Archaeological Correlates of the United Monarchy of Ancient Israel: Evaluating and Reconsidering Interpretive Frameworks

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This thesis seeks to apply the idea of ancient Israel as a patriarchal and patrimonial state within its ancient Near Eastern context as adumbrated by David Schloen to the debate concerning the historicity of the biblical United Monarchy. Specifically, this thesis will apply this sociological idea to the archaeological aspects of this debate, a debate that has so far not taken account of the form and nature of ancient Israelite society as an aspect of the interpretation of the relevant archaeology and associated issues. Rather it has been content with a functionalist approach to archaeological interpretation that has not explored or justified its own assumptions about the social world and the legitimation of authority in ancient Israel. This thesis will discuss and analyse this functionalist approach, before moving on to apply a sociologically-informed approach centred upon patrimonial society to the methodology of the interpretation of the archaeological correlates for the United Monarchy.

I hereby declare that no part of this thesis has been submitted for a higher degree at any other institution.

Zachary Thomas

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List of Abbreviations

ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6 vols., ed. by David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
CHLI	J. David Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, vol. I (Berlin: de Gruyer, 2000)
COS	*The Context of Scripture*, III vols., ed. by William Hallo and K. Lawson Younger Jr. (Leiden: Brill 2003)
HFFS	David Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
KAI	Herbert Donner, Wolfgang Röllig , *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften,* Band 1:5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 2002)
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NEAEHL	*New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*
TA	*Tel Aviv*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

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Part I: Introduction

"Historians also deal with human being and with human nature, but it is vital in their research to make clear to which definite time and to what space the human beings in question were confined… It seems clear to me that naive application of modern Western logic and judgement to the interpretation of ancient Near Eastern Sources, including biblical literature, has led us into error."[1]

Even though the above quote is directed at historians of ancient Israel, it is just as applicable to archaeologists. More to the point for this thesis, it highlights a critical yet overlooked problem in the archaeological and historical debate concerning the biblical United Monarchy, the kingdom of David and Solomon, that has been progressing in its current form for some two decades. The problem is this: the role of ancient Israelite society in the interpretative methodologies that have been applied to the United Monarchy's archaeological correlates. Because it is an ancient rather than modern phenomenon the form and nature of ancient Israelite society needs to be reconstructed within its Near Eastern context. In the approach taken in much scholarship however, it is modern sociological assumptions that are taken for granted rather than what the ancient native understanding of society might have been. This leaves open the possibility for a methodology that incorporates this native understanding in the interpretation of the United Monarchy's archaeological correlates. It is these two approaches that this thesis seeks to examine.

Generally speaking, the debate concerning the United Monarchy has been characterised by both the presence of unjustified and anachronistic assumptions concerning ancient Israelite society and by a failure to reflect on how native understanding of society might affect interpretative frameworks. Neither side of the debate, be it the side more in favour the biblical United Monarchy's historicity or the side arguing against, are guiltless. Fortunately, a small movement within scholarship has recently explored in detail the native understanding and

[1] Tomoo Ishida, *History and Historical Writing in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 104-105

manifested form and nature of society in the ancient Near Eastern world, of which Israel was a part.

Some smaller studies applying this research to the particular issues within the debate were produced, but no broader discussion of how the explication of ancient Near Eastern society might affect interpretations and discussions relating to the United Monarchy has come about, so the problem described above has remained. Therefore, in the space available this thesis seeks to commence the process of correcting this problem by first reviewing and critiquing the sociological assumptions of the existing approach to archaeological interpretation in Part II and then presenting a different approach that accounts for and applies the native form and nature of Israelite society in its ancient Near Eastern context in Part III. These two approaches are referred to in this thesis as the 'functionalist approach' and the 'sociologically informed approach'. Part I continues below with a general review of the debate and a definition of the two approaches before moving on to lay out the methodology of this thesis.

I.I: The Debate So Far and the Functionalist Approach

Until the advent of the present debate, a general acceptance of the historicity of the biblical United Monarchy prevailed amongst archaeologists working in Israel; certainly there was no systematic and sustained rejection present. It was accepted that the reigns of David and Solomon in the 10th century BC were to be located in the archaeological period commonly referred to now as the Iron Age IIA.

The present debate that forms the specific background to this thesis began in 1995 with Israel Finkelstein's original proposal of the Low Chronology[2], the lowering the beginning of the Iron IIA to the end of the 10th century, after the period of David and Solomon's rule, as well as Amihai Mazar's[3] initial response and his proposal of the Modified Conventional Chronology, which

[2] Hereafter LC

[3] Hereafter A. Mazar, whilst his cousin and fellow archaeologist Eilat Mazar if hereafter E. Mazar

stretches the Iron IIA period over the majority of both the 10th and 9th centuries BC.[4] Their resulting approaches to archaeological interpretation are grounded not only in their different chronological preconceptions, but also in their contrasting viewpoints concerning other pertinent historical and archaeological matters about which they have made at least some comment.

Comparative chronologies of the early Iron Age in Israel[5]:

High/Traditional Chronology:
Iron IA: 1200–1150 BC
Iron IB: 1150–1000 BC
Iron IIA: 1000–925 BC

Modified Conventional Chronology:
Iron IA: 1200–1150/1140 BC
Iron IB: 1150/1140–ca. 980 BC
Iron IIA: ca. 980–ca. 840/830 BC

Low Chronology:
Early/Middle Iron I: ca. 1150-ca. 1050 BC
Late Iron I: ca. 1150-ca. 925 BC
Iron IIA: ca. 925-ca. 800 BC

Fig. 1

[4] Israel Finkelstein, 'The Date of the Settlement in Philistine Canaan', *TA* 22 (1995), pp. 213-239; Israel Finkelstein, 'The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View', *TA* 28 (1996), pp. 177-187; Amihai Mazar, 'Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to Israel Finkelstein', *Levant* 29 (1997), pp. 157-167; Amihai Mazar, Israel Carmi, 'Radiocarbon Dates from Iron Age Strata at Tel Beth Shean and Tel Rehov', *Radiocarbon* 43 (2001), pp. 1333-1342

[5] Adapted from Amihai Mazar, 'The Search For David and Solomon: An Archaeological Perspective' in T*he Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*, ed. by Brain Schmidt (Brill: Leiden, 2007), pp. 117-139 (p. 122, fig. 5); Israel Finkelstein, Eli Piasetzky, 'The Iron Age Chronology Debate: Is the Gap Narrowing?', *NEA* 74:1 (2011), pp. 50-54 (p. 53, fig. 3)

The present author recently undertook a broad study of the debate as represented by Finkelstein, Mazar and several other scholars who have made relevant contributions.[6] This study examined the debate in terms of two contrasting sides which, though not monolithic, were each composed of likeminded scholarship that is either generally positive or negative towards the historicity of the biblical United Monarchy. As described therein, Finkelstein is representative of the negative side; he has argued extensively since the start of this debate that Iron Age IIA archaeological phases with monumental architecture such as at Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer that had been ascribed to the United Monarchy should in fact be ascribed to the Northern Kingdom[7] in the 9th century BC. With his further arguments that there was both little scribal activity in this period and very little to show for the 10th century at Jerusalem, Finkelstein has concluded that the biblical United Monarchy is largely an ideological construct of Judahite authors writing centuries later, and that no formation of anything like the state that this described in the biblical text could have existed in the 10th century. A. Mazar represents the more positive side; because the Iron IIA covers most of most of both the 10th and 9th centuries BC in his chronological scheme, Iron IIA remains may be dated either to the United Monarchy or to the Northern Kingdom, though he generally defends the existence of the United Monarchy as a state and historicity of the biblical description insomuch as he also stresses a nuanced approach to using it for historical reconstruction.[8]

Four areas of discussion were reviewed in the aforementioned thesis: radiocarbon dating, major archaeological sites, the Deuteronomistic History, and early writing and biblical sources. It found that the preponderance of evidence and arguments generally thought not absolutely favours the more positive side encapsulated primarily by A. Mazar, as well as other such as Thomas Levy, Yosef Garfinkel and Baruch Halpern, who have written historical-archaeological studies on

[6] Zachary Thomas, *An Investigation into the Current Debate on the Archaeology and Historicity of the United Monarchy of Ancient Israel* (unpublished MA thesis, University of Gloucestershire, 2014) and see references there.

[7] To avoid confusion this thesis uses the term Israel in its general geographic-historical sense, while the kingdom of the 9th-8th centuries known in the Hebrew Bible as 'Israel' is referred to as the Northern Kingdom, and its southern counterpart of the 9th-6th centuries is referred to as Judah.

[8] Aside from references in Thomas, *An Investigation into the Current Debate*, see the contrasting chapters on different periods in biblical history including the monarchy by Finkelstein and A. Mazar in *The Quest for the Historical Israel*

particular matters relevant to them along the same lines.[9] Throughout archaeological scholarship concerning the United Monarchy and in the broader treatments of Finkelstein and A. Mazar in particular, a functionalist approach is pervasive, even where there is strong disagreement over particular points of evidence and interpretation. Critiques of underlying methodology, frameworks of interpretation and recourse to archaeological theory are generally not part of the back-and-forth exchange. Of particular interest for this thesis is the minimal involvement of sociological factors and lack of conscious explanation for assumptions about the theoretic basis upon which archaeological evaluations are made in most relevant scholarship.

