



# From **Conquest** to **Coexistence**

Ideology and Antiquarian Intent  
in the Historiography of  
Israel's Settlement in Canaan

**Koert van Bekkum**

THEOLOGISCHE UNIVERSITEIT VAN DE GEREFORMEERDE KERKEN  
IN NEDERLAND TE KAMPEN

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**FROM CONQUEST TO COEXISTENCE**  
**IDEOLOGY AND ANTIQUARIAN INTENT IN THE**  
**HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ISRAEL'S SETTLEMENT IN CANAAN**

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Cover illustrations:

View from Tel Megiddo, Area K, in south-eastern direction, July 2000.

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A seated, decapitated figure from the Area C, Stratum Ia temple at Tel Hazor.

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חבלים נפלוגלי בנעמים  
אף־נחלת שפרה עלי:

(Ps. 16:6)

## ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
ADP	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
Ä&L	Ägypten und Levante / Egypt and the Levant
AfOB	Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AntSurv	Antiquity and Survival
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AR	Archaeological Reports
ARWAW	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BABesch	Bulletin Antieke Beschaving
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BAR/IS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BBR	Bulletin for Biblical Research
BBRS	Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplement
BCAT	Biblicher Kommentar zum Alten Testament
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver, C.A. Briggs, <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon</i> , Oxford <sup>10</sup> 1977
BE	Biblische Enzyklopädie
BEATAJ	Beiträge der Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
Berg.	G. Bergsträsser, <i>Hebräische Grammatik</i> , Bd. 1-2, Hildesheim 21962
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar of New York
BET	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHH	Biblich-historisches Handwörterbuch
Bib	Biblica
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblicher Kommentar zum Alten Testament
BN	Biblische Notizen

BOT	Boeken van het Oude Testament
BR	Bible Review
BTAVO	Beihefte zur Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients
BWANT	Beiträge der Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZAR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CB OTS	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CANE	Civilizations of the Ancient Near East
CBET	Contributions to Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CCEM	Contributions to the Chronology of the Mediterranean
CE	Collected Essays
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CIS	Copenhagen International Seminar
COT	Commentaar op het Oude Testament
DCH	Dictionary of Classical Hebrew
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DJSS	Duke Judaic Study Series
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
DS SBL	Dissertation Series Society of Biblical Literature
ÉB	Études Bibliques
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EI	Eretz Israel
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
ÉRC	Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations
ESI	Excavations and Surveys in Israel
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FCI	Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GDNES	Gorgias Dissertations, Near Eastern Studies
GesK.	W. Gesenius, E Kautzsch, <i>Hebräische Grammatik</i> , Leipzig <sup>28</sup> 1909
Gib.	J.C.L. Gibson, <i>Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar</i> , Edinburgh <sup>4</sup> 1994
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
GTT	Gereformeerde Theologisch Tijdschrift
HA ESI	Hadashot Arkheologiyot; Excavations and Surveys in Israel
HALOT	<i>Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , Leiden etc. 2001

HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IAA Reports	Israel Antiquities Authority Reports
IDBS	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplement
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
ISBE	International Standard Bible Encyclopedia
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JBL	Journal for Biblical Literature
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
J-M	P. Joüon, T. Muraoka, <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> , Roma 1991
JMA	Journal for Mediterranean Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KBN	De Kemi à Birit Nari
KC	Kamper Cahiers
KS	Kleine Schriften
KV	Korte Verklaring der Heilige Schrift
LÄ	Lexicon der Ägyptologie
LHB/OTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MAA	Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry
MMA	Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology
MT	Masoretic Text
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
NEB	Neue Echter Bibel
NEAEHL	New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land
NES	Near Eastern Studies
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDOTTE	New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis

NTT	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
ÖAWDG	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO/SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica
OEANE	Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
Or	Orientalia
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PA	Palestina Antiqua
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
Pesh.	Peshitta
PJ	Palästina Jahrbuch
POT	Prediking van het Oude Testament
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
QR	Qedem Reports
RB	Revue de Biblique
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
RHJE	Revue d'histoire de juive en Égypte
RIMA	A.K. Grayson, <i>Royal Inscriptions from Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods. Vol. 1-3</i> , Toronto 1987-1996
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAM	Sheffield Archaeological Monographs
SBAB	Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBTS	Sources for Biblical and Theological Study
SGKIO	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SIC	Scripture in Context
SJOT	Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
STJ	Scottish Theological Journal
SWBAS	Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series
TA	Tel Aviv
TAMS	Tel Aviv Monograph Series

Targ.	Targumim
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients
TB	Theologische Bücherei
ThHAT	Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament
ThWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritik
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TR	Theologische Rundschau
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TynBul	Tyndale Bulletin
UBL	Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
UF	Ugarit Forschungen
UMM	University Museum Monograph
UTB	Uni Taschenbücher
VD	Verbum Dei
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTS	Supplement to Vetus Testamentum
Vulg.	Vulgata
WAS	Wiener alttestamentliche Studien
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WO	B.K. Waltke, M. O'Connor, <i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i> , Winona Lake, IN 1990
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZWT	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie



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## INTRODUCTION

This study explores the historiographical character of a part of the biblical history writing of Israel's settlement in Canaan. Developments in scholarship call for such an investigation. First, there has been a kind of 'linguistic turn' in the approach of ancient historiography. For a long time, ancient historiography in general and Old Testament historiography in particular was mainly studied as a source for the study of antiquity. But since a few decades the textual aspect of historiography has become more and more important. Historiography is seen as historical narrative, a work of art. Therefore the historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan has been separated from the history it refers to, and its historical value is primarily sought in the fact that it is reflecting the ideology of the historiographers. Second, the historical debate about the emergence of Israel changed significantly. The view that the archaeology of the Southern Levant supports the biblical historiography as a kind of external evidence collapsed and comprehensive fieldwork in Israel added a mass of new data. Old hypotheses on the rise of early Israel were replaced by new theories oriented on sociology and anthropology. As a result of these developments, textual sources nowadays play a minimal role in the settlement debate. So it seems that an up-to-date description of the historiographical character of biblical historiography should contain two elements: an analysis of the text and a historical reconstruction of the situation in which the historiographers worked. In this way, the Sisyphean task of the extraction of possible historical nuclei regarding the time the text refers to can be avoided.

But this is easier said than done. In the first place, how should the antiquarian interest that sometimes can be observed in the historiography of the settlement be handled? How is this interest related to the text's ideology? Scholars disagree on this topic. Some characterize the historical narratives of the Old Testament as historicized fiction, but others state that the texts reflect the use of sources and argue that a search for 'historical kernels' behind the stories is still inevitable. Evaluation of these views requires that a historical reconstruction of the period the text refers to, should be included.

A close examination of the archaeological discussion concerning the Late Bronze and Iron Age remains in the areas that later became the heartland of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah reveals a second problem. Archaeology and history are different subjects and it is not easy to draw historical conclusions from material remains. In the settlement debate, it can be shown that the concepts purporting the explanation of the complex archaeological phenomena are highly influenced by images that are reflected in the texts. From a methodological point of view this means that more explicit attention for the textual aspect of the historical problem is recommended.

This study concentrates on some vital chapters in the historiography of Israel in Canaan: Joshua 9:1—13:7. Both abovementioned problems can be summarized in the following question with regard to this textual unit: what is

the relation between its ideology and antiquarian intent? The answer to this question asks for an interdisciplinary dialogue between the textual and artefactual data. In present research text and artefact are often no more than two monologues; and in some respect, they indeed should be. The two cultures should be continued, each on their own terms. But without using them as a check one against the other, it becomes impossible to offer a precise definition of biblical historiography. Textual and archaeological analysis can escape the inability to test hypotheses and make interpretative images explicit by crossing the line dividing their domains. Therefore, the idea of starting a dialogue between the monologues of 'text' and 'artefact' has been taken as a point of departure for this study.

Part I, *Text and Artefact*, shows that this dialogue is necessary, also with regard to the story of Israel's conquest and settlement of the promised land, by offering a detailed analysis of some relevant topics from the fields of historiography and archaeology (Chapter 1).

Part II, *Monologue of Text*, concentrates on historiography. Joshua 9:1—13:7 is translated and annotated (Chapter 2), treated synchronically (Chapter 3 and 4) and studied diachronically (Chapter 5).

Part III, a *Monologue of Artefact*, gathers information that is needed to test the historiographical hypothesis presented at the end of Part II. Archaeological remains of the cities and regions mentioned in the textual unit and historical analysis of non-biblical texts are conducted as pursuits in their own right by a critical review of excavations and socio-archaeological models that are used to interpret the material remains. This not only involves the time the text came into existence, but also the period the text pretends to refer to (Chapter 6).

The true *Dialogue between Text and Artefact* takes place in Part IV. The results of the historical reconstruction on the basis of material remains and non-biblical texts are compared to the historical truth-claims of Joshua 9:1—13:7 as a part of the historiography of Israel in Canaan, and as a result, the relation between the text's ideology and antiquarian intent is defined (Chapter 7).

Finally, an *Epilogue* offers a few comments on the ideology of historical reconstruction and historical probability.

At the end of this introduction, some technical comments have to be made. In the study at hand, the term 'historiography' is synonymous with 'history writing'. When the more specific meaning of the term as 'the reflection on or study of history writing' cannot be avoided, this will be made explicit. The definition of other terms, such as 'history', 'ideology' and 'antiquarian intent', are discussed in section 1.2, whereas the title of the book, 'From Conquest to Coexistence', is explained at the end of section 7.1. Furthermore, personal and geographical names are mentioned by using a simplified transcription of the original in order to cite them in the form currently used in English.

In a similar way, pragmatic considerations have been decisive in choosing the designation of ancient sites. In his with quiet outrage written book *Sacred*

*Landscape. The Buried History of the Holy Land since 1948* (Los Angeles, CA; London 2000) the Israeli scholar Meron Benvenisti has shown that everyone using a name for an ancient archaeological site in modern Israel, the Gaza strip or at the West Bank enters the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It simply matters politically whether the name comes from the British Survey of Palestine, the Israel Survey Department or from a modern Palestinian Map. At the same time, however, many practical problems rise, if all sites are mentioned by the name required by only one side of the political spectrum. Tel Kison, for instance, was excavated as Tell Keisan and in most publications al-Quds is referred to as Jerusalem. Therefore, this study chooses for the uniform designation 'tel' in stead of 'tell', 'khirbet' or 'horvat', while the actual name of a site is defined by its most influential surveyor or excavator and by its name in recent archaeological discussions.



## **I TEXT AND ARTEFACT**



## CHAPTER 1 – HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SETTLEMENT DEBATE

### 1.1 THREE MODELS

From the twenties to the early seventies of the twentieth century CE three models which integrated artefactual and textual evidence, shaped the interpretation of passages from the biblical books of Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges. Like most biblical and historical research of that time, these models viewed the historiography of the settlement as a kind of fictionalised history, which should be studied in the light of the critically reconstructed history of the Southern Levant. Whether the historical reality behind this historiography was judged as a peaceful infiltration, a conquest, or a peasant's revolt, archaeology and exegesis were two sides of the same coin.

#### **Peaceful Infiltration**

The model of peaceful infiltration was invented by Albrecht Alt and further developed by Martin Noth. Alt inherited from Julius Wellhausen the Documentary Hypothesis and the sceptical attitude towards attempts to gain historical information about early Israel from the four discrete sources of the classical Documentary Hypothesis. He shared with Eduard Meyer and Hermann Gunkel the opinion that these sources were not written by authors, but edited collections of legends and folk traditions from disparate date and origin. But Alt was convinced that literary study alone could not resolve the major uncertainties concerning Israel's early history. Therefore he combined his knowledge of the Egyptian texts from the 18th-20th dynasty, the Amarna Letters and of the topography and archaeology of the Southern Levant with historical information from the Book of Samuel. It was his intuition that an analysis of the regional changes in this area during the Late Bronze Age (1550-1200 BCE) and the Iron Age (1200-586 BCE) could separate the known from the unknown and fill the assumed gaps left by the various forms of literary tradition. His most important discovery was a socio-geographical and political transformation: the change from the Late Bronze Southern Levant dominated by the Canaanite city-states of the plains and valleys to the Israel of the United Monarchy centred in the hill country in the Iron Age. This historical change revealed several close connections with the biblical tradition. The socio-geographical situation of the Late Bronze Age correlated with the list of non-conquered city-states in Judges 1 and the system of tribal borders in Joshua 13—19, while the distinction between the valleys and the hill country corresponded with the Canaanite – Israelite dichotomy in the historiography of the settlement as a whole. The logical conclusion was that both the collapse of the Canaanite city-states and the settlement of Israel had their chronological anchors in the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition. Alt interpreted Israel's settlement in the highlands in the light of the pastoral nomadism he knew from the literature of his time and his own experience. It was his hypothesis that Israel came into existence as the

result of a process of gradual infiltration and sedentarization of nomadic and semi-nomadic clans, which over a period of centuries and from several different directions, settled in the unoccupied hill country.<sup>1</sup> This theory corresponded with his characterization of the stories concerning the conquest of the land in the Book of Joshua as a collection of non-historical, aetiological tales from different times and places. However, the element of violence against the Canaanites in some of these stories does reflect historical reality, that is, they correspond to the political disturbances in a second phase of the settlement in which the different groups tried to expand their territories into the plains and valleys.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after Alt had presented his thesis, his disciple Martin Noth offered a solution for one of its most fundamental problems: how did the different groups that settled in the hill country, become a unity? To answer this question, Noth followed some older scholars in drawing a parallel with the bond that existed between the cities of ancient Greece. He supposed that the twelve tribes of Israel formed a unity in a so-called amphictyony, a league of the tribes, bound by common allegiance to Yahweh and his shrine in Shiloh.<sup>3</sup> In many of his studies on biblical historiography, the archaeology and topography of southern Levantine and Egyptian sources, he worked on the further development of Alt's idea of the settlement as a peaceful infiltration.<sup>4</sup> His 'amphictyony' hypothesis and investigations offered a detailed clarification of Alt's thesis of peaceful infiltration and this research enabled him to present a comprehensive view on this phase in the history of Israel.<sup>5</sup> With respect to the historiography of the settlement, Noth developed several ideas about the origin of the lists, heroic sagas and aetiologies that were collected in the narrative sequences of Numbers and Joshua.<sup>6</sup> But in archaeological matters, he was more sceptical.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Alt, 'Neues über Palästina aus dem Archiv Amenhophis IV', *PJ* 20 (1924), 22-41 (= Idem, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Bd. 3, München 1959, 158-75); Idem, 'Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina. Territorialgeschichtliche Studien', *Reformationsprogramm der Universität Leipzig 1925* (= Idem, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Bd. 1, München 1953, 89-125); Idem, 'Das System der Stammegrenzen im Buche Josua', in: *Sellin-Festschrift. Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Archäologie Palästinas*, Leipzig 1927, 13-24 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 193-202).

<sup>2</sup> A. Alt, 'Josua', in: P. Volz et al. (eds), *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments* (BZAW, 66), Berlin 1936, 13-29 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 176-92); Idem, 'Erwägungen über die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina', *PJ* 35 (1935), 8-63 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 126-75).

<sup>3</sup> M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* (BWANT, 52), Stuttgart 1930.

<sup>4</sup> Most of them are collected in M. Noth, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, Bd. 1-2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971.

<sup>5</sup> M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels*, Göttingen 1959, 54-104.

<sup>6</sup> M. Noth, 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumenten des Josua-Buches', *ZDPV* 58 (1935), 85-255 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 229-280); Idem, 'Die fünf Könige in der Höhle von Makkeda', *PJ* 33 (1937), 22-36 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 281-93); Idem, 'Nu 21 als Glied der "Hexateuch"-Erzählung', *ZAW* 58 (1940/41), 161-89 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 75-101).

The disparate date and origin of the stories and the nature of the archaeological finds were in Noth's opinion sufficient reason to argue that it is hardly possible that archaeological investigation will offer the opportunity to elucidate the settlement's historiography. And when it is possible, the result is often negative, as it is the case with Jericho and Ai, where the Late Bronze walls and city could not be found.<sup>7</sup>

### Conquest

Less than a decade after the first publication of the peaceful infiltration model, William Foxwell Albright started to develop his conquest-model. On most issues Albright's views were very close to those of Alt. He shared with Alt the interest in ancient texts and in the topography and archaeology of the Southern Levant and did pioneering work concerning the chronology, archaeological stratigraphy and ceramic typology of the ancient Near East. With respect to the biblical tradition, he presupposed that the historiographical texts were generally historical in origin. But although he held a strong brief for preliterary oral transmission of the text, he disagreed with Wellhausen's evolutionary view of the origins of Israel's religion and was hostile to the source critically and form critically based rejection of the historicity of the conquest. According to Albright, literary study in itself was not able to resolve the riddles of Israel's early history. He thought that it was only possible to come to conclusions with the help of what he called the 'external evidence' of the archaeology and other ancient Near Eastern studies. With respect to the historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan, he combined recent archaeological research with information gathered from the Amarna Letters. This offered him the historical framework in which he could interpret the biblical account of the conquest.

First steps on this track were his presentation of the date of the fall of Canaanite Bethel and his evaluation of the date of the Hebrew conquest of Palestine. With Alt he sought the chronological anchors of the settlement in the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition. In his view, Bethel and Ai were so closely geographically and traditionally associated, that the destruction of Bethel in the Late Bronze Age probably refers to the tradition in the Book of Joshua with regard to Ai. The most important aspect of the archaeological evidence from Bethel was the establishment of a complete and far reaching break in the material culture between the Late Bronze stratum and the following one. From this and comparable evidence from Tel Beit Mirsim Albright concluded that although the collapse of Jericho was too early to be linked with the invasion of the Israelites, the destruction of the other Canaanite towns by the Hebrews

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<sup>7</sup> M. Noth, 'Grundsätzliches zur geschichtlichen Deutung archäologischer Befunde auf dem Boden Palästinas', *PJ* 34 (1938), 7-22 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 3-16); Idem, 'Betel und Ai', *PJ* 31 (1935), 7-29 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 210-28). Noth observed later a more positive connection between text and archaeology in the case of Hazor. Idem, 'Hat die Bibel doch recht?', in: W. Schmeemelcher *et al.* (eds), *Festschrift für Günther Dehn*, Neukirchen 1957, 14-5 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 25-6).

could have taken place in the late 13th century BCE.<sup>8</sup> In the following years new evidence was collected from Megiddo. It seemed that in Megiddo a destruction layer around 1125 BCE could be connected with the song of Deborah. However, the last Canaanite town of Lachish was destroyed in the late 13th century. And according to Albright, this evidence completely squared with his earlier conclusions.<sup>9</sup> Finally, in 1939, he wrote an article in which he summarized his views. He stated that an earlier date of the conquest would be devoid of a concrete archaeological foundation. Albright also criticised Noth's use of form criticism and aetiology in explaining the origin and traditional details of the texts and his conviction that the stories are not historical, but only adhere to sites by their names. He did not understand how this kind of extreme scepticism could overlook the analogy between the text, the Amarna Letters and the archaeological evidence of Tel Beit Mirsim, Bethel, Lachish, Megiddo and Tel Hasi.<sup>10</sup>

This new biblical archaeology became very influential. In his classic critique of the peaceful infiltration model John Bright defended the conquest model against severe criticism concerning the treatment of archaeological evidence.<sup>11</sup> Albright's interpretation of the conquest-stories in the light of archaeology had to be adapted from time to time, but it held out for many decades.<sup>12</sup>

### Peasant Revolt

The two models of peaceful infiltration and conquest dominated the field for several decades. But in the beginning of the sixties, a third model appeared. George E. Mendenhall expressed some comments on the three assumptions on which both existing reconstructions rested. In the first place, he doubted whether the twelve tribes entered Cisjordan from some other area. Secondly, he stated that there is no justification for a radical contrast between the shepherd culture and that of the village, a contrast that is presupposed in the image that the Israelites were nomads or semi-nomads. And thirdly, he asked himself whether the assumptions that the solidarity of the twelve tribes was an ethnic

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<sup>8</sup> W.F. Albright, 'The Kyle Memorial Excavations at Bethel', *BASOR* 56 (1934), 2-15; Idem, 'Archaeology and the Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine', *BASOR* 58 (1935), 10-8.

<sup>9</sup> W.F. Albright, 'The Song of Deborah in the Light of Archaeology', *BASOR* 62 (1936), 26-31; Idem, 'Further Light on the History of Israel from Lachish and Megiddo', *BASOR* 68 (1937), 22-6.

<sup>10</sup> W.F. Albright, 'The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology', *BASOR* 74 (1939), 11-23; Idem, 'A Case of Lèse-Majesté in Pre-Israelite Lachish, With Some Remarks on the Israelite Conquest', *BASOR* 87 (1942), 32-8.

<sup>11</sup> Noth, 'Hat die Bibel doch recht?', 7-22 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 17-33); Idem, 'Der Beitrag der Archäologie zur Geschichte Israels', *VTS* 7 (1960), 262-82 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 34-51). J. Bright, *Early Israel in Recent History Writing*, London 1956, 79-126.

<sup>12</sup> W.F. Albright, *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra*, New York 1963, 24-64; G.E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology*, Philadelphia 1957, 69-84; J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, London <sup>3</sup>1981, 129-33, 137-43.

one, and that kinship was the basis of the contrast between Israelite and Canaanite, were true. To replace the other two models and to overcome the wrong presuppositions, Mendenhall proposed a radical reinterpretation of the Canaanite-Israelite dichotomy. In accordance with contemporary interpretations of the Amarna Letters, he argued that the Late-Bronze Canaanite city-state was a brutal and oppressive political structure and that the *'apiru* disturbances should be understood as evidence of revolutionary activity. He equated the *'apiru* with the Hebrews and saw them as a group of homeless and stateless people, in opposition to the oppressive governmental structure. During the Amarna period, this opposition was doomed to fail, but infected with some 'Exodus Yahwists' and their religion with cohesive power, the 13th to 12th century BCE revolt was successful. Therefore, the settlement was primarily a peasant revolt and Israel first and foremost a religious federation. According to Mendenhall, this historical reconstruction fits the archaeological evidence and also gives the right characterization of the settlement's historiography: a collection of different historical traditions in which the deliverance from captivity by Yahweh is confessed.<sup>13</sup>

The peasant's revolt model of Mendenhall was a catalyst for a more explicit attention for the role of sociology in the reconstruction of the history of Israel. Of course, Alt, Noth and Albright were also dependent on sociology. The way in which they had portrayed the Canaanite city-states and the city-states of Jerusalem and Samaria as a kind of *polis*, the amphictyony as a covenant community and the judges and king Saul as charismatic leaders, would have been impossible without the sociology of Max Weber.<sup>14</sup> But they never discussed the way sociology should be used. This, however, became unavoidable when Norman Gottwald exploited the revolt model to understand the origin of Israel along the lines of Marxist ideology. Following Mendenhall, Gottwald contrasts the Canaanite city-state with a lower class or 'peasant' society. In a detailed elaboration of Mendenhall's suggestions, Gottwald viewed the assumed societal dichotomy between Canaan and Israel in the perspective of the neo-Hegelian idealistic structures of polarities. Therefore the origin of Israel is lying in a socio-economic and religious revolution.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> G.E. Mendenhall, 'The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine', *BA* 25 (1962), 66-87. Cf. also Idem, *The Tenth Generation. The Origins of the Biblical Tradition*, Baltimore, London 1983, 122-41; Idem, 'Ancient Israel's Hyphenated History', in: D.N. Freedman, D.F. Graf, *Palestine in Transition. The Emergence of Ancient Israel* (SWBAS, 2), Sheffield 1983, 95-103.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. e.g. A.D.H. Mayes, *The Old Testament in Sociological Perspective*, London 1989, 48-59.

<sup>15</sup> N.K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh. A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-1050 B.C.E.*, Mayknoll, New York 1979; Idem, 'Early Israel and the Canaanite Socio-economic System', in: Freedman, Graf, *Palestine in Transition*, 25-37.

### Monologues of Text and Artefact

Most scholars judged Gottwald's provocative theory as too ideological in nature, and unclear and unhistorical in its description of the polarities: the definition of the 'peasant' remained vague and the sketch of the Canaanite society seemed incompatible with the textual and archaeological evidence. Many even argued that traditional oriental society should not be viewed as a dimorphic, but rather as a polymorphic society.<sup>16</sup> However, with the rejection of the peasant's revolt model two important developments took place, which separated the study of the historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan from the settlement debate. In the discussion about the origins of Israel an understanding of Late Bronze society in sociological, ecological and economic terms, became a fundamental starting point of discussion.<sup>17</sup> And with respect to the biblical picture of Israel's emergence, scholars focused on the social function of historiography.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, the argument about the weak elements of the three different models intensified. Constructions as 'pastoral nomadism'<sup>19</sup>, 'amphictyony'<sup>20</sup>, 'archaeological evidence'<sup>21</sup> and 'egalitarian society'<sup>22</sup> were dismantled and the literary discussions seen as a deconstruction of the historicity of the biblical tradition.<sup>23</sup> Some scholars in the tradition of Alt and Albright tried to cope with the social interest by arguing that the old consensus still offered the best point of departure for the study of early Israel.<sup>24</sup> For them, the idea of Is-

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<sup>16</sup> An extensive critique from an anthropological point of view is given by N.P. Lemche, *Early Israel: Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society Before the Monarchy* (VTS, 37), Leiden, etc. 1985, 1-34, 164-244. Cf. also G.A. Herion, 'The Impact of Modern and Social Science Assumptions on the Reconstruction of Israelite History', *JOT* 34 (1986), 14-22; Th.L. Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People. From the Written and Archaeological Sources* (SHANE, 4), Leiden etc. 21994, 51-62.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. F.S. Frick, *The Formation of the State in Ancient Israel. A Survey of Models and Theories* (SWBAS, 4), Sheffield 1984; R.B. Coote, K.W. Whitelam, *The Emergence of Early Israel in Historical Perspective* (SWBAS, 5), Sheffield 1987; N.P. Lemche, *Ancient Israel. A New History of Israelite Society*, Sheffield 1988, 17-27, 77-104; N.P. Lemche, *Die Vorgeschichte Israels. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (BE, 1), Stuttgart 1996, 89-150; P. McNutt, *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel*, Louisville, KY 1999, 33-103; U. Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit in Mittelpalästina* (OBO, 180), Göttingen 2001.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. Lemche, *Ancient Israel*, 109-114; Coote, Whitelam, *Emergence of Early Israel*, 170-3.

<sup>19</sup> Lemche, *Early Israel*, 35-47, 84-163; Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People*, 21-2, 316-34.

<sup>20</sup> C.H.J. de Geus, *The Tribes of Israel. An Investigation into Some of the Presuppositions of Martin Noth's Amphictyony Hypothesis* (SSN, 18), Assen, Amsterdam 1976, 54-68, 210-2. Cf. also O. Bächli, *Amphiktyonie im Alten Testament*, Basel 1977.

<sup>21</sup> See section 1.3.

<sup>22</sup> Lemche, *Early Israel*, 202-44.

<sup>23</sup> Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People*, 77-126.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. in studies of Manfred Weippert, Siegfried Herrmann and Baruch Halpern: M. Weippert, *Die Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme in der neueren wissenschaftlichen*

rael entering Canaan from outside seemed to be too deeply rooted in the traditions of the Old Testament, to conclude an autochthonous origin of the Israelites: the fact that Israel had always experienced the land as God's gift somehow must reflect certain historical circumstances.<sup>25</sup>

But despite this objection, the attempts to interpret the historiography of the settlement of Israel in Canaan within the artefactual framework of the archaeology of the Southern Levant, decreased. In the last decade of the 20th century CE, the three classic models no longer dominated the field of discussion, because their two common presuppositions lost credibility. It had become obvious that it was impossible to write a comprehensive history of the Southern Levant that integrated all of the textual and artefactual evidence, and the conviction that the Bible deals with history was vehemently challenged.

For this reason, some scholars argue for a distinction between three early Israels: 'biblical Israel' is the literary, ideological construct of the biblical historiography. A historiography with a specific social function in the Iron Age or Persian and Hellenistic period; 'historical Israel' are the peoples of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah from the 9th century BCE onwards, as revealed by the archaeology of the Southern Levant in Iron Age II; and 'ancient Israel' is the early Israel of scholars who despite all objections try to reconstruct history with help of the biblical narrative and the archaeological data.<sup>26</sup> The views which are related to this distinction are not undisputed. Like in the case of Gottwald, objections against its ideological nature can be posed,<sup>27</sup> and there

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*Diskussion* (FRLANT, 92), Göttingen 1967; H. Weippert, M. Weippert, 'Die Vorgeschichte Israels im neuen Licht', *TR* 56 (1991), 341-90; M. Weippert, 'Geschichte Israels am Scheideweg', *TR* 58 (1993), 71-103; S. Herrmann, 'Israels Frühgeschichte im Spannungsfeld neuer Hypothesen', in: *Studien zur Ethnogenese 2, ARWAW* 78 (1986), 43-95; Idem, 'Observations on Some Recent Hypotheses Pertaining to Early Israelite Society', in: H.G. Reventlow, Y. Hoffmann (eds), *Justice and Righteousness. Biblical Themes and Their Influence* (JSOTS, 137), Sheffield 1992, 105-16; Idem, 'Die Abwertung des Alten Testaments als Geschichtsquelle', in: H.H. Schmid, J. Mehlhausen (eds), *Sola Scriptura VII: Europäischer Theologen-Kongress, Dresden 1990*, Gütersloh 1993, 156-65. B. Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan* (SBLMS, 29), Chico, CA 1983; Idem, 'Sociological Comparativism and the Theological Imagination: The Case of the Conquest', in: M. Fishbane, E. Tov (eds), *'Shaarei Talmon'. Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East*, Winona Lake, IN 1992, 53-62.

<sup>25</sup> For an impressive elaboration of this argument, see M. Weippert, 'Fragen des Israelitischen Geschichtsbewußtseins', *VT* 23 (1973), 415-42.

<sup>26</sup> P.R. Davies, *In Search of 'Ancient Israel'* (JSOTS, 148), Sheffield 1992; K.W. Whitelam, *The Invention of Ancient Israel. The Silencing of Palestinian History*, London, New York 1996; N.P. Lemche, *The Israelites in History and Tradition*, Louisville, Kentucky 1998; M. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, London 2005.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. the debates between Iain W. Provan, Thomas L. Thompson, Philip R. Davies and Keith W. Whitelam: I.W. Provan, 'Ideologies, Literary, and Critical: Reflections on Recent Writing on the History of Israel', *JBL* 114 (1995), 585-606; Th.L. Thompson, 'A Neo-Albrightian School in History and Biblical Scholarship', *JBL* 114 (1995), 683-98; P.R. Davies, 'Method and Madness: Some Remarks on Doing History with the Bible',

are also serious objections from historiographical and artefactual points of view.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, the study of the biblical historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan and the debate concerning the historical origins of Israel are almost completely separated. Today's research for the emergence of Israel is concentrated on the archaeological discussion about the origin of the Iron I settlers in the hill country, and the study of the stories of conquest and settlement is focused on their social function in late pre-exilic or post-exilic times.<sup>29</sup> Text and artefact have become two monologues. The question to be asked is whether they should be or not. To quote Baruch Halpern, the answer to this question is 'yes. But the reasons for that answer merit consideration. Each monologue in turn has its limitations'.<sup>30</sup> Limitations that inevitably ask for an interdisciplinary dialogue between the textual and artefactual data, even with respect to the historiography of the settlement. To illustrate this statement, the next sections will offer overviews of developments in the study of the historiography of the settlement (1.2) and of today's settlement debate (1.3).

## 1.2 HISTORIOGRAPHY

The interesting phenomenon of Old Testament historiography has been studied in many ways. Together with a change in the general reflection on history, this research is part of what has been called the basic course of Western cultural history, that is, the fluctuation between the serious and the playful, the ebb and flow of the senses of historiography as something to be looked *through* and of something to be looked *at*. In the beginning of modern biblical scholar-

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*JBL* 114 (1995), 699-705. I.W. Provan, 'The End of (Israel's) History? A Review Article on K.W. Whitelam's *The Invention of Ancient Israel*', *JSS* 42 (1997), 283-300; Idem, 'In the Stable with the Dwarfs: Testimony, Interpretation, Faith and the History of Israel', in: A. Lemaire, M. Sæbø (eds), *Congress Volume Oslo 1998* (VTS, 80), Leiden, etc. 2000, 281-319. Cf. also the comments on these debates by J. Barr, *History and Ideology in the Old Testament. Biblical Studies at the End of a Millennium*, Oxford 2000, 59-101, particularly 66-83, and by N.P. Lemche, 'Ideology and the History of Ancient Israel', *SJOT* 14 (2000), 165-93.

<sup>28</sup> See the sections 1.2 and 1.3.

<sup>29</sup> N. Na'aman, I. Finkelstein (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, Jerusalem 1994; A. Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis. Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance*, London 2006; K.W. Whitelam, 'Israel's Traditions of Origin: Reclaiming the Land', *JSOT* 44 (1989), 46-70; Lemche, *Israelites in History and Tradition*, 88-129.

<sup>30</sup> B. Halpern, 'Text and Artifact: Two Monologues?', in: N.A. Silberman, D. Small, *The Archaeology of Israel. Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present* (JSOTS, 237), 1997, 311. For a similar plea, see W.G. Dever, 'On Listening to the Text – and the Artifacts', in: W.G. Dever, J.E. Wright (eds), *The Echoes of Many Texts. Reflections on Jewish and Christian Traditions* (BJS, 313), Atlanta, GA 1998, 1-23; Idem, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It? What Archaeology Can Tell Us about the Reality of Ancient Israel*, Grand Rapids, MI, Cambridge 2001, 64-85.

ship, great interest was shown in the truth-value of the historical statements made by the Old Testament. Literary critics denied much of the Old Testament historiography the qualification of history writing, because of its fictional and illusionary character. According to their view, history writing should provide specific arguments and statements of eyewitnesses or other evidence. In reaction, orthodox scholars defended the historical credibility of the Bible, by stating that the biblical history writing despite its specific nature does present real evidence. But at the end of the 20th and the start of the 21st century, scholars seem to have lost interest in this truth-value. They show a growing fascination with the literary aspects of history writing, in the narrative as a whole, and therefore in a truth more akin to the truth of a novel or a painting than to that of a clear historical statement.

### As It Really Was

As is reflected in the title, Wellhausen's *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* is an example of a study of history writing as something to be looked through. Though, it should be noted that in his opinion the texts were not referring to events, but events themselves. That is to say, he assumed – in accordance with the methods and ambitions of German classical historiography, like that of Jakob Burckhardt and Theodor Mommsen – that sources could only be interrogated about the time in which they were written. By reconstructing the sources and putting them in the right order, he could see them as single stages in the history of Israelite society. His description of the evolutionary progress of these stages functioned as prolegomena for a real political history of Israel.<sup>31</sup>

Gunkel was allied to German classical historiography as well. He quoted Leopold Ranke's famous definition of history writing and stated that 'every historian, even the Israelite, is willing to describe the past "as it really was"'. The only Israelite historian, however, who writes history according to true historical standards, is the writer of the Books of Samuel. Gunkel used categories from German folklore research as *Märchen*, *Ätiologien*, *Vätersagen* and *Heldensagen* to describe the earlier developments of the evolution of historiography from myth to history writing. After the 10th century BCE, in which the Books of Samuel were written, political oppression, prophetic ideology, and priestly power caused a decline of the spiritual freedom and historical conscience, necessary for real history writing.<sup>32</sup> Gunkel – and Alt with him – still treated the

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<sup>31</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, Berlin 1905. For the relation with German classical historiography, see e.g. L. Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen. Geschichtphilosophische Voraussetzungen und historiographische Motive für die Darstellung der Religion und Geschichte Israels durch Wilhelm Vatke und Julius Wellhausen* (BZAW, 94) Berlin 1965; 164-206, B. Halpern, *The First Historians. The Hebrew Bible and History*, Pennsylvania 1996, 19-29.

<sup>32</sup> H. Gunkel, 'Geschichtsschreibung im AT', *RGG* II, 1348-54, quotation on 1349; see also Idem, 'Die israelitische Literatur', in: P. Hinneberg (ed.), *Die orientalische Literatur*

aetiologies and heroic sagas as something to look through: in the end they were interested in their historical *Sitz im Leben* as a part of Israel's history.

At face value, scholars like Gerhard von Rad and Martin Noth were following Gunkel in their studies of Israelite history writing. Noth's interest was primarily historical and his views with respect to the traditions behind the conquest-stories elaborated well-known principles.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the way Von Rad characterized the heroic sagas in Joshua as the latest step in the direction of real historiography, perfectly matched with Gunkel's ideas.<sup>34</sup> But at the same time the pendulum motion started to swing towards the sense of historiography as something to be looked at. In the introduction of his commentary on the Book of Joshua, Noth simply referred to his earlier studies when dealing with the origin of the traditions, but focused on the *Sammler* that had collected them.<sup>35</sup> In the same year, Von Rad asserted that the ultimate goal of studying the books of Genesis to Joshua and Judges 1 was not lying in the differentiation of the traditions, but in an in depth understanding of the *Letztgestalt* of this 'hexateuchal' historical work, a work which consisted of a narration from creation to settlement.<sup>36</sup> Noth had some objections against the 'Hexateuch'-theory Von Rad inherited from the literary critics, but he shared the opinion that the way in which later editors had integrated earlier traditions in larger historiographical works should be studied. That Noth was serious about this became apparent in 1943, when his proposal for a 'Deuteronomistic History' from Deuteronomy to Kings was published in a monograph. In this work, the historian and his literary work had his full attention.<sup>37</sup>

Apart from the discussions concerning the Tetrateuch-Hexateuch-question,<sup>38</sup> Noth's proposal of a deuteronomistic framework of the historiography of the settlement<sup>39</sup> was generally accepted not only by related scholars, but also by members of other schools. Even John Bright and Norman Gottwald

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ren, Leipzig 1906, 53-112. For the influence of L. Ranke on the study of ancient history, see e.g. M.I. Finley, *Ancient History. Evidence and Models*, New York 1987, 47-66.

<sup>33</sup> See note 5.

<sup>34</sup> G. von Rad, 'Der Anfang der Geschichtsschreibung im alten Israel', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 32 (1944), 7 (= *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* [TB, 8], München 1958, 154). Von Rad elaborated on Alt's idea that contrary to the aetiology, the heroic saga portrays 'ein Ereignis der Vergangenheit um seiner eigenen Bedeutung willen'. Alt, 'Josua', 24 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 187).

<sup>35</sup> M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT, 1/7), Tübingen 1938, IX-XIII.

<sup>36</sup> G. von Rad, *Das Formgeschichtliche Problem der Hexateuch* (BWANT, IV 26), Stuttgart 1938, 71-2.

<sup>37</sup> M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament*, Tübingen 1957.

<sup>38</sup> S. Mowinckel, *Tetrateuch – Pentateuch – Hexateuch. Die Berichte über die Landnahme in den drei altisraelitischen Geschichtswerken* (BZAW, 90), Berlin 1964. Cf. also A.G. Auld, *Joshua, Moses and the Land. Tetrateuch – Pentateuch – Hexateuch in a Generation Since 1938*, Edinburgh 1980.

<sup>39</sup> Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 40-7.

referred to the 'deuteronomistic version of Israel's early history' and to 'pre-deuteronomistic sources in Joshua and Judges'.<sup>40</sup> However, two issues still divided the field: the date of the literary work of the historian and the nature of the pre-deuteronomistic sources. Most of Noth's German colleagues followed him in his exilic dating of the historiographical work as a whole. Rudolf Smend even made detailed study of what Noth had called 'the work of a contemporary editor'. He explored the tension within the historiography of the settlement to show that a nomistic editor had reworked the text in post-exilic times.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, within the 'Baltimore-school' of Albright, people doubted the late origin of the editorial skeleton. Frank Moore Cross suggested that a first edition was already composed in pre-exilic times.<sup>42</sup>

The nature of the so-called pre-deuteronomistic sources caused more difficulties. In German scholarship attempts to improve the form critical analysis of the texts were made with help of Norwegian and Icelandic sagas.<sup>43</sup> But concerning the qualification of the stories of conquest and settlement, Alt and Noth were still followed in their use of the terminology of German folklore research, although the category of aetiology was slightly modified.<sup>44</sup> Even scholars who proposed the revolutionary idea that the Yahwist was not preceding, but following the Deuteronomist as historian, agreed with them.<sup>45</sup>

In the Anglo-Saxon world, Albright's philological skill, his early dating of several Hebrew poems and his idea about the historical relation between El and Yahweh were brought into play and parallels drawn with Homer and Ugaritic literature. This resulted in a theory, according to which the origin of Old Testament historiography is rooted in a Canaanite tradition of epic poetry, which is a third literary genre besides the designations 'mythic narrative' and 'historical narrative'. The contents of JE in the Documentary Hypothesis

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<sup>40</sup> Bright, *History of Israel*, 129-30, 142, 150; Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*, 140-75.

<sup>41</sup> R. Smend, 'Das Gesetz und die Völker', in: H.W. Wolff (ed.), *Probleme Biblischer Theologie*, München 1971, 494-509 (= Idem, *Die Mitte des Alten Testaments. Gesammelte Studien*, Bd 1 [BET, 99], München 1986, 124-37); Idem, 'Das uneroberte Land', in: G. Streck (ed.), *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit* (GTA, 25), Göttingen 1983, 91-102 (= Idem, *Zur ältesten Geschichte Israels. Gesammelte Studien*, Bd. 2 [BET, 100], München 1987, 217-28).

<sup>42</sup> F.M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic. Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1973, 274-89.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. C. Westermann, 'Arten der Erzählung in Genesis', in: *Forschung am Alten Testament. Gesammelte Studien*, Bd. 1 (TB, 24), München 1964, 9-91.

<sup>44</sup> Weippert, *Landnahme*, 132-9; V. Fritz, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT, I/7), Tübingen 1994, 2-9. For the modification, see R. Smend, 'Elemente Alttestamentliches Geschichtsdenkens', in: Idem, *Gesammelte Studien*, Bd. 1, 165-80, and E. Noort, 'Zwischen Mythos und Rationalität. Das Kriegshandeln Yhwhs in Josua 10,1-11', in: H.H. Schmid (ed.), *Mythos und Realität*, Gütersloh 1988, 149-61.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. M. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist. Untersuchungen zu den Berührungspunkten beide Literaturwerke* (ATANT, 67), Zürich 1981, 163-4, 188-92, 197-9.

formed the heart of a Hebrew epic that told a story from Abraham to David.<sup>46</sup> However, the problem was that almost none of the history writing of conquest and settlement could be characterized as poetry. For that reason some scholars just followed Noth's form critical propositions,<sup>47</sup> others admitted that Joshua 1—12 is based on old stories, but held that they were totally rewritten by the first editor of the Deuteronomistic History.<sup>48</sup> Still a few scholars proposed that this redactor was the author of the whole account of the conquest, and therefore completely rejected the idea of sources.<sup>49</sup>

With this rejection the pendulum motion towards the sense of historiography as something to be looked at accelerated. Objections against Noth's opinion which were expressed before, for instance that the formula 'until this day' should be read as symptomatic of stages of redaction, rather than as an indication of an original aetiology,<sup>50</sup> became more relevant. It was agreed upon to many that Noth's Deuteronomist with his hard-to-define, distinctive style was too much the product of classical literary criticism. This method was designed to isolate historical documents for historical reconstruction, not to appreciate the writers of history. Therefore, in considering for instance the Book of Joshua as a historical work, scholars largely abandoned Noth's traditions and sources, and no longer focused on the traditions, which supposedly lay beneath the text. Instead of analysing the Book of Joshua from a historical point of view, they examined the text as a literary work and concentrated on the form of the whole, its parts and on the relation between them, in order to describe the text as a piece of narrative art or the Deuteronomist as a creative author and historian.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> E.g. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 219-65, 295-300. Cf. also some of Cross's essays in: F.M. Cross, *From Epic to Canon. History and Literature in Ancient Israel*, Baltimore, MD 1998, particularly the pages 22-52 of part I: 'The Epic Traditions of Early Israel'. See also: S. Talmon, 'Hat es ein Israelitisches Nationalepos gegeben?', in: *Israels Gedankenwelt in der Hebräischen Bible. Gesammelte Aufsätze* 3, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1995, 82-103. For an evaluation, see C. Conroy, 'Hebrew Epic: Historical Notes and Critical Reflections', *Bib* 61 (1980), 1-30.

<sup>47</sup> R.D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTS, 18), Sheffield 1981, 24; A.D.H. Mayes, *The Story of Israel between Settlement and Exile. A Redactional Study of the Deuteronomistic History*, London 1983, 53.

<sup>48</sup> R.G. Boling, *Joshua. A New Translation with Notes and Commentary. Introduction by G.E. Wright* (AB, 6), Garden City, NY 1982. For Wright's reservations about Noth's position, see the Introduction, 66-72.

<sup>49</sup> B. Peckham, *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM, 35), Atlanta, GA 1985, 8.

<sup>50</sup> Bright, *Early Israel*, 91-104; B.S. Childs, 'A Study of the Formula "Until this Day"', *JBL* 82 (1963), 279-92.

<sup>51</sup> E.g. R. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History. Vol. 1, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges*, New York 1980, 73-145; L.M. Eslinger, *Into the Hands of the Living God* (JSOTS, 84), Sheffield 1989, 25-54. For a sketch of this development in research, see B. Peckham, 'The Significance of the Book of Joshua in Noth's Theory of the Deuteronomistic History', in: S.L. McKenzie, M.P. Graham (eds),

Others, however, used the new synchronic approaches to take a look, not at the pre-deuteronomic sources, but at the post-exilic composition and formation of the literary work of Pentateuch, Hexateuch and Enneateuch (Genesis – 2 Kings) as a whole by paying new attention to the relation between the supposed deuteronomic and priestly passages in the Book of Joshua and in trying to answer the question why the book of Joshua was cut off from the Pentateuch in spite of its firm links with the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy.<sup>52</sup>

### The Age of Reality-Fictions

The growing fascination with the literary aspects of the historiography of the settlement has its parallels in biblical scholarship, in the approach of other ancient Near Eastern historiography, and in the reflection on history as a whole.<sup>53</sup>

In the philosophy of history, the idea of the Sophists that the use of language is the key to reality, reoccurred in the conviction that history is a human perception of time which can be redescribed as a discourse that is fundamentally rhetorical. In this way representing the past in history writing 'takes place through the creation of powerful, persuasive images which can be best understood as created objects, models, metaphors or proposals about reality'.<sup>54</sup> Historiography is seen as a discourse founded on its genre conventions and the expectations and beliefs of its community. For this reason, the study of history writing should not focus on the truth-value of the historical statement, but should look for the artistic truth in the proposal about history, which is made in the reality-fiction of history writing. This means that the 'new philosophy of history' studies historiography as an aesthetic object in order to understand it as part of a persuasive social discourse expressing the 'ideology' of a community. In this way the genre conventions and the expectations and beliefs of a community can be reconstructed and the understanding of how and why people represent the past is deepened and broadened.<sup>55</sup>

It is interesting to see how this view is reflected in a programmatic essay of Mario Liverani on the approach of ancient Near Eastern historiography. Ac-

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*The History of Israel's Traditions. The Heritage of Martin Noth* (JSOTS, 182), 218-21, 226-34.

<sup>52</sup> See e.g. R.G. Kratz, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments* (UTB, 2157), Göttingen 2000, 193-200; E. Otto, *Das Deuteronomium im Pentateuch und Hexateuch* (FAT, 30), Tübingen 2000, 62-86; R. Achenbach, *Die Vollendung der Tora. Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Numeribuches im Kontext von Hexateuch und Pentateuch* (BZAR, 3), Wiesbaden 2003, passim; E. Blum, 'Pentateuch, Hexateuch, Enneateuch?', in: T. Römer, K. Schmid (eds), *Les dernières Rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque* (BETL, 203), Leuven 2007, 67-97.

<sup>53</sup> For the rising literary attention for the biblical text, see e.g. R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, New York 1981; M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, Bloomington 1987; S. Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible* (JSOTS, 70), Sheffield 1989.

<sup>54</sup> H. Kellner, 'Introduction: Describing Redescriptions', in: F.R. Ankersmit, H. Kellner (eds), *A New Philosophy of History*, Chicago, IL 1995, 2.

<sup>55</sup> Kellner, 'Introduction', 1-18.

According to Liverani, it was believed too long that facts of interest lay beyond the historical texts and that these documents, when questioned, can provide bits of useful information. This belief denies the fact that this information is foreign to the texts themselves. It also does not solve the problem that it is very difficult to make a distinction between information that is trustworthy and information that is not, and makes no longer use of the document when the textual information is wrong. In order to overcome these difficulties, Liverani pleads to treat an ancient document as a source on its own, not as an informer, but as a source of knowledge on the author of the document as a member of the community under study. By studying the peculiarity of the narration, in its structure, terminology and implication, it is possible to reconstruct the way in which the historian is getting in contact with both the event and the public. The event itself is foreign – for a certain extent even for the author of the text himself – and it is therefore very doubtful whether it is possible to study the time the text refers to. But by studying the narration some enlightenment on the historical environment of the author may be achieved. In linguist's terms, in this approach of history writing as an aesthetic phenomenon, a higher interest is taken in the connotational level than in the denotational. Furthermore, in terms of sociology, the final aim is the complete understanding of the single document as a 'total social fact', which is an expression of the persuasive social discourse of ancient societies.<sup>56</sup> As a result, Liverani rejects the hunt for 'historical kernels', and puts in its place the search for the author and the environment of the text itself, its purpose, its audience, and the historical knowledge that was really available at that time.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, historical reconstruction should exclusively rely on contemporaneous sources, a principle that leads to a much heavier emphasis on social and economic developments and political ideologies than on purely political and military events.

Liverani's essay was part of a linguistic turn in ancient studies and became very influential. The principle that it is fruitful to approach historiographical texts as aesthetic objects became almost common sense. Debates on the idea of history in the different historiographical traditions of the ancient Near East<sup>58</sup> changed into careful discussions about what criteria could be used in the com-

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<sup>56</sup> M. Liverani, 'Memorandum on the Approach of Historiographic Texts', *Or* 42 (1973), 178-82.

<sup>57</sup> M. Liverani, 'Akkad: An Introduction', in: Idem (ed.), *Akkad. The First World Empire. Structure, Ideology, Traditions* (HANE/S, 5), Padua 1993, 6. An impressive illustration of these principles is: Idem, *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600 - 1100* (HANE/S, 1), Padova 1990.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods: An Essay on the Idea of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East and in Israel*, Lund 1967, and the reactions of W.G. Lambert, 'History and the Gods. Review Article', *Or* 39 (1970), 170-7; Idem, 'Destiny and Divine Intervention in Babylon and Israel', *OTS* 17 (1972), 65-72. For a modification of Lambert's traditional view, see K. Koch, 'Geschichte/ Geschichtsschreibung / Geschichtsphilosophie II. Altes Testament', *TRE* XII, 567-86.

parison of diverse styles of history writing.<sup>59</sup> It became clear that it is not easy to prove a conceivable impact of a certain kind of textual tradition on the formation of other ancient Near Eastern literature. A manner of comparison of biblical with extra-biblical texts in which texts first speak for themselves is preferred. With respect to biblical texts, this resulted in the abandoning and rebuilding of the comparative method into a contextual approach, in which literary dependence is less important than common cultural background.<sup>60</sup>

However, much more controversial is Liverani's exclusive reliance on contemporary sources. The Assyriologist William W. Hallo discerns major problems in this attitude. It attributes far more evidentiary value to contemporary texts than they deserve. Furthermore, this reliance courts the danger of circular reasoning. The time that produced the sources is often uncertain and has to be established on the basis of identifying the concerns expressed or implied, and by placing them in the continuum of history that is partly reconstructed with help of the text in question. Last but not least it deprives the modern historian of potentially valuable evidence.<sup>61</sup>

The programmatic views of Liverani and the criticism of Hallo also occur in the reflection on biblical historiography. The methodological familiarity with Liverani is apparent in a book on the origins of biblical historiography by John Van Seters. Van Seters starts with the in oriental studies famous definition of history by Johan Huizinga: 'history is the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past'. Van Seters uses this definition because it not only questions the adequacy of the explanation of the genre of history writing as an accidental accumulation of traditions material, but also stresses the creation of history, and thus of historiography, as a means of a society to un-

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<sup>59</sup> With respect to Ancient Near Eastern historiography: A.K. Grayson, 'Histories and Historians in the Ancient Near East: Assyria and Babylonia', *Or* 49 (1980), 140-94; H.A. Hoffner, 'Histories and Historians in the Ancient Near East: The Hittites', *Or* 49 (1980), 283-332; J. van Seters, 'Histories and Historians in the Ancient Near East: The Israelites', *Or* 50 (1981), 137-85; D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals, and Daybooks*, Toronto 1986; H. Tadmor, M. Weinfeld (eds), *History, Historiography, and Interpretation. Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures*, Jerusalem 1983.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. W.W. Hallo, 'Biblical History in its Near Eastern Setting: the Contextual Approach', in: C.D. Evans *et al.* (eds), *Scripture in Context. Essays on the Comparative Method* (SIC, 1) Pittsburgh 1980, 1-26, with Idem, 'Compare and Contrast: the Contextual Approach to Biblical Literature', in: W.W. Hallo *et al.* (eds), *The Bible in the Light of the Cuneiform Literature* (SIC, 3), Lewiston, NY 1990, 1-30, and W.W. Hallo, K.L. Younger (eds), *The Context of Scripture. Vol 1. Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, Leiden 1997, xxiii-viii. For a short summary of the dangers of the comparative method, see V.P. Long, 'Introduction. The Historical Impulse among Israel's Neighbours', in: Idem (ed.), *Israel's Past in Present Research. Essays on Ancient Israelite Historiography* (SBTS, 7), Winona Lake, IN 1999, 72-3.

<sup>61</sup> W.W. Hallo, 'New Directions in Historiography', in: M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, *dubsar anta-men. Studien zur Altorientalistik* (AOAT, 253), Münster 1998, 113-21.

derstand its own national identity.<sup>62</sup> Van Seters does not subscribe to the idea of Israelite historiography having come into existence in an evolutionary development from myth to history writing. By paying much attention to the element of literary construction, he is able to criticize the principles of literary critical and form critical scholarship that led for instance to the conclusion that only the story of David's rise in Second Samuel can be characterized as real historiography.<sup>63</sup> According to Van Seters, the construction of a plot is a far more specific characteristic of historiography than statements of eyewitnesses or evidence that is referred to. Therefore, he thinks that there has been no history writing in Israel prior to the work of the deuteronomistic historian, a work that in its literary form and dating can be easily compared with the work of the Greek historian Herodotus.<sup>64</sup> With respect to the historiography of the settlement, Van Seters made this definite in his statement that in the case of Joshua's campaign of Canaan, the literary work of the Deuteronomist depends upon the Neo-Assyrian royal inscription tradition.<sup>65</sup>

In his description of Israelite history writing, Van Seters uses Huizinga's definition of history as the 'key issue'.<sup>66</sup> Although it does not seem to be the intention of Huizinga,<sup>67</sup> he exploits the emphasis on the national or corporate character of history and history writing to show that the ultimate goal of the study of ancient historiography is in the reconstruction of the expectations and beliefs of the community in question. It is at this point that there is considerable agreement between Van Seters and the scholars who state that 'biblical Israel' is a late literary, ideological construct of biblical historiographers.

However, not all of them do accept van Seters' definition of history. According to Thomas L. Thompson, the definition is totally dependent on the perception of the larger blocks of prose narrative of literary authors and denies the

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<sup>62</sup> J. Van Seters, *In Search of History. Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*, Winona Lake, Indiana <sup>2</sup>1997, 1-7. Huizinga gives his second (English) version of this definition in: J. Huizinga, 'A Definition of the Concept of History', in: R. Klibansky, H.J. Paton (eds), *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, Oxford 1936, 1-10. For its earlier use concerning ancient historiography, see J.J. Finkelstein, 'Mesopotamian Historiography', *PAPS* 107 (1963), 462; Hallo, 'Biblical History', 6.

<sup>63</sup> Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 209-27, 264-91.

<sup>64</sup> Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 5, 227-37, 323-62.

<sup>65</sup> J. Van Seters, 'Joshua's Campaign of Canaan and Near Eastern Historiography', *SJOT* 4/2 (1990), 1-12.

<sup>66</sup> Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 354.

<sup>67</sup> Although there are several similarities between the view of Huizinga and the 'new philosophy of history' (see e.g. F.R. Ankersmit, *Narrative Logic. A Semantic Analysis of the Historian's Language*, 's Gravenhage 1983, 250-1), it differs in at least two ways from Van Seters: according to Huizinga history is 'cultural', not 'national', and the historian also has a kind of immediate contact with the past in the 'historical sensation'. See W.E. Krul, 'Huizinga's definitie van de geschiedenis', in: J. Huizinga, *De taak der cultuurgeschiedenis*, Groningen 1995, 241-339, in particular 270-6, 284-8.

fragmentary nature and potentially oral and folkloric roots of the smaller units, collected within the literary contexts of the larger frameworks. Therefore, he agrees with others that the only real difference between a fictional and a historical narrative lies in the intentionality and in the assumptions regarding the reality of the past it is referring to. But at the same time he maintains that it is very difficult to use the biblical historiography for historical reconstruction. In his view, it is rarely possible to distinguish historical from fictional literature in biblical historiography, because the intention of the authors is often unclear and implicit. The greater works of tradition collection may have assumed that the tradition sources had reflected a real or a usable past, but that does not alter the fact that only very few narratives involve historiography at a primary level. Moreover, even a kind of so-called 'antiquarianism' can be observed in the redactional techniques of the comprehensive traditions: by deliberately attaching elements that look antique, like names of kings and peoples, authors suggest that their tradition relies on ancient and respectable sources. And such intentionality is specifically inimical to that of historiography. For that reason, biblical information can only be characterized as historical, when it is confirmed by extra-biblical evidence.<sup>68</sup>

Van Seters and Thompson follow Liverani in the linguistic turn in the approach of biblical historiography. But like Hallo, many scholars disagree with the principle that Old Testament history writing is not a valid source for historical information.

In the first place, Thompson's argument concerning the literary roots of the larger frameworks turns against itself. The biblical books from Genesis to 2 Kings and from Chronicles to Nehemiah are no harmonized and uniform historiographical works and show great literary diversity. On the contrary, they seem to offer plenty of proof that in Israel there was a strong need to preserve old and time-honoured traditions. That makes the assertion that on a secondary level it is almost impossible to speak of a historiographical intention, highly questionable.<sup>69</sup>

In the second place, this statement seems also illogical when parts of the biblical history writing are interpreted in the light of extra-biblical texts. A

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<sup>68</sup> Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People*, 132-3; Idem, 'Text, Context and Referent in Israelite Historiography', in: D.V. Edelman (ed.), *The Fabric of History. Text, Artifact and Israel's Past* (JSOTS, 127), Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield 1991, 76; Idem, 'Historiography (Israelite)', *ABD*, vol. 3, 207-209. For similar remarks, see Lemche, *Early Israel*, 415; Idem, *The Canaanites and Their Land. The Tradition of the Canaanites* (JSOTS, 127), Sheffield 1991, passim, and G. Garbini, *History and Ideology in Ancient Israel*, London 1988, 1-20.

<sup>69</sup> M.D. Koster, 'The Historicity of the Bible. Its Relevance and its Limitations in the Light of Near Eastern Archaeology - From Catalyst to Cataclysm', in: J.C. de Moor, H.F. van Rooy (eds), *Past, Present, Future. The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets* (OTS, 44), Leiden, etc. 2000, 120-49.

good example of this is the contextual approach of Keith Lawson Younger of some conquest-stories in Joshua. Younger compares these stories with other ancient conquest accounts and concludes that it would be absurd to label such stories as a symbolic, theological kind of writing, for it uses the same language as for instance Tiglath-Pileser I's Annals, which clearly have the intention to refer to a past. He also challenges Van Seters' view that the stories in Joshua were modelled after Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, because the specific style that describes the military conquests can be found in extra-biblical texts that can roughly be dated from 1300 to 600 BCE.<sup>70</sup> Of course, such comparisons have their limitations with regard to the question whether the historiography of the settlement has something to do with history or not. The general dating does not say very much, and moreover, a comparison does not overcome the objection that the biblical text is not found, but transmitted. And therefore the idea that 'parallels = plausibility = probability = historicity' is incorrect. This way of reasoning could even verify the historicity of Agatha Christie's *Murder on the Orient Express* by proving that the Orient Express existed and by showing parallels with the in the novel portrayed circumstances.<sup>71</sup> For this reason a tradition-historical approach should be added to the contextual reflections on the historical background of history writing. Nevertheless, the parallels do exist and show that the transmitted text might have the intention to refer to the past.

The third and last objection against the idea that the Old Testament historiography is not a valid source for historical information, is that despite all it does indeed refer to a past, as sometimes can be shown. From the 9th century BCE on, there is extra-biblical confirmation of a very large assortment of biblical information on international affairs that makes it also implausible to deny the historical content of the parts of Samuel and Kings that cannot be checked in external sources.<sup>72</sup>

### Antiquarian Interest

Although these arguments seem very convincing, a problem exists. The focus of today's study of the stories of conquest and settlement is still on its social function in ancient society. In this approach the synchronic referential aspects of

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<sup>70</sup> K.L. Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts. A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing* (JSOTS, 98), Sheffield 1990, 260-3. Another example with respect to Joshua 1-11 is J.K. Hoffmeier, 'The Structure of Joshua 1-11 and the Annals of Thutmose III', in: A.R. Millard *et al.* (eds), *Faith, Tradition and History. Old Testament Historiography in Its Near Eastern Environment*, Winona Lake, IN 1994, 165-80.

<sup>71</sup> J.M. Miller, 'Separating the Solomon of History from the Solomon of Legend', in: L.K. Handy (ed.), *The Age of Solomon* (SHCANE, 11), Leiden etc. 1997, 22.

<sup>72</sup> For an overview, see e.g. B. Halpern, 'Erasing History: The Minimalist Assault on Ancient Israel', *BR* 11/6 (1995), 26-35, 47; W.G. Lambert, 'Mesopotamian Sources and Pre-Exilic Israel', in: J. Day (ed.), *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel*, London, New York 2004, 352-65.

the text – its genre conventions and the expectations and beliefs of its community – are analysed, taken as an absolute fact and used to find a dating for the text. But at the same time the diachronic referential aspects – the reference to the past – are put aside.<sup>73</sup> The most serious drawback of such an approach is not the danger of circular reasoning, because all tradition-historical research is threatened by this danger, but the fact that the lack of attention for the diachronic referential aspects makes the argumentation for the assumed date of the text weak and incomplete. For at least substantial evidence is intentionally ignored.<sup>74</sup> Marc Zvi Brettler tries to overcome this difficulty by taking classical literary critical observations regarding the dating of the Old Testament texts as a point of departure for his search for the tropes which are used in the reality-fiction of Old Testament history writing.<sup>75</sup> Regarding the historiography of the settlement, Lori L. Rowlett has applied the same method in her description of the Book of Joshua as a part of the persuasive social discourse of the Josianic authorities.<sup>76</sup> But in that case the approach is still not capable of answering the questions how the antiquarian interest that sometimes can be observed in Israelite history writing should be dealt with and how this interest is related to the text's 'ideology'. Consequently, it seems impossible to characterize a piece of history writing only in the light of the sense of historiography as something to look at. A combination with the sense of historiography as something to be looked through must be made to complete the picture.

Efforts concerning these questions are offered in the work of Nadav Na'aman and Baruch Halpern. The use of sources and antiquarian intent play a significant role in their reflections on the origin of Israelite historiography, and tradition-historical considerations and contextual interpretations function within this framework. According to Halpern, every good piece of historical writing has a substantial aesthetic dimension, at least in its narrative forms. Reconstruction is always based on aesthetic judgment. Still he strongly resists the

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<sup>73</sup> E.g. Whitelam, 'Israel's Traditions of Origin', 30-2, and Lemche, *Israelites in History and Tradition*, 88-129. Interestingly, Liverani also dates the Book of Joshua to the Achaemenid Age in the 5th century BCE, but he is much more positive about the possibility that it reflects pre-exilic memories. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 272-91.

<sup>74</sup> The fact that up till now none of the so-called true 'minimalist' scholars has given a detailed analysis of these diachronic referential aspects of Joshua, Judges, Samuel or Kings is a clear illustration of this argument. See further the sections 5.4 and 7.1.

<sup>75</sup> M.Z. Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel*, London, New York 1995, 8-19. Brettler makes a distinction between four kind of 'tropes': typology, interpretation, irony and ideology. Only in his characterization of the book of Samuel as a post-exilic pro-Davidic ideology, Brettler differs from older literary critical theories.

<sup>76</sup> L.L. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence. A New Historicist Analysis* (JSOTS, 226), Sheffield 1996, 15. Cf. also I. Finkelstein, N.A. Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed. Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts*, New York e.a. 2001, 92-6.

conviction of some of the 'new philosophers of history' that one cannot get from text to intention, to the causes of the text and to events that are described. This presupposes a view of certainty and determinacy that is foreign to modern science and daily life, and a denial of history not only being aesthetic, but also being referential literature. The interpretative logic of for instance the deuteronomistic historians does indulge literary concerns and also serves ideology, but it is so within the constraints of an attempt to reconstruct the past legitimately. As a result of their firm belief in the truth of their own ideas, their reconstruction could not differ too much from what they found in the sources.<sup>77</sup>

Both Halpern and Na'aman insist on the existence of ancient traditions, because the parallel accounts of the same events in the Deuteronomistic History show the effort the historian had taken to reconstruct the remote past by using whatever sources he had, or is assumed to have had for his work. The use of the historiographical device of the double accounts indicates a genuine interest in the past: the historian presented his audience his divergent 'sources' on whose authenticity he either did not wish to decide or was unable to do so.<sup>78</sup> Na'aman illustrated his argument in a series of articles on the sources and composition of the books of Samuel and Kings.<sup>79</sup> Halpern's emphasis on the integrity of the historians is worked out in studies on many parts of Israel's history writing.<sup>80</sup> Their different attitude towards the Book of Samuel resulted

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<sup>77</sup> Halpern, *First Historians*, xx-xxxvi. Cf. Idem, *Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, 19-20; Idem, 'The State of Israelite History', in: G.N. Knoppers, J.G. McConville (eds), *Reconsidering Israel and Judah. Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History* (SBTS, 8), Winona Lake, IN 2000, 542-5.

<sup>78</sup> Halpern, *First Historians*, xxvi-vii, 207-40; N. Na'aman, 'The "Conquest of Canaan" in the Book of Joshua and in History', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 227-30 (= Idem, *Canaan in the Second Millennium B.C.E. Collected Essays*, vol. 2, Winona Lake, IN 2005 325-8).

<sup>79</sup> See e.g. N. Na'aman, 'Sources and Composition in the History of David', in: V. Fritz, P.R. Davies (eds), *The Origin of the Ancient Israelite States* (JSOTS, 228), Sheffield 1996, 170-86 and other articles collected in his *Ancient Israel's History and Historiography. The First Temple Period. Collected Essays*, vol. 3, Winona Lake, IN 2006. See further: Idem, 'Sources and Composition in the Biblical History of Edom', in: C. Cohen *et al.* (eds), *Sefer Moshe. The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume*, Winona Lake, IN 2004, 313-20; 'The Temple Library of Jerusalem and the Composition of the Book of Kings', in: A. Lemaire (ed.), *Congress Volume Leiden 2004* (VTS, 109), Leiden etc. 2006, 129-52; 'The Opening Biblical Verses on the Kings of Judah and Israel: Sources and Dating', in: S.W. Crawford *et al.* (eds), *Up to the Gates of Ekron*, Jerusalem 2007, 370-81.

<sup>80</sup> Concerning Judges: Halpern, *First Historians*, 37-103, 121-43; Samuel: B. Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy in Israel* (HSM 25), Chico, California 1981, 149-74; Idem, *First Historians*, 181-204; Idem, 'The Construction of the Davidic State', in: Fritz, Davies (eds), *Origin of the Ancient Israelite States*, 44-75; Idem, 'Text and Artifact', 315-29; B. Halpern, *David's Secret Demons. King, Traitor, Messiah, Murderer*, Grand Rapids, Michigan 2001; Kings: Idem, *First Historians*, 144-80; B. Halpern, D.S. Vanderhooft, 'The Edition of Kings in the 7th-6th Centuries BCE', *HUCA* 62 (1991), 179-224; Ezra:

in a fascinating discussion on the criteria that must be used in the reconstruction of the assumed sources.<sup>81</sup> However, with respect to the historiography of the settlement, they both agree on the idea that the entire concept of an invasion and conquest of the highlands in the 13th or 12th century BCE is alien to historical reality. In their opinion, the archaeology of the cities does not fit the picture and the Iron Age I settlement process in the hill country is hardly illuminated by the biblical conquest tradition. Therefore the conclusion seems inevitable that the author of the Book of Joshua designed the past descriptions in the light of the reality of his time. Since he was well acquainted with the site and the environment, he composed narratives that outwardly appear authentic, but are in fact historicized fiction. If there were pre-deuteronomistic sources, it is impossible to retract them from the present context, although there are some exceptions.<sup>82</sup>

### The Pitfalls of Empiricism

The significance of the renewed attention for the antiquarian interest in ancient history writing is that it shows the pendulum motion swinging back again from the sense of historiography as something to be looked at, towards a sense of something to look through. But within this movement, caused by sophisticated historiographical reflections concerning the antiquarian intent of Israelite historians, the last conclusion concerning the non-historical character of the Book of Joshua is surprising. It seems that careful considerations are exchanged for a strong qualification: the Book of Joshua 'is good and competent history that is wrong'.<sup>83</sup> This argument is connected with the conviction that most of the stories of conquest and settlement are written by an assumed deuteronomistic historian. But that is not decisive. Still then it is possible to argue the other way around: the fact that the literary diversity of Joshua and Judges is not quite distinctive from that of the following books of Samuel and Kings, could also indicate that these books, which refer to times when just a few Egyptian and Assyrian rulers entered the Southern Levant, might have something to do with history too. However, such a way of reasoning is excluded, because the archaeological 'facts' show that such a thought is alien to historical reality. This

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Idem, 'A Historiographic Commentary on Ezra 1-6', in: W.H. Propp e.a (eds), *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, Winona Lake, IN 1990, 81-142; Chronicles: B. Halpern, 'Sacred History and Ideology: Chronicles' Thematic Structure – Indications of an Earlier Source', in: R.E. Friedman (ed.), *The Creation of Sacred Literature. Composition and Redaction of the Biblical Text* (NES, 22), Berkeley, CA 1981, 35-54.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Halpern, 'Davidic State', 55-71, and Idem, *David's Secret Demons*, 199-207, with Na'aman, 'History of David', 173-83, and Idem, 'Three Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan', *IEJ* 50 (2000), 93-6 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 174-6). For the idea that 2 Sam. 8 is citing an ancient source, see also R. Kittel, *Die Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. Bd 2, Stuttgart 1925, 127, 182-3; R.M. Good, '2 Samuel 8', *TynBul* 52 (2001), 129-38.

<sup>82</sup> B. Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', *ABD*, vol. 5, 1121-6, 1135-6; Idem, *First Historians*, xxviii; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 251-79 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 348-77).

<sup>83</sup> Halpern, *First Historians*, xxiii.

raises the question what kind of idea of history is used here. Does this not presuppose a view in which it is possible to look *through* southern Levantine archaeology to the bare 'facts' without looking *at* these 'facts' as an interpretative discourse? The next section will deal in more detail with this problem. Before that, however, it is necessary to compare these questions with objections that have been raised against the 'new philosophy of history'.

Like the philosophy of history, the reflection on ancient historiography has drifted away from the dominant view of the previous decades, that is, from a positivist conception of science in the direction of the philosophy of art, literature, rhetoric, and aesthetics. This is interesting, because with respect to the philosophy of history it is argued that the metaphorical narrativism of the 'new philosophy of history' cannot only be understood as a frontal attack against positivism, but also in specific respects as its reversal, and thereby continuing to share its presuppositions. Both positions share a specific argumentative logic, which has been labelled as the 'either – or logic' or the 'Cartesian Anxiety'. According to this scheme, arbitrariness and chaos constitute the only alternatives for a firm foundation. Within the 'new philosophy of history' this logic is utilized to claim a non-cognitive status for historical narratives. Because of the epistemological problems in knowing the past, the historical process is sketched as a chaos of phenomena, which have to be organized by the historical imagination of the historian into self-explanatory narratives. At the same time, however, it is acknowledged that statements about the past are possible, for historians do succeed in making references to the past. But these referential statements are no more than loose elements within the organization of the narrative. After positivism having banned all figurative, metaphorical use of language from science, the metaphorical language is now upgraded to the real thing and the truth-claim of the narrative is simply negated. Therefore the essence of historiography is not lying in its reference to the 'objective' historical process, but in the aesthetic genre conventions that reflect the 'subjective' expectations and beliefs of its community.<sup>84</sup>

The plausibility of the fundamental theses of the so-called 'new historiography' in the study of ancient historiography in general and Old Testament historiography in particular, depends on its implicit contrast with empiricism too.

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<sup>84</sup> C. Lorenz, 'Can Histories Be True? Narrativism, Positivism, and the "Metaphorical Turn"', *HT* 37 (1998), 309-29, e.g. 314: 'either the narrative of the historian is simply a by-product of research, as the "traditional", positivistic view would have it, or it has nothing to do with research at all. Either the narratives of historians are empirically founded – as the traditional, or historical narratives have no empirical foundation at all and are the product of literary imagination. Either language is transparent and referential vis-à-vis reality – as the traditional, positivistic view would have it – or language is self-referential and opaque'. For a similar conclusion with regard to the 'minimalists', see M.B. Moore, *Philosophy and Practice in Writing a History of Israel* (LHB/OTS, 435), New York, London 2006, 105-7.

This is not only apparent in the qualification of the historical process as a chaotic acceleration of particles, but also in the fact that scholars seem to be looking for a kind of objective knowledge. On the one hand by verifying or falsifying individual historical statements with the help of historical research which almost presupposes knowledge without interpretation, and on the other by the principle of Wellhausen, Liverani and Thompson which excludes the uncertainties of the referential aspects of the text from the study of the historical emplotment. However, the problem is that the presupposition of history being metaphoric like all human perception and the thought deriving from this that it has nothing to do with what happened, contradicts itself: the idea for instance that every scholarly reconstruction of the history of the Southern Levant is ideological by nature is proven by a kind of undisputed evidence.<sup>85</sup> This reveals a deep conceptual dichotomy, inherent in positivism, between objective historical observation and subjective interpretation. Because of this dichotomy it seems obvious that pitfalls of empiricism also emerge in the pendulum motion from the biblical historiography in the sense of 'as it really was' to the sense of the 'reality-fictions'.

These pitfalls can be recognized by looking at the way history is defined. Gunkel's 'as it really was' rationalizes the historical process itself. This approach is not able to deal with the creative enterprise of historiography in general and with the genre conventions of non-modern historiography in particular. The theoretical reflections have made it clear that history writing is not based on an unbiased objectivity and does not necessarily follow a strict chronological format of presentation. Moreover, it is artistically constructed: simplification, selectivity, suggestive detail and emplotment are hallmarks of effective historiography. Consequently, it is necessary to study the literary artistry and genre conventions before being able to define the adequacy of a historical truth-claim. At the other side of the pendulum motion, the historical process is defined as chaos of phenomena and historiography is just our way of organizing the chaos into perceptible fictional blocks. This view is one-sided too, because of its lack of attention for the referential aspect of history writing. From the perspective of history itself, the conception tends to discredit interpretative knowledge as real knowledge: it excludes more realistic interpretations of narratives altogether and leads to the unjust conclusion that what happened has nothing to do with history.<sup>86</sup> From a historiographical point of view the heavy emphasis on the ideological nature of historical narrative causes turmoil of the worldviews of the ancient and the modern historians.

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<sup>85</sup> An example of this way of reasoning is: N.P. Lemche, 'New Perspectives on the History of Israel', in: F. García Martínez, E. Noort (eds), *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism* (VTS, 73), Leiden, etc. 1998, 42-60.

<sup>86</sup> For a more realistic approach, see e.g. C. Lorenz, 'Historical Knowledge and Historical Reality: A Plea for Internal Realism', *HT* 33 (1994), 297-327.

A fine example of this confusion is Van Seters' judgment that ancient history writing can only be classified as real historiography when it is secular, unbiased, scientific, and antithetical to religion.<sup>87</sup> In response to this view, Halpern and Na'aman state that the autonomy of the genre in pre-modern periods needs respect and that history as only satisfying today's historical concerns, is arrogant. According to them, ancient historians did some excellent work in the field.<sup>88</sup> But this approach does not always solve the problem. Even then, it is very hard to overcome the empiricist presuppositions of previous research. Halpern's and Na'aman's use of classical literary critical criteria seems to contradict the way they pay attention to the cultural encoding of for example direct speech and figurative language in biblical historiography.<sup>89</sup> In addition, their characterizations of the description of the conquest of Jericho as outwardly non-authentic and of references to divine intervention as a clear limit of the antiquarian intention of the ancient historian,<sup>90</sup> are in fact reflecting an empiricist distinction in Old Testament history writing: that between story and history.<sup>91</sup> This distinction presupposes an evolutionary process from myth to history writing and has become highly problematic. It has long been acknowledged that the difference between story and history is not lying in the form of the narrative or the worldview reflected in it, but in the fact that the composer of history has worked under some referential constraints.<sup>92</sup> Instead of characterizing a text as non-historical on the basis of the fact that the events

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<sup>87</sup> See the reviews of Van Seters, *In Search of History* by B. Halpern, *JBL* 104 (1985), 507, and K.L. Younger, *JSOT* 40 (1988), 110-7.

<sup>88</sup> Halpern, *First Historians*, xxiv, xxvi; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 227 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 326).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. e.g. Younger's comments on Halpern's Albrightean idea in *First Historians*, 78-103, that the prose account of Judges 4 is a later, well intended, if somewhat flawed, attempt to distill history from the ancient poetry of Judges 5: K.L. Younger, 'Heads! Tails! Or the Whole Coin?! Contextual Method and Intertextual Analysis: Judges 4 and 5', in: K.L. Younger *et al.* (eds), *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective* (SIC, 4), Lewiston, NY 1991, 109-46. For Halpern's reaction, see Halpern, 'Text and Artifact', 312.

<sup>90</sup> Halpern, *First Historians*, xxii, xxiv, 244-63; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 251 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 348).

<sup>91</sup> For this distinction, see e.g. J. Barr, 'Story and History in Biblical Theology', *JR* 56 (1976), 1-17; J.J. Collins, 'The 'Historical Character' of the Old Testament in Recent Biblical Theology', *CBQ* 41 (1979), 194-204. Barr's position is criticized by e.g. Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 37-9, and A.R. Millard, 'Story, History, and Theology', in: *Idem et al.* (eds), *Faith, Tradition and History*, 37-64.

<sup>92</sup> V.P. Long, *The Art of Biblical History* (FCI, 5), Grand Rapids, MI 1994, 67. Cf. 'history is a committedly true account which imposes form on the actions of men in the past' (Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 46); 'history is a narrative that represents a past' (Brettler, *Creation of History*, 12); 'history is an explanation of the meaningful connectedness of a sequence of past events in the form of an interested and focused narrative' (F.E. Deist, 'Contingency, Continuity and Integrity in Historical Understanding. An Old Testament Perspective', in: Long [ed.], *Israel's Past*, 380).

described are not accomplished by natural means, the religious encoding of the text should be taken in consideration as well.<sup>93</sup> Of course, if the text's worldview is not shared by the modern historian, the truth-value of a piece of history writing may be rejected after doing this. But even then it is not correct to deny the fact that the text makes a historical truth-claim.<sup>94</sup>

This clash between the worldviews of the ancient and the modern historian leads to a last observation on the use of the concept of 'ideology' in the description of the expectations and beliefs of the community in which a piece of historiography is composed. No problem arises as long as the understanding of 'ideology' is nothing more than a 'schematic image of social order', 'a pattern of beliefs and concepts (both factual and normative) which purport to explain complex social phenomena',<sup>95</sup> or 'a system of representations existing and playing a historical role within a given society'.<sup>96</sup> As a consequence of this understanding, a difference in ideology within an ancient historiographical text may even betray a difference between an earlier text and a later editor.<sup>97</sup> But as soon the worldview of the modern historian is getting influence, the way the concept of ideology actually works is chaotic. Most of the time the popular pejorative meaning of the term prevails: outdated concepts or ideas, false consciousness, misleading historiography, bad theology or whatever intellectual conception or comprehension, because there is no truth or reality at all, it all can be labelled as ideology. It reveals that 'the understanding of ideology ... has become highly ideological'.<sup>98</sup> Concluding, although it has almost become impossible to avoid the term 'ideology' in the study of ancient historiography, it is important to be aware of the sense the word is used in, to prevent the confusion of the worldviews of the text and the scholarly reconstruction.

### Methodological Considerations

The analysis of previous research shows that both senses of historiography as something to be looked through and of something to be looked at, should be exploited in the study of the historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan. To neglect the aesthetic qualities of historiography is to reach too easily to conclusions concerning the truth-value of historiography. History writing is a kind of representational art: artistic construction, simplification, selectivity and sug-

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<sup>93</sup> Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 36.

<sup>94</sup> For comments on the impact of 'worldview' on one's model of reality that determines what method is appropriate, see Long, *Art of Biblical History*, 129-35; V.P. Long, 'Introduction. Writing Israel's History: The Methodological Challenge', in: Idem (ed.), *Israel's Past*, 280-1.

<sup>95</sup> Julius Gould, cited by Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 51.

<sup>96</sup> George Duby, applied to biblical historiography by Brettler, *Creation of History*, 13.

<sup>97</sup> Halpern, *First Historians*, xxvi.

<sup>98</sup> Brettler, *Creation of History*, 13, quoted by Barr, *History and Ideology*, 139. In his Chapter on Ideology (102-40), Barr gave many examples of in fact pejorative uses of the concept of ideology. For more literature, see note 27.

gestive detail do not merely function as literary embellishments within some referential constraints, but are essential elements in the way historiography is doing a proposal about history. At the same time, a one-sided concentration on the text's genre conventions in order to understand it as part of a persuasive social discourse that expresses the 'ideology' of a community, denies that the reference to the past distinguishes history writing from fiction and ignores valuable information for historical reconstruction. Hence, a description of the historiographical character of a piece of ancient history writing should contain the three following steps. First of all, it is necessary to interpret the text by a careful, contextual reading and to study its literary artistry and genre conventions. Secondly, the results of this study can be used to reconstruct the expectations and beliefs of the text's community, to formulate hypotheses concerning its antiquarian intent or antiquarianism, the use of sources and the history of traditions, and to define the nature of its historical truth-claim. Thirdly, the text's truth-value can be judged by bringing the results into dialogue with artefactual evidence.

To avoid the pitfalls of empiricism in this interpretative process, V. Philips Long provides some valuable methodological suggestions. He proposes that the interpreter should try to adopt the worldview of the text as an interpretative strategy. This is a very important element to be taken account of in the first step.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, social science should be restricted to its proper function and the consequences of classical historical criticism on doing history should be re-evaluated.<sup>100</sup> These suggestions are worth considering in the second step, where the social implications of the text are described and the question for the use of sources is answered. A last proposal of Long concerns the existence and impact of 'background beliefs'. Scholars should move beyond the questions of methods to the prior questions of models: what are the reality models embraced by them? This important question relates to the third step, where certain basic models in historical research, like the principles of analogy and correlation, and presuppositions about human and divine agency play an important role. This could prevent a caricaturization of one another in doing history with the Bible and help to make a clear distinction between truth-claim and truth-value.<sup>101</sup>

This section is concluded with an example of the consequences of this approach for the study of the historiography of the settlement. As stated above, in

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<sup>99</sup> Long, 'Future of Israel's Past', 586-7.

<sup>100</sup> Long, 'Future of Israel's Past', 590-1. V.P. Long, 'Historiography of the Old Testament', in: D.W. Baker, B.T. Arnold (eds), *The Face of Old Testament Studies. A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, Grand Rapids, Michigan 1999, 171-4.

<sup>101</sup> Long, 'Future of Israel's Past', 586-7, 589-90; Idem, 'Historiography', 168-70. For the conviction that divine agency can be a mode of historical explanation, see W.J. Abraham, *Divine Revelation and the Limits of Historical Criticism*, Oxford 1982, Chapter 5 and 6.

the days of Albright, the biblical chronology was used in the sense of something to look through. Therefore, the first thing Albright had to do when he discovered 'external evidence' which in his view down-dated the conquest, was to reinterpret the biblical chronology in the light of this evidence. Scholars had taken the 480 years between the Exodus and the Solomonic temple of 1 Kings 6:1 as historical information in order to date Israel's conquest of Canaan in the late 15th or early 14th century BCE. However, according to Albright a more firm date of the Exodus could be obtained by comparing Exodus 12:40, which says that the length of time Israel lived in Egypt was 430 years, with the Haremhab Stele, that refers to the 400th anniversary of the cult of the god Seth at Tanis. This stele did not only confirm his contention that the number 430 might be based on correct historical tradition, but also enabled him to down date the Exodus early in the 13th century BCE.<sup>102</sup>

Later on biblical chronology was taken as something to look at too. As a consequence attention was paid to the chronology as a construction of ancient historians and this also affected the study of 1 Kings 6:1 and Exodus 12:40. Noth saw no bond between the two numbers and argued that the first text was part of *das chronologische Gerüst* that was used by the deuteronomistic historian to characterize the period from Moses to Solomon.<sup>103</sup> Others take the chronological notes of both texts as evidence of priestly redactional activity interpreting Israel's stay in Egypt and the building of the first temple within the schematic pattern of a priestly chronology of the world.<sup>104</sup> Both hypotheses contain elements which are not very convincing: the first incorrectly restricts the study of the schematic nature of biblical chronology to the books of Deuteronomy to Kings and the second presupposes an independently existing priestly chronology which also contained numbers which cannot be found in the Pentateuch. But it seems obvious that the aesthetic of the biblical chronology may contain a theoretical or schematic element reflecting a certain 'ideology'.

For this reason, a simple use of 1 Kings 6:1 for the historical reconstruction of conquest and settlement,<sup>105</sup> is the 'lazy man's solution'. Not only because 'it is ruled out by the combined weight of all the other biblical data plus additional information from external data',<sup>106</sup> but also because it corresponds with an incorrect methodological point of view. For a right understanding of the verse's truth-claim, its literary artistry and use of genre conventions should be studied first. On the other hand, to define that the chronologies of the biblical literature

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<sup>102</sup> Albright, 'Archaeology and Date of the Hebrew Conquest', 11-3, 15-7.

<sup>103</sup> Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 18-27.

<sup>104</sup> E.g. J. Hughes, *Secrets of the Times. Myth and History in Biblical Chronology* (JSOTS, 66), Sheffield 1990, 31-43.

<sup>105</sup> So e.g. J.J. Bimson, D. Livingston, 'Redating the Exodus', *BAR* 12/5 (1987), 42.

<sup>106</sup> K. Kitchen, 'Exodus', *ABD*, vol. 2, 702. Cf. M.W. Chavalas, M.R. Adamthwaite, 'Archaeological Light on the Old Testament', in: Baker, Arnold (eds), *Face of Old Testament Studies*, 84-8.

are more or less indications of non-historicity, because they present themselves as most 'history-like',<sup>107</sup> is incorrect as well, as is evident from the chronology of the Book of Kings. The Assyrian-Israelite synchronisms have added credibility to the biblical synchronisms and the synchronic chronologies of Israel's neighbours have illuminated the practices of Israel's chronological reckoning. Whether the Hebrew text of the Book of Kings is interpreted as a sound historical basis with different calendrical and regnal patterns, as a text with some late editorial calculations and errors, or as a part of a deuteronomic chronology which was adapted from an earlier non-schematic chronology, it is always based on an original historical chronology.<sup>108</sup> The same could be the case with chronological notes from other books. It is a consensus that these chronologies are sometimes highly schematic in order to express the belief in a divine plan behind history, although it seems hard to discover a systematic pattern in the chronological figures of Genesis 1-11.<sup>109</sup> But as such, the discovery that chronologies articulate certain beliefs is no substantial evidence for the conclusion that they are mythical, that is, fictions which are used to express truth.<sup>110</sup> The study of the schematic nature of chronologies can reveal the expectations and beliefs of the community of the ancient historians. But that does not rule out the possibility that the ancient historians were making kinds of historical truth-claims. Neither the form of the ideologically constructed chronologies, nor the conviction that there is no divine plan behind history, can answer the question for the nature of the historical truth-claim in a text like Exodus 12:40 or 1 Kings 6:1. Only a careful historiographical analysis of the chronological framework of these verses, including the stories within that framework, can lead to a hypothesis defining their historical truth claim. And only bringing this truth claim into dialogue with artefactual evidence, can test its truth-value.

### Concluding Remarks

The study of ancient historiography is a kind of monologue. The analysis of the text's literary artistry and genre conventions, the reconstruction of the expectations and beliefs of its community, the formulation of hypotheses concerning its antiquarian intent or antiquarianism, the use of sources and the history of traditions, and the definition of the nature of its historical truth-claim has to be done with mainly textual tools. Nevertheless, this monologue has its limita-

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<sup>107</sup> Davies, *In Search of 'Ancient Israel'*, 25.

<sup>108</sup> For these three options, see E.R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, Grand Rapids, MI 31983; H. Tadmor, 'The Chronology of the First Temple Period. A Presentation and Evaluation of the Sources', in: J.A. Soggin, *An Introduction in the History of Israel and Judah*, Valley Forge, PA 1993, 394-409; Hughes, *Secrets of the Times*, 77-158. Cf. also: M. Cogan, 'Chronology', *ABD*, vol. 1, 1005-10; G. Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (SHCANE, 9), Leiden, etc. 1996.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Cogan, 'Chronology', 1002-5.

<sup>110</sup> Thus Hughes, *Secrets of the Times*, 3-4. Cf. also Barr, *History and Ideology*, 63.

tions. In the end there is more than a truth-claim, there is also the truth-value. For this reason, the monologue of text requires a dialogue with the monologue of artefact.

### 1.3 SETTLEMENT DEBATE

The limitations of the monologue of text in the study of the historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan inevitably ask for an interdisciplinary dialogue between the textual and artefactual data. But for two reasons it is not easy to start and maintain such a dialogue. In the first place both text and artefact are pursuits in their own right. This is one of the conclusions following from the scholarly criticism of Albright's proposed correlation of biblical and archaeological data regarding the conquest of the cities. But secondly, the concepts which purport to explain the complex archaeological phenomena are in their turn highly influenced by images that are deduced from the texts, as can be shown from the recent debate about the identity of the Iron I settlers in the Central Hill Country of the Southern Levant. This section will work out these two problems by presenting the archaeological evidence concerning excavations, surveys, and material remains that are used as identity markers. It will be shown why the Albrightian paradigm collapsed, how the Altian and Mendenhallist models developed into Neo-Altian and Neo-Mendenhallist theories, and how these theories erroneously exclude textual evidence from their archaeological considerations. The evaluation will extent in some length, but this is needed in order to discover a way in which the dialogue between text and artefact becomes a justified and practical possibility.

#### Conquests and Excavations

A brief indication of the non-evidential character of Albright's archaeological evidence for the Israelite conquest of Canaan can be found in an article in the *Cambridge Ancient History* on this evidence. It states that the archaeologist has no reason to suppose that the 13th century BCE Palestine saw the birth of new nation. Especially the idea that the ash-layers in several Late Bronze cities were evidence of a destruction by Israelite invaders was unmasked as inadequate. The cities could also have been destroyed by accidental fire, an earthquake, a local attack from a hostile neighbouring city-state, a band of marauders or by an Egyptian raid. For that reason, according to the writer of the article, 'unless the identity and date of the attackers and destruction can be fixed, the mere destruction of cities cannot be taken as sound archaeological evidence of a new ethnic group'.<sup>111</sup> A closer look at the archaeology of the South-

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<sup>111</sup> H.J. Franken, 'Palestine During the Nineteenth Dynasty. (b) Archaeological Evidence', *CAH*<sup>3</sup> 2/2, 332-3.

ern Levant makes clear that the argumentation that is often exploited to ground the conclusion that Albright was wrong, is indeed quite impressive.

### *Non-Existing Cities*

A first argument concentrates on the existence of cities which is assumed in the conquest narrative. The problem is that archaeology does not confirm the existence of some of them during the Late Bronze Age or during the Late Bronze – Iron I transition.<sup>112</sup> The stratification of Jericho is complex, but it looks as if the conclusion that the city was uninhabited during the Late Bronze Age is hard to avoid.<sup>113</sup> Et-Tell, identified by most scholars with the city of Ai, was not settled between the Early Bronze and Iron Age I. Similar problems became apparent with respect to the archaeology of Arad. Additionally, the mound in Transjordan identified with Heshbon produced no evidence at all for an occupation earlier than the 12th century BCE.<sup>114</sup> At last, Gibeon, Jarmuth, and Hebron have such meagre Late Bronze remains that they could have been merely small hamlets or only burial grounds at the time.<sup>115</sup>

In some of these cases, this interpretation of the evidence is challenged or the identification of the excavated mounds with the biblical cities is questioned.<sup>116</sup> But although a number of the alternative proposals may be plausible, none of them is entirely convincing. Most of the time the claims of the biblical account are more or less modified, and the material remains are tended to be

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<sup>112</sup> J.M. Miller, 'Archaeology and the Israelite Conquest of Canaan: some Methodological Considerations', *PEQ* 109 (1977), 87; M. Kochavi, 'The Israelite Settlement in Canaan in the Light of Archaeological Surveys', in: *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology Jerusalem, April 1984*, Jerusalem 1985, 55; M. Coogan, 'Archaeology and Biblical Studies: The Book of Joshua', in: Propp *et al.* (eds), *Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, 19-22, 23-4; Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', 1132; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 223 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 321-2).

<sup>113</sup> For an overview, see K. Bieberstein, *Josua-Jordan-Jericho. Archäologie, Geschichte und Theologie der Landnahmeerzählungen Josua 1-6* (OBO, 143), Freiburg, Göttingen 1995, 5-31.

<sup>114</sup> J.A. Callaway, 'Ai', *NEAEHL*, 44-5; M. Aharoni, 'Arad', *NEAEHL*, 82; L.T. Geraty, 'Heshbon', *NEAEHL*, 626.

<sup>115</sup> For Gibeon, see J.B. Pritchard, *Gibeon: Where the Sun Stood Still*, Princeton, New Jersey 1962, 135-8, 156-8, with Weippert, *Landnahme*, 21-3; for Jarmuth: A. Ben-Tor, 'The First Season of Excavations at Tell-Yarmuth: August 1970', *Qedem* 1 (1975), 57; P. de Miroschedji, 'Tel Jarmuth', *NEAEHL*, 665; for Hebron: P.C. Hammond, 'Hébron', *RB* 72 (1965), 268; E.F. Campbell, 'Archaeological News from Jordan', *BA* 28 (1965), 32; A. Ofer, 'Hebron', *NEAEHL*, 608-9.

<sup>116</sup> For literature concerning Ai and the related discussion about the identification of Bethel with el-Bireh in stead of with Beitin (172.148), see D. Livingston, 'Further Considerations on the Location of Bethel and El-Bireh', *PEQ* 126 (1994), 154-9; B.G. Wood, 'Khirbet el-Maqatir', *IEJ* 50 (2000), 123-30; 249-54; for Tel el-Umeiri and Tel Jalul as candidates for Heshbon, see S.H. Horn, 'Heshbon', *IDBS*, 410; Idem, *Heshban in the Bible and in Archaeology*, Berrien Springs, MI 1982, 10-1; R.D. Ibach, 'An Intensive Survey at Jalul', *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 16 (1978), 215-22; Geraty, 'Heshbon', 626.

looked upon as tangible proof of what is supposed to have happened. As a result, the conclusions find clear support in neither the Bible nor archaeology.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, the debates about the non-existing cities show that in the case of the conquest, archaeology can not function as undisputed 'external evidence'.

#### *Destruction-Layers in Context*

A second argument that caused the collapse of the conquest model claims that the proposed positive connections between text and archaeology do not judge the material remains on their own terms. As stated above, it is often not clear what caused a fire in a city. In addition, there is a considerable distance in time between the several destructions. Therefore, a single historical explanation simply does not fit the evidence. It seems to be a better option to relate the immediate breakdown of the cities to the history of their regions or to stages in the decline of the Late Bronze culture in general.<sup>118</sup>

The excavations of Tel Beit Mirsim and Bethel illustrate that it is dangerous to interpret the material remains in the light of textual sources. Albright identified Tel Beit Mirsim with Debir and argued that the great masses of ash-filled debris which marked the end of Stratum C<sub>2</sub> were the result of the destruction by Israelite invaders, as is described in Joshua 10:38-39.<sup>119</sup> At Bethel, the latest phase of the Late Bronze Age, Phase 2, experienced a severe conflagration too. Albright and his assistant director James Kelso dated this destruction somewhere between 1240 and 1235 BCE and used it as a clear archaeological confirmation of the conquest narrative.<sup>120</sup> The problem with both sites, however, is that they are poorly stratified and difficult to explain. It cannot be denied that the excavations revealed a kind of a break between Late Bronze II and Iron I, but there is no clear evidence that this was caused by military activity. In fact

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<sup>117</sup> Examples of this procedure are Albright's treatment of the Ai/et-Tell problem and some early date conquest models. Miller, 'Archaeology and Israelite Conquest', 88-92, and B.K. Waltke, 'The Date of the Conquest', *WTJ* 52 (1990), 189-96.

<sup>118</sup> Weippert, *Landnahme*, 125-9; Miller, 'Archaeology and Israelite Conquest', 55-6; Kochavi, 'Israelite Settlement', 55; E. Noort, 'Geschiedenis als brandpunt. Over de rol van de archeologie bij de vestiging van Israël in Kanaän', *GTT* 87 (1987), 92-4; Coogan, 'Archaeology and Biblical Studies', 22-3; V. Fritz, 'Die Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan', *ZDPV* 106 (1990), 64-8; A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000-586 B.C.E.*, New York, etc. <sup>2</sup>1992, 334; W.G. Dever, 'Israel, History of (Archaeology and the "Conquest")', *ABD*, vol. 3, 548; Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', 1132-3; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 223 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 321-2); L.E. Stager, 'Forging an Identity', in: M.D. Coogan (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, New York 1998, 129-34.

<sup>119</sup> W.F. Albright, 'Researches of the School in Western Judah', *BASOR* 15 (1924), 4-11; Idem, *The Excavations of Tell Beit Mirsim. Vol. 2. The Bronze Age* (AASOR, 17), New Haven 1938, 5, 61, 66, 78-9.

<sup>120</sup> J.L. Kelso, *The Excavations of Bethel (1934-1960)* (AASOR, 39), Cambridge 1968, 30-2, 47.

all of the four destruction-layers at Bethel are silent.<sup>121</sup> With respect to Tel Beit Mirsim, it was shown that despite its impressive size and destruction layers, it could not be identified with Debir, because this city should be sought in a more mountainous region.<sup>122</sup> Some scholars do not agree with that and hold on to the connection with Joshua 10.<sup>123</sup> But they face another problem: a new analysis of the architectural remains and pottery demonstrated that the unwalled, sparsely populated settlement of Iron I is most likely a continuation of the Late Bronze city.<sup>124</sup> That means that there is no longer archaeological evidence for a 'clear cultural break'. Albright's view concerning Tel Hasi, Stratum Sub-IV, met similar problems. The identification with biblical Eglon turned out to be wrong and his interpretation of the excavations is questionable.<sup>125</sup>

An example of a distance in time between different destructions can be taken from the archaeology of Hazor and Lachish. Excavations in Lachish and Hazor had uncovered destruction-layers that according to the excavators could be dated in the second half of the 13th century BCE.<sup>126</sup> But later discussions revealed that this contemporaneity was an illusion. In Lachish a scarab of Ramses III (1184-1153 BCE) was found, which was possibly brought to the city before its fall.<sup>127</sup> In 1978 this assumption was confirmed when a cache of bronze objects, one with a cartouche of Ramses III, was unearthed in Level VI under the Judean inner city. In this way the new excavations showed that the Late Bronze city of Lachish contained two levels. The most recent was destroyed circa 1150 BCE.<sup>128</sup>

The date of the fall of Late Bronze Hazor was challenged too. Yigael Yadin had used the Mycenaean pottery of the latest Late Bronze Strata to date the

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<sup>121</sup> E.g. Noort, 'Geschiedenis als brandpunt', 92-3.

<sup>122</sup> See the historical geographical excursus in section 2.1, at 10:28-39.

<sup>123</sup> W.F. Albright, 'Tell Beit Mirsim', *NEAEHL*, 179.

<sup>124</sup> R. Greenberg, 'New Light on the Early Iron Age at Tell Beit Mirsim', *BASOR* 265 (1987), 56-61, 76; id., 'Tell Beit Mirsim', *NEAEHL*, 180.

<sup>125</sup> Albright, 'Case of Lèse Majesté', 36, 38. For historical geographical considerations and archaeological comments, see section 2.1 and V.M. Fargo, 'Tell el-Hesi', *NEAEHL*, 630-2.

<sup>126</sup> O. Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir). Vol. 2. The Fosse Temple*, London, etc. 1940, 22-4; O. Tufnell, *Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir). Vol. 3. The Iron Age*, London, etc. 1953, 51-2; O. Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir). Vol. 4. The Bronze Age*, London, etc. 1958, 36-7, 49, 67; Y. Yadin, *Hazor. The Head of All Those Kingdoms*, London 1972, 108-9.

<sup>127</sup> Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir)*, vol. 2, 23.

<sup>128</sup> D. Ussishkin, 'Level VII at Tel Lachish and the End of the Late Bronze Age in Canaan', in: J.N. Tubb (ed.), *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, London 1985, 218-9, 223-4. In 1994, an earlier found scarab most likely also dating from Level VI turned out to bear the name of Ramses IV. For the date of the end of Level VI as a whole, see D. Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973-1994)*, Tel Aviv 2004, vol. 1, 69-73.

destruction.<sup>129</sup> Later, it was argued that cartouches of pharaoh Merneptah and the Egyptian queen Tewosret from Ugarit and Deir ʿAlla which were found together with this Myc. IIIB pottery demonstrated that this pottery was still in use around 1200 BCE. That would possibly down date the destruction of Hazor to the beginning of the 12th century.<sup>130</sup> Yadin did not agree, because the luxury pottery Myc. IIIA and IIIB might be preserved for a long time. Consequently, the cartouche could only function as a general *terminus ante quem*.<sup>131</sup> According to a more recent view, Yadin's dating of the destruction is too late, because the carinated bowls from the destruction layer, Stratum XIII/1A, have more in common with the traditions from Middle Bronze II than the same bowls from other strata in the Southern Levant that definitely belong to the second half of the 13th century. That would situate the devastation of Hazor more than half a century earlier.<sup>132</sup> So, it turns out that the assumed synchronism between the destruction of Lachish and Hazor cannot be proven when the material remains of Lachish and Hazor are interpreted on their own terms.

#### *Archaeology and Military Campaigns*

The efforts of the defenders of the conquest model to elucidate the historiography of Israel's conquest of Canaan by the archaeology of the Southern Levant have failed. Facing this difficulty a few scholars indicated the evaluation of the destruction layers of the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition in the region to be irrelevant for the settlement debate.<sup>133</sup> But this seems to be overreacting. Recent developments in Levantine archaeology show that conflicts between artefactual evidence and texts, disputed identifications and questions concerning the limitations of evidence are common topics in discussions with regard to the archaeology of military campaigns.

A first parallel can be drawn from the discussion addressing the question of the reasons for the fall of some great Middle Bronze IIB cities and the disappearance of many Middle Bronze IIB settlements in the Central Hill Country of the Southern Levant. For long, it was taken as a fact that the first Egyptian pharaohs of the 18th dynasty were responsible for major destruction in the

<sup>129</sup> Y. Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor. Vol. 1. An Account of the First Season of Excavations, 1955*, Jerusalem 1958, 83, 85, 91; *Idem et al.*, *Hazor. Vol. 2. An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956*, Jerusalem 1960, 109; *Idem*, *Head of All Those Kingdoms*, 32-3, 37, 45-6; *Idem*, 'Hazor', *NEAEHL*, 597.

<sup>130</sup> V. Fritz, 'Das Ende der spätbronzezeitlichen Stadt Hazor Stratum XIII und die biblische Überlieferungen in Josua 11 und Richter 4', *UF* 5 (1973), 126.

<sup>131</sup> Y. Yadin, 'The Transition from a Semi-Nomadic to a Sedentary Society in the Twelfth century B.C.E.', in: F.M. Cross (ed.), *Symposia. Celebrating the Seventy-Fifty Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Cambridge, MA 1979, 62.

<sup>132</sup> P. Beck, M. Kochavi, 'A Dated Assemblage of the Late 13th Century B.C.E. from the Egyptian Residency at Aphek', *TA* 12 (1985), 37-8.

<sup>133</sup> E. Noort, *Biblisch-archäologische Hermeneutik und Alttestamentliche Exegese* (KC, 39), Kampen 1979, 8-9; *Idem*, 'Geschiedenis als brandpunt', 94.

country. Therefore this series of destructions was dated at the end of the Hyksos rule, sometime after the close of Middle Bronze IIC (1550 BCE).<sup>134</sup> But when the texts referring to the military campaigns of the pharaohs were analysed and the archaeological argumentation examined, it appeared that this mono-causal explanation was too simple.<sup>135</sup> Every inscription and relief had its own purpose and none of them gives a description of destruction. Only those with regard to Ahmose (1550-1525 BCE) and Thutmose III (1479-1425 BCE) deal explicitly with the Levant. In addition the identification of many of the listed cities is disputed. From an artefactual point of view the situation is even more complicated. The archaeological materials reveal that the destructions and the abandonment of the rural sites were part of a continuous process, which had already begun at the end of the 17th century and lasted till the end of the 16th century BCE. The campaigns of the pharaohs certainly played a role in this process and it can be assumed that Ahmose did indeed destroy the cities in the south. But even this cannot be proven beyond doubt. Therefore, scholars wonder whether the historically based terminological framework of the Late Bronze Age should be exchanged for a framework founded on archaeological entities or not.<sup>136</sup>

Similar remarks can be made regarding a military campaign by pharaoh Shoshenq I (935-914 BCE). According to the Bible this pharaoh invaded Judah in the fifth year of Rehobeam's reign (1 Kgs 15:25-26; 2 Chron. 12:2-12) and at Karnak a relief lists the cities he 'conquered'. Archaeological evidence for this campaign was discovered in Tel Megiddo, where a fragment of Shoshenq's victory stele was found in the excavations. Since Albright connected the conflagration that had destroyed Tel Beit Mirsim Stratum B<sub>2</sub> with this Egyptian invasion, more destructions were ascribed to Shoshenq I and these data became elements of an overall archaeological interpretation for 10th century Israël.<sup>137</sup> It led for instance to the hypothesis that the pharaoh destroyed a whole group of

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<sup>134</sup> J.M. Weinstein, 'The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment', *BASOR* 241 (1981), 1-10.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. J.K. Hoffmeier, 'Reconsidering Egypt's Part in the Termination of the Middle Bronze IIC Period', *Levant* 21 (1989), 181-93; W.G. Dever, "'Hyksos", Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age', *Levant* 22 (1990), 75-81; J.K. Hoffmeier, 'Some Thoughts on William G. Dever's "'Hyksos", Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age"', *Levant* 22 (1990), 83-9; J.M. Weinstein, 'Egypt and the Middle Bronze IIC/Late Bronze IA Transition in Palestine', *Levant* 23 (1991), 105-15; J.K. Hoffmeier, 'James Weinstein's 'Egypt and the Middle Bronze IIC/Late Bronze IA Transition in Palestine': A Rejoinder', *Levant* 23 (1991), 117-24.

<sup>136</sup> For a short overview of the discussion, see D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, Princeton, New Jersey 1992, 138-40; S. Bunimovitz, 'On the Edge of Empires – Late Bronze Age (1500-1200 BCE)', in: T.E. Levy (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, New York 1995, 320-4, 330-1.

<sup>137</sup> W.F. Albright, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim. Vol. 3. The Iron Age* (AASOR, 21-22), New Haven 1943, 37-38, cf. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land*, 391-8.

fortified sites in the Negev Highlands.<sup>138</sup> However, recent discussions have shown that this interpretation is not as convincing as it seemed to be. The biblical notes are part of compositions with a specific purpose and provide the historian with only indirect information. Moreover, the relief at Karnak is incomplete: not all rows and names survived and many translations and identifications of the remaining names are either unknown or disputed. But even when the names are known, the question arises whether the toponym list, which could have been an itinerary, can still be used in conjunction with destruction levels.<sup>139</sup> Finally, the current debate on the archaeology of the 10th century BCE has made it clear that the connection between the destruction layers from Iron Age IIA with Shoshenq's campaign is not compelling from an archaeological point of view.<sup>140</sup> It is difficult, for example, to date the Negev Highlands sites and their identification as fortresses is uncertain. The fact that burnished red slip ware is common in these settlements could be an indication that they do represent the occupational correlates of the names in Shoshenq's topographical list. But the few ash deposits that were found do not imply destruction by a military campaign.<sup>141</sup> Even the assumption that Shoshenq destroyed Megiddo after capturing it is subject to serious doubt.<sup>142</sup>

Nevertheless, the archaeology of military campaigns is not always silent. The Assyrian invasions of the late 8th century BCE left abundant traces that could be excavated.<sup>143</sup> But in general it is difficult to extract historical information from archaeology and strategraphic evidence alone does not lead to historical conclusions. It is possible to overcome these difficulties, as has been shown by a book on the Egyptian campaigns to the Southern Levant during the

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<sup>138</sup> B. Mazar, 'The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine', in: *Volume du Congrès Strasbourg 1956* (VTS, 4), Leiden 1957, 64-6; R. Cohen, 'The Iron Fortresses in the Central Negev', *BASOR* 236 (1979), 78.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*, Warminster 1973, 432-47; N. Na'aman, 'Israel, Edom and Egypt in the 10th century BCE', *TA* 19 (1992), 79-86 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 126-33); Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 312-5; F. Clancy, 'Shishak/Shoshenq's Travels', *JSOT* 86 (1999), 4-6, 9-18; K.A. Wilson, *The Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq I into Palestine* (FAT, 9), Tübingen 2005. For the discussion about Clancy's article and Wilson's monograph, see K.A. Kitchen, 'The Shoshenqs of Egypt and Palestine', *JSOT* 93 (2001), 2-12; F. Clancy, 'Errors and Assumptions: A Reply to Kenneth Kitchen', *JSOT* 93 (2001), 13-15; J.K. Hoffmeier, 'Review', *BASOR* 349 (2008), 88-91.

<sup>140</sup> Clancy, 'Shishak/Shoshenq', 6-9. See further section 6.1, 'Archaeology and Chronology'.

<sup>141</sup> For a summary of the arguments, see I. Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe. The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighbouring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (MMA, 6), Sheffield 1995, 103-14. Cf. also B. Halpern, 'Research Design in Archaeology. The Interdisciplinary Perspective', *NEA* 1 (1998), 61-2; Idem, *David's Secret Demon's*, 345-7, 462-6.

<sup>142</sup> I. Finkelstein et al., *Megiddo III. The 1992-1996 Seasons* (TAMS, 18), Tel Aviv 2000, 587-600.

<sup>143</sup> See section 6.1, 'Assyrian Destructions'.

19th dynasty (1295-1186 BCE). Aware of the limitations that are inherent to the sources, this study offers a paradigm for dealing with Egyptian military activity. On the one hand the textual and iconographic descriptions are general and highly rhetorical: the populations of the Southern Levant are viewed as dissidents, rebelling against Egypt; but on the other hand, the iconography makes it clear that the cities that were plundered suffered minor structural damage, a fact that in some cases could be confirmed by archaeological correlates: the destructions were minimal and did not encompass the entire site.<sup>144</sup>

With this study the factor of the policy of destruction is introduced in the discussion concerning the archaeology of military campaigns. A destruction-layer in a *tel* can be caused by accidental fire, an earthquake or by an attack. But when a connection is made with a military campaign by an invading army, which is referred to in a text or relief, it is necessary to include a textual analysis. The text's genre conventions should not only be studied in order to judge whether the military campaign is claimed to have taken place or not, but also to get an impression of the policy that is used to subdue the enemy. Such an analysis leads to a paradigm that provides archaeology with important questions that encompass the focus, means, and extent of the destruction at a particular site.

This approach can give a new impulse to the evaluation of the destruction-layers of the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition in the Southern Levant. A historiographical analysis of Joshua's narration of the conquest of the cities will provide information not only concerning the text's conventions and truth-claims, but also with regard to the policy of submission. Knowledge of this policy will offer the opportunity to formulate a framework in which the text's historical truth claim can be tested archaeologically. The fact that some scholars argue that the narration of the conquest of the cities in Joshua 10–12 should not be read as implying a total destruction of the physical structures of these sites, underlines this contention.<sup>145</sup> Consequently, it is methodologically wrong to answer the question for the possible historical nature of the Book of Joshua only from an archaeological point of view.<sup>146</sup> A careful reading of the biblical stories concerning Israel's conquest of Canaan has to precede the analysis of

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<sup>144</sup> M.G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, 1300-1185 BC* (PdÄ, 11), Leiden etc. 1998, 252-3.

<sup>145</sup> R.S. Hess, 'Early Israel in Canaan: A Survey of Recent Evidence and Interpretations', *PEQ* 125 (1993), 126; K.L. Younger, 'Early Israel in Recent Biblical Scholarship', in: Baker, Arnold (eds) *Face of Old Testament Studies*, 179.

<sup>146</sup> This method is applied by E. Junkkaala, *Three Conquests of Canaan. A Comparative Study of Two Egyptian Military Campaigns and Joshua 10-12 in the Light of Recent Archaeological Evidence*, Åbo 2006. Junkkaala only assumes in general that Joshua 10–12 could be historical (309-11) and concludes on the base of Joshua 11:18 and the archaeological record that Israel's violent settlement took place in a time span of about two centuries (307-9). This conclusion is not only unfounded from a historiographical point of view, it also ignores the complex and diverse nature of the archaeological contexts of the sites under discussion.

the archaeological evidence, for only in this way the evaluation of a claimed conquest in the light of excavations can gain new importance for the settlement debate.

### Settlers and Surveys

In the early seventies scholarly scepticism about the destruction of cities as sound archaeological evidence of new ethnic groups was combined with a more optimistic attitude with regard to the small settlements discovered in a survey of Upper Galilee that was conducted by Yohanan Aharoni during the fifties. Although the identity of the inhabitants of these settlements could not be fixed by internal evidence, there seemed to be no alternative rival identification to that of the Hebrew tribes.<sup>147</sup> This interpretation survived as long as scholars believed that Israel had settled the highlands from outside. But this changed significantly, when Mendenhall questioned this assumption in his article on the Hebrew conquest of Palestine.<sup>148</sup> In addition, a mass of new data was added by comprehensive fieldwork in Israel, partly made possible by the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967.<sup>149</sup> One of the most important discoveries was the increase of settlements in the hill country from the late 13th century BCE on (Map 1.1). As a result the interpretations of Alt and Mendenhall developed into Neo-Altian and Neo-Mendenhallist views and the identity of the Iron I settlers of the hill country of the Southern Levant became the main topic in the settlement debate. Yet, before these subjects will be dealt with, the following pages will offer a short overview of the assumed settlement patterns in the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition.

One final preliminary remark has to be made. Surface investigation is not the most trustworthy instrument of the archaeologist. The data collected represent a highly selective sampling at best and are usually open to a range of interpretations. Findings may be used as positive evidence: with surveys the presence of people at a site during particular periods may be established. But the determination of gaps in settlement *e silentio*, that is, by the fact that pottery from a certain period is missing, is often unreliable. In addition, the chronological demarcation of the periods in question is not always accurate.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>147</sup> E.g. Franken, 'Archaeological Evidence', 335; Weippert, *Landnahme*, 131.

<sup>148</sup> See section 1.1.

<sup>149</sup> For overviews, see I. Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*, Jerusalem 1988; Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*; Stager, 'Forging an Identity', 134-7; E. Bloch-Smith, B.A. Nakhai, 'A Landscape Comes to Life – The Iron I Period', *NEA* 62 (1999), 62-92, 101-27; Zwingenberg, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit*, 46-110; R.D. Miller II, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans*, Grand Rapids, MI 2005, 29-90.

<sup>150</sup> H.J. Franken, 'Einiges über die Methode von archäologischen Oberflächenuntersuchungen', in: A. Kuschke, E. Kutsch (eds), *Archäologie und Altes Testament*, Tübingen 1970, 119-24; M. Weippert, 'The Israelite "Conquest" and the Evidence from Transjordan', in: Cross (ed.), *Symposia*, 28; J.M. Miller, 'Is it Possible to Write a History of Israel Without Relying on the Hebrew Bible?', in: Edelman (ed.), *Fabric of History*, 100.

Another problem is the estimation of the size of sites during a specific period. Sometimes this is done with help of the percentage of potsherds of the relevant period in the total quantity of pottery collected. But despite its sophisticated character, this calculation of 'ceramic intensity' does not warrant a dependable outcome. It is based on the false assumption that one hour of survey at different sites will produce a similar number of sherds. The differences in experience of the surveyors, the impact of the season of the survey, and the effect of the topography on the dispersal of the sherds are not taken into account.<sup>151</sup> However, ceramic intensity is not very important in most reports on these surveys and the main period represented at the site is often taken as occupying its full size. But even then, it has to be admitted that the estimation of the size of a site and the reconstruction of a region's settlement pattern with help of the results of archaeological surveys always contain an element of theoretical speculation. Nevertheless, it is possible to utilize the survey results to offer a general overview of the southern Levantine settlement patterns during the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition.<sup>152</sup>

### *Galilee*

The northernmost regions surveyed are the mountains of Upper Galilee, the Hule Valley and the hills of Lower Galilee. Separated from the rest of the country by the Jezreel Valley cultural developments in these regions were always different and influenced by Syria and the Phoenician coast.

According to Aharoni a number of large mounds in the northern section of *Upper Galilee* had the control over this sparsely settled area during the Late Bronze Age. Scores of new Iron I sites were discovered by his survey in the early 1950's in the mountain region. These observations were refined by later research. Imported Late Bronze Cypriote pottery was found at a few sites in the north and new Iron I settlements, most of them on hills, were discovered in Western Galilee, in size varying from 250 square metres to 2 hectare. These settlements are spread out in a strip along the lower slopes of the mountains, in some distance from the sites further east.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> I. Finkelstein, Z. Lederman (eds), *Highlands of Many Cultures. The Southern Samaria Survey I-II. The Sites* (TAMS, 14), Tel Aviv 1997, 20-1.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. G. Lehmann, 'The United Monarchy in the Countryside', in: A.G. Vaughn, A.E. Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology. The First Temple Period* (SBL SS, 18), Atlanta, GA 2003, 123: 'The density of survey research in both Judah and the Shephelah, as well as in Palestine in general is exceptionally good and unparalleled in the Near East'.

<sup>153</sup> R. Frankel, 'Upper Galilee in the Late Bronze – Iron Age Transition', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 23, 25-7; R. Frankel et al., *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Upper Galilee* (IAA Reports, 14), Jerusalem 2001, 103-6. Cf. D. Vieweger, 'Überlegungen zur Landnahme israelitischer Stämme unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der galiläischen Berglandgebiete', *ZDPV* 109 (1993), 29-30; Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 78, 81;

The settlement pattern in the *Hule Valley*, or Upper Jordan Valley, with sites such as Hazor and Dan, is somewhat different. It is true that at these sites there seems to be no continuation between the Late Bronze and the Iron Age strata. An increase in settlements can be observed in the surrounding areas. But the settlement process departs significantly from that in the mountains in the fact that the growth of population is concentrated in sites that were already inhabited during the Late Bronze Age.<sup>154</sup>

This new information clarified the debate between Aharoni and Yadin about the relation between the destruction of Late Bronze Hazor and the Iron I settlements in Upper Galilee. According to Aharoni, the interpretation of the findings from the excavations in Hazor and from his survey supported the peaceful infiltration model: the tribes had already settled when they destroyed Hazor. But the new inquiries showed that some of Yadin's objections to this theory were right: the pottery from the Iron I sites in Upper Galilee is similar to that of later strata at Hazor and Dan. Therefore it was only after the destruction that Upper Galilee underwent a process of intense settlement, although the precise dates of the sites are not clear.<sup>155</sup>

The hills and intermontane valleys of *Lower Galilee* are part of the southern section of the intermediate zone between Hazor in the east and Tyre and Acco in the west. The survey conducted in this area indicated 15 Iron I settlements in its southern part. Some of them were prior inhabited; others were founded anew, primarily in the late 13th century or early 12th century BCE.<sup>156</sup> The occupation in the northern and eastern parts of Lower Galilee was more limited. Especially in the mountainous eastern area the settlement process just started in the 10th century. It seems that the Late Bronze settlement pattern prevailed in this region during the Iron I.<sup>157</sup> Excavations at Tel Yin'am and Tel Ein Zippori seem to confirm this contention: the continuity of these sites was unbroken until they lost their function in the 10th century.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Finkelstein, *Settlement*, 98-103; D. Ilan, *Northeastern Israel in the Iron Age I: Cultural, Socioeconomic and Political Perspectives. Vol. 1* (Unpublished Dissertation Tel Aviv University), Tel Aviv 1999, 214.

<sup>155</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 107-9; Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 79. For the debate, see Y. Aharoni, 'Problems of the Israelite Conquest in the Light of Archaeological Discoveries', *AntSurv* 2 (1957), 145-50; Yadin, *Hazor*, 131-2; Yadin, 'Transition', 61-5.

<sup>156</sup> Z. Gal, *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age* (ASOR Dissertation Series, 8), Winona Lake, IN 1992, 13-27; Vieweger, 'Überlegungen', 28-9; Z. Gal, 'Iron I in Lower Galilee and the Margins of the Jezreel Valley', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 39-41.

<sup>157</sup> Z. Gal, 'The Settlement of Issachar: Some New Observations', *TA* 9 (1982), 79-80; Gal, *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age*, 27-35; Vieweger, 'Überlegungen', 27-8; Z. Gal, 'Iron I in Lower Galilee', 42; Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 81-3.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. H. Liebowitz, 'Excavations at Tel Yin'am: The 1976 and 1977 Seasons: Preliminary Report', *BASOR* 243 (1981), 79-94; J.P. Dessel, 'Tell 'Ein Zippori and the Lower



Map 1.1 –Iron I settlements in Galilee and the Central and Southern Hill Country.

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Galilee in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages: A Village Perspective', in: E.M. Meyers (ed.), *Galilee through the Centuries. Confluences of Cultures* (DJSS, 1), Winona Lake, IN 1999, 1-32.

The survey of Lower Galilee shed further light on the occupation of Galilee during the Late Bronze Age. Taken together with the results of the new survey of western Galilee, it showed that the conclusions Aharoni had drawn from the existence of Early Bronze tels and applied to the entire Bronze Age, were erroneous. His idea of the centrality of Galilee within the Late Bronze Age was based on an incorrect interpretation of Thutmose's III list of Canaanite cities. The location of some cities named in this list is not within Galilee, but rather in Bashan and the Lebanon Valley. From the end of Middle Bronze II onwards Galilee itself was poorly settled, because the existence of only four of the large tels and six rural settlements could be confirmed archaeologically.<sup>159</sup>

### *Northern Valleys*

The southern regions of Lower Galilee functioned as the fringes of the valleys that separate Galilee from the Central Hill Country. These valleys, the *Plain of Acco*, the *Jezeel Valley* and the *Beth Shean Valley*, had been densely occupied during the Bronze Age and were dominated by several larger sites. Smaller, unfortified villages functioned as their satellites. Despite some destructions these sites experienced continuing occupation into the 12th and 11th century BCE. Only in the Plain of Acco almost half of the number of small villages was abandoned. Especially in the Jezeel Valley, there is a remarkable degree of cultural continuity into the Iron I period: after destruction new buildings are reconstructed in alignment with the Late Bronze plan and the pottery shows continuity with Late Bronze forms, although it includes also Phoenician imports, Philistine pottery and pottery which is related to the Central Hill Country.<sup>160</sup> According to most scholars the cultural continuity in the valleys is an important contribution to previous research. In the first place it weakens Aharoni's argument that the unfortified site of Tel Megiddo, Stratum VI was built up by Iron I settlers from the Central Hill Country.<sup>161</sup> In the second place it

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<sup>159</sup> Cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography*, London <sup>2</sup>1979, 162-63, with e.g. D.B. Redford, 'A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan (Nos. 89-101 of Thutmose's List of Asiatic Toponyms)', *JSSEA* 12 (1982), 55-74; Kochavi, 'Israelite Settlement', 57; Z. Gal, 'The Late Bronze Age in Galilee: A Reassessment', *BASOR* 272 (1988), 79-82; Gal, *Lower Galilee*, 56-62; Z. Gal, 'Galilee', *NEAEHL*, 450; Vieweger, 'Überlegungen', 30; Gal, 'Iron I in Lower Galilee', 35-6.

<sup>160</sup> Gal, 'Settlement of Issachar', 80-1; Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 92-3, 112; Gal, 'Iron I in Lower Galilee', 35; Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 83-8; G. Lehmann, 'Phoenicians in Western Galilee: First Results of An Archaeological Survey in the Hinterland of Akko', in: A. Mazar (ed.), *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan* (JSOTS, 331), Sheffield 2001, 71-81; I. Finkelstein et al., 'The Megiddo Hinterland Project', in: Idem et al. (eds), *Megiddo IV. The 1998-2000 Seasons* (TAMS, 24), Tel Aviv 2006, 760, 770-2.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Y. Aharoni, 'New Aspects of the Israelite Occupation of the North', in: J.A. Sanders (ed.), *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, Garden City, New York 1970, 263-5, with Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 93; Gal, 'Iron I in Lower Galilee', 46; Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 85.

could explain why the occupation in the eastern part of Lower Galilee was more limited. In other parts of Lower Galilee the small settlements developed after the major Late Bronze Age sites had been destroyed. But close to the Jezreel and Beth Shean Valleys the new settlement pattern had no chance to expand as long as the cities preserved their Late Bronze traditions.<sup>162</sup>

### *Central Hill Country*

The Central Hill Country is the largest ecological unit of the Southern Levant. From north to south, it covers the entire area from the Jezreel Valley in the north to the desert fringes beyond Hebron in the south. Research in this area has provided a mass of data, which have elucidated the settlement pattern and demographic history of the country (Fig. 1.1). The comprehensive surveys were conducted during the last three decades of the 20th century in units that were divided according to their biblical names: Manasseh, Ephraim, Benjamin and Judah.

The northern unit of the Central Hill Country is *Manasseh* or Northern Samaria. Its main geological feature is the syncline of Shechem, which inner valleys give the hill country of Manasseh its special character. West of the syncline a hilly strip borders on the Sharon and in the east some parallel ridges separate the hills from the desert fringe. In these regions a great transformation occurred during the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition. In the beginning of the 13th century BCE, Manasseh was sparsely settled. The decline following the Middle Bronze II period had left less than 40 sites, most of them fortified tells located beside perennial water sources, fertile lands and important trade routes. The inner valleys were probably open park forests and were only partially cultivated. In Iron I this changed radically. More than 200 sites, which were well spread over the entire area, yielded Iron I pottery. In fact, more than three quarter of these sites were new foundations and two third of them continued to exist during the Iron II period. The economy of the sites in the eastern and central valleys was based on a mixture of sheep farming and wheat and barley agriculture. Terracing and cultivating olive trees and vineyards exploited the hill country soil close to the Mediterranean coastal plain. The settlements in the Jordan Valley consisted mainly of enclosures and cave sites. Judged by their architecture the economy was primarily based on sheep husbandry. As a result, it appears that Manasseh was the most densely settled of the hilly zones, probably already during the Late Bronze II period, but certainly after the establishment of the new settlements during Iron I.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Gal, 'Settlement of Issachar', 83; Vieweger, 'Überlegungen', 28; Gal, 'Iron I in Lower Galilee', 35; Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 81.

<sup>163</sup> A. Zertal, *The Manasseh Hill Country Survey. Vol 1. The Shechem Syncline* (CHANE, 21.1), Leiden etc. 2004, 53-7; Idem, *The Manasseh Hill Country Survey. Vol 2. The Eastern Valleys and the Fringes of the Desert* (CHANE, 21.2), Leiden etc. 2008, 81-8; Idem, 'Following the Pottery Trail. Israel Enters Canaan', *BAR* 18/5 (1991), 31-3; Idem, "'To the Lands of the Perizzites and the Giants": On the Israelite Settlement in the Hill

*Ephraim* or Southern Samaria is situated in the heart of the Central Hill Country, a region not very conducive to habitation. It lacks the large valleys of Manasseh and the broad plateaus that characterize the landscape of Benjamin and Judah. In addition, the hard limestone hinders both settlement and agriculture. Therefore, it is no surprise to see that also this area was very sparsely settled before the Iron I period: less than 10 settlements could be identified as Late Bronze during the surveys, most of them in the central range along the desert fringe in the east. However, during Iron I an influx of settlers overran the region and more than 130 sites were founded. The desert fringe and the northern central range were densely crowded with sites. More to the east, sizable concentrations existed in the rest of the region. Activity was only limited in the southern slopes and in most of the western foothill area. It seems that the wave of settlement was initially concentrated where subsistence was based on field crops. Later in Iron I the number of sites increased in the western slopes and the foothills, where cereal growing was also considerable. In the following centuries the region reached its floruit in the 8th century BCE, when settlement activity practically doubled.<sup>164</sup>

The increase of settlements during the early Iron Age can also be observed in the territory of *Benjamin*. The archaeological survey conducted in the eighties revealed only 4 Late Bronze and 35 Iron I sites and indicated that the main activity in Iron I was concentrated in the eastern part of the ridge, although the desert fringes are less densely settled than was expected.<sup>165</sup>

South of Jerusalem start the *Judean Highlands*, which comprise the southern part of the hill country from Benjamin in the north to the slope of the Beer-sheba Valley in the south. In the west its border is delineated by the steep slope to the Shephelah and in the east by the climatic transition to the Judean desert. The region itself can be divided into several geographical units. The southern part of the central range is the most extensive and also the lowest and one of the driest. The plateau and northern part of the central range contain more water and also fertile grounds, but the slopes in these regions are difficult to

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Country of Manasseh', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 48-51; Idem, 'The Iron Age I Culture in the Hill-Country of Canaan – A Manassite Perspective', in: Gitin (ed.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, 239-42. Cf. Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 89-91.

<sup>164</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 119-204, especially 185-98; Finkelstein, Lederman (eds), *Highlands of Many Cultures*, 131-856; R.D. Miller II, 'Survey of Overlooked Potential Iron I Sites in North-Central Israel', *PEQ* 132 (2000), 157-68; Idem, *A Gazetteer of Iron I Sites in the North-central Highlands of Palestine* (AASOR, 56), Cambridge, MA 2002; Idem, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans*, 127-36.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 65, with I. Finkelstein, Y. Magen, *Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin*, Jerusalem 1993 (Hebrew), 26\*, 36\*, 44\*, 46\*, 448-9; A. Mazar, 'Jerusalem and its Vicinity in Iron Age I', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 73-6.

cultivate. The desert fringes in the west permit some agriculture, but the water supplies are not significant for settlement.

The research teams that were active in the area in 1967/68 and in 1982-1987 discovered that the Judean hills were never densely occupied before late Iron II. The Late Bronze Age was a period of decline. The region functioned as a marginal area, on the southern fringe of the more densely settled parts of the Central Hill Country. Besides some pastoral-nomadic elements less than 5 sites were occupied. During early Iron I a settlement wave took place: about 18 sites were founded on high elevations in the 12th to mid-11th centuries BCE, but the distribution was unlike previous periods: for the first time the gravity shifted from the south and the centre to the centre only. The south remained almost desolate, with only three settlements. A striking aspect of the settlement pattern of this period is the grouping in medium-sized and relatively large sites. The fact that gromosol valleys were avoided may indicate a preference for plantation agriculture. Later in Iron I the number of settlements doubled and less hospitable parts of the highlands were penetrated. During Iron II the steady increase continued until the peak of 122 sites in the late 8th century.<sup>166</sup> The settlement process in the Judean hills started later and is less dense than in Manasse and Ephraim. Therefore, it can be stated that the settlement density gradually decreased from north to south, although not in an extreme manner.

### *Surrounding Areas*

Today's settlement debate mainly focuses on the explosion of Iron I sites in the Central Hill Country. But the Sharon, the Shephelah, the Coastal Plain, the Southern Steppe and the Jordan Valley also deserve attention. A description of the developments in these regions in the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition completes the picture and might clarify some issues.

It seems that in the *Sharon*, the *Shephelah* and the *Coastal Plain* settlement proceeded in Iron I independently from that in the central highlands. During the Late Bronze Age the Shephelah and Coastal Plain were the most densely settled regions of the Southern Levant: sites are spread in every niche of the area and the settlement system portrays a well-balanced order, with several large sites, a significant number of medium-sized settlements and many small sites. Only an intermediate strip between the lower Shephelah and the Coastal Plain is relatively sparse of sites, a fact that helps to delineate a border between the 'inner' and 'coastal' entities.

This pattern changed in Iron I. The number of sites decreased and the central large sites became more important. Only a few small sites surrounded them. However, the drop in the number of sites is compensated by the growth

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<sup>166</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 50-2; A. Ofer, "All the Hill Country of Judah": From a Settlement Fringe to a Prosperous Monarchy', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman, *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 93-5, 100-6; Lehmann, 'United Monarchy in the Countryside', 130-3, 146-56.

of the major settlements. Some of the cities in the Coastal Plain even enlarged their territories into the lower Shephelah.<sup>167</sup> New features related to northern and Aegean culture were introduced in this period. Indigenous Late Bronze architectural and ceramic forms continued side by side with the introduction of the so-called imported and locally made 'Philistine' and 'Phoenician' pottery, seals, figurines, and construction techniques. At some sites even features appeared which are considered as characteristic for the Iron I settlers in the hill country: collared-rim jars and four-room houses.<sup>168</sup> Whether these developments were caused by immigrants or not is a highly disputed topic. Scholars do also not agree about the question when this process started: in the early or in the late 12th century BCE.<sup>169</sup> Nevertheless, the sites in the Sharon, the Coastal Plain, and Shephelah prospered throughout the 11th century and displayed greater cultural diversity than the highlands. Consequently there is for instance a clear contrast in the material culture between Dor in the Sharon plain, Ashdod in Philistea, and Gezer in the Shephelah.

The *Southern Steppe* or Negev lies south of Judah. The non-saline loess soils of this region are fertile. In the northwestern Negev the Gaza and Besor Brooks afford reasonable conditions for agriculture, but in the Beersheba Valley and the Arad Basin conditions deteriorate. These areas are marginal zones for sedentary occupation and sustained farming is only possible with irrigation. As a result of these conditions, permanent settlements in the Negev were spatially sporadic and the history of the semi-arid region is characterized by succeeding periods of sedentary activity and occupation gaps. After a gap in settlement throughout the Late Bronze Age, a wave of settlement took place in Iron I. At several sites Iron I remains were uncovered. The first phase of settlement is that of the late 13th or early 12th century BCE, when Tel Masos was founded. This site reached the apex of its development in the 11th century, when Beersheba also entered the scene, together with Tel Esdar and Tel Arad. Remains from this period were also found at other sites in the valley, in the area between Beersheba and the Coastal Plain, and in the Negev Highlands, south of the Beersheba Valley. It seems that villagers practicing farming and animal husbandry inhabited all these sites.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 55, 92; I. Finkelstein, 'The Philistine Countryside', *IEJ* 46 (1996), 229-31; A. Shavit, 'Settlement Patterns in the Ayalon Valley in the Bronze and Iron Ages', *TA* 27 (2000), 211-17.

<sup>168</sup> Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 88-92, 101-3.

<sup>169</sup> For these issues, see the sections 6.3 and 7.1.

<sup>170</sup> R. Gophna, L. Singer-Avitz, 'Iron Age I Settlements to the West of Tel Beer-Sheba, in: Z. Herzog, *Beer-Sheba II. The Early Iron Age Settlements* (TAMS, 7), Tel Aviv 1984, 125-31; Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 46; Z. Herzog, 'The Beer-Sheba Valley: From Nomadism to Monarchy', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 122, 128-40; Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 103-5.

This settlement pattern drastically changed in the 10th century BCE, when Tel Masos and many other settlements were abandoned and other villages were transformed into military and administrative centres. Scholars do not agree why the gravity shifted from herding and farming to controlling and managing trade and who is responsible for the centralization of power. It is also doubtful whether and how these fortifications functioned together with a group of approximately 50 sites in the Negev Highlands.<sup>171</sup>

The *Jordan Valley*, the deep rift connecting the southern end of the Beth Shean Valley with the Dead Sea was densely occupied during the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition. On the eastern side a network of settlements was dependent on several central sites. It could have been due to the climate and ecology of the region that some of the smaller sites were occupied seasonally. During the Iron I period some of the Late Bronze sites were abandoned, but pastoralists, possibly from the Beqah Valley, founded many other settlements. Although some of the sites experienced destruction, the settlement pattern suggests the transition to Iron I being smooth and peaceful, unlike the passage into the Iron II period that was filled with disruption.<sup>172</sup>

#### *Transjordanian Plateau*

The Transjordanian Plateau was surveyed several times, for the first time by Nelson Glueck during the 1930s and 1940s, by a German team in the 1960s, and thereafter by other surveys in the 1970s and 1980s. Unfortunately, the data of these surveys are still not sufficiently clear to draw unequivocal conclusions. Information concerning the size of the sites and the percentage of each occupation at a given site is not available in the publication of most of these surveys. As a result, it is impossible to obtain a historical synthesis.<sup>173</sup> However, it is possible to study trends in the settlement history of the Transjordanian Plateau by looking at the number of sites. This is worth considering, especially in comparison with Cisjordan. The sharp settlement oscillations in the Transjordanian Plateau are quite similar to the ones traced in the Central Hill

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<sup>171</sup> Herzog, 'Beer-Sheba Valley', 140-3. For a summary of the discussion, see Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe*, 103-26.

<sup>172</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 110-2; E.J. van der Steen, 'Aspects of Nomadism and Settlement in the Central Jordan Valley', *PEQ* 127 (1995), 153-5; Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 107-8.

<sup>173</sup> For summaries of the discussions concerning the surveys in Transjordan, see e.g. J.A. Sauer, 'Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages: A Critique of Glueck's Synthesis', *BASOR* 263 (1986), 1-26; Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 114-7; P. Bienkowski, 'The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan: A Framework', in: P. Bienkowski (ed.), *Early Edom and Moab. The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan* (SAM, 7), Sheffield 1992, 5-7; C-H.C. Ji, 'Iron Age I in Central and Northern Transjordan: An Interim Summary of Archaeological Data', *PEQ* 127 (1995), 129-31; I. Finkelstein, 'From Sherds to History: Review Article', *IEJ* 48 (1998), 120-6; Bloch-Smith, Nakhai, 'Landscape Comes to Life', 108-15.

Country of Cisjordan. First, there is a clear parallel in the historical development of the settlement pattern of both hill countries: a decline during the Late Bronze Age and peak activity in Iron I and Iron II, although it must be noted that in Cisjordan the crisis in the Late Bronze Age seemed to be stronger and the Iron II peak was apparently much more significant. Second, in the hill country of both Cis- and Transjordan some fundamental differences along the north-south axis may be detected. In Gilead, the region north of the Wadi Zerqa (Jabbok), the settlement pattern resembles the settlement continuity of in the intermontane valleys of Manasseh. More to the south the Heshban area and Kerak plateau show clear fluctuations like Ephraim. And at last, some features of the settlement pattern in Edom, south of the Wadi el-Hasa during late Iron II resemble the situation in the Judean Hills, where the settlements prospered only from early Iron II on.<sup>174</sup>

### **Origin and Identity of the Iron I Settlers**

As was noted above, surface investigation is a not very trustworthy instrument in archaeology. Nevertheless, a few general trends can be observed in the interpretation of the survey results.

The plains and valleys – areas most densely settled before Iron I – developed along the same lines: the general decline during the Late Bronze Age continued, although some of the major centres experienced a revival. In these regions the material culture of the Late Bronze Age continued into the Iron I and also new features were introduced. But in some respect the areas show significant differences: in the Hule Valley the major centres decreased or were abandoned and the growth of the population is concentrated in the surrounding areas; in the Coastal Plain, however, the number of sites reduced, while the central large sites became more important; and finally, the settlement pattern hardly changed in the Northern Valleys until late Iron I.

The sparsely settled regions – Galilee, the Central Hill Country, the Southern Steppe and the Transjordanian Plateau – show a total different picture. Three waves of settlement overran the area: a first wave occurred in Upper Galilee, southern Lower Galilee, Manasseh and Ephraim, and northern and central Transjordan during the late 13th and 12th century BCE; during the 11th century a second wave showing further growth also included Judah and the Beersheba Valley; a third and last wave of settlement filled eastern Lower Galilee, Judah and southern Transjordan in the 10th century.

### *Paleodemography*

Although the above mentioned trends are theoretical in nature, they do give the impression to represent real demographic developments during the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition: there must have been a considerable enlarge-

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<sup>174</sup> Finkelstein, 'From Sherds to History', 126-31, with some corrections concerning the settlement history of Judah by Ofer, 'Hill Country of Judah', 106-8.

ment of the population during Iron I. This growth is not a single phenomenon in the demographic history of the Southern Levant: earlier periods of settlement in the highlands took place in the third and second millennia BCE, during Early Bronze I and Middle Bronze II-III. Together with the increase during Iron I they represent three waves of settlement that have much in common: an initial stage of settlement wave is followed by a second phase with a more balanced settlement system: large centres emerge and advanced administration is formed. In a third phase the settlement system collapses in a crisis.<sup>175</sup> However, while the collapse of the earlier settlement systems occurred in the following Intermediate Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age, the initial wave of Iron I and the second phase of early Iron II turned out to be the cradle of the territorial states of Israel and Judah. Throughout Iron II the number of settlements further increased and the gradual rise in the percentage of population residing in the highlands rose from about 35 percent in Early Bronze II and 40 percent in Middle Bronze II-III to more than 50 percent in Iron II. The turning point leading to demographic decline only came with the Assyrian campaigns in the late 8th century BCE. Estimations of the population of the two kingdoms at the eve of this crisis – calculated by multiplying the total built up area in a certain period by a density coefficient between 200 and 250 persons per hectare<sup>176</sup> – are about 450,000 people.<sup>177</sup>

The endurance and extent of the third wave of settlement is remarkable. According to the estimations the population of the Southern Levant never exceeded 150,000 people during the Bronze Age.<sup>178</sup> But the increase during the Iron Age went far beyond this number, despite the fact that the population of the country had dwindled so drastically during the Late Bronze Age that one of

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<sup>175</sup> I. Finkelstein, 'The Emergence of Israel: A Phase in the Cyclic History of Canaan in the Third and Second Millennium', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 153-69; Idem, 'The Great Transformation: The "Conquest" of the Highlands Frontiers and the Rise of the Territorial States', in: Levy (ed.), *Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, 354-9; Idem, 'The Rise of Early Israel: Archaeology and Long-Term History', in: S. Ahituv, E.D. Oren (eds), *The Origin of Early Israel – Current Debate. Biblical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Beer-Sheva, 12), Beer-Sheva 1998, 21-9.

<sup>176</sup> For methodological considerations concerning this kind of calculations, see I. Finkelstein, 'A Few Notes on Demographic Data From Recent Generations and Ethnoarchaeology', *PEQ* 122 (1990), 47-52; J.R. Zorn, 'Estimating the Population Size of Ancient Settlements: Methods, Problems, Solutions, and a Case Study', *BASOR* 295 (1994), 31-48.

<sup>177</sup> M. Broshi, I. Finkelstein, 'The Population of Palestine in Iron II' *BASOR* 287 (1992), 47-57; I. Finkelstein, 'Environmental Archaeology and Social History: Demographic and Economic Aspects of the Monarchic Period', in: *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990. Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology Jerusalem, June-July 1990*, Jerusalem 1993, 58-9.

<sup>178</sup> M. Broshi, R. Gophna, 'The Settlement and Population During the Early Bronze Age II-III', *BASOR* 254 (1984), 41-53; Idem, 'Middle Bronze II Palestine: Its Settlements and Population', *BASOR* 261 (1986), 73-90.

the lowest ebbs in southern Levantine demography was reached: it is estimated that by 1200 BCE the total population had diminished to about 60,000, while it has become clear that the hill country was only sparsely settled.<sup>179</sup> It is difficult to calculate the exact number of the increase of population during Iron I, especially in areas where the settlement pattern did not change significantly, as is the case in the Jezreel Valley, or the size of sites is unknown, as in Galilee. But based on information obtained by surveys, Israel Finkelstein estimates the number of people that newly settled in permanent sites in Galilee, the Central Hill Country, the Beersheba Valley and the Jordan Valley, at about 54,000 at the end of Iron I. A comparison with the developments in the plains shows that this development is exceptional: according to the same calculations, the size of the population in the Coastal Plain and the Shephelah diminished in this period from about 35,000 to 30,000 people.<sup>180</sup>

#### *Altian and Neo-Altian Explanations*

Case studies provide a caution against using such general estimates, because the habitation pattern and settlement type of sites are often not known.<sup>181</sup> But in general the numbers give an idea of the proportions in the demographic developments and make it clear that the foundation of the new Iron I settlements can be characterized as a revolutionary demographic transformation. However, it is very difficult to offer a convincing interpretation of this change. There is only agreement on the fact that the growth rate of 1.5 needed to explain the increase by natural growth is exceptionally high.<sup>182</sup> Apart from that opinions diverge widely. Most scholars who for textual reasons argue for a non-indigenous origin of Israel do hold with *Alt* that semi-nomads, which immigrated from Transjordan, founded the settlements. Within this view the idea of them being the same as the Shasu in Egyptian texts has become quite common, although it is not undisputed.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> M. Broshi, 'The Population of Iron Age Palestine', in: *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990. Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology. Pre-Congress Symposium: Population, Production and Power, Jerusalem, June 1990*, Jerusalem 1993, 14.

<sup>180</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 330-5; Idem, 'Environmental Archaeology and Social History', 60; Idem, 'Philistine Countryside', 236.

<sup>181</sup> E.g. Zorn, 'Estimating the Population Size', 45.

<sup>182</sup> I. Sharon, 'Demographic Aspects of the Problem of the Israelite Settlement', in: L.M. Hopfe (ed.), *Uncovering Ancient Stones*, Winona Lake, IN 1994, 130-1.

<sup>183</sup> See e.g. M. Weippert, 'Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends. Über den Shasu der Ägyptischen Quellen', *Bib* 55 (1974), 280; Idem, 'Israelite "Conquest"', 32; Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', 1132, 1137; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 269-80; A.F. Rainey, 'Unruly Elements in Late Bronze Canaanite Society', in: D.P. Wright et al. (eds), *Pomegranates and Golden Bells. Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature*, Winona Lake, IN 1995, 490-6; Idem, 'Whence Came the Israelites and Their Language?', *IEJ* 57 (2007), 46-57. For objections against the equation of Shasu with the Iron I settlers, see the section 6.3.

*Finkelstein*, who takes his point of departure in a long-term approach, offers a Neo-Altian alternative for the immigration from Transjordan. The key to the understanding of the rise of the territorial national states of Iron II is in his opinion lying in the three waves of settlement of the highlands and the two intervals of decline that took place in the demographic history of this area. These shifts in settlement reveal a cyclic pattern in which indigenous pastoral nomads settled and returned to nomadism, because of different socio-economic circumstances. Although short-term historical events such as migrations and foreign invasions function as non-cyclic phenomena that caused differences between the three settlement fluctuations, large-scale migration or new groups from outside cannot explain the pattern as a whole. According to Finkelstein, the cyclic rhythms in the occupational history of the three zones of the Southern Levant – the lowlands, the highlands and the steppe zones – offer the interpretative ability to detect the mechanisms which led to the rise of early Israel: they make evident that the emergence of Israel was not a unique, meta-historical episode in the history of a chosen people, but part of a much broader historical process.<sup>184</sup>

With this radical interpretation from a long-term perspective Finkelstein gave the settlement debate an enormous impulse and his effort to interpret the archaeological materials on their own terms has met many supporters. However, at the same time scholars judge the idea of the emergence of Israel as a last phase in a cyclic historical process as problematic. The most important problem is that there is no archaeological evidence of the existence of nomadic populations in the desert around Palestine in the Late Bronze Age. The failure of archaeological surveys to locate any significant presence in the highlands prior to the late 13th century BCE also contradicts the thesis that a large population could have been engaged in pastoralism here. Therefore, it seems most logical to admit that tent-dwelling pastoralism existed, but only in a small number.<sup>185</sup> In addition, the lack of data limits the historian's ability to elucidate cyclic patterns. The elucidation of such patterns, even in modern settings, is not without problems. How much more so in ancient settings?<sup>186</sup>

Two archaeological observations illustrate this argument. In the first place the surveys of the desert fringes in general and of the Judean hills in particular do not present sufficient proof for the assumption that many of the new set-

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<sup>184</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 336-48; Idem, 'Emergence of Israel', 171-7; Idem, 'Great Transformation', 359-62; Idem, 'Ethnicity and the Origin of the Iron I Settlers in the Highlands of Canaan. Can the Real Israel Stand Up?', *BA* 59 (1996), 206-9; Idem, 'Rise of Early Israel', 29-33.

<sup>185</sup> Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', 1131; Sharon, 'Demographic Aspects', 127. Cf. also W.G. Dever, 'Israelite Origins and the "Nomadic Ideal": Can Archaeology Separate Fact from Fiction?', in: Gitin *et al.* (eds), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, 222-5, and Stager, 'Forging an Identity', 139, who state that in symbiotic relations the pastoral component rarely exceeds 10 to 15 percent of the total population.

<sup>186</sup> Younger, 'Early Israel', 187.

tlers were pastoral nomads as a result of shortage in grain supply. It is doubtful whether the settlement patterns in the Central Hill Country do in fact reflect a grain-and-herd-based economy and it is highly probable that the direction of settlement was due to the nature of the region.<sup>187</sup> In the second place, the archaeological record concerning the settlement of the highlands during the Middle Bronze Age indicates that several features, when considered together, may provide grounds for a more positive attitude towards positing immigration into Canaan than the interpretation from the cyclic perspective would allow.<sup>188</sup>

### *Mendenhallist and Neo-Mendenhallist Explanations*

In present research, the objections against the Altian and Neo-Altian views are utilized to support the Mendenhallist idea that the Iron I settlers originated from the sedentary population of the Late Bronze Southern Levant.

One of the defenders of this view, *William G. Dever*, advocates an approach that breaks down the major factors in cultural change into discrete categories like settlement, subsistence, technology, social structure, and the like to analyse the cultural continuity and discontinuity in the Late Bronze – Iron I horizon. According to Dever, the great continuity of Iron I settlements with the traditional Late Bronze culture indicates that the Iron I settlers descended from lowland farmers; the discontinuity in subsistence strategy shows that they settled the hill country frontier of central Palestine with help of technological advances.<sup>189</sup> They did so because of a crisis, caused by the collapse of the Egyptian Empire in Asia, the exhaustion of the natural sources, the cessation of international trade, and ethnic movements such as the Sea Peoples, which set in motion a downward spiral.<sup>190</sup> As a result of this settlement of the highlands – in which Yahwism played some archaeologically unidentifiable role –, a distinct material culture came into existence, which can be labelled as ‘Israelite’. According to Dever, the use of this ethnic term is justified, because the material culture of Iron I continued throughout the entire Iron II. In addition, pharaoh Merneptah claims in a stele a victory over a people ‘Israel’ just before 1200 BCE.

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<sup>187</sup> Ofer, ‘Hill Country of Judah’, 108-9.

<sup>188</sup> D. Ilan, ‘The Dawn of Internationalism – The Middle Bronze Age’, in: Levy (ed.), *Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, 300-1. For a concrete suggestion with respect to the end of the Middle Bronze Age, see N. Na’aman, ‘The Hurrians at the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine’, *Levant* 26 (1994), 175-87 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 9-19).

<sup>189</sup> W.G. Dever, ‘Cultural Continuity, Ethnicity in the Archaeological Record and the Question of Israelite Origins’, *EI* 24 (1993), 22\*-33\*; Idem, ‘Ceramics, Ethnicity, and the Question of Israel’s Origins’, *BA* 58 (1995), 207-8.

<sup>190</sup> W.G. Dever, ‘The Late Bronze-Early Iron I Horizon in Syria-Palestine: Egyptians, Canaanites, “Sea Peoples”, and Proto-Israelites’, in: W.A. Ward, M.S. Joukowsky (eds), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. From Beyond Danube to the Tigris*, Dubuque, IA 1992, 104-7.

Dever describes the Iron I settlers themselves as 'Proto-Israelites', for the point of Israel's statehood was not reached at this time.<sup>191</sup>

In spite of the fact that Dever creates a certain distance between the biblical and the historical 'Israel', his use of the term 'Israelite' is vehemently challenged, mainly by scholars who share his intuition that the settlement process was an inner southern Levantine event. The main objection is that Dever's choice for this term reveals that he in fact deals with the material remains and history of the Southern Levant from a biblical perspective, even though he called several times for a 'secular, professional Syro-Palestinian archaeology'. Finkelstein argues on archaeological grounds that the material culture does not reflect the ethnicity, but the environmental, social, and economic traits of the settlers.<sup>192</sup> The so-called *revisionists of ancient Israelite history* agree with this argument and consequently stress that Dever's identification of the Iron I settlers is not historical, but biblical.<sup>193</sup> These revisionists, whose point of view

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<sup>191</sup> W.G. Dever, 'Archaeological Data on the Israelite Settlement: A Review of Two Recent Works', *BASOR* 284 (1991), 86-8; Idem, 'How to Tell a Canaanite From an Israelite', in: H. Shanks *et al.*, *The Rise of Ancient Israel* Washington 1992, 35-56; Idem, 'Ceramics, Ethnicity', 208-11; Idem, 'Archaeology and the Emergence of Early Israel', in: J. Bartlett (ed.), *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation*, New York, London 1997, 40-6. Cf. also his *What Did the Biblical Writers Know*, 108-25. In general outline, Dever's model follows that of Joseph A. Callaway: J.A. Callaway, 'A New Perspective on the Hill Country Settlement of Canaan in Iron Age I', in: Tubb (ed.), *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, 31-49; Idem, 'The Settlement in Canaan. The Period of the Judges', in: H. Shanks (ed.), *Ancient Israel. A Short History from Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple*, London 1989, 53-84. See also Stager, 'Forging an Identity', 141-50; A.E. Killebrew, 'The Emergence of Ancient Israel', in: A. Maeir, P. de Miroschedji (eds), *'I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Times'*, Winona Lake, IN 2006, 555-9, 566-72.

<sup>192</sup> Finkelstein, Na'aman, 'Introduction', in: Idem, *From Nomadism*, 9-12; Finkelstein, 'Ethnicity and Origin', 198-206; Idem, 'Pots and People Revisited: Ethnic Boundaries in the Iron I', in: Silberman, Small (eds), *Archaeology of Israel*, 220-6; Idem, 'Rise of Early Israel', 14-8.

<sup>193</sup> E.g. Th.L. Thompson, 'Historiography of Ancient Palestine and Early Jewish Historiography: W.G. Dever and the Not So New Biblical Archaeology', in: Fritz, Davies (eds), *Origins of Ancient Israelite States*, 31-6; Idem, 'Defining History and Ethnicity in the Southern Levant', in: L.L. Grabbe (ed.), *Can a 'History of Israel' Be Written?* (JSOTS, 245), Sheffield 1997, 167-78. By paying much attention to what he calls the 'minimalists', Dever seems to be partly responsible for their impact on scholarship. He maintains to oppose them, for 'their ideology poses a threat to biblical studies, to Syro-Palestinian archaeology, to theological and religious studies, to the life of the synagogue and church, and even to the political situation in the Middle East'. See W.G. Dever, 'Archaeology and the Current Crisis in Israelite Historiography', *EI* 25 (1995), 18\*-27\*; Idem, "'Will the Real Israel Please Stand Up?'" Archaeology and Israelite Historiography', *BASOR* 297 (1995), 61-80; Idem, 'Archaeology, Ideology, and the Quest for and "Ancient" or "Biblical" Israel', *NEA* 61 (1998), 39-52, quotation on 39; Idem, 'Histories and Nonhistories of Ancient Israel', *BASOR* 316 (1999), 89-105; Idem, 'Save Us From Postmodern Malarky', *BAR* 27/2 (2000), 28-35, 68-9.

might be qualified as Neo-Mendenhallist, state in opposition to Dever's ethnic distinctions that the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition has nothing to do with the conceptual dichotomy between 'Israel' and 'Canaan' that was used in the post-exilic biblical description of the territorial states, which had existed during Iron II. According to their view it is more reasonable to associate the shift in the settlement pattern in the Southern Levant with demographic factors that are known from Late Bronze Age texts and archaeology: immigration from the Aegean, the Syrian and Anatolian coasts, and from Egypt, a shift in the subsistence strategies by the indigenous population of the Southern Levant, sedentarization of pastorally oriented groups, and consequently, an increase of the population through a rise in birth.<sup>194</sup> Biblical information can only be used when it is verified by other information. Therefore the question for the origin and identity of the Iron I settlers should be answered from an economic and ecological point of view.<sup>195</sup>

Robert B. Coote and Keith W. Whitelam were the first revisionists approaching Israel's early history from the angle of long-term history. They take a theory that describes societies in stress caused by lack of resources as a point of departure. In their opinion the origin of Israel is to be found in an economic decline that occurred at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The inter-regional trade of the region's urban economy disintegrated and spurred a combination of other processes, which ultimately resulted in the settlement into the highland villages. The agricultural lands expanded and the new villages appeared to be less vulnerable to recurrent famine conditions and less susceptible to epidemic diseases. Accordingly the birth rate rose with the increased production. All this resulted in a loosely federated people calling herself 'Israel'.<sup>196</sup>

According to another revisionist, Niels Peter Lemche, Coote and Whitelam rightly review the origin of Israel as a part of the history the Southern Levant, following a pattern from the territory itself, but at the same time erroneously bypass the evidence from the Amarna Letters.<sup>197</sup> By no surprise, Lemche's perception of these letters is essential to his own understanding of the social realities of the Late Bronze Southern Levant. In his view they reflect the Egyptian empire as being oppressive and exploitative, conducive to both the impover-

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<sup>194</sup> E.g. Sharon, 'Demographic Aspects', 128-32; Thompson, 'Defining History', 172-3. Earlier treatments of the mixed demographic situation in the different regions of Palestine from this perspective can be found in the work of Gösta W. Ahlström: G.W. Ahlström, *Who were the Israelites?*, Winona Lake, Indiana 1986, 11-24; Idem, 'The Origin of Israel in Palestine', *SJOT* 5/2 (1991), 18-34.

<sup>195</sup> See the sub-sections in 1.1, 'Monologues of Text and Artefact', and in 1.2, 'The Age of Reality-Fictions'.

<sup>196</sup> Coote, Whitelam, *Emergence of Early Israel*, 117-38; R.B. Coote, *Early Israel. A New Horizon*, Minneapolis MN 1990, 113-39. Cf. also their later comments on this view: Idem, 'Early Israel', *SJOT* 5/2 (1991), 44-6; Whitelam, *Invention of Ancient Israel*, 214-9.

<sup>197</sup> N.P. Lemche, 'Early Israel Revisited', *CR:BS* 4 (1996), 21-2. For further revisionist comments, see Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People*, 149-56.

ishment and dislocation of the population. This policy caused the social marginalization of the Palestinian city-state populace, who eventually became *'apiru*, a disaffected underclass that fled to the hill country and settled there in the post-Amarna period. In later times these groups formed political structures of lineages and clans under pressure of the Philistine Pentapolis. Thus the highlands experienced a gradual (re) tribalization process from the 14th century BCE on and the territorial states of Iron II are in part the product of this evolutionary process.<sup>198</sup> Thompson raises some objections against this reconstruction of the role of the *'apiru* and the Philistines.<sup>199</sup> Instead of socio-economic and political causes for the settlement of the highlands, he offers a climatic explanation. Neither the collapse of the inter-regional trade nor the Egyptian policy, but a period of drought during the last part of the second millennium BCE was the major factor in the eastward dispersion of the lowland inhabitants.<sup>200</sup>

Despite all disagreements, Dever, as well as Coote, Whitelam, Lemche and Thompson emphasize the cultural continuance between the Late Bronze and Iron Age material culture. At the same time they agree upon the idea that the Iron I settlers originated from the sedentary population of the lowlands. What divides them is the question of the reliability of the biblical Canaanite-Israelite dichotomy. According to Dever it is in some sense historical, but according to the revisionists this cannot be the case, when the late date and ideological character of biblical texts are taken into account.

### Identity Markers

The observation that such divergent images concerning biblical historiography are able to affect today's settlement debate raises suspicion. The partners in discussion all claim to interpret the complex archaeological phenomena on their own terms. But the discussion itself shows that the concepts that purport to explain the material remains are full of textual dilemmas: they are related to previous research that included textual analysis, and when they are not, recent ideas on biblical historiography are presupposed. For the last conclusion, I can simply refer to the preceding analysis of the new directions in the study of ancient historiography in section 1.2. The claim concerning the interpretation of the material remains will be dealt with in this sub-section by taking a look at the aspects of the Iron I culture that are taken as identity markers for the settlers.

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<sup>198</sup> Lemche, *Early Israel*, 417-32; Idem, *Ancient Israel*, 82-104; Idem, *Vorgeschichte Israels*, 141-50.

<sup>199</sup> Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People*, 134-41. Cf. also section 7.2.

<sup>200</sup> Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People*, 216-21, 304-5.

### *Ceramic Assemblages*

First examples are two discussions about the two principal components of the ceramic assemblages of the Iron I settlers, the collared-rim store jar and the cooking pot.

Since the late thirties of the 20th century it became a consensus in scholarship that a big storage jar, the so-called *collared-rim jar*, was a characteristic of the specific Israelite ceramic assemblage of the Iron Age. The reason for this conclusion was that this pithos, whose peak occurs in the 12th century BCE and first appearance was known by the end of 13th century, was found at sites that were thought to be Israelite – as Tel Beit Mirsim, Shiloh, Bethel, Ai and Beth Zur –, while the assemblages in Transjordan contained different jars. As a result, the collared-rim pithos became an indicator of ‘Israelite’ sites (Fig. 1.2).<sup>201</sup>

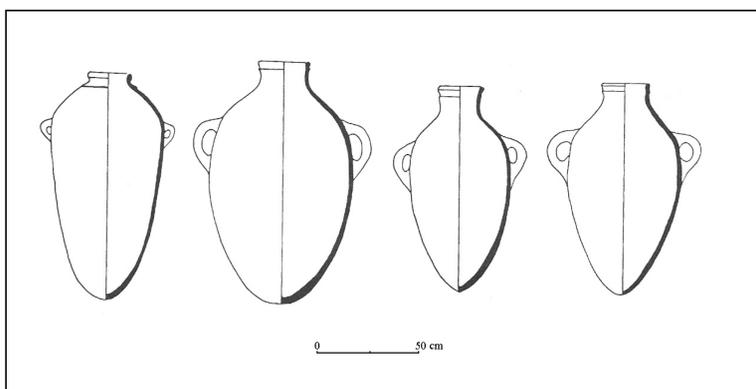


Fig. 1.1 Storage jars from Tel Megiddo, the first (right) being a collared-rim jar.

But in the following decades anomalies in the distribution of this ceramic type were noticed. Its appearance in Lower Galilee was less common and in Upper Galilee two entirely different types were found: the ‘Galilean jar’, very similar to the typical Hazor jar from the Late Bronze Age, and the ‘Phoenician’ or ‘Tyrian jar’, similar to those uncovered at Late Bronze and early Iron Tyre.<sup>202</sup> In addition, scholarship was faced with large quantities of collared store jars in a rather extensive geographical distribution in the highlands of Transjordan.<sup>203</sup> In reaction to these finds the attention switched to the ques-

<sup>201</sup> D.L. Esse, ‘The Collared-Store Jar: Scholarly Ideology and Ceramic Typology’, *SJOT* 5/1 (1991), 99-104. It was the presence of collared-rim jars that was used to argue that late 11th century Megiddo was Israelite: Aharoni, ‘Israelite Occupation of the North’, 263-5.

<sup>202</sup> Gal, *Lower Galilee*, 64-65; Frankel, ‘Upper Galilee’, 27-8.

<sup>203</sup> M. Ibrahim, ‘The Collared-rim Jar of the Early Iron Age’, in: R. Moorey, P. Parr (eds), *Archaeology in the Levant*, Warminster 1978, 123; L.G. Herr, ‘The History of the Col-

tions of the origin of the pithoi and their role in inter-regional trade. Those who argue that the Iron I settlers originated from the sedentary population of the lowlands seek its origin in a smaller 'Canaanite' Late Bronze store jar,<sup>204</sup> and those who choose a long-term perspective trace it back to the highland pithoi of the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>205</sup> With respect to its role in trade, a similar division can be made: on the one hand it was suggested that the jars symbolize a rural system of storage and economics that perhaps functioned within an economic framework that was set up for the New Kingdom's exploitation of the highlands of the Egyptian province in Asia.<sup>206</sup> On the other hand it is stated that they are typical for the poor and limited assemblages of the small, isolated, and almost autarchic communities.<sup>207</sup> However, none of these theories is convincing. Finds at sites such as Tel Megiddo falsify the idea that the jars are limited to rural sites and indicate that they were used for trade. The idea of an Egyptian exploitation of the highlands is also very implausible: not even a single collared-rim jar was found in Egypt and at Egyptianized sites in the Southern Levant. Moreover, its distribution remains limited to a specific area in Cis- and Transjordan. At best, there existed larger interconnected exchange networks that included regional subsystems. These networks could also explain the cultural influence of the northern coastal outlet on the storage jars of Galilee and the Hule Valley.<sup>208</sup>

The issues of origin and trade are connected with a third one, that is, the question of the contents of the pithoi. At this point, the discussion did not lead to an unequivocal answer either. In Manasseh, water storage could have been the primary function, because of the distance of the Iron I communities from stable water sources.<sup>209</sup> But in Ephraim, the collared store jar could also have been used for storing olive oil and wine, for it occurs very frequently in those regions where horti- and viticulture is thought to have predominated.<sup>210</sup>

As a result of these discussions, it can be stated that an environmental approach indeed illuminates the socio-economic background of the collared-rim jar, but does not succeed in clarifying all observations concerning its distribu-

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lared-Pithos at Tell el-'Umeiri, Jordan', in: S.R. Wolff (ed.), *Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and Neighbouring Lands*, Chicago, IL 2001, 241-8.

<sup>204</sup> D. Wengrow, 'Egyptian Taskmasters, and Heavy Burdens: Highland Exploitation and the Collared-rim Pithos of the Bronze/Iron Age Levant', *OJA* 15 (1996), 307.

<sup>205</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 283-4.

<sup>206</sup> G. London, 'A Comparison of Two Contemporaneous Lifestyles of the Late Second Millennium B.C.', *BASOR* 273 (1989), 43-5; Wengrow, 'Egyptian Taskmasters', 309-11, 317-23.

<sup>207</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 285; Finkelstein, Na'aman, 'Introduction', 10. Cf. Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit*, 370-3.

<sup>208</sup> Ilan, *Northeastern Israel in the Iron Age I*, vol 1, 195-200.

<sup>209</sup> A. Zertal, 'The Water Factor During the Israelite Settlement Process in Canaan', in: M. Heltzer (ed.), *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1500-1000 B.C.)*, Leuven 1988, 344-51.

<sup>210</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 282-3.

tion and use. First, there is still the problem of the production of the jar: it is not unlikely that itinerant, kin-based potters made them. This assumption is corroborated by the awareness that the core areas of production and distribution have traditional Israelite associations, also in Transjordan, while they are not found in any significant degree in areas that are related to Egyptians and Philistines.<sup>211</sup> A second reason for an ethnic affiliation is the practice of collared-rim jar burial. This phenomenon is absent in the Central Hill Country of Cisjordan and occurs only at the edges of the biblical Israelite heartland.<sup>212</sup> These two details show that the archaeological data are too challenging and complex to be illuminated by a mono-causal ecological and socio-economic explanation. Once more the question is to be raised whether the collared-rim jar holds a clue to ethnicity or not and how the reliability of the biblical tradition is to be evaluated. Consequently, the only way to isolate a possible ethnic aspect is to bring the artefact of the collared-rim jar into dialogue with the text of biblical historiography.

A less complicated discussion took place with regard to another ceramic feature, that is, the *cooking pot* of Iron I Palestine (Fig. 1.3). The surveys of northern and southern Samaria revealed minute differences between the cooking pots of the eastern and western parts of the region. In the settlement debate this observation is interpreted in three ways.

Adam Zertal, who conducted the Manasseh survey, distinguishes three types of cooking pots, dating from the late 13th to the early 10th century BCE. Utilized in a quantitative comparison, this typology reveals that the settlement process in Manasseh started in the eastern desert fringes, then continued into the eastern valleys and at last penetrated into the western hilly areas. According to Zertal this shows that the Iron I settlers immigrated from the east.<sup>213</sup> Finkelstein, the director of Land of Ephraim Survey, puts these conclusions into perspective. In his opinion, the rims of the cooking pots found in the surveys are only small samples. So the paucity of a certain type of cooking pots can simply be a matter of chance. In addition, it is possible that differences between pottery types are caused by regional influences instead of by chronological dissimilarity. Nevertheless, Finkelstein judges the subsequent decline in frequency during Iron I of one type of cooking pots and the fact that similar settlement patterns occurred in the settlement waves of the Early and the Middle Bronze Age as sufficient evidence for the hypothesis of the highlands being settled in a gradual east-west expansion. This development shows that the settlers opted for areas that were topographically moderate, ecologically conven-

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<sup>211</sup> D.L. Esse, 'The Collared Pithos at Megiddo: Ceramic Distribution and Ethnicity', *JNES* 51 (1992), 96-103.

<sup>212</sup> Ji, 'Iron I in Transjordan', 136-8.

<sup>213</sup> Zertal, 'Following the Pottery Trail', 39; Idem, 'Hill Country of Manasseh', 58-9; Idem, 'Iron I Age Culture in the Hill Country', 242-3.

ient and agriculturally promising. The preference for the east sections also possibly stemmed from the pastoral-nomadic background of the settlers as herdsmen and dry farmers.<sup>214</sup>

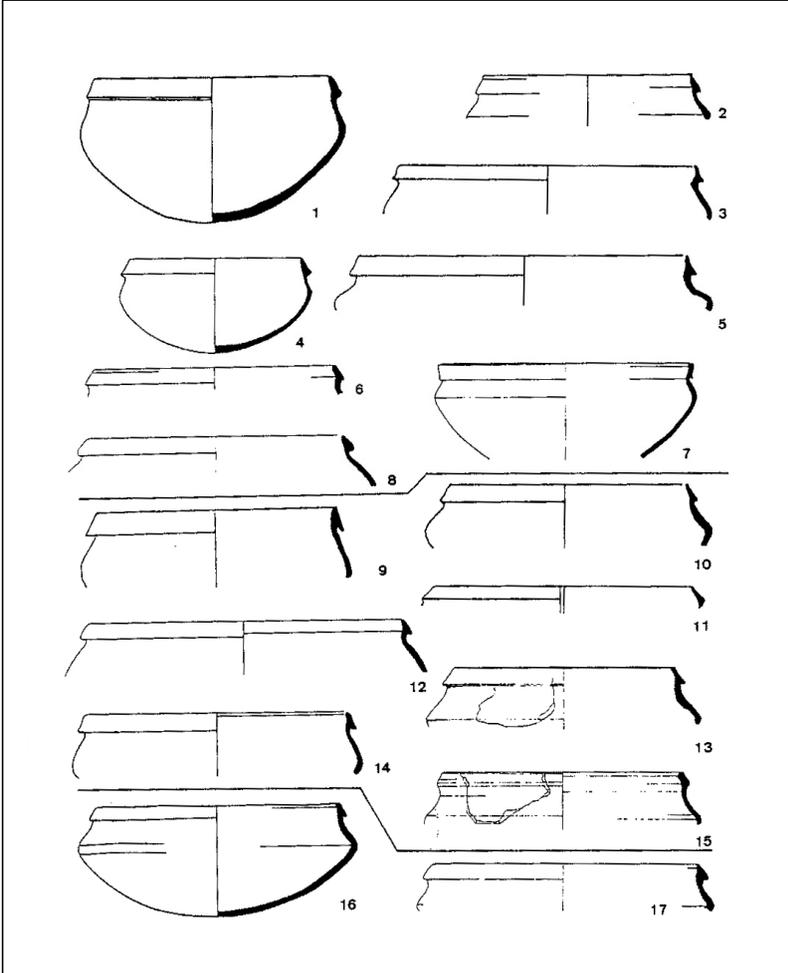


Fig. 1.2 – Cooking pots of the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition from Tel Megiddo (1); Tel Hazor (2); Tel Taanach (3); Tel el-Far ah (N) (4); Tel Keisan (5); Tel Gezer (6); Tel Lachish (7); Pella (8); Manasseh Survey (9); Tel Deir 'Alla (10); Ephraim Survey (11); the 'Bull Site' (12); Mt. Ebal (13); Izbet Sartah (14); Tel Masos (15); Tel Ashdod (16); Tel Qasile (17).

<sup>214</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 184, 189-94; Idem, 'Emergence of Israel', 160-3; Idem, 'Great Transformation', 357-8; Idem, 'Rise of Early Israel', 27.

Responding to Zertal's and Finkelstein's hypotheses, Dever questions their use of 'survey statistics': how reliable are they, when the earliest type of cooking pots was also uncovered at Izbet Sartah, the westernmost site of all settlements in Southern Samaria? In addition, he stresses the Iron I types being closely related to Late Bronze Age forms, for the 'new' cooking pot rims are typical for all sites by the early-mid 12th century BCE, in the highlands as well as in lowlands and the coastal plain. So in Dever's opinion, the ceramic assemblages of the Iron I settlers illustrate that they descended from the lowland-farmers of Late Bronze Age.<sup>215</sup>

These ideas on the Iron I cooking pots confirm the contention that the material remains are not interpreted on their own terms. Zertal, Finkelstein, and Dever all three admit that the assemblages of the Iron I settlements are poor and limited. Using the same ceramic typology, they disagree due to the fact that they have different ideas on the origin and identity of early Israel. Zertal presupposes immigration from Transjordan, Finkelstein again embraces the long-term approach, and Dever comes with remarks worth considering, but also clings to his 'Proto-Israelite' hypothesis.<sup>216</sup>

### *Settlement Structure*

Similar ways of reasoning can be detected in the debates with regard to the architecture and the settlement structures of the Iron I settlements.

The so-called *four-room house* was the dominant architectural form in the Southern Levant from the earliest Iron I hill settlements to the latest Iron II towns (Fig. 1.4). Apart from some details, the form of the house was highly stylised from the start. Regarding its function, most scholars agree that it reflects the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants, because it seems to have been centred upon requirements for storage and stabling.<sup>217</sup> But opinions differ on two other questions, that is, the distribution and origin of the house. It was found in the excavation of almost every site within the area that was later dominated by the Iron II territorial states of Israel and Judah, in a few lowland sites, and in Transjordan. On the basis of this distribution and assuming the historical character of the biblical description of the Israelite hegemony of the lowlands and Transjordan during early Iron II, it has become common sense to label the four-room house as 'Israelite'. However, since researchers doubt

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<sup>215</sup> Dever, 'Archaeological Data', 81-84; 'Cultural Continuity', 26\*-27\*; Idem, 'Ceramics, Ethnicity', 205-6; Idem, 'Archaeology and Emergence', 28-9.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. R.K. Hawkins, 'The Survey of Manasseh and the Origin of the Central Hill Country Settlers', in: R.S. Hess *et al.*, *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History* (BBRS, 3), Wiconona Lake, IN 2008, 170-6.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. E. Netzer, 'Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age', in: A. Kempinski, R. Reich (eds), *The Architecture in Ancient Israel*, Jerusalem 1992, 193-9; J.S. Holladay, 'House, Israelite', *ABD*, vol. 3, 310-7; Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit*, 256-67.

whether such hegemony existed, the use of the term 'Israelite' has become problematic.<sup>218</sup>

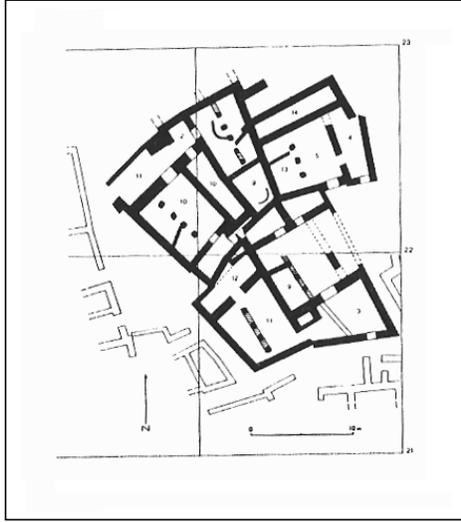


Fig. 1.3 – Complex of four-room houses at Tel Beit Mirsim.

The discussion about the origin of the four-room house also touches the relation with the biblical picture of Israel. According to the Neo-Altian interpretation, the outline of the four-room house certainly manifests the need to adapt to the hilly environment, but its broadroom probably had nomadic origins, like the elliptic settlement structure of some of the early Iron Age villages. Especially the elliptic structure of Izbet Sartah seems to have parallels in Bedouin tent circles.<sup>219</sup> In reaction to this interpretation, the Mendenhallists state that the four-room house originated from the lowlands.<sup>220</sup> Moreover, the archaeological record of most of the settlement structures gives in their opinion

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Holladay, 'House, Israelite', 308; Idem, 'Four-Room House', *OEANE*, vol. 2, 337, with L.E. Stager, 'The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel', *BASOR* 260 (1985), 17, and Finkelstein, 'Pots and People', 226. According to Faust, the four-room house would even reflect the preference for unity and purity in the Israelite lifestyle and symbolic order. Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis*, 71-84. For a possible presence of the four-room house in 20th dynasty Egypt, see M. Bietak, 'An Iron Age Four-Room House in Egypt', *EI* 23 (1992), 4\*-9\*.

<sup>219</sup> Finkelstein, *Archaeology of Israelite Settlement*, 238-59; Idem, 'Ethnicity and Origin', 201, 204-6; Idem, 'Pots and People', 226.

<sup>220</sup> See e.g. K.W. Schaar, 'The Architectural Traditions of Building 23A/13 at Tell Beit Mirsim', *SJOT* 5/2 (1991), 91; A. Mazar, *Timnah (Tel Batash). Vol 1. Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Qedem 37), Jerusalem 1997, 252-4.

no reason to postulate the Iron I settlers having come from a nomadic milieu, because this structure, which contained several four-room houses, was entirely adequate to the ecological and socio-economic conditions of the highlands. Some scholars take this structure even as evidence for the residence pattern of the extended family, in the Hebrew Bible known as *בית-אב*, because of its correspondence with the biblical picture of Israel's social structure.<sup>221</sup> From the 'revisionist' point of view, this use of later biblical traditions in the discussion of settlement structures is questionable, but it is admitted that in this case the analogy between text and artefact is indeed remarkable.<sup>222</sup>

The question is: how to deal with this discussion? The best way to obtain a clear picture of the settlement structure of the Iron I villages is to take a look at the single period settlements, for at these sites the remains are not damaged by later levels of occupation. But just a few of these rural sites are excavated and each of them functioned within its own environment and region.<sup>223</sup> As a consequence it is difficult to order the settlement structures of Iron I chronologically. Furthermore, it seems that the scarce remains are easily understood within a theoretical framework that already existed. Regarding Izbet Sartah it is possible to interpret the architectural remains in Stratum III as a settlement founded by pastoral elements (Fig. 1.5). But when the interpretation of the excavated materials as part of an oval plan is rejected, it can also be stated that the settlement of the late 13th century BCE functioned as a satellite of nearby Late Bronze Tel Aphek.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> De Geus, *Tribes of Israel*, 124-65; Idem, 'Agrarian Communities in Biblical Times: 12th to 10th Centuries B.C.E.', in: *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparatives des institutions* 41 (1983), 207-12, 225-9; L.E. Stager, 'Archaeology of Family, 11-23; D.C. Hopkins, *The Highlands of Canaan. Agricultural Life in the Early Iron Age* (SWBAS, 3), Sheffield 1985, 251-61; Dever, 'Archaeological Data', 82-3; Idem, 'Archaeology and Emergence', 33-5.

<sup>222</sup> Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People*, 146.

<sup>223</sup> In the highlands e.g. Giloh, et-Tell, Tel Raddana, Izbet Sartah and Shiloh, cf. A. Mazar, 'Giloh', *NEAEHL*, 519-20; Callaway, 'Ai', 45; Idem, 'Raddanah, Khirbet', *NEAEHL*, 1253-4; I. Finkelstein, 'Izbet Sartah: An Early Iron Age Site Near Rosh Ha'ayin (BAR/IS), Oxford 1986; Idem (ed.), *Shiloh: The Archaeology of a Biblical Site* (TAMS, 10), Tel Aviv 1993; Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit*, passim. In Upper Galilee e.g. Horvat 'Avot, cf. R. Reich, 'Avot, Horvat', *NEAEHL*, 122-3. In the Negev e.g. Tel Esdar and Tel Masos, cf. M. Kochavi, 'Esdar, Tell', *NEAEHL*, 423; A. Kempinski, 'Tel Masos', *NEAEHL*, 986-9. Two possible cultic sites are the 'Bull' Site and Har Eival in Northern Samaria, cf. A. Mazar, 'Bull' Site', *NEAEHL*, 266-7, and also Idem, 'The "Bull" Site and the Einun Pottery Reconsidered', *PEQ* 131 (1999), 144-8; A. Zertal, 'Ebal, Mount', *NEAEHL*, 375-7.

<sup>224</sup> Dever, 'Archaeology and Emergence', 33-5.

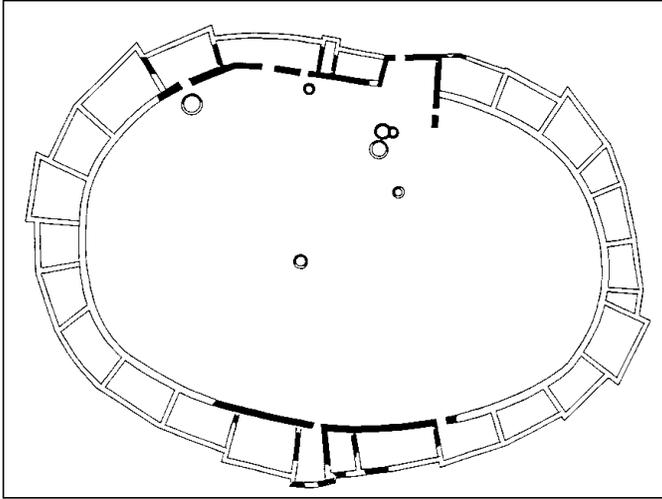


Fig. 1.4 – Izbet Sartah, interpretation of Stratum III;  
only the black walls were actually excavated.

The idea of the social structure of the Iron I settlers falsifying a nomadic origin also meets problems. In the first place, there is a difficulty with the use of the biblical tradition: the social structure reflected in the texts is thought to be historical, but this functions as disproof for the historicity of the non-indigenous origin of Israel, an awareness that is not only deeply rooted in Old Testament historiography, but also plays a dominant role in the laws of Israel's social structure. In the second place, the present level of archaeological reporting for early archaeological sites is still poor and the regional differences between the excavated sites are significant, which makes it implausible to suppose the statement that all the newcomers had to be experienced farmers to be proven without any doubt.<sup>225</sup>

Thus an ethnic aspect may be noticed in the distribution of the four-room house, like in the case of the collared-rim jar. But the idea of an evolutionary development of the settlement structure from a Bedouin tent circle to an Iron I village as well as the suggestion that the architectural remains reveal that the new settlers were experienced farmers and stockbreeders, are imaginative reconstructions, creative interpretations of material remains from certain historical perspectives affected by previous research that was heavy influenced by textual images.

<sup>225</sup> Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit*, 293-99.

*Subsistence Strategies*

In a more moderate way, textual arguments play a role in the reflections on the subsistence strategies of the Iron I settlers. The discussion is not about the subsistence strategies themselves. Over the years, more and more information is gathered on agriculture subsistence in the Iron Age highlands. The Central Hill Country is a complicated mosaic of small, varied ecological niches, capable of various modes of agriculture, as the cultivation of cereals and horti- and viti-culture, and pastoral exploitation. The (mainly theoretical) study of Palestinian agriculture in ancient times has led to detailed descriptions of land usage, field work, types of crops, and factors in soil fertility and crop yield, such as restoration of soil fertility and diseases, and the effort was undertaken to place this information within the constellation of environmental, demographic, and technological parameters.<sup>226</sup> It has become clear that the Iron I settlers mainly exercised subsistence farming, a form of agricultural production which enables self-sufficiency. Matters of debate are the relation to other ways of farming and what happened with a probable 'surplus', issues that are closely related to the problem of the role of agriculture in the emergence and existence of the territorial states in Iron II.<sup>227</sup> However, regarding the identity and origin of the farmers, the study of agriculture only produces evidence in a secondary way, that is, by a discussion about early Iron Age technology. According to the Mendenhallists, the advances in traditional technology during the 12th-11th centuries BCE support the idea of lowland farmers settling the hill country frontier of central Palestine. Iron tools became available and with this, the deforestation began, agricultural terraces were constructed, and bell-shaped rock-cut cisterns for household water supplies and stone-lined silo's for storage of grain were introduced.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> O. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, Winona Lake, IN 1987; Hopkins, *Highlands of Canaan*. Cf. also D.C. Hopkins, 'Life on the Land: The Subsistence Struggles of Early Israel', *BA* 50 (1987), 178-91 and Ø.S. LaBianca, D.C. Hopkins, *Early Israelite Agriculture. Reviews of David C. Hopkins' Book The Highlands of Canaan*, Berrien Springs, MI 1988.

<sup>227</sup> For a discussion, see Hopkins, *Highlands of Canaan*, 271-5; Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People*, 146-9; J.S. Holladay, 'The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA-B' (CA. 1000-757 BCE)', in: Levy (ed.), *Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, 376-9, 386-93; Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit*, 316-29.

<sup>228</sup> C.H.J. de Geus, 'The Importance of Archaeological Research into the Palestinian Agricultural Terraces, With an Excursus on the Hebrew Word *gbī*', *PEQ* 107 (1975), 70; Idem, 'Agrarian Communities', 216-7; Callaway, 'New Perspective on the Hill Country', 33, 40; Idem, 'Village Subsistence at Ai and Raddana in Iron Age I', in: H.O. Thompson (ed.), *The Answers Lie Below*, Lanham, MD 1984, 55-7; Stager, 'Archaeology of the Family', 5-9; Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 164; Dever, 'Cultural Continuity', 25-6'; Idem, 'Archaeology and Emergence', 30. The argument that waterproof plastered lime cisterns were a major factor in the settlements of the highlands can already be found in W.F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, Melbourne, etc. <sup>3</sup>1954, 113.

Technological elements are indeed fundamental for settlement, but it is questionable whether this hypothesis can stand the test of taking in consideration the archaeological record itself. As such, advance in technology does not seem to have been causative for to the settlement process in the Central Hill Country during Iron I. Plastered cisterns already appear in the Middle Bronze period. Forest clearing was an important factor, but given the vegetational state of the highland evergreen forest and maquis, fire was a more significant land-clearing tool than the axe.<sup>229</sup> Terracing has also been given a too prominent place on the list of challenges facing highland settlers. This technique was already introduced in the highlands of the Southern Levant at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. But the Iron I settlement process possibly began in areas of the hill country which do not necessitate the construction of terraces and there is good reason to believe that terrace systems became a standard in most regions not until the 8th century BCE.<sup>230</sup> Finally, with respect to iron technology itself, the archaeological information suggests that the innovation of carburization, probably made sometime before or during the 12th century BCE, was not adopted for utilitarian purposes until late Iron I. Consequently, the sporadic use of iron before the 10th century was not sufficient to have had any impact in the pursuits of agriculture.<sup>231</sup> Therefore, the idea that the settlement process started from the lowlands with the invention of iron tools turns out to be an imaginative interpretation too, for it is clearly falsified by the archaeological evidence.

### *Food Ways*

Pottery, architectural forms and technology of the Iron I settlers tell almost nothing about their identity. This leaves scholarship with another important find in the Iron I sites, that is the faunal assemblage. It is known from ethnoarchaeology that dietary patterns tend to be conservative symbols of ethnicity. Food ways often rival ideology and religion, and food can be a primary symbol of cultural identity and group solidarity. Two kinds of data are especially important in the study of the identity and origin of the Iron Age settlers.

First of all, the data on the ratio between sheep/goats and cattle: this ratio in the archaeological record of Shiloh is used by Finkelstein to support the idea that the founding of the new settlements is one of the shifts along the sedentary-pastoral continuum. By means of the long-term perspective, he sees a clear similarity between the ratio of Middle Bronze II (82 % sheep/goats, 18 % cattle) and Iron I (77 % sheep/goats, 23 % cattle), and a significant difference between these data and the ration of the Late Bronze Age (93 % sheep/goats,

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<sup>229</sup> Hopkins, *Highlands of Canaan*, 265; Finkelstein, 'Ethnicity and Origin', 201-2.

<sup>230</sup> S. Gibson, 'Agricultural Terraces and Settlement Expansion on the Highlands of Early Iron Palestine', in: Mazar (ed.), *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age*, 128-40.

<sup>231</sup> P.M. McNutt, *The Forging of Israel. Iron Technology, Symbolism, and Tradition in Ancient Society* (SWBAS, 8), Sheffield 1990, 209-10.

7 % cattle). According to Finkelstein, the differences represent shifts between the plow-agriculture subsistence of the Middle Bronze and Iron Age, and the pastoral oriented society of the Late Bronze Age.<sup>232</sup> Yet a closer look at the evidence reveals that this cyclic development is not as obvious as it seems: in the final publication the percentages of the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Age differ much less than was expected: 85,2 % sheep/goats, 11,8 % cattle in the Middle Bronze Age and 88,2 % sheep/goats, 8,5 % cattle in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>233</sup> Apart from that the data of just one site cannot expose a general trend. On the contrary, considering the data on the ratio between sheep/goats and cattle of many other sites the only obvious difference to be noticed is between the Late Bronze and the Iron Age. As such, this is more likely an indication of an expansion of cattle raising for meat, milk, traction, and transport, than a sign of the pastoral origins of the Iron I settlers.<sup>234</sup>

A second important factor in the study of the faunal assemblages of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant is the accumulation of data on the ratio of pig bones. These data in records on animal husbandry in the region during the Bronze and Iron Ages are quite remarkable. It has become clear that during the Late Bronze Age pig husbandry was practised in both the lowlands and the highlands. But during Iron I-II pigs disappear from the faunal assemblages of the Central Hill Country and they are only present in significant numbers in the Shephelah, the southern Coastal Plain, at other lowland sites, and in Transjordan. This seems to mean that the taboo on pigs was already practiced in the Iron I hill country. For this reason, many scholars are quite optimistic for the pig taboo emerging as the main identity marker of the Iron I settlers.<sup>235</sup> Some even argue that the data correlate in a variety of points with the picture of early Israel's worship as suggested both by biblical law codes and narratives.<sup>236</sup>

The study of food ways may indeed be a promising instrument in the study of ethnicity. But that is no reason to jump to conclusions too easily: the dialogue between artefact and text continues to be a difficult one, also in this case, because pig avoidance was not unique to any particular group in the ancient Near East. It was based on a number of complex and interwoven factors, inte-

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<sup>232</sup> Finkelstein, 'Emergence of Israel', 169-70.

<sup>233</sup> S. Hellwing *et al.*, 'Faunal Remains', in: Finkelstein (ed.), *Shiloh*, 311, 313-6. As a result of the new numbers the comparison with another Middle Bronze site, where more cattle was found, remains as the sole motivation of Finkelstein's argument. For publications where only the numbers are changed and the way of reasoning is the same, see Finkelstein, 'Great Transformation', 356-8; Idem, 'Rise of Early Israel', 25-6.

<sup>234</sup> Hellwing *et al.*, 'Faunal Remains', 319-25.

<sup>235</sup> Finkelstein, 'Great Transformation', 365; Idem, 'Ethnicity and Origin', 206; Idem, 'Pots and People', 227-30; Idem, 'Rise of Early Israel', 19-20; Dever, 'Postmodern Malarkey', 33-4; Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis*, 35-40.

<sup>236</sup> Hess, 'Early Israel in Canaan', 139.

grated into the social life of the avoiders as they engaged in the larger community in which they lived. So, from the perspective of the monologue of artefact the absence of pig bones cannot be taken as diagnostic for the presence of ethnic Israelites. There were a lot more Israelites in the ancient world than we ever expected, if we would do so. Therefore, at each site, the presence or absence of pig bones must be evaluated in terms of the social function of animal husbandry, before the bones will admit to a positive measure of social or ethnic identity. And so far – apart from the dietary laws in Leviticus and Deuteronomy and two passages in Isaiah, the dates for which are widely disputed – no contexts were discovered in pre-Hellenistic period sites, in which it could sharply define a social boundary.<sup>237</sup>

Consequently, it must be stated that pig avoidance could have been part of an 'Israelite' material culture during Iron I. But the only way to discover whether this was the case is to bring the monologue of the faunal assemblage into dialogue with the textual witnesses regarding its ethnicity.

