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JUDAHITE REFORTIFICATION OF THE LACHISH FRONTIER

By

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THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts Degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
1981

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ABSTRACT: Judahite Refortification of the Lachish Frontier

by Jeffrey A. Blakely

Throughout the history of Judah a series of fortification systems was constructed to assist in the military protection of Judah. These systems changed over time in order to meet the military and political situations then present in the Levant. This thesis is a study of the changing patterns of fortification in southwest Judah throughout its existence.

Prior to the time of Rehoboam, Israel and Judah were protected first by the mobile armies of Saul and David and later by four major centers which garrisoned the troops of Solomon. Additional Solomonic fortification was erected for internal usage in what became known as the Levitical Cities. After the division of the Israelite kingdom and the creation of an independent Judah the earlier systems were destroyed during an Egyptian raid. Rehoboam refortified Judah by constructing major defensive walls around the cities of Judah and by creating a military observation system throughout the hill country of Judah which allowed for rapid transmission of information and for quick military deployment during a crisis. This system was altered during the reigns of Asa and Jehoshaphat when the observation points were populated and strongly fortified, becoming well defended cities. Also the other major cities were strengthened. Lachish, having first been occupied as an observation point during the reign of Rehoboam, became the focal point in the system as well as Judah's largest and strongest fortress outside of Jerusalem. For added defense of southern and western Judah, a subsidiary fortification line was constructed along the Lachish frontier. This subsidiary fortification line placed extended observation points along the wadi system of the northwest Negeb and Philistine Plain, and probably marked the limit of settled agrarian life at this time, the border of Judah. Through the end of the 8th century BCE, Judahite fortification kept utilizing the same plan. The Assyrian conquest of Judah ended the systematic fortification of Judah. A later 7th century BCE system, centered around Lachish and Azekah, was constructed, but it was oriented in a different manner and is not yet understood. The Babylonian conquest of Judah between 589 and 586 BCE ended the political entity of Judah and with it Judahite fortification.

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PREFACE

This thesis is a reflection of the author's introduction to and subsequent growth through involvement in archaeology. The author was introduced to archaeology through participation in the volunteer program of the Joint Archaeological Expedition to Tell el-Hesi in 1971. A growing interest in archaeology and its eventual choice as a career is reflected through subsequent excavation seasons in 1973, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, and 1980, and through the decision to study archaeology at Wilfrid Laurier University commencing in 1977.

Interest in Judah grew out of the author's assignment to Field I at Tell el-Hesi, while curiosity in fortifications began with a lecture presented by G. Ernest Wright concerning the function of Tell el-Hesi in Judahite times. After preliminary research it became clear that Lachish would have to be the focal point in the study of fortification systems in southwest Judah. This realization led to the selection of "Judahite Refortification of the Lachish Frontier" as my thesis topic.

After the completion of this thesis further research concerning Iron Age fortification will be undertaken. The publication of Iron Age material from Tell el-Hesi will be the final result of this study. This fact was in the back of my mind when the organization of this thesis was set and may be responsible for the format devised for this thesis. The form of this thesis follows that prescribed in the Graduate Student

Handbook, with stylistic conventions being taken from A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 4th Edition by Kate L. Turabian. In matters of spelling, the American spelling is preferred.

Numerous people and institutions have worked with me in this project. They know who they are and to them I wish to express my gratitude. Also I wish to make special note of the late Dr. Harry Thomas Frank of Oberlin College who introduced me to archaeology and of Mr. Bob Harris who taught me dedication to those things for which I care. Marcella Roth of the Wilfrid Laurier University Library has been invaluable in obtaining obscure resource material, and Pam Coutts was most patient in producing the two original maps for this thesis. My office-mate for the past two years has helped work out many problems related to this thesis. For her moral support and understanding I thank Claudia Hartmann. The readers on my thesis committee, Dr. Robert W. Fisher and Dr. Gerald P. Schaus, expended many hours reading and criticizing this paper, and in doing so provided a multitude of helpful and essential suggestions. The heartiest thanks are owing to the man without whose help this thesis would have been impossible, Dr. Lawrence E. Toombs. Without his instruction both in class and in the field, this thesis could not have been completed.

Financial support for this project was provided by the Zion Research Foundation, the Joint Archaeological Expedition to Tell el-Hesi, and Wilfrid Laurier University. A Zion Research Foundation research grant enabled on-site inspection of many of

the sites included in this study. The Joint Archaeological Expedition to Tell el-Hesi provided instruction in archaeological method and supported my studies of the area surrounding Tell el-Hesi. The computing centre at Wilfrid Laurier University provided computing time and terminal facilities for the production of all preliminary copies and this final copy of my thesis. Here I also wish to thank Robert Gmeindl for introducing me to and teaching me about the TEXT system.

My parents have been encouraging and understanding as I have looked for a career, and it is to them that this thesis is dedicated.

Jeffrey A. Blakely

Waterloo, Ontario

17 March, 1981

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

My interest in fortification centers around the southwestern Judahite site of Tell el-Hesi. To interpret Iron Age Tell el-Hesi in terms of an integrated Judahite fortification plan is difficult since little previous work on the topic has been undertaken. To fill this gap would be a massive undertaking. A study of the fortifications on the southern and western borders of Judah constitutes a more manageable topic while still being somewhat representative of Judah as a whole since these borders were the most accessible to hostile elements. Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) is the central site located on this border as well as the second most prominent city in Judah, thus creating a focal point for a study of Judahite fortification in the southwest. The goal of this study is to isolate the fortifications of southwest Judah during the Iron Age and determine any large scale defensive patterns that were implemented by the kings of Judah.

From the Early Bronze Age through the Iron Age the Lachish frontier was fortified. After a period of no fortification during the Iron I period this frontier was once again fortified as a border of Judah. The fact that this was a refortification of the border and that only the refortification is dealt with is reflected in the title of this thesis.

Some modern studies concerning Judahite fortification have been undertaken. G. Ernest Wright speculated on the existence of an ancient fortification system in an article entitled, "A Problem of Ancient Topography: Lachish and Eglon (1)." He identified the sites of Tell Bornat, Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini, Tell el-Hesi, Tell Quneitirah, Tell en-Najileh, Tell Muleihah, Tell esh-Shari'ah, and possibly Tell Beit Mirsim as being part of this system which was to have encompassed Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), but he proposed no date for the system. Since Wright's article appeared, archaeological work has occurred at Lachish, Tell el-Hesi, Tell esh-Shari'ah, Tell es-Seba', and Tell el-Khuweilefeh. This archaeological work has greatly enhanced our knowledge of southern Judah during the Iron Age.

A significant study of historical records and their relation to archaeology in southern and western Judah was published by Nadav Na'aman in 1979 (2). This study has clarified Assyrian military and political activities as they effected Judah in the late 8th century BCE. In a second article entitled "Sennacherib's campaign to Judah and the date of lmlk stamps," Na'aman has written a clear statement concerning the events of 701 BCE (3). A

1. G. Ernest Wright, "A Problem of Ancient Topography: Lachish and Eglon," Harvard Theological Review 64 (1971) pp.437-50.

2. Nadav Na'aman, "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt," Tel Aviv 6 (1979) 1:68-90.

3. Nadav Na'aman, "Sennacherib's campaign to Judah and the date of the lmlk stamps," Vetus Testamentum XXX (1979) 1:61-86.

third recent study that needs to be noted is, "Is Tell ed-Duweir Ancient Lachish?" by G.W. Ahlström (4). In this article Ahlström attempted to disprove the accepted identification of Lachish with Tell ed-Duweir. He does bring up certain difficulties in this identification, but the evidence in favor of the identification is overwhelming, and Lachish = Tell ed-Duweir will be used throughout this study. Ahlström's objection concerning Rehoboam's fortification of Lachish will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

When all relevant geological, historical, and archaeological data is pooled, it is possible to isolate three separate defensive systems based around Lachish which defended Judah throughout the Iron II period. As will be seen later, these systems are the fortified cities of Rehoboam, the fortresses of an expanded Judah under Asa and Jehoshaphat, and the final Judahite system constructed in the late 7th century BCE.

The area of concentration for this study is southwestern Judah centered around Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) (see figs. 1.1 and 1.2). Each of the next four chapters will be devoted to the analysis of a different type of data. Chapter 2 will examine geological and climatological factors that effect travel and habitation patterns in Judah. Chapter 3 will examine the history of Judah as it relates to fortification and military campaigns directed against

4. G.W. Ahlström, "Is Tell ed-Duweir Ancient Lachish?" Palestine Exploration Quarterly 112 (January - June 1980) 1:7-9.

Judah. Consequently, Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon will assume major roles in this study. Chapter 4 will examine the results of archaeological excavation in the study area, while Chapter 5 will examine the results of archaeological survey. Chapter 6 will draw on all previous chapters, combine the information, and present the conclusions drawn from that data.

This study was in its final stages when new publications appeared that have a bearing on the subject. These sources are noted in footnotes, but they could not fully be incorporated into the text. In an effort to achieve consistency, names of archaeological sites will be given in terms of their Arabic place names, and lacking that, their Hebrew place names. The same convention will be used for river and stream names. Biblical place names will only be used in discussions of history. Where archaeological sites have been identified with biblical names, the modern site name will be placed in brackets if the information is relevant to the discussion.

Measurement of distance and area is a point for confusion. In all cases metric measurements will be used. When a site was excavated using feet and inches, those measurements will be given with the metric equivalent placed afterwards in parentheses. The metric area measurement *dunam* is used throughout. It is employed in the Levant and equals .2471 acres or 1000 square meters.

CHAPTER TWO

GEOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS IN SOUTHWEST JUDAH

The geography of the Levant has been a vital factor in its political, economic, and military history. As the sole land bridge connecting the continents of Europe and Asia with the continent of Africa, the Levant has seen countless trading and military expeditions cross its face. Most of these transient visitors have merely been traders who produced few lasting effects. It is the rare military expedition, in campaigns aimed at booty collection and conquest, that has produced the lasting effects on Judah. In the main, mountainous Judah was off the beaten economic and military paths, but due to its proximity to the major international highway of ancient times, the Via Maris, those who desired to do so had ready access into Judah. The routes of access were determined by the geologic phenomena that shaped Judah. This chapter will examine the geologic and geographic forces that determined the road and highway system, shaped the systems of fortification, and provided the building materials for southwest Judah (1).

1. For a general discussion of the geology and geography of Palestine, including a discussion of many terms, see Y. Aharoni, Land of the Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967).

The Geologic Formation of Judah

The Tethys Sea was created during the Late Triassic period. Later faulting in the eastern part of its sea floor during Jurassic and Early Cretaceous times raised a shelf which created a shallow eastern end to the sea (see fig. 2.1). From Jurassic times to Oligocene times limestones and other sedimentary deposits formed on this shelf, and in Oligocene times further faulting raised the shelf above the sea creating a series of mountains which included the area later known as the Judean highlands. Continued faulting during Early Miocene times lowered the western edge of this shelf bringing the coastline to the foot of the Judean highlands. After the high water levels of the Early Miocene times, ocean access to the Mediterranean Sea ended and the Mediterranean Sea suffered from massive evaporation which drastically dropped its level. This resulted in salt and gypsum deposits and also formed the deep wadis that presently cut into the Judean highlands and debouche into the Mediterranean Sea: the Wadi es-Sunt, the Wadi es-Sarar, the Wadi Qubeibeh, the Wadi es-Safiyeh, and the Wadi Selman (see fig. 1.2)(2).

When the Strait of Gibraltar reopened and the Mediterranean Sea refilled in Early Pliocene times, much of the Shephelah and

2. Frank L. Koucky, "The Present and Past Physical Environment of Tell el-Hesi," in Hesi IV, edited by Kevin G. O'Connell, S.J. Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research, (forthcoming).

some of the Judean Hills were submerged, resulting in new chalk and marl formations. A lower sea level and the formation of the Nile basin during the Late Pliocene created the coastal plain of Palestine. A counterclockwise current in the southeast Mediterranean carried Nile sand to the Palestine coast where it was deposited, creating the smooth coast and the coastal plain. With the varying sea levels of Pleistocene times, the Palestine shore line fluctuated causing various coastal sand ridges and a series of coastal dune structures (3). At the same time wind over the dessicated Sinai and Sahara deserts began picking up loess particles and started depositing them over Palestine. In the south of Palestine, erosion removed most of this accumulation and redeposited it in fluvial deposits in the wadi systems. In the more northerly plains of western Judah, these deposits have not eroded and by the present century loess has accumulated to depths of up to 12 meters (4).

This brief geologic history has isolated numerous factors that relate to this thesis. The first factor is that Judah is located over an active geologic area. This has resulted in numerous and strong earthquakes which have destroyed many of Judah's cities. A second factor is the limited range of building material available

3. Ibid.

4. D.H. Yaalon and J. Dan, "Accumulation and distribution of loess derived deposits in the semi-desert and desert fringe areas of Israel," Zeitschrift für Geomorphologie, Supplementband 20 (December 1974) pp.91-105.

in Judah. Limestone and chalk form the basis for all visible geological formations and therefore are almost the sole local building stones. Furthermore this stone is only available in the hill country, as sand and loess have covered it both in the near south and in the west. In these loess covered areas wadi clay deposits provide the raw material for mud-brick which is the only natural building material to be found (see fig. 1.2). A third factor is the rugged Judean mountains which constitute a natural obstacle to travel. Wadi es-Sunt, Wadi es-Sarar, Wadi Qubeibeh, Wadi es-Safiyeh, and Wadi Selman provide entrances into the hill country. A final factor relates to the wadi systems and the mobile coastal sand dunes. The dunes have a tendency to block the wadis. The result, until modern drainage methods, was a series of malarial swamps located east of the coastal dunes, a condition that may have effected settlement in these areas (5).

Local Judahite Building Materials

In this section Judahite building materials will be examined in greater detail. These materials include two types of limestone (*nari* and *mizzi*), the sandstone *kurkar*, the chalk called *huwwar*, the soil called *humra*, and clay.

Nari limestone is the soft limestone found throughout Judah. It is easily quarried and quickly hardens as it is exposed to the air. There are problems with the use of *nari* limestone as a building material since it erodes easily and is extremely friable. Shiloh and Horowitz have shown, however, that *nari* limestone was the favored building stone of Iron Age Palestine (6).

Mizzi is a harder limestone that is found chiefly in northern Judah. Its natural hardness makes quarrying difficult and as a consequence it was rarely used during Iron Age times (7).

Kurkar sandstone formed under the coastal plain from coastal sand deposits. It is a calcareous sandstone created from hardened dune or marine sands and in Judah is found primarily in isolated ridges. Where *kurkar* can be quarried, it was a popular building material throughout the Iron Age (8).

Huwwar is a soft chalk or marl, a substance similar to, but much softer than, *nari* limestone. It is found in the Shephelah and the Judean Hills but is of limited constructional value in its own right due to its soft character. Its value is seen when it is mixed with sand and used as a sealer or in plaster.

6. Y. Shiloh and A. Horowitz, "Ashlar Quarries of the Iron Age in the Hill Country of Israel," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 217 (1975), pp.37-48.

7. M. Avnimelek, "Influence of Geologic Conditions in the Development of Jerusalem," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 181 (February 1966) pp.24-31.

8. L. Picard and P. Solomonica, "On the Geology of the Gaza - Beersheba District," Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 16 (1936) pp.180-223.

Humra is a brown sandy clay soil formed in the coastal plain from decomposed limestone. The sand and clay mixture which creates *humra* is a heavy mixture that is pliable when moist and hard when dried out. These properties are well suited for use as a mortar or binding material (9).

Clay is found along wadi beds and in old fluvial deposits. In ancient times its main use was for pottery, but it was often used as a binder in mud-bricks.

Judahite Roads and Highways

As has been pointed out by Aharoni and others, ingress and egress to and from the Judean hills is limited by the topography to wadis and to the central mountain ridge (10). The physical barriers to the Judean hills were graphically presented by Denis Baly (see fig. 2.2)(11). The routes past these barriers are the central mountain ridge (the way to Ephrath), the Wadi es-Sunt (the way to Beth-shemesh), the Wadi es-Sarar (Valley of Sorek), the Wadi Selman (the way to Beth-horon), the Wadi es-Safiyeh, and the Wadi Qubeibeh (see fig. 2.3). A more detailed discussion of road systems and trade routes can be found in the Land of the Bible by

9. Koucky, "Environment," p.23.

10. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p.41.

11. A. Denis Baly, Geographical Companion to the Bible, (London: Luttenworth Press, 1963) p.80.

Aharoni and in the Master of Arts thesis of W. Bruce Stewart (12). Of these roads, five are located in the vicinity of southwestern Judah:

1. The Via Maris (The Way of the Sea) runs along the Palestine coast and is the main trade route connecting Egypt with the north. Being located west of and at a lower elevation than Judah, it passes such sites as Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron, and Aphek.

2. The Wadi es-Sarar runs from the sea past Ekron, Timnah, Beth-shemesh, and on towards Jerusalem.

3. The Wadi es-Sunt runs from the sea past Ashdod, Tell es-Safi, Azekah, and on towards Bethlehem.

4. The Wadi Qubeibeh, where it is used as a road, connects Lachish and Hebron.

5. The central mountain ridge runs the length of the Judean hills and connects Beer-sheba, Hebron, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem.

Of the four routes into the mountain country of Judah, three run through the deep wadi systems which were formed in Miocene times. These routes all provide a passable slope of ascent to the hill country. At the same time they are overlooked by high limestone ridges which provide numerous defensive possibilities all along these routes. On the other hand, the fourth route along

12. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, pp.39-57; and W. Bruce Stewart, "The Role of Trade in the Development of the Israelite Monarchy" (M.A. Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, forthcoming).

the central mountain ridge was a main north-south artery and far less defensible. It was, however, much less accessible to main transportation routes (13).

Climatological Considerations

While geologic factors have formed the land of Judah, the climate and economic patterns have determined the habitation patterns. Judah as a whole receives enough rainfall to support agriculture. As one moves south from the mountain country the quantity of rainfall diminishes. The average is only about 36 centimeters along the Wadi Hesi and it drops to about 23 centimeters when one reaches the Wadi esh-Shari'ah (14). As rainfall drops agriculture ends and is supplanted by a nomadic grazing economy, and at the same time the number of inhabited sites drops. Few city sites are found south of the Wadi esh-Shari'ah and those that are found are located at oases or along trading routes.

The rainfall of Judah is also seasonal. Most of the rain falls between October and March in a few large storms. At these times mud and flash floods make travel through the wadi systems slow and possibly dangerous (15).

13. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p.53.

14. H.G. May, ed., Oxford Bible Atlas, (London: Oxford University Press, 1974) p.51.

Summary

This chapter was devoted to an introduction and explanation of topographic, geologic, and geographic factors as they relate to Judah. It is into this situation that Iron Age Judah was formed and grew, and it is through the utilization of its physical resources that Judah fortified itself. Topographic and climatologic considerations formed the road systems employed in ancient Judah. It has also been seen that geologic factors limited the building materials available to Judahite builders. *Kurkar*, *nari*, and clay were the materials available and they were the sole materials used in construction during Judahite times. Other building materials available through trade or in limited local supply were not used.

HISTORY OF WARFARE AND FORTIFICATION IN JUDAH

CHAPTER THREE

The great Canaanite city of Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) was destroyed at the end of the 13th century BCE (1), with the site remaining unoccupied until the 10th century BCE when a limited re-occupation of it took place (2). It is only with the 10th century, therefore, that the strategic location of Lachish was again utilized for military purposes. Since this thesis concerns only the Judahite period during which Lachish was of military importance, an examination of the historical background need only start immediately prior to the resettlement of the site to determine the factors which caused it to regain and maintain its strategic importance for the next 400 years of Judahite history.

Period of Judahite Power (ca. 1050 - 930 BCE)

The emergence of a united Israel and Judah as a major political and military power during the late 11th and 10th centuries BCE is in part due to the absence of Egyptian and Mesopotamian influence. In Egypt, a period of weakness, leading

1. David Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tel Lachish - 1973-1977, Preliminary Report," Tel Aviv 5 (1978)1-2:91-2.

2. Ibid., :92-3.

subsequently to division, started during the reign of the 20th dynasty pharaoh Rameses III in the early 12th century BCE and lasted until the temporary resurgence of a united Egypt under Pharaoh Shoshenq I about 945 BCE. This collapse was reflected first by the "... failure alike in the integrity and efficiency of the nation's administrators (3)," and later by the division of the country into northern and southern parts, each headed by a local strongman who was under the titular authority of pharaoh. This division resulted in a pre-occupation with internal affairs and a total neglect of external affairs (4).

At the same time Assyria had regained much of its strength under the leadership of Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1077 BCE). Its real influence, however, was confined to territory east of the Euphrates River and diminished soon after the death of Tiglath-pileser (5).

As a result of the impotence of Egypt and the localized power of Assyria, there was a power vacuum in the Levant where small independent kingdoms arose or regained their independence. Edom, Moab, Ammon, Gilead, the Philistine kingdoms, Tyre, Sidon, Aramean kingdoms such as Damascus and Hamath, and Israel and Judah are

3. Kenneth A. Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BCE) (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd, 1973) p.245.

4. The history of Egypt during this period is best described by Kitchen in The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BCE) op. cit.

5. Georges Roux, Ancient Iraq, (Hammondsworth: Penquin Books, 1980) pp.257-67.

examples of the smaller kingdoms which were competing for power at this time (6). Under the leadership of King Saul (ca. 1020 BCE), Israel was able to unite and establish rule over much of the hill country of Cis-jordan and of Gilead in Trans-jordan (see fig. 3.1). I Samuel 14:47-8 summarizes the history of Israel under Saul.

"When Saul had made his throne secure in Israel, he fought against his enemies on every side, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, the king of Zobah, and the Philistines; and wherever he turned he was successful. He displayed his strength by defeating the Amalekites and freeing Israel from hostile raids."

Saul divided Israel into six districts which ran more or less independently on a day-to-day basis. Saul was concerned more with military matters and the day-to-day operation of his mobile army, than with the creation of a nationwide defensive plan. There is only one record of Saul building anything; Gibeah, his home, where he built a fortress (7). With the decentralized administration of Saul and his highly mobile military forces, it is unlikely that a conscious effort would have been directed towards the rebuilding of sites for a defensive purpose.

It is possible that one fortification system did develop

6. Benjamin Mazar, "The Aramean Empire and its Relations with Israel," Biblical Archaeologist XXV (December, 1962) 4:97-101; and Nelson Glueck, "The Civilization of the Edomites," Biblical Archaeologist X (December, 1947) 4:77-81.

7. L.A. Sinclair, "An Archaeological Study of Gibeah (Tell el-Fûl)," Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 34-35 (1960) pp.5-52.

during the reign of Saul, however. I Samuel 14:47 and I Samuel 15:1-9 describe military action along the southern border of Israel against the Amalekites. Here the destruction of the Amalekites is described, although it is clear that trouble with the Amalekites plagued Judah into the time of David (I Samuel 27:8). A series of multigonal fortresses dating to the late 11th century BCE have been found at Beer-sheba (Tell es-Seba') and at sites further south. Aharoni and Herzog have speculated that these sites are early Israelite fortifications that were constructed along the main trade routes to the south (8). If so, they probably represent sites taken from the Amalekites at this time and fortified by the Israelites as they occupied the territory.

Throughout the reign of King Saul the Philistine kingdoms held the coastal plain. Late in the reign of Saul, David became the military commander of the Philistine city of Ziklag, a city in the kingdom of Achish, King of Gath (I Samuel 27:2). From this position David fought the Amalekites and nomads of the southern desert, endearing himself to the leaders of Judah (I Samuel 27:8-12 and I Samuel 30). With the death of Saul at Gilboa, David ascended to the throne of Judah. From Hebron he ruled all of Judah, and with the death of Abner and Eshbaal he ruled as king of all of Israel (II Samuel 2:2-4 and II Samuel 5:1-5).

8. Y. Aharoni, "Tel Beer-sheba, 1975," Israel Exploration Journal 25 (1975) 3:169; and Z. Herzog, "Tel Beer-sheba, 1976," Israel Exploration Journal 26 (1976) 3:169.

Once on the throne of a united Israel David initiated a series of military campaigns of conquest. First he took Jerusalem and made it his capital (II Samuel 5:6-9), and afterwards he repulsed a series of Philistine campaigns designed to conquer Israelite Jerusalem (II Samuel 5:17-25). In the words of Aharoni:

"In the years that followed, David smote his enemies round about one by one and established a greatly expanded kingdom. At that time there was no strong exterior force that could interfere in the affairs of Palestine. When the Israelite tribes united into a well-organized kingdom, their king was able to overcome with relative ease the small peoples that had distressed the individual tribes during the period of the Judges, e.g. the remaining Canaanite cities, the Philistines, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Edomites, and the Bedouin of the Negeb. There were only two serious opponents vying with him for supremacy in Syria and Palestine: the Arameans in northern Trans-jordan and Syria and the Phoenicians on the Lebanese coast. The Arameans, who were dominated at that time by the kingdom of Aram-zobah (Zoba) in the Lebanese Beqa', were defeated by David and their territory annexed to his kingdom. With the Phoenicians, headed by the island city of Tyre, he entered into peaceful relations; but it was he who dictated the terms, mainly to his own advantage and not theirs (9)."

By the end of the reign of King David, Israel controlled all of the territory from Egypt and the Gulf of Aqaba to Tadmor and the Euphrates River (see fig. 3.2). This total domination of the Levant meant control of all trade that passed from Egypt or southern Arabia to Mesopotamia and Greece, yielding wealth for the kingdom of Israel.

The administration of the Land of Israel during the reign of

David seems to have followed in the tradition of Saul. Israel was organized "according to the traditional pattern of twelve tribes (10)." Again it was a decentralized type of government where the central government in Jerusalem was responsible only for the cult and the military (11). The strength and mobile character of the military was examined above. As with Saul, since there was decentralized administration and a mobile army, it is unlikely that much effort would have been directed towards the rebuilding of sites for defensive purposes. The Bible, in fact, records the construction of the capital at Jerusalem (II Samuel 5:9) as the sole building project of David.

With the death of his father King David, Solomon became the sole ruler of the kingdom of Israel in about 970 BCE. During the reign of Solomon the prosperity established under David continued, although by the end of Solomon's reign in a slightly diminished form (I Kings 9:10-13)(12).

Throughout the reign of David the Philistine city-kingdoms had retained their independence, but probably as vassals of David. The reasons why David did not conquer Philistia itself are unclear, although it has been suggested that Philistia was under the nominal protection of Egypt (13). Early in the reign of

10. Ibid., p.267.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., p.275.

13. G. Ernest Wright, "Fresh Evidence for the Philistine Story," Biblical Archaeologist XXIX (1966) 3:84.

Solomon, between 970 and 967 BCE, Pharaoh Siamun campaigned against Philistia. Apparently, Egypt desired to quell the commercial competition of the then weak Philistine cities. After the Egyptian conquest of Gezer (Tell ej-Jazar), Siamun ceded it to Solomon when Solomon married Siamun's daughter (I Kings 9:16)(14), for, in the words of Kitchen,

"Gezer on its north-east periphery was of no special consequence to Siamun but was of vital importance to Solomon; hence its inclusion in the dowry that came to Solomon with the hand of Siamun's daughter. Thus, by his campaign and alliance, by c. 967 BCE, Siamun had probably crushed Philistia as a commercial rival, and gained security and possibly commercial advantages in Palestine - Syria. Solomon for his part now had a secure south-west frontier with Egypt and dominance over the long standing Philistine foe (15)."

It is with the reign of Solomon that dramatic changes in the military and later in the administrative organization of Israel occurred. He replaced the mobile army of David and its garrison posts (II Samuel 8:14) with a system of highly fortified military centers at Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer (I Kings 9:16). Also with military aims he built "Lower Beth-horon, Baalath, and Tamar in the wilderness (I Kings 9:17-18)." Storage cities and quarters for horses and chariots were also constructed (I Kings 9:19). Conquests had come to an end as the army and its equipment

14. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, pp.280-2; for further discussion concerning Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter see, A. Malamat, "The Kingdom of David and Solomon in its Contact with Egypt and Aram Naharaim," Biblical Archaeologist 21 (1958) 4:96-8.

15. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, p.282.

were stationed at strongpoints near the borders of the Land of Israel (I Kings 10:26).

At the same time changes in the administration of the country were occurring. The first change was the establishment of the Levitical Cities. Early in his reign, Solomon dispatched members of a priestly clan of Judah (the Kohathite of Hebron) to oversee Israel and to act in the service of the king (I Chronicles 26:30-32). Mazar has equated this action with the establishment of the Levitical Cities (16). The convincing argument of Mazar places loyal men of Judah throughout the kingdom to function as the eyes and ears of the king as they supervise the royal estates and collect the taxes (17). It is clear that the location of these new administrative centers were carefully chosen. Albright has shown that four centers were allotted to each tribe (18). While Mazar has accepted this analysis (see fig. 3.3) he has gone on to point out that they were located and constructed to extend the authority of the king where that authority might not have readily been accepted (19). By the same reasoning, the fact that these sites were fortified (19a) would show military might in areas where indigenous insurgents were to be found. By his

16. B. Mazar, "The Cities of the Priests and the Levites," Vetus Testamentum Supplement VII (1960) pp.193-205.

17. Ibid., p.202.

18. W.F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942) pp.121-3.

19. Mazar, "Levitical Cities," pp.200-3.

19a. Ibid., pp.199-205.

establishment of the Levitical Cities as fortified administrative centers, Solomon was trying to install trustworthy control over potential areas of internal strife. The southern and western Judahite Levitical Cities and those placed in the near vicinity are:

Libnah
 Beth-shemesh
 Aijalon
 Gezer
 Gibbethon
 Eltekeh
 Debir
 Jattir
 Eshtemoa
 Juttah
 Holon (Hilen?) (location unknown)
 Ain (Ashan?) (20) (location unknown)

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that Solomon set out to change the basic military and administrative basis of Israel. For external defense he established four fortresses to challenge potential invaders and other forces from beyond Israel, and to keep internal order he established the Levitical Cities in areas of potential insurrection. Later in his reign Solomon established his administrative districts (I Kings 4:7-19). These districts were established to "improve the efficiency and intensity of tax collection in Israelite territory(21)" However, they did not supplant the duties of the Levitical Cities. The Levitical Cities continued to look after the royal affairs and estates as well as helping to keep internal peace.

20. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, pp.270-1.

21. Ibid., p.277.

A final activity of Solomon was the construction of Ezion-Geber (Tell el-Kheleifeh). In order to further his trading activities, Solomon built a fleet at Ezion-Geber (I Kings 9:26-28). This fleet would have served the Red Sea and beyond, and would have been based there. The archaeological work at Tell el-Kheleifeh would suggest that Solomon built the port at the same time he built the fleet (22).

As the sole ruler of a large and rich kingdom Solomon died in 930 BCE. He was succeeded in Judah by his son Rehoboam. In Israel, however, the repressive and discriminatory policies of Solomon had not been lost on the populace, and when Rehoboam promised to be more harsh, Israel revolted (I Kings 12). Israel placed Jeroboam on its throne and the united kingdom of David and Solomon was replaced with the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

Period of Judahite Weakness (930 - 745 BCE)

About the middle of the reign of King Solomon, the death of the weak pharaoh Psusennes II ended the 21st Dynasty in Egypt. This enabled the strong and able Shoshenq I to gain control and establish the 22nd Dynasty. Prior to 925 BCE he united Egypt and conquered Nubia, and then re-established the long standing trade

22. See Tell el-Kheleifeh in Chapter IV.

alliance with Byblos (23). While the strong kingdom of Solomon was extant, Shoshenq attempted no overt meddling into the affairs of Israel and Judah. He seems to have viewed them "... as a rival or hinderance to his own pretensions, commercial, political or both - not as an ally - and bided his time to act when a favourable opportunity arose (24)," unlike his predecessors, especially Siamun. One should note that during the reign of Solomon, Shoshenq did harbor the fugitive Jeroboam (I Kings 11:40).

With the death of Solomon and the division of the kingdom, the power of Egypt's neighbor to the north greatly diminished. Shoshenq attacked. In what was probably the summer of 925 BCE Shoshenq brought his army to the borders of Judah and conquered Gaza. From this point five theories have been devised to explain the route followed by Shoshenq's armies, but the exact route of this campaign through Judah and Israel remains unclear (25). For this study the order in which Shoshenq's armies destroyed cities is immaterial (for one possible order see fig. 3.4), but the sites which were destroyed and their location is crucial. On a temple at Karnak, Shoshenq listed the cities that he conquered in Judah and Israel and that which follows is a transcribed listing of the

23. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, pp.287, 292-3.

24. Ibid., pp.293-4.

25. Ibid., pp.432-447; B. Mazar, "The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine," Vetus Testamentum Supplement IV (1957) pp.57-66; and Y. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, pp.283-90.

Judahite sites taken from that list. Note, however, that gaps exist in the list and not all listed sites can be read. Also numerous Negeb sites are listed, but I have left them off this list since they fall outside the geographical limits of this study (26).

Makkedah

Rubati = Beth-shemesh (27)

Aijalon

QDTM = Kiriath-Ye'arim (28) (location unknown)

Beth-horon

Gibeon

Beth-Anath

Ashna

Ezem

Greater Arad

Arad of the House of Jeroham (Jeroham)

Yurza

Sharuhen?

Raphia

Laban

It is clear from the site list preserved at Karnak that the destruction of Pharaoh Shoshenq centered on the south and west of

26. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, pp.432-447.

27. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, pp.286-7.

28. Mazar, "Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak," p.61.

Judah and on the neighborhood of Jerusalem. The fact that Jerusalem and central Judah were not destroyed is probably due to the tribute paid by Rehoboam to Shoshenq (I Kings 14:25-26 and II Chronicles 12:3-12). After Judah, Shoshenq turned north and wrought havoc on Israel and returned to Egypt leaving two poor and petty kingdoms in his wake (29). Neither Judah nor Israel controlled a trade route of any importance.

This lesson was not lost on Rehoboam. It was clear that a small kingdom like Judah could not adequately defend itself using a fortification system designed, like that of Solomon, to defend an empire with a powerful and efficient army. Major military centers at Gezer and Jerusalem with local defensive centers designed to guard against local insurrection would not work given the new circumstances. To quote from II Chronicles 11:5-12:

"Rehoboam resided in Jerusalem and built up the defences of certain cities in Judah. The cities in Judah which he fortified were Bethlehem, Etam, Tekoa, Beth-zur, Soco, Adullam, Gath, Mareshah, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachish, Azekah, Zorah, Aijalon, and Hebron. He strengthened the fortifications of these fortified cities, and put governors in them, as well as supplies of food, oil, and wine. Also he stored shields and spears in every one of the cities, and strengthened their fortifications."

As Aharoni pointed out, "Gath" is probably "Moresbeth-Gath" not Philistine "Gath," with "Maresheth" falling out of the Masoretic text due to haplography (30).

29. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, p.300.

Fig. 3.5 shows the location of the sites fortified by Rehoboam. Three things are readily apparent from the sites which were fortified. First, Judah was significantly smaller after the raid of Shoshenq. The Negeb had been lost to the Edomites and the Philistines had pushed their border eastward with all sites west of and including Gezer being lost. The result was that once again Judah was confined to the hill country and the northern edge of the Negeb (31). Second, the placement of the fortifications is based on defensive premises. All of these fortifications overlook major road junctions or trade routes that lead through the valleys towards Jerusalem (32). Third, inside of post-Shoshenq Judah the locations of nine Levitical Cities are to be found: Aijalon, Libnah, Beth-shemesh, Beth-horon, Gibeon, Debir, Juttah, Eshtemoa, and Jattir. Of these Gibeon, Beth-horon, Aijalon, and Beth-shemesh were certainly destroyed by Shoshenq. It is also possible that Debir and other Levitical Cities of the Negeb may have been destroyed at this time (33). Of the Levitical Cities that were destroyed only Aijalon held a strategic position and it was rebuilt by Rehoboam. Any Levitical Cities that were not destroyed, probably Libnah and possibly Juttah, Eshtemoa, and

30. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p.292.

31. Ibid.

32. These fortifications are also conspicuously absent from sites north of Jerusalem. This is a topic that is beyond the scope of this thesis and will not be examined here.

33. The Karnak inscription is poorly preserved in the portion that relates to the Negeb and some of these sites may originally have been included in the list.

Jattir, may have continued to serve as part of the new system, but there is no evidence to support this hypothesis.

The fortified administrative system designed to quell internal trouble was replaced after Shoshenq's raid with a system designed to guard roads and passes that led into and through the kingdom of Judah. This shift was well conceived and the basic system lasted, with some alterations, for generations (34). Special note should be given to Lachish and secondarily to Mareshah, Moresheth-Gath, Azekah, and Zorah. These sites were aligned along one of the main roads from Jerusalem to Egypt, one that had been previously defended by Beth-shemesh and Makkeddah, assuming that it was fortified and located near Lachish. At once the superior defensive strategy is clear. Rehoboam's sites crown hills that overlook the roads, while Beth-shemesh is in the valley. Rehoboam's sites are in visual contact with each other and provide support for each other, while the earlier sites were isolated. The key site in this line is Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) which is the southwestern most site and consequently the most exposed to attack. It rests on the second range of hills and dominates that part of the Shephelah along with the neighboring plains to the south and west, while also overlooking two major roads and their juncture. It is with the advent of an integrated defensive system based in the hill country of Judah that this site regained a strategic importance.

34. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p.293.

Rehoboam died about 914 BCE and his son and successor, Abijah, died about 911 BCE. They were followed to the throne by Asa (II Chronicles 13:1-3 and II Chronicles 14:1-2). Asa built fortified cities and equipped a strong army (II Chronicles 14:7-8) as Judah enjoyed a short-lived peace with its neighbors. About 897 BCE, Zerah, a Nubian general of Pharaoh Osorkon I, attacked Judah. It had been almost 30 years since the last Egyptian incursion and it seems that Osorkon desired to relive the glory of his father, Shoshenq I (34a). Near Mareshah the armies of Judah met and routed the Egyptian army. The Egyptians fled and were pursued by the Judahite army as far south as Gerar (Tell Abu Hareireh). Once there the Judahites plundered the area before returning to Jerusalem (II Chronicles 14:9-15). Since the Judahite army plundered Gerar and its vicinity, it is clear that at this time Judah was still confined to the hill country. This episode also marks the last Egyptian military incursion directed against Judah for almost 300 years.

Asa ended his reign in a war with Baasha, king of Israel, and died about 873 BCE. Jehoshaphat succeeded his father as king of Judah. Like his father he became a strong and prosperous king. First he posted troops in his fortified cities, including the ones in Ephraim that his father Asa had captured (II Chronicles 17:1-2). Later as he became more wealthy and powerful he built

34a. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, p.309.

fortresses (בִּירְנֵי־זוֹת) and store cities (עָרֵי מִסְכָּנֹת) throughout Judah, and outfitted a large army (II Chronicles 17:10-19). Near the end of his reign he had regained control of the Negeb and Ezion-Geber from Edom, but his attempt to re-establish trade through Ezion-Geber failed (II Chronicles 20:35-7).

For the first time since the reign of Rehoboam, a list of administrative districts and their constituent towns is preserved dating to the reign of Jehoshaphat (35). This list was preserved in Joshua 15:21-62 and a map of its districts is presented in fig. 3.6. An examination of the southern and western borders of Judah show the extent of the re-acquisition of land by Jehoshaphat and Asa. If Eglon is Tell el-Hesi and Ziklag is Tell esh-Shari'ah then the western border of Judah has moved back down onto the Philistine plain. In the south the expansion is the most clear. Numerous northern Negeb sites are included, far south of the border of Rehoboam. It is apparent from II Chronicles that this district extended down to Ezion-Geber.

The death of Jehoshaphat in about 849 BCE signalled the end of this Judahite resurgence. During the reign of Joram Edom revolted and regained its independence (II Chronicles 21:8-10). Libnah also revolted against Judah (II Chronicles 21:10-11). Later

35. Frank M. Cross Jr. and G. Ernest Wright, "The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah," Journal of Biblical Literature LXXV (1956) 3:202-226.

Philistines and southern Arabs invaded Judah further reducing it (II Chronicles 21:16-17). After Joram died the period of weakness continued in the reigns of Ahaziah, Athaliah, and Joash. Evidence of this weakness is seen about 814/813 BCE when an Aramean army from Damascus conquered Gath and then attacked Jerusalem (II Kings 12:18 and II Chronicles 24:23-24).

A new and powerful force entered the scene in 885 BCE with the accession of Asshur-nasirpal to the throne of Assur. He greatly enlarged and strengthened his kingdom and created a power known as far away as Egypt and Judah. It was not until the time of his son and successor, Shalmaneser III, that the armies of Assyria met those of Syro-Palestine (36). In 853 BCE Ben-Hadad II of Aram-Damascus formed an alliance with other Syro-Palestine kingdoms to meet the Assyrian threat. Israel, Egypt, Ammon, Phoenicia, and Hamath joined in this alliance (37). Egypt recognized the peril, sent 1000 foot soldiers, and in doing so became an ally of Syro-Palestine, an alliance that lasted two centuries (38). Israel is listed as being one of the stronger forces in the alliance (39). Its force, however, may have

36. Roux, Ancient Iraq, pp.267-77.

37. William H. Hallo, "From Qarqar to Carchemish, Assyria and Israel in the Light of New Discoveries," Biblical Archaeologist XXIII (May, 1960) 2:39-40.

38. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, p.325.

39. James Pritchard ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969) pp.278-9.

included troops of Judah (40). The armies met at Qarqar and fought to a draw.

These two forces met again in 849, 848, and 845 BCE with neither side gaining the advantage. With the death of Ben-Hadad II and the break-up of the alliance in 841 BCE, the armies of Shalmanezer III prevailed and spread the Assyrian sphere of interest past Damascus and into the northern reaches of Israel (41). Assyrian influence lasted from this time until about 800 BCE when Assyria was again wracked with internal strife, which then lasted until 745 BCE (42). The direct effect of a powerful Assyria on the small and weak Judah of 849 - 800 BCE was minimal, but when Assyrian influence vanished about 800 BCE, the political situation of the area changed and Judah experienced a resurgence as pressure from Israel and Damascus lessened.

The reign of Amaziah (800 - 783 BCE) was a period of transition towards power for Judah. The armies of Amaziah were powerful enough to reconquer Edom (II Chronicles 25:11-20), but not strong enough to take on Israel. Judah fought Israel (II Chronicles 25:21-24) and lost a major battle near Beth-shemesh. After that battle Israel broke down the walls of Jerusalem and

40. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p.305.

41. Michael Astour, "841 B.C.: The First Assyrian Invasion of Israel," Journal of the American Oriental Society 91 (1971) 3:383-9; and Alberto Green, "Sua and Jehu: The Boundaries of Shalmaneser's Conquest," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (January - June, 1979) pp.35-9.

42. Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," pp.41-6.

raided the treasuries of the Temple and of the king. Finally, in 783 BCE Amaziah was assassinated at Lachish in what may have been an anti-Egyptian coup (43).

During this period of continuing weakness in both Egypt and Assyria, Uzziah (783 - 742 BCE) ascended the throne. According to II Chronicles 26:2-10, Uzziah enlarged the kingdom in the south by rebuilding and restoring Elath to Judah, and in the west by conquering Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod before building cities in their midst. In addition he refortified Jerusalem, dug cisterns in the Shephelah, built "towers (מִגְדָּלִים) in the wilderness," and aided the farmer "for he loved the soil;" all these being the first recorded military constructions by a Judahite king since the time of Jehoshaphat. In II Chronicles 26:11-15 his powerful army is described along with its equipment of war.

Jotham successfully continued the policies of Uzziah when he succeeded him in 742 BCE. He defeated the Ammonites, "built cities in the hill country of Judah," and "forts (בְּיַרְדֵּינֹת) and towers (מִגְדָּלִים) on the wooded hills (II Chronicles 27:3-5)." With the death of Jotham, Ahaz ascended to the throne in 735 BCE (44). Ahaz was confronted with major military and political problems that originated with Israel, Damascus, and Assyria.

43. John Gray, I & II Kings: A Commentary (London: SCM Press, 1970) pp. 612-4; and Walter Wifall, The Court History of Israel (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1975) p.138.

44. Gray, Kings, p.631.

Within a year these problems overwhelmed Judah and the power and prestige of Judah was lost.

Period of Assyrian Ascendency (745 - 664 BCE)

In 745 BCE Tiglath-pileser III usurped the throne of the greatly weakened Assyria, and within eleven years rebuilt the empire and extended it to the Brook of Egypt (Wadi Ghazze). After consolidating power at home he marched west and in 743 BCE he was at Arpad where he received tribute from Menachem of Israel, but none from the powerful and more distant Uzziah of Judah (45). With the resurgent Assyrian Empire at his door, Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel organized the Syro-Ephraimite coalition to fight Assyria. Ahaz of Judah refused to join in. In fact, he paid tribute to Assyria in 735 BCE (46). As a result Damascus and Israel made war on Judah by attacking Jerusalem (II Kings 16:5). Simultaneously Edom attacked Elath and the Negeb claiming it for Edom (II Kings 16:6) and Philistia attacked from the west capturing Beth-shemesh, Aijalon, Gederoah, Soco, Timnah, and Gimzo (II Chronicles 28:16-19)(47). Ahaz was surrounded by an anti-Assyrian alliance so he appealed to Tiglath-pileser III of

45. Pritchard, Texts, p.282; and Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :47.

46. Ibid., p.282; Ibid., :48-9.

47. Wifall, Court History, p.150.

Assyria to come and fight Judah's enemies (II Kings 16:7-8).

The actions of those Syro-Palestine states provided Tiglath-pileser with the opportunity to extend his domain to Egypt. In 734 BCE he turned towards Palestine by besieging Damascus and levelling Hazor. He then annexed part of Israel before he headed south into Philistia. Presumably these actions caused the attack on Judah to cease. When in Philistia he captured Gezer, Ashkelon, and Gaza (48) before moving on to the Brook of Egypt where he erected a stele and retired to Assyria (49). In one year's time Judah had been broken and reduced in size. Soon, however, Judah's enemies suffered a similar fate, Philistia being demolished, Israel being reduced, and Damascus being besieged. An immediate consequence was a pro-Assyrian revolt in Israel which placed Hoshea on the throne, to the satisfaction of Tiglath-pileser (50). In a second Assyrian campaign towards Philistia in 732 BCE, Damascus fell as Rezin was killed, and in Ashkelon the king was replaced. Also at this time Tiglath-pileser appointed the "Idibi'ilu" as the gatekeeper of Egypt (51).

48. Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :50.

49. Nadav Na'aman, "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt," Tel Aviv 6 (1979) 1-2:68-9.

50. Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :50; and Wifall, Court History p.147.

51. Na'aman, "Brook of Egypt," :69; and Pritchard, Texts, p.282.

After the campaign of 732 BCE Tiglath-pileser did not return to Palestine and his empire remained faithful until his death in 727 BCE. Although there was Egyptian agitation, Judah under Ahaz remained a vassal to Assyria as Shalmanezar V ascended to the throne. Israel under Hoshea did not and revolted. After consolidating power Shalmanezar came west to deal with various revolts and about 724 BCE he started a siege of Samaria that would last for almost three years (52). In 722 BCE, prior to the fall of Samaria, Shalmanezar died and was followed to the throne by Sargon II. This did not affect the siege and when Samaria fell its inhabitants were exiled. Israel became the Assyrian province of Samaria, probably before anyone knew of the death of Shalmanezar (53).

As Sargon worked to consolidate power in 721 BCE, new revolts broke out in Syro-Palestine. With the support of Egypt, Gaza, Damascus, Arpad, Hamath, Simirra, and Samaria (!) rebelled while Judah under Ahaz remained loyal to Assyria (53a). Again Assyria wrought havoc upon those who rebelled. First Hamath and then the previously besieged Tyre fell, followed by Samaria, Ekron, Gibbethon, and Gaza, all of which were taken in 720 BCE (54).

52. Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :50.

53. Ibid.

53a. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, pp.375-6; and Hallo. "Qarqar to Carchemish," :52-3.

54. Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :53.

After Gaza fell and its king fled to Egypt, Sargon fought an Egyptian army under Re'e. With the defeat of the Egyptian army, Raphia was razed and Sargon returned to the north (55).

716 BCE brought Sargon II's second campaign against Palestine. First he resettled Samaria and then he campaigned to the Brook of Egypt at which time Osorkon IV bought off Sargon to save Egypt (56). Also at this time Sargon established a new vassal kingdom at the Brook of Egypt and placed the sheikh of Laban as its king (57). In a recent article by Nadav Na'aman entitled, "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt (58)," the author attempted to prove that the Brook of Egypt (נַחַל קַצְרִים) was identified with the Wadi Ghazze (Nahal Besor) from remote antiquity to the Hellenistic period. The article is most convincing and has a number of corollary consequences as described by Na'aman. First it places Tell el-'Ajjul (Sharuh), Tell Jemmeh (Yursa), and Tell el-Far'ah (S) (Shur?) on the Brook of Egypt, and Tell esh-Shari'ah (Ziklag) nearby - all major Canaanite sites dating back to the Middle Bronze Age. Two of these sites, Tell Jemmeh and Tell esh-Shari'ah, show a major destruction in the 8th century BCE and an Assyrian rebuild

55. Na'aman, "Brook of Egypt," p.70; Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :53; and Pritchard, Texts, p.285.

56. Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :55; Hayim Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur," Journal of Cuneiform Studies XII (1958) 1:41; and Kitchen, Third Intermediate, p.376.

57. Tadmor, "Inscriptions," 2:77-8.

58. Na'aman, "Brook of Egypt," pp.68-90.

in the late 8th century and early 7th century BCE. Na'aman links these rebuilds with the resettlement under Sheikh Laban in 716 BCE (59). This places an Assyrian vassal kingdom along Wadi Ghazzeah and Wadi esh-Shari'ah in 716 BCE, to the south of Judah. He also suggested that other Assyrian settlements from this time period may be found at Khirbet Hoga and at the Mediterranean Sea near the outlet of the Wadi el-Hesi (60).

With the death of Ahaz in 715 BCE, Hezekiah ascended to the throne of Judah and soon initiated religious reforms (II Chronicles 30:1-31) and other policies of an anti-Assyrian nature (61). Prior to these policies becoming fully evident the Assyrian armies of Sargon II made a third campaign to Palestine in 712 BCE, in order to deal with a revolt in Ashdod. In this case a commoner, Iamani, had revolted and usurped the throne of Ashdod, probably with the support of Egypt. He had refortified three cities, including Ashdod-Yam (see Chapter IV), and met the Assyrian armies in 712 BCE. He was defeated and Ashdod was annexed to Assyria. Iamani fled to Egypt, but was extradited to Assyria, an action which shows the relative strength of Egypt when compared with Assyria. At this same time Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab, Edom, Ammon, and Ekron all paid tribute to Assyria (62).

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., p.81.

61. Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :55.

For the next 10 years the Assyrian armies stayed out of the Syro-Palestine area. First there were troubles elsewhere in the kingdom and then Sargon was killed in 705 BCE. Sennacherib, his son, ascended to the throne and spent three years solidifying his kingdom. During this period the reforms of Hezekiah were put into place and Hezekiah indulged in strengthening his kingdom (63). From the biblical texts it is clear that he refortified Jerusalem (Isaiah 22:8-11), dug the Siloam tunnel (II Kings 20:20 and II Chronicles 32:30), and built stables and storehouses (II Chronicles 32:28). Furthermore the Bible tells of his expansion of Judahite control over Gaza (II Kings 18:8), the western Negeb (I Chronicles 4:38-41), and Edom (I Chronicles 4:42-3). Also an Assyrian tablet tells of Hezekiah's conquest and refortification of a "royal Philistine city" (Gath?)(64).

During this time Marduk apal-iddina (Merodach-baladan) of Babylon sent envoys to Jerusalem to plot an anti-Assyrian revolt (II Kings 20:12-19). Egypt and Ashkelon joined Judah in this insurrection as did various Phoenician states (65). It is

62. Ibid., :56; Tadmor, "Inscriptions," 2:80-4; Pritchard, Texts, p.286; Kitchen, Third Intermediate, p.380; H. Tadmor, "Fragments of an Assyrian Stele of Sargon II," in 'Atiqot Vol. IX-X, edited by M. Dothan (Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities and Museums, 1971) pp.192-7.

63. Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :56.

64. Nadav Na'aman, "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on his Campaign to Judah," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 214 (April, 1974) pp.25-39.

65. Hallo, "Qarqar to Carchemish," :56; and Pritchard, Texts, p.287.

apparent that Ekron initially refused to enter the alliance. Its king, Padi, however, was toppled and imprisoned in Jerusalem by Hezekiah and an anti-Assyrian ruler took over in Ekron (66).

This was the situation in 701 BCE when Sennacherib moved south and west to deal with the revolt. First he levelled Phoenicia and the region north of Joppa (67). At this point there are four sources that deal with the campaign, its extent, and the fortified cities of Judah. The first is Micah 1:10-17. This is Micah's lament over the destroyed cities of Judah and contains a partial list of those cities destroyed (68). Those cities are:

Gath

Beth-le'aphrah (Khirbet et-Taiyibeh ??)

Saphir (Khirbet el-Kom) (see Chapter IV)

Zaanan

Beth-ezel

Maroth

Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir (see Chapter IV)

Moresbeth-gath (Tell ej-Judeideh) (see Chapter IV)

Achzib (Tell el-Beida?)

Mareshah (Tell Sandahannah) (see Chapter IV)

Adullam (Tell esh-Sheikh Madhkur) (69)

66. Pritchard, Texts, p.287.

67. Ibid.

68. Nadav Na'aman, "Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah and the Date of the LMLK stamps," Vetus Testamentum XXIX (1979) 1:84-6.

A second source is found in II Kings 18:13 - 19:37, II Chronicles 32:1-23, and Isaiah 36 - 37. These passages have been thoroughly analysed by Brevard S. Childs in Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis. Interwoven in these texts he found four separate accounts of Sennacherib's campaign. Account A consists of II Kings 18:13 - 16. It describes Hezekiah's capitulation to Sennacherib and is set forth in the style of the Deuteronomistic historian (70), as it serves as an introduction for the fuller accounts that follow. Account B(1) consists of II Kings 18:17 - 19:9a and 36 - 37. It describes the actions of Sennacherib and his army from the fighting at Lachish to Sennacherib's departure from Judah (71). Account B(2) is found in II Kings 19:9b - 35 and was inserted in the B(1) account. It has taken a tradition and used it to glorify the acts of Hezekiah as a faithful king (72). The Chronicler's account, II Chronicles 32:10-23, comes from a separate, but not independent, tradition concerning the events of 701 BCE. Childs points out that this source is based on written tradition while the sources in Kings are based on oral tradition and calls the Chronicler's account a midrashic interpretation of the Kings' accounts infused with independent material (73).

69. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, pp.327, 371.

70. Brevard S. Childs, Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis (Naperville, Ill.: Alec. R. Allenson Inc., 1967) pp.69-73.

71. Ibid., pp.76-93.

72. Ibid., pp.94-103.

The third group of sources are the annals and reliefs of the kings of Assyria. Here three records of this campaign are known. The first is from the Prism of Sennacherib (virtually the same account is known from other Assyrian inscriptions) in which the summary account of his campaign against Judah in 701 BCE is recorded (74). The second source is the Lachish reliefs which were found at Nineveh and show the siege and conquest of Lachish (75). The third source is from a small fragment of a detailed description of the Judahite campaign, probably the record from which the summary inscription was made. It describes the Assyrian conquest of Azekah and another fortress of Hezekiah which had been "a royal city of the Philistines (76)."

The fourth source comes from an analysis of the distribution of the למלך (lmlk) store jar handles found in Judah. Recent work by Ussishkin and Na'aman have proven these handles date from the reign of Hezekiah (77). Na'aman has argued that the location of the sites with these handles and their numbers at the sites should help in determining the borders of Judah around 701 BCE.

73. Ibid., pp.104-111.

74. Pritchard, Texts, pp.287-8.

75. R.D. Barnett, Illustrations of Old Testament History (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1966) pp.60-5; and Austin H. Layard, Monuments of Nineveh II (London: J. Murray, 1853) plates 20-24.

76. Na'aman, "Letter to God," pp.25-39; and Na'aman, "Sennacherib's Campaign," :61-86.

77. David Ussishkin, "The Destruction of Lachish by Sennacherib and the Dating of Royal Judean Store Jars," Tel Aviv 4 (1977) 1-2:28-60; and Na'aman, "Sennacherib's Campaign," :61-86.

He lists the following sites:

Khirbet Rabud	(1)
Tell en-Nasbeh	(86)
Gibeon	(83)
Ramat Rahel	(147)
Beth-shemesh	(28)
Azekah	(17)
Tell ej-Judeideh	(37)
Mareshah	(17)
Tell esh-Sheikh Ahmed	
el-'Areini	(13)
Lachish	(314)
Arad	(5)
Khirbet Gharreh	(1)
Lahav	(1)
Tell Beit Mirsim	(4)
Lower Beth-horon	(1)
Tell Abu esh-Sheqef	(1)
Tell es-Safi	(number unreported)
Khirbet Qumran	(number unreported)
Ashdod	(number unreported)
Khirbet Ma'in	(number unreported)
Tell ej-Jazar	(number unreported)

Khirbet 'Ar'arah (78) (number unreported)

To this list one might add:

Beth-zur (79) (11)

Timnah (80) (number unreported)

Khirbet el-Kom (80a) (number unreported)

From these sources the borders and fortified cities of Judah can be determined fairly well (see fig. 3.7). It is into this setting that Sennacherib advanced after reaching Joppa and through which one can trace his campaign (contrary to Childs, see Na'aman)(81).

Prior to reaching Joppa, Sennacherib had split his forces and sent one contingent through Samaria, Shechem, and Gibeah to Jerusalem (Isaiah 10:28-32) (82). Details of this contingent rest outside the scope of this thesis, but this group would have ended up as the main contingent in the siege of Jerusalem. The main army under Sennacherib first attacked Philistia, conquering Beth-dagon, Danai-Barqa, and Azura, all cities in the territory of Ashkelon (83). Next he laid siege to Ekron, but the siege was

78. Na'aman, "Sennacherib's Campaign," :73-5.

79. Ovid R. Sellers et al., The Citadel of Beth-Zur (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1931).

80. G. Kelm and A. Mazar, "Tel Batash (Timnah), 1978," Israel Exploration Journal 29 (1979) 3-4:243.

80a. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Khirbet el-Qôm," by W.G. Dever.

81. Na'aman, "Sennacherib's Campaign," :64-5; and Childs, Isaiah, p.120.

82. Aharoni, Land of the Bible, pp.339-40.

83. Ibid., p.337; and Pritchard, Texts, p.287.

abandoned with the arrival of the Egyptian army of Pharaoh Shebitku under the leadership of his brother Taharqa. Taharqa, too, had divided his army. Part of it met Sennacherib's army near Eltekah and was defeated. The Egyptian forces probably were not routed, for no account of their destruction has been preserved, but they retired south to Egypt to regroup (84). Sennacherib's army now successfully besieged Eltekah (Tell esh-Shallaf), Timnah (Tell Batashi), Ekron (Khirbet el-Muqanna), and probably Ashkelon (85). At this point the northern Philistine plain was secure.

Sennacherib then turned his attentions to Judah. First he attacked up the Vale of Elah and captured the fortified city of Azekah (Tell Zakariya). This was followed by the capture of "_____ a royal (city) of the Philistines, which H(ezek)iah had captured and strengthened for himself (86)." Na'aman speculated that the city in question is Gath which he locates at Tell es-Safi near Azekah (87). This identification is not universally accepted, as Libnah has also been identified with the same site. Since there is a textual lacuna and uncertainty over Gath's identification, it is probably best to express uncertainty over the site and its identification (88).

84. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, pp.383-6.

85. Pritchard, Texts, p.287; Na'aman, "Sennacherib's Campaign," :64-5; and Aharoni, Land of the Bible, pp.337-8.

86. Na'aman, "Letter to God," pp.26-7.

87. Na'aman, "Sennacherib's Campaign," :67.

The scene next shifts to Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) where Sennacherib undertook a massive siege of this well-fortified site. The route that Sennacherib's armies took to get from Azekah to Lachish is unclear. With the description presented in Micah, one may suggest that the army followed the road from Azekah to Mareshah to Moresheth-gath to Lachish, although a route along the Philistine plain would certainly be possible. During this siege Sennacherib sent part of his army, possibly by way of Beth-zur and Bethlehem, to assist in the siege and surrender of Jerusalem (II Kings 18:17)(89). Meanwhile the siege at Lachish resulted in its surrender (90), and destruction (91). Sennacherib and the main army then moved on to besiege Libnah (Tell es-Safi?, Tell Bornat?) (II Kings 19:8).

With part of the army of Sennacherib at Libnah and part at Jerusalem, two events happened for which the chronological order is unclear: Hezekiah capitulated and paid a heavy tribute to Sennacherib (II Kings 18:14-16)(92), and under the threat of the regrouped Egyptians under Taharqa, Sennacherib called together his armies from Jerusalem and Libnah and headed west to meet the

88. If Gath is the city, it may be located farther south on the Philistine plain. Gezer is another possibility; while not a royal Philistine city, it was indeed a Philistine city and it does have a water tunnel as described on line 15 of the tablet.

89. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, p.384; and Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p.338.

90. Layard, Nineveh, plates 20-24.

91. Ussishkin, "Destruction of Lachish," :28-60.

92. Pritchard, Texts, p.288.

Egyptians (II Kings 19:9a)(93). The tribute of Hezekiah consisted of three parts. The valuables are listed in II Kings 18:14-16 and in the Annals of Sennacherib (94). Hezekiah released King Padi of Ekron and Sennacherib placed him back on the throne of Ekron (95). The third part of the tribute was that Sennacherib took the western parts of Judah and gave them to the kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza (96). It should be noted, however, that Hezekiah remained on the throne of Judah and that he was not exiled. This may show some relative strength on the part of Hezekiah.

The other event was the recall and unification of the Assyrian army to meet the challenge of the regrouped Egyptian army (II Kings 19:9a). With the prospect of facing a reunited Assyrian army the Egyptian army retired, leaving Philistia without fighting (97). At the end of the biblical narrative (II Kings 19:35 and II Chronicles 32:20-21) an account of the death of much of the Assyrian army by a messenger of Yahweh is found. A similar, mythicized account is found in Herodotus, II.141 where an army of field mice ate "all the quivers and bow-strings of the enemy, and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields (98)." With no weapons the Assyrians were unable to fight. Both accounts have a

93. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, pp.384-6.

94. Pritchard, Texts, p.288.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

97. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, pp.384-6.

98. George Rawlinson, trans., The History of Herodotus, Vol. II (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1862) p.188.

common element in date and death of Assyrians, and may indicate plague in the Assyrian army (99). For whatever reasons, the Assyrian army returned home and the campaign of 701 BCE ended after capturing 46 of Hezekiah's "strong cities" and "walled forts" plus "countless small villages in their vicinity (100)."

With the capitulation of Hezekiah to Sennacherib, the reduced Judah again became a vassal kingdom to Assyria and as such probably hosted Assyrian overseers at many of its cities "... placing Hezekiah's foreign relations, diplomatic and commercial, under Assyrian control (101)." This tight Assyrian control added stability to the Judahite area lasting from the time of Hezekiah to near the end of the reign of Manasseh (697 - 642 BCE). While under Assyrian domination, Judah would have watched as the armies of Assyria marched to Egypt in 674, 671, 667/6, and 664/3 BCE in their attempts to conquer and rule Egypt (102). During these repeated assaults into Egypt, the power of Assyria started to wane. By 654 BCE Psammetichus I succeeded in throwing off the Assyrian domination of Egypt (103).

99. The biblical accounts never explicitly state that these deaths occurred in Judah. They may have occurred, therefore, after the reunification of the Assyrian armies in Philistia. If these deaths were caused by plague, the Egyptian army may have dodged the Assyrian army to avoid contracting it.

100. Pritchard, Texts, p.288.

101. Moshe Elat, "The Political Status of the Kingdom of Judah within the Assyrian Empire in the 7th Century BCE," in Lachish V, edited by Y. Aharoni (Ramat Gan: Gateway Pub., 1975) pp.63-4.

102. Kitchen, Third Intermediate, pp.391-403.

The End of Judah (664 - 586 BCE)

Judah continued to be a faithful vassal of Assyria until the latter's influence had vanished from the Levant. Manasseh in his later years, Amon, and the regents of Josiah used the period of waning Assyrian influence to bolster Judah's military and fortifications (II Chronicles 33:14) making Judah the "most substantial power in Eretz-Israel (104)." Competition for post-Assyrian control was not lacking, however. Egypt steadily expanded its domain along the coast to include Philistia, Megiddo, and Lebanon by 616 BCE (105). There is no record of Egypt having interfered in the revitalization of Judah during the years of waning Assyrian power, for Egypt seems only to have been interested in the coastal trade routes. The assassination of King Amon in 639 BCE, however, was part of an anti-Assyrian plot that probably was inspired by Egypt. It failed when a counter coup by the יְהוּדָה וְעַמָּהּ (the people of the land) placed the youthful Josiah on the throne (106).

With the total demise of Assyrian control prior to 632 BCE, Josiah was free to follow whatever policies that he saw fit (107).

103. Ibid., p.406.

104. Elat, "Political Status," p.68.

105. A. Malamat, "Josiah's Bid for Armageddon," in Gaster Festschrift, Journal of the Ancient Near East Society of Columbia University V (1973) pp.272-3.

106. A. Malamat, "The Last Wars of the Kingdom of Judah," Journal of Near Eastern Studies IX (October, 1950) p.217.

In 628 BCE Josiah conducted his religious reforms and initiated an expansionistic policy for Judah (108). I Kings 23:15,19 and II Chronicles 34:6 attest to his northern expansion through Samaria and into the territory near Megiddo (109). In the south various sites contain fortification systems whose construction is attributed to Josiah (110), including an outlet to the sea at Mesad Hashavyahu (see fig. 3.8). At the same time, by 609 BCE, Egypt controlled the rest of the coast, Megiddo, and extensive territories to the north.

By 609 BCE Judah was caught in the midst of a three-way power struggle for the ultimate control of the Near East, a fight over which it had no control, but one which dictated Judah's history. Prior to 617 BCE Egypt and Assyria had allied against the common enemy Babylon, for in 616 BCE and again in 610 BCE Egypt rushed past Judah to aid Assyria in the area of the Euphrates River (111). The campaign to the Euphrates in 610 BCE brought defeat to the Egyptians. Then Egypt was attacked by the Scythians, and finally Pharaoh Psammetichus I died (112). According to Malamat, these happenings plus a fear of Assyria and Egypt probably brought

107. Malamat, "Josiah," p.271.

108. *Ibid.*, p.272.

109. A. Malamat, "The Last Kings of Judah and the Fall of Jerusalem," Israel Exploration Journal 18 (1968) 3:137.

110. See Chapter IV.

111. Malamat, "Josiah," p.273; and D.J. Wiseman, Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626-556 B.C.) (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1961) pp.12, 18.

112. Malamat, "Josiah," p.274; Malamat, "Wars," p.219.

Judah into an alliance with Babylon by 609 BCE. In that year Josiah sought to stop the Egyptian advance to Carchemish and to capture Megiddo for Judah. This attempt ended in the final conquest of Judah and marked the end of any military power belonging to it (113).

The anti-Egyptian Jehoahaz followed Josiah to the throne, but he was banished by Pharaoh Necho and replaced by Jehoiakim. Absolute Egyptian domination of Judah and the Levant lasted only until 605 BCE when the Babylonians under Nebuchadrezzar defeated the Egyptians in the battle of Carchemish (114). By late 604 BCE the Babylonian armies of Nebuchadrezzar were in Philistia. Jehoiakim, King of Judah, presented Judah's offering and tribute to Nebuchadrezzar thus allowing Jehoiakim to stay on the throne (115). In 600 BCE Jehoiakim rebelled after three years of outwardly loyal vassalage to Babylon. His rebellion was not based on strength, but on the apparent lack of strength of Babylon after indecisive battles with Egypt and probably on the promised support of Egypt (116). During the revolt King Jehoiakim died and was replaced by his son Jehoiachin, who was on the throne when the Babylonian armies arrived to besiege Jerusalem in the winter of

113. Malamat, "Wars," p.219.

114. Wiseman, Chronicles, pp.25, 67-9.

115. K.S. Freedy and D.B. Redford, "The Dates in Ezekiel in Relation to Biblical, Babylonian, and Egyptian Sources," Journal of the American Oriental Society 90 (1970) p.466.

116. Malamat, "Kings," p.142; Malamat, "Wars," :222.

598/7 BCE (117). Jerusalem surrendered on 16 March, 597 BCE, soon after the arrival of the Babylonian king to the siege. Jehoiakin was then sent into exile in Babylon and Zedekiah was enthroned as king of Judah by Nebuchadrezzar(118).

Peace had not returned for long to Judah because in 593 BCE the leaders of Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon met with Zedekiah in Jerusalem to plot against Babylon, an action taken with the probable support of Egypt (119). About 591 BCE Judah under Zedekiah repudiated its ties to Babylon and initiated the final Judahite war of rebellion (120). Difficulties arose immediately since Psammetichus II died soon thereafter, and he undoubtedly had taken a part in initiating the revolt (121). Soon after the death of Psammetichus, Nebuchadrezzar's army reached Judah and in January, 588 BCE started the siege of Jerusalem (122). It is clear that prior to the eventual fall of Jerusalem an extensive and effective Babylonian campaign had levelled the other fortified cities of Judah (Jeremiah 34:7). It is unclear from any source, however, what the course and extent of this campaign was. Jeremiah 34:7 notes that Azekah and Lachish were the last cities outside of Jerusalem to fall, and Lachish Letter IV notes that Azekah fell before Jerusalem (123). No more is known.

117. Ibid., p.143.

118. Ibid., p.144; and Wiseman, Chronicles, pp.33,73.

119. Freedy and Redford, "Ezekiel," p.475; and Malamat, "Wars," :224.

120. Ibid., p.480.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid., p.481.

If Judah expected help in its revolt against Babylon, it received virtually none. The final siege of Jerusalem was lifted briefly in 588 or 587 BCE when Pharaoh Apries and his army advanced northward along the Philistine coast. Nebuchadrezzar met the Egyptian army in the field and destroyed it with Apries retiring to Egypt (Jeremiah 37:5-7)(124). The Babylonians returned to Jerusalem taking it in the summer of 586 BCE. The destruction of Jerusalem and the ensuing exile of many of its inhabitants ended forever the kingdom of Judah (II Chronicles 36:17-20) (125).

Summary

A review of the history of Judah reveals four periods of fortification construction. The first, during the reign of Solomon, was extensive, but has been shown not to relate to refortification around Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir). The second, during the reign of Rehoboam, included the construction of fortified cities of which Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) was one. The third was a major period of construction that began under Asa and Jehoshaphat and was reinforced with constructions of Uzziah and

123. D. Diringer, in Olga Tufnell, Lachish III (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1953) pp.331-6.

124. Freedy and Redford, "Ezekiel," p.482.

125. Ibid., pp.466-7; and Pritchard, Texts, p.564.

Hezekiah. The final period of fortification construction was in the late 7th century BCE after Assyrian influence had vanished. This period lasted until the destruction of Judah in 588 - 6 BCE. While fortifications of individual sites certainly occurred at other times, it is during these periods that planned and integrated fortification can be sought.

Excurses

It is important to comment on two topics relating to this final period of Judah's history. From the early 1930's on there has been a theory that Nebuchadrezzar conducted two conquests of the cities of Judah, in 597 BCE and again in 588-6 BCE. An alternate view is that the campaign of 597 BCE was directed solely against Jerusalem, while the 588-6 BCE campaign was against all of Judah. The two conquest theory is based on the work of Dougherty (126) and was re-inforced with archaeological evidence as presented by W.F. Albright from work at Tell Beit Mirsim and Tell ed-Duweir (127). The basis of a single conquest theory was given by Olga Tufnell in Lachish III where she did not support a one conquest theory, but denied the archaeological evidence for a two

126. Raymond Dougherty, "Sennacherib and the Walled Cities of Palestine," Journal of Biblical Literature 49 (1930) pp.160-71.

127. W.F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, III, The Iron Age," Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 21-22 (1943) pp.65-7.

conquest theory (128). Support for the single conquest theory was lacking until the 1970's and the renewed archaeological work at Tell ed-Duweir under Yohanan Aharoni and David Ussishkin (129). The most convincing article to date is by Anson Rainey where he attempts to prove the existence of only one campaign (130).

"No archaeological evidence remains for the destruction of tells in Judah in the first campaign of Nebuchadrezzar (131)."

"However, the fact remains that the Babylonian as well as biblical sources know of no other city (JB: besides Jerusalem) taken by siege at this time (JB: 597 BCE)(132)."

The second comment relates to the Lachish Letters which were unearthed at Tell ed-Duweir in 1934 and concern the fortification systems present in Judah in 589 BCE (133). Much speculation has centered around the story to be told when the ostraca are viewed as a whole (134). Of significance to this study is Lachish Letter IV. The final few lines are important on two counts. First, as was seen above, they seem to indicate that Azekah was captured prior to Lachish in 589/8 BCE. Second, they relate to the signal

128. Olga Tufnell, Lachish III.

129. Y. Aharoni ed., Lachish V; and Ussishkin, "Destruction of Lachish," :28-60.

130. A. Rainey, in Lachish V, pp.47-60.

131. Ibid., p.47.

132. Ibid., p.59.

133. Direnger, Lachish III, pp.331-6.

134. See, for example, Harry Torzcyner, Lachish I: The Lachish Letters (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1938); and S. Birnbaum, "The Lachish Ostraca," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1939) pp.20-8,91-110.

system employed at that time:

כִּי יֵגַל מִשְׁיָגַת לִכְשׁ

(135) נַחַנְנִי שְׁמֵרָם

"that we are watching for the signal fires of Lachish"

From this it is clear that the fortresses of ancient Judah communicated by passing signals to one another by means of smoke or fire. It also would imply that smaller forts or relay stations are to be found between major fortresses when there is no line of sight between them.

A final point concerning Lachish Letter IV is the word בֵּית הַרְפִּיד (136). In context the letter states that no one is at "Beth-haraphid." This may be the name of a small village in the area that is deserted. Note that numerous place names are known with compound names where the first word is "Beth," e.g. Beth-shemesh or Beth-dagon. If one translates the word literally one gets "House of Spreading" or "House of Reclining." With this translation one might infer that "Beth-haraphid" refers to a

135. Direnger, Lachish III, p.333.

136. Ibid.

sleeping shelter which served as an observation point, and that the watchers were no longer present.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS FROM JUDAHITE BORDER SITES

Numerous Iron Age sites have been excavated in southern Judah. Since this study deals with forts and fortresses located on the Lachish frontier, only those fortress sites found within the geographical limits of this study, plus other important Iron Age fortress sites in Palestine where complete plans have been determined, will be examined. All sites presented in this chapter are shown in fig. 1.2, except for Tell Abu Selymeh and Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber) which lie outside of the limits of this study. Their location is shown on fig. 1.1. Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) will be presented first since it is the focal point in the study of this system. Subsequent sites will be presented in alphabetical order based on their Arabic, or Hebrew, name. Following the name of each site a six digit number will be given which is the map reference number for the site in the Israel Survey. For Tell ed-Duweir that number is 135108 (see fig. 1.2). This means that the site is found at coordinate 135 on the east-west axis and at coordinate 108 on the north-south axis. In each ensuing description the site name is again listed. It is followed first by the Israeli place name and after a semicolon by

the biblical place name if it is known.

Tell ed-Duweir (135108)

Tell ed-Duweir (Tel Lakish; Lachish) is located 30 kilometers east-southeast of Ashkelon and about 45 kilometers southwest of Jerusalem at the interface of the Judean Hills and the Shephelah in southwestern Judah. The site rests on a prominent limestone ridge which slopes steeply to valleys on three sides, and onto a saddle ridge on the fourth side. This creates an island site which would be easily defensible (1). The ridge on which the site rests rises to a height of 273.5 m. above sea-level and is over 125 m. above the plains located to the south and west (2). From the top of the tell most of the Philistine plain, including the cities of Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini can be seen (3).

Kitchener and Conder were the first modern explorers to visit Tell ed-Duweir during their survey of western Palestine. They described the site as, "A natural hillock, artificially scarped, with a steep slope. On the top are the foundations of a large

1. J. L. Starkey, "A Lecture," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (October, 1933) :191.

2. Olga Tufnell, Lachish III, (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1953), p.102.

3. J. L. Starkey, "Excavations at Tell el Duweir 1934-1935," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (October, 1935) :201.

square building (4)." No importance was attached to the site until 1929 when Albright identified it as biblical Lachish, based primarily on the location of Lachish as described in the *Onomasticon* (5). With the acceptance of this identification there was an immediate interest in the site by archaeologists.

The first archaeological expedition to Tell ed-Duweir was the Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East directed by J. L. Starkey, which excavated the site from 1932 to 1938. This expedition, which was terminated soon after Starkey's murder, had just begun its major work when excavation ceased. The resulting publications completely reported what had been found, but were incomplete in that necessary information had not yet been gathered when the excavations stopped (6). Controversy over the conclusions drawn in these publications arose and two later expeditions sponsored by Tel Aviv University have greatly added to current knowledge of the site. From 1966 to 1968 Yohanan Aharoni excavated the sanctuary (7), and since 1973 David Ussishkin has been excavating next to and in the bottoms of the

4. Capt. C. R. Conder and Capt. H. H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) p.290.

5. W. F. Albright, "The American Excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim," Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 47 (1929) :3.

6. See Lachish I - IV (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1936, 1940, 1953, 1959).

7. Yohanan Aharoni, Lachish V, (Tel Aviv: Gateway Publishers, 1975).

trenches left after the Wellcome-Marston Expedition ended (8).

The combined results of these three expeditions indicate that the site was occupied from the Upper Palaeolithic Period to the Byzantine Period (9). So far eight major levels dating from the Middle Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period have been identified (10). However, for the purposes of this study, interest centers only on Levels VI through II (see fig. 4.1)

Level VI. Level VI was the final occupational level of the Late Bronze Age. The remains of this level were those of a large, prosperous, but apparently, unwallled city that was violently destroyed by fire in the early part of the 12th century BCE. No evidence of an immediate rebuilding of the city after its destruction was found by any of the excavators (11).

Level V. Level V probably can be divided into an early and a late phase separated by a destruction by fire. The early phase of this level contains remains of very flimsy and poorly constructed buildings plus a series of pits (12). No city walls are

8. David Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tel Lachish - 1973-1977, Preliminary Report," Tel Aviv 5 (1978) 1-2:1-67.

9. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Lachish," by Olga Tufnell.

10. J. L. Starkey, "Excavations at Tell el Duweir," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (October, 1936) :179.

11. Ussishkin, "Preliminary Report," :25.

12. Ibid., p.27.

associated with this phase which dates to the mid 10th century BCE (13). The early phase of Level V was destroyed by fire, possibly in 925 BCE as the result of the campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq in Palestine (14).

The late phase of Level V is represented by the construction of Palace A on the summit of the mound (see fig. 4.2). The major building seems to be the sole occupational feature of the phase (15). Palace A was a large mud-brick structure constructed on a raised stone foundation located so as to dominate the site. The palace itself has long since vanished due to remodeling, destruction, and erosion of the mud-brick, but the stone foundations remain almost totally intact. The foundation for Palace A, Podium A, had a nearly square plan, approximately 32 m. on a side (see fig. 4.2). These large, outer stone walls of the podium enclosed a series of smaller interior walls and fill. The outer walls are between 2.25 and 2.35 m. wide and are constructed of carefully cut blocks of hard limestone that were precisely laid. They were set into shallow foundation trenches which were cut into the existing ground levels. As a result, the foundations are not even, rising between four and seven meters, to form a level platform (16).

13. David Ussishkin, "Answers at Lachish," Biblical Archaeology Review V (November/December, 1979) 6:27.

14. Ibid.

15. Ussishkin, "Preliminary Report," :28-31.

The interior foundation walls, each about 1.5 m. in width, were not bonded to the outer foundation walls and simply rested on the earlier materials. These walls, built of smaller stones, divided the interior of Podium A into chambers which were filled with earlier debris taken from elsewhere on the mound. If one assumes that the mud-brick superstructure of Palace A rested on the exterior and interior walls of Podium A, it is possible to reconstruct a plan for Palace A. If this assumption of the excavators is correct, then a series of larger rectangular rooms surrounded a grouping of smaller square rooms with the whole complex being entered from the east (17).

Scanty dating evidence was found in the material below Podium A and in its interior fill, but the red-slipped, irregularly-burnished sherds found in these places suggested a date of the late 10th/early 9th century BCE for the structure (18).

Level IV. As was the case with Level V, Level IV can be divided into two phases; the earlier phase being one of major planned construction while the later is one of minor construction and habitation. It was during the first phase of Level IV that the podium was expanded and the outer and inner city walls, the inner city gate, the Bastion, the enclosure wall, the annex, and

16. Ibid., p.30.

17. Ibid., pp.30-1.

18. Ussishkin, "Answers at Lachish," :27-8.

the governmental storehouse were built. It is apparent that in the time period of Level IV, the importance of Lachish was greatly magnified, for the costs of this building project must have been enormous and they would only have been expended for a project of great significance.

Palace A was more than doubled in size with the addition of Palace B. As was the case with Palace A, none of the superstructure remains. The stone foundations, Podium B (see fig. 4.2), do, however, remain virtually intact. Podium B was constructed in a fashion similar to Podium A, although a number of constructional differences are apparent. The three outer walls are hammer-dressed *nari* limestone set in header-stretcher arrangement directly over the earlier slope of the mound. No foundation trenches were dug. In order to create a floor level even with that of Podium A, therefore, the height, from ground level, of the walls of Podium B had to range from three to eleven m. The smaller interior walls, also, rest without foundation trenches upon earlier levels and are bonded to the exterior walls. The resultant chambers were, as with Podium A, filled to the top with earth and debris gathered from the mound. If a mud-brick superstructure rested on the stone foundation walls, then with the addition of Palace B, numerous long chambers were added to Palace A. It is also possible that a small porch was added in front of

the entrance on the east side of the structure (19).

The double-walled defensive fortification system that was built to surround Tell ed-Duweir enclosed the largest area of any Iron Age site in Judah, 18 acres (20). The main features of this system are the stone outer wall, the Bastion, the inner city gate, and the mud-brick inner city wall. The stone outer defensive wall (see fig. 4.1) rings the tell at a point about halfway down the slope of the mound. The lowest courses consist of large blocks of local limestone laid dry, with small stones wedging them into position. The lower courses, which rest on the Hyksos revetment, have a pronounced batter (21). The middle courses of the wall are a vertical construction which utilized smaller masonry. The section is "... faced with a thick lime plaster, in regular sections, running back obliquely from the battered lower courses. The recurring angles thus formed give the wall the effect of panelling, and make triangular shelves on the top of the lower section (22)." The upper courses of this outer wall were constructed of unbaked mud-brick. Both the middle and top

19. Ussishkin, "Preliminary Report," :32-5.

20. See Olga Tufnell, "Excavations at Tell ed-Duweir, Palestine: Directed by the late J. L. Starkey," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1950) :69. Other sites include Gezer 18 acres, Tell es-Safi 9 acres, Tell Beit Mirsim 7-8 acres, 'Ain Shems 7-8 acres, Tell en-Nasbeh 7-8 acres, Tell Judeideh 6.5 acres, Tell Sandhanna less than 5 acres, and Tell Zakariya less than 5 acres.

21. J. L. Starkey, "Excavations at Tell el Duweir 1933-1934," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (October, 1934) :166.

22. Ibid.

sections of the wall are approximately 3.5 meters in width (23).

This outer defensive wall was supported by two separate buttress systems. At vulnerable positions, a regular series of stone buttresses of great thickness was added to the exterior of the wall (see fig. 4.1). The second buttress system consisted of lighter buttresses "... built at frequent intervals along the lower section of the wall throughout its circuit. The light buttresses, founded at bedrock, were never exposed and were always masked by a bank of rubble, thrown against the lower courses of the wall (24)." This bank of rubble was thrown up against the lower courses forming a sloped bank similar to a glacis.

The inner defensive wall (see figs. 4.1 and 4.2) was located at the crest of the tell. The foundations of this six meter wide wall consisted of a thin layer of unshaped stones that was thrown "in complete disorder" into a general line, leaving some gaps where no stones lodged. The superstructure is a wall of dark brown unbaked mud-bricks, of poor quality, which was covered with lime plaster (25).

The inner gate to the city (see fig. 4.3) was a four pier, three chamber gate of the type known as Solomonic (26). At almost

23. Ussishkin, "Preliminary Report," :43.

24. Starkey, "1933-1934," :167.

25. Ussishkin, "Preliminary Report," :47-50.

26. P. L. O. Guy, New Light From Armageddon, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Oriental Institute Publication 9, 1931) pp.45-6.

25 m. square, it is the largest gate of this type known. The stone foundations for the gate appear to rest simply on the earlier levels, the stones being well shaped *nari* limestone, similar to those found in Podium B. These stone foundations rose to a height of about 2.60 m. and were supported by "... a constructional fill, reinforced by diagonally laid bricks...(27)." The gate's superstructure was mud-brick and included benches in the recessed chambers (29). The gate was protected in front by two towers placed at the ends of the inner city wall.

The Bastion included an outer city gate and a large structure that joined to and protected the outer and inner city walls. The Bastion is in a more ruined state than the other structures, but it is clear that it too was set on stone foundations that rested simply on earlier levels. "The foundations of the north and west walls ... were protected by great ramps of soil brought up from the valley below, and piled as a glacis against the lowest courses (30)." "The lower part of the fill was composed of layers of loose soil with pockets of stone...(while) the upper part of the fill contained many thick, horizontal layers of white lime, the uppermost one forming the original Level IV floor of the bastion (31)." Little of the mud-brick superstructure exists, although,

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-60.

29. C. H. Inge, "Excavations at Tell ed-Duweir," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (October, 1938) :252.

30. J. L. Starkey quoted in Tufnell, Lachish III, p.93.

from the Lachish Reliefs, it is clear that the walls rose to a considerable height.