For the purpose of this thesis, the functionalist approach to archaeological interpretation is defined as one in which the form of the archaeological remains follow their presumed function. To state it another way, the archaeological record is assumed to be a physical manifestation of the facilitation of the functions and structures of the society at hand, and by extension a reflection of that society's form and when a state is concerned, its degree of development. Archaeological remains, from large buildings down to small finds, are assumed to reflect their function in a society as well as its degree of complexity. Therefore it is assumed, for example, that if extensive and impressive remains of so-called 'public' buildings and infrastructure are found at relevant sites, this is an indication that a well-developed government able to extensively exploit and control resources and population was in existence at the time of such construction. Conversely, if the opposite appears in the archaeological record, this essentially proves the negative equivalent.[10]

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[9] See for example on the 10th century BC copper production at Khirbat en-Nahas in Jordan Thomas Levy, Mohammad Najjar, Thomas Higham, 'Ancient texts and archaeology revisited: radiocarbon and Biblical dating in the southern Levant', *Antiquity* 84 (2010), pp. 834-847; For the 10th century Juahdite site of Khirbet Qeiyafa see Yosef Garfinkel, Katharina Streit, Saar Ganor, Michael Hasel, 'State Formation in Judah: Biblical Tradition, Modern Historical Theories and Radiometric Dates at Khirbet Qeiyafa', *Radiocarbon* 54 (2012), pp. 359-369

[10] The functionalist approach within archaeology more broadly is typified by a focus on the function of an element within society and its functional relationship to other elements. This interrelatedness leads to the assumption that a change in one element will reverberate throughout society. In this manner, material and economic functions tend to be the focus as defined by Robert Jameson, 'Functionalist argument, Functionalism' in *A Dictionary of Archaeology*, ed. by Ian Shaw and Robert Jameson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 244-245

The subject of state formation is also an issue of quite some importance within discussion of the United Monarchy since this period is, at least within the biblical portrayal, the period in which the whole of Israel first comes together under one human monarch. The functionalist approach leans heavily on an evolutionist model of state formation, in which societies move in a unidirectional manner through a distinct system of tiers with their own quantifiable complexity and list of characteristics. The three tiers of most relevance here, from least to most complex, are the tribe, chieftain and state.[11] For Finkelstein in particular the task is to decide whether the 10th century BC in Israel witnessed the uppermost tier, that of the state, or merely one or more chieftains, on the tier immediately below.

The only attempt within the functionalist approach that has directly addressed sociological subjects as well as the United Monarchy debate was undertaken by Avraham Faust in an archaeological study wholly devoted to the society of Iron Age Israel.[12] In contrast to the primary study underpinning the sociologically-informed approach below, Faust is not so much interested in studying the overarching form and nature of Israelite society as much as particular individual elements of it. Generally speaking, Faust is more interested in elucidating the material aspects of Iron Age II society, upon which his volume is focused, especially concerning how resources were deployed by the state and its influence, as well as how wealth divisions manifest in the archaeological record. The volume is not prefaced with anything in the way of a systematic justification of the terminology or assumptions that are used to understand the sociological topics of interest, nor does it provide a justification for their application to ancient Israel. As such, Faust assumes a division between the state and the private citizenry, who operated two separate if partially overlapping economies. He further assumes a dichotomy between the rural and urban spheres, that they were different in terms of character, family structure and division of economic roles, with a higher weighting on non-agricultural production in the cities.

[11] Typical is the study, complete with such a list, of John Holliday Jr., 'The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA-B (ca. 1000-750 BCE)' in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. by Thomas Levy (London: Leicester University Press, 1998), pp. 368-398

[12] Avraham Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society in Iron Age II*, trans. by Ruth Ludlum (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012)

Faust also assumes the evolutionary model of social complexity and even though he admits that it cannot often be perfectly applied, he argues that in the Iron II Israel moved from a kin-based tribal society to a state where the king employed specialists from outside his family connections, thus creating the class-and wealth divisions that he argues throughout the volume can be seen in the differences in house construction at many sites. That said, Faust's discussion of how the move towards urbanisation at the beginning of the Iron II and the apparent spread of Israelite culture down into the Shephelah and valleys seems to be a reflection of the influence of the new monarchy is a rare instance in scholarship of the application of social factors to discussion of the United Monarchy. Also lacking in that volume is any attempt to take a step back and consider how ancient Israelite society, especially its overarching structure, might have been understood from the cognitive or symbolic perspective of the Israelites themselves. This is noted only to contrast it with the central importance of these perspectives in the approach described below.

I.II: Patrimonial Society and the Sociologically-Informed Approach

In an examination of archaeological evidence concerning the Israelite family and household, including the physical house itself, Lawrence Stager described Israelite society as patriarchal and centred on the בת אב 'house of the father', making household language the ordering terminology of the native understanding of society.[13] In an extensive study, his student David Schloen has expanded on his work and explicated in detail that societies of the ancient Near Eastern world in the Bronze and Iron Ages, which includes ancient Israel, were patrimonial in form based upon an underlying patriarchal nature; the transmission and inheritance of authority flowed along male lines, leading to a conception of society as a structure of male-centred familial linkages embodied in the fact and symbol of the house of the father, thereby making the idea of the family the core component of social understanding and interaction. Because household language was the way by which society was conceived and ordered, a state was to be understood primarily as a cognitive notion, an interplay of symbols that has more to do with the native form and nature of society than the material culture it produced. Unlike

[13] Lawrence Stager, 'Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel' *BASOR* 260 (1985), pp. 1-35

Faust, Schloen's study is prefaced with an exhaustive philosophical, theoretical and methodological discussion of social theory, archaeological interpretation and their interface in the explication of ancient Near Eastern society. Schloen's analysis is primarily centred on the Middle and Late Bronze Age city of Ugarit as its extensive excavation and large number and variety of local texts made it the prime candidate for a holistic study of an ancient Near Eastern society. Schloen traced evidence of patrimonial society there through house and neighbourhood structure, administrative texts and local myths such as the Baal cycle. By applying the same analysis to some pertinent examples of other ancient Near Eastern societies from different chronological and geographic contexts, Schloen demonstrates that, notwithstanding some local and diachronic variation, the patrimonial form and nature of society was characteristic of the ancient Near East.[14] Schloen's study will be the point of departure for this thesis.

Stager and Schloen both utilised the theories of early German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), who described patrimonial society and its underlying dynamics of power and authority. As well as his idea of patrimonial society in general, they specifically utilised Weber's tripartite distinction of the legitimation of power and authority. Charismatic authority is characterised by the influence stemming from an individual's own unique qualities, magnetism and ability to motivate other people in the direction of his or her aims, and is seen throughout history. Legal-rational authority is legitimated through the depersonalised operation of abstract legislated rules and an externalised objective ordering of power. It relies on the acceptance of a rational authority that is located outside personal relationships and loyalties. Legal-rational authority underlies the modern idea of bureaucracy, in which administrative offices have their own defined set of responsibilities for which the office holder has established their technical competence to undertake that role. Bureaucratic office-holders gain their positions and owe

[14] Schloen, *HFFS*; Added to this is the short study appearing one year before *HFFS* that prefigured many of Schloen's conclusions in that work, David Schloen, 'The Iron Age as a State of Mind: A Response' in *One Hundred Years of American Archaeology in the Middle-East: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Centennial Celebration, Washington, DC, April 2000*, ed. by Douglas Clark and Victor Matthews (Boston: ASOR, 2003), pp. 283-292; Although it might be expected considering that Faust's study appeared more than a decade after that of Schloen, Faust does not address Schloen's *The House of the Father* except to criticise the notion that the extended-family house compounds that Schloen saw at Ugarit can be seen in excavations of Iron Age sites in Israel.

their loyalty not on a personal basis but rather to a depersonalised idea of authority to which they have ascribed. Traditional authority is quite opposite; it structures the operation of power and the legitimation of authority entirely along interpersonal lines, adhering to an accepted notion of the inherent and eternal right to wield that authority that does not need to be rationalised. It is traditional authority that allows for a society and state built around the idea of family and interfamily relationships, as in Schloen's patrimonial model of ancient Near Eastern society.[15]

In the same year as Schloen's study another of Stager's students, Daniel Master, argued that a Weberian approach to the issue of state formation in ancient Israel was highly preferable to previous approaches to this problem, which had assumed an evolutionary process whereby pre-monarchic Israel had suddenly jumped to a bureaucratic royal state based upon territory. Rather, Master demonstrated that envisioning a tribally-constituted patrimonial state, where the structure of power was conceived upon family lines, sits much more comfortably with the archaeological situation and the biblical description whilst not needing to tie the formation of statehood to an increase in international trade or literacy as seen in the situation of the Late Bronze Age.[16]

Following these studies, Stager returned again to this topic by applying the idea of patrimonial society directly to the reign of Solomon, albeit not in extensive detail. Standing in concert with Schloen and Master concerning the non-bureaucratic nature of such a kingdom, Stager argued that the archaeological evidence indicates that Solomon's province system[17] follows the old tribal geographic divisions and therefore maintains the tribal system as part of the lineage and family-based system of governance. Stager further notes that within this patrimonial system, the idea of class divisions and class consciousness is inappropriate; they did not exist, the only

[15] See the concise description of Weber's ideas in Tom Campbell, *Seven Theories of Human Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 169-196; see also the summary of Weber's three types of legitimation of authority, *HFFS*, pp. 66-68

[16] Daniel Master, 'State Formation Theory and the Kingdom of Ancient Israel', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 60:2 (2001), pp. 117-131

[17] 1 Kgs 4:7-19

vertical societal divisions that did were various levels of patrimonial authority expressed in literal or metaphorically relational language.[18]

Schloen's thesis has been criticised by Carol Meyers, who upbraids him for not examining the suitability of the term 'patriarchal'; she herself prefers to envision ancient Israelite society as a 'heterarchy' in which women also exercised substantial power.[19] Interestingly though, Meyers did not even mention Schloen or any of the aforecited works of Stager or Master in an article arguing against the very idea of ancient Israel at a patriarchal society.[20] Aside from his extensive justification for his use of Weber's theories, there seems to be no reason to read into Schloen's work an assumption that males exercised any and all power and influence to the exclusion of females, so Meyer's proposal can still be taken up without abandoning the patrimonial model. As she has not produced a more detailed critique or an alternative as extensively described, Meyer's criticisms are set aside here. Master also returned somewhat to this matter in a recent discussion of economy and exchange in the Iron Age kingdoms of the Levant. Although he accepts the patrimonial model for the society of these kingdoms, he challenges Schloen's view that economic exchange took place within such a context as being purely a matter of personalised reciprocity without market forces at work. Master demonstrates that the available evidence shows that in fact a market of some description and effort to profit from it did in fact still operate even if it was structured within patrimonial relationships.[21] Master's study is of course a corrective and improvement to Schloen's thesis and does not otherwise undermine it.

