bible in a description of the northern boundaries of Israel in Ezekiel 47:15 (according to NIV, following the Septuagint): “On the north side it will run from the Great Sea by the Hethlon road past Lebo Hamath to Zedad, Berotha and Sibraim (which lies on the border between Damascus and Hamath).” In the Hebrew text the order of the names is “Lebo, Zedad, Hamath, Berotha”. In 2 Sam. 8:8,12 Berothai is mentioned as one of the cities of Hadadezer, king of Zoba. David is alleged to have taken a great quantity of bronze from Berothai.

Berothai is placed in Thutmose III's list after Kumidi, Lebo, Damascus and some other unknown cities, and in Ezekiel it is placed close to Lebo and Hamath. Therefore, Berothai may have been located somewhere in the Beqa'a Valley or in the Damascus region. It is usually identified with Bereitan (map reference 257.372), south of Ba'albek, between Kumidi and Lebo.⁷⁶² No archaeological excavations have been carried out at the site.

Tob

Number 22 in the list of Thutmose III is *t-b-y*,⁷⁶³ and it is often suggested that it signifies Tob.⁷⁶⁴ Probably this is the same as *aluGub-bu* in the Amarna Letters (EA 205:3),⁷⁶⁵ and since its situation in the list is close to Kenath and Ashtaroth it may have been located in Gilead. It could be the site of et-Tayibeh (map reference 266.218), approx. 15 km southeast of Dera, situated close to one of the sources of the Yarmuk River. It is linked with the Land of Tob, mentioned in the Bible Judg.

⁷⁶⁰ Simons 1937, 116.

⁷⁶¹ Müller 1907, 12, Aharoni 1979, 159.

⁷⁶² CBA 33, 209, Aharoni 1979, 73, 431, Avalos 1992-I, 679.

⁷⁶³ Simons 1937, 116.

⁷⁶⁴ Müller 1907, 12, Aharoni 1979, 159, Ahituv 1984, 190-191.

⁷⁶⁵ Knudtzon 1908, 738, Mercer 1939, 595, Helck 1971, 129, Aharoni 1979, 159.

11:3, 5 and 2 Sam. 10:6. Whether this Tob is the same as the Tob mentioned in 1 Macc. 5:13 is not clear.⁷⁶⁶ We have no archaeological data concerning Tob, but a mention in the Amarna-letters is an indication of habitation in the Late Bronze Age.

Kenath

Number 26 is *q-nw*.⁷⁶⁷ The same name probably appears in the Amarna Letters (*aluKa-nuu* EA 204:4)⁷⁶⁸ and twice in the Bible, Num. 32:42 and 1 Chr. 2:23. In both biblical references it seems to be located in Gilead, close to the village (or encampment) of Jair. Kenath has probably been mentioned already in Egyptian Execration texts,⁷⁶⁹ as Nobah. Usually, Kenath it is identified with El Qanawat (map reference 302.241) in eastern Bashan,⁷⁷⁰ although no archaeological excavations have been carried out at the site the Amarna Letters indicate occupation of the site during the Late Bronze Age.

Negev

Number 57 is *n-g-b*⁷⁷¹ and could be identified with Negev. However, its meaning is difficult to conclude and according to Müller, the name has nothing to do with the Southern Desert called Negev, consequently it must refer to a city. He suggests identification with Adami-negev mentioned in Joshua 19:33 in the area of Naphtali's inheritance.⁷⁷² Aharoni's suggestion is Gerar, but he does not explain how he has drawn that conclusion.⁷⁷³ Therefore, the exact location of this name must remain open.

⁷⁶⁶ Reddit 1992-VI, 583. Aharoni 1979, 159, 442. CBA 30.

⁷⁶⁷ Simons 1937, 116.

⁷⁶⁸ Kundtson 1908, 736, Mercer (1939, 592-593) suggests that Qanu is to be identified with Kana in the Old Testament, Qana of the Assyrians, Kini of the Retenu of Thutmosis III, and the modern Kana, south of Tyre.

⁷⁶⁹ Aharoni 1979, 145-146.

⁷⁷⁰ Noth 1938a, 56, Helck 1971, 129, Aharoni 1979, 110, 160, 209, 440, Kallai 1983, 115, and Ahituv 1984, 156. Müller 1907, 13 suggested Kana in Asher.

⁷⁷¹ Simons 1937, 117.

⁷⁷² Müller 1907, 19. Helck (1971, 121) translates the name "Negeb-Wüste".

⁷⁷³ Aharoni 1979, 161.

Ono

Number 65 is $\dot{\iota}\text{-}nw$.⁷⁷⁴ The text here is partially destroyed but may indicate Ono,⁷⁷⁵ a name which appears in the Bible in the book of Nehemiah (6:2; 7:37; 11:35). Ono is probably located at the site of the former Arab village Kafr 'Ana (map reference 137.159), as the similarity in the names makes this suggestion very likely.⁷⁷⁶ The site has been neither excavated nor surveyed.⁷⁷⁷

Kedesh?

Number 80 may include the letters $k\text{-}r\text{-}r$ ⁷⁷⁸ but they are difficult to identify with any site. Müller argues that the name could be identified as Gerar, but it is also possible to consider Galal.⁷⁷⁹ Helck is suspect about this reading of the name, but does not give any other suggestion.⁷⁸⁰ Aharoni reads the name as Galil but suggests that Kedesh⁷⁸¹ may be preferable. Again, the geographical identification of the site must be left open.

Lebo(-hamath?)

Number 82 is also difficult, although the letters are probably $r\text{-}b\text{-}\dot{\iota}$.⁷⁸² Müller identifies it with Rabatu or Rabati.⁷⁸³ Helck writes the name as $la\text{-}bi\text{-}u$.⁷⁸⁴ It may mean Lebo(-hamath) which is the same as no. 10 in the list.⁷⁸⁵

Merom

Number 85 is $m\text{-}r\text{-}m\text{-}\dot{\iota}\text{-}m$,⁷⁸⁶ which means The High.⁷⁸⁷ It can be identified with the name of Merom-majim and translated as Waters of

⁷⁷⁴ Simons 1937, 117.

⁷⁷⁵ Müller 1907, 21, Helck 1971, 121, Aharoni 1979, 161, and Ahituv 1984, 152.

⁷⁷⁶ SMM 15-2, 654, Aharoni 1979, 49, 114, 122.

⁷⁷⁷ Ahituv 1984, 152, Shearer 1992-V, 24, 25.

⁷⁷⁸ Simons 1937, 118.

⁷⁷⁹ Müller 1907, 24.

⁷⁸⁰ Helck 1971, 132.

⁷⁸¹ Aharoni 1979, 162.

⁷⁸² Simons 1937, 118.

⁷⁸³ Müller 1907, 24.

⁷⁸⁴ Helck 1971, 132.

⁷⁸⁵ Aharoni 1979, 162.

⁷⁸⁶ Simons 1937, 118.

⁷⁸⁷ So Müller 1907, 25 and Helck 1971, 132.

Merom.⁷⁸⁸ The name Merom also occurs in the text of Ramses II, "The town which his majesty desolated in the year 8, Merom. The town, which his majesty desolated in the year 8, Salem. The town which his majesty desolated on the mountain of beth-Anath, Kerep." According to Pritchard, "The pictured determinative of the name Merom is a man with arms raised high in the air, corresponding to the meaning of 'high' for the word Merom."⁷⁸⁹ The name also appears in Josh. 11:5, 7.⁷⁹⁰

Mount Meron is one of highest mountains in northern Galilee, and at its foot is a village called Meron (map reference 191.265)⁷⁹¹ and since the letters *m* and *n* are interchangeable,⁷⁹² it is possible to look for the Waters of Merom somewhere in this area. The sources of Wadi Ammud begin at Meron but contain very little water. Four kilometres northeast lies a pond, called Birket el-Jish,⁷⁹³ after which, northwards, is Wadi Dishon. Near the sources of Wadi Dishon lies Tell el-Khirbeh (map reference, 190.275), which has been suggested as being the site of Merom.⁷⁹⁴

Tiglat-pileser III lists the names Kedesh, Merom (Marum), Yiron and Janoah in this order. Ramses II mentions cities Beth-anath, Kanaah and Merom. All of these sites are situated in the northern Galilee,⁷⁹⁵ and the description in Josh. 11:5-7 also locates the sites in the northern part of the country. Accordingly, there are good reasons to place Merom in the area north of Mount Meron, and probably at Tell el-Khirbeh.

Some scholars claim that Merom is the same as Madon, and consequently located at Tel Qarnei Hittin in southern Galilee.⁷⁹⁶ This is an improbable alternative because Thutmosis III has in his list both Adamah/Madon and Merom. Similarly in Joshua 11 there are both names spoken of separately, Madon and Waters of Merom.

⁷⁸⁸ Aharoni 1979, 162.

⁷⁸⁹ ANET 256.

⁷⁹⁰ Aharoni 1979, 161.

⁷⁹¹ SMM 15-2, 590.

⁷⁹² See Aharoni 1979, 123.

⁷⁹³ Boling & Wright 1988, 307.

⁷⁹⁴ SMM 15-2, 589, CBA 214, Aharoni 1979, 162, 439.

⁷⁹⁵ Aharoni 1979, 61, 181, 225.

⁷⁹⁶ See Adamah and Madon in this study pages 155-158 and 262.

To conclude, we may identify Merom with Tell el-Khirbeh, although no archaeological data is available.

En-(hazor)

Number 86 is *'-n-y*⁷⁹⁷ and could be identified with 'Ajin, which means "the spring".⁷⁹⁸ One possible suggestion is En(-hazor),⁷⁹⁹ which appears in Josh. 19:36 as one of the cities allotted to the tribe of Naphtali. However, this identification is uncertain and must be left open.

Beth-shemesh

The name of number 89 is not clear, but the letters are *h-y-k-r-y-m*.⁸⁰⁰ Both Müller and Helck translate the name as "both temples".⁸⁰¹ Aharoni's suggestion is Beth-shemesh, however, with a question mark.⁸⁰² The earliest mention from Beth-shemesh is in the Egyptian Execration Texts in the form *bwtšmšw*.⁸⁰³ There are at least three different sites with this name in Palestine.⁸⁰⁴

The first is located in Shephelah in the Valley of Sorek, with the modern name of Khirbet Rumeileh/Tel Beth Shemes (map reference 147.128).⁸⁰⁵ It was excavated in 1911-1912 by D. Mackenzie and from 1928 to 1933 by E. Grant. The results were published by E. Wright in 1939. In 1990 renewed excavations began, directed by S. Bunimowitz and Z. Lederman.⁸⁰⁶ At this site there are remains from the Late Bronze Age.⁸⁰⁷

The second is Beth-shemesh in Lower Galilee, map reference possibly 199.232.⁸⁰⁸ The third city with the same name is Khirbet Tell er-Ruweisi in Upper Galilee (map reference 181.271).⁸⁰⁹ If *h-y-k-r-y-m*

⁷⁹⁷ Simons 1937, 118.

⁷⁹⁸ Müller 1907, 25 and Helck 1971, 131.

⁷⁹⁹ Aharoni 1979, 162.

⁸⁰⁰ Simons 1937, 118.

⁸⁰¹ Müller 1907, 25, and Helck 1971, 127.

⁸⁰² Aharoni 1979, 162.

⁸⁰³ Posener 1940, 93, ANET 329.

⁸⁰⁴ SMM 15-2, 207-209, and Aharoni 1979, 432.

⁸⁰⁵ SMM 15-2, 207.

⁸⁰⁶ Bunimowitz & Lederman 1993-I, 249.

⁸⁰⁷ Brandfon 1992-I, 696.

⁸⁰⁸ SMM 15-2, 209, Manor 1992-I, 698.

⁸⁰⁹ SMM 15-2, 208, Manor 1992-I, 698.

in Thutmosis' list means Beth-shemesh, the last one is most probably the site, because the other names adjacent to it are also located in the northern part of the Canaan. No excavations have been carried out there and the identification of the name is so uncertain that it must be left open.

Edrei

Number 91 is $\dot{\iota}\text{-}t\text{-}r\text{-}$ ⁸¹⁰ and could be identified with Edrei.⁸¹¹ Two different sites are identified with this name. One is a town in Upper Galilee, mentioned in Joshua 19:37 as a city of the territory of Naphtali, and the other is a town in Transjordan (Dera/Dura, map reference 253.224).⁸¹² Aharoni suggests that Edrei of Naphtali is the city mentioned in Thutmosis' list, but he gives no exact location for it. In his catalogue the only Edrei is Dera in Bashan, in Transjordan.⁸¹³ Because the subsequent recognisable names in Thutmosis' list are Abel-beth-maacah and Ijon, the location in Upper Galilee is the more likely.⁸¹⁴ However, the exact location for the Galilean Edrei is not known.⁸¹⁵

Abel (-beth-maacah)

Number 92 is $\dot{\iota}\text{-}b\text{-}$ ⁸¹⁶ could be the same as no. 90: *obira* or *ubila*. This has been identified with Abel, and may mean Abel-beth-maacah, which is located at Tell Abel el-Qamh (map reference 204.296).⁸¹⁷ Abel-beth-maacah occurs twice in the Bible. In 1 Kings 15:20 there is a list: "Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maacah" and in 2 Kings 15:29 "Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh and Hazor". Both lists combine Ijon and Abel-beth-maacah together and locate them in the northern Galilee. No excavations have been carried out at Tell Abel el-Qamh.

⁸¹⁰ Simons 1937, 118.

⁸¹¹ Müller 1907, 25, Aharoni 1979, 162.

⁸¹² Mattingly 1992-II, 301.

⁸¹³ Aharoni 1979, 162, 463 Edrei in Galilee, but 433 Edrei in Bashan. Noth (1938a, 56) writes that the name "am ehesten, obwohl der Name nach Jos. 19, 37 auch noch an anderer Stelle vorkam, mit *der'a* am Jarmuk gleichzusetzen".

⁸¹⁴ So also Mattingly 1992-II, 301 and Ahituv 1984, 91.

⁸¹⁵ See e.g. CBA 62,210: Edrei in Naphtali not identified.

⁸¹⁶ Simons 1937, 118.

⁸¹⁷ SMM 15-5, 005, Müller 1907, 25, Helck 1971, 127, Aharoni 1979, 162, Fritz 1992-I, 10.

Ijon

Number 95 is *'y-n* and, according to Simons, the same name as no. 46.⁸¹⁸ It could be Ijon, ⁸¹⁹ a name that appears twice in the Bible together with Abel-beth-maacah (1 Kings 15:20 and 2 Kings 15:29). Helck suggests the name as *'ajn* and translates it "the spring".⁸²⁰ If the site is Ijon, the most probable location is Tell ed-Dibbin, at the northernmost end of the Huleh Valley (map reference 205.308).⁸²¹ There is no archaeological data of the site.

Conclusion

From a total of 119 names 46 have been chosen for identification and a possible location. The other 73 are impossible to identify with any certainty.⁸²² Altogether 30 names have also been mentioned in other ancient texts, mostly from inscriptions of the Late Bronze Age. 40 sites of the list occur in the Bible. If biblical references are taken together with other ancient documents, there are 44 sites. Just two sites on the list (Raphon and Adami-nekeb) have not been mentioned in any other text. This means that almost all the recognisable names of Thutmosis III's list can be found as well in other ancient texts.

Archaeological excavations have been conducted in 17 of the sites. All of the sites have been inhabited during Late Bronze Age I. In four of them (Hazor, Acco, Taanach, and Gezer) there is a destruction level from that time, although the information about the destruction occurring in Hazor and Gezer is quite limited. This indicates clearly that Thutmosis III did not destroy the cities which he claimed to have conquered. If he is the destroyer of these four cities then it may be assumed that four large and strategically important cities offered resistance to the Egyptian army.

Archaeological surveys have been made in 16 of the other sites, and of these at least 15 were inhabited during Late Bronze Age I. The most doubtful is Adamah/Qarnei Hittin, which is quite a tentative candidate for Adamah. Excluding this site, the result are 100% for inhabited sites in Late Bronze Age I.

⁸¹⁸ Simons 1937, 118.

⁸¹⁹ Müller 1907, 26, Aharoni 1979, 163.

⁸²⁰ Helck 1971, 128.

⁸²¹ CBA 212, Mullins 1992-III, 387-388.

⁸²² Aharoni's list (1979, 159-163) has 49 names, including many uncertainties.

To conclude, looking at the sites where Thutmose III is reported to visit, it may be stated that in all or in almost all of the sites there was a settlement during his time. There is no reason to doubt the historical value of the report the Pharaoh had written into his inscriptions. However, he did not destroy the cities he claimed to conquer, as only some of them were destroyed.

Name in the list of Thutmose III (no.)	mentioned in other ancient texts	mentioned in the Bible	inhabited in LB I acc. to arch. excv. or surv.	des- tro- yed in LB I
a) Excavated sites				
Hazor (32)	x	x	x	x?
Acco (47)	x	x	x	x
Chinnereth (34)	x	x	x	
Kumidi (8)	x		x	
Kadesh (1)	x		x	
Laish (31)	x	x	x	
Achshaph/T. Keisan (40)	x	x	x	
Taanach (42)	x	x	x	x
Aphek (66)	x	x	x	
Beth Shean (110)	x	x	x	
Megiddo (2)	x	x	x	
Joppa (62)	x	x	x	
Gath (63)	x	x	x	
Gezer (104)	x	x	x	x?
Jokneam (113)		x	x	
Ophrah (53)/Afula?		x	x	
Anaharath (52)	x	x	x	
17	15	15	17	4
b) Surveyed sites				
Ashtaroth (28)	x	x	x	
Shimron (35)	x	x	x	
Raphon (29)			x	
Shunem (38)	x	x	x	
Mishal/T. Regev (39)	x	x	x	
Ibleam (43)		x	x	

Name in the list of Thutmosis III (no.)	mentioned in other ancient texts	mentioned in the Bible	inhabited in LB I acc. to arch. excv. or surv.	des- tro- yed in LB I
Allamelech /T.enNahl(45)		x	x	
Socoh (67)		x	x	
Gibbethon/T. Malat (103)	x	x	x	
Rabbah (105)	x	x	x	
Kishion/T. el Ajjul (37)		x	x	
Helkath/T. Qashis (112)		x	x	
Lebo-hamath (10)	x	x	x	
Adamim/Kh.et-Tell (36)	x		x	
Sh-edom/T.Qarnei H. (51)	x	x		
Lod (64)	x	x	x	
16	10	14	15	
Total 34	26	29	33	4
c) Other sites				
Damascus (13)	x	x		
Rehob (87)	x			
Berothai (19)		x		
Tob (22)	x	x		
Kenath (26)	x	x		
Ono (65)		x		
Kedesh? (80)				
Merom/T. el-Khirbeh (85)	x	x		
En(-hazor) (86)		x		
Beth-shemesh (89)		x	?	
Edrei (91)		x		
Abel(-beth-maacah) (92)		x		
Ijon (95)		x		
13	5	11		
Total 46	30	40	32	4

Table 3: The cities in the list of Thutmosis III.

Sites in Thutmosis III's list



Map 4. Sites in Thutmosis III's list.

4.2 Shishak's list

4.2.1 The order of the names in the list

Pharaoh Shishak conducted his campaign into Canaan in 925 BCE.⁸²³ One of the main discussions regarding the route of this campaign deals with the order in which the towns were conquered. It seems clear that in addition to taking large areas in the Negev the Pharaoh took some cities west of Jerusalem (in the Aijalon Valley), in central Palestine and the Jezreel Valley and also east of the Jordan River. Originally, the relief may have included approximately 187 names, although many of them have been destroyed. The whole list includes eleven rows and can be divided into three main sections: 1) rows I-V (nos. 1-65), 2) rows VI-X (nos. 66-150) and 3) row XI (approx. 37 names). The names in the last section are almost totally lost.⁸²⁴

Most of the first 65 names belong to areas west of Jerusalem and towards Northern Israel. Aharoni claims that "the line-up of towns gives us a logical and continuous route, thus making it possible to reconstruct the expedition's line of march".⁸²⁵ In fact, this picture of the route given by Aharoni has long been regarded as the standard course of Pharaoh Shishak's campaign. However, the study of the list does not favour the opinion that all the names are in geographical order of Shishak's original list.

According to Noth, the Pharaoh went directly from Egypt to Megiddo and used it as his base in this war. From Megiddo he led campaigns to the Negev and east of Jordan. On the way back he travelled through the Aijalon Valley cities.⁸²⁶

B. Mazar and Aharoni reverse the order of the names in the first few rows of the list, arguing that the text should be read by the *boustrophedon* method, which means that the first line goes from right to left, and the following from left to right with the third one going

⁸²³ See the short explanation of Shishak's campaign in this study pages 80-82.

⁸²⁴ Kitchen 1986, 432-447, Currid 1997, 183-184. The basic text of Shishak's list with the transliterations, plans, diagrams and explanations was published by J. Simons (1937).

⁸²⁵ Aharoni 1979, 325.

⁸²⁶ Noth 1938b, 289.

again from right to left. In this system every other line of the names has to be read according to the way in which the figures are facing.⁸²⁷

The hypothesis of B. Mazar and Aharoni is not convincing, although the route they suggest could be geographically the most logical one. This principle of reading with the figures direction was never used in Egyptian inscriptions. They must be read with the figure's face. However, exceptions can be found in religious texts.⁸²⁸ Furthermore, B. Mazar and Aharoni do not use this method consistently, because they take names from row V and to put them into row II. Moreover, the order of names in row V is somewhat problematic, because they do not form a consecutive geographical route. Furthermore, as Kitchen has pointed out, the neat circle route they arrive at was never used in the pharaonic military campaigns. The customary way was to march forward and to use several task forces at the same time.⁸²⁹

The exact order of Shishak's march is impossible to define. In this study we assume that the names close to each other in the list can be located in the same geographical area but they do not necessarily describe exactly the route the Pharaoh used. In addition, there is the possibility or even the probability that flying columns were used at the same as the main expedition.

4.2.2 Archaeological evidence

In this chapter all the sites mentioned in Shishak's list are considered that can be identified geographically. The transcription of the Egyptian name is first considered and then the history of the name and in which other ancient sources it occurs. After that an attempt is made to locate it on the map. Finally, the main archaeological results of the site from Iron Age IIA are described. If the city in question was inhabited in that period it is assumed that Shishak may have visited it. If there is a destruction level from that time it is possible that the city was destroyed by Shishak.

The cities studied are as follows:

⁸²⁷ B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325.

⁸²⁸ Allen 2000, 3-4.

⁸²⁹ Kitchen 1986, 444. See also Currid 1987, 186.

(in parenthesis the commonly accepted number of the site)

Gaza (11), Gezer (12), Rubute (13), Taanach (14), Shunem (15), Beth Shean (16), Rehob (17), Hapharaim (18), Adoraim (19), Zaphon (20), Mahanaim (22), Gibeon (23), Beth-horon (24), Kiriathaim (25), Aijalon (26), Megiddo (27), Adar (28), Yad-hammelech (29), Honim (31), Aruna (32), Borim (33), Gath-padalla (34), Yaham (35), Beth-olam (36), Socoh (38), Beth-tappuah (39), Penuel (53), Kedesh (54), Succoth (55), Adam (56), Zemaraim (57), Migdal (58), Tirzah (59), Gophnah (64), Ezem (66), Photeis (69), Yehallel (70), Adar (100), Arad (108), Raphia (2a), and Laban (3a). Total 41 cities.

The sites are arranged into three groups.

Group a) consists of the Excavated sites: Megiddo, Arad, Taanach, Beth Shean, Rehob, Gezer, [Ti]rzah, Succoth, Gaza, Migdal, and Gibeon.

Group b) consists of the Surveyed sites: Aruna, Borim, Gath-padalla, Yaham, Shunem, Penuel, Mahanaim, Adam, Zemaraim, Socoh, Rubute, Beth-horon, Kiriathaim, Aijalon, Raphia, and Laban.

Group c) consists of the other sites: Hapharaim, Adoraim, Zaphon, Adar, Yad-hammelech, Honim, Beth-olam, and Beth-tappuah.

a) Excavated sites

Megiddo

Number 27 is the first name in row III, and its transliteration is *m-k-d-(i3?)*. The reading Megiddo is clear.⁸³⁰ The history of the name has been studied in ancient sources and the archaeology of Megiddo in connection with Thutmosis III's list.⁸³¹

In Shishak's list Megiddo/Tell el-Mutesellim is in row III and belongs geographically in the same group as Rehob, Beth Shean, Shunem and Taanach (nos. 17-14, the first names in row II). Megiddo begins a long line of the names situated southwards from Megiddo along the Via Maris, on the way to Socoh (nos. 27-38 in row III).

⁸³⁰ Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 285, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 436, and Currid 1997, 192.

⁸³¹ See Megiddo in Thutmosis III's list pages 129-134.

Chicago University excavations produced the following stratigraphy for Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Megiddo. The University's excavation areas were AA, BB, CC, and DD. It is important to note here that all later discussion is mostly based on these excavations:⁸³²

Stratum VIII (1479-1350)	Late Bronze I
Stratum VII (1350-1150)	Late Bronze II
Stratum VI (1150-1100)	Early Iron I
Stratum V (1050-1000)	Early Iron II (Late Iron I)
Stratum IV (1000-800)	Middle Iron (Iron II)

The Chicago project processed the entire Iron Age IIA (their Middle Iron Age) as one unit, Stratum IV. Yadin emphasised stratigraphic subdivision and that has formed the foundation for later discussion, particularly the four substrata: VB-VA-IVB-IVA. Yadin suggested that Stratum VA-IVB was from the 10th century BCE. It contains a northern palace (palace no. 6000), a large six-chamber city gate complex, a casemate wall, residential houses, cultic shrines and a rich assemblage of pottery. According to Yadin, this stratum belonged to the Solomonic time not only from the biblical evidence but also because all the pottery, architectural and stratigraphical elements indicated the same. It is worth mentioning that this division must have been based mainly on the biblical sources because pottery cannot give such exact dates. Stratum VA-IVB, according to Yadin, was destroyed by Pharaoh Shishak c. 926 BCE.

Stratum IV had a new city plan and it was more splendid than the previous level. The large city gate was still used but an entire new complex of buildings was established. The stratigraphy suggested by Yadin has become a starting point for all later discussion on Megiddo.⁸³³

⁸³² Loud 1948, 5.

⁸³³ Yadin 1975, 207-231, Shiloh 1993-III, 1014-1023.

Stratum VIA	Second half of the 11 th century
Stratum VB	Beginning of the 10 th century, time of David
Stratum VA-IVB	The 10 th century, time of Solomon until Shishak in 926
Stratum IVA	The 9 th -8 th centuries, from Omri to Ahab until Assyrian conquest 732

One of the main arguments for dating these strata was the comparison with the six-chamber gate of Megiddo and with the similar gates found at Hazor and Gezer. The biblical reference of King Solomon's building activities at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer in 1 Kings 9:15 seemed to confirm this dating. The three gates had similar architecture, but, according to Ussishkin, there was a difference in the walls connected with the gate. Hazor and Gezer had a casemate wall but Megiddo a solid wall.⁸³⁴

Later discussion about the stratigraphy and dating of the Iron Age IIA Megiddo has been one of the most vital debates concerning the chronology of Iron Age Palestine.⁸³⁵ The key questions are the dates of the six-chamber gate and Strata VA-IVB and IVA. In addition, the question of Shishak's campaign and his stele erected at Megiddo are the objects of this section.

The renewed excavations concentrated on four areas: F, J, K, and H. Area F on the lower mound revealed Late Bronze Age strata, Area K on the south-eastern edge of the upper mound Iron Age I and II strata, and Area H in the northern part of the upper mound Iron Age II strata. Area J was in the gate area and Area J in the eastern part of the mound, inside the previous BB area.

The Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I and II strata of the renewed excavations are:⁸³⁶

⁸³⁴ Yadin 1975, 187-231. See also e.g. Ussishkin 1980, 1-3.

⁸³⁵ See e.g. Ussishkin 1980, 1990, Davies 1986, 1988, 1994, Kempinski 1989, Currid 1991, Finkelstein & Ussishkin 1994, Bourke 1996, Finkelstein 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2002, Mazar 1997, 2004, Halpern 2000, Knauf 2000, 2001, Niemann 2002, and Kletter 2004.

⁸³⁶ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 5-11.

Area F / H	Area K	Chicago University	Period
F-8		VIIB?	Late Bronze II
F-7		VIIA?	Late Bronze II
F-6		VIB	Iron Age I
F-5	K-4	VIA	Iron Age I/II
	K-3	VB	Iron Age II
	K-2	VA-IVB	Iron Age II
H-4	K-1	IVA	Iron Age II
F-4b H-3	K-1	IVA	Iron Age II

Interestingly, all the directors of the renewed excavations at Megiddo, Finkelstein, Ussishkin and Halpern have different interpretations on the chronology of Iron Age IIA Megiddo. Ussishkin has challenged Yadin's view about the date of the six-chamber gate, the so-called "Solomonic" city gate. Based on the stratigraphical analysis Ussishkin concludes that Stratum VA-IVB is from the 10th century BCE, that is from the time of Solomon. However, by comparing all the six-chamber gates he concluded that the "Solomonic" gate at Megiddo belongs to the next period, Stratum IV, in the 9th century BCE.⁸³⁷

Halpern agreed with Ussishkin that not all the six-chamber gates found in the country were from the 10th century BCE. However, according to Halpern, Ussishkin has no satisfactory explanation as to why the large city gate could not belong to Stratum VA-IVB, as that city could not have been without any gates. After careful stratigraphical study, Halpern concludes that the city gate of Stratum VA-IVB must belong to the time of Solomon. Hazor X and Gezer VIII belong to the same phase, although, not all the six-chamber gates in the country belong to the 10th century BCE.⁸³⁸

Finkelstein, for his part, accuses the others of being too dependent on the biblical text.⁸³⁹ His starting point is the ceramic analysis.

⁸³⁷ Ussishkin 1980, 1-18 and Ussishkin 1990, 71-91. These are from the time before Ussishkin started the project at Megiddo with Finkelstein.

⁸³⁸ Halpern 2000, 79-121, in page 120, "All things considered, the traditional assignment of Hazor X, Megiddo VA-IVB and Gezer VIII to the United Monarchy, and to Solomon, is preferable to the alternatives, archaeologically, textually and historically."

⁸³⁹ Halpern (2000, 103) criticizes Finkelstein that by accusing others from the biblical connections he himself does the same, "Finkelstein's low chronology... Still, despite its archaeological

Imported Mycenaean IIIB and Cypriot pottery is found at Megiddo in Stratum VII B and in small quantities in Stratum VII A, and this shows, according to Finkelstein, that those strata are from the 13th and 12th centuries BCE. Stratum VII A did not yield Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and must be dated to the mid-to late, or late 12th century BCE. After the destruction of that phase, the city was reoccupied in the 11th century BCE and this phase, Stratum VI B, is characterised by Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery. Stratum VI should be dated, therefore, to the 10th century BCE.⁸⁴⁰ According to Finkelstein's "Low Chronology", Strata VA-IVB should be dated to the mid-9th century BCE. The destruction of that level was probably carried out by Arameans.⁸⁴¹

According to Amihai Mazar, Finkelstein's dating is incorrect and Mazar emphasises that Stratum S2 in his Beth Shean excavations is parallel with the Megiddo VIA, and that the former is certainly from the 11th century. According to Mazar, Megiddo VA-IVB is contemporaneous with Stratum S1 of Beth Shean and must therefore be dated to the late 10th century BCE.⁸⁴² Taking as examples the appearance of the local Mycenaean IIIC pottery he claims that several recent studies negate Finkelstein's approach. "In fact, none of the excavators of Philistia find this suggestion acceptable."⁸⁴³

In addition, Finkelstein's argument that Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery is missing in Stratum VII A is not a very strong criterion because "the absence of evidence is not evidence for absence".⁸⁴⁴ Furthermore, Herzog and Singer-Avitz argued that the Iron Age IIA should cover a period of about 150-200 years, not just a single century.⁸⁴⁵

Regarding the role of Shishak at Megiddo, Finkelstein, Ussishkin, , and Halpern, each have a different theory. Only one thing is definite:

charm, it in the end depends on textual, and indeed Biblical, evidence for its connection to absolute chronology."

⁸⁴⁰ Finkelstein 1996b, 171-172.

⁸⁴¹ Finkelstein 1999, 63-65.

⁸⁴² Mazar 2001, 293. Finkelstein admits that "though it is still possible to arrange the data in a way that would allow placing the Stratum VIA assemblages in the very late 11th century BCE, it seems much more reasonable to place them in the 10th." (Finkelstein et al. 2000, 599). See also Mazar 1997, 160-161.

⁸⁴³ Mazar 2004, 2-5.

⁸⁴⁴ See also Kletter (2004, 16) who criticises Finkelstein, "A claim that something speaks for itself is hardly a scientific argument if it is a lack of this something."

⁸⁴⁵ Herzog & Singer-Avitz 2004, 209-244. See also Kletter 2004, 32.

Pharaoh Shishak was at Megiddo, as a fragment of a carved stele honouring him was found at the site in the 1920s by Fischer. Only a small piece of the stele was discovered, however, originally it may have been 3.3 meters high, 1.5 meters wide, and 50 cm thick. This stele shows that Megiddo was a central city for Egyptian operations in Canaan. It also gives the most certain evidence that Shishak actually made a campaign into this country.⁸⁴⁶

According to Ussishkin, the “fact that Shishak erected a stele in Megiddo is clear indication that the city continued to exist as an organised settlement following his conquest. It would be illogical to assume that Shishak destroyed Megiddo, then erected his stele among the burnt ruins.” Ussishkin supposes that Stratum VA-IVB Megiddo dates to the 10th century and represents Solomon’s Megiddo. He thinks that Megiddo VA-IVB was not destroyed before the third quarter of the 9th century, at the same time as Jezreel. The stele of Shishak was erected in the city where there was only partial damage.⁸⁴⁷

Mazar and Ussishkin give the same date for Stratum VA-IVB, but they differ in dating the destruction following it. According to Mazar, the same exceptionally violent destruction, which damaged Stratum S1 at Beth Shean in the 10th century BCE destroyed Stratum VA-IVB at Megiddo as well, and this is very probably the result of the invasion of Pharaoh Shishak. Destruction levels from that period can be found in the following strata: Taanach IIB, Jokneam XIV, Lachish V, and Arad XII, and in several others.⁸⁴⁸

Halpern also dated Shishak’s campaign as taking place during Stratum VA-IVB. According to Halpern, Megiddo VIA was not destroyed by invaders but by some catastrophic event. As it is believed that Stratum VA-IVB was not entirely destroyed, but only partly burnt. It is therefore feasible to think that the Pharaoh erected his stele at the city. Halpern lists the strata of other sites also

⁸⁴⁶ Ussishkin 1990, 71-74, Ussishkin 1992-IV, 675, Finkelstein 2002, 109-111.

⁸⁴⁷ Ussishkin 1990, 71-74, Finkelstein et al. 2000, 600. Wilson 2005, 70-74, argues, against Ussishkin, that the stele at Megiddo does not prove Shishak’s campaign in Palestine. However, he admits that “the fragment does show that some type of relationship existed between Megiddo and Egypt” (quotation from page 74).

⁸⁴⁸ Mazar 2001, 295-296. Mazar 2004, 2.

conquered by Shishak, e.g. Khirbet Rabud, Tell Beit Mirsim B3, Tel Halif VII, Beth Shemesh IIA, Tel Batash IV, Gezer VIII, Tel Qasile X, Izbeth Sartah II or I, Ashdod X, Tel Miqne IV, Jokneam XIV, Taanach IIB, Beth Shean S-1 (Lower V), and Hazor X. Halpern concedes that there are some differences in pottery between these sites but mostly they are comparable.⁸⁴⁹

Finkelstein considers, according to his “Low Chronology”, two different possibilities for Shishak’s campaign. The first is that the Pharaoh destroyed Megiddo VIA. According to him, this fits with the destructions in Beth Shean Upper VI, Tel Rehov, Taanach IB, and Jokneam XVII, Dor, Chinnereth, and Tel Hadar. According to this scenario, Shishak’s goal was to conquer the northern valleys by destroying their main cities. The question remains, why the Pharaoh destroyed the major cities if he thought of developing his domination over the area. A significant question is whether he would erect his stele in the damaged city. Perhaps he was not intending to plan a continuous domination but just to take loot. Or else he did not perhaps plan to destroy the city but the inhabitants revolted against him.⁸⁵⁰

Another possibility according to Finkelstein is, that the settlement Shishak faced was Megiddo VB and its contemporaries such as Taanach IIA. In this case, the conquest was peaceful. If this scenario is right, the question remains, who destroyed Megiddo VIA and its contemporaries. One explanation could be an earthquake. Finkelstein ends his reflections, “Each of the two scenarios presented above raises difficult archaeological and historical questions. I leave it to the reader to choose between them.”⁸⁵¹

Stratum V at Megiddo represents, for Finkelstein, one settlement that came to a violent end around the middle of the 9th century BCE. In certain places it could be discerned as two different phases, VB and VA-IVB. By comparing material with Hirbet el-Mesas II, Finkelstein admits that it has similarities mostly with Megiddo V but also with Megiddo VIA.⁸⁵² Because Hirbet el-Mesas is located to south of the

⁸⁴⁹ Halpern 2000, 112-116.

⁸⁵⁰ Finkelstein 2002, 120-122.

⁸⁵¹ Finkelstein 2002, 122.

⁸⁵² Finkelstein 2002, 120.

Negev and Megiddo in the north of the Jezreel Valley, it is possible to question whether regional varieties may not weaken the weight of evidence.

To conclude, the main question in this study is whether we could find any signs of Shishak's campaign in the cities mentioned in his list. Megiddo is the most assured place because of the stele erected by the Pharaoh at the city. Which stratum represents this event is important because it has consequences for the discussion on the strata of the other sites. As we have seen, Finkelstein's "Low Chronology" has some weaknesses in explaining the new date for Iron Age IIA level at Megiddo. If this theory is rejected, it is the scholarly consensus that Stratum VA-IVB can be dated to the 10th century BCE and it is the period of Pharaoh Shishak. Whether he destroyed the entire city or only part of it, remains unclear. However, he erected his stele in the city and left his name there as a sign of Egyptian supremacy at the site.

Arad

Number 108 is *'-r-d-i3*, and it can be identified with Arad. The names in the approximately of no.108 have caused a lot of discussion. The same word also occurs in the names no. 109 and 110-111. No. 107 is *h-q-r-m* and it has been suggested to be "heading" for the following names, meaning "forts" or "fields".⁸⁵³ According to Na'aman, however, this "heading-theory" is not relevant because there are no other headings in the Shishak's list. Nos. 108-109 is to be read Arad *rbt* and nos. 110-111 Arad *nbt*. The first one could be translated Great Arad and the latter as just Arad of *nbt*.⁸⁵⁴ Accordingly, Shishak has taken it to be the city of Arad. The former name could refer to "big Arad" and the later a small "hamlet".

The identification of the name Arad in ancient sources with Tel Arad in the northern Negev is especially convincing. The name has been on the site in the local Bedouin tradition and the name Arad occurs several times in the inscriptions found at the site.⁸⁵⁵ Excavations at Tel Arad (map reference 162.076) were conducted in

⁸⁵³ Simons 1937, 185, Na'aman 1985, 91.

⁸⁵⁴ So Na'aman 1985, 92, also with small variations Noth 1938b, 294, B. Mazar 1957, 64, Aharoni 1979, 329, Kitchen 1986, 440, and Currid 1997, 199-200

⁸⁵⁵ Herzog 2002, 84.

1962-1967, directed by Y. Aharoni (Iron Age Arad) and R. Amiran (since 1964 Early Bronze Age Arad).⁸⁵⁶ No final reports have been published, after almost forty years, although the first preliminary report was made in 1984.⁸⁵⁷ Herzog in 2002, wrote the next interim report and he is preparing the final one.⁸⁵⁸

The stratigraphy at Arad is complicated and the periods are not very easy to date. The first Iron Age level is an agriculture settlement and it belongs to Stratum XII. The construction of the next level destroyed the remains of this stratum and therefore data concerning it is poor. Probably some Early Bronze Age houses were in secondary use. Stratum XII may have been an 'enclosed settlement', which was a typical phenomenon in the Beersheba Valley in these times.⁸⁵⁹

The following level, Stratum XI, was the first fortified city at the site. According to the excavators, the first temple was also built in Stratum XI and both the fortress and the temple were destroyed by fire. They dated this level to the 9th century BCE, contrary to the earlier suggestion of the 10th century BCE. In the next level, Stratum X, both the temple and the fortress were rebuilt.⁸⁶⁰ Ussishkin challenged the interpretation of the dating of the temple arguing that it must have been built at the earliest in Stratum X, but most probably in Stratum VII.⁸⁶¹ Herzog pointed out that Ussishkin's theory does not survive the scrutiny of the exact stratigraphic analysis, and he dates the temple to strata X and IX.⁸⁶²

Singer-Avitz studied the pottery of the Iron Age Arad and concluded that there are three groups. First, Strata XII and XI belong together, second, strata X, IX, and VIII, and thirdly strata VII and VI. She found these following similarities to other sites in Judah in Iron Age IIA strata: Arad XII, Lachish V, Beersheba VII, and Masos II-I

⁸⁵⁶ SMM 15-2, 078, Mazar 1990, 19, Manor & Herion 1992-I, 331.

⁸⁵⁷ Herzog et al. 1984, 1-34.

⁸⁵⁸ Herzog 2002, 3-11.

⁸⁵⁹ See Herzog 2002, 10-20, also Mazar & Netzer 1986, 89. Y. Aharoni dated it to the 12th -11th century and M. Aharoni (1993-I, 82) gives the dating to the late 12th century-early 11th century BCE or the 11th and first half of the 10th centuries BCE (see Herzog 2002, 14 and Singer-Avitz 2002, 111).

⁸⁶⁰ Mazar & Netzer 1986, 89, Herzog 2002, 10. M. Aharoni (1993-I, 82-87) dates it to the 10th century BCE.

⁸⁶¹ Ussishkin 1988, 146-157.

⁸⁶² Herzog 2002, 7, 50-52, 70-72.

belong together, and on the other hand Arad XI, Lachish IV, Beersheba (VI)V-IV and 'Ira VIII belong together.⁸⁶³ Later Herzog and Singer-Avitz formed new sub-phases to describe this period: the Early Iron Age IIA and the Late Iron Age IIA. They dated the entire period from the second half of the 10th century BCE to the end of the 9th century.⁸⁶⁴

Concerning the development of the establishment of the Iron Age settlements in the Beersheba Valley Herzog concludes that the earliest occupation is Tel Masos IIIB, the next Tel Beersheba IX, and finally Arad XII. These settlements suggest the manner of development from nomadism to settlement. The storage pits of the initial phase of occupation also indicate this process as at each site the pits were followed by the building of the first residential units. Tel Masos was at this time the central location in this region.⁸⁶⁵

The question here is which level, at Arad, could be the one mentioned in Shishak's list. Generally, it has been suggested that Stratum XI must yield information about Shishak's conquest because it is the first level that was destroyed.⁸⁶⁶ A new trend, according to the Low Chronology, is to date Stratum XII to the time of Shishak.⁸⁶⁷ According to Finkelstein, "Arad XII is the only stratum in Israel which can be securely associated with the Shoshenq campaign."⁸⁶⁸ Herzog has good reasons to wonder why this is the only safe stratum, despite there being many others extensively excavated sites such as Megiddo, Beth Shean and Taanach. Nevertheless, he admits that there are difficulties to finding Shishak's invasion, because not all the sites mentioned in the list were destroyed.⁸⁶⁹ Having concluded earlier that the Low Chronology is not based on reliable arguments Stratum XI is, therefore, designated to the period of Shishak.