### *Burials*

Mortuary evidence is thought to be a final factor possibly elucidating the identity of the Iron I settlers, for it is generally assumed that burials materialize and embody cultural norms. So far, not very many tombs and graves clearly possessing Iron I remains have been uncovered in the Central Hill Country.<sup>238</sup> Accordingly, scholars have been reluctant to discuss this 'negative evidence' for a long time. More recently, however, the lack of observable Iron I burials is also interpreted as a meaningful phenomenon. It is stated that the lack of mortuary evidence must be acknowledged as a sharp break from the burial customs of the preceding Late Bronze Age. This could reflect a common (relatively) 'egalitarian' social ethos or strengthen the view that more than a local, 'inner' development was involved in the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age.<sup>239</sup> This view, however, is not without problems. In some locations, Iron I burials are clearly associated with a cemetery continuing from the Late Bronze Age, not a single simple grave has been identified and excavated in the highlands and some of the new settlements seem to be more economically and socially stratified than suggested.<sup>240</sup> So it remains hard to find positive evidence for a

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<sup>237</sup> B. Hesse, P. Wapnish, 'Can Pig Remains Be Used for Ethnic Diagnosis in the Ancient Near East?', in: Silberman, Small (eds), *Archaeology of Israel*, 238-9, 260-4.

<sup>238</sup> For a presentation of the materials, see Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit*, 453-60; R. Kletter, 'People without Burials? The Lack of Iron I Burials in the Central Highlands of Palestine', *IEJ* 52 (2002), 29-35; Miller II, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans*, 69-73; E. Bloch-Smith, 'Resurrecting the Iron I Dead', *IEJ* 54 (2004), 79-82.

<sup>239</sup> Kletter, 'People without Burials?', 35-40; Idem, 'Can a Proto-Israelite Stand Up?', in: Maeir, Miroschedji (eds), *"I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Times"*, 586; A. Faust, 'Mortuary Practices, Society and Ideology. The Lack of Iron I Burials in the Highlands in Context', *IEJ* 54 (2004), 176-84; Idem, *Israel's Ethnogenesis*, 92-3.

<sup>240</sup> Bloch-Smith, 'Resurrecting the Iron I Dead', 82-8.

clear cultural break and to offer a purely archaeological explanation for the problem of the 'invisible dead'. Accordingly, it is no surprise that almost all interpreters in some way or another use the dichotomies 'Canaanite' – 'Israelite' or 'Israelite' – 'Philistine' and references to biblical burial customs in order to find an answer.<sup>241</sup>

### **Long-Term History and Social Theory**

The discussion of the identity markers is of twofold importance for the role of textual arguments in today's settlement debate. On the one hand, the effort to interpret the artefactual evidence on its own terms clearly resulted in better explanations. The choice for archaeological instead of historical typologies and the focus on the practical and social instead of the ethnic and historical function of archaeological evidence matches the material character of that evidence far better than traditional biblical archaeology. But on the other hand the discussion shows that the concepts which are used to explain the material remains, are still full of textual dilemmas: 1. the explanatory models presuppose textual images and 2. the artefactual explanation of several aspects of the Iron I material culture – the distribution of the collared-rim jar and the four-room house, the settlement structure, and the pig taboo – calls for a dialogue with text. Both observations are worth considering. But by doing this, questions emerge. Is it impossible to interpret the artefactual data on their own terms? What exactly are the limits of the monologue of artefact?

It is not easy to find an answer to these questions, for it could be that in the future an anthropological approach of archaeological research will succeed to trace the origin and identity of the Iron I settlers without using textual sources. But it must be noted that archaeologists too often claim their evidence to be of a type more scientific than documentary evidence. This suggestion does not take into account that the archaeologist simply needs some sort of theoretical framework upon to build the evidential blocks into a historical edifice. In other words, the heuristic tools which are used to interpret the evidence are always part of a theoretical framework, just as the instruments of the traditional biblical archaeology were. So it is possible to approach the history of the late second millennium Southern Levant with the help of the dichotomies Late Bronze/Iron Age I or highlands/lowlands or to study this history from the perspective of general processes of change; and of course, some of these theoretical frameworks are more appropriate than others. But they all are no less theoretical in nature than the traditional Canaanite/Israelite dichotomy. In this

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<sup>241</sup> Kletter, 'People without Burials?', 38-9; Faust, 'Mortuary Practices, Society and Ideology', 181; Bloch-Smith, 'Resurrecting the Iron I Dead', 87-8. Cf. Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit*, 461-3.

sense, archaeological evidence, despite its brute factuality, is no more objective than any other type of evidence.<sup>242</sup>

This is an important reminder in the evaluation of today's settlement debate, especially with respect to the Neo-Altian and Neo-Mendenhallist theories. As we have seen, scholars who have come with these kinds of explanations admit that their interpretations rely on the theoretical frameworks of long-term history and social theory.<sup>243</sup> But at the same time they claim their hypotheses being more 'objective' and with that, they still hold that their perspectives contain a special objective status, while it can be illustrated that their reflections are no less speculative than others.

### *Long-Term History*

The first illustration is Finkelstein's long-term explanation of the finds at Tel Masos, an important Iron I site in the Negev, which's material remains can be interpreted in different ways.

The earliest phase of Iron I at Tel Masos, Stratum IIIB, was characterized by ash pits, a few silos, ovens, and beaten earth floors that may have belonged to tents or huts and the next phase of Stratum IIIA contained a pillared building that looks like a four-room house. The excavators made the choice to describe these elements within the Altian theoretical framework as reflecting the nomadic pre-sedentary life of the inhabitants. However, other features seemed to contradict this hypothesis: the site was much bigger than other Iron I sites, the pottery of the earliest phase was clearly related to the Late Bronze pottery of the southern part of the country, cattle formed a substantial part of the faunal assemblage, and there is Egypto-Canaanite influence in the architecture in the later phases. These observations forced the excavators to develop additional explanations: they theorized about a symbiotic relationship between Israelites and Canaanites and about a mixed background of the sedentarizing seminomads.<sup>244</sup> But as was to be expected, other scholars came in reaction to this interpretation with the Mendenhallist suggestion that the inhabitants origi-

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<sup>242</sup> F. Brandfon, 'The Limits of Evidence: Archaeology and Objectivity', *Maarav* 4 (1987), 7-30.

<sup>243</sup> Despite his nuanced theoretical reflections – cf. note 30, Dever agrees (!!) with Thompson that archaeological data constitute the only independent witness that can truly 'revolutionize' biblical studies, because 'artifacts surpass texts in being more immediate, concrete, and tangible, and therefore more "objective".' Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know*, 87-90, quotation on 89.

<sup>244</sup> V. Fritz, 'Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung der früheisenzeitlichen Siedlung auf der *Hirbet el-Mšāš* und das Problem der Landnahme', *ZDPV* 96 (1980), 131-5; A. Kempinski, 'L'Installation des clans et des tribus dans le bassin de Beersheba', in: J. Briand *et al.*, *La protohistoire d'Israël. De l'exode à la monarchie* (ÉdC, 29), Paris 1990, 309-14; Idem, 'How Profoundly Canaanized were the Israelites?', *ZDPV* 108 (1992), 2-7.

nated from the lowlands and belonged to the mainstream Canaanite cultural tradition.<sup>245</sup>

In his evaluation of the material remains of Tel Masos, Finkelstein used his method of long-term history to overcome the complexity of the questions regarding the settlers' ethnicity. In his opinion, the only way to elucidate the socio-political structure in the south in the late second millennium BCE is to interpret the little information in the light of the parallel process of the rise of the Nabatean kingdom, about one thousand years later. In the light of this parallel, it seems that pastoral nomads settled, controlled the Arabian trade, and thus developed a sort of desert chiefdom in the Negev highlands, with Tel Masos as its political centre. This process stopped due to geopolitical factors: in the late 11th century BCE the inhabitants withdrew to pastoral nomadism when the socio-economic system collapsed, maybe because of the confrontations with the emerging political entity of the Central Hill Country.<sup>246</sup>

Finkelstein's interpretation of the history of the Negev is a clear example of the speculative nature of a long-term approach of a region that provides only a few evidential blocks which can be built into an historical edifice. Of course, Finkelstein's method may clarify some issues by paying more positive attention to the environmental and social realities, and by transcending the individual and particular event.<sup>247</sup> But the explanation itself is only more 'objective' than others, when the presupposition of the long-term theoretical framework of history, not being defined by individual choices and events, but by the force of conjectural and structural circumstances, is subscribed to.<sup>248</sup> For only in that case it is reasonable to deduce the social and political structures of the early Iron Age Negev from that of the Nabatean kingdom. But as soon as this restricted description of history is denied, the explanation becomes unsatisfactory, because there is no additional evidence by which it could be verified.

### *Social Theory*

Similar remarks can be made with regard to the use of social theory in the reconstruction of the history of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant. In discussion with other Neo-Mendenhallists Lemche has argued many times that those who use a certain kind of 'system theory' as a heuristic model to find general laws of cultural evolution and change should realize that this method is strictly

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<sup>245</sup> G.W. Ahlström, 'The Early Iron Age Settlers at *Hirbet el-Mšāš (Tēl Māsōš)*', *ZDPV* 100 (1984), 52, followed by Dever, who calls them 'Proto-Israelites'. Dever, 'Archaeology and Emergence', 35-6.

<sup>246</sup> Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe*, 114-26.

<sup>247</sup> For the use of the long-term approach in archaeology, see A.B. Knapp, 'Archaeology and *Annales*: Time, Space, and Change', in: Idem (ed.), *Archaeology, Annales, and Ethnohistory*, Cambridge 1992, 1-23.

<sup>248</sup> For a critical review of the long-term's characterization of history, see S. Clark, 'The *Annales* Historians', in: Q. Skinner (ed.), *The Return of Grand Theory into the Social Sciences*, Cambridge 1985, 177-98.

deductive. In reaction he stressed the infinite variety of human reaction: processes occurring in human societies are far too complicated to be described by any preconceived 'macro theory'. Applied to the structure of society, this means that traditional oriental society was polymorphic, with many different groups in the occupational continuum, stretching from the full nomad on the one end, to the totally urbanized population who will never leave the city on the other end. With respect to the concept of ethnicity, it implies that there is no necessary connection between a certain culture and a certain group of people and that the relation between the two is dynamic and always changing. Therefore, he considers it as mandatory for sociologically oriented scholars to recognize the importance of the ideological aspects of ancient Israel and to pay attention to the beliefs and ideologies of the people which is described.<sup>249</sup>

Reviewing Lemche's own concept of early Israel from this point of view, it seems that he himself did not succeed to overcome these difficulties. As was noted above, his idea of biblical historiography and his social interpretation of the Amarna Letters are not only disputed, but deductive as well. Instead of studying the biblical historiography in order to discover possible ideological aspects of ancient Israel, he completely ignores the Old Testament recollection of Israel's settlement in Canaan, and by paying so much attention to system theory he composes in fact a new unfalsifiable historical narrative, in which he can interpret the archaeological and epigraphic information.

So in the end, environmental approaches and social theory are indeed valuable tools in the monologue of artefact. But the idea that a new purely social and archaeological interpretation of the material culture of the Southern Levant during the Iron I is not influenced by textual images and is more objective than other methods, is incorrect. Moreover, the theoretical reflections of long-term history and social theory are inclined to avoid the practical difficulties of artefactual and textual studies, and to prevent the dialogue between the two which is necessary.

### **Methodological Considerations**

The analysis of today's settlement debate shows that there has been great progress in research by treating the artefactual data as a pursuit in its own right. New excavations and surveys added a mass of new data to our knowledge of the material culture of the Southern Levant in the late second millennium BCE. At the same time scholars developed new frameworks that match the material character of the evidence far better than the traditional 'biblical archaeology'.

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<sup>249</sup> E.g. N.P. Lemche, 'On the Use of "System Theory", "Macro Theories", and "Evolutionistic Thinking in Modern Old Testament Research and Biblical Archaeology', *SJOT* 4/2 (1990), 73-88; Idem, 'Sociology, Text, and Religion as Key Factors in Understanding the Emergence of Israel in Canaan', *SJOT* 5/2 (1991), 7-18; Idem, 'Early Israel Revisited', 17-9; Idem, *Israelites in History and Tradition*, 8-20.

The material remains of cities are interpreted in the light of the regional socio-political macro-structure, and environmental conditions, demographic developments, and economic fluctuations are deduced from their material background with the help of models from the social sciences and long-term history.

At the same time, however, these interpretative theoretical frameworks appeared to be not as objective as they seemed to be. Within the history of archaeology as a whole, they are part of a tendency in research in which it has become unpopular to suggest the movements of peoples as a mechanism of cultural change. This tendency has its credits: in the past population movements were discerned from the archaeological record too easily. But in some respect the pendulum may have swung too far. Within the archaeology of the Southern Levant, this becomes evident in the discussion about the origin and identity of the Iron I settlers. The research for cultural change that is endogenously oriented ends with the explanations of 'the settlement of pastoral nomads' or 'rural withdrawal', explanations which are more sophisticated, but no less mono-causal than Albright's conquest-model. Of course, these population-shifts no doubt occurred, but it is more likely to suppose that they were only two of the numerous processes, including a possible immigration from Transjordan. Therefore, the real issue for the study of the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition in the archaeology of the Southern Levant is to formulate explicit criteria to discern possible population movements in the processes that occurred.<sup>250</sup>

Besides the instrument of anthropological group identification,<sup>251</sup> this can also be done by explicit attention for the textual images that influence the concepts which purport to explain the complex archaeological phenomena. In order to overcome the difficulties of the traditional biblical archaeology, this study will try to respect artefactual studies as a kind of monologue. Stratigraphy, ceramics, architecture, settlement structures, food ways, subsistence strategies, and settlement patterns, all deserve a material interpretation on their own terms. Therefore, firstly this is not to be done by the traditional biblical archaeology, but by the southern Levantine archaeology. The purpose of this interpretation is to offer the best possible explanation for the material remains and to present a probable understanding of the socio-political developments.

But as has become clear, not everything can be explained from a functional and environmental perspective, and sometimes a dialogue with textual studies

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<sup>250</sup> For the same comments with regard to the Middle Bronze Southern Levant, see Ilan, 'Dawn of Internationalism', 300.

<sup>251</sup> For a perspective, see e.g. G. van der Kooij, 'Archeologische herkenbaarheid van sedentarisatie in Palestina' (unpublished lecture, Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap, 12-01-1995); D.B. Small, 'Group Identification and Ethnicity in the Construction of the Early State of Israel: From the Outside Looking in', in: Silberman, Small (eds), *Archaeology of Israel*, 271-88; R.D. Miller II, 'Identifying Earliest Israel', *BASOR* 333 (2005), 55-68; Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis*, 11-29.

is needed, if these kinds of sources are available and relevant. Therefore, the explanatory activity of southern Levantine archaeology will have to be followed by a second step, which brings the monologue of artefact into dialogue with hypotheses, formulated as the result of the textual and historiographical analysis of epigraphic materials and found texts.

The biblical historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan does not belong to this textual corpus, because it is not found, but transmitted. Nevertheless, historiographical hypotheses that follow from the reading of biblical books might play a role in the evaluation of the destruction layers of the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition as well as in the discussion with regard to several elements of the material culture of the Iron I inhabitants of the Central Hill Country. For this reason, in some cases a third step, in which a new 'biblical archaeology' brings the monologue of artefact into dialogue with the biblical textual evidence, will be necessary for a sufficient evaluation of all possible interpretations of the available materials.<sup>252</sup>

#### 1.4 DIALOGUE OF TEXT AND ARTEFACT

The problem of the historiographical character of Israel's settlement in Canaan asks for an interdisciplinary dialogue between the textual and artefactual data. In present research text and artefact are two monologues. In some respect, they should be. The two cultures should be continued, each on their own terms. But the analysis of the reflections on Old Testament historiography and of today's settlement debate shows that there comes a moment when both should also be used as a check one against the other. Therefore, the idea of starting a dialogue between the monologues of 'text' and 'artefact' has been taken as a point of departure for the rest of this study.

The monologue of text (Part II) concentrates on a selection from the biblical historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan. The selected textual unit primarily consists out of Joshua 9:1–13:7. This unit will be treated synchronically, diachronically, and in relation to a few other settlement accounts. The motivation for this selection is fourfold: these chapters contain a clear textual unit, the idea of a unified conquest is very prominent in it, the style of some passages can easily be compared with other non-biblical conquest accounts, and last but not least, these chapters contain the description of the conquest of more than thirty cities, which makes them more suitable for the interdisciplinary dialogue with the artefactual evidence than a passage like Joshua 6–8,

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<sup>252</sup> For this redefinition of the term 'biblical archaeology', see Noort, *Biblisch-archäologische Hermeneutik*, 22-3; Idem, 'Archeologie en Oude Testament', in: A.S. van der Woude (ed.), *Inleiding tot de studie van het Oude Testament*, Kampen 1986, 70-1. For a different interpretation, see e.g. A.E. Glock, 'Biblical Archaeology: An Emerging Discipline', in: L.T. Geraty *et al.* (eds), *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies*, Berrien Springs, MI 1986, 85-101.

which tells about the conquest of only two cities with a disputed archaeological reputation, namely Jericho and Ai.

So the literary artistry and genre conventions of Joshua 9:1—13:7 will be analysed, the expectations and beliefs of its community reconstructed, a hypothesis concerning its antiquarian intent, use of sources and history of traditions formulated, and the nature of its historical truth-claim defined.

In a next part, a monologue of artefact (Part III), information is gathered in order to test the hypotheses concerning the dating and historical truth-claim of the text.

In this monologue archaeology and historical analysis of non-biblical texts are conducted as pursuits in their own right. The archaeology of cities is interpreted in their own context and region. This is done for the period the text is referring to. But it is also important to take a look at the time in which the narrative framework of the text was presumably composed, for it can be assumed that the *realia* mentioned by the scribes also played a major role in their environment.

Finally, the dialogue between text and artefact can take place (Part IV). The hypothesis concerning the text's historical truth-claim will be tested, the archaeological remains can be interpreted from the perspective of biblical archaeology.

In this way, this dialogue will reveal more information concerning the questions whether the biblical historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan contains an antiquarian element and to what extent it is justified to label the Iron I settlers as '(proto-)Israelites'.



## **II MONOLOGUE OF TEXT**



## CHAPTER 2 – TRANSLATION AND ANNOTATION

### 2.1 PREAMBLE

The textual unit of Joshua 9:1—13:7 is a central part of the Book of Joshua as is demonstrated by the contents of these chapters. There are several connections with the preceding narrative. The situation at the beginning of chapter 9 presupposes the divine encouragement of Joshua, the crossing of the Jordan, the encampment of Israel in Gilgal, and the destruction of the cities Jericho and Ai. Rumours about this devastation cause a common reaction among the kings and peoples of the land of Western Palestine: they feel it necessary to unite themselves (9:1-2). The Hivites, however, find another tactic to deal with it. Their story, in which they save themselves by trickery (9:3-27), is the prelude to the descriptions of the battles with the coalitions of the Amorite and Canaanite kings and the conquest of the southern (10) and northern parts of the land (11:1-15). As a result of the defeat of these kings, Joshua has taken control over their land (11:16-23). This picture is completed by geographical descriptions of the territory conquered by Moses in Eastern Palestine (12:1-6), a list of kings defeated by Joshua in Western Palestine (12:7-24), and a record of those parts of the promised land that are still unconquered (13:1-6). The descriptions of the subjugated and remaining land lead up to its division as an inheritance among the tribes (13:7), as is described in more detail in the next part of the Book of Joshua.

It is also possible to describe the relation of the textual unit under study with other parts of the book from a thematic point of view. The territories conquered in Joshua 10—11 are part of the promised land. This promise is repeated in the preceding chapters and its division immediately follows the story of the taking of the land. Another theme is that of the character of Joshua as Israel's leader. He is the conqueror. But as will be pointed out in the analysis of the text, the Book of Joshua does not portray him as a hero, but as Moses' successor, appointed by YHWH himself. He is obedient to the commandments given to him by Moses and does almost everything he is expected to do according to God's commission in Joshua 1. The person of Joshua also turns the attention to the theme of obedience to the law in general, which plays a significant role in the Joshua narratives. Its major result is the actual fulfilment of the promise of the land. Most important in this respect is the idea of **הָרַם**, which says that the nations of the land should be annihilated. The story clearly demonstrates that this command to exterminate the foreign nations is not completely executed, which creates a huge tension in the Book of Joshua. This is the background of Joshua 7, the story of Achan's sin and its punishment, and it elucidates the difficulties in the covenant with the Gibeonite Hivites. But it also determines the stressful relationship between Joshua and the kings and between the Israelites and the Canaanite peoples. In fact, this conflict even dominates the geographical descriptions. The sophisticated concept of the land, that is described in

chapter 9:1—13:7 and further developed in chapter 13—19, is a delineation of territories in which Israel's loyalty to YHWH is threatened by the idolatry of foreign inhabitants, and territories in which it is not. It is this theme of loyalty to God in the midst of foreigners that is the subject of Joshua's first farewell speech in chapter 23. At last, the threat of spiritual adultery finally has a dominant position in the book's final chapter, in which Israel renews the covenant with YHWH.

In agreement with the methodological remarks at the end of section 1.2, Joshua 9:1—13:7 deserves a careful reading of the text in its present form and context. It is important to study the text's literary artistry and use of genre conventions before a hypothesis concerning its possible antiquarian intent is formulated. Therefore, the textual unit and thematic issues at hand will be analysed synchronically in Chapter 3 and 4. The term 'synchronically' means in this respect that the text will be studied in its transmitted form, without presupposing certain theories concerning its literary history. But the analysis is not purely synchronical, for some referential aspects of the text are included: parallels with other biblical passages will be drawn, geographical references will be identified with geographical realities in the southern Levant, and the style of some passages will be compared with other non-biblical ancient conquest accounts. All these are important tools in trying to reconstruct the horizon of the text and to adopt its worldview as an interpretative strategy.<sup>1</sup>

Chapter 2 presents a translation with annotations. Subsequently, Chapter 3 deals with the text's kings, peoples, and their lands. Geography is a vital element in Joshua 9:1—13:7, not only from a thematic, but also from a structural point of view. Therefore, the study of the text's geography offers the interpretative framework for the reading of other parts of the narrative. Chapter 4 takes a thorough look at other passages functioning within this framework: the stories about the trickery of the Gibeonites and the five kings hiding in a cave in Makkedah, the passages emphasizing the divine aid in the conquest, and the repetitive sections on the elimination of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the promised land.

Finally, one issue has to be treated: which textual witness of Joshua 9:1—13:7 should be studied? In answering this question it is important to note that this study is historical in nature. It tries to sketch a picture of the aims and beliefs of the community in which the text came into existence and to assess its possible historical claims. This means that it is asking beyond the historical moment scholars are looking for in trying to reconstruct the copy of the text or the textual tradition that contained the finished literary product and which stood at the beginning of the process of textual transmission. Therefore, the Masoretic

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<sup>1</sup> For the need of this method, see section 1.2, 'Antiquarian Interest' and 'Methodological Considerations'.

Text (MT) and its vocalization, unit delimitation and other elements as well as the ancient translations as the Septuagint (LXX), the Peshitta (Pesh.) and the Targumim (Targ.) are all understood as parts of the history of interpretation, not as the text itself.

Nevertheless, MT is taken as a point of departure for the discussion for several reasons. Firstly, the general assumption is that the Book of Joshua was originally written in Hebrew. Consequently, the contribution of the ancient witnesses is always indirect, namely by the assumed *Vorlage* that was used to translate the book. In the second place, LXX deserves special attention and clearly shows that the textual history of the Book of Joshua is complicated. At some points it even gives rise to the idea that it is the result of a textual tradition differing from that of MT. Yet, close study of the textual witnesses in order to solve the riddle of the relation between redactional and textual criticism has shown that it remains important to discern between both methods and that each of the textual witnesses at first hand has to be interpreted on its own terms.<sup>2</sup> In addition, it can be pointed out that the contribution of LXX to the textual study of Joshua 9:1—13:7 is limited. Some names in chapter 12 seem to be better preserved in LXX<sup>B</sup> and the probable haplography at the end of 13:7 MT can be easily repaired with the help of LXX. But most of the other differences are without difficulty interpreted as the result of other factors and the special character of LXX as a translation.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it is not necessary to discuss the historical value of its *Vorlage*. Accordingly, the translation and annotations in the next section take MT as a point of departure in the discussion. Not because MT would be the same as the original or because of the assumption that there definitely has been a historical *Urtext*. But simply because of the fact that the existence of a single original text is a needed as a theoretical construct in terms of logic and consistency, in offering proper methodological considerations and in creating a fruitful base for the detailed synchronic and diachronic comments on of Joshua 9:1—13:7.<sup>4</sup>

The next section presents this base in the form of a translation of MT according to a syntactical and interpretative arrangement in the colometric presentation of Joshua 9:1—13:7 in Appendix I. In addition, the annotations offer a mixed discussion of relevant textual critical, philological, syntactical and interpretative considerations.

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<sup>2</sup> M.N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation. The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses* (VTS, 102) Leiden etc. 2004. For the character of LXX of Joshua see e.g. C.G. den Hertog, *Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua*, Giessen 1996.

<sup>3</sup> Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 534; C.G. den Hertog, 'The geographical Shape of the Unconquered Land in Joshua 13:2-5 in MT and LXX', in: J. van Ruiten, J.C. de Vos (eds), *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology* (VTS, 124), Leiden etc. 2009, 52-3. See further below at the annotations.

<sup>4</sup> For this understanding of the term *Urtext*, see E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Minneapolis, MN 1992, 164-80.

## 2.2 TRANSLATION

[9:1] As soon as all the kings west<sup>a</sup> of the Jordan heard (this) – those in the hill country, in the Shephelah, and along the entire coast of the Mediterranean Sea running up to the Lebanon, <sup>b</sup>the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites<sup>b</sup> –, [2] they <sup>c</sup>agreed to join forces<sup>c</sup> to fight against Joshua and Israel <sup>d</sup>with one accord<sup>d,e</sup>

[3] However, when those living in Gibeon<sup>f</sup> heard what Joshua had done to Jericho and Ai, [4] they came into action too, but with more deliberation<sup>g</sup>, and they went underway. They <sup>h</sup>disguised themselves as a foreign delegation<sup>h</sup>: they loaded donkeys with worn-out sackings and worn-out wineskins that were cracked and mended. [5] They put worn-out and patched sandals on their feet and worn-out clothes on their bodies; and all the bread they had taken as their provision was dry and crumbly.

[6] And so they went to Joshua in the camp at Gilgal and said to him and the <sup>i</sup>men of Israel<sup>i</sup>, “We have come from a distant country; make a treaty with us.” [7] But the <sup>i</sup>men of Israel<sup>i</sup> replied to the Hivites: “Perhaps you live near us. How<sup>j</sup> then can we <sup>k</sup>make a treaty with you<sup>k</sup>?” [8] That is, they said to Joshua: “<sup>l</sup>We are your servants<sup>l</sup>.” But Joshua asked, “Who are you and where do you come<sup>m</sup> from?” [9] They answered him: “Your servants<sup>l</sup> have come from a very distant country because of the name of YHWH, your God. For we have heard the news of all that he did in Egypt, [10] and all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites east of the Jordan, to Sihon, king of Heshbon, and to Og, king of Bashan, who (resided<sup>n</sup>) in Ashtaroth. [11] So our elders and all those living in our country said to us, “Take provisions for your journey; go and meet them and say to them, “<sup>o</sup>We are your servants<sup>o</sup>; make a treaty with us.”” [12] This bread here<sup>o</sup> was still hot<sup>o</sup> when <sup>q</sup>we took it at home as provision for ourselves<sup>q</sup> on the day we left to come to you. <sup>r</sup>But see how dry and crumbly it has become<sup>r</sup>. [13] And these wineskins that we filled were new, but see how cracked they are. And our clothes and sandals are worn-out by the very long<sup>s</sup> journey.” [14] The men<sup>t</sup> took from their provisions but did not consult YHWH himself. [15] Then Joshua made peace with them: he made a treaty with them to let them live, and the chieftains of the assembly gave them their oath.

[16] But three days after they had made the treaty with them, they heard that they were neighbours, and that they dwelt among them. [17] That is, the Israelites set forward and reached their cities <sup>u</sup>on the third day<sup>u</sup>: Gibeon, Kephirah, Beeroth and Kiriath Jearim. [18] But the Israelites did not kill<sup>v</sup> them, because the chieftains of the assembly had given them their oath by YHWH, the God of Israel. That is, the whole assembly muttered against the chieftains, [19] but all the chieftains replied: “We have given them our oath by YHWH, the God of Israel; therefore, we cannot touch them. [20] Let us do the following to them: <sup>w</sup>let us spare their lives<sup>w</sup>, so that wrath will not fall on us because of the oath we swore to them.” [21] So the chieftains said to them <sup>x</sup>that they would live<sup>x</sup>. And they were woodcutters and water carriers for the entire assembly, as the chieftains had said concerning them. [22] That is, Joshua summoned them and said, “Why did you deceive us by saying, ‘We live a long way from you’, while actually you live among us? [23] Therefore, you are under a curse! You will never cease to serve as a slave: woodcutters and water carriers for the house of my God.” [24] They answered Joshua: “Your servants<sup>l</sup> <sup>y</sup>were clearly told<sup>y</sup> that YHWH, your God, had commanded his servant Moses to give you the whole land and to wipe out<sup>z</sup> all its inhabitants from before you. Therefore, we feared very much for our lives because of you

and did<sup>aa</sup> this. [25] We are now in your hands. Do to us whatever you consider good and right in your eyes.” [26] And he did (the following) to them: he saved them from the Israelites, so that they did not kill them. [27] That day Joshua made them woodcutters and water carriers<sup>bb</sup> for the assembly and for the altar of YHWH – as they still are – at the place he would choose<sup>bb</sup>.

[10:1] As soon as Adoni-Zedeq<sup>a</sup>, king of Jerusalem, heard that Joshua had taken<sup>b</sup> Ai and had “devoted it to destruction<sup>c</sup> – for as he had done to Jericho and its king, so he had done with Ai and its king – and that the people of Gibeon had made peace with Israel<sup>d</sup> “and were living among them<sup>e</sup>, [2] he “(and his people) were terrified<sup>f</sup>, because Gibeon was a large city, like one of the royal cities; <sup>g</sup>it was larger than Ai<sup>g</sup>, and its men were all good fighters. [3] So Adoni-Zedeq king of Jerusalem sent this message to Hoham<sup>h</sup> king of Hebron, Piram<sup>i</sup> king of Jarmuth, Japhia<sup>j</sup> king of Lachish, and Debir<sup>k</sup> king of Eglon<sup>l</sup>. [4] “Come up and help me, and let us attack Gibeon,” he said, “because it has made peace with Joshua and <sup>m</sup>the Israelites<sup>m</sup>.” [5] Then the five kings of the Amorites<sup>n</sup> – the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon – joined forces with all their troops and marched up. They took up positions against Gibeon and <sup>o</sup>waged war against it<sup>o</sup>.

[6] Now the men of Gibeon<sup>p</sup> sent a message to Joshua in the camp at Gilgal: “Do not abandon your slaves. Come up to us quickly and save us! Help us, because all the Amorite kings from the hill country have gathered against us.” [7] So Joshua marched up from Gilgal with his entire army, including all the best fighting men. [8] YHWH said to Joshua, “Do not be afraid of them. <sup>q</sup>For now, I hand them<sup>q</sup> over to you. Not one of them will be able to withstand you.” [9] Joshua came upon them suddenly, <sup>r</sup>after <sup>s</sup>marching up<sup>s</sup> from Gilgal throughout the night<sup>r</sup>. [10] YHWH threw them into confusion before Israel, <sup>t</sup>he defeated them<sup>t</sup> in a great slaughter at Gibeon, <sup>u</sup>pursued them<sup>t</sup> down the pass of Beth Horon, and <sup>v</sup>beat them<sup>t</sup> all the way to Azekah and Makkedah.

[11] As they fled before Israel on the road down from Beth Horon to Azekah, YHWH hurled large<sup>u</sup> stones down on them from the sky, and <sup>v</sup>those who died<sup>v</sup> by the hailstones were more numerous than <sup>v</sup>those whom the Israelites killed<sup>v</sup> by the sword. [12] <sup>w</sup>On the day YHWH handed the Amorites over to the Israelites, Joshua spoke to YHWH.<sup>x</sup> He said in the presence of Israel:

“Sun<sup>y</sup>, stand still<sup>z</sup> over Gibeon,  
and moon<sup>y</sup> at the Valley of Ayalon.”

[13] And the sun stood still,  
stay did the moon<sup>y</sup>,  
until<sup>aa</sup> he<sup>bb</sup> had taken vengeance  
on the troop of his enemies.

This<sup>cc</sup> is written, <sup>dd</sup>as is well known<sup>dd</sup>, in the book of the upright one. The sun stopped in the middle of the sky and delayed going down about a full day. [14] There has never been a day like it before or since, a day when YHWH obeyed a man. Surely YHWH was fighting for Israel!

[15] <sup>ee</sup>Then Joshua returned with all Israel to the camp at Gilgal<sup>ee</sup>.

[16] The five kings fled and hid themselves in a<sup>ff</sup> cave at Makkedah. [17] When it was reported to Joshua: “The five kings are found hiding in the cave at Makkedah”, [18]

Joshua said: "Roll large stones against the mouth of the cave and post some men there to guard them. [19] But as for the rest of you, don't stop! Pursue your enemies, <sup>gg</sup>cut off their retreat<sup>gg</sup> and don't give them the opportunity to reach their cities, for YHWH your God has handed them over to you."

[20] When Joshua and the Israelites had finished defeating them completely in a very great slaughter and the survivors that remained from them had reached the fortified cities, [21] all the people returned safely to Joshua <sup>hh</sup>in the camp<sup>hh</sup> at Makkedah. <sup>ii</sup>No one<sup>ii</sup> abused<sup>ii</sup> the Israelites. [22] Then Joshua said: "Open the mouth of the cave and bring those five kings out of the cave <sup>kk</sup>to me<sup>kk</sup>." [23] They did so<sup>l</sup> and brought the five kings out of the cave <sup>ll</sup>to him<sup>ll</sup>: the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon. [24] When they had brought these kings to Joshua, Joshua summoned all men of Israel. He said to the army commanders <sup>mm</sup>who had come<sup>mm</sup> with him: "Come near. Put your feet on the necks of these kings." So they came forward and placed their feet on their necks. [25] Joshua said to them: "Do not be afraid and do not be dismayed. Be strong and courageous. Because this is what YHWH will do to all the enemies you will fight." [26] After that, Joshua <sup>nn</sup>put them to death<sup>nn</sup> and hung them on five trees, and they were hanging on the trees until evening. [27] At sunset Joshua commanded and they took them down from the trees and threw them into the cave where they had hidden themselves. They set large stones against the mouth of the cave, which are there <sup>oo</sup>until this very day<sup>oo</sup>.

[28] That day Joshua captured Makkedah. He killed it(s inhabitants) and its king and devoted everyone in it to destruction. He left no survivors. And he did to the king of Makkedah as he had done to the king of Jericho. [29] Then Joshua and all Israel with him moved on from Makkedah to Libnah and waged war against it. [30] YHWH also handed that city and its king over to Israel and he (Israel) killed everyone in it. He left no survivors in it. And he did to its king as he had done to the king of Jericho. [31] Then Joshua and all Israel with him moved on from Libnah to Lachish. He laid siege to it and waged war on it. [32] YHWH handed Lachish over to Israel and he (Israel) captured it on the second day. He killed it(s inhabitants), just as he had done to Libnah. [33] Meanwhile<sup>qq</sup>, Horam<sup>rr</sup> king of Gezer had come up to help Lachish, but Joshua and his people defeated him <sup>ss</sup>until no survivor was left for him<sup>ss</sup>. [34] Then Joshua and all Israel with him moved on from Lachish to Eglon. They laid siege to and waged war against it. [35] They captured it that same day and killed everyone in it. On that day, they devoted everyone in it to destruction, just as everything they had done to Lachish. [36] Then Joshua and all Israel with him went up from Eglon to Hebron and they waged war against it. [37] They captured it and killed it(s inhabitants), its king, its villages, and everyone in it. He left no survivors, just as he had done to Eglon. They devoted it and everyone in it to destruction. [38] Then Joshua and all Israel with him turned to Debir and he waged war against it. [39] They captured it, its king and its villages, and killed them. They devoted everyone in it to destruction. He left no survivors. As he dealt with Hebron, so he did to Debir and its king, just as he had done to Libnah and its king.

[40] So Joshua smote<sup>tt</sup> the whole region – the hill country, the Negev, the western foothills and the mountain slopes –, together with all<sup>uu</sup> their kings. He left no survivors. He devoted all who breathed to destruction, just as YHWH, the God of Israel, had commanded. [41] <sup>vv</sup>Joshua defeated them<sup>vv</sup> from Kadesh Barnea to Gaza and in the

whole region of Goshen to Gibeon. [42] All these kings and their lands Joshua captured in a single campaign, because YHWH, the God of Israel, fought for Israel.

[43] <sup>ww</sup>Then Joshua returned with all Israel to the camp at Gilgal.<sup>ww</sup>

[11:1] As soon as Jabin<sup>a</sup> king of Hazor heard (of this), he sent a message to Jobab<sup>b</sup> king of Maron<sup>c</sup>, to the kings of Shim'on<sup>d</sup> and Achshaph, [2] and to the northern kings who were in northern hill country, in the Arabah south<sup>e</sup> of Kinnereth, in the western foothills and in the 'dune area<sup>f</sup> of Dor on the west; [3] to the Canaanites in the east and west; to the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites and Jebusites in the hill country; and to the Hivites below Hermon in the region of Mizpah<sup>g</sup>. [4] They came out with all their troops, a huge army, as numerous as the sand on the seashore with a large number of horses and chariots. [5] All these kings 'assembled by appointment' and encamped together at<sup>h</sup> the waters of Merom, to fight against Israel.

[6] YHWH said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them, because by this time tomorrow I will have them all lying slain<sup>i</sup> before Israel. You shall hamstring their horses and burn their chariots."

[7] So Joshua and his whole army came against them suddenly at<sup>h</sup> the waters of Merom. They <sup>k</sup>fell upon them<sup>kl</sup>, [8] and YHWH handed them over to Israel, so that they defeated them and pursued them all the way to Greater Sidon, to Misrephoth Maim, and to the Valley of Mizpeh<sup>g</sup> on the east. He killed them <sup>m</sup>until no survivor was left for them<sup>m</sup>. [9] Joshua dealt with them as YHWH had ordered him: he hamstringing their horses and burned their chariots. [10] At that time Joshua turned back, captured Hazor and killed its king, for Hazor had been the head of all these kingdoms. [11] Therefore, they killed everyone in it and devoted them to destruction, no one that breathed was left, and he burned Hazor to the ground.

[12] Joshua captured all these royal cities and their kings and killed them. He devoted them to destruction, as Moses the servant of YHWH had commanded. [13] Otherwise, Israel did not burn any of the cities built on their mounds – except Hazor, which Joshua burned. [14] The Israelites carried off as booty for themselves <sup>n</sup>all the plunder and livestock of these cities<sup>n</sup>. Otherwise, they killed all the people until they exterminated them, <sup>o</sup>not sparing anyone that breathed<sup>o</sup>. [15] As YHWH commanded his servant Moses, so Moses commanded Joshua, and Joshua did it; he left nothing undone of all that <sup>p</sup>YHWH commanded Moses<sup>p</sup>.

[16] So Joshua took<sup>q</sup> this entire land: the hill country, all the Negev, the whole region of Goshen, the Shephelah, the Arabah, and the mountainous area of Israel with its western foothills – [17] from Mount Halak, which rises toward Seir, to Baal-Gad in the Valley of Lebanon at the foot of Mount Hermon. He captured all their kings and 'put them to death'. [18] Joshua waged war against all these kings for a long time. [19] No city made a treaty of peace with<sup>s</sup> the Israelites – except for the Hivites living in Gibeon. They took them all in battle. [20] For 'YHWH hardened their hearts' to call for war against Israel, so that he might devote them to destruction without mercy, that is, to exterminate them, as YHWH had commanded Moses. [21] At that time Joshua came and eliminated<sup>u</sup> the Anakites<sup>v</sup> from the hill country: from Hebron, Debir and Anab, from all the hill country of Judah, and from all the hill country of Israel. Joshua devoted them and<sup>w</sup> their cities to destruction. [22] No Anakites were left in the Israelite territory; only in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod did any survive. [23] So Joshua took the entire land, just

as YHWH had directed Moses, and he gave it as an inheritance to Israel according to their tribal divisions.

Then the land had rest from war.

[12:1] These are the kings of the land whom the Israelites had defeated and whose territory they <sup>a</sup>took possession of<sup>a</sup> east of the Jordan, from the Arnon River to Mount Hermon, including all the eastern side of the Arabah<sup>b</sup>: [2] Sihon, king of the Amorites, who resided<sup>c</sup> in Heshbon, ruling from Aroer on the rim of the Arnon River – that is, the middle of the river <sup>d</sup>and half of Gilead<sup>d</sup> – to the Jabbok River, which is the border of the Ammonites, [3], the Arabah to the eastern side of the Sea of Kinnereth and to the eastern side of the Sea of the Arabah, that is, the Salt Sea, in the direction of Beth-Jeshimoth and southward<sup>e</sup> to below the slopes of Pisgah. [4] The territory<sup>f</sup> of Og king of Bashan, one of the last of the Rephaites, who resided<sup>c</sup> in Ashtaroth and Edrei [5] and ruled over Mount Hermon, Salcah, all of Bashan to the border of Geshurites<sup>g</sup> and Maacatites, and over half of Gilead to the border of Sihon king of Heshbon. [6] Moses, the servant of YHWH, and the Israelites defeated them. And Moses, <sup>h</sup>the servant of YHWH<sup>h</sup>, gave their land to the Reubenites, the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh to be their possession.

[7] These are the kings of the land that Joshua and the Israelites defeated on the west side of the Jordan, from Baal-Gad in the Valley of Lebanon to Mount Halak, which rises toward Seir. Joshua gave their lands as a possession to the tribes of Israel according to their tribal divisions – [8] in the hill country, the Shephelah, the Arabah, the mountain slopes, the desert and the Negev, the lands of the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites: [9] the king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai near Bethel, one; [10] the king of Jerusalem, one; the king of Hebron, one; [11] the king of Jarmuth, one; the king of Lachish, one; [12] the king of Eglon, one; the king of Gezer, one; [13] the king of Debir, one; the king of Geder, one; [14] the king of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one; [15] the king of Libnah, one; the king of Adullam, one; [16] the king of Makedah, one; the king of Bethel<sup>i</sup>, one; [17] the king of Tappuah, one; the king of Hepher, one; [18] the king of Aphek <sup>j</sup>in the Sharon<sup>j</sup>, one; [19] the king of Hazor, one; [20] the king of Shim'on<sup>k</sup>, one; the king of Maron<sup>l</sup>, one; the king of Achshaph, one; [21] the king of Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one; [22] the king of Kedesh<sup>m</sup>, one; the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one; [23] the king of Dor in the dune area of Dor, one; the king of the gentiles of Galilee<sup>n</sup>, one; [24] the king of Tirzah, one; thirty<sup>o</sup> kings in all.

[13:1] When Joshua was old and advanced in years, YHWH said to him, “<sup>a</sup>You are old and<sup>a</sup> advanced in years; and there still remains a very large area of land to be taken possession of.

[2] This is the land that remains: all the districts of the Philistines and all the Geshurites: [3] from the Shihor before<sup>b</sup> Egypt to the territory of Ekron on the north, <sup>c</sup>which is all counted as land of the Canaanites, (but ruled by<sup>c</sup>) the five Philistine rulers in Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath and Ekron and by the Awites [4] <sup>d</sup>in the south<sup>d</sup>; further, all the land of the Canaanites, <sup>e</sup>from Arah<sup>e</sup> of the Sidonians to Aphek at the Amorite border, [5] namely, the land<sup>f</sup> of the Gebalites; and all Lebanon to the east, from Baal-Gad below Mount Hermon to Lebo Hamath.

[6] All the inhabitants of the mountain regions from Lebanon to Misrephoth Maim, all the Sidonians, I will <sup>g</sup>drive them out<sup>g</sup> before the Israelites myself. You have only<sup>h</sup> to

measure<sup>e</sup> it as an inheritance for Israel, as I have commanded you. [7] Now, divide<sup>e</sup> this land as an inheritance among the nine tribes and half of the <sup>k</sup>Manassehite tribe<sup>k</sup> from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea in the west, <sup>m</sup>you will give it<sup>m</sup>, the Mediterranean Sea being the border<sup>l</sup>.”

## Annotations

- 9:1 **a** Literally ‘at the other side of the Jordan’. In the Book of Joshua, the meaning of **מִן־בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן** is determined by the context. It stands for east of the Jordan in 1:14; 2:10; 7:7; 9:10a; 14:3; 17:5; 22:4, and 24:8, which is made explicit by an addition – **שְׂמֹשׁ – מִזְרָחָהּ (ה)** as in 1:15 and 12:1c, **מִזְרָחָהּ** as in 13:8 and 18:7 – or with the phrase **וְיִרְדְּפוּ לִירֵדוֹן מִבְּעֵבֶר לִירְדוֹן יִרְדְּפוּ מִזְרָחָהּ**, as is the case of 13:32; 20:8. It means west of the Jordan in 9:1b and explicated by adding **יַמָּה** in 5:1; 12:7a and 22:7. **b-b** The list of six or seven pre-Israelite nations occurs frequently, always in contexts referring to the promise of the land of the settlement of Israel in Canaan (Exod. 3:8; 3:17; 23:23; 33:2; Deut. 7:1; 20:17; Josh. 3:10; 9:1d; 11:3abc; 12:8b; Judg. 3:5; Neh. 9:8). The list in 9:1d MT is in content and sequence only identical to Deut. 20:17 and Josh. 12:8b. LXX lists the nations in a different order and also has οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι. LXX contains seven peoples in seven of the eleven lists with six pre-Israelite nations in MT. It is very difficult to establish the original reading of this text, because of the differences with the *versiones antiquae* and the many variations between the lists within MT itself. Some scholars state that the information from LXX, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Qumran is showing an original seven-name list. Accordingly, the differences with MT are the result of errors and inadequate recorection within the process of scribal transmission of the Hebrew text (K.G. O’Connell, ‘The List of Seven Peoples in Canaan: A Fresh Analysis’, in: H.O. Thompson [ed.], *The Answers Lie Below*, Lanham, MD 1984, 223-4, 228; see for a detailed chart of the data 234-41). Although this assumption may be right from a statistical point of view, it remains a fact that in MT one single structure representing the numerous arrangements within the series does not appear. So it seems that the writers who wrote down the series allowed themselves a certain flexibility (E.C. Hostetter, *Nations Mightier and More Numerous. The Biblical View of Palestine’s Pre-Israelite Peoples* [BIBAL dissertation series, 3], N. Richland Hills, TX 1995, 127, 148-9). Therefore, it can also be assumed that LXX – and Sam. Pent. – completed the list to the number of seven, probably in accordance with the apposition **שְׁבַע נַיִם** in Deut. 7:1 (Hostetter, *Nations Mightier*, 115-6; T. Ishida, *History and Historical Writing in Ancient Israel* [SHCANE, 16], Leiden etc. 1999, 11). For the question of the development of the ‘standard’ list, see section 5.4. ‘Diachronic Referential Aspects’.
- 2 **c-c** **וַיִּתְקַבְּצוּ יִהְדוּ** is translated with ‘agreed to join forces’, because the actual gathering of all the kings and peoples from ‘beyond the Jordan’ is prevented by the trickery of the Hivites in 9:3a-27d. **d-d** The adverbial use of **פֶּה אֶחָד** expresses the way of gathering: ‘with one accord’ (*GesK.* § 118q; *Gib.* § 145). **e** One of the major textual problems of the Book of Joshua is the difference in sequence between LXX and MT and the other *versiones* in the transition from chapter 8 to 9. LXX places the passage about the altar on Mount Ebal (8:30-35, MT) between

9:2c and 9:3a. The discussion concerning this difficulty is complicated by two factors. In the first place, the interpretation of this difference meets all kinds of exegetical problems. The passage does not seem to fit the geographical context of the chapters 8—9 and the way the text is related to the corresponding verses in Deut. 11 and 27 is enigmatic. In the second place, a fragment of the Book of Joshua found in Qumran cave 4 (4QJosh<sup>a</sup>) contains 8:34-35 and continues with 5:2-7, suggesting that a manuscript of the Book of Joshua in Qumran placed the building of the altar immediately after the crossing of the Jordan at Gilgal in chapter 4 (E. Ulrich, F.M. Cross [eds], *Qumran Cave 4. IX – Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* [DJD, 14], Oxford 1995, 143-7, Plate XXXII). Besides these difficulties, LXX and 4QJosh<sup>a</sup> have given rise to all kind of textual critical and literary critical theories, which try to answer the questions concerning the development and textual transmission of this passage. In an evaluation of these theories, it appeared that each of the textual witnesses can be interpreted on its own terms. In the case of LXX the transposition of the passage was probably motivated by the observation that 9:1 clearly refers to 8:1-29. In addition, it seems that the Greek translator took a keen interest in military affairs. Therefore it is possible that he solved the problem of the geographical distance between Gilgal and mount Ebal by assuming that only the concentration of hostile forces described in 9:1-2 allowed Israel to enter the unconquered territory and to perform the prescribed religious duties. With respect to the fragment of the manuscript 4QJosh<sup>a</sup>, it cannot be proven beyond doubt that the text of 8:30-35 belongs entirely to the beginning of chapter 5. It is also possible that only those verses of 8:30-35 were duplicated narrating the writing of the law on stones and its recitation, in order to harmonize the Joshua narratives with the commandments in Deut. 27 (Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 479-522, esp. 512-3 and 519). For the study at hand, this means that there is no reason to amend the text and to include 8:30-35 in the historiographical analysis. It appears that MT is despite its textual and geographical difficulties offering a readable text, especially from a thematic point of view. The obedience to the law, the central theme of 8:30-35, is the background of the stressful relationship with the pre-Israelite nations and differs sharply from story of the treaty with the Gibeonites, in which this law is violated. Furthermore, the parallel use of the verb שָׁמַע (9:1a, 3a) creates a contrast between the kings and the Gibeonites and between their reactions (קָבַצַּ, *hitp.* 9:2a, and עָשָׂה, 4a), a contrast that is also stressed by the addition נִסְדְּוּמָה (4a). This parallel would lose its significance when 8:30-35 is placed behind 9:2c.

3 **f** The name נִבְעָרָן here functions as a genitive of location (*WO* § 9.5.2f).

4 **g** The nature of the reaction of the Gibeonites is characterized by עָרְמוּהָ. This word is a *vox media*, meaning that the person or act in question is marked by prudence, wisdom and deliberation. Used in a positive sense, it means 'cautiousness' (Prov. 8:5, 12, cf. Prov. 1:4) or 'craftiness' (Gen. 3:1), but it stands for 'slyness' in more negative contexts. (Exod. 21:14; Job 5:13, Ps. 83:4, cf. H. Niehr, עָרַם, *TWAT*, Bd. 4, 387-92; A. Luc, עָרַם, *NIDOTTE*, vol. 3, 539-40). A negative connotation is avoided in the translation, for the story does not condemn the Gibeonite behaviour at this moment. **h-h** BHS אַ proposes to change וַיִּצְטַדְּרוּ in accordance with 9:12a, some manuscripts, and the *versiones*, into וַיִּצְטַדְּרוּ, 'they

prepared supplies' (cf. D. Barthélemy, A.R. Hulst, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, t. 1. *Josue, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Nehemie, Esther* [OBO, 50/1], Fribourg 1982, 13-4). For this, however, 9:4d uses לִקַּח, a verb that is absent in 9:12ab. Therefore, it is more likely to suppose that the verb is a hapax, derived from the proper noun צִיר, 'messenger, envoy'. The צִיר is a diplomat which is often sent to other countries (Isa. 18:2; 57:9; Jer. 29:14; Obad. 1), like the *šīru*(LÛ.MAḤ), the non-Assyrian diplomat from abroad (CAD 16, 213, cf. D.J. Wiseman, "'Is It Peace" – Covenant and Diplomacy', VT 32 [1982], 315-6). When the *hitpa'el* is used in the direct reflexive sense (WO § 26.2c), the verb means 'to make oneself an envoy' or 'to disguise oneself as a foreign diplomat'.

- 6 **i-i** From a syntactical point of view the phrase אִישֵׁי־יִשְׂרָאֵל (οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ in LXX > בני־יִשְׂרָאֵל) functions as a collective, at least in 9:6b-7a (see the plural וַיֵּאמְרוּ in 9:7a, cf. *J-M* § 135e). So the 'men of Israel' is not just 'an Israelite man' (thus in Num. 25:8, 14), but designates a group. According to Deuteronomy 29:9-10 (cf. Deut. 27:14) this group is mentioned between the heads of the tribes (רִאשֵׁי־בָּתָר), the elders (זִקְנֵיכֶם), and the officers (וְשֹׂטְרֵיכֶם) on the one hand, and the children, women and foreigners who chop the wood and carry the water on the other hand. Joshua 10:24b shows that the אִישֵׁי־יִשְׂרָאֵל is led by army officers (קְצִינֵיכֶם). According to the contexts of the attestations of the collective the 'men of Israel', it is a group having certain responsibilities related to the law of YHWH (Deut. 27:14; 29:9), and military activities (Josh. 10:24; Judg. 7:23; 9:55; 20:11-48; 1 Sam. 13:6; 14:22; 17:2, 19-25; 2 Sam. 17:24; 23:9; 1 Chron. 10:7; cf. 2 Sam. 20:4-5: אִישֵׁי־הַיְהוּדָה). It also has a role in decisions related to the community, for instance, the choice of a king (Judg. 8:22; 21:1; 2 Sam. 16:18; 17:14; cf. 2 Sam 19:42-44: the אִישֵׁי־יִשְׂרָאֵל opposite to the אִישֵׁי־הַיְהוּדָה). On the base of Judges 20:2, 11, it could be assumed that the אִישֵׁי־הַיְהוּדָה is an expression with military associations for הַעֲדָה, 'the assembly'.
- 7 **j** In this context אֵךְ implies a rejection of the offer (*Gib.* § 185). **k-k** According to *Berg.*, Bd. 2, § 14q, the *plene* written אֶכְרִיתָ (cf. BHS  $\underline{c}$  K) could indicate a late dating of the text.
- 8 **l-l** It is important for the interpretation of the story to determine the precise meaning of the variations of the expression עֲבַרְדִּיךָ אֶנְחֵנִי in 9:8b, 9b, 11c, 24b. Most of the time, an *Unterswürfigkeitsformel* using the root עֲבַר is only a form of courtesy (cf. I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im Alten Testament*, Leiden 1949, 68-71). But in this case it is unlikely because nominal clauses combining the root with a personal pronoun are mainly used in sentences in which a person offers submission to a superior in the form of being his slave. In this way the speaker either expresses gratitude (Ps. 116:16) or tries to acquire a favour (Gen. 50:18; 1 Sam. 11:1; 2 Sam. 15:34; 2 Kgs 10:5, cf. 16:7; Ps. 119:25). **m** The use of a durative *yiqtol* instead of a perfective *qatal* implies that Joshua assumes that these men are on a journey. Apparently, he does not know yet that he is the goal of the Gibeonite trip (cf. 2 Sam. 1:3; 2 Kgs 20:14 with Gen. 42:7; WO § 31.3b; LM § 77c2).
- 10 **n** The short, verbless formula is used in contrast to 12:4b. See also annotation 12:2c.
- 12 **o** The phrase זֶה לַחֲמֵנוּ can be translated in two ways: as a subject, 'this here, our bread', but also as a nominal clause, 'this here is our bread' (*GesK.* § 126aa; *Gib.* §

- 6; *WO* § 26.2e). **p** חם functions as an accusative of state, referring to the object of the clause (*J-M* § 126a; *WO* § 10.2.2d). **q-q** A denominative verb with a reflexive meaning, here with an object: ‘to pack something as provision (< צִיר > for yourself’ (*GesK.* § 54f; *J-M* § 125c). **r-r** Translation of the vivid direct discourse, created by the transitional signal וַעֲתָה הִנֵּה, a stative verb, and the perfect וָהָיָה, which is used to express that the condition of the provisions had been bad for a long time (cf. *GesK.* § 112ss).
- 13 **s** The adverb נֶאֱמַר defines a substantive: ‘a very long journey’.
- 14 **t** The question is to be asked whether LXX already introduces the ‘leaders of the community’ (9:15c, 18b) by translating οἱ ἄρχοντες, which could go back to הַנְּשִׂיאים. But this is unlikely, for it is also possible that LXX, like many other translations, did not strictly follow the designations for the leaders in its *Vorlage* (for a discussion, see Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 15).
- 17 **u-u** The adjunct of time בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי is omitted in LXX.
- 18 **v** In the historiography of the settlement, the verb נָכַח is an important element in describing the victory over the pre-Israelite nations. Here and in other passages, the verb is used to describe that these people are not killed. Literally, the verb means ‘to strike’; thus the meaning ‘to kill by violence’ is expressed by an addition, like the parallel use of the verb נִוָּחַ (10:26ab; 11:17de) and adverbial expressions as לִפְנֵי-בַחֲרָב (8:24; 10:28b, 30b, 32c, 35b, 37b, 39b; 11:10c, 11a, 12b; Num. 21:24; Deut. 13:15; 20:13; Judg. 1:8, 25), עַד-בְּלַחֲתֵי הַשְּׂאִירֵי-לֹו שְׂרִיד וּפְלִיט (10:37c). The verb is also used to describe that people or armies are defeated (10:10b, 20b, 41a; 11:8b; 12:1a, 6a, 7a; 13:12, 21; Num. 14:45; 22:6; Deut. 1:4; 2:33; 4:46; 7:2; 29:7; Judg. 1:4, 5, 10, 17), that cities are attacked (7:3; 10:4c; 15:16; 19:47; Judg. 1:12) or that land is smitten (10:40a; Num. 32:4). See J. Conrad, נָכַח, *ThWAT*, Bd. 5, 447-51.
- 20 **w-w** Some propose to read הַחַיָּה instead of וְהַחַיָּה and to translate “Let us do the following to them: we will let them live” (*Berg.*, Bd. 2, § 121). But this is not necessary. The infinite absolute can also continue the cohortative נַעֲשֶׂה (*GesK.* § 113z).
- 21 **x-x** There is some difficulty in translating the phrase וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֵיהֶם הַנְּשִׂיאים יַחֲיוּ and the following words. It seems that the *versiones* used different *Vorlagen* (cf. BHS a–a, c). In some occasions the cited words are omitted. Some manuscripts of LXX harmonize the verse with 9:23c and two manuscripts of Pesh. found a compromise between ‘the assembly’ and ‘the house of God’ by translating ‘the assembly of YHWH’ (cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 15-7). Most strikingly, however, is that all the *versiones* seem to have read וַחֲיוּ. This shows that the translators struggled with the issue how וַחֲיוּ is related to the following וַיַּחֲיוּ. The problem can be solved by limiting the direct discourse to the jussive וַחֲיוּ, ‘They shall live’ (thus e.g. JPS). Another possibility is to interpret the text of 9:21a in such a way that the verb אָמַר is not followed by direct discourse, but – as for instance in Gen. 12:3; 41:15; and Hos. 7:2 – by an asyndetical accusative frame in the form of an imperfect (*J-M* § 157b; *WO* § 38.8d). There are a few indications in favour of this interpretation. וַיֹּאמְרוּ presupposes a change in perspective, that is, from the dialogue between chieftains and the assembly to a conversation with the Gibeonites. Despite this fact these Gibeonites are not introduced again,

as the chieftains are, so that אֱלִיהִם most likely refers to them, just as לָהֶם in 9:20b. In this case, the option of direct discourse becomes impossible, while the remaining interpretation of the asyndetical indirect discourse creates a fluid transition from 9:21a to 9:21b.

- 24 **y-y** Translation of the paronomastic infinitive (*Berg.*, Bd. 2, § 12e, cf. *HALOT*, 666) in the form of a denominative *hophal* (*WO* § 28.4a). **z** The verb שָׁמַד, *hi*. designates in the historiography of the settlement very often the physical destruction of the pre-Israelite nations or of their objects of worship. This not only promised, but also ordered by God, while the execution occurs by both God and Israel (11:14b, 20c; 24:8; Num. 33:52; Deut 9:3; 31:3, 4; 33:26). Here, the text shows that these conceptions are very close related to one another: 9:24cde uses the verb צָוָה, *pi.*, repeats YHWH's promise to give the land and to wipe out its inhabitants, while the Israelites are supposed not to kill the Gibeonites. A similar mix of promise and order and of human and divine subjects of שָׁמַד, *hi*. is found in Deut. 2:12, 21, 22, 23; 7:23-24. These passages make it impossible to distinguish between a 'profane' and a 'theological' use of the verb and between different strata in the text, as some scholars tend to do (e.g. N. Lohfink, שָׁמַד, *ThWAT*, Bd. 8, 185, 192-6). But at the same time they do indicate, as does the use of the verb in those texts from the Book of Kings describing the coups against the kings of Northern Israel (1 Kgs 13:34; 15:29; 16:12; 2 Kgs 10:17), that the verb refers in these contexts to the destruction of the relation between the king or people and the land by violently eliminating or supplanting them (cf. Lohfink, שָׁמַד, 181-4). In cases of idolatry, however, the destruction can also be directed against Israel itself (7:12; 23:15; Deut. 4:3, 26; 6:15; 7:4). **aa** וַיִּנְעֹשׂהּ can be understood as an Aramaism (*GesK.* § 75hh), but also as a form following the rule of the ל"ה-verbs ending in ה. - by way of exception (*Berg.*, Bd. 2, § 30b).
- 27 **bb-bb** According to BHS ב, 9:27abc is a victim of *homoioteleuton*. This, however, does not seem to be the case. The longer text and small differences of LXX as presented in BHS a-d are easily explained as being a harmonizing translation after 9:21b, 9:23c and the usual formula concerning the place to be chosen in e.g. Deut. 12:5.
- 10:1 **a** LXX renders Ἀδωνιβεζεκ, a name which also appears in Judg. 1:5-7 (אֲדֹנִי־בֵזֶק, MT). Many scholars have understood this as the original reading, but it turned out to be wrong, for a fragment of 4QJosh<sup>a</sup> supports the reading אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק of 10:3a in MT (Ulrich, Cross [eds], *Qumran Cave 4, IX*, 151, Pl. XXXIV, Frg. 17; for a reconstruction, see also Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 515). The personal name אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק is West Semitic and composed of three elements: a qualification or a theophoric element (K. Spronk, 'Lord', in: K. van der Toorn e.a. [eds], *Dictionary of Deities and Demons [DDD]*, Leiden et al. 2019, 531-3), a *yod* as suffix or as a *yod*-compaginis (*GesK* § 90m), and a qualification or the name of a deity (B.E. Batto, 'Zedeq', *DDD*<sup>2</sup>, 929-34). It means 'Adon is righteous' (M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* [BWANT, III, 10] Stuttgart 1928, 114), 'Adon is righteousness' (B.J. Oosterhoff, *Israëlitische persoonsnamen* [Exegetica, 4], Delft 1953, 28), or 'my lord is Zedeq/Zaduu' (S.C. Layton, *Archaic Features of Canaanite Names in the Hebrew Bible* [HSM, 47], Atlanta 1990, 140; R.S. Hess, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names in

the Book of Joshua', *CBQ* 58 [1996], 207-8). **b** The verb לָכַד designates the capture and taking of cities, land, people, livestock and goods and is in this way an essential verb describing the fulfilment of the promise of the land in the historiography of the conquest (6:20; 8:19, 21; 10:28a, 32b, 35a, 37a, 39a, 42b; 11:10b, 12a, 17c; 15:16-17; 19:47; Num. 21:32; 32:39-42; Deut. 2:34-35; 3:4; Judg. 1:8, 12-13, 18). The verb highlights the actual capturing somebody or something rather than the fact that it is possessed thereafter, as is evident from e.g. לָקַח in 11:16a (cf. H. Gross, לָכַד, *ThWAT*, Bd. 4, 574-5 and annotation 11:16q). **c-c** The root חָרַם, which plays an important role in the settlement's historiography (see section 4.4), is mentioned here for the first time in Joshua 9:1—13:7. Since the classic study of C.H.W. Brekelmans, the verb חָרַם *hiph'il* is acknowledged as a denominative. The noun חָרַם represents a quality or attribute analogous to the nouns קִדְּשׁ, 'holy', and חָל, 'profane', and describes a positive or negative consecration to God, that is, a *res sacrosancta* or a *res execranda*. Consequently, the verb means 'to transfer an entity into the state of consecration to God' or 'to deal with an entity in a way required by a consecration to God' (C.H.W. Brekelmans, *De herem in het Oude Testament*, Nijmegen 1959, 42-53, 163-9; Idem, חָרַם, *ThHAT*, Bd. 1, 635-7; cf. R.D. Nelson, 'Herem and the Deuteronomistic social Conscience', in: Vervenne, Lust (eds), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature*, 41-5). Few scholars state that the noun is fundamentally a concrete noun designating the prohibition of taking booty. But this cannot be sustained if all the evidence is taken into account (Nelson, 'Deuteronomistic Social Conscience', 41, as against N. Lohfink, חָרַם, *ThWAT*, Bd. 3, 198-9, who is followed by G. Braulik, 'Die Völkervernichtung und die Rückkehr Israels ins Verheissungsland. Hermeneutische Bemerkungen zum Buch Deuteronomium', in: Vervenne, Lust [eds], *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature*, 5). In the context of warfare, the meaning of חָרַם is very often further explained by terms and phrases that make it clear that death and total destruction is involved. Therefore חָרַם, *hi*, is translated by 'to devote to destruction'. Van der Molen denies this possibility by stating that the root primarily serves as a *terminus technicus* for everything that is forsaken of the presence of YHWH, as can be observed in Joshua 7. Therefore, the primary function of חָרַם is in her view separation and isolation. In order to maintain this hypothesis, however, she emphasizes that the application of חָרַם in Joshua 8—11 only occurs after the actual battle (W.K. van der Molen, *Een ban om te mijden. Bouwstenen voor een bijbels-theologische verkenning*, Groningen 2008, 13-87, 164-178). But in all cases, this does not agree with the parallel verbs expressing violence and with the strong suggestion of the texts that the separation and isolation took place by death and total destruction. **d** LXX has πρὸς Ἰησοῦν καὶ πρὸς Ἰσραηλ, probably to harmonize it with 9:15b and 10:4c. **e-e** Some scholars state that the *Vorlage* of LXX omitted בְּקִרְבָּם וַיְהִי and argue that this phrase – which is an allusion to 9:7b, 16d, and 22e – is a late editorial addition to MT trying to strengthen the connection between the two different traditions (e.g. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* [HAT, I/7], Tübingen 1953, 63). But it is more likely that LXX translated it in abbreviated form as ἐν αὐτοῖς, thus reading it as the start of the next sentence (Den Hertog, *Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua*, 36-7). The traditio-historical argument also fails in the light of the many references in chapter 10 to chapter 9, see section 5.1.

- 2 **f-f** The plural **וַיִּירָאוּ** is somewhat surprising. Pesh. and Vulg. rend a singular form (cf. BHS **a**). But it is possible to read it as a kind of *constructio ad sensum*. In this case, the plural includes the inhabitants of Jerusalem. **g-g** LXX omits verse 9c. Some scholars argue that this is a late editorial addition to MT, because it would make tie to the larger tradition explicit (e.g. T.C. Butler, *Joshua* [WBC], Waco, TX 1983, 109). However, this is not very likely: in MT both 10:1a and 10:2a are clarified by a **כִּי...וְכִי** construction (see section 3.1).
- 3 **h** The meaning of the name **הַיְהוּם** is unknown. Possibly, it is structured by a *qal*-base *\*hoh-* with an enclitic *-m* or derived from a triradical root *\*hhm* (Layton, *Archaic Features*, 182). Accordingly, the name could be a pun of **הַרְהַם** in 10:10a, saying that this king will be confused. It is also suggested that the name reflects the Hurrian *hub(h)a*, 'grandfather'. But in that case, the vowel shift from *ā* to *ō* and the possible addition of an *-am* suffix are definitely Canaanite (Hess, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names', 209). **i** When **פְּרָאם** is derived from the West Semitic root *pr*, which appears in Hebrew as **פְּרָא**, it means 'wild ass' (Layton, *Archaic Features*, 179; D.G. Schley, 'Piram', *ABD*, vol. 5, 373). However, there seems to be almost no evidence for the use of this root in West Semitic personal names. Therefore, Hess proposes to relate the name to the Hurrian *pir*, 'freeman, noble' (Hess, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names', 209). **j** The name **יַפִּיעַ**, which also occurs in 2 Sam. 5:15 // 1 Chron. 3:7, is an abbreviated form, because it misses the theophoric element. It is constructed by an imperfect of the verb **פָּיַע**, and means 'may he (the deity) cause to shine forth' (Noth, *Personennamen*, 204, 28-9; *HALOT*, 424; J.D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Biblical Hebrew. A Comparative Study* [JSOTS, 49], Sheffield 1988, 149, 168). **k** As a name, **דְּבִיר** occurs only here. But when it is indeed a name, it is most probably an abbreviated form, derived from the Semitic root *dibrī*, 'to lead', which is best be interpreted as 'led by him (the deity)' (Hess, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names', 208). **l** LXX has  $\Delta\alpha\beta\iota\rho\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \text{Οδολλαμ}$ . It seems probable that the greater familiarity with Adullam induced LXX to read this, rather than the less familiar Eglon. According to James Barr, the name Debir and the differences between MT and LXX show that the kings and cities listed in Joshua 10 and 12 are the product of a complicated process of combination, harmonization and revision of traditions (J. Barr, 'Mythical Monarch Unmasked? Mysterious Doings of Debir king of Eglon', *JSOT* 48 [1990], 66). But this is unlikely, as will be argued in section 3.1.
- 4 **m-m** Fragment 18 of 4QJosh<sup>a</sup>, which together with fragment 17 contains a fraction from 10:2b-5c, reads **וַיָּאֵת יִשְׂרָאֵל**, 'and with Israel' (Ulrich, Cross [eds], *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 151, Plate XXXIV).
- 5 **n** It seems that LXX altered the designation **מַלְכֵי הָאֲמֹרִי** into  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \text{Ἰεβουσαίων}$ , because of the fact that the story is situated in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. **o-o** **וַיִּלְחֲמוּ** uses the *niphcal* for a reciprocal construction, in which the action in concert is directed outward (*WO* § 23.4e).
- 6 **p** LXX translates  $\text{οἱ κατοικοῦντες}$ . BHS **a** suggests this is presupposing a *Vorlage* that reads **יֹשְׁבֵי**, like in MT 10:1d and 11:19b, but there is also a possibility of a harmonization, cf. 10:1d. Anyway, the distinction in MT between **אֲנָשִׁי** and **יֹשְׁבֵי** fits the military context, for Israel made peace with the *citizens* of Gibeon (10:1 and 11:19b [omitted in LXX]), while the *men* of Gibeon are in charge of military affairs (10:2d; 10:6a).

- 8 **q-q** גזרים is a *perfectum declarativum* (Berg., Bd. 2, § 6e).
- 9 **r-r** 9b functions as an adverbial accusative noun-clause (*WO* § 38.8d). The verb in this clause is a perfect, because it represents a 'repeated or continuous action, treated as if it were unique or instantaneous' (*J-M* § 111e). **s-s** Although it is hard to see, fragment 20 of 4QJosh<sup>a</sup>, seems to read the more neutral verb הלך, in stead of the characteristic עלה (Ulrich, Cross [eds], *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 151-2, Plate XXXIV; for a reconstruction of the column, see Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 514-6).
- 10 **t-t** Due to the singular forms in the vocalization of MT, the text is ambiguous about the question who is the subject of ויכח and of the next verbs, YHWH or Israel. With respect to the first verb, LXX chooses for YHWH and Pesh. for Israel. Targ. offers both possibilities by maintaining a singular form. In their translation of וירפם in 10c, the original Greek translation, as well as Pesh. and part of the Targum tradition use plural forms. But in the case of ויכח in 10d, the differences concerning 10b re-emerge (cf. BHS a-b). Apparently, some of the *versiones antiquae* trying to avoid to depict YHWH as hunting for Israel's opponents, probably by reading the singular form in their *Vorlage* as a collective. However, a change in subject from 10a to 10b or from 10b to 10c is not necessary. Moreover, 10:11a-14c can be read as an exploration of YHWH's pursuit of the enemies. Therefore, it seems that LXX is correct in its interpretation.
- 11 **u** According to some interpreters of 4QJosh<sup>a</sup>, the adjective גרלות is omitted in this manuscript, because of the lack of space between the fragments 22 and 21 (Ulrich, Cross [eds], *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 152, Plate XXXIV; Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 514). MT is supported by the *versiones antiquae*. **v-v** The relatives introduced by אשר are so-called 'independent relatives', because they are not related to anything and are part of the larger sentence, in this case the nominal clause ruled by רבים (*WO* § 19.1d).
- 12 **w** The construction ו + *yiqtol* + *wayyiqtol* introduces an explanatory, stative situation in the past (*GesK.* § 107c; *WO* § 33.3.3b). Similar constructions with ו, also introducing a poetic fragment, are found in e.g. Exod. 15:1 and Num. 21:17 (cf. Ps. 2:5).

The problem in this verse is where this fragment begins and where it ends. According to some scholars, it starts already in 10:12b so that a six-line poem ending in 10:13d encloses two syntactically independent parts of three lines. In this view, YHWH could also be the subject of 10:12c, because LXX would reflect a tradition dating from the late monarchy with Joshua as the speaker (Boling, *Joshua*, 282-3, followed by *WO* § 13.7b). From a syntactical point of view, however, a change in subject from 10:12b to 10:12c is not to be expected, because 10:12c seems to be an interpretative elaboration of 10:12a, offering an explanation of ו (WO § 33.3.3) and containing an allusion to 3:7 and 4:14 (cf. Deut. 31:7; 34:12). Furthermore the naming of Joshua in LXX seems due to the fact that it has a plus between 10:12b and 10:12c (see annotation 10:12x). Therefore, the syntactical construction with ו in 10:12a-c leaves only one opportunity for the beginning of the poetic fragment, namely 10:12d. With respect to its end other scholars state that the reference to ספר הישר in 10:13e is not original, because it is omitted in LXX and was later introduced on the basis of 2 Sam. 1:18 (A.G. Auld, 'Joshua: the Hebrew and Greek Texts', in: J.A. Emerton [ed.], *Studies in the His-*

*torical Books of the Old Testament* [VTS, 30], Leiden 1979, 13). In that case, the poetic lines could end just before 10:14c, which is paralleled in prose in 10:42c (B.J. Alfrink, ‘Het “stil staan” van zon en maan in Joz. 10:12-15’, *Studia Catholica* 24 [1949], 255-6). But this is not very likely. The phrase *לפניו ואחריו* has to be left out of 10:14a to make it look like poetry and *ספר הישר* is in 2 Sam. 1:18 introduced by *הנה* (ἰδοὺ, LXX) and not by *הלא־היא*, a difference which would ask for an explanation if the citation in Joshua is dependent on that in Samuel. So there seems to be no sufficient reason to delete 10:13e. Finally, the other 33 times the phrase *הלא כהב* refers to a historiographical source it is never used to introduce a quotation, but only to close the description of the reign of a king. When it is followed by a remark, this always comprises a summarizing or interpretative comment of the implied narrator (e.g. 1 Kgs 11:41; 14:29; 15:7, 23, 31 etc. 2 Chron. 9:29; 12:15; 25:26; Est. 10:2). Consequently, the poem runs from 10:12d to 10:13d.

Another question is how to arrange the poetic lines. According to some scholars, a few vocals, syllables or words are to be changed *metri causa*: in 10:12e the copula of *יררה* is deleted and *בעמק* vocalized as *בַּעֲמֻק*, the article of *השמש* in 10:13a is omitted (J.S. Holladay, ‘The Day(s) the Moon Stood Still’, *JBL* 87 [1968], 168) or *עמד* in 10:13b is left out (Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 65). But this is not convincing. Although progress has been made, there is no consensus in biblical scholarship concerning the question how classical Hebrew poetry behaves with respect to metre and numbers of syllables. As a result, to establish the text on the basis of metre is unsatisfactory from a methodological point of view. It is more appropriate to create a division into cola by taking a look at the poetic forms such as word-pairs, parallels and chiasms. These elements appear in the middle of the poem, in 10:13ab, creating an internal parallelism by the chiasmic use of the nouns *שמש* and *יררה*, and the verbs *דמם* and *עמד* (cf. W.G.E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry. A Guide to Its Techniques* [JSOTS, 26], Sheffield 1984, 182). Accordingly, 10:12d forms a parallel with 10:12e because of *שמש* and *יררה* and by the geographical designations *בנבעון* and *אילון*. In this light, it is doubtful whether BHS is correct in adding 10:13cd to 10:13ab as the third part of a tricolon. It is more reasonable to read these lines as a third bicolon (thus e.g. Holladay, ‘The Day(s) the Moon Stood Still’, 168; P.D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* [HSM, 5], Cambridge, MA 1973, 123). x LXX reads in addition: ἡμίκα συνέτριψεν αὐτοὺς ἐν Γαβαῶν καὶ συνέτριβήσαν ἀπὸ προσώπου υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ. Possibly its *Vorlage* had *בירד ישראל במכתם בנבעון ויכם* between *את־האמרי* and the expression *בני ישראל לפניו*, which was lost by MT due to *homoiooteleuton*, that is, *ישראל*. In that case, the translation should be: ‘On the day YHWH handed the Amorites over to the Israelites, defeating them in Gibeon, and they were defeated before the Israelites, Joshua spoke to YHWH’. y Three of the four articles in the poetic lines are missing, probably because the text is archaic (*WO* § 13.7b). z The verb *דמם* means ‘to be silent’, ‘to be still’, ‘to be astounded’ and metaphorically it means ‘to stand still’, ‘to hold’ (*HALOT*, 226). According to some interpreters this implies that the imperative is to be translated by ‘remain dark’, thus creating the possibility for all kind of atmospheric, meteorological or astronomic explanations of the passage, such as clouds, a solar eclipse or a rain of meteorites (e.g. Alfrink, ‘Het “stil staan” van zon en maan’, 263; Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 65). This

translation is first of all questionable from a philological point of view, because it is open to discussion whether 'to be silent' can mean 'to remain dark'. It definitely fails, however, in the light of 10:13b, where its direct parallel is עמד, 'stand in position' or 'remain standing', 'be motionless' (*HALOT*, 840-1). So as in 1 Sam. 14:9 these verbs only articulate that some people or things – in this case sun and moon – hold their position (cf. Boling, *Joshua*, 284; Nelson, *Joshua*, 142). In 10:12d דמה seems to precede the more unequivocal עמד because of the assonance with נבעון and rhyme with אילון.

- 13 **aa** With the conjunction ער the *yiqtol* is used for a past action with a modal nuance of purpose (*J-M* § 113k). **bb** What is the subject of יקם in 10:13c? LXX has ὁ Θεός and consequently seems to take YHWH as its subject, but this is not certain because all the other *versions* follow MT and Θεός could be an inner-Greek corruption for ἕθνος (Auld, 'Joshua: the Hebrew and Greek Texts', 13). In this light, it is not surprising that many interpreters take ניי as the subject (e.g. M. Görg, *Josua* [NEB], Würzburg 1991, 50). Others reject this solution, because it would be a rare designation for Israel. This argument falls short, however, because within the context of the Book of Joshua, it is used like in 3:17; 4:1; 5:6, 8 (cf. Butler, *Joshua*, 112; R.E. Clements, ניי, *ThWAT*, Bd. 1, 970-3). According to Peels, the real problem with ניי as the subject is that it presupposes a reflexive-medial meaning of נקם, *qal* – which is possible, but not attested elsewhere in the Old Testament. Some scholars solve this difficulty by adding the preposition לנין to ניי on the basis of haplography, assuming that Joshua is the subject (e.g. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 65). This seems to be the best interpretation, although the emendation is unnecessary. The line can be read as a shortened formulation (as in Num. 31:2, cf. Judg. 16:28), while ניי איבוי designates the enemy troops (Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, 123; Boling, *Joshua*, 284; H.G.L. Peels, *The Vengeance of God. The Meaning of the Root NQM and the Function of the NQM-texts in the Context of Divine Revelation in the Old Testament* [OTS, 31] Leiden etc. 1995, 89). **cc** The third person singular pronoun feminine serves as a *neutrum* referring in a general sense to the idea contained in the preceding sentence (*GesK.* § 135p; *WO* § 16.3.5b). **dd-dd** The interrogative הלא expresses the conviction that the content of the statement is well known to the hearer (*GesK.* § 150e; *J-M* § 161c).
- 15 **ee-ee** The most important witnesses of LXX miss the verses 15 and 43 (for details, see M.L. Margolis, E. Tov, *the Book of Joshua in Greek*, Paris 1931-1932, 1992, 181, 205). Many scholars agree that they were added later. They interpret the verses as inadequate glosses seeking to understand where Joshua received the report with which the next unit begins (Boling, *Joshua*, 277) or as a later tradition that tied the entire tradition to Gilgal (Auld, 'Joshua: the Hebrew and Greek Texts', 11-2). Both solutions, however, do not reckon with the fact that LXX initially has to be interpreted on its own terms. In this case it means that the special interest of LXX in military affairs and the fact that it knows only one camp, namely that at Gilgal, have to be taken into account (see the annotations 9:2d-d and 10:21ii-ii). In addition, 10:15a is an obvious example of a *lectio difficilior*, which could already have been a problem for the translators of LXX (R. de Vaux, *Histoire ancienne d'Israël, t. 1. Des origines à l'installation en Canaan*, Paris 1971, 576). Therefore, it was suggested that verse 15 is still part of the quotation from ספר הישר, thus anticipating verse 43 (C.F. Keil, *Josua, Richter und*

*Ruth* [BCAT, II/1], Leipzig 1874<sup>2</sup>, 81); that it is an original announcement clearly disconnecting the tradition of the battle at Gibeon from the story about the kings in the cave of Makkeda (Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 60, 65); or that it is a product of the deuteronomic editor of the book marking the end of the first and the third narrative of chapter 10 (Görg, *Josua*, 51; K. de Troyer, 'Did Joshua have a Crystal Ball? The Old Greek and the MT of Joshua 10:15, 17 and 23', in: S.M. Paul *et al.* [eds], *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [VTS, 94], Leiden etc. 2003, 587-8). These explanations do not suffice too. The first presupposes a comment in prose in a book that is only known from poetic fragments (cf. 2 Sam. 1:18) and the second and third do not take into consideration that the repetition of 10:15a in 10:43a at first instance asks for a compositional answer on a synchronical level. More promising in this respect is Younger's idea of 10:15a and 10:43a being an inclusion. In his view this means that 10:43a is a 'resumptive repetition', telling that 16a-42c is a simultaneous section (Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 380-1). The question, however, is: simultaneous to what? The content of 10:16a-27f and 10:28a-39g evidently extends the geographical limits of 10:10d and the 'long day' has in any case ended in 10:32b. Therefore, it is more appropriate to read 10:15a as an explicit narrational foretelling, presenting the conclusion of the great defeat of the Amorite coalition at Gibeon that is repeated in 10:43a. In this way, the text makes room for the stories about the two questions that remain to be answered after the defeat of the Amorite coalition: what happens to the kings and what to their lands? For an excursus on the phenomenon of the narrational foretelling in the Book of Joshua, especially in chapter 9, see section 4.1.

- 16 **ff** The article in *במערה* marks the cave 'definite in the imagination', that is, it is understood to be present (cf. 10:27ef). The proper English rendering is indefinite, because the cave is not mentioned before (*WO* § 13.5.1e).
- 19 **gg-gg** The meaning of *זיב*, *pi*, is uncertain, for it is only attested in Deut. 25:8 and in this particular verse. It means literally something as 'smite the rear', that is, 'the tail' (*זיב*). But what does that mean? 'Attack the rear' (*HALOT*, 274), 'massacre rearguard' or 'cut off retreat'? (*DCH*, vol. 3, 120, after a suggestion of Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 58). Here, the last translation is chosen, because of the context which explicitly says that it has to be prevented that the enemy reach the cities.
- 21 **hh-hh** LXX omits a translation of *אליה מחנה*. This could be a case of *homoioarkton*, for 'to Joshua' also starts with *אלי*. However, it remains important to acknowledge that Joshua LXX in fact knows only one camp, namely that at Gilgal, which also affects the translation of 8:13; 10:15a, 43a; and 18:9 (cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 17-8). **ii-ii** The adverbial used *לאיש* strengthens *לאחרן* and stresses the completeness of victory like *עדיהם* in 10:20b and *מהם* in 10:20c. **jj** Literally 'sharpened the tongue' or 'barked' (cf. Exod. 11:7).
- 22 **kk-kk** LXX does not seem to translate *אלי*, just as the introductory formula of obedience *כן ויעשו* and *אליו* in verse 23. According to Butler, this indicates that these words have been added as the tradition underscored the authority of Joshua (Butler, *Joshua*, 110). However, there is no sufficient reason for this hypothesis. LXX differs in many ways with MT (for a short overview, see Butler, *Joshua*, 110-1), from here to the end of chapter 10. But the main reason for these differences is that the high-redundant and iterative narrative is full of small

- variations which are typical for ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts, but very problematic for every translator and reader, who – as LXX and modern literary criticism – is trying to regularize and complete the text's formulaic expressions (Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 226-8). See further section 4.4 and 5.3.
- 23 **ll-ll** See annotation 10:22kk-kk.
- 24 **mm-mm** In **ההלכויא** the article serves as a relative marker (*WO* § 19.7c, cf. *J-M* § 145d, note 1, where it is stated that this use of the relative is incorrect in 10:24c).
- 26 **nn-nn** Translation of the combination of **נכה** and **מורת**, *hi*. The same combination occurs in 11:17de (with **מורת**, *qal* in Num. 35:16, 17, 18, 21, 23-24).
- 27 **oo-oo** Translation due to the difference between **הים ההוא** and **הים הזה** in 10:28a and 10:27f (*J-M* § 143k). It is notable that besides 5:11 and 10:27f the term **עצם**, 'bone', only occurs as an expression of complete temporal agreement in specific texts in the Pentateuch (e.g. Gen. 7:13; 17:23, 26; Exod. 12:17, 41, 51; Lev. 23:21, 28-31; Deut. 32:48), in Ezekiel (Ezek. 2:3; 24:2; 40:1).
- 33 **qq-qq** **אז** is rarely used with the perfect (*Berg.*, Bd. 2, § 7g), but if so, it mostly points to something taking place at the time of the narrative and is consequently translated by 'meanwhile' (*Gib* § 62). **rr** The name **הרם**, which means 'mountain', or as a shortened form '(the deity) is a rock', is derived from the West Semitic root *hr* and includes the Canaanite vowel shift from *ā* to *ō* and the suffix *-am* (Layton, *Archaic Features*, 173; Hess, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names', 207). Parallels of **הרם** appear throughout the second and first millennium in personal names (Cf. R.S. Hess, 'Haran', *ABD*, vol. 3, 57-8; Idem, *Studies in the Personal Names of Genesis 1-11* [AOAT, 234], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1993, 92-4). **ss-ss** **השאיר** in this verse, in 8:22; 11:8f; Num. 21:35; Deut. 3:3 and 2 Kgs 10:11 could be read as a perfect, which is to be translated by 'until he left none of them remaining as survivor' (*Berg.*, Bd. 2, § 19l). In that case the phrase would highlight Joshua's and Israel's obedience to the law, like is done in 10:28d, 30c, 37c, 39d, 40c, cf. 11:14c and Deut. 2:34 (cf. *GesK* § 53l). However, it is more likely to explain the *i* as a weakening of the *a*, so that the conjunction **עד-בלתי** is followed by an infinitive construct. Therefore, MT is maintained and translated by 'until no survivor was left for him/them' (*GesK* § 164d; *J-M* § 54c). As a result, **השאיר** has a more neutral meaning, like **לא-נותר** in 11:11b, 22a, and therefore does not emphasize Israel's obedience, but merely the fulfilment of YHWH's promise of victory, as is the case in 11:8f.
- 40 **tt** The imperfect is used as a conclusion (*J-M* § 118i). **uu** Omitted in LXX.
- 41 **vv-vv** LXX and Vulg. do not translate **ויכם**. According to some scholars, 10:41b originally followed 10:40e and the insertion of **ויכם** is a matter of later amplification of MT (Butler, *Joshua*, 111; Nelson, *Joshua*, 138). But it can also be a classic example of haplography in the *Vorlage* or in the translation, due to **ויכום** in 10:39b.
- 43 **ww-ww** This verse is lacking in some of the *versiones*. For an explanation, see annotation 10:15ee-ee.
- 11:1 **a** The name **יבין** is an abbreviated form, an imperfect like **יבנע**, derived from **בנה** 'may (the deity) build (a family)' (cf. Noth, *Personnamen*, 212-3), or **בין**, 'may (the

- deity) pay attention to' (Hess, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names', 207). **b** In the Old Testament **יִבּוֹב** appears as the name of descendants of Abraham (Gen. 36:33-34 // 1 Chron. 1:44-45) and Benjamin (1 Chron. 8:9, 18). The meaning and origin of the name are unknown, but the suggestion that it can be analyzed as Luwian *(a/i)ya-pa(m)pa* (Mendenhall, *Tenth Generation*, 166), is improbable, due to associations of the name with the desert in the Old Testament texts. Another proposal is that it is derived from a Semitic root *wbb*, which could mean 'to prepare themselves for the battle' (Noth, *Personennamen*, 226; cf. R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy and Prosography* [OLA, 28], Leuven 1988, 158-9). It can be doubted, however, that *wbb* makes a cognate with *ebibu*, which presupposes a prima laryngeal or a pharyngeal. **c** LXX<sup>B</sup> spells Madon as Μαδρων, like 12:20 MT. This reading would fit 11:5c, 7a, according to which the battle occurred **עַל־אֵלֵי־מֵרֹם**, 'at the waters of Merom'. Although LXX<sup>A</sup> supports MT, extra-biblical sources confirm the spelling 'Maron' and thus suggest the original **ר** being exchanged by an **ר**. Maron can be interpreted as a by-form of Marom, 'height', which is common in the toponymic tradition of the second millennium BCE (for details, see Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 24, and the comments on 11:8b in section 2.2). **d** **שִׁמְרוֹן** is also attested in 12:20a and 19:15. However, LXX<sup>B</sup> reads **שִׁמְרוֹן** and seems to presuppose the spelling **שִׁמְרוֹן**, like the attestations of the name in Execration Text no. 55, in texts of the pharaohs Thutmoses III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, and in *EA* 225:4 do. Therefore, it is logical to assume that as in the case of **מֵרֹם**, LXX<sup>B</sup> preserves the original reading, although it is unknown why Shim'on altered into Shimron (A.F. Rainey, 'Shim'ôn - Shimrôn', *TA* 3 [1976], 57-9; S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, Leiden 1984, 182-3; Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 26).
- 2 **e** LXX presupposes a *Vorlage* that reads **בְּנֵי־דֹר** (cf. BHS **ד**) and thus changes the geographical position of the kings from the Jordan Valley south of Kinnereth to the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. However, MT makes perfect sense, for it contrasts north (**בְּצִפּוֹר**) and south (**בְּנֵי־דֹר**). **f** **נִפְתָּה** is often translated as 'height' or 'hilly hinterland'. The context of the singular construct form **נִפְתָּה**, which is attested in 12:23 and 1 Kgs 4:11, shows that it designates a region (cf. 12:22a, 23b). The term itself is suggested being an Aegean loanword meaning 'a forest in the plain', designating the woods of the Sharon (M. Ben-Dov, 'נִפְתָּה - A Geographical Term of Possible "Sea People" Origin', *TA* 3 [1976], 70-3). However, this interpretation is doubtful from a philological point of view, for it is most likely derived from the verb **נִיף**, 'shake' or 'wave'. Apart from that it is clear that the **נִפְתָּה דֹר** and the Sharon are not identical (12:18 LXX, cf. *BDB*, 633; *HALOT*, 708; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 185; Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible*, Jerusalem, etc. 1986, 60). Probably, the matter can be solved from a geographical point of view, because of the characteristic dune area around Dor. In that case, a translation 'the dune area of Dor', though hypothetical, is possible.
- 3 **g** In 11:8d **הַמְצִפָּה** is vocalized as **מְצִפָּה**, but as Noth argues, both places are 'ge-wiß identisch' (Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 62).
- 5 **h** At 11:5c, 7a BHS **א** points at the fact that several manuscripts and *versiones antiquae* do exchange the prepositions **עַל** and **אֵל**, but this is not surprising, for both verbs go with both prepositions. **i** The translation of **יָעַד** by 'assembled by

- appointment' fits the context and is paralleled by 2 Sam. 20:5; Ps. 48:4; Neh. 6:2; Job 2:11; Amos 3:3 (cf. *BDB*, 416).
- 6 **j** The temporal adverb **כעת היזאת** and the object complement **חללים** stress the result of YHWH's act of handing over the enemies: they will be dead men (*Gib* § 92d). Therefore, **אנכי נתן חללים** is translated by 'I will have them all lying slain'.
- 7 **k** The precise meaning of the verb **נפל**, 'fall' in the Book of Joshua has to be determined by the context. It can just mean 'fall down' (5:14; 6:5, 20; 7:6, 10), but it also stands for 'to die, to be killed' (8:24, 25), 'surprise, fall upon' (2:9; 11:7b), or 'fail' (21:45; 23:14). In a few cases, the verb is used in the context of dividing the land, designating the falling of **חבל**, the rope used by casting the lots (13:6d; 17:5; 23:4; Num. 34:2, cf. Ps. 16:6; 78:55; Isa. 34:17; Mic. 2:5). This use of **נפל** is almost synonym to the verb **חלק**, which is attested more often in combination with **גורל** (18:10; 19:51; Num. 26:55-56). In the historiography of the settlement, the noun **גורל** itself further occurs with verbs as **נתן** (21:8; Num. 36:2), **עלה** (18:11; 19:10; Judg. 20:19), **חלק** (18:10; 19:51; Num. 26:55-56), **ירד** (18:6, 8); **שלך** (18:10), **יציא** (19:1, 17, 24, 32, 40; 21:4), and **היה** (21:10). **I LXX** adds the adverbial clause **ἐν τῇ ὄρει**, 'from the mountains'. Some state that this presupposes a *Vorlage* reading **בהר** (J.A. Soggin, 'On Joshua 11,7', *BiOr* 29 [1975], 227-8). But this is unlikely, for it may have arisen in confusion with the preceding **בהם** or it could be that the translator had some difficulty with the general and all-inclusive character of the narrative and therefore tried to make it more concrete, as is the case in 11:14 (see annotation 11:14n).
- 8 **m** See annotation 10:33ss-ss.
- 14 **n-n** **LXX** makes the text more concrete by translating **האלה הערים** 'all the spoil of these cities', with **καὶ πάντα τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῆς**, 'all its (i.e. Hazor) spoil'.
- o-o** See annotation 10:33ss-ss.
- 15 **p-p** **LXX** translates **συπέταξε αὐτῷ Μωυσῆς**, 'Moses commanded him', probably because the translator hesitated to give the last command to Moses instead of to YHWH (Butler, *Joshua*, 123).
- 16 **q** In the historiography of the settlement, the military use of the verb **לקח** has three dimensions: it designates the taking of booty (6:18; 7:21, 23, 24; Num. 31:11) of cities and lands (11:16a, 19c, 23a; Num. 21:26; Deut. 3:4, 8, 14), and the taking/receiving of land or cities as an inheritance (13:8; 18:7; Num. 21:26; 34: 14, 15, 18; Deut. 29:8). The emphasis is on the result: now these men, land or goods are a new possession for the one who takes it (cf. H. Seebaß, *ThWAT*, Bd. 4, 589).
- 17 **r-r** See annotation 10:26nn-nn.
- 19 **s** According to BHS **h**, many manuscripts and Targ. read **את**. Indeed, the verb **שלם** goes with the preposition **את** (10:1, 4; 1 Sam. 10:19) or with **עם** (Deut. 20:12; 1 Kgs 22:45; 1 Chron. 19:19), and only here with **אל**. But the statistics are not so overwhelming that the text should be changed.
- 20 **t-t** A combination of **היה** and **ל** + infinitive construct, literally meaning 'from YHWH was the hardening of their hearts', by one grammarian rendered as 'it was decided by YHWH that he would harden their hearts' (*Berg.*, Bd. 2, § 11m). But this seems to be an overtranslation (cf. e.g. *WO* § 36.2.6b; 38.8b).
- 21 **u** The use of the verb **כרת** is quite unique in expressing the elimination of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the promised land. It also occurs in this sense, just as

שמר, *hi.* with both Israel and YHWH as subject, in 23:4 and in Deut. 7:2; 12:29; 19:1. A similar use is more often attested in Judges and in the books of Samuel and Kings (e.g. Judg. 4:24; 1 Sam. 20:15; 28:8; 2 Sam. 7:9; 1 Kgs 11:16; 14:10; 22:21; 2 Kgs 9:7-8). The verb often bares cultic associations. **v** Etymologically, עַנְקִיָּם is perhaps to be understood as ‘neck-chain people’, after עַנֵּק, ‘neck-chain’ (HALOT, 859), but this seems to be a *pseudogentilicium* (Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 92). **w** Literally ‘them along with their cities’, with עִם in its common sense with involves addition (WO § 11.2.14b).

- 12:1 **a** The verb יָרַשׁ, *qal*, ‘to take possession of’ or ‘to oust someone of his possession, to dispossess’ (BDB, 440; HALOT, 441) is a natural and important means in the historiography of the settlement to describe that Israel takes possession of the land, whether it is used in promises, commands or in descriptions of the actual settlement itself (1:11, 15; 13:1d; 18:3; 19:47; 21:43; 23:5; 24:4, 8; cf. e.g. Gen. 15:8; Num. 27:11; 33:53; Deut. 1:8; 2:12; 11:31; Judg. 2:6). **b** Lists of names are prone to scribal error and cause difficulties in translation. In this chapter, LXX for instance contains a series of mistakes, although LXX<sup>B</sup> also preserves a few ancient names (cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 20-6). In this verse LXX has τῆς γῆς Ἀραβα, but it more often has trouble in understanding the designation עַרְבָּה, cf. LXX 4:13, 8:14; 11:16b; 13:32; 18:18.
- 2 **c** The verb יָשַׁב means ‘to reside’ in this context, for 12:2a and 12:4b, 5a seem to state that the thrones of Sihon and Og were seated in Heshbon and in Ahstaroth and Edrei. For the active meaning of the saying that a king is ‘sitting’ (יָשַׁב) on his throne, see 1 Kgs 1:46; 2 Kgs 11:19; Amos 1:5, 8 (cf. M. Görg, יָשַׁב, *ThWAT*, Bd. 3, 1023-4). **d-d** The Hexaplaric Greek witnesses seem to have read עַר in their *Vorlage*, but MT clearly contains a *lectio difficilior* (for details, see Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 22). As a result, Gilead was divided into two parts and Og’s dominion reached southward to the boundary of Sihon’s half of Gilead (e.g. Nelson, *Joshua*, 158).
- 3 **e** The term תִּימָן, ‘south’, is missing from the parallel phrase in Deut 3:17. Here it stands in opposition to מִזְרָחָה, ‘east’, in 12:3b (Butler, *Joshua*, 132-3).
- 4 **f** With respect to נִבְּוִל, the translation ‘territory’ and not the other meaning of the term, ‘border’, fits the context (cf. M. Ottoson, נִבְּוִל, *ThWAT*, Bd. 1, 899-900; S. Mittmann, ‘*ûgebûl* – “Gebiet” oder “Grenze”’, *JNSL* [1991], 40; J.C. de Vos, *Das Los Judas. Über Entstehung und Ziele der Landbeschreibung in Josua 15* [VTS, 95], Leiden etc. 2003, 111-5). LXX clearly contains a harmonizing reading (cf. 12:2a).
- 5 **g** LXX<sup>B</sup> reads ‘Girgashites’.
- 6 **h-h** Omitted in LXX and Vulg., probably due to its attestation in 12:6a.
- 16 **i** Omitted in LXX, perhaps because of previous mention, but it is unlikely that this tradition preserved the original reading, for 12:9a does not name Bethel’s king.
- 18 **j-j** With LXX לְשָׂרֹן is evidently to be understood as the region name Sharon with the preposition ל. Therefore, מֶלֶךְ אֶפְקֵי לְשָׂרֹן אֶחָד was the original reading (for the Greek translations, see Margolis, *Joshua in Greek*, 237; Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 25-6).
- 20 **k** Shim’on and Maron are two separate cities, see the annotations 11:1c and 11:1d.

- l See annotation 11:1c.
- 22 **m** LXX names Kedesh before Taanach in 12:21a.
- 23 **n** LXX<sup>b</sup> has βασιλέα Γωμ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ‘the king of Goim of Galilee’, most likely a translation of מלך גוים לגליל אחר. This seems to be the correct reading, since in the list, the designations for districts go with the preposition ל in 12:18b\*, 22b, 23a, unlike the place name added in 12:9a. Moreover, the list goes north, while there seems to be no place called Goim in Galilee (cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 27).
- 24 **o** According to its number, MT has thirty-one and LXX twenty-nine. But according to our textual critical reconstruction, a conventional number of thirty is the outcome. Other attestations of this number can be found in 2 Sam. 23; Prov. 22:20.
- 13:1 **a-a** זקנתה is not translated in LXX, probably due to haplography. Theoretically, it is also possible that the word represents a later addition to achieve exact correspondence with 13:1a (Butler, *Joshua*, 145). However, this cannot be argued convincingly and therefore MT is followed.
- 3 **b** In reference to localities ‘near, close by, in the vicinity of, in the region of’ seems to be the most appropriate translation of על-פני (J.F. Drinkard, ‘*al pēnē* as “east of”’, *JBL* 98 [1979], 285-6). Here, the expression is paraphrased by ‘before’ because of the geographical position of שיהור (cf. the geographical excursus ‘Southern Remaining Land’ in section 3.5 at 13:3a). **c-c** Some state that the phrase לכנעני תחשב is somewhat loose from a syntactical point of view (e.g. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 75). This, however, is not the case when the phrase is understood as a parenthetic clause describing the southern remaining land of 13:3ab according to the same characteristic as is used in 13:4a in relation to the remaining land in the north. Consequently, the Philistines and Awites are said to be ‘counted as’ Canaanites, but they are not necessarily equated to them. This is expressed by the addition ‘but ruled by’.
- 4 **d** מרחימן belongs to the previous line as becomes clear from Deut. 2:23 and the *versiones*. **e** The geographical designation מערה is difficult to understand as can be seen from the vocalization of MT and the translation of LXX presupposing מערה. From a textual critical point of view it is unlikely that LXX preserves the original reading, for it seems to replace an unknown geographical name by a reference to the inhabitants of Gaza in 13:3d (Boling, *Joshua*, 333; Fritz, *Josua*, 146). Although the geographical uncertainty makes a definite restoration of the text unattainable, there remain two possibilities: מִעֶרָה, ‘from Arah’ (e.g. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 70; Nelson, *Joshua*, 163), or מִמְעָרָה, ‘from Me’ara’ or ‘from the cave’ (e.g. Na’aman, *Borders & Districts*, 52). The first solution is preferred for two reasons: only the vocalization of MT is adjusted and the differences between MT and LXX are explained more easily (cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 27-8; Den Hertog, ‘Geographical Shape of the Unconquered Land’, 57, 60).
- 5 **f** The determination of יהאֶרֶץ is suspect but can be understood as interpretative: ‘the land [close to the border of the Amorites], namely that of the Gebalites’ (*GesK* § 127f). As a result, יהאֶרֶץ הגבלי belongs to the previous line (contrast e.g. Butler, *Joshua*, 151).

- 6 **g** With respect to ירש, *hi*, it is disputed whether this is to be translated by 'to disposes' and 'to drive out' (cf. annotation 12:1a) or that it means 'to destroy' (see N. Lohfink, 'Die Bedeutungen von *yrš qal* und *hi*, *BZ NF* 27 [1983], 26-33; Idem, ירש, *ThWAT*, Bd. 3, 960-2). There are a few indications in this direction: the description of violence and use of verbs of destruction in its immediate context (Exod. 15:9; Num. 24:12; Num. 33:55-56; Deut. 7:17; 9:3-5; 2 Kon. 21:2, 9) and the translation of some passages by LXX and Vulg. The problem, however, with this meaning is that it cannot be established on lexical grounds. Here in 13:6c, for instance, the combination with preposition מן makes a translation 'to drive out' preferable (see also 3:10; 23:9, cf. Exod. 34:24; Num. 32:21; 33:52; Deut. 4:38; 9:4-5; 18:12; Judg. 2:21), even in the light of the fact that שמר, *hi*, goes with this preposition as well. The only way to substantiate the translation 'to destroy, to eliminate' is by assuming a literary-historical development of the descriptions of conquest and settlement, in which a story that only referred to the supplanting of the pre-Israelite nations as 'driving them out' (גרש, 24:12, 18; Exod. 23:28-31; 33:2 34:11; Judg. 2:3, cf. H. Ringgren, גרש, *ThWAT*, Bd. 2, 72-4), was gradually transformed into a more violent portrait by the use of verbs as ירש, *hi*, שמר, *hi*, and חרם (Lohfink, ירש, 968-74; Idem, 'Kerygmata des Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks', in: J. Jeremias *et al.* (Hrsg.), *Die Botschaft und die Boten*, Neukirchen-Vluy 1981, 89-96 [= Idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur*, Bd. 2 (SBAB, 12), Stuttgart 1991, 128-137]; Idem, שמר, 192-6; Idem, חרם, *ThWAT*, Bd. 3, 208-12). This methodology, however, is questionable. Because of the mix of lexical and literary-historical study, clear evidence for the meaning 'to destroy' is absent, while the historical study already presupposes what has to be proven, namely, that the original depiction of the settlement was less violent. In addition, it must be noted that, as in the case of the analysis of the verb שמר, the detailed morphological and syntactical analyses validating this conclusion is based on a strong mechanic distinction between the acts of God and those of human beings. This distinction does not fit the general ancient Near Eastern perception of the relation between the two. Moreover, it does injustice to the natural way both ways of saying in *qal* as well as *hiph'il* are alternated in the biblical descriptions themselves (see e.g. ירש, *hi*, in Exod 15:9; Deut. 9:3-5; 11:23; Josh 3:10; 13:6c, 13; 14:12; 23:9; see also the use of גרש in e.g. Exod. 23:28-31, the command to destroy the enemy after the YHWH's promise of driving him out in Deut. 33:27, and annotation 9:24y-y). Therefore, ירש, *hi*, is translated by 'to drive out'. **h** The restrictive adverb רק (cf. *WO* § 39.3.5) is to be contrasted with אנכי in 13:6c. YHWH will drive out its inhabitants and Joshua will only have to allot land for Israel (e.g. Nelson, *Joshua*, 163). **i** For this translation of נפל see annotation 11:7k.
- 7 **j** The root חלק is used very frequently in the historiography of the settlement: as a verb it says that land (14:5) and inheritances are divided (18:2), that land is divided as an inheritance (13:7a), that land is divided by lot (18:10), and that land is divided as an inheritance by lot (19:51; Num. 26:53-56). Especially the use of the verb in 18:1-10 shows that as a *qal* חלק more implies the giving of a piece of land rather than apportioning it (cf. H.H. Schmidt, חלק, *ThHAT*, Bd. 1, 576-7). **k-k** Although the articles in השבט המנשה are somewhat surprising and may be the result of textual disturbance, they can also indicate the adjectival

force of מנשה: 'the Manassehite half tribe' (*GesK* § 125d). **l-l** LXX adds ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης κατὰ δυσμὰς ἡλίου δώσεις αὐτήν ἢ θάλασσα ἢ μεγάλη ὀριεῖ [8] ταῖς δὲ δύο φυλαῖς καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει φυλῆς Μανασση. This indicates that MT probably suffered a long haplography due to *homoioteleuton* of מנשה (BHS a). The major argument in favour of this emendation is that MT meets some serious syntactical problems in the transition from verse 7 to verse 8, while none of these difficulties seems to attach to the Hebrew text available to the Greek translators, whose translation gives the impression of being an original piece of simple drafting. So could ὀριεῖ, for example, be a translation of the nominal construction נבול, which also occurs in 13:27; 15:12; and Num. 34:6 or of the verb נבל, as in 18:20 (for a detailed discussion, see e.g. A.G. Auld, 'Textual and Literary Studies in the Book of Joshua', *ZAW* 90 [1978], 413-4 [= *Idem, Joshua Retold: synoptic perspectives* (OTS, 1), Edinburgh 1998, 19-20]; Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, t. 1, 28-30). **m-m** As a result of annotation l-l verse 7 simply comprises a command to Joshua to divide the conquered Cisjordanian land for nine and a half tribes, while verse 8 starts with the notion that the two and a half tribes who had been given land in Transjordan had already taken their inheritances. The phrase נתן אהה, reconstructed from the Greek δώσεις αὐτήν, says that the gift of the land comes after its division, while verse 8 shows that such a gift, like in Transjordan by the two and a half tribes, is followed by taking the land by the tribes themselves. The apportionment of the land in 13—19 is structured according to this pattern, for these chapters describe how the areas are assigned and to what extent the tribes succeed in settling the land. Within this pattern, the text refers three times to the example of the Transjordanian tribes (13:8, 14:3; 18:7) and the combination between the verbs נתן and לקח occurs in two of them (13:8; 18:7).

## CHAPTER 3 - KINGS, PEOPLES, AND THEIR LANDS

### 3.1 KINGS AND PEOPLES IN CISJORDAN

Israel and Joshua are in the promised land. But this land is not empty. People inhabit it and kings who will have to be defeated govern these people. According to the Book of Joshua inheriting the land presupposes the defeat of the kings and the extermination of the foreign nations. The land has to be conquered before it can be divided and settled. The close relationship between the kings and their lands in Cisjordan, which are to be inherited, is most densely referred to in the initial phrase of 12:7a: **וְאֵלֶּה מְלֹכֵי הָאָרֶץ**, 'these are the kings of the land'. The rest of the chapter elaborates on this. The land is described in 12:7bc-8a, and named by its former inhabitants in 12:8b, while the defeated kings are listed in 12:9a-24b. As a consequence, the kings, the peoples, and their lands are essential material for the text in telling the story about the fulfilment of the promise of the land.

#### Forming a Cisjordanian Front (9:1a-4a)

The first words of Joshua 9:1, **וַיִּהְיֶה כַּשְׁמַע**, 'as soon as [they] heard', are an important structural marker in the Book of Joshua. The phrase occurs several times, always at vital junctions in the development of the story.<sup>1</sup> It functions as the introductory formula of a construction that contains four elements: the phrase itself (a), the kings and peoples of Cisjordan as the subject of **שָׁמַע** (b), some of the content of the preceding story as the direct object of this verb (c), and the reactions of the subject (d). Due to the narrative function of **וַיִּהְיֶה**, 9:1 describes the spread of the rumours and the reaction of the kings as the background of what comes up next, as is the case in 5:1. There, the kings react with fear, like they had done in reaction to what previously happened in Transjordan (2:10-11). It is under this state of affairs that the events of the chapters 5—8 take place, all within the area of Gilgal, Jericho and Ai.<sup>2</sup> But at the opening of chapter 9, the construction is used to demarcate the conquest account of 9:1—13:7 from the previous chapters, for the situation changes radically.<sup>3</sup>

In the first place the limited geographical scope is widened by a description of the spread of the rumour (9:1c). This description is much more detailed than the one in 5:1. It goes all through the hill country, the Shephelah, and along the

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<sup>1</sup> 5:1; 9:1a; 10:1a; 11:1a; cf. 2:2-3, 10-11. Besides its structural meaning, the verb **שָׁמַע** stands in the Book of Joshua also in contrast with the verb **רָאָה**, 'to see': while non-Israelites *hear* about YHWH and fear him, Israel has *seen* what he has done. Therefore, they are expected to worship him even more. See 23:3; 24:7, cf. 24:31. G. Mitchell, *Together in the Land. A Reading of the Book of Joshua* (JSOTS, 134), Sheffield 1993, 144-8.

<sup>2</sup> An exception to this rule is 8:30-35, which narrates about an event in the hill country. However, within MT, this episode seems to be positioned here mainly for thematic reasons. See annotation 9:2e.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar delineation of 9—12, see Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 197-8.

entire coast of the Mediterranean Sea, up to the vicinity of the Lebanon. In this elaboration the text fixes the eye upon the country as a whole and thus raises the question: will it be taken right now or not? The following chapters are answering that question, for instance by the geographical summaries of the conquered territories (11:16a-17a; 12:7b) and in the remarks on the division of the land among the tribes (12:8a; 13:6d-7b).

The expectation that the promise of the land is about to be fulfilled is further underlined by the enumeration of the pre-Israelite nations (9:1d).<sup>4</sup> The biblical books of Exodus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges employ this list of peoples mostly within contexts that are concerned with the promise, conquest, and settlement of the land of Canaan. It is YHWH who will clear away or push back these nations; yet his people Israel will defeat and supplant them (Exod. 23:23, 29-31; Deut. 7:1). In some of these texts only YHWH's activity is mentioned (Exod. 33:2; 34:11; Josh. 3:10), others stress Israel's obligation to annihilate the foe (Deut. 20:17, cf. Josh. 12:7a-8b). This is done because of the danger of idolatry. In order to prevent spiritual contamination, the Israelites are not supposed to make any covenant with the nations, nor are they allowed to worship the heathen deities; idols and related items have to be demolished and intermarriage is out of the question (Exod. 34:12-15; Deut. 7:2-5, cf. Exod. 23:24, 32; Num. 33:55). Another reason for the extermination is the fact that the autochthonous residents of the land were immoral (Gen. 15:16; Deut. 9:4). Two premises are undergirding the usage of the list in the historiography of the settlement.<sup>5</sup> In the first place it presupposes the idea that these nations are 'sons' of 'Canaan', who is the fourth son of Ham, meaning they are living in a certain area from the days of old (Gen. 10:6, 15-19). This genealogical and territorial information is linked to the historiography of the settlement, not only by its nature as a list of 'Canaanite' peoples, but also by its own context: it reminds the reader of the story about Noah's nakedness and his cursing of Canaan (Gen. 9:18-27), Ham's fourth son. As a result, the passages suggest the war between Israel and the pre-Israelite nations echoing and carrying through the conflict between Shem and Canaan. For at the time of the conquest the 'Canaanites' have to be annihilated because of their sinful practices. The second and more positive premise that is presupposed by the list is YHWH's declaration to give the land of the nations to Abram's descendants and to bring his people into the promised land (Gen. 15:18-21; Exod. 3:8, 17; 13:5; 33:1-2). In the context of the description of the settlement, this premise is made tangible by associating the nations with geography. Within the textual unit of 9:1—13:7 this occurs not only in 11:3abc, which locates the peoples in several different regions, but also in 9:1d and 12:8b, where the list is backing a detailed geographical picture drawing the attention to the promised land as a whole: it is this land which is about to be conquered, and these peoples have to be removed from it.

<sup>4</sup> For parallels and text critical remarks, see annotation 9:2b-b.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hostetter, *Nations Mightier*, 127-32.

*Listing Pre-Israelite Nations*

The list of primeval peoples is stereotypical in some sense. To describe its character, it is important to take a look at the various uses of their names in the biblical and non-biblical texts.

The first name appearing in Joshua 9:1d are the *Hittites*. Their mentioning among the original inhabitants of the promised land firmly places them within the geographical location of Palestine. This conviction is also expressed in the genealogy of Genesis 10, which says that Heth is the son of Canaan (Gen. 10:15) and in most of the other biblical references to the חתי and בני־חתי, as is the case in the rest of the Book of Genesis and in Numbers 13:29, which locates them in the hilly areas. Besides, the term 'Hittite' is also used denoting Syria. Solomon and Jehoram have contacts with rulers over there (1 Kgs 10:29; 2 Kgs 7:6). In the historiography of the settlement, this use of the term fits the story telling how the man whom Israel spared at Bethel, went to the land of the Hittites to rebuild the city of Luz (Judg. 1:26).

In the ancient Near Eastern texts the meaning of the appellation 'Hittites' changed drastically. At first, it was the name of the original inhabitants of Anatolia, called 'Hattians', somewhere at the beginning of the second millennium BCE. Later on, the term became the designation of the Indo-Aryan immigrants who established their empire in Anatolia from the 18th century BCE on, and also in Syria as far south as the northern border of Palestine during the 14th-13th centuries. After the dissolution of this empire, the meaning of the name shifted again. In the annals of the Neo-Assyrian kings, *Hatti* is often used for the Syrian or 'Neo-Hittite' kingdoms that came into existence in areas earlier controlled by the Hittite empire. In a last phase, from the 9th or 8th century BCE on, the term became a general designation for all inhabitants of Syria-Palestine. By the middle of the first millennium BCE it had supplanted its synonym 'Amurru', that had been the general name for these peoples before this time.<sup>6</sup>

This short overview reveals that a firm connection between the biblical and non-biblical attestations of the Hittites can only be made with respect to the biblical usage of the term denoting Syria, which clearly reflects the Assyrian use of the designation *Hatti* for the 'Neo-Hittite' kingdoms. Apart from that it is very difficult to find convincing parallels for 'Hittites' in the biblical sense as an indigenous group of inhabitants of the Southern Levant. Several theories have been advanced to prove a penetration of Anatolian groups into Palestine in the second millennium BCE, but none of them has passed the test of professional Hittitology.<sup>7</sup> This

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<sup>6</sup> The use of 'Hatti' in the limited sense of 'Upper Syria' is attested by e.g. Tiglath-Pileser I, Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III and Sargon II: A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*. Vol. 2., Wiesbaden 1976, 23; 173, 176, 184; *RIMA*, vol. 3, 41, 54-5; A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. Aus Khorsabad*, Göttingen 1993, 325, 437. For a description of scholarly debate on the development of the term, see J.D. Hawkins, 'Hatti: the 1st millennium B.C.', *RLA*, Bd. 4, 152-9; H.A. Hoffner, 'The Hittites and Hurrians', in: D.J. Wiseman (ed.), *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, Oxford 1973, 197-201. In the end, the more specific meaning of 'Hatti' disappeared, probably due to the destruction of the last 'Neo-Hittite' state Hamath, in 720 BCE, cf. Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 19, 24.

<sup>7</sup> H.A. Hoffner, 'Some Contributions of Hittitology to Old Testament Study', *TynBul* 20 (1969), 28-32.

means a difficulty for scholars who want to take the biblical evidence of a native population called 'Hittites' as historical. For them, only two options are left. On the one hand, there is the possibility of them being descendants of Anatolian immigrants or fugitives which were totally assimilated to its Semitic surroundings. On the other hand it is suggested that the Semitic Palestinian Hittites and the Indo-Aryan Hittites of Anatolia only had the same name by coincidence. The first option meets the problem that it can be verified nor falsified, while the second option seems to be unlikely because of the fact that the biblical designations of the Palestinian Hittites are the same as that of the Neo-Hittites.<sup>8</sup>

In order to overcome these difficulties, another proposal was made. According to this view the biblical use of the term 'Hittite' is derived from the late Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian description of the area extending from Egypt to the Euphrates as the 'land of *Hatti*'. As a consequence, in the historiography of the settlement, the use of the terminology having to do with the primeval nations is seen as being more rhetorical and ideological than historical.<sup>9</sup> This proposal is attractive, because it offers an interpretation of the texts including the various meanings of the biblical use of the term 'Hittite' and leaving no questions about its historical origin. Nevertheless, it is not convincing. In the first place, because this view does not succeed in offering a convincing explanation for one of its consequences, namely that the biblical references to the Neo-Hittite kingdoms are historical in nature and those to the primeval nations are not. In the second place, there is no proof beyond doubt that the mentioned derivation of the term is ever attested in the biblical texts. The chief witness, Joshua 1:4, could characterize all the land from the desert to the Euphrates as the 'land of the Hittites'. But such a reading is not as obvious as it seems. The interpretative apposition כל ארץ החתים can also be understood as describing only the people of the land between the Lebanon and the Euphrates. In that case, it would be more appropriate to connect this use of the term 'Hittite' with the Assyrian labelling of the 'Neo-Hittite' kingdoms between the 11th and the 7th century BCE.<sup>10</sup> But even when the interpretation is right, the passage can hardly be used in the interpretation of other references to the Hittites, for it is not attested in LXX, and therefore could also be a late insertion or gloss.<sup>11</sup>

So in the end, it seems difficult to deny that the biblical attestations of the Hittites refer to a certain historical reality. But at the same time it has to be admitted that apart from the allusions to the 'Neo-Hittite' kingdoms, there are no ancient Near Eastern attestations capable of elucidating this antiquarian intent.

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<sup>8</sup> For a discussion, see Hoffner, 'Contributions of Hittitology', 32-7; Idem, 'Hittites and Hurrians', 213-21; Idem, 'Hittites', in: A.J. Hoerth *et al.* (eds.), *Peoples of the Old Testament World*, Grand Rapids, MI 1994, 152-4; Hostetter, *Nations Mightier*, 66-72; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 239-41 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 337-9); Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 14-6.

<sup>9</sup> J. Van Seters, 'The Term "Amorite" and "Hittite" in the Old Testament', *VT* 22 (1972), 78-81.

<sup>10</sup> Thus B. Mazar, 'Canaan and the Canaanites', *BASOR* 102 (1946), 11; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 241 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 338).

<sup>11</sup> E. Noort, 'Josua und seine Aufgabe. Bemerkungen zu Jos. 1:1-4', in: H.M. Niemann *et al.* (eds), *Nachdenken über Israel, Bibel und Theologie* (BEATAJ, 37), Frankfurt 1994, 81; Hostetter, *Nations Mightier*, 69-70.

The second group in the list of Joshua 9:1d are the *Amorites*. The biblical evidence with respect to the Amorites is not entirely consistent and it is not easy to draw parallels with the non-biblical use of the term. Most of the texts referring to **הַאֲמֹרִי** see them as one of the nations living in the promised land before Israel's arrival. This starts with the genealogy of Genesis 10 and continues to Nehemiah 9:8, that is, in those texts where the 'Amorites' are listed among the other nations. Within the land, the position of these 'Amorites' is described in various ways. According to Genesis 14:7, at least some of them lived in Hazazon-Tamar, a place somewhere in the vicinity of the Dead Sea and Judges 1:34-36 locates them in the coastal plain. More often, however, they are associated with more mountainous regions. This is done in two ways. A first group of texts offers a general description of the 'Amorites' as one of the peoples inhabiting the Cisjordanian mountains.<sup>12</sup> A second group places them in the mountains of Transjordan, because this was the territory of 'Sihon, the king of the Amorites'.<sup>13</sup> The same expression is also applied to the other Transjordanian king who was defeated by Moses, Og, king of Bashan.<sup>14</sup> In the summary of Deuteronomy 4:48 and Joshua 12:1de the Amorite territory covered the entire mountain region of Transjordan north of wadi Arnon. The upper boundary was mount Hermon, which they called Senir (Deut. 3:9). Apart from these usages of **הַאֲמֹרִי** as the name of a specific clan or ethnic group inhabiting Cis- and Transjordan, there is another collection of texts in which 'Amorite' functions as an umbrella for names which are used to label the former inhabitants of the country or as the general designation of these residents.<sup>15</sup>

It is worth considering the fact of king Og and his territory being ethnically affiliated with the Rephaites too.<sup>16</sup> This seems to complicate the picture, but it is also possible that this association bridges the gap between the different biblical traditions concerning the Amorites. The reason for this is that the texts concerning the Rephaites associate their remnants to the geographical areas of the Amorites in both Cis- and Transjordan. In the historiography of the settlement for instance, these Rephaites are pictured as a legendary people from a distant past. Some of them, also called Emites or Zamzummites, had inhabited areas later on covered by the territorial states of Moab and Ammon. Others, called Anakites, lived in cities in the Cisjordanian mountains that were ruled by the Amorite kings Sihon and Og.<sup>17</sup> At the same time two other peoples, whose displacement from more southern regions is also described, are not associated with the Rephaites: these are the Horites which were supplanted from Seir by the Edomites, and the Awites which were displaced from the southern part of the coastal plain by the Caphtorites.<sup>18</sup> So it seems that according to the biblical attestations, the Amorite territory was lim-

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Gen. 48:22; Num. 13:29; Deut. 1:7, 19, 44; Josh. 11:3b.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Num. 21; Deut. 1:4; 2:24; 3:2; Josh. 12:2; 13:10, 21; Judg. 10-11; 1 Kgs 4:19; Ps. 135:11; 136:19.

<sup>14</sup> Deut. 3:8; 4:46-47; 31:4; Josh. 2:10; 9:10a; 24:12.

<sup>15</sup> Gen. 15:15, cf. 21; Josh. 7:7; 24:8, 15, cf. 18; 2 Sam. 21:2; 1 Kgs 21:26; 2 Kgs 21:11, cf. 2, 9; Amos 2:9-10.

<sup>16</sup> Deut. 3:11, 13; Josh. 12:4a; 13:12.

<sup>17</sup> Deut. 2:9-11; 2:22; Josh. 11:21a-22b; 14:12, 15; 15:12. According to the texts the remnants of these Rephaites were still there from the time of the settlement up to the time of David, see e.g. Josh. 17:15; 2 Sam. 21:15-22.

<sup>18</sup> Deut. 2:12, 23.

ited to the mountainous plateaus of Transjordan, the hilly regions of Cisjordan, and a part of the coastal plain.<sup>19</sup>

The label אַמֻּרִי seems to be derived from the Akkadian word *amurrū*(MAR.TU). This term functioned as an ethnic and geographical designation in Mesopotamia and Assyria since the second half of the third millennium BCE. The geographical use indicated the general direction 'West', as one of the four cardinal points of the compass. The ethnic use referred to nomadic single persons or groups coming from regions outside Mesopotamia, mainly from the west, that is, the Syrian desert and steppe land. But in Syria itself, the term could not stand for the west in general or for all of the West-Semitic peoples, because it represented the typical Mesopotamian point of view. Therefore, from the 18th century BCE on, the name 'Amurru' was applied to a certain region in central Syria, and to a kingdom in this area by Egyptian sources from the late 14th and 13th centuries. This kingdom had an important position during the second half of the second millennium and became a Hittite vassal or a buffer state between the regions dominated by the Egyptians and Hittites. After its disappearance at the beginning of the 12th century BCE, the name 'Amurru' was still applied to the same area. This, however, has changed in Neo-Assyrian texts from the 9th and 8th centuries BCE. During this period, the memory of the situation during the Late Bronze Age has not yet entirely been lost. But most of the time, the term is generally used to designate the entire region of Syria-Palestine. As was noted above, this usage of the term diminished during the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, because it was supplanted by its synonym *Ḫatti*.<sup>20</sup>

Like in the case of the Hittites, it is not easy to answer the question of the exact relation between the biblical and the non-biblical attestations of the Amorites. Generally spoken, scholarship has responded in two ways. The first solution sees a connection between the biblical אַמֻּרִי and the use of the Akkadian term *amurrū* during the third and second millennium BCE. At that time Syria seemed to be the home region of the Amorites. The problem, then, is to determine when the ancestors of the biblical Amorites migrated south into the Southern Levant. It has been suggested that a migration of Amorites was a main factor of cultural change in southern Palestine: as the catalyst in the transitional period at the end of the third millennium or as the cause of the renewed urbanization at the first half of the second millennium BCE.<sup>21</sup> But there are no supporting artefactual and textual data for this hypothesis. The assumption of a rapid cultural transformation being always effected by exogenous forces led to a simplistic misinterpretation of the artefac-

<sup>19</sup> As against E.C. Hostetter, 'The Pre-Israelite Peoples of Ancient Palestine', *BZ* 38 (1994), 85; Idem, *Nations Mightier*, 51-2.

<sup>20</sup> E. Ebeling, 'Amurru', *RLA*, Bd. 1, 99-103; M. Liverani, 'The Amorites', in: Wiseman (ed.), *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, 100-23; G.E. Mendenhall, 'Amorites', *ABD*, vol. 1, 200-1. The specific meaning of 'Amurru' designating a region in central Syria is attested in texts of e.g. Tiglath-Pileser I, Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, vol. 2., Wiesbaden 1976, 23, 184; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 1, 217 (cf. *RIMA*, vol. 3, 16).

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. K.M. Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites*, London 1966, 1-52; W.H. Stiebing, 'When was the Age of the Patriarchs? - Of Amorites, Canaanites, and Archaeology', *BAR* 1/2 (1975), 17-20.

tual evidence.<sup>22</sup> With respect to the texts, the one-sided Mesopotamian view of the Amorites as nomads is taken as a point of departure, while there are also texts in which they are portrayed as citizens and peasants of urban centres in Syria like Carchemish, Aleppo, Qatna, Alalakh, and Hazor.<sup>23</sup> So the only way to hold on to this hypothesis is to admit that a definite answer to the question how the Amorites came into Palestine, eludes us.<sup>24</sup> As an historical explanation, this theory remains an option, although it is uncertain whether the broader gentile connotation of the expression for some people living west of the Euphrates remained in use during the Late Bronze Age and was applied to the population of the Southern Levant or not.<sup>25</sup>

However, there is also a second explanation, which connects the biblical use of אַמֹּרִי with the attestations of *Amurrū* from the first millennium BCE. This is a very attractive solution on the base of the evidence itself, for the only use of *Amurrū* as designating southern Palestine can be found in the Neo-Assyrian texts from the 9th and 8th centuries. This use of the term plainly parallels those biblical texts that label all the former inhabitants as Amorites.<sup>26</sup> But it is not clear how this parallel is to be interpreted. Does it mean that 'Amorite' in the Old Testament does not correspond to any political or ethnic entity in the historical past of the southern Levantine second millennium?<sup>27</sup> This thesis of אַמֹּרִי as simply an archaic un-historical name would liberate scholarship from a lot of thorny questions. But at two points it does not fit the evidence. Firstly, many of the biblical texts that refer to the Amorites suggest that they were a living reality for the reader. According to the biblical picture Israel did not totally ban the Amorites during the period of the settlement. Therefore, they had been present at the reign of David and Solomon, caused a lot trouble for the kings of Israel and Judah, and were still a dangerous factor in the present context (cf. 2 Kgs 17:8, 15; 21:2, 11). So the references to the Amorites cannot be seen as only a fiction being alien to the social context of the texts. At the same time, the references show a certain interest in the past by asso-

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land*, 169-71; Ilan, 'Dawn of Internationalism', 297.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Liverani, 'Amorites', 108-9, 114.

<sup>24</sup> K.N. Schoville, 'Canaanites and Amorites', in: Hoerth *et al.* (eds.), *Peoples*, 165.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. W.T. Koopmans, *Joshua 24 as Poetic Narrative* (JSOTS, 93), Sheffield 1990, 444-5; J.C. de Moor, *The Rise of Yahwism. The Roots of Israelite Monotheism* (BETL 91), 21997, 194.

<sup>26</sup> Van Seters, 'Amorite and Hittite', 78; Liverani, 'Amorites', 123; Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 14. Some state that it is hardly possible that the prophet Amos, who lived in the 8th century BCE, was familiar with the Neo-Assyrian usage of the term. Moreover, this derivation would not be able to explain why the term refers to people that lived a few hundred years earlier (Noth, 'Nu 21 als Glied der "Hexateuch"-Erzählung', 186; Hostetter, *Nations Mightier*, 56-7). But these objections cannot hold. The shift in meaning took place somewhere between the 11th and 9th century BCE and it is not impossible that the new sense of the term had associations with an older, inner-Palestinian use of it. See below.

<sup>27</sup> Thus Van Seters, 'Amorite and Hittite', 78; Lemche, *Canaanites and Their Land*, 78-9; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 241 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 338). Cf. K.A.D. Smelik, "'Een vuur gaat uit van Chesbon." Een onderzoek naar Num. 20:14-21; 21:10-35 en parallelplaat- sen', *ACEBT* 5 (1984), 89-90; Noort, 'Zwischen Mythos und Rationalität', 153.

ciating the Amorites with the Rephaites, whose descendants are said to have lived in the coastal plain during David's reign. This contention is confirmed by non-biblical traditions. The biblical idea of the Rephaites being a legendary race of giants existing in the distant past is in some sense paralleled by the Ugaritic notion of the Rephaites as the ancestral line of dead warriors and kings.<sup>28</sup> At last, in the historiography of the settlement there is one clear example of an allusion to the region of Amurru in its strict sense, which was so active during the Late Bronze Age, namely Joshua 13:4b.<sup>29</sup>

In summary, the biblical term 'Amorite' contains two associations: on the one hand, the expression finds its parallel in the Neo-Assyrian usage of *Amurrū* in some of the texts. On the other hand, most of the texts citing the term suggest an historical interest in a period before this usage came into being and do not use it as a general designation for the entire population of the Southern Levant. These texts apply the term to an ethnic group associated with mountainous areas, as is done from the Sumerian texts dating from the second half of the third millennium BCE down to the Late Bronze kingdom of Amurru.<sup>30</sup>

The third people mentioned in Joshua 9:1d are the *Canaanites*. The biblical references to **הַכְּנַעֲנִי** fall generally speaking in two categories. First, it is used as an ethnic designation. This usage is ambiguous. On the one hand the Canaanites are said to be one of the primeval peoples of the promised land and located near the Mediterranean Sea, along the river Jordan, and in the plains.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, the term is used as a generic name for all the inhabitants of the land.<sup>32</sup> A few passages seem to combine both uses. One of them is the already mentioned passage of Genesis 10:15-19, which signifies 'Canaan' as the father of the other peoples from the stereotypical list.<sup>33</sup> In the second category **כְּנַעֲנִי** is the technical term for a mer-

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<sup>28</sup> The classic example of this parallel is *KTU* 1:161, which refers to the circle of heroes, ancestors, and kings who are deified after their death. Isa. 14:9 seems to be an obvious allusion to this understanding of the Rephaites. It is generally accepted, both philologically as well as with respect to content, that the Ugaritic *rpum* are parallel to the **רַפְאִיִּם** in the biblical description of the settlement. But opinions diverge widely about the nature of this relation. All of these views are spread out on the spectrum between the idea of a historical memory, preserved in the biblical tradition and converted into an ancestor cult in Ugarit, and the theory of biblical writers historicizing an ancient Near Eastern mythical conception. For an overview, see O. Loretz, "Ugaritic and Biblical Literature", *Das Paradigma des Mythos von den rpum – Rephaim*, in: G.J. Brooke et al. (eds), *Ugarit and the Bible* (UBL, 11), Münster 1994, 194-5.

*KTU* 1:108 also mentions a figure *rp'u* (Rapa'u), who dwelled in *'ttrt* (Ashtarot) and *hdr'y* (Edrei). For this parallel of the biblical Og, king of Bashan, see J.C. de Moor, 'Rāpi'ūma – Rephaim', *ZAW* 88 (1976), 337-40.

<sup>29</sup> See the comments on this line in section 3.5.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Liverani, 'Amorites', 123, 126; Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 13-4.

<sup>31</sup> Num. 13:29, cf. Judg. 18:7; Deut. 1:7; 11:30; Josh. 5:1; 11:3; 16:10; 17:12-18; Judg. 3:3; 2 Sam. 24:7; 1 Kgs 9:16.

<sup>32</sup> Gen. 12:6; 24:3, 37; 50:11; Neh. 9:24; Ezek. 16:3. For a similar use in Josh. 13:3c, 4a, see the comments on these lines at the end of this section.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. also Exod. 13:11, 14, and Judges 1. In the last passage the generic name seems to function in the verses 1-20 (cf. Num. 21:1-3; 33:40), while the more specific meaning of the term is used in the description of the plains in the verses 21-36. In the expres-

chant.<sup>34</sup> In both clusters, the term is related to the geographical designation כְּנַעַן, namely 'Canaan' as the name for the promised land and for Phoenicia as a land of trade and exchange.<sup>35</sup>

The non-biblical information concerning the Canaanites is very important in elucidating the precise function of the terms 'Canaan' and 'Canaanite'. From the middle of the 18th century BCE on, attestations of Canaanites occur in cuneiform texts from Mari, Alalakh, Amarna, Hattusha, Ugarit, and Ashur, in several Egyptian inscriptions and documents, and in texts and coins from the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>36</sup> The latest texts call Phoenicia by the name 'Canaan', a tradition that came into existence during the first millennium BCE. Most of the earlier texts date from the second millennium BCE. These sources strikingly use the names in a consistent manner, that is, as a designation for a certain geographical area between Egypt and the Hittite empire. In the beginning of the 20th century CE, this led to the conclusion that the biblical attestations for Canaan and the Canaanites had something to do with these Late Bronze occurrences.<sup>37</sup> In the second half of the century this idea grew out into a consensus. Still, there were all kinds of discussions in scholarship about the relation between the different biblical descriptions of the promised land, about their historical background, and about the issue whether only a part or the whole area was called 'Canaan'.<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, the non-biblical texts offered an explanation for the fact that the inhabitants of the Southern Levant were called 'Canaanites' and also clarified the shift in the extent of 'Canaan' from a broad to a more limited geographical area. So in the end it became quite common to state that the biblical terms had their historical roots in the Egyptian Province in Late Bronze Age Asia.<sup>39</sup>

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sion 'Canaanites and Perizzites' (Gen. 13:7; 34:30; Judg. 1:4-5), the name also functions both in a specific and a more generic way, for it seems that these phrase abbreviates the list of primeval peoples by representing the major nations by the 'Canaanites' and the minor peoples by the 'Perizzites', cf. Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 25-6.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. Ezek. 16:29; Zeph. 1:11; Zech. 14:21; Job 40:30; Prov. 31:24.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Gen. 50:11; Exod. 13:11; Isa. 23:8, 11, cf. M. Weippert, 'Kanaan', *RLA*, Bd. 5, 354-5; H.J. Zobel, כְּנַעַן, *ThWAT*, Bd. 4, 230-3; P.C. Schmitz, 'Canaan', *ABD*, vol. 1, 830.

<sup>36</sup> For overviews, see R. de Vaux, 'Le pays de Canaan', *JAOS* 88 (1968), 223-8; Weippert, 'Kanaan', 352-4; Zobel, כְּנַעַן, 226-7; O. Keel, M. Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel. Ein Handbuch und Studienreiseführer zum Heiligen Land*, Bd. 1, Einsiedeln etc. 1984, 239-44. Cf. also R.S. Hess, 'Occurrences of "Canaan" in Late Bronze Age Archives of the West Semitic World', in: S. Isre'el et al. (eds), *Israel Oriental Studies XVIII. Past Links. Studies in the Languages and Cultures of the Ancient Near East*, Winona Lake, IN 1998, 366-9.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. F. Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer. Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte des Volkstums und der Religion auf dem Boden Kanaans* (BWAT, 9), Leipzig 1911, 9-10.

<sup>38</sup> An elaboration of these discussions will follow later on in this section.

<sup>39</sup> B. Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas*, Gießen 1930, 67-72; Idem [Mazar], 'Canaan and the Canaanites', 11-2; Idem, *The Early Biblical Period: Historical Studies*, Jerusalem 1986, 192-3; De Vaux, 'Le pays', 29-30; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 74-6; A.R. Millard, 'The Canaanites', in: Wiseman (ed.), *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, 29-33; M. Saebø, 'Grenzbeschreibung und Landideal im Alten Testament mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der min-'ad formel', *ZDPV* 90 (1974), 35-6; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 1, 250; Kallai, *Histori-*

However, during the nineties this scholarly consensus was seriously disrupted by a totally different interpretation of the non-biblical evidence. According to this view the use of the name Canaan in the second millennium BCE texts is imprecise and did not designate a vast territory. So nobody in Syria-Palestine regarded him- or herself as a Canaanite. It was a name only used by scribes to designate people who did not belong to the local social order.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, the biblical references to Canaan and the Canaanites are derived from the reality of the post-exilic biblical historiographers, who projected their own time and ideological antitheses into the past.<sup>41</sup>

This provoking thesis is strongly denied in scholarly discussion. It takes an ambiguous and less significant document as *EA* 151 as the point of departure in reading the Amarna Letters, that is, it interprets the sense of 'Canaan' or 'Canaanite' differently for each of the texts under discussion, while in defining a term, it is appropriate to look for the minimal semantic range that will provide a definition broad enough to cover all textual variants. The definition of 'Canaan' as the Egyptian Province in Asia is capable of doing that. It is true that the designations for this geographical entity are not coherent, but the province was never officially called 'Canaan'. Moreover, as is well known, most of the texts are focused on local events and do not discuss problems concerning the province as a whole. Therefore, most scholars reject the new interpretation as an attempt to underline the revisionist contention of biblical historiography being not historical at all.<sup>42</sup>

סו כנעני is not only connected to the world of the biblical historiographers, but also rooted in the non-biblical use in Late Bronze Age texts. The relation between these two is to be described by interpreting and dating the biblical texts. But still, the biblical and non-biblical information concerning the Canaanites is striking.

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*cal Geography*, 324; Idem, *Biblical Historiography and Historical Geography* (BEATAJ 44), Frankfurt am Main etc. 1998, 111; Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 12-3.

<sup>40</sup> Lemche, *Canaanites and Their Land*, 25-52, 152-4. Apart from that, Lemche rightly criticizes the sociological concept of e.g. Mendenhall, who draws a line between the 'Israelite' peasant and the 'Canaanite' citizen. Cf. Mendenhall, *Tenth Generation*, 155, 221, 224-5, with N.P. Lemche, 'City-Dwellers or Administrators. Further Light on the Canaanites', in: A. Lemaire, B. Otzen (eds), *History & Traditions of Early Israel* (VTS, 50), Leiden etc. 1993, 78-80, 83-5.

<sup>41</sup> Lemche, *Canaanites and Their Land*, 74-121, 154-166. Cf. Idem, 'City-Dwellers or Administrators', 86-9.

<sup>42</sup> N. Na'aman, 'The Canaanites and Their Land – A Rejoinder', *UF* (1994), 397-418, esp. 406-9 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 110-33, esp. 120-3); A.F. Rainey, 'Who is a Canaanite? A Review of the Textual Evidence', *BASOR* 306 (1996), 1-15. Cf. also N.P. Lemche, 'Where Should We Look for Canaan? A Reply to Nadav Na'aman', *UF* 28 (1996), 767-72; N. Na'aman, 'Four Notes on the Size of Late Bronze Canaan', *BASOR* 313 (1999), 31-7 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 134-44). For the discussion about *EA* 151:49-67, see Lemche, *Canaanites and Their Land*, 30-1, 39-40, 51-2; W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore, Maryland 1992, 238-9; Rainey, 'Who is a Canaanite?', 8-11; Hess, 'Occurrences of "Canaan"', 369-70; N.P. Lemche, 'Greater Canaan: The Implications of a Correct Reading of *EA* 151:49-67', *BASOR* 310 (1998), 19-24; Na'aman, 'Size of Late Bronze Canaan', 32-3 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 136-7). For the argument about *EA* 36:15, which cannot read [...p]i-ḥa-ti ša Ki-na-ḥi, 'the province of Canaan', see Lemche, *Canaanites and Their Land*, 29-30; Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 110; Rainey, 'Who Is a Canaanite?', 7-8; Na'aman, 'Size of Late Bronze Canaan', 33-4 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 138-9).

With respect to the Hittites and Amorites the hazy notion rose that the biblical attestations had something to do with the late second millennium BCE, but it could not be proven. However, in the case of the Canaanites, this is possible. For the biblical and non-biblical references are related to the region of the Southern Levant during the period in question.

With respect to the other three groups mentioned in Joshua 9:1d, the Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, the reader is no longer on firm ground. They are mentioned in the list and apart from the Perizzites seen as descendants of Canaan (Gen. 10:16-17). But beyond that, the names of these nations are scarcely attested in the biblical texts. With respect to the non-biblical sources the evidence is limited to a few disputed philological parallels.

The *Perizzites*, attested in the list as the fourth of the pre-Israelite peoples, sometimes appear as representative of the minor nations, the Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites.<sup>43</sup> Joshua 11:3b depicts them as living in the mountains and 17:15 as inhabitants of the woods of the inner valleys of Northern Samaria. The last text also names them as counterpart of the Rephaites. In Hebrew, פְּרִזִּי is associated with פְּרָזִי, 'inhabitant of an unwalled town or hamlet'.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, the text could formulate a contrast between villagers and warriors by terms that later became ethnonyms. Others, however, state that the name has a Hurrian background.<sup>45</sup> In its turn, this idea could lead to the hypothesis that an older ethnic name got a popular etymologization in later times.<sup>46</sup>

Another nation mentioned are the *Hivites*, which has some interesting geographical attestations. In the Book of Joshua they are not only located in Gibeon (9:7a; 11:19b), but also in eastern Phoenicia, 'below Hermon in the land of Mizpah' (11:3c). Judges 3:3 is even more specific: 'in the Lebanon mountains from Mount Baal Hermon to Lebo Hamath' (cf. 2 Sam. 24:7). According to the Book of Genesis some חִוִּי live in Sichem. Their king is called Hamor, probably a non-Semitic name (Gen. 34:2), as is Zibeon, the name of Esau's Hivite father-in-law (Gen. 36:2). These names gave rise to the assumption that the Hivites were not autochthonous in Palestine. According to a first theory the Hivites were Hurrians, who had immigrated into Palestine from Anatolia at the end of the Middle Bronze Age. This idea was developed out of the fact that LXX in Genesis 36:2 and Josh. 9:7a does not translate חִוִּי as normally by Ευαίοι, but by Χορραίοι.<sup>47</sup> But soon it appeared that this theory was valid neither from a historical nor from a text critical point of view.<sup>48</sup> A second hypothesis states the Hivites probably arriving from Cilicia. In this case, it is assumed that Ḫw in an Egyptian topographical list from

<sup>43</sup> Gen. 13:7; 34:30; Judg. 1:4-5, see note 34.

<sup>44</sup> HALOT, 965.

<sup>45</sup> Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, 66; R.S. Hess, *Joshua. An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC), Leicester 1996, 27-8.

<sup>46</sup> N. Na'aman, 'Canaanites and Perizzites', *BN* 45 (1988), 42-4.

<sup>47</sup> E.A. Speiser, 'Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C. The Hurrians and Their Connections with the Ḫabiru and the Hyksos', *AASOR* 13 (1931-1932), 26-31. Cf. Hoffner, 'Hittites and Hurrians', 225; Hess, *Joshua*, 27-8.

<sup>48</sup> R. de Vaux, 'Les Ḫurrites de l'histoire et les Horites de la Bible', *RB* 74 (1968), 497-501; R. North, 'The Hivites', *Bib* 54 (1973), 52-62. Cf. also E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle 1906, 332-3.

the 13th century BCE, Quwe in Neo-Assyrian texts from the 9th century and Ḥuwe in a Neo-Babylonian document from the late 7th century represent the same entity.<sup>49</sup> This however, cannot be verified and it remains unclear how 'Ḥ' and 'Q' can be related to the same phonetic sign, whereas the biblical passage saying that the Israelites had business dealings with the population of Cilicia/Quwe (קודי, 1 Kgs 10:28), gives no hint that Quwe and the Hivites were related.<sup>50</sup> A third proposal claims the Hivites being the same as the Ahhiyawa mentioned in Hittite letters, the Achaeans cited by Homer, and the Ekweš reported in Egyptian records.<sup>51</sup> But this suggestion is unlikely too, for it requires the Hebrew form to have dropped the initial syllable in the foreign name.<sup>52</sup> So in the end, the only two striking and secure elements are that according to the story, the Hivites in Shechem supply women who assimilate (Gen. 34 and 36) and that a Gibeonite confederacy continues to exist, at least through David's reign (Josh. 9; 2 Sam. 21).

The last group mentioned in Joshua 9:1d are the *Jebusites*. From a geographical point of view, this nation lives in the most limited area. Numbers 13:29 and Joshua 11:3b locate them in the hill country in general and other attestations narrow this area to Jerusalem. The *יבויסי* live in Jerusalem, and at last *יבוסי* is presented as an old name for Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup> The name 'Jebusite' gives the impression to be Semitic, just as the names of Jerusalem's pre-Israelite kings 'Melchi-Zedeq' and 'Adoni-Zedeq', while the only Jebusite name in biblical historiography, Araunah (אראונה), is suspiciously close to the 'ark' (ארון), which finally found its rest at his threshing floor (2 Sam. 24:25). Strikingly, however, is a Hurrian goddess called Heba attested in the name of Abdi-Ḥepa, a ruler of Jerusalem who is mentioned in the Amarna Letters. For that reason, some also assume that Araunah has been derived from the Hurrian *eweri(ne)*, which is also attested in Hittite and means 'feudal lord'.<sup>54</sup> Another remarkable feature is the fact that apart from Genesis 10:16 and Ezra 9:1, the 'Jebusites' always take the last position in the list. According to some scholars, this has happened to express the importance of the Davidic kingdom: when David captured Jerusalem and drove the Jebusites out, YHWH definitely established Israel in the land Canaan (2 Sam. 5:6-9).<sup>55</sup>

Finally, the Girgashites are not listed in Joshua 9:1d. This group offers almost no additional information for the interpretation of the catalogue of pre-Israelite

<sup>49</sup> W.F. Albright, 'Cilicia and Babylonia under the Chaldean Kings', *BASOR*, 120 (1950), 22-25; Mendenhall, *Tenth Generation*, 154-63; M. Görg, 'Ḥiwwiter im 13. Jahrhundert v.Chr.', *UF* 8 (1976), 53-5; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 240 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 337).

<sup>50</sup> Hostetter, *Nations Mightier*, 74-5.

<sup>51</sup> O. Margalith, 'The Hivites', *ZAW* 100 (1988), 60-70.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Hostetter, *Nations Mightier*, 75-6.

<sup>53</sup> Josh. 15:8, 63; 18:16, 28; Judg. 1:21; 19:10-11; 2 Sam. 5:6, 24:16, 18; 1 Chron. 11:4; 21:18; 2 Chron. 3:1; cf. Josh. 15:8; 18:16, 28; Judg. 19:10-11.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Hoffner, 'Hittites and Hurrians', 225; B. Mazar, 'The Early Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country', *BASOR* 241 (1981), 78.

<sup>55</sup> North, 'Hivites', 45-6; G.A. Rendsburg, 'Notes in Genesis 15', *VT* 42 (1992), 269-70. Ishida does not agree with this view, for 'the process of dispossession was completed only when every foreign element had been totally absorbed into the Israelite society'. Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 20. See also below, note 270.

nations. In MT it occurs only seven times in the list.<sup>56</sup> In order to elucidate the origin of the גִּרְגָּשִׁי, scholars have pointed at Karkisha, a town in western Anatolia, mentioned in an Egyptian text from the Late Bronze Age and at Ugaritic personal names dating from the same period.<sup>57</sup> Others refer to Punic appellatives from the middle and the end of the first millennium BCE.<sup>58</sup> But none of these parallels is convincing.

Taken altogether, the biblical and non-biblical attestations of the peoples put some light on the nature of the list of primeval nations. With respect to the Hivites, Perizzites, Jebusites and Gergashites, there is very little information available at all. Some of the parallels suggest that these peoples are non-Semitic. But as such this is not sufficient proof for the theory that these peoples reached Palestine due to the large scale migration that followed the destruction of the Hittite empire.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, this lack of data makes the idea of an author deliberately attaching elements to the list that look antique in order to suggest its tradition relying on ancient and respectable sources, an option that deserves serious consideration.<sup>60</sup> Though, in the light of the evidence concerning the first three peoples, the Amorites, the Hittites, and the Canaanites, this kind of antiquarianism becomes very unlikely: here the idea of biblical texts intending to refer to the past is confirmed by the fact that the references to the Amorites and Hittites do preserve 9th and 10th, and those to the Canaanites even 13th century BCE memories. The last observation also lends historical credibility to the implication of the texts that some groups in Late Bronze Palestine could be designated by the name Hittite or Amorite. So the conclusion seems to be justified that the list is an ethnic-geographic as well as ethnic-linguistic classification of pre-Israelite nations that is rooted in the late second millennium BCE.<sup>61</sup>

At the same time, it can seriously be doubted that the list represents an accurate ethnographic description of the racial relations in the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant. This is not only the case because of the fact that it is very hard to apply modern ethnographic categories to distinctions made in ancient documents. The texts themselves as well as the historical situation of the Late Bronze Age also lead to this assumption. The parallels with the early first millennium BCE non-biblical attestations imply that the traditions were adjusted to later situations. Furthermore, the onomastic evidence prove Late Bronze Age Palestine to be inhabited by a mixed population, for the personal names of this period show a wide variety of West-Semitic, Indo-Aryan, Hurrian and Egyptian elements.<sup>62</sup> Some suggest that

<sup>56</sup> Gen. 10:16; 15:21; Deut. 7:1; Josh. 3:10; 24:11; Neh.9:8; 1 Chron. 1:14, cf. annotation 9:1b-b.

<sup>57</sup> B. Maisler, 'A Genealogical List from Ras Shamra', *JPOS* 16 (1936), 154; Görg, 'Hiw-witer im 13. Jahrhundert v.Chr.', 54; Idem, 'Dor, die Teukrer und die Gergasiter', *BN* 28 (1985), 8; Na'aman, 'Canaanites and Perizzites', 42.

<sup>58</sup> Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, 66; Hostetter, *Nations Mightier*, 65-6.

<sup>59</sup> Thus Na'aman, 'Canaanites and Perizzites', 42; Idem, 'Conquest of Canaan', 241 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 338).

<sup>60</sup> See e.g. Lemche, *Israelites in History and Tradition*, 126-9.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 25.

<sup>62</sup> W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 21971, 478-82; R.S. Hess, 'Cultural Aspects of Onomastic Distribution in the

this situation perfectly matches the list of primeval nations.<sup>63</sup> But in the light of the evidence this view cannot be maintained, for the Hurrian influence is at best attested only in disputed parallels and personal names, while the prominent Egyptian presence in Canaan in the 12th and 13th centuries is not mentioned at all.<sup>64</sup> So we may conclude that the list of pre-Israelite nations is in some sense historical, but also stereotypical and schematic in nature.<sup>65</sup> The question how and when this schematization took place will be dealt with in section 5.4.

The opening of Joshua 9 differs from that of chapter 5 in its broad geographical description, which is underlined by the list of primeval nations. A second facet in which 9:1 diverges from 5:1 is the way in which the kings react. After the rumour of the devastation of Jericho and Ai has spread through all the country, the passive and fearful attitude of the peoples is exchanged for a more aggressive approach. Every king west of the river Jordan is depicted as joining together in the single purpose of combating the advancing troops of Joshua and Israel (9:2abc). The kings are leaving the defensive posture that set the tone for the Jericho story and agree to join forces. The fact that the direct object of שָׂמַעַ (element c) is omitted in the construction, is very significant in this respect, because the verb is repeated in the next sentence, in this occasion with its direct object (9:3b). Together with the phrase וַיֵּשְׁבוּ גִבְעֹנִים הִוִּיתִים, which contrasts the kings with those living in Gibeon, this repetition creates a parallel, suggesting the aggressive reaction of the kings being interrupted by the more deliberate action of the Gibeonite Hivites.<sup>66</sup> So the interpretation of the text as forgetting to tell anything about the actual gathering of the kings, fails.<sup>67</sup> It merely registers the call for a coalition, which eventually did not emerge, although the indigenous people desired it.<sup>68</sup> In this way 9:1a-4a makes room for the narrative about the Gibeonite ruse. The change in perspective from the kings to Gibeon is clearly marked by the intensive pronoun גִּבְעֹנִים הִוִּיתִים.<sup>69</sup> Now, the text shifts the attention to the Gibeonites, who have decided to act differently, and this story is in its turn the prelude to the actual confrontations with the southern and northern coalitions (10:1a-5e; 11:1a-5c) and the enumeration of the defeated Cisjordanian kings (12:7a).

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Amarna Texts', *UF* 21 (1989), 209-16; Na'aman, 'Hurrians in Palestine', 176-9, 184 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 9-13, 17).

<sup>63</sup> Hess, *Joshua*, 27-8. Cf. Idem, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names in Joshua', 207, 209-12, 214.

<sup>64</sup> Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 241 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 337).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. e.g. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 68.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. the annotations 9:1c-c, 9:2e, and 9:4g.

<sup>67</sup> Thus e.g. W. Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua* (BZAW, 28), Berlin 1938, 200: 'das einheitliche Vorgehen aller Könige fehlt'.

<sup>68</sup> Boling, *Joshua*, 261.

<sup>69</sup> L.D. Hawk, *Every Promise Fulfilled. Contesting Plots in Joshua* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation, 1) Louisville, KY 1991, 82.

### 3.2 KINGS IN SOUTHERN CISJORDAN

#### Forming the Southern Coalition (10:1a-5e)

The construction with **וַיִּדְרִי כְשָׁמַע** at the beginning of chapter 9 expresses the calculated action of the inhabitants of the Gibeonite tetrapolis interrupting the formation of the Cisjordanian coalition. The **שָׁמַע** of chapter 10 takes another look at this interruption, now from the perspective of the Cisjordanian kings, and especially from that of Adoni-Zedeq, king of Jerusalem, who is the subject of the construction (10:1a).<sup>70</sup> The text creates a certain kind of simultaneity in the story by repeating the direct object **שָׁמַע** of 9:3b in 10:1bc, that is, the announcement of the destruction of Jericho and Ai. The king of Jerusalem hears about it, and this means that he belongs to those who are preparing an aggressive reaction against Israel and Joshua (9:2a-c). The detailed description in 10:1c demonstrates the danger in its concrete form: the seizing and destruction is threatening Jerusalem too. In addition, the king is informed of the Gibeonites having made peace with Israel. 10:1d puts in plain words that this announcement comes as an enormous surprise: just as in chapter 9, the prohibition to make a treaty with the inhabitants of the promised land is presupposed by referring explicitly to certain passages in chapter 9. What was totally impossible, especially from the perspective of the Israelites – which is presented as known by the king of Jerusalem – has now become a reality and as a consequence those that had to be eliminated, now belong to the camp of Israel.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, the words ‘among them’ explicate the treaty between Gibeon and Israel having made a breach in the front of the Canaanite kings. In the context of chapter 10, this phrase has a qualitative, but also a geographical connotation: the territory under Israelite divides Canaan in a northern and a southern part and approaches Jerusalem to less than ten kilometres.<sup>72</sup> So, in 10:1bcd, the text describes in detail the alarming situation for Adoni-Zedeq. But apart from that, the phrases also have a programmatic purpose. By settling the promised land, Israel faces two possibilities: they take the cities and eliminate their inhabitants or they make treaty and live in peace. The Book of Joshua leaves no doubt which of these options is the right one: according to YHWH’s

<sup>70</sup> For the meaning of this name, see annotation 10:1a. Within a biblical context, the name bears associations with Melchi-Zedeq, also king of Jerusalem (Gen. 14). With respect to its non-biblical parallels, it has been asserted that both elements, **אֲדֹנָי** and **צִדְקָה**, appear in the West Semitic names of the Amarna Letters (*a-du-na* in EA 140:10, cf. 75:25; and *rabu-šī-id-qī* in EA 170:37). The bearers of these names come from north of Palestine, from Irqata and Byblos. Hess, ‘Non-Israelite Personal Names in Joshua’, 208. Cf. Idem, *Amarna Personal Names* (ASOR Dissertation Series, 9), Winona Lake, IN 1993, 22, 131.

<sup>71</sup> 9:7b, 15a, 16d, and 22e. The verb **שָׁלַח** (9:15a) is parallel to **כָּרַת בְּרִית** (9:15b, cf. 6d, 7c, 11d), which seems to refer to other passages from the historiography of the settlement like Exod. 23:32; 34:12, 15; Deut. 7:2, and Judg. 2:2. For a detailed interpretation of these passages, see section 4.1.

<sup>72</sup> The text does not say that the Gibeonites are in Gilgal; pace Noth, *Joshua*<sup>2</sup>, 63.

order to Moses, all the residents have to be eradicated (11:12c, 15). But the reality of chapter 9 can no longer be denied and therefore, the question is: what will Joshua and Israel do now?<sup>73</sup>

Contrary to the situation in 9:2a-c, Adoni-Zedeq and the inhabitants of Jerusalem are no longer able to face the danger without panic. In reaction to the actual threat and astonishing news about Gibeon, the fearful attitude of 2:10-11 and 5:1 is coming up again (10:2a). According to the text this fear has a threefold cause. In the first place, Gibeon is just as strong as the cities of the kings who are involved in the coalition (10:2b).<sup>74</sup> In the second place, it is bigger than Ai, the city taken by Israel (10:2c), and thirdly, the men of Gibeon are good fighters (10:2d).<sup>75</sup> So the Gibeonites could have chosen to resist Israel, for they seemed to be strong enough. The kings might have gained some courage out of these facts. But now all this turns against them, for Gibeon has made peace with the enemy. Moreover, the choice of the Gibeonites reveals Israel's strength.<sup>76</sup> So the kings have reason to be terrified.

The acute threat forces the coalition to a more active attitude than previously, because the Gibeonite tetrapolis covers a strategic area in Palestine. It controls the most accessible passage from the southern coastal plain and the Shephelah to the mountainous vicinity of Jerusalem. Therefore, king Adoni-Zedeq seeks contact with other kings in the neighbourhood: with one king in the mountains, king Hoham of Hebron, and with three kings in the Shephelah, king Piram of Jarmuth, king Japhia of Lachish, and king Debir of Eglon (10:3b).<sup>77</sup> A cry for help must prevent Adoni-Zedeq becoming locked up in his city: he asks his colleagues to come up to the mountains to help him, so they can attack Gibeon together (10:4abc), because its treaty with Israel has interrupted their common preparations and is threatening them too (10:4d).<sup>78</sup> The first three lines heighten the point of Adoni-Zedeq's need for help against the threat. The twofold designation of the enemy in the fourth line has the rhetorical effect of underlining the great strength of these enemies as they have joined

<sup>73</sup> Noort, 'Zwischen Mythos und Rationalität', 154-5.

<sup>74</sup> This implies that Gibeon had no king, just as was pointed out in 9:11a.

<sup>75</sup> The Book of Joshua normally designates warriors by *גבורי החיל* (1:14; 6:2; 8:3; 10:7), but here the nominal clause *גבורים וכל-אנשיה* is utilized (cf. 10:6a) to express that all the men of Gibeon were warriors.

<sup>76</sup> Noort, 'Zwischen Mythos und Rationalität', 155.

<sup>77</sup> For the meaning of the names, see the annotations 10:3:h-k. There are no clear parallels for these names, although *פראם* could be paralleled by an Ugaritic personal name *pr'* in an Ugaritic text (RS 18:39 = KTU 4:350, which transcribes *pri*), and by the Hurrian name of a messenger from Mittani, *pi-ri-iz-zi*, which is referred to in the Amarna correspondence (EA 27:89, 93; 28:12). Names like *יפייע* – constructed by an imperfect – are attested in biblical and non-biblical texts, in shortened as well as in non-abbreviated forms. For examples from the Amarna Letters, see Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 124-5, 76-86.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. R.D. Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary* (OTL), Louisville, KY 1997, 140.

together. Thus, the rulers of southern Palestine are moved to take action against Gibeon.<sup>79</sup>

The kings undertake action in reaction to the request of Jerusalem's ruler. Fear leads to aggression in four steps. The rulers gather themselves and so the agreement to join forces becomes tangible (10:5a, cf. 9:2a). Together they march up towards Gibeon (10:5b, cf. 10:3b), make camp against it after their arrival (10:5d),<sup>80</sup> and finally go to war in order to defeat Gibeon (10:5e, cf. 10:3bc).<sup>81</sup> The extensive depiction of 'the five rulers of the Amorites' and 'their armed forces' in this passage is noticeable (10:5bc). On the surface, the elaboration spells out the strength of the southern coalition and emphasizes the great danger threatening Gibeon. But it also directs the attention to the mountainous territories of the Amorite kings.<sup>82</sup> Israel will have free entrance to the south, if these allied forces do not succeed in their objective to defeat Gibeon.

### Keeping the Treaty (10:6a-10d)

In the meantime Israel is in the camp at Gilgal, where they have been since the crossing of the Jordan.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, the men of Gibeon (see at 10:2d) send a message over there (10:6a). This is a logical step, for an earlier delegation to Israel's encampment had succeeded in making a treaty, in which Israel was obliged to give them protection in exchange for their submission as slaves.<sup>84</sup> The message is directed to Joshua personally, just as was done before, in 9:6a. Chapter 9 pays special attention to Joshua, because of the dissimilar attitudes of the different representatives of Israel towards the Gibeonite delegation: Joshua, the men of Israel and the elders all play a role fitting their own responsibility. It means for Joshua, that he defines the final stipulations of the treaty.<sup>85</sup> In chapter 10, however, the interest in Joshua focuses on one aspect of his re-

<sup>79</sup> According to Hess, both rhetorical forms of 10:4a-d are paralleled in the Amarna letters. A repetition of three verbs, with a change in tense in the last verb, is attested in a cry for help to the pharaoh by Labaya of Shechem (*EA* 252:9-12). A repetition of nouns stressing the strength of the enemy can be found in a cry for help of Abdi-Heba, ruler of Jerusalem (*EA* 290:8-11, 15-17). R.S. Hess, 'Rhetorical Forms in Joshua 10:4', in: M. Dietrich, I. Kottsieper (eds), *"Und Mose Schrieb dieses Lied auf"* (AOAT, 250), Münster 1998, 365-6.

<sup>80</sup> The root *הנה* is used in military (8:11; 10:31, 34, 11:5, cf. further e.g. Judg. 6:4, 33, 7:1; 1 Sam. 4:1; 1 Kgs 20:29) as well as non-military contexts (4:19; 5:10, cf. further e.g. Exod. 14:20; Num. 12:10; Neh. 11:30). The noun *נהגה* in 10:5c is often used to designate enemy troops, cf. 11:4a; Judg. 4:16-17; 8:1, 12; 1 Sam. 17:1, 46; 28:1; 29:1. An exception is 1 Kgs 22:34, 36.

<sup>81</sup> Noth, *Joshua*<sup>2</sup>, 63, argues that the cities seek revenge for Gibeon's breaking of the solidarity between the royal cities. But that is not what 10:5 is saying. Moreover, 10:2b excludes Gibeon from the coalition that is formed in 9:1-2.

<sup>82</sup> See 11:3; cf. also Num. 13:29; Deut. 1:7, 19, 44.

<sup>83</sup> 5:9-10, cf. 4:19-20; 6:11, 14, 18; 10:6-7, 9, 15, 43; 12:23; 14:6; 15:7; 18:17.

<sup>84</sup> See the comments on 9:6ad, 8b, 11cd, 15b, 19ab, 22a and 26a in section 4.1.

<sup>85</sup> See the comments on 9:7a, 14a, and 15c in section 4.1.

sponsibility, namely on his position as a military leader.<sup>86</sup> The cry for help addressed to him shows how the agreement with Gibeon also involves a military element. In two sentences Joshua is asked to keep the treaty. If he withdraws his hands from the Gibeonites (10:6b) and does not march up to them (10:6c), he will violate the treaty. As their overlord, Joshua is obliged to make an effort to save their lives, like he has done before (10:1d, cf. 9:15b, 26b). Finally, this powerful defence is underlined with a hyperbolic cry of distress, for they are suggesting that all the kings of the Amorites that live in the mountains have gathered against them! (10:6ef, cf. 5:1).<sup>87</sup> But the message of the Gibeonites is also important on a higher, textual level, for it is striking how carefully the words of the text are chosen. A comparison between the direct speeches of Adoni-Zedeq and the Gibeonites reveals that the last are exaggerating. But there is more, for the Gibeonites use the same verbs as Adoni-Zedeq by asking Joshua to 'march up' (עלה, 10:4a, 6c), in order to 'help' (עזר, 10:4b, 6e). These repetitions show Joshua and Israel no longer having the initiative. From now on, the land will be conquered by reaction.<sup>88</sup>

It is clear that Joshua has no choice and so he marches up from Gilgal. The text stresses his full support: the whole army and all the mighty warriors come with him (10:7ab).<sup>89</sup> This may be not surprising, but the situation is still precarious. Joshua is forced to carry out an obligation he would not have to fulfil, if Israel had consulted YHWH (9:14b). Moreover, things have changed from a military perspective. So far, Israel was confronted with the armies of no more than two cities (chapter 8). But according to the information Joshua has got, now all the Amorite rulers have joined forces and the battle has already begun. In this situation YHWH comes with an oracle for Joshua (10:8a). God encourages him and promises him victory.<sup>90</sup> Strengthened by the oracle, Joshua attacks his adversaries by surprise, just as he will do later on with the northern coalition (10:9a, cf. 11:7a). In one night he and his army climb up to the mountains from Gilgal to the area around Gibeon (10:9b).

When Joshua and his army suddenly arrive at Gibeon, YHWH takes over the direction. He throws the coalition into panic and strikes them with a mighty blow (10:10a-d). The decisive victory for Israel has become true. God himself

<sup>86</sup> The name of Joshua occurs 27 times in Joshua 10. Israel is acting without him in 10:32bcd only.

<sup>87</sup> Butler, *Joshua*, 115; L.D. Hawk, *Joshua* (Berit Olam), Collegeville, MN 2000, 151.

<sup>88</sup> Later on, the text elaborates on this by using the verb נכה (10:4b, 10b) and by the explicit statement of 11:20abc. Noort, 'Zwischen Mythos und Rationalität', 155-6.

<sup>89</sup> The phrases (וכל) עם המלחמה (עמו) and גבורי החיל (כל) also occur in 8:1; 11:7a, and 1:14; 6:2. Together, they appear in 8:3 and 10:7b. An alternative is וכל־ישראל עמו and יהושע עמו, in 7:24; 10:15a; 10:29a, 31a, 34a, 36a, 38a, 43a. In these phrases, the addition of עמו seems to be important, for in 8:15, 21 וכל־ישראל יהושע does not designate the whole army. Cf. also הוא וכל־בני ישראל for Joshua and his armed forces in 3:1, and the even shorter expression הוא וכל־עמי for the king of Ai and his military in 8:14. See also Num. 21:33; Deut. 2:32; 3:1; 1 Sam. 23:8 and Judg. 6:12; 2 Kgs 15:20; 24:14; 1 Chron. 12:9.

<sup>90</sup> For detailed comments on these lines, see section 4.2.

pursues them on the way of the ascent from Beth Horon (10:10c), even through the Ayalon Valley and the hilly area south of it 'to Azeka and Makkedah'.<sup>91</sup>

#### *From Gilgal to Gibeon*

What the text has in mind geographically has to be determined, when it suggests Joshua's army went up from the encampment at Gilgal to the Gibeonite area (Map 3.1 and 3.2).<sup>92</sup> Gilgal is in the Bible often connected with a 'heap of stones' (5:9, cf. Hos. 12:12). The only indication for its location can be found in 4:19: Israel camped at Gilgal 'on the eastern border of Jericho'.<sup>93</sup> The verb עָלָה in 10:9b confirms this location. The name is also mentioned by the Mosaic Map of Medaba, by Eusebius's *Onomasticon*, and by the writings of many Christian pilgrims and early fathers, as being the place of a Byzantine sanctuary.<sup>94</sup> The site of biblical as well as Byzantine Gilgal is still unidentified. Some scholars thought biblical Gilgal was Tel el-Mefjer (geographical coordinates 193.143), but archaeological excavations seemed to falsify this idea.<sup>95</sup> Others have pointed at three tels 1,5 and 1,8 kilometres east and northeast, and at Suwwanēt et-Thaniya, 2 kilometres northeast of Tel es-Sultān (192.142) (Jericho).<sup>96</sup>

Gibeon is identified with el-Jib (1676.1394) since the 19th century CE on account of its name. The identification remained disputed, but the excavation of 31 jar handles inscribed with the name *gb<sup>c</sup>n* convinced most scholars that the traditional identification was right.<sup>97</sup> The site is located about 9 kilometres north of Jerusalem, west of the river Soreq, and perfectly matches the situation described in Joshua 9 and 10: it is lying in the neighbourhood of the most likely spots of the other Hivite townships Kephira and Kiriath Jearim (9:17c) – for Kephira should be identified with Tel el-Kafira (1602.1375) and Kiriath Jearim with Deir el-Azhar

<sup>91</sup> For the geographical implications of 10:10d, see below and for detailed comments on YHWH's acts, see section 4.2.

<sup>92</sup> For methodological considerations concerning historical geography, see e.g. Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 1, 317-47.

<sup>93</sup> Ernst Sellin has argued that there has also been a Gilgal near Shechem (E. Sellin, *Gilgal. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Einwanderung Israels in Palästina*, Leipzig 1917, 4-12), but this has met severe criticism (e.g. K. Galling, 'Bethel und Gilgal', *ZDPV* 66 [1943], 140-55; 67 [1944-45], 21-25).

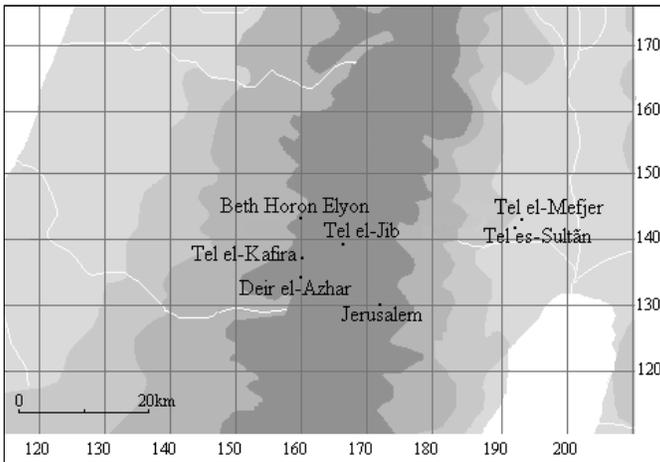
<sup>94</sup> H. Donner, *The Mosaic Map of Madaba* (PA 7), Kampen 1992, 46.

<sup>95</sup> J. Muilenburg, 'The Site of Ancient Gilgal', *BASOR* 140 (1955), 11-24, cf. K. Elliger, 'Gilgal', *BHH*, 572-3; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 521-3.

<sup>96</sup> For these suggestions, see O. Bächli, 'Zur Lage des alten Gilgal', *ZDPV*, 83 (1967), 64-71; B.M. Bennett, 'The Search for Israelite Gilgal', *PEQ* 104 (1972), 111-22

<sup>97</sup> J.B. Pritchard, *Gibeon: Where the Sun Stood Still*, Princeton, NJ 1962, 24-53; Idem, 'Gibeon', *NEAHL*, 511. In response to Pritchard's finds, Galling made a right remark that, theoretically speaking, the handles could also indicate el-Jib not being Gibeon itself, but only a military outpost of it (K. Galling, 'Kritische Bemerkungen zur Ausgrabung von eḡ-ḡib', *BiOr* 22 (1965), 245). Gibeon is mentioned in row 23 of the Shoshenq-List. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 102-3; Wilson, *Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq I*, 108.

(160.134)<sup>98</sup> – and close to the pass to today’s Beth Horon Elyon (160.143).<sup>99</sup> Moreover, the road from el-Jib to the pass is often referred to in ancient texts because of its importance for the control over the Judean highlands.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, it is most likely that according to Joshua 9–10, the Amorite soldiers came from el-Jib, when they fled to Beth Horon (10:10c). So the night march of 10:9 between Gilgal and Gibeon is about 30 kilometres, which is long, but not impossible to carry out for Joshua and his army, for such a distance can be covered in 8-10 hours.<sup>101</sup>



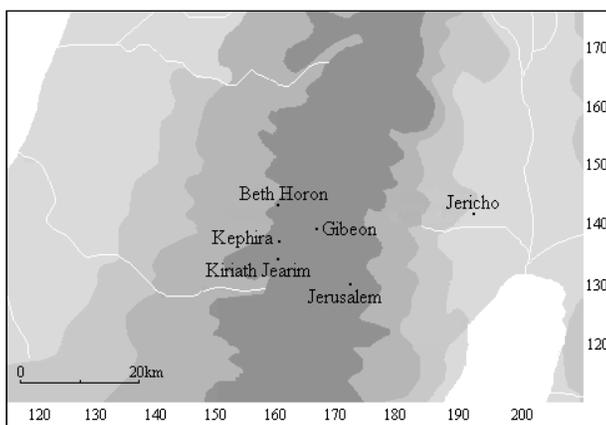
Map 3.1 – Candidates for sites ‘From Gilgal to Gibeon’ in Joshua 10.

<sup>98</sup> K.J.H. Vriezen, ‘*Hirbet Kefire* – eine Oberflächenuntersuchung’, *ZDPV* 91 (1975), 136; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 403; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 794-5. The identification of Beeroth is uncertain. For several proposals, see Vriezen, ‘*Hirbet Kefire*’, 136; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 403; Dever, ‘*Archaeology and Emergence*’, 30-1.

<sup>99</sup> F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine, t. 2. Géographie politique* (ÉB, 2), Paris 1933, 274; R. Hentschke, ‘Beth-Horon’, *BHH*, 227; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 432; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 126; D.A. Dorsey, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel*, Baltimore, London 1991, 181, 184.

<sup>100</sup> E.g. row 24 in Shoshenq’s relief at Karnak; 1 Sam. 7:11; 2 Sam. 5:22-25 [LXX]; 1 Kgs 9:17; 1 Macc. 3:15-16; 7:39; Josephus, *Ant.* xii.10.5; Idem, *Bello Judaico*, ii.19.1.

<sup>101</sup> J.A. Soggin, *Joshua. A Commentary* (OTL), London 1972, 127.



Map 3.2 – Geographical locations ‘From Gilgal to Gibeon’ in Joshua 10.

### **Pursuit and Capture (10:15a, 16a-27f)**

The next episodes of the story describe events taking place within the geographical areas of Azekah and Makkedah (10:10d). The first passage (10:11-10:14) elaborates on what happened during YHWH’s pursuit of Israel’s enemies (10:10c) by depicting a sun and moon miracle occurring at Gibeon and in the Valley of Ayalon, between the pass of Beth Horon and Azekah (10:11ab, 12d). After the miracle, this story further highlights the whole picture of the battle at Gibeon with a focus on the mighty acts of God, something that is finally made explicit in the concluding phrase ‘Surely YHWH was fighting for Israel!’ (10:14c).<sup>102</sup> According to the Masoretic Text, this is so important that the story of the enormous victory over the Amorite coalition could end here, for it says that Joshua and all Israel returned to their camp in Gilgal (10:15).<sup>103</sup> But as long as the Book of Joshua is interested in the fulfilment of the promise of the land, the story has to go on telling about the kings and their territories. Therefore, a second passage follows (10:16a-27f), which is centred on the other location mentioned in 10:10d, Makkedah (10:16b, 17b, 21a). This episode concentrates on the fate of the five kings of the coalition. These rulers are locked up, used by Joshua as tangible proof of YHWH’s assistance in battle, killed, and finally buried by the stones God had thrown from heaven.<sup>104</sup> The story also alludes to the territories of the kings by mentioning the escape of few of the refugees to the fortified cities (10:20cd). So it can be expected that the geographical horizon of the text will be widened, in order to give an account of conquest this land.

<sup>102</sup> For detailed comments on 10:11-14, see section 4.3.

<sup>103</sup> See annotation 10:15ee-ee.

<sup>104</sup> For detailed comments on 10:16-27, see section 4.2.

### Southern Sweep (10:28a-39g)

The coalition is overthrown, the pursuit has stopped and the rulers have been executed. But still the victory has to be materialized by taking the possession of land. This is described from 10:28a onwards. By connecting the subject 'Joshua and all Israel with him'<sup>105</sup>, with the verbs עבר (10:29a, 31a, 34a), עלה (10:36a), and שוב (10:38a), the text creates a geographical movement, which is accelerated or slowed down by chronological markers.

First Makkedah is taken (10:28a). Subsequently, the armed forces move beyond the region to other cities: from Makkedah to Libnah (10:29a), from Libnah to Lachish (10:31a), and from Lachish to Eglon (10:34a). The verb utilized here, עבר, has a quite neutral meaning. The army is not ascending or descending a slope, and is not turning left or right, but just passes on from one city to the other. So according to the text, all these cities are located somewhere south of the Ayalon Valley, in the Shephelah between the mountains in the east and the coastal plain in the west. However, things change when the army marches up to Hebron. The verb עלה shows that now Joshua moves to the east, into the more mountainous area of southern Judah (10:36a). Finally, the direction of the movement is altered again, when Israel 'returns' to Debir (10:38a). For the location of Debir, the use of שוב means that it has to be found somewhere west or south-west of Hebron.

The speed of the geographical movement is determined by the chronological markers, which are added to the description of the conquest. To stress the ease and speed with which the land is taken, the text depicts Makkedah as being taken on 'the same day' (ביום ההוא, 10:28a). Because of the context – the opposition with היום הזה in 10:27f and the importance of the 'long day' in 10:13e, 14a – the determined pronoun היום most likely refers to the day that was miraculously extended, although this is not necessary from a syntactical point of view (cf. *WO* § 17.5b). So Joshua marched up from Gilgal to Gibeon and attacked the Amorite coalition early in the morning (10:9ab). On that day, the sun and moon stopped in order to offer Israel the opportunity to take vengeance on their enemies (10:13ab). The episode about the kings hiding in a cave elaborates on this theme. In addition, Makkedah and Libnah are conquered (10:28a-30d) and the army goes on further, to Lachish (10:31a). Here, the long day stops only after Israel has begun to besiege Lachish (10:31abc).<sup>106</sup> So according to the chronological remarks, Israel's outlook radically changed within one long day: at first hand, they were under the obligation to help Gibeon. After YHWH's interference and the miraculous events, they got the opportunity for a total victory, and finally they can already make a start with the occupation of the land by conquering the cities (cf. 10:42a).

<sup>105</sup> For the expression עמו וכל-ישראל, see above, note 89.

<sup>106</sup> The chronological markers in chapter 10 suggest simultaneity, despite the paratactical character of the Hebrew narrative. At the end of the long day the kings are executed and buried in Makkedah at sunset (10:27a). But because of the next chronological remark, which is referring to the long day too (10:28a), the Amorite rulers are buried at the moment Joshua besieges Lachish (10:32b).

In the following verses, the notion of a fast movement through the country is continued and the actual conquest of the land is highlighted again, for on the next day, Israel completes its control of the south (10:32a, 35bc). By taking Lachish, defeating the auxiliary forces of Gezer, and conquering Eglon on the same day, Joshua obtains a certain influence in the eastern part of the coastal plain and in the Shephelah (10:32a-35c). Afterwards, Joshua gains control over the mountains by taking the cities of Hebron and Debir (10:36a-39g).<sup>107</sup>

*From Gibeon to Debir*

It is difficult to understand the exact geographical implications of the depictions concerning the pursuit of the enemies and the conquest of the cities (Map 3.3. and 3.4).<sup>108</sup> The problem is not so much the location of the five cities of the Amorite rulers. Jerusalem was in ancient times positioned on ridge now called the 'City of David' (172.130), south of the Haram al-Sharif or Temple Mount.<sup>109</sup> Hebron is Tel Rumeida (160.103) at the southern edge of the city centre of modern Hebron.<sup>110</sup> Jarmuth is Tel Yarmuth (147.124), just east of contemporary Ramat Beth Shemesh.<sup>111</sup> And Lachish is Tel Lachish (1357.1083), south of today's Lachish junction.<sup>112</sup> So the only remaining difficulty is Eglon. However, things get compli-

<sup>107</sup> For detailed comments on other aspects of 10:28-39, see section 4.3.

<sup>108</sup> 10:10d, 29a, 31a, 34a, 36a, 38a.

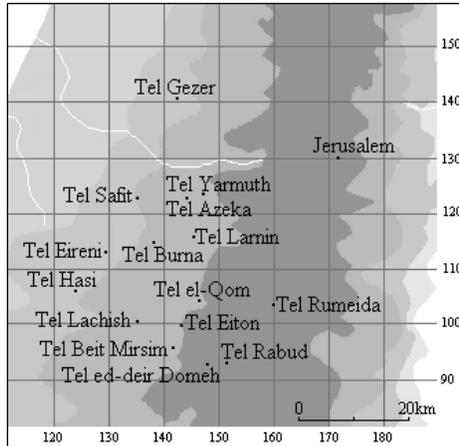
<sup>109</sup> E.g. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 437. J.M. Miller, 'Jebus and Jerusalem. A Case of Mistaken Identity', *ZDPV* 90 (1974), 115-27, has a different opinion, but see De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 320-1, 331-3. Jerusalem is already mentioned in the Execration Texts, *EA* 285-290 are letters of its king Abdi-Heba. The city is mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib and possibly also on slab I-28 of his southwest palace at Nineveh. Cf. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 122; E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften* (AfOB, 26), Wien 1997, 11; C. Uehlinger, 'Clio in a World of Pictures', in: L.L. Grabbe (ed.), *'Like a Bird in a Cage'. The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 bce* (JSOTS, 363), Sheffield 2003, 299-303.

<sup>110</sup> E.g. Ofer, 'Hebron', 607. According to Abel, Hebron is already called Kirjath-Arba on ostraca of Sethi I. Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 345-7.

<sup>111</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 356; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 437. According to Albright, 'Case of Lèse-Majesté', 36, Jarmuth is the same as Yaramu in *EA* 333:10. This fits the geography of the letter, which was found at Tel Hasi, as is admitted by the excavators of Tel Yarmuth. Nevertheless, the lack of Late Bronze Age finds and the omission of the right determinative argue in their view against this identification. E. Nodet, 'Le Nom de Yarmouth', in: P. de Miroschedji, *Yarmouth, t. 1. Rapport sur les trois premières campagnes des fouilles a Tel Yarmouth (Israël) (1980-1982)*, Paris 1988, 97-104.

<sup>112</sup> W.F. Albright, 'The American Excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim', *ZAW* 47 (1929), 3; K. Elliger, 'Die Heimat des Propheten Micha. Excurs. Die Lage von Gath', *ZDPV* 57 (1934), 103-17; Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 367-8; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 438; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 882. Doubts have been uttered by G.W. Ahlström, 'Is Tell ed-Duweir Ancient Lachish?', *PEQ* 112 (1980), 7-9; Idem, 'Tell ed-Duweir: Lachish or Libnah?', *PEQ* 115 (1983), 103-4; Idem, 'Lachish: Still a Problem', *PEQ* 117 (1985), 97-9, but cf. G.I. Davies, 'Tell ed-Duweir = Ancient Lachish: a Response to G.W. Ahlström', *PEQ* 114 (1982), 25-8; Idem, 'Tell ed-Duweir: not Libnah but Lachish', *PEQ* 117 (1985), 92-6. Lachish is mentioned in the Amarna Letters, in a text dating from the time of Amenhotep II (pLen 1116A vs:2). It is also mentioned in on the slabs of the Lachish

cated, when the reader tries to reconstruct the route along which Israel pursues the enemy and conquers the cities. Azekah is to be identified with Tel Azeka (144.123), just east of today's Tel Azeka junction, south of modern Beit Shemesh,<sup>113</sup> and the site of Gezer is recognized in Tel Gezer (1425.1407).<sup>114</sup> But the identification of Makkedah is disputed. Furthermore, it is unknown where Libnah and Debir should be sought.



Map 3.3 – Candidates for sites 'From Gibeon to Debir' in Joshua 10.

This uncertainty is somewhat surprising in the light of the present text of 10:28a-39g. The passage has a well-formed consistent structure, and does not give the impression to have chosen the verbs עבר, עלה, and שוב only by coincidence. Therefore, it can be assumed that it was written by someone who was familiar

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reliefs from Sennacherib's southwest palace at Nineveh. Cf. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 129-30; Uehlinger, 'Clio in a World of Pictures', 221-305.

<sup>113</sup> K. Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', *PJ* 30 (1934), 54, 59; Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 257; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 431; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 826. For some scepticism, see K. von Rabenau, 'Aseka', *BHH*, 138. Azekah is mentioned in the 'Azekah-Inscription' of Sargon II. Fuchs, *Inschriften Sargon II. aus Khorsabad*, 314-5.

<sup>114</sup> E.g. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 435; Kallai: *Geography*, 364-7. Gezer is referred to as Gazru in the Amarna Letters (cf. J.-P. Vita, 'Das Gezer-Corpus von El-Amarna: Umfang und Schreiber', *ZA* 90 [2000], 70-7) and mentioned in texts from the time of dating from Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, Thutmose IV (*Urk*, Bd. 4, 1556); Mernepta (Amada Inscription: *KRI*, vol. 4, I,9; Israel Stele: *KRI*, vol. 4, 19:5, 6); Shoshenq I and Tiglath-Pileser III. See Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 101-2; H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994, 210. At Gezer itself, a letter fragment possibly dating to the Amarna period and some Neo-Assyrian administrative documents were found. W. Horowitz *et al.*, *Cuneiform in Canaan. Cuneiform Sources from the Land of Israel in Ancient Times*, Jerusalem 2006, 53-60.

with the Shephelah and the hill country.<sup>115</sup> So there is reason to have another attempt in solving the problem of the remaining identifications, in order to reconstruct the geographical picture of the text.

The first city, that of *Makkedah*, has often been looked for between Azekah and Lachish, based on the assumption that the expression ער ... וער in 10:10d means Makkedah being located in the produced part of the line Beth Horon – Azekah. Then, Tel Şafit (135.123), Tel Burna (1380.1153), Tel Eireni (1295.1135), and Tel Beit Mirsim (1415.0960) would be possible candidates for identification.<sup>116</sup> However, it can be doubted whether the expression is always to be interpreted in this way.<sup>117</sup> Especially in case of 1 Samuël 17:52, it does not seem necessary that those persecuting the Philistines in the direction of Ekron, which is ‘beyond Gath’, also went through Gath itself. It is more reasonable to assume that they left Gath to the right. Even more compelling is Joshua 11:8d, where ער ... וער ... וער clearly indicates three different directions.<sup>118</sup> It is logical to assume that the expression in 10:28d is also to be interpreted in this way, for 11:8d is its direct parallel. When this is true, two options are left: Makkedah can be searched for in western direction, to the coastal plain, or in the south, close to the more mountainous area.<sup>119</sup> The second option is preferable. It goes well with the fact that Makkedah is associated with a cave and mentioned together with the site of Adullam, located in the Nahal Ela (10:17b; 12:15b, 16a).<sup>120</sup> In addition, this choice fits the testimony of the church father Eusebius, who says that Makkedah is the same as Μαχδα, eight miles east of Eleutheropolis, today’s Beit Guvrin.<sup>121</sup> In accordance with this evidence, scholars have sought Makkedah below Azekah, at Tel Lavnin (1456.1166),<sup>122</sup> or more to the south, in the transitional chalkvalley between the Shephelah and the mountains. In this valley, 12 kilometres south-east of Beit Guvrin, a village, bear-

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<sup>115</sup> Thus Elliger, ‘Josua in Judäa’, 54; Weippert, *Landnahme*, 39-40; D.A. Dorsey, ‘The Location of Biblical Makkedah’, *TA* 7 (1980), 186; N. Na’aman, ‘The Kingdom of Judah under Josiah’, *TA* 18 (1991), 18 (= Idem, *Ancient Israel and its Neighbours. Interaction and Counteraction. Collected Essays*, vol. 1, Winona Lake, IN 2005, 345). Noth, ‘Die fünf Könige’, 33, note 27 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 291), disagrees with Elliger, mainly for literary critical reasons.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. e.g. F.M. Cross, G.E. Wright, ‘The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah’, *JBL* 75 (1956), 217; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 381; Y. Dagan, ‘Cities of the Judean Shephelah and their Division into Districts’, *EI* 25 (1996), 92\*.

<sup>117</sup> The expression is also attested in Josh 11:8; 16:3; 1 Sam. 17:52, and Neh. 3:16, 24, 31.

<sup>118</sup> See below.

<sup>119</sup> For proposals for identification choosing the first option, see Dorsey, ‘Biblical Makkedah’, 185.

<sup>120</sup> For the identification of Adullam (1502.1178), see e.g. Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 846-7.

<sup>121</sup> E. Klostermann (ed.), *Eusebius, Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*, Hildesheim 1966, 126:22-25. Cf. Dorsey, ‘Biblical Makkedah’, 190. According to Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 378, the opinion of Eusebius is nothing more than a local tradition.

<sup>122</sup> Finkelstein, ‘Philistine Countryside’, 238.

ing the Arabic name Beit Maqdam (147.104) could be an appropriate candidate.<sup>123</sup> However, this village revealed only remains from the Roman and Byzantine periods. Therefore, scholars have looked for other tels in the immediate vicinity that could have been called Makkedah in ancient times. A site fitting the criteria is Tel el-Qom (1464.1044). This tel is probably also the geographical origin of an ostraccon from the collection of Shlomo Moussaieff reading 'the storehouse at Makkedah'.<sup>124</sup> As a consequence, the site is most likely to be identified with Makkedah.<sup>125</sup>

The second disputed location is that of *Libnah*. Unlike Makkedah, most scholars look for this city on the line Beth Horon – Azekah – Lachish, because of the use of the verb עבר. However, there is a possibility that it is closer to the mountains than the cities mentioned later, for Makkedah is the point of departure. Against this option, scholars have argued that Libnah has to be located more to the west for several reasons: it did not belong to Judah during the reign of king Jehoram at the beginning of the second half of the 9th century BCE (2 Kgs 8:22), and its name is missing in the list of cities, fortified by Rehobeam (2 Chron. 11:6-10). As a result, Tel Şafit (135.123) or Tel Eireni (1294.1135) is seen as the most logical candidate for being Libnah.<sup>126</sup> But these arguments are not as convincing as they look. The identification with Tel Şafit is ruled out by two factors: the Mosaic Map of Medeba, which is in large part dependent on Eusebius's *Onomasticon*, names a Σαφιθα besides the Λοβανα mentioned by Eusebius, and Tel Şafit itself is most likely identified with biblical Gath.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, Libnah was probably under control again by Judah during the 7th century BCE, even though this was a hard time for the kingdom (2 Kgs 23:31; Jer. 52:1). Finally, it can be questioned whether the cata-

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<sup>123</sup> Thus Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', 56; Idem, 'Makkeda', *BHH*, 1130. The philological objections against this identification (cf. Noth, 'Die fünf Könige', 33 [= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 291]; Weippert, *Landnahme*, 37) do not hold, for it is possible that נקדה, which has no meaning in Arabic, was transformed into something intelligible. For critical comments concerning Noth's etiological explanation of the name Makkedah, see De Vaux, *Histoire ancienne*, t. 1, 579.