Particular aspects of the model of the ancient Near Eastern patrimonial state, derived primarily from the work of Schloen are discussed in the following Parts II and III where needed, but it may

[18] Lawrence Stager, 'The Patrimonial Kingdom of Solomon' in *Symbiosis, Symbolism and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbours from The Late Bronze Age Through Roman Palaestina*, ed. by William Dever and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003) pp. 63-74

[19] Carol Meyers, 'Hierarchy or Heterarchy? Archaeology and the Theorizing of Israelite Society' in *Symbiosis, Symbolism and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbours from The Late Bronze Age Through Roman Palaestina*, ed. by William Dever and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), pp. 245-254

[20] Carol Meyers, 'Was Ancient Israel a Patriarchal Society?', *JBL* 133:1 (2014), pp. 8-27

[21] Daniel Master, 'Economy and Exchange in the Iron Age Kingdoms of the Southern Levant', *BASOR* 372 (2014), pp. 81-97

here be summarised as such: Because household terminology orders the native understanding of society, the society itself is to be imagined as one great household wherein the king sits in the position of the 'father'. He exists in a father-son relationship with those immediately beneath him, be they his biological sons or persons who enter into a more symbolic master-servant relationship. Those men in turn are fathers within their own households, having their own biological or symbolic sons, and this pattern may be repeated as far as necessary.[22] Therefore society is in fact a series of nested and interlinked households, and interpersonal household dynamics direct social interaction. As every individual exists in relationship with the king at some level, it is not necessary to differentiate between society and state; no-one can be a member of the society but outside the state. Because the administration of the state is seen as nothing but the administration of a household, this removes the need for a separate, professional bureaucracy. It also breaks down two notions to which modern society is accustomed: a public-private dichotomy and social class. Material wealth is not a factor in the structuring of society, only the vertical, biological or symbolic father-son relationship. This unitary nature of societies removes any necessity for imagining different public and private spheres of life; social actions concerning or directed toward either one's 'father/master' or son/servant' are located within the state-encompassing household relationships.

This problematizes the idea of a 'public building', a ubiquitous yet poorly defined or justified term in functionalist discourse on the archaeology of the United Monarchy. In fact, the patrimonial model and its foundation in a traditional legitimation of authority completely undermine functionalist assumptions of how power and its operation were natively understood in ancient Israel. Rather than the functionalist approach's fixation on material factors, the patrimonial model places the fact and symbol of the house of the father as the core factor in the organisation of society.

[22] Hence the title of one review of *HFFS*: Daniel Fleming, 'Schloen's Patrimonial Pyramid: Explaining Bronze Age Society', *BASOR* 328 (2002), pp. 73-80

I.III: Methodology and Some Methodological Definitions

This study is primarily an exercise in comparison and contrast. Part II presents the functionalist approach and an analysis of it, while Part III does the same for the sociologically-informed approach, followed by concluding remarks including a proposal for future research questions appropriate to larger research project in the future in Part IV. Parts II and III are structured around three subjects that have been of utmost importance in the debate concerning the United Monarchy: Jerusalem in the early Iron Age, evidence for writing and administration in the 10th century BC, and Megiddo and its wider state context. The discussion primarily pertains to matters of archaeological interpretation and how interpretation is influenced by sociological presuppositions, but particular issues relating to the state of the evidence itself are also included. In particular, the relevant Sections in each Part that concern writing for administration in the 10th century are concerned equally with the body of available evidence as well as its interpretation.

It should also be noted that although this thesis is primarily focused on the archaeological correlates of the United Monarchy it does not ignore that to which they are correlating, namely the biblical texts that describe this period. In fact, this thesis contends that the archaeological study of the United Monarchy can only proceed from an accurate and nuanced understanding of the relevant biblical texts. Where it is relevant to do so, this thesis addresses historiographic and interpretative issues concerning the texts that arise. The books of Samuel and Kings, which are part of the larger Deuteronomistic History, are taken as the primary biblical texts for the study of the United Monarchy for the purposes of this thesis.[23] This should not be taken as a flat rejection of the value or usability of the books of Chronicles, but the situation is complicated by a few factors. Importantly, Chronicles is widely regarded as a composition of the exilic or post-exilic period, while Samuel and Kings are more commonly regarded as being mostly compositions of the pre-exilic period.[24] This might not be such a concern if it were not for the

[23] Translations from the Hebrew are the author's

[24] For studies demonstrating the imposing weight of evidence in favour of a pre-exilic date for most of the Deuteronomistic History see the Introduction and chapter 3 and 4 of Thomas, *Investigation into the Current Debate*; Jens Bruun Kofoed, *Text and History: Historiography and the Study of the Biblical Text* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005); Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* (Grand Rapids:

apparent disagreements between the Samuel-Kings account and the Chronicles account. It is certainly acknowledged that a later date of composition does not automatically undermine a text's usefulness for historical reconstruction[25], but in view of the limited space available here, the historical evaluation of the Chronicler's account and its integration into a wider archaeological and historical reconstruction of the United Monarchy will have to wait for a larger study.

Gaining as accurate an understanding of the biblical text as possible is important for achieving the correct balance between text and archaeology when undertaking historical reconstruction, just as it is important to gain as accurate an understanding as possible of the archaeological record. Unfortunately, there is no established or ideal methodology for integration of text and archaeology currently available; variations are perhaps as numerous as the individual scholars to think them up and the field is sorely in need of a more exhaustive and programmatic study on the topic. Take for example the methodology proposed by David Ussishkin. After admonishing bibliclists and archaeologists against attempting to involve themselves in each other's field of expertise, he states that:

> "In my view the proper methodology should be some cooperation between archaeologists, biblical scholars and historians. The archaeologist elucidates and organizes the data objectively, explains their meaning and limitations, and summarizes them. In the next stage the historian and biblical scholar study the results of the archaeological work and incorporate them into their own research."[26]

Eerdmans, 2001); Baruch Halpern, 'Archaeology, the Bible and History: The Fall of the House of Omri-And the Origins of the Israelite State' in *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: The New Pragmatism*, ed. by Thomas Levy (London: Equinox, 2010), pp.262-284; William Dever, 'Histories and Non-Histories of Pre-Exilic Israel: The Question of the United Monarchy' in *In Search Of Pre-Exilic Israel*, ed. by John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2004), pp. 65-94

[25] Kofoed, *Text and History*, pp. 41-43, 58-109

[26] David Ussishkin, 'Archaeology of the Biblical Period: On Some Questions of Methodology and Chronology in the Iron Age' in *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel*, ed. by H.G.M. Williamson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) pp. 131-141 (pp. 134-135)

This view might be said to be typical of archaeologists; the direction of the flow should be one way and it should be from archaeologist to biblicist, so it is the former who set the agenda for the latter. Nadav Na'aman has argued against using archaeology as a 'high court' for biblical history because of its inherent imperfections, whilst Finkelstein leans toward Ussishkin's view.[27] The question therefore goes to whether a method like Ussishkin's privileges archaeological data and conclusions over the equivalent produced from the textual side. What if, theoretically, biblical research produces a conclusion that is firmly contradictory to that of archaeology? Is it to be swept aside in favour of the archaeological conclusion? Ussishkin's method also seems to presume that archaeology is univocal, but of course the present thesis would never have come about were it not for the plainly *un-univocal* nature of archaeological scholarship concerning the United Monarchy.

It was once the practice to use the biblical text to set the agenda of archaeology, in the days of classical 'biblical archaeology'. Recently Malcolm Anderson has produced an intellectual biography of William Dever, without a doubt one of the most significant figures in the history of the study of ancient Israel and the figure, as Anderson illustrates, most responsible for wrenching the field away from classical biblical archaeology towards the more theoretically secular 'Syro-Palestinian archaeology'.[28] Dever is second generation doctoral descendant of William F. Albright. Albright's accomplishments and impact are well known, and to borrow some of the terminology of the בת אב, he might be likened to the father of the house of biblical archaeology. His student, successor and Dever's *doktorvater* G. Ernest Wright maintained the house much as Albright had. When Dever inherited it, he commenced an outspoken campaign to move the discipline away from a preoccupation with fleshing out or even 'proving' the biblical text to a more anthropological study of the archaeological record. Anderson notes

[27] Nadav Na'aman, 'Does Archaeology Really Deserve the Status of a 'High Court' in Biblical Historical Research' in *Between Evidence and Ideology: Essays on the History of Ancient Israel read at the Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and the Oud Testamentisch Werkgezelschap Lincoln, July 2009*, ed. by Bob Becking and Lester Grabbe (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 165-183; Israel Finkelstein, 'Archaeology as a High Court in Ancient Israelite History: A Reply to Nadav Na'aman', *JHS* 10 (2010) <http://www.jhsonline.org/Articles/article_147.pdf> [accessed 14th September 2015] (pp. 1-8)

[28] Malcolm Anderson, *Clearing the Ground: William G. Dever and the Reorientation of Palestinian Archaeology*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2014

however that even with the culmination of his decades-long effort to reorient the field, he left the house battered but intact rather than burned and destined to become a destruction layer on the Tel formed by the long history of Levantine archaeological scholarship. Dever never intended to sever the Bible from archaeology so much as find the proper place for each in his research agenda; like Schloen, he was willing to let the house stand albeit with extensive modification.[29] In that vein, this thesis does not seek to prejudge the usefulness of legitimacy of either as a voice in the conversation about the United Monarchy.

