

Social Evolution and Power Strategies of the Iron Age I

Central Highlands of Israel

*A neo-evolutionary perspective on the 'Israelite
settlement'*

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Declaration

I, James McEllan, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.


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Summary of Thesis.

This thesis aims to re-examine Israel's central highland polity formation in the Iron I, also known as the 'Israelite settlement', from a neo-evolutionary perspective. This view emphasises the gradual social trajectory of polity formation leading to statehood. Previously, Faust has argued that state-formation was the result of paralleling settlement abandonments and subsequent urbanism at the end of the Iron I (2003/2006). Despite his objection to Faust's methodology (2005), Finkelstein has similarly argued that the crux of the state-formation process occurred at the end of the 11th century, but was due to the rise of a central highland polity (2013). Most theories identify that Israelite state-formation to be a gradual process occurring over two centuries, where various facets of culture are developed over time, seemingly through a process of cultural transmission. While the most conspicuous feature of this cultural transmission is architecture, primarily pillared houses and paralleling settlement designs, abstract ideas are just as susceptible. The concepts of power and authority, which this study views as a primary driver of societal change, are emphasised in this study and examined chronologically within various cases of highland Iron I settlement in an attempt to showcase the evolutionary nature of the settlement process.

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Abbreviations:

AAA	<i>American Anthropological Association</i>
AASOR	<i>The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
ARA	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i>
ASOR	<i>American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeological Review</i>
BAS	<i>Biblical Archaeology Society</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JAA	<i>Journal of Anthropology and Archaeology</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	<i>New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i>
NEASB	<i>Near Eastern Archaeological Society Bulletin</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PLOS	<i>Public Library of Science</i>
SAR	<i>School of American Research</i>
TAU	<i>Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

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Chapter 1.

Aims, Theoretical Approach, Dating and Methodology:

This study aims to evaluate the most recent views on Iron I central highland polity formation by applying a process of social evolution, specifically neo-evolutionism. Neo-evolutionism is a derivative of traditional evolutionary archaeology which, according to Chapman, has two main aims: the study of social organisations and the theoretical debates surrounding the process of social evolution.¹ In his critique, Routledge described neo-evolutionism as ‘...that strand of processual archaeology where the state always seemed best loved’.² While statehood is generally the end-goal, the theoretical debates tracing its progression vary according to scope and perspective. It was in the late 20th century when neo-evolutionary focus turned to strategies of power utilised by the elite.³ This is the particular focus of this study, arguing that the social evolutionary process is dictated by the development and aggressive expansion of a regional elite within the central highlands. This study will argue against a ‘cause-and-effect’ event occurring during the late-11th century as a result of territorial expansion conducted either internally by one highland group (Finkelstein 2013) or externally by the expanding Philistines (Faust 2006b).⁴ Instead, it will be argued that central highland settlement follows a common, non-extraordinary model that has been applied to many societies of the ancient and modern world. The development of social and economic inequality is a slow process that ushered in social change.

A continual debate within the study of the archaeology of the southern Levant is the social and political conditions that caused the rise of territorial polities, and eventually, statehood in

¹ Chapman 2003: 39

² Routledge 2013: 9

³ Brumfiel & Earle 1987

⁴ Faust is not alone in this thinking and one school of thought within social evolutionary studies is that warfare is a ‘prime mover’ of social change (Robert Carneiro 1970; Otterbein 1970; Webster 1975).

Israel. The traditional (and general) perspective taken is that an 'Israelite culture' emerged within the hill country of Samaria and Judah in the early Iron Age.⁵ This is a problematic interpretation as the identification of cultural markers in this period is controversial and utilising it to argue for some form of political organisation this early in the Iron Age is largely unsubstantiated in the archaeological record.⁶ Recently more scholars, and two particular authorities, have attempted to identify the presence of smaller regional polities by means of settlement data. Such works as that of Faust (2006a/b) and Finkelstein (2013) traced the development of Israelite statehood from important, yet fragmented Iron I central highland settlements.⁷ This is a more nuanced interpretation of the process, although few scholars adopt a *longue duree* approach as this study intends.

1.1. Theoretical Framework:

Whether made explicit or not, studies identifying social development, and eventually, polity formation through archaeological data are not based solely on empirical evidence. Rather an interpretive framework needs to be applied in order to make use of the material. Often, a functionalist approach will be used. Robert Jameson defined the functionalist argument as one that breaks society into separate functions, all of which are interdependent so that a

⁵ Two influential studies that held this perspective were Dever's 'Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?' (Dever 2003) and Killebrew's 'Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: an archaeological study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines and early Israel, 1300-1100BCE' (Killebrew 2005).

Contra. Mendenhall, Gottwald and their proponents, whose views can be summarised in Gottwald's rejection of a 'continuous line of cultural evolution' arguing that Israelite settlement was 'socially revolutionary tribalism' and a disruption from centralised society (Gottwald 1979a: 326-327).

⁶ Bloch-Smith 2003: 401-425; Bunimovitz & Yasur-Landau 1996: 88-101

⁷ Finkelstein speculates that some early authorisation may have existed in the central highlands in the Iron IA, but not to the extent as the previous Shechem polity documented in the LB period (Finkelstein 2013: 27). Both Finkelstein and Faust identify that it is in the Iron IB, the late 11th century, that the first evidence for a regional highland polity is apparent in the archaeological record. Interestingly, both authors collate archaeological evidence and biblical data to describe the early pre-monarchic situation of the Iron IB.

change in one leads to a greater change in the society. He notes that in this way, social phenomena are explained ‘...by reference to the contribution it makes to the continuation of a society of a particular character.’⁸ Studies in evolutionary archaeology, or ‘neoevolution’, will often adopt a functionalist approach arguing that the advent of social change over a period of time is the result of the gradual fulfilment of societal needs. Kincaid commented that presently ‘various versions of functionalism are alive and well’, with the methodology appearing in many forms.⁹ In this study, this approach is one that emphasises settlement data, particularly the architectural remains, and uses their appearance to comment on the character and function of the site as a whole.¹⁰

Simply, this study examines settlements with conspicuous architecture, primarily large residencies and perimeter walls. Many studies have made the general statement that such features are entirely absent throughout the Iron I and the idea has almost become matter-of-fact for the period.¹¹ This work aims to illustrate that the designation of ‘public’ from ‘private’ is relative to time and place and that despite a lack of complexity, there exists certain labour intensive structures within early central highland communities that reflect the presence of a local elite capable of organising the population and provisions of the region. Over a period of two centuries, the archaeological evidence for this elite increases steadily as

⁸ Jameson 1999: 244-245

⁹ Kincaid 2011: 2011

¹⁰ This framework highlights the socio-political value of structural remains and their assignment into categories of public or private architecture. Examples of such an approach can be found in the work of Holladay who presented what he argued to be the architectural requirements of public stables. A year prior Stager did the opposite and identified domestic structures with a set of design criteria (Holladay 1986; Stager 1985a). These studies marked a clear divide between the public and private spheres of settlement architecture and argued that each held a particular function and significance in ancient Near Eastern society.

¹¹ Finkelstein 1993: 97; Freedman, Myers, & Beck 2000: 1238

In his work on the ‘settlement of the period of judges’, Finkelstein would confidently state that no public structures, such as governor residencies or warehouses, would exist during this time, only ‘ordinary residential buildings’ (my translation) (Finkelstein 1987: 27).

evident in the subsequent settlement horizons across the Iron I. This parallels the processual trajectory of social evolution.

In 2001 Schloen presented a strong argument against the ‘public’ and ‘private’ dichotomy. He writes: ‘...there is nothing in the mere existence of large walled settlements, complex administrative hierarchies, the knowledge of writing, or monumental architecture that requires a formally rationalised impersonal bureaucracy and a corresponding distinction between public and private spheres’.¹² Despite this opposition, this thesis maintains that this approach is the only suitable means of identifying socio-political entities within the archaeological record. Although large public architecture (or what we assume to be public architecture) sends no direct message of the status of the builder or the society in which they lived, it is not anachronistic to assume that large structures generally equate to the planning, organising and construction of established authorities within the society.

1.2. Identification of fortifications:

No feature is more evident of an expenditure of energy and resources, often in the form of conspicuous consumption, than a settlement’s fortifications.¹³ Very little scholarship has been conducted on the fortifications from the Iron I highlands and those that do address the topic

¹² Schloen 2001: 195-196

Moreover some criticise the possibility of applying anthropological theories to archaeology at all, arguing that there is no confidence in the studies and that they are nothing more than ‘interesting hypotheses’ (Frick 1985: 16).

¹³ This study accepts a general definition of ‘fortifications’ as being well-built constructions for the purpose of defending against an opposing force. By this definition, fortifications are identified by size (particularly thickness) and strength alone. But this assumes that potential threats to a sedentarised society and the state of warfare equally remains static across all historical periods. It is important to understand defences as variable and relative to the time and place of their establishment. A site considered to be fortified in the earliest stage of the Iron IA (i.e. Giloh), may be considered simply as a ‘walled settlement’ when placed in comparison to later, more advanced settlement sites.

are mainly concerned with simply proving (Mazar 1981) and disproving (Finkelstein 1988) the presence of fortifications prior to the late-11th century BC.¹⁴ The explanation in the latter opinion, that fortified sites are absent in the earliest stage of the Iron I, is that the fragmented highland settlements prior to the late Iron I lacked complexity or a level of social sophistication (i.e. a ruling authority) to produce actual and effective defences. What is found in the highlands during the Iron I is a type of rudimentary defence, a belt of houses running along the perimeter of the settlement (found at such sites as: Et-Tell, Raddana, 'Izbet Sartah). In these cases, the domestic structures are established side-by-side and are generally uniform in dimension. In comparison to the fortifications present at the very end of the Iron I—transitional Iron IIA, these structures appear primitive and feeble where the only separation from the inside of the settlement and outside is a thinly-built back wall of a residency. Defining these enclosures as defenses depends entirely on perspective and how one perceives potential threats present in the Iron I. Considering the absence of imperial powers within the region or any remnants of siege techniques from any Iron I walled settlement, a belt of houses would have been sufficient to protect against natural elements, wild animals and possibly even deter small bands of nomadic raiders.¹⁵ Certainly from the outside looking in, a belt of houses surrounding the perimeter of a site would have been indistinguishable from a solid-style city wall. It must be raised whether such structures were considered to be sufficient fortifications for the state of warfare during this time. Despite the debate over identifying the peripheral structures as fortifications, the dual function of these residencies creates a blurred line between private and public architecture.

¹⁴Mazar 1981, Finkelstein 1988

Finkelstein does not accept that a legitimate defensive system would be in place in the Hill Country until the late 11th century (Finkelstein 1990: 196-197).

¹⁵ This was the opinion of Kempinski and Fritz regarding the belt of houses surrounding Tel Masos str. II (Kempinski & Fritz 1977: 140).

1.3. Dating:

Aside from the problems of identifying early public architecture, there are a number of discrepancies concerning the dating of highland settlements.¹⁶ Included within an appendix of this study are two chapters which collate the traditional and revised dating of a number of sites based on their ceramic assemblages. These have been omitted from the body of this study due to their unoriginality, but it is advised that the appendix should first be consulted to see the justification for the certain dating of central highland sites.¹⁷ Little interest is given to the chronological debates.¹⁸ The main methodological problem is that the majority of excavations and surveys of the highlands predates the revised chronologies of the late 20th-early 21st century. Thus, there is a lack of consensus regarding the attribution of sites to

¹⁶ Finkelstein produced a series of highland re-dating at the end of the 20th century/beginning of the 21st. His views will be evaluated, as too will be the claim that the archaeologists excavating the highlands in the early-to-mid 20th century were inclined to associate highland site destruction and settlements to the emerging 'Israelite' culture (Lemche 1996: 13).

¹⁷ The traditional dating for the transition from the LB to the Iron I is the very start of the 12th century B.C. In 2010, Finkelstein and Piasezky produced a Bayesian model for radiocarbon results across the Iron Age. Their data indicated that the ceramic phase of the early Iron I generally began in the late 12th century (Finkelstein & Piasezky 2010: 381). Yet such a study only provides a precise date for the collapse of the Late Bronze III. The arbitrary purpose of identifying the start of the Iron I in regards to central highland settlement is apparent when considering that a number of new settlements were established in the hill country prior to the collapse of the Late Bronze society. Ussishkin has argued that a more accurate date for the start of the Iron Age is c.1140-1130 B.C as this is the time of new and populous settlement patterns in the hill country and the coastal plain as well as an end of Egyptian hegemony of Canaan (Ussishkin 1985: 225-226). Despite this, the earliest examples of hill country settlement do appear closer to the traditional dating of the 12th century and even into the late 13th century B.C. These earliest sites are categorised as the earliest phase of central hill country settlement and grouped with other Iron I sites in c.12th-11th centuries.

¹⁸ This study maintains that a series of revisions from both sides has essentially bridged the gap and rendered the debate void. The mediator came in 2001 through radiocarbon dating of remains from Tel Rehov. A. Mazar's results found that the transition between the Iron Age I and Iron Age II occurred c.980-970 BC (Mazar 2005: 23). The same process was used to identify the transitioning phase of Megiddo, where C14 dating placed the Iron I/IIA transition around 985-935 BC (Toffolo, Arie, Martin, Boaretto, & Finkelstein 2014: 236). Thus, the Iron I should be roughly regarded as c.1200/1140 BC-c.980/950 BC.

chronological periods. For example, Finkelstein's survey of the highlands (1986, 1988) and excavation of certain highland sites ('Izbet Sartah:1986, Khirbet ed-Dawwara:1990) does not correlate to his more recent work post-dating his revised chronology, and neither correlates to other archaeologists who either worked prior to the recent development of low chronology or who reject its conclusions.¹⁹

This study does not seek to present absolute dates on any highland settlement. Rather, it uses dating parameters to provide a rough chronological sequence of highland settlement horizons (see appendix).²⁰ The most convenient solution is to identify stratum with 'carry over' material from the Late Bronze Age. Ceramic assemblages containing both Late Bronze and Iron I material can be considered 'transitional' between the late LB and the early Iron I. These settlements are to be dated to the earliest phase of the Iron IA. Subsequently, stratum lacking transitional (Late Bronze) material will be dated to the following horizon, the late 12th-early 11th centuries.²¹ A more precise dating to the middle Iron I will be argued by analysing the specific numbers of early/late Iron I ware within the assemblage. As well as

¹⁹ The situation was complicated even further in the 21st century when Finkelstein revised the traditional dating of four highland sites, Kh. et-Tell, Kh. Raddana, Tell el-Ful and Taanach. He argued that the original dating of each was erroneous and influenced by the biblical narrative. Instead of early Iron I settlements, as traditionally identified, Finkelstein presented a case for the settlements being transitional Iron I/IIA (Finkelstein 1998a, 2007, 2011).

²⁰ This is mainly due to the limitations of data. Finkelstein acknowledged the difficulty in assigning dates to early Iron I sites within a margin of error of 50 years (Finkelstein apud Whitelam 1994: 78, n.26).

²¹ In his unpublished PhD dissertation on Iron Age ceramics from the Northern Levant, M. Whincop warned against the emphasis placed on the chronological value of pottery. In Whincop's thesis and a later publication within *Levant* (2010), the author attempted to present statistical evidence (temporal, spatial, functional, mortuary, decoration) to extract what he argued to be a less disproportioned interpretation of the ceramic data. Likewise, Joffe, in agreement with Ussishkin, was cautious in identifying parallel ceramic assemblages as contemporaneous. Yet chronology has become an integral and timeless aspect of the study of ceramics due to the reasonable association of pottery forms to chronological periods. Moreover, the lack of textual data, historical anchors or secure absolute dating within Iron I contexts justifies this reliance on ceramic parallels and the chronological value of pottery.

parallels made to Shiloh V, which has been radiocarbon dated to the mid-Iron I.²² Finally strata containing both Iron I and ‘transitional’ Iron IIA material will be assigned to the Iron IB, late 11th-early 10th centuries.

1.4. Methodology:

This study entails a discussion of the central highlands of Israel. This includes the regions of Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin and Judah.²³ The settlements will be addressed from a chronological scope following Iron IA/B divisions in order to examine the data from a social evolutionary perspective. Regardless of the recognition of the subdivisions of the Iron I, the two periods have been separated in this study for convenience and to test the assumption that the developed state in region present in the 10th-9th centuries is directly related to the increased social complexity of the late 11th century noted by both Finkelstein and Faust. This division hopes to illustrate that the situation in the central highlands in the 11th century was predestined by the political climate of late 12th-early 11th century.

²² Finkelstein & Piasezky 2010: 378

²³ The geographic division of the highlands is not a novel concept and was utilised most notably by Finkelstein (Finkelstein 1988). Previously, Finkelstein noted that highland settlement illustrated ‘regionality’. That some areas, devoid of occupation, were settled very early in the Iron I, while others preserved older cultural habits and settlement patterns (Finkelstein 1985: 82). Dever agreed that the cultural changes from the end of the LB into the Iron I (c.1250-1150BC) was so gradual and varied depending on the settlement, that a regional approach was the only means to comprehend the cultural shift (Dever 1992a: 99). This fits the view that environmental diversity, particularly soil diversity, results in social/cultural evolution being a regional process (Frick 1985: 37; Sanders & Webster 1978: 253). It should be noted that this study is limited only to the central highlands of Israel. While it can be argued that a number of important sites were settled in the Galilee and Beersheba basin during this period containing the same material culture of the central highland settlements, it has been generally noted that significant settlement activity on each fringe only occurred at a later stage of the Iron I. Finkelstein referred to these zones as ‘of secondary importance to the Settlement phenomenon’ (Coote 1990: 130; Finkelstein 1985: 80). All of this is reflected in disproportion of Iron I settlements which is focused primarily (90%) in Ephraim and Manasseh (Coote 1990: 124).

The data of this research is divided into periods of a couple of centuries: the late 13/12th centuries-early 11th, the late 11th-early 10th. In each division, the structural remains of selected excavated sites are examined in light of modern anthropological theories on the emergence of power, social evolution and complexity. These theories are not novel to the field of archaeology and are the basis for what many consider ‘evolutionary archaeology’. Aside from applying such theories, survey data will be utilised to present a spatial analysis of the regions surrounding the excavated sites. A study of the two divisions, the Iron IA and Iron IB, presents a case for many sites excavated within the central highlands following a processual evolutionary trajectory throughout the Iron I leading towards statehood.

Chapter 2. History of Research:

2.1. History of Research on Iron I Central Highlands:

Many studies dealing with the history of Israel generally regard the central highlands during the early Iron Age as simply being the genesis of an Israelite(/Judahite) state.²⁴ Such studies attempting to trace the progression to statehood generally put forward a uniform ‘highland culture’ that would eventually develop into Israelite culture. A series of monographs on the subject were written when the field was the focus of much attention between the 1980’s-1990’s. One of the earliest seminal works on highland settlement was Coote and Whitelam’s 1987 ‘The Emergence of Early Israel in Historical Perspective’. The significance of which was due to the scholars’ identification of the historiographic problem of the ‘Israelite settlement’ and their solution to give priority to settlement patterns and supposed site relationships.

Coote and Whitelam agreed that the development of the Israelite monarchy was the cause of social change with the breakdown of Late Bronze societies and Israel’s subsequent isolation. Coote and Whitelam delve thoroughly into the socio-economic reasoning for the process. The pair explain that while the southern Levant was an important crossroad for larger, developed urban centres, when international trade declined following the LB crisis, the power and status

²⁴ A brief review of a selection of ‘general’ histories of ancient Israel illustrates this: Jagersma (1982) argued for a level of sophistication and political unity from the beginning of the Iron Age (contra. Mendenhall) as he identified the hill country settlement as the sedentarisation of the 14th century nomadic ‘Apiru (Jagersma 1982: 62). Lemeche (1990) agreed on the early transformation of the LB ‘Apiru into the tribal Israelites: ‘The groups which were more or less randomly assembled bands of robbers evolved in the course of time into real tribal societies with permanent social structures and established norms...’ (Lemche 1990a: 89). Miller and Hayes argued: ‘A reasonable case can be made that early Israel was connected in some way with the small agricultural settlements that began to appear in the Palestinian highlands at the close of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age’ (J. M. Miller & Hayes 2006: 113).

of the local elite diminished. This caused a disruption in the taxation of the region, which negatively affected the function of city-states.²⁵ How these settlers developed into a unified cultural/political group, according to Coote and Whitelam, is by a process of 'circumscription' where the physical and social boundaries of Israel were formed due to external (Philistine and nomadic) incursions.²⁶ However, the reliance on archaeological data was criticised by a number of authorities.²⁷

Three years later, Coote returned to the subject with his 'Early Israel: A New Horizon'. In the introduction, the author informs that the book is designed: '...to benefit readers who are just beginning their study of early Israel...to summarize the understanding of early Israel that has emerged from the research of the last decade.'²⁸ Coote's introduction to the subject covers much of the same data he and Whitelam discussed in their 1987 monograph. However, there

²⁵ The pair reasonably support the claim that the Iron I witnessed a demise in interregional trade by the growth of subsistence agriculture and limited and utilitarian ceramic repertoire.

²⁶ Coote & Whitelam 1987: 144-148

²⁷ Hauser argued that the study created an 'unbalanced' study. He commented that in a chapter entitled 'The Formation of the Davidic State', the historical figure of David is '...hardly more than a footnote to the chapter's socio-economic analysis.' (Hauser 1988: 732). Likewise Dever commends the study, but notes that it would have been beneficial for the authors to collaborate with specialists in the field of 'Palestinian archaeology' to help interpret difficult, unpublished data (Dever 1992b: 201). Although Coote and Whitelam's theories cannot be anything more than circumstantial, this thesis agrees that any attempt to incorporate individual historical figures into the process is difficult due to the inability to extract such information from the archaeological record.

²⁸ Coote 1990: vii;

A special mention is necessary for another monograph written around this time, Gottwald's 1979 'Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the religion of liberated Israel'. The text itself is focused on the early biblical data for Israelite settlement. Its inclusion here is due to its perspective as an anthropological study of human behaviour. Gottwald argues that Israelite religion played an important role in 'liberating' Israel from the Canaanite societies during its emergence. This is similar to the ideas put forward by Mendenhall, that the society that developed into the Israelite monarchy was a reaction and rejection to Canaanite religion of the Late Bronze and was further distinguished due to pressure of Philistine incursions (Mendenhall 1962, 1983: 99). Yet the general problem with this perspective is that the biblical narrative naturally emphasises the central role of 'Yahwehism' in the society giving it a disproportional importance in the written record. Even more unsubstantiated is the claim that this process was a 'revolution' away from pre-existing society in Canaan.

are quite a number of new theories on highland settlement that appear to be new and exclusive to the author. This includes more attempts to bridge the archaeological evidence and biblical data, a striking contrast from his contribution three years earlier that had a larger focus on the underlying non-historical processes of highland settlement. Emerton was critical of this, writing ‘such unsubstantiated assertions seem particularly out of place in a book intended for beginnings in the study of ancient Israel.’²⁹ Coote’s attempt to draw new conclusions on fragmented data is commendable, but becomes problematic as it is reliant on biblical data for a society that lacked evidence of any written documentation and certainly not sophisticated historical records.³⁰ It should be concluded that the greatest benefit of Coote’s work, much like the monograph written with Whitelam, is that it emphasises the explainable and not unique processes that led to Israelite state formation. Coote argued that it was only when Egyptian domination of the Levant ended that new tribal frontiers emerged. The replacement of the Egyptians by the Philistines caused tribal culture to fuse under a single authority.

²⁹ Emerton 1993: 141

³⁰ Coote appears to also be an advocate for a ‘regional history’ as a means to explain highland settlement. This was an idea strongly put forward by his collaborator, Whitelam, who argued for ‘the emergence of Palestinian history as a subject in its own right’ (Whitelam 1994: 59). Such a view has been put forward since by Thompson (1992) and Ahlström (1993). Dever has argued more radically for a ‘secular history’ or ‘secular archaeology’ of Palestine (Dever 1996: 6). This may seem a reliable means of coming to conclusions on the process of highland settlement. However, Coote’s excessive use of ‘Palestinian’ to describe the Iron Age settlers and their material culture as well as the term ‘Europeans’ to refer to the Philistines and Anatolian raiders is arguably only complicating the study with unnecessary additional terminology. Hopkins described Coote’s work as a ‘politically orientated history’ (D. Hopkins, C., 1992: 319). Certainly this is true for his collaborator, Whitelam, who would go on to write about ‘The invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History’. Likewise, despite Coote’s advocacy for a secular history, his terminology suggests an equally politically-minded history. A truer case for secular history is to be found in Hopkins’ work as he claims: ‘...the story of Israel’s origin takes its place in the midst of the larger sweep of Palestinian history, resting upon a recognizable set of social, economic, and geo-political characteristics’ and that the origin of ancient Israel has no right to claim ‘special status.’ (D. Hopkins, C., 1992: 320).

Decades after the original publication of these monographs, a number of important studies have focused on the development of 'Israelite culture' during the Iron I. Two of the most influential are Dever's 'Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?' (2003) and Killebrew's 'Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines and Early Israel, 1300-1100B.C.E' (2005). Dever condenses his hypothesis with the use of the term 'Proto-Israelites' to categorise the majority of highland settlers in the Iron I. He argues that a correlation of certain 'cultural traits' (House/village layout, architecture & installations, ceramics and technology) illustrates that the Iron I highland settlement was an interrelation of sites from the earliest period of the Iron Age.³¹ Killebrew argued that the collapse of Bronze Age society caused widespread cultural, political and social fragmentation throughout the southern Levant '...resulting in the assertion of local identities and the establishment of new social boundaries.'³² Yet as soon as these smaller socio-political groups emerged, they began to undergo a gradual process of cultural and social unification. As she writes: '...I propose that the emergence of ancient Israel should be interpreted as a process of ethnogenesis, or a gradual emergence of a group identity from a 'mixed multitude' of peoples whose origins are largely indigenous and can only be understood in the wider eastern Mediterranean context.'³³ In terms of the archaeological data, Killebrew utilises much the same resources as Dever as she identifies certain features she considers to be characteristic of Iron I highland settlement.³⁴

³¹ Previously, Dever defended the use of the term 'proto-Israelite' by comparison to terms such as 'proto-urban' or 'proto-Canaanite'. Not only is it rightly justified, as he claims, but also a 'working compromise' to the late 20th century debate on associating Iron I highland settlement to the biblical 'Israelites' (Dever 1996: 18).

³² Killebrew 2005: 149

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ *ibid.*: 171-181

Faust argued much the same in his 'Israel's Ethnogenesis' (2006), identifying the typical highland pottery forms and architecture that both Dever and Killebrew identified as '(proto)-Israelite'. He also argued for a number of other novel features, including: meat consumption, circumcision and the lack of painted and imported vessels.

Few modern scholars identify a single unified culture early in the Iron I simply due to the homogeneity of material culture and Israel Finkelstein is one influential scholar who rejects this view. Previously, in his 1996 paper '*Ethnicity and Origin of the Iron I Settlers in the Highlands of Canaan: Can the Real Israel Stand Up?*' Finkelstein systematically critiqued each of Dever's justifications for attributing the hill country culture to the ancestors of the Israelites. Examining the same evidence that Dever considers indicative of a 'proto-Israelite' culture, he identifies the material change as the result of indigenous nomads settling down in the largely unoccupied highlands. These periods of sedentarisation, according to Finkelstein, are cyclical and appear following periods of economic and social crisis such as those that occurred in the Intermediate Bronze Age/Middle Bronze I and Late Bronze and was not restricted to just the central highlands.³⁵

The main problem with the appearance of '(proto-)Israelite' culture early in the Iron I is that it assumes that from their initial establishment, or sometime shortly afterwards, the highland settlements were a unified system of interrelated sites. The correlation of material culture identified by Dever, Killebrew and others is presented as evidence of a form of 'collective thought'. This disregards a number of alternative explanations for the presence of shared

Faust's distinction is that he does not regard the highland settlement as a single socio-political unit until the late Iron I at the earliest (Faust 2006a). This view is not restricted to archaeology as biblical scholar, Small, argued that a hierarchical system of small polities was 'alien to this early society' (Small 1997: 284).

³⁵ Finkelstein 1996: 207-208

Finkelstein came to this conclusion by arguing that vessels and material culture typical of the Iron I hill country represents a socio-economic change in favour of pastoralism and agriculture, but were in no way new or innovative for the region or time.³⁵ As he writes: 'It is therefore more reasonable to explain these settlement fluctuations in terms of socio-economic change, that is, shifts towards a more sedentary or a more pastoral society, in accordance with political, economic, and social transformations.' (Finkelstein 1996: 208). Regardless of the origins and ethnicity of the hill country settlers, doubtless they were early agriculturalists. From the excavations of hill country sites, a number of which were established on virgin soil, revealed an abundance of produce-storing pithoi and silos, as well as house and settlement plans that reflect a communal and agrarian lifestyle based on subsistence farming.

material within the highlands, such as the spread of cultural influence of neighbouring polities or a process of ‘acculturation’ where aspects of a society are adopted without adopting the society’s identity.³⁶ Another alternative is Finkelstein’s view that certain architectural features and pottery forms were essential to sedentarised lifestyle in the hill country.³⁷

It has only been within the last decade that archaeologists have begun to form new, more nuanced interpretations on highland settlement. That is, a region divided into interrelated communities. One such study that has not received much attention is R. Miller’s 2005 ‘Chieftains of the Highland Clans: A History of Israel in the Twelfth and Eleventh Centuries B.C’.³⁸ In this work, Miller builds off of a previous study collating Iron I North-Central highland sites to reconstruct the settlement and social history of Israel’s highlands.³⁹ Miller attempts to identify the territorial boundary of large ‘paramount’ chiefdoms and their association with smaller, subservient chiefdoms. The political fragmentation of the highlands throughout the early Iron Age is highlighted within the study. Although the means by which Miller recreates the relationship between the larger ‘paramount’ chiefdoms and surrounding

³⁶ Gitin 1998

This is also known as ‘cultural fusion’ Uziel 2007 and ‘Creolization’ (Ben-Shlomo, Shai, & Maeir 2004).

³⁷ Finkelstein 1996

The most obvious criticism around identifying a unified social entity early in the Iron I is that it is clearly influenced by the biblical narrative. Outside of the discipline of archaeology, Flanagan argued for the existence of chiefdoms in pre-state Israel due to the parallels made between the Bible (primarily 1 & 2 Samuel) and a list taken from C. Renfrew (but originally composed by Service) on characteristics of distinguishing chiefdoms from egalitarian societies (J. W. Flanagan 1981; Renfrew, Todd, & Tringham 1974). Flanagan’s comparison relies heavily on the influential work on cultural evolution by Service (Elman Rogers Service 1975). Of particular relevance is Flanagan’s analysis of the importance of ‘big man’ leadership within chiefdoms and the transferral of high office from father to son. Here, Flanagan argues that the biblical figures of Saul and David were from separate chiefdoms competing for paramount power (J. W. Flanagan 1981: 50-56). This is a notion that some of the most authoritative voices on the archaeology of early Iron Age Israel are beginning to incorporate alongside the material evidence (Faust 2006b; Finkelstein 2013).

³⁸ R. D. Miller 2012.

³⁹ R. D. Miller 2002

settlements is very arithmetical, this arguably does not represent the natural and non-formulaic process of developing polities.⁴⁰ Using his own formula, Miller creates a number of large 'A-level' and secondary 'B-level' chiefdoms and 'C-level' subservient settlements.

Since the publication of 'Chieftains of the Highland Clans' there have been a proposed re-dating of a number significant highland settlements which severely affects and out-dates Miller's settlement history.⁴¹ Even if one rejects the recent redating of these Iron I settlements, an argument on site interrelation through a mathematical equation is rather unconvincing. Lemche was particularly opposed to applying models, systems, or 'laws' to ancient societies. Believing such to be a delusion due to the infinite variety within human reactions to a situation, he argued it is not appropriate to limit the variable outcomes and responses as such 'system theories' attempt to do.⁴² Most seminal and modern theories on state formation and social/cultural evolution identify the rise of regional powers as an organic and fortuitous process dependent on a number of factors (location, access/control of resources and interaction with neighbouring settlements). However, Miller is correct to assume that

⁴⁰ The best example of this is seen in Miller's explanation for the 'Gravity Model' for the interrelation between polities: 'As described above, this model describes the interaction between two sites as directly proportional to a function of the population of the two sites and inversely proportional to a function of the distance between the sites. Mathematically, the interaction can be quantified as the product of the two populations (or class sizes or credits) multiplied by a constant, then divided by the distance of travel time between the sites raised to a power of an attenuation constant' (R. D. Miller 2012: 30).

⁴¹ Finkelstein 1998a, 2007: 107-113, 2011.

⁴² Lemche 1990b: 77, 81-82, 1996: 18

This is not to say that there is not room for formulas when identifying the process of the institutionalisation of power and the development of political entities. Lewis Morgan's incorporation of Marxism within the development of primitive societies has generally held relevance since its original publication. This is the theory that technological advancements led to commodity production and to entrepreneurship and stratified society (Morgan 1907; Elman Rogers Service 1975: 268). Likewise, Renfrew's 'Systems Collapse' theory holds a formulaic approach to societal destruction and renewal (Renfrew & Cooke 1979).

despite similar material remains, the makeup of Iron I highland Canaan was a conglomeration of independent settlements.⁴³

The works of Faust (2006a/b) and Finkelstein (2013) also trace the development of Israelite statehood from fragmented Iron I highland settlements. Interestingly, both authors try to incorporate early biblical data to describe the pre-monarchic situation. Of the two authors' contributions, particular interest is Faust's 'Settlement Patterns and State Formation in Southern Samaria and Archaeology of (a) Saul' and 'Israel's Ethnogenesis' (2006). Faust emphasises the role of destruction and abandonment of sites in the process of state development.⁴⁴ Faust identifies that during the course of the Iron I, settlements appeared and disappeared while others grew to become regional centres and this is the basis for the historical monarchy.⁴⁵ He argues that a series of site destruction and abandonments accompanied by the growth of other settlements reflects the development of emerging complexity within the Benjamin in the late Iron I that led to statehood. Rather than identifying a continual evolution (or cultural progression) of settlements, Faust pinpoints a sudden rise in complexity occurring in the late 11th century BC. He identifies that few scholars have made the observation that none of the typical Iron I villages continued to exist as villages in the Iron IIA. Either they were transformed into urban towns or cities or were

⁴³ Also of interest in this work is Miller's 'Temporal Change in Settlement Pattern' where he evaluates the cause for the formation and destruction of highland sites during the 12th and 11th centuries BC.

⁴⁴ This is a developed argument from two of his previous works: 'From Hamlets to Monarchy: A view from the countryside on the formation of the Israelite monarchy' (1999) and 'Abandonment, Urbanization, Resettlement and the formation of the Israelite State' (2003). More recently, Faust has published an overview of the rural sector of Israelite settlement across the Iron Age. His conclusions mimics the aforementioned works (Faust 2015).

⁴⁵ Faust 2006a: 117-118, 2006b: 25-26

destroyed completely.⁴⁶ In Faust's mind, complexity came as settlements grew in size. He argues that the movement of people from particular settlements to others '...can only be explained by a strong external threat (that could have been accompanied by resettlement).'⁴⁷ This strong external threat was the Philistines. Faust concludes: 'This development which brought many people to live in large sites and to abandon the small sites, should be seen as a major part of the state formation process that took place at the same time in the highlands.'⁴⁸

Finkelstein's 'The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel' (2013) takes a different perspective and rather than emphasising discontinuity into the Iron IIA, he identifies continuity between the Late Bronze and Iron I/IIA.⁴⁹ Finkelstein argues that the LB polity of Shechem present in the 14th century Amarna texts would gradually be supplanted by a Gibeon/Gibeah polity in the Iron I. Previously, Finkelstein argued that highland settlement was a cyclical process that followed periods of economic and social crisis.⁵⁰ Although he claims that the settlement during this time is generally not unique, the region of Benjamin in the late 11th century exhibits an unprecedented level of social complexity unknown elsewhere in the highlands. As he writes: 'No site can be distinguished as a central settlement - the seat of a ruling group. But there is one exception to at least some of these characteristics: a group of sites located in the Gibeon-Bethel plateau north of

⁴⁶ Faust 2006b: 16

Faust and others have previously rejected the identification of a general continuity into the Iron IIA, i.e. Herr 1997. Previously, Faust held the same argument as his later work but was not specific to the Benjamin, arguing that not a single rural highland site existed in the 10th century (Faust 2003: 149)

⁴⁷ Faust 2006b: 17

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ This continuity is more than just material culture. Dever identifies that the 'indigenous influence of the Canaanite people' would be maintained into the Iron I (Dever 1992a: 99).

⁵⁰ Finkelstein 1995, 1996: 207-208

Jerusalem.⁵¹ Finkelstein believes that the Bible records a historical memory of this period and, similar to Flanagan's identification of a Saulide chiefdom in the biblical material, Finkelstein associates the account of the House of Saul as being the head of a Benjaminite regional polity.⁵² Finkelstein's reconstruction of a 'Saulide polity' in the Benjamin seems to correspond to Faust's identification of 'a Saul' as an agent of change in this region during the late 11th century. From the late 10th century - early 9th, Finkelstein contends that another polity would emerge north of the Benjamin in Tirzah.⁵³ Although there is an absence of monumental architecture from within Tell el-Far'ah (N), according to Finkelstein, this polity supposedly ruled over the rural landscape of the northern Benjaminite hills to the Jezreel valley '...with no evidence of monumental architecture, fortifications, or developed administrative centres.'⁵⁴ This polity would be preserved in the biblical and archaeological record by the Omride Dynasty, who would abandon the Tirzah region to settle in the more strategic region of Samaria.⁵⁵

Both theories agree that state development arose independently, first in the Benjamin as a result of either territorial expansion or a forced unification due to an external enemy.

⁵¹ Finkelstein 2013: 38

⁵² Much study has been conducted on the so-called 'Benjamin Conundrum' (Levin 2004: 223-241), that is the textual discrepancies of the affiliation of the region to either the Israelite or Judahite kingdoms. The general consensus among the most recent textual scholars is that in its earliest history, Benjamin belonged to Israel and only became Judahite at a later stage (Davies 2009; Fleming 2012; Knauf 2006; Levin 2004) contra. Na'aman 2009, K. Hong argued that although some northern traditions may have been preserved when Benjamin was included in the southern kingdom, a number of traditions, namely the history of the House of Saul, are a localised history of Benjamin (Hong 2013: 284).

⁵³ This view is comparable to an idea put forward by J. Maxwell Miller, who argued that on the eve of the monarchy, complexity was centred around Ephraim where four main groups were 'loosely associated' in a centre-satellite relationship. These groups are attested in the Book of Judges: the Ephraimites, Manassites, Benjaminites and Gileadites, with Ephraim being the dominant entity (J. M. Miller & Hayes 2006: 97).

⁵⁴ Finkelstein 2013: 78

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

Eventually this process developed into a hierarchical settlement system and a subsequent complex society. Finkelstein would criticise Faust's findings as 'a mirage created by a methodological blunder.'⁵⁶ Likewise, Alex Joffe criticised Faust of designing his argument to focus on discontinuity rather than a historical reality.⁵⁷ This is a valid criticism as it was identified by Greenberg and Keinan in their compilation of highland surveys that over half (around 60%) of all Iron I hill country settlements persisted into the Iron II. The authors write 'Thus there is a good basis to suggest a high degree of settlement continuity in the highlands in the passage from the pre-state village entities to the early political entities that were to become the United Monarchy and/or Kingdoms of Israel and Judah'.⁵⁸ As significant as site destruction is for state formation, the continuation of settlements leading into the Iron IIA cannot be marginalised.

Finkelstein's latest book is not without controversy and two particularly critical reviews were recently published in *Biblical Archaeology Review* against Finkelstein's theory.⁵⁹ William Dever, who has a history of public exchanges with Finkelstein, writes about the author: 'Finkelstein was once an innovative scholar, pioneering new methods; now he has become a showman. A Tragic waste of talent, energy and charm - and a detriment to our discipline.'⁶⁰ Burke took a less personal approach and criticised that 'Finkelstein simply uses [the 14th century local king] Labayu to replace the role of the United Monarchy in the 10th century as the origin of Israel (and Judah)'.⁶¹ While Finkelstein rejected the presence of a 'large territorial entity' in the early-mid Iron I, it should be raised that he identified Shiloh as a

⁵⁶ Finkelstein 2005: 207

⁵⁷ Joffe 2007: 16

⁵⁸ Greenberg & Keinan 2009: 25-26

⁵⁹ Dever, Burke, & Shanks 2014: 37-41

⁶⁰ Dever et al. 2014: 38.

⁶¹ Burke 2014: 40

‘redistribution facility’, containing ceramics originating from Shechem and Wadi Far’ah.⁶²

Likewise, the conspicuous pillared buildings (Structures 312 & 335, Area C) and storage installations (Areas D, E, H, K, M) of Shiloh V, which the excavator estimated: ‘...could have served the population of the site and its immediate surroundings’, mark Shiloh as an important highland site in the early-to-mid Iron I, possibly part of an early highland polity.⁶³

It is clear from the recent conclusions of the most renowned scholars there are inconsistencies in applying general polity-formation theory and cultural evolution to early Israel.

2.2. History of Research on social/cultural evolution theory:

Since the publication of Service’s ‘Primitive Social Organisation: An Evolutionary Perspective’ (1962) and ‘Origins of the State & Civilisation’ (1975), the four terms: bands, tribes, chiefdoms and states have been grouped together and placed on a linear timeline with the implication that the chiefdom is a development from an early segmented society and the state is a progression from the chiefdom (and the final form of the evolution).⁶⁴ Service acknowledged the difficulty (or more accurately, the impossibility) in distinguishing chiefdoms from states. He reasoned that there is nothing in the archaeological record to mark the transition within extinct societies, while modern states are too ‘contaminated’ by contact

⁶² Finkelstein 2013: 26-27

⁶³ Bunimovitz, Finkelstein, & Lederman 1993: 9, 20-31; Finkelstein 2013: 26

For an opposing argument, c.f. Dever, Burke & Shanks, 2014. Dever argues that Finkelstein deliberately raises the importance of Shiloh to fit his model of a rising northern polity. He concludes that all evidence of Shiloh functioning as a cult place rests on circumstantial evidence and ‘Finkelstein’s ‘early cult centre at Shiloh’ is a fantasy, a product of his imagination’.

⁶⁴ E. R. Service 1962; Elman Rogers Service 1975. Fried provides an alternative evolutionary trajectory. Although similar, Fried adds an additional category, ‘stratified’ communities between chiefdoms and states (Fried 1967: 184-185). Service, seemingly taking Fried’s work into consideration, created a more general evolution of egalitarian – hierarchical – archaic communities (E. R. Service 1968). Although Service’s original classification has held relevance.

and interaction with the West to detect the change.⁶⁵ Yet, detecting this distinction has been a debate within evolutionary archaeology and neo-evolutionism for over half a decade.

Previously, Sanders and Marino made the distinction through ‘...the number of levels of community stratification and in the size, quality of function and plan of the public architectural complexes of the largest centres known for a period of an area.’⁶⁶ Yet there is little substantial evidence to identify settlement size as being a marker of a political change. Although monumental architecture is arguably a means to distinguish regional centres from surrounding satellite/subservient settlements, the attribution of architecture to social evolution is underdeveloped, especially considering that the deployment of public labour construction works is one characteristic of ‘Big Men’ chiefdoms identified by Renfrew.⁶⁷

It is correct to generalise, as many social evolutionists do (Flannery 1972; Johnson & Earle 2000; Lienard 2016; Sanders & Marino 1970; Elman Rogers Service 1975), that societies become increasingly more complex as they progress towards statehood. Recently, Dubreuil defined statehood as any society containing social classes and hierarchies beyond kinship relationships.⁶⁸ However Lienard would presumably disagree with this statement, identifying the breakdown of kinship relationship before the state-level.⁶⁹ In their seminal work on statehood theory, G & W Jellinek identified three characteristics of statehood. 1. A state-territory: a region with specific boundaries to signify what is controlled by the state and what is not. 2. A state-population: residents who live permanently within the boundaries of the region under control. 3: A state power: a ruling group designed to dominate all sectors of

⁶⁵ Elman Rogers Service 1975: 304

For a similar difficulty in distinguishing bands from tribes, c.f. Dubreuil 2010: 144; Fried 1967: 166-167.

⁶⁶ Sanders & Marino 1970: 9

⁶⁷ Renfrew 1974

⁶⁸ Dubreuil 2010: 143

⁶⁹ Lienard 2016

society and remain in power indefinitely.⁷⁰ The one general theme binding all three characteristics is permanence.⁷¹ A chiefdom may also be regarded as a sedentarised organisation of interrelated settlements, however unlike a state, a unified culture or ethnicity is not necessary. The relationship of sites within a chiefdom is dependent on the subservient nature of the secondary settlements to the central power. This, in turn, is dependent on the secondary settlements being content and satisfied living under external subjugation. A developed state, such as that of Israel and Judah of the 10th-9th centuries, in theory should have little concern of rebellion and dissonance within its political boundaries. This is due to the integration of all aspects of society: authority, military, culture and identification, under a single overarching power. Renfrew, relying on the seminal work of Service, identified a series of characteristics that defined a chiefdom, most of which concern social stratification and inequality. Other assumed traits of a chiefdom are increases in population size and density.⁷² Likewise Carneiro and Earle both identified that chiefdoms consisted of a regional population in the thousands.⁷³

Aside from the understanding of what distinguishes the social classifications from one another, much literature has been written on the process of change within the social

⁷⁰ Jellinek & Jellinek 1960: 174, 180-181; Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1996: 84-85

⁷¹ This distinction is complimented by Cribb's identification of nomadism as being defined by features of a fluid control of territory and competition over resources (Cribb 1991: 53-54; Whitelam 1994: 74)

⁷² Renfrew 1974: 73

⁷³ Robert Carneiro 1981; Earle 1987

The scholarship on the appearance and function of chiefdoms is extensive, complicating the situation is that many scholars extend its evolutionary trajectory to include an additional phase, a complex tribal society, made up of various chiefdoms, some more important than others, and a central 'paramount chief'. This has been particularly relevant to the study of pre-monarchic Israel due to the tribal nature indicated by the biblical data. Carole Crumley identified that settlements and chiefdoms do not need to be ranked on a hierarchical scale. Instead, Crumley hypothesised that a complex chiefdom can also be considered unranked in the sense of a tribal confederacy or because the settlements had separate functional purposes making all or most equally important (Crumley 1995: 2-3).

evolutionary trajectory. The research for this will be focused on the role of authority and power strategies involved in this process.⁷⁴ Hayden (1995) believed one factor transformed an egalitarian community into non-egalitarian. This was the appearance of what he refers to as the ‘aggrandizers’, essentially individual(s) who are drawn to power and authority and create inequality for personal gain.⁷⁵ Hayden assumes that this particular personality trait will be found universally across societies and ‘any human population numbering more than 50-100 will include some ambitious individuals who will aggressively strive to enhance their own self-interest over those of other community members.’ Thus all societies inherently become unequal as they increase in size and complexity.⁷⁶ Dubreuil understood that this feature was so prevalent within societies that it threatened the use of many theories that did not account for personal gain being a driver for social change.⁷⁷

A personality trait alone does not cause social change and an aggrandizer requires the compliancy of the general populace in order to establish themselves in a position of power.

⁷⁴ Within this field, Israel and the southern Levant has been a particular focus to many authorities: Dever 2003; Faust 1999b, 2006a; Finkelstein 1999; Frick 1985; Fritz & Davies 1996; R. D. Miller 2012; Silberman & Finkelstein 2002. The majority of these views will be covered throughout this study, but the history of research for this field will be focused on the theoretic ideas that have largely been adopted by the Levantine archaeologist and historians.

⁷⁵ Hayden 1995: 18

Contra. Feinman 2013; Jennings & Earle 2016; Johnson & Earle 2000 who believe that developing polities are inclined cooperate for mutual benefit of the community. This also partly explains the process of ‘fissioning’ which villages undergo when the population exceeds the limit that cooperative groups can operate in (c.200-300 individuals) (Jennings & Earle 2016: 476).

⁷⁶ Hayden 1995: 20

⁷⁷ Dubreuil 2010: 149

This is not a novel idea and the ‘Big Men’ theory of particular individuals being causes of change has previously been argued by others (Johnson & Earle 2000; Maryanski & Turner 1992: 61-114; Sahlins 1963). Of particular relevance for this study is the works of Faust and Flanagan who surmised that Saul of Benjamin was one such seminal figure whose social change created in the Benjamin region was preserved in the biblical record (Faust 2006b; J. W. Flanagan 1981). To Frick, it was Saul and David who became ‘paramount chiefs’ and caused significant social change within pre-state Israel (Frick 1985: 202-203).

Among other things, this is achieved by the control and redistribution of resources in surplus. To Hayden, one primary means for this is creation of ‘competitive feasts’ that are mutually beneficial to the aggrandizer as well as subordinates willing to transfer their surpluses to a central authority, resulting in the creation of a series of ‘contractual debt relationships’.⁷⁸ This results in a ‘trans-egalitarian’ society (Clark & Blake 1989) that with the development of a ‘Big Man’ leadership and an inner-circle of supporters has lost any original egalitarian basis.