The question of the ethnicity of the inhabitants of Iron Age IIA Arad is also discussed. Finkelstein (in 1988) pointed out that they

⁸⁶³ Singer-Avitz 2002, 110-111, 182. See also Herzog & Singer-Avitz 2004, 209-210.

⁸⁶⁴ Herzog & Singer-Avitz 2004, 230.

⁸⁶⁵ Herzog 2002, 89-92.

⁸⁶⁶ Manor & Herion 1992-I, 333.

⁸⁶⁷ Zimhoni 1985, 87, Mazar & Netzer 1986, 89, Herzog 2002, 92-93, Finkelstein 2002, 113, and Herzog & Singer-Avitz 2004, 229.

⁸⁶⁸ Finkelstein 2002, 114.

⁸⁶⁹ Herzog 2002, 93.

were Israelites because the occupation continued from Stratum XII to Stratum XI, and the last level was the first Israelite fortress. Herzog agrees that the Beer-sheva Valley inhabitants in that period were most probably Israelites.⁸⁷⁰

To conclude, Arad is certainly one of the places mentioned in Shishak's list, and the location of the site is identified with Tel Arad. The level of the 10th century is most probably Stratum XI, and the destruction level from that period may be caused by Shishak.

Taanach

Number 14, the first name in row II, is *t'-n-k-i3*.⁸⁷¹ It can be read Taanach. Similarly, there are no problems reading the following names in the original list, Shunem, Beth Shean and Rehob.⁸⁷² Taanach is also mentioned in several other ancient texts, as mentioned before in the study. (See pages 122-124.)

Taanach/ Tell Ti'innik (map reference 170.214) is one of the major settlements in the Jezreel Valley area. Earlier the history and excavations of this were referred in connection with the list of Thutmosis III, but here the focus of attention is on the beginning of Iron Age II.

The Iron Age stratigraphy of Taanach excavations according to Rast is as follows:⁸⁷³

Period IA	c. 1200-1150
Period IB	1150-1125
Period IIA	c. 1020-960
Period IIB	960-918

Period IA is a transitional period from Late Bronze Age II to the Iron Age. At that time the site was not very intensively settled and the period ended with a destruction followed by a gap of occupation. Periods IIA and IIB belong to Iron Age II, when Taanach seems to

⁸⁷⁰ Finkelstein 1988, 39, Herzog 1994, 148. Later Herzog (2002, 89-92) wrote about the ethnicity again and considered it more complicated question.

⁸⁷¹ Simons 1937, 181.

⁸⁷² Noth 1938b, 282, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 435, and Currid 1997, 191.

⁸⁷³ Rast 1978, 6.

have become an important city. Many public buildings and a lot of cult material were discovered.⁸⁷⁴ A new pottery tradition occurred at the site with the most distinguishing feature being hand burnishing and collar-rim jars were also found at Taanach IIB. According to Rast, "the change in architectural and ceramic traditions suggests new settlers at the site." Iron Age IIB Taanach ended with destruction.⁸⁷⁵

Two cultic stands and a figurine mould were found from the 10th century period. Lapp found various phases of cultic basins, and he concluded that one recounts the destruction of Shishak and the second one was built immediately after the destruction. According to Lapp, it is possible that the remains indicate how Shishak desecrated the cultic place. He writes, "While evidence from Iron II is not impressive, evidence from this campaign suggests that there was a fairly continuous, if slight, occupation at that time."⁸⁷⁶ Beck studied the two cultic stands and compared them with many other stands found in the Near East from the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Although the stands are unique and therefore difficult to date reliably, she agrees with Lapp by attributing "both stands to the tenth century BCE settlement, which was destroyed by Shishak".⁸⁷⁷

Rast has studied the Iron Age pottery of Taanach. According to him Period IIB "came to an end with severe destruction, most clearly evident in the Cultic Structure".⁸⁷⁸ In his book from 1988 Finkelstein accepted the chronology of Rast although he criticised it for giving too exact dates.⁸⁷⁹ It is easy to agree with this critic because nobody can give very exact dates on the grounds of pottery, and the dating, in the ground of cultic stands cannot be very precise either. Later Finkelstein changed his view and suggested a new chronology for Iron Age Taanach.

According to Finkelstein (late), the stratigraphy is as follows (in parenthesis Finkelstein's correlation with Megiddo):⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁴ Lapp 1964, 8. Glock 1992-VI, 289, Glock 1993-IV, 1432.

⁸⁷⁵ Rast 1978, 6.

⁸⁷⁶ Lapp 1967, 30. See also Glock 1992, 289. On the contrary Ahituv (1984, 185), "There is no archaeological evidence for its destruction by Shishak, but that might be due to the restricted area of the excavations."

⁸⁷⁷ Beck 1994, 352. See also a similar estimate in Mazar 2001, 296.

⁸⁷⁸ Rast 1978 4.

⁸⁷⁹ Finkelstein 1988, 88-89, 281.

⁸⁸⁰ Finkelstein 1998b, 216.

Period IA	mid-12 th century, or c. 1000 (post VIIA, and preVIB, or early VIA)
Period IB	10 th century (VIA)
gap	late 10 th century (gap)
Period IIA	early 9 th century (VB)
Period IIB	first half of 9 th century (VA-IVB)

Finkelstein arrives at his dating by comparing the stratigraphy of Taanach with that of Megiddo, according to his “Low Chronology”. He has many critical questions concerning Rast, who he believes is too optimistic with regard to Biblical text. Rast uses not only complete vessels but also sherds for dating and Rast’s comparison with Megiddo pottery does not comply with every detail.⁸⁸¹

Finkelstein puts Shishak’s campaign and destruction into Period IB, which corresponds to Megiddo VIA. Having considered the stratigraphy of Megiddo earlier in the text the same conclusion can be drawn i.e. that there is no reason to give up the conventional dating according to which Shishak’s campaign belongs at Megiddo at the end of Stratum VA-IVB. Accordingly, it corresponds to the destruction of Period IIB at Taanach.

To summarise, there are two different suggestions for the stratum of Shishak’s campaign at Taanach and both contain a destruction level. The more probable alternative is that Shishak destroyed Taanach Stratum IIB at the end of 10th century BCE.

Beth Shean

Number 16 is *b-t š-n-r-ì3* and is identified with Beth Shean.⁸⁸² This name appears in many ancient texts, for example, the town of Beth Shean is mentioned in the text of Thutmosis III, of Seti I, and in the Papyrus Anastasi I,⁸⁸³ and in the Amarna Letters (EA 289, 20).⁸⁸⁴ This large city (map reference 197.212)⁸⁸⁵ is situated in the eastern part of

⁸⁸¹ Finkelstein 1998b, 210-211.

⁸⁸² Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 282, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Görg 1974, 56-69, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 435, and Currid 1997, 191.

⁸⁸³ ANET 253, 477.

⁸⁸⁴ Knudtzon 1908, 874, Mercer 1939, 718.

⁸⁸⁵ SMM 15-2, 206.

the Jezreel Valley close to the Jordan River. It has been settled almost continuously from at least the Chalcolithic Period up to modern times.⁸⁸⁶ The archaeology of the Late Bronze Age II was studied in connection with the Thutmosis III's list (see pages 126-129). Here the focus is on Iron Age IIA.

Stratigraphy of the Iron Age according to earlier Pennsylvania expedition and to renewed excavations of Amihai Mazar is as follows:⁸⁸⁷

Pennsylvania	period	Mazar	date
Lower VI	Iron IA	Stratum 3	12 th century
Upper VI	Iron IB	Stratum 2	11 th century
Lower V	Iron IB	Stratum 1	10 th century
Upper V	Iron IIA		

The strong Egyptian influence ended in a destruction in Stratum Lower VI.⁸⁸⁸ A considerable change took place in the 10th century BCE (Stratum VA/Upper V in earlier excavations and Stratum 1 in the 1990s excavations)⁸⁸⁹ in the town planning and pottery production when compared with the earlier period. Parts of three buildings have been uncovered, and all of them were destroyed in a violent fire. Some of the stones in the basalt foundations of these buildings are exceptionally large. In one of the rooms a group of storage jars characteristic of the tenth-ninth centuries BCE was found. According to Mazar, similar jars have been found at other sites destroyed by fire in the same area, such as Tell el-Hamma, Tel Amal, Tel Rehov, Megiddo (Strata VA-IVB) and Hurvat Rosh Zayit.⁸⁹⁰

Carbon 14 dating has been used in measuring the date from one of those buildings. The analysis of an olive tree beam gave a date range of 1018-920 BCE with 100 per cent accuracy. This date also agrees with

⁸⁸⁶ McGovern 1992-I, 695.

⁸⁸⁷ Mazar 1993, 205, Mazar 1993b, 215.

⁸⁸⁸ Mazar 1993, 228, Mazar 1997b, 72. See also an analysis of the pottery of the Levels VI, James 1966, 23-29 and Cohen-Weinberger 1998, 406-412.

⁸⁸⁹ Yadin 1986, 7, Mazar 2001, 292.

⁸⁹⁰ Mazar 1997b, 73, Mazar 2001, 293-294.

the dating the excavators have established from the archaeological point of view.⁸⁹¹

In the conclusion of his report Mazar writes, "The extremely violent destruction by fire of Stratum S 1 is similar to that found in other sites in this region, cf. Tell el Hamma and Tel Amal. It seems probable that these devastations were caused by the military campaign of Shishak... It appears that sites in the western Jezreel Valley such as Megiddo IVB-VA and Taanach IIB were probably also destroyed during the same invasion."⁸⁹²

Finkelstein has challenged Mazar's dating. However, both date the Lower Level VI (S-3) in Beth Shean to the 12th century BCE. Finkelstein emphasises that the Egyptian domination at Beth Shean continued after the days of Ramses III (1184-1152 BCE) until Ramses VI (c. 1135 BCE) and that the Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery should be dated several decades later than is generally accepted. The subsequent pottery type, Philistine Bichrome Ware, is almost totally absent from Beth Shean, and this indicates a gap of occupation at the site in the 11th century. It places Upper Level VI (Stratum 2) into the 10th century BCE.⁸⁹³ Summing up, Finkelstein concludes that "according to this Low Chronology, a large scale destruction came in the late 10th century BCE, with the devastation of Megiddo VIA, Beth-shan Upper VI, Yoqne'am XVII, Tel Hadar and possibly Tell Keisan. At least some of these destructions may be assigned to the campaign of Pharaoh Shishak in the year 926 BCE."⁸⁹⁴ A problematic point in Finkelstein's theory is the argumentation concerning the gap, as gaps are negative evidence and difficult to prove anything. In addition, Philistine Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery is rare in the north and not a good criterion, the lack of examples, therefore, does not prove that there was any gap.

Accordingly, Mazar places the destruction of the Iron Age IIA in Stratum Upper V (Stratum 1) and Finkelstein in Stratum Upper VI (Stratum 2). As concluded earlier, there is no urgent reason to give up the traditional dating represented by Mazar. The C14 reading at Beth

⁸⁹¹ Mazar & Carmi 2001, 1333-1342, Mazar 2001, 294-295. See also a critic towards this dating Knauf 2002, 25.

⁸⁹² Mazar 2001, 295-296.

⁸⁹³ Finkelstein 1996b, 172-178.

⁸⁹⁴ Finkelstein 1996b, 180.

Shean supports this view, and the destruction of the city Stratum 1 is consistent with Shishak's campaign.

Rehob

Number 17 is *r-h-b-i3* in the list, and its identification with Rehob is generally accepted.⁸⁹⁵ The archaeology of Rehob was looked at previously in connection with Thutmosis III's list,⁸⁹⁶ and the conclusion was that Rehob, mentioned in Shishak's list, is most probably Tel Rehov.

The excavation project at Tel Rehov began in 1997, and it is still ongoing. Two excavation areas were opened on the upper mound (A, B), and five on the lower mound (C, D, E, F, G). The stratigraphy of Tel Rehov in areas D and A, and the numbers of final strata from Late Bronze Age IIB to Iron Age IIC are as follows:⁸⁹⁷

Stratum D-8		Late Bronze IIB	13 th cent.
Stratum D-7		Iron Age IA	12 th cent.
Stratum D-6		Iron Age IA	12 th cent.
Stratum D-5	Final VII	Iron Age IB	11 th cent.
Stratum D-4	Final VII	Iron Age IB	11 th cent.
Stratum D-3	Final VII	Iron Age IB	late 11 th –early 10 th cent.
Stratum D-2	Final VI	Iron Age IIA	10 th cent. (C. 980 (?)–830(?) BCE)
Stratum D-1b	Final V	Iron Age IIA	10 th /9 th cent. (C. 980 (?)–830(?) BCE)
Stratum D-1a	Final IV	Iron Age IIA§	9 th cent. (C. 980 (?)–830(?) BCE)
Stratum A-3b	Final III	Iron Age IIB	8 th cent. (C. 930 – 732 BCE)
Stratum A-3a	Final III	Iron Age IIB	8 th cent. (C. 930 – 732 BCE) ⁸⁹⁸

According to Mazar, the occupation phases from 1200-700 BCE “are particularly well preserved and easily accessible – making the site ideal for studying the tenth and ninth centuries BCE.”⁸⁹⁹ During that time the site was destroyed several times. The discovery of some stratified organic material (grain and wood) made it possible to use carbon 14 testing.⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹⁵ Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 282-283, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 59-60, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 435, and Currid 1997, 191.

⁸⁹⁶ See this study pages 160-163.

⁸⁹⁷ Mazar 2003, 171.

⁸⁹⁸ The dates in parenthesis from <http://www.Rehov.org/Rehov/Results.html> (22.11.2005).

⁸⁹⁹ Mazar & Camp 2000, 42.

⁹⁰⁰ See the analyses of the radiocarbon measurements in Mazar & Carmi 2001, 1333-1342.

Canaanite culture underwent continuous development from the 13th through to the 11th centuries BCE. Similar to the other Canaanite cities in the area, Shunem and Beth Shean, Rehov was also apparently unfortified. At Tel Rehov the last Late Bronze Age level in Area D is Stratum D-8, dated to the 13th century BCE. In Stratum D-7, the first half of the 12th century BCE, the local pottery is typical, although unlike at Beth Shean the Egyptian forms are rare. Stratum D-6 can be dated to the mid- to late 12th century BCE, and it contains only disturbed remains, including walls, floors and ovens. Strata D-5 and D-4 are two phases of the same city, which was constructed, destroyed and rebuilt in Iron Age IB. Later destruction was followed by a total change in the function of the area.⁹⁰¹

In Stratum D-3 more than 40 pits of various sizes were uncovered in a rather small area. They were probably used for the storage of grain or other products. The pottery of Strata D-5 to D-3 is typical of the Iron Age IB in this region. The decoration was painted, often in a simple, local style of red paint on a polish surface, with horizontal stripes and irregular wavy lines. A few Philistine sherds were discovered in Stratum D-4. According to Mazar, the radiocarbon analysis confirms a date in the 12th –11th centuries BCE for Stratum D-4 and the late 11th -early 10th century BCE for Stratum D-3.⁹⁰²

The Iron Age IIA is the main period studied at Tel Rehov. It consists of the final strata VI, V, and IV, (D-2, D-1b, and D-1a) and the period from the first half of the 10th century (c. 980 BCE?) until the second half of the 9th century BCE, when the lower city was destroyed and abandoned.

The pottery assemblages after Stratum VII (D-3) changes significantly. A new industry begins and the typology of all three strata VI-IV are quite similar; with red-slip and hand burnish as a common feature. However, in Stratum VI there were also vessels with an unburnished pale red-slip. "Hippo"-type storage jars are common in Strata V and IV, but not in VI. A selection of seals, cult objects and ceramic horned altars were found in Strata VI-IV. Imported pottery in Strata V and IV included Phoenician Bichrome, Cypriote Black-on-Red I (III), White-Painted and Bichrome vessels and a few sherds of

⁹⁰¹ <http://www.Rehov.org/Rehov/Results.html> (22.11.2005).

⁹⁰² <http://www.Rehov.org/Rehov/Results.html> (22.11.2005).

imported Greek vessels. According to Mazar, good parallels to the Strata VI-IV assemblage are to be found, for example, at Megiddo VB and VA-IVB, Taanach Periods IIA and IIB, and Hazor X-VIII.⁹⁰³ This indicates the influence of the Late Bronze Age culture (Coastal Plain culture) reaching to the end of Iron Age I and even into the beginning of Iron Age II.

The architecture of this period is uncommon in the Iron Age. The buildings were constructed of mud bricks without stone foundations, and the city was well-planned. Remarkably, there is no evidence of typical “four-room-houses” or other pillared buildings, which are otherwise normally connected with this kind of pottery. In Area E, a building that may have been a sanctuary was discovered, having been founded in Stratum V but continuing into Stratum IV. Three short inscriptions were found, one from Stratum VI from the 10th century BCE and two from Stratum IV from the 9th century BCE.⁹⁰⁴

The radiocarbon dates indicate, according to Mazar, that Strata VI-V existed during the 10th century BCE. Stratum V was destroyed during the second half of this century. Stratum IV existed during the 9th century BCE, and was destroyed no later than 830 BCE. Mazar claims that “It is tempting to relate the destruction of stratum V to the invasion of Shishak and that of stratum IV to the Aramean wars, following the end of the Omride Dynasty, though an earlier date to this destruction should not be ruled out.”⁹⁰⁵

Tel Rehov is one example in the debate between the “High Chronology” and “Low Chronology”. Finkelstein argues that Tel Rehov Stratum V should be dated to the early 9th century instead of Mazar’s late 10th century.⁹⁰⁶ Mazar’s answer is to widen the limits of Iron Age IIA from one hundred years to 150-200 years. This is the suggestion also made by Herzog and Singer-Avitz.⁹⁰⁷ One question remains: should Shishak’s campaign be put in Stratum V (Mazar) or in

⁹⁰³ Mazar 1999, 37-39, Mazar & Carmi 2001, 1337-1340.

⁹⁰⁴ Mazar & Camp 2000, 44, Mazar 2003, 171-184, <http://www.Rehov.org/Rehov/Results.html> (22.11.2005).

⁹⁰⁵ <http://www.Rehov.org/Rehov/Results.html> (20.11.2004), see also Coldstream & Mazar 2003, 43.

⁹⁰⁶ Finkelstein & Piasezky 2003, 283-295, Finkelstein 2004, 181-188.

⁹⁰⁷ Mazar 2004, 2-5, Herzog & Singer-Avitz 2004, 209-224.

Stratum VI (Finkelstein)?⁹⁰⁸ When this question was considered in connection with Megiddo the conclusion was that the traditional chronology had better arguments to the "Low Chronology". Therefore, the date of Shishak is put into Megiddo VA-IVB, which correlates with Tel Rehov Stratum V.

In both cases, in Strata VI and V, a destruction level has been found at Tel Rehov. The time estimation between them is usually some 50 years, but Mazar has also combined strata VI-IV in one group and dated them to c. 980-830 BCE. Shishak's campaign is in the middle of this period, c. 925 BCE. The radiocarbon dates gave results that fit inside this time span, but could not give more exact date.⁹⁰⁹

Having previously noted that the "Low Chronology" is not a better solution to the chronological than the traditional one, there is good reason to consider Tel Rehov V as a stratum destroyed by Shishak.

[Ti]rzah?

Number 59 is one of the names that are difficult to read. It has been transliterated as *[y?]-r-d-i3*.⁹¹⁰ The name is generally regarded as Tirzah because of the letters, which can be identified and because of its geographical location.⁹¹¹

It is commonly accepted that Tirzah can be identified with Tell el-Far'ah (North) (map reference 182.188).⁹¹² Albright surveyed the site in 1930. The systematic excavations were carried out by Roland de Vaux from 1946 to 1960, during a period of nine seasons.⁹¹³ The first final report was published by Chambon in 1984.⁹¹⁴

⁹⁰⁸ Finkelstein & Piasezky 2003, 288. On the other hand, Finkelstein states in the same article (page 287), "To sum-up this point, Shoshenq I's campaign is only one of several alternatives for destruction of Stratum V at Tel Rehov – and not necessarily the best one."

⁹⁰⁹ Mazar & Carmi 2001, 1337-1340, Bruins et al. 2003, 568. See also Shanks 2005, 50-53. When discussing with Mazar and Finkelstein about this question he concluded, "The bottom line after two days of talks and discussion: Carbon-14 is not the answer." See also Kletter (2004, 35), "14C dates do not solve the debate. If one takes maximal possible deviations into consideration, the c. 50-100 years range between the HC [High Chronology] and LC [Low Chronology] is too small to decide by current 14C techniques."

⁹¹⁰ Simons 1937, 183.

⁹¹¹ B. Mazar 1957, 62, Herrmann 1964, 74-75, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 438, and Currid 1997, 195. Also the identification with Luz has been suggested, see Finkelstein 2002, 123.

⁹¹² SMM 15-2, 814.

⁹¹³ Manor, 1992-VI, 574.

⁹¹⁴ Chambon, A., Tell el-Far'ah I, 1984.

Tell el-Farah (north) was occupied from the Neolithic Period until Iron Age II, possibly until the Assyrian conquest. Stratum IV (Period VIIa) was built directly on the remains from the Late Bronze Age and it is dated to the 12th–11th centuries BCE. Stratum III (Period VIIb) was built on the remains of Stratum IV and repeats the cities plan but underwent some new organisation. The destruction of the city in Stratum III was followed by the abandonment of the site.⁹¹⁵ The excavator of the site, de Vaux, describes a settlement pattern that was typical of Israelite in the first Iron Age level. The walls have only one line of stones, and some of them were composed of pillars. The houses were grouped with their backs to each other along parallel streets. According to de Vaux, this first Israelite level was brutally destroyed. De Vaux' suggestion for the destroyer is Omri in 885. He seems to regard Strata IV and III as one level or he refers to Stratum IV as the last Late Bronze Age level.⁹¹⁶

According to Ahituv, "perhaps the city of Stratum III was destroyed ... by Shishak. On the other hand, it is possible that Tirzah did not suffer much from Shishak's troops, as it became an important city only after the campaign".⁹¹⁷ However, Champon and Manor, in accordance with de Vaux, notice that this destruction took place during the time of Omri.⁹¹⁸ Tirzah is a good example cautioning us to the fact that a destruction that took place in 925 or 885 are so close to each that no clear distinction between them can be made archaeologically.

Briefly, if no 59 is Tirzah, then it is a settlement level from the time of Shishak and also a destruction level, but its exact date remains uncertain.

Succoth

Number 55 is *p3 k-t-t*⁹¹⁹ and could be Succoth. Mazar and Aharoni suggest this identification,⁹²⁰ but Kitchen and Currid find it difficult to interpret the letters as referring to Succoth. According to Kitchen and

⁹¹⁵ Chambon 1993-II, 439.

⁹¹⁶ de Vaux 1956, 132-137.

⁹¹⁷ Ahituv 1984, 190.

⁹¹⁸ Manor, 1992-VI, 576 and Chambon (1993-II, 439).

⁹¹⁹ Simons 1937, 182.

⁹²⁰ Mazar 1957, 61, Aharoni 1979, 325.

Currid, the text *pn-skt* could mean “the one of Succoth”. However, they do not find a better alternative and finally agree with the spelling of Succoth as well.⁹²¹ In contrast, Herrmann leaves the name open and considers the name Succoth very problematic from a philological perspective. Herrmann’s difficulties in accepting Succoth could also be due to the fact that he wants to locate all the nos. 53-58 on the other side of the Jordan.⁹²² Nevertheless, he admits that geographically Succoth is a possibility.⁹²³

Succoth is mentioned 16 times in the Bible, from Genesis to the Psalms and Chronicles. In all likelihood, Succoth should be identified with Tell Deir ‘Alla (map reference 208.178) east of the Jordan River in the Valley, close to the Zarka River (Jabbok). This identification is based on the mention in the Jerusalem Talmud that identifies Succoth with Tar’ala or Dar’ala, which is probably Tell Deir ‘Alla.⁹²⁴ The first survey at the site was carried out by Glueck in 1942. The excavations were conducted at the site in years 1960-1967, 1976, 1978, 1979, and 1982. In the 1960s the leader of the project was Franken and later Ibrahim and van der Kooij. The excavations revealed remains from the Chalcolithic and Late Bronze Ages, and Iron Age I and II.⁹²⁵ The preliminary reports do not give precise information about the stratigraphy and dating of the site. The Iron Age I-II strata were described with labels Phases A-M. Phase M is also called Stratum IX and is dated to about 800 BCE.⁹²⁶

The Iron Age II settlement was a walled city and Franken, who excavated Deir ‘Alla, does not identify it with Succoth, because the pottery indicates Ammonite, not Israelite, influence. Levine has presented numerous arguments against Franken’s identification and suggested that the culture on both sides of the Jordan, and also here, is easily attributable to Israelite presence in the area.⁹²⁷

⁹²¹ Kitchen 1986, 438, Currid 1997, 195.

⁹²² Herrmann 1964, 62-67.

⁹²³ Herrman 1964, 75.

⁹²⁴ Kooij 1993-I, 338. Also Glueck (1968, 121) notes, “Succoth is unquestionably to be identified with the prominent ancient mound known today as Tell Deir-alla.” Also SMM 15-2, 780 and CBA (217) give this identification.

⁹²⁵ Kooij 1993-I, 338-339. See reports Franken & Ibrahim 1977-1978, 57-79, Ibrahim & Kooij 1979, 41-50, and Ibrahim & Kooij 1983, 577-585.

⁹²⁶ Kooij 1993-I, 340-341.

⁹²⁷ Levine 1985, 326-339. See also Seely 1992-VI, 218.

According to Levine, “Shishak went out of his way to reach this area, undoubtedly so as to reassert Egyptian interests here, and perhaps as punishment imposed on Jeroboam who had in some way displeased the Egyptians, after having found refuge in Egypt during the last days of Solomon. According to the latest information available there is as yet no evidence of a Shishak destruction-level at Deir ‘Alla, but such evidence has uncover at Nimrin, a site south of Deir ‘Alla in the direction of Jericho and the Dead Sea. Further excavations may clarify this matter considerably... The importance of the Valley of Succoth declined sharply after Shishak’s campaign.”⁹²⁸

The question of ethnicity must be left open in this phase of the study and as remarked on previously, it is not necessary to find a destruction levels in order to accept Shishak’s invasion of the site in question. Frequently the Pharaoh did not destroy cities he claimed to occupy and alternatively, sometimes the name of the site moved from one place to another during the centuries. It is even possible, that the Pharaoh destroyed the neighbouring city and the name of the more well-known name was written into the list. In any case, Whatever the case may be, Nimrin is a very little known site and it is not a very credible alternative for Succoth.

The conclusion must be that Tell Deir ‘Alla is the best candidate for the Succoth mentioned in Shishak’s list, although its identification is not certain and that the Iron Age II pottery is appropriate for this identification.

Gaza

The list of Shishak begins with the so-called Nine Bows, which is a reference to the traditional territories of Egypt. After these nine names the tenth name is incomplete and must probably be interpreted as ‘Copy of A[sianic (name)s]’, introducing the following list.⁹²⁹ The first individual place name in the list (no. 11) is *g-m-?*, in all likelihood Gaza, although only the first *g* can be identified for certain.⁹³⁰ Simons

⁹²⁸ Levine 1985, 332.

⁹²⁹ Simons 1937, 180, Kitchen 1986, 433.

⁹³⁰ So B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 59, Aharoni 1979, 325, Katzenstein 1982, 111, and Kitchen 1986, 435. According to Currid (1997, 190) “Gaza is, at best, a guess.”

adds a phonetic *m* after *g* but this is, according to Currid, not evident in the inscription.⁹³¹

Gaza is mentioned in many ancient inscriptions, such as Thutmosis III,⁹³² Papyrus Anastasi III (from the 13th century BCE),⁹³³ the list of Taanach letter no. 6, the Amarna Letters (written *Ha-za-ti* or *Az-za-ti*, e.g. EA 289:17, 33, 40; 296:32),⁹³⁴ and many Assyrian texts.⁹³⁵ As a name 'Canaan' it is mentioned in several Egyptian New Kingdom inscriptions from the time of Seti I, Ramses II, Merneptah, and Ramses III. It was the capital of the Egyptian Asiatic province "Southern Canaan".⁹³⁶ In the Hebrew Bible it occurs 20 times and is one of the five main Philistine cities.

Ancient Gaza is located in the southernmost part of the Coastal Plain on Tell Harube/Tell Azza (map reference 099.101).⁹³⁷ The Coastal Plain is at its widest here, approx. 25 kilometres, and the region is rich in wells of sweet water. Gaza was always the first Canaanite town after crossing the Sinai, and therefore it was called Canaan. It lies on the old main highway, which was later known as the Via Maris.

The excavations at Gaza were conducted in 1922 by W. J. Phythian-Adams. Archaeologically the material remains are meagre before the Hellenistic and Byzantine Periods, however, in the trenches the excavators discovered some pottery from the Late Bronze Age (Cypriot base-ring ware, white-slip wishbone-handle bowls, and part of a pointed juglet) and some sherds from Iron Age I (Philistine) and II (burnished ware).⁹³⁸

Accordingly, the limited information of the archaeology of Gaza does not give any strong evidence for its history in Iron Age IIA. On the other hand, small finds reveal information concerning the occupation of the site at that time.

⁹³¹ Simons 1937, 180, Currid 1997, 190.

⁹³² ANET 235.

⁹³³ ANET 258.

⁹³⁴ Knudtzon 1908, 874, 890, Mercer 1939, 719, 721, 735.

⁹³⁵ ANET 281-308

⁹³⁶ Katzenstein 1982, 111-113.

⁹³⁷ SMM 15-2, 367.

⁹³⁸ Ovadiah 1993-II, 465, Katzenstein 1992-II, 914.

Gezer/Makkedah

The second name in the list (no. 12) is difficult to read. Simons suggests the transliteration 3-3-[r?] and he maintains that the right half of the name is destroyed.⁹³⁹ Currid reads the name *m3*...⁹⁴⁰ Several authors translate it as Gezer.⁹⁴¹ Some scholars have suggested Megiddo, but this is unlikely, because no. 27 is Megiddo.⁹⁴² Kitchen has argued that the new copy of the list rules out the possibility of interpreting the name as Gezer. His suggestion is Makkedah.⁹⁴³ According to Currid, Gezer “is a poor reading” and Makkedah “seems unwarranted”.⁹⁴⁴

The location of Makkedah is uncertain.⁹⁴⁵ However, many proposals have been made, such as the one by David Dorsey, who has studied several alternatives and come to the conclusion that the best candidate is Khirbet el-Qom (map reference 146.105).⁹⁴⁶ Excavations were conducted there in 1902 and 1909, in the 1930s and from 1964 through the 1980s. The foundation of a gate was discovered there from the 10th or 9th centuries BCE and a collection of 9th century BCE pottery. The town was also occupied in the 7th and 6th century BCE. The earliest occupation levels are from Early Bronze I-III and from Middle Bronze I.⁹⁴⁷ Having investigated other alternatives for Makkedah in connection with the list of Joshua 12 (see this study pages 257-258), there seems to be no better alternative.

Gezer is mentioned frequently in the Amarna Letters,⁹⁴⁸ and the location would correspond outstandingly as the next important city in

⁹³⁹ Simons 1937, 180.

⁹⁴⁰ Currid 1997, 190.

⁹⁴¹ Noth 1938b, 287, B. Mazar 1957, 60-61, Herrmann 1964, 59 (with a question mark), and Aharoni 1979, 325.

⁹⁴² Currid op.cit.

⁹⁴³ Kitchen 1986, 435.

⁹⁴⁴ Currid op.cit.

⁹⁴⁵ Kotter 1992-IV, 478 writes, “Despite considerable effort, no satisfactory candidate for the site of ancient Makkedah has been identified.”

⁹⁴⁶ Dorsey 1980, 185-193. Kitchen 2003, 183 maintains that “Makkedah may be located at Khirbet el-Qom, very plausibly (but not with certainty)”. Also Fritz (1994, 113) and Hess (1996, 195) identify Makkedah with Khirbet el-Qom.

⁹⁴⁷ Dever 1993-IV, 1233-1234.

⁹⁴⁸ See Gezer in Thutmose III’s list, pages 137-139.

the list north of Gaza on the Via Maris (map reference 142.140).⁹⁴⁹ Gezer has a history of continual occupation from the Chalcolithic Period through the Byzantine and up to modern times. The Iron Age II level is Stratum 3 in Field VI (Stratum VIII in General Strata). The remains in Field VI from this stratum are poor but there is very few well-stratified pottery. In other fields, there are a casemate city wall and the four-entry gate. This stratum ended with destruction, which, according to Dever, “was probably the work of Shishak about 924 BCE, as part of his well-known raid in Palestine”.⁹⁵⁰

The stratigraphy of Tel Gezer from Iron Age I to Iron Age II is as follows:⁹⁵¹

Strata XIII-XII	12 th cent.
Strata XI-X	11 th cent.
Stratum VIII	10 th cent.
Stratum VII	9 th cent.
Stratum VI	late 9 th –8 th cent.

Geographically and from a strategic point of view, Gezer is the best candidate to be in the list of Shishak even if textually it seems more improbable. If this is Gezer it is noteworthy that both in Thutmosis III’s list and in Shishak’s list Gezer and Rabbah/Rubute are successive names. Nevertheless, both Gezer and Makkedah were occupied during Iron Age IIA.

Migdal

Number 58 is *[m]-g-d-r*⁹⁵² and the generally accepted identification is Migdal. The name “Migdal” means “tower”, and it is quite difficult to locate, since it may be a part of many different place names. Migdal is in the list of Aharoni between Tirzah and Adam, but in Mazar’s list between Gibeon and Zemaraim.⁹⁵³ In the original list it is between

⁹⁴⁹ SMM 15-2, 387.

⁹⁵⁰ Dever 1992-II, 1002. See also Dever 1986, 124-126.

⁹⁵¹ Dever 1986b, 29.

⁹⁵² Simons 1937, 182.

⁹⁵³ Aharoni 1979, 325, B. Mazar 1957, 60.

Zemaraim (57) and Tirzah (59).⁹⁵⁴ Usually, authors read this name Migdal or Migdol, but with the exception of Noth and Herrmann, they give no geographical identification for it.⁹⁵⁵ Migdal appears in the Bible three times, always with another part of the name. In Genesis 35:21 Migdal Eder is mentioned as a place where the Israelites moved after Rachel's death. In Josh. 15:37 Migdal Gad is in the territory of Judah and situated in the Shephelah. Josh. 19:37 Migdal El is one of the cities allotted to the tribe of Naphtali.

Noth agrees with Alt, who found in the 1920s a place with the name *Megdel Beni Fadil*. This village is located approximately sixteen kilometres southeast of Nablus (map reference according to my estimate 184.166). Alt discovered it while climbing up from Phasaelis in the Jordan Valley to Acrabeta in the mountains of Ephraim.⁹⁵⁶ Noth gave the site its probable identification of Migdal.⁹⁵⁷ Aharoni puts Migdal between Tirzah and Adam, but gives no exact location for it. The area, however, is the same as that of Noth.⁹⁵⁸

Herrmann agrees with Noth but gives another, more exact definition for the origin of the site. His theory is that the original Migdal was at *Hirbet Beni Fadil*, because it was occupied almost continually from the beginning of the first millennium BCE until the Roman Period. Later the name of the place was transferred to a hill very close by called *Megdel Beni Fadil*; hence the name Migdal. According to Herrmann, the gap in the occupation and the huge destruction of the former site makes it compatible with other information about the Shishak's campaign.⁹⁵⁹

Ahituv, however, argues that the location suggested by Noth and Herrmann "is most improbable," because the site is located "in an almost unapproachable corner on the eastern fringes of the mountains

⁹⁵⁴ Currid 1997, 195.

⁹⁵⁵ Simons 1937, 183, Noth 1938b, 288, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 62, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 438, and Currid 1997, 195.

⁹⁵⁶ Alt 1927, 32.

⁹⁵⁷ Noth 1938b, 288.

⁹⁵⁸ Aharoni 1979, 324.

⁹⁵⁹ Herrmann 1964, 62-68: "Nach Lage der Dinge ist man sogar versucht, die Besiedlungslücke vom Anfang des 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends an mit einer gewaltsamen Zerstörung des Ortes in Verbindung zu bringen. Hier würde sicher Schoschenfeldzug mindestens als eine passende Möglichkeit anbieten." (66).

of Ephraim; a most insignificant site, far away from any main route."⁹⁶⁰

Ahituv himself identifies it with Migdal-eder located close to the tomb of Rachel (Gen. 35:19-21). Because the tomb of Rachel is said to be at the border of Benjamin in 1 Sam. 10:2, Ahituv places Migdal-eder into that region, near Ramah, but he does not suggest an exact location for the site.⁹⁶¹ Because of the proximity of Rachel's tomb it has also been suggested that the site is located close to Bethlehem (map reference 171.123).⁹⁶²

Neither SMM nor CBA know any town with the name Migdal in the areas where Noth and Herrmann suggested it to be. The nearest possibility is Migdal on the Sharon Plain (map reference 147.203).⁹⁶³ The modern name of this place is Tell edh-Dhurur/Tel Zeror, and it is located close to Khirbet Mejdal, which has preserved its ancient name. According to Aharoni, Migdal could be Migdal-yen in the list of Amenhotep II and also name no. 115 in the list of Thutmosis III.⁹⁶⁴ Tel Zeror is a very large mound on the western fringe of the Sharon Plain and in antiquity its main importance was its location near the ford of the wadi on the western branch of Via Maris.

Excavation projects were conducted at Tel Zeror in 1964-1966 and 1974. The site was occupied in the Late Bronze Age and in the Iron Age. According to Kochavi there was pottery typical of the period of the Israelite settlement in the 13th and 12th centuries BCE. In the 11th century a citadel with a casemate wall of large bricks was built on the site, and in a cemetery there was a large collection of finds from the 11th and beginning of the 10th centuries BCE. A lot of Philistine pottery was also uncovered there and storehouses contained an abundance of storage jars from the end of the 10th century BCE.⁹⁶⁵

The identification Noth and Herrmann suggest could be possible, if the other sites before Migdal in the list were on the western side of Jordan. However, Adam, Succoth and Penuel, at least, are in the

⁹⁶⁰ Ahituv 1984, 141.

⁹⁶¹ Ibid 141.

⁹⁶² Migdal-eder according to SMM 15-2, 603.

⁹⁶³ SMM 15-2, 602.

⁹⁶⁴ Aharoni 1979, 49, 167, 439. The name no 115 in Thutmosis' list is *d-r-r* and difficult to identify with Migdal. See also Kochavi 1993-IV, 1524.

⁹⁶⁵ Kochavi 1993-IV, 1525.

eastern side. On the other hand, Zemaraim seems to be in the Hill Country south of *Megdel beni fadil* and Tirzah north of it. The disadvantages of this theory are that the site is insignificant and the fact that it is not mentioned in later traditions: no sites with the name Migdal have been found in the area.

If Tel Zeror is Migdal in Shishak's list, it is not far off from the consecutive route leading southwards to Megiddo. To reach Migdal, however, seems to require a task force, or the main force could have taken it on the route from Aruna and Borim. However, its place in the list is between Zemaraim and Tirzah, which are very far away from it. Moreover, the names in this part of the list seem to form no geographical order. The tentative conclusion therefore is that Tel Zeror as a large Late Bronze and Iron Age city, near the route southwards from Megiddo, is Migdal in Shishak's list.

Gibeon

Number 23 in the list is *q-b'-n* and it must refer to Gibeon.⁹⁶⁶ Gibeon has been identified with el-Jib (map reference 167.139),⁹⁶⁷ which is located eight kilometres east of Beth-horon and nine kilometres northeast of Kiriath-yearim.

The first one to identify Gibeon was Robinson as early as 1874. Since then it has been recognised that the Arab village el-Jib has preserved the old name. The site is one of those rare ancient mounds where the name of the city has been found at the site itself, with thirty-one inscribed handles with the name *gb'n* having been discovered on the site. The large pool in the city may be the same mentioned in 2. Sam. 2:13.⁹⁶⁸ Pritchard conducted excavation projects at the site in 1956, 1957, 1959, 1960, and 1962. He found a large city wall and considered that it was built at the beginning of Iron Age I, perhaps in the twelfth century BCE, and that it had been in continual use until the end of Iron Age II.⁹⁶⁹ The pottery found at the site

⁹⁶⁶ Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 284, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 436, and Currid 1997, 192.

⁹⁶⁷ SMM 15-2, 392.

⁹⁶⁸ Pritchard 1959, 1-9. See also Reed 1967, 231-243.

⁹⁶⁹ Pritchard 1962, 103. See also Peterson 1992-II, 1010-1012. Finkelstein (1988, 60 n 6) writes that Pritchard dated the wall to the 10th century, but its stratigraphy is not clear. It has some common features with the Middle Bronze fortifications at Hebron, Bet-zur, Bethel and Shiloh.

includes at least Iron Age I and late-Iron Age II material. According to Finkelstein, “no early Iron II material can safely be identified in the published figures, but a tomb from this period was found on the slope of the site.”⁹⁷⁰ Furthermore, the stratigraphy of the tell is very confused.⁹⁷¹

Besides the excavations at el-Jib an Iron Age cemetery has been found at the site. It includes mostly Late Iron Age material but “the assemblage as a whole covers the entire Iron Age”.⁹⁷² Accordingly, it seems that there were settlements at the site during Middle Bronze Age II, the Late Bronze Age, and Iron Age I and II.⁹⁷³

b) Surveyed sites

Aruna

Number 32 is *‘-r-n*⁹⁷⁴ and it can be identified with Aruna. Aruna was also mentioned in the annals of Thutmose III and in Papyrus Anastasi I. Thutmose III has a lively description of how he used the Aruna Pass to approach Megiddo.⁹⁷⁵

In Papyrus Anastasi I a royal officer named Hori (in the end of 13th dynasty) describes his journey through Wadi Ara, “Let me know the way to pass Megiddo... Behold, the ambush is in a ravine two thousand cubits deep, filled with boulders and pebbles... The narrow valley is dangerous with Bedouin, hidden under the bushes... The ravine is on one side of thee, and the mountain rises on the other.”⁹⁷⁶

It is generally accepted that Aruna is the same as Khirbet Ara (map reference 157.212).⁹⁷⁷ Aruna was located in the western part of Wadi Ara, which has traditionally been the main route across Mount

⁹⁷⁰ Finkelstein 2002, 124.

⁹⁷¹ Lapp (1968, 391-393) writes about Pritchard’s publication on the Winery at Gibeon, “This volume demonstrates that the author has not excavated stratigraphically, has failed to utilize pottery as a precise chronological tool, and has neglected to publish (or even save) vast quantities of material of considerable importance for the archaeology and history of Palestine.”

⁹⁷² Eshel 1987, 1-17 (quotation from page 1), see also Dajan 1953, 66-74 and Kletter 2002, 32.

⁹⁷³ So Finkelstein 1988, 60-61.

⁹⁷⁴ Simons 1937, 181.

⁹⁷⁵ ANET 235. See Megiddo in Thutmose III’s list pages 129-134.

⁹⁷⁶ ANET 477, 478.

⁹⁷⁷ SMM 15-2, 092, Noth 1938b, 285, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 436, and Currid 1997, 193.