The testimony of both must be utilised for as the present author has recently argued in a publication for a popular audience, the evaluation of any line of evidence, be it textual or archaeological, is always provisional when new discoveries or analyses may at a turn alter the entire situation. Assuming any element of an overall historical picture to be fixed deprives new evidence or analysis of its full potential to be evaluated on its own terms and to contribute as fully as possible to the ongoing process of historical reconstruction.[30] To this end, this thesis uses the term 'biblical United Monarchy' when appropriate to recognise that it is the biblical presentation of David and Solomon's kingdom that is under consideration, and that no assumption is made herein about its historicity.

As such, this thesis does not pretend to resolve the debate over the historicity of the United Monarchy, just as it does not seek to blatantly disrespect those scholars of the functionalist approach that it stridently critiques, for there are counted among its members persons whose regard in and contribution to the field are unsurpassed. The previous study by the present author and the current study are regarded as providing further weight to that side of the debate that is more favourable to the historicity of the United Monarchy.[31] This is especially so given that the sociologically-informed approach is considered to be inherently superior to the functionalist approach simply because it accounts for the form and nature of ancient Israelite

[29] Anderson, *Clearing the Ground*, pp. 134-136; David Schloen, 'W. F. Albright and the Origins of Israel', *NEA* 65 (2002), pp. 56-62

[30] Zachary Thomas, 'Reckoning With David in Scholarship and Media', *ASOR Blog*, http://asorblog.org/2015/06/05/reckoning-with-david-in-scholarship-and-media/ [accessed 13th September 2015]

[31] The results of that study are discussed in the Conclusion to Thomas, *Investigation into the Current Debate*

society by utilising research that has already discerned that very form and nature, unlike the functionalist approach which has established for itself no such basis. Yet there are many aspects to the debate and the impact of the work of Schloen and others that can only be explored in outline here, so this thesis can only serve as preparation for a study that can attack this question more fully.

Part II: The Functionalist Approach

As mentioned above, the archaeological aspect of the debate concerning the historicity of the United Monarchy was reviewed by the present author as one half of a study into the debate as a whole.[32] The relevant archaeological scholarship has typically been of a functionalist nature, that is to say the analytical and interpretive paradigm of major voices such as Finkelstein and A. Mazar underlying their argument and conclusions are founded upon functionalist assumptions.[33] Therefore Part II explores instances of how this approach has been applied to three very important archaeological topics within this debate: the City of David, writing for state purposes in the Iron Age IIA, and Megiddo's role in the Solomonic state.

II.I: The City of David

The oldest part of Jerusalem sits on the spur that runs roughly southward of Herod's Temple Mount, the traditional location of Solomon's Temple. This spur and its continuation under the present Mount form the eastern hill, while the latter expansion of Jerusalem, beginning already in the Iron IIB, sits on the adjacent western hill. This spur is traditionally equated with and known as the עיר דוד 'City of David', first mentioned in 2 Sam 5; David captures the מצדת ציון 'Fortress of Zion' and renames it after himself when he comes to Jerusalem to ostensibly make it his capital.[34] 2 Sam 5 continues on to describe David building "around from the Millo and inwards" as well as king Hiram of Tyre's diplomatic gift of a house built with cedar by his Phoenician craftsmen.[35] Solomon's work in Jerusalem is much more extensive; 1 Kgs 6-8

[32] See chapters 1 and 2 of Thomas, *An Investigation into the Current Debate*

[33] That it not to say that either of these or other important scholars *consciously* ascribe to a functionalist orientation or for that matter to a processualist or postprocessualist orientation. Israeli archaeological publications at least on this topic tend not to be very revealing or discursive about the author's epistemological-philosophical stance, even if they treat the matter with a brief and general mention. See for example Amihai Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: 10,000-586 B.C.E.* (New York: Doubleday, 1990), pp. 31-33

[34] As shall be discussed in Part III, the translation of the terms 'city' and 'fortress', as well as the relationship of the City of David to Jerusalem in the text is more complex.

[35] 2 Sam 5:9 and 11 respectively. V. 9, which is quite vague, literally reads "from the Millo and *housewards"*, and it could be asked if this refers to the house built by Hiram's Tyrian craftsmen. See the discussion of 'the Millo' below.

describes the construction of the Temple and royal house, again with Tyrian expert assistance, followed by the construction of the palace of Pharaoh's daughter in ch. 9. This chapter and ch. 11 also note further construction activity relating to the wall of Jerusalem and the City of David, as well as the Millo again. Further, Solomon is purported to have derived wealth from his trade on the Red Sea in 1 Kgs 9:26-28, 10:11, 22, from the tribute he received from subject nations in 4:21. Ch. 10 furnishes a rich description of the exotic goods that came to him, including through the Arabian caravan trade, in the context of the Queen of Sheba story.

On a surface reading the biblical text clearly wishes to give the impression that in the 10th century BC Jerusalem was a city of significant wealth and impressive construction. Of course, this then raises the archaeological question of whether or not these properties should or have been revealed in the archaeological exploration of Jerusalem. In short, the evidence from over a century of excavation in Jerusalem has by no means revealed this picture to be unambiguously verified as the evidence relating to Iron IIA is sparse, but as is discussed below the archaeological situation is much more complicated.

II.I.I: The Problem of Taphonomic Disturbance at the City of David

The question of 'should?' is always a necessary question to ask of a site with the long and complex occupational history of Jerusalem, because there is always a need to reckon with the potential disturbance of earlier remains and the associated changes in expectations and resulting interpretations that this necessitates. It is well to consider, aside from whatever the reality of the City of David was in the 10th century BC, whether this reality is now recoverable. Finkelstein rejects the notion that later building activity has destroyed or obscured remains from the 10th century BC, because significant remains from the Middle Bronze and 8th century BC have been excavated there. As such, he concludes from the minimal remains relating to the Iron IIA period discovered that Jerusalem was "no more than a small, remote highlands village,

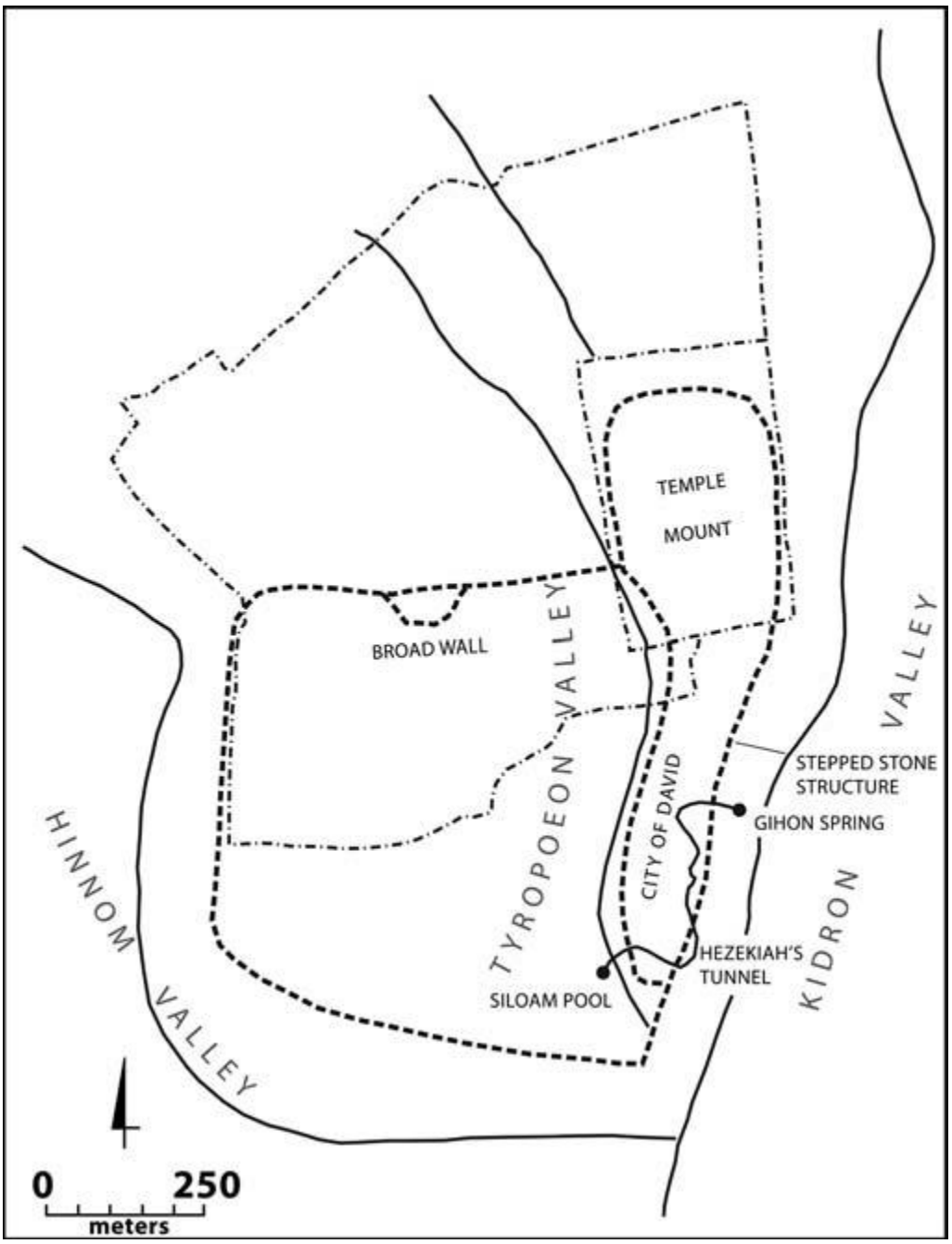

Fig. 2[36]: Ancient Jerusalem, with the eastern ridge formed by the Temple Mount and what is commonly known as the City of David on the east and the area of Jerusalem's late Iron Age expansion on the western hill across the Tyropoeon Valley, in the approximate area of the broad wall.