Abutting the southwest corner of Podium B and bonding to the inner city wall is a major wall that Starkey dubbed the "enclosure wall" (see fig. 4.4). The constructional materials of this wall are varied, but the entire wall construction has been dated to a single phase, the early phase of Level IV. From the point where it abutted Podium B and running 10.50 m. westward, the wall consisted of two layers of stonework, one atop the other. The height was about 5.5 m. and the north face was more crudely finished than the south. Bonding to the stone section and continuing west from it reaching to the inner city wall was a 4.5 m. wide mud-brick wall resting on stone foundations. Both its foundations and superstructure were coated with white lime plaster (32). Whether the wall was sunk partially into earlier levels or simply rested on raised foundations with supporting fill is not reported. At the juncture of the enclosure wall and the inner city wall, a tower was constructed in a fashion similar to that of the inner city wall, except that the foundations were more substantial and better laid (33).

A massive inclined constructional fill ran from the

31. Ussishkin, "Preliminary Report," :62, and Olga Tufnell, Lachish III, plate 12 number 3.

32. Ibid., pp.46-7.

33. Ibid., pp.47, 50.

foundations of Podium B to the inner city wall. This fill which is similar to that found elsewhere on the site supported both Podium B and the enclosure wall. "Diagonal brick layers" were imbedded, in places, as reinforcement for the fill. A facing of white plaster capped the fill and the brick layers over much of the slope (34).

"It was traced to a distance of a few meters from the contemporary brick city wall; at this point, significantly, it reaches a level even lower than that of the foundations of the city wall. We assume that the plastered ramp may have ended here in a kind of drainage channel that collected the runoff water from the palace-fort as well as from the constructional ramp. However, no remains ... of the conjectured channel were discovered... (35)."

A wall, running parallel to Podium B and bonding to the enclosure wall, was built and covered over by fill. This wall seems to have served as a subterranean retaining wall for the fill (fig. 4.2) (36).

Two large, but lesser known, structures exist contiguous to the podium. To the north of Podium A was an "annexed building." The floor plan of the annexed building consisted of long narrow rooms separated by mud-brick walls that were plastered with white lime plaster. The mud-brick walls rested on stone foundations that were separated from each other by fill which had been thrown in to create level floors. These floors were made of crushed

34. Ibid., p.50.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., p.47.

chalk which had been burnt (37).

The "government storehouse" is located southeast of Podium B. As with the podia, the superstructure of the storehouse had been removed in antiquity, and, in this case, to a point below floor level. The same method of raised foundations and fill was used; however here the foundation walls were not constructed entirely of stone. "The brick foundation walls of the building rested here on massive stone foundations, built of large, roughly squared, hammer-dressed stones (38)." The chambers between the walls were filled in with rubble tipping from north to south (39).

During the second, or later, phase of Level IV a small mud-brick building was placed on the south side of the enclosure wall in the angle formed by the enclosure wall and the inner city wall (not shown in fig. 4.2)(40). Elsewhere continued use is indicated by the build-up and resurfacing of floors.

Level IV dates from the mid 9th to the mid 8th century BCE. In all likelihood, the earlier phase was a short period of intense building activity, while the later phase was a much longer period of actual habitation. Ussishkin has speculated that Level IV may have come to an end due to a major earthquake, such as the one recorded in Amos 1:1 and Zechariah 14:5 that dated to the late

37. Tufnell, Lachish III, pp.83, 115-6.

38. Ussishkin, "Preliminary Report," :39.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., p.51.

760's BCE (41).

Level III. Nothing resembling the major constructional effort of Level IV is seen in Level III. Rather, Level III was a period of habitation, remodeling, and construction of small residential housing.

Palace A-B was totally remodeled and enlarged to form Palace C. The foundations of Palace A-B, Podium A-B, were extended to the east 3.40 m. with the construction of Podium C (see fig. 4.5). Except for one long thin chamber, Podium C is of solid stone construction set into the constructional fill of Level IV, therefore resting much higher than the foundations of Podium A-B. With the construction of Podium C, the interior walls of Palaces A and B seem to have been dismantled and new ones constructed. Little of the ground plan for Palace C remains, due to the construction of the Residency in Level I. The stumps of a few mud-brick walls and patches of lime plaster flooring, however, remain. The main entrance to Palace C was on the east side, opening directly from a porch which rose above a plastered courtyard (42).

A second structure that was remodeled was the enclosure wall

41. David Ussishkin, "The Destruction of Lachish by Sennacherib and the Dating of Royal Judean Store Jars," Tel Aviv 4 (1977) 1-2:51.

42. Ussishkin, "Preliminary Report," :35-6.

(see fig. 4.5). A stone rebuilding of this wall was placed on the top of the Level IV enclosure wall. The line followed closely that of the earlier wall and incorporated the older stone parts into it while being set into the earlier brick parts (43).

The "... entire area between the palace-fort and the brick city wall south of the enclosure wall had become densely populated, being occupied by relatively poor houses (44)." These poor structures were built on the sloping fill and, as a result, had the appearance of being terraced (45). Other houses were constructed directly inside of the city gate (46).

The sole major new building of Level III was the governmental storehouse (see fig. 4.5). It was built directly over, and followed the same lines as, the earlier storehouse. Its construction removed the superstructure and floor of the earlier building. This new building also is not preserved to floor level, and all that remains are the stone foundation walls which were set into the earlier levels (47).

In the gate and Bastion areas, Level III is seen simply through the build-up of floor layers (48). Sealing the top occupation layer of Level III was a massive destruction layer that

43. Ibid., p.52.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., p.62.

46. Ibid., p.52.

47. Ibid., p.40.

48. Ibid., pp.63-4.

put out of use all known structures from levels IV and III. This destruction of Level III is attributed to Sennacherib, and dates to 701 BCE (49).

Intermediate Level III/II. There is a general occupational hiatus between Levels III and II. The sole occupational remains from this period are found inside the destroyed inner gate of Level III. Here, a partial clearing of the destruction layer, and a crude and limited rebuilding occurred. Little occupational evidence was present and it was impossible to date the level more precisely than between Levels II and III (50).

Level II. The site was rebuilt in Level II. While most areas remained unoccupied, the fortification system was rebuilt totally and re-established in a different manner than the earlier system. The outer city wall seems to have been abandoned, therefore the new fortification system consisted of a single city wall and the Bastion/gate complex.

49. This date has been the focal point of keen scholarly debate since Lachish III was published in 1953. The 701 BCE date for the destruction of Level III was first advocated by Tufnell in Lachish III, and has received much scholarly support. Before his death, Starkey had advocated 597 BCE for the date of this destruction. This view has received wide support and is best explained by G. Ernest Wright in "Lachish III: Review," Vetus Testamentum 5 (1955) :97-105. Although some still adhere to the 597 BCE date, it is the view of the author that Ussishkin has made a convincing argument for the 701 BCE date in his Tel Aviv article of 1977. 701 BCE will be used for the date of the Level III destruction in this study.

50. Ussishkin, "Preliminary Report," :64.

The new city wall was constructed around the crest of the tell essentially following the lines of the Level IV inner city wall. This wall seems to have been about 2.5 m. wide and consisted of a core of stone rubble faced on the inside and outside with well-shaped stones. This wall was set into a foundation trench which, in many places, cut into the earlier wall system (51). A few brick walls, that may have been walls of a hut or house, were found just inside the city wall (52).

The Bastion/gate complex was rebuilt on smaller and different lines (see fig. 4.6). The inner and outer gates were connected by a cobble-paved corridor. Rooms opened off this corridor, and it is in one of these small rooms that the Lachish letters were found. Many of the walls in this complex were greatly eroded to and below their foundation levels which had been cut into the earlier materials. Just to the north and inside the gate, two well constructed storerooms were found. The construction technique was mud-brick set on stone foundations where the faces were plastered white (53).

Both the Wellcome-Marston Expedition and the later Tel Aviv Expedition found evidence for two phases in Level II. The latest phase was put out of use by a total destruction which has been attributed to Nebuchadrezzar, dating from 588/587 BCE. The

51. Ibid., pp.53-4.

52. Ibid., p.66.

53. Ibid., p.65-6.

earlier phase is differentiated by its having a different floor level and a different drainage system (54). The Wellcome-Marston excavators found evidence of destruction in the phase and dated it to 597 BCE (55). The Tel Aviv excavators have found no evidence for destruction in this phase and have assigned no terminal date for it. Likewise, no initial date for the level has been proposed, although they speculate that Josiah may have been responsible for the rebuilding of the site (56).

The occupational history of Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

54. Ibid., p.66.

55. Tufnell, Lachish III, p.57.

56. Ussishkin, "Sennacherib," :52.

Tell ed-Duweir

LEVEL	STRUCTURE	DATE
VI	City	to early <u>12th</u> cent. BCE
DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT		
V	V - early Poor structures	mid <u>10th</u> cent. BCE (to <u>925</u> BCE ?)
DESTRUCTION		
V - late	Palace A	late <u>10th</u> /early <u>9th</u> cent. BCE
IV	Palace B, annex, gate, government storehouse double wall, Bastion, enclosure wall	mid <u>9th</u> to mid <u>8th</u> cent. BCE (to <u>760</u> BCE ?)
III	Palace C, housing	mid <u>8th</u> cent. to 701 BCE
DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT		
Intermediate III/II	Squatter	
II	Wall, gate	late <u>7th</u> cent. to 588 BCE
DESTRUCTION		

Ashdod-Yam (118136)

Ashdod-Yam (Ashdod-Yam) is located on the Mediterranean coast 5 kilometers northwest of Ashdod. The site rests on a bluff of *kurkar* bedrock which overlooks the Mediterranean Sea at a height of 23 m. above sea-level. The site was discovered by J. Kaplan during survey work in the 1940's and it was he who excavated Ashdod-Yam from 1965 to 1968 on behalf of the Tel Aviv - Jaffa Museum of Antiquities. Ashdod-Yam is a two period site which contains Iron II remains and Crusader remains (1).

In the second half of the 8th century BCE a strong fortress was erected at Ashdod-Yam. It was erected on virgin ground and was abandoned after its destruction at the end of the 8th century BCE. Kaplan attributes its construction to Iamani and placed it in the following historical setting:

"Ashdod-Yam is mentioned only in documents from the time of Sargon II (742 - 705 BC), in connection with his campaign against the kingdom of Ashdod in 713 BC for the purpose of deposing the usurper who had seized rule in Ashdod. This usurper, called Iamani by Sargon, rebelled against him and, according to the documents, Iamani in great haste fortified three cities in the kingdom of Ashdod -- Ashdod itself, Gath, and Ashdod-Yam. The last was evidently to serve as a rear base for the main city in times of danger (2)."

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Ashdod-Yam," by J. Kaplan.
2. *Ibid.*; and see Chapter Three p. 38.

Kaplan excavated the fortification system around the edges of the site only (see fig. 4.7), and did not excavate the probable area of the citadel (3). Kaplan made 10 probes into the fortification system and consistently found a wall bracketed on both sides by glacis (4). The fortification wall was constructed of reddish-brown sun-dried mud-bricks that were 55x35x15 cm. in size. They were laid to form the 3.10 m. wide fortification wall which increased in thickness to 4.50 m. wide in the vicinity of the probable citadel. The wall (see fig. 4.8) was built up from a foundation trench and is preserved to a height of about 3.0 m., although it is clear that originally it extended significantly higher (5). A glacis extended 20 m. from the wall on the outside, and a counterbalancing glacis extended inside for 7 m. (6). Kaplan describes these glacis as follows:

"A glacis was built along the outer side of the wall with its core attached to it; the core comprises alternate horizontal layers of beaten earth and whitish sand. The core is covered with a layer of *humra*, a layer of *kurkar* and a sealing layer of brick. Over this were placed, in turn, a thin layer of *kurkar*, a layer of dark earth and, finally, an outer casing of *kurkar*. The upper part of the retaining rampart was revealed on the inner face of the wall. This is actually a bank of *terre pisé*, paved with a sloping brick layer 25 cm. thick. This latter structure seems to have been built to counter the pressure of the outer glacis, on the opposite side of the wall. Bricks which fell from the collapsing wall were found on the brick-lined slope (7)."

3. J. Kaplan, "The Stronghold of Yamani at Ashdod-Yam," Israel Exploration Journal 19 (1969) 3:140.

4. Encyclopedia.

5. Kaplan, :138-44.

6. J. Kaplan, "Yavneh-Yam and Ashdod-Yam," Israel Exploration Journal 17 (1967) 4:268.

Kaplan interpreted the function of the outer glacis as being to resist siege engines and battering rams (8).

The occupational history of Ashdod-Yam during the Iron Age consisted of one stratum. In that stratum, which dated to the second half of the 8th century BCE and probably to the time of Iamani and Sargon II, a fortress was constructed. It was composed of a wide fortification wall with a defensive glacis on the outside and a counterbalancing one on the inside.

7. Kaplan, "Yamani," :142.
8. Encyclopedia.

Khirbet 'Ar'arah (148062)

Khirbet 'Ar'arah (Tel Aroer; Aroer (Negeb)) is located 25 kilometers south of Beersheva. The mound of Khirbet 'Ar'arah covers 10 dunam as it rises 15 m. above the surrounding plain and the Wadi 'Ar'arah (Nahal Aroer). Occupational remains cover an additional 10 dunam at the base of the mound. In 1838 the site was identified as biblical Aroer by Robinson and this identification is still accepted. The preliminary results of the first four seasons of excavation (1975, 1976, 1977, and 1978) have been published in summary form. The excavations are sponsored by the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology and the Department of Antiquities of Israel under the direction of Avraham Biran and Rudolph Cohen. The excavators have reported major remains coming from the Roman Period and the Iron Age with limited remains coming from the Hellenistic Period. Three Iron Age strata were reported which date from the 8th, 7th, and 6th centuries BCE (1).

Level 4. A major offset-inset fortification wall was found that enclosed 10 dunam of the site (2). The wall is preserved to a height of 2 m. (3), and consists of offsets that are 4 m. wide

1. A. Biran and R. Cohen, "Aroer 1978," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978) 2:197-9.

2. Ibid., p.199.

3. A. Biran and R. Cohen, "Aroer 1976," Israel Exploration Journal 26 (1976) 2:139.

and about 14 m. long, and insets that are 2.4 m. wide and about 17 m. long (4). In one area the wall made a sharp turn and it is believed that the entrance to the city is to be found there (5). On the outside of this wall the excavators found "a steep rampart of earth, rubble, and stones, covered with a stone facing ... (serving) as an added defense (6)." Inside the walls a four room courtyard house was found in which the pillars were preserved to a height of 1.7 m. (7). The excavators dated the construction of this level to the end of the 8th century BCE, a date which is supported by טבמב store jar handles found in its destruction (8). Other epigraphic evidence includes a possible Elamite seal that may indicate Elamite influence in the area (9). This level was put out of use by a destruction of unreported date (10).

Level 3. This level dates to the 7th century BCE and is, in the main, a rebuilding of the earlier city although it does contain a few structural changes. The fortification wall was supplemented with the addition of a wall 0.7 m. wide that was located 1.5 m. inside of the older fortification wall. These

4. A. Biran and R. Cohen, "Aroer 1977," Israel Exploration Journal 27 (1977) 4:250.

5. Biran and Cohen, "1978," :198.

6. Biran and Cohen, "1976," :140.

7. *Ibid.*, p.139.

8. Biran and Cohen, "1978," :198.

9. Biran and Cohen, "1976," :139.

10. Biran and Cohen, "1977," :251.

walls were then connected by cross-walls that were set at intervals of between 1.8 m. and 2.5 m. to form a casemate-like structure. Near the probable entrance to the city two rectangular rooms were added to the exterior of the wall. These two rooms were separated from each other by columns (11). This level, too, was put out of use by a destruction (12).

Level 2. This level dated to the end of the 7th century BCE or the beginning of the 6th century BCE, at which time it was destroyed and abandoned. The level was greatly ruined by the Level 1 Roman remains, therefore little is known of the Level 2 occupation (13).

The occupational history of Khirbet 'Ar'arah (Aroer) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

11. Biran and Cohen, "1978," :197-8.
12. Biran and Cohen, "1977," :251.
13. Biran and Cohen, "1978," :198-9.

Khirbet 'Ar'arah

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
4	Solid offset-inset fortification wall, Israelite city, 4-room courtyard house	late <u>8th</u> cent. BCE
	DESTRUCTION	
3	Rebuild of city wall, addition of casemates, exterior rooms	<u>7th</u> century BCE
	DESTRUCTION	
2	(disturbed)	late <u>7th</u> /early <u>6th</u> to early <u>6th</u> cent. BCE
	DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT	

Khirbet el-Kom (146104)

Khirbet el-Kom (Khirbet el-Qom; Saphir) is located 9 kilometers north-northeast of Tell Beit Mirsim and 13 kilometers west of Hebron on a small hilltop that overlooks the Wadi es-Saffor. The site was visited by Kitchener and Conder in 1875 (1), and later identified as biblical Saphir by Père Abel. The first excavation of the site occurred in 1967 when William G. Dever excavated numerous Iron Age tombs at the site. The sole excavation of the occupational remains at the site occurred in early 1971 when John S. Holladay led a brief expedition sponsored by Hebrew Union College and the Canada Council (2).

Holladay found major occupational remains of the Early Bronze Age and the Middle Bronze Age which were followed by an Iron Age occupation and later by Persian and Hellenistic Period remains. The Iron Age remains showed continuous habitation from the late 10th/early 9th centuries BCE to the early 6th century BCE (3). Only two brief summaries of the excavation of Khirbet el-Kom have been published with no stratigraphic details included. The Iron Age remains included are:

1. a 9th century BCE cistern

1. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) p.358.

2. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Khirbet el-Qôm," by W. G. Dever.

3. Ibid.

2. a 7th/6th century BCE cellar

3. the Iron Age city wall (4)

No further information is available for the first two structures. The city wall, however, is known to be a roughly hewn cyclopean wall constructed of *nari* limestone and founded on bed-rock. In the southeast a double entry gate of the 7th century BCE was found. It had been placed on the foundations of a 10th/9th centuries BCE gate (5).

This Iron Age city, which is the same size as Tell Beit Mirsim, is largely unknown. It is clear from the excavations of the site and its tombs that the site enjoyed extensive occupation from the late 10th century BCE to the early 6th century BCE. Late 8th century occupation at Khirbet el-Kom is seen in the presence of תבב store jar handles (6); however the city grew to its peak size in the 7th century BCE (7).

4. J.S. Holladay, "Khirbet el-Kom," Israel Exploration Journal 21 (1971) 3:176.

5. *Ibid.*, p.5.

6. Encyclopedia.

7. *Ibid.*

Khirbet el-Meshash (146069)

Khirbet el-Meshash (Tel Masos; Hormah?) is located 15 kilometers east of Beersheva. It rests on two mounds that border on the Wadi es-Seba' (Nahal Beersheva). One mound (see fig. 4.9) is a 50 dunam site that contains the Iron I remains, and the second is a 5 dunam site that contains Iron II and Roman/Byzantine remains (1). The site has been known since Kitchener and Conder surveyed it in 1874 (2), and was believed to be only the small mound prior to 1964 when Yohanan Aharoni discovered the Iron I mound and a Middle Bronze Age enclosure wall south of the other remains (3). The site was excavated in 1972, 1974, and 1975 by Tel Aviv University and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft under the direction of Aharoni, Volkmar Fritz, and Aharon Kempinski (4). Remains starting with the Chalcolithic Period and lasting through the Byzantine Period were found. The periods of major occupation were the Middle Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Byzantine Period (5). Four Iron Age strata were isolated.

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tel Masos," by A. Kempinski.

2. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) p.409.

3. Encyclopedia.

4. Y. Aharoni, V. Fritz, and A. Kempinski, "Tel Masos," Israel Exploration Journal 22 (1972) 3-4:243.

5. Encyclopedia.

Stratum III. At the end of the 13th century BCE habitation of Khirbet Meshash was begun by a nomadic people. By the first half of the 12th century BCE permanent dwellings consisting of three and four room courtyard houses were constructed in an unwalled village. The excavators have called the inhabitants Israelites. This village was destroyed in the mid 12th century BCE, and in that destruction layer Philistine pottery was found (6). Stratum III was, therefore, a small unwalled Israelite village dating from the period of transition from nomadic to village life; the late 13th century BCE to the mid 12th century BCE.

Stratum II. Stratum II dates from the mid 12th century BCE to the second half of the 11th century BCE and is associated with Philistine occupation (7). Again the site served as an unwalled village consisting mostly of three and four room courtyard houses (see fig. 4.11). Two structures of different character were isolated. One, building 1039, was probably a forerunner of the government storehouse of the Iron II. It was 19 x 8 m. in size with two rows of pillars running down the center. The building was probably constructed of mud-brick set on stone foundations which were 80 cm. high (8). The second structure was possibly a

6. Aharon Kempinski and Volkmar Fritz, "Excavations at Tell Masos (Khirbet Meshash), Preliminary Report on the Third Season, 1975," Tel Aviv 4 (1977) 3-4:147-9.

7. Encyclopedia.

8. Kempinski and Fritz, :140-1.

fortress (see fig. 4.10) constructed of mud-brick laid on a stone foundation (9). This stratum was probably destroyed by an earthquake in the second half of the 11th century BCE (10).

Stratum I. Occupation continued at Khirbet Meshash from the destruction of Stratum II through to the early 10th century BCE. Only a few structures were found in this stratum which seem to represent a poor rebuilding dating from the early period of the United Monarchy of Israel. The site seems to have been abandoned in the early 10th century, probably between 990 and 980 BCE (11). At that time the population probably moved to Khirbet Gharra (12).

Iron Age II-C. On the small mound located to the west of the Iron I site a structure that was probably a caravanserai was constructed in the 7th century BCE. This unwallled settlement was built along a north-south road and extended for at least 20 m. At least three phases were found in this structure and all date from the 7th century BCE. This stratum was destroyed about 600 BCE, probably by the Elamites. According to Fritz, "Possibly it was a way station in the vicinity of the main water source under the protection of the city three kilometers to the north at Khirbet Gharra (13)."

9. Ibid., p.149.

10. Encyclopedia.

11. Kempinski, A., "Tel Masos," Expedition 20 (Summer, 1978) 4:34.

12. Encyclopedia.

The occupational history of Khirbet Meshash during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

Khirbet el-Meshash

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
III	Unwalled Israelite village	late <u>13th</u> to mid <u>12th</u> cent. BCE
DESTRUCTION BY FIRE		
II	Unwalled Philistine village, fortress?	mid <u>12th</u> to late <u>11th</u> cent. BCE
DESTRUCTION BY EARTHQUAKE		
I	Unwalled Israelite village	late <u>11th</u> to early <u>10th</u> cent. BCE (to 990-980 BCE?)
ABANDONMENT		
Iron II-C	Caravanserai?	<u>7th</u> century BCE
DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT		

Khirbet et-Tubeiqah (159110)

Khirbet et-Tubeiqah (Beth-Zur) is located about 32 kilometers south of Jerusalem and 5.5 kilometers north of Hebron high on a natural hill, rising 1007 m. above sea-level, at the crest of the Judean Hills. It is situated about 100 m. above Wadi er-Reshrash to the north, and 22 m. above 'Ain edh-Dhirweh to the south. The site was identified as Beth-Zur in the 1920's (1), and that identification is still accepted even though certain remains that would be expected at Beth-Zur have not been found at Khirbet et-Tubeiqah (see below).

The site was excavated in 1931 and 1957 by expeditions led by Ovid R. Sellers in conjunction with the American Schools of Oriental Research (2). The results of this work show that the site was occupied intermittently from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman Period, with the main occupational phases dating to the Middle Bronze Age and the Hellenistic Period. The Iron Age remains consisted of an 11th century BCE village that, in part, utilized earlier structures (3), and an 8th through 6th century BCE unwallled Iron Age village (4). Only a few sherds dating from

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Beth-Zur" by R. W. Funk.

2. Ovid Sellers et al., The Citadel of Beth-Zur (Philadelphia: Westminster Press: 1931) and Ovid Sellers, The 1957 Excavation at Beth-Zur (Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research: 1968).

3. Encyclopedia.

the 10th/9th centuries BCE were found, all unstratified, at a time when the fortress of Rehoboam should have been constructed (II Chronicles 11:7). This finding could yield three interpretations: Rehoboam's fortress has not yet been found, but is located elsewhere on the site; the site of Iron Age Beth-Zur is located elsewhere; or II Chronicles is in error as to the location of this fortress.

4. In The Citadel of Beth-Zur eleven למלך store jar handles were shown and described. It is now known that these artifacts date from the late 8th century BCE instead of the late 7th century BCE as was thought by Sellers and later Lapp. The resulting shift means that the late Iron Age phase probably starts in the late 8th century BCE (possibly during the reign of Hezekiah), instead of 650 BCE or during the reign of Josiah as previously thought.

Khirbet Gharreh (148071)

Khirbet Gharreh (Tel 'Ira) is a large tell resting on a natural hill which rises approximately 100 m. above its surroundings. It is located about 20 kilometers east of Beer Sheba and 3 kilometers northeast of Khirbet Meshash. The ruins cover about 30 dunam making Khirbet Gharreh one of the largest sites known from the Iron Age in southern Judah. The site was explored and partially mapped by Yohanan Aharoni in the mid 1950's (1), but excavation of the site did not begin until 1979 with an expedition led by Avraham Biran and Rudolph Cohen. As yet, few reports from the excavations have been published (2).

The current expedition to Khirbet Gharreh has concentrated primarily in an examination of the fortification system (see fig 4.12). They have found that the system first erected in the 7th century BCE lasted in modified form throughout the Byzantine period. The fortification system consists of a stone casemate wall with stone towers. The outer wall is 1.45 m. thick and it is separated from the 0.55 m. wide interior wall by 2.10 m. Both walls are constructed of stone and covered with a fine white plaster. Only one tower has been examined to date, and it was 9.7

1. Yohanan Aharoni, "The Negeb of Judah," Israel Exploration Journal 8 (1958) 1:36.

2. Avraham Biran and Rudolph Cohen, "Tel 'Ira," Israel Exploration Journal 29 (1979) 2:124-5.

m. by 2.1 m, with the outer wall being 1.5 m. thick and the inner wall 0.55 m. thick. It too was constructed of undressed stone and covered with a plaster. The tower was poorly constructed and had cracked early in its existence. To support the tower the builders placed a 1.3 m. fill against its base and covered it with a 1.4 to 2.0 m. stone fill (3).

The entire wall system was flanked by a glacis. This glacis sloped down at 68 degrees, being constructed of small stones and a cover of white plaster. This entire system was constructed in the 7th century BCE and was destroyed in a large destruction in the early 6th century BCE (4).

The Iron Age usage of Khirbet Gharreh can be summed up as a one level fortress occupation. The casemate fortress was constructed in the 7th century BCE and was destroyed in the early 6th century BCE. After this destruction the site continued to be used through the Persian, Roman, and Byzantine periods, with the later levels utilizing the earlier wall system.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Khirbet Hoga (114102)

Khirbet Hoga (Kfar Hoga) is located on a low loess hill 5 kilometers west of Tell el-Hesi on a tributary of the Wadi el-Hesi. In three short seasons during the mid 1970's Joseph Porath excavated the site for the Department of Antiquities of Israel. It was a salvage excavation necessitated by work on an oil pipeline. The remains dated from the 10th century BCE and onwards with one Iron Age structure being isolated (1).

Only the mud-brick foundations of a large building that had been erected on virgin ground were found. The foundations of the building (see fig. 4.14) were over 50 m. sq. with exterior walls of over 10 m. in thickness. This created an interior area 30 m. square where the exterior 2 m. were left clear of walls. Inside of this clear space a set of four parallel white mud-brick walls were placed. They were 5 x 5 x 25 m. in size and were placed about 1.25 m. apart. All of the empty spaces inside of these walls were filled with sand that had been brought in from a source 1 kilometer away. The remains are preserved to a height of 1.8 m. near the center of the structure and slope down on all sides. All of these remains are from foundation levels; not a single floor level was uncovered in the excavation of this structure (2).

1. Joseph Porath, "Khirbet Hoga," Hadashot Archeologist 59-60 (1976) pp.41-2.

2. Ibid.

The date of the structure is unclear. Red-slipped burnished pottery of the 10th century BCE was found below the structure, while jars dating from the 8th century BCE were found in the materials resting above the walls (3). Na'aman has suggested that the structure dates to the 8th and 7th centuries BCE and that it may have been an Assyrian fortress (4).

3. Ibid.

4. Nadav Na'aman, "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt," Tel Aviv 6 (1979) 1:81.

Mesad Hashavyahu (120146)

Mesad Hashavyahu is located 1.7 kilometers south of Yavneh Yam on a small *kurkar* hill found among the sand dunes of the Mediterranean coast. The 6 dunam site rises to a height of 26 m. above sea-level and is located about 1 kilometer northwest of the unexcavated, unfortified, ancient city of Haser 'Asan (1). Mesad Hashavyahu was examined and excavated in 1960 by J. Naveh for the Department of Antiquities of Israel and the Israel Exploration Society (2).

Mesad Hashavyahu is a one stratum fortress that dates to the end of the Iron Age. Based on epigraphic, ceramic, and historical considerations relating to the reign of King Josiah of Judah, Naveh dated the site between 630 BCE and 609 BCE. This evidence includes an important Hebrew ostrakon that links the site with Judah. On the basis of large quantities of imported, 7th century BCE Greek pottery, Naveh assigns its construction to Greek mercenaries in the employ of King Josiah. Naveh speculated that the site was the residence of a local Judahite governor that was abandoned with the campaign of Pharaoh Necho in 609 BCE (3).

1. Shemaryahu Talmon, "The New Hebrew Letter from the 7th Century BC In Historical Perspective," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 176 (December, 1964) p.29.

2. J. Naveh, "The Excavations at Mesad Hashavyahu," Israel Exploration Journal, 12 (1962) 2:89.

3. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Mesad Hashavyahu," by J. Naveh.

The fortress was founded on *kurkar* bedrock which was levelled with sand in preparation for the foundation courses. The fortress is L - shaped and constructed with stone foundations supporting mud-brick walls. The exterior walls (see fig. 4.15) are about 3.2 m. thick with occasional piers projecting 70 cm. from the walls. The interior of the fortress was divided into 2 sections; the first a large open enclosure directly in front of the gate, and the second an area of rooms and a street (4). The gate area was constructed entirely of stone (see fig. 4.16) and was set between two towers that projected 3 m. from the wall and were 5.25 m. long. Inside the gate was the large open enclosure or courtyard which was surrounded by casemate-type rooms. Most of these rooms had cobble flooring and in one place the cobble flooring put out of use an earlier room. Large rooms, streets, and corridors were found in the eastern section of the site (5).

The occupational history of Mesad Hashavyahu consists of one stratum that dated from about 630 BCE to 609 BCE. The site seems to have been controlled by Judah to house Greek mercenaries who provided the military presence for the nearby unwallled residential site of Haser 'Asan.

4. Naveh, :90.

5. Ibid., p.93.

Tell Abu Selymeh (065071) (for location see fig. 1.1)

Tell Abu Selymeh (;Laban?) is located among the coastal sand dunes approximately 3 kilometers inland from the Mediterranean Sea and 43 kilometers southwest of Gaza. The site is one in a line of medium-sized tells running along the Mediterranean coast south of Gaza. It was excavated from 1935 to 1936 by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, Lady Petrie, J.C. Ellis, and C. Pape under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt. Tell Abu Selymeh was identified as Anthedon by Petrie and the results of the excavations were published under that name in 1937 (1). Later scholars have tended to identify the site with biblical Laban (2).

The excavators isolated thirteen strata which ranged in date from the Late Bronze Age to the advent of the Common Era. These strata were described in terms of structures and presented in terms of absolute elevation, not in terms of their stratigraphic context with the soil layers. Petrie combined ceramic dating with dating by absolute elevation to date the strata. He reported three Iron II strata: H, J, and K (see figs. 4.17 through 4.20). Many of the walls appeared in more than one stratum which calls into question the stratigraphic separations made by Petrie. The ceramic evidence is equally unclear for it also is presented by

1. Sir W.M.F. Petrie, Anthedon: Sinai, (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937).

2. Yohanan Aharoni, Land of the Bible, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967) p.380.

absolute elevation and not by stratigraphic context. The pottery of these strata is presented in figs. 4.21 through 4.24 with much of the pottery being forms typical to the late Iron Age (3).

In the area excavated, the excavators isolated a series of exterior city walls and a series of interior structures. The uppermost exterior wall is a mud-brick, stepped, offset-inset wall (see fig. 4.17). This wall, which is preserved to a height of 5 to 8 feet (1.53 to 2.44 m.), rested on a mud-brick platform, Stratum J, which extended out from the offset-inset wall. A third wall was found below the platform wall. This third wall, Stratum K, is another broad defensive wall, but one with no offsets, insets, or battering. In no case was contemporary ground level given or any indication of foundation trenches made.

The plans of the structures interior to these walls also lack clarity and definition. No floor levels are given for the walls that seem to have been in use for one, two, or three strata. Likewise no comment was given as to whether floors were found. The number of phases these interior walls went through and their contemporary fortification walls is in question.

Since stratigraphic re-analysis of the site cannot answer the question of phasing, only limited statements can be made concerning the site. The latest Iron Age stratum included an offset-inset "broad wall" which probably dates to the 8th and 7th

centuries BCE. Late pottery is present in the ceramic collection, and it is possible that the pottery may be Assyrian. If this is so, the Stratum G broad wall may be of Assyrian construction. It is also clear that earlier Iron Age strata are in evidence going back, probably, to Iron I.

Tell 'Arad (162075)

Tell 'Arad (Tel 'Arad; Arad) is located 30 kilometers east-northeast of Beer Sheba and 60 kilometers south of Jerusalem. It is located on the edge of the flatlands of the eastern Negev and rests on a small hill that is isolated from all springs and water courses. Excavations at Tell 'Arad, starting in 1962 under the sponsorship of the Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University, and the Israel Department of Antiquities, found Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age remains and Iron Age to Roman remains. Ruth Amiran and Yohanan Aharoni directed the expedition, with Amiran responsible for the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze remains, and Aharoni the later remains. Excavation of the later remains continued through 1966. A total of 12 strata were isolated, seven of which dated to the Iron Age (1). So far only preliminary publication has resulted from the work on Iron Age levels.

Through the entire Iron Age the site was relatively small. In Stratum XII a small unwallled village was found that dates from the 12th and 11th centuries BCE. This village, which contained an open high place, ended in destruction by fire (2).

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Arad," by Yohanan Aharoni.

Stratum XI. In the mid 10th century BCE a fortress of about 50 m. square was erected over the destruction of Stratum XII (see fig. 4.25) (3).

"The first fortress was surrounded by a casemate wall of the standard measures: the outer wall is about 1.60 m. thick, and the inner wall about 1.40 meters, with a two meter space between. The wall was provided with square projecting towers, one at each corner and 2 along the sides between. The eastern casemate wall was even stronger, for the gate was on this side, near the southeastern corner. The gate tower projected about twenty-six feet from the line of the wall and had three piers on each side. If we add to it the room of the casemate wall behind, through which the entry way led, we have a gate of the general form of the typical Solomonic four pired gate. Its total length was about sixteen meters or fifty-two and one-half feet. A thick burnt level, which covered the floor of the gateway, gives evidence of the violent destruction of the Stratum XI fortress (4)."

This fortress was erected on an artificial fill between 0.5 and 1 m. deep, that had been brought in to level the site. Interior to the fortress was a temple which was placed over the high place of the earlier Stratum XII. This temple continued in use through Stratum VII (5). Stratum XI was destroyed at the end of the 10th century BCE, possibly by Pharaoh Shoshenq about 925 BCE.

2. Yohanan Aharoni, "Arad, Its Inscriptions and Temples," Biblical Archaeologist XXXI (February, 1968) 1:8.

3. Encyclopedia; There is an error in the caption on p. 85 of the Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land. The caption attributes the bottom left diagram on p. 86 to Stratum IX and Uzziah, actually it should refer to Stratum XI and Solomon.

4. Aharoni, :5-6.

5. Encyclopedia.

Stratum X. After the destruction of Stratum XI a new solid fortification wall was erected as part of Stratum X. This wall, which remained in use through Stratum VII, was about 4.0 m. thick and was constructed with small offsets set at intervals of 9 to 10 m. The gate was placed in the east and was protected by two great towers which protruded from the wall by six and one-half feet (about 2.0 m.). Lower on the slopes to the east and west, a smaller but similar wall stood. Other than the continuing use of the temple, the sole other significant structural detail was the water system, which is unique in Palestine. Water was brought to the site in jars and poured into a tunnel which ran under the fortification walls and into a large cistern (6). This stratum was destroyed by fire in the late 9th or early 8th century BCE (7).

Strata IX, VIII, and VII. In all three strata the citadel area was simply reused with the temple and water system continuing in use. Stratum IX followed after the destruction of Stratum X and lasted until the late 8th century BCE (ca. 730-720 BCE) when it met a similar fate. The Stratum VIII fortress followed after that until its destruction in 701 BCE (see fig. 4.26)(8). The fourth structure, Stratum VII, followed after the fortress of Stratum

6. Aharoni, :6-7.

7. Encyclopedia.

8. Ibid.

VIII with it being destroyed in the mid 7th century BCE. The only structural change was an interior wall which was added to the solid city wall giving it the appearance of being a casemate structure. The purpose of this wall seems to have been an attempt to broaden the top of the city wall to increase the dimensions of the fighting platform for men and equipment (9).

Stratum VI. A new fortification system (see fig. 4.27) was erected around the citadel and over the temple after the destruction of Stratum VII. A casemate wall with projecting towers was built. This system, which lasted from the late 7th century BCE into the early 6th century BCE, was probably erected during the reign of Josiah. It was destroyed by fire, probably by the Babylonians under Nebuchadrezzar about 588 BCE. In plan the structure is similar to the fortresses at Horvat Uzza and Kadesh Barnea (10).

The occupational history of Tell 'Arad during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

9. Aharoni, :7.

10. Ibid. pp.7-9.

Tell 'Arad

STRATA	STRUCTURE	DATE
XII	Unwalled village, high place	12 th and 11 th centuries BCE
	DESTRUCTION	
XI	Casemate fortification system, temple	mid 10 th century to 925 BCE
	DESTRUCTION	
X	Solid fortification system, water system	9 th century BCE
	DESTRUCTION	
IX	Rebuild	early 8 th to late 8 th centuries BCE
	DESTRUCTION	
VIII	Rebuild, addition to city wall?	late 8 th century to 701 BCE
	DESTRUCTION	
VII	Rebuild, addition to to city wall?	early 7 th to mid 7 th centuries BCE
	DESTRUCTION	
VI	Casemate fortification system, temple abandoned	late 7 th to early 6 th (588?) centuries BCE
	DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT	

Tell Beit Mirsim (141096)

Tell Beit Mirsim (Tel Bet Mirsham; Debir?, Kiryath-Sepher?) is located 13 kilometers southeast of Tell ed-Duweir and 22 kilometers north-northeast of Beer Sheba. The site (see fig. 4.28) lies on a small mound that covers 30 dunam at an elevation of 497 meters above sea-level and is situated along an internal highway of Judah (1). Kitchener and Conder, following after Guerin, visited the site and noted its antiquity (2). In 1924 William F. Albright visited Tell Beit Mirsim and identified it as biblical Debir/Kiryath-Sepher. Although no evidence to the contrary has been found, this identification does not enjoy universal acceptance. Excavations were carried out from 1926 through 1932 by the American Schools of Oriental Research and Xenia Theological Seminary under the direction of G. Kyle, Clarence S. Fisher, and Albright. Ten strata, ranging from Early Bronze Age III through the Iron Age, were isolated. Two Iron Age strata were found which included a total of 6 phases (3).

Stratum B(1). Closely following the destruction of the Late Bronze Age city near the end of the 13th century BCE, a poor

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tell Beit Mirsim," by W.F. Albright.

2. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) p.279.

3. Encyclopedia.

village containing numerous pits was constructed. Stratum B(1) lasted until the advent of Philistine occupation in the late 12th century BCE and is considered the type site for Iron I-A (4).

Stratum B(2). Stratum B(2) is the Philistine stratum that lasted from the late 12th century BCE to the end of the 11th century BCE. Again most of the remains of this stratum were pits. However, remains of one house were recovered. No trace of the city fortification walls were found in relation to this phase (5).

Stratum B(3). Stratum B(3) is a relatively short-lived stratum that lasted from the early 10th century BCE until its destruction in the late 10th century BCE, probably about 925 at the hands of the army of Pharaoh Shoshenq. Pits again were common in this stratum. However, three structural remains were isolated: the government storehouse, the city wall, and the city gate. The government storehouse is of an early form similar to those found at Tell ed-Duweir, Tell Jemmeh, Beth-Shemesh, and Tell es-Seba'. Albright did not fully describe the structure, but it seems to have been built of unhewn field stone (6).

4. William Foxwell Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim in Palestine: The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns," Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research XII (1932) pp.58-62.

5. W.F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim: The Iron Age," Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research XXI-XXII (1943) pp.10-1.

The city wall (see fig. 4.29) was a casemate fortification system constructed of unhewn field stones and mud that encircled the tell along its crest. The thickness of the outer wall was between 1.50 and 1.60 m., while that of the inner wall was slightly more than 1.00 m. The cross walls were irregularly spaced and never more than 7.5 m. apart (7). The city gate of Stratum B(3) was largely removed by later gates, but enough remained to enable Albright to reconstruct its shape (see fig. 4.30). It consisted of two flanking guard towers of casemate construction protecting a straight entrance partially blocked by projecting piers on each side. This structure was built of unhewn stone and mud in the same technique as the adjoining casemate fortification system (8).

Stratum A(1). This is the stratum for which Albright provided the least data. It began after the late 10th century BCE destruction of Stratum B(3) and lasted to some point in the 9th century BCE. The structural evidence for this stratum includes the rebuilding of the city wall and the modification of the city gate. Along the northwest perimeter of the city the older B(3) city wall was replaced after its destruction by a newer and thicker casemate wall. The repaired section contained a 2.00 m.

6. Ibid., pp.22-4.

7. Ibid., pp.15-8.

8. Ibid.

wide outer wall and a 0.70 to 0.80 m. wide inner wall (9). The modified A(1) city gate (see fig. 4.31) was similar to the earlier gate; two piers were added to the gate near the flanking towers and the two older piers were replaced with thicker ones (10).

Strata A(2) - A(3). It was from Stratum A(2) that the majority of the Iron Age remains were found. Albright was able to determine much of the city plan including houses, industrial areas, the city gate, and the fortification wall which remained in use. According to Albright, this phase lasted from the 9th century BCE to the early 6th century BCE. This latter date was based on epigraphic evidence dated to the beginning of the 6th century BCE which was found in the top layers of this phase (see below). Consequently, Albright attributed the destruction of the city to the Babylonians between 588 and 587 BCE (11). Aharoni has raised significant questions with regard to Albright's stratigraphic and ceramic analysis. As a consequence, Aharoni divided Albright's Stratum A(2) into two distinct strata: A(2) and A(3). According to Aharoni, the stratum A(2) city was destroyed by Sennacherib in 701 BCE and left largely abandoned (12). During

9. Ibid., pp.12-3.

10. Ibid., pp.22-4.

11. Ibid., pp.39-68.

12. Albright was unable to find any evidence for a destruction in 701 BCE, although it is a virtual certainty that one would have occurred either then or slightly earlier. This fact supports the views of Aharoni and Ussishkin (n.15).

Stratum A(3), which followed soon after the destruction of Stratum A(2), a few large structures were built which lasted until the Babylonian destruction of 588-7 BCE (13). Aharoni believed that these two strata were combined by Albright resulting in large quantities of 8th century BCE pottery being called 7th century BCE. This, in part, led to the creation of the two campaign theory for Nebuchadrezzar (14).

In 1976 Ussishkin proved that the epigraphic evidence on which Albright had dated Stratum A(2) to the 6th century actually belonged to the late 8th century BCE (15); thereby eliminating the necessity of hypothesizing occupation after 701 BCE. The author is impressed both by the stratigraphic arguments of Aharoni and by the chronologic arguments of Ussishkin. It seems clear that there was a limited rebuilding of Tell Beit Mirsim after a major destruction, and that this rebuilding was in turn destroyed in 701 BCE by the armies of Sennacherib. Since the majority of the ceramic remains date from the late 8th century BCE, this implies that Tell Beit Mirsim A(2) was destroyed late in the 8th century BCE (ca. 720 BCE) as were Tell es-Seba' and Tell 'Arad. After

13. Yohanan Aharoni, Beer-Sheba I (Ramat-Gan: Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology, 1973) p.6.

14. Miriam and Yohanan Aharoni, "The Stratification of Juhahite Sites in the 8th and 7th Centuries B.C.E.," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 224 (December, 1976) pp.73-4.

15. D. Ussishkin, "Royal Judean Storage Jars and Private Seal Impressions," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 223 (October, 1976) pp.1-14.

this destruction a limited rebuilding occurred which in turn was destroyed in 701 BCE.

Stratum A(2). The B(3) city wall, as repaired in A(1), continued in use through A(2) with the sole change being the construction of a new city gate (16). The gate (see fig. 4.32) was modified with the walling off of the interior piers on the east side of the gate and with the construction of a new and larger tower which replaced the eastern tower of the old city gate. The new tower, also constructed of stone, had an interior guard room and was placed so as to prevent direct access to the city. Originally it stood separate from the city wall, but at some time the space between it and the city wall was "hastily filled with rubble and hammer-dressed stones (17)." Other features of the Stratum A(2) city included dye vats, olive presses, housing, work shops, and a street (18).

The city was destroyed near the end of the 8th century BCE, with the pottery from that destruction layer, which contained no *750s* storage jar handles, being quite similar to that found in the destructions of Tell es-Seba' Stratum II and Tell 'Arad Stratum VIII. The date of the destruction, therefore, is assumed to be around 720 BCE, prior to Assyrian settlement in the Sheikdom of Laban.

16. Albright, "Iron Age," pp.40-1.

17. Ibid., pp.47-8.

18. Ibid., pp.38-68.

Stratum A(3). Three structural units have been identified as belonging to this stratum: the "West Tower", "the other building of public character," and small fragments of other buildings. The "West Tower" (see fig. 4.33) was constructed directly over the old casemate city wall that was destroyed at the end of Stratum A(2) (19). Four phases of minor interior rebuildings, phases *alpha* through *delta*, were found in this structure (20). Beneath one of the rooms in the tower is a pit containing 8th century BCE pottery. Albright attributed this pit to the *gamma* phase; however Aharoni has shown that the exact phase of the pit is indeterminable with the suggestion, however, that it pre-dated the tower (21). The other structures of Stratum A(3) were built of stones similar to those of the fortification wall as opposed to more normal sizes used for housing. These structures were placed over the housing of Stratum A(2) that had been destroyed and are characteristically "coarser (22)."

The date for the destruction of Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A(3) is probably 701 BCE. This date is based on limited ceramic evidence that includes four *תבנב* storage jar handles and two Eliakim seal impressions; all of which Ussishkin has proven to date to the reign of Hezekiah immediately prior to 701 BCE (23).

19. Aharoni, p.6.

20. Albright, "Iron Age," pp.41-7.

21. Aharoni, p.6.

22. Albright, "Iron Age," pp.48-9, 66-7.

After this final destruction the city seems to have been abandoned.

A glacis structure was found directly below the Stratum B wall system. Albright dated this glacis to the Bronze Age, placing it with Strata D or C, on the basis of stratigraphy alone (24). This thick limestone glacis shares a close resemblance to that found at Tell el-Khuweilifeh which Seger has dated to the Iron Age (see pp. 214). Seger has noted the possibility that the Khuweilifeh glacis and the Beit Mirsim glacis may both belong to the Iron Age (25).

The occupational history of Tell Beit Mirsim (Debir?, Kiryath-Sepher?) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

23. Ussishkin, "Storage Jars," pp.1-14.

24. W.F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim: The Bronze Age," Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research XVII (1938) pp.29-30.

25. Personal communication between Dr. Joe D. Seger and the author.

Tell Beit Mirsim

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
DESTRUCTION		
B(1)	Pits	late 13 th to late 12 th centuries BCE
B(2)	Philistine occupation, house, pits	late 12 th to late 11 th centuries BCE
B(3)	Israelite occupation, casemate fortification system, gate, glacis (?)	10 th century BCE (to 925 BCE?)
DESTRUCTION		
A(1)	Rebuild of city gate and wall, reuse	late 10 th to 9 th cent. BCE
A(2)	Rebuild of city gate, reuse, industrial installations, housing	9 th century to ca. 720 BCE
DESTRUCTION		
A(3)	West tower, other public buildings	ca. 720 to 701 BCE
DESTRUCTION		

Tell ej-Jazar (142140)

Tell ej-Jazar (Tel Gezer; Gezer) is located on the northern terminus of the final limestone ridge of the Shephelah at a point about 35 kilometers north of Tell ed-Duweir and 33 kilometers west of Jerusalem. The site, which rises to a height of 225 m. above sea-level, commands a magnificent view in all directions except south as it is perched between 60 and 90 m. above the surrounding plains and the Valley of Aijalon. From the summit of the site Tel Aviv and Ashdod, and on fine days Mt. Carmel and Ashkelon, can be seen. Beyond this commanding view of western Palestine, the site overlooks the Way of the Sea at the point where it intersects the Jaffa - Jerusalem highway. These factors combined to make Tell ej-Jazar one of the major sites in Palestine from the Middle Bronze Age through the Iron Age (1).

In 1871 Charles Claremont-Ganneau identified Tell ej-Jazar with biblical Gezer, an identification that was immediately accepted (2). A few years later Kitchener and Conder visited the site and, knowing the identification with biblical Gezer, described the site in great detail (3). The work of Kitchener and

1. H. Darrell Lance, "Gezer in the Land and in History," Biblical Archaeologist XXX (May, 1967) 2:34-5.

2. Charles Claremont-Ganneau, Archaeological Researches in Palestine 1873-1874, Vol II (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1896) pp.224-75.

3. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol.2: Samaria (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1882) pp.428-40.

Conder and the identification by Claremont-Ganneau stimulated interest in the site, and paved the way for excavation of the site from 1902 through 1909 by R.A. Stewart Macalister. This pioneering effort, sponsored by the Palestine Exploration Fund, resulted in the excavation of two-thirds of the 120 dunam mound. Due to the massive character of this work and given no assistants, Macalister lost control of the work rendering the wealth of material that he excavated useless (4). In 1934 a limited probe at the site was conducted by Alan Rowe who explored Early Bronze Age remains near to the acropolis of the site (5). Interest in Tell ej-Jazar was re-kindled in 1958 when Yigael Yadin demonstrated the presence of a Solomonic gate through a re-analysis of the work of Macalister (6). New excavations began in 1964 and continued through 1973 by an expedition under the sponsorship of Hebrew Union College and directed, at various times, by G. Ernest Wright, William G. Dever, and Joe D. Seger. Most of the data concerning Tell ej-Jazar came from the final publication and articles generated by the HUC expedition (7).

4. R.A. Stewart Macalister, The Excavation of Gezer, 3 vols. (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1912).

5. Alan Rowe, "The 1934 Excavations at Gezer," Palestine Exploration Quarterly LXII (1935) :19-33.

6. Y. Yadin, "Solomon's City Wall and Gate at Gezer," Israel Exploration Journal 8 (1958) 2:80-6.

7. W.G. Dever et al., "Further Excavations at Gezer, 1967-1971," Biblical Archaeologist XXXIV (December, 1971) 4:94-132.

The excavations of Tell ej-Jazar have isolated 26 separate strata with remains ranging from the Chalcolithic Period to the Roman Period. Iron Age remains were isolated in Fields II, III, VI, and VII, however the remains of Fields II and III relate to the fortification system and only they will be examined here. Strata XIV through V represent Iron Age strata (8).

Stratum XIV. This stratum was a period of pitting and earth moving in which few, if any, structures were built. It began in the late 13th century BCE and lasted until the mid 12th century BCE (9).

Strata XIII - XI. Material culture of the Philistines was found in these strata which dated from the mid 12th century BCE to the early 11th century BCE. These strata were clearly defined in the city and included housing and industrial areas. The city was fortified through the reuse of the Late Bronze Age Outer Fortification Wall (see fig. 4.34)(10)

Strata X - IX. These strata dated from the late 11th century BCE to the early 10th century BCE. During this time Philistine remains were absent from the site, however, evidence of continued

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., :128.

10. Ibid., :128-9.

lime slaking and occupation was found. The city was still enclosed by the massive "Outer" wall of the Late Bronze Age (11). Stratum IX ended with a massive conflagration which engulfed the whole city sometime in the mid 10th century BCE. The excavators attributed this destruction to a campaign of the Egyptian Pharaoh Siamun, immediately before he gave the city to King Solomon as part of the dowry when Solomon married the daughter of Pharaoh (12).

Stratum VIII. A new concept in fortification at Tell ej-Jazar occurred with the construction of the Stratum VIII fortification system. Much of the earlier Late Bronze Age fortification system, the "Outer Wall," was put out of use with the construction of the casemate fortification system. This wall, which is constructed of stone foundations with a mud-brick superstructure, is similar to that found at Hazor where the length of the individual casemate varies. Remains of this wall were found on the south of the mound located inside the earlier fortification walls (see fig. 4.34)(13). Elsewhere the "Outer Wall" seems to have continued in use through a rebuild after the Egyptian destruction and with the addition of ashlar towers spaced irregularly along its face (14).

11. Ibid., :110.

12. Lance, :41.

13. Dever et al., :110.

The outstanding component of the new fortification system was the new gate complex, the Solomonic gate (see fig. 4.35). The structure was first cleared by Macalister and later identified by Yadin, but its stratigraphic re-excavation was only completed in the late 1960's and a detailed reporting of this material is still lacking. The gate was erected on a massive imported fill. This fill is the basis for dating the construction of the gate to the mid 10th century BCE and its assignment to the Solomonic period (15).

In the most detailed account of this gate yet published, John S. Holladay wrote:

The plan of the gateway in its earliest phase, Stratum 6 (Field III stratum name), as Yadin had already observed, was essentially a mirror image of the Megiddo gateway, even to the original width of the entrance, later obscured by the Hellenistic rebuild. The massive stone piers formed socles for a superstructure of mud-brick, and the resulting building must have stood at least two or three stories above the surrounding area.

....

The street crossed a heavy threshold at the north end of the gateway building and ran through the center of the building at a slightly lower level than that of the rooms to either side; there were indications that either a ramp or steps led up to a raised threshold leading out of the city. There was only one set of doors - those at the outer entrance of the building (16)."

The gate (see fig. 4.36) was equipped with low benches which

14. William G. Dever, "The Gezer Fortifications and the 'High Place': An Illustration of Stratigraphic Methods and Problems," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1973) p.67.

15. Dever et al., :114-5.

16. Ibid., :115.

ran around the interior of the gate and continued north from the gate. These low sitting benches may be related to the "judgement in the gate" as described in Amos 5:15 indicating a civil versus military use (17).

The final architectural element of the gate was a drainage system. Six small floor level drains which fed a small channel ran down the center of the street and, in turn, through the center of the gate. This system soon proved inadequate and a new 1 m. wide and 1 m. deep drain was placed in the center of the gate and street (18).

An outer gateway, or bastion, was placed directly in front of the gate to the east. This structure was cleared by Macalister and little is known concerning it except that it is an original part of the gate complex (19).

As stated above, the new fortification system and gate complex was constructed in the mid 10th century BCE in a constructional effort probably initiated by Solomon. Stratum VIII lasted only until the late 10th century BCE when the gate complex was burned and destroyed. This destruction has been attributed to Pharoah Shoshenq's campaign of 925 BCE (20).

17. Ibid., :115.

18. Ibid.

19. Yadin, :80-6.

20. Dever et al., :114-7.

Strata VII - VI. Stratum VII followed directly upon the destruction of the Solomonic Gate of Stratum VIII. The older gate complex had been totally destroyed, with the new gate of Stratum VII being placed directly over the earlier Solomonic Gate and the area of the bastion being left vacant. The new gate had only three piers per side, with each pier being thicker than those of the older gate. Benches continued to be placed around the piers and to the north, while the open drain continued to run down the center of the gate. Holladay noted that this Gezer gate was the prototype for a "new series of royal three - entryway gates of the 9th century B.C. (21)"

Strata VII and VI evidence continued occupation from the late 10th/early 9th centuries BCE. Stratum VI was destroyed in a massive conflagration at that time, and the excavators have tentatively attributed that destruction to the Assyrians under Tiglathpileser III in 734 BCE (22).

Stratum V. Scant remains of the 7th century and early 6th century BCE city were found due to the thorough trenching of the Hellenistic inhabitants of the site. There is evidence of Assyrian occupation in a fortified town with the gate occupying the location of the earlier Solomonic gate. Elsewhere the casemate

21. Ibid., :117-8.

22. Ibid.

fortification wall continued in use until all was destroyed in the Babylonian conquest about 587/6 BCE (23).

The occupational history of Tell ej-Jazar (Gezer) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

Tell ej-Jazar

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
XIV	Pitting	late <u>13th</u> to mid <u>12th</u> centuries BCE
XIII	Philistine occupation, reuse of Outer Wall	<u>12th</u> century BCE
XII	Philistine occupation, reuse of Outer Wall	late <u>12th</u> century BCE
XI	Philistine occupation reuse of Outer Wall	early <u>11th</u> century BCE
X	Canaanite occupation reuse of Outer Wall	late <u>11th</u> century BCE
IX	Canaanite occupation, reuse of Outer Wall	early <u>10th</u> century BCE
DESTRUCTION		
VIII	Casemate fortification system, Solomonic gate and bastion, wall towers	mid to late <u>10th</u> century BCE (to 925 BCE)
DESTRUCTION		
VII	3 pier gate, reuse of casemate system	early <u>9th</u> century BCE
VI	3 pier gate, reuse of casemate system	<u>9th</u> and <u>8th</u> centuries BCE (to 734 BCE?)
DESTRUCTION		
V	Assyrian occupation, Assyrian gate, reuse of casemate wall	<u>7th</u> and early <u>6th</u> centuries BCE (to 587/6 BCE)
DESTRUCTION		

Tell ej-Judeideh (141115)

Tell ej-Judeideh (Tel Goded; Moresheth-Gath) is located 2 kilometers north of Beth-Govrin and 10 kilometers south-southwest of Tell Zakariya. The site rests on a high limestone ridge rising to a height of 398 m. above sea-level and commanding a view of the surrounding area (1). Tell ej-Judeideh was visited by Kitchener and Conder in 1874 (2), and was one of four sites excavated by Bliss and Macalister as part of their pioneering excavations conducted between 1898 and 1900 (3). In 1933 J. Jeremias identified Tell ej-Judeideh with biblical Moresheth-Gath and this identification has been generally accepted (4). During the excavation, Bliss identified four strata: Early Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Iron II, and Hellenistic/Roman Periods. The excavations of Bliss concentrated on the Hellenistic/Roman remains and little from the earlier levels was published (5).

Tell ej-Judeideh is a 60 dunam site (see fig. 4.13) of which 25 dunam are set off by the Hellenistic/Roman enclosure wall (see

1. Frederick J. Bliss, "First Report on Excavations at Tell ej-Judeideh," Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (1900) p.87.

2. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) p.379.

3. Frederick J. Bliss and R.A. Stewart Macalister, Excavations in Palestine During the Years 1898-1900 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902).

4. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tell Judeideh," by M. Broshi.

5. Bliss and Macalister, pp.44-51.

fig. 4.37). Only Iron II remains were found over the entire site (6). No data concerning the Iron Age structural remains were published by Bliss, except a note that a destruction level was present (7). Pottery from the Iron Age level was published and it seems to be entirely of the Iron II period (see fig. 4.38 through 4.40). Also included in the ceramic finds were 37 **למלך** store jar handles which should be dated near the end of the 8th century BCE (8)(9).

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p.50.

8. Frederick J. Bliss, "Second Report on the Excavation of Tell ej-Judeideh," Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (1900) p.207.

9. It is possible that Tell ej-Judeideh is one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam. If one accepts the possibility that II Chronicles 11:8 was corrupted by haplography then one can read:

וּגַת מְרֻשֶׁת גַּת דִּגְת מְרֻשֶׁה

for

וּגַת גַּת וּגַת מְרֻשֶׁה

If this reading is correct then it would mean that Tell ej-Judeideh was fortified in the late 10th century BCE.

Tell el-Batashi (141132)

Tell el-Batashi (Tel Batash; Timna) is located in the Sorek valley 7 kilometers west of Beth Shemesh. It covers 40 dunam at its base and 25 dunam on its top (1). George L. Kelm and Amihay Mazar excavated the site in 1977, 1978, and 1979 under the sponsorship of New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, Mississippi College, and Hebrew University of Jerusalem (2). Remains have been found which date from the Middle Bronze Age through the Persian Period, although earlier remains may yet be found. Five Iron Age strata have been discovered (3).

Stratum VI. After the destruction of the large Late Bronze Age city in the late 13th century BCE, a complex was constructed that lasted until the early 12th century BCE (LBII-B/II-A). It consisted of a 1.10 m. wide perimeter wall that followed the contours of the mound. This wall was put out of use prior to Philistine occupation in the mid 12th century BCE (4).

Stratum V. Stratum V has been isolated in the southeastern corner of the mound, Area B. Two phases of a 7.3 x 10 m. 3-room

1. George L. Kelm and Amihay Mazar, "Tel Batash, 1977," Israel Exploration Journal 27 (1977) 3:167.

2. George L. Kelm and Amihay Mazar, "Tel Batash, 1978," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978) 3:195.

3. George L. Kelm and Amihay Mazar, "Tel Batash (Timnah), 1979," Israel Exploration Journal 29 (1979) 3-4:241-3.

4. Kelm and Mazar, "1978," :195.

house and a pit were isolated (5). The remains are fragmentary, but enough was found to date them to the mid 12th and 11th centuries BCE and to place them into a Philistine context (6).

Stratum IV. The Stratum IV gate complex is the sole remains known from this stratum. It was isolated during the 1979 season and has only been published in summary fashion.

"The frontal part of the gate was directly under topsoil on the eastern slope of the tell, while the inner part was covered by the later gates and could be excavated only in small sections. The plan of this gate is totally different from those of Strata III-II. While the ramp to the latter approached from the south, access to this gate was from the north. A massive L-shaped wall, built of huge stones, created an indirect entrance. The gate passage was defended by two large towers (about 5 x 5 m. each). Inside the towers, the pavement of the gate was well preserved with one door socket still *in situ*. Hand-burnished sherds found on this floor date the gate to the tenth or early ninth century B.C.E. On both sides of the passage, sections of brick walls with stone foundations were found. Two of these walls create a narrow corridor which may have contained a staircase leading to the upper part of the towers. A drainage canal was found below the gate passage and has been exposed, in sections, for 22 m. This channel consists of two narrow stone walls and has a gabled roof created by long stone slabs. Attached to the southern tower is a wall 1 m. wide, which runs parallel to the edge of the mound. It may have been part of a fortification wall (casemates?), but further clarification is needed. The plan of the gate is unique: some elements recall the Iron Age gates at Tell Beit Mirsim and Karatepe, though as a whole, the plan has no exact parallels (7)."

5. Ibid.

6. Kelm and Mazar, "1977," :167.

7. Kelm and Mazar, "1979," :242-3.

Stratum III. The Iron II fortification system, along with a small dwelling and barracks that had been placed against it, is the largest Iron II structure that has been examined to date at Tell el-Batashi (8). Running around the crest of the tell is a 4 m. wide stone fortification wall (9). This wall rests on Stratum V remains and was constructed in the 8th century BCE (10). Two, or possibly three, phases of the city gate were associated with the 4 m. wide "broad wall". The plan of the early phase (see fig. 4.41) consisted of four piers that formed a guard room and two narrow corridors, on the side of the gate that was excavated. This is an uncommon gate form and may be the result of the addition, in a second phase, of a third pier between the two rear piers. If this is the case, the original plan was that of the common 3-pier 2-guardroom design of the Iron Age in which a fourth pier was added later to divide the second guardroom (11). This gate was entered from the south by a road that reached the gate from a ramp that ran along the wall face (12).

A street ran along the inside of the fortification wall and two buildings have been isolated that opened off this street. The first was a courtyard dwelling, while the second was a fortified "barracks" which was constructed late in Stratum III. It was a

8. Kelm and Mazar, "1978," :195.
9. Kelm and Mazar, "1977," :167.
10. Kelm and Mazar, "1978," :195.
11. Ibid.
12. Kelm and Mazar, "1977," :168.

long and massive structure with flagstone and chalk floors. It was destroyed in a massive conflagration. In its destruction layer 75m5 stamped handles were found which should indicate a date during the reign of King Hezekiah, ca. 715 - 701 BCE for its final use. The destruction can be attributed to Sennacherib and should be dated to the end of the 8th century BCE (13).

Stratum II. In Stratum II the gate was rebuilt with the two inner piers being put out of use. Above these two piers a layer of pebbles was placed which covered an area of 65 m. sq. both within and inside the city gate (14). New buildings were placed above the ruined ones of Stratum III, with some of them being agricultural in character. The date of this stratum is 7th century BCE with its destruction being at the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 6th century BCE, most probably during the turmoil after the death of Josiah in 609 BCE (15).

A lower revetment wall circles the mound on its lower slopes which can not be dated to any period with certainty. According to Kelm and Mazar:

"On the lower slope, a massive revetment wall was built upon an earthen accumulation which contained LB pottery. This revetment wall which can be traced on the surface along the

13. Kelm and Mazar, "1979," :243.
14. Kelm and Mazar, "1978," :196.
15. Kelm and Mazar, "1979," :243.

northern slope of the mound is probably part of a lower fortification line, either of the LB II or of the Iron Age. The wall was found covered by wash layers containing Iron Age II pottery. These eroded strata include a collapse of heavy stones and continue the slope of the mound below the present level of the surrounding fields. This stone accumulation appears to have been the Iron Age II city fortifications which collapsed into a moat existing near the foot of the site at that time (16)."

The occupational history of Tell el-Batashi (Timna) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

Tell el-Batashi

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
DESTRUCTION		
VI	Thin perimeter wall	late <u>13th</u> to early <u>12th</u> century BCE
V	Philistine city	mid <u>12th</u> to <u>11th</u> cent. BCE
IV	Double tower gate, casemate wall (?)	<u>10th</u> to early <u>9th</u> cent. BCE
III	Broad wall, three pier gate, Israelite city, barracks	to <u>8th</u> century BCE (to 701 BCE?)
DESTRUCTION		
II	Rebuild with new four pier gate	<u>7th</u> century BCE (to 609 BCE?)
DESTRUCTION		

Tell el-Far'a (S) (100076)

Tell el-Far'a (S) (Tel Sharuhen; Shur?) is located in the northwest Negev at a point 26 kilometers south of Gaza and 30 kilometers west of Beer Sheba. The 66 dunam mound rests on a natural hill, rising to a height of approximately 100 m. above sea-level and overlooking the Wadi Ghazzeah (Nahal Besor) (1). W. M. Flinders Petrie led an expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt to the site in 1928, with more work being done by that group again in 1929. The results of this work were published under the name of Beth-Pelet in 1930 and 1932 (2). Petrie had identified the site, apparently erroneously, as Beth-Pelet. Later scholars have tended to identify the site as Sharuhen, but that identification has been found suspect too (3).

The British Expedition found evidence of occupation which ran from the Early Bronze Age to the Roman Period, with major habitation lasting from Middle Bronze Age II-C to the Iron Age. The publications are short and lacking in detail with regards to what was found, except for the plans that are given for each phase. The result is that interpretation of the material is

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed. s.v. "Sharuhen," by Yael Yishraeli.

2. W. M. Flinders Petrie, Beth-Pelet I, (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1930), and J. L. Starkey and Lankaster Harding Beth-Pelet II, (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1932).

3. A. Kempinski, "Tell-el-'Ajjul -- Beth-Agalyon or Sharuhen?" Israel Exploration Journal 24 (1974) 3-4:150.

difficult and conclusions only tentative. Levels Y and X are the first Iron Age levels and are levels of major Philistine occupation. Level Y dates from early Philistine times (12th/11th century BCE) and level X dates to late Philistine times (11th/10th century BCE) (4). Levels W-V and U-T are badly disturbed by level R-S and not enough is preserved to allow interpretation (5).

The remains of part of a large defensive wall and those of a major building were isolated in level R-S (fig. 4.42). This 17 foot (5.2 m.) thick mud-brick defensive wall was set into a 9 foot (2.75 M.) deep foundation trench that had been cut through a massive ash layer. The foundation courses were set on a layer of fine clean sand and a layer of cobblestone. The superstructure is preserved to a height of 5 feet (1.5 m.), and the entire structure was built with fine yellow clay mud-bricks. As a second and later construction, a 6 foot (1.83 m.) wide "platform" which was set onto the ash layer was added onto the interior of the wall. The total wall is 23 feet (7.01 m.) thick and seems to have been used as a lookout and fighting platform. The building is 79 feet (24.01 m.) long and 35 feet (10.66 m.) wide. Petrie speculated that this building was a "governmental building." The walls of this structure were preserved to a height of between 3 and 6 feet (0.91 and 1.83 m.). Its floor levels were isolated at (0.15 m.) a

4. Starkey and Harding, p.29.

5. Petrie, p.19.

point about one-half foot above the base of the foundations for the walls (6).

Petrie dated this structure to the time of Shoshenq (late 10th century BCE), but this date is not secure (7). Stratum X which dates to the early 10th century, is separated from Strata R-S by four layers, and Strata R-S rests directly under a layer which dates to the Persian Period (8). This, by itself, could lead one to question Petrie's dates for these strata. Petrie, Starkey, and Harding excavated hundreds of graves in the cemeteries that surround the site. This work found continuous cemetery remains that extended from Middle Bronze Age II-C to the late 10th/early 9th century BCE, and again from the 7th/6th century BCE through the Persian Period (9). This gap in the cemetery chronology may indicate an abandonment of the site from the early 9th century to the 7th century BCE (10). Given that the next succeeding level after R-S is Persian, this may indicate that Strata R-S dates from the 7th/6th century BCE with Strata T-U dating from the time of Shoshenq.

The occupational history of Tell el-Far'a (S) during the Iron Age can be summarized tentatively as follows:

6. Ibid., p.20.
7. Ibid.
8. Encyclopedia.
9. Petrie, p.11.
10. Encyclopedia.

Tell el-Far'a (S)

STRATA	STRUCTURE	DATE
Y	Philistine city	12 th to 11 th century BCE
X	Philistine city	11 th to 10 th century BCE
W-V	Unknown	10 th century BCE (to 925 BCE ?)
U-T	Unknown	late 10 th to early 9 th century BCE (to 925 BCE ?)
R-S	Solid wall fortification system, "Governmental Building"	7 th to early 6 th century BCE

Tell el-Hesi (124106)

Tell el-Hesi (Tel Hasi) is located 26 kilometers east of Gaza and about 11 kilometers west of Tell ed-Duweir. The site rises dramatically from the plains surrounding the Wadi el-Hesi (Nahal Shiqma) at the point where the Wadi el-Hesi is formed by the junction of the Wadi Muleihah (Nahal Shiqma) and the Wadi Jizair. The prominent acropolis of Tell el-Hesi rises to a height of 143.8 m. above sea-level and 37.7 m. above the bed of the Wadi el-Hesi. Twenty-one meters of the height is accounted for by occupational strata and the other 16.7 m. by a large sand dune (1). The acropolis (see fig. 4.43) covers only 2700 sq. m. while the entire site, including the Early Bronze Age remains, cover approximately 120 dunam (2). The site, which has been known since the Middle Ages, was visited in the 19th century by Robinson, Guerin, and Kitchener and Conder who identified the site with biblical Lachish (3).

Two major archaeological projects have been centered at Tell el-Hesi. The first project was sponsored by the Palestine Exploration Fund and lasted from 1890 to 1893. The first true

1. Valerie Fargo and Kevin G. O'Connell, "Five Seasons of Excavations at Tell el-Hesi: 1970-77," Biblical Archaeologist 41 (December, 1978) 4:165-6.

2. D. Glenn Rose and Lawrence E. Toombs, "Four Seasons of Excavation at Tell el-Hesi: A Preliminary Report," Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 43 (1978) p.10.

3. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) pp.261, 290-1.

stratigraphic archaeological excavation in Palestine took place at Tell el-Hesi in 1890 when W. M. Flinders Petrie spent six weeks excavating the site (4). This preliminary work by Petrie was continued by Frederick J. Bliss who worked the site from 1891 to 1893 and successfully excavated one-third of the acropolis to its base (5). Petrie had identified the site as biblical Lachish, an identification that Bliss accepted. However, this identification was abandoned after excavations at Tell ed-Duweir confirmed Albright's identification of that site as Lachish (6).

The second project to excavate at Tell el-Hesi is the Joint Expedition to Tell el-Hesi, a group affiliated with the American Schools of Oriental Research. During the 1970's six seasons of excavation took place under the direction of John E. Worrell and D. Glenn Rose in association with senior archaeologist Lawrence E. Toombs. The combined results from these expeditions have isolated remains from the Chalcolithic Period, Early Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Iron I, Iron II, Persian Period, Hellenistic Period, Arab Period, and modern times as being present on the site. At least three, and probably four, Iron Age strata are present.

4. W.M. Flinders Petrie, Tell el Hesi (Lachish) (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1891).

5. Frederick Jones Bliss, A Mound of Many Cities (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1898).

6. W.F. Albright, "The American Excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim," Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 47 (1929) :3.

Pre-Stratum VII. The current project at Tell el-Hesi has discovered 2 Iron Age strata: Stratum VII and Stratum VI. The results from the earlier work of Petrie and Bliss are very difficult to work with and, as such, have not yet been integrated into the current work at Tell el-Hesi except in a few isolated cases. From their plans and descriptions it would appear that at least one and probably two additional Iron Age strata are to be encountered. The earlier of the two is the stratum of the "Pilaster Building" (see figs. 4.44 and 4.45). This structure was set on a 6 inch (15 cm.) bed of "clean yellow sand" with its floor level being at 312 feet (134.72 m. above sea-level adjusted). It was constructed of fine mud-bricks that were preserved to a height of about 6 feet (1.83 m.). The interior measurements of the structure were 274 inches (6.96 m.) by 260 inches (6.60 m.). It had at least 6 doorways. The doorways, which vary in width from 54 to 48 inches (1.37 to 1.22 m.), have stone pilasters which served as door frames. These pilasters were placed upside down (in a reuse of the stone) to form the door frames. The "Pilaster Building" was destroyed by fire during the Iron I period as evidenced by four Iron I ceramic vessels which were found in the destruction layer (7). To the south, and resting at the same level, a stone staircase was discovered that led down to a stone doorsill (8).

7. Petrie, pp.22-5, 33-5.

After the destruction of the Iron I stratum of the "Pilaster Building," the structure was filled in. Two feet above the top of the "Pilaster Building" Stratum VIIId began, and it is entirely possible that transitional Iron I/II remains will be found in this layer (9).

Stratum VIIId. During the 9th or early 8th century BCE a massive building program was undertaken at Tell el-Ḥesi. As a result of this program the top of the tell was raised by as much as 5.50 m. through the addition of layers of artificial fill (see fig. 4.46). The first step in this building program was the addition of a series of mud-brick walls and crosswalls over the earlier remains. These walls, which were about 1.40 m. in width, formed a structure that was shaped as a squared-off horseshoe or rectangle (see fig. 4.47). The top of these "piers" form a plane about 5 m. above their bases, with the areas between the "piers" being filled with earth and rubble up to the top of the "piers". A series of massive sloping layers of fill were placed against the sides of the "pier system" to help support it. On the south slope of the acropolis, the sloping fill layers were covered with a stone and white plaster glacis. The glacis probably served to consolidate the fill layers and to divert water off the site. The

8. Ibid., pp.34,34.

9. Ibid., plate III.

slope of the glacis is 32 degrees which is similar to that of other Iron Age glacis found in Judah (10).

The fill layers and the glacis were contained and partially covered by a massive mud-brick wall (the "Manasseh Wall"). Petrie (see fig. 4.45) traced this wall around the site and concluded that it functioned as the fortification wall of a fortress (11). Where the current project has examined the wall, it measures about 5 m. in height and 7 m. in breadth at its widest extent. Above and behind this wall layers of horizontally bedded fill were placed, upon which the VIIc occupation layers were built. Where the wall has been exposed on the south slope it is unclear whether the wall continued upwards to form a fortress wall, stood exposed to the south to form a fortress wall, or was subterranean and served as a retaining wall or anchor. At the present time it appears that a massive sloping fill and buttress system was placed against the wall, and that this fill was covered over with a mud-brick capping. It also appears that no upward extension of the wall is to be found. If this is true, it means that on the south slope the "Manasseh Wall" served as a retaining wall (12).

10. Kevin G. O'Connell and D. Glenn Rose, "Tell el-Hesi, 1979," Palestine Exploration Quarterly 112 (July-December, 1980) 2:80-2.

11. Petrie, plate IV.

12. O'Connell and Rose, "Tell el-Hesi, 1979," :82.

Stratum VIIc. Stratum VIIc was the occupational level that was placed directly over the VIId construction phase. Unfortunately little has been recovered from this and later Iron Age strata because much of the material was removed by Persian building activities. The bare foundations of a courtyard building were found in Areas 22 and 32 (see fig. 4.49). To the south, in Areas 41 and 51, two parallel walls and a walking surface were found (13). The remains from this stratum have not been fully analyzed. It seems, however, to date from the 9th and 8th centuries BCE.

Stratum VIIb. Stratum VIIb dates from the 8th and 7th centuries BCE and is seen in Areas 41 and 51 by three walls, a pit, and a walking surface (see fig. 4.50) (14).

Stratum VIIa. Stratum VIIa dates from the 7th century to the Babylonian destruction about 588 BCE. Two rooms and a cobble floor were found to the south of the mound (see fig. 4.50), while a large pit containing late Iron II pottery was found in the north. Also found in that pit was a bulla that dates to the 7th century BCE (15).

13. Kevin G. O'Connell, D. Glenn Rose, and Lawrence E. Toombs, "Tell el-Hesi, 1977," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (June-December, 1978) pp.80-2.

14. Ibid., p.80.

15. Ibid., pp.78-80.

Stratum VI. After the massive Babylonian destruction a poor mid 6th century BCE house was constructed in Areas 41 and 51 (see fig. 4.50). As with the other Iron Age strata, it is isolated as a result of Persian building activities (16).

At the base of the acropolis to the south of the Manasseh Wall, a massive wall system was isolated (see fig. 4.48). In 1975 this wall system was dated to the early Persian Period on the basis of a few sherds found near the base of the wall. Since that time further excavation has suggested that this wall may relate to the VIIId construction phase. At the present time, therefore, the date of this wall system is unclear.

The total width of this wall was about 13 m. It was constructed in three phases with each later phase being added to the outside (south) face of the wall. The earliest phase, Zone A, was set on a thick stone foundation and was built of mud-brick (see fig. 4.48). A foundation trench for this wall was cut into earlier material which was stabilized by the addition of piers to the inner face of the wall. Zone B was set on a thin stone foundation and was constructed of mud-brick. It was battered on the outside and simply rested against Zone A. Zone C was constructed totally of mud-brick and rested against the outer face of Zone B. The excavators concluded that all three zones were

constructed within a short period of time since little erosion occurred to any of their exterior faces (17).

A second peculiarity of the site is that no evidence for a destruction by the Assyrians has been found. This is the only site in this study which was occupied during this time period where no evidence of such a destruction has been found.

The occupational history of Tell el-Hesi during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

17. Rose and Toombs, pp.132-5.

Tell el-Hesi

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
Pre-VII	Pilaster building	12 th to 10 th cent. BCE
Pre-VII		10 th to 9 th cent. BCE?
VIIId	Wall-pier-fill construction	9 th century BCE?
VIIc	Two houses	9 th to 8 th cent. BCE
VIIb	House and pit	8 th to 7 th cent. BCE
VIIa	House and pits	7 th cent. to 588 BCE
DESTRUCTION		
VI	House	mid 6 th century BCE

Tell el-Kheleifeh (147884) (for location see fig. 1
under the name Ezion-Geber)

Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber, Elath) is located at the southern edge of the 'Arabah about 0.5 kilometer north of the Gulf of Aqaba, 4 kilometers west of Aqaba city, and 4 kilometers east of modern Elath. The site covers 6 dunam and is situated on a low mound 4 m. high in an area of high winds and heat (1). There is a poor source of water available at Tell el-Kheleifeh in contrast to the good water available near modern Aqaba. As Glueck pointed out, the harsh conditions found at Tell el-Kheleifeh were chosen purposefully since nearby protection from the heat and wind, and good water is available (2). Fritz Frank visited the site in 1933 and identified it as Ezion-Geber (3). The following year Nelson Glueck surveyed the site, and from 1938 to 1940 he directed excavations there on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, the American Schools of Oriental Research, and the American Philosophical Society (4). Glueck's original interpretation of Tell el-Kheleifeh as a smelting furnace was challenged by Rothenberg in 1962 (5). Glueck was persuaded by Rothenberg's

1. Nelson Glueck, "The First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber)," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 71 (October, 1938) p.5.

2. Nelson Glueck, "The Topographical History of Ezion Geber and Elath," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 72 (December, 1938) pp.2-4.

3. Glueck, "First Campaign," p.4.

4. Ibid., p.3.

argument, and in his final publications concerning the site he referred to it as a "storehouse granary" (6). Five strata were discovered during excavation, the first four being Iron Age and the latest Persian (7).

Period I. Glueck separated three phases in the Period I remains and attributed them all to the building program of King Solomon, mentioned in I Kings 9:26. During the first phase the storehouse granary was constructed (see fig. 4.51). Glueck wrote:

"It was 13.2 meters square, with the outside walls 1.2 meters thick and the partition walls about 1 meter thick. Originally, it had consisted of six rooms, three small square rooms at the north end and three rectangular rooms to the south, the latter being each 7.4 meters in length. It was the best built structure on the site, with mud-bricks measuring 40 by 20 by 10 centimeters. Part of the southern outer wall was still standing to a height of 2.7 meters.

Each of the walls had two horizontal rows of apertures piercing the width of the walls. The lower row was a meter above the base of the walls and the upper row 70 centimeters higher. These apertures apparently held wooden cross beams inserted into the walls for building or anchoring purposes.

.....
The outer and inner faces of its walls were plastered over with a thick coating of mud (8)."

The second phase of Period I may actually be part of the first phase. In this phase a sloping rampart of mud-bricks and mud-

5. Beno Rothenberg, "Ancient Copper Industries in the Western Arabah," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1962) pp. 44-56.

6. Nelson Glueck, The Other Side of the Jordan (Cambridge Mass.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1970) pp.106-137.

7. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tell el-Khekeifeh," by N. Glueck.

8. Ibid.

plaster was built against the walls of the storehouse granary. The bricks and construction technique were identical with the first phase (see fig. 4.51) (9).

The fortification system was constructed during the third and final phase of Period I. Glueck wrote:

"This well built structure (storehouse granary) with its glacis was enclosed by a fortification wall with salients and recesses on its outer face and casemate rooms against its inner face. Each side of the enclosure wall was 45 meters in length and was divided into three salients and two recesses, each 9 meters in length. It was built of bricks somewhat larger (about 43.5 by 23.5 by 13 centimeters) than those of the "storehouse granary" and the glacis, and it is possible that a certain interval of time elapsed between the construction of the two, but probably only a short one, for it is difficult to envision the military post with its storage rooms standing by itself, even with its glacis. The building, as well as the casemate wall with its salients and recesses, has been attributed to the time of Solomon (10)."

Period I was destroyed probably as a result of the invasion of Shoshenq about 925 BCE (11).

Period II. After the destruction of the Period I fortress, the site was abandoned until the mid 9th century BCE. At that time a large fortification system was erected that served as the defensive structure for the site until the end of the 6th century BCE. This system consisted of two parallel solid walls separated by a dry moat (see fig. 4.51). The inner wall, which was 8 m.

9. Nelson Glueck, "Ezion-Geber," Biblical Archaeologist XXVIII (December, 1965) 3:80-1.

10. Encyclopedia.

11. Ibid.

high, was 4 m. wide at its base and 2 m. wide at its top. It was constructed of mud-bricks and had salients. The outer wall was about half the width of the inner and was constructed with salients that corresponded to the salients of the inner wall. These walls were separated by about 3 m. Both walls were supplemented with a glacis on their outer faces. The glacis had salients and recesses corresponding to those of the walls (12). The bricks of these glacis, as well as the Period I glacis, were laid in "complex diagonal cross-patterns" which, Glueck notes, are the "strongest form of brick bonding known to man (13)." Between the inner glacis and the outer wall was a dry moat which had a stamped-clay and mud-brick floor. The gate to the fortress was found on the southwest corner of the site. It was a 3-piered mud-brick gate that formed two guardrooms, a type common to the 9th and 8th centuries BCE (14).

Glueck attributed the construction of Period II to King Jehoshaphat in his attempt to re-establish sea trade from Ezion-Geber (I Kings 22:48 and II Chronicles 20:36-7). This attempt failed and by the mid to late 9th century BCE the Edomites had regained control of the area around Ezion-Geber at the expense of King Joram (II Kings 8:20-22 and II Chronicles 21:8-10). After

12. Ibid.

13. Nelson Glueck, "The Third Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 79 (October, 1940) pp. 4,8.

14. Encyclopedia.

Period II the site remained unoccupied and was allowed to fill up with sand (15).

Period III. The site was rebuilt in the early 8th century BCE. The windblown sand was dug out of the site, the fortifications were patched up, and the houses reused. Only in the gate structure did significant changes occur. There, the floor levels were raised and the guardrooms were blocked up to create a passageway. This passageway was further narrowed with the addition of mud-brick pillars to the face of the third pier (16). This period was destroyed by fire in the late 8th century BCE (17).