<sup>124</sup> H. Lozachmeur, A. Lemaire, 'Nouveaux ostraca araméens d'Idumée (Collection Sh. Moussaieff)', *Semitica* 46 (1996), 130-3. Cf. I. Eph'al, 'Review of A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au Musée d'Israël* (Paris 1996)', *IEJ* 47 (1997), 291. Makkedah is also mentioned in an ostraccon dating from the 7th century BCE, found at Tel Uza, a site 6,5 km southeast of today's Arad, cf. J. Renz, W. Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik, Bd. 1. Die Althebräische Inschriften. Text und Kommentar*, Darmstadt 1995, 443-5.

<sup>125</sup> Thus Dorsey, 'Biblical Makkedah', 190; A.F. Rainey, 'The Biblical Shephelah of Judah', *BASOR* 251 (1983), 9; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 411-2.

<sup>126</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 369-70; Cross, Wright, 'Boundary', 217; G.E. Wright, 'Fresh Evidence for the Philistine Story', *BA* 34 (1966), 78; Idem, 'A Problem of Ancient Topography: Lachish and Eglon', *HTR* (1971), 442-3.

<sup>127</sup> K. Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', 60; Idem, 'Heimat des Propheten Micha', 148-52; Idem, 'Gath', *BHH*, 515; A.F. Rainey, 'The Identification of Philistine Gath', *EI* 12 (1975), 63\*-76\*; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 174, 271; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 836-7; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 380, 382-4; Donner, *Mosaic Map of Medeba*, 56-7, 62-3.

logue of 2 Chronicles 11 lists all the cities that were fortified, or only those that were added to the defence line already existing.<sup>128</sup>

This evidence narrows the area in which Libnah has to be sought: south of Azekah, not too far to the east, and not too far to the west. In addition, it seems that it was also located on a strategic spot along the road that gives access to the Judean mountains, for Sennacherib had to take it, before he could march up to Jerusalem (2 Kgs 19:8).<sup>129</sup> Considering this, only two candidates are left:<sup>130</sup> Tel Burna (1380.1153) and Tel Lavnin (1456.1166).<sup>131</sup> From the perspective of the division of the cities according to the 'districts' of Joshua 15, it is not possible to choose between the two: according to one scholar it is very likely that Libnah was located on the south ridge of Nahal Khalil, but others state that a location on the north ridge of Nahal Guvrin is also possible.<sup>132</sup> The route described in Joshua 10 raises the same problem. In both cases, the way from Makkedah, back to the road leading from Azekah to Lachish is about 10-15 kilometres. The only one reason to prefer Tel Burna is the road from Tel Burna to Tel Lachish, which is less difficult than the way from Tel Lavnin to Tel Lachish.

The location of *Eglon* is uncertain mainly for two reasons. The name is only attested in the Book of Joshua and Eusebius's *Onomasticon* cannot be utilized, for it is based on Joshua 15:39 LXX<sup>A</sup>, which confuses Eglon with Adullam.<sup>133</sup> Because of its name Eglon is often identified with Tel Hasi (124.106), close to a tel named Tel Ajlan.<sup>134</sup> But this identification fails in the light of the verb used in Joshua 10:36a

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', 61; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 381.

<sup>129</sup> Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', 62.

<sup>130</sup> Tel Atar (138.113) and Tel Maresha (140.111) are to be identified with biblical Ether and Maresha (A.F. Rainey, 'The Administrative Division of the Shephala', *TA* 7 [1980], 197-9; Idem, 'Biblical Shephelah', 10-1) and Tel Goded (141.115, identified as Libnah by Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 385, but see 387) is located too far east and is not positioned on a strategic spot. It was also uninhabited during the Late Bronze and the early Iron Age (S. Gibson, 'The Tell ej-Judeideh Excavations: A Reappraisal Based on Archival Records in the Palestine Exploration Funds', *TA* 21 [1994], 223-32). Therefore, Tel Goded should be identified with Moresheth-Gath (e.g. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 95; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 849-51; Donner, *Mosaic Map of Medeba*, 63; M. Broshi, 'Tell el-Judeideh', *NEAEHL*, 837-8; for a different opinion, based on assumed identity of Moreshet-Gath and Muhrashtu [*EA* 335:17], and the lack of LB remains at Tel Goded, see Finkelstein, 'Philistine Countryside', 228).

<sup>131</sup> For the first option, see Albright, 'Researches of the School', 9; Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', 62; Noth, 'Die fünf Könige', 34-5 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 291-2); Dorsey, 'Biblical Makkedah', 187; Rainey, 'Administrative Division', 198; Idem, 'Biblical Shephelah', 10-1; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 420-2. In this case, Tel Lavnin is often identified as Achzib (Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 58; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 385; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 423). For the second option, see Dagan, 'Judaean Shephelah', 142-3, 92\*, who identifies Tel Burna as Ashan.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Dagan, 'Judaean Shephelah', 92\* with De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 420-2.

<sup>133</sup> Klostermann (ed.), *Eusebius, Onomastikon*, 84:23, cf. Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 311; Rainey, 'Biblical Shephelah', 9-10.

<sup>134</sup> Albright, 'Researches of the School', 7-8; Cross, Wright, 'Boundary', 217; Wright, 'Problem of Ancient Topography', 440-1; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 124; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 381.

that presupposes a location much closer to the mountains: Joshua passes on from Lachish to Eglon, and from there he *goes up* to Hebron. Thereafter, he returns to Debir. In order to solve the problem, some have suggested Eglon being located at Tel Beit Mirsim (1415.0960) on the crossing of the lines Azeka – Lachish and Hebron – Debir.<sup>135</sup> However, this site is located too far to the south. Furthermore, such a strict interpretation of the שׁוֹב in 10:38a raises the question why the text does not depict Debir as to be conquered first. Therefore, it is more logical to assume that the circle from Tel Burna to Tel Lachish passes on in south-eastern direction. The most plausible candidate on this route is Tel Eiton (143.099), which is located in the Nahal Adorayim basin, next to the natural passage to Hebron.<sup>136</sup>

The most important information concerning the identification of *Debir* can be found in the Book of Joshua. It is located south of the line Eglon – Hebron (10:36a, 38a), in the Judean mountains, nearby springs (15:15, 19, 48-49), and most likely between Hebron and Anab (11:21c).<sup>137</sup> However, the wells uncovered during the successful excavations of Tel Beit Mirsim during the twenties and thirties of the 20th century CE induced scholars to designate this tel as biblical Debir.<sup>138</sup> Here, the archaeological remains were taken for decisive; despite the fact that the biblical evidence tended in another direction.<sup>139</sup> With respect to this biblical data, there is a discussion about the question whether דִּבְרַיָּא רַבֵּי, which functions as an apposition of קִרְיַת־סְנָה in 15:49, is a later addition or not.<sup>140</sup> Nevertheless, the only option left is to seek Debir in the mountains, south of Hebron. The few tels in this area facilitate the identification, as well as the fact that it was not sparsely inhabited during the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages. Initially, Tel Terrame and Tel Zanuta seemed to be plausible candidates.<sup>141</sup> But these possibilities were ruled out for

<sup>135</sup> Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', 54-5, 63, 67-8; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 774.

<sup>136</sup> Noth, 'Die fünf Könige', 34 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 291); Idem, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 95; Dagan, 'Judaean Shephelah', 140-1, 92"; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 408-9. Aharoni identifies Tel Eiton as biblical Etam (Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 353-4), but Anson Rainey has shown that this is unlikely from a philological point of view (Rainey 'Administrative Division', 197; Idem, 'Biblical Shephelah', 9-10). An unknown 'Eglon' is mentioned in Excretion Text E58 (Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 91).

<sup>137</sup> Anab is probably to be identified with and Tel Anab el-Kebir (143.089) or Tel Anab es-Sejireh (1457.0912). Since the systematic survey of the Judean Hill Country, the first option is preferred. See e.g. A.F. Rainey, 'Anab', *IDBS*, 25; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 430; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 278; Ofer, 'Hill Country of Judah', 118; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 433.

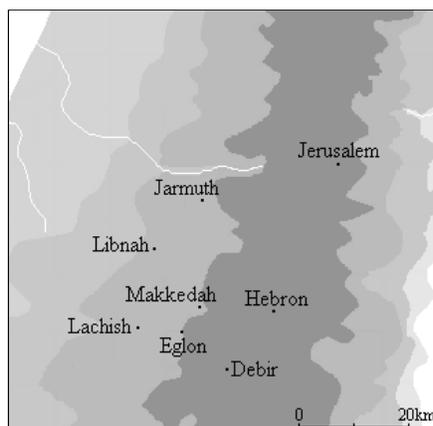
<sup>138</sup> Albright, 'Researches of the School', 4-11; Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 303.

<sup>139</sup> Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', 63-5; M. Kochavi, 'Khirbet Rabūd = Debir', *TA* 1 (1974), 26-7. Cf. also J.M. Miller, 'Site Identification: A Problem Area in Contemporary Biblical Scholarship', *ZDPV* 99 (1983), 129.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. M. Noth, 'Zur historischen Geographie Südjudäas', *JAOS* 15 (1935), 45-7 (= *ABLAK*, Bd.1, 205-7); Idem, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 90-1; K. Galling, 'Zur Lokalisierung von Debir', *ZDPV* 70 (1954), 136, with Albright, 'Excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim', 2; J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament*, Leiden 1959, 149; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 765.

<sup>141</sup> For these suggestions, see Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', 65; Noth, 'Geographie Südjudäas', 49.

several reasons. The first site is located on land that is too wet to be called 'dry' (ארץ הַיַּבֵּשׁ, 15:19), the second does not have the form of a tell, and both of them were not inhabited before the Roman period.<sup>142</sup> However, these objections do not hold for Tel Rabud (1515.0933), the only important city south of Hebron during the Late Bronze Age. The tel is located in a dry environment, just south of today's Otni'el Junction and in the neighbourhood of an area called 'Southern Springs', after the Upper and Lower wells of Alaqa, by the survey that was conducted in 1982-1987.<sup>143</sup> Therefore, the conclusion of this site being biblical Debir, is inevitable, for there are no rival candidates left and it perfectly matches the above mentioned criteria.<sup>144</sup>



Map 3.4 – Geographical locations of the conquered cities in Joshua 10.

Now all the cities mentioned in Joshua 10 seem to be identified. However, the list of 'districts' in Joshua 15:21-62 complicates the picture.<sup>145</sup> A survey, conducted by Zechariah Kallai in 1955 led to the conclusion that the third (15:37-41) and fourth 'district' (15:42-47) did not extend from west to east, but from north to south. This would mean that Makkedah and Eglon are located far more to the west.<sup>146</sup> In addition, it is stated that biblical Debir cannot be Tel Rabud, because its immediate neighbour Duma (Tel ed-deir Domeh, 148.093) belongs to the sixth 'district' (15:52-54), while Debir is listed among the cities of the fifth 'district' (15:48-

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Galling, 'Zur Lokalisierung von Debir', 139-40; Kochavi, 'Khirbet Rabûd', 28.

<sup>143</sup> Ofer, 'Hill Country of Judah', 94, 100.

<sup>144</sup> Thus Galling, 'Zur Lokalisierung von Debir', 139-40; Cross, Wright, 'Boundary', 220; Kochavi, 'Khirbet Rabûd', 28-31; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 433; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 765; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 387-8; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 431.

<sup>145</sup> For an overview of scholarly discussion about Joshua 15, see E. Noort, *Das Buch Josua. Forschungsgeschichte und Problemfelder* (EdF, 292), Darmstadt 1998, 185-95, De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 483-530.

<sup>146</sup> Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 379-86; cf. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 271, 346, 353-4.

51).<sup>147</sup> So, according to some scholars, Joshua 15 clearly falsifies the above mentioned identifications.

However, a closer look at the evidence puts things into perspective. In the first place, the survey of the Shephelah took a few identifications as a point of departure that turned out to be wrong later, for instance of Eglon being Tel Hasi. Secondly, in progressing research it appeared that the 'districts' were intimately related to ecological units and followed a certain pattern in enumerating their settlements. In this way Judah is divided into groups of agricultural settlements situated in proximity to the fertile valleys. The method by which the towns are recorded within the 'districts' is in accordance with the geographical areas themselves.<sup>148</sup> This is important with respect to the above mentioned problems. It shows why Debir and Duma did not belong to the same unit, for there is a watershed between them that functioned as the border between the fifth and sixth 'district'.<sup>149</sup> Moreover, not the lower and higher part extending from north to south provided the natural subdivision for the 'districts' in the Shephelah, but the wadis traversing from east to west. So generally speaking, the cities in the second to the fourth 'district' are distributed according to the basins of for instance the Nahal Soreq, Nahal Yarmuth, Nahal Ha-Elah, Nahal Guvrin, Nahal Lachish, and Nahal Adorayim.<sup>150</sup> As a result, the disputed 'districts' do extend from east to west. This does not mean that all problems concerning these units are solved.<sup>151</sup> Yet, it can be concluded that the enumeration of Judean settlements in Joshua 15 is in agreement with the identifications of Makkedah with Tel el-Qom and of Eglon with Tel Eiton.

As a result of these identifications, the text's picture of the route of Joshua and his army can be reconstructed.<sup>152</sup> The pursuit of the Amorite coalition went from Gibeon down the pass of Beth Horon through the Ayalon Valley in south-eastern direction towards Beth Shemesh (about 27 km). From there, some persecutors went in a straight line to Azekah (about 7 km), but others turned to the south

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<sup>147</sup> W.F. Albright, 'Review of M. Weippert, *Die Landnahme in der neueren wissenschaftlichen Diskussion*', *BiOr* 27 (1970), 58.

<sup>148</sup> Rainey, 'Administrative Division', 194-5; Na'aman, 'Kingdom of Judah', 18-21 (= *CE*, vol. 1, 345-50).

<sup>149</sup> Kochavi, 'Khirbet Rabûd', 29 (Fig. 12), 31. Cf. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 346 (Map 28); Rainey, 'Biblical Shephelah', 8; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, Map 2.

<sup>150</sup> Dagan, 'Judean Shephelah', 137 (Map), 92\*; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 424-6, 614-6 (Karten der Distrikte).

<sup>151</sup> An east-west direction is most likely, but faces two problems: (a) it disturbs the geographical sequence of the districts, for district four is dislocated between district two and three, and (b) it remains a question why the list of Simeonite cities (Josh. 19:1-9) enumerates settlements like Ether and Ashan, while they do not have their position in the Negev, but in the northern part of the Shephelah. These problems can be solved by a historiographical analysis of Joshua 15. For valuable suggestions in that direction, see Rainey, 'Administrative Division', 195, 198-200; Idem, 'Biblical Shephelah', 11; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 62-6, 89; Idem, 'Kingdom of Judah', 11, 21-2 (= *CE*, vol. 1, 337, 349-50).

<sup>152</sup> For a similar reconstruction, see Dorsey, 'Biblical Makkedah', 189; Idem, *Roads and Highways in Ancient Israel*, 151-5.

through the narrow chalk valleys, to Makkedah (about 26 km). From now on, the geographical designations become more or less schematic. Like in the case of the chronology, it is not described how Joshua and his army exactly operated, for it is not clear whether and how the army regrouped. The only thing mentioned is that other cities are taken. Libnah, located just southeast of Azekah (9-10 km from Azekah and about 18 km from Makkedah) comes first and is followed by Lachish (8-9 km from Libnah). From a geographical point of view, it would be logical for the persecutors to follow the road to Azekah to take control of Libnah, and then to pass on along the Nahal Guvrin in order to redeploy with those that had taken Makkedah near today's Guvrin junction, for the natural passage from Libnah to Lachish as well as that from Makkedah to Libnah go through the Nahal Guvrin basin. From there, the army could have passed on to the south to seize Lachish. But the text does not make any explicit reference to such details. It just says that this city is taken on the next day (10:32b). This chronological remark highlights the remarkable achievement of Israel's army: in the time given them by YHWH, they took two cities and covered a distance of more than 50 (via Azekah) or 75 kilometres (via Makkedah), a march which would normally require much more than one day.

After Lachish is taken, the army passes on to the east, to Eglon along the Nahal Lachish and then along the Nahal Adorayim (about 13 km). Joshua and his army take the city and go up in the same direction, into the mountains, to Hebron (about 15-16 km). The last few kilometres this road goes north, and therefore, Israel has to return and go the same way in the opposite direction, when they want to go to Debir, south of Hebron, after it has fallen (13-14 km).

### Summary (10:40a-43a)

The campaign to the south is concluded by a summary concentrating on the kings and their lands, for the effect of the victory at Gibeon is the capture of the entire south. The outline makes it clear that the regions described in more detail in the previous narrative were not the object of a simple raid, but conquered territories, which will be occupied by Israel. This in accordance with the statement of Deuteronomy 11:24: 'Every place on which you set foot shall be yours'.<sup>153</sup> The passage which highlights this fact is structured by two verbs: 'Joshua smote' (וַיִּכֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, 10:40a, 41a), focusing on the conquest itself, and 'Joshua captured' (לָכַד יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, 10:42a), hinting at military control as its consequence. The first verb directs the attention to its direct objects, by offering two elaborate accounts of what exactly is smitten (10:40bc, 41bc).

These accounts are noteworthy, for they do not give a report of the few regions and cities that Joshua actually passed through, but merely recapitulate the campaign in holistic terms: 'all the land' and 'the whole region of Goshen to Gibeon' is subdued and 'all the kings' are defeated; 'no survivor remains' and 'all human life is devoted to destruction'.<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, the accounts reveal

<sup>153</sup> As against Soggin, *Joshua*, 131.

<sup>154</sup> The indefinite pronoun כָּל is a typical feature of the summarizing passages in the Book of Joshua: it occurs five times in 10:40d-42a, seven times in 11:12a-15d, six times in 11:16a-23a, and six times in 21:43-45.

the ultimate goal of Joshua's campaign in depicting the land first and thus suggesting that defeating the kings and eliminating the inhabitants of the land was only a means in conquering the land. Finally, the depictions underline the comprehensive perspective of the summarizing statement by using designations that suggest Joshua having conquered the whole of southern Palestine. In the first sentence, this occurs by dividing the land according to its ecological characteristics (10:40b): the Judean mountains, the Negev in the south, the Shephelah or western foothills, and the slopes to the Jordan Valley.<sup>155</sup> This division occurs very frequently in the historiography of the settlement and often depicts the promised land in an all-inclusive way.<sup>156</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that this description indirectly emphasizes the fulfilment of YHWH's promise.

The second sentence describes the conquered region by its boundaries. The southern border goes 'from Kadesh Barnea to Gaza' (10:41b). In the historiography of the settlement, Kadesh Barnea is the southern border of the mountains of the Amorites. Before Israel's first attempt to take control of the land, Moses sent men from there – and among them Joshua and Kaleb – to spy it out.<sup>157</sup> This narrative presupposes Kadesh Barnea also being the southern border of the promised land, just as is reported in 15:3 (cf. Num. 34:4). Consequently, the fact of the narrative naming Kadesh Barnea implies Joshua having all the land of the Amorites under control. The mentioning of Gaza has a similar reason. Gaza appears to be one of the cities where some Anakites survived (11:22ab). Earlier on, the settlement's historiography refers to the city with respect to the Awites, who were supplanted by the Caphtorites (Deut. 2:23). But what is more important, Gaza seems to be located at the southern border of the coastal plain, which belongs to the promised land according to the de-

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<sup>155</sup> According to some scholars it is uncertain whether the 'slopes' refer to the descents down to the west or to the east (e.g. Nelson, *Joshua*, 148). But its interpretation as a designation for the western descent to the Jordan Valley seems to be right in the light of 12:3c; 13:20; Deut. 3:17; 4:49, which describe the slopes of Pisgah (Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 67).

<sup>156</sup> דֶּר: 9:1c; 10:6c; 10:40b; 11:2b, 3b, 16b, 21c; 12:5b, 7b, 8a; 13:6a; 14:12; 15:48; 17:16; Num. 13:17; 14:45; Deut. 1:7; 1:44; 3:25; Judg. 1:9; נֶגֶב: 11:16b; 12:8a; 15:21; Num. 13:17, 29; Deut. 1:7; 34:3; Judg. 1:9; שֵׁפֶלָה: 9:1c; 10:40b; 11:2c; 12:8a; 15:33; Deut. 1:7; Judg. 1:9; אֲשֻׁרִית: 10:40b; 12:8a. Sometimes, the Aravah, the desert, and the coastland are also added to the description: עֲרָבָה: 11:16b; 12:1e, 3b; Deut. 1:7; 3:17; 4:49; מִדְּבָר: 12:8a; 15:1; Deut. 11:24; Judg. 1:16; חֹרֶף הַיָּם: 9:1; Deut. 1:7.

<sup>157</sup> 14:6-7; Num. 38:8; Deut. 1:19-33; 2:14; 9:23, cf. Num. 13:26; Deut. 1:46. The name Kadesh is also connected with Edom's refusal to give Israel permission to go through its country, cf. Num. 20:16; 33:36-37; Judg. 11:16-17. The biblical name of Kadesh Barnea is preserved in the name of the oasis Ain-Qadesh, about 80 kilometres southeast of today's Beersheva, and therefore the historical geographers identify the place with a tell, about 7 km northeast of it, Tel el-Qudeirat (0949.0064). K. Elliger, 'Kadesh', *BHH*, 917; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 438; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 118; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 177-8.

scription of 15:11-12, and therefore had to be in control by Joshua.<sup>158</sup> The following delineation of the conquered land is 'all the land of Goshen to Gibeon' (10:41c). Although this designation is not formulated as a border description with the construction עַר ... מִן, it can be safely understood as a definition of the territories between the Negev in the south in Gibeon in the north. This is evident from 11:16b, which mentions כַּל-אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב between the Negev and the Shephelah and therefore most likely refers to the broad intermediate zone between the hill country and the Negev. In 10:41c this region is characterized as a border region, because of the way the Judean hills slope off in the direction of the Negev.<sup>159</sup>

Now that the land has been described, the text directs the attention to its kings again in a kind of concluding statement: Joshua not only defeated all of them, but also 'captured' them and all their land (10:42a). In comparison to the verb used in the previous sentences, לָכַד goes one step further in assigning Joshua's definite victory and control over the land, for it does not emphasize the victory itself, but its result: the kings are dead and Joshua takes control of all the land.<sup>160</sup> The narrative highlights this extraordinary outcome by telling that it all happened 'at one time' (פַּעַם אַחַד). This remark shows the same as the geographical designations already suggested: the battle with the Amorite coalition at Gibeon, the pursuit of the Amorites during the long day, the execution of the rulers, and the taking of their cities are all part of a single campaign, a southern sweep, in which Israel experiences the fulfilment of the promise of the land. The precise nature of this experience is made explicit by a כִּי-phrase revealing that YHWH himself had been fighting for Israel (10:42c). Previously, this was formulated in 10:14c as an explanation of God's active interference in the battle at Gibeon (10:8a-13b). But now it becomes clear that YHWH's help was still in force after Israel's army had reached Azekah and Makedah (10:10d, cf. 19e, 25d), just as the text had shown in stating that he handed Libnah and Lachish over to Israel (10:30a, 32a). So it was only with help of Israel's God that Joshua defeated the Amorite enemies and conquered the land. As a consequence, it seems justified to make a connection with YHWH's words mediated by Moses: he said he would destroy the inhabitants of the land quickly (מִהֵר), not because of the justice of Israel, but on account of the wickedness of

<sup>158</sup> Gaza is generally identified with or Ali el-Montar (099.101).

<sup>159</sup> Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 41, as against Noth, 'Geographie Südjudäas', 39. The name Goshen could be a place name, but so far it is not identified, cf. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 201, 262, 318; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 388; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 772, 935. In the past, scholars have suggested the region of Goshen being the same as that of Gari, mentioned in EA 256:23-28 (Noth, 'Geographie Südjudäas', 40-4, cf. A. Alt, 'Das Land Gari', *JAOS* 12 [1932], 126-41 [= *KS*, Bd. 3, 396-409]), but later on, it appeared that it is more likely to connect the land of Ga[š]u[ri] with biblical Geshur in Transjordan (Mazar, *Early Biblical Period*, 117-8; G. Galil, 'Ash-taroth in the Amarna Period', in: Isre'el *et al.* [eds], *Israel Oriental Studies XVIII*, 374-7).

<sup>160</sup> For more details with respect to the war terminology and a detailed explanation of 10:40cde, see section 4.3.

the nations (Deut. 9:3-5). This has been fulfilled in the conquest of the south, for despite the treaty with the Gibeonites, YHWH has destroyed Israel's enemy in a single campaign.

The chapter is closed by the comment that Joshua and all Israel return to the camp at Gilgal (10:43a). By stating this, the text repeats a remark that was already made after the depiction of the sun miracle (10:15a). There, the question remained how the promise of the land would be actually fulfilled. Now, this has become tangible in the description of the southern campaign. The decisive step is taken: YHWH gave Israel the control over the land by a glorious victory and as a result, the army can safely return to its operation base at Gilgal.

### 3.3 KINGS IN NORTHERN CISJORDAN

#### Forming the Northern Coalition (11:1a-5c)

The opening of chapter 11 immediately shows that the composition of the following story strongly parallels the account of chapter 10. Both chapters start with the *כַּשְׁמַע יִרְדֵּי*-construction, which demonstrates the subject of the verb being a single king (11:1a, cf. 10:1a). Again the subject of the verb is a king and again the reaction to the news he has heard is that he asks for help by sending a message to other rulers (11:1bc, cf. 10:3ab).<sup>161</sup> At the same time, it becomes clear that the chapter offers a more general account of what happens. The direct object of *שָׁמַע* is left out, which is possible because of the fact that it directly follows a concluding statement (10:40a-42c); it is not described whether the king was afraid or not and consequently a description of the strength of his enemy is absent (contrast 10:2abcd); only one of the other rulers is called by his name (11:1c, cf. 10:3b); and finally, the content of the message is omitted (cf. 10:4abc).

As said by the text, Jabin, the ruler of Hazor, hears the astonishing news about the defeat of the southern coalition (11:1a).<sup>162</sup> By naming Hazor, one of

<sup>161</sup> Cf. above the comments on 9:1a-4a and 10:1a-5e.

<sup>162</sup> For the meaning of the name Jabin, see annotation 11:1a. There are some striking biblical and non-biblical parallels to this name. In Judges 4 the king of Hazor is called *יָבִין* too (Judg. 4:2, 7, 17, 23, 24; Ps. 83:10). In an Amarna Letter the Hebrew form of the root also appears in the name of the ruler of Lachish, *ia-ab-ni-ilu* (EA 328:4, cf. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, 78-9). In some Mari texts, dating from the early second millennium BCE, several people are called Ibni-Addu. Among them is a certain *ib-ni-<sup>d</sup>IM šar(LUGAL) ḫa-šū-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*, 'Ibni-Addu, the king of Hazor' (ARMT 23, 556:22, 26, 32, cf. 541:9 and H.B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study*, Baltimore, MD 1965, 176-7; for these texts, see also M. Bonechi, 'Relations amicales Syro-Palestiniennes: Mari et Hašor au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.C.', in: D. Charpin et al. [eds], *Florilegium marianum, Mélanges M. Fleury* [Mémoires de N.A.B.U., t. 1], Paris 1992, 9-22). Even more remarkable is line one of Letter Fragment IAA 1997-3304, an Old Babylonian text, found at Tel Hazor in 1991, which reads *a-na ib-ni[...]*. It is tempting to restore the name of the recipient of the letter as *ib-ni-<sup>d</sup>IM*, 'to Ibni-

the main cities of northern Palestine, the narrative changes its geographical perspective from the south to the north of the country. This is a logical step in the light of the information concerning the Cisjordanian kings given in chapter 9. According to this information, every king west of the river Jordan agreed to join forces in the single purpose of combating Israel (9:2abc). At the beginning of chapter 10, however, this appeared to be impossible due to Israel's treaty with the Gibeonites. Therefore, king Adoni-Zedeq of Jerusalem took the initiative and organized a southern coalition (10:3a). But now this coalition is defeated, only the northern rulers are left to withstand the advancing troops of Joshua and Israel. Consequently, it is no surprise that Jabin, the king of Hazor, seeks contact with other rulers in northern Cisjordan. The text mentions three of them first: Jobab, the king of Maron, and besides him the rulers of Shim'on and Achshaph (11:1b).<sup>163</sup> From a geographical point of view, it is unmistakable that Jabin chooses his partners with care, for these cities are all located on strategic spots surrounding the Galilean mountains: Hazor is positioned in the Hule Valley, Maron overlooks the Arbel Valley and thus the international route crossing Lower Galilee, Shim'on is located in the Jezreel Valley, and Achshaph in the Plain of Acco.<sup>164</sup>

The naming of these kings is followed by more general depiction of the coalition, which underlines the geographical implications of the previous lines. According to this account, Jabin's action is all-inclusive: it comprises all the kings of the northern Cisjordanian regions and nations (11:2a-3c). This description parallels the previous mentioning of the kings, peoples and their lands with respect to the whole and the south of Cisjordan (9:1a-d; cf. 10:6f). As was noted above, such a description reminds the reader of the area belonging to the promised land, for the text uses the division of the land according to its ecological characteristics and adds the stereotype list of pre-Israelite nations – thus anticipating the descriptions of 11:16b and 12:8ab.<sup>165</sup> Both accounts imply that these are the kings and peoples to be defeated and this is the land to be conquered.<sup>166</sup> Here, the all-inclusive meaning of these designations is constrained by certain specifications. In the case of the land, these specifications create oppositions between north and south (11:2b). The mountainous

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Addu' (W. Horowitz, A. Shaffner, 'A Fragment of a Letter from Hazor', *IEJ* 42 [1992], 166). Because of the Mari parallels, scholars suggested Jabin being a dynastic name (e.g. A. Malamat, *Mari and Early Israelite Experience [The Schweich Lectures 1984]*, Oxford 1989, 58). For the relation between Joshua 11 and Judges 4, and for Jabin as a possible dynastic name, see the section 5.2.

<sup>163</sup> If the assumption of a relation between the name יַבִּין and the Semitic root *wbb* is correct (cf. annotation 11:1b), there could be parallels with *e-bi-bu-um*, an Amorite name of the early second millennium (Hess, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names in Joshua', 209), or *yhybb*, a Sabeian tribal name of the third century BCE (W.W. Müller, 'Jobab', *ABD*, vol. 3, 871). For the spelling 'Maron' instead of 'Madon' and 'Shim'on' instead of 'Shimron', see the annotations 11:1c and d.

<sup>164</sup> For the identifications of these cities, see below.

<sup>165</sup> Hawk, *Joshua*, 169.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. the comments on 9:1cd and 10:40b.

area is designated to be northern (מִצְפֹּן), that is, the hills of Upper Galilee or the southern part of the Anti-Lebanon. The Arabah, which is classified as a district south of the Sea of Galilee (נֶגֶד כְּנָרְוֹת), functions as its southern antipode.<sup>167</sup> As a result, the third designation, the Shephelah, does no longer stand for the western foothills of Judea, but merely assigns the hilly limestone region northwest of the Galilean mountains, an area being geomorphologically identical to the Judean Shephelah and sloping off in the direction of Tyre.<sup>168</sup> The southern opposite of this region is formed by the dune area below mount Carmel, put in by the expression 'the dunes of Dor at the sea'.<sup>169</sup> The list of nations that inhabit the described area does not so much constrain the associations with the whole of Palestine, but merely restrict the six enumerated nations to certain regions, in about the same way as the historiography of the settlement had done before (Num. 13:29; Deut. 1:7): the Canaanites reside on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea and in the Hule and Jordan Valleys (11:3a); the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites and Jebusites live in the mountains (11:3b); and the Hivites in the region of Mizpah, which is below mount Hermon (11:3c).<sup>170</sup>

So the elaborate description of Jabin's addressees refers indirectly to the opportunity Joshua and Israel will get to conquer the land. But at a primary level, it simply portrays the enormous strength of the northern coalition: if these kings join forces, they will have a mighty army. This becomes explicit in the depiction of their actual gathering: when the kings and their armed forces leave the cities (11:4a, cf. 10:5c),<sup>171</sup> they turn out to be a massive military, which is hyperbolically exposed as a huge army, countless as the sand on the seashore (11:4b).<sup>172</sup> In addition, it is stated that the Canaanite coalition has the disposal of a very large number of horses and chariots (11:4c). At face value,

<sup>167</sup> Cf. annotation 11:2e.

<sup>168</sup> I. Finkelstein, 'The Shephelah of Israel', *TA* 8 (1981), 86-7. Other suggestions for the Shephelah in 11:2b are the hills between Samaria and the Sharon (Abel, *Géographie*, t. 1, 418; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 104; Nelson, *Joshua*, 154) and the area between Samaria and Mount Karmel (W.H. Morton, 'Shephelah', *IDB*, vol. 4, 324). But both regions differ from the Judean Shephelah in what today is called its geological structure and do not slope off in coastal direction.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. annotation 11:2f. Dor is to be identified with Tel Dor (142.224) and is mentioned in Egyptian, Assyrian, Phoenician and Greek sources from pharaoh Ramses II and the story of Wenamun to Tiglath-Pileser III and the Achaemenid Persians. Cf. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 88.

<sup>170</sup> For the identification of the Valley of Mizpah, see below.

<sup>171</sup> The verb יָצָא, 'to go out', used in a military context, often refers to an army leaving a city or encampment for battle, see e.g. 8:6, 14; Deut. 20:1, 22, 31; 1 Sam. 7:11; 11:7; 2 Sam. 10:8; 11:17, 23; 20:7; Jer 46:9; Ezek. 39:9.

<sup>172</sup> In 17:14, 15, 17 עַם־רַב stands for the numerous people of the tribe of Joseph, which gets more than one allotment and is assumed to be strong enough to supplant the Canaanites, although they have iron chariots. Cf. also Deut. 20:1; Isa. 13:4; Dan. 11:11. For the phrase עַל־שִׁפְתֵי־הַיָּם in military contexts, see e.g. Judg. 7:12 ('Midianites, Amalekites and all other eastern peoples'); 1 Sam. 13:5 ('Philistines'); 2 Sam. 17:11 ('all Israel').

the rhetorical function of this remark is clear: being a mobile platform for archers, chariots were the tanks of ancient Near Eastern warfare and a symbol of power and invincibility, as is evident from both biblical and non-biblical texts. Many of Israel's opponents are said to have chariots: Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, Arameans, Assyrians, and Babylonians.<sup>173</sup> David was the first king who had them at his disposal, just as most of the Israelite and Judean kings after him.<sup>174</sup> Solomon even imported chariots from Egypt, which he sold to Aramean and Neo-Hittite rulers (1 Kgs 10:29).<sup>175</sup> Non-biblical texts offer a similar picture of the importance of chariotry from the second half of the second millennium BCE on.<sup>176</sup> Right at the beginning of this period, for instance, the annals of pharaoh Thutmose III proudly commemorate the fact of capturing 892 chariots from the coalition of Canaanite kings in the battle of Megiddo. Fifty years later his son Amenhotep II also mentions large numbers of chariots in his booty lists. According to an example from the first millennium, the so-called Monolith Inscription from Kurkh, king Ahab of Israel stood in the battle of Qarqar in 853 BCE with 2,000 chariots. His allies against the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, Hadadezer of Damascus and Irhuleni of Hamath, had 1,200 and 700 chariots respectively.<sup>177</sup> So even if the numbers are exaggerated, it can be stated that beating a huge army of chariots was in the ancient world considered being quite exceptional.<sup>178</sup> The mentioning of the large number of chariots in 11:4c has a similar function: the Canaanite coalition in the north is much

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<sup>173</sup> Egypt: e.g. Gen. 41:43; Exod. 14-15; Deut. 11:2; Josh. 24:6; 2 Chron. 12:3; Jer. 46:9; Canaanite rulers: Deut. 20:1 (?); Josh. 11:4c, 6e, 9c; 17:16, 18; Judg. 1:19; 4:3, 7, 13, 15, 16; 5:28; Philistea: 1 Sam. 13:5; 2 Sam. 1:6; Aram: e.g. 2 Sam. 8:4; 1 Kgs 10:18; 22:31-32; 2 Kgs 5:9; 1 Chron 18:4; 2 Chron. 18:30-32; Assyria: e.g. Nah. 2:2, 4; Babylon: Jer. 50:37; Ezek. 23:24; 26:7, 10.

<sup>174</sup> David: 2 Sam. 8:4; Adoniah: 1 Kgs 1:5; Solomon: 4:26; 9:19, 22; 10:26; 2 Chron. 1:14, 17; 8:6, 9; 9:25; Rehoboam: 12:18; 2 Chron. 10:18; Elah: 16:9; Ahab: 18:44; 20:33, 34; 22:34, 35, 38; 2 Chron. 18:30-32; Jehoram of Judah: 2 Kgs 8:21; 2 Chron. 21:9; Jehu, Jehoram of Israel, and Ahaziah: 9:21, 24, 27, 28; 10:2, 15, 16; Jehoahaz of Israel: 2 Kgs 13:7; Hezekiah: 2 Kgs 18:14; 19:23; Josiah: 2 Kgs 23:11, 30; 2 Chron. 35:24.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. Y. Ikeda, 'Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting', in: T. Ishida (ed.), *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, Tokyo 1982, 215-38.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. e.g. M.A. Littauer, J.H. Crouwel, 'Chariots', *ABD*, vol. 1, 888-92; R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age. Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.*, Princeton, NJ 1993, 105-34.

<sup>177</sup> *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Bd. 4, Leipzig 1907, 664; Bd. 5, Berlin 1955, 1305-9; *RIMA*, vol. 3, 23. For translations, see e.g. W.W. Hallo, K.L. Younger (eds), *The Context of Scripture. Vol. 2. Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, Leiden etc. 2000, 12, 21-2, 263. A few scholars state that king Ahab of Israel cannot be identified with the Aḥabbu <sup>kur</sup>Sir'ilā mentioned in the Kurkh Monolith, cf. W. Gugler, *Jehu und seine Revolution. Voraussetzungen, Verlauf, Folgen*, Kampen 1996, 69-76.

<sup>178</sup> For literature about the exaggeration and probable defective spelling of Ahab's 2,000 chariots, see Hallo, Younger (eds), *Context of Scripture*, vol. 2, 263.

stronger as was the Amorite coalition in the south and therefore regarded as almost invincible.

However, with respect to Joshua 11 another element is to be added to the interpretation of the phrase, for it has to be noted that the Old Testament often mentions the chariots in a negative way.<sup>179</sup> This is not because of the phenomenon of chariotry itself. YHWH also has chariots and horses at his disposal, for instance for bringing Elijah to heaven and protecting Elisha against the Arameans (2 Kgs 2:11; 6:17; 7:6, cf. Ps. 68:17). In some texts he himself is even depicted as riding the clouds as if it was a chariot.<sup>180</sup> The negative associations merely have to do with the bad impact that a powerful weapon as the chariot has on the mind of its owner, as it can be a source of pride and haughtiness. Therefore, the chariots and horses of an Israelite king sometimes represent his lack of trust in YHWH, and with respect to the foreign rulers they often symbolize an underestimation of the power of Israel's God. This is also the case in the Book of Joshua: by referring to chariots the text suggests the northern coalition being confident for winning the battle against Joshua. So it becomes clear that the Canaanite kings do not reckon with the possibility that YHWH himself will fight for Israel.

#### *Chariots of 'Iron'*

Another element concerning the function of the chariots in the historiography of the settlement is the puzzling notion occurring a few times that they are made of 'iron' (רכב ברזל, 17:16, 18; Judg. 1:19; cf. Judg. 4:3, 13). This is interesting in the light of YHWH's command to burn the chariots (11:6e), the Akkadian word for chariot, *narkabtum*<sup>gls</sup>(GIGIR.GIŠ), which determinative says the chariot is made of wood, and of the archaeological finds. According to most interpreters, the addition 'iron' means that the Canaanite chariots, as depicted on Egyptian reliefs and on an ivory carving from Megiddo, were only partly armoured and strengthened by iron plates.<sup>181</sup> In that case, the phrase would stress the technological superiority that the Canaanites (and later Philistines) enjoyed over Israel.<sup>182</sup> But this interpretation is not without problems. First of all, the virtue of the chariot was its lightness and speed, while iron is exceptionally heavy. Only by the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, in the second half of the 8th century BCE, the chariot may have been covered with iron. But these chariots were bigger and less mobile than before: carrying archers, they became a kind of stationary firing platform, while mounted troops took over the traditional role of the light, fast chariotry. Later on, at the beginning of the 7th century BCE, the Assyrians began to attach iron tires to the chariot wheels, a technological innovation which rapidly spread to Italy and central Europe. From the

<sup>179</sup> 1 Sam. 8:12; Ps. 20:8; Isa. 2:7; 22:7, 18; 31:1; Mic. 5:10; cf. Deut. 17:16.

<sup>180</sup> Isa. 19:1; Ps. 68:34; 104:3, cf. Deut. 33:26; Hab. 3:8, 15; Isa. 66:15; see also M.C.A. Korpel, *A Rift in the Clouds. Ugaritic and Hebrew Descriptions of the Divine*, Münster 1990, 447, 507.

<sup>181</sup> E.g. Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of the Archaeological Discovery*, London 1963, 255; J.A. Soggin, *Judges. A Commentary (OTL)*, Westminster, PA, 1981, 64.

<sup>182</sup> Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*, 526, 548.

perspective of this development it can be doubted whether the rulers of the late second or early first millennium BCE would have iron plated their chariots, if they were able to do so. Secondly, metal was rarely and even sparingly used in Egyptian chariots, and iron was in general use in the Southern Levant quite late – from the 10th century on, as was noted above in section 1.3 – and in Egypt only very late, that is, not until the Ptolemaic period, although there was an increase in the use of the metal from the 7th century BCE onwards.

In order to overcome these difficulties, it has been suggested that it were the Assyrian iron-tired chariots, which the authors of Joshua and Judges had in mind in attributing ‘chariots of iron’ to the foes of Israel. In that case the imagery of the text could reflect the situation of Late Bronze Canaan, when conquering the cities in the plains was difficult because of the chariot armies that guarded them, but the notion of iron is the misconception of a writer in the Persian period.<sup>183</sup> In opposition to this opinion, the attention has been pointed to Hittite and Egyptian texts from the 14th to the 12th century BCE, which refer to iron and iron decoration and its use as a figurative expression of strength, hardness, and power. According to one scholar, these texts suggest that the iron chariots are indeed related to the historical context of the Late Bronze Age, for they reflect early experiments with iron.<sup>184</sup> Although this view may be applied rightly to the biblical attestation of the iron bed of Og, king of Bashan (Deut. 3:11), there remains one major problem with respect to the chariots: the texts mentioning them assume iron to be so common among the local rulers of the Southern Levant that their fabrication cannot be qualified as experimental. As a consequence, the only way to hold on to the view of the iron chariots relating to the historical context of the Late Bronze Age is to understand the phrase רכב ברזל as being a purely figurative expression for invincibility. But this interpretation can be doubted, for the iron of the chariots clearly seems to reflect some actual iron component of it, no matter how small. Therefore, in order to solve these problems, it is more appropriate to ask when the innovation of the reinforcement of the chariot by iron took place. Almost certainly, this happened at the very beginning of the first millennium BCE in the Neo-Hittite states in northern Syria or in Assyria, where iron was already mined and used. Unfortunately, the earliest satisfactory chariot representations from these regions do only occur one century later.<sup>185</sup> Consequently, taking in consideration the function of the chariot as a mobile platform and the use of iron for it, רכב ברזל possibly resembles the chariots of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, of Assyria, and of Israel during the late 10th and 9th centuries BCE.

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<sup>183</sup> R. Drews, ‘The “Chariots of Iron” of Joshua and Judges’, *JSOT* 45 (1989), 22; Idem, *The End of the Bronze Age*, 212. For the protective function of the pharaonic chariotry in Late Bronze Canaan, see e.g. *EA* 117:42; 131:12; 132:57: 180:6, 10, 21. Of special interest with respect to Joshua 11 is *EA* 366:20-28, where Shuwardata says that Surata, the ruler of Akka, and Endaruta, the ruler of Akshapa have come to his aid with 50 chariots.

<sup>184</sup> A.R. Millard, ‘King Og’s Bed and Other Ancient Ironmongery’, in: L. Eslinger, G. Taylor (eds), *Ascribe to the Lord. Biblical & Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie* (JSOTS, 67), Sheffield 1988, 486-92; Idem, ‘Back to the Iron Bed: Og’s or Procrustes?’, in: J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume Paris 1992* (VTS, 61), Leiden etc. 1995, 194-5.

<sup>185</sup> Littauer, Crouwel, ‘Chariots’, 890-1.

So in summary, the scarcely attested notion in the historiography of the settlement of the chariots being made of iron underlines the strength of Israel's opponents. In the depiction of the chariots as mobile platforms in battle for the Canaanite rulers of the plains, the texts most likely parallel the art of warfare of the city-states of the Southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age. At the same time, however, the addition 'iron' seems to reflect, as far we know, a late 10th to an early 8th century BCE horizon.

After the portrayal of the enormous strength of the northern coalition, the text goes on in describing the gathering of all the kings of the northern regions: they assemble by appointment (11:5a, cf. 10:5a), that is, they go underway, meet at the waters of Merom, a location south of Hazor, in the neighbourhood of the city of Maron and encamp there (11:5bc, cf. 10:5d). As a result, a mighty army is ready to attack Israel, which eventually will be an assault on YHWH.<sup>186</sup>

### **Northern Defeat (11:6a-11c)**

The threatening state of affairs induces YHWH to an oracle for Joshua, like in chapter 10. Joshua is encouraged not to fear, for God will deliver the enemy into his hands. In addition, Joshua is commanded to hamstring the horses and to burn the chariots (11:6a-e).<sup>187</sup> The next few lines describe what the foregoing chapter told in a whole story: Joshua and his army try to win the battle by a surprise attack (11:7ab, cf. 10:9a) and YHWH fulfils his promise by delivering them into their hands (11:8a, cf. 6c; 10:8c). As a result they indeed succeed in defeating the northern coalition (11:8b) and are able to pursue the enemy in three directions, a remark that reveals the precise extent of the land that is taken over by Joshua and Israel (11:8cd).

#### *From Maron to the Valley of Mizpeh*

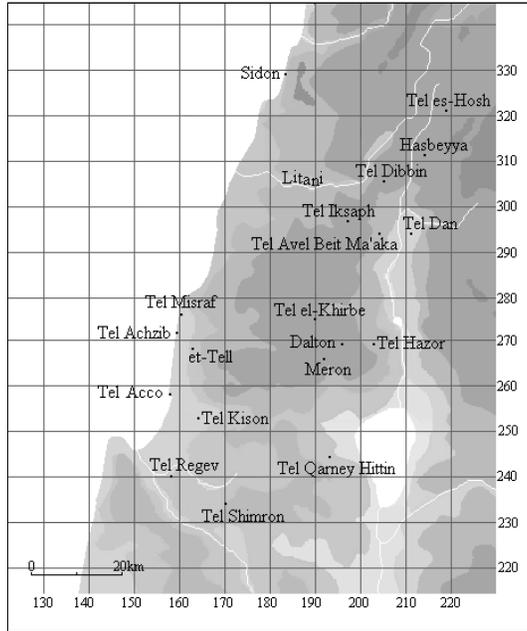
At first glance, it is not easy to understand the exact geographical implications of 11:1ac, 8d (Map 3.4 and 3.5). Israel's move from south to north is assumed, but not described. *Hazor* is generally identified with Tel Hazor (203.269), a site about 8 kilometres south of Lake Hule, along the present-day road 90, which leads towards northern Galilee and Syria.<sup>188</sup> But the locations of the other three cities and of the areas in which direction the defeated army flees are disputed.

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<sup>186</sup> Beyond 11:5a, the verb יָעַר is scarcely attested in military contexts: only in 2 Sam. 20:5 and Ps. 48:4. The last text offers a striking parallel, explicating the notion of the assembling of the kings as an act against YHWH; cf. the comments made above on 10:5abc. For the location of the waters of Merom, see below.

<sup>187</sup> For detailed comments on 11:6a-e, see section 4.2.

<sup>188</sup> Hazor is mentioned in texts from Mari, in Egyptian texts dating from pharaoh Thutmose III to Ramses II, in EA 227, 228, 289 and 364 and in Neo-Assyrian texts. Cf. A. Malamat, 'Syro-Palestinian Destinations in a Mari Tin Inventory', *IEJ* 21 (1971), 34, 36-37; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 116-7; P. Bienkowski, 'The Role of Hazor in the Late Bronze Age', *PEQ* 119 (1987), 50-61. In addition, several Late Bronze letters, administrative documents and an inscribed stone bowl were found at Te Hazor. Horowitz *et al.*, *Cuneiform in Canaan*, 80-6.



Map 3.5 – Important sites in establishing the geography of Joshua 11.

The second city mentioned is that of *Maron*. The context of 11:1c and 12:19a seems to suggest that the city, which is called Madon in the Masoretic Text, has to be sought between Hazor in north-eastern and Shim'on and Achshaph in western Galilee. Therefore, Maron was identified with Tel Qarney Hittin (1933.2447), because this site is located in the vicinity of Tel Madin.<sup>189</sup> At the same time the waters of Merom, mentioned in 11:5c, 7a, were looked for in the mountainous area west of Hazor. At first, it was identified with Meron (192.266), a village close to a source and wadi called Meron, and later with the more northern Tel el-Khirbe (190.275) in the vicinity of Marun e-Ras, a hamlet at the other side of the Lebanese border.<sup>190</sup> Both sites, however, turned out to be improper nominees for Merom. The neighbourhood of Ein Meron does not have an impressive tel and there is no distinguishing well in the area of Marun e-Ras. Therefore, the proposal was made of the waters of Merom being the humid plateau of today's Dalton (196.269).<sup>191</sup> However, text criticism as well as attestations of Merom in non-biblical texts imply that both Madon in 11:1c and 12:19a MT and Merom 11:5c, 7a refer to the same city, which was called Maron or Marom.<sup>192</sup> The non-biblical texts

<sup>189</sup> E.g. Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 372; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 274.

<sup>190</sup> For the first option, see W.F. Albright, 'New Israelite and Pre-Israelite Sites', *BASOR* 35 (1929), 8; Abel, *Géographie*, t. 1, 493-4, t. 2, 385; Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 67, 148; E. Jenni, 'Merom', *BHH*, 1196; for the second option, see Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 181, 280; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 137.

<sup>191</sup> H. Rösel, 'Studien zur Topographie der Kriege in den Büchern Josua und Richter', *ZDPV* 91 (1975), 179-80.

<sup>192</sup> See annotation 11:1c.

also make it unlikely that this city was located in Upper Galilee. During the Late Bronze Age the Egyptians were not interested in this distant area and according to archaeological surveys the region was only sparsely settled. Moreover, the Neo-Assyrian reference almost certainly points at a city in Lower Galilee.<sup>193</sup> In the light of this evidence, the 'waters of Merom' could be identified with the rich spring of Nabi Shu'eib at the foothill of Tel Qarney Hittin, and Tel Qarney Hittin itself turns out to be Maron, although not because of Tel Madin, but because of Nimrin, a village about 3 kilometres to the west, which preserved the root *mrn*.<sup>194</sup>

The third city of 11:1c is *Shim'on*. The text critical considerations concerning Maron can also be applied to this town: its original spelling, preserved in LXX<sup>B</sup>, is attested in non-biblical texts.<sup>195</sup> These texts do also offer some valuable information concerning its position. Like 11:1c, the annals of Thutmose III and Amarna Letter 225 indicate that the city has to be sought in the neighbourhood of the Jezreel Valley.<sup>196</sup> As a result, the older identification of Shim'on with Tel Shimron (170.234), a site near today's Nahalal junction, is established.<sup>197</sup>

The fourth and last city mentioned is *Achshaph*. According to some scholars, this city should be identified with Tel Iksaph (197.297), a site north of Upper Galilee, close to the place where the river Litani goes west to the Mediterranean

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<sup>193</sup> Maron is referred to as *ma-ram-aim* in the Palestine-list of Thutmose III (*Urk.*, Bd. 4, 784-5, cf. Helck, *Beziehungen*<sup>2</sup>, 127-9, as against Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 162; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 137); as *má-ra-am* in a relief from the 8th year of Ramses II (*KRI*, vol. 2, 149, cf. K. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II*, Warminster 1982, 68; Hasel, *Domination & Resistance*, 157, 176, as against M. Noth, 'Ramses II. in Syrien', *ZDPV* 64 [1941], 58-9 [= *ABLAK*, Bd. 2, 107]; Helck, *Beziehungen*<sup>2</sup>, 208; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 181), and as <sup>URU</sup>*ma-ru-um* in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III (Tadmor, *Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III*, 83). It is unlikely that *mtn* in an Egyptian Basaltstela that was found in Kinnereth is a parallel to 'Madon' (thus Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 68, but see Weippert, *Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme*, 41).

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 121-2, 126-6; Gal, *Lower Galilee during the Iron Age*, 89. According to Aharoni, Tel Qarney Hittin is to be identified with a city called Shemesh-Edom in Egyptian sources, and with Adamah in Josh. 19:36 (Y. Aharoni, 'Some Geographical Remarks concerning the Campaign of Amenhotep II', *JNES* 19 [1960], 177-83; Idem, *Land of the Bible*, 429). This is improbable, for Shemesh-Edom lies on the main route leading from the Phoenician coast to the Orontes and Adamah is located more to the north. Possibly, the name 'Rimmon' in Josh. 19:15 is a metathesis is of 'Maron', due to the name Rimmon in the list of Levitical cities (Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 133-42).

<sup>195</sup> See annotation 11:1d. Shim'on is called *Ša-m-c-u-na* in Egyptian texts such as the Execration Text 55, the Palestine list of Thutmose III (*Urk.*, Bd. 4, 782), of Amenhotep II (PLeN 1116A, 71, 188), of Amenhotep III (Xa C<sub>n</sub> 15), and *Ša-am-ḥu-na* in an Amarna Letter (*EA* 225:4). For a possible attestation of Shim'on in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III, see Tadmor, *Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III*, 82.

<sup>196</sup> Rainey, 'Shimron - Shim'on', 59-65; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 182-3. For a different interpretation of these texts, see M. Noth, 'Der Aufbau der Palästinaliste Thutmose III.', *ZDPV* 61 (1938), 64 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 2, 72); Helck, *Beziehungen*<sup>2</sup>, 59.

<sup>197</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 464; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 183; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 442; Rösel, 'Topographie der Kriege', 174; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 417.

Sea.<sup>198</sup> Although the name of the site fits perfectly, it is located too far to the north. The identification can only hold when the assumption is made of a tradition behind 11:1c and 12:20b referring to a city not identical with the Achshaph of 19:25. But this is unlikely, for both the present context of the chapters 11 and 12 and the attestation in chapter 19 suggest the city being located in western Lower Galilee, just as those non-biblical texts that situate Achshaph close to Acco.<sup>199</sup> So the question to be answered is, which sites in this region could be appropriate candidates for being Achshaph. A first option is et-Tell (163.268), a tel northeast of Acco,<sup>200</sup> while it is also suggested that Achshaph is lying at the seashore.<sup>201</sup> But Papyrus Anastasi I, which portrays the city as being located southeast of Acco, rules out both alternatives. A third possibility is Tel Regev (158.240) at today's Tel Regev junction, close to the transition from Plain of Acco into the Jezreel Valley.<sup>202</sup> This site, however, seems to be located too far to the south and has no remains from the Middle Bronze Age, although this is required by the city's attestation in the Egyptian sources.<sup>203</sup> So the only tel that remains as an appropriate candidate is Tel Keisan (164.253), a remarkable feature in the flat area of present-day Zvulun Valley, and certainly the most important site in the Plain of Acco. Accordingly, most scholars identify Tel Keisan as Achshaph.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 72; Weippert, *Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme*, 42; P. Bordreuil, 'De 'Arqa à Akhsaph: notes de toponymie Phénicienne', in: *La Toponymie Antique. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg*, Leiden 1977, 181.

<sup>199</sup> See especially Papyrus Anastasi I from the time of Ramses II (pAn I 21,4) and two Amarna Letters (*EA* 366:23; 367:1). Achshaph is further mentioned in an Execration text (E11), the annals of Thutmose III (*Urk.*, Bd. 4, 782), and a text from the time of Amenhotep II (pLen 1116A, 70). For the relation between the Egyptian texts and the Amarna Letter, see e.g. Alt, 'Neues über Palästina aus dem Archiv Amenhophis IV', in: *KS*, Bd. 3, 161-5. At Tel Keisan, a fragment of a Neo-Assyrian administrative text was found. Horowitz *et al.*, *Cuneiform in Canaan*, 98-9.

<sup>200</sup> A. Saarisalo, *Sites and Roads in Asher and Western Judah* (SO, 28), Helsinki 1962, 16.

<sup>201</sup> E. Lipinski, 'The Territory of Tyre and the Tribe of Asher', in: Idem (ed.), *Studia Phoenicia IX. Phoenicia and the Bible* (OLA, 44), Leuven 1991, 159; I. Finkelstein, 'The Territorial-Political System of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age', *UF* 28 (1996), 238.

<sup>202</sup> B. Mazar, 'Palestine at the Time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt', *RHJE* 1 (1947), 48; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 429; R. Frankel, 'The Territory of the Tribe of Asher', in: T. Eskola, E. Junkkaala (eds), *From the Ancient Sites of Israel. Essays on Archaeology, History and Theology*, Helsinki 1998, 56-7.

<sup>203</sup> J. Briend, 'Akshaph et sa localisation à Tell Keisan', *RB* 79 (1972), 245. Tel Regev is also identified as Helkath, at the south-eastern edge of Asher's allotment (19:25, cf. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 118; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 201, 431). Recently, a Japanese team cut into the mound and discovered an MB-fortification and LB and IA-remains (Halpern, personal communication). So far, however, none of its results were published. Other candidates would be Tel Bira (166.256) and Tel Aphek (160.250), but both should be identified with Rehob and Aphek (19:28, 30, cf. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 193; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 435, 441; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 428, 430).

<sup>204</sup> W.F. Albright, 'Archaeological Notes and News of the School in Jerusalem', *BASOR* 61 (1936), 24; Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 237; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 189-90; Helck, *Beziehungen*<sup>2</sup>, 53, 127; Rösler, 'Topographie der Kriege', 174; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 48; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 430-1. The excavators of Tel

As a result, these identifications confirm the conclusion made in the exegesis of 11:1c about the strategic position of the cities. The Galilean mountains are surrounded in the west by Achshaph in the Plain of Acco, in the south by Shim'on at the edge of the Jezreel Valley and by Maron on the top of volcanic peak of Qarney Hittin, and in the east by Hazor at the western edge of the Hule Valley. Consequently these cities fit the role of heading the northern coalition.<sup>205</sup> Their rulers and the other kings join forces in the Arbel Valley, where they are defeated in Joshua's surprise attack.

The defeat of the northern coalition is followed by a pursuit: from the Arbel Valley, the valley of the waters of Maron, the soldiers flee in northern direction (11:8d). By naming Sidon in the west and adding *בְּצִדְדָה*, 'to the east', to the Valley of Mizpeh, it becomes clear that the *... וְעַר* construction designates three different directions. But it is disputed where these directions go.

The first location mentioned is *Great-Sidon*. Sidon (184.329) is a well-known city at the Phoenician coast. The attestations of this city in the historiography of the settlement offer an ambivalent picture. According to some scholars, 11:8d and Asher's border description of 19:28 imply that the city belongs to conquered territory, while 13:4b, 6b and Judges 1:13 make it clear that the city and its inhabitants could not be qualified as Israelite. In order to solve this problem, it is proposed that the naming of *רְבֵה צִידוֹן* in 19:28 is a later addition, a hypothesis that is supported by the fact that the other places mentioned in 19:24-29 are lying much more to the south.<sup>206</sup> Another scholar has suggested that this passage describes the city as allotted, although it was not in control.<sup>207</sup> Both ideas, however, fail to take into consideration the complementary relation between 11:8d and 19:28: it is the conquered land that is divided. Therefore, it is more likely to suppose that Sidon and its inhabitants are located beyond the border that is described in 11:8d. As a consequence it is important to take a look at the precise meaning of the phrase used in both texts, that is *צִידוֹן רְבֵה*. Although the adjective 'great' is not used in other biblical texts, the attestations of the addition in non-biblical texts offer a clear picture of its significance. Especially the Palestine list of Thutmose III and the annals of Sennacherib show that the expression is a designation of the area controlled by the city.<sup>208</sup> Consequently, the designation 'Great-Sidon' in 11:1d

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Keisan are divided about its identification. Jacques Briend thinks it could be Achshaph, but he hesitates because he thinks Papyrus Anastasi I also designates a city between Achshaph and Acco (Briend, 'Akshaph', 245). However, it can be questioned whether Papyrus Anastasi I should be interpreted in this way, for EA 366 clearly underlines the importance of Achshaph. Therefore, Jean-Baptiste Humbert accepts the traditional identification (J.-B. Humbert, 'Tell Keisan', *NEAEHL*, 862).

<sup>205</sup> Gal, *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age*, 89.

<sup>206</sup> Noth, 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumenten des Josuabuches', 222-3; cf. A. Alt, 'Eine galiläische Ortsliste in Jos 19', *ZAW* 45 (1927), 69.

<sup>207</sup> Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 167-78.

<sup>208</sup> '-p-r wr and '-p-r šr (*Urk.*, Bd. 4, 783, translated as 'große Anschwellung' and 'kleine Anschwellung') and *Ši-du-un-nu rabû[ú]* (D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals Sennacherib* (OIP, 2), Chicago, IL 1924, 29, 68, 73, 77, 86). Similar expressions can be found in row 108 and 109 of the Shoshenq list. For a different interpretation of the annals Sennacherib, see Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 190-1.

means that the extreme northwest boundary of the conquered territory is the same as the southern border of the coastal area under Sidonian control.

The second geographical name of 11:8d is *Misrephot Maim*. This location is mentioned as one of the southern limits of the remaining land in 13:6a. Consequently, it can be argued that, wherever this location is situated, the conquered and remaining land are also complementary in this case. Some have identified Misrephot Maim with the river-mouth of the Litani River.<sup>209</sup> But this is implausible, because the name Litani is very old. In addition, this identification does not seem to do justice to the place of the geographical name between 'Great Sidon' and 'the Valley of Mizpeh to the east', for this leaves only two options for interpretation. On the one hand it is possible to see Sidon and Mizpeh as two geographical locations in the west and the east. In that case Misrephot Maim should be sought for between the two locations, most likely just below the Lebanon, somewhere on the southern branch of the Litani River.<sup>210</sup> On the other hand, the addition מים can also be understood as making the opposition with מזרחה. Then Misrephot Maim has to be interpreted as an apposition of 'Great-Sidon', which wants to make it clear that the conquest touched the southern boundary of the Sidon's territory and reached the sea at a certain point in the west. The last interpretation is preferable, for it fits the meaning of the geographical designation itself ('lime kilns by the waters', *HALOT*, 641) and perfectly matches the information concerning the north-eastern border of Israel in 19:29: this not only describes how this boundary makes a detour around Sidon, but also shows that it subsequently reached 'the fortress of Tyre'. As a result, it is suggested that the northern border of Israel ran westwards along the Litani River, which is the southern border of 'Great-Sidon', but did not reach the coast, because it went south along the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Tyre, and only arrived at the sea in the region of Achzib.<sup>211</sup> In this region, just north of Tel Achzib (159.272), there is a tell, called Tel Misraf (161.276), which is identified by most scholars as Misrephot Maim.<sup>212</sup>

The third and last name mentioned is the *Valley of Mizpeh to the east*. This phrase is part of a whole complex of more or less synonymous expressions which designate a valley (בקעה) at the foot of Mount Hermon (תחת הר־חרמון).<sup>213</sup> The at-

<sup>209</sup> Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 238.

<sup>210</sup> Thus Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 48-50.

<sup>211</sup> Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 50; H.J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre. From the Beginning of the Second Millennium B.C.E. until the Fall of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 539 B.C.E.*, Beer Sheva 21997, 65, 67; Frankel, 'Territory of the Tribe of Asher', 62-3, 65. Information concerning a territory of Tyre along the coast can also be found in the Amarna Letters, see EA 148:11, 30; 149:49; 150:1; cf. Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 392; Katzenstein, *History of Tyre*, 29. For a discussion with respect to the possible relation between the Tyrian town named Usu and the biblical name Hosah, see Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 217-9; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 55; Katzenstein, *History of Tyre*, 65.

<sup>212</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 388; Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 68-9; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 113, 275; Rösel, 'Topographie der Kriege', 181; A. Raban, 'Marine Archaeology', *NEAEHL*, 963; Noort, 'Josua und seine Aufgabe', 82.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. בעל־גד בקעת הלבנון תחת הר־חרמון (11:17b); בעל גר בבקעת הלבנון (12:7b); בעל גר תחת הר־חרמון (13:5c); מוהר בעל חרמון (Judg. 3:3);

testations of these expressions in 11:17b and 12:7b make it clear that this region is the northern boundary of the conquered territory, while 13:5c and Judges 3:3 show it also being the southern border of the remaining land. Now the question is: where is this border-region situated? The expressions contain several indications for solving this problem. The parallel between 11:3c, 8d and 11:17b, 12:7b proves the Valley or Land of Mizpeh being the same as the valley of Lebanon, in which there is a place called Baal-Gad (11:17b, 12:7b; 13:5c), while both are said to be located at the foot of a mountain, which is called Hermon (11:3c), Mount Hermon (11:17b, 13:5c), or Baal-Hermon (Judg. 3:3, cf. 1 Chron. 5:23). This mountain can be identified as today's Mount Hermon, the southern spur of the Anti-Lebanon.<sup>214</sup> In addition, the label 'Valley of Lebanon' makes it clear that the designation מִזְרְחָה does not point at a valley east of the mountain, for it clearly stands for the Beqa Valley between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Finally, the expression תַּחַת always means 'directly beneath' and therefore signifies the foot of Mount Hermon, while the meaning of the preposition בַּ in the phrase 'in the Valley of Lebanon' is not restricted in that way and also could assign the vicinity of the Beqa Valley.<sup>215</sup> Taken together, this information offers valuable information concerning the identification of the Valley of Mizpeh and of Baal-Gad. The Valley of Mizpeh almost certainly is the same as the basin of the Hesbani River.<sup>216</sup> At the same time, however, it must be recognized that Baal-Gad cannot be identified with tels in the area around Marj Ayyun and in the region above Dan, or with Hasbeyya (2140.3115), a site in the lower course of the Wadi et-Teim, because then there is no clear connection with the Beqa Valley.<sup>217</sup> It is more likely to locate Baal-Gad in the upper course of the Wadi et-Teim, close to the watershed between this brook and the Litani River, which goes through the Beqa Valley. Here, it is not easy to find a site that fits all the above-mentioned criteria, but Tel el-Hosh (219.321) is a logical candidate.<sup>218</sup>

The identification of the Valley of Mizpeh and Baal-Gad confirms the contention that Israel's northern boundary ran westwards along the Litani River. This result is of some importance with respect to the interpretation of another passage in the Book of Joshua alluding to this border, namely 19:32-34. Regarding this textual unit, it is striking that the southern border of Naphtali is delineated in 19:33, while the northern border is not described explicitly. Some think the northern border is identical with that of 11:8d, 17b.<sup>219</sup> But this interpretation fails in light of

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בְּעַל חֶרְמוֹן וְשֵׁנִיר (1 Chron. 5:23). See Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 43; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 310-1.

<sup>214</sup> See e.g. D. Jericke, 'Baal-Gad', *ZDPV* 117 (2002), 129-32, as against Noth, 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumenten des Josuabuches', 202-9.

<sup>215</sup> Jericke, 'Baal-Gad', 135.

<sup>216</sup> Maisler, *Untersuchungen*, 75; Abel, *Géographie*, t. 1, 409; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 239; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 43.

<sup>217</sup> Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 227; Jericke, 'Baal-Gad', 133. For these identifications, see Maisler, *Untersuchungen*, 75; Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 258; Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 69; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 238-9; M. Wüst, *Untersuchungen zu den siedlungsgeographischen Texten des Alten Testaments, Bd. 1, Ostjordanland* (BTAVO B/9), Wiesbaden 1975, 136.

<sup>218</sup> Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 276-7; Jericke, 'Baal-Gad', 136; cf. Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 43.

<sup>219</sup> Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 197, 225-6; cf. Alt, 'Galiläische Ortsliste', 71.

the location of Baal-Gad and the remark about the settlement of the tribe of Dan in this area (19:47). So the chapter does not offer a description of a Danite territory in the north, which is logical because of the preceding city-list of 19:40-46. On the base of 1 Kings 15:20, which distinguishes between Ijon, Dan and Abel-beth-maacah and the rest of the territory of Naphtali, it is more likely to argue that the Danites are assumed to live north of Naphtali, that is, between Dan (Tel Dan, 211.294) and Abel-beth-maacah (Tel Avel Beit Ma'aka, 204.194) in the south and Ijon (Tell Dibbin, 2052.3054) close to the Litani river in the north. Consequently, it can be concluded that the Danite area in the north fills the gap between the Naphthalite territory and the northern border.<sup>220</sup> As a result, the 'Valley of Mizpeh in the east' is in fact a depiction of the boundary described in chapter 19, just as 'Great-Sidon' and 'Misrephot Maim' are.

Finally, the geographical attestations in 11:8d and its parallels in chapter 19 point the attention to 2 Samuel 24:5-7. This passage offers a description of the boundaries of Israel's kingdom by depicting a route of David's officials in taking a census. Although Joab criticizes the idea of a census and David is punished for it afterwards, the text devotes much attention to the eastern and northern boundaries.<sup>221</sup> The men traverse the land by crossing the Jordan, going northward into Transjordan, westward in the direction of the Phoenician coast and finally southward to the non-Israelite enclaves in Cisjordan.

The text is rather problematic from a text critical point of view. Nevertheless, the trip along the northern boundary follows a line that is quite similar to the northern border of the conquered land in the Book of Joshua. The first line of verse 6 most likely alludes to the region at the foot of Mount Hermon and thus parallels 11:3c, 11:17b, 13:5c and indirectly 19:47.<sup>222</sup> This is confirmed by a second line, which refers to Dan and probably to Ijon.<sup>223</sup> The last words of this line and the first part of verse 7 show the route going along the northern boundary of the tribe of Asher, as described in 19:28-29 and presupposed in 11:8d, for it turns around Sidon (אל-ציריך) and thereafter reaches the fortress of Tyre. From there, the officials go on to 'all the towns of the Hivites and Canaanites'. These words unite the Hivite and Canaanite enclaves within the Davidic kingdom, as is evident from the concluding phrase of the geographical description, which says that they finally reached Beersheba in the Negev of Judah. It is very interesting to compare this passage with the historiography of the settlement. For on the one hand the description of the northern border of the Davidic kingdom clearly re-

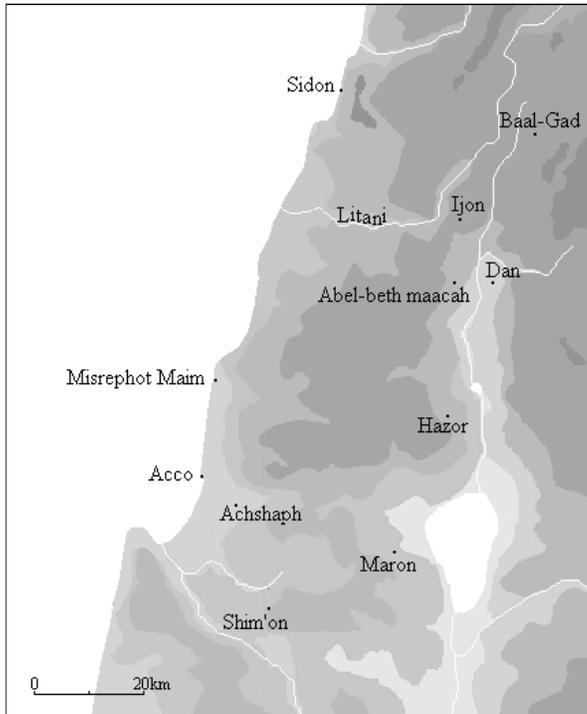
<sup>220</sup> Cf. Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 46.

<sup>221</sup> For the composition of the passage, see J.P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in Books of Samuel. Vol. 3. Throne and City* (SSN, 27), Assen, Maastricht 1990, 314-5.

<sup>222</sup> The first follows proto-Lucian and reads חרשים חרשי, 'and to Kadesh in the land of the Hittites', but this conjecture is unlikely, because Kadesh at the Orontes is located too far to the north. More convincing is the reading חרמון חרמון, 'and to the land at the foot of the Hermon'. For details, see P.W. Skehan, 'Joab's Census: How far North?', *CBQ* 31 (1969), 42-9; Fokkelman, *Throne and City*, 397-8; H.J. Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis* (KAT, VIII/2), Gütersloh 1994, 517.

<sup>223</sup> עין seems to be a metathesis of עין (*plene* עיין), cf. e.g. Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 45; Fokkelman, *Throne and City*, 398; see also Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis*, 517.

flects the northern boundary of the conquered and allotted land. But on the other hand the text also faces the reality of the enclaves of pre-Israelite nations as depicted in Joshua 15—19 and Judges 1, for instance in the Plain of Acco, where the Asherites did not succeed in driving out the inhabitants of the cities and therefore lived among the Canaanites (Judg. 1:31-32).<sup>224</sup>



Map 3.6 – Cities mentioned in Joshua 11 and 19, and 2 Samuel 24.

So in summary, it appears that the area depicted in 11:2b-3c is also described in the geographical remarks of 11:1a and 11:8d. The first shows it being surrounded by important cities, while the second names three positions on its northern boundary. At the same time it becomes clear that these three spots not only point at the three directions in which the northern coalition flee after battle, but also imply that the area is depicted as being under Joshua's military control, for the places are also located on the northern boundary of the allotted territories, as is evident from the parallels with chapter 19. Finally, the relations with 2 Samuel 24

<sup>224</sup> Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 60; Katzenstein, *History of Tyre*, 74, 105-7, cf. A. Alt, 'Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina', *Reformationsprogramm der Universität Leipzig 1930*, 59-62 (= *KS*, Bd. 2, 49-51). The other enclaves are Geshur and Maacah (13:13), Jebus (15:63; Judg. 1:21), Gezer (16:10; Judg. 1:29), the Beth-Shean Valley, the Jezreel Valley and Dor (17:11-13, 16; Judg. 1:27-28), Kitron and Nahalol (Judg. 1:30), Beth-Shemesh and Ben-Anath (Judg. 1:33), and the coastal plain (Judg. 1:34-35).

show this boundary being the same as the northern border of the Davidic kingdom.

So Joshua takes over the control over the northern part of the country by the pursuit of the enemies. In the defeat of the Canaanite coalition YHWH fulfils the promise he made before battle, a fact that is also stressed by the remark about the killing of the soldiers 'until no survivor was left for them' (11:8ef).<sup>225</sup> The next verse makes it explicitly clear that in all this, Joshua is obedient to YHWH's command (11:9a), for he indeed hamstring the horses and burns the chariots in order to destroy the symbol of the Canaanite revolt against Israel's God and to underline his own loyalty (11:9bc). The motifs of the realization of assurances and obedience to the law are also the background of what happens next. After the defeat, Joshua immediately returns to Hazor and it seems that at that time (בעת ההיא), he experiences the enemy indeed lying slain before him, just as the divine oracle predicted (11:10a, cf. 6c).<sup>226</sup> The text shows him as taking the city and killing its king (11:10b), a comment which stresses Joshua's submission to YHWH's command to exterminate all the inhabitants of the country and is paralleled by the taking and killing of the cities and kings of the southern coalition in 10:28a-39g.<sup>227</sup>

In 11:10d, the text provides some background information concerning the way Hazor is treated. For 'in former times' Hazor had been 'the head of all these kingdoms'. Within this context, the words כל-הממלכות האלה clearly refer to the kingdoms that formed the northern coalition (11:1c-3c, 5a). Consequently, the particle כי introduces the perspective of the narrator. For a short moment he shows up from behind the scene to highlight before his audience the fact that when the battle took place, Hazor was in position to organize the coalition (cf. 11:1ab), because it was the leader (ראש) of all the northern city-states. In the next lines, this is a special impetus for an accurate execution of God's commandments. For not only are all the inhabitants of the city killed until no one that breathed was left (11:11ab), but Hazor itself is also burnt to the

<sup>225</sup> Cf. the verb in 10:10d. The phrase of 11:8f occurs frequently in the historiography of the settlement: cf. 8:22; 10:33c; Num. 21:35; Deut. 3:3. For its interpretation, see annotation 10:33ss-ss and section 4.3.

<sup>226</sup> According to Nelson, *Joshua*, 151, the temporal markers in 11:10a and 21a divide the chapter into the three sections of 1-9, 10-20 and 21-23, but this is unlikely. In this way, the unity of the defeat of the coalition and the capture of Hazor is neglected and the division of the text according to the geographical descriptions in 11:12-15 and 16-23 ignored.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. 6:20; 8:19; 10:1b, 28a, 32b, 35a, 37a, 39a; 11:10b, 12a (לכר); 10:28b, 37b, 39b; 11:12b; Num. 21:24 (נכה לפי/בהרב המלך). According to Hawk, *Joshua*, 170, YHWH's command and the execution of it makes a concentric structure in 11:6a-9c. Although the text offers some basis for this (שרף and עקר) in 6de, 9bc), it has to be noted that the fulfilment of the promise only stops in 11:11d.

ground (11:11abc).<sup>228</sup> The city gets a special treatment: it is burnt, because of its initiative to organize the Canaanite coalition. As in the case of the chariots, it seems that the pride and power of the enemy, which are directed against YHWH, are burnt away. This interpretation also fits the context of the historiography of the settlement. In Deuteronomy, YHWH is portrayed as a jealous God, a consuming flame, who hates idolatry and therefore demands the extermination of the inhabitants of the land and the burning of their idols. The flaming of banned substances is characterized as a burnt offering for YHWH.<sup>229</sup> He is even characterized as a devouring fire (אֵשׁ אֹכֵלָה) in crossing the Jordan before Israel in order to conquer the land (Deut. 9:3). In this light, it is no surprise that the Book of Joshua reports the burning of the cities of Jericho and Ai (6:24; 8:8, 19, 28). After all, at the end of the account of Israel's settlement, the first chapter of Judges tells that the tribe of Judah burns Jerusalem to the ground (Judg. 1:8). This overview suggests that 11:13b confirms the general picture of the historiography of the settlement, namely that in conquering the promised land, burning a city was an exception. This tactic was applied only to four cities, most likely for special reasons: Jericho was a kind of the first fruit of the land, which wares were devoted to destruction (6:17; 7:15), Ai had killed thirty-six of Israel's fighters, while Hazor and Jerusalem organized the coalitions against YHWH.<sup>230</sup> So by burning Hazor to the ground, Joshua acts in accordance with the jealousy of his God: he punishes the city for its initiative, demolishes the idols and presents his dedication to YHWH.

### Summary (11:12a-15d)

The account of the defeat of the northern coalition and of the taking of Hazor is followed by a summarizing passage. While chapter 10 offered a detailed account of the taking of six cities, here only a few lines suffice. This parallel between the specific description of the southern conquests and the indefinite character of those in the north anticipates the description of the tribal territories, where the southern region is also described in extensive detail (15:1-12, 20-61), while the corresponding northern tribes contain vague depictions of

<sup>228</sup> As in 11:11ab, 12b, the historiography of the settlement often describes the extermination of the inhabitants of the cities in the terminology of the law of warfare in Deut. 20:10-19. For the relation between the two, see below and section 4.4.

<sup>229</sup> See e.g. Deut. 4:24; 7:1-2, 5, 25; 12:3; 32:21-22. The reference to the burnt offering (Deut. 13:17) and the saying that all the devoted things shall be destroyed by fire (Josh. 7:15), could be a reason to qualify the burning of the chariots in 11:9c as a 'final act in victory celebration' (thus Butler, *Joshua*, 128). The primary goal of the line, however, is to show Joshua's obedience to the divine command.

<sup>230</sup> In addition, it can be noted that Israel also burned down all the towns and camps where the Midianites had settled, because they had been used by Balaam to seduce Israel (Num. 31:10, cf. 25:16-18). See Peels, *Vengeance of God*, 247-9. Another interpretation of the destruction of Jericho sees a parallel with a late second millennium Assyrian practice, leaving a city in ruins as an object lesson for those who want to rebel against the god. J. Niehaus, 'Joshua and Ancient Near Eastern Warfare', *JETS* 31 (1988), 44-5.

cities and boundaries (19:10-39, 47).<sup>231</sup> Nevertheless, the text is despite its shortness able to show that Joshua substantiates the suggestion made by 11:8d of controlling all the regions mentioned in 11:1ac, 2a-3c: he captures all the kings and cities of these regions, he kills everyone and devotes them to destruction (11:12ab).<sup>232</sup>

Additionally, it is reported that he did so 'as Moses the servant of YHWH had commanded' (11:12c). These words are important. The phrase also occurs in 4:10; 8:31, 33; 22:2, 5, showing that Joshua received these orders from Moses and thus reminding the reader of those biblical passages, which give an account of the relation between Joshua and Moses. In taking a look at the oracles before battle in 10:8 and 11:6, it will become apparent that the Book of Joshua parallels Joshua and Moses in their conquest of Trans- and Cisjordan.<sup>233</sup> But Moses, unlike Joshua, is also YHWH's servant, an expression used to articulate Moses' unique position and the divine origin of his commands.<sup>234</sup> So it becomes clear that both figures are not equal. Joshua conquers and divides the land, just as Moses, but he has a more indirect relation with YHWH. Deuteronomy 31:1-8 and Joshua 1:1-17 elaborate on this theme.<sup>235</sup> Both passages show that as his successor, Joshua is dependent of Moses in all respects: Israel accepts him as its leader, because Moses said so, YHWH's support in the war in Cisjordan follows his support in Moses' conquest in Transjordan, and Joshua and Eleazar the priest have to act according to the laws mediated by Moses.<sup>236</sup> So in conquering and dividing the land, Moses is an important figure, for he is Joshua's

<sup>231</sup> Hawk, *Joshua*, 171-2.

<sup>232</sup> For the terminology, see section 4.4.

<sup>233</sup> For the similar use of terminology, see section 4.4. Other means used to parallel both conquest accounts are 1. the designation 'royal cities' (10:2b, cf. Deut. 3:10); 2. the fact that Moses as well as Joshua are fighting Amorite kings (5:1; 10:6f, cf. Num. 21:21, 26, 29, 34; 32:33; Deut. 1:4; 2:3; 3:8; 4:46, 47; Josh. 2:10; 9:10a; 24:12); 3. recapitulations of the conquest of Transjordan (2:10; 9:10; 24:12); 4. the outline of the conquest (12:1-6 // 7-24); and 5. the description of the division of the land (13:8-33 // 14:1-19:51). Cf. Noort, 'Zwischen Mythos und Rationalität', 156-7.

<sup>234</sup> 1:1, 7, 13, 15; 8:31, 33; 11:12; 12:1; 13:8; 14:7; 18:7; 22:2, 4, 5; cf. 1 Kgs 18:12; 1 Chron. 1:3; 2 Chron. 24:6; Neh. 10:30.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Ex. 17:8-16; 23:12-15; 32:17; 33:7-11; Num. 11:26-29; 13:16; 14:5-10, 26-38; 27:12-23; 32:12, 28; 34:17; Deut. 1:38; 3:21, 28; 31:14, 23; 34:9. For an interpretation of the relevant passages, see e.g. N. Lohfink, 'Die deuteronomistische Darstellung des Übergangs der Führung Israels von Moses auf Josue', *Scholastik* 37 (1962), 32-44 (= Idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zum deuteronomistischen Literatur*, Bd. 1 [SBAB, 8], Stuttgart 1990, 83-97); J.R. Porter, 'The Succession of Joshua', in: J.I. Durham, J.R. Porter (eds), *Proclamation and Presence* London, Richmond 1970, 102-32; E. Noort, 'De naamsverandering in Num. 13,16 als facet van het Jozaubeeld', in: F. García-Martínez et al. (eds), *Profeten en profetische geschriften*, Kampen, Nijkerk 1985, 43-54; C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua und Salomo. Eine Studie zu Aurorität & Legitimität im Alten Testament* (VTS, 58), Leiden etc. 1995, 107-224.

<sup>236</sup> For Moses as a mediator of the divine will, see also the phrases צוה יהוה את־משה ('YHWH commanded Moses', 9:24c; 11:15a, 20c) and צוה יהוה ביד־משה ('YHWH commanded through Moses', 14:2, 5; 17:4; 21:2, 8; Judg. 3:4).

role model. This is what also happens in 11:12c: it is emphasized that Joshua in the conquest of the north was obedient to the order to kill the kings and peoples.

The next verse adds some information to this conclusion in a summarizing account about the cities.<sup>237</sup> The first line implicitly stresses the special treatment of Hazor by using the word חל. It is stated that there was not a wholesale destruction by fire of the cities על-חלם, 'on their mounds' or 'ruin-heaps' (11:13a). At first sight, this expression looks like a pleonasm, for in the ancient Near East, most the cities were located on ruin-heaps. However, in the context of the historiography of the settlement, it becomes clear that the word is utilized to make a connection with other cases where a city is made a ruin (8:28; Deut. 13:17).<sup>238</sup> So on the one hand the text states that this is not the case here: the cities in the northern part of the promised land are not destroyed. Consequently, Israel realizes the promise they got in Deuteronomy 6:10 and so they will get the opportunity to live in municipalities they did not built (cf. 24:13). But on the other hand, it is clear that there was one city in the north that was made a חל by Joshua and Israel, a city that was cursed and therefore deserved a special treatment: Hazor. The second line makes this exception explicit: only Hazor was burnt to the ground (11:13b).

The summarizing account of the fate of the conquered cities is followed by a report concerning the plunder that was taken.<sup>239</sup> The additional information concerning the taking of the cities as well as of the booty shows that Joshua and Israel indeed acted according to Moses' and YHWH's orders. 11:12c only said that they did so with respect to the killing of the inhabitants of the cities. But finally, this can be established with regard to all the commandments: YHWH communicates his will through his servant Moses, Moses conveys the divine will to Joshua, and Joshua in his turn acted accordingly (11:15abc). Of course, YHWH also told Joshua what to do, but this only happened on a few occasions.<sup>240</sup> But in fact he already knew how to operate, for Moses had received God's commandments and given the example in his conquest of Transjordan. This also implied that YHWH would be with him, if he would do as he was told (cf. 1:1-9). So finally, in its depiction of Joshua's obedience the text also offers an explanation of the sweeping conquest of Cisjordan, for 'he left nothing undone of all that YHWH commanded Moses' (11:15d, cf. 1:7). This phrase presupposes

<sup>237</sup> For the relation to the Law of War in Deut. 20:10-20, see section 4.4, 'Laws of Warfare'.

<sup>238</sup> According to the text, Joshua or the writer(s) of the Book of Joshua do not see the cities as ruins themselves (thus Nelson, *Joshua*, 154), but as being located on ruin-heaps, cf. Jer. 30:18 (*BDB*, 1068).

<sup>239</sup> For detailed comments on 11:14a, see section 4.4.

<sup>240</sup> 3:7-8; 4:1-3, 15-16; 5:2, 9; 6:2-5; 7:10-15; 8:1-2, 18; 10:8; 11:9; 13:1-7.

Joshua being very intimate with the book of the law and makes him an example for kings following him as a leader of Israel (cf. Deut. 17:17).<sup>241</sup>

### 3.4 CONQUERED LANDS AND DEFEATED KINGS

#### Conquered Cisjordan (11:16a-23c)

Linguistically, 11:16ab, 17a, and 17b are paralleled by 10:40ab, 41abc, and 42a. This could be expected, for as was observed above, there is also a formal continuity between 11:12a-15d and 10:28a-39g. In contrast, however, the all-inclusive and shortening description of the northern campaign in 11:12a-15d parallels 10:40a-43a as well, while the following verses also depict the southern territory. Therefore, it would be wrong to interpret 11:16a-23c as a passage summarizing the conquest of the north. It is more appropriate to assume that this section carries on with the formal composition of Joshua 10 and 11 as a whole, while it offers at the same time a geographical representation of all the conquered lands in Cisjordan.

The summary of the conquered land starts with a twofold description of all the land Joshua took.<sup>242</sup> Firstly, the land is depicted according to its ecological characteristics, thus referring to the promised land as a whole and to the conquered lands in southern and northern Palestine: the central hill country, the Negev, the whole region of Goshen, the Shephelah, the Arabah, and the mountains of Israel with their western foothills (11:16b, cf. 9:1c; 10:40b; 11:2b). Secondly, the conquered land is designated by its southern and northern borders with the well-known ער ... נון formula (11:17a). As was noted above, the description of the border-region in the north – that of Baal-Gad in the Valley of Lebanon at the foot of Mount Hermon – is paralleled by expressions which also describe the border of the northern kingdoms (11:3c), the northern boundary of the conquered territories (12:7b), and the southern border of the remaining land (13:5c; Judg 3:3).<sup>243</sup> The southern edge of the area, however, is mentioned by a new name, Mount Halak, ‘the bare mountain’, which rises toward Seir, a ‘hairy’ mountainous region (cf. Deut. 2:1).

<sup>241</sup> For an enumeration of parallels between 1:1-9 and Deut. 17:14-20, see Porter, ‘Succession of Joshua’, 112-3. For סור as turning aside from the law, see also 23:6; Deut. 5:32; 11:28; 17:11; 28:14; 31:29.

<sup>242</sup> The verb ליקח, ‘to take over’ is only used in summarizing or retrospective passages (11:16a, 19c, 23a; Deut. 3:4, 8, 14) and is also associated with the actual occupation of a territory (with נחלה and נתן, 13:8; 18:7; Deut. 29:7; with לנחל/נחלה, Num. 34:14, 15, 18, with ישב, Num. 21:25). Therefore, the verb seems to go one step further than לכר, ‘to take, capture’, which is mostly associated with battle and siege (6:20; 8:19, 21; 10:1, 28, 32, 35, 37, 39; 11:10, 12; 15:16, 17; 19:47; Num. 21:32; 32:39, 41, 42; Deut. 2:34; 3:4; Judg. 1:8, 12, 13, 18).

<sup>243</sup> See note 223.

*Locating the Southern Border*

How is this abbreviated designation of the southern border of the land to be understood? (see below Map 3.10 in section 3.5) There is some discussion concerning the question whether Seir is to be found only in Transjordan or also in Cisjordan. As a result, several proposals have been made for the identification of this area: the southern Negev region west of the Arabah, the mountainous steppe at both sides of the Arabah, or the wooded precipice leading from the Transjordanian plateau down to the Arabah.<sup>244</sup> These differences are caused by the fact that in the Old Testament, Seir seems to be the name for a part of the country of Edom, but also a synonym for it, both in geographical and political sense.<sup>245</sup> Nevertheless, in the context of the historiography of the settlement as a whole, the first identification is preferable, mainly for two reasons. In the first place, the designation 'Mount Halak' (11:17a, 12:7b) restricts the area, for this is the same as today's Har he-Halak (153.030), between Kadesh Barnea and the south point of the Dead Sea. Secondly, Moses' summary of Israel's travels through the desert associates Seir with Kadesh Barnea and locates it outside the promised land, thus suggesting that it can be found in southern Cisjordan (Deut. 1:2, 44; 2:1, 4-5).

This observation enables a comparison between 11:17a, 12b and the more elaborate description of the southern border of the promised land in 15:2-4, which is also mentioned in 15:21, Num. 34:3-5 and in Judg. 1:36.<sup>246</sup> This border runs from the end of the Dead Sea to the ascent of the Scorpions – today's Ma'ale Akrabim (162.035) – then turns to Kadesh Barnea and several other locations, joining the Brook of Egypt – the Wadi el-Arish – and finally ending in the Mediterranean Sea. It is most likely that the designation 'Mount Halak that goes up to Seir' elucidates the course of this boundary west of Ma'ale Akrabim and therefore perfectly parallels to the other designations that represent the southern border. As a result, the geography of 11:17a and 12:7b fits the description of the conquered territory of 10:41bc, which alludes to the same border by mentioning Kadesh Barnea.<sup>247</sup>

Finally, it has to be noted that the concept of Seir lying just outside the promised land is also reflected in non-biblical attestations of Seir from the late second millennium BCE, for an Amarna Letter and 18th to 21st dynasty texts mention it as a mountainous region southeast of the area controlled by the Egyptians.<sup>248</sup>

So by describing its ecological units and southern and northern polarities, the text offers a short but complete description of the conquered territory in Cis-

<sup>244</sup> For the identifications, see J.R. Bartlett, 'The Land of Seir and the Brotherhood of Edom', *JTS* 20 (1969), 6; M. Weippert, 'Edom und Israel', *TRE*, Bd. 9, 291, and E.A. Knauf, 'Seir', *ABD*, vol. 5, 1072-3.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. e.g. Gen. 14:6; 36:20-21; Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:4 with Gen. 32:4; 33:14; Ezek. 25:8; 35:2-3.

<sup>246</sup> For 15:2-4 and Num. 34:2-3 and its identifications, see De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 313-7.

<sup>247</sup> Bartlett, 'The Land of Seir', 5-6; Kallai, *Biblical Historiography*, 214-6.

<sup>248</sup> *EA* 288:26; *KRI*, vol. 2, 217 No. 56 ii 92-97; Papyrus Harris I, 76:9-11; Papyrus Moscow 127, 5:5, cf. Weippert, 'Edom und Israel', 291-2; J.R. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites* (JSOTS, 77), Sheffield 1989, 41-4. For an alternative interpretation of *EA* 288:26, see M. Görg, 'Zur Identität der Seir-Länder', *BN* 46 (1989), 7-12.

jordan. After this follows a remark about the fate of its kings: Joshua has captured all of them and the Israelites have put them to death (11:17bcd).

The next verses offer some background information concerning the conquest of the cities and the killing of the kings. Perfect forms clarify how the conquest is to be interpreted (11:18a, 19ac, 20a). In the first place, it is stated that Joshua waged war against the kings for many days (ימים רבים, 11:18a). This is a striking remark, for the outline of the conquest of the south emphasized the opposite, that is, Joshua captured it in a single campaign (פעם אחת, 10:42a).<sup>249</sup> Apparently, the text suggests the conquest being a long and complicated affair and shows that only exemplary narratives have been presented, thus again revealing that the passage has to be read as an all-inclusive summarizing paragraph.<sup>250</sup> Additionally, the statement can be interpreted as illustrating YHWH's comment that he would not make it possible for Israel to make a quick end to the inhabitants of the land, for otherwise the wild animals would become too numerous for them (Deut. 7:22).

The second remark concerns the conquest of the cities. None of them made peace with Israel, only the Hivites, living in Gibeon, did (11:19ab). As such, this is not a new observation, but the next line reveals its aim: the other cities were taken by force (11:19c), hence indicating that somehow Israel had to conquer them all, so that they killed their kings and inhabitants. This fact is in harmony with YHWH's instructions concerning the siege of a city (Deut. 20:10-19).<sup>251</sup> According to these commands, Israel has to make a city an offer of peace, before the city in question can be attacked (קרא לשלום, Deut. 20:10, cf. 11:19a). At the same time, however, Israel is ordered to apply this only to cities at a certain distance, that is, to cities which are not inhabited by the pre-Israelite nations, for those nations are to be destroyed because of the detestable things they have done (Deut. 20:15-18). This law raises the practical question what must be done in cases the peace-offer is not allowed. Looking back at the conquest of the cities, this question can be answered. The observation that all cities have been taken by force might imply that they engaged in battle in such a way that the cities were not interested at all in a possible peace offer (cf. Deut. 20:12). The following כִּי-sentences not only show this to be true, but also why this was the case: YHWH hardened their hearts, for he wanted to eliminate them (11:20abc).<sup>252</sup>

The summarizing remarks about the cities and their citizens are followed by a few comments with regard to a special group of inhabitants. For at that time (בעת ההיא) – that is, during the many days Joshua fought all the kings (11:18a)

<sup>249</sup> In the Book of Joshua מלחמה עשה is only attested here, but see Deut. 20:12, 20.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Butler, *Joshua*, 130.

<sup>251</sup> For an enumeration of the allusions between this passage and the Book of Joshua, see the notes 237, 248, and 259.

<sup>252</sup> For detailed comments on these lines, see section 4.2.

– he also succeeded in going out and killing the Anakites (11:21ab). Joshua supplanted them from the cities in the mountainous area south of Jerusalem, from Hebron, Debir, and Anab (11:21c).<sup>253</sup>

Within the historiography of the settlement, these Anakites play an important role, for they are a symbol of the invincibility of the cities (Deut. 9:1-3).<sup>254</sup> They appear for the first time in the story of the spies, when they return to Kadesh Barnea and report the people of the land being powerful because of the fortified cities and the presence of descendants of Anak (בני/ילדי ענק). The spies call these warriors Nephilim, semi-divine creatures that have fallen from heaven, so that the spies felt like grasshoppers.<sup>255</sup> Later on, Moses refers to the Anakites in his retrospective speech in the plains Moab. He repeats what the spies have said and in addition, he classifies them among the Refaite clans of the Emites and Zamzummities, peoples supplanted by the Moabites and Ammonites.<sup>256</sup> By calling the Anakites Rephaites, the historiography of the settlement presupposes the Anakites being a kind of legendary people from a distant past.<sup>257</sup> At the same time, however, the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy

<sup>253</sup> The name עַנֵּב, ‘grape(s)’, is also attested in EA 256:25 and in texts from the time of the pharaohs Seti I and Ramses II. But most of these texts seem to refer to an Anab in Transjordan (Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 390; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 127) and the only non-biblical reference to Anab in Judah could be Papyrus Anastasi I, 22:4, which mentions a certain Anab together with Beth-Sefer, which could be Debir (Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 772). There are two candidates for the identification of biblical Anab, Tel Anab el-Kebir (143.089) and Tel Anab es-Sejireh (1457.0912), sites just southeast of Tel Rabud. For a long time, the second option was preferred, because the first site lacked evidence from the Iron Age, although the second did not reveal remains from the Bronze Age (M. Noth, ‘Die Ansiedlung des Stammes Juda auf dem Boden Palästinas’, *PJ* 30 [1934], 38 [= *ABLAK*, Bd. 2, 189]; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 354, 430; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 378). However, the recent survey of the Judean highlands revealed Iron Age remains and Bronze Age cemeteries at Tel Anab el-Kebir. So now, the first option seems to be more appropriate (Ofer, ‘Hill Country of Judah’, 118; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 433).

<sup>254</sup> E.g. Hawk, *Joshua*, 174. There are no real non-biblical attestations of the Anakites, but for efforts in this direction, see E.C.B. MacLaurin, ‘*anak / ἀνάξ*’, *VT* 15 (1965), 468-74; N. Lipinski, ‘*Ana* – Kirjat ‘Arba’ – Hébron et ses sanctuaires tribaux’, *VT* 24 (1974), 41-55. For a traditional literary-critical approach, see L. Perlitt, *Deuteronomium Studien* (FAT, 8), Tübingen 1994, 232-6.

<sup>255</sup> Num. 13:22, 28, 33. Genesis 6:1-4 depicts the נַפְלִיִּים as a group of antediluvians (and later postdiluvians, cf. 6:4), who were the heroic and famous product of the union of the sons of God with the daughters of humans, thus being one of the examples of the ‘cosmic imbalance’ created in Genesis 1-6. Both LXX and Vulg. see them as giants, a custom followed by the Sam. Pent., Targ. and the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, while Targ. Ps.-J., 1 En., 2 Pet. 2:4, and Jude 6 identify them as fallen angels. See e.g. R.S. Hess, ‘Nephilim’, *ABD*, vol. 4, 1072-3; G.J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15* (WBC), Waco, TX 1987, 139-41.

<sup>256</sup> Deut. 1:28; 2:10-11, 21.

<sup>257</sup> The antiquarian intention regarding the references concerning the Rephaites/Anakites (see above the comments on the Amorites in the exegesis of 9:1d) is confirmed by 15:14, cf. 21:11; Judg. 1:10, 20. There, Anak is depicted as a ruler of Heb-

hesitate to depict them as giants or divine creatures, for the narrators themselves only call them 'tall', while the designation Nephilim and the suggestion that they were gigantic merely comes out of the mouth of those spies who were afraid to conquer the promised land.<sup>258</sup> In contrast, the two other spies, Joshua and Caleb, were confident that YHWH would lead Israel and as a consequence of this conflict only they were allowed to enter the land.<sup>259</sup> In the Book of Joshua, this works out in a special way. Both leaders do not only get cities as an inheritance for themselves, but they also play an important role in the fulfilment of YHWH's promise to wipe out the Anakites.<sup>260</sup> So in the actual conquest, Joshua as well as Caleb goes ahead in the elimination of those people that had been a stumbling block for their generation. The all-inclusive statement at the end of the conquest account even reports that Joshua devoted all of them and their cities to destruction, in the Judean as well as the Israelite territories (11:21cde).

In accordance with the style of the summarizing passage, the remark about the elimination of the Anakites is followed by a sentence with two perfect forms, offering some background information. It says that no Anakite was left in the Israelite territory and that some of them only survived in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod (11:22ab).<sup>261</sup> This is notable, for in the other passages the ענקים are paralleled by the ילרי ענק, by the Rephaites, or by these three Philistine cities. So the Anakites seem to have clear associations with the ילרי הרפה, the professional warriors in the Philistine army (2 Sam. 21:15-22). As a result, the text of 11:22b creates a direct link between the ousting of the Anakites from the hill country of Israel and their survival in the coastland.<sup>262</sup> From a histo-

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ron (cf. De Moor, 'Rāpī'ūma – Rephaim', 339). In addition, the names of his descendants, Sheshai, Talmai and Ahiman seem to be of a Hurrian and West-Semitic origin. This phenomenon of West-Semitic and northern names found in a single kinship group is not uncommon in the international world of the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age (Hess, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names in Joshua', 210-3).

<sup>258</sup> Cf. Deut. 2:10, 21 with Num. 13:28, 33; Deut. 1:28. The assumption that the Anakites were giants is not included in their name (cf. annotation 11:21t). However, LXX translates רפאים and ענקים by γίγαντες (Num. 13:33; Deut. 1:28; Josh 12:4).

<sup>259</sup> Num. 14:6-10, 24, 38; 26:65; Deut. 1:36.

<sup>260</sup> See 15:13; 19:49-50 and 11:21-22; 14:12, 15; 15:13-14; Judg. 1:20, cf. Deut. 9:2-3.

<sup>261</sup> For the identification of Gath and Gaza, see the notes 166 and 135. Ashdod is identified with Tel Ashdod (117.129).

<sup>262</sup> Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 264 (= CE, vol. 2, 361); Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis*, 462, as against e.g. Soggin, *Joshua*, 141. Some scholars have challenged the assumption that ילרי refers to physical descent and prefer an interpretation of a membership of a military group (cf. Gen. 14:4), which would bear an original Greek name or be a cultic association, cf. F. Willeson, 'The Yālīd in Hebrew Society', *ST* 12 (1958), 192-210; C.E. L'Heureux, 'The yēlīdē hārāpā' – A Cultic Association of Warriors', *BASOR* 221 (1976), 83-5. In contrast, Na'aman opts for a group of elite professional Hittite warriors, who migrated to Palestine during the Late Bronze Age. Although these suggestions may be historically possible, they are not supported by the texts: they disregard the literal meaning of the expression in 2 Sam. 21 and ignore the

riographical perspective, this is an interesting connection. Together with 11:19b, it has a rhetorical function similar to the expression 'until this very day', for the passages suggest that both the Hivites of Gibeon and the Philistine descendants of the Rephaites were still there at the time the text was written.

The summary of the conquest of Cisjordan is concluded by the observation that YHWH has fulfilled his promise of the land, as mediated by Moses (11:23a). The promise is indicated by *דבר יהוה אל* (*pi.*), which in the Book of Joshua often designates a promise of 'land' or 'rest'.<sup>263</sup> According to 11:23ab, the text's primary concern is the promise of the land, but as becomes clear from 11:23c, the connotation with 'rest' can be applied here too, for Joshua not only takes and gives the land to Israel as an inheritance, but the land itself also rests from war. As such, 11:23abc can be seen as a preparation of the all-inclusive conclusions with respect to the divine promise, as drawn in 21:45 and 23:15, where it is explicitly stated that in conquering and dividing the land, all the good promises of YHWH were fulfilled.

Regarding the promise of the land, it is worth noting what kinds of verbs are used in describing its fulfilment. According to 11:23ab, the land is taken and given as an inheritance. These expressions are part of the terminology used by the historiography of the settlement in depicting the conquest of the land: the land is beaten, taken, inherited, and finally settled. In the comments on 10:42b, it was demonstrated that *לכר*, designating the actual taking of the land by force, turned out to go one step further than *נכה*. Likewise, the verb *לקח*, in this context meaning something as 'taking control', is followed by *לנחלה נתן*, thus expressing a next step after the beating and capturing of the land in order to give it as an inheritance. In this combination, the gift of land is very often understood as a division among different groups. According to Numbers 34:13-15, a parallel to our passage, this even implies a division by lot among the two and a half and the nine and a half tribes, a division executed by Moses and Joshua (13:8; 18:7, 10, cf. Deut. 29:8).<sup>264</sup> In 11:23b, 12:7c, and 18:10 this

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fact that in the historiography of the settlement, the indigenous nature of the Rephaites seems to be the reason for their elimination.

<sup>263</sup> 1:3; 14:6, 10; 21:45; 22:4; 23:15, cf. 21:2. Phrases as *אשר דבר יהוה אל-משה* with the connotation of a divine promise of land, rest or inheritance are attested in 14:6, 10; 22:4, cf. 21:2; 21:45.

<sup>264</sup> In the historiography of the settlement, the phrase *נתן (ב/ל) נחלה* as giving the land to specific tribes, clans or persons is further attested in 13:14, 33; Num. 18:21, 24, 26; 26:62; 35:2, 8 (Levites); 14:3 (two and a half tribe and the Levites); 17:14 (Joseph); Num. 26:54; 27:9, 10, 11 (tribes); Num. 27:7, 9, 10, 11; 36:2 (daughters of Zelophehad); 14:13 (Caleb); 17:4 (half Manasseh); 19:49 (Joshua), cf. e.g. 1 Kgs 21:3, 4; Job 42:15; Ezek. 47:23. This land is given as a property (*אחזה*, Num. 35:2, 8; Ps. 2:8, cf. Ezek. 46:16), portion (*חבל*, 17:14; 18:7), or allotment (*גורל*, 17:14, cf. Num. 36:2). Apart from that, the phrase expresses the giving of the whole of the country as an inheritance for Israel in Deut. 4:21, 38; 24:4; 15:4; 19:14; 20:16; 21:23, cf. e.g. 1 Kgs 8:36; Ps. 116:6; 135:12; 136:21; Jer. 3:9; 17:4. The given land is to be inherited (*ירש*, Deut. 15:9; 29:8) or characterized as heritage (*ירשה*, 12:6, 7; Deut. 2:5, 9, 12, 19; 3:20;

partition in units is explicated by an addition designating the tribal subdivisions.

The second promise fulfilled by the conquest – the remark of the land having rest from war (11:23c), as predicted by Joshua and Moses<sup>265</sup> – contains some striking associations too. The land is conquered and the nations are supplanted. This is its primary meaning, for it is the last word of the conquest account of chapter 10–11. Exactly the same phrase is repeated in 14:15, a text that concludes a story that parallels Joshua's and Caleb's elimination of the Anakites from Hebron. In both occasions, the phrase reveals that the fall of the Anakite cities is a symbol of the completion of conquest of the land: where Joshua's and Caleb's generation did not succeed in entering their rest because of the Anakites, Joshua and Caleb did, for they supplanted them (cf. Ps. 95:11).<sup>266</sup> Consequently, the warriors from Transjordan are allowed to go home, for Israel lives in peace (22:4, 7, cf. Deut 3:20). At the same time, it seems that in the historiography of the settlement, the notion of rest has a cultic meaning too, for it is also connected to the ark of the covenant and to the place YHWH will choose as a dwelling for his name (Num. 10:33; Deut. 12:9-10, cf. Josh. 18:1; 9:27c).<sup>267</sup> Especially the last connection implies that YHWH will only live among his people, when all the enemies are eliminated, a notion playing an important role in the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. The stories and chronologies of these books suggest that the definite defeat of all the enemies came with YHWH's choice for David and that the Solomonic temple could be founded only as a result of this 'rest' (2 Sam. 7:1, 11, cf. 1 Kgs 5:4-5).<sup>268</sup> This cultic association of the 'rest' given by YHWH seems to function as a kind of historiographical metaphor that is also present in cultic hymns (Ps. 114:1-2; 132:8, 14). Regarding the books of Judges to Kings, it enables the historiographers to elucidate the divine election of the Davidic dynasty. In the Book of Joshua, however, the idea of the fulfilment of the promise of the land by YHWH's choice for David is not made explicit. The notion of 'rest' merely emphasizes God's help in the conquest of the land: it was YHWH who gave Israel rest.

### **Defeated Kings (12:1a-6b, 7a-24b)**

The summary of the conquered lands in 11:16a-23c is followed by a list of defeated kings from the conquered territories in Trans- as well as Cisjordan. This list, as we have it in chapter 12, is split up in two sections by the identical phrases of 12:1a and 12:7a: 'These are the kings of the land'. The sections differ in a few ways, which are of great importance for the interpretation of the chap-

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cf. Ps. 61:6). Only outside the settlement's historiography it is said that the whole of the land is given as a portion (חֶבֶל, Ps. 105:11).

<sup>265</sup> For the predictions of Joshua and Moses, see 1:13, 15; Deut. 3:20; 12:10; 25:19, cf. Josh. 21:44; 23:1. All these texts use the verb נָחַ, *hi*.

<sup>266</sup> Cf. 14:6-15 and 15:13-19 with 11:21-22 and 19:49-50.

<sup>267</sup> For the connection between 9:27c and Deut. 12:9, see section 4.1.

<sup>268</sup> For the relation between the rest – שָׁקֵט as well as נָחַ, *hi*. – and the chronology of Judges and Kings, see e.g. Judg. 3:11, 30; 5:31; 8:28; 8:28; 18:7, 27; 1 Kgs 8:1, 56.

ter as a whole. In Transjordan, the kings are defeated by ‘the Israelites’, while in Cisjordan they are beaten by ‘Joshua and the Israelites’. Most likely, this difference is caused by 12:6a, where נִכְרָה also has a double subject, ‘Moses and the Israelites’. The second variation concerns the description of the territories. Both passages define the land by their borders. The Transjordanian area lies between the Arnon River and Mount Hermon (12:1d), and the Cisjordanian land between Baal-Gad – at the western side of Mount Hermon – and Mount Halak, which rises toward Seir (12:7b). In Transjordan, however, the territory is described in more detail and in attachment to the names of Sihon and Og, while in Cisjordan the territory is only generally pointed to by its ecological entities and inhabitants; additionally, the kings are not mentioned by name (12:8ab). Finally, a third difference can be observed with respect to the way the land is inherited. Both Moses and Joshua give the land as an inheritance to the two and a half and the nine and a half tribes (וַיִּתְּנָה יְרֵשָׁה, 12:6b, 7c). But the result of this act is only reported with respect to Transjordan, and only Moses is called the servant of YHWH (12:1b, 6a).

Especially the second and third variations between the two geographical depictions reveal the importance of the conquest and division of Transjordan. This conquest was already recapitulated in 2:10, 9:10ab, and 24:12. In addition, the account of the chapters 10–11 is formulated parallel to the report of the conquest of Transjordan in the Book of Deuteronomy in many ways.<sup>269</sup> Hereby, two objectives are communicated: on the one hand YHWH himself assures Joshua of the fact that he will make him as successful as Moses, for he wants to keep the promise to his servant (1:1-6, cf. 2:10; 9:10ab), while on the other hand Moses is presented as Joshua’s ideal example in his obedience to the law during the process of conquering and dividing Cisjordan (1:7-9; 11:15ab).

This observation with respect to the relation between Moses and Joshua as depicted in the Book of Joshua is essential for the interpretation of the relation between 12:1a-6b and 12:7a-24b and between 13:8-33 and 14:1–19:51. Although YHWH did not permit Moses to enter the promised land, he surprisingly conquered the Amorite territories in Transjordan and divided them between two and a half tribes. In all this, Moses is the ideal example, for he is successful and obedient, everywhere he goes. Consequently, the text emphasizes the physical result of the division of the Transjordanian territory as an example for Joshua (12:1b, 2a-5e). The same pattern is applied to the actual description of the division of the land: Moses perfectly divided the land among the two and a half tribes (12:6ab, 13:8-33). The only exception to this rule is the fact that the Israelites did not drive out the Geshurites and the Maacathites from the Golan height (13:13). But this is not a real problem, for these people do not belong to the indigenous nations that had to be destroyed.

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<sup>269</sup> See note 233 and below section 4.4.

So Joshua is expected to be as successful and obedient as Moses. But was he? According to 12:7a-24b he was in any case successful: he defeated the Cisjordanian kings and was able to divide the land of the nations among the nine and a half tribes (12:7abc, 14:1—19:51). This means that at the end of the division of the land, the text's conclusion is that God indeed kept his promises: 'YHWH gave them rest on every side, just as he had sworn to their forefathers. Not one of their enemies withstood them; YHWH handed all their enemies over to them. Not one of all YHWH's good promises to Israel failed. Every one was fulfilled.' (21:44-45, cf. 23:14). But at the same time, the Cisjordanian picture differs from that of Transjordan. The remark of the tribes actually having inherited the kings' lands is omitted (cf. 12:1b) and the territorial descriptions only remain vague (12:8a, 9a-24a).<sup>270</sup> Consequently, the list only suggests that all the land is prepared as an inheritance, but in fact, it does not say so. The description of Joshua's division of all the Cisjordanian land in the chapters 14—19 also reflects this ambiguity. A first section, describing Judah's and Joseph's inheritances, offers a comprehensive picture of the land (14:1—17:18), but at the same time it becomes clear that these inheritances are surrounded by several enclaves inhabited by some remaining pre-Israelite nations (15:63; 16:10; 17:11-18).<sup>271</sup> This is followed by a second section concerning the other

<sup>270</sup> 21:43 describes one further step in fulfilment of the promise of the land: the settlement itself (יָשַׁב). So the land is given as a possession (נָתַן יְרֵשָׁה, 12:6b, 7c, cf. Deut. 2:5-19; 3:20), Israel takes possession of it (יָרַשׁ, *qal*, 12:1b; 21:43), and finally, it settles (יָשַׁב, 21:43). A combination of the last two expressions is common in the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy (see e.g. Num. 21:24-24, 31; 33:53; Deut. 2:12, 21-22; 11:31; 17:14; 26:1). However, these last steps in the process of inheriting the land are rarely referred to as a completed act in the Book of Joshua (see annotation 12:1a). Besides 21:43, only Transjordan is taken possession of (12:1b; 24:8), while the taking possession of Cisjordan is ordered, meets serious difficulties, and is again promised, but never executed (1:11, 15; 13:1b; 18:3; 19:47; 23:5). In addition, settling the land is also problematic. The Rubenites and Gadites had settled in their country (22:33). But in Cisjordan, the Levites receive no land to settle (14:4), the Danites settle elsewhere, because they have difficulties in possessing their own territory (19:47) and only Joshua is said to have 'settled' his inheritance (19:50). So Israel 'lives' in the land of the Amorites (24:13, 15), but not alone, for the Hivites 'live' in Gibeon (11:19), the Jebusites in Jerusalem (15:63), and the Canaanites among the people of Ephraim and Manasseh (16:10; 17:12, 16). The opening chapters of the Book Judges further elaborate on this picture (Judg. 1:9, 10, 16-17, 19, 21, 27-35; 3:5). Interestingly, the two important associations of יָשַׁב in the historiography of the settlement – those of 'residing' in a capital and of 'living' in the land and thus fulfilling YHWH's promise – are connected in 2 Sam. 5:9, where David 'resides/lives' in the mountain stronghold of Jerusalem.

<sup>271</sup> For the idea of the boundary system of 14:1—19:51 as a historiographical combination of nuclear tribal areas and additional enclaves, see e.g. Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 87-9. For the geography of these enclaves, which fill the gaps between the tribal territories, see De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 320-1 (15:63); Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 111; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 288-9 (16:10); Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 176-78; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 77, 89 (17:10-13); H. Seebaß, 'Das Haus Joseph in Jos. 17:14-18', *ZDPV* 98 (1982), 70-6; Z. Kallai, 'To the Land of the Perizzites and the Re-

six tribes, which offers a rather sketchy depiction of the tribal territories (18:1—19:51).<sup>272</sup> As a result of this, not all the land is inherited and some of the nations are still alive. However, as such, it is inappropriate to characterize this outcome as disobedience, for the narrator also mentions some excuses (16:10, 17:13, 18). Joshua even assures the leaders of Israel that one day, these nations will be subdued (23:4-5). In the same speech, however, Joshua also stresses the fact that these nations still have to be eliminated, for otherwise, the Israelites will defy YHWH's command to destroy them, and as a result of that they will finally lose the land (23:6-13, 15-16).

So at the end of the Book of Joshua, the divine promise of the total conquest of the land still stands. YHWH has kept his promises and he will fulfil them in the future. At the same time, the motif of obedience to Moses' laws is transmitted from the person of Joshua to his successors as leaders of Israel.<sup>273</sup> The king-list of chapter 12 plays an important role in order to reach this goal: it mirrors the descriptions concerning the conquest and division of Trans- and Cisjordan and in this way it reveals YHWH's faithfulness as well as the incompleteness of human action.

#### *Conquered Transjordan*

From a geographical point of view, a few questions will have to be answered to understand the meaning of the list of chapter 12. First with respect to the territories of Sihon and Og, described in 12:1b-5e: what exactly are the borders of the conquered and divided territories in Transjordan and what is the status of this land in the historiography of the settlement? In the second place regarding the kings listed in 12:9a-24a: where are their cities located and is there a kind of geographical order in the enumeration?

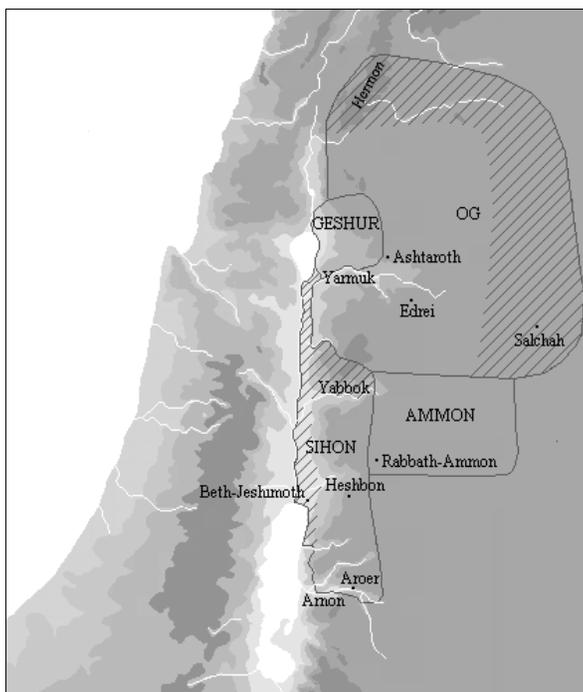
The portrait of the *Transjordanian territories* (Map 3.7) opens with a description of its borders. Most important are the mountainous plateaus between the waterways discharging into the Jordan River and the Dead Sea: the Yarmuk, the Yabbok, and the Arnon, today's Wadi el-Mujib. From the Arnon River in the south, the designated areas extend to Mount Hermon in the north (12:1d, cf. Deut. 3:8). In addition, the eastern Jordan Valley is mentioned, between the Dead Sea in the south and the Sea of Galilee in the north (12:1e). After this delineation of the territory, the kingdoms of the defeated Transjordanian kings can be described, that of Sihon in 12:2a-3c, and of Og in 12:4a-5e.

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phaim', in: C. Brekelmans, J. Lust (eds.), *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomic Studies* (BETL, 44), Leuven 1990, 197-205 (17:14-18).

<sup>272</sup> Cf. Hawk, *Every Promise Fulfilled*, 103-19.

<sup>273</sup> In accordance with this picture, Judges 1:1—2:5 uses the enduring existence of the enclaves after Joshua's death as evidence of disobedience of the tribes. For this chapter and its dependence on Josh. 14—19, see K. van Bekkum, 'De historiografie van Israëls vestiging in Kanaän aan de hand van Richteren 1:1—2:5', *NTT* 54 (2000), 295-309, esp. 308-9.



Map 3.7 – Conquered Transjordan according to Deuteronomy and Joshua.  
The marked territories are not mentioned in the Book of Numbers.

Sihon, the Amorite king, was seated in Heshbon, which is most likely to be identified with Hesban (226.134), a ruin on the plateau between the Arnon and Yabbok rivers, 20 kilometres southwest of Amman and 12 kilometres north of Medeba.<sup>274</sup> His territory runs from the Arnon River in the south to the Yabbok River in the north and east. This is evident from the identification of Aroer. Aroer is Ara'ir (228.097) on the northern rim of the Arnon River, which means that this brook was indeed the southern border of the Amorite kingdom.<sup>275</sup> This is important, for according to Deuteronomy 2:1-18, YHWH had given the region south of it to peoples affiliated to Israel, namely Edom and Moab. This notion is also present in the phrase of 12:2d, which says that in the east, Sihon's area bordered on another related nation, Ammon (cf. Deut. 2:19; 3:16). The actual territory of the kingdom is designated in the apposition of 12:2c, which says that it consisted out

<sup>274</sup> Thus e.g. Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 348; K. Elliger, 'Heshbon', *BHH*, 709; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 436; Geraty, 'Heshbon', 626. B. MacDonald, "East of the Jordan". *Territories and Sites from the Hebrew Scriptures* (ASOR Books, 6), Boston, MA 2000, 91-3. For alternative proposals, see note Chapter 1, note 116.

<sup>275</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 250; K. Rabenau, 'Aroer', *BHH*, 131; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 420; MacDonald, *East of the Jordan*, 96-7. In the Mesha Stela, king Mesha of Moab claims to have built Aroer. *KAI* 181:26. For a translation, see Hallo, Younger (eds), *Context of Scripture*, vol. 2, 137-8.

of 'the middle of the river and half of Gilead'. The obscure **הנהל**, also attested in Deuteronomy 3:16, is elucidated by the fuller formula **אשר בתוך-הנהל** in 13:9, 16, Deuteronomy 2:36, and 2 Samuel 24:5, saying that Sihon ruled over the area around Aroer, just north of the Arnon.<sup>276</sup> The other expression, 'half of Gilead', designates the region north of it up to the Yabbok River, as is evident from a comparison with 13:31 and Deuteronomy 3:12-13.<sup>277</sup> Additionally, it is reported that Sihon ruled over the Jordan Valley (12:2e), that is, the area to the south-eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee (12:3a, cf. 13:27), down to the eastern side of the Dead Sea (12:3b). The southern area is even specified by two geographical names, for here, the valley extends in two directions: eastward to Beth-Jeshimoth, that is Tel el-Azeimeh (208.132), about five kilometres northeast of the Dead Sea, along the road to Heshbon, and southward along the Dead Sea to the slopes of Mount Pisgah (Ras al-Siyagha), most likely along the old road to Medeba (12:3c, cf. 13:20; Deut. 3:17; 4:49).<sup>278</sup>

The description of the territory of Og starts with the designation **גבול**, thus highlighting the territorial perspective of the king-list of Transjordan.<sup>279</sup> The text says that he was king of Bashan, the fertile plateau at both sides of the Upper and Lower Yarmuk, and a remnant of the Rephaites (12:4a, cf. 13:12; Deut. 3:11).<sup>280</sup> This information is important, for it means that Israel is allowed to defeat him and to conquer his territory, just as in the case of Sihon, the Amorite. According to the text, king Og had two residential quarters, namely at Ashtaroth and Edrei, named **ערי ממלכות**, 'royal cities', in 13:31 (cf. 9:10b; Deut. 1:4). Ashtaroth is to be identified with Tel Ashtarrah (243.244), an important city along the King's Highway, about 35 kilometres east of the Sea of Galilee.<sup>281</sup> Edrei, where Israel fought battle with Og (Deut. 3:1), seems to be today's Der'a (253.224), on the southern bank of

<sup>276</sup> Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 261, as against Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 79.

<sup>277</sup> E.g. Nelson, *Joshua*, 160-1, as against Wüst, *Untersuchungen zu den siedlungs-geographischen Texten*, 14-5, who reads **הצני הגלעד** (cf. annotation 12:2d-d). For the diverse meanings of the name Gilead, see M. Ottoson, *Gilead. Tradition and History* (CB OTS, 3), Lund 1969, 15-35.

<sup>278</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 397; R. Hentschke, 'Beth-Jesimoth', *BHH*, 227-8; K. Elliger, 'Pisga', *BHH*, 1475; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 41, 432; Macdonald, *East of the Jordan*, 78, 88-9. In the ancient sources, Beth-Jeshimoth is only named by Josephus in *De Bello Judaico* IV.438, and by Eusebius in his *Onomasticon*. Klostermann (ed.), *Eusebius, Onomastikon*, 48:6-8; 49:5-7. According to Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 442, Ashdodth-Pisgah is a place name.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. annotation 12:4f.

<sup>280</sup> For Bashan, see e.g. H.J. Boecker, 'Basan', *BHH*, 203-4; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 252-6; Macdonald, *East of the Jordan*, 128-31; for king Og as a Rephaite, see above notes 29 and 192.

<sup>281</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 255; K. Elliger, 'Astaroth', *BHH*, 141; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 56. According to some scholars (e.g. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 124), Eusebius shows that there have been two places named Ashtaroth (Klostermann [ed.], *Eusebius, Onomastikon*, 6:4-6; 21:11-13), but this is unlikely, see D. Kellermann, 'Aštārōt - 'Aštērōt Qarnayim. Historisch-geographische Erwägungen zu Orten im nördlichen Ostjordanland', *ZDPV* 97 (1981), 45-61. Macdonald, *East of the Jordan*, 112-4. Ashtaroth is mentioned in the Amarna Letters and in many Egyptian texts dating from the 18th-19th dynasty. For overviews, see Galil, 'Ashtaroth in the Amarna Period', 373-85; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 72.

the Wadi ez-Zedi.<sup>282</sup> From these cities, Og ruled over a territory which is described by its edges at the points of the compass: Mount Hermon in the north (12:5b, cf. 13:11; Deut. 3:8); the city of Salchah, that is, Salkhad (311.212) at the edge of Bashan in the east (12:5c, 13:10; Deut. 3:10);<sup>283</sup> then Bashan to the border of Geshur and Maacah, that is, the southern and northern Golan heights in the west (12:5d, cf. 13:13; Deut. 3:14); and finally half of Gilead north of the Yabbok to the border of the kingdom of Sihon in the south (12:5e, cf. 13:31; Deut. 3:13).<sup>284</sup>

The description of the kingdoms of Sihon and Og and its parallels in Deuteronomy 2—3 and Joshua 13 reveal that these kingdoms can be characterized as successor-territories: from a backward perspective, it can be stated that YHWH handed over the territories of Sihon and Og to the tribes of Reuben and Gad by hardening the hearts of these kings, just as he had driven out other former inhabitants of Transjordan, whose land he had given to nations related to Israel: Moab, Edom and Ammon (Deut. 2:1—3:17). The only exception to this rule is the fact that Half-Manasseh was supposed to conquer Geshur and Maacah, outside the kingdom of Og. But they did not succeed, so in fact Manasseh's territory is identical to Og's kingdom.

In order to understand the *status of Transjordan* in the historiography of the settlement and its implications for the meaning of Joshua 12, it is important to compare its homogenous picture in the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua with the story about the conquest of Transjordan in the Book of Numbers, where the perspective of a divine plan is absent. According to Numbers, at least southern Transjordan was never planned to be conquered, while in Deuteronomy it is said that Sihon's heart was hardened, because YHWH wanted to give him in Israel's hand (Num. 21:21-22, cf. Deut. 2:30-31). As a consequence, the kings are only defeated, not devoted to destruction in the Book of Numbers (Num. 21:24, 35, cf. Deut. 2:34; 3:6). From a geographical point of view, the area is also described differently: the designation 'Gilead' is not mentioned, while the conquered territories enclose Sihon's kingdom between the Arnon and the Yabbok – but without the eastern Jordan Valley – a second region called Jazer, and finally Bashan of Og (Num. 21:24-25, 32-33, cf. Judg. 11:13, 22; 1 Chron. 5:9).<sup>285</sup> So Numbers stresses the accidental quality of the conquest of Sihon's land and as a result, the book has to answer the question for the legitimacy of the Israelite inheritances in Transjordan, for according to Numbers 34:11-12, the land south of the Yarmuk did not be-

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<sup>282</sup> Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 433; MacDonald, *East of the Jordan*, 108. Edrei is mentioned in two texts dating from the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ramses II, cf. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 90.

<sup>283</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2; 440; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 441; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 273-4; MacDonald, *East of the Jordan*, 152, 197.

<sup>284</sup> Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 354; MacDonald, *East of the Jordan*, 153-4.

<sup>285</sup> For the geographical differences and the history of its research, see M. Weinfeld, 'The Extent of the Promised Land – The Status of Transjordan', in: G. Strecker (ed.), *Das Land in biblischer Zeit* (GTA, 25), Göttingen 1981, 67-8; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 241-59.

long to the promised land.<sup>286</sup> This problem is solved in chapter 32: Reuben and Gad are only allowed to live in the conquered territories, if they are willing to help the tribes that will inherit the actual promised territories in Cisjordan, while Gilead is given to Makir, son of Manasseh (Num. 32:33-38, 39-42).

It is interesting to see how the accidental character of the conquest of the kingdoms of Sihon and Og, as stressed by the Book of Numbers, is exploited in Deuteronomy and Joshua.<sup>287</sup> These books clearly reflect knowledge of the idea that originally, this land did not belong to the promised land: only Cisjordan is characterized as the land YHWH has promised to give (e.g. Deut. 6:1, 3; 7:1; 11:10);<sup>288</sup> the crossing of the Jordan marks the dramatic entrance into the promised land (Josh. 3—4); then, the manna stops, the Passover is celebrated, the men are circumcised, and the divine messenger appears (Josh. 5:2-11, 14); and finally, after the conquest, the Transjordanian tribes return to their inheritances according to the agreement made in Numbers 32 (Josh. 22:1-8, cf. 1:12-18; 4:12-13). The fact of Transjordan having been inherited by some of the tribes also causes a difficulty with regard to the cult, for it is not self-evident that those who have received land from YHWH outside the land that was promised in the past, will also serve him. The story about the altar at the Jordan deals with this issue (Josh. 22:9-34). At the same time, however, the land given by Moses is counted as promised land (Deut. 34:1-4; Josh. 13:8-33). Accordingly, the eastern Jordan Valley is added to Sihon's kingdom in line with the schematic form of the successor-territories, in order to relate the Transjordanian Israelite tribal areas closely to those in Cisjordan. In this way, the accidental conquest of Sihon's dominion in Numbers – making possible the conquest of those parts of the northern Transjordanian territory that did belong to the promised land (Num. 21:33-35) – is transformed into a story about a conquest of promised land, because it was part of YHWH's plan. By doing so, the text creates an example of how YHWH is going to fulfil his promise in the conquest of Cisjordan. This means that the repetition of the special gift of Transjordan in 12:1a-6b has a specific function: it creates high expectations concerning Cisjordan. The passages of 11:20abc and 12:7a-24b make it clear that all of these expectations had come true in the divine help and guidance accompanying Joshua since he crossed the Jordan.

A final issue to be discussed concerning Transjordan is its *status in non-biblical texts*. In the historiography of the settlement, the kingdom of Sihon and a part of the kingdom of Og are never called 'Canaan', for the term כְּנָעַן is mostly used in taking a look at the promised land from outside, that is, from the south and from Transjordan.<sup>289</sup> As a result, the land called 'Canaan' is restricted to the area described in Numbers 34, which only includes the Transjordanian territory north of

<sup>286</sup> K. Elliger, 'Ribla', *BHH*, 1596; Na'aman, 'Canaanites and their Land', 410 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 125), cf. Idem, *Borders & Districts*, 71 (Map 2).

<sup>287</sup> For the following, see D. Jobling, "'The Jordan a Boundary". Transjordan in Israel's Ideological Geography', in: Idem, *The Sense of Biblical Narrative. Structural Analyses in the Hebrew Bible*, vol. 2 (JSOTS, 39), Sheffield 1986, 93-119.

<sup>288</sup> See further e.g. Deut. 1:34-39; 19:1-10; 31:20-23; 32:48-52, cf. Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', 1121.

<sup>289</sup> 5:12; 14:1; 21:2; 22:9, 10, 11, 32; Ex. 15:15; 16:35; Num. 13:2, 17; 32:30, 32; 33:40, 51; 34:2, 29; 35:10, 14; Deut. 32:49.

the Yarmuk River. For two reasons, it is interesting to compare this biblical view of 'Canaan' with the size of the Ramesside Province in Asia. In the first place, it was noted above that this province was sometimes called 'Canaan' too, although it is unlikely it was its official name.<sup>290</sup> In the second place, it must be noted that in the scholarly debate on the question whether the province was divided in districts or not, it appeared that the area northeast of the Sea of Galilee belonged to the Egyptian sphere of influence. References to an Egyptian governor of Upi and the area around Damascus show that in the north, this region bordered at Mittani between the area around Qadesh and the region of 'Amqi, a boundary which most likely continued to exist during the Amarna Age.<sup>291</sup> In the south, however, the Egyptians do not seem to be interested in the area southeast of the Sea of Galilee. It is hard to interpret the military expeditions of Ramses II against Edom and Moab as conquests, because the urbanization of the Late Bronze Age did not spread eastwards beyond the Jordan Valley. The campaigns are merely to be seen as raids which had to protect Canaan and the routes of trade to Hatti and Mittani. So from the perspective of Transjordan, it seems that the promised land of Numbers 34 is identical with the Egyptian Province in Asia and that southern Transjordan did not belong to this area.<sup>292</sup> This is quite remarkable: it suggests that the ambiguous status of Transjordan in the historiography of the settlement – a status exploited in the books of Joshua and Deuteronomy to stress the divine nature of the Transjordanian conquest – is in some way or another related to the non-biblical evidence concerning Transjordan from the Late Bronze Age.

#### *Conquered Cities*

After the enumeration of the defeated kings in Transjordan, Joshua 12 continues by listing the defeated kings in Cisjordan (Map 3.8 and 3.9). Here, the kings are not mentioned by their names and the land to be inherited is only alluded to by naming its cities. So to understand the text, it is important to know the *location of these cities* first. Most of them are already identified in the geographical analysis of the southern and northern conquests. Others, however, are attested for the first time.

The identification of some of these cities is quite certain. Adullam (12:15b) is Tel Adulam (150.117), north of Makkedah, which is mentioned thereafter (12:16a).<sup>293</sup> Aphek in the Sharon (12:18ab) is Tel Aphek (143.168) in the Yarkon Basin in the Sharon, the same as later Antipatris and today's National Park Aphek (12:18a).<sup>294</sup>

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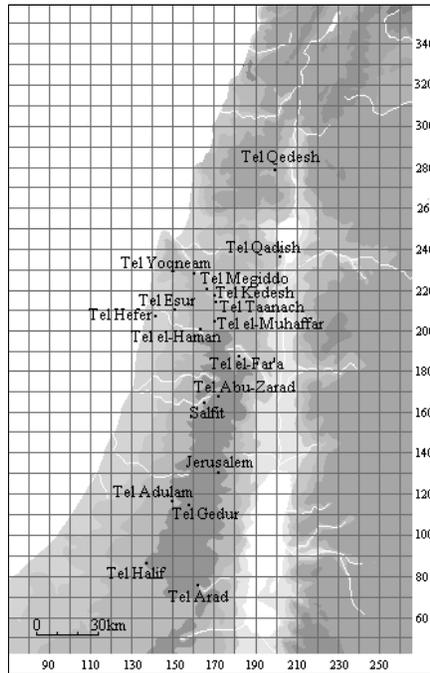
<sup>290</sup> Cf. above, at 9:1d.

<sup>291</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*<sup>2</sup>, 248-52; De Vaux, 'Le pays', 25-8; N. Na'aman, 'Economic Aspects of the Egyptian Occupation of Canaan', *IEJ* 31 (1981), 183-4; Idem, 'Canaanites and Their Land', 411; Idem, 'Size of Late Bronze Canaan', 34 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 227, 127, 138-9).

<sup>292</sup> De Vaux, 'Le pays', 28-9; N. Na'aman, 'The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt', *TA* 6 (1979), 76-7 (= *CE*, vol. 1, 248); Weippert, 'Israel's "Conquest"', 25-6; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 1, 248; Kallai, *Biblical Historiography*, 125-7.

<sup>293</sup> E.g. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 429; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 847; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 386.

<sup>294</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 246; O. Büchmann, 'Aphek', *BHH*, 105; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 430; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 51, 60. For the text of 12:18ab, see annotation



Map 3.8 – Sites being candidates for cities mentioned in Joshua 12:7-24

Furthermore, Taanach (12:21a), Megiddo (12:21b), and Joqneam in Carmel (12:22b) are to be identified with Tel Taanach (171.214), Tel Megiddo (167.221), and Tel Yoqneam (1604.2289), sites located on the southern edge of the Jezreel Valley, stretching out from the Beth Shean Valley in the southeast to Mount Carmel in the northwest.<sup>295</sup> Finally, Tirzah (12:24a) is the same as Tel el-Far'a

12:18j-j. Aphek in the Sharon is mentioned in texts dating from the reign of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (*Urk*, Bd. 4, 783; Bd. 5, 1305, cf. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 61). At Tel Aphek, a letter dating from the 13th century BCE was found among other cuneiform texts. Horowitz *et al.*, *Cuneiform in Canaan*, 29-38. For a translation, see also W.W. Hallo, K.L. Younger (eds), *The Context of Scripture. Vol. 3. Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, Leiden etc. 2002, 243-4.

<sup>295</sup> For these identifications, see e.g. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 442, 439, 437. Besides in *EA* 248:14 (cf. Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 301-2, 392), Taanach is mentioned by the Egyptian pharaohs Thutmose III (*Urk*, Bd. 4, 650, 653), Amenhotep II (pLen 1116A 72, 189), and Shoshenq I (list, row 14) and possibly in *EA* 248:14. During the excavations at Tel Taanach, twelve letters were found, dating from the late 15th century BCE and an alphabetic cuneiform text from the 12th century, cf. Horowitz *et al.*, *Cuneiform in Canaan*, 127-62. *EA* 242-247 and 365 seem to have been written from Megiddo and the city is also attested in Egyptian texts dating from the reign of Thutmose III (*Urk*, Bd. 4, 649-75, 759; Bd. 5, 1234), Amenhotep II (*Urk*, Bd. 5, 1308; pLen 1116A 68, 185), Seti I (*KRI*, vol. 1, 36), Ramses II (pAn I 23:1), and Shoshenq (row 27), while there is also a fragment of a Shoshenq Stela, found at Tel Megiddo. The name also occurs as

(182.188), a site eleven kilometres northeast of Nablus, in the eastern part of the northern highlands.<sup>296</sup>

The identification of some of the other cities is more disputed, but can nevertheless be assured in the light of the available evidence. A first example of this is the identification of Tappuah (12:17a). On the base of Josh. 17:7-8 LXX and the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius it was concluded that Tappuah was identical with Yasuf, a hamlet approximately 13 kilometres south of Nablus.<sup>297</sup> Some identified it with the ancient Tel Abu Zarad (172.168), a site located on a high ridge north of this village, close to today's Tapu'akh Junction; others were looking to the south, to Salfit (165.165).<sup>298</sup> Later on, however, the assumption of Tappuah being the same as Yasuf was questioned for text critical and epigraphical reasons, while Salfit was rejected because of archaeological problems. As a result, Tel Abu Zarad remained the most logical candidate for being Tappuah.<sup>299</sup>

That scholarly debate can also change the localization of a biblical site, was shown with respect to Hopher (12:17b) and Kedesh (12:22a). In the historiography of the settlement, Hopher plays an important role. Being a personal name, it represents a Manassite clan, which gets a property among the other clans, despite the fact that Hopher only had granddaughters as his descendents (17:2-3, cf. Num. 26:32-33; 27:1-11; 36:2). This literary motif concerning 'the daughters of Zelophehad' shows that Hopher has to be sought in the tribal allotment of Manasseh. Apart from that, three elements are significant for the discussion concerning the identification of the city: its association with Aphek in the Sharon (12:18ab), its location in the third Solomonic district, which contains 'the land of Hopher' (1 Kgs 4:10), and finally the Samaria Ostraca, in which various settlements and a considerable number of Manassite clans are mentioned, including some of the names of Zelophehad's daughters. From the beginning, the discussion about these elements was dominated by the idea that the third Solomonic district was located in the Sharon.<sup>300</sup> Therefore, Hopher was generally identified with Tel Hefer (1976.1415),

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Magidu in some later lists of the provinces of the Assyrian Empire, cf. F.M. Tales, J.N. Postgate, *Imperial Administration Records, vol. 2* (SAA, 11), Helsinki 1995, 6, 8. For the Late Bronze Gilgamesh Fragment and some inscribed artefacts found at Tel Megiddo, see Horowitz *et al.*, *Cuneiform in Canaan*, 102-8. Joqneam is only mentioned in the list of Thutmose III (*Urk*, Bd. 4, 786).

<sup>296</sup> R. de Vaux, 'Tell el-Far'ah (north)', *NEAEHL*, 433. Tirzah is mentioned in row 59 of the Shoshenq-List, cf. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 190.

<sup>297</sup> Klostermann (ed.), *Eusebius, Onomastikon*, 50:18.

<sup>298</sup> Cf. F.-M. Abel, 'Tappouah', *RB* 45 (1936), 103-12; Idem, *Géographie*, t. 2, 475, with K. Elliger, 'Thappuah', *PJ* 33 (1937), 7-22.

<sup>299</sup> Cf. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 103; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 211-2, 231; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 151-3; W.R. Kotter, 'Tappuah', *ABD*, vol. 4, 319-20.

<sup>300</sup> A. Alt, 'Israels Gaue unter Salomo', in: *Alttestamentliche Studien Rudolph Kittel zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht*, Leipzig 1913, 8-10 [= *KS*, Bd. 2, 81-2]; Y. Aharoni, 'The Solomonic Districts', *TA* 3 (1976), 5-6; H.N. Rösel, 'Zu den "Gauen" Salomos', *ZDPV* 100 (1984), 84-8. For a different view, see W.F. Albright, 'The Site of Tirzah and the Topography of Western Manasseh', *JPOS* 11 (1931), 248-51; G.E. Wright, 'The Provinces of Solomon', *EI* (1967), 62\*-4\*; T.N.D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials. A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy* (CB OTS, 5), Lund 1971, 114.

a location near the Mediterranean coast.<sup>301</sup> It was difficult to harmonize this result with the suggestion of both the biblical evidence and the Samaria Ostraca that the inheritance of Hepher's granddaughters was to be looked for in the mountains of Samaria.<sup>302</sup> The only reason that it was accepted was because of the assumption of the second to the fifth Solomonic district being former Canaanite territories in the coastal plain. However, this all changed with the Manasseh-survey conducted during the early eighties. In attachment to the earlier doubts it showed that Aruboth, the capital of the third district, was more likely to be identified with Tel el-Hamam (163.201) instead of with Tel Esur (151.210) in the Sharon. Consequently, the third district mainly seemed to consist out of more mountainous areas, only touching the eastern strip of the Sharon at Socho. This means that Hepher is most likely located in the Dothan Valley, north of Samaria. An appropriate candidate in this area southeast of Jenin for being Hepher is Tel el-Muhaffar (205.170), a site at the northern fringes of the valley, which is near the international route connecting the coast with the northern plains. This site preserved the root *hpr* in its name, and therefore the identification with Hepher seems to be justified, although there is also a possibility that Hepher is the name of the region and that Tel el-Muhaffar is to be identified with its main city, that is, Rubutu or Aruboth.<sup>303</sup>

In its turn, Kedesh was often seen as a city that had to be looked for in Upper Galilee, for here, there are two sites bearing its name: Tel Qedesh (199.279) and Tel Qadish (202.237).<sup>304</sup> But although it leaves no doubt that some biblical and non-biblical texts could mention a Kedesh in this region, Joshua 12 firmly associates Kedesh with the cities of Taanach, Megiddo and Joqneam. This context seems to be a clear indication that the list points to another Kedesh, namely Tel Kedesh (1706.2183), a small site in the southern Jezreel Valley between Taanach and Megiddo.<sup>305</sup>

Less certain are the locations of Hormah (12:14a) and Arad (12:14b). Both are mentioned several times in the historiography of the settlement. These attestations refer to stories about three confrontations between Israel and the Canaanites in the Negev: two during the desert wanderings and one at the time the tribes settled in the land. In the first confrontation the Israelites fail in their effort to conquer the land: they are repulsed 'until they were devoted to destruction' (עַד הַחֲרִימָה) – a pun on the toponym of Hormah –, because the people rebelled against YHWH (Num. 14:45, cf. Deut. 1:44). The second time, it is the king of Arad who goes to war. He is defeated, and as a response to YHWH's help, Israel devotes

<sup>301</sup> E.g. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 436.

<sup>302</sup> Cf. Renz, Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, Bd. 1, 79-109, esp. 86-7. For the relation between 17:1-3, Num. 29:29-34 and the Samaria Ostraca, see A. Lemaire, 'Le "pays de Hepher" et les filles de Zelophehad à la lumière des ostraca de Samarie', *Semitica* 22 (1972), 13-20; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 158-62.

<sup>303</sup> A. Zertal, 'Hepher', *ABD*, vol. 3, 138-9, after a suggestion of Wright, 'Provinces of Solomon', 63\*; N. Na'aman, 'Rubutu/Aruboth', *UF* 32 (2000), 373-83 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 204-15). Cf. Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 50-1; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 182-3. Rubutu appears in the Taanach Letters, the topographical lists of Thutmose III, the Amarna Letters and list of Shoshenq I.

<sup>304</sup> Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 416; K.H. Rengsdorf, 'Kedes', *BHH*, 410; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 224, 448.

<sup>305</sup> E. Stern, 'Tel Kedesh (in Jezreel Valley)', *NEAEHL*, 860, cf. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 72-3.

him and his cities to destruction, calling them Hormah (Num. 21:1-3, cf. 33:40). Finally, after the conquest of the land, the Kenites settle among the indigenous inhabitants of Arad in the Negev, the Amalekites, whereas the tribe of Judah helps Simeon in conquering its inheritance in Zephath, also calling it Hormah (Judg. 1:16-17, cf. 15:30; 19:4). It is very difficult to establish the relationship between these stories. Their rhetorical purpose is clear: the first two stories function as a kind of *inclusio*, underlining the obedience to the law as well as the need of divine help in the conquest of the land, while the third stresses Simeon's submission to the obedient tribe of Judah. The devotional character of the wars is expressed in the etiological use of the root **חרם** in all three of them. But apart from that, it is much more difficult to answer the question after the intent of these stories. What did the historiographer(s) do and what did they have in mind? Did they refer to three different occasions, did they have the disposal of three different versions of one and the same tradition, are the different stories the result of complex editorial activities or did they not refer to any historical event at all?<sup>306</sup> For a long time, it has been assumed that the answers to these questions were of great importance with regard to the geographical relation between Hormah and Arad. For instance, those scholars who judged the name Hormah in Numbers 21:3 as a later addition, thought that Hormah was not necessarily located in the vicinity of Arad.<sup>307</sup> As a result, no less than six candidates were brought to fore as being ancient Hormah, while the identification of Arad remained problematic for some historical and archaeological reasons. However, a text later adjusted to new situations is not necessarily inconsistent from a geographical point of view. Therefore, those candidates for identification are most likely, which do justice to all the evidence. This evidence includes the attestation of Hormah in 1 Samuel 30:27-30, which seems to suggest that Hormah was close to the Shephelah, and the two references to Arad in the Sheshonq list, in row 108 and 109. Taken all this into consideration, Hormah and Arad are possibly the same as Tel Halif (137.087) in the western Negev and Tel Arad (162.076).<sup>308</sup>

The only two sites in the list of Joshua 12 which identification remains unclear are Geder (12:13b) and Goim (12:23b). The Old Testament frequently mentions names like Geder, Beth Gader, Gederah, Gederoth or Gederothaim and it is impossible to answer the question which of them is the city of Geder in 12:13b.<sup>309</sup> It is supposed that Geder is to be looked for in the Judean mountains, because it stands close to Debir (12:13a). In that case, Tel Gedur, a tel eleven kilometres north of Hebron, could be a possible candidate.<sup>310</sup> With respect to 'Goim of Galilee' it has to be noted that there is no site known bearing this name. The term can only be associated with **חרשת הגוים** and the **גליל הגוים**, the 'plantations' and the 'district of the

<sup>306</sup> See e.g. N. Na'aman, 'The Inheritance of the Sons of Simeon', *ZDPV* 96 (1980), 136-9; Idem, 'Conquest and Settlement', 265 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 362-3); Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 2, 353-4.

<sup>307</sup> S. Mittmann, 'Ri. 1,16f und das Siedlungsgebiet der kenitischen Sippe Hobab', *ZDPV* 93 (1977), 223.

<sup>308</sup> For a detailed discussion, see De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 345-8, 352-3, 360-1, 367-71.

<sup>309</sup> Cf. K. Elliger, 'Geder', *BHH*, 529-30. Some assume that Geder being an error in writing of Gerar (**גֵרָר** has become **גֵדֵר**), which would be identified with Tel Haror (112.087), cf. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 231; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 356.

<sup>310</sup> Na'aman, 'Inheritance of the Sons of Simeon', 138; Fritz, *Josua*, 133.

gentiles' in Judges 4 and in Isaiah 8:23. The first phrase describes a part of the Jezreel Valley as ruled by Sisera and is paralleled by the Canaanite gloss *aḥ-ri-šu* in EA 365:11, designating the cultivation of the Egyptian royal fields in the same area. The second phrase seems to be a biblical name for the Assyrian province of Magidu, which also included part of Galilee.<sup>311</sup> So probably the original text of the list indeed reads גֵּוִים לַגִּלְיָהּ, as is confirmed by LXX<sup>B</sup>, thus linking a northern region with the 'gentiles', just as the other two texts. Consequently, the king of 12:23b could be one of leaders of the inhabitants of the Jezreel Valley or of the Galilean mountains, which were earlier mentioned in 11:2b, 3b.<sup>312</sup>



Map 3.9 – Cities of defeated kings according to Joshua 12.

Now that the cities have been identified, the *geographical order in the enumeration* can be detected by connecting the geographical data to the literary composition. When this is done, the list appears to be divided into three groups. The first group of 12:9ab only mentions the cities of Jericho and Ai, and clearly reflects the story told in the chapters 6—8.<sup>313</sup>

Of more importance is the second group, which is a summary of the conquest of the south as depicted in chapter 10 (12:10a-16b). This group starts with the

<sup>311</sup> A.F. Rainey, 'The Military Camp at Taanach by the Waters of Megiddo', *EI* (1981), 64\*-5\*; Idem, 'Haroshet-Hagoiim', *TA* 10 (1983), 46-8; Idem, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets. A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect used by Scribes from Canaan*, vol. 2 (HdO, 1. Abt., 2), Leiden etc. 1996, 228-9.

<sup>312</sup> Cf. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 231; see also annotation 12:23n.

<sup>313</sup> Contrast e.g. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 71-3.

enumeration of the five leaders of the Amorite coalition, who were locked up in the cave at Makkedah and put to death by Joshua (12:10a-12a, cf. 10:3ab, 5c, 23c). In the next verses, those kings are enumerated which were killed during the southern sweep that followed: the rulers of Gezer (12:12b, cf. 10:33ab), Debir (12:13a, 10:39ab), Libnah (12:15a, cf. 10:30ab), and Makkedah (12:16a, cf. 10:28ab). In the meantime, some other kings not mentioned in the story are listed. Their cities are located inside the area controlled by Joshua. This fits chapter 10, for it is stated that Joshua defeated all the kings in the mountains, the Negev, the western foothills and the mountain slopes (10:40bc). From these kings, those of Geder in Judah (12:13b), Hormah and Arad in the south (12:14ab), Adullam at the edge of the Shephelah and the mountains (12:15b) and Bethel in the mountains (12:16b) are listed explicitly.

Finally, there is a third group, summarizing the conquest of the north described in chapter 11. The core of this group is formed by the four leaders of the cities heading the Canaanite coalition: Hazor, Shim'on, Maron, and Achshaph (12:19b-20b, cf. 11:1ac, 10c). The other northern kings joining the coalition ruled the northern hill country, the area south of Kinnereth, the dune area of Dor on the west, the hill country, and the region of Mizpah below Mount Hermon (11:2a-3c). After battle, they all appeared to be defeated and killed (11:12ab). Some of these kings are enumerated. Few of them are preceding those of the coalition: the rulers of Tappuah, Hopher, and Aphek, cities in the central hill country and the Sharon dominating the passes to the Jezreel Valley (12:17a-18a, cf. 1 Sam. 4:1; 29:1; 31:1-7). After the kings of the coalition follow the rulers of Taanach, Megiddo, Kedesh, and Yoqneam. These cities are located at the end of the passes and in the Jezreel Valley itself (12:21a-22b). At last, the text mentions two kings of remaining cities: the rulers of the inhabitants of the Galilean mountains and of Tirzah in the eastern part of the northern highlands (12:23b-24a).

The geographical order of the list of defeated kings in 12:9b-24b clearly reflects the conquest account of Joshua 6—11. The text suggests a movement of Joshua and his army from Gilgal to Jericho and Ai, through the southern hill country, the Shephelah and the Negev; then along the coast, through the passes towards the Jezreel Valley to the northern plains and hills. So like Moses, Joshua defeated the kings and thus controlled the land, and they both did so with help of YHWH, who is destined to fulfil his promise. At the same time, however, there is a difference in the expressions concerning the acting of Moses and Joshua and a great dissimilarity between the geographical description of Trans- and Cisjordan. This divergence deeply affects the rest of the Book of Joshua: Joshua's conquest and division of the Cisjordanian land is not as complete as was Moses' in Transjordan. Consequently the tense relation between the divine promise that will be fulfilled and the obedience to YHWH's commandments is also of importance for future rulers and generations, for they have to deal with the pre-Israelite nations that still exist and with the land that remains to be inherited.

### 3.5 REMAINING LAND

#### Joshua's Legacy (13:1a-d)

With the summaries of 11:16a-23c and 12:1a-24b, the depiction of the conquest of the land is finished: the land controlled by Joshua is described and the account is completed by the list of defeated kings. Now YHWH can command Joshua to give it to the tribes as their inheritance. But before this happens, God gives his instructions about the land that has to be conquered after the death of Joshua. There are two reasons for this. In the first place, it must be clarified how the territory under control is related to the promised land as a whole: what parts of this land can be divided and what parts cannot? In the second place it is necessary to stress the fact that a definite division of the land is something that can be expected in the future. This becomes evident from the introduction of the oracle and its first words: Joshua is old and well advanced in years (13:1abc).

In the context of the Book of Joshua, this observation has an ambiguous character. On the one hand it refers to the remark in 11:18a of Joshua waging war against all the kings of the land 'for a long time' (ימים רבים). This means that the reference to his advanced age signals the transition from the phase of the subjugation of the land to its apportionment and settlement. On the other hand the remark also points at an alteration of generations, which means that Joshua's tasks and duties as well as the promises made to him are passed on to a next generation, just as happened to Moses when YHWH passed his responsibilities and divine promises to Joshua (13:1bc; Deut. 31:14, 16, 23, cf. Josh. 23:2-5).<sup>314</sup> The Book of Joshua refers to this transfer in chapter 1, where YHWH reminds Joshua of the task ahead.<sup>315</sup> Now, after Joshua spent his life conquering the land, the time of apportionment and settlement has come. At the same time, however, it appears that Joshua also has to pass something to a next generation. Apparently, he did not accomplish all his tasks and did not see the complete fulfilment of the divine promises. This is confirmed by the repetition of the observation concerning Joshua's age after the division of the land at the opening of the farewell speech to the elders (23:1).

The depiction of the oracle is continued by revealing the reason for the transfer of duties and promises: there still remains a 'very large' area of land to be taken over (13:1d). The meaning of this comment is defined by two verbs, ירש and שאר. In the Book of Joshua שאר is mostly used in relation to people and land.<sup>316</sup> After the description of the division of the land in the chapters 14–19,

<sup>314</sup> Different words (קרבו ימך למות, Deut. 31:14; עס־אבתיך, Deut. 31:16) are used to designate Moses' old age, most likely because of the observation that 'his eyes were not weak, nor his strength gone' (Deut. 34:7).

<sup>315</sup> Cf. Hawk, *Joshua*, 183.

<sup>316</sup> In the chapters 8–11 the verb expresses that none of the inhabitants of the land survived the battles against Israel (8:22; 10:28d, 30c, 33c, 37c, 39d, 40c; 11:8f). The only exception to this rule is the surviving of the Anakites in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod (11:22b).

remaining nations are referred to in Joshua's first farewell speech (23:4, 7, 12). There the verb at least points to the nations in the enclaves of pre-Israelite nations within the conquered land, because of the phrase 'among you' (אִתְּכֶם, 23:7, 12, cf. 15:63; 16:10; 17:11-18). However, in 13:1d, 2a, the verb שָׁאֵר is used – as we will see later on – to depict a large area of land outside the conquered territories. The text characterizes these areas as 'to be taken over' or 'to be inherited' (לְרִשְׁתָּהּ). The context of the geographical description concerning the remaining land shows that this does not mean that the land is already conquered and under control, as is sometimes maintained.<sup>317</sup> It is also unlikely that 'taking over' the land would denote it to be 'colonized', for this is not the meaning of יָרַשׁ, *hi*.<sup>318</sup> The text merely uses the verb יָרַשׁ to define the final goal of the conquest and settlement of the land as a successor-territory: in the end Israel will have taken over the land from the pre-Israelite nations (cf. 18:3; Judg 2:6). So right at the beginning of the oracle, YHWH reveals Joshua his objective for the future in which Israel will also inherit the promised land outside the conquered territories.

### Two Areas (13:2a-6b)

The remaining land is described in 13:2a-6b. This geographical description opens with a defining expression יֵאָהֵב הָאָרֶץ הַנִּשְׁאָרָה (13:2a), followed by two paragraphs offering a geographical portrait of an area south (13:2b-3e) and an area north of the conquered territories (13:4a-6b). Apart from the five Philistine rulers, the passage does not mention the kings of these areas. As a result, peoples and lands are the remaining elements to depict the area to be taken over by Israel. According to the definition of 13:2a, the element of the land is the dividing principle in the descriptions (13:2b-5c). Only at the end of the geographical picture this scheme does not longer hold, for there the attention shifts from the land to the nations for syntactical reasons: the nations are called first because of the next line in which they are the direct object of YHWH's promise to drive them out (13:6ab).

#### *Southern Remaining Land*

In order to understand the exact meaning of the geographical account, it is important to take a look at the location of the boundaries of the remaining land and at the nations living in these areas from a biblical as well as from a non-biblical point of view.

The first piece of land consists out of 'all the districts of the Philistines and all the Geshurites' (13:2b). From these two nations, the Philistines are well known in the Old Testament. They live in the coastal plain and besides their attestations in many of the prophetic books, they occur at two occasions in the patriarchal narratives and frequently in the stories about the judges and the kings Saul and

<sup>317</sup> Thus e.g. Wüst, *Untersuchungen zu den siedlungsgeographischen Texten*, 222-3.

<sup>318</sup> Thus Nelson, *Joshua*, 183.

David.<sup>319</sup> Some texts associate the Philistines with people called Cherethites and thus with the island of Crete in the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>320</sup> Amos 9:7 even says that YHWH brought them up from Caphtor in the same way that he brought the Israelites out of Egypt. Genesis 10:13-14, however, links them with various Hamitic peoples, including Canaanites, through a people called 'Cashluhites' which originated from the Egyptians.<sup>321</sup> This suggests that according to the Old Testament, the descent of the Philistines could be explained in a number of ways.<sup>322</sup> In the historiography of the exodus and of the conquest and settlement, Philistea is always depicted as a part of the promised land that is also to be inherited by Israel (13:2b, cf. Judg. 3:3; Exod. 13:17; 23:31). This is a striking feature, because in Genesis 10 the Philistines are related to the other pre-Israelite nations only in an indirect way. The same ambiguity is apparent in the general portrait of the Philistine district in Joshua 15:45-47, which is in sharp contrast to the detailed descriptions of the other Judean districts.

A more miscellaneous picture of the Philistine peoples is offered by its attestations in Egyptian, Ugaritic, and Assyrian sources mainly dating from the 13th-12th and 8th centuries BCE.<sup>323</sup> They are for instance mentioned by pharaoh Ramses III, who claims to have beaten the 'peoples of the sea' in his 8th year. Among them was a group called 'Peleset', usually identified as Philistines. Two decades earlier, five other groups of these 'Sea Peoples' occur in a text of pharaoh Merneptah as allies of Libyans who opposed the Egyptian king: Sherden, Lukka, Ekweh, Teresh, and Shekelesh. Although the origin of these groups and the way they affected the entire eastern Mediterranean breakdown during the Late Bronze Age is highly disputed, at least some of them seem to be foreign to northern Africa, coming from islands and coastal areas in the Aegean or Anatolia.<sup>324</sup> In their turn, Assyrian sources from the 8th century BCE mentioning the Philistines report about the military struggles causing the end of the relatively independence of the Philistines, which was about to come since the campaigns to the Southern Levant by Tiglat-Pileser III. The coastal plain turned into the Assyrian province Asdud in 711 BCE. About a century later, it became Babylonian with the conquest of Ashkelon by Nebuchadnezzar II in 604 BCE. By this occasion, the political history of the Philistines comes to an end.

The other group mentioned in 13:2b are the *Geshurites*. These people are not the same as the citizens of a kingdom in the Bashan, known as Geshur and Garu in biblical sources as well as in a Late Bronze Age Letter from El-Amarna.<sup>325</sup> The

<sup>319</sup> E.g. Isa. 2:6; 9:11; Jer. 47:1, 4; Ezek. 16:27, 57; Amos 1:8; 2:6; Ob. 1:19; Gen. 21; 26; Judg. 3:31; 10; 13-16; 1-2 Sam.

<sup>320</sup> Ezek. 25:15-16; Zeph. 2:4-5.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. G.A. Rendsburg, 'Gen. 10:13-14: An Authentic Hebrew Tradition concerning the Origin of the Philistines', *JNSL* 13 (1987), 89-96.

<sup>322</sup> For literature, see D.M. Howard, 'Philistines', in: Hoerth *et al.* (eds.), *Peoples*, 232.

<sup>323</sup> For an overview, see E. Noort, *Die Seevölker in Palästina* (PA, 8), Kampen 1994, 30-3, 53-89.

<sup>324</sup> Cf. e.g. Noort, *Seevölker*, 179-85; I. Finkelstein, 'The Date of the Settlement of the Philistines in Canaan', *TA* 22 (1995), 213-39; E.D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment* (UMM, 108), Philadelphia, PA 2000. See also section 6.1 and 6.3.

<sup>325</sup> 12:5; 13:11; Deut. 3:14; 2 Sam. 13:37; 14:23; *EA* 256:23, cf. note 167.

term merely designates the inhabitants of an area southwest of Philistea.<sup>326</sup> This interpretation is confirmed by 1 Samuel 27:7-8, where the Geshurites are mentioned as living in a region called Shur. They are depicted as being thoroughly spoiled by David at the time he resided in Philistea by permission of Achish, thus disclaiming him of executing forays against Judah.

The area of the Philistines and Geshurites is defined by its boundaries in 13:3ab using the well known עַר ... מִן- construction and locating the western boundary of the southern part of the remaining land at the 'Shihor before Egypt'.<sup>327</sup> The Hebrew term שִׁיחֹר, also used in Isaiah 23:3; Jeremiah 2:18, and 1 Chronicles 13:5, goes back to the Egyptian *š-Hr*, 'water of Horus'. Although the biblical as well as the Egyptian references to the Shihor are not entirely consistent, they all fit the interpretation of it designating one of the waters a traveller from the Levant along the way of Horus encounters at the easternmost branch of the Nile just before entering Egypt. As a result, the text seems to suggest that the remaining land started just there where Egypt ended and Asia begun.<sup>328</sup> This is striking, for in other texts referring to the southern border of the promised land, the boundary seems to be located much more to the east, that is, at the Brook of Egypt (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם), most likely the Wadi el-Arish.<sup>329</sup> For this reason, some scholars state that in the Bible, the Shihor and the Brook of Egypt have to depict the same border. This idea would be confirmed by the parallel between 1 Kings 8:65 and 1 Chronicles 13:5 and by the fact that biblical Shur, a name related to Shihor, should be located in the western Negev.<sup>330</sup> The problem, however, is that such an interpretation hardly justifies the evidence. It not only underestimates the historiographical abilities of the Chronicler(s), but also ignores the fact that a few biblical texts clearly locate Shur in the western extremity of the Sinai, close to the Shihor.<sup>331</sup>

As a result, it seems inevitable that the historiography of the settlement contains two conceptions of the southern border of the promised land. The first runs from the end of the Dead Sea to the ascent of the Scorpions, then turns to Kadesh-Barnea and several other locations, joining the Brook of Egypt, and finally ending in the Mediterranean Sea. This border is referred to most frequently.<sup>332</sup> The sec-

<sup>326</sup> Cf. Mazar, *Early Biblical Period*, 118; G.J. Petter, 'Geshurites', *ABD*, vol. 2, 996-7. For the geographical location of the area, see below.

<sup>327</sup> Cf. annotation 13:3b.

<sup>328</sup> J.K. Hoffmeier, 'Shihor', *ISBE*, vol. 4, 476; M. Bietak, 'Schi-Hor', *LÄ*, Bd. 5, 625-6; A. Betz, 'Shihor', *ABD*, vol. 5, 1212.

<sup>329</sup> 15:4, 47; Num. 34:5; 1 Kgs 8:65; 2 Kgs 24:7; Isa. 27:12; 2 Chron. 7:8. Na'aman has suggested that in pre-exilic times, the Brook of Egypt was located farther north, just south of Gaza at the Nahal Besor (Na'aman, 'Brook of Egypt', 74-80 [= *CE*, vol. 1, 245-53]), but Rainey has shown that this is based on a wrong reading of several biblical and Assyrian texts (A.F. Rainey, 'The Brook of Egypt', *TA* 9 [1982], 131-2).

<sup>330</sup> E.g. N. Na'aman, 'The Shihor of Egypt and Shur', *TA* 7 (1980), 96-105 (= *CE*, vol. 1, 265-76).

<sup>331</sup> Gen. 16:7; 25:18; Exod. 15:22; 1 Sam. 15:7; 27:8 cf. Gen. 20:1. A.F. Rainey, 'Shur = The Wall of Egypt', *TA* 9 (1982), 132-3.

<sup>332</sup> 10:41bc, 11:17a, 12:7b, 15:4, 21, 47; Num. 34:3-5; Judg. 1:36, cf. Deut. 11:24; Josh 1:4, using הַמִּדְבָּר as a border region. For more details, see above at the comments on 11:16a.

ond concept extends the promised land far more south and west, using the Nile or its easternmost branch as a boundary.<sup>333</sup> The historical relationship between the two conceptions will be discussed in section 5.4. For now, it is important to explain the extension in the present context of Joshua 13. It is not surprising that the primary reason for this is the phenomenon of the remaining land itself (13:2b). The area of the five Philistine city-states, Ekron being its northernmost entity (13:3d, cf. 3b), is said to belong to the remaining land because of the ambiguous status of the region as a part of the conquered and divided land: previous as well as later portraits of the coastal plain in the Book of Joshua view the Shephelah as being totally conquered and apportioned in detail, while the plain is only alluded to in more general designations.<sup>334</sup> In the light of Judges 1:36, which assumes the coastal plain being inhabited by Amorites, the description of this land in 13:3d seems to be slightly anachronistic. This is confirmed by the fact that apart from its parallel in Judges 3:3, the expression *כְּרֵנֵי פְּלִשְׁתִּים* is more commonly used in biblical history.<sup>335</sup> Another piece of remaining land is inhabited by the 'Awites in the south' (13:3e).<sup>336</sup> This time, the land seems to be located more to the south, maybe even beyond the traditional southern border of the promised land. According to Deuteronomy 2:23 the Awites were displaced by people from Caphtor, thus suggesting that they were driven south by the Philistines who supplanted them.<sup>337</sup> So the remaining land includes at least a part of the Sinai and consequently its western border is located at the border of Egypt because of the attestation of the Gerurites living in Shur.

A further explanation for the use of a new south-western boundary of the promised land can be extracted from the interpretation of 13:3c. This line says that the remaining land just described is 'counted as land of the Canaanites'. In the context of the historiography of the settlement, it clearly means that neither the Philistines nor the Awites can be qualified as Canaanite according to the ethnic-linguistic classification of the pre-Israelite nations.<sup>338</sup> Nonetheless, the land they inhabit can be called the land of the Canaanites, for according to the text Canaan only ends at the border of Egypt, that is, at the Shihor and therefore it belongs to the promised land. This is a remarkable statement, for it is paralleled by a situa-

<sup>333</sup> 13:3b; Gen. 15:18, cf. 1 Kgs 4:21 // 2 Chron. 9:26.

<sup>334</sup> This follows from the conquest account of chapter 10 and from the relation between the Shephelah and the Philistine districts in chapter 15:33-44, 45-47: according to both, Israel and Judah are claiming the coastal plain. At the same time, however, the passages seem to face a reality of not having settled it. For a detailed discussion, see the literature in note 159.

<sup>335</sup> Judg. 16; 1 Sam. 5-7; 29, 1 Chron. 12:20, cf. Hawk, *Joshua*, 184.

<sup>336</sup> Cf. annotation 13:4d.

<sup>337</sup> Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, 111; S.E. McGarry, 'Avvim', *ABD*, vol. 1, 531-2.

<sup>338</sup> Taking this observation as a point of departure, two proposals have been done with respect to the origin of the Awites. According to one scholar, the rendering of LXX as *Ευαίοι*, also used in case of the Hivites, would suggest them to be one of 'Sea Peoples' (Boling, *Joshua*, 338). But this identification fails by the fact that it is unlikely that the Hivites were a 'Sea People'. A suggestion deserving more credit is that they were Hyksos, because of the Egyptian parallel '3mw, 'Asiates' (Speiser, 'Ethnic Movements', 31-2; Görg, *Josua*, 65).

tion reflected in non-biblical texts. As we have seen, the biblical use of the terms 'Canaan' and 'Canaanite' have something to do with the Late Bronze Egyptian Province in Asia. The attestation of the Shihor in 13:3a makes it clear that use of כְּנַעַן in 13:3c can be interpreted as a typical example of this.<sup>339</sup> In defining a certain area as 'Canaanite', the text makes use of a typical Egyptian view by referring to the Shihor as its boundary, for the Egyptian texts clearly regarded the Sinai Peninsula as a part of Asia.<sup>340</sup> As a result, it seems justified to conclude that the description of the southern part of the remaining land situates the conquered and divided territories within a bigger concept, that is, that of Canaan as the promised land.

#### *Northern Remaining Land*

The northern part of the remaining land is inhabited by 'Canaanites' as well (13:4a). So the problem is whether the term is once more used as a designation of the promised land as a whole or not. Some read it in a more limited sense assigning Phoenicia.<sup>341</sup> In that case 13:4a has nothing to do with 13:5b-6b, for the Canaanites are only said to live along the Mediterranean coast as described in 13:4b-5a. The fact of וְכַל in 13:5b possibly being a parallel of כַּל in 13:4a could support this interpretation. However, this hypothesis fails as soon as the structure of the passage is studied in more detail. It is noteworthy that apart from the appositional phrase of 13:5a the primary focus of 13:4b-5c is geographical. Moreover, both regions are tied together by the depiction of their inhabitants in 13:6ab. So the text suggests that the description of both areas is to be interpreted as an elaboration of the area mentioned in 13:4a. Consequently, all the people depicted in 13:6ab can be called 'Canaanites'. The question remains whether this understanding still holds, when the diverse descriptions of the northern remaining land and its inhabitants are understood in the light of their biblical and non-biblical attestations. Therefore, the geographical entities are to be studied and interpreted in its context, so that the problem of the qualification 'Canaanite' with its possible Late Bronze Age background can be discussed thereafter.

In 13:4b-5a the text offers a delineation of the remaining land at the northern coast. Its southern border is situated at 'Arah'.<sup>342</sup> This location is unknown and accordingly, an interpretation which adds as little as possible information to the text, is preferable. Such a reading can be obtained by linking the term with 'Baal-Gad below Mount Hermon' in 13:5c and 'Mishrephot Maim' in 13:6a: these two

<sup>339</sup> See annotation 13:3c-c and the comments on 'Canaanites' and 'Canaan' at the explanation of 9:1d and 12:1a-6b. The gentilic form of כְּנַעַן in 13:3c cannot be used as an argument against this parallel. The few non-biblical attestations of persons as 'Canaanites' are most likely to be interpreted as been derived from a use as 'people coming from Canaan'. De Vaux, 'Le pays', 25; Zobel, כְּנַעַן, 229; Rainey, 'Who is a Canaanite', 4-6.

<sup>340</sup> Cf. Bietak, 'Schichor', 625; Na'aman, 'Brook of Egypt', 74 (*CE*, vol. 1, 245). Na'aman also claims that from a southern Levantine perspective, the Nile nor the Isthmus fringes, but the southernmost cities of the coastal plain were seen as the southern border of Canaan (Na'aman, 'Brook of Egypt', 74-6 [= *CE*, vol. 1, 245-8]). But this cannot be argued convincingly, cf. note 348.

<sup>341</sup> Thus e.g. Maisler, *Untersuchungen*, 60.

<sup>342</sup> See annotation 13:4e.

geographical designations show that the southern border of the northern part of the remaining land is just the same as the northern boundary of the conquered territory as delineated in 11:8d, 11:17b, and 12:7b, a conclusion confirmed by the parallel in Judges 3:3.<sup>343</sup> Hence, Arah has to be looked for somewhere at the southern border of the kingdom of Sidon, which is called 'Great Sidon' in 11:8d.<sup>344</sup> The northern extreme of the area is denoted by the phrase 'Aphek at the border of the Amorites, the land, namely that of the Gebalites' (13:4b-5a).<sup>345</sup> This sentence contains a reference to the region of Amurru in its strict sense, that is, a certain area in central Syria, known from Egyptian, Hittite and some Middle- and early Neo-Assyrian sources. This is evident from the combination of the name 'Aphek' and the gentilic 'Amorites' and from the fact that the Gebalites are attested as an explicatory addition. These Gebalites represent the inhabitants of a famous Phoenician seaport, located at today's Jubail (210.391), and of its surrounding area, while the site to be identified with Aphek lies only 24 kilometres inland from Gebal at modern Aqfa (231.382), a Lebanese city northeast of Beirut on the sources of the Nahr Ibrahim.<sup>346</sup> Gebal is called גבל in Hebrew, *kpn(y)* in Egyptian, *Gubla* in Akkadian, and *gbl* in Ugaritic, and is well known as Byblos since the Hellenistic period. Its citizens are also mentioned in 1 Kings 5:32, saying that the joint labour of the Israelite and Tyrian workers on the Solomonic temple was apparently supported by the assistance of the Gebalites.<sup>347</sup> So according to the text the land south and west of Aphek at the border of the Amorites, that is, the hinterland of Gebal, is the northernmost area of the remaining land. This interpretation also fits Numbers 34:7-8, which refers to the same boundary by mentioning Mount Hor, just north of Gebal.

The geographical picture offered in 13:4b-5a is remarkably paralleled by information from a few non-biblical texts. During the long, prosperous history of the relative independent city of Gebal from before the third millennium BCE until modern times, one moment is of special importance with regard to its relations with the Amorites.<sup>348</sup> From the Amarna Age – that is, around 1350 BCE when Gebal functioned as a political outpost for Egypt in Phoenicia – no less than 67 letters sent within a period of twelve years are preserved from a correspondence between king Rib-Hadda of Gebal and the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep IV. Rib-

<sup>343</sup> For detailed comments concerning these locations, see above at 11:8d.

<sup>344</sup> Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 53, as against e.g. Abel, who suggests to locate Arah in the Auruna pass, south of Megiddo. F.-M. Abel, 'La prétendue caverne des Sidoniens et la localisation de la ville de 'Ara', *RB* 58 (1951), 47-53.

<sup>345</sup> See annotation 13:5f.

<sup>346</sup> Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 74; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 52; R. Frankel, 'Aphek', *ABD*, vol. 1, 276. Other identifications, like that with Tel Aphek in the Sharon (Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 75), are nowadays considered untenable.

<sup>347</sup> Cf. e.g. M.J. Mulder, *1 Kings. Vol. 1. 1 Kings 1-11* (HCOT), Leuven 1998, 224.

<sup>348</sup> Gebal is mentioned in Egyptian records from the Old, Middle, and New Kingdom, and in the Akkadian Amarna Letters. According to Assyrian texts, the city paid tribute to the Middle-Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I and to the Neo-Assyrian rulers Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III, Tiglath-Pileser III, Sennacherib, and Ashurbanipal. There are no attestations of Gebal in documents dating from the Babylonian period, but it remained an important city during the subsequent reigns of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Cf. B. Hrouda, W. Röllig, 'Gubla', *RLA*, Bd. 3, 673-5; R.L. Roth, 'Gebal', *ABD*, vol. 2, 922-3.

Hadda turns out in his letters to be a tireless correspondent, who endlessly reiterates his requests for help against and complaints about the Amorite kings Abdi-Ashirta and Aziru. This correspondence reflects a major political development during this period, namely, the emergence of Amurru and the appearance of the Hittites at the northern border of the Egyptian Province in Asia, both being forerunners of the decline of the Egyptian control of Canaan. During this decline, the northern boundary fluctuated. Throughout the 18th dynasty, the Amorite kings were supposed to be vassals of the Egyptian pharaohs. But at the time Rib-Hadda ruled in Gebal, the actual border seems to be located just north of Gebal, because Amurru has become more or less independent.<sup>349</sup> About 1275 BCE, this boundary was stabilized as a result of a peace treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites. However, at the end of the century it had most likely vanished due to the pressure of the 'Sea Peoples'.<sup>350</sup> Consequently, it seems that the northern border of the promised land only existed historically as a 'boundary of the Amorites' from the late 14th to the early 12th century BCE.

The following lines describe the more mountainous areas of the remaining land, especially that of the Anti-Lebanon (13:5b).<sup>351</sup> As in the case of the Phoenician coast this area is delineated by a ער ... מן-construction (13:5c). Its southern point of departure is 'Baal-Gad', most likely Tel el-Hosh at the western foot of the southern spur of the Anti-Lebanon. From here, the northernmost position of the conquered territory, the land still remains to be taken, all the way to לבוא חמת. In the historiography of the settlement, this geographical designation is often attested as the northern frontier of the promised land: in de story of the spies who went there, in the description of Canaan, and with regard to the remaining land.<sup>352</sup> The other ways of referring to this location seem to be derived from this use: king Solomon ruled over a territory from there to the Wadi of Egypt, with respect to Jerobeam II it is said that he restored the boundaries of Israel from this position to the Arabah, and finally, the spot is used in the new delineation of the land in the prophetic vision of Ezekiel.<sup>353</sup> More indirect references to the border described by the term לבוא חמת are found in the stories about the wars of king David. David's interest in the area north of the conquered and divided land is evident from his marriage with Maacah, the daughter of the king of Geshur (2 Sam. 3:3) and from

<sup>349</sup> For the correspondence and its implications, see R. Youngblood, *The Amarna Correspondence of Rib-Haddi, Prince of Byblos (EA 68-96)*, Philadelphia, PA 1961; E.F. Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters*, Baltimore, MD 1964, 77-9, 83-9; Moran, *Amarna Letters*, xxii-iii.

<sup>350</sup> For Ramses' poem of the battle of Kadesh and philological and historical comments, see *KRI*, vol. 1/1, 2-147, and *KRI*, vol. 2/2, 3-55. For a translation of the most relevant passages, see Hallo, Younger, *Context of Scripture*, vol. 1, 32-8.

<sup>351</sup> With an addition חלבון השמש (13:5b); צופה פני מורח (13:5b); רמשק רמשק (Cant. 7:5). Amana (Cant. 4:8) and Sirjon (Deut. 3:9; Ps. 29:6) are two other biblical names for the Anti-Lebanon, cf. Jericke, 'Baal-Gad', 131-2.

<sup>352</sup> Num. 13:21; 34:8, cf. Judg. 3:3.

<sup>353</sup> 1 Kgs 8:65; 2 Chron. 7:8; 2 Kgs 14:25, cf. Amos 6:14; Ezek. 47:15, 20; 48:1. For the relation between Num. 34 and Ezek. 47, see e.g. Noth, 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumente', 239-46 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 269-74); Auld, *Joshua, Moses, and the Land*, 75-6; N. Na'aman, 'Lebo-Hamath, Šubat-Hamath, and the Northern Boundary of the Land of Canaan', *UF* 31 (1999), 432-5.

his wars against Zobah and Damascus (2 Sam. 8:1-11; 10:15-19). These texts state that the Aramean rulers become David's vassals and tell how king Toi of Hamath congratulates David with his victory over Hadadezer, son of Rehob, the king of Zobah. The defeat of Zobah and Rehob, the two territorial units between the tribal inheritance of Dan and the kingdom of Hamath, seems to imply a grip on **לְבוֹא חַמַּת**, for Hamath is now David's northern neighbour (2 Sam. 8:9-10), a situation described more explicitly in 1 Chronicles 13:5. So according to the Books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles, Solomon reigned over the north-eastern part of the promised land due to David's conquests, while in later times, Jerobeam II could exploit the political instability of his days to restore the Israelite control of these areas for a while or incorporated new territories into Israel in the form of a gift from Assyria to a reliable vassal.<sup>354</sup>

The question still remains where this **לְבוֹא חַמַּת** is located. To answer this it is necessary to know how the expression has to be translated. Since LXX it is often interpreted as 'the entrance of Hamath'. This, however, seems impossible in combination with the preposition **בְּ**.<sup>355</sup> Therefore, the name 'Lebo Hamath', saying that a place called 'Lebo' belongs to the area of Hamath at the Orontes, is preferred. Following the line drawn in 13:5c to the north, this Lebo is to be found east of modern Afqa, somewhere between Mount Hor in the west and Zedad in the east (Num. 34:8), that is, between Byblos and the village of Sadad east of the Anti-Lebanon.<sup>356</sup> Here, a site called Tel Qaşri Lebwe (277.397) is located near the modern village of Lebwe, south of Kadesh at the sources of the Orontes. The tel was inhabited thousands of years and is commonly identified with biblical Lebo Hamath, Egyptian Lb'i, Assyrian Lab'u, and Roman Lybo/Libo.<sup>357</sup> According to the biblical texts, the town functioned as a main point along the border of the promised land together with the other locations named in, for instance, Numbers 34:8-9, Zedad, Ziphron, and Hazar-Enan. The many attestations of Lebo in non-biblical texts make it clear that especially the line Lebo – Zedad functioned as a boundary over a long time. At first between the Late Bronze Age Egyptian Province in Asia and the

<sup>354</sup> Cf. K. Elliger, 'Die Nordgrenze des Reiches Davids', *PJ* 32 (1936), 60-2; Halpern, 'Construction of the Davidic State', 61-2; Idem, *David's Secret Demon's*, 164-86, 246-56; Idem, 'The Taking of Nothing: 2 Kings 14:25, Amos 6:14 and the Geography of the Deuteronomistic History', in: P.M. Daviau et al. (eds), *The World of the Arameans. Vol. 1* (JSOTS, 324), Sheffield 2002, 186-204.

<sup>355</sup> 1 Kgs 8:65; 2 Kgs 14:25; Amos 6:14, cf. Noth, 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumente', 242-3 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 271): 'Allenfalls tragbar ist noch die Verbindung mit **מֵט** zu einer weiter Ferne wie 1 Chr 13 5 (...). Aber schon die Verbindung mit **בְּ** ist in dieser Auffassung ziemlich unmöglich; denn **לְבוֹא** müsste die Richtung auf Hamath hin bezeichnen, und diese Richtung kann nicht zum Ausgangspunkt einer gerade entgegengesetzt verlaufenden Linie gemacht werden'.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. Elliger, 'Nordgrenze', 38-40.

<sup>357</sup> Elliger, 'Nordgrenze', 40-5; Idem, 'Hamath', *BHH*, 630; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 72; Mazar, *Early Biblical Period*, 199-202; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel*, Bd. 1, 247; Na'aman, 'Lebo-Hamath', 421. For detailed comments on the attestations of Lebo in the Execration texts, in Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom, and in Neo-Assyrian texts, see Na'aman, 'Lebo Hamath', 419-28.

vassal states of Mittani and Hatti and afterwards between the various provinces and districts during the Assyrian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods.<sup>358</sup>

Finally, the inhabitants of the northern part of the remaining land are mentioned in 13:6ab. This time the description is orientated from east to west: all the residents of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon and those inhabiting the area north of Misrephot Maim, that is, Tel Misraf at the Mediterranean shore (13:6a). By naming Misrephot Maim, the text refers again to the northern border of the conquered land as depicted in 11:8d. Only the citizens of the coastal region are called by their name (13:6b), unlike its parallel in Judges 3:3. This has become necessary because of the fact that the mentioning of the southern limit of the region, Misrephot Maim, is as such not a appropriate allusion to all the citizens of the Phoenician cities. Therefore, the text labels them by the name 'Sidonians', a practice quite normal in the Old Testament as well as in non-biblical texts from the first millennium BCE.<sup>359</sup>

#### *Late Bronze Age Background*

Now that the evidence has been collected, the moment has come to review the issue of a possible Late Bronze Age background in the geography of the northern remaining land. In the past, biblical as well as non-biblical information concerning 13:4a-6b already led to a scholarly discussion about the origin and date of the delineation of the northern borders of the conquered and remaining land. As such this is not a matter to discuss here, as it will be dealt with in Chapter 5. But now it is important to look which of the three available interpretations actually fit the text's geographical and ethnic *realia*.<sup>360</sup>

The first scholar sketching the correct geographical location of the border of the northern remaining land, Karl Elliger, paid special attention to the parallels between the geography of the conquered and promised land and the accounts regarding the extent of the Davidic kingdom as found in 2 Samuel 24 and 2 Samuel 8 and 10. In his view, the 'annalistic context' of the stories about the census and the conquest of Syria showed that the geographical concepts used in the historiography of the settlement, in Ezekiel 47, and in the ethnographic list of Genesis 10:15-19 are most likely derived from 10th century BCE depictions of the Israelite kingdom describing its heartland and its surrounding provinces.<sup>361</sup> A small number of scholars, following Benjamin Mazar, offered another solution focusing on the

<sup>358</sup> For a presentation of the evidence, see Elliger, 'Nordgrenze', 45-53.

<sup>359</sup> See e.g. the attestations in 1 Kgs 5:20; 16:31 (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.324), in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III and in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, e.g. *Il.* 6290-91; *Od.* 4.83, 84. Cf. P.C. Schmitz, 'Sidon', *ABD*, vol. 6, 17; H.J. Katzenstein, 'Tyre', *ABD*, vol. 6, 688; J.D. Muhly, 'Homer and the Phoenicians', *Berytus* 19 (1970), 19-64.

<sup>360</sup> A fourth proposal – locating the northern boundary of the promised land much more to the south, that is, at the northern edge of the Golan – based on a wrong identification of Lebo Hamath, will be left out of the discussion. For this proposal and its objections, see J.P. van Kasteren, 'Le frontière septentrionale de la Terre Promise', *RB* 4 (1895), 23-36; Noth, 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumente', 243-8 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 271-5); Idem, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 75-7; R. North, 'Phoenicia-Canaan Frontier Lebo of Hama', *MUSJ* 46 (1970-71), 71-103; Lemche, *Canaanites and Their Land*, 79-81, and Saebø, 'Grenzbeschreibung und Landideal', 24-6; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 230-1; Na'aman, 'Canaanites and Their Land', 410-1 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 127).

<sup>361</sup> Elliger, 'Nordgrenze', 60-5.

striking parallels with the Late Bronze attestations of the northern boundary of the Egyptian Province in Asia. They stated that the remaining land, describing the gap between the limited area of Joshua's conquest and the outer borders of the promised land, located the actual inhabited territories by the Israelites within 'Canaan', a Late Bronze Age concept later adopted by the Israelites. In this way, the origin of the northern border of the promised land was dated almost three centuries earlier.<sup>362</sup> These scholars only disagreed on the question concerning the date of the southern border of the northern part of the remaining land. One of them also updated this border, arguing that the biblical texts clearly state that the tribal inheritances were already conquered during the 13th century BCE.<sup>363</sup> Others maintained that it reflected a Davidic reality and used it to date the description of the tribal territories as a whole.<sup>364</sup> In later years, however, this theory concerning an early Israelite adoption of an Egyptian territorial concept conflicted more and more with the tendency to date the biblical books much later. Doubts concerning the historicity of the Davidic kingdom and especially the theory of the concept of the remaining land belonging to a redactional layer of an exilic or post-exilic nomistic deuteronomist called for a new explanation. Therefore, Nadav Na'aman recently looked for a way to modify the second theory. In his opinion, it might be possible that authentic Canaanite memories were transferred to Israelite scribes quite late in the Iron Age, for many parts of the biblical tradition reflect on certain Canaanite elements. Additionally, he states that the biblical epeexegetic genitive 'Hamath' could only be added to the name Lebo after the Assyrian reorganization of the provinces of central Syria in 720 BCE when Lab'u became the southernmost town of the unified province Hamath-Zobah. So according to his view, the assumption that the Israelites adopted the Egyptian concept of Canaan at the moment they occupied the land can no longer be maintained, for its use by the biblical writers dates from the exilic or post-exilic period.<sup>365</sup>

In order to evaluate these theories from the perspective of the *realia* referred to in 13:4a-6d, Na'aman's objections against the other two hypotheses deserve some attention. With regard to the first proposal, he suggests that Elliger's way of reasoning is too much based on a disputed dating of some chapters in the Book of Samuel. On the one hand, this critique seems to be justified in some respect, for the literary reconstruction Elligers relies on is not only vehemently challenged, but as such his solution does also not take into account the non-biblical evidence. On the other hand Na'aman seems to overreact: he totally dismisses the historical value of the biblical text without reason, while the Assyrian texts are judged as trustworthy sources.

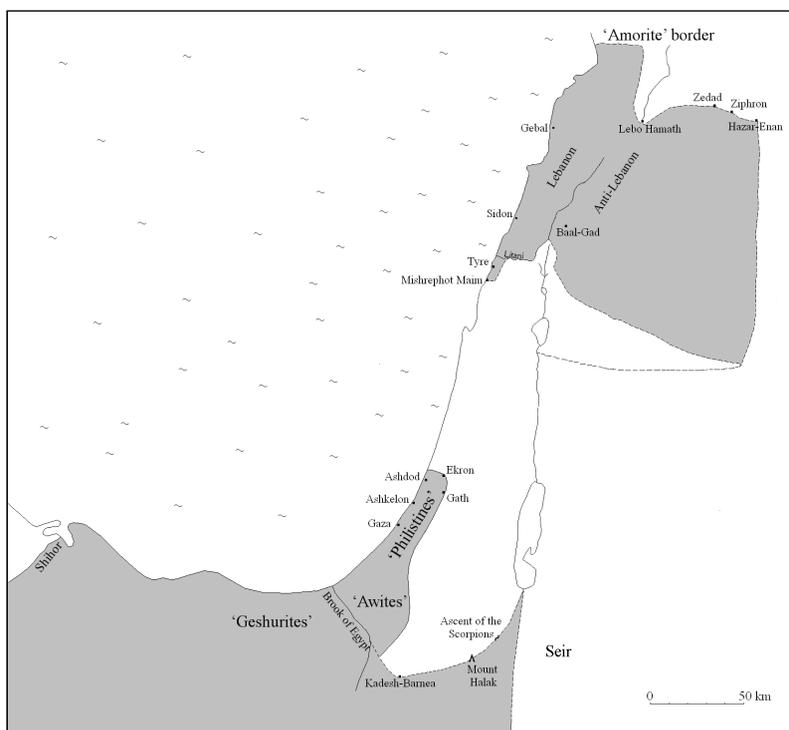
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<sup>362</sup> De Vaux, 'Le pays', 30; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 74-5; Mazar, *Early Biblical Period*, 192; Keel, Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften*, Bd. 1, 228; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 39; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 324; Idem, *Biblical Historiography*, 194.

<sup>363</sup> Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 74.

<sup>364</sup> Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 72-117; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 279-93.

<sup>365</sup> Na'aman, 'Canaanites and Their Land', 414-5 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 129-30); Idem, 'Lebo Hamath', 417-9, 429, 437.



Map 3.10 – The ‘Remaining Land’ of Joshua 13:1-7 within the framework of the ‘promised land’ in Numbers 34 and the Egyptian Province in Asia.