Hayden’s concept of ‘aggrandizers’ is rational. The appearance of social inequality is a universal aspect of all societies and it is hard to argue that it is not an inherent aspect of human nature.⁷⁹ Jennings and Earle referred to this view as the ‘top-down approach to cultural evolution’.⁸⁰ The opposite view, the so-called ‘bottom-up’ approach, stresses a sense of cooperation, a de-individualised focus and the amiable nature of a group mentality.⁸¹ The divide concerns whether power and control is consciously localised within a central authority (Hayden 1995; Kristiansen 1991; Renfrew 1974) or whether the power of the small elite is dependent on the approval and compliance of the majority of the population.⁸² Although many social evolutionists agree that the two systems do not contradict, and often coexist

⁷⁸ Hayden 1995: 25

The idea of public feasts serving as a means for determining aggrandizers and their supporters is also present in the works of Dietler (Dietler 1990: 366) and Friedman and Rowlands (Friedman & Rowlands 1978) who each see the act as universal within developing agricultural societies and one source for social stratification.

⁷⁹ C.f Maisels’ ‘The Suitable Candidate’ within his humorous ‘How to make a chiefdom/state/empire in twelve simple steps’ (Maisels 2010: 365-367).

⁸⁰ Jennings & Earle 2016: 474

⁸¹ Stanish & Levine 2011: 13901

Recently, many studies have focused on the primary cause of social complexity. The general consensus is that it is a natural process of an expanding population (Bell 2014, 2015; Derex, Beugin, Godelle, & Raymond 2013; Richerson 2013: 351; Richerson et al. 2016). Others have argued that when a population grows and a community expands, more effort is needed to preserve traditional systems and values. This innovation leads to an increase in social complexity (Henrich 2004: 200-201).

⁸² Blanton 1998: 154-172; Earle 1977

within a community, with one of the two strategies being the more dominant.⁸³ Blanton referred to these separate theories as the ‘exclusionary’ strategy (former) and the ‘corporate’ theory (latter).⁸⁴ Smith believed that the corporate form, that is, the decentralisation of power, was more common within complex tribal societies.⁸⁵ While it would be expected that such models of power should be unsubstantiated in the archaeological record, Kristiansen identified that decentralised societies operate under subsistence production with village communities and farmsteads scattered across the territory.⁸⁶

During the zenith of the study of ‘early Israel’ seemingly only one influential work combined the archaeological evidence with social evolutionary theory. Frick’s *The Formation of the State in Ancient Israel*’ (1985) attempts to explain the process of Israelite state formation through a strict application of Service’s (and others’) social trajectory.⁸⁷ Although Frick admits that his conclusions are drawn from ‘fragmentary and incomplete’ data, as does this study, he is able to map out a steady progression from a possible egalitarian community into a stratified and hierarchical community. It is rational that the study is in need of a revisit with more recent contributions to both fields of Israelite settlement and evolutionary archaeology.⁸⁸ Aside from a strict adherence to revised settlement horizons for the Iron I A/B

⁸³ Blanton, Feinman, Kowalewski, & Peregrine 1996: 2

⁸⁴ Blanton 1998: 154-172

⁸⁵ N. G. Smith 2009: 48

That is not to say that scholars are divided on which form is correct. The disagreement concerns which model is applicable to different societies during their social evolutionary process. Smith believed that in certain cases, a society could function under both forms of power (N. G. Smith 2009), while a number of other scholars (Demarest, 1996c; Kolb 1996:59; D’Altroy 1996:55) believed that the two forms were variations of the same political practice.

⁸⁶ Kristiansen 1991: 19

⁸⁷ Frick 1985

⁸⁸ Moreover, Frick’s original study was highly influenced by the biblical narrative, associating the main social transitions to particular biblical figures: a segmented society to the Judges, a chiefdom to Saul, and a state to

(see appendix), this study differs as emphasis is not placed on attempting to assign the various settlements to specific types of organisation. More focus is placed on the relationship between authority and gradual social change.

David and Solomon (Frick 1985: 191). For the same reason, because of the biblical narrative it has been suggested that the earliest political entity of Iron Age Israel was of a 'tribal confederacy' rather than any form of chiefdom (N. G. Smith 2009: 50, 53). The clear distinction is that a confederacy does not need to have a shared origin or cultural/political identity. While the tribes within such confederacies generally hold regional autonomy, a paramount chief exists just like in a complex chiefdom (Alon 2007).

Chapter 3.

Settlement types & power strategies in the Iron IA

To make general the various explanations for social/cultural evolution of the previous chapter, it can be said that the theories for the establishment and growth of authority and power within societies focuses on two views, whether power is held centrally by the elite or decentralised within the community. This chapter is devoted to evaluating the archaeological remains of the Iron IA central highland sites in light of these theories and models.⁸⁹ The actual statistic of sites established in the hill country during this period is in the hundreds, however this study's dataset has been restricted to excavated sites for the simple reason that survey data does not provide adequate information for the dating and structural remains of a site.⁹⁰ Analysis of survey data will be implemented in this current chapter as supplementary data when applicable, however its limitations will continually be stressed.

3.1. Strategies of Power Maintenance:

The potential evidence for stratified communities within the Iron IA highlands calls into question how power and authority manifested itself in these regions.⁹¹ The concepts of

⁸⁹ The purpose of the Iron IA/B subdivision was outlined in the first chapter of this study. In this section, it was advised that the two chapters within the appendix should be first addressed to understand the reasoning for sites being placed into Iron IA and IB divisions.

⁹⁰ Kochavi describes the appearance of 'small unfortified settlements' within the countryside as a 'revolution' as he claims none were attested in the Late Bronze, but appear in hundreds by the Iron I (Kochavi 1985: 55). Finkelstein provided a more substantial number of 254 Iron I sites, Miller identified that the majority, c.360 Iron I sites, were situated in the north-central highlands of Israel (R. D. Miller 2003: 147). Most recently, Greenberg and Keinan detected 436 highland sites (Greenberg & Keinan 2009: 23).

⁹¹ This study takes a relatively simple approach to the presence of power and authority within settlements. The presence of a site's authority is identified through 'public architecture', large, conspicuous structures indicative of conscripted labour and the power of a single authority required in the processes of planning, organising and expenditure of resources and energy in construction. The difficulty in distinguishing private from public has been addressed in Chapter 1, but simply, public architecture is generally identified by larger and thicker walls when contrasted with other structural remains from within the same settlement/stratum. Under this examination,

corporate and exclusionary forms of power have already been introduced as the two main power strategies implemented in ‘primitive’ (non-state) societies. In summary: exclusionary authority is designed to restrict the power and influence from the majority of society as a small group of elite are able to monopolise resources and choose to form external trade relationships in order to keep society socially stratified. In contrast, corporate authority shares power across the society in a conscious effort to avoid restricting power and influence.

According to a number of scholars, these two forms of power maintenance are equally substantiated in the archaeological record. Kristiansen noted that when authority is decentralised (corporate), settlements operate under subsistence agricultural production within no more than a small number of farmsteads scattered across the region.⁹² While D’Altroy and Earle argue that the restriction of the elite class is exemplified in archaeology by the localisation of prestige goods within this social class.⁹³ Similarly, a requirement of the centralised strategy is the control over resources, Earle and Brumfiel rightly note that in such a case, industries and craft specialisation are in the hands of the few. They argue that any change in local subsistence patterns, such as irrigation and terracing, are evidence for a centralised leadership.⁹⁴ Yet, terracing land is essential to farming the rugged terrain of the central highlands of Israel. Instead, an exclusionary form of power within this region should be reflected in industries associated with private (elite) residencies rather than public (communal) structures and, if present, interregional trade. In this chapter, three separate cases of Iron IA settlement will be examined for a potential power strategy in place.

social segregation and the presence of power can be suggested within a selection of excavated sites across the Iron IA highlands.

⁹² Kristiansen 1991: 19

⁹³ D’Altroy 1985: 188

⁹⁴ Brumfiel & Earle 1987: 3

3.2. Giloh and the Bethlehem-Hebron Highway: An early subsistence trade network:

A building in area C (Building 8) on the upper slope of the eastern side of the site was presented by Mazar as being the largest single architectural unit uncovered within the settlement. Mazar identified the structure as a typical four-room house.⁹⁵ In total, the structure measured 13.6x11.2m.⁹⁶ Attached to its southern end was a large, open courtyard that led into its entrance between Wall 55 and Wall 43.⁹⁷ From this was a second courtyard measuring 6.2x7.7m. The structure contained an auxiliary room (Room 34) and two additional rooms (Locus 32 & 34).⁹⁸ North of the central courtyard are two more rooms.⁹⁹ No other structure within Giloh has such a complex and elaborate layout and suggests that the lone building represents a separation from the majority of the settlement. Just south of Building 8 were the remains of a large courtyard, 9x26m, surrounded by four massive walls. Mazar highlighted the importance of the walled courtyard beside a large residency. He theorised that the courtyard may have been an animal pen for the occupants of the house.¹⁰⁰

Mazar further uncovered a perimeter wall consisting of two large parallel walls. Only one course of the outer wall (Wall 66) remained, but it was clearly built of two rows of large stones, c.1.9m wide. Its parallel wall (Wall 65) is c.2.5m south and is 1.85m wide and 1m

⁹⁵ A row of pillars divided it into a 2.8m narrow eastern section (Locus 8) and a 4.3m wide western section (Locus 22) Mazar found one pillar particularly noteworthy. The second central pillar in the row is what he describes to be the earliest 'true monolithic pillar' and a prototype of the square pillars common among in later Iron Age construction (Mazar 1981: 8). This view was criticised by Ahlström who argued that the fragmentary remains makes Mazar's interpretation '...more hypothesis than fact' (Ahlström 1984: 171).

⁹⁶ Mazar 1981: 9

⁹⁷ *ibid.*: 8

⁹⁸ Wall 37 served as the western wall of this room and the western boundary of the entire structure. It was constructed of large flattened stones and averaged 1.4m in width. The presence of large stones east of this wall were presumably the upper courses of Wall 37, indicating that the upper portion was just as substantial as the base (Mazar 1981: 9). This, in conjunction with the considerable amount of debris found in the western half of the courtyard, supports that Building 8 may have contained a second storey.

⁹⁹ Mazar 1981: 9

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*: 12

high and built of the same construction. The two walls run for 12.8m and total width including the space between the two is 6.15m.¹⁰¹

The northern section was unfortified but defended by a single tower in the Iron I and an additional tower in the Iron II. The Iron I tower's foundation (Building 105 in Area G) rests high on the very northern edge of the site overlooking the Rephaim valley. The structure was built on top of bedrock and the base of the tower was almost square at c.125m sq. The inside of the base was filled with various sized stones.¹⁰² The stone casing is preserved at parts to a height of 2-4 courses, reaching a maximum height of 1.23m in the south-eastern corner. The inner fill of the base was preserved at its highest at 1.1m.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Mazar 1981: 13

The parallel walls resembles the casemates found throughout the Southern Levant later in the Iron Age, however it is not certain whether entrances were built into the interior wall. It is possible that either the empty space was used for storage or Wall 65 & 66 were used to encase an earthen fill to form a thicker defence. The parallel walls continue around the perimeter of the site with the exception of area F in the east where only the outer wall was found running north-south for 6m with no remains of the inner wall.¹⁰¹ This wall (Wall 91) is slightly thinner than Wall 66 and 65, c.1.5m wide and although there is no secondary perimeter wall running parallel to Wall 91, there is the remains of a single dwelling (Building 80) in close proximity to this section of the wall. The region around this structure is heavily eroded, but Mazar believes that there may have been a number of parallel dwellings evenly spaced apart from each other and the fortification wall and this may have been the forerunner to the casemate walls that would become prevalent in the highlands in the next few centuries (Mazar 1981: 14, 17).

¹⁰² Mazar 1990: 79

¹⁰³ *ibid.*: 79-80

Because of the size of the foundation, Mazar speculates that the tower may have been up to 8m in height and large enough to contain an internal staircase and multiple floors (Mazar 1990: 82). The suggestion has been made that the defences of Giloh were the result of different family compounds constructing individual portions of the city wall (Mazar 1981: 16). Although this is only speculation, it is plausible that the construction was divided amongst the community sharing the responsibility under a small authority with limited power, rather than a specialised force of builders which would have seemingly required a more established elite.

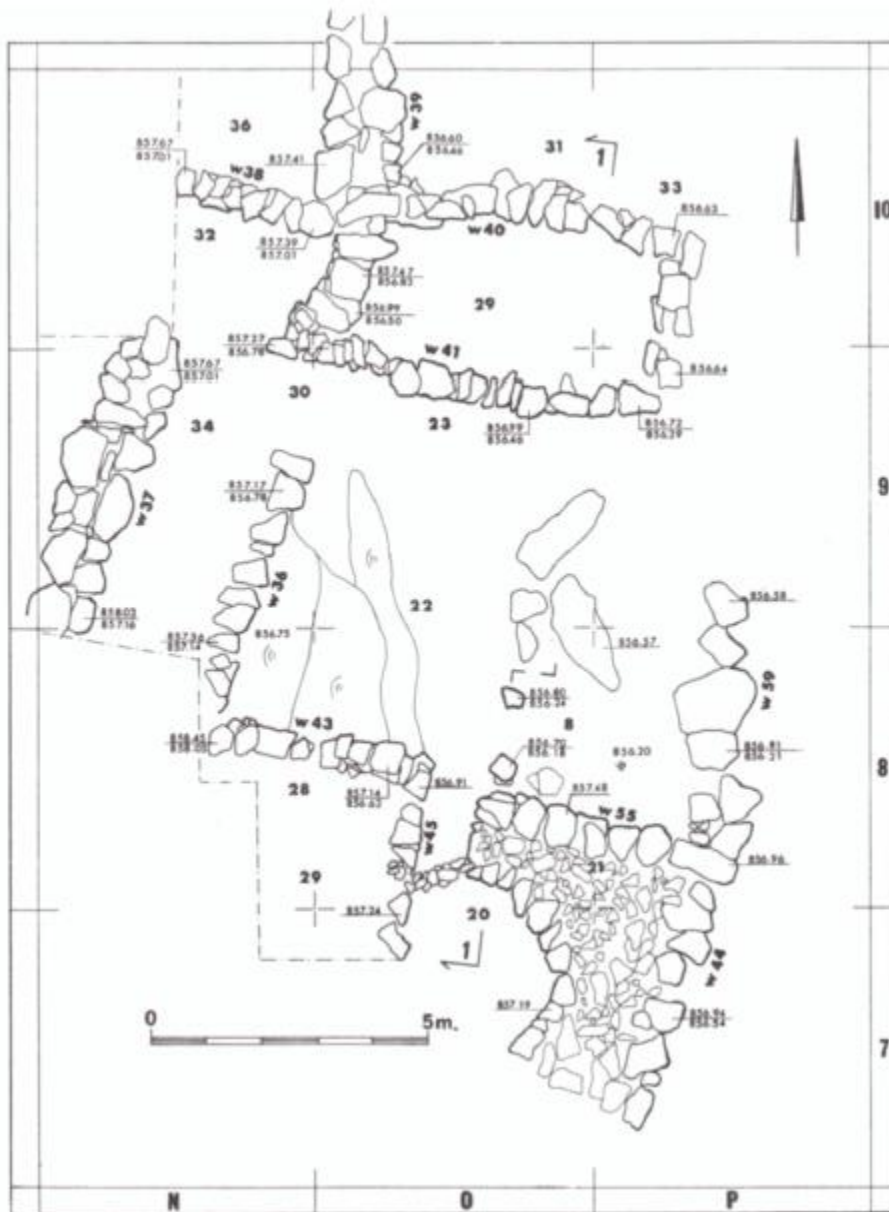


Fig 1. Plan of Giloh's Building 8
A. Mazar, 1981, p.7

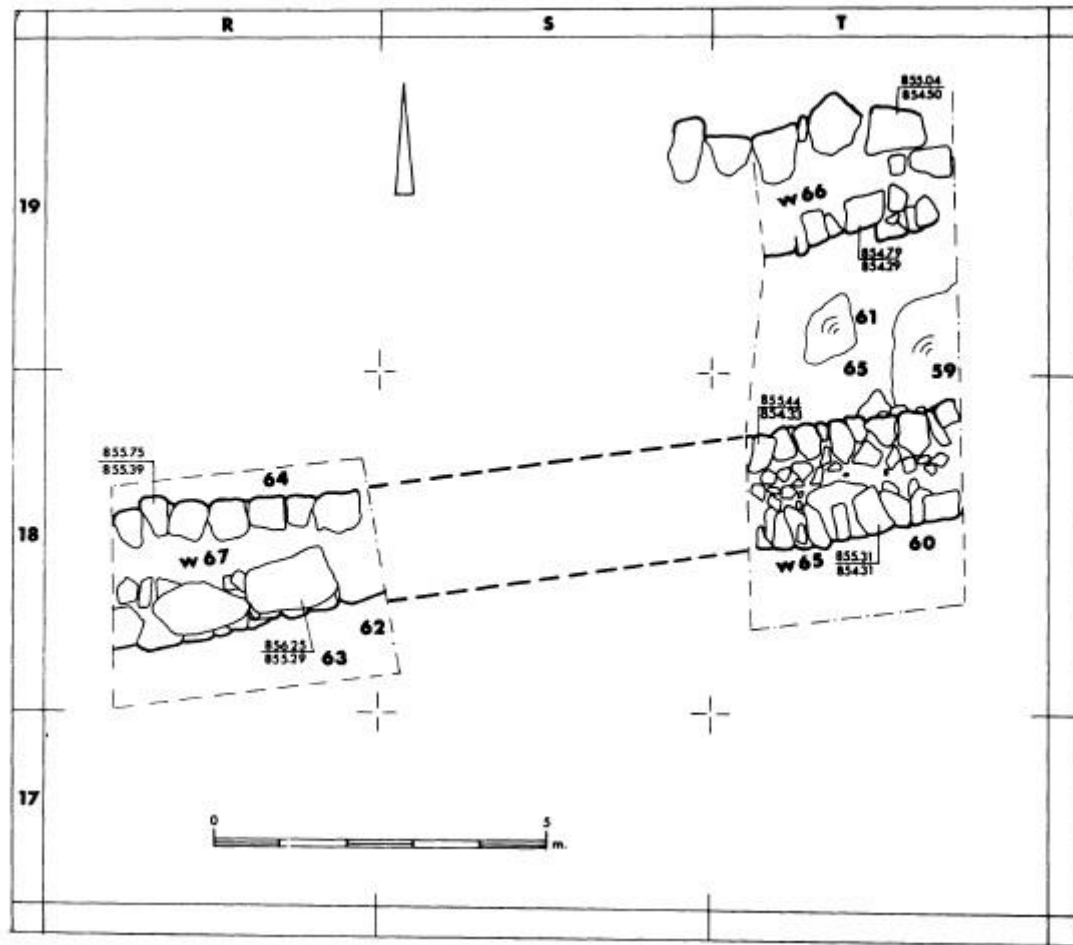


Fig. 2. Plan of Giloh's outer walls
A. Mazar, 1981, p.13

The presence of possibly the earliest Iron Age fortifications and a large public structure suggests that Iron IA Giloh was the earliest fortified village in the highlands.¹⁰⁴ It is significant to note that Giloh did not survive on subsistence farming. Finkelstein identified that the soil and terrain of the settlement was not suited to agriculture and must have predominantly engaged in animal husbandry.¹⁰⁵ It is worth adding that Giloh parallels only

¹⁰⁴ Despite the lack of significant defences this early in the Iron Age, it is not unreasonable to consider Giloh as a fortified village. The site's location (discussed below), guarding the Bethlehem-Hebron highway, suggests that while most regions of the highlands were 'relatively peaceful' (Coote & Whitelam 1987: 122), there may have been pockets of conflict in contested and advantageous regions of the hill country (Coote & Whitelam 1987: 135). However Coote would later argue that there is nothing in the material culture to indicate that Giloh was not a lowland military outpost (Coote 1990: 128).

¹⁰⁵ Finkelstein 1988: 50

one other highland site, Mt. Ebal, in terms of a complete absence of sickle blades.¹⁰⁶ For this reason, Mazar described the site as a ‘fortified herdsmen’s village’.¹⁰⁷ Despite this, collared-rim jars are the most common vessel uncovered in the stratum.¹⁰⁸ The abundance of these vessels suggests the settlement had a surplus of agrarian produce stored within the settlement.¹⁰⁹ It seems feasible that Giloh was receiving provisions, presumably the site relied on agrarian produce from fields within its hinterland for survival.

Yet the environs around Giloh were equally difficult to cultivate, the site itself is located on top a ridge of Cenomanian limestone and the excavator noted that there are no springs near the site. Hopkins agreed that ‘there is no good fertile land in the vicinity of the settlement’.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Lederman 1999: 97

While it was acknowledged that no sickle blades were found within Mt. Ebal, none were simply recorded within the preliminary report of the excavation of Giloh. Yet this absence is suggestive of Giloh’s lack of agriculture given that sickle blades are commonly attested within Iron I highland settlements (22 within ‘Izbet Sartah, 28 within Kh. Raddana and 11 within Shiloh) (Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 197-202; Finkelstein 1983: 83-84; Lederman 1999: 97). Moreover, sickle blades were also found in most Iron I Manasseh sites surveyed by Zertal (Zertal 1986: 148).

¹⁰⁷ Mazar 1981: 32

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*: 27

¹⁰⁹ It has been argued elsewhere that the collared-rim pithoi were utilised in the hill country to transport and store water (Golden 2004: 94). This is a possibility for Giloh considering that there were no springs or water sources in the environs of the settlement and the excavators were left puzzled over from where the inhabitants collected water (Mazar 1981: 33).

¹¹⁰ D. C. Hopkins 1985: 159; Mazar 1981: 2-4

Generally, the soil of this region, terra rossa, is typical of the Judean highlands due to the predominance of hard bedrocks such as limestone and dolomite. This soil has a high clay content (Beaumont, Blake, & Wagstaff 1976: 135) meaning that its capacity to store rainwater is higher than average and is judged by Hopkins as a ‘productive agricultural soil’, presumably for the cultivation of olives and grapes (D. C. Hopkins 1985: 126-128), or what Karmon declares is ‘the most fertile soil of the mountain zone soils’ (Karmon 1971: 30). However, the terrain within the ‘Jerusalem saddle’, between Hebron and slightly north of Jerusalem, is difficult to cultivate with the only large expanse of level land existing in the plain of Gibeon, c.8km north of Jerusalem (D. C. Hopkins 1985: 60-61) and seemingly around Bethlehem as the name etymologically suggests it was a centre for grain production. Yet, in their view of state formation, Sanders and Webster believed that diversity of environmental conditions played a role in producing disparate settlement types (Sanders & Webster 1978: 253). Frick added that varying soil types was a main contributor to distinct ‘microenvironments’ (Frick 1985: 37).

However the site is situated on an important route, the Bethlehem-Hebron highway.¹¹¹

Possibly the authority of Giloh utilised this route to supply the settlement. During his survey of the Judean highlands, Kochavi noted that two particular sites located in close proximity to Giloh did not continue into the Iron IIA and thus can be relatively dated to the Iron I. Sites: Rujm es-Sabit (#54 of Kochavi's survey) and Kh. Umm et-Tala' (#56).¹¹²

Rujm es-Sabit, located south of Giloh alongside the Bethlehem-Hebron highway consisted of a pile of stones (רוג'ם) covering a previous structure.¹¹³ Greenberg and Keinan identified 'MB tumulus concealing an Iron IB structure on the summit...' but noted that it also included the Iron IA as a major period of occupation.¹¹⁴ Kochavi observed that Iron I pottery was located northeast of the stone covering without any traces of Iron II ceramics. The only material later than the Iron I was Byzantine material located nearby.¹¹⁵ A short distance south of Rujm es-Sabit was Kh. Umm et-Tala'. The topography alone of Kh. Umm et-Tala' indicates that it was an important site. The settlement was detached from its surroundings, located on top of

¹¹¹ C.f. Aharoni 1979: 57-58

The articulation of this highway is notable given the sporadic settlement activity in the Judean highlands during this time. During the collation of his gazetteer on the north-central highland sites, Miller commented that south of Jerusalem was sparsely inhabited and contained mostly 'seasonal sites'. A striking contrast to the north-central highlands (R. D. Miller 2003: 143).

¹¹² Kochavi 1972: 83

It is important to reiterate that the very nature of collecting survey data makes it difficult to precisely date any feature or structural remains present on a site and if not impossible to understand the complete stratigraphy of occupation. For this reason, when dealing with the southern hill country, Kochavi vaguely identified 24 sites dating to the 'Israelite period' (תקופה הישראלית). More recently, scholars have called into question the results of Kochavi's survey, citing his inability to distinguish 'Einun pottery' which has debated origins (R. D. Miller 2003: 144). More recent surveys clarify this when the Iron I material is of this variety.

¹¹³ Rujm es-Sabit (Efrata) was excavated by R. Gonen during a short excavation conducted in 1979, but exclusively examined the cemetery of the Intermediate and Middle Bronze Age, no mention is given to the later occupation (Gonen & Acreche 2001). D. Amit and Z. Shavit returned to the site in 1989, but never published the results.

¹¹⁴ Greenberg & Keinan 2009: 124

¹¹⁵ Kochavi 1972: 45

the highest mountain in the region. The mountain's steep slopes made it hard to access.¹¹⁶

Certainly this was a factor when the Roman fort resting on top was established. Despite being unable to observe the remains below the Roman fortification during his survey, Kochavi noted that throughout the settlement, Iron I remains were most abundant and record no ceramics dating to the Iron II. The only other variety of ceramics are Roman and Byzantine material located close to the fort.¹¹⁷

The strategic importance of Giloh, Rujm es-Sabit and Kh. Umm et-Tala' seem to complement one another. The two additional sites reside c.9-11km south of Giloh and are located on the Bethlehem-Hebron highway leading towards Jerusalem. The importance of this route in the Iron I is clearly attested by the positioning of the three sites here. Likewise, Beth-Zur and Tell en-Nasbeh were positioned further south and north along this highway and likely contained some Iron IA residential activity.¹¹⁸ Within Tell en-Nasbeh, Zorn assigns a total of 198 rock-cut installations to this stratum, indicating that despite its meagre structural remains, this was a significant residential settlement in the Iron IA.¹¹⁹ Although Kh. Umm et-

¹¹⁶ Kochavi 1972: 45

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*: 46

Following a six week excavation of Kh. Umm et-Tala', Ofer uncovered the perimeter wall that could be traced around the entire settlement. In the west, this wall was preserved at a height of 3.5m and a width of 3m. However, the association between it and a Persian structure abutting the fortification suggests a later dating. As Ofer commented: 'No architectural remains earlier than the Persian fortification could be discerned in the excavation' (A Ofer 1985: 104).

¹¹⁸ As outlined in the dating of the Iron IA settlements, a large portion of the Iron Age loci of Beth-Zur exhibited contamination. There are, however, a number of loci considered to be clean and securely associated to the Iron IA occupation. These are primarily Loci 286, 295, 296 (Sellers & Seminary 1968: 36). The presence of both Loci 296 (interpreted as a storage room) and 286 (interpreted as a tower) abutting an earlier fortification wall indicating that the so-called 'Hyksos Wall' (Wall A) of the Middle Bronze period was in use during the Iron IA. The excavators noted that no Iron I material existed outside of the earlier Middle Bronze perimeter walls again suggesting that they were reused in the early Iron Age (Sellers & Seminary 1968: 7).

¹¹⁹ Zorn 1993: 108-109

Tell en-Nasbeh has not been examined extensively in this study due to the unsubstantial amount of structural remains dating to the Iron I (str. 4 – according to Zorn's revision), as well as the imprecision of the dating of this

Tala' held a commanding view over the southern portion of the Judean highlands, only Giloh contained significant defences with its tower and substantial perimeter wall.¹²⁰ While there is no evidence to suggest that the authority of Giloh held dominion over the Bethlehem-Hebron highway, it should be recalled that an important feature of an exclusionary power strategy is the establishment of small-scale patron-client networks outside the settlement to further distinguish the networking elite from general society.¹²¹

strata. It appears that the site was occupied in the 12th century based on the presence of ceramics typical of this period (Wampler 1947: Pls. 2:22-23; 46:979-980, 982, 983; 86) (Zorn 1993: 103).

¹²⁰ While a precise dating of either site cannot be given, the absence of Iron II ceramics and the proximity to Giloh (as well as to Beth-zur, which had minimal occupation in the Iron IA) argues for a contemporaneous dating. While the shared feature of guarding the Bethlehem-Hebron highway promotes a relationship between these three sites.

¹²¹ Blanton et al. 1996: 2

This also fits a model promoted by Pfoh, who used a patronage system to explain state formation in Israel (Pfoh 2008).

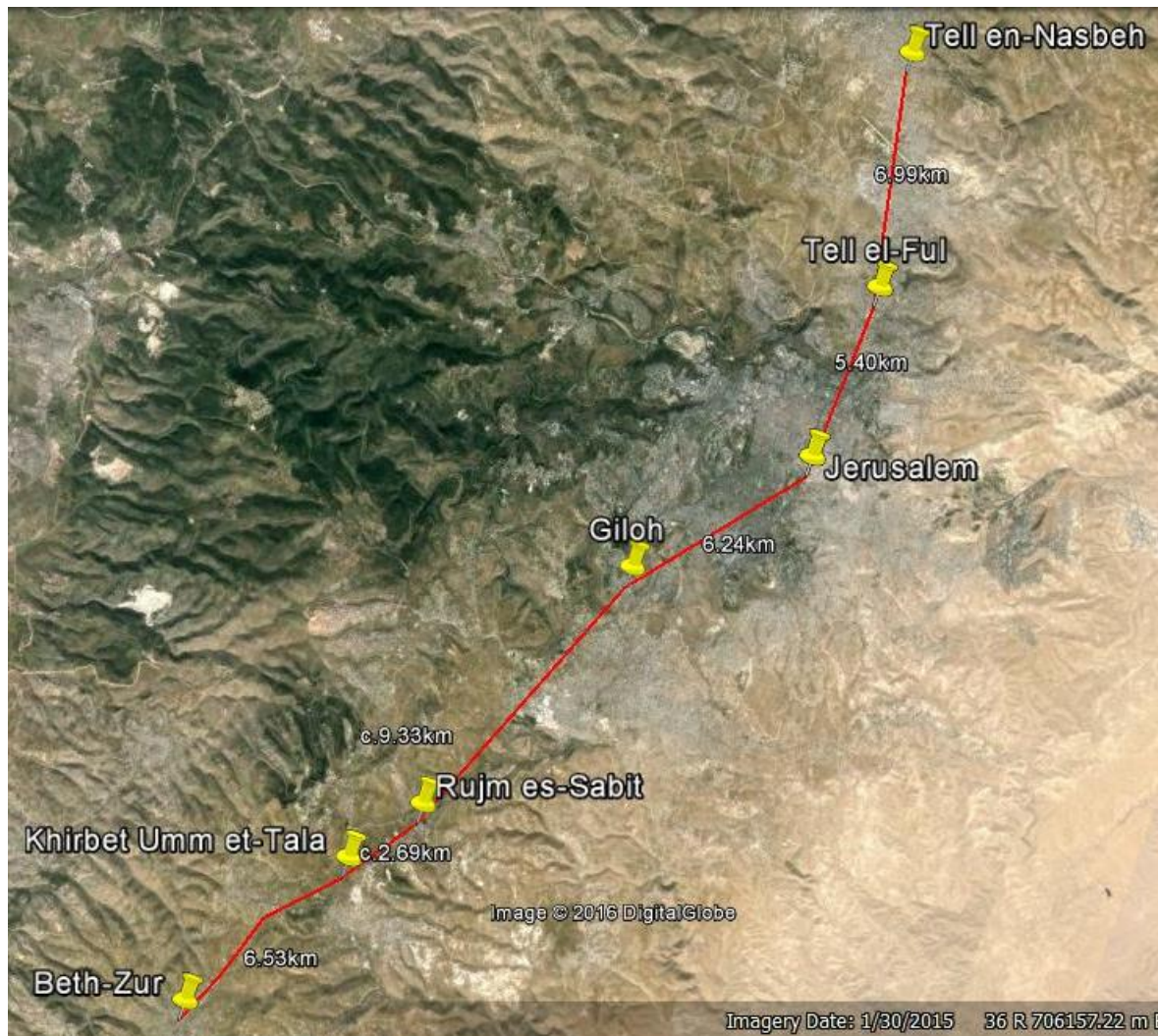


Fig. 3. Satellite map image of Bethlehem-Hebron Highway

Two other significant settlements were excavated south of Beth-zur, Tell er-Rumeideh and Khirbet Rabud.¹²² The expedition of Tell er-Rumeideh identified early Iron IA occupational activity in Area I-3 (Phase XIII) and Area I-6 (Phase XXXII).¹²³ There is a clear continuity

¹²² Although the American Expedition to Hebron identified that an Iron Age occupation of Tell er-Rumeideh was mostly concentrated to the 'Iron IC' (1000-922BC), their association appears to be heavily influenced by biblical data. An example of this is apparent as Chadwick defends his dating: 'Firstly, Hebron is not listed biblically as a site of Philistine destruction, hence no radical change in the lifestyle of its inhabitants could be expected around 1000BC on the account of David's subjection of Philistia. Secondly, no Solomonic building projects are mentioned in connection with Hebron...' (Chadwick 1992: 102-103).

¹²³ Area I-3 contained transitional ceramics dating between the LB and Iron IA and was assigned generally to c.1200BC. Phase XXXII of Area I-6 was identified as a domestic complex by the presence of floors and walls and was dated by the excavators even earlier, sometime between 1230-1200BC (Chadwick 1992: 104-108). The basis for this dating is not well articulated, but is supported by Ofer. During Avi Ofer's excavation, he

between the LB and Iron I. It is only a change in material culture (i.e. the degeneration of ceramics, disappearance of decorated ware and appearance of new forms) that hints at an occupational change during the Iron I.¹²⁴ Khirbet Rabud, south of Hebron, was excavated by Kochavi in two short campaigns in 1968-1969. Likewise, the site reflects a period of continuous occupation from the LB into the Iron I/II. The stratum associated with the Iron I (I ישראלית) was str. A4 and was dated to c.1200-1100BC, although the structural remains are scanty.¹²⁵ The site was situated on a large cliff overlooking wadi al-Nar and wadi al-Hamam.¹²⁶ Although isolated, it held commanding view of the road running from Beersheba to Hebron. This road connected to the Bethlehem-Hebron highway.

confirmed that the site was resettled in the first phase of the Iron I and biblical data may possibly preserve the tribal history of Iron I Hebron (A Ofer 1989: 91).

¹²⁴More significantly, the presence of the MB II fortification wall (Area I-3) well into the Iron Age illustrates that the site persisted as a fortified settlement during this period (Chadwick 1992: 110-111).

¹²⁵ Kochavi 1973: 55, 59

¹²⁶ *ibid.*: 50

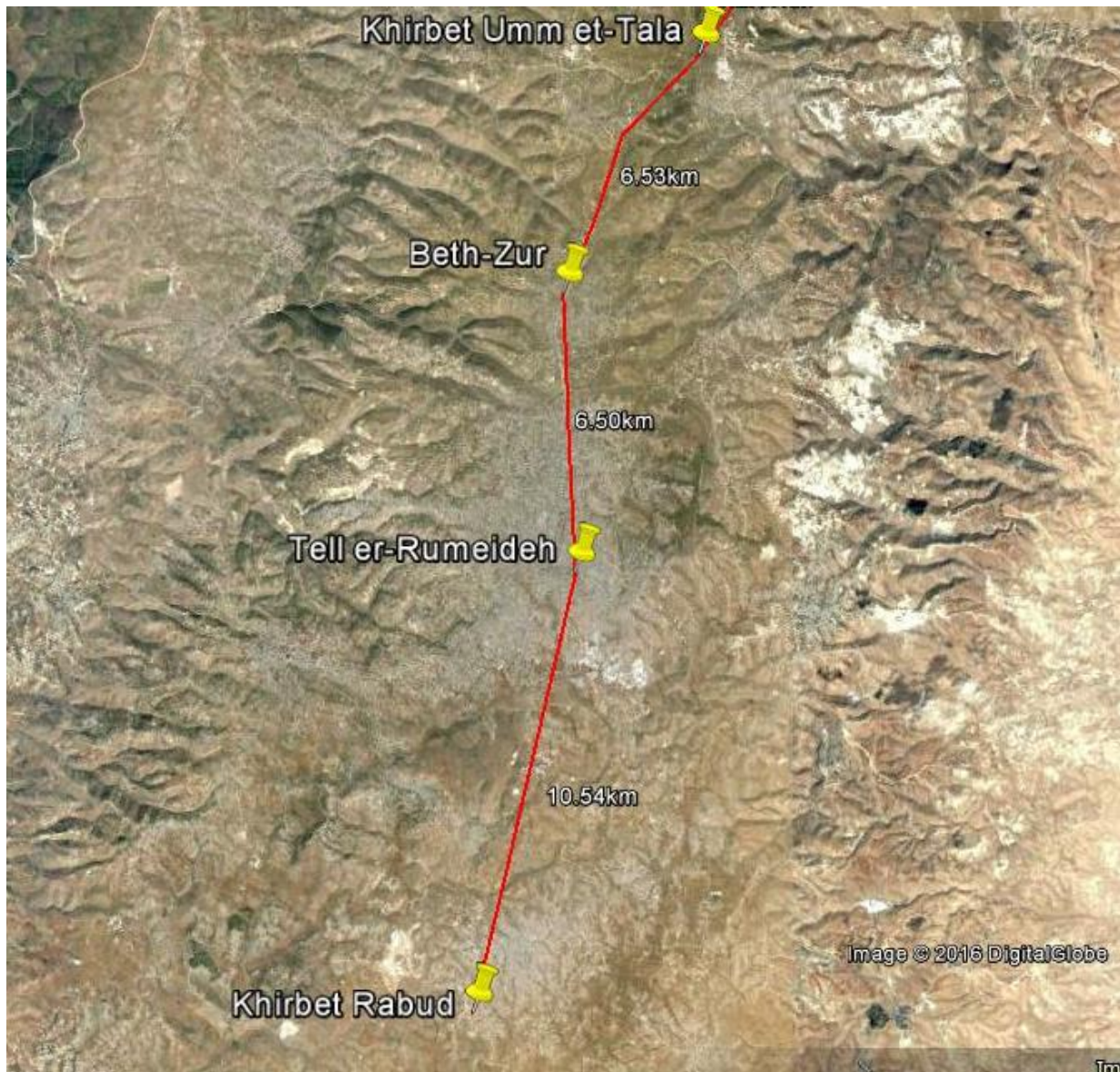


Fig. 4. Satellite map image of the southern portion of the Bethlehem-Hebron Highway

It is clear that the Bethlehem-Hebron highway played an important role at the earliest stage of the Iron Age. The planned placement of settlements across this route is contrasted by the seemingly sporadic nature of highland settlement identified in the general survey trends of the central highlands (see appendix). It is impossible to associate a majority of Kochavi's 25 settlements located in the Judean hill country with the Iron IA, and more specifically as being contemporary with Giloh and the settlements across this highway. More recent work conducted by A. Ofer and A. Mazar estimated there to be around 10-12 Iron I settlements

within the Judean hill country, most of them bounded north of Hebron.¹²⁷ While not a single settlement was identified to the west of Jerusalem.¹²⁸ This agrees with Kochavi's findings which placed 40% of his surveyed sites within the southern central ridge south of Giloh.¹²⁹ Despite the inability to distinguish Iron IA and Iron IB settlements within survey data, the general trends of settlement noted by Kochavi, Ofer and Mazar is that the majority of Judean settlement in the earliest stage of the Iron Age existed in the region between Hebron and Giloh (i.e. the 'Jerusalem Saddle', the region of the southern portion of the Bethlehem-Hebron highway).¹³⁰ It is tempting to argue that this settlement pattern was supporting (and possibly controlled by) Giloh and was southerly-orientated towards this convenient and efficient highway through the Judean hill country.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Mazar criticised the 1968 survey (which he was a participant in) as only a select amount of sites had pottery collected (Finkelstein 1988: 51; Mazar 1980a: 34).

¹²⁸ A. Ofer (per. communication) apud Finkelstein 1988: 51

Ofer noted that of the fifteen Iron I sites identified between Jerusalem and Hebron and three slightly south of Hebron, seventeen are settlement sites (A Ofer 1994: 102-103).

¹²⁹ Finkelstein 1988: 52, fig. 10

It is worth clarifying that the 40% represents the bulk of Kochavi's data in his survey of Judah. In comparison to Iron I highland settlement across the hill country, 90% of all settlement activity occurred beyond Judah, in the region between Ramallah and the Jezreel Valley (Finkelstein 1985: 80; Kochavi 1972). It also agrees with Zertal's conclusion that highland settlement was originally localised to the eastern portion of the highlands and a westward expansion only occurred at a later stage of the Iron I (Zertal 2004b: 85). Although this opinion has been criticised as early as the 1990's (Dever 1990: 74-79, 1991: 203-204; Gottwald 1993a: 174).

¹³⁰ For this reason Mazar believed Judah was situated on the 'frontier of settlement' during the early Iron Age (Mazar 1985: 124).

¹³¹ The proximity of this settlement activity to Jerusalem is striking. Structural remains dating to the MB as well as documentary evidence of the Amarna tablets indicate that Jerusalem was an important settlement during the MB-LB. Ofer argued the significance of Jerusalem during this period in his PhD dissertation (Avi Ofer 1993). However, any chance of studying the structural remains dating to the Iron I are prohibited by the comparable inferiority of the quality and substance of Iron I highland remains and the presence of bedrock high in the region of Jerusalem causing such remains to be eroded or removed. Shiloh originally identified two regions of Jerusalem containing Iron I remains (str. 15 of Areas E1 and D1). Shiloh identified the pottery as belonging to 12th-11th centuries BC (Shiloh 1984: 7). Geva later clarified that it was characteristic of the 11th century BC. More significantly, he argued that the pottery discovered within a terrace once thought to belong to the LB,

Aside from their physical location, there is little associating any of the Iron I settlements together.¹³² It is also possible that small subsistence farming villages organically developed on a highway that passed through largely inhospitable and inaccessible terrain.¹³³ It is plausible that a number of sites along this highway were financing Giloh's agrarian requirements.¹³⁴

3.3. Taanach: An exclusionary model of agricultural surplus and interregional trade:

Within Taanach, there is a clustering of three buildings: the Cuneiform Tablet Building, the Twelfth Century House and the Drainpipe Structure. Shai and others have noted that the best means to identify the function of a structure or the status or wealth of the occupants is by comparing it to other structures within the site to create a baseline of the expenditure of energy and resources within the settlement.¹³⁵ However it is important to emphasise that

paralleled the material of Giloh (Geva 1993: 702). However, no structural remains could be associated with str. 15 and Shiloh identified a couple of thin walls and floors in association to the Iron I ceramics (E1) rather to str. 14 (Shiloh 1984: 12). Most recently, De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg reattributed str. 15-13 to the Iron IIA and noted the difficulty in assigning any assemblage to the Iron I (aside from Giloh and 'izbet Sartah str. III) (De Groot & Bernick-Greenberg 2012a: 150, 2012b: 199-248). Coote argued that Jerusalem, like Shechem and Bethel, experienced continual occupation but did not grow or exercise control over its periphery (Coote 1990: 136).

¹³² One factor of this data that might suggest some correlation between the settlements within the Jerusalem saddle is that, according to Ofer, settlement activity in this region increased in 'hundreds of percent' with only a single settlement site being recorded in the LB (A Ofer 1994: 102). Yet it is possible that this meagre occupation during the LB was the result of restrictive territorial boundaries in the highlands of Judah during this period.

¹³³ Hopkins argued that this chain of settlements extended beyond Judah and included Bethel, Shechem and Tell el-Farah. He adds that the activity along this line is presumably the result of the preservation of LB trade routes (D. C. Hopkins 1985: 158-159).

¹³⁴ It is worth reiterating that Tell en-Nasbeh, situated just beyond the highway, contained c.198 rock-cut installations in this period suggesting that the settlement was producing a surplus beyond subsistence farming. Moreover, it is worth noting that Mazar believed the wood used for pillars and beams within the structures of Giloh likely came from outside the immediate region (Brandfon 1983: 181; Mazar 1981: 9).

¹³⁵ Shai, Maeir, Gadot, & Uziel 2011: 111

Taanach was never extensively excavated. There is no means to compare these structures to any residencies for the majority of the site's population.¹³⁶ Yet, there is evidence that the street associated with the large structures of Taanach was reused from the LB and that many of the walls of these structures were rebuilt along the lines of older walls, presumably all three structures existed on the same reused LB street. Generally, a succession of construction phases, which are more-or-less conservative in nature, are equated to either a continuation of the single settlement or the preservation of older structures due to their innate importance. The former conclusion can be ruled out due to the change in material culture during the Iron I settlement.¹³⁷ Just as importantly, while a few structures were rebuilt following the LB plan, the majority of the LB structures were not restored. Paul Lapp writes: 'In striking contrast to the MB IIC-LB I periods, there were very few structures in this area in the Iron I-II, and these must have been extremely poor'.¹³⁸

The seminal work of Y. Shiloh identified that the pillared structure, the so-called 'four room house' of the Iron Age were the archetypal residency of Israelite settlements.¹³⁹ The 'Israelite' designation has since been debated, however these structures have largely

¹³⁶ Aside from these three large structures, another structure was uncovered in Area D, just north of the northern boundary wall of the Twelfth Century House. Wall 5-7.70 of this structure was placed parallel to the northern wall of the Twelfth Century House leading Meehl to speculate that it may be associated to the structure. It is speculated that this was an animal pen or storage room for the larger Twelfth Century House (Meehl 1995: 113).

¹³⁷ This includes ceramics of LB degenerate forms but an absence of typical LB forms (Finkelstein 1988: 211; Rast 1978: 11-13).

Despite this, it has been argued that the material culture of Tel Taanach is closer in association to the lowlands (Frick 2000: 17). Likewise, In his PhD dissertation on Taanach, Meehl finds a 'morphological parallel' of one Taanach building to the supposed cultic building of Area A2 of Tell Qiri. This structure belonged to the end of the first Iron Age occupation of Tel Qiri (str. IX) which was contemporary with Taanach phase I (Meehl 1995: 121). The suggestion that the structure of Taanach parallels another structure interpreted as cultic external to the highlands (on the western edge of the Jezreel valley, on the junction where Mt Carmel meets the valley) is suggesting that not only were these two settlements interacting, but also that there was a standard or possibly typical plan for a cult structure in the early Iron Age (Ben-Tor & Portugali 1987: 86-89).

¹³⁸ Paul Lapp 1969: 34

¹³⁹ Shiloh 1970

preserved their identification as residencies.¹⁴⁰ Despite being of the typical pillared house design, the conservatism of the Taanach buildings across periods may suggest a non-residential function.¹⁴¹ Yet, none of the structures, with the possible exception of the Drainpipe Structure, hint at serving an additional purpose to be regarded as a public building. Meehl concludes that these constructions were ‘...probably domestic in nature’ simply because there is an absence of any primary deposits to present evidence of any other function.¹⁴²

Rather, each of the buildings that were preserved or reconstructed in the Iron Age contain certain irregular features to suggest they were patrician houses: The Cuneiform Tablet Building was comparably larger than the other structures with dimensions of c.8.3x6.7m.¹⁴³ The structure contained a cuneiform receipt for the shipment of grain that presumably the occupants of the residency were involved in. The Twelfth Century House contained additional rooms not typical of pillared houses, many of which were for storage, and a

¹⁴⁰ C.f. de Geus 2003: 76-85

¹⁴¹ As will be seen in the case of Kh. Raddana of the Iron IB, a number of cisterns were found in association with a single pillared building (SXIV) possibly suggesting it served a non-residential function (Lederman 1999: 47). Likewise, the pillared structures of Shiloh during this period are debated on their private/public function (Dever et al. 2014: 37-41; Finkelstein 2013: 25).

¹⁴² Meehl 1995: 143

Despite the limited structural remains of the Cuneiform Tablet Building, it is clear that it was of the ‘pillared house’ design. Lapp describes the structure as containing a line of irregular stones with regularly spaced flat slabs, which probably served as bases for roof supports (Wall L.83). This line ran north-south and parallel to the east wall of the structure (c.2.20m away) (Paul Lapp 1967: 21). Lapp’s (1967) Fig. 12 (see below) clearly shows this dividing wall in relation to the external wall of the structure. It is similar in design and appearance to the dividing walls of the other two large structures: the Twelfth Century House and the Drainpipe Structure and appears to be the typical ‘curtain wall’ of pillared room houses. Yet, the unusual conservatism of these houses during the LB-Iron I is noteworthy. The Cuneiform Tablet Building contains evidence of successive rebuilding from the LB to the Iron IB. It was noted that Wall 5 and 6 were built directly on top of the previous LB I wall of the structure. Wall 6 was preserved into period IB where it was removed sometime during the beginning of period IIA (Meehl 1995: 119). Likewise, the Twelfth Century House had successive phases of construction during the Iron IA.