Ezion-Geber is not mentioned in the Bible after the reign of Jehoshaphat. II Kings 14:22 and II Chronicles 26:1-2 report that Uzziah rebuilt Elath for Judah. Glueck believed that the name Elath was moved to the site of Ezion-Geber at this time, and that the biblical passages refer to the rebuilding of Tell el-Kheleifeh (18). This analysis fits well with the archaeological dating for its construction. The Period III occupation was destroyed in the late 8th century BCE. In II Kings it is recorded that during the

15. Glueck, "Ezion-Geber," :84.

16. Glueck, Jordan, pp.124-6.

17. Nelson Glueck, "The Second Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber)," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 75 (October, 1939) p.20.

18. Glueck, "Topography," pp.7-9.

reign of Ahaz the Edomites recovered Elath. This, too, fits well and it is probable that the equation of Tell el-Kheleifeh with Elath in the 8th century BCE is correct.

Period IV. The final Iron Age period at Tell el-Kheleifeh ran, in several phases, from the end of the 8th century BCE to the end of the 6th century BCE. The Edomites rebuilt the city's fortification system of Period III, but built an entirely new internal structure (19). This city was probably the greatest of all that were located at Tell el-Kheleifeh. Numerous trade objects were found in this stratum which testify to the site's use as a trading center (20). The site was burned and destroyed near the end of the 6th century BCE and was soon re-occupied, Period V continuing in use during the Persian Period (21).

The occupational history of Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber, Elath) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

19. Glueck, Jordan, p.128.

20. Ibid., p.132.

21. Ibid., p.134.

Tell el-Kheleifeh

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
I		
-A	Storehouse granary	10 th century BCE
-B	Reuse, glacis	10 th century BCE
-C	Reuse, casemate fortification system	10 th century BCE (to 925 BCE?)
DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT		
II	Double salient-and-recess fortification wall and glacis	9 th century BCE
DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT		
III	Rebuild	8 th century BCE
DESTRUCTION		
IV	Rebuild by Edomites	late 8 th to late 6 th century BCE
DESTRUCTION		

Tell el-Milh (152069)

Tell el-Milh (Tel Malhata) is located 12 kilometers southeast of Tell 'Arad. The 15 dunam site rises 14 m. above its surrounding plain at the junction of the Wadi Milh (Nahal Malhata) and the Wadi es-Seba' (Nahal Beer-sheba)(1). The site is reported in the Survey of Western Palestine (2); however it was not until 1967 that actual excavation of the site began. The 1967 excavation was conducted as part of the 'Arad expedition, and later in 1971 the excavation was part of the Tel Beer sheva Expedition; both seasons under the direction of M. Kochavi (3). The results from these seasons showed occupation from the Chalcolithic Period, the Early Bronze Age, the Middle Bronze Age, the Iron Age, the Hellenistic Period, the Roman Period, and the Arab periods. Three phases were distinguished in the Iron Age stratum (4).

Earliest Iron Age Phase. A 5 m. high rampart made of river-bed gravel and covered with a cobblestone glacis was erected over the earlier remains. On top of this artificial rampart a mud-brick

1. M. Kochavi, "Tel Malhata," Israel Exploration Journal 17 (1967) 4:272.

2. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London:Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) pp.415-6.

3. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tel Malhata," by M. Kochavi.

4. Ibid.

fortification wall was placed that was 4.0 m. to 4.5 m. in width. To the interior of and associated with this wall two sub-phases of a probable public building were found. This phase was constructed in the middle of the 10th century BCE and was destroyed near the end of the 10th century BCE, probably during the campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq about 925 BCE (5).

Middle Iron Age Phase. After the destruction of the preceding phase a small, unwalled, and short-lived occupation was established that consisted of several fireplaces. This phase was either abandoned or put out of use by the construction of the next phase (6).

Final Iron Age Phase. In the 9th century BCE a new fortification system was erected. A 3.0 to 3.5 m. wide mud-brick wall which was plastered on both the inside and the outside was placed on top of the earlier fortification system. The outside of the new wall was supported "... on the steep slope by a huge earthen rampart (7)." Also associated with the new city wall was a large tower that projected 8 m. from the wall and was preserved to a height of 10 m. Inside of the wall occupational remains were found that related to five sub-phases of which only the final was

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

destroyed by fire. One of the major interior remains was that of a government storehouse which was 15 x 7 m. and was in use through all of the sub-phases. Kochavi wrote,

"It consisted of three long rooms divided by three rows of pillars. The middle narrower room had a beaten earth floor, and the other two rooms had stone pavements.... Its floors were raised, and the original pillars built of round drums were later replaced by square monoliths (8)."

Tell el-Milh was destroyed in the late 7th or early 6th centuries BCE probably at or just prior to the time of the Babylonian conquest. Most of the remains found by the excavators dated to the time of this final destruction and included many Edomite and East Greek vessel types (9).

The occupational history of Tell el-Milh during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

Tell el-Milh

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
ABANDONMENT		
Earliest	Solid city wall, rampart, Israelite city	late <u>10th</u> century BCE (to 925 BCE?)
DESTRUCTION BY FIRE		
Middle	Squatters	?
Latest	Solid city wall, rampart, Israelite city, storehouse	<u>9th</u> to late <u>7th</u> /early <u>6th</u> centuries BCE
DESTRUCTION BY FIRE		

Tell el-Qudeirat (096006)

Tell el-Qudeirat (Kadesh-Barnea; Kadesh-Barnea) is located at the large oasis of 'Ein el-Qudeirat in the central Negeb at the junction of the ancient road from Rafiah to Ezion-Geber and the ancient road from Beer-sheba to Egypt. Since the turn of the twentieth century CE the site has attracted numerous archaeological investigators. In 1905 N. Schmidt visited and described the site (1). Later in 1914 Woolley and Lawrence described, mapped, and identified Tell el-Qudeirat as biblical Kadesh-Barnea (2). Later surveyors included Glueck (1934), de Vaux (1937), and Aharoni in 1956. It was in that year that M. Dothan conducted an extensive survey and limited probing of the site, adding to the plan of Woolley and Lawrence (3). The final investigation of Tell el-Qudeirat was an excavation by Rudolph Cohen in 1976 and 1978 (4). These investigations have found remains at Tell el-Qudeirat that date from the Paleolithic Age, Middle Bronze Age, Iron Age, Persian Period, Roman Period, and Byzantine Period (5). Three Iron Age strata were isolated (6).

1. R. Cohen, "Kadesh-Barnea, 1976," Israel Exploration Journal 26 (1976) 3:201.

2. C.L. Woolley and T.E. Lawrence, "The Wilderness of Zin," Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund 3 (1914) pp.52-7, 69-71.

3. M. Dothan, "The Fortress of Kadesh-Barnea," Israel Exploration Journal 15 (1965) 3:134-51.

4. Carol Meyers, "Kadesh-Barnea: Judah's Last Outpost," Biblical Archaeologist 39 (December, 1976) 4:148-51.

5. Dothan, :134.

Stratum 3. This stratum has been reached solely in a limited probe in the southeastern corner of the mound. It dates to the 10th and 9th centuries BCE and is set on virgin ground. A casemate wall system, with an internal width of 3 m. for its casemate rooms, was found (7).

Stratum 2. A fortress that probably was 24 m. sq. was constructed over the remains of Stratum 3. The fortification wall was 4 m. wide and is preserved to a height of 1.8 m. (8). According to Meyers, it is similar in construction to the 4 m. wide walls of Tell es-Seba', Khirbet 'Ar'arah, and Tell 'Arad (9). Mud-brick and stone walls were found to form dwellings inside of the fortress. Cohen has dated Stratum 2 to the 8th and 7th centuries BCE (10).

Stratum 1. The well known fortress of Kadesh-Barnea (see fig. 4.52) is that of Stratum 1 at Tell el-Qudeirat. Prior to the excavations of Cohen this fortress was dated from the 10th to the 7th centuries BCE based primarily on the tentative dates given to the survey work of Dothan. Cohen's excavations, however, have

6. R. Cohen, "Kadesh-Barnea, 1978," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978) 3:197.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Meyers, :150.

10. Cohen, "1978," :197.

proven the fortress to date between the late 7th and early 6th centuries BCE, with a high probability of its construction being attributable to King Josiah (11).

The fortress dominates the tell and measures 60 x 41 m. (see fig. 4.52). It is a rectangular structure with casemate walls and towers at each corner as well as midway along each side, for a total of 8. The total width of the casemate structures was between 4 and 5 m. with the walls themselves being 1 m. thick. These parallel walls were connected by 1 m. wide crosswalls that occur at intervals of between 4 and 11 m. All of these walls are preserved between 1.5 and 1.8 m. in height and are set in foundation trenches (not shown in fig. 4.52). The walls were constructed of unhewn, crudely dressed stones laid as headers for the first storey and of mud-bricks which measured 20x15x12 cm. for the second storey which was supported by wooden beams. The towers are constructed of unhewn, crudely dressed stones for the bottom 1.5 m. and of well dressed stones from there on up. This casemate structure surrounded a large open inner courtyard (12).

Surrounding the fortress was a glacis. It was between 2 and 4 meters in height and covered both the earlier levels and the lower courses of the casemate walls. According to Dothan,

11. Cohen, "1976," :202.

12. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Kadesh-Barnea," by M. Dothan; M. Dothan, "Fortress," :136-8; and Cohen, "1978," :197.

"... the earth bank surrounds the lower part of the wall, which it shields quite well. The glacis is made of *terre-pisé* mixed with sun-dried bricks, organic material and gravel. Its surface is formed of large cobblestones. It would seem that the glacis, which had a gradient of 40 degrees, was meant to hinder attackers in ascending the walls, and protect the walls against the erosive forces of floods (13)."

The Stratum 1 fortress was, therefore, an eight-towered, two-storey casemate structure protected on its sides by a glacis. In all likelihood it was constructed by King Josiah in the late 7th century BCE and was probably destroyed or abandoned in the early 6th century BCE.

The occupational history of Tell el-Qudeirat (Kadesh-Barnea) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

Tell el-Qudeirat

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
3	Casemate wall	<u>10th</u> and <u>9th</u> centuries BCE
2	Fortress, broad wall fortification system	<u>8th</u> and <u>7th</u> centuries BCE
1	Fortress, 8 tower casemate wall system, glacis	late <u>7th</u> to early <u>6th</u> centuries BCE

Tell en-Najileh (127101)

Tell en-Najileh (Tel Nagila) is a major archaeological site located 11 kilometers southwest of Tell ed-Duweir and 5.5 kilometers south-southeast of Tell el-Hesi (1). The 40 dunam site, which rises 7 meters above the surrounding plains, is situated on the south bank of the Wadi Muleihah (Nahal Shiqma)(2). The site has been long known and has, at times, been identified with numerous biblical sites. Currently, however, it is not identified with any biblical site. Tell en-Najileh was excavated in 1962 and 1963 by Ruth Amiran and A. Eitan for the Institute for Mediterranean Studies. Fourteen strata were isolated that range in date from the Chalcolithic Period to the Mameluke Period. Strata IV and III date to the Iron Age (3).

Stratum IV. The very fragmentary remains of a few walls, floors, and pits were isolated that dated to the 9th century BCE (4).

Stratum III. Stratum III does not belong to Tell en-Najileh proper, but to an area located about 200 m. south of the tell near

1. S. Bulow and R.A. Mitchell, "An Iron Age II Fortress on Tell Nagila," Israel Exploration Journal 11 (1961) 2:101.

2. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tel Nagila," by Ruth Amiran and A. Eitan.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

the Wadi Muleihah. Two separate structures were isolated; one structure consisted of rooms and a courtyard, and the second of one large room constructed with thick walls. The excavators dated these structures to the first half of the 7th century BCE (5). The excavators suggested that this settlement may have been a haserim, a small unfortified farm (6).

Prior to 1963 numerous sources noted the existence of an Iron Age fortress on the acropolis of Tell en-Najileh. During the excavation of this structure in 1963, it was determined that this structure was in fact a Mameluke caravanserai (7).

The occupational history of Tell en-Najileh during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

5. Ibid.
6. Ruth Amiran and A. Eitan, "Tel Najila," Israel Exploration Journal 14 (1964) 4:333.
7. Encyclopedia.

Tell en-Najileh

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
IV	(disturbed)	<u>9</u> th century BCE
III	Two buildings near site	early to mid <u>7</u> th century BCE

Tell er-Rumeileh (147128)

Tell er-Rumeileh (Tel Bet Shemesh; Beth-shemesh = Rubati) is situated 20 kilometers west of Jerusalem and 25 kilometers northeast of Tell ed-Duweir. The site is located on a long, flat ridge that rises 30 m. above the Wadi es-Sarar to the north and the Wadi Bulus to the south. The mound sits at a height of about 250 m. above sea-level and consists of 7 m. of occupational accumulation above the natural limestone ridge. The site, which is located low on the ridge, is not easy to defend and lacks water. Its importance in the Iron Age, however, seems to have been derived from its location at the edge of the Shephelah (1).

In 1875 Kitchener and Conder visited the site and described a low mound which they tentatively identified with Beth-shemesh (2). The site was first excavated from 1911 to 1912 by the Palestine Exploration Fund under the direction of Duncan Mackenzie (3). Later work was conducted by Haverford College under the direction of Elihu Grant from 1928 to 1933 (see fig. 4.53)(4). Most of the

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Beth-Shemesh," by G. Ernest Wright.

2. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) pp.35,46.

3. Duncan Mackenzie, "Excavations at 'Ain Shems (Beth-Shemesh)," Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund 2 (1912-13).

4. Elihu Grant, Beth Shemesh (Palestine), (Haverford, Pennsylvania: Haverford College, 1929).

material known concerning the site was gathered with poor excavation technique and through imprecise reporting, and what is known from the site is based on a re-analysis of the work conducted by G. Ernest Wright (5). Six major strata were isolated which date from the Middle Bronze Age through the Byzantine Period. Strata IV-c, III, and II contain the Iron Age remains (6).

Stratum IV-c. After the late 13th century BCE destruction of the final Late Bronze Age city, the site was briefly used for grain storage in pit silos. Occupation lasted from the late 13th century BCE to the early 12th century BCE (7).

Stratum III. The Philistine occupation of Stratum III at Tell er-Rumeileh lasted from the mid 12th century BCE to the late 11th century BCE. During the Philistine occupation the site seems to have been devoted to housing and a copper smelting industry. These occupational remains were found inside of the Late Bronze Age fortification wall which had been repaired for reuse in this period. The massive breaches in that older wall were repaired with a thinner wall structure which was of a poorer quality than

5. Elihu Grant and G. Ernest Wright, Ain Shems Excavations, (Haverford, Pennsylvania: Haverford College, 1939).

6. Ibid.

7. Encyclopedia.

that of the original wall. This rebuilding, however, did last throughout Stratum III (see fig. 4.54)(8).

This stratum, and Philistine occupation, ended in a massive destruction of the late 11th century BCE. Wright dated the destruction to "the early part of the third quarter of the 11th century (9)."

Stratum II-a. After the destruction of Stratum III, a new concept of fortification was employed at Tell er-Rumeileh with the construction of a new casemate fortification system in the early 10th century BCE (see fig. 4.54). This system seems to have surrounded the mound, although much of it has been lost through erosion and later pitting. Enough was preserved, however, to determine its physical characteristics and its date. The casemate wall system, which is similar to that found at Tell Beit Mirsim, was constructed of small unhewn stones where the outer wall was between 1.40 and 1.60 m. wide and the inner wall about 1.10 m. wide with the distance between them being between 1.50 and 2.00 m (10).

Much of the excavated portion of the Stratum II-a city was devoted to housing; however three public structures have been isolated. The first structure was a granary/silo. This structure

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Grant and Wright, pp.23-4.

had a diameter of between 6.50 and 7.50 m. and it bottomed out on bedrock at a depth of 5.70 m. below contemporary ground level. Its sides seem to have been stoned lined. Wright speculated that this "granary" may have been used when Beth-shemesh was a district capital during the reign of Solomon (see fig. 4.54)(11). The second structure was the "Governor's Residency." This structure, which is largely unexcavated, was constructed of large field stones set on top of an artificial fill (see fig. 4.54)(12). The final structure was a public storehouse. This massive structure was constructed on stone foundations three stones wide where evidence of a mud-brick superstructure was isolated (see fig. 4.54)(13). The structure was similar in shape to storehouse/granaries found at Tell es-Seba', Tell ed-Duweir and Megiddo.

The construction of Stratum II-a has been dated to the reign of David or Solomon. Stratum II-a ended with a massive conflagration which Grant and Wright dated to about 950 BCE, or midway through the reign of Solomon (14).

Stratum II-b. The city never regained its size or importance after the rather thorough destruction that ended Stratum II-a.

11. Ibid., p.70.
12. Ibid., p.69.
13. Ibid., pp.68-9.
14. Encyclopedia.

None of the earlier fortification systems were reused, as a sprawling, new, unfortified housing and industrial area covered much of the mound. No remains dating from the 9th or early 8th centuries BCE were found at Tell er-Rumeileh, and it is likely that Stratum II-b lasted from the destruction of the mid 10th century BCE to a destruction of Pharaoh Shoshenq about 925 BCE (15).

Stratum II-c. The site was re-occupied in the late 8th century BCE and was inhabited until its destruction about 587 BCE. Again, the site was unfortified and consisted of housing and industrial installations (16).

The occupational history of Tell er-Rumeileh (Beth-shemesh) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.; This date was assigned primarily on the basis on an Eliakim seal which was identical to those found at Tell Beit Mirsim. Ussishkin's redating of these seals to the late 8th centuries BCE could raise the date for the final destruction of Tell er-Rumeileh.

Tell er-Rumeileh

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
	DESTRUCTION	
IV-c	Silos	late <u>13th</u> /early <u>12th</u> centuries BCE
III	Philistine occupation, repair of Late Bronze Age city wall, housing, copper smelters	mid <u>12th</u> to mid <u>11th</u> centuries BCE (to 1140 BCE?)
	DESTRUCTION	
II-a	Casemate fortification system, storehouse, Governor's Residency and artificial fill, granary	early <u>10th</u> century BCE (to 950 BCE?)
	DESTRUCTION	
II-b	Unfortified village, industrial installation, housing	mid <u>10th</u> century BCE (to 925 BCE?)
	DESTRUCTION?	
II-c	Unfortified village, industrial installation, housing	late <u>8th</u> to early <u>6th</u> centuries BCE (to 587 BCE?)
	DESTRUCTION	

Tell es-Safi (135123)

Tell es-Safi (Tel Safit; Gath?, Libnah?, Blanche Garde) is located 8 kilometers west-northwest of Tell Zakariya on the south bank of the Wadi es-Sunt (Vale of Elah). The site rests on a white limestone cliff that dominates the edge of the Shephelah, the coastal plain, and the road that follows the Wadi es-Sunt. It rises to an elevation of 232 m. above sea-level at a point where slopes drop sharply off on three sides and into a saddle ridge on the fourth (1). In 1875 Kitchener and Conder visited Tell es-Safi identifying it as biblical Gath (2). The identification has not been disproven although others have identified the site as Libnah, Makkedah, and Mizpeh (3).

Tell es-Safi was excavated in 1899 by Frederick J. Bliss and R. A. Stewart Macalister as part of their early explorations in central Judah. At that time much of the site was unavailable for excavation because it was covered by a modern Arab village, a *weli* and cemetery, and the ruins of the Crusader castle of Blanche-Garde (see fig. 4.55). Bliss' trenches yielded remains dating from the Early Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Iron I, Iron II, Persian Period, Hellenistic Period, and the Crusader Period. The

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tell es-Safi," by E. Stern.

2. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Samaria (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) p.415.

3. Encyclopedia.

final report on the excavation of Tell es-Safi does not lend itself to detailed stratigraphic analysis; however from the data at hand it is probable that there were three strata containing Iron Age remains (4).

Iron I Stratum. Bliss published no stratigraphic or structural data concerning this stratum, although it is to be found somewhere in his Pre-Israelite period. Numerous Philistine vessels (see figs. 4.56 through 4.58) dating to Iron I were published and should date to the 12th century BCE through the 10th century BCE (5).

Iron II-A Stratum. This is the only stratum for which a structural plan was published. This plan is one of a typical Israelite 4-room courtyard house which Bliss erroneously called a "High Place." It was the first of these structures excavated in Palestine and was located in the northeast segment of the city. It rested 9 feet (2.7 m.) above bedrock and about 20 feet (6.1 m.) below the surface level at a point prior to the introduction of גבמב store jars. This stratum is probably to be dated between the 10th and 8th centuries BCE (6).

4. Frederick J. Bliss and R.A. Stewart Macalister, Excavations in Palestine During the Years 1898 - 1900 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902) pp.28-39.

5. Ibid.

Iron II-B Stratum. In the same clearance pit as that of the house, about 8 feet (2.4 m.) of debris separated it from the "Jewish" layer. The "Jewish" layer contained early Greek pottery and late Iron II pottery including $\gamma\beta\eta\beta$ store jar handles (see figs 4.59 through 4.60). No structural details were given (7).

The Iron Age fortification wall, preserved in places to a height of 33 feet (10 m.), was found to run around the crest of the tell. The wall was an offset-inset type that formed an L-shaped defensive network. The offsets are 12 feet (3.66 m.) wide and between 30 and 34 feet (9.14 and 10.36 m.) long, while the insets are 10 feet (3.0 m.) wide and between 28 and 35.75 feet (8.53 and 10.90 m.) long. The foundations of the wall were constructed of rubble, fieldstone, and mud while the superstructure was mud-brick plastered with a white lime plaster. Bliss was unable to date the wall; however he did note that it was constructed on 8 feet (2.4 m.) of debris in some places. Given this fact and the construction style of the wall, it probably dates to the Iron Age and probably to the Iron II-A stratum although no degree of certainty can be claimed for this date with the data provided by Bliss (8).

6. Ibid., pp.31-5.

7. Ibid., p.35.

8. Ibid., pp.30-1.

The occupational history of Tell es-Safi (Gath?) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

Tell es-Safi

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
Iron I	Philistine occupation	12 th to 10 th centuries BCE
Iron II-A	Israelite occupation, 4-room house, fortification system	10 th to 8 th centuries BCE
Iron II-B	Israelite occupation	8 th to 6 th centuries BCE

Tell es-Seba' (134072)

Tell es-Seba' (Tel Beer Sheva; Beer-sheba) is an important site of about 10 dunam that rises above the Wadi el-Khalil (Nahal Hevron) and the Wadi es-Seba' (Nahal Beer-sheba). Tell es-Seba' commands its vicinity rising to a height of 307 m. above sea-level, about 12 m. above the surrounding plains. The site, which is the traditional southern limit of biblical Judah (see e.g. II Kings 4:25), is located 4.5 kilometers east of modern Beer Sheba and 75 kilometers southwest of Jerusalem. It was first visited by Woolley and Lawrence (1), but remained unexcavated until 1969 when Tel Aviv University initiated excavation of the site. The preliminary results of this expedition, which was led by Yohanan Aharoni, were published in 1973 in Beer-Sheba I (2); however the results from the work of the later seasons, which lasted until 1976, have not yet published except in summary form. Occupational remains have been found at Tell es-Seba' that date from the Chalcolithic Period to the Byzantine Period with an occupational gap existings from EB I through LB II. The major remains (see fig. 4.61) on the site do, however, date from the Iron Age during which time 9 strata were found (3).

1. C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, "The Wilderness of Zin," Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 3 (1914) :45-7.

2. Yohanan Aharoni Ed., Beer-Sheba I. Tel Aviv University (Ramat Gan, 1973).

Stratum IX. The earliest remains date from the early 12th century BCE and are those of huts and caves that were cut into bedrock. These structures were dated by the pottery which is LB/II transitional. The earliest structure at the site probably originates in this stratum, but cannot be dated to it stratigraphically. It is the well which is described in Genesis 21. From the excavation of the well, it is clear that it was in use from the early Iron Age through the Hellenistic Period (4).

Stratum VIII. This stratum is a continuation of the occupation of Stratum IX. More houses and huts were constructed around the well. The Philistine pottery which was found throughout this stratum dates it to the early and mid 11th century BCE (5).

Stratum VII. A new plan and usage for the site began in Stratum VII. A small "multigonal" casemate fortress of irregular shape was constructed (see fig. 4.62). Towers flanked the entrance and joined to the outer casemate wall. The stone casemate walls were separated by between 1.25 m. and 1.75 m., with the outer wall being 1.00 m. thick and the inner wall ranging in thickness from between 0.60 m. and 1.00 m. (6). This fortress,

3. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tel Beer Sheva," by Yohanan Aharoni.

4. Yohanan Aharoni, "Tell Beer-Sheva," Israel Exploration Journal, 25 (1975) 1-2:169.

5. Yohanan Aharoni, "Tell Beer-Sheva," Israel Exploration Journal, 23 (1973) 3-4:254.

which was eventually destroyed by fire, dates to the end of the 11th century BCE (7).

Stratum VI. After the fortress was destroyed, a few two-storey houses were built in the vicinity of the well. These houses were put out of use by the great construction effort of the early 10th century BCE (8).

Strata V through II. The main periods of occupation occurred during these strata. City walls, gates, storehouses, a temple, residential housing, and craftsmen's workshops were all found for each of these strata. A complete city plan for each stratum was determined. Since fortification is the subject of this study, only the fortification system and related structures will be examined closely.

Stratum V. A solid city wall, a glacis, and the city gate were isolated, all resting on a massive artificial rampart that covered the earlier remains. This rampart (see fig. 4.63) is 7 m. thick and consists of layers of wadi materials, pebbles, and beds of soil and ashes. At the base of the rampart a fosse was dug which,

6. Zeev Herzog, "Tel Beer-Sheva 1976," Israel Exploration Journal, 27 (1977) 1-2:169.

7. Zeev Herzog, "Beer-sheba of the Patriarchs," Biblical Archaeology Review VI (November/December 1980) 6:12-28.

8. Herzog, :170.

so far, remains unexcavated (9). The slope of the rampart was covered by a 1.5 m. to 2.0 m. thick glacis composed of chopped brick and ashes (10).

A 4 m. wide solid wall was set at the crest of the rampart and above the glacis (see figs. 4.63 and 4.64). It was set into a foundation trench which was cut into the rampart and a 1.5 m. deep stone foundation was erected, on top of which a mud-brick wall was placed. This wall was preserved to a height of 1.5 m. and had 0.55 m. salients on both its outer and inner faces. Located 2.40 m. inside the city wall, set below floor level, and cut into the rampart, a stone wall 0.60 m. thick was found. "The space between it and the city-wall was packed with stones of varying sizes, and on them were laid the Stratum V floors. The function of the parallel wall and the stone fill was, therefore, to widen and strengthen the foundations on the interior of the city wall (11)."

A major gate was found on the southeast side of the city.

"The early one (gate), measuring circa 21 by 21 m. and contemporary with the solid wall (strata V-IV) (see fig. 4.65), is wide and massive. In plan it closely resembles the city gate at Tel Dan. It is flanked on either side by two guardrooms and a tower. Its foundations are 5 to 6 m. thick. Between the towers and the threshold of the gate was a square in which were found remains of a platform (bamah) with a carefully constructed incense altar next to it. A similar cultic platform has also been found in the square of the gate at Tel Dan. In all likelihood these two cities were fortified according to a single plan in the early part of the United

9. Aharoni, Beer-Sheba I, p.9.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

Monarchy. Hence the classical biblical phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' (12)."

Stratum V was constructed during the reign of David, about 980 BCE, and was destroyed by a violent conflagration in the late 10th century BCE. The excavators attribute the destruction to Pharaoh Shoshenq in 925 BCE (13).

Stratum IV. The city was rebuilt immediately after its destruction. The fortification and gate structures of Stratum V continued in use. On the interior, however, the new floors were raised by as much as 1.7 m. and set on the fallen debris from the previous destruction (14). On the whole, Stratum IV appears to be poorer than Stratum V and also of short duration. The rebuild should be placed in the late 10th century BCE and its destruction is dated to the early 9th century BCE. It may be attributable to Zerah the Cushite during his raid into Judah at the time of King Asa (15).

Stratum III. "A strong new fortification was constructed in

12. Encyclopedia.

13. Zeev Herzog, A.F. Rainey, and Sh. Moshkivitz, "The Stratigraphy at Beer-sheba and the Location of the Sanctuary," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 225 (February, 1977) pp.49-53.

14. Ibid., p.10.

15. Ibid., p.106.

Stratum III. It was a casemate wall which was erected on the line of the solid wall, partly using the old foundations (see fig. 4.66) (16)."

"The thickness of the casemates is identical with the standard measurements of casemate walls from Judah and Israel, i.e. about 1.60 m. for the external wall and about 1.05 m., for the internal wall - probably 3 and 2 'royal' cubits (see fig. 4.66). The span between the walls is narrow, some 1.40 m., so that its total thickness reaches about 4 m. The casemate wall is built of brick on stone foundations which reach a height of about 50 cm. above floor levels; the measurements of the individual bricks are ca. 50x25x13 cm. The sections above floor level were covered on both sides by a well-preserved white plaster. A special feature of its construction was that it had not been built in a straight line; the external and internal walls had salients 25-50 cm. deep, creating, more or less, a zigzag line. This type of construction, evidently intended for the sake of superior stability and strength, appears in solid walls, e.g. at Tell en-Nasbeh, Arad, and Khirbet Rakud (Kochavi 1973). To my knowledge, it is seen here for the first time in a casemate wall as well.

Since the foundations of the wall were about 2 m. higher than the solid wall, the glacis had to be raised accordingly (see fig. 4.62). This was done with the help of two fresh layers of grey-black soil and red wadi material resting on 2 revetments of white chalk and limestone. These two were constructed in different ways. The upper one, in the middle of the slope, was a platform held by an inclined retaining wall and wedges driven into the earlier levels. The lower one had the form of a spoon, resting on the fill which covered the earlier fosse. In this manner the two retaining walls were shaped in forms, the upper convex and the lower concave. The space between the two revetments was filled with brick material, supported by a narrow wall. By raising the glacis, the fosse was apparently moved further away (17)."

With the new fortification system, a new gate was constructed

16. Ibid., p.10.

17. Ibid.; A detailed analysis, from an engineering point of view, of the glacis is to be found on pages 10 and 11 in Beer-Sheba I.

(see fig. 4.61). The gate was 14 m. long and 17 m. wide with a 4.20 m. gateway. Gaterooms and a tower flanked the gateway. Benches were found along the walls of the gaterooms and a white plaster floor covered the fill on which the gate was placed (18).

Other than these structures the only secular public or governmental buildings found at Tell es-Seba' are the storehouses. Zeev Herzog has produced a lengthy discussion of the Tell es-Seba' storehouses, their construction and their use (19). Little can be added to this work except to note the similar structure at Lachish. Each storehouse (see fig. 4.67) is 10x18 m. in size and consists of 2 long narrow rooms of 2.5 m. width, separated by a long narrow corridor of 2 meters width. The central corridor is set between 2 narrow stone walls that extend to just above floor level. The area between these walls was filled in and used as a walking surface. Just above this floor level at the point where the two central walls stop, a series of stone pillars was placed that supported the roof. The two long narrow chambers that lie between the pillars and the exterior walls are slightly below the level of the central floor and are paved with small stones. This area seems to have been used as storage space. The exterior walls were constructed of mud-bricks laid as headers on a stone foundation, and were plastered with white lime plaster. All of these walls were set into an underlying layer of fill (20).

18. Ibid., p.13.

19. Zeev Herzog, "Government Storehouses," in Beer-Sheba I, pp.23-30.

Stratum III seems to have been built immediately upon the ruins of Stratum IV, and therefore must have been built in the early 9th century BCE. The end of this stratum seems to have been the result of an earthquake, and probably the same earthquake to which the destruction of Level IV at Tell ed-Duweir is attributed; the one mentioned in Amos 1:1 and Zechariah 14:5 that occurred about 760 BCE (21).

Stratum II. This stratum continued the occupation of Stratum III and is known through occupational debris. Only in the gate area is a major change seen with the benches being put out of use and with partition walls being placed along the entrance to the gate-rooms (22).

This stratum follows directly after Stratum III and its usage runs from the mid 8th century BCE to its destruction in a massive conflagration that ended major occupation on the site. This destruction dates to the late 8th century BCE and was dated by the excavators to 701 BCE (23). Based on the dating of Lachish and of royal Judean store jar seals, the date of this destruction must be re-evaluated. Only 1 75m5 seal was found and it is of a rare type and not found on a typical storage jar (24). Since the

20. Ibid., p.23.

21. Aharoni, Beer-Sheba I, pp.107-8.

22. Encyclopedia.

23. Aharoni, Beer-Sheba I, p.107.

24. Ibid., p.13.

classic and common seal of this type dates to the reign of Hezekiah and none of these were found at Tell es-Seba', it is probable that the site was destroyed before their introduction. The pottery definitely dates to the late 8th century BCE as it is slightly earlier than that of Level III at Tell ed-Duweir (25). The date of the destruction of Stratum III at Tell es-Seba', therefore, must be just prior to the introduction of 75m5 storage jar seals or early in the reign of King Hezekiah, about 720 BCE.

Stratum I.

"The last fortification of the city was a retaining wall, built in a unique manner of alternate layers of small stones and soil, intended once again to turn the ruined casemate wall into a defense line. It leaned against the casemate wall from the inside, cutting into the buildings of Stratum II, and occasionally cutting into the inner casemate wall as well (26)."

The date of this stratum is given, by the excavators, as the 7th century BCE. No material from this stratum has been published, and it is possible, given the redating of Stratum III, that its construction dates to the end of the 8th century BCE and the Assyrian campaign of Sennacherib in 701 BCE.

25. K.M. Kenyon, "The Date and Destruction of Iron Age Beer-Sheba," Palestine Exploration Quarterly 108 (January-June, 1976) 1:63-4.

26. *Ibid.*, p.11.

The occupational history of Tell es-Seba' (Beer-sheba) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

Tell es-Seba'

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
IX	Unwalled village, well	early <u>12th</u> century BCE
VIII	Unwalled village (Philistine?)	early to mid <u>11th</u> century BCE
VII	Multigonal casemate fortress	late <u>11th</u> century BCE
DESTRUCTION		
VI	Houses	early <u>10th</u> century BCE
V	Fill, solid fortification wall, gate, storehouses, temple, Israelite city	mid to late <u>10th</u> century BCE (to 925 BCE?)
DESTRUCTION		
IV	Rebuild of city	late <u>10th</u> to early <u>9th</u> century BCE
DESTRUCTION		
III	Casemate fortification system, gate, store- house, Israelite city	early <u>9th</u> to mid <u>8th</u> century BCE (to 760 BCE?)
DESTRUCTION BY EARTHQUAKE		
II	Rebuild of city	mid <u>8th</u> century to ca. 720 BCE
DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT		
I	Fortress?, repair of casemate Wall	late <u>8th</u> century to 701 BCE
ABANDONMENT		

Tell Esdar (147064)

Tell Esdar is situated on a tributary of the Wadi 'Ar'arah (Nahal Aroer) midway between Beer Sheba and Dimona. The tell is located on a loess hill that rises to 347 m. above sea-level and encompasses 20 dunam. Nelson Glueck discovered the site (#308) in 1956 (1), and excavation of Tell Esdar occurred from 1963 to 1964 under the direction of M. Kochavi. Four strata were discovered which ran from the Chalcolithic Period to the Roman Period. There were 2 Iron Age strata (2).

Stratum III. A late 11th century BCE Israelite village was founded on the long abandoned mound of Tell Esdar (3). This village of 15 to 20 houses was laid out in the form of a rough circle where the back walls of the houses formed the defensive perimeter (see fig. 4.68) (4). These houses were severely eroded and, of those excavated, only one was intact and it consisted of a courtyard which was separated from the rest of its rooms by a row of pillars. This stratum was violently destroyed near the end of

1. Nelson Glueck, "The Fifth Season of Exploration in the Negeb," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 145 (February 1957) p.14.

2. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Exploration in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tell Esdar," by M. Kochavi.

3. Ibid.

4. M. Kochavi, "Tell Esdar," Israel Exploration Journal 14 (1964) 2:111-2.

the 11th century BCE, possibly by the Amalekites who were mentioned in I Samuel 15 (5).

Stratum II. The fragmentary remains of a 10th century BCE farm, possibly a haserim, were found on the southern edge of the site. Tell Esdar seems to have been abandoned near the end of the United Kingdom (6).

The occupational history of Tell Esdar during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

5. Encyclopedia.

6. Ibid.

Tell Esdar

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
	ABANDONMENT	
III	Israelite village, back wall defensive system	<u>2nd</u> half <u>11th</u> century BCE
	DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT	
II	Israelite farm	<u>10th</u> century BCE

Tell esh-Shari'ah (119088)

Tell esh-Shari'ah (Tel es-Sera'; Ziglag?) is a 16 dunam site that rests on a low natural hill which rises 168 m. above sea-level and about 12 m. above the surrounding plain. Bordering the site to the south is the Wadi esh-Shari'ah (Nahal Gerar). Tell esh-Shari'ah is located 20 kilometers northwest of Beer Sheba, 6 kilometers east of Tell Abu-Hureireh, and 6 kilometers south of Tell Nagileh (1). In their Survey of Western Palestine, Kitchener and Conder described Tell esh-Shari'ah (2). It has since then at various times been identified with Hormah, Gerar, Gath of the Philistines, and Ziglag. The identification as Ziglag is common, although it is not certain (3).

The sole excavation of Tell esh-Shari'ah was conducted from 1972 through 1976 by E. D. Oren and E. Netzer for Ben Gurion University, Hebrew University, and the Israel Exploration Society. Occupation at the site lasted from the Chalcolithic Period through the Mameluke Period, with major occupation lasting only from the Late Bronze Age through the Byzantine Period. Three Iron Age strata, containing a total of 15 phases, were isolated. They have been summarized in short articles. However, no comprehensive or complete material is available concerning the site (4).

1. E. D. Oren, "Tel es-Sera," Israel Exploration Journal 22 (1972) 1-2:167.

2. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) p.399.

3. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tell esh-Shari'a" by E.D. Oren.

Stratum VIII. This stratum rests immediately upon the deserted Late Bronze Age city of Stratum IX and was founded in the 11th century BCE. This indicates a gap in occupation of almost a century at the site. Stratum VIII had three main phases and lasted until the early 10th century BCE. Pillared four-room courtyard houses, which are typical of the 10th/9th centuries BCE in Israelite cities, are found here in an 11th century BCE context in association with Philistine pottery. No fortification walls associated with this stratum have been isolated (5).

Stratum VII. This stratum belongs to the 10th and early 9th centuries BCE. Again no fortifications have been reported. There are, however, substantial occupational remains. Public buildings are represented by a storehouse constructed of high quality mud-bricks set on *kurkar* foundations. "The bricks were laid in two rows, in a fashion somewhat similar to the header stretcher technique characteristic of Israelite architecture (6)." Two private four-roomed courtyard houses were found which had narrow rooms and thick walls that were covered with white plaster. The floors were cobble or crushed brick. A multitude of artifacts were found dating the end of this stratum to a catastrophic earthquake which must have occurred in the early 9th century BCE (7).

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

Stratum VI. Two sections of an "Assyrian fortress" were found, one part in the northeast and the other in the southwest (8). Of the northeastern (see fig. 4.69):

"Its mud-brick walls were preserved to a height of 2 meters. The structure was rectangular in plan, consisting of long (14 meter) narrow basement halls enclosed by an unusually thick wall (4 meters wide) and a massive platform of bricks some ten meters to the south. The citadel was connected to the defensive system of the city on the east by casemate rooms, which were completely destroyed by the building of the platform for the Roman tower.... The citadel was found buried under heaps of burned bricks and charred beams, testifying to the wholesale destruction by fire that turned the brick walls red and resulted in the collapse of the upper stories (9)."

Of the southern part (see fig. 4.70):

"A large structure was excavated ... with long rooms and thick walls, apparently part of the citadel which guarded the southwestern approach to the city (10)."

"(The remains were)... the lower courses of a massive platform, about 6 meters wide apparently the base of a corner bastion (11)."

The evidence for the dates of these structures points to their construction being in the late 8th or 7th centuries BCE, with their destruction being in the late 7th century BCE (12). This was a massive and violent conflagration prior to the introduction of Greek wares by trade in the late 7th century BCE (13).

7. Ibid.

8. E.D. Oren, "Tel Shera, 1976," Hadashot Archeologist 59-60 (1976) :51.

9. Encyclopedia.

10. Ibid.

11. E.D. Oren and E. Netzer, "Tel es-Sera," Israel Exploration Journal 23 (1973) 4:251.

12. Encyclopedia.

The occupational history of Tell esh-Shari'ah during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

13. Nadav Na'aman, "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt," Tel Aviv 6 (1979) 1:85.

Tell esh-Shari'ah

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
OCCUPATIONAL GAP		
VIII	Philistine houses	11 th century BCE
VII	Israelite houses, public buildings	10 th to early 9 th centuries BCE
DESTRUCTION BY EARTHQUAKE AND ABANDONMENT		
VI	Assyrian citadel	late 8 th ? to late 7 th centuries BCE
DESTRUCTION BY FIRE AND ABANDONMENT		

Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini (129113)

Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini (Tel 'Ērani, formerly known as Tel Gat) is located on the eastern edge of the coastal plain near the foot of the Judean Hills, at a point 20 kilometers east of Ashkelon on the edge of the modern city of Qiryat Gat. Rising to a height of 152 m. above sea-level, the site commands a view of the surrounding plain which has an elevation of approximately 120 m. above sea-level. The site itself is a three-tiered site that borders on the Wadi el-Habur (Nahal No'am) to the south, and the Wadi Qubeibeh (Nahal Lachish) to the north (1). The three tiers include the low terrace, the high terrace which covers 250 dunam, and the acropolis which covers 15 dunam (2).

Albright identified Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini as biblical Gath in 1923, and his argument was so convincing that the identification was universally accepted (3). This identification was disproven by excavations at the site directed by S. Yeivin for the Department of Antiquities of Israel from 1956 to 1961. Except for a few summaries, the results of this work are unpublished, and the summaries are ambiguous and brief. The general outline of occupation is clear. Both lower terraces were occupied in the

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., "Tell esh Sheik Ahmed El-'Areini," by S. Yeivin.

2. S. Yeivin, "Early Contacts Between Canaan and Egypt," Israel Exploration Journal, 10 (1960) 4:193.

3. William F. Albright, "Contributions to the Historical Geography of Palestine," Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 2-3 (1923) pp.11-12.

Early Bronze I through III. At this time the site was abandoned until the Late Bronze Age when occupation resumed on the acropolis. Occupation of the acropolis continued from the Late Bronze Age through the Hellenistic Period, and then again in Late Arabic times as a cemetery (4). The Iron Age, as identified by Yeivin, consisted of at least 9 strata.

Pre-Stratum X. Below Stratum X three separate Iron Age wall systems were found that Yeivin was unable to stratigraphically and ceramically date. Two of these consisted of the stone foundations of casemate wall systems one placed above the other, while the third was a broad wall of fired mud-brick (5). This lower wall, which was tentatively dated to the reign of King Solomon, was found in conjunction with a glacis.

"To judge from the sample excavated, the entire tell was encircled by a glacis, built mainly of beaten earth covered with large plaques of clay about one meter or more in length. On top of the glacis stood a strong wall of oven-fired bricks, of which the lower courses are well preserved. Superimposed on this wall ... (was) a casemate wall with its lower courses of stone and its upper courses of mud-brick (6)."

If the evidence is correct, the glacis was built first, followed by the oven baked brick wall of the mid 10th century BCE. Later two separate casemate walls of mud-brick, set on stone

4. Encyclopedia.

5. Ibid.

6. S. Yeivin, "Tell Gath," Israel Exploration Journal 6 (1956) 4:259.

foundations, were constructed, with the latest of these being put out of use by Stratum X, dating from the 9th century BCE (see below). Associated with the fired mud-brick solid wall was a gate.

Stratum X. Resting directly upon the stone foundations of the earlier casemate structures was a new casemate system set on stone foundations (see fig. 4.71).

"... (The) ruins of a square structure were uncovered immediately below the surface of the slope. They comprised a square room (about 3.2 by 3.2 meters) with remains of a stone pavement in the southwestern part, and a T-shaped corridor in its southeastern and southwestern parts. The latter structure had been erected over an artificial fill, rising (at the foundations of its walls) to a height of about 1.5 meters above the level of the pavement of the square just inside the highest of the four fortification systems.... This must have been the town square in front of the gateway to the acropolis (inside the city) similar to squares uncovered in Israelite strata at all other excavated sites (7)."

The connection between the casemate system and the square is not complete, although Yeivin assigns them both to this stratum which he tentatively dates to the 9th century BCE (8).

Stratum IX. This stratum, which pre-dates the construction of Stratum VIII was used solely for leveling and preparing the site for major construction (9). A fill, 1.2 m. deep, was placed over

7. Encyclopedia.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

most of the excavated area which in turn was covered with a "white-washed mud plaster" (10). In the northern quadrant of the excavated area a rectangular pit "... almost full of slaked lime..." was uncovered, and probably it was the source of the lime in the mud plaster (11).

Stratum VIII. Resting directly above the fill were two courtyard buildings which opened off a common lane. Each courtyard building consisted of a courtyard which was surrounded on 3 sides by rows of rooms. Two phases of flooring were isolated in the building which Yeivin dated to the late 8th century BCE (12).

Stratum VII. It is from this period that the latest Iron Age defensive wall seems to date. This 1.5 m. thick stone wall surrounded the mound and was built against the glacis to help support it (13). Two courtyard houses were found directly overlying those found in Stratum VIII. Also the lane, first constructed in Stratum VIII, was paved with hardened lime plaster and pebbles. Yeivin dated this stratum to the end of the 8th or

10. S. Yeivin, First Preliminary Report on the Excavations at "Tel Gat" (1956 - 1958), (Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities, 1961) p.8.

11. Encyclopedia.

12. Ibid.

13. Yeivin, Preliminary Report, pp.5-6.

the beginning of the 7th century BCE (14).

Stratum VI. Two further mud-brick courtyard buildings were found in Stratum VI. On the basis of 75m5 store jar handles and from the small number of carinated burnished bowls, Yeivin dated this stratum to the beginning of the 7th century BCE (15).

Stratum V. Three large courtyard buildings which were mostly pitted out, were found in this stratum. Yeivin dated Stratum V to the end of the 7th century BCE on the basis of 75m5 store jar handles and the large number of carinated burnished bowls (16).

Stratum IV. No comprehensible plan of this pitted out stratum could be made. This, the latest stratum in the Iron Age, dates to the beginning of the 6th century BCE (17).

The dating of the strata is that of S. Yeivin in 1971. Since then 75m5 store jars have been proven to date to early in the reign of Hezekiah (ca. 715-ca. 701 BCE) (18). Yeivin seems to have believed that they dated to the late 7th century BCE. As a

14. Encyclopedia.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. David Ussishkin, "The Destruction of Lachish by Sennacherib and the Dating of Royal Judean Store Jars," Tel Aviv 4 (1977) 1-2:52ff.

result the dating of the site must be re-evaluated in that light. From the description of pottery found in strata VI, V, and IV, it is likely that they date from the mid to late 8th century, early to mid 7th century, and late 7th to early 6th century BCE, respectively. These dates are based on the correct dating of 75m5 store jars and the dating of burnished carinated bowls which were introduced by the Assyrians in the late 8th century BCE, flourished in the 7th century BCE, and went out of use in the late 7th century BCE. No data for evaluating dates of the earlier strata are given. It is clear that Strata VIII and VII must be pushed back as a result. Yeivin, however, is probably correct in his dating of the earliest wall (Pre-Stratum X(3)) to the 10th century BCE. Since no Philistine pottery was found at the site it is unlikely that it was occupied prior to the United Kingdom. Therefore, all the strata between the earliest and Stratum VII must be placed between the 10th and the mid 8th century BCE.

A peculiar type of installation was found in association with the courtyard buildings from Stratum VIII through Stratum V, possible cheese churns.

"Each consisted of an oblong rectangular structure with rounded corners, plastered and whitewashed on the outside, about 1 meter high. The upper surface of each structure showed an oval depression, equally plastered and whitewashed. In the center was a slightly raised clay collar surrounding a deeper oval hollow, both again mud plastered and whitewashed. Professor Heiman, of Haifa Technion, suggested that they may have been used in the manufacture of cheese (19)."

The occupational history of Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini during the Iron Age can be summarized below:

Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
Pre X(3)	Broad wall fortification glacis	early <u>10th</u> century BCE
Pre X(2)	Casemate fortification	(mid <u>10th</u> century BCE?)
Pre X(1)	Casemate fortification	(late <u>10th</u> century BCE?)
X	Casemate fortification tower, square	(late <u>10th</u> to early <u>9th</u> centuries BCE?)
IX	Constructional fill	(early <u>9th</u> century BCE?)
VIII	Two courtyard buildings industrial installations	(early <u>9th</u> to early <u>8th</u> centuries BCE?)
VII	Two courtyard buildings industrial installations defensive wall	(mid <u>8th</u> century BCE?)
VI	Two courtyard buildings industrial installations	late <u>8th</u> century BCE (to <u>701</u> BCE?)
V	Three courtyard buildings industrial installations (disturbed)	early to mid <u>7th</u> century BCE
IV	(disturbed)	late <u>7th</u> to early <u>6th</u> century BCE

Tell et-Tuyur (125118)

Tell et-Tuyur (Tel Sippor) is located on a plain 17 kilometers east of Ashkelon and 3 kilometers northwest of Qiryat Gat. The site is a 0.5 dunam mound that rises 5 m. above a 50 dunam terrace. After the discovery of a hoard of Hellenistic coins, the site was excavated from 1963 to 1965 by the Department of Antiquities of Israel under the direction of Avraham Biran and Ora Negbi. Ten strata were isolated that ranged in date from the Middle Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period. Three strata dating from the Iron I were found (1).

Stratum III. Following the massive destruction of the Late Bronze Age settlement in the late 13th century BCE, a Canaanite cult place was established that lasted into the mid 12th century BCE (2). The structural remains consisted of a mud-brick platform found in association with a mud-brick building and a large courtyard (3). Numerous cult figurines, lamps, and imported ceramic vessels were found in this stratum (4).

Stratum II. In the mid 12th century BCE structural changes took place at Tell et-Tuyur and Philistine culture was introduced

1. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tel Sippor," by A. Biran.

2. A. Biran and Ora Negbi, "Tel Sippor," Israel Exploration Journal 15 (1965) 4:256.

3. A. Biran and Ora Negbi, "Tel Sippor," Israel Exploration Journal 14 (1964) 4:285.

4. Encyclopedia.

(5). A plaster floor sealed the earlier cultic structure with a new platform and pit being constructed to carry on the cultic usage of the area. A new mud-brick building and courtyard also were constructed (6). Numerous decorated Philistine vessels were found in this layer which was put out of use in the mid 11th century BCE (7).

Stratum I. In the mid 11th century BCE elements of the Israelite culture were introduced at Tell et-Tuyur. This level was very poorly preserved. However, some plaster floors and pits were found. Stratum I was abandoned in the late 11th or early 10th century BCE (8).

The occupational history of Tell et-Tuyur during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

5. Ibid.
6. Biran and Negbi, "Tell Sippor," (1964) :285.
7. Encyclopedia.
8. Ibid.

Tell et-Tuyur

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
	DESTRUCTION	
III	Canaanite cultic structure	late <u>13th</u> to mid <u>12th</u> centuries BCE
II	Philistine cultic structure	mid <u>12th</u> to mid <u>11th</u> centuries BCE
I	Israelite village	Mid- <u>11th</u> to late <u>11th</u> / early <u>10th</u> centuries BCE
	ABANDONMENT	

Tell Jemmeh (097088)

Tell Jemmeh (Tel Gamma; Yurza, Arsa) is located on the southern bank of the Wadi Ghazzeah (Nahal Besor) at a point 11 kilometers south of Gaza and 11 kilometers inland from the Mediterranean Sea. The site rises to a height of about 63 m. above sea-level and overlooks the surrounding coastal plain (1). W. J. Pythian-Adams excavated two soundings at the site in 1922 (2). However, the first major excavation of the site was conducted from 1926 to 1927 by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt under the direction of Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie (3). From 1970 to 1978 the Smithsonian Institute sponsored a dig at Tell Jemmeh which was directed by Gus W. Van Beek (see fig. 4.72). The combined results of these three expeditions have shown that the site was occupied from the Chalcolithic Period to the Hellenistic Period (4), at which time the occupation shifted to the surrounding plain where a Roman and Byzantine Period city was founded (5).

Five Iron Age occupational strata have been isolated that form

1. W.M. Flinders Petrie, Gerar (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1928) :1.

2. W.J. Pythian-Adams, "Report on Soundings at Tell Jemmeh," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (July, 1923) :140-5.

3. Petrie, p.1.

4. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tell Jemmeh," by Gus Van Beek and Ruth Amiran.

5. Benjamin Maisler, "Yurza: The Identification of Tell Jemmeh," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (April, 1952) :51.

a fairly continuous occupational sequence from the Late Bronze Age to the Persian Period. Most of the data isolated by Petrie and Van Beek are occupational remains. At the present time little has been published that explicitly presents the archaeological data. As a result, only city fortifications will be presented except where clearly defined internal structures have been published.

Stratum JK. The earliest Iron Age stratum is a 12th and 11th century BCE Philistine occupational layer. Among the notable remains are an iron furnace and a pottery kiln. The defensive wall was isolated by Van Beek, but no details have been published (6). These strata were destroyed by a massive conflagration (7).

Stratum GH. This stratum, which dates to the 10th and early 9th century BCE, is another layer of Philistine occupation. A new fortification system (also currently unpublished) was built as were new iron furnaces (8).

Stratum EF. The occupational remains of this stratum were mixed during excavation (9). However the fortification system is fairly well understood and dates to the 8th century BCE (10). The

6. G. Van Beek, "Tel Gamma," Israel Exploration Journal 26 (1976) 2:174.

7. Petrie, p.6.

8. Van Beek, :174.

9. Encyclopedia.

wall system is a casemate structure constructed of "... rectangular bricks laid in alternate courses of header and stretcher." These are similar to the bricks found at Tell esh-Shari'ah in a "contemporary fortification system (11) (see p.192)."

"The outer wall of this 8th century fortification is 2.20 meters thick and is constructed of at least 2 header-stretcher walls built back to back. The inner casemate wall, of six preserved courses, is set 2.5 meters east of the inner face of the outer wall, and a cross wall one brick in thickness ties the inner and outer wall together (12)."

Stratum CD. Stratum CD dates to the 7th century BCE and represents the Assyrian occupation of the site. Two major occupational barrel vaulted structures of mud-brick laid in the pitch-brick technique and coated with mud-plaster have been isolated with the vaulting still intact. These structures were dated by the Assyrian Palace Ware found associated with the remains. A major fortification system dating to this period was found at the edge of the tell.

"The latest defensive structure belongs to the Assyrian period and is built of rectangular brick laid in header-stretcher bond. It consists of a perimeter wall with 2 cross-walls extending outward to join another wall paralleling the perimeter wall. It is quite likely that this is a casemate fortification as well, but the possibility of a fortified tower at this point cannot be dismissed because the outer wall is exposed in a limited area and is badly eroded (13)."

10. Van Beek, :174.

11. Gus Van Beek, "Tel Gamma," Israel Exploration Journal 24 (1974) 1-2:139.

12. Ibid.

Stratum AB. Two very large buildings were constructed at the very end of the 7th century BCE or the beginning of the 6th century BCE which are probably to be attributed to either Pharaoh Necho or Nebuchadrezzar. No fortification system has been found that relates specifically to this phase and it is unclear from the publications of the CD defensive wall system whether it could have been used through Stratum AB (14).

An isolated architectural feature of defensive character was discovered by Petrie on the southwest edge of the site:

"The western ridge is entirely formed of rubbish thrown out as tip heaps, sloping in various directions. It was in fact the rubbish heap of the city. At the foot of it on the west, two lines of glacis were found.... These show that the west part was twice fortified with a city wall; also at the tail of the ridge is a vertical scarp of the native clay, and above that a wall of rammed clay retaining the rubbish mounds; the positions of these are marked in the general plan of the Tell.... The foot of the outer glacis is about 12 feet above the basal clay, and beneath it is a burnt layer of ashes. It seems probable that these may be contemporary with the burning of the town at 184 feet (15)."

The stratigraphic context of this wall/glacis structure is currently unknown. If Petrie's attribution of the ashes to the 184 foot level is correct, then the destruction is that of the JK phase, with the glacis dating to the 10th century BCE and later.

13. G. Van Beek, "Tel Gamma," Israel Exploration Journal 22 (1972) 4:246.

14. Encyclopedia.

15. Petrie, p.18.

The occupational history of Tell Jemmeh (Yutza, Arsa) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

Tell Jemmeh

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
JK	Philistine city city wall	12 th and 11 th century BCE
DESTRUCTION		
GH	Philistine city city wall glacis?	10 th and early 9 th century BCE
EF	Casemate wall system city	8 th century BCE (to ca. 720 BCE?)
CD	Casemate wall system Assyrian town	late 8 th to 7 th century BCE (ca. 720. ca 630 BCE?)
AB	Two large buildings	late 7 th to early 6 th century BCE

Tell Khuweilifeh (137088)

Tell Khuweilifeh (Tel Halif; Rimmon, Tilla) is located 20 kilometers southwest of Tell ed-Duweir and 30 kilometers northwest of Beer Sheba. It rests on a prominent hill in the Shephelah at the head of the Wadi Gerar (Nahal Gerar)(1). Seger and Borowski described its physical location as follows:

"... commanding the route from Egypt and the Negev to the north, and from the sea coast to the hill country and Jerusalem. From its vantage point Tell Halif guards the agricultural lands and water resources located at the eastern edges of the *shefelah*. In addition, sites such as Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell Quneitra, Tell Najila, Arad, and Beer-sheba can be seen from Tell Halif or one of its observation outposts (2)."

Kitchener and Conder visited the site in 1878 (3), but prior to 1976 only a few tombs had been excavated. In 1976 the Lahav Research Project under the direction of Joe D. Seger began a six season project of excavation at Tell Khuweilifeh. After four seasons of excavation (1976, 1977, 1979, and 1980) remains from the Chalcolithic Period, Early Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, Persian Period, Roman Period, Byzantine Period, Arab Period, and modern times have been found. Tell Khuweilifeh has been identified, on the basis of these remains, as biblical Rimmon and Roman/Byzantine Tilla (4).

1. Joe D. Seger and Oded Borowski, "The First Two Seasons at Tell Halif," Biblical Archaeologist 40 (December, 1977) 4:156-7.

2. Ibid.

3. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol.3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) p.397.

Only in Fields II, near the center of the mound, and III, on the western slope of the mound, have Iron Age remains been exposed, and it is Field III where they have been best seen. The major find there is the Iron Age fortification system (see fig. 4.73) which consisted of a casemate wall, a screen wall, and a glacis. The Field III excavations are centered around a projection from the casemate wall that may have served as a tower. The outer wall of the casemate ran around the crest of the mound and, "is a dry-laid wall made of two rows of large boulders with a rubble core (5)." The wall was placed directly on the existing surface and is preserved to a height of between 30 and 45 cm. The width of the wall was between 1.0 and 1.15 m. in the vicinity of the probable tower and 1.8 m. at a distance from the tower where it served as the foundations for a probable mud-brick superstructure (6).

"To the west of the outer wall, and running parallel to it, is the screen-wall, 70-90 cm. wide and extending to ca. 9 m. Two small walls, in the north and in the south, connect at right angle the outer wall with the screen wall, creating a porch-like enclosed area between the walls (7)."

This "porch" may have been a tower which was entered through the outer wall by a postern gate. To the south in the "porch" or tower was a small raised cobble ramp "which was probably utilized

4. Seger and Borowski, pp.158-65.

5. Oded Borowski, "Field III Excavations of 1979," Lahav Newsletter 14 (February, 1980) p.1.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

by the defenders to gain height for hurling missiles at attackers (8)."

The final aspect of the system was the *glacis* (see fig. 4.74).

"The *glacis* slopes steeply westward (30-40 degrees). Its upper part in the east runs to both screen-wall and outer wall and covers their foundations; the *glacis* extends to the west beyond the excavated area to the natural spur where bedrock is visible. On both sides (north and south) of the exposed *glacis* the original face of the structure is visible and mostly undisturbed. A probe through the *glacis* conducted during the 1979 season revealed the method of its construction. A thick layer of brown soil was placed against the lower course of the screen-wall. On top of this layer was laid another layer of crushed limestone and lime chips. The latter is highly compacted and lenses out eastward. A second layer of brown soil was laid above the crushed limestone lens. This was covered with a layer of fieldstones on top of which a face of flagstones was placed, creating a smooth sloping surface (9)."

Two dwelling phases were found inside the wall in which numerous restorable ceramic vessels and loom weights were found. The final occupation of the dwelling phases was put out of use by a "fiery destruction." Borowski has dated this destruction to 701 BCE:

"Many iron arrowheads and a lance-head were discovered in different parts of the complex in association with fiery destruction. Rounded stones identified as ballistas were also found in the same context. All of this suggests that the city was destroyed after a fierce battle. The pottery recovered from the floor suggests a date ca. 700 B.C.E. for the destruction. This can be associated with Sennacherib's campaign in Judah in 701 B.C.E. (10)."

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p.2.; A similar *glacis* may be present at Tell Beit Mirsim see p.114.

In the discussion of dating no mention of למב handles was made so it is probable that none have been found. If Na'aman's proposal of a major southern campaign by Assyria prior to 701 BCE is correct, then Tell Khuweilifeh probably was destroyed, along with Tell es-Seba', about 720 BCE, prior to the introduction of למב store jars.

The occupational history of Tell Khuweilifeh (Rimmon, Tilla) during the Iron Age is not yet fully understood. The destruction of the Iron II city during the last half of the 8th century BCE is clear, but the date of its construction and its occupational history is still unknown (11).

10. Ibid., p.3.

11. A personal communication from Dr. Seger indicates that he favors a 9th century date for the construction of the glacis and fortification system.

Tell Mura (117137)

Tell Mura, or Tell Kheidar (Tel Mor; Ashdod-Yam?) is located on the north bank of the Wadi Sukreir (Nahal Lachish) at a point on the Via Maris 1 kilometer from the sea and 7 kilometers northwest of Ashdod. This 1 dunam site rises to a height of 25 m. above sea-level and about 18 m. above its surroundings (1). The site was excavated in 1959 and 1960 by M. Dothan on behalf of the Department of Antiquities of Israel and the Ashdod Development Corporation (2). Twelve strata were discovered that range in date from the Middle Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period, of which five were dated to the Iron Age (3).

Stratum VI. Following the massive destruction of the final Late Bronze Age city at the end of the 13th century BCE, a small *migdol*, or fortress tower, was constructed. This two-storey building was 11 m. square and had walls almost 4 m. thick. Close to the *migdol*, houses and workshops containing furnaces and copper smelting equipment were found. The excavator believed this stratum to be Israelite and that it continued in use until the early 12th century BCE (4).

1. M. Dothan, "The Foundation of Tel Mor and of Ashdod," Israel Exploration Journal 23 (1973) 1:3.

2. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tel Mor," by M. Dothan.

3. M. Dothan, "Tell Mor (Tell Kheidar)," Israel Exploration Journal 10 (1960) 2:123-5.

Stratum V. Occupation continued from the village of Stratum VI into Stratum V. At this time the village became Canaanite and it endured into the mid 12th century BCE (5).

Stratum IV. Stratum IV was a small Philistine village of agricultural structures. It was constructed in the late 12th century BCE and lasted until the early to mid 11th century BCE (6).

Stratum III. From the mid to late 11th century BCE until the early 10th century BCE occupation of the Philistine village that began in Stratum IV continued. The site was conquered in the early 10th century BCE and abandoned (7).

Stratum II. Tell Mura was re-occupied in the early 8th century BCE. These remains were severely disturbed. However the excavators did find two parallel mud-brick walls which were hypothesized to be a casemate wall from a fortress, one which may have been built by King Uzziah (II Chronicles 26:6). If this interpretation is correct, then it is possible that this site was destroyed by Sargon II about 712 BCE (8).

4. Encyclopedia.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

The occupational history of Tell Mura during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

Tell Mura

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
	DESTRUCTION	
VI	Migdol, Israelite village	late 13 th to early 12 th century BCE
V	Migdol, Canaanite village	early 12 th to mid 12 th century BCE
IV	Philistine village	late 12 th to mid 11 th century BCE
III	Philistine village	late 11 th to early 10 th century BCE
	ABANDONMENT	
II	Israelite fortress	mid 8 th century to 712? BCE
	DESTRUCTION?	

Tell Sandahanna (140111)

Tell Sandahanna (Tel Maresha; Mareshah) is located 2 kilometers south of Beth-Govrin and 30 kilometers east-southeast of Ashkelon. Bliss described its location as "... a small natural plateau, from which several low ridges radiate (1)." The summit of the mound rises to 357 m. above sea-level and presents a commanding view of the area (2). The remains, which cover an area of about 150 m. in diameter, have been well known from antiquity. The site has been identified as biblical Maresha by Robinson, Petrie, and Bliss, based on Eusebius and Josephus, and this identification is accepted universally (3). Tell Sandahanna was excavated in the summer of 1900 by Frederick Jones Bliss in association with the Palestine Exploration Fund. Bliss uncovered completely the top stratum of the mound and he dated it to the Hellenistic Period. Three probes through this stratum proved the existence of an earlier Hellenistic/Persian stratum and a "Jewish," Iron Age, stratum (4).

"Jewish" Stratum. Little information concerning this stratum was published by Bliss. He found 10 feet of accumulation for "a

1. Frederick J. Bliss and R.A. Stewart Macalister, Excavations in Palestine During the Years 1898-1900 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902) p.52.

2. Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Maresha," by M. Avi-Yonah.

3. Ibid.

4. Bliss and Macalister, p.58.

regular Jewish stratum" that rested on bed-rock (5). He also wrote:

"There were no pre-Israelite remains. The houses were built of the same rough rubble as was found in the other Jewish towns we have excavated. The pottery showed the ordinary Jewish types, including Royal jar-handles with the four place names occurring elsewhere - Hebron, Ziph, Socoh, Memshath (6)."

Bliss published little ceramic evidence from the "Jewish" stratum and it is impossible, therefore, to re-interpret the material attempting to better understand the stratum. The only clear dating evidence that Bliss presented are the $\gamma\beta\eta\beta$ store-jar handles which date to the late 8th century BCE. According to II Chronicles 11:8, Rehoboam erected a fortified city at Mareshah. Bliss' work at Tell Sandahannah can neither support nor disprove the existence of such a fortification system since no city walls or datable pottery were found or published. Likewise, any date for the end of this stratum at Tell Sandahannah is lacking.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

Tell Zakariya (143123)

Tell Zakariya (Tel Azeqa; Azekah) is located on a prominent hill which rises abruptly from the Wadi es-Sunt (Vale of Elah). It is 9 kilometers northeast of Beth-Govrin and about 30 kilometers southwest of Jerusalem. Tell Zakariya is the northern terminus of a series of hills that run for about 10 kilometers from Tell ej-Judeideh. Tell Zakariya rises about 117 meters from the floor of the Wadi es-Sunt to an absolute elevation of about 400 m. The tell is bordered on the south by the chain of hills, on the east and north by a steep slope leading to the Wadi es-Sunt, and on the west by another steep slope. This lofty and isolated spot affords an excellent view of the surrounding territory. In describing the view in 1902, Bliss wrote:

"... the view from the top is far reaching. To the west it extends over almost the whole of the land of Philistia to the distant sea. In the foreground the most prominent feature is the bold hill of Tell es-Safi. A lofty wely on the coast marks the location of Ascalon. The sites of Ekron, Ashdod and Jamnia may be made out. To the north-east the gardens and houses of Ramleh, and the sand-dunes near Jaffa are distinct. To the east appears the high wall of the Judean mountains, separated from the tell by low hills, sparsely and soberly clad with brush and scrub, and divided by shallow vallies rich with olive trees (1)."

The Palestine Exploration Fund sponsored the sole expedition to Tell Zakariya from 1898 to 1899. The work was directed by Frederick J. Bliss and R. A. Stewart Macalister and lasted a total

1. Frederick Jones Bliss and R. A. Stewart Macalister, Excavations in Palestine During the Years 1898-1900 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902) p.5.

of four months during which time 275,000 cubic feet of earth were excavated (2). This was one of the pioneering efforts in Palestinian archaeological excavation and reporting, and as a result the method was somewhat crude and the reporting imprecise. An examination of the pottery drawings found in the final publication indicate that the site was occupied from the Early Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period (3). The pottery was accurately analyzed by Bliss and then presented according to period. If the pottery presented is representative of quantity and types of pottery found, then the Late Bronze Age to Iron II are the predominant periods of occupation (see fig. 4.75 through 4.77 for the Iron II material)(4).

Two main places for excavation were undertaken by Bliss at Tell Zakariya: the lower plateau with its towers, and the fortress. The lower plateau, which comprises a majority of the approximately 25 dunam site (see fig. 4.78), was investigated in two places: along the southwest crest of the site and in the center (Bliss' large clearance pit). Excavation along the crest of the summit isolated three major structures: the three Towers, the "revetment" wall, and the stone layer.

2. Fredrick Jones Bliss, "Fourth Report of the Excavations at Tell Zakariya," Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (1900) p.8.

3. Bliss and Macalister, plates 20-63.

4. Ibid.

The Three Towers. Three stone towers were found along the southwest crest of the plateau. Bliss' description indicates that they were solid constructions of stone rubble laid in mud. Bliss sunk a shaft to a great depth but was unable to find the bottom of the towers. Placed on top of the stone rubble and mud construction, starting at current ground level, were large well squared building stones. These stone "Towers" are approximately square with the sides measuring between 18 and 19.5 feet (5.5 to 6.0 m.)(5).

The Revetment Wall. Stretches of stone rubble and mud wall, constructed much like the lower levels of the "Towers", were found just up the slope from the "Towers", running along the crest of the plateau. These stretches of wall were found to run north from Tower I, on both sides of Tower II, and south from Tower III. Bliss did not expose completely this wall, but he did note two discontinuities in it. Midway between Towers I and II the wall was missing and Bliss exposed a stone stairway leading into a small, crude room. A 90 degree turn in the wall was found between Towers II and III, but Bliss did not proceed to clarify more about this turn (see fig. 4.79)(6).

Bliss noted that the stone rubble was slightly smaller in size

5. Ibid., pp.13-4.

6. Ibid.

than the rubble found in the lower parts of the towers, that the wall measured 11 feet 6 inches (3.5 m.) in width at its top and narrowed as it got lower, and that, in places, the wall was only a few courses in depth. He concluded that the wall had been used as a subterranean revetment wall extending between the towers. He concluded that it had not been continuous, however, since the wall was lacking in at least one place and there was no evidence for its later removal at that point. No trace of the revetment wall was found south of Tower I or north of Tower III, which seemed to indicate a localized system. Bliss dated the entire structure "late" from Roman and Byzantine pottery he found on and just beneath the surface in the vicinity of the structure (7).

The Stone Layer. A lining of stones, one to two courses thick, was found on the eastern slope of the mound and on the slope north of Tower III (see fig. 4.79). Bliss could not explain this structure, but likened it to the glacis found by Petrie on the southern slope at Tell el-Hesi (8).

These three structural features probably relate to one construction project intended to support the mound. The southwestern corner of Tell Zakariya is the low point of the tell

7. Ibid.

8. Frederick Jones Bliss, "Second Report of the Excavations at Tell Zakariya," Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement (1899) p.20.

(see fig. 4.78). Water, therefore, would run through the site causing erosion. At this point of high vulnerability to nature, the inhabitants of Tell Zakariya constructed a "revetment wall" designed to support the edge of the mound from erosion. This wall was set at, or just below, ground level. This is seen by noting that the revetment wall ends just below the level where the construction of the towers changes from foundation to superstructure technique (see fig. 4.79). This structure may have built up the mound to a slight extent which would have lessened loss due to erosion (9).

The towers, which would seem to be contemporary with the revetment wall, probably served two purposes. The first purpose would be to anchor the revetment wall. These towers, founded at a great depth, would help support the outward stress placed on the revetment wall. Bliss postulated a defensive purpose for the towers. Given that only one course of the superstructure was found, it is hard to argue about usage of the towers. However no other explanation for the superstructure seems likely and defense would seem to be a probable second purpose.

The glacis type structure probably would have been at surface

9. This leaves unexplained the gap in the wall found by Bliss between Towers I and II. Given that he found a crude room and stairs in the gap, it is possible that this structure is later than the wall, and cut it. A second possibility is that, for some unknown reason, the mound was higher and more stable here and the wall was unnecessary.

level or just below. If the similarity with the glacis at Tell el-Hesi is exact, then the stone layer could not have been exposed to the elements and the structure would not be a glacis in a strict sense. It could channel water off the surface and protect the higher sides of the tell from erosion (10). This structure is found to surround much of the tell where the tower structure and revetment wall are not present and would seem to complete the anti-erosional function of the system. The slope caused by this layer would be, also, a moderate military deterrent.

Excavation in the interior of the large plateau, Bliss' large clearance pit, provides good dating material and information concerning its usage. Two major occupational strata, separated by a destruction layer, were discovered in this massive trench (see fig. 4.80). The upper level covered the entire plateau and consisted of a maze of very ruined walls of which Bliss did not publish a plan (11). The light grey soil of this layer contained vats, inscribed jar handles, weights and pottery which was mostly from the "Jewish" period, with few earlier sherds and none later. The lower "Pre-Israelite" stratum contained at least two phases and rested on bedrock. It contained solely "Pre-Israelite" pottery, but also was too ruined for Bliss to plan. This stratum, which was characterized by hard dark soil, came to an end with a destruction (12).

10. This is seen at Tell el-Hesi where, when exposed to the elements, the glacis eroded rapidly.

11. Bliss, "1900," p.96.

An industrial or domestic usage for the lower plateau can be posited from the structures and artifacts recovered there, while the lack of any remains of fortifications would imply that the lower plateau was not fortified. A modern interpretation of the pottery would indicate that the lower stratum was Late Bronze Age and Iron I, while the upper stratum was Iron I/II transitional to late Iron II (see below). Since the tower-revetment wall-glacis system was placed against and into the sides of the tell, it was probably placed into the Late Bronze Age/Iron I material. This would imply that the system was later than these periods. Occupation on the plateau ceased with the Iron II. The tower-revetment wall-glacis system, therefore, probably dates to the later Iron I/II transitional period to the late Iron II period when it would have been used to support and protect the unfortified occupational remains of the lower plateau. This dating scheme accepts Bliss' date for the plateau occupation, but links that date to the tower-revetment wall-glacis structure which Bliss dated "late" on very suspect evidence (13).

The fortress is located on the highest part of the ridge in the southeast corner of the tell. The fortress is shaped as an irregular quadrangle with that shape determined by the contours

12. Ibid., p.8. and Bliss and Macalister, p.25 and plate 2.

13. This analysis is based solely on the evidence from Bliss and cannot be considered more than tentative until the site is re-excavated.

of the ridge. The sides measure 116 feet 6 inches (35.51 m.) in the north, 170 feet (51.81 m.) in the east, 124 feet (37.80 m.) in the south, and 221 feet (67.36 m.) in the west. The walls are founded on bedrock and are constructed of large roughly shaped stones laid in courses. The widths of the walls range from 5 feet 9 inches (1.75 m.) to 7 feet 6 inches (2.29 m.) depending on where and how high up the wall was measured (14). These walls are preserved to a height of 13 to 19 feet (4.0 to 5.75 m.) from bedrock (15). The walls, however, were not freestanding to that height for a 2 to 3 inch (5 to 7.6 cm.) wide foundation trench was found extending from bedrock to a height of 6 to 10 feet (1.83 to 3.05 m.). No evidence of a gate was found (16).

Bliss found evidence for two phases in the construction of the fortress. Six towers were added to the original structure (see fig. 4.81), four at the corners and two along the sides. Five of the towers are similar in construction, while the sixth tower, Tower II, is different. All of the towers are founded on bedrock and are made of large rubble stones with well shaped stones at the corners (17). Towers I, III, IV, V, and possibly VI were added to the structures by breaching the main wall of the fortress and then bonding the tower walls to the fortress wall (see fig. 4.82)(18).

14. Bliss and Macalister, pp.14-7.

15. Bliss, "1900," p.96.

16. Bliss and Macalister, p.19.

17. Bliss, "1899," pp.170-1.

Tower II, which is smaller, simply abutts the main fortress wall. The five larger towers are all approximately 30 feet by 16 feet (9.14 by 4.88 m.), while Tower II is only 25 feet by 13 feet 6 inches (7.62 by 4.11 m.). Bliss' conclusion that these towers were later additions came from two observations. The first is the difference in masonry between the main part of the wall and the area that was breached. The second is that there is an offset in the wall on its inside that vanishes where the breaches for the towers were made (19).

Bliss described how he determined the floor level in the fortress:

How much of the *debris* of Tell Zakariya had accumulated when the fortress was built? We stated in the last report that the *debris*, averaging about 16 feet deep, was shown by the pottery to consist of three strata: (1) An archaic stratum on the rock, slightly disturbed in pre-Roman times; (2) a stratum disturbed in pre-Roman times, but probably after the archaic period; and (3) a stratum disturbed in pre-Roman times. The depth of the two lowest strata, taken together, averages about 7 feet. The chief indications of the ground-levels of the fortress interior are given by the sills of the doorways entering towers III and IV. The sill of the latter is about 7 feet under the surface and is 9 feet above the rock. The sill of the former is about 3 feet higher, showing that the interior of the building had not the same level at all points. From the elevation of the outside face of the south-west side of tower IV it is clear that the ground line outside the building must have been at least 5 feet 6 inches above the rock, as we have rude rubble to that height, which is about 3 feet below the level of the door-sill, but the lowest course of the dressed stones appears to be rougher, and may always have been underground ... (20)."

18. Tower VI was not fully excavated by Bliss, but he projected that the same would hold true for it.

19. Bliss and Macalister, pp.16-7 and plate 5.

Accordingly it would appear that the foundations of the building had been sunk in the older *debris* forming the two lower strata, and that the third stratum had accumulated after the building had been erected. This view appears to find confirmation in the fact that large fallen stones were found in that part of the large clearance-pit within the fortress which was near the main west wall, to a depth of 7 feet, i.e. in the upper destruction stratum. Hence these stones may be due to the destruction of the building (21)."

Bliss seems to indicate that three strata were present in the fortress and that the fortress stratum is the third, with its foundation trench cutting through the earlier strata. This "level" is determined by that trench, the door-sills, and the destruction level of stones, and would seem to date from Bliss' "Jewish" period (22).

The structures within the building are too confused to attempt to interpret. Cisterns, vats, pits, rooms, and numerous interior walls are present. Pitting and later walls are also present. It is clear, however, that no interior walls bonded to the fortress wall. Above the "Jewish" period remains were Seleucid and Roman structures that reused the fortress (23).

All of the pottery published by Bliss from Tell Zakariya that dates from the the Iron Age is presented in figs. 4.75 through 4.77. If these remains are representative of the material that Bliss found and they are representative of the occupation at Tell

20. Bliss, "1899," p.96.

21. *Ibid.*, p.97.

22. Bliss and Macalister, pp.22-3.

23. *Ibid.*, pp.19-23.

Zakariya, then the site was occupied heavily by a community who imported numerous vessels during the Iron Age. There seems to be an occupational gap during the early to middle Iron I, with a rebound in occupation during the late Iron I and Iron II (24). Heavy occupation is again found in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, as indicated by the 7575 store-jar handles, which lasted to the end of the Iron Age.

In conclusion, the archaeological evidence would point to Tell Zakariya having been heavily occupied during the Late Bronze Age, at the end of which it suffered a great destruction. The site was then, probably, deserted until the 10th century. Between the 10th century BCE and the 7th century BCE a fortress was constructed and then added on to, a lower city was constructed and inhabited, and a perimeter structure was placed around the tell which appears to have been primarily anti-erosional, but possibly defensive. The site was destroyed at the end of the Iron II period.

The occupational history of Tell Zakariya (Tel Azeqa, Azekah) during the Iron Age can be summarized as follows:

24. D.C. Baramki, "An Early Iron Age Tomb at Tell ez-Zahiriye," Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine IV (1936) pp.110-111.

Tell Zakariya

STRATUM	STRUCTURE	DATE
DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT		
Iron II		
- Early	Fortress?	late 10 th century BCE?
- Late	Fortress rebuilt, city built?, lower wall built	9 th to 7 th centuries BCE

DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT

Summary

This catalogue of sites has included all Iron Age sites that have been excavated in the south and west of Judah. Chapter Six will combine this material with geologic and historical factors and provide a synthesis of the data gathered in this work. The excavated sites from this chapter can be supplemented with unexcavated sites which will be examined in Chapter Five. The following fold-out chart lists sites in the same order as presented in this chapter, and can be used as a reference in isolating fortification attributes for each site.

T. ed-Duweir		1 Reuse of LB Fort.		10th C. Fortress		9th C. Double Wall		8th/7th C. Solid Wall		7th/6th C. Casemate Wall		10th C. Fill		3-pier Gate		1 Destruction		Government Storehouse
Ahdod-Yam		1 Single Wall		10th C. Solid Wall		9th C. Casemate Wall		8th/7th C. Casemate Wall		7th/6th C. Solid Wall		10th C. Glacis		Double Entry Gate		10th C. Destruction		
K. 'Ar'arah		1 Fortress		10th C. Casemate Wall		9th C. Solid Wall		8th/7th C. Fortress		7th/6th C. Unfortified		9th C. Fill		X		8th C. Destruction		
K. el-Kom		1 Unfortified		10th C. Unfortified		9th C. Unfortified		8th/7th C. Unfortified		7th/6th C. Unfortified		8th C. Glacis		X		Late 8th C. Destruction		
K. el-Meshash		1 Unoccupied	X	10th C. Unoccupied		9th C. Unoccupied		8th/7th C. Unoccupied		7th/6th C. Unoccupied		7th C. Glacis		X		Late 7th C. Destruction		
K. et-Tubeiqah																		
K. Sharreh																		
K. Hoga																		
Meaad Hasayahu																		
T. Abu Selymeh																		
T. 'Arad																		
T. Beit Mirsim																		
T. ej-Jazar																		
T. ej-Judeidah																		
T. el-Batashi			X											X				
T. el-Far'a (S)				?				?				?		X				
T. el-Hesi														X				
T. el-Kheleifeh														X				
T. el-Milh														X				
T. el-Qudeirat														X				
T. en-Najilah														X				
T. er-Rumeilah			X											X				
T. es-Safi														X				
T. es-Seba'														X				
T. esdar			X											X				
T. esh-Shari'ah														X				
T. esh-Sheik 'Ahmed el-'Areini														X				
T. ec-Tuyur														X				
T. Jemmeh			X											X				
T. Khuweillifeh														X				
T. Mura			X											X				
T. Sandahanna														X				
T. Zakariya														X				
Negev Sites			X											X				

CHAPTER FIVE

SURVEY RESULTS FROM BORDER JUDAHITE SITES

Archaeological exploration in southern Judah has centered on excavation; however numerous sites have been explored, described, and dated on the basis of ceramic remains found on the surface of unexcavated sites. The result is that no structural or stratigraphic data is known relating to most of these sites due to the fact that they are buried beneath later structures, wind deposited fill, or destruction debris. The following catalogue of unexcavated sites has been organized in a manner similar to that followed in Chapter Four, and only sites with known Iron Age remains have been included. For the location of these sites see fig. 1.2.

Khirbet 'Aitun (143099)

Khirbet 'Aitun (Tel 'Etun; Eglon?) is located 10 kilometers south-southeast of Tell ed-Duweir near one of the tributaries of the Wadi Hesi. Kitchener and Conder noted the mound and some rock cuttings near to it (1). The mound itself has not been

1. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine, vol. 3: Judaea (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) p.278.

archaeologically excavated; however nearby tombs were the subject of excavation in 1968. These tombs proved to date from Late Bronze II through Iron II, along with later Roman reuse (2). These remains point to Khirbet 'Aitun having been occupied throughout the Iron Age, and may indicate the location of a major Canaanite, Philistine, and Israelite city.

Khirbet Summeily (119106)

Khirbet Summeily (Khirbet Sawrika?) is located on two small loess mounds that overlook the Wadi el-Hesi (Nahal Shiqma) at a point about 5 kilometers west of Tell el-Hesi. In 1875 Kitchener and Conder noted "traces" of ruins at the site (3), and later Petrie found some "early" pottery but added, "it is not important (4)." A survey team from the Joint Expedition to Tell el-Hesi visited the site during the summer of 1979 and noted two concentrations of pottery; Iron II pottery was found on one of the hills, and Late Bronze Age pottery was found on the adjoining hill. No evidence of construction was found. If one combines the results of these studies, one may possibly suggest that the site of Khirbet Summeily was a small settlement occupied during the Iron II period.

2. T. Dothan, "Tell 'Aitun," Israel Exploration Journal 18 (1968) 3:194-5.

3. Conder and Kitchener, p.293.

4. W.M. Flinders Petrie, "Excavation at Tell el-Hesi," Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund (1890) :221.

Khirbet Zeida el-'Atiqah (133115)

Khirbet Zeida el-'Atiqah and Khirbet Zeita el-Harab are probably the same site as Zeida which was noted by Kitchener and Conder during their survey of Palestine. They described the site as having, "heaps of ruins and walls (5)." In 1924 W.F. Albright visited Khirbet Zeida el-'Atiqah and noted an outcropping of Iron Age material below the later Arab remains (6). Khirbet Zeita el-Harab was examined by Yohanan Aharoni and Ruth Amiran. They found evidence for occupation ranging from the Iron I period through modern times in which a large concentration of Iron II remains was found (7).

It is probable that these sites are one in the same given that their physical descriptions and general locations are similar. The site of Khirbet Zeida el-'Atiqah seems to have been settled during the Iron I period and then followed by a larger occupation during the Iron II period.

5. Conder and Kitchener, p.293.

6. W.F. Albright, "Summer School at Jerusalem Combined with a Pilgrimage," Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research 17 (February, 1925) 1:8.

7. Y. Aharoni and Ruth Amiran, "The City Mounds of the Shephelah," Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society XIX (1955) p. iii.