So if there is anything historical in 2 Samuel 8 and 10, the addition ‘Hamath’ to the name Lebo can also be considered to be an explaining qualification added after the establishment of the kingdom of Hamath during the 11th century BCE.<sup>366</sup> This would make Na‘aman’s argument concerning the reorganization of the Assyrian provinces as a *terminus a quo* for the name Lebo Hamath lose its significance. An indication that this name in 13:5c could predate the 8th century BCE is perhaps offered by the fact that 13:4b refers to Sidon and not to Tyre. This could reflect the historical situation between the destruction of Tyre at the beginning of the 12th and its revival and wealth during the 9th century BCE.<sup>367</sup> Moreover, the division of the Philistine region in five districts as attested in 13:3d lasted at the utmost unto

<sup>366</sup> Thus Mazar, *Early Biblical Period*, 202, cf. A. Alt, ‘Die Syrische Staatenwelt vor der Einbruch der Assyrer’, *ZDMG* 88 (1934), 245-7 (= *KS*, Bd. 3, 223-4); Halpern, *David’s Secret Demons*, 173-5; K.R. Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients bis zur Zeit Alexander des Großen* (ATDE, 11), Göttingen 2001, 214-5.

<sup>367</sup> In 19:28-29 and 2 Sam. 24:6-7, Tyre is also depicted as being a part of Great-Sidon and therefore may depict the situation before the city’s ‘golden age’ in the 9th century BCE, cf. Katzenstein, *History of Tyre*, 62-77; Idem, ‘Tyre’, 687-8; Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients*, 216-7. For the geographical details, see above the excursus at 11:8d.

the late 9th century, even if David's accomplishment regarding Gath as the *primus inter pares* of these cities in 2 Samuel 8:1 is regarded as unhistorical. Both the 8th century Assyrian inscriptions and Amos 1:7-8 mention four districts. In addition, Hazael of Aram conquered Gath according to 2 Kings 12:18, while Amos 6:2 is most likely to be interpreted as an authentic word of the early 8th century prophet, in which he illustrates his warnings by referring to the destruction and desolation of three Syro-Palestinian capital cities, including Gath.<sup>368</sup> As a result, the possibility that the use of the name Lebo Hamath pinpoints the *terminus a quo* for 13:2b-6c at 720 BCE cannot be ruled out entirely, but a date before that term fits the evidence much better.

Regarding Na'aman's analysis of the second hypothesis, it is clear that he rightly puts the parallel between the Late Bronze Age border of the Egyptian Province in Asia and that of biblical Canaan into perspective, for it must be admitted that certain parts of the northern boundary of the promised land functioned as a border over many centuries. Apart from that, however, it is remarkable that he pays no attention to the attestation of the 'Amorites' in 13:4b. This is the only biblical reference to Amurru as a specific zone north of Byblos, which existed as a political entity during the Late Bronze Age, and strongly suggests – more than in the case of the Shihor in 13:3a – that the text is keeping an exact memory of the situation during the period to which the passage refers. So the conclusion seems to be inevitable that the geography of the remaining land has indeed a Late Bronze Age background. In addition, it must be noted that in non-biblical texts the term Amurru lost its specific significance over the years: it was still used by Tiglath-Pileser I and even occasionally during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, but in the second half of the 9th century BCE it fell out of use completely, and forever.<sup>369</sup> In its turn, this indicates that the Late Bronze Age background of the biblical depiction of the promised land is based on a direct conceptual continuity between the Egyptian idea of the Egyptian Province in Asia and the biblical Canaan. Nevertheless, this continuity is hard to maintain, if the passage is ascribed to an exilic or post-exilic writer. From the perspective of the *realia* in the text, the period in which the connection between the two geographical entities can be made is that between the late 11th and the late 9th or perhaps the early 8th century BCE. Only during this period the combination of 'Lebo Hamat', 'Sidon', and the 'Amorites' can have been written down as they are, while the anachronistic description of the five Philistine rulers also fits this picture. As such, this period functions as a range for a possible date for this piece of historiography. The question whether it reflects the actual historical context of the text, will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of 13:2b-6c, especially when the results are compared with the outcome of the study of the geographical and ethnical *realia* in the chapters 9–12. The description of the remaining land is the final piece of the geographical concept of the Book of

<sup>368</sup> E. Hammershaimb, *The Book of Amos*, Oxford 1970, 97-9; Na'aman, 'History of David', 176-8 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 28-30). Cf. Noort, *Sevölker*, 36, 40, who takes the conquest by Hazael for historical, but also defends the traditional view that Amos 6:2 is added and refers to the conquests of Sargon II in the late 8th century BCE.

<sup>369</sup> Liverani, 'Amorites', 123.

Joshua. In the south as well as in the north, the remaining territories bridge the gap between the boundaries of the conquered and the promised land. In this respect, two elements deserve further attention. In the first place, it is obvious that the outer borders of the land conquered in chapter 10—11 and settled in chapter 15—19 function as a point of departure for the depiction of the remaining land. In the south, this situation is referred to in an indirect way by the description of the coastal plain, which is not described in detail when the land is divided and therefore counted as remaining land. In the north the equation of both borders becomes evident from references to the same geographical locations in the descriptions of the northern boundary of the conquered land as well as of that of the southern boundary of the remaining land. In the words of the chapters 10 and 11: there is a certain boundary where Israelite soldiers stopped persecuting their enemies. The land enclosed by this boundary is divided into two categories: tribal inheritances and Canaanite enclaves. According to the story about David's census in 2 Samuel 24, the area actually being in control by king David consisted out of these two categories of exactly the same territory. Beyond this area, the remaining land begins.

In the second place, it has become clear that the outer borders of the remaining land are the same as those of the promised land in the historiography of the settlement as a whole. This is particularly the case with respect to the important northern border which is identical to the boundary of Canaan as depicted in Numbers 34:7-9. Several indications show that this concept in the historiography of the settlement has its background in the Late Bronze Age Egyptian Province in Asia. Cumulative evidence for this hypothesis includes the similarity between the southern and northern borders of this province and that of the promised land, the use of כנעני and כנען, the notion in the historiography of the settlement present in chapter 12 of the conquered lands in Transjordan not belonging to the promised land, and the use of the terms 'Shihor' and 'Amorites' in chapter 13. As a consequence, the area between the conquered territories and the outer borders of Canaan has to be characterized as 'remaining'. The interest in this area in the rest of the Old Testament is mainly concentrated in the stories about the kingdom of David and Solomon. In particular the account of David's campaigns in 1 Samuel 8 suggests that king David subjected the rulers of the remaining land and made them his vassals.

### **Measure and Divide (13:6c-7b)**

As was noted above, the switch in the geographical description of the remaining areas from the land to its inhabitants in 13:6ab predicts a turn in the oracle from the geographical enumeration to a divine promise and command. This actually happens in 13:6cd, where YHWH tells Joshua how he will realize his promise of Israel also inheriting the promised land outside the conquered territories. By an emphatic אֲנִי YHWH first stresses his own task: he himself will drive out the inhabitants before Israel (13:6c).<sup>370</sup> In doing so YHWH reiterates a

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<sup>370</sup> Cf. Hawk, *Joshua*, 184.

promise with respect to Canaan's nations, which he had done four times before the conquest of the land. The context of one of these attestations is clearly conditional: the fulfilment of the promise seems to be connected with Israel's loyalty to YHWH's commands.<sup>371</sup>

The repetition of the promise after the defeat of the Amorite and the Canaanite coalitions raises the question what will happen now the conquest appears to be incomplete. An indication for the answer of this question is found in chapter 23 which shows that the promise still stands, even after the division of the land (23:5). In this verse its conditional character is intensified: Joshua warns the elders not to turn away from YHWH to the remaining nations for alliances by intermarriage and other associations, because otherwise, God will no longer drive them out and they will become a snare and a trap for Israel, until they will perish in the land (23:13). The Book of Judges demonstrates this horrific scenario becoming a reality after Joshua's death. Judges 1 focuses on the pre-Israelite nations that remain within the conquered and settled territories: the tribes of Benjamin and Joseph do not drive them out and some Canaanite enclaves continue to exist (Judg. 1:21-33).<sup>372</sup> The following chapter does not offer a consistent picture of YHWH's reaction to this. It is clear that Israel's worshipping various gods of the peoples around them provokes him to anger, so that he delivers Israel into an endless circle of divine fury, oppression by enemies, deliverance by a judge, another disloyalty evoking divine anger again etc. Because of the violation of the covenant, YHWH also feels no longer obliged to drive out the nations remaining after the death of Joshua (Judg. 2:12-21). But Judges 2 is unclear about YHWH's attitude towards the remaining nations. On the one hand, the text says that it were nations Joshua left behind (עֲזִיב, Judg. 2:21), while on the other hand it is stated that YHWH himself leaves them (נִרְחַק, Judg. 2:23; 3:1). In addition, this last option is also motivated in two ways: the nations remain to test Israel's loyalty and to teach Israel warfare (Judg. 2:23-3:4).<sup>373</sup> Despite these discrepancies, the text of Judges 3:3 clearly describes the same people as 13:2a-6b does: the Philistines in the south and the Canaanites between Baal-Hermon or Baal-Gad and Lebo Hamath in the north.<sup>374</sup> Both functions of the remaining nations seem to be present in the deliverer-stories of the Book of Judges and can also be observed in the Books of Samuel and

<sup>371</sup> Unconditional: Ex. 34:11; Deut. 4:38; Josh. 3:10; conditional: Deut. 11:22-23.

<sup>372</sup> Cf. Van Bekkum, 'Historiografie van de vestiging', 298-301.

<sup>373</sup> Already before the conquest of the land, YHWH reveals that he will not drive out the nations at once, for Israel is too small to settle the land within a short period (Exod. 23:29-30; Deut. 7:22). Cf. E. Noort, 'Land in zicht? Geloofvisie, werkelijkheid en geschiedenis in het oudtestamentische spreken over het land', in: *Tussen openbaring en ervaring*, Kampen 1986, 99-100.

<sup>374</sup> In the light of the analysis of 13:2a-6b, the southern and northern remaining land is designated in Judges 3:3 by *כָּל־הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְכָל־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים* and *כָּל־הַמְּשָׁחִים*, the last being followed by a *r*-explicativum: 'the five rulers of the Philistines and all the Canaanites, namely the Sidonians and the Hivites living in the Lebanon mountains from Mount Baal Hermon to Lebo Hamath'.

Kings. The already mentioned passages of 2 Samuel 8 and 24 clearly suggest that David dealt effectively with the pre-Israelites: those in the remaining land paid tribute and those inside the kingdom did forced labour.<sup>375</sup> Later on in the Book of Kings, however, these nations are also said to be an important factor in the climax of apostasy that eventually led to the exile of both Israel and Judah.<sup>376</sup>

This overview shows that the repetition in 13:6a of the promise to drive out the nations of the land is an early episode in a long story from exodus to exile. Moreover, it occurs at a crucial moment, for Joshua is going to die. This state of affairs includes a transfer of responsibilities, which means that the promise is in some respect conditional (cf. 13:1ac). By saying that some parts of the land, namely that of the Philistines and the Awites, are not Canaanite by themselves, but only counted as Canaanite, the text explicitly refers to one of these responsibilities, that is, the command to eliminate certain pre-Israelite nations (13:3cde). However, in this phase of the process of settlement the conditional aspect is not stressed too much. The primary meaning of YHWH's assurance to Joshua and his successors is that somehow, he will find a way to reach his goal of giving the whole of Canaan to Israel even after an incomplete conquest. This emphasis on YHWH's own engagement is clearly highlighted by  $\text{רק}$  in 13:6d: the only thing Joshua has to do is to allot the whole of the land of Canaan as an inheritance for Israel just as YHWH had shown and commanded in Numbers 34:2-12.<sup>377</sup> YHWH himself takes the responsibility for the conquest of the remaining land, although this does not imply that there will be no war.<sup>378</sup>

The next verse reveals that Israel's settlement of the promised land starts by allotting the territory of Canaan: the land is to be divided as an inheritance for the tribes (13:7a) and thereafter it has to be given (13:7d). In the way this is formulated, the text again refers to Numbers 34:1-15. Where 13:4a-5c resembles Numbers 34:8-7, and 13:6d Numbers 34:2, 13:7a-e contain several elements of the same passage: 'divide it as an inheritance' ( $\text{חלק בנצלה}$ , 13:7a) is almost synonym to 'assign it by lot as an inheritance' ( $\text{חתנחלי בגורל}$ , Num. 34:13);<sup>379</sup> the nine and a half tribes also occur twice (13:7b; Num. 34:13, cf. Josh. 14:2-3); and – if the text critical reconstruction of 13:7cde is correct<sup>380</sup> –

<sup>375</sup> Cf. 16:10; 17:13; Judg. 1:28, 30, 33, 35; 1 Kgs 9:21.

<sup>376</sup> 2 Kgs 17:8, 15; 21:2, 11, cf. 23:26; 24:3.

<sup>377</sup> See the annotations 11:7k and 13:6h. Butler claims that the text refers to Num. 26:52-56 (Butler, *Joshua*, 152), but this is unlikely, for in this text, the expression  $\text{בנחלה}$  does not occur.

<sup>378</sup> Num. 32:1 and Deut. 2:21-22 falsify the idea that the theme of leadership is not under discussion, because God himself takes over Joshua's responsibilities (thus Butler, *Joshua*, 152-3; Görg, *Josua*, 65).

<sup>379</sup> See annotation 13:7j, cf. Hawk, *Joshua*, 185. This interpretation fits the character of the restrictive adverb  $\text{רק}$  better than that of Nelson, who claims that it implies: 'in spite of the situation just described, nevertheless, your task is to divide' (Nelson, *Joshua*, 163).

<sup>380</sup> See annotation 13:7m-m.

the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea function in both texts as the eastern and western border (13:7ce; Num. 34:6, 12). Nevertheless, this parallel does not mean that YHWH simply repeats his command to Moses, because not all the land is conquered and there is still land that remains. In his speech to the elders, Joshua says that he succeeded in allotting all the territories for the tribes between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea, that is, those of the remaining nations as well as those of all the nations that were killed (23:4). The delineation of the land occurring in the chapters 13—19 may be seen as a justification of this statement. At the same time it is clear that here these chapters only report the division of the conquered territories. So the question to be asked is what land YHWH orders Joshua to divide: the promised land west of the Jordan River including the remaining land, or without. The answer to this question is ‘including the remaining land’, partly because of the fact that *נָפַל* [חֶבֶל] *hi.*, ‘to allot’ in 13:6d and *חָלַק*, ‘to divide (by lot)’ in 13:7a are almost synonymous.<sup>381</sup> Therefore, *הַזֹּאת* most likely refers to the remaining land attested as *הָאָרֶץ נְשָׂאֲרָה* in 13:1d as well as to the Cisjordan land described in 13:7ce. Consequently, the *Aufmerksamkeitserreger* *וַעֲתָהּ* is to be interpreted in such a way that it also includes the assignment of 13:6d: Joshua is ordered to divide the whole of the promised land west of the Jordan River, in so far as he can still do this personally.

Understood in this way, the repetition of YHWH’s command to Moses in 13:7a creates a tension between the oracle of 13:1a-7e and the following chapters, for there, Joshua divides no more than the conquered territories and this is presented as an act of obedience.<sup>382</sup> It is difficult to find an interpretation resolving this tension. Of course, the later chapters do contain some passages concerning the remaining nations. But their primary function is to emphasize the necessity of obedience of future generations: for them, they will be an inducement of disloyalty to YHWH. The geographical descriptions of the remaining land inside and outside the conquered territories in 13—19 and the farewell speeches to the leaders and the people in 23—24 clearly point in this direction.<sup>383</sup> So the death of the obedient leader as well as the threat of the remaining nations raises some negative expectations: will there ever be a new leader, a new hero who will bring victory to Israel through his obedience to YHWH? Yet, the tendency of the book as a whole remains positive: the promise of the land is fulfilled and will be fulfilled definitely. The only geographical factor possibly explaining this tension is the striking similarity between the extent

<sup>381</sup> E.g. Butler, *Joshua*, 152; Nelson, *Joshua*, 163, cf. annotation 11:7k. Most scholars see the geographical description of the remaining land as a later insertion and therefore they interpret 13:7a as a reference to the conquered territories (thus e.g. Noth, *Josua*, 74-5; Soggin, *Joshua*, 151; Fritz, *Josua*, 141). Some even claim that not 13:7a, but 13:6d refers to 13:1d (Wüst, *Untersuchungen zu den siedlungsgeographischen Texten*, 226-7). Both hypotheses, however fail to interpret the text as a whole. See also section 5.2.

<sup>382</sup> 14:1-2, 6, 13-14; 15:13; 17:4; 18:3, 10; 19:49, 51; 20:1-2; 21:1-2; 22:1-8.

<sup>383</sup> 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:11-13, 17-18; 23:4-7, 12-14; 24:19-24. Cf. 13:1ac; 23:1; 24:29-31.

of the conquered and remaining land and that of the kingdom of David. This similarity evokes a certain suggestion, namely that according to the Book of Joshua, YHWH utterly fulfilled his promise to give Canaan to Israel by choosing David as its king.

### 3.6 GEOGRAPHY AND IDEOLOGY

The study of the geographical descriptions in Joshua 9:1—13:7 has revealed that geography not only structures the composition of the Book of Joshua, but is also an important means in communicating its message. The descriptions of the kings, peoples and their lands altogether create a powerful geographical concept that provides the tools for telling the story about YHWH's gracious gift of the land to the people of Israel. The variations in the descriptions of these items not only make it possible to elaborate on the land as a beautiful present which is almost salvation itself and to sketch the process of it being handed over, but are also used to characterize the relation between YHWH and Israel and to depict the role of Israel's leader. This shows that on a textual level, geography and ideology are closely connected. It is the purpose of this section to explore this correlation by comparing the ideological nature of the descriptions in Joshua with the function of geography and ethnography in other ancient Near Eastern texts. Such a brief comparison is possible, mainly because of the similarity of the descriptions. These similarities are so numerous that Keith L. Younger, a scholar who explored the intermingling of figurative and ideological aspects in ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts, states that with respect to Joshua 9—12 and Assyrian, Hittite, an Egyptian conquest accounts, 'there is a common denominator, a certain commonality between them, so that it is possible for us to speak, for purposes of generalization, of a common transmission code'.<sup>384</sup>

#### Inner and Outer Space

Another scholar, Mario Liverani, focusing more on the aspect of geography, agrees with this statement and uses the variations between the parallels to explore the ideology that is reflected by them. In his opinion, the notion of space as a homogeneous qualitatively indifferent entity is an abstraction when it is related to its human perception. For individuals and groups, there is always a difference between 'inner' and 'outer' space, between the known and the unknown, the near and the far. In modern political documents the ideas and symbols connected to the experience of facing other men or political communities are always hidden, because we are 'Euclidean' beings, used to rational abstractions when dealing with matters of geometry. In the ancient Near East, however, this was not the case, and therefore, it is no surprise that the ideology of the context in which the texts are written, easily finds its way to the geo-

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<sup>384</sup> Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 265.

graphical descriptions. Many of these descriptions, often presented as royal titles and epithets, hint for example at a universal control of the earth by a reference to the totality of the known world. Classical examples of this are the Akkadian epithet 'king of the totality' and the Egyptian title 'lord of all the lands'. It is interesting to see that the same can also be depicted by descriptions of typological sort as 'all the mountains and the large plains', by references to the points of the compass or, when the outer world is considered to be irrelevant, even by a bipartition of the inner country, like the common Egyptian expression 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt' and the Akkadian title 'king of Sumer and Akkad'. In this case, the inner population simply ignores the outer world until the king shows it as conquered. Another possibility is that of an 'open' list, where a sequence of many names of conquered cities gives the impression of a potential totality.<sup>385</sup>

This general picture does not rule out that there are some important differences in ideological presentation between the geographical descriptions of the ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts. The Assyrian view of the world is definitely the most imperialistic one. Although the Assyrian history writing offers several ways in describing the submission of enemies, the real sense of a campaign is always to be found in the religiously inspired desire for the restoration of order. All the surrounding minor political centres are considered to bring disorder and chaos. So in fact, there is only one enemy and the Assyrian king has to subdue him to reinstate order, righteousness and life. In comparison to this, the Hittite view is much more moderate. From an ideological point of view, the maritime boundaries were the natural goal in the royal expansion of the empire. But simultaneously, the geographical descriptions show that the Hittite kings were realists who knew where to stop. The Egyptian texts in their turn reflect a deep sense of superiority towards other nations. Foreigners are viewed as lacking the basic requirements of the civilized world. A fine example of this is the fact that Late Bronze texts from Egypt describe the space surrounding the Southern-Levantine city-states and the inhabitants of these regions as void and dangerous. Here, it is again the pharaoh who has to restore the order to the status quo, because he is the protector of Egypt and Asia. Nevertheless, the texts are also aware of the fact that this never resulted in the complete Egyptianization of the Southern Levant.<sup>386</sup>

Geographical and ethnographical descriptions are not neutral, for they are written from a certain perspective. As a result, there is always a tension between the ideal and the real. On the one hand, the borders of the world are static: a king moves his borders always forward to the ideal boundary established by the gods and erecting a stela far from home – not as a boundary stone, but as a celebrative stela – at 'the River' or 'the Sea' as the remotest point

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<sup>385</sup> Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 'Part One, Territory and Border', passim, in particular 33-6, 44-50.

<sup>386</sup> Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 65-9, 123 (Assyria), 128-30 (Hatti), 175-7, 194 (Egypt); Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 35-43.

of the cosmic border is an appropriate device to mark the king's possession of the universe. On the other hand, a border is also dynamic, for the political implications of the exact geographical references to the physical reality are often more limited than their rhetorical form suggests. The Egyptian open listing presentation of conquered cities and the awareness in the Hittite texts that the political control of their kings was limited clearly illustrate this. Both examples raise the question where ideology ends and real political involvement begins.<sup>387</sup> In most of these cases the relation between the ideal and the real remains vague, because the historical facts are expressed in the form of paradigmatic values. What matters is the ideological point of view, that is, the prestige of the king in the central kingdom. Consequently, the writers of these texts are in some sense forced to find a way to express totality to convince the people of the king's greatness. At the same time, however, they have to deal with real geographical entities, with politics and maybe even with a circle surrounding the king knowing more about reality.

### Conventions

According to Baruch Halpern, the fact of many ancient writers of history coping with the tension between the ideal and the real created an ancient Near Eastern historiographical convention. This convention was used and improved by the Middle Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 BCE), during whose reign the transition was made from display inscriptions to true annals. Already the display inscriptions enabled the scribes to provide the most favourable report about the king's prowess, for their internal sequence is not necessarily chronological. Their form of organization is most of the time geographic, thus implying a forward movement or a suggestion of totality. In the annals, a similar strategy of presentation can be observed. But in addition, the texts also reveal another technique putting a maximal spin on the real events. On close inspection, most of the annals tell about subjugating different peoples and territories in different ways, thus in each case presenting diverse political claims. But these detailed distinctions have disappeared in the summary statements interrupting or concluding the annals. The torching of a grain field has become the conquest of a whole territory and a looting raid is used to suggest perpetual sovereignty. This rhetorical exaggeration is explored to persuade outsiders, while insiders as army officers and administrative officials who knew how foreign relations stood and where the borders were, understood the convention and applauded the cleverness of the scribes who, without falsification, implied the glory and grandeur of the king's accomplishments.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 59-65.

<sup>388</sup> Halpern, 'Construction of Davidic State', 49-53; Idem, *David's Secret Demons*, 124-6, 130. According to Halpern, a modern parallel of this was the statement of a candidate for the American presidency in the 2000 elections that he 'invented the internet', while he had been only indirectly involved in its development.

Halpern's proposal has been firmly criticized by the Assyriologist Steven W. Holloway. No Assyrian king, whether before or after Tiglath-Pileser I, ever lost a battle in a royal inscription and exaggeration of the political mastery was a common feature in Mesopotamian history. Accordingly, Holloway is 'afraid that the ancient Near East produces no more solid evidence of imperial control than the combination of centralized administrative archives and independent inscriptions found *in situ*'. He does not deny, however, the distinction between an inner and an outer public, the ideologically colourful uses of number and real estate, and even more stresses the difference between the control of land falling within the king's provincial grasp and that as the result of a long distance expedition.<sup>389</sup> So the knowledge of royal geographical conventions communicating land claims should be put into perspective from a historical point of view. But it is still a tool in the interpretation of texts. Therefore, Halpern's idea remains interesting that this phenomenon is also present in some parts of biblical historiography. A first example could be the claim of 2 Kings 18:8 that king Hezekiah of Judah defeated the Philistines 'unto Gaza and its territories'. This text is a problem, because according to Sennacherib's reports on his conquest of Judah in 701 BCE, he did not need to take Gaza. So the question is: did Hezekiah take Gaza or not? Halpern's answer is that in the skirmishes surrounding the forming of the anti-Assyrian coalition led by Hezekiah, Judah and its allies engineered a coup in Ashkelon on Gaza's border, in order to involve it in the revolt. In addition, it is likely that Hezekiah also took Timnah from king Padi of Ekron and Gath, the other inland Philistine state. So in his view, Hezekiah probably campaigned no further than Ekron, but the writer could maximize the area covered by this action 'unto Gaza', because it was right to state that all the territory of Philistea up to Gaza was collaborating with Hezekiah.<sup>390</sup> Halpern offers a second, more interesting case in his comments on the summary of David's battles in 2 Samuel 8:1-14. Because of the thematic organization of its contents, the chapter is in his view closely related to the conventions of the display inscriptions and clearly reflects the struggle of its writers with the tension between the real and the ideal. The suggestion of the chapter is obvious: David is not only the founder of a dynasty, but also a great king who defeated

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<sup>389</sup> S.W. Holloway, 'Use of Assyriology in Chronological Apologetics in *David's Secret Demons*', *SJOT* 17 (2003), 257-60, quotation on 258.

<sup>390</sup> Halpern, 'Construction of Davidic State', 53, cf. Idem, *David's Secret Demons*, 127: 'Comically, a contemporary king of Ashkelon could have made almost the same claim as 2 Kgs 18:8 makes for Hezekiah: he subdued all the territory from Gaza to Samaria. There would be in fact no real conflict between this and the claims about Hezekiah'. For the historical context, see also H. Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen*, Bd. 2 (ATD, 4/2), Göttingen <sup>2</sup>1995, 354.

Halpern offers a similar solution for the conflict between the Book of Kings and the Tel Dan stela: in this stela, king Hazael of Aram maximizes Jehu's killing of the kings of Israel and Judah by claiming that Jehu acted on his behalf, thus completing the killing he began at Ramoth Gilead (1 Kgs 22), cf. Halpern, 'State of Israelite History', 55; Idem, *David's Secret Demons*, 468.

his enemies and was paid tribute by all of the rulers between Egypt and Assyria. But when the text is studied in detail, many questions arise. David confronted the Philistines; but did he ever combat with them outside the fringes of the hill country? He defeated Moab; but did he really succeed in regularizing its tribute? David's defeat of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, is sketched as a triumph over all Aram; but did his influence really extend beyond Zobah or did Toi, king of Hamath and sender of precious gifts, enter an equal relationship with him instead of submitting formerly? The possibility of asking these questions suggests that the text maximizes certain military events in order to underline the claim that 'YHWH gave David victory wherever he went' (2 Sam. 8:14).<sup>391</sup> The most striking indication of this, according to Halpern, is the fact that the passage seems to be deliberately ambiguous when it says that David defeated Hadadezer 'when he went to erect a stela at the River' (2 Sam. 8:3). For who went to erect a stela, and at what river? The parallel text in 1 Chronicles 18:3 interprets the maximum spin of this phrase by saying that David went to erect a stela at the Euphrates River. But in the text of Samuel, Hadadezer is a possible candidate for doing this too, and the river in question can also be the Orontes, Yarmuk, or even the Jordan River, cases in which the size of David's empire diminishes markedly.<sup>392</sup>

This is not the moment to discuss the issue of the precise meaning or historical claim of 2 Samuel 8 and 2 Chronicles 18. What matters is the question what the familiarity between the historiographical techniques of both biblical and non-biblical texts means for the Book of Joshua. Were the writers of this book familiar with the canons of ancient Near Eastern royal historiography?

### Joshua's Ideological Geography

From the perspective of geography, the answer has to be a simple 'yes'.<sup>393</sup> In the first place, Joshua 9:1—13:7 contains several descriptions that indeed suggest a totality. This can be observed in the depiction of the land by its ecological characteristics,<sup>394</sup> by the points of the compass,<sup>395</sup> and in the lists of the pre-Israelite nations<sup>396</sup> and of the defeated kings.<sup>397</sup> A second parallel can be observed with respect to the delineation of Israel's 'cosmic border'. The depiction

<sup>391</sup> Halpern, 'Construction of the Davidic State', 53-72, cf. Idem, *David's Secret Demons*, 107-226, in particular 199-207.

<sup>392</sup> Halpern, 'Construction of the Davidic State', 59, 71, 66; Idem, *David's Secret Demons*, 164-7, 204-6.

<sup>393</sup> Halpern also affirms the question, but not in relation to geography but with respect to the careful distinction made in Joshua 10—11 and Judges 1 between 'conquering' the land (לכד) and 'annexing' it or 'supplanting' its indigenous populations (יש, *hi*). Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', 1124-5; Idem, *David's Secret Demons*, 127, 131. This matter will be discussed in section 4.4.

<sup>394</sup> 9:1c; 10:6f, 40b; 11:2b, 16b, 21cd; 12:8a, cf. 13:5b.

<sup>395</sup> 10:10d, 41bc; 11:2b, 8d, 17a; 12:2b-3c, 5b-e, 7b; 13:3ab, 4b, 5c, 6a.

<sup>396</sup> 9:1d; 11:3ab; 12:8b, cf. 11:21b; 12:2a, 4a; 13:2b, 3cde, 4ab, 5a, 6ab.

<sup>397</sup> 12:2a, 4a, 7a, 9a-24b, cf. 10:40c; 11:12a, 17b.

of the outer borders of the remaining land clearly functions as a presentation of Israel's ideal boundaries, despite the fact that in opposition to other ancient Near Eastern description of 'cosmic borders' the presence of other powers – in this case Egypt and Mesopotamia – is presupposed.<sup>398</sup> As a result the descriptions of both the conquered and the remaining land communicate a claim on the land: the conquered land is divided and with respect to the remaining land it says that in the future, it will be conquered. A third indication that Joshua's conquest account uses the same literary method as for instance the display inscriptions do, is that it is not organized in a strict chronological way. Two examples of this are the difficulty in the reconstruction of the route of the southern campaign in chapter 10 and the movement in northern direction that can be detected from chapter 12.<sup>399</sup> Both geographical depictions are composed in such a way that the elements of totality and of the divine aid are highlighted: with help of YHWH Joshua conquered the whole of Cisjordan from Gilgal. The question along what roads this happened is clearly subordinate to this goal. A fourth parallel, now to the non-biblical annalistic accounts, is that of the difference between the descriptions of the conquests and the summarizing statements that follow them. According to the summaries, the impact of the campaign is much bigger than the sum in addition of each of the military successes would indicate.<sup>400</sup> Examples of this are the mentioning of Kadesh Barnea in the summary of the conquest of the south (10:41b), and of the northern Shephelah in the outline of the conquest of Cisjordan as a whole (11:16b). A last parallel between the biblical and non-biblical texts is the ideological portrayal of the kings and peoples. The descriptions refer to real geographical entities and ethnographical categories. But this does not rule out the fact that the descriptions are also stereotypical and schematic and related to ideological associations: on the one hand these kings and nations are seen as autochthonous residents, that is, as immoral 'sons of Canaan' who are to be eliminated to prevent spiritual contamination; on the other hand they seem to be much more numerous, powerful and used to battle than Joshua and Israel.<sup>401</sup>

This last observation reveals that there are also differences in the use of the ancient Near Eastern canons of royal historiography between the non-biblical texts and the Book of Joshua. Non-biblical accounts of military campaigns sometimes underline the strength of the enemy and they always credit the gods for their assistance.<sup>402</sup> But they never portray the king and his army as the underdog who is totally unable to defeat his opponent without help, because that would undermine the king's position as the ruler of the world. In the Book of Joshua, however, the conventions are used to put YHWH in the centre of the attention: Joshua and Israel conquer the land, but it is only YHWH who

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<sup>398</sup> 13:3a, 4b, 5c, cf. 13:3c, 4a.

<sup>399</sup> See the sections 3.2 and 3.4.

<sup>400</sup> 10:40a-42b; 11:12a-15d, 16a-23c; 12:7a-24b.

<sup>401</sup> See the notes 394 and 395.

<sup>402</sup> For non-biblical attestations of the hostile chariotry as an example of this, see section 3.3.

brings victory. He fights for Israel and gives the land to his people. He keeps his promise by giving the land. In this conquest account, human beings only get compliments when they obey God's commandments, which were communicated by Moses, the servant of YHWH, whose example in the conquest of Transjordan also stresses the need of obedience. Even the tension between the real and ideal is used to highlight God's greatness and to stress the human responsibility. The summarizing passage describing the conquest of Cisjordan connects the maximum spin of the military events to Joshua's acting according to the divine instructions and thus to the fact that it was YHWH who fulfilled all of his promises (11:23ab, cf. 23:43-45). At the same time, the incompleteness of the conquest of the land – which is perceptible in the limited geographical areas covered by the southern and northern campaign and in the list of defeated kings, and described explicitly in the remarks concerning the remaining land and the Canaanite enclaves<sup>403</sup> – is related to the human responsibility. YHWH promises that in the future, he will drive out the nations of these territories, but at the same time, the necessity of obedience of the generations after Joshua is emphasized. (13:6c, 1cd).

As a result, it is difficult to characterize the ideological geography in the Book of Joshua as royal, for everything depends on YHWH. Nevertheless, Israel's leader does play a role, although it is not as significant as in the non-biblical conquest accounts. The message of the text is also a message for Israel's king. The familiarity of the text with the ancient Near Eastern historiographical conventions tends in this direction. But the emphasis in God's final word to Joshua on the alteration of generations and the geographical parallels to the Davidic kingdom are also to be understood in this way. This message implies that the king as Israel's leader inherits Joshua's tasks and duties concerning the pre-Israelite nations as well as the promises with respect to the conquest of the land.

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<sup>403</sup> 10:10d, 29a-39g; 11:8d; 12:9a-24a; 13:2a-6b; 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:11-13, 16; 19:47.



## CHAPTER 4 – COVENANT, EXECUTION, AND ELIMINATION

### 4.1 RUSE OF GIBEON

The preceding chapter of this study highlighted geography and ethnography as important elements in framing the textual unit of Joshua 9:1–13:7 and in communicating its message. Within this frame, however, other components occur: the narrative on the trickery of the Gibeonites (9:4a-27d); the story about the kings of the Amorite coalition in the cave of Makkedah (10:16a-27f); passages emphasizing the divine aid during the conquest (10:8b, 11a-14c; 11:6a-e, 20abc), and several repetitive sections on the subjugation of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the promised land (10:28a-39g, 40cde; 11:11abc, 12a-15d, 20b, 21a-22b). Two questions are to be answered concerning these passages. How do they fit within the structural and interpretative framework of the narrative? And what referential elements do they contain which are vital to the diachronic analysis of the text?

#### **Making a Treaty (9:4a-15c)**

The first episode to be treated is the inducement to the formation of the southern coalition, that is, the ruse of the Gibeonites. The beginning of Joshua 9 describes the aggressive reaction of the kings west of the river Jordan to the rumour of the devastation of Jericho and Ai by Joshua and Israel: they agree to join forces in order to prevent Israel's conquest of the land (9:1a-2c). This plan, however, is interrupted. The repetition of the verb שָׁמַע and the use of the intensive pronoun נִבְרַח־מֶה shift the attention to Gibeon and its reaction (9:3a-4a).<sup>1</sup> The Gibeonite response to Israel's victory in the Jordan Valley differs in two ways from the reaction of the other inhabitants of Cisjordan. It is not a reaction of the ruler of a city-state, but of the inhabitants of a city and of their representatives (9:4a, cf. 11a). Besides, it is not characterized by aggression, but by prudence and deliberation, or – understood in a more negative way – by slyness (בַּעֲרֻמָּה, 9:4a).<sup>2</sup> At this point, however, the text does not condemn this kind of behaviour. On the contrary, the next verses depict the reaction of the Gibeonites in great detail. Before they leave their city to meet Israel (9:4b), they disguise themselves as foreign diplomats (9:4c).<sup>3</sup> That is, a Gibeonite delegation makes all kind of preparations in order to look as envoys arriving at their goal after a very long journey. They load their donkeys with worn-out sackings of goat's or camel's hair and with cracked and mended leather wineskins, look for suitable worn-out sandals and clothes, and take dry and crum-

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<sup>1</sup> For detailed comments on 9:1a-4a, see section 3.1.

<sup>2</sup> See annotation 9:4g.

<sup>3</sup> For this interpretation of וַיִּצְטַיְרוּ, see annotation 9:4h-h.

bled bread as their provision (9:4d-5c).<sup>4</sup> Disguised in this way and thus pretending having been underway for months, a delegation travels from the area northwest of Jerusalem to Gilgal, close to Jericho, a trip of 30 kilometres or about 8 to 10 hours (9:6a).<sup>5</sup>

According to the text the delegation is sent to 'Joshua and Israel' (9:6a). However, as soon as the Gibeonites seek contact, they speak to the 'men of Israel' (9:6b). So the first entity of Israel meeting the Gibeonites is referred to as the 'men of Israel'. This is important because of the fact that in Joshua 9, several designations for representatives occur. The 'men of Israel' is a collective label for a group, most likely the military term for what more often is called *העדה*, 'the assembly'.<sup>6</sup> The military association is also present in this episode: the 'men of Israel' meets a foreign delegation and has to answer the question whether it represents a hostile people or not. This becomes evident from the request that is done, for the Gibeonites say that they come from a distant country and ask for a *ברית* (9:6cd).

What exactly is the delegation asking for? Some state that it is wrong to translate *ברית* by 'treaty' or 'covenant' and that in Joshua 9, Israel is only asked to enter a one-sided obligation.<sup>7</sup> It has to be questioned, however, whether this fits the phrase *כרה ברית* (ל) (9:6d, 7c, 11d, 15b, 16b). This expression seems to have its background in a ritual of cursing oneself, as described in Genesis 15 and Jeremiah 34:18-19. This ritual – or the oath that is spoken instead of it – always confirms a mutual relationship, and this is also proven by the prepositions that are used: *עם*, *ל* or *את*.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, passages like Exodus 24:3-11 and 34:10-28 strongly suggest that the word *ברית* designates the engagement between the partners involved. This conclusion becomes even inevitable in those contexts where *כרה ברית* is used in combination with other terminology depicting diplomatic deliberation, as in 1 Samuel 11:1, 1 Kgs 20:34, and Ezek. 17:11-21 (cf. Gen. 26:26-33; 2 Kgs 16:7). In all these cases a weaker partner can only survive by becoming a vassal of the one that is threatening him, while the stronger partner undertakes the obligation to spare and protect its com-

<sup>4</sup> Detailed descriptions and pictures of these *realia* are offered by Gustav Dalman and Georg Fohrer. See G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Bd. 7, 246 (Bd. 1-7, Gütersloh 1928-1942); G. Fohrer, 'Sack', *BHH*, 1638 (שקים); Dalman, *AuS*, Bd. 6, 378; Bd. 7, 193; G. Fohrer, 'Schlauch', *BHH*, 1701 (נאדיות); Dalman, *AuS*, Bd. 5, 296-7, Abb. 77-79; G. Fohrer, 'Schuhwerk', *BHH*, 1738 (נעלות); Dalman, *AuS*, Bd. 5, 210-1; G. Fohrer, 'Kleidung', *BHH*, 962-5 (שלמות); Dalman, *AuS*, Bd. 4, 72 (נקדים).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Soggin, *Joshua*, 127. For the exact location of Gibeon and Gilgal, see section 3.2.

<sup>6</sup> See annotation 9:6i-i, cf. H. Tadmor, "'The People" and the Kingship in Israel', *Journal of World History* 11 (1968), 49-57; G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schließen mit den Bewohnern des Landes: die Weisungen gegen die Kanaanäer in Israels Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung* (BWANT, 91), Stuttgart 1970, 37-9.

<sup>7</sup> E. Kutsch, *ברית*, *ThHAT*, Bd. 1, 342-4; Idem, *כרה*, *ThHAT*, Bd. 1, 858-60; Idem, *Verheissung und Gesetz. Untersuchungen zum sogenannten "Bund" im Alten Testament* (BZAW, 131), 7-8, 53-4.

<sup>8</sup> M. Weinfeld *ברית*, *ThWAT*, Bd. 1, 787-8. For an alternative interpretation, see Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz*, 42-4.

panion. In these contexts כרת ברית has to be translated by 'to make a treaty', while it is the object of this treaty to save the lives of the weaker party.<sup>9</sup>

The legal terminology of Joshua 9 perfectly fits this picture of diplomatic contact. The inhabitants of Gibeon ask for a treaty (9:6d, 11d) by offering Israel their subjugation: they will be their slaves (9:8b, 11c). Israel, in its turn, accepts a gift (9:14a), makes a treaty (9:15b), and swears an oath (9:15c). This treaty means that there will be 'peace' between the partners (9:15a, cf. 10:4d, 11:19ab). So the life of the subjugated party has to be spared (9:15b, 18a, 19d) and even protected against attacks (10:6b-f). Finally, a malediction is put on the party that has been cheating (9:23a-c).

### *Vassal Treaty*

The theme of treaty and covenant has played an important role in Old Testament and ancient Near Eastern studies during the twentieth century. Especially Hittite texts from the second and Assyrian inscriptions from the first millennium BCE instigated scholarship to assume that biblical treaties are heavily dependent on or even derived from extra-biblical vassal-treaties.<sup>10</sup> This resulted in an approach in which the newly discovered parallels were used as a blueprint for the interpretation of biblical narratives or as an indicator for the dating of Old Testament books. Consequently, some scholars read Joshua 9 against a Hittite background; others underlined the Assyrian origin of the chapter, while it was a third option to try to find a common pattern behind the parallels that were drawn.<sup>11</sup> From a methodological point of view, these efforts are not very convincing. The evolution of comparative studies to a more contextual approach has made it clear that in the case of a few more or less significant parallels, it is almost impossible to show what the connection has been between the texts in which they occur.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, it is no longer appropriate to use the similarities to date a text or to draw conclusions concerning its authenticity.

However, the ancient Near Eastern parallels to Joshua 9 collected so far do tell more about the diplomatic terminology and customs during the second and first millennium BCE. To mention a few examples: (a) ויצטירו (9:4c) is derived from ציר, the diplomat sent to other countries, like the *širu* (LÜ.MAḪ), the non-Assyrian diplomat from abroad, known from Assyrian texts.<sup>13</sup> (b) The expression of a vassal being the 'slave' of his lord (9:8b, 9b, 11c, 24b) is a very common phrase in diplo-

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes Ex. 34,10-26. Gestalt und Wesen, Herkunft und Wirken in vordeuteronomischer Zeit* (FRLANT, 114), Göttingen 1975, 241-53.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. G.E. Mendenhall, 'Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East', *BA* 17 (1954), 26-45, 50-76; R. Frankena, 'The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy', *OTS* 14 (1965), 122-54.

<sup>11</sup> F.C. Fensham, 'The Treaty between Israel and the Gibeonites', *BA* 28 (1964), 96-100; Y.M. Grintz, 'The Treaty of Joshua with the Gibeonites', *JAOS* 86 (1966), 114-24, cf. Halbe, *Privilegrecht*, 236-41; R. de Vaux, *Histoire Ancienne d'Israel, t. 1. Des origines à l'installation en Canaan* (ÉB), Paris 1971, 574-5; P. Kalluveetil, *Declaration and Covenant: a Comprehensive Review of Covenant Formula from the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East* (AnBib, 88), Rome 1982, 113-22.

<sup>12</sup> See section 1.2, note 60.

<sup>13</sup> See annotation 9:4h-h.

matic affairs.<sup>14</sup> Official requests in this form by a delegation in order to obtain a treaty that will save one's life or assure him of help against another enemy, often occur in situations where a rising power is expected to conquer and destroy the political entity in question.<sup>15</sup> (c) The receipt of a gift is a regular ceremony in political contacts. Texts mention less often the consumption of food as an authorization of the treaty, as could be the case in 9:14a, although this line could also describe the checking out of the provision's age.<sup>16</sup> (d) There are many kinds of expressions indicating that a treaty is been made (9:6d, 11d, 15b).<sup>17</sup> (e) A treaty was always made by an oath. The oath of the stronger party, however, is not often mentioned to, for in most texts the subjugation of the weaker partner is stressed. The fact that it is referred to in 9:15c, has to do with the fact that Israel gets in trouble because of this oath.<sup>18</sup> (f) A diplomatic agreement often implies 'peace' (9:15a, cf. 10:1d, 4d; 11:19ab). This is often designated by *šulmu* and *tabutu* in Akkadian texts. With these words as its object the verb *epešu* means 'to make a treaty'.<sup>19</sup> (g) This 'peace' means that the vassal will not be killed (9:15b, 18a, 19d), an addition characterizing the agreement which also occurs in Hittite vassal-treaties.<sup>20</sup> (h) Finally, a vassal can also express his submission by saying that his lord may do 'whatever he considers good and right in his eyes' (9:25c).<sup>21</sup>

These parallels clearly show that the contact between the Gibeonites and the Israelites perfectly fits the ordinary political framework of diplomatic affairs of the ancient Near East during the second and first millennium BCE. The combination of the elements a, b, g, and h also shows that the treaty (c and d), the oath that is sworn (e), and the peace that is the result of the treaty (f) are elements of an agreement between a vassal and a partner who is considered to be much stronger. So the text does not support the idea of Joshua 9 describing a settlement between two equal partners which is later changed in a vassal-treaty.<sup>22</sup>

So the delegation representing the weaker party of the Gibeonites submits itself as a vassal to Israel, which is considered to be a strong military power, in order to gain protection of their new 'far' neighbour.

<sup>14</sup> For the Southern Levant, see e.g. *EA* 147:41-1; 112:16-16; 118:40-44; 171:12; 239:19; 246:4. For other examples, see *CAD* A/2, 247-9; Kalluveetil, *Declaration and Covenant*, 66-79 119-21. See also annotation 9:8l-l.

<sup>15</sup> See 2 Kgs 16:7, cf. 2 Sam. 8:10. For extra-biblical examples, see D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 2. *Historical Records of Assyria from Sargon to the End*, Chicago 1927, 785, 1035; A Götze, *Die Annalen Muršiliš* (MVAG, 38), Leipzig 1933, 129-30, 135, 139. Cf. Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 200-4.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *ARM*, t. 8, 13; *EA* 162:22-25; see also the comments at 9:14ab below.

<sup>17</sup> Equivalents of בְּרִית are *išhiul* (Hittite), *rikšu*, *rikulta* (Akkadian), and *adû* (Neo-Assyrian), cf. *CAD* and *CHD* s.v.

<sup>18</sup> For potential parallels, see Kalluveetil, *Declaration and Covenant*, 87-8, note 329.

<sup>19</sup> For examples from texts from all kind of regions and periods, see *CAD*, E, 219-21; Kalluveetil, *Declaration and Covenant*, 34-42; Wiseman, 'Is It Peace', 313-4.

<sup>20</sup> F.C. Fensham, 'Clauses of Protection in Hittite Vassal-Treaties and in the Old Testament', *VT* 13 (1963), 140-2; Kalluveetil, *Declaration and Covenant*, 87, note 328.

<sup>21</sup> Similar extra-biblical expressions are found in e.g. *ARM*, t. 2, 90:26-28; *EA* 137:63-65, 86; 326:18-20, cf. Kalluveetil, *Declaration and Covenant*, 118-9.

<sup>22</sup> As against G.E. Mendenhall, G. Herion, 'Covenant', *ABD*, vol. 1, 1195.

Initially, the 'men of Israel' reject this offer.<sup>23</sup> The text calls the Gibeonites by their ethnographic name, 'Hivites', thus reminding the reader of the fact that they belong to the nations that are to be supplanted and annihilated (9:7a, cf. 9:1d). A few passages in the historiography of the settlement add a specific prohibition to this fact. Israel is not supposed to make any treaty with the nations, whether a parity- or a vassal-treaty, because of the danger of idolatry and in order to prevent spiritual contamination.<sup>24</sup> This prohibition highly affects the narrative of the trickery of the Gibeonites, as is evident from the treaty-terminology in Joshua 9 (9:6d, 7c, 11d, 15b). For instance it illuminates the fact that the 'men of Israel' react so distrustfully. Israel has to be sure that the delegation does not represent people living nearby, for such an agreement would violate YHWH's command and create a critical situation (9:7bc).<sup>25</sup> But the next lines show that the Hivites successfully distract Israel's mind. They no longer want to negotiate with the military forces and shift their attention to Israel's leader, Joshua. They reiterate their offer to him (9:8ab). Joshua in his turn repeats the crucial question, but now in a more neutral way: 'Who are you and where do you come from?' (9:8bc).<sup>26</sup>

This question is the inducement for an elaborate statement of the Hivites in which they try to convince Israel. First, they repeat their offer and stress that they are really coming from a 'very distant country' (9:9b). By adding **מֵאֵרֶץ**, the text highlights the fact that this announcement is even more deceptive in character than their assertion of 9:6c. Secondly, they motivate their coming by referring to the 'name' or 'reputation' of YHWH (9:9b), that is, they got acquainted with the God of Israel by his mighty deeds. This reference to God's name is in many ways connected to the fulfilment of the promise of the land.<sup>27</sup> The statement could be correct and in harmony with the fact that the delegation is a re-

<sup>23</sup> See annotation 9:7j.

<sup>24</sup> Exod. 23:32: **וְלֹא־תַכְרַת לָהֶם וְלֹא־תַכְרַת לָהֶם בְּרִית לְיוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ**; Exod. 34:12, 15: **וְהָאָרֶץ פְּתַח־כְּרַת בְּרִית לְיוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ**; Deut. 7:2: **וְלֹא־תַכְרַת לָהֶם בְּרִית**; Judg. 2:2: **וְלֹא־תַכְרַתוּ בְּרִית לְיוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ**; cf. section 3.1.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Exod. 34:12 (**בְּקִרְבֶּךָ**) and its connotations in Josh. 6:25; 9:7b, 16cd, 22e; 10:1d; 13:13; Judg. 1:29-30, 32-33; 3:5.

<sup>26</sup> It is also possible to read 9:6a-7c as a foretelling of 9:8a-13c. Then **וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֵינוּ** of 9:8a is a *Wiederaufnahme* of **וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֵינוּ** in 9:6b. For this interpretation, see the excursus on narrational foretellings in Joshua 9 below at 9:16a-18a.

<sup>27</sup> YHWH's reputation even seems dependent on the fulfilment of this promise in 7:9. See also A.S. van der Woude, **שֵׁם**, *ThHAT*, Bd. 2, 950-1. Another usage of **שֵׁם** in the historiography of the settlement is the saying that YHWH looks for a place 'as a dwelling for his name' (e.g. Deut. 12:11; 14:23; 16:2, 6). In 9:9b the term also refers to the fact that YHWH makes himself known in such a way that it becomes possible to call his name, while in 1 Kgs 8, the term stresses his cultic accessibility. See A.S. van der Woude, 'Gibt es eine Theologie des Jahwe-Namens in Deuteronomium?', in: *Übersetzung und Deutung*, Nijkerk 1977, 204-10; E. Talstra, *Solomon's Prayer* (CBET, 3), Kampen 1993, 139-40. Cf. J.G. McConville, 'Time, Place, and the Deuteronomic Alter-Law', in: Idem, J.G. Millar, *Time and Place in Deuteronomy* (JSOTS, 174), Sheffield 1994, 111-23.

In later historical retrospections the announcement of YHWH's 'name' is commonly associated with the exodus, cf. Jer. 32:20; Isa. 63:12, 14; Neh. 9:10; Dan. 9:15.

sponse to YHWH's acting with Jericho and Ai (cf. 9:3b). But the following explanation shows that the Hivites are not willing to tell the whole truth. Joshua and his men only hear a testimony of an impressed delegation spent in travelling, telling about the power YHWH has shown in his mighty acting with Egypt and the two Amorite kings in Transjordan, Sihon and Og, but do not hear anything about Jericho and Ai (9:9d-10b). This does not mean, however, that this testimony is insignificant. The phrase **עשה במצרים** often occurs in the historiography of the settlement to depict the exodus from Egypt.<sup>28</sup> And the description of the battles against Sihon and Og differs from the original account in Numbers 21:21-35, but is typical for all the references to this episode in the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua. It occurs in Moses' description of Israel's vicissitudes in the desert and Transjordan (Deut. 2:26-3:17); in geographical descriptions (Deut. 1:4; 4:45-49; Josh. 13:8-32); in passages underlining the necessity of obedience or encouraging Joshua and Israel to take the land (Deut. 29:6-7; 31:4); in the enumeration of the defeated kings and in the description of the settlement of Transjordan (Josh. 12:2a-5e; 13:8-32); and as proof of YHWH's activity and Israel's passivity in the conquest of the land (Josh. 24:12).<sup>29</sup> All these passages show that the combat in Transjordan is a kind of blueprint for the conquest and settlement of Cisjordan, beforehand as well as after the event: 'YHWH will help you!'; 'If you are obedient, it will go this way!'; and 'YHWH has helped you, just as he did in Transjordan!'.<sup>30</sup> Whether it concerns the terror and fear that is put upon the enemy, the defeating of kings, the killing of giants, or the taking, dividing and settling of territory, the story of the battle against Sihon and Og is referred to in order to show how YHWH fulfils the promise of the land. This message has even more strength when the well-known phrases are uttered by non-Israelites. This is the case in Joshua 2:10, where Rahab, the prostitute from Jericho, confirms to the spies that fear has fallen upon the inhabitants of Cisjordan, and in the statement of the Hivite delegation. Both testimonies start with the phrase **כי שמענו** and refer to what happened in Egypt. In both passages Sihon and Og are the indirect object of the verb **עשה** and in both cases the two kings are called 'kings of the Amorites, east of the Jordan'.<sup>31</sup> So Israel now hears for the second time an unexpected testimony confirming

<sup>28</sup> 2:10; 9:9; 24:7; Exod. 14:31; Num. 14:22; Deut. 1:30; 4:34; 29:2.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Num. 32:33; Judg. 11:19-32; 1 Kgs 4:19; Ps. 136:19-20; Neh. 9:22.

<sup>30</sup> See also section 3.4, 'Conquered Transjordan'. For discussions concerning the diachronic relationship between Numbers 21 and the passages in Deuteronomy and Joshua, see Noth, 'Nu 21 als Glied der "Hexateucherzählung"', 162-70 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 2, 76-84); S. Timm, *Moab zwischen den Mächten. Studien zu historischen Denkmälern und Texten* (ÄAT, 17), Wiesbaden 1989, 62-96; L. Peritt, *Deuteronomium* (BKAT, 5), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1990, 17-20, 198-203; J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses. The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus - Numbers*, Louisville, KY 1994, 383-404.

<sup>31</sup> 9:10 also mentions the fact that Og resided 'in Ashtaroth' (cf. Deut. 1:4). 9:10 LXX, *ἐν Ασταρωθ καὶ ἐν Ἐδραιν*, 'in Ashtaroth and Edrei', matches MT 12:4; 13:12, while according to Num. 21:33 and Deut. 1:4, Og was beaten in Edrei. For the exact location of these cities, see section 3.4, 'Conquered Transjordan'.

YHWH's willingness to fulfil his promise. Through this fact, Joshua and the 'men of Israel' are confronted with their responsibilities, for they find themselves in the unique situation of God being on their side and them being obliged to be obedient to his commandments.

The incomparability of YHWH's deeds in the exodus and in Transjordan is again highlighted by the following verses. The Gibeonites tell Joshua in a vivid language how the elders and inhabitants of their city decided to send a delegation to Israel in order to ask for a vassal-treaty (9:11a-d). The speakers direct the attention of Joshua and Israel in a very subtle way to their disguise – the dry and crumbled bread, the cracked wineskins, and the worn-out clothes and sandals (9:12a-13c) – to stress that they have been underway for a very long time.<sup>32</sup> These words illustrate that the Hivite trickery is convincing at face value. In the context of the historiography of the settlement, however, the conversation can also be compared to Deuteronomy 29:4-5 (cf. Deut. 8:4). In this passage Moses points at YHWH's special guidance during the desert years – just before mentioning the episode of the battle against Sihon and Og – by referring to the fact that people's clothes (שְׁלֵמֹת) and sandals (נְעָלֵי) did not wear out and that it did not need bread (לֶחֶם) or wine (יַיִן) in order to survive. In this manner the text places again the deceptive discussion between Joshua and the Gibeonites within the context of Israel's special relationship to their God, for they look like Israel would have looked just before entering the land, had it not been for the presence and provision of YHWH.<sup>33</sup>

The conversation between Joshua and the delegation creates a difficult situation. Israel is not supposed to make a treaty with one of the indigenous nations of the promised land. Therefore, their prior attitude towards the Hivite proposal is negative. In addition, the importance of loyalty to YHWH is stressed by the critical questions of the 'men of Israel' and Joshua and by the delegation's statement that follows. But at the same time the text describes the Gibeonite explanation as being very plausible. So the question is: what will happen now? The next two verses make it clear that all the officials in Israel decide to make the agreement. The 'men' (הַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִים) – in this context most likely another designation for the 'men of Israel' – take from the provisions, an act implying that they accept the status of the Gibeonites as being their vassals (9:14a).<sup>34</sup> Joshua

<sup>32</sup> Cf. annotation 9:12o.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Hawk, *Joshua*, 139-40. Rowlett ignores the relation between YHWH and Israel and therefore falsely argues that the voluntarily submission to Joshua satisfies to spare the Gibeonites. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 167-9.

<sup>34</sup> See Wiseman, 'Is it Peace', 318-9. This explanation of the acceptance of the provisions is more sufficient than those of a ritual meal or a sign of inviolability that is connected to near eastern hospitality. For these explanations, see J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei der Semiten in seinem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen sowie die Stellung des Eides im Islam* (SGKIO, 3), Strassburg 1914, 47-8; W. Roberson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites. Vol. 1. The Fundamental Institutions*, London <sup>3</sup>1927, 269-71.

makes peace with them. He makes the treaty that saves their lives. The chieftains of the assembly (נשיאי עדה) in their turn give them their oath (9:15abc).

In between the text gives a rare comment on this action, so it cannot be misunderstood: they did not consult YHWH himself (9:14b). This comment obviously explicates the emphasis implied in the context on the relation with him. In the light of his commandments and deeds, the making of a treaty is no small matter. The description of what Israel is doing alludes to the law of warfare, which allows Israel to offer 'peace' to distant cities. But the same law demands the annihilation of the inhabitants of the promised land (Deut. 20:10-11, 16-18). So why did they not look for divine counsel?

#### *Urim and Thummim*

Does 9:14b say something about the way of consulting YHWH? According to some scholars, it does not. From its direct parallel in Isaiah 30:2 (cf. Isa. 65:1), in which the phrase *פִּי יְהוָה* and the verb *שָׂאֵל* are utilized to criticize those who want to make a lifesaving treaty with Egypt, without consulting God too, they conclude that *פִּי יְהוָה* designates no more than that they had to consult 'YHWH himself'.<sup>35</sup> This interpretation, however, overlooks the fact that even in Isaiah the phrase most likely has a cultic connotation, for the prophet clearly suggests that the temple in Jerusalem is the right address for Israel's expectations concerning Egypt which is indicated by the verb *שָׂאֵל*. This becomes evident from the fact that *שָׂאֵל*, with God being its object, only occurs in books describing the history of Israel before the monarchy, always in contexts in which priests are involved in the process of consulting YHWH.<sup>36</sup> A more cultic interpretation of 9:14b and Isaiah 30:2 also follows from the association of the phrase *פִּי יְהוָה* with a divine oracle, especially in the historiography of the settlement. In accordance with the fact that YHWH spoke 'mouth to mouth' (*פֶּה אֶל-פֶּה*) with Moses (Num. 12:8, cf. Deut. 34:10), many texts using the phrase refer to divine utterances concerning specific situations. The Book of Joshua, for instance, describes that Caleb and Joshua and the daughters of Zelophehad were given an inheritance. In addition, it is said that the Levites obtained cities 'at the commandment of YHWH' (*אֶל-עַל-פִּי יְהוָה*).<sup>37</sup> Sometimes, the words 'by the hand of Moses' (*בְּיַד-מוֹשֶׁה*) are added to express his communication of the oracle to Israel.<sup>38</sup> Joshua also receives oracles from YHWH.<sup>39</sup> But with respect to

<sup>35</sup> Thus e.g. C. Van Dam, *The Urim and the Thummim*, Winona Lake, IN 1997, 190. The phrase *פִּי יְהוָה* is more often combined with other verbs, cf. C.J. Labuschagne, *פֶּה, ThHAT*, Bd. 2, 407-10.

<sup>36</sup> See e.g. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja* (BKAT, 10), Neukirchen 1978, 1153-4, cf. Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 182-90.

<sup>37</sup> 15:13 and 19:50 refer to Num. 14:30-31 (cf. Deut. 1:36), 17:3-4 refers to Num. 27:6-11 and 36:6; 21:3 to Num. 35:2-8. Num. 13:3 refers to 13:2; 20:24 to 20:8, 27:12-14 to 20:12; 33:38 to 20:24-26, and 36:6 to 27:6-11. Deut. 1:26 and 9:23 presuppose an oracle like Num. 13:2, including the promise of the conquest of the land, while Deut. 1:43 seems to refer to Num. 14:22-23.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. 22:9, referring to Num. 32:29-30, cf. Num. 9:18, 20, 23; 10:13.

<sup>39</sup> 1:2-7; 3:7-8; 4:2-3; 5:2, 9; 6:2-5; 7:10-15; 18:1-2, 18; 10:8b-d; 11:6b-e; 13:1c-7e; 20:2-6.

him, it is often stressed that God's words to Moses are decisive.<sup>40</sup> This difference between Moses and Joshua is also at hand in the depiction of the relation between Joshua and the high priest, Eleazar. The historiography of the settlement mentions Moses before Eleazar, while Joshua is always named after him. The reason for this is the fact that according to Numbers 27 the high priest and the Urim and Thummim are needed whenever Joshua wants to consult YHWH or to cast the lot.<sup>41</sup> This specific context of *פי יהוה* in the historiography of the settlement makes it clear that 9:14b presupposes the story about the succession of Moses by Joshua in Numbers 27. Consequently, the use of *שאל* and *פי יהוה* in 9:14b says that Israel should have consulted YHWH by the high priest, maybe even by using of Urim and Thummim.<sup>42</sup> In addition, Isaiah 30:2 explicitly refers to a priestly question for divine counsel, while the text possibly uses the 'old fashioned' terminology of Joshua 9 to compare the illegal treaty with Egypt to that with the Gibeonites.

The next lines describe Israel's positive reaction towards the Gibeonite appeal. In contrast to what he did to Jericho and Ai (9:3b), Joshua 'makes peace with them' (9:15a), which means that there is a pact of non-aggression, for they will not be killed (9:15b), just as is the case in other biblical passages where *שלוים* occurs along with *ברית* (2 Sam. 3:12-21; 1 Kgs 5:26).<sup>43</sup> Joshua confirms in this way that Gibeon is the first vassal within the expected *pax israelitica* as described in Deuteronomy 20, for in his eyes the delegation represents a people outside the territory of the indigenous nations willing to live under Israelite protection.<sup>44</sup> However, the text also highlights what actually happens by using explicitly the verb *חווה*: by their trickery the Hivites escape from being killed, because they have the assurance, just like Rahab, that they will live (2:13-14, cf. 6:25). This promise is even confirmed by an oath of the chieftains of the assembly (9:15c).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> 1:7-8, 13; 4:10; 8:31; 11:12c, 20c, 23a, 20:2; 21:2; 22:2.

<sup>41</sup> 14:1; 17:4; 21:1; Num. 27:21-23; 31:12-13; 32:28.

<sup>42</sup> About the Urim and Thummim, its description in Num. 27 and its use in the Old Testament, see e.g. Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, passim; E. Noort, 'Numbers 27,21: The Priestly Oracle Urim and Thummim and the History of Reception', in: H.J.L. Vanstiphout *et al.* (eds), *All Those Nations. Cultural Encounters within and with the Near East*, Groningen 1999, 109-16.

<sup>43</sup> For a similar meaning of *שלוים*, see Judg. 4:14; 21:13; 1 Sam. 7:14; 1 Kgs 2:5; 5:4; 20:18.

<sup>44</sup> F.J. Stendebach, *שלוים*, *ThWAT*, Bd. 7, 30.

<sup>45</sup> *שבוע* and *ברית* often occur together (Gen. 21:27, 32; 26:28, 31; 2 Kgs 11:4; Psa. 89:4, 35-36; 105:9; Ezra 10:3, 5), suggesting that it is often used for official arrangements. The verb, however, is also attested in contexts where people only make practical agreements (Gen. 31:44; 1 Sam. 20:16, 42; 2 Sam. 21:2, 7; 2 Chron. 36:13). As a result of this, some scholars argue that *שבוע*, *ni* in itself means no more than making a promise concerning the future (e.g. C.A. Keller, *שבוע*, *ThHAT*, Bd. 2, 856-7). But in 9:15c the verb clearly stands for 'swearing an oath', because of the unique combination between *שבוע* and *שלוים* and the reference in 9:19bc, which makes clear that violation of the treaty will cause a divine retribution (cf. Judg. 21:1, 7; I. Kottsieper, *שבוע*, *ThWAT*, Bd. 7, 978).

Who are these chieftains (נְשֵׂאֵי הָעֵדוּת)?<sup>46</sup> As a *nomen professionis*, נְשֵׂאֵי stands for a person positioned at the head of a certain group in the social stratification of a people: a clan (נְשֵׂאֵי בֵית־אָב, Num. 3:24), tribe (Num. 3:30; Josh. 22:14), tribal group (Gen. 17:20; Josh. 13:21), or a whole people (Ezra 1:8). The נְשֵׂאֵי can also be a king.<sup>47</sup> The נְשֵׂאֵים are always mentioned as ‘chieftains of the assembly’ in the Book of Joshua beside Joshua, Eleazar and Phinehas in contexts of juridical affairs: the swearing of an oath in making a treaty, the giving of an inheritance to the daughters of Zelophehad and the declaring of war.<sup>48</sup> The assembly is a designation for Israel occurring for the last time in the books of Genesis to 2 Kings in 1 Kings 8:5, which not only stresses the religious dimension of Israel being the people of YHWH, but also seems to be a certain democratic institution, that is, an entity with the possibility to take decisions that concern the whole nation.<sup>49</sup>

#### *Origin of the נְשֵׂאֵי*

The interpretation of the semantic field of נְשֵׂאֵי is heavily dependent on the different theories concerning the emergence of ancient Israel as described in Part 1. Classical historical-critical scholarship ascribes the complex to P, which used the old tradition concerning מוֹעֵד אֱהִלָּהּ to invent a social stratification along cultic lines.<sup>50</sup> This theory suggests that the use of נְשֵׂאֵי in Exod. 22:27 shows this official already being in function in earlier times.<sup>51</sup> So the question is: what kind of function?

Some stated that the נְשֵׂאֵי was the representative of a tribe at the meetings of the Israelite tribal league, a view soon unmasked as being based on a form of deductive reading.<sup>52</sup> Others thought that P only projected the post-exilic clan-structure of the רִאשֵׁי בֵית־אָב back into the past and replaced the designation רִאשֵׁים

<sup>46</sup> Other functionaries in the Book of Joshua are the ‘heads’ (רִאשֵׁים, 14:1; 19:51; 21:1; 22:14, 21, 30; 23:2; 24:1), the ‘elders’ (זִקְנִים, 7:6; 8:10, 33; 20:4; 23:2; 24:1, 31), ‘officers’ (שָׂטְרִים, 1:10; 3:2; 8:33; 23:2; 24:1) and the ‘judges’ (שֹׁפְטִים, 8:33; 23:2; 24:1).

<sup>47</sup> 1 Kgs 11:34; Ezek. 12:10, 12; 19:1; 21:30; Num. 25:18 (cf. Num. 31:8; Josh. 13:21).

<sup>48</sup> 9:15c, 18b, 21a; 17:4; 22:13-14, 30, 32. The נְשֵׂאֵי הָעֵדוּת and Aaron also hear that Moses communicates YHWH’s words (Exod. 34:31), they are involved in counting the people of Israel (Num. 1:44; 4:34, 46), they join Moses’ and Eleazar’s decision concerning the property of Zelophehad’s daughters (Num. 27:2), take responsibility for the destruction of booty (Num. 31:13) and for the distribution of land (Num. 32:2; 34:17). Besides these contexts the designation נְשֵׂאֵי הָעֵדוּת appears in Exod. 16:22 en Num. 16:2.

<sup>49</sup> In the Book of Joshua in 9:15c, 18b, 19a, 21b, 27; 18:1; 20:6, 9; 22:12, 16, 17, 18, 20, 30. Cf. G. Sauer, *יֵד, ThHAT*, Bd. 1, 745-6; T. Levy, J. Milgrom, *עֵדוּת, ThWAT*, Bd. 5, 1081-92.

<sup>50</sup> See e.g. L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im Alten Testament* (BWANT, 76), Stuttgart 1938, 32-8, 76-87.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. H. Niehr, *נְשֵׂאֵי, ThWAT*, Bd. 5, 650-4.

<sup>52</sup> Noth, *System der zwölf Stämme Israels*, 151-62, cf. Rost, *Vorstufen*, 74-5; J.M.P. van der Ploeg, ‘Chefs du peuple d’Israel et leurs titres’, *RB* 57 (1950), 47-51; E.A. Speiser, ‘Background and the Function of the Biblical Nasi’, *CBQ* 25 (1963), 112.

by נְשִׂאִים because of its use in the Book of Ezekiel.<sup>53</sup> A third option defends the idea that the occurrences of נְשִׂאִי בִּית־אֵב in texts ascribed to P do reflect the basic structure of the early Israelite society. Of course, it was this view of only the נְשִׂאִי בִּית־אֵב being a historical, social figure in early Israel (cf. Exod. 34:31; Num. 7:2; Josh. 22:14) that became popular within the circles of social clarifications of the emergence of Israel.<sup>54</sup>

These hypotheses suffer from several weaknesses. It is commonly agreed that it is easy to find passages using נְשִׂאִי showing that the theories are simplifications of a complex reality. In addition they appear to be classic cases of circular reasoning: Because P is late, the P-texts are not used in the reconstruction; this reconstruction in its turn shows that P indeed made use of an old tradition; and consequently it can be concluded that the P-use of נְשִׂאִי is indeed late, and therefore irrelevant. Or otherwise: because Israel is autochthonous and became a nation along the lines of social development, it is impossible that the נְשִׂאִי served as a political functionary in the period before the monarchy; and this in its turn confirms the primacy of social factors in the emergence of ancient Israel. Because of these difficulties, it is more appropriate to choose the description of the נְשִׂאִי covering all of the evidence, namely that of a 'leader' or 'chieftain' in Israel, a political figure with limited authority representing the people.<sup>55</sup> Whether this picture reflects the historical reality of a pre-monarchic, semi-democratic structure arranging the juridical, political and military affairs of early Israel depends on the historical reality of early Israel itself.<sup>56</sup>

The people of Israel confirm the treaty by the oath of the chieftains of the assembly. So after the military attention of the 'men of Israel' – which was logical, for Israel is at war (cf. 10:24b) – the juridical representatives come forward to take their responsibility.<sup>57</sup> So the text highlights again the crucial step that is made. What will happen when the fraud of the Gibeonites comes out?

### **The Trickery Discovered and Resolved (9:16a-27d)**

The next episode of the story, formally starting with וַיְהִי, treats the question what will happen now with great skill and caution. In 9:16a-18a two issues are already resolved. In the first place, the deceit is exposed on the third day after Israel had set out and reached the Gibeonite cities. Secondly, it becomes clear that Israel keeps its promise, for nobody is being killed. Obviously, these lines

<sup>53</sup> Rost, *Vorstufen*, 74-6.

<sup>54</sup> Speiser, 'Background', 112-4, cf. De Geus, *Tribes of Israel*, 84, 157-8; C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Stadt und Eidgenossenschaft im Alten Testament* (BZAW, 156), Berlin, New York 1983, 355-67.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. I.M. Duguid, *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel* (VTS, 65), Leiden etc. 1994, 12-8, 31-3.

<sup>56</sup> For an historical interpretation not excluding the so called P-passages, see Halpern, *Constitution of the Monarchy*, 207-14.

<sup>57</sup> Grintz, 'Treaty of Joshua', 119, 122, identifies the אִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל with the עֵדָה הָעָרָה. More likely, however, is the view of Tadmor, "'The People" and Kingship', 52, who draws a parallel between the אִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל and the עֵדָה on the base of Judg. 20:2-11. See annotation 9:6i-i.

already mention the conclusion of 9:21a, thus making room for the discussion between the chieftains and the community as described in 9:18b-20b. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the passage itself, for 9:17a-c elaborates on something that is already told in 9:16a-d.

### *Narrational Foretellings*

The story about Israel's confrontation with Gibeon has more passages containing elements that are already told. 9:4a is worked out in 9:4c-5c and 9:4c in 9:4d-5c (cf. also וילכו in 18:8). In all these cases, the elaboration does not describe a matter happening chronologically later, but merely offers a detailed description of what was depicted before in short. This remarkable phenomenon occurs at least three times in this chapter. Therefore, two questions arise: what is the meaning of this way of telling? And is it also used in the first part of the story, in which case it is possible to read 9:8a-13c as an elaboration of 9:6a-7c?

It is generally agreed that the paratactic style, which is so characteristic for Hebrew historiography, creates some difficulty in the understanding of one of the main aspects of narratives, namely that of time. Time can be used in many ways: a story can be told according to its chronological sequence and it can be slowed down or accelerated. But a storyteller can also develop his plot by using flashbacks, foretellings or by creating moments of simultaneity. The problem is that the stories of the Old Testament sometimes employ these techniques without stopping the *wayyiqtol*-chain, being the backbone of Hebrew narrative, which makes it hard to detect these techniques on a syntactical level. Consequently, there is much attention for temporal discontinuity in scholarly publications on narrative art in Hebrew, most of the time with a few stories – the Joseph cycle (Gen. 37–50), the story about Deborah and Barak (Judg. 4), and a few passages from the books of Samuel and Kings – serving as examples.<sup>58</sup> The specific attention in these publications for the phenomenon of anticipation, however, is limited. Some call it a 'harking back technique', which means that the elaborations should be translated by a pluperfect.<sup>59</sup> Others distinguish between different categories such as 'narrational foretelling' and 'foreshadowing' or speak of 'proleptic passages'.<sup>60</sup> Jan Fokkelman's treatment of anticipation in Hebrew narrative especially shows that it is impossible to connect a narrational foretelling with certain syntactical characteristics, for the grammar of the sentences in which the technique is used, depends on

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<sup>58</sup> See J. Licht, *Storytelling in the Bible*. Jerusalem 1978, 96-120; M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, Bloomington, IN 1987, 264-320; S. Talmon, 'Die Darstellung von Synchronität und Simultaneität in der biblischen Erzählung', in: Idem, *Gesellschaft und Literatur in der Hebräischen Bibel. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Bd. 1, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1988, 61-8; S. Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible* (JSOTS, 70), Sheffield 1989, 141-84; J. Fokkelman, *Vertelkunst in de bijbel*, Zoetermeer 1995, 36-45, 99-114.

<sup>59</sup> W.J. Martin, "'Dischronologized" Narrative in the Old Testament', in: Th.C. Vriezen (ed.), *Congress Volume 1968* (VTS, 19), Leiden 1969, 179-82. This suggestion is not convincing, for in the case of e.g. Gen. 18:1; 22:1; and 2 Kgs 2:1, it would mean that the chapters following these verses would have to be read in pluperfect. Cf. Licht, *Storytelling*, 105-6.

<sup>60</sup> Sternberg, *Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 268-70; Fokkelman, *Vertelkunst*, 36-42, 61-3, 86-8, 94-6, 136-143.

its specific context. It also appears that foretellings can be used in several ways. In a few occasions, a foretelling says something about the time of the narrator (e.g. 1 Sam. 29:6; Josh. 9:27cd), but most of the time the technique is used to anticipate the narrated time. Thus, a sentence or paragraph can refer to the outcome of a long story that follows (e.g. Judg. 4:9; 1 Sam. 2:25), to a part of a story (e.g. Gen. 1:1; 22:1; 2 Kgs 2:1), or only to a paragraph or a few lines (e.g. Josh. 2:15; Judg. 1:4; 2 Sam. 13:37). In all these cases, the foretelling has its own function and remarkably never deprives a story of its tension. Consequently, the reason for the use of a narrational foretelling always has to be derived from the context.

An excellent illustration of these theoretical reflections can be found in the story about the Gibeonites.<sup>61</sup> The foretelling of 9:16a-18a shows that the story is not about the questions whether the trickery will be discovered or somebody will be killed. The plot seems to be more concerned with the issue how the contradiction between YHWH's commandment not to make any treaty and the promise to the Hivites is to be solved. More problematic, however, is the relation between 9:6a-7c and 9:8a-13c. It is possible to read 9:6a-7c as a foretelling of 9:8a-13c, for the Hivites do not answer the question of 9:7bc and 9:6a-7c contains several elements that are repeated in 9:8a-13c: the request 'make a treaty with us' (9:6c, 11d); the question where the Hivites come from (9:7b, 8d); and the answer that they come from abroad (9:6c, 9b). So it could be that the text does not highlight so much the violation of YHWH's command, but the ambiguity of the diplomatic contact between Israel and the delegation of the Gibeonites leading to this violation. But it also possible, as was done above, to read the two passages as two different dialogues, because of the clear difference in tone between the two passages. Then, the first dialogue focuses on the essential content of the meeting, while the second stresses the deceptive behaviour of the Hivite delegation and the representative role of Joshua. In both cases, the dialogue(s) make(s) room for the conclusion of 9:14a-15cb that Israel makes the treaty without consulting YHWH, because it is convinced by the misleading answers to their questions.

The description of the outcome of the treachery marks the sharp contrast between what was told and the bare facts behind it. Israel reaches the Gibeonite cities northwest of Jerusalem – Gibeon, Kephira, Beeroth, and Kirjath Jearim – only three days after they had left Gilgal.<sup>62</sup> So the delegation did not come from a very distant country, but represents a people living quite near, as was suspected at first instance (קרבנים, 9:16c; ובקרבו, 9:16d, cf. 9:7b, Exod. 34:12). But the treaty makes it absolutely impossible to conquer the cities and to eliminate its inhabitants, for 'the chieftains of the assembly had sworn an oath to them in the name of YHWH, the God of Israel' (9:18b).<sup>63</sup> So this oath causes the fact that

<sup>61</sup> For 10:15a as a narrational foretelling, see annotation 10:15ee-ee.

<sup>62</sup> For the location of these cities, see the excursus 'From Gilgal to Gibeon' in section 3.2.

<sup>63</sup> In the Book of Joshua, the expression יהוה אלהי ישראל is closely connected to formal actions and regulations concerning the relation between YHWH and Israel: the devotional destruction of men and booty (7:13, 19, 20; 10:40e, 42c); the altar on Mount Ebal (8:30); the inheritance of the Levites (13:14, 33) and of Caleb (14:14); the altar in Transjordan (22:34); and the covenant at Shechem (24:2, 23).

YHWH's command is violated and creates a crisis in the process of the fulfilment of the promise of the land.

In the elaboration of this outcome it appears that the assembly is not ready to draw this conclusion. It 'rebels' (לִין) against the chieftains. This verb and its cognate noun are, besides 9:19a, only attested in stories telling about Israel's stay in the desert before entering the land, designating riots of the people against Moses, Moses and Aaron, or against YHWH.<sup>64</sup> These passages demonstrate that the traditional translation 'to mutter' is too weak, because in for instance Numbers 14, the verb not only describes verbal aggression, but also actions in order to overthrow the authority.<sup>65</sup> So the discovery of the Gibeonite cities incites a brutal reaction of the assembly and the people are determined to kill the Hivites (cf. 9:20a). The chieftains have to respond and in their turn, they try to reach all the people of the assembly by a common statement (9:19b-d). This statement underlines the leadership and responsibility of the chieftains by opening with the pronoun אֲנִינִי and emphasizes the significance of the treaty by saying that the oath to God will be violated if they touch them (נִנֵּי).<sup>66</sup> Therefore, the chieftains conjure the assembly: 'Let us spare their lives!' (9:20a).<sup>67</sup> The most powerful reason in favour of this proposal is that Israel's existence is at stake, for YHWH's wrath (קִצְוֹן) will fall upon Israel and destroy it, if the oath is violated (9:20b).<sup>68</sup> So the chieftains have enough ground to tell the Hivites that they will live (9:21a).<sup>69</sup>

According to the next lines the assembly yields to this argument, for from now on the text leaves the Israelites aside and focuses almost entirely on the inhabitants of the Gibeonite cities. The reason for this is the question that drives the story from now on: how can Israel let the Hivites, one of the autochthonous nations of Canaan, live without being distracted from YHWH, its God? The text starts answering with a single announcement: they were woodcutters and water carriers for the entire assembly (9:21b). The words added to this notice – 'as the chieftains had said concerning them' (9:21c) – make it clear how this notice is to be interpreted. By swearing their oath, the chieftains had accepted the offer of the delegation that they would be slaves. The chieftains had properly understood this in such a way that the foreigners would be vas-

<sup>64</sup> Exod. 15:24; 16:2, 7, 8, 9, 12; 17:3; Num. 14:2, 27, 29, 36; 16:11; 17:6, 20, 25, cf. BHS Psa. 59:19h and KAI 24:10.

<sup>65</sup> G.W Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness*, Nashville, New York 1968, 23-24; R. Knierim, לִין, *ThHAT*, Bd. 1, 871; K.D. Schunck, לִין, *ThWAT*, Bd. 4, 528.

<sup>66</sup> The verb נִנֵּי is more often associated with violence: Gen. 26:11; 2 Sam. 14:10; Psa. 105:15.

<sup>67</sup> See annotation 9:20w-w.

<sup>68</sup> In the historiography of the settlement קִצְוֹן designates YHWH's intention to destroy Israel in the desert (Num. 16:22; 17:11; 18:5; Deut. 1:34; 9:7, 8, 19, 22), while in Josh. 22:18, 20 it is reported that his wrath can be – just as it was in the case of Achan – on the assembly; cf. Coats, *Rebellion*, 40-3; G. Sauer, *ThHAT*, Bd. 2, קִצְוֹן, 665; F.V. Reiterer, קִצְוֹן, *ThWAT*, Bd. 7, 99-100.

<sup>69</sup> For this interpretation of וַיִּאמְרוּ as introducing indirect discourse, see annotation 9:21x-x.

sals in the future *pax israelitica*. But now this situation has turned out differently, the Gibeonites will have to serve as slaves and that is exactly what woodcutters and water carriers in the whole ancient Near East are: a social substratum that is often obliged to serve the ruling class.<sup>70</sup> Consequently, this measure is not a punishment, but only an execution of the treaty.

### *Forced Labour*

The Gibeonites work for Israel and are called slaves (עבדים, 9:8b, 11c). But what exactly is their social status according to the text? Do they have a position comparable to that of the woodcutters of king Hiram of Tyre, who helped to build the temple in Jerusalem (2 Chron. 2:9, cf. 1 Kgs 5:20)? Or are they like the other people who did forced labour for Solomon (1 Kgs 5:29; 9:20-21; 2 Chron. 2:17)? Other relevant information in this respect is the forced labour of the remaining pre-Israelite nations mentioned in Joshua and Judges (16:10; 17:13; Judg. 1:28, 30, 33, 35); the remarks that king David put the Ammonites to statutory labour and implied the Hivite and Canaanite enclaves in his kingdom in a census (2 Sam. 12:31; 24:7, cf. 2 Chron. 2:16); and that he and Solomon had the same 'secretary of corvée', namely Adoram or Adoniram (על־המס, 2 Sam. 20:24; 1 Kgs 4:6; 5:28). There is substantial debate how this complex of texts regarding foreign slavery is to be understood. The most complicating issue is that Solomon also raised up Israelites as forced labourers (רִיעֵל מַס, 1 Kgs 5:27-28) to work in the Lebanon for building the temple, while after his death Adoniram, the senior officer of the hated corvée was killed and his 'officer of all the compulsory labour of the house of Joseph' (לְכַל־סִבֵּל בֵּית יוֹסֵף) (1 Kgs 11:28; 12:18-20), Jeroboam, became king of the northern part of the kingdom. So the forced labour imposed on Israel undoubtedly plays a significant role in the story about the disruption of the Solomonic kingdom. But at the same time, it tells that Solomon 'did not enslave the Israelites' (1 Kgs 9:22). How are these contradictions to be interpreted? Some scholars make a distinction between two of the terms used in these contexts, that is, מַס עֹבֵד, 'state slavery' or 'labour comparable to that of a slave', and מַס, 'labour', which would be limited in scope and not so degrading.<sup>71</sup> A problem with this solution is that in the translation of LXX these terms are interchangeable. For that reason, others explain the assumed inconsistency in the text in a diachronical way. In that case, the remarks concerning the forced labour of the Canaanite population and about the fact that Solomon did not enslave Israel are regarded as being invented to excuse Solomon and to serve his hagiographic exaltation that reaches its culmination in the Book of Chronicles or to blame post-exilic Judah for not living in a purified country without strangers.<sup>72</sup> This hypothesis, however, does not satisfy either,

<sup>70</sup> Cf. for Sumer: S.N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer*, London 1958, 113-4; for Egypt: L.A. Christophe, 'Les porteurs d'eau de Deir el-Médimeh pendant le regne de Ramsès III', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 36 (1955), 381-99 (cited by De Vaux, *Histoire*, t.1, 573); for the Hittites: A. Götze, *Kleinasien* (KAO, 3/1), München 1957<sup>2</sup>, 107, note 4; for Ugarit: see *KTU* 1:14 III.6-8 and IV.50-52-V.1-2.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. I. Mendelsohn, 'State Slavery in Ancient Palestine', *BASOR* 85 (1942), 16-7; M. Noth, *Könige* (BKAT, 9/1), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968, 217-9.

<sup>72</sup> T. Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteromistischen Historiographie*, Helsinki 1977, 66; J.A. Soggin, 'Compulsory Labor under David and Salomon', in: T.

since it fails to offer a comprehensive understanding of the text and does not compare the story about Solomon to other ancient Near Eastern attestations of compulsory labour.

Interestingly, the biblical terms for forced labour, מַס and סָבַל, are known from the Western Semitic world of the second millennium BCE. The term *massu* occurs in 18th and 15th century tablets from Alalakh and a 14th century letter found in el-Amarna from king Biridiya of Megiddo. In these letters, *massu* is the technical term for a corvée man, doing work for the ruler and provisioned from the royal store. He may come from the city, but can also be a foreigner, while his work is organized in groups under charge of special officers. So מַס is an Akkadian loanword and עֶבֶר is most likely an explaining gloss, meaning that the labour or tax had something to do with slavery.<sup>73</sup> The term *sablum*, which is attested in 18th century texts from Mari, is not authentic Akkadian but derived from the West Semitic verb *sbl*, 'burden bearing'. It refers to a group of young workers, rallied into forced labour from various subservient cities.<sup>74</sup> Accordingly, סָבַל describes 'burdensome labour'. So the Hebrew terms depict the institute of compulsory labour from a different angle and show familiarity with the institution of compulsory labour as it occurred in second millennium Canaan. Especially the phrase מַס עֶבֶר suggests a difference between forced labour of citizens and that of foreigners as is known from elsewhere in the ancient Near East, although this cannot be proven philologically. The texts themselves, however, offer substantial additional evidence that this distinction is indeed presupposed. The Israelites were not to be treated as slaves (cf. Gen. 49:15; Exod. 1:11). But that fits the story. They work only for limited periods of time (1 Kgs 5:28). It is not unlikely that according to the text the most heavy work, the 'burdening labour', is done by those who had to work continually, that is, by the pre-Israelite nations (1 Kgs 5:29). The story also gives no indication that the Israelite corvées are used for duties other than building projects during the reigns of Solomon and Asa (1 Kgs 5:28-29, cf. 15:22). Finally, it has to be noticed that the Israelites are primarily Solomon's labourers before the construction of the temple and that the remark that they are not enslaved, only occurs thereafter (1 Kgs 9:22), a sequence that mirrors the Mesopotamian practice of *kid-innutu*, the granting of some form of tax remission to a population constructing a temple.<sup>75</sup> Of course, the passages concerning David's and Solomon's censuses imply that their centralizing activities have a dark side. They lead to a tax system that can easily degenerate and create resentment (cf. 1 Sam. 8:11-17). Nevertheless, it seems clear that according to the Books of Samuel and Kings, David and Solomon primarily use foreign state slaves and clients, and secondarily national conscripted labour in their building projects and the maintenance of the crown properties. So

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Ishida (ed.), *Studies in the Period of David and Salomon and Other Essays*, Tokyo 1983, 262-7; W. Dietrich, 'Das Harte Joch (1 Kon. 12,4). Fronarbeit in der Salomo-Überlieferung', *BN* 34 (1986), 7-16; Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*<sup>2</sup>, 251.

<sup>73</sup> AT 161:10, 43; 246:6, 13; 259:15-17; 265:7 268:14; 269:18; EA 365:27. Cf. CAD M/1, 327; Alt, 'Neues über Palästina aus dem Archiv Amenophis IV', 34-41 (= *KS*, Bd. 3, 169-75); A.F. Rainey, 'Compulsory Labour Gangs in Ancient Israel', *IEJ* 20 (1970), 192-4; T.N.D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials* (CB, 5), Lund 1971, 129-31.

<sup>74</sup> E.g. ARM, t. 2, 67:5; 88:8-9; t. 3, 38:5-7, 15-26. Cf. CAD S, 4; Rainey, 'Compulsory Labour Gangs', 195-7; Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*, 137-8.

<sup>75</sup> CAD K, 344-5; B. Halpern, 'Research Design', 56-7.

according to the texts, they do not only behave as ancient Near Eastern kings, but also deal with the problem of the inescapable presence of pre-Israelite nations, by an adjusted application of the law on forced labour in Deuteronomy 20:11, namely that subjugated people from abroad will do forced labour and serve as slaves (יהיו לך לַמָּס וְעַבְדֶיךָ). Solomon recruits his workers mainly from the enclaves of autochthonous nations bridging the gaps between the tribal territories, an initiative already reported in the attestations of the forced labour of some of the remaining pre-Israelite nations mentioned in the Books of Joshua and Judges.<sup>76</sup> This is remarkable, for exactly the same solution is applied to the Hivites of Gibeon. Their service is not called *מַס עֶבֶר*, because Israel has no central government having an institution as the *corvée* like the Canaanite cities of the tablets and David and Solomon in Samuel and Kings. But they are an indigenous segment forced to execute auxiliary duties. So the forced labour of the Gibeonites may be of a special nature, their vassal-activities as 'slaves' clearly make them part of the future *pax israelitica* of Deuteronomy 20.<sup>77</sup>

The short announcement of 9:21bc is expanded in a dialogue and conclusion, because the question how the religious temptation of the Gibeonites is rendered harmless has still to be answered. The dialogue concentrates on the issue how the decision of being woodcutters and water carriers is taken. It starts with a critical inquiry by Joshua. He summons the Gibeonites and accuses them of having deceived him, for they had said to have their home far away, while actually living nearby Israel (9:22a-e).<sup>78</sup> This charge – in which the text again refers to the laws concerning the possibility and impossibility of making a treaty, by using the roots *רָחַק* and *קָרַב* (cf. Deut. 20:15; Exod. 34:12) – has the form of a question. But it also substantiates the curse thereafter, by which Joshua pronounces the penalty for the betrayal (9:23ab).<sup>79</sup> In general, a curse means that a god will bring calamity and disaster to someone because of a particular deed or sin.<sup>80</sup> But what is this misfortune for the inhabitants of the Gibeonite tetrapolis now the treaty asserts that they are already slaves and cannot be killed? Two distinctive elements in the *אָרֶר*-phrase specify the curse and therefore answer this question: Joshua says they will be woodcutters and

<sup>76</sup> For a similar interpretation, see Rainey, 'Compulsory Labour Gangs', 197-202; Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*, 132-7, 139; R. North, *מַס*, *ThWAT*, Bd. 4, 1007-8; G.C. Chirichingo, *Debt-Slavery in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (JSOTS, 141), Sheffield 1993, 114-20. On a textual level, Josh. 16:10; 17:13 and Judg. 1:28, 30, 33, 35 should be connected to 2 Sam. 24:7, 1 Kgs 4:11-12; 5:29 and 9:20-2, since the texts refer to the same territories and peoples, which according to the story were subdued only in later times. Cf. Van Bekkum, 'Historiografie van Israëls vestiging', 301.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Rainey, 'Compulsory Labour Gangs', 199.

<sup>78</sup> For the use of the interrogative word *לִמָּה* in combination with the verb *רָמָה*, *pi.* in contexts of the uncovering of treachery, see Gen. 29:25; 1 Sam. 19:17, cf. 2 Sam. 9:27. See also Gen. 12:18; 31:27; 44:4; Exod. 2:13; 1 Sam. 2:23; 22:13; 26:15.

<sup>79</sup> For a similar construction, with a question preceding a curse starting with *וְעָתָה*, see Gen. 4:10.

<sup>80</sup> C. Westermann, 'Fluch- und Segenssprüche', *BHH*, 489-90; C.A. Keller, *אָרֶר*, *ThHAT*, Bd. 1, 237-8, cf. J. Scharbert, *אָרֶר*, *ThWAT*, Bd. 1, 444.

water carriers 'for ever' and 'for the house of my God'. The first element underlines the fact that Joshua's impossibility to punish the Hivites does not mean that there will be no penalty, for the phrase *וְלֹא־יִכְרַת מַכְכֶּם* clearly transfers the responsibility for the sentence to YHWH: it is in his power to endure the slavery of the Hivites for ever.<sup>81</sup> The second element is an addition to the information of 9:21b that they will be woodcutters and water carriers for the assembly and ties the penalty to the theme of the danger of idolatry: the Hivites will also be slaves for the 'house of God', that is, they will be physically close to YHWH and consequently experience a religious change.<sup>82</sup> In this way Joshua tries to neutralize the danger of spiritual contamination.

The reply of the Gibeonites emphasizes Joshua's words. They admit the trickery, resign themselves to his curse and also show the decision to serve as woodcutters and water carriers for the house of God to be a proper solution, for they were clearly convinced that YHWH would fulfil the promise of the land (9:24a-25b).<sup>83</sup> This unique confession attaches the gift of the land to a divine oracle to Moses, in which YHWH orders him to drive out the inhabitants, to take possession of the land, to settle it, and to distribute it by lot (Num. 33:50-54).<sup>84</sup> So the beginning of the Gibeonite answer draws again attention to the theme of the succession of Moses by Joshua and reminds the last of the fact that the land is really to be taken and divided. This is made specific in several ways. The command to drive out the inhabitants of the promised land (*יִרְשׁ*, *hi.* Num. 33:52) is materialized in the assertion that this would have meant the destruction of the Hivites (*שָׂמַר*, *hi.* 9:24e). In addition, the gift of the land is altered into a gift of 'all the land'. In this way, the text explains the treacherous behaviour of the Gibeonites: for they indeed had reason to fear for their lives (9:24f). This is an important announcement for Joshua. On the one hand, it demonstrates – just as the testimonies of Rahab and the Gibeonite delegation did – that YHWH

<sup>81</sup> 2 Sam. 3:29, cf. 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:25; 9:5; Jer. 35:19. The testimony of 2 Sam. 3:29 makes it impossible to interpret 9:23bc as a blessing, as is done by C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, 'Das gibeonitische Bündnis im Lichte der deuteronomischer Kriegsgebote', *BN* 34 (1986), 75.

<sup>82</sup> The phrase *בית יהוה* or *בית אלהים* most of the time designates the temple of YHWH in Jerusalem, although a few times *בית* is also used for the tabernacle (6:24; 1 Sam. 1:7).

<sup>83</sup> A parallel of *הַגִּבְעוֹנִים הַגִּבְעוֹנִים* can be found in Ruth 2:11, cf. Josh. 10:17a.

<sup>84</sup> The use of the verbs *צוּר*, *pi.* *נָתַן*, and *שָׂמַר*, *hi.* in 9:24c-e could hint, as 2:9, at passages in the Book of Deuteronomy describing God's instructions to Moses, the gift of the land and the destruction of the pre-Israelite nations (e.g. Deut. 34:9, cf. Josh. 10:40e; 11:15a, 20c; 14:5; 17:4 [צוּר]); Deut. 1:8, 25, 35; 2:29; 3:29, cf. Josh. 2:9, 14, 24; 5:6; 8:1 [נָתַן]; and Deut. 7:23; 12:30, cf. Josh. 11:14b, 20c; 24:8 [שָׂמַר]). This, however, is unlikely because of the non-deuteronomistic phrase *מִשָּׁה עֲבָדֵי* and the parallel use of the verbs *צוּר* and *נָתַן*. The combination of these two elements attaches the passage to a few texts that were also of importance with respect to the interpretation of the expression *יהוה פי* in 9:14b, that is, Num. 34:13; 36:2; Josh. 17:4; 21:2 (cf. 11:15ab, 20c, 23ab). These texts focus on the transfer of responsibilities from Moses to Joshua by referring to a divine oracle. Because of this close relationship 9:24c most likely refers – just as Num. 34:13 – to Num. 33:50-54.

fulfils his promises, for the inhabitants of the land shiver and are in distress.<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, the Hivite statement substantiates Joshua's suggestion that they should serve at the 'house of God', for their trickery was ultimately inspired by the fact that they were impressed by YHWH's power and considered military resistance as being foolish and inadequate. In stead of joining the coalition of pre-Israelite nations (cf. 9:2a-c), the Gibeonites preferred to be slaves. Accordingly they declare that Joshua can do as he had told them (9:24g): they give themselves into his hands – an absolute condition for the fulfilment of the promise on the land<sup>86</sup> – and tell him that he may do whatever he considers good and right (9:25ab).<sup>87</sup>

In the last two verses of Joshua 9 the perspective of the narrator becomes more relevant, just as in 9:14c. Starting with the verb עָשָׂה the text not only offers a summary of the outcome of the confrontation between Israel and Gibeon by describing the final decisions of Joshua, but also validates this conclusion by referring to the actual situation at the time of the narrator. A few elements in this passage deserve some special attention. By telling that Joshua 'saved' (וַיִּצֵל, 9:26a) the inhabitants of the Gibeonite tetrapolis from the Israelites, the text draws an explicit parallel with the saving of Rahab's family (2:13).<sup>88</sup> Those people who were expected to be devoted to destruction – first a family and now even the inhabitants of a whole region – are not killed, but rescued and live among Israel (9:26c). With respect to Gibeon, this is a clear charge against Israel, which did not consult YHWH. But both cases also give rise to astonishment about Israel's God, who directs the fulfilment of the promise of the land in a remarkable and inimitable way.

The concluding statement of 9:27a-d adds to these observations that they also served as woodcutters and water carriers for the assembly – as servants of Israel, in line with the treaty – and for the altar of YHWH, as they still are, at the place he would choose. There are several intriguing aspects in this announcement. As a conclusion, it logically combines the two functions of the Gibeonites as vassals of Israel, mentioned in 9:21b and 9:23c. But also a new element is mentioned, for the 'house of God' is called 'the altar of YHWH' and 'the place he would choose'. The last phrase presupposes the well-known formula occurring in the Book of Deuteronomy, being referred to in 1 Kings 8 and closely connected to 2 Samuel 7.<sup>89</sup> The allusions between these passages clearly show that

<sup>85</sup> Exod. 23:27-28; Num. 22:3; Deut. 7:20, 23; 2:25; 11:25; Josh. 2:9; 5:1; 10:2a; 24:12. For a discussion of these passages, see below, section 4.3.

<sup>86</sup> See also 6:2, 16; 7:7; 8:1, 7, 18; 10:8c, 19e, 30a, 32a; 11:8a; 21:44; 24:8, 11; cf. Exod. 23:31; Num. 21:34; Deut. 2:24; 3:2; 20:13; 21:10.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Gen. 16:6; 19:8; Judg. 19:24; 1 Sam. 24:5; Est. 3:11. For extra-biblical attestations of this expression, see above the excursus 'Ancient Near Eastern Parallels' at the comments on 9:6bc.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. also 22:31; 24:10.

<sup>89</sup> The full expression is: יהוה אלהיכם מכל־שבטיכם לשום את־שמו שם (Deut. 12:5, cf. e.g. Deut. 12:27; 16:6; 17:8; 18:6; 2 Sam. 7:6, 11-13; 1 Kgs 8:16).

in the historiography of the settlement as a whole – that is, ‘since the day YHWH brought his people out of Egypt’ to ‘the building of the temple for the name of YHWH, the God of Israel’ (1 Kgs 8:16, 20, cf. e.g. Ps. 114:1-2) – the phrase concerning the place that YHWH is willing to choose to put his name there for his dwelling, eventually hints at the temple in Jerusalem. The question, however, is whether this conclusion offers a comprehensive description of the textual implications of the expression in the narrative as a whole. Or stated differently: Is the expression a clear ‘centralization formula’ and therefore irrevocably associated with the reorganization of the cult by king Josiah of Judah (2 Kgs 22) as many believe?<sup>90</sup> In the light of the available evidence, the answer is a clear ‘No’. Some scholars, for instance, stress that in Joshua 22:28-29 *מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה*, a phrase related to that of 9:27d, undoubtedly suggests a more ‘open’ form of centralization.<sup>91</sup> Other interpreters completely reject the Josianic understanding of the formula. In their view the difference between the expressions *שָׁם* and *שָׁכֵן* indicates that the phrase distinguishes between God’s presence in the tabernacle and his dwelling in the temple (cf. Jer. 7:12). Therefore they think that the law of the central shrine gradually became exclusive for two reasons: the law most naturally refers to a single place, but this is not stressed and its requirement is also met in a number of places in succession.<sup>92</sup> From the perspective of Joshua 9, three observations are to be added to this discussion. First, the place YHWH would choose is indicated by the term *מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה*, which is used for the altar in the ‘tent of meeting’ (*אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*, Lev. 17:6), in the ‘tabernacle’ (*מִשְׁכָּן*, Josh 22:19, 29), and in the house of YHWH, that is, the temple of Jerusalem (1 Kgs 8:22, 54, 64). It is also used for the altar on Mount Ebal (Deut. 27:6), the altar of the Transjordanian tribes (Josh. 22:28), and for the ruined altar of YHWH on Mount Carmel (1 Kgs 18:30, 32), while the term in 9:27d is also easily associated with YHWH’s sanctuary in the city of Gibeon in the era of David and Solomon (1 Kgs 3:4; 1 Chron. 16:39; 21:29; 2 Chron. 1:3, 5). In the second place, the formula in Joshua 9 is combined with an exceptional double chronological reference, that is, from the day Joshua installed them at the sanctuary (*בְּיּוֹם הַהוּא*, 9:27a) till the moment the narrator tells his story (*עַד-הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה*, 9:27d).<sup>93</sup> These references highlight the extraordinary nature of Joshua’s act

<sup>90</sup> For a discussion, see H. Weippert, “Der Ort, den Jahwe erwählen wird”, *BZ* 24 (1980), 76-94; B. Halpern, ‘The Centralization Formula in Deuteronomy’, *VT* 31 (1981), 20-38; J.G. McConville, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy* (JSOTS 33), Sheffield 1984, 21-38; P. Pitkänen, *Central Sanctuary and Centralization of Worship in Ancient Israel* (GDNES, 5), Piscataway, NJ 2003, 95-110.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Halpern, ‘Centralization Formula’, 31-2.

<sup>92</sup> E.g. McConville, *Law and Theology*, 22-9. J.J. Niehaus, ‘The Central Sanctuary: Where and When?’, *TynBul* 43 (1992), 1-30. Cf. McConville, ‘Time, Place, and the Deuteronomic Alter-Law’, 91-4, 120-2, paying attention to evocations of the formula regarding Shechem, Shiloh, Bethel, the Ark and Jerusalem in Deut. 27:1-10; Josh. 18:9-10; Judg. 21:19; 1 Sam. 1:9; 2 Sam. 6:14; 7; Jer. 7:12; Ps. 78:60, 68; 89:38-52; 132:5-8, 11-14.

<sup>93</sup> A second double chronological reference can be found in 1 Sam. 27:6.

and confirm its meaning, for the situation endures till 'today'.<sup>94</sup> In the third place, Joshua 9 illustrates the fact that the essential significance of the verb בחר in the formula concerning the place YHWH would choose is not to strive for a central cult, but a protest against idolatry and an attempt to avoid spiritual contamination.<sup>95</sup>

So on a textual level, 9:27a-d leaves room for a development of the cult in different times and circumstances by using the term מזבח יהוה and by explicitly referring to the time span between Joshua's decision and the actual situation of the narrator. This situation itself is not further explained, although the links with David, Solomon, Gibeon and the temple indicate that the narrative associates it with the later stories about the monarchic period.<sup>96</sup> In particular by telling about the stay of the Ark in the Hivite city of Kiriath Jearim, where Eleazar is consecrated in order to take care of it (1 Sam. 7:1-2; 2 Sam. 6) and about the sanctuary at Gibeon (1 Kgs 3:4), Deuteronomy, Joshua, Samuël and Kings bear the literary suggestion of David and Solomon moving some cultic organization into their state framework, when they brought the Ark to Jerusalem and established the temple.<sup>97</sup> However, what is most important in Joshua 9:27d is that it eventually resolves the plot of the story about the trickery of the Gibeonites. The danger of idolatry is averted and turned into a positive effect at the moment Joshua decides that the Hivites not only will be slaves for Israel, but also will serve as woodcutters and water carriers for the house of God. From now on, Gibeon is part of YHWH's community, a community that will see the fulfilment of the promise of the land.

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<sup>94</sup> In the debate about the meaning of the phrase 'until this day', it has appeared that the reference to actual situation of the narrator cannot be used to explain the origin of a story, but merely underscores its content. For a discussion, see Noort, *Josua*, 230-6.

<sup>95</sup> H. Seebaß, בחר, *ThWAT*, Bd. 1, 600; McConville, *Law and Theology*, 31.

<sup>96</sup> On the basis of the descendents of the עבדי שלמה in Ezra 2:55-58 and Neh. 7:57-60, Noth states that the royal cult-slavery as attested in the Old Testament was organized exclusively for the temple in Jerusalem (Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 55). The terminology of Joshua 9, however, does not exclude a royal element in de cult-slavery at Gibeon.

<sup>97</sup> The use of the verb קדש with regard to Eleazar and the designation of the location of the Ark as בעלי יהודה make it improbable that cultic activities only took place at Mizpah (1 Sam. 7:5-14) and elsewhere, as is stated by Pitkänen and not in Kiriath Jearim. In any case, the suggestion seems that the Gibeonite cult-slavery played a significant role in taking care of the Ark (שמר, 1 Sam. 7:1) during the transitional period between the destruction of Shiloh (1 Sam. 4—7; 2 Sam. 6; cf. Jer. 7:12) and David's bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem, which are interpreted as the rejection of Ephraim and the election of David in Ps. 78. Cf. A.F. Campbell, *The Ark Narrative (1 Sam. 4-6; 2 Sam. 6)* (SBL DS, 16), Cambridge, MA 1975, 223; Pitkänen, *Central Sanctuary and Centralization of Worship*, 41, 150-8. For previous scholarly discussion on this topic, see M.H. Woudstra, *The Ark of the Covenant from Conquest to Kingship*, Philadelphia, PA 1965, 139-43; J. Blenkinsopp, *Gibeon and Israel*, Cambridge 1972, 53-7, 65-83.

#### 4.2 CAPTURED IN A CAVE

The second narrative or anecdote within the whole of Joshua 9:1—13:7 is found in 10:16a-27f. This story is connected in several ways to the previous section. It takes up the flight of the Amorite coalition to Makkedah (10:16ab, cf. 10:10d, 11a); the 'large stones' set against the mouth of the cave at Makkedah allude to the 'large stones' that had fallen from heaven (10:18b, 27e, cf. 10:11b); Joshua's command 'not to stop' stands in sharp contrast to his prayer that the sun and moon should 'stand still' (10:19a, cf. 10:12d, 13b); he refers to YHWH's oracle to him by saying that God has handed the enemies over to Israel (10:19e, cf. 10:8c); and the defeat of the Amorites is again designated as a 'great slaughter' (10:20b, cf. 10:10b). However, the focus of the narrative is quite different. The former episode, concentrating on YHWH's mighty and miraculous deeds, is concluded by a narrational foretelling, anticipating 10:43a and saying that Joshua and all Israel returned to the camp at Gilgal (10:15a), because YHWH fought for Israel (10:14c). In fact, that is the whole story. At the same time, the instrument of the narrational foretelling makes it possible to elaborate on a question concerning the conquest and settlement of the promised land that is still to be answered. How did Israel take vengeance? (cf. 10:13ab). That is to say: what happens to the kings and what to their lands?<sup>98</sup> The anecdote about the kings in the cave at Makkedah (10:16a-27f) deals with the first question, while the schematic presentation of the conquest of the cities contends with the latter (10:28a-39g).

#### Locked Up (10:16a-22c)

In ancient conquest accounts, narrations about an open field battle in which enemies are defeated, are often followed by paragraphs, sections or stories telling that a king, kings or people flee and take refuge. Sometimes it is also reported that these people are captured and killed.<sup>99</sup> Joshua 10:16a-27f is in full accord with this pattern. After being defeated, the five kings who were mentioned by name in 10:3ab, did not return to their cities in the Shephelah, but turned south at Azekah and fled through the narrow chalk valleys between the Shephelah and the hill country to Makkedah. Apparently, the kings are not confident that they will survive when they immediately go home, for in this mountainous area they try to escape the Israelites by hiding themselves in a cave (10:16ab).<sup>100</sup> But they do not succeed, since those who pursue them report Joshua that they have been found (10:17ab). Joshua's response to this re-

<sup>98</sup> For 10:15a as a narrational foretelling and its literary function, see annotation 10:15ee-ee and section 4.1.

<sup>99</sup> Examples in e.g. *Urk.*, Bd. 4, 610 (Thutmose III); MDOG 115, 82-3 (Sargon); Prism A, Col. V.11-14; IX.38-41 (Ashurbanipal); Nin. A. Col. V.10-14 (Esarhaddon); Col. I.16-19 (Sennacherib). Cf. Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 221-3 and Dorsey, 'Biblical Makkedah', 186.

<sup>100</sup> For details about the route of the kings, see the excursus 'From Gibeon to Debir' in section 3.2.

port is notable. On the one hand he encourages his army by saying that they should not let divert themselves by the discovery of the kings. They have to take the opportunity. Whereas sun and moon are 'standing still' the Israelites should not stop, but pursue the enemies and not let them reach their cities by cutting off their retreat, for YHWH has handed them over, as he had promised Joshua (10:19a-e, cf. 10:8c, 12d).<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, Joshua considers the discovery of the kings as an important moment, for he does not want them to be killed immediately, but commands to lock them up by rolling large stones against the mouth of the cave and to post some men there to guard them (10:18bc). The divine conduct in this occasion is highlighted by the allusion to the 'large stones' that YHWH hurled from heaven – although the stones at Makkedah cannot be the same stones, because the former stopped falling at Azekah (10:11b).<sup>102</sup>

The next part of the episode shows what Joshua had in mind. At first, it is testified that Joshua and the Israelites indeed succeed in beating their enemies: they are defeated in a 'very great slaughter' (מוכה גדולה מאד, 10:20b, cf. 10:10b)<sup>103</sup> and 'completely' (עֲרַחֲמֵם, 10:20b, cf. 8:24).<sup>104</sup> This report reveals that YHWH indeed fulfils his promise, while it becomes also clear that the cities still have to be conquered, for some people escape and reach their cities (10:20cd) – a unique qualification, anticipating the section of 10:28a-39g.<sup>105</sup> But then, Israel returns to Makkedah. The massive defeat it inflicted on the coalition has such an impact that its return to what has now become a temporary military camp is safe and secure (שְׁלוֹם), because no one dares to threaten them (10:21ab).<sup>106</sup> There, Joshua orders the mouth of the cave to be opened and he invites the army commanders to put their feet on the neck of the kings (10:22a-c).

### Object Teaching (10:23a-27f)

A following passage naming all of the kings by their origin offers a detailed depiction of the execution of this order: the kings are brought out of the cave to Joshua, he again invites the commanders to put their feet on the royal necks and they show their obedience to Joshua by doing so (10:23a-24g). In this way,

<sup>101</sup> See annotation 10:19gg-gg.

<sup>102</sup> As against e.g. Noort, 'Zwischen Mythos und Rationalität', 160.

<sup>103</sup> For מוכה גדולה in military contexts, see Judg. 11:33; 15:8; 1 Sam. 4:10; 19:8; 23:5; 1 Kgs 20:21; 2 Chron. 28:5.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. 8:24. A similar use of the preposition ער with the infinitive construct of the verb חָמַם is attested in those texts that refer to the complete elimination of those Israelites that had not obeyed YHWH during the forty years in the desert: 5:6, Num. 14:33; 32:13; Deut. 2:14-15.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Boling, *Joshua*, 286; Fritz, *Josua*, 113. מהם וְהַשְׂרִידִים שָׂרְרוּ מֵהֵם stands in sharp contrast to the 'normal' statement in the historiography of the settlement saying that no survivors or fugitives were left: 8:22; 10:28d, 30c, 33c, 37c, 39d, 40c; 11:8f; Num. 21:35; Deut. 2:34; 3:3.

<sup>106</sup> See the annotations 10:21ii-ii and 10:21jj.

the text stresses Joshua's position as a leader. He makes the commanders to perform a humiliating symbolic act often attested in biblical and ancient Near Eastern descriptions and pictures of the king. The defeated individual or group lies on the ground and eats dust, while the conqueror shows his dominion by putting his foot on the neck of those who are besieged, by walking over their backs or by riding a chariot over their bodies.<sup>107</sup> In this way, the army officers experience physically what it means to have beaten the leaders of a mighty coalition. The description of the act, however, does not suffice in clarifying what has happened, as the text adds a further explanation (10:25a-d). This explanation, spoken by Joshua (10:25a), is significant in two ways. In the first place it follows the habit of biblical poetry describing the victory of an Israelite king in turning the traditional Near Eastern emphasis of the military symbolic act on the supremacy of the king into a sign of the power and trustworthiness of YHWH: Joshua himself explicitly tells his men that not he, but God gave them victory (10:25d, cf. 2 Sam. 22:40; Ps. 18:40; Ps. 110:1). In the second place, this change is accompanied by an exhortation that occurred previously in the historiography of the settlement, namely in the repeated encouragement of the people and Joshua by YHWH, Moses or the priest, 'not to be afraid and not to be dismayed' in the confrontation with the indigenous nations of the promised land (10:25b), but to be 'strong and courageous' (10:25c).<sup>108</sup> So Joshua depicts the submission of the kings of the Amorite coalition as clear evidence of the fact that YHWH fulfils his promises (1:6-7, 9; 8:1; Deut. 31:23) and he urges his

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<sup>107</sup> A description of the Egyptian texts and iconography is offered by G. Rühlmann, 'Deine Feinde fallen unter deine Sohlen', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 20 (1971), 61-84, while Boling, *Joshua*, 286, refers to the frequent attestation of the act in Assyrian bas-reliefs and mentions a text of Tikulti-Ninurta I, who claims to have trod the neck of the Babylonian king Kashtilia IV. In the Amarna Lettes, the Egyptian vassals in Canaan also present themselves as the 'footstool for your feet' to the pharaoh, e.g. Rib-Hadda, king of Byblos, in *EA* 84 and 106. For pictures, see e.g. O. Keel, *Die Welt des altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament*, Zürich, Neukirchen-Vluy 1977, 342. The symbolic act could also form the background of 2 Sam. 22:41//Ps. 18:41; Ps. 110:1; Isa. 51:23; and maybe of Deut. 33:29; Zech. 10:5.

<sup>108</sup> The combination of ירא and חתת is used in similar contexts – possibly as an extended repetition of Numbers 14:9 – in Deut. 1:21; 31:8 and Josh. 8:1; 10:25b, while a modification with the verb ערץ can be found in Deut. 1:29; 7:21; 20:3; 31:1 and in Josh. 1:9. The parallel attestation of חזק and אמן occurs in texts closely attached to the former group, that is, in Deut. 31:6, 7, 23 and in Josh. 1:6, 7, 9, 18; 10:25c. It is remarkable that two of these passages, namely Deut. 31 and Josh. 1, not only refer to YHWH's help by conquering the land, but are also concerned with the observance of the law and with a transfer of leadership. Therefore, it is not unlikely that these themes are also present in 10:25a-d.

Besides the historiography of the settlement, the combined use of the abovementioned phrases is only attested in the Book of Chronicles (1 Chron. 22:13; 28:20; 2 Chron. 20:15, 17; 32:7). According to Schäfer-Lichtenberger, this means that the phrases have become a characteristic of Moses' successor. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Joshua und Salomo*, 203.

commanders that YHWH will continue to fulfil them, because this is what he is doing to his enemies (10:25d).<sup>109</sup>

Joshua's comment elucidates the mortifying action of his commanders. But the object teaching is not over by treading the necks of the five kings. He also kills them and hangs their corpses on five trees, as he had done to the king of Ai (10:26a-c, cf. 8:29). This emblematic act, which descriptions and pictures appear in numerous ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts,<sup>110</sup> is executed by the public exposure of a dead body as a visual image of the impotence of this leader and to inspire fear.<sup>111</sup> In a biblical context, the hanging of a corpse on a tree is also associated with desecration, because 'anyone who is hung on a tree is under God's curse', and should therefore not be left there overnight, as is told in the law on the man who is guilty of a capital offence in Deuteronomy 21:22-23. This law implies that a person can be so abominable and hideous that after the execution his corpse has to be given a place between heaven and earth to demonstrate that he is forsaken by God and men, while at the same time the fact that he is under a curse makes it necessary to bury him before sunset to prevent the desecration of the land YHWH has given as an inheritance.<sup>112</sup> In this light, Joshua's hanging of the five corpses on the trees, his command to take them down and their burial on the same day, are of great importance (10:26c-27d).<sup>113</sup> The fact that these kings were the leaders of the coalition against

<sup>109</sup> By using the ל עשה, 10:25c precludes 10:28e, 30d, 32d, 35c, 37c, 39e. The assurance that YHWH will 'act' with the inhabitants of the promised land is given in Deut. 3:21; 7:18-19; 31:4, while the command for Israel to behave according to this promise is attested in Num. 21:34; Deut. 3:2; 7:5; 31:5; Josh. 8:2, cf. Num. 22:2; 33:56; Deut. 3:6; Josh. 9:3b; 10:1c. Cf. N. Lohfink, 'Geschichtstypologisch orientierte Textstrukturen in den Büchern Deuteronomium und Josua', in: M. Vervenne, J. Lust (eds), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature* (BETL, 133), Leuven 1997, 136-7, 144-9. See also section 4.4.

<sup>110</sup> Well known are the inscriptions and pictures of Neo-Assyrian kings who claim to have hung the corpses of foreign leaders on trees, e.g. by Sargon II and Sennacherib (see Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 223-4; D. Ussishkin, *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib*, Tel Aviv 1982, 102, 104, fig. 81). This, however, does not mean that it was an exclusively 8th and 7th century custom and thus the key to the interpretation of the episode (thus M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, Oxford 1972, 51; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 254 [= *CE*, vol. 2, 352]). The practice is also mentioned in Egypt, e.g. by the 19th dynasty pharaoh Merenptah, who says to have impaled Libyans (*KRI*, vol. 4, 34, line 13-14) and the Middle-Assyrian king Tikulti-Ninurta I reports that he put his foot on the neck of his lands and piled up the bodies of his enemies like grain (Niehaus, 'Joshua and Near Eastern Warfare', 45).

<sup>111</sup> Boling, *Joshua*, 286.

<sup>112</sup> See e.g. D.L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10—34:12* (WBC), Nashville, TE 2002, 489-90.

<sup>113</sup> The passage contains a remarkable amount of allusions to the law of Deut. 21:22-23: the person in question is 'put to death' (וימיתם, 10:26b // והימת, Deut. 21:22), 'hung on a tree' (ותלית אתו על-יעץ, 10:26c // ויהלם על חמשה העצים), 'until evening', 'at sunset' and 'not left there overnight' (עדי-הערב, 10:26d; ויהי לעת בוא השמש; 10:27a // לא-חליך, Deut. 21:23).

Gibeon and Israel, and in this manner against YHWH himself, makes them detestable before God and men. This is demonstrated by hanging them on a tree. In addition, their burial before sunset entails that the territory surrounding the trees is actually inherited by Israel, for Joshua considers it as land than can be desecrated. Therefore, the kings are thrown into the cave where they had been hiding (10:27d), whereas the object teaching of that day is replaced by a classical ancient Near Eastern symbol that will be able to preserve this memory for a much longer time: a memorial heap – here one of stones against the mouth of the cave (10:27e) – signifying the victory in order that no one might forget whose power accomplished it.<sup>114</sup>

According to the end of the account, this heap is at Makkedah ‘until this very day’.<sup>115</sup> Hereby the implied narrator again links the story to his own environment in order to stress its meaning (10:27f, cf. 9:27c). Phenomena from ‘here and now’ are used to highlight the importance and implications of what happened ‘then’, just as in the conclusion of the story about the Gibeonite cult-slavery. In the episode at Makkedah after the battle at Ayalon, Joshua’s leadership and YHWH’s help in battle became tangible in the capture, imprisonment, humiliation, execution, exposition and burial of the five kings that initiated the Amorite coalition. It was there that Israel physically experienced YHWH actually handing over the enemy and giving the land as an inheritance.

### 4.3 DIVINE AID

Israel’s experience with YHWH handing over the enemy raises the question how Joshua 9:1—13:7 speaks about God’s material interference in the conquest of the land. As was noted above, the extensive depiction of the rulers and armies opposing Israel spells out the strength of the coalitions and has also a geographical meaning. But the detailed report about the formation of the coalitions at the opening of the chapters 9, 10 and 11 can also be linked with other biblical passages referring to an alliance of enemy kings (Judg. 5:19; 1 Kgs 20:16; Ps. 2:1-3; 48:4).<sup>116</sup> YHWH himself undertakes action against such coalitions. The alliances against Gibeon and Israel are also alliances against YHWH. Therefore, it can be expected that God will hand them over to Israel (1 Kgs 20:13, 28). Trembling will seize the kings (Ps. 48:6) and heavenly bodies will fight (Judg. 5:20) so as to fulfil the promise of the land. Therefore, this section focuses on the issue of divine aid in battle by discussing the active involvement of YHWH: his oracles to Joshua (10:8a-d; 11:6a-e), the throwing into panic of the enemy (10:10a, cf. 9:24f), the hurling of large stones and stopping the sun and

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<sup>114</sup> Memorial heaps of corpses, stones and dust by Enmetena of Lagash, Shalmaneser I and Sennacherib are mentioned by Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 224-5, 317.

<sup>115</sup> See annotation 10:2700-00.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Nelson, *Joshua*, 140.

moon (10:11a-14c), and the hardening of the hearts of the Amorite and Canaanite kings (11:20a-c).

### Oracles (10:8a-d; 11:6a-e)

In chapter 10 it is told that according to the information Joshua has got, all the Amorite rulers have joined forces against Gibeon. In this situation YHWH comes with an oracle for Joshua (10:8a). God encourages him and promises him victory. The words used are very common in the context of military confrontations and also occur frequently in the historiography of the settlement. Like Moses and Israel, Joshua is told not to fear, because the enemy will be handed over (10:8bc). Therefore, no one will be able to withstand him (10:8d).<sup>117</sup> Here, the Book of Joshua presents its own form of the delivery formula or *Übergabeformel*, which is, as a part of an oracle of the god before battle, a very common usage throughout the ancient Near East. The king should not fear, for the god is with him and delivers the enemy into his hand. Phrases of this kind are reported by king Zimrilim of Mari and in the Amarna Letters, they occur in Hittite texts, in the form of a *'Mitsein'* formula in Egyptian annals, in texts of Zakkur of Hamath and of Mesha of Moab and in Neo-Assyrian prophecies.<sup>118</sup> Biblical attestations of the delivery formula can be found in many stories about battles between Israel and its enemies.<sup>119</sup> Though, in comparison to especially its Akkadian and Aramean use, it occurs without being totally annexed by royal ideology. Passages describing God's support in David's struggles with other nations highlight YHWH's magnitude and faithfulness and as such they even function as a critical example for later kings.<sup>120</sup>

The emphasis on the importance of YHWH can also be observed in the historiography of the settlement. The oracle is one of the means by which the text parallels the conquest of both Trans- and Cisjordan, for Joshua experiences the same saying as Moses when he fought against Og, king of Bashan (Num. 21:34; Deut. 3:2).<sup>121</sup> But what is more important, it underlines the fact of God fulfilling

<sup>117</sup> לֹא־יַעֲמֹד אִישׁ מֵהֶם בְּפָנָיךְ (21:44; 23:9). An alternative verb is יָצַב, *hitp.* (1:5; Deut. 7:24; 11:25).

<sup>118</sup> For examples, see M. Weinfeld, 'Ancient Near Eastern Patterns in Prophetic Literature', *VT* 27 (1977), 183-4; S.-M. Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (BZAW, 177), Berlin 1989, 43-4, 61-2, 79-80, 102; K. van der Toorn, 'L'oracle de victoire comme expression prophétique au Proche-Orient ancien', *RB* 94 (1987), 63-97. For examples of oracles from Ugarit and second millennium Babylon combining sacral and military commands parallels, see Niehaus, 'Joshua and Ancient Near Eastern Warfare', 38-42.

<sup>119</sup> E.g. Judg. 4:14; 7:9; 1 Sam. 23:4; 2 Sam. 5:19; 1 Kgs 20:13, 28; 22:8, 12; 2 Kgs 3:18.

<sup>120</sup> 2 Sam. 7:8-11, 16; Ps. 89:20-38. Van der Toorn, 'L'oracle de victoire', 87-8.

<sup>121</sup> אֶל־חֵירָא (8:1; 11:6, cf. Num. 21:34; Deut 3:2, cf. 1:21) and נָתַן בְּיָדְךָ (6:2; 8:1, 18; 10:8, cf. Num. 21:34; Deut. 2:24; 3:2). An alternative for the second phrase is נָתַן אֶת־כָּל־הֵמָּה הַלְלִים, 'to hand over all of them, slain' (11:6c).

his promises.<sup>122</sup> In the Book of Joshua, the delivery formula is attested four times in the form of an oracle (6:2; 8:1; 10:8a-d 11:6a-e). Regarding chapter 10 and 11, it is striking how close it is connected to the decision to go to war and to the surprise attack – a military stratagem attested in all kind of ancient Near Eastern contexts, for instance in the Mesha Stela<sup>123</sup> – that is undertaken. As a result, the text of chapter 10 pays special attention to YHWH's affirmation of Joshua's choice to keep the treaty. God wants Israel to release Gibeon and to defeat the Amorite coalition. So the oracle underlines an ironic reversal occurring in chapter 9—10: 'the apparent folly of Israel's alliance with Gibeon has turned out to be a strategic advantage and an opportunity for a decisive Israelite victory'.<sup>124</sup>

In chapter 11, it is also a threatening state of affairs that induces YHWH to an oracle for Joshua (11:6a, cf. 10:8a). Now God responds to the formation of the northern coalition, which is depicted as being almost invincible. The phrase not to fear is repeated (11:6b, cf. 10:8b), an encouragement motivated by the statement that YHWH will fight for Israel. In this case, however, the assurance is more concrete: both the temporal adjunct and verbal phrases emphasize the final result of the combat: tomorrow, at the same time, all fighters of the invincible military will be dead men (11:6c, cf. 10:8c).<sup>125</sup> In addition, Joshua gets an order with respect to the chariots the text referred to in the description of the Canaanite army. He is commanded to hamstring the horses and to burn the chariots (11:6de). This instruction is related to the negative associations concerning the chariots that are sometimes attested in biblical historiography.<sup>126</sup> The northern coalition's object of trust has to be demolished. Therefore, after the battle, Joshua has to burn the chariots (cf. Ps. 46:10). He also has to make a simple incision damaging the horses' single front flexor tendon after the battle. As a result, the horses are not able to lift the front leg so they are no longer appropriate to be put to a chariot and can only be used for more peaceable purposes as agriculture and haulage. So the hamstringing is not some kind of battle tactic, but a way of making the horses useless for future battles. According to 2 Samuel, David applies the same tactic in his hamstringing of Aramean chariot horses after the battle against Hadadezer, the king of Rehob (2 Sam. 8:4). In both contexts, the hamstringing has the intention to prevent the horses being used again as chariot horses – although David keeps a hundred horses to

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<sup>122</sup> 10:8b echoes the words spoken by Moses and Joshua in Exod. 14:13; Num. 14:9; Deut. 20:1, 3; 31:6, 7-8, and YHWH's own words in Josh 1:6-7, 9; 10:8c refers to Deut. 7:24; 20:13; 10:8d contains an allusion with Deut. 7:24; 11:25.

<sup>123</sup> Kang, *Divine War*, 68, 80. Other examples from e.g. Egypt and Hatti show that not communicating the day of the battle was considered to be incorrect, although the texts also report that 'our' king or army may adopt the feature of the enemy, thus suggesting that 'if these are their rules of war, we can play by them, too!'. See Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 161-3, 166.

<sup>124</sup> Nelson, *Joshua*, 140.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. annotation 11:6j.

<sup>126</sup> See section 3.3.

have his own small chariotry.<sup>127</sup> Both texts may also be linked with the Law of the King, where Israel's ruler is warned not to multiply horses for himself, most likely because then, he will be able to build a huge army of chariots, which is, as we have seen in section 3.3, a source of pride and haughtiness (Deut. 17:16). So Joshua as well as David is defeating an enemy that puts trust on his weaponry and in their response to that challenge both leaders show that faith in YHWH is more important than human strength.<sup>128</sup>

### **Panic and Fear (10:10a-d)**

Another divine intervention turns up in the saying that 'YHWH threw them into confusion before Israel' (וַיְהִימָם, 10:10a). The motif of confusion is closely related to that of panic, which is in the ancient Near Eastern literature and the Old Testament very often understood as a reaction to a divine manifestation. In military contexts this always means that the *mysterium tremendum* inspires those who fight on the right side, whereas the enemy fears and is thrown into panic, because it is confronted with the overwhelming and destructive presence of the deity. In Egypt, the war god Seth is even called the god of confusion and in Mesopotamia the term *ragamu* served over the centuries as a standard expression to describe that panic overtakes the foe and how the earth and the four corners of the world tremble by the appearance of deities in battle.<sup>129</sup> In biblical as well as non-biblical contexts, it is closely connected to the notion that the deity goes before the army as a vanguard.<sup>130</sup> YHWH's epithet צְבָאוֹת

<sup>127</sup> Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 138-40, cf. Yadin, *Art of Warfare*, 285.

<sup>128</sup> According to Halpern, Josh. 11 stands closer to Deut. 17 than 2 Sam. 8, because the text, like Deut. 17, does not refer to chariot horses specifically. But this is unlikely, for the only reason why the horses are mentioned in 11:6d, 9b is because of the chariotry of 11:4c. Halpern also states that the passage in 2 Samuel parallels Middle Assyrian historiography (Halpern, 'Construction of the Davidic State', 55), while Joshua 11 would reflect the Omride tactics depicted on the Kurkh Monolith, in which the chariotry fought without support of the mounted infantry (Idem, *David's Secret Demons*, 140). But this does not hold either. As was noted in section 3.3, recounting the appropriation of foreign chariotry was a standard conceit during a much longer time than the Middle Assyrian period; furthermore, it can be questioned whether the Kurkh Monolith describes military tactics; and finally, the absence of mounted infantry in Joshua 11 can also be interpreted as being archaic or actually reflecting Late Bronze Age warfare.

<sup>129</sup> E.g. Judg. 4:14; 1 Sam. 7:10. For parallels, see Kang, *Divine War*, 96, 105, 154; Niehaus, 'Joshua and Ancient Near Eastern Warfare', 42-3. CAD, R, 63.

<sup>130</sup> E.g. Judg. 4:14-15; 5:23; 1 Sam. 4:5; 2 Sam. 5:17-25; Ps. 68:2, 18. According to Johannes de Moor, Judges 5:11, 13 undoubtedly imply that the Israelite heroes went out with the ark. J.C. de Moor, 'The Twelve tribes in the Song of Deborah', *VT* 43 (1993), 487. For non-biblical attestations of the vanguard motif, see Van der Toorn, 'L'oracle de victoire', 81-3; Kang, *Divine War*, 45-6, 65, 101-2.

even seems to entail that the whole 'host of heaven' was obliged to fight on his side.<sup>131</sup>

In Joshua 10, the battle begins with the announcement of the confusion of the southern Amorite coalition attacking Gibeon. A similar phrase was attested before in the dialogue between Joshua and the Gibeonite delegation, who declare to have deceived Israel, because 'we feared for our lives' (וַיִּירָו, 9:24f). These passages continue a motif in the historiography of the exodus and settlement introduced in the Song of the Sea. When the nations hear of YHWH's mighty deeds, they tremble and fear. The language of the Song of the Sea is abundant in this respect and offers a description in crescendo (Exodus 15:14-16, cf. 14:24). In reaction to the undoing of pharaoh, the nations, the people of Philistea, the chiefs of Edom, the leaders of Moab and the inhabitants of Canaan 'tremble' (רָנְזוּ), 'anguish will grip' them (אָחַז חֵיל), they are 'terrified' (בְּהֵל, *ni.*), 'seized with trembling' (אָחַז רַעַד) and 'melt away' (מִיָּג, *ni.*). 'Fear and terror falls upon them' (נִפְלְ אִימָה וּפַחַד), and they 'are as stone' (רַמִּים כָּאֶבֶן).<sup>132</sup> Later on in the Book of Exodus, YHWH assures his people that this will also occur when they enter the promised land. According to Exodus 23:27-28, he will lay 'fear' (אִימָה) upon the indigenous nations, 'throw them into confusion' (הִמָּם), make them turn their backs (עֲרַף) and send 'panic' (צַרְעָה) that will drive them out, while the promise of 'panic' and 'confusion' is repeated in Deuteronomy 7:20, 23 (cf. 11:25).<sup>133</sup> These phrases reoccur in the story about the actual conquest.<sup>134</sup> In Transjordan YHWH repeats his promise just before the battle against Sihon: he will make the people 'tremble' (רָנְזוּ) and 'shiver' (חֵיל) and 'terror' (פַּחַד) and 'dread' (יִרְעָה) will fall upon them. In Cisjordan, Rahab states that 'great fear for you has fallen on us' (נִפְלָה אִימַחֲכֶם), that all the land's people 'are melting in fear' (נִמְנוּ, 2:9, cf. 2:24), that 'our hearts melted' (מִסָּס לִבֵּב, 2:11), and that 'everyone's courage failed' (עוֹר רֵוַח, 2:11). The last two phrases are repeated to describe the reaction of the inhabitants of the land to Israel's crossing of the Jordan River (5:1), while at the end of his life, Joshua concludes that YHWH has indeed brought panic upon the inhabitants of the promised land (צַרְעָה, 24:12).<sup>135</sup>

This enumeration makes it clear that the motif of ensuing fear upon Israel's enemies can be referred to in many ways, but that it is always used to stress God's support and direction in the conquest of the land. The Gibeonite statement in chapter 9, that they feared for their lives (9:24f), is only a small allusion to this pattern. The assertion, however that YHWH actually interfered in the battle with the Amorite coalition makes his intervention more tangible.

<sup>131</sup> T.D.N. Mettinger, 'Yahweh Zebaoth', *DDD*<sup>2</sup>, 920-1; C. Houtman, *Der Himmel im Alten Testament* (OTS, 30), Leiden etc. 1996, 68-70; 109-10, 170-1, 194-6; De Moor, *Rise of Yahwism*, 180-1.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. e.g. C. Houtman, *Exodus*, dl. 2, Kampen 1987, 260.

<sup>133</sup> For the translation of 'panic' in preference to 'hornets', see Koopmans, *Joshua 24*, 332.

<sup>134</sup> The use of נִוֵר and קִוֵץ in Numbers 22:3 does not seem to belong to this pattern.

<sup>135</sup> A reversed use of the terminology can be observed in 7:5, 8.

When Joshua and his army suddenly arrive at Gibeon, YHWH takes over the direction. The action carried out by him is characterized by the verb **המם**, for which both iterative and onomatopoeic reflexes are attested in the Old Testament: the wheel of a farmer's cart 'rumbles' over grain being threshed (**והמם**, Isa. 28:28) and Jerusalem says of its suffering under Nebuchadnezzar: 'he crushed me' (**הממני**, Jer. 51:34Q). When the verb is used to describe YHWH's act in military affairs, it means confusing somebody and throwing him or her into panic. In most texts, the cause of the confusion is not identified, but in 1 Samuel 7:10 and 2 Samuel 22:15 (= Ps. 18:15) YHWH routs his enemies by lightning and thunder.<sup>136</sup> This interpretation could fit 10:10a, for the hailstones in 10:11d presuppose heavy weather too. Be that as it may, Israel actually is acquainted with the fulfilment of the promise of the land, for it had been assured that it would see the enemy terrified 'before them' (cf. Exod. 23:27; Deut. 7:23). YHWH strikes the Amorite coalition in a 'great slaughter' at Gibeon (10:10b, cf. 8cd, 20b).<sup>137</sup> The decisive victory for Israel becomes true, for God himself pursues them on the way of the ascent from Beth Horon (10:10c), even through the Ayalon Valley and the hilly area south of it 'to Azekah and Makedah'.<sup>138</sup>

### Violent Epiphany (10:11a-14c)

The paragraph that follows further explicates YHWH's involvement in battle. Two syntactical constructions – **ויהי** with an infinitive construct, qualifying the section up to 10:14c and **אז** with *yiqtol* and *wayyiqtol* in 10:12a – create a kind of flashback or a case of simultaneity and indicate that what is told next elaborates on the announcement concerning the panic the coalition was filled with.<sup>139</sup> It appears that YHWH's assistance is accompanied with a huge hailstorm (10:11ab). God goes before the army as a vanguard down the pass of Beth Horon over Beth Shemesh to Azekah and on this route his stones eliminate more refugees than the Israelites are able to kill (10:11cde). In reaction to this remarkable assistance Joshua even asks YHWH for more help, when he sees that God actually hands over the Amorites to Israel (10:12ab). That is, he commands sun and moon in the presence of Israel to 'stand still', which they do, so

<sup>136</sup> See also Exod. 14:24; Deut. 2:15; Judg. 4:15; Ps. 44:6. Cf. F. Stolz, **המם**, *ThHAT*, Bd. 1, 503; R.H. O'Connell, **המם**, *NIDOTTE*, vol. 1, 1047; G. Kwakkel, *According to My Righteousness. Upright Behaviour as Grounds for Deliverance in Psalms 7, 17, 18, 26, and 44* (OTS, 46), Leiden etc. 2002, 239-40. O'Connell rightly rejects the interpretation of 2 Sam. 22:15, offered by H.-P. Müller, **המם**, *ThWAT*, Bd. 2, 451-2. Since Gerhard von Rad, the motif of ensuing panic is seen as one of the characteristics of the Israelite holy war; G. von Rad, *Heiligen Krieg im Alten Israel* (ATANT, 20), Zürich 1951, 12-3. For a discussion, see section 4.4 and 5.1, 5.3, and 5.5.

<sup>137</sup> YHWH is the subject of all the verbs in 10:10a-d, cf. annotation 10:10t-t. Thus e.g. Rudolph, "Elohist", 205; Butler, *Joshua*, 109; Nelson, *Joshua*, 154; Hawk, *Joshua*, 152, as against e.g. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 63-4; Soggin, *Joshua*, 116. See also the comments on 10:20b in section 4.2.

<sup>138</sup> For the geographical implications of 10:10d, see section 3.2, the excursus 'From Gibeon to Debir'.

<sup>139</sup> See *WO* § 31.6.3b and annotation 10:12w.

that he is able to take vengeance on the troop of his enemies (10:12c-13d). Subsequently these lines are called a fragment from 'the book of the upright one' and interpreted in this way that the sun stopped in the middle of the sky and delayed going down about a full day. It was a unique day, clearly showing that YHWH was fighting for Israel (10:13e-14c).

It is possible to answer the questions concerning the philological and text-critical issues in these verses and to delineate the poetic fragment.<sup>140</sup> Nevertheless, three thorny questions remain concerning the synchronic interpretation of this passage. First: what picture does the text communicate regarding YHWH's involvement? In other words: what exactly is the relation between the panic, the hailstones and the fact that sun and moon 'stand still'? Second: what is the relation between the poetic lines and its context in prose? Do they offer a coherent description or do they in fact presuppose different representations? And third: what is the function of the passage in Joshua 10 as a whole?

#### *Previous interpretations*

According to the methodology offered in Chapter 1, these questions are to be answered by studying the text's literary artistry and genre conventions, while historical questions are to be dealt with later. However, this is not an easy task with respect to the so-called sun miracle of Joshua 10. In the history of interpretation the reading of the text has always been closely related to its historical understanding. As early as in pre-modern times interpreters summarized the passage as one describing a historical miracle and they struggled very often with the question how this miracle had to be comprehended in terms of natural law.<sup>141</sup> This discussion intensified during the 16th and 17th century CE, when the Ptolemaic view of the earth being the centre of the universe was criticized by Nicolai Copernicus, Galileo Galilei and Johannes Kepler. Theologians rejected this idea, using biblical passages such as Joshua 10:12-14, Psalm 19:4-5 and Ecclesiastes 1:5. The tradition says that Martin Luther denounced Copernicus, while the French Reformer John Calvin explicitly stated that the idea of the earth revolving round the sun was inspired by the devil. The Roman Catholic Church even convicted Copernicus' theories in 1616 and forced Galilei to recant.<sup>142</sup> The problems increased since the sec-

<sup>140</sup> See the annotations 10:11u-u to 10:13dd-dd in chapter 2.

<sup>141</sup> See e.g. Sir. 46:4; Josephus, *Ant.* v.1.17; Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, xxi.8; *Joannis Calvini opera omnia*, Vol. 25, ad locum. For the cosmological reflections of medieval rabbis, see S. Feldman, "'Sun Stand Still' – A Philosophical Midrash", in: *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Jerusalem 1986, 77-84.

<sup>142</sup> According to the testimony of his students Anton Lauterbach and Johann Purifier, Luther stated on 4 July 1539 that Copernicus turned the whole of the astronomy and Scripture upside down by suggesting that the earth and not the sun stood still. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden*, Weimar 1912, Bd. 1, Nr. 855; Weimar 1916, Bd. 4, Nr. 4638. For a critical study of this statement see A. Kleinert, 'Eine handgreifliche Geschichtslüge. Wie Martin Luther zum Gegner des copernicani-schen Weltsystems gemacht wurde', *Berichte zur Wissenschafts-Geschichte* 26 (2003), 101-11. For Calvin, see *Joannis Calvini opera omnia*, Vol. 49, 677. Cf. R.A. Stauffer, 'Calvin et Copernic', *Revue d'Histoire de Religions* 179 (1971), 31-40. The books of Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler were not removed from the Roman Catholic Church's Index

ond half of the 17th century, when the Copernican worldview became a vast presupposition of biblical exegesis.<sup>143</sup> The cosmological consequences of stopping the solar system – regardless whether it concerns sun, moon or earth – appeared to be enormous and the quest for a satisfactory interpretation harmonizing the text with the new perception of reality resulted in numerous publications.<sup>144</sup> From a systematic point of view, the solution to the problem was searched for in five directions.

The first two of these possibilities are induced by the fact that the verb *דָּמָם*, ‘to be silent’ (10:12d, 13a), follows a description of the falling of large (hail)stones (10:11bd). According to many scholars this means that the text originally described a celestial blackout. Hence, Joshua asked the sun during the epiphany not to return, the twilight continued and Israel killed the enemy in the panic that followed. In this view, only a later interpreter thought of a miracle providing additional hours of sunlight (10:13fg). For what reason the sun remained dark, is a matter of dispute. Some opt for an atmospheric or meteorological explanation in the form of clouds or a hailstorm.<sup>145</sup> Others think of an astronomic phenomenon such as a solar eclipse or a meteorite.<sup>146</sup> These explanations, however, do not suffice. They are contradicted by the abovementioned interpretative remark and in addition, there are serious doubts about the possibility of *דָּמָם* meaning ‘to remain dark’, doubts that are strongly confirmed by the fact that the parallel verb in the poetic fragment is *עָמַד*, ‘to stand still’.<sup>147</sup>

A third option was offered by the scholarly presupposition, based on Numbers 25:4, Joshua 10:12 and 1 Kings 8:53 (LXX), that Gibeon was a cultic centre of the Canaanite gods ‘Sun’ and ‘Moon’. According to this view, Joshua stops these gods in offering the Amorites a favourable oracle.<sup>148</sup> This solution, however, is generally

until 1835, although the Inquisition had admitted in 1757 that the earth is turning around the sun. In 1943, the encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, stressing the importance of study of the modes of writing of ancient authors and accepting a non-literal interpretation of a text because of its literary form, stirred up a debate among Roman Catholic scholars – for instance between the Dutch biblical scholars B.J. Alfrink and J.G.F.L. de Fraine – about the meaning of Joshua 10:10-15. Cf. J. de Fraine, ‘De miraculo solari Josue, Jos. 10,12-15’, *VD* 28 (1950), 227-36. Finally, Pope Johannes Paulus II evoked in 1992 a statement expressing regret for the way his church had responded to Galileo’s theses.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. e.g. E. Noort, ‘Joshua and Copernicus: Josh 10:12-15 and the History of Reception’, in: A. Hilhorst *et al.*, *Flores Florentino* (SJSJ, 122), Leiden etc. 2008, 387-401.

<sup>144</sup> For an overview, see Alfrink, ‘Het “stil staan” van zon en maan’, 238-43.

<sup>145</sup> E.g. Alfrink, ‘Het “stil staan” van zon en maan’, 263; Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 65; Houtman, *Himmel im Alten Testament*, 193-4.

<sup>146</sup> E.g. W.J. Phythian-Adams, ‘A Meteorite of the Fourteenth Century B.C.’, *PEQ* 78 (1946), 116-124; J.F.A. Sawyer, ‘Joshua 10:12-14 and the Solar Eclipse of 30 September 1131 B.C.’, *PEQ* 104 (1972), 139-146; F.R. Stephenson, ‘Astronomical Verification and Dating of Old Testament Passages referring to Solar Eclipses’, *PEQ* 107 (1975), 107-20; B. Margalit, ‘The Day the Sun did not stand still’, *VT* 42 (1992), 482-3.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. annotation 10:12z. See also M.J. Gruenthaner, ‘Two Sun Miracles of the Old Testament’, *CBQ* 10 (1948), 286-7.

<sup>148</sup> E.g. J. Dus, ‘Gibeon – Eine Kultstätte des ŠMŠ und die Stadt des Benjaminschen Schicksals’, *VT* 10 (1960), 353-61.

acknowledged as being too speculative, because it does not take its point of departure in the text, but in a disputed historical situation.<sup>149</sup>

A fourth approach was offered by those scholars who stress the differences between the poetic lines and the interpretative context and compare them to ancient Near Eastern celestial omen texts. Especially in Mesopotamia there was a significant relationship between the movements of the moon and sun and military activity, because of a basic assumption in astrology that a lunar-solar opposition on the fourteenth and the sixteenth day of the month predicts that all will be well. In that case, Joshua's command in 10:12de is a prayer that sun and moon will 'stand' in opposition on a day favourable to the nation, while 10:13a-d reports its positive outcome.<sup>150</sup> Or – if Joshua's use of astrology is not accepted and his prayer text is interpreted as a negative omen – he asks for a bad omen, as a good general knowing that it has a great significance to the enemy.<sup>151</sup> However, this idea is not as satisfying as it is often suggested. Mesopotamian texts plainly speak of 'moon and sun' and not of 'sun and moon', for their astrology had its base in the lunar year and primarily focused on the position of the moon. Moreover, there is no additional evidence that the Book of Joshua is familiar with the specific forms of Mesopotamian divination, although it may be assumed that Israel shared a general interest in celestial omens with its neighbours. But most importantly, the hypothesis does not take into consideration other biblical texts referring to sun and moon, whether or not in a context of a violent epiphany of YHWH, such as Judges 5:20, Psalm 148:3 and Habakkuk 3:11.<sup>152</sup>

Finally, a fifth option looks at the poetic lines as part of a mythopoetic concept, in which sun and moon are shocked and stand still in the face of the dazzling manifestations of YHWH's theophany, just as in Habakkuk 3:11 (cf. Joel 4:15-16; Isa. 24:21-23). In this view, the original speaker was not Joshua, while the editor integrating the fragment in the Book of Joshua demythologized the lines, ignoring sun and moon as autonomous astral beings and presenting them only as time markers, providing a longer day.<sup>153</sup> The advantage of this proposal is that it seeks to do justice to the relation of the passage with other texts describing an epiphany, while it also explains the nature of the interpretation of the poetic lines in the context. At the same time, however, this hypothesis expands the gap between the poetry and prose. There is more to say about the role of sun and moon in Habakkuk 3:10-11 (see below); additionally, the personification of sun and moon, although unique in

<sup>149</sup> E.g. by De Vaux, *Histoire*, t.1, 581.

<sup>150</sup> Holladay, 'The Day(s) the Moon Stood Still', 168-73, followed by e.g. Miller, *Divine Warrior*, 124-5; Boling, *Joshua*, 284.

<sup>151</sup> J.H. Walton, 'Joshua 10:12-15 and Mesopotamian Celestial Omen Texts', in: Millard *et al.* (eds), *Faith, Tradition & History*, 181-90, cf. Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 215.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. De Vaux, *Histoire*, t.1, 582; Miller, *Divine Warrior*, 127. An additional objection is that 10:13g cannot be translated as 'did not hurry to set as on a day of full length', and thus as a reference to a favourable day (Walton, 'Joshua 10:12-15', 187). This translation would most likely require the reading **ביום** in stead of **כיום** and overlooks the fact that in this context **יום תמיים** simply means 'a full day'. See B. Kedar-Kopfstein, **תמיים**, *ThWAT*, Bd. 8, 691; H.G.L. Peels, 'Nieuw licht op de zon te Gibeon? Een alternatieve exegese van Jozua 10:12-14', *Oikodome* 8/1 (2004), 18-23.

<sup>153</sup> Nelson, *Joshua*, 144-5.

the Book of Joshua, is in the Old Testament not contradicting but confirming YHWH's supremacy (Isa. 24:23; Hab. 3:10-11; Ps. 148:3); and finally, the assumption of several parts of the Old Testament, including the Book of Joshua, reflecting a more 'secular' worldview and therefore a tendency to demythologization, is highly questionable.<sup>154</sup>

So in summary, no explanation of the passage is totally satisfying. The main reason for that could be that it describes a unique miracle, just as the text itself indicates in 10:14a.<sup>155</sup> But this does not rule out the obligation of the interpreter to adopt the worldview of the text and to read it carefully in order to answer the question for the exact claim of the text. Therefore, another attempt, postponing a historical interpretation to Chapter 5 and 7, is made here.

A few striking difficulties immediately appear in reading 10:11a-14c as a whole. Firstly, a pre-modern, 'literal' interpretation meets some serious difficulties regarding the different ways the text speaks about the position of the sun. The syntactical construction of 10:12a suggests that Joshua opens his mouth when large stones fall from a clouded heaven. On the other hand, the beautifully structured parallel poetic lines of 10:12de describe an opposition between the sun at Gibeon and the moon in the valley of Ayalon. In relation to the geographical and astronomical background of the southern Levant, this statement clearly refers to a situation early in the morning just after the sunrise in the east and before the setting of the moon in the west, thus matching the previous report regarding Joshua's surprise attack in the early morning in 10:9ab.<sup>156</sup> But then again there is the announcement of 10:13f that in reaction to Joshua's command the sun stood still 'in the middle of the sky', which differs from being invisible or in the east. Of course, one could argue that according to the text the hailstorm stopped at Azekah (10:11b) and that during the long day the sun was moving along the sky, because it went down at Lachish (cf. 10:32b).<sup>157</sup> But even then, it is remarkable that the text does not highlight the physical circumstances of the miracle, but the fact that the sun and moon respond to Joshua's command. A second problem concerns the relation between the poetic fragment and its immediate context. The distinctive character of the former is stressed by the peculiar transition from 10:12c to 12d, where Joshua no longer speaks to YHWH, but to the sun and the moon.<sup>158</sup> Accordingly, sun and

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<sup>154</sup> Cf. C. Houtman, 'Säkularisation im alten Israel?', *ZAW* 108 (1996), 408-25.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Soggin, *Joshua*, 123, who declares that it is „more prudent to regard the phenomenon as one of the numerous miracles of which the Bible tells us (...) a 'sign' of an extraordinary divine intervention which imparts a grace unmerited by man and inconceivable in any other way”.

<sup>156</sup> Although Isa. 28:21 mentions the raging of YHWH in the valley of Gibeon, this text does not have the battle of Joshua in mind, for it refers to two other episodes from Israel's history, that is, to David's battles with the Philistines near Baal Perazim and from Geba to Gezer, as described in 2 Sam. 5:17-21, 22-25. See W.A.M. Beuken, *Isaiah Chapters 28-39* (HCOT), Leuven 2000, 56-7.

<sup>157</sup> See section 3.2.

<sup>158</sup> See annotation 10:12w.

moon are personified and – as was noted above – the description of the position of the sun differs from that in 10:13f, while this interpretative remark does not mention the moon either. Finally, the text distinguishes the poetic lines from the surrounding narrative by stating that it concerns a quote from ‘the book of upright one’ (10:13e). These difficulties do not necessarily mean that a comprehensive reading of the passage is impossible. But they indicate that an attempt to such a reading should start by interpreting the poetic lines, so that it can be detected in detail whether or not the formal differences suppose dissimilarities in content.

### *Poetic Fragment*

With respect to the poetic fragment, it is obvious that it presupposes a battle, because someone takes revenge on his enemies, which means that he settles the score with the opponent in one way or another (10:13cd).<sup>159</sup> This battle takes place in the area of Gibeon and Ayalon (10:12de). The one taking revenge commands the sun and moon to help, using the verb *דָּמַם* (10:12cd), which they do, for the sun ‘stands still’ and the moon ‘stays’ (10:13ab), so that the enemy is defeated (10:13cd). The most remarkable feature in these lines is that of the sun and moon being commanded and accordingly, their involvement in battle. Of the biblical texts mentioning sun and moon together, some speak about them in a personified way as well. Sun and moon are astral beings, apportioned to the non-Israelite nations under heaven, but not able to harm those who trust in God and whom Israel should not bow down for.<sup>160</sup> A striking parallel occurs in Psalm 148:3, in which sun and moon are summoned to praise YHWH. This fact raises an intriguing question. Did the reader perceive sun and moon as persons or not? These texts seem to affirm this question, while for instance Genesis 1:16 depersonalizes them by describing them as the greater and the lesser light that are part of God’s creation, marking off the seasons and day and night (cf. Ps. 104:19). In discussing this topic, it is important to note that almost all the ancients saw heavenly bodies as living persons because of the regular and ordered manner in which they appear and because of the intensity of their light and warmth. So how was that in Israel?

According to a detailed investigation of the Hebrew descriptions of the cosmos, the Old Testament affirms this view without attacking YHWH’s primacy and with very critical notes on the astral cult. The Israelites did not make a clear distinction between the heavenly bodies and the persons identified with them. Nevertheless, most texts presuppose that they were members of the *הַשָּׁמַיִם*, the well-organized army or court of YHWH, glorifying and supporting its King. So the biblical writers viewed the astral cult as a totally unjustified divination of the members of YHWH’s court, ignoring his divine kingship.<sup>161</sup> For the study of Joshua 10, it is not necessary to evaluate this view in detail. Never-

<sup>159</sup> Peels, *Vengeance of God*, 90.

<sup>160</sup> Deut. 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 23:5; Ps. 121:6; Jer. 8:2.

<sup>161</sup> Houtman, *Himmel im Alten Testament*, 194-209.

theless, a few conclusions concerning the direction of the interpretation of the chapter can be drawn from this attempt to adopt the biblical worldview. First, from the perspective of content, addressing sun and moon is not as odd as it seems at face value, not even in a Yahwistic context, because it is very hard to make clear distinctions between personified and non-personified attestations of sun and moon. Additionally, it seems justified to conclude that it is also not easy to make a distinction between a 'literal' and a more 'metaphorical' understanding of heavenly involvement in earthly matters, because it is difficult to reconstruct how exactly the readers perceived the personified descriptions and whether the latter are overruled by designations only describing them as inanimate creatures.

With this direction in mind, it seems most promising to start the further explication of the poetic fragment and its relation to the interpretative context by comparing them with its closest parallel, Habakkuk 3:10b-11: 'The sun lifted its hands high / the moon stood in its exalted place. As light thy arrows went / as brightness thy lightning spear'.<sup>162</sup> This passage contains several formal parallels to the poetic lines in Joshua. It is part of a poem, mentions sun and moon in a personified way and uses the verb עָמַד. Moreover, this passage can be interpreted within its own poetic context, which is one of a violent epiphany. When YHWH comes from Teman, his majesty covers heaven and his praise fills the earth. Lightning is on his side, the earth shakes, nations jump up and mountains are scattered (Hab. 3:3-7). YHWH fights the river and the sea from his chariots of victory. He empties his bow, cleaves the earth with rivers, tramples the nations and marches for the victory of his people and of his anointed (Hab. 3:8-15). This is not the moment to deal with the exegetical and religion-historical questions concerning YHWH's coming from mount Teman, his battle with the sea and the identity of the anointed. What matters, is the imagery of the epiphany and the nature of the descriptions of the divine. In the first place it is notable that the sketch of the epiphany is close to other passages in which God appears violently, breathing smoke and devouring fire.<sup>163</sup> In these passages and in Habakkuk 3, the picture of YHWH is similar to that of the ancient Near Eastern warrior storm-god, who is also a war-god. He rides the clouds, appears in a thunderstorm and shoots or throws his arrows and lightning-spear.<sup>164</sup> This means that the personified attestation of sun and moon being

<sup>162</sup> Translation by De Moor, *Rise of Yahwism*, 202. For a similar approach and translation, in spite of small differences, see A.S. van der Woude, *Habakuk, Zefanja* (POT), Nijkerk 1978, 58, 63; T. Hiebert, *God of My Victory. The Ancient Hymn in Habakkuk 3* (HSM, 38), Atlanta, GA 1986, 6, 30-32, 71.

<sup>163</sup> E.g. Exod. 15:3, 7-10; Deut. 32:22-23; Isa. 42:13; Ps. 18:10-15; 68:5, 8-9. The imagery of course also touches non-personified attestations of sun and moon accompanying YHWH in an epiphany or in a day of judgment, such as Isa. 13:10; Ezek. 32:7; Joel 2:10, 3:4, 4:15-16.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Miller, *Divine Warrior*, 122. For Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Hittite and Ugaritic descriptions of appearances of the storm-god in battle, see M. Weinfeld, 'Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East', in: H. Tadmor, M. Wein-

active in battle as described in the poetic lines in Joshua can be plausibly associated with the cosmic reactions caused by an epiphany. The text does not describe YHWH's coming from heaven. But the concrete physical description of his manifestation and the use of imagery frequently occurring in biblical passages describing the coming YHWH in battle, justify the conclusion that something like that is presupposed. Hence, the relation to the contextual reference in 10:11bd to the hailstones God threw from heaven appears to be a quite normal one. It is part of the imagery of YHWH as a divine warrior and of the ancient Near Eastern storm-god, for both use natural phenomena as weapons. Hail, fire, cloudburst and thunderstorm, for instance, threaten Assyria (Isa. 30:30). God asks Job whether he has seen the storehouses of snow and hail he reserved for days of war and battle (Job 38:22-23, cf. Exod. 9:18-26). YHWH's bow and arrows can even take other shapes, like plague and hunger.<sup>165</sup> Accordingly, the text in Joshua 10 quotes the poetic lines just after it is told that YHWH appears in a storm as a vanguard of Israel throwing hailstones from heaven, for both phenomena are part of the same imagery, namely, that of the storm-god.<sup>166</sup>

There is, however, a second reason to take a closer look at the entourage of YHWH as a divine warrior and at the way the storm-god associations are functioning. In Judges 5:20 the stars fight from heaven against Sisera as if they were animate beings. In Habakkuk 3 plague and pestilence are mentioned beside sun and moon, being involved in battle against the river and the sea (Hab. 3:5, 8). This is noteworthy, for ancient texts from the Levant and Syria refer frequently to the divine council as the 'assembly of the stars' and to the stars as the slaves of Baal. In addition, sun, moon, plague, pestilence, river and sea are depicted as divine members of the Canaanite pantheon, namely as Shamash, Yarikh, Deber, Reshep, Nahal and Yam. So apparently, the descriptions in Judges 5 and Habakkuk 3 come close to the mythological language of the literature of the Canaanites, although without picturing them as gods. On the contrary, the depiction and personification show that they are subordinated to YHWH. Some of them, at least sun and moon, seem to be part of his vast host,

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feld (eds), *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, Jerusalem, Leiden 1984, 136-43; Kang, *Divine War*, 46, 66, 68; Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 208-11; Korpel, *Rift in the Clouds*, 497-8, 594-8. For the iconography, see M. Klingbeil, *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven. God as a Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography* (OBO, 169), Freiburg, Göttingen 1999, 168-96.

<sup>165</sup> E.g. 2 Sam. 22:15; Hab. 3:9, 11; Ps. 77:18; 144:6; Zech. 9:14. Cf. Kang, *Divine War*, 155-6; Korpel, *Rift in the Clouds*, 512, 605-8.

<sup>166</sup> Van der Woude gives a beautiful description of this imagery in his comment on Habakkuk 3:11: „Op dit moment valt alle nadruk op de schrikwekkende machtsmanifestatie van de op een strijdswagen voortrazende Krijgsmen. Wij worden herinnerd aan de Wolkenrijder: de consternatie die God teweegbrengt, is getekend met de trekken van een gigantisch onweer, waarbij de bliksem van Gods pijlen en van zijn lans de met zwarte wolken bedekte hemel spookachtig verlicht. Hemel, aarde en onderwereld raken in beweging. Door donder en bliksem slijt de aarde open, zodat het grondwater naar buiten spuit, de bergen sidderen en de grote oervloed kolkt. De zon is radeeloos en de maan houdt zich gedekt”. Van der Woude, *Habakuk, Zefanja*, 70.

helping him in battle and belonging to his cosmic army.<sup>167</sup> This perfectly matches the observation of previous research that the military terminology used in descriptions of deities is almost identical in Ugarit and Israel. But it also strongly confirms the critical biblical view of heavenly bodies as members of the heavenly army of the God of Israel. But they are subordinate to him as creatures and their blessings are YHWH's.<sup>168</sup> It is remarkable that precisely this double meaning is present in Joshua 10. In the poetic lines sun and moon play a role in a violent epiphany of YHWH and most likely they are part of the host gathered around him.<sup>169</sup> Their subordination to YHWH is not depicted in the poetic lines themselves, but the close parallel to Habakkuk 3 makes it clear that there is no reason to assume otherwise. This is only made explicit in the interpretative context, which states that Joshua spoke to YHWH and that the support of sun and moon took place under the umbrella of God handing the Amorites over to Israel (10:12a-c, cf. 10:14b).

Another question is what role sun and moon exactly play in battle according to the poetic fragment. In the light of the imagery of the divine warrior and his heavenly army two options are left. Sun and moon take part in the cosmic trembling in the face of YHWH's appearance; or they stand at his side and fight the enemy. The parallel between נשא and עמד suggests that in Habakkuk the first option prevails. The sun lifts his hands in panic or to praise God, while the moon stands in its place, stunned by the magnificent manifestation of YHWH. The parallel between רגם and עמד in Joshua is more difficult to understand, for both verbs are almost synonymous in this context.<sup>170</sup> Fortunately, the other elements from the poem are helpful. It is not reasonable to assume that the one who orders sun and moon to 'stay' and to 'stand still', asks them to be astonished or glad. He actually orders them to support him in battle! In addition, the fact that sun and moon are personified and most likely perceived as identical

<sup>167</sup> Hiebert, *God of My Victory*, 92-3, 100; De Moor, *Rise of Yahwism*, 203-4; Korpel, *Rift in the Clouds*, 270, 293, 513, 570-3. De Moor and Korpel also mention Hebyon and Tehom (Hab. 3:4, 10) as gods. In their view, YHWH/Eloah takes over the functions of Baal as a thunder-god. This is in their view also the case in Deut. 32:23-24, while Deut. 33:2-3, 27 shows that the ancient Near Eastern title 'king of the gods' is avoided in the Old Testament, because YHWH is the 'oppressor of the gods of old' and only Israel is his inheritance. Cf. De Moor, *Rise of Yahwism*, 250-2, 256-8. For sun and moon see further E. Lipinski, 'Shemesh', *DDD*<sup>2</sup>, 764-5; B.B. Schmidt, 'Moon', *DDD*<sup>2</sup>, 587-91.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Korpel, *Rift in the Clouds*, 610-3; Klingbeil, *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven*, 301-10.

<sup>169</sup> Miller, *Divine Warrior*, 126.

<sup>170</sup> See annotation 10:12z. A similar use of רגם, namely as to 'hold a position', is found in 1 Sam. 14:9. With respect to עמד two possibilities occur: 'to stand in position' as in e.g. Exod. 33:10; Isa. 11:10; Mic. 5:3 or 'to remain standing' as in Gen. 19:17; 1 Sam. 20:38; 2 Sam. 20:12. This implies that the parallel between Habakkuk 3 and Joshua 10 does not, as Day states, 'add credence to the view that Josh. 10:12-13 is describing the disappearance of the sun and the moon as a result of an early morning storm'. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, Cambridge 1985, 109.

with the heavenly bodies, lends a hand in understanding the nature of the command. The speaker does not only know that the heavenly bodies are part of God's army and therefore fight on his side; he is also aware of their departure during the day. To prevent that, he orders them to stay, that is, to remain at YHWH's side fighting the enemy. As a result, the primary meaning of the verbs in the poetic lines is not meteorological or astronomical, but military. Sun and moon should, as persons, hold their position and wage war. This is what indeed happens. Sun and moon are not going down, but stay and fight as long as is necessary to take revenge on the troops of the enemy (10:13cd).<sup>171</sup>

With respect to this 'revenge', it is finally important to note that it should not be associated with hatred or with emotional, affective aggression. The use of the verb נקם merely implies that the divine help is to be interpreted as 'legal assistance'. It is considered justified that the threat of the enemy is eliminated, for the 'vengeance' functions as the punishing retribution of the divine judge, who as a protector of the universal order insures justice for the righteous party by means of the battle's outcome.<sup>172</sup> This justice is not only a general conception of righteousness, but also affects YHWH himself, as is evident from other poetic passages describing YHWH's active involvement in battles against Israel's enemies, such as Judges 5:19-20, Psalm 2:1-3 and 48:4. In these texts, God undertakes action against coalitions threatening Israel, because alliances against Israel are also alliances against YHWH and his lordship. So, in the context of similar poems, the divine help described in 10:12d-13d is ultimately related to YHWH's identity as the king of the world and the saviour of his people.

### *Interpretative Context*

Now that the poetic fragment has been analyzed, it is time to take a look at the interpretative context. It was already noted that the primary meaning of the poetic lines fits the hailstorm of 10:11b-e and YHWH's direction behind the support of sun and moon as explicated in 10:12ab. Moreover, the abovementioned forensic associations of the verb נקם give sense to the statement that the fragment cited comes from 'the book of the upright one' (10:13c).<sup>173</sup> Such an explicit claim of the text to have made use of a source is uncommon in the historiography of the settlement. Numbers 21:14 refers to *ספר מלחמת יהוה*, 'the book of YHWH's wars', in its description of the border between Moab and the Transjordanian territory of the Amorites. This book is maybe indirectly referred to in 1 Samuel 18:17 and 25:28, in which people tell David that he fights *מלחמת יהוה*, 'YHWH's wars'. The *ספר הישר*, 'the book of the upright one', is only attested in Joshua 10 and in 2 Samuel 1:18, which quotes the 'Lament of the

<sup>171</sup> See annotation 10:13bb.

<sup>172</sup> Peels, *Vengeance of God*, 90-2. For the idea of 'war as lawsuit', see also e.g. Judg. 11:27, 36; 2 Sam. 18:19, 31; 1 Kgs 8:44-45. Non-biblical attestations are summoned by e.g. M. Weippert, '„Heiliger Krieg“ in Israel und Assyrien', *ZAW* 84 (1972), 487-9 (= Idem, *Jahwe und die anderen Götter* [FAT, 18], Tübingen 1997, 93-4); Kang, *Divine War*, 14-5, 194-6.

<sup>173</sup> *HALOT*, 450. See also annotation 10:12w.

bow', David's poetic lament on the deaths of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:19-27).<sup>174</sup> These three passages are not sufficient to sustain whatever conclusion concerning these 'books' or 'anthologies'.<sup>175</sup> Only a few general remarks with respect to the meaning of the quotation in its present context can be made. The root **ישר** highlights the righteous character of the violence used by Joshua and Israel, whether the 'upright one' is an individual whose deeds are lauded, Israel collectively or YHWH himself. The text suggests that Joshua had taken revenge on the troop of the Amorites and that this was approved thereafter by describing this victory in a book called **ישר**, while it also agrees on this judgement. In this way, it presents itself as being based on an ancient source, thus presupposing and creating a tradition, for not the testimony of a contemporary or ancient eyewitness, but the reference to an authoritative well-known source has to justify its claim.<sup>176</sup>

So far, the interpretative context matches the poetic fragment, although there are some formal differences. This becomes problematic, however, in the next lines describing the sun actually standing still and stressing the unique nature of that event (10:13fg, 14ab). Undoubtedly, this passage interprets the support of the sun as a miracle, adding the time of an extra day, although the added time is still considered being part of the same day.<sup>177</sup> The moon is not mentioned, the imagery of the violent epiphany becomes less important and only a secondary meaning of the poem is highlighted, that is, the astronomical implication of the fact that the sun did not disappear. Certainly the use of the verb **עמד** in 10:13b leads to such an interpretation. Nevertheless, the primary meaning of the event shifts. The statement that the sun delayed going down **כיום תמים**, 'about a full day', and the chronological remarks in the next passages make it clear that the text describes an astronomical miracle (10:13g, 26b, 27a, 32b): the stopping of the sun offers Joshua and Israel the opportunity to defeat the enemy troops, to pursue them and to take their cities. Consequently, two questions come up. What is the function of this 'sun miracle' in the interpretative passages and how was its description perceived within its own ancient Near Eastern context? A careful look at the text in order to deal with these problems immediately reveals that what happened to the sun is not mentioned as the core of the extraordinary event, for it says that the day was so unique because 'YHWH heard the voice of a man' (10:14ab). This sentence most likely refers to 10:12a, which indeed contains an unusual expression regarding a human being addressing God. The phrase **דבר ליהוה**, *pi*, is unparalleled in the Old Testament, while the combination of **דבר** and **שמע** is frequently attested, mostly with a reference to a saying that should be listened to carefully or be

<sup>174</sup> Possibly, **ספר הישר** was also the *Vorlage* of LXX 1 Kgs 8:12-13 – although LXX places it after 8:53 – instead of its reference to the 'Songbook' **ספר השיר**.

<sup>175</sup> There are several theories concerning the size, extent, content and literary form (prose or poetry) of both books and concerning the relation between them. See section 5.4, 'Use of Sources'.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Butler, *Joshua*, 117.

<sup>177</sup> See annotation 10:12z.

obeyed.<sup>178</sup> So these phrases as well as the imperative **דַּבֵּר** in 10:12d strongly suggest that **לִשְׁמַע** in 10:14b bears the connotation of ‘obeying’. The unique phenomenon of that day was not so much that the day was prolonged, but that YHWH obeyed a man! This also fits 10:12c, which says that Joshua spoke ‘in the presence of Israel’. YHWH once made the promise to Joshua to exalt him in the eyes of Israel, so that they would know that he was with him as he was with Moses (3:7, cf. Deut. 31:7). God had fulfilled this promise by drying up the Jordan River before Israel (4:14, cf. 5:1). But now, another miracle happens. The sun stops and this shows something unique: YHWH obeys a human being and again fulfils his promise to Joshua. In this manner, he not only confirms Joshua’s leadership, but he also shows that finally he himself is at the centre of the conquest of the promised land, for ‘Surely YHWH was fighting for Israel!’ (10:14c). So the primary goal of the interpretative sentences enclosing the poetic fragment is YHWH’s unique guidance and support in battle by obeying Joshua, while the stopping of the sun is to be understood as a contribution to that.

The interpretative framework is also of importance with respect to the second question, how the description of the sun miracle was perceived within its own ancient Near Eastern context. Several scholars mention a comparable passage from Homer’s *Iliad* II 412-415 in which Agamemnon declares that Zeus may grant the sun not setting before the Achaeans have won the victory.<sup>179</sup> However, this parallel comes from a Greek context and citing it without any further study of its possible relation to Joshua does not explain very much. It only confirms that prolonging the day of a fight could be favourable for the victorious party, since in antiquity battles ended at sunset each day, regardless of the outcome.<sup>180</sup> Therefore, it is more appropriate to look at the interpretation of the poetic lines itself. Does this contain a literary convention that can be compared to non-biblical texts? With respect to this topic it is important to take a look at Joshua 10 as a whole. In annotation 10:15ee-ee and at the beginning of section 4.2 it was argued that the announcement in 10:15a that Joshua and Israel return to the camp at Gilgal is an explicit narrational foretelling, already presenting the conclusion of the great defeat of the Amorite coalition at

<sup>178</sup> The few texts in which a human being ‘speaks’, **דַּבֵּר**, *pi*, to God – Gen. 18:30, 32; Exod. 19:9 (cf. 33:11; Num. 12:8); Job 13:3; and Jer. 12:1 – all show that this is considered as being something miraculous. For the combination of **דַּבֵּר** and **שָׁמַע**, see e.g. Exod. 23:22; Deut. 5:24, 27; 18:19; 32:1; Ps. 85:9. Another remarkable feature in this respect is that **שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל** mostly designates ‘to obey’ (e.g. Deut 8:20; 13:19; Josh. 5:6; 1 Sam. 12:15; Ps. 103:20; 106:25; Isa. 50:10 for obeying God and Deut. 21:18; Judg. 20:13; 1 Sam. 8:7, 19; 19:6; Prov. 5:13; Jer. 35:8 for actually doing what a human being says), but that in those few cases that the phrase refers to YHWH’s hearing of a prayer, a verb or noun in the context stresses – in contrast with **דַּבֵּר** – the humble nature of that prayer: Num. 21:2-3 (**נָדַר**); Judg. 13:8-9 (**עָתָר**); 1 Kgs 17:21-22 (**קָרָא**); Ps. 66:17-19 (**תַּפְלִיחַ**); Ps. 130:2 (**תַּחֲנוּן**).

<sup>179</sup> Weinfeld, ‘Divine Intervention’, 147; Kang, *Divine War*, 158.

<sup>180</sup> A human attempt to grasp the moment and to defeat the enemy in a single day is found in 1 Sam. 14:1-46.

Gibeon. This can be substantiated formally by the parallels between 10:15a and 10:43a and between 10:14c and 10:42c, evoking a question concerning the relation between 10:42b and the sun miracle in 10:11a-15a.<sup>181</sup> The first parallel, summarizing how the south was conquered 'at one time' (פַּעַם אֶחָדָה), does not exactly correspond to the chronological features of chapter 10, but it is clearly used to validate the claim that YHWH himself had been fighting for Israel (10:42c). The depictions of the 'long day' in 10:13g-14a obviously have a similar function with respect to the same claim in 10:14c. So there is an unmistakable compositional link between the phrases 'about a full day', 'there has never been a day like it' and 'at one time', for all these designations of temporal units certify and exalt YHWH's help in battle.

This observation raises an intriguing issue regarding the literary function of the 'long day', for its parallel in 10:42b is one of the elements in a summarizing passage creating a tension between the real and the ideal in order to highlight God's excellence. Accordingly the expression 'at one time' can easily be understood as hyperbolic in nature.<sup>182</sup> Could that also be the case with the 'long day' in 10:13g-14a? According to the text, it is not possible to find decisive non-biblical parallels in this respect, for it describes a unique phenomenon (10:14ab). Nevertheless, comparable literary strategies occur in other ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts. There was, for instance, a literary convention in which the king's military prowess was concentrated in one single year.<sup>183</sup> Moreover, the contraction of a military event in one day was not unusual as well, as is evident from the inscriptions and annals of for instance the Elamite king Puzur-In-Sushinak, pharaoh Seti I and the Middle-Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I. The first conquered seventy towns in one day, the second besieged and captured Hamath, Beth Shean and Yenoam in a single day, and the third travelled from the middle Euphrates to northern Syria in a day. In these cases, the reason for the great achievements in one day is not mentioned. But the relation between the texts and the physical reality they describe prove that this phraseology is simply to be understood as a hyperbole substantiating the claim of victory.<sup>184</sup> In view of that, this approach may also facilitate the understanding of the text depicting the sun miracle in Joshua 10. By a more hyperbolic

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<sup>181</sup> The parallel between 10:14c and 10:42b confirms that the implication of 10:14c is not the same as in Exod. 14:14, which adds *וַיֹּאמֶר תַּחֲרֹשׁוּן*, 'You need only to be still', but has to be compared with Deut. 1:30; 3:22. As against Margalit, 'The Day the Sun did not stand still', 475-6, 482. For a description of the interplay between divine and human action, see section 4.4.

<sup>182</sup> See section 3.3, 'Summary' and 3.6, 'Joshua's Ideological Geography'.

<sup>183</sup> H. Tadmor, 'History and Ideology', in: F.M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological and Historical Analysis* (Orientalis Antiquis Collectio, 17), Rome 1981, 17-9, who mentions the use of this convention by e.g. Samsuiluna of Babylon, Tiglath-Pileser I, and Adadnirari III.

<sup>184</sup> H. Tadmor, 'History and Ideology', 19 (Puzur In-Sushinak); *KRI*, vol. 1, 12 (Seti I); Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, 13-4 (Tiglath-Pileser I). Cf. Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 215-7, 322.

interpretation of the 'long day' the phrase **בְּחֶצֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם**, 'in the middle of the sky', in 10:13f obtains a metaphorical sense solving the problem with the implicit and explicit descriptions of the position of the sun in 10:11b, 10:12d-13a and 10:32b. But what is more, it resolves the tension between the associations of the poetic lines and the remark about the hailstones with the armed forces of the divine warrior on the one hand and their supposed exclusive astronomical interpretation in 10:13fg on the other.

This inconsistency disappears as soon as the prolonging of the day to defeat the enemy at one time is understood as a rhetorical strategy, reflecting the common ancient Near Eastern literary technique of contracting a great military victory to a single time span. Normally the king underlines his prowess by stating that he triumphed at one time. But here, sun and moon, commanded by Joshua, remain fighting until the enemy is defeated; and precisely this fact creates the opportunity to show that it is YHWH who is the great conqueror, for he uses his position as a master of the heavenly bodies by adding enough time to the day to complete the defeat of the Amorite coalition. In this way, the interpretative sections neither misunderstand the poem nor demythologize the original. Merely, they add another perspective to the divine aid and glorious victory by offering a hyperbolic interpretation of two elements that are indeed present in the poetic fragment: God made the sun and moon respond to the command of a human being and as a result, they held their position. Yet again, this literary technique is not applied to praise Israel or to laud Joshua, but to highlight the fact that YHWH fulfilled the promise of the land by acting miraculously in battle.<sup>185</sup>

### **Hardening of hearts (11:20a-c)**

A final way of mentioning God's direction in the conquest of the land occurs in a short announcement regarding the kings of Cisjordan in the summarizing passage of chapter 11, saying that 'YHWH hardened their hearts to call for war against Israel, so that he might devote them to destruction without mercy, that is, to exterminate them, as YHWH had commanded Moses.' (11:20abc). Although it occurs only here in the Book of Joshua, the motif of YHWH hardening the hearts of Israel's adversaries can be seen as a consequence of the divine guidance that dominates the conquest from the beginning. It plays a more prominent role in the story of the exodus from Egypt. Already before Moses goes to the pharaoh, he is told that YHWH will harden pharaoh's heart and make it stubborn, so that he will not let the people go.<sup>186</sup> These predictions come true in what follows. With regard to the first five plagues, it is narrated that pharaoh's heart is hard or that he himself hardens his heart;<sup>187</sup> after the sixth plague, his heart is even said to be hardened by YHWH.<sup>188</sup> In the story of the

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 219.

<sup>186</sup> **חָזַק**, *pi.*: Exod. 4:21; **קָשָׂה**, *hi.*: Exod. 7:3.

<sup>187</sup> **חָזַק**, *qal.*: Exod. 7:13, 22; 8:15; 9:35; **כָּבַד**, *hi.*: 8:11, 28; 9:34.

<sup>188</sup> **חָזַק**, *pi.*: Exod. 9:12; 10:20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17; **כָּבַד**, *hi.*: 10:1, cf. 1 Sam. 6:6.

exodus, the way the motif is carried through shows it being part of a divine plan offering YHWH the opportunity to reach goals he has set out for himself. It explains why there were ten plagues before the pharaoh let the people go. Consequently, Egypt is punished for the oppression and for Israel the plagues are signs (אִתּוֹת) revealing YHWH's character as a deliverer (Exod. 10:1-2, cf. 8:19).<sup>189</sup>

The relation between the exodus narrative and Joshua 11:20a is indirect, that is, only by means of a remark concerning Sihon, the Amorite king in Transjordan. In Moses' retrospection of the conquest of Transjordan, Sihon is said to have refused to let Israel pass through, because YHWH, the God of Israel, had made his spirit stubborn and his heart obstinate (Deut. 2:30).<sup>190</sup> This comment reveals the existence of a divine plan behind the conquest of the promised land. Although this part of Transjordan did not belong to the promised land, YHWH was determined to put fear on the nations.<sup>191</sup> Therefore, he wanted Israel to engage Sihon in battle and to inherit his land and the hardening of Sihon's heart in reaction to Israel's peace offering is used to reach this goal (Deut. 2:24-30).<sup>192</sup> Two things are interesting in this respect. Firstly, it is worth noting that the two verbs used in this context, אָמַץ and קָטַף, also occur in the divine encouragements of Joshua and Israel, thus associating YHWH's hardening of the hearts of the kings of the land with his strengthening of Joshua and Israel in their battles against them.<sup>193</sup> This shows that in his divine objective to give the land to Israel, YHWH acts on both sides of the controversy between Israel and the nations. Secondly, the last words of Deuteronomy 2:30, 'as he has now done', point the attention to Israel's experiences with God in the conquest and inheritance of Transjordan. These experiences brought the difference between YHWH and the gods of the nations to light. This difference not only explains why God has the opportunity to harden the heart of whomever he wants, but also highlights the peculiarity of the election of Israel.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Cf. D.M. Gunn, 'The "Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart": Plot, Character and Theology in Exodus 1-14', in: D.J. Clines *et al.* (eds), *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature* (JSOTS, 19), Sheffield 1982, 72-96; C. Houtman, *Exodus*, dl. 1 (COT), Kampen 1986, 38-40; R.B. Chisholm, 'Divine Hardening in the Old Testament', *BibSac* 153 (1996), 410-34. Traditionally, the hardening terminology is parcelled out along the different Pentateuchal sources, J, E, and P. For a survey, see B.S. Childs, *Exodus. A Commentary* (OTL), London 1974, 171-5. See also e.g. R.R. Wilson, 'The Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart', *CBQ* 41 (1979), 18-36; Van Seters, *Life of Moses*, 87-91; H. Liss, 'Die Funktion der "Verstockung" Pharaos in der Erzählung vom Auszug aus Ägypten', *BN* 93 (1998), 56-76.

<sup>190</sup> אָמַץ, *hi.*; קָטַף, *hi.*; אָמַץ, *pi.*, cf. אָמַץ, *pi.*; אָמַץ, *pi.*: Exod. 10:27; אָמַץ, *hi.*: Exod. 7:3. As a result, the conclusion of F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im Alten Testament* (BZAW, 74), Berlin 1955, 53, that Deut. 2:30 is not comparable to Exodus 4-14, because it leaves out Sihon's own acting, fails.

<sup>191</sup> For Transjordan and the extent of the promised land, see section 3.4.

<sup>192</sup> For the different aspects of this passage, see e.g. L. Perlit, *Deuteronomium* (BKAT, Bd. 5/3), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1994, 215-8.

<sup>193</sup> Deut. 3:38; 31:6, 7, 23; Josh. 1:6, 7, 9 (Joshua); 1:18; 10:25; 23:6 (Israel).

<sup>194</sup> Deut. 4:20, 38; 8:18; 10:15; 29:27, cf. 1 Kgs 3:6; 8:24.

The attestation of the hardening of the hearts of the inhabitants of Cisjordan also follows the idea of a divine plan behind the concrete skirmishes. But now, YHWH's objective is formulated more specifically: he did harden the hearts of the inhabitants of the cities because he wanted them to call for war against Israel (11:20a). So the planning of the Cisjordanian coalition (9:2abc) and the actual formation of the Amorite and Canaanite coalitions (10:3a-5e; 11:1b-5c) were caused by a divine action, for YHWH was determined to devote the inhabitants of the land to a merciless destruction (11:20b). The next sentence shows why this was the case: YHWH wanted to destroy them, as he had commanded Moses (11:20c). This means that God acted according to his own will, for in order to give the land to Israel, the nations had to be eliminated. This is a surprising statement, because so far, it was emphasized that this was the major responsibility of Joshua and Israel. Of course, they had failed when Achan took something from Jericho's plunder, but as such, their responsibility did not change thereafter. In the story about the Gibeonite ruse it is told that Israel did not consult YHWH, when it established friendship with Gibeon (9:14b) and in addition, Joshua's obedience to God plays an important role in his conquest of southern and northern Cisjordan. But now it appears that this obedience was also driven by the divine will: the treaty with the Gibeonites led to the war with the Amorite coalition and the defeat of this army was in its turn the cause of the conquest of the north, and this all happened because of the hardening of the hearts of the inhabitants of the land. In this way, Joshua and Israel did not have the opportunity to make peace and they were forced to kill everyone. So YHWH preserved his merciful attitude for Israel, for he himself guaranteed the execution of his commands, and as a result of this, the conquest was successful.<sup>195</sup>

#### 4.4 ELIMINATION

YHWH's determination to fulfil the promise of the land is an amazing driving force in the historiography of the conquest and settlement. But this does not rule out human activity. On the contrary, Israel is commanded to conquer the land in a certain way, that is, precisely 'as YHWH had directed Moses' (11:23a).<sup>196</sup> Consequently, human action counts and is even described in its creativity, for instance in Joshua's reaction to the oracle concerning YHWH's decisive efforts in the battle at Gibeon: he attacks his adversaries by surprise, just as he will do later on with the northern coalition (10:9a, cf. 11:7a). So the stress on God's role never rules out the importance of human military activity. Therefore, it is appropriate to dedicate this section to the perspective of human

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<sup>195</sup> Cf. Butler, *Joshua*, 130.

<sup>196</sup> For the commands and heritage of Moses, see the comments on 10:42c (section 3.2), 11:12c, 15abc (3.3), 11:23a, 12:1a-24b (3.4), 13:1bc, 7a (3.5), 9:14b, 24a-25b (4.1), 10:25a (4.2), 10:8bc, 11:20abc (4.3).

activity in the conquest, that is, to the elimination of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the promised land in the way of the **חַרֵּם** and to the related scholarly reflections on what has been called the biblical concept regarding the ‘holy war’ or ‘divine warrior’. Two questions concerning this elimination, described most prominent and in detail in 10:28a-39g, are to be answered. How does the text present and interpret this violent behaviour and what is the function of the section within the whole of the chapters 9:1—13:7?

### Conquest and Settlement in Stereotypes

No doubt, the most central feature in this respect is that of **חַרֵּם**, the annihilation of all the inhabitants of the promised land. As became evident in annotation 10:1c-c, the use of **חַרֵּם** in the historiography of the settlement is from a lexicographic point of view characterized as a devotion to God leading to total elimination. Strikingly, this is also the case in the only direct ancient Near Eastern parallel to the biblical use of **חַרֵּם**, the text of the Moabite Stone from the 9th century BCE, in which king Mesha says about the Israelite city Nebo: ‘I took it, and killed everyone in it (...), because I had devoted it (*hḥrmth*) to Ashtar-Kemosh’.<sup>197</sup>

#### **חַרֵּם** and ‘holy war’

To observe some lexicographical facts and to describe a historical parallel, however, is not the same as understanding them. Therefore, it seems appropriate to offer a short overview of scholarly debate.

In the first half of the 20th century CE, several religion-historical investigations were done after the Semitic consciousness behind the biblical practice of **חַרֵּם**. Some simply thought of a primitive orgy of violence in which a city, its inhabitants and the booty were to be destroyed.<sup>198</sup> Others proposed it being a kind of taboo implying devastation.<sup>199</sup> A decisive turn in research, however, came just after the second World War with a hypothesis of the so-called *Leipziger Schule*, stating that **חַרֵּם** was part of an old institution of the Israelite tribal league, the ‘holy war’. This ‘holy war’ or ‘Yahweh-war’ was a special war for religious reasons led by a charismatic chief, by which the tribes defended themselves and their identity against powerful enemies. It did not occur at the moment Israel peacefully entered the promised land, but later, in the stage of the *Landesaubau*, and disappeared gradually after the institutionalization of the monarchy, until it was revived by the writ-

<sup>197</sup> KAI 181, line 17; for a translation, see Hallo, Younger (eds), *Context of Scripture*, vol. 2, 138-9.

<sup>198</sup> E.g. F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer*, Bd. 1, Leipzig 1901, 29-44.

<sup>199</sup> J. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, Vol. 3-4, London, Copenhagen 1940, 21-31, 273-4. A similar explanation is offered by A. Malamat, ‘The Ban in Mari and in the Bible’, in: *Biblical Essays. Proceedings of the 9th Meeting of Die Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid Africa*, 1967, 40-9. Nowadays, it is generally acknowledged that the parallel with the Mari-texts is not specific enough to draw conclusions. Kang, *Divine War*, 81.

ers of Deuteronomy at the time of king Josiah.<sup>200</sup> This hypothesis was in many ways closely connected to that period. The theory gave the evolutionary model of religion as developing from a primitive to a more secular practice and worldview a biblical outlook, integrated Max Weber's sociological distinction between charismatic and institutional leadership, while it also reflected the fact that the search for institutions being the *Sitz im Leben* of historical kernels in narratives reached its culminating point. Moreover, just after the war a German proposal that the biblical battles were only defensive in nature got a warm welcome in scholarship. Soon, the American Baltimore School developed a similar theory around the notion of the 'divine warrior', based on its own ideas about the settlement and the formation of the Israelite epic tradition. So by no surprise, the theory of the 'holy war' as a distinct cultic institution and of YHWH as a 'divine warrior' dominated scholarly discussion for the next decades. In the discussions, however, it turned out that both hypotheses were not able to do justice to all the evidence. The German theory neither incorporated the actual starting point for the celebration of YHWH's mighty deeds in the exodus and conquest in Exodus 15 nor integrated the fact that the YHWH-wars were seldom an undertaking of all Israel and that their rhetoric occurred everywhere else in the ancient Near East.<sup>201</sup> The Americans in their turn had difficulties in portraying YHWH as a divine warrior in relation to other gods and did not succeed in offering a concrete sketch of the literary development matching their historical ideas.<sup>202</sup> Nevertheless, the solutions presented thereafter were still very close to the concepts of 'holy war' and 'divine warrior'. Those who held on to the search for *Gattungen* were less sure that Israel's first experiences with violence dated from the period of the *Landesausbau*, but they did not offer an alternative.<sup>203</sup> In reaction to this, the question became more and more whether the descriptions of war were pre-deuteronomic, deuteronomic, or post-deuteronomic in nature. Some, for instance, stated that the historical and annalistic records of the battles of David show how the ideas concerning YHWH's help and intervention and regarding the dedication of spoil began to appear in the period of the rise of the Davidic kingdom.<sup>204</sup> Others stressed the Neo-Assyrian origin of the rhetoric of violence in the Book of Deuteronomy, whether or not on the base of older traditions.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> G. von Rad, *Deuteronomiumstudien* (FRLANT, 58), Göttingen <sup>2</sup>1948, 30-44; Idem, *Heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, 6-18, 68-78.

<sup>201</sup> R. Smend, *Jahwekrieg und Stämmebund. Erwägungen zur ältesten Geschichte Israels* (FRLANT, 84), Göttingen 1963, 10-9, 79-86; Weippert, 'Heiliger Krieg in Israel und Assyrien', 465-89 [= Idem, *Jahwe und die anderen Götter*, 74-94]; F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. Kriegstheorien und Kriegserfahrungen im Glauben des alten Israel*, Zürich 1972, 196-7. For additional Egyptian evidence, see Noort, *Seevölker*, 56-104.

<sup>202</sup> Miller, *Divine Warrior*, 155-65; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 91-144; M.C. Lind, *Yahweh is A Warrior. The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel*, Scottdale, PA 1980.

<sup>203</sup> Weippert, 'Heiliger Krieg in Israel und Assyrien', 490 [= Idem, *Jahwe und die anderen Götter*, 95]; Smend, *Jahwekrieg und Stämmebund*, 71-8, 87-97; Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege*, 196-205.

<sup>204</sup> Kang, *Divine War*, 193-224.