¹⁴³ Meehl 1995: 118

number of private installations. A personal tabun found within the courtyard (Room 2) of the structure is indicative of nothing more than household production, however the presence of multiple stone-lined and plastered pits and additional storage areas (Rooms 5 and 6), suggests potential production for more than the structure's occupants.¹⁴⁴ Likewise, the Drainpipe Structure was built on the pillared house design but was uniquely structured around an internal courtyard and featured three drainage troughs. Stager associated this as a residency that also functioned as a private stable.¹⁴⁵ The structural remains of Taanach fits a common assumption of the exclusionary model of power that authority is distinguished by the seizure and control over resources.¹⁴⁶

The exclusionary model of power is reliant on an excess of production to be used in trade and expenditure. This is especially important given that the means of production in Iron Age communities is seasonable agriculture. The additional storage space of The Twelfth Century house, which disrupts the conservative pillared house design, serves as evidence for this excess. Moreover, while the combination of installations and storage within pillared houses may be simply interpreted as household production, the cuneiform tablet within one of the structures suggests a trade network established to preserve the power and influence of the local elite. Byrne believed that the rare examples of writing in the Iron I, such as the tablet of Taanach, represented the maintenance of LB elitism and scribalism survived as a rare luxury.¹⁴⁷ Coote argued the inscription was '...in a style associated with an occupying state, not tribal administration', indicating the occupants were involved in distance trade outside of

¹⁴⁴ Paul Lapp 1969: 34-37

¹⁴⁵ Stager 1985a: 13

¹⁴⁶ Blanton et al. 1996: 2

¹⁴⁷ Byrne 2007

the tribal landscape of the Iron I highlands.¹⁴⁸ Frick agreed with Meehl's suggestion that Taanach may have served as an administrative centre for the urban settlements on coastal plain.¹⁴⁹ This is possible, albeit unsubstantiated within the material culture of the site.

The Iron Age defences of Tanaach, localised in the south-west, further attest to the presence of the settlement's authority.¹⁵⁰ The perimeter wall, Wall 7, sat on a compact fill containing mixed pottery. Of this the latest material dated to the early 12th century and can be taken as a TPQ for the wall.¹⁵¹ This wall was rubble-filled, composed of mostly small stones. It may have been over 4.25m in width with the previous MB casemate wall being incorporated into the exterior of Wall 7.¹⁵² Despite some arguments that there is no relationship between house sizes and private wealth (Kramer 1979: 155), the combination of a defensive line dated contemporaneously to multiple extraordinary houses grouped together presents a reasonable case for a localised authority within Taanach. The limited exposure of the site makes it difficult to consider the power strategy implemented, it does appear that the occupants of at least one of the conspicuous buildings had trade associations outside of the highlands.

¹⁴⁸ Coote 1990: 129

Frick suggested Taanach was originally part of Megiddo's sphere of influence. Meehl also speculates phases of shifting affiliation between Taanach and neighbouring sites (Frick 2000: 19; Meehl 1995). However due to the conservative nature of ceramics, it is difficult to argue any affiliation based on material culture. Likewise, there is little evidence to suggest Taanach was being financed by an external site.

¹⁴⁹ Frick 2000: 24; Meehl 1995: 338

¹⁵⁰ This is because a site's fortifications or perimeter wall is in most cases interpreted as a monumental public construction due to its non-private nature and the extensive expenditure of manpower and resources utilised in its construction.

¹⁵¹ Paul Lapp 1969: 34

Cut into this fill, underneath the perimeter wall, was a pit (Pit 33), illustrating that the levelled surface was utilised prior to the construction of the line sometime before the second quarter of the 12th century BC (Paul Lapp 1969: 34).

¹⁵² This assumption is due to the presence of fragments of the MB wall situated above the base of Wall 7 (Paul Lapp 1969: 34). The continuation of the MB fortification may also be an explanation for the absence of Wall 7 outside of the south-west quadrant of the settlement.



Fig. 5. Remains of Taanach's Twelfth Century House
(Lapp, P., 1967, p.22, Fig. 12)

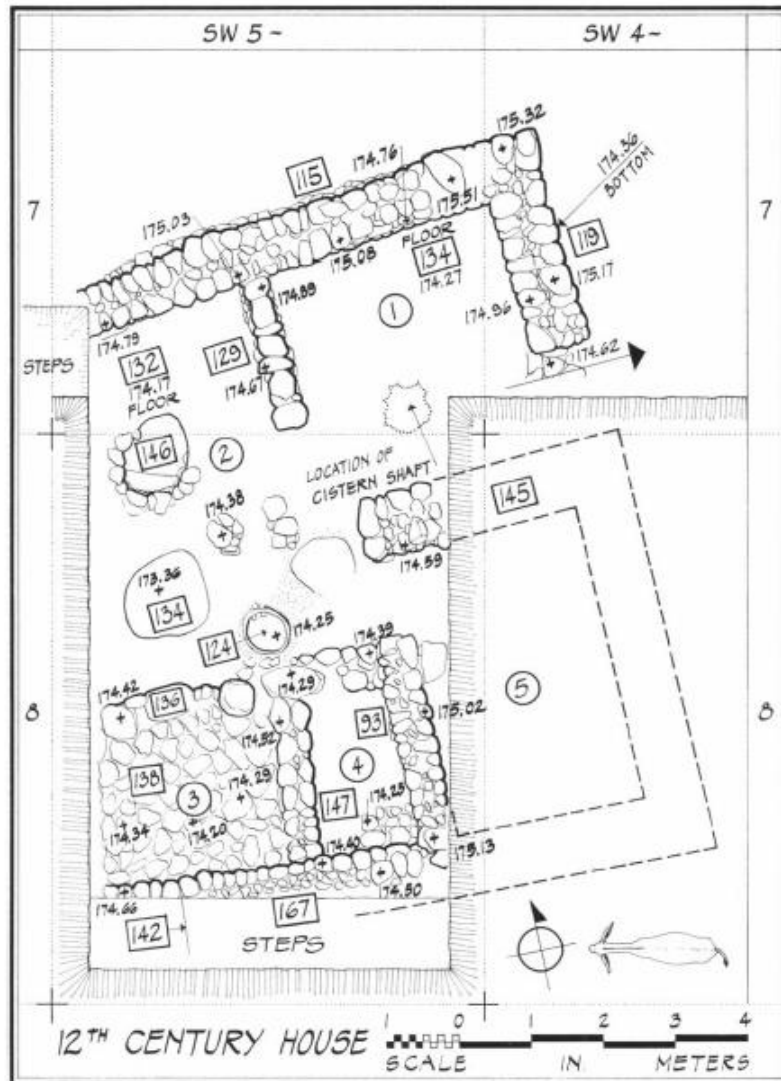


Fig. 6. Plan of Taanach's Twelfth Century House
Lapp, P., 1969, p.36, Fig. 24

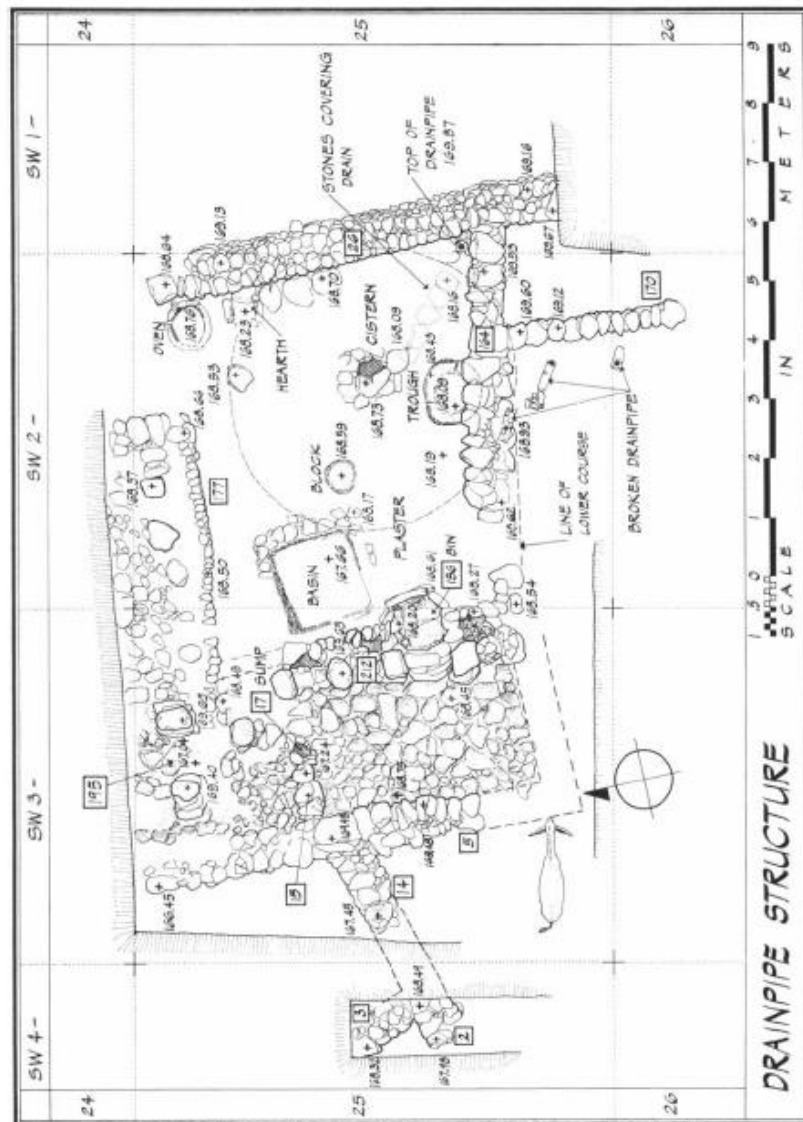


Fig. 7. Plan of Taanach's Drainpipe Structure
Lapp, P., 1969, p.38, Fig. 26

3.4. 'Izbet Sartah: The Egalitarian community:

Smith identified that the basis of all corporate power strategies (in contrast to the exclusionary model) is an egalitarian ethos due to the deliberate restriction on a ruler's power and control. Yet there is a clear distinction between this form and a strictly non-hierarchical egalitarian structured society.¹⁵³ In addition to the activity found within Tel Taanach and Giloh, another settlement type is also apparent in the north, on the fringe between the

¹⁵³ N. G. Smith 2009: 49

highlands and the lowlands. The settlement of 'Izbet Sartah str. III contrasts the previously addressed sites as it contained substantial structural remains without any signifiers for an elite or governing authority. Instead, the structures are homogenous and lends weight to the argument that some of the earliest highland settlers established an early egalitarian community.¹⁵⁴ During the four seasons of excavation of 'Izbet Sarah, the north and south perimeter of the tel were excavated. On both sides the peripheral wall was discovered containing a complex system of northern and southern entrances and additional structures built into the outer face of the wall. In the northern sector, Area D, the wall ran for 24m and in the southern sector, Area B, for 25m. The two segments are clearly part of the same wall.¹⁵⁵ Although not a particularly thick defence, the width of the lower fieldstones, c.60-70cm in the north and c.50-100cm in the south would have allowed for a series of medium-sized stones or possibly a mud-brick body to be placed on top.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Uniquely, 'Izbet Sartah was established on the foothills of the Samarian hill country, c.3km from Aphek, and it can be argued that the site should be omitted in the study of the central highlands. Its inclusion is due to its establishment contemporaneous to the earliest central highland settlements and its separation from nearby 'Canaanite' settlement. Kochavi and Demsky noted this and would refer to 'Izbet Sartah as 'a rather rude village' (Kochavi & Demsky 1978: 21).

¹⁵⁵ Finkelstein 1986: 7

While in both locations, only a single course of stone was preserved, the presence of four openings with worked doorways in area D (squares G16, J16, F16), two openings in area B (squares K9 and M9) and an additional entrance in the north in area E (squares L/M16) illustrate its complexity. The complexity of 'Izbet Sartah's design is apparent by the use of external rooms attached to the perimeter wall. Unlike the casemate wall defence that would be attested later in the Iron Age hill country, the rooms attached to the wall of 'Izbet Sartah III are placed on the outside of the settlement. These rooms are best preserved in the south with at least three clearly identifiable rooms attached to each other (1010, 813 & 1016 according to their floor number) with the possibility of two additional rooms in west (1000 and 1015). In area D a number of partition walls (F162, H163, K164) indicate the same phenomenon existed in the north (Finkelstein, 1986, p. 9, Fig.3). This feature would have only provided rudimentary additional defence since the ring of buildings only added an additional thin wall between the inside and outside of the perimeter. Finkelstein does raise the possibility that this ring of buildings located on the outside of the wall may have functioned in the same way as an offset-inset defensive wall.

¹⁵⁶ Finkelstein 1986: 7-11

Unlike in the case of Taanach and Giloh, where the few residencies share the same stratum as the perimeter wall, the monumental public structure of the settlement, 'Izbet Sartah str.III contains no evidence of a single pillared residency. Besides the presence of a number of stone-lined silos (544, 713, 2004, 3017, 3022 and 3026) spread disproportionately across the site, there are no additional architectural indicators for an early Iron I occupation.¹⁵⁷

Generally, a perimeter wall of any size will reflect the presence of a site's authority as it represents a single construction not ascribed to one individual. Aside from any argument on its necessity, a wall is costly in terms of both construction material and manpower. These are two resources which could be utilised in the more immediately profitable pursuits of agriculture, storage or housing. Yet, in the case of 'Izbet Sartah, the wall does not signify an excess of labour away from these sectors as Finkelstein presents a convincing argument where the external rooms of the periphery wall functioned as residencies and storage facilities.¹⁵⁸ Seemingly, this is an evolution from the presumed tent enclosures of a nomadic lifestyle.¹⁵⁹ This is likely the case and these small, homogenous dwellings attest to the little or no social stratification present within the site in the late 12th century. This leaves two possibilities: that the regional 'chief', the nominal leader of the settlement who was able to organise the construction of the perimeter wall and housing of the occupants, lived in the same sort of structures side-by-side the builders of the settlement. Or, alternatively, 'Izbet

¹⁵⁷ Finkelstein 1986: 12

There is, of course, an array of early 13th - late 12th century ceramic sherd material. From this, Finkelstein concluded that the occupants of str. III abandoned the settlement in an orderly manner, taking all of the usable household objects with them (Finkelstein 1986: 42).

¹⁵⁸ He noted that this feature also paralleled sites in the Upper Galilee (Horvat 'Avot, Kh. et-Tine) and the Negev highlands (Beersheba str.VIII, Tel Esdar str.III). As these domestic units are located on the exterior of the perimeter wall, it appears that alongside a limited defensive purpose, the wall functioned as an enclosure pen for animals within the settlement.

¹⁵⁹ Finkelstein 1986: 106-109, 116-120 Contra. Gottwald 1993a: 174-175.

Sartah str. III consisted of no local elite and the settlement is the result of a natural process of sedentarisation of a nomadic group.¹⁶⁰

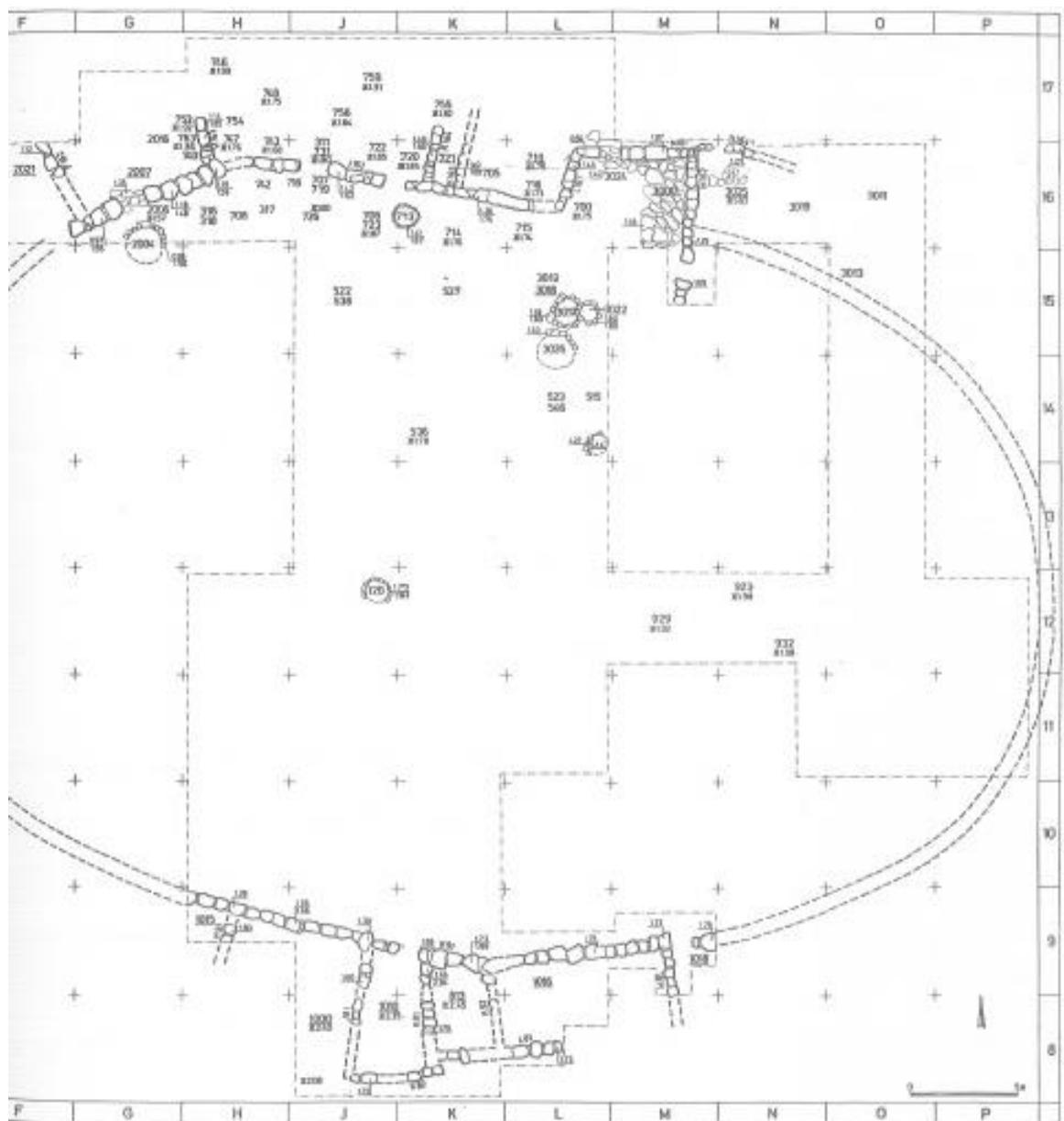


Fig. 8. Plan of 'Izbet Sartah str. III
Finkelstein, I., 1986, p.9

¹⁶⁰ Another avenue is to consider 'Izbet Sartah str. III implemented what Adams referred to as 'coordination', when although not equal, power and authority is not localised to a select few but rather 'traded off' between members (Adams 1975: 210-211; Frick 1985: 22-23). Although this power strategy would be difficult to distinguish from a strictly egalitarian community.

As stated, it was originally the opinion of Mendenhall, and then later Gottwald, that early ‘Israelite’ society was uniquely egalitarian.¹⁶¹ Faust is one of the few recent authorities to support the concept.¹⁶² Despite some rejection of the idea of an egalitarian tribal society in Iron I Israel, particularly Lemche’s criticism that they represent ‘an unwarranted romantic stereotype’, the homogeneity of the periphery structures and the absence of any structural or ceramic elite signifier, marks ‘Izbet Sartah str. III as possibly the only example of an early egalitarian community in the highlands during the Iron IA.’¹⁶³ To understand the power strategy implemented in egalitarian societies, and possibly within ‘Izbet Sartah str. III, it is to be understood that egalitarianism is not an organic process. Tuzin referred to it as a ‘savage doctrine’, where individuals ‘struggle to stay equal to each other’.¹⁶⁴ M. Russo agrees that there is a conscious effort in creating an egalitarian community. Continuing Grøn’s concept that the placement of each residency reflects the status of its occupants (Grøn 1991), Russo identifies that structures of equal size and equally spaced apart are designed to restrict the

¹⁶¹ Gottwald 1979a: 324-325; Mendenhall 1962, 1974: 174-197

¹⁶² Faust 2006a: 104

Previously, Dever described the social and political order of the ‘Proto-Israelite villages’ as being ‘a predominantly agrarian movement, accompanied by a strong egalitarian thrust’ (Dever 1992a: 103). Although avoiding the term ‘egalitarian’, Kletter equated the absence of burials from the Iron I to a lack of social segregation (Kletter 2002).

¹⁶³ Lemche 1985: 202-244, 1996: 19. For an opposing view, c.f. Gottwald 1979a: 228-341; Mendenhall 1962, 1974: 174-197. After some criticisms, Gottwald revised his identification of egalitarian communities to ‘communitarian modes of production’ (Gottwald 1992). Most recently, Faust came to the conclusion that ‘...ancient Israel was a society with a clear egalitarian and democratic ethos. Furthermore, for some time this found expression, if only to a relative extent, in its social reality’ (Faust 2006a: 104). Kochavi supported that the development of this settlement type was due to a reliance on subsistence agriculture and ‘social changes within the community’ (Kochavi 1985: 56).

¹⁶⁴ Tuzin 2001: 127

Dubreuil is in agreement, writing: ‘Equality is thus not an accidental social outcome, but the result of practices favouring social levelling’ (Dubreuil 2010: 162). Moreover, in his study of the development of egalitarian behaviour, Boehm identified in his study of 48 separate pre-modern cultures, various cases of forced equality through sanctioning behaviour (Boehm 2009: 84).

status of any one individual.¹⁶⁵ Thus, residencies arranged in a circular fashion are ‘often, although not always’ associated with egalitarian communities, but ‘all egalitarian, transegalitarian and simple chiefdoms will always form settlements in circular or semicircular patterns’.¹⁶⁶ This concept reflects the general layout of the residencies of ‘Izbet Sartah str. III.’¹⁶⁷

Unlike in a ranked or stratified society, the power strategy within an egalitarian society is for no individual to have any more additional wealth, status or authority than the rest of the community. In his seminal work on social evolution, Fried commented: ‘equality is a social impossibility’.¹⁶⁸ This is because differing levels of skill and ability are found unequally at the individual level. To combat this, Fried argues, a true egalitarian community will not limit the amount of individuals required in any social position. Thus, ‘there are as many positions of prestige in any given age-sex grade as there are persons capable of filling them’.¹⁶⁹ Such an act ensures that there is no place for some calculated individuals, Hayden’s ‘aggrandizers’, to place themselves into positions of power or authority. In the case of ‘Izbet Sartah str. III, the lack of ceramic or any other type of elite signifier, except for a single sherd of a simple style

¹⁶⁵ Russo 2004: 38

Flanagan and Rayner agreed that egalitarian communities required a conscious effort to remain ‘egalitarian’ and ‘place costly demands upon their members for participation and vigilance’ (J. G. Flanagan & Rayner 1988: 2-3).

¹⁶⁶ Russo 2004: 38 C.f. Fraser 1968: 19-20; Grøn 1991: 107

¹⁶⁷ While Finkelstein identified a slight variation in the dimensions of periphery rooms, the differences are hardly noticeable and in the southern and northern sectors, the rooms are consistently 5-6m wide (Finkelstein 1986: 106). Moreover, an examination of the plan of str. III reveals that a large portion of the central area has been excavated. It seems unfeasible that any other structures were present in this stratum.

¹⁶⁸ Fried 1967: 27

A similar concept was reiterated by Flanagan who wrote: ‘There are no egalitarian societies’, just ‘...egalitarian contexts, or scenes, or situations’ (J. G. Flanagan 1989: 261). While an egalitarian outlook has been used to explain the increase in social development of some archaic societies (Jennings & Earle 2016: 474).

¹⁶⁹ Fried 1967: 33

late Mycenaean IIIB stirrup jar (Locus 700; Finkelstein 1986: Fig. 12:14; Pl. 11.1:1), supports a conscious effort to avoid a ranked or segregated society.¹⁷⁰

The three sites, Taanach, Giloh and 'Izbet Sartah, all dated to the late 13th–12th century, illustrate distinct power strategies despite their general contemporaneity. This can only suggest limited, if any, communication between sites. Instead power and elitism are influenced by regional, environmental and other conditions. This is likely the case given the geographic separation of each site. Taanach appears to be influenced by a general continuity from the previous LB settlement. 'Izbet Sartah, located on the foothills of the highlands, may have been noticeably egalitarian as a reaction to pre-existing hierarchical communities within the nearby lowlands, as suggested by Mendenhall and Gottwald.¹⁷¹ Likewise the early fortifications of Giloh suggests the rise of a patronage-driven authority in the region presumably aided by its fortunate location on the central highland trade route. The study of these three distinct settlements is instrumental in the study of social evolution as the power strategies in place will form the basis for a second settlement horizon within the central highlands. This is due to cultural transmission, a generation's ability to pass on information to its subsequent generation, and the fluidity of people and ideas into the Iron IB, a period of village fissioning and possible demographic migrations.

¹⁷⁰ A 12th century dating of this sherd associates it relatively to this stratum, c.f. Finkelstein 1986: 99-103, 1988: 320

¹⁷¹ Gottwald 1979a: 324-325; Mendenhall 1962, 1974: 174-197

Chapter 4.

Alternative Settlement Type: Central Cult Sites in the Iron IA:

In the previous chapter, three particular Iron IA sites were examined for the presence of a regional authority and power strategy in place: Taanach, Giloh and 'Izbet Sartah. These settlements are characterised by some residential structures, but limited public architecture. Yet, there exists a number of sites during this period that contain public architecture but limited residential occupation. Seemingly, these sites were administered by authorities external to the site itself and served an alternative purpose. To explain these cases, a different type of site should be considered. In 1974, Renfrew suggested that a certain type of chiefdom developed in prehistoric Europe known simply as: 'group-orientated'.¹⁷² This is when much of the power was maintained through the preservation of communal events, such as banquets and public gatherings, and the construction of communal works. Although utilising local labour, the communal sites did not necessarily need to be associated with a single settlement. Darvill identified that many such sites may have served as places for seasonal gatherings or markers for significant locations.¹⁷³ Blanton agreed that such sites are largely characterised by impressive public works including spaces for communal activities and reflect a degree of egalitarianism.¹⁷⁴ A number of such sites in the Iron IA exhibit some of the characteristics of being built for a communal purpose.

4.1. El-Burnat (Mt. Ebal):

El-Burnat str. II-IB can be confidently assigned to the early Iron Age. In terms of architecture, all that remains in Area A (the eastern side of the site) are few remnants of a building (Wall 18 and Wall 36) with an accompanying installation (Installation 94) and a pit

¹⁷² Renfrew 1974: 74

¹⁷³ Darvill 2010: 165

¹⁷⁴ Blanton 1998: 149

(Pit 250). The two walls were connected by a floor (Surface 61) containing Iron I remains and a thin ash layer.¹⁷⁵ Within Area B, on the opposite side in the west, a perimeter wall of large boulders stretched for c.60m (Wall 29 &75). The wall is preserved in two courses to a height of c.1m and roughly 2m in thickness.¹⁷⁶ Zertal noted that the closest parallel to this enclosure wall is the 'Bull site', located 20km northeast of Mt. Ebal and roughly contemporaneous. There is one instance in the south-west where a four-room house is built up against Wall 29 with the three elongated rooms running parallel to the perimeter wall in a northwest-southeast orientation. The structure is 16x9m with a total area of 144m.¹⁷⁷ The site is still partially unexcavated including the areas in a general proximity to the perimeter wall. Despite the phenomenon of a ring of structures originating from this region in the early Iron I (i.e. 'izbet sartah str. III), the excavator rejected the presence of any further domestic structures being uncovered within Mt. Ebal due to the small size of the site. Rather Zertal interprets this structure as the dwelling for the attendees of the early cultic site.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Zertal 1986: 109

Due to the presence of charred animal bones, possibly cultic ceramics and unusual installations, the excavators identified the structure as a cult place (Zertal 1993: 375, 377).

¹⁷⁶ Finkelstein 1988: 82

The average size of the boulders is 1.5x1.2m (Zertal 1986: 111).

¹⁷⁷ Zertal 1986: 111-113

¹⁷⁸ Zertal 1993: 377

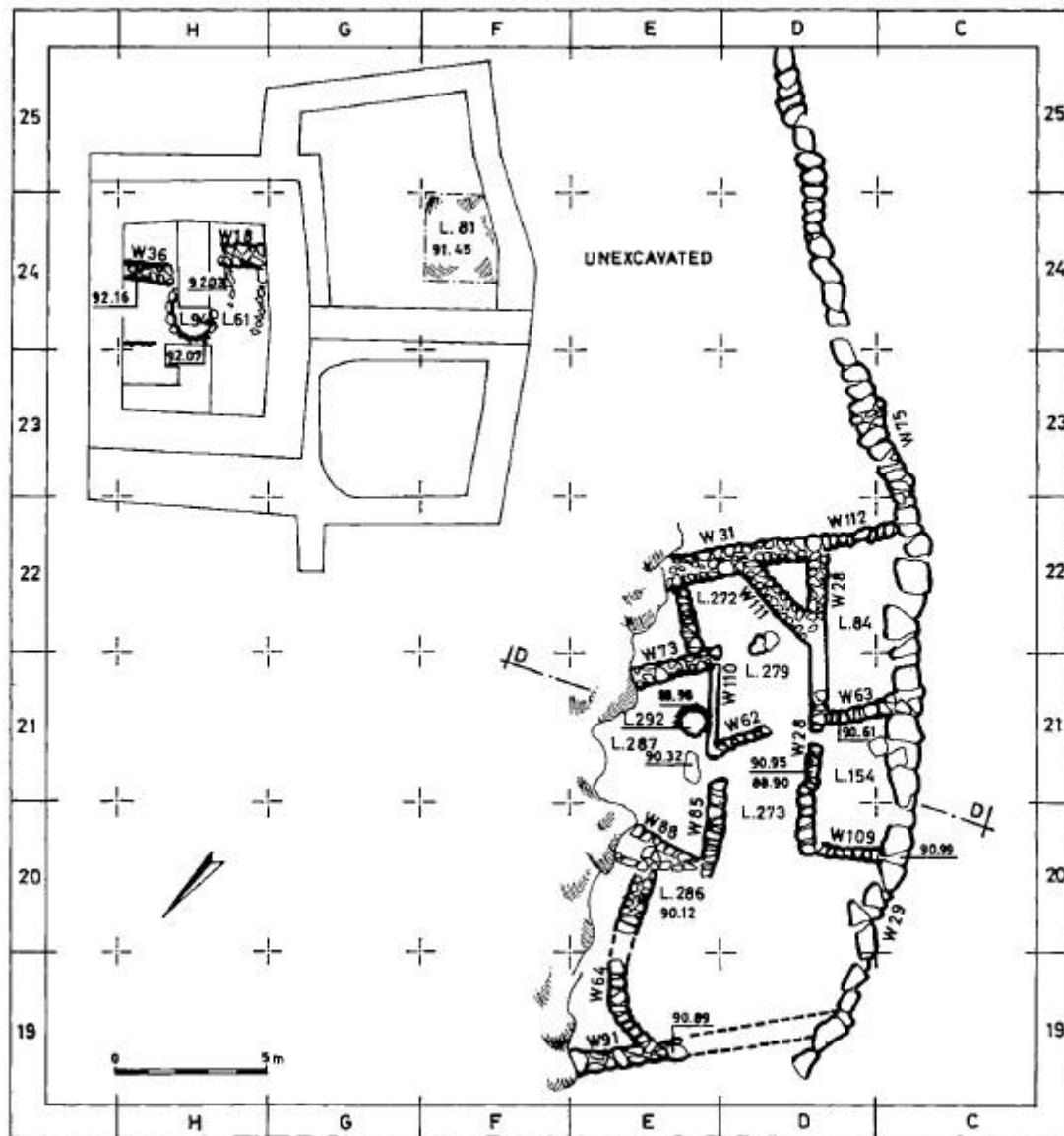


Fig. 9. Plan of Mount Ebal str. II
Zertal, 1986/1987, p.110, Fig. 3

Aside from any argument concerning whether the site was cultic in str. II (M. Coogan 1988; Mazar 1988; Zertal 1986) or not (Kempinski 1986; Rainey 1986), it is apparent that the site had a significant purpose in the early Iron Age. The arguments of the latter identify it as a fortified watchtower. In any case, the occupation of the small, non-agricultural site lends support to the probability that it was held under an early highland regional settlement.¹⁷⁹ This

¹⁷⁹ The only agricultural implements discovered within Mt. Ebal str. II are a large number (c.34) of grinding stones, which Finkelstein acknowledges may have originated from a nearby site (Finkelstein 1988: 85).

is the opinion of Na'aman, who argues that the central structure was the biblical 'House of el-berith', a regional cult centre for the northern hill country and linked to the site of Shechem.¹⁸⁰

The lack of residential activity indicates that the site's perimeter wall, possibly a *temenos* wall, served a symbolic purpose. This enclosure reflects the apparent significance and communal nature of Mt Ebal as it appears that the site's construction and use was the result of external labour outside of the labour of the single residency. This is also suggested by the proportions of pottery found within both excavated areas of the settlement. In total, 274 'indicative sherds' were collected from str. II.¹⁸¹ Of this, 78 sherds (28.5%) were storage pithoi and in total, 70% of the combined assemblage from str. II & I were collared-rim pithoi.¹⁸² The high proportion of storage vessels is explained by Zertal as possibly the result of the lack of water sources within the site, a trait he notes is common among early highland

¹⁸⁰ Na'aman 1986

Contrary to this is the evidence that Shechem was in the decline at the start of the Iron IA, Campbell wrote of str. XI, the LB-Iron I phase, '...overall destruction in the late twelfth century followed by another period of virtual abandonment' (Campbell 2002: 185). Coote supports that the site was also 'virtually deserted' in the latter half of the Iron I (Coote 1990: 136). Following a major destruction in the late LB, c.1300BC, Shechem was only partially resettled and masonry dating to this period became poorer (Toombs 1979: 68-93). Despite this, Mazar argued for a strong continuity between the LB and early Iron Age settlement, 'though archaeologically, they are not identical' (Mazar 1985: 121). The presence of new villages emerging on virgin soil north and south of Shechem illustrated to Callaway that the once-thriving LB polity was now unable to hinder or control the process of fissioning highland settlement (Joseph Callaway 1985: 73).

¹⁸¹ Zertal 1986: 124

This data does not include the material collected in the seasons following Zertal's 1987 publication which have not been published.

¹⁸² Hawkins 2007: 71, 2012: 54-56; Zertal 1985: 34-35, 1986: 125

It should be noted that Zertal describes the sherds used in this statistical study only as 'indicative' and by the category of 'punctured design' it would seem that his study also counted body sherds. Methodological studies have raised the consideration that body sherds are not suitable inclusions in statistical studies as certain vessels, such as large storage jars, will provide a large supply of data that does not reflect the relative proportions of these vessels in comparison to smaller vessels (Ben-Tor & Portugali 1987: 180-181).

settlement.¹⁸³ Yet, only 12 cooking pot sherds (4.4% of the stratum's assemblage) were uncovered within str. II.¹⁸⁴ In contrast, other early Iron Age highland settlements such as Giloh and 'Izbet Sartah had cooking pots comprising around 15-20% of the ceramic assemblage.¹⁸⁵

The almost complete absence of flint sickle-blades, the primary agrarian tool for harvesting during the Iron Age and common within most Iron I sites covered during the Manasseh survey, can be explained by its location on a mountain summit where little agriculture would have been conducted. However, the significant lack of cooking pots, as well as the lack of any food processing or productive facilities, can only suggest a meagre amount of residential occupation during this time.¹⁸⁶ In his unpublished PhD on cultic settlements in the early Iron Age, Gilmour agreed: 'While there are no overtly cultic items...the quantitative analysis suggests it is not a domestic assemblage.'¹⁸⁷ Following a short period of abandonment at the end of the 12th century, the site was resettled under much the same function albeit with an increase in scale and complexity.¹⁸⁸ The main change of the site was in area B where the domestic structure was replaced with a large courtyard (Courtyard 139). The old house walls: Wall 28 and Wall 29 were preserved and had a fill of stones included between them to create

¹⁸³ Zertal 1986: 136

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*: 125

¹⁸⁵ Hawkins 2007: 75

¹⁸⁶ Zertal 1986: 148, 152

¹⁸⁷ Gilmour 1995: 111

¹⁸⁸ Gareth Hugh Gilmour identified that the non-residential assemblage of str. II was continued into str. I and both assemblages were 'remarkably similar' (Gilmour 1995: 111). Seemingly, this continuity and conservatism of the site, as well as its final abandonment after the second occupation, reflects its unique function. The second phase was centred on a rectangular structure within Area A. This main structure was built on top of the site's bedrock ridge and had its corners orientated to the four compass points with an error margin of less than a degree, illustrating the clear planning and importance placed on the structure (Zertal 1986: 113). Attached to this main structure was a series of additional walls and courtyards bonded to it, essentially creating a single building complex (Zertal 1986: 115-117).

a retaining wall for the new structure. A combination of pottery, installations and animal bones were found upon the paved stone courtyard floor.¹⁸⁹ Courtyard 139 approaches and meets Wall 58 of the complex in Area A and the two features were clearly associated. This stratum was encircled by an enclosure wall that served a superficial rather than defensive purpose, just like the previous occupation phase.¹⁹⁰ It is very clear that despite the break of occupation, the returned settlement of Mt. Ebal was not a residential settlement and it is likely that a conservative function was preserved into the later period of the Iron IA.¹⁹¹

4.2. Dhahrat et-Tawileh ('The Bull Site'):

Another settlement located c.20km north-east of Mt. Ebal is the so-called 'Bull Site'. It is contemporary and mimics the function of the previous site.¹⁹² The 'Bull Site' was named

¹⁸⁹ Zertal 1986: 119

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁹¹ However the proportions of cooking pots, a clear indicator of permanent or semi-permanent occupation, increases from 12 sherds in str. II to 51 sherds in str. IB (Hawkins 2007: 10-12; Zertal 1986: 125).

¹⁹² Contra. Dever Dever 2006: 464.

Mazar noted that the cooking pot rims of the Bull Site (Nos. 11-12) are the typical everted type of the Iron IA. Moreover, a number of sherds (Mazar 1982a, fig 9:3,5, 9-13) parallel material found in Taanach Period I (Rast 1978, fig. 2:6, 3:10, 7, 4:8, 13:1-2, 17:11, 14). It was further noted that the lack of variety in ceramics and no evidence of occupational layers indicated that the site was only occupied for a relatively short period of time (Wenning & Zenger 1986: 76). Despite this, Finkelstein has criticised the identification of the settlement as an Iron I site. Rather he argues that a certain pottery form identified by Zertal, 'Einun pottery' dates to the MB and the bull statuette has parallels to then (Finkelstein 1998b). This argues against the fact that no MB pottery was recorded on site in Mazar's excavation and only the Iron I associated MB-imitative form, the 'Einun pottery' was observed by Zertal. A year later, Mazar's rebuttal argued (with some hesitancy) that despite being MB in appearance, 'Einun pottery' is not found within MB contexts (Mazar 1999: 145-146). More importantly, in their review of the ceramics collected from the bull site during Zertal's survey, Mazar and Zertal noted that the forms were purely Iron I and only two storage jar rims and one high rim base can be considered 'Einun pottery'. No indicative MB sherds were recorded (Mazar 1999: 146).

after the chance discovery of a bronze bull statuette found prior to its excavation.¹⁹³ A circular stone ring was uncovered on the top of the ridge. The dimensions of the structure measured: c.21x23m. The size of the stones were relatively large and although there is a general lack of preservation due to the presence of bed rock high on the ridge, two courses of the structure were preserved to 0.5-0.6m high in the east. The northern portion contains an accumulation of fallen stones and earth c.0.40m thick, an indication that the structure was roofed or multi-storeyed.¹⁹⁴ The sheer size of the structure and the possibility of the feature being enclosed with an entrance in the east and internal walls illustrates that it was more substantial than a simple enclosure of field stones.

¹⁹³ This bull statuette, along with a number of other important finds: a massebah, ceramic incense burner/model shrine, bronze objects, have designated this site as cultic (Mazar 1982: 26-37; Nakhai 2001: 170). In his PhD dissertation on the subject of Iron I cults, Gilmour provides the Bull Site with a 'less than likely' score of 4/10 on his probability continuum (Gilmour 1995: 92). C.f. M. D. Coogan 1987: 1-2 for an alternative interpretation. Ahlström believed the site was cultic, but argued that it was maintained by non-native immigrants into the region, possibly Hittites or Arameans (Ahlström 1990: 77).

¹⁹⁴ Mazar 1982: 33



Fig. 10. Plan of the Bull Site
Mazar, A., 1982a, p.34, fig.5

The lack of residential data within Mt. Ebal and the Bull Site suggests that the authorities and manpower that constructed these structures should be sought outside of each site and small settlements, probably hamlets, should be expected in close proximity to the two.¹⁹⁵ This is reliant on survey data. However, because of the nature of surveying methodology, it is near impossible to assign structural remains to occupational periods. Instead it is sufficient to simply highlight settlement activity during the Iron IA by the presence of Iron I ceramics in

¹⁹⁵ Unlike Mt Ebal (and despite the lack of residencies) Coogan and Gareth Hugh Gilmour argued that the ceramic assemblage of The Bull Site was almost exclusively domestic but lacked storage pithoi (M. D. Coogan 1987: 1; Gilmour 1995: 89), seemingly a marker of residential activity within a site.

proximity to Mt. Ebal and the Bull Site. Survey data is further limited by the inability to precisely identify Iron IA and Iron IB ceramics.¹⁹⁶ The resolve here is to consider settlement activity with identifiable Iron I material and an absence of Iron II pottery, raising the probability that the site was abandoned prior to the transition into the Iron IIA and most likely the Iron I material is earlier rather than later.

4.3. Environs of Mt. Ebal:

In his survey of the Manasseh Hill Country, Zertal extensively examined the region around Mt. Ebal. He identified 3 sites surrounding the base of the mountain dating to the Iron I: ‘Asireh esh-Shemaliyeh (A) (site #271 of Zertal’s survey), El-‘Aqqabah (site #272) and ‘Asireh esh-Shemaliyeh (B) (site #273).¹⁹⁷ ‘Asireh esh-Shemaliyeh (A) was located in the northern foothills of Mt. Ebal. Despite being a massive 60 dunams in size, neither Zertal nor the previous survey of Gophna and Porath recorded any structural features, cisterns or other installations of the site.¹⁹⁸ Presumably the modern settlement completely encompassed the ancient remains. Zertal identified that 30% of the pottery collected from the settlement was of Iron I material. This made up the largest proportion of the entire assemblage recorded, only paralleled by the Byzantine ceramics which also made up 30%.¹⁹⁹ El-‘Aqqabah was a site of 2 dunams located on the stony ridge of the western slopes of Mt. Ebal. Although located on

¹⁹⁶ Although expressed simply in this study, the problem is that the hundreds of small sites that were settled in the Iron I represents a gradual process spanning over two centuries. Coote and Whitelam argued that as highland population increased, villages underwent a process of fissioning rather than expansion (Coote & Whitelam 1987: 134). This is reasonable as excavation data suggests that hill country villages were typically oval in shape with residencies established along the perimeter. A circular layout is problematic to expand when the boundary has already been marked by a ring of houses. This makes it difficult to simply assign surveyed sites to early, mid or late in the Iron I.

¹⁹⁷ Zertal 2004b: 527-532

Contrary to Zertal’s data, Kochavi’s earlier survey failed to detect any settlements in the immediate vicinity of Mt. Ebal. Kochavi considered the site to have functioned as pilgrimage site (Kochavi 1985: 56).

¹⁹⁸ Gophna & Porat 1972: 224

¹⁹⁹ Zertal 2004b: 528

the flat saddle of mountain, it contained little agricultural land. Six cisterns were identified within the site, presumably these were filled from the local springs, ‘Uyun Nablus West, located 1km away.²⁰⁰ The pottery collected from the survey was predominantly Iron I and Iron II, containing an equal proportion of both (20%).²⁰¹ ‘Asireh esh-Shemaliyeh (B) was also located on the rocky western slope of Mt. Ebal, in close proximity to a road that ran up the mountain. The large amount of Iron I pottery, predominantly collared-rim pithoi, led Zertal to conclude that there was a settlement located here, but now only fragmentary ruins and a modern village could be observed. The ceramics recorded were exclusively Iron I material.²⁰² The presence of a number of Iron I settlements at the base of Mt. Ebal provides a circumstantial argument that these are contemporaneous to the Iron IA settlement found upon Tel el-Burnat, and some interaction between the base and the summit existed. Following his survey of the region, Zertal concluded: ‘It can be surmised that there was some relationship between this small site and the Iron Age site at ‘Asireh, together with the central cultic site on Mt. Ebal.’²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Zertal 2004b: 528

²⁰¹ *ibid.*: 529

This seems to suggest that the site was occupied in the later stage of the Iron I and continued uninterrupted into the Iron II. Its inclusion in this study is based on the inability of assigning a precise Iron IA or Iron IB dating and the assumption that early Iron Age activity on the summit of Mt. Ebal and on the foothills of the mountain suggests an association between these sites.

²⁰² Zertal 2004b: 530

²⁰³ *ibid.*

The placement of each appears to be of significance. Despite being on the foothills of Mt. Ebal, both ‘Asireh esh-Shemaliyeh (A) (660m above sea level) and El-‘Aqqabah (620m above sea level) are located higher than the immediate surrounding regions. ‘Asireh esh-Shemaliyeh (A) dominated the region being 65m above its environs. El-Aqqabah was c.5m above its environs (Zertal 2004b: 527-528). Located in key positions, both sites watched over the north-eastern surroundings and entrance onto the mountain. Likewise, although not of significant height, ‘Asireh esh-Shemaliyeh (B) monitored the path climbing up the mountain towards tell el-Burnat (Zertal 2004b: 530).