Qubur el-Walaida (101082)

Qubur el-Walaida is located 10 kilometers southeast of Gaza on the Wadi Ghazzeah (Nahal Besor) about halfway between Tell el-Far'ah (S) and Tell Jemmeh. Rudolph Cohen discovered the site and tested it during a brief archaeological season in 1977. Cohen found that the occupation of the site lasted from Late Bronze II through Iron I. During the Iron I occupation the site functioned as a small unfortified village occupied by the Philistines (8).

Rasm edh-Dhab (143117)

Rasm edh-Dhab is located on the limestone ridge that runs between Tell ej-Judeideh and Tell Zakariya at a point about 2 kilometers northeast of Tell ej-Judeideh. During the winter of 1958-59 a survey was conducted that found the site. L. Y. Rachmani mapped it and described a fortress (see fig. 5.1) which measured 30 x 40 meters. The walls were constructed of stone and formed a casemate structure with the outer wall 1.3 meters thick and the inner wall 1.2 meters thick separated by a space 3.0 meters wide. Towers were found at the corners and along three of its sides for a total of seven. Surface evidence would indicate a

8. Rudolph Cohen, "Qubur el-Walaida," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978) 2:194.

date of 8th and 7th century BCE for the site (9).

Tell Abu esh-Sheqef (123107)

Tell Abu esh-Sheqef (Tell Sheqef) is located two kilometers northwest of Tell el-Hesi along the north bank of the Wadi el-Hesi (Nahal Shiqma). Kitchener and Conder mapped the site and noted that it contained a few stones and a well (10). Petrie found the mound and stated that it probably contained early remains. He called the pottery at the surface Roman and pre-Roman (11). In 1924 W.F. Albright collected pottery from Tell Abu esh-Sheqef and dated it Iron Age, Roman, and Byzantine (12). The final archaeological survey work was conducted in 1971 by a team from the Joint Expedition to Tell el-Hesi. This material is still unpublished, but an examination of the material would indicate that the site was inhabited in the Chalcolithic Period, Early Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Iron I, Iron II, Persian Period, Hellenistic Period, Roman Period, Byzantine Period, and Arab periods.

9. L.Y. Rachmani, "A Survey in Part of the Territory of Adullam," Yediot 28 (1964) :209-14.

10. Conder and Kitchener, p.290.

11. W.M. Flinders Petrie, Tell el-Hesi (Lachish) (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1891) :53, and Petrie, "Excavations," p.221.

12. Albright, p.7.

G. Ernest Wright described a series of small cone-shaped sites that included Tell Bornat, Tell Muleihah, Tell Quneitirah, and Tell el-Hesi. Tell Abu esh-Sheqef is similar in form and size to these sites. However Wright did not include it in his series of fortresses because he believed it to be from the Roman Period and not earlier (13). Since it is clear that it does have a date similar to that of the other cone-shaped sites, it is probable that it served, in conjunction with these other sites, the same fortress function during the Iron Age.

Tell Abu Hareireh (112087)

Tell Abu Hareireh (Tel Haror; Gerar) is located 31 kilometers southwest of Tell ed-Duweir and 16 kilometers northeast of Tell el-Far'ah (S). It is situated in the northern Negeb on the south bank of the Wadi Ghazzeah. Tell Abu Hareireh has been identified as biblical Gerar, and, as such, it must have been inhabited during the Iron Age, although the author has been unable to locate any published survey material indicating an Iron Age date for the site. The site was visited by Kitchener and Conder who noted that it was a large mound containing no traces of masonry (14). Lawrence and Woolley visited the site in 1914 and described it as,

13. G. Ernest Wright, "A Problem of Ancient Topography: Lachish and Eglon," Harvard Theological Review 64 (1971) :440.

14. Conder and Kitchener, p.399.

"... a very large mound, partly natural but artificially scarped, that rises on the Wady Ghazza. It consists of a great citadel mound and a lower-town mound with an earthen rampart.... The mound is one of the finest in the south country (15)."

If the site was indeed occupied during the Iron Age, then it was certainly one of the larger more important cities in the south.

Tell Bornat (138115)

Tell Bornat (Tel Burna) is located 9 kilometers northeast of Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini and 7.5 kilometers north of Tell ed-Duweir. It is situated on a low plain at the edge of a wadi. Kitchener and Conder described the site in 1875 as:

"A mound, partly natural, partly artificial, with a square enclosure, about 50 yards a side at the top, and terraces artificially cut on the slopes (16)."

Petrie noted that the site was 200 feet square at the top and that it was covered with "Late Jewish" pottery where no Greek or Roman pottery was present (17). When Albright visited the site he found Late Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery (18), as did Aharoni and Amiran when they visited in 1955. Aharoni and Amiran described a stone enclosure wall, a few meters thick, that

15. C. Leonard Woolley and T.E. Lawrence, "The Wilderness of Zin," Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund 3 (1914) :45.

16. Conder and Kitchener, p.290.

17. Petrie, Tell el-Hesi, p.61.

18. Albright, p.8.

surrounded an area of 150 square meters on the top of the tell. Below that wall they found traces of an earlier one (19).

In 1971 G. Ernest Wright summarized what was known about the small cone-shaped mound of Tell Bornat, and he speculated as to its use:

"Tell Bornat is scarcely larger in size than Quneitirah, has a similar age range, beginning in Late Bronze, it could not possibly have been more than a small fortified outpost, scarcely capable of withstanding the siege of a large army.

The latter would have simply moved around it, leaving it to a small detachment (20)."

Tell el-Kubeibeh (135110?)

In 1899 Fredrick J. Bliss visited the site of "Tell Kubeibeh" and found one $\gamma\beta\eta\beta$ store jar handle on its surface. Such a site is not mentioned elsewhere and it is probable that the tell is at El-Kubeibeh, located just to the north of Tell ed-Duweir (21).

Tell Muleihah (129096)

Tell Muleihah (Tel Milha) is located 5.5 kilometers southeast

19. Aharoni and Amiran, p.iii.

20. Wright, p.444.

21. Frederick Jones Bliss, "Second Report on the Excavations at Tell ej-Judeideh," Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund (1900) :222.

of Tell en-Negileh and 12 kilometers west of Tell Beit Mirsim. Kitchener and Conder visited the site in 1875 and described it as follows, "Large round Tell, flat topped. Traces of ruins and pottery. Modern Arab graves on the top (22)."

Tell Muleihah is located just to the east of the Beer Sheba - Qiryat Gat highway and the modern railroad bed. In the mid-1950's a corner of the site was removed to make room for the railroad bed. The excavation was observed by Shemuel Yeivin who stated that only remains from the Middle Bronze Age and Iron II were found. He wrote, "... some fortification of the MC (1950 - 1550 BCE) and MI (970 - 580 BCE) periods with a large area of round pits full of white ashes (burned straw?) outside the walls (23)."

Tell Muleihah is situated along the Wadi Muleihah and was inhabited during the Iron Age at which time Wright believed it served as a fortress. After visiting the site Wright described it as:

"...still another cone-shaped mound, Tell Muleihah. It is slightly larger than Quneitirah and Bornat, but is still a very small place, best interpreted as a fort. It is on a low spot on a branch of the Wadi el-Hesi, which originates where the Shephelah gives away to rolling Negeb (24)."

22. Conder and Kitchener, p.291.

23. Sh. Yeivin, A Decade of Archaeology In Israel: 1948-1958, (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instietuit In Het Nabije Oosten, 1960) :32.

24. Wright, p.444.

Tell Quneitirah (128105)

Tell Quneitirah (Tel Qeshet) is located 4 kilometers east of Tell el-Hesi and 8.5 kilometers west-southwest of Tell ed-Duweir. It is situated on the north bank of the Wadi Jizair near the border of the Shephelah and the Philistine Plain. The site is shown on the Map of Western Palestine but is not described in the commentary of Kitchener and Conder (25). Petrie described the pottery of the site as Roman but mostly "of Persian period?" (26). In 1971 Tell Quneitirah was examined during a brief survey sponsored by the Joint Expedition to Tell el-Hesi. These materials are not published. However an examination of the sherds yields pottery from the Late Bronze Age, Iron I, Iron II, Persian Period, Hellenistic Period, Roman Period, and the Arab periods.

Wright noted that Tell Quneitirah was located in a hollow along the Wadi Jizair and concluded that it probably served as a fortress. He also wrote that it:

"... is a tiny cone-mound that could have served no other purpose than as a fort, not a quarter of the size of Hesi. It was founded in the Late Bronze Age and continued throughout the Iron Age (27)."

25. Capt. C.R. Conder and Capt. H.H. Kitchener, Map Of Western Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1880) Plate XX.

26. Petrie, Tell el-Hesi, p.54.

27. Wright, p.444.

_____ (139117)

Near Kidna an unnamed 10 dunam site was found by Aharoni and Amiran. They found pottery from the Iron I, Iron II, and Persian Period on the surface of the site (28).

Negeb Sites

The Negeb sites are a series of small to medium size fortresses found in the Negeb desert south of Tell es-Seba' that have been examined both by excavation and by survey. The sites, of which over 50 are known (see fig. 5.2), are to be found at crucial points along the roads through the Negeb. It has been hypothesized by Aharoni and others that these fortresses represent the early Israelite fortification system of the Negeb. While these sites are outside the geographical limits of this study, they will be presented here in summary form because it was felt that note of their date, purpose, and style of construction was needed to supplement the current study.

Most of the Negeb sites are thin-walled, stone casemate structures that enclose an open area of less than 2500 square meters. The exact shape of the individual fortresses vary, but they seem to fall into three categories (see fig. 5.3). The first

28. Aharoni and Amiran, p.iii.

category consists of squarish structures with no towers. Where these structures have been excavated they seem to date from the 11th and early 10th centuries BCE. The second category consists of irregularly shaped structures with corner towers. These fortresses seem to date from the 9th through early 7th centuries BCE. The third type of fortress was contoured to suit its local physical environment and, for this category of fortress, no dating pattern has been determined (29).

Aharoni concluded that the Tell es-Seba' Stratum VII fortress (see pp. 177-8) was the northern terminus and command center for this defensive system which was founded at the end of the 11th century BCE, either by King Saul or, possibly, by one of the judges (30). With this command center being found at the crossroads located at the well of Tell es-Seba', the outlying fortresses were placed at lofty positions along the road system and at junctions of the major trade routes (31).

29. Yohanan Aharoni, "Forerunners of the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses On the Negev," Israel Exploration Journal 17 (1967) 1:1-17.

30. Aharoni, Yohanan, "Tel Beer-Sheba, 1975," Israel Exploration Journal 25 (1975) 2-3:170 and Zeev Herzog, "Tel Beer-sheba, 1976," Israel Exploration Journal 27 (1977) 2-3:168-70.

31. Aharoni, "Limes," p.2.

For more information concerning these sites see:

Aharoni, Yohanan. "The Negev of Judah." Israel Exploration Journal 8 (1958) 1:26-38.

_____. "Forerunners of the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses On the Negev." Israel Exploration Journal 17 (1967) 1:1-17.

_____. "Tel Beer-Sheba, 1975." Israel Exploration Journal 25 (1975) 3:170.

Summary

In summary, the sites examined by survey have supplemented that which was gathered during the study of excavated sites. Although the exact dating and history of the various survey sites is unknown, it is clear that some of the survey sites can be closely associated with other excavated sites. Wright linked Tell el-Hesi and Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini with Tell Bornat, Tell Quneitirah, and Tell Muleihah (see fig. 1.2). This attribution seems likely given their physical appearance and ceramic dating; however it is also likely that Tell Abu esh-Sheqef should be linked with these sites for the same reasons. The Negeb sites form a group of southern border fortresses that probably relate to

- Cohen, Rudolf. "Atar Haraoh." 'Atiqot 6 (1970) pp.6-27.
 _____. "H. Rahba." Israel Exploration Journal 25 (1975) 2-3:171-2.
 _____. "Excavations at Horvat Halaqum." Atiqot XI (1976) :34-50.
 _____. "H. Mesora." Israel Exploration Journal 27 (1977) 2-3:170-1.
 _____. "Ein Qedis." Israel Exploration Journal 27 (1977) 2-3:171.
 Herzog, Zeev. "Tel Beer-sheba, 1976." Israel Exploration Journal 27 (1977) 2-3:168-70.
 _____. "Beer-Sheba of the Patriarchs." Biblical Archaeology Review VI (November/December 1980) 6:13-28.
 Meshel, Zeev. "Horvat Ritma-An Iron Age Fortress In The Negev Highlands." Tel Aviv 4 (1977) 3-4:110-133.
 _____. "Kuntilat 'Ajrud." Israel Exploration Journal 27 (1977) 1:52-3.
 _____. "Kuntilat 'Ajrud." Expedition 20 (Summer 1978) 4:50-54.
 Meshel, Zeev and Cohen, Rudolf. "Rafed and Hatira: Two Iron Age Fortresses in the Negev." Tel Aviv 7 (1980) 1-2:70-81.

Tell es-Seba', Tell 'Arad, Khirbet Gharra, Khirbet 'Ar'arah, and Tell el-Milh (see fig. 5.2). Survey site Rasm edh-Dhab is a small border fortress probably akin to nearby Tell Zakariya and Tell ej-Judeideh (see fig. 1.2). The other survey sites do not fit easily into any groupings; however they do isolate areas for further research.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS: HISTORY OF SOUTHWESTERN JUDAHITE FORTIFICATION

Throughout the period of the Judahite kingdom, topographic, economic, and external political and military factors helped form the defensive policies employed by the kings of Judah. Of primary concern to this thesis are the fortification systems of which Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) was a part. A close examination of topographic, archaeological, and historic considerations clearly demonstrate that Lachish could not have been part of a Judahite fortification system prior to 925 BCE (see Chapter Four pp.59-63). Other southern sites, however, were fortified at an earlier date. A knowledge of their structures and purposes is necessary before one can understand why the first fortification at Tell ed-Duweir was constructed and the nature and the function of the system of which it became a part.

Negeb System of Saul

Few fortifications have been attributed to Saul. Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah) and a series of fortifications in the northern Negeb are the only examples credited to his reign (1). None of these

fortifications are to be found within the traditional bounds of the Land of Israel (Dan to Beer-sheba), except for the citadel located at the home of Saul, Tell el-Fûl. This lack of fortification in the east, north, and west is probably a reflection of the military organization created by Saul. When called upon to fight an enemy, Saul would rally the men of Israel behind him and lead them in rapid, well-conceived strikes against the enemy. After the campaign the army would disband and the soldiers would return to their homes. In a time when Israel was surrounded and interpenetrated by powerful city-states such as Jerusalem, Megiddo, Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gath, Rabbath, Beth-shean, Gerar, and Gezer, Saul was able to unite and expand Israel through the use of a mobile army, good strategy, and surprise. His Israel exhibited few fixed points for enemies to attack, and any incursion into Israel could be met with a sudden, unexpected attack by the armies of Saul (I Samuel 13-14). Had Saul garrisoned troops in fortified cities around Judah, they could easily have been besieged and destroyed by the enemies of Israel. It was not until Saul committed himself to a set piece battle at Gilboa instead of maintaining his normal hit-and-run strategy that he was defeated and killed (I Samuel 28 through II Samuel 1).

1. Nancy L. Lapp, "Casemate Walls in Palestine and the Late Iron II Casemate at Tell el-Fûl, " Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 223 (October 1976) pp.36-41; Ze'ev Herzog, "Beer-Sheba of the Patriarchs, " Biblical Archaeology Review VI (1980) 6:18-22; and also see Chapter Three pp.16-7.

It was only in the south that a different situation prevailed. Here the enemy, the Amalekites, was not an entrenched city-state, but a semi-nomadic people based in a few small cities and villages in the Negeb. After successful Amalekite raids into Judah, Saul descended upon the Amalekites defeating them and conquering their strongholds (I Samuel 15). Knowing that the semi-nomadic Amalekites would regroup and continue raiding Israel (as happened, see I Samuel 30), it appears that Saul attempted to colonize the Negeb with Israelites (Simeonites) in order to prevent a resurgence of Amalekite power. At this time a series of small fortified Israelite villages was built in and near the land of the Amalekites. Examples of these villages have been found at Tell es-Seba' (Beer-sheba) Stratum VII, Tell Esdar Stratum III, Rafed Hatira, Har-Boqer, Atar Haroah, and possibly at Khirbet el-Meshash (Bealoth?) Stratum I; there is a high probability that similar structures will be found at other unexcavated Negeb sites. Typically these villages were roughly circular in plan with the back walls of the houses forming the defensive perimeter, thereby forming a crude type of casemate construction, as noted by Meshel and Cohen (see fig. 4.62)(2). These sites were located on trade routes where they could provide protection against small raiding

2. Zeev Meshel and Rudolf Cohen, "Refed and Hatira: Two Iron Age Fortresses in the Negev, " Tel Aviv 7 (1980) 1-2:70-81; Rudolph Cohen, "The Iron Age Fortresses of the Central Negev," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 236 (Fall 1979) pp.61-79; and see Chapters Four and Five.

parties of the weakened Amalekites (see fig. 6.1). In addition to protecting the trade routes, they afforded protection for the pastoral activities of the colonizing Israelites.

Saul was followed by the great warrior-king David. Building on the base established by Saul, David expanded his kingdom so that it included or controlled all of the habitable land from Egypt to the Euphrates. The power of David's kingdom, the most powerful of its time in the Levant, was reflected in its army. Like the army of Saul, David's troops were highly mobile, but the basis of David's was mercenaries not levies (II Samuel 8:18, 15:18, and 20:23). When called into action, the army went forth to meet the enemy and besiege its cities. This led to the conquests of Jerusalem, Megiddo, Rabbath, and Beth-shean as well as control of all non-Israelite cities in the Palestine area.

It is interesting that in all of the biblical chapters devoted to David, only one construction project is noted, that being in his capital, Jerusalem (II Samuel 5:9). With the attention given to David by biblical writers, it would be odd if major building programs existed and were not mentioned. Archaeological evidence confirms, in part, the lack of building during the reign of David, for the major fortified cities that David conquered, Megiddo, Beth-shean, and Rabbath, were not rebuilt until the reign of Solomon or later (3). It seems, therefore, that David followed

the practice of Saul of not maintaining major fortified cities in his kingdom. As the ruler of a powerful nation, David relied on his mobile, professional army to go out and meet any threats to Israel. The absence of fortified cities, other than Jerusalem, removed the possibility of insurgents against his rule seizing them as military bases.

Again, only in the south was there an exception to this strategy. It is likely that the fortified villages established by Saul continued to serve their purpose as a buffer against semi-nomadic tribes in the sparsely inhabited Negeb. During the reigns of David and Solomon it is probable that this system was enlarged. Forts have been found at Tell 'Arad (Arad) Stratum XI, Ramat Matred, Nahal Reviv, and Khirbet et-Taiyib that probably date to this time period, but owing to incomplete publication of these and other similar sites, a more comprehensive statement is impossible (4) (see fig. 6.1).

A new style of fortification dating to Davidic times is found

3. Y. Aharoni, "The Stratification of Israelite Megiddo," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 31 (1972) p.309; Y. Yadin, Y. Shiloh, and A. Eitan, "Megiddo," Israel Exploration Journal 22 (1972) 2:63-4; Francis James, The Iron Age at Beth-Shan, (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1966) pp.151-3; and Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Rabbath-Amman" by M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern.

4. Lapp, "Casemates," pp.27-9; Y. Aharoni, E. Evenari, L. Shanan, and N.H. Tadmor, "The Ancient Desert Agriculture of the Negev: An Israelite Agricultural Settlement at Ramat Matred," Israel Exploration Journal 10 (1960) 1:23-36, 2:89-111; and for Tell 'Arad see Chapter Four p.103.

in the south of Judah. This type of fortification has been isolated at Tell es-Seba' (Beer-sheba) Stratum V, Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini Stratum Pre-X(3), and in the Earliest Iron Age Phase at Tell el-Milh (Telem?) (see fig. 6.2). These constructions rest on up to seven meters of fill which was used to raise the top levels of the sites. The fills were covered by a glacis and then four meter wide mud-brick "broad walls" were placed around the sites (5). This type of construction is not found again in Judah (6), and seems to be unique to the Davidic period. These sites are below the Judean highlands and may represent a barrier to Judah erected to defend the south against incursions by semi-nomadic peoples of the Sinai and Negeb.

Levitical Cities and the Fortification System of Solomon

While the Bible is silent concerning building activities of David, it clearly identifies building programs initiated by Solomon. Much of the building activity of Solomon was related to fortification, which implies a shift in Israelite military policy. No longer was Israel an unfortified country which relied on the strength of its mobile army, but instead it was a country whose defense was based in four major fortified strongholds: Jerusalem,

5. See Chapter Four pp.153-4, 178-80, 196-7.

6. A similar structure is found at Tell Dan.

Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer (I Kings 9:15-7). With the exception of the unexcavated capital of Jerusalem, these sites overlook major branches of the Via Maris and exhibit similar structural characteristics. Excavations of Hazor Stratum X Megiddo Stratum IV-B, and Tell ej-Jazar (Gezer) Stratum VIII has isolated similar gate structures (the "Solomonic" gate) and casemate wall systems (see fig. 4.35)(7). In all probability these major strongholds located on the international highway served as the basis for defense against foreign military incursion. Three more fortified sites are listed in I Kings 9:18, Lower Beth-horon, Baalath, and Tamor, but as of 1980 no archaeological excavation has been undertaken at these sites and no knowledge of their fortifications has been gathered.

Lists of the Levitical Cities are found in Joshua 21 and I Chronicles 6. The work of Albright and Mazar has shown that the construction of the Levitical Cities dates from the time of the United Kingdom, or more specifically from the reign of Solomon (8). Only the listing of the 48 Levitical Cities was described in the Bible, not their actual fortification. The fortification of

7. Y. Yadin, "Solomon's City Wall and the Gate at Gezer," Israel Exploration Journal 8 (1958) 2:80-6; Y. Yadin, Y. Shiloh, and A. Eitan, "Megiddo," Israel Exploration Journal 22 (1972) 2:63-4; for Tell ej-Jazar see Chapter Four pp.119-21.

8. See Chapter Three pp.21-3; Mazar, "Levitical Cities," pp.193-205 where he establishes that the cities were fortified and notes that their construction may have started during the co-regency of David and Solomon.

48 cities, whose purpose was tax collection and supervision of the king's affairs, would have been a significant event not likely to be missed by the biblical writers. It is probable that such an account is to be found in I Kings 9:19 where Solomon's construction of store cities, and shelter for chariots and horses was described.

Archaeological excavation has been carried out at four of the Levitical Cities. At Heshbon and Ta'anach existence of 10th century BCE occupation was confirmed, but neither fortifications nor storehouses were uncovered (9). The fact that these structures were not isolated at Heshbon and Ta'anach does not mean that such structures are not present. At Heshbon Iron Age levels were reached only in limited areas and most of the site remains unexcavated. Ta'anach is difficult to interpret since the massive excavations of the Germans were never published and were conducted with poor methodology. The later American work at Ta'anach is also largely unpublished. These facts render Heshbon and Ta'anach of limited use in this analysis. The other two Levitical Cities that have been excavated lie within the bounds of this study, Tell Beit Mirsim (Debir) and Tell er-Rumeileh (Beth-shemesh). At both sites, Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum B(3) and Tell er-Rumeileh Stratum

9. Walter E. Rast, Taanach I: Studies in the Iron Age Pottery, (Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1978); and Roger Boraas and L. Geraty, Heshbon, 1976, (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1978).

II-a, similar casemate fortification walls and storehouse structures have been found (10). The structural parallels, the dating, and the presence of storehouses at extensively excavated sites of Levitical Cities tends to support the hypothesis that Solomon's storehouse constructions were the Levitical Cities (11). This indicates the type of finds to be expected at other Levitical Cities when their 10th century BCE strata are uncovered.

Solomon's construction at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber) is described in I Kings 9:26. Excavation at this site uncovered a casemate fortification wall similar in construction to those found at Tell Beit Mirsim and Tell er-Rumeileh, but a dissimilar storehouse/granary structure (12). While this site is far beyond the geographical range of this thesis, it does provide further insight into the fortification style employed by the royal engineers of Solomon.

The fortifications and defenses biblically ascribed to Solomon (see fig. 6.2) fall into two categories. The first is the four major military installations which Solomon fortified with strong casemate walls and "Solomonic" gates. The fortification systems seen at those Levitical Cities which have been thoroughly

10. See Chapter Four pp.108-9, 167-8.

11. If the Levitical Cities served a royal function as described in Chapter Three, then one is free to speculate concerning the Levitic function of the "Governor's Residency" at Tell er-Rumeileh.

12. See Chapter Four pp.147-8.

excavated and published are not on as large a scale since these sites were designed for internal security and control. At these sites casemate defensive walls and government storehouses have been found, but given the small number of Levitical sites that have been excavated, such a descriptive model is tentative. At all known fortified sites which are both biblically and archaeologically ascribed to Solomon, casemate fortification walls and government storehouses are found (13), and in the cases of military strongpoints, "Solomonic" gates are also found (14).

The royal Solomonic fortifications described above were not the only fortification systems in existence at this time. The Negeb fortresses of Saul and David as well as the three "broad wall" systems of southern Judah continued to function. The casemate system of Tell 'Arad (Arad) Stratum XI and the possible casemate system at Tell el-Batashi (Timnah) Stratum IV may date from this era also (15).

Continued occupation at these sites is seen through the reign of Solomon and into the reign of Rehoboam. After the division of the kingdom, Pharaoh Shoshenq I campaigned against Judah, Israel,

13. Storehouses are found at Megiddo and Hazor, not Gezer; see Ze'ev Herzog, "The Storehouses," in Beer-Sheba I. Edited by Y. Aharoni, (Ramat Gan: Tel Aviv University, 1975) pp.24-6.

14. At Tell 'Arad Stratum XI a close parallel to the Solomonic Gate was found and attributed to the time of Solomon.

15. See Chapter Four pp.103, 128; If Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini was rebuilt at this time, the casemate system of Stratum Pre X(2) may date to this period.

and the Negeb in 925 BCE. The identifiable sites on the Karnak list (16) and the evidence gathered by archaeological excavation (17), indicate that the following cities of western and southern Judah were destroyed by Pharaoh Shoshenq:

(site not identified)	(Makkedah)
Tell er-Rumeileh Stratum II-b	(Rubati = Beth-shemesh)
Tell ej-Jazar Stratum VIII	(Gezer)
Tell ed-Duweir Level V early	(Lachish)
Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum B(3)	(Debir)
Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini Stratum Pre-X(3)	(name unknown)
Tell es-Seba' Stratum V	(Beer-sheba)
Tell 'Arad Stratum XI	(Arad)
Tell el-Milh Earliest Iron Age Phase	(Telem?)
(site not identified)	(Beth-Anath)
(site not identified)	(Ashna)
(site not identified)	(Ezem)
(site not identified)	(Arad of the House of Jeroham)
Tell Jemmeh (level unknown)	(Yurza)
Tell 'Ajjul Stratum V?	(Sharuhem?)
Tell el-Far'a (S) (level unknown)	(Shur?)
(site not identified)	(Raphia)
Tell Abu Selymeh? (level unknown)	(Laban)

16. See Chapter Three pp.24-6.

17. See Chapter Four.

Tell el-Kheleifeh Stratum I (Ezion-Geber)

Difficulties remain in identifying sites destroyed during Shoshenq's invasion, but it seems likely that only Judahite sites defending Jerusalem, southern Judahite sites, and Negeb sites were destroyed. This would tend to support the traditional views held concerning Shoshenq's campaign (18).

Fortresses of Rehoboam

After the raid of Pharaoh Shoshenq I the size and importance of Judah was greatly diminished as Judah was again confined mainly to the hill country. Those cities which remained in the new, smaller Judah were rebuilt. In the south the new border of Judah seems to have extended to the southern limit of the Judeah Hills. Rebuilds and new constructions were found at Tell es-Seba' (Beer-sheba) Stratum IV, Tell 'Arad (Arad) Stratum X, Tell Beit Mirsim (Debir) Stratum A(1), Khirbet el-Kom (Saphir), and possibly at Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini in Stratum Pre-X(1) (see fig. 6.3)(19). These constructions consist of a variety of defensive concepts and, in general, continue the defensive traditions found at each specific site prior to the Shoshenq destruction (20). In

18. See Chapter Three pp.24-6.

19. See Chapter Four.

20. The only change was the erection of a "broad wall" structure at Tell 'Arad stratum X; See Chapter Four p.104.

the west the rebuilt sites include Tell es-Safi Iron II-A Stratum and Tell ej-Jazar (Gezer) Stratum VII (21). Here there is less evidence but, again, the sites are confined to the hill country.

Besides the individual refortification of former city sites, Rehoboam constructed an integrated defensive network that spanned the southern and western parts of his kingdom. A list of these sites is located in II Chronicles 11:5-12, and even after a cursory analysis of the sites one can see that they are all found in the hill country of Judah. The Bible gives no details about the structures built at these sites, but since the site list is preserved it is possible to analyse site selection and location. Bethlehem, Etam, Tekoa, Beth-zur, Hebron, Ziph, and Adoraim are located on hills overlooking the central ridge road that runs north-south through Judah (see fig. 6.3). Ajalon, Zorah, Socoh, Adullam, Azekah, Moresheth-Gath, Maresheh, and Lachish are located on high limestone ridges which overlook the wadi based system of internal roads that run east-west through Judah (see fig. 6.3) (22). Taken together all southern and western entrances into Judah are covered by this system. Moreover, from their lofty,

21. See Chapter Four pp.122, 172.

22. See Chapter Three pp.26-9; Rehoboam's fortified cities are described only in Chronicles and not in Kings. Prior to the 1960's the historicity of Chronicles and the dating of this passage was questioned. Recent scholarship has tended to provide confirmation of the reliability of Chronicles as a historical document, see e.g. R.J. Coggins, 1 and 2 Chronicles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) and Jacob Meyers, I Chronicles (Garden City: Doubleday Press, 1965). Meyers and others have

defensible positions, visual contact with the neighboring sites in the system is possible. This allowed for rapid transmission of information from one site to the next by means of a system of visual signals. From this brief analysis of the sites it is clear that Rehoboam chose his new defensive positions with great care. His new fortifications overlook all transportation routes of southern and western Judah, thus providing an integrated, defensive network controlling most movement within Judah.

One of the most important sites in this system was Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir). The site is located at the southwesternmost corner of Rehoboam's Judah. Lachish commands the juncture of two roads and its field of view includes the mid-Philistine Plain, the northern Negeb, and Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini. Given this position, Lachish would probably be the most important observation point in the system since all traffic approaching Judah from the southwest is visible from its vantage point and the information gathered from observation could easily be passed on to the next site in the system, Maresheh (Tell Sandahanna). The rebuilding of Lachish, a site vacant since Late Bronze Age times, for military purposes, came about when Judah was confined to the hill country

accepted Rehoboam's fortified cities as dating to that period, against the earlier view that they date to the time of Josiah. It is also clear from the present study that these cities reflect the historical reality of Rehoboam's world and not that of later times, in particular the troubled world of Josiah.

and reflected the realization of the strategic importance of Lachish to Judah. The commanding view to the south and west, and the control of two road systems which led into Judah by way of Lachish was recognized in the rebuilding of the site and in a continued military usage that lasted for the next three centuries.

In a recent article G.W. Ahlström questioned the identification of Lachish with Tell ed-Duweir by noting that Khirbet 'Aitun (his Lachish) filled a gap in Rehoboam's fortification system that could allow entrance into Judah from the south (23). Ahlström overlooked the strategy employed by Rehoboam. His was an integrated, defensive/observation system that guarded against intrusion into Judah. Khirbet 'Aitun is isolated in a wadi that does not allow access into Judah, but instead funnels traffic towards Tell ed-Duweir. Also, the site does not afford the field of view that Tell ed-Duweir does. Ahlström's argument that Khirbet 'Aitun filled a gap in Rehoboam's defenses misses the point of the fortification system and in no way contradicts the equation of Lachish with Tell ed-Duweir.

Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), Tell Zakariya (Azeqah), and Khirbet et-Tubeiqah (Beth-zur) have been investigated archaeologically, and have partially clarified the physical character of the system established by Rehoboam (24). Palace A (Level V-late) was a well-

23. G.W. Ahlström, "Is Tell ed-Duweir Ancient Lachish," Palestine Exploration Journal 112 (January-June, 1980) 1:7-9.

24. See Chapter Four pp.62-3, 91-2, 228-32.

built, mud-brick structure founded on a stone platform which was found at Tell ed-Duweir and attributed to this time period (see fig. 4.2). No other structures were present at Tell ed-Duweir at this time. The fortress at Tell Zakariya probably dates to this period also, but its stratigraphic context is less clear (see fig. 4.81). If one can generalize from two sites, one may typify Rehoboam's fortifications as a series of small structures, possibly differing from site to site, which were constructed at strategic observation points at a time when the kingdom was poor. The sites were easily defensible, but were not designed to withstand siege. Instead they are merely to provide warning so that the army of Judah could be called to meet the enemy (25).

The theory that Rehoboam's fortified cities were small fortified observations points is supported by findings at Khirbet et-Tubeiqah (Beth-zur). During major excavation campaigns in the 1930's and 1950's no trace of late 10th century BCE fortifications were found at the site (26). If Rehoboam's fortified cities were simply towers or small fortresses, little occupation debris would be found and the actual structures could be located outside the excavated area on any number of small hills in the vicinity. This theory, therefore, could explain the findings at Khirbet et-Tubeiqah (Beth-zur) as well as why limited soundings at Tell

25. For the success of the system against Zerah, see Chapter Three p.29.

26. See Chapter Four pp.91-2.

Sandahanna (Maresheh) and Tell ej-Judeideh (Moresheth-Gath) failed to isolate 10th century BCE remains (27).

Thus, two parallel developments in Judahite fortification occurred after the raid of Pharaoh Shoshenq. First, the cities that remained in Judah were rebuilt to provide basic security for the population of Judah. Second, King Rehoboam built an integrated, defensive/observation network to defend the country against attack. This system provided warnings that called the armies of the king into action (see fig. 6.3). This system was tested about 897 BCE when Zerah brought an Egyptian army to Judah (II Chronicles 14:8-15) (28). The destruction of Tell es-Seba' (Beer-sheba) Stratum IV has been attributed to this raid and probably a destruction of Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini should be also since Zerah penetrated Judah as far as Tell Sandahanna (Maresheh) before he was defeated by the armies of Judah (29). Since the attack failed at Rehoboam's fortified line, the system must have been effective. After this raid, Tell es-Seba' (Beer-sheba) Stratum III and Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini Stratum X were constructed. The fortification system continued to function into the reign of Jehoshaphat (30).

27. See Chapter Four pp.125-6, 220-1.

28. See Chapter Three p.29.

29. See Chapter Four pp.180, 196-7.

30. See Chapter Four pp.180-2, 196-7.

Expanded System of Asa and Jehoshaphat and its Rebuilds

The Bible has ascribed prosperity and fortification to the reigns of Asa and Jehoshaphat, but has provided no specifics on these matters (31). Archaeological excavation has provided evidence, most clearly seen in the south, concerning the fortifications of this time. Major constructional efforts occurred at Tell ed-Duweir, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell Khuweilefeh, Tell es-Seba', Tell el-Milh, and possibly at Khirbet 'Aitun (see fig. 6.4). The construction of Stratum IV at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) included the expansion of the Palace, the massive double wall system, the Bastion, and the "Solomonic" gate. This construction was accomplished through the use of artificial fills, subterranean walls, and sloping consolidation layers. The net effect of this construction was that Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) became the largest city in Judah and second in importance to Jerusalem, a fact which testifies to its strategic importance (32). Stratum A(2) at Tell Beit Mirsim (Debir) included a rebuilding of the city with the strengthening of the fortification system and the construction of a new city gate (33). The construction of the Iron II city at Tell Khuweilefeh also dates to this time. Here a massive fill and sloping glacis was found to

31. See Chapter Three pp.29-30.

32. See Chapter Four pp.63-70.

33. See Chapter Four p.112.

underlie the casemate fortification system that surrounds the site (34). Tell es-Seba' (Beer-sheba) was totally rebuilt in the construction of Stratum III. The glacis was reconstituted, a new casemate fortification system was constructed, and the city interior was rebuilt (35). The construction of the Latest Iron Age Stratum at Tell el-Milh (Telem?) included a sloping rampart and a broad wall which ran around the site (36). It is also possible that the Iron Age city found at Khirbet 'Aitun may date to this period (37). Taken as a unit these sites form a fortified barrier to Judah along the southern perimeter of the Judean Hills where the hills border on the Negeb. Besides being, in the main, elevated sites, their elevation was further enhanced through a construction technique which included artificial fills and glacis.

Further construction possibly belonging to this period is seen elsewhere in Judah, although in these cases the dating is less secure. Expansions of Tell Zakariya (Azekah), Tell ej-Judeideh (Moresheh-Gath), and Tell Sandahanna (Maresheh) are known and may well date to this time (38). In the far south the reconstruction of Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber) in Stratum II is both biblically and archaeologically ascribed to Jehoshaphat (39), and

34. See Chapter Four pp.213-5.

35. See Chapter Four pp.180-3.

36. See Chapter Four pp.154-5.

37. See Chapter Five pp.236-7.

38. See Chapter Four pp.125-6, 220-1, 223-32.

39. See Chapter Four pp.148-50.

in the Negeb various small fortresses are known from this period (see fig. 6.4)(40).

A list of the cities of Judah dating to the reign of Jehoshaphat is preserved in Joshua 15:21-62, in which the cities are grouped into the various administrative districts of the king of Judah (see fig. 3.6). From this list it is apparent that Judah had expanded to the south into the northern Negeb at least as far as Tell esh-Shari'ah (Ziklag?) and possibly also a bit to the west (compare fig. 3.5 with fig. 3.6).

In the article "A Problem of Ancient Topography: Lachish and Eglon," G. Ernest Wright speculated on the existence of a fortification line which ran just south of the southern edge of the Judean Hills (41). Wright included the sites of Tell Bornat, Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini, Tell el-Hesi, Tell Quneitirah, and Tell Muleihah in the system (see fig. 1.2). The basis upon which Wright grouped these sites was their small size, their conical shape, and on the presence of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery at all of the sites. He then noted that the sites formed a sort of defensive line, but he did not, however, speculate as to a date for the system.

Modern excavations have occurred at Tell el-Hesi and at Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini. Stratum VIIId at Tell el-Hesi is a

40. See Chapter Five pp.246-7.

41. Wright, "Lachish and Eglon," pp.437-50.

five to seven meter deep artificial fill which was supported by subterranean mud-brick walls and consolidated by sloping clay, plaster, and stone layers (see fig. 4.46). The ceramic evidence gathered from these layers has not been fully analysed, but a mid Iron II date is suggested. A thirteen meter wide "broad wall" is associated with the fill and probably dates to the same period. It is the combination of the fill and wall structure that gave Tell el-Hesi its conical shape, and it is on those layers that the greatly robbed out Stratum VII-c occupation was erected (see fig. 4.49)(42).

Of Wright's sites, the only other to have been excavated is Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini. Here Stratum IX consisted of a 1.2 meter deep fill which was covered and consolidated with a "white washed mud plaster." These fill and plaster layers covered the site, raising it and giving it a conical appearance. The succeeding layer, Stratum VIII, consisted of two courtyard buildings, which were both undated by Yeivin (43).

The top levels of Tell el-Hesi and Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini were raised through the use of these artificial fills which were responsible for the conical shape of each site. Since all of Wright's sites have similar conical forms, it is likely that their distinctive shapes are also due to elevation through

42. See Chapter Four pp.140-1.

43. See Chapter Four pp.197-8.

artificial fills. The structural parallel between Stratum VIIId at Tell el-Hesi and Stratum IV at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) is striking (44), and it is mostly on this similarity to Jehoshaphatic Tell ed-Duweir that Tell el-Hesi Stratum VIIId and the other conical sites are dated to the reign of Jehoshaphat (45). Two other factors support this dating. The pottery found in Stratum VIIId at Tell el-Hesi has been tentatively dated mid-Iron II, and since major new construction took place at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) Stratum IV, systematic fortification of southwestern Judah is possible. Wright's sites, Tell Bornat, Tell el-Hesi, Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini, Tell Quneitirah, and Tell Muleihah probably, therefore, date to the reign of Jehoshaphat (see fig. 6.4).

To the sites identified by Wright as forming this fortification line, two further sites should be added. Tell Abu esh-Sheqef is another striking conical site that Wright dismissed as Roman/Byzantine. Recent survey work has shown substantial amounts of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery at this site,

44. See Chapter Four pp.68-9.

45. It is clear that the dating of Wright's fortification system is not firmly established. Final publication of the Tell el-Hesi pottery should establish a date for Tell el-Hesi Stratum VIIId and provide a more secure dating basis for the rest of the system. The latest possible date to be expected is mid 8th century BCE (Uzziah), but even a one century shift would not greatly effect this thesis, since the system would still be part of the larger fortification plan established by Asa and Jehoshaphat.

which makes Tell Abu esh-Sheqef a classic site for the system (46). Khirbet Zeida el-'Atiqah was the site of an Arabic village which covered a low conical mound that dates to the Iron I and II periods (47). Khirbet Zeida el-'Atiqah may be another site in Wright's system.

During the reigns of Asa and Jehoshaphat significant changes in the defensive posture of Judah occurred. The major change was the emergence of Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) as a fortress comparable in size and fortification to the capital in Jerusalem. With the construction of Tell ed-Duweir Stratum IV as the major military and civil center in the southwest, other cities were built and fortified on the edge of the Judean Hills, thus creating a military barrier across the south of Judah (see fig. 6.4). This line of fortifications across the south connected the two natural north-south barriers created by the Judean Hills (see fig. 2.2). Thus Judah was protected from attack originating at any southerly point. Beyond the line created by the fortresses, a line of artificially elevated, small forts was constructed in the northern Negeb. These forts were located along the southern wadi systems, but after the wadis had reached the flatland of the northern Negeb or the coastal plain. Their line runs close to the ancient agricultural limit as determined by rainfall (48), and may

46. See Chapter Five pp.240-1.

47. See Chapter Five p.238.

represent the boundaries of settled Judah during the 9th century BCE. This fortified line would provide protection for farms as well as advance warning to the hill fortresses of impending attack.

After the reign of Jehoshaphat Judah declined, and it was not until the reign of Uzziah that military might and refortification recurred. By this time military and earthquake destructions had occurred at certain Judahite sites as other states had encroached upon Judah. Uzziah refortified Judah, reinstated the borders of Jehoshaphat, and probably extended the influence of the kingdom (49). The following southern and western Judahite sites were again fortified: Tell ed-Duweir, Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini, Tell es-Seba', Tell 'Arad, Khirbet 'Ar'arah, Tell Jemmeh, Tell el-Qudeirat, Tell Kheleifeh, Negeb sites, Tell Mura, Tell el-Batashi, and Rasm edh-Dhab (see fig. 6.5). The fortification of these sites does not follow a systematic pattern. Rather, it is a pattern of adding to the Jehoshaphat system in the south and west where Uzziah had expanded the kingdom and of refortifying damaged sites in what had previously been Judah.

In the south fortification construction has been isolated at various border and Negeb sites. About 760 BCE both Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) and Tell es-Seba' (Beer-sheba) were damaged by an

48. See Chapter Two p.12.

49. See Chapter Three p.33.

earthquake. Both sites were rebuilt on a plan similar to that of their earlier strata, with the new stratum at Tell ed-Duweir being Level III and the new stratum at Tell es-Seba' being Stratum II (50). At Tell 'Arad (Arad) Stratum IX was built over the destruction of Stratum X (51). Khirbet 'Ar'arah (Aroer) Level 4 was constructed. It consisted of a 2.4 meter wide offset-inset "broad wall" which was surrounded by a rampart (52). Tell el-Qudeirat (Kadesh-Barnea) Stratum 2 with its broad wall was constructed in the central Negeb while elsewhere in the Negeb other sites were constructed or rebuilt when they lay along trade routes (53). Period III at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber, Elath) was a repair of the Period II structures and has been ascribed to Uzziah on the basis of II Chronicles 26:1-2 and II Kings 14:22 (54). It is probable that Stratum VII at Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini and its stone defensive wall date to this period, but information relating to this stratum has yet to be published (55). Stratum EF at Tell Jemmeh (Yurza) dates to this period. It included a mud-brick, casemate fortification system, but it is not clear that it was a Judahite site at this time (56). These sites

50. See Chapter Four pp.71-3, 183-4.

51. See Chapter Four pp.104-5.

52. See Chapter Four pp.80-1; Here I have followed the date assigned by the excavator, although structural parallels could suggest a date one century earlier.

53. See Chapter Four p.158.

54. See Chapter Four pp.150-1.

55. See Chapter Four pp.198-9.

reinforced the earlier fortified cities of Jehoshaphat which defended the south of Judah between the natural barriers on the east and west (see fig. 2.2 and 6.5).

In the west, Judahite sites were built in the northern Shephelah and the northern Philistine Plain. Stratum III at Tell el-Batashi (Timnah) included a four meter wide stone "broad wall" and a three pier gate complex (57), while at Tell Mura Stratum II, a casemate fortress was found (58). These sites show the expansion of Judah into Philistia and they would have served as defense against intrusion into Judah through the natural wadi entrances of the west (see figs. 2.2 and 6.5). A final site was fortified in central Judah. Rasm edh-Dhab is located high on a limestone ridge between Tell ej-Judeideh (Moresbeth-Gath) and Tell Zakariya (Azekah) and consists of a small casemate structure fortified with towers (59).

None of the fortifications attributable to the reign of Uzziah show a consistent style of fortification or a separable fortification class. It seems that Uzziah repaired and expanded the existing fortifications which had been erected in the time of Jehoshaphat. In areas where Uzziah expanded the bounds of Judah, he constructed new casemate and "broad wall" fortifications as

56. See Chapter Four pp.207-8.

57. See Chapter Four pp.129-30.

58. See Chapter Four p.217.

59. See Chapter Five pp.239-40.

additions to the previous system, e.g. compare the fortification of Tell Mura with II Chronicles 26:2-10 (see fig. 6.5).

With the decline of Judah after Uzziah much of the territorial supremacy enjoyed previously vanished. Prior to the arrival of the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser III in 735 BCE the Negeb had been lost to Edom and much of western Judah had been lost to Philistia. By 712 BCE Assyria had conquered Philistia, having destroyed such excavated sites as Tell Mura and Ashdod-Yam, and much of southern Judah and the northern Negeb. Sites destroyed or abandoned during this latter period of Assyrian conquest include Tell 'Arad (Arad), and Tell Jemmeh (Yurza), and may include, depending on the extent of the Assyrian conquests at this time, Tell es-Seba' (Beer-sheba), Tell Beit Mirsim (Debir), and Tell Khuweilefeh (60). Na'aman marshalled the arguments for the destruction of Stratum II at Tell es-Seba' being about 720 BCE as opposed to 701 BCE on the basis of historical documentation and pottery chronology (61). Similar argumentation can be made to set the abandonment or destructions of Tell Beit Mirsim (Debir) Stratum A(2) and Tell Khuweilefeh to about 720 BCE (62). If these sites were lost then, it would imply that the major Judahite sites

60. See Chapter Three pp.34-8.

61. Na'aman, "Sennacherib's Campaign," :61-86; see Chapter Three pp.37-8.

62. See Chapter Four pp.110-2, 215; There is no evidence for occupation at Tell el-Hesi in the late 8th century BCE. This may indicate that Tell el-Hesi was abandoned at this time starting at or before 720 BCE.

of the northern Negeb had been lost by 716 BCE (see below) when Assyrian construction started near the Brook of Egypt. With the destruction or abandonment of major sites, it is probable that the nearby and smaller sites of Tell Quneitirah, Tell Muleihah, Tell el-Hesi, and Tell Abu esh-Sheqef had also been lost. This would mean that the southern half of Jehoshaphat's fort line in the Negeb could have been put out of use about 720 BCE (63).

With the establishment of the Sheikdom of Laban in 716 BCE, Assyrian colonies came into existence near the Brook of Egypt (64). Archaeological work has identified two of these major colonies, Tell esh-Shari'ah (Ziklag?) Stratum VI and Tell Jemmeh (Yurza) Stratum CD, whose construction archaeologists date to this time (see fig. 6.6) (65). Additional Assyrian sites are to be found at an unnamed location near the mouth of the Wadi Hesi (66), Tell Abu Selymeh, and probably at Khirbet Hoga (67). The date of construction is unknown for these latter sites since adequate archaeological excavation and publication is lacking, but any date between 716 BCE and about 665 BCE would be possible. It is interesting to note that except for later occupation at Tell ej-Jazar (Gezer) (68), the only Assyrian occupation in Judah is

63. See Chapter Five pp.240-1, 243-5.

64. See Chapter Three pp.37-8.

65. See Chapter Four pp.192, 208.

66. Na'aman, "Brook of Egypt," p.81.

67. See Chapter Four pp.95-6, 99-101.

68. See Chapter Four pp.122-3.

found in the area of the southwestern Negeb which may imply that Assyrian colonization was limited to this area. The combination of arguments for the early Assyrian conquest of northern Negeb Judahite sites with the locations of Assyrian construction in the Sheikdom of Laban makes it highly probable that Assyria annexed the northwest Negeb from Judah about 716 BCE and resettled the area as an Assyrian colony (see fig. 6.6).

Determination of the extent of the kingdom of Hezekiah is best traced through the distribution of למל store jar stamps which have been found at excavated and survey sites. These stamps which date to the first half of the reign of Hezekiah (715 - 701 BCE), are known throughout Judah and may be expected to be found at all Judahite sites destroyed at this time (69). This data when combined with the limits of the Sheikdom of Laban (see above) immediately clarify the western and southern borders of Judah. Tell el-Batashi (Timnah), Tell Zakariya (Azekah), Tell ej-Jazar (Gezer), Tell es-Safi (Libnah?), Tell ej-Judeideh (Moreseth-Gath), Tell Sandahanna (Marseheh), Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini, Khirbet el-Kom (Saphir), Tell Beit Mirsim (Debir), Tell 'Arad (Arad), Khirbet 'Ar'arah (Aroer), and Khirbet Gharreh would be perimeter sites in the kingdom of Hezekiah (see fig. 6.6) (70). Hezekiah's Judah was limited to the

69. See Chapter Three pp.42-4.

70. See Chapter Three pp.37-8.

Judean Hill country and the eastern Negeb as it bordered Philistia on the west and the Sheikdom of Laban in the south.

With firm control of the again prosperous hill kingdom of Judah, Hezekiah laid the groundwork for rebellion against Assyria. Outside of Jerusalem, only three major constructional efforts are attributable to Hezekiah's period. Tell 'Arad (Arad) Stratum VIII included additions to the previous wall system and Stratum VI was constructed at Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini (71). Historical records document Hezekiah's annexation of a major Philistine city and ascribe its subsequent refortification to Hezekiah. Both Philistine Gath and Tell ej-Jazar (Gezer) are candidates for this fortified city (see fig. 6.6) (72). From the limited amount of construction attributable to the reign of Hezekiah, it seems that his policy was to repair weak points in the defensive system. Only in the case of the Philistine city did he conquer and refortify a site, and that was to obtain a city of strategic military importance for his country. Hezekiah seems to have been a diplomat rather than a military imperialist. Diplomatic negotiations gave Hezekiah allies in Philistia and, when they failed, covert action seems to have been employed to topple the established ruler and to install a new ruler with sympathetic views, as was the case in Ekron (73). At one point an

71. See Chapter Four pp.104-5, 199-200.

72. See Chapter Three p.45.

73. See Chapter Three p.39.

anti-Assyrian conference even occurred in Jerusalem (II Kings 20:12-19). Without conquest, therefore, Hezekiah was able to bring together an anti-Assyrian alliance through both diplomatic and clandestine methods. In 701 BCE war with Assyria broke out and the alliance was crushed, with most of Judah being destroyed. While Judah maintained its independence, it functioned as a vassal of Assyria for the next 50 years (74).

Late Seventh-Century Fortification System

As a result of the debacle of Judah's revolt against Assyria, Judah became an unfortified vassal state of Assyria. With the exception of Tell 'Arad (Arad) Stratum VII, no Judahite fortifications were constructed in the first half of the 7th century BCE (75). Only those sites that escaped destruction and the fortified Assyrian centers in the Sheikdom of Laban plus the new Assyrian center at Tell ej-Jazar (Gezer) are known at this time. Assyrian domination kept Judah virtually unfortified for over two generations. During that time the country lost its historical geographic limits and the tradition of strategic fortification that had lasted for over two centuries. A new fortification network arose as the influence of Assyria waned late

74. See Chapter Three pp.44-9.

75. See Chapter Four pp.104-5.

in the reign of Manasseh and later during the reigns of Amon and Josiah. With no set points to start from and a Judah shaped like no Judah before, the new fortification network followed original lines.

Certain sites of traditional prominence as fortifications were refortified because of the obvious strategic importance of the site. Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) Stratum II was a massive military installation, as opposed to a fortified city. Extensive excavation at this site has failed to locate any habitation areas. The sole constructions covering this 73 dunam site are the massive mud-brick fortification wall, the Bastion/gate, and the residency (76). Stratum II at Tell ed-Duweir attests to the strategic importance of the site, as does the fact that it was the final site outside of Jerusalem to fall to the Babylonians in 588 BCE (77). Tell Zakariya (Azekah), which rests high on a limestone hill overlooking the Wadi es-Sunt, was also refortified. Since Tell Zakariya was the second to last city apart from Jerusalem and Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) to fall to the Babylonians in 588 BCE, its fortifications must have been substantial. The nature of these fortifications, however, cannot be understood from the work of Bliss (78). Tell ed-Duweir and Tell Zakariya are the sole fortified sites located in the traditional hill country of Judah.

76. See Chapter Four pp.73-5.

77. See Chapter Three p.52.

78. See Chapter Three p. 52; and see Chapter Four pp.223-32.

Both were well fortified and may have been the two major strong points outside of Jerusalem, the points that anchored the fortifications system (see fig. 6.7). Support for this view is found in the Bible where Lachish and Azekah are the sole fortified sites mentioned from this period.

Other fortified sites dating to the end of the 7th and early 6th centuries BCE are known in southern and western Judah. New, and almost identical, fortification systems were found at Tell el-Qudeirat (Kadesh-Barnea) Stratum I and at Tell 'Arad (Arad) Stratum VI. These are small casemate structures with towers at each corner and at the center of each of the four side walls (see figs 4.27 and 4.52) (79). Another type of fortification system was found in the small, irregular fort of Mesad Hashavyahu (see figs. 4.15 and 4.16). The L-shaped structure at Mesad Hashavyahu served both military and civil functions. This site is particularly interesting since the soldiers were Greek mercenaries in the employ of Josiah and they were housed in the stronghold of a Judahite governor (80). Other sites had endured since the 8th century BCE and they include Khirbet 'Ar'arah (Aroer), Khirbet el-Kom (Saphir), Khirbet Gharreh, Tell el-Batashi (Timnah), Tell el-Milh (Telem?), Tell es-Safi, Tell esh-Shari'ah (Ziklag?), and Tell Jemmeh (Yurza) (see fig. 6.7).

79. See Chapter Four pp.105, 158-60.

80. See Chapter Four pp.97-8.

At the present time there are difficulties in understanding the Judahite fortification system employed in the 7th century BCE. First, chronological indicators necessary to determine the relative chronology of the sites is lacking. Second, the borders of late 7th century BCE Judah are different from those of any other time period and if an integrated defensive system had been built it would have extended over places not previously fortified. Currently such sites have not been excavated. The conclusions about 7th century BCE fortification, therefore, can only be tentative. Major fortifications were found at the defensible and strategic sites of Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) and Tell Zakariya (Azekah), the sole sites mentioned in the biblical narrative. It is known that various other sites were fortified with distinctly late 7th century BCE methods and it is also known that fire signals were used between the fortified sites of Judah at this time (81). Whether an integrated system away from Tell ed-Duweir and Tell Zakariya did exist is both unknown and unclear from the evidence now in hand (see fig. 6.7).

Whatever the fortification network of Judah was in the late 7th and early 6th centuries BCE, its destruction started about 600 BCE. First the Edomites in the south and then the Babylonians from the north and west destroyed parts of Judah, and in 586 BCE Jerusalem fell ending the 400 year history of the kingdom of

81. See Chapter Three pp.55-6.

Judah. As the new Babylonian and Persian political entities emerged, the borders of old Judah were lost, and with them the points of strategic importance for its defense. Since 586 BCE, Tell ed-Duweir and the Lachish frontier have remained unfortified.

Summary

Throughout the history of Judah a series of fortification systems were constructed to assist in the military protection of Judah. The systems changed over time as the political and military situation changed in the Levant. Prior to the time of Rehoboam, Israel and Judah were protected first by the mobile armies of Saul and David and later by four major centers which garrisoned the troops of Solomon. Additional Solomonic fortification was erected for internal usage in what became known as the Levitical Cities. After the division of the Israelite kingdom and the creation of an independent Judah the earlier systems were destroyed during an Egyptian raid. Rehoboam refortified Judah by constructing major defensive walls around the cities of Judah and by creating a military observation system throughout the hill country of Judah which allowed for rapid transmission of information and for quick military deployment during a crisis. This system was altered during the reigns of Asa

and Jehoshaphat when the observation points were populated and strongly fortified, becoming well defended cities. Also the other major cities were strengthened. Lachish, having first been occupied as an observation point during the reign of Rehoboam, became the focal point in the system as well as Judah's largest and strongest fortress outside of Jerusalem. For added defense of southern and western Judah, a subsidiary fortification line was constructed along the Lachish frontier. This subsidiary fortification line placed extended observation points along the wadi system of the northwest Negeb and Philistine Plain, and probably marked the limit of settled agrarian life at this time, the border of Judah. Through the end of the 8th century BCE, Judahite fortification kept utilizing the same plan. The Assyrian conquest of Judah ended the systematic fortification of Judah. A later 7th century BCE system, centered around Lachish and Azekah, was constructed, but it was oriented in a different manner and is not yet understood. The Babylonian conquest of Judah between 589 and 586 BCE ended the political entity of Judah and with it Judahite fortification.

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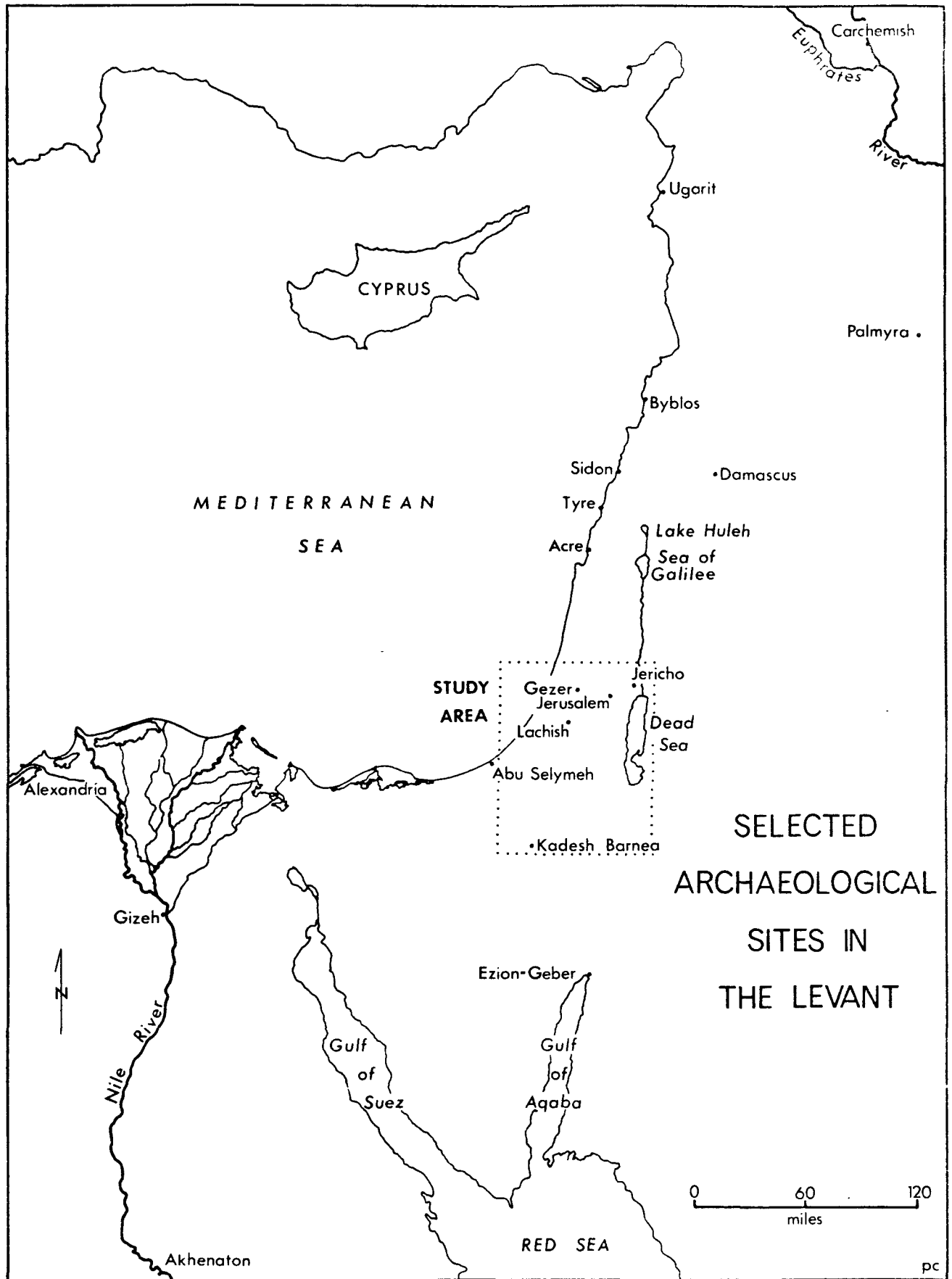


Fig. 1.1. Selected archaeological sites in the Levant using the ancient site names where they are known.

Fig. 1.2

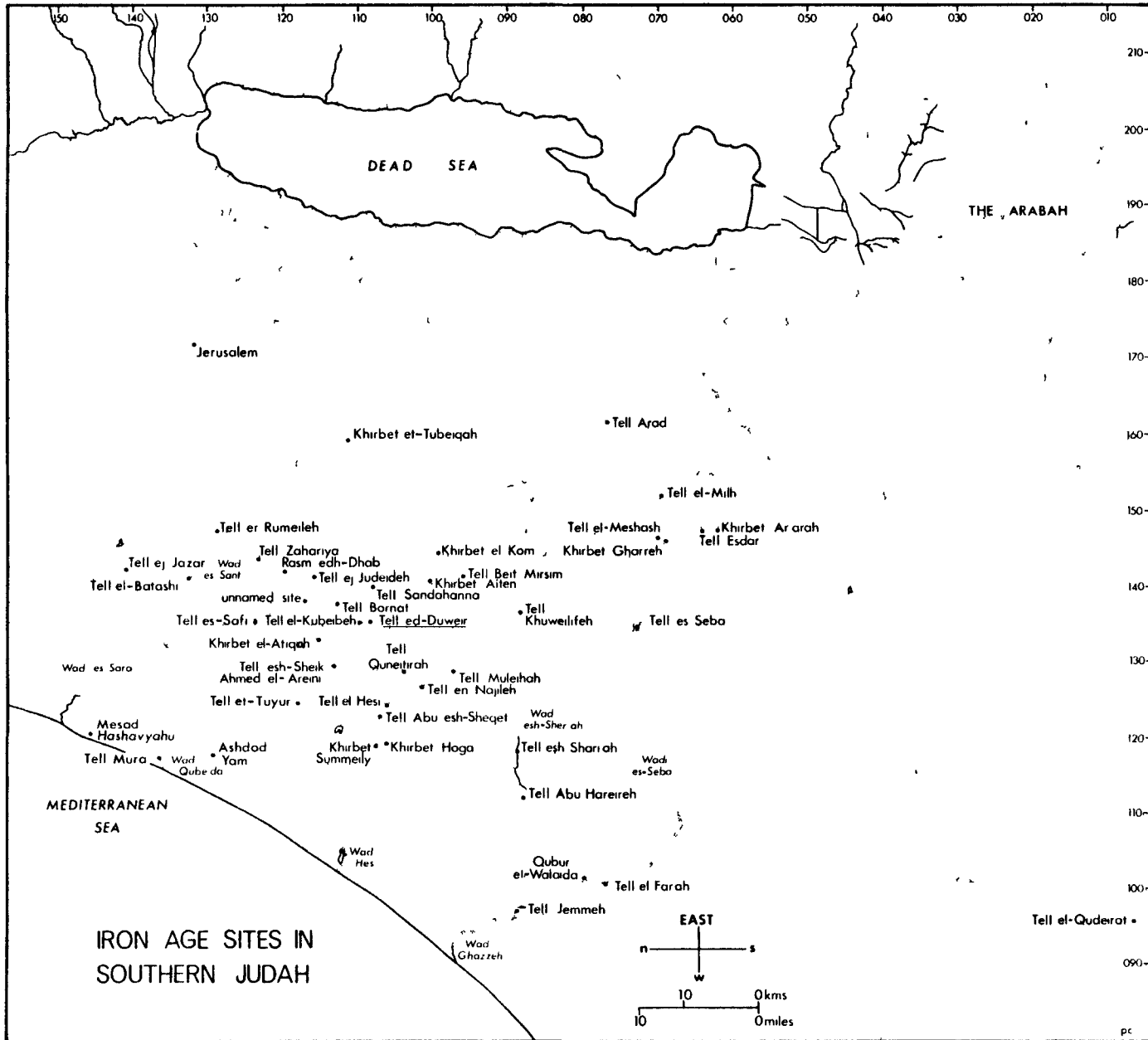


Fig. 2.1. Geologic time scale (original by Frank Koucky.)

ERA		PERIOD	YEARS $\times 10^6$	EPOCH	EVENTS
CENOZOIC	QUATERNARY	PALEOGE.	0.01	HOLOCENE	See later plates.
			2	PLEISTOCENE	
	TERTIARY	NEOGENE	5.2	PLIOCENE	Africa and Europe plates start converging.
			24	MIOCENE	
			36	OLIGOCENE	
			53.5	EOCENE	
			65	PALEOCENE	
	CRETACEOUS	PALEOGE.	65	<p>Africa's counterclockwise rotation closing Tethys.</p> <p>Deposition of thick limestones (of Judean anticline)</p> <p>start of ophiolite sequences</p>	
			136	<p>Widening Tethys Sea.</p> <p>In Atlantic Ocean, plate accretion of ocean crust begins</p>	
			195	<p>Africa and Europe break away from North America</p> <p>late Permian & Triassic sediments deposited in a new Tethyan mobile belt that was superimposed on S. part of older Hercynian orogenic belt.</p>	
JURASSIC					
TRIASSIC					

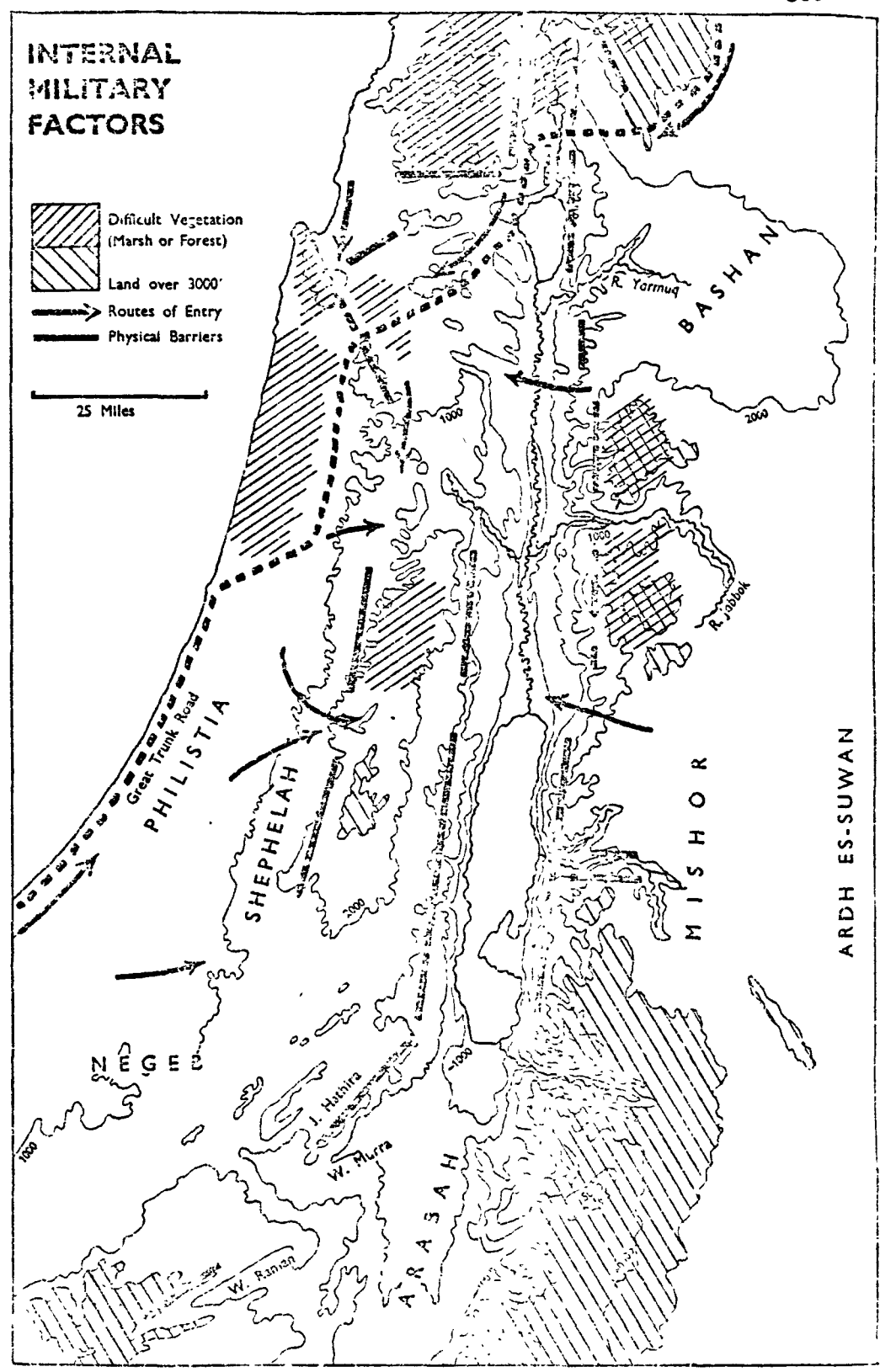


Fig. 2.2. Physical barriers to Palestine (from Denis Baly, Geographical Companion to the Bible (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963) p. 30).

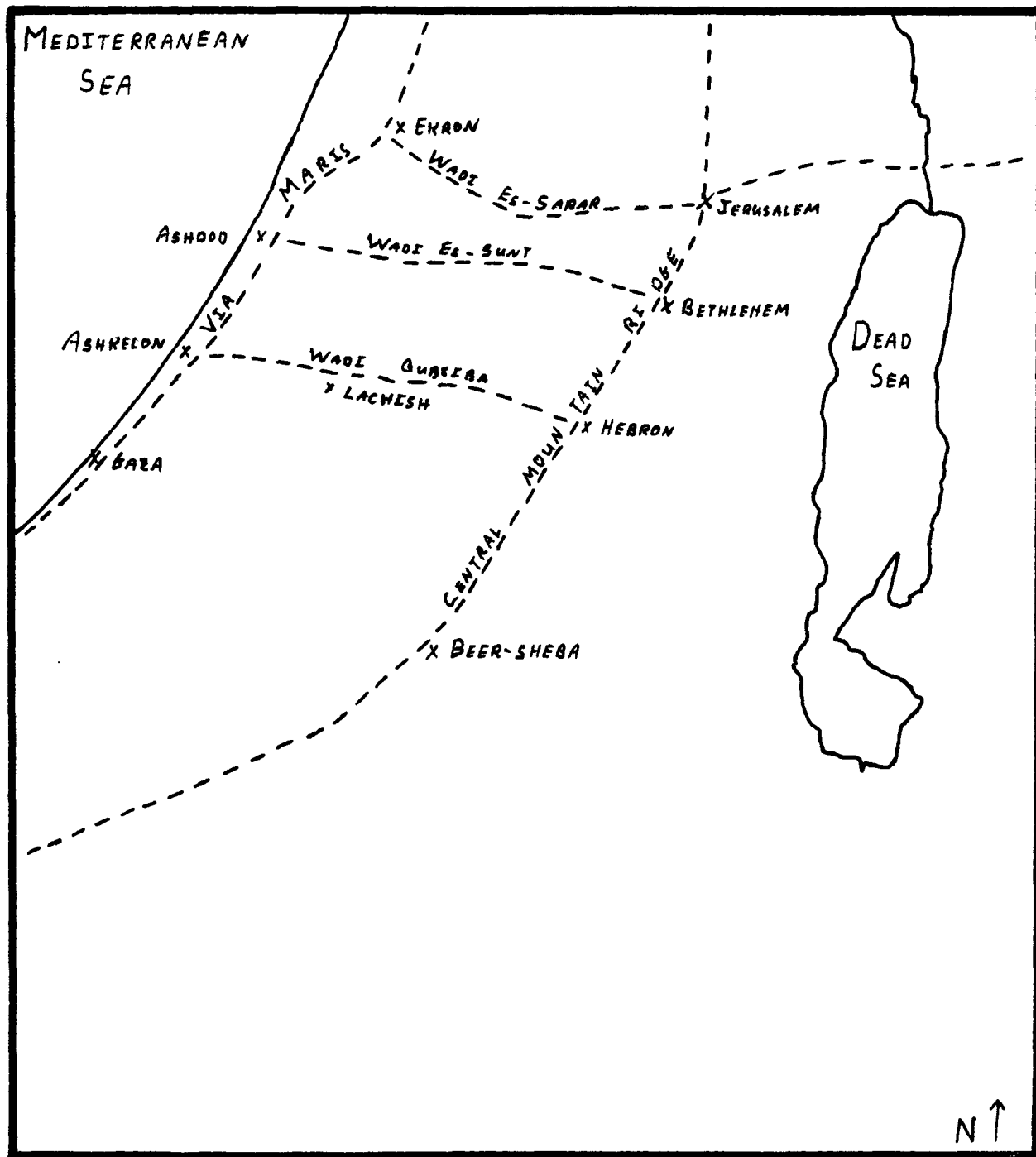


Fig. 2.3. The roads of southern Judah.

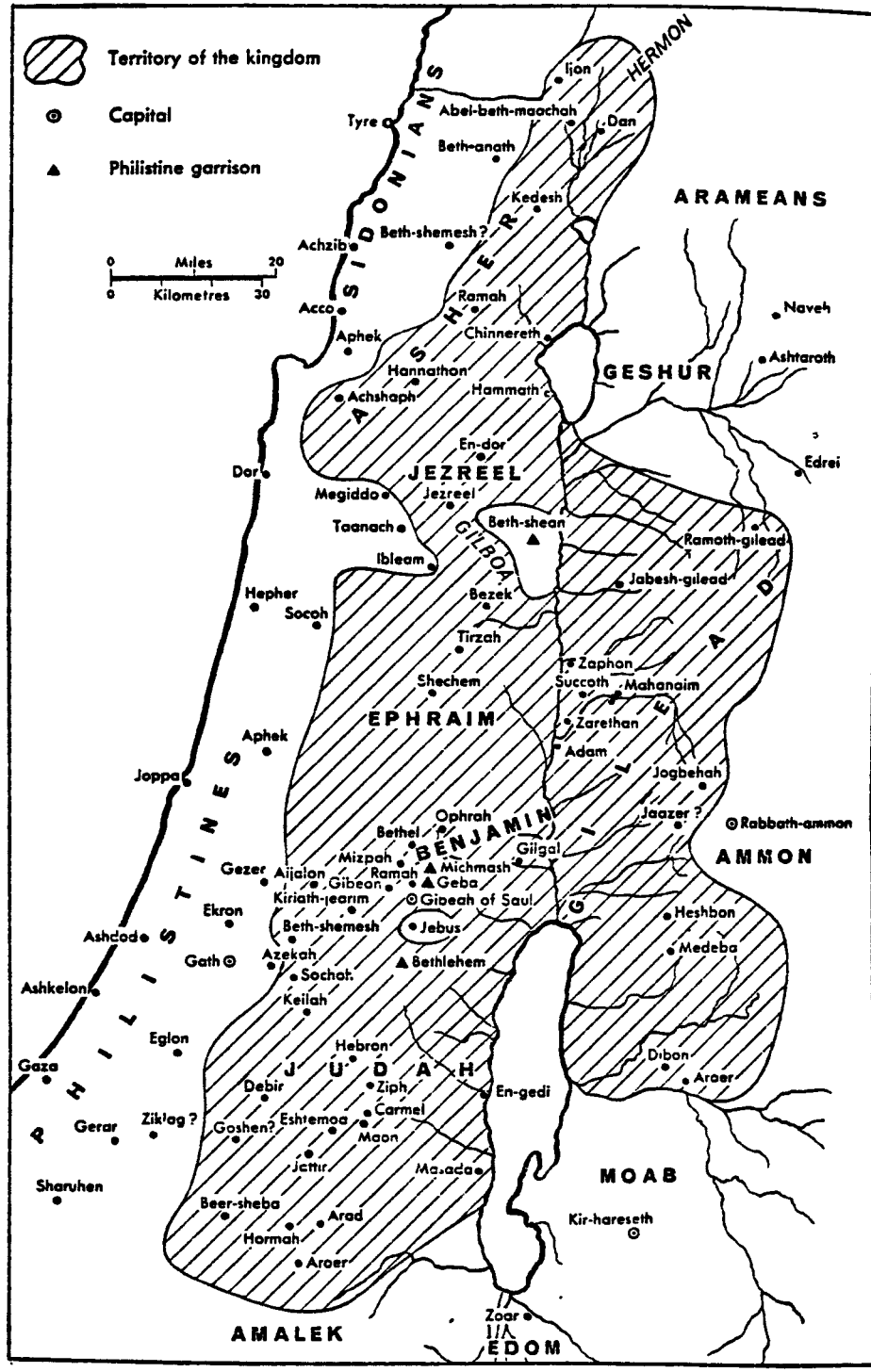


Fig. 3.1. The Kingdom of Saul (from T. Wharton, Land of the Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967) p.256).

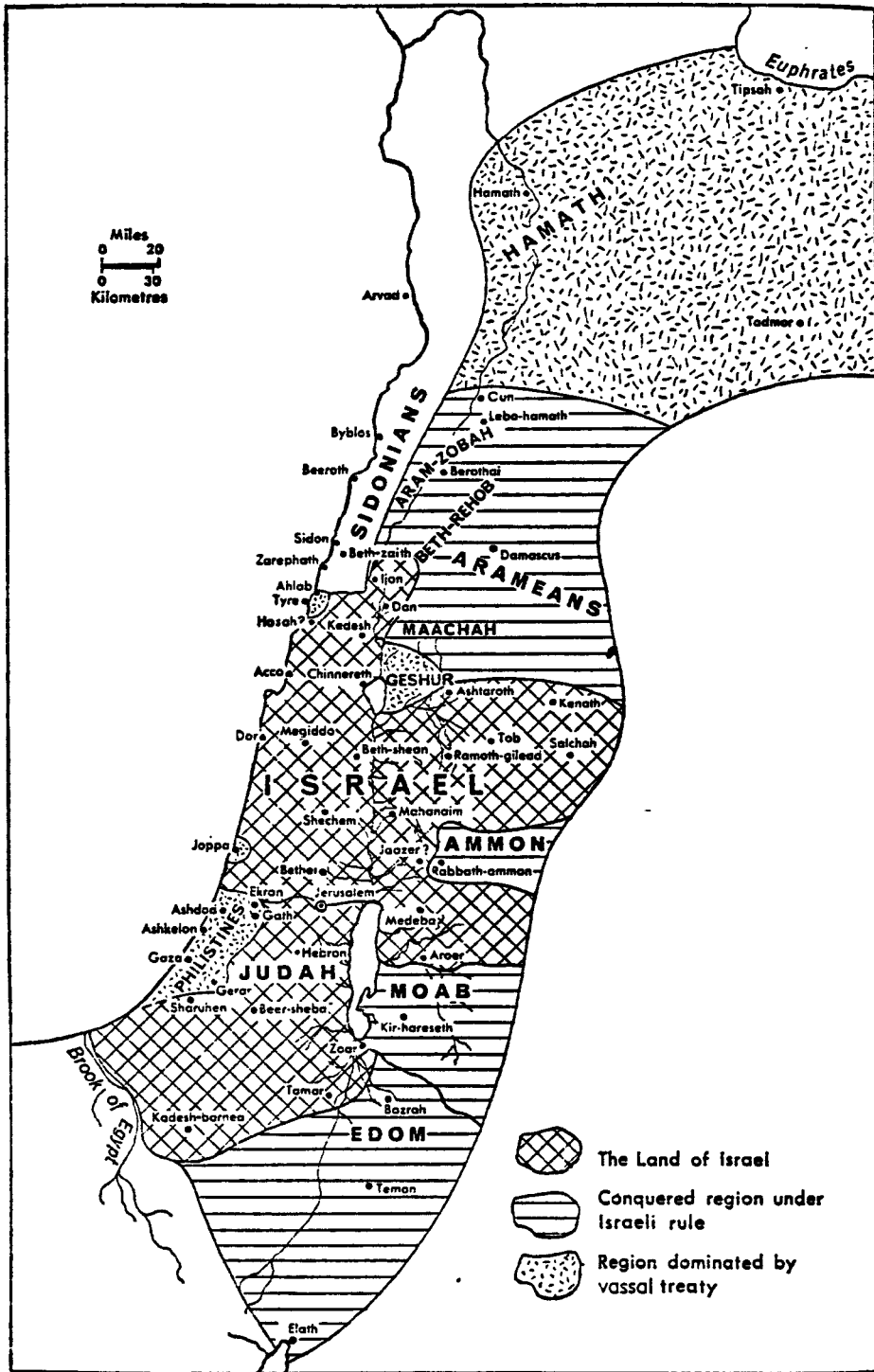


Fig. 3.2. The kingdom of David (from Y. Aharoni, Land of the Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967) p.262).

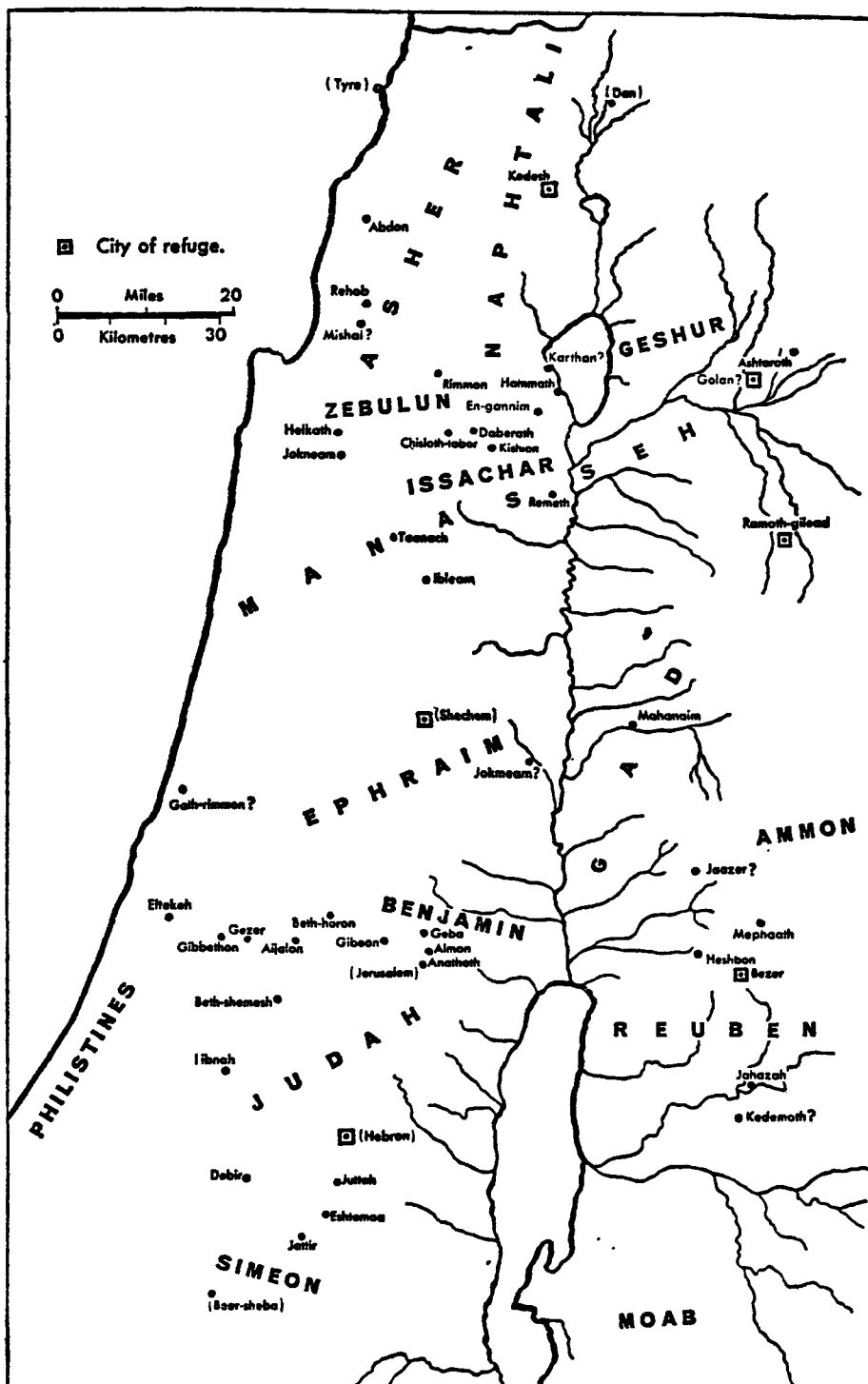


Fig. 3.3. The Levitical Cities (from Y. Aharoni, Land of the Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967) p.268).