Carmel. Megiddo is located to the east of the wadi. The international "highway" Via Maris passed by this route.⁹⁷⁸

The area of the tell of Khirbet Ara is about 50 dunams, and it rises to a height of 65 meters above the plain. According to surveys the site has been settled from Middle Bronze II to Iron Age II.⁹⁷⁹

Borim

Number 33 is *b-r-m* and it can be identified with the name Borim.⁹⁸⁰ The name of the site has been preserved in Khirbet Burim/Burin (map reference 153.203).⁹⁸¹ Surveys conducted at the site in 1967-1968 and 1974-1975 revealed, on this rocky hill (site no. 52 in Ne'eman's survey), remains of houses, an olive press, marble columns and cisterns. The survey revealed that all the pottery found there was from the Roman, Byzantine, Crusader-Mameluke and Ottoman times, but no remains were from Iron Age I or II.⁹⁸² However, Ahituv states that in older surveys at Khirbeth Burin sherds from the Late Bronze Age and Iron Ages were found.⁹⁸³

About three kilometres east of Khirbet Burin there is a site called Khirbet Shamsin (map reference 157.203, survey no. 54) where pottery sherds were also found from Iron Age II.⁹⁸⁴ Iron Age II pottery has been discovered at four other sites situated within a few kilometres of Khirbet Burin. These sites were Khirbet en Nasriya (map reference 153.207, survey no. 25), Tel Ze'evim (map reference 154.206, survey no. 30), Khirbet Bir el Isyar (map reference 156.205, survey no. 37) and Khirbet el 'Aqqaba (map reference 159.206, survey no. 40).⁹⁸⁵

There are two possibilities that suggest that Borim existed in the Iron Age at Khirbet Burin or in its proximity. One is the testimony of the older surveys referred to by Ahituv, and it was perhaps the case that the later surveyors could not find any Iron Age sherds. The other

⁹⁷⁸ Aharoni 1979, 50.

⁹⁷⁹ Ahituv 1984, 67.

⁹⁸⁰ Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 285, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325, 375, Ahituv 1984, 81, Kitchen 1986, 436, and Currid 1997, 193.

⁹⁸¹ SMM 15-2, 229.

⁹⁸² Ne'eman 1990, 40*. See also number 57 (page 42*), where another Borim is mentioned. The pottery found there is Roman, Byzantine and Early Arabic.

⁹⁸³ Ahituv 1984, 81.

⁹⁸⁴ Ne'eman 1990, 41*. However, in the map on p. 76 the location of no. 54 is not identical with that of the map reference on p. 41*. It has been placed about two kilometres northwards.

⁹⁸⁵ Ne'eman 1990, 32*-37*.

possibility is that the name of the place was moved from one site to a nearby one. In this case, any of those above mentioned sites could be Borim. Aharoni recounts numerous examples of how ancient sites have been moved from their original location. Jericho, Acco, Beth Shean, Timna and Eglon are well-known examples of a process in which the old site was abandoned and the new location preserved the old name. The shift took place more frequently from the Hellenistic Period onwards, and the new place was usually very close to the former one.⁹⁸⁶

This alternative is more probable but not at all certain and, therefore, the question must be left open as to the identification of Borim in Shishak's list.

Gath-padalla

Gath-padalla (or Giti-padalla or Gath-patalla) is most probably the correct identification of name no. 34 (Simons, Noth and Currid: *d-d-p-t-r*, Kitchen: *dt-ptr*). Noth did not find any identification for the name, but Simons, Currid and Kitchen think it is Gath-padalla. Gath-padalla is also mentioned in the Amarna Letters in the form *alGi-ti-pa-da-al-la* (EA 250:13). Add-Ur.Sag writes to the Pharaoh, "Let the king, my Lord, know how many times the two son(s) of Labaja have asked me: 'Why hast thou given [i]nto the hand of the king, thy lord, Gitipadalla, the city, which Labaja, our father, has taken?'"⁹⁸⁷ The site is identified with modern Jett on the Coastal Plain (map reference 154.200).⁹⁸⁸

The surveys of 1967-1968 and 1974-1975 at Jett (the other names of the site: Gat Karmel or Tel Gat, survey no. 67) uncovered remains of two massive walls and a high proportion of Iron Age I pottery. Altogether, pottery was found from almost all periods, from the Chalcolithic times up until the Ottoman period, also from Iron Age II.⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁶ See Aharoni 1979, 123-124.

⁹⁸⁷ Knudtzon 1908, 802, Mercer 1939, 653.

⁹⁸⁸ SMM 15-2, 363, Simons 1937, 181, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325, 434, Kitchen 1986, 436, and Currid 1997, 193.

⁹⁸⁹ Ne'eman 1990, 44*. According to petrographic investigation, Goren et al. (2002, 221-226) doubt that Gath-padalla could be identified with Jatt. They suggest the place somewhere in the Jordan Valley between Beth Shean and Wadi Zarqa. Because they do not give any exact site we must leave this possibility open.

Yaham

The next name in the list, number 35, is *y-h-m*,⁹⁹⁰ which could be Yaham/Yehem, but is most probably Khirbeth Yemma/Tell Yaham (map reference 153.197).⁹⁹¹ It is mentioned as a station in Thutmose III's route towards Megiddo, "Year 23, 1st month of the third season, day 16 -as far as the town of Yehem. [His majesty] ordered a conference with his victorious army, speaking as follows: That [wretched] enemy of Kadesh has come and has entered into Megiddo."⁹⁹²

Yaham is located some three kilometres south of Gath-padalla, and belonged to the chain of important cities along Via Maris. According to Aharoni, it existed during the Bronze and Iron Ages, because it is mentioned in many inscriptions but not in the Bible.⁹⁹³ Pottery sherds prove that it was occupied from the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I onwards. According to Ahituv, "it is probable that the site was deserted after its destruction by Shishak's troops".⁹⁹⁴

Shunem

Number 15 in the list is *š-n-m-i3* and is generally identified with Shunem.⁹⁹⁵ It is mentioned in the list of Thutmose III (no. 38)⁹⁹⁶ and in the Amarna Letters in the form *aluSu-na-ma* (EA 248a:12, 21; 250:43).⁹⁹⁷ The Amarna Letters give a report of the destruction of Shunem. It was one of royal Canaanite cities in the Late Bronze Age.⁹⁹⁸ In the Bible it is mentioned three times: Josh. 19:18, 1 Sam. 28:4, and 2 Kings 4:8.

Geographically Shunem is located at Solem/Sulem, approx. twenty kilometres northeast of Beth Shean, along the Jezreel Valley (map

⁹⁹⁰ Simons 1937, 181.

⁹⁹¹ SMM 15-2, 835, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 436, and Currid 1997, 193.

Noth (1938, 285) reads Jemma, Herrmann (1964, 60) Yahma or Jemma. Another suggestion for Yehem is Tel Esur/Tel el Asawir, see Ne'eman 1990, 25*.

⁹⁹² ANET 235.

⁹⁹³ Aharoni 1979, 25, 48, 50, 327.

⁹⁹⁴ Ahituv 1984, 198.

⁹⁹⁵ Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 282, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 435 and Currid 1997, 191.

⁹⁹⁶ See Shunem in this study page 146.

⁹⁹⁷ Knudtzon 1908, 804, Mercer 1939, 649, 6

⁹⁹⁸ Aharoni 1979, 172, 175.

reference 181.223).⁹⁹⁹ Surface surveys have revealed remains from the Middle Bronze Age to the Islamic Period.¹⁰⁰⁰ For that reason, the site can be considered to also have been inhabited during Iron Age II.

Penuel

Number 53 is *[p?]-n-ì -r*,¹⁰⁰¹ the first name in row V. The transliteration of the name is not quite clear, but the usual reading is Penuel.¹⁰⁰² Penuel has generally been identified with Tell ed-Dhahab esh-Sherqieh (map reference 215.177) by the Zarka River (Jabbok).¹⁰⁰³

An archaeological survey was conducted at the site in 1982 in connection with the “twin peak” Telul ed-Dhahab el-Garbi (see Mahanaim below). A total of 324 pottery sherds were found at Tell ed-Dhahab esh-Sharqi (Penuel). The sherds most easily to identify were from the Iron Age and the Hellenistic time. The surveyors conclude that “there can be no doubt now that ... the east hill [Penuel] was occupied during both Iron I and Iron II”.¹⁰⁰⁴

Mahanaim

Number 22 is *m-h-n-m* and it is identified with Mahanaim.¹⁰⁰⁵ The site is situated on the eastern side of the Jordan close to Succoth and Penuel, and therefore the name is in the list of Aharoni after Penuel, which is no. 53 in the original list.¹⁰⁰⁶

The quite commonly accepted identification of this location is Telul ed-Dhahab el-Garbi (map reference 214.177), which is situated on the northern side of the Zarka River (Jabbok).¹⁰⁰⁷ Penuel was located on

⁹⁹⁹ SMM 15-2, 762.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Huwiler 1992-V, 1228-1229, Ahituv 1984, 177.

¹⁰⁰¹ Simons 1937, 182.

¹⁰⁰² Simons 1937, 182: “On the whole the first half of this name is extremely doubtful.” Kitchen (1986, 438) discusses the first letter of the name but considers it almost certain that the name is Penuel, as does Currid 1997, 194. Herrman (1964, 75) maintains that no. 53 has been tried to read as Penuel, “ohne das wirklich beweisen zu können”. B. Mazar (1957, 61) and Aharoni (1979, 325) read Penuel without any hesitation.

¹⁰⁰³ SMM 15-2, 664, CBA 91, Glueck 1968, 112, Aharoni 1979, 440, Ahituv 1984, 154, Slayton 1992, V-223. B. Mazar (1957, 61) suggests that it should be Tell el-Hamma (map reference 197.197, see SMM 15-2, 410). According to Currid (1997, 194) the location is unknown and Tell el-Hamma is “highly questionable”.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Gordon & Villiers, 1983, 275, 283-284.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Simons 1937, 181, Herrmann 1964, 57, Kitchen 1986, 436, Currid 1997, 191.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Aharoni 1979, 325. So also B. Mazar 1957, 61.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Mazar 1967, 61, CBA 214, Aharoni 1979, 439. SMM (15-2, 565, 566) gives two alternatives: Tell ed-Dhahab el-Garbi and Tell el-Rehell (map reference 228.177)

the other side of the river, and they formed some kind of “twin cities”. Actually, Tell ed-Dhahab esh-Sharqi (Penuel) is the eastern one and Telul ed-Dhahab el-Garbi (Mahanaim) the western one, just round the curve taken by the meander of the river. Together they are called The Tulul edh-Dhahab.

Archaeological surveys conducted in 1980 and 1982 revealed a great deal more pottery on the western hill (Mahanaim) than on the eastern hill (Penuel). Altogether 12.000 sherds and numerous artefacts were collected at Mahanaim. Consequently, it was easier to determine the periods of occupation at Mahanaim. The richest phases were the Iron Age and the Hellenistic period. Painted sherds of Iron Age IB included bowls and krater rims. From the Iron Age IC phase a broad platter rim and numerous jar rims were discovered. It is significant to note the scarcity of normal cooking pots and the fine burnished ware. According to the surveyors, identifiable Iron Age II pottery was not common, but a figurine head of this phase confirms continued occupation. To conclude they write that “there can be no doubt now that the west hill as well as the east hill was occupied during both Iron I and II.”¹⁰⁰⁸

Adam

Number 56 is *l-d-m-l3*¹⁰⁰⁹ and its identification is quite unambiguously Adam(ah). It has usually been suggested that it is Tell ed-Damiyeh (map reference 201.167), which is located by the Jordan River, close to where the Jabbok River flows into the Jordan.¹⁰¹⁰

Noth and Herrmann suggest that Edouma, mentioned by Eusebius, is the correct place,¹⁰¹¹ and this is located approx. three kilometres south of *megdel beni fadil* (see Migdal below), and its present-day name is Duma (map reference 184.162).¹⁰¹² The site has not been excavated.

If we accept that the route Shishak took went along the eastern side of the river, then Tell ed-Damiyeh is a much more probable candidate

¹⁰⁰⁸ Gordon & Villiers, 1983, 275, 283-284. See also Edelman 1992, IV-473.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Simons 1937, 182.

¹⁰¹⁰ SMM 15-2, 019, Glueck 1968, 93, Aharoni 1979, 325, B. Mazar 1957, 61, Kitchen 1986, 438, Fretz 1992, I-64, and Currid 1997, 195.

¹⁰¹¹ Noth 1938, 288, and Herrmann 1964, 62. Noth admits that Tell ed-Damiyeh is also a possible alternative.

¹⁰¹² SMM 15-2, 298.

for Adam than Duma. The latter one is a possible alternative only if the campaign did not reach the eastern side of the Jordan.

Adam is also the place where, according to biblical tradition, the waters of the Jordan “rose up in a heap” (Josh. 3:16). Moreover, its place was strategically important, because it is where significant travel routes intersected. According to Fretz, this “made it easily accessible to Pharaoh Shishak (c. 945-924 BCE.) of Egypt, who captured Adam while on a military campaign through Palestine”.¹⁰¹³

Archaeological surveys have shown that Tell ed-Damiyeh was established in Late Bronze Age II and flourished in the Iron Age and the Roman-Byzantine Period.¹⁰¹⁴

Zemarain

Number 57 is *d-m-r-m* and a possible identification is Zemarain.¹⁰¹⁵ This name appears in Joshua 18:22 and 2 Chronicles 13:4 (the Mountain of Zemaraim).

The identification of Zemarain has long been uncertain.¹⁰¹⁶ Nowadays it is identified with Ras et-Tahuneh (map reference 170.146),¹⁰¹⁷ which is located within the urbanised area of el-Bireh. Archaeological surveys conducted in the hill country of Benjamin have yielded considerably more Iron Age II pottery (67 % of the total) than Iron Age I pottery.¹⁰¹⁸

Socoh

Number 38 is *š-ì-k*¹⁰¹⁹ and it is Socoh. The name occurs in the Bible twice: Josh. 15: 33 and 48, but neither are the same as those in Shishak’s list. The identification of Socoh in the list of Shishak is generally accepted to be Khirbet Shuweika er-Ras (map reference

¹⁰¹³ Fretz 1992-I, 64.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ahituv 1984, 50.

¹⁰¹⁵ Simons 1937, 182, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 75 (“möglicherweise semarajamin”), Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 438, Currid 1997, 195.

¹⁰¹⁶ Koch 1962, 29: “So muss die Frage einer Lokalisierung von Semarajim offen bleiben; noch nicht einmal eine allgemeine Abgrenzung der Gegend ist möglich.”

¹⁰¹⁷ SMM 15-2, 851, Aharoni 1979, 443, Ahituv 1984, 204, Toews 1992-VI, 1074, and Finkelstein 2002, 123.

¹⁰¹⁸ Finkelstein & Magen 1993, 21 (Site no. 73).

¹⁰¹⁹ Simons 1937, 181.

153.194),¹⁰²⁰ and this is located on the Via Maris approx. three kilometres south of Yaham.

There are two other sites with the name Socoh not very far from Khirbet Shuweika er-Ras. The first (Khirbet Abbad, map reference 147.121) is located in the Valley of Elah close to Azekah.¹⁰²¹ This is the Socoh referred to in Josh. 15:33, because it is part of the extract "Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, Azekah." The second (Khirbet Shuweika, map reference 150.090) is situated south of Hebron close to Khirbet Rabud (Debir).¹⁰²² This may be the site in Josh. 15:48, because of its situation in the Hill Country and its mention in the group "Shamir, Jattir, Socoh, Dannah, Kiriath Sannah (that is Debir)."

The location of Khirbet Shuweika er-Ras corresponds well with the place of Socoh in Shishak's list. It seems clear that the route goes from Megiddo through Aruna, Borim, Gath-padalla, and Yaham to Socoh, as all these sites lie southwards along the Via Maris. In addition, there is evidence at the site of occupation from Middle Bronze Age II in all the periods through the Middle Ages, and also in Late Bronze Age II.¹⁰²³

Rubute

The text of the third name (no. 13, the last name in row I) is clear. It is normally read as *r-b-t* and this gives the name Rubute.¹⁰²⁴ Rubute also appears in the list of Thutmose III and in the Amarna Letters.¹⁰²⁵

The identification of Rabbah/Rubute has been studied previously in connection with Thutmose III's list, and the conclusion was reached that Khirbet Hamideh/Khirbet el-Hilu is the most apparent alternative for the location of this site. B. Mazar and Aharoni in his early edition suggested Beth-shemesh.¹⁰²⁶ Kitchen seems to be a little unsure because he writes that Mazar and Aharoni "ingeniously take as possibly identical with Beth-shemesh" and also "whether it be

¹⁰²⁰ SMM 15-2, 773, Noth 1938b, 285, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 436, Lance 1992, VI-99, and Currid 1997, 193.

¹⁰²¹ SMM 15-2, 771.

¹⁰²² SMM 15-2, 772.

¹⁰²³ Ahituv 1984, 179.

¹⁰²⁴ Simons 1937, 181 (*rbt*=Rabbath?), Noth 1938, 287 (*rbt*), others (B. Mazar, Herrmann, Aharoni, Kitchen): Rubute.

¹⁰²⁵ See Rabbah in Thutmose III's list page 150.

¹⁰²⁶ Aharoni 1967, 286, 287.

Beth-Shemesh or not".¹⁰²⁷ Nevertheless, Kitchen does not make any other suggestion. Later Aharoni changed his suggestion and located this Rubute at Khirbet Hamideh/Khirbet el-Hilu (map reference 149.137).¹⁰²⁸

Beth-shemesh (Tell er-Rumeileh) is located in the Shephelah in the Valley of Sorek (map reference 147.128).¹⁰²⁹ It was occupied from Early Bronze I to the Roman-Byzantine period.¹⁰³⁰

In Rabbah/Khirbet Hamideh/Khirbet el-Hilu an archaeological survey has produced material from Middle Bronze Age IIB, Late Bronze Age II and the Early Iron Age.¹⁰³¹ If Thutmosis' no. 12 is Gezer, Khirbet Hamideh is a better candidate for Rabbah because of its location close to Gezer. Gezer and Rabbah are also successive cites in Thutmosis III's list. Among the references to the cities of the tribe of Judah, Beth-shemesh (Josh. 15:10) is part of the northern border with Judah and Rabbah part of the Hill Country cities (Josh. 15:60), therefore, apparently two different places. In addition, Khirbet Hamideh¹⁰³² is very consistent if the order of the march from Rubute to Aijalon is taken into consideration.

Accordingly, the identification of Khirbet Hamideh with Rabbah is the most probable one.¹⁰³³ The archaeological evidence from the time of Shishak is poor because the exact the limits of the Early Iron Age in this survey are not known. In the 1960s and 1970s this often extended from 1200 to 925 BCE.

Beth-horon

Number 24 is *b-t h-<w>-r-n* and it is identified as Beth-horon.¹⁰³⁴ In the Bible the mention of Beth-horon occurs 13 times. Sometimes it is mentioned simply as Beth-horon (e.g. Josh. 21:22), but most often the place has been divided into Upper and Lower Beth-horon (e.g. 1 Chr.

¹⁰²⁷ Kitchen 1986, 435 n 58, 446.

¹⁰²⁸ Aharoni 1979, 174, 441.

¹⁰²⁹ SMM 15-2, 207.

¹⁰³⁰ Grant & Wright 1939, 67-72, Brandfon 1992-I, 696-698.

¹⁰³¹ Ahituv 1984, 167.

¹⁰³² See Aijalon in this study pages 213-214.

¹⁰³³ So also SMM 15-2, 688, Kotter 1992-V, 600, and Hess 1996, 255. Currid (1997, 190) claims that the identification with Khirbet Hamideh fails, if the site no. 12 is not Gezer.

¹⁰³⁴ Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 284, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 57, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 435, and Currid 1997, 192.

7:24). Consequently, Beth-horon is a twin city. Upper Beth-horon has been located at Beit 'Ur el-Foqa` (map reference 160.143)¹⁰³⁵ and Lower Beth-horon at Beit Ur et-Tahta (map reference 158.144).¹⁰³⁶ These identifications are commonly accepted.

The older surveys found the first occupation at el-Fauqa from the Late Bronze Age and at et-Tahta from Iron Age II.¹⁰³⁷ According to the modern survey Iron Age II was the most densely populated period at both sites. At Beit 'Ur el-Foqa` no sherds from the Late Bronze Age were discovered with Iron Age I having a question mark, however, Iron Age II yielded 60 sherds. At Beit Ur et-Tahta the number of Iron Age II sherds was 28. According to Finkelstein, Iron I sherds from Beit Ur et-Tahta "were only found in box in the Department of Antiquities", and some Late Bronze material has been collected by A. Mazar.¹⁰³⁸

Accordingly, Shishak, like some biblical writers, refers just to Beth-horon without making any distinction between the two sites. The habitation in Shishak's time is clear.

Kiriathaim

The reading of name no. 25 is difficult. Its transliteration is *q-d-t-m*.¹⁰³⁹ It is Kiriathaim in the list of B. Mazar and Aharoni.¹⁰⁴⁰ Herrmann places a question mark after Kiriathaim, and Noth says that *kdtm* is unknown.¹⁰⁴¹ Kitchen and Currid consider the identification of *kdtm* highly questionable.¹⁰⁴² Although, Kitchen finds the suggestion made by Mazar and Aharoni very useful, according to which the Egyptian scribe has misread the hieratic *r* as a *d* and the original form was *krtm*, which could be read as Kiriathaim and consequently Kirjath-Yearim/Baalath.¹⁰⁴³ No other suggestions for Kiriathaim have been made.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰³⁵ SMM 15-2, 189.

¹⁰³⁶ SMM 15-2, 188.

¹⁰³⁷ Peterson 1977, 277-278, Peterson 1992-I, 689.

¹⁰³⁸ Finkelstein 1988, 174, 177.

¹⁰³⁹ Simons 1937, 181.

¹⁰⁴⁰ B. Mazar 1957, 60, and Aharoni 1979, 325.

¹⁰⁴¹ Herrmann 1964, 59, Noth 1938b, 284.

¹⁰⁴² Kitchen 1986, 435, Currid, 1997, 192.

¹⁰⁴³ Kitchen 1986, 435 n 59.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Mazar (1990, 398) writes "Shishak crossed the Shephelah via the Aijalon Valley and ascended to Kirjath-Jearim and Gibeon."

If Kiriathaim is Kirjat-Yearim (Tell el-Azar, map reference 159.135),¹⁰⁴⁵ as is commonly assumed,¹⁰⁴⁶ it is located very conveniently eight kilometres from Aijalon towards Jerusalem. Kirjat-Yearim is often (17 times) mentioned in the Bible, also in connection with the names Baalah and Kiriath-Baal. No excavations have taken place at the site, but, according to Ahituv, “there are occasional finds from the Bronze and Iron Ages.”¹⁰⁴⁷

Aijalon

The last name in row II, number 26, is *i-y-r-n* and identified with Aijalon.¹⁰⁴⁸ This city is mentioned in the Amarna Letters (written Aialuna or Ialuna, EA 273:20; 287:57).¹⁰⁴⁹ In the Bible Aijalon appears ten times (Josh. 10:12; 19:42; 21:24, Judg. 1:35; 12:12, 1 Sam. 14:31, 1 Chr. 6:69; 8:13, 2 Chr. 11:10; 28:12). Eusebius mentions Aijalon in his Onomasticon.

B. Mazar and Aharoni place Aijalon after Rubute in their lists and suggest that the second row of the list should be read from the top downwards, that is in reverse order.¹⁰⁵⁰ Noth prefers the original order and supposes that the Pharaoh went directly to the Jezreel region and took Aijalon and other southern towns on his way back to Egypt.¹⁰⁵¹ Concerning this phase of the march, Kitchen agrees with Mazar and Aharoni and suggest the expedition’s route from Rubute to Aijalon.

Aijalon is situated at the western end of the Aijalon Valley in a very strategic position, because this valley leads up to the Hill Country and to Jerusalem. It is quite commonly accepted that ancient Aijalon is a mound called Yalo (map reference 152.138).¹⁰⁵² Albright suggested Tell Qoqa, which is very close to Yalo, but this suggestion has not found much support, although Tell Qoqa was occupied during the same periods as Yalo. The name Yalo has probably preserved the ancient

¹⁰⁴⁵ SMM 15-2, 539.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Also Mazar (1990, 398) writes Kirjat-Jearim in this connection. SMM (15-2, 536) gives the name Kiriathaim to Qaryat el-Mekhaiyet (map reference 220.128), but its location does not fit the route of Shishak.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ahituv 1984, 126. See also Cooke 1925, 105-120, and Hamilton 1992-IV, 84-85.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 284, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 57, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 435, and Currid 1997, 192.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Mercer 1939, 689, 713.

¹⁰⁵⁰ B. Mazar 1957, 60, and Aharoni 1979, 325.

¹⁰⁵¹ Noth 1938b, 289.

¹⁰⁵² SMM 15-2, 040, Aharoni 1979, 430, Hess 1996, 275.

name. A surface survey at Yalo has indicated that the site was occupied in Middle Bronze Age II, the Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age and also in later times.¹⁰⁵³

Raphia

The last section, Section 3, contains five names that can be read, but only two of them have possible identifications. The first (no. 2a) is *r-p-h*,¹⁰⁵⁴ possibly Rapihu/Raphia.¹⁰⁵⁵ It could be Tell Rafah, which is also known as Tell esh-Sheikh Suleiman (map reference 075.079). There are signs of occupation from Middle Bronze Age II up to the Byzantine Period.¹⁰⁵⁶

Laban

Number 3a in Section 3 is *r-b-n*¹⁰⁵⁷ and could be Laban.¹⁰⁵⁸ This site may be the same as the biblical Laban in Deut. 1:1. It is probably located at Tell Abu Seleimeh (map reference 064.071), near esh-Sheikh Zuweideh. The site was studied by Petrie and it was settled from Middle Bronze Age II up to the Roman Period.¹⁰⁵⁹

Ezem

With the next four sites, the second and third sections of Shishak's list are reached, which contain much less information of the sites. This is because the names in these sections are much more damaged and because they include a lot more names that are not identifiable. Section 2 includes numbers 66-150. This section differs from the previous one in many ways. The rows are longer, and several names share many common factors. The same beginnings or endings in the names are often enigmatic but may signify, for example, the names of clans. In some of them the common element is "fort" and in some others "Negev". Only a few names in this section can be identified

¹⁰⁵³ Peterson 1992-I, 131.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Simons 1937, 186.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Aharoni 1979, 329, Kitchen 1986, 441, and Currid 1997, 145.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ahituv 1984, 162.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Simons 1937, 186.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Aharoni 1979, 329, Kitchen 1986, 441, and Currid 1997, 145.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ahituv 1984, 129.

and located. All the names are located in the Negev area.¹⁰⁶⁰ In Section 3 it is only possible to successfully decipher five names.

Number 66 is *'-< i>-d-m-i3*¹⁰⁶¹ and has been identified with Ezem. It could be Umm el-'Azam (map reference 140.055), some ten kilometres south of Aroer.¹⁰⁶²

Photeis

Number 69 is *f-t-y-š-i3*¹⁰⁶³ and it could be Photeis, which means Khirbet Futeis, and is the ancient Tell el-'Useifer, located approximately 15 kilometres northwest of Beersheba.¹⁰⁶⁴

Yehallel

Number 70 is *i-r-h-r-r*¹⁰⁶⁵ and it may be Yehallel. This could be the same name as the clan name in 1 Chronicles 4:16. This site may be located in the area southeast of Beersheba.¹⁰⁶⁶

Adar

The first name in row VIII is number 100, *i-d-r-i3*,¹⁰⁶⁷ and it is probably Adar.¹⁰⁶⁸ Kitchen would like to identify it with Hazar-addar, which may be located at Ain Qadeis.¹⁰⁶⁹ According to Ahituv, it is an unidentified Negev settlement.¹⁰⁷⁰

¹⁰⁶⁰ See e.g. Noth 1938b, 289-304, and Aharoni 1979, 328. About "Negev", see also Kitchen 1986, 440, and Currid 1997, 84.

¹⁰⁶¹ Simons 1937, 183.

¹⁰⁶² B. Mazar 1957, 64, Aharoni 1979, 328, Kitchen 1986, 439, Zorn 1992-II, 722, and Currid 1997, 196. Ahituv (1984, 93) states that the proposed location of Ezem at Umm el-'Azam is most unlikely and that there is no archaeological evidence for that identification. Yet he does not suggest any other location.

¹⁰⁶³ Simons 1937, 183.

¹⁰⁶⁴ B. Mazar 1957, 65, Aharoni 1979, 328, Kitchen 1986, 439, and Currid 1997, 196.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Simons 1937, 183.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Kitchen 1986, 439, and Currid 1997, 196.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Simons 1937, 185.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Kitchen 1986, 440 and Currid 1997, 199.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Kitchen 1986, 440n96.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ahituv 1984, 51.

c) The other sites

Hapharaim

Number 18 is *h-p-r-m-i3* and the identification with Hapharaim is commonly accepted.¹⁰⁷¹ The place is mentioned once in the Bible, as one of the cities of the territory of Issachar (Josh. 19:19), and is part of a list that includes the names “Jezreel, Kesulloth, Shunem, Hapharaim, Shion, Anaharath.” Most authors do not give any geographical location to the site, except Noth, in whose view Hapharaim must be located not far from Beth Shean (“am südlichen oder südwestlichen Rande der Bucht von Beth-Sean”). Ahituv states that it has to be in the Jordan Valley, but it is not clear which side of the Jordan it should be placed.¹⁰⁷²

Some maps have tentatively placed Hapharaim in an Arab village by the name et-Taiyibeh in Southern Galilee (map reference 192.223).¹⁰⁷³ A survey in the region in 1975-1976 revealed remains of a Crusader fortress and several other buildings. The pottery was from the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Crusader, Mameluke and Ottoman periods. Gal, who conducted the survey, writes, “there is no foundation to the premise that the site is ancient Ophra or Hapharaim (Josh. 19:19)”.¹⁰⁷⁴ Consequently, the location of the site must remain open.

Adoraim

Number 19 in the list is *i-d-r-m*, most probably Adoraim.¹⁰⁷⁵ However, it is difficult to conclude where this Adoraim was located. The only Adoraim, which is known, is situated several kilometres west of Hebron. Its later name is Dura, map reference 152.101.¹⁰⁷⁶ and this is

¹⁰⁷¹ Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 283, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 59, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 436, and Currid 1997, 191.

¹⁰⁷² Ahituv 1984, 114-115.

¹⁰⁷³ SMM 15-2, 416 (with the question mark) CBA 62, 86,212. Also Currid (1997, 191), “this is probably correct”.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Gal 1991, 33*.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Simons 1937, 181, Noth 1938b, 283, B. Mazar 1957, 60, Herrmann 1964, 59, Aharoni 1979, 325, Kitchen 1986, 436, and Currid 1997, 191.

¹⁰⁷⁶ SMM 15-2, 027, CBA 207. Currid (1997, 191) says that “this is probably the city of Adoraim in Judah”, but he is citing wrongly Aharoni’s list of the sites (1979, p. 325) because it is impossible to place his no. 23 in the south, in the area of Judah. Aharoni has two different Adoraims, see page 458.

probably the same place as is mentioned in 2 Chr. 11:9 as one of the Rehoboam's fortress cities. However, this seems to be too far from the other sites in Shishak's list. According to Ahituv, Adoraim should be located in the Succoth Valley, as it is mentioned in Shishak's list together with other cities in that region.¹⁰⁷⁷ As with Haphraraim, the question of the location of Adoraim must be left open.

Zaphon

Aharoni and B. Mazar identify number 20 in Shishak's list with Zaphon,¹⁰⁷⁸ but according to Simons the name is "almost entirely erased and illegible".¹⁰⁷⁹ Kitchen agrees with Simons saying of no. 20 that it is "lost",¹⁰⁸⁰ and with Noth, who writes, "der zerstörte Name von Nr. 20"¹⁰⁸¹ It is difficult to know how Mazar and Aharoni can read Zaphon with almost no original text.¹⁰⁸²

When searching for Zaphon in the area under consideration, there are two possibilities: Amathus (map reference 208.182) and Tell es-Saidiya (map reference 204.186).¹⁰⁸³ In the Bible Zaphon is mentioned in Judg. 12:1, which catalogues the cities in the Valley: Beth-arim, Beth-nimrah, Succoth and Zaphon. Some Bible translations also interpret this word as 'Zaphon' in Josh. 13:27,¹⁰⁸⁴ but many others translate it as northwards'.¹⁰⁸⁵ Because of the ambiguous and incomprehensible nature of this word no location for this site can be made

Adar

Number 28 is *ì-d-r*.¹⁰⁸⁶ Aharoni and Mazar identify it with Adar,¹⁰⁸⁷ but do not give any geographical correlation. Ahituv claims that it could

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ahituv 1084, 52.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Aharoni 1979, 325, B. Mazar 1957, 60.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Simons 1937, 181.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Kitchen 1986, 436.

¹⁰⁸¹ Noth 1938b, 283.

¹⁰⁸² See also Currid 1997, 191, "How he (Mazar) draws that conclusion from this name-ring is unclear."

¹⁰⁸³ SMM 15-2, 845, 846, CBA (218) prefers Tell es-Saidiya. Instead, Glueck (1968, 109) argues, "Tell Qos is the only site which can be equated with Zaphon".

¹⁰⁸⁴ e.g. Swedish Bible 1917 and Finnish Bible 1992.

¹⁰⁸⁵ King James Version and many others

¹⁰⁸⁶ Simons 1937, 181.

¹⁰⁸⁷ B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325.

be a small settlement or suburb outside the walls of Megiddo, deriving its name from a threshing floor.¹⁰⁸⁸ Kitchen considers that the four names between Megiddo (27) and Aruna (32) would be located within too short a distance, some ten kilometres. Therefore, he suggests that these names are part of the Shishak's flying column to the Coastal Plain and the area towards the territory of Asher.¹⁰⁸⁹ Similar to Kitchen, Noth cannot give any definition for the name.¹⁰⁹⁰ There is no place in the area around the Jezreel Valley or the Mount Carmel that could be identified with this name.

Yad-hammelech

Number 29 is *y-d h-m-r-k*.¹⁰⁹¹ It could be Yad-hammelech, meaning "Hand of the King". No known city bears this name. B. Mazar thinks it was perhaps a royal monument, which stood at the entrance to the Wadi Ara and served as a topographical mark.¹⁰⁹² Similarly, Kitchen supposes that it is best understood as 'King's Monument', of yet-unknown location.¹⁰⁹³ Noth and Herrmann read the name in the same way and they offer no suggestion for the exact geographical location either.¹⁰⁹⁴

Honim

Number 30 is missing and number 31 is very enigmatic as well. It is transliterated *h-i-n-m*.¹⁰⁹⁵ B. Mazar and Aharoni suggest the identification with Honim.¹⁰⁹⁶ B. Mazar assumes that this *hnm* was a resting place for the caravans in Wadi Ara, in front of the city of Aruna.¹⁰⁹⁷ For Kitchen and Noth the name remains a mystery. Both of them assume that the troops of Shishak made a detour between

¹⁰⁸⁸ Ahituv 1984, 51.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Kitchen 1986, 437.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Noth 1938b, 285. Also according to Currid (1997, 192) the site is unknown.

¹⁰⁹¹ Simons 1937, 181.

¹⁰⁹² B. Mazar 1957, 62. Currid (1997, 193) claims that Mazar goes too far by suggesting 'a royal monument which stood at the entrance to the Wadi 'Arah'.

¹⁰⁹³ Kitchen 1986, 437.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Noth 1938b, 285, "...einen Punkt im Gelände, etwa eine auffällige Felsbildung an einer markanten Stelle, die in Volksmunde jene Bezeichnung führte." Herrmann 1964, 60, "Lage fraglich".

¹⁰⁹⁵ Simons 1937, 181.

¹⁰⁹⁶ B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325.

¹⁰⁹⁷ B. Mazar 1957, 62.

Megiddo and Aruna, because four different locations are too much in so short a distance.¹⁰⁹⁸

Beth-olam

After Yaham there are two obscure names in the list. The first one, *b-t 'r-m*¹⁰⁹⁹, no. 36, B. Mazar and Aharoni suggest Beth-olam or Beth-arim.¹¹⁰⁰ Kitchen and Currid agree that those names are possible ones but point out that the location is unknown.¹¹⁰¹ The letters of the next name, no. 37, are *k-q-r-y*¹¹⁰², but nobody has suggested any identification for that name.

Beth-tappuah

The last name in row III of the list is number 39, *b-t t-p-w-[h?]*.¹¹⁰³ B. Mazar and Aharoni interpret the name as Beth-tappuah. They do not give any location for the site.¹¹⁰⁴ In Currid's transliteration the name is *bʕ(t)tpw*.¹¹⁰⁵ Herrmann adds a question mark to this name.¹¹⁰⁶

According to Noth, it is possible that the name could be read as *'en tube* (Ain Tuba), which he locates near Khirbet Bet Lidd or the present-day *el-mughair*, in the western route of the Via Maris.¹¹⁰⁷ Kitchen states that if the site is Beth-tappuah it should be identified with Ain Taffuh. This Ain Taffuh (map reference 172.168)¹¹⁰⁸ at Sheikh Abu Zarad, about ten kilometres north-west of Shiloh, is located in the Ephraim Hill Country, and it is too far from Shishak's Via Maris route, unless Shishak made "a parting sally by some of Shoshenq's troops against Ephraim".¹¹⁰⁹ It remains unclear if Kitchen's main argument is more textual than geographical.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Kitchen 1986, 437, Noth 1938b, 285. Also Currid 1997, 193, "The reading is obscure."

¹⁰⁹⁹ Simons 1937, 181.

¹¹⁰⁰ B. Mazar 1957, 60, Aharoni 1979, 325.

¹¹⁰¹ Kitchen 1986, 436 n 66, Currid 1997, 193. Ahituv (1984, 77) states, "Beth-olam is an unknown city somewhere between Yaham and Socoh, mentioned in Shishak's list."

¹¹⁰² Simons 1937, 181.

¹¹⁰³ Simons 1937, 181.

¹¹⁰⁴ B. Mazar 1957, 62: "the location of ... Beth Tappuah is unknown". In Aharoni's book the only Beth Tappuah mentioned is Taffuh which is located too far south looking at his picture of the route of Shishak, Aharoni 1979, 324, 432, 462.

¹¹⁰⁵ Currid 1997, 192.

¹¹⁰⁶ Herrmann 1964, 60.

¹¹⁰⁷ Noth 1938, 286n5.

¹¹⁰⁸ SMM 15-5, 793, CBA 61.

¹¹⁰⁹ Kitchen 1986, 436 n 68.

According to Ahituv, “there is room for a very thin h-sign; the left stone is smooth. Kitchen’s preference for Noth’s proposal to add a J is based on considerations of ‘historical topography’, which, alas, are not based on fact. It is impossible to complete Beth Tp[t], and equate it with a genuine Arabic name like ‘Ain Tuba”.¹¹¹⁰ Ahituv claims that Beth-tappuah should be located somewhere to the south of Socoh, and he adds “this is not the Beth-tappuah on the boundary between the inheritances of Ephraim and Manasseh, in the hill country.”¹¹¹¹

According to Currid, Beth-tappuah is the correct reading and Ain Tuba the correct location. He locates it “in Ephraim, eighteen miles from Socoh”.¹¹¹² The third possibility for the site could be the Beth-tappuah (Taffuh) that is situated close to Hebron (map reference 154.105)¹¹¹³ but the distance makes it more unlikely than the other ones suggested.¹¹¹⁴

Thus, the discussion about the location of Beth-tappuah is quite confused. Noth and Kitchen prefer the reading Ain Tuba and locate the site along the Via Maris, south of Socoh, instead of Ain Taffuh (Beth-tappuah) in Ephraim, northwest of Shiloh. Ahituv does not accept their interpretation but agrees with the location, at least approximately. Currid does not agree with the reading either, and locates it along the Via Maris, too, but speaks incorrectly about Ephraim, because this location south of Socoh belongs to the inheritance of Manasseh. B. Mazar and Aharoni, like Ahituv and Currid, understand the name as Beth-tappuah, but do not give any location.

If it is accepted that the names from Megiddo to Beth-tappuah (nos. 27 to 39) form a continuous line southwards along the Via Maris, then it is very logical to locate Beth-tappuah on this route south of Socoh. If it is considered possible that Pharaoh Shishak also had some smaller task forces, which were sent out in different directions, then the army could, in principle, also have conquered Ain Taffuh, northwest of Shiloh. This Tappuah is situated between Gophnah and Tirzah, and

¹¹¹⁰ Ahituv 1984, 80n123.

¹¹¹¹ Ahituv 1984, 80.

¹¹¹² Currid 1997, 194. He refers to Noth, Kitchen and Mazar, although Kitchen does not accept Beth-tappuah, and Mazar does not give any geographical location.

¹¹¹³ SMM 15-2, 210, Aharoni 1979, 432.

¹¹¹⁴ Noth (1938, 286) considers also this alternative.

mentioned later in Shishak's list (nos. 64 and 59). If the list follows any geographical order, this situation is illogic. Therefore, the location along the Via Maris is preferable, although no exact location for this site can be given.

Kedesh

Number 54 is *[q?]-d-š-t*¹¹¹⁵ and it can be identified with Kedesh. Aharoni places it after Succoth in his list but does not place the site on the map.¹¹¹⁶ Mazar reads the name Qedesh or Qodesh but does not discuss it any further.¹¹¹⁷ According to Kitchen, the name should be read *hdst*, which means 'New town'. Its location is unknown.¹¹¹⁸ Similarly, Herrmann leaves the interpretation of the letters open.¹¹¹⁹ Geographically, there is no place with the name Kedesh close to the Via Maris, either near Penuel or Succoth. There are two sites with this name. One is the Kedesh in Southern Galilee close to the southern end of Lake Gennesareth (map reference 202.237).¹¹²⁰ The other Kedesh is in Upper Galilee (map reference 200.279).¹¹²¹ The geographical identification of Kedesh in Shishak's list must be left open.

[Go]phnah?

Number 64 is *?(q?)-p-n*,¹¹²² but the letters are badly preserved. Noth, Mazar, Herrmann and Kitchen do not mention this place at all. According to Aharoni, "it is possible that the next town conquered was Gophnah, four miles north of Ramallah, which is otherwise known to us only from later sources".¹¹²³ The modern name of the site is Jifna (map reference 170.152). It is located six kilometres north of Zemaraim and fifteen kilometres north of Jerusalem. SMM and CBA put Gophna at this place as well, and give references to the Makkabean, Herodian and Bar Kochba times.¹¹²⁴

¹¹¹⁵ Simons 1937, 182.

¹¹¹⁶ Aharoni 1979, 325.

¹¹¹⁷ B. Mazar 1957, 60.

¹¹¹⁸ Kitchen 1986, 438. Likewise also Currid 1997, 195.

¹¹¹⁹ Herrmann 1964, 75.

¹¹²⁰ SMM 15-2, 503.

¹¹²¹ SMM 15-2, 502.

¹¹²² Simons 1937, 183.

¹¹²³ Aharoni 1979, 327. According to Currid (1997, 195), "Aharoni incorrectly reconstructs the reading as [Go]phnah".

¹¹²⁴ SMM 15-2, 401, CBA 142-194.