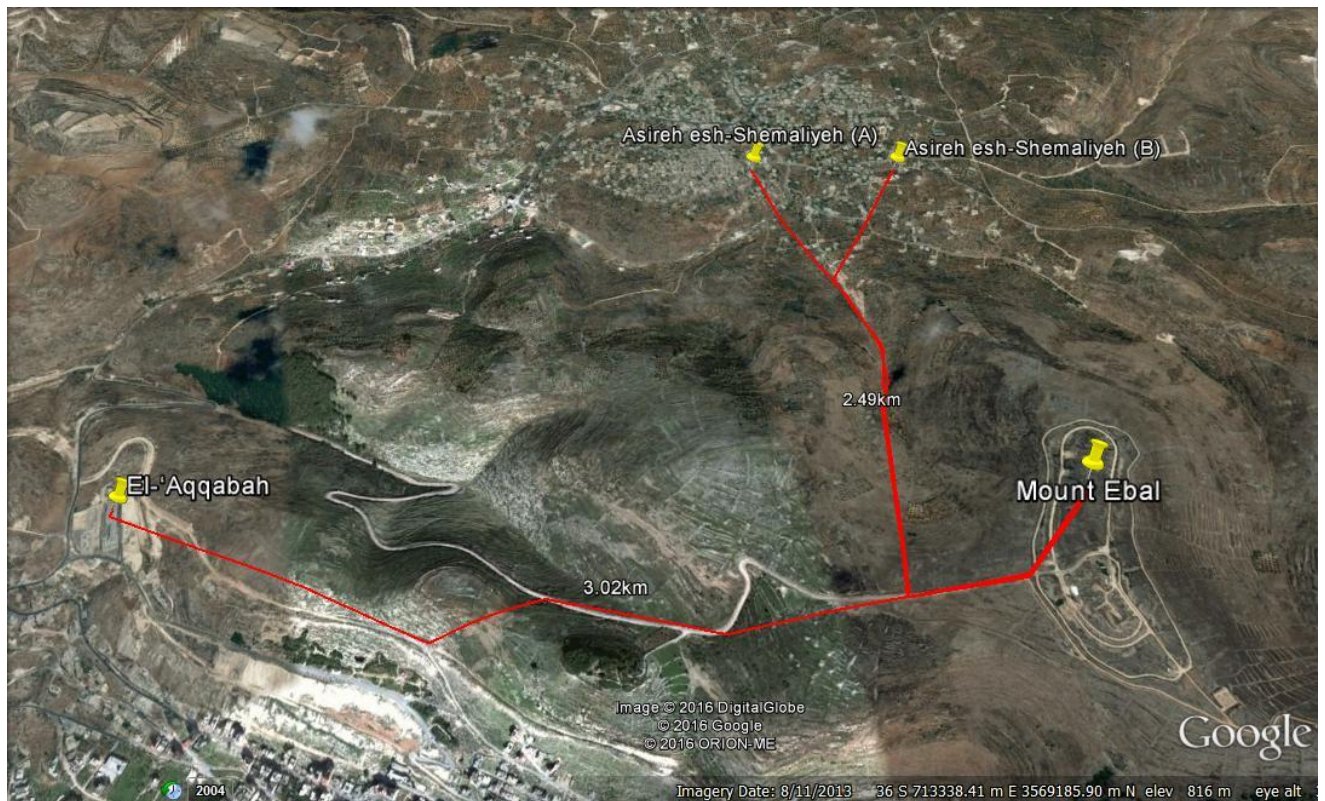


Fig 11. Satellite map image of the environs of Mount Ebal

4.4. Environs of The Bull Site:

Wenning and Zenger argued that while the bull site held a cultic function, it could not have served the main settlements in the surrounding region: En-Gannim, Jibleam, Dothan and Tirzah, simply because the site was located too far from these settlements to even function as a pilgrimage cult site and was orientated differently.²⁰⁴ This is possible although Jenin and Dothan are only c.6-8km from the Bull Site. Instead, Wenning and Zenger note that that a series of sites identified in Gophna and Porat's survey were grouped almost circularly around

²⁰⁴ Wenning & Zenger 1986: 76-80

Certainly the distance between these main settlements and the bull site was significant as Wenning and Zenger note. However, it is important to state that at the time the bull site functioned, Tirzah was experiencing a brief period of inhabitation (de Vaux 1992; Zertal 1988: 282-284). Within Iron I Dothan, there are substantial ceramic and structural (residential) remains, at least in Area A (Master 2005: 67-115). Moreover, the tombs have been radiocarbon dated to the beginning of this period (Gregoricka & Sheridan 2016: 3-4). For an opposing view on the significance of Dothan at this time, c.f. Cooley & Pratico R. Cooley & Pratico 1993: 373. Certainly, small settlements did emerge nearby but not necessarily related to these old urban centres (Coote 1990: 126).

the bull site and most had a predominance of Iron I pottery. (#21 #34, #37, #44, #36 according to Gophna and Porat's 1968 survey of Ephraim and Manasseh).²⁰⁵ These settlements were located in proximity to Dothan, Jibleam and En-Gannim. Wenning and Zenger argue that 'they clearly lived in coexistence to these centres, perhaps with loose communication' (my translation).²⁰⁶ Due to the unsubstantial remains at each of these settlements, it is difficult to determine the degree of influence over the controlling region. However, the placement of these small sites circularly around the Bull Site highlights its centrality.²⁰⁷

Kh. Abu Ghannam (site #21) resides north of the bull site, the closest to both En-Gannim and Jibleam. It contained primarily Iron I ceramics along with some MB, Persian and Byzantine material.²⁰⁸ Kh. Tannin (#34), east of the bull site, contained both Iron I and II pottery as well as Byzantine and later material. Gophna and Porat identified that the Iron I material was most abundant.²⁰⁹ Because of the nature of survey-data, it is difficult to assign the structures uncovered within Kh. Tannin to any historical period. Yet it is likely that the large rectangular structure (measuring 8x10m and consisting of two rooms) did not date to the Iron I simply because the surveyors observed that it seemed to have been constructed of stones in secondary use.²¹⁰ It is possible that the perimeter wall (בגדרות האבן, literally: 'stone fence') was erected in the Iron I as this was when the site was most populated. However the

²⁰⁵ Wenning & Zenger 1986: 79

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*

²⁰⁷ It is worth noting that since the publication of Wenning and Zenger's work, Zertal has detected additional Iron I settlements that only support the centrality of the Bull Site (c.f appendix).

²⁰⁸ Gophna & Porat 1972: 210

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*: 211

Zertal provides more precise statistics of the site's pottery: 40% Iron I in comparison to 8-10% Iron II-Iron III and 5% Hellenistic to Byzantine. The second most abundant form, Persian period ceramics, made up half (20%) of the total number of Iron Age I forms recorded (Zertal 2004b: 175).

²¹⁰ Gophna & Porat 1972: 211

surveyors do not comment on the dimensions or design of the wall.²¹¹ Zertal further identified an earthen rampart running north-south and ‘...presumably with a stone wall inside.’²¹²

Kh. esh-Sheikh (#37) is south-east of the bull site, situated close and contained predominantly Iron I ceramics. The main structural remains were tombs dating to the Muslim period.²¹³ Ez-Zababide (#44) is located directly south of the bull site and is situated between Kh. esh-Sheikh and Kh. ‘Anahum. Gophna and Porat do not identify what period’s ceramics were most abundant and MB, Iron I, Iron II, Byzantine and later material are all attested on the site. The surveyors do not ascribe any structural remains to the site and simply state that a modern village resides. Presumably the ancient settlement was not accessible.²¹⁴ Kh. ‘Anahum (#36) is west of the bull site and was seemingly settled in the Iron I due to it being the earliest ceramic material recorded during the survey.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Gophna & Porat 1972: 211

²¹² Zertal 2004b: 175

²¹³ Gophna & Porat 1972: 212

²¹⁴ *ibid.*: 213

²¹⁵ *ibid.*: 212

However the surveyors note that it is the Hellenistic material that was most abundant during their examination. Gophna and Porat further observed that the majority of the building remains belong to the Byzantine period.

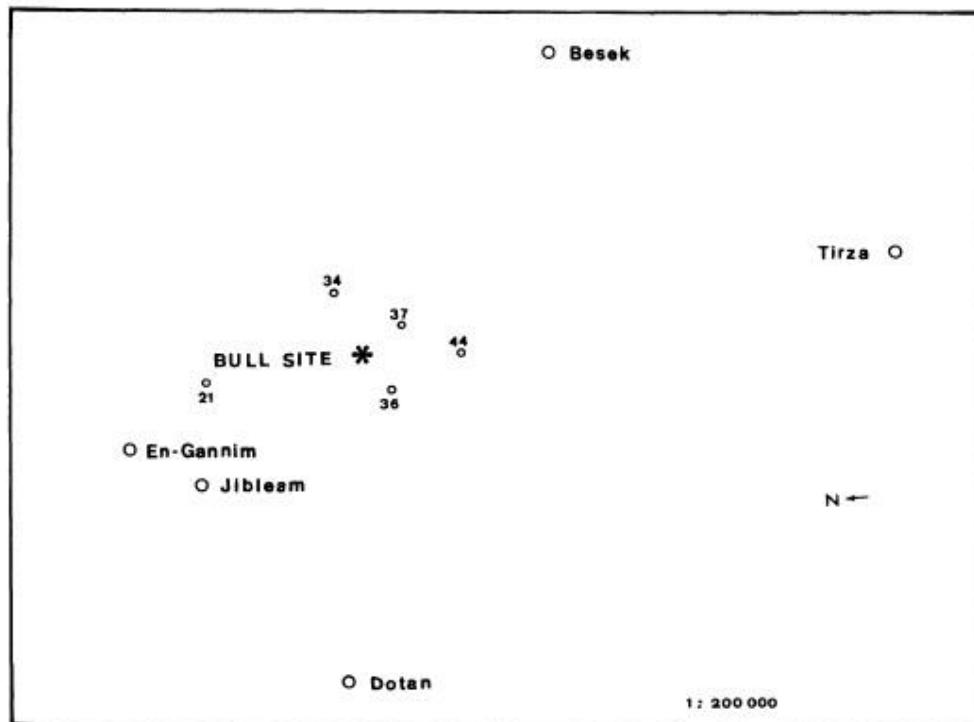


Fig. 12. Schematic diagram of the settlements surrounding the Bull Site
 Wenning & Zenger, 1986, p.78

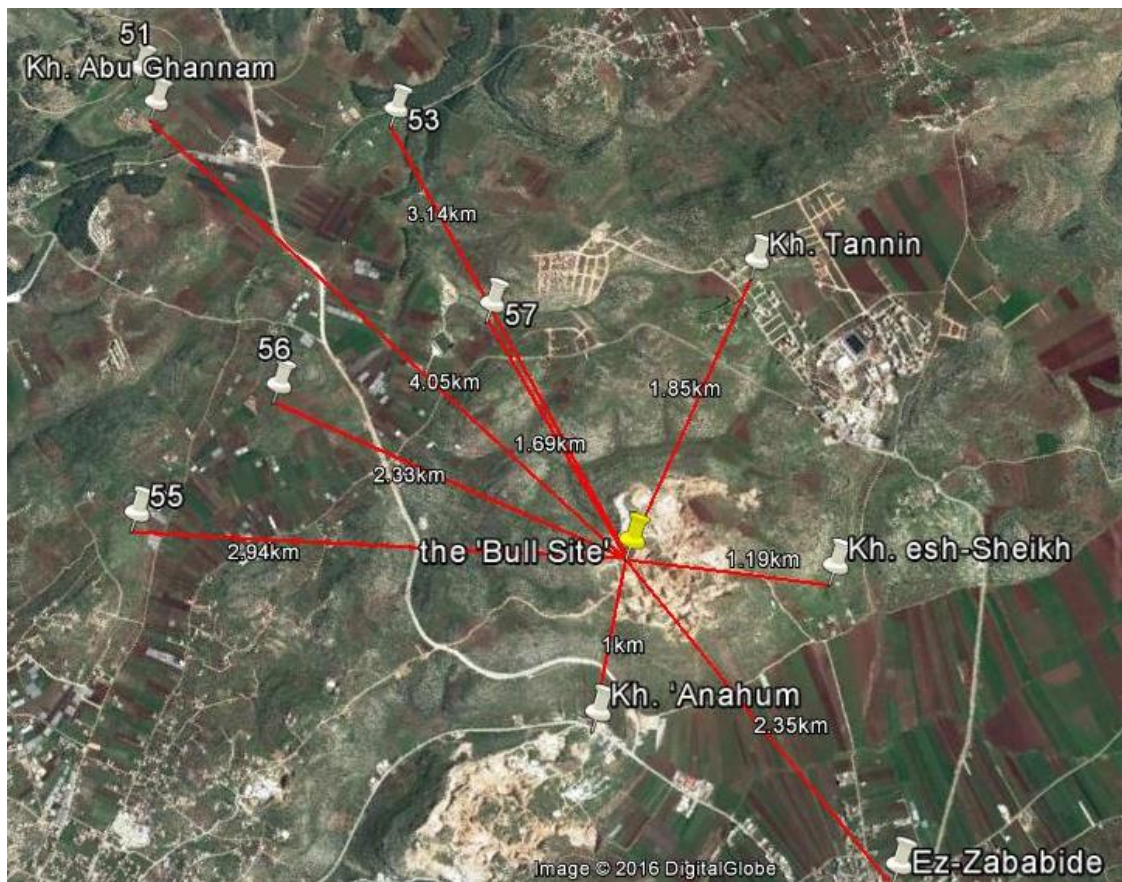


Fig. 13. Satellite map image of the centrality of the Bull Site

The lack of substantial domestic remains points to the construction and function of Mt Ebal and the Bull Site as the result of external labour from outside of each site's population. The apparent cultic nature of each is striking.²¹⁶ Previously, Martin Noth promoted a theory that settlement during the Iron I was located around central cultic locations, paralleling the Greek concept of an 'amphictyony'.²¹⁷ This view has been criticised by de Geus (1976) and Lemche (1977) and is largely considered outdated.²¹⁸ Despite this, Whitelam, Kochavi and Coote each support communal activity or some form of tribal confederacy within early Israel.²¹⁹ It is not until the Iron IB, with the advent of Shiloh, that a case be made for a cult centre functioning as also a residential and regional centre.²²⁰ Even when stressing the 'centrality' of Mt Ebal and the Bull Site due to their relationship to the settlements in their environs, there is no evidence to suggest a functional 'centrality' in the respective regions. Such a study of each site and their surroundings only suggests an Iron IA 'prototype' or predecessor to a central cultic site.

²¹⁶ During their survey of the West Bank (1967-2007), Greenberg and Keinan found no difficulty in regarding Mt. Ebal and the Bull Site as cultic sites (Greenberg & Keinan 2009: 25).

²¹⁷ Noth 1930: 61-122

²¹⁸ de Geus 1976; Lemche 1977

Lemche concludes that it is anachronistic to compare 'Israelite' society of the 12th century to a Greek political system attested in the 8th century and only documented in the 4th century BC (Lemche 1977: 58-59).

²¹⁹ Whitelam concluded: 'although the amphictyonic hypothesis was dramatically overturned two decades or more ago, there remains an underlying assumption of much research that Israel was organised as some form of supratribal *confederation* in the premonarchic period which was also an ethnic and religious unity.' (Whitelam 1994: 60), c.f. Gottwald for further support of the Amphictyony model (Gottwald 1979a: 345-347). Kochavi argued that the earliest Iron IA settlements were positioned in clusters, 'some of them sharing the same ecological unit' or 'a common cult place' (Kochavi 1985: 56). Coote agrees with this view, arguing that: 'the cults of the highland were presumably decentralised as its economy, although the chiefs may have had preferred localities where they gathered' (Coote 1990: 135).

²²⁰ This is due to Shiloh str. V containing more substantial structural remains, the presence of storage facilities and the biblical memory of a cultic settlement.

Chapter 5.

Settlement types & power strategies in the Iron IB:

This study has stressed the chronological distinction between the Iron IA and Iron IB. Like most subdivisions, this separation is partly for convenience. But there are instances that suggest that there were clear historical events and signifiers separating the two subdivisions. The first signifier at the time of the IA-IB transition (c.1150BC) was a series of settlement destructions and abandonments across the highlands.²²¹ Around the time of the contemporary destructions of Mt. Ebal (str. IA), Taanach (str. IB) and 'Izbet Sartah (str. III) the important settlement of Shiloh was founded.²²² Within Judah and the Benjamin, Giloh, too, would be abandoned by the late 12th century.²²³ Mazar associated its desertion to paralleling instances across the region, particularly in the Upper Galilee and the Benjamin. He supposed the abandonment was linked to the regional development within the highlands, that certain sites were abandoned as they were not suited to become regional centres. Mazar noted it as a

²²¹ Faust noticed that a similar trend occurring at the end of the Iron I and resulting in the rise of statehood in the Iron IIA (Faust 1999b, 2003, 2006a: 111-119). It stands to reason that the widespread destruction of a geographical area is a likely indicator for the presence of an external force campaigning across the territory. It is Faust's opinion that following a wave of destruction in the late Iron IB, the remaining hill country population was forced to find refuge in new settlements. It is possible that a similar settlement process occurred in the mid-to-late 12th century that eventuated in the formation of entirely new settlements and regional centres.

²²² An appropriate late 12th – early 11th century BC dating was given to the first Iron Age occupation of Shiloh in this study. This was based on ceramic parallels and was substantiated by the settlement's destruction radiocarbon dated to c.1082-1037 (Finkelstein & Piasezky 2010: 378-379) and the excavator's claims that the settlement was inhabited for roughly half a century beforehand (Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 384).

²²³ Mazar 1981: 33

Likewise, the additional sites of Tell el-Ful, Bethel and Shechem, which have not been extensively addressed in this study due to the meagre or complicated structural remains dating to this period, contained destructions dating to the end of the 12th century (Albright 1933: 7; Campbell 2002: 185; Kelso 1968: 34; N. L. Lapp 1981: xv; R. D. Miller 2012: 66; L. Sinclair 1960: 6). In contrast to this data, Beth-zur was settled during this period. Despite the excavators originally dating the Iron Age settlement of Beth-Zur to the 11th century, an Iron IA occupation was present. This phase can only be described as a 'squatter's settlement' with architecture largely being reused from the previous occupation. It is only at the beginning of the 11th century that settlement of Beth-Zur intensified.

‘common development in the settlement process of the Israelites.’²²⁴ As will be shown, it was in the latter stage of the Iron I when village centres begin to emerge as the formative characteristic of proto-urbanism. Although it is difficult to convincingly explain the wave of destructions that occurred in the mid-to-late 12th century. Generally, it can be said that it was the result of a conflict over resources and land, both of which had become scarce with the continual appearance and ‘fissioning’ of highland villages over a century.²²⁵

A second signifier that the Iron IB heralded a change is the increase in social complexity that occurred in the 11th century. A ring of residencies surrounding a settlement, as identified at ‘Izbet Sartah str. III, becomes commonplace in many highland villages during this period. However unlike in the previous settlement, these single room units are replaced by a periphery of pillared buildings (‘Izbet Sartah str. II, Et-Tell, Kh. ed-Dawwara; possibly also at Kh. Raddana, Shiloh str. V and Tell en-Nasbeh).²²⁶ Although there is a variation in size and number of rooms, the layout of these residencies becomes relatively conservative and

²²⁴ Mazar 1981: 33, 1994: 48

Many agree that a crucial development in the process of Israelite state formation is the abandonment of small villages and appearance of more centralised, larger (proto-)urban communities (Faust 1999b, 2003; Lehmann 2003: 121; Pfoh 2008: 96).

²²⁵ Cohen 1981: 87; Coote & Whitelam 1987: 144; Finkelstein 1985: 81

Although the scope of this study is focused on the central highlands of Israel, another marker of settlement and social change starting in the mid-12th century is the appearance of new settlements in the Beersheba valley that share architectural characteristics remarkably similar to other Iron IB central highland sites (Beersheba str. IX-VII, Tel Masos str. IIIA-II, Tel Esdar str. III).

²²⁶ For the possibility that Shiloh and Tell en-Nasbeh had a similar layout, c.f. Finkelstein 1988: 252.

The preservation of this layout but not necessarily the function (i.e. peripheral wall of non-adjoining residencies) reflects one of many aspects of Iron I highland conservatisms and could contribute to the ‘style verses function’ debate which has persevered within the scholarship of social evolutionary studies for over three decades (Bentley 2011; Dunnell 1978).

mimics the few structures that were attested in settlements of the Iron IA. Only now do they become the archetypal residency of the highland settlement.²²⁷

The change from single-room dwellings to a periphery of houses is markedly a result of an increase in social complexity.²²⁸ The definition of social complexity has been addressed and re-addressed by many authorities.²²⁹ Generally it is seen that the cause of an increase in social complexity is largely the result of an increase in population and the continual divide of the elite from the rest of the community.²³⁰ Nelson referred to the two necessary variables as ‘scale and hierarchy’. Scale being not just population size, but also the increase in the geographic size of the community and the amount of labour that could be utilised for public works. Hierarchy is defined by the amount of power ‘in the hands of a relatively few people

²²⁷ Many studies have been dedicated to the function of the Iron Age pillared houses, a short history of research can be found in Faust’s work on the subject (Faust 2006a: 71-75). Notably, both Stager and Holladay concluded that the pillared house was designed to serve an agrarian society and its common presence across Israel was largely due to its success in this function. Stager described it as ‘first and foremost a successful adaptation to farm life’ (Dever 1992a: 103; Holladay 1992: 316; Stager 1985a: 17).

²²⁸ Paralleling instances of a periphery of structures encasing a settlement is attested further south during this period: Tel Esdar str. III (Kochavi 1969), Beersheba str. VII (Herzog 1984), Tel Masos str. II (Fritz, Arensburg, & Kempinski 1983), attesting to the distribution (or rather ‘spread’) of increased complexity across the highlands at the beginning of the 11th century.

²²⁹ Chapman 2003; Flannery 1972; Gell-Mann 1992; Hastorf 1990; McGuire 1983; Yoffee 1993 C.f. Horgan 1995 for a list of 30 separate definitions of the concept. Critical of the various interpretations, Price simplified the concept as ‘...more parts and more connections between parts’ (Price & Feinman 1995: 140). A good explanation of this thinking was provided by Flannery (1972) and expanded by Chapman (2003). Specialisation of labour, Flannery’s ‘segregation’ or Price’s ‘more parts’, create individual systems that are all connected to a single system, the society (Chapman 2003: 83; Flannery 1972: 409-412). Most recently, Andersson and Read have generalised that the cause of social complexity has two main influential interpretations. ‘The traditional connection’ is the simple explanation that an increase in population pressures results in the need for more complex (and efficient) technology in production, storage and processing (Andersson et al. 2016: 261). The ‘new connection’, also known as the ‘treadmill model’, believes that society is constantly attempting to progress to counteract loss of knowledge, skills and traditions that occurs from ‘errors in cultural transmission’ as populations grow (Andersson et al. 2016: 261), Contra. Andersson & Read 2014; Andersson et al. 2016; Collard, Buchanan, O’Brien, & Scholnick 2013; Collard, Ruttle, Buchanan, & O’Brien 2013.

²³⁰ Bell 2014, 2015; Derex et al. 2013; Richerson 2013: 351; Richerson et al. 2016

within the political entity'.²³¹ According to Henrich, social complexity is a process that requires ingenuity by individuals within the society to maintain cultural systems despite growing demographics.²³² New innovations which are visible within the archaeological record are the product of a community desiring to outrun the 'treadmill of cultural loss.'²³³

The increase of 'scale' in the Iron IB is evident by the increase in building activity within the settlements, including the presence of more substantial residencies.²³⁴ This may be the result of the migration and movement of people from the destroyed and abandoned sites of the Iron IA. Finkelstein and Faust both identify a social change occurring in the latter half of the Iron I, although both have differing opinions on its cause. To Finkelstein, it was the result of the territorial expansion conducted internally within the highlands by a regional polity from Gibeon-Gibeah within the Benjamin.²³⁵ To Faust, it was the result of Philistine incursions from the coastline into the highlands causing the fragmented polities to unify for security.²³⁶ The general agreement is that there was a higher degree of communication and interrelation between the highland sites at this time.

5.1. Strategies of power maintenance:

The establishment of a series of new sites within the highlands during this period and disappearance of many of the previously addressed settlements illustrates a clear shift in

²³¹ Nelson 1995: 599

²³² Henrich 2004: 200-201

²³³ Kline & Boyd 2010: 2559

²³⁴ As indicated in this chapter, many scholars dealing with 'evolutionary archaeology' treat social complexity as an increase in the intricacy and advancement of a 'system', generally the society as a whole. Kantner advised breaking down complexity into isolated aspects of society, such as settlement demographics, signs of economic inequality and increase in social hierarchy (Kantner 2002: 99). This seems an appropriate means of examining social complexity and is certainly applicable to the Iron IB highlands of Israel.

²³⁵ Finkelstein 2013: 78

²³⁶ Faust 2006a: 122-124

settlement activity. It is reasonable to assume that these processes of abandonment and resettlement were corresponding events and the central highlands experienced a migration or movement of people at the beginning of the Iron IB. Thus, it is important to re-evaluate the settlement types present at this time and the forms of power maintenance within these new settlements in an attempt to trace a development or evolution of power across the period.²³⁷ One prominent settlement type of the Iron IB is the residential village, characterised by domestic structures located on the periphery of the site with presumably public architecture and communal land within the centre. The pillared house was a rarity in the Iron IA, conspicuous, and arguably an indicator of early social differentiation within the settlement. Aside from a few exceptional sites (e.g. 'Izbet Sartah str. III), residencies for the bulk of the population are unsubstantiated during this period. The presence of these structures in greater numbers is not to be interpreted as an increase in the 'elite' of the settlement, rather the pillared house becomes the standard residential structure within the site. Indicators of power and authority should be sought elsewhere within these communities.

5.2. Shiloh: A northern-orientated redistribution centre?

Str. V of Shiloh (Kh. Seilun), located in the Samarian highlands, south of Tirzah and c.16km north of Bethel, contained one or possibly two conspicuous pillared buildings located on the western edge of the site (Area C), Structures 312 and 335.²³⁸ The two units were attached side-by-side on the western slope built above a MB III glacis. Because of the slope, the

²³⁷ A trend was noted by Jennings, Earle and Feinman (Feinman 2013; Jennings & Earle 2016: 477) that as settlements grow into cities and urban centres, traits of egalitarianism break down and social hierarchy becomes more institutionalised as demographics increase. Jennings and Earle add that initially increased size may help small cooperative groups organise and communicate, while limiting the power of the individual. Until a limit is met and a hierarchy becomes ingrained in society. This chapter seeks to unwittingly test this hypothesis.

²³⁸ Iron I structural remains and installations (mainly silos) are found elsewhere within Kh. Seilun, areas: E, J, K, L and D. However, the structural remains are highly fragmentary.

building plan occupied two separate levels and required construction fills and retaining walls to stabilise it. Below the top level Structures are two separate units: Hall 306 and Room 317, which were physically lower on the slope and separated from Structure 312 by a terrace.²³⁹ It appears that this structure was incorporated into the MB glacis and the terrace wall (D423) to serve as the western edge of the settlement.²⁴⁰ Located on the upper level of the slope beside Structure 312, Structure 335 ran from Wall D401 in the south (perpendicular to 312's Wall D402) to Wall D371 in the north. The building appears to be divided into two/three side rooms surrounding a central courtyard. These auxiliary rooms were each distinguished by a row of partitioning pillars. The central courtyard contained a compacted chalk floor. In the north-eastern quarter is a rock-hewn cistern (L.1320). Two other installations were identified near the pillars enclosing the courtyard.²⁴¹ Hall 306 was built further down on the slope. In the north, the structure was bounded by Wall C393, a continuation of Wall D401 of Structure 335.²⁴² Hall 306 was not detached from Structure 312 and the presence of 15 collared-rim pithoi found within Hall 306 (between wall C422 and the inner face of C413) indicated to the excavators that the room presumably served as a storage space for the above structure, possibly a cellar.²⁴³ Room 317 was attached to Hall 306, but was unpassable by Wall C422.

²³⁹ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 20-21

The excavators noted that the western wall of this structure is entirely superficial (D422). Structure 312 was identified as running from Wall D433 in the south to Wall D402 in the north and was separated into four sections by three rows of stone pillars. In the southern section, the pillars were medium-sized field stones, in the central and northern sections, flattened stone was used (Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 21).

²⁴⁰ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 21

²⁴¹ *ibid.*: 24-25

²⁴² *ibid.*: 29

Wall C413 had to be constructed of large fieldstones to support the structure and the excavators assume these stones came from the MB fortification.

²⁴³ The excavators noted that the bricks discovered on the top of the debris of Hall 306 were thinner in comparison to the brickwork below it. It is possible that this lighter material was used as roofing or for the walls of the upper storey. It is likely that this lower storey served the same purpose as the side rooms of Structure 335 (Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 29-30).

The excavators noted that there was no direct access to the room from either Hall 306 or Structure 312 above it. They conclude that the only means of accessing this room was by an external ladder.

It is unclear whether the series of structures were a single conspicuous building, possibly a residency, or are to be interpreted as two separate complexes: Structure 312-Hall 306/Room 312 and Structure 335. Finkelstein rejected any possibility of interpreting the remains as private residencies because of the number of storage jars found within the structure(s). He would stress in his recent work, *'The Forgotten Kingdom'*, that not a single domestic structure was uncovered within Shiloh.²⁴⁴ This view was criticised by Dever, raising the point that Finkelstein previously described a structure within Megiddo (O/K-10) as an 'ordinary private house' despite containing almost twice as many storage jars (c.40).²⁴⁵ Whitelam is also critical of interpreting Shiloh as being without any residencies.²⁴⁶ Structure 335 was composed around a central courtyard, a feature that only becomes common within Iron IB pillared residencies yet this study has already covered a patrician house from Iron IA Taanach built around a central courtyard.²⁴⁷ Likewise, aside from a cistern (1320) and two other installations near to the courtyard, there are no indicators that the structure(s) served any additional function. Despite Finkelstein's resolute interpretation of the structures of Shiloh str. V as public architecture, there is little to signify them as anything but conspicuous private

²⁴⁴ Finkelstein 2013: 25

Despite this, prior to the publication of the Shiloh report, Finkelstein would argue that public structures were simply absent from the Iron I highlands (Finkelstein 1987: 27).

²⁴⁵ Dever et al. 2014: 37-41

²⁴⁶ Whitelam 1994: 62

²⁴⁷ Paul Lapp 1969: 39

The location of the excavated structures on the periphery of the tell led Finkelstein to suggest that the layout of the site may have had a similar plan to other Iron IB villages of establishing structures on the periphery of the tell (Finkelstein 1988: 252). Examples of this settlement type, from the Iron IB onwards, generally have the periphery of structures interpreted as residencies (Shiloh 1978, 1987).

residencies, most likely two separate structures side-by-side due to parallels to other settlements where residencies are bonded to one another on the periphery.

Although there is limited structural remains associated to the Iron I occupation, the remains from within these rooms allow for a modest interpretation of the status of the occupants. As outlined, the structure(s) contained a substantial amount of storage space and around 20 storage jars. It is difficult to argue that the amount of pithoi, and the capacity for more, was for the sustenance of the one or two households. Certainly Structures 312/335 cannot be considered as 'ordinary' residencies within the settlement. Rather, without any evidence for an additional function, their status as public structures should be dismissed for the possibility that the occupants were affluent individuals.

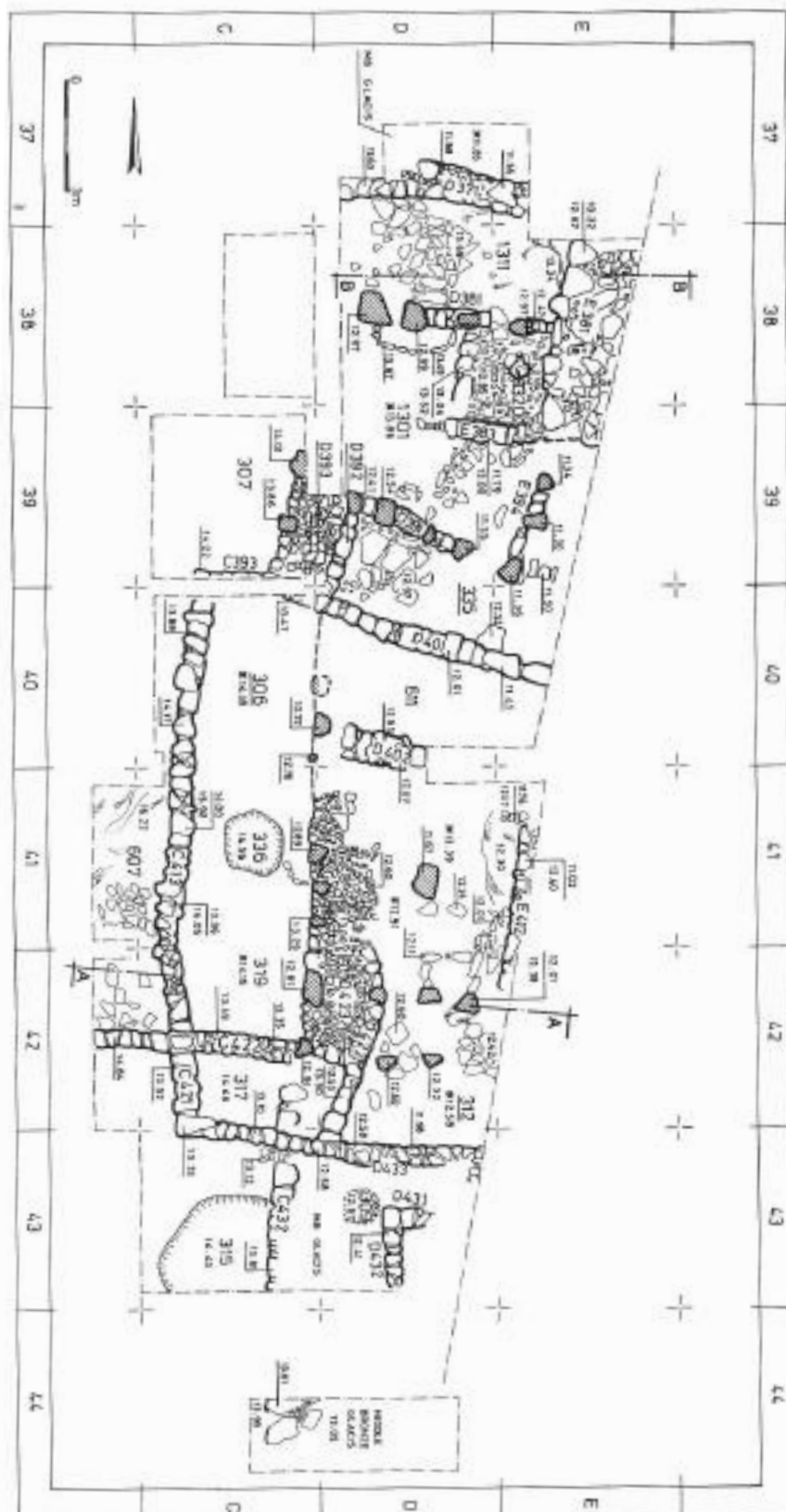


Fig. 14. Plan of Shiloh's Structure 312/335
Finkelstein, 1993, p.18, Fig. 2.3.

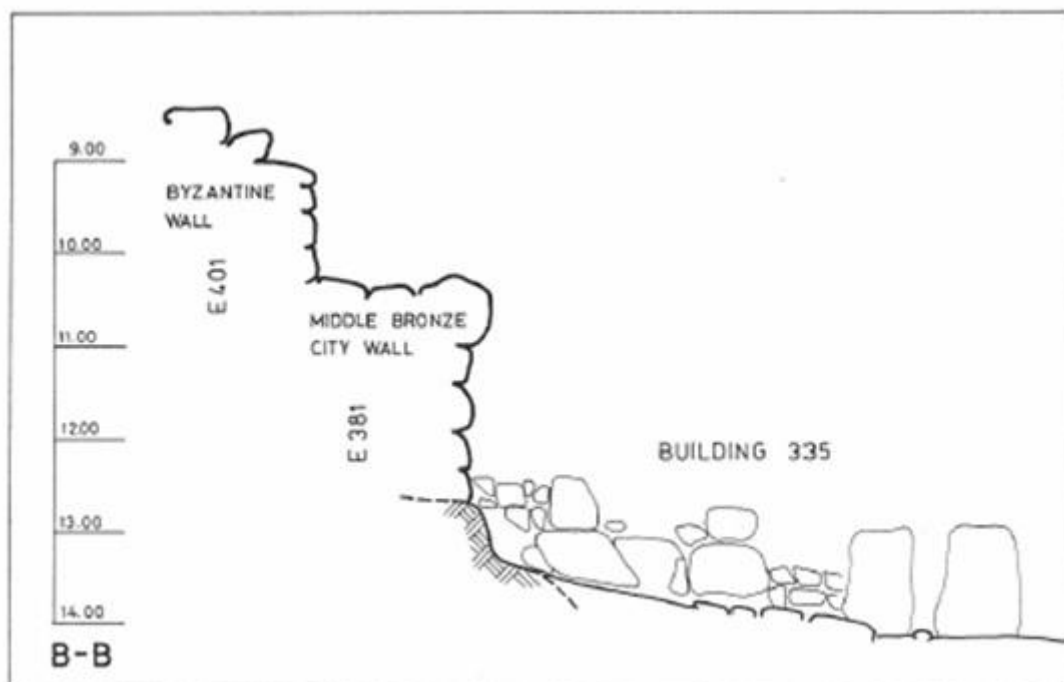
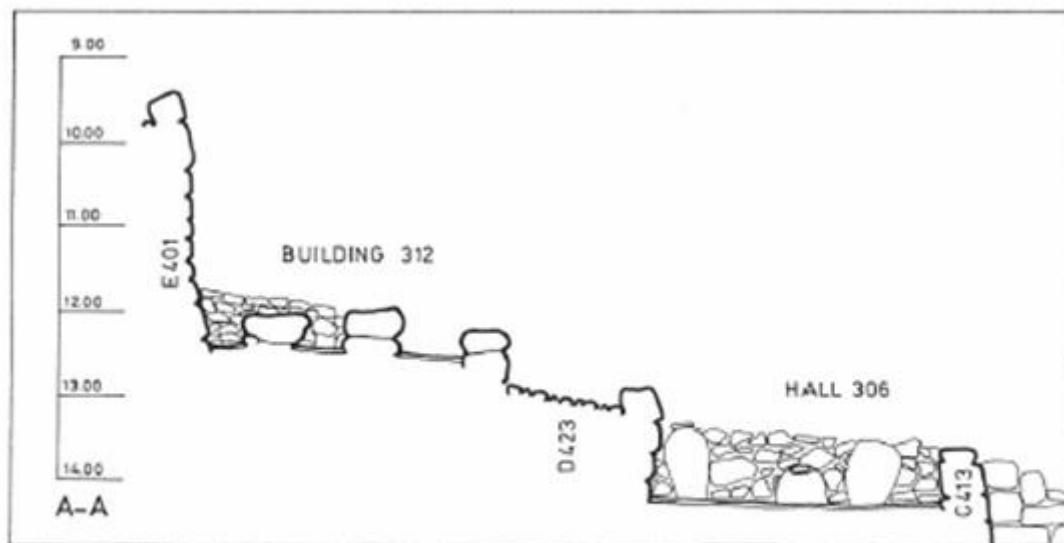


Fig. 15. Section of Shiloh's Structure 312/335 in relation to the MB fortification
Finkelstein, 1993, p.19, Fig. 2.4/2.5

The excavators noted that the surplus of resources would have potentially provided subsistence for the settlement and surrounding region. Although this does not necessarily indicate that Shiloh was a regional village centre, the presence of storage pithoi petrographically identified as originating from Shechem and Wadi Far'ah seems to suggest a

northern-orientated interrelation between Shiloh and other hill country sites during this time.²⁴⁸ It is not likely that this importation was solely for the vessels. Storage pithoi are commonly attested across the central highlands and there is nothing notable about the Shiloh forms to warrant importation.²⁴⁹ It can be presumed that these vessels were brought into the settlement containing agrarian produce. A trade network was suggested previously for the subsistence of Iron IA Giloh and while the agricultural land in proximity to Shiloh was limited, the excavators do identified that a valley just over 2km south of Shiloh contained c.3750 acres of ‘good arable soil’.²⁵⁰

In the previous chapter, it was outlined that one method of the exclusionary power strategy was the establishment of trade networks to further signify and isolate the elite within society. Simply, the importation of agrarian and prestige goods by one sector of the population clearly illustrated the extent of the local authority while simultaneously minimalizing the role and significance of other community members uninvolved in the trade network.²⁵¹ This was also a vital step towards a complex society as it allowed for a ‘prestige-goods economy’, the exchange of items considered valuable, most likely due to their rarity, often as tribute or

²⁴⁸ Finkelstein 2013: 26-27

²⁴⁹ C.f. R. D. Miller 2010: 180-182 for the possibility of regional variants for store jars within the central highlands. Although changes in variations appear to only be superficial.

²⁵⁰ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 362

To Finkelstein, this importation was evidence for Shiloh serving as an administrative centre, or at the very least, as a redistribution facility (Finkelstein 2013: 23-25). Yet the excavators limit Shiloh’s regional influence as a local administrative centre to the regions of Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh (the central and northern highlands) arguing that settlement in the Upper Galilee and Beersheba valley was in an embryotic state during this time (Finkelstein 1988: 229-230).

²⁵¹ Blanton et al. 1996: 2; Saunders 2004: 158

Citing a long list of authorities, Drennan succinctly concludes: ‘Exchange, both local and long-distance, has been a major force in the development of everything from the simplest chiefdoms to the largest and most complex states’ (Drennan 1996: 26).

taxation.²⁵² There was a particular absence of lavish objects within str. V. Yet, it is feasible that the transported vessels contained precious supplies other than grains and water as Shiloh had its own fertile land and was sustained by Ein Seilun, a spring c.900m away from the site.²⁵³ Baruch Rosen suggested that the pithoi uncovered within str. V were used to store wine or oil.²⁵⁴ This suggestion is plausible given that it was unnecessary for grain to be imported into the settlement and despite the substantial remains of grapes uncovered within the site, wine and oil may have been a precious imported commodity due to its production process. Moreover, the importation of a rarer product like wine or oil fits the exclusionary model of restricting access to resources and modes of power. The presence of these vessels within a residency containing additional storage space (the possible ‘cellar’), coupled with the importation process, further supports that the occupants were engaged in an exclusionary form of power strategy. This process is explained by Taylor: ‘Because societies are not homogenous entities, not all members of a society have equal access to external contacts. If such contacts give individuals preferential access to economically or socially valued goods, then those individuals and their factions are in a position to control access to such items within the community.’²⁵⁵

When discussing the archaeological evidence for control over trade networks, Monroe stressed the importance of service-centres as evidence for a political trade network.²⁵⁶

Monroe noted that in order to support a trade network, centres would have to be arranged in a

²⁵² D'Altroy 1985: 193

²⁵³ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 364

A botanical analysis taken from Silo 1462 away from the structural remains in Area D revealed that it contained predominantly wheat, as well as some remains of barley (c.28%) (Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 354). Further analysis was undertaken and it was revealed that both varieties of grain were grown in the same region, likely the same field. This further limits the likelihood that it was grain that was being imported into the village.

²⁵⁴ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 354-357, 366

²⁵⁵ Taylor 2010: 109

²⁵⁶ Monroe 2003: 55

linear pattern running from the origin to the destination. These centres would conveniently be associated with natural routes and ‘major markets’ along the way. This was illustrated in the Iron IA with the settlements selectively positioned along the Bethlehem-Hebron highway. A particular methodology was established in that chapter to efficiently utilise survey data. Settlements with Iron I and Iron II ceramics were most likely occupied in the later phase of the Iron I, while sites with LB-Iron I and an absence of Iron II ceramics are believed to date to the Iron IA. In order to construct a trade network involving Shiloh str. V through the Benjamin, a site occupied from the mid-to-late Iron I, a pattern of sites with late ceramics (Iron I-II) should be clearly identifiable. Survey results of the Benjamin region between Shiloh and Shechem conducted by Finkelstein (1988) reveals significant, albeit sporadic activity during the later stage of the Iron I.

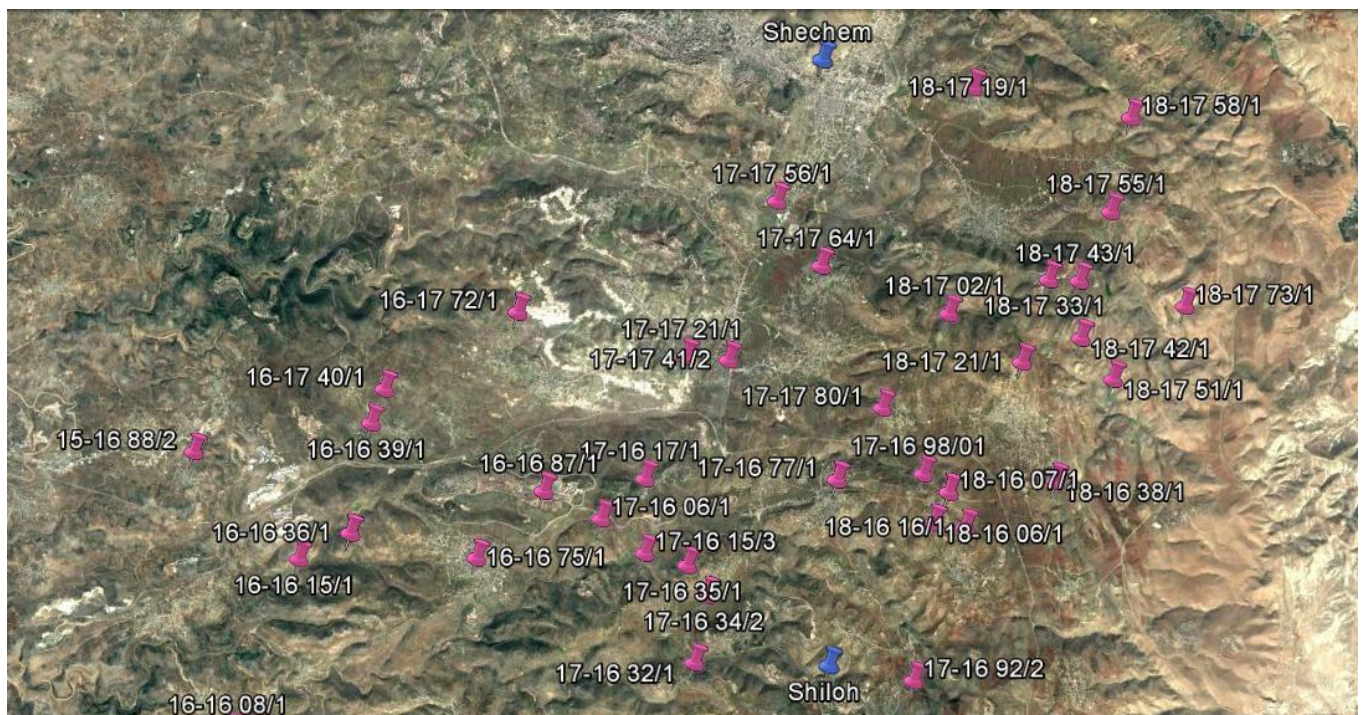


Fig. 16. Satellite map image of the Iron IB survey data between Shiloh and Shechem

A natural ridge route known as the ‘Way of the Patriarchs’ that joined to the Bethlehem-Hebron highway and ran northwards to Megiddo existed during this time. However survey data illustrates that the road was not articulated with sites during the late Iron I. Unlike a

conventional trade route where resources are transported from its origin and trickle down into a network of sites established along the route, this association required direct communication between the two polities and significant regional control. The immediate conclusion is that material was being brought more-or-less directly from the north into Shiloh rather than functioning as a redistribution centre upon a trade route.²⁵⁷

5.3. Kh. Raddana: Evidence for a highland corporate power strategy:

The site of Kh. Raddana, located in the rugged terrain of the central hill country, c.24km north of Jerusalem, was excavated during a four-season salvage campaign by Callaway and Cooley.²⁵⁸ Callaway identified that five or six houses were grouped together into communal compounds around Kh. Raddana.²⁵⁹ Although unattached, the layout of the site presumably

²⁵⁷ The significance of this is Shiloh apparently exceeded beyond an administrative or redistribution centre. Within the preliminary report of the excavation, Finkelstein summarised: 'The importance of Shiloh both as a religious centre and as the seat of leadership of the Israelite tribes reached its zenith during the first half of the 11th century BCE, at the end of the period of Judges' (Finkelstein 1988: 205). As he clarified: '...not to say the only cult place, but certainly the most important one.' Although the excavators admit that the designation of Shiloh as a sanctuary is primarily built on biblical data (Finkelstein 1988: 230, 2013: 22). It may simply be coincidental that other settlements commonly interpreted as 'sanctuaries' were abandoned or destroyed on the eve or advent of the founding of Shiloh. However, it does correspond with Faust's argument that a precursor for the rise of new territorial entities is the destruction of old ones. It also corresponds to Finkelstein's conclusion that Shiloh was a predecessor to other central highland sanctuary sites, including Bethel and Gilgal, which would appear after the termination of Shiloh (Finkelstein 1988: 230).

²⁵⁸ Joseph Callaway & Cooley 1971; R. E. Cooley 1975.

The site was divided into three regions (what Callaway and Cooley refer to as 'sites'): 'R', 'S' and 'T'. Each region was selected due to the presence of large stone piles that accumulated in each area (Lederman 1999: 41). Although no final report has been published, a PhD dissertation was produced by Z. Lederman in 1999 entitled 'An Early Iron Age Village at Khirbet Raddana: The Excavations of Joseph A. Callaway' (Lederman 1999). Lederman's work is a comprehensive study of the ceramic, structural, stone and bone assemblages of Kh. Raddana, essentially fulfilling the role of a final report. The overview of the residential remains of the settlement is largely dependent on Lederman's work, but when possible the original preliminary reports are utilised.

²⁵⁹ Joseph Callaway 1984: 54, 61; James Callaway 1993b: 1253

Jennings and Earle identified that as the prehistoric city of Tiahuanaco grew, new residencies began to emerge

followed the trend of establishing residential structures on the outskirts of the settlement and it is estimated that in total around 20 residential settlements encircled the site.²⁶⁰ The alternation of the residencies into separate compounds and possible inclusion of a perimeter wall behind the residencies within Kh. Raddana reflects the preservation of style despite a change in function.

‘Site R’, on the eastern periphery, contained a perimeter wall with two domestic structures attached: the northern and southern pillared-houses. The northern house was established on bedrock and was of a standard tripartite design of two vertical rooms (501.2, 900.2) and a traversing ‘broadroom’ built up against Wall WR05.²⁶¹ The structure’s broadroom is itself divided into two chambers: 204.1, 800.2. The partition wall between the two sections of the broadroom, R18, ensured that the two sides of this backroom were inaccessible from one another.²⁶² The southern pillared house was attached to the northern and shared walls WR18/WR19/WR29. The house followed the same plan as the northern house: two vertical rooms (Room 402.1) and a broadroom cut into two separate rooms (103.2-203.1, 100.2). Lederman noted that the width of the inner backrooms were fairly homogenous, c.1.5-

separate from the community and underwent a process of ‘compartmentalization’ in order to ‘ease tensions in the growing community’ (Jennings & Earle 2016: 479). It is difficult to determine if this is the cause for the separate compounds within Kh. Raddana. The difficulty of expanding a settlement with a circular layout has already been addressed in this study. Certainly, by their construction, neighbouring houses were more aligned (and hence, in cooperation) to one another than to the entire settlement.

²⁶⁰ Coote 1990: 128

The presence of a periphery wall behind the houses further suggests the houses were organised on the periphery. Likewise, Brandfon noted that while the residences first appear to be ‘haphazard scatterings’, it is clear that they were purposefully planned for a lifestyle of animal husbandry (Brandfon 1983: 185).

²⁶¹ Its walls were composed of limestone and generally two stones wide (with the exception of the wide wall WR05 which formed the back wall of the house) Due to the particular thickness of the northern wall of this structure (WR30), Lederman considered this domestic structure may have been situated on both the eastern and northern corner of the settlement (Lederman 1999: 34).