<sup>205</sup> E.g. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomistic School*, 45-58.

This also affected the opinions concerning חרם. Some persisted that it originated in a prohibition of taking booty, although this could not be substantiated philologically.<sup>206</sup> Others found the biblical texts not trustworthy in this respect and reduced all the evidence to its attestation in the Mesha Stela.<sup>207</sup> Within the view of the pre-deuteronomic origin of חרם, the growth from the more or less original phrases in the Book of the Covenant to the use of the term in Deuteronomy is often seen as a development from a promise that *God* would dispossess the peoples of Canaan to the fact that it is *Israel* who will drive them out, although these scholars are divided over the question whether חרם is to be interpreted nationalistic and particularistic or not.<sup>208</sup> However, because of the recent preference for a late date for both entities, some also state that חרם is entirely deuteronomic in conception or argue that it belongs to a secondary, post-exilic stratum of Deuteronomy, because it conflicts with the high moral standard of the book.<sup>209</sup> Against these last positions, the objection has been put forward that this can hardly do justice to the attestation of חרם in the monument of Mesha, to the historical recollections of 1 Samuel 15 and 1 Kings 20, which contain valuable information, and to the fact that the post-deuteronomic redaction of the book would assert that the taking of the land was not so rabid and radical.<sup>210</sup>

These discussions show how closely the hypotheses concerning the 'holy war' and חרם are connected to the views of the relation between the divine and human role in the promises and commands regarding the conquest of the land, the development of the command of dispossession, and finally to the hypotheses with respect to the history of the settlement itself.<sup>211</sup> This situation makes it difficult to of-

<sup>206</sup> E.g. Lohfink, חרם, 198-9. See annotation 10:1c-c.

<sup>207</sup> P.D. Stern, *The biblical herem. A Window on Israel's Religious Experience* (BJS, 211), Atlanta, GA 1991, 108-10. Stern states that the prophets like Samuel approved חרם and that later the pre-exilic writers of Deuteronomy appreciated it as an anti-iconic expression serving the role of YHWH in restoring the balance in his created order.

<sup>208</sup> See in particular the work of Norbert Lohfink and Moshe Weinfeld. Lohfink, חרם, 208-12; Idem, 'Kerygmata, 90-100 [= Idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium*, Bd. 2, 129-42]; Idem, 'Die Schichten des Pentateuch und der der Krieg', in: Idem, *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit im Alten Testament* (QD, 96), Freiburg etc. 1983, 51-110; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomistic School*, 46-8; Idem, *The Promise of the Land. The Inheritance of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites*, Berkely, Los Angeles, CA 1993, 76-98; Idem, 'The Ban on the Canaanites in the Biblical Codes and Its Historical Development', in: A. Lemaire, B. Otzen (eds), *History and Tradition of Early Israel* (VTS, 50), 142-60. For their discussion concerning the assumed secularizing and nationalistic character of Deuteronomy, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomistic School*, 49; N. Lohfink, *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur*, Bd. 3 (SBAB, 20), Stuttgart 1995, 249-60; Braulik, 'Völkervernichtung und Rückkehr', 5.

<sup>209</sup> For these views, see e.g. C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, 'Die Bedeutung und Funktion von Herem in biblisch-hebräischen Texten', *BZ* 38 (1994), 270-5 and Y. Hoffmann, 'The Deuteronomistic Concept of the Herem', *ZAW* 111 (1999), 196-210.

<sup>210</sup> W. Dietrich, 'The "Ban" in the Age of the Early Kings', in: Fritz, Davies (eds), *Origins of the Israelite States*, 196-210.

<sup>211</sup> The inadequacy of previous research can be illustrated by the development of Lohfink's ideas. The kernel of the command to drive out the pre-Israelite nations lies in his view in an old treaty text functioning in the sanctuary at Gilgal (N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot: eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5-11* [AB, 20],

fer an analysis of the use of human warfare in 10:28a-39g on its own terms. The best way to deal with this problem is to outline how the passages commanding to drive out the nations develop into the descriptions of the actual conquest of the land, to compare the descriptions of human behaviour with its non-biblical parallels and with the laws of warfare in the Book of Deuteronomy and to postpone the presentation of the possible historical origin and development of the semantic field of elimination to Chapter 5.

In Joshua 9:1—13:7, the root  $\text{חרם}$  occurs for the first time in 10:1b. As was already noted at the beginning of Chapter 2, this root and its related conception play an important role in the settlement's historiography. Besides its military use, the root describes a penalty for idolatry, certain cultic acts or for negligence, or a punishment imposed by the community.<sup>212</sup> It also occurs in descriptions of Israelite wars, while it can also describe Assyrian, Ammonite or Moabite warfare.<sup>213</sup> However, the most dominant use of the root is attested in the promises and commands concerning the conquest of the promised land as well as in the descriptions of its actual conquest. It is used from the defeat of the king of Arad – who is devoted to destruction by Israel as a response to YHWH's help, as are his cities, which are called Hormah (Num. 21:1-3, cf. 33:40) – to the conquest of Judah of Simeon's inheritance and Zephath – which is also called Hormah (Judg. 1:16-17, cf. Josh. 15:30; 19:4). Both stories function in their present context as a kind of *inclusio*, whether reflecting contradicting traditions or not. They simply underline the relevance of  $\text{חרם}$ , which is also expressed by the etiological use of the root.<sup>214</sup> In the passages between this inclusion,  $\text{חרם}$  is very often further explained by terms and phrases making it clear that the verb denotes a devotion to God leading to total elimination. Like  $\text{חרם}$ , *hi.*, these phrases often depict how the pre-Israelite nations are to be dealt with in the conquest.<sup>215</sup> In order to prevent spiritual contamination, the Israelites are not supposed to make a treaty with the nations, nor are they allowed to worship the heathen deities. Their idols and related items have to be demolished and intermarriage is out of the question. Therefore, YHWH will not only clear them away and Israel will not only supplant them, they are also to be defeated or killed ( $\text{נכדה}$ ), wiped out ( $\text{שמד}$ , *hi.*), finished ( $\text{כלה}$ , *pi.*), eliminated ( $\text{כרתה}$ ), and

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Rome 1963, 172-80). In later years, he exchanged his search for the *Sitz im Leben*, for *Strukturbeobachtungen*, for a method looking at *Sprachgebrauch und Stil* and *Spannungen und Widersprüche* (Idem, 'Kerygmata, 89 [= Idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium*, Bd. 2, 128]). Nevertheless, he did not withdraw his earlier conclusions, while his new criteria are not convincing either (see annotation 10:1c-c and 13:6g).

<sup>212</sup> Exod. 22:19; Lev. 27:21, 28, 29; Judg. 21:11; Ezra 10:8.

<sup>213</sup> E.g. 1 Sam. 15; 1 Kgs 20:42 and 1 Chron. 2:7; 4:41. 2 Kgs 19:11; Isa. 37:11; 2 Chron. 32:14; 20:23. Cf. Brekelmans,  $\text{חרם}$ , 636-7.

<sup>214</sup> Promises and commands: Deut. 7:2, 26; 20:17; Josh. 6:17-18, 21. Descriptions of conquest: Num. 21:2-3; Deut. 2:34; 3:6; Josh. 2:10; 7:1, 11-13, 15; 8:26; 10:28c, 35c, 37d, 39c, 40d; 11:11a, 12b, 20b, 21e; 22:20; Judg. 1:17, cf. 1 Kgs 9:21.

<sup>215</sup> For these nations, see annotation 9:2b-b and section 3.1.

killed (הרג), until no survivor is left (שאר, *hi*).<sup>216</sup> Consequently, the idea of elimination is as well attached to the semantic field of *driving out* the nations as to that of *inheriting* their land. From a synchronic point of view, both fields show a gradual development from the exodus from Egypt up to the actual settling of the promised land. In Exodus 23, YHWH promises that he and his messenger will drive out the nations, using the verb גרש (Exod. 23:28-32), while he also forbids Israel to make a treaty with them. This promise and command is repeated later (Exod. 33:2; 34:11-12, cf. Josh. 24:12, 18; Judg. 2:3). But as soon as concrete territory comes into mind, another verb is used, namely ירש, *hi*, 'to drive out, supplant', which is associated with ירש, *qal*, 'to inherit' and ירושה, 'possession'. A few times, this verb describes YHWH's action, but because of its concreteness, Israel is more often its subject. This innovation already takes shape in Exodus 34:24, but becomes almost exclusive in Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges 1.<sup>217</sup>

A similar development can be observed with respect to expressions relating to the actual settlement of the land, which occur after the nations are eliminated. As was shown in the sections 3.2 and 3.4, these descriptions make it clear that the settlement of the land comprises several stages. נכה is followed by לכר, which shows that defeating the enemy is not the same as actual taking the land by force (10:42b). Subsequent to the sentences describing this action come phrases containing the verbs לקח and נתן, which highlight that the land also has to be taken under control and given as an inheritance (11:23ab). Finally, this phase is in its turn followed by two other stages characterized by the verbs ירש, *qal* and ישב, in which Israel takes possession of the promised land and actually settles it (12:1b; 21:43). However, these last stages occur only two times in descriptions of the actual settlement of Cisjordanian land. In one of them, the tribe of Dan does not settle its own inheritance, while in the other Joshua himself receives his piece of land (19:47, 50). Accordingly, it remains an open question in the Book of Joshua whether Israel will complete these last two stages in Cisjordan and because of that the fulfilment of the promise of the land is at stake.<sup>218</sup>

So in order to understand the idea of devotion and elimination in the historiography of the settlement, it is important to recognize that it is part of a whole network of descriptions of divine and human actions. Additionally, it must be noted that the aggression is in this case directed against a particular group of nations living in a specific area, that is, the promised land.<sup>219</sup> All war-

<sup>216</sup> See annotation 9:18v (נכה), annotation 9:24z (שמר, *hi*), Deut. 7:22 (בלה, *pi*), annotation 11:21u (כרת), Josh. 8:24; 9:26c; 10:11e (הרג, cf. Num. 31:7-8; Josh. 13:22), and annotation 10:33ss-ss (שאר, *hi*).

<sup>217</sup> See annotation 13:6g.

<sup>218</sup> Section 3.2 and 3.4, in particular note 270. See also the annotations 10:1b and 11:16q.

<sup>219</sup> Strikingly, the חרם in 1 Samuel 15 is also directed against a specific group, the Amalekites. YHWH is at war with them 'from generation to generation', because they waylaid Israel as it came up from Egypt (Exod. 17:14, 16; Deut. 25:17-19; 1 Sam. 15:2,

fare in the ancient Near East and in the Bible is religiously inspired. But not all military action is as closely related to the character of the divine figure offering his help as is the extermination of the primeval nations in the form of **הָרַם**. According to Deuteronomy 7, the imposed violence is the consequence of YHWH's attitude towards Israel, which is his special people, set off by divine election. This election of a poor, small and helpless people has become apparent in the Exodus from Egypt and the promise of the land. In this way, YHWH exposes himself as a merciful and sovereign God. This means that the relation to God is at the very heart of **הָרַם** and for that reason it is impossible to characterize it as a 'culture map category' expressing Deuteronomy's 'in-group social ethic' or to describe it as racist, nationalist or particularistic.<sup>220</sup> These definitions simply reduce the central role of religion in the story of the conquest to a relationship between peoples and ignore the fact that not humans, but YHWH is at its centre. It is his universal and merciful sovereignty that requires Israel's total dedication and the elimination of everything that could distract from that goal. What is more, YHWH himself crosses the Jordan River as a devouring fire in order to clean the land from all detestable elements (cf. Deut. 9:1-6).<sup>221</sup> The rhetoric of human violence in the historiography of the settlement, in commands as well as in their execution, is clearly to be understood within this interpretative framework.

### **Southern Sweep (10:28a-39g)**

The Book of Joshua offers an outstanding passage fitting this pattern in 10:28a-39g. It consists of six paragraphs written in an irregular but repetitive style, divided by reports describing that Joshua and his army move from one town to another.<sup>222</sup> The paragraphs describe in detail the elimination of the kings and

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cf. Judg. 3:13; 6:3, 33; 7:12; 10:12; Ps. 83:8). For this reason, some scholars argue that originally, **הָרַם**, *hi*, was always used to depict wars with a more cultic character and later developed into an expression designating total destruction. E.g. Brekelmans, **הָרַם**, 638. This seems to be true with respect to the sequence of the narrative of biblical history. It remains to be seen, however, whether this actually reflects a historical development.

<sup>220</sup> Thus e.g. Nelson, 'Deuteronomic Social Conscience', 45-51; S. Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence*, New York, Oxford 1993, 28-77; Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 169-80. Cf. Moshe Weinfeld on Deut. 4 and 7: 'The patriotic tone of the military orations also underlies the deuteronomic description of the conquest in Josh. 1-12'. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomic School*, 49.

<sup>221</sup> Braulik, 'Völkervernichtung und Rückkehr', 5. See also C.J. Labuschagne, *Deuteronomium* (POT), Nijkerk 1987, dl. 1A, 126-30; dl. 1B, 110-113.

<sup>222</sup> According to some scholars, the passage consists out of seven paragraphs, together forming a palistrophe with a chiasmic structure drawing the attention to its centre, that is, the defeat of the king of Gezer in 10:33abc (Boling, *Joshua*, 294; Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 226; Idem, 'The <Conquest> of the South [Jos 10,28-39]', *BZ NF* 39 [1995], 256-60; K.A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids, MI 2003, 170-1). This however, is not substantiated by decisive parallels between A (10:28a-e), B (10:29a-30d), C (10:31a-32d) and A' (10:34a-35c), B' (10:36a-37d), and C' (10:38a-39g) (cf. Lohfink, 'Geschichtstypologisch orientierte Textstrukturen', 145)

inhabitants of Makedah (10:28a-e), Libnah (10:29a-30d), Lachish (10:31a-33c), Eglon (10:34a-35c), Hebron (10:36a-37d), and Debir (10:38a-39g), while at Lachish king Hoham of Gezer and his army are also defeated and killed (10:33abc).<sup>223</sup> The meaning and ideological implications of the geography of this 'southern sweep' have been studied in detail in section 3.2. Now it is important to look at the means used by the narrative to report the total destruction. Despite all kind of variations, eight of them can be observed. Joshua and Israel

- a. lay siege to a city (חָנָה, 10:31b, 34b)
- b. wage war on it (לָחַם, *ni.*, 10:29b, 31c, 34c, 36b, 38b)
- c. YHWH hands it over to them (נָתַן בְּיָד, 10:30a, 32a)<sup>224</sup>
- d. they capture it (לָכַד, 10:28a, 32b, 35a, 37a, 39a)
- e. kill its inhabitants and king (נָכַד, 10:28b, 30b, 32c, 33b, 35b, 37b, 39b)
- f. devote them to destruction (חָרַם, *hi.*, 10:28c, 35c, 37d, 39c)
- g. leave no survivors (שָׂאֵר, *hi.*, 10:28d, 30c, 33c, 37c, 39d)
- h. do to the city, the inhabitants and king as to the other cities, inhabitants, kings and villages (כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְ, 10:28e, 30d, 32d, 35c, 39efg)

This list confirms that there exists a third group of terms depicting different aspects of the elimination of the inhabitants of the land besides the terminology regarding the supplanting of the nations and the verbs describing the settlement. The main theme of this group of expressions is the aggression needed to conquer the promised land directed against three objects: the kings who decided to join forces against Israel (9:1a-2c, cf. 10:1a-5e), the inhabitants of the country who are to be eliminated, and the cities and villages that should be taken. The text is highly-redundant in its extensive repetition of the diverse phrases, but also very flexible in varying the subjects and objects of the different verbs in the reports.<sup>225</sup>

This compositional technique is well-known in the ancient Near East. Conquest accounts in all kind of literature repeatedly refer to laying siege of cities, attacks and killing of the enemy. Especially the Middle- and Neo-Assyrian annalistic annals and display texts as they exist from the time of Tiglath-Pileser I (11th century BCE) contain an enormous amount of verbal extensions denoting that the land or enemy is 'razed', 'destroyed', 'cut', 'killed', 'inflicted a defeat', 'massacred', 'scattered' or 'captured'. The texts sometimes ignore the actual combat or the return journey, but the subsequent massacre is ceaselessly de-

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and also does not fit the function of the stative temporal deictic אָז in 10:33a, which clearly refers to the situation at Lachish (cf. *WO* § 39.3.1h).

<sup>223</sup> For the use of the verbs עָבַר, עָלָה and שָׁיַב in 10:29a, 31a, 34a, 36a, 38a, see section 3.2.

<sup>224</sup> For detailed comments on this element, see section 4.3.

<sup>225</sup> See e.g. the variations in the use of the elements: Makedah (d, e, f, g, h); Libnah (b, c, e, g, h); Lachish (a, b, c, d, e, h, e); Eglon (a, b, d, e, f, h); Hebron (b, d, e, g, h, f); Debir (b, d, e, f, g, h).

scribed. The reason for this is that the rhetoric of destruction most effectively communicates the ideology of terror of the Assyrian value system, and extensively celebrates the self-legitimization of Assyria as a unique, hegemonic power.<sup>226</sup> Hittite annals from the 17th and 14th century BCE place less emphasis on the 'ideology of terror', but also contain reports of aggression in an iterative form, while the literary device of the hyperbole plays a substantial part in the Egyptian 18th and 19th dynasty reports regarding violent behaviour.<sup>227</sup> Finally, an interesting parallel describing the conquest of cities is found in the 14th century BCE letters of the Canaanite king Mayarzana of Hasi in the Beqa Valley who had lost a series of royal (i.e. Egyptian) cities.<sup>228</sup> The iterative style in the description of these conquests and the use of the Akkadian verb *epešū* are easily associated with the repetitions and the use of the verb עָשָׂה (element h) in Joshua 10:18a-39g. But this parallel does not, as is sometimes suggested, reflect a common West Semitic pattern in describing the conquest of cities.<sup>229</sup> Still, it is possible to draw a few conclusions from the similarity with extra-biblical military texts. The report of a conquest in an irregular repetitive form, as is the case in Joshua 10:28a-39g, was very common in the ancient Near East. Texts from the whole region dating from the second as well as the first millennium BCE use the same techniques and arrangements. Consequently, the fashion of the paragraphs as a list is to be considered in the interpretation of the passage. Its telescoping nature, for instance, means that there is no conflict between the execution of the king of Hebron in 10:26a and the report of his death in 10:37bc. The latter only utilizes the former for a special summarizing account. In addition, the existence of pre-Israelite people in later chapters and in the Book of Judges does not contradict the report that Joshua and Israel left no survivors and did not spare anything that breathes, because similar expressions can also be found in, for instance, the annals of Murshili II, the Gebal Barkal Stela of Thutmose III, the Merneptah Stela, the Moabite Stone of king Mesha and in the Chicago Prism of Sennacherib. So in its own historical context, this biblical element (g) clearly has to be understood as a hyperbole.<sup>230</sup> Finally, a remark has to be made concerning the variations in the repetition of the ele-

<sup>226</sup> Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 62-124, esp. 65-6, 75-7, 124. See also the chapter 'Terror in the Exercise of Empire: Coercion and Conformity', in: S.W. Holloway, *Aššur is King! Aššur is King!* (CHANE, 10), Leiden etc. 2002, 81-216.

<sup>227</sup> Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 125-63, 165-94.

<sup>228</sup> EA 185-186. For a translation, see Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 265-8.

<sup>229</sup> Thus R.S. Hess, 'The Mayarzana Correspondence. Rhetoric and Conquest Accounts', *UF 30* (1998), 335-54, followed by Kitchen, *On the Reliability*, 171-2. Hess bases his conclusion on three grounds: geographical proximity, a similar description of each city in a few sentences, and the use of the third in stead of the first person. The first argument, however, could be a coincidence, while the third is given with the fact that Mayarzana describes a conquest of others. So only the second reason is relevant, but it is not possible to draw any conclusion from this similarity as long as it is not compared to the other parallels.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 227-8, 244; Idem, 'Conquest of the South', 261.

ments. It is possible that certain concrete dissimilarities in the repetition have a meaning. The fourth, fifth and sixth paragraph of 10:28a-39g, for instance, contain substantial more plurals and the last paragraph is not only elaborate in its use of elements, but also in its references to other cities. So it could be possible that the passage as a whole comes to a climax in the description of the conquest of Debir.<sup>231</sup> But what is more important is the message that is communicated by the redundant use of the diverse elements as a whole.

Most fascinating in this respect is element h, the formula **כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְ**, which clearly recapitulates the elements a-g. Previous research called this element the **כַּאֲשֶׁר-Formel** and its frequent attestation in the retelling of the conquest of Transjordan in Deuteronomy 1–3 and in the Book of Joshua *eine geschichtstypologische Reihe*.<sup>232</sup> On the one hand, the formula clearly interacts with passages reporting or ordering Israel to act according to the commands of YHWH, Moses or Joshua. Such expressions are numerous throughout the Old Testament, in which the observance of YHWH's commandments is an indispensable topic (cf. Deut. 5:32). Some of these orders regard the conquest and settlement of the promised land. Moses, for instance, should do to king Og as he did to Sihon (Num. 21:34), and Joshua should do to Ai and its king as he did to Jericho and its king (8:2).<sup>233</sup> So the variations and repetitions of the **כַּאֲשֶׁר-Formel** highlight the observance of YHWH's commandments. Or as 11:15abc puts it: 'As YHWH commanded his servant Moses, so Moses commanded Joshua, and Joshua did it; he left nothing undone of all that YHWH commanded Moses'. On the other hand, the formula functions in the historiography of the settlement as a typology of God's actions in history: what YHWH has done to Egypt, the Red Sea, the Rephaites, the Horites, and to Sihon and Og, he also does to Cisjordan and its inhabitants and kings.<sup>234</sup> In this way, the formula perfectly fits the picture of the successor territories in the historiography of the conquest.<sup>235</sup> Therefore, the consequent repetition in 10:28a-39g of the **כַּאֲשֶׁר-Formel** also highlights the universal character of YHWH as a unique God, who as a ruler of the world is able to accomplish the awesome deeds of exodus and conquest (cf. Deut. 4:34). Accordingly, it is this God who deserves total dedication and who will do to Israel what he did to the other nations if it denies his grace.<sup>236</sup>

<sup>231</sup> Cf. Lohfink, 'Geschichtstypologisch orientierte Textstrukturen', 148-9.

<sup>232</sup> Deut. 1:30; 2:12, 20-22, 28-29; 3:2, 6, 21, cf. 7:18-19; 31:4; Josh. 8:2; 10:1c, 28e, 30d, 32d, 35c, 39efg; 11:9a; 14:5. For the terms, see Perlitt, *Deuteronomium*, 233; Lohfink, 'Geschichtstypologisch orientierte Textstrukturen', 135.

<sup>233</sup> See also 1:7; 4:8; 23:8; Num. 32:25; 36:10; Deut. 2:12; 3:2; 34:9.

<sup>234</sup> 4:23; Deut. 1:30; 2:20-22; 3:21. Cf. Deut. 7:17-19.

<sup>235</sup> See section 3.4, 'Conquered Transjordan' and 3.5 'Remaining Land'.

<sup>236</sup> Num. 33:56; Deut. 7:4, 26. Lohfink, 'Geschichtstypologisch orientierte Textstrukturen', 138-47, who also points to Amos 9:7 for a similar statement. According to Lohfink, the *geschichtstypologische Reihe* in Joshua and Deuteronomy has a structure of 7+1 and 1+7. To construe this symmetry, however, he not only has to exclude 1:7,

So in due course, a subtle interplay between the human and the divine defines the rhetoric of the conquest of the south. It is YHWH's aid that finds its utmost illustration in the divine obedience to a human being and Israel's ongoing elimination of the kings and their people ultimately exemplifies the divine determination to fulfil the promise of the land.

### Laws of Warfare

A final question to be answered is how the detailed descriptions of the conquest of the land and the elimination of its inhabitants are related to the legislative texts regarding warfare, in particular to Deuteronomy 20:10-20.<sup>237</sup> The story of the conquest of Cisjordan is obviously closely related to YHWH's commands concerning the conquest of the land. The prohibition not to make any treaty with the pre-Israelite nations highly affects the narrative of the trickery of the Gibeonites.<sup>238</sup> In addition the order to supplant and eliminate these nations is frequently referred to in the summarizing accounts of the conquest of south and north (10:40a-42c; 11:12a-15d, 16a-23c). At the same time it also determines the stereotype language and phraseology of the preceding stories concerning the conquest of south and north (10:1a-10d, 28a-39g; 11:1a-11c) and the following passages regarding the inheriting of the promised land (12:1a-24b; 13:1a-7b).<sup>239</sup> Other passages appear to be familiar with some of the laws in the Book of Deuteronomy: the remark concerning the task of the Gibeonites to serve 'the assembly and the altar of YHWH at the place he would choose' (9:27bcd) refers to the law exemplifying the exceptional character of YHWH's cult (Deut. 12:5); the description of the killing of the five kings and the hanging of their corpses on trees (10:26a-27f) contains allusions to the law on the man who is guilty of a capital offence (Deut. 21:22-23); and the hamstringing of the horses and burning of the chariots of the Canaanite coalition (11:6de) can be linked to the law of the king (Deut. 17:16).<sup>240</sup> In these cases the story is never a direct application of the law, since the perspective of the legislative texts is clearly directed at people having already settled the land instead of conquering it. Deuteronomy 12 eventually hints at the cult in the temple in Jerusalem, the man hung on a tree is not an enemy, but one who has committed a capital crime, and the negative comments on royal chariotry occur in a series

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4:8, 23:8 and Deut. 4:34; 7:18-19, but also the abovementioned related texts in the Book of Numbers.

<sup>237</sup> The laws of warfare are found in Deut. 20:1-20; 21:10-14; 23:9-15; 24:5. Cf. A. Rofé, 'The Laws of Warfare in the Book of Deuteronomy', *JSOT* 32 (1985), 23-44. The practice of war in the historiography of the settlement, however, primarily alludes to Deut. 20:10-20: לַפִּי-בַחֲרֹב (8:24; 10:30b, 32c, 35b, 37b, 39b; 11:11a, 12b, Judg. 1:8, 25; cf. Deut. 20:13); חָרֵם (6:21; 8:26; 10:1b, 28c, 35c, 37d, 39c, 40d; 11:11a, 12b, 20b, 21e; Num. 21:3; Deut. 2:34; 3:6; Judg. 1:17, cf. Deut. 20:17); כָּל-יְשֻׁמָּה (11:11b, see 11:14c, cf. Deut. 20:16).

<sup>238</sup> See section 4.1.

<sup>239</sup> See the sections 3.2-3.4 and 4.4.

<sup>240</sup> See section 4.1, 4.2, 3.3 and 4.3.

of prescriptions regarding the king of Israel. So the conquest account of the Book of Joshua is clearly related to Deuteronomy 12—26, but this relation is never unambiguous and clear-cut.

A similar pattern can be observed with respect to the links to Deuteronomy 20:10-20. This passage contains prescriptions concerning the treatment of the conquered foe and laying siege to an enemy city (Deut. 20:10-14, 19-20). They protest in a casuistic style against two common practices in the ancient Near East, that is, an attack on a city without previous negotiations and the destruction of the environment during a siege.<sup>241</sup> These prohibitions reflect a concern with limiting unbridled soldier's brutality, like in Deuteronomy 21:10-14 in which it is prohibited to rape a female captive of war. Additionally the demand in the passage for diplomatic efforts, for the status of the *corvée* of the subjected nations, and the mentioning of construction during siege warfare presuppose the existence of a polity of sedentary people using political, administrative and military structures, trying to subject its neighbours and developing a *pax israelitica*.<sup>242</sup> However, the verses between the two prohibitions command the merciless elimination of the indigenous nations (Deut. 20:16-18). They stress the unique position of these people, highlight the fact that the land still has to be conquered and take the rhetorical stance of the Book of Deuteronomy, namely as a speech of Moses in the plains of Moab. Many scholars consider this difference as a clear indication of the latter command being a later insertion.<sup>243</sup> This could well be the case, because the passage indeed takes a sidestep breaking the continuity of the chapter. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that from a synchronic perspective Deuteronomy 20 as a whole is a well-considered composition in which verse 15 plays a key role. It not only concludes 10-14 by stating that the diplomatic approach is limited to cities that are at a distance, but also functions as a hinge to the verses 16-18 by adding the comment that the nations nearby are excluded.<sup>244</sup> Remarkably, an awareness of this balanced view in the laws of warfare concerning the distant as well as the nearby nations was also observed in comments on Joshua 9:1—13:7 as presented above. The fact that none of the cities in Cisjordan made peace with Israel, only the Hivites in Gibeon (11:19ab), raises the practical question what

<sup>241</sup> For numerous attestations of these practices in texts and reliefs, see E. Noort, 'Das Kapitulationsangebot im Kriegsgesetz Dtn 20:10ff. und in den Kriegserzählungen', in: F. García Martínez *et al.* (eds), *Studies in Deuteronomy* (VTS, 53), Leiden etc. 1994, 209-16.

<sup>242</sup> According to Rofé, the text presupposes *realia* that are not cited in the books of Samuel and Kings prior to the description of the reigns of David and Solomon. Wijngaards, however, argues in favour of a sedentary, non-monarchic situation, because 20:10-20 would reflect Israel's struggle with the Canaanite enclaves in the Jezreel Valley. Rofé, 'Laws of Warfare', 36; J.N.M. Wijngaards, *Deuteronomium* (BOT), Roermond 1971, 1, 219. See also section 4.2, the excursus 'Forced Labour'.

<sup>243</sup> E.g. Rofé, 'Laws of Warfare', 28-9; Noort, 'Kapitulationsangebot', 216-20.

<sup>244</sup> C.J. Labuschagne, *Deuteronomium* (POT), dl. 2, Nijkerk 1990, 159. Similar remarks, but just the other way around, namely looking forward to the situation being settled, can be found in e.g. Deut. 12:21; 14:24.

Israel must do in cases the peace-offer is not allowed. Looking back at the conquest of the cities, the text answers this question by the statement that YHWH hardened their hearts (11:20abc, cf. Deut. 20:12). Additionally, Joshua's punishment of the Gibeonites appeared to be an adjusted application of the law on forced labour, namely that subjugated people from abroad will serve as slaves (9:21bc, cf. 9:14b; Deut. 20:11).<sup>245</sup>

A final issue to be considered is whether the remarks in 11:12a-15d regarding the booty are in harmony with the law. This passage contains several terminological resemblances to the command to eliminate the pre-Israelite nations.<sup>246</sup> Although some scholars argue that 11:13ab does not focus on Hazor, but on other cities, because the lines preceded by קָר describe something that is a clear violation of Moses' commandments.<sup>247</sup> Additionally, the report in 11:14a concerning the plunder that was taken, does not seem to be in accordance with YHWH's commands regarding the booty before the conquest of Jericho, where it is stated that all has to be devoted to destruction (6:17-19).<sup>248</sup> With respect to 11:13ab, however, it must be noted that adverb קָר is a restrictive adverb, but that it depends on the context whether this has to be understood in an adversative way or not.<sup>249</sup> Here, the taking of booty in 11:14a is paralleled by what happened to Ai and to the cities of Sihon and Og (8:27; Deut. 2:35; 3:7).<sup>250</sup> Moreover, the exceptional devotion of all booty commanded for Jericho was not applied by YHWH in his message concerning the destruction of Ai (8:2, cf. Deut. 20:14). Accordingly, the Israelites take booty from the cities, that is, goods and livestock, as they had done previously. The fact that Deuteronomy 20:16-18 only refers to people means that there is no conflict with these verses. So with respect to the treatment of the cities, their inhabitants and kings in 11:12a-15d, Joshua and Israel simply execute the law.

As a result, the description of the conquest of the land as offered in Joshua 9:1—13:7 cannot be viewed as a clear-cut illustration of the Law of Warfare as presented in Deuteronomy 20:10-20. The story is told along its own lines. The treaty with the Hivites from Gibeon and the divine guidance in the conquest of the land create tensions and possibilities that do not rise from the Law of Warfare. At the same time, however, the story is clearly in harmony with the law,

<sup>245</sup> See the sections 3.4, 4.3, and 4.1.

<sup>246</sup> See note 237.

<sup>247</sup> Hawk, *Every Promise Fulfilled*, 45-6, cf. Butler, *Joshua*, 129.

<sup>248</sup> H. Ringgren, חָרַב, *ThWAT*, Bd. 1, 586, cf. Görg, *Josua*, 53.

<sup>249</sup> *WO* § 39.3.5. See also section 3.3., 'Summary'.

<sup>250</sup> See also Num. 31:9 (בָּיִז); Josh. 22:8; Num. 31:11, 12; Deut. 20:14 (שָׁלַל); Josh. 8:2; Num. 31:9, 11, 26; Deut. 20:14 (בְּהֵמָה). The extraordinary devotion of all booty is only required and violated in 6:18-19; 7:21; Deut. 13:16-17; and 1 Sam. 15. The ordinary devotion of people is violated in Num. 31:1-24, the story about the war with the Midianites, although there, the virgins are excluded from extermination. As a result, the taking of booty in 11:14a is not as problematic as Hawk, *Joshua*, 172, suggests.

for it not only tells about the elimination of the pre-Israelite nations, but it is also aware of its ideal of a human treatment of possible vassal-cities.

#### 4.5 WARFARE AND IDEOLOGY

The practice of battle and war often comprises a military force trying to beat an opponent, to conquer a territory or to establish a certain political order. It always occurs for some political, economic or religious reasons. In this light it cannot be a surprise that the description of the Prussian soldier and intellectual Carl von Clausewitz of war as a continuation of politics by other means has become a famous saying in the reflection on war and strategy. One of the important implications of this observation is that neutral descriptions of battles do not exist, because politics and religion are always involved. This is the reality of twenty-first century CE watchers of the evening news not getting an objective answer to the question to what extent the 'war on terror' is a real war or the creation of a society justifying the violence that is executed to sustain its grip on a region vital for the international energy business. But it was even truer for the citizens of the ancient world. In general, information was sparse, the perspective of the suppressed almost never reached the audience and the texts and pictures representing the battles that did survive tell a story about cautious and fearful defenders who ignore the rules of war and pre-arrange their escape, but are already condemned by the gods. They tell about heroic attackers who are bold and courageous, who do not care for the danger, enjoy divine assistance and just win. Even if a battle was not won, this scheme was applied, as can, for instance, be observed in the Karnak Temple in Luxor and in the memorial temple in Medinet Habu, both in Egypt. The first contains a propagandistic presentation of the conduct of pharaoh Ramses II at the battle of Kadesh against the Hittites dating from the first half of the 13th century BCE. In fact the Hittites did not lose, succeeded to drive out the invading army and made a parity-treaty with Egypt. Accordingly, the records report that the cowardly conduct of the army caused some inner problems. Nevertheless, Ramses II wins and the Hittites ask for life and peace. Even more bombastic is the second report, about a century later, concerning the battle of Ramses III against the Sea Peoples. Here, historiographers facing the decline of the New Kingdom had to adapt the traditional celebrative pattern to the fact that the Egyptians were not the attackers, but the defenders. As a result, their reports do not contradict this reality, but the annihilation of the enemies and the restored security after the invasion is insisted in such a way that there can be no doubt that Ramses III could celebrate a glorious victory.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> See e.g. K.A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 53-64; A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (YNER, 9), New Haven, London 1982, 153-73; S.C. Heinz, *Die Feldzugdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches. Eine Bildanalyse* (ÖAWDG, 18), Wien 2001, 44-50, 53-6. Cf. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 178-9.

### **Ideological Patterns**

These observations lead to the conclusion that ancient conquest accounts and representations of battles not only are ideological in nature, but also reflect certain patterns in their literary forms as well as in the ideas they are communicating. In his analysis of Late Bronze representations of war and alliance Mario Liverani offers a clear example of how political relations in the ancient Near East were translated ideologically. In a centralized ideology as it existed in Egypt and Assyria, war is always a one-way activity. There is a huge qualitative gap between the ruler of the world and the chaotic enemies. The opponents are countless, but inferior and no coalition can prevail against the heroic king. In this view, conquest is a kind of cosmic organization, peace is the same as submission and the recreation of rest and order, escape is an intermediate passage to punishment or to disappearance from the known world. Besides, the elimination of the enemy is nothing but the execution of war as lawsuit, because hostility is always rebellion. Consequently killing is better than taking prisoners, destruction better than taking booty and complete devastation better than exploitation. This war is almost an ordalic procedure, already foreseen by the gods, so that in fact no real battle takes place. What counts is the reestablishment of the cosmic order and strikingly, the basic point of this order is legitimacy, that is, the legitimacy of the king who is known as a ruler of the world by his epithets and demonstrates his power by a campaign at the beginning of his reign. Of course, there are more perspectives available. The presence of other major powers, the frequent and inevitable existence of peace-treaties created symmetrical ideologies too. Moreover, vassals had in practice a maximum of freedom in local activities, despite the total character of their oath. Therefore, their ideology is seldom imperialistic and the reward for this submission is peace and life. Nevertheless, the overall picture – not only in the Late Bronze Age, but also in later periods – is that of an ideology fitting the picture of section 3.6, that is, one of maximizing the spin of war and alliance in order to emphasize the restoration of order and to glorify the conqueror, whether he is the ruler of a city, a region, a country or the world.<sup>252</sup>

Having taken a look at some passages describing the conquest of Cisjordan, the evidence collected in this chapter reveals that several of the compositional techniques used to serve the abovementioned ideas also occur in Joshua 9:1–13:7. The enemy is portrayed as a fearful, but countless coalition, thus suggesting that the ratio of the battle is unfair, for it is many against one; yet, making a treaty by deceitful behaviour is the only option Gibeon has left to save its life; YHWH's help in battle is highlighted; the escape of the leaders of the Amorite coalition is told to elaborate on their punishment; and finally, elimination seems to be the exclusive way to deal with the rebels. At the same time, it has to be noted that the interpretative framework of Joshua 9:1–13:7 deeply influences the account of conquest and settlement. In section 3.6 this account turned out to be a story that puts YHWH in the centre of the attention. He fulfils

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<sup>252</sup> Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 116-202.

the promise of the land in Israel's conquest. The descriptions of success and failure primarily highlight his role. In addition, human beings only get compliments when they obey God's commands, while even the incompleteness of the conquest of the land is to be related to the themes of divine promise and human responsibility. Strikingly, a similar pattern occurs in answering the question how the remaining passages, analysed in this chapter, fit within this framework. The plot of the narrative on the trickery of Gibeon in 9:4a-27d appeared to be concerned with the issue how the contradiction between YHWH's command not to make any treaty and the promise to its citizens is to be solved. This is being underlined in the sympathetic portrait of the delegation, in the explicit comment of the narrator in 9:14c and by the concluding statement of 9:27a-d, where the danger of idolatry is sketched as being averted and turned into a positive effect by letting the Hivites serve as woodcutters and water carriers for the house of God.<sup>253</sup> Moreover, the passage as a whole clearly functions as a means to highlight YHWH's direction in the conquest of the land, for the ruse of Gibeon opens the gate to Cisjordan by creating the possibility for a massive confrontation with the Amorites in the south. The apparent folly of the alliance is the start of a chain reaction of events leading to a decisive victory.

This ironic reversal is drawn attention to in the oracles of YHWH to Joshua, especially in the one of 10:8a-d. But it is even more highlighted in the conspicuous remark of 11:20a-c, which reveals the divine plan behind the concrete skirmishes: YHWH hardened the hearts of the inhabitants of Cisjordan, because he wanted to destroy them.<sup>254</sup> The story about the kings of the Amorite coalition in the cave of Makkedah in 10:16a-27f reports this elimination in detail. But it also stresses YHWH's fulfilment of the promise of the land, as becomes clear from Joshua's comment elucidating their punishment.<sup>255</sup> In its turn, the following passage in 10:28a-39g describing the conquest of the cities in the south focuses on the other side of the relation between God and Israel: it reports in detail how Joshua and Israel observe the law in eliminating the pre-Israelite nations. Finally, YHWH's position as a unique god is most prominent in his violent epiphany in battle as depicted in 10:10a-14c. The God who is giving the promised land to his people turns out to be King of the universe.

### **'Royal' Historiography**

A closer look shows that the interpretative or ideological perspective of the conquest of Cisjordan also colours the use of well-known *topoi* in extra-biblical reports of battle and conquest. The terminology of treaty in Joshua 9 perfectly fits the ordinary political framework of diplomatic affairs in the ancient Near East of the second and first millennium BCE. At the same time, however, the same expressions underline the tension in the relation between YHWH and Is-

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<sup>253</sup> See section 4.1.

<sup>254</sup> See section 4.3, 'Oracles' and 'Hardening of Hearts'.

<sup>255</sup> See section 4.2.

rael.<sup>256</sup> The oracles and the use of the *Übergabeformel* are a common feature in non-biblical letters, annals and stelae. But in Joshua they occur without being totally annexed by royal ideology.<sup>257</sup> In his epiphany in the battle at Gibeon, YHWH throws the enemy into fear and he is portrayed by descriptions that are typical for the ancient Near Eastern warrior storm-god. The passage probably even makes use of the convention to contract a remarkable military event to one day. But at the same time this God appears as the Creator of heaven and earth, who is Lord of the heavenly bodies and reduces the gods to created members of his heavenly host.<sup>258</sup> Joshua's object teaching in his humiliation and impalement of the five Amorite kings and in the making of a memorial heap resembles other reports concerning the capture and killing of hostile rulers. But the story also confirms that YHWH continues the fulfilment of his promises.<sup>259</sup> Finally, the repetitive section on the conquest of cities in southern Cis-jordan and the elimination of their inhabitants is clearly paralleled by the iterative style and stereotypical phrasing of extra-biblical conquest accounts. The use of  $\square\text{ר}\square$  as a devotion to destruction is even found in a similar way in the Mesha Stela. But the command to assassinate a specific group of nations and the collection of three groups of verbal expressions depicting in a subtle way the different aspects of the supplanting of the nations, the aggression that is needed and the settlement of the conquered territory is only found in the historiography of the settlement.<sup>260</sup>

This enumeration makes it clear that the material from selected passages in the Book of Joshua is scarce and diverse in nature. Besides, the parallels creating the interpretative context differ in many ways. This makes it hard to produce additional evidence characterizing the ideological nature of the composition as was done with respect to the geographical descriptions in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, an overall pattern can be observed concerning two conclusions that were drawn in section 3.6. On the one hand the Book of Joshua undeniably shows familiarity with the canons of ancient Near Eastern royal historiography. In some sense it can even be stated that it contains an 'ideology of terror' because of it communicates a kind of 'calculating frightfulness'.<sup>261</sup> But on the other hand the contention is also strongly confirmed that the message communicated by the historiography of the settlement is not as royal as that of non-biblical texts. Both sets of texts present a god who fulfils a promise made to people or a king. The conquest of territory can even be described as a divine

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<sup>256</sup> See section 4.1, 'Making a Treaty'.

<sup>257</sup> See section 4.3, 'Oracles'.

<sup>258</sup> See section 4.3, 'Panic and Fear' and 'Violent Epiphany'.

<sup>259</sup> See section 4.2.

<sup>260</sup> See section 4.4, which also shows that similar remarks could be made concerning the Law of Warfare in Deut. 20:10-20. Cf. Noort, 'Kapitulationsangebot', 215-6: 'Poin-tiert gesagt: Dtn 20:10-14 sind so etwas wie eine Haager Konvention, 20:15ff, wie un-vergleichlich die Kategorien teilweise auch sein mogen, passt zu den Darstellungen wie wir sie aus der Umwelt kennen'.

<sup>261</sup> Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 233-4.

gift.<sup>262</sup> But the relation between the conqueror and the divine figure, and therefore the position of the ruler and the character of the divine figure – all important elements in defining the ideology of a conquest account – are different. The pharaoh of Egypt not only represents god, he is also his incarnation. His grace is the grace of god. He is the owner of the breath of his vassals.<sup>263</sup> In Mesopotamia the picture is more complicated, because the king is clearly submitted to the gods. But a look at the communication between the king and his overlord and at the presentation of his military accomplishments reveals the royal ideology of the texts. Their central message is not to point at its divine origin but at the common depiction of the king and his learned men of the royal court as the legitimate place of knowledge. All kind of literary motifs are used to present the ruler in particular as the one who has been given the divine knowledge. In the Neo-Assyrian period the self-presentation in the acquaintance with the gods was also important for establishing his position to the leading circle in the country.<sup>264</sup>

So in Egypt as well as in Mesopotamia conquest accounts and even oracles and divine messages stood entirely in service of the ruler. In the historiography of the conquest and settlement this is not the case. There it is YHWH who is at the centre of the attention. Joshua is less prominent as a leader, while the text also emphasizes that he and Israel can only be successful if they are obedient to God and led by YHWH's direction. Of course this has to do with the reality that Israel was never in the position to develop a centralized or symmetrical ideology.<sup>265</sup> But it also has to do with religion. YHWH is portrayed as a unique, universal God who does not automatically legitimate Israel's leader.<sup>266</sup> Consequently, the historiographers lauding his greatness take a critical stance to-

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<sup>262</sup> For examples, see Niehaus, 'Joshua and Ancient Near Eastern Warfare', 39-42; Hoffmeier, 'Structure of Joshua 1-11', 175.

<sup>263</sup> Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 146; Noort, 'Kapitulationsangebot', 219. For an overview, see R.J. Leprohon, 'Royal Ideology and State Administration in Pharaonic Egypt', *CANE*, vol. 1, 273-82.

<sup>264</sup> B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien. Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr.* (SAAS, 10), Helsinki 1999, 296, 309-20. Cf. Niehaus, 'Joshua and Ancient Near Eastern Warfare', 45-8; Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 152-3; W.G. Lambert, 'Kingship in Ancient Mesopotamia', in: J. Day (ed.), *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (JSOTS, 370), Sheffield 1998, 66-9; Holloway, *Aššur is King!*, 178-93.

<sup>265</sup> Not only Israel's minor position between Egypt and Mesopotamia, but also the subtle play of Joshua 9:1—13:7 with warfare and geography as observed above and in section 3.6 make it impossible to speak of a 'centrist ideology' in Joshua 1—12, as is done by R.S. Hess, 'Joshua 1-12 as a Centrist Document', in: M. Augustin, K.D. Schunck (eds), *"Dort ziehen Schiffe dahin..."* (BEATAJ, 28), Frankfurt 1996, 53-67.

<sup>266</sup> For this reason, the application of the politically oriented observations of Michel Foucault on power to Book of Joshua by Rowlett is unable to uncover its ideology. By ignoring religion Rowlett comes to the unjustified conclusion that the book is primarily concerned with the voluntarily submission of the inhabitants of Judah to the set of rules and norms of Josiah. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 12-5, 181-3.

wards the ruler and his people, an attitude that is not quite often observed in the ancient Near East.

This observation leads to a final question: who were these historiographers and in what context did they develop their ideological attitude? So far this and the preceding chapter only spoke of an 'implied narrator' because of the synchronic nature of the analysis of the text. According to section 3.6 the ideas of this implied narrator are to be connected with the historiography of the Davidic kingdom, because of a complex of geographical parallels and the emphasis of the text on the transfer of leadership. Chapter 4 adds a few similar indications to this. In 9:27a-d and 10:27e-f the text offers two striking references to the time of the narrator by the phrase 'until this day'. The last one links a memorial heap to the environment of the text, but does not contain any further information.<sup>267</sup> The former, however, places the corvée of the Hivites in the framework of the future *pax israelitica* of Deuteronomy 20 and associates them with the forced labour as it was organized by David and Solomon in the books of Samuel and Kings. Besides the task of the Hivites in the 'house of God' and at 'the place he (= YHWH) would choose' relates the story to YHWH's sanctuary in Gibeon as it is known from the stories about Solomon and the temple built by him.<sup>268</sup> Two other passages contain indirect hints in the same direction: the remark to the sole source that the text refers to, 'the book of the upright one' (10:13e), is paralleled by a verse quoting David's lament on the deaths of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:18); and the report about Joshua's hamstringing of the horses of the Canaanite coalition (11:6d, 9b) finds its parallel in the way David deals with the horses of Hadadezer, king of Rehob (2 Sam. 8:4).<sup>269</sup>

So the implied narrator obviously associates the fulfilment of the promise of the land with the kingdom of David and Solomon. Accordingly, the historical issue of the identity of the historiographers can indeed not be solved without answering the question of the relation between the historiography of the conquest and settlement and that of the Davidic kingdom. That, however, is the subject of the next chapter about Joshua 9:1—13:7 and its literary development.

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<sup>267</sup> See section 4.2.

<sup>268</sup> See section 4.1, 'The Trickery Discovered and Resolved' and the excursus 'Forced Labour'.

<sup>269</sup> See section 4.3, 'Oracles'.

## CHAPTER 5 – JOSHUA 9:1—13:7 AND ITS LITERARY DEVELOPMENT

### 5.1 LITERARY CRITICISM

The preceding chapters presented a comprehensive synchronic interpretation of Joshua 9:1—13:7. As stated in section 1.2, a reading of the text adopting the text's worldview as an interpretative strategy is necessary before formulating a hypothesis concerning its antiquarian intent. Now this is completed, the next step is to study the historiography of the settlement as something 'to look through'. This means to reconstruct the expectations and beliefs of the text's community, to formulate hypotheses concerning its antiquarian intent or anti-quarianism, that is, the use of sources and the history of traditions, and to define the nature of its historical truth-claim. Section 1.2 also revealed that such an interpretation cannot ignore previous scholarship. The history of interpretation of the Book of Joshua offers all kind of ideas concerning the provenance of the book. Especially modern biblical studies as they developed from the 18th century CE onwards worked out numerous detailed hypotheses concerning the growth and the religious-historical background of the text. These proposals need to be evaluated. Two major problems, however, complicate this evaluation.

Firstly, it has to be noted that the proposed diachronic analyses of the book of Joshua depend not only in general, but also in detail on the historical study of the Pentateuch and of the books of Genesis – 2 Kings. This fact asks for a diachronic examination of Joshua 9:1—13:7 on its own terms, so that this issue can be dealt with critically. Nevertheless, it should be unwise to neglect the allusions to the wider context in Joshua and to other books. Therefore it is unavoidable to make some comments on the Book of Joshua as a whole and on its relation with other biblical passages.

Although, at the same time – and that is the second problem – it is very difficult to make such comments, because the diachronic study of Genesis – 2 Kings experiences a severe crisis. The classical Documentary Hypothesis is seen as theologically and philosophically biased, illogical and self-contradictory. The criteria it is built upon do no justice to the repetition and the stylistic variation so characteristic for Hebrew narrative. The crucial hinge of the theory – the identification of (part of) the Book of Deuteronomy with the Book of the Law found by the priest Hilkiah in 2 Kings 22 – is seriously undermined. In addition, the form critical approach is incompatible with traditional literary criticism or 'higher criticism' and does not delineate the smallest unit that can be taken as a point of departure for analysis. Finally, the most recent discussions concerning the assumed primacy of the Deuteronomist over the Yahwist and the possible Persian and Hellenistic dating of many parts of the

ongoing story from creation to the loss of land are still leaning upon previous scholarship.<sup>1</sup>

In this light, a new diachronic analysis of the text on its own terms can be a fresh start, especially when it comprises textual elements referring to second and first millennium BCE *realia* in order to oppose the circular reasoning every literary hypothesis has to deal with. Yet, even in that case it remains impossible to draw definite conclusions regarding the formation of the Book of Joshua or to formulate a complete hypothesis concerning the origin, growth and the relations between the passages of biblical historiography involved. Therefore, the sections 5.1 to 5.3 explore whether and how the observations of previous literary critical and form critical scholarship regarding Joshua 9:1—13:7 are compatible with the interpretation of the text presented in the chapters 3 and 4, while the sections 5.4 and 5.5 use the result of this evaluation and some recent reflections on the ancient Israelite historiography to formulate a new historiographical hypothesis.

### Beginnings

The modern history of interpretation of the Book of Joshua started with Wilhelm de Wette's intuition, published in 1806 CE, that the book was of a late dating, because of its mythological flavour, which in his view was also characteristic for the post-exilic Levite writing. Later in the nineteenth century, scholars tried to integrate the book in the discussion regarding the sources that in their view had shaped the Pentateuch. According to most of them the text consisted out of an old historical work with later additions from several authors. This historical work was part of a greater narrative – defined as *Grundschrift* or *Elohist* – or seen as a separate source and therefore called *Kriegsbuch*. As for Joshua 9:1—13:7, this work was at least present in 12:9a-24b and in most parts of the previous story, although some doubted whether 9:3a-27d contained a different priestly source or not. Nonetheless, the story including chapter 9 was later retold and revised by several authors adding at least the reference to the place YHWH would choose in 9:27d and parts of 10:12a-15a. The question with respect to the latest fragment was whether it had to be characterized as 'deuteronomic' or as part of a separate *Rechtsbuch*. In addition, Bishop John William Colenso's study of the Book of Joshua contributed to the

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<sup>1</sup> See the summarizing accounts of e.g. Van der Woude, Houtman and Wenham. A.S. van der Woude, 'De wordingsgeschiedenis van het Oude Testament', in: Idem (ed.), *Inleiding tot de studie van het Oude Testament*, Kampen 1986, 14-23; Th.C. Vriezen, A.S. van der Woude, *Oudisraëlitische en vroegjoodse literatuur* (Ontwerpen, 1), Kampen 2001, 121-247; C. Houtman, *Der Pentateuch. Die Geschichte seiner Erforschung neben einer Auswertung* (CBET, 9), Kampen 1995, 314-419; G.J. Wenham, 'Method in Pentateuchal Source Criticism', *VT* 41 (1991), 84-109; Idem, 'Pondering the Pentateuch. The Search for a New Paradigm', in: Baker, Arnold (eds), *Face of Old Testament Studies*, 116-144. Cf Noort, *Josua*, 59-60. For definitions of the terms 'literary criticism' and 'form criticism', see J. Barton, *Reading the Old Testament. Method in Biblical Study*, London 1984, 20.

break in the early dating of the *Grundschrift* by his suggestion that the remarks concerning the leaders of the people in chapter 9 had to be ascribed to a later layer called 'Later Legislation'.<sup>2</sup>

### *Evaluation*

From the perspective of the text, these considerations do not come as a surprise. De Wette seems to have been very intuitive in his conclusions. But the idea of an old list comprising a summary of the conquest being incorporated into a larger historical work together with a source that is even explicitly mentioned, clearly reflects the relation between 12:9a-24b and 10:12a-15a and the surrounding narratives. The critical question may be asked whether the list of chapter 12 really presupposes – as for instance Heinrich Ewald did<sup>3</sup> – stories about all the cities, and whether it is necessary to think that the reference to the 'book of the upright one' originally did not belong to the text. But it cannot be denied that these passages immediately attract the attention, as soon as the issue of the growth of the text is on the table. The situation regarding the beginning of chapter 9 is slightly different. On the one hand 9:1a-2c is related to 5:1, 10:1a-2d and 11:1a and to many other texts in Genesis – 2 Kings referring to the pre-Israelite nations, while on the other hand 9:1a-2c is not in the same way attached to the following verses, as are 5:1, 10:1a-2d and 11:1a to their chapters. This fact easily led to the conclusion that the beginning of chapter 9 is a later addition being part of an editorial framework extending over more biblical books. How this framework is characterized, however, appears to be totally dependent on the way scholars portray the editors on other grounds.<sup>4</sup> In this light, it is better to postpone the discussion regarding the editorial framework to section 5.5, when other issues have been clarified. However, for now it is important to note that the synchronic look at the lists of pre-Israelite nations in Joshua 5—11 shows that the difference between 9:1a-2c and the other attestations is intentional and makes room for the story of 9:3a-27d, which in turn

<sup>2</sup> Noort, *Josua*, 61-5.

<sup>3</sup> H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels bis Christus*, Bd. 2, Göttingen 1845, 227-9.

<sup>4</sup> The following proposals have been made: the list is a late editorial insertion, with the use of the J-source calling the inhabitants 'Canaanites' (E. Meyer, 'Kritik der Berichte über die Eroberung Palästinas', *ZAW* 1 [1881], 122-5, who is criticized by Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, 7, 52-5, 65); 'Canaanites' is J, 'Amorites' E and 'Hittites' P (J. Wellhausen, 'Die Composition des Hexateuchs', *JDT* 21 (1876), 602 [= Idem, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, Berlin 1963, 134]; Weippert, 'Kanaan', 354-5); the list is Dtr (e.g. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 13; Idem, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 57; W. Richter, *Die Bearbeitungen des "Retterbuches" in der Deuteronomischen Epoche* [BBB, 21], Bonn 1964, 40-3); the lists are Dtr in Deut. – 2 Kgs and JE with a close affinity to Dtr in Exod. – Num. (Van Seters, 'Amorite and Hittite', 69-70; Idem, 'The Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Pentateuch: The Case Against it', in: Vervenne, Lust [eds], *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature*, 311); the list is DtrN (e.g. H.C. Schmitt, 'Das spätdeuteronomistische Geschichtswerk Genesis I—2 Regum XXV und seine theologische Intention', in: J.A. Emerton [ed.], *Congress Volume Cambridge 1995* [VTS, 66], Leiden etc. 1997, 268-70).

leads to the story of chapter 10. As a result, the passages creating the compositional framework are more extended than assumed, namely, 9:1a-4a, 10:1a-5c and 11:1a-5c, and the answer to the question whether the beginning of chapter 9 is a later addition does not depend so much on these verses themselves as on the possibility to read the rest of the chapter as a story on its own.<sup>5</sup> A similar observation can be made concerning the alleged insertion of 9:27d. De Wette's identification in 1804 CE of the Book of Deuteronomy with the Book of the Law drew the attention towards the familiarity of 9:27d with the phrase 'the place YHWH will choose' in Deuteronomy and its allusions in the books of Samuel and Kings. However, this does not automatically make 9:27d an addition downgrading the role of the Gibeonite sanctuary and demanding a centralized cult in Jerusalem, for *אשר יבחר* is closely attached to 9:27b from a syntactical point of view. The term *מזבח יהוה* in 9:27b also offers a description of the cult that obviously cannot be exclusively connected to the temple in Jerusalem, a conclusion that is consistent with the use of the verb *בחר* in 9:27d, which does not denote the strive for a central cult, but merely the protest against idolatry. Moreover, 9:27a-d as a whole offers the clue to a plot that was postponed time and again by the technique of the narrational foretelling: the story tells how eventually the danger of idolatry is averted and turned into a positive effect by letting the Gibeonites serve as woodcutters and water carriers at the place YHWH would choose, in Joshua's time as well as in at least that of David and Solomon (cf. 9:27a, c).<sup>6</sup> Consequently, it is not impossible that 9:27d is a later addition. But a closer inspection reveals that the phrase is also well integrated into the story as a whole. So if the text of 9:27a-d is to be used as a hinge for a diachronic textual analysis concerning the composition of the ultimate concern of the chapter, it is more obvious that it reflects a historiographical tradition – whether dating from pre-exilic times or from the Hellenistic period – presenting the history of the cult between Joshua and Solomon as becoming gradually exclusive, than to connect the story to the great struggle in 622 BCE for the revolutionary reform of the cult as described in 2 Kings 22.

### Documentary Hypothesis

These considerations are relevant for the evaluation of the next phase in the development of literary criticism, in which the order of the four sources of the Documentary Hypothesis – eventually called J, E, D, and P – was fixed and applied to the Book of Joshua. The reason for this is as simple as straightforward: if the sources told a story about the promise of the land, they would also inform the listener or reader about the conquest as its fulfilment.<sup>7</sup> The ideas con-

<sup>5</sup> See the detailed comments on 9:1a-4a, 10:1a-5c and 11:1a-5c in the sections 3.1-3.3.

<sup>6</sup> See the detailed comments on 9:16a-27d in section 4.1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Noort, *Josua*, 73, quoting Emanuel Albers from 1891: "Der Jahvist, der Elohist, sowie der Priestercodex weisen sämtlich auf die Besitznahme Kanaans als auf die Erfüllung hin. Es ist kein Grund für die Annahme, dass die eine oder die andere Quelle ihre Erzählung vor der Erreichung dieses abgebrochen habe."

cerning the identity, language and other specific features of the assumed sources increasingly defined the diachronic analysis.

*Hollenberg, Wellhausen and Kuenen*

The first issue that dominated scholarly discussion was the question of the detection of the redactional fragments in order to isolate the previous sources. An influential proposal to define the additions by the Deuteronomist (D) was given by Johann Hollenberg in 1874. He looked at language familiar to that of the Book of Deuteronomy and at passages resembling Moses' description of the conquest of Transjordan in Deuteronomy 2—3. As a result he considered 9:8a-11d, 22a-27d; 10:8a-d, 25a-d, 27a-f, 40a-43a; parts of 11:11a-c, 13a-15d; 12:2a-6b to be D, including 12:7b and 13:6cd. In his view, 10:12a-14c also had to be D, because of its language and for the reason that Deuteronomy 2 also cites sources without understanding them. Although 10:28a-39g also looked like D according to Hollenberg, it was in his view older, because of its familiarity with Numbers 21:24, 35. Most likely, D only removed the names of the kings.<sup>8</sup>

Yet, in reaction Julius Wellhausen ascribed 10:28a-43a to D because of its language and 43a, which parallels 10:15a. Accordingly, D added 11:10a-20c to the story of 11:1\*–9c in the same way. The situation concerning some other passages was more complicated in Wellhausen's reconstruction: only part of 9:22a-27d would be D, for 9:23a-c does not fit the context, while 10:12a-14c is a later addition, since 10:13e-14b cannot be D; 10:16a-27f is also late, because it is located after the insertion of 10:15a and it elaborates on the *tyrannenhässserischen Zusätze* of 6:2 and 10:1c; and finally 11:21a-22b is a later addition, while 11:23a-c and 12:1a-8b are D. With respect to the priestly source (P) – called Q by Wellhausen – he stated that 9:15c, 17a-21c belong to this stratum.<sup>9</sup>

The classical delineation of this P- or P-like passage in Joshua 9, however, followed a few years later in the second edition of Abraham Kuenen's introduction to the Old Testament. Kuenen agreed with Wellhausen in many respects and articulated the view that D reflects the idea of the conquered land as a *tabula rasa*. In addition, he argued that 9:15c, 17a-21c, 27b were P for three reasons: 9:15c, 17a-c is not compatible with 9:16ab, 9:22a-e doubles 9:17a-21c, while נשיאים and ערה should be judged as typical P-terms. Finally, Kuenen states that 9:27c offers a needless repetition of 9:23c.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> J. Hollenberg, 'Die deuteronomischen Bestandtheile des Buches Josua', *ThStKr* 47 (1874), 467-500.

<sup>9</sup> Wellhausen, 'Composition des Hexateuchs', 593-6 (= Idem, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 125-7).

<sup>10</sup> A. Kuenen, *Historisch critisch onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds. Dl. 1. De Thora en de historische boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, Leiden <sup>2</sup>1887, 102-4, 129-32. Kuenen's literary critical view differs only in minor points from that of Wellhausen: he considers 10:8a-d being D and in his view all of chapter 11 is J, because 11:22a-22b does not fit 14:6-15, which is D. In addition, Kue-

*Meyer and Budde*

These developments in traditional literary criticism show that the picture became quite complicated. The actual situation, however, was even knottier because of a second issue in the discussion, that is, the extent and identity of the pre-deuteronomistic sources of the Yahwist (J) or Elohist (E), which were revised in the final redaction of the Jehovist (JE). Wellhausen and Kuenen had sketched a clear picture of the religious and historical background of these sources.<sup>11</sup> But in fact, they stated, they had been supplemented several times, so that a division between J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup> J<sup>3</sup> or E<sup>1</sup> E<sup>2</sup> E<sup>3</sup> was not unlikely.<sup>12</sup> Besides, there was some debate about the question whether J and E and their redactions used ancient sources. According to Eduard Meyer, there had been no tradition describing the conquest of the promised land. J took all kind of *sagenhafte Bestandteile* and stories together in his composition of Judges 1, while E did the same in the Book of Joshua. Accordingly, he reconstructed a common *Vorlage* of Joshua 13:2a-6b and Judges 3:3.<sup>13</sup> So Meyer observed a clear opposition between the local focus of Judges 1 and the violent 'all Israel'-perspective of the Book of Joshua, a view shared by Wellhausen, but not by Kuenen. The last considered J being the kernel of both Joshua and Judges 1, because it was impossible to find traces of E.<sup>14</sup> These differences inspired Karl Budde in writing an article which made clear why the primary source of Joshua could not be E. He viewed the conquest account in chapter 1—12 being incompatible with 24:11-13, which was definitely E because of the name 'Amorites' and therefore he defined three editions of J. Accordingly, a first J-layer in Joshua 9 – found in 9:4a-7c, 9a-d, 16a-d, 22b-23c and 26a-c – was based on a source that was comparable to the historical trustworthy passages in Judges 1 which were also reflected in several fragments in Joshua 13—19, while he detected another J in chapter 10—12. This second J wrote a *Roman, keine Geschichte* based on a later edition of Judges 1. Furthermore, Budde observed the additional work of the deuteronomistic editor in 9:8a-d, 10ab, 15ab, 24a-f. In chapter 10, this editor took the story of J<sup>2</sup> and made Joshua a theocratic ruler in 10:1a-11e, 12a-14c, 25a-d, 40a-42c, while the work of J<sup>3</sup> and JE could in his view be observed in 10:16a-27f and 28a-39g, 43a. The main argument to ascribe these sections to two different layers was the observation of Budde and Kuenen that the author of 10:37bc did not know 10:23a-c.<sup>15</sup>

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nen calls the pre-deuteronomistic sources J, because he can find no E, while Wellhausen consequently speaks of a 'Jehovist' redactor revising E.

<sup>11</sup> According to e.g. Kuenen, J and E worked in Israel in the 9th and 8th century BCE, while their texts were combined in JE in Judah after 650 BCE. Cf. Noort, *Josua*, 67-8.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Wellhausen, 'Composition des Hexateuchs', 584-6 (= Idem, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 116-7); Kuenen, *Historisch critisch onderzoek*, dl. 1, 329.

<sup>13</sup> Meyer, 'Kritik der Berichte', 117, 122-6, 141-6. Idem, *Nachbarstämme*, 332-4.

<sup>14</sup> See Wellhausen, 'Die Composition der historischen Bücher', in: F. Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin 41878, 181-2 (= Wellhausen, *Composition der Hexateuch*, 134-5); Kuenen, *Historisch critisch onderzoek*, dl. 1, 139.

<sup>15</sup> K. Budde, 'Richter und Josua', *ZAW* 7 (1887), 93-4, 98, 106, 114-166.

### *Fragmentation*

These discussions show that the precise reconstruction of the genesis of the text and historical interest in trustworthy fragments increasingly defined the study of the Book of Joshua. The ideas concerning the process of formation became extraordinarily hypothetical and it seemed impossible to reach a consensus about two issues. Firstly, the pre-deuteronomistic stories were called J when no traces were found of E; in its turn the choice fell on E when the applied remarks of J were perceived to be absent. Logically, it was very hard to overcome these negative judgments.<sup>16</sup> Secondly, there was no agreement on the extent of the earliest textual fragments. Kuenen thought of 9:1a-15b as a whole. But less than two decades later Heinrich Holzinger defined the oldest unit of chapter 9 as being only 9:6c-7c.<sup>17</sup> In the case of the other two supposed ancient sources, 10:12a-14c and 13:2a-6d, the extent of the fragments and the identity of the redactors who inserted them was highly uncertain. Some thought E used the fragment from the 'book of the upright one'; while others insisted that it was D or a later editor.<sup>18</sup>

Regarding 13:1a-7b, the discussion was even more complicated, for the passage is not only difficult to interpret and the possible source hard to delineate, but 13:1a is also similar to the end of 23:1 and the question had to be answered how the passage is related to the division of the land as described in 18:1-10. In the end, those who insisted that 13:2a-6d was D, suggested that 13:1a-d was removed from 18:2. According to the deuteronomist's witness in chapter 23 the land was divided by lot among nine and a half and not among seven tribes. Because of this idea, 13:1a-d had to be removed to a place where it designates territory outside Canaan. According to Kuenen, this also explained the verbal associations between 13:1a and 23:1.<sup>19</sup> Others insisted, however, that the passage reflected an old source, while it was also broadly considered that the attestation of 'remaining land' in 13:1d quite naturally continued the story of the conquest.<sup>20</sup>

### **Evaluation**

A few remarks have to be made before these hypotheses concerning the growth of text can be evaluated. The history of interpretation shows that it was very hard to apply the ideas regarding the identity, language and other specific

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Budde, 'Richter und Josua', 155-6.

<sup>17</sup> Kuenen, *Historisch critisch onderzoek*, dl. 1, 140; H. Holzinger, *Das Buch Josua* (KH-CAT, 6), Tübingen 1901, 32.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Meyer, 'Kritik der Berichte', 143-4; Hollenberg, 'Deuteronomischen Bestandtheile', 497; Budde, 'Richter und Josua', 160; Wellhausen, 'Composition des Hexateuchs', 594 (= Idem, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 126).

<sup>19</sup> For the growth of this consensus, see Hollenberg, 'Deuteronomischen Bestandtheile', 500-1; Wellhausen, 'Composition des Hexateuchs', 597-8 (= Idem, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 129); Kuenen, *Historisch critisch onderzoek*, dl. 1, 133.

<sup>20</sup> Meyer, 'Kritik der Berichte', 126; Budde, 'Richter und Josua', 117, 166. See also the discussion in Rudolph, 'Elohists', 211-3.

features of the sources of the Documentary Hypothesis to the Book of Joshua.<sup>21</sup> The clear distinctions that seemed to verify their existence in the Book of Genesis did not occur and scholars had to improvise with other, less secured decisive factors. Consequently, the result was heavily dependent on the perspective that was chosen. Wellhausen thought that the primary source of the book was E, but Kuenen insisted it was J, both mainly on negative grounds. In addition, Hollenberg seemed to be on firm linguistic ground in his analysis of the deuteronomistic strand in the book. But in his turn, Budde showed that a search for the primary, pre-deuteronomistic sources easily led to a result eating much of this redactional layer and to an entire cutting up of the text.

Of course, scholars tried to integrate these views into an overall picture. Yet, it is significant that the commentaries of Holzinger and Carl Steuernagel offered detailed literary critical analyses and only short comments on the text.<sup>22</sup> Rudolph Smend's effort to find a new consensus found its way to Otto Eissfeldt's *Hexateuch-Synopse*.<sup>23</sup> But his theory that the book existed out of eight layers remains the result of a schematic application of previously formulated and conflicting criteria. Therefore, it is no surprise that Wilhelm Rudolph treated the text in a new way in his study on the absence of the 'Elohistic' source in the books from Exodus to Joshua: he simply presupposed that J delivered the ongoing story and in discussing the sections of the narrative he only made a few comments on its deuteronomistic redaction and later additions.<sup>24</sup> However, precisely this effort showed that the Documentary Hypothesis could no longer be seen as a satisfying instrument to delineate the older fragments in the text. Consequently, two questions remain for the evaluation: what to say about the unevennesses that were discovered in the text and how to judge the considerations concerning language and possible sources?

### *Joshua 9:1a-15c*

In the first section of the text, 9:1a-15c, several problems occur. Scholars were divided over the question where the introductory passage ends and the original narrative begins: right at the beginning of 9:1a (Kuenen), at the transfer from 9:2c to 9:3a (Steuernagel) or in the shift from 9:3b to 9:4a (Wellhausen, Budde). However, as was noted above, 9:4a as well as the verbs in 9:4b-c belong to the compositional introduction of the story and the phrasing of both 9:3ab and 9:4a-c is prepared in 9:1a-2c in a way that deviates intentionally from the parallel introductory passages in Joshua 5, 10, and 11.<sup>25</sup> So again it is

<sup>21</sup> Cf. e.g. Sellin on Joshua 9: "Exact die Quellenscheidung im ganzen Kapitel durchzuführen ist allerdings kaum möglich". E. Sellin, *Gilgal. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Einwanderung Israels in Palestina*, Leipzig 1917, 44.

<sup>22</sup> Holzinger, *Josua*; C. Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium und Josua* (HKAT), Göttingen 1900; Idem, *Das Buch Josua* (HKAT), Göttingen 1923.

<sup>23</sup> R. Smend, *Die Erzählung des Hexateuchs auf ihre Quellen untersucht*, Berlin 1912, 302-13; O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse*, Leipzig 1922. Cf. Noort, *Josua*, 74-83.

<sup>24</sup> Rudolph, "Elohistic", 200-12.

<sup>25</sup> See note 5 of this chapter.

justified to conclude that there is no break between the story and its introduction, although the first verses definitely show evidence of editorial activity.

Another problem is the nature of 9:8a-11d. The dialogue of 9:8a-d seems to interrupt the coherence of the narrative and the reference to Sihon and Og in 9:10ab like 2:10 resembles the summary of Numbers 21:21-35 in Deuteronomy 1—4. Therefore, it was proposed to assign 9:8a-11d (Hollenberg), 9:9a-10b (Holzinger), or 9:8a-d (Budde) to D. The detailed comments in section 4.1, 'Making a Treaty', have shown that it is easy to deconstruct this conclusion. The repetition of the Gibeonite request and the Israelite reaction in 9:8a-11d can be interpreted in two ways: either as a successful attempt to shift the attention from a military to a diplomatic approach or as a *Wiederaufnahme* stressing the responsibility of Joshua as Israel's leader. Moreover, the summarizing accounts of the people's battles in Transjordan in Joshua give a new meaning to some well-known phrases from Numbers and Deuteronomy, because they are not only repeated, but also spoken by non-Israelites.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, it is a fact that several times the number of verbs, subjects and suffixes in the text shifts abruptly and that both a group and a person interact with the Hivite delegation. This is especially the case in 9:16a-27d, but it also occurs in 9:6a-9d. This phenomenon inspired Kurt Möhlenbrink and also Rudolph to demarcate two different stories in these verses: one of them tells of negotiations between the Gibeonites and the 'men of Israel' and the other about contact with Joshua. Noth rightly rejected this proposal because it led to unnatural distinctions and an unconvincing diachronic interpretation of the chapter.<sup>27</sup>

So finally, the conclusion is inevitable that the story's play with the different responsibilities of the diverse Israelite representatives – a play becoming more important in 9:16a-27d – already starts in 9:6b. If there has been a *Vorlage* offering an account that was simpler, it has become untraceable, for the changes in person and number and the text's linguistic characteristics do not suffice for its delineation.

<sup>26</sup> The discussion regarding verse 8 was repeated by Jörn Halbe and Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger. Cf. J. Halbe, 'Gibeon und Israel', *VT* 25 (1975), 621; Schäfer-Lichtenberger, 'Gibeonitische Bündnis', 66: 'Halbe hält V. 8 für funktionslos, übersieht aber, daß V. 9 sich auf V. 8 bezieht und V. 9 keinesfalls dem mißtrauischen Einwand von V. 7 entgegentritt'. Cf. H.N. Rösel, 'Anmerkungen zur Erzählung vom Bundesschluß mit den Gibeoniten', *BN* 28 (1985), 31-2; J. Briend, 'Israel et les Gabaonites', in: E.-M. Laperrousaz (ed.), *La protohistoire d'Israel*, Paris 1990, 131, 143-9.

<sup>27</sup> K. Möhlenbrink, 'Die Landnahmesagen des Buches Josua', *ZAW* 56 (1938), 242-3; Rudolph, "Elohists", 200-1. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 55. A reiteration of the debate took place between Götz Schmitt and Martin Rose. Schmitt, *Frieden*, 31-4; Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist*, 178-9. Two things, however, are crucial in considering the passage: 9:8a-9d as a whole is a logic continuation of אֱלֹהִים in 9:6b and צִירָה in 9:14a clearly refers to the same term in 9:11b (Schmitt, *Frieden*, 99). So Halbe rightly concludes that a division in different strands is based on the presupposition that the text consists out of two sources (Halbe, 'Gibeon und Israel', 619-21).

*Joshua 9:16a-27d*

This leads to the next episodes of 9:15c-21c and 22a-27d. With respect to the first passage, the assumed P-like additions deserve some attention. Some elements in the text appear to be in favour of this hypothesis of Wellhausen, Kuenen and others.<sup>28</sup> A new category of representatives is introduced, that is, the נְשִׂיאי הָעֵרְדָה, and at first sight 9:21a-c gives the impression of presenting beforehand what will later appear to be the outcome of the story. Yet, a closer look reveals that the reasons to assume a redactional intrusion are highly doubtful. 9:16ab is not incompatible with 9:15c, but only forms the end and the beginning of two sections within the story; similarly, 9:16a-d and 9:22a-e do not double 9:17a-21c as soon as it is observed that the narrative uses the instrument of the narrational foretelling, because it is not so much concerned with the questions whether the trickery will be discovered or somebody will be killed, but with the issue how the contradiction between YHWH's commandment not to make any treaty and the promise to the Hivites is to be solved; and finally, study of the terms נְשִׂיאי and עֵרְדָה show that it is impossible to state that they only occur in typical P-texts.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, skipping the P-like passages creates serious problems: the oath of the chieftains (9:15c, 18b) is necessary to justify the treaty and to highlight the real problem, that is, Israel's relationship with YHWH who has forbidden to make any treaty.<sup>30</sup> So in the end, it is not rewarding to treat the references to Israel's diverse representatives – the men of Israel, Joshua, the Israelites, the assembly and the leaders of the assembly – as a tool in reconstructing the historical growth of the text. They merely represent different aspects of the diplomatic affair. This leads to the use of specific military and juridical terminology and reveals certainly something about the identity of the historiographers. But the evidence does not secure a later redaction.

This also affects the literary-critical observations concerning the last section of the story about the treaty with the Gibeonites, 9:22a-27d. The syntax and line of thought are complex and the combination in 9:27b-d of עֵרְדָה and

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<sup>28</sup> Kuenen's classical delineation (see note 10) is followed by e.g. Holzinger, *Josua*, 345; Steuernagel, *Josua*, 241; Rudolph, *"Elohist"*, 202-3; Schmitt, *Frieden*, 33; Briend, 'Israël et les Gabaonites', 133-5; Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 274 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 371); Van Seters, 'Joshua's Campaign', 5; Fritz, *Josua*, 106-7; R. Albertz, 'Die kanonische Anpassung des Josuabuches', in: Römer, Schmid (eds), *Dernières Rédactions du Pentateuque*, 206-7. Rösel, 'Anmerkungen', 33, however, thinks that 9:18a is original, because of the expression בניי ישראל and its parallel in 2 Sam. 21:2.

<sup>29</sup> See the detailed comments on these passages in section 4.1. Cf. A. Hurvitz, 'Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code', *RB* 81 (1974), 51; Idem, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (CRB, 20), Paris 1982, 65-7, who argues that both terms, even if they are combined, indicate an early date.

<sup>30</sup> Some later interpreters tried to explain the additions of P by stating that the Gibeonites had to work for the assembly in order to keep them away from the cult (Halbe, 'Gibeon und Israel', 613-6; Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist*, 191). This, however, is very unlikely, because the foretelling of 9:21b directs effectively all the spotlights of the narrative at the cultic solution of 9:27a-d.

יבחר המקום אשר יבחר is striking. Especially the last phrase gives reason – as was noted above – to speculate about possible diachronic connections with other passages and stories in the whole of Genesis — 2 Kings. But it is hard to maintain that 9:27c is a needless repetition of 9:23c and that 9:23a-c is an unnatural continuation of 9:22a-d. The verse does also not exclude that the story carries on with 9:24a-25c.<sup>31</sup> In this light, the ideas that the passage as a whole is a later addition of D (Hollenberg), that 9:24a-f, 27d (Budde, Holzinger) or 9:24a-25c, 27d (Wellhausen, Kuenen) were added by D and that 9:27b is P (Holzinger, Steuernagel) all fail to offer a comprehensive interpretation of the section. In stead, they take just one of its specific elements as a point of departure.<sup>32</sup>

### *Joshua 10:1a-11e*

Less complicated is the literary-critical analysis of 10:1a-10d/11e. Most scholars agree that 10:8a-d is D because of its language. This, however, is only relevant if the assumption is right that the original narrative bore no traces of phrases also used in Deuteronomy; and that remains to be seen. Similarly, Wellhausen's suggestion that 10:3b is an addition depends solely on his view of 10:16a-27f being a late supplement. Finally, Meyer's premise that 10:6a-7b belongs to a different strand called E can also not be sustained textually. It is clear that after 10:5e the text shifts the attention from the Amorite coalition to the reaction of the Gibeonites and the terminology of the *Übergabeformel* in the oracle of 10:8a-d is undoubtedly familiar to that of some parts of Numbers and Deuteronomy. But besides the weak argument that the term 'Amorite' is definitely E, there is no reason at all to disconnect the sentences in between from the narrative.<sup>33</sup> A similar pattern appears in the discussion concerning 10:16a-27f. The difficulty with this textual unit is lying in the statement of 10:15a, which is very strange at first sight, and in the 'deuteronomic' terminology in 10:25a-d and 10:27a-f. However, as soon as it is observed that 10:15a only anticipates 10:43a and does not cause difficulties for the text in treating the two remaining issues from the previous story in the next sections – that is, what happened to the kings (10:16a-27f) and what to their territories (10:28a-42c) – the major reason for separating these sections from the preceding story disappears and the more weight is lying on the remaining evidence substantiating their linguistic and material uniqueness.<sup>34</sup> Though, the problem with this evidence is that 10:26a-d also contains strong allusions to the book of Deuteronomy and that these allusions and the terminology of 10:25a-d and 27a-f only

<sup>31</sup> See the detailed comments on these passages in section 4.1.

<sup>32</sup> The same applies to the view of Halbe that 9:16a-17c, 22a-23c and parts of 25a-27d are deuteronomic additions. Halbe, 'Gibeon und Israel', 619-22. Cf. Briend, 'Israël et les Gabaonites', 135-42.

<sup>33</sup> See the comments on these passages in section 3.2 and 4.3.

<sup>34</sup> For 10:15a as a narrational foretelling anticipating 10:43a, see annotation 10:15ee-ee and section 4.2.

function as evidence for a separate strand, if there has definitely been a story without them.<sup>35</sup>

*Joshua 10:28a-42c*

In addition, the discussion between Hollenberg, Wellhausen and Kuenen about the question whether or not 10:28a-39g is D, is solved as soon as is observed that the rhetoric of elimination not only matches the description of the conquest of Transjordan in Numbers 21 and Deuteronomy 2—3, but is part of a whole network of verbs in the historiography of the settlement. This network of descriptions of divine and human actions is already present in the poem of Exodus 15 and becomes more concrete as soon as the real conquest takes place. Moreover, the highly redundant style with its extensive and flexible repetition of the diverse phrases is a compositional technique that is very common in ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts. Therefore, the irregularities in the text and the attestation of phrases not occurring in Deuteronomy can by no means be used as an instrument to divide the text in different strands and redactions. The plurals and the elaborate use of terminology of elimination in the last paragraphs of the passage stress at best the fact that the southern sweep comes to a climax in the conquest of Debir. Even Kuenen's consideration fails that the author of 10:37bc did not know 10:23a-26d, which already reported the death of the king of Hebron. This conclusion ignores the telescoping nature of the section and therefore does not see that 10:37bc only utilizes the previous verses for a summarizing account.<sup>36</sup> Of course, Wellhausen's conclusion that 10:3b had to be a later *Zusatz* also had to do with the fact that the kings and cities mentioned in the three sections of chapter 10 are not identical. However, it would last until the thirties of the 20th century before this phenomenon would lead to a serious discussion in the circles of form criticism.

Finally, it is important to note that 10:40a-42c is in full accord with two geographical principles of the narrative as a whole: the descriptions are part of a consistent depiction of the promised land and as a typical ancient Near Eastern summary of a conquest, it sketches the impact of the campaign much bigger than the sum of each of the military successes would indicate. Understood in this way, the very last piece of Joshua 10 forms a natural continuation of the former passage. In both sections the geographical descriptions as well as the *כְּאִשֶׁר*-*Formel* depict the cities and their lands as successor territories given by

<sup>35</sup> See the comments on 10:16a-27f in section 4.2.

<sup>36</sup> See the comments on 10:28a-39g in section 4.4. This conclusion also applies to the later scholarly discussions concerning the irregularities in 10:28a-39g by Elliger, 'Josua in Galiläa', 49-53; Noth, 'Die fünf Könige', 26-7 (= Idem, *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 285-6); Alfrink, 'Het "stil staan" van zon en maan', 244-8; K.D. Schunck, *Benjamin. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Geschichte eines israelitischen Stammes* (BZAW, 86), Berlin 1963, 32-5; Soggin, *Joshua*, 124.

YHWH to Israel.<sup>37</sup> So after all, there is no reason to ascribe 10:40a-42c to a different author or school, although there is a clear textual transition between 10:39g and 10:40a.

*Joshua 11:1a-23c*

The formal resemblance of chapter 11 with chapter 10 also had an enormous effect on the literary critical delimitation of this unit. Wellhausen rightly saw that 11:11a-c, 13a-15d contained elements familiar to the Book of Deuteronomy, as Hollenberg put it, but that the whole of 11:10a-20c, 23a-c belonged together, because of the fact that the story of the conquest mirrored that of the south. At the same time, however, his separation of the section between verse 9 and 10 failed to do justice to the way the story reflected the former. The compositional opening phrase already indicates that the chapter offers a more general account of what happens. In addition, it is highly doubtful that the return to Hazor and its conquest and burning in 11:10a-11c would not belong to a story that begins with the formation of a coalition by this city. Moreover, the account of the defeat of the northern coalition and of the taking of Hazor is indeed followed by a summarizing passage. But only a few lines suffice in 11:12a-15d, while chapter 10 offered a detailed account of the taking of six cities. In fact, it remains difficult to understand the structure of chapter 11 as long as it is not taken seriously that 11:12a-15d resembles both 10:28a-39g and 40a-43a and that 11:16a-23c, although it contains linguistic parallels to the latter, summarizes the conquest of both southern and northern Cisjordan.<sup>38</sup> This structure makes Joshua 11 a solid narrative, which is difficult to divide in separate parts. The historical possibility that it still consists out of different fragments and layers cannot be excluded. But the problem is how to argue that. The fragment, for instance, telling that Joshua succeeded in killing the Anakites and that they only survived in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod (11:21a-22b) is clearly presented as additional information by the phrase *בַּעַר הַהַיִּים* in 11:21a. But does that make it an addition as well? It perfectly fits the context from the perspective of syntax and content. So the only reason to detect it as a separate fragment is because of the historical presupposition that Joshua's fight with the Anakites is a unique tradition, being old or not, which was inserted into the story. But whether this is the case remains to be seen.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> See the comments on 10:40a-43a in section 3.2 and section 3.6, 'Joshua's Ideological Geography' and comments on 10:28a-39g in section 4.4.

<sup>38</sup> See the detailed comments of these passages in the section 3.3, 'Northern Defeat' and 'Summary', and section 3.4, 'Conquered Cisjordan'.

<sup>39</sup> Reflections regarding the historical background of Joshua's killing of the Anakites are closely connected to historical reconstructions of the so-called Caleb-traditions. Joshua and Caleb were the only spies who were not afraid of them (Num. 13-14), both received their own inheritance (Deut. 1:36; Josh 14:6-15; 15:14-19) and killed the Anakites (11:21a-22b; 15:14-19; Judg. 1:10-15). According to other texts, Caleb, who is called *הַקִּנְיִי*, had also Edomite origins (Gen. 36:11). David had some difficulties with his descendants and gave their properties to the leaders of Judah (1 Sam. 25:3; 27:10;

*Sources in Joshua 10:12a-14c, 12:1a-24b and 13:1a-7b*

With respect to the possible sources that are used in 10:12a-14 and 12:1a-24b, it has to be noted that the contribution of the Documentary Hypothesis is limited. The unique miracle of the sun standing still raised a discussion about the question whether the language of the interpretative sentences was deuteronomic or not. But this debate did not add much valuable information to the interpretation of the poetic fragment or to the understanding of the way it was used. All scholars simply assumed that the interpreter misread it. They discussed in a similar way the clear similitude between the first verses of chapter 12 and Moses' description of the conquest of Transjordan in Deuteronomy. But that did not solve the problem whether 12:8a-24b comprised an old list or not. Only Kuenen rightly stated that there is a close connection between the list of Conquered Trans- and Cisjordan from the perspective of composition.<sup>40</sup> Finally, Smend even disputed the idea of a source, but sadly enough not on the base of the text itself, but because of his theory that 10:16a-27f and 28a-43a, on which the list is dependent, were extreme late interpolations.<sup>41</sup>

The literary critical considerations regarding Joshua 13:1a-7b are more interesting. The interpretation of this passage is very difficult and the late nineteenth and early twentieth century CE discussions drew the attention to several serious problems. Its beginning is related to both Josh. 1:1 and 23:1; from 13:2a on it seems that a few lines are inserted, of which the geography and delineation is complicated; the order to divide the land seems to contradict the geographical description; and at face value, it is unclear how the division of land among nine and a half tribe is related to the division of land among seven tribes in 18:10. Additionally, the comprehensive reading of 13:1a-7b in section 3.5 highlighted that the thorniest question of scholarly debate touches the heart of the Book of Joshua: what exactly was the land that was conquered and had to be divided and in what extent did YHWH fulfil the promise of the land? However, to detach the real problems and questions is not the same as answering them properly. Meyer and Budde, for instance, treated the geography and ethnography in detail. But they did not have the disposal over the syntactical, geographical and extra-biblical information that facilitates their understanding

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30:14, 29). The diverse reconstructions of these traditions, however, all work with the much discussed Documentary Hypothesis and take a separate Caleb-in-Hebron tradition as a point of departure, while precisely that has to be proven. See e.g. Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 338-40; R. de Vaux, 'The Settlement of the Israelites in Southern Palestine and the Origins of the Tribe of Judah', in: H.T. Frank *et al.* (eds), *Translating and Understanding the Old Testament*, Nashville, TN 1970, 131-4 (= *Histoire*, t.1, 507-9); W. Belz, *Die Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament* (BWANT, 98), Stuttgart 1974; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 291-6. In addition, it can be argued that the perspective of 11:21a-22b (Joshua) asks for that of 14:6-15 in stead of stating that both passages exclude one another, as Kuenen does. Kuenen, *Historisch critisch onderzoek*, dl. 1, 129. For the literary function of the passages, see e.g. Hawk, *Every Promise Fulfilled*, 103-10.

<sup>40</sup> Kuenen, *Historisch critisch onderzoek*, dl. 1, 129.

<sup>41</sup> Smend, *Die Erzählung des Hexateuchs*, 308-10. Cf. Noort, *Josua*, 75.

today. Moreover, the Documentary Hypothesis drove the diachronic interpretation in a certain direction. It was generally assumed that the conquest was theologically exploited and magnified during the formation of the text.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, it is no wonder that the primary historical search concentrated on the isolation of historical fragments describing local affairs, that a lot of energy was spent in discussing the possible contradiction with Judges 1 and that several scholars thought that the insertion took place in order to locate the remaining land outside the conquered territories.

However, a detailed historiographical analysis of Judges 1:1—2:5 shows that this chapter does not consist out of fragments and that it does not contradict the Book of Joshua. It merely presupposes its existence and depicts what happened after Joshua's death from a different angle, that is, the perspective of Israel's incapacity and guilt in not conquering the land and of the success of the tribe of Judah.<sup>43</sup> In a similar way, Judges 3:3 describes the same territory as 13:2b-6b, also from its own perspective, that is, the inhabitants of the remaining land being left by YHWH to test Israel and to teach it warfare. Moreover, Rudolph wondered why things had to be made so complicated, because 13:1a makes sense despite its difficulties.<sup>44</sup> The analysis in section 3.5 confirms this intuition in several ways. The passage indeed seems right from a syntactical and geographical point of view. A close study of 13:6c-7b reveals that the uncertainty about the question whether this was D or not has to do with its resemblances with Numbers 34, and the passage as a whole turns out to be a cornerstone in a larger compositional framework in which the conquered land, the tribal territories, the Canaanite enclaves and the remaining land all play an important role. So in the end, it seems more fruitful to take this framework as a point of departure in looking how a diachronic analysis can contribute to a solution of the textual problems instead of the Documentary Hypothesis with its presuppositions regarding language and sources.

## 5.2 FORM CRITICISM

The next important phase in the diachronic research on Joshua 9:1—13:7 started with the new historical and form critical studies of the so-called *Leipziger Schule*. Alt stressed the unique nature of different stories in the Book of Joshua, following Hugo Gressmann's idea on the presence of aetiological sagas because of the formula 'until this day' in 4:9; 6:25; 7:26; 8:28, 29; 9:27c; 10:27f.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. e.g. Kuenen, *Historisch critisch onderzoek*, dl. 1, 104.

<sup>43</sup> Van Bekkum, 'Historiografie van de vestiging', 295-301, in particular 301-9. See also section 4.2.

<sup>44</sup> Rudolph, "*Elohist*", 211-2. Rudolph rightly observes that 13:1a fits the context and that the transfer from land to people in 13:5c to 6a is necessary from a syntactical point of view. It also follows from his considerations that if the geographical and ethnographical descriptions are inserted, this addition runs from 13:2a to 13:6c, because 13:6d would be a logical continuation of 13:1d.

Like most of the stories occurring in 2—8, the narrative of Gibeonite deceit was told to answer “die große Kinderfrage aller Zeiten ‘Warum?’” and to explain a present historical situation, in this case the attendance of Gibeonite slaves at the national sanctuary. The story about the kings at Makkedah clarified the existence of five trees above a cave covered with stones in a same way. Along these lines, the *Gattung* of the aetiology found its *Sitz im Leben* in local states of affairs and because of the fact that these localities would be close to the route of the Benjaminite pilgrimage to the sanctuary at Gilgal, the stories were taken together as if they told about the adventures of one and the same group. According to Alt, the historical value of these traditions rests in the complex they formed and in the situations they are explaining, not in the stories themselves, although sometimes, as in the case of Ai, archaeology is able to uncover their historical kernel. Only in the heroic saga of 10:1a-10d, 15a, the text offers a description of what happened because of the meaning of the past itself. This saga reflects the time of the territorial expansion of the tribe of Ephraim, as does Judges 4 for the Galilean tribes.

According to Alt, the Ephraimite leader Joshua played an important role in the story of the battle with the Amorite coalition, despite his original absence in the Benjaminite aetiologies. In addition, Joshua was also present in the traditions of the quarrels about the division of the land in 17:14-18 and of Israel’s choice for YHWH in chapter 24, because both traditions can also be dated in the time of the territorial expansion.<sup>45</sup> In this way, Alt offered a radical reinterpretation of the Book of Joshua. On the one hand the story of conquest and settlement fell totally apart by his statement that the oral traditions behind the book had nothing to do with the general and national perspective of the texts. But on the other hand the historical Israel from before the monarchy became a much more religiously inspired unity than was often assumed. This was due to the figure of Joshua, for with his decision at the sanctuary in Shechem, he laid the foundation of Israel’s history.<sup>46</sup>

### *Elliger and Noth*

Alt’s evocative proposals raised several intriguing questions that were seriously discussed by his pupils, mainly after visits to the Deutsche Evangelische Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes in Jerusalem, and later by most scholars studying the Book of Joshua. Were aetiologies and heroic sagas the only two occurring *Gattungen*? How exactly went the literary development from oral tradition to the text as it is now? Is it really true that Joshua originally did not play a role in the stories of chapter 2—8? How many stories can be detected behind chapter 9—11? Who reworked them?

<sup>45</sup> Alt, ‘Josua’, 19-29 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 182-92). Cf. Idem, ‘Landnahme der Israeliten’, 20, 33-34 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 110, 134); Idem, ‘Erwägungen über die Landnahme’, 18-9 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 134-5); Idem, ‘Galiläische Probleme’, *Pf* 33 (1937), 61-2 (= *KS*, Bd. 2, 371-2).

<sup>46</sup> Alt, ‘Josua’, 29 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 192): Joshua was the man ‘die Israel in der Frühzeit seines Lebens in Palästina durch Zusammenschluß um ein neues Heiligtum Jahwes im Herzen des Landes auf das tragende Fundament seiner Geschichte gestellt hat’.

Elliger, for instance, studied Joshua's actions in the territory of Judah and concluded that chapter 10 originally consisted out of three stories differing in style, content and naming of cities about conflicts between the tribes of Caleb and Kenaz and the Canaanites: the heroic saga of 10:1a-10d; the aetiology of 10:16a-27f; and the independent tradition of 10:28a-39g. Two later redactors – the first most likely being J or E and the second a deuteronomistic editor – re-worked these stories and attached them to one another by adding the person of Joshua and the city of Makkedah. These editors at least added 10:1a-d, 10d, 11a-15a, the schematic phrases concerning the complete elimination of the inhabitants of the cities in 10:28a-39g, and 10:40a-43a. Elliger found this opinion confirmed in chapter 12, which in his view could not be based on the deuteronomistic version of Joshua 10.<sup>47</sup>

Noth went into debate with Elliger and Alt in his study of the story about the kings at Makkedah. He stated that the first part of chapter 10 indeed reflected a historical kernel of a war between Canaanite cities and Israelite tribes. Whether the persons referred to were actually involved remains to be seen, but Joshua was not, because he was also added to other stories, for instance to that of 11:1a-15d. The following narrative of the kings in Makkedah developed in two stages. First there was a story of defeated kings that died being locked up in a cave, while in a second stage the trees were added to fix the number of five and to define the function of the stones and the cave. Noth agreed with Elliger on the later development of the chapter. At the same time, however, he highlighted the *erzählerische* and *literarische* unity of the chapter. So was it really true that it consisted out of three separate oral traditions? Noth observed a clear unevenness between the designations of the kings in 10:1a, 3ab; 10:5bc; and 10:6f, while the kings of 10:23c match that of 10:5bc and the cities of Makkedah, Gezer and Libnah suddenly appear in the paragraph of 10:28a-39f. In his view, this problem could not be solved by assuming that the kings belonged to different sources and therefore, he proposed to treat them as later additions, together with the designations concerning the elimination of cities, kings and inhabitants. Surprisingly, the kings of the third part of chapter 10 match those of the first after the removal of these glosses and additions that also occur in 10:1a-7b. What remains is partly related to Judges 1:5-7 because of the name the king of Jerusalem, Adoni-Zedeq. Nevertheless, Noth thought it was impossible that the kings waged war so far from home and valued the option of 10:28a-39g being a separate tradition as very unlikely: a list of five names without details does not create a folktale and the text does not offer a probable *Sitz im Leben*, while the schematic passage is not embedded in a context substantiating the conclusion that it is part of official history writing. So in his view, it was most likely that the five kings living close to Makkedah referred

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<sup>47</sup> Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', 47-53, 68-70, followed by Möhlenbrink who characterized the stories in Joshua 10—11 as *Schlachtsagen* and observed a clear opposition between the cultic aetiologies of 2—8 and the secular story of chapter 9 that was from the outset attached to that of 10:3a-10d. Möhlenbrink, 'Landnahmesagen', 264-6.

to in 10:16a-27f and 28a-39g are identical from the perspective of content and tradition. Consequently, chapter 10 does not consist out of three, but out of two parts, on telling about a Jerusalemite coalition at Gibeon and the other about the kings at Makkedah.<sup>48</sup>

In his following studies of the Book of Joshua Noth offered a more comprehensive picture of the formation of the book. By doing so he liberated scholarly debate from several issues that were raised by the Documentary Hypothesis. He decided that the book of Joshua did not belong to the so-called Hexateuch but to the Deuteronomistic History on two grounds: Rudolph had shown that E was not present in the Book of Joshua, while in his own view 13—21 did not belong to P, but was a recollection of a second deuteronomistic editor of two sources, namely an old catalogue of tribal borders, dating from the time of Israel's state formation, and a Solomonic list of Judean districts that was reused by king Josiah. In addition, Noth stated that the specific nature of the compositional skeleton of the book revealed that it was not the work of the deuteronomist, but that of a *Sammler* living around 900 BCE. He transformed the traditions gathered in Gilgal and the historical *Kriegserzählungen* of the battles of Gibeon and Hazor into a story about the conquest of Canaan and gave Joshua his role as a national leader. The work of this collector can at least be observed in 5:1; 6:27; 9:3a-4a; 10:2abd, 5a-e, 40bc, 41a-42c and in 11:1a-2b, 16a-20a. This composition was finally integrated in the Deuteronomistic History, with respect to 9:1—13:7 by adding 9:9d-10b, 24a-f, 27d; 10:1c, 2b, 25a-c; 11:12ab, 15; 20b (which was followed by 11:21a-23b and then by 14:6-15 due to the parallel between 11:23c and the conclusion of 14:15); 11:23c and 12:1a-2a, 4a, 6a-24b, the last with use of typical phrases of the collector and of an unknown geographically arranged list of Canaanite cities that runs from 12:13b-24a. Finally, Noth delineated some possible post-deuteronomic glosses in 9:1a-2c and certain additions in 12:2b-3c, 5a-e and 13:2a-6d. With respect to the P-like passage in 9:15c, 17a-21c, 27b, however, Noth stated that it reflected an ancient reality.<sup>49</sup>

#### *American, Dutch and Israeli Reactions*

The representatives of the Baltimore School were not convinced by these *Leipziger* proposals. George Ernest Wright defended the literary unity and historical trustworthiness of Joshua 10 and stated that Judges 1 was complementary. With Noth, he argued that the Book of Joshua was part of the Deuteronomistic History, but in his view this historian had used historical trustworthy traditions – possibly of J or E – about the conquest of the land by Israel as a whole.

<sup>48</sup> Noth, 'Die fünf Könige', 22-36 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 281-92). With respect to the relation with Judg. 1:5-7, Noth followed e.g. Smend, *Die Erzählung des Hexateuchs*, 308. An effort to substantiate the historical value of Judg. 1:3-8 by using its supposed tradition-historical relation to Joshua 10 was undertaken by K.D. Schunck, 'Juda und Jerusalem in vor- und frühisraelitischer Zeit', in: K.-H. Bernhardt (ed.), *Schalom. Studien zu Glaube und Geschichte Israels*, Stuttgart 1971, 50-7.

<sup>49</sup> Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 40-1, 43-7, 182-90; Idem, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 9-16, 53-76.

Judges 1 was less useful as a historical source, although he also saw no contradiction between the exaggerated conquests in the Book of Joshua and this chapter because it reflected the long period of struggle for possession that continued after Joshua's death.<sup>50</sup> In addition, John Bright criticized the aetiological origin and the *Ortsgebundenheit* of the stories and stressed the need of independent external evidence.<sup>51</sup> Later on, Baruch Halpern took part in the debate from a Mendenhallist perspective (cf. section 1.1 and 1.3). In his view Joshua 9—10 should be read as a whole. It reflects the importance of Gibeon and Shechem in the time of the settlement and describes an incomplete, unconsolidated success. A coalition led by Jerusalem and later Gezer attacked the Ḥabiru, who like Sennacherib had to control the Shephelah to settle the hill country. The departure from Gilgal, the sun miracle and the aetiological elements are all later insertions by an editor who Davidized Joshua's achievement, while chapter 11 is to be seen as fiction by the same editor, just as the incident at Makkeh-dah and the negotiations with the Hivites.<sup>52</sup>

Others offered a more literary contribution to the discussion. The Dutch scholar and later Cardinal Bernard Alfrink, for instance, appreciated the study of the literary forms of the separate parts of the story and embraced the idea of a collector being the composer of a pre-deuteronomic Book of Joshua. But he questioned the double etiological interpretation of 10:16a-27f, for the phrase 'until this day' is only applied to the stones and not to the trees. Furthermore, he concluded that 10:1a-15a and 16a-27f were parts of one and the same tradition, while the collector added 10:28a-39g and 40a-42c.<sup>53</sup> More historical in nature were the considerations of two Israeli scholars, Benyamin Maisler – later Benjamin Mazar – and Yohanan Aharoni. Both supported the idea of a peaceful infiltration and agreed that the stories about the big battles reflected a late stage in the settlement of the tribes. Chapter 10 would go back to three different battles of the Canaanites: with Joshua at Gibeon, with separate tribes in the Shephelah and with Caleb at Debir and Hebron, while the events reported in chapter 11 are to be dated later than those reported in Judges 4. Aharoni assumed with Ewald that chapter 12 presupposed the existence of traditions about all the cities mentioned in the list. An example of this could be observed in 12:21a-23b, which in his view clearly reflected the battle against Sisera as described in Judges 4.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> G.E. Wright, 'The Literary and Historical Problem of Joshua 10 and Judges 1', *JNES* 5 (1946), 105-14. Cf. Wright, *Boling, Joshua*, 66-72.

<sup>51</sup> Bright, *Early Israel*, 83-101.

<sup>52</sup> B. Halpern, 'Gibeon: Israelite Diplomacy in the Conquest Era', *CBQ* 37 (1975), 305-15.

<sup>53</sup> Alfrink, 'Het "stil staan" van zon en maan', 251-3, cf. Idem, *Josue* (BOT), Roermond en Maaseik 1952, 7-15, 55-76.

<sup>54</sup> B. Maisler, 'Beth-she'arim, Gaba and Haroshet of the Peoples', *HUCA* 24 (1952/53), 83-4 (= Idem, *Early Biblical Period*, 210-1); B. Mazar, 'The Early Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country', *BASOR* 241 (1981), 75-85 (= Idem, *The Early Biblical Period*, 35-48); Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 214-36.

*Form Critical Reflections*

The most detailed reactions to the discussion between Elliger and Noth came from inside Germany. Manfred Weippert generally agreed with Noth, also with respect to the addition of the person Joshua to the stories and the historical character of the battles of Gibeon and Hazor. But in his view, Noth's suggestion that the cities in 10:23c connect the traditions of 10:1a-15a and 28a-39g was not very strong. He also argued that the regular style of the latter passage could be easily used against Elliger's idea that the latter story goes back to a historical event. The hypothesis that this struggle was caused by the tribes of Caleb and Kenaz did not convince him either. Nevertheless, Weippert stated that it was hard to find a satisfactory alternative to the theories of Elliger and Noth. 10:28a-39g could be fiction to bridge the gap between Azekah and Kadesh.<sup>55</sup>

Klaus Dietrich Schunck offered a more critical reaction. In his view it was impossible to suppose that the *Sammler* reworked settlement traditions that originally only belonged to the tribe of Benjamin, for Joshua is not a Benjaminite, but an Ephraimite hero, while the geography of the *Kriegserzählungen* in chapter 10—11 surpasses the territory of Benjamin. So there had to be a connection between the stories. Accordingly, Schunck made an alternative reconstruction of chapter 10 in which he detected a common tradition of Ephraim, Benjamin and Judah about a fight with Amorite kings consisting of 10:1a-10d and 10:29a-35c, which originally did not mention names. In his view, the *Sammler* inserted 10:16a-27f and added parts of 10:11a-e, 28a-e, while a deuteronomist editor completed the number of five kings with the addition of 10:36a-39g.<sup>56</sup>

Two other scholars, Alberto Soggin and Roland de Vaux, agreed with Schunck that 10:1a-11e is perfectly in accord with the previous story and that Noth's exclusion of Joshua was problematic. But this also applies to the names of the kings in 10:3ab, 5c and 23c. Besides, they stated that there was no reason at all to make a distinction between 10:29a-35c and 36a-39g. Therefore, both scholars suggested that 10:28a-39g was a later addition, just as 10:16a-27f.<sup>57</sup> Volkmar Fritz, however, still used the results of the studies of Elliger and Noth in his literary and archaeological analyses of Joshua 11 and 12. In his view, the fact that the names of the cities and kings were later added to chapter 10 revealed that Joshua 12 contained an ancient list, which was used by the

<sup>55</sup> Weippert, *Landnahme*, 38-41, 44, 127, 138-9.

<sup>56</sup> Schunck, *Benjamin*, 25-38.

<sup>57</sup> Soggin, *Joshua*, 124-5; De Vaux, *Histoire ancienne*, t. 1, 576-9. With respect to chapter 9, De Vaux agreed with Noth that it was a Benjaminite story, but not that it was aetiological, for 9:27a-d – which refers to Gibeon, not to Gilgal – was added by a pre-deuteronomistic editor. In his view, the ruse and the characterization of the work in the sanctuary as a punishment are deuteronomistic additions due to the law of warfare in Deut. 20:10-18. Idem, *Histoire ancienne*, t. 1, 572-5. For a protest against the insertion of the names Jabin and Jobab and the cities Shimron and Achshaph in Joshua 11, see Rösler, 'Topographie der Kriege', 174.

later editor of chapter 10. This same editor took the names of the cities of Madon, Shimron and Achshaph, of the dune area of Dor and the waters of Merom from chapter 12 and the names of Jabin and Jobab from Judges 4 and an unknown source to compose the fictional tradition of 11:1a-9a, 12a, 14a-c, which probably had the Waters of Merom as its *Haftpunkt*. The list of 12:10a-24a originally contained only names of cities and functioned as a catalogue of strongholds fortified by Solomon in reaction to the deteriorating political situation and as accommodation for his professional army. Fritz sustained this hypothesis by pointing at the textual critical problems of 12:20a and by an archaeological review regarding the cities.<sup>58</sup>

Especially the debate about Joshua 10 reveals how difficult it was to substantiate the form critical idea of separate traditions. This situation induced some scholars to speculate about the pretended anti-Hivite attitude of the sage behind Joshua 9.<sup>59</sup> Others stuck to the analysis from the perspective of the Documentary Hypothesis. Fritz Maass, for example, doubted whether a peaceful settlement would be allowed by a city like Hazor and stated that the classical interpretation of Wellhausen and Eissfeldt did more justice to the connections between the stories.<sup>60</sup> Jacques Briend in his turn used the same literary strategy to defend a late 8th century BCE date for the first redaction of chapter 9. In his view large pieces of 10:1a-11e, 11:1a-9c, 16e-17e and 12:7a-24b together formed an ancient document that was added to the chapters 3—9 by a late pre-exilic deuteronomic editor, who also inserted 10:16a-27g and 28a-39g.<sup>61</sup>

## Evaluation

The history of research shows that for the evaluation of the form critical studies the critical question has to be asked whether this kind of analysis indeed offers independent literary evidence for the idea that the text is composed out of separate local traditions. Or to put it in the words of Alt: What does it mean that “die Erzählungen selbst je für sich sind vorgegeben”? Is it really true that “der Zusammenhang erst durch ihre Sammlung zustande gekommen ist”, because it is possible to tell them separately?<sup>62</sup> It is important to deal with this

<sup>58</sup> V. Fritz, ‘Die sogenannte Liste der besiegten Könige in Josua 12’, *ZDPV* 85 (1969), 136-41, 144-59. Idem, ‘Das Ende der spätbronzezeitliche Stadt Hazor’, 125-33.

<sup>59</sup> E.g. Dus, ‘Gibeon’, 372.

<sup>60</sup> E.g. F. Maass, ‘Hazor und das Problem der Landnahme’, in: J. Hempel (ed.), *Von Ugarit nach Qumran: Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Forschung* (BZAW, 77), Berlin 1958, 109-117. Cf. E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal* (BWANT, 107), Stuttgart etc. 1975, 92-4.

<sup>61</sup> Briend, ‘Israël et les Gabaonites’, 165-7, 177. Idem, ‘Les sources de l’histoire deuteronomique’, in: A. de Pury et al. (eds), *Israel construit son histoire* (Le monde de la Bible, 34), Genève 1996, 344-7, 358-63 (= Idem, ‘The Sources of the Deuteronomic History’, in: A. de Pury et al. [eds], *Israel constructs its History* [JSOTS, 306], 361-4, 375-9).

<sup>62</sup> Alt, ‘Josua’, 18-9 (= Idem, *KS*, Bd. 1, 182).

methodological issue before going into detail, for this view not only confirmed the intuition of previous scholarship that the historiography of the settlement consisted of entire diverse historical kernels, it also still has a great impact on the understanding of the texts and on the outlook of historical reconstructions, as was observed in Chapter 1. This is especially striking, because there is reason to doubt the assumption that the stories find their natural *Sitz im Leben* in specific features in the landscape, certain political claims or local conflicts. In general, traditions neither arise from natural phenomena in the scenery nor from habits, and stories are far more often connected to a group or people than to a certain place. So it is no surprise that detailed studies of aetiological narratives in Genesis – 2 Kings stress that aetiological elements never played a primary role, but only use the environment to highlight a story that already exists.<sup>63</sup> The analysis of 9:27a-c and 10:27f affirms this conclusion. The double chronological reference to Joshua's installation of the Gibeonites at the sanctuary underlines the extraordinary nature of this act and confirms its meaning, for the situation endures till 'today'; while the memorial heap at Makedah – and not the five trees, as Alfrink rightly observed – is used by the narrator to link the story to his own environment in order to stress its meaning.<sup>64</sup>

#### *Testing the Search for Separate Traditions*

In the light of the analysis of the two aetiological elements, the conclusion seems inevitable that the application of form critical research to the historiography of the settlement is difficult from a methodological point of view. This supposition is clearly confirmed by taking a look at the so-called *Negative Besitzverzeichnis* in Judges 1:19, 21, 27-35, which played a very important role as a textual witness of the model of peaceful infiltration of separate tribes. According to Alt, these verses reflected an ancient Israelite list of non-conquered territories, which had their *Sitz im Leben* in a political claim of the tribes.<sup>65</sup> It can be doubted, however, whether it is logical to assume that an enumeration of the growing inability of tribes to settle a territory is in fact intended to lay a claim on their inheritance. Like in the case of the aetiological elements, the implication of a textual element should not be confused with its primary function.

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<sup>63</sup> Childs, "Until this Day", 279-92; B.O. Long, *The Problem of Etiological Narrative in the Old Testament* (BZAW, 108), Berlin 1968. Vriezen, Van der Woude, *Oudisraëlitische en vroegjoodse literatuur*, 222.

<sup>64</sup> See section 4.1, 'The Trickery Discovered', and 4.2, 'Object Teaching'.

<sup>65</sup> Alt, 'Judas Gaue unter Josia', *PJ* 21 (1925), 100 (= *KS*, Bd. 2, 276); Idem, 'System der Stammesgrenzen', (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 193-8); Idem, 'Staatenbildung', 61 (= *KS*, Bd. 2, 51). This idea was followed by e.g. Noth, *System*, 129-30; Idem, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 9; Idem, *Geschichte*, 55, 176-7, 193; Von Rad, 'Hexateuch', 80-1; C.H.J. de Geus, 'Richteren 1:1-2:5', *Vox Theologica* 36 (1966), 43-4; Schmitt, *Frieden* 56, 86-8; Smend, 'Das uneroberte Land', 100-1 (= *GS*, Bd. 2, 227-8); H. Weippert, 'Das Geographische System der Stämme Israels', *VT* 23 (1973), 88; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 95-8, 198; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 28, 286, 292; H.N. Rösel, 'Das "Negative Besitzverzeichnis"', in: M. Augustin, K.D. Schunck, *Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden*, Frankfurt 1988, 124-7.

Moreover, the ongoing discussion among scholars regarding this assumed list clearly showed that it was hard to demarcate its size and meaning, because not even two of the eight descriptions of the tribal affairs are identical.<sup>66</sup> Nonetheless, these differences as well as the anecdotes in the chapter become relevant as soon as is observed that the tribes are referred to in a specific order, equal to that of Joshua 15—19, and that Judges 1 does not focus on the political situation, but on the lack of leadership after Joshua's death and on the increasing guilt pressing on the tribes because of their inability to supplant (יָרַשׁ, *hi.*) the pre-Israelite peoples and to settle (יָשַׁב) their inheritances.<sup>67</sup> The tribe of Judah gets a prominent place in Judges 1:1-21, while the negative climax of Judges 1:22-36 sets off with Joseph as a leading tribe, thus already predicting what will happen later on in the story of Israel's history. The careful development of this plot does not make Judges 1:1—2:5 a smooth text. The story often changes the number of the verbs and persons in a remarkable way. Judges 1:8 and 1:21 offer two different pictures regarding the status of Jerusalem. Besides, both the number of seventy kings mentioned by Adoni-Bezeq and Judah's conquest of cities in the Coastal Plain deviate from what is usual in the historiography of the settlement. So it is clear that Judges 1—2:5 is an amalgam of several traditions. But that does not rule out the fact that it is a historiographical composition with a clear message. This text not only uses elements from the Book of Joshua, but also elaborates on some of its themes, that is, YHWH's promise of the land, the incomplete settlement, the responsibility of Israel's leader in this respect and the threatening presence of pre-Israelite nations. So the tribal affairs of Judges 1 are clearly presented as being complementary to the conquests in the Book of Joshua and the diachronic analysis of the chapter leads to interesting considerations about the origin of the diverse traditions. But at the same time, the conclusion is that the *Negative Bezitsverzeichnis* is not one of these traditions, but the product of the search for a literary foundation for the historical picture of peaceful infiltration.<sup>68</sup>

#### *Aetiological Elements and Compositional Relations*

The question is: how is this with respect to the separate traditions that the form critical research observed in Joshua 9:1—13:7? The first thing that has to be noted as a result of the synchronic analysis of the text is that the sections of this textual unit are interconnected in many ways. The compositional phrases opening and looking back at the stories all refer to kings and coalitions and

<sup>66</sup> Alt, 'Staatenbildung', 61 (= *KS*, Bd. 2, 51); Schunck, *Benjamin*, 77-8; Schmitt, *Frieden*, 59; Weippert, 'Stämme', 87; Rösel, 'Besitzverzeichnis', 124, 131.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. B.G. Webb, *The Book of Judges* (JSOTS, 46), Sheffield 1987, 98-9; M. Weinfeld, 'Judges 1.1-2.5: The Conquest under the Leadership of the House of Judah', in: A.G. Auld (ed.), *Understanding Poets and Prophets* (JSOTS, 152), Sheffield 1993, 398; K.L. Younger, 'The Configuring of Judicial Preliminaries', *JSOT* 68 (1995), 80-2.

<sup>68</sup> For a detailed presentation of the evidence, see Van Bekkum, 'Historiografie van de vestiging', 301-5, 308-9.

describe their lands.<sup>69</sup> Chapter 9—11 all presuppose and refer to the prohibition to make a treaty with the inhabitants of the promised land.<sup>70</sup> Having become their overlord in chapter 9, Joshua is obliged to save the Gibeonites' life in chapter 10.<sup>71</sup> Joshua gets an oracle regarding both battles and in both cases he decides to attack by surprise.<sup>72</sup> In both chapters, phenomena from 'here and now' are used to highlight the importance and implications of what happened 'then'.<sup>73</sup> The stories of 10:16a-27f and 10:28a-39g treat the two questions arising from 10:13ab: what happens to the kings and what to their lands? The anecdote of 10:16a-27f is also connected in other ways to the previous section: it mentions the same kings and takes up the flight of the Amorite coalition to Makkedah; the 'large stones' set against the mouth of the cave at Makkedah allude to the 'large stones' that had fallen from heaven; Joshua's command 'not to stop' stands in sharp contrast to his prayer that the sun and moon should 'stand still'; he refers to YHWH's oracle to him by saying that God has handed the enemies over to Israel; and the defeat of the Amorites is again designated as a 'great slaughter'.<sup>74</sup> In addition 10:28a-39g is anticipated in the previous report that some people escape and reach their cities, while the *כַּאֲשֶׁר*-*Formel* highlights the observance of YHWH's commandments that is also stressed in chapter 11.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, all the cities mentioned in Joshua 10—11 appear in 12:19-24b, while the story refers twice to Sihon and Og in Transjordan.<sup>76</sup>

Finally, the text contains a series of direct and indirect geographical parallels and allusions, together creating a complicated geographical network that shows how intimate the historiographer(s) were with the landscape of the Southern Levant and how keen they were in using this knowledge in describing the relevant cities and regions, suggesting a greater impact of the stories' battles and depicting the conquered and remaining land.<sup>77</sup> They depict the Cisjordanian land as a whole;<sup>78</sup> locate the kings and peoples in their regions;<sup>79</sup> tell about the Hivites;<sup>80</sup> use the same construction to depict different directions in which the enemy is persecuted;<sup>81</sup> suggest why the Anakites survived in Gaza;<sup>82</sup>

<sup>69</sup> 9:1a-4a; 10:1a-5e, 11:1a-5c, 12:7ab, 8ab.

<sup>70</sup> 9:7b, 15a, 16d, 22e; 10:1d, 4d and 11:19ab.

<sup>71</sup> 10:1d, 6c-7b, cf. 9:15b, 26b. The text also refers in several places about the 'peace' between the partners: 9:15a; 10:4d, 11:19ab.

<sup>72</sup> 10:8a-d; 11:6a-e and 10:9a; 11:7a.

<sup>73</sup> 9:27a-c; 10:27ef.

<sup>74</sup> מלך: 10:23c, cf. 10:3ab; מקרה: 10:16ab, cf. 10:10d, 11a; אבנים גדולות: 10:18b, 27e, cf. 10:11b; אלה-עמרי: עמר: 10:19a, cf. 10:13b; נתן ביד: 10:19e, cf. 10:8c; מכה גדולה: 10:20b, cf. 10:10b.

<sup>75</sup> 10:20cd, 1c, 28e, 30d, 32d, 35c, 39efg; 11:15abc.

<sup>76</sup> 9:10ab; 12:2a-5e.

<sup>77</sup> See the ethnographic and geographical excursus in Chapter 3 and section 4.6.

<sup>78</sup> 9:1c; 11:16a-17a; 12:7b.

<sup>79</sup> 9:1a-d; 10:1a, 3ab, 5bc, 6f; 11:1a-3c, 16b; 12:8ab.

<sup>80</sup> 9:7a; 11:19b.

<sup>81</sup> 10:28d; 11:8d.

<sup>82</sup> 10:41b, 11:22ab.

mention a region in the south by the unknown designation 'Goshen';<sup>83</sup> offer a consistent (in the north) and a regular inconsistent (in the south) description of the conquered territory;<sup>84</sup> use the northern border of the conquered territory as the southern border of the northern part of the remaining land;<sup>85</sup> and refer to the division of the land.<sup>86</sup>

#### *Stories about Gibeon and Makkedah*

These connections between the stories of Joshua 9:1—13:7 do not necessarily stress the unity of the text. There always remains the historical possibility that it was composed out of separate traditions. At the same time, however, they show that it is very difficult to delineate and describe them, as can be shown by an analysis of the two most obvious independent narratives, those about the treaty with the Gibeonites and the kings captured in a cave.

With respect to the first narrative, it was already observed in the evaluation of the application of the Documentary Hypothesis in section 5.1 that it is impossible to demarcate two different stories in chapter 9: one of negotiations between the Gibeonites and the 'men of Israel' and the other story about the contact with Joshua. In addition it is unlikely to make a distinction between the stories of 9:3a-15c and 9:16a-27d. The text indeed makes a transition from 9:15c to 9:16a. But the latter cannot be the introduction of another story, simply because of the fact that the first part of the narrative presupposes the prohibition to make a treaty with the inhabitants of the land. So it is inevitable that the story – as indeed happens from 9:16a on – also answers the question what it means that Israel violated this prohibition. Yet, Weippert defines Joshua 9 as the 'crown witness' of the model of peaceful infiltration, because the story obviously reflects a local affair, that is, the making of a treaty between a tribe and the city of Gibeon.<sup>87</sup> This reasonable assumption, however, is not able to stand the test of a detailed study of the passages and phrases regarding the treaty. The legal terminology of Joshua 9 perfectly fits the picture of normal ancient Near Eastern diplomatic contact. This implies that the sending of the delegation (9:4c), the fact that the Gibeonites present themselves as 'slaves' or vassals to their lord (9:8b, 9b, 11c, 24b), the 'peace' (9:15b, 18a, 19d), and finally the expression that the lord may do 'whatever he considers good and right in his eyes' (9:25c) describe a treaty, an oath, and a peace that are all elements of an agreement between a vassal and a partner who is considered to be much stronger. Accordingly, it is very unlikely that the story only originates in a tribal affair, because official requests in this form mostly occur in situations

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<sup>83</sup> 10:41c; 11:16b.

<sup>84</sup> 10:40b-41c; 11:16b-17a; 12:7b, cf. 9:1c; 11:2b.

<sup>85</sup> 11:3c, 8d, 17b; 12:7b; 13:5c-6a.

<sup>86</sup> 11:23b; 12:8a; 13:6d-7b.

<sup>87</sup> Weippert, *Landnahme*, 26.

where a rising and much stronger power is expected to conquer and destroy the political entity in question.<sup>88</sup> This perfectly matches the present context.

The same conclusion must be drawn regarding the supposed tradition about the kings in the cave at Makkedah. This story is substantial enough to be told on its own. But from a literary point of view it is impossible to undo the anecdote from the bindings that connect it to the narrative as a whole. There would be nothing left to read, as was already noticeable in the description of the German form critical discussions regarding Joshua 10. Noth stressed the narrational and literary unity of the narrative and needed a sophisticated tradition-historical hypothesis to substantiate his idea that chapter 10 reflected two traditions. Though, even the tradition-historical hypothesis of an independent existence of the story in a pre-literate stadium falls short, for there is no explanation for its origin. If the aetiological element of 10:27ef is not able to play a primary role and the possibility that the story found its origin in the five trees at Makkedah has to be ruled out, there remains only one explanation for its existence, namely its place in the story about the battle with the Amorite coalition. Consequently, Schunck rightly underlined the tradition-historical unity of the chapter by pointing the attention to the story's geographical extent and the central position of Joshua. But he failed in his turn to observe that the repetitive style and telescoping nature of 10:28a-39f make it unobvious to disconnect 10:28a-e and 10:36a-39f and certain phrases from this section.<sup>89</sup>

So in the end, there is strong evidence from two sides that suggests that it is not reasonable to assume a local origin for the separate sections: first, the sections are interwoven in much more ways than was often observed and second, the attempts to demarcate and define the origin of the pre-literate, oral traditions do not stand the test of tradition-historical logic.

#### *Joshua 10—11 and Judges 1 and 4—5*

Now, it is important to take a new look at the unevennesses in the text that were used and to examine which ideas and hypotheses still offer a valuable contribution to its diachronic analysis.

Regarding Joshua 9, nothing can be added to what was pointed out above. With respect to chapter 10, however, some remarks have to be made as to the attention paid by later scholars to Wellhausen's critical remark about 10:3b. According to Noth, the mentioned kings ruled too far away from Gibeon, had names unlike in 10:5bc and their number did not match either the cities described in 10:28a-39f. So the cities and names were added and the name Adoni-Zedeq was inserted from Judges 1:5-7. Soggin, De Vaux and Weippert already put this argument into perspective and stressed the unity between 10:3d, 5bc and 23c. In addition to this, it has to be noted that the reading in 10:1a of אֲדֹנֵי-בֵּיתָק after LXX and Judges 1:5-7 – which was already unlikely be-

<sup>88</sup> See the detailed comments on 9:6d in section 4.1, 'Making a Treaty' and the Excursus 'Vassal Treaty'.

<sup>89</sup> See Chapter 5, note 36.

cause both stories differ in every respect<sup>90</sup> – has turned out to be unviable with the finding of the Qumran-manuscript 4QJos<sup>a</sup>, which reads אֲדֹנֵי־זֶרֶק.<sup>91</sup> Yet, most significant is the function of the passages within the context of Joshua 9:1—13:7. The names in 10:1a, 3b help in sketching a lively portrait of the Amorite coalition, as do the names of Jabin and Jobab in 11:1ac. It is indeed an interesting question where these names come from, but as such that is not a reason to assume that they were added later. Moreover, the geographical location of the cities is quite logical. They are a problem for scholars looking for a local event, but fit the context of a narrative on the conquest of Cisjordan: the two cities in the mountains and three in Shephelah cover the south (10:3d, 5bc, 23c), while the northern cities are all located on strategic spots surrounding the Galilean mountains (11:1c). Of course, the text only mentions cities within the range of a possible coalition. But at the same time, it highlights the enormous impact the battles have on the surrounding area. Accordingly, the narrative quotes the exaggeration of the Gibeonites (10:6bc) and refers to other kings in the north who are involved (11:2a-3c).<sup>92</sup> In this light, it can also be no surprise that other cities and kings appear on the scene (10:28a-39f; 11:8d, 12a) and that the geographical summaries even mention the kings of the Cisjordanian area as a whole (10:41a-42a; 11:16a-17e; 12:7a-8a).<sup>93</sup> The accurate syntactical construction וְעַר ... עַר in 10:10d and 11:8d clearly supports this broadening view. Therefore, there is no reason at all to eliminate וְעַר־מִקִּירָה in 10:10d, to discuss the attestation of Azekah and to suppose that 10:1a-10d and the rest of the chapter in fact reflect different traditions.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Rudolph, "Elohists", 205.

<sup>91</sup> Ulrich, Cross (eds), *Qumran Cave 4, IX*, 151, Pl. XXXIV, Frg. 17, cf. annotation 10:1a. For the same conclusion from the perspective of the Book of Judges, see B. Lindars, *Judges 1-5*, Edinburgh 1995, 80.

<sup>92</sup> In this light, Rösel's statement that only the kings of Jarmuth and Azekah were present in the battle at Gibeon turns out to be false, while James Barr's conclusion also fails that the phrase 'Debir, king of Eglon' in 10:3b is the product of a complicated process of combination, harmonization and revision of traditions. H.N. Rösel, 'Wer kämpfte auf kanaanäischer Seite in der Schlacht bei Gibeon, Jos X?', *VT* 26 (1976), 505-7; Barr, 'Mythical Monarch Unmasked', 66.

<sup>93</sup> According to some scholars, the designations הַהָר, הַגִּבְעָה and הַשְּׁפֵלָה in these passages form a later application of a scheme that originally only described the landscape of Judea (Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 67, 69; Idem, 'Geographie Südjudäas', 35-6 [= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 197-8]; Rösel, 'Topographie der Kriege', 175). This conclusion, however, does not take into account that the terms are used as a scheme in 15:21-62, but that in most other cases, the geography is the key of their varied use, as for instance can be observed by the term הַשְּׁפֵלָה and הַהָר in 11:2b, 16b. Cf. 2 Kgs 14:25; Jer. 13:19; 17:26; 32:44; 33:13; 47:7; Ezek. 25:16. So Zecharia Kallai rightly states: "These are technical terms of geographical features. Even if it is well-known that these terms were used to denote larger tracts of land in administrative usage, and particularly in Judah, they are far too universal to be pressed for literary analysis" (Kallai, *Biblical Historiography*, 196).

<sup>94</sup> As against Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 64; Schunck, *Benjamin*, 30; De Vaux, *Histoire ancienne*, t. 1, 579. The idea of Fritz, 'Das Ende der spätbronzezeitlichen Stadt Hazor', 129-30 that

What does this conclusion of Joshua 10 and 11 being composed as fairly consistent narratives mean for the relation between Joshua 11 and Judges 4–5? The excavations at Tel Hazor instigated Noth to alter his view regarding the old tradition behind the first story. For now, however, it is important to look at the literary relation between the two. Four parallels ask for an explanation:<sup>95</sup> the stories mention Hazor (11:1a, 10bd, 11c, 13b; Judg. 4:1); they call a certain ‘Jabin’ its king (11:1a; Judg. 4:1, 23-24); the kings of Canaan are involved (11:3a, 10d; Judg. 5:19, cf. 4:23); and the battles take place at locations that look similar: ‘at the Waters of “The Height”’ (על/אל-מי מרום), 11:5c, 7a), ‘on the heights of the field’ and ‘on the waters of Megiddo’ (על-מי מגידו; על-מרומי שדה), Judg. 5:18-19).

Yet, a closer inspection of these parallels reveals that it is very hard to maintain a common origin for both stories. The city of Hazor plays a very different role in each of the narratives: it is very prominent in Joshua 11, but does not occur in Judges 5 and is only mentioned as Jabin’s residence in Judges 4:2. In addition, the geographical designations depict two battles at total different scenes, the first taking place at the spring of Nabi Shu’eib at the foothill of Tel Qarney Hittin in Upper Galilee and the second in the Jezreel Valley between Megiddo and Taanach.<sup>96</sup> So the only striking features left are the name of king Jabin and the fact that he is at the head of a coalition of Canaanite kings. The analysis of the form critical research already revealed that ‘Jabin’ in 11:1a is not a later addition. It is also unlikely that Judges 4 draws on that account, for in Joshua 11, Hazor is already razed and Jabin slain. Moreover, the figure of Sisera complicates the matter, although his sketch as a commander and the fact that he does not live in Hazor make it clear that he is not a king – which could be assumed from the use of the literary motif of the woman at the (palace) balustrade in Judges 5:28-30 – and that Jabin is supposed to be his chief.

As a result, there remain two different narratives with two common features: a king and a series of Canaanite kinglets. How is that to be explained? It is possible that Jabin, king of Hazor, was pre-eminently known by the Israelite historiographers as the king of the kings of Canaan.<sup>97</sup> This hypothesis becomes even more interesting in the light of the names of the rulers of Hazor as they appear in several Mari Letters (*ib-ni-<sup>d</sup>IM šar(LUGAL) ḥa-šú-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*, ‘Ibni-Addu, the king of Hazor’, and an Old Babylonian Letter Fragment, found at Tel Hazor in 1991, which possibly reads *ib-ni-[<sup>d</sup>IM]*, ‘to Ibni-Addu’.<sup>98</sup> Consequently, the previous suggestion of Abraham Malamat that Jabin functioned as a dynastic

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11:10a-11c is a needless repetition of 11:8ef and 11:12a also fails, for the eliminated passage answers the question what happens to Hazor, which initiated the coalition.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Rösel, ‘Topographie der Kriege’, 173.

<sup>96</sup> See section 3.3, the Excursus ‘From Maron to the Valley of Mizpeh’ and Rainey, ‘Waters of Megiddo’, 61\*-6\*; Idem, ‘Haroshet-Hagoiim’, 46-8, as against Halpern, *First Historians*, 90.

<sup>97</sup> Halpern, *First Historians*, 89-90.

<sup>98</sup> *ARMT* 23, 556:22, 26, 32, cf. 541:9. Horowitz, Shaffner, ‘Letter from Hazor’, 166. Cf. annotation 11:1a in Chapter 2 and note 162 in Chapter 3.

name wins credibility.<sup>99</sup> This evidence, however, cannot be used to decide whether the Israelite historians used their knowledge about Jabin and Hazor to create fiction or to give a historical account of what had happened in the past, because that depends on the diachronic analysis of Joshua 9:1—13:7 as a whole.

*Kings listed in Joshua 12:9a-24b*

The form critical discussion regarding the supposed list of 12:9a-24b happily throws some light on the issue of the growth of the text. Fritz rightly observed that the attestation of several cities underlines the relatively independent character of the list, for Geder, Hormah, Arad, Adullam, Tappuah, Hopher, Aphek, Taanach, Megiddo, Kedesh, Jokneam and Tirzah are not mentioned in Joshua 1—11. His intuition that the words מלך and אחרד did not occur in the original list is also worth consideration. The text critical problems regarding 12:18ab, 19a and 20a at least tend in this direction.<sup>100</sup> Two objections, however, make it hard to confirm that the list formerly only mentioned names of cities and regions. From a methodological point of view, it is not convincing to use only the evidence of LXX to take such a diachronic decision. In addition, the term מלך plays an important role in the tension the chapter creates between the settlement of Trans- and Cisjordan in 12:1a-6b and 8a-24b. Another question is how the supposed list was connected to the story of the conquest. The observation that it is very hard to maintain that the names of the cities are later insertions from the list of chapter 12 into the narratives of chapter 10 and 11, reveals that there is definitely a connection. This is confirmed by the names and order of the list. Strikingly, nine of its geographical names that are not mentioned in chapter Joshua 10—11 are also not attested in Judges 1, while the order does not seem to be purely geographical either.<sup>101</sup> The three parts of the list – 12:9a-10a, 10b-16b, 17a-24a – merely suggest a movement from Gilgal to Jericho and Ai; then through the southern hill country, the Shephelah and the Negev; and finally along the coast, through the passes towards the Jezreel Valley to the northern plains and hills. In this way the list of defeated kings clearly reflects the conquest account of Joshua 6—11. Even the cities not mentioned in the story reflect this picture.<sup>102</sup> Consequently it seems reasonable to elaborate on Noth's idea of an independent list and at the same time to suppose that it was somehow always connected to the stories of the Book of Joshua. However, that is no reason to assume with Aharoni that the traditions regarding the cities that are not attested in these stories have been lost. Their existence cannot be proven and it was also fairly common in the Ancient Near East that conquest accounts were followed by summarizing lists containing

<sup>99</sup> Malamat, *Mari and Early Israelite Experience*, 58. Cf. Kitchen, *On the Reliability*, 175, 213.

<sup>100</sup> See annotation 11:1c, 11:1d and 12:18j-j.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 57.

<sup>102</sup> See section 3.4, the Excursus 'Conquered Transjordan'.

new information.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, the conclusion also has to be refuted that the list was constructed by deriving the names from narratives in Joshua and elsewhere.<sup>104</sup>

As a result, the list of 12:9a-24b still stands as a possible source for the historiography of Joshua 9:1—13:7.

*Fragments in Joshua 12:1a-6b and 13:1a-7b*

More problematic, however, are the form critical considerations regarding the geographical descriptions in 12:1a-6b and 13:1a-7e. According to Noth the deuteronomic historian was responsible for the composition of Joshua 12. But he did not offer a comprehensive interpretation of the entire chapter and missed to detect the importance of the depiction, also in this chapter, of the promised land as a successor territory.<sup>105</sup> This explains why he stated that the elaborations on the territory of Sihon and Og in 12:2b-3c and 5a-e made no sense and had to be later additions due to Deuteronomy 3:12, 16-17.<sup>106</sup>

Even more disappointing is Noth's treatment of the geography and meaning of 13:1a-7a. It was already noted above that the geographical descriptions in 9:1—13:7 create a concept alluding to the same borders and regions that are at stake in chapter 15—19. So the parallels between 11:23c and the conclusion of 14:15 and between 13:1a and 23:1 as such do not suffice to assume a different ending of the Book of Joshua. 23:1-2 presuppose 13:1a-d and the land that is conquered still has to be divided among the nine and a half tribes (cf. 1:12-15; Deut. 3:12-13, 18-22).<sup>107</sup> Whether this has to be interpreted in a diachronic or a compositional way remains to be seen, but it is clear that 13:1a-d is a logical continua-

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<sup>103</sup> Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 230-2, who mentions the Armant Stela of Thutmose III, the Kadesh inscriptions of Ramses II, Sargon's Letter to the God and the annals of Sennacherib.

<sup>104</sup> Thus Schmitt, *Frieden*, 116-20.

<sup>105</sup> See the detailed comments on the parallel between 12:1a and 7a in section 3.4, 'Defeated Kings'.

<sup>106</sup> Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 71. Similar remarks can be made regarding the analysis of Manfred Wüst. In his view, the unity of 12:1\*<sup>5</sup> can be defended, although 12:2d – which is connected to 13:9, 11 and Deut. 3:15-16 – has to be removed because of the fact that יעד would be syntactically inappropriate, and 12:3c is an addition due to Deut. 3:17; 4:49. But that does not mean that 12:1\*<sup>5</sup> originally belonged to the chapter. 11:17ab is also a later addition, because it doubles 11:16ab and is composed of elements of 12:7b and 13:5c. The problem with this view is not only that the assumed inappropriate syntax should be put into perspective. Wüst also (a) misinterprets the parallel between 12:1a and 7a; (b) does not take into consideration that the 12:1a-6b combines a broad sketch of conquered land with the idea of Transjordan as a successor territory; (c) does not observe that the polarity between kings and their lands is already present in chapter 10—11; and (d) tries to reduce the provenance of many texts to ancient border descriptions that would underlie 13:15-32. Wüst, *Untersuchungen zu den siedlungsgeographischen Texten*, 13-24, 29-30, 52-55.

<sup>107</sup> See e.g. Rudolph, "Elohism", 211-2.

tion of 12:24ab.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, Noth's view of הַאֲרֶץ in 13:1d – ignoring the context, which demonstrates that it is only definite in the imagination (cf. *WO* § 13.5.1e) – has as a consequence that it designated the conquered land as depicted in chapter 12 and not the remaining land in 13:2a-6d. As a result, he understood the latter passage as a mistake.

With respect to the geographical description itself, Noth rightly observed with Elliger that it somehow reflected the geography in the historiography of the Davidic Empire and also guessed that it had something to do with 11:8d. But his unlikely identifications of Aphek and Lebo Hamath and also of Baal Gad led to a serious misinterpretation of the depiction of the conquered and the remaining land, to several unjustified disapproving statements and to the wrong conclusion that the passage does not take into account the border descriptions of Joshua 13—19.<sup>109</sup> As a result, Alt and Noth also offered an unconvincing diachronic analysis of the relation between Joshua 11:8d, chapter 19 and 2 Samuel 24. Both scholars stated that part of 19:28-29 had to be secondary due to 2 Samuel 24:5-7, while Noth also concluded that 19:33-34 was incomplete, because of his assumption that the northern half of Dan was also included in the original document, but was left out by a redactor.<sup>110</sup> The latter hypothesis, however, fails in the light of the fact that the Danite area in the north fills the gap between the Naphtalite territory and the northern border of the conquered land – which is explained by 19:47 – while 19:33 is not to be interpreted as the northern, but as the southern border of Naphtali.<sup>111</sup> The relation with 2 Samuel 24 is also more complicated. Both texts are quite similar and make sense from a geographical point of view. But at the same time they are far from identical and the description in Joshua includes places not mentioned in Samuel.<sup>112</sup> Accordingly, it is doubtful that the paragraph in Joshua 19 was copied as it is improbable that the text in 2 Samuel would be the result of

<sup>108</sup> For the first options, see e.g. Smend, 'Das Gesetz und die Völker', 498 (= Idem, *GS*, Bd. 1, 127-8); Auld, *Joshua, Moses and the Land*, 66-7; Mayes, *Story of Israel*, 47-9. For the latter: Hawk, *Contesting Plots*, 99-100; M. Ottosson, *Josuaaboken. En programskrift för davidisk restauration* (Studia Biblica Upsaliensia, 1), Uppsala 1991, 266-8.

<sup>109</sup> Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 73-6. Noth called the passage 'das uneinheitliche und schlecht formulierte Stück'. In his view the parallel of Judg. 3:3 was much shorter and clearer. Originally, it only consisted of the two עַר ... מִן constructions in 13:3ab and 4b and possibly also contained 13:5a. 13:3a is 'eine syntaktisch in der Luft hängende Glosse', while מִזְרַח הַשְּׁמֶשׁ in 13:5b does not declare anything about the Lebanon. Finally, he stated that 13:6a is 'ein unverständlicher Zusatz'. A similar conclusion is drawn by Smend, 'Das uneroberte Land', 92 (= *GS*, Bd. 2, 218): regarding 13:2a-6b: "ihr text ist fehlerhaft erhalten und nicht alle ihre geographische Angaben sind eindeutig".

<sup>110</sup> Alt, 'Galiläische Ortsliste', 69; Noth, 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumente', 257-8; Idem, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 114, 119, followed by Schmitt, *Frieden*, 62; Wüst, *Siedlungsgeographischen Texten*, 142-3, 166.

<sup>111</sup> Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 227-8; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 46-7.

<sup>112</sup> Frankel, 'Territory of the Tribe of Asher', 63.

scribal speculation and combination of Joshua 13 and 19.<sup>113</sup> The assumption is preferable that both texts existed independent from one another, but reflect the same geographical concept and may be even the result of the same historical background.<sup>114</sup> So the conclusion has to be the same as in the case of the Documentary Hypothesis, namely that the serious problems of the 13:1a-7b are not solved with help of the form critical method and that it is better to take the geographical framework as a point of departure in formulating a diachronic hypothesis.

#### *Collector and Deuteronomist*

Finally, one issue has to be treated, that is, Noth's ideas on the composition of the narrative by his hypothesis that first a collector and later a deuteronomist had a decisive contribution in the formation of Joshua 9:1—13:7. These proposals are problematic in the light of the abovementioned considerations. The evaluation of the application of the Documentary Hypothesis showed that it is difficult to delineate the deuteronomist additions, while the form critical assumption of separate traditions that had to be collected, turned out to be a theoretical construction. Noth rightly observed, for instance, that there is a clear transition between 9:2c and 3a, that 10:2abd add specific information to the story, as 10:1c, 2b are doing, and that 10:40bc, 41a-42c and 11:16a-20a are important tools in depicting the story's geographical impact. But that does not rule out the fact that these fragments are too well integrated in the story to ascribe them to specific authors, the *Sammler* and the Deuteronomist. Why should the collector have created a compositional passage like 11:1a-2b, but not the similar paragraphs 9:1a-2c and 10:1a-5c? Why is he not responsible for the geographical description in 10:28a-39g, 11:12a and 12:1a-6b?

Noth really struggles with the fact that he has observed compositional elements that do not fit the traditional language of D, while there are other parts of the story fitting this source or layer.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, he is obliged to create artificial tensions and breaks between both authors, based on differences in language or transitions in the narrative that in themselves do not justify his conclusions. But despite all this, it is very hard to overestimate the contribution of Noth to the diachronic analysis of the Book of Joshua. His idea of a *Sammler* cleared the way for a discussion about the compositional framework of the Book of Joshua on its own terms and his speaking of a Deuteronomist as a historian led to a new approach of the writer(s) of biblical historiography. He is "not merely an *editor*, but the author of a history which brought together mate-

<sup>113</sup> Thus H. Donner, 'The Interdependence of Internal Affairs and Foreign Policy during the Davidic-Solomonic Period', in: Ishida (ed.), *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon*, 211-2.

<sup>114</sup> Na'aman, *Borders and Districts*, 45-7, 50.

<sup>115</sup> For the 9:9d-10b, 24a-f, 27d and 10:25a-d to D and the specific function of 11:21a-22b, see this section, 'Literary Criticism' at the evaluation of the Documentary Hypothesis.

rial from highly varied traditions and arranged it according to a carefully conceived plan".<sup>116</sup> Of course, the distinction between the *Sammler* and the Deuteronomist remains problematic. But the idea that Old Testament historiography is the result of the work of historians who made a deliberate selection of the material at their disposal and provided a connecting narrative to make a point is clearly a step forward. It will be the challenge of the next sections to take this as a point of departure in formulating a historiographic hypothesis regarding Joshua 9:1—13:7.

### 5.3 Deuteronomism

As was noted in section 1.2, Noth's proposals regarding the Deuteronomistic History did not result in further reflections on the nature of the literary work of its author, but merely in detailed considerations regarding the diverse redactional layers that could be observed in the text. Noth had stated that deuteronomistic history offered an explanation for the exile, which the author and his people experienced in Babylonia: Israel had not been obedient to YHWH's commandments as given in the Book of Deuteronomy. Accordingly, the function and meaning of the law and the different ways it was applied in the depiction of Israel's history became important means in detaching and delineating the different phases in the development of what was called the 'Deuteronomistic School'.

#### *Elimination*

A first angle from which scholars tried to distinguish different redactional layers was the way the texts described the supplanting and elimination of the pre-Israelite peoples. Alt had stated that the violence between the Israelite tribes and the inhabitants of the land only occurred secondarily, that is, in the phase of the *Landesaubau*, while it was also common sense that the structural description of the conquest in terms of *חרם* occurred much later. Based on this assumption, Norbert Lohfink observed several stages in the development of the story of the settlement. In a first stage Deuteronomy 1 – Joshua 22 was composed in the times of king Josiah of Judah. This work only presupposed an old treaty text commanding the supplanting of the pre-Israelite nations. During exile, however, a deuteronomistic editor made the story much more violent by the use of *ירש*, *hi*. and by adding verbs like *חרם* and *שמר*, *hi*. This picture, however, was put into perspective by some later deuteronomists, while finally the

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<sup>116</sup> Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 11 (ET: Idem, *The Deuteronomistic History* [JSOTS, 15], Sheffield 1981, 10). For the distinction between an editor and author and the emphasis on the first term in the original German, see J. Van Seters, *The Edited Bible. The Curious History of the "Editor" in Biblical Criticism*, Winona Lake, IN 2006, 261-2.

Deuteronomistic History was reworked from a pacifist, priestly perspective.<sup>117</sup> Lohfink asserted that it is not impossible that the author of Joshua 10:28a-39g had a source at his disposal. But the passage itself could only have been written in exile, for in his view, the author probably tried to contrast Joshua 8 and 10 as do Deuteronomy 31 and 1—3 in the application of חרם.<sup>118</sup>

A similar view was offered by Moshe Weinfeld, who embraced Lohfink's philological analyses, because they elaborated on a discrepancy he had detected between the epilogue of the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 23:20-33) and the military orations of the Book of Deuteronomy and the deuteronomistic school, that is, the fact that according to the former *God* would dispossess the peoples of Canaan, while the latter commands *Israel* to supplant the Canaanites.<sup>119</sup> Weinfeld linked this type of reasoning being with the circles of scribes and sages at the courts of the Judean kings Hezekiah and Josiah respectively. The final composition of the Deuteronomistic History was in his view closed at the beginning of the 6th century BCE. Consequently, the framework of the patriotic description of the conquest – replacing the earlier sketch of Moses as a national-religious leader by Joshua as a national-military leader – was definitely deuteronomistic in origin. This is, for instance, confirmed by the geographical description of 10:41bc, which exactly matches the borders of Judah in the Josianic period. The presence of pre-Israelite nations in the books of Judges and Samuel leads to the same conclusion. Apparently, the annihilation of the Canaanites is an application of an utopian law that was written in retrospect under influence of the Assyrian war descriptions.<sup>120</sup> This, however, does not mean that the Book of Joshua does not contain ancient individual narratives regarding the conquest of individual cities. The combination of Joshua 9 and 2 Samuel 21, for instance, makes it clear that the period of Saul is the most appropriate time for crystallization of anti-Canaanite ideology, in contrast to that of David and Solomon, who rescued the pre-Israelites from annihilation. In this view, the core of 9:3a-18b sought to justify Saul's breach of the treaty.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot*, 172-80; Idem, 'Kerygmata, 90-100 (= Idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium*, Bd. 2, 129-42); Idem, 'Die Schichten des Pentateuch und der der Krieg', 51-110; Idem, ירש, 968-74; Idem, חרם, 198-9, 208-12; Idem, שבו, 185, 192-6. Cf. E. Otto, *Krieg und Frieden in der hebräischen Bibel und im alten Orient*, Stuttgart 1999, 96-106.

<sup>118</sup> Lohfink, 'Geschichtstypologisch orientierte Textstrukturen', 152-6.

<sup>119</sup> Weinfeld, *Deuteronomistic School*, 46-8; Idem, *Promise of the Land*, 82-4.

<sup>120</sup> Weinfeld, *Deuteronomistic School*, 8-9, 48-51, 167; Idem, *Promise of the Land*, 90-3, 145-7, 149-53. Weinfeld describes 10:25a-43a and 11:10a—12:24b as 'manifestly deuteronomistic in character' and confirms this judgement by the detection of 'deuteronomistic phraseology' in 9:27d; 10:7b, 8bd, 19a-e, 25a-d, 28d, 30c, 33c, 37c, 39d, 40cd; 11:8f, 9c, 11b, 14c; 12:6b, 7c. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomistic School*, 48, 50, 324, 342-4.

<sup>121</sup> Weinfeld, *Deuteronomistic School*, 49; Idem, *Promise of the Land*, 95-7, 142. This position was previously defended by e.g. Möhlenbrink, 'Landnahmesagen', 244; J. Liver, 'The Literary History of Jos IX', *JJS* 8 (1963), 242-3.

*Law and Land*

Smend used a different angle to study the deuteronomic reflections on the law, namely that of the land, because of the statement of Deuteronomy that an obedient Israel will inherit the land (Deut. 11:22-25). He did not introduce new literary critical or form critical insights, but studied the contribution of what Noth had called 'the work of a contemporary editor' by taking a look at the difference between passages highlighting the complete fulfilment of the promise of the land and those describing the non-conquered territories. In Smend's view both redactional layers highlighted the observance of YHWH's commands. The first did so by ignoring the stories about Achan and Gibeon and depicting the all-inclusive character of the conquest demanded by Deuteronomy, for instance in 11:16a-20c, 23a-c and 21:43-45. But the second – attested in 1:7-9, 13:1d-6d; 23; Judges 1:1—2:9, 17, 20-21, 23; 3:1-6 and identified by its unique speaking about the 'book of the law' – used the presence of the pre-Israelite peoples as guilt, thus underlining the importance of the law in the dark, post-exilic reality. Therefore, Smend called this editor the 'nomistic deuteronomist' and labelled its layer 'DtrN'.<sup>122</sup>

The hypothesis of Smend was followed by many scholars, for instance by Fritz in his commentary on the Book of Joshua that should replace the one of Noth in the series 'Handbuch zum Alten Testament'. Fritz distinguishes between at least four layers: a *Grundschrift* that consisted of the reworking of ancient traditions by the deuteronomic historian; the contribution of deuteronomist (DtrH); a deuteronomist redaction from the exilic or early Persian period (DtrN or RedD); a post-priestly edition from the 5th century BCE (RedP). He also found some later editorial additions from the 4th century.<sup>123</sup> His commentary offers detailed comments on the different editorial strands, but discusses neither the relation between them nor the literary-historical criteria sustaining his distinctions.

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<sup>122</sup> Smend, 'Das Gesetz und die Völker', 494-509 (= *GS*, Bd 1, 124-37); Idem, 'Das uneroberete Land', in: 91-101 (= *GS*, Bd. 2, 217-28). Cf. Auld, *Joshua, Moses and the Land*, 52-5. According to Smend, DtrN used sources from the period of the Judges (Judg. 1:19, 21, 27-35) as well as from the time of the monarchy (13:2a-6b). The reasons for not having inherited the land differ from fragment to fragment. So DtrN is full of theological reflection.

<sup>123</sup> V. Fritz, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT), Tübingen 1994, 3-9, 96-147. Fritz delineates only a few ancient traditions going back to the times of the early monarchy. The battle story of 10:1ab, 2ab, 3a-7b $\alpha$ , 8a-9a, 10a-d, 12a-15a uses most likely a written source, while the story of 10:16a-23b, 24a-27f was an oral tradition. The deuteronomist created the fictional narratives of 9:3a-7c, 9ab, 11a-15b; 10:28a-32d, 34a-39g, 40a-e, 42a-c, 43a; 11:1ab, 4a-12c, 14a-c, 15a-d; 12:1a, 9a-24b, and 13:1a-d, 7a-e. RedD is present in 9:1a-2c, 16a-17c, 22a-26c; 11:16a-20c; 12:1b-d, 2a-e, 4a-5e, 7a-c and 13:2a-6d, while RedP is responsible for 9:15c, 18a-21a, 27a-d. *Nachträge* are found in 9:8a-d, 9c-10b; 10:1cd, 2cd, 7b $\beta$ , 9b, 11a-d, 33a-c, 41a-c, 11:2a-3c, 13ab, 21a-23c; 12:1e, 3a-c, 6ab, 8ab. Contrary to his early opinion, Fritz viewed the list of 12:9a-24b, which was used by DtrH as a literary composition.

More insightful efforts in this direction were made by Ed Noort in several essays on the Book of Joshua. Noort agrees with Smend, but also with Lothar Perlitt that the deuteronomic reflections on relation between law and land are the key to the development of deuteronomic editorial contributions to the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua.<sup>124</sup> The descriptions and qualifications of the land in the Old Testament should not be understood as a reference to its possession *sec*, but functions always as a mirror of human behaviour.<sup>125</sup> According to Noort, the deuteronomic debate regarding this issue becomes for instance tangible in the opposition between the complete fulfilment of 11:23a-c and 21:43-35 – stressing Israel's guilt by the enlarging of YHWH's gift in a six-fold כּל during exile – on the one hand, and 13:1b-6c, highlighting the observance of the torah during the wearisome edification of post-exilic Judah, on the other.<sup>126</sup>

In his following studies, Noort stressed time and again that the relation between both editorial strands should be comprehended as a process. Joshua 9, for instance, was a positive story that is reworked from the perspective of Deuteronomy 20:15-18 and in 10:1a-11d the complete victory is put into perspective by additions disclosing the threat of reality of the remaining peoples in 10:2c, 4d, 5c, 6f.<sup>127</sup> The addition of 1:3-4 also adds a theological reflection to the picture of the land as a *tabula rasa* in chapter 10—11 by using an Assyrian or Babylonian expression – the Euphrates – in its description of the northern boundary of the promised land in order to increase Israel's guilt. Besides, the passage transforms the speech of Moses in Numbers 27 to Joshua into a divine oracle, while it also predicts the presence of Gibeon in chapter 9 and sketches the choice between life and death in the opposition between the Lebanon and the desert.<sup>128</sup> According to Noort, the development of this 'nomistic' view on the relation between law and land finally led to the story of the codification of the law in the land by the late insertion of 8:30-35 before 9:1a, exactly in the

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<sup>124</sup> Cf. L. Perlitt, 'Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie', in: Strecker (ed.), *Land in biblischer Zeit*, 47 (= Idem, *Deuteronomium Studien* [FAT, 8], Tübingen 1994, 124): 'Was sich der Deuteronomismuskforschung allezeit literarhistorisch ergab, ist also auch geschichtlich und religionsgeschichtlich evident: Wie man die Liebe beschwört, wenn sie schwach geworden ist, so das Land, als es zerbröckelte', cited in E. Noort, *Een plek om te zijn*, Groningen 1993, 7. Perlitt's view of Joshua 9 as a pre-deuteronomic composition is remarkable in this light. L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament* (WMANT 36), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, 56.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. E. Noort, 'Land and Reconciliation, Land Claims and Loss of Land', *Nederduits-Gereformeerde Theologische Tydskrif* 39/2 (1998), 12-28.

<sup>126</sup> Noort, 'Land in zicht?', 104-8.

<sup>127</sup> Noort, 'Zwischen Mythos und Rationalität', 153-60.

<sup>128</sup> Noort, 'Josua und seine Aufgabe', 73-84, cf. Perlitt, 'Motive und Schichten', 52-3 (= Idem, *Deuteronomium Studien* [FAT, 8], Tübingen 1994, 102-3); Idem, *Deuteronomium*, 37, 39, 41-9.

middle of stories illustrating the observance (chapters 6, 10—11) and the violation (chapter 8 and 9) of the code.<sup>129</sup>

### *Law and Leadership*

In the Anglo-Saxon world, scholars also reflected on the two editors delineated by Smend, but there it happened within the framework of the theory of the double redaction of the 'Deuteronomic History' as developed by Cross. Andrew Mayes, for instance, stated that the passages in Deuteronomy 29 on the clothes and sandals that had not been worn out and about the alien in the Israelite camp chopping wood and carrying water, showed along which lines the positive story about the presence of the Gibeonites was reworked into a the present, negative one in Joshua 9.<sup>130</sup>

In his turn Richard Nelson followed Noth in his reconstruction of Joshua's literary history, although he did not accept his exilic dating.<sup>131</sup> In addition, however, Nelson contributed in two ways to the discussion. Firstly, he questioned the presence of the second deuteronomic redaction in the Book of Joshua by asking attention for the book's conceptual unity. Although 13:2a-6d; 23:4, 7, 12 and chapter 24 were inserted later – partly because of a misunderstanding of 13:1a-d – the first editor was also interested in the law and the whole argument of contradicting views of the conquered land was in his opinion a 'shaky argument'. In his commentary, Nelson even stated that Joshua was not just a plotted narrative, but a book of mental maps. So regarding the diachronic analysis much depends on the ideological tension scholars are able to endure.<sup>132</sup> In the second place, Nelson stressed the parallels between Joshua and king Josiah of Judah by adding his own ideas to previous observations of Lohfink and Roy Porter regarding the royal nature of Joshua in 1:1-9. This passage would represent a regular formula for the installation of a person into a definite office (1:1-9 // 1 Kgs 2:2-4); it asks Joshua to meditate on the law, as is done in the Law of the King (1:8 // Deut. 17:18-19); Joshua has a role in the covenant renewal (8:30-35); the transfer from Moses to Joshua and from David to Solomon would both reflect a dynastic pattern (1:2 // 1 Kgs 2:2); both Joshua and Solomon divide the land (11:23a-c // 1 Kgs 4:7-19); the people's pledge of uncompromising obedience to Joshua reminds the reader of vassal

<sup>129</sup> Noort, *Een plek om te zijn*, 8-21. Noort observes similar developments in textual criticism. See E. Noort, '4QJosh<sup>a</sup> and the History of Tradition in the Book of Joshua', *JNES* 24 (1998), 127-44.

<sup>130</sup> Mayes, *Story of Israel*, 47-9, 53-56, 77; Idem, 'Deuteronomy, Joshua 9, and the Place of the Gibeonites in Israel', in: N. Lohfink (ed.), *Das Deuteronomium. Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft*, (BETL, 78), Leuven 1985, 321-5; Mayes, *Story of Israel*, 47-9, 53-56, 77. P.J. Kearney, 'The Role of the Gibeonites in the Deuteronomistic History', *CBQ* 35 (1973), 1-19 already argued that Joshua was a post-exilic deuteronomistic composition because of its dependence of Deut. 29.

<sup>131</sup> Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 20-4, 43; Idem, *Joshua*, 6-11. Cf. M.A. O'Brien, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis: a Reassessment* (OBO, 92), Göttingen 1989, 69-74.

<sup>132</sup> Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 24; Idem, *Joshua*, 2, 6-7, 11.

treaties; and finally, Joshua and Solomon receive YHWH's divine favour (3:7; 4:14 // 1 Kgs 3:12-13, 28).<sup>133</sup>

According to Nelson, several striking features confirm this picture. The divine assurance of rest in the promised land to the people in Deuteronomy 11:24 is applied to Joshua in 1:4 as if he is a Davidic royal figure (cf. 2 Sam. 7:11); Joshua is able to impose the death penalty to those who do not obey him (1:18, cf. e.g. 2 Sam. 16:5-9; 1 Kgs 2:24); and he makes a copy of the law (8:32, cf. Deut. 17:18; 2 Kgs 11:12). So in Nelson's view, there is no doubt that Joshua is a royal figure who acts as a forerunner of Josiah of Judah as described in 2 Kings 22—23. Hence, the concept of total conquest matches with the nationalistic optimism of the late 7th century BCE. Josiah is the man with the book of the law, who acts as a covenant mediator and strives for a triumphant recovery of ancestral territory left wide open by the Assyrian withdrawal.<sup>134</sup>

#### *Faction or Fictionalizing Historiography*

Some scholars followed Nelson in his hypothesis.<sup>135</sup> Others looked in a different direction within the framework of the hypothesis of the Deuteronomistic History, namely that of a consistent narrative entirely composed by a deuteronomist historian. According to Halpern, the story of conquest and settlement shows that the Israelite historians who wrote Deuteronomy and the Book of Joshua, identified the Iron Age kin-based, territorial kingdoms of Ammon, Moab, Edom and Israel as YHWH's avengers against an autochthonous population organized politically into individual city states. Their sources can be found in the story of J about the conquest of Transjordan (Deut. 2—3, cf. Num. 21), in an annual ritual that took place between Sittim and Gilgal (Joshua 2—5), in a story about a local treaty between Gibeon and Israel that resulted in a battle with an Amorite coalition led by Jerusalem (9:1a—10:15a, cf. 2 Sam. 21:1-14; Isa. 28:21) and in a local victory (11). In addition, the sites of an Israelite settlement, or of no settlement at all, atop of a noble tell such as Jericho, Ai, Jarmuth, Arad and Eglon inspired Israelite storytellers and historians to deduce that Joshua had taken the place (6—8, 10).<sup>136</sup>

<sup>133</sup> N. Lohfink, 'Die deuteronomistische Darstellung', 32-44 (= Idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium*, Bd. 1, 89-97, esp. 91-2, 95; Porter, 'Succession of Joshua', 102-32. Cf. R.D. Nelson, 'Josiah in the Book of Joshua', *JBL* 100 (1981), 531-3.

<sup>134</sup> Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 124; Idem, 'Josiah in the Book of Joshua', 533-8.

<sup>135</sup> Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 13-5, 44-8. Magnus Ottosson and Marvin Sweeney agreed only in part. Ottosson defined the Book of Joshua more generally as a 7th century deuteronomistic program for the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, mainly for geographical reasons. In his view, the deuteronomist uses P-material and is aware of the divided kingdom, as can be observed in 11:16-20. Ottosson, *Josuaaboken*, 260-8. Sweeney argues that the Book of Joshua anticipates the failure and exile of the northern kingdom. It was composed during the time of Hezekiah. A later editor added chapter 1, 8:30-35 and 23 to highlight the law and draw parallels between Joshua and Josiah. M.A. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah. The Lost Messiah of Israel*, Oxford 2001, 127-36.

<sup>136</sup> Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', 1121-2, 1135.

Yet, Halpern stresses the unity of the story. Many details in the description of the battles come from the time of the narrator and there is a schematic and self-aggrandizing overlay over the tradition by the historian, for instance in 10:40a-43a, 11:16a-20c and 11:21a-22d. This produces some geographical and historiographical tensions. Nevertheless, the formulations themselves do not create contradictions. There is a difference between the verbs *ירש*, *hi.* and *לכד*, as is evident from Judges 1, and also the story itself makes it clear that military domination does not translate mechanically into supplanting the Amorites, for victory at war is merely the preface to the work of rooting out the existing population and colonizing the land. In Halpern's view, the tension is attested for two reasons. In this way, the story can be told without dismissing YHWH's injunction to blot out the memory of the indigenous peoples. At the same time the distinction between the conquered (12) and the remaining land (13:1a-6d) defines Canaan like Judges 2:6—3:6 with the dimensions of Egypt's Ramesside Empire, and of David's.

So in the end, there is no contradiction between Joshua and Judges. On the contrary, the separation of the de- and repopulation of the promised land within the story as a whole permits the historian to explain how Israel came into political control of parts of Canaan, and finally, under David, of all of it. However, it also has to be noted that the assertions of the story of conquest and settlement exaggerate, telescope and distort the historical process beyond recognition.<sup>137</sup>

The fictionalizing efforts of the assumed deuteronomistic historian were even more stressed by Van Seters and Na'aman. For Van Seters, the Neo-Assyrian campaign reports obtained solid proof of the fact that the campaign account in the Book of Joshua is dependent on the Assyrian royal inscription tradition and that a pre-exilic historian was its author and creator. In his view, 13:1a-7b had to be attributed to P, because it doubled chapter 23 and greatly expanded the conquest and settlement theme by offering precise sketch of the remaining and conquered land that must be allotted.<sup>138</sup>

Na'aman also stressed the contribution of the deuteronomistic historian in the Book of Joshua. This author was well acquainted with the environment and told a national all-Israelite story, from which it is impossible to untie separate pre-deuteronomistic traditions. It merely seems that he borrowed outlines from concrete events that had taken place in the history of Israel in order to add a sense of authenticity to the narratives.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, Na'aman views the combination of chapter 9 and 10 as the result of a post-exilic redactor who invented and inserted the legendary story of the Gibeonites on the base of 2 Samuel 21:1-14 so as to deal with the problem of the relationships with the inhabitants of the land. The literary composition of Joshua 10:1a-15a, however,

<sup>137</sup> Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', 1121-6, 1135.

<sup>138</sup> Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 324-34; Idem, 'Joshua's Campaign of Canaan', 3-12.

<sup>139</sup> Na'aman, 'Conquest and Settlement', 251, 259-60 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 348, 356-7).

definitely belongs to the earlier deuteronomistic conquest account. It depends on the description of David's second campaign against the Philistines in which he defeated them from Gibeon to Gezer, as is evident from the geographical similarity of both stories as well as from the number of five kings (2 Sam. 5:22-25; 1 Chron. 14:13-16, cf. Isa. 28:21). According to Na'aman, the names of the five ancient tells were added by the historian as a sign of antiquity. The following passages, that of 10:16a-27f and 10:29a-39g, most likely reflect an event during the campaign of Sennacherib against Judah, his conquest of the Shephelah (cf. 2 Kgs 18:13, 17; 19:8) and his destruction of some fortified cities in the hill country, all in 701 BCE. The attack of Gezer in 10:33a-c mirrors the Egyptian intervention in this campaign, ending in the Assyrian victory at Eltheke (cf. 2 Kgs 19:9). Finally, the schematic composition of Joshua 11 reflects that of chapter 10, but the content is borrowed from the historical memory of Hazor as an important city and from David's campaign against Hadadezer, king of Rehob, who had also chariots, was also beaten by a surprise attack and whose horses were hamstringed (2 Sam. 8:3-4). Consequently, Na'aman believes that the list of kings in chapter 12 is a literary compilation in which some names were added to reach the number of thirty, creating a 'map of conquest' and serving as a supplement to the previous narratives.<sup>140</sup>

### Evaluation

Two developments dominate the history of diachronic research of the Book of Joshua after Noth had launched his hypothesis regarding the Deuteronomistic History. On the one hand, scholars tried to grasp history by describing the discussions in the deuteronomistic schools as they continued from the late 8th century into the Persian period and by detecting the traces these debates left in the text. On the other hand, scholars more and more looked for historians who could have composed the historiography of the settlement as a whole and took much more consideration of the fact that the known parallels of Genesis – 2 Kings as a great historical work, that is, the Mesopotamian Synchronic King List, the Babylonian Chronicles and the Greek historical works of Herodotus and Thucydides, only occur quite late on the scene. Both tracks led to the same result: whether being a product of ongoing *Fortschreibung* by editors who were familiar with both D and P, or the composition of a historian, the assumed period for the formation of the Book of Joshua was dated later and later. So by no surprise recent general descriptions of the historical background of Joshua 9:1–13:7 claim that nothing can be said about the question how much of the story is based on traditions. They merely focus on the social function of the story in the Neo-Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic or even Roman period, mostly without a single reference to a concrete text or verse.<sup>141</sup> Contrarily, a detailed

<sup>140</sup> Na'aman, 'Conquest and Settlement', 251-9, 268-9, 273-9 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 349-56, 366-7, 370-7).

<sup>141</sup> See e.g. Garbini, *History and Ideology in Ancient Israel*, 127-32; Whitelam, 'Israel's Traditions of Origin', 28-32; Lemche, *Israelites in History and Tradition*, 90-3, 117-22;

study of the story and a close analysis of its referential aspects are no longer undertaken. Therefore, it seems more fruitful to evaluate the proposals regarding the deuteronomic origin of the Book of Joshua with a methodological question in mind: what is the best way to deal with the affinities between Joshua 9:1—13:7 and the Book of Deuteronomy in the light of the evidence collected in the Chapters 3 and 4?

*Elimination, Land and Law*

As a start, several critical points have to be made from the perspective of the evaluations of literary and form critical research in the sections 5.1 and 5.2. The theories of Lohfink and Weinfeld touch the literary critical discussion between Hollenberg, Wellhausen and Kuenen about the question whether 10:28a-39g was D or not. It appeared that the rhetoric of supplanting and eliminating the pre-Israelite inhabitants is part of a whole network of verbs regarding the divine and human actions in the conquest and settlement and that the highly redundant style in the descriptions of violence is not to be understood as evidence of a new redactional layer, but is simply an ancient Near Eastern compositional technique. Additionally, it must be noted that the philological analyses of Lohfink substantiating his ideas do not fit the evidence either and that the use of the verb *חָיַה*, *hi* in 9:24c-e signals a relation to passages that are normally associated with P.<sup>142</sup> So the historiography of the conquest and settlement does not provide evidence of a development of descriptions becoming increasingly violent. Consequently, the terminology of expulsion and elimination does not appear to be an appropriate instrument in offering a sketch of the growth of the Book of Joshua and its diachronic relation to the Covenant Code and passages from Numbers and Deuteronomy.

More interesting are the reflections of Smend, Perlitt and Noort on the relation between the land and the law. The detailed comments on Joshua 9:1—13:7 confirmed at many places that the fulfilment of the promise of the land is not unconditional and that the descriptions of the land indeed function as a mirror of human behaviour. It can be questioned, however, whether the instrument of a new redactional layer and the assumption of an editorial process really are suitable methods to explain this phenomenon. According to Smend, Alt already had his reservations about the use of the tension between the passages highlighting the fulfilment of promise of the land and those stressing the incomplete settlement. He even considered that 13:2a-6b belonged to the original composition, because in his view, the deuteronomic historian reflected on the

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Th.L. Thompson, *The Bible in History. How Writers Can Create a Past*, London 1999, 44-5; D. Edelman, 'Gibeon and the Gibeonites Revisited', in: O. Lipschits, J. Blenkinsopp (eds), *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, Winona Lake, IN 2003, 153-67.

<sup>142</sup> See section 5.1 and section 4.4, 'Conquest and Settlement in Stereotypes' and 'Southern Sweep'; Chapter 2, annotation 9:24z and 13:6g; and the detailed comments on 9:24c-e, in particular note 83.

tension between the real and the ideal.<sup>143</sup> This intuition is strongly validated by the synchronic analyses of the text offered in Chapter 3. Reflections on the relation between the real and ideal as regards conquered and claimed territories are not uncommon in ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts. A comprehensive interpretation of Joshua 9:1—13:7 indeed exploits this tension to underline the law: summarizing passages describing the conquest of Cisjordan connect the maximum spin of the military events to Joshua's acting according to the divine instructions, while the incompleteness of the conquest of the land is related to human responsibility.<sup>144</sup> This fact raises the question whether the diverse deuteronomistic editors are really needed to present a convincing diachronic hypothesis. Some restraint seems to be appropriate in this respect.

One of the reasons for this is the warning for what is called 'pan-Deuteronomism'. The assumption of scribal guilds active in adding the diverse levels of redaction to Deuteronomy – 2 Kings led to theories about the formation of almost every part of the Old Testament except for the books of Job and Ecclesiastes. As a result, the explaining value of the term 'deuteronomistic' declined and many mostly post-exilic deuteronomistic schools were constructed, despite the fact that there is no sufficient evidence to indicate systematic editing, even within the so-called 'Deuteronomistic History'.<sup>145</sup> Van Seters even argues that the revisers and editors, all with their own ideology and theological concerns, did never exist, because they are an anachronism. In his view, the idea of 'editing' first developed in the world of medieval editorial practices and does not fit the habits of scribes in the ancient world.<sup>146</sup> This statement is provocative, but not without reason. Recent comparative studies of the scribal modes of text production in the Ancient Near East show that besides transcribing, copying, inventing and compiling, expansion is one of the tools in text production. But the latter phenomenon also stands in contrast with the veneration of scribes for the written tradition. They were clearly averse of intervention while copying from a mother text.<sup>147</sup> So on the one hand, Van Seters is wrong in making a sharp distinction between the ancient authors and scribes. He seems to forget that authorship and editorship were aspects of the same scribal profession and is also inclined to speak in a romantic way about the supposed Yahwist and Deuteronomist as creative geniuses in stead of anonymous

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<sup>143</sup> Smend, 'Das uneroberte Land', 93 (= *GS*, Bd. 2, 219).

<sup>144</sup> See section 3.6.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. S.L. McKenzie, 'Postscript: The Laws of Physics and Pan-Deuteronomism', in: L.S. Schaering, Idem (eds), *Those Elusive Deuteronomists. The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (JSOTS, 268), Sheffield 1999, 262-71. H.D. Preuß, 'Zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk', *TR* 58 (1993), 229, earlier spoke of *Deuteronomystik* and of the *Allheilwort* 'deuteronomic'.

<sup>146</sup> Van Seters, *Edited Bible*, passim; Idem, 'The Deuteronomist—Historian or Redactor?', in: Y. Amit et al., *Essays on Ancient Israel in its Near Eastern Context*, Winona Lake, IN 2006, 359-75.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. e.g. K. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*, Cambridge, MA, London 2007, 45-8, 109-10, 125-41.

craftsmen, whose talent only served authority and the collective and who also edited texts. But on the other hand, the reverence of the scribes for the tradition and the fact that texts from oral cultures first and foremost function as an *aide-mémoire* for a story that already exists by oral performance make it difficult to use the assumption of a continuing editing as fruitful a tool in diachronic analysis.

### *Deuteronomic Redaction*

This becomes evident as soon as the concrete proposals regarding Joshua 9:1—13:7 are studied in detail. As has been noted in section 5.2, it is very unlikely that chapter 9 was a positive story about a treaty with the Gibeonites that was reworked from the perspective of Deuteronomy.<sup>148</sup> The proposed development of the location of 8:30-35 is partly based on a combination of textual and literary criticism, and therefore doubtful from a methodological point of view.<sup>149</sup> A purely *tabula rasa* version of chapter 10—11 never existed either, as is evident from the telescoping nature of for instance 10:28a-39f and 11:16a-23c, while the proposed dating of 1:4 in the Persian period is hard to substantiate convincingly. The mentioned geographical entities in the latter verse can be interpreted in several ways. But the phrase depicting the territory between the Lebanon and the Euphrates River clearly diverges from the standard Hebrew and Aramaic expression for the Persian satrapy *eber nari* – a Neo-Assyrian designation for the land ‘beyond the River’ that was in use at least since the late 7th century – that is attested in other biblical passages.<sup>150</sup> It merely has to be interpreted as the ideal and most eastern border of the land in Israel’s royal ideology, taking the Egyptian view of the Southern Levant as a point of departure and claiming that the king had free movement as far as the Euphrates.<sup>151</sup> Further, the term ‘Hittite’ in 1:4 could be a gloss designating all the land west of the Euphrates as the ‘land of Hatti’.<sup>152</sup> But from a geographical point of view it is more likely to be associated with the Assyrian labelling of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms that existed northeast of Israel between the 11th and the

<sup>148</sup> This also applies to Schäfer-Lichtenberger. In her view, the older story consisted out of 9:3a-4b, 6ab, 8cd, 9a-d, 11a-d, 15ab, 17a-c, while the deuteronomic editor added 4c-5c, 6cd-8b, 9b (בְּיָמָיו), 12a-14b, 15b (לְחִיחֹתָם) c, 16a-d, 18a-20a, 21b-25c, 27a. The problem, however, is that despite the omission of the first request to make a treaty, the reconstructed original still contains allusions to the overall composition and the prohibition to make a treaty (9:3a-4b, 9bc, 11d, 15a) and therefore asks for a continuation. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, ‘Gibeonitische Bündnis’, 62-77.

<sup>149</sup> See annotation 9:2e. Cf. Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 479-522.

<sup>150</sup> 1 Kgs 5:4, Ezra 4:10-11, 16, 20; 5:3, 6; 8:36; Neh. 2:7, 9. Cf. A.F. Rainey, ‘The Province Beyond the River’, *AJBA* 1 (1969), 51-78. Accordingly, the statement also fails that 13:2a-6b and 1 Kgs 5:1; 8:65 identify the promised land with the Transeuphratene Province. As against R. Achenbach, ‘Der Pentateuch, seine theokratischen Bearbeitungen und Josua – 2 Könige’, in: Römer, Schmid (eds), *Dernières Rédactions*, 238.

<sup>151</sup> Gen. 15:18; Exod. 23:31; Deut. 11:24; 2 Kgs. 24:7; Ps. 72:8; Cf. Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 325, cf. Noth, *Josua*<sup>2</sup>, 27-8, as against e.g. Na’aman, *Borders & Districts*, 69-70.

<sup>152</sup> Thus e.g. Hostetter, *Nations Mightier*, 69-70.

7th century BCE.<sup>153</sup> Likewise, Noort is right that 10:2c, 4d, 5c and 6f magnify Gibeon as well as the threat of the enemy. But the assumption that they are additions is merely a consequence from the fact that the attestations regarding the kings are often interpreted as insertions and from the idea that a later editor was highlighting the presence of foreigners. These assumptions, however, are not substantiated by the text itself.

Similar remarks can be made with respect to the connections between Joshua 1:7-9 and 11:15a-d and between 1:1-2 and 13:1a-c, 7a. The incitement of 1:7-9 indeed repeats and explores what is told before. But the relation with phrases in Joshua 11 asserting that Joshua simply did what YHWH had commanded to Moses do not suffice the conclusion that 1:7-9 is an insertion of a later editor. Likewise, the observation that Joshua is old and advanced in years is needed to substantiate the division of the land that follows, despite the fact that there is still remaining land to be taken. This does not mean that the transition from 12:24b to 13:8 is smooth and without barriers. But at the same time, it is hard to imagine what text would have followed else to introduce the division of the land.<sup>154</sup> Of course, this does not imply that later editors made no insertions at all. But it is not easy to show where and how and regarding Joshua 9:1—13:7 there is definitely no evidence of a systematic editing from a specific point of view.

### *Deuteronomic Fiction*

In the light of the struggles of deuteronomism, the historiographic approach of Van Seters, Halpern and Na'aman seems to offer a better option, for these scholars indeed treat the writers of the Book of Joshua as historians who made a deliberate selection of their material and provided a connecting narrative to make a point. However, their proposals suffer from methodological weaknesses too, mostly because they simply assume that Joshua is a late pre-exilic product of deuteronomic origin. Van Seters, for instance, argues that the Neo-Assyrian campaign reports support his view of the book, despite the fact that chapter 9—12 contain parallels with all kind of ancient Near Eastern texts from the second as well as the first millennium BCE.<sup>155</sup> Halpern and Na'aman in their turn rightly observe that form critical research had great difficulties in delineating the traditions and that the Davidic undertone of the story is stronger than was often perceived. But their supposition that ancient tells have been a major element in the invention of the stories meets the same methodological problems as the aetiological explanation: traditions do not arise from specific features in the landscape and secondary considerations about certain elements in the text cannot lead to the conclusion that these elements must

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<sup>153</sup> See section 3.1, the excursus 'Listing Pre-Israelite Nations'.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. J. Van Seters, 'The Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Pentateuch: The Case Against it', in: Vervenne, Lust (eds), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature*, 304-9.

<sup>155</sup> See Chapter 3 and 4, *passim*.

have been the decisive stimulus to the creation of the story. In the case of chapter 10—11, the tells are even less important than the aetiological phrases.

Na'aman's argument that the geographical similarities demonstrate that the author took the outlines of his story from other events that had taken place in Israel's history, could obviate this criticism. This, however, is not as obvious as it seems. The way from Gibeon to the Shephelah over de pass of Beth Horon is an important road for the political control over the southern hill country and therefore has been the scenery for many stories about tactical operations and exciting states of affairs from the reports of pharaoh Shoshenq I in the 10th century BCE until today's anecdotes regarding the period from 1948 to 1967 CE, when the route over Beth Horon and el-Jib was the only access to Jerusalem for the inhabitants of the modern state of Israel.<sup>156</sup> Consequently, references to this location and the Shephelah are as such not sufficient to back up literary dependence. There has to be more evidence. But this evidence is lacking with respect to David's operation against the Philistines and Sennacherib's campaign against Judah. No other striking corroborations can be found besides the mentioning of Gebah and Gezer and the descriptions of the taking of the fortified cities of Judah, in particular Lachish and Libnah. In addition, Na'aman ignores the strong way the battle of Gibeon is connected to the previous story in chapter 9 and with regard to chapter 11 he puts too much weight on the hamstringing of the horses, which is in fact no more than a literary allusion to 2 Samuel 8. Finally, the occurrence of surprise attacks in the description of Joshua's as well as David's accomplishments is indeed remarkable. It further confirms the intuition that was also perceived in the discussion regarding the geography and the hamstringing of the horses in the sections 3.5 and 4.3, namely, that the writer deliberately creates allusions to the historiography of the Davidic kingdom. Yet, the content of the story of the Gibeonites and the following battles in southern and northern Cisjordan appears to be so distinctive that it has to be looked upon as a unique part of historiography that asks for a separate hypothesis concerning its formation.

### *Joshua and Deuteronomy*

Before such a hypothesis can be formulated, two questions have to be answered. What exactly is the relation between Joshua 9:1—13:7 and other biblical passages and what are the diachronic implications of these relations? The first issue to be treated is the relation with the Book of Deuteronomy, for this topic has dominated the history of interpretation since the analysis of Hollenberg in 1876 CE. The evaluation of this research revealed that it has not been able offer a persuasive picture of the relation on the base of style and terminology, while it has also been hard to understand both books on their own

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<sup>156</sup> Cf. e.g. row 24 in Shoshenq's relief at Karnak; 1 Sam. 7:11; 2 Sam. 5:22-25 (LXX); 1 Kgs 9:17; 1 Macc. 3:15-16; 7:39; Josephus, *Ant.* xii.10.5; Idem, *Bello Judaico*, ii.19.1. Cf. Abel, *Géographie* t. 2, 274; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 77; Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*, 181, 184.

terms. Therefore, a fresh approach, taking larger textual blocks within the books as a point of departure and paying attention to the way these blocks contribute to the development of certain themes, is needed in order to find an alternative.

Section 4.4, which listed most of the connections between 9:1—13:7 and Deuteronomy in the discussion of the laws of warfare, already reported about several formal resemblances that can be detected. The prohibition not to make any treaty with the pre-Israelite nations and the command of Deuteronomy 7 to supplant and eliminate them highly affects the narrative of the trickery of the Gibeonites, the summarizing accounts of the conquest of south and north (10:40a-42c; 11:12a-15d, 16a-23c), the language and phraseology of the preceding stories (10:1a-10d, 28a-39g; 11:1a-11c) and the following passages regarding the inheriting of the promised land (12:1a-24b; 13:1a-7b). The killing of the five kings (10:26a-27f) contains allusions to the law on the man who is guilty of a capital offence (Deut. 21:22-23). The hamstringing of the horses and burning of the chariots (11:6de) can be linked to the law of the king (Deut. 17:16). Finally, the description of the conquest of the land as offered in Joshua 9:1—13:7 is clearly in harmony with the Law of Warfare of Deuteronomy 20:10-20, for it not only tells about the elimination of the pre-Israelite nations, but it is also aware of its ideal of a human treatment of possible vassal-cities.

In addition to these connections, some observations have to be made with respect to Deuteronomy 2—3 and Deuteronomy 29. The remarks in the latter chapter regarding Israel's clothes and sandals and the woodcutters and water carriers are just literary allusions, for the renewal of the covenant in Deuteronomy is concerned with the legal alien (גֵּר) in the middle of Israel and not with the pre-Israelite nations.<sup>157</sup> Regarding Deuteronomy 2—3, Halpern is right that these chapters as well as the Book of Joshua identify the kin-based, territorial kingdoms of Moab, Ammon, Edom and Israel as YHWH's avengers against an autochthonous population organized politically into individual city states. This becomes evident from the stereotype language depicting the sup-

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<sup>157</sup> The representation of the wilderness years, the defeat of Sihon and Og and the occupation of Transjordan in Deut. 29 set out the alternative facing Israel – life in the land with YHWH or the journey back to Egypt – and underline the context of the renewal of the covenant that is at stake: Israel's future will be determined by the response made to the initiatives of YHWH today at Moab and tomorrow at Shechem, in the light of yesterday at Horeb. Cf. J.G. Millar, 'Living at the Place of Decision', in: J.G. McConville, Idem, *Time and Place in Deuteronomy*, 77-80. Therefore, the allusions in Joshua 9:12a-13c, 21b, 23c, 27a only indicate that Israel's confrontation with the Hivite clothes and sandals is also a moment of decision and that in fact, the Hivites should not have become wood choppers and water carriers (see the detailed comments on these lines in section 4.1). Consequently, Deut. 29 cannot be used to substantiate the idea that the Gibeonites were accepted, then considered as aliens, and finally treated as a people that was not even allowed to exist, as is suggested by J. Blenkinsopp, 'Are there Traces of the Gibeonite Covenant in Deuteronomy?', *CBQ* 28 (1966), 209-13; Kearney, 'Role of the Gibeonites', 4-9; Mayes, 'Deuteronomy, Joshua 9, and the Place of the Gibeonites in Israel', 321-5.

planting, elimination and settlement and from the geographical descriptions creating the idea of the successor territories. Both textual complexes also stress the unique relation between YHWH and Israel and share a view of the kingdoms of Sihon and Og that is absent from Numbers 21:21-35. Joshua 12, however, also highlights the fact that the conquest and settlement of Cisjordan remains incomplete.<sup>158</sup>

So there is a close affinity between Deuteronomy and Joshua 9:1—13:7. Yet, in none of these cases the story is a direct application of the law, since the perspective of the legislative texts in Deuteronomy 12—26 is clearly directed at people having already settled the land. Moreover, the stories in the Book of Joshua are told along their own lines and also add elements that sometimes make the relation with the law quite complicated. This combination of thematic familiarity and distance is striking, for it corroborates with some recent studies of the ideology and background of Deuteronomy and the so called deuteronomistic theology in the book of Joshua – 2 Kings, in particular treated by Gordon McConville.<sup>159</sup> This can be shown by taking a look at three important themes regarding the law occurring both in Deuteronomy and Joshua 9:1—13:7, namely, the cult, the land and the leadership.

As has become evident in section 4.1, the remark concerning the *cultic* task of the Gibeonites to serve ‘the assembly and the altar of YHWH at the place he would choose’ (9:27bcd) refers to the law exemplifying the exceptional character of YHWH’s cult (Deut. 12:5). In the end, Deuteronomy 12 most likely hints at the cult in the temple in Jerusalem, but 9:27d is also easily associated with YHWH’s sanctuary in the city of Gibeon in the era of David and Solomon. So here, the striking combination of familiarity and distance occurs again. At the same time, however, 9:27a-d confirms the idea that the emphasis of the so-called centralization formula is not to strive for a central cult, but on the prerogative of YHWH to choose the place where he should be worshipped as opposed to the claims of other gods. Moreover, 9:27a-d also leaves room for a development of the cult by using the term *מזבֿחַ יְהוָה* and by referring to the time span between Joshua’s decision and the actual situation of the narrator.

This fits the analyses of McConville who has tried to show that the law of the central shrine does not require one sanctuary for all time, is deliberately silent about Jerusalem and suits a history of the cult, which became gradually exclusive.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>158</sup> See section 3.4, ‘Defeated Kings’. Cf. Hawk, *Joshua*, 176.

<sup>159</sup> According to Gordon Wenham, McConville’s work offers ‘the most serious challenge’ to the scholarly research of Deuteronomy. “If a new critical paradigm is to emerge, it will have to reckon with McConville’s arguments”. Wenham, ‘Pondering the Pentateuch’, 139-40. For a different opinion, see T. Veijola, ‘Deuteronomismforschung zwischen Tradition und Innovation’, *TR* 67 (2002), 286.

<sup>160</sup> McConville, *Law and Theology*, 22-9. Idem, ‘Time, Place, and the Deuteronomistic Alter-Law’, 89-96, 120-32.

The second theme, the *land*, takes up the intuition of Alt that the passages highlighting the complete as well as the incomplete conquest and settlement reflect on the tension between the real and the ideal. As was noted above, this has to do with the fact that the fulfilment of the promise of the land is not unconditional and that therefore, the descriptions also mirror Israel's behaviour. But that is not the whole story. The synchronic analysis in the Chapters 3 and 4 also made it clear that there is an underlying dynamic in the text driving the story forward and putting into perspective Israel's failure. In Joshua 9, the problem of the presence of the Hivite Gibeonites is solved by locating them close to the YHWH-cult.<sup>161</sup> The compositional passages in 9:1a-2c, 10:1a-5e and 11:1-5c highlight that this is followed by a chain reaction resulting in the conquest of the south and the north. In 11:20a-c, this movement is clearly understood as the execution of a divine plan and that YHWH not only utters conditional promises, but also acts according to his own will.<sup>162</sup> A similar rhetoric can be detected in 13:1a-7b. This passage unmistakably transfers God's obligations and promises to the next leaders of Israel. But the underlying suggestion is that YHWH finally fulfilled the promise of the land by the military accomplishments of David. So the story describes YHWH in his merciful attitude towards Israel, for he himself guaranteed the execution of his commands, and as a result of this, the conquest was successful.<sup>163</sup>

This message of the story of conquest and settlement shows striking resemblances with what McConville views as the inner logic of law and land in the Book of Deuteronomy, as pointed out in an analysis of the terms *הַמִּקְדָּשׁ* and *בְּרִיא* and the expressions *לִפְנֵי* and *לִפְנֵיכֶם* in Deuteronomy 1—11 and 27—34 in their relation to the Altar-Law and by placing this law in its context of Deuteronomy 12—26. There is a correspondence between YHWH *bringing* Israel to a place and Israel *bringing* offerings to a place; between YHWH acting *before* Israel and Israel worshipping *before* YHWH; and between YHWH *giving* the land and other good things and Israel *giving*, in imitation of him, to the needy. In McConville's view, YHWH's grace is met appropriately by this intentional symmetry, which means that there is no contrast between the covenant as oath and the covenant as command, for law and grace mesh neatly, rather than being rivals. So the diverse alternatives of law and grace are not – as in Perlitt's analysis of Deuteronomy 7 and the application of the idea of DtrN to the Book of Joshua – propositions on a historical time line throwing light on the different solutions that were offered to the problem of Israel's identity, but a sophisticated reflection in order to offer a program for Israel's life in the land.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>161</sup> See the comments on 9:27a-d in section 4.1.

<sup>162</sup> See the comments on these lines in section 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 4.3.

<sup>163</sup> See section 3.5.