In the archaeological survey of the Territory of Ephraim there are three sites close to this map reference. The first one is a small slope site, containing mainly Roman and Byzantine ruins and pottery, called Khirbeth Ghureitis (map reference 172.151). The second one is a small site known as el Mneitrah (map reference 172.152). The number of pottery sherds found at el Mneitrah is small: 25 are from the Middle Bronze Age, 60 from Iron Age I and just a few from later periods. The third one is Khirbet Tarafein (map reference 170.156), which is a larger ruin on a hilltop with fences and terrace walls. In this case the number of the pottery sherds is: 30 pieces from Iron Age I, 60 pieces from Iron Age II and quite a few from later periods.¹¹²⁵

If ancient Gophnah is identified with Jifna no remains from the Iron Age have been found. It is also possible that Jifna has preserved the ancient name, but the original location was in one of the above-mentioned sites. Sometimes the old names have moved from one site to another, as was explained in connection with Borim (see pages 204-205). Considering the remains of pottery found at Khirbet Tarafein it is possible that it is the most probable candidate for Jifna. The names have a faint sound of similarity as well, however, because of the uncertainty of the identification of the name the location of the site must be left open.

The Valley

The next place in the list is *p3 'm-q*.¹¹²⁶ It is the last name in row V, number 65. The interpretation of this as "The Valley" is generally accepted.¹¹²⁷ The text refers to either the Jezreel Valley or the Coastal Plain.¹¹²⁸ At least five cities of Shishak's list are located in the area of Jezreel Valley. The valley itself is so prominent a feature in the region that to mention it in the campaign report is understandable.

¹¹²⁵ Finkelstein 1988, 170, 172.

¹¹²⁶ Simons 1937, 183.

¹¹²⁷ Simons 1937, 183, Noth 1938b, 288-289, Aharoni 1979, 285, Kitchen 1986, 439 and Currid 1997, 195.

¹¹²⁸ Aharoni (1979, 325) and Kitchen (1986, 439) seem to prefer the Jezreel Valley, Simons (1937, 183) takes both possibilities and Noth (1938, 289) speaks for the Coastal Plain. Currid (1997, 195-196) states that Mazar and Aharoni support the Valley of Beth Shean and Kitchen the Jezreel Valley but there is no evidence for any of them. Currid does not know the geography very well because the Valley of Beth Shean is part of the Jezreel Valley.

Conclusion

There are 41 names in Shishak's list, which can be transcribed more or less accurately and for which we can find an identifiable name. Altogether 27 sites have been investigated, with archaeological excavations being carried out in 11 of the sites, and surveys in 16. There are 14 names for which there is no archaeological information. Other ancient texts refer to 13 names on the list. The Bible has accounts containing about 28 names that can be identified with the names in Shishak's list. Altogether, 32 of the names in Shishak's sites are found in other ancient texts, and only 9 names are limited exclusively to Shishak's list.

From 27 sites, more or less accurate archaeological data has been obtained. In all of the sites, there are archaeological remains from the period in question, from the beginning of Iron Age II, i.e. the end of the 10th century BCE. Of course, in some cases the archaeological data is quite sparse.

Of the 27 occupied sites, a destruction level from Iron Age II has been found in eight; these sites are Gezer, Taanach, Beth Shean, Rehob, Megiddo, Yehem, Arad, and Tirzah (dating uncertain). The identification of the name Gezer is quite uncertain.

If Pharaoh Shishak conquered the country in 925 BCE, it is possible that he destroyed more cities than was actually reported in his list, cited previously. The names may also be in that part of the list that was damaged and so the names are not decipherable any longer. The sites in this category could be e.g. Tell el-Hamma, Tel Amal and Hurbat Rosh Zayit, which Mazar mentions in his report on Beth Shean.¹¹²⁹ However, the period has not been studied from this point of view.

In conclusion, it can be said that the archaeological picture obtained of the 10th century BCE corresponds very well with the list of Shishak. In every identifiable town, there are remains of occupation during the period in question, and in many, also a destruction level.

Looking at the destroyed cities it can be established that of the 11 excavated sites 7 have been destroyed in the 10th century BCE, which is quite a large percentage. It can also be noticed that almost all of

¹¹²⁹ Mazar 2001, 294.

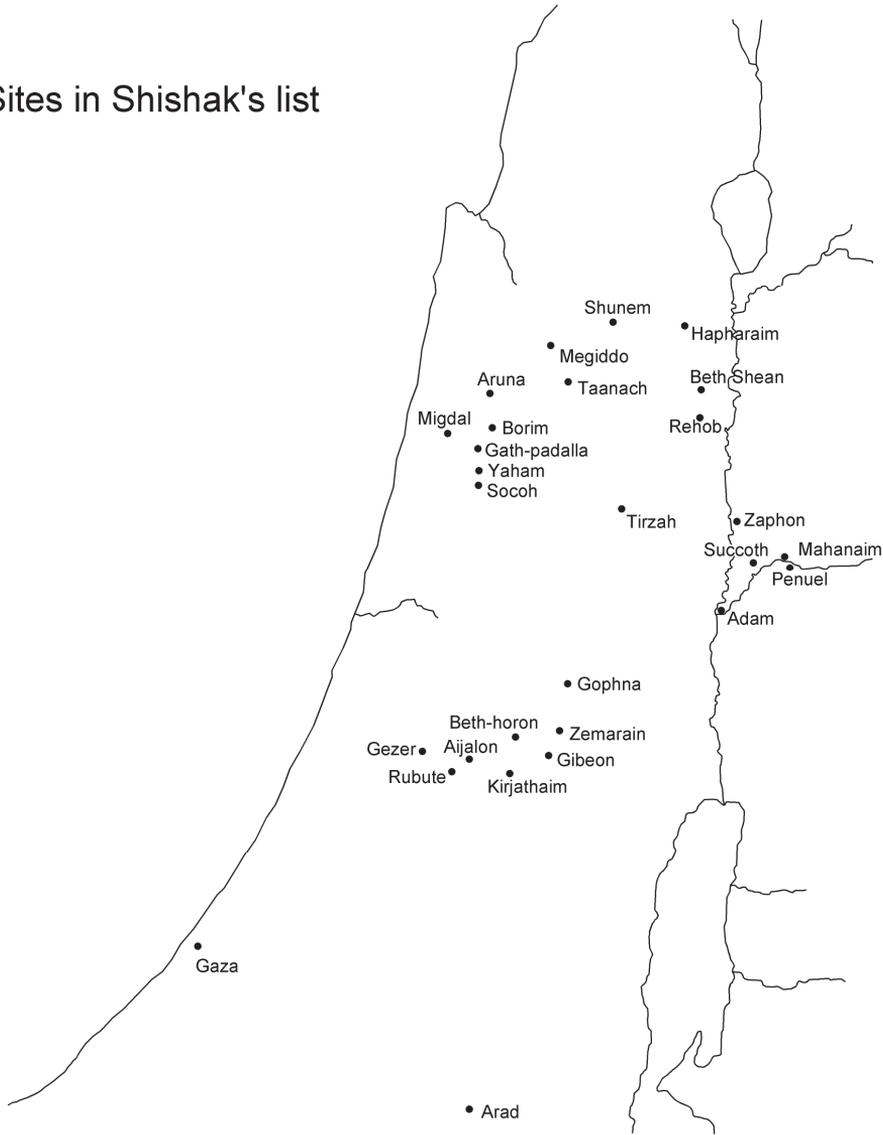
these sites are the cities on the plains or valleys which is where a point in common can be found with the biblical stories in Josh. 17:16 and in Judg. 1:19. Although the actual locations are not the same the general features are: chariots secured victory for the foreign conqueror on the plains. It is possible that the Egyptians in the time of Shishak had a better capacity to defeat their enemy on the plains. Another possibility is that the cities on plains had richer settlements or maybe the Egyptians did not venture so much into the hill country.

Name in the list of Shishak (no.)	Mentioned in other ancient texts	Mentioned in the Bible	Inhabited in Iron IIA	Destroyed in Iron IIA
a) Excavated sites				
Megiddo (27)	x	x	x	x
Arad (108)	x	x	x	x
Taanach (14)	x	x	x	x
Beth Shean (16)	x	x	x	x
Rehob (17)	x		x	x
[Ti]rzah (59)		x	x	x?
Succoth/T. Deir Alla (55)		x	x	
Gaza (11)	x	x	x	
Gezer (12)?	x	x	x	x?
Migdal/T. Zeror (58)		x	x	
Gibeon (23)		x	x	
11	7	10	11	7
b) Surveyed sites				
Aruna (32)	x		x	
Borim (33)			x	
Gath-padalla/Jett (34)	x		x	
Yaham (35)	x		x	x
Shunem (15)	x	x	x	
Penuel (53)		x	x	
Mahanaim (22)		x	x	
Adam (56)		x	x	
Zemaraim (57)		x	x	
Socoh (38)		x	x	
Rubute (13)	x	x	x?	
Beth-horon (24)		x	x	

Name in the list of Shishak (no.)	Mentioned in other ancient texts	Mentioned in the Bible	Inhabited in Iron IIA	Destroyed in Iron IIA
Kiriathaim/T. el-Azar (25)		x	x	
Aijalon/Yalo (26)	x	x	x	
Raphia/T. Rafah (2a)			x	
Laban/T.Abu Suleimeh(3a)			x	
16	6	10	16	1
Total 27	13	20	27	8
c) Other sites				
Hapharaim (18)		x		
Adoraim (19)		x		
Zaphon (20)		x		
Adar (28)		x		
Yad-hammelech (29)				
Honim (31)				
Beth-olam (36)				
Beth-tappuah (39)		x		
Kedesh (54)		x		
[Go]phnah/KhTarafein (64)				
Ezem (66)		x		
Photeis (69)				
Yehallel (70)				
Adar (100)		x		
14		8		
Total 41	13	28	27	8

Table 4: The cities in the list of Shishak.

Sites in Shishak's list



Map 5. Sites in Shishak's list.

4.3 The list in Joshua

4.3.1 The “conquered and unconquered cities”

The Book of Joshua contains two different views concerning the conquest of Canaan. One states that the whole country was captured by the Israelites. These passages are particularly concerned with the promise to get the land and include: Josh. 1:3-4, the first summary after the conquest stories in Josh. 11:16, 17, 23, and the last summary at the end of the story relating to division of the land between the tribes in 21:43-45.

The other gives a different picture; these passages recount that the whole country had not been taken at the same time and include: 11:22; 13:1-5; 15:63; 16:10; 17:11-18, and 23:12. It is worth noticing in the first summary, between the references to total conquest, this verse 11:18, “Joshua made war for a long time with all those kings.” This gives a hint of the gradual occupation of the land. Joshua’s view concerning the unconquered cities is the same as that of the first chapter of the Book of Judges (1:19-36). This “for a long time” is a clear indication that the compiler of the book knew that the entire land was not taken at the same time, but perhaps took place over centuries. This is an important notion when studying the archaeology of the sites in question.

The usual explanation for these two differing views is that they come from different sources or from different traditions. Generally, it has been argued that the idealistic picture of the total occupation of the land is a late, harmonized account of the Deuteromistic compiler and the view of the partial occupation is the more original. Nonetheless, there are two different descriptions that can already be found in the Book of Joshua, and the Deuteromistic compiler has preserved them in the final composition of the book.¹¹³⁰

Concerning the list of the kings defeated by Joshua and the Israelites in Josh. 12:7-24, this list can be considered as being from the time of the United Monarchy at the earliest. As demonstrated by the fact that the list includes cities, which were not conquered according

¹¹³⁰ See e.g. Nelson 1997, 12-14, Gottwald 1999, 141.

to the lists of “unconquered cities” in Joshua and Judges. These unconquered cities were, Jerusalem, Gezer, Taanach, Megiddo, Dor, probably Aphek (on the Philistine coastal area), Jokneam, Kedesh (in the Jezreel Valley), and Achshaph (on the Acco Plain). In the same way we can assume that the account of the dividing the land between the tribes (in chapters 13-21) portrays a later time. Again this is because “unconquered cities” are mentioned in the lists as belonging to the Israelite tribes (e.g. 19:29, 30, 38, 42; 21:21, 24, 25), and also the Philistine cities (15:45-47), which according to Josh. 13:1-3 were not captured. When studying the archaeologically of the sites in Joshua 10-12, the question to be asked is whether there is a difference between “the unconquered cities” and “the conquered cities” mentioned in Judges and Joshua.

Consequently, when considering the lists of cities from the Book of Joshua this division must be taken into account. In the Book of Joshua there are two lists of the cities that were captured by the Israelites. The first is in chapters 10 and 11 where Joshua is told to smite his enemy in the Shephelah and in Galilee. Chapter 10 begins with the story of an alliance of five Canaanite cities. The kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon made a coalition in order to attack the Israelites. The battle took place in the Aijalon Valley and the Israelites pursued the Canaanites to Azekah and then Makkedah where, in the end, the five kings hid in a cave.

The account in chapter 10 follows the following pattern: “Joshua and all Israel went from city A to city B and they set up against it, and they attacked it, and Jahweh gave city B into the hand of Israel, and they took it, and they put to the sword and left no survivors.” The account of the conquering of Hazor in chapter 11 is a little different but belongs to the same group of the cities taken by the Israelites. There are seven names of the conquered sites in Joshua 10 and 11. Six of them, the cities of Judah and the Shephelah, (Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron and Debir) are in chapter 10 and one, the city of Galilee, (Hazor) in chapter 11.

In chapter 12 is the second list of conquered kings. It includes just the names of the defeated kings and all the cities mentioned in chapters 10-11. Moreover, there are some individual stories about the

conquering or occupying of cities such as Jericho (Josh. 6), Ai, (Josh. 8), the Gibeonite cities (Josh. 9), and Dan (Judges 18).

This study concentrates on the cities reported to have been conquered according to the lists in chapters 10, 11 and 12 of Joshua. All of which belong to the roster in chapter 12, and therefore that is the starting point. After studying the archaeology of these sites an excursus to Tel Dan is added.

4.3.2 Archaeological evidence

As the cities of Joshua 12 are studied, the main question is what is known about the sites mentioned in this list from archaeological evidence dated from the end of the Late Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Iron Age. Differences in pottery and settlement patterns are considered using the methods described previously in chapter 2.2. The Late Bronze Age culture continued in Iron Age I on the Coastal Plain cities and in other valleys and this phenomenon is called "Coastal Plain culture" (C). The synonym "Canaanite culture" is also used, but here the label "Coastal Plain Culture" is preferred because it is more neutral and does not emphasise ethnicity. The new population arriving into the Central mountain areas are called "Hill Country culture" (H). This group is often called Israelites, but once again in this case the neutral meaning is preferable to one which is ethnically weighted. The question of ethnicity will be considered presently, in the last chapter. The Sea Peoples coming to the coastal areas are most often called Philistines (P). Here, however, it is not necessary to avoid the ethnic label because the Philistines are such a distinctive group and everyone agrees that they were part of the Sea Peoples. Nevertheless, we admit that in some cases "the Philistines" may mean any group of Sea Peoples.

The list is separated into the "conquered" and "unconquered" cities. The "conquered" cities are differentiated into three groups: a) the excavated sites, b) the surveyed sites and c) the other sites. The "unconquered" cities all belong to the excavated sites.

In the first group, the archaeology of Hazor and Lachish is studied first, and in the second group Megiddo is considered before the others, this is because they are the most representative sites for the purposes of this study.

The order of the names in this study is as follows:

The “conquered” cities:

- a) the excavated sites: Hazor, Lachish, Bethel, Debir, Tirzah, Eglon, Hormah, Hebron, Jarmuth, Jericho, Ai, and Arad;
- b) the surveyd sites: Tappuah, Hephher, Madon, Makkedah, Libnah, and Shimron; and
- c) the others: Geder and Adullam. A total of 20 sites.

The “unconquered” cities:

Megiddo, Jerusalem, Gezer, Dor, Taanach, Jokneam, Aphek, Achshaph, and Kedesh. A total of 9 sites.

The “conquered cities”

a) The excavated sites

Hazor

In Josh. 12:19b there is the name **חַצְוֹר**. The identification and the history of Hazor has been studied in connection with Thutmosis’ list (no. 32) from the viewpoint of the Late Bronze Age, especially from the Late Bronze Age I.¹¹³¹ Now it is the Hazor at the end of the Late Bronze Age II and the beginning of the Iron Age that is examined. The name Hazor occurs in the Bible 17 times, from the book of Joshua to Nehemiah.

In the Late Bronze Age Hazor was the largest city and the most dominant city-state in Canaan. This has been confirmed both by the archaeology and by several ancient historical sources. The same information is to be found in the Book of Joshua, “Hazor formerly was the head of all those kingdoms.” (Josh.11:10).¹¹³²

In Yadin’s excavations the areas where Late Bronze II – Iron Age I excavations took place are Areas A, B, BA, all of them in the Upper City. A Late Bronze II level was also found in Areas H and 210/A1 in the Lower City. The large Late Bronze Age city (Strata XV-XIII) was

¹¹³¹ See this study pages 101-105.

¹¹³² See also Frankel 1994, 20.

totally destroyed at the end of the period, probably in the second third of the 13th century.¹¹³³

In Stratum XII in Area B the main discovery was a large number of pits, at least 27 of them.¹¹³⁴ The main Iron Age I area was Area A in the Upper City. According to Yadin, Stratum XII structures are sparse, and most of the area is occupied by pits, ovens, paved areas and short sections of walls. The pottery is different to in Stratum XIII, and “can be easily identified.”¹¹³⁵ One of the main types of pottery is a cooking pot, which begins in the Iron Age I and continues without any major change into the Iron Age II.¹¹³⁶ Stratum XII was, according to Yadin, the first Israelite settlement. Iron Age II (Strata X-IX) was again a time of a flourishing city; Yadin maintains that this was the Solomonic Hazor with casemates walls and the large six-chamber gate.¹¹³⁷

The discussion of the subsequent strata and their dating has engendered quite heated debate. According to Yadin, the following strata and chronological dates can be discerned:

Stratum XIV	Late Bronze IIA	14 th century BCE
Stratum XIII	Late Bronze IIB	13 th century BCE
Stratum XII	Iron Age I	12 th century B.C
Stratum XI	Iron Age I	11 th century BCE
Stratum Xa	Iron Age IIA	
Stratum Xb		Mid-10 th century BCE
Stratum IX a	Iron Age IIA	End 10 th cent. – beginning 9 th cent.BCE ¹¹³⁸

The excavations Ben-Tor conducted have revealed from strata XV-XIII: a huge Canaanite palace, a rich assembly of Late Bronze Age pottery, several bronze figurines, and even some inscriptions.¹¹³⁹ Ben-

¹¹³³ Yadin et al.1989, 11-25, Yadin 1993-II, 603.

¹¹³⁴ Yadin et al. 1989, 76-82, 130-131.

¹¹³⁵ Yadin et al. 1989, 25.

¹¹³⁶ Yadin et al. 1989, Plates CLXV-CLXVI, Plates CLXX-CLXXI, and Yadin et al. 1960, Plate LVII: 4.

¹¹³⁷ Yadin et al. 1989, 25-39.

¹¹³⁸ Yadin et al. 1989, xiii, 25-39. About the sub-phases in strata X and IX, see Yadin 1972, 142-146.

¹¹³⁹ See the reports of Ben-Tor, e.g. 1996, 262-268 and 1998, 274-278 and 2001, 235-238.

Tor agreed with Yadin saying that the large Canaanite palace and the whole Late Bronze Age city were destroyed by fire.¹¹⁴⁰

Ben-Tor accepted Yadin's stratigraphic sequence in his renewed excavations. He even claims that "the sequence of Iron Age strata at Hazor is the most continuous and architecturally detailed of all Iron Age stratigraphic sequences known from Israel."¹¹⁴¹ However, this statement can be valid only during Iron Age II. Ben-Tor says very little about Iron Age I. In his opinion its ceramic assemblage is very poor.¹¹⁴² The main finds are the pits, which is the same result as in Yadin's project.¹¹⁴³ In 2005 excavations of a small complex dating from Iron Age I was found while uncovering the wall of the Middle Bronze structure. This complex included a settlement pit typical of Hazor, and a medium-sized basalt *massebah* and a circle of smaller *masseboth* next to it.¹¹⁴⁴ Ben-Tor thought this confirmed the Early Iron Age "high place" discovered by Yadin in the 1950s.¹¹⁴⁵ However, he has published neither pottery nor stratigraphical analysis from that period.

Finkelstein has challenged the above-mentioned stratigraphy of Hazor.¹¹⁴⁶ According to him, there is no reason for dividing the finds in Areas B, BA and L into two strata. Between the destruction of Stratum XIII and the construction of Stratum X there could be only one occupational level. He also suggests another dating for the Iron Age I Hazor. Hazor XII-XI must be compared with Megiddo VIB, Beth Shean V and Tel Qasile X, and according to Finkelstein's "low chronology", all of these belong to the second half of the 11th century. Moreover, the evidence of a shrine is non-existent. He also claims that there must be an occupational gap in Iron Age I, because the thin layer between Strata XIII and X does not cover the entire time span.¹¹⁴⁷

In his response to Finkelstein, Ben-Tor argues that to compare Hazor X with Jezreel does not lead to the conclusions made by

¹¹⁴⁰ Ben-Tor 1996, 264.

¹¹⁴¹ Ben-Tor & Ben-Ami 1998, 2, 11-12.

¹¹⁴² Ben-Tor 1993, 253, Ben-Tor & Ben-Ami 1998, 33.

¹¹⁴³ Ben-Tor 1997, 262.

¹¹⁴⁴ <http://http://unixware.msc.huji.ac.il/~hatsor/hazor.html> (22.11.2005)

¹¹⁴⁵ Ben-Tor 1996, 266-268.

¹¹⁴⁶ Finkelstein 1999, 55-70 and Finkelstein 2000, 231-247.

¹¹⁴⁷ Finkelstein 2000, 233-236. Already in 1988(100-101) Finkelstein argues for the big gap between Strata XIII and XII. It could have lasted for 150-200 years.

Finkelstein. Ben-Tor does not, in any case, discuss the chronology of Iron Age I.¹¹⁴⁸

In conclusion, it may be said that between Stratum XIII and Stratum X (Late Bronze IIB and Iron Age IIA) very little has been found at Hazor. Nevertheless, a poor settlement with ovens and pits in the ground are apparent. If the *masseboth* discovered in 2005 really belong to the Iron Age I period it is another indication as to the occupation of the site at that time. It will be necessary to wait for the final results of the renewed excavations in order to be able to make a more confident opinion of the stratigraphy of Hazor.

The question of who destroyed Canaanite Hazor and who were the inhabitants of the first Iron Age town is controversial. Following Yadin's project it seemed clear that both were Israelites.¹¹⁴⁹ Aharoni claimed, the same as Yadin, that, "the total destruction of Hazor and the attempted Israelite settlement conforms well to the biblical tradition that the city was demolished by the Israelites".¹¹⁵⁰ Later, this view was challenged by many scholars. These scholars maintained that the gap in occupation between Strata XIII and XII and the lack of any evidence of typical Israelite pottery made it more uncertain who destroyed the Late Bronze Age Hazor.¹¹⁵¹

Ben-Tor considered various possibilities as to who could have destroyed Hazor. In principle, there are four possibilities: the Sea Peoples, a rival Canaanite city, the Egyptians and the early Israelites. According to Ben-Tor, it is extremely unlikely, that Egyptian or Canaanite groups would have destroyed statues depicting their own gods, as would have been the case at Hazor. The Sea Peoples were not usually found so far inland and among the pottery there was not a single sherd attributed to these peoples. According to Ben -Tor, the most probable possibility is the Israelites.¹¹⁵²

¹¹⁴⁸ Ben-Tor 2001a, 301-304.

¹¹⁴⁹ See e.g. Yadin 1972, 126-132.

¹¹⁵⁰ Aharoni 1979, 227. See also e.g. Fritz (1973, 126) "Stratum XII ist nach Umfang und Anlage äußerst bescheiden und hat mit der kanaanäischen Stadtkultur der Spätbronzezeit nichts zu tun."

¹¹⁵¹ See e.g. Finkelstein 1988, 98-101.

¹¹⁵² Ben-Tor & Rubiato, 1999, 38.

Rafael Frankel, who recently carried out surveys in Upper Galilee, came to the same conclusion. He maintains that “in the case of the conquest of Hazor too, the archaeological finds ostensibly correlate with the biblical description: a Canaanite city was totally destroyed and a small Iron I village was built upon its ruins.”¹¹⁵³

On the other hand, Ben-Ami, gives a slightly different depiction. According to his research, it is clear that the Iron Age I Hazor differs in all aspects from the Late Bronze Age city. The typical features of new settlers are pits in the ground, used probably for refuse. The pottery is typical Iron I ceramics with bowls, kraters, cooking pots, pithoi and storage jars. The settlement pattern was very poor, the inhabitants could have been living in the tents and other temporary structures, and these new settlers avoided the remains of the large Canaanite buildings. Ben-Ami concludes that this phenomenon of two different occupation levels and the manner in which the later came upon the former, points to an occupational gap between them. Consequently, the “poor inhabitants” of Hazor could not have been the destroyers of the Canaanite city, but arrived later at the devastated site. Ben-Ami admits, that in principle, it is possible to accept the hypothetical reconstruction according to which Hazor was destroyed by the Israelite tribes, and that they did not settle on its ruins but returned to the site at a later date.¹¹⁵⁴

It is possible to suggest other hypothetical conclusions, such as, that the “poor inhabitants” were the destroyers of the city and they settled the site without any gap by leaving the former Canaanite structures untouched. The supposition of the occupational gap is possible but not necessary. Such “poor inhabitants” do not leave a great deal of remains and, therefore, we cannot make any certain conclusions about the duration of their settlement.

It is essential for this study that Iron Age I Hazor differs totally from the Late Bronze Age city. Both the pottery assemblage and the settlement pattern represent another culture than the previous period. The ethnicity of the Iron Age I inhabitants is another question, which will be dealt with in the last chapter of this study.

¹¹⁵³ Frankel 1994, 31. Also Mazar (1990, 334-335) thinks that the small Iron Age village at Hazor was Israelite.

¹¹⁵⁴ Ben-Ami 2001, 148-170.

Lachish

In Josh. 12:11b there is לַכִּישׁ. Lachish is mentioned in the Bible 22 times. It also occurs in a number of Amarna Letters (written *La-ki-si* or *La-ki-sa*, EA 287:15; 288:43; 328:5; 329:6; 335:10, 16;¹¹⁵⁵ EA 330 and 332 are of the Lachish origin.)¹¹⁵⁶ Lachish was one of the most important city-states in southern Canaan at that time. Later it was also a central site in Sennacherib's Campaign on the way to Jerusalem in 701.¹¹⁵⁷

The first suggestion for the identification of Lachish was Tell es-Hesi, but currently the consensus is that ancient Lachish is Tell ed-Duweir (map reference 135.108).¹¹⁵⁸ Lachish has been excavated quite thoroughly. The first project took place in 1932-1938, directed by J. L. Starkey.¹¹⁵⁹ Olga Tufnell published the report in 1958. Yohanan Aharoni worked at the site briefly in the 1960s. The renewed excavations under the leadership of David Ussishkin took place in 1973-1983, 1985 and 1987 and continued with the restoration work until 1994.¹¹⁶⁰

Levels VII and VI represent the Late Bronze Age at Lachish.¹¹⁶¹ The city was unfortified, like most of the Late Bronze Age cities in the country.¹¹⁶² Level VII, dated to the 13th century BCE, was destroyed by fire. According to Ussishkin, "Level VI represents the last, prosperous Canaanite city and was probably built shortly after the destruction of Level VII".¹¹⁶³ It shows a cultural continuity from Level VII, but the pattern of the city was different.

Level VI shows strong contacts with Egypt during the reign of Ramses III, as can be demonstrated by some bowl fragments inscribed in hieratic script that have been found. Architecturally, the acropolis temple shows Egyptian influence. Another signs of Egyptian influence

¹¹⁵⁵ Knudtzon 1908, 864, 870, 938, 940, 948, Mercer 1939, 711, 717, 777, 779, 785.

¹¹⁵⁶ Goren et al. 2004, 289.

¹¹⁵⁷ ANET 287-288.

¹¹⁵⁸ SMM 15-2, 543, Ussishkin 1992-IV, 114-117.

¹¹⁵⁹ The results of this project are written in four volumes reported by O. Tufnell (Lachish I-IV).

¹¹⁶⁰ King 2005, 36-38. The preliminary reports of Ussishkin are published in TA 5 (1978, 1-97), TA 10 (1983, 97-175), and TA 23 (1996, 3-60). The final report is: Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973-1994)* Volumes I-V, 2004 (2754 pages!).

¹¹⁶¹ Level means the same as Stratum. In Lachish, the old excavators used the term Level and the renewed project did not want to change the term, although it is "nearly the only site where 'levels' are used to designate the strata", Ussishkin 2004, 43.

¹¹⁶² Ussishkin 1987, 23.

¹¹⁶³ Ussishkin 1992-IV, 118. See also Tufnell 1953, 52 and Ussishkin 2004, 44.

are a bronze item with a cartouche of Ramses III¹¹⁶⁴ and a small scarab of Thutmosis III. A Cypriote cylinder seal and a rare Canaanite inscription possibly belong to this stratum as well.¹¹⁶⁵ Imported Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB pottery was also discovered. Surprisingly, no Philistine pottery was found at Late Bronze Age Lachish, although the city was located quite close to the Philistine area.¹¹⁶⁶

The Level VI city was destroyed by fire, and Ussishkin dates this to c. 1150-1130 BCE because of the Ramses III's cartouche. Since the cartouche "was sealed beneath the destruction debris of Level VI, this destruction could not have occurred prior to the accession of Ramesses III to the Egyptian throne."¹¹⁶⁷ The question could be raised, why could it not have been earlier, because Ramses III ruled in 1184-1152. Ussishkin also assumes that the sudden downfall of Lachish coincided with the Egyptian loss of control over Southern Canaan. At the same time, the other Late Bronze Age settlements in the surrounding region were also destroyed and abandoned.¹¹⁶⁸

As to those responsible for the destruction of Lachish, two possibilities have been suggested. Firstly, the Sea Peoples were known to have invaded this region around this time, and they settled at the city of Ekron near Lachish. They could have been the attacker of Lachish, even though no Philistine pottery was found there.¹¹⁶⁹

The second possibility is that Lachish was destroyed by the Israelites. According to Ussishkin, "the biblical description (in Josh. 10:31-32) fits the archaeological data: a large Canaanite city destroyed by fire; absence of fortifications, enabling the conquest of the city in a swift attack; and complete desertion of the razed city explained by the annihilation of the populace. On the other hand, the motive for the destruction remains obscure, since the Israelites did not settle here,

¹¹⁶⁴ Givon 1983, 176-177.

¹¹⁶⁵ Beck 1983, 178-181, Cross 1984, 71-76.

¹¹⁶⁶ Ussishkin 1983, 115-116, Ussishkin 1992-IV, 118-119.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ussishkin 1987, 34.

¹¹⁶⁸ Ussishkin 2004, 70.

¹¹⁶⁹ See Ussishkin 1987, 35-39. Singer (1994, 306) writes, "the issue has not yet been fully resolved, and it is not at all certain that it was the Philistines who destroyed Lachish and its environs."

nor in the surrounding region, until a much later date".¹¹⁷⁰ Ussishkin admits that the adoption or rejection of this possibility depends on whether or not the biblical source is accepted as having a sound historical basis.¹¹⁷¹

With regards to Level V Ussishkin has changed his opinion from 1978 to 2004. In the earlier report he wrote that there is a poor habitation level between the destroyed temple of Level VI and the palace-fort Level V.¹¹⁷² Later he moved the palace-fort level to Level IVd and gave a new content to Level V, and it is now that "poor habitation level".¹¹⁷³ The pottery of this settlement is similar to the Hill Country habitations including red-slipped and hand-burnished vessels.¹¹⁷⁴

The palace-fort in Level IV was, according to Ussishkin "the largest, most massive and most impressive building of the Iron Age known in the Land of Israel."¹¹⁷⁵ The Level IV city had a massive wall around it. Pottery repertoire did not show large differences between the various phases. Level IV did not suffer total destruction and its city gate, wall and palace continued to exist.¹¹⁷⁶

The stratigraphy of Lachish is as follows:¹¹⁷⁷

- Level VII Late Bronze Age IIIA
- Level VI Late Bronze Age IIIB, destruction c.1150-1130
- Level V Iron Age IIA (unfortified settlement)
- Level IV Iron Age IIA (palace-fort)

To summarise, the last Late Bronze Age city was destroyed in about 1130 or slightly earlier. The next habitation is very poor but contains red-slip and hand-burnished pottery, typical of the 10th century but

¹¹⁷⁰ Ussishkin 1992-IV, 120. Aharoni (1979, 219) maintains that the destructions at Lachish and Tell Beit Mirsim and the occupational gap after that was typical of the cities conquered at an early stage of the Israelite settlement.

¹¹⁷¹ Ussishkin 1987, 38.

¹¹⁷² Ussishkin 1978, 26.

¹¹⁷³ Barkay & Ussishkin 2004, 411.

¹¹⁷⁴ Ussishkin 2004b, 76

¹¹⁷⁵ Ussishkin 1978, 27.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ussishkin 1983, 116-119, Zimhoni 1985, 63-90.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ussishkin 2004a, 44.

instigated even earlier.¹¹⁷⁸ There is an occupational gap before this poor habitation and the following level contains a large palace that is typical for Judean settlements.

Comparing the results of Hazor and Lachish a similar story can be found, although there is a little difference in the date. In both sites a strong Late Bronze Age city collapsed and the poor Iron Age I settlement appears after the destruction, that is, soon or after the occupational gap. Later the Israelite Iron Age II city is built on the site. The destruction of Hazor is dated to the 13th century and Lachish in the middle or last part of the 12th century. The next habitation starts at Hazor probably in 11th century and at Lachish in 10th century.

Bethel

In Josh. 12:16b there is בֵּית־אֵל. The Septuagint (LXX*) omits the name of Bethel in this verse. The reason may be that Bethel had already been mentioned in verse 12:9: "Ai which is near Bethel."¹¹⁷⁹ Bethel is frequently mentioned in the Bible, altogether 64 times.¹¹⁸⁰ Its identification with Tell Beitin (map reference 172.148) is generally accepted.¹¹⁸¹ The site was first excavated in 1927 and later in 1934, 1957 and 1960, first directed by Albright and later Kelso.¹¹⁸²

Bethel was one of the rare fortified cities in the Late Bronze Age. The Middle Bronze Age walls were re-used and a partially new Late Bronze wall was built above it. The city had a very sophisticated drainage system, an olive oil factory with three installations, and the masonry work was very skilled as well. The Late Bronze Age II city contains two different occupation levels with a conflagration between them in the late 14th or early 13th century BCE. The last Late Bronze Age town was destroyed by fire. According to Albright and Kelso, this took place sometime about 1240-1235 BCE. They do not tell how

¹¹⁷⁸ Mazar 1998, 368-378.

¹¹⁷⁹ See e.g. Butler 1983, 133.

¹¹⁸⁰ According to Brodsky (1992-I, 710) Bethel is the most frequently occurring place name in the Old Testament.

¹¹⁸¹ See e.g. SMM 15-2, 173, CBA 209, Aharoni 1979, 432, Finkelstein 1988, 72-73, and Mazar 1990, 331. Instead, Livingston (1994, 154-159) argues that Bethel should be located at El-Bireh. He has studied early milestones and according to them Beitin is too far from Jerusalem. However, he has not pointed out any exact site at El-Bireh.

¹¹⁸² Albright (1928, 9-11) conducted the first trial excavation in 1927. Later preliminary reports see e.g. Albright 1934, 2-15 and Kelso 1956, 36-43, and the main report *The Excavation of Bethel* (Albright & Kelso 1968).

they arrived at this date, possibly it comes from Yadin's dating about destruction of Hazor. The first Iron Age occupation was totally different, as the building patterns, pottery and other remains showed a great cultural break between Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I. According to Albright and Kelso, it is obvious that instead of being a Canaanite city it became an Israelite town.¹¹⁸³

Some later scholars have agreed with this conclusion. After the destruction of a Late Bronze Age city the first Iron Age I occupation was poor and quite different in material culture.¹¹⁸⁴ According to Amihai Mazar, "this is one of the few cases where archaeology might confirm a conquest tradition".¹¹⁸⁵ Finkelstein in 1988 also agreed that at Bethel there was a prosperous Canaanite city replaced by the Israelites at the beginning of Iron Age I. He added, however, that the date of the destruction had mainly been based on historical, non-archaeological considerations.¹¹⁸⁶ According to Finkelstein's study in 1988, Bethel is one of the earliest Israelite settlement sites, together with Mount Ebal, Giloh, Izbeth Sartah, Beth-zur, Tell el-Ful, and Tell en-Nasbeh.¹¹⁸⁷

Comparison with Hazor gives similar results. The dating of Late Bronze Age Bethel's collapse is not exact, but it may be around the same as the one at Hazor, late in the 13th century BCE. The material culture of the Iron Age I inhabitants seems to be quite different from the previous one.

Debir

Debir as a place name occurs eleven times in the Bible, nine of which are in the Book of Joshua. It was written in Hebrew in two different ways; three times the name is דְּבִיר (Josh. 10:3, Judg. 1:11 and 1 Chr. 6:43, in some translations the verse number is 6:58) and eight times without the letter *jod* דְּבַר (Josh. 10:38, 39; 11:21; 12:13a; 15:7, 15, 49; 21:15). Debir does not appear in the biblical stories outside of the accounts of the conquest. Of these passages Josh. 15:7 may not refer to the same site as the others. As part of the eastern section of the

¹¹⁸³ Albright & Kelso 1968, 28-35.

¹¹⁸⁴ Finkelstein 1988, 72-73.

¹¹⁸⁵ Mazar 1990, 333.

¹¹⁸⁶ Finkelstein 1988, 73.

¹¹⁸⁷ Finkelstein 1988, 323.

northern boundary of the territory of Judah, Debir must be located somewhere between the Dead Sea and Jerusalem. The other passages seem to locate the site somewhere in the Shephelah or in the southern Judean Hill Country. Josh. 15:15 preserves the other tradition of the name of Debir, Kirjat-sefer. The Septuagint translates it, literally, "city of books", *πολις γραμματων*. Josh. 15:49 gives the third name, Kirjat-sanna.

Na'aman has pointed out that the renaming of the sites, such as Kirjath-Sepher – Debir; and also Kiriath-Arba – Hebron; Zephath – Hormah; Luz – Bethel; and Laish – Dan may indicate an early conquest tradition.¹¹⁸⁸

The first suggestion for the identification of Debir was Tell Beit Mirsim (map reference 141.096).¹¹⁸⁹ It was here that Albright conducted one of the first important excavation projects in the country, from 1926 to 1932.¹¹⁹⁰ He thought the site was biblical Debir, and CBA suggested this identification, too.¹¹⁹¹ At Tell Beit Mirsim there is, exceptional evidence of fortifications from the Late Bronze Age II, the 14th and 13th centuries BCE. The city was destroyed at the end of the 13th century BCE, but was built again during Iron Age I, and the Philistine pottery found at the site is indication of at least Philistine occupation at that time.¹¹⁹²

However, nowadays a more commonly accepted candidate for Debir is Khirbet Rabud (map reference 151.093).¹¹⁹³ The location in the Hill Country supports this identification, and the site is situated approx. 12 kilometres southwest of Hebron. Two short seasons of excavations were carried out there in 1968 and 1969, directed by Moshe Kochavi. In the Late Bronze Age Khirbet Rabud was settled, and was perhaps a major site in the Judean Hills.¹¹⁹⁴ Two cisterns with

¹¹⁸⁸ Na'aman 1994, 280.

¹¹⁸⁹ Herion & Manor 1992-II, 112.

¹¹⁹⁰ Mazar 1990, 12.

¹¹⁹¹ CBA 210.

¹¹⁹² Mazar 1990, 242-243, 289-290, 312. According to Mazar (1990, 332) the evidence of Tell Beit Mirsim, like most other sites on that region, "does not explicitly contradict the biblical tradition". Aharoni (1979, 219) also argues that the archaeology of Tell Beit Mirsim favours the biblical stories, although he does not think that Tell Beit Mirsim is Debir.

¹¹⁹³ SMM 15-2, 286, Aharoni 1979, 433, Finkelstein 1988, 47, Mazar 1990, 177, Herion & Manor 1992-II, 112, Kochavi 1993, 1252, Ofer 1994, 96, Na'aman 1994, 255, de Vos 2002, 268.

¹¹⁹⁴ Kochavi 1974, 28. Also Ofer (1994, 96) states, "It is noteworthy that in the Late Bronze Age, Khirbet Rabud replaced Hebron as the major city in the Judean Hills...During Iron I,

wells nearby have been found at the site, just as is recorded in Joshua 15:19/Judges 1:15.¹¹⁹⁵

During the excavations two trenches (A and B) were opened. In Trench A four occupational Late Bronze Age strata and remains of a city wall were discovered. The first Iron Age level (A4) was immediately above the last Late Bronze Age stratum. The Iron Age pottery was dated to the 12th century BCE. In Trench B, the Iron Age II stratigraphy was found. The last destruction of the city took place at the end of the 8th century, probably in Sennacherib's campaign in 701 BCE.¹¹⁹⁶

The rich assemblages of pottery were found at the cemetery nearby, with 75 % of the vessels from the Late Bronze Age and the rest from the Iron Age. There was a wealthy collection of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean ware (e.g. Mycenaean IIIA) and also local pottery. Among local pottery, there were bowls, kraters, jars and cooking pots.¹¹⁹⁷

The short excavation periods have not yielded much information that would allow more profound conclusions to be drawn. It seems obvious that a cultural change between Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I exists, although no destruction or occupational gap has been indicated. Later in Iron Age II the Israelite settlement becomes apparent.

Tirzah

Josh. 12:24a there is **תִּרְצַח**. Tirzah has been mentioned in the Bible 17 times. In the conquest narratives it occurs only in the list of the conquered kings in Josh. 12:24. Later it is referred to as the hometown of Jeroboam (1 Kings 14:17). There is also a possible mention of Tirzah

however, Rabud was of secondary importance compared to Hebron." On the contrary, Finkelstein (1994, 174) argues that no archaeological evidence proves that Debir was an important center in the Late Bronze Age. Similarly Bunimovitz 1994, 192n71.

¹¹⁹⁵ Kochavi (1974, 30), "there is complete agreement between the archaeological finds and the biblical account of the history of Debir as an important Canaanite city." See also Kochavi 1993-IV, 1252 and Herion & Manor 1992-II, 112.

¹¹⁹⁶ Kochavi 1974, 7-18, Kochavi 1993-IV, 1252.

¹¹⁹⁷ Kochavi 1974, 6-10. Kochavi (1993-IV, 1252) does not mention any destruction levels from the end of the Late Bronze Age, but Na'aman (1993, 280) seems to claim that Debir was destroyed during that period.

in the list of Shishak (no. 59). The city is normally identified with Tell el-Far'ah (North) (map reference 182.188).¹¹⁹⁸

Tell el-Far'ah (North) has been excavated by de Vaux during the years 1946-1960.¹¹⁹⁹ The Late Bronze Age (Stratum 4) at the site is poorly preserved, and it ended sometimes in the 13th century BCE in the destruction.¹²⁰⁰ The first Iron Age settlement (Stratum 3) was built directly on the remains of the Late Bronze Age level. The Iron Age city contained several four-room houses, and the fortifications reused the Middle Bronze buildings and added a citadel. Inside the gate, there was an open area. This Stratum 3 continued without any interruption from the beginning of the Iron Age to the 9th century BCE¹²⁰¹

De Vaux considers the first Iron Age level as typically Israelite.¹²⁰² Finkelstein (early) does not say anything about the Late Bronze Age destruction, but states that the published Iron Age I pottery shows forms characteristic of that period, although the most commonly widespread vessels, the collared-rim jars, seems to fall short.¹²⁰³

Tirzah seems to be one of those sites where the Late Bronze Age culture was already altered into Hill Country culture by the beginning of the Iron Age. The destruction level indicates this change. Tirzah is located in the northeastern part of the Central Hill Country, not very far from the Cult site of Mount Ebal.