²⁶² Lederman theorised that the two backrooms of this pillared-house and the southern-pillared house, served distinct functions, primarily cooking and storage (Lederman 1999: 22).

1.75m.²⁶³ Although it was noted that these two structures were situated on the north-eastern end of the village, comparisons to other Iron Age I/II settlements suggests the perimeter wall and ring of houses presumably encircled the entire settlement.²⁶⁴

‘Site S’ is located on the northern periphery of the settlement. Although the plan of the 1970-1972 expedition is fairly schematic, the remains of the domestic units are visible. Two pillared-houses are discernible: SXIV (what Lederman refers to as ‘the main pillared-house’) and SXIII. SXIV is almost entirely intact and six monolithic pillars ran down the vertical rooms (S-01, S-02) until meeting the broadroom (S-03). Unlike in the east, the broadroom of SXIV is not divided by a partition wall. Its dimensions are comparable to the two halves of the eastern broadrooms (c.5.2x1.8m).²⁶⁵ Also unique to Site S, the houses were not attached and separating Pillared-House SXIV from SXIII was a vacant space (S-04) that was cobbled and contained two tabuns. Callaway interpreted this space as a street and Lederman agrees.²⁶⁶ That is not to say that the northern perimeter of the settlement was un-walled due to the detachment of houses, a series of subsidiary broadrooms running in a north-south orientation were constructed west of structures SXIII/SXIV that appear to bond with the backrooms of both domestic units.²⁶⁷ Interestingly, the wide wall WR05 cannot be traced on this side of the

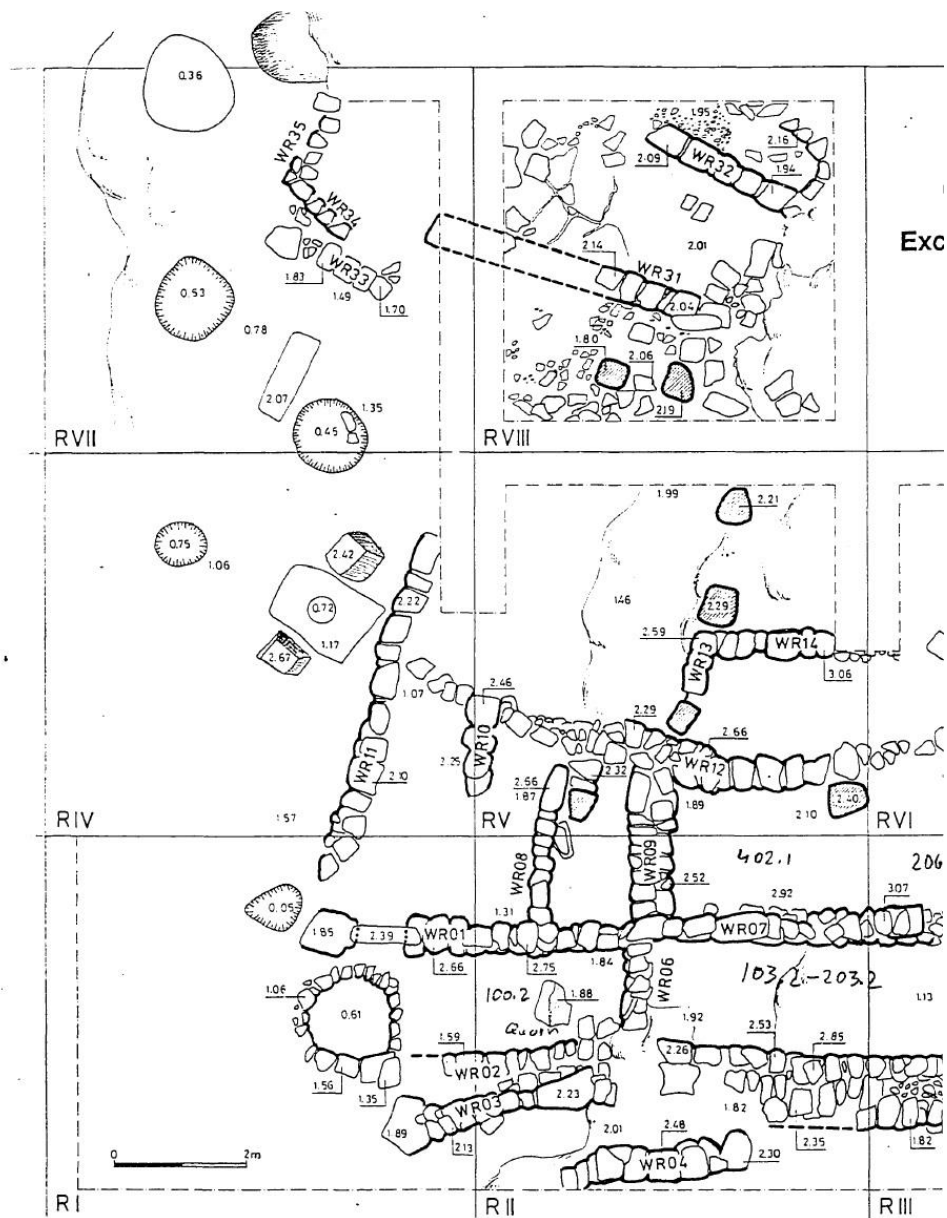
²⁶³ Lederman 1999: 20

²⁶⁴ Lederman noted that it is probable that more structures were attached to the south, but the presence of a modern street of el-Bireh (Squares RI, RIV, RVIII) destroyed the ancient remains (Lederman 1999: 18). Moreover, ‘Site S’ of Kh. Raddana has an unusual phenomenon of having cisterns built within the domestic structures. While in this region, the cisterns are located south and outside of the two houses. It was noted that these may have also once been located within houses, but the structural remains were removed by bulldozing that occurred during the modern settlement (Lederman 1999: 39).

²⁶⁵ Lederman 1999: 42

²⁶⁶ *ibid.*: 43

²⁶⁷ The structural remains and site plans provide limited evidence for this, but Lederman agrees: ‘The rooms are interconnected by a series of doorways, and in some cases a room may have two or even three (S11) entrances, one in the long wall and the other in the short wall. This series of interconnecting openings makes these rooms part of a whole pre-planned section integrating all three major architectural components (Lederman 1999: 45).



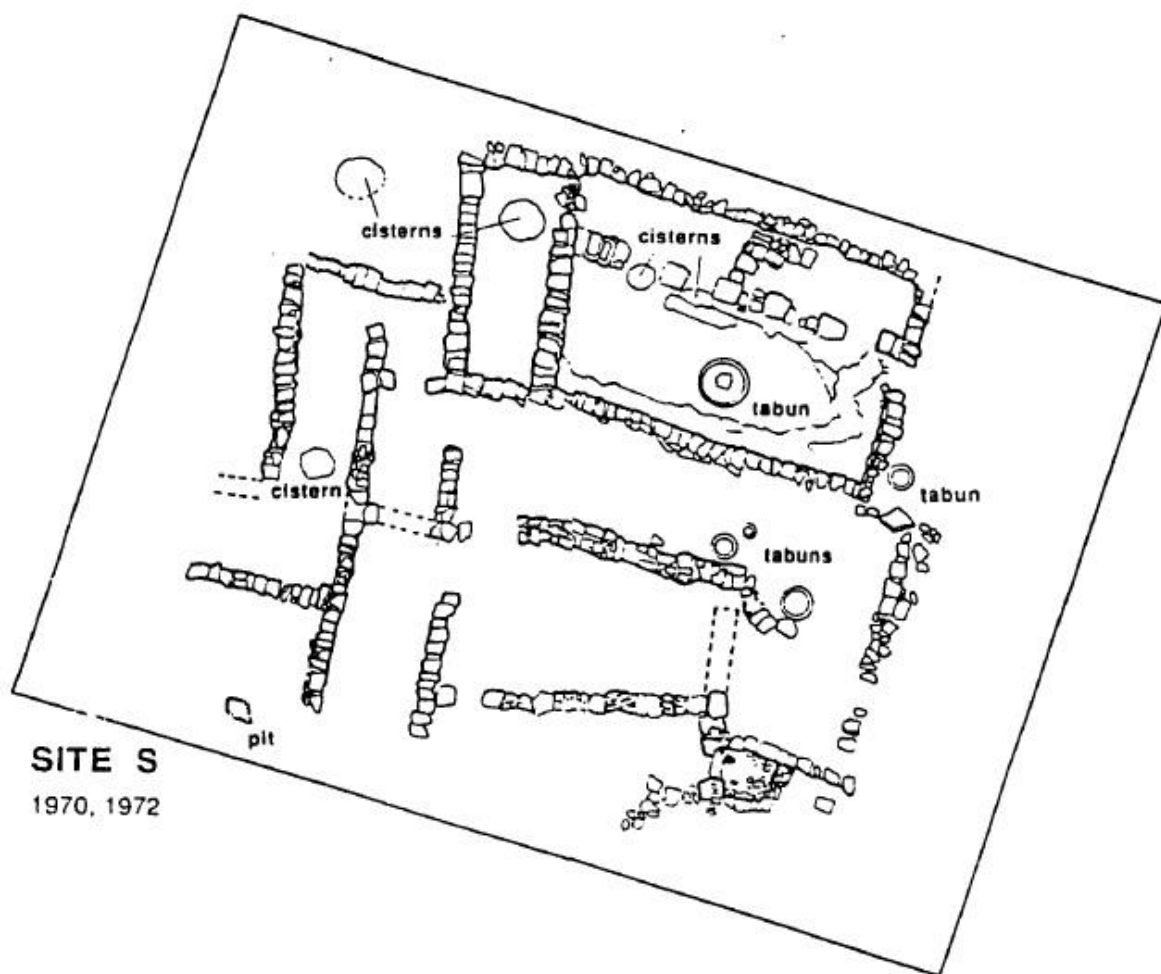


Fig. 19. Schematic plan of 'Site S' of Kh. Raddana
Lederman 1999: 173

With no other data to suggest otherwise, the majority of the periphery units are to be considered exclusively domestic in function.²⁷⁰ It is worth emphasising that five cisterns were uncovered within Site S of Kh. Raddana in close proximity to one pillared house and a couple subsidiary domestic units.²⁷¹ Three were found inside the pillared-house SXIV (two in the vertical rooms and one in the broadroom), an additional was found in a subsidiary broadroom

²⁷⁰ Although certain 'cult' objects have been retrieved from the pillared houses in Site R and Site T, including cult stands and stone platforms, as well as the multi-handled krater with bull head spouts, Callaway interpreted this as 'family worship' (James Callaway 1993b: 1253).

²⁷¹ A high amount of cisterns was also uncovered within Et-Tell and Callaway argued that the village must have been largely dependent on rainwater (Joseph Callaway 1965: 27). During the 1968-1969 seasons, the excavator identified that each house contained at least one cistern, often each had multiple in proximity (Joseph Callaway 1970a: 18). What is striking about Kh. Raddana is the amount of cisterns within a single residency.

(S-14) and another in a potential subsidiary Room S-13. A tabun was also located in SXIV and four others were located in general proximity to the structure. Yet no cisterns or tabuns were located within the neighbouring house SXIII.²⁷² It is likely that the presence of these installations within SXIV reflects the function of this structure. Previously, Kramer argued that the number of installations within a household did not necessarily equate to the personal wealth of the occupants.²⁷³ Yet, even considering this and devoid of any argument of the communal use of these cisterns, there is little reason why SXIV as a domestic structure would necessitate three cisterns within one dwelling. Although it is possible for domestic structures to serve household functions within specific rooms, the combination of cisterns and tabuns within and around SXIV as well as the incorporation of a cobbled street running alongside the structure is suggestive of the important function of SXIV beyond private household production.²⁷⁴

Callaway believed that the structures and artefacts of Kh. Raddana indicated that the various sectors held separate functions within the village. Site S was designated as having ‘economic preeminence’ while ‘R’ and ‘T’ were considered as having more of a religious significance.²⁷⁵ Aside from an industrial function of Site S, these structures were also noticeably larger than the other residencies and Callaway believed this suggested social hierarchy within the settlement.²⁷⁶ Pillared houses SXIII and SXIV, which seem to have held additional industrial functions, contrasted the houses found in R and T. However, the designation of a ‘religious significance’ of R and T appears to be influenced by the discovery of apparent cult objects in the domestic structures. If any cultic activity took place, it was

²⁷² Lederman 1999: 47

²⁷³ Kramer 1979: 155

²⁷⁴ Shai et al. 2011: 112

²⁷⁵ James Callaway 1993b: 1253

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*

likely household worship as the excavators conclude.²⁷⁷ Although the structures in R and T likely represent the standard residencies, the few particular houses containing prestige ‘cultic’ objects indicates social hierarchy in all sectors of Kh. Raddana.

Previously, the association of industry combined with residency was considered to be evidence for an exclusionary power strategy, this could be again suggested. However, this power strategy was designed to purposefully restrict the wealth and status of the majority of the population not engaged in industry and external trade networks.²⁷⁸ This appears to be nullified in Kh. Raddana as prestige and ‘elite’ goods were found in the areas outside Site S, with the pillared houses within R and T containing ‘household cults’ included offering stands and stone platforms.²⁷⁹ A number of scholars have pointed out that the presence of foreign and local prestige goods is both a marker and means by which local elite maintain power and authority.²⁸⁰ Moreover, a study conducted by G. E Harmon identified that in each area of Kh. Raddana, one house was significantly larger than its neighbours.²⁸¹ This, compounded with

²⁷⁷ James Callaway 1993b: 1253

²⁷⁸ It is worth noting that while restricted access is the essence of the exclusionary model of power, certain modes of production were inherently restrictive within society. Industries are often identified as being exclusively male or female, or in particular, restricted to the agricultural seasons. It was argued previously that evidence for additional storage within The Twelfth Century House of Taanach reflected a surplus of produce necessary to sustain an exclusionary model during non-agricultural periods. Likewise, the distinction between male and female roles is more relevant for household production rather than for any industry.

²⁷⁹ One particular object found in a fragmentary state in one of the domestic structures in Site R (RII) was particularly rare. The vessel, which has been named ‘the Raddana bowl’, is a multi-handled krater, c.35.5cm in diameter and was decorated by handles running around the vessel. The bowl also has two zoomorphic spouts, probably bull’s heads, connected to a channel cut within the vessel to transport the liquid to the centre of the bowl. Callaway remarked that the object was unique to the Iron I, this was reaffirmed by Lederman who identified that it was the only ‘clearly cultic object’ found within Kh. Raddana (Joseph Callaway & Cooley 1971: 15-16; Lederman 1999: 72-73).

²⁸⁰ Brumfiel & Earle 1987; Earle 1987: 294-297; Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978; Junker 1993; Renfrew & Shennan 1982

²⁸¹ Harmon 1983: 99

Harmon’s estimates for the fragmentary remains of a residency within Site R (House E) was made by averaging

the presence of 'elite' goods within some houses but not in others implies social stratification. Yet, the distribution of such signifiers of status across the site reflects a general lack of a single 'elite' sector.

Khirbet Raddanah			
Site	House Designation	Floor Area (m ²)	Population Estimate
R	A (complete house)	27.3350	3-4 people
	B	19.5750	2-3 people
	C (complete house)	26.3425	3-4 people
	D	27.1925	3-4 people
	E	50.4300	6-7 people
	Totals	150.8750	17-22 people
	Adjustment for total site floor area		18-19 people
S	A (complete main house)	55.5500	6-7 people
	B	24.1445	3-4 people
	C	29.6025	3-4 people
	Totals	109.2970	12-15 people
	Adjustment for total site floor area		13-14 people
T	A (main house)	44.310	5-6 people
	B	26.920	3-4 people
	C (incomplete) estimate	26.000	3-4 people
	Totals	97.230	11-14 people
	Adjustment for total site floor area		12-13 people
Totals for excavated areas--11 houses--		357.4020 m ²	
Range--		40-51 people	
Adjustment for total floor area--3 sites--		44-45 people	

Fig. 20. Table of the floor plan area of each of the houses uncovered within Kh. Raddana
Harmon, 1983, p.99, Table 2

the results of the two large houses in S and T. It appears Harmon was under the belief that although there was social inequality, there was a degree of consistency among the 'elite' dwellings of Kh. Raddana.

Recalling the works on social space theory by Grøn and Russo, many social evolutionists emphasise the role of house placement in signifying status. It was noted that egalitarian communities and chiefdoms with limited complexity will be arranged in a circular pattern to reflect little to no social distinction.²⁸² This was both a conscious effort and also a natural result of the settlement structure as a circular formation of houses, especially when established side by side, would limit the development of an ‘elite sector’ within the society. In the case of Kh. Raddana, it appears that while the economic facilities were found in only some of the houses in Site S, wealth and prestige were not limited to these residencies. From this, it might be suggested that Kh. Raddana operated under the alternative ‘corporate’ strategy. This system of distributed power and status is more characteristic of complex chiefdoms and suggests a potential development from the power strategies implemented earlier in the previous settlement horizon.²⁸³ Blanton, Feinman and others have identified that although power is shared in this model, it does not necessarily need to reflect an egalitarian or ‘hierarchically flat society’, rather power is simply dispersed across the community.²⁸⁴

A similar Petrographic analysis was carried out on various forms from Kh. Raddana as had been done to the pithoi of Shiloh. From samples taken from four ceramic types of the Kh. Raddana corpus (pithoi, kraters, cooking pots, bowls, jugs), four individual soil types were identified. It was concluded that only the collared-rim jars could be confidently assigned as local. The material used in the composition of kraters was untraceable, cooking pots were external to the region, Lederman believes most likely from the Shephelah, and bowls and jugs

²⁸² Grøn 1991; Russo 2004: 38

²⁸³ N. G. Smith 2009: 48

²⁸⁴ Blanton et al. 1996: 2

That is not to say that precious objects are not to be found within the settlement, simply they are signifiers of status rather than power.

were from either the coastal plain or the western Negev.²⁸⁵ Thus, the majority of the pottery forms of Kh. Raddana were imported from outside the settlement. From this analysis, Lederman concluded that Kh. Raddana was not as isolated many scholars considered the highland settlements to be.²⁸⁶ It is striking that not only were the ceramics traced to two distinct regions outside of the central highlands, they were entirely different to the trade network that Shiloh was engaged in at this time. It is interesting that unlike in the case of Shiloh, which was presumably importing agricultural produce, it was the cooking pots, bowls and jugs that were being imported. These were by no means luxury items and were the plain, utilitarian vessels common among highland assemblages. Presumably, these ceramics were being produced by specialised communities that could source higher quality clay and make more reliable vessels. The purpose of a prestige goods economy is to source rare and likely prized objects by the elite to signify their status within the community. The Kh. Raddana importations served a functional purpose rather than to increase the social status of certain members.²⁸⁷

Although the structures of Site S were distinguished from the remainder of the settlement, it appears that wealth and prestige were not restricted and was distributed within the community. The presence of a central authority is apparent, however, by the ability to import ceramics into the settlement. Likewise a relatively thick wall (WR05) was located in Site R

²⁸⁵ Lederman 1999: 75-77

²⁸⁶ An analysis of faunal remains of Kh. Raddana and 'Ai (below) raises the suggestion that the two sites may have functioned on a produce-export economy. This may have been part of the same trade network that brought ceramics into the settlement.

²⁸⁷ Aside from the power importation provides to local elite, interregional trade was vital for the progression towards statehood. In his work on the development and expansion of 4th millennium BC Uruk, Algaze emphasises the role of transportation and movement of goods to supplement subsistence farming and the eventual development of a unified state (Algaze 2009: 33-34).

and was attached to the backrooms of the periphery houses.²⁸⁸ Despite its absence around the majority of the site, the section of wall behind the ring of houses in Site R is characteristically a perimeter wall. It should be stressed that a perimeter wall, of any dimension, is to be considered ‘monumental architecture’ due to the communal nature of the construction. The perimeter wall of Kh. Raddana is no exception and Lederman commented that the exceptional width of WR05 in comparison to other contemporary structures, ‘...one has reason to attribute a special role and importance to this feature.’²⁸⁹ The distribution of status-signifiers throughout the community can only suggest a ‘corporate’ strategy and a development from less complex settlements on the social trajectory towards statehood.

5.4. Et-Tell: Evidence for a highland corporate power strategy with limited private industry:

Kh. Raddana is often grouped with the neighbouring site of Et-Tell in discussions of settlement activity in the Iron I. The settlements were close to one another (less than 10km apart), contemporaneous, and shared a similar general layout. The Iron Age village (‘Area Z’ of Marquet-Krause’s excavation and ‘Site B’ of Callaway’s excavation) was located c.2.75m north-east of the EB Acropolis, and was a fraction of the previous urban settlement.²⁹⁰ It

²⁸⁸ Joseph Callaway & Cooley 1971: 12; Lederman 1999: 19

In the north, the wall ran north-south for 18.50m, mostly at its full width, but was absent anywhere outside of Site R (Lederman 1999: 19). Callaway and Cooley originally believed that WR05 may have been a casemate wall. However it is clear that this was a single wall with a ring of houses attached to it, the back room of these structures being what the excavators assumed to be the second parallel periphery wall. The width and strength of these structural walls are, in most instances, distinct from the Wide Wall (Lederman 1999: 19). This settlement type of a ring of houses sometimes attached to a periphery wall appears during this period as a clear development from an earlier settlement type discussed previously. This settlement organisation remains in use into later stages of the Iron Age (Shiloh 1978).

²⁸⁹ Lederman 1999: 19

²⁹⁰ Joseph Callaway 1976: 29

There is some evidence to suggest that the Iron Age settlers established a squatter-like residency in the temple-palace compound. A crude divider wall was built through the centre of the structure dividing it into separate

would be expected that Et-Tell would contain evidence of a similar authority and power strategy to that of Kh. Raddana.

The residencies of Et-Tell are relatively homogenous and Shiloh noted an apparent ‘pattern’ of two and three room houses running around the periphery.²⁹¹ Marquet-Krause described the structures as being ‘pressed onto one another’ (my translation), and the figure provided in Marquet-Krause’s report (and the adaption made by Shiloh) as well as stone-by-stone plan provided by Callaway illustrates that the feature presumably formed a circular ring of pillared houses surrounding the settlement.²⁹² The plan recorded in *Les Fouilles de ‘Ay* of a section of dwellings running around the site in Area Z illustrates an arrangement of wider three room structures connected to narrower two room structures.²⁹³ This may indicate social hierarchy, although the consistent, alternating pattern appears more indicative of the planning of a well organised settlement. Shiloh commented that the consistency of the broadrooms of the houses being positioned along the edge of the mound resembled casemates. He believed this was the origin of the typical Israelite settlement in the Iron II and ‘seems to have been intentional

residencies and additional structures were built on the eastern side of the site. (Joseph Callaway 1984: 54). The majority of the site (c.90%) was left unsettled for cultivation (Joseph Callaway 1984: 56). Callaway identified two separate phases. The first located on top of a construction fill built above the EB remains. The second phase was located above a destruction layer and consisted largely of rebuilding walls and laying new floors (Joseph Callaway et al. 1969a: 7). Finkelstein disagrees with this ‘two-phase theory’ (Finkelstein 2007: 107). The Iron Age occupation, which was incorrectly dated by Callaway to the earliest phase of the Iron I, realistically dates to the mid-to-late 11th century BC. The stratum is bounded by a layer of compact earth and a later Byzantine construction, (Wall A), on top and a thick layer of debris from the destruction of the EB settlement underneath (Joseph Callaway 1965: 22). Wall A was once thought to be a later phase of the Iron I (Joseph Callaway 1965: 22), but was later revealed to be Byzantine (Joseph Callaway et al. 1969a: 5). The fill below Wall A is the accumulation that followed the period of abandonment.

²⁹¹ Shiloh 1978: 45

²⁹² Marquet-Krause 1949: 23

²⁹³ This was unknowingly supported by the work of G.E Harmon, as his work on floor area in the houses of Area Z/B follows this pattern (Harmon 1983: 102).

rather than a chance.²⁹⁴ Further evidence of organisation is also evident in the cobblestone streets associated with these peripheral houses.²⁹⁵ It was also identified by Callaway that every house uncovered within the village of Et-Tell contained at least one cistern, adding to the overall uniformity and planning that went into constructing the settlement under a central authority.²⁹⁶

Four separate three and four room houses can be distinguished from Marquet-Krause's plan of the Iron Age village. However the dimensions were never recorded within her report. Likewise, the particular details of Callaway's excavation were excluded from the preliminary report and discussed in two separate unpublished papers written by the excavator and Stager.²⁹⁷ Both of these works were accessed and utilised by G. Harmon who followed the excavator's division of the residential areas into separate compounds: BV-IV, BXIII-XIV, BXVII-XVIII, B XV-XIII, identifying that the area of each was just under 100m².²⁹⁸ In the case of each structure, the houses are orientated so that the back 'broadroom' is facing the outside of the settlement, thereby creating a casemate-style perimeter wall with these backrooms (Rooms: 179, 173, 186, 150, 183, 208, 201? 178?) acting as the chambers of the settlement wall. The curvature of the back walls of 178 and 179 indicate the houses deliberately followed the topography of the edge of the mound. Estimates of the total number of residencies surrounding the settlement are between: 20-40.²⁹⁹ Callaway, in his report of the 1964 campaign, raised the possibility that the structures in squares: B V-IV, IX-X and XIII-XIV belonged to a single complex.³⁰⁰ As noted, the same suggestion has been raised for the

²⁹⁴ Shiloh 1978: 46

²⁹⁵ Joseph Callaway 1976: 29; Joseph Callaway et al. 1969a: 7

²⁹⁶ Joseph Callaway 1970a: 18

²⁹⁷ Joseph Callaway N.D: 3-5; Stager 1980: 6-9

²⁹⁸ Harmon 1983: 101-103

²⁹⁹ Coote 1990: 128; Finkelstein 1988: 69

³⁰⁰ Joseph Callaway 1965: 26

peripheral buildings of Shiloh. Yet the conservatism of the belt of house design in the Iron IB and later indicates that the site was surrounded by a ring of individual domestic structures attached to one another.³⁰¹

The homogeneity of the residencies is disrupted, however, by one specific structure located within Area D (the northeast corner of Et-Tell), 'Room 65'.³⁰² This space was originally interpreted by Marquet-Krause as a cult room ('lieu saint') due to the presence of ceramic stands with bases carved into lion's feet, animal figurines, jewellery, unusual ceramic vessels and chalices that presumably fit the stand. This particular room was also slightly larger than comparable structures (c.8.5x3m) and it was the only structure that contained benches.³⁰³ It is worth highlighting that Room 65 parallels a number of instances within Kh. Raddana where certain structures were designated as cultic because of remains found within, but Room 65 was not a form of household cult worship. The inclusion of benches within this room suggests it did hold an extraordinary function and the precious objects found within is supportive of this. A particular thought often ascribed to the social evolutionary theory, influenced by Marxist theory, is that cultic activity and religious ideology is a strategy of 'elite manipulation' to legitimise authority or political system.³⁰⁴ This view holds that simple

³⁰¹ Shiloh 1978

³⁰² Outside of the central highlands, a parallel can be made within Tel Masos str. II as the periphery of houses are notably homogenous. Likewise, the ceramics are largely uniform (Frick 1985: 159-160). However, just like in the case of Room 65 of Et-Tell, Tel Masos included a single structure, House 314, that was more than double the size of the average residency within area A and had a unique floor plan around a private courtyard. The inclusion of rare and imported goods within the structure indicated to the excavators that it belonged to a wealthy individual with interregional trade connections (Kempinski & Fritz 1977: 150).

³⁰³ Marquet-Krause 1949: 23

Ackerman argued that the benches of Room 65 reflects 'a distinctive feature of ancient Israelite religious architecture' (Ackerman 2008: 134). The discovery of a cult stand upon one of the western benches supports the association between the feature and a cultic function (Zevit 2003: 153). However the original report is vague on whether Room 65 was an individual building or a room within a building (Gilmour 1995: 172).

³⁰⁴ Ashmore 1989; Bauer 1996; Demarest 1992; Monroe 2003: 41

chiefdoms and similar political systems are reliant on 'traditional order', where control is maintained through customs, rituals and traditions held within the community.³⁰⁵ Room 65 reflects the power of a central authority that is able to produce or import prestigious objects. Yet the room appears to be a functional cultic space, rather than the residency of any 'aggrandizer'.

Determining whether Et-Tell operated under an exclusionary or corporate (or hybrid) power strategy is difficult due to limited archaeological evidence coupled with the lack of a final report. It is apparent that within the circular layout of Et-Tell, no elite sector existed.

According to G.E Harmon, there was one exceptionally sized house within the settlement, BXIII-XIV of area B. The size of the structure had over twice the floor space of the smallest residency of the site (House 206 of Area Z). Its total floor area of 64.40m² disrupted the pattern of smaller structures being adjoined to slightly larger ones, where floor space consistently ranged from 30-35m² and 45-48.5m² respectively.³⁰⁶ However, Harmon noted that this structure was uncovered in an 'incomplete' state and there may be a degree of interpretation when identifying the total floor space of this structure as the excavators were originally sceptical whether this was a single residency.³⁰⁷ Likewise ceramic material is not a useful indicator of the type of social power. Callaway's data was never published and Marquet-Krause's ceramics are too outdated and comprised of mostly sherd material to be

³⁰⁵ Monroe 2003: 41-43

Blanton et al would refer to religion and ritual as a 'symbolic' source of power as opposed to 'objective sources' like wealth and means of production. They write: 'Whatever its source, power is always exercised in a culture-laden social situation. Materials and symbols are powerful only to the extent that they move people' (Blanton et al. 1996: 2-3).

³⁰⁶ Harmon 1983: 102

³⁰⁷ Joseph Callaway 1965: 25-26

reliable. Certainly, there is no possibility of petrographically linking the vessels of Et-Tell to outside the region.³⁰⁸

It has been noted that every house within Et-Tell contained a personal cistern. Although the containment of water can hardly be considered an indicator of status and power, especially given that the nearest water source was half a kilometre away (Wadi el-Jaya). It does account for the meticulous planning that has already been accredited to the Iron Age village. More importantly, Callaway's claim of 'numerous bones of goat and sheep in every house' is more valuable for understanding the power strategy in place within the community.³⁰⁹ Lederman identified a total of 1772 bone fragments from Callaway's excavation of Et-Tell and Kh. Raddana and that because sheep and goats were almost in equal abundance at the two sites, there was no need to separate the two assemblages.³¹⁰ The equal proportion of goats, as well as dental attrition evidence suggest that over half of the samples (c.60%) died at full maturity, this led to the conclusion that both Et-Tell and Kh. Raddana functioned as exporters of animal products. Lederman aligned this with evidence that contemporary settlements on the coastal plain and Shephelah were reliant on external pastoral communities for livestock and produce to suggest that these two villages may have been the suppliers.³¹¹ It seems unlikely for any study to produce reasonable evidence to confirm that either site was engaged in such exportation. Yet, it is notable that despite the presence of animal bones within each residency of Et-Tell, the site appeared to be reliant on cultivation. Not only was the majority of the site

³⁰⁸ A circumstantial argument can be raised that due to the proximity of Et-Tell and Kh. Raddana that paralleling ceramics indicated that both sites were being financed from interregional importation. Lederman provides an interesting anecdote on when the material of Kh. Raddana was transported from Ramallah to the Rockefeller Museum in 1989, the material was erroneously marked as 'Ai' and the museum curators were unable to distinguish the Kh. Raddana material from the Et-Tell material (Lederman 1999: 57). Although any such argument is unsubstantiated.

³⁰⁹ Joseph Callaway 1993: 45

³¹⁰ Lederman 1999: 103, 105

³¹¹ *ibid.*: 106, 109

(c.90%) unused and presumably left as farmland, the terrace resting on contour 854 is an indicator that the region below the site (Area G) was also left for cultivation.³¹² The dispersal of cisterns and faunal remains within the residencies is complimented by the apparent arbitrary arrangement of silos within the village. Many silos were recorded as being placed in open spaces near houses, but Callaway does not identify any clustering of installations around specific structures.³¹³ This homogeneity and distribution of wealth is suggestive of the corporate strategy. Yet, the apparent 'elite manipulation' through the importation of prestige goods and cult worship should be considered a development of this strategy and a combination of the two models, the presence of an authority capable of conducting trade and organising labour with little social signifiers.

³¹² Joseph Callaway 1984: 56

Callaway also believes that there is a good case for farming to have been conducted on the adjacent hillsides, near contours 790 and 795. Evidence of Iron I ceramics within a cistern cut at the bottom of the valley leading to the Jordan valley was further evidence for the surrounding region being utilised for cultivation (Joseph Callaway 1984: 61, 1993: 45).

³¹³ Joseph Callaway 1976: 30

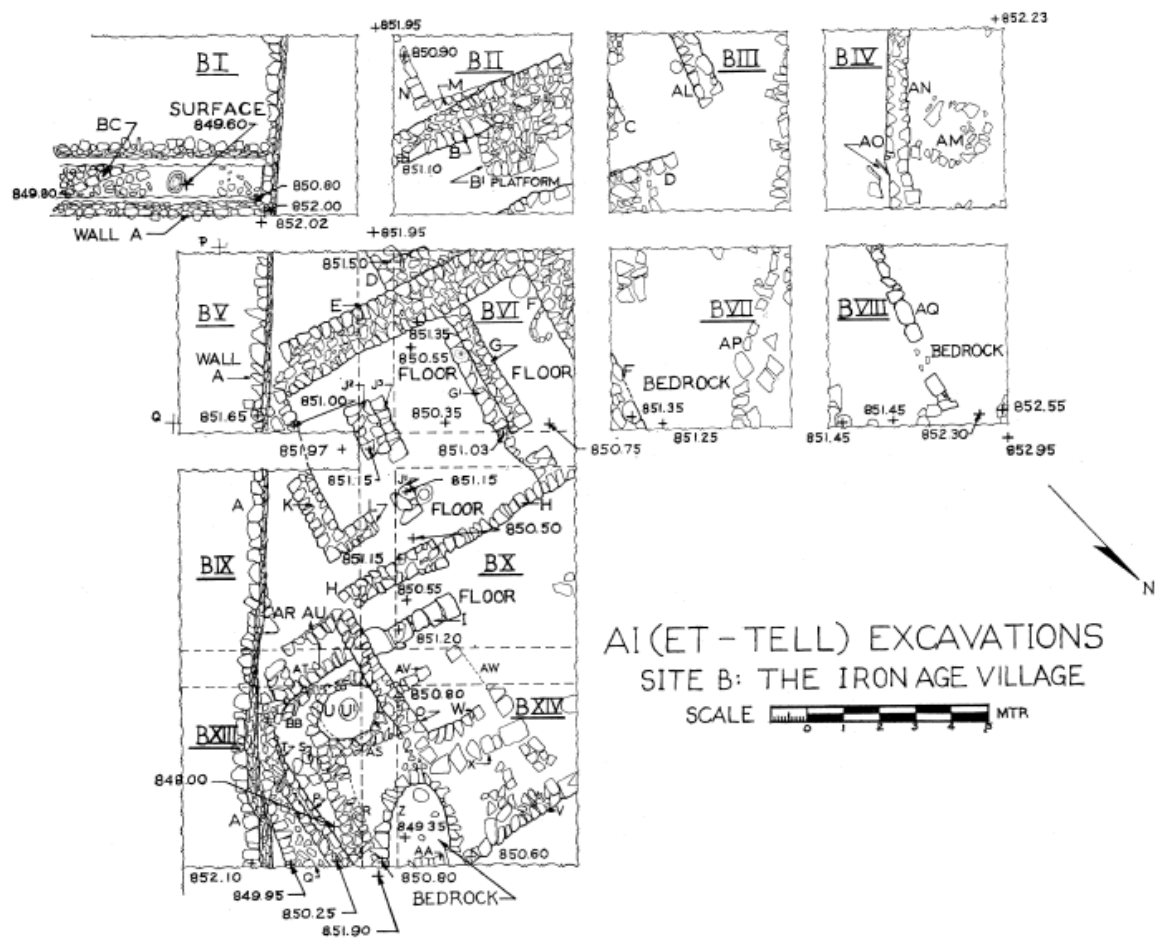


Fig. 21. Callaway's plan of the Iron Age village of Et-Tell 'Site B'
Callaway, 1969, p.25, fig. 7

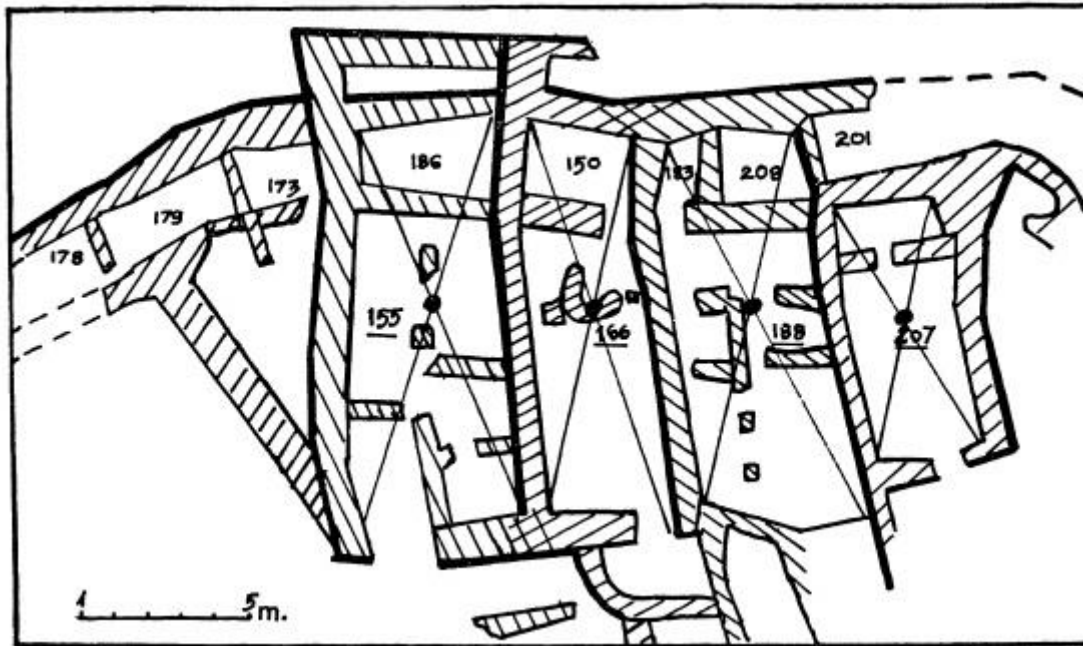


Fig. 22. Shiloh's reconstruction of the house plan taken from *Les Fouilles de 'Ay Shiloh*, 1978, p.45, fig. 8.

5.5. 'Izbet Sartah: A case of transcending egalitarianism:

The resumed settlement of 'Izbet Sartah revived the general plan of the 12th century. This included the ring of structures enclosing the settlement. The perimeter structures of str. II were scanty and divided in the northern (Area D), eastern (Area E) and southern (Area B) sectors. In each area, the structures were largely built on top of the remains of the previous occupation.³¹⁴ The main distinction of the str. II settlement is that across the periphery, a number of pillared houses were uncovered. A series of these structures are well preserved in the north, room 2008-Building 301. Of particular interest is Building 301, which was interpreted by the excavator as a small four-room house consisting of a western longitudinal room (Room 301), a central courtyard (Room 310) and an eastern longitudinal room (Room 309). In total, the dimensions of Building 301 was c.6.5mx7m.³¹⁵ The remains of other peripheral structures are more fragmentary in the east due to rising bedrock, however two

³¹⁴ Finkelstein 1986: 21

³¹⁵ *ibid.*: 21-22

separate structures can be discerned. Building 916 is a four-room house of parallel design to Building 301 in the north. The stones were of much the same size, c.50-60cm, and the total proportions were identical to Building 301.³¹⁶ Connected to Building 916 on its eastern side was potentially another four-room house, Building 905. Although the remains are more fragmented and it appears to have been orientated differently so that the broad room runs perpendicular to the axis of the settlement.³¹⁷ Of particular importance is the excavator's description: '...it appears that the outer walls of these structures did not form a continuous defensive wall around the perimeter of the site like those of stratum III.'³¹⁸ If the belt of rooms provided rudimentary defence in the 12th century, it cannot be argued that it held this function a century later. It seems that the rooms retain their position simply due to the reusing of the foundation of walls and the conservatism of organising residencies around the periphery of the settlement.

Due to the fragmentary remains, it is difficult to determine whether 'Izbet Sartah str. II was encircled entirely by pillared houses, or if some of the modest single room dwellings of str. III were retained. However, there is clear social stratification within the settlement. Away from the periphery, in the centre of the site, stood a single central four-room house (Building 109b). In comparison to the other four-room houses on the periphery, the central structure held a much greater importance. This is based not only on its central position, but also its comparatively larger dimensions (c.11.9x16.6m, or 11.9x19.8m when including the additional annex (room 404b). From the site plan, the walls appear more substantial and twice the thickness of the peripheral structures.³¹⁹ Like a typical four-room house, the longitudinal rooms were distinguished by the presence of two rows of pillars, each row containing three

³¹⁶ Finkelstein 1986: 22-23

³¹⁷ *ibid.*: 23

³¹⁸ *ibid.* : 21

³¹⁹ *ibid.*: 14

individual stone pillars. These longitudinal rooms were met in the north by a horizontal broadroom. The excavator assumes that the superstructure of Building 109b was constructed of mudbrick due to the lack of scattered stone around the structure.³²⁰ All around Building 109b were a high proportion of stone-lined silos. There were 43 scattered in the north, east and south of Building 109b in clear association. There appears to be more interest in the placement of these installations around the structure than in any strategic or functional placement. In one instance, a number of silos overlap one another (squares L12-M12-N12).³²¹ These silos are indicative of the wealth and social standing of the inhabitants of the central four-room house.³²²

³²⁰ Finkelstein 1986: 18

³²¹ *ibid.*

The excavator noted that it is possible that not all of the silos were constructed contemporaneously. Finkelstein provided three separate instances that suggest at least two separate phases occurred during the lifespan of str. II (Finkelstein 1986: 19).

³²² Coote once argued that the high proportion of silos demonstrated the 'decentralised nature of highland production' as they represent a movement away from centralised storage facilities found in the lowlands during the 'Egyptian period' (Coote 1990: 134). However, it is possible to argue that the silos of 'Izbet Sartah str. II, exclusively clustered around Building 109b, did not serve a communal function. For another argument on the abundance of silos representing an absence of state/central control, c.f. Coote & Whitelam 1987: 134.

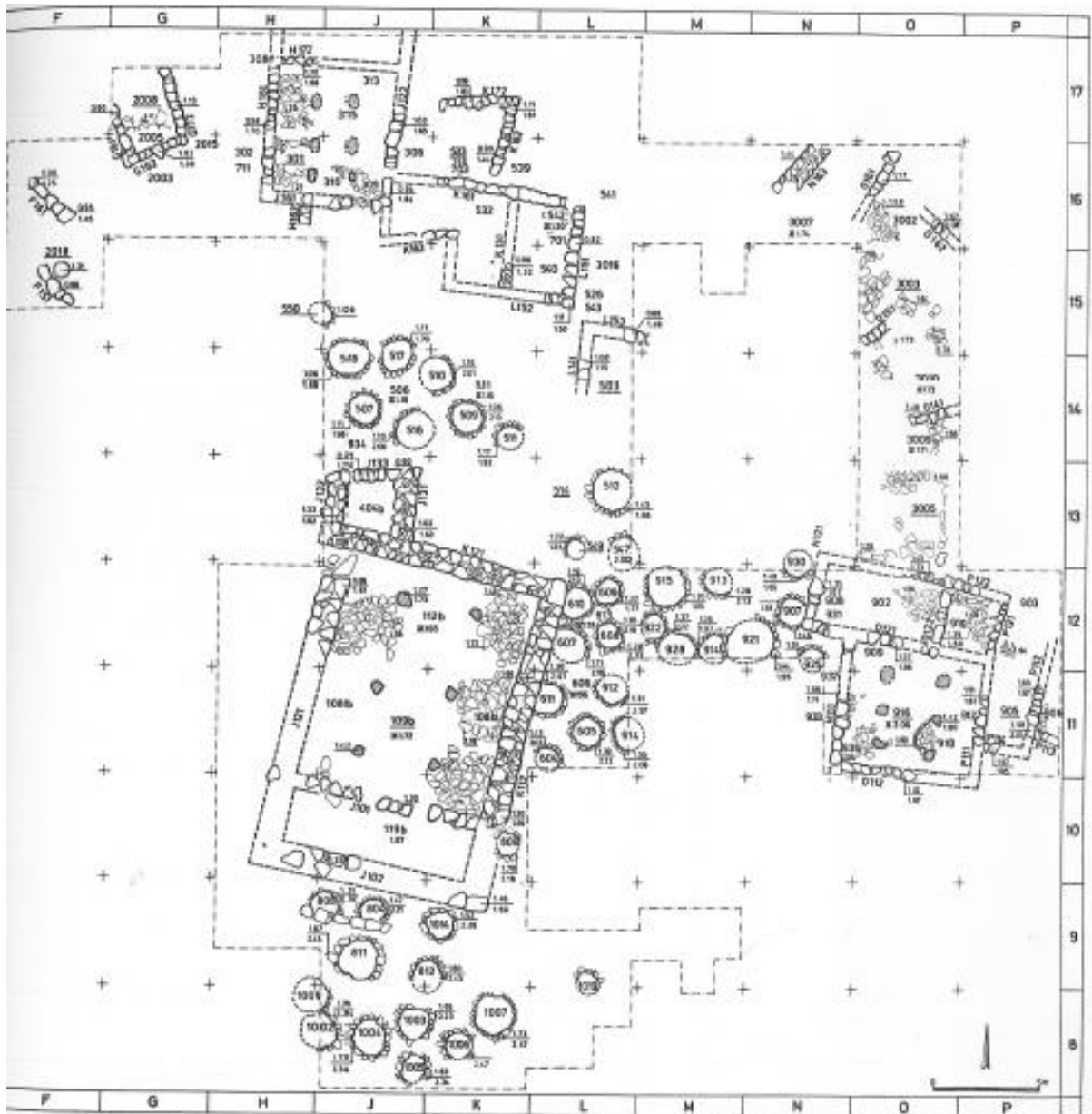


Fig. 23. Plan of 'Izbet Sartah str. II
Finkelstein, 1986

According to Russo, there is a degree of universality to housing placement. The reason why villages are structured in circular rings as early as the Iron IA is that it physically reflects the community and fraternity of human settlement.³²³ Community leaders will place themselves separately, commonly in the centre, to 'enhance their visual and symbolic sway over

³²³ Russo 2004: 36

others'.³²⁴ As illustrated in the diagram below, the occupants of Building 109b held a paramount position, both physically and socially within the community. The presence of many silos scattered around this central building indicates that the power of the occupants was not simply symbolic and the residents held influence over agrarian storage, the wealth of the community. Although located outside of the residency, each installation was in proximity to Building 109b and was centred on this structure. This recalls the exclusionary power strategy common among simple chiefdoms and what seems to have been commonly implemented during the Iron IA. The description of this strategy given by Blanton *et al*, that 'political actors aim at the development of a political system built around their monopoly control of sources of power', appropriately describes the association between the central building and installations of 'Izbet Sartah str. II'.³²⁵

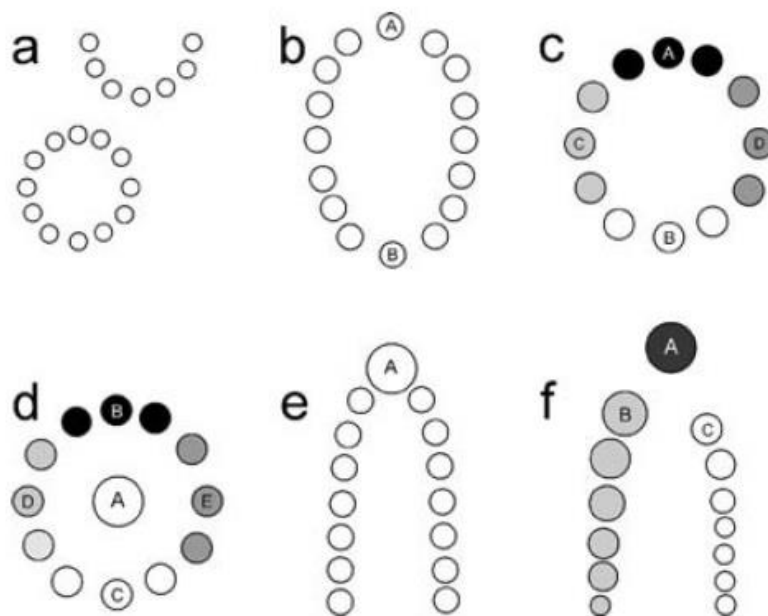


Fig. 24. Russo's diagram of idealised locations of house placement depending on status
Russo, 2004, p.39.