[36] Reproduced from Amihai Mazar, 'The Search For David and Solomon', p. 128

and not the exquisitely decorated capital of a great empire".[37] Note though that this is related to his Low Chronology dating for some monumental structures which are discussed below.[38]

Cahill exemplifies the opposite view, in noting that what excavations have been done have revealed significant disruption due to later building activity, as well as the fact that some of the most important areas are unavailable to excavation; together these form a major impediment to reconstruction the City of David's early occupation. Cahill does not believe that the evidence for occupation is significantly different for any period from the Early Bronze Age until sometime into the Iron Age, when the evidence increases for the later Iron Age. Even for the Middle Bronze, she notes that there is minimal evidence for the occupants who used the large defensive tower complex mentioned above and the associated Middle Bronze wall sitting above it on the slope.[39] That having been said, Finkelstein does also recognise that the impossibility of excavation on the Temple Mount, and therefore a large area of were Iron Age occupation may be found, is a problem.[40] It is also important to mention that Na'aman has highlighted the problem of disruption of later building activity in noting that even there is at present little evidence for Late Bronze Jerusalem, the correspondence of king Abdi-Heba from the Amarna archive would seem to indicate that a city was to be found there at that time.[41]

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[37] Israel Finkelstein, 'King Solomon's Golden Age: History or Myth?' in T*he Quest for Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*, ed. by Brian Schmidt (Brill: Leiden, 2007), pp. 107-116 (p. 113)

[38] Finkelstein, 'King Solomon's Golden Age', pp. 112-113; For the large Middle Bronze defensive system around the Gihon spring see Ronny Reich, Eli Shukron, "Light at the End of the Tunnel: Warren's Shaft Theory of David's Conquest Shattered" *BAR* 25:01 (1999): 22-33, 72; Ronny Reich et al., 'Recent Discoveries in the City of David, Jerusalem', *IEJ* 57:2 (2007), pp. 153-169; Ronny Reich, *Excavating the City of David: Where Jerusalem's History Began* (Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 2011);

[39] Jane Cahill, 'Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy: The Archaeological Evidence' in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The Fist Temple Period*, ed. by Andrew Vaughn and Ann Killebrew (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), pp. 13-80 (pp. 75-79)

[40] Israel Finkelstein et al., 'The "The Mound on the Mount: A Possible Solution to the "Problem With Jerusalem"', *JHS* 12 (2011) < http://www.jhsonline.org/Articles/article_159.pdf> [accessed 14th December 2013] (pp. 2-24); Cahill, 'Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy', pp. 76-77; A. Mazar, 'The Search For David and Solomon', p. 127

[41] Nadav Na'aman, 'The Contribution of the Amarna Letters to the Debate on Jerusalem's Political Position in the 10th Century BCE', *BASOR* 304 (1996), pp. 17-27

II.I.II: Monumental Construction

Immediately south of the Ophel, which sits between the Temple Mount and the City of David proper, is the highest part of the City as it exists now. Excavations by Macalister and Duncan, Kenyon and Shiloh uncovered an artificial stone rampart on the eastern side of this area uphill from the Gihon spring, composed of a series of stepped terraces. These terraces are formed by stone-walled boxes with an earthen fill above a lower layer of boulders. Rubble above the boxes connects them to a stone mantle which rises from east to west in a series of steps up the hillside.[42] There is significant disagreement over both the process of construction and the dating of these features. Cahill argues that both the terraces and the stone mantle were built as one structure approximately during the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron I on the basis on the pottery recovered from the elements below the stone mantle, constructed to serve as a supporting rampart for the space immediately above it atop the hill, and essentially the same view is held by A. Mazar.[43] Steiner prefers to see two separate phases, with the terraces built in the early Iron I followed by the stone mantle in in early Iron II period.[44] The Stepped Stone Structure is now commonly thought to be the 'Millo' mentioned above.

The Large Stone Structure was uncovered beginning in 2005 in excavations directed by E. Mazar. Containing Iron IIA pottery and built upon an earth accumulation containing Iron I pottery, E. Mazar has stated quite openly that she believes this structure to date from the 10th century BC

[42] Jane Cahill, 'Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy', p. 34

[43] Cahill, 'Jerusalem at the Time of the United Monarchy', pp. 34-54; A. Mazar, 'The Search for David and Solomon', p. 125

[44] Margreet Steiner, 'The Evidence from Kenyon's Excavations in Jerusalem: A Response Essay', in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The Fist Temple Period*, ed. by Andrew Vaughn and Anne Killebrew (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 347-364 (pp. 351-361); see also her publication of Kenyon's excavation of the area, chapter 4 and 5 in Margreet Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961-1967, Volume III: The Settlement in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Finkelstein has not made extensive comment on the construction of the Stepped Stone Structure, though he does regard the mantle as dating to the 9th century BC at the earliest, see Israel Finkelstein et.al., 'Has King David's Palace in Jerusalem Been Found?', *TA* 34:2 (2007), pp. 142-164 (pp. 151-154)

and to be the palace of king David described in 2 Sam 5:11.[45] Finkelstein has challenged her dating of the structure. Initially he questioned both the unity of the walls found as one structure and argued that parts of it may be Hellenistic, and more recently has argued that Iron IIA pottery was found in the earth layer upon which the walls were built, giving it a much later date in his chronology. He has further criticised what he sees as a naive and outdated approach to biblical scholarship and its interaction with archaeology in the straightforward connection of an archaeological find to a biblical verse.[46] A. Mazar and Faust regard the earth accumulation containing Iron I pottery as having accumulated *around* the structure rather than the structure having been built *into* it, and with their subsequent dating of the structure to the Iron I both have proposed that it be identified with the pre-Davidic מצדת ציון 'Fortress of Zion' which David captures in 2 Sam 5:7.[47]

Aside from the Stepped and Large Stone Structures, which most agree existed at least by the 10th century BC, significant remains that are potentially datable to the period of the United Monarchy or Iron IIA have proved either elusive or ambiguous in the areas available for exploration in Jerusalem. Some Iron IIA building remains have been uncovered in the limited places that Iron Age levels have been reached in the Givati parking lot excavations on the north-western side of the City of David ridge, but the excavator is wary that any Iron IIA defences are likely to be found there, and must have been further upslope if they existed at all.[48]

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[45] See the initial excavation report, Eilat Mazar, *The Palace of King David: Excavations at the Summit of the City of David: Preliminary Report of Seasons 2005-2007* (Jerusalem: Shoham, 2009); Eilat Mazar, 'Did I Find King David's Palace?', *BAR*, 32 (2006), pp. 16-27

[46] Israel Finkelstein et.al., 'Has King David's Palace in Jerusalem Been Found?'; Israel Finkelstein, 'The "Large Stone Structure" in Jerusalem: Reality versus Yearning', *ZDPV* 127:1 (2011), pp. 1-10 (pp. 7-8)

[47] A. Mazar, 'The Search For David and Solomon', p. 127; Amihai Mazar, 'Archaeology and the Biblical Narrative: The Case of the United Monarchy', in *One God – One Cult – One Nation*, ed. by Reinhard Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann (New York: de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 29-58 (p. 45); Avraham Faust, 'The Large Stone Structure in the City of David: A Reexamination', *ZDPV* 126:2 (2010), pp. 116-130 (pp. 127-128)

[48] Doron Ben-Ami, 'Notes of the Iron IIA Settlement in Jerusalem in Light of Excavations in the Northwest of the City of David', *TA* 41 (2014), pp. 3-19; However, one of the other excavators has emphasised to the present author that the areas investigated for Iron IIA remains so far were quite limited and that the significance of Iron Age remains there may not be determined for some time; Yana Tchekhanovets, in conversation.

II.I.III: Functionalist Approaches to the Jerusalem of the United Monarchy

Functionalist assumptions seem to pervade discussion of Jerusalem in this period, both in terms of how the archaeological remains are judged on their own merits and in terms of how they are related to the biblical text. To begin with Finkelstein, a quote is rather illustrative:

> "[O]ver a century of archaeological explorations in Jerusalem—the capital of the glamorous biblical United Monarchy—has failed to reveal evidence for any meaningful tenth century building activity…tenth-century Jerusalem—the city of the time of David and Solomon—was no more than a small, remote highlands village, and not the exquisitely decorated capital of a great empire."[49]

This thinking fits quite neatly into the definition of the functionalist approach to archaeological interpretation provided in Part I above. Finkelstein assumes first and foremost that the capital of the state that he reads in the biblical texts concerning the United Monarchy needs both to have had and to be shown to have had monumental structures. That is to say that for Finkelstein, he presumes that such a state would naturally have needed to have a capital conspicuous for its size and its impressive public architecture[50], therefore presuming further that a lack of demonstrability of such a capital in the archaeological record inherently undercuts the potential historicity of the United Monarchy that he himself has drawn from the biblical texts. The question is therefore why Finkelstein requires that Jerusalem had to have been a capital with archaeological demonstrable signs of wealth and impressive public building projects, for he is not explicit on his underlying understanding.