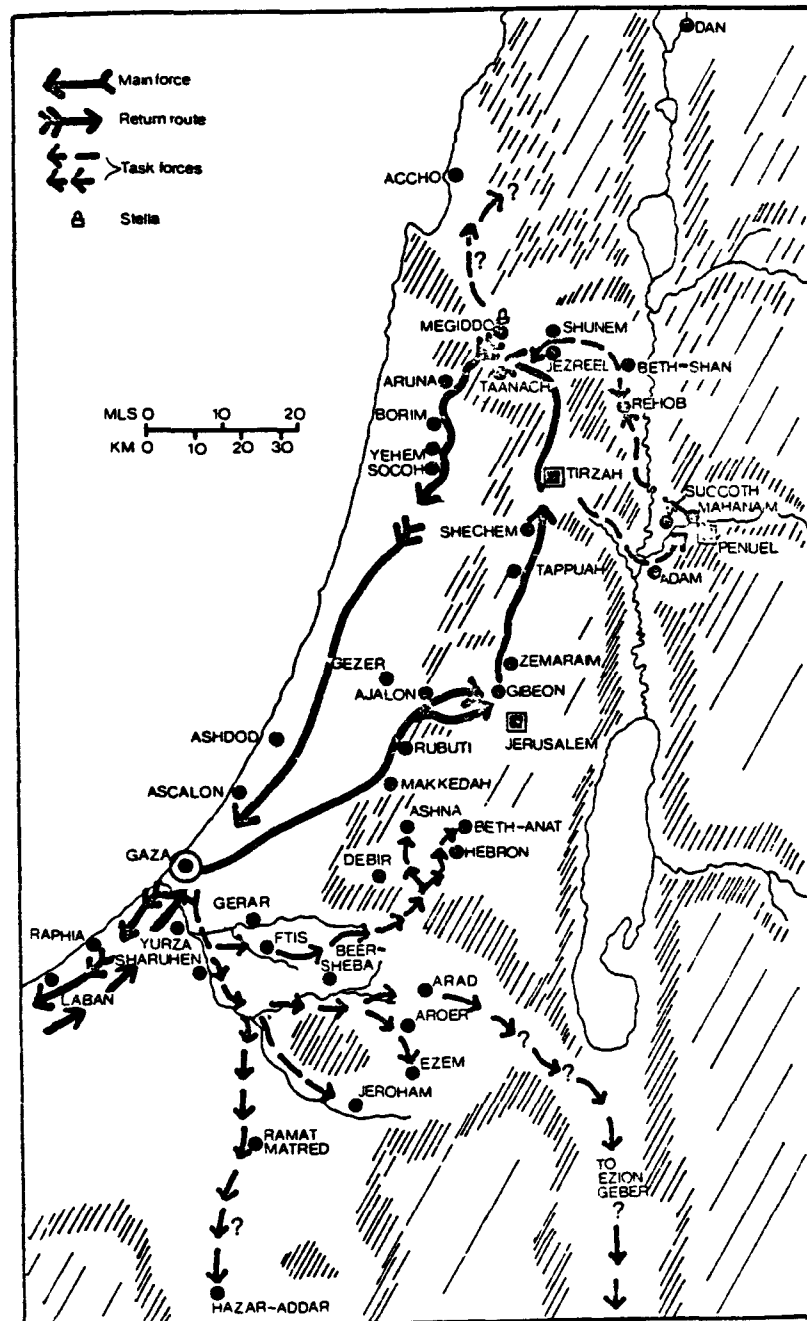


Fig. 3.4. The route taken by the armies of Pharaoh Shoshenq in 925 BCE as proposed by K.A. Kitchen (from K.A. Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period In Egypt (1100-650 BC) (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1973) p.297).

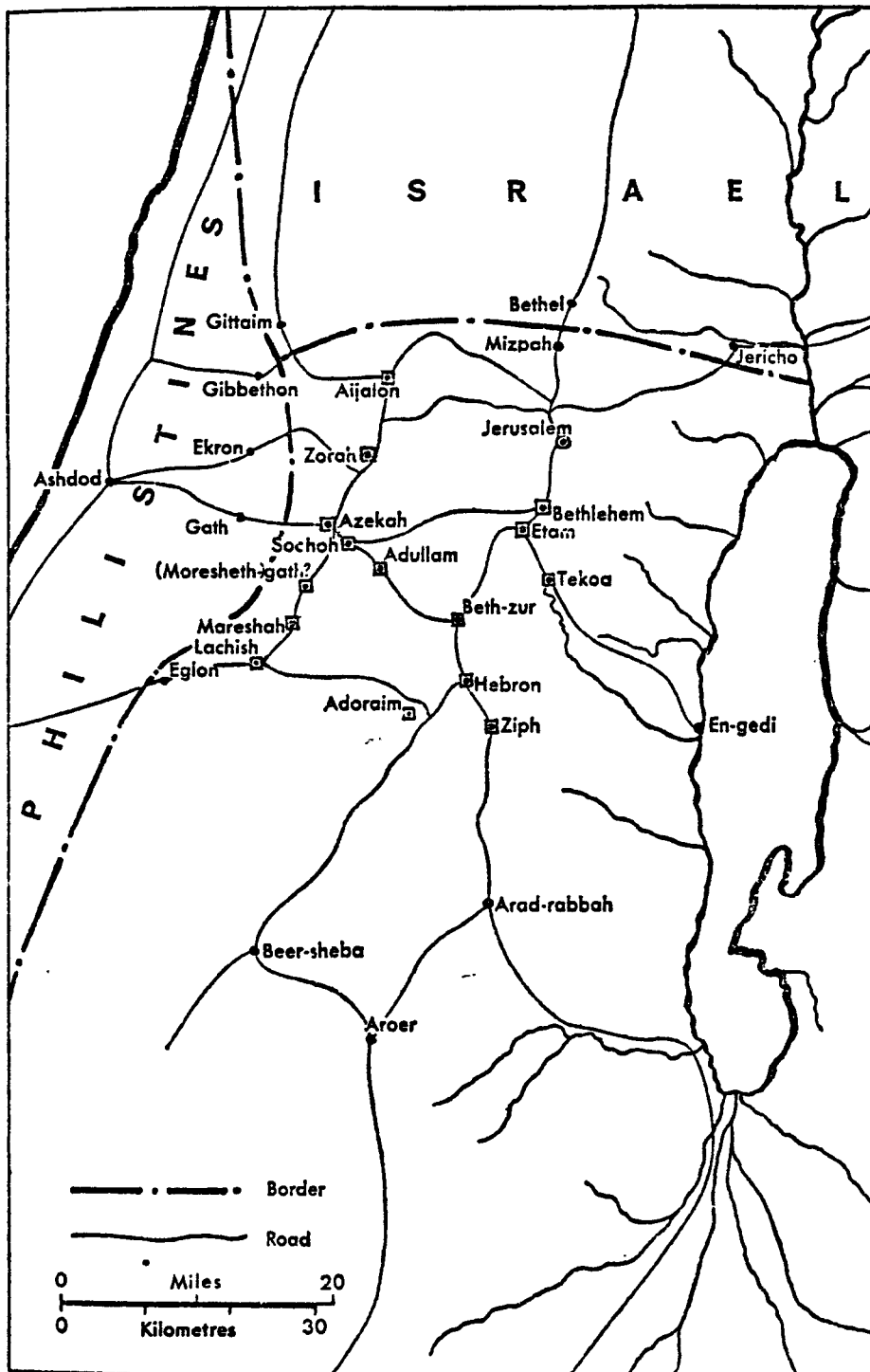


Fig. 3.5. The fortified cities of Rehoboam (from Y. Aharoni, The Land of the Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967) p.291).

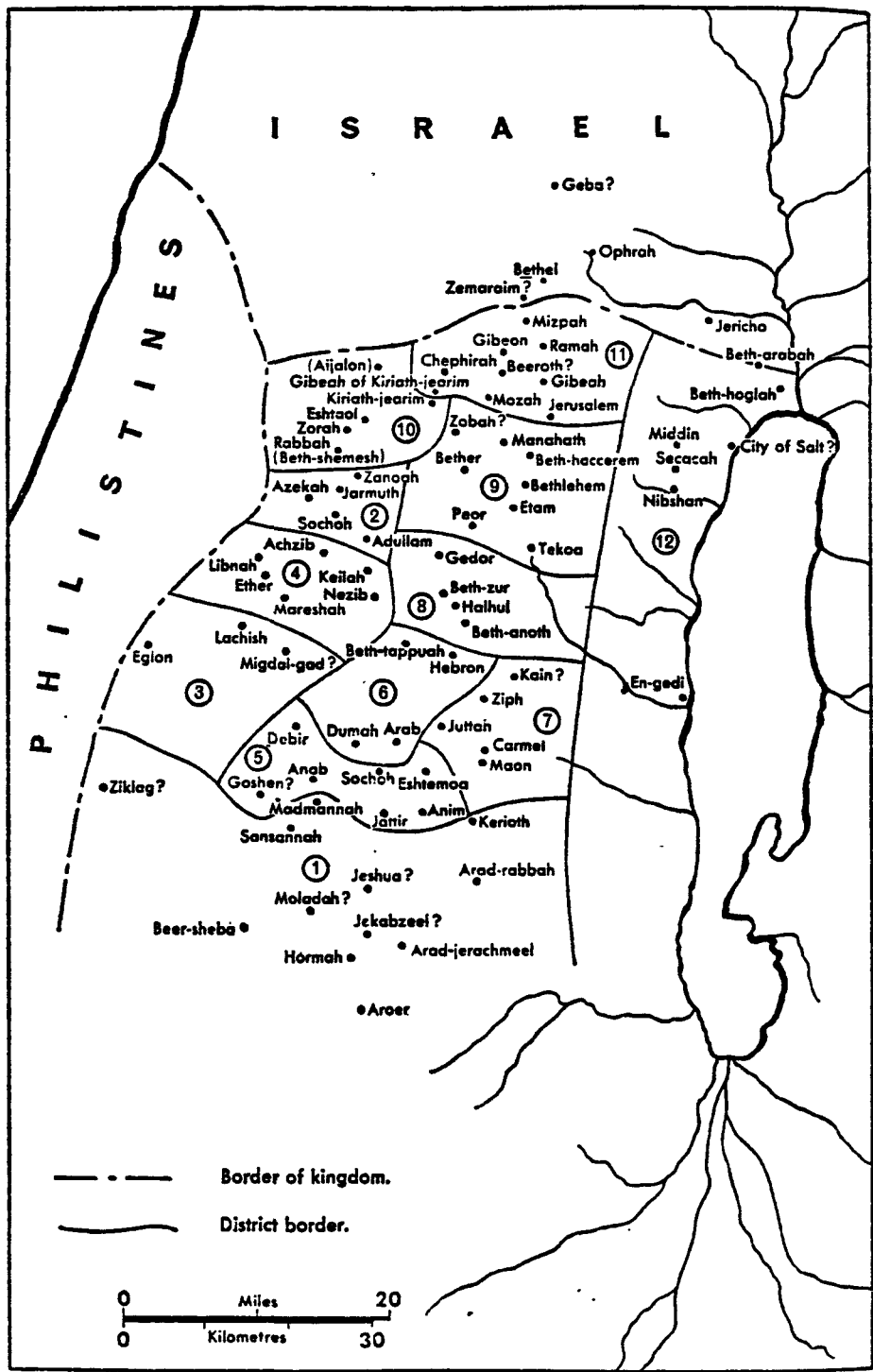


Fig. 3.6. The administrative districts of Judah under Jehoshaphat (from Y. Aharoni, Land of the Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967) p.296).

JUDAH AT THE TIME OF HEZEKIAH

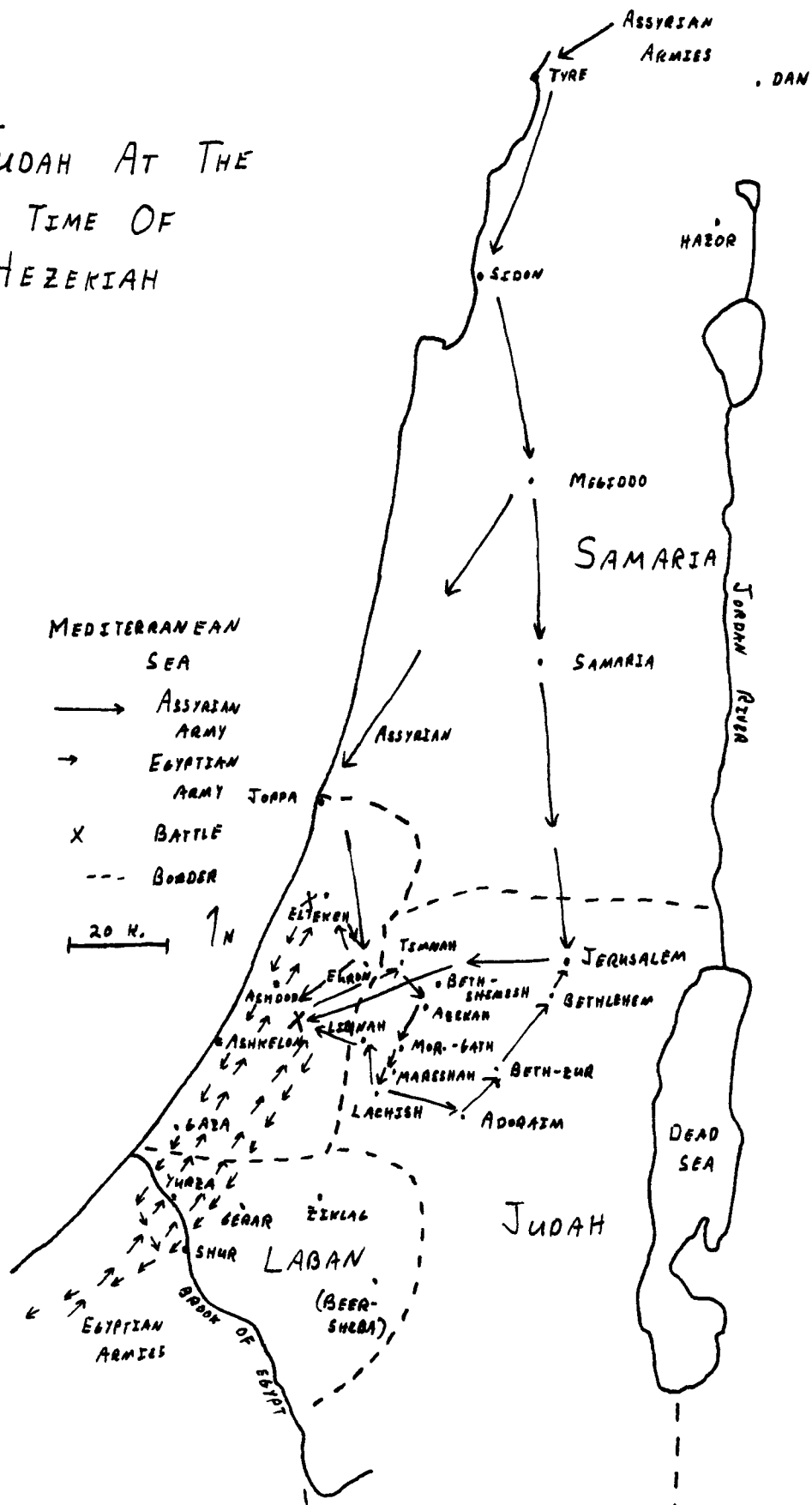


Fig. 3.7. Judah at the time of Hezekiah and the Assyrian conquest of 701 BCE.

JUDAH AT THE TIME OF JOSIAH

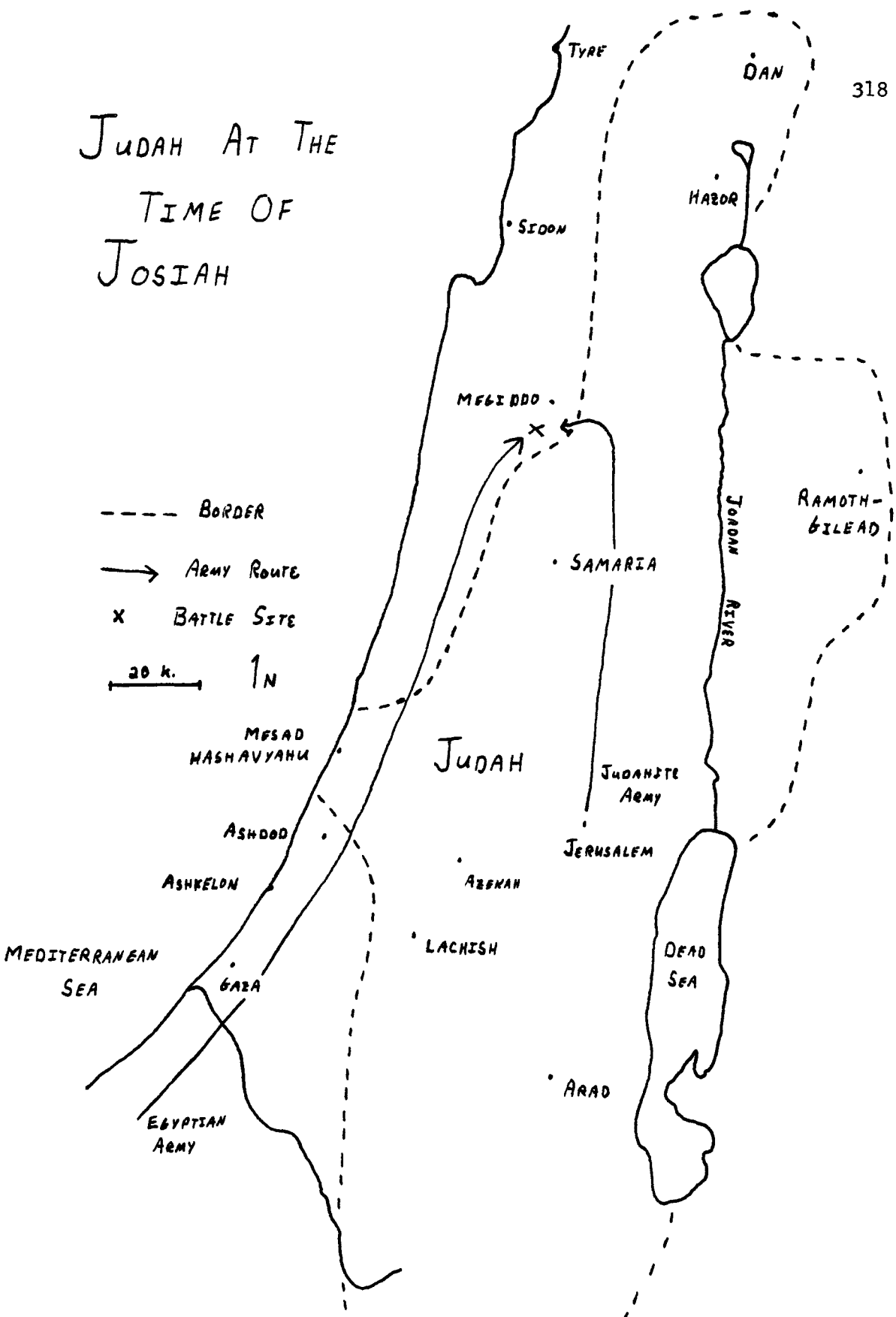


Fig. 3.8. Judah at the time of Josiah and the Battle of Mepiddo.

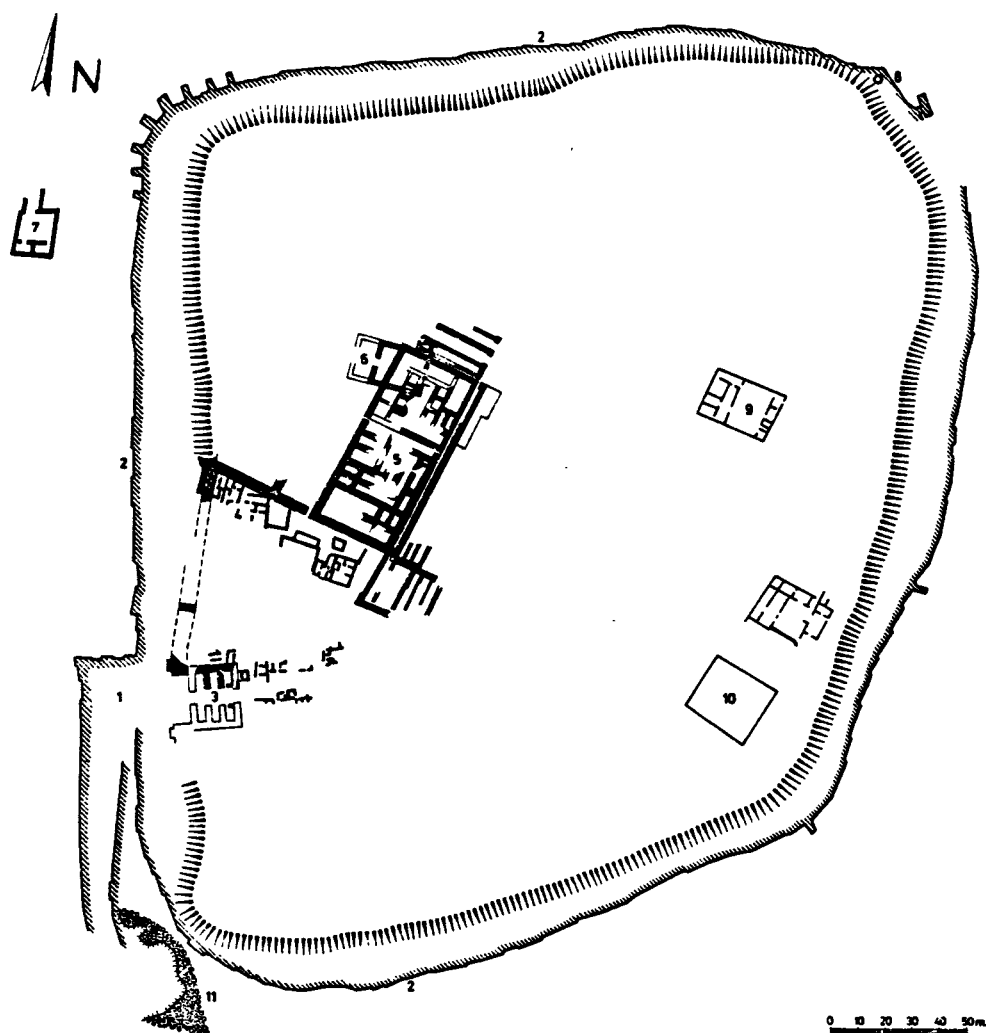


Fig. 4.1. Site plan of Tell ed-Duweir. (1) The Bastion, (2) Outer Wall, (3) Inner Gate, (4) Enclosure Wall, (5) Podia, (6) Late Bronze Age Palace, (7) Fosse Temple, (8) Well, (9) Solar Shrine, (10) Great Shaft, (11) Assyrian Siege Ramp (from David Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tel Lachish - 1973-1977, Preliminary Report," Tel Aviv 5 (1978) 1-2:4).

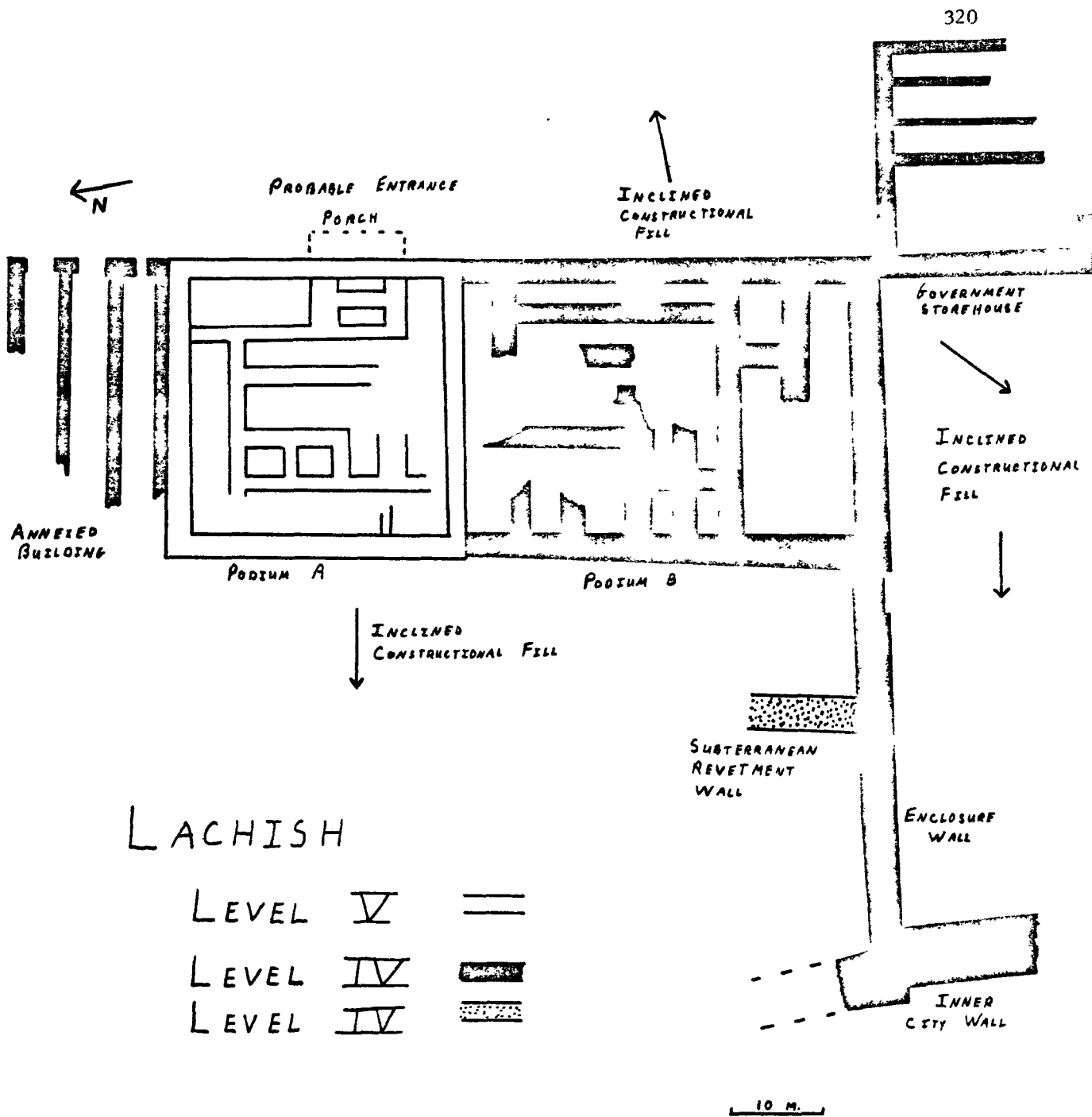


Fig. 4.2. Tell ed-Duweir Levels V and IV Palace area (from David Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tel Lachish - 1973-1977, Preliminary Report," *Tel Aviv* 5 (1978) 1-2:29, 48).

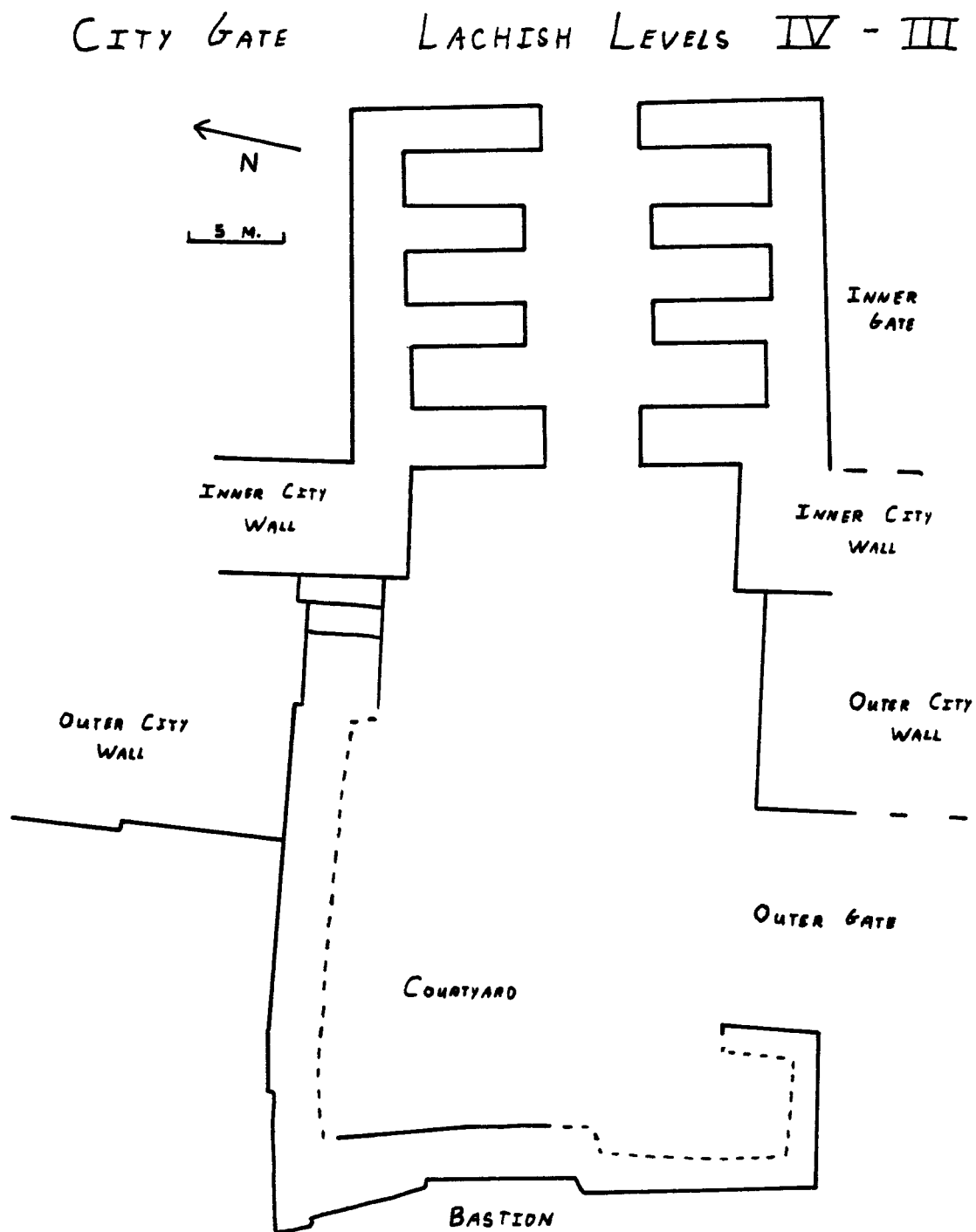


Fig. 4.3. Tell ed-Duweir Bastion and City Gate (from David Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tel Lachish - 1973-1977, Preliminary Report," Tel Aviv 5 (1978) 1-2:56).

Tell ed-Duweir
Schematic Section from Podium B
to Inner Wall along Enclosure Wall

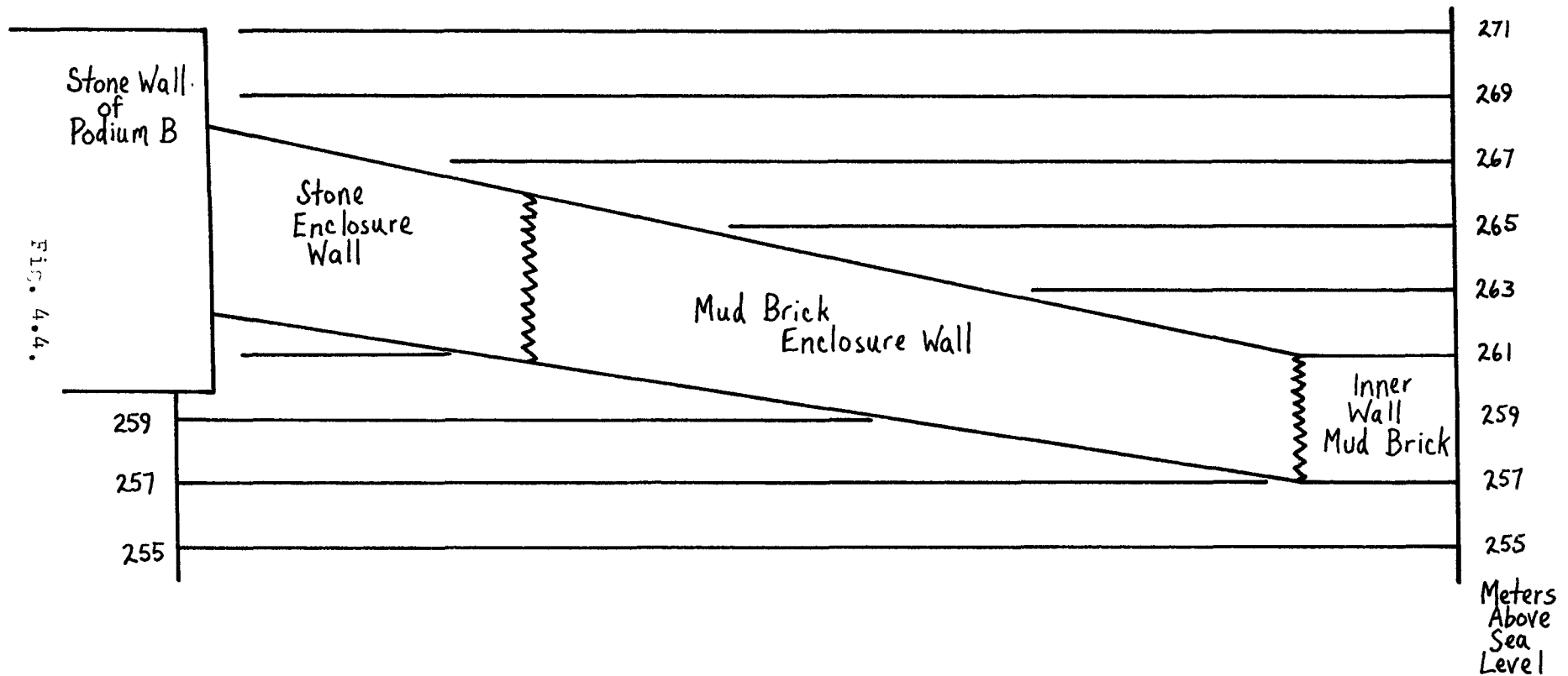


FIG. 4.4.

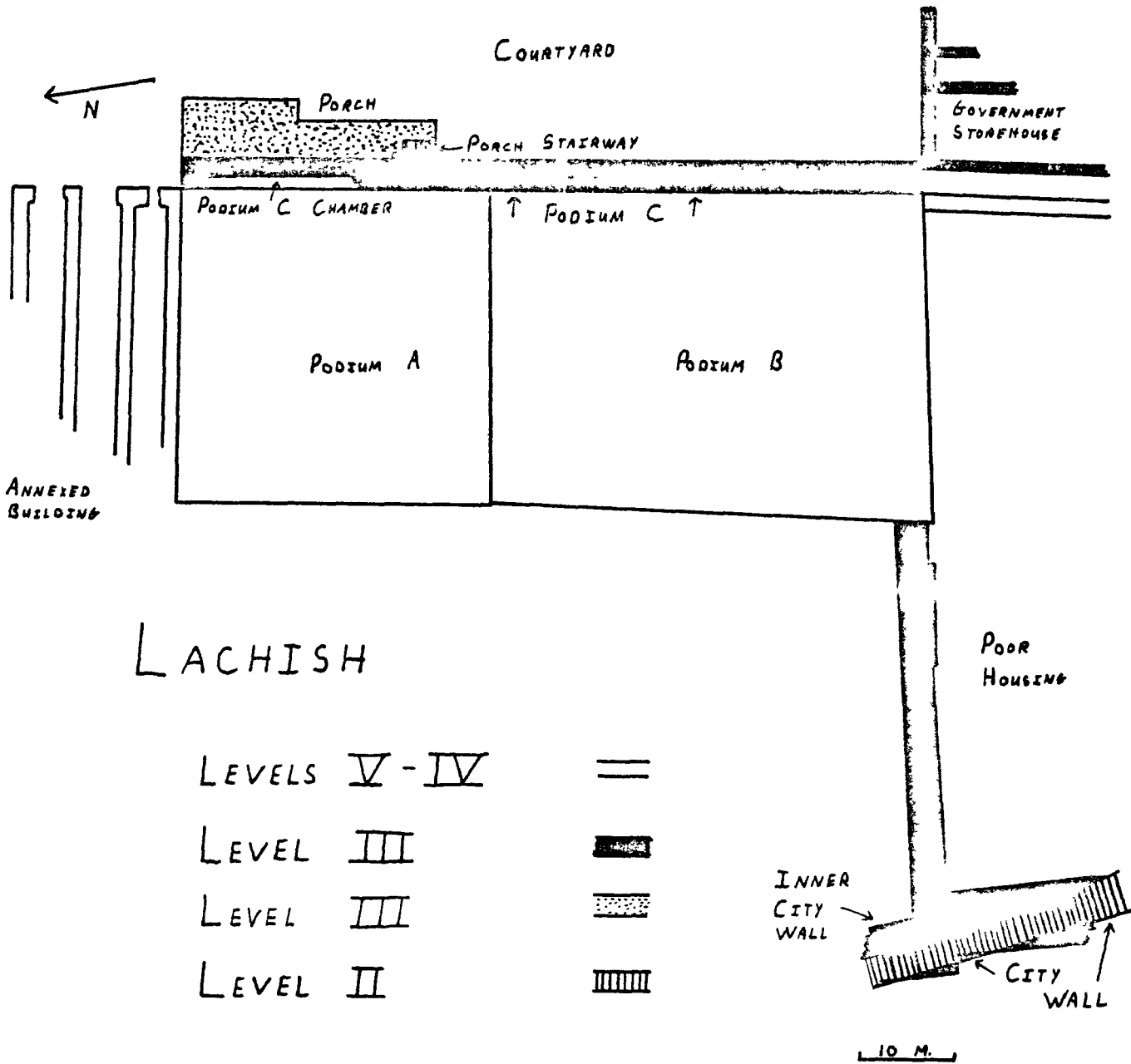


Fig. 4.5. Tell ed-Duweir Levels III and II Palace area (from David Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tel Lachish - 1973-1977, Preliminary Report," Tel Aviv 5 (1978) 1-2:37, 49).

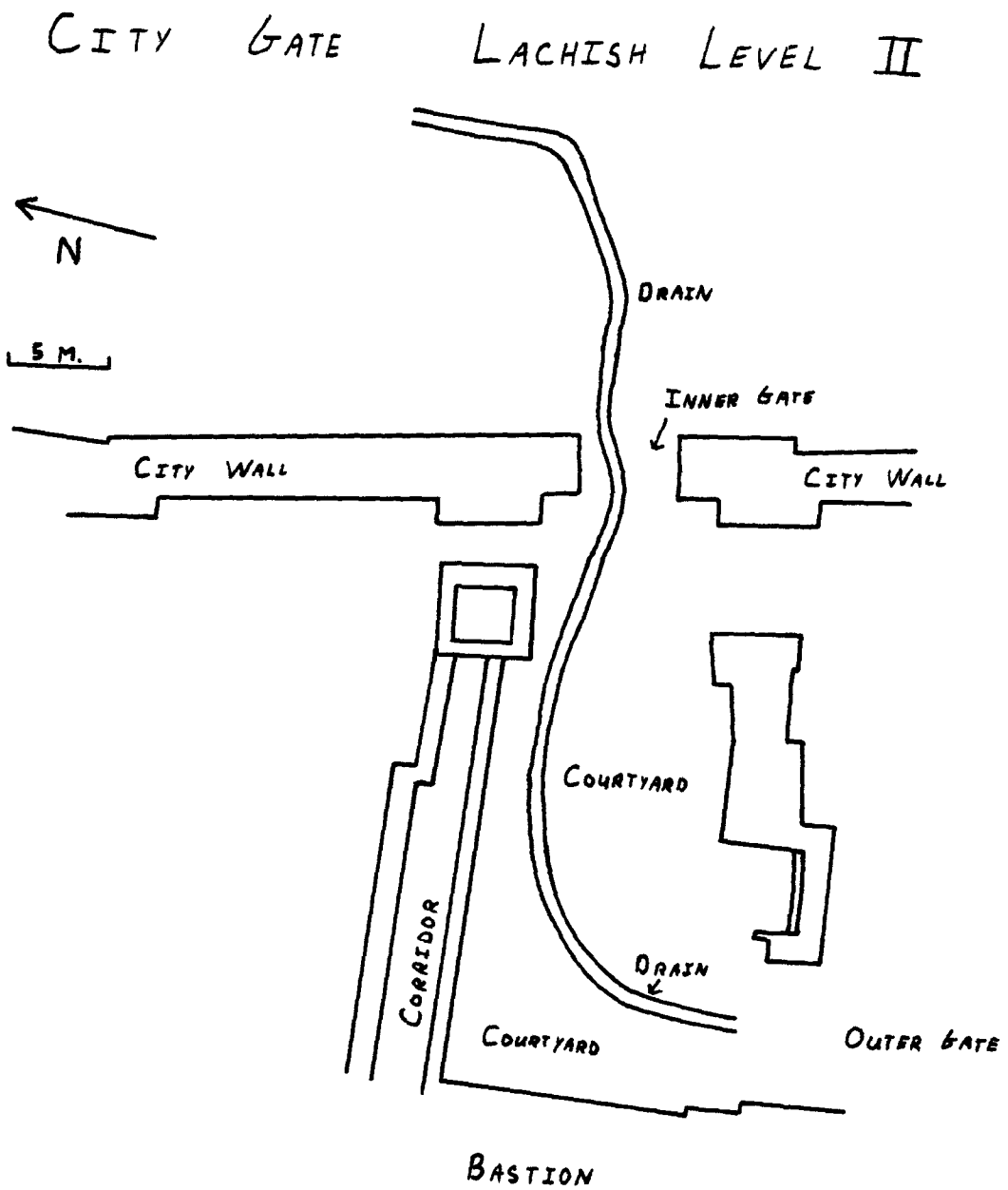


Fig. 4.6 . Tell ed-Duweir Bastion and City Gate (from David Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tel Lachish - 1973-1977, Preliminary Report," Tel Aviv 5 (1978) 1-2:57).

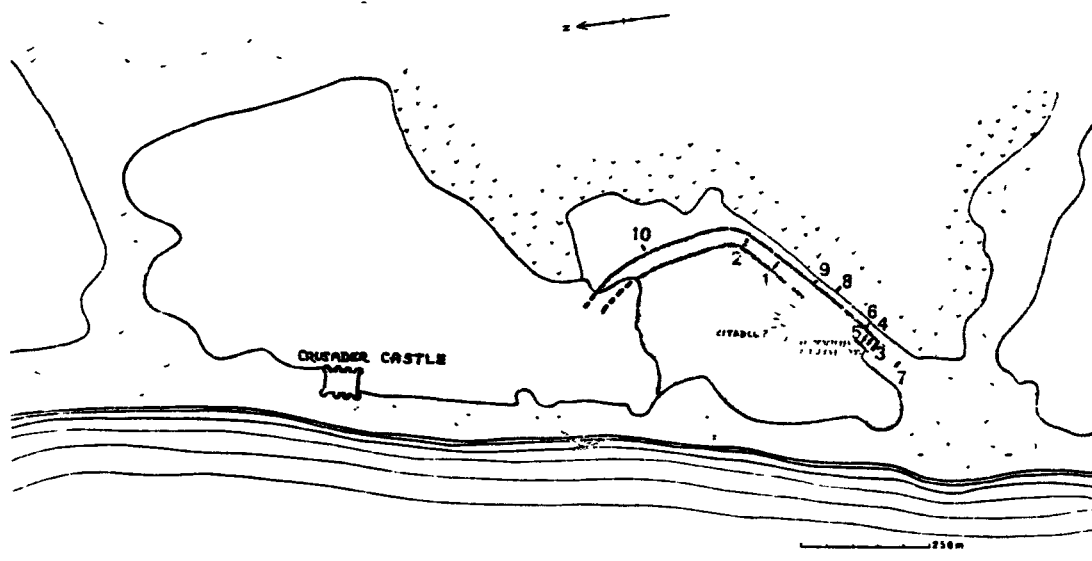
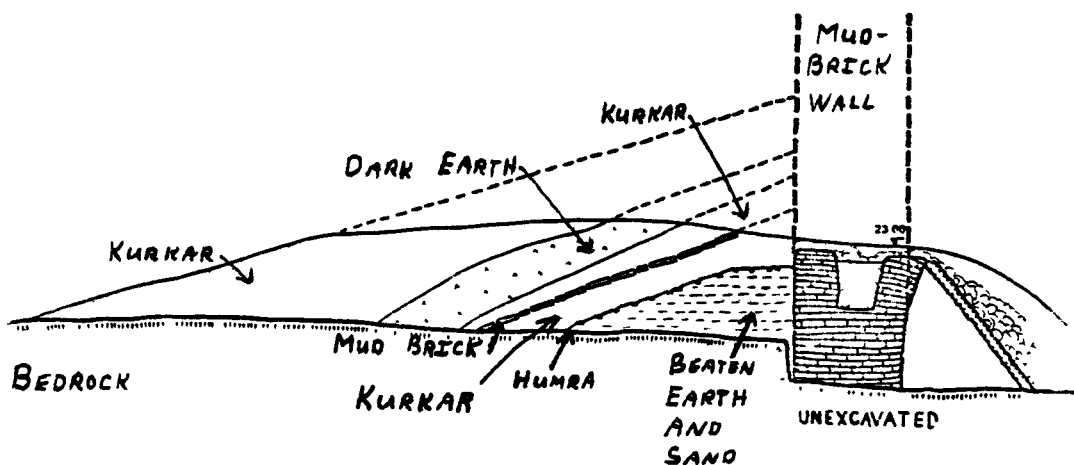


Fig. 4.7. Site plan of Ashdod-Yam with the location of probes numbered (from Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Ashdod-Yam," by J. Kaplan).

Fig.4.8 . Section of fortification wall at Ashdod-Yam (from J. Kaplan, "The Stronghold of Yamani at Ashdod-Yam," Israel Exploration Journal 19 (1969) 3:141). Scale not provided.



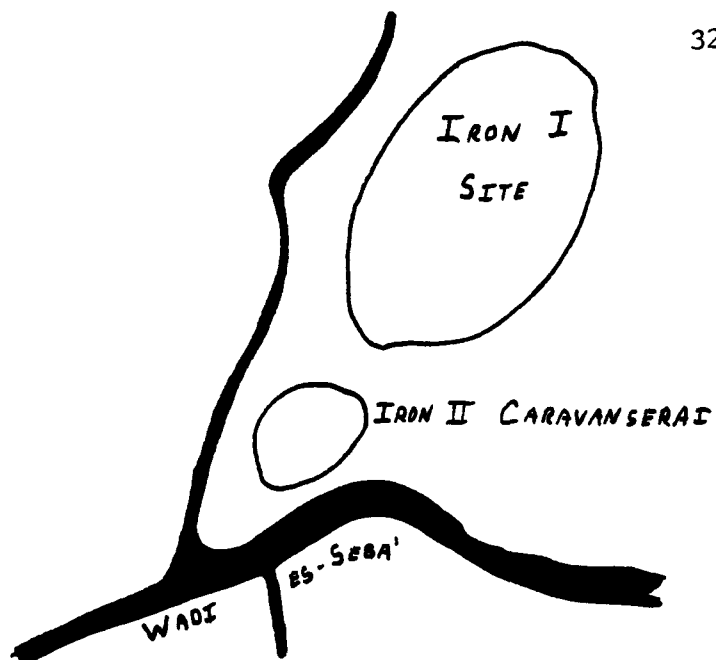


Fig. 4.9. Site plan of Khirbet el-Meshash (from Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tel Masos," A. Kempinski). Scale not provided.

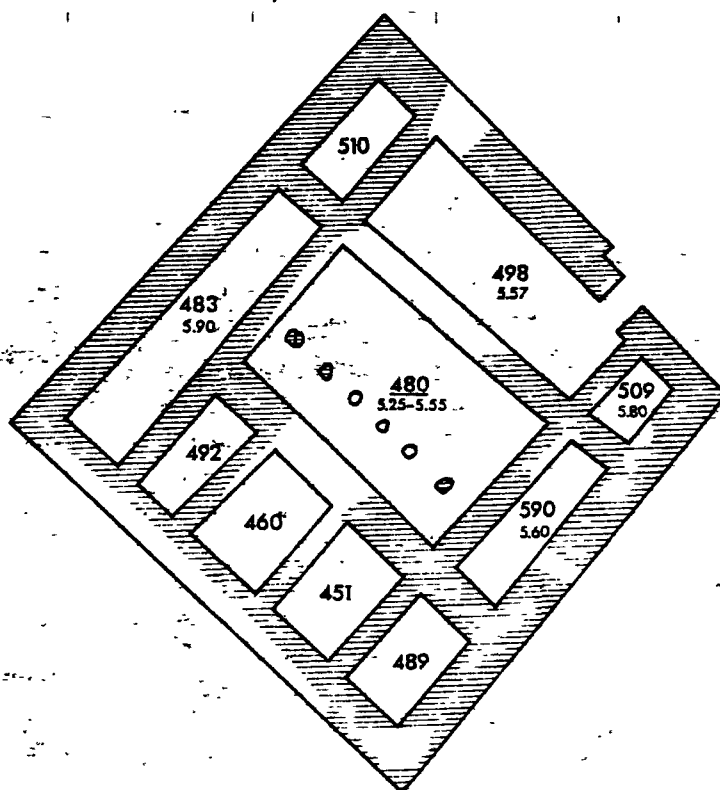


Fig. 4.10. Plan of the Khirbet el-Meshash Stratum II fortress (?) (from A. Kempinski and V. Fritz, "Excavations at Tell Masos," Tel Aviv 4 (1977) 3-4:148).

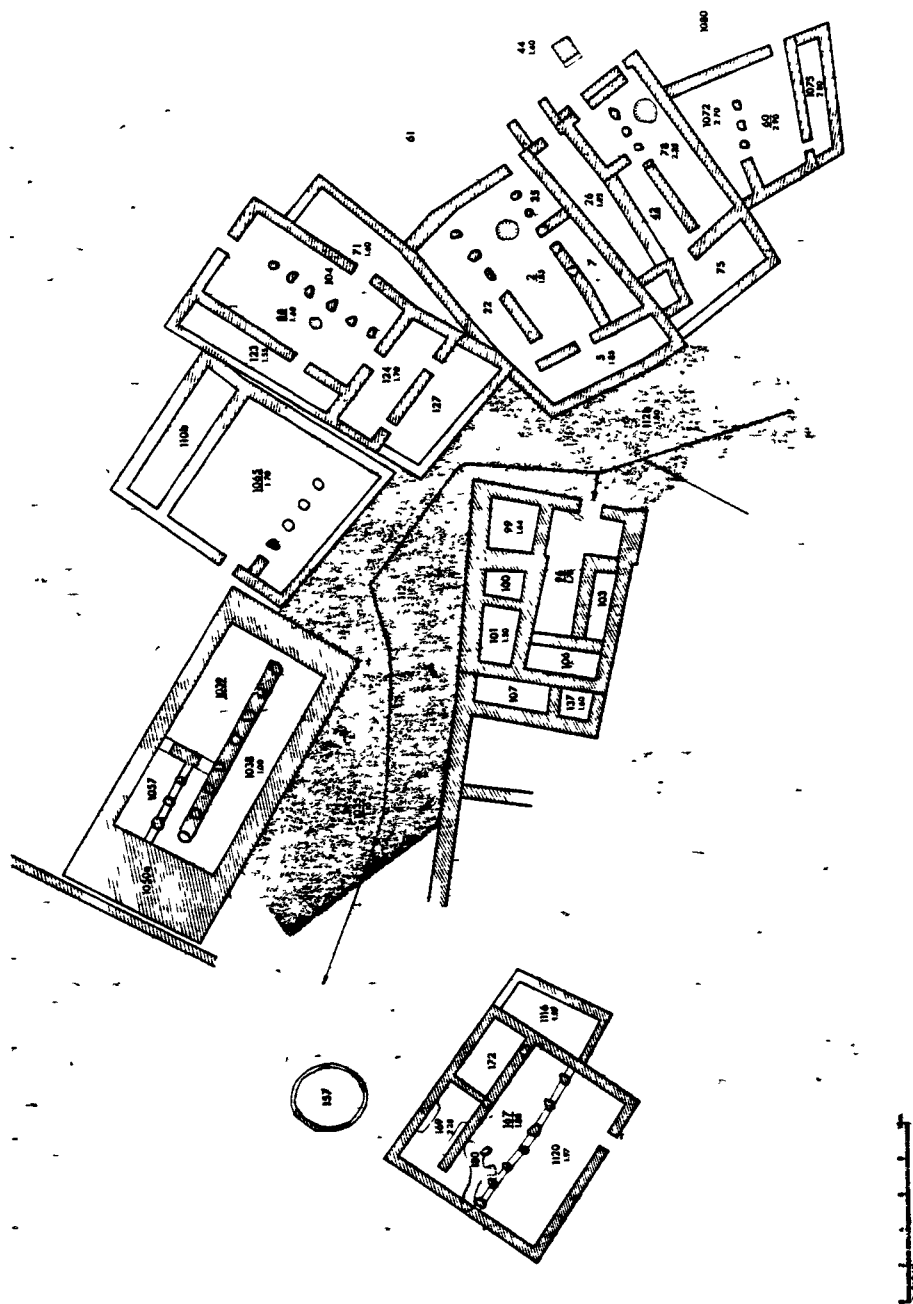


Fig.4.11. Plan of the Stratum II unwalled village at Khirbat el-Meshash (from A. Kempinski and V. Fritz, "Excavations at Tel Masos," Tel Aviv 4 (1977) 3-4:149).

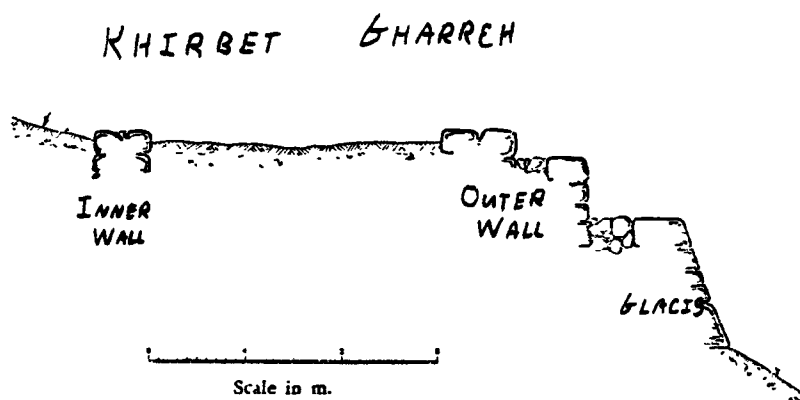


Fig.4.12. Section of the fortification system at Khirbet Gharreh
 (from Y. Aharoni, "The Negeb of Judah," Israel Exploration Journal
 8 (1958) 1:36).

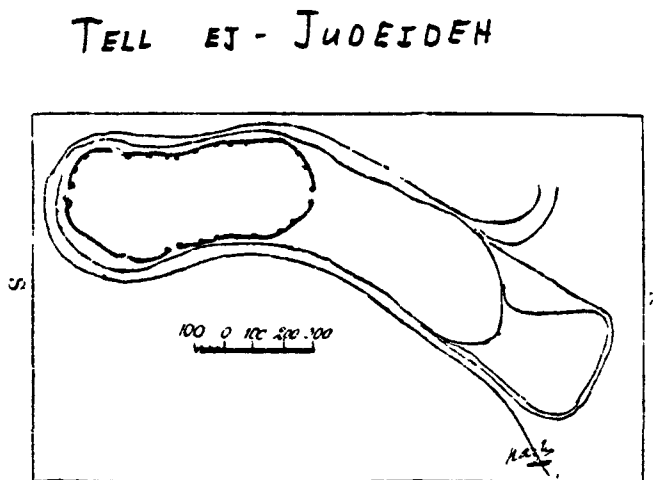


Fig.4.13. Plan of Tell ej-Judeidah (from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S.
 Conder, Excavations in Palestine During the Years 1898-1900
 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902) p.44).

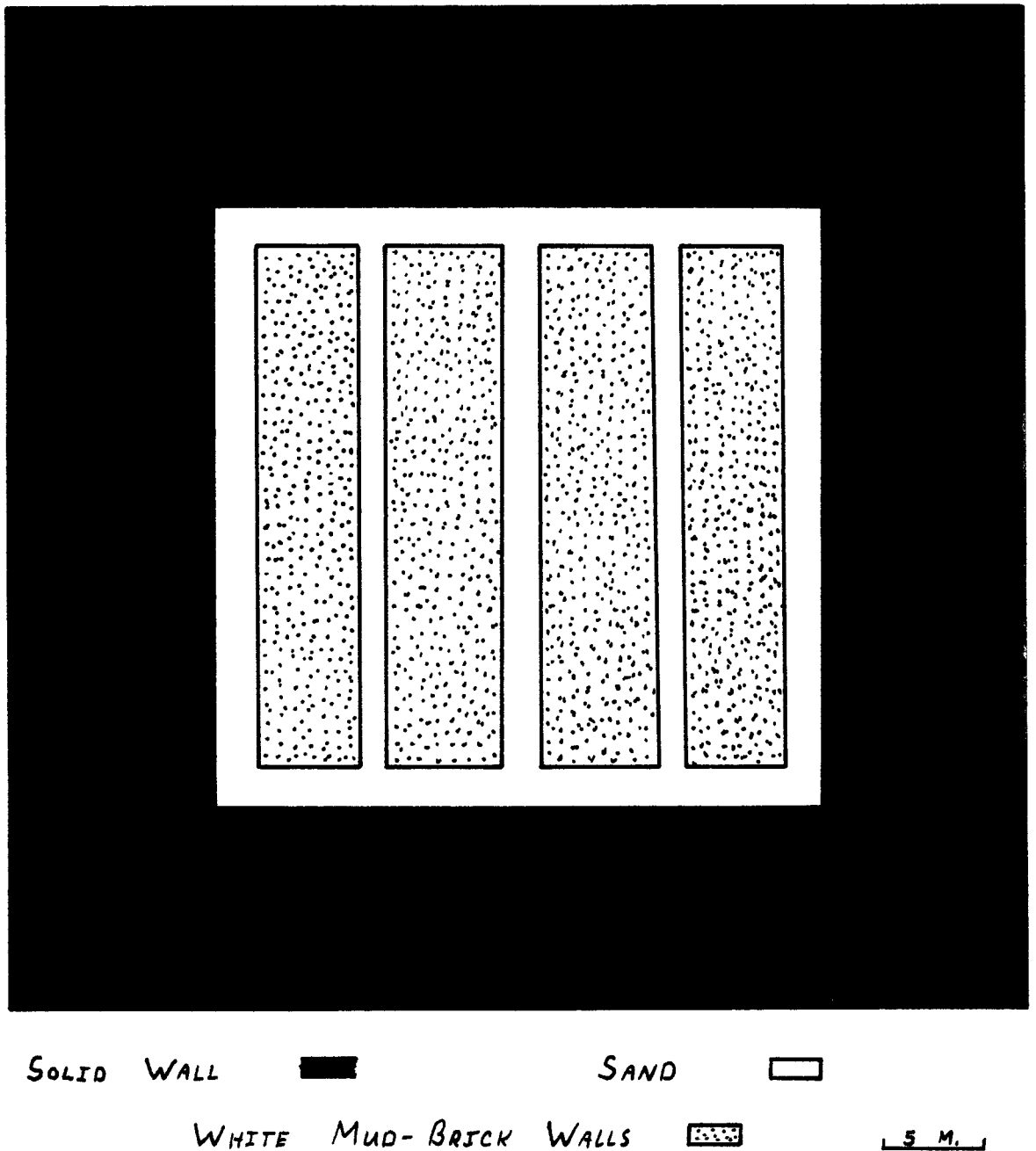


Fig.4.14. Schematic plan of the foundations at Khirbet Hoga (from verbal description in J. Porath, "Khirbet Hoga," Hadashot Archeologist 59-60 (1976) pp41-2).

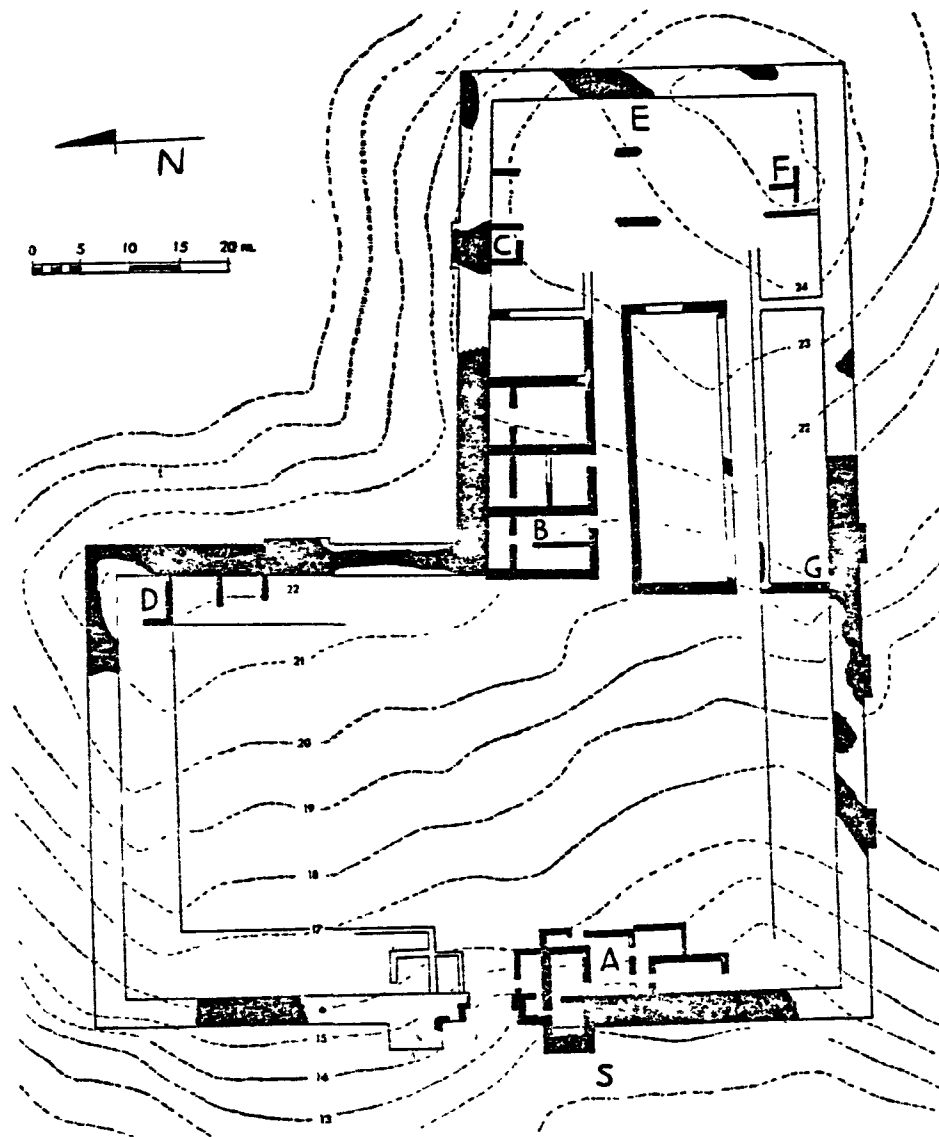


Fig.4.15. Site plan of Mesad Hashavyahu (from J. Naveh, "The Excavations at Mesad Hashavyahu," Israel Exploration Journal, 12 (1962) 2:90).

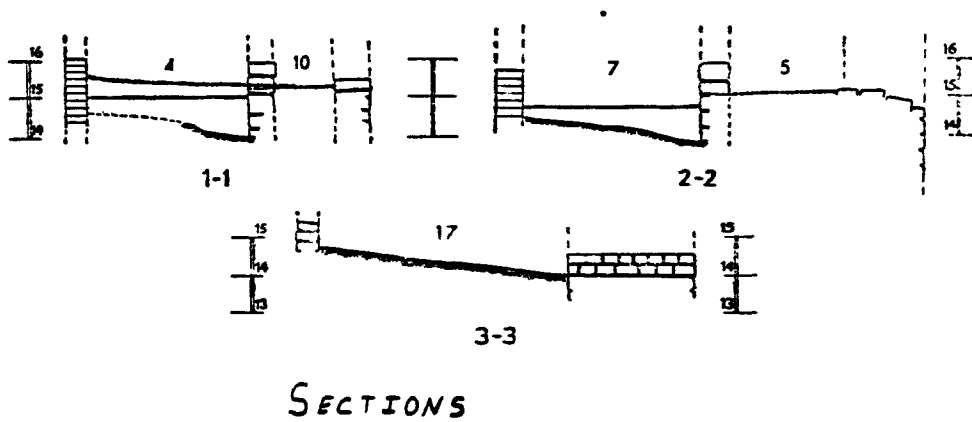
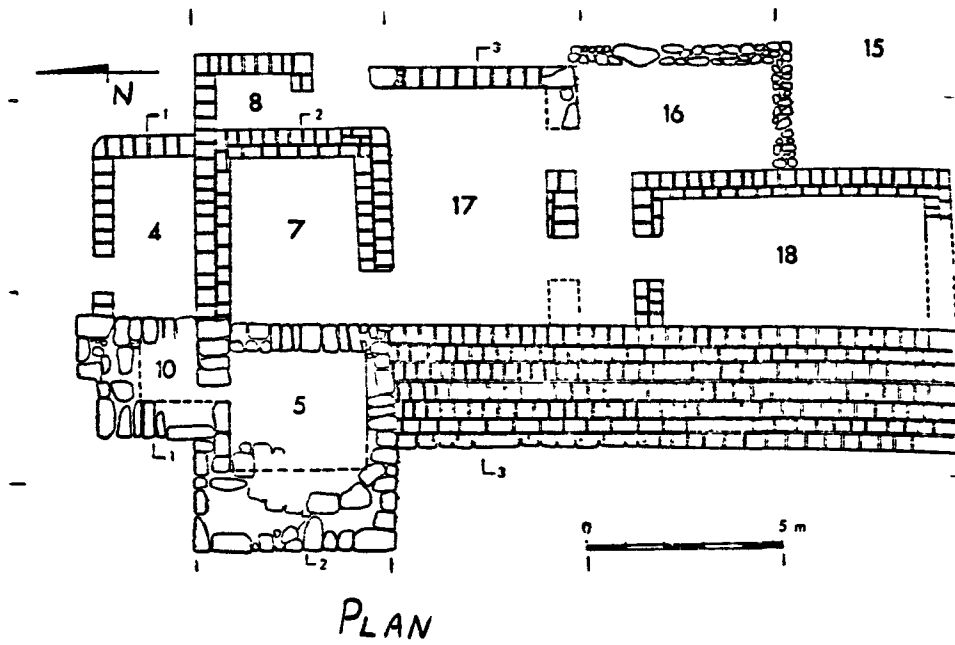


Fig.4.16. Plan and sections of the fortress wall and gate at Mesad Hashavyahu (from J. Naveh, "The Excavations at Mesad Hashavyahu," Israel Exploration Journal, 12 (1962) 2:91).

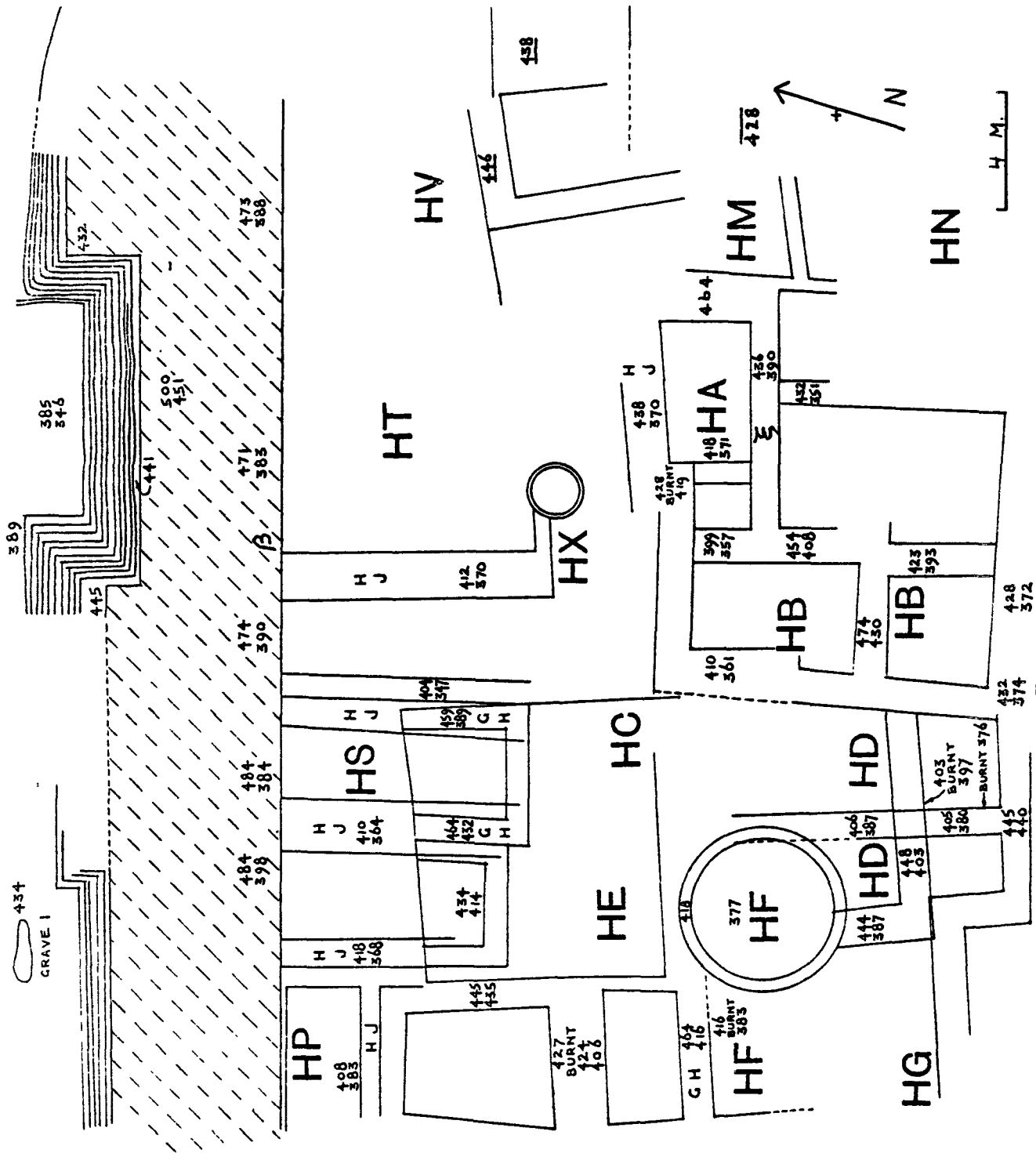


Fig.4.17. Tell Abu Selymeh Stratum H (from W.M.F. Petrie, Anthedon: Sirai, (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937)).

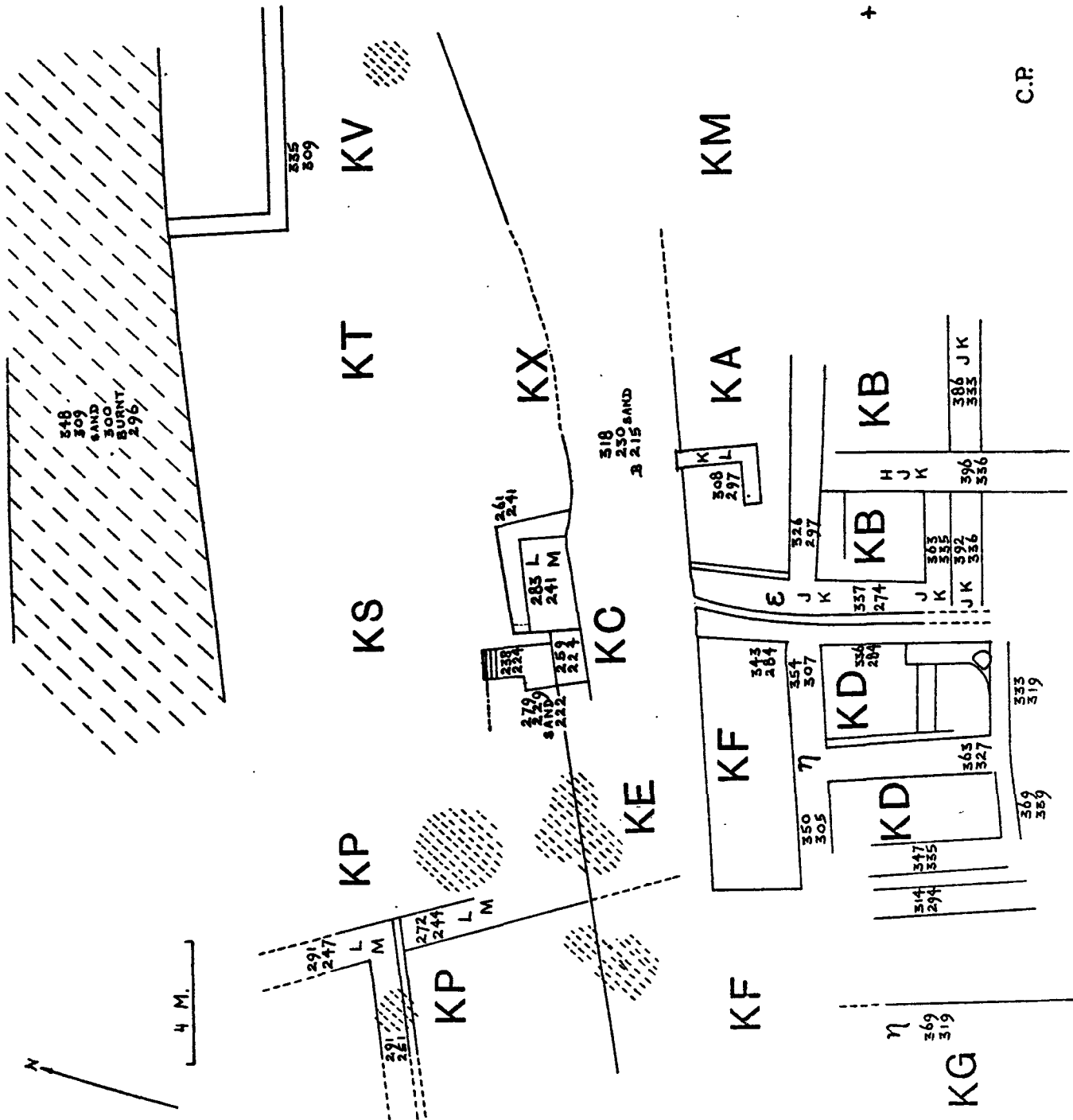


Fig. 4.18. Tell Abu Selymeh Stratum K (from W.M.F. Petrie, Anthedon: Sinai, (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937)).

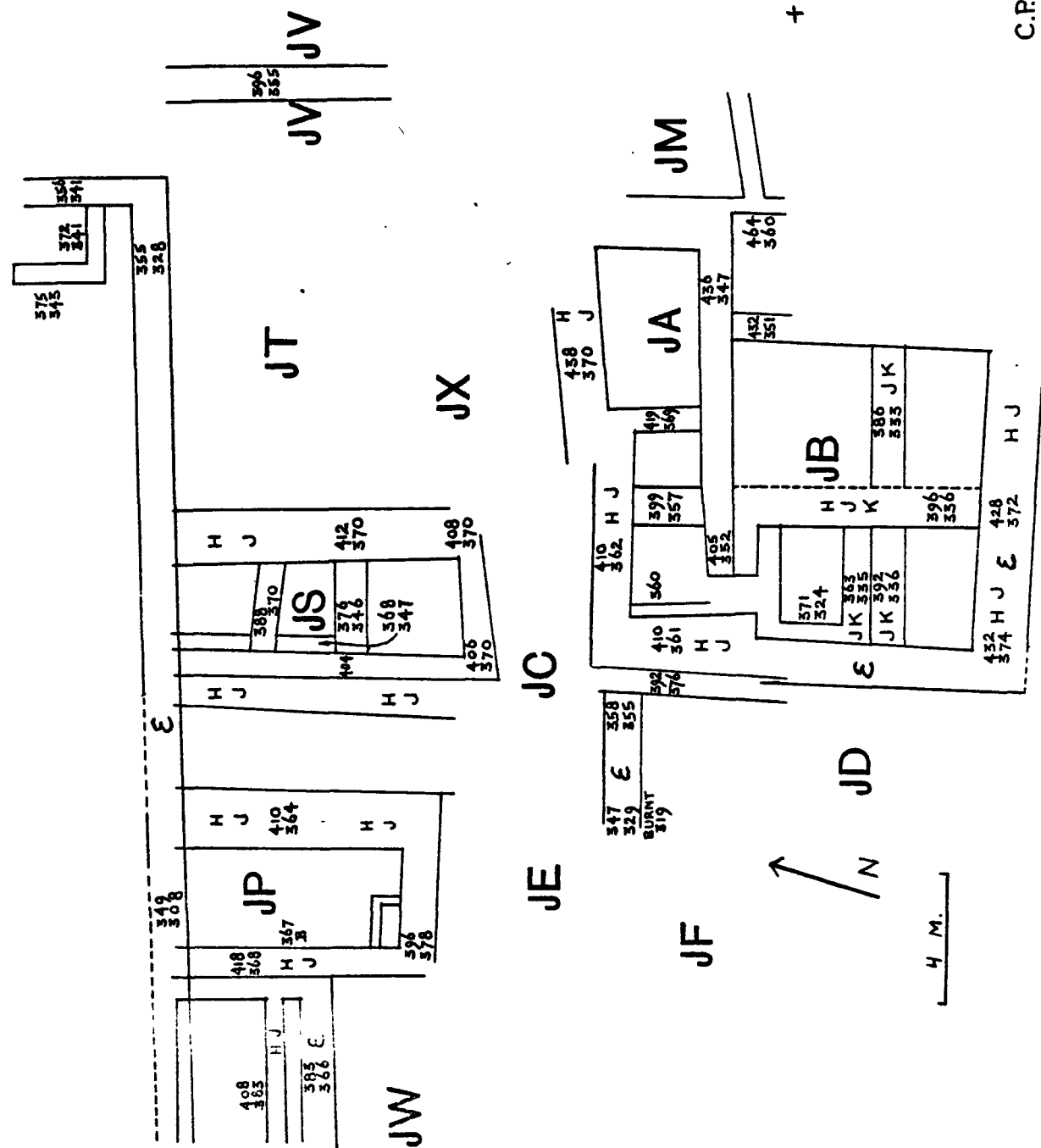


Fig.4.20. Tell Abu Selymeh Stratum J (from W.M.F. Petrie, Anthedon:Sinai, (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937)).

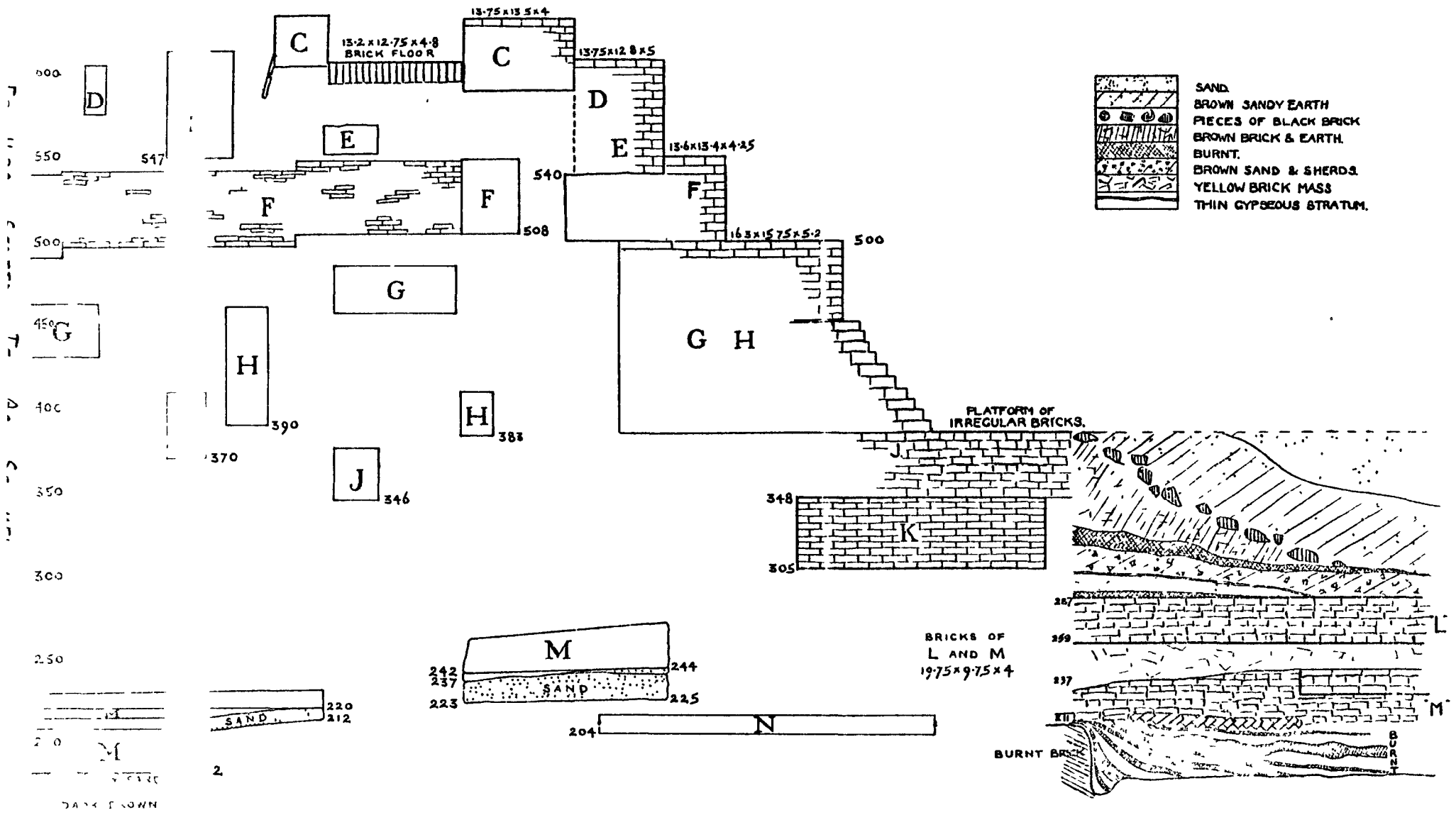
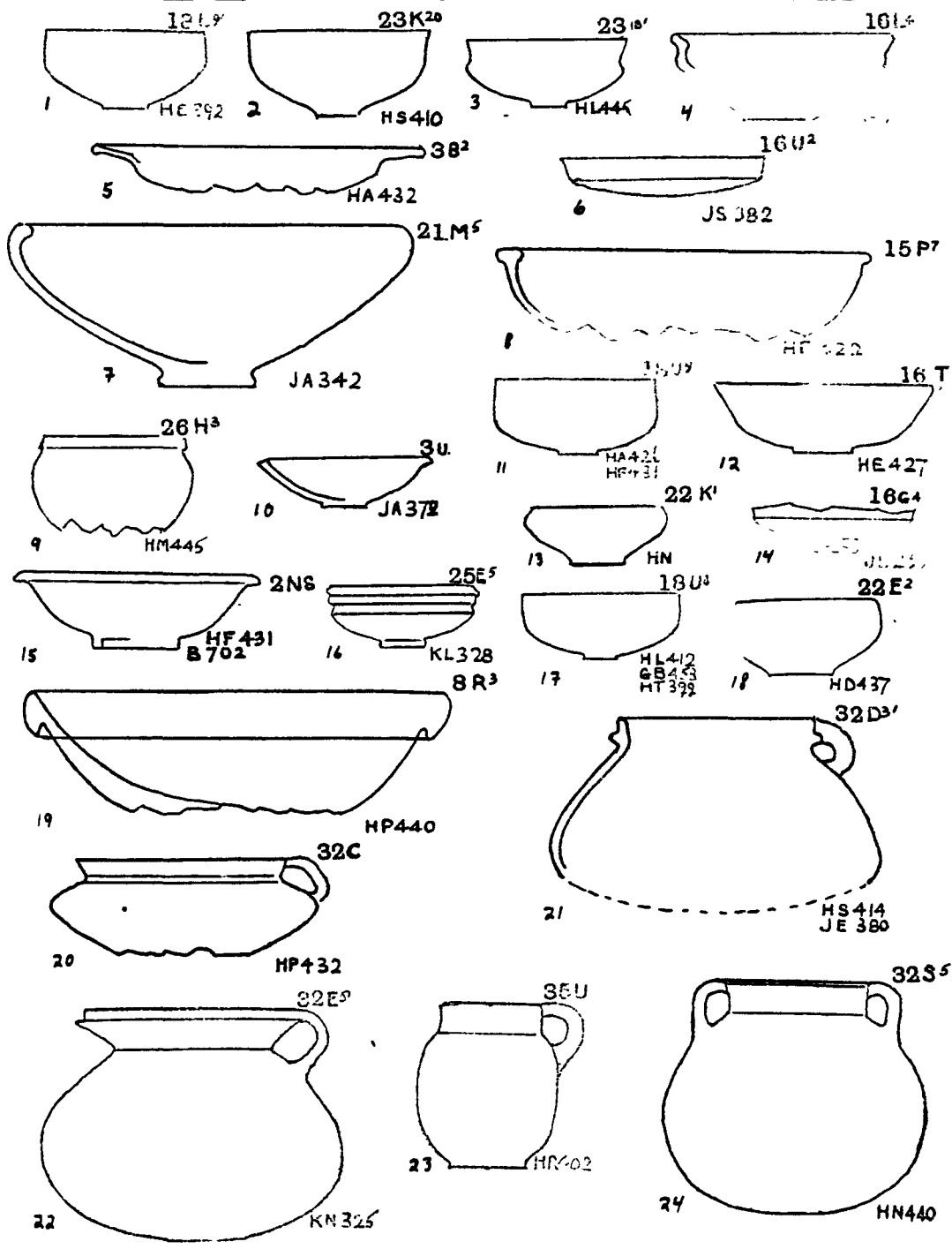


PLATE LIST

1. Bowl	Iron I/II	Lachish V-IV, Samaria I-III, Tell Beit Mirsim B
2. Bowl	Iron I/II	see #1
3. Bowl	Late Bronze	Lachish VI, Balata LB
4. Bowl	Iron II	Lachish III/II, Beit Mirsim A(2)
5. Bowl	Iron II	Lachish III/II
6. Bowl	UD	
7. Bowl	Iron I	Ta'anach IA-B
8. Bowl	Iron I/II	Lachish V-IV, Beer Sheva V-IV
9. Bowl	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Beer Sheva IV
10. Bowl	Iron II	Masos, Ramat Rahel VA, Beer Sheva II
11. Bowl	Iron I/II	see #1
12. Bowl	Iron I/II	see #1
13. Bowl	Iron I/II	Samaria I
14. Bowl	Iron I	Balata Iron I
15. Bowl	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Samaria IV-VI, Lachish III/II
16. Bowl	Iron II	Samaria VI-VII, Lachish IV-III
17. Bowl	Iron I/II	see #1
18. Bowl	Iron I/II	see #1
19. Bowl	Iron II	Lachish II-I, Hesi VII, Samaria VIII Mesad Hashavyahu
20. Cook Pot	UD	
21. Cook Pot	Iron II	Lachish III, Beer Sheva II
22. Cook Pot	Iron II	Ein Gedi V
23. Cook Pot?	UD	
24. Cook Pot	Iron II	Lachish II, Beer Sheva II, Beit Mirsim A(2)

Fig.4.21(A). Pottery from Tell Abu Selymeh (plates from W.M.F. Petrie, Anthedon: Sinai (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937)).