Eglon

In Josh. 12:12a there is עגלון. The Septuagint reads Αιλαμ (except LXX Alexandrinus: Εγλων). The translator of the Septuagint may have known this form of the name. LXX Alexandrinus was faithful to the original text.

Similar to Debir, Eglon appears in the Bible only in Joshua (Josh. 10: 3, 5, 23, 34, 36, 37; 12:12 and 15:39). There have been many suggestions for the geographical identification of Eglon. The earliest candidates were Tel Nagila and Khirbet 'Ajlan. Currently, the two

¹¹⁹⁸ SMM 15-2, 814, CBA 217, Aharoni 1979, 442, Finkelstein 1988, 85, Mazar 1990, 96.

¹¹⁹⁹ Finkelstein 1988, 85. Excavation report Chambon, 1984.

¹²⁰⁰ de Vaux 1967, 375, Manor 1992-VI, 576, Zertal 1994, 67.

¹²⁰¹ Manor 1992-VI, 576.

¹²⁰² de Vaux 1956, 132, 137.

¹²⁰³ Finkelstein 1988, 85. Bloch-Smith (2004, 77-91) has studied burial material at Wadi el-Farah and has pointed out continuity of the burial practices of the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age.

main suggestions are Tell el-Hesi and Tell 'Aitun/Tel 'Eton,¹²⁰⁴ but Tell Beit Mirsim has also been suggested.¹²⁰⁵

Tell el-Hesi (map reference 124.106)¹²⁰⁶ lies on the Coastal Plain some twelve kilometres west of Lachish and was previously the “most widely accepted” alternative for Eglon.¹²⁰⁷ Aharoni believes that the name Eglon has been preserved at Khirbet 'Ajlan, which is located close to Tell el-Hesi. The name of Khirbet 'Ajlan was Agla in the Roman period.¹²⁰⁸ Tell el-Hesi is the famous site where Sir Flinders Petrie in the 1890s made his pioneering excavations and discovered the principle of an ancient tell and its stratigraphy. Later there was an excavation project from 1970-1983, directed by Toombs, Roose, and Fargo.¹²⁰⁹ Egyptian style residencies from the Late Bronze Age have been uncovered at Tell el-Hesi, and have been dated to the 13th century BCE.¹²¹⁰ The city was destroyed towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, after which there was a break in the occupancy until the 10th century BCE.¹²¹¹ According to Aharoni, “This gap is the strongest argument that we are dealing with traces of the Israelite conquest”. However, Aharoni admits that it is not easy to give an accurate date for these events. Imported Mycenaean IIIB vessels dated to the end of the 13th century have been discovered at the site,¹²¹² and Singer claims that almost no Philistine pottery was found at the site.¹²¹³ Tell el-Hesi is a good candidate for Eglon, especially considering the similarities of the later names at the site. On the other hand, it is located a little too far away from the Shephelah, on the Coastal Plain,¹²¹⁴ to be an Israelite site.

¹²⁰⁴ SMM (15-2, 300, 301) gives both alternatives with a question mark.

¹²⁰⁵ See deVos 2002, 251.

¹²⁰⁶ SMM 15-2, 300.

¹²⁰⁷ Ehrlich 1992-II, 320. Also Albright 1924, 8, Wright 1971, 76-79, and Aharoni 1979, 434.

¹²⁰⁸ SMM 1-3; 13-1; 15-2, 036.

¹²⁰⁹ Mazar 1990, 11, 19.

¹²¹⁰ *Ibid* 282.

¹²¹¹ Singer 1994, 305-306. Instead, Fargo (1993, 632) does not mention anything about the destruction of the Late Bronze Age II city but reports of significant quantities of the Late Bronze Age pottery.

¹²¹² Aharoni 1979, 219.

¹²¹³ Singer 1994, 306.

¹²¹⁴ See Fargo 1993-II, 63, Fritz 1994, 116.

Tel 'Eton (map reference 143.099)¹²¹⁵ has been identified as Eglon by Noth and Rainey.¹²¹⁶ It is located in the Shephelah, approx. 11 kilometres southeast of Lachish. Nowadays it is the main candidate for Eglon, and its location between Lachish and Hebron (Josh. 10:34-36) is a good argument for this identification.¹²¹⁷ A two week salvage excavation at the site was conducted in August 1976 in connection with the Lachish excavation project.¹²¹⁸

The extent of the work was very limited and because of this only two phases of occupation were uncovered (Strata II-I). A few remains were found from earlier periods and most of the walls of Stratum II continued into use in Stratum I. Therefore, it seems likely that there was no great time-gap between the destruction of Stratum II, and the new settlement of Stratum I.¹²¹⁹ The pottery assemblage of these two strata is mainly from the Iron Age II and there is no large difference between the ceramic of each strata. Orna Zimhoni has compared it with the ceramic of Lachish. The Tel Eton sherds could be predominantly compared with Levels IV and III (Iron Age IIB) and some of them with Level V (Iron Age IIA) at Lachish. The majority of the bowls are red-slipped, hand-burnished and carinated. Cooking pots are often two handled and they have several rim variants. One rim shape has a similarity to a rim in Level IV or V at Lachish. Some storage jars seem to be characteristic of the Hill Country of Judah.¹²²⁰

However, according to Kochavi, "Tell 'Aitun which is near Tell Beit Mirsim and larger than it, was occupied during the late Bronze Age."¹²²¹ In addition, a large cemetery containing Mycenaean IIC pottery has been discovered in close proximity to the tell. This indicates the presence of the Philistine occupation at the site in Iron

¹²¹⁵ SMM 15-2, 301.

¹²¹⁶ Noth 1953, 95, "Man wird für Eglon an den *tell 'etun* am *wadi ed-dschiza'ir* denken können." Rainey 1983, 10, Ehrlich 1992, II-321.

¹²¹⁷ CBA 50, 210, Na'aman 1994, 255, Hess 1996, 189, and de Vos 2002, 253-254 suggest the identification of Eglon to Tel 'Eton. Fritz changed his opinion, first (1967, 146) he supported Tell el-Hesi but later (1994, 116, 133) Tel Eton.

¹²¹⁸ Ayalon 1985, 54.

¹²¹⁹ Ayalon 1985, 54-61.

¹²²⁰ Zimhoni (1985, 63-90). She erroneously dates the salvage excavations 1977 (correct: 1976, see Ayalon 1985, 54).

¹²²¹ Kochavi 1974, 31.

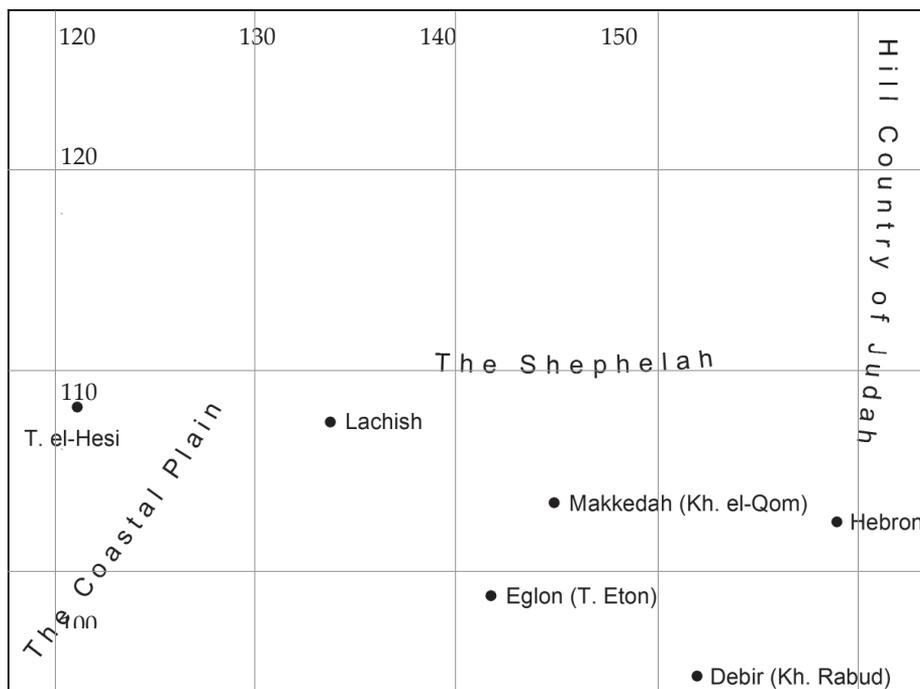
Age I.¹²²² Zimhoni makes no mention of the Philistine pottery in her report. The reason may be that she worked with pottery from the tell, not from the cemetery. The question may be posed as to whether the period of the Philistine settlement was quite brief and therefore Philistine pottery has not been found at the tell, only in the cemetery. This assumption can be supported by the fact that at sites east of Tel 'Eton (towards the Philistine area) such as Lachish and Tel el-Hesi contained no Philistine pottery either.¹²²³ Actually, it is unusual that the Philistine cemetery is located so far west from the Coastal Plain. Later Iron Age II occupation at Tel 'Eton represented a similar kind of habitation as at Lachish Strata IV and III.

The correct location of biblical Eglon is difficult to determine. The geographical position could favour Tel 'Eton. On the other hand, the preservation of the old name in Septuagint (Αιλαμ) and Roman and later Arabic names in close proximity (Agla and Khirbet 'Ajlan) favour Tell el-Hesi. In this study Tel 'Eton is the preferred site. The biblical description, where Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, Eglon, and Debir form one group of cities support locating Eglon at Tel 'Eton. In addition, the Coastal Plain where Tell el-Hesi is located has been the area occupied by the Canaanites and the Philistines in Iron Age I.

In conclusion it may be stated that at Eglon/Tel 'Eton the history before Iron Age II is sparsely documented. The only document is the Philistine cemetery near by the tell. Iron Age II period resembles the history of Lachish in Iron Age II.

¹²²² Dothan 1982, 44, Mazar 1990, 312-315, 326. According to Mazar, the Mycenaean IIIC pottery at Tel 'Eton was transition from Monochrome to Bichrome type. A nice jug found there was already painted in two colours.

¹²²³ See e.g. Singer 1994, 306.



Map 6. The sites of Joshua in the Southern Shephelah and on the Coastal Plain.

Hormah

In Josh. 12:14a there is **חֶרְמָה**. The Septuagint reads in this verse *Ερμαθ*. According to Boling & Wright, this spelling reflects more accurately the popular etymology from the root *hrm*, “ban”, which may refer to the event spoken of in Num. 21:3.¹²²⁴ Hormah occurs nine times in the Bible, the passages being Num. 14:45; 21:3, Deut. 1:44, Josh. 12:14a; 15:30; 19:4, Judges 1:17, 1 Sam. 30:30, and 1 Chr. 4:30. These traditions contain some contradictions, as according to Num. 21:3 Hormah is the same as Arad, but in Josh. 12:14 they are two separate cities. In Judg. 1:17 Hormah is said to be the same place as was earlier described as Zephtah.

Several suggestions have been made for the site of biblical Hormah. Hamilton lists Tell el-Milh (map reference 152.069), Tell esh-

¹²²⁴ Boling & Wright 1988, 321.

Sheri'ah (map reference 119.088),¹²²⁵ Tel Ira (map reference 148.071), and Tel Masos (map reference 146.069).¹²²⁶ In addition, Tell el-Khuleifeh/Tel Halif (map reference 137.088) has also been suggested.¹²²⁷

According to Aharoni, Tel Masos/Tell el- Meshash is the best candidate for biblical Hormah. He argues that because Tel Arad was not occupied during the conquest of the land by the Israelites, the Canaanite Arad should be located at Tell el-Milh/Tel Malhata, and Hormah was the neighbouring city known as Tel Masos. Both of these cities were occupied in Middle Bronze Age II and were located close to abundant wells. Because Hormah seems to be mentioned in the Execration Texts, the identification could conform to the available historical data. Furthermore, Aharoni claims that the two Arads in Shishak's list support this identification. At the beginning of the monarchy the Israelite settlement could have moved from Tel Masos to the nearby Tel Ira/Khirbet Gharrah, because this site dominated the whole region with its elevated position.¹²²⁸

Recently, Tel Halif has become a more widely accepted candidate for Hormah.¹²²⁹ The excavation project at the site was conducted in 1976-1980 and in 1983-1987 under direction of Seger.

The stratigraphy at Tell Halif from Late Bronze II to Iron Age II is as follows. (The division between Iron I and II follows Albright's chronology):¹²³⁰

Stratum IXA	Late Bronze Age IIA	1400-1300 BCE
Stratum VIII	Late Bronze Age IIB	1300-1200 BCE
Stratum VII	Iron Age I	1200-900 BCE
Stratum VIB	Iron Age II	900-700 BCE

¹²²⁵ SMM 15-2, 857. According to SMM, Tell esh-Sheriah/Tel Sera may be identified with Ziklag.

¹²²⁶ Hamilton 1992-III, 289, Hess 1996, 227.

¹²²⁷ Mazar 1990, 435, CBA 212, and Na'aman 1994, 265. Albright (1924, 6) identified Tell el-Khuleifeh with Sharuh.

¹²²⁸ Aharoni 1979, 201, 215-217. Also SMM 15-2, 438, suggests that Hormah could be Tel Masos, although with a question mark.

¹²²⁹ CBA 212, Finkelstein 1988, 300, Mazar 1990, 435 (Rimon or Hormah), Na'aman 1994, 265.

¹²³⁰ Seger 1983, 3.

Tel Halif was inhabited during the whole Late Bronze Age (Strata X-VIII in first report, XI-VIII in second report). A level of destruction was discovered in Stratum IXA. One special find from the Late Bronze Age Halif is a handle of a large storage jar bearing several letters in Proto-Canaanite script. The Late Bronze Age city was unfortified.¹²³¹

Immediately above Stratum VIII was Stratum VII, the first Iron Age I period. The architecture has modest changes, and the ceramic repertoire includes e.g. a pyxis vase, a pilgrim-flask and the head of a bull figurine. These, especially the pilgrim-flask, denote connections with the Canaanite culture, found, for example, in Megiddo Strata VIIA and VI.¹²³² A rare female clay figurine was also discovered in the Iron Age I stratum.¹²³³ A small group of Philistine pottery was also discovered, although, according to Seger, the Philistine influence at the site is still in question.¹²³⁴

An interesting feature in Iron Age I was the appearance of numerous pits. They have served as grain storage places and were widely used throughout Iron Age Palestine. At Hazor in the first Iron Age level, Stratum XII, a typical characteristic was the emergence of such pits.¹²³⁵

Iron Age II (Strata VIB-VIA) was an era of growth and expansion of the site. Remains of a fortifications and casemate walls were found. According to Steger, these elements and the three- and four-room house patterns are typical Israelite, similar to those in the Strata II and III cities at Tell Beersheba and in Stratum A at Tell Beit Mirsim. The pottery repertoire contained cooking pots, jars, and bowls, indicating the period of Iron Age II.¹²³⁶ The faunal assemblage at the site indicates that sheep, goat and cattle were utilised in about the same proportions in the Late Bronze Age as in the Iron Age, though there are differences among pigs, birds and fish. The percentages are as follows:

Fish: Late Bronze 65, Iron Age 18

¹²³¹ Seger 1983, 4-9.

¹²³² See Amiran 1969, 271.

¹²³³ Dessel 1988, 59-64.

¹²³⁴ Seger & Jakobs 1981, 573-577, Seger 1983, 1-10, Seger et al. 1988, 18-21.

¹²³⁵ Currid & Navon 1989, 67-78. See also Currid & Gregg 1988, 54-57.

¹²³⁶ Seger 1983, 10-15. About Iron Age II at Tell Halif see also Borowski 1992, 13*-20* and Seger 1998, 357-372.

Bird: Late Bronze 53, Iron Age 6

Pig: Late Bronze 83, Iron Age 1.¹²³⁷

Interestingly, Seger does not suggest the identification of Hormah at all. According to him, the previous suggestion was Ziklag and today a more probable alternative is Rimmon.¹²³⁸

According to Finkelstein in 1988, Tel Masos cannot have been an Israelite city at the beginning of the Iron Age. The city was a very important Iron Age I site in the region, and there was an excavation project from 1972-1979. The excavators (Aharoni, Kempinski and Fritz) identified the place with Hormah and considered it as an early Israelite settlement. However, Fritz noted connections to the material culture of the Late Bronze Age and developed a theory of a symbiotic relationship between the Israelites and the Canaanites.

Later, Kochavi was the first to oppose this view. He claimed that the city was a "city of Amalek". Finkelstein points out four reasons why the site cannot be Israelite: its size, its settlement pattern, its material culture, and the continuity of occupation. All four are in strong contrast with the normal characteristics of Israelite settlement sites in the hill country.¹²³⁹

Mazar argues against the excavation reports maintaining that among a number of other Canaanite towns in the southern Shephelah, Tel Halif was destroyed at the end of the Late Bronze Age and was settled again at the beginning of the Iron Age (Stratum VII).¹²⁴⁰ Na'aman states that Tel Halif was "a flourishing Late Bronze II city that came to an end c. 1200 BCE. Iron Age I occupation was exposed immediately above this layer. The results of the excavations therefore accord well with the biblical tradition of the conquest and settlement of

¹²³⁷ Seger et al. 1988, 26-27. Interestingly, this absence of pig bones correlates with the analysis of Finkelstein (1996c, 206) where he has counted the percents of pig bones in several Iron I sites. Finkelstein states that the food taboos "may be the most valuable tool for the study of ethnicity of a given, single Iron I site". See also the analysis of bones at Giloh, page 182.

¹²³⁸ Seger 1983, 19-20.

¹²³⁹ Finkelstein 1988, 41-46. See also Herzog 1994, 146-149.

¹²⁴⁰ Mazar 1990, 332.

Hormah".¹²⁴¹ Moreover, according to Na'aman, the double name Zephath-Hormah may indicate an early tradition.¹²⁴²

To conclude, the identification of Tel Halif as Hormah is quite probable but not totally certain. The history of the site shows a Late Bronze Age II settlement, which continues with slight variations into Iron Age I. The pottery has similarities with the types of Late Bronze Age II. On the other hand, the storage pits are similar to Hazor XII. The large number of pigs in the Late Bronze Age and their entire absence in the Iron Age support the view of a different culture. We assume that the new group of Hill Country inhabitants moved into the city.

Hebron

In Josh. 12:10b there is חֶבְרֹן. The name Hebron occurs in the Bible 66 times, from Genesis to Chronicles. The Bible is the only written information about ancient Hebron. The town is called also Kiriath-Arba (see Gen. 23:2 and Josh. 15:13) and Mamre (see Gen. 23:19). A tradition concerning its foundation states: "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." (Num. 13:22).¹²⁴³

The ancient biblical Hebron is located at Tel Hebron, which is often called, although erroneously, according to Avi Ofer - Tell er-Rumeidah (map reference 159.103).¹²⁴⁴ The first archaeological survey at Tel Hebron took place in the 1920s, but the main excavation project was conducted between 1964 to 1966 under the leadership of Hammond. The official report on this project has not been completed. In 1984 and 1986 the site was excavated as part of the Judean Hills Survey Expedition directed by Ofer, and since then Eisenberg in 1999, conducted a salvage excavation.¹²⁴⁵

The site was an important city in the Middle Bronze Age, but together with many other Canaanite cities lost its importance during the Late Bronze Age.¹²⁴⁶ According to Chadwick, Hammond reported

¹²⁴¹ Na'aman 1994, 265.

¹²⁴² See Na'aman 1994, 280.

¹²⁴³ Pritchard (1955, 486) considers that Shuwardata mentioned frequently in the Amarna Letters was a prince of the Hebron region in the southern hill country. However, the name Hebron does not appear in the Amarna Letters.

¹²⁴⁴ SMM 15-2, 425. Mazar 1990, 197, Ofer 1993-II, 607.

¹²⁴⁵ Ofer 1993-II, 607, Chadwick 2005, 26.

¹²⁴⁶ Mazar 1990, 225, 239, 332, 336.

continuous occupation for one burial cave from the Middle Bronze Age through the Late Bronze Age. In the Late Bronze Age city there were two residential areas and one of them was destroyed at the end of this period. Cypriot pottery was found from the Late Bronze Age level. A scarab of Ramses II was also discovered, without any stratigraphical connection. According to Ofer, there was no large, permanent settlement at the site in the Late Bronze Age.¹²⁴⁷

During Iron Age I Hebron was settled again. According to Chadwick, the material culture at Hebron at this period was similar to the other Iron Age I sites in the Hill Country. Pottery assemblages contain examples of collar-rim jars.¹²⁴⁸ The Iron Age settlement of Hebron covered an area of 2.5-3.5 hectares. All the Iron Age I settlements in the area were small, Hebron being the largest of them. Between the 11th and the end of the 10th century BCE, the city probably extended beyond the Middle Bronze Age walls. Later in Iron Age II, five *lamelekh* seal impressions were found, which clearly belong to the monarchical Judah. Later the site was temporarily abandoned.¹²⁴⁹

Na'aman claims that any reference to the renaming of sites such as Kiriath-Arba - Hebron, Kiriath-sepher - Debir, Zephath - Hormah, Luz - Bethel, and Laish - Dan, may be an indication of the early Iron Age origin of the conquest traditions. He writes, "One cannot exclude the possibility that these narratives preserved some remote echoes of battles conducted in these places in the early Iron Age I; but such battles - if they indeed took place - do not lend themselves to reconstruction."¹²⁵⁰

Thus, ancient Hebron was settled, although sparsely, in the Late Bronze Age. Some elements of destruction have been found, although the final report of the first excavations is not yet published. At the

¹²⁴⁷ Chadwick 1992, 92-110, Ofer 1993-II, 607. Also Fritz (1994, 116): "Die Besiedlung während der Spätbronze- und Eisenzeit ist durch Ausgrabungen nachgewiesen." See also Ofer 1994, 96: "In the Late Bronze Age, no significant settlement, if any, existed at the site." Finkelstein (1988, 48) argues that "some remains of the Late Bronze Age (only burials) and Iron I periods were discovered." Later Finkelstein (1994, 174) and Na'aman (1994, 223) argue that Hebron was not inhabited in the Late Bronze Age.

¹²⁴⁸ Chadwick 2005, 33.

¹²⁴⁹ Ofer 1993-II, 609. According to him, "historically speaking, this golden age at Hebron reflects the city's position as a tribal and religious center for the people of the Judean Hills and the first royal capital of King David." See also Ofer 1994, 96, 102.

¹²⁵⁰ Na'aman 1994, 280. Otherwise Keel et al. (1984, 300), who states that this double naming does not tell about the Canaanite origin of the names.

beginning of the Iron Age there was again a small settlement, which has similarities to the Hill Country culture. It is probable that this same culture continued into Iron Age II.

Jericho

In Josh. 12:9a there is יְרִיחוֹ. The name Jericho occurs 57 times in the Bible, 51 times in the Old Testament and 6 times in the New Testament. The conquest story in Josh. 6 is one of the most famous biblical narratives. The first place in the list of Josh. 12 reflects that story: Jericho was the first of the conquered cities of Canaan.

It is generally accepted that the biblical Jericho lies at Tell es-Sultan (map reference 192.142)¹²⁵¹ The site has been excavated by Sellin and Watzinger in 1907-1908, Garstang in 1930-1936, and Kenyon in 1952-1958.¹²⁵² The ancient Jericho is one of the oldest cities in the world. It was first settled by the people of Natufian culture in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic Period around 8000 BCE.¹²⁵³

The account of the conquest of Jericho is also famous because of the contradiction, which exists between the biblical story and the archaeological findings. It is generally accepted that because of the absence of a Late Bronze Age II settlement or at least a fortified city at Jericho that the biblical story must be interpreted as an etiological narrative without any historical and factual support.¹²⁵⁴

The remnants from the Late Bronze Age are not clear. Sellin and Watzinger wrote about the Canaanite, Late Canaanite and Israelite period on the tell.¹²⁵⁵ Garstang believed that there was a fortified city in the Late Bronze Age and he dated a great deal of the pottery between 1600-1400 BCE.¹²⁵⁶ Kenyon pointed out that the interpretation of Garstang concerning the walls of Jericho as being from the Late Bronze Age was wrong. Kenyon maintained that the walls were from

¹²⁵¹ SMM 15-2, 473.

¹²⁵² Mazar 1990, 11-14. In addition, in 1997 the Italian-Palestinian expedition made a short study at the site, see Marchetti et al. 1998, 121-144.

¹²⁵³ Aharoni 1979, 133-134, Mazar 1990, 38-42.

¹²⁵⁴ See e.g. Noth 1963, 138n2, Na'aman 1994, 251, Bieberstein 1995, 31, Finkelstein & Silberman 2001, 82. A curiosity is Wood's hypothesis about the conquest of Jericho by Israelites in 15th century BCE. See the debate Wood 1990, 45-49, 68-69 and Bienkowski 1990, 45-46, 69.

¹²⁵⁵ Sellin & Watzinger 1913, 15, 20-62.

¹²⁵⁶ Garstang 1934, 108. He emphasises that T. Rev. Père Vincent and Dr. Albright have studied this ceramic and came to this conclusion.

the Early Bronze Age, and there was no trace of any later walls. Most of Garstang's Late Bronze pottery was, according to Kenyon, from the Middle Bronze Age. Kenyon admits that a few sherds from Late Bronze Age pottery have been found in the tombs, but only one juglet in situ on the tell. The houses of Late Bronze Age Jericho have almost entirely disappeared.¹²⁵⁷

Kenyon also writes, "Jericho was destroyed in the Late Bronze Age II. It is very possible that this destruction is truly remembered in the Book of Joshua, although archaeology cannot prove this. The subsequent break in occupation that is proved by archaeology is, however, in accord with the biblical story. There was a period of abandonment, during which erosion removed most of the remains of the Late Bronze Age town and much of the earlier ones."¹²⁵⁸ However, Weippert & Weippert having studied the Iron Age material once more reached the conclusion that the mound had also been settled during Iron Age I and Iron Age II.¹²⁵⁹ According to them, the Iron Age pottery was not homogenous, but it was mostly typical Iron Age material.¹²⁶⁰

Bienkowski has researched the material of Garstang and Kenyon and compared them carefully. He comes to almost the same conclusion as Kenyon about the Late Bronze Age: Jericho was a small un-walled settlement in a limited area and it could be dated to between c. 1425 and 1275 BCE.¹²⁶¹

Amihai Mazar also notes that Jericho was inhabited during the Late Bronze Age. He writes, "At Jericho, no remains of the Late Bronze Age fortifications were found; this was taken as evidence against the historical value of the narrative in the Book of Joshua. The finds at Jericho, however, show that there was a settlement there during the Late Bronze Age, though most of its remains were eroded or removed by human activity. Perhaps, as at other sites, the massive Middle Bronze fortifications were reutilised in the Late Bronze Age. The Late Bronze Age settlement at Jericho was followed by an

¹²⁵⁷ Kenyon 1957, 256-263. See also Kenyon & Holland 1982, 455.

¹²⁵⁸ Kenyon 1993, 680. See also Kenyon 1957, 263, "this is fully in accord with the Biblical record."

¹²⁵⁹ Weippert & Weippert 1976, 130, "analysierte Keramik läßt überhaupt keinen Zweifel mehr daran, daß der Tell es-Sultan in der Eisenzeit I und II besiedelt war."

¹²⁶⁰ Weippert & Weippert 1976, 134-139.

¹²⁶¹ Bienkowski 1986, 136.

occupation gap in Iron Age I. Thus, in the case of Jericho, the archaeological data cannot serve as decisive evidence to deny a historical nucleus in the Book of Joshua concerning the conquest of this city."¹²⁶²

Finkelstein, although he later denied the historical value of the story, also admitted in 1988, "Although the nature of Jericho in LB II has been discussed over and over, no unequivocal conclusions about the size of the settlement or the date of its destruction have been reached; the character of this important site remains shrouded in fog."¹²⁶³

Although much of the remains of the Late Bronze Age, (and possibly also from the Iron Age city) have disappeared it seems clear that Jericho was occupied during Late Bronze II. In addition, the settlement during Iron Age I and Iron Age II is obvious.

Ai

In Josh. 12:9b there is **העי**. The whole part of the verse is **בית-אל אחד מלך העי אשר-מצד**. This is the only name in the list which has a geographical attribute referring a neighbouring city. Dor and Jokneam (and maybe Aphek) all have the characteristics associated with their names.

Ai as a name of the city is mentioned in the Bible 34 times. The most detailed description is the battle of the conquest of the city in Josh. 8.

The identification of Khirbet et-Tell (map reference 174.147)¹²⁶⁴ with the biblical Ai has been commonly accepted. The Arabic *tell* means "ruin" as well as the Hebrew *'ai*.¹²⁶⁵ The location is described in Josh. 7:2, "Ai, which is near Beth Aven to the east of Bethel." In the patriarchal narratives Bethel and Ai are frequently mentioned as "twin-cities" (e.g. Abram "pitched his tent, with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east," Gen. 12:8). Bethel is modern Beitin, and "between Beitin and the desert to its east there is only one site which could have

¹²⁶² Mazar 1990, 331.

¹²⁶³ Finkelstein 1988, 296-297.

¹²⁶⁴ SMM 15-2, 038.

¹²⁶⁵ Zevit (1983, 26) argues that et-tell does not come from the Hebrew word ai.

been referred to as 'Ai' - a large mound of et-Tell near Deir Dibwan".¹²⁶⁶

The first excavations at Ai were directed by Garstang in 1928. Several years later Marquet-Krause conducted an expedition in 1933-1935. The most recent project comprised nine seasons and was directed by Callaway from 1964 to 1976.¹²⁶⁷ It seems clear that there was a large city at Ai in the Early Bronze Age, from 3200 - 2400 BCE. The next settlement on the mound was an Iron Age I city in about 1200 BCE. Between 2400 - 1200 BCE the site was abandoned.¹²⁶⁸

The Bible describes the conquest of Ai in great detail. However, there is a discrepancy between archaeological findings and the biblical narrative. Consequently, there has been a lively discussion on how to interpret this divergence. The most common opinion is that the biblical story can only be explained as an etiological narrative. The people who settled a ruined place and gave it the name The Ruin.¹²⁶⁹

Callaway has his own theory regarding this question. According to him, there are two different occupation levels in the 12th century Ai. The first people who settled the site were non-Israelites, perhaps Hivvites, and the Israelite conquest was the second wave, in about in 1125 BCE.¹²⁷⁰

It has been pointed out that Callaway is wrong for several reasons. Finkelstein gives four grounds for doubt. First, there are not sufficient archaeological data to support the two different occupation levels. Second, if the two levels in fact existed, it is not obvious that they were inhabited by two different peoples as such a phenomenon has not been observed in any other Iron Age I sites. Third, it is not possible to give such exact dates for the archaeology of Ai. Last of all, chronological distinctions between the types of collar-rim jars are not relevant. According to Finkelstein, Callaway is not able to show the

¹²⁶⁶ Zevit 1983, 23-26, Mazar 1990, 331.

¹²⁶⁷ Callaway 1992-I, 126-127. Finkelstein (1988, 69), erroneously, mentions seven seasons and the years 1964-1972.

¹²⁶⁸ Callaway 1992-I, 127.

¹²⁶⁹ See e.g. Noth 1963, 138n2, Aharoni 1979, 210, Mazar 1990, 331, Frankel, 1994, 31, and Na'aman 1994, 223, 251. Finkelstein & Silberman (2001, 93) consider that the description of the conquest of Ai is actually an account of the battle of Judah against Assyria in the 7th century BCE

¹²⁷⁰ Callaway 1992, I-130, Finkelstein 1988, 70. Different possibilities to interpret the archaeology and the biblical narrative of Ai, see also Merling 2004, 34-38.

correspondence of the biblical narrative to the archaeological evidence.¹²⁷¹

The Iron I city is dated to 1220-1050 BCE, and it covered 10-12 dunams of the mound and contained some 20 groups of pillared buildings. Silos were dug around houses and collar rim jars, typical of Iron Age Hill Country pottery was found at the site. The city was probably abandoned in the mid 11th century BCE, since no burnished vessels were found.¹²⁷² On the other hand, lack of burnished pottery does not provide any exact date.

To put it briefly, it is clear that Ai was not inhabited in the Late Bronze Age. The unique mention of a neighbouring city in the list (“the king of Ai near Bethel”) may give a hint that Ai itself was a very modest place but Bethel nearby was better known. Nevertheless, the exceptional detailed biblical story supports the possibility that some historical memory lies behind this city. The Iron Age I settlement was, however, the typical Hill Country habitation.

Arad

In Josh. 12:14b there is עָרָד. The name is in the Septuagint in forms Αραθ (LXX) and Αιραθ (LXX B). Both are forms of Arad. The place name Arad appears in the Bible only four times. Two are in Numbers where the king of Arad is told to attack the Israelites (Num. 21:1 and 33:40) and the two others are in the conquest stories (Josh. 12:14 and Judges 1:16).

Geographically Arad can be indisputably identified, because it is one of those rare sites where inscriptions with the name of the site have been discovered. Tel Arad (map reference 162.076)¹²⁷³ is a prominent mound in the northern Negev, 27 kilometres east of Tel Beer-sheva and the same distance south of Hebron. The archaeology of Iron Age IIA Arad has been mentioned previously in connection with Shishak’s list.¹²⁷⁴

¹²⁷¹ Finkelstein 1988, 72. Zevit (1983, 23-35) opposes also Callaway’s hypothesis from two different occupations in Iron Age I. However, after studying the story of Ai from literary and archaeological points of view and he concludes that the narrative fits so exactly with the geographical features of the area around et-Tell that it must have some historical background from Iron Age I.

¹²⁷² Finkelstein 1988, 69-72.

¹²⁷³ SMM 15-2, 078.

¹²⁷⁴ See this study pages 182-185.

There are no signs of Late Bronze Age or Iron Age I occupation at Tel Arad. Because of the lack of a Late Bronze Age settlement, scholars have looked at other possibilities when trying to locate biblical Arad. One suggestion is that the biblical, Canaanite Arad should be identified with Tell el-Milh/Tel Malhata.¹²⁷⁵ This was a fortified city in the Middle Bronze Age but uninhabited in the Late Bronze Age.¹²⁷⁶ However, no remains from the Iron Age I have been found there, but during Iron Age II a new fortified centre was erected at Tel Malhata.¹²⁷⁷

For the reason that we have no other good candidates for biblical Arad, and because Tel Arad has been definitely identified with the Israelite Iron Age II city, it is accepted for the purposes of this study. To review the archaeology of Tel Arad; the first Iron Age II settlement at Arad (Stratum XII) was a small village extending to an area of less than five dunams. Most of the houses were destroyed when the first fortress (Stratum XI) was built. In Stratum XII two stone pillars have been discovered, which is a common feature in Iron Age I architecture, according to Herzog. The pavements were built of small stones and the earliest settlers dug storage pits and stone-lined granaries. Since Stratum XI the history of Arad is the history of several fortresses built on the site.¹²⁷⁸

It is possible that the Hill Country settlers who built stone silos in Iron Age I moved to the south and settled Tel Arad in the 10th century BCE. These were the people who built the first fortresses in the next century. Concerning the biblical passages in Num. 21:1; 33:40, and Judges 1:16 – where Arad has been mentioned in connection with the time of Israelite settlement – these texts reflect later period.

Makkedah

In Josh. 12:16a there is מַקְדָּה. The Septuagint reads Μακηδα, but one version (LXX Vaticanus) reads ηλαδ. According to Butler, this is a corrupt form.¹²⁷⁹ The name Makkedah occurs in the Bible eight times,

¹²⁷⁵ Aharoni 1979, 201 and Hess 1996, 227.

¹²⁷⁶ See Mazar 1990, 330. Aharoni (1979, 201) argues that Tel Malhata was occupied in the Late Bronze Age.

¹²⁷⁷ Finkelstein 1988, 37, 47, Herzog 1994, 140.

¹²⁷⁸ Herzog 2002, 11-21.

¹²⁷⁹ Butler 1983, 133.

all of them in the Book of Joshua. It is mentioned six times in chapter 10, once in 12:16 (in the list of the conquered kings) and once in 15:41 (in the list of the cities allotted to the tribe of Judah). There are neither Egyptian nor Akkadian references to Makkedah, except one very uncertain name in Shishak.

The identification of Makkedah was dealt with previously in connection with Shishak's list (no. 12 see in this study pages 198-199). The location of Makkedah is not certain.¹²⁸⁰ The main alternative is Khirbet el-Qom (map reference 146.105), a location close to Lachish and Libnah which fits, more or less, with the description in Josh. 10. The main argument for this location is that the name Khirbet bet-maqdum lies close to Khirbeth el-Qom. According to Hess, the location of Khirbeth el-Qom also fits well with the story in Joshua 10, where the coalition of Canaanite cities went eastward into the Elah Valley and then southward to Adullam. Located at Khirbet el-Qom, Makkedah lies midway between Lachish, Eglon and Hebron, and allowed coalition survivors to seek refuge in these towns.¹²⁸¹

Eusebius mentions in his *Onomasticon* that Makkedah is located 8 milestones east of Eleutheropolis.¹²⁸² Eleutheropolis (Betogabris) lies close to Mareshah but Khirbet el-Qom is situated approx. ten kilometres to the southeast. For this reason, and because of the similarity of the names, Khirbet bet-maqdum, is considered more plausible as a contender for Makkedah than Khirbet el-Qom.¹²⁸³

According to archaeological excavations and surveys the earliest occupation levels at Khirbet el-Qom are from Early Bronze I-III and from Middle Bronze I. Then there is a long occupational gap until a basement of a gate from the 10th or 9th centuries BCE, and a collection of 9th century BCE pottery were found at the site. No remains from the Late Bronze Age or Iron Age I have been found.

¹²⁸⁰ Kotter 1992-IV, 478. Albright's (1921, 6) first tentative suggestion was Deir-ed-dibban, later (1924, 9) his proposal was Tell es-Safi. It is nowadays generally accepted to be biblical Gath.

¹²⁸¹ Hess 1996, 195.

¹²⁸² Taylor 2003, 71.

¹²⁸³ Kotter (1992, IV-478), however, claims that the arguments depend too heavily on the speculations of Eusebius. He would like to locate Makkedah closer to Azekah and Lachish.

b) The surveyed and other sites

Tappuah

In Josh. 12:17a there is תַּפּוּחַ. The place name Tappuah occurs in the Bible only five times, and all of them in the Book of Joshua (12:17; 15:34; 16:8; 17:7, 8). However, it seems that these passages refer to two or three different sites. Tappuah is said to be one of the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh. 15:34), and one of the towns in the northern border of the territory of Ephraim (Josh. 16:8), or part of the southern border of the territory of Manasseh (Josh. 17:7, 8).

The location of the Judahite Tappuah is unknown. Beit Natif (map reference 149.122) a modern village in the Shephelah, south of the Nahal Sorek, has been mentioned as one possibility.¹²⁸⁴ SMM gives the name Bethletepha to Beit Natif.¹²⁸⁵

The Tappuah of northern Ephraim/southern Manasseh has been suggested to be Sheikh Abu Zarad (map reference 172.168).¹²⁸⁶ This site was included in the survey of the territory of Ephraim directed by Finkelstein. According to this survey, Tell Abu ez Zarad is a high mound with a distant panoramic view. On the summit there is a sheikh's tomb and an enormous heap of stones. The site was inhabited in the Late Bronze Age and in the Iron Age. The amount of pottery sherds collected is as follows: Middle Bronze Age 15, Late Bronze Age (available, not counted), Iron Age I 10 and Iron Age II 45 sherds.¹²⁸⁷

This follows the general image of the region where the Middle Bronze Age and the Iron Age were more densely populated than the Late Bronze Age.

Tappuah mentioned in the list of Josh. 12 is most probably the Tappuah of Ephraim/Manasseh, in other words Sheikh Abu Zarad, because it is mentioned in the list after Bethel, which was in the area of Ephraim, and before Hephher, which was the city in Manasseh.¹²⁸⁸

¹²⁸⁴ Kotter 1992-VI, 319. CBA 217 does not suggest any identification.

¹²⁸⁵ SMM 15-2, 195. The surveyor of the Hill Country of Judah, Avi Ofer, says that Tappuah was settled in the later phase of Iron Age I (Ofer 1994, 119).

¹²⁸⁶ SMM 15-2, 793, CBA 217, Aharoni 1979, 257, 442, Finkelstein 1988, 121, Mazar 1990, 197, Kotter 1992-VI, 320 and Hess 1996, 227.

¹²⁸⁷ Finkelstein 1988, 152, 186.

¹²⁸⁸ So Aharoni 1979, 211 and Kotter 1992-VI, 320.

Therefore, it must be included with the new Hill Country settlements of which there are several hundred in the area.

Hepher

Hepher, **הפּר**, as a place name seems to be only in Josh. 12:17b in the Bible. Moreover, there are passages in which this word appears as the name of a person, and once, in 1 Kings 4:10, it describes a wider area, “the land of Hepher”.

Hepher has been identified with Tell el-Ifshar/Tel Hefer (map reference 141.197)¹²⁸⁹ and with Tel Assawir (map reference 151.210)¹²⁹⁰ on the Sharon Plain and with Tell el-Muhaffar (map reference 170.205) on the northern margins of the Dothan Valley.¹²⁹¹

Tell el-Ifshar was first surveyed in 1872 and then in the early 1930s and again in the 1960s. Excavations have been conducted since 1979 by Paley and Porath. The last Late Bronze Age levels are Strata A/9-7. They contain a lot of sherds of imported Cypriote pottery and also one bead carved with an Egyptian hieroglyph. Stratum A/7 ended in destruction. The first Iron Age level, Stratum A/6 includes a few pits and silos, and among the pottery fragments there were several Philistine sherds.¹²⁹²

According to Zertal, El-Ifshar and Tell Assawir are improbable candidates for Hepher. El-Ifshar is too small site to be a Canaanite city-state and Tell Assawir contains no remains from the 10th century. Zertal suggested, after his survey in the area, that Hepher should be identified with Tell el-Muhaffar.¹²⁹³

The Land of Hepher is a part of a Solomonic district (1 Kings 4:10.) and Hepher is connected with Socoh, which is located on the Coastal Plain. If Hepher lies west of Socoh, the right place could well be Tel Ifshar. However, if Hepher lies north, Tell Assawir is the most probable and if northeast, Tell el-Muhaffar is the best candidate.

In Josh. 17:2 and in Num. 26:32-33 the Hepher family is situated in the area of Manasseh. In addition, several names mentioned in these Bible passages have a resemblance with the names found in the

¹²⁸⁹ SMM 15-2, 429, Aharoni 1979, 436, both of them with a question mark.

¹²⁹⁰ Maisler 1935, 82. See also Zertal 1992-III, 139.

¹²⁹¹ Zertal 1994, 66. Also Hess 1996, 227.

¹²⁹² Paley & Porath 1993-II, 612.

¹²⁹³ Zertal 1992-III, 139.

excavations at Samaria and called Samaria Ostraca. Geographically, those sites could be located in the region around Shechem.¹²⁹⁴ This information supports the location in the Hill Country. Furthermore, the name of the site in question is found in older maps as Umm el-Haffeh or Mu-Haffar. Accordingly, the name Tell el-Muhaffar has the same sounding as Hopher, and is the best proposal for this city.