<sup>164</sup> McConville, *Law and Theology*, 33-6, 58-67; Idem, *Grace in the End. A Study in Deuteronomical Theology*, Grand Rapids, MI 1993, 60-4, 159. Cf. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie*, 59-64. The discussion concerning law and grace also affects scholarly debate about the Book of Kings. Von Rad criticized Noth's treatment by asking attention for the positive prophetic undertone of the book. See Von Rad, *Deuteronomiumstudien*, 52-64 (= Idem,

The third theme treated by the law and playing a major role in Deuteronomy as well as in Joshua 9:1—13:7 deals with *leadership*. According to the synchronic analysis, the latter story contains several Davidic associations. The connection between 9:27d and the temple in Jerusalem and YHWH's sanctuary in Gibeon in the era of David and Solomon was mentioned above. A similar association with the 'rest' David brought about and the temple of Solomon can be found in 11:23c (cf. 2 Sam. 7:1, 11; 1 Kgs 5:4-5).<sup>165</sup> In addition, the geographical attestations in 11:8d, its direct and indirect parallels in 11:3c, 17c; 13:5c and 19:28-28, 33-34, 47, point the attention to 2 Samuel 24:5-7, which describes the northern boundary of David's kingdom.<sup>166</sup> Furthermore, David shows a clear interest in the northern remaining land as described in 13:4a-6b up to Lebo Hamath in 2 Samuel 8, while the same chapter is also linked with 11:6a-e, because both Joshua and David apply the tactic of hamstringing the horses to their enemy.<sup>167</sup> More indirect, but not to deny, are the Davidic associations of the woodcutters and water carriers of 9:21b, 23c, 27a, which means that the foreign Hivites, who at first sight were considered being vassals in the future *pax israelitica*, are treated as slaves doing forced labour. This feature is part of a complex of texts revealing that David and Solomon applied the same solution to the inhabitants of the enclaves of autochthonous nations bridging the gaps between the tribal territories, namely by recruiting them as their workers.<sup>168</sup> Finally, a connection with David is found in the reference of 10:13c to 'the book of the upright one' which is also mentioned in 2 Samuel 1:18, quoting the 'Lament of the bow', David's poetic lament on the deaths of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:19-27).<sup>169</sup>

The question is: do these associations make Joshua a royal figure? Nelson added his own reasons, affirmed this question and even identified the king after whom Joshua is modelled, that is, Josiah of Judah, although he did not press this interpretation in his commentary.<sup>170</sup> However, the idea of Joshua as a 'thinly disguised Josiah' has also been severely criticized. In the first place, the parallel is doubtful from a historical point of view. Whether or not Josiah fought battles in the Shephelah and in northern Israel is uncertain. Even the

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GS, Bd. 1, 189-204). Recently Van Putten challenged in a similar way the existence of DtrN and DtrP as proposed by Walter Dietrich and Timo Veijola. B. van Putten, *Er Starb gleich dem Worte JHWH's*, Utrecht 2006 (Unpublished dissertation, Utrecht University). See also J.G. McConville, 'Narrative and Meaning in the Book of Kings', *Bib* 70 (1989), 31-48; Idem, '1 Kings viii and the Deuteronomic Hope', *VT* 42 (1992), 67-79.

<sup>165</sup> See the comments at 11:23c in section 3.4.

<sup>166</sup> See the comments on 11:6a-11c in section 3.3; on 13:5c in 3.5 and the concluding remarks and diachronic considerations in 3.6 and 5.2.

<sup>167</sup> See the comments on 13:4a-6b in section 3.5 and on 11:6-e in 4.3.

<sup>168</sup> 2 Sam. 24:7; 1 Kgs 4:11-12; 5:29; 9:20-2. Cf. Josh. 16:10; 17:13; Judg. 1:28, 30, 33, 35. See the comments and the excursus on 9:21bc in section 4.1.

<sup>169</sup> See the comments on 10:13c in section 4.3.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Nelson, *Joshua*, 21.

cult reform reported in 2 Chronicles 34:6-7, 33 does not imply a military interest in the north. Further, it is hard to determine to what extent the Kingdom of Judah recovered from the disastrous results of Sennacherib's campaign in 701 BCE and the biblical sources are totally silent on Josiah's foreign policy and his relations with neighbouring states, except on the situation preceding his death. Therefore, much of what is supposed to be historical knowledge about Judah under Josiah depends on the assumed dating of the town lists of Benjamin and Judah in the Book of Joshua and of Gad and Reuben in Numbers 32. Consequently, the parallel between Joshua and Josiah easily becomes a result of circular reasoning.<sup>171</sup> In the second place, the biblical parallels between Joshua and Josiah mentioned by Lohfink, Porter and Nelson raise some problems. Joshua indeed receives authorization and the resemblances between 1:1-9 and 1 Kings 2:2-4 are striking. But does that make him a royal figure? It is hard to read 8:32 as if he is obedient to Deuteronomy 17:18, because Joshua does not copy the law for himself, but for the people. Moreover, Joshua's distribution of the land does not have the outlook of a royal privilege, because his acting is embedded in that of Eleazar, the priest and the elders.<sup>172</sup> This doubt is confirmed by the synchronic analysis of 9:3a-27d. This story highlights the fact that besides Joshua several representatives of Israel were involved in the treaty with the Gibeonites and in the way Joshua dealt with their deceit.<sup>173</sup>

Therefore, it seems more suitable to define Joshua as a 'constitutional' figure, that is, as a leader functioning in a network of all kinds of representatives. With Caleb he was one of the few who had faith at the first attempt to take the land. He was appointed to lead Israel into the land and carried out his task faithful to the law of Moses in conjunction with the priest Eleazar and the leaders of Israel.<sup>174</sup> At the end, he makes a covenant on Israel's behalf, but also takes some distance from the people in his assertion that the Israelites cannot serve YHWH, and that he and his household will serve him (24:15, 19, 25). Joshua is neither quite like Moses nor like a king. He did not speak directly with YHWH and is not expecting that he is succeeded by his own kin. So in his observance of the law as Moses' legacy Joshua primarily functions in a specific role, serving the 'Great King' YHWH among the other leaders and households of Israel.<sup>175</sup> This, however, does not mean that his guidance and the transfer of his

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<sup>171</sup> For a sketch of the historical problems, see Na'aman, 'Kingdom of Judah', 3-7 (= *CE*, vol. 1, 329-31). Because of these difficulties, Sweeney only dates the so-called DtrN-passages in the Book of Joshua to the time of Josiah. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah*, 127-36.

<sup>172</sup> Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua und Salomo*, 219-23; J.G. McConville, *God and Earthly Power. An Old Testament Political Theology* (LHB/OTS, 454), London 2006, 107-9.

<sup>173</sup> See section 4.1, cf. McConville, *God and Earthly Power*, 110-1. Cf. 24:1.

<sup>174</sup> See the comments on 9:14b, 15c in section 4.1, on 11:12c in section 3.1 and on 13:6d-7e in section 3.5. It is striking that these passages use terminology regarding consulting YHWH and dividing the land that is not attested in the Book of Deuteronomy. See also Chapter 2, annotation 11:7k and 13:6j and m-m.

<sup>175</sup> McConville, *God and Earthly Power*, 110-7.

leadership are not important, as became evident from the analysis of 13:1a-7b. There still remains land that has to be conquered and settled and therefore, the text stresses the necessity of obedience of future generations and the question arises whether this future will bring a new leader who is obedient to YHWH and will bring victory to Israel. The text evokes an answer to this question by a geographical description of the Davidic kingdom.<sup>176</sup> This also provides the most reasonable framework for the other of the abovementioned Davidic associations. These associations do not apply to Joshua as a person, but are merely attached to Israel and the story of the conquest as a whole and thus suggest that YHWH utterly fulfilled his promise to give Canaan to Israel by choosing David as its king.

What does this complicated picture of leadership in the Book of Joshua look like when it is compared to that of the Book of Deuteronomy? In McConville's view, the form of Deuteronomy neither perfectly resembles the Hittite nor Neo-Assyrian treaties or law-codes. Nevertheless, the similarities are striking and when the formal parallels are accompanied by arguments about content, a coherent portrait of leadership appears. In the history of interpretation, the tensions in the book between the spirit challenging the pretension of all human institutions and the Altar-Law that seems to favour the Jerusalem establishment has often been characterized as a predominance of the opposition of a 'northern' and 'covenantal' spirit over a 'southern' and 'Davidic/Zionist' theology. According to McConville, this contention overlooks the fact that both the critical stance towards the concentration of leadership as well as the centralization formula elaborate on the implication following the form of the book as a vassal-treaty, namely that YHWH is Israel's 'Great King' (cf. Deut. 33:5). This covenantal principle creates a unique concept of nationhood that does not legitimize, but merely qualifies human institutions and opposes the centralization of power: the subjection to God should not lead to tyranny, but to a complete different type of society. Accordingly, the book contains a striking reflection on the relationship between centre and periphery in its view of worship as well as in the distribution of powers among societal institutions. Deuteronomy offers a divine mandate for the local courts (Deut. 16:18, 17:2-7), the central court staffed by magistrates and priests (Deut. 7:8-13), the priesthood (Deut. 18:1-8) and for the prophets (Deut. 18:15-22), while kingship is conceded to be only a popular desire (Deut. 17:14-20). So the Law of the King neither promotes nor criticizes an actual dynasty. It can also not be qualified as 'utopian' or as definitely being a post-exilic reaction to the failure of kingship, but merely accepts the existence of a monarchy in relationship with YHWH and qualifies it by constraining elements that could pose a threat to YHWH's kingship and the primacy of the law. So in fact, the succession of Moses by Joshua as depicted in Deuteronomy 31:1-8 is a crucial part of the book's advocacy of the primacy of

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<sup>176</sup> See the comments on 13:1a-d and 13:6c-7b in section 3.5.

the law in Israel's life. This law is protected by the judges and the officials and the king plays a minor role.<sup>177</sup>

Consequently it can be stated that the book of Joshua indeed reflects the view of leadership offered in the Book of Deuteronomy. It shares its view of YHWH being the 'Great King', stresses the primary role of the law and therefore the distribution of powers. At the same time, however, Joshua 9:1—13:7 offers a further elaboration of these themes. These chapters suggest that YHWH's kingship of grace led to his choice for David and by that, to the fulfilment of the promise of the land.<sup>178</sup> But there is another important and more explicit elaboration. Joshua's consulting of YHWH, his conjunction with the leaders of Israel in making the treaty and the role of Eleazar in dividing the land among the tribes show a distribution of powers that is close to the commandments in this direction in the Book of Numbers.<sup>179</sup> This elaboration – using the term גִּירָל and highlighting the distinction between the division of the land for two and a half tribes in Transjordan and the nine and a half tribes Cisjordan – is often interpreted as a cultic, priestly view on the division of the land as opposed to a historical view using the term נִחְלָה and a third royal legal view, highlighted by the term יִרְשׁ.<sup>180</sup> This can already be doubted on the base of the distribution of these terms and their verbal combinations and by the fact that the idea of the land as a successor-territory fits the evidence much better than the idea of a 'royal legal view'.<sup>181</sup> From a thematic point of view, however, the elaboration can also be further explained, for it is simply evoked by the fact that the relation between YHWH and Joshua is less direct than it was in the case of Moses

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<sup>177</sup> McConville, *Grace in the End*, 24-32, 57-61; Idem, 'Time, Place, and the Deuteronomical Alter-Law', 107-8, 122; Idem, 'King and Messiah in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History', in: Day (ed.), *King and Messiah in the Old Testament*, 276-93; Idem, 'Law and Monarchy in Deuteronomy', in: C. Bartolomew *et al.* (eds.), *A Royal Priesthood. The Use of the Bible Ethically and Politically*, Grand Rapids, MI 2002, 73-80; R.E. Clements, R.L. Moberly, G.J. McConville, 'A Dialogue with Gordon McConville on Deuteronomy', *STJ* 56 (2003), 527-8; Idem, *God and Earthly Power*, 74-98. Cf. J.-M. Carrière, *La théorie du politique dans le Deutéronome* (ÖBS, 18), Frankfurt 2001.

<sup>178</sup> Similar differences between the Law of the King and his image in the books of Samuel and Kings are observed by G.N. Knoppers, 'The Deuteronomist and the Deuteronomical Law of the King', *ZAW* (1996), 329-46.

<sup>179</sup> See the annotations 11:5k, 13:7j and the detailed comments on 9:14a, 15c, 24a-25b in section 4.1 (cf. also the comments in 9:19a) and on 13:6c-7b in section 3.5.

<sup>180</sup> For these views, see G. von Rad, 'Verheißenes Land und Jahwes Land im Hexateuch', *ZDPV* 66 (1943), 191-204 (= *GS*, Bd. 1, 87-100); Lohfink, 'Kerygmata', 94-6 (= Idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium*, Bd. 2, 1134-6); J. Blenkinsopp, 'The Structure of P', *CBQ* 38 (1976), 287-91; Auld, *Joshua, Moses and the Land*, 56, 80-5, 90-8; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 535-8.

<sup>181</sup> See the annotations 11:5k, 13:7j; Von Rad, 'Verheißenes Land', 191-3 (= *GS*, Bd. 1, 87-90); McConville, *God and Earthly Powers*, 116.

and in this way Book of Joshua works out the *politeia* of Deuteronomy in practice.<sup>182</sup>

So in the end, the themes of cult, land and leadership are closely interconnected in their relationship to the law, both in Deuteronomy and in Joshua. The 'place YHWH chooses' affirms his rights as opposed to the claims of other gods in every aspect of Israel's life; the commands and promises regarding the land reveal YHWH's grace and offer a program for Israel's life in the land; and with respect to leadership, distribution of powers prevents that it harms YHWH's kingship and the primacy of the law in Israel's life. Joshua 9:1—13:9 elaborates on these themes in its own way. Consequently, three diachronic conclusions can be drawn after studying the relation between Joshua 9:1—13:7 and the Book of Deuteronomy. Firstly, there is no reason to tie both books to the time of king Josiah of Judah.<sup>183</sup> Secondly, Joshua 9:1—13:7 presupposes much of what is now the content of the Book of Deuteronomy, but also shows that it is not a clear cut, unambiguous application of it. Thirdly, in its reflection on 'deuteronomic' themes the passage also makes use of phrases that are attested in the books of Numbers and of information that is also present in the Books of Samuel and Kings.

#### *Relation to Exodus 34 and 2 Samuel 21*

The next question is how to define the diachronic relation of Joshua 9:1—13:7 to Exodus 23:20-33 and 34:10-26. In particular the relation to the latter passage is intense, as turned out in the analysis of the enumeration of the pre-Israelite nations, the prohibition to make a treaty with them and the phrases regarding their supplanting and elimination.<sup>184</sup> In the history of research, two explanations of the affiliation of these passages from Exodus to the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua dominate.<sup>185</sup> Following Wellhausen, scholars like Rüdiger Schmitt and Eckart Otto attributed the command to drive out the indigenous peoples to the *Jehovist* and identified its historical origin in an Altian way by assigning it to a narrative cycle functioning in Gilgal in the time of the *Landesausbau*.<sup>186</sup> Halbe argued on the base of 2 Samuel 21:1-14 that the anti-

<sup>182</sup> Ottosson, *Joswaboken*, 267; J.G. McConville, 'Priesthood in Joshua to Kings', *VT* 49 (1999), 76-7, 85-6; Idem, *God and Earthly Powers*, 82-3, 113-6. Cf. De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 537.

<sup>183</sup> For a summary regarding Deuteronomy, see J.G. McConville, *Deuteronomy* (Apollos), Leicester 2002, 30-3.

<sup>184</sup> See section 3.1, 4.1, 4.3 and 4.4.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. C. Houtman, *Das Bundesbuch. Ein Kommentar* (DMOA, 24), Leiden etc. 1997, 7-48, esp. 23-6.

<sup>186</sup> Schmitt, *Frieden*, 13-36, 45-109; Otto, *Mazzotfest*, 317-22. Cf. Wellhausen, 'Composition des Hexateuchs', 564, about the *Jehovist* in Exod. 23 and 34: "Dessen Geistverwantschaft mit dem Deuteronomium tritt wiederum affallend hervor – wenn nicht ausser ihm noch ein Deuteronomist anzunehmen ist." (= Idem, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 94).

Canaanite attitude came into existence during the reign of Saul and stated that Exodus 34 was written in the Solomonic age by a Yahwist using a proto-deuteronomistic style.<sup>187</sup> More recently, a new approach was instigated by the fact that the traditional research for the relation between certain passages in Exodus and the Book of Deuteronomy paid too much attention to the linguistic details instead of looking at the text as a composition.<sup>188</sup> According to this view, Erhard Blum proposed that a post-exilic deuteronomist combined older material of the *Jehovist* with the Deuteronomistic History to compose Genesis – 2 Kings, while a final priestly editor finished the job (e.g. by adding Josh. 9:15c, 17a-21c, 27b).<sup>189</sup> Martin Rose and Van Seters went even further by asserting that the deuteronomist antedates the Yahwist. In that case, YHWH's *Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch* as expressed by Exodus 34, as well as Joshua 9 is deuteronomistic instead of JE, because in their view the texts reflect the problem with the Canaanites, which is regarded as a 7th and 6th century BCE *deuteronomistische Gegenwart*.<sup>190</sup> In addition, the relations between the story about the Gibeonites and Exodus 23 and 34 have to be denied and it has to be shown that the latter chapters are late.<sup>191</sup>

What can be said about these hypotheses in the light of the synchronic analysis of the text and the previous evaluations? The theories taking larger compositional blocks as a point of departure take a strong stance in describing the relation between Joshua and the passages in Exodus. Given the evaluation of the form critical research in section 5.2, the statement that the prohibition not to make a treaty would have had its *Sitz im Leben* in Gilgal does not hold. It simply fails to do justice to the story of the Hivite trickery. Moreover, it could be argued that a post-exilic dating of the Book of Joshua is supported by the fact that both the books of Ezra and Nehemiah list a category of cultic slaves that are called the 'sons of the slaves of Solomon' (Ezra 2:43-58; Neh. 7:46-60).

Nevertheless, the explanation of a post-exilic deuteronomistic redaction or a Yahwist composition of Exodus 23 and 34 reflecting a 7th or 6th century situation also meets serious problems. First, it is necessary to make a general remark regarding the relation between the books of Genesis – Numbers and Deuteronomy – 2 Kings. Blum is right in stating that much deliberation on this topic is "zu einem guten Teil durch die innere Systematik des zugrundelegenden Erklärungsmodell vorprogrammiert".<sup>192</sup> This, however, does not wipe

<sup>187</sup> J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes Ex. 34,10-26* (FRLANT, 114), Göttingen 1975, 314-5.

<sup>188</sup> E. Blum, *Studien zur Komposition der Pentateuch* (BZAW, 189), Berlin, New York 1990, 164-76.

<sup>189</sup> Blum, *Studien zur Komposition*, 59-60, 73-5, 225, 365-76.

<sup>190</sup> M. Rose, *Der Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch Jahwes* (BWANT, 106), Stuttgart etc. 1975, 112-119; Idem, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist*, 173-92, 200.

<sup>191</sup> For an attempt in this direction, see J. Van Seters, 'The So-Called Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Pentateuch', in: J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume Leuven 1989* (VTS, 43), Leiden 1991, 58-77, esp. 73-4; Idem, *Life of Moses*, 130, 355-6.

<sup>192</sup> Blum, *Studien zur Komposition*, 166.

out the fact that it is very hard to imagine the existence of many passages in Deuteronomy – 2 Kings without the presence of certain contents that are now attested in the preceding books.<sup>193</sup> This is also the case in the relation between Joshua 9 and Exodus 23 and 34, in particular regarding the non-deuteronomic expressions יושב הארץ and בקרבך (Exod. 23:31; 34:12, 15, cf. Josh. 9:7b, 11a, 22e).<sup>194</sup> In addition, it appeared above that it is impossible to characterize the whole complex of texts as ‘nationalist’ and ‘particularistic’. So the assumption that the ‘deuteronomic’ language has to be attached to the reform of the cult by king Josiah of Judah cannot be justified. Finally, the lists in Ezra and Nehemiah clearly legitimize the position of the slaves in the temple by referring to a pre-exilic situation. Therefore, it is logical to assume that the references in these books to the Gibeonites and the temple slaves indeed contain some historical information about their place in pre-exilic Israel.<sup>195</sup>

The greatest difficulty as regards an exilic or post-exilic dating of Exodus 34 and Joshua 9 is the story about David’s dealing with Saul’s bloodguilt against the Gibeonites in 2 Samuel 21:1-14. This passage is often ignored in the diachronic considerations of this issue, but because of its unique narrative quality and its place in the Book of Samuel, it in fact implies a real stumbling-block for the idea that both texts are late pre-exilic or post-exilic inventions.

The story tells about the legitimate and inevitable execution of seven Saulides, the extraordinary reaction to this by Saul’s former concubine Rizpah and about the way this reaction reminds David of his oath to Saul. It forms the end of a storyline in Samuel which highlights that the collapse of Israel’s first royal family was not caused by David, but occurred due to the lack of devotion to YHWH – in this case Saul’s violation of Israel’s oath to the Gibeonites – while the Davidic kingship proved itself to be ordained by God.<sup>196</sup> The story contains several parallels with Joshua 9. It mentions the ‘Gibeonites’ (2 Sam. 21:1-2, 4, 9), calls them ‘a remnant of the Amorites’, who are subjected to the Israelites, but whose life is secured by an oath to YHWH (2 Sam. 21:2). In addition, the aggression of Saul creates an indirect parallel to Exodus 34, because it resembles the Israelite displeasure with the treaty and presupposes the prohibition to

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<sup>193</sup> Cf. e.g. Houtman, *Pentateuch*, 240-6; Vriezen, van der Woude, *Oudisraelitische en vroegjoodse literatuur*, 121-5, 155; J.A. Emerton, ‘The Date of the Yahwist’, in: Day (ed.), *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel*, 107-29. For two applications of this observation regarding the anti-Canaanite undertone of Exodus 23, 34 and Deuteronomy as against the philo-Canaanite tendency in Genesis, see R.W.L. Mobely, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament*, Minneapolis, MN 1992, 79-104; C. Houtman, ‘Zwei Sichtweisen von Israel als Minderheit inmitten der Bewohner Kanaans’, in: Vervenne, Lust (eds), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature*, 213-31.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Noort, ‘Land in zicht’, 108.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. M. Haran, ‘The Gibeonites, the Nethinim and the Sons of Solomon’, *VT* 11 (1961), 159-69.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. P.K. McCarter, *II Samuel* (AB), Garden City, NY 1984, a.l.; Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis*, a.l.; J.-S. Kim, *Bloodguilt, Atonement and Mercy*, Frankfurt 2007, 115-54.

make a treaty. This is remarkable, especially because of the fact that the story is generally acknowledged to be historical in some sense, whether later deuteronomic editors reworked it or not.<sup>197</sup> For this reason, Rose followed those scholars who stated that 2 Samuel 21:2 is an editorial deuteronomic expansion, thus trying to untie the connections.<sup>198</sup> But in reaction to this Na'aman rightly stressed that even in that case, the parallels are still part of the overall tenor of the story.<sup>199</sup>

The connections between Joshua 9 and 2 Samuel 21:1-14 do not pinpoint these texts or Exodus 34 to a certain period in the history of Israel. Yet, they definitely have some remarkable consequences from the perspective of tradition criticism and *Stoffgeschichte*. First, both stories presuppose an old treaty between the Israelites and the Gibeonites. Second, this treaty is not a parity treaty, but a vassal treaty, as is evident not only from Joshua 9, but also from the fact that according to 2 Samuel 21 the treaty was not an agreement with 'the Benjaminites' or 'Saul', but with the Gibeonites, who were not allowed to kill an Israelite (2 Sam. 21:2, 4).<sup>200</sup> Third, this treaty makes it historically unlikely that it was made with one of the tribes at the time of the *Landesausbau*.<sup>201</sup> It merely presupposes a reality as described in Joshua 9, that is, a strong Israel that is about to conquer and settle the land with help of YHWH.<sup>202</sup> Fourth, both stories also take it for granted that Israel is not allowed to make such a treaty with the inhabitants of the land.

So the prohibition to make a treaty at least antedates the 7th century BCE and, if there is anything historical about 2 Samuel 21 and Joshua 9, it can also antedate the period of the monarchy or even the settlement of the Israelite tribes.

## 5.4 PATTERNS AND SOURCES

The previous three sections collected all evidence that is needed to formulate a historiographical hypothesis regarding the origin and development of Joshua 9:1—13:7. So far, however, the positive result of the evaluation of previous research mainly comprised some useful intuitions and a description of relative relationships between passages and with other biblical books. This section answers the question how this information can be placed within a chronological

<sup>197</sup> For an overview, see Kim, *Bloodguilt, Atonement and Mercy*, 9-59, 154-71, 232-45.

<sup>198</sup> Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist*, 181-7.

<sup>199</sup> Na'aman, 'Conquest of Canaan', 278 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 375).

<sup>200</sup> Cf. H. Cazelles, 'David's Monarchy and the Gibeonite Claim', *PEQ* (1955), 170: "The Gibeonites had not the rights of natives, and in particular could not practise the *lex talionis* against the Israelites".

<sup>201</sup> Cf. De Vaux, *Histoire Ancienne*, t. 1, 574: "l'idée que les groupes israélites encore semi-nomades ont imposé un traité aux Gabaonites à la manière dont les grands rois hittites en imposaient à leurs vassaux est grotesque".

<sup>202</sup> As against Na'aman, 'Conquest and Settlement', 278-9 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 375-7).

framework using absolute dates. That makes it possible to identify the scribes and the materials at their disposal and to explain issues that cannot be treated independently. First of all, however, three steps will be taken in order to achieve that goal. The hypothesis that the Book of Joshua uses patterns from Late Bronze Egyptian and West Semitic compositions will be discussed; then, some aged and recent methods to detect the historiographer's use of sources will be highlighted; and finally, the *realia* from the geographical pattern of the textual unit deserve some attention in order to break through the circular reasoning that is inevitably connected to the diachronic analysis of transmitted ancient texts.

### **Egyptian and West Semitic Parallels**

What are the best available ancient Near Eastern parallels of the Book of Joshua and what do they say about its origin? The contribution of Van Seters to this question has been discussed in section 5.3. His claim that the Neo-Assyrian campaign reports support his view of the book overlooks the fact that chapter 9—12 contain parallels with ancient Near Eastern texts from the second as well as the first millennium BCE.

James K. Hoffmeier offered a different solution. In his observation, not only the terse, stereotyped expressions in the reports of 10:28a-42c and 11:10a-14, but also the composition of Joshua 1—11 offer striking similarities with some Late Bronze Egyptian military inscriptions, which were most likely based on daybooks. The same style occurred in the military documents of the 25th Dynasty in the late 8th century BCE. According to Hoffmeier, Joshua 1—11 resemble the annals of pharaoh Thutmosis III of the 18th Dynasty. The similarities show that it is incorrect to limit the study of literary parallels to one geographical region, that is, Assyria. Some of them even suggest that Israel – having historical connections with Egypt from the sojourn tradition through the days of Solomon – borrowed the Egyptian daybook scribal tradition for recording military actions. In Hoffmeier's view, this comparison does not necessarily give a date for the Joshua narratives. But in the late period the use of this style was merely literary and artistic. Therefore, the New Kingdom period would prove to be the most likely time for the Egyptian daybook scribal tradition to have been embraced by Israelite scribes and thus to leave its mark on the composition of Joshua 1—11.<sup>203</sup>

Richard Hess also opts for a Late Bronze Age background for the composition of the Book of Joshua, but he looks in a different direction, namely that of West Semitic texts. According to his view this is supported by onomastic evidence regarding the proper names and the list of pre-Israelite nations<sup>204</sup> and

<sup>203</sup> Hoffmeier, 'Structure of Joshua 1—11', 169-79; Idem, *Israel in Egypt. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition*, Oxford 1996, 40-1.

<sup>204</sup> Hess, 'Non-Israelite Personal Names in Joshua', 207, 209-12, 214; Idem, *Joshua*, 27-8.

by the use of rhetorical forms in 10:4a-d and 10:18a-39g.<sup>205</sup> In addition, Hess also stresses the similarity between the boundary descriptions and town lists in 13—19 and Late Bronze Age border descriptions from the West Semitic world, while he finally defended the view that the Book of Joshua has to be understood as a royal land grant as it is attested in the Middle Bronze Age Alalakh Letter *AT 456*.<sup>206</sup>

### *Evaluation*

How conclusive are these proposals? The analysis of the text revealed that it can seriously be doubted that the list of primeval nations represents an accurate ethnographic description of the racial relations in Late Bronze Age southern Syria-Palestine. The parallels with the early first millennium BCE non-biblical attestations imply that the names were at least adjusted to later situations. In addition, some of the personal names are problematic or have also parallels in the late first millennium BCE.<sup>207</sup> Further, the style in the description of the conquest is sometimes easily associated with similar patterns in the Mayarzana Correspondence or the Amarna Letters, but that does not imply a common West Semitic pattern in describing the conquest of cities.<sup>208</sup> Finally, as Hess admits himself, ancient Near Eastern royal land grants are very diverse in form and phrases.<sup>209</sup> So the application of the form of a single letter to a biblical book clearly overstates the similarities and is a sign of methodological inadequacy.

Three objections are noteworthy regarding the views of Hess and Hoffmeier. Firstly, both scholars do not succeed in establishing a convincing unique connection between the Joshua narratives and the second millennium BCE texts from Egypt or the West Semitic Levant. The parallels they observe remain somewhat speculative in nature and are not extraordinary in comparison with the numerous Middle and Neo-Assyrian corroborations. Secondly, formal parallels and similarities always have to be accompanied by arguments about content. So in this case the clear Davidic associations of the text as listed in section 5.3 undoubtedly prevent a second millennium dating. Thirdly, it has to be noted that the Book of Joshua is not a found, but a transmitted text. Conse-

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<sup>205</sup> Hess, 'Rhetorical Forms in Joshua 10:4', 365-6; Idem, 'Mayarzana Correspondence', 335-54.

<sup>206</sup> R.S. Hess, 'Asking Historical Questions of Joshua 13-19', in: Millard *et al.* (eds), *Faith, Tradition & History*, 191-205; Idem, 'Late Bronze Age and biblical Boundary Descriptions of the West Semitic World', in: G.J. Brooke *et al.*, *Ugarit and the Bible*, Münster 1994, 128-38; Idem, 'A Typology of West Semitic Place Name Lists with Special Reference to Joshua 13-19', *BA* 59 (1996), 160-70; Idem, 'The Book of Joshua as a Land Grant', *Bib* 83 (2002), 483-506; Idem, *Joshua*, 56-60; Idem, 'West Semitic Texts and the Book of Joshua', *BBR* 7 (1997), 63-76.

<sup>207</sup> See the annotations 10:1a; 10:3h; 10:3i; 10:3j; 10:3k; 10:33rr; 11:1a; 11:1b in Chapter 2 and the Excursus 'Listing Pre-Israelite Nations' and note 163 in Chapter 3.

<sup>208</sup> See the detailed comments on 10:28a-39g in section 4.4.

<sup>209</sup> Hess, 'Book of Joshua as a Land Grant', 495.

quently, the remaining possible Late Bronze Age elements in the text can only lead to valuable considerations regarding its historicity and the way it is written, if a diachronic theory doing justice to the inner-biblical relations and other relevant extra-biblical information leaves room for that.

### Use of Sources

An important question in formulating a diachronic theory is whether the Israelite historians made use of sources. According to the texts, they did: Numbers 21:14 refers to 'the book of YHWH's wars' (cf. 1 Sam. 18:17; 25:28), Joshua 10:13c and 2 Samuel 1:18 mention 'the book of the upright one' (cf. 1 Kgs 8:12-13 LXX); and the Book of Kings brings up the 'acts of Solomon' (1 Kgs 11:41), the 'book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel' (e.g. 1 Kgs 14:19) and the 'book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah' (e.g. 1 Kgs 14:29).<sup>210</sup> Furthermore, some references to annals could also be marked by the formula *בִּימֵי* or *בִּימֵי* with a royal name.<sup>211</sup> Finally, several lists and passages that are included in the histories of David and Solomon suggest to have been drawn from old administrative sources (e.g. 2 Sam. 8:16-18; 20:23-26; 23:8-39; 1 Kgs 4:2-19; 9:15-18).

Scholarship has reflected on these references in several ways. Sigmund Mowinckel stated that 'the book of YHWH's wars' and 'the book of the upright one' were two different names for the same national epic that included parts of Genesis 2 and 9 and Exodus 15 and 17 and that was used by the *Elohist*. Isaac Leo Seeligmann argued that the sources contained a considerable amount of poetry about warriors, whose heroic deeds were viewed as God's wars.<sup>212</sup> In his turn, James Montgomery wrote a famous article in which he proposed that besides the mentioned sources royal inscriptions also functioned as sources of the book of Kings, while Shoshana Bin-Nun discovered that the authors must have been using independent Israelite and Judean sources, because there are consistent distinctions between the synchronistic formulas of the Israelite and Judean kings.<sup>213</sup> The speculations with respect to 'the book of the upright one', however, are closely attached to the scientific framework of their time, while the reflections on the formulas in Kings are nowadays illuminated by new extra-biblical finds of royal inscriptions and by considerations about the fact that so far, no Israelite and Judean inscriptions were found, although their scribes were aware of the fact that kings erect monuments (cf. 1 Sam. 15:12; 2 Sam. 8:3, 13).

<sup>210</sup> 1 Kgs 15:31; 16:5, 14, 20, 27; 22:39; 2 Kgs 1:18; 10:34; 13:8, 12; 14:15, 28; 15:11, 15, 21, 26, 31 (Israel). 1 Kgs 15:7, 23; 22:46; 2 Kgs 8:13, 12:20; 14:18; 15:6, 36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17, 25; 23:28; 24:5 (Judah).

<sup>211</sup> E.g. 2 Sam. 21:1; 1 Kgs 22:47; 2 Kgs 8:20; 15:29; 23:29; 24:1.

<sup>212</sup> See e.g. S. Mowinckel, 'Hat es ein israelitisches Nationalepos gegeben?', *ZAW* 53 (1935), 130-52; I.L. Seeligmann, 'Menschliches Heldentum und göttlichen Hilfe', *TZ* 19 (1963), 396-7.

<sup>213</sup> J.A. Montgomery, 'Archival Data in the book of Kings', *JBL* 53 (1934), 46-52; S.R. Bin-Nun, 'Formulas from Royal Records from Israel and Judah', *VT* 18 (1968), 414-32.

Therefore, it seems the best option to treat the issue by discussing the recent methodological contribution of Na'aman to the historiography of David and Solomon, which is nowadays – like the historiography of the conquest and settlement – also considered to describe a 'dark age'. If the work of ancient Israelite historians reflects antiquarian intent and the use of sources, how can these sources be detected and how is their antiquarian intent to be defined? Na'aman is not only one of the scholars offering a fresh historiographical approach to this problem, as was noted in section 1.2. He also tries to incorporate the new tendency for a late dating of Samuel and Kings in his view of the texts behind the texts, a choice which in his view is of great importance for the historiography of the conquest and settlement.<sup>214</sup>

### *Observations and Criteria*

Na'aman starts his reflections on the sources and composition of the histories of David and Solomon with two realistic preliminary observations. In the first place, it has to be noted that the majority of narratives is not susceptible to source analysis. Their use as historical sources depends mainly on the trust or distrust of a scholar in their authenticity, because of the assumption that they rest on oral traditions or are literary novels. Secondly, it is hard to confirm the stories with external evidence, because all Syro-Palestinian inscriptions from the 10th century refer to local affairs and shed no light on international relationships, while apart from the relief of pharaoh Shoshenq (cf. 1 Kgs 14:25-28), detailed accounts of on first millennium BCE intra-state events for the first time appear in the 9th century. So even if David and Solomon accomplished the deeds attributed to them, no source would have mentioned their names.<sup>215</sup> Na'aman further mentions several criteria to detect a text behind the text. It has to be possible (a) to denote the incomplete state of loose parts in the historical work as a whole and evidence that they were cut short; (b) to observe their splitting; and (c) to join the isolated notes to a coherent unit on the base of unity in form, content and the relationship of other fragments with parts of the source.<sup>216</sup> By using these criteria, Na'aman delineates two ancient texts that were used by the scribes who composed at least parts of Samuel and Kings, namely a 'chronicle of early Israelite kings' and a text called the 'Acts of Solomon'. The first contained information about the reigns of Saul, Ishbaal, David

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<sup>214</sup> The influence of Na'aman on the recent debate about Israelite historiography was illustrated curiously by the sudden appearance of the so-called 'Joash-Inscription' at the Geological Survey of Israel in September 2001 and its publication in January 2003. The 'inscription' turned out to be a forgery for numerous reasons and had most likely been fabricated after a suggestion of Na'aman that 2 Kgs 12:5-17 was written by using a building inscription that was erected in Joash's 23rd year. N. Na'aman, 'Royal Inscriptions and the Histories of Joash and Ahaz, Kings of Judah', *VT* 48 (1998), 337-40 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 214-6); Y. Goren *et al.*, 'Authenticity Examination of the Jehoash Inscription', *TA* 31 (2004), 7-14.

<sup>215</sup> Na'aman, 'History of David', 170-3 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 23-6).

<sup>216</sup> Na'aman, 'History of Solomon', 77 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 95).

and Solomon, while the second included a letter to Hiram, reports of a land sale to Hiram, building operations and trade in horses and chariots and a list of officers and districts.<sup>217</sup>

To this point, these methodological considerations are realistic and reasonable. Of course, the delineation of the various fragments is a matter of debate and it is disputed whether some fragments, for instance 1 Samuel 8, reflect the form of a chronicle or that of a display inscription.<sup>218</sup> Moreover, the idea that all fragments can be joined together in two texts seems somewhat speculative. Yet, these hypotheses remain a valuable contribution to historiographical discussion from a general literary and historical perspective. More problematic, however, are several additional considerations Na'aman adjoins to the former to substantiate his idea that both reconstructed sources are fictional records not predating the 8th century BCE and serving educational and tutorial purposes. Na'aman bases this proposal on five assumptions: (d) it is widely accepted that the Deuteronomistic History was composed in the late 7th or the early 6th century BCE; (e) new research has proven that literacy was not as widespread as was often assumed and accordingly, that the development of historical writing in Israel did not antedate the 8th century; (f) Van Seters has pointed out that ancient historians did not consult archives when they wrote their histories before the Hellenistic period, so that it has to be concluded that they only used texts that were in use in the temple library; (g) Israelite historians elaborated sometimes vague memories by adding details from other events, so that it can be assumed that the chronicle for instance modelled king Hadadezer of Zobah in 2 Samuel 8 and 10 after the late 9th century Aramean king Hazael; (h) finally, the term 'Books of chronicles of the kings of Israel/Judah' is a collective noun for the early works the authors had at their disposal. They only applied this name to all their sources in order to stress the trustworthiness of their composition. As a result, the picture of the formation of the Deuteronomistic History becomes quite simple: Samuel and Kings were composed with help of some historical information about Solomon's alliances with Egypt and about the rebellions against him, a later composed chronicle of the early kings, the fictional acts of Solomon, two king lists serving the ancestor cult, and some prophetic stories that were indispensable for the viewpoint of

<sup>217</sup> 1 Sam. 14:47-48; 2 Sam 2:1-3; 5:6-9, 17-25; 8:1, 2, 3, 7, 8-9, 12, 13-14, 16-18; 10:16; 12:29-30; 20:23-26; 23:8-39; 1 Kon. 3:1; 4:2-6, 9-19; 5:7, 8, 15a, 16, 20, 22-25, 27-28, 30; 7:8; 9:10-14, 15-16, 17-18, 24; 10:26, 28-29; 11:14-28, 40. Cf. N. Na'aman, 'The Kingdom of Ishbaal', *BN* 54 (1990), 34-5 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 20); Idem, 'History of David', 171, 173-9, 181-3 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 24, 26-31, 33-4); Idem, 'History of Solomon', 58-60, 61-72 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 80-1, 82-91). Previously, Na'aman was more optimistic about the pre-deuteronomistic story of Saul. Idem, 'The Pre-Deuteronomistic Story of King Saul and Its Historical Significance', *CBQ* 54 (1992), 638-58.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Halpern, 'Construction of the Davidic State', 70-2; Idem, *David's Secret Demons*, 199-207; Na'aman, 'Royal Inscriptions', 334-5 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 212); R.M. Good, '2 Samuel 8', *TynBul* 52 (2001), 129-38.

the 7th century BCE authors. Perhaps a few royal inscriptions and books of the 8th century prophets were also used as a source.<sup>219</sup>

It is evident that this interpretation of the supposed sources and the composition of the books of Kings and Samuel is maximalist with respect to the number of sources, but quite minimalist regarding their historical value: the annalistic associations of the 'chronicles' are rendered harmless, parallel king lists serving the ancestor cult from Ugarit and other places are considered to provide a better historical context than the context of the Book of Kings, and the supposed sources dating from the 10th century are called into question or fictionalized. This situation leads to remarkable conclusions. Contrary to what he had argued earlier, Na'aman now connects the district list of 1 Kings 4:7-19 tentatively, but in a forced way to the Assyrian Province System of the late 8th century, despite its clear context and administrative outlook.<sup>220</sup> In addition, the late 9th century wars between Hazael and Israel offered in his view the details for two Israelite reports: one in the 8th century for the description of David's war against Hadadezer and another in the late 7th century to depict Joshua's war against the Canaanite coalition. Na'aman even claims that his analysis of Joshua 10–11 substantiates his intuition that Israelite historians borrowed details from other events to report a vague memory or to create a new story.<sup>221</sup> This last conclusion, however, did not stand the test of a critical evaluation in section 5.3. Therefore, there is enough reason for a new examination of the possible use of fictional sources and the invention of fictionalized passages by taking another look at four of the five additional considerations (d-g).

### *Literacy and Historiography*

First, the idea that a late date of the Deuteronomy – 2 Kings is 'widely accepted' can as such not be taken as a point of departure in a historiographical discussion trying to answer the question how far the origin of the historical work from Genesis – 2 Kings that probably was edited unto the Persian or Hellenistic period can be traced back in time. It could be that other evidence is so compelling that the conclusion of the late 7th century being the compositional starting point becomes unavoidable. But so far, the proposed textual connection between the Book of Deuteronomy and the reform of Josiah turned out not to exist.

Second, during the last decennia indeed a new valuable approach emerged regarding the spread of literacy in ancient Israel. For a long time it was assumed, mainly for literary-critical and form-critical reasons, that full scale

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<sup>219</sup> Na'aman, 'History of David', 180-3; (= *CE*, vol. 3, 32-5); Idem, 'History of Solomon', 57-61 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 79-82); Idem, 'Temple Library of Jerusalem', 129-52. Cf. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 40-51, 195-9.

<sup>220</sup> N. Na'aman, 'Solomon's District List (1 Kings 4:7-19) and the Assyrian Province System in Palestine', *UF* 33 (2001), 430-3 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 113-6). Cf. Idem, *Borders & Districts*, 169-80.

<sup>221</sup> N. Na'aman, 'In Search of Reality behind the Account of David's Wars', *IEJ* 53 (2002), 209-10 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 48).

writing, including historio-graphy was developed at the courts of David and Solomon. Some scholars even spoke of a 'Solomonic Enlightenment'.<sup>222</sup> The question could be asked, however, to what extent the material remains validate this theory. Therefore, new studies after alphabetic writing, ancient Hebrew inscriptions, bullae and biblical evidence with respect to literacy were done, while some also undertook efforts to place all the finds in an appropriate historical and sociological framework.<sup>223</sup> In general, a few conclusions are shared by most scholars. It is clear that the evidence is scarce due to the corrosive effects of the climate of the Southern Levant on the materials that were mostly used: papyrus and leather. Nevertheless, Israel apparently remained an oral society throughout the first millennium BCE. Most likely only scribes, priests and the upper class had the skills of both reading and writing. At the same time, however, the exceptional high number of bullae and clay tags that were originally attached to the papyrus scrolls reveals that the professional production of texts was considerable and reflects a complicated bureaucracy, at least from the 8th century BCE on, which was also stimulated by the introduction of the Egyptian chisel-shaped brush pen. The scarceness of concrete evidence makes it very hard to apply this picture to historiography. Is the common writing of the 8th century to be understood as an expansion of the scribal skills that were already present for a few centuries at the Israelite sanctuaries and courts? Or does it put a clear *terminus a quo* for the production of larger texts, such as the fabrication of law collections and chronicles?

According to David Jamieson-Drake, the application of a socio-archaeological view on state formation indeed shows that Judah began to function as a state only in the 8th century BCE.<sup>224</sup> Consequently, history writing would only occur after this date. However, the socio-archaeological use of the terms as 'chiefdom' and 'state' have been severely criticized.<sup>225</sup> Moreover, a look at the 14th century Amarna age shows that it is hard to deduce a city's political influence and actual intellectual status from its size and supposed societal development as reconstructed by archaeology. According to the Amarna Letters Shechem and Jerusalem were strong city-states occupying the entire hill-country whose influence was felt everywhere in Canaan and whose scribes

<sup>222</sup> Two important publications gave the impulse for this idea: L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids*, Stuttgart 1926; G. von Rad, 'Der Anfang der Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Israel', 1-42 (= *GS*, Bd. 1, 148-88).

<sup>223</sup> Cf. e.g. B. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and Its Development in the Second Millennium B.C.* (ÄAT, 13), Wiesbaden 1988; J. Renz, W. Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, Bd. 1-3, Darmstadt 1995-2003; A. Lemaire, *Les Écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël* (OBO, 39), Fribourg, Göttingen 1981; G. van der Kooij, *Early Northwest Semitic Script Traditions*, Leiden 1986; I.M. Young, 'Israelite Literacy: Interpreting the Evidence', *VT* 48 (1998), 239-53, 408-22; D.W. Jamieson-Drake, *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah. A Socio-Archaeological Approach* (SWBA, 9), Sheffield 1991; Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 75-108.

<sup>224</sup> Jamieson-Drake, *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah*, 138-49.

<sup>225</sup> R. Kletter, 'Chronology and United Monarchy. A Methodological Review', *ZDPV* 120 (2004), 19-27.

were able to write sophisticated texts. Yet, the archaeological remains would only lead to the conclusion that Shechem was a medium-sized city-state, while Jerusalem would be considered being a stronghold where most likely no scribal activity took place.<sup>226</sup> Accordingly, the presence of highly skilled scribes in Jerusalem before the 8th century BCE cannot be excluded just as the possibility of the existence of schools outside Jerusalem.<sup>227</sup> Millard even argues that the globalized Late Bronze Age scribes from the Southern Levant using the linear Canaanite alphabet – which is undoubtedly the forerunner of the alphabet in which the biblical books were written – could not only easily produce large texts, but were also familiar with literary texts. So in his view, books like Exodus and Deuteronomy most likely were already written during the Late Bronze Age.<sup>228</sup> This last argument offers an accurate portrait of the scribes of the Late Bronze Age, but fails to take into consideration the unique character of the biblical books as transmitted texts. Yet, Millard rightly asks attention for the fact that the writing of texts in the Southern Levant in an alphabetic script did not emerge in a vacuum. According to the most recent explanation of the genesis of the alphabet, it was born in the 14th or 13th century in Egypt and surfaced in the Levant shortly thereafter. There, the scribes, most of whom were of local stock, immediately recognized the advantages of being for the first time able to write in their own mother tongues, introduced the alphabet into their administrations besides the Akkadian cuneiform and the Egyptian Hieratic script and probably began to write down literature that was transmitted orally before. Historians even speak of a 'boom' regarding the proliferation of alphabetic writing in the Levant about 1300 BCE. This success, however, did not last long, for Ugarit was destroyed at the very beginning of the 12th century and the Late Bronze Age system tumbled down. The alphabet only showed up again forcefully alongside urbanism, monumental architecture and monumental art in the Hebrew and the Phoenician-Aramaic scripts of the new territorial kingdoms of the first millennium BCE.<sup>229</sup>

The question is what happened in between. The necessity for writing in Akkadian or Egyptian Hieratic disappeared due to the international situation. In what extent the proto-Canaanite was in use, is a matter of debate.<sup>230</sup> Never-

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<sup>226</sup> N. Na'aman, 'The Contribution of the Amarna Letters to the Debate on Jerusalem's Political Position in the Tenth Century BCE', *BASOR* 304 (1996), 19-21 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 4-8).

<sup>227</sup> Cf. e.g. A. Lemaire, 'Sagesse et Écoles', *VT* 34 (1984), 270-81.

<sup>228</sup> A.R. Millard, 'Books in the Late Bronze Age in the Levant', in: Isre'el *et al.* (eds), *Israel Oriental Studies XVIII*, 171-81.

<sup>229</sup> B. Sass, 'The Genesis of the Alphabet and Its Development in the Second Millennium B.C. Twenty Years Later', *KBN* 2 (2004-2005), 147-66.

<sup>230</sup> Sass claims that official use of the proto-Canaanite alphabet was minimal and that the characters developed at a slower pace, before being picked up by the territorial states about 900 BCE. Millard, however, maintains that the few specimens from the 10th and 9th century should be treated like all surviving examples, namely as only a small portion of what was written. B. Sass, *The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium: The West Semitic Alphabet ca. 1150-850 BCE*, Tel Aviv 2005, 44-5, 51, 67. A.R. Millard,

theless, Hieratic numbers and signs, although absent in documents from Israel's neighbours, appear in 8th and 7th century texts from Israel and Judah. This clearly implies that after the decline of the Egyptian Empire, many Egyptian trained Canaanite scribes served the new rulers of the southern Levantine areas with their scribal and administrative knowledge and that the official scribal tradition remained intact until the 8th century BCE, despite the difficult historical situation.<sup>231</sup> It is unknown what the scribes of this tradition accomplished on papyrus. But the fact that they inherited the skill of the scribes who within the time span of a century had contributed magnificently to the libraries in Ugarit by using an alphabetic script, shows that scholars should be reluctant to interpret the absence of evidence as evidence of absence.

Similar remarks can be made regarding the third and fourth issue, Na'aman's assumptions regarding the role of archives and libraries in the emergence of history writing. In the past, many scholars primarily focused on political history. Accordingly, history writing was seen as being closely associated with the court for several reasons: a monarchic government entails a bureaucracy and needs scribes and the books of Samuel and Kings mention the office of the scribe at the court (1 Sam. 8:17; 20:25; 1 Kgs 4:3, cf. Prov. 25:1). So it seemed clear that in Israel history was written at the court.<sup>232</sup> This assumption, however, is nowadays challenged. There is no evidence of a clear separation of palaces and temples in the Ancient Near East and scribes under royal patronage did not necessarily work in the royal administration. Moreover, the temple, also the temple in Jerusalem, was a centre of written law, written oracles and of education and scholarship.<sup>233</sup> These objections make it clear that it is not justified to localize the origin of Israelite historiography exclusively at

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'The Knowledge of Writing in Late Bronze Age Palestine', in: K. van Lerberghe, G. Voet (eds.), *Languages and Cultures in Contact. At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm* (OLA, 96), Leuven 1995, 323-4; Idem, 'Writing', *NIDOTTE*, vol. 4, 1286-8; R.S. Hess, 'Literacy in Iron Age Israel', in: V. Philips Long *et al.* (eds.), *Windows into Old Testament History. Evidence, Argument, and the Crisis of "Biblical Israel"*, Grand Rapids, Cambridge 2002, 84-95.

<sup>231</sup> O. Goldwasser, 'An Egyptian Scribe from Lachish and the Hieratic Tradition of the Hebrew Kingdoms', *TA* 18 (1991), 248-53; D. Sweeney, 'The Hieratic Inscriptions', in: D. Ussishkin (ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 3, Tel Aviv 2004, 1615. Cf. S.L. Sanders, 'What was the Alphabet for? The Rise of Written Vernaculars and the Making of Israelite National Literature', *Maarav* 11 (2004), 25-56; R. Byrne, 'The Refuge of Scribalism in Iron I Palestine', *BASOR* 345 (2007), 1-31.

See also the comments and reflections on the find of an abecedary in Tel Zayit in 2005: R.E. Tappy *et al.*, 'An Abecedary of the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E. from the Judean Shepelah', *BASOR* 344 (2006), 5-46; I. Finkelstein, B. Sass, L. Singer-Avitz, 'Writing in Iron IIA Palestine in the Light of the *Tel Zayit/Zeta* Abecedary', *ZDPV* 124 (2008), 1-14. Cf. C.A. Rollston, 'Scribal Education in Ancient Israel', *BASOR* 344 (2006), 47-74; R.S. Hess, 'Writing About Writing: Abecedaries and Evidence for Literacy in Ancient Israel', *VT* 56 (2006), 342-6.

<sup>232</sup> E.g. E. Lipinski, 'Royal and State Scribes in Ancient Jerusalem', in: J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume Jerusalem 1986* (VTS, 40), Leiden etc. 1988, 157-64.

<sup>233</sup> For an excellent summary, see Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 82-9.

the palace. However, it is also unfounded to conclude with Na'aman that consequently, history writing in Israel began in the temple with help of the temple library, but without consulting the court archive.

There is indeed no hard evidence that ancient historians went to archives to look up old documents that could serve them in writing history. Similarly, it has to be admitted that longer historical works, such as the Babylonian Chronicles and the Synchronistic History of Assyria and Babylonia do not predate the early 8th century. Nevertheless, there are many ancient texts from the early second millennium BCE on which reflect historical interest, such as king lists, royal inscriptions, letters to the gods and collections of annalistic reports. Scholarship has also revealed that many of these texts contain signals of the use of sources. As was noted above, some Egyptian military inscriptions from the New Kingdom are most likely based on daybooks. In Mesopotamia, royal inscriptions, letters to the god, astronomic diaries and *omina* were utilized as sources.<sup>234</sup> Some of these texts had a place in the curriculum of the scribal schools and therefore almost certainly were part of a library. But it is hard to maintain that none of them came from an archive.

Moreover, the actual information about the practical functioning of archives and libraries is still scarce, even with respect to Egypt and Mesopotamia. There is still known very little about what, how and for how long groups of texts were stored and how they were used.<sup>235</sup> Most of the available knowledge about the possible archives and libraries of Jerusalem and Samaria entirely rests on comparative evidence not taking into account that the state of affairs in these small remote cities could be entirely different. The analysis of the content of the Book of Deuteronomy and the 'deuteronomic' historiography offered in section 5.3 shows that the situation is indeed quite complicated. Both the book and the related historiography keep the palace as well as the temple at some distance and it cannot be excluded that this unique characteristic of Israelite history writing also reflects the religious and political position of

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<sup>234</sup> E.g. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian and Assyrian Chronicles* (TCS, 5), Locust Valley, NY 1975, 11. Idem, Grayson, 'Histories and Historians', 149-88. Two interesting examples of consulting an archive are described in *EA* 74:10-12 and the 12th or 10th century Egyptian story of the journey of Wenamun. *EA* 74 invites the pharaoh to inspect the tablets of his father's house, while the story tells about the king of Gebal who brought the records of his ancestors to have them read before Wenamun. Na'aman dismisses both texts because they do not describe historical events. Their rhetorical and literary nature, however, does not rule out the fact that consulting an archive was apparently less peculiar for their writers and readers than Na'aman and Van Seters assume. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 198; Na'aman, 'Temple Library of Jerusalem', 130-1.

<sup>235</sup> See e.g. Cf. K.R. Veenhof, 'Cuneiform Archives. An Introduction', in: Idem (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, Istanbul, Leiden 1986, 1-36; M. Brosius, 'Ancient Archives and Concepts of Record Keeping. An Introduction', in: Idem (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions. Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, Oxford 2003, 1-16. Cf. Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 75-6.

the scribes, no matter whether they were aligned to the court or the sanctuary.<sup>236</sup>

So in the end, there is no reason to conclude that the material remains and further considerations regarding literacy prohibit the option that history writing in Israel developed before the 8th century BCE. Consequently, a more natural understanding of the lists and passages included in the histories of David and Solomon as being drawn from administrative sources becomes possible. It also appears that Na'aman's endeavour to seek external evidence for what he can actually say about pre-exilic Israel excludes in advance the claim of the books of Samuel and Kings that Israel was in fact the first and the most important of the territorial kingdoms that arose at the beginning of the first millennium.<sup>237</sup>

Furthermore, the idea that Israelite historians borrowed outlines from later events to add a sense of authenticity to their descriptions of vague memories offers neither a convincing interpretation of the conquest narratives in Joshua 10—11 nor of the account of David's wars in 2 Samuel. On the contrary, if it is true, as Na'aman claims, that the Israelite historians did not have a synchronistic history of correlating events in Israel and Judah at their disposal, their efforts resulted in a remarkable achievement, for from the late 10th century BCE on, there is extra-biblical confirmation of a very large assortment of information in 1-2 Kings. The dates from these books can even be used to reconstruct the absolute chronology of the Hebrew kings.<sup>238</sup> Of course, this is different with respect to the chronological data before the start of the reigns of Rehabeam and Jerobeam and the abovementioned considerations do not exclude totally the possibility that the Israelite historians used fiction. Nevertheless, they undoubtedly tried to reconstruct the past and the lack of hard chronological evidence as such is no reason to assume that they did something different regarding the period before the second half of 9th century BCE.

Consequently, three important conclusions can be drawn regarding the formulation of a historiographical hypothesis. In the first place, from the per-

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<sup>236</sup> The way in which 2 Samuel elaborates on David's offences is unparalleled in the ancient Near East. Perhaps, this critical stance plays a role in the fact that apart from some probable indirect references in 2 Sam. 8 and the references to a king list, the books of Samuel and Kings do not cite any of the normally boasting and self-aggrandizing royal epigraphic inscriptions that they most likely had access to. Cf. S.B. Parker, 'Did the Authors of the Book of Kings Make Use of Royal Inscriptions?', *VT* 50 (2000), 357-78.

<sup>237</sup> An apparent example is Na'aman's statement that the formula 'Hadadezer *ben* Rehob king of Zobah' (2 Sam. 8:3, 12) cannot predate the 9th century, because the formula 'son of Bit-PN' is only attested in 9th century inscriptions of Israel's neighbours, e.g. in the Tel Dan Stela. N. Na'aman, 'Hazael of 'Amqi and Hadadezer of Beth Rehob', *UF* (1995), 381-94; Idem, 'History of David', 173-5 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 26-8). For a different reconstruction dating the formula back to the 10th century, see Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 167-86.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Na'aman, 'Temple Library in Jerusalem', 135. See also section 1.2, 'Age of Reality Fictions'.

spective of material remains regarding the development of literacy in the Southern Levant, the 8th century BCE cannot be used as a *terminus a quo* for the formation of Joshua 9:1—13:7, for the scarce information and further deliberations about the actual historical situation leave offers room for Israelite administrative and historiographical efforts predating this time. Secondly, from a literary point of view, it is not unreasonable to assume that the parallels of Joshua 9:1—13:7 in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings, at least those having an administrative outlook, reflect 10th century territorial claims and historical situations. Thirdly, there is no reason to dismiss the previous intuition of Ewald, Alt, Noth, Aharoni, Smend and Fritz that 10:12a-14c, 12:7a-24b and 13:2a-6b contain textual sources preserving ancient memories which were used by the Israelite historians in their depiction of the conquest and settlement of the promised land.

### **Ethnographic and Geographical Patterns**

Now that the general chronological basis for the creation of Israelite historiography has been established, it is time to turn to Joshua 9:1—13:7. This textual unit is to be characterized as a piece of historiography. So far, several elements have appeared to be characteristic for its content and outlook. The text consists out of a compositional framework that is attested in the introductory passages and in the summarizing geographical descriptions of the Cisjordanian land, Transjordan and of the remaining land.<sup>239</sup> The rhetoric of this framework also includes a balanced use of terminology regarding three semantic fields describing human actions, that is, the supplanting of the pre-Israelite nations, their elimination and the actual division and settlement of the land.<sup>240</sup> This language is accompanied by several compositional passages highlighting the help and guidance of YHWH.<sup>241</sup> Further, it also appears that Joshua is subordinated to Moses, who in his turn was the servant of YHWH.<sup>242</sup> Finally, the composition contains some deliberate and maybe also some accidental Davidic associations.<sup>243</sup> The meaning and objective of these textual elements have been explored in section 3.6 and 4.5. In addition, section 5.3 has shown that the depictions of the land and the descriptions of divine and human actions cannot be used to distinct diverse editorial strands. Likewise, the diachronic analysis revealed that the last two storylines do not refer to King Josiah of Judah, but merely point the attention to a form of restrained leadership and highlight the fact that an Israel under the leadership of an obedient Davidic king is assured of YHWH's grace.

<sup>239</sup> 9:1a-4a; 10:1a-5c; 11:1a-5c; 10:41a-42a; 11:12a, 16a-17e; 12:7a-8a; 12:1c-5e; 13:1a-7b.

<sup>240</sup> 10:28a-39g, 42b, 11:7a-8f, 12b, 23ab; 12:1ab, 6b; 13:1d, 6d-7b.

<sup>241</sup> 10:8a-d, 10a-d, 14a-c, 42c; 11:6a-e, 20a-c; 13:6c.

<sup>242</sup> 9:24c; 11:12c, 15a-d, 20c, 23b; 12:6ab.

<sup>243</sup> 9:21b, 23c, 27ad; 10:13c; 11:6a-e, 8d, 23c; 13:4a-6b.

*Possible Datings*

When is this compositional framework to be dated? From the perspective of content, several periods in the history of Israel could be appropriate. An exilic origin is not likely because the authors were well acquainted with the land. An early post-exilic date also meets problems, for there is little evidence from this period of an expectation of the re-establishment of a specifically Davidic monarchy. The messianic expectations in the books of Haggai and Zechariah are also not applied to Zerubbabel, but to a figure in the future.<sup>244</sup> As a result, only the united monarchy, pre-exilic monarchic Judah and the Hasmonean period offer a probable background for the abovementioned Davidic associations.<sup>245</sup>

For those readers who would like to take the text at face value, the last option is excluded by the fact that the authors refer to a source and claim to be witnesses of several situations that most likely only occurred in pre-exilic times: the inhabitants of Gibeon still function as woodcutters and water carriers for the assembly and for the altar of YHWH at the place he would choose (9:27a-d); there are still large stones against the mouth of the cave where the five kings had hidden themselves (10:27ef); the memory is still vivid for the scribes themselves that Hazor was indeed the head of all those kingdoms at the time those things happened (11:10d); finally, the writers try to convince their audience of the fact that no Anakites were left in the Israelite territory by referring to the general knowledge that they only survived in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod (11:22b). These problems can be solved by the argument that these remarks simply reflect source-fictions and antiquarianisms, put in to give a sense of authenticity to the story.<sup>246</sup> But in that case, two problems occur.

In the first place, the previous evaluations have shown that the story of Genesis – 2 Kings is not written in such a way that it is easy to prove that some books or the whole of Genesis to Numbers were added later. Of course, the historical possibility that some stories are later insertions cannot be excluded and undoubtedly, the historical work as it now stands has been the subject of adjustment. But it is hard to show which parts are the result of later historiographical modification. Moreover, this story and not another version of the conquest and settlement, is presupposed in books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. Therefore, it is hard to imagine that Joshua 9:1—13:7 would be late post-exilic, in particular because Samuel and Kings contain substantial pre-exilic information that is validated by extra-biblical evidence.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. K.E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism* (EJL, 7), Atlanta 1995, 67; A.S. van der Woude, 'Serubbabel und die messianische Erwartungen des Propheten Sacharja', in: O. Kaiser (ed.), *Lebendige Forschung im Alten Testament* (BZAW, 100) Berlin 1988, 155-6; W.H. Rose, *Zerubbabel and Zerah: Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period* (JSOTS, 304), Sheffield 2000, 248-51. For a short evaluation of the archaeological horizon of this period, see section 6.1.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. J. Strange, 'The Book of Joshua: a Hasmonean Manifesto', in: A. Lemaire, B. Otzen (eds), *History and Tradition of Early Israel* (VTS, 50), Leiden etc. 1993, 136-41.

<sup>246</sup> Thus e.g. F.A.J. Nielsen, *The Tragedy in History. Herodotus and the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTS, 251), Sheffield 1997, 112-4.

The second problem encompasses the geography of the Book of Joshua. It is possible that local memories regarding geographical situations remain intact for over a long period. This is much more difficult, however, regarding geographical and ethnographical concepts that do not affect the everyday life of a community; and if the same borders and concepts remain intact, the expressions and phrases describing these borders change over the years, as is for instance evident from the developments in the depiction of the border referred to by Lebo Hamath from the Late Bronze Age to the Assyrian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods.<sup>247</sup> Therefore, if the geographical and ethnographical borders and concepts contain some pre-exilic historical information, it is unlikely that they were preserved for so many centuries.<sup>248</sup> Moreover, the expressions and phrases designating the geographical and ethnographical concepts functioned almost certainly only in particular periods. Therefore, the diachronic referential aspects of these designations appear to be a vital instrument in determining the period in which the text could have been written.

#### *Diachronic Referential Aspects*

The diachronic referential aspects regarding ethnography and geography in Joshua 9:1—13:7 comprise three types of evidence. The first type concerns the information that was gathered from onomastic parallels. It appeared that the name Adoni-Zedeq (10:1a, 3a) fits a Late Bronze Age context, while Jabin (11:1a) could even designate a dynastic name. However, the names of Hoham (10:3b), Piram (10:3b) and Debir (10:3b) are disputed, while Japhia (10:3b), Horam (10:33a) and Jobab (11:1c) have parallels from much later periods too. Consequently, the onomastic evidence enhances very little information for a conclusive historiographical hypothesis. The names could derive from Late Bronze memories, but this idea is also not without problems. Yet, the biblical and non-biblical connections between the name Jabin and Hazor remain striking.<sup>249</sup>

More can be said about the second type of evidence, that is, the attestations of the pre-Israelite nations (9:1d, 11:3abc; 12:8b). With respect to the Hivites, Perizzites, Jebusites and Gergashites, there is very little information available at all. This fact could be used in favour of the option that an author deliberately attached elements to the list in order to make it look antique. However, the evidence concerning the first three peoples, the Amorites, the Hittites, and the

<sup>247</sup> See section 3.5, 'Northern Remaining Land'.

<sup>248</sup> Another problem for a Hasmonean date is the existence of five fragments found in Qumran and Masada, dating from the late 2nd or early 1st century BCE, which most likely form an 'apocryphon of Joshua', a rewritten version of the Book of Joshua that already existed. Cf. E. Tov, 'The Rewritten Book of Joshua as found at Qumran and Masada', in: M.E. Stone, E.G. Chazon (eds), *Biblical Perspectives. Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 27), Leiden etc. 1998, 233-56.

<sup>249</sup> See the annotations 10:1a; 10:3h; 10:3i; 10:3j; 10:3k; 10:33rr; 11:1a; 11:1b in Chapter 2 and note 70, 77, 162 and 163 in Chapter 3.

Canaanites, does not fit this kind of antiquarianism. The references to the Amorites and Hittites preserve 9th and 10th, and those to the Canaanites even 13th century BCE memories and the idea of the texts that some groups in Late Bronze Palestine could be designated by the name Hittite or Amorite is historically credible. At the same time, the list does not offer an accurate ethnographic description of the racial relations of the Southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age. The Hurrian influence is at best attested only in disputed parallels, while the prominent Egyptian presence in Canaan in the 12th and 13th centuries is not mentioned at all. As has been demonstrated in section 3.1, it is inevitable that the list of pre-Israelite nations is in some sense historical, but also stereotypical and schematic in nature. The evidence from the 10th and 9th century suggests that this schematization took place at the beginning of the first millennium BCE.<sup>250</sup>

The third type of evidence comprises the geographical depictions of the conquered and the remaining land. These descriptions contain several striking references to historical situations as they occurred in the early first millennium BCE. Firstly, the historical-geographical identification of the cities in 10:28a-39g in the Shephelah and the description of the Philistine remaining land in 13:2b clearly presuppose the status quo of a Philistine presence in the coastal plain, despite the fact that the historiography of the conquest and settlement depicts Philistea as a part of the promised land (Exod. 13:17; 23:31; Judg. 3:3). The same ambiguity can be observed in the general description of the 'Philistine' district of Judah in 15:45-47. At the same time, however, it has to be noted that the division of the Philistine region in five districts as attested in 13:3d lasted at the utmost unto the late 9th century BCE. In a similar way, the depiction of the remaining land in 13:4b refers to Sidon and not to Tyre. This could reflect the historical situation between the destruction of Tyre at the beginning of the 12th and its revival and wealth during the 9th century BCE. At last, an important connection exists with respect to the attestation of the 'Amorites' in the geographical description of 13:4b, for its extra-biblical parallel 'Amurru' fell out of use completely after the late 9th century.<sup>251</sup>

At the same time, however, the text also contains entities that are closely connected to historical situations as they occurred in the second millennium BCE. The most important of these references are the direct and indirect indications that the promised land is to be identified with the Egyptian Province in Asia as it existed during the New Kingdom. According to Numbers 34 southern Transjordan did not belong to the promised land, while this area had the same status in non-biblical texts regarding the province. The Book of Deuteronomy and Joshua 12:1a-6b strengthen this idea by utilizing the accidental character of the conquests of the kingdoms of Sihon and Og. They create high expectations regarding the conquest of Cisjordan by stating that land that did not be-

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<sup>250</sup> See the Excursus 'Listing Pre-Israelite Nations' section 3.1. For a similar conclusion, see Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 20-1, 35.

<sup>251</sup> See the detailed comments on 13:2b, 4b in section 3.5.

long to the promised land was transformed into promised territory as well. So with respect to Transjordan, it seems that the memory of the Egyptian province was not wiped out, but used.<sup>252</sup> The depiction of the southern border of the promised land also reflects the Egyptian view of the province in Asia: the concept of Seir lying just outside this territory as attested in 11:17a, 12b (cf. 15:2-4, 21; Num. 34:3-5; Judg. 1:36) is also reflected in an Amarna Letter and in 18th to 21st Dynasty texts. The designation Shihor for the easternmost branch of the Nile also functions as the border of Egypt in non-biblical texts.<sup>253</sup> The identity of the Israelite and Egyptian 'Canaan' is finally verified by the term 'Amorites' in 13:4b in its description of the northern boundary, which existed as a 'border of the Amorites' and the Egyptian province between the late 14th to the early 12th century BCE.<sup>254</sup> In addition to these border references, several other descriptions also fit into this picture: according to 11:3b the Amorites live in the mountains; the inhabitants of the province are called 'Canaanites' in 9:1d, 11:3a, 12:8b and 13:3c, 4a; and the 'plantations' of 12:23a probably reflect the cultivation of the Egyptian royal fields in the Jezreel Valley, just as *EA* 365:11.<sup>255</sup>

So, if the abovementioned considerations regarding geographical and ethnographical concepts and the change of expressions and phrases describing borders are correct, the three types of evidence lead to a simple, unequivocal conclusion based on direct and cumulative non-biblical evidence: the compositional framework of Joshua 9:1—13:7 has been written down in the early first millennium BCE with help of Late Bronze Age memories and by applying some of the additional information from the 10th to late 9th century horizon. These Late Bronze Age memories possibly comprise the names of the kings, but in any case the ethnographic information about the Canaanites, Amorites and Hittites and the concept of the Egyptian Province in Asia in the description of the Shihor as its most south-western border, the boundary of the Amorites as its northern edge and in the ambiguous view of southern Transjordan. This territory is depicted as the land YHWH has promised to Israel. The additional information from the 10th to late 9th century horizon includes some details of the descriptions of the conquered and the remaining land: references to the Philistines and their five city-states and the attestation of Sidon. This picture becomes even more complete as soon as the parallels with the claims of the Davidic Empire in 2 Samuel 8—10 and 24 are taken into consideration. In that case, the northern border of the conquered land clearly resembles that of the 10th century Israelite territory, while the depiction of the remaining land comprises a claim on the territory of its supposed allies and vassals.<sup>256</sup> The only

<sup>252</sup> See section 3.4, 'Conquered Transjordan'.

<sup>253</sup> See the detailed comments on 11:17a in section 3.4.

<sup>254</sup> See the detailed comments on 13:4b-5a in section 3.5, 'Northern Remaining Land'.

<sup>255</sup> See section 3.1, 'Listing Pre-Israelite Nations', annotation 12:23n in Chapter 2 and section 3.4, 'Defeated Kings'.

<sup>256</sup> See the comments on 11:6a-11c and 13:2b, 5c in section 3.3 and 3.5 and the concluding remarks and diachronic considerations in 3.6, 5.2 and 5.3. Cf. also the Ge-

boundary that remains uncertain in this respect is the southern border of the conquered land, which was most likely never acknowledged to be very important, for this desert region was only interesting because of its copper.<sup>257</sup> This boundary is alluded to in 11:17a, 12b and described more elaborately in 15:2-4 (cf. 15:21, Num. 34:3-5; Judg. 1:36). It correctly assumes that Seir was lying outside the Egyptian province, while the ascent of the Scorpions is also referred to in Egyptian texts from the 15th century BCE. This, however, is not sufficient evidence to date it to the Late Bronze Age. Moreover, there are also no clear resemblances with passages describing the kingdom of David, other than that David and his men resided in the western Negev. So the dating of this border remains tentative.<sup>258</sup>

As a result, the hypothesis of a reworking of Late Bronze Age memories in a piece of historiography having the late 10th century BCE as its *terminus post quem* and the late 9th century or at the utmost the early 8th century most likely being its *terminus ante quem* perfectly fits the evidence of the compositional framework of Joshua 9:1—13:7.<sup>259</sup> This dating correlates with the diachronic referential aspects of the ethnographical and geographical descriptions. It also agrees with the Davidic associations regarding the treatment of pre-Israelite nations in the *pax israelitica* and the dealing with hostile horses and chariots, while the compositional framework also utilizes the formula of the Altar-Law and refers to the promise of the building of the temple by saying

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shurites in 13:2b, living southwest of Philistea, who are depicted as being thoroughly despoiled by David in 1 Samuel 27:7-8. For the historical character of 2 Sam. 24:5-7, see Fokkelman, *Throne and City*, 315: "The elaborate geographical description seems to respond to the need for documenting the kingdom of David and the task of historiography".

<sup>257</sup> Cf. Weippert, 'Edom und Israel', 291-3; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 315-6.

<sup>258</sup> Cohen and Kallai state for archaeological reasons that this border was derived from the southern border of the Solomonic Empire. R. Cohen, G. Schmitt, *Drei Studien zur Archeologie und Topographie Altisraels* (TAVO, 44), Wiesbaden 1980, 8, 29-31; Kallai, *Historical Geography*, 282; Idem, *Biblical Historiography*, 142, cf. Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 62-8. De Vos admits the existence of evidence of an 11th and 10th century BCE occupation of e.g. Tel el-Qudeirat, but rejects this solution on the base of the supposed post-exilic date of Num. 34:3-5, despite the fact that the oases were sparsely settled during the Persian period. Strikingly, De Vos dates the northern boundary of the territory of Judah to the 10th century. De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 238-40, 495-6.

<sup>259</sup> The *terminus a quo* is defined by the building of the temple and the 'book of the upright one', which also contained 'Lament of the bow', while the *terminus ante quem* is set by the disappearance in non-biblical texts of the expression 'border of the Amorites'.

Evidently, this definition of the *terminus a quo* excludes the possibility of a 14th, 12th or 11th century BCE date for the formation of the book, as is proposed by e.g. Keil, *Josua, Richter und Ruth*, 5-8; C.J. Goslinga, *Het boek Jozua* (KV), Kampen <sup>3</sup>1955, 12-22; M.H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua* (NICOT), Grand Rapids, MI 1981, 13; H.J. Koorevaar, *De opbouw van het boek Jozua*, Brussel 1990; Pitkänen, *Central Sanctuary and Centralization of Worship*, 158-241.

that the land had rest from war without presupposing a centralized cult.<sup>260</sup> Furthermore, this dating finds a clear extra-biblical parallel in the 9th century Mesha Stone in its use of the מרר. Finally, it does justice to the claim of the scribes that they refer to actual situations in their environment, namely, the functioning of the inhabitants of Gibeon as woodcutters and water carriers for the altar of YHWH, the large stones against the mouth of the cave Makkedah, the memory that Hazor was the head of all those kingdoms and the presence of the Anakites in the Philistine Coastal Plain.

### 5.5 HISTORIOGRAPHICAL HYPOTHESIS

Who were the scribes writing Joshua 9:1—13:7? What were their materials and sources? What, in any case, does their text claim? Saying something about these questions is almost impossible, because historical knowledge about Israelite historiography is very limited and this study only concentrates on a small part of it. Nevertheless, after many others have enriched scholarly discussion with their educated guesses, it has become obligatory to formulate an alternative.

In his book on the reliability of the Old Testament Kenneth A. Kitchen considers the possibility of a young Joshua gazing up awed at the Egyptian reliefs of the New Kingdom and an old Joshua doing a verbal list to parody these depictions of the Egyptian triumphs. According to Kitchen nobody should think in that way about the composition of the Book of Joshua. But he insists that Joshua 12:9a-24b sets out the same concept within the same epoch by putting the scale of the victory at the end of the record.<sup>261</sup> This empirical approach stands in sharp contrast with the socio-historical method of Ernst Axel Knauf. He argues that there are no eyewitness-reports in biblical historiography before the 7th century BCE and that it cannot be used as a historical source as long as its information is not validated by external evidence, for the authors only preserved what they regarded worthy of remembrance in the light of their ethnic goals.<sup>262</sup>

The textual evidence prepared in the Chapters 3 and 4 and the diachronic analysis of the previous sections have shown that both approaches have to be rejected. Joshua 9:1—13:7 is full of artistic construction, selectivity and suggestive detail mirroring the aims and beliefs of its scribes. The passage also has to be treated as a transmitted, not as a found text. Nevertheless, this part of historiography cannot be reduced to its supposed social function and the evidence regarding the development of literacy and history writing does not sustain

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<sup>260</sup> Most likely, the scarcely attested notion of ‘chariots of iron’ in the historiography of the settlement (Josh. 17:16, 18; Judg. 1:19) also reflects a late 10th to early 8th century BCE anachronism. See section 3.3, the excursus ‘Chariots of Iron’.

<sup>261</sup> Kitchen, *On the Reliability*, 178-9.

<sup>262</sup> E.A. Knauf, ‘From History to Interpretation’, in: Edelman (ed.), *The Fabric of History*, 46-50.

Knauf's conclusions. On the contrary, the positive biblical and non-biblical data and the tradition-historical considerations lead to a different conclusion: the historiography of Joshua 9:1—13:7 predates the 7th century and reflects that the scribes not only validated their tradition highly, but also respected their oral and textual sources. This will be illustrated by taking a look at the scribes, the traditions they used, the sources and narratives they had at their disposal, and finally at their convictions and claims.

### **Scribes**

The scribes were familiar with the canons of ancient Near Eastern royal historiography, their interest was primarily focussed on the land of Israel as a whole and they had a positive view of the conquest by Joshua as well as of the monarchy as it existed in the time of David and Solomon. So most likely, they lived and worked in Jerusalem, during the reigns of Solomon, Rehabeam or Asa, for these kings were ruler of all Israel, or claimed the territory of the new kingdom in the north by making war with it. The period thereafter, when the Judean kings became allied with the Omride dynasty, seems less suitable. Probably, the reign of Joash during the late 9th century BCE could also serve as a potential background, for he stood in close connection to the priests and suffered the threat of the Aramean king Hazael. This, however, does not mean that the scribes embraced the political ends of their kings. They clung to the 'constitutional' view of the cult, land and leadership that is also found in the present Book of Deuteronomy and applied it in their own way: they do not mention the temple in Jerusalem, have a special interest in Joshua's conjunction with the leaders of Israel in making the treaty and in the role of the priests in dividing the land. Finally, they use their intimate knowledge of the landscape to play a sophisticated game with conquered and unconquered, divided and undivided land. Neither Joshua nor the king is in the centre of the attention, but only YHWH, their God, who gave the obedient leaders Joshua and David their glorious victories and whose guidance still enhances a promise for the future: if the king and the people are obedient, YHWH's grace guarantees again the promise of the land.

### **Traditions**

How was this part of Israelite historiography composed? Several conclusions can be drawn about its traditions. The work of the scribes is clearly related to information that is also present in the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. In the light of the similarities between Judges 1:1—2:5 and the Book of Joshua, the conclusion is inevitable that both passages belong to the same historiographical tradition. However, a diachronic analysis of Judges 1 shows that this chapter has to be dated after the fall of Samaria in 721 BCE, for it has a much darker undertone, the 'house of Joseph' is severely criticized and the direction of literary dependence goes from Joshua to Judges and not vice

versa.<sup>263</sup> More complicated is the relation with Samuel and Kings. It is hard to characterize this relation as literary. This was already noted in section 5.2 with respect to 2 Samuel 24:5-7, but also applies to the associations with the Davidic Empire and with the way David and Solomon deal with the pre-Israelite nations: these affiliations cannot be explained in a literary way, but only by the observation that both groups of texts reflect a similar historical background.<sup>264</sup> Apparent literary allusions were only detected in the case of the hamstringing of the horses, while indirect connections were detected in the references to the place YHWH would choose and the notion of 'rest'. The last two allusions stand closer to the divine promise about the Davidic dynasty and the building of the temple in 2 Samuel 7 than the Altar-Law of Deuteronomy 12. So the books of Joshua and Samuel at least partly treated the same themes. But it is more likely to clarify this relation by assuming a common historiographical tradition than by literary dependence.

This brings up to the next question, how the relation between Joshua 9:1—13:7 and the books of Exodus – Deuteronomy is to be explained. On the one hand, the diachronic analyses have confirmed two assumptions that have dominated the last decades of diachronic research: the Book of Joshua clearly contains language and themes that are present in the Book of Deuteronomy and therefore can be viewed as 'deuteronomic'. In addition, the book also contains such clear references to Exodus and Numbers that the increasing fashionable view of Genesis – 2 Kings as a single historical work, which was developed over the years, becomes more likely than the separate existence of a 'Deuteronomistic History'. Yet, the analysis also revealed that the dating of some passages and terminology of certain semantic fields should be reconsidered. The compositional framework of Joshua 9:1—13:7 obviously presupposes the existence of the content of the books of Exodus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. This regards not only the prohibition to make a treaty with the pre-Israelite nations as it now appears in Exodus 23 and 34, but also comprises some passages from the deuteronomic law-collection and the rhetoric of elimination as

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<sup>263</sup> Van Bekkum, 'Historiografie van de vestiging', 305-9.

<sup>264</sup> See e.g. the district list in 1 Kgs 4:7-19. This administrative division of Solomon's kingdom differs from the boundary system of Joshua 13—19. Nevertheless, the second and the fifth district are established in the areas of former Canaanite city-states, while the fourth district was also occupied by non-Israelite groups. According to Alt, the division into districts was even based upon the existing structure of the recently conquered and annexed territories. Cf. Alt, 'Israels Gaue', 8-9, 17-9 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 81, 87-9); Na'aman, *Border & Districts*, 197-201; J. Kamlah, 'Die Liste der Regionalfürsten in 1 Kön 4:7-19 als historische Quelle für die Zeit Salomos', *BN* 106 (2001), 61-75. J.A. Blakely, 'Reconciling Two Maps: Archaeological Evidence for the Kingdoms of David and Solomon', *BASOR* 327 (2002), 49-54. This, however, does not imply that according to the books of Samuel and Kings, David conquered these territories, for the remarkable silence about these conquests directs the attention at Saul and Ishbaal. Cf. Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 154-6, 406-24.

it occurs in Deuteronomy 2—3 and 7.<sup>265</sup> It is possible that the same scribes who wrote the conquest account of the Book of Joshua also composed the latter passages. In that case, the 10th or 9th century BCE idea about a devotion to destruction was not only used by the Moabite scribes, but also by Israelite historians in order to write down the tradition of the conquest. Nevertheless, several elements indicate that this is not the most logical scenario. The rhetoric of violence in the Book of Deuteronomy is applied to only a specific number of peoples and is much more elaborate than its corresponding terminology in the Mesha Stela, while it is also the result of an articulation of the treatment of the pre-Israelite nations that becomes increasingly concrete and is hardly to deconstruct diachronically. Additionally, the notion of elimination is closely related to terminology describing the land as successor-territories, which in its turn is connected to the identification of the Egyptian province in Asia with the promised land. Therefore, from a tradition-historical point of view it is more reasonable to assume that the scheme of Canaan as the promised land – which definitely goes back to the second millennium – and the prohibition not to make a treaty with the primeval peoples – whose existence is presupposed in 9:3a-27d – together instigated a process of a further elaboration of the themes of supplanting and eliminating the indigenous inhabitants and settling the land. It even cannot be excluded that a command to devote these nations to destruction played a role in this tradition-historical development.

Similar remarks can be made with regard to the so-called priestly passages and the phrases regarding the division of the land by casting the lot. Both are often thought to be late additions reflecting a ritualising tendency and supporting the canonical shape of the editions of the Hexateuch or Enneateuch.<sup>266</sup> However, as soon as it is observed that this concentration on the distribution of powers fits the constitutional character of the Book of Joshua and forms the practical consequence of Joshua's more indirect relationship with YHWH, an exclusive post-exilic date for these well-integrated passages and terminology becomes problematic and another option emerges in the discussion of the history of the traditions in Numbers. It is also possible that the scribes writing the Book of Joshua derived the identifiable priestly language from traditions with a specific interest in the cult and the role of the priests in consulting YHWH. This language was used to describe the constitutional relations between the diverse Israelite representatives after Moses' death. Undeniably, passages such as Numbers 27:12-27; 33:50-56 and 34:1-12 should play a role in reflecting on the issue of the latest redactions of the historical work of Genesis – 2 Kings, for they clearly combine the terminology and interests of the Book of Deuteronomy with that of the books of Numbers and Joshua, thus forming a clear liter-

<sup>265</sup> For comments on the scholarly hypotheses regarding these issues, see section 4.4, the Excursus 'הרר and Holy War' and section 5.3, 'Evaluation'.

<sup>266</sup> See e.g. De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 301-5; Albertz, 'Kanonische Anpassung des Josuabuches', 199-216; Achenbach, 'Pentateuch', 238; E. Noort, 'Bis zur Grenze des Landes. Num. 27,12-23 und das Ende der Priesterschrift', in: T. Römer (ed.), *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers* (BETL, 215), Leuven 2008, 99-120.

ary bridge between the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets.<sup>267</sup> At the same time, however, the historiography of the conquest and settlement presupposes some kind of pre-exilic tradition-historical development of the themes of supplanting and eliminating the indigenous inhabitants and of settling the land, whereas the origin of the geographical concept of Numbers 34 even can be dated to the Late Bronze Age. Therefore, an additional explanation is required, namely that of pre-exilic scribes being familiar with traditions that contained, although most likely in a less complicated form, both the content and the terminology of the promise of the land of Canaan, the prohibition not to make a treaty with its inhabitants, a command regarding their elimination and some priestly regulations about the division of the land.<sup>268</sup> Probably, the reflections regarding the 'book of the law' also played a role in this historiographical development.<sup>269</sup>

The extra-biblical parallels of the list of pre-Israelite nations offer the opportunity to sketch at one point how the historiographical use of these traditions could be related to the growth of the historical work from Genesis – 2 Kings. It was shown already that this list does not reflect the Late Bronze Age ethnographic situation in the Southern Levant. According to some scholars, the attestation of the list in passages from Genesis to Judges and in Nehemiah 9:8 is firm proof that it has to be dated much later, that is, to one of the latest post-exilic editorial layers of biblical historiography. Others prefer a pre-exilic 'deuteronomic' date.<sup>270</sup> However, the abovementioned evidence reveals that the most likely option is that this 'deuteronomic' historiography developed over the years, also comprised the work of Noth's *Sammler* and started considerably earlier than is often assumed. The compositional framework shows that the ethnographic memories regarding the Egyptian province in Asia and possibly other information that is now present in Genesis 10, were most likely used and schematised during the early first millennium BCE. This scheme of six or seven peoples became a standard in all Israelite historiography describing the conquest and settlement in the following centuries. Therefore, it can now be observed being an overall pattern in Genesis – 2 Kings.<sup>271</sup> Probably, the transfer from the rather vague chronological data as they occur until the building of the temple to the more precise numbers of regnal years thereafter signals an inter-

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<sup>267</sup> Thus e.g. Achenbach, *Vollendung der Tora*, 557-93; G.N. Knoppers, 'Establishing the Rule of the Law?', in: E. Otto, R. Achenbach (eds), *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und dem Deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk* (FRLANT, 206), Göttingen 2004, 135-52; H. Seebass, *Numeri* (BKAT, IV/3), Neukirchen 2007, 385-413.

<sup>268</sup> Ottosson, *Josuaaboken*, 32-6, 83-4, 260-3, 267, considers the possibility that the priestly reflections concerning the division of the land go back to traditions that were kept in the sanctuary at Shiloh.

<sup>269</sup> Cf. e.g. W.M. Schniedewind, 'The Textualization of Torah in the Deuteronomic Tradition', in: Otto, Achenbach (eds), *Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch*, 153-67.

<sup>270</sup> See above note 4.

<sup>271</sup> Cf. Ishida, *History and Historical Writing*, 20-1, 35.

est in the vicissitudes of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah that also instigated the first larger historiographical compositions.

### Sources and Narratives

The diachronic study of Joshua 9:1—13:7 has not revealed which parts of 1:1—8:35 and 13:8—24:33 belonged to the compositional framework. The conclusions regarding geography make it reasonable to assume that the outer borders of the boundary system and the summarizing statements about the Canaanite enclaves also have to be connected historically to the Davidic kingdom. However, it is a matter of debate whether and how the boundary-descriptions developed from a list of *Grenzfixpunkte* to a description of borders, whether the city-lists – which could have had a practical function in several periods – were original, and until what date these lists were adjusted to the political and social reality.<sup>272</sup> More can be said about the materials that were used inside 9:1—13:7. Potential texts behind the text were detected in 10:12a-14c, 12:9a-24b and 13:2a-6b.

With respect to 10:12a-14c most scholars rightly observed that it was poetic in nature and that there are some literary unevennesses between the poetic fragment and its interpretative context. Both phenomena lead to the conclusion that the fragment is indeed a quotation from a text being called the 'book of the upright one'. The synchronic analysis also showed that the discontinuity between the text and its context does not mean that the original meaning of the poetic lines was violated. They were not, as is often assumed, misunderstood, quoted incorrectly or demythologized. The scribes only added another perspective to the divine aid and glorious victory by offering a hyperbolic interpretation of two elements that are indeed present in the poetic fragment: God made the sun and moon respond to the command of a human being and as a result, they held their position. But by doing so, they highlighted an element that was also the main topic in the poetic lines, namely, that YHWH helped Joshua in a unique way by acting miraculously in battle.<sup>273</sup> Consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that the 'book of the upright one' contained besides the 'Lament of the bow' also a passage describing Joshua's battle at Gibeon. How old this story is, however, remains uncertain, although it seems logical that it did not occur in its written form as a part of the 'book of the upright one' before the mid 10th century BCE, because this also included 2 Samuel 1:19-27.

<sup>272</sup> For a discussion, see e.g. Alt, 'Judas Gaue'; Idem, 'Galiläische Ortsliste'; Noth, 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumenten'; Cross, Wright, 'Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah'; Z. Kallai, 'The Towns Lists of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin and Dan', *VT* 8 (1958), 134-60; O. Bächli, 'Von der Liste zur Beschreibung. Beobachtungen und Erwägungen zu Jos. 13-19', *ZDPV* 89 (1973), 1-14; H. Seebass, 'Zur Exegese der Grenzbeschreibungen von Jos. 16,1-17,13', *ZDPV* 100 (1984), 70-83; Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*; E. Cortese, *Josua 13-21. Ein Priesterschriftlichen Abschnitt im deuteronomistischen Geschichteswerk* (OBO, 94), Fribourg, Göttingen 1990; Hess, 'Late Bronze Age and Biblical Boundary Descriptions'; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 147-86.

<sup>273</sup> See section 4.3, 'Violent Epiphany'.

Regarding the second fragment, it was concluded that the list of 12:9a-24b can indeed be characterized as relatively independent, because it lists twelve cities that were not mentioned before, while the three parts of the list – 12:9a-10b, 10a-16b, 17a-24a – do suggest a geographical movement that is also present in the conquest account of 6–11. Finally, it appeared that there is no reason to assume that the traditions connected to the cities that are not attested in these stories, have been lost. Consequently, the situation regarding 12:9a-24b is difficult: the transition from 12:8b to 12:9a and from 12:24b to 13:1a is smooth and sound and therefore, there is no clear literary testimony suggesting that the section indeed existed as a separate list, while at the same time it reflects to some degree a genuine source with a history of its own, closely connected to the traditions of conquest and settlement.<sup>274</sup>

Does the literary history of the list hereby remain clouded? That remains to be seen in the light of the criteria listed by Na'aman. For it could be that 12:9a-24b and 13:2a-6b are both short cut and split up elements of a common source describing the conquered and the remaining land. The inequalities of 13:1a-7b indicate that this is probable: the divine oracle is suddenly interrupted by a geographical description; 13:6ab would be a consistent continuation of 13:1d, but only describes the peoples of the northern part of the remaining land; and at face value, it is unclear which land has to be divided according to the commands of 13:6d-7b. So both the content of 13:2a-5c and the way this passage is integrated in 13:1a-d and 13:6a-7b, point to the use of a source. Yet, due to the second unevenness, scholars did not succeed in delineating this fragment, for it could well be that it also included 13:6ab. In addition they also overlooked that not only 13:6d-7e, but also 13:4a-5c resembles passages and expressions from Numbers 34:1-15 and that the primary meaning of YHWH's assurance to Joshua and his successors is that somehow, he will find a way to reach his goal of giving the whole of Canaan to Israel, while Joshua is only ordered to divide the entire promised land, as far as he can still do this personally.<sup>275</sup> Consequently, the impression remains that at least the textual fragment of 13:2b-5c was used and adjusted to the present context to depict the remaining land, while this fragment as well as the broad description of Canaan in Numbers 34:3-12 was closely tightened to the idea of the division of the land among the tribes. Is this a signal that 12:9a-24b and 13:2a-6b were both parts of a source depicting the conquered territories and the remaining land within the framework of 'Canaan' as the promised land?

It is impossible to answer this question properly, because of the lack of evidence. But it is striking how well this fits the abovementioned tradition-historical deliberations regarding Joshua 9:1–13:7. The story about the treaty with the Gibeonites is firmly anchored in Israel's history, but as a story, it was most likely repeated orally, just as the anecdote about the kings in the cave at Makkedah. There is at any rate no indication that these traditions were trans-

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<sup>274</sup> Cf. Nelson, *Joshua*, 162.

<sup>275</sup> See section 3.5, 'Measure and Divide'.

mitted in written form before. In addition, the report about the battle with the Canaanite coalition in the north is clearly modelled after that against the Amorites in the south. Therefore, it seems appropriate to speculate further in the direction of a suggestion of Nelson that the list of 12:9a-24b served as a source for the names of the Jerusalem and Hazor coalitions and in reconstructing a stereotyped campaign report.<sup>276</sup> Nelson assumes that the Book of Joshua consists out of many separate traditions. But now that the aforementioned tradition-historical reasoning merely highlights their coherence, another option is to be preferred. This option is that some 10th or 9th century BCE Judean scribes educated to a scholarly level took an existing document depicting the conquered territories and the remaining land, combined it with the oral traditions that were attached to it and with a fragment from the 'book of the upright one' and composed this part of the historiography of Israel's conquest and settlement of Canaan by using the international canons of royal historiography, the deuteronomic and priestly traditions and some information regarding the history of the Davidic Empire.

Of course, this reconstruction is the result of reasoned speculation. But it is clear that the preservation of real memories provides the best explanation not only for the existence of story as a whole, but also for that of the separate narratives. The text undoubtedly contains anachronistic elements, such as the borders of the conquered land, the remarks concerning the Philistines and Sidon and some of the ethnographic information. Nevertheless, other materials enclose information that strongly suggests to have been transmitted as a story or description of something that happened. This information comprises the notion of Canaan as the promised land, the story about the treaty with the Gibeonites that was prohibited, the reports about the coalitions, the miraculous battle in the south, the memorable destruction of Hazor in the north, and possibly also the names of the kings.

### Claims and Convictions

What are the implications of these conclusions for the claims of the text? Joshua 9:1—13:7 communicates a plain message by means that are available to all historians, also to the scribes of antiquity: artistic construction, simplification, selectivity and suggestive detail. In this way the text reflects in a powerful way the convictions of the community the scribes belonged to. These convictions encompass the past, but the present and the future as well: YHWH is a unique God who once gave the land of Canaan to Israel by his mighty acts in the history of conquest and settlement and later by choosing David as his king; his promise of grace still leads his obedient king and people along the way to the future; but if Israel perseveres in idolatry and spiritual contamination, the people can also be confronted with his anger. The study of the antiquarian intention of the text has made it clear that the rhetoric reflecting this belief is more than an effective persuasive social discourse, for the scribes deliberately

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<sup>276</sup> Nelson, *Joshua*, 162.

refer to the past and claim that this past underlines their message. Most of these historical claims were listed above. However, the artistic construction of the text and the use of historiographical conventions raise questions regarding some of them. What do the geographical descriptions and the rhetoric of violence exactly imply? What does the sun miracle in the Valley of Ayalon assert in a historical sense? Does the text really intent to say that 'all Israel' took part in the conquest?

With respect to geography, three elements do indeed put the historical claims of the text into perspective: the use of the convention of maximizing the spin of a battle in order to sustain a land claim; associations with the Davidic Empire; and the fact that the descriptions together form a historiographical concept: Canaan plus Transjordan, but minus the remaining land is the conquered land.<sup>277</sup> These elements confirm what was already perceived by the detailed analysis of the geography of the battles: Joshua and his army neither reached Kadesh Barnea nor Baal Gad or Misrephot Maim. The text only claims that the victories imply a grip on the territory unto the southern and northern boundaries, which most likely were drawn anachronistically after the actual Israelite claim on territory at the time of David. The text also does not claim that YHWH really revealed a detailed description of the remaining land to Joshua. What counts is the fact that God maintains his promise of the land, despite the fact that Joshua did not conquer Canaan in its entirety. In a similar way, it is important to understand the hyperbolic meaning of the rhetoric of violence. It is suggested that Joshua and Israel captured and destroyed all the cities, took the whole country and massacred all its inhabitants. But in fact, the text highlights YHWH's help in conquering the land and Joshua's obedience, while the actual historical claim is much more limited: kings were killed, some cities were taken and their inhabitants were eliminated. But the land was by no means left behind as a *tabula rasa* that only had to be settled.

More problematic is the understanding and delineation of the historical claim of the violent epiphany in 10:10a-15a. According to section 1.2 the lines describing the divine participation in battle do not characterize this passage a priori as non-historical, because the religious encoding of the text should be taken in consideration as well. Read in this way, the text evidently claims that YHWH was actually involved in battle. Yet, it is difficult to answer the question what picture the scribes exactly imagined when they wrote down this passage. With regard to the interpretative context of the poetic lines it became clear that the text does not necessarily imply that the sun indeed was at the sky for another full day. The description of this fact can also be understood as a hyperbolic historiographical contraction of a great military victory to a single time span to underline the unique character of the divine help. So this hotly debated problem can be solved. Nonetheless, it remains hard to understand YHWH's concrete physical manifestation as a divine warrior. Does the description really

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<sup>277</sup> See section 3.6 and 5.4, 'Ethnographic and Geographical Patterns'. Cf. Kallai, *Biblical Historiography*, 194-5.

entail that YHWH helps by throwing hailstones from heaven and that sun and moon physically stood at his side, fighting the enemy as members of his heavenly host? Or did Israel comprehend the description in a metaphorical way? It is impossible to answer this question, because Israel was most likely not acquainted with this dilemma due to its different perception of the heavenly bodies. Here, the cultural gap indeed makes it impossible, even for religious readers of 10:10a-15a, to offer a detailed reconstruction of its historical claim.<sup>278</sup>

A final issue to be treated is the notion of 'all Israel' in Joshua 9:1—13:7. This notion resembles the maximizing geographical descriptions and therefore, the limiting remarks that were made regarding these expressions are also worth considering here. Consequently, the use of 'all Israel' in the military context of the conquest account does not designate 'all men, women and children from all families, clans and tribes', but the army.<sup>279</sup> At the same time, however, the fact that the expression is used as a synecdoche cannot be used to state that the Book of Joshua still offers the opportunity that Israel entered the promised land in small groups which settled the diverse regions over a long period of time. The story about the Gibeonites in Joshua 9 as well as the following conquest reports in the chapters 10—12 claim that a group that could be viewed as the strong party in making a vassal-treaty came from Transjordan and gained control over the land by fighting two coalitions. The interesting question is to what extent this and the other historical truth claims are also to be judged as truth-values. That issue, however, is dealt with in Part IV of this study, in which the results of this chapter are brought into dialogue with the artefactual evidence.

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<sup>278</sup> See section 4.3, 'Violent Epiphany'.

<sup>279</sup> Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 247-9.



### **III MONOLOGUE OF ARTEFACT**



## CHAPTER 6 – JOSHUA 9:1—13:7 AND ARCHAEOLOGY

### 6.1 ARCHAEOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

A proper treatment of the relation between the ideology and antiquarian intent of a part of Israel's historiography encompasses historical research. As was noted in Chapter 1, this kind of research implies an interdisciplinary dialogue between the textual and artefactual data, while in addition, the dialogue can only be fruitful, if the artefactual evidence is treated as a monologue first, that is, as a discourse that should be continued on its own terms before textual hypotheses are brought into play. This chapter on 'Joshua 9:1—13:7 and Archaeology' collects the evidence regarding the cities and regions mentioned in this biblical passage and uses models that were designed to interpret these data in sketching the contribution of this evidence to the history of the Southern Levant. Archaeology and historical analysis of non-biblical texts are conducted as pursuits in their own right, while some socio-archaeological applications to the materials are compared in order to get an impression of the societal structures in the Southern Levant during the Late Bronze and the Iron Age.

Certainly, this artefactual reconstruction is not purely independent and objective. It comprises a critical evaluation of present archaeological research; the selection of the sites under discussion is given by a text, that is, by the result of the historical geography of Joshua 9:1—13:7; and the period under review is marked out by the historiographical hypothesis that was formulated in Chapter 5. Therefore, it is extremely important to interpret this information on its own terms first by putting it in its own archaeological and historical context, without referring to the Book of Joshua. For only in this way, it will become possible to use the textual and the artefactual evidence as a check one against the other in Chapter 7. Therefore, this section continues by defining the upper and lower historical limits for the archaeological 'monologue' and in establishing a framework for an absolute archaeological chronology for the Southern Levant within these limits, while section 6.2 discusses the relevant sites in their archaeological context. Finally, section 6.3 completes the 'Monologue of Artefact' by offering an interpretation of these materials in the light of socio-archaeological models and extra-biblical texts.

#### **Defining the Upper and Lower Limits**

Which archaeological sites should be discussed and what historical information from the Late Bronze and Iron Age is available regarding these cities and regions? Joshua 9:1—13:7 mention 36 locations within the boundaries of the 'conquered land'. Chapter 3 left only three of them, Beeroth, Geder and Goim, unidentified. According to the geographical division of section 1.3, the other 33 can be arranged as follows:

<i>Upper and Lower Galilee</i>	<i>Central Hill Country (S)</i>
Hazor (Tel Hazor)	Jerusalem (the Ophel)
Maron (Tel Qarney Hittin)	Gibeon (el-jib)
	Kephira (Tel el-Kafira)
<i>Northern Valleys</i>	Kiriath Jearim (Deir el-Azhar)
Achshaph (Tel Keisan)	Hebron (Tel Rumeida)
Shim'on (Tel Shimron)	Debir (Tel Rabud)
Joqueam (Tel Yoqneam)	Anab (Tel Anab el-Kebir)
Megiddo (Tel Megiddo)	
Kedesh (Tel Kedesh)	<i>Chalk Valleys and Shephelah</i>
Taanach (Tel Taanach)	Azekah (Tel Azeka)
	Adullam (Tel Adulam)
<i>Central Hill Country (N)</i>	Makkedah (Tel el-Qom)
Hepher (Tel el-Muhaffar)	Eglon (Tel Eiton)
Tirzah (Tel el-Far'a [N])	Gezer (Tel Gezer)
Tappuah (Tel Abu Zarad)	Jarmuth (Tel Yarmuth)
Bethel (Beitin)	Libnah (Tel Burna)
Ai (Tel Tel)	Lachish (Tel Lachish)
<i>Coast and Sharon Plain</i>	<i>Southern Steppe and Desert</i>
Dor (Tel Dor)	Hormah (Tel Halif)
Aphek (Tel Aphek)	Arad (Tel Arad)
<i>Jordan Valley</i>	
Jericho (Tel es-Sultan)	

Twenty of these cities are also mentioned in ancient written sources from the Late Bronze and the Iron Ages, while some are the location of a found text or the home of the sender of a letter, as has become evident in Chapter 3. These cities are mentioned in the annals and the topographical list of pharaoh Thutmose III in Karnak, military texts of Amenhotep II, and the Leningrad or Petersburg Papyrus 1116A (18th Dynasty in Egypt); in a topographical list of Seti I, the 'Israel Stela' of pharaoh Merneptah, texts of Ramses II and the Papyrus Anastasi I (19th Dynasty); the story of Wenamun (21st Dynasty); or in the Shoshenq-List on the temple of Amon at Karnak (22nd Dynasty). In addition, some cities are also referred to in the annals of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III, the Chicago-Prism of Sennacherib and other Neo-Assyrian sources (late 8th century BCE). Of special interest are the Taanach Letters, the Amarna Letters from Hazor, Megiddo, Jerusalem, Gezer and Lachish, a letter from Ugarit that was found in Tel Aphek and a fragment of a victory stela of Shoshenq I, which was found by the expedition of the Chicago Oriental Institute in the dump of the previous excavation at Tel Megiddo by Gottlieb Schumacher (Table 1).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 3, note 97 (Gibeon), 109 (Jerusalem), 110 (Hebron), 111 (Jarmuth), 112 (Lachish), 113 (Azekah), 114 (Gezer), 169 (Dor), 188 (Hazor), 193 (Maron), 195

	18th Dyn. Neo-Ass.	Amarna	19th Dyn.	20th-21st Dyn.	Shosh-List
Hazor	o	o *	o		o
Maron	o		o		o
Achshaph	o	o	o		*
Shim'on	o				o (?)
Joqne'am	o				
Megiddo	o	o *	o	o *	o
Taanach	o *	o (?)		*	o
Hepher/Rubutu		o (?)	o (?)		o (?)
Tirzah				o	
Dor			o	o	o
Aphek	o		*		
Jerusalem		*			o
Gibeon				o	
Hebron			o (?)		
Debir			o (?)		
Anab			o (?)		
Azekah					o
Gezer	o	o *	o	o	o
Jarmuth		o (?)			
Lachish	o	o *			o
Arad				o	

o = mentioned in an ancient source  
 \* = sender of a letter or location of a text

Table 6.1 – Southern Levantine cities and ancient sources

The connections between cities and ancient texts and reliefs only offer a general indication of their existence. It is the goal of this chapter to take an archaeological look at the sites that can be identified with these cities and to put them in the context of their regional development. Chronologically, the influence of the two major powers, Egypt and Assyria, determine the upper and the lower limit of this investigation. This is stipulated by the historiographical hypothesis that was developed in Chapter 5. But it also follows from the combination of non-biblical textual and archaeological evidence that together form the monologue of artefact. This evidence clearly demonstrates that the Amarna period, that is, ca. 1358-1330 BCE, functions as a *terminus a quo* for the debate about the Israelite settlement, as Albrecht Alt already put forward in 1925. It has been argued that the arrangement of city states in the Southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age resembles the description of the promised land in the Book of Joshua. But that is no reason to date the conquest and settlement in the 15th century BCE and cling to the old idea of the unruly element of the

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(Shim'on), 199, 204 (Achshaph), 254 (Anab), 294 (Aphek), 295 (Taanach, Megiddo, Joqneam), 296 (Tirzah), 303 (Hepher/Rubutu), 308 (Arad).

'Apiru in this society being identical to the biblical Hebrews.<sup>2</sup> As was noted in section 1.2, the empirical use of the biblical chronological data by these kinds of reconstructions violate their historiographical meaning. The Amarna letters barely leave room for an 'Israelite' presence in whatever form. First, there is no demonstrable historical or sociological relation between the 'Apiru and the Hebrews; and if there is an etymological relation, the biblical term 'Hebrew' was only a later derogatory name for the Israelites and a general designation for Israelite groups living outside their homeland.<sup>3</sup> Second, there is not even a single reference to an entity threatening the collective identity of the kingdoms as claimed in the book of Joshua, despite the fact that local political and military events were the main impetus for the mayors of the cities in the southern part of the Egyptian province in Asia for dispatching letters to the pharaoh.<sup>4</sup>

More recently, some scholars even proposed a drastic revision of the chronology of the Ancient Near East and stated that the historiography of the settlement should be compared to the end of the archaeological period of the Middle Bronze Age because of a down-dating of the Egyptian 19th Dynasty with several centuries.<sup>5</sup> This proposal, however, fails on all levels, methodologically, historically and archaeologically.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, the Amarna Age still

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. J. de Koning, *Studiën over de El-Amarnabrieven en het Oude Testament inzonderheid uit historisch oogpunt*, Delft 1940, 219-78; J.J. Bimson, *Redating the Exodus and Conquest* (JSOTS, 5), Sheffield 1978. Bimson's study is e.g. based on the false presupposition that the biblical account has to be verified by a series of destruction layers. For justified critical remarks regarding his use of chronology and his view of the end of the Middle Bronze Age and the Amarna Letters, see the reviews of e.g. J.A. Callaway (*BA* 44 [1981], 252), J.A. Soggin (*VT* 31 [1981], 97), and W.H. Shea (*CBQ* 42 [1980], 88-90). For a recent defence of late 15th century conquest, see B.G. Wood, 'Did the Israelites Conquer Jericho?' *BAR* 16/2 (1990), 44-56; Idem, 'The Role of Shechem in the Conquest Narrative', in: D. Merling (ed.), *To Understand the Scriptures*, Berrien Springs, MI 1997, 245-56. A critique of Wood was presented by e.g. J.M. Weinstein, 'Exodus and Archaeological Reality', in: E.S. Frerichs, L.H. Lesko (eds), *Exodus. The Egyptian Evidence*, Winona Lake, IN 1997, 93-7, 101-2.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Halpern, *Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, 52-63; O. Loretz, *Habiru-Hebräer: eine sozio-linguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums 'ibri' vom Appellativum 'habiru'* (BZAW, 160), Berlin etc. 1984; N. Na'aman, 'Ḥabiru and Hebrews: The Transfer of a Social Term to the Literary Sphere', *JNES* 45 (1986), 271-86 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 252-74); Rainey, 'Unruly Elements', 481-90.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. N. Na'aman, 'The Egyptian-Canaanite Correspondence', in: R. Cohen, R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy. The Beginning of International Relations*, London 2000, 131-3 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 31-3). See also below, section 6.3.

<sup>5</sup> U. Zerbst, P. van der Veen, 'Die Herkunft des Volkes Israel. Biblische Landnahme oder Volkwerdung im Kanaan?', in: Idem (eds), *Keine Posaunen vor Jericho? Beiträge zur Archeologie der Landnahme*, Holzgerlingen 2005, 41-60; J.J. Bimson, 'Wann Eroberte Josua Kanaan, am Ende der Mittleren Bronzezeit IIC oder am Ende der Späten Bronzezeit I?', in: Zerbst, Van der Veen (eds), *Keine Posaunen vor Jericho?*, 79-94.

<sup>6</sup> The abovementioned proposals are based on the so-called 'New Chronology' of David Rohl. This chronology does not acknowledge that the traditional chronological framework of the Ancient Near East is built on many pillars, omits important Egyptian evi-

functions as the clear upper limit for the archaeological evaluation of the historiographical hypothesis.

Similar remarks can be made with respect to the combination of textual and archaeological evidence regarding the *terminus ad quem*, the Assyrian oppression of the late 8th century BCE. In general, it is more likely to attach the interest in northern as well as southern Israel and the positive undertone of Joshua 9:1—13:7 to the Iron Age states of Israel and Judah before 701 BCE than to the historical periods thereafter. The periodization of the archaeological record of the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian is a matter of dispute. But most scholars agree that the Assyrian conquests completely razed many flourishing Israelite sites and that the kingdom of Judah felt a fierce blow, not only in the Shephelah, but also in the Beersheba Valley and at Mount Hebron. The north was in any case transformed into a series of Assyrian Provinces and suffered large-scale deportations, while Judah hardly recovered from the attacks, unlike the neighbouring kingdoms of Philistea, Ammon, Moab and Edom.<sup>7</sup> According to some scholars, this situation somewhat changed after the Assyrian withdrawal at ca. 650 BCE. The kingdom of Judah got quite well during the reigns of the kings Manasseh and Josiah. Yet, surveys indicate that the number of sites and the built up area in this period in for instance the Shephelah was significantly smaller than it had been before the Assyrian conquest. In addition, excavations suggest that the major western defence line was erected inside the kingdom.<sup>8</sup> According to the general picture, the following conquest by Babylonia devastated the country even more and the centralized politics of the Babylonian regime seriously harmed remote regions like the Southern Levant, so that many of its cities laid in ruins at the end of this period.<sup>9</sup> Of course, the

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dence, causes great difficulties in the Hittite chronology, confuses the Assyrian history before Ashurbanirpal's conquest of Thebes in 664 BCE and has as its inadmissible consequence that the strata of many sites in the Southern Levant that now reflect the history of the 13th to the 8th century BCE are supposed to contain only the remains of the late 9th and the 8th century. See e.g. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*<sup>3</sup> [1996], xlii-xlvi; Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients*, 35-50.

<sup>7</sup> For the Assyrian texts, their ideology and historical implications, see e.g. K.L. Younger, 'Assyrian Involvement in the Southern Levant at the End of the Eighth Century B.C.E.', in: Vaughn, Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 235-63. The archaeological record is summarized by e.g. E. Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Vol. 2. The Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian Periods*, New York etc. 2001, 6-10, 43-5.

<sup>8</sup> I. Finkelstein, 'The Archaeology of the Days of Manasseh', in: M.D. Coogan *et al.*, *Scripture and Other Artifacts*, Louisville, KY 1994, 169-87; Stern, *Archaeology*, vol. 2, 42-57, 130-68; S. Bunimovitz, Z. Lederman, 'The Final Destruction of Beth Shemesh and the *Pax Assyriaca* in the Judean Shephelah', *TA* 30 (2003), 3-26.

<sup>9</sup> H. Weippert, *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Vorderasien II/1), München 1988, 697-8; Stern, *Archeology*, vol. 2, 307-9, 313-6, 321-6, 348-50; O. Lipschits, 'Demographic Changes in Judah between the Seventh and Fifth Centuries B.C.E.', in: Lipschits, Blenkinsopp (eds), *Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 322-76; A. Zertal, 'The Prov-

situation changed in the Persian period. The Persians neither looted nor repopulated the country, but left the resettling of the half-empty regions mainly to the private initiative. Therefore, the coastal settlements were renewed from Tyre and Sidon already in the late 6th century. But the new prosperity reached the inland mountainous region much later. So according to some important historical reconstructions, it took at least to the late 5th century before the state of Judah and the rest of the country's administrative units were established.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, it is hard to imagine how these periods could reflect the geographical outlook and positive spirit of the Book of Joshua.

The archaeological record of the cities mentioned in Joshua 9:1—13:7 confirms this picture. Tel Hazor, Tel Megiddo, Tel Keisan and Tel Dor changed significantly after they had become part of the Assyrian administration.<sup>11</sup> Tel Qarney Hittin, Tel Yoqneam, Tel Kedesh, Tel El-Far'ah (N), Tel Aphek and Tel Eiton show scanty remains and little evidence of occupation for several centuries after the late 8th century BCE.<sup>12</sup> Occupational gaps were detected from the mid 7th century on at Tel Taanach and Tel Halif.<sup>13</sup> Tel Rumeida was destroyed by the Assyrians or Babylonians and Tel Rabud by the Babylonians, while both cities did not reveal remains from the Persian period.<sup>14</sup> So if the assumption is right that most of the cities mentioned in Joshua 9:1—13:7 were in some way or another present in the horizon of its historiographers and their public, it becomes necessary to take a look at the period before the Assyrian campaigns to the Southern Levant.

ince of Samaria (Assyrian *Samarina*) in the Late Iron Age (Iron Age III)', in: Lipschits, Blenkinsopp (eds), *Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 322-76.

<sup>10</sup> Stern, *Archaeology*, vol. 2, 373-407, 424-60, 580-2. L.L. Grabbe, *Yehud: the History of the Persian Province in Judah* (LSTS, 47), Edinburgh 2004, 355-8; O. Lipschits, 'Achaemenid Imperial Policy, Settlement Processes in Palestine and the Status of Jerusalem in the Middle of the Fifth Century B.C.E.', in: O. Lipschits, M. Oeming (eds), *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, Winona Lake, IN 2006, 19-52.

<sup>11</sup> Yadin, 'Hazor', 601-2; J. Peersman, 'Assyrian Magidu. The Town Planning of Stratum III', in: Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 3, 524-34; J. Briend *et al.* (eds), *Tell Keisan (1971-1976): une cité phénicienne en Galilée* (OBO/SA, 1), Fribourg etc. 1980, 27; Humbert, 'Tell Keisan', 866-7, cf. Stern, *Archaeology*, vol. 2, 315; E. Stern, *Dor – Ruler of the Seas*, Jerusalem 2000, 131-45.

<sup>12</sup> Gal, *Lower Galilee*, 44; A. Ben-Tor *et al.* (eds), *Yoqne'am II. The Iron Age and the Persian Period* (QR, 6), Jerusalem 2005, 218-9; E. Stern, I.B. Ariei, 'Excavations at Tel Kedesh (Tell Abu Qudeis)', *TA* 6 (1979), 8-9, 20; A. Chambon, 'Tell el-Far'ah (north)', 439; Beck, Kochavi, 'Dated Assemblage', 30; 'Tell Aitûn', *IEJ* 18 (1968), 194-5, cf. Stern, *Archaeology*, vol. 2, 149-50.

<sup>13</sup> W.E. Rast, *Taanach I. Studies in the Iron Age Pottery* (ASOR Excavation Reports, 1), Cambridge, MA 1978, 45; J.D. Seger, 'Investigations at Tell Halif, Israel', *BASOR* 252 (1983), 15.

<sup>14</sup> J.R. Chadwick, *The Archaeology of Biblical Hebron in the Bronze and Iron Ages: An Examination of the Discoveries of the American Expedition to Hebron* (Unpublished Dissertation, University of Utah 1992), Utah, UT 1992, 122, 127-8; Ofer, 'Hebron', 608; M. Kochavi, 'Rabud, Khirbet', *NEAEHL*, 1252.

### Establishing an Absolute Archaeological Chronology

Now that the upper and lower limits for the monologue of artefact have been defined, it is necessary to connect the general archaeological framework of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages to the absolute chronology of the history of the Southern Levant. This is not an easy task. As was noted in Chapter 1, the dichotomy between the Late Bronze and Iron Age material culture is not without problems and part of the issue how archaeology is able to contribute to the discussion about Israel's origin. In addition, it also appeared that it is very important to take a look at the ideological outlook of an ancient conquest account and to the archaeological context of for instance a destruction layer, before a connection between the stratum of a site and a historically established campaign can be made. As a result, the clear chronological anchors of the transition from the Middle Bronze to the Late Bronze Age and from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age have disappeared and the debate has intensified on the question how a proper absolute chronology for the Southern Levant should be ascertained archaeologically. Theoretically, this problem can be solved. A meticulous stratigraphy and a careful classification of the pottery and other finds are a good start. All artefactual evidence is to be interpreted in its own context first. The comparison with the ceramic assemblages of other sites should reckon with the limitations of this instrument: the data are most likely not trustworthy from a statistical point of view, ceramics with a different status and function also have dissimilar chronological implications, and the conclusions should be put in the perspective of possible regional differences and cultural developments, which do not occur at the same time in all places. In addition, the temptation should be resisted to connect pottery automatically to architecture, because the latter comes from the life of a layer, while ceramics often mainly from its final phase. Finally, the *terminus a quo* or the *terminus ad quem* of a stratum can sometimes be defined by artefacts referring to rulers and historical figures or situations and by calibrated radiocarbon data from charcoal samples that were found *in situ*.<sup>15</sup>

However, the practice of the Late Bronze and Iron Age absolute archaeological chronology of the Southern Levant is a different one. Most of the available data coming from old and new excavations do not stand the test of the abovementioned criteria. Moreover, much biblical and non-biblical textual information about rulers and dynasties asks for a precision in the delineation of the strata and periods in the chronological framework that does not concur with the nature of the material remains. This becomes evident by taking a look

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<sup>15</sup> For these criteria, see e.g. H.J. Franken, C.A. Franken-Battershill, *A Primer of Old Testament Archaeology*, Leiden 1963, 126-31; H.J. Franken, *Grondstoffen voor de materiële cultuur in Palestina* (PA, 1) Kampen 1982, 44-89; Idem, 'Pottery Technology in Ancient Palestine', *ABD*, vol. 5, 429-32; B.G. Wood, *The Sociology of Pottery in Ancient Palestine* (JSOTS, 103), Sheffield 1990, 51-93; Noort, *Seevölker in Palästina*, 113-128; B. Halpern, 'David Did It, Others Did Not', in: T.E. Levy, T. Higham (eds), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating. Archaeology, Text and Science*, London 2005, 422-4, 435-7.

at the lower limit of the period under discussion, the time of the Assyrian campaigns.

### *Assyrian Destructions*

Several sites in the Judean Shephelah and the Beersheba Valley show a flourishing site that was ended by an Assyrian destruction, followed by a much smaller occupation. How is this to be interpreted? Did Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II already destroy parts of western and southern Judah on their campaigns and did Sennacherib finish the job thereafter in 701 BCE?<sup>16</sup> Or was Sennacherib responsible for all the destructions, while the new sites reflect a Judean recovery early in the 7th century due to Manasseh's peaceful cooperation with Assyria?<sup>17</sup> This discussion cannot be settled by archaeology: the end of the strata showing the Assyrian destruction cannot be dated with a precision of a few decades only by comparing ceramic assemblages of the different sites; neither is the archaeological survey of all the sites in the Shephelah that has taken place by its nature able to offer a clue for the date of the establishment of the new settlements; and finally, the pottery of the following occupations that was found by excavating the sites, is not capable of doing that either, because it mostly reflects the end of the strata during the late 7th or early 6th century BCE. Therefore, the interpretation of the material partly depends on the historian's view of the Assyrian inscriptions and of 2 Chronicles 28, which states that Tiglath-Pileser III also marched against king Ahaz of Judah.

So in fact, it remains hard to offer a precise date for the destructions. Nevertheless, the violent Assyrian conquests created a firm anchor in the chronological framework of the Iron Age archaeology, that is, in the late 8th century BCE. In the north, the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II most likely caused the end of Tel Dan, Stratum III; Tel Hazor, Stratum VA; Tel Qarney Hitin, Area C; Tel Yoqneam, Stratum XII; Tel Megiddo, Stratum IVA; Tel Taanach, Stratum IV; and also of Tel Beth Shean, Level IV/P8-7.<sup>18</sup> The end of Tel Kedesh, Stratum IV can be dated to the same period on the basis of similarities in the ceramic assemblage of Tel Megiddo, Stratum IVA.<sup>19</sup> In the Central Hill Country, in the Sharon Plain and at the Coast, similar closing stages are marked at

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<sup>16</sup> J.A. Blakely, J.W. Hardin, 'Southwestern Judah in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.', *BA-SOR* 326 (2002), 11-64, cf. Bunimovitz, Lederman, 'Final Destruction of Beth Shemesh', 20-3.

<sup>17</sup> I. Finkelstein, N. Na'aman, 'The Judahite Shephelah in the Late 8th and Early 7th Centuries BCE', *TA* 31 (2004), 60-79.

<sup>18</sup> A. Biran, *Biblical Dan*, Jerusalem 1994, 11, 245-6; Yadin, 'Hazor', 601-2; Ben-Tor, 'The Yigael Yadin Memorial Excavations at Hazor, 1990-1993', in: Silberman, Small (eds), *Archaeology of Israel*, 112-4; Gal, *Lower Galilee*, 44; Ben-Tor et al. (eds), *Yoqne'am*, vol. 2, 184-9; Finkelstein et al. (eds), *Megiddo*, vol 3, 598-9; Rast, *Taanach*, vol. 1, 45; A. Mazar, N. Amitai-Preiss (eds), *Excavations at Tel Beth Shean 1989-1996. Vol. 1. From the Late Bronze Age IIb to the Medieval Period*, Jerusalem 2006, 35-6.

<sup>19</sup> Stern, Arieah, 'Excavations at Tel Kedesh', 20-2.

Samaria, Pottery Period 5/6; Shechem, Stratum VII; Tel el-Far'a (N), Niveau VIId; Tel Aphek, Stratum X-6 and certain Phases at Tel Dor.<sup>20</sup> In the southern hill country, only the destruction of Ramat Rahel, Level VB, and Khirbet Rabud, Stratum B-2 could be connected to Sennacherib's aggression.<sup>21</sup> But the Siloam tunnel in Jerusalem and the many *lmlk*-seal impressions on storage jars that were found all over Judah are mostly connected to Hezekiah's preparations for his attack on Judah.<sup>22</sup> The late 8th century BCE Assyrian campaigns in any case caused the end of several strata of sites in the Shephelah and the Beersheba Valley: Tel Gezer, Stratum VI; Tel Lachish, Level III; Tel Beth Shemesh IIC; Tel Beit Mirsim, Stratum A<sub>2</sub>; Tel Hasi, Stratum VIIIc; Tel Halif, Stratum VIb and Tel Arad, Stratum VIII.<sup>23</sup> On the basis of this information, the excavators of the City of David in Jerusalem also attributed their Stratum 12 to the 8th century.<sup>24</sup> Finally, the presence of Cypriot pottery dating from the early 7th century at Tel Keisan, Niveau 5, implies that the conflagration making an end to this level is most likely connected to the campaign of Ashurbanipal in ca. 643 BCE against Ushu and Acco.<sup>25</sup> So despite all difficulties, the lower limit of the chronological framework can be defined quite clearly.

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<sup>20</sup> R.E. Tappy, *The Archaeology of Israelite Samaria. Vol. 2. The Eighth Century BCE*, Winona Lake, IN 2001, 347-50; E.F. Campbell, *Shechem III. The Stratigraphy and Architecture of Shechem. Vol. 1. Text* (AR, 6), Boston 2002, 276; A. Chambon, *Tell el-Far'ah, t. 1. L'âge du fer* (ÉRC, 31), Paris 1984, 12; Idem, 'Far'ah, Tell el- (North)', 440; Beck, Kochavi, 'Dated Assemblage', 30; E. Stern (ed.), *Excavations at Tel Dor. Volume 1* (QR, 2), Jerusalem 1995, 15.

<sup>21</sup> J.P. Dessel, 'Ramat Rahel', *OEANE*, 402-4; Kochavi, 'Khirbet Rabûd', 18.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Renz, Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, Bd. 1, 178-89; R.S. Hendel, 'The Date of the Siloam Inscription', *BA* 59 (1996), 233-47; N. Na'aman, 'Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah and the Date of the *lmlk*-stamps', *VT* 29 (1979), 61-86.

<sup>23</sup> W.G. Dever, 'Gezer', *NEAEHL*, 505; Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 1, 88-9; Bunimovitz, Lederman, 'Final Destruction of Beth Shemesh', 20, cf. Finkelstein, Na'aman, 'Judahite Shephelah', 67-9; D. Ussishkin, 'Royal Judean Storage Jars and Private Seal Impressions', *BASOR* 223 (1976), 1-13; O. Zimhoni, 'The Iron Age Pottery from Tel Eton and Its Relation to the Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim and Arad Assemblages', *TA* 12 (1985), 82-8; V.M. Fargo, 'Tell el-Hesi', *NEAEHL*, 633; Seger, 'Investigations at Tell Halif, Israel', *BASOR* 252 (1983), 15; A. Mazar, 'Chronology of the Pottery Assemblages from Arad', *BASOR* 263 (1986), 89-91. For additional information about Tel en-Nasbe, Tel Batash, Tel Zafit, Tel Azeka, Tel Goded, Tel Erani, Tel Maresha and Tel Sheva, see L.L. Grabbe, 'Introduction', in: Idem (ed.), *Like a Bird in a Cage*, 11-6.

<sup>24</sup> Y. Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David. Vol. 1* (Qedem, 19), Jerusalem 1984, 27-9; Idem, 'Jerusalem', *NEAEHL*, 704-5.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion, see J.-B. Humbert, 'Récents travaux à Tell Keisan (1979-1980)', *RB* 88 (1981), 382-5; Idem, 'Tell Keisan', 865; J.-F. Salles, 'A Propos du Niveau 4 de Tell Keisan', *Levant* 17 (1985), 203-4. A clay tablet found at Tell Keisan, recording the distribution of rations to persons, may reflect provisioning of deportees during this campaign. N. Na'aman, 'Esarhaddon's Treaty with Ba'al and Assyrian Provinces along the Phoenician Coast', *RSF* 22 (1994), 7-8 (= *CE*, vol. 1, 197-8).

*Egyptian Involvement*

The time of the Egyptian involvement in the Southern Levant – the upper limit for the archaeological evaluation – is less secure. For a long time, it was assumed that the Late Bronze Age began with the campaigns of the 18th Dynasty pharaohs in the middle of the 16th century BCE. But as was noted in section 1.2, this mono-causal view of cultural collapse at the end of the Middle Bronze Age is nowadays severely challenged. Moreover, a recent archaeological evaluation of those sites in the Southern Levant that Thutmose III claims to have conquered revealed that most of these sites were indeed inhabited during the first part of the Late Bronze. But a possible connection between Thutmose's campaign and a level destruction could only be made in four cases.<sup>26</sup> So this chronological anchor has become shaky.

The transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age has turned out to be even more difficult. The beginning of the Iron Age is still generally connected with the collapse of the regional system in Ancient Near East, which was caused by migrations, a crisis in the social system of palatial kingdoms, the growth of the tribal element and some technological changes.<sup>27</sup> Traditionally, the dating of this transition in the Southern Levant at 1200 BCE was based on several pillars: the Egyptian presence during the 19th Dynasty, the entrance of the Israelites from Transjordan, the immigration of the Philistines dated by the Papyrus Harris I and by the reliefs in Medinet Habu – which would state that they settled the southern coastal plain in the 8th year of Ramses III, that is, ca. 1175 BCE – and the connection between this event and the introduction of locally made monochrome Mycenaean IIIc:1b pottery and the following so-called 'Philistine' bichrome ware.<sup>28</sup> However, none of these pillars have survived as steady anchors in creating an absolute chronological framework. There are almost no destruction correlates between campaigns of the pharaoh's and destructive features at archaeological sites, due to the restricted Egyptian military policy at this point. This has become evident from textual and iconographic as well as from archaeological evidence.<sup>29</sup> The entity 'Israel' has become highly problematic from an archaeological point of view.<sup>30</sup> Further, the rhetorical and ideological nature of the reliefs at Medinet Habu and the other Egyptian attestations of the Sea Peoples were taken into consideration. Ramses III most likely fought a battle at the eastern border of Egypt about the 8th year of his reign, when some of the Sea Peoples had already settled the southern coastal plain. It is also clear that some new groups were involved in this fight. But the picture of a worldwide fear because of the Sea Peoples' rebellion and of their total defeat by the pharaoh obviously has to be understood as a literary

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<sup>26</sup> Junkkaala, *Three Conquests of Canaan*, 95-172.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 32-51.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. Weippert, *Palästina in Vorhellenistischer Zeit*, 340-3; Mazar, *Archaeology*, 238-9.

<sup>29</sup> Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 9-10, 189-93, 265-3.

<sup>30</sup> See section 1.3.

*topos*.<sup>31</sup> In addition to this, the archaeological identification of the 'Philistine' pots and people turned out to be highly problematic and the mixed nature of the culture of the Coastal Plain was stressed.<sup>32</sup> Finally, new excavations at Tel Lachish and Tel Megiddo suggested that the destruction of Lachish, Level VI and Megiddo, Stratum VIIA had to be down-dated to about 1150 or 1130 BCE, because of the cache of a bronze object with a cartouche of Ramses III in Lachish and the base of a statue of Ramses VI in Megiddo.<sup>33</sup>

Scholars dealt in different ways with these new difficulties. In a thesis for the University of Toronto Bryant G. Wood described the processes regarding the fabrication and trade of pottery during the second half of the Late Bronze Age and the typology and relative ceramic chronology, in particular of daily vessels.<sup>34</sup> Wood applied the result of this study to a corpus from well-stratified pottery for the Late Bronze—Iron Age transition and dated the connected strata by using indicators like scarabs and cartouches on artefacts found in connection to the ceramics. He also compared the corpus with the pottery from poorly stratified sites.<sup>35</sup> If the low chronology for the Egyptian New Kingdom is used, Wood's model dates the end of the first phase of Late Bronze IIB at ca. 1215 BCE, the end of Late Bronze IIB and the beginning of the Iron Age at ca.

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<sup>31</sup> M. Bietak, 'The Sea Peoples and the end of the Egyptian Administration in Canaan', in: Biran (ed.), *Biblical Archaeology Today*, 292-306; B. Cifola, 'Ramses III and the Sea Peoples. A Structural Analysis of the Medinet Habu Inscriptions', *Or* 57 (1988), 275-306; Noort, *Seevölker in Palästina*, 56-112.

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. S. Bunimowitz, 'Problems in the "Ethnic" Identification of the Philistine Material Culture', *TA* 17 (1990), 210-26; E. Noort, 'Seevölker, materielle Kultur und Pantheon', in: B. Janowski *et al.* (eds), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (OBO, 129), Freiburg, Göttingen 1990, 363-89; Idem, *Seevölker in Palästina*, 113-67.

<sup>33</sup> Ussishkin, 'Level VII at Tel Lachish', 218-9, 223-4; Idem, 'The Destruction of Megiddo at the End of the Late Bronze Age and Its Historical Significance', *TA* 22 (1995), 259-60.

<sup>34</sup> B.G. Wood, *Palestinian Pottery of the Late Bronze Age: An Investigation of the Terminal LB IIB Phase*, Toronto 1985 (Unpublished dissertation, University of Toronto), 78-220, 369-436. Cf. Wood, *Sociology of Pottery*, 5-93. The thesis remained partly unpublished because the publisher stopped the dissertation series of the American Schools for Oriental Research.

<sup>35</sup> Wood used the following inscriptional data: a cuneiform letter from Tel Aphek, Str. X-12; the connection between the Israel Stela of Merneptah and the destruction of Gezer, Str. XV; a cartouche of Seti I from Tel el-Far'ah (S), Str. Y.; an inscribed bowl of year 22 + x at Tel el-Far'ah (S), Str. IX; a scarab and bronze plaque with cartouches of Ramses III at Tel Lachish, Level VI; a faience vase with a cartouche of Tewosret and a radiocarbon date ca. 1180 ± 60 at Tel Deir 'Alla, Final Sanctuary; and the 8th year of Ramses III recorded in Medinet Habu in connection to the destructions of Tel Gezer/Tel Ashdod, Str. XIII and Tel Mor, Str. 7.

1175, while Iron Age IA1 ends at ca. 1160 and Iron Age IA2 at ca. 1130 BCE.<sup>36</sup> Wood's reconstruction is striking, because despite its questionable precision in the delineation of the periods it suggests an intriguing overlap between the Late Bronze and the Iron Age in the Shephelah and the Jezreel Valley, based on the observation that the Late Bronze Age culture continued at least in Tel Lachish and Tel Megiddo until the second half of the 12th century.

Other scholars looked for a similar adaptation of the traditional absolute chronology of the southern coastal plain. Amihai Mazar, the excavator of Tel Qasile and Lawrence E. Stager, the director of the Leon Levy expedition to Ashkelon, independently concluded that the 'Philistine' bichrome pottery did not, as was assumed before, indicate a second wave of immigration, but merely reflected the acculturation of the Philistines after a generation or two.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, Stager distinguished two phases in the Philistine settlement, which would be chronologically anchored by textual sources from Egypt and Ugarit, the Aegean pottery Mycenaean IIIB and IIIC and the synchronous destructions of coastal cities from Tarsus to Ashkelon and at Cyprus. In his view, the new structure of the settlements, the absence of Egyptian monuments, buildings and artefacts and the high concentration of locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery show that the Sea Peoples settled the southern coastal plain ca. 1185-1175 BCE at Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron and Ashdod. According to Stager, Ramses III reacted to this immigration by a policy of containment, as can be observed at Tel Mor, Tel Gezer, Tel Sera<sup>c</sup> and Tel el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah (S). The second stage came after a generation or two at 1150 BCE with the political expansion of the Philistines,

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<sup>36</sup> Wood, *Palestinian Pottery of the Late Bronze Age*, 221-368, 437-548. As a result, Wood ascribes the following periods to the next strata:

*LB IIb1*: Tel Gezer, Str. XV; Tel Ashdod, Str. XV, Tel Mor, Str. 8; Tel Rabud, Str. LB 2; Tel Aphek, Str. X-12; Tel Hazor, Str. XIII/1a (well-stratified); and Tel Mirsim, Phase C-2; Tel Beth Shemesh, Str. IVB; Tel el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah (S), Str. Y; Beitin, LB Phase 2; Tel el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah (N), Niv. 4; Tell Abu Hawam, Phase VA5; Tel Beth Shean, Level VII; Tel Megiddo, VIIB; Tel Qashish, Phase 6 (poorly stratified).

*LB IIb2*: Tel Gezer, Str. XIV; Tel Ashdod, Str. XIV, Tel Mor, Str. 7; Tel Zippor, Str. III; Tel Rabud, Str. LB 1 (well stratified) and Tel Mirsim, Phase C-2; Tel Beth Shemesh, Str. IVB; Tel el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah (S), Str. Y; Beitin, LB Phase 2; Tel el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah (N), Niv. 4; Tell Abu Hawam, Phase VA1; Tel Beth Shean, Main Level VI; Tel Megiddo, VIIA; Tel Qashish, Phase 6 (poorly stratified).

*Iron IA1a*: Tel Gezer, Str. XIIIb; Tel Ashdod, Str. XIIIb and Tel Mor, Str. 6 (well-stratified).

*Iron IA1b*: Tel Gezer, Str. XIIIa; Tel Ashdod, Str. XIIIa, Tel Mor, Str. 5; Tel Rabud, Str. A4; Tell Deir <sup>c</sup>Alla, Final Sanctuary; Tel Sera<sup>c</sup>, Str. IX; Tel Lachish, Str. VI (well stratified).

*Iron IA*: Tel Mirsim, Phase B; Tel Beth Shemesh, Str. IVB; Tel el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah (S), Squatter Phase; Tel el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah (N), Niv. 4; Tel Beth Shean, Main Level VI; Tel Megiddo, Str. VIIA; Tel Qashish, Phase 6 (poorly stratified).

<sup>37</sup> L.E. Stager, 'Merneptah, Israel and the Sea Peoples: New Light on an Old Relief', *EI* 18 (1985), 61\*-2\*; A. Mazar, 'The Emergence of the Philistine Culture', *IEJ* 35 (1985), 95-107.

when they added ceramic forms from Canaan and Cyprus to their repertoire and developed the distinct eclectic style of the bichrome pottery.<sup>38</sup> Most scholars studying the Philistine culture and the Egyptian influence in the Southern Levant were more reluctant about the supposed massive immigrations and about the political implications and ethnic association of the culture of the southern Coastal Plain or even negated a connection. The frequent attestation of the monochrome and bichrome ceramics can also be explained as the result of trade and the institution of production centres for the trade of these luxury wares. Similarly, the Egyptian architecture and artefacts at other sites do not necessarily prove an ongoing Egyptian domination, because they can also denote the preferences of the local elite. However, these scholars all agree with Stager that the traditional chronological framework only needs a partial revision.<sup>39</sup>

A much more radical view was uttered by the excavator of Lachish, David Ussishkin, and his colleague at Tel Aviv University, Israel Finkelstein. They argued that it is highly unlikely that Tel Lachish, Level VI, which was destroyed at ca. 1130 BCE and which did not reveal any monochrome 'Philistine' pottery, was contemporary with the new material culture in the nearby southern coastal plain. In their view, the finds from Lachish and Megiddo prove that the Egyptian domination of Canaan endured at least to the reign of pharaoh Ramses VI and came to an end with the entrance of the Sea Peoples during the third part of the 12th century.<sup>40</sup> The consequences of this step for the Iron Age and other important elements substantiating this so-called 'Low Chronology' will be presented and discussed below. What matters now is that Finkelstein down-dates not only the end of Late Bronze Lachish and Megiddo, but also that of many other southern Levantine strata, in which the typical monochrome and following pottery from the Coastal Plain occurred. Accordingly, he offered a critical re-evaluation of the transition of the Late Bronze to the Iron Age at Tel Megiddo, Tel Beth Shean, Tel Gezer, Tel Ashdod and Tel Hazor.<sup>41</sup> This leads to

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<sup>38</sup> L.E. Stager, 'The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185-1050)', in: Levy (ed.), *Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, 333-48.

<sup>39</sup> Noort, *Seevölker in Palästina*, 179-85; R. Schmitt, 'Philistäische Terrakottafigurinen', *UF* 31 (1999), 577-9, 641-3; S. Sherratt, "'Sea Peoples" and the Economic Structure of the Late Second Millennium in the Eastern Mediterranean', in: Gitin *et al.* (eds), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, 292-313; C. Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine* (CHANE, 2), Leiden etc. 2000, 132-8.

<sup>40</sup> Ussishkin, 'Level VII at Tel Lachish', 224-6; Idem, 'Megiddo at the End of the Late Bronze Age', 261-5. Cf. I. Singer, 'Egyptians, Canaanites, and Philistines in the Period of the Emergence of Israel', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 290-4.

<sup>41</sup> Finkelstein, 'Date of the Philistine Settlement in Canaan', 213-39; Idem, 'The Stratigraphy and Chronology of Megiddo and Beth-Shan in the 12th-11th Centuries B.C.E.', *TA* 23 (1996), 170-84; I. Finkelstein, L. Singer-Avitz, 'Ashdod Revisited', *TA* 28 (2001), 231-59; I. Finkelstein, 'Gezer Revisited and Revised', *TA* 29 (2002), 262-96; Idem, 'Hazor at the End of the Late Bronze Age', *UF* 37 (2005), 341-9. I. Finkelstein, 'Is the Phil-

the question how justified the conclusion is that the bichrome pottery has to be down-dated?

In a first stage, scholarly discussion about this question mainly focussed on the possibility of the existence of two distinct cultures next to each other in the Shephelah during the middle of the 12th century BCE. Some scholars presented examples of similar situations from the archaeology of the Southern Levant.<sup>42</sup> Others looked in an ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological direction and stated that a restricted distribution of artefacts does not necessarily imply that there was no interaction between two different coexisting human groups, because items symbolizing their cultural identity may be held back.<sup>43</sup> However, it can be questioned whether such a complicated discussion regarding ethnic and cultural identity is needed to solve the matter, for the dates of the previous and later forms of the disputed pottery offer a clue. The Aegeanizing pottery called Mycenaean IIIc:1b is influenced by the forms and decoration of the traditional local Late Bronze ceramics from the Coastal Plain. Therefore, it clearly differs from the later Aegean import Mycenaean IIIc:1c2. In addition, the older Mycenaean IIIb ware surely is to be dated to the period of pharaoh Ramses II: it occurs in the Southern Levant at the latest during the reigns of Seti II and queen Tewosret at the very beginning of the 12th century BCE, although it can never be excluded that some pottery survived over a longer period. Nevertheless, the production of local Mycenaean IIIc:1b started in the cities of Ekron and Ashdod at strata immediately following this period, a picture that is confirmed by the scarabs that were found in for instance Tel Gezer, Stratum XIII. In addition, the iconographic analysis of the so-called Philistine terracotta figurines from Tel Qasile, Tel Miqne (Ekron) and Tel Beth Shean also substantiates the traditional chronology. So in fact, there is not much room to lower the date for the beginning of the production of several characteristics of the material culture of the southern Coastal Plain. However, at the same time it is doubtful whether these artefacts and the imported ware can be used the other way around, that is, as elements fixing the dates of the strata. Aegean imports and the local Aegeanizing ceramics were rare and often kept over a longer period.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, the value of negative evidence in this case – the nonappearance of these wares in Late Bronze and Iron I strata – is fairly limited; and with respect

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istine Paradigm Still Viable?', in: M. Bietak, E. Czerny (eds), *The Synchronisation of Civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, vol. 3, Wien 2007, 517-23.

<sup>42</sup> A. Mazar, 'Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein', *Levant* 29 (1997), 158; A. Ben-Tor, D. Ben-Ami, 'Hazor and the Archaeology of the Tenth Century B.C.E.', *IEJ* 48 (1998), 31.

<sup>43</sup> S. Bunimovitz, A. Faust, 'Chronological Separation, Geographical Segregation, or Ethnic Demarcation? Ethnography and the Iron Age Low Chronology', *BASOR* 322 (2001), 1-10.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. G.J. van Wijngaarden, *Use and Appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant, Cyprus and Italy (ca. 1600-1200 BC)*, Amsterdam 2002, 31-124.

to those vessels that did occur, all depends on the contexts in which they were found. In any case, it is hard to use only the presence of Mycenaean IIIb at Late Bronze Tel Deir 'Alla in the context of a faience vase with a cartouche of queen Tewosret as proof for the late fabrication of Mycenaean IIIc:1b.<sup>45</sup> As a result, it is still most likely to date the start of the locally made Mycenaean IIIc:1b ware during the reign of pharaoh Ramses III.<sup>46</sup>

Similar remarks can be made regarding the Egyptian and Egyptianizing pottery, which is absent in the layers reflecting the early Iron Age material culture of the southern Coastal Plain. According to a study after its typology, ware fabrics and distribution, the development in the attestation of this kind of ceramics is best explained by the assumption that Ramses III lost part of the Egyptian sphere of influence over Canaan in the coastal strip above the Nahal Besor, while he undertook a last attempt of restoration and reorganization in the regions where Egyptian power was still maintained.<sup>47</sup> Of course, this picture is partly dependent on textual and iconographic sources. But as such, this is not a problem as long as the archaeological material is interpreted on its own terms. To deny that these sources have any historical value because of their ideological flavour causes greater difficulties. Even interpreters highlighting the ideological nature of the Medinet Habu reliefs argue that as a literary adaptation of a lesser reality, the records of Ramses III do offer a reconstruction of events: Egypt had to defend its very borders, most likely early during his reign.<sup>48</sup> This does not mean that a massive migration of Sea Peoples indeed took place at ca. 1175 BCE. Migration and colonization are complicated phenomena. The settlement of some of them was only one of the many interactions between the Egyptians and the Sea Peoples. It was also not a unified event, but a complex of migration processes, which already began a few

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<sup>45</sup> R. Schmitt, 'Die frühe Königszeit in Israel', *UF* 36 (2004), 415-18; A. Yasur-Landau, 'The Chronological Use of Imported Mycenaean Pottery in the Levant', *Å&L* 14 (2004), 339-46. For the archaeological context at Tell Deir 'Alla, see G. van der Kooij, 'Tell Deir 'Alla: the Middle and Late Bronze Age Chronology', in: P. Fischer (ed.), *The Chronology of the Jordan Valley during the Middle and the Late Bronze Age* (CCEM, 12) Wien 2006, 199-226. For the presence of Myc. IIIb at Tel Megiddo, Stratum VIIA, see A. Leonard, E. Cline, 'The Aegean Pottery at Megiddo: An Appraisal and Reanalysis', *BASOR* 309 (1998), 3-40; A. Mazar, 'Megiddo in the Thirteenth-Eleventh Centuries BCE', in: E.D. Oren, S. Ahituv (eds), *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume. Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines* (Beer-Sheva, 15), Beer-Sheva 2002, 265-70.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. G. Hagens, 'Testing the Limits: Radiocarbon Dating and the End of the Late Bronze Age', *Radiocarbon* 48 (2006), 83-100, dating the start of Myc. IIIc:1b between 1170 and 1100 BCE.

<sup>47</sup> M.A.S. Martin, 'Egyptian and Egyptianized Pottery in Late Bronze Age Canaan', *Å&L* 14 (2004), 266-84.

<sup>48</sup> B. Cifola, 'The Role of the Sea Peoples at the End of the Late Bronze Age', *Orientalis Antiqui Miscalennea* 1 (1994), 1-23. For a more positivist ideological reading, see D. O'Connor, 'The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian Sources', in: Oren (ed.), *Sea Peoples and their World*, 85-101.

decades earlier, no matter whether the new inhabitants came by sea or by land. In addition, the circumstances at the new settlements differed from place to place and there were variations in the material culture. Trade played an important role and the mixed culture that was created resembled Aegean as well as Egyptian and Canaanite religious and cultural traditions.<sup>49</sup> Generally speaking, these developments took place at the end of the 13th and the first third of the 12th century BCE. Consequently, a few chronological anchors in the southern Coastal Plain fall into place, while it is also no longer necessary to lower the date for the 'Philistine' bichrome pottery from the 11th into the 10th century.<sup>50</sup>

What chronological anchors for the upper limit can be deduced from these considerations? The partial demolition of Tel Gezer, Stratum XV is one of the very few destruction correlates that can be made between an archaeological record and Egyptian textual and iconographic evidence. Stratum XVI is generally ascribed to the Amarna Age, when the city flourished. The late 13th century city of Stratum XV was robbed and partly destroyed by pharaoh Merneptah's forces in 1207 BCE and was followed by a period of decreased activity under Egyptian influence.<sup>51</sup> This level, Stratum XIV, ended violently too. In the next Stratum XIII the 'Philistine' painted wares, which emerged during the sec-

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<sup>49</sup> A. Yasur-Landau, 'The Mothers of All Philistines. Aegean Enthroned Deities of the 12th-11th Centuries Philistea', in: R. Laffineur, R. Hägg (eds), *Potnia. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum, 22), Liège, Austin, TX 2001, 329-43; Idem, 'The Many Faces of Colonization: 12th Century Aegean Settlements in Cyprus and the Levant', *MAA* 3 (2003), 45-54; Idem, 'Let's Do the Time Warp again: Migration Processes and the Absolute Chronology of the Philistine Settlement', in: Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Synchronisation of Civilizations*, vol. 3, 610-20; A.E. Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel 1300-1100 B.C.E.* (ABS, 9), Atlanta, GA 2005, 197-245. For a defence of Stager's view, see T.J. Barako, 'The Philistine Settlement as a Mercantile Phenomenon?', *AJA* 104 (2004), 513-30.

<sup>50</sup> See also T.J. Barako *et al.*, *Tel Mor. The Moshe Dothan Excavations, 1959-1960* (IAA Reports, 32), Jerusalem 2007, 42-127, 244-6. Refutations of the Finkelstein's down-dating of the strata at Tel Ashdod and Tel Gezer are offered by D. Ben-Shlomo, 'The Iron Age Sequence at Tel Ashdod: A Rejoinder to 'Ashdod Revisited' of I. Finkelstein and L. Singer-Avitz', *TA* 30 (2003), 83-107; W.G. Dever, 'Visiting the Real Gezer: A Reply to Israel Finkelstein', *TA* 30 (2003), 259-82.

<sup>51</sup> W.G. Dever *et al.*, 'Further Excavations at Gezer, 1967-1971', *BA* 34 (1971), 128; Idem *et al.*, *Gezer I. Preliminary Report on the 1964-1966 Seasons*, Jerusalem 1970, 22, 24; Idem (ed.), *Gezer II. Report of the 1967-1971 Seasons in Fields I and II*, Jerusalem 1974, 48-50; Idem (ed.), *Gezer IV. The 1969-71 Seasons in Field VI, the "Acropolis"*, Jerusalem 1986, 50; Idem, 'Gezer', 504; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 184-8; Finkelstein, 'Gezer Revisited and Revised', 281.

ond quarter of the 12th century BCE, made their first appearance.<sup>52</sup> Accordingly, the beginning of Tel Ashdod, Stratum XIII and Tel Miqne (Ekron), Stratum VII can be dated with Stager and Mazar somewhere at the very end of the 13th or the beginning of the 12th century BCE, while the northern expansion of the 'Philistine' influence took place at the middle of that century by the foundation of Tel Qasile.<sup>53</sup>

Another firm anchor attached to these developments is the dating of the destruction of Tel Aphek, Stratum X-12. A recent evaluation of the conclusion that this level came to its end shortly after a cuneiform letter from Ugarit that was found in it was written, confirmed that this event took place at ca. 1230 BCE. Then, the Egyptian estate at the site came to its end. In the following period the site first existed in a political void. But later, during the middle of the 12th century, Tel Aphek changed into a small farmstead and the 'Philistine' bichrome wares appeared.<sup>54</sup>

So the appearance of a new material culture in the southern Coastal Plain at the beginning of the 12th century and the later appearance of the 'Philistine' bichrome ware still plays a major role in defining the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age. In the south, the absolute chronology of the period reflecting this transition is secured at three sites, namely at Tel Lachish, Tel Gezer and Tel Aphek, while the analysis of Wood can be used to date the strata of nearby cities containing comparable ceramic assemblages. Accordingly, there is a considerable overlap between both periods. After a relative prosperous period, southern Late Bronze Canaan suffered a major crisis during the second half of the 13th century BCE, as is evident from the end of Tel Gezer, Stratum XV; Lachish, Level VII and Tel Aphek, Stratum X-12. Possibly, Tel Rabûd, Stratum LB 2; Tel Mirsim, Phase C-2; Tel Beth Shemesh, Stratum IVB and Tel el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah (S), Stratum Y were contemporary to these levels. In the Coastal Plain, this crisis was followed by a major change in the material culture during the first quarter of the 12th century in the transition of the material culture from, for instance, Tel Ashdod, Stratum XIV to XIII, Tel Miqne (Ekron), Stratum VIII to VII and Tel Gezer, Stratum XIV to XIII. The Late Bronze culture continued, however, in an Egyptianized or local form at Tel Mor, Stratum 6/5; Tel Sera<sup>c</sup>, Stratum IX; Tel Lachish, Level VI and Tel Aphek, Stratum X-11. The same happened most likely at Tel Rabûd, Stratum LB 1 and A4; Tel Mirsim, Phase B and Tel Deir <sup>c</sup>Alla, Final Sanctuary, which also existed during the first

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<sup>52</sup> W.G. Dever *et al.*, *Gezer I. Report of the 1964-1966 Seasons*, Jerusalem 1970, 22, 24, 26; Dever (ed.), *Gezer*, vol. 2, 51, 54; Dever, 'Gezer', 504. Finkelstein dates Stratum XIII to the late 12th century BCE. Finkelstein, 'Gezer Revisited and Revised', 282.

<sup>53</sup> Stager, 'Impact of the Sea Peoples', 342, 345-8.

<sup>54</sup> Y. Gadot, E. Yadin, *Aphek-Antipatris II. The Remains on the Acropolis* (TAMS, 27), Tel Aviv 2009, 583-6. Cf. Singer, 'Takuhlina and Haya', 3-25; Beck, Kochavi, 'Dated Assemblage', 29-31; Y. Gadot, 'The "Governor's Residence" at Tel Aphek', *TA* 36 (2010) (forthcoming).

half of the 12th century. Finally, this phase came to its definite end at ca. 1130 BCE by the destruction of Lachish, Level VI.

In the northern part of the Southern Levant, the picture is more complicated. The new expedition to Tel Beth Shean between 1989 and 1996 has secured the connection between Level IX and the Amarna period and the date of Level VII to the 13th century by excavations in Area N, Q and S, while it also turned out that Level 'Late VII' (N3b, Q1 and S4) and Level VI (N3a, Q1 and S3a-b) were dominated by Egyptian governmental structures from the Ramesside period of the 20th Dynasty. These dates are secured by valuable artefacts and by a clay cylinder with an Akkadian inscription and two basalt stelae of Seti I from a secondary context and by the find of a Year 18 stela of Ramses II. Radiocarbon measurements may confirm that the violent destruction making an end to Level VII has to be dated at the end of the 13th century. According to the excavators, the destruction making a definite end to the relatively small Egyptian stronghold that dominated Level VII and VI took place after the reign of Ramses III at ca. 1140 BCE. However, it is impossible to determine whether it took place during the time of Ramses IV, V, or VI.<sup>55</sup>

Tel Keisan is another city with an anchored chronology. The continuity of Late Bronze and Iron Age strata and the relatively frequent occurrence of Mycenaean imports from Cyprus and Philistine bichrome ware in the strata 12-9 show that the end of Niveau 13 can be dated to the early 12th century, while the following levels reflect the site's development during the early Iron Age to the 10th century BCE.<sup>56</sup> However, two other sites, which once played a major role in setting the absolute chronology in northern Syria-Palestine, Tel Megiddo and Tel Hazor, are nowadays hotly debated. For a long time the beginning of the end of the Late Bronze Age was marked by the violent end of Tel Hazor, Stratum XIV/1b, probably by pharaoh Seti I, and by the massive destruction of Stratum XIII/1a at ca. 1210 BCE (in Egyptian low chronology terms). Yadin had achieved these dates on the basis of Mycenaean imports.<sup>57</sup> But as was noted above, the use of this kind of pottery as a chronological indi-

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<sup>55</sup> A. Mazar, 'Beth Shean in the Second Millennium B.C.E.: From Canaanite Town to Egyptian Stronghold', in: M. Bietak, E. Czerny (eds), *The Synchronisation of Civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean*, vol. 2 (CCEM, 4), Wien 2003, 323-39. Cf. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 133-7, 171-3.

<sup>56</sup> Briend *et al.* (eds), *Tell Keisan*, 229-30; Humbert, 'Récents travaux à Tell Keisan', 385-92; Idem, 'Tell Keisan entre mer et montagne. L'archéologie entre texte et contexte', in: E.-M. Laperrousaz (ed.), *Archéologie, art et histoire de la Palestine*, Paris 1988, 67-8; Idem, 'Tell Keisan', 864-6, cf. J. Balensi, 'Tell Keisan, témoin original de l'apparition du "Mycénien III C 1" au Proche Orient', *RB* 88 (1981), 399-401; A. Gilboa, I Sharon, 'An Archaeological Contribution to the Early Iron Age Chronological Debate: Alternative Chronologies for Phoenicia and Their Effects on the Levant, Cyprus and Greece', *BASOR* 332 (2003), 38-40.

<sup>57</sup> See section 1.3, 'Destructions in Context'. The view that Seti I destroyed Tel Hazor Stratum XIII/1a is defended by C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, 'Hazor - a City State between the Major Powers', *SJOT* 15 (2001), 104-22.

cator is not without problems.<sup>58</sup> In addition, it is very doubtful that there exists a destruction correlate between a campaign of an Egyptian pharaoh and the destruction of Stratum XIV/1b (upper/lower city), both from a textual and an archaeological point of view. The Egyptians never claimed to have subdued cities in the Southern Levant by conflagration; the toponym of Hazor mentioned in a topographical list of Seti I only implies an Egyptian claim to suzerainty; and the defaced Egyptian statues in the upper city's palace or temple also indicate that it is highly unlikely that the Egyptians were responsible for its destruction.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, Amnon Ben-Tor, the director of the new excavations at Tel Hazor, is much more hesitant. He only claims that Hazor was finally violently destroyed sometime during the second half of the 13th century BCE, because of the find of a hieroglyphic fragment from the 20th Dynasty in Stratum XIII.<sup>60</sup> Sharon Zuckerman elaborates in her turn on the observation of Yadin that the last phase of the city reflected a degeneration of the prosperous Canaanite city. Accordingly, she claims that Stratum 1b was not marked by a sudden violent event, but rather reflected a process of gradual decline, represented by the remains defined as Stratum 1a. In her view, the violent destruction of monumental public structures and the abandonment of the town reflect this deterioration, culminating in the assault on the major political and religious foci of the city's elite. Zuckerman dated this end to the first half-to-mid 13th century.<sup>61</sup> However, Egyptian envoys could visit Hazor during the reign of Ramses II according to Papyrus Anastasi I.<sup>62</sup>

Finally, as was observed above, the end of Late Bronze Tel Megiddo, Stratum VIIA could be dated at ca. 1130 BCE. But the relation of this level to the Strata VII B and VI B is less certain. According to Finkelstein and Ussishkin, the transition from Stratum VII B to VIIA was peaceful, so that the Mycenaean III B imports only occurred in Stratum VIIA. In their view, this Late Bronze city was followed by an occupation gap, so that the later strata have to be down-dated into the 10th century.<sup>63</sup> However, Amihai Mazar maintains that Stratum VII B ended violently and that Stratum VIIA did not contain Mycenaean pottery.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. S. Zuckerman, 'Dating the Destruction of Hazor *without* Mycenaean Pottery?', in: Bietak, Czerny (eds), *Synchronisation of Civilizations*, vol. 3, 621-9.

<sup>59</sup> P. Bienkowski, 'The Role of Hazor in the Late Bronze Age', *PEQ* 119 (1987), 57-9; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 138-46; K.A. Kitchen, 'Hazor and Egypt: an Egyptological and Near Eastern Perspective', *SJOT* 16 (2002), 309-13.

<sup>60</sup> A. Ben-Tor, 'The Fall of Canaanite Hazor – The "Who" and "When" Questions', in: Gitin *et al.* (eds), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, 465; Idem, 'Hazor – a City State between the Major Powers: A Rejoinder', *SJOT* 16 (2002), 308, cf. J.A. Allen, 'A Hieroglyphic Fragment from Hazor', *BES* 15 (2001), 13-5; K. Kitchen, 'An Egyptian Inscribed Fragment from Late Bronze Hazor', *IEJ* 53 (2003), 20-8.

<sup>61</sup> S. Zuckerman, 'Anatomy of Destruction: Crisis Architecture, Termination Rituals and the Fall of Canaanite Hazor', *JMA* 20 (2007), 3-32.

<sup>62</sup> Kitchen, 'Hazor and Egypt', 311.

<sup>63</sup> Ussishkin, 'Destruction of Megiddo', 240-6; Finkelstein, 'Megiddo and Beth Shan', 173-80.

Therefore, Stratum VII B would reflect the 13th century and Stratum VII A the next seven or eight decades. In addition, he stated that Level S-2 in Tel Beth Shean, which in his and Finkelstein's view resembles Stratum VI A at Megiddo, was merely rebuilt along the lines of the mud brick structures of Level S-3, so that there is not much room for an occupation gap. In addition, the 'Philistine' bichrome ware from Megiddo parallels that of Tel Qasile, Stratum X. Consequently, S-2 at Tel Beth Shean immediately followed Level S-3 and Stratum VI B-VA at Tel Megiddo would resemble the late 12th and the 11th century in stead of the 10th century BCE.<sup>64</sup>

As a result, there is also an overlap between the Late Bronze and the Iron Age in the northern part of the Southern Levant. At Hazor, the Late Bronze Age already ended during the 13th century. But the transition occurred much later in the Jezreel and Beth Shean Valleys, namely during the second half of the 12th century. Most likely, Tel Keisan, Niveau 13; Tel Yoqneam, Stratum XX; Tel Megiddo, Stratum VII B; Tel Taanach, LB II/IA IA and Tel Beth Shean, Level VII can be associated and dated to the 13th century and the beginning of the 12th century, because their ceramic assemblages are comparable. But only few of these dates are secure and their relation to Tel Hazor, Stratum XIII is less clear than was often assumed. In Tel Yoqneam, Stratum XIX; Tel Megiddo, Stratum VII A and Beth Shean, Level VI the Late Bronze traditions continued at least into the third quarter of the 12th century BCE.<sup>65</sup>

### *Low Chronology*

The upper and lower limits of the absolute chronological framework of the archaeological evaluation are now established. But how are the material remains to be dated that were found between the artefactual evidence of these periods? Traditionally, scholars used two historical events to subdivide this archaeological episode: the conquests of David at ca. 1000 BCE and the campaign of pharaoh Shoshenq I in 925 BCE. Consequently, Iron I ran from the late 12th century to 1000, Iron IIA from 1000 to 925 and Iron IIB from 925 to the Assyrian conquests in the late 8th century BCE.<sup>66</sup> There are reasons, however, to question this subdivision. As was noted in Chapter 5, the books of Samuel do not claim that David conquered the cities in the plains and valleys. In addition, if Shoshenq I not only used the language of the New Kingdom in the representation of his military campaigns, but also applied the restricted Egyptian military policy during the campaign itself, it cannot be expected that he destroyed many

<sup>64</sup> Mazar, 'Megiddo in the Thirteenth-Eleventh Centuries BCE', 264-82. Cf. Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 229.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. also B. Brandl, 'Scarabs and Plaques Bearing Royal Names of the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Egyptian Dynasty excavated in Canaan', in: M. Bietak (ed.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium B.C. from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant. Chronological and Historical Implications* (CCEM, 8), Wien 2004, 57-71.

<sup>66</sup> See e.g. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 372-3. Cf. W.E. Rast, 'The Problem of Stratigraphy Relating to David', *EI* 20 (1989), 170\*.

cities. However, the main reason to question the traditional chronology came from archaeology itself. In 1996 Finkelstein launched a frontal attack on the archaeology of the United Monarchy, following his new view of the appearance of the Philistine bichrome pottery and the later date proposed by Ussishkin for Stratum VIIA at Tel Megiddo.<sup>67</sup> In Finkelstein's view, the archaeology of the monarchy under David and Solomon was a classic case of circular reasoning and dead reckoning. The late appearance of the now down-dated 'Philistine' bichrome in Tel Megiddo VIA led him to the conclusion that this site has an occupational gap from the late 12th to the early 10th century. The destruction of Stratum VIA could be assigned to Shoshenq I and the prosperous Stratum VB-IVA with its palaces, gate, water system and pillared complexes were to be dated to the time of the Omrides. The pottery of this Stratum could pose a problem, but in Finkelstein's opinion, the analysis of the ceramic assemblage of the Jezreel enclosure – which has to be dated to the time of Ahab – showed close affinities with the pottery of Tel Megiddo, Stratum VB-IVA. Together with Tel Megiddo, Finkelstein down-dated Tel Lachish, Level V; Tel Beth Shean, Level S-2; Tel Gezer, Level VIII; and Tel Hazor, Strata XI-IX. In this way, he tried to find an archaeological foundation for the absolute chronology of the archaeology of the Southern Levant between the end of the Late Bronze Age and the Assyrian conquest of the late 8th century and to close the gap of the in his view 'dark age' of the 9th century BCE in the traditional chronology. The consequences of these proposals, however, were enormous. Israel as a whole was never a kingdom, David and Solomon appeared to be no more than leaders of a local chieftom and the state-formation of Israel and Judah only occurred on the eve of the Aramean and Assyrian threat.

Amihai Mazar and many others responded to Finkelstein's proposal for a low chronology. The debate concentrated on several concrete archaeological issues. But methodological elements, such as the use of biblical and non-biblical textual sources in archaeology, the 'chieftom/state' model and the historicity of the Davidic and Solomonic Empire also played a role.<sup>68</sup> On the background, even the diverse political positions of the archaeologists in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were involved.<sup>69</sup> Over the years, Finkelstein's position changed little, although he presented new argumentation and moved slightly in the direction of his opponents.<sup>70</sup> In the beginning, Mazar simply stated that the

<sup>67</sup> I. Finkelstein, 'The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View', *Levant* 28 (1996), 177-87. Cf. D. Ussishkin, 'Gate 1567 at Megiddo and the Seal of Shema, Servant of Jerobeam', in: Coogan *et al.* (eds.), *Scripture and Other Artifacts*, 410-28.

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. A. Mazar, 'Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein', *Levant* 29 (1997), 157-67; A. Ben-Tor, D. Ben-Ami, 'Hazor and the Archaeology of the Tenth Century B.C.E.', *IEJ* 48 (1998), 1-37.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. E. Noort, 'Reconstructie van de geschiedenis van Israël. De casus van de 'High or Low Chronology' in de koningentijd', in: *NTT* 58 (2004), 309-22.

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. I. Finkelstein, 'Chronology Rejoinders', *PEQ* 134 (2002), 118-29; Idem, 'A Low Chronology Update', in: Levy, Higham (eds.), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating*, 31-

old scheme was preferable, but later he admitted that the debate contributed to a formulation of an archaeological argumentation for Iron Age chronology in the Southern Levant. Accordingly, he moved in the direction of a 'Modified' or 'Middle Chronology' that was proposed in order to solve the problem, a suggestion that comes very close to a suggestion of two of Finkelstein's colleagues at Tel Aviv University, Ze'ev Herzog and Lily Singer-Avitz.<sup>71</sup>

It is not the goal of this chapter to reassess the historicity of the Davidic and Solomonic Empire. However, a few methodological remarks and some comments on the archaeological issues at hand have to be made in order to answer the question to what extent the discussion contributes to the establishment of a chronological framework. A first comment has to be made about the relation between text and artefact. It was the goal of the Low Chronology-debate to create an independent archaeological basis for the period between the Egyptian involvement in and the Assyrian conquests of the Southern Levant. Finkelstein rightly criticized the role of David and Shoshenq I in the traditional connection. However, he in his turn also takes biblical information regarding the establishment of Tel Jezreel as a second residence of the Omrides and its destruction by king Jehu of Israel or king Hazael of Aram at ca 840 BCE as a point of departure (cf. 1 Kgs 21:1). Secondly, the kings Omri and Ahab dominate the structure of the Low Chronology-theory as did David and Solomon the traditional framework, while the description of architecture and ceramics does not take into account the possibility of differences in regional and cultural developments.<sup>72</sup> Thirdly, the sociological model of the entity of a 'chiefdom' which would develop into a 'state', is generally considered to be outdated: the term 'chiefdom' designates diverse types of societies, its explanatory value is very limited and contrary to what it suggests, it does not improve empirical research; moreover, the idea of a 'state' is also considered a manifestation of modern times. Therefore, it seems better to stay close to the terminology of the ancient sources, which simply present their form of society as a 'kingdom'.<sup>73</sup>

In addition to these methodological objections, the Low Chronology is also not conclusive in the debate regarding concrete archaeological issues. The rela-

42; I. Finkelstein, E. Piazzetsky, 'The Iron I-IIA in the Highlands and Beyond: <sup>14</sup>C Anchors, Pottery Phases and The Shoshenq I Campaign', *Levant* 38 (2006), 45-61.

<sup>71</sup> A. Mazar, 'The Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant', in: Levy, Higham (eds), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating*, 15-30. Cf. Z. Herzog, L. Singer-Avitz, 'Redefining the Centre. The Emergence of State in Judah', *TA* 31 (2004), 209-44; *idem*, 'Sub-Dividing the Iron Age IIA in Northern Israel', *TA* 33 (2006), 163-95.

<sup>72</sup> For a different picture, presupposing dissimilar regional developments, see A. Zarzeki-Peleg, 'Trajectories of Iron Age Settlement in Northern Israel and their Implications for Chronology', Levy, Higham (eds), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating*, 367-78.

<sup>73</sup> E.g. Kletter, 'Chronology and United Monarchy', 19-31. It has to be noted, however, that the term 'kingdom' also does not solve the sociological problem of defining diverse types of ancient societies.

tion between the Mycenaean imports and Egyptian imports and the Aegeanizing and Egyptianizing ceramics was already spelled out above, in the discussion of the Egyptian involvement in the Southern Levant during the Late Bronze and the early Iron Age. It appeared that there is no reason to lower the date for the beginning of the production of the 'Philistine' bichrome pottery from the 11th into the 10th century BCE. In addition, the small amount of this pottery in the remains of several sites in the northern part of the country means that it cannot be used as a single key dating their strata.<sup>74</sup> In relation to this discussion, something can be said regarding the so-called burnished red slip and hand-burnished ware, which earliest forms appear in layers that also contain Late Bronze forms and decorated 'Philistine' wares, and therefore are also of importance in discussing the dating of the transition from Late Bronze IIB – Iron IIA. According to some scholars, there is an unequivocal connection between this kind of pottery and king Solomon and pharaoh Shoshenq I.<sup>75</sup> However, study of the development and distribution of red slip and burnish shows that it most likely gradually developed during the Iron Age I in clearly well defined regions, such as the northern Philistine coast, the Yarkon Basin and the Beth Shean Valley. Hand burnished red slip pottery remained rare and only became more common in the 10th century BCE, in particular in Tel Lachish, Tel Beersheba and Tel Arad. Yet, the statistics of most excavations are not trustworthy and it is unknown how long it took before red slip had spread through all regions. Therefore, it is hard to obtain precise dates for its diverse phases, although it can be assumed that red slip was in use into at least the late 9th century BCE.<sup>76</sup>

Similar remarks can be made regarding the connection of certain gates found at Tel Hazor, Tel Gezer and Tel Megiddo with Solomon or Omri. The absolute axiom no longer holds that these architectural remains are typologically and chronologically comparable. They have some striking common features. But this is simply explained by the fact that the six-chambered gate reflects a common Southern Levantine architectural tradition that was at least carried on into the early 8th century BCE.<sup>77</sup> In a similar way, the citadel at Tel Hazor

<sup>74</sup> Cf. A. Zarzeki-Peleg, 'Hazor, Jokneam and Megiddo in the Tenth Century B.C.E.', *TA* 24 (1997), 258, as against Finkelstein, 'Archaeology of the Tenth Century', 182.

<sup>75</sup> Rast, 'Problem of Stratigraphy', 168\*-171\*; J.S. Holladay, 'Red Slip, Burnish, and the Solomonic Gateway at Tel Gezer', *BASOR* 277/78 (1990), 23-70; Idem, 'Kingdoms of Israel and Judah', 368-75.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. R.E. Tappy, *The Archaeology of Israelite Samaria. Vol. 1. Early Iron Age Through the Ninth Century B.C.E.* (HSS, 44), Atlanta, GA 1992, 234-41; A. Mazar, 'On the Appearance of Red Slip in the Iron Age I Period in Israel', in: Gitin *et al.* (eds), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, 368-77; Herzog, Singer-Avitz, 'Redefining the Centre', 209-10. For a functional approach, see A. Faust, 'Burnished Pottery and Gender Hierarchy in Iron Age Israelite Society', *JMA* 15 (2002), 53-73.

<sup>77</sup> For the six-chambered gates at Tel Megiddo, Stratum IVB; Tel Hazor, Stratum X; Tel Gezer, Stratum VIII; Tel Ashdod, Stratum 9-7; Tel Mique-Ekron, Field IIISE; Tel Jezreel; Tel Lachish, Level IV-III; Tel Batash, Stratum III; and Tel ʿIra, Stratum VII, see e.g. W.G.

and the palaces 1723 and 6000 at Tel Megiddo, Stratum VA-IVB are most likely part of a wide repertoire of architecture. It is therefore highly problematic to view them as exclusively being part of the 9th century Syrian revival of the Late Bronze Syro-Hittite *bit hilani* palaces and to suppose that these buildings and the temple in Jerusalem can only have been built by king Omri and his Judean vassal.<sup>78</sup> In all of these cases, the architectural tradition indicates that the buildings were most likely constructed during the first part of Iron Age II. But a more precise date can only be achieved on other grounds.<sup>79</sup>

Finkelstein claims that such a ground is present in the enclosure of casemates at Tel Jezreel. The casemates, which pottery parallels that of Tel Megiddo, Stratum IVB, would definitely date to the time of Omri, due to what the Book of Kings reports about the Omride dynasty.<sup>80</sup> Neither this conclusion, however, nor its implications for the dating of other sites are undisputed: there is also biblical information about Jezreel as one of the cities in Solomon's districts (1 Kgs 4:12); the archaeological context also includes pre-enclosure deposits, which complicates the picture; the interpretation of the pottery is not univocal; similarities with the 'Jezreel cluster' do not necessarily mean that the level of the other site did not start earlier; and finally, the implicated lowering of the chronology of other sites means that the life span of several regular levels of well-stratified tels – in the Southern Levant normally covering about 50-60 years during the Iron Age – is condensed to 25 years at Tel Yoqneam and

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Dever, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries and Biblical Research*, Seattle, WA 1990, 87-117; Idem, 'Histories and Non-Histories of Ancient Israel: The Question of the United Monarchy', in: Day (ed.), *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel*, 78-82; G.J. Wightman, 'The Myth of Solomon', *BASOR* 277/278 (1990), 5-22; D. Ussishkin, 'Notes on Megiddo, Gezer, Ashdod and Tel Batash in the Tenth to Ninth Century', *BASOR* 277/278 (1990), 71-91; Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 433-53; M. Dothan, Y. Porath (eds), *Ashdod. Vol. 4. Excavation of Area M. The Fortifications of the Lower City* (Atiqot, 15), Jerusalem 1982, 19-34, 54-8; S. Gitin, 'Tel Miqne-Ekron: A Type Site for the Inner Coastal Plain in the Iron II Period', in: S. Gitin, W.G. Dever (eds), *Recent Excavations in Israel. Studies in Iron Age Archaeology* (AASOR, 49), Winona Lake, IN 1989, 28-30; Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 2, 504-14; A. Mazar, *Timnah (Tel Batash)*, vol. 1, 111-26; I. Beit-Arieh (ed.), *Tel 'Ira. A Stronghold in the Biblical Negev* (TAMS, 15), Tel Aviv 1999, 69-74, 170-3; A. Ben-Tor, 'Hazor and the Chronology of Northern Israel', *BASOR* 317 (2000), 9-15.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. I. Finkelstein, 'Omride Architecture', *ZDPV* 116 (2000), 114-38; Idem, 'The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah. The Missing Link', in: Vaughn, Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 92-100; Kletter, 'Chronology and United Monarchy', 39-40.

<sup>79</sup> This also applies to the debate on the use of ashlar masonry at Tel Megiddo and Samaria. For this issue, see below section 6.2, 'Tel Megiddo'.

<sup>80</sup> Finkelstein, 'Archaeology of United Monarchy', 182-4, cf. O. Zimhoni, 'The Iron Age Pottery from Tel Jezreel – An Interim Report', *TA* 19 (1992), 57-70; Idem, 'Clues from the Enclosure Fills: Pre-Omride Settlement at Tel Jezreel', *TA* 24 (1997), 83-90; N. Franklin, 'Jezreel: Before and After Jezebel', in: L.L. Grabbe (ed.), *Israel in Transition. From Late Bronze II to Iron IIa. Vol. 1 Archaeology* (LHB/OTS, 491), New York, London 2008, 45-51.

Tel Hazor, a proposition fiercely rejected by the excavators of those sites.<sup>81</sup> Consequently, the enclosure of Tel Jezreel and its pottery assemblage is not unimportant, but it cannot be used as one of the most important keys to downgrade the 10th century strata in the northern part of the Southern Levant into the 9th century BCE. The other sites deserve it to be studied on their own terms and to offer their contribution to the chronological framework.

Another relevant factor for Iron Age chronology in the Eastern Mediterranean is the sequence of Aegean pottery, because the chronology of Cyprus and Greece are largely dependent on the Levant. Accordingly, scholars have been looking for what happens to the chronological framework, if the material culture is interpreted from the angle of the connections with the Aegean Mediterranean. The results, however, are contradictory. It has been argued that the sequence of Greek pottery from the late Iron I and early Iron II clearly supports the low chronology.<sup>82</sup> The analysis of Iron I-II ceramics at Tel Dor in its turn even led to the tentative conclusion that the 'Low Chronology' may be not low enough.<sup>83</sup> Other scholars, however, strongly disagree with these results, partly because the Greek chronology is also a matter of debate.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, a comparison of Mycenaean imports and local Aegeanizing wares from Tel Miqne and Tel Ashdod with pottery found on Cyprus indicates that the Late Bronze and early Iron Age strata at these sites should not be lowered, while a study of a Mycenaean vase from Tel Megiddo, Stratum VII also suggests that a more traditional interpretation is to be preferred.<sup>85</sup> So in fact, the chronological de-

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<sup>81</sup> For the discussion, see Mazar, 'Iron Age Chronology', 161; Zarzeki-Peleg, 'Hazor, Jokneam and Megiddo', 260-85; I. Finkelstein, 'Bible Archaeology or Archaeology of Palestine in the Iron Age? A Rejoinder', *Levant* 30 (1998), 171; Ben-Tor, Ben-Ami, 'Hazor and the Tenth Century', 32-4; Finkelstein, 'Hazor and the North', 56-63; Ben-Tor, 'Hazor and the Chronology of Northern Israel', 11-4; D. Ussishkin, 'The Credibility of the Tel Jezreel Excavations. A Rejoinder to Amnon Ben-Tor', *TA* 27 (2000), 248-56; Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 452-3; Herzog, Singer-Avitz, 'Sub-Dividing the Iron Age IIA in Northern Israel', 166-82.

<sup>82</sup> N. Coldstream, 'Some Aegean Reaction to the Chronological Debate in the Southern Levant', *TA* 30 (2003), 327-58.

<sup>83</sup> Gilboa, Sharon, 'Archaeological Contribution', 11-35, 57-72.

<sup>84</sup> A. Mazar, 'Greek and Levantine Iron Age Chronology. A Rejoinder', *IEJ* 54 (2004), 24-36. For an overview of the discussion and a plea for a slightly higher absolute chronology in the Mediterranean, see A.J. Nijboer, 'The Iron Age in the Mediterranean: a Chronological Mess or "Trade before the Flag", Part II', *Ancient West and East* 4 (2005), 255-77. According to Nijboer, evidence from Huelva also shows that the Phoenician contacts with cultures in the Western Mediterranean and beyond are older than is often assumed: they date to the first half of the 9th century, if not before. A.J. Nijboer, J. van der Plicht, 'An Interpretation of the Radiocarbon Determinations of the oldest indigenous-Phoenician Stratum at Tartessos (south-west Spain)', *BABesch* 81 (2006), 31-6.

<sup>85</sup> T. Dothan, A. Zukerman, 'A Preliminary Study of the Myc. IIIC:1 Pottery Assemblages from Tel Miqne-Ekron and Ashdod', *BASOR* 333 (2004), 1-54; P.A. Mountjoy, 'A Mycenaean Vase from Megiddo', *BASOR* 349 (2008), 13-24.

bate cannot be decided by the dating of Greek imports either. The quality of corroborations is far from ideal and the fixed dates in the Aegean chronology are wanted in those cases where a clear connection can be established.<sup>86</sup>

Finally, supporters of both the Low Chronology and the Modified Middle Chronology claim that their theory finds independent anchors in high precision radiocarbon dates from several Iron Age sites in the Southern Levant, in particular from Tel Dor, Tel Megiddo, Tel Rehov, Tel Beth Shean, Tel Dan in Israel and Tel en-Nahas in southern Jordan. In addition, radiometric data have been collected from desert settlements in Sinai and the Negev highlands. So far, however, <sup>14</sup>C-dates have not resolved the Levantine Iron Age dilemma. They neither favour exclusively the low nor the middle chronology, despite the fact that efforts have been made to compare them.<sup>87</sup> This situation is caused by a number of reasons. The perspectives of the scholars interpreting the data diverge. There is also a serious discrepancy between the results of the three laboratories involved, the Israeli Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory of the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot, Israel; the NSF-Arizona AMS Laboratory, University of Arizona in Tucson, USA; and the Centre of Isotope Research, University of Groningen, the Netherlands. But most important are the methodological problems. During the last decades, the quality of radiocarbon dating has improved enormously. Nevertheless, it at best provides dates with a range of ca. 30-35 years. As a consequence, it is doubtful whether this research is able to decide a dispute only covering sixty or seventy years. This objection becomes even more important, when it is taken into consideration that the dendrochronological <sup>14</sup>C wiggle-match for the early Iron Age of the eastern Mediterranean is not as clear-cut as it is for previous and later periods in this area. So in fact, it is impossible to cut the Gordian knot of the Low Chronology-debate by high precision radiocarbon dating.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Similar considerations regard the attestation of mass-produced amulets in the Southern Levant, possibly originating from Tanis, Egypt. Cf. S. Münger, *Egyptian Stamp-Seal Amulets and Their Implications for the Chronology of the Early Iron Age*, *TA* 30 (2004), 66-82; Idem, 'Stamp-Seal Amulets and Early Iron Age Chronology', in Levy, Higham (eds), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating*, 381-404; A. Gilboa *et al.*, 'Dor and Iron Age Chronology: Scarabs, Ceramaic Sequence and <sup>14</sup>C', *TA* 30 (2004), 32-59.

<sup>87</sup> Levy, Higham (eds), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating*, *passim*. See further E. Boaretto *et al.*, 'Dating the Iron Age I/II Transition in Israel: First Intercomparison Results', *Radiocarbon* 47 (2005), 39-55; I. Finkelstein, E. Piasezky, '<sup>14</sup>C and the Iron Age Chronology Debate: Rehov, Khirbet en-Nahas, Dan, and Megiddo', *Radiocarbon* 48 (2006), 373-86; I. Sharon *et al.*, 'Report on the First Stage of the Iron Age Dating Project in Israel: Supporting a Low Chronology', *Radiocarbon* 49 (2007), 1-46; A. Mazar, C. Bronk Ramsey, '<sup>14</sup>C Dates and the Iron Age of Israel: A Response', *Radiocarbon* 50 (2008), 159-80.

<sup>88</sup> S. Sherratt, 'High Precision Dating and Archaeological Chronologies', in: Levy, Higham (eds), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating*, 114-25. Boaretto *et al.*, 'Dating the Iron Age I/II Transition', 42. Sherratt rightly emphasizes that evidence from Ugarit and radiocarbon data from Cyprus prevent a lowering of Ashdod, Stratum, XIIIb with 80 years, as

As a result, there are no independent anchors between the late 12th and the late 8th century BCE to determine the absolute chronology of the archaeological remains of this period. Most likely, the Iron II period in the Southern Levant did not start and develop in all places at the same moment in the same way, for as in the cases of Late Bronze II and Iron I and the transition from Iron IIB to Iron IIC, there will be overlap and regional differences. Furthermore, the campaign of Shoshenq I can hardly be used to subdivide Iron II. This campaign could have re-established the Egyptian hegemony over the trade routes for a while, and thus have had a significant impact on several regions. But it is not likely that the pharaoh destroyed all the cities he claims to have conquered.<sup>89</sup> Consequently, only some general observations and considerations are left for the interpreter of the material remains of a specific site in limiting the range of possible dates.

First, there is the observation that the period as such has been shortened by the continuation of the influence of the Late Bronze Age culture beyond 1200 BCE in several parts of the Southern Levant and by the disappearance of the biblical king David as a conqueror. For now, it becomes more likely that Iron IIA started at least a few decennia after ca. 1000 BCE. Second, the relative chronology of the excavations can be established by the stratification, while the density or resolution of the strata sometimes offers an indication of their duration. Third, the analysis of pottery and the comparison with assemblages of other sites in the same or nearby located regions can be brought into play. Several factors are of importance in this respect. The conclusions regarding the Philistine bichrome, the red slip and burnished wares were already mentioned. Additionally, the detailed study of the development of pottery types during the first stage of the Iron Age II suggests that this period does not cover a single century, but a longer period of 150-200 years.<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the value of the assemblages that were used for this analysis – from excavations in the Beersheba Valley and at Tel Jezreel – is limited in scope:

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Finkelstein claims, but also that the dates from Tel Rehov – being the most copious, systematic and internally consistent <sup>14</sup>C sequence from the Southern Levant during Iron I to Iron IIB – show Stratum V as well as Stratum IV not being incompatible with a destruction by Shoshenq I; *if* he destroyed the city at all.

<sup>89</sup> For a discussion, with Finkelstein and Piasezky finally offering the right conclusion that in the light of what is known about pharaonic campaigns to the Southern Levant, there may have been no violent assault, see Finkelstein, 'Archaeology of United Monarchy', 181; Idem, 'The Campaign of Shoshenq I to Palestine', *ZDPV* 118 (2002), 110-35; Junkkaala, *Three Conquests of Canaan*, 223-4; Herzog, Singer-Avitz, 'Redefining the Centre', 232-3; Mazar, 'Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age', 23; A. Fantalkin, I. Finkelstein, 'The Shoshenq I Campaign and the 8th Century BCE Earthquake', *TA* 33 (2006), 26-9; I. Finkelstein, E. Piasezky, 'The Iron I-IIA in the Highlands and Beyond: <sup>14</sup>C Anchors, Pottery Phases and The Shoshenq Campaign', *Levant* 38 (2006), 57-8.

<sup>90</sup> See in particular Herzog, Singer-Avitz, 'Redefining the Centre', 210-31; Idem, 'Sub-Dividing the Iron Age IIA in Northern Israel', 166-85.

they cannot be treated as a sufficient basis for historical conclusions.<sup>91</sup> Finally, radiometric data are useful in determining the plausibility of a proposal regarding the absolute date of a stratum. Consequently, these are the main observations to be utilized in order to refine the chronology of the 11th – 8th century BCE archaeological chronology of the Southern Levant.

### *Chronological Framework*

Now that the chronological implications of the Assyrian destructions and the Egyptian involvement in the Southern Levant have been discussed and the period in between has been reflected on, the time has come to offer a chronological framework for the description of the archaeological remains of those sites in the promised land mentioned in Joshua 9:1—13:7.

What can be said about the periodization to be used for the archaeological evaluation of these sites in the Late Bronze and the Iron Age, in particular the late 14th to 12th and the late 10th to early 8th centuries BCE? It appeared that the archaeological periods of Late Bronze II, Iron Age I and Iron II sometimes extend more beyond the beginning of the next periods than was assumed previously. Therefore, it seems more appropriate to offer only a general periodization that possibly varies from site to site than to suggest an objective interpretation, by putting all sites and regions into the trammels of an identical consistent framework. Besides, the later end of the Late Bronze II and the results of the Low Chronology-debate lead to the conclusion that the dates of two transitions have to be changed. Iron I ends and Iron II now begins at ca. 980 BCE and the transition from Iron IIA to Iron IIB is lowered from 925 to ca. 850-830 BCE. The shift to Iron IIC still takes place at ca. 734-701 BCE. However, the possible overlap between phases cannot be described regarding the transition dates of 1100, 980 and 850 BCE, because there is not enough information available for the Southern Levant as a whole to offer a convincing description of the overlap of the diverse phases between the late 12th and the early 8th century BCE.<sup>92</sup> Consequently, the general periodization goes as follows:

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<sup>91</sup> Herzog and Singer-Avitz interpret the results of their ceramic analyses in such a way that the Judean formation started in reaction to the Egyptian control of the prosperous Beersheba Valley and the Shephelah and that the state formation in Israel occurred due to the competition of a managerial elite in small city-states. But they exclude the biblical narrations about the United Monarchy and all kind of historical considerations regarding the limited architectural remains from the 10th century in advance. This strategy – besides their overstressed use of the Jezreel enclosure as a key site – makes these conclusions highly reductionist in nature. Herzog, Singer-Avitz, 'Redefining the Centre', 231-5; *idem*, 'Sub-Dividing the Iron Age IIA in Northern Israel', 186-8.

<sup>92</sup> Ayalet Gilboa and Ilan Sharon, excavators of Tel Dor, rightly state that the chronological horizons should be understood as no more than heuristic devices. In this study – which is only general in nature – a division of overlapping periods is preferred to their detailed subdivision with several transitional horizons. Cf. Gilboa, Sharon, 'Archaeological Contribution', 11.

Late Bronze Age IIA	ca. 1400 – 1300/1270 BCE
Late Bronze Age IIB	ca. 1300/1270 – 1200/1130 BCE
Iron Age IA	ca. 1200/1130 – 1100 BCE
Iron Age IB	ca. 1100 – 980 BCE
Iron Age IIA	ca. 980 – 850 BCE
Iron Age IIB	ca. 850 – 734/701 BCE
Iron Age IIC	ca. 734/701 – 586 BCE

In agreement with this picture, the following synopsis of places according to their region offers a tentative overview of all excavated sites within the geographical concept of the conquered land mentioned in Joshua 9:1—13:7 (Table 2). [Relevant nearby sites in the same region but not referred to in this textual unit are mentioned between brackets].

14th	13th	12th	11th	10th	9th	8th	
cent. BCE	cent.	cent.	cent.	cent.	cent.	cent.	

*Dan/Galilee*

[Tel Dan				VI	Vb	VA		IV		III		II	]	
Tel Hazor	XV	XIV	XIII	Gap			XII=XI	Gap	X-XI	VIII	VII	VI	VA	IV
Tel Qarneq Hittin			Fortress						Iron II		city			

*Northern Valleys*

Tel Keisan	XII	XI/13	13	12-11	10	9c-9a		8c-8a		7	6	5		
Tel Yoqneam	XX		XIX	XVIII	XVII		XVI	XV	XIV	XIII	XII	XI		
Tel Megiddo	VIII	VIIb	VIIa	VIb	VIA		Vb	VA-IVb		IVA		III		
Tel Kedesh		VIII	VII		Gap		VI	V		IV		?		
Tel Taanach	LB		LB II?	IA	IB		Gap?		IIa	IIb		III-IV	V	
[Tel Jezreel										village; incl.		post-incl.	]	
[Tel Beth Shean	IXa	VIII	VII	VI		V/S2			V/S1		IV/P8-7			
[Tel Rehov				D7-6		VII			VI	V	IV		III	II

*C. Hill Country (N)*

Tel el-Far'ah (N)	4		4		VIIa/Niv. 3			VIIb	VIIc		VIIId		VIIe
[Samaria					PP I			PP I-II			PP III-VI		
Beitin	LB 1		LB 2	Gap?	IA 1			??			??		