³²⁴ Russo 2004: 36

³²⁵ Blanton et al. 1996: 2

Despite the maintenance of the ring of residencies, the settlement and power structure of this stratum is comparably different to what was identified in str. III of the 13th-12th centuries. In the previous chapter, an egalitarian ethos was suggested, but this interpretation is not valid for the later settlement.³²⁶ Instead the later occupations of the site reflects the processual nature many social evolutionists assign to the accumulation of wealth and social inequality that naturally develops in evolved societies. This was articulated by Hayden and his work on ‘aggrandizers’, arguing that it is in human behaviour to be self-seeking and certain individuals will eventually counteract any conscious desire for equality.³²⁷ Accordingly, equality can only be maintained in small, simple societies.³²⁸ It would seem that the occupants of Building 109b were the ‘aggrandizers’ of ‘Izbet Sartah, and held ‘chief’ status within the community.

The apparent upheavals at the beginning of the Iron IB, or more accurately from the mid-to-late 12th century, is striking as it suggests that new settlements containing paralleling material culture located slightly south, nearer to the Benjamin, were the result of a migration of people from these abandoned or destroyed settlements as well as the natural fissioning process.³²⁹

³²⁶ Interestingly, Smith promoted that the corporate power strategy was directly related to egalitarianism and was a development of the same philosophy under a complex political system (N. G. Smith 2009: 50). Yet the second occupation phase does not align with the corporate strategy. It is worth noting that ‘Izbet Sartah str. II was settled after a relatively long occupational gap (Finkelstein 1986: 200).

³²⁷ Hayden 1995: 20

³²⁸ Hayden estimates that egalitarian settlements require a population density of less than 0.1 people per square kilometre to be considered egalitarian (Hayden 1995: 28).

³²⁹ Village fissioning is not unique to the central highlands and is simply the result of a community being unable to sustain an expanding population. Carneiro noted from his studies of tribes in the Amazon that villages cannot sustain a community beyond 200 individuals before fissioning occurs (Robert Carneiro 2000: 12928). Although there does not necessarily need to be a cut-off for village populations and fissioning will occur whenever a population exceeds the resources capable of sustaining it. Boehm argued that the process can also be a conscious attempt of members to leave the current leadership and begin afresh (Boehm 1993: 231). To Dubreuil, fissioning is the result of the breakdown of social norms and unconventional behaviour going unpunished. The act of

This movement of people resulted in the continuation of certain trends, most clearly the utilisation of the pillared structure and the belt of houses layout as being evolved features from what is found in previous Iron IA settlements. It stands to reason that power strategies are just as susceptible to cultural transmission and these arguably more complex elite strategies implemented within the Iron IB were developments of earlier, simpler strategies present in the previous settlement horizon.

dividing a population allows for more effective strategies in monitoring societal behaviour (Dubreuil 2010: 164).

Chapter 6. Final Remarks, Summary & Conclusions:

6.1. Social evolution and power: The private sphere:

Much work has been done on distinguishing ‘private’ from ‘public’ architecture and it has been illustrated numerous times that size is not a reliable indicator of function.³³⁰ In the villages of the Iron IB, it is quite clear that the many structures surrounding the settlements were mostly, if not all, private residencies. Finkelstein once held the view that not a single public building was attested within the highlands, only ‘ordinary residential buildings’ (my translation).³³¹ The presence of apparent private industries and storage facilities within the pillared structures supports an argument associating the settlements’ resources and production (and thus power) as exclusive to individuals in the community. The general logic in this thinking is that these structures are almost unanimously considered to be residential in the Iron Age. While the pillared structure appears to have been designed to provide space for facilities and private industry, the inclusion of such facilities in some, but not all of the residencies, creates a disparity between those who have access to industry and those who do not.³³² Moreover, the presence of imported goods presumably within a trade network identified in a number of Iron IB villages is more suggestive of the exclusionary power model. This is exemplified when reviewing Murphy’s description as ‘the process of

³³⁰ Panitz-Cohen & Mazar 2006: 190-191; Shai et al. 2011: 111; Wason 1994: 135-136. Shai *et al.*, provided alternative signifiers to identify public and private architecture as well as the status of the occupants. Along with size, the additional identifiers are quality of construction, and the layout and supposed function of the structure (Shai et al. 2011: 111).

³³¹ Finkelstein 1987: 27

³³² It could be suggested that the dispersal of residencies containing industries within a settlement may indicate a community that divided its production roles to create stronger social integration and to avoid societal failure. However, this egalitarian strategy would require a conscious effort to fulfil communal needs over personal desires for wealth and inequality (Dubreuil 2010: 162; Tuzin 2001: 127).

subordination whereby one group monopolizes advantages by closing off opportunities to another group of outsiders beneath it which it defines as inferior and ineligible.³³³

A previously unmentioned highland Iron IB site can briefly be addressed in order to supplement this conclusion. The site of Kh. Za'kuka within the Judean highlands was located 5km south of Jerusalem and just under 5km east of Giloh. It is the most recent Iron I site excavated within the highlands undergoing a salvage excavation in 2006.³³⁴ The remains from the site were heavily eroded due to the presence of bedrock close to the surface, a characteristic common to settlements of the highlands. Yet a single conspicuous house was relatively well preserved, Building 102. While only two outer walls of the structure remained: Wall 4 in the north and Wall 3 in the south, the entire perimeter of the structure was marked by foundation lines cut into the bedrock. The floor was particularly well preserved and was partially made of compacted chalk and paved stones. It was evident that underneath Floor 102, the earth had been levelled and filled to create an even surface.³³⁵ The lack of any comparable structures makes speculating the status of the occupants difficult. However the level of detail given to the dimensions and flooring within Building 102 suggests that the residency was exceptional within the settlement. A number of installations were found within the structure including a well preserved oil press. Two other installations within the structure may have been associated and served a function in the production of oil, or may

³³³ Murphy 1988: 8

³³⁴ The reason for its heretofore absence is due to the meagre results from the salvage excavation. Aside from a single pillared house, there is little data relevant to the study of settlements within the Iron I central highlands.

³³⁵ Eisenberg 2012: 2

have been pits to hold storage vessels.³³⁶ In any case, the presence of a private oil press is suggestive of private industry within the household.³³⁷

The amount of debris surrounding the structure suggested to the excavators that the house was two-storeyed, with the ground floor being used for storage and processing and the above for residency.³³⁸ This interpretation fits a conclusion made by a number of authorities that the persistence of the pillared house within the agrarian communities of the highlands reflected an agricultural function.³³⁹ Just as importantly, the pillared structures are indicators of status, particularly leading into the late Iron I-Iron II when these structures become increasingly more common and homogenous within a settlement.³⁴⁰ Faust believed that the building was adopted by all sectors of society, 'of the poor and wealthy'.³⁴¹ Holladay argued that the structures probably belonged to a land owning peasantry class.³⁴² However, in the earliest phase of the Iron I, the Iron IA, these structures appear too infrequently within excavated

³³⁶ Eisenberg 2012: 17-18

³³⁷ Although oil is a household commodity, the amount of oil required by a sole household would not necessitate a press predominantly occupying the room. It seems likely the occupants of Building 102 were producing an excess of oil.

³³⁸ Eisenberg 2012: 16

³³⁹ Finkelstein 1996: 204-205; Holladay 1992: 316; Stager 1985a: 17

Finkelstein rejected any ethnic association of the pillared houses, but argued that the widespread presence of the design within Israel's highlands was a reflection of its suitability to the physical and social environment of the region (Finkelstein 1996: 204-205) Contra. Dever 1995; Faust 2006a: 74-75; Holladay 1992. Likewise, Stager referring to the design as 'a successful adaption to farm life' as it allocated space to residential living on the top floor and allowed the ground floor to serve as space for food processing, small industries and storage (Stager 1985a: 17). This is also the explanation given by Holladay as to why the structure maintained its regional diversity and durability for over 600 years (Holladay 1992: 316).

³⁴⁰ Despite this, Faust argued that in the Iron II, house sizes will vary depending whether the structures are located in small towns or rural regions (Faust 1999a).

³⁴¹ Faust 2006a: 80

³⁴² Holladay 1992: 316

sites to have been adopted by all sectors of the society.³⁴³ The few cases of pillared houses within the Iron IA sites of Taanach, Giloh and Mt. Ebal indicate that these structures were extraordinary within early central highland sites, they were clear indicators of social hierarchy, and as a result, probably did hold control over private storage facilities and the modes of production as would be also suggested in the Iron IB and onwards.³⁴⁴

The pillared house becomes undisputedly more prolific later in the Iron I within newfound settlements. While the agrarian and processing function of the houses is evident, the increased number of pillared structures within Iron IB sites attests to a social change, a likely increase in demographics and a clear increase in complexity.³⁴⁵ The popularity of this structure within the later Iron I central highland villages would seemingly negate its function of social segregation and an exclusionary power strategy within the previous settlements. However it is apparent that although the structures become more-or-less uniform, there are clear variations in the activities performed within the pillared structures of the Iron IB.³⁴⁶

The debate of style vs function has only been alluded to briefly in this study despite its prevalence and influence within the field of evolutionary archaeology. Yet the persistence of

³⁴³ It could be suggested that this argument is unsubstantiated due to the limited exposure of the sites in question, yet it would be anticipated that domestic structures be grouped in close proximity within a settlement and the excavation of one structure would warrant the discovery of multiple. Certainly, the situation of many pillared structures surrounding the periphery of a site, a feature that appears in the Iron IB, is not present within the earliest Iron Age settlements.

³⁴⁴ London would refer to the village settlements as 'hill country workstations' (London 2003: 79) seemingly because of the substantial amount of pillared houses which functioned as production centres.

³⁴⁵ Miller believes that the ground floor of pillared houses was commonly used for animal husbandry and that cooking and textile activities required space outside the house (R. D. Miller 2010: 175). This may be the case for many house forms within the Iron I lacking of installations.

³⁴⁶ This is particularly true within Kh. Raddana, where the few structures within Site S were considered to be exceptional in comparison to the houses found within R and T. The functional distinction of S is evident within SXIV, which contained three cisterns and five tabuns (one inside the structure and four others in close proximity), while no tabuns or cisterns are attested in the pillared structures of Site R (Lederman 1999: 37, 39).

the pillared house within the region for over six centuries makes it the perfect candidate for the debate. Bentley explained the terminology of Dunnell's influential work with 'style' being any artefact or cultural element that is preserved randomly with no relation to its functionality, or as Bentley identifies, 'with no rhyme or reason to its change'. 'Function', on the other hand, has its popularity affected by its design and ability to fulfil a purpose.³⁴⁷ The relevance of this idea to the social trajectory of the central highlands is captivated in Bentley's claim that such cultural phenomena 'catches on among people until everyone uses it, whereupon its popularity levels off, and it steadily remains at that level of popularity until the next technology comes along to replace it.'³⁴⁸ This is certainly observable in the general trend of the pillared houses throughout the Iron I-II. As noted, the houses appear during the Iron IA and sees a steady rise in the use and popularity of the design in the Iron IB. However, rather than being replaced by a more efficient technology, the pillared house would remain in consistent use until the eventual destruction of Israel and Judah.³⁴⁹ The steady rise in popularity of the structure during this period also reflects a phenomenon noted by Henrich and Gil-White that certain features or skills increase in popularity due to the desire of individuals to emulate prestigious or other successful members of the community. The pair

³⁴⁷ Bentley 2011: 83

³⁴⁸ *ibid.*

This concept is also referred to as the 'neutral theory of evolution' (Shennan & Collard 2000: 21). Neiman's theory of drift as an explanation for the 'principle of popularity' can also be applied to the increased use of pillared houses. To Neiman, variants of cultural transmission will gradually increase in popularity until they reach a peak of popularity and begin to gradually decrease. Unlike the 'style vs function' debate, drift is determined by random probabilities (Neiman 1995). Palavestra and Porcic argued that this is the only suitable explanation for the principle of popularity (Palavestra & Porčić 2008: 94).

³⁴⁹ Faust explained the longevity of the structure's design as it becoming an 'omnipresent ethnic symbol' that was eradicated by the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests (Faust 2006a: 84). Faust presents a convincing argument that if not an ethnic indicator, as many have argued, the structures were indicative of the type of society that utilised its function. This is likely the case, however, its persistence throughout the Iron Age was not a conscious effort to preserve an ethnic/cultural marker, but the maintenance of a structure with functional value.

describe such mimics as those who ‘sycophantically ingratiate themselves with their chosen models.’³⁵⁰ The belief that these structures were seemingly once restricted to the settlement’s elite and only over time became more common within the community supports the idea that demographic migrations and village fissioning caused material culture, ideas, and even power systems to develop by cultural transmission across the Iron I. The popularity of the pillared house grew not only because of their function, but also due to its inherent prestige and possibly an early association to power in the central highlands.

6.2. Social evolution and power: The public sphere:

The interpretation of the structural remains from sites dating to the Iron IA-B has suggested that the dichotomy between public and private, at least in the earliest Iron I highland communities, was less distinguished than in more ‘socially evolved’ communities. It stands to reason that the separation between private and public will become greater as settlements develop, become increasingly complex and have greater access to manpower and resources. At the beginning of the Iron Age, very few clear public structures are attested. The one clear exception being Giloh, which contained a newly-built perimeter wall and a monumental structure. The presence of monumental public architecture early in the Iron IA is presumably the consequence of its strategic placement within the centre of a trade network. While the settlement of ‘Izbet Sartah, on the very fringe of the central highlands, arguably reflects the more standard settlement type with no evidence of public construction and a homogenous belt of simple residencies that also doubled as a perimeter wall, blurring the distinction between public and private.

³⁵⁰ Henrich & Gil-White 2001: 165

This study has already raised that the periphery of residencies continued into the Iron IB, arguably being a marker for the second occupation horizon of the Iron I central highlands. However there is a single instance of a mid-Iron I village being encased by a solid perimeter wall. The ‘Wide Wall’ of Kh. Raddana (WR05) was built up against the belt of houses creating a more substantial defence while also demonstrating the presence and power of a central authority. As noted, the periphery of structures acting as a perimeter wall was presumably constructed in a single instance under the direction of the settlement’s authority. The addition of a solid wall holds to the same rationale albeit with an increase in resources and power that accompanies an increasingly complex community. Frangipane, in agreement with Algaze, identified that early fortifications were the product of ‘urban concentration’ that developed from economic specialisation and high agricultural production.³⁵¹ Another heretofore unmentioned, yet exceptional site established at the end of the Iron I within the Benjamin highlands, Kh. ed-Dawwara, illustrates the evolutionary nature of fortifications within the central highlands. The defensive wall (A121) was uncovered in a number of squares in areas A (western side) and B (north-eastern). The wall was established on bedrock and consists of two parallel faces containing a large fill of stones. Only one course remains of the inner wall, but these are of significant size.³⁵² The layout of the defences is most clear

³⁵¹ Frangipane 2011: 300

It is not coincidental that the only other site exhibiting fortification-like construction, Giloh, was strategically constructed over a hundred years prior to guard the Bethlehem-Hebron highway and would have received high agricultural provisions. Contra. Finkelstein would claim that ‘...the Khirbet ed-Dawwara fortifications [are] the earliest example of a developed Iron Age defence system in the Hill Country and therefore the earliest full-scale Israelite fortification’ (Finkelstein 1990: 197, 1993: 333).

³⁵² In some places the outer wall has three courses preserved and stands at a height of 1.17m. The strength of the wall varied. In the northern part of square A12 the width of both walls and stone core was c.3.1m wide, while in the south, it was 2.3m in width (Finkelstein 1990: 168).

within Area A where Buildings 118 and 131 are built up against Wall A121 so that the broadrooms of these houses formed casemate-like rooms.³⁵³

The solid fortification wall with an additional ring of houses found at Kh. Raddana and Kh. ed-Dawwara is a clear structural evolution from the layout of earlier Iron IB villages. This settlement design would persist into the Iron II as the typical plan of the 'Israelite' urban site.³⁵⁴ Finkelstein identified the fortifications of the site as being 'the only solid evidence for public building activity in the early monarchic period.'³⁵⁵ Although this is not necessarily the case as this study has argued that a number of structures, primarily perimeter walls elsewhere, can be considered 'public' architecture due to the communal nature and increased energy and material expenditure utilised in the construction. The evidence for this is supported by the clear development of a ring of simple dwellings attested as early as 'Izbet Sartah str. III transforming into a ring of pillared houses being attached to a more substantial perimeter wall. The fact that this design is also present at the earlier site of Kh. Raddana suggests that it followed its own evolutionary path that corresponded to the social progression of the communities they housed.

³⁵³ As has been noted, the presence of a ring of houses is a commonplace settlement type during the Iron IB. A periphery wall attached to the ring of residencies is less frequently attested, but evidence for this design is apparent in places at Kh. Raddana (WR05). There is an occasional variation within Kh. ed-Dawwara, such as the case of Building 103 being built at a right angle so that the broad room is facing away from Wall A121. However the structure's position still allowed for a casemate-like room between the wall of Building 103's vertical room and the defensive wall. This structure was built up against the preceding domestic unit (Building 118) and contained a shared wall despite the altering orientation. On average, the domestic structures measured 11-13.5mx9-11.5m (Finkelstein 1990: 170, 1993: 333). This is only slightly bigger than the main (most preserved) house of Kh. Raddana, which measured 11.5x6.5m (Lederman 1999: 50-51). Nevertheless, the minor variations in dimensions alongside the conservative nature of settlement planning, suggests an interrelation and development between these key settlements

³⁵⁴ Finkelstein 1993: 333; Shiloh 1978

³⁵⁵ Finkelstein 1990: 97

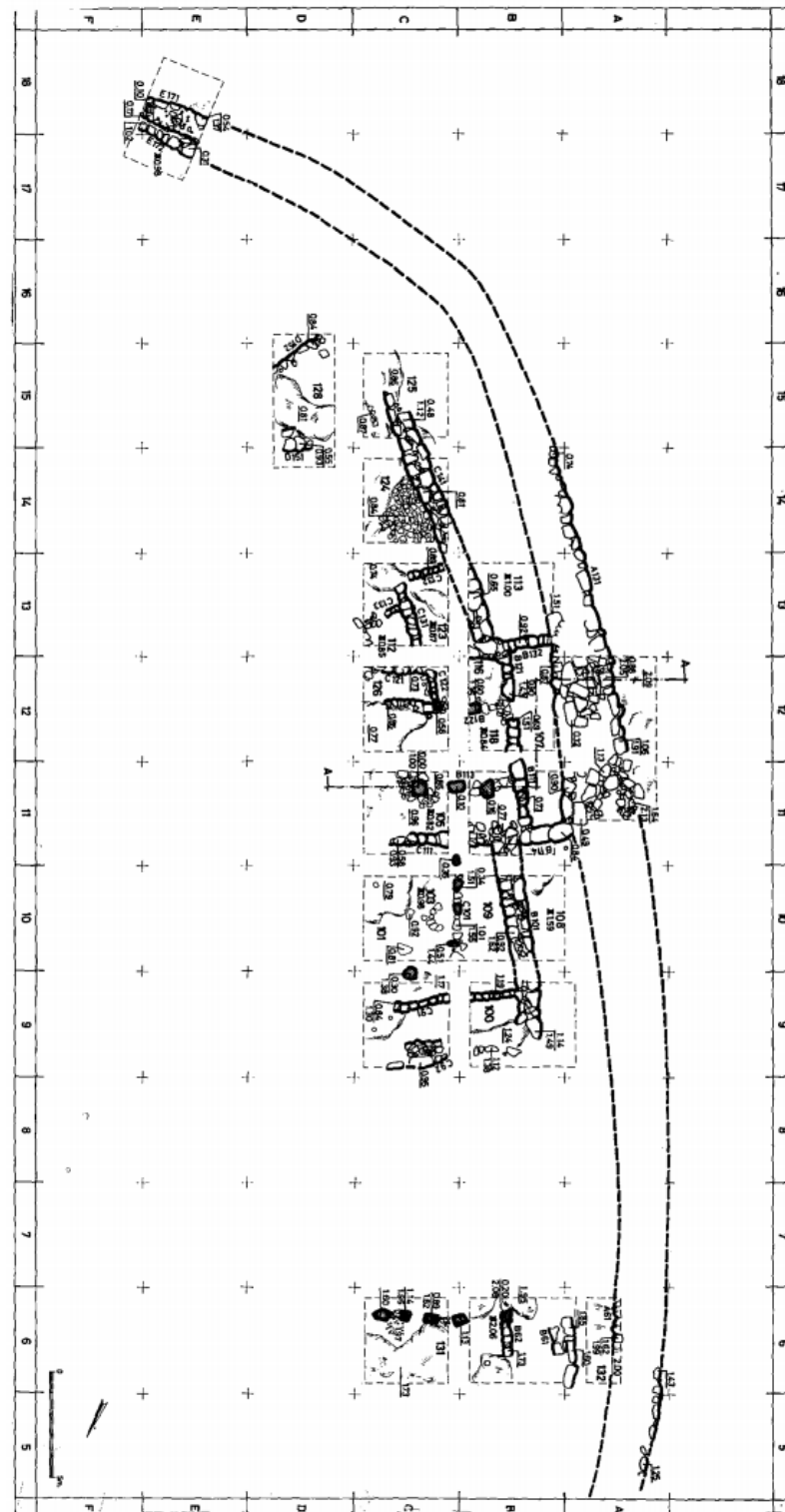


Fig. 25. Plan of Area A of Kh. ed-Dawwara
Finkelstein, 1990, p.167, fig. 4

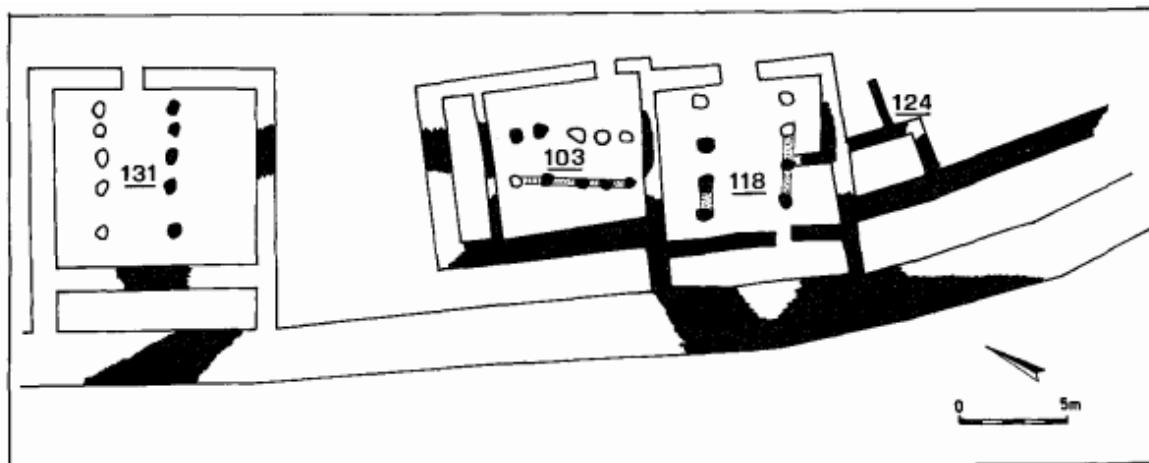


Fig. 26. Reconstruction of three pillared buildings within Area A of Kh. ed-Dawwara
Finkelstein, 1990, p.197, Fig.22.

6.3. A denouement to the social evolutionary process of the Iron I central highlands:

In terms of its public and private spheres, it is clear that Kh. ed-Dawwara represents a third and final settlement horizon of the Iron I and an important stage of the social evolutionary process towards statehood in the Iron II. Unlike other sites commonly interpreted as villages probably operating under a simple chiefdom model, many authorities designate Kh. ed-Dawwara as being distinct politically. Despite his criticism of the actual defence the settlement could provide, Fritz noted that the fortifications ‘...certainly mark a step in the direction of the fortified city even though they are only enclosed settlements that lack all other characteristics of urban culture.’³⁵⁶ Faust, acknowledging Fritz’s criticism, concluded: ‘What is important at this stage is to emphasize that the first massively fortified settlement in the central highlands (late eleventh century BC) was built in the land of Benjamin, and that this was probably not an agricultural site.’³⁵⁷

Such opinions calls into question a significant debate within social evolutionary studies, the distinction between villages, cities and urban centres. The significance of this discussion to

³⁵⁶ Fritz 1994: 235

³⁵⁷ Faust 2006b: 27

social evolution is that many hold a close relationship between cities and states.³⁵⁸ The defining characteristics of cities have been addressed and revised by many scholars, but the most consistent trait is the role they played as stratified communities acting as elite hubs for smaller regional villages. This is embodied in the Yoffee's perception that cities emerged alongside statehood as 'the collecting basins' for long-term trends of social differentiation and stratification.³⁵⁹ Bird would refer to cities as 'the most obtrusive by-products' of centrality.³⁶⁰ The appearance of cities is intrinsic to the transformation from a rural to urban lifestyle and such a development is a progressive step within the concept of social complexity and the solidification of a power strategy.³⁶¹

There is little evidence to categorise Kh. ed-Dawwara as an early highland city despite Fritz's willingness to consider it a step in the direction of one. Yet certain characteristics distinguish Kh. ed-Dawwara from the Iron IB villages previously addressed. The site appears to have been more densely populated with Finkelstein identifying: 'Wherever the excavators dug inside the wall they found remains of buildings, mostly of the four-room house type'.³⁶² Likewise, the complete absence of sickle blades and few grinding stones indicates that Kh. ed-Dawwara did not function on an agricultural subsistence economy.³⁶³ This parallels the

³⁵⁸ Jennings & Earle 2016: 475; M. L. Smith 2013: 12; Wright 2006; Yoffee 2005: 17

³⁵⁹ Yoffee 2005: 60

³⁶⁰ Bird 2013: 1

³⁶¹ Contra. Schloen, who argued that the urban-rural dichotomy is a 'priori theoretical assumption, rooted in modern functionalist logic' (Schloen 2001: 101). The identification of urbanism as an advancement or progression within the linear nature of social evolution would suggest that the process was an irreversible change that most communities underwent as demographics increased. However, it is apparent (and logical) that urban cities are reliant on agrarian villages for resources. Lane, Pumain and van der Leeuw acknowledge that limitations and problems emerge (mainly the shortage of resources) when local systems consist of 'increasing connectedness to a multiplicity of networks' (Lane, Pumain, van der Leeuw, & West 2009: 4-5).

³⁶² Finkelstein 1993: 333

³⁶³ Not only are sickle blades typical of settlement sites (11 found within Shiloh, 22 within 'Izbet Sartah, 28 within Kh. Raddana and 17 from Tel Qiri) (Ben-Tor & Portugali 1987: 107; Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 197-202;

lack of tools uncovered within Mt. Ebal, which was not a settlement site, and Giloh, which was likely being sustained by trade connections within the Bethlehem-Hebron highway.³⁶⁴ The amount of residencies within Kh. ed-Dawwara is unique as it was clearly a settlement that arguably did not function under subsistence agriculture. This is an evolutionary step towards urbanism and indicates that the settlement was situated in a transitional space between the village and the city. Thus, a more accurate designation for Kh. ed-Dawwara is found within the classification of ‘proto-city’ as this settlement type distinguished itself from villages by having a higher population that predominately is not involved in agriculture.³⁶⁵ Moreover a proto-city often served as a settlement centre for surrounding villages. Despite being located on the fringe of the desert where settlements are typically dependent on grain cultivation, Finkelstein is critical on the amount of farmland available to the occupants of the site.³⁶⁶ Based on lifestyles of the region in the middle of the last century, it was speculated that the settlement was supported by the neighbouring sites of Kh. Hara el-Fauqa, Kh. Tell el-‘Askar and Jab’a. These sites were each a little over a kilometre from Kh. ed-Dawwara and combined it is believed that they would have provided enough agrarian product for their own small communities and the subsistence of Kh. ed-Dawwara.

Finkelstein 1983: 83-84; Lederman 1999: 97), they were attested at ‘most of the Iron Age I sites’ surveyed within Manasseh (Stager 1980: 11-12; Zertal 1986: 148). This supports that this absence indicates a separate function for the site.

³⁶⁴ Lederman 1999: 97; Zertal 1986: 148

It is also noteworthy that not a single silo was uncovered within any area of Kh. ed-Dawwara. Although Finkelstein’s suggestion that there may have been ‘more advanced storage facilities’, like storehouses, is plausible as it is unreasonable to consider a settlement without storage facilities (Finkelstein 1990: 201-202).

³⁶⁵ Mumford 1960: 230; Renfrew 1972; Shavit 2008: 159.

Another possible classification is the ‘quasi-city’, which as Shavit suggests, usually do not serve as settlement centres and are generally isolated within their environs.

³⁶⁶ Finkelstein 1990: 201-202



Fig. 27. Satellite map image of the relationship between Kh. ed-Dawwara and nearby Iron I sites

The relationship of a settlement being supported by neighbouring sites recalls a similar situation in the Samarian highlands during the Iron IA where the so-called ‘cultic’ sites of Mt. Ebal and the ‘Bull Site’ were considered somewhat communal and supported by small sites within its periphery. Similar to these sites, proto-cities contain cult centres for surrounding villages. However, what distinguishes proto-cities from cult sites was the central administrative role they held within the region. Due to the limited excavation space within Kh. ed-Dawwara, focused mainly on the periphery, the excavation failed to uncover any structure that could indicate that the site held such a function. The logical location for such public structures would be in the centre of the settlement, on the slightly raised section of the tell. The topographical map (Fig 3 of Finkelstein’s report) illustrates that this region was never exposed. However the striking absence of agrarian tools is suggestive of Kh. ed-Dawwara’s dependence on the neighbouring sites.

This development should be considered a very exclusive power strategy and is likely due to the progression from a rural to urban (or proto-urban) lifestyle. A prime cause of this change was interconnectivity of settlements that created more stable and unified political entities and allowed for certain developed settlements, or sectors within settlements, to abandon agriculture and to become specialised in other occupations. Within his alternative ‘ecodynamic sequence’ of a long-term evolutionary schema, McGlade placed increasing connectivity as occurring during the transition to statehood. He argued that newfound connectivity is the result of a more densely populated region and ultimately created a divided landscape of distinct territorial regions.³⁶⁷ From a neo-evolutionary perspective, this development is intrinsic to the development of power and authority as it is the result of improved cultural transmission, the gradual development of productivity and labour, and more effective means of seizing and utilising power by regional authorities.

It is assumed that an increase in social complexity results in technological advances and more developed settlements to cater for an increase in demographics. This was not only evident in the structural remains of the Iron IB central highland villages, but also the presence of interregional trade as noted within Shiloh str. V, Kh. Raddana and possibly also within ‘Ai, as well as the potential labour specialisation within SXIV of Kh. Raddana. As addressed, scholars hold differing views on the cause of social complexity within a developing society, but the result is generally agreed upon: as demographics increase, innovations occurs, and society becomes more socially ranked with new, non-agrarian professions. Supporting the

³⁶⁷ Garnsey & McGlade 2006: 96

The significance of the ‘connected’ nature of urbanism within the social evolutionary process and the development of statehood is further evident in the case of archaic Hawaii. Jennings and Earle identify a lack of urbanism due to the settlements being irregularly located and a lack of stored goods (presumably that would have been produced in villages to finance the cities), as well as an under-developed transport network (that would have been used to administer and direct resources throughout the developing state) (Jennings & Earle 2016: 483; Kirch 2010: 75).

concept of an evolution from villages to cities in the central highlands, Dever noted that the abandonment of the many un-walled highland settlements coincided with the emergence of Israelite urbanism at the beginning of the 10th century.³⁶⁸ Likewise, Frick identified that the phenomenon of village fissioning, which resulted in the hundreds of sites identified in numerous surveys and what he believed was a ‘hallmark of segmentary societies’, abruptly ends with the emergence of the Israelite state.³⁶⁹ It appears by no coincidence that a non-agricultural site atypical of the Iron I highlands, such as that of Kh. ed-Dawwara, would contain significant fortifications largely unfounded previously in the region during this time.³⁷⁰ The settlement of Kh. ed-Dawwara illustrates the fluidity of people and culture across the central highlands for almost two centuries while also representing the clearest marker for social evolution, presumably a solidification of local power, and the transition into complex state development that occurred in the Iron IIA.

A concluding thought should be the reiteration that this study has been dependent upon fragmentary remains recorded within largely outdated and preliminary reports. The result of adding a theoretical framework to such data is arguably questionable. The limitations of data

³⁶⁸ Dever 1992a: 103 C.f. Mazar 1994: 46-48.

³⁶⁹ Frick 1985: 57-58

³⁷⁰ Due to its non-agrarian design and fortifications, many designate Kh. ed-Dawwara as the earliest highland stronghold. Finkelstein rejected a Philistine affiliation of the site on two grounds: the fact that no Philistine pottery was found and the uninterrupted habitation of the settlement into the 10th century. Rather he argued that the settlement of Kh ed-Dawwara was the result of the expansion of the early Israelites from the central hill country to the Benjaminite highlands in an attempt to combat Philistine hegemony (Finkelstein 1990: 202). Two decades after the excavation, Finkelstein would refine his view as he would come to argue that a local ‘Gibeon/Gibeah’ polity emerged in the Benjamin in the Iron I and would contain Kh. ed-Dawwara, among other neighbouring sites of the late Iron I / Iron IIA (Finkelstein 2013: 63, 78). Faust agreed that the site was the result of the early Israelite struggle against Philistine excursion (Faust 2006b: 26-27). Opposing this, Na’aman argued that despite the lack of Philistine pottery, Kh. ed-Dawwara was a Philistine stronghold during the early Iron IIA excursions into the highlands. This was based on Finkelstein and Piasezky’s revised dating, the presence of one Philistine-Canaanite cultic object and the belief that a site could be constructed as a Philistine stronghold and be manned by highland mercenaries (presumably ‘proto-Israelites’ due to the prevalence of pillared houses) with little supporting Philistine material culture (Na’aman 2012: 4-5).

from the Iron I central highlands, as well as the lack of scholarly investment within the last decade, could raise scepticism of the relevance of such a study. Moreover, there are few uncontested ‘truths’ to the Iron I ‘Israelite’ settlement process. Most poignantly is the fact that less than a decade ago, the villages of ‘Ai and Kh. Raddana were generally considered to have been settled early in the Iron I and associated with the migration of new people into the region. The result was that the occupational horizons of the central highland sites were erroneous and any attempt to discuss a ‘social evolution’ across the region became corrupted by the misplaced chronology of sites. The review of the social evolutionary process of the central highlands during the Iron I under a more updated arrangement of the settlement horizons supplemented by an evaluation of the power strategies in place at various times during the process illustrates the gradual and fluid evolution of power and organisation across the region over a period of two centuries.

Appendix

Appendix I.
Dataset: late 13th-late 12th centuries BC (Iron IA)
Collation of previous ceramic analysis.

The dating of Iron I settlements is problematic for a number of reasons. Predominantly the lack of consensus regarding chronology and outdated methods implemented in some of the earliest excavations.³⁷¹ As a result, settlement horizons have been erroneous for much of the scholarship regarding highland or 'Israelite' settlement, the most obvious case being the placement of key sites of Et-Tell and Kh. Raddana early in the settlement process to associate these settlements with the biblical Israelites. Until recently, traditional reconstructions of the settlement process have been based on misinformation and an incorrect chronology of settlement data. Thus, it is necessary to re-evaluate the dating of early Iron I settlements based on ceramic parallels made in the original site reports, updated publications and more recent criticisms of the original dating. As the dating of Iron I highland ceramics has been a problematic and contested field in Levantine archaeology, this study will simply prioritise the presence of transitional/'carry-over' LB and Iron IIA material within largely Iron I corpora. Ceramic assemblages containing both Late Bronze and Iron I material can be considered 'transitional' between the late Late Bronze and the early Iron I. This chapter will identify such sites and these settlements are to be dated to the earliest phase of the Iron I.

The majority of the pottery forms from Iron I highland sites are largely utilitarian and homogenous.³⁷² The most common ceramic finds are storage jars and cooking pots. Of particular interest and importance in the Iron IA is the changing trend of everted/erect rim cooking pots. Likewise, there is a general continuity (not restricted to pottery) of LB

³⁷¹ Finkelstein 2007

³⁷² Bunimovitz & Yasur-Landau 1996: 96; Dever 1997: 42; Finkelstein 1988: 274; R. D. Miller 2004: 56

culture.³⁷³ Both Rast and Zertal, in separate studies on the pottery of Taanach and Mt. Ebal, identified the importance of the change in cooking pot rims in the Iron IA-B.³⁷⁴ Zertal identified that the everted triangular rim (Type A) is well attested in 14th-13th century contexts across Israel. 'Type B', the 'tongue rim, sometimes erect, sometimes slanted' appears in 12th-11th century stratum. He notes that 'these vessels provide a good example of the transition between the LB and Iron I, since the 'Canaanite' type A 'appears together with the 'Israelite' type B cooking pot. The major overlap is the 12th century', Zertal further identifies a transitional cooking pot (Type AB), which has a straight and slightly everted rim and is attested at 'Izbit Sartah III and Giloh (late 13th-early 12th century).³⁷⁵ Elsewhere it has been contested that derivations of LB forms have a long time span in the Iron I. A general rule held in this chapter is that the fewer number of LB derivation forms equates to a later period of occupation than other sites with higher numbers. The gradual change in forms from the LB into the Iron I will be a primary means of detecting a relative date for Iron I settlements. This itself is a general and problematic assumption, however no better method of quantification of ceramic data is currently available.

A. Sites not discussed:

A short aside must be presented on a number of sites traditionally dated as early Iron I settlements that will not be discussed in this chapter. The first Iron Age phase of Khirbet et-

³⁷³ Dever 1989; Lemche 1996: 23-24; Mazar 2009; Weippert 1988. Kenyon identified a gradual decline in cultural development sometime in the middle of the LB. Early Iron I ceramics were the result of this degradation, c.f. Kenyon 1979.

³⁷⁴ Rast 1978: 13-14; Zertal 1986: 130

³⁷⁵ Zertal 1986: 130

Zertal made similar conclusions regarding a form known as the 'Manassite bowl' and punctured decoration, which are also found in large frequencies within Mt. Ebal str. II. Zertal dates both of these features to the 13th-12th centuries (Zertal 1986: 136).

Tell was dated by its excavator to 1200-1125BC.³⁷⁶ A second phase was identified continuing on from the first and was subsequently dated to mid-to-late Iron I.³⁷⁷ In his criticism of the unpublished material, Finkelstein noted that: ‘...the sherd material does not provide the slightest hint of an early Iron I date’.³⁷⁸ Finkelstein further argued that the Iron I assemblage contains parallels to Megiddo str. VIA of the late Iron I, but mainly of Kh. ed-Dawwara. This includes the slightly carinated bowl (Marquet-Krause 1949:Pl. LXXIX:61, compared to Finkelstein 1990: Fig. 13:1),³⁷⁹ kraters with slanted ridge rims (Marquet-Krause 1949:Pl. LXIX:294, LXXXII:200,204a, compared to Finkelstein 1990:Fig. 14:10)³⁸⁰ and pithos with a thickened slanted rim (Marquet-Krause 1949:Pl. LXXXII:161b, compare to Finkelstein 1990:Fig. 16:11-12).³⁸¹ The simple reason for not assigning an early Iron I dating is due to the presence of a number of Iron IIA indicators within the Kh. et-Tell assemblage. This includes the plain rim storage jar which is found also within ‘Izbet Sartah str. I, Aphek X-8 and Tel Qasile X. Finkelstein further noted that the original report claiming the ‘almost complete absence of burnished vessels’ (1968:317) indicates that burnished vessels were present in a minimal amount.³⁸² The most convincing argument for a late Iron I/early Iron IIA dating is the presence of a particular cooking jug also attested in Megiddo V of the Iron IIA but not at all in Megiddo VIA (Marquet-Krause 1949:Pl. LXXIV:1071, compare to Finkelstein, Zimhoni, Kafri 2000:Fig. 11.31:2).³⁸³

³⁷⁶ Joseph Callaway 1968: 318, 1976: 30

³⁷⁷ Joseph Callaway 1976: 30

³⁷⁸ Finkelstein 2007: 110

³⁷⁹ Although this bowl is also popular in ‘Izbet Sartah str.III of the late 13th/12th century (Finkelstein 1986: 48-52).

³⁸⁰ This form is attested as early as Taanach str. IA (Rast 1978 Fig. 4:8), but is not popular until the Iron IIA.

³⁸¹ Finkelstein 2007: 109 Mazar identifies this form as part of the Iron IB assemblage (1140-1000BC). Compare the Kh. ed-Dawwara form to pls. 1.1.20, 23, 24 & 26 (Mazar 2015: 23).

³⁸² Finkelstein 2007: 109-110

³⁸³ *ibid.*: 110

Given the presence of late Iron I - early Iron IIA material at Kh. et-Tell, the settlement is more appropriately regarded as a transitional Iron I/Iron IIA site and will be considered as such in the present study. Callaway was convinced of two Iron I phases at the site: the first, according to the excavator, preceding the 'LB conquest of Canaan, and the second being characteristically crude.³⁸⁴ To Finkelstein, this is an example of earlier excavators attempting to bridge the gap between the biblical narrative and archaeological remains. Not only is it difficult to identify two Iron I phases within Kh. et-Tell, the ceramics recovered from the excavation do not indicate an early Iron I occupation.³⁸⁵ Likewise, the structural remains and layout of a ring of pillared structures is a feature only attested in the Iron IB. In any case, it can be surmised that Kh. et-Tell was occupied from the late Iron I into the Iron IIA. Further parallels within the assemblage to Shiloh V, which was radiocarbon dated to the mid-Iron I, presents a rudimentary *Terminus Post Quem* for the Iron IB occupation of Kh. et-Tell.³⁸⁶

In the same paper, Finkelstein criticised the traditional dating of Kh. Raddana. Callaway and Cooley originally dated Kh. Raddana to the beginning of the Iron I, providing a TPQ of the 13th century.³⁸⁷ Later, Callaway revised the occupation of the Iron I settlement to c.1200-1050.³⁸⁸ In his PhD dissertation on the site, Lederman argued that the earliest material corresponded to the late 11th century and specific vessels such as the krater with a slanted ridge rim parallels the material found at Kh. ed-Dawwara and Kh et-Tell (Lederman 1999: Fig. 1:23, 5:13, 8:11, Finkelstein 1990: Fig.14:10).³⁸⁹ Lederman argues that the 'typologically nearest' sites to Raddana are Tannach str. IIA and Shiloh.³⁹⁰ Finkelstein finds further

³⁸⁴ Joseph Callaway 1976; Joseph Callaway et al. 1969a

³⁸⁵ Finkelstein 2007: 110

³⁸⁶ Finkelstein & Piasezky 2010: 380

³⁸⁷ Joseph Callaway & Cooley 1971: 11

³⁸⁸ James Callaway 1993b: 1253-1254

³⁸⁹ Finkelstein 2007: 110; Lederman 1999: 74

³⁹⁰ Lederman 1999: 74

similarities between the material of Kh. et-Tell and Kh. Raddana, mainly in the percentage of collared-rim jars and cooking pots and an absence of early Iron I types.³⁹¹ While the cooking pot with a slanted rim (Lederman 1999: Fig. 1:5, 2:8, 2:11, 2:12), the pithoi with a ridged rim (Lederman 1999: Fig. 4:10, the plain rim bowl (Lederman 1999: Fig. 8:7) and the single-handled cooking pot (Lederman 1999: Fig. 7:18) appear to date to the Iron IIA.³⁹² The Iron I stratum of Kh. Raddana is arguably contemporaneous with both Kh. et-Tell and Kh. ed-Dawwara and its construction phase was during the Iron IB.

The Iron I stratum of Bethel was originally divided into four phases with phase 1 & 2 being destroyed and resettled in a short period of time. While the third stratum is difficult to place into a historical context, the fourth stratum contained a high percentage of burnished ware and unique masonry compared to the previous three strata.³⁹³ Phase 4 of Bethel represents a potential cultural change, or, at the very least, the earliest period of the Iron IIA. However the previous three strata are not as easily assigned. Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz identified that besides finds not being properly associated with provenances, the majority of the loci contained mixed assemblages.³⁹⁴ The pair have attempted to redate the Iron I periods based on the ‘intensity’ of the forms found in particular stratum. The most recent conclusions argue that Bethel contained two Iron I phases dated to the mid-to-late Iron I.³⁹⁵

Because the premise of this study’s dating is based not only on the identification of certain ceramic forms, but the frequency of these forms within their strata, Bethel has been omitted from this study due to the impossibility of identifying the realistic proportions of vessels within the mixed loci. However the high proportion of typical Iron IA forms of the LB

³⁹¹ Finkelstein 2007: 110

³⁹² *ibid.*

³⁹³ Kelso 1968: 33-34

³⁹⁴ Finkelstein & Singer-Avitz 2009: 36

³⁹⁵ *ibid.*: 38

tradition (Kelso 1968, Pls. 57:12-22, 58:1-18), indicates that the site was occupied in the 12th-11th centuries. This will be taken into consideration when discussing settlement trends in the Iron IA. Another site that unfortunately cannot be evaluated for the same reasons is el-Jib (Gibeon). Despite the extensive material remains uncovered from the site, the loci are severely contaminated. The stratigraphy of the site was heavily criticised by Paul Lapp in 1968. Finkelstein agreed: 'The stratigraphy of the tell is so muddled that it is practically impossible to date with certainty the fortifications, houses, rock-hewn installations – or any other feature found there...' ³⁹⁶ Both settlements will be entirely absent, but associating occupation to the Iron IA/B will be speculated by the presence of contemporary occupation in the environs of each site.

Iron IA Sites:

The following is a collation of ceramic data of Iron IA sites that will be addressed in this thesis. Social evolutionary studies are reliant on a fixed chronology of sites in order to show social and cultural progression. Yet given the limitations of data, a specific sequence of settlements is not possible. Instead it will be argued that a number of sites can be considered contemporaneous and belong to the earliest settlement horizon of the Iron I.

³⁹⁶ Finkelstein 1988: 60

Yet some clear 12th century material was uncovered within reused tombs close to the site (Pritchard 1962: 136). Likewise, it was noted by Callaway that the nearby site of Khirbet Kefire (c.8-9km east) is likely biblical 'Chephirah' that was allied with Gibeon and contained 12th century pottery but an absence of 13th century material (Joseph Callaway 1999; Vriezen 1975). However it is impossible to determine the size and settlement structure of the site in this period.

B. Samaritan highlands

Taanach:

On the northern edge of the central highlands, overlooking the Jezreel Valley and 8km south-east of Megiddo, sits Tel Taanach.³⁹⁷ The ceramic assemblage from the first phase of occupation (str.IA) contains a number of vessels identified as continuations of previous LB styles. This includes the rim of a stepped jar (Rast 1978: Fig. 1:1), the predecessor to the collared-rim pithoi and thickened rim jugs.³⁹⁸ The earliest attestation of this form is in the LB II where it appears in large numbers at Hazor (Yadin et al. 1958: Pl. 88:11-12, 1960: Pl.122, 145) but also appears in an Iron I context at Shiloh (Buhl and Holm-Nielsen 1969: Pl. 7:76). Albright described it as: ‘like the less characteristic LB types’ and Rast would clarify: ‘This form, then, would suggest a date very close to the end of the Late Bronze Age’.³⁹⁹ The abundance of this form in Period IA of Taanach indicates that the first occupational phase predates the decline of the moulded step jar when it was supplanted by the very common Iron Age collared-rim pithoi. Several other types of thickened rim jugs, all from Period IA, have an everted rim with painted red bands (Rast 1978 Fig. 1:6), and are referred to as ‘a vestige of the Late Bronze tradition’ in Rast’s study.⁴⁰⁰ Like the step jar, the closest parallel comes from Hazor str.IB (Area C) dating to the LB II (Yadin et al. 1958: Pl. 86:5).⁴⁰¹ The cooking pots of Period str.IA also have traceable origins to the very start of the Iron I. As addressed, the

³⁹⁷ With its close proximity to the Jezreel valley, Tel Taanach sits on the very edge of the hill country, with some studies on the ‘Israelite’ or ‘Highland’ settlement omitting it entirely. Yet Mazar noted that the material culture resembled that of ‘typical’ Israelite sites in the highlands (Mazar 1985: 62). Likewise, Coote identified that the earliest settlements of this process occurred on the regions where the highlands met the lower regions as this area was most suited for agriculture and animal husbandry (Coote 1990: 121).

³⁹⁸ This form is also attested in 12th century Period I Tell el-Ful (N. L. Lapp 1981: 79 pl. 47:2-3).