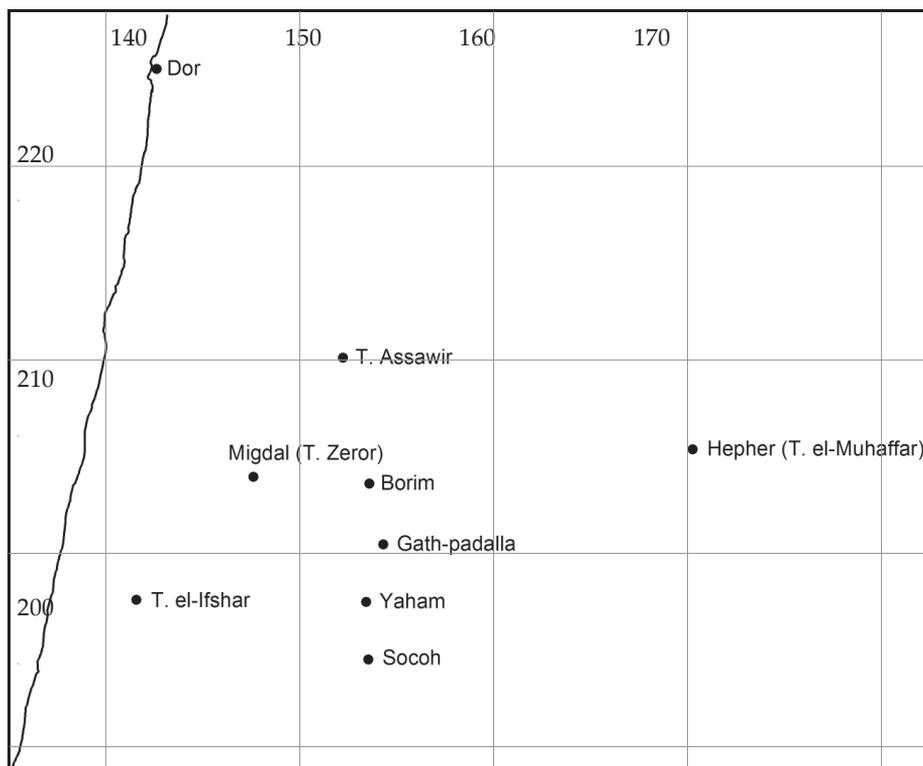
Tell el-Muhaffar is a large mound with a good water source close by and it lies near the route that connected the coast and the Valley of Jezreel. According to the archaeological survey, the town was sparsely inhabited in the Late Bronze Age but it was a flourishing settlement during Iron Age I and II periods.¹²⁹⁵ Zertal claims that the Manasseh Hill Country settlers in Iron Age I were Israelites, although the material culture also shows connections with the previous Late Bronze Age culture. The cult site at Ebal is, according to Zertal, strong evidence for the presence of the Israelites in that region.¹²⁹⁶

The ethnic background can be left open, thus far, and the conclusion made that if Tell el-Muhaffar is Hopher, its archaeological history is similar to Tappuah (see previously). Remains from the Late Bronze Age are quite sparse but a new population arrived at the beginning of the Iron Age.

¹²⁹⁴ About the Samaria ostraca, see Aharoni 1979, 356-369.

¹²⁹⁵ Zertal 1992-III, 139. Finkelstein (1988, 90-91) says that in Shechem, Tirzah and Hopher the continuity of occupation from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age took place.

¹²⁹⁶ Zertal 1994, 66-67.



Map 7. The alternatives suggested for Hepher and other sites close on the Coastal Plain and in the Western part of the Hill Country (also sites from Shishak's list)

Madon

In Josh. 12:19a there is מַדּוֹן. The name Madon appears in the Bible only twice, in Josh. 11:1 and 12:19. The Septuagint does not mention Madon at all, but adds into the verse 12:20 the words βασιλεια Μαρρων. In Josh. 11:1 it also reads Μαρρων.

Madon has been identified with Khirbet Madin, based on the similarity of the names.¹²⁹⁷ If the reading "Maron" is preferred, the site can be the same as Merom. Merom has been studied in connection with Thutmosis III's list.¹²⁹⁸ The conclusion was that Merom is Tell el-

¹²⁹⁷ Benjamin 1992, IV-463.

¹²⁹⁸ See this study pages 165-167.

Khirbeh (map reference 190.275) close to Hazor.¹²⁹⁹ The third suggestion for Madon is Tel Qarnei Hittin (map reference 193.245)¹³⁰⁰ and this site has also been identified with Adamah/Shemesh-edom.¹³⁰¹

The name Madon does not occur in any other context of Canaanite towns. Given that Thutmosis III has Merom (no. 85) previously in the list, another location for Madon should be pursued. The name may have been preserved at Khirbet Madin, which is close to Tel Qarnei Hittin (map reference 193.245)¹³⁰² as mentioned previously.¹³⁰³

The survey at Qarnei Hittin has revealed remains from Late Bronze Age II and from Iron Age I,¹³⁰⁴ and that the site was abandoned or destroyed in the middle of the 13th century. There is a clear difference in settlement pattern between the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I indicating that the new settlers were not directly related to the preceding Canaanite culture, which, according to Gal, may be a sign that the clan of Zebulun settled there.¹³⁰⁵

Accordingly, similar to Tappuah and Hephher, the break in the material culture is to be seen at the beginning of the Iron Age. The new inhabitants are not the followers of the Late Bronze Age people.

¹²⁹⁹ SMM 15-2, 589, CBA 214.

¹³⁰⁰ Na'aman 1986, 120-123, Gal 1994, 43, and Hess 1996, 227.

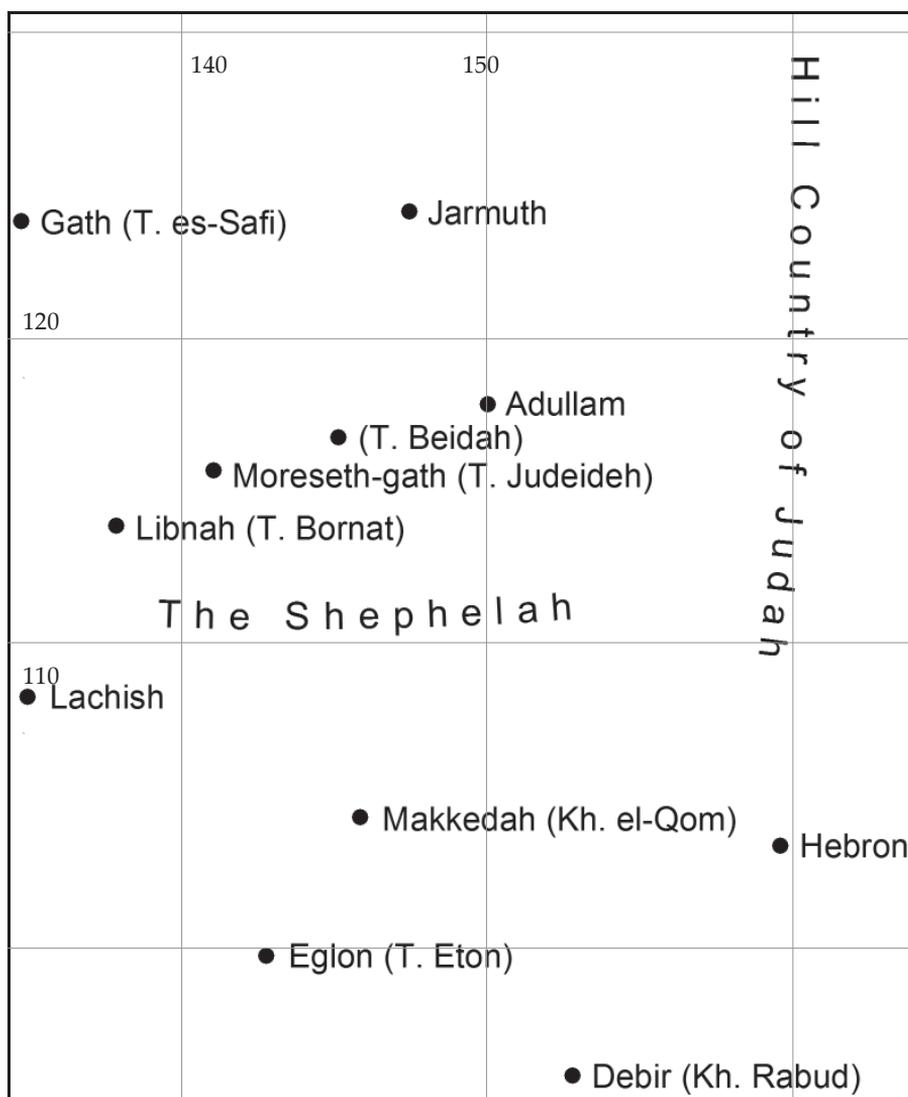
¹³⁰¹ See in this study pages 155-158.

¹³⁰² SMM 15-2, 021.

¹³⁰³ Na'aman (1994, 258) has even locate "Waters of Merom" into this region, near the spring of Wadi el-Hamam, northeast of Qarnei Hittin. When considering this location, Na'aman maintains "it is not entirely impossible that a battle between Canaanite forces and a certain 'Israelite' group was waged at the Waters of Merom in early Iron Age I."

¹³⁰⁴ Na'aman 1986, 123.

¹³⁰⁵ Gal 1994, 43-44.



Map 8. Cities of Joshua 12 in the Shephelah.

Libnah

In Josh. 12:15a there is לַבְנֵה. The name Libnah occurs in the Bible 17 times. It appears four times in Joshua 10. In addition, it is mentioned as one of the conquered kings in Josh. 12:15, one of the cities of the territory of Judah (Josh. 15:42), and one of the Levitical cities (Josh. 21:13, 1 Chr. 6:42). The inhabitants of Libnah revolted against Judah (2

Kings 8:22, 2 Chr. 21:10). The Assyrian king Sennacherib besieged Libnah (2 Kings 19:8, Isa. 37:8). The mother of King Jehoahaz and King Zedekiah was from Libnah (2 Kings 23:31; 24:18, Jer. 52:1). Apart from these passages, Libnah occurs twice in Numbers (33:20, 21) during the journey in the wilderness, but this is not the same place as the Libnah in Judah. The biblical Libnah seems to have been an important city from the settlement of the land until the time of exile.

Four alternatives have been suggested for the location of Libnah. The first is Tell es-Safi (map reference 135.123).¹³⁰⁶ Albright and Wright presented this view, but later Albright changed his opinion and suggested that Tell es-Safi was Makkedah.¹³⁰⁷ Currently, there is a quite large consensus in favour of the identification of Tell es-Safi as Gath, because the site is located on the Coastal Plain and a Philistine settlement can also be found there.¹³⁰⁸

The second possibility is Tell Judeidah (map reference 141.115),¹³⁰⁹ a suggestion made by B. Mazar and Kallai.¹³¹⁰ The pottery of this site shows occupation from the Early Bronze Age, through the Iron Age and up until the Byzantine Period. However, this identification does not enjoy strong support and Tell Judeidah, instead, is more probably Moresheth-gat.¹³¹¹

The third suggestion for Libnah is Khirbet Tell el-Beida (map reference 145.116). This was suggested by the Student Map Manual, but even there it appears with a question mark.¹³¹²

The fourth possible location for Libnah is Tell Bornat (map reference 138.115).¹³¹³ This is the site Albright suggested after Tell es-Safi,¹³¹⁴ and which later this has received wider acceptance.¹³¹⁵ The

¹³⁰⁶ SMM 15-2, 362, identified with Gath.

¹³⁰⁷ Albright 1921, 6, 11, Wright 1971, 77. See also Peterson 1992-IV, 322. According to Aharoni (1979, 86) the identification of Libnah with Tell es-Safi is impossible.

¹³⁰⁸ See e.g. Seger 1992-II, 909 and Maeir & Ehrlich 2001, 23 and discussion about Gath in connection with the Thutmose list in this study pages 135-139. de Vos (2002, 261-262) has pointed out several reasons why Tell es-Safi cannot be Libnah.

¹³⁰⁹ SMM 15-2, 619, identified with Moresheth-gath.

¹³¹⁰ Kallai-Kleinmann 1958, 155. See also Peterson 1992-IV, 323.

¹³¹¹ Aharoni 1979, 330, 439, CBA 214.

¹³¹² SMM 15-2, 547.

¹³¹³ Peterson 1992-IV, 322.

¹³¹⁴ Albright 1924, 9.

¹³¹⁵ Aharoni 1979, 219, 439, CBA 214, Hess 1996, 205, and de Vos 2002, 261-262. In connection with Rehoboam's fortresses Aharoni writes, "The identification of Libnah is uncertain; it is

other candidates, Tell es-Safi and Tell Judeidah, have a better case for identification with Gath and Moresheth-gat. Tell Bornat is situated in the Shephelah, not on the Coastal Plain, which was the area belonging to the Philistines. It lies north of Lachish (Josh. 10:31) and Ether (Josh. 15:42) and fits with the story where the Israelites pursued the Canaanite Kings on the way from Azekah to Lachish. It may have been a city where major routes intersected, because the east-west route from the Coastal Plain towards Maresha and Hebron leads this way, and the north-south route between Azekah and Lachish followed this direction. In 2 Kings 19:8 the Assyrian King Sennacherib is also advised to use this route when he left Lachish and commenced the fight against Libnah. These stories support the identification of Libnah with Tell Bornat. Tel es-Safi (Gath), on the other hand, is too far in the west. There have been no archaeological excavations at Tell Bornat, but surveys have revealed signs of occupation in the Early and Late Bronze Ages and Iron Age I and II.¹³¹⁶

From geographical points of view Tell Bornat is the best candidate for Libnah. It has been inhabited in the Late Bronze Age and in the Iron Age, but without more exact data from pottery and settlement patterns nothing can be said about the inhabitants of the site.

Shimron-meron

In Josh. 12:20a there is שִׁמְרוֹן־מֶרוֹן. The name Shimron-meron occurs only in this verse in the Bible. In addition, the name Shimron is mentioned in Josh. 11:1 and 19:15. There are similarities between the lists in Josh. 11:1 and 12:19-20. In chapter 11 the names are Hazor, Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph. In chapter 12 the order is Madon, Hazor, Shimron-Meron and Achshaph. As indicated previously, the Septuagint reads in 11:1 Μαδων instead of Madon, and in 12:19 Madon is missing. In 12:20 the Septuagint reads both “the King of Shimron” and “the King of Meron”. One possibility is to suggest that Shimron-meron is the original name in both lists and there is no

possible that this was a fort slightly to the west at Tell Bornat.” (1979, 332). Peterson (1992, IV-322-323) argues that, “This identification has received wide acceptance among German and Israeli geographers and archaeologists.” However, according to Kallai-Kleinmann (1958, 155), the best biblical candidate for Tell Bornat is Makkedah.

¹³¹⁶ Peterson 1992-IV, 323.

Madon at all. Another suggestion is that Shimron and Meron are two different sites.¹³¹⁷

Shimron was studied previously in connections with Thutmosis III's list,¹³¹⁸ and it was concluded that there are several ancient documents where Shimron has mentioned and that Khirbet Sammuniyeh /Tell Shimron could be identified as Shimron. Archaeological surveys at the site show that there were inhabitants both in the Late Bronze and Iron Age periods, but nothing can be said about their cultural backgrounds.

Geder

In Josh. 12:13b there is גדר. Geder occurs in the Bible only in this verse. The Septuagint (LXX*) reads Γαδερ and one version of it (LXX Vaticanus) Ασει. The translator of Vaticanus may have changed the name unknown to him, but LXX* has preserved the original name.

A number of similar names, such as Gedor, Gederah, Gederoth, Gederothaim, Gadara, Gadora, and Beth-gader were found in the ancient land of Canaan. All these names are connected with the city's fortifications, because the name means "wall".¹³¹⁹ The identification of Geder is obscure. One suggestion is Gedor/Khirbet Jedur (map reference 158.115).¹³²⁰

Aharoni suggests that the city could be the same as Gerar, because the Hebrew letters *dalet* and *resh* were often confused. Gerar was an important Canaanite city, but is not mentioned in the biblical conquest narratives. It occurs eight times in patriarchal narratives and twice in Chronicles (14:13,14).¹³²¹

If Geder is the same as Gerar, then it should be located at Tell Abu-Hureireh/Tel Haror (map reference 112.088) approx. 20 kilometres northwest of Beersheba.¹³²² The excavations at the site are part of the Land of Gerar Expedition started in 1982. The mound has been inhabited during the Bronze and Iron Ages. In the Late Bronze Age II the settlement was not very large, no more than a few acres. It is

¹³¹⁷ See Kutsko 1992-V, 1219.

¹³¹⁸ See this study pages 144-145.

¹³¹⁹ Aharoni 1979, 109, Ehrlich 1992-II, 925.

¹³²⁰ Hess 1996, 227. See SMM 15-2, 374.

¹³²¹ Aharoni 1979, 231, also SMM 15-1 and 15-2, 379, and CBA 211 identify Geder with Gerar.

¹³²² SMM 15-2, 379, Aharoni 1979, 201, Oren 1992-II, 989.

situated in the northeastern corner of the lower tell. A palace or citadel structure was found there, and an exceptionally rich assemblage of imported Cypriote and Mycenaean pottery was discovered, which prove that the site has been a prosperous Canaanite centre. Some fragments of cult vessels were also found.¹³²³

The Iron Age settlement consists of four occupational strata built over the remains of the Middle Bronze settlement. The earliest strata, from 12th-11th centuries, included plastered walls. The pottery was mainly early and late types of decorated Philistine ware. On the upper part of the mound there was evidence of fortifications, ramparts and defence walls from the 8th century BCE.¹³²⁴

Although the name Tel Haror has similarities with the name Geder, its geographical location makes it very improbable site for the Israelites, because it is situated so far from the other Israelite cities in the Hill Country and the Shephelah. Therefore, other alternatives for Geder must be considered. One candidate could be Khirbet Jedur/Gedor (map reference 158.115) because of the similarities of the names.¹³²⁵ It is located in the Judean Hills about 12 kilometres north of Hebron, however, neither excavations nor surveys have been carried out at the site.

It can therefore be concluded that Tel Haror is not a probable site for Geder because of its geographical situation, and that Khirbet Jedur/Gedor is a possible alternative but its history is unknown.

Adullam

In Josh. 12:15b there is עַדְלָם. Adullam is mentioned nine times in the Bible in the following passages: Gen. 38:1; Josh. 12:15; 15:35, 1 Sam. 22:1, 2 Sam. 23:13, 1 Chr. 11:15, 2. Chr. 11:7, Neh. 11:30, and Micah 1:15.

It has been identified with Tell esh Sheikh Madhkur (map reference 150.117). The name has been preserved at Id el-Mi'ah ("The Feast of the Waters"), which is located in the same proximity.¹³²⁶ No excavations have been carried out at the site, and although the area

¹³²³ Oren et al. 1986, 70.

¹³²⁴ Oren et al. 1986, 74, Oren 1992-II, 989.

¹³²⁵ SMM 15-2, 374.

¹³²⁶ SMM 15-2, 029, CBA 207, Albright 1924, 3-4, Aharoni 1979, 121, 353, 429, Hamilton 1992-I, 81, Hess 1996, 227, deVos 2002, 238.

has been surveyed by Amihai Mazar in 1977-1978, no report is available.¹³²⁷

Gojim

Josh. 12:23b is a difficult passage in the list. The text is גוֹיִם לְגִלְגַל מַלְךְ. The Hebrew word *gojim* means “nations”. The reading of לְגִלְגַל is enigmatic. It should be read as “in/of Gilgal”, but the Septuagint reads it της Γαλιλαιας. Therefore, many Bible translations have chosen the word “in Galilee”.

The name Gojim also appears in Gen. 14:1, but it can hardly be the same as in Joshua 12. In addition, there is Harosheth-hagojim in Judges 4:2, 13, 16. Some suggestions have been made for the location of Harosheth-hagojim, but they are very hypothetical. Khirbet el Haritiyye (map reference 161.236) and Tell Amr/Geva Shemen (map reference 159.237) have been suggested.¹³²⁸ In Josh. 12:23 Gojim in Galilee seems to make more sense than Gojim in Gilgal, because many other sites in the list of Joshua are in that region.¹³²⁹

On the other hand, Gilgal has been mentioned in the Bible 38 times. It was the first encampment made by the Israelites (Josh. 4:19), and it was not far away from Jericho and Ai, which are the first names in the list. Gilgal means “enclosure” or “gathering place” and therefore may also be the name of some other city. This particular Gilgal may have been located at Khirbet el-Mafjar (map reference 193.143).¹³³⁰ Not all the occasions when Gilgal is mentioned in the Bible refer to this place. There are several other possible geographical locations where a town named Gilgal has been located. None of them, however, can be considered in any way certain localities.¹³³¹

The “unconquered” cities

A study the “unconquered” cities now follows. Firstly, those mentioned in Josh. 17:11 and Judg. 1:21, 27, 29 are considered: Megiddo, Jerusalem, Gezer, Dor and Taanach. Then the other cities

¹³²⁷ Mazar 1990,89n4. Fritz (1969, 148) states that Adullam must have been inhabited in the Iron Age because of the mentions of the site in the books of Genesis and First Samuel.

¹³²⁸ Hunt 1992-III, 63.

¹³²⁹ Like this Butler & Wright 1983, 133, Astour 1992-II, 1057, and Hess 1996, 228.

¹³³⁰ SMM 15-2, 394.

¹³³¹ See Kotter 1992-II, 1022-1024.

located in the same areas as the previous ones are given consideration: Jokneam, Aphek, Achshaph, and Kedesh. Megiddo is selected first because its archaeological information is most representative.

Megiddo

In Josh. 12:21b there is מְגִדּוֹ. The Hebrew text (Josh. 12:21-22) reads Taanach, Megiddo, Kedesh, Jokneam, but LXX has another order of the names: Kedesh, Taanach, Megiddo, Jokneam.

The name of Megiddo occurs 12 times in the Bible. It is included both in the list of the defeated kings by Joshua (Josh. 12:21) and in the list of the “unconquered cities” (Josh. 17:11, Judg. 1:27-28). The other biblical passages are connected with the conquest stories (Judg. 5:19, 1 Chr. 7:29), the building projects of King Solomon (1 Kings 4:12; 9:15), the time of King of Judah, Ahaziah (2 Kings 9:27), or the battle of the Pharaoh Neco (2 Kings 23:29, 30, 2 Chr. 35:22, Zech. 12:11).

The history and archaeology of the city were studied previously in connection with Thutmosis III and Shishak.¹³³² In addition to the former reports, Timothy P. Harrison published in 2004 the final report on the Stratum VI excavations.¹³³³ Prior to this section the focus was on the periods of Late Bronze Age I (Thutmosis III) and Iron Age IIA (Shishak). This section deals with the period in between these times, Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I.

Chicago University excavations defined the following strata:¹³³⁴

Stratum VII 1350-1150 BCE	Late Bronze II
Stratum VI 1150-1100 BCE	Early Iron Age I
Stratum V 1050-1000 BCE	Early Iron Age II (Late Iron I)

All later excavations were based on this division of strata. Stratum VII was divided into VIIB and VIIA. Stratum VIIB had a large palace where a large collection of ivory sherds with Hittite motifs was found. The palace may have belonged the Hittite Empire. A cartouche from Ramses III was also discovered, perhaps originating from Stratum

¹³³² See this study pages 129-134, 175-182.

¹³³³ Harrison, T. P., Megiddo 3. Final Report on the Stratum VI Excavations. 2004.

¹³³⁴ Loud 1948, 5, 25-38.

VIIA. In between these strata there was a destruction level, however, many of the buildings and the same material culture continued from Stratum VIIB to VIIA showing the same cultural population at the site.¹³³⁵

The settlement of Stratum VIIA ended with a huge destruction. The next level, Stratum VIB, has a different layout in buildings but also evidence of continuity.¹³³⁶ Its construction is very meagre and the city is unfortified. This may indicate that a new group of people settled the city. Stratum VIA gives a different picture, that of a densely populated city with public buildings and a city gate, very much a well-developed town. This level, too, ended in total destruction. Stratum VB was again rather poor, with very modest houses built of fieldstones and mud bricks. In contrast, Stratum VA-IVB contained a massive six-chamber gate and other large buildings.¹³³⁷

The renewed excavations since 1992 concentrated on some new areas, F, G, H, J, and K. The Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I strata were found in Area F on the lower mound and Iron Age I and II strata in Area K on the south-eastern edge of the upper mound. The stratigraphy is as follows:¹³³⁸

			conventional	low chronology
F-9	VIII?	Late Bronze II	13 th c.	
F-8	VIIB?	Late Bronze II		
F-7	VIIA?	Late Bronze II	12 th c.	13/12 th c.
F-6	VIB	Iron Age I	12 th c.	11 th c.
F-5				
K-4	VIA	Iron Age I/II	11/10 th c.	10 th c.

¹³³⁵ Shiloh 1993, 1013, Finkelstein & Ussishkin 1994, 40.

¹³³⁶ Finkelstein & Ussishkin (1994, 40) emphasizes discontinuity but Harrison (2004, 9) continuity. Harrison writes, "In contrast to the decisive break between Stratum VI and Stratum V, Guy's letter emphasizes the architectural continuity between Stratum VI and the preceding Stratum VII. In addition to similarities in material culture, particularly the ceramic industry, some Stratum VII structures, such as the southern gate complex excavated by Schumacher, had been reused in Stratum VI." On the other hand, he admits, "although there were strong cultural affinities between the two, the earlier stratum was securely dated to the final stages of the Late Bronze Age by the presence of Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery and several scarabs bearing the cartouche of Ramses VI."

¹³³⁷ Shiloh 1993, 1013-1016, Finkelstein & Ussishkin 1994, 40-43.

¹³³⁸ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 5-11, 599.

K-3	VB	Iron Age II	10 th c.	late 10 th c.
K-2	VA-IVB	Iron Age II	10 th c.	early 9 th c.
K-1	IVA	Iron Age II		

A large building was discovered in Area F-9 and it was dated to the Late Bronze Age II and correlated with Stratum VIII/VIIB. No complete pottery vessels or other indicative objects were found. Nevertheless, the remains are a sign of a period of prosperity. The city extended over the entire upper and lower mound, and it was one of the largest cities in the country in this period. However, the city was unfortified similar to most of the other Late Bronze Age cities. This project did not find any sign of a destruction level in Stratum F-9 in lower mound.¹³³⁹

According to Finkelstein, the absolute dates of the Late Bronze Age II strata are not easy to define. Stratum VIII/VIIB is, according to him, to be dated to the first half of the 13th century BCE. In Area F Stratum VIIA (F-7) was built in the late 13th century and destroyed in the second half of the 12th century. In Area K (VIIA/K-6) only the public buildings were damaged and the domestic remained intact. The decline of the lower mound continued in the period of Stratum VIB (F-6), and this level is quite poor. Stratum VIA (F-5) showed a time of prosperity, and represents the last phase of the second millennium tradition, according to Finkelstein. Its pottery assemblage has clear Late Bronze Age characteristics and the layout is also typical of the Late Bronze Age cities. These facts, as he points out, make Finkelstein's chronology problematic, because he dates Stratum F5 to the 10th century BCE. Area K, also shows continuity from the Late Bronze Age II to the Iron Age I, but this stratum was destroyed by fire and the lower mound was abandoned. The next period, VB (K-3) has typical features of the Iron Age and is very different to the previous stratum. In this phase the population of the city may differ from the previous one.¹³⁴⁰

In the final report on Stratum VI, Harrison emphasises that "in the broad cultural terms Stratum VI falls within the Late Iron I period,

¹³³⁹ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 592-593.

¹³⁴⁰ Finkelstein et al. 2000, 594-596. See also Ussishkin 1998, 197-219. Megiddo, <http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/archaeology/megiddo/excavations3.html> (26.11.2003)

with its destruction marking the transition to the Iron II period. Despite the recent attempt to down-date Stratum VI to the tenth century and reassign its destruction to the Sheshonq campaign of 925 BCE, the accumulated evidence continues to favor a late eleventh or early tenth century date for this transition." According to Harrison, recently published radiocarbon dates virtually confirmed this date.¹³⁴¹

As we have seen, the traditional chronology presented by, for example, A. Mazar and Harrison, differs slightly from the Low Chronology by Finkelstein. The difference is not large in the Late Bronze Age II Megiddo. Finkelstein dates the Stratum VIIA to the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 11th century BCE¹³⁴² Mazar argues that the end of Stratum VIIA is c.1140/1130 BCE. This is not in conflict with Finkelstein's "second half of the 12th century." However, Stratum VIB is dated by Finkelstein to the 11th century but by Mazar to the 12th century, and Stratum VIA by Finkelstein to the 10th century and by Mazar 11th century BCE.

The chronological debates were discussed in connection with the list of Shishak, and the conclusion drawn was that Finkelstein's theory has more difficulties than the conventional one. On the other hand, the difference is, in many cases, less than one century. In addition, if we accept the view Herzog and Singer-Avitz have presented, that the Iron Age IIA should cover the period about 150-200 years, not just a single century, the problem diminishes even further.¹³⁴³

It is clear that the Late Bronze Age culture continued at Megiddo until Stratum VIA and subsequently the Iron Age culture began in Stratum VB. Traditionally, Stratum VB is attributed to the time of David and Stratum VA-IVB to Solomon.¹³⁴⁴ The biblical description of the "unconquered cities" fits well with this archaeological result. The Late Bronze Age culture dominated the city until the end of Stratum VIA, in the late 11th – early 10th century BCE. Then it was destroyed,

¹³⁴¹ Harrison 2004, 12-13.

¹³⁴² There is a minor difference in two articles of Finkelstein in the exact dating of Stratum VIIA. In 1996b, 171, "A date c. 1200 BCEE. for the foundation of Megiddo VIIA seems most probably." In 2000, 594, "Stratum VIIA was built in the late 13th century and destroyed in the second half of the 12th century."

¹³⁴³ Herzog & Singer-Avitz 2004, 209-244. See also Kletter 2004, 32.

¹³⁴⁴ See e.g. Shiloh 1993, 1016 and Finkelstein & Ussishkin 1994, 40-42. It is noteworthy to find out that in 1994 Finkelstein and Ussishkin wrote about Strata VB and VA-IVB as Davidic and Solomonic periods.

and after that settled by the people who had control of the city towards the end of Iron Age II.

Jerusalem

In Josh. 12:10a there is יְרוּשָׁלַם. The accounts of the conquest of Jerusalem are controversial in the stories of the Book of Joshua and the Book of Judges. In Joshua 10 there is a coalition of the Canaanite kings led by Adoni-zedek, the king of Jerusalem. Joshua defeated this coalition in a heavy battle in the Valley of Aijalon and in the Shephelah. Jerusalem is mentioned in the list of the conquered kings (Josh. 12:10). Later it is recounted that “the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the people of Judah could not drive out: so the Jebusites dwell with the people of Judah to this day” (Josh. 15:63).

In the Book of Judges it is first said that “the men of Judah fought against Jerusalem and took it and smote it with the edge of a sword and set the city on fire” (Judg. 1:8). Some verses later, that the tribe of Benjamin could not drive out the Jebusites who settled Jerusalem and that the Jebusites “dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day” (Judg. 1:21). In the light of later biblical stories it seems clear that it was David who captured Jerusalem and defeated the Jebusites (2. Sam. 7).¹³⁴⁵

Concerning the accounts of the capturing of Jerusalem and the list of conquered cities in Joshua 12 it can be assumed that they recount the situation during the reign of David, in other words at the time of the United Monarchy. Some questions remain, however, such as whether Judah was able to capture Jerusalem (according to Judges) or not (according to Joshua), and which period is Joshua 12 referring to. What is role of the Benjaminites in this story?

The earliest mention of Jerusalem is in the Egyptian Execration Texts.¹³⁴⁶ Jerusalem has been mentioned in the Amarna Letters several times (written *U-ru-sa-lim*, EA 287:25, 46, 61, 63; 289:14, 29; 290:15).¹³⁴⁷ Abdi-Hiba of Jerusalem sent a number of letters to the Pharaoh. He

¹³⁴⁵ See also Mazar 1990, 333.

¹³⁴⁶ ANET 329. Against Na’aman 1992, 278-279.

¹³⁴⁷ The petrographic analysis made from the Amarna tablets showed that the pottery used in the tablets is from Jerusalem area, see Goren et al. 2004, 269.

calls himself an officer of the Pharaoh, and asks why the Pharaoh has not sent help or messenger to him.¹³⁴⁸

The archaeology of Jerusalem is also controversial.¹³⁴⁹ Because the city is totally covered with recent buildings, archaeological research is very difficult. According to Na'aman, three main problems arise when excavating Jerusalem. Firstly, the area of Jerusalem's public buildings is under the Temple Mount and cannot be examined. Secondly, there is an uninterrupted continuity of settlement in the Ophel Hill from the 10th to the early 6th century BCE, and this leaves only a few remains of the earlier building activity. Thirdly, the older buildings must have been constantly destroyed, because each new city was built on bedrock.¹³⁵⁰ However, there are several places where excavations have taken place, e.g. the Temple Mount, the City of David, the Jewish Quarter, the Hinnom cemeteries and Giloh.¹³⁵¹ The most important excavations for the purpose of this study are the ones conducted in the City of David, because there it is possible to see remains from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. Giloh is also interesting in this respect, although it is located outside the ancient Jerusalem.

Giloh (map reference 167.126) is an Iron Age I site on a high peak of a long ridge some six kilometres southwest of Jerusalem. A. Mazar directed excavations at the site in 1978 and 1979. Giloh was settled for quite a short period at the beginning of the Iron Age. However, it seems to have contained a fortification and a very rare structure, a tower. The only possible parallel to the tower is a construction on Mount Ebal, which was interpreted by its excavator as a sacrificial altar. Both of these buildings are dated around 1200 BCE. Another small detail is that ten animal bones were found at Giloh: six of cows, two of sheep or goats and two of donkeys.¹³⁵²

¹³⁴⁸ Knudtzon 1908, 864, 866, 872, 874, 876, Mercer 1939, 711, 713, 719, 721.

¹³⁴⁹ See e.g. Finkelstein 1988, 48-53, Mazar 1994, 70-91.

¹³⁵⁰ Na'aman 1996, 18-19. See also Shiloh 1985-6, 27, "It must be remembered that on a site as unusual as Jerusalem the absence of evidence for settlement in any given period and area may not be positive proof that there was no settlement at that time in the area in question."

¹³⁵¹ Mazar 1990, 18. Barkay (1996, 23-43) has even considered, if there has been a Late Bronze Age Egyptian temple in Jerusalem.

¹³⁵² Mazar 1990b, 77-101. This can be compared with the bone analysis on the area adjacent to the Jerusalem Temple Mount. Species represented in the Iron Age level were: sheep, goat, cattle, equid, probable donkey, mountain gazelle, fallow deer and a large assemblage of birds. No remains of pigs were found. See Horwitz & Tchernov 1989, 144-154. See also Seger et al.

The typical Iron Age house, the so-called four-room house was also discovered. It was dated to the early 12th century BCE. The pottery assemblage was very homogeneous. The most common ware were “collar rim” jars. The original name of the site is unknown. Two possibilities have been suggested, either it could be Baal Perazim, because of its close location with the Valley of Rephaim or, interestingly, although very speculative, it is the place that accounts for the explanation of the double conquest of Jerusalem in Judges 1:8. This hypothesis is that first Judah attacked Jerusalem and took it, then the Jebusites took it back and the people of Judah moved southward and build Giloh. Later David captured Jerusalem and Giloh was deserted.¹³⁵³

The City of David is the long, narrow, triangular ridge south of the Temple Mount, sometimes called Ophel. Its eastern boundary is the Kidron Valley and its western boundary is the so-called Tyropoean or Cheesemaker’s Valley. Its width at the northern end, near the Temple Mount, is 220 metres and its length is 630 metres. The only source of water, the Gihon Spring is at the foot of its eastern slope. This spring was crucial in determining the location of the first Jerusalem.¹³⁵⁴

The investigations of Robinson, who found Hezekiah’s tunnel in 1838, can be considered the first archaeological excavations in the City of David. After that there have been more than ten different research projects. Two large and rather recent ones were directed by Kenyon in 1961-1967 and by Shiloh in 1978-1985. Both Kenyon and Shiloh died before they could complete their final reports. Steiner is finishing Kenyon’s report and Jane Cahill the Shiloh one.¹³⁵⁵ The renewed project at the foot of the City of David, around the Gihon Spring and south of it, began in 1998 and is directed by Reich and Shukron.¹³⁵⁶ On the top of the City of David, E. Mazar is directing another new project. In addition, Barkay has studied remains found in the waste disposal site where the illegal digging inside the temple mount deposited soil from that area.

(1988, 26-27) who note that at Tel Halif the amount of pig bone in the Late Bronze Age was 83 but in the Iron Age it was only 1.

¹³⁵³ Mazar 1981, 1-36.

¹³⁵⁴ Tarler & Cahill 1992-II, 53.

¹³⁵⁵ Cahill 2004, 23.

¹³⁵⁶ Reich & Shukron 1999, 63*-64*; 2003, 51*-53*, and 2004, 211-223.

The Late Bronze Age II and the Iron Age I remains found in the City of David excavations are quite meagre and not easy to interpret. The large stone construction on the eastern slope of the hill, the so-called “stepped stone structure”, is the most visible part of the excavations. This construction can be dated to the 10th century BCE, but it was built above an earlier similar structure, dated to 14th to 13th centuries BCE.¹³⁵⁷ This Late Bronze Age II phase is Stratum 16 in Area G. Only a few sherds of pottery have been found at the site. The dimensions of the stone construction are approx. 12 x 20 metres. According to Shiloh, this must have been part of the acropolis of Jerusalem in the Late Bronze Age, and it gives an impressive picture of Canaanite Jerusalem.¹³⁵⁸

Stratum 15 is the first Iron Age level. Very few remains of this stratum were found in Areas D1 and E1. This may be the final phase of the Jebusite city of the 12th –11th centuries BCE, with most of the pottery coming from the 11th century BCE. The large stepped stone structure belongs to Stratum 14 in Area G, and Shiloh considers it one of the most impressive surviving monuments of Iron Age Israel, because of its size and state of preservation. It may be presumed that the Israelites in the 10th century BCE utilised the Canaanite citadel and covered the surface of the slope with the stepped stone structure. It is approx. 13 meters wide and 16.5 metres high, and so far 55 steps have been uncovered. It may have served as a supporting wall to carry the citadel of the Iron Age II Jerusalem. Among the findings there are fragments of a cultic stand, similar to the ones found at Taanach from 10th century BCE and from Megiddo Strata VA-IVB.¹³⁵⁹

Later this picture of the Iron Age Jerusalem has strongly been challenged. Finkelstein & Silberman state that nothing in Jerusalem’s excavations prove that it was a large capital of the great empire. “Not only was any sign of monumental architecture missing, but so were even simple pottery sherds.” According to this view, Jerusalem was in the most optimistic assessment “rather limited in extent, perhaps not more than a typical hill country village”.¹³⁶⁰ On the other hand,

¹³⁵⁷ Shiloh 1985, 454.

¹³⁵⁸ Shiloh 1984, 16, 26.

¹³⁵⁹ Shiloh 1984, 17, 27. See also Tarler & Cahill 1992-II, 55-56 and Halpern 2000, 85.

¹³⁶⁰ Finkelstein & Silberman 2001, 133. In a some sort of conflict with this popular text is

Finkelstein’s article (2001, 105-115) from the same year. He writes, “the meagre Late Bronze

Na'aman has strongly supported the opposite view. He argues, particularly from the central role of Jerusalem in the Amarna Letters, that, "Investigation of the archaeological data and written sources indicates that tenth-century Jerusalem must have been a highland stronghold and the centre of a kingdom, dominating large, hilly territories with many settlements."¹³⁶¹

The question of the nature of the Iron Age Jerusalem will probably continue. De Groot and Ariel in their final ceramic report on the City of David excavations show that quite a lot of various pottery sherds have been found, although the place where this pottery comes from was fill material under floors of later strata. Various rounded bowls, carinated bowls with bar-handle, S-shaped bowls, kraters, cooking pots, pithoi and some other types of the Iron Age I/II pottery were discovered. Remains of Stratum 15 appeared in Area D1 and remains of Stratum 14 in Areas B and D1. This pottery assemblage is dated from the 11th to early 10th centuries BCE, according to conventional chronology.¹³⁶² E. Mazar has claimed to have found a large grounding stone from Area H on the top of the Hill, belonging to Iron Age IIA.¹³⁶³

The renewed project going on around the Gihon Spring has revealed a massive stone structure from the Middle Bronze Age II. Amazingly, no pieces of pottery were found from the Late Bronze Age and from the Iron Age I, and not from the Hellenistic and Byzantine Periods either. However, there was a city on the hill during all of those times. Most probably, the spring was not in use during those periods and the water was taken from the channel south of the spring. Nevertheless, this phenomenon is another reminder that the absence of pottery is not strong evidence about the missing population at any site.¹³⁶⁴

Age pottery reported from the ridge of the City of David is enough to indicate that the site was settled at that time" and "Iron Age pottery, including collar-rim jars, found under and inside the terrace system on the eastern slope and other parts of the south-eastern ridge indicates that settlement activity in the City of David was quite intensive." (pages 106 and 107).

¹³⁶¹ Na'aman 1996, 17-27.

¹³⁶² De Groot & Ariel 2000, 93-94. The writers discuss with the new chronology suggested by Finkelstein, but they say that "Finkelstein's chronology creates more problems than it solves", and therefore they use the conventional chronology as presented by Mazar.

¹³⁶³ E. Mazar 2006, 17-27, 70.

¹³⁶⁴ Reich & Shukron 2004, 211-223.

To conclude it may be said that there is enough evidence at the City of David to prove that both the Late Bronze Age city and the Iron Age city have been located on the hill. The Late Bronze Age culture seems to continue into Iron Age I, but the Iron Age II city belongs to another culture. The scarcity of pottery is explained by the arguments of Na'aman and new discoveries made by Eilat Mazar and Gabriel Barkay may strengthen this view.

Gezer

In Josh. 12:12b there is גזר. Gezer occurs in the Bible 14 times. The testimony of Joshua and Judges is unanimous: the Israelites did not capture it during the conquest of the land (Josh. 16:10 and Judg. 1:29). The king of Gezer is said to have joined the battle fought in the Shephelah (Josh. 10:33) in order to help the king of Lachish.¹³⁶⁵ Gezer, on the other hand, is one of the conquered cities in Joshua 12. According to the biblical narratives, Gezer may have been part of the Philistine area even during the time of David (2 Sam. 5:25). Following that and before the time of King Solomon, an Egyptian pharaoh is said to have captured this Canaanite city and burnt it down (1 Kings 9:16). However, Solomon was able to take it for the Israelites and make it one of his fortresses (1 Kings 9:15).

The location and archaeology of Gezer have been studied in precious chapters in connection with Thutmose's list.¹³⁶⁶ The focus here is on Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I at the site. The excavations have revealed a large Late Bronze Age IIA city (Stratum XVI, in General Strata), which can be associated with the Amarna Period. Late Bronze Age IIB (Stratum XV) saw some decline in occupation, and towards the end of this stratum the domestic occupation was interrupted by a destruction that left a large number of pottery sherds and other vessels lying about a burned courtyard. According to Dever, "it would be tempting to relate this to the destruction claimed by Pharaoh Merneptah on the famous 'Israel Stele', about 1210 BCE".¹³⁶⁷ Actually, two or three other possibilities

¹³⁶⁵ Aharoni (1979, 174, 218) points out that Gezer and Lachish had connections already in the Amarna Period.