TELL ABU SELYMEH



1:6

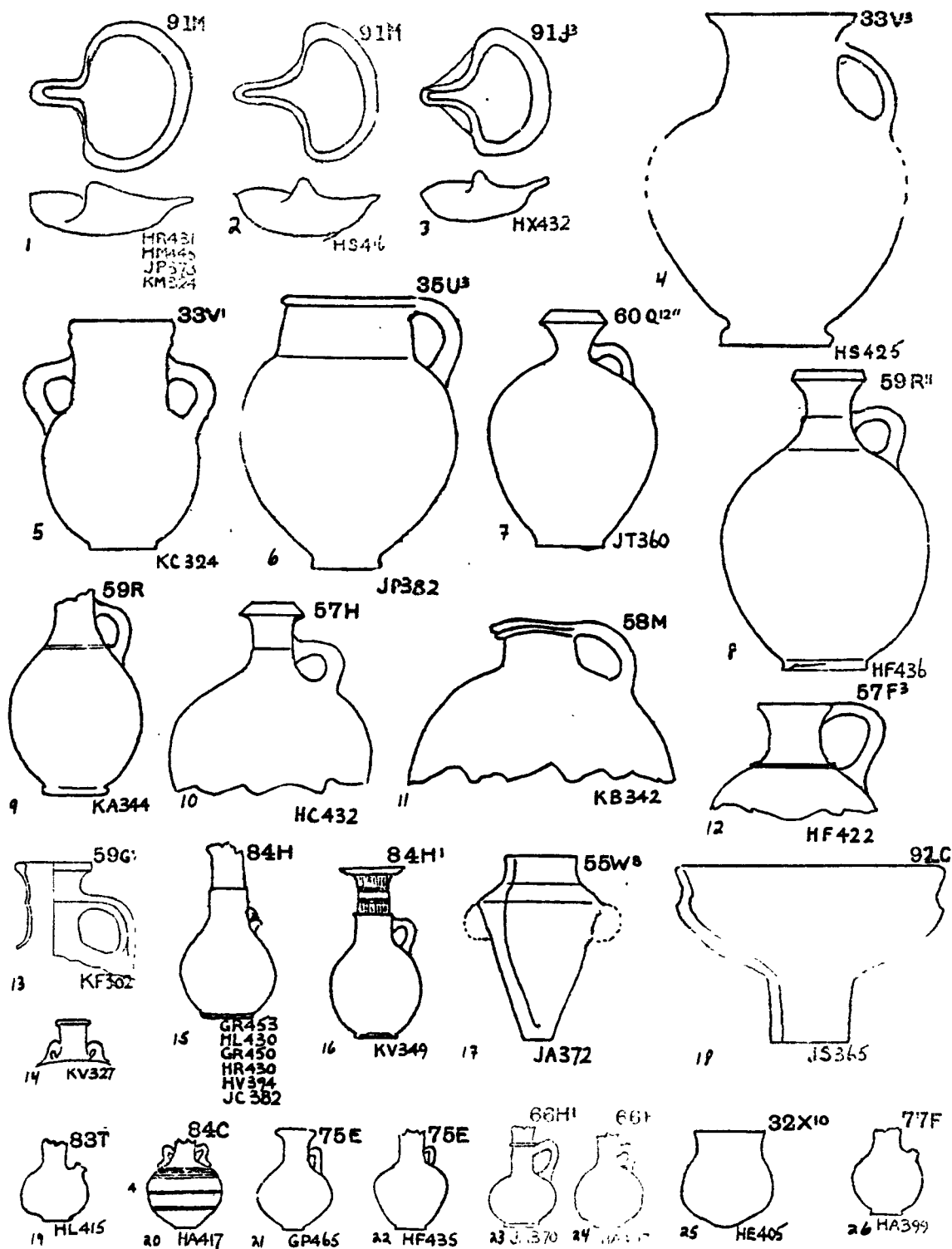
FIG. 4.21 (B).

PLATE LIST

1. Lamp	Iron II?	
2. Lamp	Iron II?	
3. Lamp	Iron II	Lachish IV-II, Samaria V-IV, Beit Mirsim A(2)
4. Pitcher	Iron II	Ein Gedi V
5. Pitcher	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish V, Beer Sheva IV
6. Pitcher	Iron II	Beer Sheva II
7. Pitcher	Iron II	Ein Gev III
8. Pitcher	Iron II	see #7
9. Pitcher	Iron II	Lachish II, Beer Sheva II
10. Decanter	Iron II	Beer Sheva III, Beit Mirsim A(2)
11. Decanter	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Lachish IV-II, Beit Mirsim A(2)
12. Pitcher	Iron II	see #4
13. Decanter	Iron II	Ein Gedi V, Lachish II, Mesad Hashavyahu, Ramat Rahel VA
14. Flask	Iron II	Lachish II
15. Amphoriskos	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Beit Mirsim B(2) and A(1), Beer Sheva II
16. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #15
17. Amphoriskos	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Ein Gedi V, Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish III-II, Beer Sheva IV, II
18. Funnel	UD	
19. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #15
20. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #15
21. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #15
22. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #15
23. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #15
24. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #15
25. Pitcher	Iron II	Beer Sheva II, Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish III, Ein Gedi V
26. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #15

Fig.4.22(A). Pottery from Tell Abu Selymeh (plates from W.M.F. Petrie, Anthedon: Sinai (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937)).

TELL ABU SELYMEH



1:6

FIG. 4.22 (B).

PLATE LIST

1. Amphoriskos	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Beit Mirsim B(2) and A(1), Beer Sheva II
2. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #1
3. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #1
4. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #1
5. Juglet	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Ein Gedi V, Ramat Rahel VA, Beit Mirsim B(2) and A(2), Beer Sheva III-II
6. Juglet	Iron II	see #5
7. Juglet	Iron II	see #5
8. Juglet	Iron I/II	Lachish V
9. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #1
10. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #1
11. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #1
12. Amphoriskos	Iron II	see #1
13. Juglet	Iron II	Beer Sheva III-II, Lachish IV-II, Beit Mirsim A(2), Ein Gedi V, see #8
14. Juglet	Iron II	see #5
15. Juglet	Iron II	see #5
16. Juglet	Iron I	Lachish VI-IV, Beer Sheva IV
17. Juglet	UD	
18. Juglet ?	UD	
19. Juglet	Iron I/II	Samaria I, Abu Hawam IVb
20. Juglet	Iron I/II	see #19
21. Juglet	LB	Abu Hawam V
22. Amphoriskos	Iron II	Samaria V-VI
23. Juglet	Iron I	Beit Mirsim B(1), Lachish V-IV
24. Jar	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish III-II, Beer Sheva II
25. Jar	Iron II	Beer Sheva II
26. Jar	Iron II	Ramat Rahel VA, Ein Gev III
27. Jar	Iron II	see #25
28. Jar	Iron II	Lachish III-II, Beer Sheva II, Samaria IV-V

Fig. 4.23(A). Pottery from Tell Abu Selyeh (plates from W.M.F. Petrie, Anthedon: Sinai (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937)).

TELL ABU SELYMEH

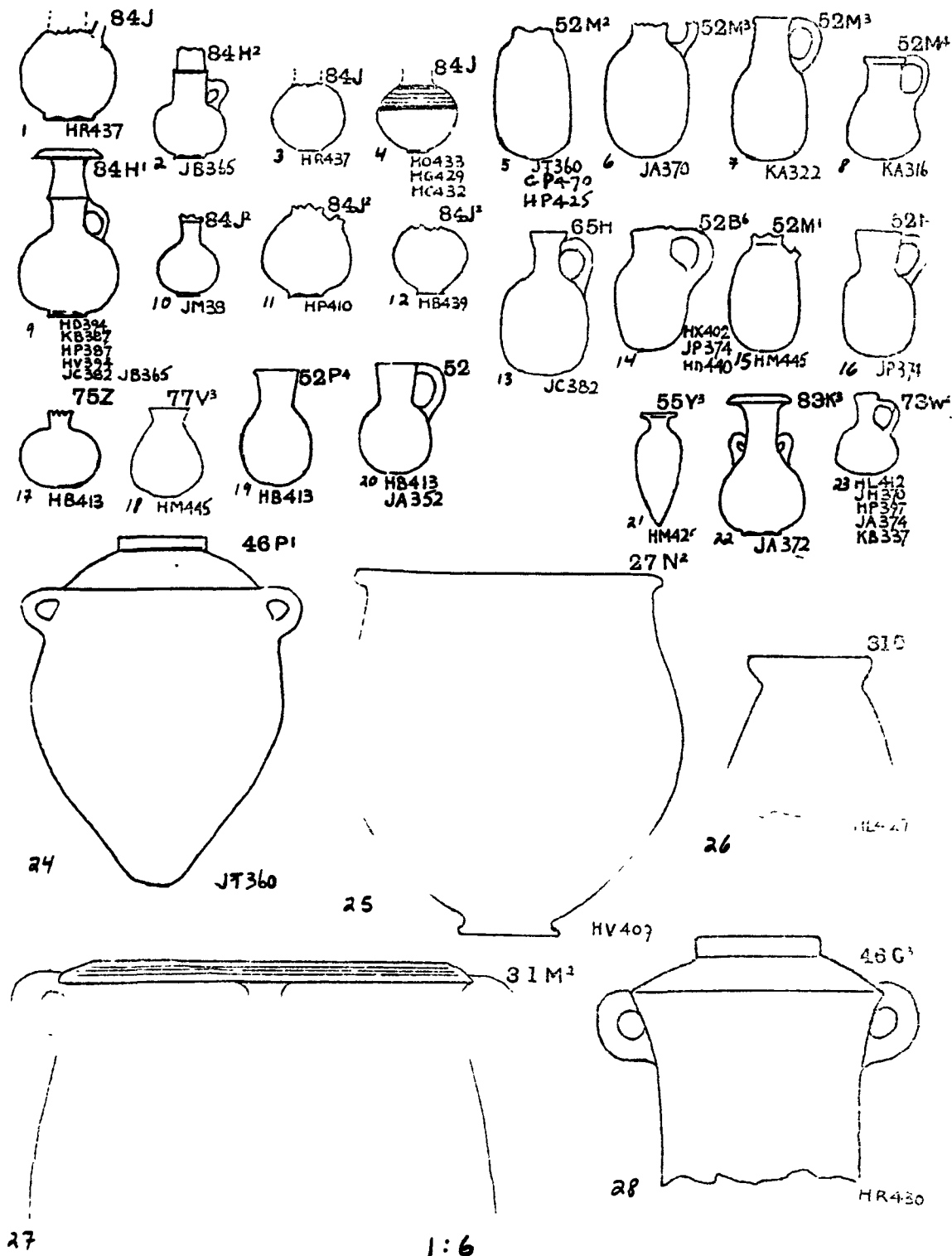


FIG. 4.23(B).

PLATE LIST

1. Jar	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish III-II, Beer Sheva II
2. Jar	Iron II	see #1
3. Jar	Iron II	see #1
4. Jar	Iron II	Lachish II, Beersheva II
5. Jar	Iron II	Lachish II
6. Jar	Iron II	Samaria V
7. Jar	Iron II	see #4

Fig.4.24(A). Pottery from Tell Abu Selymeh (plates from W.M.F. Petrie, Anthedon: Sinai (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1937)).

TELL ABU SELYMEH

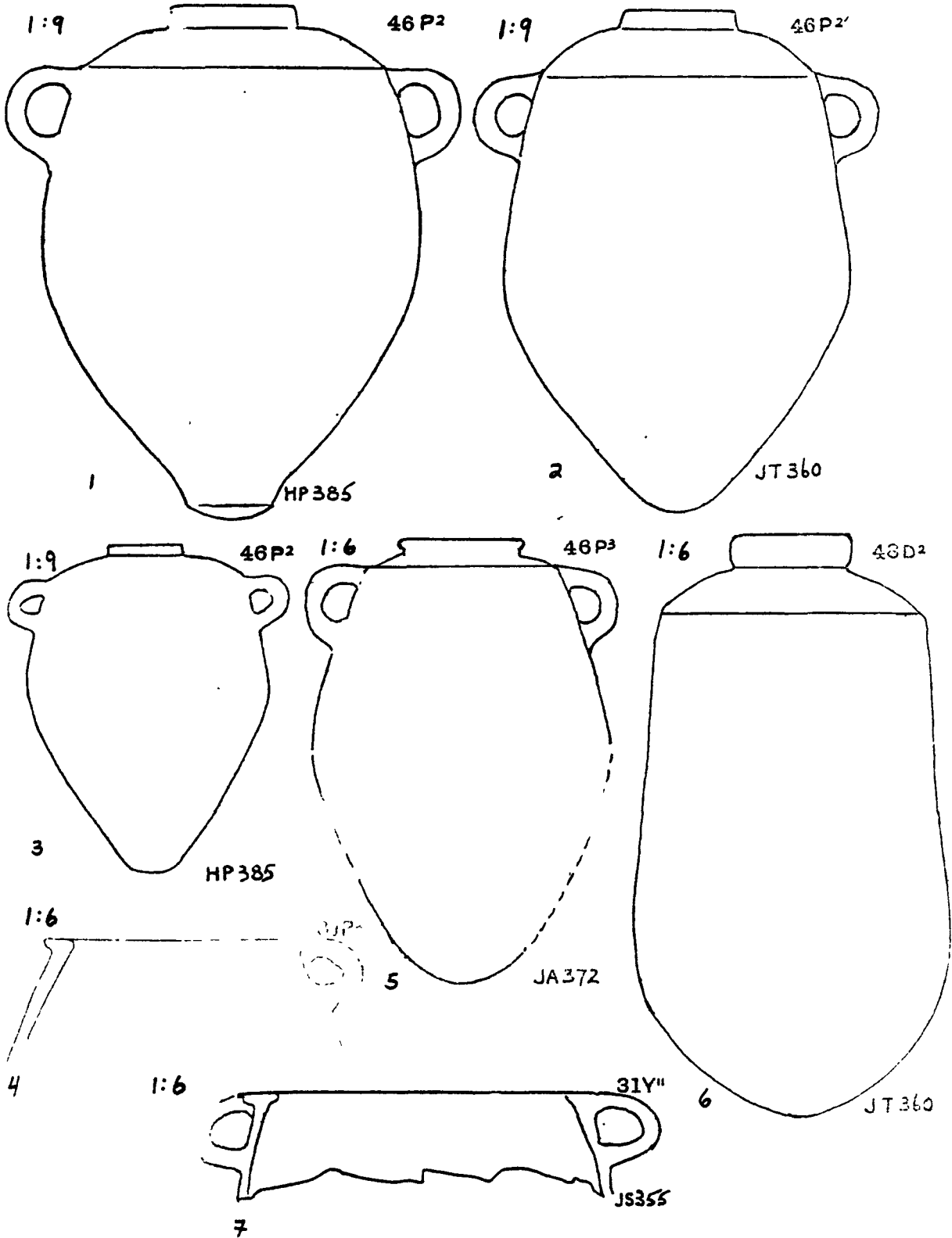


FIG. 4.24 (B).

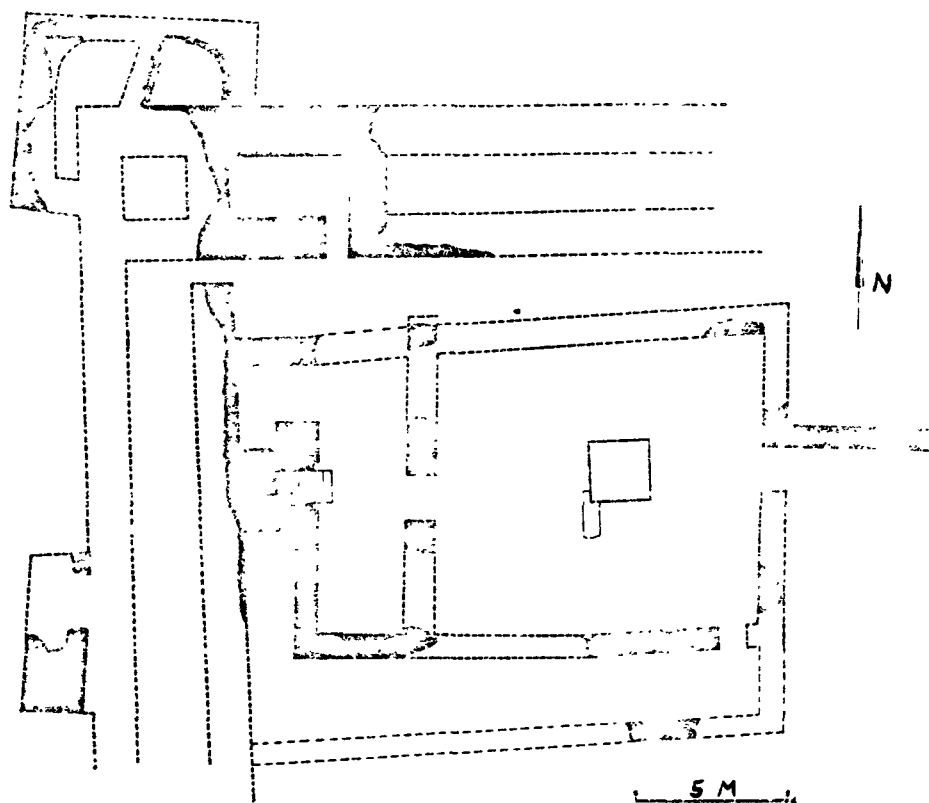




Fig.4.25. Tell 'Arad Stratum XI wall and temple (from Y. Aharoni "Arad, Its Inscriptions and Temples," Biblical Archaeologist XXXI (February, 1968) 1:8).

1. Temple. 2. Water system. 3. Wall. 4. Retaining walls. 5. Citadel gate used in the 9th cent. 6. New citadel gate.  existing  conjectured.

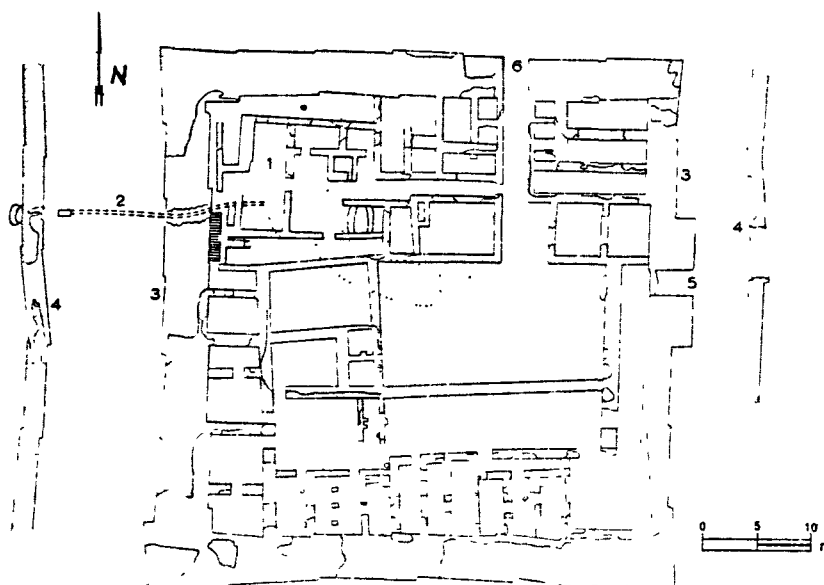


Fig.4.26. Tell 'Arad Stratum VIII fortress (from Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land 1st ed., s.v.,

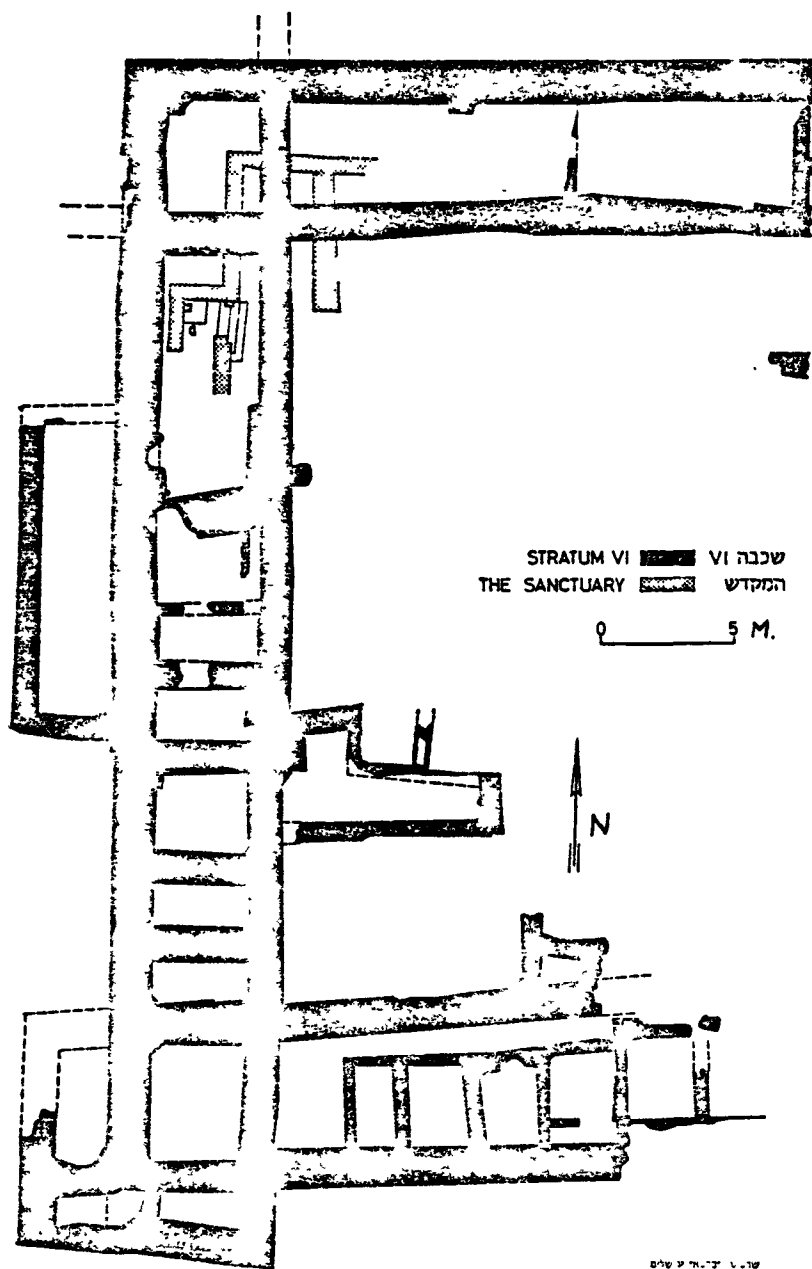


Fig.4.27. Casemate fortification system of Tell 'Arad Stratum VI (from Y. Aharoni, "Arad, Its Inscriptions and Temples," Biblical Archaeologist XXXI (February, 1968) 1:8).

TELL BEIT MIRSIM

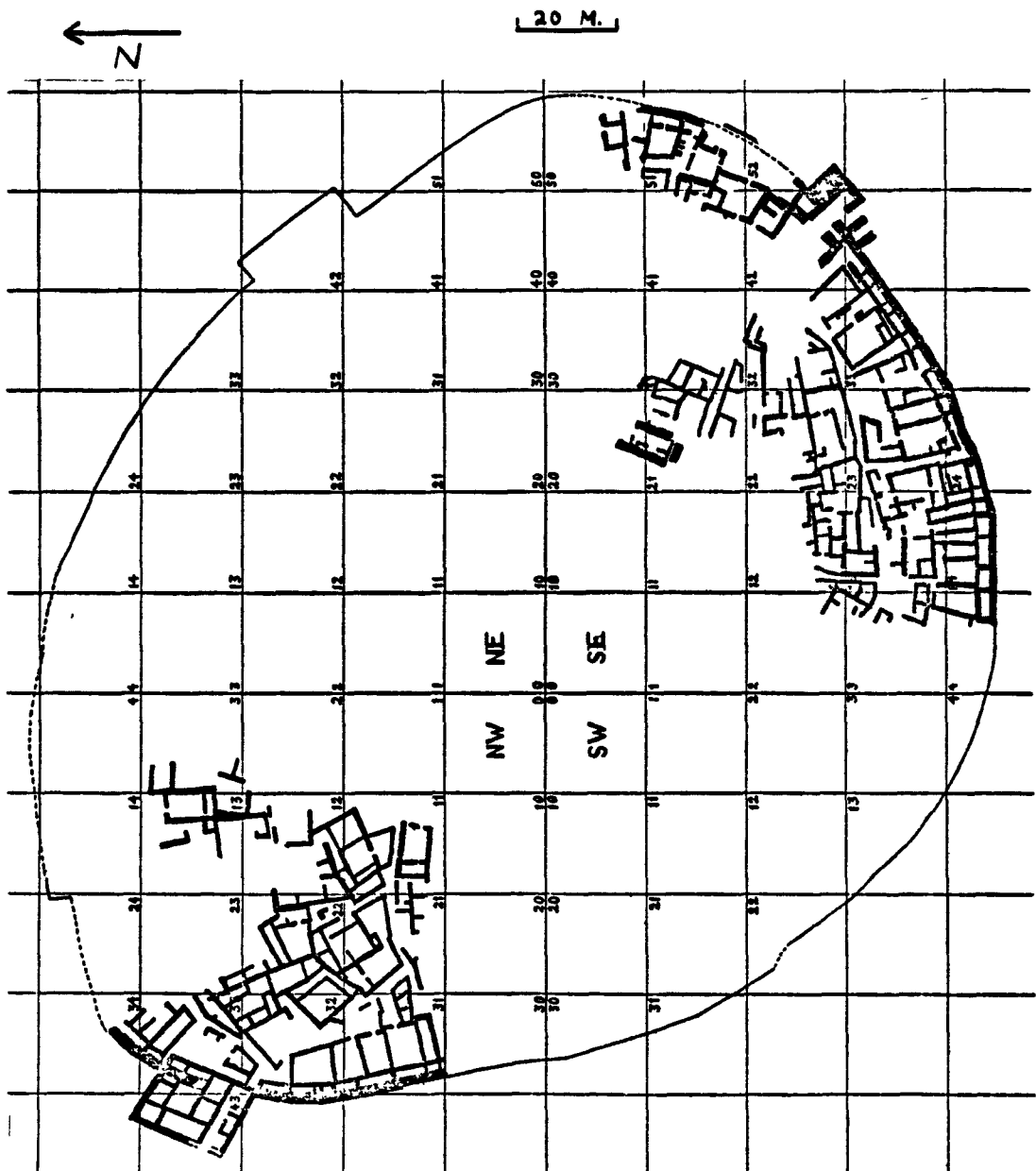


Fig.4.28. Site plan (from W. F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim in Palestine: The Iron Age," AASOR XXI-XXII (1943) plate 1).

TELL BEIT MIRSIM

5 M.

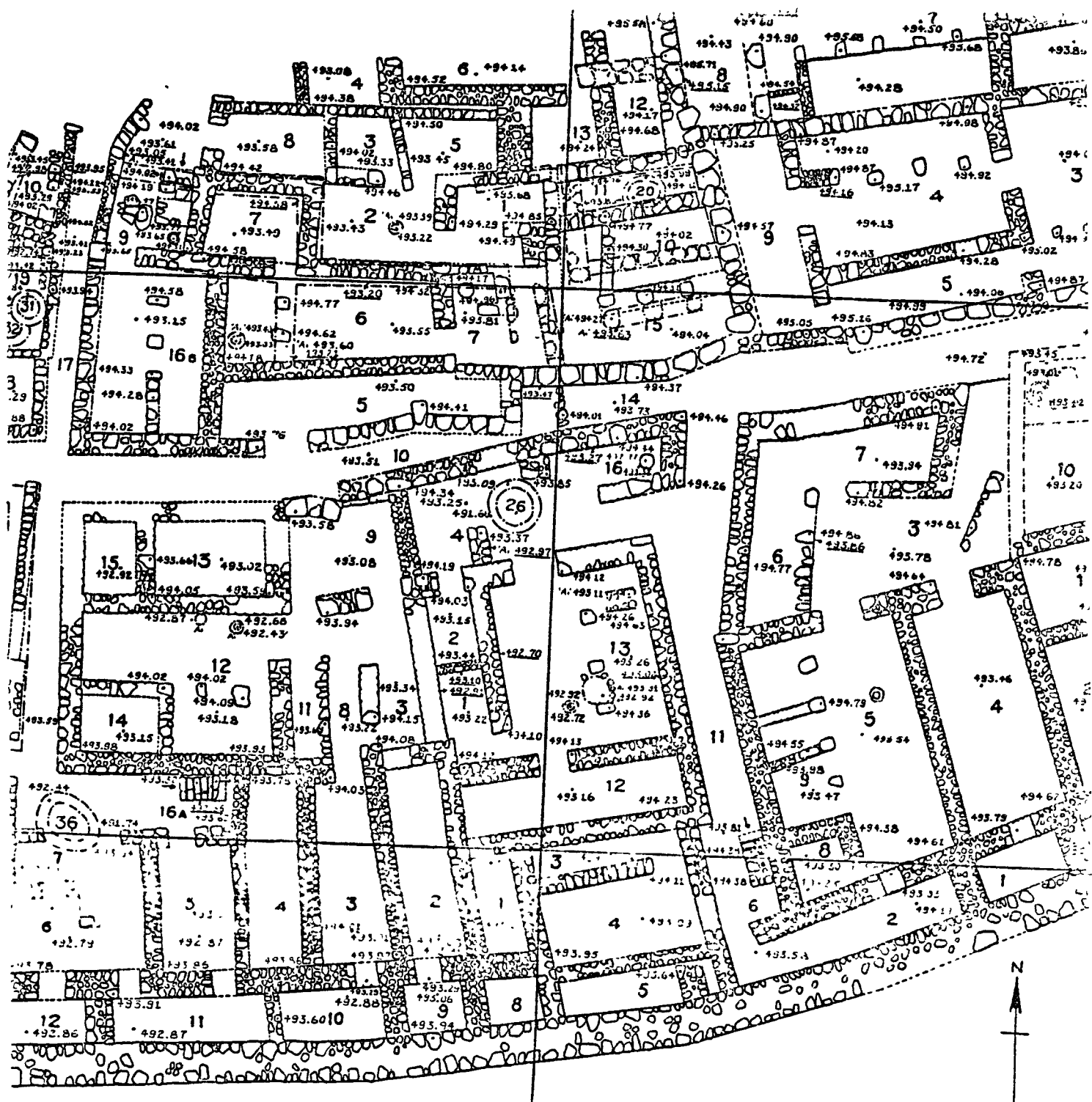


Fig. 4.29. Stratum B(3) casemate wall and Stratum A(2) city plan (from W.F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim: The Iron Age," AASOR XXI-XXII (1943) plate 3).

TELL BEIT MIRSIM

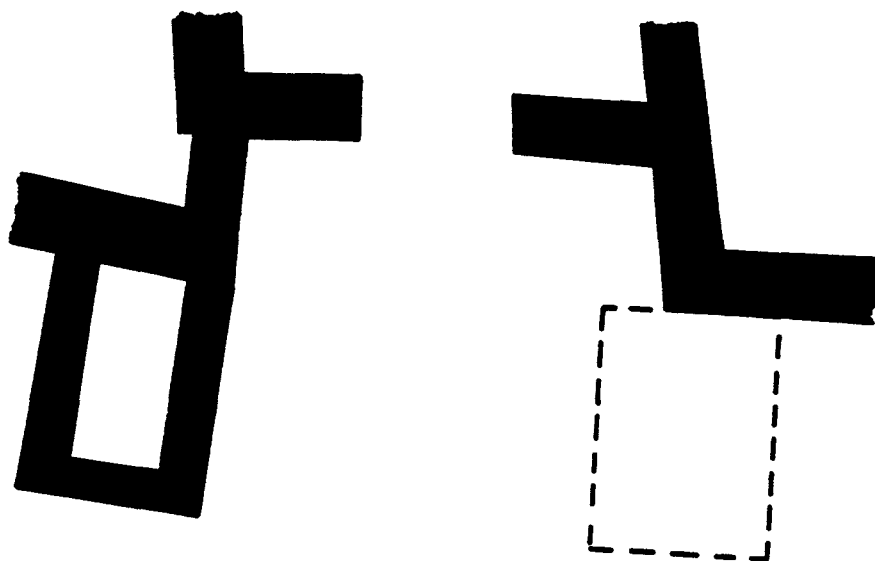
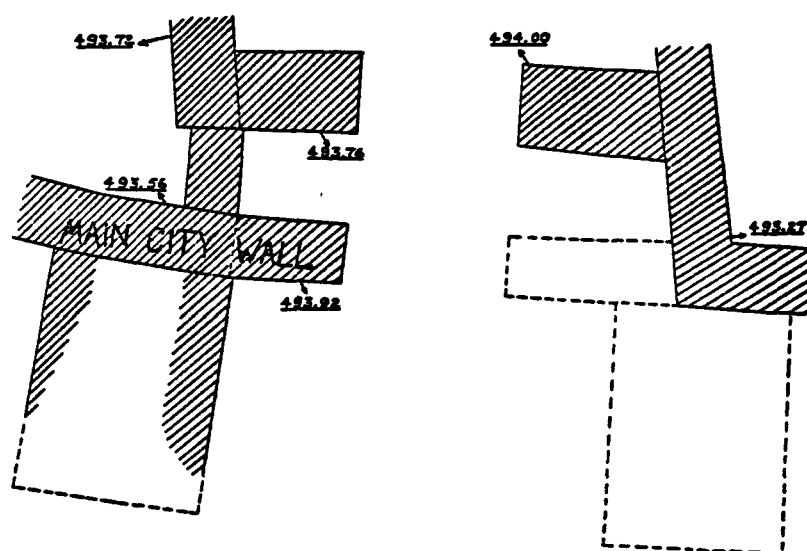


Fig.4.30. Stratum B(3) gate (W.F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim: The Iron Age, " AASOR XXI-XXII (1943) pp.16-18).

Fig.4.31. Stratum A(1) gate (W.F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim: The Iron Age, " AASOR XXI-XXII (1943) p.16).



TELL BEIT MIRSIM

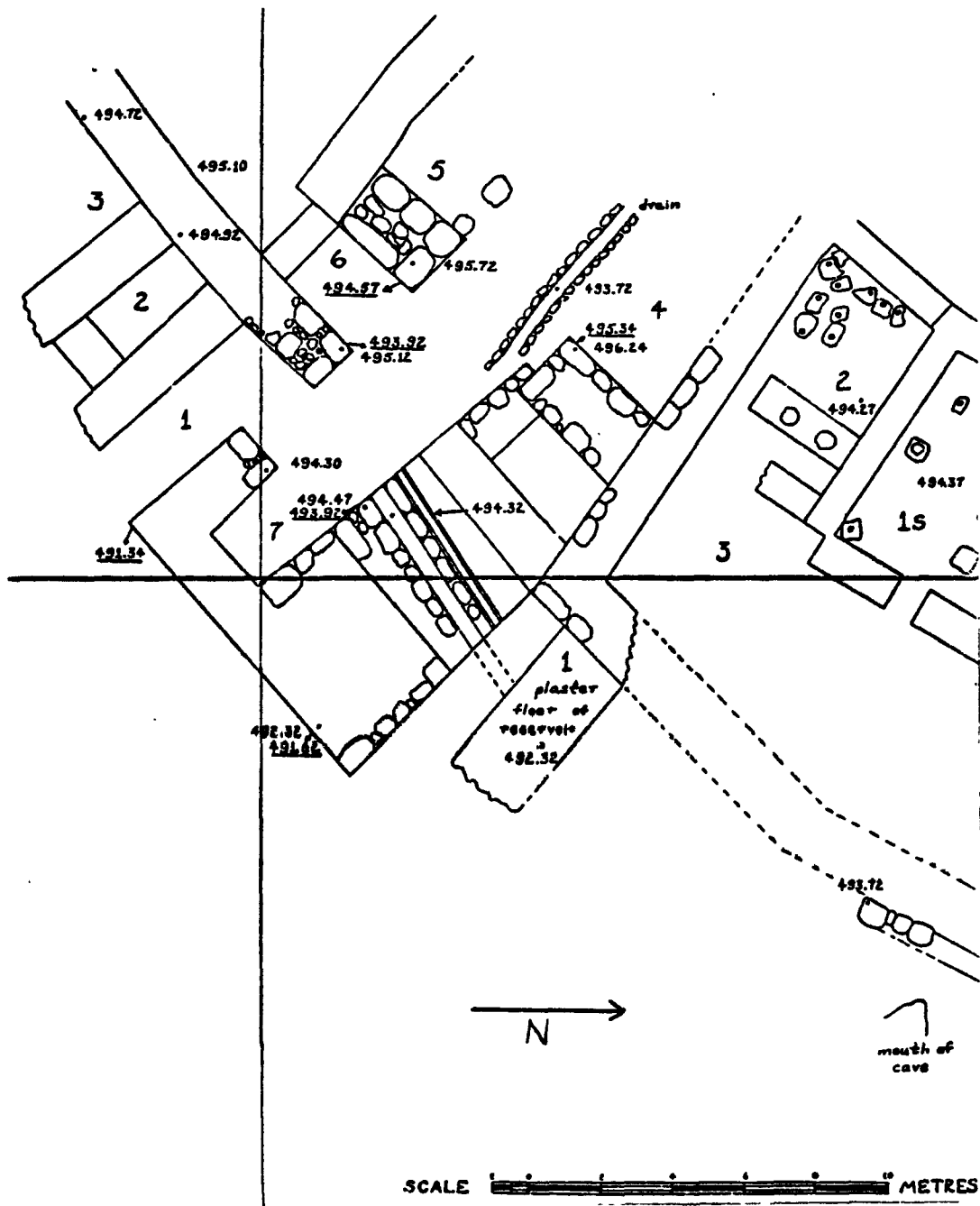


Fig. 4.32. Stratum A(2) gate (from W.F. Albright, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim: The Iron Age*, *AASOR XXI-XXII* (1943) plate 5).

TELL BEIT MIRSIM

5 M.

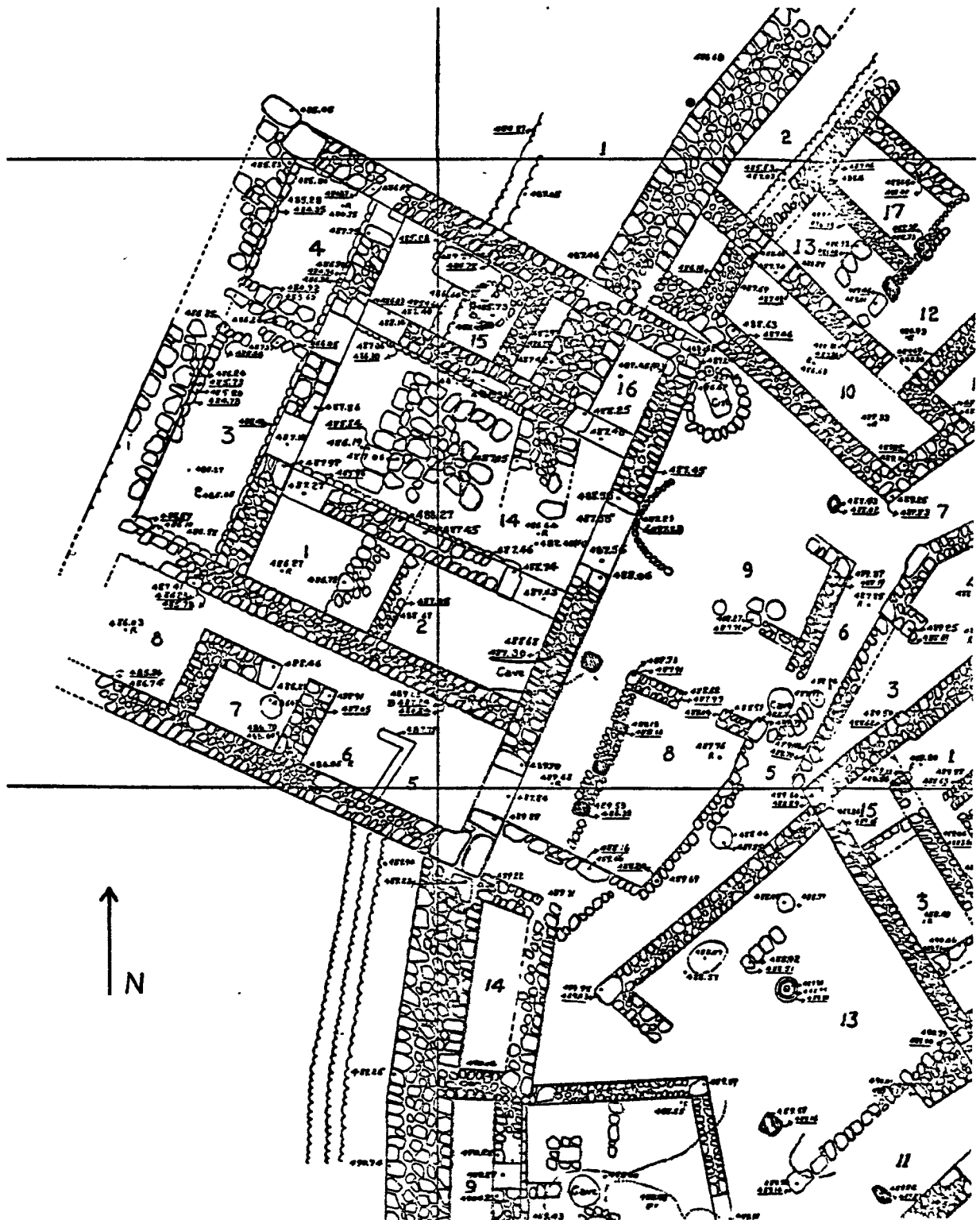


Fig. 4.33. "Western Tower" of Stratum A(3) (from W.F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim: The Iron Age," BAOR XXI-XXIII (1943) plate 6).

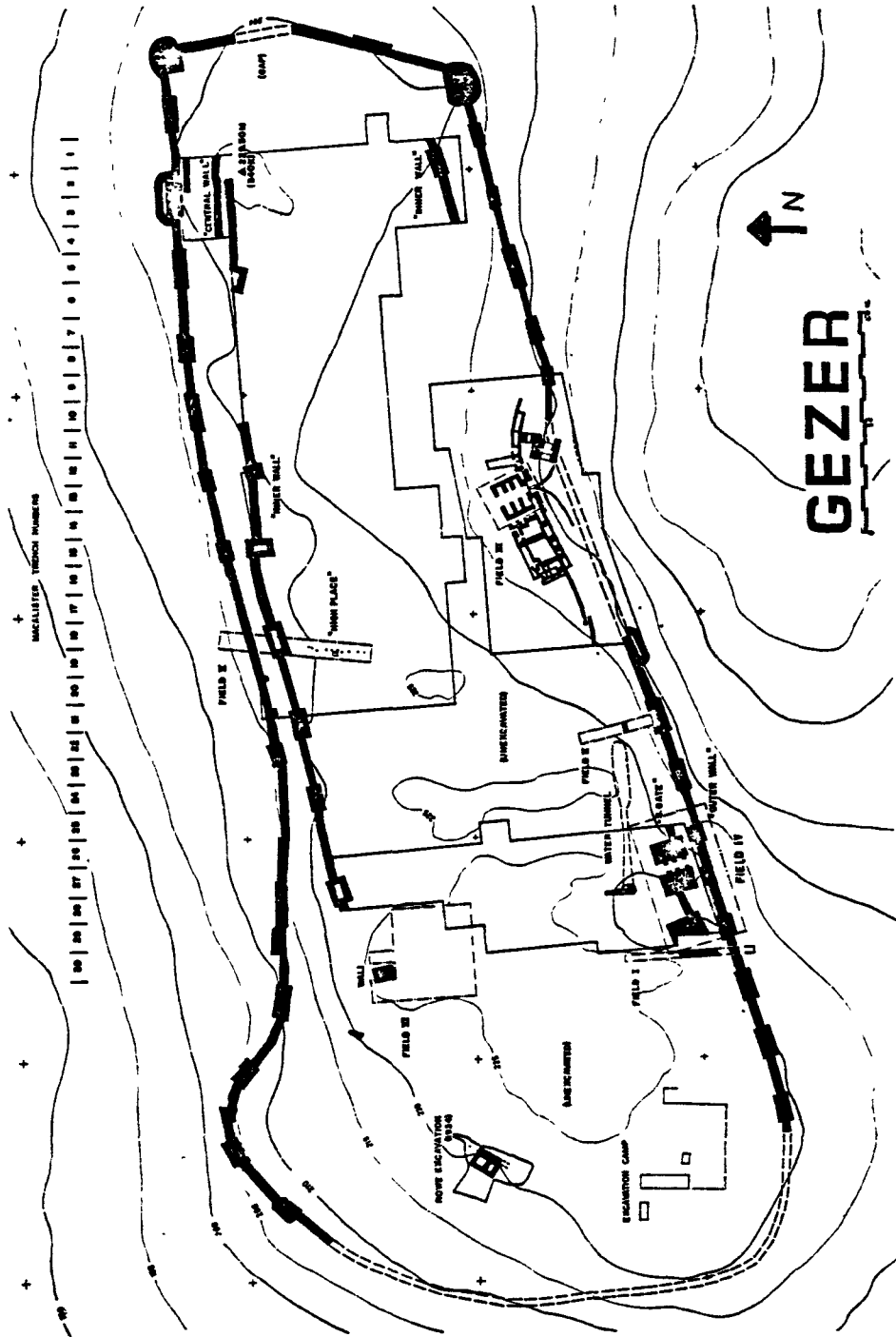


Fig.4.34. Site plan of Tell ej-Jazar (from Dever, "The Gezer Fortifications and the 'High Place,'" FEQ (1973) p. 62).

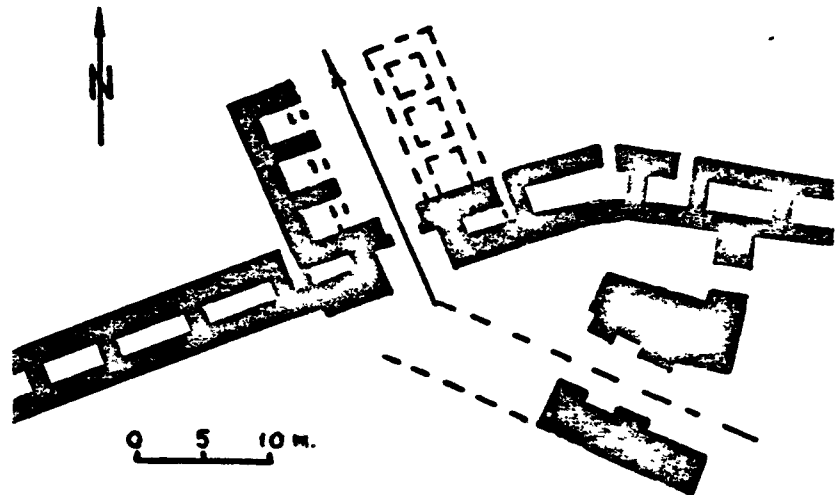


Fig.4.35. Overview of the Solomonic gate at Tell ej-Jazar (from Yadin, "Solomon's City Wall and Gate at Gezer," *IEJ* 8 (1958) 2:85).

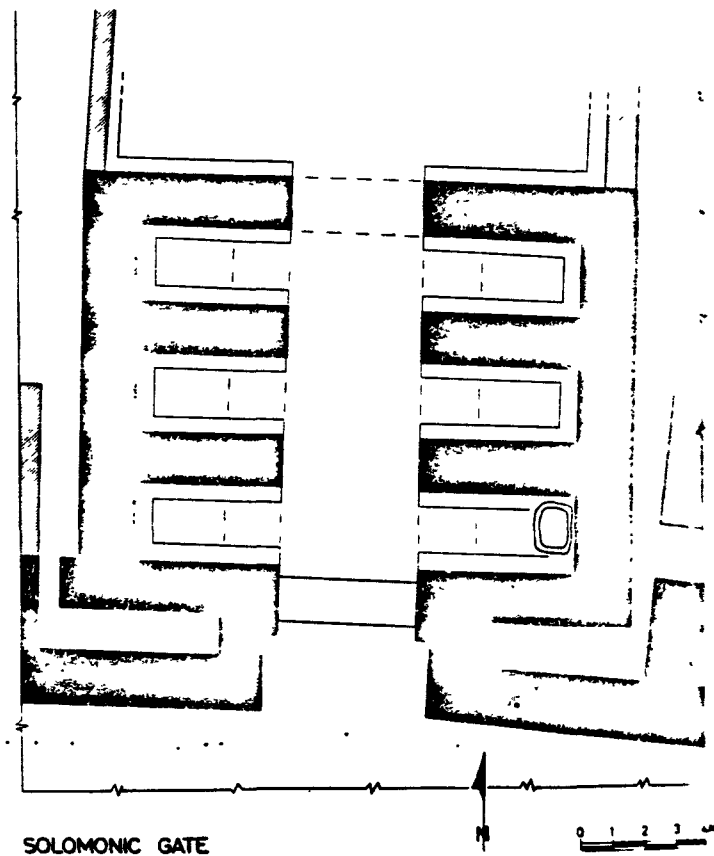
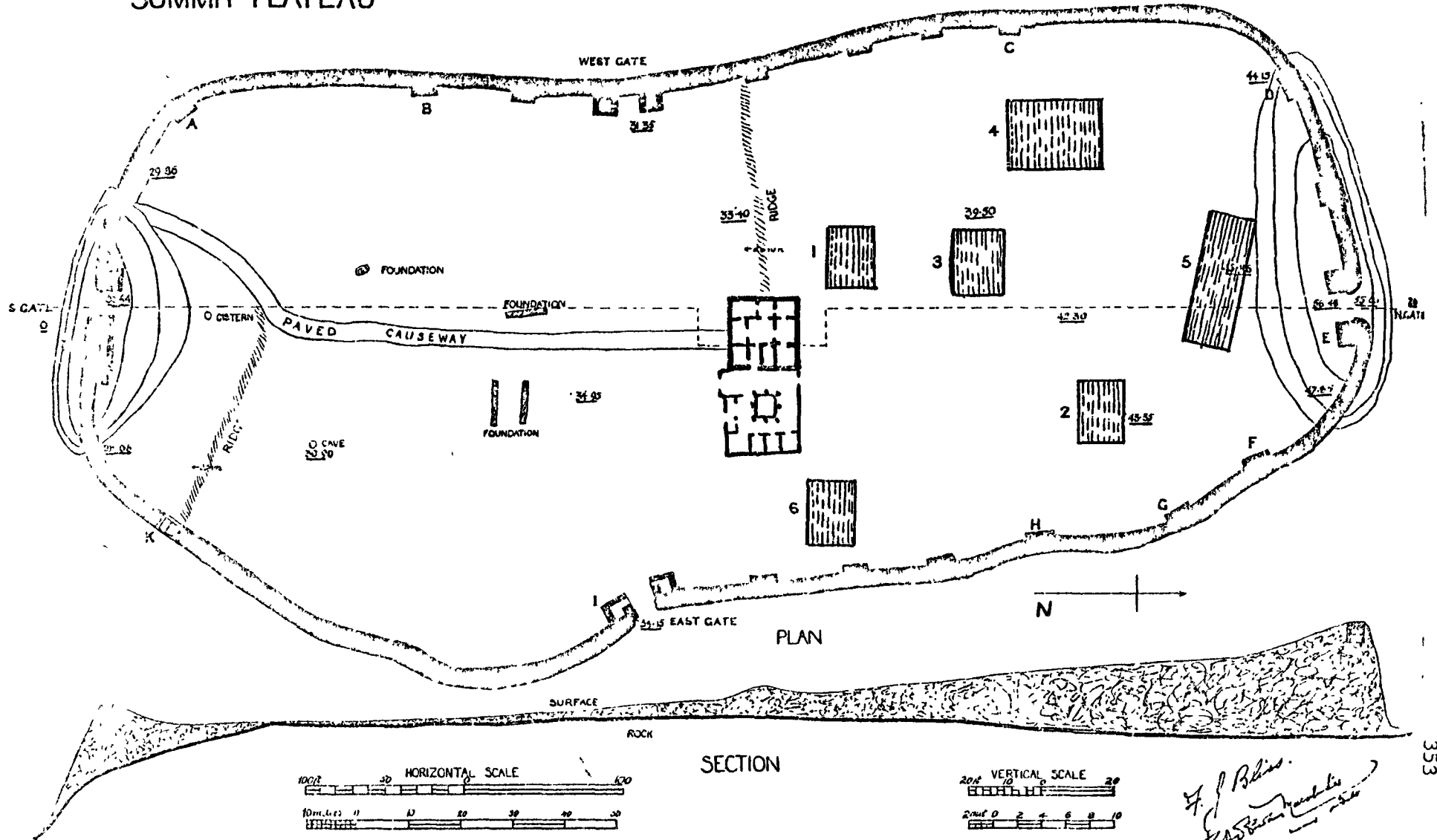


Fig.4.36. Solomonic gate at Tell ej-Jazar (from Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Gezer," by W. G. Dever).

TELL EJ-JUDEIDEH EXCAVATION SUMMIT-PLATEAU

21.4.27.



F. P. Bliss
Excavation
1907-1911

PLATE LIST

1. Pitcher	Iron I/II	Samaria III, Lachish V, Ein Gev III
2. Chalice	Iron I/II	Lachish V-III
3. Amphoriskos	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Beit Mirsim B(2) and A(1), Beer Sheva II
4. Amphoriskos	Iron II	Lachish III, Beer Sheva II
5. Cook Pot	Iron II	Beer Sheva II, Lachish III-II, Ein Gedi V, Masos
6. Cook Pot	Iron II	Lachish III-II, Beit Mirsim A(2), Beer Sheva II, Ein Gedi V
7. Cook Pot	Iron II	Beer Sheva II
8. Jar	Iron II	Ramat Rahel VA
9. Amphoriskos	Iron II	Lachish III, Beit Mirsim A(2)
10. Jar	Iron II	Lachish III-II
11. Jar	Iron II	Ramat Rahel VA, Beer Sheva II, Lachish III-II

Fig.4.38(A). Pottery from Tell ej-Judeideh (plates from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)).

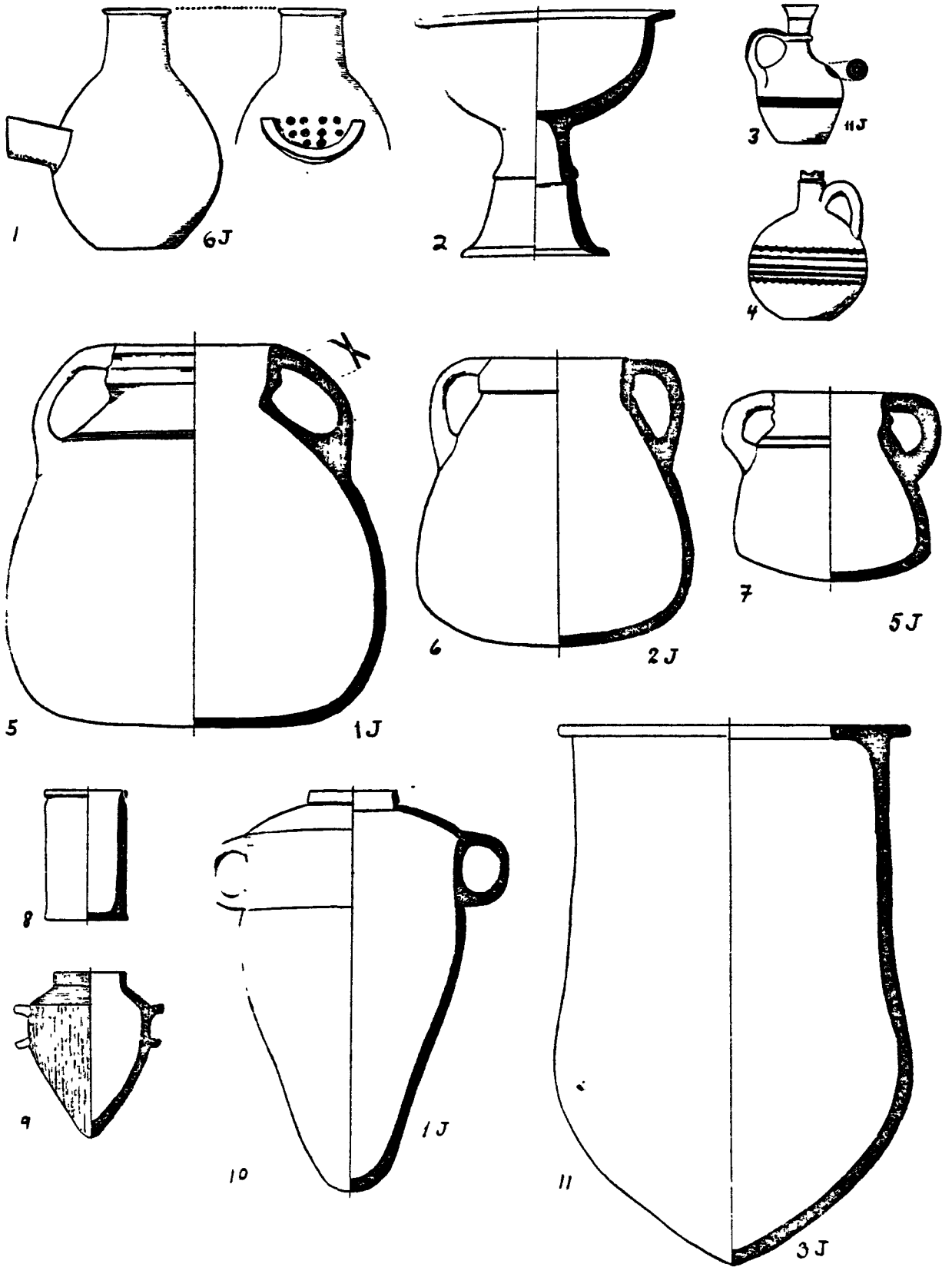


Fig.4.38(B). Pottery from Tell ej-Judeidah.

PLATE LIST

1. Bowl	Iron II	Ring burnish
2. Bowl	Iron II	Lachish IV-III, Samaria VI-VII
3. Bowl	Iron II	Samaria VI, Lachish II
4. Bowl	Iron II	Lachish IV-III, Samaria III
5. Krater	Iron II	Ramat Rahel VA, Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish III-II, Beer Sheva II
6. Amphoriskos	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Ein Gedi V, Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish III-II, Beer Sheva II
7. Pitcher	Iron II	Ein Gedi V, Lachish III-II
8. Pitcher	Iron II	Beer Sheva III
9. Pitcher	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Beer Sheva II
10. Pitcher	Iron II	see #9

Fig.4.39(A). Pottery from Tell ej-Judeideh (from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)).

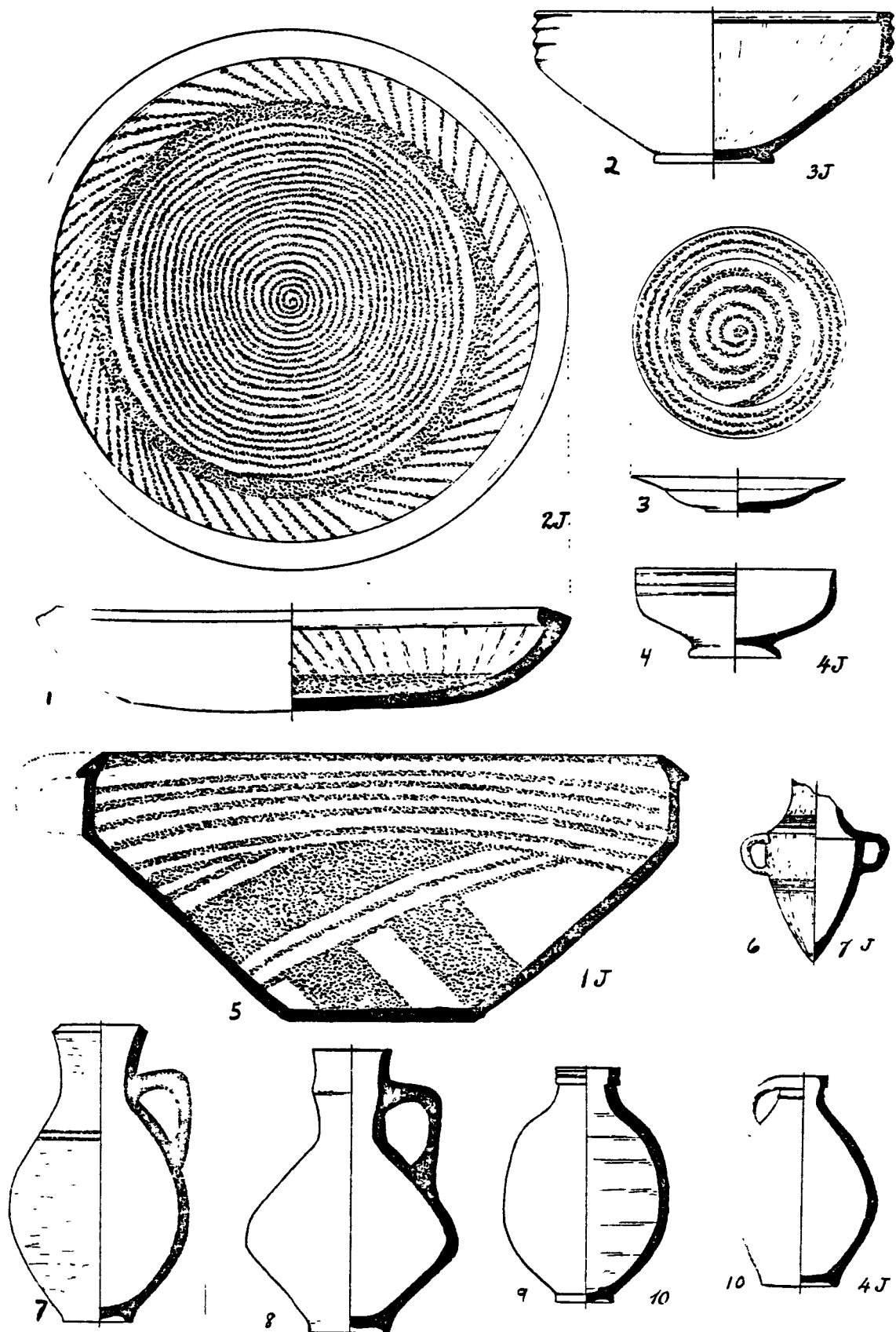


Fig. 4.39(L). Pottery from Tell ej-Judeidah.

PLATE LIST

1. Pitcher	Iron II	Ein Gedi V
2. Pitcher	Iron II	Lachish III
3. Pitcher	Iron I	Samaria I, Abu Hawan IVb
4. Pitcher	Iron II	Samaria III-VI, Ein Gedi V, Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish V-III, Beer Sheva III-II
5. Pitcher	Iron II	see #4
6. Pitcher?	Iron I/II	Beit Mirsim A(2)
7. Pitcher	Iron II	see #4
8. Pitcher	Iron II	see #4
9. Pitcher	Iron II	see #4
10. Juglet	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Beer Sheva II Samaria V-VI
11. Juglet	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Ein Gedi V, Beit Mirsim A(2), Beer Sheva II
12. Jar	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Ein Gedi V, Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish IV, Beer Sheva II
13. Juglet	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2)
14. Juglet	UD	
15. Juglet	Iron II	see #11

Fig.4.40(A). Pottery from Tell ej-Judeidah (plates from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)).

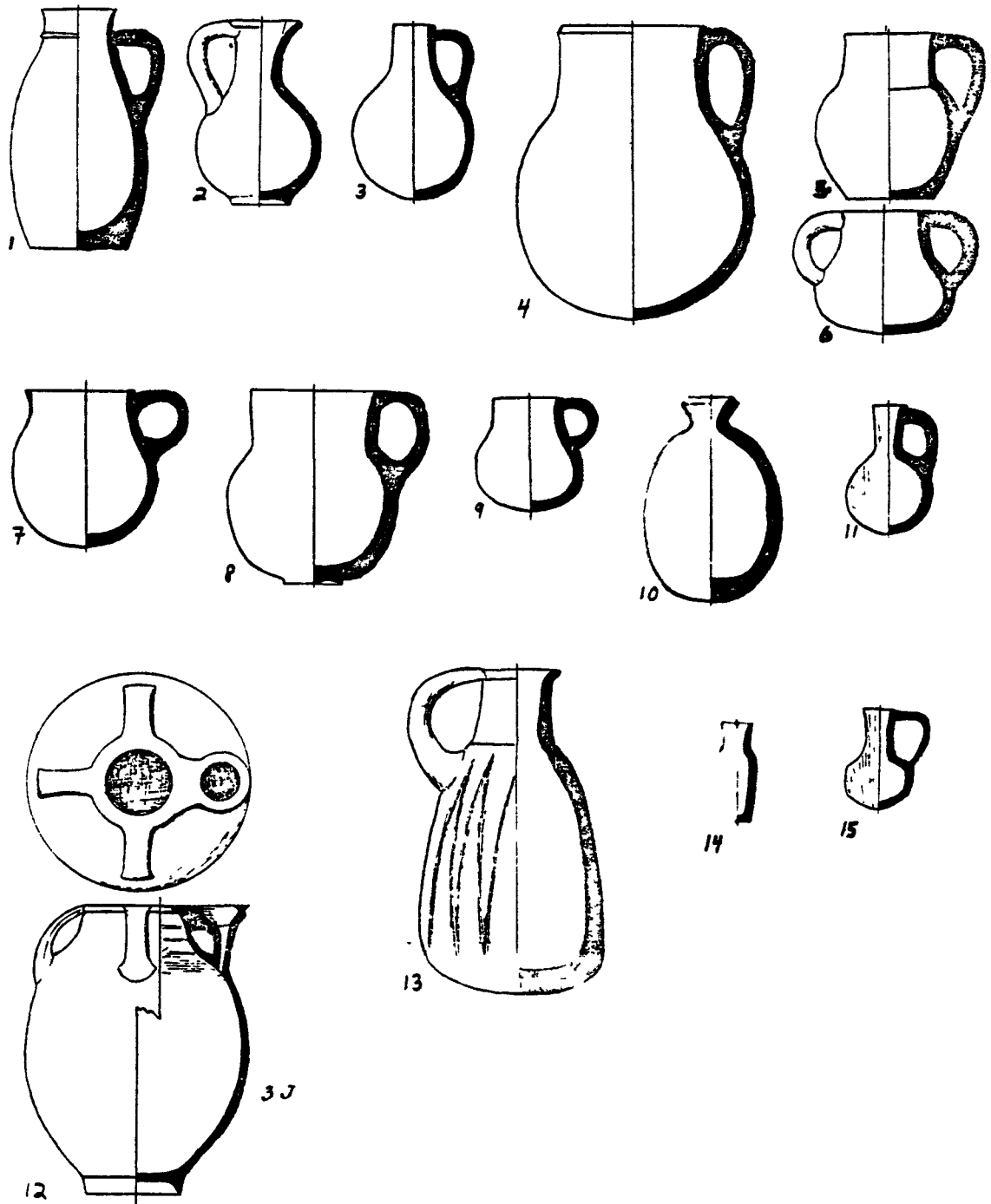


Fig. 4.40(B). Pottery from Tell ej-Judeideh.

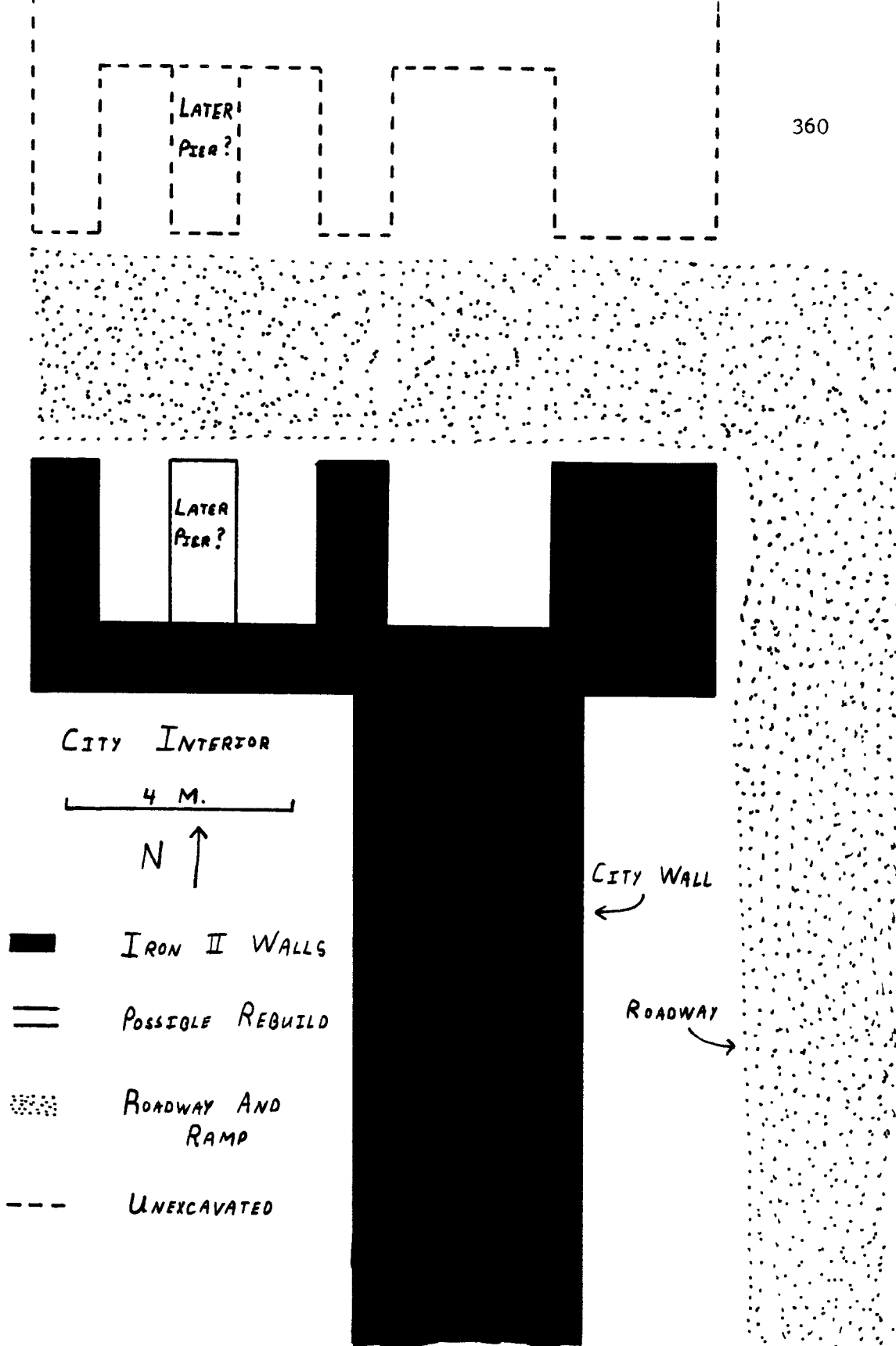


Fig.4.41. Schematic plan of gate complex at Tell el-Batashi (from description in Kelm and Mazar, "Tel Batash, 1977," Israel Exploration Journal 27 (1977) 3:168).

TELL EL-FAR'A (S)

STRATUM R-S

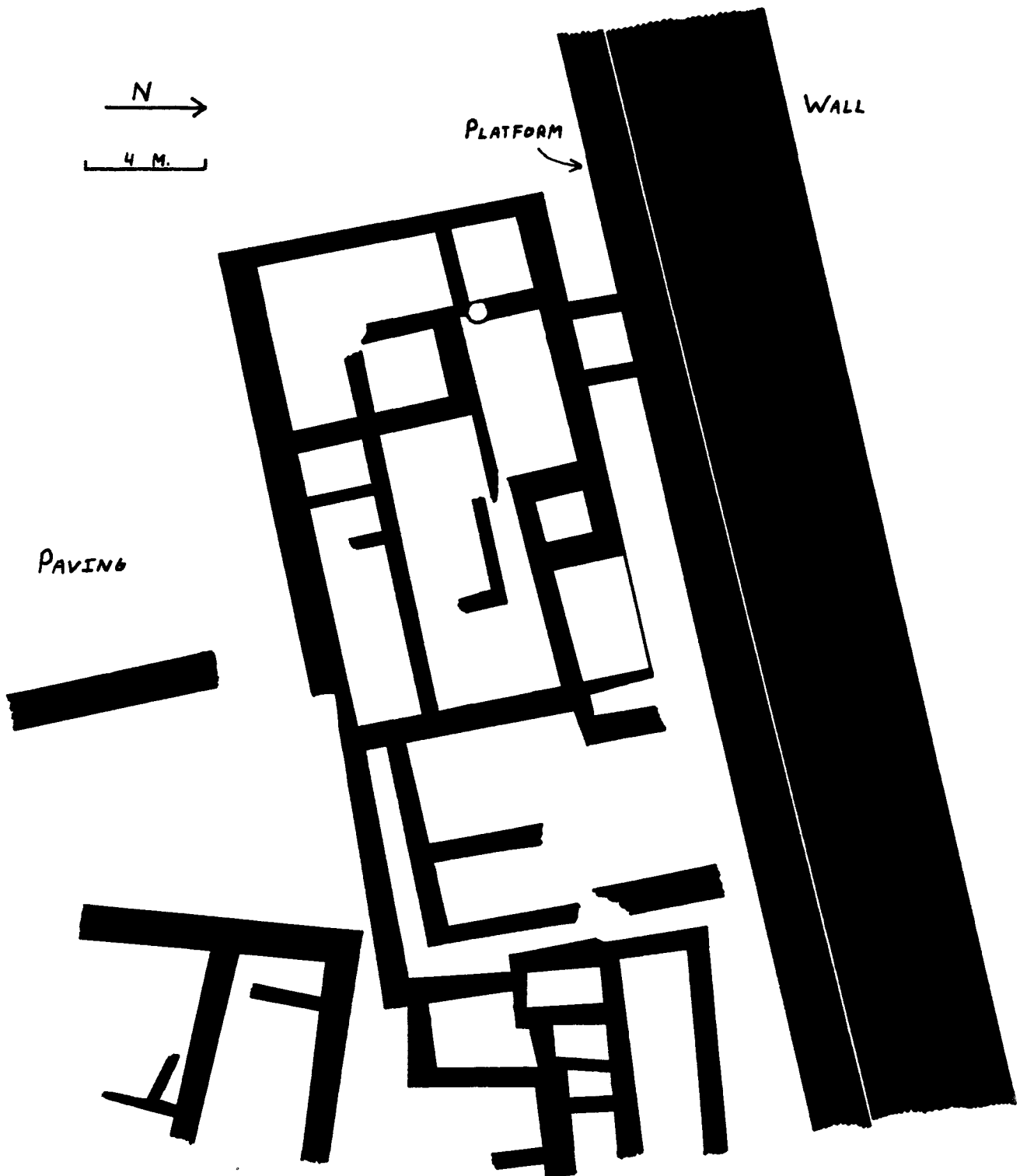


Fig.4.42.

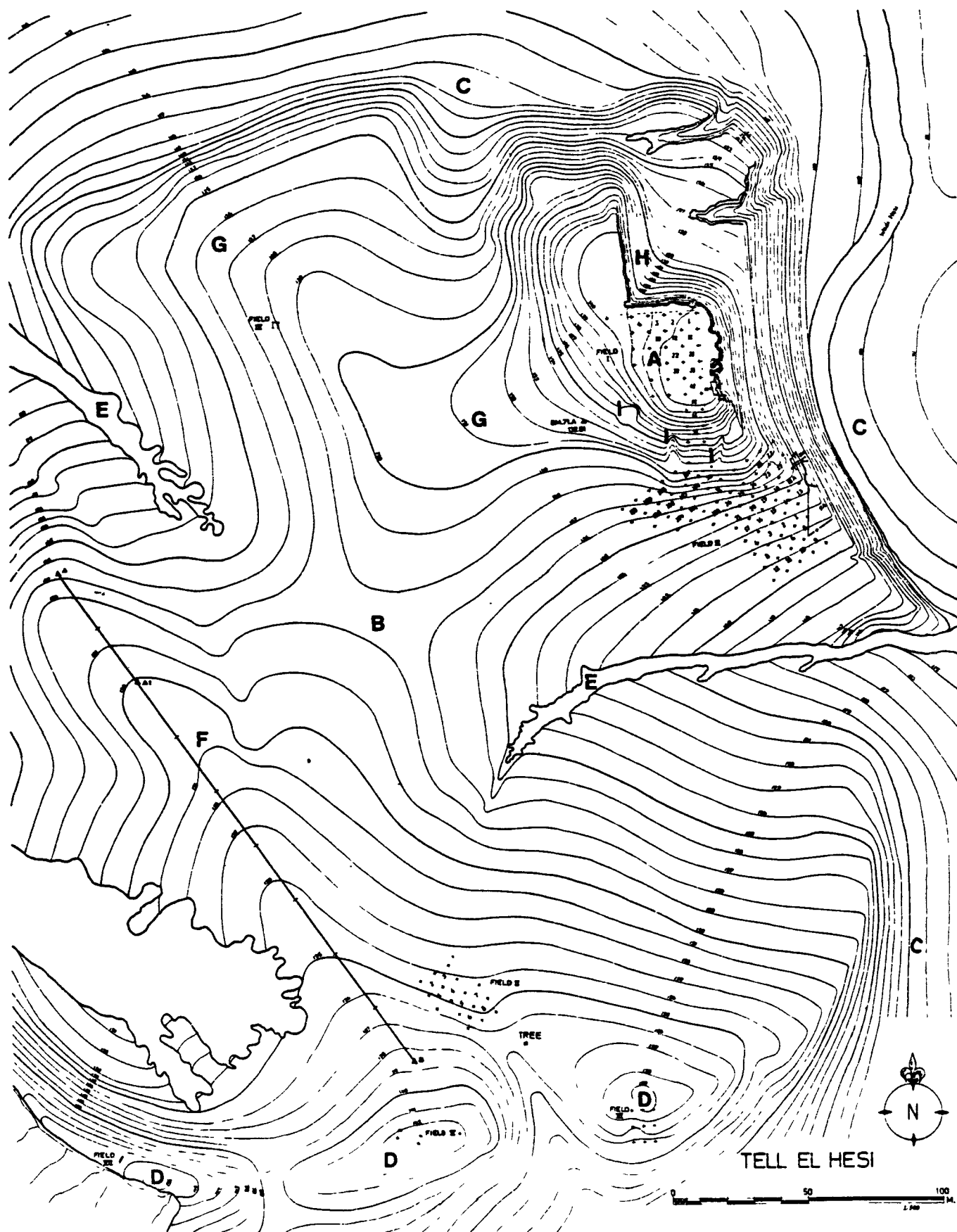


Fig. 4.43. Site plan of Tell el-Hesi (from Rose and Toombs, "Four Seasons of Excavation at Tell el-Hesi," *MASOR* 43 (1976) p.111).

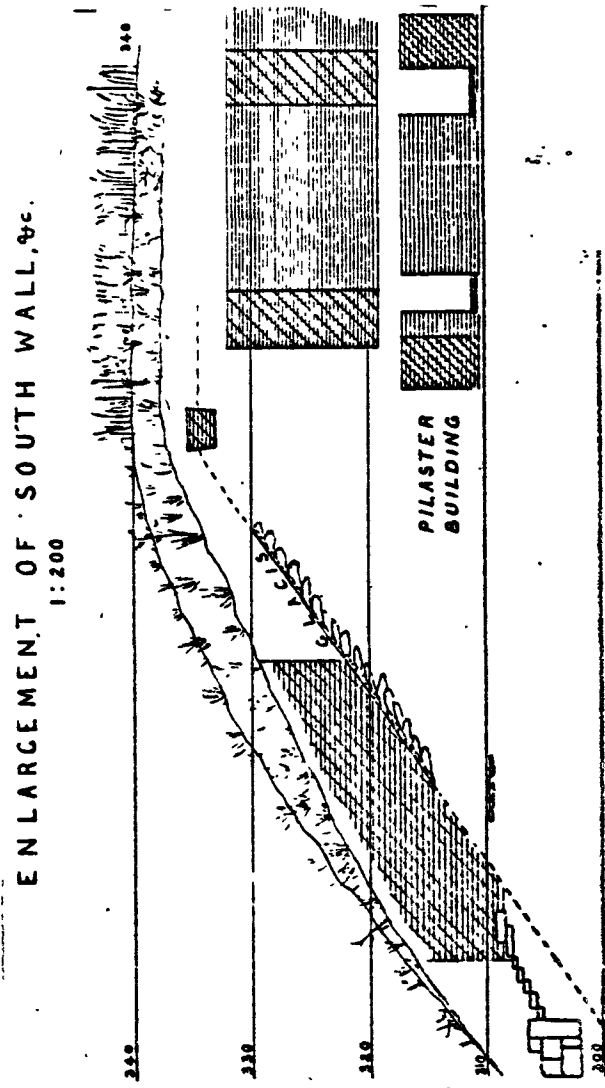
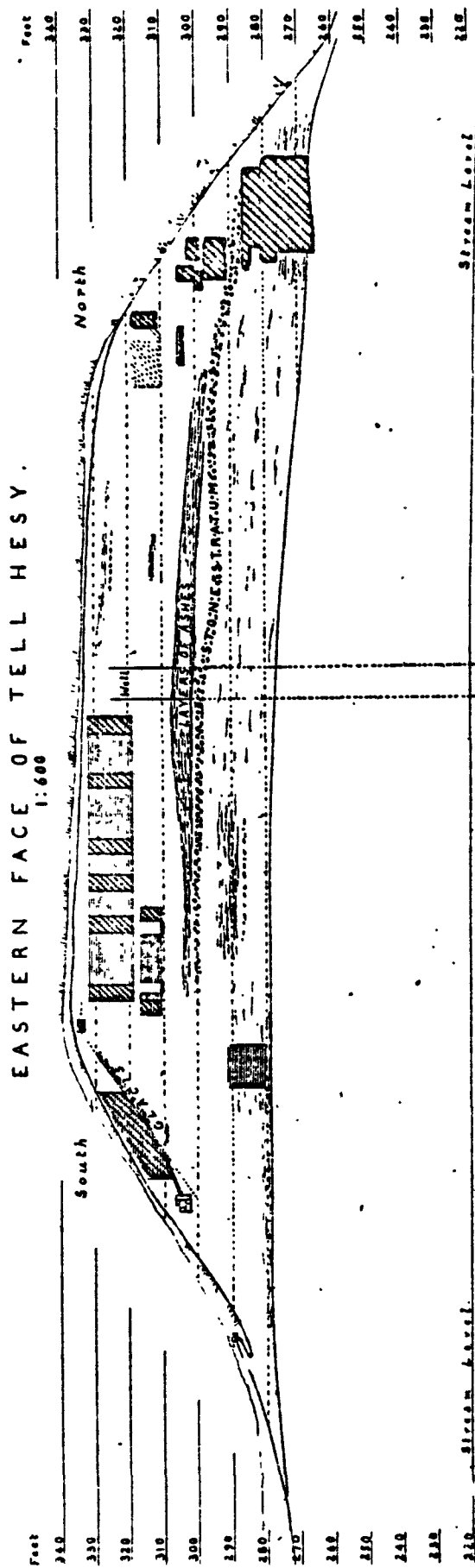
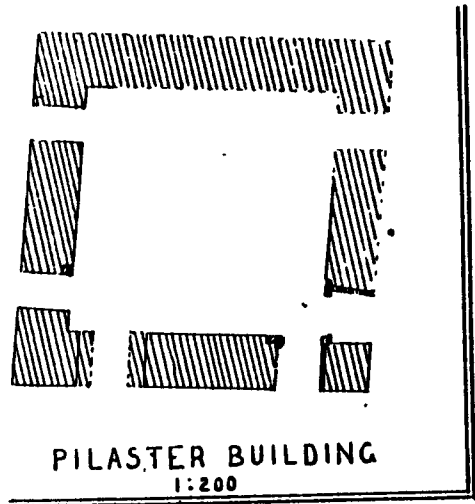
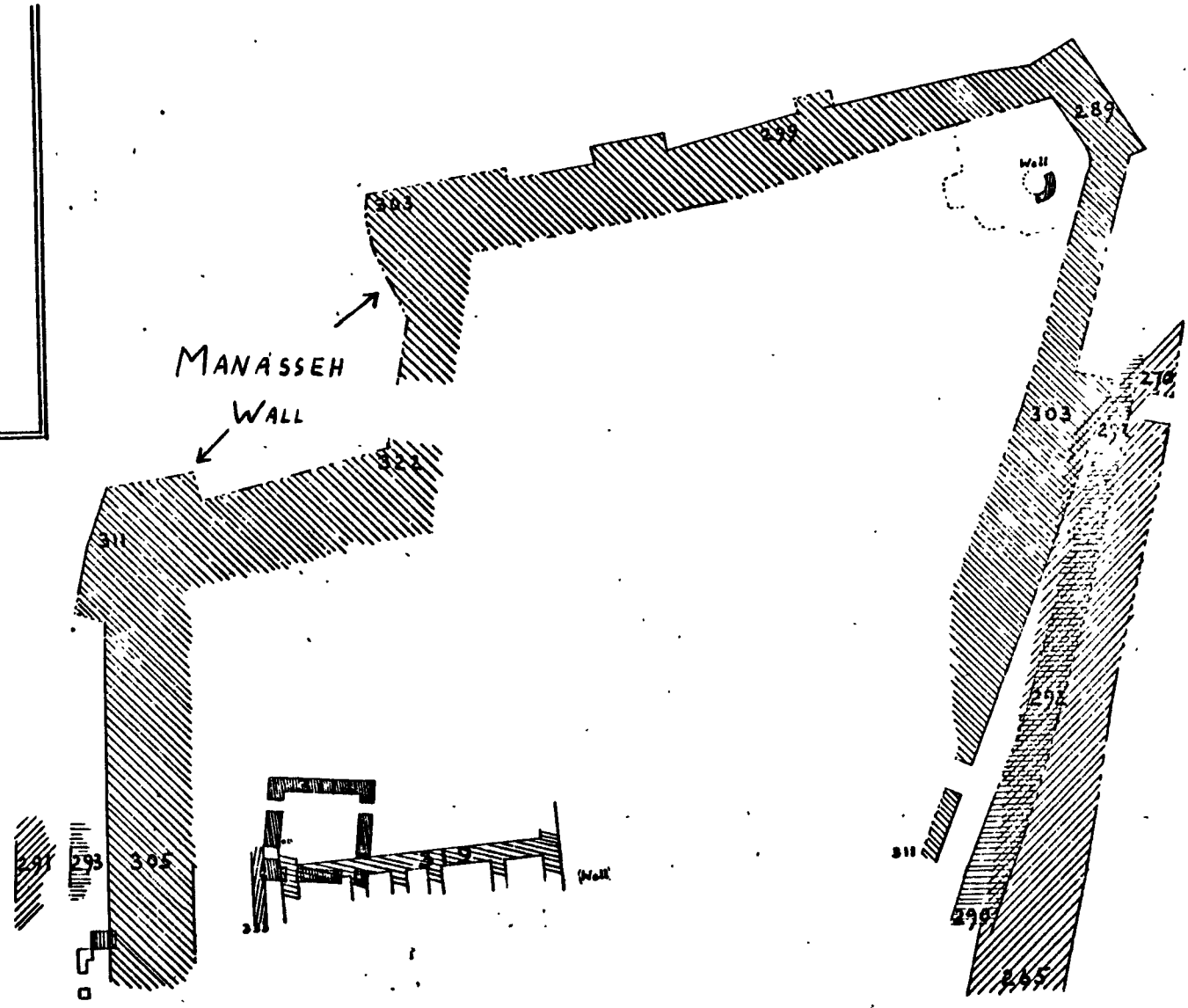


Fig.4.44. Section of the wadi face at Tell el-Hesi (from W.M.F. Petrie, Tell el Hesi (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1898)).