The implication seems to be that he is working from the functionalist basis that a state that exercised the territorial control, degree of administration and power to utilise resources that he sees in the biblical United Monarchy would only have been one wherein those elements of state power both required and were reflected in a high degree of material development. He seems to have in mind a degree of material development reflective of the state's ability to marshal

[49] Finkelstein, 'King Solomon's Golden Age', pp. 112-113

[50] As is discussed in Part III, the notion of "public architecture" in the ancient Near Eastern context in not necessarily valid.

resources in a way that enabled it to produce infrastructure and material culture that both facilitate and symbolically or propagandistically reflected its own power and the complexity of the systems by which that power was maintained.

The methodological question of whether or not such presumptions are appropriate for the time and place under scrutiny seems to be lacking here, and what results is an anachronistic assumption that a specialist bureaucratic mode of governance, which is to say legal-rational authority, would have been operative. When the position of A. Mazar is examined, the same assumptions are seen to be at work despite the different reading of the archaeological evidence for the nature of Jerusalem during the time of the United Monarchy. He comments initially:

> "The evaluation of Jerusalem as a city in the tenth to ninth centuries is crucial for defining state formation in Judah—if there was no capital, there likely was no kingdom."[51]

However, because he prefers to date both the Large and Stepped Stone Structures such that they were in existence by the time of the United Monarchy and accepts that poor preservation explains the lack of other remains attributable to the tenth century BC, he states that these two Structures are:

> "a clear indication that Jerusalem was much more than a small village; in fact it contained the largest-known structure of the time in the region and thus could easily serve as a power base for a central authority."[52]

What kind of authority and on what sociological basis it exercised power or was legitimated is not discussed, but it seems clear that A. Mazar like Finkelstein is assuming that a state like the biblical United Monarchy, if historical, both required and was reflected by a high level of material development in terms of its exercise of authority and administration, in particular as this pertains to its capital. Again however, this is an anachronistic assumption of a bureaucratic

[51] A. Mazar, 'The Search For David and Solomon', p. 125

[52] A. Mazar, 'The Search For David and Solomon', p. 127

legal-rational authority appropriate perhaps to the modern world but lacking in justification in its application to ancient Israel. A. Mazar's position counters that of Finkelstein not by questioning the unspoken bases of that position, but instead by buying into the same and simply arguing for a different understanding of the same body of evidence. Essentially the same pattern will repeat itself below.

For both scholars discussed above, a justification of the assumption that monumental buildings would be both a reflection of the complexity and coercive power of the state as well as necessary for the facilitation of the exercise of that complexity or power is lacking; how such an aspect of material culture specifically facilitates the trade, military, administrative and resource coordination functions of a state such as the United Monarchy goes unexplored, as does any exploration of why a lack thereof negates the ability of a state to exercise those functions.[53] The matter of administration specifically is picked up in section II.II following.

II.II: Writing for State Purposes in the Iron Age IIA

It is important to discuss the evidence for, context, and use of writing in this period because the biblical texts discussing the United Monarchy speak of court scribes and the use of writing in the reigns of David and Solomon. The functionalist approach has therefore taken up the subject as a central issue for deciding whether or not the archaeological record supports the biblical text. By its particular understanding of both, the functionalist approach has found the archaeological evidence for writing at that time to discredit the historicity of the biblical account. That biblical texts should presume that writing was utilised for the state's purposes at the time on the United

[53] Note also the comments of David Ussishkin regarding Lachish stratum IV, which he considers to be of the 9th century BC, with its inner and outer city walls and large palace podium. He states that such 'public' buildings are indicators of "high level control systems" and appear as part of classification lists for chiefdoms and states. He further regards to large size of Lachish in the 9th century as an indicator that the growth of Jerusalem must have occurred then as well, because he finds it unlikely that a provincial city like Lachish would be larger than the capital at that time. The stark functionalism here is difficult to miss, as the lack of justification presented for views such as that regarding the equation between the size of capital and larger provincial cities, see David Ussishkin, 'A Synopsis of Stratigraphical Chronological and Historical Issues' in *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish* vol. I, ed. by David Ussishkin (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2004), pp. 50-119 (pp. 78-82)

Monarchy is not surprising; the production of numerous administrative texts and the important role of scribes are well attested and not disputed in the Egyptian and ancient Near Eastern civilisations that predated, coexisted with and postdated monarchic Israel. The Amarna archive of correspondence between Late Bronze Age Canaanite vassals and the Egyptian court exemplifies the influence of both the Mesopotamian and Egyptian scribal apparatuses in the period preceding the development of a settled Israel as well as new states in the wider Levant in the early Iron Age.

It appears that David has only one ספר/סופר 'scribe', however the personal name is inconsistent across each mention and possibly corrupted in the Hebrew text of Samuel and Kings; it is given as שריה in the short list of David's officials in 2 Sam 8, then as שיא in the similar list in 2 Sam 20. As for Solomon, he appears two have two scribes in the list of his officials given in 1 Kgs 4, Elihoreph and Ahiah, who would appear to be the sons of David's scribe, though again the name is somewhat different, given as שישא.[54] In addition to these individuals, the lists in 2 Sam 8 and 1 Kgs 4 both mention Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud the מזכיר. The Hifil participle of the root זכר, meaning literally 'one who causes to remember', it is generally rendered by extension as a 'recorder' but the meaning is perhaps more akin to 'proclaim', hence a herald similar to those known from Mesopotamia and Egypt. Although the same office occurs later in the history of the Divided Monarchy, no light is shed on the functions specific to this role, though still a connection to written materials should not be ruled out.[55] 2 Sam 11:14-15 describes David as writing a letter himself, as opposed to dictating to a scribe as per Jeremiah and Baruch, just as literacy is supposed for later kings.[56] Additionally, Solomon is the first biblical king whose reign

[54] See the discussion of scribes and the possible origin of the name of David's scribe in the Egyptian term for the office in Nili Sacher Fox, *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000), pp. 96-107; As shall be discussed in Part III, inheritance of a royal office in both ancient Israel and the wider Near East is in fact quite natural and to be expected, though the problem of whether or not these different spellings are in fact variants of the name of the same person remains.

[55] Mordecai Cogan, *I Kings*, Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2001), pp. 201-202; Fox, *In the Service of the King*, pp. 110-114

[56] See references in David Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 118, n. 31; Although coming from some time after David would have lived in the 10th century BC, in one of his

is ostensibly mentioned as being recorded in a unified work, the 'Book of the Deeds of Solomon' in 1 Kgs 11:41, though the term 'book' is of course not intended in the modern sense. In sum, the biblical text presupposes a limited level of literacy in the time of the United Monarchy, limited so far as the text reveals to a small cadre of figures connected to the court.

It is broadly acknowledged amongst scholars that the Iron IIA represents a period of limited literacy and scribal productivity, at least in comparison to the Iron IIB period when literacy and the production of different epigraphic texts clearly expanded significantly in the land of Israel.[57] Epigraphic evidence for writing in the Iron I and IIA periods is certainly not absent, but these periods seem to have been somewhat of a trough in between the two peaks of literacy and scribal output in the Late Bronze Age, when city states and the Egyptian administration in Canaan employed scribes to communicate with the Egyptian court in a Canaanite-influenced form of Akkadian, and the Iron IIB period as noted above. This section therefore discusses the present state of evidence and how that evidence has been considered within the functionalist approach. Section III.II below will lay out a quite contrary understanding of the evidence within the sociologically-informed approach.

Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from circa 800 BC, king Yariris of Carchemish appears to boast of his mastery of four different writing systems and a number of languages, see *CHLI* II.24

[57] See the recent extensive discussion of the process of change and expansion in Hebrew writing and literacy in William Schniedewind, *Social History of Hebrew* (Yale: New Haven, 2013); The same situation, including the uptake of writing for state purposes discussed below, seems to be mirrored in Ammon as well, see Craig Tyson, *The Ammonites: Elites, Empires, and Sociopolitcal Change (1000-500 BCE)* (New York: T&T Clark, 2014) pp. 80-106

II.II.I: Evidence of Writing in the Early Iron Age[58]

With the transition from the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age, the scribal situation in Canaan change significantly. Three scripts are attested in Late Bronze Age Canaan: the cuneiform Akkadian used to write diplomatic correspondence, most notably the Amarna letters, alphabetic cuneiform similar to that innovated at Ugarit and known from a few examples in the southern Levant, and finally the linear alphabetic script whose continuation in the Iron Age is commonly referred to as the 'Phoenician script'. Only the lattermost survived to be used into the Iron Age in Canaan, having emerged from being used primarily as a property marker to becoming the standard script for the whole variety of uses to which writing would be put in the coming centuries.[59] The conscious uptake by royal patronage of the linear alphabet to write monumental inscriptions is difficult to trace back before the 9th century BC on present evidence.[60]

As a perusal of the above-referenced scholarship reveals, many of the inscriptions available from this approximate horizon are short or fragmentary and tend to mark property or be votive. Potential evidence for administration is both minimal and ambiguous.[61] The only written examples that might be demonstrative of administrative scribal activity relatable to the tenth century BC would be a few ostraca with apparent hieratic numerals from the Arad corpus attributed to strata XII and XI, but they are faded and hard to read, and their stratigraphic

[58] This overview of the catalogue of the epigraphic evidence in this period is not intended to be exhaustive but rather more general, due to the constraints of space. Readers are referred to the surveys in the following: Seth Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 2009); Christopher Rollston, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel* (Atlanta: SBL 2010); Ryan Byrne, 'The Refuge of Scribalism in Iron I Palestine', *BASOR* 345 (2007), pp. 1-31; Israel Finkelstein, Benjamin Sass, 'The West Semitic Alphabetic Inscriptions, Late Bronze II to Iron IIA: Archaeological Context, Distribution and Chronology', *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 2 (2013), pp. 149-220; Note that for the last reference, the Low Chronology is assumed.