¹³⁶⁶ See this study pages 137-139.

¹³⁶⁷ Dever 1992-II, 998-1001.

remain. The destroyer could be the Philistines or the Israelites or even another Canaanite city-state.

Stratum XIV shows a small break in occupation. The site may have been deserted for a while. Strata XIII - XI belong to the Early Iron Age I and show remains of Philistine settlement.¹³⁶⁸ The pottery is a mixture of local traditions of the Late Bronze material and also Philistine Bichrome Ware. The typical Philistine painted pottery is relatively rare and declines in both frequency and quality toward the end of the period. Three major destructions took place during this period. Strata X-IX are, according to Dever, "post-Philistine/pre-Solomonic". Instead of being painted, the pottery, especially on small bowls, was treated with an unburnished, thin, red-slip. This period came to a violent end, which could be correlated with the campaign of the Egyptian pharaoh mentioned in 1 Kings 9:16.¹³⁶⁹ The so-called Gezer Calendar, one of the oldest inscriptions in Canaan, was discovered at Gezer. It may belong to the Canaanite Gezer of the 10th century BCE.¹³⁷⁰

According to Dever, the first Israelite level was Stratum VIII. He dates it to the Solomonic period of the middle of the 10th century BCE. As early as the 1950s Yigael Yadin recognised a four-entryway city gate from this period and found it to be almost identical with those found at Megiddo and Hazor. He thought it was typical of the time of King Solomon. Dever claims that "the recent excavations in field III have fully confirmed the date and have filled in many details concerning the plan and construction."¹³⁷¹ This confirmation has been challenged by Finkelstein and Silberman. According to them, "the famous Solomonic levels at Megiddo, Gezer, and Hazor indicate that they actually date to the early ninth century BCE, decades after the death of Solomon!"¹³⁷²

The question between the conventional chronology and the "low" chronology has been discussed earlier and it was concluded that the arguments for the conventional dating are acceptable. With regard to

¹³⁶⁸ So also Finkelstein 1988, 300.

¹³⁶⁹ Dever 1992-II, 1000-1001. Dever 1986, 124-126. See also Singer 1994, 307.

¹³⁷⁰ See e.g. Na'aman 1994, 219.

¹³⁷¹ Dever 1992-II, 1001. Also Finkelstein (1988, 299) agrees that Stratum VIII at Gezer is Israelite, although, according to him, the gate is not Solomonic.

¹³⁷² Finkelstein & Silberman 2001, 141.

Gezer, according to Dever, pottery found in some tombs was typical mid-10th century hand-burnished material.¹³⁷³

The stratigraphy of Tel Gezer from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age II is as follows:¹³⁷⁴

Strata XVI-XV	14 th cent.
Strata XIV	13 th / 12 th cent.
Strata XIII-XII	12 th cent.
Strata XI-X	11 th cent.
Strata VIII	10 th cent.
Strata VII	9 th cent.

To summarise the information it is thought that at Gezer the Canaanite city collapsed at the end of Late Bronze Age, and the destruction could be the one referred to on the Merneptah stele. The next settlement, after a period of an occupational gap, was occupied by the Philistine culture, which dominated the site until Iron Age II. Later a new settlement was built on the site, which had similarities to the Hill Country culture.

Jarmuth

In Josh. 12:11a there is יַרְמוּת. The name Jarmuth occurs in the Bible seven times, six in Joshua (10:3, 5, 23; 12:11; 15:35; 21:29) and once in Neh. 11:29. The name occurs already in the Egyptian Execration Texts.¹³⁷⁵ There are two different sites with this name. One is the Jarmuth in the territory of Issachar, of which the location is unsure. The other is Remeth/Ramoth (map reference 199.221) where the Crusader Castle Belvoir is located.¹³⁷⁶ No Iron Age pottery has been found there.¹³⁷⁷

The Jarmuth that was allotted to the tribe of Judah is generally agreed to be the city mentioned as a town of the Canaanite coalition in

¹³⁷³ Dever 1992-II, 1002.

¹³⁷⁴ Dever 1986b, 29.

¹³⁷⁵ ANET 329.

¹³⁷⁶ SMM 15-2, 711, Manor 1992-III, 645. Aharoni (1979, 179, 192) mentions only that it is located "in the elevated region north-west of Beth Shean."

¹³⁷⁷ Manor 1992-III, 645.

Joshua 10 and 12. It is generally accepted that the site could be identified with Khirbet el-Yarmuk/Tell Jarmuth (map reference 147.124).¹³⁷⁸

Tel Yarmuth was surveyed by Ben-Tor in 1970 and excavated by de Miroschedji from 1980.¹³⁷⁹ The town was inhabited during the Early Bronze Age but after that, c. 2300 BCE, it was abandoned. The reoccupation took place in the Late Bronze Age (c. the 14th -13th century BCE). At that time only the acropolis and its immediate vicinity were settled.

The Late Bronze and Iron Age stratigraphy of Tel Yarmuth is as follows:¹³⁸⁰

Acr VII	Early Bronze II-III	
Acr VI	Late Bronze Age II	14 th -13 th centuries
Acr V	Iron Age I	late 12 th century
Acr IV	Iron Age I	
Acr III	Iron Age I	11 th century
Acr II	Iron Age II – Byzantine	

The pottery from Late Bronze Age II (Stratum Acr-VI) was of local Canaanite type together with imported Cypriote and Mycenaean ware. During this period Yarmuth was probably no more than a village.¹³⁸¹

The limited occupation continued through the whole Iron Age. In Iron Age I there are three strata (Stratum Acr-V to Acr-III B). Five areas separated by walls built of a single row of stones have been found in Stratum Acr-V. They include a courtyard containing a circular oven and several floors with a large amount of pottery, dated to the late 12th

¹³⁷⁸ SMM 15-2, 467, CBA 213, Aharoni 1979, 437, Miroschedji 1992-III, 645.

¹³⁷⁹ Miroschedji 1999, 3.

¹³⁸⁰ Miroschedji 1997, 134, Miroschedji 1999, 17. Small changes in stratigraphy, see Miroschedji 1998, 143.

¹³⁸¹ Miroschedji 1999, 17. According to Mazar (1990, 334), in the case of Yarmuth, among some other sites, there is "an outright conflict between the archaeological findings and the conquest narratives." Likewise Finkelstein (1988, 297), referring the earlier surveys at the site, concludes that "there appears to be no evidence of Late Bronze occupation at the site." Also Na'aman (1994, 223) claims that Jarmuth was not occupied in the Late Bronze Age. All of them seem to ignore the results of Miroschedji.

century BCE. Stratum Acr-IV contained a large kiln, which may have been an industrial installation. A great assemblage of jars, craters, jugs and bowls with fragments of Philistine painted pottery was discovered in Stratum Acr-III. This assemblage dates to the 11th century BCE. It contained pottery similar to Tel Qasile Stratum XI-X and indicates a Philistine settlement.¹³⁸² In his report cited above Miroschedji tells nothing about the Iron Age destruction, but in his article in the Anchor Bible Dictionary he writes, “Noteworthy is an Iron Age I destruction level dated to the mid-11th century.”¹³⁸³ According to him, “following the biblical chronology, this would be the time of King Saul, and Yarmuth was located in a border area disputed between the Israelites and the Philistines.”¹³⁸⁴

The archaeological excavations can convey little about the later periods because the upper strata from Iron Age II through Byzantine Period were degraded by erosion and the construction of terrace walls. No *in situ* remains from Iron Age II were discovered.¹³⁸⁵

It seems that the Iron Age I, Jarmuth became occupied by the Philistines, becoming one of the eastern-most cities of the Philistines, who settled the coastal area and the Shephelah. It lies not far from the other biblical cities, which were located in the border of the Israelites and Philistines, such as Zorah, Eshtaol, Beth-shemesh, Azekah, and Socoh. The archaeology cannot indicate anything about Jarmuth’s history after Iron Age I. In this study Jarmuth has been categorised as the one of the “unconquered cities” because it has Philistine archaeological remains and it is located not far from Gezer and other cities in the Shephelah.

Dor

In Josh. 12:23a there is דֹּר לְנַפְתַּי דֹּר. Few manuscripts omit לְנַפְתַּי but reads *eldom*, which may be the same.¹³⁸⁶ The name Dor is found in the Bible six times (Josh. 11:2; 12:23; 17:11, Judg. 1:27, 1 Kings 14:11

¹³⁸² Miroschedji 1999, 17.

¹³⁸³ Miroschedji 1992-III, 645-646.

¹³⁸⁴ Miroschedji 1999, 17.

¹³⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 17. Later Miroschedji states that “Reoccupation took place in the Late Bronze Age but only acropolis, which remained inhabited until the final abandonment of the site in the Early Byzantine Period.” <https://list.host.uchicago.edu/pipermail/ane/2003-may/009078> (25.11.2004)

¹³⁸⁶ Boling & Wright 1988, 321.

and 1 Chr. 7:29). The addition *naphat* with the name Dor occurs in different forms in the biblical passages as following: Josh. 11:2 *naphot* (plural), Josh. 12:23 and 1 Kings 14:11 *naphat* (singular) and Josh. 17:11 *naphet*. It has been translated as “The Heights”, “The Districts”, or “The Dune” of Dor. Probably it means that the city was built on the sand dunes.¹³⁸⁷ Dor belonged to the group of the unconquered cities in the area of the tribe of Manasseh.

The first mention of Dor comes from an inscription of Ramses II found in Nubia from 13th century BCE. It contains a list of cities along the Via Maris on its western branch towards the Acco Plain.¹³⁸⁸ Another mention is in a papyrus of Wen-Amon’s journey to Byblos from the 21st Dynasty (c. 11th century BCE). Wen-Amon was an official of the Temple of Amon at Karnak. He tells in a narrative story how he was sent to Byblos to purchase timber from the Phoenicia. Wen-Amon states that he reached Dor, a town of the Tjeker. The king of the city was Beder. Tjeker (or Sikils) was part of the Sea Peoples.¹³⁸⁹ The Sikils are mentioned in the texts of Ramses III, the Onomasticon of Amenope of the late 12th or early 11th century BCE and also in the Ugarit texts.¹³⁹⁰ All of these show that Dor was founded at the latest in the 13th century BCE, and it was a harbour city which had commercial contacts with Egypt.

Dor is known as Dora in many Hellenistic sources and it is identified with Khirbet el-Burj/Tel Dor (map reference 142.224) on the coast of the Mediterranean approx. 21 kilometres south of Haifa.¹³⁹¹ The earlier archaeological projects were conducted in 1923 and 1924 by Garstang, and in 1950 and 1952 by Leibowitz. Stern started the latest excavations at the site in 1980,¹³⁹² and after twenty years the project is now completed.¹³⁹³ The excavated Areas of Tel Dor are A, B, C, D, E, F, and G.¹³⁹⁴ Final reports have been published from Areas A

¹³⁸⁷ See e.g. Drucker 1982, 283, Boling & Wright 1988, 306, Benjamin 1992-IV, 1020-1021.

¹³⁸⁸ Stern 1993, 357, Singer 1994, 285.

¹³⁸⁹ ANET 25-29, See also Stern 1990, 27-28, Stern 1993-I, 357, and Singer 1994, 296, 319.

¹³⁹⁰ Stern 1994, 88-89.

¹³⁹¹ SMM 15-2, 293, CBA 210, Stern 1997, 128.

¹³⁹² Stern 1992-II, 223.

¹³⁹³ Stern 2002, 50.

¹³⁹⁴ Stern 1997, 128-143.

and C.¹³⁹⁵ The stratigraphical schemes for each area are thus far independent.¹³⁹⁶

The main remains found at Tel Dor were from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The earliest period at the site is the Middle Bronze Age IIA. From the Late Bronze Age no building remains have been discovered, but several scarabs and sherds of pottery from that era have been found. Among those, there were almost all the known imported vessels including Cypriot, Minoan and Mycenaean wares. All this indicating, that Dor was an important harbour city in the Late Bronze Age.¹³⁹⁷

The Late Bronze Age Dor was destroyed. According to Stern this took place at the beginning of the 12th century BCE and was carried out by Sikils. The earliest stratum of the Iron Age revealed a massive wall, the base of which was made of stones and the wall itself was made of mud bricks. Inside the wall there were a few vessels in situ, for example storage jars, a large decorated pilgrim flask, and a pithos. Stern dated this stratum XII to the second half of the 12th and the first half of the 11th centuries BCE, and interpreted it as a settlement of the Sikils, one of the tribes of the Sea Peoples.¹³⁹⁸ Some sherds of Philistine pottery were also found. According to Stern, this massive wall presents one of the strongest and most impressive fortifications erected by the Sea Peoples in Israel.¹³⁹⁹

Stratum XII in areas B1 and G was sealed under floors on which Cypriot and Phoenician vessels were found. The supposed dating is the second half of the 11th century. Among the imported pottery there were only some Philistine and Cypriote vessels but no Egyptian, even though the Egyptian inscriptions mention the city from this time.¹⁴⁰⁰

Above this stratum there are remains of several settlement phases, dating from the second half of the 11th century BCE. A large assemblage of Phoenician type vessels was found, such as Cypriot

¹³⁹⁵ Stern, E. , Excavations at Dor, Final Report. Vol. I A. Areas A and C: Introduction and Stratigraphy, and Vol. I B: The Finds. Jerusalem 1995.

¹³⁹⁶ Stern et al. 1997, 29.

¹³⁹⁷ Stern 1993-I, 358, Stern 1997, 129-130.

¹³⁹⁸ Also Gilboa (1998, 413-425) pointed out that the ceramic differs from that of the Philistines although many similarities occur.

¹³⁹⁹ Stern et al. 1988/89, 43-49, Stern 1993, 358-359, Stern 1997, 130-133.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Stern 1997, 132.

white-painted I, and Bichrome I pottery. A thin ivory plaque incised with a bull butting a lotus flower was also discovered.

The next stratum could be dated to the 10th century BCE. Here the main buildings were a broad mud-brick wall and a massive four-chambered gate. Among the pottery, there were Cypriot vessels, some Phoenician Bichrome ware, some black-on-red vessels and local pottery. The gate resembles a similar structure at Megiddo but is even larger. It may have been in use during the 9th and 8th centuries as well, because a 10th century layer was uncovered beneath part of the gate complex. Its destruction has been proposed to have been caused by the Assyrians at the end of 8th century BCE.¹⁴⁰¹

Stern earlier wrote that the Canaanite Dor was not conquered by the Israelites until the reign of king David in 10th century BCE.¹⁴⁰² After the latest seasons of excavations the picture of the history of Dor has become more complex. There seem to have been several destructions during Iron Age I and II. The phases and dates are preliminary, but in Area B1 there was a massive burnt layer in Phase 12 dating from the late 12th/early 11th century BCE. A possible destruction was found in Phase 9 from the early 10th century BCE¹⁴⁰³ Cypriot vessels and Phoenician bichrome ware were discovered in areas B, E, and G, dated to the 10th century BCE. This city was destroyed at the end of the 10th century, and, according to Stern, most probably by the Pharaoh Shishak. The Iron Age town was again fortified during the 9th century BCE. An offset-inset wall and a four-room gate belonged to this period.

It seems obvious that the Sea Peoples inhabited Dor during Iron Age I, but who settled the city in the Iron Age II is not clear. According to Stern the city was Israelite during the United Monarchy and the Divided Kingdom. This must be based on the biblical texts, as Stern does not refer to any archaeological proof of this. On the other hand, nothing contradicts this possibility.

Joshua 12 includes Dor among the list of the defeated Kings. It seems clear that Dor was not settled by the Israelites in Iron Age I. On the other hand, Dor is one of the “unconquered cities” in Josh. 17:11

¹⁴⁰¹ Stern 1992-II, 225, Stern 1993-I, 358-361.

¹⁴⁰² Stern 1993-I, 357.

¹⁴⁰³ Stern et al. 1997, 42.

and Judg. 1:27. This is in concordance with the archaeological evidence.

Taanach

In Josh. 12:21a there is תַּעֲנַךְ. Taanach occurs in the Bible seven times (Josh. 12:21; 17:11; 21:25, Judg. 1:27; 5:19, 1 Kings 4:12 and 1 Chr.7:29). According to Josh. 12:21 it was one of the conquered cities, but Josh. 17:11 and Judg. 1:27 mention it as one of the cities, which were not conquered at the beginning of the Israelite settlement. It belongs with Beth Shean, Dor (and En-dor), Jibleam, and Megiddo into the group of the "unconquered cities".

The history of Taanach/Tell Ti'innik (map reference 171.214) was considered previously in connection with the list of Thutmosis III (no. 42) and the list of Shishak (no. 14).¹⁴⁰⁴ In this chapter the archaeology of Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I is examined.

According to Rast, Taanach was unoccupied between the destruction of the Late Bronze Age I city and the end of the Late Bronze Age II or the beginning of the Iron Age. However, he admits that some small traces, also from the 13th century settlement have been found.¹⁴⁰⁵ On the other hand, A. Mazar mentions that the Canaanite city at Taanach was destroyed at the end of the Late Bronze Age and replaced by an Israelite village.¹⁴⁰⁶

The Iron Age stratigraphy of Taanach excavations according to Rast is as follows.¹⁴⁰⁷

Period IA	c. 1200-1150
Period IB	1150-1125
Period IIA	c. 1020-960
Period IIB	960-918

¹⁴⁰⁴ See this study pages 122-124, 185-187.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Rast 1978, 3, "In 1968 a rather sparsely attested intervening phase dating to the last part of the fifteenth and perhaps overlapping into the fourteenth century came to light (Lapp 1969b:5). This material and some from the late thirteenth century will be discussed in the forthcoming volume on Bronze Age pottery and stratigraphy."

¹⁴⁰⁶ Mazar 1990, 333.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Rast 1978, 6.

Period IA is a transitional period from Late Bronze Age II to the Iron Age. According to Rast it corresponds closely to the pre-Philistine stage of comparative sites. Period IB differs slightly and contains early Philistine pottery. The finds are so meagre that the excavators think it possible that the site was abandoned during most of the 11th century BCE. Rast has compared Taanach IA/B pottery with the material at some other sites. He found similarities to Megiddo VIIAB-VIAB, Hazor XII-X, and Beth Shean VI-IV. Several vessels, called “the Manassite bowls” were also discovered at Taanach Periods IA/B. This period ended with heavy destruction.¹⁴⁰⁸ The date corresponds well with the time of the destruction at Lachish.

Periods IIA and IIB belong to Iron Age II. Taanach seems to have become an important city, which is indicated by a public building that was reused in several phases and cult material.¹⁴⁰⁹ The most characteristic feature of the pottery is hand burnishing. Collar-rim jars from the 10th century BCE were found at Taanach IIB. According to Rast, “the change in architectural and ceramic traditions suggests new settlers at the site.” The Iron Age II Taanach also ended with destruction.¹⁴¹⁰

Finkelstein agreed with Rast in 1988¹⁴¹¹ but later changed his opinion and suggested a new chronology for Iron Age Taanach. This was referred to previously in connection with Shishak’s list and it was concluded that the conventional chronology is better.

In summary, there are good reasons to suppose that the Coastal Plain Culture dominated at Taanach until the end of Iron Age I. The Iron Age II habitation with its different material culture could have been another group of people settling the site. The architectural change and hand burnishing pots and collar rim jars show them to belong to the Hill Country settlers of Iron Age I.

Jokneam

In Josh. 12:22b there is **יִקְנֵעַם לְכַרְמֶל**. Jokneam is mentioned only three times in the Bible and all of them are in the Book of Joshua (Josh. 12:22; 19:11 and 21:34). In chapter 12 the name has an attribute “of

¹⁴⁰⁸ Rast 1978, 4-6, Glock 1992-VI, 289. See also Zertal 1994, 51-52.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Lapp 1964, 8.

¹⁴¹⁰ Rast 1978, 6.

¹⁴¹¹ Finkelstein 1988, 281.

Carmel". It is also one of the cities in the list of Thutmosis III (no. 113). It is generally accepted that it has to be identified with Tell Qeimun/Tel Jokneam (map reference 160.230).¹⁴¹²

The identification and archaeology of Jokneam has been studied preciously in connection with Thutmosis III.¹⁴¹³ Jokneam was an unfortified Late Bronze Age city. The pottery assemblage contains local plain and decorated ware, imported Cypriote sherds and at least one Mycenaean sherd, discovered in the first season in 1977.¹⁴¹⁴ The city was destroyed in a great disaster probably in the second half of the 13th century BCE. Then the site was abandoned and was reoccupied towards the end of the 12th or early 11th century BCE and this settlement was unfortified. According to Ben-Tor, the ethnicity of the inhabitants of that period (strata XVIII-XVII) could not be identified. Philistine sherds were very rare and part of the pottery was imported from the Phoenician coast. The ceramic assemblage has similarity to that of Megiddo stratum VI A.¹⁴¹⁵

By the end of the 11th century BCE (Stratum XVII) Jokneam was again violently destroyed. The cause of the destruction is not clear. It could have been by a military campaign or by some natural phenomena, such as an earthquake. Ben-Tor considers that one possibility is that it was the Israelite conquest during the time of David. Strata XIV-XII represents a well-fortified Israelite city, although a large part of pottery shows connections with the Phoenician style.¹⁴¹⁶

Comparing the archaeology of Jokneam with the other sites mentioned above, especially Aphek, Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo, it seems clear that the Coastal Plain culture dominated the site until the end of Iron Age I. Then the city was destroyed and a new culture emerged on the site. That culture dominated the city until the end of Iron Age II.

¹⁴¹² SMM 15-2, 482.

¹⁴¹³ See this study pages 139-140.

¹⁴¹⁴ Ben-Tor & Rosenthal 1978, 81.

¹⁴¹⁵ Ben-Tor 1992-III, 933-934.

¹⁴¹⁶ Ben-Tor 1992-III, 934.

Aphek

In Josh. 12:18a there is אֶפֶק. The name Aphek occurs nine times in the Bible, but not all of them describe the same place. Aphek is also mentioned in the list of Thutmosis III (no. 66)¹⁴¹⁷ and in the inscription of Amenhotep II.¹⁴¹⁸ There are at least four different biblical sites with the name Aphek.¹⁴¹⁹ Here they are recorded with the list of Thutmosis III. Aphek in Josh. 12:18 must be Tell Ras el-'Ain, because it is mentioned in the list after Tappuah and Hopher and followed by לְשָׂרֹן, which may mean "in/of the Sharon".

The stratigraphy of Late Bronze I to Iron Age II in Area X on the acropolis of Tel Aphek is as follows:¹⁴²⁰

Stratum X14	Late Bronze I	15 th –14 th cent. BCE	Palace IV
Stratum X13	Late Bronze II	14 th – 13 th cent. BCE	Palace V
Stratum X12	Late Bronze II	destroyed 1230 BCE	Palace VI
Stratum X11	Late Bronze II/ Iron Age I	c. 1200 BCE	
Stratum X10	Iron Age I	12 th cent. BCE	
Stratum X9	Iron Age I	11 th cent. BCE	
Stratum X8	Iron Age II	10 th cent. BCE	
Stratum X7	Iron Age II	9 th cent. BCE	
Stratum X6	Iron Age II	8 th cent. BCE	

Aphek in the Late Bronze Age II was a large Canaanite city. The Egyptian Governor's Residency (Palace VI, Stratum X12) is the most famous building from that time. A letter sent from Ugarit and discovered in the residency gives the exact date of the destruction: 1230 BCE. According to Beck and Kochavi, the date of 1230 BCE gives an absolute dating, and recounts the end of the long history of the Bronze Age acropolis of Aphek.¹⁴²¹

The governor's palace was probably built in the reign of Ramses II for he use of the Egyptian authorities. The Palace was a square

¹⁴¹⁷ See this study pages 124-126.

¹⁴¹⁸ ANET 246.

¹⁴¹⁹ Kochavi (2000, 12-14) lists even five possible sites called Aphek or Apheqa.

¹⁴²⁰ Beck & Kochavi 1985, 30.

¹⁴²¹ Beck & Kochavi 1985, 29-30.

structure and two or three storeys high. Seven monolithic steps of the stairway were found in situ. The rich pottery assemblage contained bowls, kraters, cooking-pots, lamps, flasks and storage jars. Part of the find was local and part was imported. The imported material was of Egyptian, Mycenaean and Cypriote origin. The exact dating and the large amount of pottery may be used as a basis for determining the chronology of contemporary strata at other sites. Aphek Stratum X12 have similarities e.g. to Gezer Stratum XV, Megiddo Stratum VIIB, Beth Shean Stratum VII, and Hazor Stratum 1a/XIII.¹⁴²²

The governor's palace was destroyed by fire, and this destruction must have been a violent and sudden catastrophe creating a mound of several metres of carbonised wooden beams, painted plaster fragments, building stones and burnt bricks. This mass was sealed under the Ottoman fort built above it.

After the collapse of the Egyptian/Canaanite Aphek, a new culture emerged at the site. First some enigmatic "fisherman culture" seems to emerge with copper net-hooks, and clay and stone net-weights. A fragmentary clay tablet has an inscription not familiar from any other sites. According to Kochavi, this early 12th century settlement may belong to some group of Sea Peoples. Soon after this first phase, typical Philistine pottery has been found from this level (Strata X11-X9). It was discovered in the pits, courtyards, and private houses indicating a Philistine settlement on the site. A scarab of Ramses IV was also found.¹⁴²³

In the early 10th century (Stratum X8) "denotes a sharp change in the material culture of the site". Four-room houses, stone-lined silos, and very beautiful pottery, including several cult vessels, were discovered.¹⁴²⁴ According to Kochavi, these new settlers were the first Israelites who moved to Aphek most probably from 'Izbeth Sartah, a small village on the western fringe of Hill Country, some kilometres east of Aphek.¹⁴²⁵

To conclude, at Aphek the destruction in Stratum X12 in 1230 BCE is dated about the time when the Israelites arrived in the country. The

¹⁴²² Kochavi 1981, 78-80. Beck & Kochavi 1985, 29-42.

¹⁴²³ Kochavi 1981, 80-82. Beck & Kochavi 1985, 30.

¹⁴²⁴ Kochavi 1982, 82.

¹⁴²⁵ Kochavi 1975, 40, Kochavi 1977, 1. See also Kochavi & Demsky 1978, 19-21.

subsequent pottery assemblage, however, clearly shows the settlement of the Philistines. Those who carried out the destruction of Aphek is not clear, because the date is a little early for the arrival of the Philistines. Kochavi assumed that some other group of the Sea Peoples could have done this and that the Philistines settled the site later. Other possibilities for the destroyer are some other Canaanite group or the Israelites. If the Israelites were responsible they did not remain to inhabit the city, because it was left into the hands of the Philistines. Later, Stratum X8 in the early 10th century BCE, reveals the next change in the material culture at the city, and this culture continues into Iron Age II.

Lasharon

In Josh. 12:18b there is לַשָּׂרֹן. The name Lassaron occurs in the Bible only in this verse. No geographical identification has been given to the name. It is commonly argued that this verse should be translated “Aphek in/of the Sharon”. This differentiates it from other sites called Aphek, and thus it corresponds to Josh. 12:22 “Jokneam of Carmel”. However, if we take Lasharon only as an attribute to Aphek, the number of the names in the list falls from 31 to 30. The text in Josh. 12:24 has thirty-one names. In addition, there is also a king in Lasharon in verse 12:18. Accordingly, “the King of Lassaron” may have be a symbol for other kings who are reigning on the Sharon Plain. In both cases the only city mentioned in verse 12:18 is Aphek.¹⁴²⁶

Achshaph

In Josh. 12:20b there is אַחֲשָׁף. The Septuagint (LXX*) reads ΑΨΙΦ. Achshaph is mentioned in the Bible only in the Book of Joshua (Josh. 11:1; 12:20 and 19:25). In addition, it occurs in several ancient sources, for example in the Execration Texts, in the list of Thutmose III (no. 40), in Papyrus Petersburg 1116A, in the Amarna Letters and in Papyrus Anastasi I.¹⁴²⁷

The identification of Achshaph was studied in connection with the list of Thutmose III, and two possible alternatives for Achshaph were considered: Tell Keisan/Tel Kison and Tel Regev. The concluded was

¹⁴²⁶ Fritz 1969, 149, Boling & Wright 1982, 328, Hess 1996, 227, Kochavi 2000, 17. Aharoni (1979, 230) thinks that the original number of the sites in the list may have been thirty.

¹⁴²⁷ See Benjamin 1992-I, 57, and this study pages 117-121.

that Tell Keisan is the most probable alternative for the identification of the site.

Tell Keisan is located in the Acco Valley between Aphek and Rehob. Because this region belongs to the area of the “unconquered” cities, according to Judg. 1:31 (“Nor did Asher drive out those living in Acco or Sidon or Ahlab or Achzib or Helbah or Aphkek or Rehob, and because of this the people of Asher lived among the Canaanite inhabitants of the land”), it is natural to include Achshaph into the group of the “unconquered” cities.

The stratigraphy of Tell Keisan is as follows:¹⁴²⁸

Stratum 13	Late Bronze Age/ Iron Age I	destruction
Stratum 12	Iron Age I	
Stratum 11	Iron Age I	1125-1100 BCE ?
Stratum 10	Iron Age I	1100-1075 BCE
Stratum 9	Iron Age I	1075-980 BCE destruction
Stratum 8	Iron Age II	980-900 BCE

Excavations have revealed some remains of Late Bronze Age vessels.¹⁴²⁹ According to Humbert, Stratum 13 was a transition period from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The pottery assemblage contained storage jars from the Egyptian tradition and typical of Mycenaean IIIC ware, for example, Mycenaean stirrup jars. This city was destroyed in about 1200 BCE. Humbert assumes that the inhabitants both before and after the destruction were different groups of the Sea Peoples.¹⁴³⁰

The beginning of the settlement in Stratum 12 was quite poor. Stratum 11 indicated more prosperity, and it was either destroyed or abandoned, maybe in the last quarter of the 12th century BCE. The next Stratum 10 contained foreign influences in the pottery, especially of Mycenaean and Cypriot types. Petrographic analysis pointed out that the vessels are of local manufacture. Mycenaean IIIC ceramic was

¹⁴²⁸ Briend & Humbert 1980, 27, Humbert 1982, 63.

¹⁴²⁹ ESI 1982, 64, Gunneweg & Perlman 1994, 559-561.

¹⁴³⁰ Humbert 1992-IV, 15.

also discovered.¹⁴³¹ According to Singer, this Monochrome type pottery is characteristic of the Sea People group, which settled at Acco and at Tell Keisan.¹⁴³²

Stratum 9 was the last Iron Age I level at the site. During that time there is evidence of massive, well-planned building constructions, which were signs of prosperity and wealth. The destruction of this stratum could be dated to about 1000 BCE. According to Humbert, this can be correlated with Hazor XI, Megiddo VIA, and Tel Qasile X.¹⁴³³

Strata 8-6 belong to Iron Age II. The first settlement was poor and the pottery assemblage differs from the previous period. The characteristic features of the Late Bronze Age types disappeared, and the Ceramic contains "Samaria bowls". This settlement continued to develop for 250 years without any large gap or destruction occurring.¹⁴³⁴

A destruction in about 1200 BCE is a common phenomenon in the land of Canaan. However, at Tell Keisan the same Late Bronze Age cultural elements seem to continue until the next destruction in about 1000 BCE, with the site having been settled by the Sea Peoples. The following culture changed and was a "poor culture" of Iron Age II. The similarity to other cities in the list of the "unconquered" cities is obvious. The change from the Coastal Plain culture to the Hill Country culture takes place in the 11th/10th century BCE.

Kedesh

In Josh. 12:22a there is קֶדֶשׁ. The place name Kedesh occurs 12 times in the Bible, but not all of them are to be identified with the same location. The city is probably mentioned in Egyptian sources of the second millennium BCE, and in many later texts. Eusebius in *Onomasticon*, for example, writes that Kedesh lay 20 miles from Tyre.¹⁴³⁵

¹⁴³¹ Humbert 1993-III, 864.

¹⁴³² Singer 1994, 297.

¹⁴³³ Humbert 1982, 63, Briend & Humbert 1980, 27, Humbert 1992-IV, 15, Humbert 1993-III, 863-866.

¹⁴³⁴ Humbert 1993-III, 866.

¹⁴³⁵ Ovadiah et al. 1992-V, 573.

At least three different sites with the name Kedesh have been suggested. The first is Khirbet el-Kidish/Qedish (map reference 202.237),¹⁴³⁶ on the south-western shore of the Sea of Galilee. The second is Tell Qades/Tel Kedesh (map reference 200.279),¹⁴³⁷ in northern Galilee, approx. 10 kilometres northwest from Hazor. The third is Tel Abu Kudeis (map reference 170.218),¹⁴³⁸ a small mound in the Jezreel Valley between Taanach and Megiddo.

All of these three are possible candidates for Kedesh mentioned in Josh. 12:22.¹⁴³⁹ Khirbet el-Kidish/Khirbet Qedish by the Sea of Galilee has been suggested to be the Kedesh of Naphtali, and it is also a candidate for the hometown of Barach.¹⁴⁴⁰ According to Aharoni, this is a large Israelite site with many remains from the age of Judges and “it fits the Kedesh-naphtali of Barak in every aspect.” Aharoni thinks that this seems a better candidate for an Israelite city, not the Canaanite city mentioned in Joshua 12.¹⁴⁴¹ There is no archaeological evidence about Khirbet el-Kidish.

Kedesh in Upper Galilee, Tell Qadesh, is one suggestion for the Kedesh in the list in Joshua 12.¹⁴⁴² It is one of the largest tells in Upper Galilee. A short excavation was carried out by Aharoni in 1953, but the Arab village on the site prevented a larger expedition.¹⁴⁴³ Two later projects have concentrated in the area of the Roman temple at the site.¹⁴⁴⁴ Tell Qadesh has revealed pottery from the Middle Bronze Age until the Hellenistic Periods, also including the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I. The amount of pottery from the Late Bronze Age and Iron Ages is quite small, but the reason may be that the occupation was confined to the eastern part of the mound, which has not been excavated.¹⁴⁴⁵

¹⁴³⁶ SMM 15-2, 503.

¹⁴³⁷ SMM 15-2, 502.

¹⁴³⁸ Stern 1993, 860, Hess 1996, 227.

¹⁴³⁹ Fritz (1969, 152-153) considers that all those proposed three sites are possible. Later he favours the Kedesh in northern Galilee, Tel Kedesh, see Fritz 1994, 136.

¹⁴⁴⁰ CBA 53, 213. Aharoni 1979, 224, 438. See also Gal 1994, 44. Instead, Dever (1992-IV, 11) gives the attribute “Kedesh of Naphtali” to Tell Qades.

¹⁴⁴¹ So Aharoni 1979, 224.

¹⁴⁴² Aharoni 1979, 224, 232, CBA 55, Dever 1992-IV, 11.

¹⁴⁴³ Aharoni 1993-III, 856.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Ovadiah et al. 1993-III, 857-859, Herbert & Berlin 2000, 118-125.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Aharoni 1993-III, 856, Finkelstein 1988, 95, Dever 1992-IV, 11.

The location in the Joshua's list adjacent to Taanach, Megiddo and Jokneam make Tel Abu Kudeis a preferable site, as it lies near all of these cities in the Jezreel Valley. This has been assumed to be the Kedesh belonging to the Levitical cities given to the tribe of Issachar (1. Chr.6:57).¹⁴⁴⁶ In the list of the levitical cities in Joshua 21, there is Kishion instead of Kedesh (Josh. 21:28), in a parallel passage with 1. Chr. 6. In Judges 4 Kedesh is mentioned twice (in verses 4 and 11), and these may refer to the same Kedesh or to two different places. The latter being the case, one is Khirbet el-Kidish near the Sea of Galilee and the other is Tel Abu Kudeis in the Jezreel Valle. The story in Judges 4-5 locates the battle close to Taanach and Megiddo and this gives preference to the Kedesh that lies near to these cities.

The short excavation at Tel Abu Kudeis directed by Ephraim Stern in 1968 showed remains from the 14th century BCE to the Late Roman and Early Arab periods. The stratigraphy is as follows:¹⁴⁴⁷

Stratum	Period	Compared with Megiddo acc. to Stern & ArieH
Stratum VIII	Late Bronze II	Stratum VIIB
Stratum VII	Iron Age I	Strata VIIA-VIBA
Stratum VI	Iron Age II	Stratum VB
Stratum V	Iron Age II	Strata VA-IVB

In Stratum VIII there were sherds of local and imported Mycenaean pottery, which dated it to the Late Bronze Age, the 14th and 13th century BCE. The earliest Iron Age stratum (VII) belonged to the first half of the 12th century BCE. According to Stern, the ceramic assemblage shows the continuation of the Late Bronze Age tradition. It can be compared with Megiddo VIIA-VI. Stratum VII was destroyed by fire.

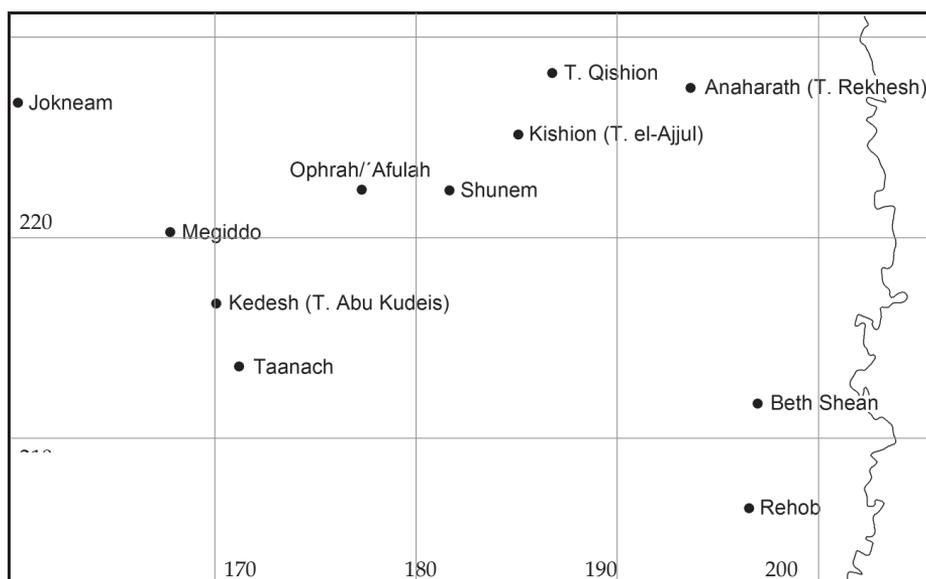
In Stratum VI only a rectangular stone-paved room was discovered. In Stratum V two stone-faced silos were added in the room. The pottery from Strata VI-V dates to the 10th – early 9th

¹⁴⁴⁶ Arav 1992-IV, 11.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Stern & ArieH 1979, 1-25, Stern 1993-III, 860. Arav (1992-IV, 11) says mistakenly that the occupation began from the 12th century BCE.

centuries BCE. It includes cooking-pots, for example, a baking tray similar to the one found at Hazor from Strata X-IX. Stratum IV had a different building plan and the limestone altar with four horns which was discovered is a well-known feature in other Israelite sites.¹⁴⁴⁸

Tel Abu Kudeis is the best candidate for the Kedesh mentioned in Joshua 12, because its place in the list is after Taanach, Megiddo, and Jokneam, and it matches best the description in Judges 4-5. Archaeologically this Kedesh was part of the Late Bronze Age culture (Coastal Plain culture) until the 10th century, since it has features of the Hill Country culture. Therefore, its place among the “unconquered” cities is well justified.



Map 9. Sites in the Jezreel Valley and close to it.

Excursus: Tel Dan

The archaeology of the Late Bronze Age Dan has been studied previously in connection with Thutmose III's list, where the name was Laish in that Egyptian inscription. In this chapter the Iron Age Dan is considered. Its place is in the excursus, because it does not

¹⁴⁴⁸ Stern & Arieh 1979, 1-8, Stern 1993-III, 860.

belong to the lists in the Book of Joshua. Instead, it is mentioned in Josh. 19:47-48 and in Judg. 18:27-31 as one of the conquered cities of the Israelites.

Remains from the Late Bronze Age have been found in all the excavated areas of the site.¹⁴⁴⁹ This period being a time of growth, development and cultural exchange. Late Bronze I Laish was in Stratum VIII and the Late Bronze II city in Stratum VII. The material culture of Late Bronze II was more prosperous and shows that it was a commercial and cultural centre.¹⁴⁵⁰

Between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age levels at Dan there is a thin layer of destruction caused by fire. The pottery, dated around 1200 BCE, is partly associated with the Late Bronze Age style, and partly it resembles the Iron Age I period. Among those vessels found were chalices, part of a krater, a flask, a pyxis, a storage jar and rims of cooking pots. The next level, Stratum VI, revealed a total change in the character and material culture. The most common phenomena showing this was the appearance of large number of deep storage pits found all around the site. Some of them were lined with stones, some were dug into a layer of gravel and others were not lined at all. According to Biran, this was a significant sign of a radical change in the settlement pattern and the lifestyle of the inhabitants. The new population live in tents or huts at first and therefore needed a large number of pits for storage.¹⁴⁵¹

The pottery repertoire plainly differs from the Late Bronze Age one. Mycenaean and Cypriot imported ware are not seen any longer, and the local ceramic is characterised by the appearance of large amphoras and pithoi. The pithoi were "Galilean types", similar to those found at Hazor. A neutron activation analysis has revealed that some of the collar-rim jars were locally made and some were imported from different parts of the country. Biran dates this first Iron Age Stratum VI to the 12th century BCE. The next level, Stratum V, represents an urbanised community, but belongs to the same cultural milieu, which ended in a violent destruction. The destruction level can

¹⁴⁴⁹ Biran 1994, 105, Ben-Dov 2002, 35.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Biran 1994, 105-123. The official report of Tel Dan's Late Bronze Age (Strata VIII and VII) will be released in a forthcoming publication, see Ben-Dov 2002, 35.

¹⁴⁵¹ Biran 1994, 125-128.

be dated to around the mid 11th century BCE, however, the city was soon rebuilt.¹⁴⁵²

The account of excavations at Dan is consistent with the many others in this study. The large Canaanite city collapsed at the end of the Late Bronze Age and a new, modest settlement arose in its place. Later this Iron Age settlement grew into an urbanised Israelite city.

Conclusion

This study has included 29 sites, which have been divided into two main categories: the “conquered cities” and the “unconquered cities”. The first category has been subdivided into three groups: excavated cities, surveyed cities and others. In all of the “unconquered cities” excavations have been carried out.

Two questions were asked concerning each of the sites: were they inhabited in the periods in question (Late Bronze Age II, Iron Age I and II), and can we know something about the cultural backgrounds of the inhabitants. In most cases it could be determined that the culture was influenced either by the Coastal Plain culture (C) or the Hill Country culture (H). The third possibility was the Sea People culture (mostly Philistines, P). It must be stressed, that the main point in describing the change from C/P to H is the change in material culture. The cultural background is not always clear but if the change is clear, it is marked with the different letter.

The list of the “conquered cities” contains 19 sites. 12 of them have been excavated, 5 have been surveyed and 2 neither have been carried out. In 10 of the 12 excavated cities C-culture dominated in the Late Bronze Age II and in 3 of them (Ai, Arad and Makkedah) there was no identifiable settlement in that period. The cultural change between the Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I can be seen in all of the sites, although in some it is not very obvious. This change does not happen simultaneously, in Ai the H-culture begins in Iron Age I as in almost all the other cities in this group, but Arad and Makkedah have no settlement until Iron Age II.