³⁹⁹ Rast 1978: 9-10

⁴⁰⁰ *ibid.*: 11

⁴⁰¹ *ibid.*

everted triangular rim cooking pots are degenerate forms of a LB II vessel and were widely used in the early 12th century.⁴⁰²

In his revision of the stratigraphy of Taanach, Finkelstein argued that Taanach str.IA possibly dated to the late Iron I (like many of his hill country revisions). He argues that str.IA corresponds with Megiddo str.VIA.⁴⁰³ Yet he acknowledges that Taanach str.IA contained parallels to both Megiddo VIA (10th century of the Low Chronology) and VIIA (12th century).⁴⁰⁴ One of Finkelstein's justifications for the later dating of Taanach is the lack of typical LB ceramics including imported Cypriot pottery and Egyptian vessels.⁴⁰⁵

Finkelstein's revision places Taanach str.IA generally anywhere between the 'mid-12th century, or ca. 1000 B.C.E'. But he concludes that with the available data there is no way to confidently assign a secure date.⁴⁰⁶ The significance of reassigning Taanach str.IA to a later dating is that it pushes str.IB to the 10th century. This allows the heavily destroyed str.IB settlement to be attributed to the campaign of Sheshonq rather than str. IIB, which is traditionally argued to be Sheshonq's destruction layer but has little parallel to Megiddo VIA (recent criticisms against Low Chronology have been raised noting this).⁴⁰⁷ This hypothesis was refuted by Stager as he holds to Rast's original dating and belief that Taanach str.IIB is the 10th century settlement which was destroyed during Sheshonq's campaign and parallels

⁴⁰² Rast 1978: 13

Despite this, Brandon argued that comparisons made between the Taanach sequence and neighbouring sites is 'not entirely convincing' due to the limited repertoire found within the site (Brandon 1983: 161).

⁴⁰³ Finkelstein 1998a: 211

⁴⁰⁴ *ibid.*: 115; Ussishkin 1995: 240-267

⁴⁰⁵ Finkelstein 1998a: 211

⁴⁰⁶ *ibid.*: 211, 216

⁴⁰⁷ Finkelstein 2014: 38

the destruction of Megiddo.⁴⁰⁸ In his PhD dissertation on the stratigraphy of tell Taanach, Mark Meehl had no hesitation in dating str. IA ‘from the late thirteenth to the mid-twelfth century’.⁴⁰⁹ The present study agrees that there is no basis to date Taanach str.IA outside of the 12th century and due to the presence of transitional LB ceramics, the earliest layer of occupation of Tel Taanach dates to the very start of the Iron Age, c.1200. The second period of occupation of Tel Taanach (str.IB) was initiated following a slight destruction but with some elements of continuity to Period IA. It is during this period that new forms begin to arise, including cooking pots with elongated rims and a larger variety of jugs. Rast dates this second period of occupation to 1150-1125 BC.⁴¹⁰

‘Izbet Sartah:

Stratum III of ‘Izbet Sartah, located on the western fringe of the Samarian hill country, separating the highlands from the coastal plain, is generally associated with the earliest transition into the Iron Age.⁴¹¹ Certain vessels typical of this stratum such as the S-profiled carinated bowl and the rounded bowl with plain rim (Finkelstein 1986, Fig. 6:3, 5) and cooking pots with erect and slanted rims (Finkelstein 1986, Fig 6:12, 13), as well as the collared-rim pithoi, are typical of the Iron I.⁴¹² However other ceramics from this stratum: a

⁴⁰⁸ Stager 2003: 66

Elsewhere Knauf argues that it is possible that the destruction of Taanach IB was caused by the inhabitants of Megiddo VIA who ‘knocked out their competition in the immediate neighborhood’ (Knauf 2002: 131).

⁴⁰⁹ Meehl 1995: 80

⁴¹⁰ Rast 1978: 6, 14-15

⁴¹¹ One exception is Coote who criticises the view that highland settlement migrated from the eastern fringes, arguing that ‘Izbet Sartah may not have been an ‘Israelite’ settlement as its pottery was similar to the nearby site of Gezer (Coote 1990: 128). Likewise, Dever used ‘Izbet Sartah as an example of the fast paced changing nature of the modern understanding of highland settlement as when the site was first excavated, Finkelstein argued that the site’s ceramics were novel and originated from the Transjordan. However, in the English publication five years later, Finkelstein revised his view arguing that the ceramics were in the LB tradition (Dever 1992b: 203).

⁴¹² Finkelstein 1986: 199

decorated krater type 2, cooking pot type 11 and storage jar type 20 are 'carry-over' ware commonly found in 13th-12th century contexts.⁴¹³ Thus, 'Izbet Sartah str. III corresponds to the earliest period of the Iron I.

A more precise dating can be provided when compared to the nearby site of Aphek str.XI, the stratum following the Late Bronze Egyptian 'governor's residency' (Palace VI), as it does not contain any of the earlier material found at 'Izbet Sartah str.III.⁴¹⁴ Aphek str.XI is a transitional phase from the Late Bronze to the Iron I, indicated by the disappearance of Egyptian occupation. It is in the following stratum, str.X, that Philistine material culture, including bichrome ware and Ashdoda figures start to appear.⁴¹⁵ This early dating is confirmed by bowl 1 of the 'Izbet Sartah corpus (Finkelstein 1986, Fig. 6:1) which first appeared in the LB II but remained present from the mid-13th century until the mid-12th century at such sites as Aphek str.XII (unpublished) and Gezer str.XV (Dever 1974, pl.23:8) as well as LB Bethel (Kelso 1968 pls. 52:15, 77:6) and Lachish (Tufnell 1940, pl. xxxviii:35, 43).⁴¹⁶ Understanding this, the TPQ that can be given for 'Izbet Sartah str.III is late 13th - early 12th century BC prior to the Egyptian abandonment of Tel Aphek.

Dating the end of str.III is problematic as the stratum contains only six complete vessels, five of which were common during the 12th-11th centuries BC. Finkelstein suggests that contamination may have occurred due to soil erosion which is evident near the northern edge of the tel. It is also possible that when str.II was levelled before construction, str.III material was used in the fill.⁴¹⁷ However the excavator concludes that the amount of later material is too large to be contamination and there are a number of uncontaminated loci that present the

⁴¹³ Finkelstein 1986: 198-199

⁴¹⁴ *ibid.* : 198

⁴¹⁵ Gadot, Yadin, Bachi, Kochavi, & Beck 2009: 88, 94

⁴¹⁶ Finkelstein 1986: 47

⁴¹⁷ *ibid.*: 199

same 11th century BC material. A. Mazar supports that str.III cannot have ended prior to the late 12th century because of the presence of Philistine ware in this layer.⁴¹⁸ As str.III of 'Izbet Sartah was the first period of the site's history, the structures attributed to this stratum, such as the perimeter wall, can be dated imprecisely to the 13th-early 11th century B.C due to the earliest and latest material found.

Mt. Ebal (el-Burnat):

The Iron I occupation of el-Burnat is divided into two strata (str. IA/B & II). The earliest Iron Age stratum, str. II, contained two Egyptian scarabs and pottery that corresponded to the middle of the 13th century BC, c.1240BC.⁴¹⁹ This occupation ended sometime around 1200BC and the site was almost immediately resettled (str. IB).⁴²⁰ The second stratum lasted until the middle of the 12th century. There appears to have been a very brief period of occupation before the final abandonment c.1130BC when the site was possibly intentionally buried in stones to protect the remains.⁴²¹ In all his reports (1986/1987 1990), Zertal asserted an early Israelite origin of the 'cultic' site.⁴²² He notes that str. II '...represents the interrelationship between Israelites and Canaanites during the 13th century B.C.E.'⁴²³

Zertal identified that around 3% of the assemblage of Mt. Ebal str. II is of Late Bronze tradition. What is notable is that this is not simply material present in Late Bronze stratum that appear in deviated forms, but rather a number of 14th-13th century forms that 'gradually

⁴¹⁸ A. Mazar 1977 (PhD diss.), p.284, apud Finkelstein 1986: 200

⁴¹⁹ Zertal 1986: 109, 124

⁴²⁰ Zertal 1990: 44

⁴²¹ Hawkins 2007: 12, 2012: 53; Zertal 1986: 109, 124, 1990: 44

⁴²² This included the identification of the 'Israelite' four room house and a ceramic assemblage that paralleled the materials found at Giloh, 'Izbet Sartah, Raddana, Shiloh, 'Ai and Taanach

⁴²³ Zertal 1992: 255-258

disappear in the 12th-11th centuries B.C.E without leaving any ‘descendants’.⁴²⁴ This includes a couple white slipped and burnished Mycenaean sherds with typical light brown decoration (Zertal 1986/87: Fig. 15:4). The first was found in a str. II occupational fill in Area B (locus 163) and sealed by the courtyard of str. IB, the second was found in a locus (Locus 300) in Area A, very close to a str. II floor. A Biconical jug (Zertal 1986/87: Fig. 15:3), common in the 14th century was found in the fill of the main structure and paralleled material found in the Fosse Temple of Lachish (Tufnell 1938: Pl. XLIXB:260, XLVIII:243, 251), Hazor str.1B (Yadin et al. 1958: Pl. CXLIV:1), Megiddo str.VIII-VIIB (Guy & Engberg 1938: Pl. 43:11, 55:1; Loud 1948: Pl. 58:3, 63:3) Beth-shean (Oren 1973: Fig.39:20) and Tel Mevorakh str. X (Stern 1984: Fig. 2:2). A number of other bowls and chalices also date to the 14th-13th centuries.⁴²⁵ The amount of Late Bronze material uncovered within str. II cannot be explained as contaminated or remnant material.

Within the corpus of the Iron Age bowls of str. II, the most prevalent is an open bowl with a ring base and an inverted rim, the so-called ‘Manassite bowl’ (Zertal 1986/87: Fig. 11:1, 3, 5, 7, 14:5). This type makes up 11% of all the sherds of this stratum and 82% of all bowl sherds uncovered on the site. Zertal notes that the form is present in almost 40% of Iron I sites surveyed in Manasseh. This particular bowl was uncovered in Megiddo VIIB, but absent in Megiddo V (Loud 1948: Pl. 65:9, 74:5, 78:11).⁴²⁶ Similarly, the Manassite bowl has been identified in Taanach Period IA-IB of the 12th century (Rast 1978: Fig. 3:6-8, 8:1, 13:1-2). A terminus ante quem of the 12th century cannot be given to the vessel due to its minimal

⁴²⁴ Zertal 1986: 137

⁴²⁵ *ibid.*

⁴²⁶ *ibid.*: 125

presence within Taanach Period II.⁴²⁷ Zertal's late 13th - late 12th century dating for str. II closely corresponds with Finkelstein's argument that despite the material representing an accumulation of occupation, the end of str. II dates to the middle or second half of the 12th century.⁴²⁸

Despite the questionable longevity of the Manassite bowl, it is apparent that this vessel first appeared in the very beginning of the Iron I as evident by its presence within the 'bull site'.⁴²⁹ Moreover the Manassite bowl is a direct ancestor of a 'Canaanite' (14th-13th century) form that is generally much smaller (c.10-15cm in diameter) and made of lighter, smoother clay.⁴³⁰ This, in conjunction with the transitional LB/Iron I material within str. II contexts, identifies that Mt. Ebal dates to very early Iron I. All of this can be confirmed within the cooking pot assemblage as the everted rim (Zertal's 'type A'), a degenerate form of a LB II vessel appears alongside its successor, the erect rim ('type B'). The everted rim is more predominant in str. II making up 41% of all cooking pot remains. This led Zertal to the conclusion that: '...this seems to point to a date in the 13th century rather than the 12th century for Stratum II'.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ Zertal 1986: 125

The bowl has also been identified at Bethel, but due to the site's problematic stratigraphy, it will not be used to argue for an early dating (Finkelstein & Singer-Avitz 2009).

⁴²⁸ Finkelstein 1988: 85

⁴²⁹ Zertal 1986: 125

The Bull Site is discussed elsewhere in this study, but it is suffice to say that it was contemporaneous to the first Iron Age strata of Mt. Ebal and Taanach.

⁴³⁰ Zertal 1986: 125-126

⁴³¹ *ibid.*: 130

This dating is supported by the recovery of a seal and scarab identified as belonging to the reign of Ramesses II of the 13th century within the constructional fill of str.IB and believed to have originated from str. II (Zertal, 1993, p. 376).

C. Benjamin Highlands:

Tell el-Ful:

Tell el-Ful, identified as biblical Gibeah, is located on the Central Benjamin Plateau, 4.8km north of Jerusalem. The site has two occupational phases dated to the Iron I. There was confusion regarding the stratigraphy of Tell el-Ful during its original excavation under Albright, who incorrectly identified the earliest Iron I stratum as the first building phase of the fortress.⁴³² Since Lapp's salvage excavation in 1964, it is clear that a pre-fortress Iron I settlement existed.⁴³³ Originally, Albright dated the first phase from the 13th-12th centuries BC (failing to distinguish the pre-fortress phase from the Fortress I phase).⁴³⁴ When he returned to the site in 1933, he revised the earliest occupation to 'undoubtedly' the 12th century. The first building phase of the fortress was attributed to this time.⁴³⁵ During his renewed excavation, Lapp agreed that the earliest occupation began at the start of the 12th century, and identified it as the 'pre-fortress phase'.⁴³⁶ Finkelstein's revised dating of the first fortress phase (Period II) is dated to the Iron IIC. According to his revision, Tell el-Ful of the Iron I was a meagre site with no attributable remains.⁴³⁷

Yet the development of the two primary types of cooking pot rims is noticeable in Period I (the pre-fortress phase) and Period II (the first fortress phase). Lapp noted that within Period

⁴³²Albright 1923: 7

The material from the original excavation was interpreted by Albright and Sinclair, however both Amiran and Finkelstein were critical of the conclusions. Finkelstein would comment that Sinclair's distinction of collared-rim pithoi 'collapse in the face of critical examination' and that his chronology of jars was nothing more than variants of the same form (R Amiran 1962: 263; Finkelstein 1988: 59). For this reason, Albright and Sinclair's conclusions will not be extensively relied upon.

⁴³³ N. L. Lapp 1981 xvii; L. A. Sinclair 1954: 11

⁴³⁴ Albright 1923: 7

⁴³⁵ *ibid.*

⁴³⁶ N. L. Lapp 1981 xvii

⁴³⁷ Finkelstein 2011: 110

II, cooking pot rims change and become ‘vertical’ (erect).⁴³⁸ Lapp is not oblivious to the importance of this as she highlights the transition from the triangular LB form to straight rims from Period I to II.⁴³⁹ It is worth noting that Period I also included a number of vessels considered to be degenerates of LB material. This includes the stepped-moulded jar, a form attested within the earliest Iron Age occupation of Taanach (Rast 1978: Fig. 1:1) and Hazor str. XII (Yadin et al. 1961: Pl. 168:1-13).⁴⁴⁰ Despite its appearance later within Shiloh and Beth-Zur, Rast argues this form became ‘extinct’ in the 12th century.⁴⁴¹ Likewise Lapp makes a distinction between ‘short’ and ‘long’ collared-rim jars. She notes that the long form is firmly dated to the 12th century while short rims are the successor and appear from the 12th century until the 10th century. The collared-rim sherds of Period I are of the ‘long’ variant (Lapp 1981: pl. 47:4-6) and are present at a number of supposed 12th century contexts, including Bethel (Kelso 1968: pls.56:1-21, 73:15) and Tell el-Jib (Pritchard 1962:pl.36:16).⁴⁴² From the above analysis, it is clear that the pre-fortress phase of Tel el-Ful dates to sometime early in the 12th century.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁸ N. L. Lapp 1981: 81

⁴³⁹ Although Lapp argues that while in the northern highlands there is a seamless transition from the LB degenerate form to the Iron IB vertical rim, in the southern highlands, the triangular form persevered until the end of the Iron I. Thus, the change from triangular to vertical within Tell el-Ful Period I and II reflects a clear Iron IA-Iron IB transition.

⁴⁴⁰ N. L. Lapp 1981: 79

⁴⁴¹ *ibid.*, Rast 1978: 9

⁴⁴² N. L. Lapp 1981: 79

The chronological value of short and long pithoi rims is confirmed within Shiloh str. V assemblage as the excavators identified that the proportion of thick (long) to thin (short) rims is 41:59 generally across the stratum, but within the clearly later locus of Debris 623, the proportion is: 13:87 (Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 159). The significance of these figures is that while in the Iron IA the two forms appear in similar numbers, by the Iron IB, the shorter rims prevails in appearance.

⁴⁴³ For a criticism of this dating, c.f. Finkelstein 1988: 59-60

D. Judean Highlands:

Giloh (Khirbet Jala):

The site of Kh. Jala has been known since Kochavi's survey in 1968, but was only identified with biblical Giloh during A. Mazar's excavation.⁴⁴⁴ The site is located in the southern Judean mountains, 10km north of Hebron. Mazar noted that the lack of variety in the ceramic assemblage at Giloh indicates that it was only occupied for a brief period of time and settlement ceased in the later part of the 12th century.⁴⁴⁵ In general, the pottery of Giloh is quite homogenous across the site and most vessels are characteristic LB-early Iron I ware. The collared-rim pithos, which typified Iron I settlement in the Hill Country, was the most common type of vessel uncovered in the excavation and was found in all areas of the site.⁴⁴⁶ Similarly, a number of bowls are also characteristic of the Iron I, while the lack of any burnished or red-slip ware supports an Iron I dating of the assemblage.⁴⁴⁷ One type of krater found within the Giloh assemblage, the ring base krater (A. Mazar 1981: Fig. 6:7-9), is associated with both the LB and the Iron I.⁴⁴⁸ The cooking pots uncovered on the site are predominantly of two types: 'Type A' containing a triangular (everted) rim characteristic of the LB (A. Mazar 1981: Fig. 7:1-5, 7-8, 11, 13).⁴⁴⁹ It is apparent from the pottery assemblage that Giloh was settled in the early Iron I, most likely in the early 12th century BC.

Although Dever agrees that the ceramic assemblage of Giloh dates from the late 13th to early 12th century, he is hesitant in dating any architecture to the Iron I because of the presence of

⁴⁴⁴ Mazar 1981: 2

⁴⁴⁵ Mazar 1990: 92

⁴⁴⁶ Mazar 1981: 27

⁴⁴⁷ *ibid.*: 20

⁴⁴⁸ Mazar 1981: 20

⁴⁴⁹ *ibid.*: 21

a later Iron II defensive tower in close proximity.⁴⁵⁰ Yet there is good evidence for dating the tower in area G (Building 105) and the dual perimeter walls to the early Iron Age. Within a room of Building 80 (the dwelling parallel to the perimeter wall in Area F) is a beaten dirt floor which contains two broken Iron I collared-rim pithoi.⁴⁵¹ The secure context of the pithoi in this structure confirms that the Tower in area G can also be associated to this occupation phase due to the presence of this locus within the corner of the tower's stone fill (Locus 24).⁴⁵² Kochavi argued that the site's eventual abandonment in the early 10th century reflected 'the transition to a more settled way of life...' ⁴⁵³

Beth-Zur:

The settlement of Beth-Zur is located in the Judean hill country within the Hebron hills, around 6.5km north of Hebron. It is situated on a hill with direct control over the main road running from Jerusalem to Beersheba. The excavators identified that much of the Iron Age loci retrieved from the 1957 excavation were badly mixed due to later Hellenistic intrusions and surface churning.⁴⁵⁴ However typical Iron I forms were attested. This includes collared-rim jars, knob-base jars of the LB-Iron IA tradition, ring and disk base jars and an entire absence of burnished ware.⁴⁵⁵ More significantly, the typical cooking pot rims and a type of chalices (Sellers 1933: pl. VII:1-4) of Beth-Zur parallel the forms found at Megiddo VI

⁴⁵⁰ Dever 2003: 81

⁴⁵¹ Mazar 1981: 16

⁴⁵² Mazar 1990: 98

⁴⁵³ Kochavi 1985: 56-57

⁴⁵⁴ Sellers & Seminary 1968: 35-36

Dothan commented that: '...it is difficult to clarify the stratigraphic situation of this assemblage, nor is it even certain whether the pottery belongs entirely to one level or to several.' (Dothan 1982: 44).

⁴⁵⁵ Sellers & Seminary 1968: 44-53

(Loud 1948: pl.87:5) and Tel Qasile X (A. Mazar 1951: fig.6:3).⁴⁵⁶ Alongside the Iron I material was locally manufactured Late Bronze pottery as well as Mycenaean and Cypriot vessels. Also uncovered were scarab seals attributed to Ramesses II.⁴⁵⁷ All of the material is typical of the Late Bronze, yet Sellers agreed with Albright that the settlement was largely unoccupied during the Late Bronze. Seller's confidently stated: 'We may be certain that there was no Late Bronze occupation of the excavated area.'⁴⁵⁸ In fact, it was noted that the Ramesses II seal was found in a clean Iron I locus (Locus 90).⁴⁵⁹ The presence of LB material with unsubstantial evidence of LB occupation can only suggest that the settlement was occupied during the earliest phase of the Iron IA.

Despite this, Funk repeatedly emphasises an '11th century date' for most (if not all) of the Iron I assemblage, finding the greatest ceramic parallels to Tell Beit Mirsim B2 and 'Ain Shems III-IIA.⁴⁶⁰ Dothan agreed with this and added that the Iron I occupation of Beth-Zur was also contemporary with Megiddo VIB and Tel Qasile XI-IX. Dothan noted that while there was an abundance of Iron IA forms, the Iron IB forms are quite meagre, atypical and belong to a 'debase version.'⁴⁶¹ It is reasonable to conclude that the lifespan of the Iron Age settlement of Beth-Zur began at the very beginning of the Iron I but the settlement intensified from the mid-to-late Iron I (early 11th century BC).

⁴⁵⁶ Dothan 1982: 48

Yet Sellers rejected the parallel between the chalices of Megiddo VI and Beth-Zur most likely due to what he believed to be poor representation by Shipton. (Sellers & Seminary 1968: 51).

⁴⁵⁷ Funk 1968: 36; Sellers 1933: 33

⁴⁵⁸ Sellers 1933: 35

Albright originally dated the Iron Age occupation of the settlement to the 13th or early 12th century (Sellers & Albright 1931: 7). This is justified by the presence of LB forms and a seal of Ramesses II.

⁴⁵⁹ Meitlis 2008: 107; Sellers 1933, Fig.51

⁴⁶⁰ Sellers & Seminary 1968: 44

⁴⁶¹ Dothan 1982: 48

Appendix II.
Dataset: early 11th-late 10th centuries BC (Iron IB):
Collation of previous ceramic analysis.

A. Samaritan Highlands:

Khirbet Seilun (Shiloh):

Kh. Seilun, identified as biblical Shiloh, is located south of Tirzah and some 16km north of Bethel. The excavators noted the strategic placement of a settlement in this location as the hill was naturally protected on the east and west by steep slopes overlooking ravines running into Wadi 'Ali. Likewise, beyond the hill in the north was a natural terrace that ended in a steep drop of 100m.⁴⁶² The Iron I stratum (str. V) of Shiloh ended in a violent conflagration that the excavators noted was clearly visible in Areas C and E, and possibly in area D due to the presence of burnt material within the silos.⁴⁶³ The expedition concluded that based on ceramic material, the site was destroyed prior to the end of the 11th century.⁴⁶⁴ Seventeen years after the publication of the final report, Finkelstein and Piasezky used radiocarbon analysis to securely date the destruction of Shiloh str. V to the mid-Iron I, c.1082-1037.⁴⁶⁵ It is also possible to provide a terminus ante quem by means of relative dating. Within str. V, Area C, inside the northern portion of the courtyard of Building 335, was a distinct layer of debris (Debris 623). This was a thick deposit situated on top of the destroyed brick layer of Building 335 and the absence of any evidence of alluvial material causing contamination post-dated it after the str. V destruction.⁴⁶⁶ Debris 623 contained a number of animal bones and cultic objects, including: animal figurines, a cooking pot rim with a head of a lioness, a

⁴⁶² Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 1

⁴⁶³ *ibid.*: 389

⁴⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ Finkelstein & Piasezky 2010: 378-379

⁴⁶⁶ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 27

krater handle with a ram's head inscribed upon it, a cultic stand with depictions of a horse, lioness and leopard and an engraved bone ring. Alongside this cultic material was a large proportion of Iron I ceramic material.⁴⁶⁷ The assemblage of Debris 623 is notably distinct from the material of str. V as it is the only loci containing later pithoi forms (albeit in small numbers). Four sherds of pithoi with a slanted shoulder and three of the neckless pithoi (Finkelstein 1988: Fig. 53:8). Neckless pithoi are not attested in Iron IA settlements but makes up 14% of all storage jars of Kh. ed-Dawwara (Finkelstein 1990: Fig. 16:11, 12), which dates no earlier than the late 11th century and is also present in the late 11th-early 10th century site of Taanach str. IIA (locus 42, SW 4-7; Rast 1978: Fig. 28:4).⁴⁶⁸ This form was also identified as typical of Tell el-Ful Period II (Lapp 1981: pl. 48:1-3).⁴⁶⁹

With this terminus ante quem in mind, and the fact that none of the pillared buildings in Area C have evidence of multiple construction phases, the excavators date the lifespan of Shiloh to around 50 years, from the end of the 12th until the mid-11th century.⁴⁷⁰ A more precise relative date for the occupation of the site can be identified by the proportion of ceramic forms from within the Iron Age stratum. Shiloh str. V contained a mixture of vessels dating across the Iron I. Like in the case of other northern highland settlements, a relative date can be provided by comparing the numbers of early/late Iron Age forms and comparing the figures to sites in proximity to Kh. Seilun. Of the cooking pot assemblage of Shiloh, 8% are

⁴⁶⁷ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 27

⁴⁶⁸ *ibid.*: 159; Finkelstein 1990: 177; Rast 1978: 120-121

⁴⁶⁹ N. L. Lapp 1981: 80

Lapp further identifies that this same form appears at the 11th century site of 'Afula III and Hazor XI. She notes that these may have had smaller necks and that neckless pithoi do not become standard until its appearance within 10th century Samaria (Pottery Period I). Debris 623 also contained a much higher proportion of thin (short) pithoi rims in comparison to the thicker (long) rims (13:87). While both forms are attested in the 12th century, the shorter rims are significantly more common as the Iron I progresses. The significance of this is reaffirmed in the dating of Tell el-Ful.

⁴⁷⁰ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 384

of the everted (LB-tradition) type. The excavators noted that this is less than the very early Iron I settlements of Giloh (which contained 56%), 'Izbet Sartah str. III (14%) and Mt. Ebal str. II (41%).⁴⁷¹ There is a considerable increase in the number of later erect-rim cooking pot rims (87% of Area C, of which 85% were found in the pillared buildings. Likewise 96% of the cooking pots within Debris 623 were of this form).⁴⁷² The rapid increase in these numbers, especially in the location of the pillared houses, suggests that occupation dates closer to the mid-Iron I. The excavators noted that this statistic parallels that of Mt. Ebal str. I (1200-1130BC).⁴⁷³

Other particular objects of the Iron Age assemblage also indicates that Shiloh fits between the late 12th-early 11th century BC. The corpus of flattened disc base bowls (29% of entire bowl assemblage) is significantly smaller than the assemblage of 'Izbet Sartah str. III of the 12th century (69%), but is comparable to 'Izbet Sartah str. II (30%) and greater than the numbers found in 'Izbet Sartah str. I (10%) and Kh. ed-Dawwara (14%) dated to the late 11th-early 10th century BC.⁴⁷⁴ The same phenomenon is noted for the presence of ring base bowls. In 'Izbet Sartah III, the form comprises 31% of the bowl assemblage, while in str. II-II the numbers increase to 70% and 90% respectively. Kh. ed-Dawwara contains 81% ring bases and Shiloh contains 61% (and 73% in Debris 623).⁴⁷⁵ These figures provide a rudimentary chronological placement for Shiloh str. V within a second settlement horizon of the Iron I. That is, after the early Iron I settlement of 'Izbet Sartah, Mt. Ebal, Giloh, among others, but prior to the late Iron I settlements of 'Izbet Sartah str. I and Kh. ed-Dawwara. This corresponds well with the

⁴⁷¹ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 156.

It was further noted that Area C contained 'much higher' amounts of everted-rim cooking pots than in the clearly later locus of Debris 623 (3%).

⁴⁷² Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 157

⁴⁷³ *ibid.*: 156; Zertal 1990: 44

⁴⁷⁴ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 158-159

⁴⁷⁵ *ibid.*: 158

excavator's estimation that the settlement was occupied for some 50 years prior to its destruction in c.1087-1037. It also fits the historical context of a gradual southward migration that occurred during the Iron IB offered previously by Finkelstein.⁴⁷⁶

Et-Tell:

It was discussed how despite an original early Iron I dating, the site's pottery did not reflect an occupation earlier than the mid-to-late 11th century. In a similar manner, the architectural feature of a ring of pillared houses found on Et-Tell is not attested prior to the Iron IB. Because Callaway never published his pottery, this study is reliant on the material from the earlier excavation conducted by Marquet-Krause. A portion of the assemblage paralleled later Iron IB/IIA sites such as Kh. ed-Dawwara, 'Izbet Sartah str. I, Aphek X-8 and Tel Qasile X. Finkelstein argued this material represented the final phase of activity from within the settlement (c.10th century BC). The earliest material from within the et-Tell assemblage parallels the ceramics of Shiloh str. V. This includes a carinated krater (Marquet-Krause 1949: Fig. 1:6; Bunimovitz et al., 1993: Fig.6:57:5) and a cooking pot with erect rims (Marquet-Krause 1949: Fig. 1:7-8; Bunimovitz et al., 1993: Figs. 6.48:3, 5, 6.51:5, 7).⁴⁷⁷ Due to the presence of later Iron I/transitional Iron IIA material alongside Shiloh str. V ceramics, it is convincing to place the occupation of et-Tell during the mid-to-late Iron I. If two Iron I phases are present within et-Tell (which Callaway identified and what Finkelstein rejected),

⁴⁷⁶ Finkelstein 1985: 81

⁴⁷⁷ Finkelstein 2007: 107

the latter must have followed the first with minimal (if any) absence of occupation between the two.⁴⁷⁸

Khirbet Raddana:

This site was also originally given an early 12th century date by its excavators, later criticisms by Lederman and Finkelstein place it later into the 11th century. To briefly reiterate, Finkelstein's conclusions are that the material from Kh. Raddana parallels Kh. et-Tell and contains early Iron IIA material, while Lederman identifies further parallels to Kh. ed-Dawwara as well those of Kh. et-Tell.⁴⁷⁹ Just as significant, however, is the limited proportions of earlier ceramic material within the Raddana assemblage. The everted cooking pot rim, that was characteristic of the 13th-12th centuries, makes up only 12.8% of the Raddana assemblage. The significance of this is telling when considering that this form makes up a majority of the cooking pot vessels of Giloh and 41% of those of Mt. Ebal.⁴⁸⁰ Likewise, high, vertical necked pithos which is characteristic of the Iron IA and found at both Giloh and Taanach (str. IA) is entirely absent at Raddana.⁴⁸¹ Lederman found further parallels between Kh. Raddana, Taanach str. IIA and Shiloh. Each site contained up-right and inverted cooking pots, similar kraters and bowls. However two specific vessels found at Kh. Raddana, the cooking jug and red-slipped bowls, are completely absent from Shiloh str. V.⁴⁸² The presence of clear Iron IIA ceramics within Kh. Raddana seems to suggest that this

⁴⁷⁸ Joseph Callaway et al. 1969a: 60-61; Finkelstein 2007: 107

Callaway noted a 10cm earthen layer between the two Iron Age phases which appears to be a natural accumulation between the two periods (Joseph Callaway 1965: 27).

⁴⁷⁹ Finkelstein 2007: 110; Lederman 1999: 74

⁴⁸⁰ Lederman 1999: 73; Mazar 1981: 21-23

The ability to use this form as a relative means of dating is apparent when considering that while Mt. Ebal str. II contained 41% of everted-rims, str. IB contained only 19%.

⁴⁸¹ Lederman 1999: 73

⁴⁸² *ibid*: 74

assemblage outlived the destruction of Shiloh. As Lederman concludes: ‘...the pottery assemblage of Raddana reflects a period before the tenth century, at the end of the eleventh century BCE.’ He specifies that the assemblage falls between that of Shiloh and Kh. ed-Dawwara (but closer to Kh. ed-Dawwara).⁴⁸³ The discovery of an inscribed jar handle provided further epigraphical evidence for dating of the site. Despite Aharoni's placement of the inscription to the 13th century, ‘on the basis of archaeological information’ and epigraphic considerations, Cross and Freedman dated it to c.1200BC.⁴⁸⁴ More recently, the excavator dated the inscription to the 11th century, c.1100-1050BC. Callaway argued that the handle belonged to the ‘terminal phase of the village’s occupation’.⁴⁸⁵ However, in light of the analysis of the Raddana assemblage, it is more appropriate to place the handle within the lifespan of the thriving settlement. All of this agrees with the structural evidence, the ring of houses encircling the site has parallels the site planning of ‘Ai. Despite both sites being originally dated to the beginning of the 12th century, the belt of houses on the periphery, rather than simple rooms (‘Izbet sartah str. III), is a development only attested in the second half of the Iron I.⁴⁸⁶

‘Izbet Sartah:

To determine the dating of ‘Izbet Sartah str. II the proportions of earlier ceramics of str. III and new forms paralleled elsewhere during the Iron IB can be compared.⁴⁸⁷ A number of

⁴⁸³ Lederman 1999: 73-74

⁴⁸⁴ Cross & Freedman 1971: 19, 22

⁴⁸⁵ James Callaway 1993b: 1254

⁴⁸⁶ Finkelstein 1988: 68-69

⁴⁸⁷ Following the abandonment of ‘Izbet Sartah str. III, the site must have sat unoccupied for some period of time. This is indicated not only by the appearance and disappearance of certain pottery forms as well as the fact that when the occupants of str. II initiated construction on the site, they were largely building on top of ruins (Finkelstein, 1986, p. 200).

vessels typical of str. III fall into disuse in the second period of occupation. The everted cooking pot rim, which has been emphasised as being of a LB tradition and an indicator for the 12th century, makes up 13.5% of the cooking pot assemblage of str. III, but decreases to 3.7% within str. II. This further decreases to 2.2% in str. I. The excavators noted that it is likely that the few fragments found within str. II and str. I were intrusive from str. III.⁴⁸⁸

Bowl 1, the open bowl with thickened slightly inverted rim, was found in half of all loci within str. III (49 sherds). In str. II, it only makes up 7% of the bowl/krater assemblage (6 sherds). It is possible that this is also intrusive material and by str. II this form was absent from the assemblage.⁴⁸⁹ This bowl is also of the LB II tradition and is typical of the early 12th century with parallels within Afula str. III (Dothan 1955: Fig. 17:28) and Aphek X12, the stratum of the Egyptian governor's residency.⁴⁹⁰ Krater 2, with a thickened ledge rim, is present in str. III (4.1% of the bowl/krater assemblage) but entirely absent in str. II.⁴⁹¹ One type of storage jar with a thickened everted rim (Storage Jar 20), is also typical of the LB. This storage vessel makes up 8.6% of the total storage assemblage of str. III, but only two sherds are present in str. II (likely intrusive) and none are attested in str. I.⁴⁹² The absence of these clear LB forms is indicative of both the change of occupation following the period of abandonment as well as the settlement's 'chronological distance' from the previous settlement in the 12th century. If resettlement occurred shortly after the initial abandonment in the 12th century, typical 12th-11th century pottery should be present albeit in reduced numbers. Paralleling a number of ceramic forms that only appear during the second settlement horizon dated to the Iron IB provides a more precise date for the reoccupation. The red-slipped S-

⁴⁸⁸ Finkelstein 1986: 64

⁴⁸⁹ *ibid.* : 47

⁴⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁴⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁴⁹² *ibid.*: 76

profiled carinated bowl (Bowl 6) is a variant of a bowl form attested in str. III, but becomes slipped in str. II and I. It comprises 10.5% of the total bowl/krater assemblage of str. II.⁴⁹³ This bowl is common within sites dated to the 11th-10th centuries, particularly in the south: Ashdod str. XB (Dothan & Porat 1982: Fig. 1:1-2), Arad str. XII (Aharoni 1981: Fig. 1:13) Masos str. II (Fritz & Kempinski 1983: Pl. 135:2) and Beersheba str. IX (Herzog 1984: Fig. 17:7, 9). But also attested in Taanach str. IIB of the 10th century (Rast 1978: Fig. 48:2). A certain type of krater, type 7, the red-slipped hand-burnished krater is also a variant of a form that appears in str. III (krater 4) that becomes slipped in str. II (Finkelstein 1988, Fig. 14:22). The krater makes up 10.5% of the krater/bowl assemblage of str. II and 12.6% of str. I.⁴⁹⁴ Krater 9, the red-slipped (sometimes) burnished with thickened inverted rim, is also localised to str. II-I, making up 3.5% and 6.8% of the site's bowl/krater assemblage respectively.⁴⁹⁵ Parallels were found at Tel Qasile str. X-IX (Mazar 1985: Figs. 46:12; 53:7; 54:8, 9, 11), Ashdod str. XB (Dothan & Porat 1982: Fig. 2:14), Arad str. XII (Aharoni 1981: Fig. 1:7) and Masos str. I (Fritz & Kempinski 1983: Pls. 139:3, 158:2). Finkelstein concluded: 'This type is therefore common at the end of the 11th and during the 10th century BCE.'⁴⁹⁶ Only two fragments of cooking pot 14, the cooking pot with a plain rim and slightly concave interior, were uncovered in str. III (2.7% of the entire cooking pot assemblage for this stratum. In str. II, this increases to six sherds (5.5%) and 12 sherds (8.8%) in str. I. This cooking pot is particularly common in the Negev in the 11th century, where it is found in Beersheba (Herzog 1984: Figs. 18:5-6; 22:3), Tel Masos str. III-II (Fritz & Kempinski 1983: Pls. 131:14, 132:14, 133:16, 135:6) and Arad str. XII (Aharoni 1981: Fig. 2:14). In the region around 'Izbet Sartah, it only becomes common in the 11th-10th centuries: Gezer str. IX (Dever, Lance,

⁴⁹³ Finkelstein 1986: 58

⁴⁹⁴ *ibid.* : 60

⁴⁹⁵ *ibid.*: 61

⁴⁹⁶ *ibid.*

Wright 1970: Pls. 26:9, 34:12) and Apeh str.X7.⁴⁹⁷ The parallels of the new material of str. II seem to be localised between the 11th-10th centuries (Ashdod, str. XB, Tel Masos str. III-II, Beersheba str. IX). It is clear that this material originated in the late 11th century. A late 11th century – early 10th century dating should be applied to the settlement.

B. Benjamin Highlands:

Khirbet ed-Dawwara:

Of the 97 individual cooking pot sherds within the Kh. ed-Dawwara assemblage, only two of these were identified as being of the ‘everted-rim’ type, while 14 were of the ‘erect-rim’ type.⁴⁹⁸ Both forms have been addressed in this study and the proportions of the earlier ‘everted-rim’ type has been covered for a number of previous settlements. Importantly, Shiloh str.V, which has been useful for comparison due to its absolute dating, contains minimal proportions of everted-rims (8%) reflecting its later occupation.⁴⁹⁹ This is still greater than the 2% found within Kh. ed-Dawwara.⁵⁰⁰ The second type, the ‘erect-rim’ was also in use as early as the 12th century (Giloh and Mt. Ebal) but only becomes predominant in the 11th century where it constitutes just less than half of the total cooking pot assemblage at both Kh. Raddana and Shiloh.⁵⁰¹ However, it also declines as the Iron IB progresses. ‘Izbet

⁴⁹⁷ Finkelstein 1986: 69-70

⁴⁹⁸ Finkelstein 1990: 177, table I

⁴⁹⁹ Bunimovitz et al. 1993: 156

⁵⁰⁰ Finkelstein 1990: 177, 184

⁵⁰¹ Lederman 1999: 69-70

The Iron Age occupation of Kh. Raddana was originally dated by its excavator to the 12th century (a revision from a TPQ of the 13th century) (James Callaway 1993b; Joseph Callaway & Cooley 1971: 11). Lederman revised the dating to the late 11th century based on ceramics (Lederman 1999: 74), Finkelstein agrees (Finkelstein 2007: 110). The 11th century dating is apparent when paralleled to Shiloh str.V.

Finkelstein & Lederman 1997: 156

Sartah str. III contained 21.6% of this form, while str. I contained only 12.6%.⁵⁰² The proportion of this form within Kh. ed-Dawwara, 17.1%, places it in the later stage of the Iron IB.⁵⁰³

A number of vessels have also been identified as paralleling the material of both Kh. et-Tell and Kh. Raddana, including: the slightly carinated bowl (Finkelstein 2007: Fig. 1:1; Finkelstein 1990: Fig. 13:1, 14:3, 15:7), kraters with slanted ridge rims (Marquet-Krause 1949: Pls. LXIX:294, LXXXII:200, 204a; Finkelstein 1990: Fig. 14:10) and pithos with a thickened slanted rim (Marquet-Krause 1949:Pl. LXXXI:295; Finkelstein 1990: Fig. 16:11-12). On this basis, it can be assumed that the occupation of Kh. ed-Dawwara postdates the beginning of occupation of Kh. et-Tell and Raddana. The limited appearances of Iron I forms and the presence of late Iron I vessels at Kh. ed-Dawwara pushes the site later into the mid-to-late 11th century BC at the earliest.

Tell el-Ful:

The debate over dating the second occupational phase of Tell el-Ful has been addressed briefly previously. To generalise, Finkelstein is critical of any evidence to indicate that the first fortress of Tell el-Ful can be associated to the Iron I.⁵⁰⁴ Lemardelé is in agreement with Finkelstein's revision, while Harris utilises the original dating it in his study without any criticism or doubt.⁵⁰⁵ Whether the fortifications date to the Iron IB or later, Finkelstein agrees that there was some settlement activity in the 11th-10th centuries. But he appears critical of whether Tell el-Ful contained two Iron I occupational phases. Previously, he rejected the

⁵⁰² Finkelstein 1990: 184-186

⁵⁰³ *ibid.*: 186

⁵⁰⁴ Finkelstein 2011: 110

⁵⁰⁵ Harris 2014: 24-25; Lemardelé 2013: 52

identification of two strata within et-Tell arguing that it was ‘...an unfounded attempt to bridge the gap between the archaeological evidence and the biblical ‘Conquest’ narrative’.⁵⁰⁶ This appears to be his view for Tell el-Ful as he concludes that it is impossible to tell whether occupation began in the 12th century or later.⁵⁰⁷ Yet, the large number of everted cooking pot rims as well as LB degenerate forms found within Period I indicates that the site was settled during the Iron IA.⁵⁰⁸

There is a clear chronological distinction in Period II. These LB degenerate forms are no longer attested (or not in significant numbers to warrant mention), the everted cooking pot rims comparable to period I are still present (Lapp 1981: Pl. 48:28-32), but the later erect rim of the late 12th century begins to appear (Lapp 1981: Pl. 48:33-36).⁵⁰⁹ The appearance of new ceramic forms places the second period of occupation sometime in the 11th century. This includes the little-to-no neck pithoi (Lapp 1981: Pl. 48:1-3), which is typical of Tell el-Ful Period II and has parallels within 11th century ‘Aful IIIA (Dothan 1955: Fig. 11:25), Hazor XI (Yadin, et al., 1961: Pl. 203:13) and possibly 10th century occupation of Taanach (unpublished) and Samaria (Crowfoot, et al., 1957: Pl. 10:13). Lapp argues that this form may be the antecedent of the ‘neckless jar’ of the Iron II.⁵¹⁰

Further parallels to the late 11th-10th century are present in the assemblage of jugs and small jars. The thickened, rounded and everted rim (Lapp 1981: Pl.48:11-14) mimic those of Taanach (Rast 1978: fig. 24:3), in particular (Lapp 1981: Pl. 48:12) originates towards the end of the 11th century but becomes particularly common in the 10th (Rast 1978: fig. 26:2;

⁵⁰⁶ Finkelstein 2007: 107

⁵⁰⁷ Finkelstein 2011: 110

⁵⁰⁸ See previous appendix

⁵⁰⁹ N. L. Lapp 1981: 81

⁵¹⁰ *ibid.*: 80

Dothan 1955: fig. 11:6-15; Crowfoot, et al., 1957: fig. 2:4).⁵¹¹ The high-neck (sometimes wavy type) jug rims (Lapp 1981: Pl. 48:13-14) also fit into the late 11th-10th century category, with parallels within Taanach (Rast 1978: fig. 20:2) and Beth-Zur (Sellers, et al., 1968: Fig. 8:1-2).⁵¹² The presence of a number of additional transitional Iron IIA vessels, including knob- and bar-handle bowls (Lapp 1981: Pl.48:19) and hand-burnished sherds, confirms that this phase of settlement occupied the late 11th-early 10th.⁵¹³

Despite containing early Iron IA and late Iron IB remains, it is highly unlikely that Tell el-Ful was occupied uninterrupted throughout this period. Albright, Sinclair and Graham each noted a destruction layer occurring sometime during the Iron I.⁵¹⁴ Finkelstein rejected the conclusiveness of this destruction, noting that it was found only in one construction fill, ‘...one should assume that the settlement was abandoned rather than violently destroyed.’⁵¹⁵ This, of course, is in conjunction with his view that the main construction phase of Tell el-Ful dates to the Iron IIC at the earliest. While the early 12th century is attested by the apparent high proportion of everted cooking pot rims and degenerate LB vessels, and the late 11th-10th centuries is also observable, there is an absence of material dating from the late 12th-early 11th centuries. The noted destruction layer may be associated with the first gap of occupation for

⁵¹¹ Rast 1978: 18-19

⁵¹² N. L. Lapp 1981: 80; Sellers & Seminary 1968: 47-48

It should be noted that the Beth-Zur examples were found in unreliable contexts, but are dated to the end of the 11th century or beginning of the 10th by typological means.

⁵¹³ N. L. Lapp 1981: 81

Knob and Bar handle bowls originally date to the MB, but Amiran claims they made a resurgence in the Iron IIA (Ruth Amiran 1970: 195-200).

⁵¹⁴ Albright 1924: 7-8; N. L. Lapp 1981, Fig. 9; L. Sinclair 1960: 10-11, 28

⁵¹⁵ Finkelstein 2011: 110

Iron Age Tell el-Ful at the end of the 12th century.⁵¹⁶ Period II began sometime in the late 11th century until it was abandoned sometime in the 10th.

Bethel:

The uncertainty of assigning any Iron Age strata of Bethel was addressed previously. However, it was noted that Phase 4 of the site reflects some key indicators for cultural change. This is accompanied by the high proportion of burnished ware and seems to suggest a transition into the Iron IIA. While precise dates cannot be provided for Phases 1-3, it stands to reason that Phase 3 is the final strata prior to the advent of the Iron IIA and exists sometime in the Iron IB. The excavators identified that the third phase continued the assemblage of the previous two strata, but also contained sherds of new forms of store-jars with a rolled rim and concaved neck (Albright & Kelso 1968:Pls. 40:26; 41:18, 22, 27; 56:23-26; 57:1-5; 61:2-8) and hand-burnished ware typical of Tell Beit Mirsim B2.⁵¹⁷ Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz are hesitant to rely on the ceramic data provided by Albright and Kelso. By their own analysis, they argue that the Iron I pottery of Bethel (in general) corresponds to Shiloh str. V. Their revision argues for two phases, the first dating to the early-to-mid 11th century and a subsequent phase following its destruction in the late 11th century.⁵¹⁸

Aside from pottery, Kelso and Albright form further parallels between the construction quality and style of Bethel and Tell Beit Mirsim. They note that Phases 1-3 were similar to

⁵¹⁶ This corresponds with a series of abandonments that occurred both in the Samarian highlands and in the Benjaminite-Judean highlands around this time and provides a more precise occupational history than Finkelstein's conclusion: '...all this means that the early settlement covers the time span of ca. 1100-900BCE.' (Finkelstein 2011: 111).

⁵¹⁷ Kelso 1968: 34

⁵¹⁸ Finkelstein & Singer-Avitz 2009: 38

Certainly Bethel was occupied in these two periods as attested in Phases 3 and 4. However, the presence of typical Iron IA pottery of the LB tradition (Kelso 1968, Pls. 57:12-22; 58:1-18) indicates that Phases 1-2 were occupied prior to the 11th century.

Tell Beit Mirsim B1, while Phase 3 contained some similarities to B2. Likewise Phase 4 of the Iron IIA reflected the masonry of B2-B3.⁵¹⁹ Unlike the ceramics, there is no concern for the corruption of data as the excavators identify that a series of burnings and rebuildings make it easy to differentiate the structural remains of the first three Iron Age strata.⁵²⁰ This data is culminated by the fact that both Phases 1 and 2 ended in somewhat substantial destruction, each with burning and destruction layers c.0.4m and 0.7-0.9m thick respectively.⁵²¹ This corresponds well with the sequence of destructions that occurred north and south of the highlands on the advent of the Iron IB. Bethel Phase 3 should be considered as contemporary to Shiloh str. V and Tell Beit Mirsim and dated to the start of the 11th century.