*Coast/Sharon Plain*

Tel Dor						B14/G11a	B13-9/G10-6		B8/G6				
Tel Aphek	X-13	X-12	X-11	X-10	X-9	X-8			X-7		X-6		
[Tel Qasile				XII	XI	X		IX	VIII				]
[Tel Mor	9	8	7	6	5								]
[Tel Mique				VII	VI	V	IV		III		II		]
[Tel Ashdod				XV	XIV	XIII	XII	XI		X	IX		VIII

*C. Hill Country (S)*

Jerusalem	16				15			14	13		12		
el-Jib	Cemetery						Wall	Defenses			Water system		

Tel Rumeida	Area I.1, 3, 6 →			Area I.6	Area I.4, 1, 6		
Tel Rabud	LB 3	LB 2	LB 1	A4	A3	B3	B2

*Ch. Valleys/Shephelah*

[Tel Azeka							
[Tel Beth Shemesh	IVA	IVB	III / 6	5	4	IIA-IIB / 3	IIc / 2
Tel el-Qom						Field III	Field II
Tel Gezer	XVI	XV	XIV	XIII	XII	XI	X
Tel Yarmuth	Acr. VII	Acr. VI	Acr. V	Acr. IV-III		IX	VIII
Tel Lachish	VIII	VII	VI	Gap		V	IV

*Steppe and Desert*

Tel Halif	IXA	VIII	VII	→			VI
[Tel Beersheba			IX	VIII	VII	VI	V
[Tel Masos			III	II	I		
Tel Arad					XII	XI	X IX VIII
[Negev Highl. sites							

	14th cent. BCE		13th cent.		12th cent.		11th cent.		10th cent.		9th cent.		8th cent.	
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Light Grey	Late Bronze IIA	Dark Grey	Iron Age IA	Lightest Grey	Iron Age IIA
Medium Grey	Late Bronze IIB	Medium-Dark Grey	Iron Age IB	Medium-Light Grey	Iron Age IIB
Very Dark Grey		Very Dark Grey		Very Dark Grey	Iron Age IIC
	destruction layer				

Table 6.2 – Excavated sites in Cisjordan also mentioned in Joshua 9:1—13:7

**6.2 CITIES AND REGIONS IN THE LB II – IA I TRANSITION AND IN IA II**

As was noted in Chapter 1, an archaeological discussion regarding only two cities mentioned in the Book of Joshua having a disputed archaeological reputation, that is, Jericho and Ai, is not suitable for a comprehensive interdisciplinary dialogue between this historiographical text and the artefactual evidence. The remaining 31 identified locations mentioned within the boundaries of the Cisjordanian ‘conquered land’ of Joshua 9:1—13:7 offer a better opportunity. Nine of them – Tel el-Kafira, Deir el-Azhar, Tel Burna, Tel Anab el-Kebir, Tel Adulam, Tel Abu Zarad, Tel el-Muhaffar and Tel Shimron – have been surveyed archaeologically, while the other sites have been explored by archaeological excavations once, several times or for many years: Tel Azeka, el-Jib, Jerusalem, Tel Rumeida, Tel Yarmuth, Tel Lachish, Tel Eiton, Tel Gezer, Tel el-Qom, Tel Rabud, Beitin, Tel Halif, Tel Arad, Tel Aphek, Tel Hazor, Tel Qarnei Hittin, Tel Keisan, Tel Taanach, Tel Megiddo, Tel Kedesh, Tel Yoqneam, Tel Dor, and Tel el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah (N). The next subsections present the relevant archaeological information regarding these sites during the Late Bronze Age II – Iron Age I transition and during the first part of the Iron II period. The sites are arranged in geographical order, so that they can be described, as far as this is relevant, in

their own environmental and regional context. Other contexts, such as the cultural situation and the relevant knowledge regarding political entities from non-biblical data, will be added in section 6.3.

## Galilee

### *Tel Hazor*

The huge mound of Tel Hazor in the Hule Valley, covering more than 80 ha., is one of the largest sites in the Ancient Near East and certainly the largest Bronze Age site of the Southern Levant. John Garstang undertook some trial sondages at the site in 1928, but it was most extensively excavated by an expedition conducted by the Israeli military general and archaeologist Yigael Yadin in 1957-1959 and in 1968. Since 1990, the excavations on the acropolis continue as the Selz Foundation Hazor Excavations in Memory of Yigael Yadin, directed by Amnon Ben-Tor, emeritus professor of Hebrew University Jerusalem (Fig. 6.1). The uncovering of domestic and public buildings, pottery and artefacts in several areas in the Lower as well as the Upper City highlight the unique status of the site as a political, religious and cultural centre in the Late Bronze Age, its diminished importance during the Iron Age I and its function as a significant fortified regional centre in Iron Age II.

### Late Bronze II

According to the excavators, the prosperous Late Bronze Age city started with Stratum 2 in the Lower and Stratum XV in the Upper City. It was built along the same lines as the huge Middle Bronze urban centre and continued in Stratum XIV/1b. In the Lower City, remains from this period were the renewed temple in Area F, the rebuilt gates in Area K and P and an elaborated and a new temple in Area H and C. On the acropolis, basalt orthostates were added to what turned out to be a migdol of 'tower' temple. New edifices were also built in its centre, while the massive palace – with a plan and architectural details similar to that of the Syrian palace at Alalakh, Stratum IV from the second half of the second millennium BCE, but twice as large – continued to exist. The excavators dated this city to the 14th and 13th century BCE, because of their analysis of the pottery in for instance Area C and tomb 8144-5 and the large quantities of Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB pottery found in Area D, F, H, and in the Upper City. Heaps of fallen mudbricks and ashes at the gates in Area K and P suggest that these parts of this city came to its end violently.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor I*, 76-87, 91-2; Idem, *Hazor II*, 95-110, pls. XXXI-XXXVI, CCVIII; A. Ben-Tor (ed.), *Hazor, Vol. 3-4. An Account of the Third and Fourth Season of Excavation, 1957-1958: Text*, Jerusalem 1989, 223-57, 284-6, 292, 297; A. Ben-Tor, R. Bonfil (eds), *Hazor, Vol. 5. An Account of the Sixth Season of Excavation, 1968*, Jerusalem 1997, 151-5, pls. II.16-II.17; 213-7. Cf. Yadin, *Hazor*, 32-36, 44-6, 58-82, 98-100, 125-6; Idem, 'Hazor', 595-600; Zuckerman, 'Anatomy of Destruction', 12-4. For the palace, see R.

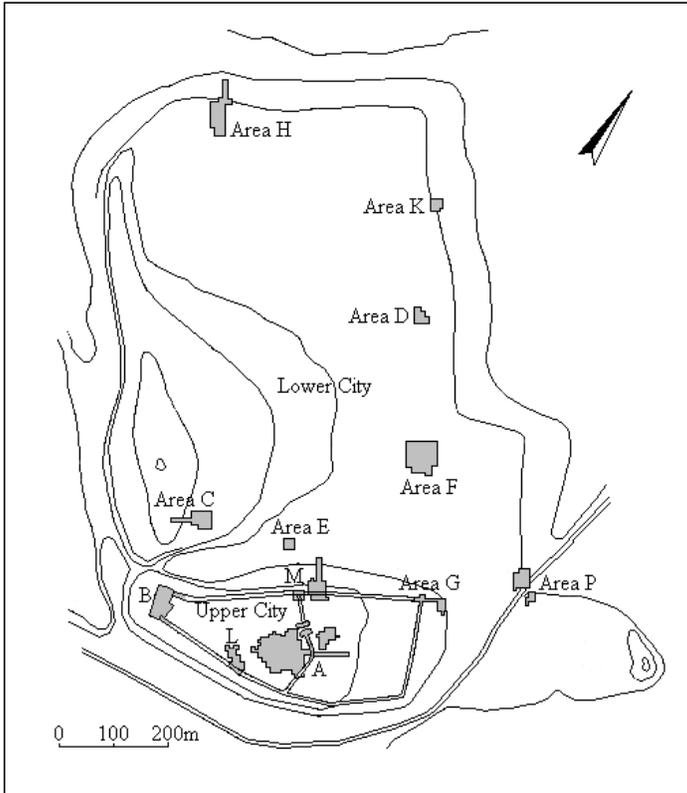


Fig. 6.1 – Excavation Areas at Tel Hazor

Most of the architectural remains also functioned in the next city of Stratum XIII/1a, although some important differences are noteworthy. The gates in Area K and P went out of use, the plan of some important structures in Area F, C, H, and M was changed, the basalt lion orthostat before the temple on the acropolis was buried and the direct entrance of this building transformed into an indirect one.<sup>94</sup> The remains suggest a decline of the city in comparison to the previous stratum and almost no imported pottery was found. Most striking, however, are the remnants all over the site of a general conflagration: the pub-

Bonfil, A. Zarzeki-Peleg, 'The Palace of the Upper City of Hazor as an Expression of a Syrian Architectural Paradigm', *BASOR* 348 (2007), 24-47.

<sup>94</sup> Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor I*, 81-92; *Idem*, *Hazor II*, 111-8, 135-44, pls. XXXI-XXXVII, CCVIII-CCX; Y. Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor, Vol. 3-4. An Account of the Third and Fourth Season of Excavation, 1957-1958. Plates*, Jerusalem 1961, pls. CXV, CXVIII-CXX; Ben-Tor (ed.), *Hazor III-IV. Text*, 248, 257-71, 286-96; Ben-Tor, Bonfil (eds), *Hazor V*, 382. Cf. Yadin, *Hazor*, 37, 44-6, 62-3, 98-100, 125-6; *Idem*, 'Hazor', 597, 600; A. Ben-Tor, 'Hazor', *NEAEHL*, 604; Zuckerman, 'Anatomy of Destruction', 17-21.

lic buildings in Area H and possibly C in the Lower City were put to the torch and the temple and palace on the acropolis were found in thick layers of ashes. At the western edge of Area A, walls laid broken down to a level of 2 metres, while the melted mudbricks suggests that the fire reached a temperature of almost 1000° Celsius. The new excavations also showed that the palace was robbed before it was set on fire. Besides, a few cuneiform tablets, an ivory box and some intentionally mutilated statues were found, in addition to those found by the previous excavations.<sup>95</sup>

As was noted in section 6.1, there is some debate regarding the stratigraphy of Late Bronze Tel Hazor, Strata XIV/1b and XIII/1a. Due to later intrusions from the Iron Age, is it hard to connect the diverse phases in the architecture to the overall stratification of the site. Finkelstein even equates Stratum XIII of the Upper City with Stratum 1b of the Lower City and supposes that the city was destroyed at the beginning of the 13th century, after which the lower tel was partially reoccupied till its abandonment at ca. 1200 BCE.<sup>96</sup> But it has to be noted that those involved in the new excavations are well aware of this difficulty. They reasonably rejected Finkelstein's interpretation and as long as they have not published their finds, it is better to follow them in their view that the city, depicted by the earlier excavations as Stratum XIII/1a, suffered only one fierce destruction campaign, which was followed by a total abandonment of the lower city and an unoccupied period for the upper tel.<sup>97</sup>

## Iron I

According to Yadin, the following Stratum XII, sealed between the Late Bronze remains and the later Iron Age strata, was the poorest in the settlement history of Tel Hazor: no walls, no public buildings, only foundations of huts and tents,

<sup>95</sup> Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor I*, 85-7, pl. XXXI:1; Idem, *Hazor II*, 113; Idem, *Hazor III-IV. Plates*, pls. CXVII:7, CXVIII:1-3, CXXIII:2, CCCXXIII:4-6, CCCXXIV-VII, CCCXXIX-XXX; Ben-Tor (ed.), *Hazor III-IV. Text*, 257-64, 322-38; Ben-Tor, Bonfil (eds), *Hazor V*, 382; A. Ben-Tor, 'Hazor, 1996', *IEJ* 46 (1996), 264-5; Idem, 'Tel Hazor, 1998', *IEJ* 48 (1998), 275, 277; Idem, 'Fall of Canaanite Hazor', 459-62, 465. Cf. Yadin, *Hazor*, 18, 28, 67-74, 108; Yadin, 'Hazor', 599; Ben-Tor, 'Yadin Memorial Excavations', 120-3; Idem, 'The Sad Fate of Statues and the Mutilated Statues of Hazor', in: S. Gitin *et al.*, (eds), *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel*, Winona Lake, IN, 3-16; Zuckerman, 'Anatomy of Destruction', 23-4.

<sup>96</sup> Finkelstein, 'Hazor at the End of the Late Bronze Age', 342-8. Remarkably, Mycenaean wares play an important additional role in Finkelstein's plea, although both the previous discussion regarding the date of the end of Late Bronze Hazor and the renewed excavations make it clear that it is hard to use this pottery in dating Stratum 1a.

<sup>97</sup> A. Ben-Tor, S. Zuckerman, 'Hazor at the End of the Late Bronze Age: Back to the Basics', *BASOR* 350 (2008), 1-6. Cf. Yadin, *Hazor*, 126-8; Ben-Tor, 'Yadin Memorial Excavations', 110; Idem, 'Fall of Canaanite Hazor', 458-9; Idem, 'Hazor – a City State Between the Major Powers', *SJOT* 16 (2002), 303, 308; Zuckerman, 'Anatomy of Destruction', 12-21.

cooking and other installations, pits and ovens in the vicinity of these structures. In his view, the pithoi and cooking pots that were found dated these remains to the early Iron Age, most likely to the 12th century. The discovery of a cultic enclosure in Area B led to the decision to make a distinction between Stratum XII and XI.<sup>98</sup> Later comparison with assemblages from other Iron I sites in the Southern Levant suggests that a later date somewhere during the 11th century is to be preferred for the pits of Stratum XII.<sup>99</sup>

The excavations since 1990 exposed many new Iron I pits and some structures and installations in Area A and B and a small complex in Area A4 with a rather large basalt standing stone and a circle of small basalt standing stones located nearby. The ceramic assemblages indeed mark a clear break with the Late Bronze Age tradition from the previous city. According to the excavators, they are similar to those at Tel Dan, Stratum VI-V and should be dated to the 11th century BCE. The remains are scanty, but the new excavations preclude them being remnants of a viable settlement. Consequently, it is suggested that the site served as a temporary encampment for a group of people of indeterminate size, who occupied tents and temporary structures. The two open cult places in Area B and A4 on top of the ruined city were, like the Bull Site in northern Samaria, the highest spots in the neighbourhood and therefore chosen by the new 11th century settlers to establish their cult places.<sup>100</sup>

## Iron II

The next phase is the Stratum X fortified settlement of approximately 3,5 to 4 ha. on the western part of the Upper City (Fig. 6.2). The excavations in the 1950s and the new expedition uncovered a casemate wall, a six chambered gate and several houses of domestic nature in Area A, B and M. Stratum IXb and IXa show a decline and a destruction in Area A, but the building activities of the following stratum meant a turning point in the history of the site. The casemate wall was filled and extended over the eastern part of the Upper City, as became evident from the defence structures in Area M and G and by the excavation of the water system. A large storehouse from Stratum VIII was revealed in Area A. It was destroyed, but then rebuilt along the same lines in Stratum VII, while Stratum VI showed new residential quarters. In Area B, a citadel with a rectan-

<sup>98</sup> Ben-Tor (ed.), *Hazor III-IV. Text*, 25-30, 76-82, pl. XVIII; Ben-Tor, Bonfil (eds), *Hazor V*, 218-23; Yadin, *Hazor*, 129-34; Idem, 'Hazor', 600.

<sup>99</sup> See e.g. A. Mazar, 'Giloh: An Early Israelite Settlement Near Jerusalem', *IEJ* 31 (1981), 35; Finkelstein, *Archaeology of the Settlement*, 101, 107.

<sup>100</sup> D. Ben-Ami, 'The Iron I at Tel Hazor in Light of the Renewed Excavations', *IEJ* 51 (2001), 148-70; Idem, 'Early Iron Cult Places. New Evidence from Hazor', *TA* 33 (2006), 121-33. For a different interpretation, stating that the site has to be dated as an 11th century BCE village of considerable size, belonging to the indigenous population of the north, slowly recovering from the upheavals at the end of the Late Bronze Age, see I. Finkelstein, 'Hazor XII-XI with an Addendum on Ben-Tor's Dating of Hazor X-VII', *TA* 27 (2000), 231-9.

gular plan and now called Stratum VIII almost covered the entire excavated quarter. Some later reconstructions were ascribed to Stratum VII and VI, whereas the western part of the citadel was strengthened by an inset-offset wall against the Assyrian threat of the late 8th century BCE. A thick layer of ashes shows that the definite destruction of the citadel took place at the end of Stratum V.<sup>101</sup>

Yadin dated the Iron Age IIA strata by the pottery found with the architecture and by the nature of the stratigraphy, but also by connections he saw with the supposed Solomonic gates at Megiddo and Gezer (Stratum X), military activities of the Aramean kings Ben-Hadad at ca. 880 BCE (Stratum IXa), Hazael at ca. 810 BCE (Stratum VIII/VII) and the Assyrian ruler Tiglath-Pileser III at 732 BCE (Stratum V) and with an earthquake at ca. 760 BCE (Stratum VIa).<sup>102</sup> Those involved in the new excavations are less secure about these connections, partly because it is still unclear how the four architectural levels should be related to the three ceramic phases that were observed.<sup>103</sup> Some Iron Age public and residential architecture was uncovered in Area A4. Four layers could be detected between the Iron I pits from the 11th century and a pillared building of Stratum VIII that could definitely be dated to the second quarter of the 9th century by its stratification, architecture and pottery. The lowest layer, called Stratum Xb in earlier excavations, was connected to the street and the casemate wall, while the storage jars were identical to those found in connection to this wall in Area M. It was followed by a layer with some minor, yet distinct changes (Stratum Xa), a phase with raised floors and subdivided spaces and industrial activities (Stratum IXb), and a fragmented layer, due to the foundation of the pillared building. According to the excavators, the archaeological establishment of the 10th to 9th century BCE nature of Stratum Xb-IXa was hereby renewed and the traditional dating of the Iron Age IIA strata confirmed.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor I*, 9-20; Idem, *Hazor II*, 1-31, 36-7, 44-58, 63; Ben-Tor (ed.), *Hazor III-IV. Text*, 30-45, 82-112, 173-200; Ben-Tor, Bonfil (eds), *Hazor V*, 7-11, 110-55, 223-78. Cf. Yadin, *Hazor*, 129-200; Yadin, 'Hazor', 601-3.

<sup>102</sup> Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor I*, 23; Ben-Tor (ed.), *Hazor III-IV. Text*, 36; Yadin, *Hazor*, 113, 143, 200; Idem, 'Hazor', 601.

<sup>103</sup> Ben-Tor, 'Yadin Memorial Excavations', 112-5.

<sup>104</sup> Ben-Tor, 'Yadin Memorial Excavations', 116-20; Idem, 'Hazor and the Chronology of Northern Israel', 9-14, esp. 11-2; Ben-Tor, Ben-Ami, 'Hazor and the Tenth Century', 3-13. An assemblage of bichrome ware found in 2004 and belonging to the earliest Iron Age Stratum in Area A4 also connected these layers to the late 10th and early 9th century. A. Ben-Tor, 'Tel Hazor 2004', *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 117 (2005), 481. See also Zarzeki-Peleg, 'Hazor, Jokneam and Megiddo', 270-84; I. Finkelstein, 'Hazor and the North in the Iron Age: A Low Chronology Perspective', *BASOR* 314 (1999), 56-66; Idem, 'Hazor XII-XI with an Addendum on Ben-Tor's Dating of Hazor X-VII', 240-4; A. Ben-Tor, 'Responding to Finkelstein's Addendum', *TA* 28 (2001), 301-4.

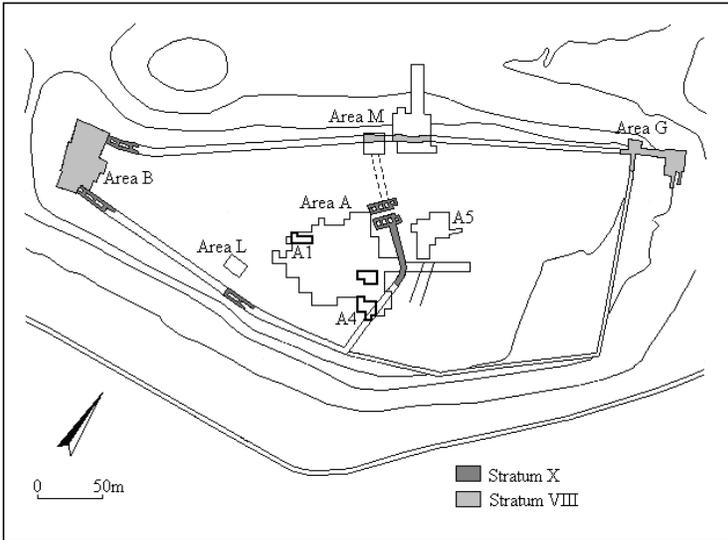


Fig. 6.2 – Excavation Areas and Iron II Strata at Tel Hazor, Upper City.

### Conclusion

As a result, the flourishing, huge city of Tel Hazor with a magnificent palace deteriorated during Late Bronze II and came to a violent end during the 13th century BCE. The site was reoccupied as a temporary encampment for a group of people who had some open cult places at the highest point in the region. Thereafter, the Upper City was refortified in several phases and functioned as an administrative centre between the 10th and the late 8th century BCE.

### *Tel Qarney Hittin*

The ancient site of Tel Qarney Hittin is located on an isolated volcanic peak above the small valley of Arbel, where the *Via Maris* went through to the plateaus of Lower Galilee. The site of 0,9 ha. is surrounded by a wall along the edge of the southern summit. It was excavated by Zvi Gal as part of his survey of the region (Fig. 6.3).

Digging Area A at the northern edge revealed a thick basalt wall of 2,6 metres, with a height of 1.6 metre. A floor of basalt pebbles was found in connection to this wall, covered by 0.4 metre ashes that destroyed the wall and the city. The pottery from this destruction level – carinated bowls, axed rim cooking pots, a conic crater and fragments of Cypriotic base ring juglets, most of them coloured purple by fire – had all to be attributed to the Late Bronze II period. The excavator concluded that a Late Bronze Fortress existed on the southern summit, because no other architecture from this period was found.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Gal, *Lower Galilee*, 44 (fig. 3.6:1-9); Idem, 'Galilee', 452.

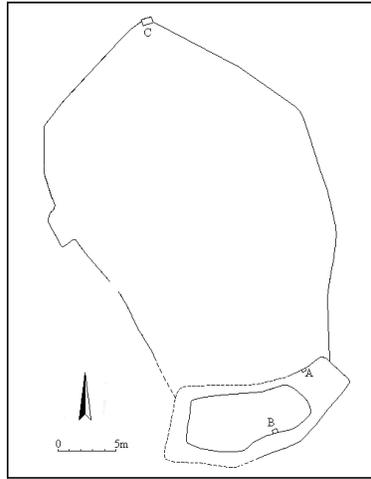


Fig. 6.3 – Tel Qarney Hittin, with its Late Bronze Wall (A), Iron Age Wall (B), and Northern Tower.

The site did not reveal any Iron I material, but Iron Age II remains were found at several spots: in the crater; in a pit with a few sherds in the destruction level of Area A; and next to the foundation of the wall surrounding the volcanic peak in Area B. Consequently, it was concluded that the southern summit functioned as the acropolis of an Iron Age fortress covering the entire peak that was founded at the beginning of Iron Age II. This city came to its end in the second half of the 8th century BCE, probably during the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III.<sup>106</sup>

#### *Regional Perspective*

As it appeared in section 1.3, Galilee and the Hule Valley were sparsely settled during the Late Bronze Age. The existence of only four cities could be confirmed archaeologically. The major site of the region, Tel Hazor, did not experience a gradual decline and transition into the Iron Age as did, for instance, Tel Megiddo, Tel Beth Shean and Tel Acco, but suffered a major destruction somewhere during the 13th century BCE, while Stratum XII clearly opens a new chapter in its settlement history. Tel Qarney Hittin was also destroyed. Study of the Late Bronze – Iron I transition also reveals the foundation of new rural settlements in Upper Galilee, the Hule Valley and in the hills and intermontane valleys of Lower Galilee along the Late Bronze Age villages that continued to exist. The occupation in the northern and eastern parts of this region was more

<sup>106</sup> Gal, *Lower Galilee*, 44 (fig. 3.6:10-13); Idem, 'Galilee', 452.

limited. In general, it seems that the Late Bronze settlement pattern prevailed in this region during the Iron I.<sup>107</sup>

The beginning of Iron II offers a break in the settlement history of the region. Sites such as Tel Yin'am and Tel Ein Zippori lost their function, the eastern mountainous area of Lower Galilee was settled and the city of Tel Hazor and the stronghold of Tel Qarney Hittin show evidence of fortification. The question is how these developments are related to the small newly fortified settlements such as Horbat Rosh Zayit in Lower and Tel Harashim, Horbat Avot, and Har Adir in Upper Galilee. The Phoenician finds at these sites reflect economic and cultural ties with Tyre, the use of casemate walls seem to presuppose some central planning and both suggest a connection to the crystallization of territorial kingdoms throughout the Southern Levant and Transjordan.<sup>108</sup> However, archaeology is not able to define the political entities behind these developments.

## Northern Valleys

### *Tel Keisan*

The oval shaped site of Tel Keisan – 'place of betrayal' in Arabic since the middle ages – is the largest tel in today's Zvulun Valley. It raises 25 m above its flat environment, covers 6,1 ha., is located 8 km from the Mediterranean Sea and connected to Lower Galilee. An expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem under direction of John Garstang started in 1935 the excavation of a trench at the southern part of the tel, but this excavation was stopped next year due to political unrest. Most of the finds were lost during World War II. An expedition of the École Biblique et Archéologique de Jérusalem, directed by Roland de Vaux (1971) and J. Prigneaud, Jacques Briend and Jean-Baptiste Humbert uncovered Area A and B from 1971-1976 and Area C and D in 1979-1980 (Fig. 6.4).

### Late Bronze II

The preliminary investigation of 1935 revealed that the Late Bronze period on the site has a very long history as it extends over many levels, although it seems that the occupation was especially strong in its later parts. During this period the shape of the tel was defined by the enormous Middle Bronze fortifications and their glacis. Stratum XIII contained a masonry wall and a floor, Stratum XII an occupation level above this wall and Stratum XI, dating to the Late Bronze – Iron Age transition, a floor marked by a pottery oven and a wall

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<sup>107</sup> See section 1.3, 'Galilee'.

<sup>108</sup> D. Ben-Ami, 'The Casemate Fort at Tel Harashim in Upper Galilee', *TA* 31 (2004), 205-8.

to its west. The pottery of these levels was clearly Late Bronze and also contained Cypriot and Mycenaean wares.<sup>109</sup>

It was the goal of the excavations in 1980 to make a connection between the Iron Age strata uncovered between 1971 and 1976 and the Late Bronze levels. This succeeded in Area B, where a brick building with a rich ceramic assemblage sealed by a metre of destruction debris was found in the destruction layer of Niveau 13. This level contained a combination of local Late Bronze Age pottery, wares from Cyprus and a Mycenaean IIIc stirrup jar, thus marking the end of the Late Bronze Age at the beginning of the 12th century BCE.<sup>110</sup>

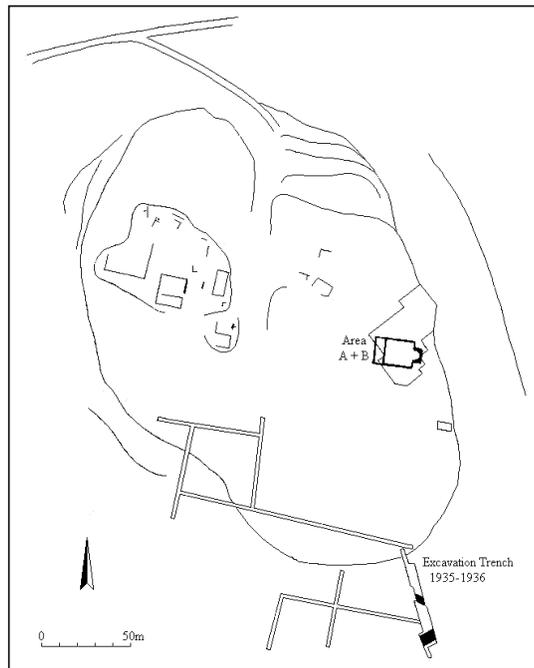


Fig. 6.4 – Excavation Areas at Tel Keisan.

### Iron I and Iron II

Niveau 12-9 at Tel Keisan contain a remarkable series of Iron I strata. According to the excavators, it was sometimes hard to delineate the floors and phases of Niveau 13 and 12 due to the fact that the site was immediately reoccupied after its destruction. In addition, there was almost no architecture found in Niveau 10. Nevertheless, the excavation in Area B clearly indicates that the city – with the acropolis in Area A and B and a lower city in Area C – experienced a

<sup>109</sup> Briend *et al.* (eds), *Tell Keisan*, 229-30, 381-2, 386, 389-90.

<sup>110</sup> Humbert, 'Récents travaux à Tell Keisan', 374-5; Idem, 'Tell Keisan', 863. Cf. Gilboa, Sharon, 'Archaeological Contribution', 36, 38-40.

crisis during the 12th century and recovered thereafter. Niveau 11 contained some 'Philistine' bichrome ware, but also contains evidence of a sudden abandonment. The locally made Philistine and Cypriot pottery of Niveau 10 can be taken as evidence of the prosperity of the Acco port and suggest that Tel Keisan was a highly developed local civilization maintaining long-distance commercial contacts. Finally, three phases of massive buildings were exposed in Niveau 9, which was eventually destroyed by fire.<sup>111</sup>

The next phase, Niveau 8, can be safely attributed to Iron II, because the Late Bronze forms in the pottery have disappeared completely. The new city shows a noteworthy continuity up to Niveau 6. It did not grow outside the borders of the earlier Iron Age settlement and the strata can only be dated in connection to the pottery. According to the excavators, Niveau 5 was built after an occupation gap, because it is hard to date the ceramics of Niveau 7 beyond the 9th century BCE, while Niveau 6 is built along the same lines and Niveau 5 suddenly contains Assyrian pottery and the so-called Samaria ware.<sup>112</sup>

In recent years, the detailed Iron Age stratigraphy and the abundant, well-segregated ceramic assemblages of Tel Keisan have been subject of evaluation with regard to the relative as well as the absolute chronology, because they could shed some light on the early Iron Age chronology debate. The date of the end of Niveau 13 was already discussed in section 6.1 in establishing the end of the Late Bronze Age in this part of the Southern Levant. Niveau 13 can be compared to for instance Tel Megiddo, Stratum VIIA and came to its end during the first half of the 12th century BCE. The ceramic assemblage of the 'key-layer' of Niveau 9 and that of Niveau 8 also attracted the attention. The excavators compared the chronological horizon of Niveau 9 to those of Tel Abu Hawam, Stratum IV; Tel Qasile, Stratum X; Tel Megiddo, Stratum VIb; and Tel Hazor, Stratum XII/XI. Niveau 8 in their view parallels Tel Mevorakh, Stratum VII; Tel Megiddo, Stratum VIA-VB; and Tel Hazor, Stratum X. Consequently, they dated these strata to the 11th and the 10th century BCE according to the traditional chronology.<sup>113</sup> A ceramic comparison of these horizons with the results of the recent excavations at Tel Dor generally confirms this picture and underlines the attestation of Cypro-Mycenaean vessels during Iron I and local Phoenician wares and Black-on-Red Cypriot imports at the beginning of Iron II. This analysis highlights the cultural distinctiveness of the coastal region and suggests a somewhat later date for both levels. Yet, the excavators of Tel Dor even recommend a down-dating of Niveau 9 and 8 with more than a century, based on radiocarbon dates from their excavation.<sup>114</sup> This radical proposal, however, is

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<sup>111</sup> Briend *et al.* (eds), *Tell Keisan*, 22-7, 197-234; Humbert, 'Récents travaux à Tell Keisan', 385-91; Idem, 'Tell Keisan', 864-6. Cf. Gilboa, Sharon, 'Archaeological Contribution', 36-8, 40-3.

<sup>112</sup> Briend *et al.* (eds), *Tell Keisan*, 16-22, 25-7, 181-95; Humbert, 'Récents travaux à Tell Keisan', 382-51; Idem, 'Tell Keisan', 866; Salles, 'Niveau 4 de Tell Keisan', 203-4.

<sup>113</sup> Briend *et al.* (eds), *Tell Keisan*, 25, 190-206; Humbert, 'Tell Keisan', 865.

<sup>114</sup> Gilboa, Sharon, 'Archaeological Contribution', 38-43, 57-73.

questionable for several reasons. It is too simple to down-date all strata in the Southern Levant bearing 'Philistine' and Black-on-Red wares only on the basis of a sequence of radiocarbon dates of one site. As was noted above, radiocarbon dating still does not lead to univocal results and the <sup>14</sup>C wiggle-match for the early Iron Age of the eastern Mediterranean is far from secure. Furthermore, it is hard to use the Mycenaean stirrup jar from Tel Keisan, Niveau 13 to shift the end of the stratum deep into the 12th century, while it is also doubtful that Niveau 12-8c did not cover two, but three centuries.

### Conclusion

As a result, Tel Keisan appears to be an important site at the end of the Late Bronze period and during Iron I. It possibly functioned as a defensive outpost of the port of Acco and was destroyed at the beginning of both the 12th and 10th centuries for unknown reasons. The excavators consider the option that the destructions were caused by movements of the Sea Peoples; a conquest by David or the Arameans are also mentioned as possible reasons. But they finally prefer local events.<sup>115</sup> The continuing existence of the settlement was never really threatened, although it is possible that it was shortly abandoned during the 8th century. In most periods, the site's material remains clearly reflect the distinctive character of the Aegeanizing cultural influence that also occurs at Tel Dor, Abu Hawam and the Phoenician sites Sarepta and Tyre in the north.

### *Tel Shimron*

The large site of Tel Shimron at the western edge of the Jezreel Valley is not excavated, although surveyors visited the site several times and it has been subject of research for field methodology in regional archaeology in order to delineate its settlement size for the periods it was occupied. According to the researchers, the site covered between 5 and 8 ha. during Late Bronze II. Iron I – which is definitely present – is lying sealed beneath later layers and the Iron II city was about 4 ha.<sup>116</sup> This picture was confirmed by a later limited survey of the site, conducted to collect Late Bronze Age sherds from the surface.<sup>117</sup>

### *Tel Yoqneam*

Situated at a strategic point at the abutment of Mount Carmel and the Jezreel Valley, Tel Yoqneam is located at the end of a pass through the hill country. Besides Tel Shimron and Tel Megiddo, the tel is the smallest larger site in the western Jezreel Valley. It contains a settlement history from the Early Bronze to the Mameluke period and was excavated by an expedition of Hebrew University in Jerusalem under direction of Amnon Ben-Tor in 1977-1987 (Fig. 6.5).

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<sup>115</sup> Humbert, 'Tell Keisan', 866.

<sup>116</sup> Y. Portugali, 'A Field Methodology for Regional Archaeology', *TA* 9 (1982), 178-83.

<sup>117</sup> Y. Goren *et al.*, *Inscribed in Clay. Provenance Study of the Amarna Letters and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (TAMS, 23), Tel Aviv 2004, 233-4.

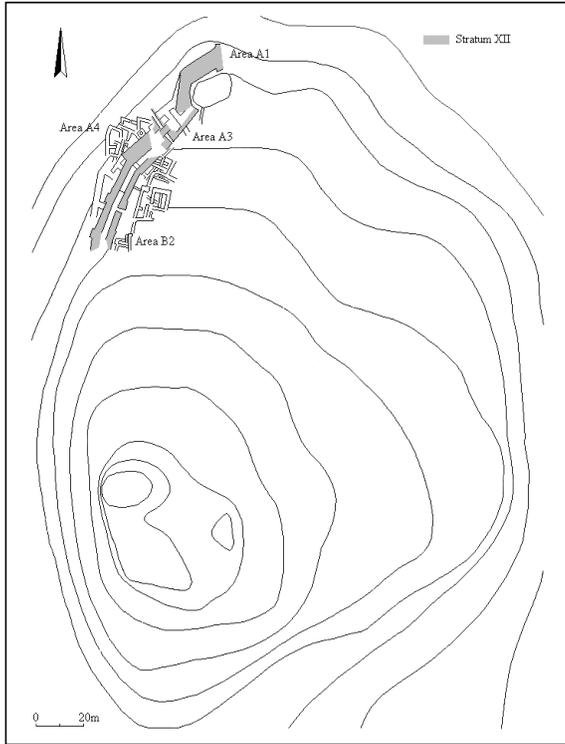


Fig. 6.5 – Excavation Areas and Iron Age Strata at Tel Yoqneam.

#### Late Bronze II and Iron I

The rich Late Bronze settlement, uncovered in Area A4 and A1, was most likely unfortified, because the Middle Bronze defences went out of use after Stratum XXII and were not replaced. The transition to Late Bronze II is made in Stratum XXa-XIXb. The latter stratum was built after an occupational gap and on the basis of the Cypriot wares Base Ring II and White Slip II it can be dated to the second half of the 14th century BCE. The following Stratum XIXa is a destruction layer covered by 1 metre of ash debris. Its pottery is mainly of local origin, but a limited amount of Cypriot and Mycenaean ware was also found. Both types of pottery and parallels with the ceramic assemblage of Tel Megiddo, Stratum VIIb indicate that the destruction took place somewhere at the end of the 13th century BCE.<sup>118</sup>

Remains of the following settlement were only found between Iron II fortifications and outside this wall on the earlier levels, so that the transition to this

<sup>118</sup> A. Ben-Tor *et al.* (eds), *Yoqne'am III. The Middle and Late Bronze Ages* (QR, 7), Jerusalem 2005, 151-7, 162-4, 179-88, 242-3, 318; A. Ben-Tor, 'Jokneam', *NEAEHL*, 808.

period could only be investigated outside the Iron II city and the question is still open whether the northern part of the tel was unoccupied or that it was cleaned before the building of the Iron II fortifications. Nevertheless, in Area A4 three building phases – Stratum XVIIIb, XVIIIa and XVII – of a residential structure with a piazza were found, called the ‘Oil maker’s house’, remains of dwellings in other areas, and traces of metal industry in Area B2. The excavators date the start of these gradually developing phases to the second half of the 12th century BCE. The latest industrial phase was finally destroyed by a huge conflagration: the excavators uncovered 1 metre of destruction debris and ashes, charred beams, local Late Bronze Age ware, a group of ‘Philistine’ bichrome vessels, imported Phoenician wares and some luxury items. On the basis of these finds, the end of this level can at the latest be dated at end of the 11th century BCE.<sup>119</sup>

## Iron II

The most important finds of the Iron II remains at Tel Yokneam are fortifications. Whereas Stratum XVI reflects a poor settlement and Stratum XV consisted out of an agricultural installation and structures with the same orientation as the previous layer, being evidence of a new poor unfortified settlement, Stratum XII revealed a double wall in Area A, which was also found in Area D, thus indicating that it encircled the entire mound. The plan of this defence system is different from all other Iron Age systems in the Southern Levant. A street behind the wall is connected to residential structures. In Area A remains of an earlier phase of the fortifications was also found, mostly covered by the later wall, but clearly representing the casemate wall of Stratum XIV, larger than its contemporary counterparts in Israel and built in connection to a water system. The architecture of this and the previous level suggests that this city was founded in continuity with its earlier Iron Age settlement, while the pottery found in the Strata XV-XIV and XII, and in the pits defined as Stratum XIII reflect relations to the coast and Phoenicia. The stratigraphy and architecture and the presence of burnished red slip, Black-on-Red and other types in Stratum XV-XIV that are contemporary to Tel Hazor, Stratum IXb and Tel Megiddo, Stratum VB and VA-IVB, dates the foundation of the temporary settlement of Stratum XVI, the permanent settlement with dwellings and open spaces of Stratum XV, and the well developed fortified city of Stratum XIV to the beginning, the middle and the second half of the 10th century BCE. According to the excavators, this second phase at Iron Age Tel Yoqneam is similar to the contemporaneous period at Tel Megiddo, Stratum VB and Va-IVB and partially contemporary with Tel Taanach, Period IIA-IIb; Tel Bet Shean, S-1/Lower V; Tel el-Far’ah, Niveau VIIb; and Tel Keisan, Niveau 8-7. The casemate wall was most likely replaced by the ‘corridor’ or double wall of Stratum XII during the late

<sup>119</sup> Ben-Tor *et al.* (eds), *Yoqneam II*, 5-35, 227-9. Cf. Zarzeki-Peleg, ‘Hazor, Jokneam and Megiddo’, 260.

9th century BCE. This city was followed by the early 7th century Stratum XI, which was again a poor and unwalled settlement.<sup>120</sup>

### *Tel Megiddo*

The mound of Tel Megiddo is an impressive tel in the western Jezreel Valley at the foot of the north-east flank of Mount Carmel, ca. 40 kilometres from the Mediterranean Coast and close to the spot where the Wadi Ara, in ancient times a vital pass through the hills, reaches the valley. It covers about 5 ha. and also has a lower terrace extending at the northeast of the mound. The history of the excavations of the site is long and complicated (Fig. 6.6). The first project, taking place from 1903 to 1905, was organized by the *Deutscher Palästina Verein* and directed by the architect Gottlieb Schumacher, who dug a large trench into the tel. Its results were published in 1908 and in 1929 analyzed again by the experienced archaeologist Carl Watzinger. An ambitious expedition of the American Chicago Oriental Institute followed from 1925 to 1939. It was directed by Clarence Fisher (1925-1927), P.L.O. Guy (1927-1934) and Gordon Loud (1934-1939), who excavated the lower terrace and many areas on the tel itself, of which Area AA, BB, CC and DD most extensively. In 1960, 1965, 1970, 1972 and 1974 a few Israeli archaeologists of Hebrew University Jerusalem carried out some small-scale problem-centred excavations: Yigael Yadin dug for three seasons to investigate the Iron Age gate and walls and to clarify the Solomonic and Omride city; Immanuel Dunayevsky examined a Late Bronze sacred space on the summit and Avraham Eitan uncovered remains of an Iron Age building. Finally, the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University started a new Megiddo Expedition under direction of Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, Baruch Halpern and Eric Cline – carrying out a small dig in 1992 and large-scale, long term excavations since 1996 in Area – in order to clarify the stratigraphy of the site and its material culture. It is not easy to harmonize the results of these excavations. There was no or just little cooperation between the diverse excavators and the commonly used stratigraphy of the American expedition appeared to imprecise.<sup>121</sup>

Nevertheless, the critical interpretation of the remains in several summarizing accounts between 1986 and 1992 may suffice as a point of departure for

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<sup>120</sup> Ben-Tor *et al.* (eds), *Yoqne'am II*, 5-9, 90-232. Cf. Ben-Tor, 'Jokneam', 807-8; Zarze-ki-Peleg, 'Hazor, Jokneam and Megiddo', 260-70, 283-4.

<sup>121</sup> Two examples may suffice. In 1929, Alt complained that the Oriental Institute started its excavations at Tel Megiddo, without even consulting the *Deutscher Palästina Verein*. C. Watzinger, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Bd. 2, Leipzig 1929, V-VI. In addition, it is surprising that in 2000 and 2004 two volumes were published called *Megiddo III* and *Megiddo 3*. The first describes the 1996 and 1998 seasons of the Megiddo Expedition of Tel Aviv University and the second contains the final report on the Stratum VI excavations of the expedition of the Oriental Institute.

the discussion of the relevant finds from the Bronze and Iron Ages, while information of the new excavations is added to complete the picture.<sup>122</sup>

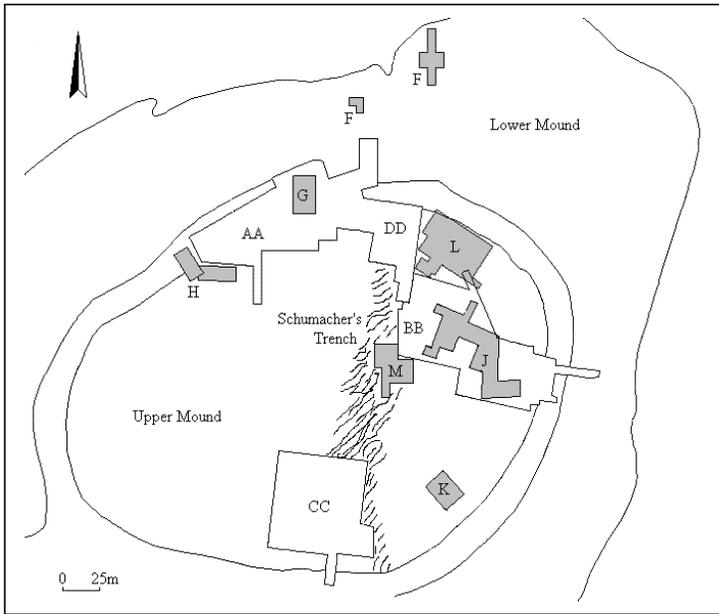


Fig. 6.6 - Excavation Areas at Tel Megiddo

### Late Bronze II

The Bronze Age at Tel Megiddo is characterized by a remarkable architectural and cultural continuity. The site was most likely occupied on the upper as well as the lower mound. A large Middle Bronze II building in Area AA and two structures uncovered by Schumacher called *Nordburg* and *Mittelburg* were all three part of the same royal complex. These buildings were still in use during Late Bronze I, as can for instance be observed by the fact that the tombs beneath Schumacher's 'castles' – some of which find their parallel in burial chambers at Ugarit – revealed some pottery and other findings from this period. The excavations of the Chicago expedition in Area AA also showed a shift of the palace from the centre of the city to the north side, close to the city gate. Three or four houses were uncovered that remained intact during Stratum IX-VIIA. The palace was surrounded by a new court and a new wall, while the palatial building experienced a two stage enlargement during Stratum VIII. It can also be assumed that the houses in Area BB continued to exist and that the later

<sup>122</sup> See G.I. Davies, *Megiddo* (Cities of the Biblical World), Cambridge 1986; A. Kempinski, *Megiddo. A City-State and a Royal Centre in North Israel*, Munich 1989; D. Ussishkin, 'Megiddo', *ABD*, vol. 4, 666-80.

phases of the Middle Bronze Temple 2048 from Stratum X in this area should be dated to this period. Some important artefacts were found in this structure – a ‘tower temple’ with a larger parallel in Tel Shechem – including a bronze figurine coated with gold. Finally, another large Late Bronze II building was uncovered in Area DD. In addition to these finds, the new excavations uncovered several architectural phases of a public building in Area F corresponding to Stratum VIII-VIIA, thus indicating that the lower mound of the city was also occupied during this period.<sup>123</sup>

Opinions diverge about the end of the unfortified Late Bronze city and the number of destructions it suffered. During Stratum VII B the buildings in Area AA continued to exist. The palace west of the city gate was more compact and the walls were thinner than in Stratum VIII. But thereafter, in Stratum VII A, both its courtyard and some rooms were filled with debris of fallen walls. The floor level was about 0,5 metre higher, as was also the case in Temple 2048. The walls of the courtyard were painted in colour and an underground cellar block of three rooms was constructed. In this ‘treasure-house’, the Chicago Expedition found a collection of 382 beautifully carved ivories in a local and international style and many other precious artefacts. It was this city that was destroyed at ca. 1130 BCE by a major destruction. As was noted in section 6.1, this date is generally accepted, because of a cartouche on an ivory-model pen-case found in the treasure and the base of a statue with an inscription of Ramesses VI buried in a pit in Area CC. But the question remains: what happened to Stratum VII B? According to the traditional view, at least the palace and the temple were destroyed. Thereafter, the gate continued in use and the palace was rebuilt.<sup>124</sup> However, further study of the relation between Stratum VII B and VII A in the palace raised the question whether the assumed floors of the latter level ever existed, although the alternative – that the court was in fact a hall with a roof – is not that strong either. The renewed excavations of the gate in 1992 also uncovered only a single floor, that is, the earlier pavement of Stra-

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<sup>123</sup> G. Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Bd. 1, Leipzig 1908, 11-23, 37-74; Watzinger, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Bd. 2, 1-25; P.L.O. Guy, *Megiddo Tombs*, Chicago 1938, 138, 154-8; G. Loud, *Megiddo II. Seasons of 1935-1939*, Chicago 1948, 102-9; Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 3, 86-95, 592-5. The new excavations in Area M confirmed the traditional interpretation of the *Nordburg*. Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 66-80.

See also K.M. Kenyon, ‘The Middle and Late Bronze Strata at Tel Megiddo’, *Levant* 1 (1969), 49-54, 58-60; I. Dunayevski. A. Kempinski, ‘The Megiddo Temples’, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), 180-4; Davies, *Megiddo*, 64-6; R. Gonen, ‘Megiddo in the Late Bronze Age – Another Reassessment’, *Levant* 19 (1987), 89-98; Kempinski, *Megiddo*, 67-77; Ussishkin, ‘Megiddo’, 672.

<sup>124</sup> G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, Chicago 1939; Loud, *Megiddo*, vol. 2, 16-33, 135-8. Cf. Davies, *Megiddo*, 64-6; Kempinski, *Megiddo*, 137-41; Ussishkin, ‘Megiddo’, 672. For the ivories, see also H. Liebowitz, ‘Late Bronze II Ivory Work in Palestine: Evidence of a Cultural High Point’, *BASOR* 265 (1977), 3-24; M.H. Feldman, *Diplomacy by Design. Luxury Arts and International Style in the Ancient Near East, 1400-1200 BCE*, Chicago 2006, 56, 95-7, 140-2, 177-91.

tum VIIb. Consequently, some interpreters do not to assign the remains of the palace and the gate to two superimposed structures, but to single ones, for from a stratigraphic point of view, the continuity from Stratum VIIb to VIIa was peaceful. In a similar way, the last remains of temple 2088 in Area BB are understood as a new small cult place that was built in Stratum VIIb to replace the destroyed 'tower temple' of Stratum VIIa.<sup>125</sup> Consequently, there is also the possibility that Tel Megiddo was destroyed just once at the end of the Late Bronze Age.

### Iron I

Besides the new small temple in Area BB, the excavations could only clearly define the Iron I Stratum VIIb in Area AA and DD. The remains of the gate were used for domestic purposes, just as the other structures, which did not display complete plans of buildings, but merely walls of rows with pillars and stone-pits in line and ovens. The pottery and small finds found in it were meagre and all indicate that Stratum VIIb reflects a relatively brief period of occupation, although the few 'Philistine' bichrome sherds have been subject of discussion. They appeared for the first time in this level and not, as was presupposed before, already in Stratum VIIa.<sup>126</sup>

The poor remains of Stratum VIIb were followed by those of a larger and richer settlement, which came violently to its end, as can be observed from the fallen debris and ashes that were found in many places at the tel. In this Stratum VIIa, buildings of domestic nature made out of baked brick on stone foundations were found in Area DD, BB and CC. The so-called *Südliches Burgtor* uncovered by Schumacher was built in the same manner, thus indicating that it belongs to this phase. The excavators of the Chicago Expedition believed that the later gateway of Stratum VIIa-IVb originated in this level, but this supposition is doubted by later interpreters. A structure of a public nature, building 2072, a kind of a palace, stood more to the west in Area AA. Large quantities of pottery, including 'Philistine' bichrome, were found in the rooms of this building. A variety of bronze objects and silver found by Schumacher is also to be contributed to this level. These objects are paralleled by impressive remains of a metal workshop in Area CC in the south of the city, in locus 1739. In addition,

<sup>125</sup> Ussishkin, 'The Destruction of Megiddo and the End of the Late Bronze Age', 240-57; Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 3, 104-22; Mazar, 'Megiddo in the Thirteenth-Eleventh Centuries BCE', 264-5; Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 239.

<sup>126</sup> Loud, *Megiddo*, vol. 2, 33, 114, fig. 385; T.P. Harrison, *Megiddo 3. Final Report on the Stratum VI Excavations* (OIP, 127), Chicago, IL 2004, 11-6. Cf. Davies, *Megiddo*, 70-1; Kempinski, *Megiddo*, 78-82; Ussishkin, 'Megiddo', 672-3. For the discussion about the presence of 'Philistine' bichrome pottery in Stratum VIIa-VIIa, see e.g. T. Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture*, Jerusalem 1982, 70-80, 149-53; Mazar, 'Emergence of the Philistine Culture', 95-7; Idem, 'Megiddo in the Thirteenth-Eleventh Centuries BCE', 273-4; Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 3, 598-9; Harrison, *Megiddo 3*, xix, 40-1; Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 222-4, 563-4.

more than sixty collared rim-jars were excavated by Schumacher, by the Chicago expedition in Area CC, by Yadin and by the new Megiddo Expedition.<sup>127</sup> Level F-5 of the new excavations show that the lower mound also prospered during this period, for its pottery is identical to that of Building 2072.<sup>128</sup>

The nature and dating of the Iron I levels of Stratum VI have been disputed from the beginning. In the past the site was reversely baptized 'Israelite city' and 'Philistine-Canaanite stronghold' because of the presence of collared rim jars and 'Philistine' pottery, which can both be considered as evidence of contacts with or cultural influence of the central hill country and the southern Coastal Plain.<sup>129</sup> Nowadays, one of the questions is whether the presence of 'Philistine' bichrome can be used to down-date the strata and to suppose that Tel Megiddo experienced an occupation gap after the destruction of the Late Bronze city. The archaeological record, however, neither indicates a break in the occupation nor substantiates the conclusion that the city was inhabited by other people. On the contrary, what is most striking is the continuity of the material culture as is demonstrated by the prolonged use of Temple 2048, by the various local pottery forms and by the metal artefacts.<sup>130</sup> The new excavations in Area K confirm this picture, because the elaborate building 00/K/10 of level K4 – the house of an extended family that was suddenly destroyed – replaced the less developed building 02/K/36 of K5, but both were clearly part of the same material culture.<sup>131</sup> So as a result, it seems justified to conclude that after the violent destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age, the city was continuously inhabited by the same kind of people, prospered during Iron Age IB and that this phase came at the latest to an end during the first half of the 10th century BCE.

## Iron II

The mid 10th to late 8th century BCE city of Tel Megiddo is one of the most hotly debated issues in the Iron Age archaeology of the Southern Levant. The dispute does not regard the town's general development, because there is a consensus that it took some time before the humble settlement of Stratum VIb had been built up into the well planned governmental centre of Stratum IVA. However, the abundant artefactual remains, the imprecise stratigraphy of the

<sup>127</sup> Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Bd. 1, 80, 84-7, Taf. 21, fig. 108; Loud, *Megiddo*, vol. 2, 5, 33-45, 114-6; Harrison, *Megiddo 3*, 16-21; Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 215-6. Cf. Davies, 71-4; Kempinski, *Megiddo*, 82-90; Ussishkin, 'Megiddo', 672-3.

<sup>128</sup> Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 3, 97-8, 595-6.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. e.g. Aharoni, 'New Aspects of the Israelite Occupation of the North', 263-5; Kempinski, *Megiddo*, 78-82; G.I. Davies, 'Megiddo in the Period of the Judges', in: A.S. van der Woude (ed.), *Crisis and Perspectives* (OTS, 24), Leiden 1986, 41-7; Ussishkin, 'Megiddo', 673; Harrison, *Megiddo 3*, 107-8.

<sup>130</sup> See e.g. Finkelstein, 'Stratigraphy and Chronology of Megiddo and Beth-Shan', 170-1; Mazar, 'Megiddo in the Thirteenth-Eleventh Centuries BCE', 272-6.

<sup>131</sup> Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 87-103, 227-8, 583-600.

Chicago expedition, the clear parallel, which was observed from the beginning, between the ashlar masonry of Tel Megiddo and Samaria, and the quest launched in 1929 by Watzinger for architectural features reflecting the Solomonic building activities and trade in chariotry mentioned in 1 Kings 9:15, 19, opened the way to a whole range of interpretations.

The first settlement at Tel Megiddo that can be dated to the Iron II period consisted out of a few remains sealed between the destruction level Stratum VIA and the layer mostly called Stratum VA-IVB. They comprise some domestic structures and possibly also a larger building at the north-eastern edge of the site.<sup>132</sup>

At least three palatial buildings of ashlar masonry, Palace 1723, Palace 6000 and building 338, all positioned at the edge of the site, can be ascribed to the next phase, Stratum VA-IVB (Fig. 6.7). The administrative edifice 1482, Gate entry 2150 and building 2081 also belong to this stratum, together with domestic architecture along the eastern and northern part of the site. These structures show that the settlement was rebuilt into an administrative centre, which was possibly partly surrounded by a casemate wall. There is some discussion over the precise architectural history of Palace 1723 in relation to its Courtyard 1693 and Gate 1567. But the dominant presence of the large nearby Silo 1414 of Stratum IVA and other stratigraphic considerations make it very hard to connect the palace, courtyard and gate to this later level.<sup>133</sup>

Most disputed, however, is the six-chambered Gate 2156, which was first seen as a foundation of the four-chambered city gate adjacent to the later Wall 325 of Stratum IVA and later baptized as 'Solomonic' after an experimental dig by Yadin, who tried to show that the foundation of the gatehouse of Stratum IVA functioned as a superstructure in Stratum VA-IVB. This last conclusion is fiercely contested, because it would only be dependent on biblical information, for Gate 2156 has no foundation and stands above the floor level of Stratum VA. Therefore, it is not unlikely to assume that this six-chambered gate has to be dated to the 9th century BCE. Yet, the structure is not clearly bonded to Wall 325; and the view of the gate as belonging to Stratum VA-IVB offers a better interpretation of the drainage system below the subsequent Iron Age gates and of the fact that the towers of Gate 2156 are left inset in relation to Wall 325, instead of being projected outward, which is necessary for directing missile weapons at attackers. So neither option can be excluded from a purely ar-

<sup>132</sup> G.J. Wightman, 'Building 434 and Other Public Buildings in the Northeastern Sector of Megiddo', *TA* 11 (1984), 132-6; Davies, *Megiddo*, 78-8; Ussishkin, 'Megiddo', 673.

<sup>133</sup> Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Bd. 1, 110-24; R.S. Lamon, G.M. Shipton, *Megiddo I* (OIP, 42), Chicago 1939, 11-24, 47-59; Loud, *Megiddo*, vol. 2, 45-6; Y. Yadin, 'Megiddo of the Kings of Israel', *BA* 33 (1970), 73-7; Ussishkin, 'Gate 1567 at Megiddo', 410-19; Idem, 'Revealing Stratum V at Megiddo', *BASOR* 342 (2006), 98-101; D. Ussishkin, 'Megiddo and Samaria. A Rejoinder to Norma Franklin', *BASOR* 348 (2007), 49-53. Cf. Davies, *Megiddo*, 78-92; Kempinski, *Megiddo*, 90-5; Ussishkin, 'Megiddo', 673-5; Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 107-15.

chaecological point of view and still, the common design of the gates at Tel Hazor, Tel Megiddo and Tel Gezer and their correlation to the text of 1 Kings 9 might offer some evidence for its historical interpretation.<sup>134</sup>

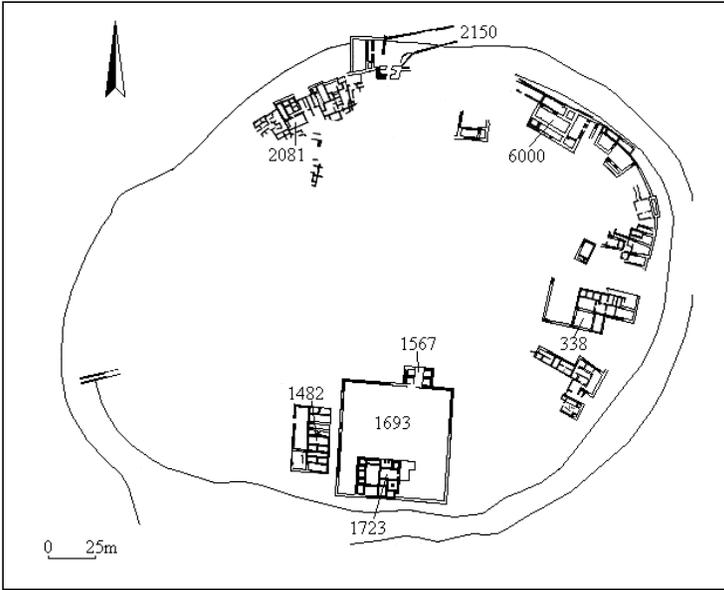


Fig. 6.7 – Plan of Stratum VA-IVB at Tel Megiddo, without Gate 2156.

Finally, some comments have to be made with regard to the dating of Stratum VA-IVB. Since the excavators observed a clear parallel between the use of ashlar masonry at Tel Megiddo and Samaria, scholars have discussed the chronological consequences of this parallel, for this could imply that both cities were built by the house of Omri. Two issues are of special importance in this case. First, it is vital for the dating of a long-term level such as Stratum VA-IVB at Tel Megiddo to make a distinction between the architecture, which can be built at any moment during the level's phase, and the pottery, which only reflects its latest period. Second, it is generally assumed that ashlar masonry construction originated in Egypt and was introduced to a large scale as an architectural tradition due to the Phoenicians during Iron II.<sup>135</sup> But the answer to the question

<sup>134</sup> Loud, *Megiddo*, vol. 2, 46-57; Y. Yadin, 'New Light on Solomon's Megiddo', *BA* 23 (1960), 62-8; D. Milson, 'The Design of the Royal Gates at Megiddo, Hazor and Gezer', *ZDPV* 102 (1986), 87-92, cf. Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 3, 600-1. For a fair description of both options, see D. Ussishkin, 'Was the "Solomonic" Gate at Tel Megiddo built by King Solomon?', *BASOR* 239 (1980), 1-18; Idem, 'Notes on Megiddo, Gezer, Ashdod, and Tel Batash in the Tenth to Ninth Centuries', *BASOR* 277/278 (1990), 71-91; Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 433-50.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Z. Herzog, 'Building Materials and Techniques', *OANE*, vol. 1, 362-3.

whether this happened during the 9th century or already during the 10th century BCE is heavily dependent on the historian's view of Solomon's and Omri's contacts with Tyre and Sidon. Moreover, the recent proposal to lower the dates of Tel Megiddo, Stratum VB-IVA and Samaria, Building Period I-II to the 9th and 8th century BCE is dependent on a specific analysis of the use of the longer and shorter Egyptian cubit and the Assyrian cubit as a measurement unit in building the structures of ashlar masonry. This analysis, however, is highly questionable and therefore Stratum IVA could still originate in the second half of the 9th century BCE.<sup>136</sup> So the relation with Samaria is important, but this level is not the only key to the dating of Tel Megiddo, Stratum VA-IVB. In the light of the previous and following strata, the most likely date for this phase is the mid or late 10th century to the late 9th century BCE.

One of the most striking differences between the mud-brick, merchant town of Stratum VIA and the city of Stratum VA-IVB is the presence of domestic buildings. The former had no real palace, but was quite densely occupied, continued the Late Bronze traditions and most likely functioned as a city-state, peripheral to a larger polity. The latter, however, is poor in domestic architecture and dominated by public edifices and large open spaces, thus suggesting that the population was deliberately distanced from the city, because it had been rebuilt as an administrative centre. This characteristic becomes even more dominant in the next phase, that of Stratum IVA. The palatial structures were dismantled and the stones were partly reused in building new fortifications: the inset-offset Wall 325, which today still shapes the edge of the tel; the new two-entry outer and the four-entry inner gate; a northern and a southern pillared complex, interpreted as being stables for horses, barracks or storehouses; the large storage pit 1414; and an impressive water system to enable easier approach to the spring at the bottom of the site's western slope. It was this garrison-like city that functioned from the mid 9th century to its rebuilding into the capital of the Assyrian province Magidu shortly after the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III in 734 and 732 BCE.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> For the discussion, see J.W. Crawford, 'Megiddo - A Review', *PEQ* 72 (1940), 146; J.W. Crawford *et al.* (eds), *Samaria. Vol. 3. The Objects from Samaria*, London 1957, 200; K.M. Kenyon, 'Megiddo, Hazor, Samaria and Chronology', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 4 (1964), 143-56; N. Franklin, 'Correlation and Chronology. Samaria and the Megiddo Redux', in: Levy, Higham (eds), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating*, 310-22; Idem, 'Revealing Stratum V at Megiddo', 95-111; Ussishkin, 'Megiddo and Samaria', 49-70; N. Franklin, 'Response to David Ussishkin', *BASOR* 348 (2007), 71-3; Idem, 'Trademarkers of the Omride Builders?', in: A. Fantalkin, A. Yasur-Landau (eds), *Bene Israel. Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and the Levant during the Bronze and Iron Ages* (CHANE, 31), Leiden etc. 2008, 45-54.

<sup>137</sup> R.S. Lamon, *The Megiddo Water System* (OIP, 32), Chicago 1935; Lamon, Shipton, *Megiddo*, vol. 1, 32-47, 66-8; Y. Yadin, 'The Megiddo Stables', in: F.M. Cross *et al.*, *Magnalia Dei - The Mighty Acts of God*, Garden City, NY 1976, 249-51. Cf. Davies, *Megiddo*, 92-4; Kempinski, *Megiddo*, 95-100; Ussishkin, 'Megiddo', 675-7.

### Conclusion

Tel Megiddo was continuously occupied during the whole period under description. Late Bronze II and Iron I saw a flourishing, though deteriorating unfortified palatial city that was destroyed at ca. 1130 BCE, when the rulers were driven out, but the population did not change. Soon thereafter, the city was rebuilt without its magnificent architecture, but still functioning as a kind of city-state and then again demolished and burnt during the first half of the 10th century BCE. The Iron IIA period started with a settlement of domestic nature. Somewhere between 950 and 850 BCE the city expanded into an administrative centre with palaces, a gate and possibly also a casemate wall. This development was carried through in the next century, in which the town was rebuilt into a kind of garrison city.

### *Tel Kedesh*

Close to Tel Megiddo and Tel Taanach lies Tel Kedesh, a round mound of ca 1 ha., 6 metres above its surrounding terrain in the western part of the Jezreel Valley. A small expedition in March and July 1968 excavated a trench in this site of 25 by 5-10 metres in order to study the geography and history of the biblical Kedesh that is mentioned in Judges 4:6 in the story about the battle at the Waters of Merom.

The lowest level, Stratum VIII, could be dated by the local and imported Mycenaean pottery that was found, which indicated that it existed at the beginning of Late Bronze II. A floor was discovered in Stratum VII. The meagre pottery finds are contemporary to Tel Megiddo, Stratum VIIA and this level was also entirely covered by 0,5 metre layer of ash and debris. However, it does not follow from these facts that Tel Kedesh, Stratum VII was destructed at the same time as Tel Megiddo, Stratum VIIA. According to the excavators, the discovery of a collared rim jar in Stratum VII could also mean that this level continued to exist during the second half of the 12th century BCE.<sup>138</sup>

Tel Kedesh seems to have experienced an occupation gap during the later part of Iron I, for the next phase in the settlement history was represented by some Iron II tombs and a structure of two rooms, which continued in a next level marked by a new floor and a clay baking oven. There is not much dissimilarity between the ceramics of the Strata VI-V, except in the case of the cooking pots. Stratum IV was built according to a different plan and laid almost a metre above the previous level. One of its most important finds was a limestone incense altar. This level was covered by one metre of ashes and debris, whereas the foot of the slope also contained a thick layer of ash and brick. According to the excavators, the pottery typology of the tombs and the strata leads to the

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For the question regarding the date and function of the pillared buildings of Stratum IVA, see Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 115-20, 630-87.

<sup>138</sup> Stern, Beit-Arieh, 'Excavations at Tel Kedesh', 1-5, 20; Stern, 'Tel Kedesh (Jezreel Valley)', 860.

conclusion that Stratum VI could be compared with Tel Megiddo, Stratum VB; Stratum V with Tel Megiddo, Stratum VA-IVB; and Stratum IV with Tel Megiddo, Stratum IVA. Accordingly, it can be concluded that Tel Kedesh was settled from at least the second half of the 10th century to its destruction at the end of the 8th century BCE.<sup>139</sup>

### *Tel Taanach*

The mound of Tel Taanach is a site of 4.4 ha. located southeast of Tel Megiddo in the Jezreel Valley, a few kilometres from the place where the Burqin Pass through the hill country reaches the valley. It was first excavated by an expedition conducted by Ernst Sellin of the University of Vienna, who dug some large trenches in the tel during three campaigns between 1902 and 1904. The American School of Oriental Research and the Lutheran Graduate School of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri organized a second excavation led by Paul W. Lapp in 1963, 1966 and 1968 and uncovered four areas in the southwest part of the mound. This expedition also clarified much of the results of the previous excavation (Fig. 6.8). During the 1980's, Albert E. Glock returned to the site for an excavation of the village of Ti'inik in order to clarify its history in the Ottoman period. Sellin published his results, but Lapp passed away before he could do so. Walter E. Rast reported on the Iron Age at Tel Taanach and Glock would publish the Bronze Ages remains. But in 1992, he was shot shortly after he had left his office at Birzeit University at the West Bank.<sup>140</sup>

### Late Bronze II and Iron I

Tel Taanach was an important city during Late Bronze I as became evident from the excavation of some architectural complexes, a series of well-surfaced streets at the southwest of the site revealing sherds of Cypriote White Slip imports, and Sellin's find of seventeen cuneiform tablets, most of them dating to the end of the 15th century BCE.<sup>141</sup> Late Bronze II, however, seemed to be a sparsely settled intervening phase, because most Iron Age remains were found on top of the Late Bronze I ruins. Only a few structures and some pottery were found and according to the excavators, there is no evidence of occupation between the mid 14th and the late 13th century BCE.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Stern, Beit-Arieh, 'Excavations at Tel Kedesh', 5-9, 18-21; Stern, 'Tel Kedesh (Jezreel Valley)', 860.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. E. Fox, *The Palestine Twilight. The Murder of Dr. Glock and the Archaeology of the Holy Land*, New York 2001.

<sup>141</sup> P.W. Lapp, 'The 1963 Excavations at Tell Ta'annek', *BASOR* 173 (1964), 6, 20-3; Idem, 'The 1966 Excavations at Tell Ta'annek', *BASOR* 185 (1967), 14-9; Idem, 'The 1968 Excavations at Tell Ta'annek', *BASOR* 195 (1969), 5, 16-22; A.E. Glock, 'Taanach', *NEAEHL*, 1428-32; Rainey, 'Taanach Letters', 153\*.

<sup>142</sup> Lapp, '1963 Excavations', 6, 8; Idem, '1966 Excavations', 3, 34; Idem, '1968 Excavations', 5; Rast, *Taanach*, vol. 1, 3; A.E. Glock, 'Taanach', *NEAEHL*, 1432. Cf. F.S. Frick, *Tell Taannek 1963-1968 IV/2. The Iron Age Cultic Structure*, Birzeit 2000, 34-5

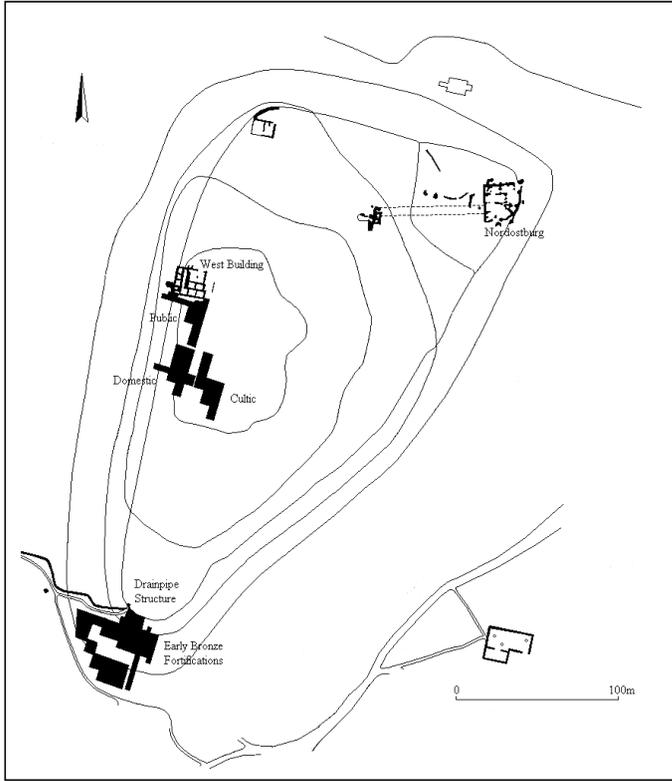


Fig. 6.8 – Most important results of the German (1902 and 1904) and American Excavations (1963, 1966 and 1968) at Tel Taanach.

The first Iron Age levels at Tel Taanach consist out of two periods with a short gap in between, as became evident from the ASOR-Concordia excavation of the 'Drainpipe Structure', a cistern court and the 'Cuneiform Tablet Building', in which a late 13th century BCE tablet was found with a two-line inscription reflecting a southern Levantine scribal tradition. The initial construction of these edifices at the southwest part of the site was followed by a rebuilding, mainly along the same lines. This, however, does not apply to the so-called 'Twelfth Century House', which surrounded the court and was replaced by a house of massive stones with a different orientation. According to the excavators, all these buildings were destroyed at the same time.<sup>143</sup> On the basis of the pottery, they dated Tel Taanach, Period IA and IB to the 12th century and the destruc-

<sup>143</sup> Rast, *Taanach*, vol. 1, 3-8. Cf. Lapp, '1963 Excavations', 23-5; Idem, '1968 Excavations', 34-7; Glock, 'Taanach', 1432; W. Horowitz *et al.*, 'Die Keilschrifttexte von Taanach/Tell Ta'annek', in: S. Kreuzer (ed.), *Taanach/Tell Ta'annek* (WAS, 5), 97-9.

tion of Period IB at ca. 1125 BCE.<sup>144</sup> Finkelstein down-dated Period IA to the early 10th century by applying his low-chronology view on Tel Megiddo.<sup>145</sup> But it was already pointed out in section 6.1 and in discussing Tel Megiddo that both views are untenable. It has to be noted that the Late Bronze forms of the cooking pots and collared rim jars of Period IA resemble the early 12th century BCE material culture of some hill-country sites and that the assemblage of Period IB parallels that of Tel Megiddo, Stratum VI<sub>B</sub> and VI<sub>A</sub>, although it lacks the painted pottery from the latter site.<sup>146</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that the settlement of Tel Taanach, Period IB was not as important as Tel Megiddo, Stratum VI<sub>A</sub> and that its material culture was more reminiscent to that of the hill country. The city came most likely to a violent end somewhere during the 11th century BCE.

## Iron II

The second period at Tel Taanach consisted out of several substantial structures and installations, uncovered at the south-eastern part of the site: a 'Cultic Structure' above the 'Cuneiform Tablet Building', in which an important 50 cm high cult stand was found, close to the spot where Sellin had unearthed another cult stand in 1902; a 'Court and Cistern'; and another Cistern, south of the Cultic Structure. This period, however, came gradually into existence. At some places there is also evidence of previous occupation: isolated layers, stumps of walls in diverse loci and also some pottery. Therefore, the excavators labelled this layer Period IIA, while the buildings were called Period IIB. According to the excavators, Period IIB came to its end by a severe destruction, most clearly evident in the Cultic Structure. The ash layer on the floors contained eighty restorable vessels and a large amount of valuable artefacts.<sup>147</sup> The excavators stated that Period IIB came to its end by the attack of pharaoh Shoshenq in 925 BCE.<sup>148</sup> This proposal, however, fails in the light of the chronological deliberations in section 6.1. The parallels between Period IA and Tel Megiddo, Stratum VI<sub>B</sub> and between Period IIB and Tel Megiddo, Stratum VA-IV<sub>B</sub> and Tel Hazor, Stratum X merely suggest that Period IIA-IIB should be dated from the early 10th to the mid 9th century BCE. This dating is confirmed by the

<sup>144</sup> Lapp, '1963 Excavations', 23; Rast, *Taanach*, vol. 1, 4-6, 56; Glock, 'Taanach', 1432.

<sup>145</sup> I. Finkelstein, 'Notes on the Stratigraphy and Chronology of Iron Age Taanach', *TA* 25 (1998), 210-17.

<sup>146</sup> Mazar, 'Megiddo in the Thirteenth-Eleventh Centuries BCE', 278-9; Finkelstein *et al.* (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 227-8.

<sup>147</sup> Rast, *Taanach*, vol. 1, 4-8. Cf. Lapp, '1963 Excavations', 26-33; Glock, 'Taanach', 1432. Frick, *Tell Taannek IV/2*, 43-171. For the cult stands, see P. Beck, 'The Cult-Stands from Taanach', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 352-81; W. Zwickel, 'Kultständer aus Taanach', in: Kreuzer (ed.), *Taanach/Tell Ta'annek*, 63-70.

<sup>148</sup> Lapp, '1963 Excavations', 28; Idem, '1966 Excavations', 30; Rast, *Taanach*, vol. 1, 56; Glock, 'Taanach', 1432.

re-evaluation of the later remains of an Iron Age defence system and the so-called *Nordostburg* uncovered by Sellin, which shows that both the architecture of Sellin's and Lapp's fortifications and the pottery from Lapp's Pottery Period III fit a dating during the second half of the 9th century BCE. As a result, not only Tel Megiddo and Tel Jezreel, but also Tel Taanach experienced a renewal of strategic importance during Iron IIB.<sup>149</sup>

### *Regional Perspective*

Unlike the hill countries and nearby Lower Galilee and the Northern Samaria, the Northern Valleys are characterized by a relatively steady human activity throughout the ages. This is not surprising, because they were the bread basket of the country and an important axis in international trade. During the second half of the 12th century, Tel Megiddo was destroyed, but this did not affect the demographic and cultural processes in the region and Iron I Tel Megiddo featured clear continuity of second millennium cultural traits. This was also the case in the western Jezreel Valley and in the Beth Shean Valley. Shortly thereafter, Tel Megiddo and Tel Rehov came back as major urban hubs and the number of sites and built up area steadily grew to its peak during Iron Age II.<sup>150</sup> Nevertheless, there was a significant change in function of the cities. Late Bronze II and Iron I showed a decline of 'palatial' cities dominating the surrounding areas. At face value, the Late Bronze societal structure of these cities and their satellite settlements still functioned during Iron II. But with regard to the shrinking urban centres in the Plain of Acco, it was already questionable whether they were able to develop a hinterland around them and the region was clearly reorganized into a new kind of centralized settlement system during Iron IIA. The other valleys experienced a similar transition. The palatial buildings disappeared in favour of architecture reflecting administrative and military efforts. This development, which started at Tel Hazor and some fortresses in Galilee, was carried through during the later 10th and the 9th century at Tel Yoqneam and Tel Megiddo.<sup>151</sup> This state of affairs continued to the last third of the 8th century BCE, when most cities were destroyed by the Assyrians. Strikingly, the countryside of the Jezreel Valley experienced a peaceful transition at that moment, unlike the cities and the nearby hilly regions, most likely for economic reasons.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Rast, *Taanach*, vol. 1, 56; L. Nigro, 'The "Nordostburg" at Tell Ta'anek. A Reevaluation of the Iron Age IIB Defense System', *ZDPV* 110 (1994), 168-80.

<sup>150</sup> Finkelstein et al. (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 760, 770.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Lehmann, 'Phoenicians in Western Galilee', 87-90; Zarzeki-Peleg, 'Trajectories of Iron Age Settlement in North Israel', 368-75.

<sup>152</sup> Finkelstein et al. (eds), *Megiddo*, vol. 4, 772.

## Central Hill Country (N)

### *Tel el-Muhaffar*

The site of Tel el-Muhaffar is a large artificial mound of 1,2 ha. on the northern edge of the Dothan Valley near the *Via Maris*. The tel rises some 35 metres above the valley, with to the east two fortification lines: a lower line which – according to its surveyor – is possibly Early Bronze; and an upper line from the Iron Age creating an ‘acropolis’. The suggested city gate entrance must have been in the north, where a presumed ascent may be discerned. Most of the pottery on the site was dated to the Early Bronze, but the survey also revealed pottery from the end of the Late Bronze Age (3%), as well as from Iron I (10%) and Iron II (10%).<sup>153</sup>

### *Tel el-Far’ah (N)*

Tel el-Far’ah is a mound of ca. 6 ha., lying 11 kilometres northeast of Shechem and located at a rocky ridge near the source of the Wadi Far’ah, the main road between the Jordan Valley and the western mountains. Between 1946 and 1960 an expedition of the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française* in Jerusalem conducted by Roland de Vaux excavated four trenches at the northern and eastern part of the site (Fig. 6.9). Several final reports regarding the Middle Bronze and the Iron Ages were published between 1973 and 1987. Yet, the stratification of the site is hard to define and the interpretation of the finds is sometimes tentative, because of De Vaux’s main interest in architecture and the fact that the site was excavated prior to the wide adoption of stricter stratigraphic controls.

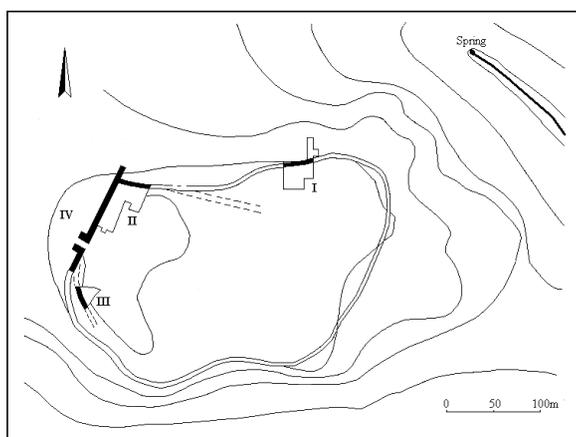


Fig. 6.9 – Excavated Trenches at Tel el-Far’ah (N).

<sup>153</sup> Zertal, *Manasseh Hill Country Survey*, vol. 1, 116-20.

This problem becomes evident by taking a look at the Late Bronze period at the site, which immediately followed Middle Bronze II. The final report on the Iron Age reassigns portions of the most important find of this phase, a Late Bronze Age temple, to the first Iron Age layer and interprets it as a residential four-room pillar house in Niveau VIIa. As a result, the Late Bronze Age, originally called Niveau 4, is only poorly attested at the site. According to the excavators, some well-built Middle Bronze structures were still in use during the following three centuries, as can be observed from the existence of less well built walls and superimposed floors and from pottery from the site and the tombs, which also included imported Mycenaean and Cypriot wares. But so far, no building chart or town plan was reconstructed and more precise dates are lacking.<sup>154</sup>

Iron Age remains were found in all areas, but in particular in the trenches II and III, where three superimposed settlements were uncovered, which are divided by the final publication into five successive periods, Niveau VIIa to VIIe. Niveau VIIa in trench II rested immediately on the Late Bronze walls. Only the residential building that had been incorrectly interpreted as being Late Bronze, but which experienced several architectural phases up to Niveau VIId, was built directly above a Middle Bronze sanctuary. The town was renewed in Niveau VIIb. According to the excavators, some authority was responsible for the organization of public life, for not only the houses were rebuilt, but also the Middle Bronze fortifications, and a libation basin and a kind of standing stone were constructed at the road leading from the inner gate to the town. Moreover, the residential structures, storage houses and a workshop appeared to be built according to a similar plan of a tripartite division of rooms surrounding a courtyard. This unique house-type is characteristic for Tel el-Far'ah during the Iron Age. The repair and renovation of the houses and the raising of the floors and streets bear witness to the long duration of this phase. Possibly, the buildings 362, 366 and 336, in the report assigned to Niveau VIId, also belonged to this level. The excavators date Niveau VIIb, which came suddenly to an end, from the late 11th to the late 10th century BCE on the basis of the rich domestic ceramic assemblage and some Black-on-Red pottery.<sup>155</sup> Most likely, however, this date has to be lowered with a few decennia in the light of the discussion regarding the related strata of Tel Megiddo, Stratum VA-IVB; Tel Taanach, Period IIb; and Tel Keisan, Niveau 9a-8.<sup>156</sup>

Very interesting is the excavator's interpretation of Building 411 of the next phase, the interim-level of Niveau VIIc. De Vaux and Alain Chambon understand this structure – which walls cut deeply into the walls and rooms of

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<sup>154</sup> Chambon, *Tell el-Far'ah*, t. 1, 20-1; Idem, 'Far'ah, Tell el- (North)', 439. Cf. R. de Vaux, 'The excavations at Tell el-Far'ah and the Site of Ancient Tirzah', 132.

<sup>155</sup> Chambon, *Tell el-Far'ah*, t. 1, 12-3, 19-47; Idem, 'Far'ah, Tell el- (North)', 439. Cf. T.L. McLellan, 'Review of Chambon, *Tell el-Far'ah*', *BASOR* 267 (1987), 86.

<sup>156</sup> See section 6.1, 'Low Chronology' and this section 'Northern Valleys'.

Niveau VIIb – as the unfinished palace that was abruptly abandoned by king Omri of Israel when he moved his capital from Tirzah to Samaria.<sup>157</sup> It can be questioned, however, whether this interpretation would have been offered, if De Vaux did not have had in mind the biblical information of 1 Kings 16:15-24, which reports on the suicide of king Zimri by enflaming his palace and Omri's move to Samaria. From an archaeological point of view, it is not impossible that Niveau VIIb was destroyed during the early 9th century. So this might agree with De Vaux's view this level contained the remains of Zimri's palace. But at first sight, the residential structures of both Niveau VIIb and Building 411 do not look like the seat of a centralized government of an important southern Levantine kingdom and the edifice of Building 411 itself is not necessarily unfinished. Critics of De Vaux and Chambon rightly stressed that it is more likely to understand the remains of Building 411 as the foundation walls and a fill for the building, called Palace 148 in Niveau VIId.<sup>158</sup>

As a result, it can be assumed that Tel el-Far'ah was shortly abandoned after the destruction of the Niveau VIIb four-room residential pillar settlement. The remains of Niveau VIId show that it was reconstructed as a well-designed city, including fortifications, a stela monument, a large courtyard, some public buildings and patrician houses. This level was also violently destroyed. Its pottery includes a large amount of storage jars, some Samaria ware and other pottery parallel to the assemblages of for instance Tel Megiddo, Stratum IVA-III; Tel Taanach, Period III-IV and Tel Hazor, Stratum VIII-VI. Accordingly, Niveau VIId reflects an 8th century BCE administrative centre that came to its end by the Assyrian conquest of Israel.<sup>159</sup>

### *Tel Abu Zarad*

The large mound of Tel Abu Zarad, located on a high ridge approximately 12 kilometres south of Nablus, is an important site in a commanding location with the tomb of Sheikh Abu Zarad on its top. According to its surveyors, an immense heap of stones west of it may cover ancient buildings and a well-built terrace of several metres high delimit the site in the south, north and east, while large field stones can be traced at its base. The fortification wall of the site is possibly buried in this terrace. During the survey, sherds from all periods from Late Bronze II to Iron II were found in an almost equal quantity.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>157</sup> R. de Vaux, 'Les Fouilles de Tell el-Far'ah près Naplouse – Cinquième Campagne', *RB* 62 (1955), 582-3, Pl. VII; Chambon, *Tell el-Far'ah*, t. 1, 38-9, 165, Pl. 18.

<sup>158</sup> McLellan, 'Review', 85-6; Holladay, 'Kingdoms of Israel and Judah', 395. Cf. Chambon, *Tell el-Far'ah*, t. 1, 44-7.

<sup>159</sup> Chambon, *Tell el-Far'ah*, t. 1, 12-3, (parallels in assemblage?); Idem, 'Far'ah, Tell el-(North)', 439-40.

<sup>160</sup> Finkelstein, Lederman (eds), *Highlands of Many Cultures*, vol. 2, 606-8.

*Beitin*

The ancient site of Beitin, located in the modern village Beitin at the West Bank 17 kilometres north of Jerusalem, was excavated by the Kyle Memorial Excavations at Bethel, directed by William Foxwell Albright (1934) and James Kelso (1954, 1957, 1960). The excavation and subsequent publication, however, have been subject of severe criticism from the beginning and a recent re-evaluation of the published and unpublished materials suggests that most *loci* were mixed.<sup>161</sup> Therefore, only a general description may suffice.

According to the excavators, the site laid in ruins during the 15th century BCE, but it made a swift comeback during the next two centuries, which are attested by two phases of Late Bronze Age occupation.<sup>162</sup> This city with large houses and residential quarters was followed by a meagre Iron I period. Its remains are dominated by domestic architecture, cooking pots and storage jars. The Iron II period is also characterized as a poor settlement, although it is possible it was fortified during the 8th century BCE. According to the excavators, the major buildings of this period are lying under the present village.<sup>163</sup>

*Regional Perspective*

The Late Bronze Age was a poor period in the northern part of the Central Hill Country. In East Manasseh, the Shechem syncline and Ephraim only a few sites from the Middle Bronze Age II continued to exist and even there, the population shrank, although it must be noted that Shechem experienced a relative prosperity. Most of the remaining sites were located at the fringes of the valleys and close to important highways. This also applies to Tel el-Muhaffar, Tel el-Far'ah, Tel Abu Zarad and Beitin.<sup>164</sup> The unprecedented growth in the number of settlements during Iron I was already discussed in section 1.3. Robert Miller II and Gunnar Lehmann applied anthropological data with regard to 'complex chiefdoms' and 'marriage alliances' to these new settlements in order to explain their social interaction during Iron I. According to Miller, this analysis highlights that the small villages were partly self-sufficient, but not autarkic. There was a sharing of risks and responsibilities to cope with local environmental constraints and labour needs. But the new settlements were not neces-

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<sup>161</sup> E.g. W.G. Dever, 'Archaeological Methods and Results: A Review of Two Recent Publications', *Orientalia* 40 (1971), 462-71; K. Koenen, *Bethel. Geschichte, Kult und Theologie* (OBO, 192), Göttingen 2003, 28-31; M. Köhlmoos, *Bet-El. Erinnerungen an eine Stadt* (FAT, 49), Tübingen 2006, 47-9; I. Finkelstein, L. Singer-Avitz, 'Reevaluating Bethel', *ZDPV* 125 (2009), 35-6.

<sup>162</sup> Kelso, *The Excavation of Bethel*, 28-31, 58-62; Idem, 'Bethel, *NEAEHL*, 193-4. Cf. Köhlmoos, *Bet-El*, 53-6; Finkelstein, Singer-Avitz, 'Reevaluating Bethel', 37, 43.

<sup>163</sup> Kelso, *The Excavation of Bethel*, 32-37, 63-9; Idem, 'Bethel, *NEAEHL*, 194. Cf. Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur in der frühen Eisenzeit*, 154-8, 239-48, 422-26, 532-4; Koenen, *Bethel*, 36-9; Köhlmoos, *Bet-El*, 56-75; Finkelstein, Singer-Avitz, 'Reevaluating Bethel', 37-41, 43.

<sup>164</sup> Zertal, *Manasseh Hill Country Survey*, vol. 1, 81-2; Idem, *Manasseh Hill Country Survey*, vol. 2, 53-4.

sarily egalitarian, for each larger town had its rich and poor. In this view, the north-central highland was controlled by five polities without a specialized administrative control apparatus: Tel Dothan, Tel el-Far'ah, Shechem, Shiloh and a complex of networks in the south. Lehmann's examination matches these results to some extent.<sup>165</sup>

The true peak of settlement expansion took place during Iron II, when two third of the preceding sites remained to exist and many new settlements were established on virgin soil. During this period, the hill country was still dominated by agricultural villages, which made an almost optimal use of land and water sources. It is remarkable that many cities in the highlands were newly fortified during the late 10th and 9th century BCE, for instance Tel Dan, Tel el-Far'ah (N), Shechem, Tel en-Nasbeh, el-Jib in the north and Bethel, Beth-Horon, Ophrah and Mizpah in the south. Some interpreters view this phenomenon as an archaeological testimony of the existence of centralized governments in Jerusalem en Samaria.<sup>166</sup>

## Carmel Coast and Sharon Plain

### *Tel Dor*

The mound of Tel Dor is a site flanked by two bays at the Mediterranean Coast between the northern Sharon and Mount Carmel, about 30 kilometres south of Haifa. In ancient times, the city was surrounded by sand and swamps and functioned as the major harbour town of the region. It was shortly excavated by John Garstang of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1923-1924 and visited in the 1950's and 1970's to explore the Roman-Byzantine periods. Large scale excavations by an expedition of Hebrew University in Jerusalem took place during the last two decades of the 20th century CE. The research for the maritime installations was led by Avner Raban (1980-1984), while the major excavation of the mound was conducted by Ephraim Stern (1980-1997). The excavations under Stern's direction were resumed in 2003 by Ilan Sharon of the Institute of Archaeology of Hebrew University in Jerusalem and Ayalet Gilboa of the Department of Archaeology at Haifa University (Fig. 6.10). The Late Bronze findings of Garstang are nowadays debated and only a small part of the more recent excavations is presented in a final report. But the extensive evaluation of previous findings and meticulous presentation, not of a general stratification, but of chronological horizons of every area at the tel and of the

<sup>165</sup> Miller II, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans*, 29-90, 97-103; G. Lehmann, 'Reconstructing the Social Landscape of Early Israel', *TA* 31 (2004), 141-93. For a short evaluation of these reconstructions, see section 6.3.

<sup>166</sup> Zertal, *Manasseh Hill Country Survey*, vol. 1, 85-8; Idem, *Manasseh Hill Country Survey*, vol. 2, 56-7. Cf. Holladay, 'Kingdoms of Israel and Judah', 373.

related pottery by Sharon and Gilboa make it possible to sketch a picture of Tel Dor during the Late Bronze II and Iron II.

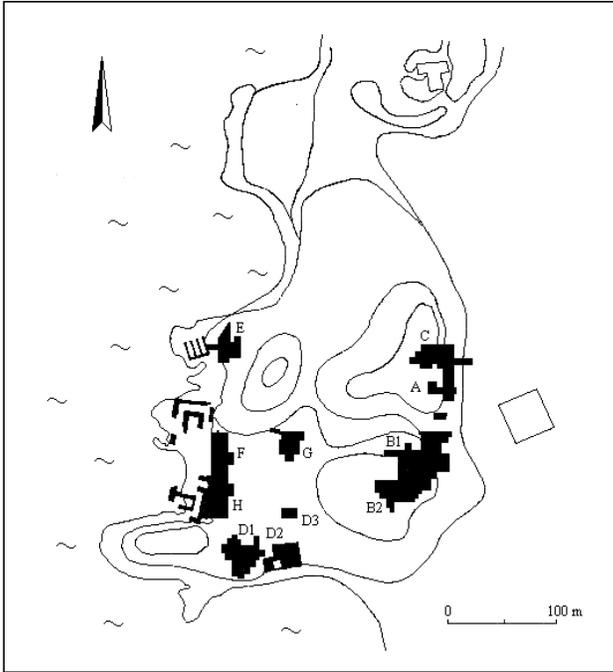


Fig. 6.10 – Excavation Areas at Tel Dor.

#### Late Bronze and Iron I

The excavations at Tel Dor reached the Late Bronze levels only at very few places at the tel due to the massive presence of classical and post-classical remains and the thickness of the Iron Age levels. In his Cut 1, presently located between Area D1 and D2 at the southern edge, Garstang discovered some Late Bronze material, just above bedrock and under a layer of ashes. These ashes, however, also included Iron I material. In addition, later research made it clear the ashes did not belong to 13th century BCE destruction level – as was assumed by Garstang – but most likely to the remnants of vandalism and a massive fire that were also found in Stratum G/9. The excavators ascribe this level to the chronological horizon 'Late Ir1a', which is also attested in phase B1/12 and in Area F. A similar evaluation took place with regard the 13th to 11th century quays and walls uncovered by Raban at the south of the tel. None of the pottery related to the harbour installations unequivocally belongs to the Late Bronze Age and the unearthed remains in Area D2 of the very same walls did not contain material predating Iron I. Clear Late Bronze II levels with ash, sand and brick debris were only discovered in Area G/12-11, but nothing of the pot-

tery from these strata was found *in situ* and it remained unclear whether these floors and industrial installations were located in- or outside the city. No remains were found in Area A and D, while the mixed Middle and Late Bronze pottery of level B1/14 is also not very indicative. As a result, it has to be concluded that the Late Bronze city has not yet been located, although it was most likely situated on the south-western part of the tel and was significantly smaller than the Iron Age town. The pottery deposits from Area G/12-11, labelled by the excavators as belonging to the 'LB' and the transitional 'LB|Ir1' horizons, can be dated to the 13th and 12th century and include a considerable amount of Aegean and Cypriot imports, while it is also worth noting that the site lacks a horizon with locally made Mycenaean IIIC, which are so typical for the sites in the southern Coastal Plain.<sup>167</sup>

The excavators connect the next chronological horizon, that of 'Early Ir1a', now with architecture, to the phases G/10, B1/13 and the meagre remains just above bedrock of phase D2/14. It included a courtyard with a metal workshop in Area G, and a thick fortification wall with a glacis in Area B that remained in use in phase B1/12 and was reused in the phases B1/10-9. Horizon 'Late Ir1a', attested in phase G/9; B1/12; D2/13, and in Area F, is a clear destruction level. A thick destruction level sloping towards west and north covers large areas and left a lot of evidence. In Area G, its architecture witnesses a continuous use of the earlier structures, although the traces of metallurgy are now changed for storage and household industry, while some structures in Area D mark the expansion of the city to the east beyond the 'acropolis'. The pottery assemblages of these two horizons are rich, very similar to each other and include not only local wares from the Late Bronze tradition, but also a few 'Philistine' bichrome sherds and ceramics with foreign influences, although actual imports are rare.<sup>168</sup> According to the chronological framework developed in section 6.1, the end of the horizon could be dated to the end of the 11th century BCE, because according to the excavators the 'Ir1a' period can be correlated with the floruit of the 'Philistine' bichrome in the southern Coastal Plain.<sup>169</sup>

The following three chronological horizons, those of the transitional period 'Ir1a|b', the late Iron I period 'Ir1b' and the intermediate period 'Ir1|2' are connected to the phases G/8, B1/11, D2/12, to G/8, B1/10-9b, D2/11-8 and to G/7-6b, B1/9a, D2/8c. This city represents the settlement that was rebuilt shortly after the destruction, as becomes evident in Area G1, where the Phase 9 house was quickly rebuilt along the same lines on top of the destruction debris. Area B/1 shows that the walls were reused, but the layout of the area changed

<sup>167</sup> Stern, 'Dor, 358; Idem (ed.), *Excavations at Tel Dor*, vol. 1, 4-5; Idem, *Dor, Rulers of the Sea*, 97-8; I. Sharon, A. Gilboa, 'The ŠKL Town: Dor in the Early Iron Age', in: M. Artzy et al. (eds), *Philistines and Other Sea Peoples*, Leiden etc. (forthcoming), 4-6, 9-10, 18-18, 28-9.

<sup>168</sup> Stern, 'Dor, 358; Idem (ed.), *Excavations at Tel Dor*, vol. 1, 271; Sharon, Gilboa, 'The ŠKL Town', 6-8, 10-12-3, 18-21, 29.

<sup>169</sup> Sharon, Gilboa, 'The ŠKL Town', 25.

and the city was expanded to the east by building new houses and by the construction of a new mud-brick city wall. In Area D2, these phases started with a few modest and ill preserved walls, followed by a system of monumental stone constructions and a brick building, which was later renovated. The ceramic assemblages are characterized by further deterioration of the local Late Bronze forms, the initial appearance and development of 'Phoenician' bichrome and the reappearance of imported fine-wares from Egypt, Cyprus and Tyre. The intermediate 'Ir1|2' horizon, for instance, contains Cypriot Black-on-Red and is also the horizon par excellence of the mature 'Phoenician' bichrome style. In Area G1, the end of this period in phase 7 or 6b is marked by a dramatic event. One of the rooms was found filled with large rocks with beneath them smashed jars and the skeleton of a young woman, nicknamed 'Doreen'. This find, and the discovery of several valuable artefacts from this period *in situ* across the tel, may lend support to the theory that Tel Dor, which developed into a flourishing urban centre during Iron I, suffered an earthquake.<sup>170</sup> The chronological framework of section 6.1 suggests that this period ended during the second half of the 10th century BCE.

## Iron II

A house found in Area D2, Phase 8b, with a rich ceramic assemblage shows that the 'Ir2a' period at Tel Dor continued the traditions of the previous 'Ir1|2', architecturally as well as culturally. The ancient fortifications went out of use, as can be observed from the remains of Area B1, Phase 8. However the excavators uncovered a lower mud-brick wall in Area C1, Phase 7, possibly dating to the same period. In this area, Phase 6, called 'Ir2b', contained some remains of the construction of a composite stone and mud-brick wall. This wall functioned as an inset-offset wall throughout the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian period. Some white floors connected to the wall could date from before the Assyrian period. Another part of the wall and the foundations of what must have been a four-chambered gate were revealed in Area B1. The excavators also date the storehouses in the maritime Area D2 to the time of the construction of the wall. The gate was most likely destroyed by the Assyrians and replaced by a two-chambered gate, as was the case at Tel Megiddo, Stratum III. In Area G1, the chronological horizon 'Ir2a' was badly riddled by Persian and Hellenistic period pits, although some 'Ir2a' floors adjacent to the earlier walls were found. One remarkable find from this period is a roughly hewn horned altar accompanied by a unique Phoenician Bichrome jar.<sup>171</sup> So it is clear that during Iron II

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<sup>170</sup> Stern, *Dor, Rulers of the Sea*, 101-4; Sharon, Gilboa, 'The ŠKL Town', 8-10, 12-4, 21-23.

<sup>171</sup> Stern, 'Dor, 360, 365; Idem (ed.), *Excavations at Tel Dor*, vol. 1, 144-150, 271-2; vol. 2, 16-7; Sharon, Gilboa, 'The ŠKL Town', 9, 10-11, 14-5. Cf. Stern, *Dor, Rulers of the Sea*, 109-21.

Tel Dor developed into an important fortified town, which was finally taken over by the Assyrians at the end of the 8th century BCE.

### Interpretation

The debate about the understanding of the Late Bronze and Iron Age material remains at Tel Dor has intensified during the last decade. In section 6.1, it was already noted that a series of radiocarbon dates from the site push the terminal date of the 'Ir1b' horizon from the early 10th to the beginning of the 9th century BCE. According to the excavators, the radiometric data obtained so far do not set the last nail in the chronology debate. Yet, they use these figures as an independent tool to fix the date of the Iron Age strata.<sup>172</sup> As was noted in section 6.1, the adequacy of this strategy can be doubted. Radiocarbon dating is also a matter of interpretation and as such, it is just one of the factors in building a chronology. Therefore, the establishment of absolute dates in a chronological framework cannot be based on <sup>14</sup>C determinations only.

Another interesting issue is the political and cultural interpretation of the history of Tel Dor. In a first stage, the Aegean, Aegeanizing and 'Philistine'-looking Iron I features were identified as representing the material culture of the 'Sikil', a Sea People living in Dor, mentioned in the 21st Dynasty story of Wenamun. Their city was assumed to have been destroyed by the Phoenicians during the 11th century BCE. In this view, David conquered Dor in his turn during the 10th century, while Ahab finally transformed it in the 9th century into a harbour for the Israelite kings.<sup>173</sup> More recently, however, this interpretation has been exchanged for a different approach, stressing the continuity in history of Tel Dor and paying attention to the distinct material culture of the southern Phoenician Coast. According to this view, the local material culture at Tel Dor is a single cultural sequence marking a gradual transition from a Late Bronze 'Canaanite' to an Iron Age 'Phoenician' period. Most likely, some newcomers from Cyprus contributed to this transformation during Iron I, while it also has to be noted that its result clearly differed from the 'Philistine' material culture of the southern Coastal Plain. North of the Yarkon River, the trade and maritime activities of local Canaanites and Cypriots living on the Carmel Coast, in the Plain of Acco and in Tyre, Sarepta, Sidon and Beirut, created a culture that can be called 'Phoenician'.<sup>174</sup> So it is hard to say anything definite about the ethnic background of the city's inhabitants and about the question who in or outside Tel Dor was actually in political control of the city during the Late

<sup>172</sup> E.g. Gilboa, Sharon, 'Archaeological Contribution', 8, 57-60; Gilboa *et al.*, 'Dor and Iron Age Chronology', 40-54; Sharon, Gilboa, 'The ŠKL Town', 24-6.

<sup>173</sup> See e.g. E. Stern, 'New Evidence from Dor for the First Appearance of the Phoenicians along the Northern Coast of Israel', *BASOR* 279 (1990), 27-31; Idem, 'The Settlement of the Sea Peoples in Northern Israel', in: Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their World*, 199-207; Idem, *Dor, Rulers of the Sea*, 85-129; Idem, 'Dor', *NEAEHL*, 1695-8.

<sup>174</sup> See e.g. Sharon, Gilboa, 'The ŠKL Town', 28-34; A. Gilboa, 'Sea Peoples and Phoenicians along the Southern Phoenician Coast', *BASOR* 337 (2005), 47-78.

Bronze and Iron Ages. Nevertheless, it is no surprise that the geographical factors stimulating the development during Iron I also played an important role during the rise of the southern Levantine territorial kingdoms of Iron II.

### *Tel Aphek*

Tel Aphek-Antipatris in the Yarkon Basin in the Sharon at the Via Maris has been an important site from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman period. Two rescue excavations, carried out at the site in 1934-1935 and in 1961, uncovered some Early and Middle Bronze fortifications and a few Late Bronze and Iron Age remains. A large-scale expedition of the Archaeological Institute of Tel Aviv University was conducted by Moshe Kochavi between 1972 and 1985 (Fig. 6.11). Its results were subject of an exhibition in the Israel Museum in 1990.

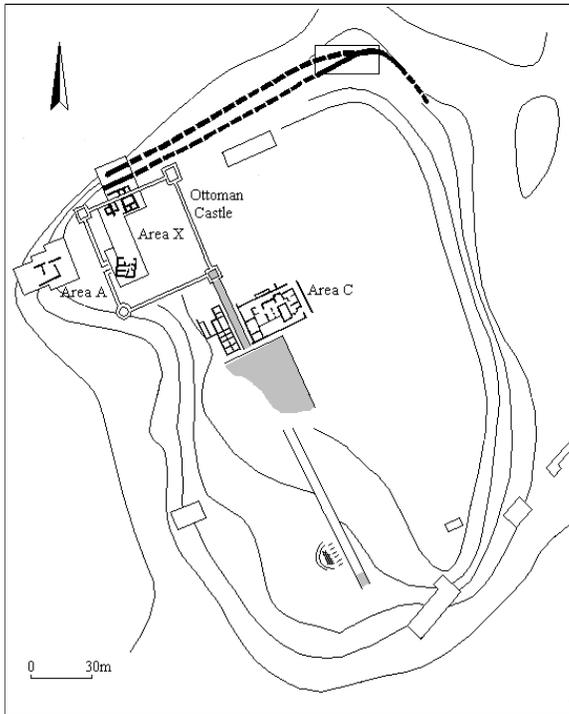


Fig. 6.11 – Excavation Areas at Tel Aphek.

### Late Bronze II and Iron I

Remains from the Bronze and Iron Ages were uncovered in several areas, but mainly in Area X in the Ottoman citadel on the summit of the acropolis, where five successive palaces were found. The edifice of Stratum X-14 was still built according to the architectural Middle Bronze II tradition, but the orientation of

the building changed in Stratum X-13. The new Palace 4430 had two rows of pillars to the north of the courtyard, possibly a characteristic of Egyptian New Kingdom architecture. The last phase of this 13th century BCE structure can be reconstructed in detail due to the destruction it suffered at ca. 1230 BCE. Located on the top of a hill without any further architecture on the site, it had an entrance court, two rectangular halls used for storage, three square rooms used as residential quarters, a stair and also a second floor with plastered walls, a collection of valuable imported and locally made pottery from the 14th and 13th century, jewellery and other personal items. The architectural plan, the use of blue plaster and the locally made Egyptian vessels hint at a strong Egyptian presence. But the storage rooms and the large winepresses that were unearthed in Area A make it clear that the building also had an economic function.<sup>175</sup> The find of eight cuneiform tablets, two Egyptian inscriptions and a Hittite fragment of a bulla – some of them made of local clay – suggest that the second floor also functioned as a place where a scribe registered the agricultural surplus and wrote some letters in international correspondence.<sup>176</sup>

During Iron I, remains of two residential quarters were found in Stratum X-11, built north and east from the ruins of the Late Bronze building. Structures with a similar plan were unearthed at Tel Abu Hawam, also just above Late Bronze strata. Fish hooks, lead weight and turtle shell were found in them, suggesting that the inhabitants earned their livelihood from fishing in the Yarkon River and its swamps. During the next Strata X-10 and X-9, the site changed into a small farmstead, in which some 'Philistine' bichrome ware and heads of the Ashdoda-types were found. The latter level was also characterized by an open area containing many ash remains of organic material.<sup>177</sup>

## Iron II

Remains from the Iron II period are sparse at Tel Aphek, Area X, due to the construction of the Ottoman citadel and the camp of the Jerusalem water project covering the north-eastern corner of the mound. Part of a four-room house, however, was excavated in Stratum X-8. The rest of the stratum includes silos faced with clay or stones. Two destroyed four-room houses of the same period were uncovered in Stratum A-8 and show that the site soon further developed. The pottery remains and arrowheads from the pits and the vessels

<sup>175</sup> Gadot, Yadin, *Aphek-Antipatris II*, 41-83, 182-244, cf. Beck, Kochavi, 'Dated Assemblage', 29-30, 37; Beck, Kochavi, 'Aphek (in Sharon)', 64, 66, 68; Higginbotham, *Egyptianization*, 84-6, 289-90; Y. Gadot, 'Continuity and Change in the Late Bronze to Iron Age Transition in Israel's Coastal Plain', in: Fantalkin, Yasur-Landau (eds), *Bene Israel*, 60-1.

<sup>176</sup> Y. Goren *et al.*, 'Provenance Study and Re-evaluation of the Cuneiform Documents from the Egyptian Residency at Tel Aphek', *A&L* 16 (2007), 167-9. Cf. Gadot, Yadin, *Aphek-Antipatris II*, 468-9.

<sup>177</sup> Gadot, Yadin, *Aphek-Antipatris II*, 88-98. Cf. Beck, Kochavi, 'Aphek (in Sharon)', 68-9; Gadot, 'Continuity and Change', 62-4.

and artefacts from the floors of the houses date this village from the beginning to the end of the 10th century BCE. Sherds from other areas suggest that the site was inhabited during the entire Iron II period.<sup>178</sup>

### *Regional Perspective*

The excavation of Tel Aphek and the attestation of the 'Sikil' living in Dor in the 21st Dynasty story of Wenamun show that Egypt had some interest in the vicissitudes of the Sharon and the Carmel Coast, at least to the first half of the 11th century BCE. However, a long term analysis of the region shows that this does not mean that Egypt was also in political control. The Sharon was relatively densely inhabited during the Late Bronze Age. But the decline that could be observed after the 13th century destruction of the Egyptian Late Bronze building at Tel Aphek, the abandonment of sites and the lack of public architecture in Tel Yafo and Izbet Sarta, Stratum III, shows that thereafter the Yarkon Valley was a neglected region, both socially and politically. There is also no indication that Gezer dominated the area at the beginning of Iron I. In the same period Tel Dor started to develop into an important international 'Phoenician' harbour, most likely because of the cooperation between local inhabitants and Cypriot immigrants. It was only in the second half of the of the 12th century that Tel Aphek changed into a small farmstead and that 'Philistine' bichrome wares appeared, as can be observed in Stratum X-10.<sup>179</sup> This cultural influence, however, did not reach beyond Tel Qasile and the Yarkon River, so that during Iron I, the coastal regions of the Southern Levant in fact reflected two different cultural patterns, both the result of a mix between local, Aegean and Cypriot characteristics. In the 'Philistine' south, a new population can be traced to whom the traditional, highly decorated Mycenaean IIC and 'Philistine' Monochrome tableware carried a crucial symbolic significance, while in the 'Phoenician' north (and also at Cyprus) a less unidirectional flow of cultural influences can be observed in the material culture, almost certainly because of a primary interest in business.<sup>180</sup>

As was noted above, it is hard to define the position of the harbour of Tel Dor in Iron IIA. Regarding the Sharon and the Yarkon basin, however, it must be noted that these regions did not experience their settlement peak in the 8th century – as is the case with the rest of Southern Levant – but remarkably during the 10th century BCE. The number of settlements doubled compared to Iron I, while in the rest of the coastal plain, the figure of small sites was greatly reduced. This is a striking phenomenon for an area that was not agriculturally self-sufficient. Its most plausible explanation lies in the strategic location of

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<sup>178</sup> Gadot, Yadin, *Aphek-Antipatris II*, 98-107, cf. Beck, Kochavi, 'Aphek (in Sharon)', 69-70.

<sup>179</sup> Y. Gadot, 'Aphek in the Sharon and the Philistine Northern Frontier', *BASOR* 341 (2006), 21-36; Idem, 'Continuity and Change', 61-8.

<sup>180</sup> Gilboa, 'Sea Peoples and Phoenicians along the Southern Phoenician Coast', 48-70.

both areas between the coast and a strong inland polity south of Samaria, for the settlement of the Yarkon Basin and the Sharon offered this hilly region the most direct opportunity of partaking in the maritime trade that began to resume at the beginning of Iron II. In later centuries, the number of sites again decreased.<sup>181</sup>

### Central Hill Country (S)

#### *Jerusalem*

Jerusalem is located on a mountainous spur being part of the Jerusalem Saddle, a plateau in the northern centre of the Judean Hills, which is dissected by v-shaped valleys from south to north. The southern part of the spur, also called 'City of David', is quite low in comparison to the hills in the vicinity. But its spring, strategic location along roads in different directions and steep valleys to the east, south and west provide its settlement the opportunity to claim a prominent position in the region. To the north, the narrow crest increases 100 metres in elevation and broadens to about 220 metres, so that the maximum occupied level area is no more than 4,9 hectare. On the north, the ridge rests against the Haram al-Sharif or Temple Mount. It is suggested that the core of the Late Bronze and early Iron Age Jerusalem was in fact located at this mount, which cannot be excavated for religious and political reasons.<sup>182</sup> In general, however, this suggestion is refuted, for the expectation that the Gihon Spring east of the southern spur was undoubtedly the focus of settlement is confirmed by remains from the Chalcolithic, Early and Middle Bronze and Iron Age periods. Moreover, excavations south and west of the Temple Mound did not yield any sign for Late Bronze activity.

Since the underground efforts of Captain Charles Warren in 1867 for the Palestine Exploration Fund the city of Jerusalem has been extensively explored archaeologically, for instance by Frederick J. Bliss and Archibald C. Dickie, Raymond Weill and Robert A. Stewart Macalister. The modern projects in the City of David comprise the excavations by Dame Kathleen M. Kenyon on behalf of the British School of Archaeology and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (1961-1967); by Yigal Shiloh of Hebrew University (1978-1985); by Ronny Reich of Haifa University and Eli Shukron of the Israel Antiquities Authority (1995-2004); and by Eilat Mazar, visiting scholar of Hebrew University, on behalf of the Institute of the Archaeology of the Jewish People (2003-today) (Fig. 6.12).<sup>183</sup>

<sup>181</sup> A. Faust, 'The Sharon and the Yarkon Basin in the Tenth Century BCE', *IEJ* 57 (2007), 65-82.

<sup>182</sup> E.A. Knauf, 'Jerusalem in the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Ages', *TA* 27 (2000), 75-90.

<sup>183</sup> For an overview of the history of excavations in Jerusalem, see K. Bieberstein, H. Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolitikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft. Band 1-3* (TAVO, 100), Wiesbaden 1994.

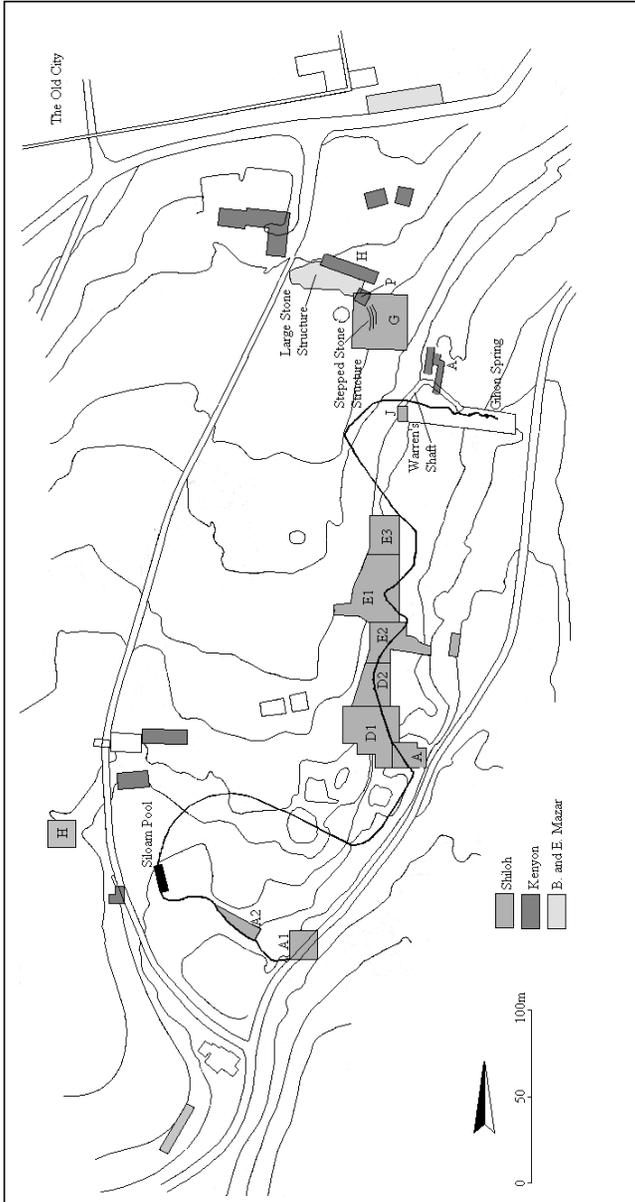


Fig. 6.12 - Excavated Areas at the City of David

Despite this intense research, it is still hard to get a precise picture of Jerusalem during the Late Bronze Age and the early part of Iron II. Excavating the city is an extremely difficult enterprise, not only because of the dense occupation and the presence of holy territory, but also because stone always has been the most common available building material. Builders traditionally excavated to bedrock to secure firm foundations. Subsequent building activities and the large-scale stone quarrying have removed most ruins and if there was anything left, previous excavations have removed all traces, mostly without leaving proper indications of what it was or when it was constructed. As a result, remains of late Iron II are only preserved on the Western Hill, which was not occupied before the end of the 8th century BCE. Remnants of an earlier date were mainly discovered on the eastern slope of the City of David.<sup>184</sup> Due to these methodological difficulties, it is hotly debated how the non-attendance of significant remains from certain periods is to be interpreted. Does Jerusalem pre-eminently illustrate the saying ‘absence of evidence is no evidence of absence’ and should definite verdicts about the occupation during those periods therefore be avoided? Or is the paucity of sherds – which can be expected not to have been swept away – at least an indication of lack of habitation and fortification?<sup>185</sup>

#### Late Bronze II and Iron I

In Jerusalem, Late Bronze Age material remains are sparse. A few Late Bronze I sherds were uncovered in Shiloh’s Area G, while further sherds characteristic for the transition from Middle Bronze II to Late Bronze I are only known from fills and tombs. Late Bronze II is better attested, both by tombs in the hills surrounding Jerusalem and in stratified contexts of fragmentary structures in Shiloh’s Areas D, E, and G within the City of David.<sup>186</sup> The Late Bronze walls and floor excavated by Kenyon had to be down-dated to the beginning of Iron I af-

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<sup>184</sup> For the problems with regard to archaeological research in Jerusalem, see e.g. K.M. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem*, London 1974, 94; Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David*, vol. 1, 25; H.J. Franken, ‘A History of Excavation in Jerusalem’, in: Z. Kafafi, R. Schick (eds), *Jerusalem before Islam* (BAR/IS, 1699), Oxford 2007, 45-6.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. H.J. Franken, M.L. Steiner, ‘Urusalim and Jebus’, *ZAW* 104 (1992), 110-1; D. Ussishkin, ‘Solomon’s Jerusalem. The Text and the Facts on the Ground’, in: Vaughn, Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 110-1; J.M. Cahill, ‘Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy’, in: Vaughn, Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 70-80; M.L. Steiner, ‘The Evidence from Kenyon’s Excavations in Jerusalem: A Response Essay’, in: Vaughn, Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 348-51; A. Mazar, ‘Jerusalem in the 10th Century B.C.E.: The Glass Half Full’, in: Y. Amit et al. (eds), *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context*, Winona Lake, IN 2006, 265-7.

<sup>186</sup> Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David*, vol. 1, 12, 26; D. Tarler, J.M. Cahill, ‘David, City of’, *ABD*, vol. 2, 55; Cahill, ‘Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy’, 27-32. Cf. D.T. Ariel et al., *Excavations at the City of David V* (Qedem, 40), Jerusalem 2000, 77.

ter the analysis of the pottery by Franken.<sup>187</sup> The understanding of these scarce remains partly depends on the interpretation of the massive Middle Bronze wall of large cyclopean stones close to the centre of the eastern slope, two wall segments in Kenyon's Areas H and P and of similar Middle Bronze remains in the vicinity of the Gihon Spring. If these structures went out of use before the Late Bronze Age, the nature of the occupation during this period remains clouded. But if they partly remained intact until the 8th or 7th century BCE because of the unique conditions of constructing and building in the excavated areas, the occupation gap between Middle Bronze II and Iron I can be closed.<sup>188</sup>

A very impressive structure, the so-called Stepped Stone Structure of 40 metres in length and 27 metres in height which at least in part is to be dated to Iron I, was excavated by Macalister, Kenyon and Shiloh. Its main components are retaining walls supporting massive rubble fills, together forming a terrace system at the southeastern slope of the City of David; an impressive mantle wall above the terraces; an additional terrace and wall somewhat to the east uncovered in Kenyon's Trench I; and a stone structure below the terrace system. The relation between these different components is hard to define and the understanding of their function requires some architectural imagination. Moreover, the proposed dates of the structures differed from the Late Bronze Age for the terrace system to the Hellenistic period for the mantle wall. Nevertheless, new studies of the material remains for the final publication of the excavations of Kenyon and Shiloh reduced the number of possibilities considerably and it appears that at a few points a consensus is reached.

First, it appeared that the ceramic assemblages from the stone and soil fills of the terrace system and from below the mantle wall both contained pottery from Late Bronze – Iron Age transition, including some collared rim jars, thus creating a *terminus post quem* for both components. In addition, hand burished red slip sherds found by Shiloh just on top of the mantle wall seemed to offer a *terminus ante quem*. Accordingly, Jane M. Cahill, the publisher of Shiloh's excavations in Area G, interprets the terraces and the mantle wall as part of a monumental stepped rampart that was built as part of the city's fortification system at the beginning of the Iron Age. However, Margreet L. Steiner, who published the Bronze and Iron Age results of Kenyon's excavations, is not convinced that the terraces and the mantle wall constitute one architectural system and she dates the few sherds from inside the mantle wall to the 10th century BCE: then, the mantle wall was built as a defensive structure to protect the

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<sup>187</sup> M.L. Steiner, *Excavations of Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem, 1961-1961, Vol. 3. The Settlement in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (CIS, 9), Sheffield 2001, 24, 37; Idem, 'Evidence from Kenyon's Excavations', 355-7; H.J. Franken, *A History of Pottery and Potters in Ancient Jerusalem*, London 2005, 39. Cf. Weippert, *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit*, 453-5.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. R. Reich, E. Shukron, 'Light at the End of the Tunnel', *BAR* 25/1 (1999), 30-2; Cahill, 'Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy', 21-6; Steiner, 'Evidence from Kenyon's Excavations', 361-2; Mazar, 'Jerusalem in the 10th Century', 266.

vulnerable part of the Gihon Spring and the entrance to Warren's Shaft down the slope. Amihai Mazar disagrees with Steiner, because of the in his view clear connection between the terraces and the mantle and the early Iron IIA pottery that was found in residencies built on the lower mantle wall. He also observes a parallel with Iron I fortifications at nearby Giloh, where a feature that is constructed in the same peculiar way, once formed the base of a tower. For that reason he concludes that the Stepped Stone Structure was part of the foundation of a monumental fortress in Iron I Jerusalem.<sup>189</sup> Yet, it is also agreed that the upper part of the mantle wall was most likely rebuilt during the Hellenistic period, for its upper courses are incorporated into the Hasmonaean city wall.<sup>190</sup>

## Iron II

During the last decennia, a general consensus was reached concerning the nature of the city of Jerusalem at the end of Iron IIB. The extensive excavations conducted by Nahman Avigad between 1969 and 1982 in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City revealed domestic constructions, industrial installations and large fortifications, all from the second half of the 8th century BCE. It is clear that the city expanded significantly in this period, probably because of the destruction of the kingdom of Israel by Sargon II or due to the pressure on the Shephelah by Sennacherib in 701 BCE. One of the few issues that is still debated is whether the wall only encompassed the area of today's Jewish Quarter or that it also surrounded the southern slope of Mount Zion.<sup>191</sup> In addition, some domestic architecture from Iron IIB was found on the western slope of the City of David. Possibly, this western expansion of the city followed the building of a new outer wall surrounding the houses on the eastern slope of the City of David, which was excavated by Reich and Shukron in Area J and A, most likely also during the 8th century.<sup>192</sup>

Only scarce remains, however, are attested with regard to Iron IIA and the beginning of Iron IIB. Kenyon uncovered two fragmentary walls at the crest of the City of David, most likely part of a casemate wall. The pottery from a fill on top of the floor between the walls is dated to the 10th-9th century. In addition,

<sup>189</sup> Cahill, 'Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy', 33-54; Steiner, *Excavations in Jerusalem*, vol. 3, 24, 27-30, 42-53; Idem, 'Evidence from Kenyon's Excavations', 351-2; Mazar, 'Jerusalem in the 10th Century', 266.

<sup>190</sup> Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem*, 194-5; Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David*, vol. 1, 20-1, 30. Cf. I. Finkelstein *et al.*, 'Has King David's Palace in Jerusalem Been Found', *TA* 34 (2007), 153-4.

<sup>191</sup> See e.g. H. Geva (ed.), *The Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982. Vol. 1*, Jerusalem 2000; Idem, 'Western Jerusalem at the End of the First Temple Period', in: Vaugn, Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 183-208; A.G. Auld, M.L. Steiner, *Jerusalem I: From the Bronze Age to the Maccabees*, Cambridge 1996, 40.

<sup>192</sup> R. Reich, E. Shukron, 'The Urban Development of Jerusalem in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.', in: Vaugn, Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 209-18.

she also found a part of a Proto-Aeolic capital and some scattered ashlar masonry blocks, all out of situ and dated by Steiner to the 9th century BCE.<sup>193</sup> Better stratified remains were uncovered by Shiloh in the Areas B, D, E, and G. Area G contained two houses on the lower mantle wall, the so-called House of Ahiel and the Burnt Room house, which yielded a series of architectural phases and floors and a considerable amount of pottery, including a 'Phoenician' bichrome flask. The ceramic assemblage of Stratum 14 seems comparable to that of Tel Arad, Stratum XII, while Stratum 13-12b parallels Tel Arad, Stratum XI, and Tel Lachish, Level V-IV. Accordingly, the structures were continuously inhabited from the 10th to early 8th century BCE. Additional features and pottery with similar characteristics dating between the 11th and the late 9th century BCE were excavated in Area E, while another series of strata in Area E1 also suggests an improvement of architecture and ceramics during the same period. Finally, the excavators highlight that five superimposed layers of debris in Area D1 and some poorly built walls in Area B suggest that the city already expanded beyond the city wall from the 11th or 10th century BCE on, in particular for less-affluent residents.<sup>194</sup>

It remains unclear when during Iron IIA the architectural connection was made between the City of David and Mount Moriah or the Temple Mount. Excavations in this area uncovered a structure that can be understood as a fortification line, which is to be dated to the 9th century BCE at the earliest. Building C in this structure is in some points similar to Gate 1567 at Tel Megiddo and is characterized by the excavators as a Phoenician architectural office. A floor leaves room for a dating between the 9th and the 7th century BCE. Another floor in building D would contain some 10th century pottery.<sup>195</sup>

Finally, some remarks have to be made with respect to the so-called Large Stone Structure that was uncovered by Eilat Mazar in an area on the summit of the City of David standing in relation to Macalister's Field 5, west of Kenyon's Area A and south of her Area H, and northwest of Shiloh's Area G. On top of some surfaces containing Middle Bronze, Late Bronze and Iron I pottery – and possibly also some early Iron IIA sherds<sup>196</sup> – Mazar found a number of massive walls, with the main wall being about 28 metres long and 2,5-3 metres wide and several adjoining loci containing Iron IIA vessel fragments and olive pits,

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<sup>193</sup> Steiner, *Excavations in Jerusalem*, vol. 3, 48-50.

<sup>194</sup> Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David*, vol. 1, 12, 27; Ariel *et al.*, *Excavations in the City of David*, vol. 5, 93-4, 103, 164; Cahill, 'Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy', 56-68.

<sup>195</sup> E. Mazar, B. Mazar, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount. The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem* (Qedem, 29), Jerusalem 1989, 58-60. More recently, Eilat Mazar redated the wall to the 10th century. See E. Mazar, 'The Solomonic Wall in Jerusalem', in: Maeir, Miroschedji (eds), *"I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Times"*, 775-86.

<sup>196</sup> Finkelstein *et al.*, 'Has King David's Palace Been Found', 149-50.

which were dated to the 10th century BCE by radiocarbon analysis. Because of these finds, Mazar claimed to have found king David's palace.<sup>197</sup>

Many objections, however, were put forward against this interpretation: the layer below the wall, just above bedrock, could be a fill in stead of an occupation layer; it is not clear that the walls clearly represent one and the same structure; most likely, the pottery found next to the walls was not found *in situ*; a Hasmonaean ritual bath found by Macalister seems to fit the architecture uncovered by Mazar; and finally, there is no direct connection between the large wall and the upper part of the mantle wall of the Stepped Stone Structure, although it is clear that the upper part was in any case part of the Hasmonaean fortifications. Consequently, Mazar's conclusion that the Stepped Stone Structure and the Large Stone Structure are both part of one and the same feature that was founded during the 10th century and continued to exist to the Babylonian destruction in 586 BCE, is problematic, for as was noted above, there is a clear possibility that part of the mantle wall dates from the Hellenistic period. In view of that, Eilat Mazar's colleagues of the Archaeological Institute of Tel Aviv University offered an alternative explanation for the excavated walls, namely that they were part of a construction from the Hellenistic period. Though, this alternative can neither be proven, for the construction method of the large wall differs from that of the other parts of the Hasmonaean fortification.<sup>198</sup> So there is still the possibility that parts of the wall have to be dated to Iron IIA or Iron IIB and the only conclusion that really can be sustained on the basis of remains from the Iron Age and the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods is that centuries of constructional activity, all close to bedrock, have complicated the excavation of this area.

### Conclusion

The limited area that can be excavated in Jerusalem and the construction and reconstruction of buildings over the ages cause great difficulties in offering a convincing archaeological interpretation of the city's history. The accumulation of centuries of occupation is in many places limited to less than a metre and it is often hard to define a clear stratification. Consequently, dating walls is extremely difficult, while it is also insecure to define for how long a structure was in use. Two extremes, however, should be avoided in interpreting the material culture. On the one hand, it cannot be assumed that walls remained intact for many centuries without additional evidence. On the other hand, paucity or absence of ceramics from a certain period may not lead to the conclusion that the city simply did not exist.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> E. Mazar, 'Did I Find King David's Palace?', *BAR* 32/1 (2006), 16-27, 70. Cf. [A.] Mazar, 'Jerusalem in the 10th Century', 269-70.

<sup>198</sup> Finkelstein *et al.*, 'Has King David's Palace Been Found', 147-59.

<sup>199</sup> A.E. Killebrew, 'Biblical Jerusalem: An Archaeological Assessment', in: Vaughn, Killebrew (eds), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology*, 333-4, 339, 341.

With regard to the city of the Amarna Age, this means that it is untenable to state that the residence of king Abdi-Heba, the local ruler of Urusalim, should be sought elsewhere. A location at the spur south of the Temple Mount not only fits for instance *EA* 287:53-57, it also concurs with the Late Bronze remains uncovered in tombs and at the upper slopes of the City of David and in fills.<sup>200</sup> At the same time, however, archaeology suggests that the city was significantly smaller than its Middle Bronze predecessor and that it primarily existed during the 14th and 13th century BCE as a small unfortified settlement, although it cannot be excluded that a small fortress was part of the site.

During the following Iron I, Jerusalem was at least fortified by the terrace system and probably also by the mantle wall. What was built on top of it is a matter of speculation, although additional deposits of shattered Iron I pottery show that the site was inhabited. With regard to the beginning of Iron IIA, however, the situation is extremely complicated. There is pottery, there are small parts of walls, some floor levels and also a few indications that the city expanded down the south-eastern slope. But there is definitely no proof of a larger fortified Jerusalem, for the walls interpreted in that way can also be dated later and the defensive structure connecting the City of David and the Temple Mount is most likely to be dated to the 9th century or even later. What rests is theorizing on the amount of domestic structures, the presence of some public buildings or a citadel and on the possible remains under the Haram al-Sharif. But the material remains themselves only leave room for a Jerusalem that in its outlook was no more than a sizeable regional centre, a quite modest city, although not significantly smaller than its contemporary administrative centres at Tel Hazor, Tel Megiddo and Tel Gezer.<sup>201</sup>

Much more archaeological information is available from the late Iron IIB. During this period the eastern slope of the City of David was filled with residential quarters, a new fortification system of walls, towers and gates was built and the city expanded to the western hill and possibly also to the northern part of Mount Zion. Surveys in the vicinity surrounding Jerusalem affirm the dense population of the city and revealed numerous small tels, fortified sites and villages.<sup>202</sup>

### *el-Jib*

The mound of el-Jib is a tel of 6 ha. with a village on its northern side. During a survey in the 1980's, pottery was found from the Early and Middle Bronze and Iron Ages and from the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. The site also contains cemeteries from the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age and

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<sup>200</sup> Cf. Na'aman, 'Contribution of the Amarna Letters', 18-9 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 4).

<sup>201</sup> Cf. M.L. Steiner, 'Propaganda in Jerusalem', in: Grabbe (ed.), *Israel in Transition*, 193-201.

<sup>202</sup> E.g. Killebrew, 'Biblical Jerusalem', 335-8. Cf. K.J.H. Vriezen, *Die Ausgrabungen unter der Erlöserkirche im Muristan, Jerusalem, 1970-1974* (ADP, 19), Wiesbaden 1994.

from the Iron II period.<sup>203</sup> Excavation of the site took place from 1956-1960 and in 1962 by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, conducted by James B. Pritchard (Fig. 6.13). This resulted in four thematic publications on the inscriptions and stamps, the water system, the Bronze Age cemetery, and the winery and defences. The excavation was severely criticized from the beginning, because of the thematic approach and the lack of stratigraphic analysis, which made it impossible to control the vague conclusions of the expedition.<sup>204</sup>

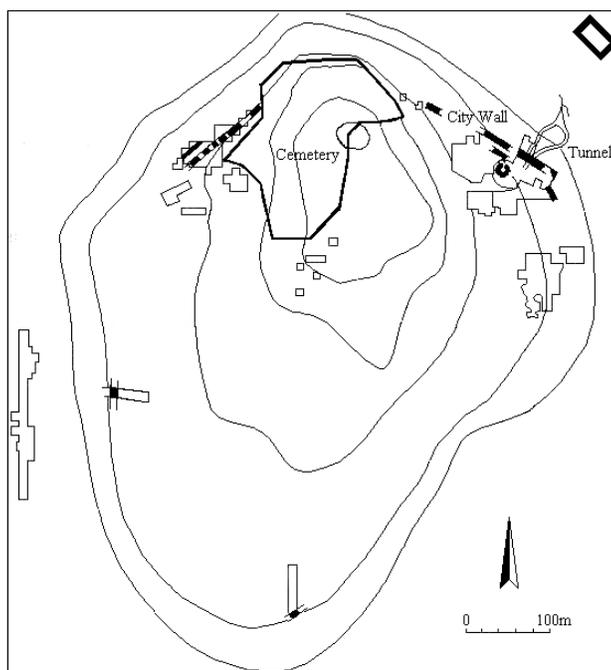


Fig. 6.13 – Excavation Areas at el Jib.

Remains clearly dating to the Late Bronze Age were only found in tomb 10A and 10B at the western side of the tel, with some additional evidence from the tombs 13, 14, 18 and 20. The rich ceramic assemblage from this cemetery also included imports and could be dated to the 14th century BCE with some overlap into the 13th century on the basis of scarabs and parallels with the pottery of Tel Lachish, Fosse Temple I-III.<sup>205</sup> Most of the finds are from the Iron

<sup>203</sup> Finkelstein, Magen, *Archaeological Survey*, 41\*.

<sup>204</sup> See e.g. Galling, 'Kritische Bemerkungen', 242-5; Weippert, *Palästina in Vorhellenischer Zeit*, 403, 544, 604-5; Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur der frühen Eisenzeit*, 111-7.

<sup>205</sup> J.B. Pritchard, *The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon*, Philadelphia, PA 1963, 11-17, 36-7, 72, 86-95.

Age, with among them walls, ceramics, ovens, a water system presupposing the existence of the double wall, and two cellars. The first wall was uncovered in Area 8/9, while a second wall with a plaster floor and remains of collared rim jars was excavated in Area 10. The foundation trench beneath the floor was dated to Iron I. Pritchard interpreted both walls as the Iron I city's fortification.<sup>206</sup>

Others, however, stated that the walls were too thin to have been built as defences. These walls merely divided the city into different sections whereas the second wall was also added later, most likely at the beginning of Iron II. Consequently, the water system had to be down-dated from the 10th to the late 9th century.<sup>207</sup> Finally, Pritchard's conclusion that el-Jib had been the Bordeaux of Palestine during Iron I was refuted. According to their architecture, ceramic assemblage and the attestation of some *lmlk*-stamps, the cellars in Area 8 and 17 date to the late 8th century BCE and did not function as a winery, but as storage rooms.<sup>208</sup>

As a result, it appears that it is very hard to come to definite conclusions regarding el-Jib during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. The fact that no Late Bronze fortifications were discovered led to the presumption that the site was simply not inhabited.<sup>209</sup> It has to be noted, however, that only part of the tel has been excavated and that large cities like Tel Lachish and Tel Megiddo were also unfortified during this period. It is remarkable that no diagnostic Late Bronze Age remains were found in fill of the water system. But this is possibly due to the fact that this system is of a much later date. In any case, the site was clearly inhabited during Iron I and Iron II.

### *Tel el-Kafira*

The mound of Tel el-Kafira was never excavated, but the outlook of the tel betrays traces of fortifications, buildings and cisterns. Surveys have shown that the site flourished during Iron II. It was also inhabited during the Early Bronze period, Iron I and the Persian and Hellenistic periods. It is also stressed, how-

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<sup>206</sup> J.B. Pritchard, *Winery, Defenses and Soundings at Gibeon*, Philadelphia, PA 1964, 33-9.

<sup>207</sup> Weippert, *Palästina in Vorhellenistischer Zeit*, 400, 403, 442. Cf. J.B. Pritchard, *The Water System of Gibeon*, Philadelphia, PA 1961; Idem, *Gibeon*, 53-78.

<sup>208</sup> Weippert, *Palästina in Vorhellenistischer Zeit*, 544-6, 604-5. Cf. Pritchard, *Gibeon*, 79-99.

<sup>209</sup> E.g. Weippert, *Landnahme*, 21-3. Over the years, Pritchard uttered very diverse opinions about the (non-)existence of the Late Bronze city. He defined the Bronze Age necropolis as the 'missing link' between remains of the Middle Bronze and the Iron Age city (J.B. Pritchard, 'A Bronze Age Necropolis At Gibeon', *BA* 24 [1961], 23). He ascribed the earliest Iron Age wall to the 'time of Joshua' (J.B. Pritchard, 'Civil Defense at Gibeon', *Expedition* 5/1 [1962], 11). He thought that the remains of the 'great city of Joshua' were yet to be found (Idem, *Gibeon*, 158). Finally, he stated that Late Bronze el-Jib was only a very poor settlement (Idem, 'Culture and History', in: J.P. Hyatt [ed.], *The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, Abingdon, TN 1965, 315).

ever, that this does not justify the conclusion that the site was inhabited during the Middle and the Late Bronze Ages.<sup>210</sup>

#### *Deir el-Ahzar*

In particular from the west, Deir el-Ahzar is easily recognized as a tel. No excavations took place, but most of the remains on its slopes date to the Late Bronze Age and the Iron I period, as is reported by several surveyors.<sup>211</sup>

#### *Tel Rumeida*

The mound of Tel Rumeida is located at a low spur of Jebel Rumeida in the southern Judean highlands. It covers about 6,8 ha, although the maximum size of ancient city is estimated at 2,4 to 4,8 ha. The American Expedition to Hebron, directed by Philip C. Hammond planned to excavate eight seasons at the site from 1964 on, but the Six-Days War of 1967 forced Hammond to postpone and finally to abandon the work, when it turned out that the Jordanian government did not regain authority in Hebron. Only three short summaries of the exploration of eight areas (Area I.1-8) and seven so-called 'tomb-tests' (T-1-7) at Tel Rumeida were published.<sup>212</sup> More information on this expedition is found in an unpublished dissertation at the University of Utah in 1992 by Jeffrey R. Chadwick, one of Hammond's students. The work at the site was resumed in 1984-1986 by the Judean Hill Country Expedition, conducted by Avi Ofer, on behalf of Tel Aviv University and the Israel Exploration Society (Fig. 6.14). Ofer dug a few small areas (G1, G2 and F) and a trench (Area S) through the tel in order to investigate its stratigraphy from the Middle Bronze Age to the Byzantine period and saw – as had been reported before<sup>213</sup> – that the remains of early and late Iron I immediately followed the Middle Bronze layers. Consequently, he concluded that parts of the Middle Bronze fortifications giving the site its shape, had been in use into the Byzantine period, but that there had been no large, permanent settlement on the site during the Late Bronze I-II, apart from a probable small residential quarter in the necropolis.<sup>214</sup> Finally, Yuval Peleg excavated a Late Bronze I tomb in 1998 and Emanuel Eisenberg conducted a salvage excavation at the northern part of the site in 1999 on be-

<sup>210</sup> Vriezen, 'Hirbet Kefire', 142-3, 157-8; Finkelstein, Magen, *Archaeological Survey*, 41\*.

<sup>211</sup> F.T. Cooke, 'The Site of Kirjath-Jearim', *AASOR* 5 (1924-1925), 115; Keel, Küchler, *OLB*, Bd. 2, 795.

<sup>212</sup> P.C. Hammond, 'Hébron (I)', *RB* 72 (1965), 267-70; Idem, 'Hébron (II)', *RB* 73 (1966), 566-9; Idem, 'Hébron (III)', *RB* 75 (1968), 253-8.

<sup>213</sup> Campbell, 'Archaeological News', 31-2.

<sup>214</sup> A. Ofer, 'Tell Rumeideh (Hebron) – 1985', *ESI* 5 (1986), 92-3; Idem, 'Tell Rumeideh (Hebron) – 1986', *ESI* 6 (1987-1988), 92-3; Idem, 'Hebron', 608-9.

half of the Israel Antiquity Authorities before the construction of some new residential buildings for the Israeli settlers at Tel Rumeida.<sup>215</sup>

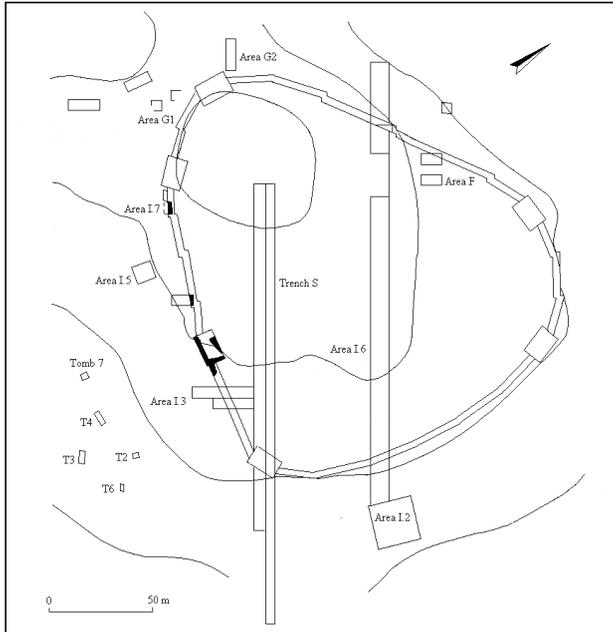


Fig. 6.14 – Excavation Areas at Tel Rumeida

Unfortunately, three of the four abovementioned excavations still await final publication. In addition, Chadwick's report of the stratigraphy cannot be verified, he barely mentions parallels from other sites to the ceramic assemblages of Hammond's excavation and his use of biblical data is highly doubtful from a methodological point of view.<sup>216</sup> Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to discredit the finds of the American Expedition to Hebron. Therefore, the most essential information will be included in the presentation of the Late Bronze II/Iron I and Iron II data.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. Y. Peleg, I. Eisenstadt, 'A Late Bronze Age Tomb at Tell Rumeidah', in: H. Himzi, A. de Groot (eds), *Burial Caves and Sites in Judea and Samaria from the Bronze and Iron Ages*, Jerusalem 2004, 231-59; E. Eisenberg, A. Nagorski, 'Tel Hevron', *HA* 114 (2000), 91\*.

<sup>216</sup> One example may suffice: Hammond and Chadwick simply refer to Num. 13:22 in order to date the foundation of the Middle Bronze IIB city at Tel Rumeida at 1728 BCE. Chadwick, *Archaeology of Biblical Hebron*, 57, 62-4. For the difficulties of this approach of the biblical text and the interpretation of archaeological remains, see the 'Methodological Considerations' in section 1.2 and 1.3. A more sophisticated interpretation of Num. 13:22 is offered by N. Na'aman, 'Hebron was Built Seven Years before Zoan in Egypt', *VT* 31 (1981), 488-92 (= *CE*, vol. 3, 74-7).

## Late Bronze II and Iron I

The excavation of Area I.3 and I.7b revealed a massive Middle Bronze Age wall, built on bedrock, which outer face was still in use during the Byzantine and the Islamic period. In addition to tomb T-2, the tomb in Area I.2 and the cemetery excavated by Peleg, which contained mainly pottery and artefacts from Late Bronze I, at least four of the eight areas contained Late Bronze evidence: Area I.1, I.3, I.5 and I.6. Several areas also showed evidence of a non-disruptive transition to the Late Bronze I. After Late Bronze I, however, Area I.5 was not inhabited before the Byzantine period, most likely because it is located outside the city wall line on the south slope of the tel. The absence of Late Bronze materials in Area I.4 could be explained by the Iron II construction activities. The remaining areas show several phases of inhabitation: a beginning of Late Bronze II in Area I.3, Phase XIV; Area I.6, Phase XXXIV and a clear break between Late Bronze I and II in Area I.1, Phase XII. The transition to the second half of Late Bronze II in Area I.1, Phase XI; Area I.3, Phase XIII and Area I.6, Phase XXXIII could only be observed by some minor changes. The end of the Late Bronze Age, however, was mixed: Area I.1, Phase XI ended without evidence of physical disruption and with no succeeding occupation; Area I.3, Phase XII contained an evolutionary transition to Iron I; and Area I.6, Phase XXXIII revealed some evidence of destruction and burning, followed by a new Iron I settlement Phase XXXII.<sup>217</sup>

The Late Bronze II material finds of Area I.1, Phase XI consisted of a few walls, some floors, bowls, cooking pots and jugs. Area I.3, Phase XIII revealed some defence structures, local painted wares, bowls, pots and storage jars, while Phase XII revealed many Late Bronze ceramic forms together with Iron I materials including a sherd of locally made Mycenaean ware. Finally, Area I.6, Phase XXXIV contained architecture, some floors and floor repairs and a large assemblage of pottery. Heavy ashes, charcoal and deteriorating Late Bronze ceramic forms were characteristic of Phase XXXIII. According to Hammond, the assemblages of the latest Late Bronze levels paralleled those of Tel Beit Mirsim C-2 and B-1.<sup>218</sup> If this is true, they can be dated to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th century BCE. In that case, a limestone scarab of Ramses II found in the Middle Bronze Phase XXXVI in Area I.6 could be an intrusion due to robbery from Phase XXXIV or XXXIII.<sup>219</sup>

The Iron I period at Tel Rumeida showed a gap phase in Area I.1 (Phase X), a transitional phase, a series of interrelated floors, and a clay floor and outer wall in Area I.3 (Phases XII-X), and again a series of floors of a domestic complex and the remains of a destruction level in Area I.6 (Phases XXXII-XXV). The

<sup>217</sup> Hammond, 'Hébron (I)', 258; Ofer, 'Hebron', 608; Chadwick, *Archaeology of Biblical Hebron*, 67-8, 81-2; Idem, 'Discovering Hebron. The City of the Patriarchs Slowly Yields its Secrets', *BAR* 31/5 (2005), 30.

<sup>218</sup> Chadwick, *Archaeology of Biblical Hebron*, 83-90.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. Chadwick, *Archaeology of Biblical Hebron*, 91-2, 185.

material remains of these levels contain storage jars, including a few collared rim jars and four fragments of 'Philistine' ware. Hammond defined the latest ceramic forms as 'terminal Iron I'.<sup>220</sup>

### Iron II

Remains from the Iron II period were excavated by Hammond in Area I.1, Phase IX-VIII; in Area I.3, Phase VIII (a gap Phase with a Byzantine layer on top of it); Area I.4, Phase XI-X; Area I.6, Phase XXIV-XXI; and in the 'Tombs Tests' 2 en 5. The ceramic forms were typically Iron II and the walls formed multi-stored dwellings, possibly a four-room type in Area I.1 and a residential building in Area I.4. The 1999 excavation on the city's north side uncovered two constructional phases of a four-room house. On the basis of his excavations in Area S and G, where he found domestic installations from the 11th century on, Ofer concluded that the city possibly extended beyond the line of the Middle Bronze Age walls during the 10th century BCE. The excavation of seven *mlk*-stamps can be seen as proof of activity during the late 8th century.<sup>221</sup>

### Conclusion

The general history of Tel Rumeida during the Bronze and Iron Ages was similar to that of many major tels in the southern Levantine Central Hill Country. A prosperous Middle Bronze Age was followed by a decline during the Late Bronze Age and Iron I, although Tel Rumeida was more isolated. Contact with the coastal plain seemed to be sparse. Possibly, the wall and also the gate remained intact.<sup>222</sup> The city seems to have recovered at the beginning of Iron II, but due to the lack of information, it is hard to offer a more detailed description of the city from the 10th to the 8th century BCE.

### *Tel Rabud*

The tel of Tel Rabud is a mound with a village on its top in the dry area of the southern Judean hill country, just south of today's Otni'el Junction and close to the Upper and Lower wells of Alaqa. In June 1968 and June 1969 a rescue excavation, directed by Moshe Kochavi of Tel Aviv University, excavated two trenches at the western and the south-western edges of the site, because it was destroyed by agriculture. According to the excavators, the Late Bronze I and Iron II walls surrounded 4,5 ha. and 4 ha. Later surveyors, however, concluded that during the Late Bronze Age, only one third of the protected area was settled.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Chadwick, *Archaeology of Biblical Hebron*, 97-110.

<sup>221</sup> Ofer, 'Tell Rumeideh 1985', 92; Idem, 'Tell Rumeideh 1986', 92; Idem, 'Hebron', 609; Chadwick, *Archaeology of Biblical Hebron*, 117-22; Idem, 'Discovering Hebron', 33, 70.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Chadwick, 'Discovering Hebron', 28, 42.

<sup>223</sup> Kochavi, 'Khirbet Rabud', 4-5; Idem, 'Rabud', 1252; Ofer, 'Hill Country of Judah', 96.

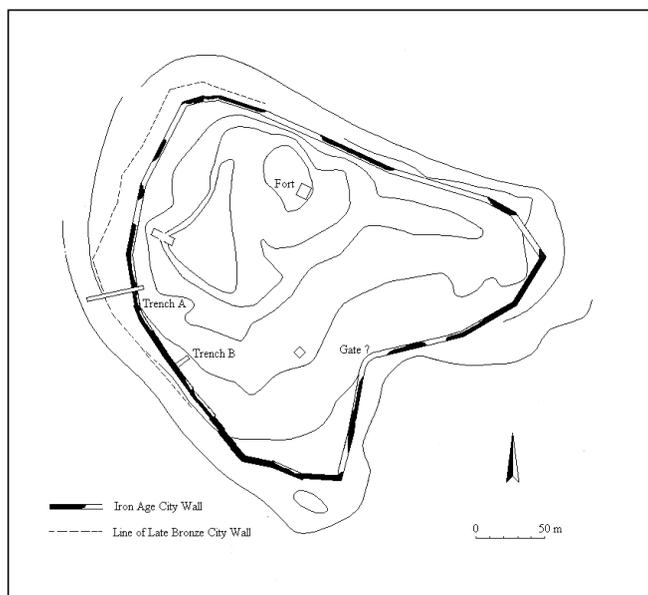


Fig. 6.15 – Excavated Trenches at Tel Rabud

The site was continuously occupied during the Late Bronze Age, as could be observed from the four strata dating to this period in Trench A (Fig. 6.15). Architectural remains in connection to the Late Bronze Age wall W1 were uncovered from Stratum LB3 on, giving evidence of an unchanged tradition of orientation. The cemetery south-east of the tel contained some Late Bronze Age tombs. Their pottery parallels that of Tel Megiddo, Stratum VIII and Tel Lachish, Fosse Temple II and Cypriot wares. Both indicate that LB4 and LB3 should be dated to the 14th and 13th century BCE.<sup>224</sup> The additional analysis of the published pottery of LB2 and LB1 by Wood confirms this picture. The pottery of these strata parallels that of Tel Gezer, Stratum XV and Stratum XIII, while the first Iron I layer, Stratum A4, parallels Tel Gezer, Stratum XII and some of the early Iron Age materials found at Tel Deir 'Alla. Accordingly, the Strata LB2 to A4 can be safely dated to the end of the 13th and the 12th century BCE.<sup>225</sup>

Iron Age remains were both excavated in Trench A and B. Possibly, the Late Bronze Age wall was still in use during the Strata A4 and A3. A cistern with early Iron II pottery from Stratum A3 shows that the massive Iron II wall W7 in any case postdates the late 10th century BCE. Trench B contained three Iron Age strata. The excavators dated the richest of them – Stratum B2, holding an accumulation of pottery, including a *lmlk* seal impression – to the 8th century,

<sup>224</sup> Kochavi, 'Khirbet Rabûd', 6-11, 19-23.

<sup>225</sup> Wood, *Palestinian Pottery of the Late Bronze Age*, 292-7, 344-5, 353-5.

because of ceramic parallels to Tel Lachish, Level III and the final destruction of Tel Beersheba. The cemetery only revealed pottery from early Iron II.<sup>226</sup>

As a result, Tel Rabud turns out to be a city that was most likely newly founded during Late Bronze I, deteriorated during Late Bronze II and Iron I and flourished again during Iron II. The Late Bronze Age wall functioned at least into the 11th century, while the Iron Age wall was most likely founded during the 9th century BCE.

#### *Tel Anab el-Kebir*

Earlier surveys only revealed remains from Iron II at the mound of Tel Anab el-Kebir, just south of Tel Rabud. But a systematic survey of the Judean Hill Country also discovered some Late Bronze Age cemeteries at the site, which are interpreted as a sign of pastoral activity during this period.<sup>227</sup>

#### *Regional Perspective*

As was noted in section 1.3, the southern part of the Central Hill Country was not a very densely occupied region during Late Bronze II, Iron I and Iron IIA. At first, it only functioned as a marginal area with a few cities. The settlement wave of Iron I was quite limited, although the number of villages steadily increased and the most significant breakthrough in the settlement of the Judean hills took place in the transition to Iron IIA. Using an ethnographic model with regard to marriage alliances, Gunnar Lehmann concludes that during Iron I, the region consisted of four fields of interaction demarcated by topographical boundaries, population size, economic circumstances and marriage. From north to south: the area surrounding el-Jib, the vicinity of Jerusalem, the highlands of Tel Jedur and Ras et-Tawil, and the area between Tel Rumeida and Tel Rabud.

During Iron IIA, the further increase of settlements resulted in three important developments. Firstly, the built up area just north and north-west of Jerusalem, close to el-Jib, experienced such a fast growth that the population density in this area was much higher than in the southern hills. Secondly, a statistical analysis of the data from the region south of Jerusalem shows that the systems were part of a more extensive settlement system which centre was located outside the surveyed area. This strongly suggests that Jerusalem was already at the top of the hierarchical settlement systems in the region during the 10th century, despite the fact that the material remains from the City of David dating to this period are highly debated. Thirdly, the two southernmost fields of interaction both seemed to have split up into a Tekoa and a Ras et-Tawil region on the one hand and two separate Tel Rumeida and Tel Rabud surroundings on the other hand. Most likely, horticulture became an important part of agriculture during Iron I and Iron IIA, although this type of cultivation

<sup>226</sup> Kochavi, 'Khirbet Rabûd', 12-18, 24-6.

<sup>227</sup> Ofer, 'Hill Country of Judah', 118; De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 433.

required a regional economic cooperation. But according to Lehmann, the social organization of the tribal societies in the area would have been able to provide this requirement. Finally, it appears that the Judean highlands only took fully part of a more extensive settlement pattern during the 9th and 8th century BCE.<sup>228</sup>

## Chalk Valleys and Shephelah

### *Tel Azeka*

An excavation to Tel Azeka, a tel of 4 ha. overlooking the Valley of Elah in the northern Shephelah, took place in three campaigns in 1898-1899 under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, because the Ottoman authorities had permitted to excavate an area of 10 square kilometres around Tel Zafit. The results of the campaigns were published in 1902. Their interpretation of the finds was correct with regard to the later periods. The conclusion that the site was most of the time occupied from ca. 1500 BCE to the Byzantine period also still stands. Yet, a fortress uncovered at the southeast of the tel, does not date to the 10th but to the late 8th century BCE due to the *lmlk*-impressions on jar handles. Parallels of the fortress were excavated at Kadesh Barnea, Horvat Uzu and Arad.<sup>229</sup>

### *Tel Adulam*

The site of Tel Adulam is located just north of Tel el-Qom. According to its surveyors, the city covered 0,4-1 ha. during the Late Bronze Age and did in particular well in Iron II during the 9th and 8th century BCE.<sup>230</sup>

### *Tel el-Qom*

Tel el-Qom is a mound of about 2,5 ha., located in the transitional chalk-valley between the Shephelah and the hill country, directly on the wadi es-Saffar. The site was explored in 1971 by a brief excavation campaign by John S. Holladay, John F. Strange and Lawrence T. Geraty under the sponsorship of the Canada Council.

A 7th century BCE two-entry gateway with an early Iron IIA foundation and an offset-inset city wall from the same period were uncovered in Field III at the south side of the modern village on the site. The north-western Field I contained a cistern with 9th century pottery and Field II remains of Iron II houses. The site was in any case inhabited during the Early and Middle Bronze Ages,

<sup>228</sup> Ofer, 'All the Hill Country of Judah', 100-6, 117-2; Lehmann, 'United Monarchy in the Countryside', 130-56.

<sup>229</sup> E. Stern, 'Azekah', *NEAEHL*, 124. Cf. Y. Dagan, *The Shephelah during the Period of the Monarchy in Light of Archaeological Excavations and Survey* (M.A. Thesis, Tel Aviv University), Tel Aviv 1992, 107, Map 4 (Hebrew).

<sup>230</sup> Dagan, *Shephelah during the Period of the Monarchy*, 149-50, Map 4; Finkelstein, 'Philistine Countryside', 239.

and during the Iron II and the Hellenistic period. The finds include 10th to 6th century BCE pottery, inscribed vessels and some bench tombs with famous inscriptions. The excavators describe the Iron II city as an important fortified town of Judah in the second line of defence along the southern approach route from Tel Lachish to Tel Rumeida.<sup>231</sup>

### *Tel Eiton*

The elliptic mound of 6 ha. called Tel Eiton is located south-west of Tel Rumeida in the eastern Shephelah, just at the western side of the border with the West Bank. From March to May 1968, the Israeli Department of Antiquities cleared out several burial places at the site. Some of these typical Late Bronze arcosolia-tombs appeared to be plundered, but others contained rich finds dating from the Late Bronze Age up to 8th century BCE.<sup>232</sup>

Another excavation was carried out in 1977, when members of the expedition at Tel Lachish uncovered a two strata Iron II structure at Tel Eiton. Its results perfectly matched the previous campaign, because the homogeneous, domestic pottery of the building turned out to have much in common with the ceramic assemblage of the early parts of Tel Lachish. Level III. Therefore, it can be dated to the third quarter of the 8th century BCE.<sup>233</sup>

### *Tel Gezer*

The mound of Tel Gezer, a large oblong site of 13,3 ha., is situated in the western Judean foothills at the edge of the northern Shephelah. It was excavated by an expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund under direction of Robert A. Stewart Macalister between 1902 and 1909. A second excavation of the same fund was conducted by Alexander Rowe in 1934. Over the years, the site attracted the attention time and again, for instance when Yigael Yadin's discovered that Macalister's 'Maccabean Castle' was in fact an Iron II six-chambered gate.<sup>234</sup> New large-scale excavations were initiated by George Ernest Wright in 1964 on behalf of the Hebrew Union College and the Nelson Glueck School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. This expedition was conducted by Wright (1964-1965), William G. Dever (1966-1971), Joe D. Seger (1972-1974), and again by

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<sup>231</sup> J.S. Holladay, 'Khirbet el-Qôm', *IEJ* 21 (1971), 175-7; W.G. Dever, 'Qôm, Khirbet el-', *NEAEHL*, 1233-4. For the inscriptions, see e.g. Renz, Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, Bd. 1, 199-217; Bd. 3, Taf. XIX-XXI.

<sup>232</sup> 'Notes and News: Tell 'Aitun', *IEJ* 18 (1968), 194-5; D. Ussishkin, 'Tombs from the Israelite Period from Tel 'Eton', *TA* 1 (1974), 109-27. Cf. W.H. Stiebing, 'Another Look at the Origins of the Philistine Tombs at Tell el-Far'ah', *AJA* 74 (1970), 139-43; Keel, Küchler, *OLB*, Bd. 2, 785.

<sup>233</sup> E. Ayalon, 'Trial Excavation of Two Iron Age Strata at Tel 'Eton', *TA* 12 (1985), 54-62; Zimhoni, 'Iron Age Pottery from Tel 'Eton', 87-8. For the date of the beginning of Tel Lachish, Level III, see Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 1, 76.

<sup>234</sup> Y. Yadin, 'Solomon's City Wall and Gate at Gezer', *IEJ* 8 (1958), 80-6.

Dever (1984 and 1990). During the late sixties and early seventies, the the expedition was known for its new stratigraphic methodology, interdisciplinary research and the introduction of the system of academic field schools for large numbers of student volunteers. Unfortunately, the results of several excavated Fields still await final publication and the reports have met serious criticism.<sup>235</sup> Moreover, the expedition became subject of one of the bitterest conflicts in the Low Chronology-debate.<sup>236</sup> In 2006 the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and the Israel Antiquities Authority organized a new expedition at the site, conducted by Steve Ortiz and Sam Wolff, in order to clarify the relation between the Iron Age remains at the site by exposing the area between Field VII and Field III (Fig. 6.17).

#### Late Bronze II and Iron I

Most finds dating to Late Bronze II, that is, the Amarna period of the 14th century BCE, were uncovered in Field VI at the western part of the site, close to the huge series of trenches Macalister dug out to bedrock. The stratum was disturbed by later pits, but still contained large house walls, thick plastered floors, fragments of el-Amarna glass and other valuable objects. According to the excavators, the 'Outer Wall' surrounding the entire site and uncovered by Macalister also belonged to this period. This conclusion was fiercely contested, because pottery fills would date the wall to the Iron II period. But a section from the 1990 excavation in Field XI and the fact that the foundation trench only contained pottery from the beginning of the Late Bronze II period confirms the previous dating, although the section indeed makes it clear that the wall was most likely rebuilt in Iron II.<sup>237</sup>

Other finds from the 14th century BCE were a cuneiform tablet and some remains from Field I, cave 10A.<sup>238</sup> According Macalister, a main public structure uncovered in his trenches 27-28 called the 'Canaanite Castle', possibly served as the residence of the governor and dated to the 13th century BCE. According to some interpreters this intuition is confirmed, both by architectural analyses, showing that it resembled an Egyptian-style 'residency', and by the excavation of 1990.<sup>239</sup>

<sup>235</sup> E.g. A. Kempinski, 'Gezer: Re-excavating Ancient Sites in Israel', *IEJ* 45 (1993), 174-80.

<sup>236</sup> Finkelstein, 'Gezer Revisited and Revised'; Dever, 'Visiting the Real Gezer'.

<sup>237</sup> R.A.S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer, 1902-1905 and 1907-1909*, Vol. 1, London 1911, 244-56; W.G. Dever, 'Late Bronze Age and Solomonic Defenses at Gezer: New Evidence', *BASOR* 262 (1986), 13-16; Idem, 'Further Evidence on the Date of the Outer Wall at Gezer', *BASOR* 289 (1993), 35-54; I. Finkelstein, 'Penelopes Shroud Unraveled: Iron II Date of Gezer's Outer Wall Established', *TA* 21 (1994), 276-82; Finkelstein, 'Gezer Revisited and Revised', 268, 285-6; Dever, 'Visiting the Real Gezer', 264.

<sup>238</sup> Dever, 'Gezer', 502-3. Seger, *Gezer*, vol. 5, 47-59; Horowitz *et al.*, *Cuneiform in Canaan*, 53-5.

<sup>239</sup> Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, vol. 1, 206-9; I. Singer, 'An Egyptian "Governor's Residency" at Gezer?', *TA* 13-14 (1986-1987), 26-31; S. Bunimovitz, 'An Egyptian

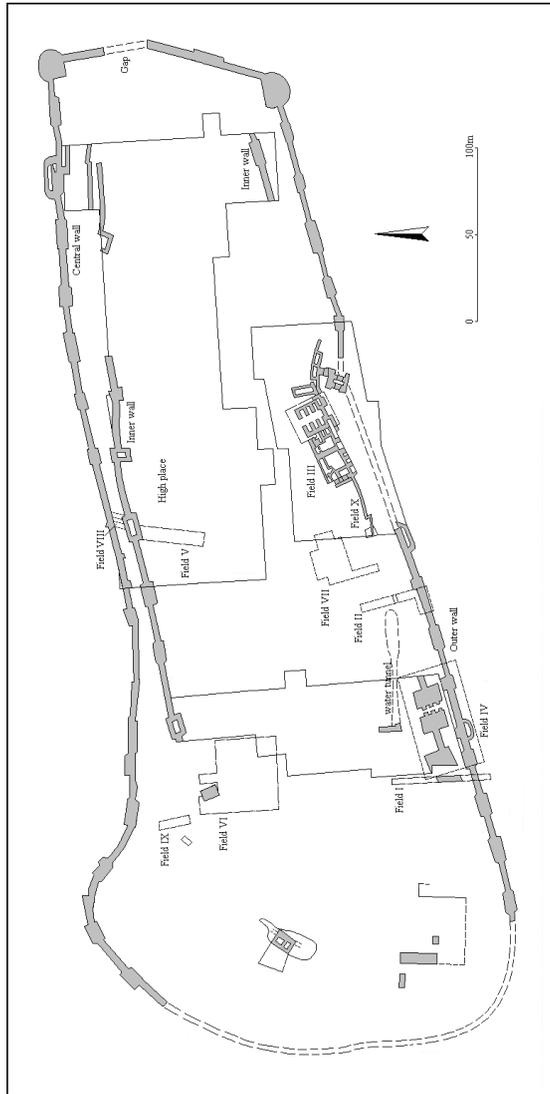


Fig. 6.16 – Excavated Fields and principal remains at Tel Gezer

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“Governor’s Residency” at Gezer? – Another Suggestion’, *TA* 15-16 (1988-1989), 68-76; Dever, ‘Further Evidence’, 38-40; Idem, ‘Visiting the Real Gezer’, 265-6.

Others, however, insist that an earlier date is to be preferred and that the outline resembles that of other Middle Bronze buildings.<sup>240</sup>

Stratum XV was already discussed in section 6.1, because it represents one of the rare secured destruction correlates in the Late Bronze Southern Levant, namely, between its archaeological record and a text of pharaoh Merneptah. Although no demolition took place at the end of the previous layer, the buildings of Stratum XV are rather unimpressive and built in a different orientation, while its ceramic repertoire is limited. The further decline of the city is observed in the short and poor post-destruction level of Stratum XIV. This site also showed some evidence of destruction in Field I and II.<sup>241</sup> The next phases, Strata XIII-XI, continued the basic architectural elements, but also reflected the new culture that is typical for the southern Coastal Plain after 1175 BCE, as could be observed from the diverse phases in Field VI on the acropolis, but also in Field I and II. The phases contained numerous indications of destructions and the pottery combined the local degenerated Late Bronze Age ceramics with a sudden appearance of some 'Philistine' bichrome. Finally, the excavators discerned two late Iron I levels, Stratum X and IX, in Field II and VI. The architecture continued that of the previous levels, but the painted ware was exchanged for pottery treated with an non-burnished, thin red slip.<sup>242</sup>

## Iron II

The first Iron II settlement at Tel Gezer is the city of Stratum VIII, with unimpressive domestic architecture, but with large amounts of burnished red slip pottery, a six-chambered gate (Macalister's 'Maccabean Castle'), and a palace in Field III and a casemate wall in Field II. According to the excavators, the new builders simply repaired and reused the Late Bronze fortifications wherever possible, adding ashlar masonry and other new architectural features. According to this interpretation, the street level was raised shortly after the construction of the gate and a two-entry gatehouse was added, thus creating an early version of the Iron II double gate that was also found at Tel Megiddo, Tel Dan,

<sup>240</sup> A.M. Maeir, 'Remarks on the Supposed Egyptian Residency at Gezer', *TA* 15-16 (1988-1989), 65-7; Higginbotham, *Egyptianization*, 101, 279-81; Finkelstein, 'Gezer Revisited and Revised', 278-9.

<sup>241</sup> Dever *et al.*, *Gezer*, vol. 1, 24; Idem (ed.), *Gezer*, vol. 2, 51; Idem, 'Gezer, 504. For the Late Bronze Tomb finds from Raymond-Charles Weill's excavations in 1914 and 1921, see A.M. Maeir, *Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tel Gezer, Israel* (BAR/IS, 1206), Oxford 2004, 61-2.

<sup>242</sup> Dever *et al.*, *Gezer*, vol. 1, 61-2; Idem (ed.), *Gezer*, vol. 4, 87; Idem, 'Gezer', 504. Macalister also uncovered some late 19th and 20th Dynasty objects. It is unclear, however, to what stratum they belong. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, vol. 2, 236, 331; vol. 3, Pl CXXI, no. 20; CXCv, no. 74. For a chronological analysis of the ceramic assemblage of Tel Gezer, Stratum X, see S.M. Ortiz, 'Does the Low Chronology Work? A Case Study of Tell Qasile X, Tel Gezer X, and Lachish V', in: Maeir, Miroshedji (eds), *"I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Times"*, 587-611.

Tel Lachish and Tel Batash.<sup>243</sup> Other interpreters state that the Outer Wall and the double gate were constructed in Stratum VII.<sup>244</sup> As was noted above, however, this at least yields a highly contestable understanding of the foundation of the 'Outer Wall'. Yet, the nature of the casemate enclosure is insecure, because Field VI on the acropolis only contained pits and the extent of the casemate wall also remained unclear.<sup>245</sup> Still, something can be said with regard to the dating of the Stratum VIII administrative centre of Tel Gezer. In section 6.1, it turned out that Solomon cannot be characterized as the 'red slip king' and that the six-chambered gate does not necessarily indicate a 10th century origin. In this light, it cannot be verified that the evidence of destruction found close to the gate in Field III and in Field VIII are to be interpreted as the results of the raid of pharaoh Shoshenq I.<sup>246</sup> But the combination of the dating of Stratum XIII-XI on the basis of the 'Philistine' bichrome, the stratigraphy up to the 8th century and the abundant presence of burnished red slip ware make it almost impossible to state that the start of Stratum VIII postdates the second half of the 10th century BCE.<sup>247</sup>

It is disputed whether Tel Gezer was an important site during Iron IIB. Macalister uncovered several tombs from this period.<sup>248</sup> The Hebrew Union College Excavations in its turn discovered that the remains above Stratum VIII had most likely been eroded in Field I and VI and that the accumulation of materials in the other areas was quite thin. At the same time, however, surveys suggest a steady growth of built up area in the countryside and even an extraordinary prosperity during the 8th century BCE.<sup>249</sup> Accordingly, it was suggested that the buildings of the Iron IIB city were probably destroyed by later occupants in the Persian, Hellenistic, Medieval and Ottoman periods.<sup>250</sup> Nevertheless, the remains in Field III suggested that the gate was rebuilt into a four-chambered gate, just as had been the case at Tel Megiddo, Stratum IVA during the late 9th or early 8th century BCE. In a similar way Palace 10,000 was re-

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<sup>243</sup> W.G. Dever, 'Solomonic and Assyrian "Palaces" at Gezer', *IEJ* 35 (1985), 217-22; Dever, 'Late Bronze Age and Solomonic Defenses', 16-26; Idem, 'Further Evidence', 40-3.

<sup>244</sup> Finkelstein, 'Gezer Revisited and Revised', 266-8, 272-3. Cf. Ussishkin, 'Notes on Megiddo, Gezer, Ashdod, and Tel Batash', 75-7; Dever, 'Visiting the Real Gezer', 267-9, 271-2.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. e.g. Z. Herzog, *Archaeology of the City*, Tel Aviv 1997, 216-7.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. Dever *et al.*, 'Further Excavations', 117; Idem (ed.), *Gezer*, vol. 2, 68; vol. 3, 16, 29.

<sup>247</sup> Other 10th century BCE remains include most likely the material remains from the tombs 84, 85, 138 and the Gezer Calendar. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, vol. 1, 334-5, 350; vol. 3, Pl. CII, n. 1-6; Renz, Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, Bd. 1, 30-7.

<sup>248</sup> Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, vol. 1, 334, 353-4; vol. 3, Pls. LIX, no. 12; LXXIII; LVII, no. 3.

<sup>249</sup> Shavit, 'Ayalon Valley', 217-9.

<sup>250</sup> Finkelstein, 'Gezer Revisited and Revised', 286.

placed by Palace 8000. The gate and palace at least survived until they were destroyed by the Assyrians, together with some domestic architecture of Stratum VI.<sup>251</sup>

### Conclusion

As a result, the Late Bronze remains of Tel Gezer show a flourishing city, fortified during the Amarna period and possibly also the location of an Egyptian governor. It deteriorated during Late Bronze IIB and Iron I, while the 12th century settlement was only slightly influenced by the material culture of the southern Coastal Plain. At the beginning of Iron II, the Late Bronze fortifications were partly repaired and an administrative centre was erected at the mound. The development of the settlement pattern in the countryside suggests a steady increase of inhabitants and welfare during the 9th and 8th century BCE. So far, however, this is not substantiated by the archaeological record.

### *Tel Yarmuth*

Tel Yarmuth in the central Shephelah is a huge mound of 16 ha. with an acropolis of 1,6 ha. It is famous because of its contribution to the knowledge of the Early Bronze Age urban culture in the Southern Levant due to the results of excavations in 1970 directed by Amnon Ben-Tor of Hebrew University in Jerusalem and from 1980 on by the Tel Yarmuth Archaeological Expedition, conducted by Pierre de Miroschedji, the director of the Parisian *Centre national de recherche scientifique* and of the *Centre de recherche français de Jérusalem* (Fig. 6.17). In the past, several surveyors found a few Late Bronze sherds on the tel, but there was always discussion on the question whether the site was inhabited during this period.<sup>252</sup>

In 1986-1987 and 1996-1997, however, the Tel Yarmuth Archaeological Expedition excavated a sounding on the acropolis showing that after a long period of abandonment occupation had been resumed during the Late Bronze II and that this settlement at least existed to the end of Iron I. The Late Bronze layers, Stratum Acr. VII and VI were only penetrated in the Squares BB-BA 116, where they were at about 40-50 centimetres and 1,5 metres thick. Three floors of the lowest stratum were uncovered just above an Early Bronze layer, but no structures appeared. Stratum VI on top of it had five spaces, divided by a single row of stones, also containing three floors with abundant pottery associated with Late Bronze IIA-B: local Canaanite pottery and imported Cypriote White Slip II and Base Ring II wares and some Mycenaean ceramics. Finally, the Iron I Strata V to III contained two terraces, walls, a large kiln and typical Iron I pot-

<sup>251</sup> Dever (ed.), *Gezer*, vol. 2, 70, 73; vol. 3, 15-6, 30; Dever, 'Solomonic and Assyrian Palaces', 223-6; Idem, 'Gezer', 505.

<sup>252</sup> J. Garstang, *Joshua, Judges*, London 1931, 171-2; Abel, *Géographie*, t. 2, 356; H.N. Richardson, 'A Stamped Handle From Khirbet Yarmuk', *BASOR* 192 (1968), 12; Ben-Tor, 'First Season of Excavations', 57; Keel, Küchler, *OLB*, Bd. 2, 820.

tery. The uppermost Stratum III showed evidence of destruction by fire. Its pottery can be dated according to its parallels at Beth Shemesh, Stratum III and Tel Qasile, Stratum XI-X, that is, to the second half of the 11th and the beginning of the 10th century BCE.<sup>253</sup>

Of course, the excavation of the sounding alone is not enough to offer a definite characterization of the Late Bronze and Iron I settlement at Tel Yarmuth. Nevertheless, the finds and the imports highlight that the acropolis was occupied by a settlement that most likely was not very poor.

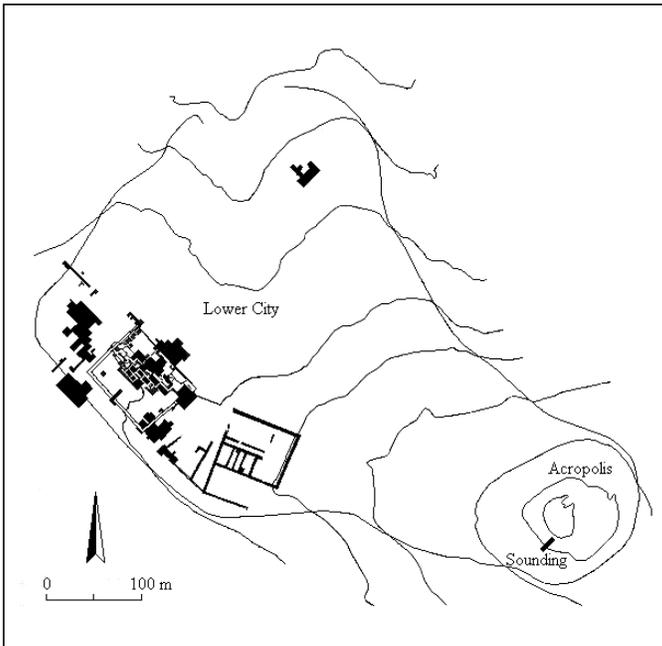


Fig. 6.17 – Excavated Areas at Tel Yarmuth.

### *Tel Burna*

Tel Burna is an unexcavated mound of 3,5 ha. along the way from Tel Lachish to the Central Hill Country. According to its surveyor the city was occupied during the Late Bronze II and Iron II and did in particular well during the 9th and 8th century BCE.<sup>254</sup>

<sup>253</sup> P. de Miroschedji, 'Tel Yarmut 1986', *IEJ* 38 (1988), 88; Idem, 'Khirbet Yarmouk (Tel Yarmouth)', 1986-1987', *RB* 95 (1988), 225; Idem, 'Tel Yarmut 1987', *IEJ* 38 (1988), 198-9; Idem, 'Tel Jarmuth', *NEAEHL*, 661, 5; Idem, 'Tel Yarmut, 1996', *IEJ* 47 (1997), 134; Idem, 'Tel Yarmut, 1997', *IEJ* 48 (1998), 143-4. For the date of Tel Qasile, Stratum XI-X, see Mazar, 'Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age', 24.

<sup>254</sup> Dagan, *Shephelah during the Period of the Monarchy*, 154, Map 4.

### *Tel Lachish*

Tell ed Duweir or Tel Lachish is a large rectangular mound of 12,4 ha. in the centre of the Shephelah. The important roads and fertile soil in the region made it an important city throughout the ages. The site was excavated on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund in an expedition conducted by James Starkey and Olga Tufnell from 1932 on. The expedition was stopped in 1938 after the robbery and assassination of Starkey near Hebron. Tufnell shortly returned to the tel in 1960, while other small excavations to refine the results of the previous expedition were carried out by Yohanan Aharoni of Tel Aviv University in 1966 and 1968. New extensive excavations and restoration work took place between 1973 and 1994 in an expedition of the Archaeological Institute at Tel Aviv University directed by David Ussishkin. The five volumes of the final publication of the renewed excavations, published in 2004, offer an excellent presentation of the expedition, the finds and their interpretation and also include an understanding of the previous excavations. With respect to the date of Level VI-III, only the early Iron IIA Levels V and IV are disputed, for the opinions diverge over the implication of the fact that Level VI did not contain any 'Philistine' bichrome pottery. This issue, however, and the date of the destruction of Late Bronze Lachish were already treated in section 1.3 and 6.1. Therefore, a straightforward description of the finds at Tel Lachish from the periods at hand will suffice (cf. Fig. 6.18).

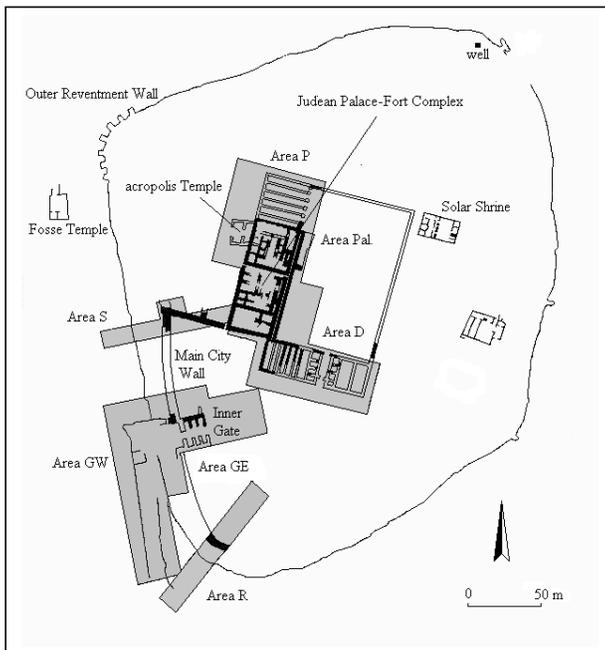


Fig. 6.18 – Excavation Areas and most important structures at Tel Lachish.

## Late Bronze II

During Late Bronze I a temple was built in the defensive moat or fosse after the Middle Bronze fortifications at the western edge had gone out of use. At the beginning of Late Bronze II, this temple was replaced by a larger, superimposed 'Fosse Temple II', which was uncovered by Starkey and Tufnell. Very little is known about the settlement at the mound proper during the Amarna period. The new excavations only revealed part of a public building in Area S, although this area contained a great number of Cypriot pottery and Mycenaean IIIA fragments. Some poor domestic remains were found in Area D. The excavators suppose that the focus of the settlement during Late Bronze IIA was in the western and northern fringes of the mound, rather than in its centre. Yet, several rich tombs indicate that the site was not very poor. Remarkably, the city was not protected by a wall, as became in particular evident in Area S, where the upper periphery of the mound was left open.<sup>255</sup>

As was noted already in section 1.3, the new excavations showed that the history of the prosperous city of Tel Lachish during Late Bronze IIB should be divided into two periods. The glorious 'Fosse Temple III', a building in the North-East Section, a thorough-built domestic structure in Area S and a public structure, possibly a temple, in Area P show that the meagre city developed into the densely populated, rich and large settlement of Level VII in the transition from the 14th to the 13th century BCE, although it was still not surrounded by a city wall. Its wealth is highlighted by the pottery and artefacts, which include faience, glass vessels, jewellery and a large assemblage of pottery, which was in part produced in the pottery workshop uncovered by the new expedition on the northern slope. At the end of the 13th century, Fosse Temple III and the domestic structure in Area S were destroyed by fire and the Fosse Temple was never rebuilt.<sup>256</sup>

After the destruction, the 12th century BCE Late Bronze II city of Tel Lachish, Level VI soon recovered along the lines of the previous culture. A new sanctuary arose in Area P with a ground-plan similar to that of other Late Bronze temples from the Southern Levant, but also with some Egyptian architectural features. Rich artefacts and a golden plaque depicting a goddess were found in it. In Area S, Level VI contained the material remains of a large pillared building. Again the city remained unfortified, although the foundation of a gate was uncovered in Area GE. Structures near the upper periphery of the site probably served as a protective belt. Regarding the acropolis, the excavators believe that a palace complex crowned the city and they suppose it was removed in its entirety by the builders of the Level IV Palace-Fort. The temple in

<sup>255</sup> Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 1, 59-60, 188-91; vol. 3, 1033-8, 1155-1232. Cf. Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*, vol. 2, 22, 37-40, 84; Idem, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*, vol. 4, 6, 60-1, 67.

<sup>256</sup> Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 1, 61-2, 191-9, 344-51 vol. 5, 2515-2594. Cf. Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*, vol. 2, 22-4, 40-4, 59-76; Pls. XIV, XXII-XIX; Idem, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*, vol. 4, 49, 291-3.

Area P probably formed an important part of it. Apart from 19th Dynasty artefacts, hieratic inscriptions and anthropoid clay coffins indicating strong relations with Egypt, all kind of ceramics and objects suggest intense commercial connections with Arabia, Syria, north-western Anatolia, Mycenae, Crete and Cyprus. Additionally, remains were found of agriculture, metallurgical activity and bones of brown bears, lions and a leopard.<sup>257</sup> Tel Lachish, Level VI ended in a huge destruction that can be dated at about 1130 BCE. The site remained abandoned for a long period and was only resettled at the beginning of Iron II.

## Iron II

The early Iron II settlement at Tel Lachish, Level V is only present in a house that was uncovered in Area S near the upper periphery of the mound. The location of the building suggests that the site was not fortified during this period, although the structure could have formed part of a protecting belt of buildings. A few other walls and pits were discovered beneath the Palace-Fort of Level IV in Area S, while pottery remains similar to those of Level V were present in the construction fills of the monumental buildings of Level IV, thus indicating that the central area had been occupied before. An evaluation of the remains of the so-called 'Solar Shrine', uncovered by Aharoni and ascribed by him to Level V, led to the conclusion that the structure itself did not exist and that the stone altar and cultic vessels belonged to Level IV. Similar conclusions were drawn concerning the date and construction of Podium A in Area PAL: the structures below the Palace were the foundation of this Level IV public building instead of being the remains of a small fortified palace from a later phase of Level V. Unfortunately, the pottery assemblage of this stratum, containing a large amount of burnished red slip ware, seems to be the only available instrument for dating this archaeological phase. According to the excavators, it started at the beginning of the 9th century BCE, although they also assert that this suggestion is not conclusive.<sup>258</sup> The chronological framework developed in section 6.1 points at a date somewhat half a century earlier.

The next stratum of Tel Lachish, Level IV is marked by the construction of massive fortress city of 8,1 ha. A six metres wide mud-brick city wall extending along the upper periphery of the mound was already examined by Starkey, who also discovered the outer fortifications of the Outer Revetment Wall down the slope, which retained the glacis or ramp above it. Both were uncovered in the Areas R, S and GE in the renewed excavations. A city-gate complex of a

<sup>257</sup> Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 1, 62-9, 215-67, 297-305, 352-9; vol. 2, 624-31. Cf. Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*, vol. 2, 22-4, 38, 40-3, 84-5.

<sup>258</sup> Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 1, 76-8, 105-9; vol. 2, 411-6, 774-6; Cf. Tufnell, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*, vol. 3, 52-3, 80-3; Y. Aharoni, *Investigations at Lachish. The Sanctuary and the Residency (Lachish. Vol. 5)*, Tel Aviv 1975, 12, 26-32. At first, Ussishkin assumed that Podium A of Level IV was a second phase of Level V. See Ussishkin, 'Preliminary Report I', 25-31.

roadway, an outer gate, an open courtyard and a six-chambered inner gate was added to these fortifications. Inside the city, a large amount of earth from the previous layers was removed to create two podia (Podium A and B) in the centre of the site, on which a huge rectangular Palace-Fort was erected, flanked by two buildings, possibly a storehouse and stables. The stone for the fortifications probably came from a huge shaft at the eastern side of the tel, that was already cleared by the British expedition. Remarkably, they were not built of ashlar masonry, but of roughly dressed stone blocks. According to the chronological framework of section 6.1, Level IV was founded during the first half of the 9th century, whereas it came to a sudden end during the first half of the 8th century BCE. According to the excavators, the lack of remains of a conflagration, the unexpected destruction of complete assemblages of pottery vessels in Area S, the repairs of the monumental structures and the continuation of the same material culture in Level III all indicate that Tel Lachish, Level IV came to its end by an earthquake.<sup>259</sup>

Apart from the signs of restoration at the beginning of Level III, the most important change in the layout of the city was the removal of the Palace-Fort from Podia A and B, the addition of a Podium C and the construction of a new Palace on top of these foundations, while the adjacent southern building was also replaced by a larger one. In addition, the south-western part of the city became densely filled with domestic structures. The area between the Palace-Fort and the city wall seemed to have remained vacant. Finally, two important groups of finds have to be mentioned. First, no less than 483 *lmlk*- and 'private' stamped handles were unearthed during three excavations, indicating that Tel Lachish was a key site in the Judean kingdom prior to the Assyrian invasion. Second, Area R revealed extensive remains of the disastrous attack the city befell in 701 BCE, when Sennacherib conquered and enflamed the city: the siege ramp, numerous arrow heads, iron spears, armour scales and slingstones.<sup>260</sup>

### Conclusion

Most cities in the Southern Levant reflect a culture that slowly deteriorated during the Late Bronze Age. Though, the development at Tel Lachish was quite the opposite. During Late Bronze IIB, the relative modest site of Late Bronze I and IIA developed in two phases into an important city with contacts everywhere in the eastern Mediterranean. It remained unfortified, but prospered under Egyptian influence and only came to a violent end at about 1130 BCE. Thereafter, the city was abandoned. Its position as the main settlement in the region was taken over by Tel Miqne-Ekron and Tel Zafit. After Tel Lachish had

<sup>259</sup> Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 1, 78-83; vol. 2, 416-447, 508-514, 777-807; vol. 4, 1643-1710. Cf. Tufnell, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*, vol. 3, 72-4, 79-80, 83.

<sup>260</sup> Ussishkin (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 1, 83-90; vol. 2, 447-57, 504-7, 514-9; 695-767, 807-30; vol. 4, 1643-1710. Cf. Tufnell, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*, vol. 3, 72-4, 79-80, 83-5, 94-5.

been reoccupied by a small settlement during the 10th century, the city was fortified during the first half of the 9th century BCE by a complete defence system and the largest Iron II Palace-Fort in the Southern Levant uncovered so far. These fortifications and the Iron II material culture show that Tel Lachish played a major role in defending the western border of a polity, which at least comprised the Shephelah and the Judean highlands. During the 8th century the city suffered an earthquake, but it was rebuilt and maintained its high rank until it was conquered and destroyed by the Assyrians in 701 BCE.

### *Regional Perspective*

The settlement history of the Shephelah and the Ayalon Valley during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages is a striking one in relation with the Central Hill Country and the southern Coastal Plain, but also in comparison to one another. Both were densely settled regions during the Late Bronze Age. But the decline of the number of settlements in comparison to the Middle Bronze Age in the Ayalon Valley stood in sharp contrast with the increase of the number of sites and built up area in the Shephelah. Almost all sites in the northern hills of the Ayalon Valley were abandoned. Nevertheless, the linkage of the remaining sites in the southern part of the valley to Tel Gezer is apparent and it seems that the sites together formed a settlement system of about 8000 inhabitants, which also included some new small unfortified sites. Its centre, Tel Gezer, was strong when compared to the poverty of the peripheral settlements, but the system as a whole was poor in terms of population and economic strength. More to the south, the Shephelah flourished, in particular during the 13th and the first half of the 12th century BCE. Apart from Tel Zafit in the north and Tel Lachish in the south, however, it is hard to estimate which other settlements dominated the region.<sup>261</sup>

During Iron I, this situation changed significantly. The number of settlements in the Central Hill Country increased and the towns in the southern Coastal Plain became large cities. But the total settled area in the southern part of the Ayalon Valley experienced a recession and in the northern and southern parts of the Shephelah only 14 of the 51 settlements remained to exist. The destructions of Tel Lachish, Tel Beit Mirsim and Tel Batash at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the small excavated amounts of 'Philistine' pottery from the 12th and 11th century BCE suggest that the inhabitants of the southern Coastal Plain considered the Shephelah a buffer zone and that their cultural influence in the Tel Gezer region was limited.

The amount of settlements in the Ayalon Valley increased during Iron IIA-B from 20 to 42. In the Shephelah a slowly, but very important settlement proc-

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<sup>261</sup> Shavit, 'Ayalon Valley', 211-5; Ussishkin, *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 5, 2678-80. Cf. M. Jasmin, 'The Political Organization of the City-States in Southwestern Palestine in the Late Bronze Age IIB', in: Maeir, Miroschedji (eds), *I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Times*, 166-8.

ess started from the 10th century on, first in its eastern part, then also in the west. The region reached its zenith in the 8th century BCE, when no less than 289 settlements of various types existed. The unique presence of many 'isolated' structures throughout most of the agricultural lands clearly reflects a stage of stability and security. The campaign of Sennacherib marked the end of this period of prosperity.<sup>262</sup>

## Steppe and Desert

### *Tel Halif*

The mound of Tel Halif is a prominent, medium-sized site of 3 ha., located on the triangle between the south-western flank of the Judean Hills, the southern Shephelah and the Negev desert. The excavation of the site is part of the Lahav Research Project of the American Cobb Institute of Archaeology at Mississippi State University. Three phases of the excavation were completed, directed by Joe D. Seger (1976-1980 and 1983-1989) and Seger, Paul F. Jacobs and Oded Borowski, both of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia (1992-1993, 1999). Phase IV is conducted by Borowski (2007-today) (Fig. 6.19). So far, five fields have been uncovered, containing mainly remains from the Early and Late Bronze Ages and the Iron Age, and the final publication of the excavations only comprises the Early Bronze Age settlement.