In 8 of the 12 excavated sites the new settlers seem to represent H-culture. This type of the culture is not very noticeable in every site (e.g. at Jericho). In 2 of the excavated sites (Lachish, Eglon) there was

¹⁴⁵² Biran 1994, 128-146.

an occupational gap, which is also to be found at Hazor. In Iron Age II, the H-culture was found in 11 sites, at Ai it is either missing or there is insufficient information. The destruction level at the beginning of the Iron Age was discovered in 4 sites (Hazor, Lachish, Bethel, and Tirzah).

At the 5 other surveyed sites of the "conquered cities", there were remains of a settlement in Late Bronze Age II, at only 2 of the sites (Hepher and Madon), but it was uncertain or missing in the others. Where Iron Age I (Tappuah, Hepher and Madon) or Iron Age II (Tappuah, Hepher and Madon) settlements can be identified, they belong to the H-culture.

The list of the "unconquered cities" contains 10 sites, all of which have been excavated. C-culture dominated in all the sites in Late Bronze Age II. In the Iron Age I the same culture (C) has been found in at least 4 of them and P-culture or its variations in 5 of them (Gezer, Jarmuth, Dor, Aphek, and Achsaph). The culture of Jerusalem is uncertain but it may also belong to the C-category. In none of them has any H-culture been discovered. Rather, when it comes to Iron Age II, H-culture is dominant in all of the sites.

The conspicuous difference between the archaeology of the "conquered" and the "unconquered" cities is that in the former ones the H-culture begins during Iron Age I (although not commencing simultaneously), and in the latter it only starts in Iron Age II.

	The numbers in the following list follow the order of the names in Joshua 12. Name in the list of Joshua	mentioned in other ancient texts	excavated = E surveyed = S	inhabited LB II	inhabited Iron I	inhabited Iron II	destroyed	mentioned only in Joshua and Judges
The "conquered cities"	a) Excavated sites							
	Hazor (22)	x	E	C	H	H	x	
	Lachish (6)	x	E	C	gap?	H	x	
	Bethel (16)		E	C	H	H	x	
	Debir/Kh. Rabud (9)		E	C	H	H		x
	Tirzah (31)	x	E	C	H	H	x	
	Eglon/T. Eton (7)		E	C	gap?	H		x
	Hormah/T. Halif (11)		E	C	H?	H		
	Hebron (4)		E	C	H	H		
	Jericho (1)		E	C	H?	H?		
	Ai (2)		E	-	H	-		
	Arad/T. Arad (12)	x	E	-	-	H		
	Makkedah/Kh. el-Qom (15)		E	-	-	H		x
	12	4	12E	9C	8H	11H	4	2
	b) Surveyed and other sites							
	Tappuah/ Sh.AbuZarad (17)		S	?	H	H		x
	Hepher/T. el-Muhaffar (18)		S	C	H	H		x
	Madon/T.Qarnei Hittin (21)	x	S	C	H	H	x	x
	Libnah/T. Bornat (13)		S	?	?	?		
	Shimron-meron (23)	x	S	?	?	?		x
Geder? (10)							x	
Adullam (14)			?	?				
8	2	5S	2C	3H	3H	1	6	
Total 19	6	12E/5S	11C	11H	14H	5	8	
The "unconquered cities"	Megiddo (26)	x	E	C	C	H		
	Jerusalem (3)	x	E	C	?	H		
	Gezer (8)	x	E	C	P	H		
	Jarmuth (5)	x	E	C	P	?		
	Dor (29)	x	E	C	P?	H		
	Taanach (25)	x	E	C	C	H	x?	
	Jokneam of Carmel (28)	x	E	C	C	H	x	x
	Aphek of the Sharon (19)	x	E	C	P?	H	x	
	Achshaph/T. Keisan (24)	x	E	C	P?	H	x	x
	Kedesh/ T. Abu Kudeis (27)	x	E	C	C	H		
	10	10	10 E	10 C	7C/4P	9 H	4	2
	Total 29	16	22E/5S	21C	7 C	23 H	9	10
		27		4 P				
				11 H				

Table 5. The cities in the list of Joshua 12.

Sites in Joshua 10-12



Map 10. Sites in Joshua 10-12

5 THE EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGNS COMPARED WITH THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNTS OF CONQUEST

5.1 The relevance of our comparative study

With the actual evidence now completed, it is now possible to discuss the relevance of this comparative study. The aim of this study has not been to solve historical problems but to discuss in which way archaeological evidence can be used to support or refute the definite details in the historical documents. There are several differences between the Egyptian sources, on the one hand, and the biblical narratives on the other hand. Firstly, the nature of the texts is different. The Egyptian sources are inscriptions written soon after the events, whereas the text in Joshua is the result of a long traditional process. Secondly, there are differences in the archaeological evidence. Egyptian invasions left documents in inscriptions, stelae and scarabs. The study of the archaeology at the time of Joshua is based only on excavations and surveys – and the biblical text. Thirdly, the time span is different. The sources from the Egyptian Pharaohs recount one military campaign and yet possibly included names from several campaigns, nevertheless all of them made by the same Pharaoh. The biblical account in Joshua consists of a considerably longer period. Therefore, it is necessary in this concluding chapter to answer these methodological challenges and discuss in which way this comparative study can benefit understanding and give insight into the conquest narratives in the Book of Joshua.

The nature of the sources

It has been shown that Thutmose III made several campaigns into Canaan and reported them in many inscriptions in the great temple of Amon at Karnak. The topographical list of Thutmose III have been studied which, on the one hand, include the names of the cities participating the battle at Megiddo in 1456 BCE and on the other hand cities from his other campaigns, particularly those in 1449 BCE and in 1446 BCE. The texts are contemporary with the events because they

were written soon after the Pharaoh's campaigns. Of the sixteen or seventeen campaigns the most remote place mentioned is the River Euphrates.

It was presumed that in the light of archaeological evidence there are no special reasons to doubt the historical reliability of these inscriptions. This study has confirmed that nothing in archaeological evidence refutes the view that the sites mentioned in Thutmose III's list were settled in the 15th century BCE. In some of them scarabs with the name of Thutmose III have been found (Acco, Gezer, Kumidi, maybe Achshaph). Egyptian stelae, amulets, statues or other vessels were discovered in several sites (e.g. Hazor, Kumidi, Laish, Achshaph, Aphek, Beth Shean, Gath, and Gezer). The stele found at Chinnereth is a strong evidence for the presence of Thutmose III in the area. In some places where the Egyptian presence is obvious from the textual point of view (such as Megiddo and Dor), no special archaeological evidence from Thutmose III has been found. Accordingly, "the evidence of absence" must be applied carefully when questioning which group settled or visited the site in question. A destruction level was possible to detect only at three or four of the sites mentioned in Thutmose III's list (Hazor, Acco, Taanach, and possibly Gezer). In these cases, it cannot be certain who the destroyer was, whether it was Thutmose III or some rival Canaanite city. In addition, it has been pointed out that the documents of Thutmose III do not speak about destruction but only "to plunder" or "to capture".

Shishak made his campaign in 925 BCE, and it is also reported in the temple of Karnak. The stele at Megiddo confirms the historicity of his wars, and in view of this, it is contemporary with the events it describes. As in the case of Thutmose III, the archaeological evidence cannot be used to contest the view that the sites mentioned in Shishak's list have been settled in the last part of 10th century BCE. In six of the sites a destruction level was found (Megiddo, Taanach, Beth Shean, Rehob, Gezer, and Yaham). Shishak's campaign covered large parts of Negev and the Central Hill Country area, Jezreel Valley and sites along the Via Maris.

The Book of Joshua describes the conquest (or rather: settlement) of Canaan made by the Israelites. Traditionally the settlement has been

dated to the 13th-12th centuries BCE. However, using the Bible as the source this differs from the Egyptian ones. Joshua is a part of the Deuteronomistic historical work and it is the result of a complicated and long process of traditions. The historical process of this settlement has not been studied but whether or not the archaeological evidence can be used to invalidate the details of the Book of Joshua has been examined. This theory presupposes that behind the final composition of the biblical text there is a long history of tradition. Nobody knows for certain, how long and how reliable this history of tradition is. This study seeks to test whether archaeological evidence can be used to exclude the hypothesis that Joshua may have preserved historically reliable traditions of the Israelite settlement from the beginning of the Iron Age.¹⁴⁵³

A distinction was also made between the cities which Joshua and the Israelites were reported to have conquered, and those which according to the biblical account were left unconquered before the time of the United Monarchy in the 10th century BCE. The question posed was: can we detect any cultural change during the periods where such a change is reported to have taken place in the biblical tradition. In the case of the “conquered cities” the change was expected to happen in the Iron Age I and in the case of the “unconquered cities” at the beginning of Iron Age II.

When the text is assessed on the grounds of archaeological analysis, the results in each case are quite similar. Egyptian topographical lists cannot be regarded as being in conflict with archaeological evidence, and neither can Joshua’s text be invalidated by archaeological evidence. In the case of Joshua, however, the situation is somewhat more complicated. In most of the “conquered cities” the cultural break was found between Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I or during Iron Age I (Hazor, Lachish, Bethel, Debir, Tirzah, Eglon, Hormah, Hebron, Jarmuth, Jericho, Ai, Hephher, and Madon). At Jericho we have remains of a poor settlement from the Late Bronze Age and some signs of occupation of Iron Age I. At Ai the Late Bronze

¹⁴⁵³ Even Finkelstein & Silberman (2001, 15) finds it possible that the biblical tradition preserves historical traditions, “Thus it seemed that even if the biblical text was set down in writing long after the events it describes, it must have been based on a substantial body of accurately preserved memories.”

Age settlement is missing. At Arad both Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I levels are missing.

When the “unconquered” cities are considered it is found that the change in culture did not take place in the 12th –11th century BCE but in the 10th century BCE. This archaeological evidence is not in opposition to the information gained from the Books of Joshua (chapters 13 and 17) and Judges (chapter 1) where it is relate that these cities were left unconquered. The fact should also be mentioned that these “unconquered cities” having also been included in Joshua 12 indicates a literary conflict inside the biblical texts and this analysis has supported the view that archaeological evidence corresponds well with Judges 1 but not Joshua 12.

Different archaeological evidence

The Egyptian campaigns produced contemporary documents in the temple of Karnak. Much of the archaeological evidence at the sites mentioned in those lists can be used to argue for the historical facticity of the inscriptions. The appearance of scarabs, stealae, amulets, statues (see sites previously mentioned) and Egyptian pottery, as well as many features in architecture (e.g. Kadesh, Kumidi, Aphek, Beth Shean) are in correlate well with information given in Thutmosis III’s texts. The stela at Megiddo confirms the presence of Shishak in that country.

The archaeological evidence concerning the conquest narrative narrated in Joshua is different. There are no clear archaeological signs to define the nationality or ethnicity of the settlers in the land of Canaan. Late Bronze Age inhabitants of that area have commonly been called Canaanites, without making any specific definition of their ethnic background. In this study, the term “Coastal Plain culture” has been used for the areas and the sites where Late Bronze Age material continues to dominate without any significant change. Such continuity is, in particular, visible in the areas in plains and valleys. Furthermore, we used the name “Hill Country Culture” for the sites where a new population arrived at the beginning of the Iron Age. These “Hill Country people” settled the central mountain area of the land. They inhabited areas mainly unsettled and established hundreds of new towns (villages) in the Hill Country. In this study it has been suggested that a similar material culture, so common in the

Hill Country, is even observable in some central cities during Iron Age I, such as Hazor, Lachish, Bethel, Tirzah, Hormah, Hebron, Tappuah, Hopher, Madon, and Dan. The settling of these cities took place in the Iron Age I, but not simultaneously. The period of the settlement of these sites was the entire Iron Age I. In about half of these sites (Hazor, Lachish, Bethel, Debir, Tirzah, Madon) a destruction level has been found.

As the study has pointed out, the change from the Coastal Plain Culture to the Hill Country Culture in some other sites took place later, at the beginning of Iron Age II. These cities are Megiddo, Jerusalem, Gezer, Dor, Taanach, Jokneam, Aphek, Achshaph, and Kedesh. This list of cities correlates with the list of the “unconquered cities” in Joshua and Judges. These cities either have been mentioned in the biblical account (Megiddo, Jerusalem, Gezer, Dor, Taanach) or are located in the same area. (Jokneam, Aphek, Achshaph, Kedesh).

Different time span

The length of the military campaigns of the three “conquerers” (Thutmose III, Joshua and Shishak) were different. Of these three, the dating of Shishak is the most certain. It is known for certain that he made one well documented campaign into the Land of Canaan. It took place in 925 BCE or close to that year. There was just one campaign, even though it probably included several task forces. It cannot be verified that everything really took place during in merely one year, but this is most probable.

The topographical list of Thutmose III may include data from more than one campaign, however, most are derived from his Megiddo battle in 1456 BCE. However it is very probable there are also names of later campaigns, especially from 1449 BCE and from 1446 BCE. Nevertheless, the time span concerning Thutmose is quite short (possibly ten years) and all the names belong to his era as an Egyptian ruler.

Regarding the Book of Joshua the archaeological time span is different. Having referred already to the question of the “conquered” and “unconquered” cities the assumption was that the cultural change from the Coastal Plain culture to the Hill Country Culture took place among the conquered during the Iron Age I and among the

unconquered at the beginning of Iron Age II. The difference in time may be about two hundreds years.

In addition, there were differences found when studying the time scale of the cultural change among the “conquered” cities. The destruction of the Late Bronze Age II sites at the “conquered” cities took place at the end of the 13th century BCE (Hazor, Bethel, Tirzah, Debir?) or in the middle of 12th century BCE (Lachish). In some of the sites an occupational gap followed after the collapse of the Late Bronze Age (Hazor, Lachish, Eglon). The first Iron Age settlement emerged in the 13th century B.C (Bethel, Tirzah, Ai), in the 12th century BCE (Hazor, Debir, Hebron), in the 11th century BCE (Lachish, Hormah), or in the 10th century BCE (Eglon, Arad). Jericho was settled neither in Iron Age I nor in Iron Age IIA. Jarmuth and possibly Eglon were cities occupied by the Philistines in Iron Age I.

The archaeological survey of these sites in this study shows that the cultural change from the Coastal Plain Culture to the Hill Country Culture took place during a long period of time. Although the dating of a shift in these settlements cannot be very exact it seems very probable that the process started at the beginning of Iron Age I and continued up until the end of Iron Age I. The time span is probably some two hundred years.

Thus, when looking for the period of the settlement of the Hill Country people, the first places found were Bethel, Tirzah, and Ai, all located in the central Hill Country area. This is in concordance with the archaeological surveys, which have discovered hundreds of small new settlements in the same region. The next phase took place in the north (Hazor) and in the south (Hebron and Debir). Then the area expanded towards the Shephelah (Lachish) and then further to the south (Hormah). The last phase of Hill Country people settlement was directed south-east of Lachish (Eglon) and towards the Negev (Arad). This took place at the same time as the “unconquered” cities were settled. These were located on the Sharon Plain (Aphek, Dor), in the Shephelah (Gezer), in the Jezreel Valley (Taanach, Jokneam, Megiddo, Kedesh), on Acco Plain (Achshaph), and Jerusalem in the middle of the Hill Country.

Accordingly, in Joshua we are dealing with a longer time span than with the Egyptian documents. The change from the Coastal Plain

culture to the Hill Country culture took place among the “conquered” cities from the 13th to 10th centuries and among the “unconquered” cities in the 10th century BCE. Interestingly, in Josh. 11:18 the biblical writer notes that “Joshua made war for a long time with all those kings.” This may indicate that there was a memory of the long process of the settlement.

Empirical models

The extant biblical text in its final form was written a considerable time later than when the events occurred, and therefore there is a lengthy period between the events it purports to describe and the text. It is difficult to know how old the assumed previous literary or oral traditions behind the text are. One recent methodological tool in approaching this question is called the theory of *empirical models*.¹⁴⁵⁴ It does not reveal the backgrounds of the Book of Joshua, but it presents one possible model for assessing how an old tradition grew into a more developed literary composition.

With the aid of literal documents empirical models provide tools for following the historical development of some given text. One example concerning the biblical tradition is to investigate how the Book of Chronicles has used the Books of Samuel and the Kings. Another example concerns the Akkadian Gilgamesh Epic.¹⁴⁵⁵ Different versions of this Epic from different historical periods have been found in archaeological excavations. Several changes have emerged during the centuries but in spite of this the basic story of the Epic has remained the same. The most common version of the Gilgamesh Epic is the Babylonian text from the 7th century BCE and the oldest one is the Sumeric version that dates back to the 21st century BCE. At least seven Sumerian compositions concerning Gilgamesh are known. Gilgamesh himself may have been a king of Uruk in the Second Early Dynastic Period of Sumer, c. 2700-2500 BCE.¹⁴⁵⁶

Antti Laato has mentioned five important features, which we must take into account when we study these kind of old traditions. Firstly,

¹⁴⁵⁴ The basic study is Tigay, J. H. (ed.) *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (1985). See also Laato, 2002, 23-33.

¹⁴⁵⁵ See Tigay, J. H., *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (1982). Other examples, see Kofoed 2005, 89-92.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Tigay 1985, 27-46.

different versions may use different phrases and style when telling the same story. Secondly, the later redactor often returns to the original source after making use of other texts in some passage (this is called in German “Wiederaufnahme”). Thirdly, the redactor does not have to follow the original text word-for-word, and is quite free to make some changes. Fourthly, the redactor may insert parts of some very early texts into a later text. Therefore, the inserted parts may be old although they appear in a late edition. Finally, the tradition process may have been conservative, with the essential parts of the text, in respect of the story itself, having remained the same during the centuries, even for thousands of years.¹⁴⁵⁷

From the point of view of this study this means that no decision can be made about the age of the text in Joshua by simply dating the latest composition of the Deuteronomistic History Work. The text may contain much earlier material, and this original is no longer available. In this archaeological study, it is suggested that the many details in the Book of Joshua may be connected with the archaeological data from Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I. Furthermore, very early versions (oral or literary) of Joshua may have existed, even though there is no longer any direct evidence of it. The details in the Book of Joshua are partly in conflict with other biblical texts (mainly Judges 1) and it cannot be proved that there was simply one systematic conquest of the Land of Canaan. However, many details in the Book of Joshua can clearly be related to the archaeological data available to us. Assuming that early versions (oral or literary) of Joshua may have existed, the information in the Book of Joshua cannot be excluded when seeking for evidence of the early Israel.

As part of the Deuteronomistic History Work the final form of the Book of Joshua has been dated to the 6th century BCE, but it must have been constructed on the basis of older traditions. As noticed, the estimates of the age of previous traditions vary and the oldest ones may go back into the Late Bronze Age.¹⁴⁵⁸ The literary texts are probably based on an oral tradition. The art of writing was quite common in the 9th –8th centuries BCE and the earliest Hebrew texts

¹⁴⁵⁷ Laato 2002, 28-31. Tigay (1985, 46-52) catalogues seven aspects where the traditions may differ and three conservative elements.

¹⁴⁵⁸ See e.g. Rainey 1996, 11-12, Finkelstein 1996d, 227, and Gottwald 1999, 151.

found in Israel are from 11th to 10th centuries (e.g. Izbeth Sartah ostracon and Gezer calendar). Obviously many texts have disappeared because they had been written on papyrus.¹⁴⁵⁹

It is usually assumed that geographical information has often been better preserved than narrative material.¹⁴⁶⁰ As Na'aman has pointed out, in Joshua the re-naming of the sites may indicate the use of very early tradition. Among these are Kiriath-Arba – Hebron; Kiriath-Sepher – Debir; Zephath – Hormah; Luz – Bethel; and Laish – Dan.¹⁴⁶¹

In addition, as demonstrated in the study, the accounts of the “unconquered” cities in Joshua and Judges, reveals interestingly that biblical tradition has preserved reliable historical data from the periods in which the events actually took place. If the biblical writer had only created the text in the 6th century, it would not have been possible to present the historical situation as it was in the region some five hundreds years earlier.

Therefore, the theory of empirical models strengthens the possibility that the biblical text has a long history behind it and it may have preserved proper historical data during the centuries.

Comparing archaeology and the biblical tradition: the Philistines

In this study textual evidence has been compared (Egyptian and biblical) with archaeological research. It is obvious that one of the best examples, where the comparison of text and archaeology helps us to understand a historical situation, is the case of the Philistines. This group entered into the land of Canaan in Iron Age I. Three different sources have transmitted this information: the Egyptian sources from the time of Ramses III, the archaeological excavations, and the biblical tradition.

The arrival of the Sea Peoples changed the entire historical situation in the Middle East in Iron Age I. The battle between the Sea Peoples and the Egyptians is documented in the Medinet Habu temple in Egypt. Ramses III fought against these new invaders in the eighth year of his reign (c. 1176 BCE). The Egyptians preserved some

¹⁴⁵⁹ See e.g. Finkelstein 1988, 76-80, Laato 2002, 33-35, Kofoed 2005, 89-92, 124-125.

¹⁴⁶⁰ See even Finkelstein & Silberman (2001, 79), “It was clear that the book of Joshua was not a completely imaginary fable. It accurately reflected the geography of the land of Israel.”

¹⁴⁶¹ Na'aman 1994, 280.

depictions of that war on the walls of their temple. The Philistines were one group thought to belong to the Sea Peoples.

Archaeological excavations in Israel have revealed a new group of people arriving on the Coastal Plain in Iron Age I. Their pottery is called Mycenaean IIIC, and the subgroup called Mycenaean IIIC:1b is a particular indication of these new incomers. This pottery is also connected with the Philistine invasion and the ceramic type is therefore often called "Philistine" pottery. The main sites containing this pottery are Ashdod, Tel Miqne (Ekron), Tell es-Safi (Gath), and Tell Qasile. Small quantities of this pottery have also been found in several other places.

Biblical tradition establishes the arrival of the Philistines on the Coastal Plain and the Shephelah region. The Philistine pentapolis is said to have comprised of Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron (e.g. Josh. 13:3). One of the main battles between the Philistines and the Israelites is said to have taken place close to Aphek by the Yarkon river (1 Sam. 4). At some period, the influence of the Philistines even reached as far as the Judean Hill Country (1 Sam. 13-14, 2 Sam. 5:17-25) and to the Jezreel Valley (1 Sam. 31). Mostly the border between the Philistines and the Israelites seemed to have been somewhere in the Shephelah (e.g. Judges 14-16 and 1 Sam. 17).

In the case of the Philistines, there are Egyptian inscriptions, archaeological studies and biblical narratives, all pointing to the same direction: this group of the Sea Peoples entered in the Land of Canaan in the 12th century BCE.

To conclude this chapter, it can be established that there are striking differences among the sources of the two Egyptian military campaigns and biblical conquest traditions in Joshua. In spite of this, all are literary sources, which can be compared with the archaeological information. The study of the empirical models has shown that ancient texts may contain very old traditions. Archaeological excavations have shown that this kind of comparison is a relevant task. The Philistines are a very good example of a correlation between the Egyptian, biblical, and archaeological data.

5.2 Similarities and dissimilarities between Thutmosis III, Shishak and Joshua

The study examined 46 sites from Thutmosis III's list, 41 sites from Shishak's list and 29 sites from the lists of Joshua 10-12. Excavations or surveys have been carried out in 34 of Thutmosis III's sites, in 27 of Shishak's sites and in 27 of Joshua's sites. The study concentrated on places where excavations or surveyd have been conducted.

Regarding Thutmosis III's list the archaeology of Late Bronze Age I was examined, and in relation to Shishak's list the beginning of Iron Age II, while with Joshua the Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I and II were considered. The historical situation in Canaan was different in each of these periods. The Late Bronze Age was a period of Egyptian hegemony in the land of Canaan. This domination collapsed at the end of Late Bronze Age II. The arrival of the Sea Peoples changed the situation in Iron Age I. The origin of the Israelite settlement is said to have begun in Iron Age I and to have continued into Iron Age IIA.

When Thutmosis III invaded the country, it was already partly under Egyptian control and he strengthened Egyptian hegemony in the land. No national entities existed in Canaan, the towns being Canaanite city-states. Shishak, for his part, attacked a country that, according to the biblical tradition, was already settled by the Israelites. Joshua's time belongs in between these two Egyptian campaigns.

The names occurring in all three lists are Megiddo, Taanach and Gezer. Beth Shean is known both in Thutmosis III's and Shishak's lists. Thutmosis III and Joshua both have the names Hazor, Aphek, Achshaph and Jokneam. Shishak and Joshua both have Arad and Tirzah. Furthermore, the names occurring in at least two of the sources are Megiddo, Taanach, Jokneam, and Beth Shean from the Jezreel Valley region; Gezer and Aphek from the Coastal Plain; Achshaph from the Acco Plain; Tirzah from the Central Hill Country, and Arad from the Negev. Almost all of them (except Tirzah and Arad) are located along the Via Maris or on one of its branches. They are all part of the group which forms the largest cities mentioned in the lists. Therefore, it is understandable that precisely these cities were targets of military operations.

After studying the lists of Thutmosis III and Shishak it has been pointed out, from the archaeological point of view, that it was not possible to single out one clear case where a settlement was not to be found. This means that the text and archaeological data correlate very well and no apparent conflict can be detected. However, it is significant that in most cases no destruction level could be found. In the case of Thutmosis III's sites there are only three candidates for cities that the Pharaoh may have destroyed, and in the case of Shishak's sites a destruction level has been found in six cities. From an archaeological point of view, it cannot be ascertained who destroyed the cities.

In the case of Joshua 12 the settlement from the period in question was studied. In this case, the time span was greater, about two hundred years. In addition, the question was posed as to which culture was dominant in the cities. A distinction was made between three different cultures: Coastal Plain (C), Hill Country (H), and the Philistine (P) cultures. A distinction was also made between "conquered" and "unconquered" cities. The conclusion was that, in all of the sites in the group of the "conquered" cities, C-culture dominated in Late Bronze Age II. In most sites the change into H-culture took place in Iron Age I, at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the period. In some locations it took place only after an occupational gap. The Iron Age II habitation belongs to H-culture.

The group of "unconquered" cities gave a different result. C-culture continued in almost all the sites until Iron Age II. Cultural change took place at different times. H-culture began in the "conquered" cities in Iron Age I and in the "unconquered" cities at the beginning of Iron Age II.

5.3 The issue of ethnicity

At the end of this study some words must be said about ethnicity. It has not been decided who the people in C-culture and in H-culture were, although by referring to excavation reports this question has occasionally been dealt with in passing. The question of ethnicity is a complicated topic.¹⁴⁶² Archaeology can give important contributions to

¹⁴⁶² See e.g. Kletter 1999, 19-54 and Kletter (forthcoming) 551-563.

the theme but it also leaves many questions open. The Philistines are the best example of an ethnic group that can be identified on the grounds of their ceramic assemblages. According to the Mycenaean III C:1b pottery the presence of the Philistines can be recognised.¹⁴⁶³

Who were the people living in the Land of Canaan in the Bronze Age? Who are the new incomers at the beginning of the Iron Age? These questions of the origins and ethnicity of these peoples has been a much-debated topic during the last decades. This discussion is now briefly referred to.

The Late Bronze Age people are often called Canaanites. This term may include several different peoples or tribes but it is the commonly used description of the populace in Palestine in the Bronze Ages. The name "Canaanites" appear in numerous ancient texts in various languages. Rainey in his article *Who is Canaanite? A Review of the Textual Evidence* has pointed out that this name occurs, for example, in Hurro-Akkadian administrative documents, in Egyptian military texts, in the Amarna Letters, in a diplomatic text of the king of Mitanni, in Babylonian correspondence, and in a letter from Alashia.¹⁴⁶⁴ Biblical texts also refer several times to the Canaanites.

The question concerning the Iron Age people is more complicated. The Iron Age I Hill Country settlers represent a new habitation in this area. From an archaeological point of view their existence can be verified but their origins cannot be defined. As established previously, there are many characteristic features related to this new populace. Ceramic assemblage and settlement patterns separate them from the people on the plains. However, these characteristics are not completely unique and the same features may also occur in other places. Some collar-rim jars have also been found on the plains, and the so called four-room-houses appear in Transjordan.

Finkelstein has shown that the occupation of this Hill Country region is actually part of a long-term, cyclic process. Three waves of settlements with two intervals of decline took place in the area in the third and second millennia BCE. The periods of establishing the settlements have common features and so do the periods of decline.¹⁴⁶⁵

¹⁴⁶³ See also an interesting attempt to find ethnicity in the Iron Age I Cyprus, Negbi 1998b, 87-93.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Rainey 1996, 1-15. See also Gonen 1984, 61-73, Negbi 1998, 184-207, and Rainey 2003, 169-177.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Finkelstein 1995, 198-212.

Of course, this cyclic process of habitation does not exclude the possibility that in some or all of them, the ethnicity of the migrating people might be different.

Finkelstein assumes that dietary patterns are good indicators of the identity of ethnic groups. He further considers the percentage of pig bones in the faunal assemblages especially important. It may reflect different environmental and socio-economic backgrounds but also food-taboos, which can shed light on ethnic boundaries. Concerning the Hill Country settlers in Iron Age I, it has been pointed out that this food method divided them from the inhabitants on the Coastal Plain and in the Shephelah. The percentages, all of pig bones, were according to the sites as follows: Ashkelon 10.4, Tel Miqne 18.0, Tel Batash 8.0, Shiloh 0.1, Mount Ebal 0, and Khirbet Raddana 0. At Heshban in Transjordan the percentage was 4.8.¹⁴⁶⁶ The same kind of calculations has also been made in Jerusalem at the Temple Mount excavations and at Giloh and at Tel Halif.¹⁴⁶⁷

As we have seen, the argumentation just presented led Finkelstein in 1988 to the conclusion that the new Hill Country settlers in Iron Age I were early Israelites.¹⁴⁶⁸ Others have called them Proto-Israelites (Dever).¹⁴⁶⁹ Finkelstein, only two years later, changed his opinion although nothing new in the archaeological field was discovered. Part of Finkelstein's material is based on Adam Zertal's survey in the Hill Country of Manasseh.

Zertal further pointed out that his survey in the 2000 square km area revealed an isolated culture from Iron Age I. He counted 11 variables: settlement pattern; site size and plan; architecture; continuity from Late Bronze into Iron Age II; limited pottery inventory; diet, based on botanical and zoological specimens; metalurgical finds, their origin and nature; cult and cultic places; place names; size of population; and cultural connections with previous and

¹⁴⁶⁶ Finkelstein 1996c, 206. See also Finkelstein & Silberman 2001, 119-120.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Seger et al. 1988, 26-27, Horwitz & Tchernov 1989, 144-154, Mazar 1990b, 77-101.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Finkelstein 1988, 259-356. Pitkänen (2004, 161-182) has studied the ethnicity of the first Israelites and has come to the same conclusion as Finkelstein in 1988. Kletter (2004, 30), on the other hand, has given critical questions to define ethnicity this way.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Kletter (forthcoming) 560 has pointed out that the term "Proto-Israelites" is ambiguous and should not be used. "Ethnicity does not work backward. There are no 'Proto-French' or 'Proto-Germans'."

subsequent cultural entities. He concluded that these features “create a portrait of a unique culture which differed from its predecessors but was quite similar to the subsequent Iron Age II culture.”¹⁴⁷⁰

This similarity to the subsequent Iron Age II culture is significant because that culture has been, quite commonly, accepted to be Israelite. From the 9th and 8th centuries BCE there are also a large amount of Hebrew inscriptions verifying the Judahite/Israelite existence in Palestine.¹⁴⁷¹

The first occurrence of the name Israel in Pharaoh Merneptah’s stele in c.1208 BCE is also worth noting. It is very early, but is dated to the same period when the first Hill Country settlers inhabited the inner part of the Land of Canaan.

The question of ethnicity has not been the main topic of this study. Nevertheless, the study has demonstrated that viewed archaeologically the possibility cannot be excluded that the Hill Country settlers were Israelites as the biblical tradition seems to indicate. Naturally, this is a topic of further studies.

5.4 The Book of Joshua and Early Israel

The aim has not been to resolve all the questions concerning the settlement of the Land of Canaan in the Iron Age, or decide which one of all the theories of the origins of Israel is correct. It should not be claimed either that the Book of Joshua is historically reliable in all its accounts.

By comparing the Egyptian military campaigns with the biblical tradition preserved in Joshua from an archaeological point of view the similarities and differences have been studied. The analysis has shown that there are both similar and dissimilar results concerning the relation of literary sources and archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, no decisive archaeological arguments have been

¹⁴⁷⁰ Zertal 1998, 238-250. Even Finkelstein & Silberman (2001, 107) admits that it was a revolution in lifestyle in the beginning of the Iron Age I in the Central Hill Country and “although there is no way to know if ethnic identities had been fully formed at this time, we identify these distinctive highland villages as “Israelite” since many of them were continuously occupied well into the period of the monarchies—an era from which we have abundant sources, both biblical and extrabiblical, testifying that their inhabitants consciously identified themselves as Israelites.”

¹⁴⁷¹ Laato 2002, 318.

detected, which would invalidate the historicity of the Book of Joshua, even though the analysis has also shown that there are several possible ways of interpreting the factual archaeological evidence.

Archaeological evidence is in many respects ambivalent as far as its use in historical constructions is concerned. A scholar, who is open to the viewpoint that the Book of Joshua contains older traditions, is able to connect archaeological evidence with many of the details in Joshua. The purpose of this study was to present one analysis of the history of early Israel from archaeological point of view. Other studies with more detailed methodological procedure must be written, if the problems of the origins of early Israel are to be completely resolved.

6 APPENDICES

6.1 Comparative stratigraphy

Comparative stratigraphy of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age from some excavated sites belonging to the lists of Thutmosis III, Shishak and Joshua 10-12 (traditional chronology)

T = Thutmosis III, S = Shishak, J = Joshua

Name of the site	Late Bronze I	Late Bronze II	Iron Age I	Iron Age IIA
Acco (T 47)	10	9	8	7- 5
Achshaph/T. Keisan (T 40, J 24)		13	12 - 9a	8
Aphek (T 66, J 19)	X14	X13 - X11	X11 - X9	X8 - X6
Arad (S 108, 109, J 12)				XII - XI
Beth-shemesh (T 89)		IV	III	IIA - IIB
Beth Shean (T 110, S 16)	IXB	IXA - VII	VI-LowerV	Upper V
Chinnereth (T 34)	VIII - VII		VI - V	IV
Debir/Kh. Rabud (J 9)	LB 4-3	LB2-1	A4	A3
Dor (J 29)			12-10	9
Eglon/T. Eton (J 7)				II-I
Gath/T.es-Safi (T 63)		10 - 9	6	5- 3
Gezer (T 104, S 12, J 8)	XVIII - XVII	XVI - XIV	XIII - IX	VIII - VI
Hazor (T 32, J 22)	XV	XIV - XIII	XII - XI	X - IX
Hebron (J 4)				
Horma/T. Halif (J 11)	XI - IXB	IXA - VIII	VII	VIB
Jarmuth (J 5)		AcrVI	AcrV-III B	
Jerusalem/City of David (J 3)		16	15	14
Jokneam (T 113, J 28)	XX	XIX	XVIII-XVII	XVI - XIV
Joppa (T 62)	VI	V - IV	IIIB	IIIA
Kedesh/T. Abu Kudeis		VIII	VII	VI
Kishion/T. el-Ajjul (T 37)	IIIA	IIIB		
Kumidi (T 8)	13	12	11-10	
Lachish (J 6)	IX	VIII - VI	VI	V
Laish/Dan (T 31)	VIII	VII	VI - V	IV
Megiddo (T 2, S 27, J 26)	IX	VIII - VIIB	VIIA - VIB/A	VB-VA/IVB

Name of the site	Late Bronze I	Late Bronze II	Iron Age I	Iron Age IIA
Ophrah/Afula (T 53,54)		IIIB	IIIA	
Rehob (T 87, S 17)	(10)	(9b-8)	VII	VI - IV
Taanach (T 42, S 14, J 25)			IA - IB	IIA - IIB
Tirzah/T.el-Farah (S 59, J 31)			III?	III?

6.2 Identification of the sites

Name in the list	Modern name	Map reference
Abel (-beth-maacah) (T92)	Tell Abel el-Qam	204.296
Acco (T47)	Tell el-Fukhar/Tel Acco	158.258
Achshaph (T40, J 24)	Tell Keisan/Tel Kison	164.253
Adam (S56)	Tell ed-Damiyeh	201.167
Adamim (T36)	Khirbet et-Tell	193.239
Adoraim (S19)	Dura	152.101
Adullam (J14)	Tell esh Sheikh Madhkur	150.117
Ai (J2)	Khirbet et-Tell	174.147
Aijalon (S26)	Yalo	152.138
Allamelech (T45)	Tell en-Nahl/Nahal	157.245
Anaharath (T52)	Tell el-Mukharkhash/Tel Rekes	194.228
Aphek (T66, J19)	Tell Ras el-'Ain	143.168
Arad (S108, J12)	Tel Arad	162.076
Aruna (S32)	Khirbet Ara	157.212
Ashtaroth (T28)	Tell Ashtarah	243.244
Berothai (T19)	Bereitan	257.372
Bethel (J16)	Tell Beitin	172.148
Beth Shean (T110, S16)	Tel Beth Shean	197.212
Beth-horon (S24)	Beit 'Ur el-Foqa`	160.143
Beth-shemesh (T89)	Khirbet Tell er-Ruweisi	181.271
Borim (S33)	Khirbet Burim/Burin	153.203
Chinnereth (T34)	Tell el-'Oreimeh/Tel Kinrot	200.252
Damascus (T13)	Damascus	272.324
Debir (J9)	Khirbet Rabud	151.093
Dor (J29)	Khirbet el-Burj/Tel Dor	142.224
Edrei (T91)	Dera/Dura	253.224
Eglon (J7)	Tell 'Aitun/Tel 'Eton	143.099
Ezem (S66)	Umm el-'Azam	140.055
Gath (T63)	Tell es-Safi	135.123
Gath-padalla (S34)	Jett	154.200
Gaza (S11)	Tell Harube/Tell Azza	099.101
Geder (J10)	Khirbet Jedur/Gedor	158.115
Gezer (T104, S12, J8)	Tell el-Jazari/Tel Gezer	142.140
Gibbethon (T103)	Tell Malat	137.140

Gibeon (S23)	el-Jib	167.139
Gophnah (S64)	Khirbet Ghureitis	172.151
Hapharaim (S18)	et-Taiyibeh?	192.223
Hazor (T32,J22)	Tell el-Qedah/Tel Hazor	203.269
Hebron (J4)	Tell er-Rumeidah/Tel Hebron	159.103
Helkath (T112)	Tell el-Qassis/Tel Qasis	160.232
Hepher (J18)	Tell el-Muhaffar	170.205
Hormah (J11)	Tell el-Khuleifeh/Tel Halif	137.088
Ibleam (T43)	Tell Bel'ameh	177.205
Ijon (T95)	Tell ed-Dibbin	205.308
Jarmuth (J5)	Khirbet el-Yarmuk/Tell Jarmuth	147.124
Jericho (J1)	Tell es-Sultan	192.142
Jerusalem (J3)	Jerusalem	172.131
Jokneam (T113, J28)	Tell Qeimun/Tel Jokneam	160.230
Joppa (T62)	Yafo	126.162
Kadesh (T1)	Tell Nebi Mend	291.444
Kedesh (J 27)	Tel Abu Kudeis	170.218
Kenath (T26)	El Qanawat	302.241
Kiriathaim (S25)	Tell el-Azar	159.135
Kishion (T37)	Tell el-Ajjul (north)	185.225
Kumidi (T8)	Tell Kamid el-Loz	226.337
Laban (S3a)	Tell Abu Seleimeh	064.071
Lachish (J6)	Tell ed-Duweir/Tel Lachish	135.108
Laish (T31)	Tell el Qadi/Tel Dan	211.294
Lebo(-hamath) (T10)	Lebweh	277.397
Libnah (J13)	Tell Bornat	138.115
Lod (T64)	Lod	140.151
Madon (T51, J21)	Tel Qarnei Hittin	193.245
Mahanaim (S22)	Telul ed-Dhahab el-Garbi	214.177
Makkedah (J15)	Khirbet el-Qom	146.105
Megiddo (T2, S27,J26)	Tell el-Mutesellim/Tel Megiddo	167.221
Merom (T85)	Tell el-Khirbeh	190.275
Migdal (S58)	Tell edh-Dhurur/Tel Zeror	147.203
Mishal (T39)	Tel Regev	158.240
Ono (T65)	Kafr 'Ana	137.159
Ophrah (T53)	'Afulah/'Affuleh	177.223
Penuel (S53)	Tell ed-Dhahab esh-Sherqieh	215.177
Photeis (S69)	Khirbet Futeis	
Rabbah/Rubute (T105, S13)	Khirbet Hamideh/Khirbet el-Hilu	149.137
Raphia (S2a)	Tell esh.Sheikh Suleiman/Tel Rafah	075.079
Raphon (T29)	er-Rafeh	258.255

Rehob (T87)	Tell el-Balat?	177.280
Rehob (S17)	Tel Rehov	197.207
Shemesh-edom (T51, J21)	see Madon	
Shimron(-meron) (T35, J23)	Khirbet Sammuniyeh/Tell Shimron	170.234
Shunem (T38, S15)	Solem/Sulem	181.223
Socoh (T67, S38)	Shuweiket er-Ras	153.194
Succoth (S55)	Tell Deir 'Alla	208.178
Taanach (T42, S14, J25)	Tell Ti'innik	171.214
Tappuah (J17)	Sheikh Abu Zarad	172.168
Tirzah (S59, J31)	Tell el-Far'ah (North)	182.188
Tob (T22)	et-Tayibeh	266.218
Yaham (S35)	Khirbet Yemma/Tell Yaham	153.197
Zemaraim (S57)	Ras et-Tahuneh	170.146

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9 ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS	Les Annales Archeologiques Arabes Syriennes.
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies. An Annual Published by the Centre for Classics and Archaeology. University of Melbourne.
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament
‘Atiqot	‘Atiqot. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BN	Biblische Notizen
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW
CBA	The Carta Bible Atlas
ESI	Excavations and Surveys in Israel
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES	Journal of the Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
LXX	The Septuagint
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology (formerly Biblical Archaeologist)
NEAHL	The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land

NIV	New International Version (The Holy Bible)
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PJ	Palästina-Jahrbuch
RB	Revue biblique
SJOT	Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament
SMM	Student Map Manual
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
TA	Tel Aviv
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
VT	Vetus Testamentum
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins



Wars in the Middle East are almost an every day part of our lives, and undeniably the history of war in this area is very long indeed. This study examines three such wars, all of which were directed against the Land of Canaan. Two campaigns were conducted by Egyptian Pharaohs and one by the Israelites. The question considered being whether or not these wars really took place. This study gives one methodological viewpoint to answer this question. The author studies the archaeology of all the geographical sites mentioned in the lists of Thutmosis III and Shishak and compares them with the cities mentioned in the Conquest stories in the Book of Joshua.

Altogether 116 sites were studied, and the comparison between the texts and the archaeological results offered a possibility of establishing whether the cities mentioned, in the sources in question, were inhabited, and, furthermore, might have been destroyed during the time of the Pharaohs and the biblical settlement period. Despite the nature of the two written sources being so very different it was possible to make a comparative study.

This study gives a fresh view on the fierce discussion concerning the emergence of the Israelites. It also challenges both Egyptological and biblical studies to use the written texts and the archaeological material together so that they are not so separated from each other, as is often the case.

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