[59] Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, pp. 76-77, 106-107;

[60] See chapter 4 of Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*; Here Sanders argues that this uptake was done in a consciously nationalistic fashion by way of more deliberately localised language, orthography and content that continued to develop in the Iron IIB, the Mesha Stele being the most outstanding example.

[61] Note that the term 'bureaucratic' is avoided here for the purpose of clarity, as this has a particular meaning a significance with the Weber conception of authority used by Schloen, while the broader term 'administration' is used in its place, as even the idea of patrimonial kingdom must incorporate some notion of state managerial operations.

attribution as well as the dating of the aforementioned strata are uncertain.[62] In the first two seasons of excavation at the early Iron IIA site Khirbet Qeiyafa, seventy-six jar handles were found to have thumbed impressions on the handles below the joint with the shoulder, most with one impression but some two or three. The excavators therefore proposed thumb impressions may prefigure that development of the 'LMLK' system in the Iron IIB.[63] The assemblage from Qeiyafa is the largest of thumb impressed jar handles known from the early Iron Age, however the large Iron I Philistine city of Ekron has also produced a large collecting of jar handles with various markings including thumb impressions, interpreted by Ben-Shlomo as possibly part of a wider administrative or commercial system in Philistia at this time.[64] As the excavators of Qeiyafa observed, impressed jar handles are otherwise found only in small numbers; fifteen were found in the Iron Age strata XVII-XV and VIIb at Jokneam, while at

[62] These are ostraca 76-81. 76-80 were attributed in the original unified publication of the ostraca to stratum XI and 81 to stratum XII. This publication was on the basis that stratum XII was thought to be of the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC while stratum XI, the first discernible fortress was thought to be of the tenth century BC, see Yohanan Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981) pp. 3-7, 99-101; Now however there is dispute both in terms of stratigraphy and the palaeography of the ostraca. Both A. Mazar and Finkelstein accept that Arad XII is the same as the 'Great Arad' mentioned in Sheshonq I's list on conquered cities from circa 925 BC, albeit Finkelstein now tentatively. Finkelstein also considers stratum XI to be late in the Iron IIA period, so towards the late 9th century BC in his chronological understanding, see Finkelstein, Sass, 'The West Semitic Alphabetic Inscriptions', p. 169; Alexander Fantalkin, Israel Finkelstein, 'The Sheshonq I Campaign and the 8th- Century-BCE Earthquake-More on the Archaeology and History of the South in the Iron I-IIA', *TA* 33 (2006), pp. 18-42; Rollston, cautious due to the aforementioned issues, nonetheless dates ostracon 76 to the 9th century on palaeographic grounds, see Christopher Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, p. 35; Christopher Rollston, 'Northwest Semitic Cursive Scripts of Iron II' in *An Eye for Form: Epigraphic Essays in Honour of Frank Moore Cross*, ed. by Jo Ann Hackett and Walter Aufrecht (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014), pp. 202-234 (p. 214, n. 23)

[63] Hoo-Goo Kang, Yosef Garfinkel, 'The Early Iron IIA Pottery' in *Khirbet Qeiyafa Vol. 1: Excavation Report 2007-2008*, ed. by Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2009), pp. 119-149 (pp. 137-144)

[64] David Ben-Shlomo, 'Marked Jar Handles from Tel Miqne-Ekron' in *Material Culture Matters: Essays on the Archaeology of the Southern Levant in Honor of Seymour Gitin*, ed. by John Spencer, Robert Mullins and Aaron Brody (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014), pp. 17-32

Taanach a few come from both clear Iron I and IIA levels, including stratum IIB, which on the basis of ceramics is well equated with stratum VA-IVB at Megiddo, discussed below.[65]

Still, the search for evidence for a scribal culture that might be utilised by an emerging state need not be limited to potential examples of administrative output, as some form of education would presumably have to have taken place in order to pass on the scribal skillset. The most obvious possible indication of such education in this period comes from the small site of Tel Zayit in the Shephelah, where a complete linear alphabetic abecedary was found in secondary use built into the wall of a building dating to the 10th century BC in the understanding of the excavators. The abecedary was found to have palaeographic features that place it in this century as well.[66] The presence of a text that lays out the most fundamental tool that a scribe has to master, the alphabet itself, is a potential though not certain indicator of scribal training being undertaken at the location of discovery, it is not possible to be conclusive. Nor does the Zayit abecedary specifically indicate scribal training within a standardised or governmental context.[67]

The Gezer calendar may offer some more promise. It is the longest inscription from the early Iron Age found in the territory of Israel and happens to have been found at one of the cities of

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[65] Kang, Garfinkel, 'The Early Iron IIA Pottery', pp. 44; Walter Rast, *Taanach I: Studies in the Iron Age Pottery* (Cambridge, ASOR, 1987), pp. 3-9, 17-18, 24-27, figs. 4:5, 10:12-14, 32:4; Amnon Ben-Tor, 'Jokneam' in *NEAEHL* vol. 3, ed. by Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993), pp. 805-811

[66] Ron Tappy, P. Kyle McCarter, Marilyn J. Lundberg, Bruce Zuckerman , 'An Abecedary of the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E from the Judean Shephelah', *BASOR* 344 (2006), pp. 5-46; Ron Tappy, 'Tel Zayit and the Tel Zayit Abecedary in Their Regional Context' in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, ed. by Ron Tappy and P. Kyle McCarter (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), pp. 1-44: McCarter, 'Palaeographic Notes on the Tel Zayit Abecedary'; Finkelstein has since challenged the stratigraphic situation presented by Tappy, to which Tappy has ably responded, see Israel Finkelstein et al., 'Writing in Iron IIA Philistia in the Light of the Tel Zayit /Zeta Abecedary' *ZDPV* 124 (2008), pp. 1-14; Ron Tappy, 'The Depositional History of Iron Age Tel Zayit: 'A Response to Finkelstein, Sass and Singer-Avitz', *Eretz-Israel* 30 (2011), pp. 127-143

[67] Tappy et al., 'An Abecedary of the Mid-Tenth Century', p. 42; Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, p. 111; Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, pp. 109-112, n. 19, 129-130; See Part III for further discussion of scribal schools and education in ancient Israel.

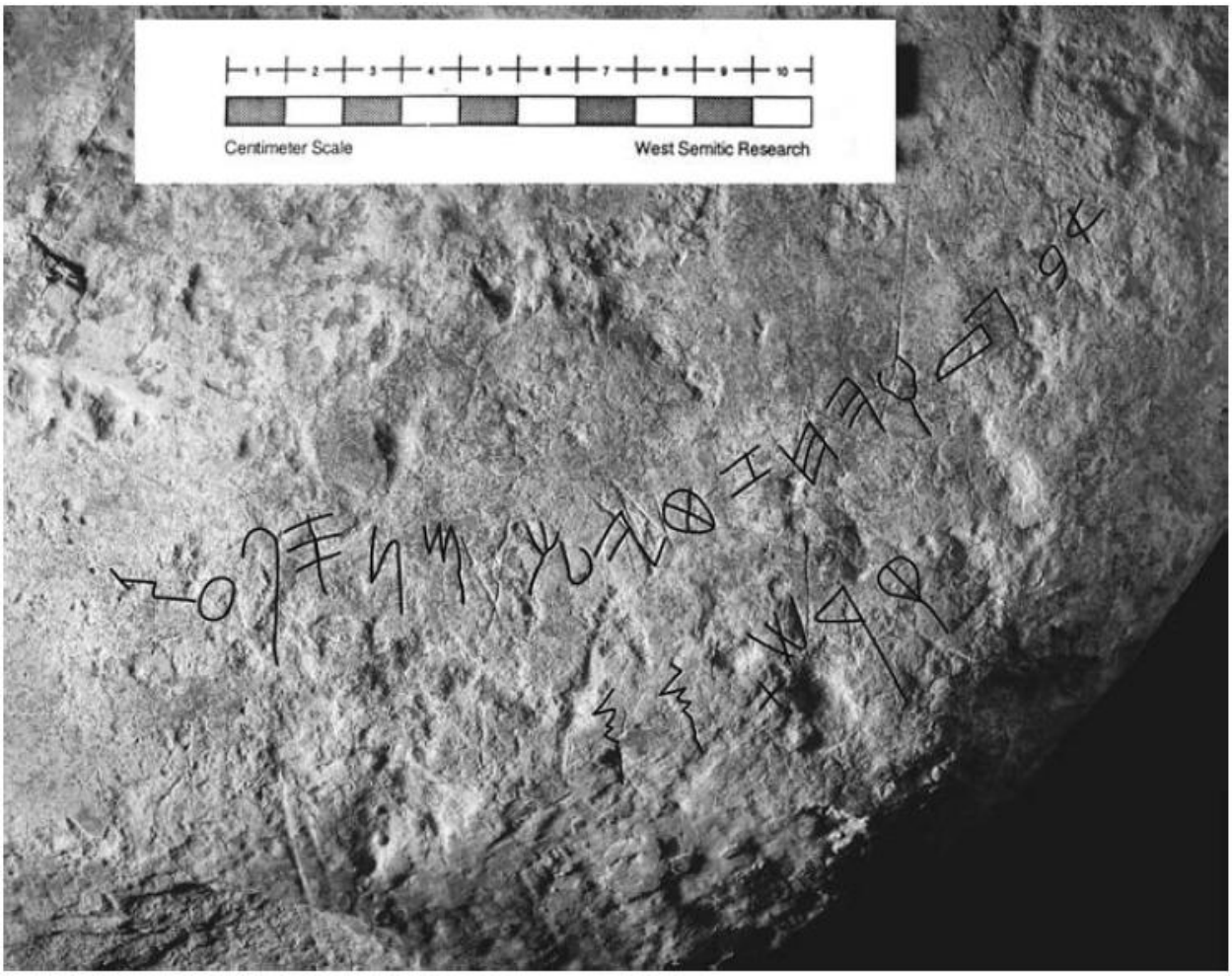

Fig. 3[68]: The Tel Zayit abecedary.