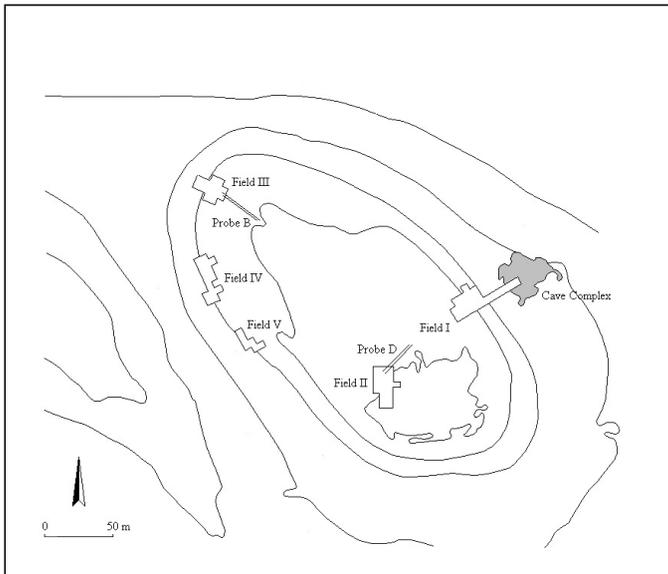


Fig. 6.19 – Excavation Fields at Tel Halif

<sup>262</sup> Shavit, 'Ayalon Valley', 215-8; Ussishkin, *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 5, 2679-81.

Remains from the Late Bronze Age were excavated in Field I and III. According to the excavators, the site was resettled at the end of Late Bronze I, probably due to the depopulation of nearby Tel Beit Mirsim, which had been destroyed. An Egyptian 'residency' that was built in Stratum XI suggests that the ambitious architectural development in Stratum XI-X reflected the function of Tel Halif as a trading station, dedicated to monitoring and maintaining connections between the coastal highway and the Judean Hills. Stratum X, however, was destroyed at the beginning of Late Bronze II. Thereafter, the site was shortly abandoned. The following Stratum IX was primarily domestic in nature, as became evident from the excavations in Field I. There was some reuse of the Stratum X wall lines and an open space between the houses seems to have functioned as a courtyard. Stratum VIII in the same field clearly shows that the redevelopment of the settlement had been effected. It remained unfortified, but the previous layer was covered by preparation materials for a massive platform that was constructed to support a large storage complex. A number of deep pits were cut into the platform, the parameters of the building were clearly defined and more than a dozen large storage jars were found, one with a handle bearing several letters in Proto-Canaanite script. According to the excavators, the vessels can be associated with the end of the Late Bronze Age. Field I also yielded a series of walls and surfaces extending from the north side of the storage platform to the very edge of the mound. Deep probes in Field II and III revealed that Stratum IX and VIII occupation covered at least the western part of the tel. In one of the probes, a small assemblage of artefacts was found *in situ*: a bronze arrowhead, a whole oil lamp, and an almost complete cooking pot.<sup>263</sup>

During Iron I, the northern wall of the storage platform in Field I remained in use and the walls closer to the edge of the mound also shifted modestly. Three succeeding Iron I floors were detected in this phase, which was called Stratum VII. An important array of stone tools and pottery was uncovered on top of one of them. In Field III, the Iron I level was only reached in a limited section, but one of the probes in Field II made it possible to link the Field I stratification to that of Field II. Here, two phases of Iron I were uncovered, the later adding a wall structure to enclose an oven. Among the findings were a clay female figurine and a small group of degenerate 'Philistine' potsherds, dating to the late 11th and 10th century.<sup>264</sup>

Good evidence of a widespread Stratum VIIb occupation was found in Field II. Another indication for the density of the Iron II settlement is the extensive cemetery at the slopes across the valley at the south of the tel, which offered a

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<sup>263</sup> Seger, 'Investigations at Tell Halif', 3-9; J.D. Seger *et al.*, 'The Bronze Age Settlements at Tell Halif: Phase II Excavations, 1983-1987', *BASOR Supplement* 26 (1990), 18-21.

<sup>264</sup> Seger, 'Investigations at Tell Halif', 9-10.

rich assemblage of 9th and 8th century pottery. But most extensive remains from this city of about 2,8 ha. were excavated in Field III, where it was shown that the site had been fortified by a modified casemate wall, a tower and elements of three- and four-room houses. According to the excavators, the initial construction of this complex, which was built directly on top of Early Bronze and Iron I remains, took place in the early 9th century. In addition, four-room houses with large numbers of vessels and household tools were uncovered in Field IV. Its southernmost house also contained Iron ploughs, while a great number of storage jars suggest that the site not only was a military outpost, but also an agrarian community. Probes in the north and at the southern end of Field III revealed a large assemblage of domestic artefacts and a courtyard surface with domestic stone tools, both covered by a heavy layer of ash and destruction debris. The ceramics, artefacts and the ashes all hint at a severe destruction at the end of the 8th century BCE.<sup>265</sup>

### *Tel Arad*

The fortress mound of Tel Arad is a prominent landmark at the northeastern edge of the Beersheba Valley, with the Judean Desert to the east and the Judean Hills to the north. An expedition to the site took place in five seasons between 1962 and 1967 on behalf of the Archaeological Institute of Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Israel Exploration Society under the joint direction of Yohanan Aharoni and Ruth Amiran. The Early Bronze city at the site was uncovered only to a limited depth and also published, but the Iron II fortress on the northeast Upper City, consisting out of 13 levels, was almost completely exposed, but never described comprehensively. The preliminary conclusions concerning its history were criticized several times and the re-examination of the data in the light of the present knowledge of the archaeology of the Southern Levant by Ze'ev Herzog led to an understanding of Tel Arad that diverts at many points from that of the expedition team.<sup>266</sup> Nevertheless, the excavation still awaits final publication.

### Iron II

Tel Arad functioned as a fortress or a way station during the Iron Age and the Hellenistic, Roman and early Arab periods. The remains of the southern and eastern wing of Iron Age Fortress were in particular damaged by massive foundations dating to the Hellenistic period, whereas most Early Bronze re-

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<sup>265</sup> Seger, 'Investigations at Tell Halif', 9-15; Idem, 'Halif, Tel', *NEAEHL*, 557-8; P.F. Jacobs, 'Halif, Tel', *NEAEHL*, 1761-2. Clarifying the origin of the Iron II settlement is one of the goals of Phase IV of the Lahav Research Project. O. Borowski, 'Tel Halif 2007', *HA-ESI* 120 (2008).

<sup>266</sup> Cf. Y. Aharoni, 'Arad, Tel', *NEAEHL*, 82; Zimhoni, 'Iron Age Pottery from Tel 'Eton', 88; Mazar, 'Pottery Assemblage from Arad', 89-91; Z. Herzog, 'The Arad Fortresses', in: R. Amiran *et al.*, *Arad*, Tel Aviv 1997, 293-4; Idem, 'The Fortress Mound at Tel Arad: An Interim Report', *TA* 29 (2002), 3-7.

mains on the northeast hill appeared to be removed by the construction of the first fortress. As a result, only a few remnants of the first Iron Age settlement of Stratum XII were found: a cluster of dwellings west of the fortress and some storage pits and stone-lined granaries beneath it. The dwellings can be interpreted as Early Bronze Age houses in secondary use with an additional pillared building. According to Herzog, these buildings were part of a belt of houses surrounding a large inner courtyard. Such an 'enclosed settlement' also occurred at several other places in the Southern Steppe at the end of Iron I and the beginning of Iron II. In these cases, the storage installations indicate an initial stage of occupation by pastoral nomads and the dwellings a second phase, in which settlers turned more and more towards dry-farming. The pottery assemblage of Tel Arad, Stratum XII parallels that of Tel Masos, Stratum II; Tel Beersheba, Stratum VII and Tel Lachish, Level V. Therefore, both phases can be dated to the 10th century BCE according to the chronological framework in section 6.1.<sup>267</sup>

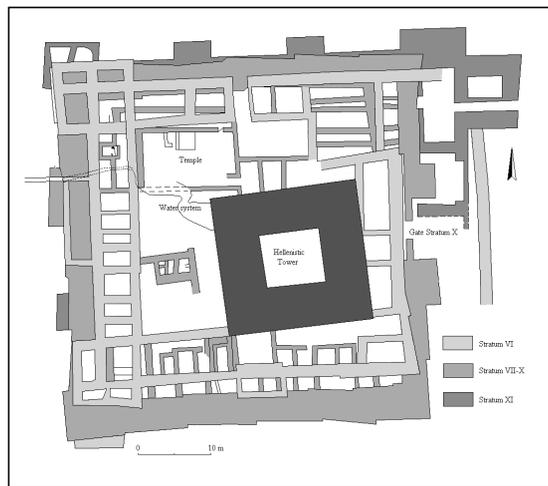


Fig. 6.20 – The Iron Age Fortress at Tel Arad

The poor settlement of Stratum XII was followed by the construction of a casemate fortification of 50 x 55 metres (Fig. 6.20). It was strengthened by a gate with a stepped pavement and towers that were projected outward. Only one of the casemate rooms was exposed in its entirety and it contained a large number of pottery vessels in a destruction layer. Other indications of a violent conflagration were a carbonised wooden beam. On the basis of the ceramic assemblages of Stratum XI – which is partly characterized by hand burnished

<sup>267</sup> Herzog, 'Fortress Mound at Tel Arad', 11-21; L. Singer-Avitz, 'The Iron Age Pottery Assemblages of Arad', *TA* 29 (2002), 113.

red slip wares and has much in common with that of Tel Beersheba, Stratum V and IV, and Tel Lachish, Level IV – it ended somewhere during the second half of the 9th century BCE.<sup>268</sup>

After the destruction, the fortress was rebuilt into a solid-walled fortress, which was destroyed and rebuilt several times, from the 9th century foundation to its destruction with all of the sites in the Beersheba Valley at the beginning of the 6th century BCE. The first phase, Stratum X, is reflected by the stronger solid wall, the removal of the towers, the addition of an earthen glacis, the construction of a gate with two gate-towers and a water-supply system. The spacious courtyard also contained a sacrificial altar. The following Stratum IX is characterized by thickening of the western wall and a reorganization of the temple courtyard and the adjacent rooms. In addition, the Stratum X storehouse in the northeastern corner was reduced to three parallel halls. Debris and traits of fire suggest that this fortress was also destroyed. Strikingly, the temple went out of use in Stratum VIII: the incense altars and the stela were laid on their sides and covered with a layer of earth, as was the entire temple area. Besides, the storehouse was rebuilt according to the same plan and the entrance of the gate reinforced and decreased in size.<sup>269</sup>

The finds in Tel Arad, Stratum X-VI and the pottery assemblage of Stratum X-VIII offer a unique sequence reflecting the development of a similar material culture during the Iron Age. A typological analysis of the ceramics of Stratum X-VIII shows that it parallels that of Tel Beersheba, Stratum III-II, Tel 'Ira, Stratum VII and Tel Lachish, Level III. According to the scholars preparing the final publication both Stratum IX and VIII can be dated to the end of the 8th century BCE.<sup>270</sup>

### Conclusion

No remains dating to the Late Bronze Age were found at Tel Arad. At the end of Iron I and the beginning of Iron II, however, the site was used by pastoralists and a small settlement was founded and built. At the end of the 10th century BCE, the enclosed settlement was replaced by a stronghold, which existed for the next centuries clearly reflecting a more complex social organization and asking for a considerable investment of resources.

### *Regional perspectives*

At the end of the Late Bronze Age, the north-western part of the Negev appeared to be a strongly fortified region with a particularity that is not attested

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<sup>268</sup> Herzog, 'Fortress Mound at Tel Arad', 21-6. Cf. L. Singer-Avitz, 'Arad: the Iron Age Pottery Assemblages', *TA* 29 (2002), 114-23.

<sup>269</sup> Herzog, 'Fortress Mound at Tel Arad', 26-40, 52-68, 72-6. For the debate about the date of the temple, see also D. Ussishkin, 'The Date of the Judean Shrine at Arad', *IEJ* 38 (1988), 142-57.

<sup>270</sup> Herzog, 'Fortress Mound at Tel Arad', 97-9; Singer-Avitz, 'Arad: Iron Age Pottery Assemblages', 159-80.

elsewhere in the Southern Levant: despite the lack of agricultural hinterland, the large cities Gaza, Tel Jemmeh, Deir el-Balah and Tel el-Far'ah (S) coexisted, most likely under Egyptian control.<sup>271</sup> Somewhat more to the northeast Tel Halif functioned as a trade station on the border between the northern Negev and the Shephelah. South of Tel Halif no sedentary settlements existed during Late Bronze II, except for Tel Masos. This changed during Iron I, when a new chapter in the sedentarization of the Beersheba Valley began with the foundation of several 'enclosed settlements'. This started at Tel Masos, Stratum IIIB, was followed by Tel Beersheba, Stratum IX and during the transition to Iron IIA in the 10th century finally at Tel Arad, Stratum XII. At the same time, a large group of new settlements and sites of a few houses represented a settlement expansion more to the south, in the southern part of the Beersheba Valley and the Negev Highlands. One generation later, at the beginning of the 9th century BCE, when the Shephelah began to flourish, these settlements were deserted and many of the enclosed settlements were rebuilt into fortresses. However, this did not strengthen the economic basis of the southern steppe in spite of the investment and improvement of trade routes, for the size of the population did not increase. The valley only experienced renewal and expansion during the 8th century, when other fortresses were built and new cities founded.<sup>272</sup>

### 6.3 SOCIO-ARCHEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Now that the evidence regarding the main cities and regions mentioned in Joshua 9:1—13:7 within the boundaries of the conquered land from the Late Bronze II to the Iron IIB period has been collected, the moment has come to interpret these data in the light of the history of the Southern Levant. This can be done in offering a short overview of the considerable attention that has been paid in scholarly research to the nexus between the materially based socio-archaeological analysis and the historical reading of non-biblical texts during Late Bronze II, Iron I and Iron IIA-B, and by adjoining the information gathered in section 1.3, 6.1 and 6.2 to the results of this research.

#### **Kinglets in a Restless Region**

Since the find of the Amarna Letters in 1887 CE, it is generally acknowledged that the Late Bronze Egyptian Province in Asia consisted mainly out of 'little kingdoms' standing under indirect control of Egypt. This societal structure of small independent polities had come into existence during the Middle Bronze Age and was left untouched after the pharaoh's of the 18th Dynasty had conquered Canaan during the 15th century BCE. Unlike they had done in Nubia, the

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<sup>271</sup> Jasmin, 'City-States in Southwestern Palestine', 176-7.

<sup>272</sup> Herzog, 'Fortress Mound at Tel Arad', 86-9, 94-9; Herzog, Singer-Avitz, 'Redefining the Centre', 225-9.

pharaohs did not implement a comprehensive Egyptian administration in Asia, but only established a network of six garrison cities ruling some surrounding territory and supervising the kingdoms: Gaza and Jaffa along the southern littoral and Ullasa and Sumur along the northern coast, Beth Shean in the Jezreel Valley and Kumudi in the Beqa. The kingdoms were in their turn bound by the suzerainty of the New Kingdom pharaohs, but also relatively independent.<sup>273</sup> The centre of such a kingdom was the city with a residence of the ruler, who inherited this status from his ancestors and was recognized as a 'mayor' by the Egyptian authorities, but considered himself as a 'king' in relation to his subjects and neighbours (cf. *EA* 8:15; 30:1). The largest cities had hardly more than three to four thousand inhabitants and their dimension was in most cases related to the resources of the territory they were able to draw upon. Only further north, for instance at Ugarit and in northern Syria, the kingdoms were bigger and richer.<sup>274</sup>

### *Kingdom Territories*

How many of these kingdoms were present in the Late Bronze Southern Levant? Wolfgang Helck was the first who tried to reconstruct the political map of the Egyptian Province in Asia. In his view, textual studies and identification of sites led to a sketch of the territory of 23 polities.<sup>275</sup> Another attempt was made by Na'aman, who defined 25-32 distinct kingdoms with help of some archaeological evidence and border descriptions from other periods, based on the assumption that administrative borders remain intact over a long term.<sup>276</sup> Later on, socio-archaeological models were used such as Thiessen polygons and Rank-size analysis.<sup>277</sup> In this way, Shlomo Bunimovitz and Finkelstein came to

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<sup>273</sup> For a general overview of the relation between Egypt and Canaan in the 14th and 13th centuries BCE, see e.g. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 125-213; M. Görg, *Die Beziehungen zwischen dem alten Israel und Ägypten* (EdF, 290), Darmstadt 1997, 23-58.

<sup>274</sup> Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 7; Y. Goren *et al.*, *Inscribed in Clay. Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Tel Aviv 2004, 322. With Liverani, the expression 'little kingdom' as opposed to 'territorial kingdom' and 'imperial kingdom' is to be preferred over the term 'city-state', which is burdened with historiographical and ideological connotations, because it refers to the Greek *polis* and its values of democracy, freedom and market economy. For the use 'territorial kingdom' rather than 'territorial state', see section 6.1.

<sup>275</sup> Helck, *Beziehungen*<sup>2</sup>, 168-88.

<sup>276</sup> N. Na'aman, 'Historical-Geographical Aspects of the Amarna Tablets', in: *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of Jewish Studies. Panel Sessions Biblical Studies and Ancient Near East*, Jerusalem 1988, 17-26; Idem, 'Canaanite Jerusalem and its Central Hill Country Neighbours', *UF* 24 (1992), 275-91 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 173-94).

<sup>277</sup> Thiessen polygons divide the landscape into regions by choosing prominent sites as centres and draw boundaries on the basis of geographical and ecological characteristics and by bisecting lines between centres and their nearest neighbours. Size analysis studies the hierarchy of a settlement pattern by categorizing sites according to size

18 and 13 kingdoms. Stephen Savage and Steven Falconer estimated a number of 23 centres after having refined the Rank-size analysis, while Michaël Jasmin presented a more detailed hierarchic settlement structure for the south-western part of the country.<sup>278</sup> Both methods, however, are not without problems, if not enough data are available. The Thiessen polygons invariably focus polities around a major settlement, reify the assumption of firm boundaries and overlook surrounding networks of small communities. The last problem can be solved by the repartition of the circles in estimating the settlement's hierarchy by size ranking, so that a distinction can be made between 'satellite sites' and 'peripheral sites'. Yet, a few other important factors also play a role: the incompleteness of the Amarna archive; the little political cohesion or power of the kingdoms in comparison to the situation during the Middle Bronze Age; the corresponding possibility of the existence of no man's land; and the option that a smaller site was considered to be a kingdom due to its importance in the past. Therefore, it is doubtful whether it is possible to draw a complete map of the southern Levantine little kingdoms.<sup>279</sup>

Yet, the most important sites seem to be present in the Amarna letters and the latest results of Rank-size analysis propose a number of clusters that strikingly corroborate the amount of polities as estimated by Helck and Na'aman. They also substantiate the somewhat ambiguous role of border sites in the Upper Shephelah, such as Tel Eiton, Tel Beit Mirsim, and Keilah (Qiltu in the Amarna Letters), which control could change easily and which could also have existed as small independent settlements. In addition, the recent analyses confirm the contention based on textual studies that there was a considerable distinction between the kingdoms of the highlands and those of the lowlands and that the southern coastal strip, which was dominated by the Egyptians, reflected a different settlement pattern. Finally, petrographic investigation of the vassal letters from the Amarna archive made it possible to identify the location of the seat some other kings.<sup>280</sup>

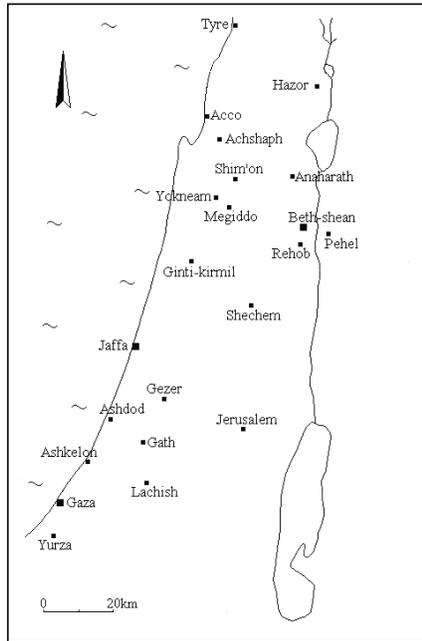
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and by drawing circles with a radius of 3-15 kilometres around the main sites in order to discover the average extent of control in a certain region.

<sup>278</sup> Bunimovitz, 'On the Edge of the Empires', 323-8; I. Finkelstein, 'The Territorial-Political System of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age', *UF* 28 (1996), 228-42; S.H. Savage, S.E. Falconer, 'Spatial and Statistical Inference of Late Bronze Polities in the Southern Levant', *BASOR* 330 (2003), 37-42; Jasmin, 'City-States in Southwestern Palestine', 167-78.

<sup>279</sup> For these methodological issues, see Finkelstein, 'Territorial-Political System', 221-7; N. Na'aman, 'The Network of Canaanite Late Bronze Kingdoms and the City of Ashdod', *UF* 29 (1997), 601-7 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 147-54); Savage, Falconer, 'Spatial and Statistical Inference', 31-8; Goren *et al.*, *Inscribed in Clay*, 320-2; Jasmin, 'City-States in Southwestern Palestine', 163-7.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Savage, Falconer, 'Spatial and Statistical Inference', 31-8; Jasmin, 'City-States in Southwestern Palestine', 175-7 with Na'aman, 'Network of Canaanite Late Bronze Kingdoms', 607-20. See also Goren *et al.*, *Inscribed in Clay*, 320.



Map 6.1 – Main little kingdoms and Egyptian administrative centres in the southern part of the Egyptian Province in Asia.

As a result of these archaeological and textual studies, the following picture emerges with regard to the political organization during Late Bronze II of the regions discussed in section 6.2 (Map 6.1).<sup>281</sup> Some sites obviously functioned as kingdoms: Tel Hazor (Hasura), Tel Kinneret (Chinneret) and Tel Rekesh (Anaharath) in Galilee; Tel Acco (Akka), Tel Keisan (Akhsapa), Tel Shimron (Shamhuna), Tel Yoqneam ([x-x-l]G-ma-te), Tel Megiddo (Magidda), Tel Taanach (Tahnaka) and Tel Rehov in the Northern Valleys; Shechem (Shakmu) and Jerusalem (Urusalim) in the Central Hill Country; Jett (Ginti-kirmil or Gath-Padalla) in the Carmel Coast and Sharon; and Tel Gezer (Gazru), Tel Zafit (Gath/Gimti) and Tel Lachish (Lakisha) in the Shephelah.

Possibly, the small stronghold of Tel Qarney Hittin in Lower Galilee was also a kingdom and the same applies to Tel Bel'ame, Tel el-Muhaffar (Hepher/Rubutu) in the northern and southern hill country, Tel Rabud in the southern hill country and to Beth-Shemesh, Tel Eiton and Tel Beit Mirsim in the eastern Shephelah. The archaeological evidence from Late Bronze Tel Ru-meida as presented in section 6.2 is often ignored and is also hard to interpret. But the fact that the city was inhabited and that its Middle Bronze fortifications

<sup>281</sup> Cf. the maps at Na'aman, 'Network of Canaanite Late Bronze Kingdoms', 626; Goren *et al.*, *Inscribed in Clay*, 227; Jasmin, 'City-States in Southwestern Palestine', 167.

were still in use during Late Bronze II make this site also a candidate for being a little kingdom in the southern Central Hill Country, although the settlement pattern of the region strongly suggests that it was located in the same polity as Tel Rabud.<sup>282</sup> Finally, Beitin in the Central Hill Country and Keilah (Qiltu) and Tel Yarmuth (Yaramu?) in the Upper Shephelah are to be characterized as relatively independent border sites, while Tel Azekah, Tel Adulam, Tel Burna and Tel Halif in the Chalk Valleys and the Shephelah area and Tel Kedesh in the Jezreel Valley in all probability functioned as satellite or peripheral sites.

### *Political Configurations*

The vassal letters from the archive of el-Amarna of pharaoh Akhenaten in southern Egypt comprise a rich source for describing the political history of the 14th century BCE. The view of the nature of the Egyptian-Canaanite correspondence, however, is very important for its historical use. As was noted above, only part of the archive survived. In addition, the few letters of the pharaoh to his vassals that were preserved are highly standard. The letters of the vassals are in their turn very dissimilar to the international correspondence with other powers in the same archive. The number of letters from Byblos far exceeds that of other cities. Finally, the local rulers often seem to misunderstand the pharaoh, in particular regarding the issue who was responsible for guarding the country. How are these observations to be interpreted?

Close inspection of the corpus shows that the letters of the tireless correspondent Rib-Hadda of Byblos cannot be considered as being representative for those of the other vassals and that the number of letters does not necessarily reflect the importance of a city. Tribute and gifts are frequently mentioned, in particular in letters from the south. But there is no reason to assume – as some scholars do – that the correspondence originates in an annual administrative procedure that was executed for the preparation of goods in Canaan and their transfer to Egypt, for the kingdoms were not part of the regular system of tax collection. Overall, it seems that routine messages were delivered verbally by Egyptian officials. So, most letters reflect the reaction of vassals to verbal and written instructions and to unexpected events in their neighbourhood. Moreover, what looks as a misunderstanding, is in fact a deliberate manipulation by a king to manifest his loyalty to the pharaoh, to check the commissioner's message and to harm the reputation of other rulers. After a century of administrative measures taken by the Egyptian authorities, the kinglets

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<sup>282</sup> The presence of Hebron during Late Bronze II raises the question whether Albright was right in his suggestion that Shuwardata, mentioned in *EA* 271:12; 279-284; 290:6; 366:3, was king of Hebron. Albright, 'Case of Lèse-Majesté', 37. This, however, remains highly unlikely, because Shuwardata ruled in a densely occupied region, close to Gezer (283:18-21; 271:9-21) and the petrographic analysis confirms the identification of his seat at Gath (Tel Zafit). N. Na'aman, 'The Origin and Historical Background of Several Amarna Letters', *UF* 11 (1979), 682-4 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 76-8); Goren *et al.*, *Inscribed in Clay*, 279-86.

knew how to get the maximum result from their correspondence and it also becomes clear that they refuted the centralized worldview of the Egyptian Empire.<sup>283</sup>

The restless vicissitudes as reported in the Amarna letters took place within this framework. If the whole period of a maximum of 28 years is taken in one synchronic view from only those letters that were preserved, it seems that almost every neighbouring town was at war with the other: Hazor opposes Ashtaroth and probably also the land of Upi (*EA* 151; 364);<sup>284</sup> Upi opposes Acco and Acco opposes Megiddo (*EA* 234:10-35); Megiddo opposes Shechem (*EA* 244-246); Shechem opposes Jerusalem and Jerusalem opposes Keilah and Gezer (*EA* 286-290); finally, Gezer opposes Rubutu and Tianna, which is possibly to be identified by Tel Ashdod (*EA* 289:11-17; 298).<sup>285</sup> The precise affairs of the strong territorial kingdom of Hazor remain clouded due to the fact that it was located outside the primary area of Egypt's interests and because the city presumably did not encounter the pharaoh.<sup>286</sup> A much clearer picture occurs more to the south, where constant rivalries and shifting coalitions with and against Lab'ayu, the powerful ruler of Shechem, dominate the scene. Like Amurru and Qadesh in the north, Shechem took advantage of its relative inaccessibility. Seated far from the coastal plains and the major valley inland trade routes Lab'ayu tried to enlarge his territory at the expense of neighbouring cities and the Egyptian territory in the Jezreel Valley.<sup>287</sup> Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem acted in a similar way and claimed large territories at his western border, although his political influence was much more limited.<sup>288</sup> Un-

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<sup>283</sup> Moran, *Amarna Letters*, xv-xvii, xxvi-xxx; Idem, 'Some Reflections on Amarna Politics', in: Z. Zevit *et al.* (eds), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots*, Winona Lake, IN 1995, 559-72; N. Na'aman, 'The Egyptian-Canaanite Correspondence', in: R. Cohen, R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy. The Beginning of International Relations*, Baltimore, London 2000, 125-138 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 49). Cf. M. Liverani, 'A Seasonal Pattern for the Amarna Letters', in: T. Abusch *et al.* (eds), *Lingering over Words*, Atlanta, GA 1990, 337-48.

<sup>284</sup> Cf. Halpern, *Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, 73.

<sup>285</sup> Na'aman, 'Network of Canaanite Late Bronze Kingdoms', 609-15 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 156-63).

<sup>286</sup> Bienkowski, 'Role of Hazor', 58; N. Na'aman, 'Biryawaza of Damascus and the Date of the Kamid el-Loz 'Apiru Letters', *UF* 20 (1988), 182-3 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 84-5). As against Bienkowski, Na'aman rightly underlines that it is hard to interpret the fact of the ruler of Hazor calling himself a 'king' (*EA* 227:3) in a letter to the pharaoh as a signal of Hazor being an important kingdom, for this title was the common inner southern Levantine designation for all the rulers of the kingdoms. Therefore, its attestation in a letter to the pharaoh can also be understood as a slip of a local scribe.

<sup>287</sup> *EA* 244-245; 250; 252-254; 263; 289; 290. Cf. Halpern, *Emergence of Israel in Canaan*, 73-7.

<sup>288</sup> *EA* 285-290. Cf. Na'aman, 'Canaanite Jerusalem', 286-9 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 188-91). Interestingly, the petrographic analysis of Abdi-Heba's letters strongly suggests that he travelled at least once from Jerusalem to the Egyptian centre of Beth Shean to plead

ruly elements such as the 'Apiru and Sutu also played a role and the kinglets indefatigably accused each other of conspiracy with these groups against the pharaoh, even if they were coalition partners in another conflict.<sup>289</sup> The scarce indications in the Amarna correspondence of actual Egyptian intervention in local affairs point out that the suzerain only reacted if the unrest affected the political stability of his province as a whole. Therefore, it is notable that Lab'ayu of Shechem was punished and that Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem was personally called to account by the Egyptian court (*EA* 245; 286:16-21).<sup>290</sup>

*Archaeology, Egyptian Pressure and Economy*

What happens when these political configurations during only a few decennia are compared to the archaeology of the Southern Levant of the 14th and 13th centuries BCE? On three points, there is a strong corroboration between both pictures. First, the archaeological evidence clearly supports the view of a region that is primarily dominated by cities. Second, the settlement patterns confirm the textual suggestion that there was a considerable distinction between the kingdoms of the densely occupied plains and those in the Central Hill Country, which ruled scarcely inhabited areas. Third, the general decline of many cities and the remains of destructions uncovered in the excavations at, for instance, Tel Hazor, Stratum XIV; Tel Qarney Hittin; Beitin, LB 1; Tel Aphek, Stratum X-12; and Tel Lachish, Stratum VII may be understood as an indication for the upheavals in the Southern Levant during this period.

Nevertheless, at one very important point, there is also a striking distance between the suggestion of the texts and the archaeological evidence uncovered so far. A fairly limited scope of Late Bronze II remains was found at Tel Qarney Hittin, Tel Taanach, Jerusalem and Tel Yarmuth, despite the fact that the second and third city both existed during the 14th century BCE and undoubtedly were seats of independent rulers.<sup>291</sup> In addition, several major sites that were excavated on a large scale, such as Tel Keisan and Shechem, produced little architectural remains; and while some of the important cities of Tel Hazor, Tel Megiddo, Tel Yoqneam, Jerusalem, and Tel Lachish had gates, none of them was fortified. So Late Bronze II was a flourishing period from the perspective of written sources and international diplomacy and trade. But nonetheless, the overall archaeological picture is also that of a decline and a break-up of urban

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his case in front of the governor and to send a letter to the pharaoh, written by the same scribe who wrote the letters from his capital. Goren *et al.*, *Inscribed in Clay*, 323.

<sup>289</sup> *EA* 71:16-22; 74:13-38; 104:49-54; 117:53-54; 196:24-29; 243:8-22; 246:6-7; 286:16-21; 287:25-32; 288:29-47; 289:18-24; 290:18-24; 297:11-16; 299:17-26; 318:10-14. In *EA* 194:24-32, some of the troops of the Habiru and Sutu are serving the pharaoh on behalf of Biryawaza of Damascus. Cf. Rainey, 'Unruly Elements in Late Bronze Canaanite Society', 482-90.

<sup>290</sup> Cf. Na'aman, 'Egyptian-Canaanite Correspondence', 134-7 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 35-6).

<sup>291</sup> For Taanach, see *EA* 248:11-18 and Na'aman, 'Network of Canaanite Late Bronze Kingdoms', 616 (= *CE*, vol.2, 164).

life in comparison with the Middle Bronze II period.<sup>292</sup> How is this distance between text and archaeology to be understood?

It has been argued that the Egyptians pursued a short-sighted policy with regard to the cities: they conquered them, weakened them, tore down their walls and tightened their grasp of the Southern Levant over the centuries. According to this view, Egypt maintained a strong authority in the region deep into the 12th century BCE, that is, until the destruction of the garrison city of Tel Beth Shean and of Tel Megiddo and Tel Lachish.<sup>293</sup> This interpretation, however, is not without problems. No doubt, the Egyptian overlords strengthened their administrative control of the Southern Levant during the 19th and 20th Dynasty, in particular in the southern Coastal Plain, and the cultural impact on the material culture in the region as a whole increased significantly. This was already suggested by Alt and later confirmed by additional textual studies and archaeological excavations.<sup>294</sup> But this does not implicate automatically that the Egyptians forbade the fortification of cities from the beginning, that the indirect administration was gradually exchanged for an iron-fisted rule and that large numbers of Egyptian military and administrative personnel moved into the region during the 13th century BCE. Several reasons ask for a more nuanced explanation.

First, some of the cities were actually fortified during the transition from Late Bronze II to Iron I: Tel Rumeida, Tel Gezer and Tel Rabud.<sup>295</sup> Second, a careful textual, archaeological and historical study of the Asiatic campaigns of the 19th Dynasty pharaohs Seti I, Ramses II and Merneptah leads to the conclusion that the Egyptian military activity was indeed focused primarily on those who rebelled, but that the campaigns were not the major factor in the decline and destruction of the cities. On the contrary, the decline was already present and with the accession of Seti I, there was a new interest to restore order; Ramses II came in defence of Beth Shean and later he tried to re-establish older dominions which his father was unable to procure; and the old Merneptah sent his son Seti II and reached a short-lived success in stabilizing

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<sup>292</sup> This was already noted by R. Gonen, 'Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period', *BASOR* 253 (1984), 69-70; Idem, 'Megiddo in the Late Bronze Age', 98.

<sup>293</sup> I. Singer, 'Merneptah's Campaign to Canaan and the Egyptian Occupation of the Southern Coastal Plain on Palestine in the Ramesside Period', *BASOR* 269 (1988), 1-6; Idem, 'Egyptians, Canaanites, and Philistines', 283-94; Ussishkin, 'Destruction of Megiddo', 261-5; Idem (ed.), *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, vol. 1, 75-6.

<sup>294</sup> A. Alt, 'Ägyptische Tempel in Palästina und die Landnahme der Philister', *ZDPV* 67 (1944), 1-20 (= *KS*, Bd. 1, 216-30). For summarizing accounts of the later studies, see e.g. Weinstein, 'Egyptian Empire in Palestine', 15-23; E.D. Oren, "'Governor's Residences" in Canaan under the New Kingdom', *JSSEA* 14 (1984), 37-56; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 92-117; Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity*, 51-80.

<sup>295</sup> See section 6.2. Part of the Iron I fortifications at Tel Bel'ameh were uncovered by the excavation of the site in 1998 and 2000 on behalf of the Palestinian National Authority's Department of Antiquities and Leiden University (G. van der Kooij, personal communication).

the conditions of the northern realm in reaction to some threatening entities coming from inside Canaan.<sup>296</sup> Third, the combination of hieratic inscriptions, temples and a high occurrence of stelae, plaques and monumental inscriptions at some sites in the western Negev, the Shephelah and in Tel Beth Shean is most likely to be interpreted as an indication of Egyptian presence. But in other areas, the strong cultural influence outside the garrisons should at least in part be understood as the result of so-called elite emulation, that is, the strive of a local elite to be like the Egyptians, whom they viewed as culturally superior.<sup>297</sup>

Two examples of this were presented in section 6.2. The 'governor's residency' at Tel Gezer is contested and therefore cannot be taken as evidence of a direct imperial rule of the northern Shephelah. Even more interesting is the 13th century BCE settlement at Tel Aphek. Its sudden destruction at ca. 1230 BCE enabled scholars to offer a detailed reconstruction of the function of Building 1104 from Stratum X-12, mostly described as the 'Egyptian residency'. The two long storage halls on the first floor and some personal adornment objects, valuable ceramics and eight tablets, two Egyptian inscriptions and a Hittite fragment of a bulla on the second floor make it clear that the building was a centre for collecting, storing and transporting agricultural surplus, that it contained a pottery workshop and also functioned as an administrative centre for international correspondence. Many of the finds can be related culturally to Egypt. But others stand in a southern Levantine tradition, while the analysis of the documents shows that the local scholarly scribe was of Canaanite origin. As a result, it is not impossible that even this small Egyptian-ruled 'estate' – a term to be preferred over 'residency' because of the multiple functions of the structure – which finds its parallels in buildings at Tel Yafo and Tel Gerisa, was inhabited by people of local origin.<sup>298</sup>

The estate at Tel Aphek directs the attention to another very important factor in the decline of the Late Bronze society: the economic pressure caused by the burden of both the tribute to be paid to Egypt and by the socioeconomic system of the palatial cities. The written sources not only show that the vassals were obliged to pay their tribute on a yearly basis and that the Jezreel Valley was regarded as crown property, they also mention a remarkable sum of addi-

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<sup>296</sup> Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 254-5. According to Hasel, the campaigns have to be dated at ca. 1294-1293 BCE (Seti I), from ca. 1274 to 1261 BCE (Ramses II), and at 1209 or 1208 BCE (Merneptah).

<sup>297</sup> See e.g. Higginbotham, *Egyptianization*; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 116; Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity*, 81-3. Cf. E.D. Oren, 'A Egyptian Marsh Scene on Pottery from Tel Sera', in: Maeir, Miroschedji (eds), *"I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Times"*, 273.

<sup>298</sup> Y. Gadot, 'The "Governor's Residence" at Tel Aphek', *TA* 36 (2010) (forthcoming); Goren *et al.*, 'Provenance Study', 167-9. Similar observations were made with respect to the 'Governor's Residences' in Jordan. See Z.A. Kafafi, 'Egyptian Governor's Residences in Jordan and Palestine', in: U. Hübner, E.A. Knauf (Hrsg.), *Kein Land für sich allein* (OBO, 186), Freiburg 2002, 20-30.

tional payments: wood, cattle, personnel, raw glass, copper, bronze and agricultural products. So the Egyptians sought the stability of the region because of their political interests, but also for economic reasons. Moreover, the intensification of the Egyptian presence during the 19th and 20th Dynasty might have encouraged the flourishing of some sites. But evidently, the burden increased too.<sup>299</sup> In the meantime, the palatial elites experienced how the trade between Egypt and Anatolia, Babylon and the Mediterranean became intense and that luxury craftsmanship prospered. As a result, they also wanted to take their part of the metals, clothing and imported tableware. While the settlement patterns highlight that agricultural land was being reduced and most likely declining in population and production, luxury goods were acquired, hoarded and exchanged in the palaces. Therefore, a situation was created in which the centrality of the palace in the kingdoms, though quite normal in this kind of socio-economic formation, introduced a deep instability in the region.<sup>300</sup> Cities remained unfortified, in all likelihood due to a lack of human and economic resources; the indifference of the pharaoh about the local conflicts and the attitude of the kinglets instigated riots; groups of outlaws joined semi-nomadic elements because indebted farmers had no choice but to flee; and famines occurred. All of them were signals that the Cisjordanian Late Bronze Southern Levant was in a crisis that could only be solved by a reorganization of society.

### **Political and Cultural Transformation**

Over the next three centuries this reorganization indeed took place: a region ruled by palatial cities developed into an area dominated by several centralized territorial kingdoms.

#### *Cities and Tribes*

The first part of the great transformation that followed took place at the end of the 13th century and during the 12th century BCE. Tel Hazor, Tel Qarney Hittin and Tel Aphek already laid in ruins. Tel Keisan and Tel Yokneam were destroyed and experienced a crisis as did Tel Taanach and Tel Kedesh, which was abandoned during the second half of Iron I. The situation at Tel Gezer also

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<sup>299</sup> Cf. N. Na'aman, 'Economic Aspects, 182-5 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 226-9); Idem, 'Pharaonic Lands in the Jezreel Valley in the Late Bronze Age', in: M. Heltzer, E. Lipinski (eds), *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean* (OLA, 23), Leuven 1988, 177-85 (= *CE*, vol. 2, 232-9).

According to Bunimovitz, the density of the settlements increased in the Shephelah and the Jezreel valley during the 19th and 20th Dynasty due to the forced resettlement of non-sedentary groups. However, the results of the surveys in these regions, described in section 6.2, do not corroborate this assumption. S. Bunimovitz, 'Socio-Political Transformations in the Central Hill Country in the Late Bronze-Iron I Transition', in: Finkelstein, Na'aman (eds), *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, 200-2; Idem, 'On the Edge of Empires', 327-8.

<sup>300</sup> Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 19-21.

seems to have been deteriorating. Tel Megiddo and Tel Lachish were the only flourishing kingdoms in the region during the first half of the 12th century BCE. According to some scholars this was the result of the Egyptian rule, which had a firm control over the military headquarter of Tel Beth Shean and urban centres such as Tel Megiddo, Tel es-Saidiyeh and Tel Deir 'Alla.<sup>301</sup> This view, however, is highly unlikely. There is evidence of Ramesside presence in the Jezreel Valley during the first half of the 12th century BCE.<sup>302</sup> But as became evident in section 6.1, Ramses III had to defend the very borders of Egypt and the emerging new cultural and political entity in the southern Coastal Plain seriously weakened the imperial rule of the Egyptian Province. Accordingly, the excavators of Tel Beth Shean propose that the impressive 20th Dynasty monuments and statues at the site reflecting the Egyptian propaganda at that time do not constitute evidence of strength, but rather indicates quite the opposite. In addition, the limited number of Egyptian artefacts of public nature at Tel Megiddo, Tel Gezer and Tel Lachish only point to a small number of Egyptian staff at these sites.<sup>303</sup>

Besides the major international crisis the search for a new order in the Southern Levant from the second third of the 12th to the early 10th centuries BCE was at least determined by five historical developments, all closely interrelated, but each also having its own unique characteristics: (1) The further weakening and disappearance of the Egyptian imperial rule. (2) The decline, but also continuing existence of the traditional urban culture at for instance Tel Megiddo and Tel Gezer. (3) The presence of the new 'Philistine' entity in the southern Coastal Plain, which adopted and further developed the system of sizable cities dominating a large area of hinterland and which expanded from the mid 12th century BCE on. (4) The 11th century emergence of a distinct 'Phoenician' material culture north of the Yarkon River which comprised for instance Tel Dor, Tel Abu Hawam, Tel Acco, Tel Keisan, Sarepta, Tyrus and Sidon. (5) The rapid growth of the number of Iron I villages in the Central Hill Country since the late 13th century BCE.

The 'Philistine' material culture was the result of a strategy of violent colonization by some groups from the Aegean and Cyprus and of their acculturation with Egyptians and local inhabitants. The cities clearly used the Shephelah as a buffer zone and they most likely existed as a distinct political entity during large parts of the early 12th to the late 8th century BCE.<sup>304</sup> The geographical

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<sup>301</sup> See note 293.

<sup>302</sup> See e.g. J.M. Weinstein, 'The Collapse of the Egyptian Empire in the Southern Levant', in: W.A. Ward, M.S. Joukowsky (eds), *The Crisis Years. The 12th Century B.C. from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, Dubuque, IA 1992, 146-7.

<sup>303</sup> Mazar, 'Beth Shean in the Second Millennium B.C.E.', 327-8; Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity*, 82.

<sup>304</sup> See in addition to the literature mentioned in note 49 e.g. C.S. Ehrlich, *The Philistines in Transition. A History from ca. 1000-730 B.C.E.* (SHCANE, 10), Leiden etc. 1996;

outlook of the southern 'Phoenician' cities such as Tel Dor, Tel Acco and Tel Keisan is different and their primary interest was mainly in business.<sup>305</sup> No doubt, the sites were largely independent during the 11th century BCE, but their political control in later centuries is hard to establish. The archaeological remains suggest strong connections with the Iron II polities in the hinterland, but the historical understanding of this relationship is highly dependent on the interpretation of biblical sources.<sup>306</sup> Similar remarks can be made with respect to 11th century Tel Megiddo and Tel Taanach. The excavation of both sites revealed indubitable economic and cultural ties with the Central Hill Country, although Late Bronze urban features prevailed longer at Tel Megiddo than at Tel Taanach. But extra-biblical texts are lacking and archaeological analysis alone is unable to define who was in charge of the Jezreel Valley during this period.

As a result, something can be said about the coastal regions and the valleys. But without relying on biblical sources it is still hard to propose a consistent and convincing view of the Iron I villages of the Central Hill Country, for archaeology is only able to offer a general sketch of the development of the settlement pattern of these regions.<sup>307</sup> Some new suggestions have been done by Robert D. Miller and Gunnar Lehmann based on several socio-archaeological models. They distinguish five polities in the northern highlands and four fields of interaction in the Judean hills during Iron I.<sup>308</sup> Miller even offers a reconstruction of the history of the northern polities and states that all of them were part of the same ethnicity.<sup>309</sup> As heuristic devices, these proposals are highly valuable. But there is reason to question their adequacy with regard to the actual historical situation during Iron I. Thiessen polygons and Rank-size analysis play a major role in these hypotheses and as was observed above, the application of these methods is not without problems due to the incompleteness of data.<sup>310</sup> In addition, the surveys have not identified all the Iron I sites, since they have not included hundred percent coverage and the size of the sites is often unknown. Moreover, Miller and Lehmann make no accounting of anomalies that do not easily fit their models and their fields of interaction do not always correlate with the road systems going from the highlands to the coast.<sup>311</sup> Therefore, the proposals remain highly theoretical in nature.

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S. Gitin, 'Philistea in Transition: the Tenth Century BCE and Beyond', in: Idem *et al.* (eds), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, 162-83.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. Gilboa, 'Sea Peoples and Phoenicians', 66-70.

<sup>306</sup> For a discussion, see e.g. Lehmann, 'Phoenicians in Western Galilee', 89-97.

<sup>307</sup> See section 1.3.

<sup>308</sup> See section 6.2, 'Central Hill Country (N) and (S)', 'Regional Perspective'.

<sup>309</sup> Cf. Miller II, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans*, 97-126; Idem, 'Identifying Earliest Israel', 56-63.

<sup>310</sup> Section 6.3, 'Kinglets in a Restless Region'.

<sup>311</sup> D.V. Edelman, 'Review of R.D. Miller's *Chieftains of the Highland Clans*', for the Society of Biblical Literature at [www.bookreview.org](http://www.bookreview.org).

A different archaeological hypothesis was presented by Avraham Faust. He stresses the tribal and egalitarian element in the highland culture and maintains that these characteristics developed into symbolic features because of the contrast with the more hierarchic material culture of the northern valleys and in particular with that of the southern Coastal Plain. In this way 'Israel' experienced its ethnogenesis. Faust admits that the material culture of the villages is not necessarily egalitarian, that trade items provide evidence of regular contacts with the lowlands and that, for instance, the distribution of the collared rim jar and the pig taboo can also be interpreted otherwise. Therefore, he does not speak of an egalitarian 'reality', but of an egalitarian 'ethos' defining the symbols.<sup>312</sup> But by doing this, he highlights that his proposal is not only based on the application of an anthropological model to archaeology, but also presupposes a biblically motivated ideological opposition between 'Israelites' and 'Philistines'.<sup>313</sup> Moreover, his view stands in sharp contrast with the purely environmental explanation of all highland phenomena that is found in Uta Zwingenberger's study of the material culture of the Iron I villages in the Central Hill Country.<sup>314</sup>

#### *Merneptah's Undefined 'Israel'*

So there is a justified consensus with regard to some distinctive features of the material culture of the Central Hill Country, such as ceramic repertoire, settlement structures, subsistence strategies, food ways and burials, which distinguish it from the Iron I material culture of the lowlands and define its social boundaries. This consensus even comprises the so-called 'mixed multitude' of the inhabitants of the villages, for they almost certainly came from diverse backgrounds: withdrawing urban elements, rural population, displaced peasants and sedentarizing nomads, but also non-indigenous groups such as northern people, runaway slaves from Egypt and clans from the southern steppe.<sup>315</sup> The analysis in section 1.3, however, has made it clear that archaeological research alone is not able to answer three important questions in this regard: what were the ratios between these groups? What ethnic and political entities are kept in the shade of the social system that can be observed? and: What is the origin of these units? Therefore, it is necessary to take a look at some non-biblical textual evidence shedding some light on these issues, namely the Egyptian New Kingdom texts mentioning the Shasu and the Merneptah Stela found by William Flinders Petrie in 1896 containing the very first attestation of a southern Levantine entity called 'Israel'.

<sup>312</sup> Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis*, 92-107, 147-56, 191-220.

<sup>313</sup> The same critique applies to S. Bunimovitz, Z. Lederman, 'A Border Case: Beth-Shemesh and the Rise of Ancient Israel', in: Grabbe (ed.), *Israel in Transition*, 25-8.

<sup>314</sup> Zwingenberger, *Dorfkultur in der frühen Eisenzeit*, 540-52.

<sup>315</sup> Cf. Finkelstein, 'Emergence of Israel in Canaan', 57; Killebrew, 'Emergence of Ancient Israel', 558-9, 571; Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis*, 173.

The Egyptian term 'Shasu' is a designation used from the early 18th Dynasty on to portray desert dwellers as marauders and thieves. The texts and iconographic sources mainly locate these pastoralists in the Sinai and in southern Transjordan, but the Shasu also clashed with the Egyptians in the Negev and traversed lands far to the north.<sup>316</sup> Some of the advocates of the historical model of peaceful infiltration (cf. section 1.1) tied the Iron I settlers to the Shasu from Transjordan, assuming that they settled in the Central Hill Country during the late 13th and the 12th century BCE.<sup>317</sup> This hypothesis regained new attention after Frank Yurco offered a strong case in reassigning the so-called Ashkelon series of reliefs on the exterior wall of the Cour de la Cachette at Karnak to pharaoh Merneptah. This view implies that the reliefs contain images of the Asiatic campaign as reported in his stela and therefore the possibility that one of the scenes depicts 'Israel'.<sup>318</sup> Accordingly, it was suggested that a further exploration of this discovery reveals the long-sought-for 'missing link' between the Shasu and 'Israel' in the Merneptah Stela, for there is a scene in the relief of pastoralists brought as captives.<sup>319</sup> This proposal instigated an intriguing debate among Egyptologists about the structural, philological and iconographic characteristics of the Merneptah's inscription and reliefs leading to a relative consensus with regard to the meaning of this stela for the identification of the Iron I settlers.<sup>320</sup> What does it mean that the pharaoh says that 'Israel is laid waste, his seed is not' and that an 'Israel' is mentioned among the Canaanite cities Ashkelon, Gezer and Yenoam?

First, it appears that the Shasu foes do not play a major role in Merneptah's Asiatic campaign. They are not attested in his victory stela and only depicted in the reliefs. Second, the information in the stela with regard to 'Israel' is scarce.

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<sup>316</sup> Most relevant texts and pictures are collected by R. Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosu des documents égyptiens* (DMOA, 18), Leiden 1971 and T. Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn* (OBO, 107), Freiburg, Göttingen 1991, 35-66. See further e.g. Rainey, 'Unruly Elements in Late Bronze Canaanite Society', 490-2; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 217-36.

<sup>317</sup> E.g. Giveon, *Les bédouins shosu*, 267-71; Weippert, 'Semitische Nomaden', 280; Idem, 'Israelite "Conquest"', 32; Halpern, 'Settlement of Canaan', 1137; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 269-80.

<sup>318</sup> F.J. Yurco, 'Merneptah's Canaanite Campaign', *JARCE* 23 (1986), 189-215. Cf. *KRI*, vol. 4, 82. For some further debate, see D.B. Redford, 'The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stele', *IEJ* 36 (1986), 188-200; F.J. Yurco, 'Merneptah's Campaign and Israel's Origins', in: Frerichs, Lesko (eds), *Exodus. The Egyptian Evidence*, 28.

<sup>319</sup> Rainey, 'Unruly Elements in Late Bronze Canaanite Society', 492-5; Idem, 'Israel in Merneptah's Inscription and Reliefs', *IEJ* 51 (2001), 57-75.

<sup>320</sup> See e.g. M.G. Hasel, 'Israel in the Merneptah Stela', *BASOR* 296 (1994), 45-61; Yurco, 'Merneptah's Canaanite Campaign and Israelite Origins', 27-44; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 27-31; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 257-71; M. Görg, 'Israel in Hieroglyphen', *BN* 106 (2001), 21-7; Heinz, *Feldzugdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 50-3, 220-1, 294-7; Rainey, 'Israel in Merneptah's Inscription and Reliefs', 68-75; M.G. Hasel, 'Merneptah's Inscription and Reliefs and the Origin of Israel', in: B. Alpert Nakhai, *The Near East in the Southwest* (AASOR, 58), Boston, MA 2003, 19-44.

The structure of the inscription and literary *inclusio* – the passages starts and ends with the synonymous geographical designations ‘Canaan’ and ‘Hurru’ – strongly suggest that the cities of Ashkelon, Gezer and Yenoam as well as ‘Israel’ are located in the Egyptian Province in Asia. A more precise determination of this entity in Trans- or Cisjordan is not possible. The only striking element in the inscription is that ‘Israel’ is neither accompanied with a sign designating an enemy city nor by one depicting a hostile Bedouin tribe, but by an enemy people’s determinative. This, however, does not mean that ‘Israel’ is indeed portrayed as a socio-ethnic people, which would be egalitarian or nomadic, for in the Egyptian scribal practice the use of distinctive determinative depicting enemies is often completely arbitrary. A third consideration comprises the meaning of the expression ‘his seed is not’. The Egyptian word for ‘seed’, *prt*, could mean ‘offspring’ or ‘progeny’ and is also used in military contexts. In that case the scribes would boast about the destruction of Israel’s descendants. The Merneptah Stela, however, does not add a determinative designating a phallus with liquid issuing from it and parallels the word with the verb *fkt*, ‘laying waste’, which is often linked to the destruction of harvest. So another meaning is to be preferred in the light of lexicography, the context of the stela and other New Kingdom texts, and a contextual ancient Near Eastern perspective: the scribe portrays the desolation of Israel’s ‘grain’ and thus highlights that its food supply and subsistence is ‘laid waste’. Finally, some remarks have to be made concerning the reliefs. They are partly demolished and therefore, the original number of scenes is hard to determine, whereas the precise connection between the inscription and the reliefs remains problematic. In addition, the Egyptian portrayal of the diverse enemies is always stereotypical in nature. So even if it is possible to determine which of the scenes represents ‘Israel’, it is always portrayed as a clichéd Asiatic enemy people living in Canaan/Hurru. Accordingly, it is questionable whether this portrait – being the depiction of the Canaanites with their headbands and pointed beards or that of the Bedouin Shasu – really adds some information with regard to the entity called ‘Israel’.<sup>321</sup>

As a result, the Merneptah Stela and the reliefs at Karnak do not sustain the connection between ‘Israel’ and the Shasu. Neither is the latter group mentioned in the written text nor provide the reliefs a convincing ‘missing link’ between the two. The Egyptian view of both entities diverges in two ways: ‘Israel’ is clearly located inside the Egyptian Province in Asia as described in section 3.5, while the Shasu at least lived partly outside this area; and the sentence about the destruction of grain presupposes a subsistence strategy for ‘Israel’ that clearly differs from that of the pastoralist Shasu.<sup>322</sup> Accordingly, the late

<sup>321</sup> For an overview, see e.g. Hasel, ‘Merneptah’s Inscription and Reliefs’, 20-36.

<sup>322</sup> Accordingly, the suggestion of Eveline van der Steen that Merneptah’s ‘Israel’ is a designation for the aggressive non-sedentary tribes in both Trans- and Cisjordan who lived there prior to the peaceful settlement surge of the 12th century BCE has to be

13th century BCE Egyptian text neither reveals 'Israel's' origins nor its precise location. Even the reason for its claimed chastisement is not mentioned. The victory stela just says that the pharaoh destroyed the food supplies of a mainly sedentary group that was strong enough in the eyes of the Egyptians to be mentioned in literary opposition to some of the little Canaanite kingdoms. It is only in combination with archaeology that a connection with the Iron I settlers of the hill country can be made. Although the archaeological record of the late 13th century is rather imprecise and a socio-archaeological understanding of an ethnic group does by its nature often not concur with ethnic designations in ancient texts, the corroborations are strong. The rapid growth of villages in this region between the late 13th and the early 11th century BCE, the absence of large cities in the settlement hierarchy and the subsistence strategies of the villagers perfectly match the portrait of 'Israel' of the inscription. So it seems justified to suppose that the tribal elements that dominated the Central Hill Country during Iron I, were known as 'Israel' at the end of the 13th century BCE.<sup>323</sup> Accordingly, it also seems best to refer to the inhabitants of this region as 'Israelites' instead of as 'Proto-Israelites', because nobody in Iron Age I Cis-jordan was defined by others or defined him/herself as a 'Proto-Israelite'.<sup>324</sup>

#### *Emergence of a Central Polity*

The period of the increasing importance of the tribal element was followed by a second phase in the great transformation. Between the late 11th and the 9th century BCE, several new polities with a central administration arose in the Southern Levant and the neighbouring areas, creating a new long-standing societal structure. As was noted in section 1.2 and 6.1, this period is hotly debated due to the fact of the biblical historical books being transmitted texts and the lack of non-biblical written sources describing international relations. Yet, a few remarks have to be made with regard to the emergence of the central administration(s) that later became the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, because this development undoubtedly affected the interest in and the possibility of history writing as it occurs in for instance Joshua 9:1—13:7. For evaluating the historiography of these chapters, it will suffice to compare several socio-archaeological models interpreting the Iron IIA archaeological finds against the background of the 9th century BCE presence of territorial kingdoms with the archaeological finds as described in section 6.2.

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rejected, for 'Israel' was at least partly sedentary, it was not necessarily 'aggressive', southern Transjordan did not belong to the Egyptian Province in Asia, and there is no evidence for the Iron I settlers being 'peaceful'. E.J. van der Steen, *Tribes and Territories in Transition* (OLA, 130), Leuven 2004, 295-309.

<sup>323</sup> Cf. Miller II, 'Identifying Early Israel', 63; Idem, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans*, 93-6; J.K. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition*, Oxford 2005, 240-3; Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis*, 163-6, 185-6.

<sup>324</sup> Kletter, 'Can a Proto-Israelite Please Stand Up?', 582.

In 1989, Israel Finkelstein published an essay in which he sketched the expansion of the settlement into the ecological frontiers of the hill country and the Beersheba basin at the end of the 11th and during the 10th century BCE as the background of the emergence of the Israelite monarchy. Later, however, he realised that this did not meet the requirements for an exclusive archaeological explanation of the rise of an early monarchy. Accordingly, the idea that the archaeological record does not reflect the glorious outlook of the Davidic and Solomonic Empire became one of the cornerstones of his theory that Shoshenq I was directed against an emerging political entity in the highlands, but that the 9th century king Omri was in fact the first ruler of an Israelite territorial kingdom.<sup>325</sup> In 1995, a more traditional proposal was made by John S. Holladay, who also tried to deal with the archaeology of Iron II as a material pursuit in its own right, but concluded that it perfectly matched the idea of a 10th century BCE United Monarchy. Two debated phenomena – the synchronization of the six-chambered gateways at Tel Hazor, Tel Megiddo and Tel Gezer and the date and sequence of the hand burnished pottery<sup>326</sup> – play a major role in his argument. But apart from that, he mentioned some other factors that are still interesting: the more frequent attestation of inscribed arrowheads at the end of Iron I reflecting the wealth of the owners, and the intensification of the agricultural and pastoralist activities resulting in a surplus which made it possible to organize a centralized administration and to fortify the important cities. In addition, Holladay hints at the opportunity for a central highland polity to profit from associations with Phoenicia and the southern Arabian trade, in connection with the fact that such a polity accomplished a safe state of affairs in the region.<sup>327</sup> Finally, Zeev Herzog and Lily Singer-Avitz in 2004 and 2006 offered an alternative for Finkelstein's idea that Judah's process of state-formation lagged a century and a half behind that of Israel. In their view, the situation was quite similar in both north and south at the beginning of Iron IIa: the settlements were rather small and lacked fortifications, while the advanced structures of a social elite were absent. During the 9th century, however, the solid walls and complex city gates in, for instance, Tel Lachish, Level IV; Tel Beersheba, Stratum V and Tel Arad, Stratum XI show that the southern Shephelah and the Beersheba Valley developed into an important centre. In the same period, the impressive monuments and wealthy architecture at Tel Hazor, Tel Jezreel, Tel Megiddo, Tel el-Far'ah and Samaria reflect the rise of a competitive managerial elite and the emergence of small independent little kingdoms. While the southern kingdom arose out of a military centre in the western part

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<sup>325</sup> I. Finkelstein, 'The Emergence of the Monarchy in Israel. The Environmental and Socio-Economic Aspects', *JSOT* 44 (1989), 43-74; Idem, 'The Archaeology of the United Monarchy'. For the development of Finkelstein's view of Shoshenq's campaign, cf. Idem, 'Campaign of Shoshenq I', 113-29 with Idem, Piasezky, 'The Iron- I-II in the Highlands and Beyond', 57-8.

<sup>326</sup> For these factors, see section 6.1, 'Low Chronology'.

<sup>327</sup> Holladay, 'Kingdoms of Israel and Judah', 368-93.

of Judah due to harsh environmental and economic conditions, the consolation of a unified kingdom in Israel most likely resulted from rivalry between little kingdoms over the fertile lands.<sup>328</sup>

What can be said about these socio-archaeological theories? The considerations regarding the 'low chronology' in section 6.1 and the presentation of archaeological finds in section 6.2 highlight that the traditional as well as the revisionist pictures deserve correction. This applies to the proposed dates, for Holladays' numbers are too high, whereas the fortification of several sites in the north occurred some decades earlier than asserted by Finkelstein and Herzog/Singer-Avitz. These deliberations also make it clear that it is doubtful whether it is possible to formulate an unambiguous, convincing theory about state-formation in the Iron IIA Southern Levant only on the basis of archaeological finds. In fact, a proposed hypothesis always remains tentative and partly dependent on certain images of the textual sources. This already becomes evident in interpreting the Iron IIA finds in Galilee, where some sites lost their function, the eastern part of Lower Galilee was settled, Tel Hazor and Tel Qarney Hittin showed evidence of fortification, and some newly fortified settlements were established in Upper Galilee. Most likely, these developments were the result of some kind of centralization. But archaeology is simply not able to clarify the political impact of the economic ties to Phoenicia in this region, just as it is hard to offer a convincing explanation as to what political rule fits the diverse cultural influences during the late 11th to 9th century at Tel Dor.

Another observation affects the nature of the development of the cities in the Northern Valleys at the beginning of Iron IIA, when the palatial cities were exchanged for centres reflecting administrative and military efforts. This started at Tel Hazor and some fortresses in Galilee and was carried through during the later 10th and the 9th century at Tel Yoqneam and Tel Megiddo and also suits the settlement peak and the newly fortified cities in the Central Hill Country during the late 10th and 9th century BCE. Strikingly, none of these cities is large enough to be a clear candidate for being the centre of a territorial kingdom. But it is easier to connect their new architectural outlook with a central administration than with the idea that they still functioned as 'little kingdoms'.

Similar remarks can be made with respect to the settlement peak in the Sharon and Yarkon Basin and regarding the only gradual occupation from east to west in the Shephelah during the 10th century. These opposite developments both hint in the same direction, namely that of the presence of a polity in the middle or the southern part of the Central Hill Country, for the Yarkon Basin and the Sharon offered this region the opportunity to profit from the mari-

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<sup>328</sup> Herzog, Singer-Avitz, 'Redefining the Centre', 231-6; *Idem*, 'Sub-Dividing the Iron Age IIA in Northern Israel', 186-8.

time trade that began to resume at the beginning of Iron II, whereas the western Shephelah clearly functioned as a buffer zone between the mountainous regions and the Philistine cities. In this light, it can also be doubted whether the interpretation of the Beersheba Valley and the Shephelah as the real centre in the emergence of the kingdom of Judah is appropriate. The fortified city of Tel Lachish, Level IV most likely functioned as the military outpost of a polity more to the east and the cities in the Beersheba Valley could also reflect a kind of independent entity, whereas the Negev Highland settlements and fortification of for instance Tel Arad seem to presuppose some kind of central administration.

Of course, the crucial question is how the idea of a central polity in the middle or southern part of the Central Hill Country is related to the scarce remains in this region. The most significant breakthrough in the settlement of the Judean hills took place in the transition to Iron IIA. But it cannot be denied that the Beersheba Valley was of more importance during the 11th century and that the hills only took fully part in the more extensive settlement pattern during the 9th and 8th century BCE. Moreover, a deliberate interpretation of the highly problematic Iron IIA remains at Jerusalem leads to the conclusion that it was no more than a sizeable regional centre, although not significantly smaller than its contemporary administrative centres at Tel Hazor, Tel Megiddo and Tel Gezer. Is it possible that this or another city in the hill country being only at the top of a regional settlement system was also the capital of a much larger emerging central polity? By its nature, archaeological analysis is not able to elucidate this issue undeniably. Two factors, however, open the door for an affirmative answer. First, it is important to take a look at the long-term pattern of the dichotomy between the highland and lowland political configurations, for the striking distance between the decent dimensions of some hill country cities and their political impact also occurred during the Late Bronze Age. Accordingly, it seems hazardous to state that a small city in the Central Hill Country could not have ruled a larger territory.<sup>329</sup> Second, the tribal settlement systems in the hill country were of great importance for the development of the Southern Levant during the 10th and 9th century due to the role of their agricultural surplus and increasing wealth. The tribal structure of these systems, however, also resisted a fast growth and enrichment of the capital. Accordingly, it is more likely that a regional centre became a capital and was enlarged and embellished only gradually than that a local chief rebuilt his city and then became the head of a larger territory.

As a result, the presence of several political entities in the Central Hill Country or even of just one central polity in the middle or southern part of the region, which had its base in the tribal structure, founded its wealth on the agricultural surplus and was already present at the beginning of the 10th century

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<sup>329</sup> Savage, Falconer, 'Spatial and Statistical Inference', 43. Cf. section 6.3, 'Kinglets in a Restless Region'.

BCE, offers the most likely archaeological explanation for many settlement patterns and building efforts as they occurred during the 10th and 9th century BCE. It is unclear to what extent the developments in Galilee and the Beersheba Valley were also related to the emergence of the territorial kingdom(s). But the central polity almost certainly played a role in the transmission of the Egyptian-Canaanite scribal tradition that had served the new rulers after the decline of the Egyptian Empire and remained intact until the 8th century BCE; and finally, it even cannot be excluded that Jerusalem functioned as the capital of this emerging territorial kingdom.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> Cf. section 5.4, 'Use of Sources'.

## **IV DIALOGUE OF TEXT AND ARTEFACT**



## CHAPTER 7 – JOSHUA 9:1—13:7 AS HISTORIOGRAPHY

### 7.1 JOSHUA 9:1—13:7 AND HISTORY

The textual analysis of Joshua 9:1—13:7 revealed that these chapters can be viewed as a piece of ancient Hebrew historiography that was composed in Judah between the late 10th and the early 8th century BCE with help of Late Bronze memories (Chapter 5). In addition, the artefactual analysis of the archaeological remains of the cities mentioned in this textual unit and of some non-biblical texts showed how the Cisjordanian Southern Levant developed during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages (Chapter 6). Now the time has come to create an interdisciplinary dialogue between the results of these ‘textual’ and ‘artefactual’ monologues. First, Joshua 9:1—13:7 is viewed against the background of history (section 7.1). Thereafter, the main question of this study can be answered in describing the relation between ideology and antiquarian intent in this part of Israel’s historiography of the settlement in Canaan (section 7.2).

#### **From History to Historiography**

The dialogue between the results of the monologue of text and the monologue of artefact starts at the side of history as reconstructed with help of artefacts and socio-archaeological theories. Does the social and political transformation of the Southern Levant between the 14th and the 8th century BCE fit the idea of a Late Bronze conquest of the region as reflected in a historiographical composition from the early first millennium? In answering this question, two methodological problems occur. The first has to do with the identification of ancient sites and regions in the landscape with biblical names of cities and areas. This identification is partly based on the assumption that the Book of Joshua contains valuable information with regard to the geographical outlook of the Southern Levant. The geographical excursus in Chapter 3 have confirmed this presupposition. Other texts, including non-biblical, also played an important role in defining the diverse geographical locations. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that so far, it is impossible to create a situation in which the use of historical information in testing a text’s historiographical analysis is totally independent of this text itself. Consequently, it cannot be avoided that the outcome of the test is always in some sense the result of circular reasoning.

A second problem comprises the nature of the truth-claims of ancient Near Eastern historiography. With regard to Joshua 9:1—13:7, it was possible to define the claims that were the result of the ancient royal historiographical play between the ‘real’ and the ‘ideal’. But what does that mean in a historical sense? According to some scholars, the historian simply has to ask the question for the minimum Israel might have done to lay claim to the achievements it

described in its historiography.<sup>1</sup> This method in defining the historical truth-claims is attractive, for propaganda and reality often seem to make up a 'zero-sum' game in ancient Near Eastern conquest accounts, with the former compensating for what is missing in the latter. At the same time, however, ancient historiography is always stereotypical in nature. Therefore, it is questionable whether it is possible to define precise historical truth-claims, for it is to be expected that the historiographer used well known geographical patterns and warfare terminology without describing the actual impact of a military achievement. Moreover, section 1.2 revealed that the problem is not to sift away ideology in order to discover the 'real facts', but on the contrary to appreciate the ideological nature of the text more through an evaluation of its factual support.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it seems best to test the historical truth-claims as they were described in section 5.5. A group called 'Israel' that could be viewed as the strong party in making a vassal-treaty came from Transjordan, made a life saving deal with Gibeon and gained control over the land by fighting two coalitions. This happened by killing some kings, taking some cities and destroying a few of them, and eliminating their inhabitants. According to these claims, the land was by no means left behind as a *tabula rasa* that only had to be settled. Nevertheless, the use of the convention of maximizing the spin of a battle and the associations with the Davidic Empire produce some additional geographical implications: the conquered land played an important role in the horizon of scribes; some political transformation took place between the conquest and the historiographical 'present', for the former indigenous peoples are subjected; and both these peoples and the neighbouring territories within the boundaries of the promised land are claimed to be part of a *pax israelitica*.

### *Social Structures*

The historical framework developed in Chapter 6 adds many connections to the textual diachronic geographical and ethnographic references to the Late Bronze II and Iron IIA *realia*, as discussed in Chapter 5. Most striking are the corroborations on the level of the social structure of society. The picture of a Late Bronze region dominated by little kingdoms and of constant rivalries and shifting coalitions with and against each other neatly matches the situation as presupposed in the Book of Joshua. The immigration and settling of groups in the Southern Levant was unquestionably one of the many factors in the collapse of the social system of little kingdoms as it occurred between the 14th and the 12th century and a *longue durée* perspective explains the picture of Jerusalem and Hazor as leading cities during Late Bronze II. In addition, the

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. Halpern, 'Construction of the Davidic State', 52-3. According to Halpern, this principle applies not to biblical historiography in general so much as to its sources. However, the historiographical hypothesis of section 5.5 opens the door to an application to the compositional framework of Joshua 9:1—13:7 as a whole.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 58, 63-4, 177-9.

centralizing features of the settlement systems of Iron IIA clearly leave room for an emerging territorial kingdom in the southern part of the Central Hill Country claiming large areas of land despite its humble beginnings and effectively using the southern Levantine scribal traditions that had remained intact. Finally, the attestation of an entity called 'Israel' in the Merneptah Stela, the rapid growth of the number of Iron I villages in those areas that later became the heartland of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and their distinct material culture surprisingly offer an appropriate historical background for the situation as presupposed in Joshua 9:1—13:7, that is, the existence of a settled Israel in the period between the conquest and the formation of the territorial kingdom.

This suitable large picture becomes more complicated as soon as the cities mentioned in the biblical text are brought into play. It was during the 13th and the 10th century BCE that most of the excavated cities existed: Hazor (Tel Hazor), Maron (Tel Qarney Hittin), Achshaph (Tel Keisan), Joqneam (Tel Yoqneam), Megiddo (Tel Megiddo), Kedesh (Tel Kedesh), Bethel (Beitin), Aphek (Tel Aphek), Hebron (Tel Rumeida), Debir (Tel Rabud), Azekah (Tel Azeka), Gezer (Tel Gezer), Lachish (Tel Lachish) and Tel Halif (Hormah). This also applies to the surveyed sites of Shim'on (Tel Shimron), Hopher (Tel Hopher), Tappuah (Tel Abu Zarad), Adullam (Tel Adulam) and Libnah (Tel Burna).<sup>3</sup> At least twelve of these cities also occurred as candidates of being the centre of a little kingdom or an estate in the Egyptian Province of Canaan, whereas eight of them revealed Iron IIA remains that are most likely to be understood as evidence of the emergence of a central polity.<sup>4</sup> The surveys, however, also raised questions concerning the occupation of some other sites during the Late Bronze Age: Kephira (Tel el-Kafira), Kiriath Jearim (Deir el-Azhar) and Anab (Tel Anab el-Kebir). Moreover, the excavated sites revealed no or only very poor 13th century BCE remains at Taanach (Tel Taanach), Tirzah (Tel el-Far'ah [N]), Dor (Tel Dor), Jerusalem, Gibeon (el-Jib), Makkedah (Tel el-Qom), Eglon (Tel Eiton), Jarmuth (Tel Yarmuth) and Arad (Tel Arad). How is this to be interpreted?

In general, the survey of a site cannot be used in order to falsify a historical hypothesis and it is also important to view the excavations in their own context. Almost no Late Bronze remains were uncovered at Tel Dor. But the excavators simply assume that the city existed during this period, because thus far they concentrated on the thick Iron Age layers at the site. Only some tombs and small areas were excavated at Tel el-Qom and Tel Eiton and accordingly, it is risky to draw the definite conclusion that these cities did not exist during the Late Bronze Age. More problematic are the scarce Late Bronze finds at Tel Taanach and Jerusalem. But with regard to these cities, the gap between the archaeological record and a textual source also occurs in the case of the

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<sup>3</sup> See section 6.2.

<sup>4</sup> See section 6.3.

Amarna Letters.<sup>5</sup> Similar remarks are to be made concerning Jarmuth and Arad. A probe on the acropolis of Tel Yarmuth yielded the remains of a small, but significant Late Bronze settlement and the excavator suggests that during Iron II the site was occupied at the other side of the acropolis.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the ecological environment of Tel Arad implies that in certain periods the name of the site possibly reflects a pastoralist settlement, as becomes evident from the Shoshenq list, which mentions many unidentified sites in the southern steppe.

As a result, there is a difficulty with the Late Bronze finds of Tirzah (Tel el-Far'ah [N]), a major distance between the biblical text and archaeological remains at Jericho (Tel es-Sultan) and Ai (et Tel) and an obvious problem with the badly excavated site of Gibeon (el-Jib). But this does not rule out the fact that the overall pattern is quite positive, in particular in comparison with the corroborations between archaeological excavations and the Egyptian New Kingdom texts describing Asiatic campaigns.<sup>7</sup> So the possibility of some late 10th or 9th century BCE scribes writing about the conquest of the land by a group called 'Israel' during the Late Bronze Age cannot be ruled out from an archaeological point of view.

### *Histoire d'Événements*

The limitations of archaeological research play a significant role in the next level of the comparison between the artefactual reconstruction of history and the historical truth-claims of the biblical historiography of Joshua 9:1—13:7, that is, the level of the historical vicissitudes or the *histoire d'événements*. The textual analysis in Chapter 4 showed that the diplomatic rhetoric in the story about the Hivites of Gibeon could have occurred in the Late Bronze Southern Levant. But archaeology is silent about the question whether it actually happened, just as it is about the vicissitudes in the southern and northern campaigns. The historiographical language about the battles in the Valley of Ayalon and at the Waters of Merom, the killing of the kings and the elimination of the pre-Israelite nations is stereotypical in nature and although some cities are taken, their conflagration is not part of Israel's policy to subdue the enemy. Accordingly, it is impossible to falsify these parts of the story.

The violent destruction of Hazor is the only exception to this rule. Therefore, it is no surprise that Noth, who was quite sceptical about the contribution

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<sup>5</sup> See section 6.3, 'Kinglets in a Restless Region'.

<sup>6</sup> Miroschedji, 'Tel Jarmuth', 1797.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*; Junkkaala, *Three Conquests of Canaan*, 169-72, 223-6. Rivka Gonen and Ze'ev Herzog explain the fact that many of the cities attested in the lists of Thutmose III and Shoshenq I cannot be identified by the eagerness of the sub-units of the Egyptian army to include as many names as possible in order to glorify their operation. Therefore, they also mentioned reference points of ruins, rather than existing towns. R. Gonen, 'The Late Bronze Age', in: A. Ben-Tor (ed.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, New Haven, London 1992, 217; Herzog, 'Fortress Mound at Tel Arad', 92-3.

of archaeology to the history of Israel, saw a positive connection between Joshua 11 and the archaeological remains at Tel Hazor after excavations had revealed a massive and outstanding 13th century BCE destruction layer.<sup>8</sup> As turned out in section 6.2, the new expedition at the site added a mass of new material remains to the results of Yadin's expedition. At the same time, however, the criteria for the historical evaluation of destruction layers have become stricter and there is a strong tendency in archaeology in favour of environmental and sociological instead of historical explanations. The falsification of Albright's conquest model, depicted in section 1.3, seemed to make it impossible that Israel destroyed Hazor. In addition, the lack of evidence for a migration of Sea Peoples by land and the new understanding of this phenomenon also ruled them out as a possible candidate.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the fact of monumental public structures being violated and the intentional mutilation of objects – including three Egyptian statues and a sphinx – that can be observed in seventeen cases, still require an explanation. Sharon Zuckerman sees a connection with the general deterioration of Late Bronze Hazor and understands the in her eyes systematic annihilation campaign as an uprising of local inhabitants against the rulers of the city and against the very physical symbols of the royal ideology and its loci of ritual legitimation.<sup>10</sup> Maybe, this interpretation suits as an explanation purporting to understand the material remains on their own terms. But it does not suffice as a historical explanation. Tel Hazor was abandoned and not rebuilt. That is not the normal procedure in the case of an ancient city being decapitated by its population. Moreover, there is a text telling why and how the deteriorating, but prosperous city came to its end. Therefore, the option favoured by Ben-Tor, namely that the entity later called 'Israel' in the Merneptah Stela destroyed Hazor, is to be preferred from a historical point of view.<sup>11</sup> Many cities in the Late Bronze Southern Levant suffered because they took part in a coalition. Probably, Hazor experienced the same during the 13th century BCE, when it became the head of a coalition that was directed against 'Israel'. This could also explain that the city experienced a huge conflagration and the heads and hands of the statues became a primary target for the destroyers.

### *Religious Encoding*

This last fact leads to the final issue to be treated from a historical perspective. What about the historical claims related to the religious encoding of the text?

<sup>8</sup> Noth, 'Hat die Bibel doch recht?', 14-5 (= *ABLAK*, Bd. 1, 25-6).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Fritz, 'Ende der spätbronzezeitliche Stadt Hazor', 137-9 with section 6.1. For the improbability of a destruction by the Egyptians, see Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 145-6; K.A. Kitchen, 'Hazor and Egypt: An Egyptological and Ancient Near Eastern Perspective', *SJOT* 16 (2002), 309-13.

<sup>10</sup> Zuckerman, 'Anatomy of Destruction', 23-5.

<sup>11</sup> Ben-Tor, 'Fall of Canaanite Hazor', 465; Idem, 'Hazor – A City between the Major Powers', 308.

According to Ben-Tor, the motive for the mutilation of statues was entirely political.<sup>12</sup> Yet, his allusion to the fate of the statue of Dagon as described in 1 Samuel 5:4 as well as the appearance of the excavated objects both hint in the direction of a religious reason. This intuition is confirmed by Joshua 11, where the burning of chariots, the hamstringing of horses and the destruction of Hazor function as a punishment for its initiative to organize the Canaanite coalition. The pride and power, which were directed against YHWH, are burnt down.<sup>13</sup> This does not mean, of course, that the archaeology of Hazor offers a historical verification of the specific motivation mentioned in the book of Joshua, for the material remains themselves do not tell why they were annihilated.

The same applies to the other religious claims that can be observed in Joshua 9:1—13:7. Section 5.5 already observed that it is hard to understand the nature of the miraculous victory in the Valley of Ayalon, even for modern religious readers, for they do not share the ancient perception of the heavenly bodies. It is possible, of course, to state that miracles do not happen and that accordingly, this historical truth-claim can be falsified. But section 1.3 showed that such a statement in fact reflects a highly questionable empiricist distinction in the study of biblical historiography, namely, that between story and history, and confuses the worldviews of the ancient and the modern historians. Consequently, it is important to take into account the limited perspective, not of history, but of historical research. Joshua 9:1—13:7 describes the conquest of Cisjordan by Israel as the fulfilment of YHWH's promise of the land. The story is also very critical in this sense that this unique gift encompasses high obligations to Israel and its leaders. Its rhetoric of violence is used in such a way that it is clear that the aggression could only be applied then and there to a selection of peoples. Finally, the story claims that YHWH definitely fulfilled his promise by choosing David as his king. Historical research is able to say something about the historical possibility of such a conquest and the emergence of a Davidic kingdom. But it is neither able to offer an objective validation nor an unquestionable falsification of the religious truth values that are connected to the worldview of the ancient historians, because in that case the modern worldviews will have to be brought into play. History, as a narrative enterprise, asks for such a judgement. There is a story to be told in which historians from the modern West render account to themselves of their past, which includes Israel's past, whether it being in a cultural or a religious way. In this case, the ancient source inspires or evokes abhorrence. But as the historians hold opposing worldviews, there will also be a great variation in the appreciation of the religious implications of this source and accordingly, it is important to note that the influence of historical research on this debate is limited.

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<sup>12</sup> Ben-Tor, 'Sad Fate of Mutilated Statues', 14.

<sup>13</sup> See the sections 3.3, 'Northern Defeat' and 4.3, 'Oracles'.

### From Historiography to History

Nevertheless, given the limited nature of historical research, the interdisciplinary dialogue between text and artefact still takes place. Therefore, the historical possibility of a late 10th or 9th century Israelite scribal product describing a Late Bronze Age conquest from Transjordan raises a question attaching to the concept of a new 'biblical archaeology' that was described at the end of section 1.3. What is the interpretative power of this story for the historical reconstruction as it is based on artefacts and socio-archaeological theories?

#### *Historical Difficulties*

Undeniably, the idea of this story being historical causes great difficulties in several hotly debated fields in the history of the Ancient Near East. The biblical historiography of the exodus, conquest and settlement locates the homeland of the migrating group in Egypt. This is not impossible, for the presence of Semites in the New Kingdom is a well known phenomenon and migrations took place. But many historians highly doubt the possibility of a massive Israelite migration and question the geographical and historical plausibility of its route. According to some Egyptologists, these problems can be solved. But still then, a textual analysis of passages in the books of Exodus and Numbers as a transmitted text should be involved.<sup>14</sup>

Another debated issue is the religion-historical question for the origin of Yahwism. The historiography of the conquest takes the stance of an aniconic religion in which YHWH, who once made the promise of the land and prohibited Israel to make a treaty, holds a unique position as against other gods. The story does not imply that all members of the group called 'Israel' shared this view. Moreover, aniconic and heno- or monotheistic convictions are very hard to trace archaeologically. Yet, many archaeological finds hint in a different direction and it is a matter of dispute how this is to be interpreted.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, there is the hotly debated topic of the Davidic Empire. Its indirect presence in the Book of Joshua and in Judges 1 and the reference to its secondary and modest beginnings in other biblical passages, for instance in Psalm 78:67-72, matches the scanty Iron I archaeological record of the Judean hills. From a literary point of view, it is not unreasonable to assume that some fragments in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings, at least those having an administrative outlook, reflect 10th century BCE territorial claims and historical situations, whereas

<sup>14</sup> For an overview, see e.g. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Egypt*, 52-227; Idem, *Ancient Israel in Sinai*, 3-249.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion see e.g. Z. Zevit, *The Religions of Ancient Israel*, London, New York 2001; T.N.D. Mettinger, 'A Conversation with My Critics. Cultic Image or Aniconism in the First Temple?', in: Amit *et al.* (eds), *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context*, 273-96; R.S. Hess, *Israelite Religions. An Archaeological and Biblical Survey*, Grand Rapids, MI 2007; G.A. Klingbeil, "Between North and South". The Archaeology of Religion in Late Bronze Age Palestine and the Period of the Settlement', in: Hess *et al.*, *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History*, 111-50.

several settlement patterns and administrative buildings tend in the direction of the emergence of a central polity in the southern part of the hill country, already during the early Iron IIA.<sup>16</sup> In this light, the considerations regarding literacy in section 5.4 and the reconstruction in section 6.3 even suggest that Tryggve Mettinger was possibly right in his hypothesis that the organization of the administration at the court of David and Solomon was partly Egyptian in origin.<sup>17</sup> This, however, does not suffice to sustain the existence of an empire, for the description of the nature of the central polity in the southern hills requires a study of more texts and a contextual approach, placing the textual and artefactual evidence in the framework of Iron IIA international relations.<sup>18</sup>

These issues, however, are not dealt with, because this would surpass the scope of this study.

#### *From Conquest to Coexistence*

Much more positive is the contribution of the text to the archaeological and historical debate regarding the social and political transformation during the Late Bronze Age and Iron I. If the historical truth-claims of Joshua 9:1–13:7 are taken seriously, the Israelite conquest was one of the factors causing the collapse of the social system of the Late Bronze Age besides the attitude of the kingly, the lack of human and economic resources, the indifference of the pharaoh, groups of outlaws joining semi-nomadic elements and the late 13th and early 12th century appearance of the Sea Peoples. In that case, the corroboration with the destruction of Hazor dates this wave of migration to the mid 13th century BCE. Maybe Israel also caused the destruction of Maron, but this is not sure. It could be that the Israelites also destroyed the Egyptian estate of Building 4430 at Aphek (Tel Aphek, Stratum X-13) and the city of Lachish (Tel Lachish, Level VII), but it has to be noted that for there are no clear resemblances with the text. In these latter cases it is also likely to explain these destructions by the skirmishes in the coastal plain preceding the arrival of the first groups of Sea People immigrants.

Even more remarkable is the interpretative power of the historiography of Israel's settlement in Canaan with respect to those Iron I elements, which meaning and origin could not be defined by archaeological analysis alone: the Iron I villages in the Central Hill Country and in Upper Galilee, the settlement structures, the ceramic assemblages, and the sudden occurrence during Iron I of pig avoidance in areas that later were part of the kingdoms of Israel and

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<sup>16</sup> See the sections 5.4-5.5 and 6.3, 'Political and Cultural Transformation'.

<sup>17</sup> Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*, 25-51, 140-157. Cf. G.W. Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine* (SHANE, 1), Leiden 1982, 27-44.

<sup>18</sup> For a 'minimalist' and 'maximalist' interpretations in this direction, see e.g. Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 107-259; K.A. Kitchen, 'The Controlling Role of External Evidence in Assessing the Historical Status of the Israelite United Monarchy', in: Long *et al.* (eds.), *Windows into Old Testament History*, 111-30.

Judah. As became evident in section 1.3 and 6.3, these archaeological features reflect a distinct material culture and presumably contain an ethnic element. But at the same time, it was noted that the dichotomies Late Bronze/Iron I, Canaanite/Israelite and lowland/highland are partly theoretical in nature and do not suffice as a tool interpreting the remains of the 'mixed multitude' of Iron I material culture in the Southern Levant. Surprisingly, the overall pattern of historical truth-claims of Joshua 9:1—13:7 is able to solve this problem. For the textual play with the 'real' and the 'ideal' implies that Israel's settlement in Canaan was a story going 'from conquest to coexistence'. Israel entered the land, fought a few battles and destroyed Hazor. But the conquest as well as the settlement remained incomplete. If this implication of the text is used to tell the story of Iron I Cisjordan, many pieces of the puzzle fall into place. Several tens of thousands of people came in. Some functioned as pastoralists, others settled within a few decennia in the hill country, where they soon dominated the scene. But all mixed up with withdrawing urban and rural elements, displaced peasants and other sedentarizing nomads and non-indigenous groups such as northern people and clans from the south. The newcomers brought in their habits, stories and religion, but undoubtedly also took over important elements, such as architecture, ceramic forms, gods and goddesses and maybe even the language.<sup>19</sup> In the light of what is known from the growth of the Iron I tribal element and from ethnoarchaeology, it can be expected that internal relations were soon defined in terms of kinship, but also that it is unlikely that the local inhabitants of other areas maintaining the Late Bronze social structure of the palatial cities were included in this symbiosis.<sup>20</sup>

This flexible picture is able to do justice to the mixed multitude in the lowlands as well as to that of the hill country. The story of a common conquest also explains why some of the features of the highlands bear the suggestion of a common ethos and elucidates the fact that the northern settlement systems and the isolated southern clans were through the ages considered to be part of the same ethnic entity. Consequently, it can be concluded that during the 12th and 11th century BCE at least the collared rim jar and the pig taboo functioned as identity markers in the mountainous areas. When the clans grew stronger,

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<sup>19</sup> For Hebrew as a Northwest Semitic dialect and its affinities with Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic and Moabite, see e.g. Z.S. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (AOS, 16), New Haven, CT 1939; J.P. Lettinga, *De 'tale Kanaäns'*, Groningen 1971; W.R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine*, Philadelphia 1985; Rainey, 'Whence Came the Israelites and Their Language', 52-5.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Herzog, 'Fortress of Tel Arad', 89-92; Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 58-60, 64-9; Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis*, 172-5. According to Liverani, the content of the social demands of the Covenant Code (Exod. 21:1—23:19) is most plausibly explained as an original response to the socioeconomic conditions of the Late Bronze Age, because they radically oppose the praxis of the palatial cities.

For biblical attestations of the 'mixed multitude', see e.g. Exod. 2:21; 12:38; Num. 12:1; Josh. 6:25; Judg. 1:16; 14; 1 Sam. 21:8; 2 Sam. 3:3; 8:18; 11:3; 15:18; 23:37; Ezek. 16:3; Ruth 4:10.

the contacts with the cities in the lowlands became more frequent, as can be observed in the archaeological record of Taanach and Megiddo. It is to be expected that at some point, the tribes took over the control over the valleys. In regard to this specific political question, the books of Joshua and Judges remain silent. Yet, the short remarks in Joshua 15—19 and the enumeration in Judges 1 about the increasing inability of the tribes to conquer their cities and to settle their territories are notable in this respect, in particular because these texts also suggest that in later times, David and Solomon recruited workers from these enclaves of autochthonous people in order to enforce their cities.<sup>21</sup>

From a historical perspective, this is an intriguing fact for two reasons. First, this description perfectly fits the historical reality of late Iron I and early Iron IIA. The archaeological record of many of these cities – Gezer (Tel Gezer), Dor (Tel Dor), Megiddo (Tel Megiddo), Taanach (Tel Taanach), Beth Shean (Tel Beth Shean) and Ibleam (Tel Bel'ameh) – suggests that they indeed continued the Late Bronze social structure deep into Iron I. In addition, it seems not unlikely that those affiliated to several of these provincial centres were used to do forced labour during early Iron IIA, for some people had to do the work of the building of the new administrative centres. In the yearly planting, horticulture, harvesting and the pastoralist calendar required by the highly diversified subsistence strategies of the hill country, labour taken from the villages would have had a significant impact on productivity and upon the viability of individual communities and therefore would have been counter-productive. In addition, in contrast to Egypt and Mesopotamia there were no great masses of unskilled workers in the Southern Levant. So unquestionably, some taxes were paid by the inhabitants of the Central Hill Country in the form of work, but only at a fairly moderate level. As a consequence, it becomes almost certain that the burden of the forced labour fell upon the lowland farmers, who had more seasonal occupations, and upon other less enfranchised elements that were considered to be 'autochthonous' rather than upon the highland agriculturalists and pastoralists.<sup>22</sup>

Second, it is very interesting to observe how the scribes of Joshua 9:1—13:7, applying the geographical concept of conquered and remaining land and of tribal territories and enclaves of pre-Israelite nations, used this knowledge regarding the forced labour of people that were considered indigenous. In their view, the kingdom of David and Solomon had been very successful, because of its political control of the conquered land and its claim on the remaining land. But they neither celebrated the 'mixed multitude' nor encouraged the assimilation of the diverse groups inhabiting the country. On the contrary, they depicted the forced labour of the Hivites at the sanctuary of YHWH as being part of the future *pax israelitica*, which was in their view also reflected in the forced labour of autochthonous people. In this way, they highlighted the unique char-

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<sup>21</sup> See section 4.1, 'The Trickery Discovered and Resolved' and 5.2, 'Evaluation'.

<sup>22</sup> Holladay, 'Kingdoms of Israel and Judah', 382.

acter of YHWH and stressed the danger of spiritual contamination by assimilation. YHWH once fulfilled the promise of the land. But disobedience, bad leadership and assimilation had threatened this gift. It was only by choosing David as his king that the promise of the land had been definitely fulfilled. So the undertone of the story of these Judean scribes was positive. Yet, they mentioned Israel's inability to settle the land and thereby underlined the antithesis between the 'Israelites' and 'Canaanites', the importance of obedient leadership, and the merciful attitude of YHWH, the one and only God.

As a result, the story from conquest to coexistence does not only tell about battles, glorious victories and settlement, but also about the transformation of the mixed multitude of the tribal village systems of the Central Hill Country into a new Israelite ethnicity and the surprising emergence of the Davidic Empire under the guidance of a unique divine figure; and the way this story is told suggests that both the tension between the 'real' and the 'ideal', the 'already' and the 'not yet' with respect to the divine promise of the land, and the role of YHWH in this friction in their view drove history forward and were important factors instigating the creation of Israel's historiography of the settlement.

## 7.2 JOSHUA 9:1—13:7 AS HISTORIOGRAPHY

This study explores the historiographical character of a part of the biblical history writing of Israel's settlement in Canaan in order to answer the question for the relation between the ideology and the antiquarian intent in Joshua 9:1—13:7. Since a few decades the textual aspect of historiography has become more and more important. Historiography is seen as historical narrative, a work of art. As a result, it is suggested that only the aesthetic qualities of the text should be studied in order to define its ideology, which is at the same time the ideology of its writers. Therefore, one cannot get from text to intention, to the causes of the text and to events that are described. The evaluation of this approach highlighted the methodological weaknesses of this conviction. Theoretically, it presupposes a view of certainty and determinacy that is foreign to historical research; and practically, it denies the attestation of many diachronic referential aspects and thus of the nature of biblical history also being referential literature. So most likely, the scribes composing Joshua 9:1—13:7 did indeed indulge literary concerns and served ideology. But they also made a legitimate attempt to reconstruct the past. Therefore, what can be said about the relation between ideology and antiquarian intent, after the Sisyphean task of a new historiographical investigation has been executed appreciating the aesthetic qualities and the ideological features, explicitly studying the referential character of the text, and examining the textual as well as the artefactual evidence as pursuits in their own right?

### Conventions of Historiography

Joshua 9:1—13:7 is to be characterized as a piece of historiography, for it is part of the larger historical story from Genesis – 2 Kings and contains many aesthetic as well as referential elements confirming this conclusion. The text is structured by a compositional framework that is for instance attested in the introductory passages and in the summarizing geographical descriptions of the Cisjordanian land, Transjordan and of the remaining land. The rhetoric of this framework includes a balanced use of terminology regarding three semantic fields describing human actions, that is, the supplanting of the pre-Israelite nations, their elimination and the actual division and settlement of the land. This language is accompanied by several compositional passages highlighting the help and guidance of YHWH. Further, it also appears that Joshua is subordinated to Moses, who in his turn was the servant of YHWH. The composition also contains references to historical *realia* and to circumstances that are described later on in the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. Finally, the terminology of the treaty of Joshua 9 fits the depiction of diplomatic affairs of the ancient Near East from the second and first millennium BCE and on several occasions, the text undeniably shows familiarity with the canons of ancient Near Eastern royal historiographical conventions: the geographical play between the ‘real’ and the ‘ideal’ in the use of geographical descriptions suggesting a totality; the hyperbolic summarizing statements and the presentation of ideal boundaries; Joshua’s object teaching in humiliating and impaling the five Amorite kings and in creating a memorial heap; the attestation of an iterative style and stereotypical phrasing in describing the elimination of enemies; and at last, the use of חרם as a devotion to destruction. Yet, it is notable that in the Book of Joshua the conventions are not used to praise the king, but to put YHWH in the centre of the attention. Even the tension between the real and ideal is used to highlight God’s greatness and to stress human inability and responsibility.

### Ideology

The literary forms and conventions lead to a second characteristic of Joshua 9:1—13:7’s, its ideology. The primary focus of this textual unit is on the land of Israel as a whole. It has a positive view of the conquest by Joshua as well as of the monarchy as it existed in the time of David and Solomon. This, however, does not mean that the text embraced the political ends of the king. It reflects the ‘constitutional’ view of the cult, land and leadership that is also found in what now has become the Book of Deuteronomy and applies this view in its own way, for it does not mention the temple in Jerusalem and has a special interest in Joshua’s conjunction with the leaders of Israel in making the treaty and in the role of the priests in dividing the land. Finally, the text reveals an intimate knowledge of the landscape by playing a sophisticated game with conquered and unconquered, divided and undivided land. Neither Joshua nor the king is in the centre of the attention, but only YHWH, who gave the obedient leaders Joshua and David their glorious victories and whose guidance still en-

hances a promise for the future: if the king and the people are obedient, YHWH's grace guarantees again the promise of the land.

### **Antiquarian Intent**

So Joshua 9:1—13:7 is full of artistic construction, selectivity and suggestive detail mirroring the aims and beliefs of its scribes. This does not mean, however, that this part of historiography can be reduced to its supposed social function, for its referential aspect also deserves consideration. This in particular applies to the diachronic referential aspects regarding ethnography and geography: the onomastic evidence of the names of the kings; references to the pre-Israelite nations; and the geographical depictions of the conquered and the remaining land. Analysis of these aspects highlighted that the compositional framework presumable has been written down in the early first millennium BCE with help of Late Bronze Age memories and by applying some of the additional information from the 10th to late 9th century BCE horizon. These Late Bronze Age memories possibly comprise the names of the kings, but in any case the ethnographic information about the Canaanites, Amorites and Hittites and the depiction of the promised land in terms of the Egyptian Province in Asia. The information from the 10th to late 9th century horizon includes references to the Philistines and their five city-states and the attestation of Sidon. This picture becomes even more complete as soon as the parallels with the claims of the Davidic Empire in 2 Samuel 8—10 and 24 are taken into consideration. In that case, the northern border of the conquered land clearly resembles that of the depiction of 10th century Israelite territory, while the depiction of the remaining land contains a claim on the territory of its supposed allies and vassals. This date agrees with the Davidic associations regarding the forced labour of pre-Israelite nations in the *pax israelitica* and the dealing with hostile horses and chariots, whereas the text also alludes to the promise of the building of the temple by saying that the land had rest from war without presupposing a centralized cult. Furthermore, a late 10th or 9th century BCE origin of Joshua 9:1—13:7 finds an extra-biblical parallel in the 9th century Mesha Stone in its use of the מרר. Finally, it does justice to the claim of the text that it refers to actual situations in the environment of the scribes, for instance by the statement of the functioning of the inhabitants of Gibeon as woodcutters and water carriers for the altar of YHWH.

### **Scribes and Materials**

The diachronic analysis of the text and the comparison with its artefactual context suggest that some late 10th or 9th century BCE Judean scribes educated to a scholarly level took an existing document depicting the conquered territories and the remaining land, combined it with the orally repeated stories of the treaty with the Gibeonites and with a fragment from the 'book of the upright one', and composed this part of the historiography of Israel's conquest and settlement of Canaan by using the international canons of royal historiography,

some 'deuteronomic' and 'priestly' traditions and some information regarding the history of the Davidic Empire. This diachronic reading of the text as an attempt to reconstruct the past legitimately within the constraints of sources and traditions provides the best explanation not only for the existence of the composition as a whole, but also for that of the separate narratives. The text undoubtedly contains anachronistic elements, such as the borders of the conquered land, the remarks concerning the Philistines and Sidon, some of the ethnographic information, and the implied suggestion that the conquered land was settled later, which is confirmed by the 10th century settlement of the Judean hills, the Sharon and Lower Galilee. The text also omits important historical information from the end of the Late Bronze Age in the Southern Levant: the Hurrian influence; the prominent Egyptian presence;<sup>23</sup> the decline of the little kingdoms; the clash with pharaoh Merneptah; and the arrival of the 'Sea People' phenomenon. Nevertheless, other materials strongly suggest to have been transmitted as stories and depictions of things that existed or occurred in the past. This information comprises the notion of Canaan as the promised land, the story about a treaty with the Gibeonites that was prohibited, the reports about the coalitions, the miraculous battle in the south, the memorable destruction of Hazor in the north, and possibly also the names of the kings. Moreover, the textual unit matches the social structure of the Late Bronze Southern Levant. On the level of the actual vicissitudes, the limited historical truth-claims and the nature of the archaeological remains prevent a precise evaluation of what happened. Yet, with respect to Hazor, 'Israel' as depicted in Joshua 11 is the most likely candidate for having destroyed the 13th century BCE city. On the level of 'biblical archaeology', the implied story of Joshua 9:1—13:7, 'From conquest to coexistence', is even able to function as a powerful tool in interpreting the southern Levantine Iron I remains and in elucidating the question of the origin of the 'mixed multitude' presence that divides the diverse socio-archaeological interpretations of the Iron I settlement structures.

### **Relation to Previous Scholarship**

So in the end, it appears that it is possible to meet the challenge to show how to deal with the conquest in the Book of Joshua, and still maintain there is no considerable distance between story and history. The reconstruction of a kind of united conquest of Canaan by invading Israelites on the basis of the book of Joshua and in the face of contemporary archaeology is not necessarily bad and incompetent history.<sup>24</sup> On the contrary, in historical terms, the overall suggestion of this study is that Albrecht Alt was essentially right in his intuition – which was later on developed by scholars all over the world – that a large

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<sup>23</sup> The mentioning of the Egyptian Awites in the south 13:3e is possibly the sole exemption. See section 3.5, the Excursus 'Southern Remaining Land'.

<sup>24</sup> As against Grabbe (ed.), *Can a History*, 29; Halpern, *First Historians*, xxiii.

amount of the Israelite historiography of the conquest, settlement and the early kingdom is in fact pre-exilic and circles around the question who was the true heir of the pharaoh in his suzerainty over the Egyptian Province in Asia. There is much to say about the problems of the use of literary and form criticism in previous research and about the traditional presupposition in Anglo-Saxon scholarship of archaeology as providing 'objective' external evidence. Yet, this new investigation confirms the idea that according to the pre-exilic historical reconstruction of the Israelite scribes, the fulfilment of the promise of the land by YHWH resulted in a Davidic Empire encompassing the former Egyptian territories in Asia and that the main question of Israel's history was whether YHWH would take the land he had once given or not.<sup>25</sup> This analysis also adds three new results in comparison to previous scholarship: (a) the idea of a definite fulfilment of the promise of the land in the Davidic Empire is also present in the story of the conquest in the Book of Joshua; (b) the Israelite historians did not collect stories about local events or cultic traditions, but used written sources, oral stories and traditions in fact presupposing a unified conquest of a group called 'Israel'; (c) the historical truth-claims of these scribes are not falsified by a critical socio-archaeological interpretation of the artefactual evidence in the Southern Levant from the Late Bronze II – Iron IIA period.

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<sup>25</sup> For an impressive elaboration of this argument, see M. Weippert, 'Fragen des Israelitischen Geschichtsbewußtseins'.



## EPILOGUE

At the end of this book exploring the historiographical nature of the transmitted Hebrew text of Joshua 9:1—13:7, two issues in the historical debate about pre-exilic Israel deserve some further comments.

In the previous pages, the labels 'minimalist' and 'maximalist' – frequently used in describing the position of diverse scholars in discussions on the history of ancient Israel – have been avoided. This has been done on purpose, simply because the opposition does not suffice in clarifying the methodological debate. A maximalist view often implies that everything in the sources that could not be proved wrong has to be accepted as historical and the minimalist view most of the time means that everything which is not corroborated by evidence contemporary with the events to be reconstructed, is dismissed. This opposition presses the complicated historical reality erroneously in the mould of the 'either – or logic' of modernity, being it in the form of empiricist historicism banning all figurative language from science or in that of the postmodern 'new historicism' upgrading the metaphorical language to the real thing and negating the truth-claim of ancient historical narratives. History and the attachment of values to historical vicissitudes are far too complex for such a simplification. All scholars have to deal with the biblical text as a transmitted text, with the ideological characteristics of biblical and non-biblical texts and with the possibility that they contain plausible historical information. All are confronted with the limited nature of archaeological evidence and have to consider the fact that there is sometimes a striking distance between artefactual evidence and the texts, not only in the case of the Bible, but also in relation to the Amarna Letters, the Egyptian New Kingdom inscriptions, and the Assyrian textual sources. The mass of data has become immense, the methodological problems are huge and in many cases, progress in historical research is more often achieved by discussing what we do *not* know than by concentrating on what we thought we already knew. Therefore, a true post-critical approach of ancient history should, as was put forward by for instance Robert D. Miller II, not look for *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, but concentrate on 'what we actually can say'.<sup>1</sup> For only this historical research will be able to do justice to the nature of the historical narratives and make room for the necessary sensible discussion about its probability and plausibility. It is up to the reader to judge to what extent this study succeeded in exploring the plausibility of the historical truth-claims of Joshua 9:1—13:7 by appreciating its literary forms and ideology and by bringing the historical implications of this text into dialogue with the relevant artefactual evidence. But the proposal made in this study illustrates in any case that an approach respecting the limits of historical research is still able to lead to positive results.

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<sup>1</sup> R.D. Miller, 'Yahweh and his Clio. Critical Theory and the Historical Criticism of the Hebrew Bible', *CBR* 4 (2006), 149-68. Cf. Moore, *Philosophy and Practice*, 134-183.

The second remark concerns the influence of ideology and worldview on the reading of text and artefact. The recent study of ancient propaganda suggests that the use of nonbiased or differently biased material, such as administrative texts, omnia, archaeological remains and settlement patterns offer the opportunity of writing a nonbiased reconstruction of ancient history. Section 1.2 and 1.3 revealed that this is not possible. A proper methodological approach is indispensable in trying to judge the sources on their own terms and to postpone the mixture of ancient and modern worldviews to the moment something has to be said about the ancient text's truth-values. But still then, there is the risk of taking out interpretation for a fact and of accepting forgeries as the truth. In these cases, the study of an alien culture lends a hand in retaining the possibility of different options. But at the same time, the study and consideration of these options is dangerous, because of the religious and ideological biases of the modern historians, as turned out in the discussion of Israel's miraculous victory in Valley of Ayalon. Some historians are deliberately silent about their bias and their pretention of objectivity easily frustrates scholarly debate. Others are quite open in telling about their beliefs and convictions and about the grand narrative in which their scholarly research takes place. Mario Liverani, for instance, shares the idea of the impossibility of writing nonbiased history. In his view, ideological propaganda is far from dead in the 21st century CE world; on the contrary, it is winning the battle against counterinformation and accordingly, the study of ancient propaganda should serve the preservation of intellectual freedom. Therefore, it is no surprise that the meta-historical category of the so-called 'axial age' of the 6th century BCE – the time marked by the rising of intellectual innovators such as Confucius in China, Buddha in India, Zoroaster in Iran, the Ionian philosophers in Greece and the ethical prophets of the exilic period in Israel – plays a major role in his reconstruction of the history of ancient Israel. For in his view, it is this age that gave birth to the intellectual elites and to a critical spirit that is not organic to power, but opposes and surpasses it.<sup>2</sup>

This study is written by an academic theologian and journalist who loves intellectual freedom and who is convinced that critical inquiry, freedom of speech and public (scholarly) debate are very important means in constraining the powers of the modern world. Nevertheless, they are only means and not goals by themselves, for in that case the tyranny of only a certain interpretation of freedom, of human reason as the ultimate criterion in judging life, and of the free market is not far away. Therefore, a higher grand narrative not coercing people, but unlocking the world and shaping the way people look at history is needed to reflect on good and evil. For most scientists and scholars in the western world, human rights, art and religion play such roles. For me as a Christian and a member of a Reformed Church in the Netherlands, the narra-

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<sup>2</sup> M. Liverani, '2084: Ancient Propaganda and Historical Criticism', in: J.S. Cooper, G.M. Schwartz (eds), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the 21st Century*, Winona Lake, IN 1996, 283-89; Idem, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 203-13.

tive of God's history with Israel and of the fulfilment of this history in Jesus Christ is very important in this respect. In my view, this narrative offers the opportunity to face both the horrors and beauty of life; it fills the history of mankind with hope by telling how God did not keep himself out of harm's way, but got involved in space and time and finally triumphed over human irresponsibility and evil by Jesus' life, death and resurrection. Of course, this view also implies a certain view of history – so that I am inclined to read the historical designation BCE (before the Common Era) as BC (before Christ) – and of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. I wholeheartedly concur with a delightful saying of the fifth article of the early-modern Belgic Confession of 1561, that is, from before the emergence of the strict 'either – or logic' of the Enlightenment: 'We believe without a doubt all things contained in them, not so much because the church receives and approves them as such, but above all because the Holy Spirit testifies in our hearts that they are from God, and also because they prove themselves to be from God'.

Such a point of view, however, raises the serious question why theological arguments have been kept away from this study. Wouldn't it have been fairer to admit that the results of this study are driven by religious belief? The answer to this reservation is, although it might seem paradoxical, a simple 'No'. A belief foreclosing other results beforehand is neither a belief nor a conviction, but an ideology in the worst sense of the word. This becomes already evident from the Belgic Confession. The assertion 'we believe without a doubt all things contained in them' does not define what exactly is contained in the Scriptures, thus underlining one of the principles of the 16th century CE Reformation that not the interpretation of the Bible, but the biblical text itself is decisive. This is a clear invitation to an open debate about the meaning of biblical texts. Obviously, this also comprises the nature of the genre of the diverse forms of biblical historiography and their historical truth-claims. The second article of the Belgic Confession goes even further. It highlights that God is not only known through the Scriptures, but also by his creation and creatures, 'who are as letters to make us ponder the invisible things of God'. During the 17th century CE, this reformed view was one of the major factors in the revolution of the natural sciences, because it opened the way to look at creation as an entity in itself.<sup>3</sup> Through the ages, it also implied that all human knowledge acquired in a proper way and fitting the nature of biblical texts had to be used to interpret them, just as the Reformers had made intensive use of the methods of textual interpretation in Renaissance humanism.

This study is written in the tradition of Dutch neocalvinism, which came into existence in the context of the amazing developments in the fields of science and humanities at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century CE. This tradition did not always escape the pitfalls of empiricism in its view of biblical historiography. But it was often able to renew itself and offered

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. van den Brink, *Als een schoon boec. Achtergrond, receptie en relevantie van artikel 2 van de Nederlandse Geloofsbelijdenis*, Leiden 2008.

some interesting proposals in reading the biblical historiography of conquest and settlement against its ancient Near Eastern background.<sup>4</sup> According to Herman Bavinck, one of the founders of neocalvinism, it is important to make a distinction between facts and their interpretation. Yet, Christians should embrace the world as it is known through science and accept well interpreted evidence gratefully, for facts are stubborn things which are brought on our way by God's providence.<sup>5</sup>

So in the end, the ultimate reason not to use (systematic-)theological arguments, is a theological one: the trust in the truth cannot be valued as trust in God, if it is not willing to explore the diverse forms of reality on their own terms and to appreciate the results of this exploration as knowledge of God's reality. For this knowledge is fairly limited by its nature, but still has to be considered to be real knowledge influencing the understanding of the Bible. Accordingly, all readers are invited to read this study as it is presented: as a study in ancient history trying to make moderate and convincing decisions in historiographical, archaeological and historical issues by taking a detailed look at text and artefact within a sensible methodological framework. It is in this way that a serious attempt has been made to avoid the possibility of taking out interpretation for a fact and of accepting forgeries as the truth. Those who share my religious convictions may also read the book as an effort to offer a contribution to the understanding of the Scriptures.

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<sup>4</sup> A. Noordtjij, *Gods Woord en der eeuwen getuigenis*, Kampen 1924; De Koning, *Studiën over de El-Amarnabrieven*; B. Holwerda, 'Uittocht en intocht'. Archief-Holwerda, Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands protestantisme (1800-heden), Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam. Cf. K. van Bekkum, "'Naar de klaarblijkelijke bedoeling zintuiglijk waarneembaar". De kwestie-Geelkerken in theologiehistorisch perspectief, in: George Harinck (red.), *De kwestie-Geelkerken – Een terugblik na 75 jaar* (Ad Chartasreeks, 5), Barneveld 2001, 87-108; Idem, "'Het begin van een eigen weg". Geschiedenis en anti-thesen in het werk van Benne Holwerda', in: G. Harinck (red.), *Leven en werk van prof. Benne Holwerda* (Ad Chartasreeks, 10), Barneveld 2005, 177-215.

<sup>5</sup> H. Bavinck, *Modernisme en orthodoxie*, Kampen 1911, 12.

APPENDIX I – SYNTACTICAL PRESENTATION OF JOSHUA 9:1—13:7

- 9:1a וַיְהִי כַשְׁמוֹעַ כָּל־הַמְּלָכִים  
 b אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן  
 c בָּהָר וּבַשְּׁפֵלָה וּבְכָל חוֹף הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל אֶל־מוֹל הַלְּבָנוֹן  
 d הַחֲתִי וְהָאֲמֹרִי הַכְּנַעֲנִי הַפְּרִזִּי הַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי:  
 9:2a וַיִּחְקְצֻוּ יַחְדָּו  
 b לְהִלָּחֵם עִם־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְעִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 c פֶּה אֶחָד:  
 9:3a וַיִּשְׁבִּי נִבְעוֹן שָׁמְעוּ  
 b אֵת אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לִירִיחוֹ וְלָעִי:  
 9:4a וַיַּעֲשׂוּ גַם־הֵמָּה בְּעָרְמָה  
 b וַיֵּלְכוּ  
 c וַיִּצְטַיְרוּ  
 d וַיִּקְחוּ שָׂקִים בָּלַיִם לְחַמּוּרֵיהֶם  
 e וְנֹאדוֹת יַיִן בָּלַיִם וּמִבְקָעִים וּמִצְרָרִים:  
 9:5a וַנַּעֲלוֹת בְּלוֹת וּמִטְלָאוֹת בְּרִגְלֵיהֶם  
 b וּשְׁלֵמוֹת בְּלוֹת עֲלֵיהֶם  
 c וְכָל לֶחֶם צִידָם נִבְשׂ הָיָה נִקְדָּיִם:  
 9:6a וַיֵּלְכוּ אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה הַגִּלְגָּל  
 b וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו וְאֶל־אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 c מֵאַרְצֵי רְחוֹקָה בָּאנוּ  
 d וְעַתָּה כִּרְחוּלְנוּ כִּרְיֹת:  
 9:7a וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־הַחִוִּי  
 b אֲוִלִי בַקָּרְבִי אַתָּה יוֹשֵׁב  
 c וְאִיךְ אֶקְרוֹתֶיךָ בְּרִיֹת:  
 9:8a וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 b עֲבָדֶיךָ אֲנַחְנוּ  
 c וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 d מִי אַתֶּם וּמֵאַיִן תָּבֹאוּ:  
 9:9a וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו  
 b מֵאַרְצֵי רְחוֹקָה מֵאֵרֶץ כְּנָעַן עֲבָדֶיךָ לְשֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ  
 c כִּי־שָׁמַעְנוּ שָׁמְעוּ  
 d וְאֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בְּמִצְרָיִם:  
 9:10a וְאֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְשֵׁנֵי מַלְכֵי הָאֲמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן  
 b לְסִיחּוֹן מֶלֶךְ חִשְׁבוֹן וְלִעֹג מֶלֶךְ־הַבְּשָׁן אֲשֶׁר בְּעִשְׁתְּרוֹת:  
 9:11a וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו זְקִינֵינוּ וְכָל־יֹשְׁבֵי אֶרְצֵנוּ לֵאמֹר  
 b קָחוּ בְיָדְכֶם צִידָה לְדַרְךְ וּלְכוּ לִקְרַאתָם וְאַמְרַתֶּם אֲלֵיהֶם  
 c עֲבָדֵיכֶם אֲנַחְנוּ  
 d וְעַתָּה כִּרְחוּלְנוּ כִּרְיֹת:

- 9:12a זה לחמנו חם הצטידנו אתו מבתינו ביום צאתנו ללכת אליכם  
 b ועתה הנה יבש והיה נקדים:
- 9:13a ואלה נאדות הנין אשר מלאנו תרשים  
 b והנה התבקעו  
 c ואלה שלמותינו ונעלינו בלו מרב ההקף מאד:
- 9:14a ויקחו האנשים מצידם  
 b ואתפי יהוה לא שאלו:
- 9:15a ויעש להם יהושע שלום  
 b ויכרת להם ברית לחיותם  
 c וישבעו להם נשיאי העדה:
- 9:16a ויהי מקצה שלשת ימים  
 b אחרי אשר פרתו להם ברית  
 c וישמעו פיקרבים הם אליו  
 d ובקרבו הם ישובים:
- 9:17a ויסעו בני ישראל  
 b ויבאו אל עריהם ביום השלישי  
 c ועריהם גבעון והכפרה ובארות וקרית יערים:  
 9:18a ולא הכוס בני ישראל  
 b פירנשבעו להם נשיאי העדה ביהוה אלהי ישראל  
 9:19a וילנו כל העדה עליהנשיאים:  
 b ויאמרו כל הנשיאים אל כל העדה  
 c אנחנו נשבענו להם ביהוה אלהי ישראל  
 d ועתה לא נוכל לנגע בהם:
- 9:20a זאת נעשה להם והחיה אותם  
 b ולא יהיה עלינו קצף עליהשבועה אשר נשבענו להם:  
 9:21a ויאמרו אליהם הנשיאים יהוה  
 b ויהיו חטבי עצים ושאבירמים לכל העדה  
 c כאשר דברו להם הנשיאים:  
 9:22a ויקרא להם יהושע  
 b וידבר אליהם לאמר  
 c לקח רמיתם אתנו לאמר  
 d רחוקים אנחנו מכם מאד  
 e ואתם בקרבנו ישובים:  
 9:23a ועתה אורוים אתם  
 b ולא יכרת מכם עבד  
 c וחסבי עצים ושאבירמים לבית אלהי:  
 9:24a ויענו את יהושע  
 b ויאמרו  
 c כי הגד הגד לעבדך  
 d את אשר צוה יהוה אלהיך את משה עבדו  
 d לתת לכם את פלי הארץ

- e ולהשמיר את־כל־יְשֵׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ מִפְּנֵיכֶם  
 f וַיִּירָדוּ מֵאֵד לְנַפְשֹׁתֵינוּ מִפְּנֵיכֶם  
 9:25a וַנַּעֲשֵׂה אֶת־הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה:  
 b וַעֲתָה הִנְנוּ בְיַדְךָ  
 c כְּטוֹב וְכִזְשָׁר בְּעֵינֶיךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת לָנוּ עֲשֵׂה:  
 9:26a וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם כֵּן  
 b וַיַּצֵּל אֹתָם מִיַּד בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 c וְלֹא הָרְגוּם:  
 9:27a וַיִּתְּנֵם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא חֹטְבֵי עֵצִים וְשֹׂאֲבֵי מַיִם  
 b לַעֲבֹדָה וּלְמִזְבַּח יְהוָה  
 c עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה  
 d אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחָר:
- 10:1a וַיְהִי כַשְׁמַע אֲדֹנֵי־צָדֵק מֶלֶךְ יְרוּשָׁלַם  
 b כִּי־לָכַד יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־הָעִי וַיַּחְרִימָהּ  
 c כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לִירִיחוֹ וּלְמַלְכָּהּ כִּן־עָשָׂה לָעִי וּלְמַלְכָּהּ  
 d וְכִי הִשְׁלִימוּ יֹשְׁבֵי נָגְעוֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהִיו בְּקִרְבָּם:  
 10:2a וַיִּירָאוּ מֵאֵד  
 b כִּי עִיר גְּדוֹלָה נִבְעוֹן כְּאַחַת עָרֵי הַמַּמְלָכָה  
 c וְכִי הִיא גְדוֹלָה מִן־הָעִי  
 d וְכָל־אֲנָשֶׁיהָ גִבּוֹרִים:  
 10:3a וַיִּשְׁלַח אֲדֹנֵי־צָדֵק מֶלֶךְ יְרוּשָׁלַם  
 b אֶל־הוֹהֵם מֶלֶךְ־חִבְרוֹן וְאֶל־פְּרָאִם מֶלֶךְ־יֶרֶמוֹת  
 וְאֶל־יָפִיעַ מֶלֶךְ־לְכִישׁ וְאֶל־דָּבִיר מֶלֶךְ־עַגְלוֹן  
 לֵאמֹר:  
 10:4a עַל־יְאֹלֵי  
 b וַעֲזָרְנִי  
 c וְנִכְּפָה אֶת־גִּבְעוֹן  
 d כִּי־הִשְׁלִימָה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְאֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:  
 10:5a וַיֵּאָסְפוּ  
 b וַיַּעֲלֵוּ חֲמֹשֶׁת מַלְכֵי הָאָמְרִי  
 c מֶלֶךְ יְרוּשָׁלַם מֶלֶךְ־חִבְרוֹן מֶלֶךְ־יֶרֶמוֹת מֶלֶךְ־לְכִישׁ מֶלֶךְ־עַגְלוֹן  
 הֵם וְכָל־מַחְנֵיהֶם  
 d וַיַּחֲנוּ עַל־גִּבְעוֹן  
 e וַיִּלְחְמוּ עָלֶיהָ:
- 10:6a וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אֲנָשִׁי נִבְעוֹן אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה הַגִּלְגָּלָה  
 b אֶל־חֶרֶף יָרִיד מֵעֵבֶר־יָד  
 c עֲלֵה אֵלֵינוּ מִהָרָה  
 d וְהוֹשִׁיעָה לָנוּ  
 e וְעֲזָרְנוּ  
 f כִּי נִקְבְּצוּ אֵלֵינוּ כָּל־מַלְכֵי הָאָמְרִי יֹשְׁבֵי הָהָר:

- 10:7a ויעל יהושע מן־הגלגל  
 b הוא וְכָל־עַם הַמִּלְחָמָה עִמּוֹ וְכָל גְּבוּרֵי הַחַיִל:  
 10:8a וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 b אֶל־חֵירָא מֵהֶם  
 c כִּי בְּיָדְךָ נִתְּתִים  
 d לֹא־יַעֲמֹד אִישׁ מֵהֶם בְּפָנֶיךָ:  
 10:9a וַיָּבֹא אֵלֵיהֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ פֶּתָאם  
 b כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה עַל־הַ מִן־הַגְּלִיל:  
 10:10a וַיְהִי־מָוֶם יְהוָה לִפְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 b וַיִּכֶם מִפְּהַגְדּוּלָה בְּנִבְעוֹן  
 c וַיַּרְדֵּפֶם הַרְדָּף מֵעֵלָה בֵּית־חֹרֶן  
 d וַיִּכֶם עַד־עֹזְקָה וְעַד־מַקְדָּה:  
 10:11a וַיְהִי בְּנֶסֶם מִפְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵם בְּמוֹרֵד בֵּית־חֹרֶן  
 b וַיְהִי־הָהוּא הַשְּׁלִיחַ עֲלֵיהֶם אֲבָנִים גְּדֹלוֹת מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם עַד־עֹזְקָה  
 c וַיִּמָּחוּ רַבִּים  
 d אֲשֶׁר־מָחוּ בְּאֶבְנֵי הַבְּרָד  
 e מֵאֲשֶׁר הָרְגוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּחֶרֶב:  
 10:12a אִזּוֹ יַדְבֵּר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לַיהוָה  
 b בַּיּוֹם חַת יְהוָה אֶת־הָאָמְרֵי לִפְנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 c וַיֹּאמֶר לְעֵינֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 d שְׁמַשׁ בְּנִבְעוֹן הוּם  
 e וַיֵּרַח בְּעַמֶּק אֵילָוִן:  
 10:13a וַיִּדְּם הַשְּׁמַשׁ  
 b וַיֵּרַח עָמֵד  
 c עַד־יָקָם  
 d גּוֹי אִי־בָּי  
 e הַלֹּא־הִיא כְּתוּבָה עַל־סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר  
 f וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשְּׁמַשׁ בְּחֻצֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם  
 g וְלֹא־אָץ לָבוֹא כִּיּוֹם תָּמוּם:  
 10:14a וְלֹא הָיָה כִּיּוֹם הַהוּא לִפְנֵי וְאַחֲרָיו  
 b לִשְׁמֹעַ יְהוָה בְּקוֹל אִישׁ  
 c כִּי יְהוָה נִלְחָם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל:  
 10:15a וַיָּשָׁב יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמּוֹ אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה הַגְּלִילָה:  
 10:16a וַיִּגְסּוּ חֲמֹשֶׁת הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה  
 b וַיִּחַבְּאוּ בַּמַּעְרָה בַּמַּקְרָה:  
 10:17a וַיַּגִּד לַיהוֹשֻׁעַ לֵאמֹר  
 b נִמְצְאוּ חֲמֹשֶׁת הַמְּלָכִים נִחְבְּאִים בַּמַּעְרָה בַּמַּקְרָה:  
 10:18a וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ

- b גלו אַבְנִים גְּדֹלוֹת אֶל־פִּי הַמַּעֲרָה  
 c וְהַפְּקִידוֹ עֲלֵיהֶם אַנְשִׁים לְשֹׁמְרֵם:  
 10:19a וְאַתֶּם אֲלֹתֵעֲמְדוּ  
 b רָדְפוּ אַחֲרַי אִיבִיכֶם  
 c וְזָנַבְתֶּם אוֹתָם  
 d אֲלֹתֵתְנוּם לְבוֹא אֶל־עֲרִיָּהֶם  
 e כִּי נִתְּנָם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם בְּיָדְכֶם:
- 10:20a וַיְהִי כִכְלוֹת יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 b לְהַכּוֹתָם מִכָּה גְדוֹלָה־מְאֹד עַד־תָּמֹם  
 c וְהַשְׂרִידִים שָׂרְדוּ מֵהֶם  
 d וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־עָרֵי הַמְּבֻצָּרִים:  
 10:21a וַיָּשְׁבוּ כָל־הָעָם אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ מִקֶּרֶךְ בְּשֹׁלֹם  
 b לֵאמֹר לָבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לָאִישׁ אֲתִלְשָׁנוּ:  
 10:22a וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 b פִּתְחוּ אֲתֵפֵי הַמַּעֲרָה  
 c וְהוֹצִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת־חֲמֹשֶׁת הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה מִן־הַמַּעֲרָה:  
 10:23a וַיַּעֲשׂוּ כֵן  
 b וַיֹּצִיאוּ אֵלָיו אֶת־חֲמֹשֶׁת הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה מִן־הַמַּעֲרָה  
 c אֶת מֶלֶךְ יְרוּשָׁלַם אֶת־מֶלֶךְ חֶבְרוֹן אֶת־מֶלֶךְ יֶרְמוֹת  
 אֶת־מֶלֶךְ לָכִישׁ אֶת־מֶלֶךְ עִגְלוֹן:
- 10:24a וַיְהִי כַהוֹצִיאָם אֶת־הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 b וַיִּקְרָא יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־כָּל־אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 c וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־קִצְיָנִי אַנְשֵׁי הַמְּלָחָמָה הֲהִלְכוּא אִתּוֹ  
 d קָרְבוּ  
 e שִׁמּוּ אֶת־דְּגִלְיֹכֶם עַל־צִוְאוֹרֵי הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה  
 f וַיִּקְרְבוּ  
 g וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־דְּגִלְיָתָם עַל־צִוְאוֹרֵיהֶם:  
 10:25a וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 b אֲלֹתֵיכֶם וְאֲלֵי־חַתָּתוֹ  
 c חֻזְקוֹ וְאִמְצוֹ  
 d כִּי כִכָּה וְעֵשָׂה יְהוָה לְכָל־אִיבִיכֶם אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם נֹלְחָמִים אוֹתָם:  
 10:26a וַיִּכֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אַחֲרֵיהֶם  
 b וַיָּמִיתָם  
 c וַיַּחֲלֵם עַל חֲמֹשֶׁה עֲצִים  
 d וַיְהִיו חֲלוּמִים עַל־הָעֲצִים עַד־הָעֶרֶב:
- 10:27a וַיְהִי לַעֲת בּוֹא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ  
 b צָנָה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 c וַיִּרְדּוּ מֵעַל הָעֲצִים  
 d וַיִּשְׁלַכְם אֶל־הַמַּעֲרָה אֲשֶׁר נִחְבְּאוּ־שָׁם

e	וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אַבְנֵימֶלֶךְ עַל־פִּי הַמַּעֲרָה
f	עַד־עֶצְמֹם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:
10:28a	וְאֶת־מַקְדָּה לְכֹר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
b	וַיִּכְהֶה לְפִי־חֶרֶב וְאֶת־מִלְכָּה
c	הַחֶרֶם אוֹתָם וְאֶת־כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ
d	לֹא הַשְׂאִיר שְׂרִיד
e	וַיַּעַשׂ לְמֶלֶךְ מַקְדָּה כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְמֶלֶךְ יְרִיחוֹ:
10:29a	וַיַּעֲבֹר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמּוֹ מִמַּקְדָּה לְבָנָה
b	וַיִּלָּחֶם עִם־לְבָנָה:
10:30a	וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה גִּם־אוֹתָהּ בְּיַד יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶת־מִלְכָּה
b	וַיִּכְהֶה לְפִי־חֶרֶב וְאֶת־כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ
c	לֹא־הַשְׂאִיר בָּהּ שְׂרִיד
d	וַיַּעַשׂ לְמִלְכָּה כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְמֶלֶךְ יְרִיחוֹ:
10:31a	וַיַּעֲבֹר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמּוֹ מִלְבָּנָה לְכוּשָׁה
b	וַיִּחַן עָלֶיהָ
c	וַיִּלָּחֶם בָּהּ:
10:32a	וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֶת־לְכוּשׁ בְּיַד יִשְׂרָאֵל
b	וַיִּלְכְּדָהּ בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי
c	וַיִּכְהֶה לְפִי־חֶרֶב וְאֶת־כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ
d	כְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה לְלְבָנָה:
10:33a	אִז עָלָה הָרֶם מֶלֶךְ גֹּזֵר לַעֲזֹר אֶת־לְכוּשׁ
b	וַיִּכְהֶה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְאֶת־עַמּוֹ
c	עַד־בִּלְתֵּי הַשְׂאִיר־לוֹ שְׂרִיד:
10:34a	וַיַּעֲבֹר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמּוֹ מִלְכוּשׁ עַגְלֹנָה
b	וַיַּחֲנוּ עָלֶיהָ
c	וַיִּלָּחֲמוּ עָלֶיהָ:
10:35a	וַיִּלְכְּדוּהָ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
b	וַיִּכְהֶה לְפִי־חֶרֶב וְאֶת־כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ
c	בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא הַחֶרֶם כְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה לְלְכוּשׁ:
10:36a	וַיַּעַל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמּוֹ מִעַגְלֹנָה חֲבֵרוֹנָה
b	וַיִּלָּחֲמוּ עָלֶיהָ:
10:37a	וַיִּלְכְּדוּהָ
b	וַיִּכְהֶה לְפִי־חֶרֶב וְאֶת־מִלְכָּה וְאֶת־כָּל־עַרְיָה וְאֶת־כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ
c	לֹא־הַשְׂאִיר שְׂרִיד כְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה לְעַגְלֹן
d	וַיַּחֲרֵם אוֹתָהּ וְאֶת־כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ:
10:38a	וַיָּשָׁב יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמּוֹ דְּבָרָה
b	וַיִּלָּחֶם עָלֶיהָ:
10:39a	וַיִּלְכְּדָהּ וְאֶת־מִלְכָּה וְאֶת־כָּל־עַרְיָה
b	וַיִּכְּסֶם לְפִי־חֶרֶב
c	וַיַּחֲרִימוּ אֶת־כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ
d	לֹא הַשְׂאִיר שְׂרִיד

- e פֶּאֶשֶׁר עָשָׂה לַחֲבֵרוֹן  
 f כִּן־עָשָׂה לְדָבְרָה וּלְמַלְכָּה  
 g וּכְאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְלִבְנָה וּלְמַלְכָּה:
- 10:40a וַיִּכָּה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 b אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ  
 הָהָר וְהַנֶּגֶב וְהַשְּׁפֵלָה וְהָאֲשֵׁרוֹת  
 c וְאֵת כָּל־מְלִכֵיהֶם  
 d לֹא הִשְׁאִיר שְׂרִיד  
 e וְאֵת כָּל־הַנְּשֻׁמָּה הַחֲרִים  
 e כְּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:
- 10:41a וַיִּכְּסוּ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 b מִקְדָּשׁ בְּרָנֵעַ וְעַד־עֵזָה  
 c וְאֵת כָּל־אָרֶץ גִּשְׁן וְעַד־נִבְעוֹן:  
 10:42a וְאֵת כָּל־הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה  
 וְאֶת־אֲרָצָם  
 b לְכַד יְהוֹשֻׁעַ פַּעַם אַחַת  
 c כִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נָלַחַם לְיִשְׂרָאֵל:  
 10:43a וַיָּשֶׁב יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמּוֹ אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה הַגִּלְגָּל:
- 11:1a וַיְהִי כִשְׁמֹעַ יְבִין מֶלֶךְ־חֲצוֹר  
 b וַיִּשְׁלַח  
 c אֶל־יֹדָבָב מֶלֶךְ מְדוּן [מְדוּן]  
 וְאֶל־מֶלֶךְ שִׁמְרוֹן [שִׁמְמוֹן] וְאֶל־מֶלֶךְ אַכְשָׁף:  
 11:2a וְאֶל־הַמְּלָכִים  
 b אֲשֶׁר מִצְפּוֹן בְּהַר וּבַעֲרָבָה נֹגֵב כְּנָרוֹת וּבַשְּׁפֵלָה וּבַנְּפוֹת הַדָּוָר מֵיָם:  
 11:3a הַכְּנַעֲנִי מִמְזֻרַח וּמֵיָם  
 b וְהָאֱמֹרִי וְהַחִתִּי וְהַפְּרִזִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי בְּהַר  
 c וְהַחִוִּי תַחַת חֶרְמוֹן בְּאָרֶץ הַמִּצְפָּה:  
 11:4a וַיִּצְאוּ הֵם וְכָל־מַחֲנֵיהֶם עִמָּם  
 b עִם־דָּב כַּחֹל אֲשֶׁר עַל־שְׂפַת־הַיָּם  
 c לְרֹב וְסוֹס וְרֶכֶב רַב־מְאֹד:  
 11:5a וַיִּנְעְדוּ כָּל הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה  
 b וַיָּבֵאוּ  
 c וַיַּחֲנוּ וַיַּחֲדוּ אֱלֹמֵי מְרוֹם לְהִלָּחֵם עִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל:
- 11:6a וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 b אֶל־תִּירָא מִפְּנֵיהֶם  
 c כִּי־מַחֵר כַּעַת הוֹאֵת אֲנֹכִי נֹתֵן אֶת־כָּלְכֶם חֲלָלִים לְפָנָי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 d אֶת־סוֹסֵיהֶם תַּעֲקֹר  
 e וְאֶת־מְרַכְבֹּתֵיהֶם תִּשְׂרֹף בָּאֵשׁ:

- 11:7a וַיָּבֹא יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל־עַם הַמִּלְחָמָה עִמּוֹ עֲלֵיהֶם עַל־מֵי מָרוֹם פָּתָאם  
 b וַיַּפְּלוּ בָהֶם:
- 11:8a וַיַּחֲנֹם יְהוָה בְּיַד־יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 b וַיִּכּוּם  
 c וַיַּרְדֵּפוּם  
 d עַד־צִידוֹן רַבָּה וְעַד מִשְׁרָפוֹת מוֹם וְעַד־בִּקְעַת מִצְפֵּה מִזְרְחָה  
 e וַיִּכּוּם  
 f עַד־בִּלְתֵּי הַשְּׂאִיר־לָהֶם שְׂרִיד:
- 11:9a וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַרְלוּ יְהוָה  
 b אֲתִיסִיחֵם עִקָּר  
 c וְאֶת־מִרְכַּבְתֵּיהֶם שָׂרַף בְּאֵשׁ:
- 11:10a וַיָּשֶׁב יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּעַת הַהִיא  
 b וַיִּלְכֹּד אֶת־חִצּוֹר  
 c וְאֶת־מִלְכָּה הַכָּה בַחֲרָב  
 d כִּי־חִצּוֹר לְפָנִים הִיא רֹאשׁ כָּל־הַמְּמַלְכוֹת הָאֵלֶּה:
- 11:11a וַיִּכּוּ אֶת־כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־רָבָה לְפִי־חֲרָב הַחֲרָם  
 b לֹא נֹתַר כָּל־נֶשְׁמָה  
 c וְאֶת־חִצּוֹר שָׂרַף בְּאֵשׁ:
- 11:12a וְאֶת־כָּל־עָרֵי הַמְּלָכִים־הָאֵלֶּה וְאֶת־כָּל־מְלָכֵיהֶם לָכֹר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 b וַיִּכּוּם לְפִי־חֲרָב הַחֲרָם אוֹתָם  
 c כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה עֲבָד יְהוָה
- 11:13a רַק כָּל־הָעָרִים הַעֲמֻדוֹת עַל־חֵלֶם לֹא שָׂרַפְם וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל  
 b זוֹלָתִי אֶת־חִצּוֹר לְבִדָּה שָׂרַף יְהוֹשֻׁעַ:
- 11:14a וְכָל שְׁלַל הָעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְהַבְּהֵמָה בְּזוּז לָהֶם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 b רַק אֶת־כָּל־הָאֲדָם הִכּוּ לְפִי־חֲרָב עַד־הַשְּׂמָדָם אוֹתָם  
 c לֹא הִשְׁאִירוּ כָּל־נֶשְׁמָה:
- 11:15a כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה עַבְדּוֹ  
 b כַּיֵּצֵא מֹשֶׁה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 c וַיַּכֵּן עֲשֵׂה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ  
 d לֹא־יִחַסֵּר דְּבַר מִכֹּל אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה:
- 11:16a וַיִּקַּח יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת  
 b הָהָר וְאֶת־כָּל־הַגִּבּוֹר וְאֶת כָּל־אֶרֶץ הַגִּשְׁן  
 c וְאֶת־הַשְּׁפֵלָה וְאֶת־הָעֵרְבָה וְאֶת־הָר וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל וַשְּׁפֵלָתָה:
- 11:17a מִיַּד־הָהָר הַחֲלָק הָעוֹלָה שְׂעִיר  
 b וְעַד־בְּעֵל־גִּד בְּבִקְעַת הַלְּבָנוֹן תַּחַת הַר־חֲרָמוֹן  
 c וְאֶת כָּל־מְלָכֵיהֶם לָכֹר  
 d וַיִּכּוּם  
 e וַיִּמְיָחֻם:
- 11:18a יָמִים רַבִּים עֲשֵׂה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־כָּל־הַמְּלָכִים הָאֵלֶּה מִלְחָמָה:

- 11:19a לֹא־הָיְתָה עִיר אֲשֶׁר הִשְׁלִימָה אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 b בְּלַתִּי הַחַוִּי יֹשְׁבֵי גִבְעוֹן  
 c אֲתֵת־כָּל לִקְחוֹ בַּמִּלְחָמָה:  
 11:20a כִּי מֵאֵת יְהוָה הָיְתָה לְתוֹךְ אֲתִלְכֶם לְקִרְאֵת הַמִּלְחָמָה אֲתִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 b לְמַעַן הַחְרִימֶם לְבַלְתִּי הַיּוֹתֵלֶם תַּחְנֶה  
 c כִּי לְמַעַן הַשְׁמִידֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה:  
 11:21a וַיָּבֵא יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בַּעַת הַהוּיָא  
 b וַיִּזְכֹּר אֶת־הַעֲנָקִים  
 c מִן־הַהָר מִן־חֶבְרוֹן מִן־דִּבְרֵי מִן־עֵגֶב  
 d וּמִכָּל הָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּמִכָּל הָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 e עַם־עֲרִיבִים הַחְרִימֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ:  
 11:22a לֹא־נֹתַר עֲנָקִים בְּאֶרֶץ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 b רַק בְּעֵזָה בְּנֵת וּבַאֲשֻׁדֹר נִשְׂאוּ:  
 11:23a וַיִּקַּח יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־כָּל־הָאֶרֶץ כָּל־אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה  
 b וַיַּחְנֶה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לְנַחֵלָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל כַּמִּחְלָקָתָם לְשִׁבְטֵיהֶם  
 c וְהָאֶרֶץ שְׁקֵטָה מִמִּלְחָמָה:  
 12:1a וְאֵלֶּה מַלְכֵי הָאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הָכּוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 b וַיִּרְשׁוּ אֶת־אֶרֶץ־עַם  
 c בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן מִזְרְחָה הַשָּׁמֶשׁ  
 d מִנַּחַל אֲרֵנוֹן עַד־הָרֵי חֶרְמוֹן  
 e וְכָל־הָעֲרֵבָה מִזְרְחָה:  
 12:2a סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֹרִי הַיּוֹשֵׁב בַּחֲשֹׁבוֹן מִשַּׁל  
 b מַעְרֹעֵר אֲשֶׁר עַל־שַׁפְת־נַחַל אֲרֵנוֹן  
 c וְחוּף הַנַּחַל וְחֲצֵי הַגִּלְעָד  
 d וְעַד יַבֵּק הַנַּחַל גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן:  
 e וְהָעֲרֵבָה  
 12:3a עַד־יָם כְּנָרוֹת מִזְרְחָה  
 b וְעַד יָם הָעֲרֵבָה יַם־הַמֶּלַח מִזְרְחָה  
 c הָרָדָד בֵּית הַיְשׁוּמוֹת וּמַתִּימָן תַּחַת אֲשֻׁדּוֹת הַפְּסָגָה:  
 12:4a וּגְבוּל עֹז מֶלֶךְ הַבְּשָׁן מִיַּתֵּר הַרְפָּאִים  
 b הַיּוֹשֵׁב בְּעִשְׁתָּרוֹת וּבְאֶרְעֵי:  
 12:5a וּמִשַּׁל  
 b בְּתַר חֶרְמוֹן  
 c וּבְסֹלֶכָה  
 d וּבְכָל־הַבְּשָׁן עַד־גְּבוּל הַגִּשְׁוֹרִי וְהַמַּעֲכָתִי  
 e וְחֲצֵי הַגִּלְעָד גְּבוּל סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ־חֲשֹׁבוֹן:  
 12:6a מֹשֶׁה עֶבְרִי־יְהוָה וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַכּוֹס  
 b וַיַּחְנֶה מֹשֶׁה עֶבְרִי־יְהוָה וַיִּרְשֶׁה לְרֵאוּבֵנִי וְלַגָּדִי וְלַחֲצֵי שִׁבְטֵי הַמִּנְשֵׁה:

12:7a	וְאֵלֶּה מַלְכֵי הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הִכָּה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן וְזֹאת
b	מִבְּעַל גַּד בְּבִקְעַת הַלְּבָנוֹן וְעַד־הַהָר הַחֲלֹק הָעֹלָה שְׁעִירָה
c	וַיִּחַתֶּנּוּ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לְשִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִרְשָׁה כְּמַחְלָקָתָם:
12:8a	בָּהָר וּבִשְׂפֵלָה וּבְעֵרְבָה וּבְאֲשֵׁרוֹת וּבְמִדְבָּר וּבְכַנָּב
b	הַחֲתִי הָאֵמֹרִי וְהַכְּנַעֲנִי הַפְּרִזִּי הַחֲתִי וְהַיְבוּסִי:
12:9a	מֶלֶךְ יִרְיָחוֹ אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ הַעִי אֲשֶׁר־מִצְדַּר בֵּית־אֵל אֶחָד:
12:10a	מֶלֶךְ יְרוּשָׁלַם אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ חֶבְרוֹן אֶחָד:
12:11a	מֶלֶךְ יִרְמוֹת אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ לְכִישׁ אֶחָד:
12:12a	מֶלֶךְ עִגְלוֹן אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ גֹּזַר אֶחָד:
12:13a	מֶלֶךְ דְּבַר אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ גֹּדֵר אֶחָד:
12:14a	מֶלֶךְ חֶרְמָה אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ עֶרֶד אֶחָד:
12:15a	מֶלֶךְ לַבְּנֵה אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ עַדְלָם אֶחָד:
12:16a	מֶלֶךְ מִקְדָּה אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ בֵּית־אֵל אֶחָד:
12:17a	מֶלֶךְ תַּפּוּחַ אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ חֶפְר־אֶחָד:
12:18a	מֶלֶךְ אֶפְק־אֶחָד [מֶלֶךְ אֶפְק]
b	מֶלֶךְ לְשָׂרוֹן אֶחָד: [לְשָׂרוֹן אֶחָד:]
12:19a	מֶלֶךְ מִדּוֹן אֶחָד □
b	מֶלֶךְ חֲצוֹר אֶחָד:
12:20a	מֶלֶךְ שְׁמֶרֶץ־מֵרָאוֹן אֶחָד [מֶלֶךְ שִׁמְעוֹן אֶחָד מֶלֶךְ מִרְיֹן אֶחָד]
b	מֶלֶךְ אֶכְשָׁף אֶחָד:
12:21a	מֶלֶךְ תַּעֲנֵגַד אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ מַגְדּוֹ אֶחָד:
12:22a	מֶלֶךְ קִרְשָׁא אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ־יָקֻנְעָם לְכַרְמֵל אֶחָד:
12:23a	מֶלֶךְ דּוֹר לְנֶפֶת דּוֹר אֶחָד
b	מֶלֶךְ־גּוֹיִם לְגִלְגַל אֶחָד: [מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם לְגִלְגַל אֶחָד]
12:24a	מֶלֶךְ תְּרַצְהָ אֶחָד
b	כָּל־מְלָכִים שְׁלֹשִׁים וָאֶחָד: [כָּל־מְלָכִים שְׁלֹשִׁים:]
13:1a	וַיְהוֹשֻׁעַ זָקֵן בָּא בְיָמַיִם
b	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלָיו
c	אָתָּה זָקַנְתָּה בָּאתָ בְיָמַיִם
d	וְהָאָרֶץ נִשְׂאָרָה חֲרָבָה־מְאֹד לְרִשְׁתָּהּ:

- 13:2a זאת הארץ הנשארת  
 b כל-גלילות הפלשתים וכל-הגשור:  
 13:3a מן-השיחור אשר על-פני מצרים  
 b ועד גבול עקרון צפונה  
 c לפנעני תחשב  
 d חמשת סרני פלשתים  
 העתי והאשדודי האשקלוני הנתי והעקרוני  
 e והעוים: מתימן  
 13:4a כל-ארץ הפנעני  
 b ומערה אשר לצידנים עד-אפקה עד גבול האמרי:  
 13:5a והארץ הנבלי  
 b וכל-הלבנון מזרח השמש  
 c מבעל גד תחת הר-חרמון עד לבוא תמת:  
 13:6a כל-ישבי ההר מן-הלבנון עד-משרפת מים  
 b כל-צידנים  
 c אנכי אורישם מפני בני ישראל  
 d רק הפלה לישראל בנחלה כאשר צויתיד:  
 13:7a ועתה חלק את-הארץ הזאת בנחלה  
 b לחשעת השבטים וחצי השבט המנשה:  
 c [מהירדן עד הים הגדול מבוא השמש]  
 d [תתן אתה]  
 e [הים הגדול וגבול]



## APPENDIX II – BIBLIOGRAPHY

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## SAMENVATTING

De laatste decennia is in het onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van het vroege Israël de bestudering van de Bijbelse geschiedschrijving vrijwel geheel los komen te staan van de concrete historische discussies over de periode waarnaar deze geschiedschrijving pretendeert te verwijzen. Nadat de archeologie van de zuidelijke Levant de historiciteit van de verhalen over Israëls verovering van en vestiging in Kanaän leek te hebben gefalsifieerd, ontwikkelden tekst en archeologie zich in feite tot twee monologen. In het onderzoek naar de Bijbelse geschiedschrijving verschoof de aandacht naar de literaire vormgeving van de verhalen, de ideologie van de schrijvers en naar de sociale betekenis van de teksten. En door nieuwe data, onder meer uit oppervlakteonderzoek, te interpreteren aan de hand van nieuwe, socio-archeologische modellen deed de archeologie een poging de overgang van de Late Bronstijd naar de vroege IJzertijd zoveel mogelijk zelfstandig te tekenen.

Gezien de tekorten van het voorgaande onderzoek was deze verzelfstandiging van beide vakken volstrekt logisch. Toch lieten de oude vragen rond de verwijzing van Israëls geschiedschrijving naar het verleden en naar de bijdrage van de archeologie aan de politieke geschiedenis van zuidelijke Levant zich niet wegdringen. Enerzijds maakt het diepe besef van de oudtestamentische geschriften dat Israël niet autochtoon is in het land, het onontkoombaar historische vragen te stellen. De gedachte dat men niet altijd in het land heeft gewoond, komt immers ergens vandaan. Anderzijds dringen zich twee methodische kwesties op: Is interactie met teksten niet nodig om de archeologische data van een bredere historische context te voorzien? En zou archeologie toch niet ergens een expliciete rol moeten spelen bij de zoektocht naar de historische, sociale en ideologische betekenis van die teksten?

Om in deze behoefte aan een dialoog tussen de twee volwaardige monologen van 'tekst' en 'artefact' te voorzien, kijkt deze studie naar een belangrijk onderdeel van de geschiedschrijving van Israëls vestiging in Kanaän, Jozua 9:1—13:7. Hoe verhouden boodschap en geschiedenis zich daarin? Er bestaat een brede wetenschappelijke consensus over het antwoord op deze vraag. Tekstuele analyse en archeologie hebben laten zien dat van een gezamenlijke verovering van het land geen sprake is geweest. Vanuit een later perspectief zijn de verhalen van de lotgevallen van kleine groepen die het land binnentrokken aan elkaar gekoppeld. Of ze zijn als een geheel gecomponeerd als een spiegel van de Nieuw-Assyrische veroveringsverhalen. Dit om de eigen Judese identiteit te versterken. Deze consensus gaat echter voorbij aan de nieuwe nadruk die is komen te liggen op de esthetische en ideologische aspecten van geschiedschrijving uit de oudheid en aan het besef dat de archeologie beperkt is als het gaat om het verhelderen van specifieke historische gebeurtenissen. Er is daarom alle aanleiding de bovengenoemde vraag te herformuleren en opnieuw te stellen: Hoe ligt binnen Jozua 9:1—13:7 de verhouding tussen ideologie en de bedoeling echt iets over het verleden te vertellen (antiquarische intentie)?

Om deze vraag te beantwoorden, zijn tijdens het onderzoek vier methodische invalshoeken gehanteerd. De tekst is bekeken als een literaire en als een historisch gegroeide eenheid. De tekst is vergeleken met buiten-Bijbelse veroveringsverhalen. Er heeft een kritische analyse plaatsgevonden van de archeologie van de in de tekst genoemde geografische eenheden. En eerder onderzoek is verwerkt met aandacht voor de eigen plaats daarvan in de wetenschapsgeschiedenis.

### **Monologen van tekst en artefact**

Deel I van deze studie, 'Monologen van tekst en artefact', gaat eerst nader in op de vraag of een hernieuwde analyse van de geschiedschrijving van de vestiging eigenlijk wel nodig is. Hoofdstuk 1, *Geschiedschrijving en vestiging*, refereert in een korte inleiding (1.1) aan de bekende drie traditionele modellen van waaruit de problematiek rond de historiografie en archeologie van de vestiging van Israël in het land Kanaän werd opgelost: het veroveringsmodel van William F. Albright, het model van de vreedzame vestiging van groepen halfnomaden van Albrecht Alt en het model van de boerenrevolutie, zoals getekend door George E. Mendenhall. Daarbij wordt aandacht gegeven aan de manier waarop tekst en archeologie zich in deze modellen tot elkaar verhouden en beschreven waarom deze modellen er niet slaagden beide overtuigend te integreren.

Een tweede paragraaf (1.2) schetst de ontwikkelingen in de benadering van oude geschiedschrijving. Waar de historiografie aanvankelijk vooral bestudeerd werd op haar verwijzing naar het verleden, kwam er meer en meer aandacht voor de eigen bewering die in de tekst wordt gedaan en naar het belang dat daarin wordt vertegenwoordigd. Door het tekstuele karakter van historiografie lijken de laatstgenoemde zaken beter bestudeerd te kunnen worden dan de achterliggende geschiedenis. Historiografische elementen dienen daarom eerst op hun tekstuele functie te worden bekeken. Hierbij is er veel discussie over de vraag of de verwijzing naar het verleden wel gethematiseerd kan worden. Analyse van dit debat – met daarin de geschiedschrijving van de vestiging van Israël in Kanaän als voorbeeld – wijst echter uit dat het noodzakelijk is de band met de geschiedenis te bestuderen, wil men zinnige dingen kunnen zeggen over het eigen historiografische karakter van oude geschiedschrijving.

Een volgende paragraaf (1.3) gaat in op de steeds verder verzelfstandigde bijdrage van de archeologie aan de geschiedenis van vroeg Israël. In de tweede helft van de twintigste eeuw leek nieuwe archeologische informatie de historiciteit van de in Jozua 9:1–13:7 aangeduide gebeurtenissen te falsifiëren. Bij nader inzien blijkt echter dat het sowieso moeilijk is bepaalde brandlagen te verbinden met in teksten beschreven gebeurtenissen. Voorbeelden daarvan zijn de discussies over de veldtochten naar de zuidelijke Levant van de Egyptische farao's van de achttiende tot en met de twintigste dynastie en over de veldtocht van farao Sjosjenq I. Alleen bij de Assyrische veldtochten uit de late achtste eeuw v.Chr. kan een duidelijke verbinding worden gelegd met een aantal brandlagen in de bodem. Deze voorbeelden maken duidelijk dat het van

belang is te kiezen voor een integrale benadering bij het op elkaar betrekken van tekst en archeologie: er moet rekening gehouden worden met de diverse oorzaken die een brandlaag kan hebben, met de eigen lading van de teksten en met de door de veroveraars gehanteerde politiek.

Een belangrijker bijdrage komt van de kant van het oppervlakteonderzoek. De reikwijdte van dit onderzoek is beperkt. Toch maken de *surveys* die de laatste decennia in het centrale bergland, in laag en hoog Galilea, in de Sefela, in het Bersebabecken en op de plateaus van Jordanië zijn uitgevoerd, het mogelijk het vestigingspatroon in deze gebieden in de overgangperiode van de Late Bronstijd naar de IJzertijd voor een deel te reconstrueren. Vooral IJzer I springt eruit: in deze periode vond in het bergland een explosieve toename in nederzettingen plaats die moeilijk kan worden verklaard uit natuurlijke aanwas. Dit proces begon op het einde van de dertiende eeuw v.Chr. in het centrale bergland van Efraïm en Manasse, in het centrale gedeelte van hoog Galilea en in het overjordaanse, en breidde zich vervolgens in verschillende fasen uit, totdat op het einde van de elfde eeuw ook het Bersebabecken en aan het begin van de tiende eeuw v.Chr. Judea een toename van dorpen doormaakten. In Galilea zette de stichting van dorpen zich in de twaalfde eeuw door in het westen van laag Galilea, terwijl oostelijk laag Galilea pas begin tiende eeuw volgde. De vlakten vertonen een ander beeld: wat betreft de in de Late Bronstijd dicht bewoonde vlakte van Jizreël trad er tot de tiende eeuw weinig verandering op en in de Sefela en de kustvlakte nam het aantal nederzettingen in IJzer I zelfs af, al werden de steden hier wel groter.

Aangezien er grote continuïteit bestaat tussen de materiële cultuur van de nieuwe bewoners van de IJzer I-dorpen en die van de latere koninkrijken Israël en Juda in IJzer IIB-C, is de vraag naar de oorsprong van het volk Israël door deze *surveys* meer archeologisch van aard geworden: wie zijn deze 'IJzer I dorpsbewoners' en hoe hebben zij zich gevestigd? Met behulp van sociologische en antropologische benaderingen is gepoogd hun wijze van bestaan en etniciteit vast te stellen. Een aantal elementen uit de materiële cultuur kwam hierbij centraal te staan: de vorm van de huizen en dorpen, die een al dan niet nomadische herkomst zouden uitwijzen; het aardewerk, waarbij de kwestie zich toespitst op de continuïteit of discontinuïteit bij de kookpotten en op de functie en verspreiding van de voorraadkruik met kol; de toepassing van bepaalde technieken in de landbouw en de watervoorziening; de opvallende afwezigheid van varkensbotten in de nederzettingen in het bergland; en het hier vrijwel geheel ontbreken van graven uit IJzer I. Analyse van de geboden verklaringen laat zien dat het niet eenvoudig is de materiële beschrijving een historisch vervolg te geven. Veel verschijnselen lijken beter ecologisch en economisch geduid te kunnen worden dan etnisch. Tegelijk is er echter een sterke neiging om deze factoren zo uit te vergroten dat er voor culturele factoren en contingente gebeurtenissen geen plaats meer is. Om toch tot een meer historische interpretatie te komen, maken onderzoekers veelal gebruik van bepaalde theoretische onderscheidingen: Laat Brons-IJzer, Kanaänitisch-Israëlitisch en

bergland-laagland, waarbij wordt aangenomen dat deze twee radicaal van elkaar verschillen. Deze aannames zijn echter gebaseerd op een bepaald beeld dat men heeft van de geschiedschrijving van de vestiging van Israël. Op de achtergrond spelen teksten in de archeologische discussie dus nog steeds een prominente rol. Explicietere aandacht voor historiografie is daarom geboden, temeer daar een archeologische interpretatie van de nieuwe nederzettingen die zich niet aan uitvergroting van ecologische en sociologische factoren schuldig maakt, nauwelijks in staat is iets over de politieke geschiedenis van het land te zeggen.

Een hernieuwde analyse van Jozua 9:1—13:7 is daarom noodzakelijk, zo luidt de conclusie (1.4). Zowel de bestudering van de geschiedschrijving van de vestiging als de archeologie vraagt om een op elkaar betrekken van ‘tekst’ en ‘artefact’. Wel is het van groot belang dat de teksten en de materiële cultuur eerst voor zichzelf spreken. Maar uiteindelijk moeten beide met elkaar worden verbonden, wil men tot een goede historische interpretatie van de archeologie komen en het historiografisch karakter van de tekst nader kunnen omschrijven.

### **Monoloog van de tekst**

Deel II, ‘Monoloog van de tekst’, voert de volgende logische stap uit. Hoofdstuk 2, *Vertaling en annotaties*, biedt een korte omschrijving van de plek van Jozua 9:1—13:7 in het boek Jozua en een geannoteerde vertaling van het gedeelte.

Hoofdstuk 3 en 4 bieden een literaire analyse van het gekozen tekstgedeelte. Hoe is het geheel opgebouwd? Wat zijn de vertelmiddelen? En wat is de functie van de diverse onderdelen? De interpretatie is synchroon van karakter. Wel worden de verwijzingen naar geografische eenheden en andere realia geplaatst tegen de achtergrond van het landschap en de geschiedenis van het oude Nabije Oosten. Dit om de gang van het verhaal goed te begrijpen, materiaal te verzamelen voor de diachrone, historische analyse, en om alvast te bepalen welke ruïneheuvels en regio’s bespreking verdienen in de ‘monoloog van het artefact’.

Hoofdstuk 3, *Koningen, volken en hun land*, concentreert zich op de belangrijkste structurerende elementen in Jozua 9:1—13:7: de koningen van de steden in Kanaän, de volken en hun land. Het verhaal is zeer nadrukkelijk geografisch ingekaderd door het noemen van het cisjordaanse land als geheel (9:1) en het zuidelijke (10:1) en noordelijke gedeelte daarvan (11:1). Daarbij valt in de beschrijving van de veroveringen op dat het geheel van het veroverde gebied steeds meer is dan de som van de eerder genoemde delen. Uit tal van kleine formuleringen blijkt dat de tekst een spel speelt met de realiteit van de veroverde en gecontroleerde gebieden en het ideaal daarvan zoals dat naar voren komt in het concept van het beloofde land. De bedoeling daarvan licht op in de aanduidingen die de verhouding schetsen tussen Mozes en Jozua en in de tekening van het door Mozes en door Jozua veroverde land in 12:1-6 en 7-24. Jozua

is aan Mozes ondergeschikt en diens gehoorzaamheid aan JHWH dient hem tot voorbeeld. Maar anders dan bij Mozes aan de overkant van de rivier de Jordaan wordt het cisjordaanse land niet volledig bezet en bewoond. Als Jozua oud is en er nog land is overgebleven, dringt zich daarom de vraag op hoe en onder wie het beloofde land dan wel definitief zal worden bewoond. Tegelijk blijkt dat diverse onderdelen van de geografische omschrijvingen van het veroverde (10:40-42; 11:16-23; 12:1-24) en niet-veroverde land (13:1-7) samen een concept vormen. Dit beeld van het veroverde en overgebleven land sluit aan bij de geografie van de verdeling van het land in Jozua 13—19. Het concept is verder verbonden met de totaliteit van 'het beloofde land', zoals omschreven in het boek Numeri (Num. 34:1-12). Tegelijk zijn geografische relaties waarneembaar met bepaalde oorlogen van David (2 Sam. 8—10) en diens telling (2 Sam. 24:5-7). Binnen een oud-oosterse context is het concept van het beloofde land verwant met de Egyptische provincie Kanaän, zoals die functioneerde tussen de late vijftiende en de eerste helft van de twaalfde eeuw v. Chr. (3.5) Een vergelijking met buiten-Bijbelse veroveringsverhalen leert dat het verhaal in de manier van benoemen van geografische eenheden en het spelen met ideaal en werkelijkheid gebruik maakt van historiografische conventies die bekend zijn uit andere oud-oosterse teksten uit het tweede en eerste millennium v. Chr. (3.6). Het is een spel waarmee de schrijvers op een effectieve manier hun boodschap communiceren. Maar terwijl deze technieken in de genoemde inscripties en reliëfs in dienst staan van de gangbare koningsideologie, worden ze in Jozua 9:1—13:7 gebruikt in een ander kader, namelijk dat van het land als gave van JHWH.

Hoofdstuk 4, *Verbond, executie en eliminatie*, analyseert de overgebleven passages. Het verhaal over het verbond met de Gibeonieten in 9:3-27 blijkt zorgvuldig opgebouwd en zet vertelmiddelen in die de ontrafeling van het eigenlijke plot zo lang mogelijk uitstellen (4.1). Centraal staat hierin de veronachtzaming van de unieke relatie tussen JHWH en Israël, die het volk, de leiders en Jozua op het spel zetten door een verbond te sluiten dat verboden was (vgl. Ex. 34:12-16). Dit probleem wordt opgelost door de Gibeonieten uiteindelijk aan JHWH te binden via een slavenrol in de cultus. Uit vergelijking met de in het oude oosten bekende diplomatieke terminologie blijkt dat het verhaal een levensreddend verbond beschrijft tussen een sterke en een zwakke partner. Verder is er een verband met een verhaal over Sauls agressie tegen de Gibeonieten en Davids rol daarin (2 Sam. 21:1-14), terwijl het Gibeonitische slavenbestaan associaties oproept met de opmerkingen over dwangarbeid van vreemde volken in het verhaal over Salomo (1 Kon.9:15-22, vgl. 4:7-19).

De anekdote over de dood van de vijf koningen in 10:16-27 (4.2) is goed te plaatsen binnen het oud-oosterse kader waarbinnen de verteller opereert, maar onderstreept tegelijk de bijzondere bijstand van JHWH.

Een volgende paragraaf (4.3) handelt over passages die nadrukkelijk aandacht vragen voor de goddelijke hulp die Jozua en Israël ondervinden. De orakels van JHWH in 10:8; 11:6 en het gebruik van de formule 'Ik geef ze in je hand'

komt ook voor in niet-Bijbelse brieven, annalen en steles. In Jozua 9:1—13:7 staan ze binnen een eigen ideologisch kader dat afwijkt van de traditionele koningsideologie. De beschrijving van JHWH's gewelddadige verschijning in 10:10-15 is moeilijk te begrijpen voor wie de perceptie van de hemellichamen in het oude Nabije Oosten niet deelt. De passage beschrijft in elk geval een groot wonder waarbij JHWH wordt getypeerd in termen die herinneren aan de oud-oosterse stormgod. Mogelijk maakt dit gedeelte ook gebruik van een vertelconventie waarin een opmerkelijke militaire gebeurtenis wordt samengetrokken tot één dag. Tegelijk verschijnt JHWH echter als de schepper van hemel en aarde die de goden reduceert tot leden van zijn hemelse leger. Zijn unieke leiding blijkt ten slotte in 11:20 in de notie van de verharding van de harten van de koningen van het beloofde land.

Een andere vraag is die naar het menselijk handelen in de oorlog en het gebod de bewoners van het land te verdrijven en aan de vernietiging te wijden (4.4). De stijl van de beschrijving van de verovering van de steden in het zuiden in 10:28-39 herinnert aan de herhalingen en het stereotype woordgebruik in niet-Bijbelse veroveringsverhalen. Bovendien komt een 'aan de vernietiging wijden' op een soortgelijke manier voor in een negende-eeuwse stele van koning Mesa van Moab. Maar het gebod dit toe te passen op een heel specifieke groep volken, en de verzameling van drie groepen werkwoorden die de verdrijving en vernietiging van de volken en de daarop volgende vestiging in het veroverde land aanduiden, zijn uniek voor de geschiedschrijving van de vestiging. Daarbij onderstrepen deze elementen het belang van gehoorzaamheid aan JHWH bij de vervulling van belofte van het land.

De conclusie (4.5) luidt daarom dat ook de verhalende passages in Jozua 9:1—13:7 tot leven komen als de vertelmiddelen binnen hun eigen cultuurhistorische context worden geïnterpreteerd. Tegelijk plaatsen deze gedeelten, in afwijking van veel buiten-Bijbelse teksten over diplomatieke contacten en oorlog, niet de koning, maar JHWH in het centrum van de aandacht.

Een diachrone, historische doordening van het voorgaande resultaat vindt plaats in hoofdstuk 5, *Jozua 9:1—13:7 in zijn literaire ontwikkeling*. Daartoe worden eerst eerder geformuleerde hypothesen besproken en geëvalueerd.

In het literair-kritisch onderzoek (5.1) zijn zonder meer waardevolle tekstuele waarnemingen gedaan ten aanzien van de wording van de Bijbelgedeelte. Maar de laat negentiende-eeuwse en begin twintigste-eeuwse consensus van de zogenoemde Nieuwere Oorkondenhypothese bleek niet staat een goede verklaring te bieden voor het ontstaan van Jozua 9:1—13:7. De hypothese zelf was aanvechtbaar en omdat ze van buiten aan het verhaal werd opgelegd, leidde dit tot een versplintering ervan in steeds meer fragmenten.

Het vormkritisch onderzoek (5.2) zette een volgende logische stap door de diverse literaire eenheden te herleiden tot losse verhalen met elk een eigen historische achtergrond. Bij nader inzien blijkt het echter moeilijk passages uit het geheel los te maken. Dat geldt niet alleen voor het door Albrecht Alt ont-

dekte *Negative Besitzverzeichnis* in Rechters 1 – een aantal verzen die zouden teruggaan op een lijst met nog niet veroverde steden die wel tot het beloofde land behoorden – maar ook voor de verhalen in Jozua 9:1–13:7 die op zichzelf genomen goed los mondeling te vertellen zijn. De etiologische elementen doen niet meer dan fenomenen in het hier en nu op een aanvullende manier verbinden met vroeger. En het verhaal over de Gibeonieten geldt weliswaar als kroongetuige van de overtuiging dat de hoofdstukken bestaan uit een verzameling losse verhalen. Maar juist dit verhaal zit met meer draden dan gedacht aan de context vast en gaat niet over een verdrag tussen twee gelijke partners, maar over een vazalverdrag tussen een sterke en een zwakke partner. Het directe getuigenis van de tekst wijst daarom eerder in de richting van een inhoudelijke verbondenheid met de andere passages. Zelfs de verhalen van Jozua 11 en Rechters 4–5 over koning Jabin van Hazor gaan niet op een en dezelfde historische kern terug. Daarvoor zijn de geografische en literaire verschillen te groot. Als winst van het vormkritisch onderzoek geldt overigens wel de waarneming van Martin Noth dat het geheel van Jozua 9:1–13:7 bijeen wordt gehouden door compositorische passages. Al ligt het wel voor de hand de door hem daarvan onderscheiden meer ‘deuteronomisch’ gekleurde passages daarbij in te sluiten. Ook de gedachte dat de lijsten 12:9-24 en 13:2-5 teruggaan op een schriftelijke bron is het overwegen waard.

Dat brengt bij een ander model (5.3), waarin Jozua 9:1–13:7 vooral werd bestudeerd als onderdeel van het zogenoemd Deuteronomistisch Geschiedwerk. Twee richtingen zijn zichtbaar in het onderzoek. De eerste beschouwt de teksten als het eindproduct van theologische debatten tussen uiteenlopende en opeenvolgende deuteronomistische scholen over het concept van verdrijving en vernietiging en over de verhouding tussen wet, land en leiderschap. De tweede heeft een meer historiografische insteek en beziet de tekst meer als een fictief geheel, geschreven als spiegel van Nieuw-Assyrische teksten of als *facti-on*, een mengsel van feit en verzinzel, vormgegeven aan de hand van verhalen uit de boeken Samuël. Ten gevolge van beide manieren van kijken wordt de tekst steeds later gedateerd. In de evaluatie van deze modellen blijkt dat de waargenomen spanningen in de tekst daadwerkelijk bestaan en ook dat hierin een spel wordt gespeeld waarin geografie en wet met elkaar correleren. Een punt is alleen dat het ineen van goddelijke en menselijke handelen en de geografische spanningen ook optreden in buiten-Bijbelse teksten, alleen in minder uitgewerkte vorm. Het is daarom zeer de vraag of deze verschijnselen op een redactiehistorische manier moeten worden geïnterpreteerd. Het is nauwelijks mogelijk de diverse lagen op basis van de tekst van elkaar te onderscheiden. En de idee van generaties van redacteurs die elk weer hun eigen laag aan een tekst toevoegen, komt ook niet overeen met de wijze van tekstproductie in het oude Nabije Oosten. De tweede benadering lijkt daarom vruchtbaarder. Maar hierbij is het probleem dat Jozua 9:1–13:7 veel meer parallellen kent dan alleen Nieuw-Assyrische. Ook kan de tekst niet zijn gecomponeerd op basis van verhalen uit Samuël. En voor beide hypothesen geldt dat de verhouding tot het

boek Deuteronomium gecompliceerder ligt dan vaak wordt aangenomen: sommige wetten worden min of meer verondersteld en het boek Jozua neemt een soortgelijke houding aan ten aanzien van de cultus op de plaats die JHWH verkiezen zal, het land en het leiderschap. Tegelijk heeft het taalgebruik in het boek Jozua eigen kenmerken en geeft het boek blijk van interesse in meer 'priesterlijke' aangelegenheden. Bovendien staan de verhalen zelf vaak in een eigen, wat ambigue houding tegenover de wetten in Deuteronomium. Bij de cultus komt het heiligdom van Gibeon in beeld. De dynamiek rond het thema van het land opent de deur naar een toekomstige vervulling onder David. En de koninklijke terminologie waarin de opvolging van Jozua wordt beschreven, creëert niet zozeer een bewuste parallellie tussen Jozua en de zevende-eeuwse Judese koning Josia, maar bevat een boodschap voor al Israëls koningen in de tekening van de leider als een constitutionele figuur te midden van andere leidinggevendenden tussen het volk en tegenover Koning JHWH. Ten slotte leidt een analyse van de relatie van Jozua 9 tot Exodus 34 en 2 Samuël 21 tot de conclusie dat het verdrijvinggebod in elk geval dateert van voor de zevende eeuw en mogelijk zelfs voor de elfde eeuw v.Chr.

In een volgende stap gaat het hoofdstuk in op 'patronen en brongebruik' (5.4) in Jozua 9:1—13:7. De stelling dat de vertelpatronen van het boek Jozua teruggaan op Egyptische en West Semitische manieren van schrijven uit de Late Bronstijd blijkt ongefundeerd. Interessanter is de recente discussie over brongebruik in de oudtestamentische historiografie. Door middel van een bespreking van door Nadav Na'aman geformuleerde criteria wordt ingegaan op de vraag of de schrijvers van Jozua 9:1—13:7, bijvoorbeeld in geografische lijsten en in de verwijzing naar het 'Boek van de Oprechte' in 10:15, gebruik hebben gemaakt van schriftelijke bronnen. Ook wordt de vraag besproken wanneer er – gezien het niveau van alfabetisering en sociale ontwikkeling – mogelijk is dat er in Israël geschiedenis werd geschreven. De conclusie luidt dat de bewering dat dit voor de achtste eeuw v.Chr. niet mogelijk was, te absoluut is gesteld. Veel oud lijkende fragmenten die bijvoorbeeld verwijzen naar de tiende eeuw v.Chr. kunnen ook beter worden begrepen als uiting van echte antiquarische intentie van de schrijvers dan als *antiquarianisms*, kunstmatig gefabriceerde passages die een veel latere tekst een aura van ouderdom moeten verschaffen. Er is dan ook geen reden de intuïtie van eerdere onderzoekers te wantrouwen dat de tekst van Jozua 9:1—13:7 op sommige plaatsen brongebruik verraadt. Bovendien kan op grond van inhoudelijke traditiehistorische overwegingen en de etnografische en geografische parallellen met niet-Bijbelse teksten nader worden bepaald binnen welke historische horizon de tekst tot stand is gekomen en naar welke situaties deze mogelijk verwijst. Een datering na de late achtste eeuw v.Chr. lijkt daarbij sowieso onmogelijk, omdat de bewuste horizon daarna ontbreekt.

Op grond van deze informatie formuleert het hoofdstuk uiteindelijk een 'historiografische hypothese' (5.5). Deze luidt dat Jozua 9:1—13:7 in eerste aanleg met behulp van Laat Bronzen herinneringen is geschreven door Judese

schrijvers die tot het niveau van geleerde waren opgeleid en bekend waren met de conventies van de geschiedschrijving aan de oud-oosterse hoven. Waarschijnlijk woonden en werkten ze in Jeruzalem ten tijde van koning Salomo, Rehabeam, Asa of Joas. Ze dienden echter niet automatisch de politieke doeleinden van hun vorst. De schrijvers waren bekend met informatie die nu ook te vinden is in de boeken Rechters, Samuël en Koningen. Van literaire afhankelijkheid is hierbij geen sprake. Het ligt meer voor de hand te denken aan een gemeenschappelijke historische situatie. Wat betreft de relatie tot passages in de boeken Exodus en Deuteronomium is het mogelijk dat de teksten later zijn herschreven en op elkaar zijn aangepast. Tegelijk lijkt het erop dat het schema van de Egyptische provincie in Azië als het beloofde land, het verbod op het sluiten van een verbond en wellicht zelfs het gebod tot verdrijving en vernietiging van bepaalde volken aanleiding heeft gegeven tot het ontstaan van de historiografische traditie waarvan Jozua 9:1—13:7 uitdrukking is. Hierin zijn ook etnografische elementen uit de Late Bronstijd verwerkt en geschematiseerd. Tegelijk is het aannemelijk dat de grenzen van het veroverde en onder de stammen verdeelde land en de opmerkingen over de Filistijnen en Sidon zijn ontleend aan de horizon van schrijvers. De tekst geeft verder aanleiding tot de gedachte dat Jozua 10:12-14 teruggaat op een tekstuele bron getiteld 'Boek van de Oprechte' en 12:9-24 en 13:2-5 op een beschrijving van het veroverde en overgebleven land. De verhalen over de Gibeonieten en de koningen in de grot van Makkeda lijken te zijn ontleend aan mondelinge overlevering. De schrijvers maakten gebruik van de normale literaire middelen die historici uit de oudheid ter beschikking stonden: constructie, simplificatie, selectiviteit en oog voor het suggestieve detail. Tegelijk verraadt hun werk respect voor de beschikbare tradities en voor het overgeleverde materiaal. Hiermee communiceren ze een boodschap die de ideologie weerspiegelt van de groep waartoe ze behoren: JHWH is een unieke God die door zijn grote daden het land Kanaän aan Israël gaf. Eerst in de verovering van en vestiging in het land en later in zijn verkiezing van David als zijn koning. En de belofte van zijn genade baant voor zijn gehoorzame koning en volk een weg naar de toekomst. Als Israël echter volhardt in afgoderij, zal dit volk worden geconfronteerd met zijn woede. De verwijzing naar het verleden heeft als doel deze boodschap te onderstrepen.

### **Monoloog van het artefact**

Hoofdstuk 6, *Jozua 9:1—13:7 en de archeologie* voert in Deel III de 'Monoloog van het artefact' uit door een blik te werpen op de archeologie van de zuidelijke Levant en zo materiaal te verzamelen waarmee de historiografische hypothese kan worden getest. De in Jozua 9:1—13:7 genoemde ruïneheuvels en regio's binnen de grenzen van het veroverde land zijn hierin leidend. Tegelijk gaat het erom deze te plaatsen binnen de context van de archeologie van de zuidelijke Levant als geheel en tegen de achtergrond van de beschikbare buiten-Bijbelse informatie.

Een eerste paragraaf (6.1) grenst de tijdspanne af waarbinnen het materiaal moet worden bekeken. Omdat de historische claims van de tekst niet verder teruggaan dan de tijd van de Egyptische overheersing van Kanaän, geldt de Late Bronstijd II als het begin van de te bestuderen periode. Hierbij geldt de Amarnaperiode van de late veertiende eeuw als een aanvullende *terminus post quem*, omdat de situatie in de Egyptische provincie in Azië zoals beschreven in deze brieven geen ruimte laat voor de aanwezigheid van de entiteit 'Israël' uit de oudtestamentische geschiedschrijving. Ervan uitgaande dat de genoemde plaatsen tevens voorkwamen in de horizon van de schrijvers, valt ook de periode af van na de Assyrische verovering: te veel steden werden daarna – dat wil zeggen: tijdens IJzer IIC en later – slechts met tussenpozen of helemaal niet meer bewoond. Vervolgens is het zaak het algemene kader van de relatieve archeologische perioden van de Late Bronstijd IIA-B, IJzer I en IJzer IIA-B te verbinden met een meer precieze absolute chronologie. Dat is bepaald niet eenvoudig, omdat de traditionele ankerpunten minder vaststaan dan vaak is aangenomen. De gewelddadige Assyrische veroveringen aan het einde van de achtste eeuw v.Chr. zijn in veel gevallen wel in de bodem traceerbaar, al is vaak omstreden om welke veldtocht het precies gaat. Maar voor wat betreft de Egyptische campagnes in Azië in de Late Bronstijd ligt dat veel moeilijker. Bovendien werden in het verleden restanten van gebouwen en abrupte overgangen veel te gemakkelijk verbonden met eventuele bouwactiviteiten van David en Salomo en met de veldtocht van farao Sjosjenq I in 925 v.Chr. De paragraaf evalueert daarom de debatten die deze waarnemingen hebben opgeroepen en komt op archeologische gronden tot een nieuwe verbinding van de bodemvondsten met de absolute chronologie. Daaruit blijkt dat het inderdaad noodzakelijk is de chronologie van Late Bronstijd IIB, IJzer I, IJzer IIA en IJzer IIB met enkele decennia te verlagen, zij het niet zo radicaal als door de voorstanders van de zogenoemde *Low Chronology* wordt bepleit. Er moet namelijk sterker rekening worden gehouden met elkaar overlappende periodes en regionale verschillen. Een samenvattend schema met een chronologische ordening van de relevante ruïneheuvels sluit de paragraaf af.

Dit globale kader wordt nader ingevuld door een bespreking (6.2) van de archeologie van die ruïneheuvels in de selectie die ook daadwerkelijk zijn opgegraven of voorwerp zijn geweest van oppervlakteonderzoek. De analyse richt zich op het materiaal uit de periode van Late Bronstijd II – IJzer IIB. Daarbij is ook oog voor de regionale context. Het gaat samen om dertig ruïneheuvels in respectievelijk Galilea (Tel Hazor, Tel Qarney Hittin), de noordelijke valleien (Tel Keisan, Tel Shimron, Tel Yoqneam, Tel Megiddo, Tel Kedesh, Tel Taanach), het noordelijke centrale bergland (Tel el-Muhaffar, Tel el-Far'ah [N], Tel Abu Zarad, Beitin), de kuststreek en de Saron (Tel Dor, Tel Aphek), het zuidelijke centrale bergland (Jeruzalem, el-Jib, Tel Kafira, Deir el-Ahzar, Tel Ru-meida, Tel Rabud, Tel Anab el-Kebir), de kalkvalleien en de Sefela (Tel Azeka, Tel el-Qom, Tel Eiton, Tel Gezer, Tel Yarmuth, Tel Burna, Tel Lachish) en om het zuidelijke steppe- en woestijngebied (Tel Halif, Tel Arad).

Tot slot wordt dit resultaat tot spreken gebracht (6.3) door een kritische toepassing van enkele socio-archeologische modellen en een vergelijking met beschikbare buiten-Bijbelse historische informatie, waaronder de Amarna-brieven en de Merneptah Stele. Het blijkt dat de Laat-Bronzen Egyptische provincie in Azië bestond uit een systeem van garnizoenssteden en kleine koninkrijkes met een stad als centrum. Dit systeem stortte in elkaar door een internationale crisis, de houding van de koninkjes, onverschilligheid van de farao, een gebrek aan menskracht, rondzwervende groepen van halfnomaden en onteigende boeren, immigranten en de verschijning van een nieuwe, Filistijnse cultuur in de kustvlakte. Tijdens IJzer I bleef de stedelijke structuur in de vlakten nog lang intact, maar in het bergland won de tribale structuur van de nieuwe dorpen aan kracht. Daarbij wijst de combinatie van de Merneptah Stele en de archeologische gegevens erop dat niet de nomadische Sjasoe, maar de inwoners van deze dorpen aan het eind van de dertiende eeuw werden benoemd als 'Israël'. In de elfde eeuw ontwikkelde zich langs de noordelijke kust ook een Phoenicische cultuur. Het is moeilijk deze sociale en culturele ontwikkelingen te vertalen in termen van politieke geschiedenis. Maar de uitbouw van de tribale structuur, de verrassende vestiging van nederzettingen in voorheen instabiele gebieden en de bouw van steden die lijken op provinciale centra wijzen op het ontstaan van een meer centrale autoriteit in het midden of het zuiden van het centrale bergland in de tiende eeuw v.Chr.

### **Dialoog tussen tekst en artefact**

Deel IV voert ten slotte de bepleite 'Dialoog tussen tekst en artefact' uit. Wat gebeurt er als de resultaten van de tekstuele en de archeologische analyse met elkaar in gesprek worden gebracht? Daarover gaat hoofdstuk 7, *Jozua 9:1—13:7 als historiografie*.

Het eerste onderdeel van de dialoog richt de aandacht op de geschiedenis (7.1). Op het niveau van de sociale structuren vertoont het archeologisch-historische beeld van tussen de veertiende en de twaalfde eeuw een opvallende parallel met de tekst van het boek Jozua: de zuidelijke Levant bestond uit een lappendeken van elkaar beconcurrerende koninkrijkes. Bovendien bevestigt een *longue durée* analyse de positie van Hazor en Jeruzalem als belangrijke eenheden binnen dit geheel. Tegelijk laten de centraliserende bewegingen vanaf begin tiende eeuw v.Chr. nadrukkelijk ruimte voor het opkomen van een territoriaal koninkrijk in het zuidelijke deel van het centrale bergland. Daarbij vormen de vermelding van 'Israël' in de Merneptah Stele en de belangrijke rol van de IJzer I dorpen in het bergland een passende historische achtergrond voor de beweging van verovering en vestiging, zoals beschreven in Jozua 9:1—13:7. Van de meeste genoemde steden kan het bestaan worden vastgesteld, zowel voor de vertelde tijd van de tekst als voor de tijd van de vertellers. In de gevallen dat dit niet mogelijk is, is daarvoor meestal een verklaring. Echte moeilijkheden doen zich echter voor bij de vondsten uit Tirza (Kh. el-Far'ah [N]), bij Jericho (Tel es-Sultan) en Ai (et-Tel) en bij de slecht opgegraven ruïne-

heuvel van Gibeon (el-Jib). Vanuit de archeologie bezien scoort Jozua 9:1—13:7 daarmee aanmerkelijk beter dan bijvoorbeeld veroveringsteksten uit het Egyptische Nieuwe Rijk. Veel moeilijker is het een verbinding te maken als het gaat om de beschrijving van gebeurtenissen. De historische claims van de tekst worden niet door de beschikbare archeologische en historische informatie gefalsificeerd. Het is alleen in het geval van Hazor mogelijk tekst en archeologie op een positieve manier met elkaar te verbinden. Het Israël zoals beschreven in Jozua 11 is hier de meest geschikte kandidaat voor de massale verwoesting de stad in de loop van de dertiende eeuw v.Chr. trof.

Interessant is ook de omgekeerde historische blik, namelijk die vanuit de tekst naar de geschiedenis. Jozua 9:1—13:7 veronderstelt een uittocht uit Egypte, een aanbedding van een JHWH als enige God en het bestaan van een Davidisch Rijk. Dat roept prangende historische vragen op die niet in het kader van deze studie kunnen worden behandeld. Dit neemt niet weg dat een toepassing van de historische claims van de tekst ten aanzien van de verovering en vestiging de historische discussie over vroeg Israël aanzienlijk verheldert. Een gewelddadige intocht van enkele tienduizenden nieuwkomers die zich daarna moeizaam vestigden, past goed als aanvullende oorzaak voor de ineenstorting van het sociale systeem van de Late Bronstijd. Het historische beeld in de teksten van een ontwikkeling 'Van verovering naar co-existentie' verklaart tevens de opzienbarende demografische ontwikkelingen in het bergland in IJzer I, verheldert de ontwikkeling van de archeologische situatie in de vlakten, vormt een goede achtergrond voor de gemengde cultuur die op vele plaatsen wordt aangetroffen en wijst het taboe op varkensvlees en het gebruik van de voorraadkruik met kol aan als *identity markers*. Bovendien passen de opmerkingen in de tekst over de latere dwangarbeid van de autochtone bevolking uitstekend bij de agrarische situatie tijdens IJzer IIA en bij de nieuwe infrastructuur uit deze periode die in diverse steden is opgegraven. Ten slotte verklaart de hypothese van een historiografische compositie uit het begin van het eerste millennium hoe het kan dat Laat Bronzen herinneringen zijn verwerkt in de geschiedschrijving van de koninkrijken van Israël en Juda. Zo wordt bovendien duidelijk dat juist de geschiedenis van de belofte van het land mede aanleiding is geweest tot het componeren van grotere historiografische werken, waarin het verkrijgen en het verlies van land zo diep is verankerd.

Wat is uiteindelijk het historiografisch resultaat van het onderzoek? Over die vraag gaat de slotparagraaf van de studie (7.2).

In de eerste plaats kan worden vastgesteld dat Jozua 9:1—13:7 zowel in het gebruik van literaire vormen als in de verwijzing naar het verleden kan worden gekarakteriseerd als geschiedschrijving. Dat blijkt uit de geografische omschrijvingen, de semantische velden die de verovering, de vernietiging en de vestiging tekenen, de schets van de verhouding tussen Mozes en Jozua en de diplomatieke terminologie. Net als andere veroveringsverhalen uit het oude Nabije Oosten speelt de tekst met geografie, maakt deze gebruik van telescopi-

sche en herhalende technieken. Informatie uit bronnen, mondelinge overlevering en anachronistische elementen zijn op kunstige wijze ineengevlochten om een bepaalde boodschap te brengen. Een belangrijk verschil met de gevonden teksten is echter dat de overgeleverde tekst van Jozua 9:1—13:7 de conventies niet gebruikt tot meerdere eer en glorie van de koning, maar alle aandacht vestigt op JHWH, de vervuller van de landbelofte. De daarbij behorende ideologie is hierboven geschetst onder 5.5. Daarbij past dat deze geschiedschrijving een positief beeld heeft van het koninkrijk onder David en Salomo. Tegelijk deelt ze de constitutionele visie van het boek Deuteronomium op het leiderschap in Israël. De schrijvers van de tekst moeten waarschijnlijk worden gezocht in de kring van de geleerden in Jeruzalem.

De verwijzingen naar de werkelijkheid komen vooral uit in het gebruik van onomastisch materiaal en namen van voormalige volken die het land bewoonden, en in de geografische omschrijvingen van het veroverde en overgebleven land. Analyse van dit materiaal toont aan dat de daadwerkelijke opschriftstelling plaatsvond aan het begin van het eerste millennium v.Chr. met behulp van Laat Bronzen herinneringen. Deze herinneringen – gebaseerd op mondelinge en voor wat betreft 10:12-14, 12:9-24 en 13:2-5 wellicht ook deels op schriftelijke overlevering – omvatten in elk geval de namen van de koningen, de verwijzingen naar de Kanaänieten, Amorieten en Hittieten en de beschrijving van het beloofde land in termen van de Egyptische provincie in Azië. Het verhaal past uitstekend bij de het algemene beeld van de sociale structuur van de zuidelijke Levant in de Late Bronstijd en bij de neergang daarvan. Tegelijk zijn er ook elementen uit deze periode die opvallend genoeg ontbreken: de Hurritische invloed; de prominente Egyptische aanwezigheid en de clash met farao Merneptah; de structurele neergang van de koninkrijkes; en het op het toneel verschijnen van het fenomeen van de ‘zeevolken’. De tekstuele informatie uit de tiende en negende eeuw bestaat uit de precieze grenzen van het veroverde land en de verwijzingen naar al aanwezige Filistijnen en naar Sidon als voornaamste stad aan de Phoenicische kust. Dit beeld wordt bevestigd door parallellen met 2 Samuël 8—10 en 24 en door archeologische gegevens die suggereren dat de echte serieuze vestiging van dorpen in het Judese bergland, de Saron en oostelijk laag Galilea pas plaatsvond in de tiende eeuw. Een datering van de tekst in de tiende of negende eeuw past ook goed bij de vermelding van de ‘wijding aan de vernietiging’ in de Mesa Stele.

Zo bevestigt dit onderzoek naar het historiografisch karakter van Jozua 9:1—13:7 de intuïtie van Albrecht Alt dat grote delen van de oudtestamentische geschiedschrijving historisch gezien draaien om de vraag wie nu geldt als de opvolger van de farao als heerser van Kanaän. Volgens Israëls geschiedschrijving van de vestiging is dit David. JHWH vervulde de belofte van het land onder Jozua. Maar tot een definitieve vervulling kwam het in zijn verkiezing van David. In afwijking van voorgaand onderzoek kan echter worden gesteld dat deze geschiedschrijving tot stand kwam met respect voor de beschikbare bronnen en tradities, dat de tekst niet is opgebouwd uit kleine eenheden, maar

wel degelijk een historisch beeld veronderstelt van een gezamenlijke verovering en een moeizame vestiging, en ten slotte dat dit beeld niet wordt gefalsificeerd door de archeologie.

De studie wordt afgesloten met een *Epiloog* waarin enkele opmerkingen worden gemaakt over de wetenschapstheoretische grenzen van de studie naar de eigen aard van de oudtestamentische historiografie en over de invloed van levensbeschouwing op de daarin gevoerde discussies.

## Curriculum Vitae

Koenraad (Koert) van Bekkum was born in Berkel en Rodenrijs, the Netherlands, on December 22, 1970, as son of Jan van Bekkum and Gera van Bekkum-de Snoo. After graduating from secondary school (VWO) at the Gomarus College, Groningen in 1989, he studied theology at the Theologische Universiteit van de Gereformeerde Kerken (vrijgemaakt), Kampen, Nederland. He defended his Masters Thesis in September 1997 with the main subject Old Testament and subsidiary subjects Systematic Theology, Aramaic and Archaeology of Palestine. The latter subject was studied at Groningen University with prof. Ed Noort. In addition, he finished the subsidiary subject Akkadian in December of that year at Leiden University.

From 1998 to 2002 the author worked as research assistant of prof. Gert Kwakkel in the research group Biblical Studies and Languages of the Theological Universities in Kampen and Apeldoorn. During the summers of 1998 and 2000 he took part in the Megiddo Expedition, the renewed excavation of Tel Megiddo, Israel. In autumn 2000 he stayed for several months at the Archaeological Institute of Hebrew University, Jerusalem for studying archaeological literature and doing some historical-geographical research in the field. From April 1, 2002 up to the present he is assistant editor-in-chief of the *Nederlands Dagblad*, a nationwide Christian daily newspaper in the Netherlands.

Koert van Bekkum is married with Alied van Bekkum-Veling and father of Lodewijk and Jente.