FIG. 4.45.



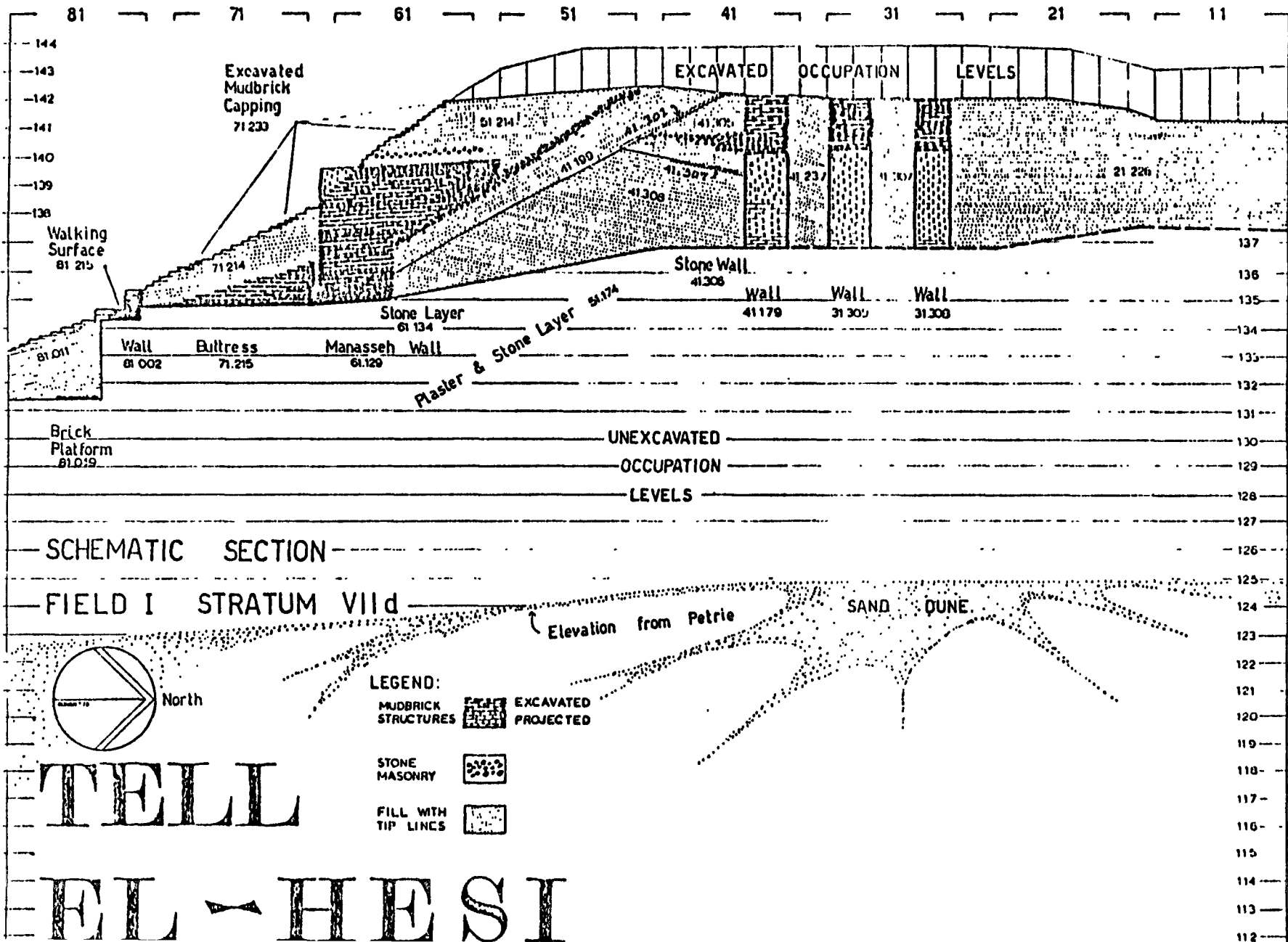
Levels of bases of walls stated in feet, 291 etc.



PLAN OF WALLS OF TELL HESY

W.M.F.P.

FIG. 446. (by R. SPYER)



TELL
EL-
HESI

PIER SYSTEM
FIELD I STRATUM VIII d

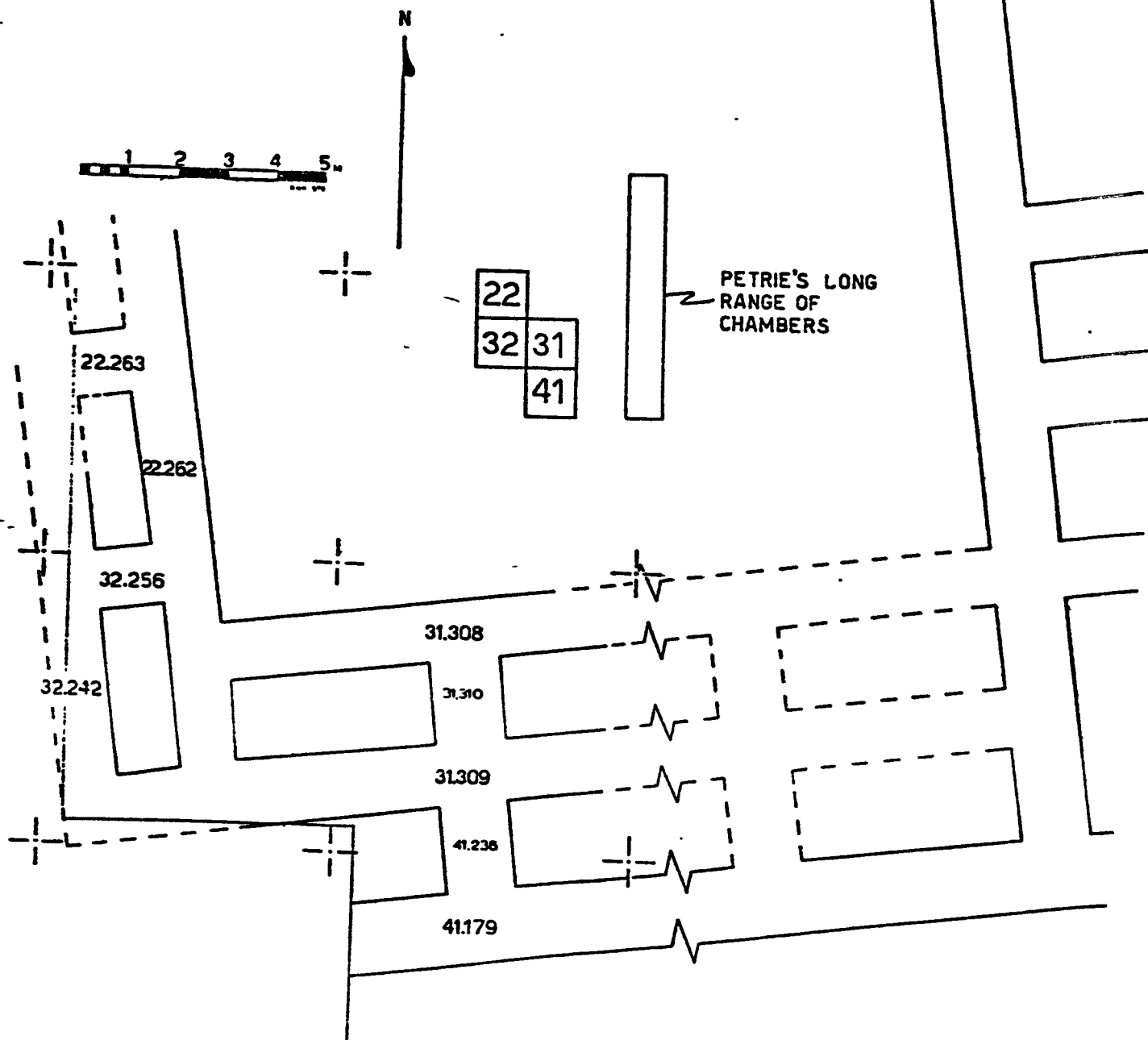


FIG. 4.47. (by R. HAVES FROM ORIGINAL BY AUTHOR).

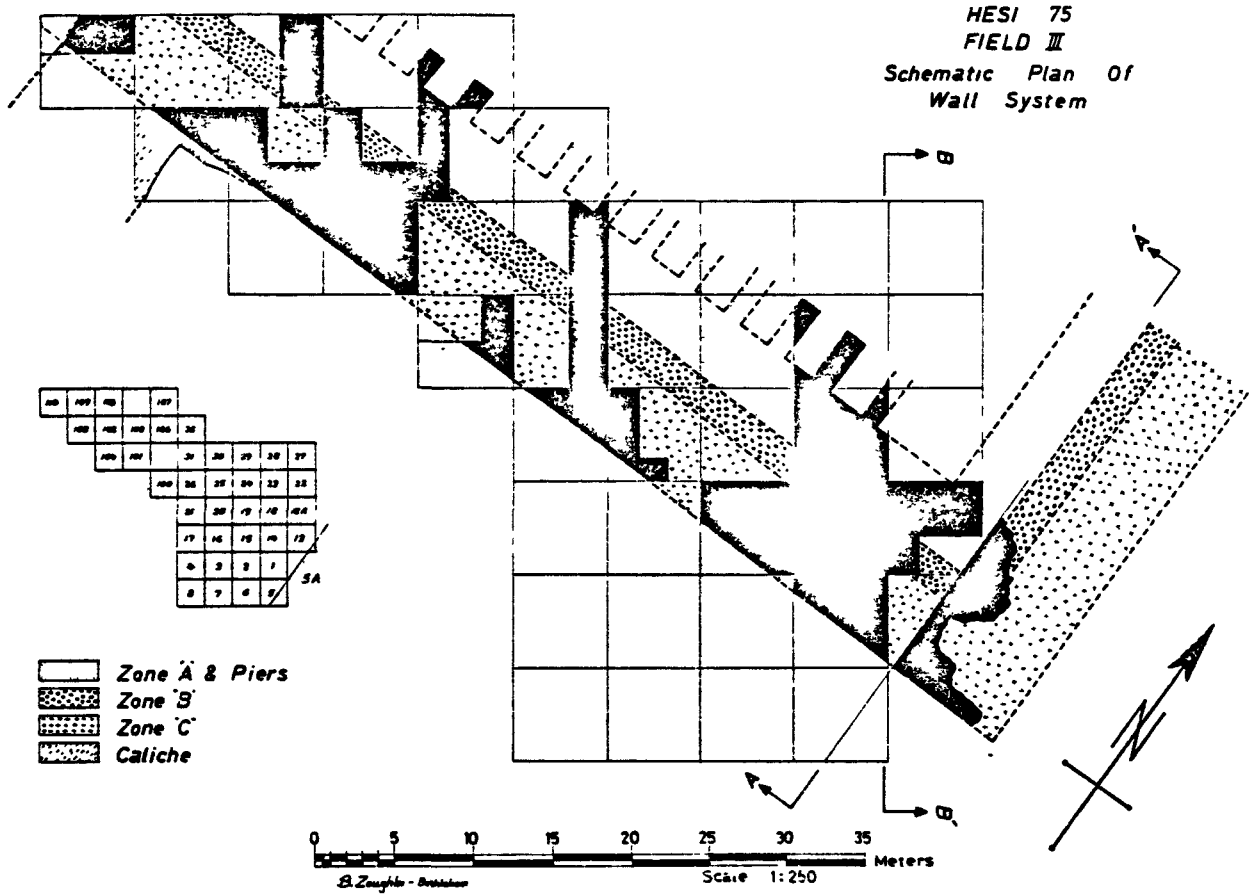


Fig.4.48. (from Rose and Toombs, "Four Seasons," AASOR 43 (1976)p.113).

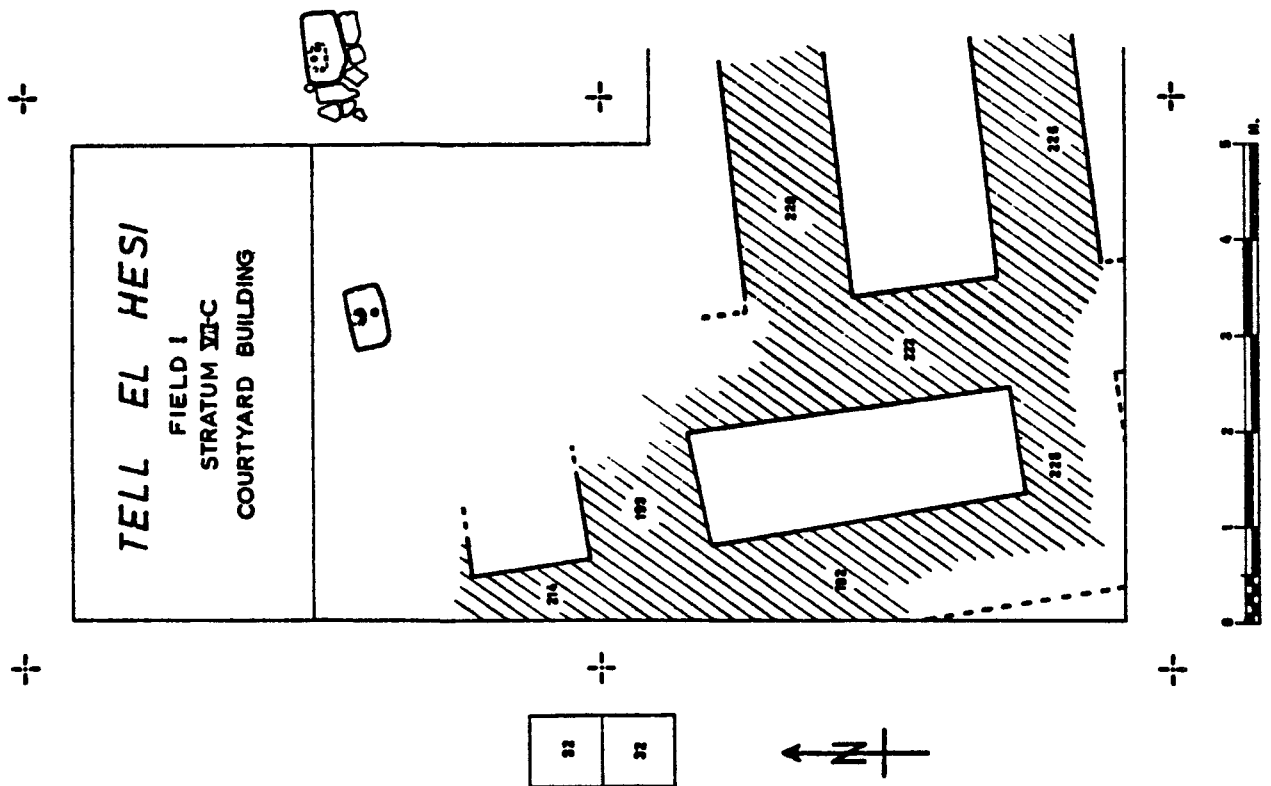
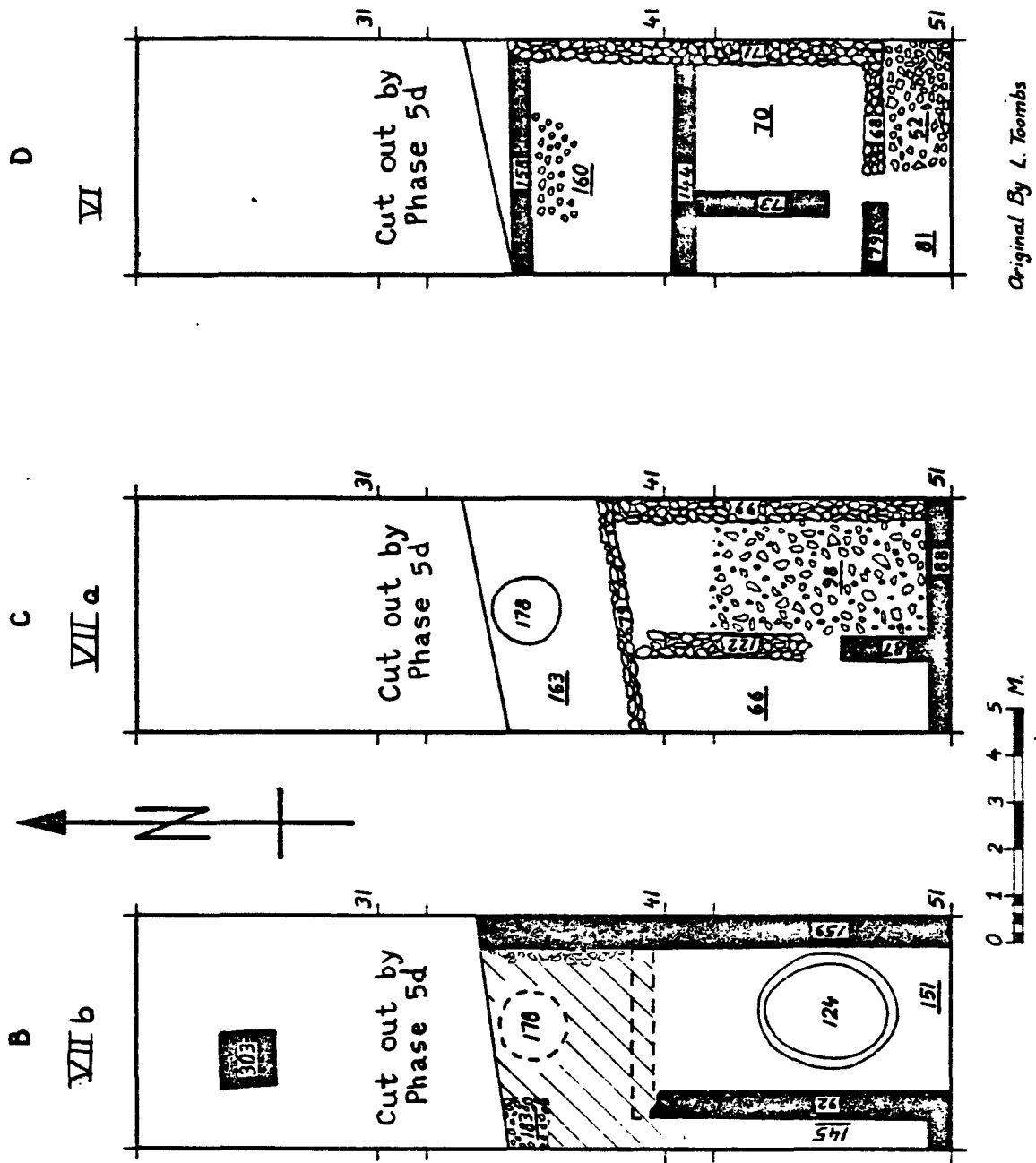


Fig.4.49. (from O'Connell, Rose, and Toombs, "Tell el-Hesi, 1977," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1978) p.81).



Original By L. Toombs

Fig.4.50. Tell el-Hesi occupation layers Stratum VII (from Rose and Toombs, "Four Seasons," AASOR 43 (1976) p.118).

TELL EL - KHELEIFEH

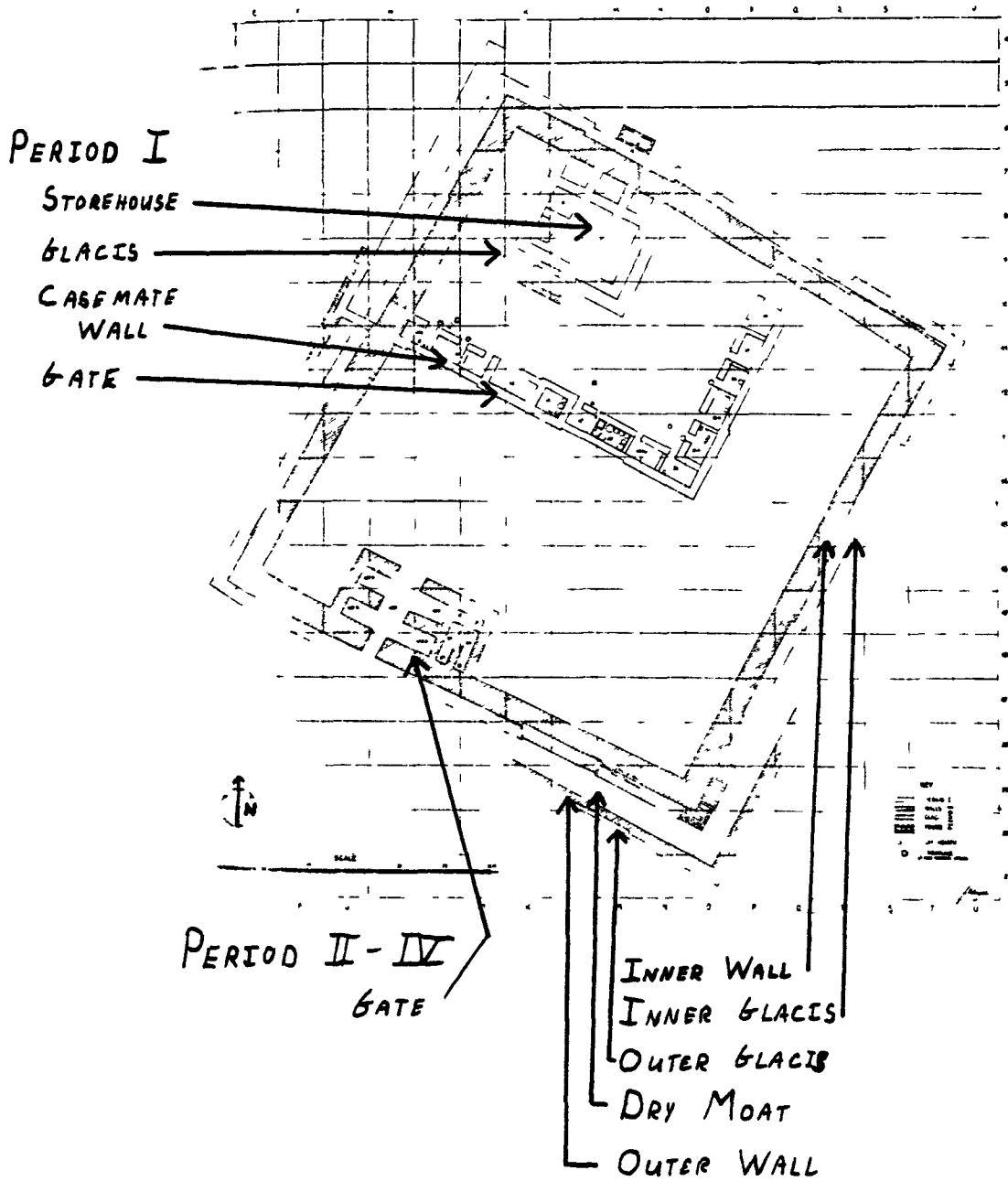
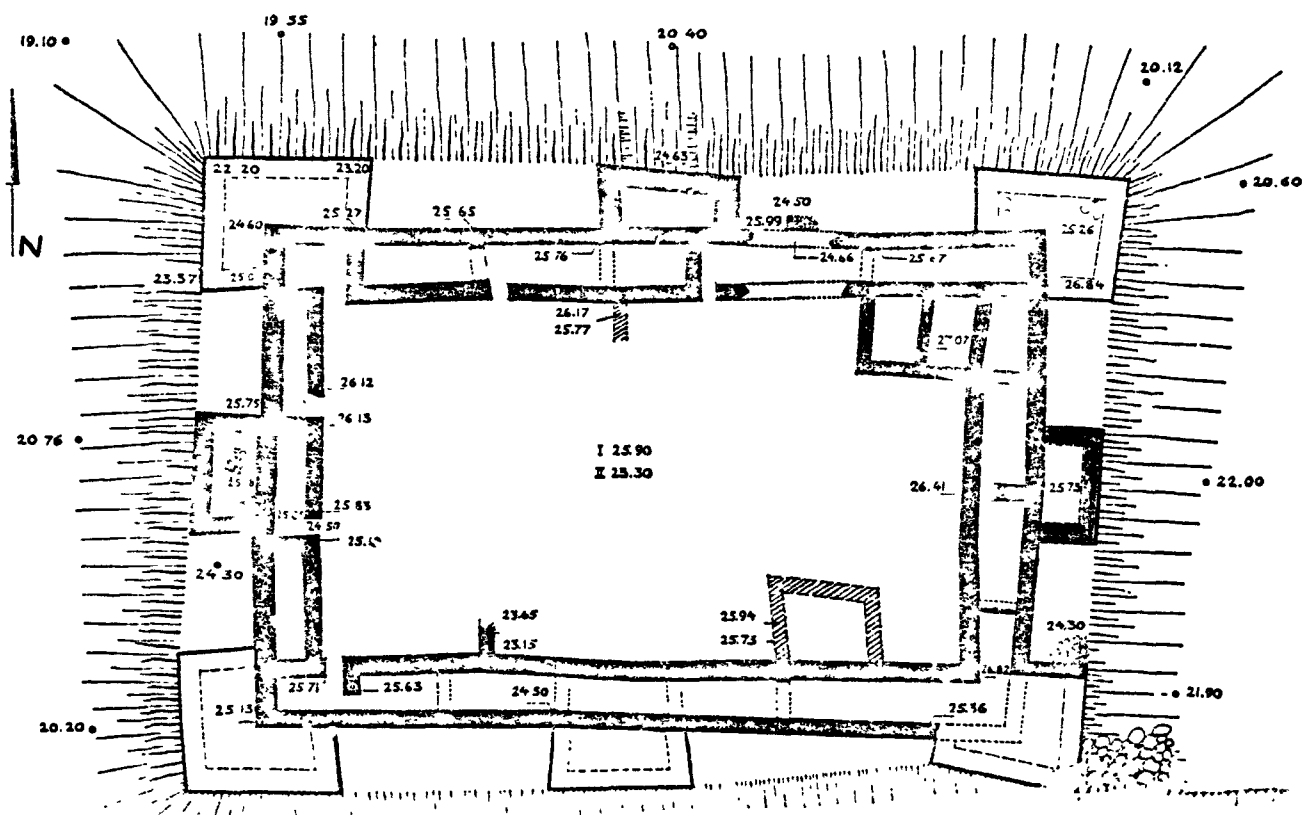


Fig.4.51. Site plan of Tell el-Kheleifeh (from N. Glueck, "Ezion-Geber," Biblical Archaeologist XXVIII (December, 1965) 3:81).



PLAN

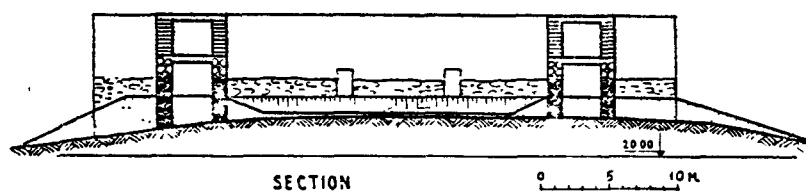


Fig.4.52. Plan and section of Tell el-Qudeirat (from M. Dothan, "The Fortress of Ladesh-Barnea," Israel Exploration Journal 15 (1965) 3:136).

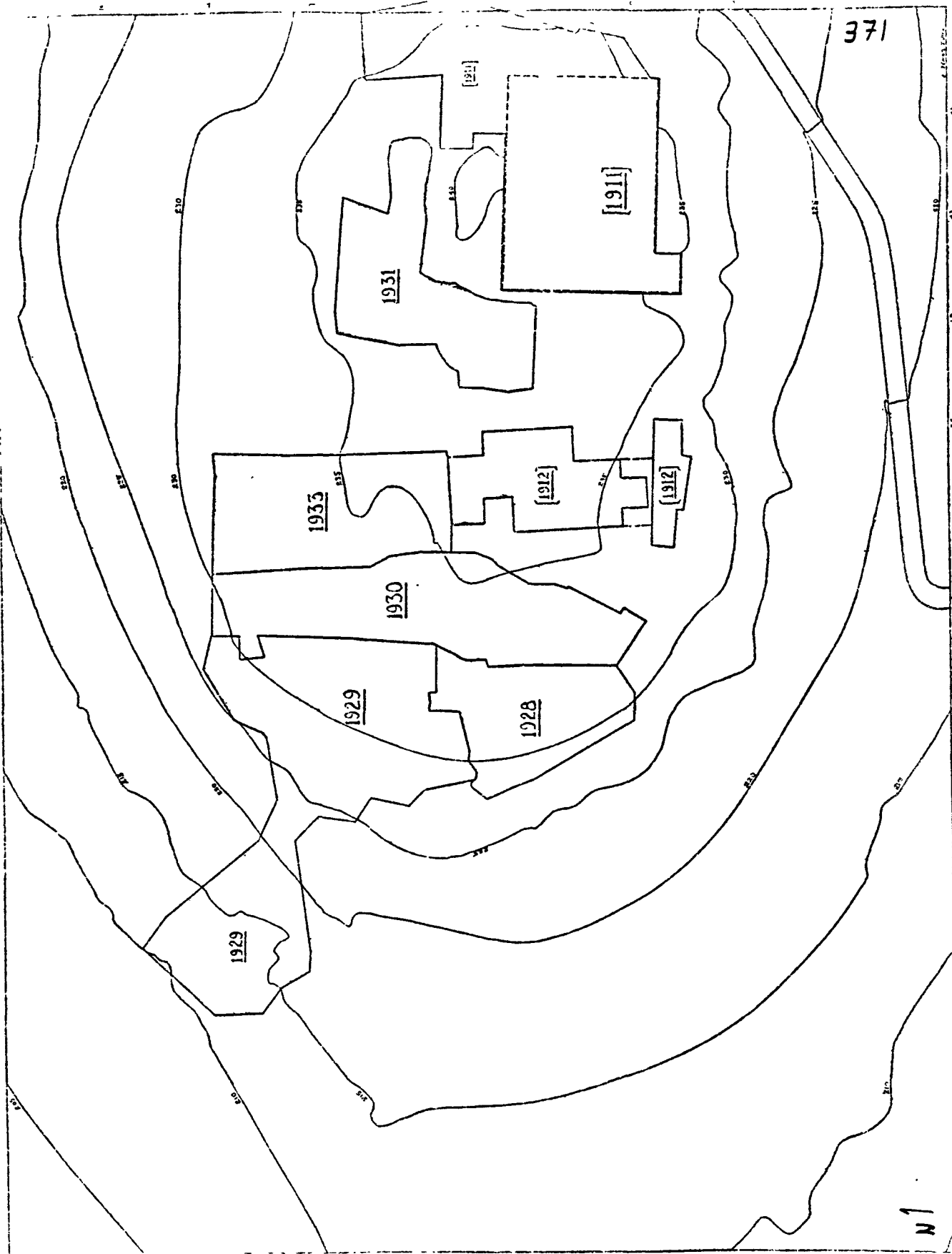


Fig.4.53. Site plan of Tell er-Rumeileh showing areas of excavation
 (from E. Grant, Rumeileh III, (Haverford: Haverford College, 1934) p.3.)

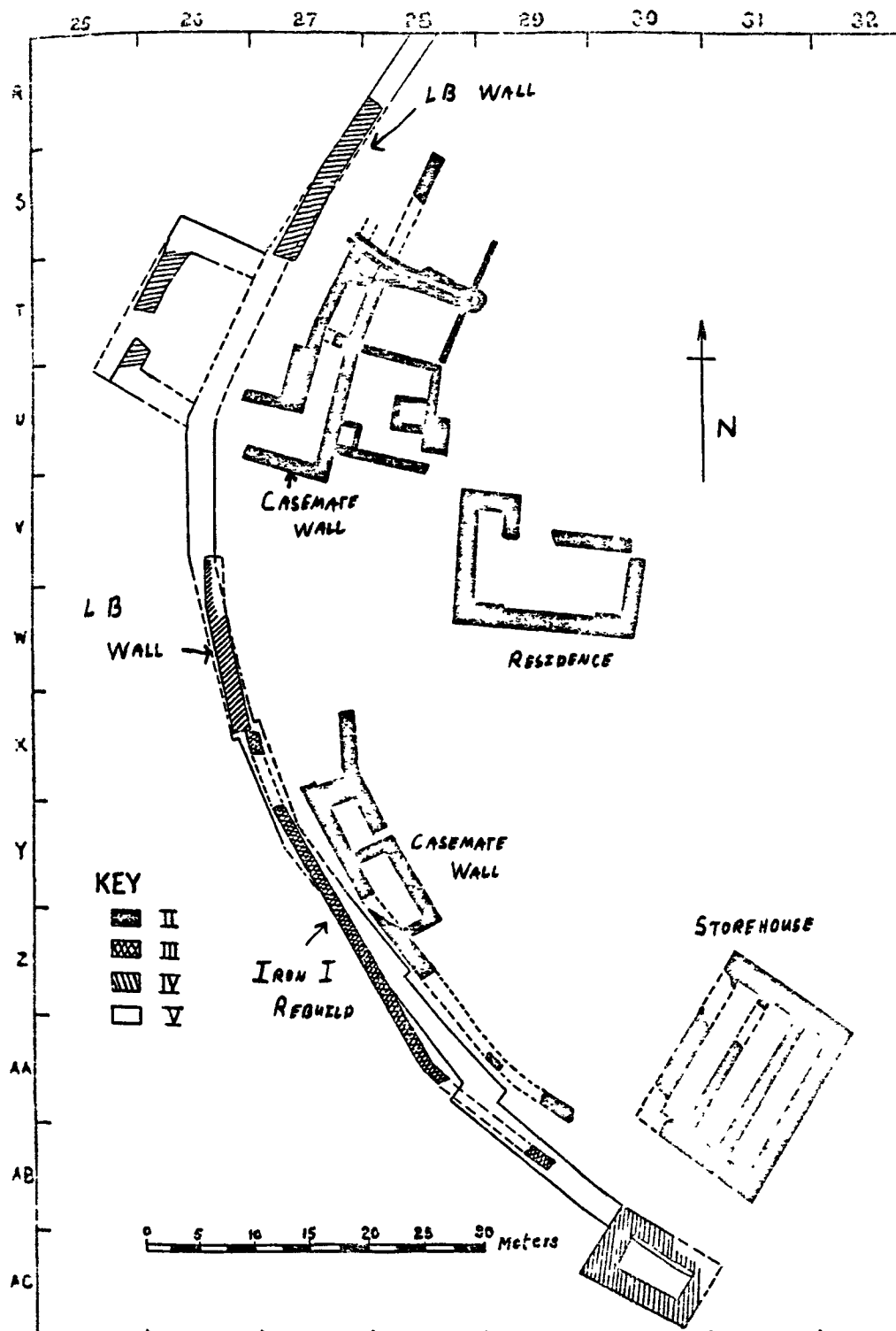
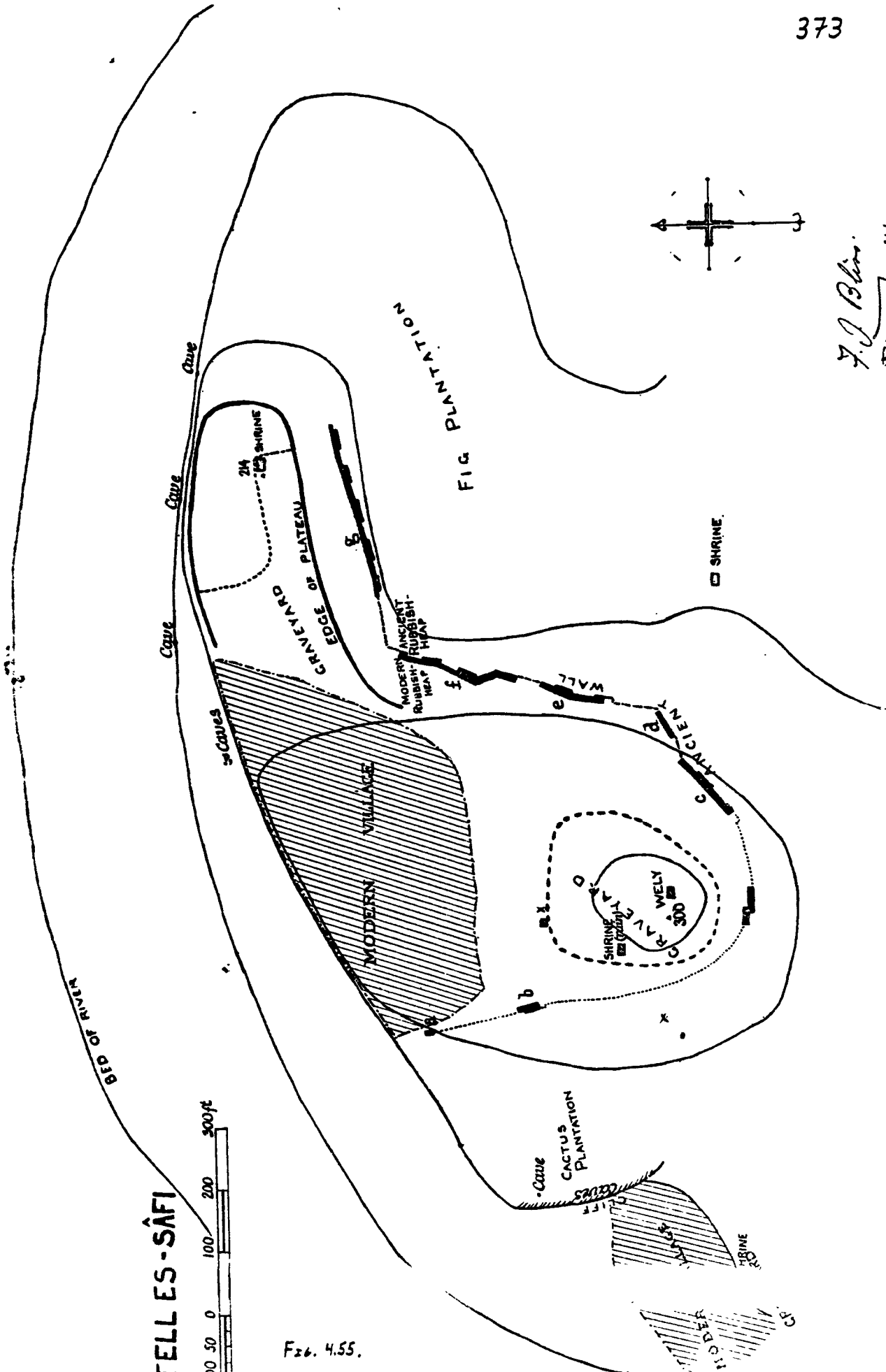


Fig. 4.54. Plan of west edge of Tell er-Rumeileh (from Grant and Wright, Ain Shems Excavations: Part V, (Haverford: Haverford College, 1939) p. 19).

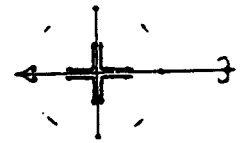


TELL ES-SÂFI



Fig. 4.55.

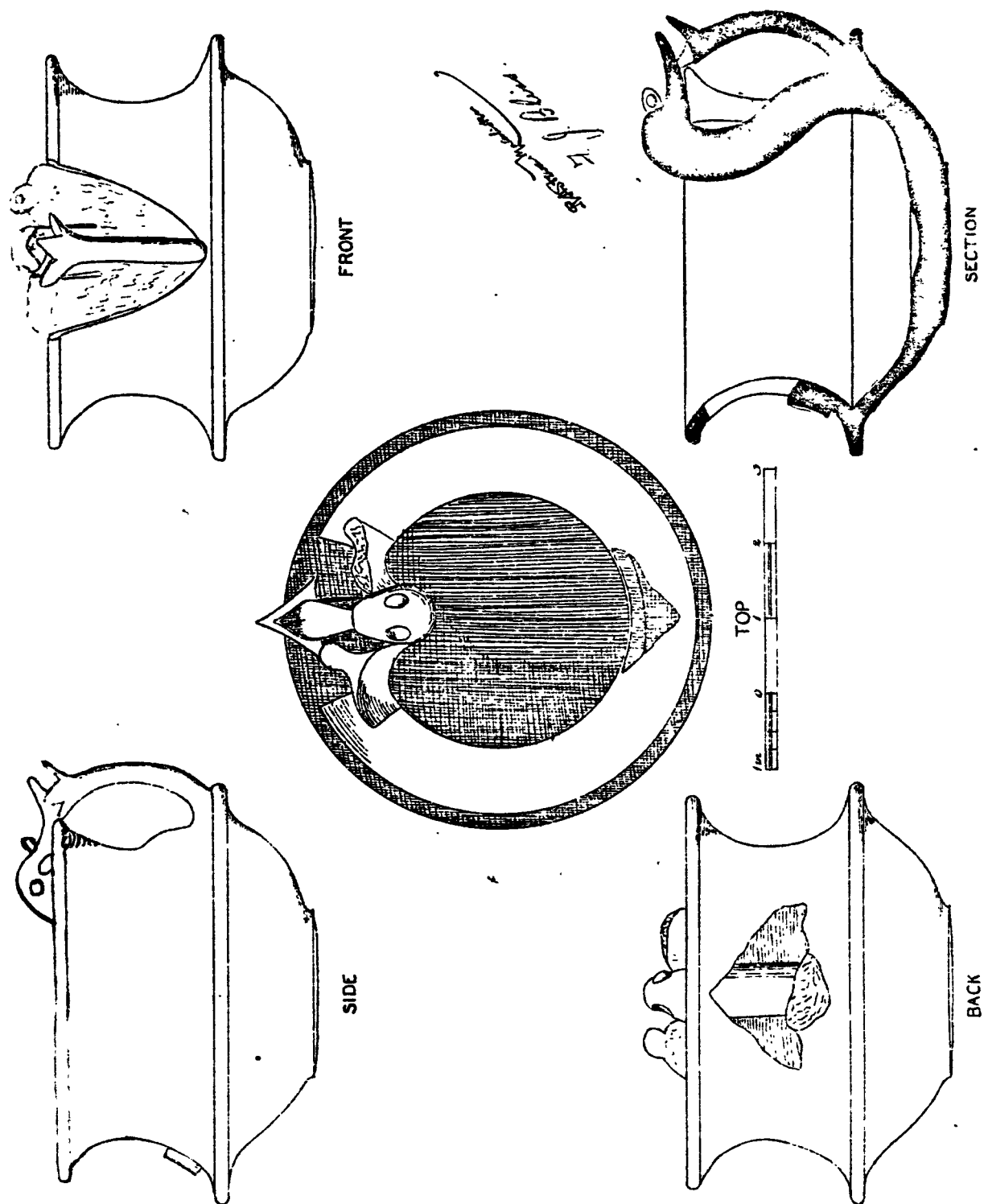
FIG. PLANTATION



F. J. Bliss.
Excavations at Tell es-Sâfi

CP. 1
 TOWER
 SHRINE

□ SHRINE.



TELL ES-SAFI IRON I

Fig.4.56. Probable Hittite bowl (plate from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister Excavations in Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)).

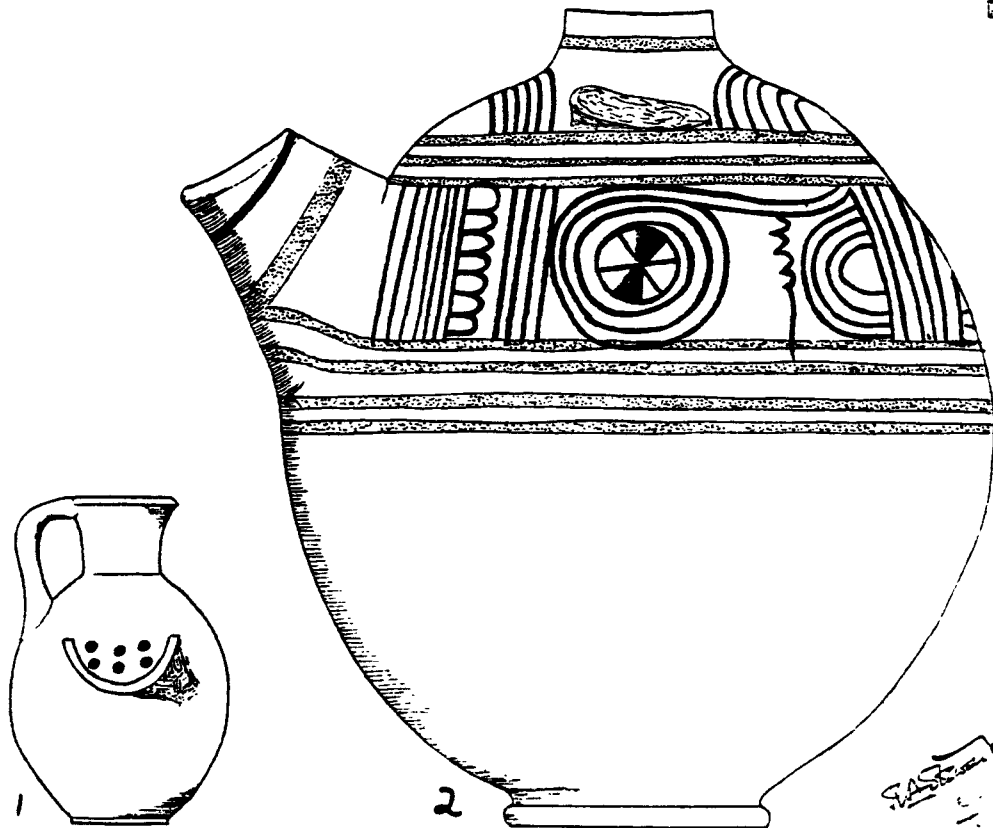


PROJECTION OF ORNAMENT

2



Black
Red



- 1. Pitcher Iron I
- 2. Pitcher Iron I

Samaria III, Lachish V
Beit Mirsim 3(2), Ashdod

FIG. 4.57. Tell es-Safi Iron I pottery (plates from F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)).

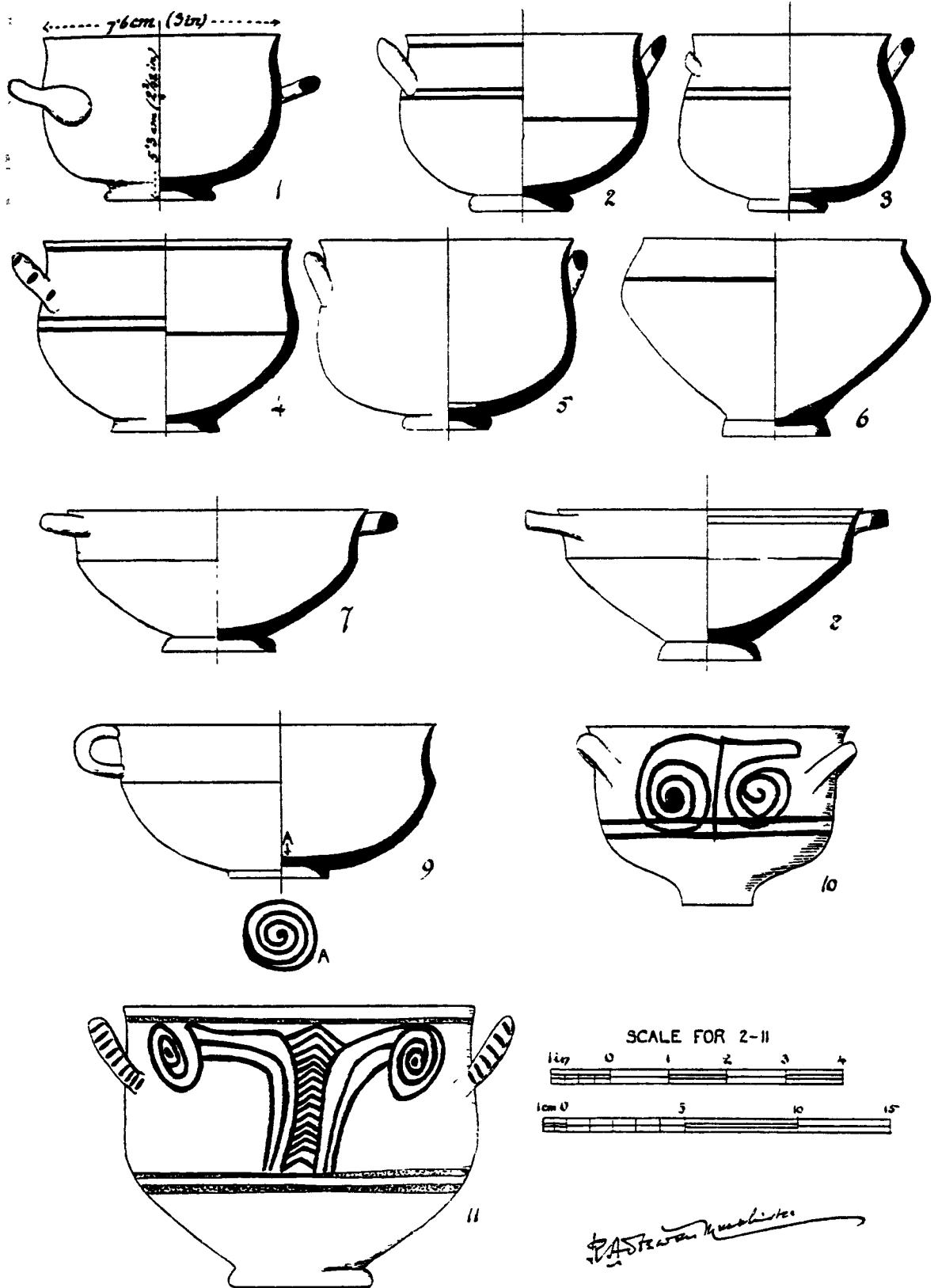
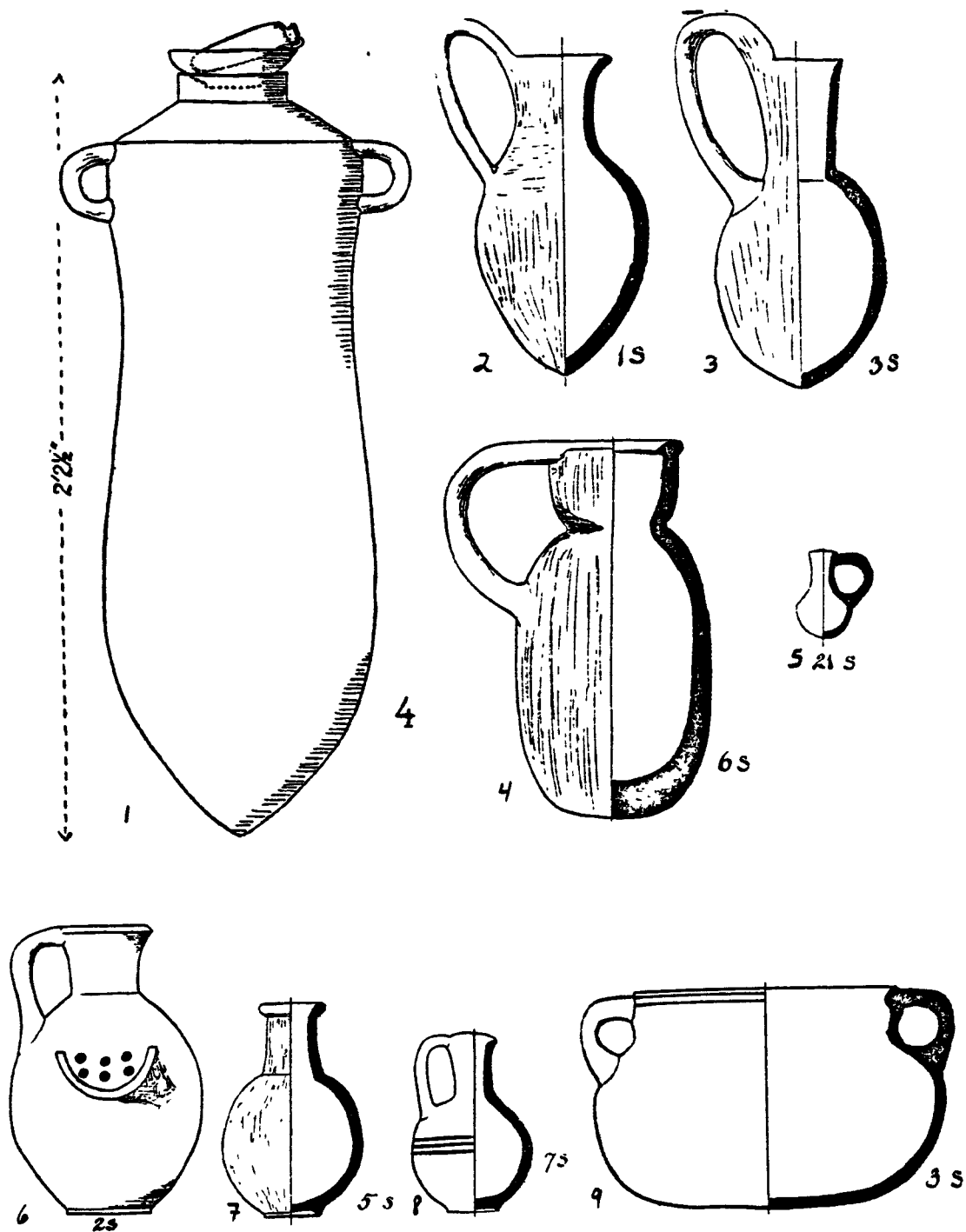


PLATE LIST

1. Jar	Iron II	Lachish III, Beer Sheva II, Samaria IV-V
2. Juglet	Iron II	Lachish IV, Beer Sheva II
3. Juglet	Iron II	see #2
4. Juglet	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish III, Samaria VI
5. Juglet	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Beer Sheva II, Ein Gedi V
6. Pitcher	Iron II	Lachish V?
7. Pitcher	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2)
8. Pitcher	Iron II	Samaria III, Lachish IV-II, Beit Mirsim A(2)
9. Cook Pot	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Ein Gev III, Lachish III, Beer Sheva II

Fig.4.59(A). (plates from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)).



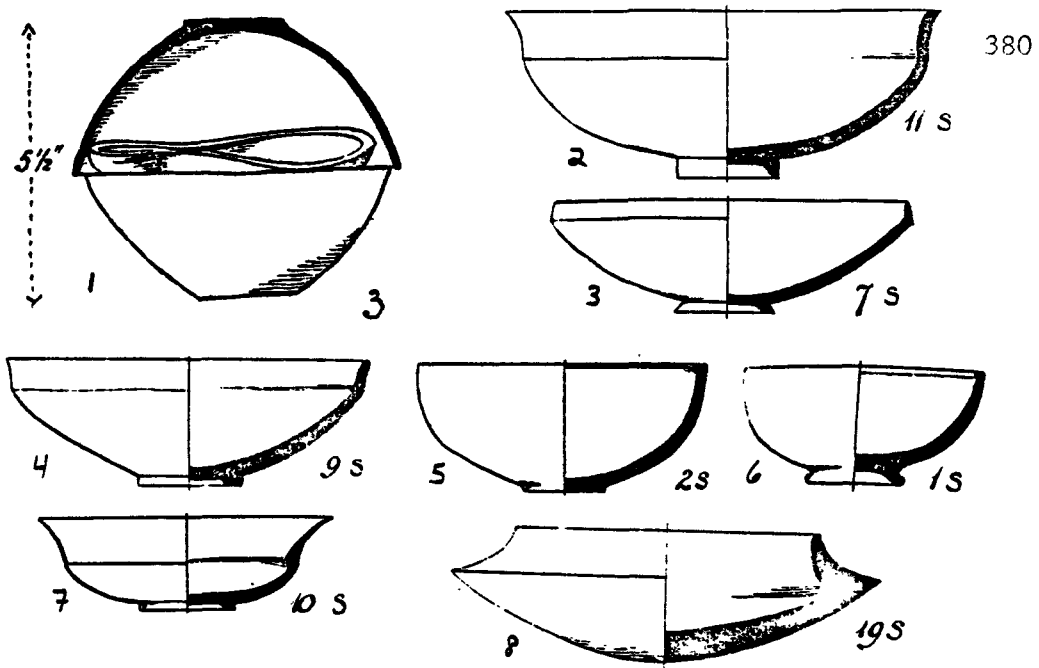
TELL ES-SAFI IRON II

Fig. 4.59(1).

PLATE LIST

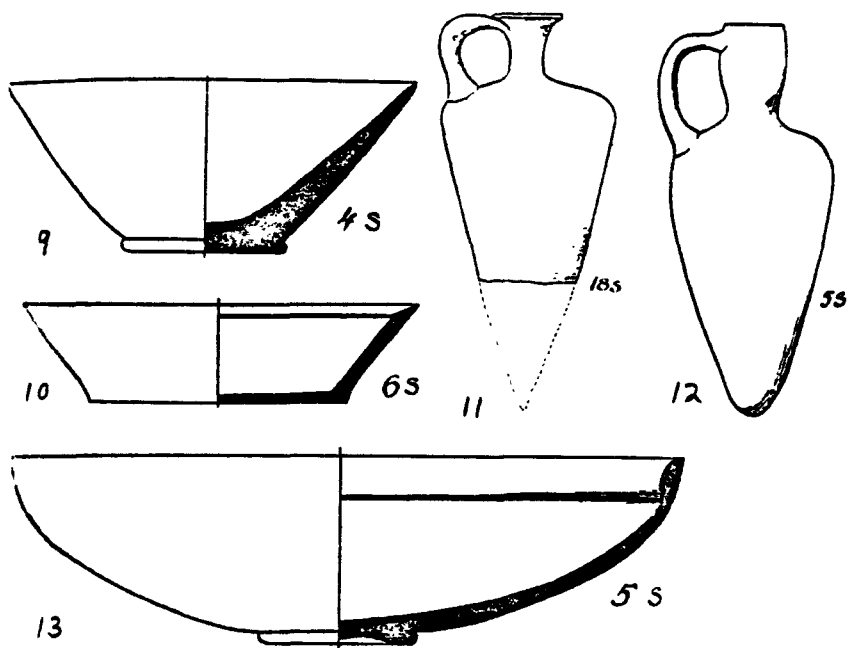
1. Bowl	Iron II/I	Beit Mirsim B(2) and A(2), Lachish VI,
2. Bowl	Iron II	Ein Gedi V, Samaria VIII, Beer Sheva II, Ramat Rahel VA, Beit Mirsim A(2)
3. Bowl	Iron II	Lachish III
4. Bowl	Iron II	Samaria V-VI, Beer Sheva II, Ein Gedi V
5. Bowl	Iron II/I	see #1
6. Bowl	Iron II/I	see #1
7. Bowl	Iron II	Samaria VII
8. Bowl	Iron II	Assyrian ?
9. Bowl	Iron II?	Samaria V
10. Bowl	UD	
11. Jar	UD	
12. Jar	UD	
13. Bowl	Iron II?	Samaria V

Fig.4.60(A). (plates from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, Excavations
In Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)).



IRON II

UNKNOWN



TELL ES-SAFI

Fig.4.60(B).

Plan of the Israelite city, stratum II. 1. City gate. 2. Storehouses. 3. Water system. 4. Deep trench. 5-6. Dwelling quarters. 7. Public building. 8. Governor's palace. 9. Pool in center of public building. 10. Water channel.

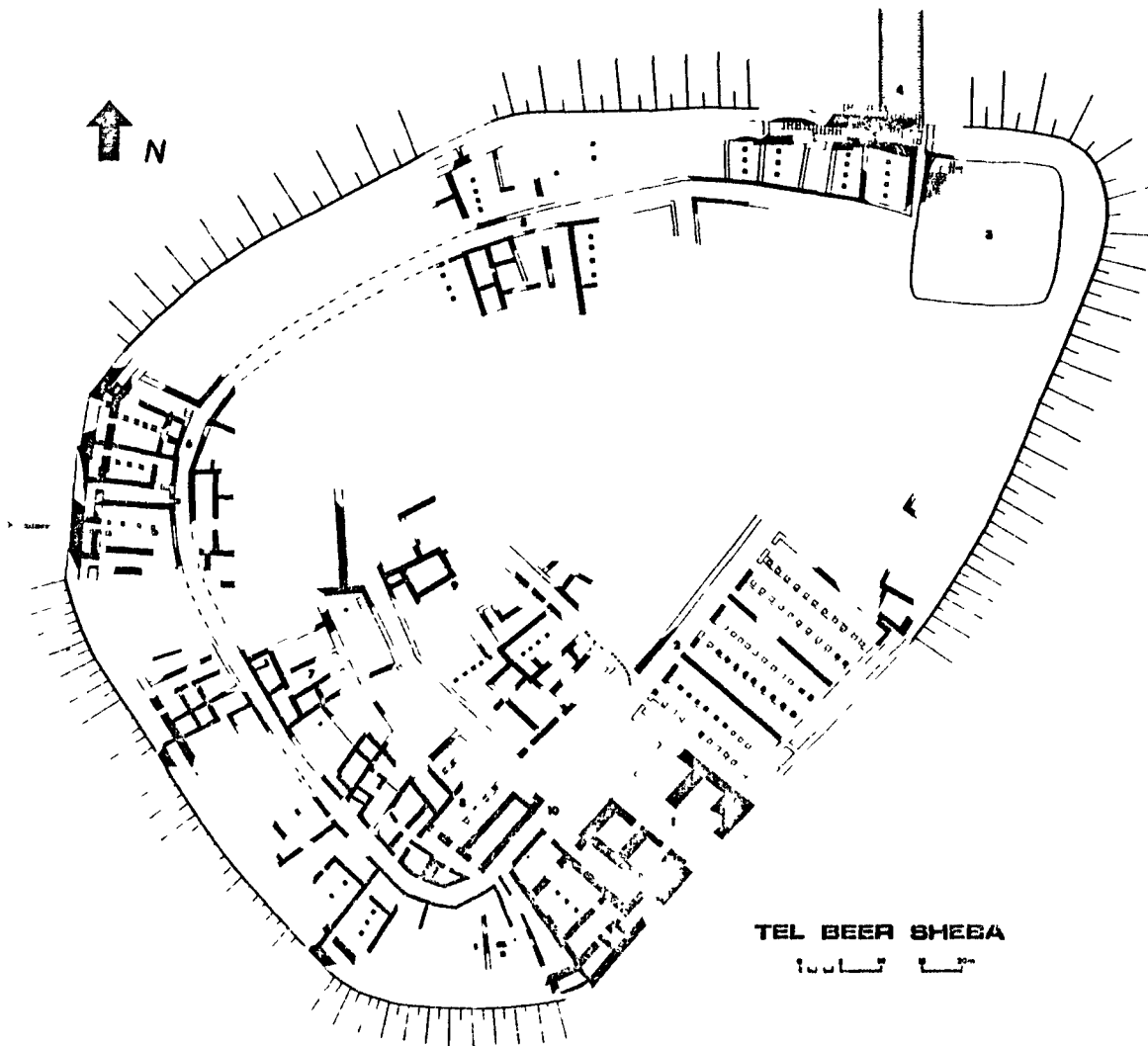


Fig. 4.61. Site plan of Tell es-Saba',

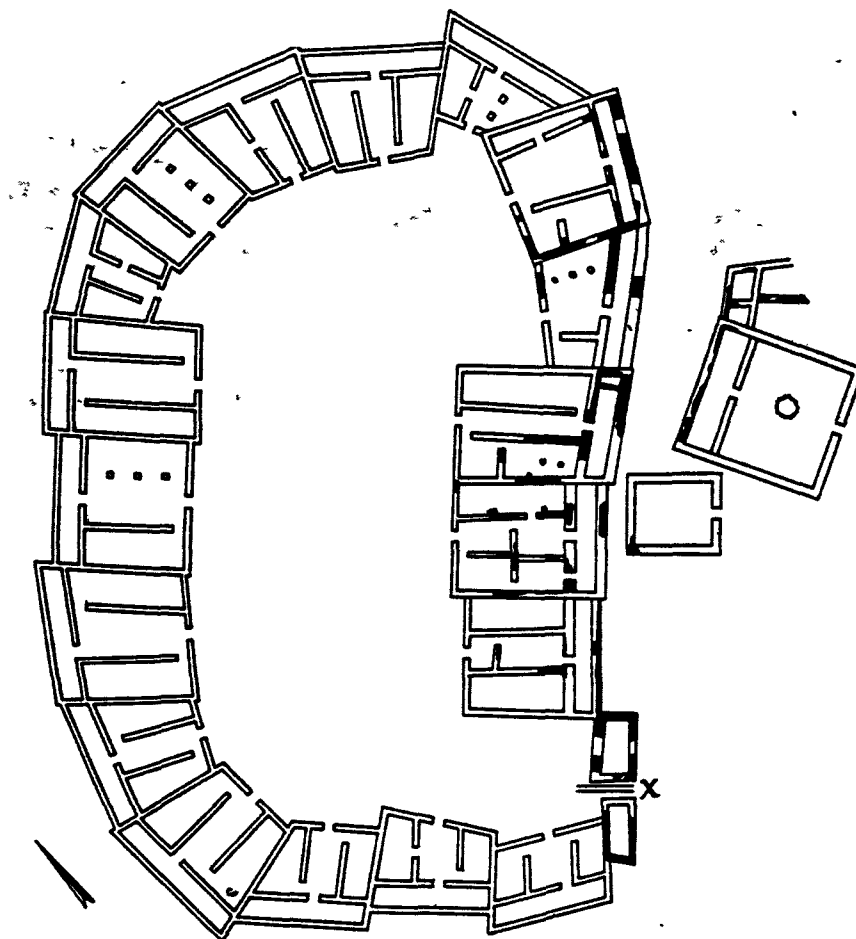


Fig.4.62. Plan of Stratum VII at Tell es-Seba (from Ze'ev Herzog, "Beer-Sheba of the Patriarchs," Biblical Archaeology Review VI (November/December 1980) 6:19).

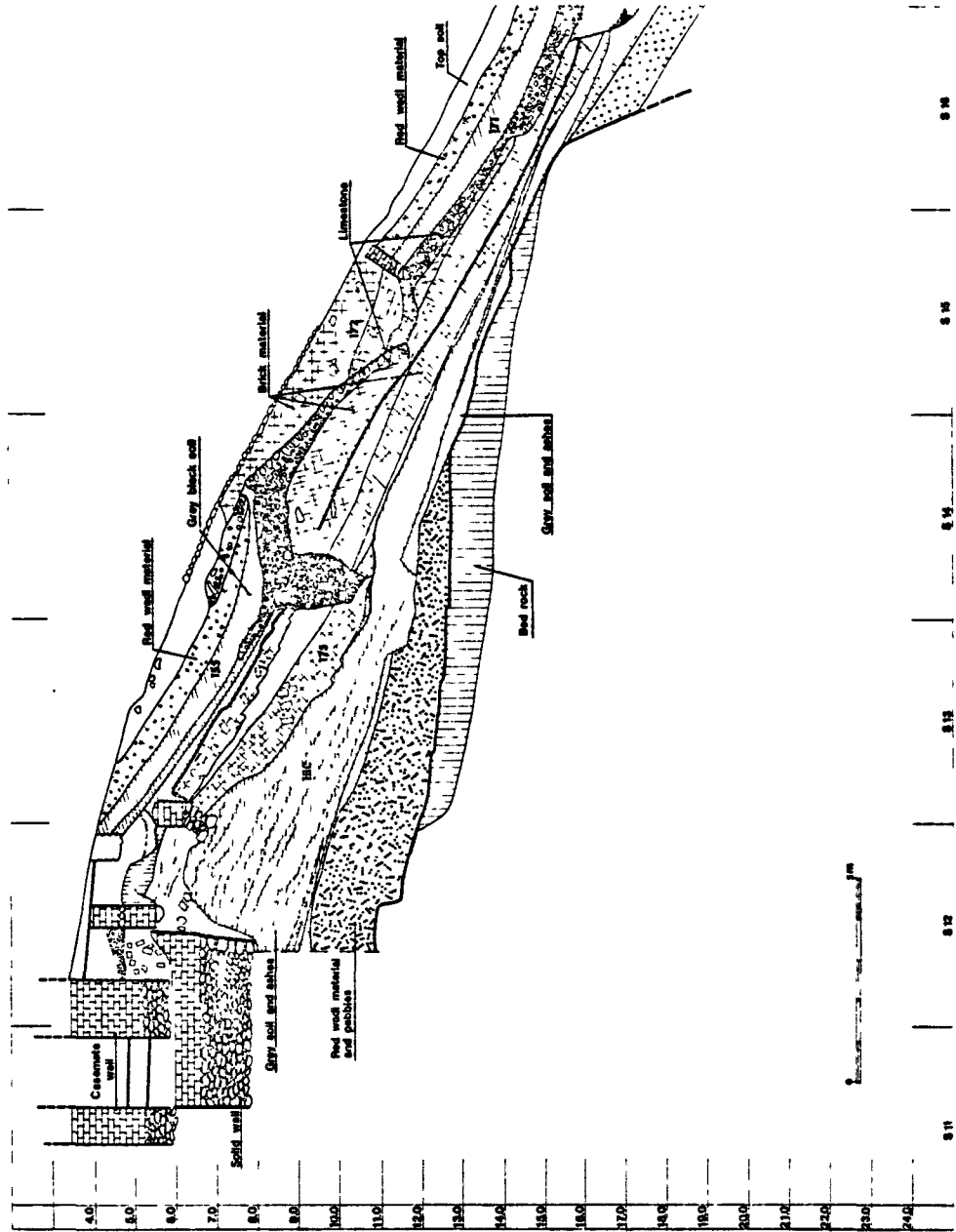


Fig.4.63. Tell es-Seba'. Section of the fortification walls and the glacis (from Y. Aharoni ed., Beer-Sheba I Tel Aviv University (Ramat Gan, 1973) plate 86).

TELL ES-SABA'

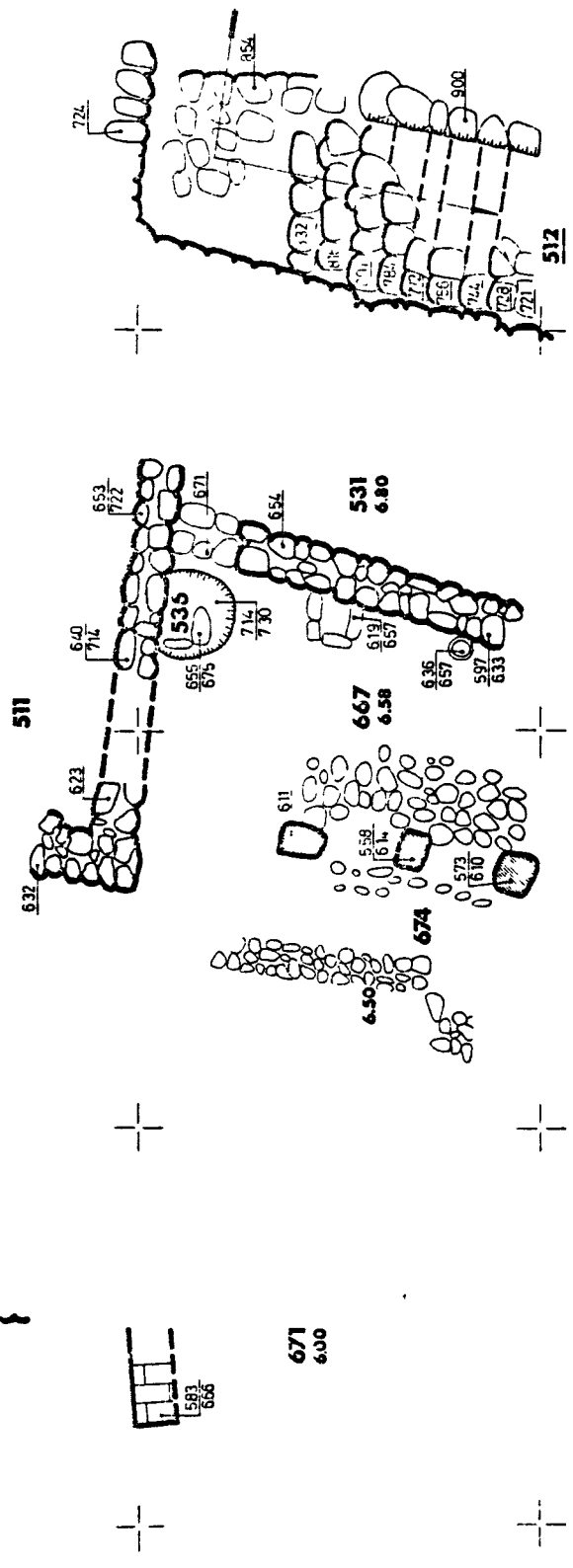
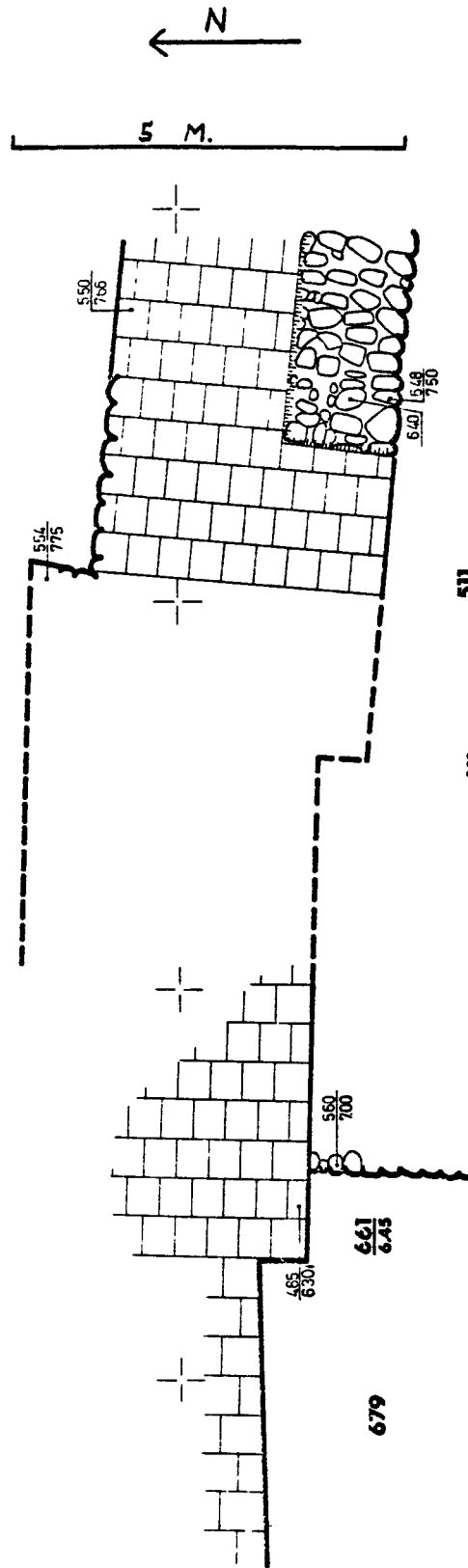


Fig.4.64. Stratum V offset-inset fortification wall (from Y. Aharoni ed., Beer-Sheba I Tel Aviv University (Ramat Gan, 1973)plate 87).

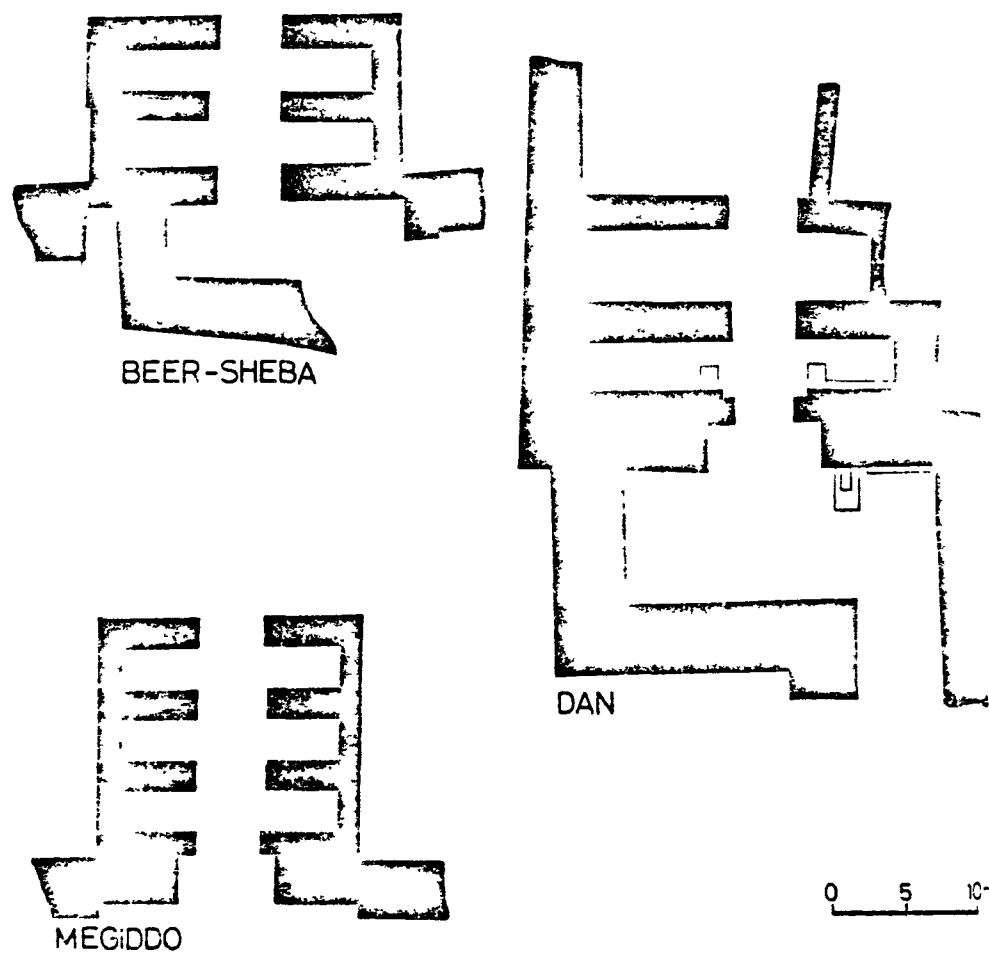


Fig.4.65. The Iron Age gate at Tell es-Saba' compared to other contemporary gates (from Y. Aharoni, "The Building Activities of David and Solomon," *IEJ* 24 (1974) 1:14).

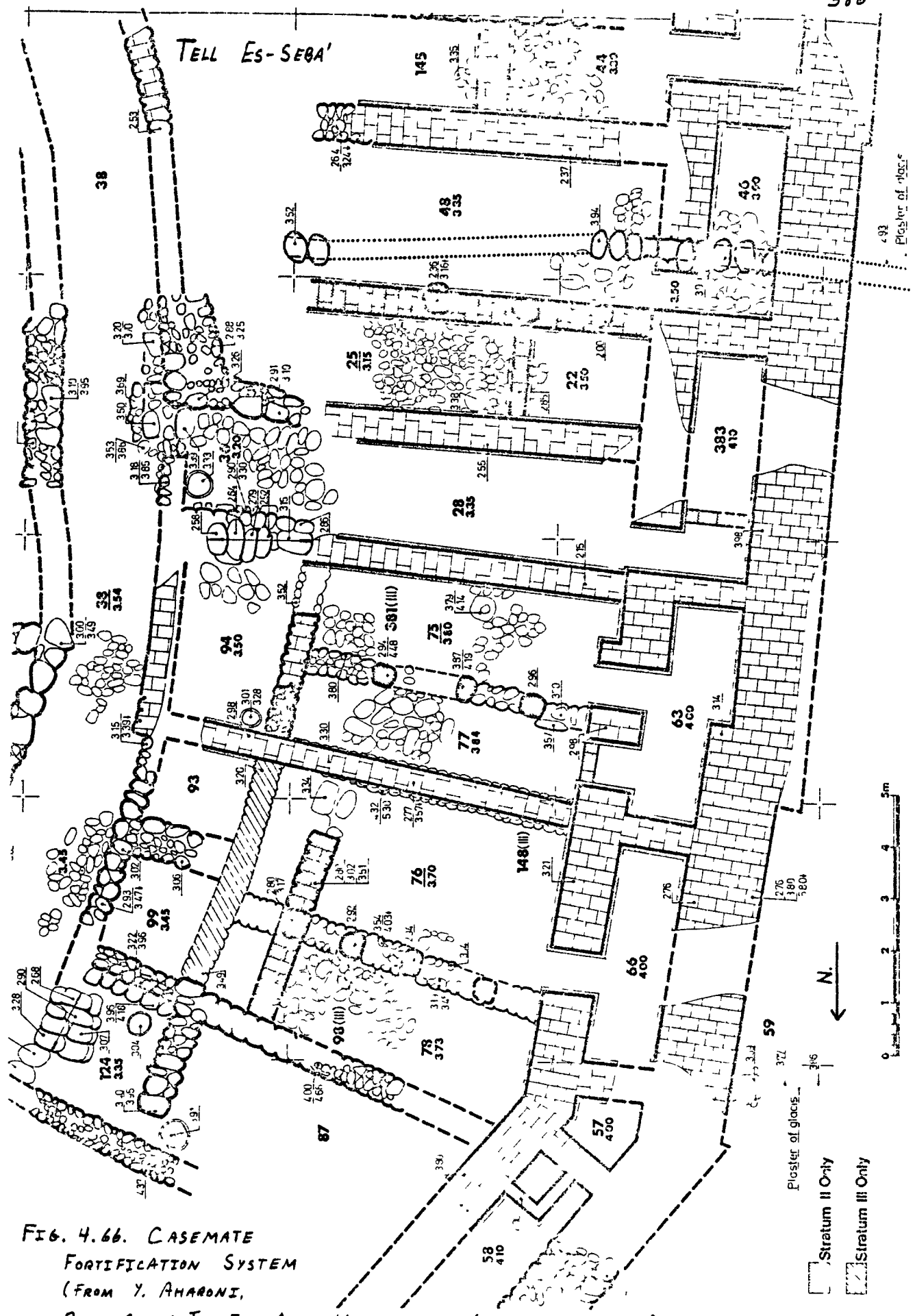


FIG. 4.66. CASEMATE FORTIFICATION SYSTEM (FROM Y. AHARONI, BEER-SHEVA I, TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY (RAMAT GAN, 1973) PLATE 94).