⁵¹⁹ Kelso 1968: 33

⁵²⁰ *ibid.*

⁵²¹ Finkelstein & Singer-Avitz 2009: 34; Kelso 1968: 33-34

Appendix III.
Ceramic indicators & parallels tables

Site	Dating	Ceramic indicators	Site Parallels by Ceramics
Taanach str. IA	Late 13 th – 12 th century BC	<p>Stepped Jar (Rast 1978: Fig. 1:1; Yadin et al. 1958: Pl. 88:11-12, 1960: Pl.122, 145)</p> <p>Everted rim jugs with painted red bands (Rast 1978 Fig. 1:6; Yadin et al. 1958: Pl. 86:5)</p> <p>Everted rim cooking pots Rast 1978: 13</p> <p>‘Manassite bowl’ (Rast 1978: Fig. 3:6-8, 8:1, 13:1-2; Zertal 1986/87: Fig. 11:1, 3, 5, 7, 14:5; Loud 1948: Pl. 65:9, 74:5, 78:11).</p>	<p>El-Burnat str. II</p> <p>Hazor str. IB</p> <p>Megiddo str. VIIB</p> <p>Tell el-Ful Period I</p> <p>Giloh</p>
‘Izbet Sartah str. III	Late 13 th – early 11 th century BC	<p>Decorated krater type 2, cooking pot type 11, storage jar type 20 Finkelstein 1986: 198-199</p> <p>‘Bowl 1’ (Finkelstein 1986, Fig. 6:1; Dever 1974, pl.23:8; Kelso 1968 pls. 52:15, 77:6; Tufnell 1940, pl. xxxviii:35, 43)</p> <p>S-profiled carinated bowl, Rounded bowl with plain rim (Finkelstein 1986, Fig. 6:3, 5)</p> <p>Everted rim cooking pots (Finkelstein 1986, Fig 6:12, 13)</p> <p>Collared-rim pithoi (Finkelstein 1986, p.199)</p>	<p>Aphek str. XII</p> <p>Gezer str. XV</p> <p>Bethel</p> <p>LB Lachish</p>
El-Burnat str. II	Late 13 th – 12 th century BC	<p>White slipped and burnished Mycenaean sherds with typical light brown decoration (Zertal 1986/87: Fig. 15:4)</p> <p>Biconical jug (Zertal 1986/87: Fig. 15:3; Tufnell 1938: Pl. XLIXB:260, XLVIII:243, 251; Yadin et al. 1958: Pl. CXLIV:1; Guy & Engberg 1938: Pl. 43:11, 55:1; Loud 1948: Pl. 58:3, 63:3; Oren 1973: Fig.39:20; Stern 1984: Fig. 2:2)</p> <p>Miscellaneous bowls and chalices paralleling 14th-13th century material (Zertal, 1986, p.137)</p>	<p>LB Lachish</p> <p>Hazor str. IB</p> <p>Megiddo str. VIII-VIIB</p> <p>Taanach str. IA-IB</p> <p>Beth Shean VI</p> <p>Tel Mevorakh str. X</p>

		<p>‘Manassite bowl’ (Zertal 1986/87: Fig. 11:1, 3, 5, 7, 14:5; Loud 1948: Pl. 65:9, 74:5, 78:11; Rast 1978: Fig. 3:6-8, 8:1, 13:1-2)</p> <p>Everted rim cooking pots (Zertal, 1986, p.130)</p>	
Tell el-Ful Period I	c. early 12 th century BC	<p>Stepped-moulded jar (Lapp, 1981, p.79; Rast 1978: Fig. 1:1; Yadin et al. 1961: Pl. 168:1-13)</p> <p>Long collared rim jars (Lapp 1981: pl. 47:4-6; Kelso 1968: pls.56:1-21, 73:15; Kjaer 1930: pls. 10:123, 15:186-189; Pritchard 1962: pl.36:16)</p> <p>Erect cooking pot rims (Lapp 1981, p.81)</p>	<p>Taanach str. IA</p> <p>Hazor str. IB</p> <p>El-Jib</p> <p>Giloh</p>
Giloh	Late 13 th – early 12 th century	<p>Ring base krater (A. Mazar 1981: Fig. 6:7-9)</p> <p>Collared rim pithoi (A. Mazar, 1981, p.27)</p> <p>Everted rim cooking pots (A. Mazar 1981: Fig. 7:1-5, 7-8, 11, 13)</p>	<p>Tel Qasile XII-XI</p> <p>Megiddo VIB</p> <p>Taanach Period IA-IB</p> <p>LB Lachish</p> <p>Beth Shean VI</p> <p>Bethel, Tell el-Ful Period I-II</p> <p>Beth Zur</p> <p>Tell Beit</p> <p>Mirsim</p> <p>Gezer XIV</p>
Beth-Zur	12 th – early 11 th century BC	<p>Mycenaean and Cypriot vessels (Funk 1968, p.36; Sellers, 1933, p.33)</p> <p>Knob-base, ring and disk base jars, Collared rim jars (Sellers & Seminary, 1968, pp.44-53)</p> <p>Common cooking pot rims and chalices (Sellers 1933: pl. VII:1-4; Loud 1948: pl.87:5; A. Mazar 1951: fig.6:3)</p>	<p>Megiddo VI</p> <p>Tel Qasile X</p> <p>Giloh</p>

Site	Dating	Ceramic Indicators	Site Parallels by Ceramics
Kh. Seilun str. V	Late 12 th – early 11 th century BC	Neckless pithoi (Finkelstein 1988: Fig. 53:8; Finkelstein 1990: Fig. 16:11, 12; Rast 1978: Fig. 28:4; Lapp 1981: pl. 48:1-3) Erect-rim cooking pots (Bunimovitz et al., 1993, p.157)	Et-Tell Kh. Raddana Kh. ed-Dawwara Bethel Phase 4 Taanach str. IIA Tell el-Ful Period II
Et-Tell	Mid-11 th century BC	Carinated krater (Marquet-Krause 1949: Fig. 1:6; Bunimovitz et al., 1993: Fig.6:57:5) Erect-rim cooking pots (Marquet-Krause 1949: Fig. 1:7-8; Bunimovitz et al., 1993: Figs. 6.48:3, 5, 6.51:5, 7)	Shiloh str. V Kh. ed-Dawwara Kh. Raddana
Kh. Raddana	Mid-to-late 11 th century BC	Erect-rim cooking pots (Lederman 1999, p.73) Up-right, inverted cooking pots, kraters and bowls (Lederman, 1999, p.74)	Shiloh str. V Kh. ed-Dawwara Kh. Et-Tell Taanach str. IIA
Kh. ed-Dawwara	Mid-to-late 11 th century.	Erect-rim cooking pots (Finkelstein, 1990, p.177, Table I) Slightly carinated bowl (Finkelstein 2007: Fig. 1:1; Finkelstein 1990: Fig. 13:1, 14:3, 15:7) Slanted-rim kraters (Marquet-Krause 1949: Pls. LXIX:294, LXXXII:200, 204a; Finkelstein 1990: Fig. 14:10) Thickened slanted-rim pithoi (Marquet-Krause 1949:Pl. LXXXI:295; Finkelstein 1990: Fig. 16:11-12)	Kh. Raddana Et-Tell Shiloh str. V 'Izbet Sartah str. II
'Izbet Sartah str. II	Late 11 th -10 th century BC	Red-slipped S-profiled carinated bowl (Finkelstein 1986, p.58; Dothan & Porat 1982: Fig. 1:1-2; Aharoni 1981: Fig. 1:13; Fritz & Kempinski 1983: Pl. 135:2; Herzog 1984: Fig. 17:7, 9; Rast 1978: Fig. 48:2) Red-slipped hand-burnished krater	Ashdod str. XB Arad str. XII Masos str. II-I Beersheba str. IX

		<p>(Finkelstein 1988, Fig. 14:22; 1986, p.60)</p> <p>Red-slipped (sometimes) burnished with thickened inverted rim (Finkelstein 1986, p.61; Mazar 1985: Figs. 46:12; 53:7; 54:8, 9, 11; Dothan & Porat 1982: Fig. 2:14; Aharoni 1981: Fig. 1:7; Fritz & Kempinski 1983: Pls. 139:3, 158:2)</p> <p>Plain rim, slightly concave cooking pot (Finkelstein, 1986, pp.69-70; Herzog 1984: Figs. 18:5-6; 22:3; Fritz & Kempinski 1983: Pls. 131:14, 132:14, 133:16, 135:6; Aharoni 1981: Fig. 2:14; Dever, Lance, Wright 1970: Pls. 26:9, 34:12)</p>	<p>Taanach str. IIB Tel Qasile str. X-IX Gezer str. IX Aphhek str. X7</p>
Tell el-Ful Period II	Late 11 th -10 th century BC	<p>Erect-rim cooking pots (Lapp 1981, p.81; Pl. 48:33-36)</p> <p>Little-to-no neck pithoi (Lapp 1981: Pl. 48:1-3; Dothan 1955: Fig. 11:25; Yadin, et al., 1961: Pl. 203:13)</p> <p>thickened, rounded and everted rim jug (Lapp 1981: Pl.48:11-14; Rast 1978: fig. 24:3; Lapp 1981: Pl. 48:12)</p> <p>The high-neck jugs with wavy rims (Lapp 1981: Pl. 48:13-14; Rast 1978: fig. 20:2; Sellers, et al., 1968: Fig. 8:1-2)</p> <p>knob- and bar-handle bowls (Lapp 1981: Pl.48:19)</p>	<p>‘Afula str. IIA Hazor XI Taanach str. II Samaria Beth-Zur Shiloh str. V</p>
Bethel Phase 4	Mid-to-late 11 th century BC	<p>store-jars with a rolled rim and concaved neck (Albright & Kelso 1968:Pls. 40:26; 41:18, 22, 27; 56:23-26; 57:1-5; 61:2-8)</p> <p>Hand-burnished ware (Kelso, 1968, p.34)</p>	<p>Shiloh str. V Tell Beit Mirsim B2-B3</p>

Appendix IV.

Visual representation of the surveyed sites within the north-central highlands:

During the Iron I, settlement activity was predominantly localised to the north-central highlands, the regions of Ephraim and Manasseh, and these regions were prioritised during the highland surveys of Kallai, Zertal, Finkelstein and others at the end of the previous century.⁵²² The limitations of excavation data for highland settlement makes survey data particularly relevant and important for the subject. Moreover, the high number of central highland sites attested in the Iron I illustrates the wealth of information that is to be found in surveys.

⁵²² C.f. Finkelstein 1988; Finkelstein & Lederman 1997; Gophna & Porat 1972; Kallai 1967; Kochavi 1972; Zertal 2004a, 2007, 2016. The highlands of Judah, in contrast, was less densely populated. Finkelstein claimed the ratio of settlement between the Samarian and Judean highlands in the Iron I was 25:1 (Finkelstein 2015: 379). Moreover, during his survey, Miller would claim that the settlements south of Jerusalem were predominantly only 'seasonal sites' (R. D. Miller 2003: 143). For this reason, only the northern central highlands have been emphasised in this appendix.

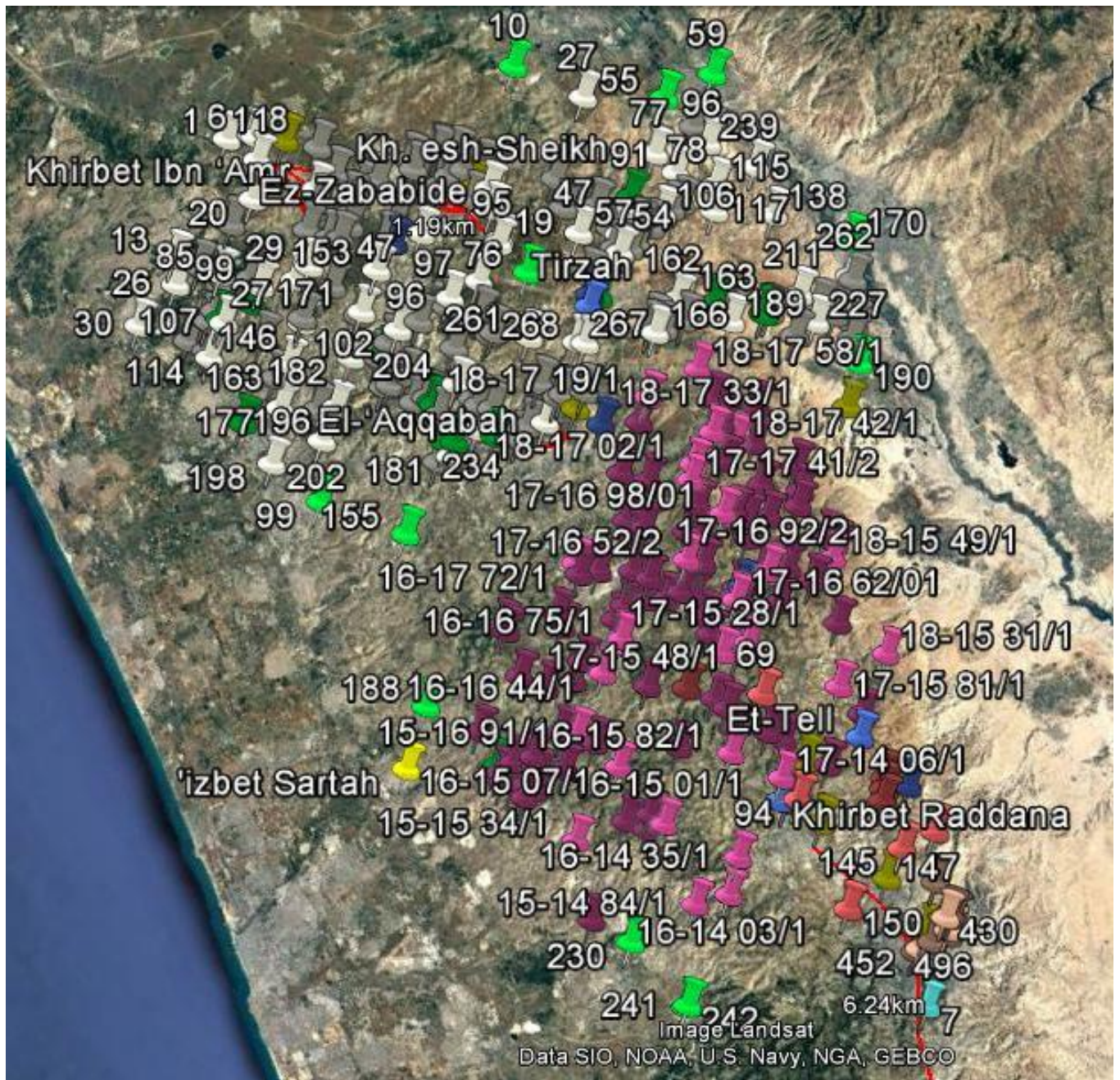


Fig. 28. Satellite map image of an overview of the surveyed central highland Iron I sites

Provided above is an overview of the central highland sites identified in the various surveys of Kallai (red), Zertal (white), Kochavi (light blue), Gophna and Porat (green), Finkelstein (1988) (pink) and Kloner (cream), as well as excavated sites dated to the Iron IA (yellow) and Iron IB (dark blue). All of the sites identified as containing Iron I ceramics have been marked. In the cases where the same sites are identified in multiple surveys, its identification

within the most recent survey is marked. For this reason, some of the earliest surveys, such as those of Kallai, Gophna and Porat and Kochavi, are under-represented upon this map.

The usefulness of survey data is limited, particularly in this study, due to the inability to ascribe dates to structural remains. In this study, a specific methodology has been used to more effectively utilise survey data. The surveyed sites, just like the excavated sites, are divided into subdivisions of Iron IA and IB. Although not an infallible method, sites lacking Iron II ceramics are relatively assigned to the earliest horizon of the Iron I (Iron IA). This is supplemented by the presence of LB III ceramics within many of the sites suggesting a seamless transition into the Iron I. Likewise, surveyed sites containing Iron I and Iron II material are relatively dated to the later phase of the Iron I (Iron IB). This is problematic as it doesn't account for sites that were occupied at the earliest phase of the Iron I and then later resettled in the Iron II. Likewise, it is possible for sites to belong to the Iron IB, but containing LB (III) material and no Iron II ceramics.⁵²³ Although, it is believed that this method will provide a general overview of the settlement activity across the Iron I.

⁵²³ C.f. Faust 2006a: 117-118, 2006b: 25-26 for the suggestion that a series of Iron I destructions occurred on the eve of the Iron II, which according to this methodology would make it difficult to assign a late Iron IB dating to sites without Iron II ceramics.

A. Iron IA (LB, Iron I and no Iron II ceramics):

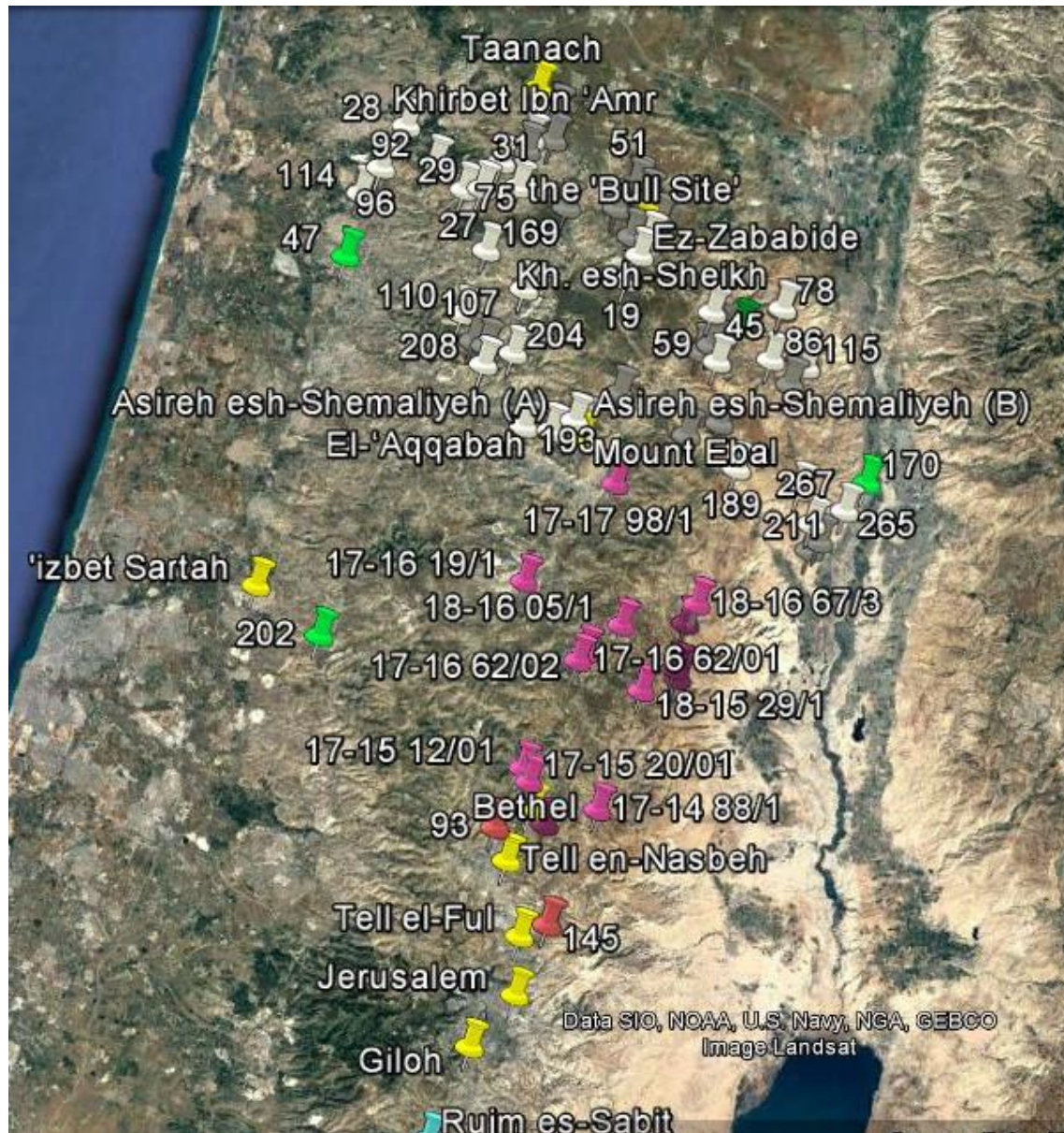


Fig. 29. Satellite map image of all Iron IA sites.

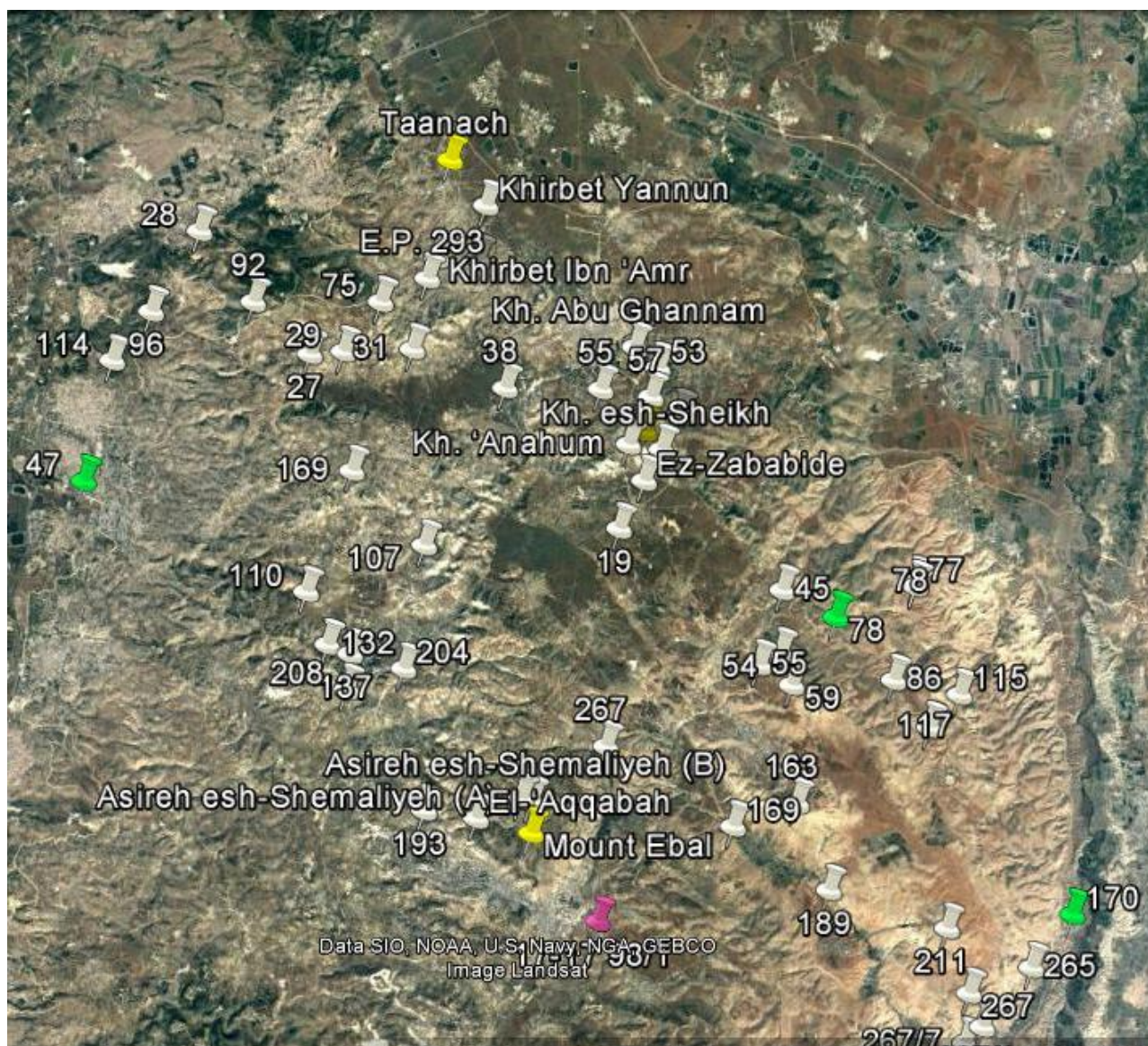


Fig. 30. A magnification of the Satellite map image of all Iron IA sites (1)

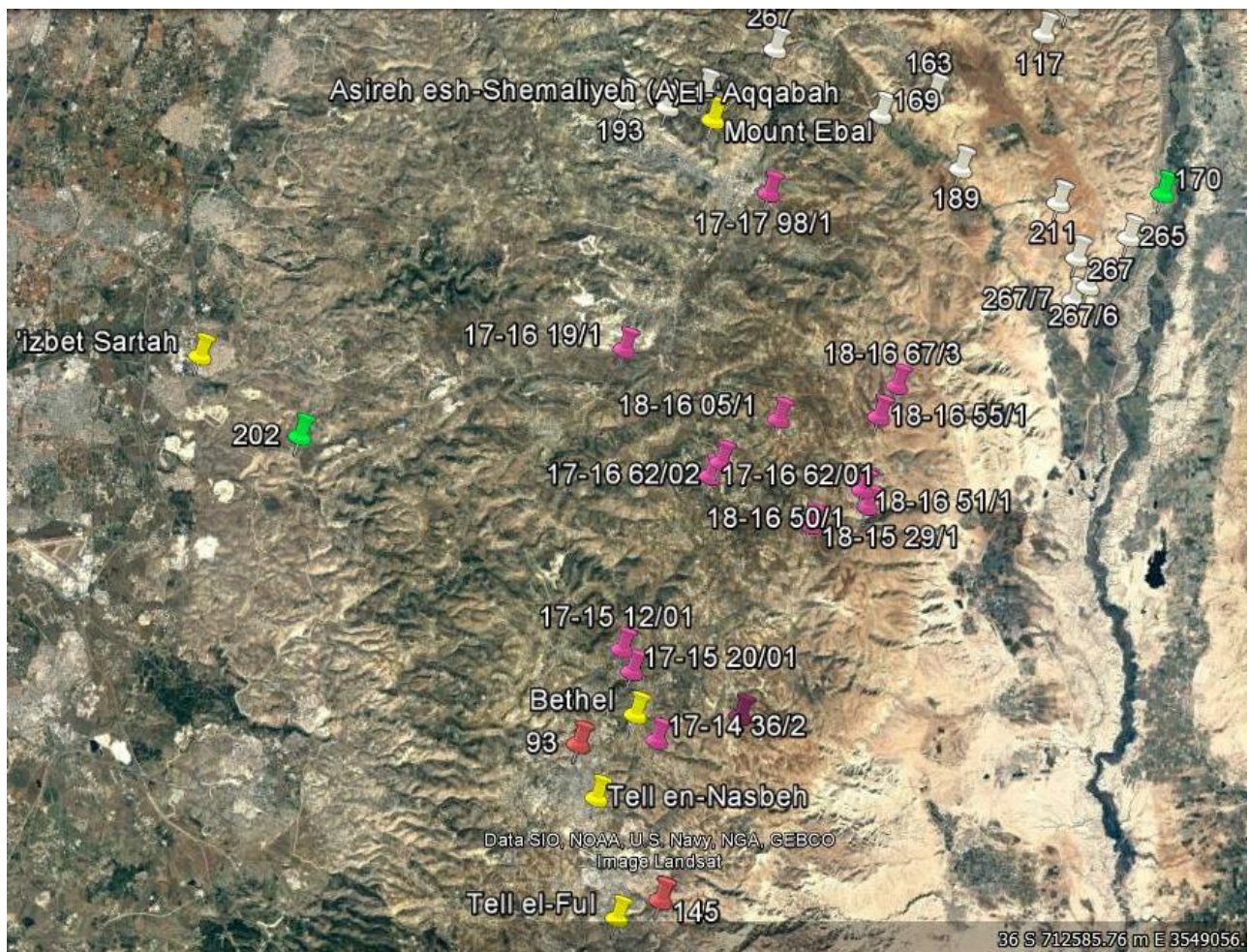


Fig. 31. A magnification of the Satellite map image of all Iron IA sites (2)

Site list:

Kochavi (light blue): 54, 56.

Kallai (red): 93, 145,

Zertal (vol. 1) (white): 2, 19, 27 (Has Iron II, but a substantial LB-Iron I presence), 29 (Has Iron II, but a substantial LB-Iron I presence), 31, 38, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59 (only 8% Iron II and then Iron III – it was not continuously occupied), 61, 77 (Zertal specified Iron IB), 107 (Iron II, but substantial LB-Iron I presence), 204, 208 (80% Iron I, 5% Iron II), 267, 271 (5% Iron II),

Zertal (vol. 2) (white): 45, 54, 55, 59 (90% IA/ 10% IIA), 77 (5% IIA), 78 (7% Iron IIA), 86, 115, 117, 118, 163, 169, 189, 211, 265, 267 (6%), 267/6, 267/7.

Zertal (vol. 3) (white): 3, 28, 42, 75, 92, 96, 110, 114, 132, 137 (5%), 169 (5%), 193,

Finkelstein (pink): 18-16 67/3, 18-16 55/1, 18-16 51/1, 18-16 50/1, 17-17 98/1 (A single Iron II sherd), 17-17 32/1, 18-16 05/1, 17-16 62/01, 17-16 62/02, 18-15 29/1, 17-15 20/01, 17-14 88/1 (possibly some Iron II sherds), 17-14 36/2, 17-16 19/1, 17-15 12/01,

Gophna & Porat (green): 21, 31, 47, 69, 78, 97, 128, 170, 202.

B. Iron IB (Iron I-Iron II ceramics):

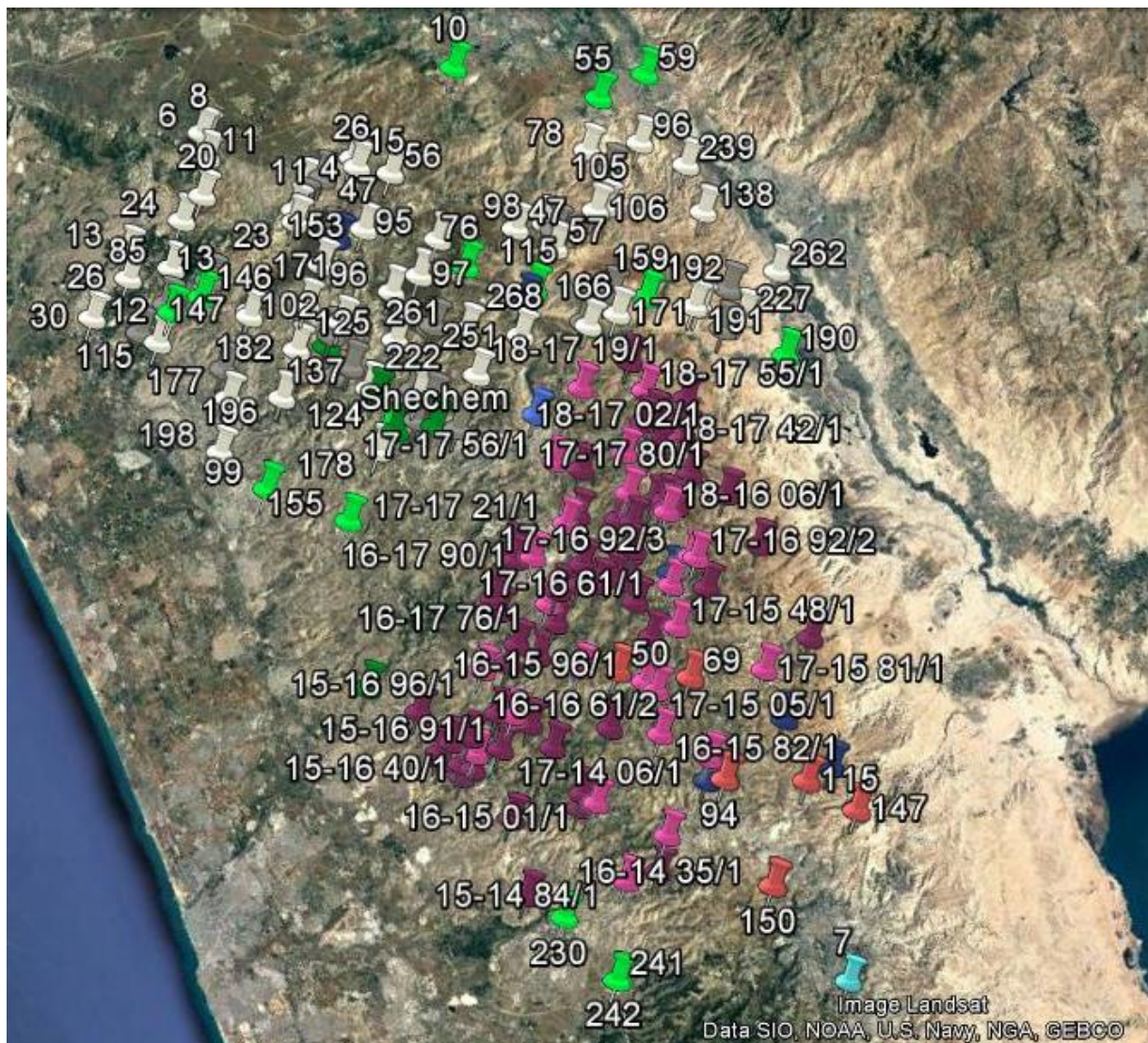


Fig. 32. Satellite map image of all Iron IB sites

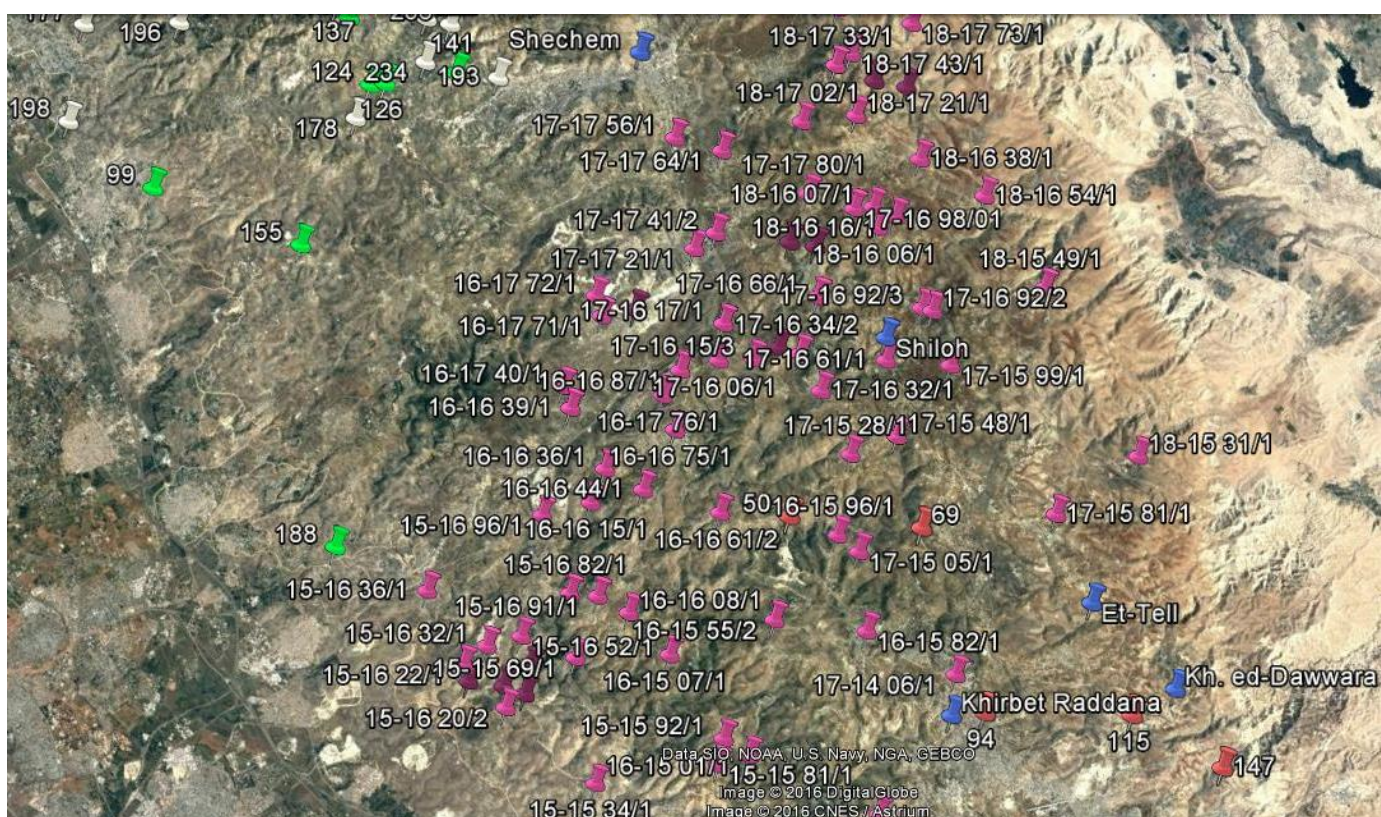
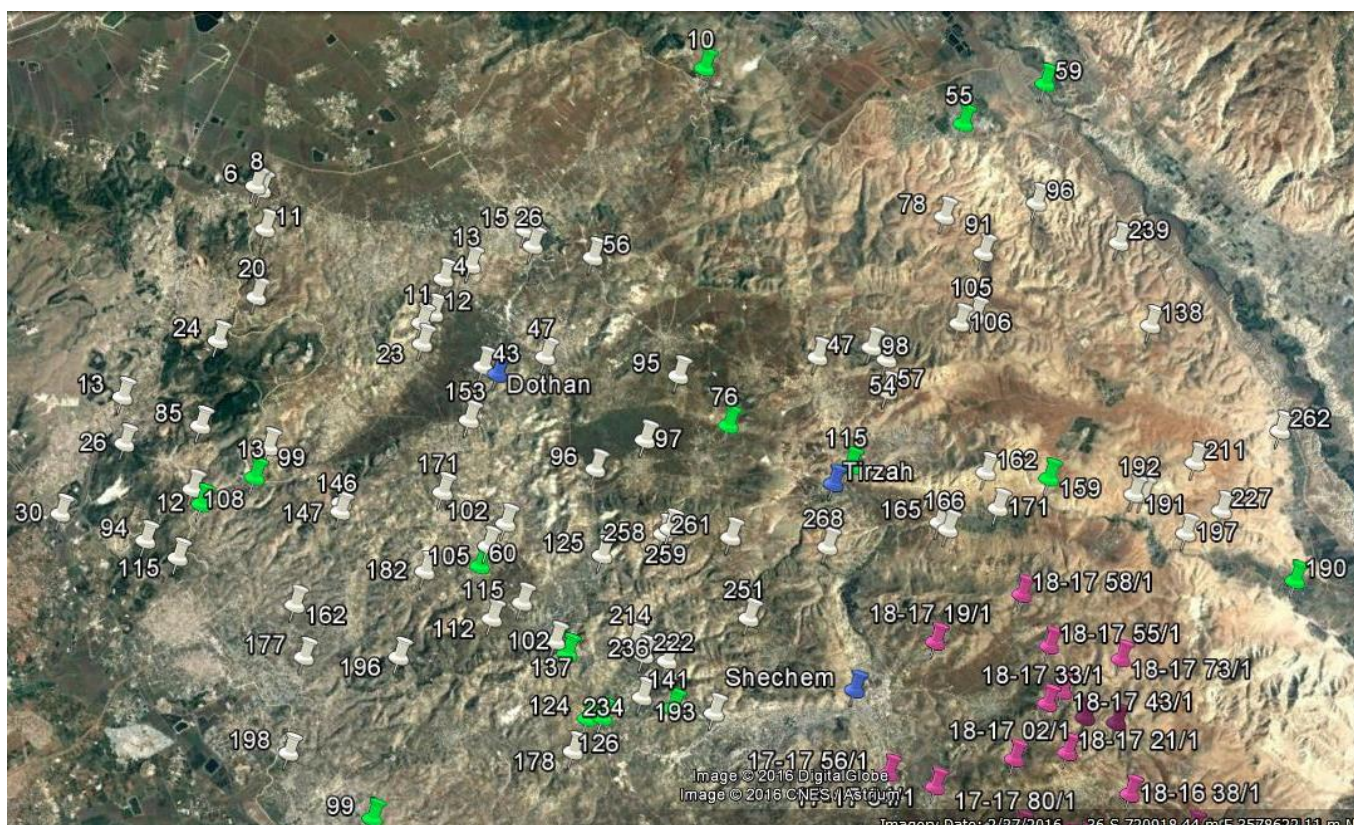




Fig. 35. A magnification of the Satellite map image of all Iron IB sites (3)

Site list:

Kochavi (light blue): 7,

Kallai (red): 50, 69, 94, 115, 147, 150.

Zertal (vol.1) (white): 4, 11, 12, 13, 15, 23, 26, 43, 44, 47, 56, 95 (although 2% LB I, 2% LB II, 1% LB III), 96, 97, 102, 105, 112, 115, 125, 135, 137 (although some LB-Iron I presence), 178, 193, 214, 222, 234, 236, 251, 258, 259, 261, 268, 272,

Zertal (vol.2) (white): 1, 2, 6, 23, 47, 91, 96, 98, 105, 106, 138, 151, 162, 165, 166, 171, 191, 192, 197, 221, 227, 239, 262,

Zertal (vol.3) (white): 6, 8, 11, 13, 20, 24, 26, 30, 54, 57, 63, 80, 85, 87, 94, 99, 104, 106, 108, 115, 146, 147 (Iron IB), 153, 162, 171, 177, 182, 196, 198.

Finkelstein (pink): 18-17 43/1, 18-17 73/1, 18-17 42/1, 18-17 51/1, 18-16 54/1, 18-16 41/1, 18-15 49/1, 18-15 31/1, 18-17 19/1, 18-17 58/1, 17-17 56/1, 18-17 55/1, 17-17 64/1, 18-17 33/1, 18-17 02/1, 17-17 21/1, 17-17 41/2, 17-17 91/1, 18-17 21/1, 17-17 80/1, 17-16 68/3, 17-16 98/01, 18-16 38/1, 17-16 17/1, 17-16 57/2, 17-16 77/1, 18-16 07/1, 17-16 66/1 (1 Iron I sherd), 18-16 06/1, 18-16 16/1, 17-16 15/3, 17-16 35/1, 17-16 34/2, 17-16 32/1, 17-16 92/2, 17-16 92/3 (Possibly only a single sherd), 17-16 21/1, 17-16 61/1 (2 Iron I sherds), 17-15

28/1 (two Iron I sherds), 17-15 99/1 (1 Iron I sherd), 17-15 48/1, 16-15 82/1 (few Iron I sherds), 17-15 81/1, 17-14 06/1 (few Iron I sherds), 16-17 72/1, 16-17 71/1 (Iron I sherd), 16-17 90/1 (few Iron I sherds), 16-17 40/1, 16-16 39/1, 15-16 88/2, 16-16 08/1, 16-16 87/1, 16-16 76/1, 15-16 96/1 (possibly Iron I), 16-16 36/1, 17-16 06/1, 16-16 15/1, 16-16 75-1, 15-16 52/1 (little Iron I), 16-16 44/1, 15-16 82/1 (few Iron I), 15-16 91/1 (few Iron I), 16-16 61/2 (possibly few Iron I), 16-16 00/1, 15-15 69/1, 16-15 07/1, 16-15 96/1, 16-15 55/2 (single Iron I sherd), 17-15 05/1, 15-15 92/1 (few Iron I), 15-15 81/1 (few Iron I), 16-15 01/1, 16-14 35/1, 16-14 03/1 (Possibly Iron I), 15-16 36/1 (single Iron I sherd), 15-16 22/1, 15-16 22/2, 15-16 32/1 (few Iron I), 15-16 21/1, 15-16 30/1 (Single Iron I sherd), 15-16 20/2, 15-16 30/2 (possibly Iron I), 15-16 40/1 (few Iron I), 15-15 34/1 (possibly Iron I), 15-14 08/1, 15-14 84/1

Gophna & Porat (green): 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 34, 36, 37, 41, 44, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 73, 76, 80, 86, 94, 95, 99, 102, 105, 107, 113, 115, 119, 124, 126, 129, 133, 141, 142, 148, 155, 159, 174, 188, 190, 195, 198, 205, 207, 212, 214, 220, 230, 241, 242.

C. Exclusively Iron I:

A number of sites were also attested containing exclusively Iron I ceramics. The excavated sites of: Taanach, the 'Bull Site', Shechem and Shiloh are not exclusively Iron I, but are added to the following map to help orientate the surveyed sites.



Fig. 36. Satellite map image with sites containing only Iron I ceramics

Site list:

Zertal (vol. 1) (white): 110, 120, 195 (10% medieval pottery), 273,

Zertal (vol. 2) (white): 19, 27, 41, 83, 103, 109

Zertal (vol. 3) (white): 107, 163, 183, 202.

Finkelstein (pink): 18-17 44/1, 18-16 25/2, 18-16 02/1 (Per?), 18-16 11/1, 16-17 02/1, 16-17 01/1, 17-15 38/3, 16-15 94/01, 15-15 73/01.

D. Iron I sites attested by Eynun pottery:

A number of sites are identified as being Iron I by the presence of a certain type of ceramic, 'Eynun ware'. This material was traditionally identified as belonging to the Iron I, but its particular appearance within the Bull Site has raised the suggestion of it belonging to the MB.⁵²⁴ Its separation here is due to this debate and the implication a MB dating would have on sites traditionally dated to the Iron I based on Eynun ware. While the 'Bull Site' is one such site containing Eynun ware, Shechem is not and added simply for additional orientation of the surveyed sites.

⁵²⁴ Mazar and Zertal believed Eynun ware to be an MB-imitation dating to the Iron I, while Finkelstein dates it to the MB (Finkelstein 1998b; Mazar 1999: 145-146; Zertal 2003, 2007: 55).

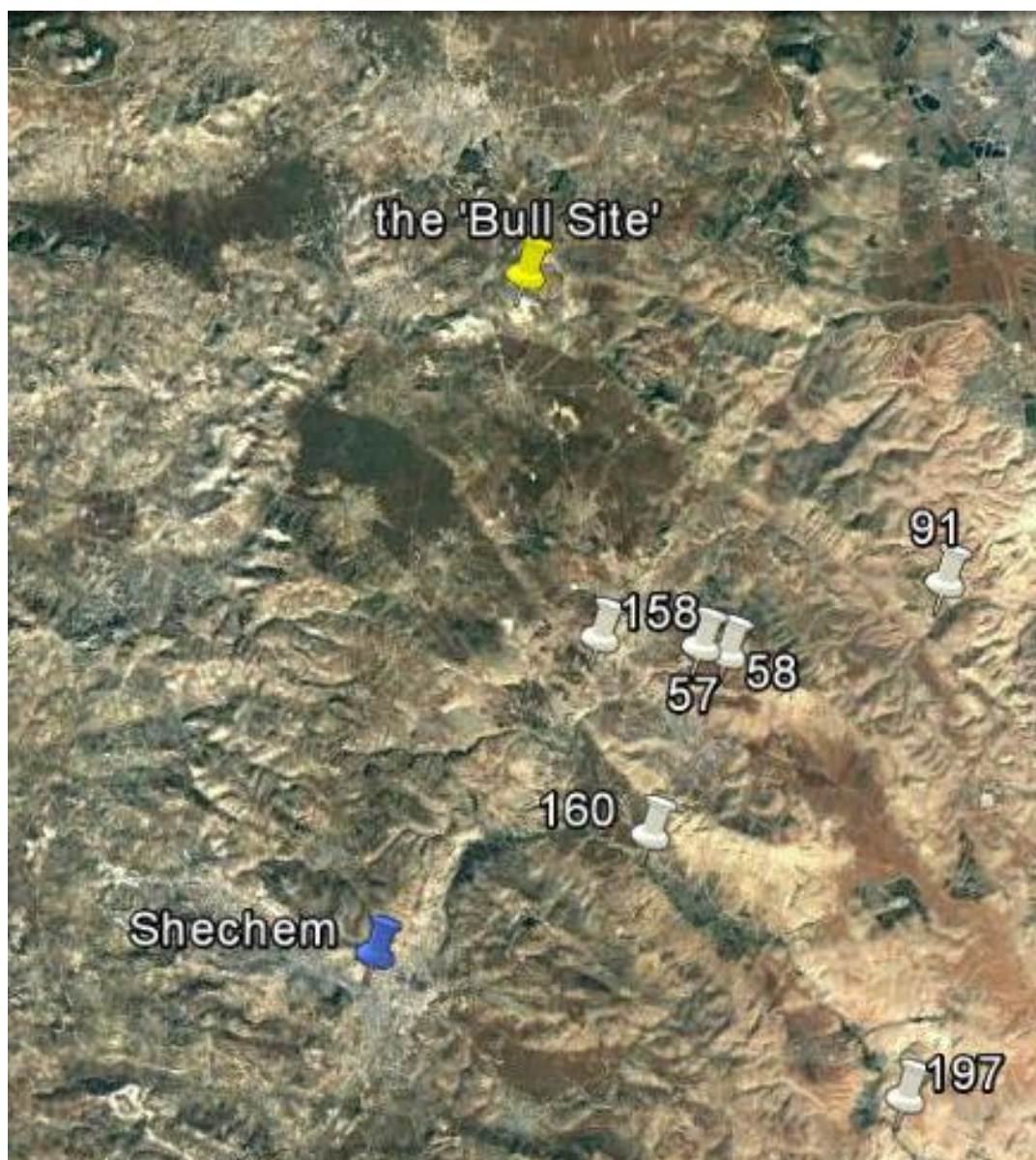


Fig. 37. Satellite map image with sites identified as Iron I by Eynun ware

Sites identified as Iron I by Eynun ware.

Site list:

Zertal (vol. 1) (white): 61, 158,

Zertal (vol. 2) white): 57, 58, 160, 197, 91

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