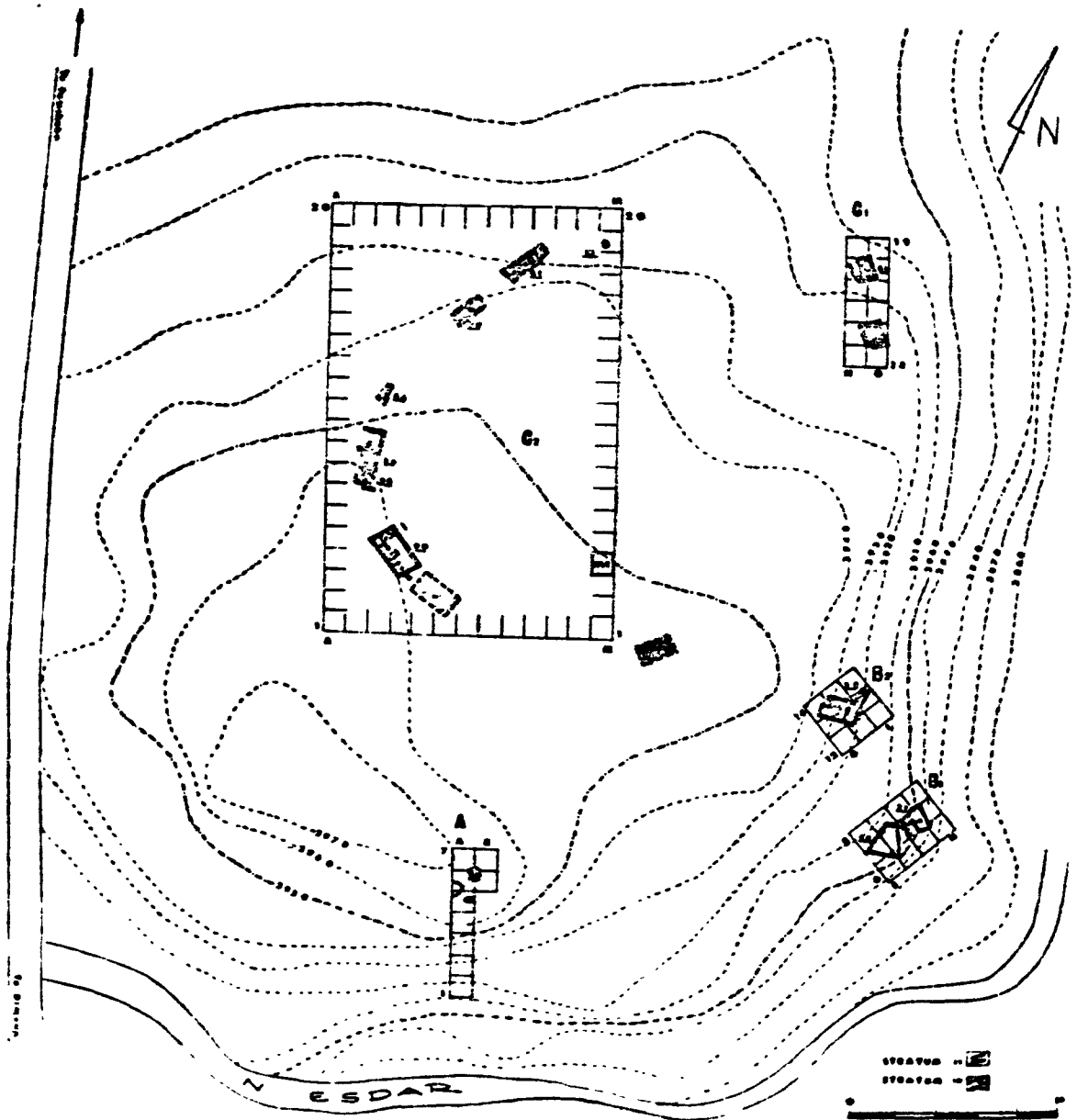
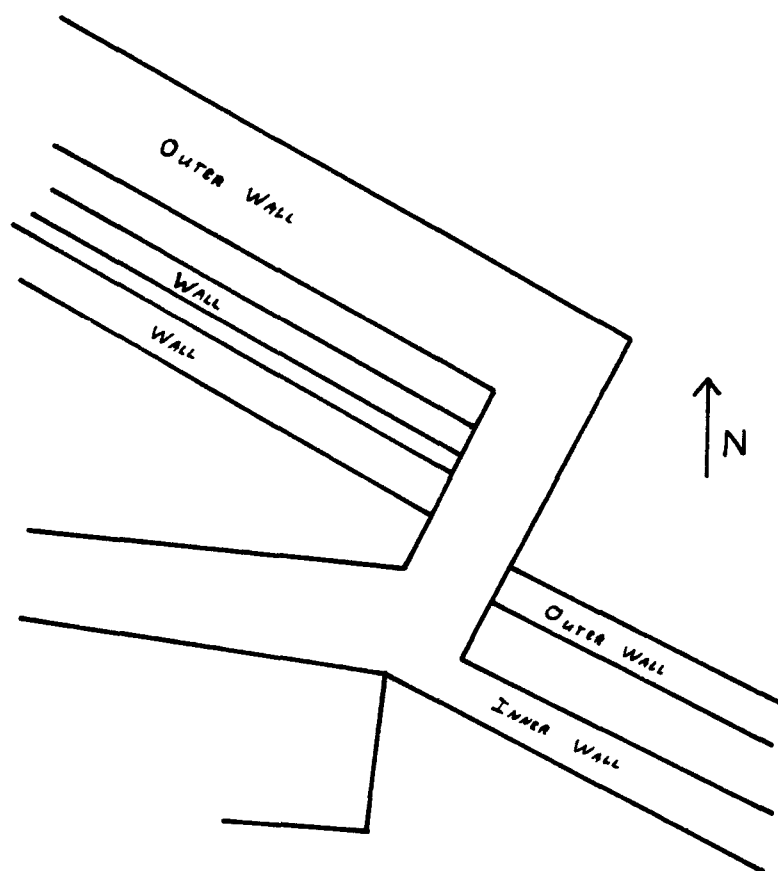


Fig.4.68. Site plan of Tell Esdar (from M. Kochavi, "Tell Esdar," Israel Exploration Journal 14 (1964) 2:112).



CITADEL
North Part

Fig.4.69. (from Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tell esh-Shari'a" by E.D. Oren).

Tell esh-Shari'ah

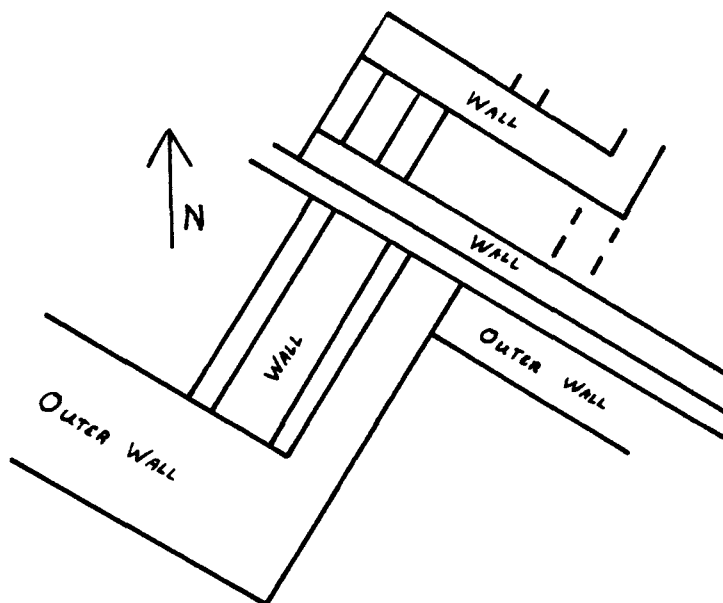
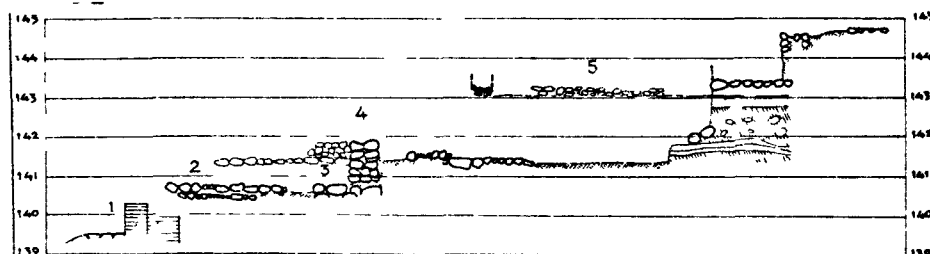
CITADEL
South Part

Fig.4.70. (from Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 1st ed., s.v. "Tell esh-Shari'a" by E.D. Oren).

TELL ESH-SHEIK AHMED EL-'AREINI



SECTION

1. Wall of burnt bricks
2. Stone pavement belonging (?) to first casemate wall
3. Remains of second casemate wall
4. Remains of third casemate wall
5. Remains of fort (?)

Fig.4.71. Section of the fortification system at Tell esh-Sheik Ahmed el-'Areini (from S. Yeivin, First Preliminary Report on the Excavations at "Tel Gat" (1956 - 1958), (Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities, 1961) figure 4).

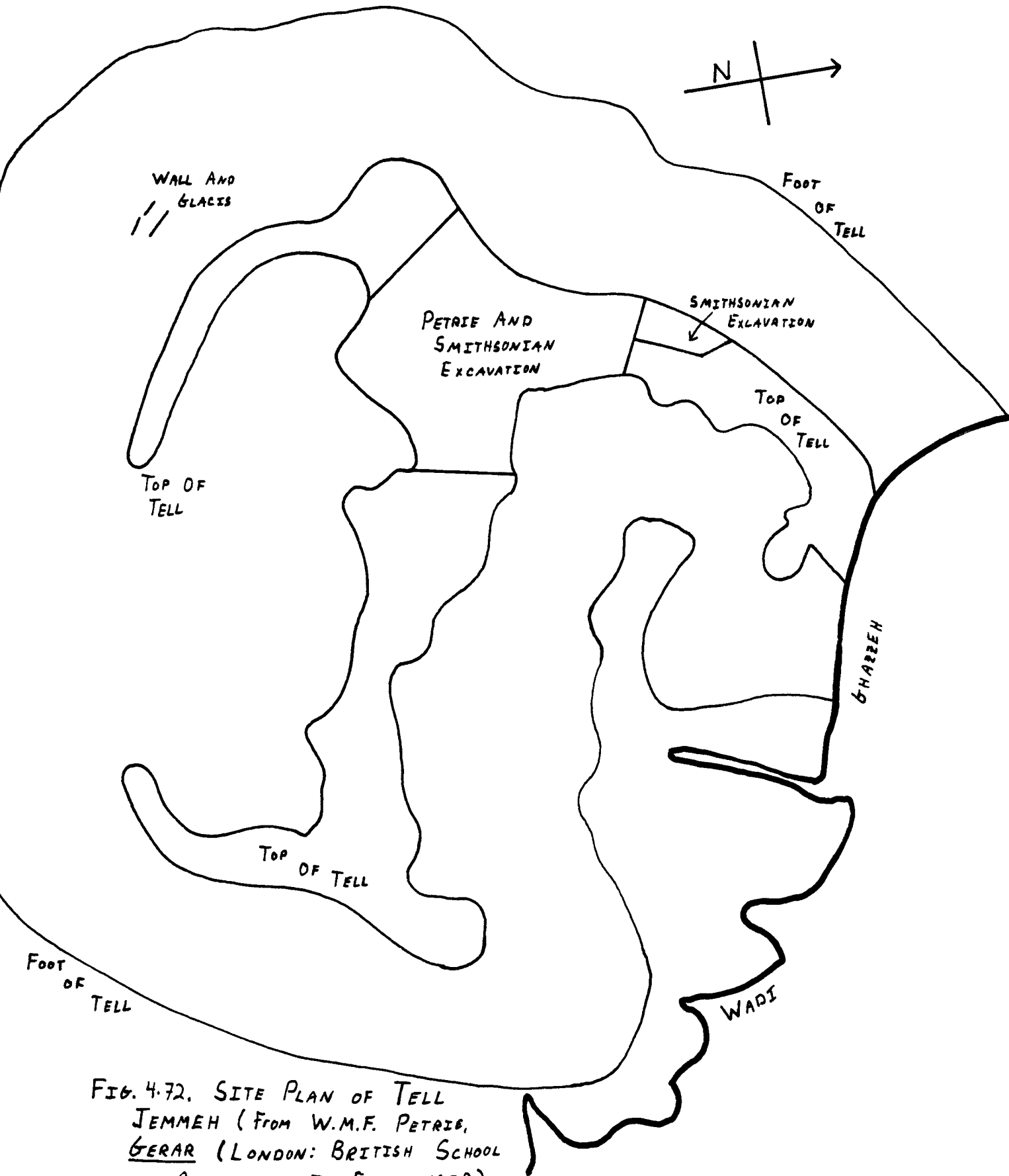


FIG. 4.72. SITE PLAN OF TELL JEMMEH (FROM W.M.F. PETRIE, GERAR (LONDON: BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT, 1928) PLATE 1).

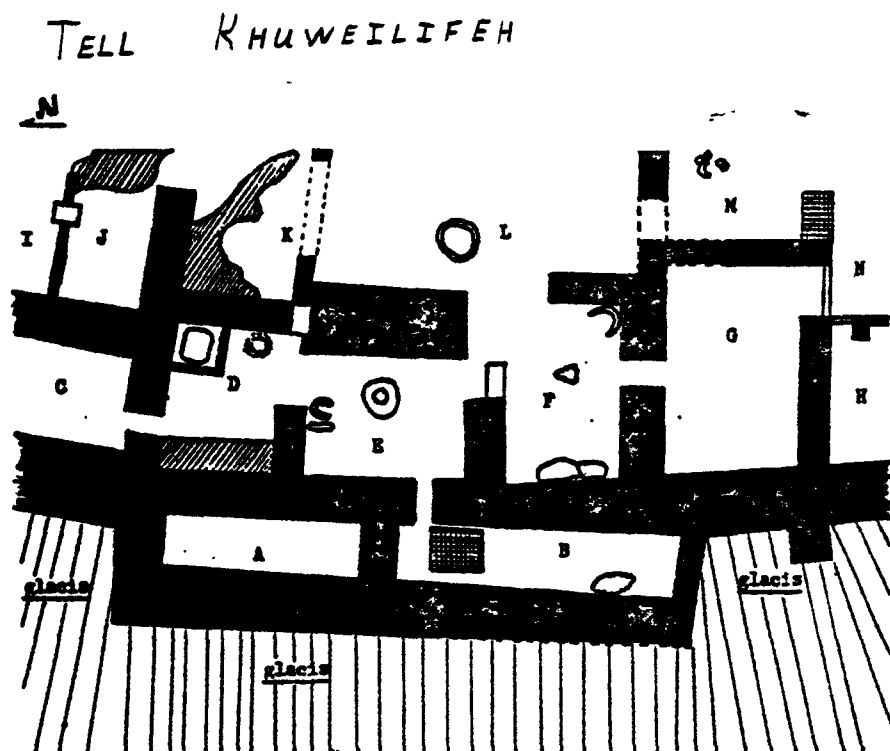


Fig.4.73. Plan of the Iron Age fortification system (from C. Borowski, "Field III Excavations of 1979," Lahav Newsletter 14 (February, 1980) p.3).

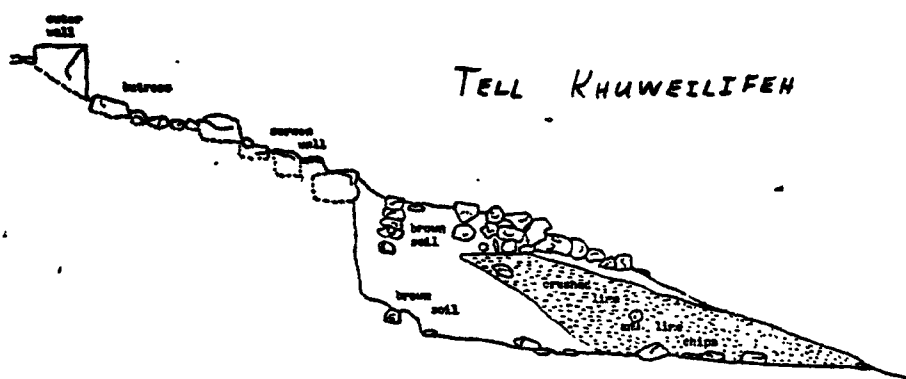
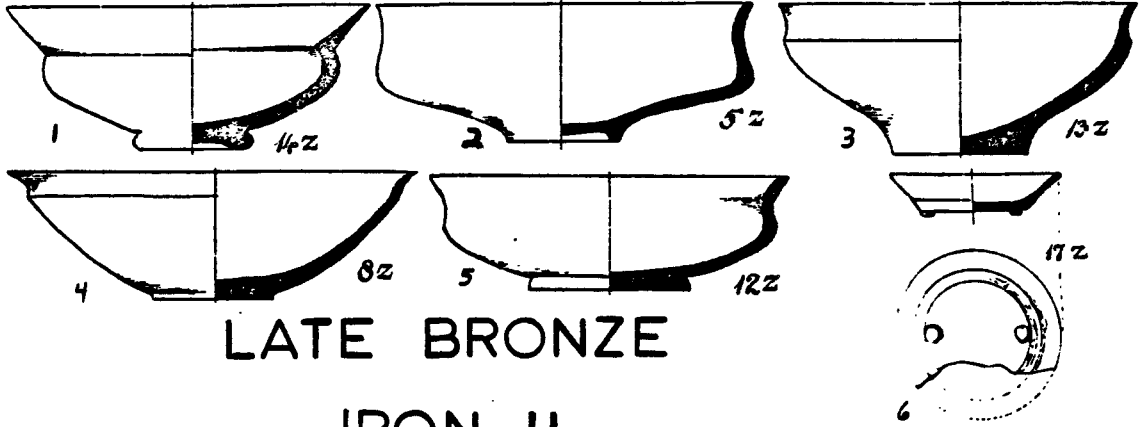


Fig.4.74. Section of the Iron Age fortification system (from C. Borowski, "Field III Excavations of 1979," Lahav Newsletter 14 (February, 1980) p.3).

PLATE LIST

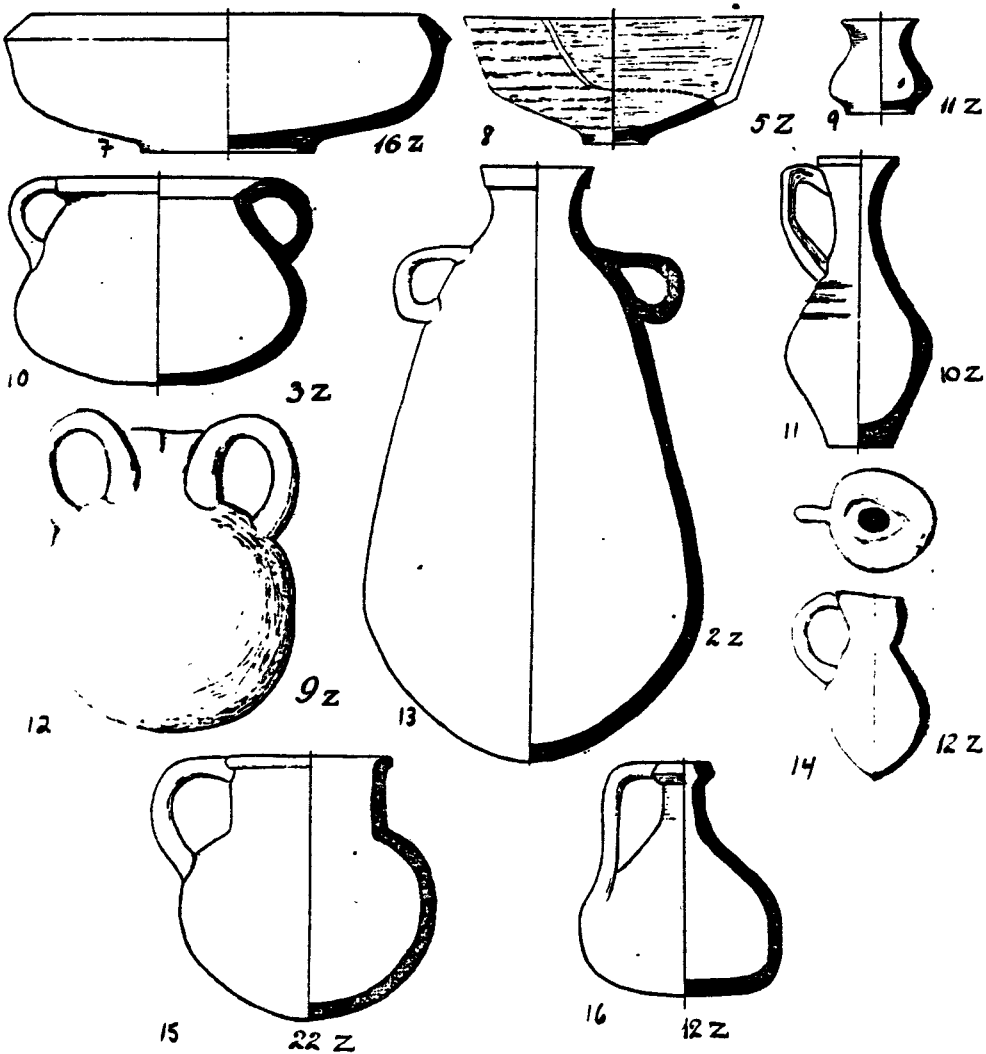
1. Bowl	LB?	UK
2. Bowl	LB?, Iron II?	Samaria V-VI
3. Bowl	LB	Balatah
4. Bowl	LB	Balatah
5. Bowl	LB? Iron II?	Balatah, Samaria VIII
6. Bowl	LB?	
7. Bowl	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish III-II, Beer Sheva II
8. Bowl	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Beer Sheva II
9. Bowl	Iron II	Beit Mirsim II
10. Cook Pot	Iron II	Ein Gedi V, Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish II, Masos
11. Pitcher	Iron II	Lachish III
12. Flask	Iron I/II	Lachish V
13. Jar	Iron II	Ein Gedi V
14. Juglet	Iron I/II	Abu Hawam IVb, Beer Sheva II, Ta'anach 1B
15. Pitcher	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Samaria III-VI, Ein Gedi V, Beer Sheva II, Lachish III
16. Pitcher	Iron II	Samaria VI, Beit Mirsim A(2)

Fi .4.75(A). (plates from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)).



LATE BRONZE

IRON II



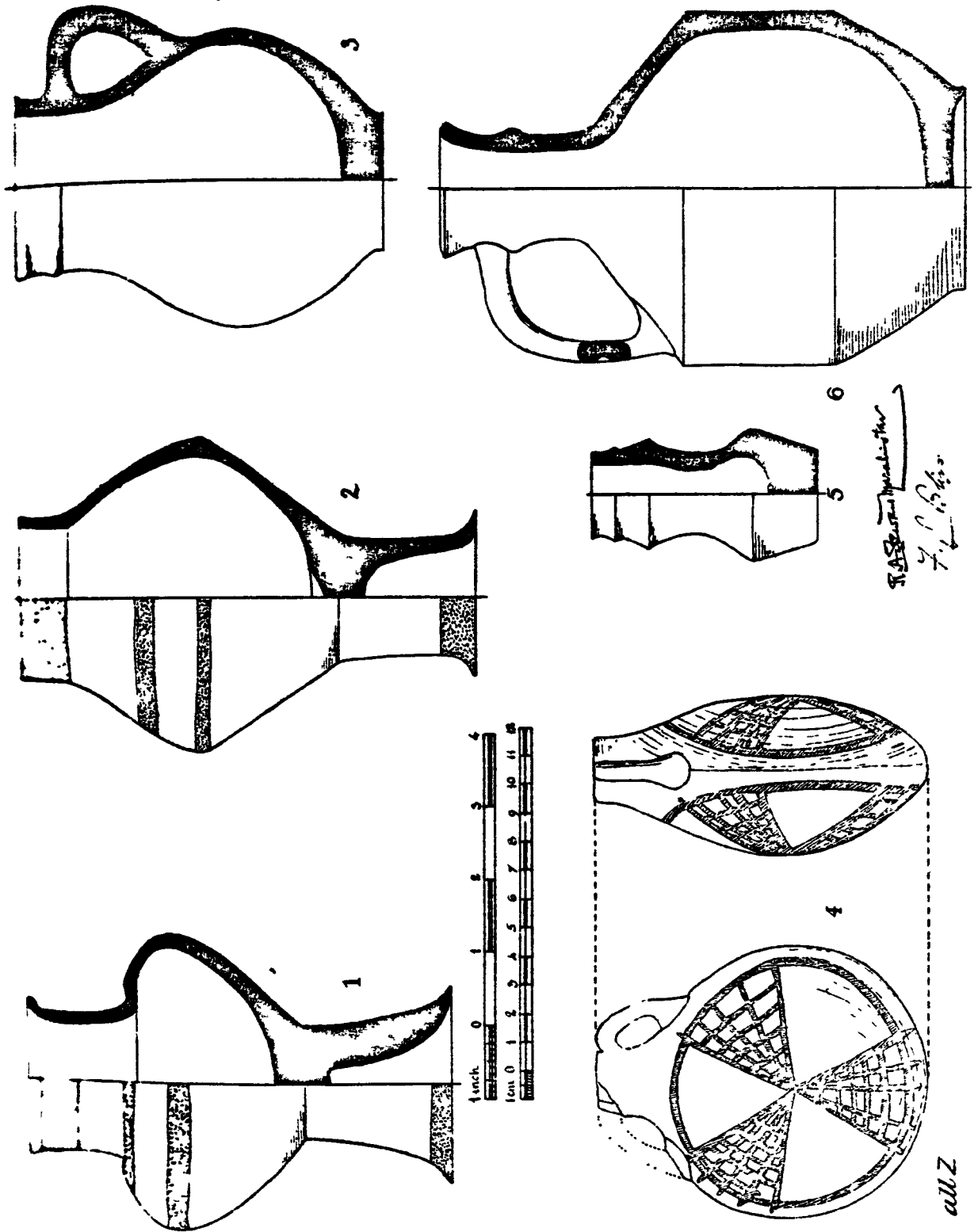
TELL ZAKARÎYA

FIG. 4.75 (B).

PLATE LIST

1. Chalice	Iron II	Samaria V-VI
2. Chalice	Iron I?/II	Ta'anach Ib,
3. Pitcher	Iron II	Lachish III, Beit Mirsim A(2)
4. Flask	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2), Lachish III
5. UK	Iron II?	Samaria V
6. Pitcher	Iron II	Lachish II, Ein Gedi V, Beit Mirsim A(2), Mesad Hashavyahu, Ramat Rahel VA, Beer Sheva II

Fig.4.76(A). (plates from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1902)).



TELL ZAKARIYA

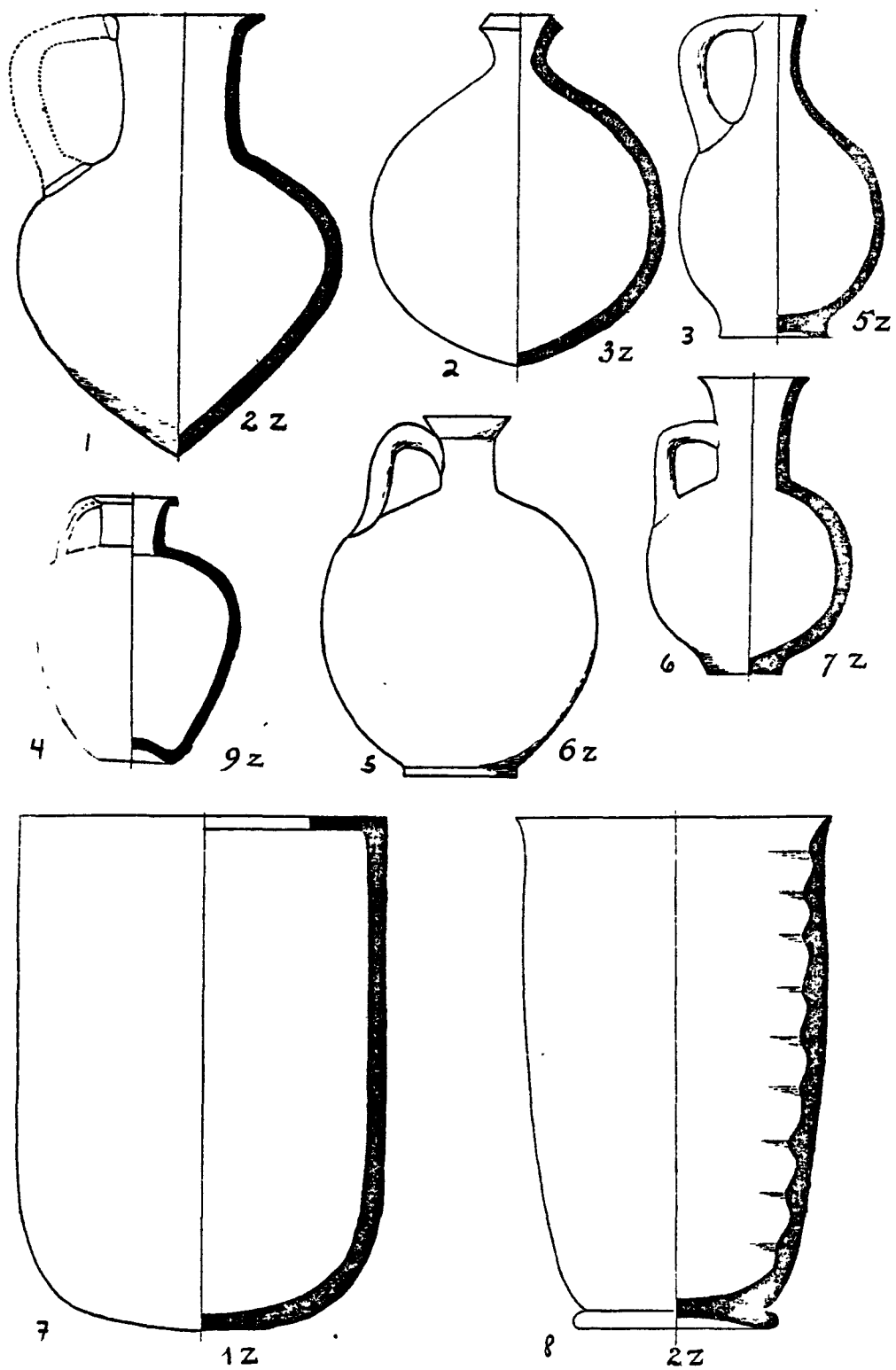
IRON II

FIG. 4.76(B).

PLATE LIST

1. Pitcher	Iron II	Samaria III
2. Pitcher	Iron II	Ein Gedi V, Ein Gev III, Beer Sheva II
3. Pitcher	Iron II, I?	Samaria III, Abu Hawan V
4. Pitcher	Iron II	Samaria III, Ein Gedi V
5. Pitcher	Iron II	Beer Sheva II, Samaria III, Beit Mirsim A(2)
6. Pitcher	Iron II	Samaria V-VI,
7. Jar	Iron II	Ramat Rahel VA, Lachish III, Beer Sheva II
8. Jar	Iron II	Beit Mirsim A(2)

Fig.4.77(A). (Plates from F.J. Bliss and R.A.S. Macalister, Excavations in Palestine, (London: Palestine Explorat on Fund, 1902)).

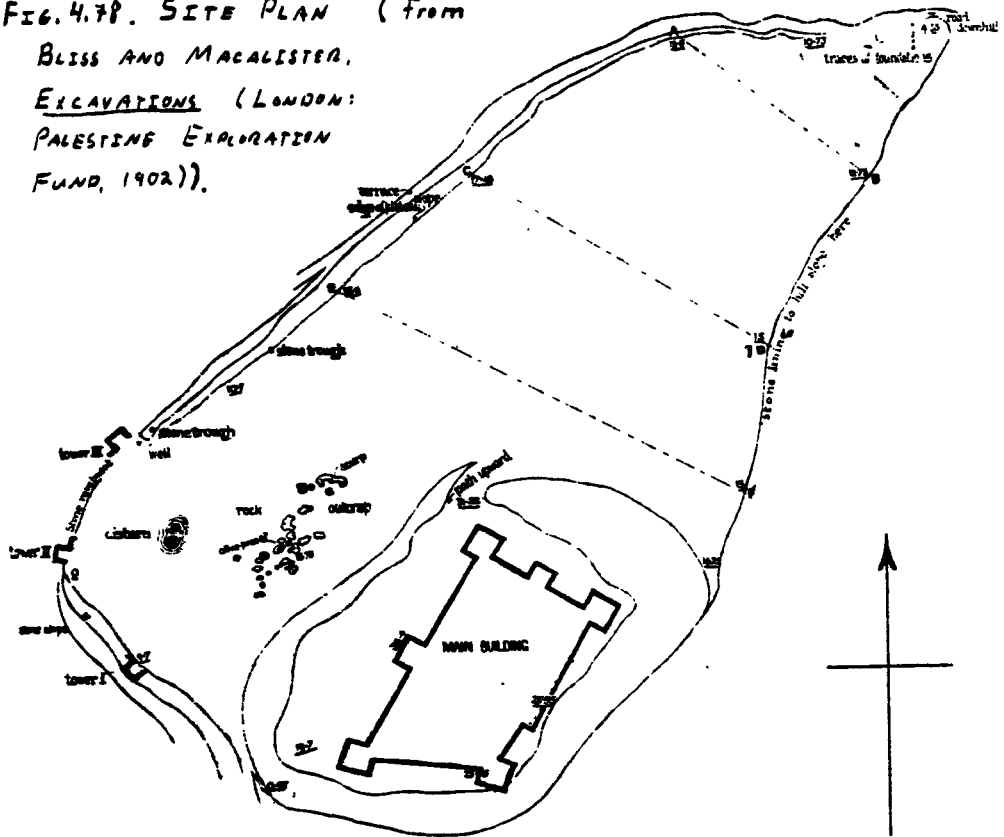


TELL ZAKARÎYA

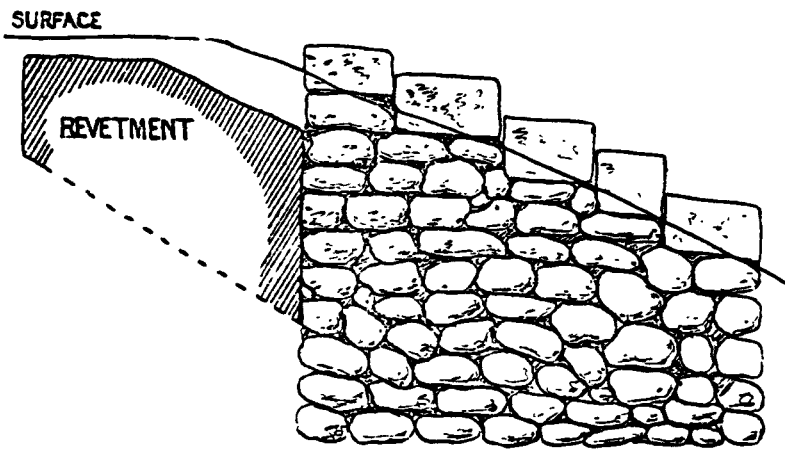
IRON II

FIG. 4.77 (B).

FIG. 4.78. SITE PLAN (FROM
BLISS AND MACALISTER,
EXCAVATIONS (LONDON:
PALESTINE EXPLORATION
FUND, 1902)).



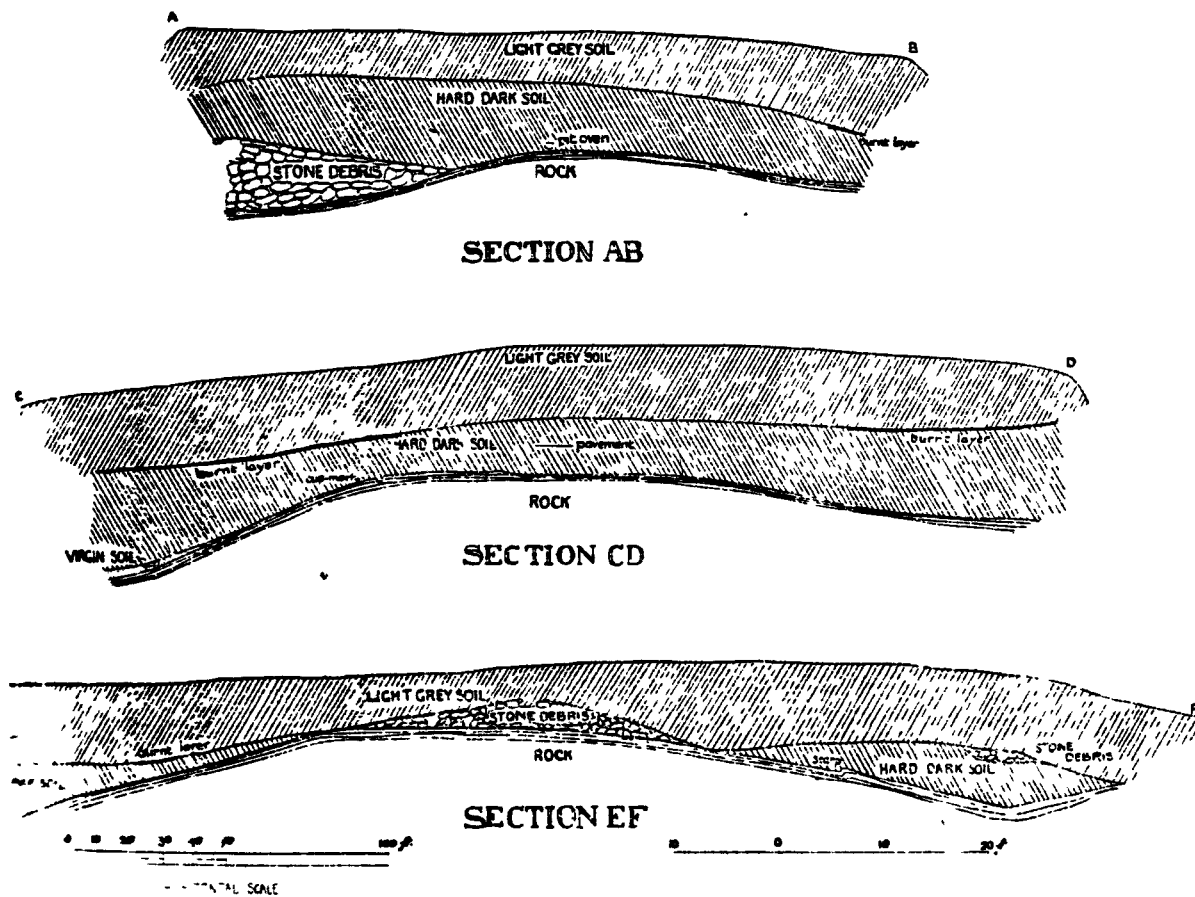
TELL ZAKARÎYA



F. J. Bliss
P. A. Macalister

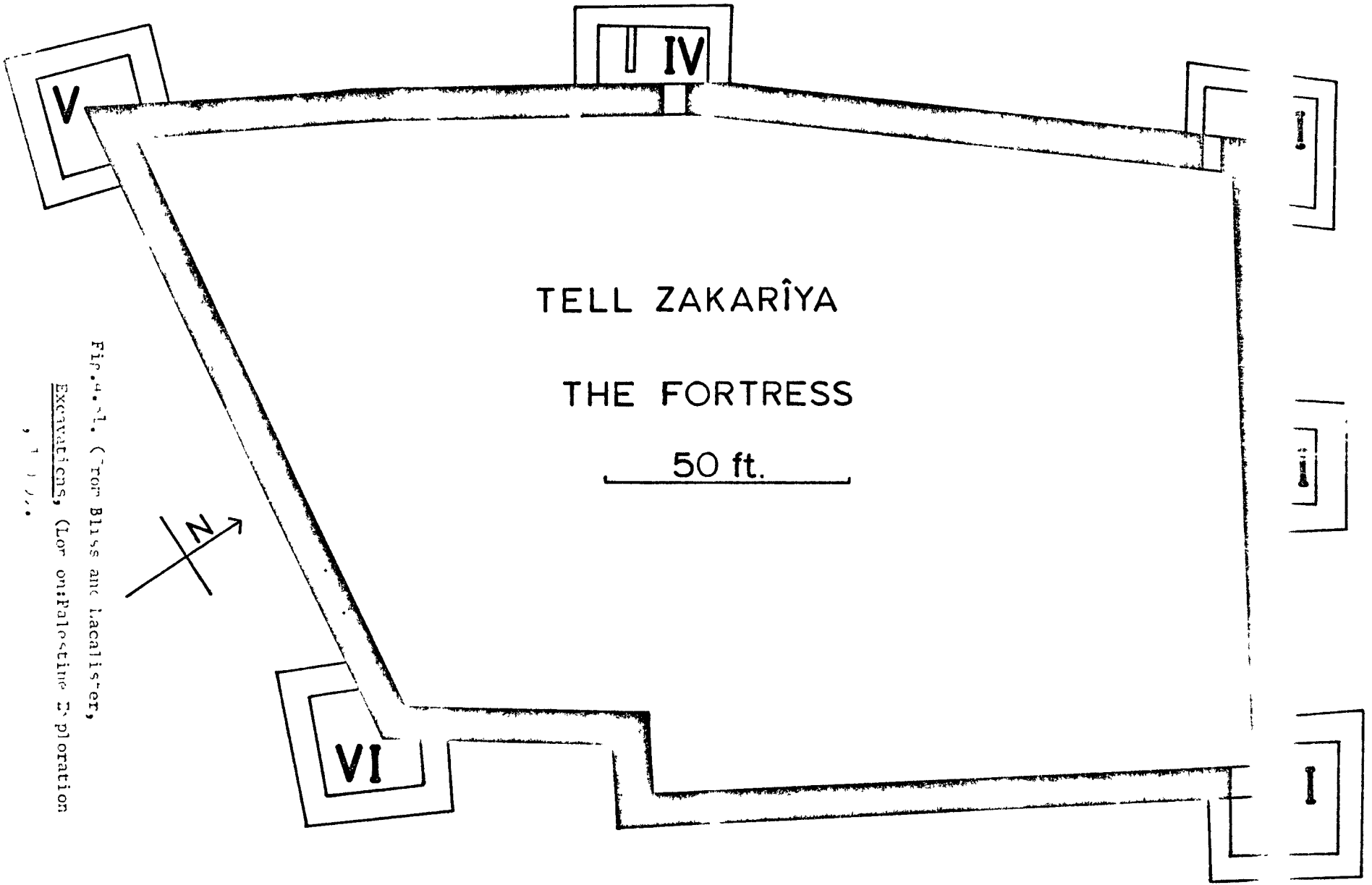
TOWER AND REVETMENT

FIG. 4.79. SECTION OF REVETMENT WALL AND TOWER (FROM
BLISS AND MACALISTER, EXCAVATIONS (LONDON:
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, 1902)).



TELL ZAKARÎYA PLATEAU SECTION

FIG. 4.80. (FROM BLISS AND MACALISTER, EXCAVATIONS,
(LONDON: PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, 1902)).



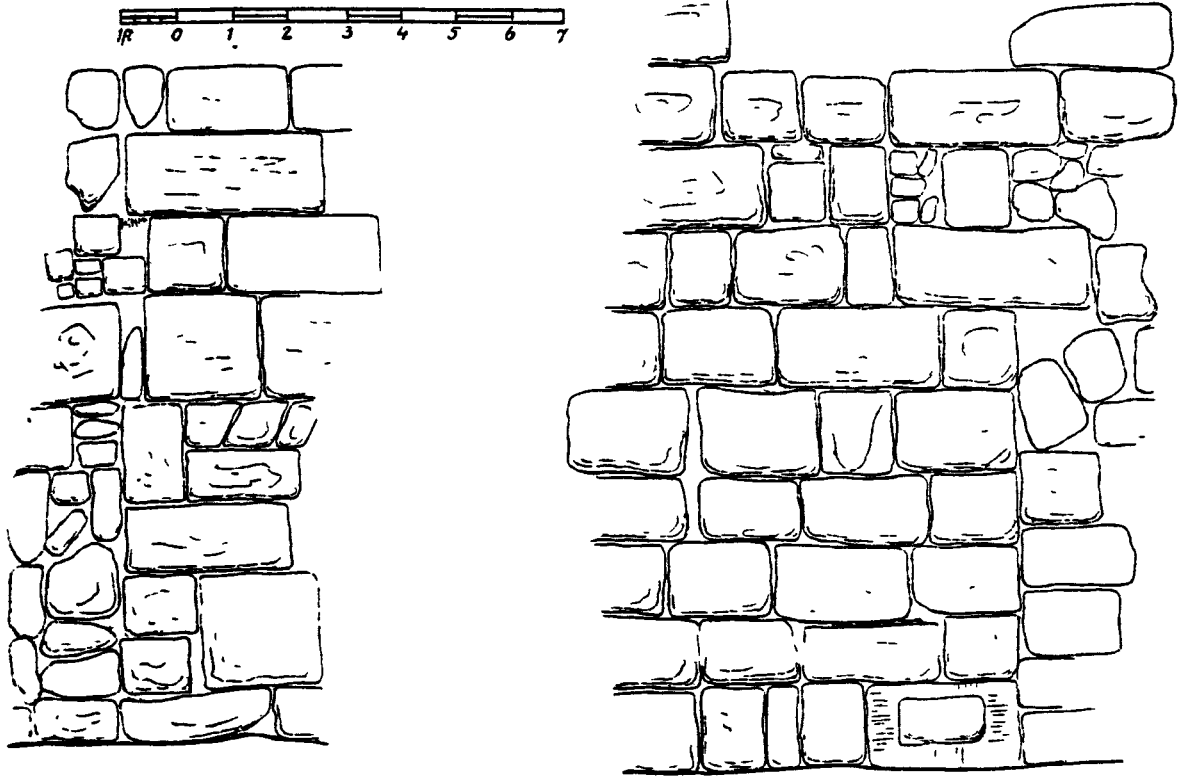
TELL ZAKARIYA
THE FORTRESS

50 ft.



Fig. 4. 1. (Tom Bliss and Macalister,
Excavations, London: Palestine Exploration
Society, 1900.)

MASONRY AT THE JUNCTIONS OF
TOWER IV AND THE MAIN WALL.



ELEVATION OF THE S.-W. SIDE (OUTER FACE) CENTRAL N.-W. TOWER (No 4)

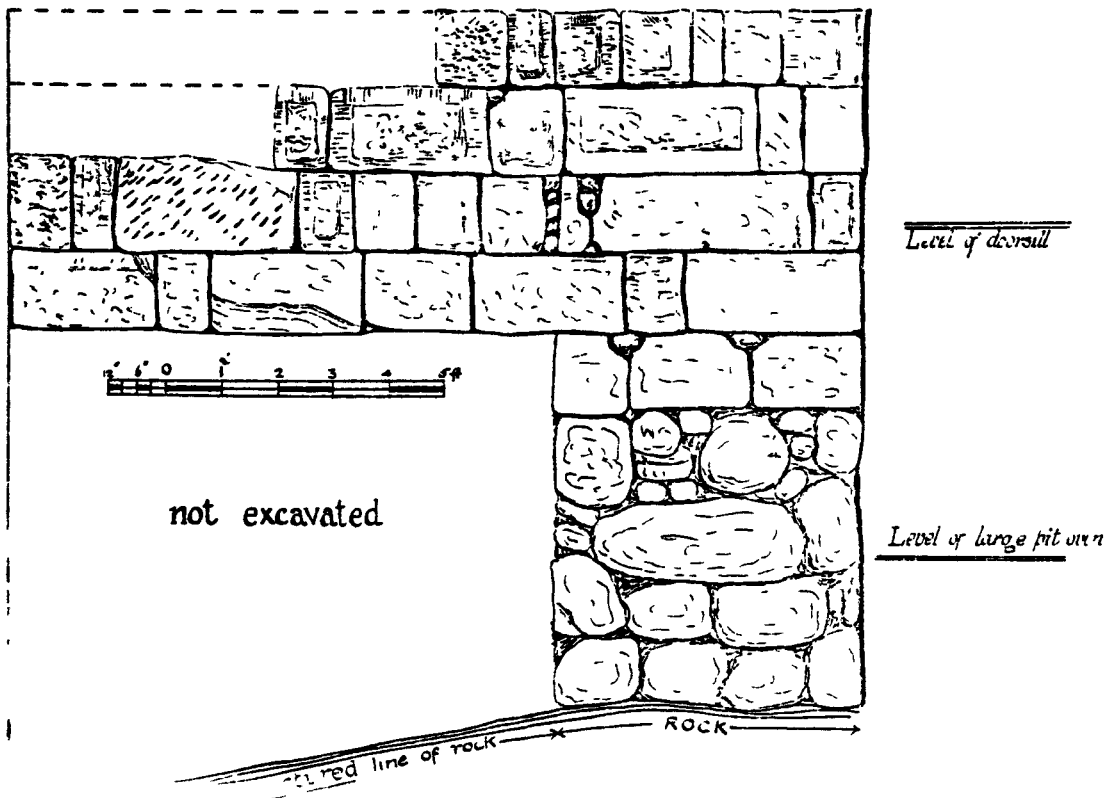


FIG. 4.82. SECTIONS OF FORTRESS WALLS (From BLISS AND MACALISTER, EXCAVATIONS (LONDON: PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND, 1902)).

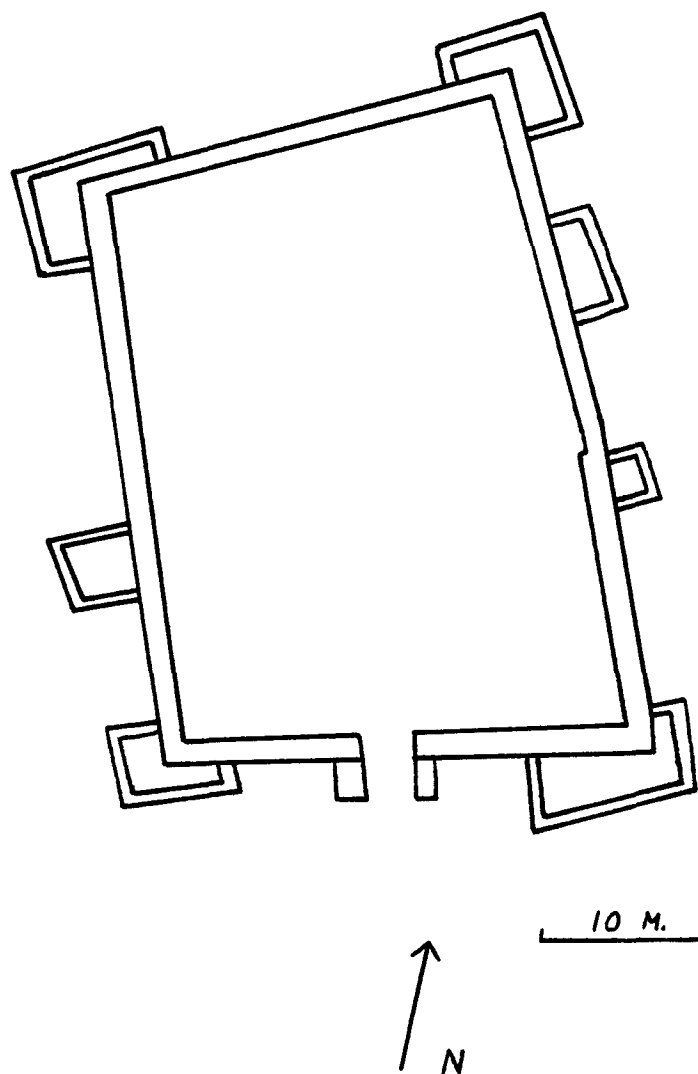


Fig.5.1 . The fortress of Rasm edh-Dhab (L.Y. Rachmani, "A Survey in Part of the Territory of Adullam," Yediot 28 (1964) :210).

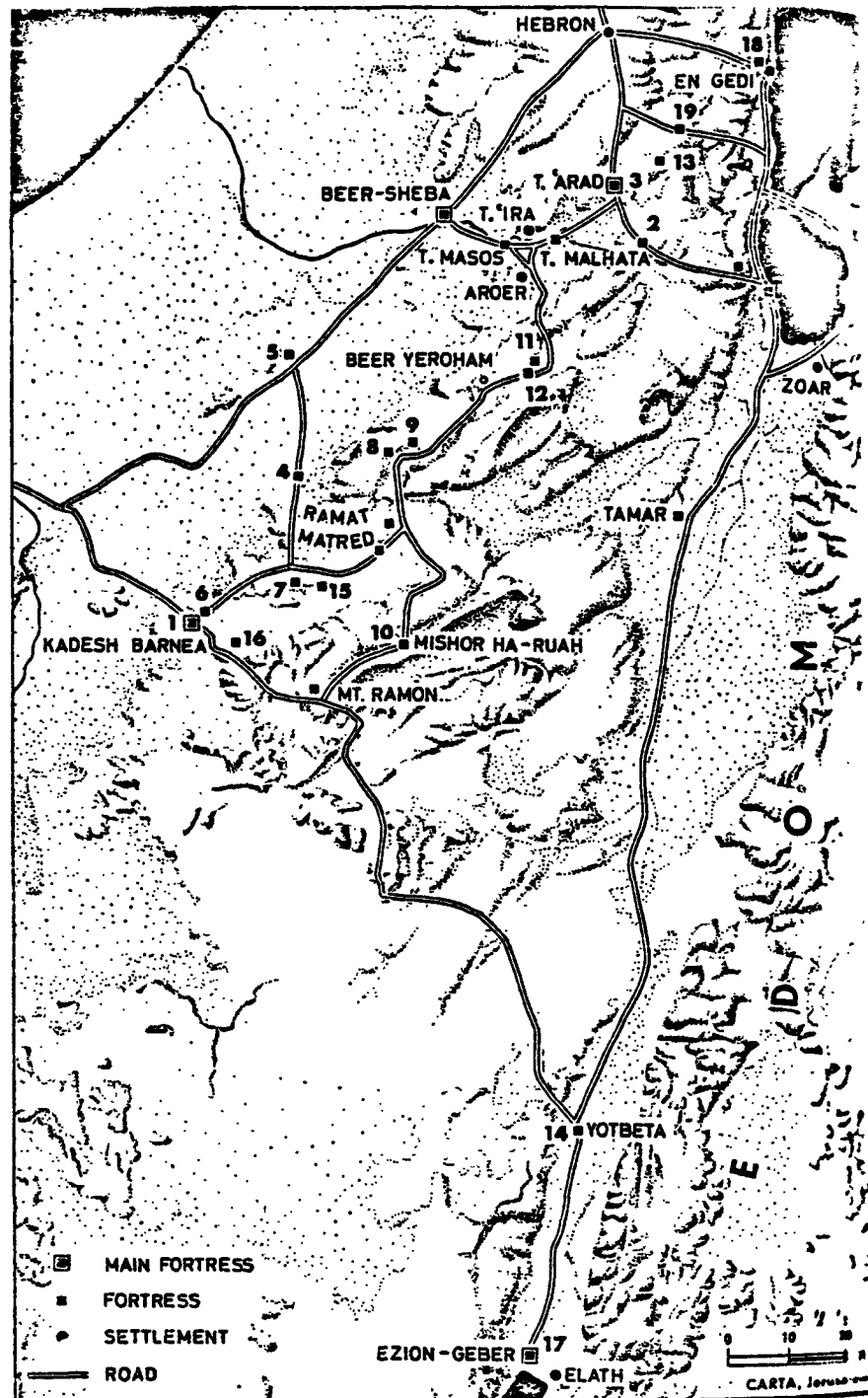


Fig.5.2. Map of Negev sites (from Y. Aharoni, "Forerunners of the the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses on the Negev," *IEJ* 17 (1967) 1:2).

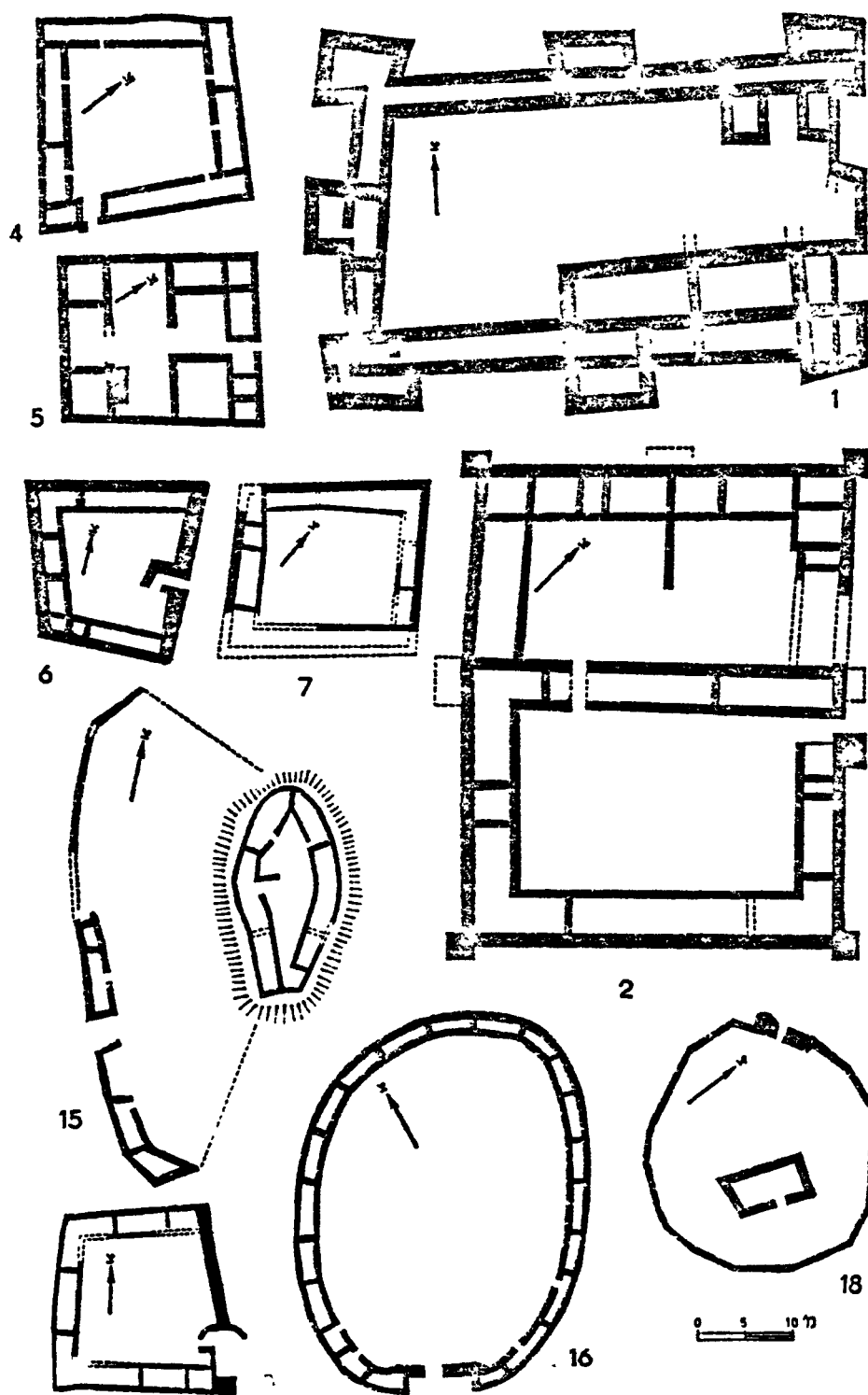


Fig. 5.3. Examples of Negeb Fortress structures (Yohanan Aharoni, "Forerunners of the Limes," Israel Exploration Journal 17 (1967) 1:5).

KHIRBAT ET-TAYIB

407

TELL 'ARAD

• TELL ES-SEBA'

• KHIRBAT EL-MESHAGH

• TELL ESOAR

• RAFED HATIRA

• ATAR HAROAH

• HAR BOGER

• RAMAT MATRED

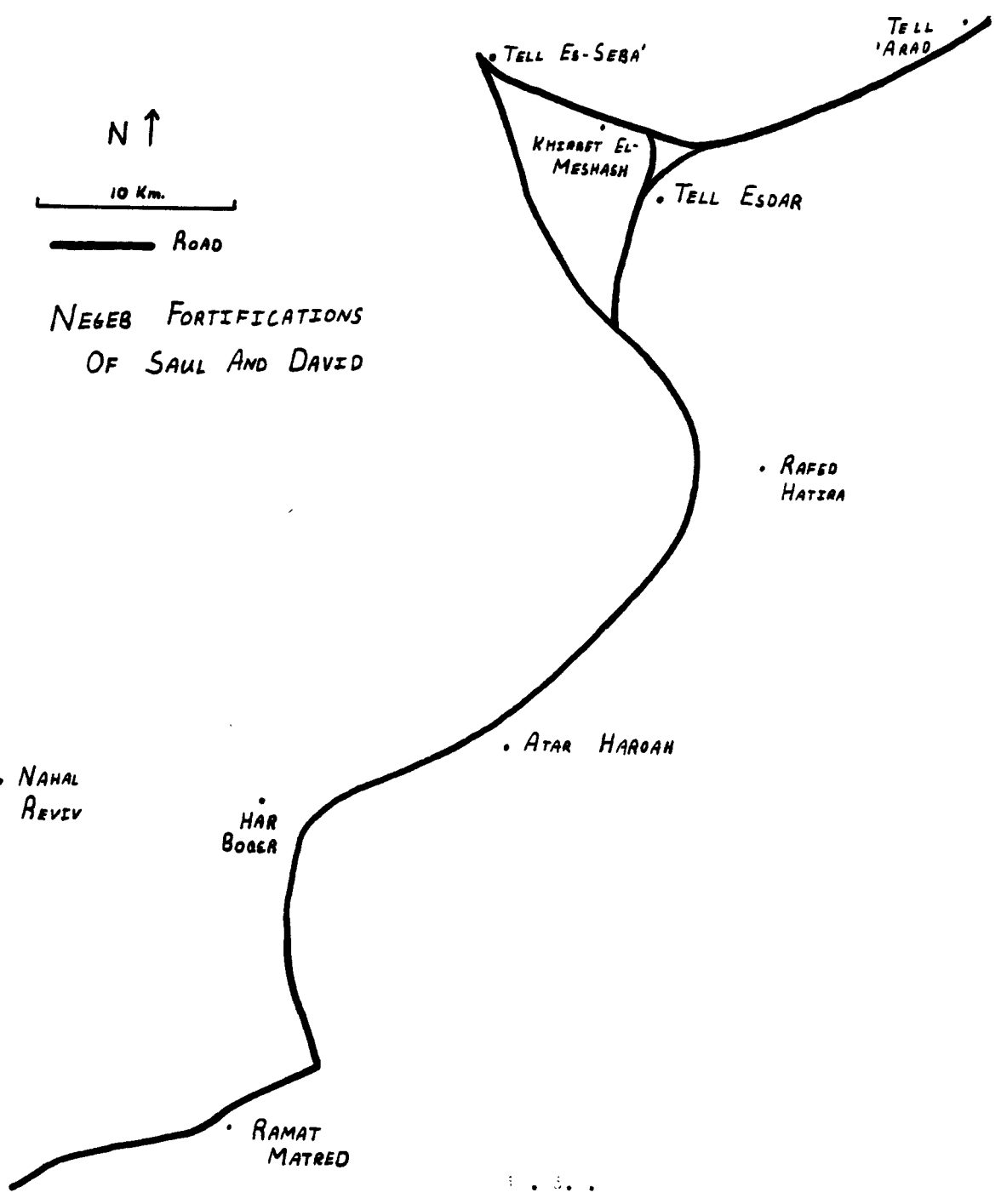
• NAHAL REYEV

N ↑

10 Km.

ROAD

NEGEB FORTIFICATIONS OF SAUL AND DAVID



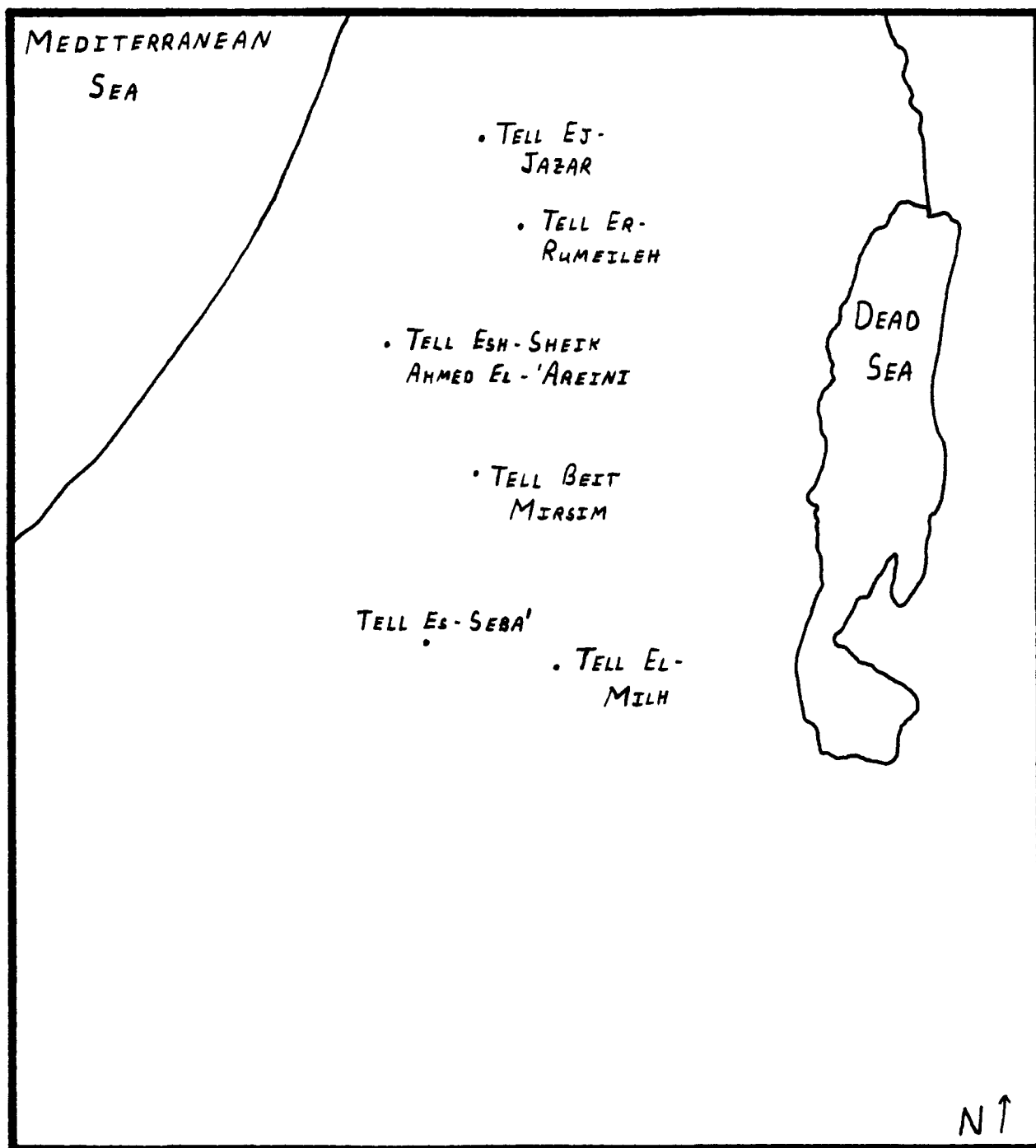


Fig. 6.2. Fortifications constructed during the reigns of David and Solomon.

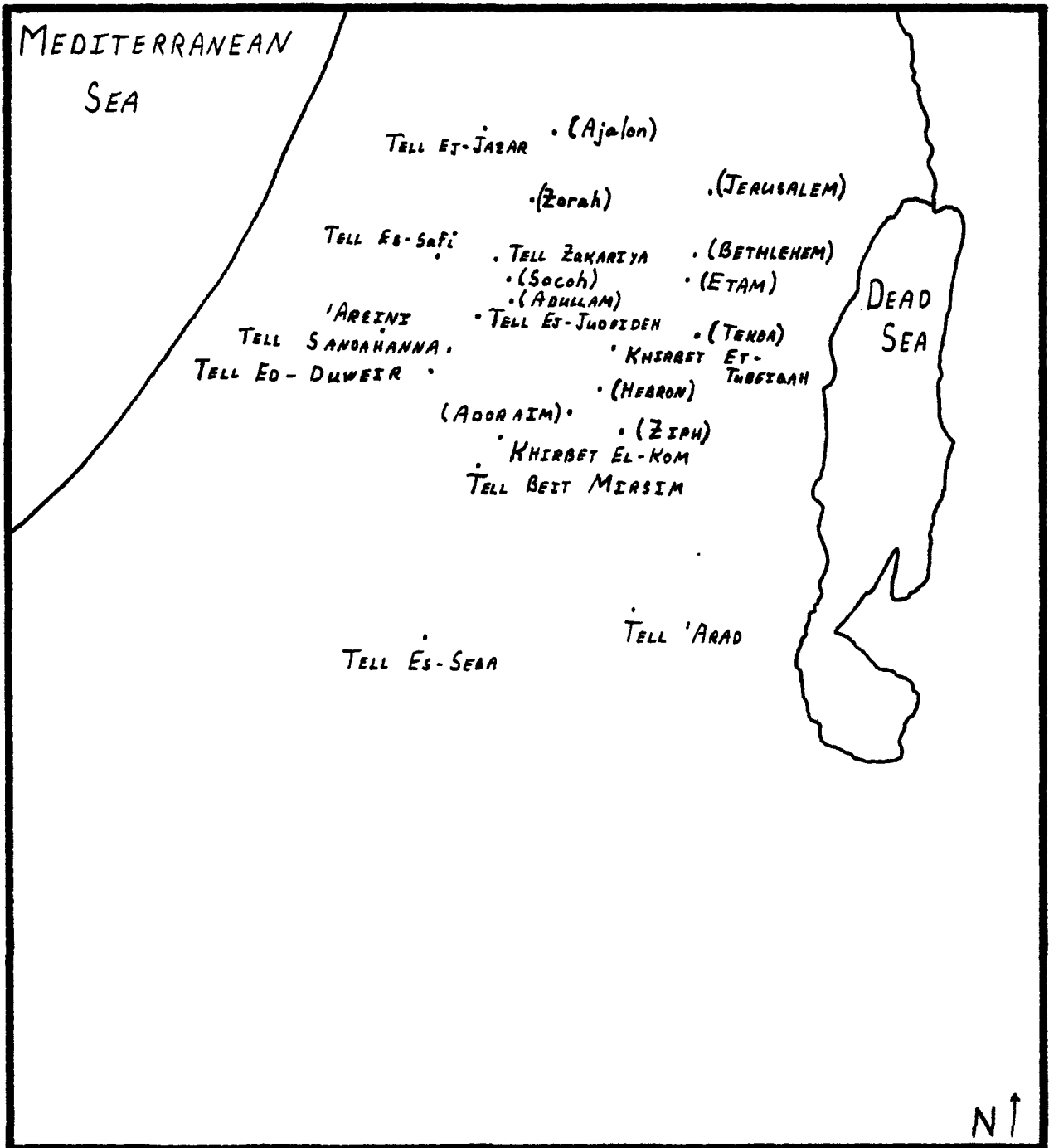


Fig. 6.3. The fortifications of Rehoboam.

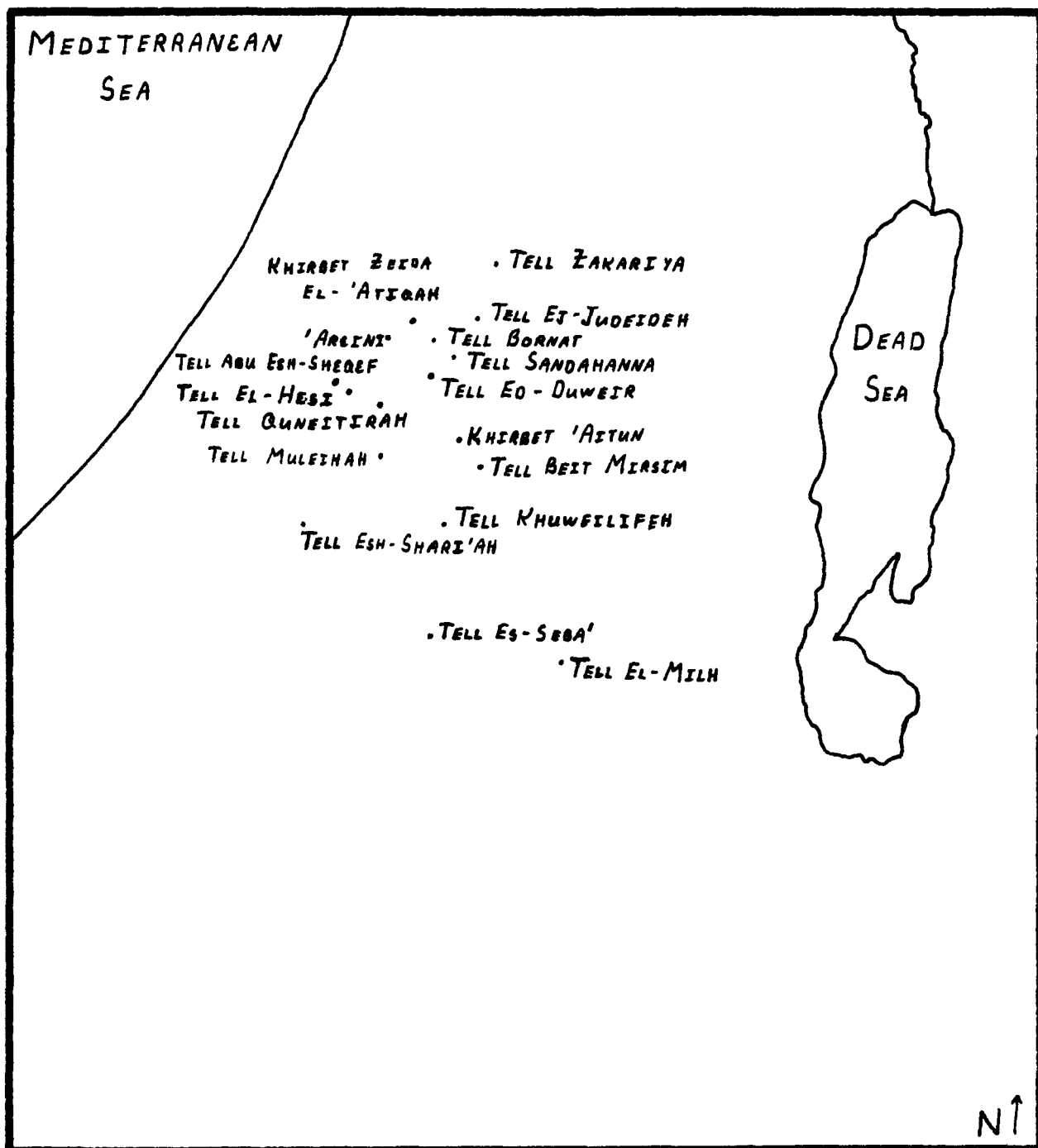


Fig. 6.4. The fortifications of Asa and Jehoshaphat.

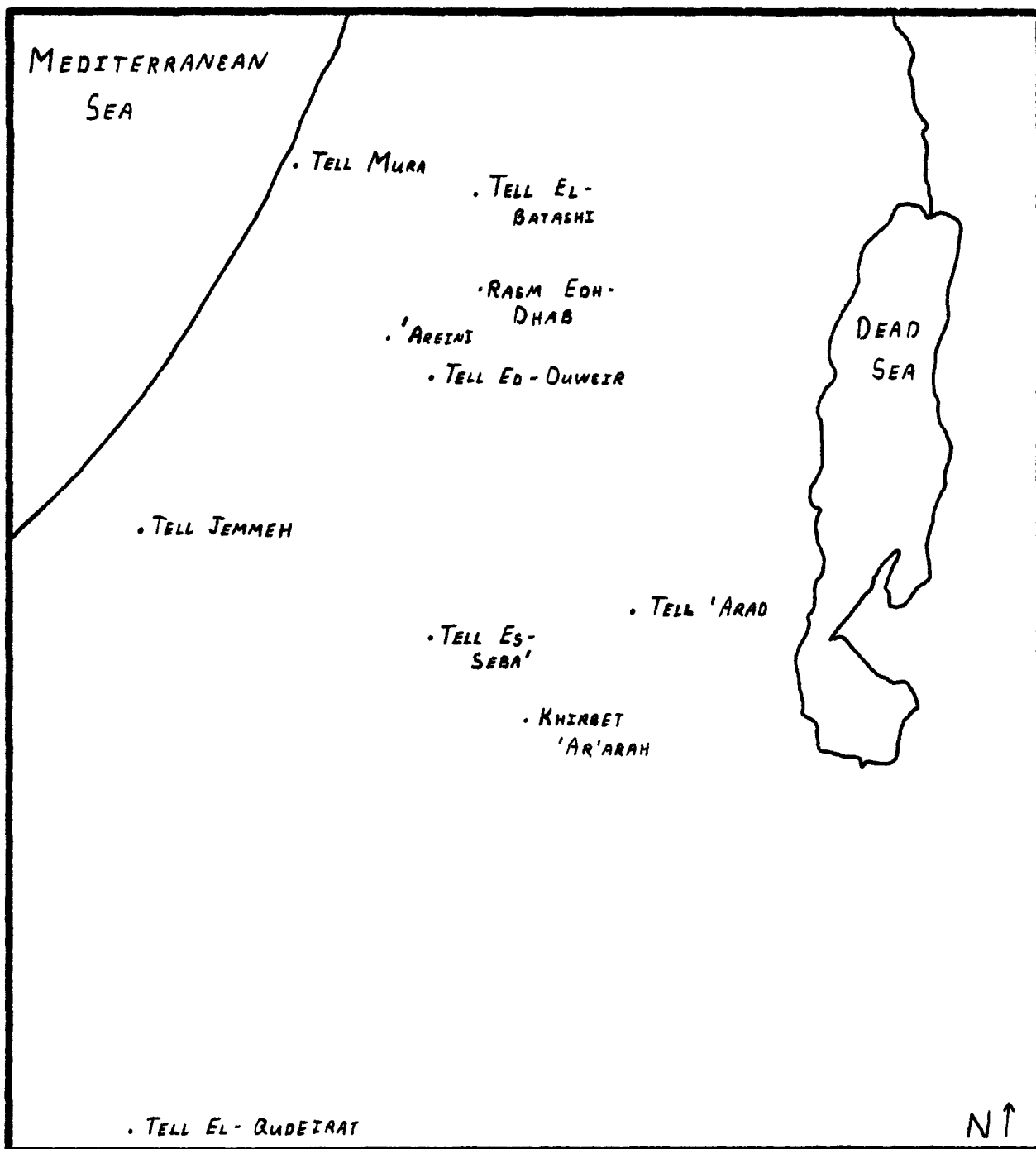


Fig. 6.5. Fortifications constructed during the reign of Uzziah.

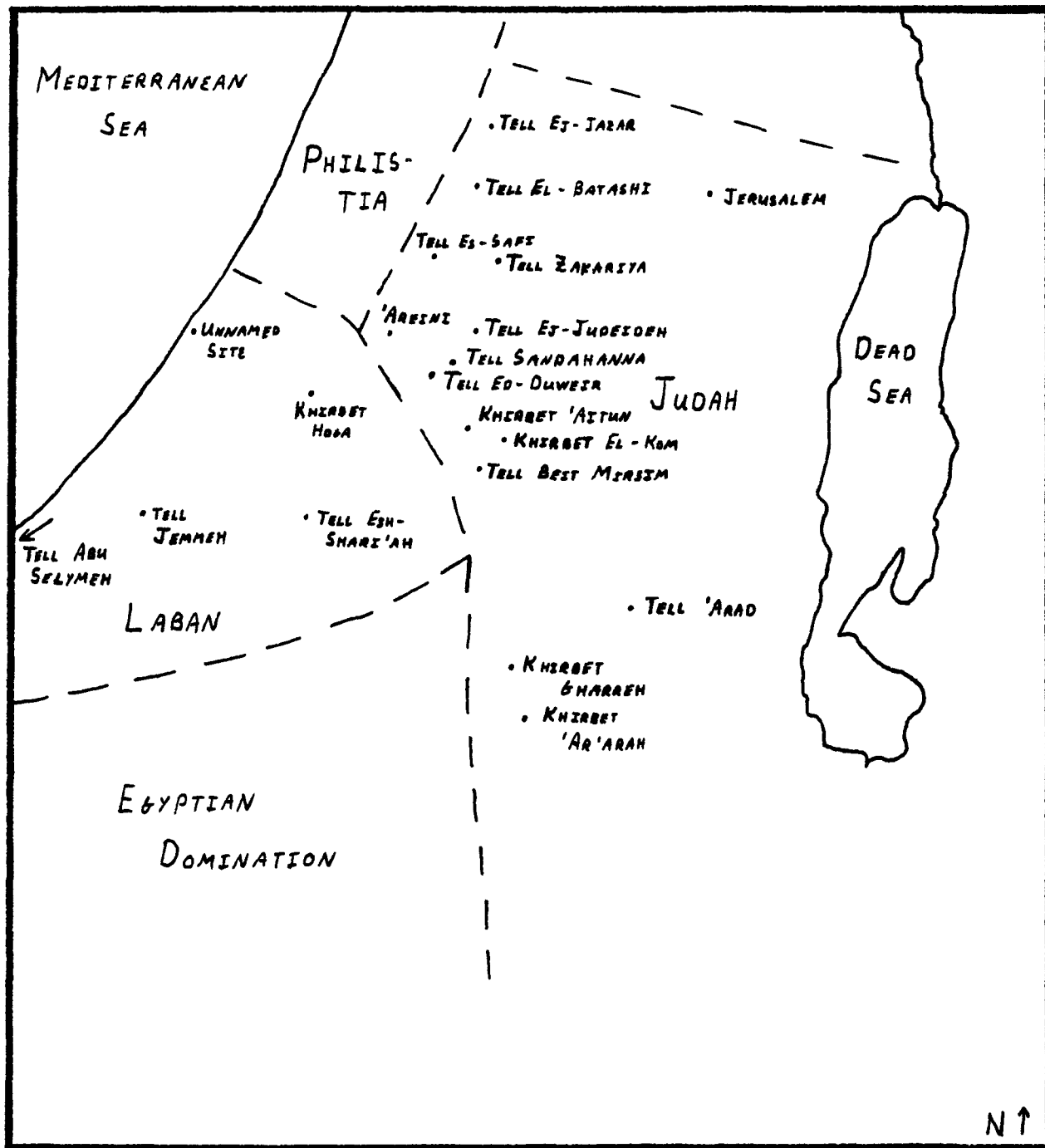


Fig. 6.6. The kingdom of Hezekiah and the Sheikdom of Laban.

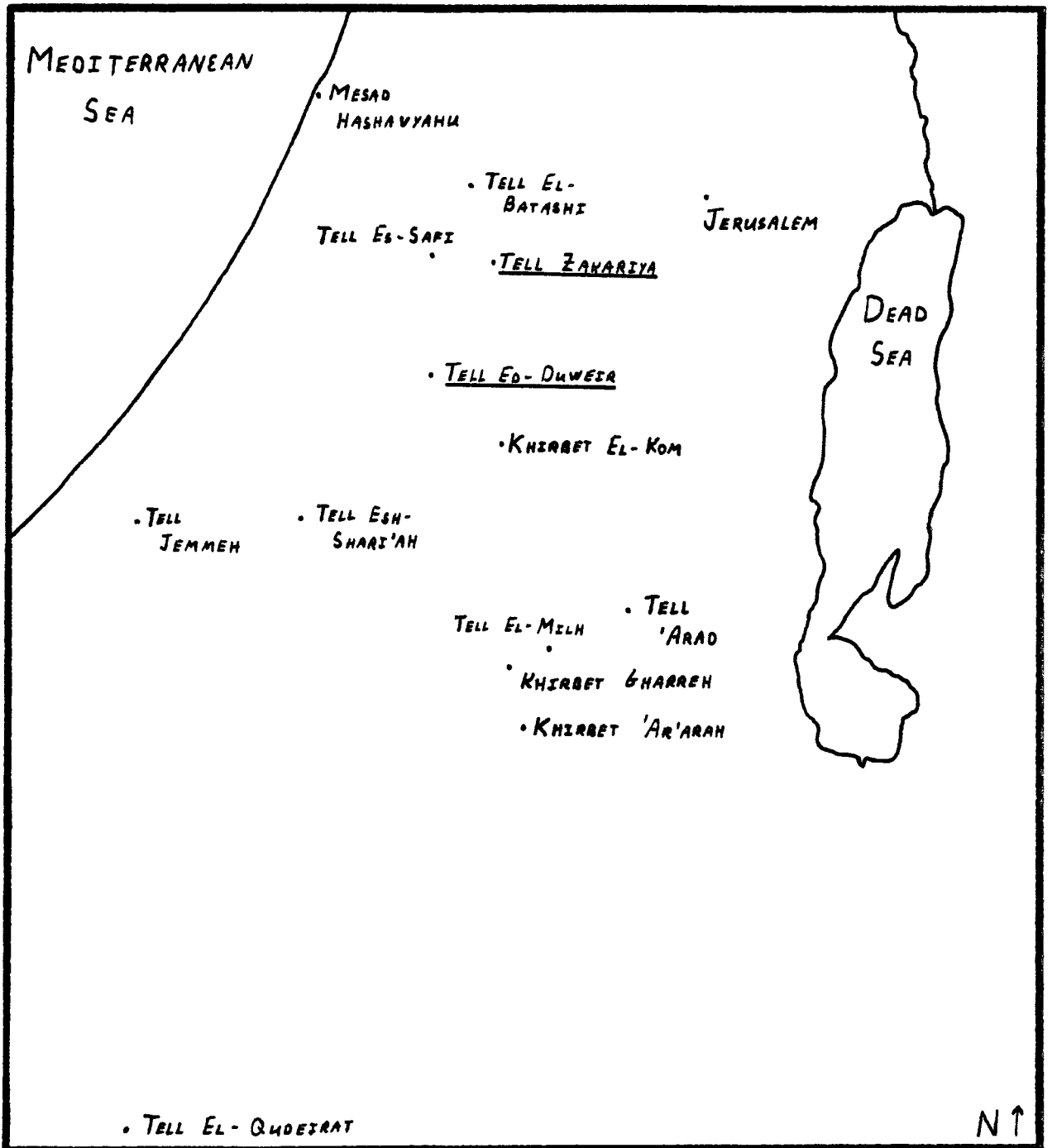


Fig. 6.7. Judahite sites of the late seventh century BCE.