Solomon's building program.[69] Any significance this might have held is unfortunately compromised by its discovery in a spoil dump, thus it is out of stratigraphic context, and is placed paleographically in the tenth century BC or very early ninth at the latest.[70] It appears to be a calendar that divides the year by parts of the agricultural cycle, making it of practically universal relevance to the Iron Age populace. Its exact reading though is difficult, as it is hard to know what to make of the affixed *waw* that appears on four of the eight instances of the word ירח 'month'; Schniedewind, McCarter and Sanders follow the interpretation, already discussed

[68] Reproduced from P. Kyle McCarter, 'Palaeographic Notes on the Tel Zayit Abecedary' in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, ed. by Ron Tappy and P. Kyle McCarter (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), pp. 45-59 (p. 46)

[69] 1 Kgs 9:15, see the discussion below.

[70] Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, pp. 29-31

by Sivan, that it signifies a dual noun with a singular suffix, thus twelve months are totalled in the calendar if this is assumed.[71] The idea that it could be the exercise of a novice scribe goes back to Albright, and is argued for on account of the soft limestone material and apparent signs of erasure and reuse by McCarter.[72] Sanders has discussed why it nonetheless cannot be linked to any notion of state administration. In short, he states that the Gezer calendar, like the Zayit abecedary does not "bear any of the well-known marks of a Near Eastern bureaucracy".[73] The calendar does not reflect the distinct manner or activities that are distinctive of the needs of a state. Rather, its uneven division of the agricultural year represents the "literization" of something meaningful to the everyday lives of most of the general populace.[74]

Three other relatively recent inscriptions are worth some discussion as well. The first comes from the E. Mazar's City of David excavations discussed in the section above. A short and incomplete inscription was found inscribed on two fragments of a pithos belonging to, according to the excavators, the early Iron IIA. The *editio princeps* did not reconstruct the available letters in a way that made a translation obvious. However, the significance of direct evidence for the ostensible presence of writing in Jerusalem during the early Iron IIA, the tenth century BC as the traditional chronology was assumed, was not lost on the authors.[75] More recently Petrovitch, following a suggestion by Galil, has argued that the available letters and the reconstruction of the vestiges of a few others suggest a reading of 'pseudo-wine', that is to say a

[71] William Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 75-76; P. Kyle McCarter, 'The Gezer Calendar', *COS* no. 2.85; Sanders, *Invention of Hebrew*, p. 110; Daniel Sivan, 'The Gezer Calendar and Northwest Semitic Linguistics', *IEJ* 48 (1998), pp. 101-105; For the text of the calendar see *KAI* 182

[72] As referenced by Byrne, who also considers it possibly a practice text, 'The Refuge of Scribalism', pp. 21-22; McCarter, 'Gezer Calendar', p. 222

[73] Sanders, *Invention of Hebrew*, p. 110; Though it does not detract from the usefulness of his work, it is recognised here that Sanders does consciously refer to 'bureaucracy' throughout this volume and seems to assume a rather modern legal-rational idea of how administration in the kingdoms of ancient Israel should be characterised, and this subject is returned to in Part III. It noted though that Sanders does recognise that society was typically organised along tribal-familial lines and recognises the work of Stager and Schloen, see *The Invention of Hebrew,* p. 124, n. 48

[74] Sanders, *Invention of Hebrew*, pp. 110-111

[75] Eilat Mazar, David Ben-Shlomo, Shmuel Ahituv, 'An Inscribed Pithos from the Ophel, Jerusalem, *IEJ* 63:1 (2013), pp. 39-49

lowgrade product, followed by a מ indicating the place of source or supplier's name, preceded by a נ that may be final letter in word הראִשון 'the first', as part of formula indicating the regnal year of production. Though this reconstruction is tenuous, Petrovitch notes that strong Egyptian parallels, as well as partial parallels from the later Iron Age wine vessels at Gibeon, are available.[76]

Khirbet Qeiyafa has produced two linear alphabetic inscriptions aside from the impressed jar handles. The most recent inscription was, like the Ophel inscription, composed of both clear and partial letters across multiple reconstructed sherds, this time on the shoulder of a storage jar. The clear portion appears to be the name 'Ishba'al ben-Beda'. Ishba'al is a name otherwise known from the Hebrew Bible, including the name of Saul's son and brief successor in 1 Chronicles. Beda' was not a name previously known from the Hebrew Bible or inscriptions, but its existence in Arabic, where it indicates an action of creation, raises the possibility that it is a hypocoristic name where a theophoric element has been abbreviated.[77] Galil has now suggested the partial letters, which precede the name, can be reconstructed as כפרת 'expiation', thus reconstructing "Expiation of Ishba'al son of Beda", indicating the contents of the vessel.[78] Though without commenting on Galil's extended translation, Rollston's preliminary comments are supportive of the translation and approximate dating in the *editio princeps* and even more significantly he opines that the inscription is clearly from the hand of a "trained scribal professional", and that further:

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[76] Douglas Petrovitch, ''The Ophel Pithos Inscriptions: Its Dating, Language, Translation and Script', *Palestine Exploration Quaterly* 147 (2015), pp. 130-145 and see references there.

[77] Yosef Garfinkel, Mitka Golub, Haggai Misgav, Saar Ganor, 'The ʾIšbaʿal Inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa', *BASOR* 373 (2015), pp. 217-233

[78] Gershon Galil, 'A Very, Very Short note on the New Qeiyafa Inscription from Gershon Galil', *Zwinglius Redivivus*, https://zwingliusredivivus.wordpress.com/2015/06/10/a-very-very-short-note-on-the-new-qeiyafa-inscription-from-gershon-galil/ [accessed 5th of August 2015]; The verbal root כפר means to 'make atonement, ransom, expiation'. Galil's reconstruction seems to assume that in this case it is a noun that ends with ת- in the construct state, so the lemma would presumably be כפרה, however no such noun is noun is known (at present) and the usual noun derived from the stem does not have this ending in the construct. Speculatively though, a feminine participle in the construct could be assumed. See 'כפר' in *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* vol. IV, ed. by David Clines (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) and following entries for nouns of that root.

> "Those who wish to argue that there were no trained scribal professionals in ancient Israel and Judah during the 10th and 9th centuries continue to find themselves defending a position that is flying in the face of the epigraphic evidence for the entire southern Levant."[79]

The most well-known inscription from Qeiyafa of course is the ostracon found and published nearer to the beginning of the excavation and it, like the site itself, has attracted much discussion. Somewhat ironically however, it seems the inscription may at present have little to offer in terms of content, as finding a sustainable reading has thus far been elusive. Galil claimed to be able to distinguish distinct words, including some with roots that he felt where indicative of Hebrew specifically, such as מלך 'king' and עשה 'do, make'. As such, he argued that the ostracon could be a scribal practice text, and therefore showed both that scribes were active even some distance from Jerusalem and that early written sources biblical sources were possible at this time.[80] Rollston however pointed out that such distinguishing markers in the language were both doubtful and dependent on how one wished to read the ostracon's text itself. He concluded that making out the text and thus translating it was not possible.[81] Finally, the excavators of Qeiyafa have, in the final report, essentially admitted much the same as Rollston, that it is too difficult at this time to make out a clear structure to the text and thus to translate it.[82]

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[79] Christopher Rollston, 'Christopher Rollston on the Ishba'l[sic] Inscription: A Guest Post', *Zwinglius Redivivus*, https://zwingliusredivivus.wordpress.com/2015/06/21/christopher-rollston-on-the-ishbal-inscription-a-guest-post/ [accessed 5th of August 2015]

[80] Gershon Galil, 'The Hebrew Inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa/Neta'im: Script, Language, Literature and History', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 41 (2009), pp.193-242

[81] Christopher Rollston, 'The Khirbet Qeiyafa Ostracon: Methodological Musings and Caveats', *TA* 38 (2011), pp. 67-82; see also Christopher Rollston, 'What's the Oldest Hebrew Inscription?', *BAR* 38:3 (2012), pp. 32-40, 66-68

[82] Haggai Misgav, Yosef Garfinkel, Saar Ganor, 'Chapter 14. The Ostracon' in *Khirbet Qeiyafa Vol. 1: Excavation Report 2007-2008*, ed. by Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor, pp. 243-257; Ada Yardeni, 'Chapter 14A. Further Observations on the Ostracon', in in *Khirbet Qeiyafa Vol. 1: Excavation Report 2007-2008*, ed. by Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor, pp. 259-260

In short, it cannot be said that the early Iron Age was exactly a formless void in the history of writing and scribalism in the southern Levant, but nor can it be said that it was a time of great epigraphic fruitfulness, so far as the current evidence would indicate. More to the point, it has not yet yielded any inscriptions that can unambiguously be tied to the administrative activities that a 10th century BC state would undertake, such as receipts or letters regarding military activities and the movement of physical or human resources. Nor has it yielded any unambiguous evidence for the kind of royally-focused or sponsored writing that a kingdom would engender, such as monumental inscriptions or the archives or chronicles such as those mentioned as sources for the reign of Solomon and later kings. Though epigraphers are not dissuaded from dating by epigraphic judgements on their own terms, the issue of unresolved absolute chronology is of course a problem is this area as well, especially where inscriptions found in secure archaeological contexts are concerned.

II.II.II: Functionalist Approaches to Writing and Administration in the Iron Age IIA

To this end, Finkelstein argues that the lack of direct epigraphic evidence completely contradicts any notion that contemporary sources underlying the biblical description of the United Monarchy could have been composed at that time, and further considers the lack of evidence to be complete contraindication of the amount and sophistication of scribal productivity that a state such as that which is presumed by the biblical text would require. The lack of evidence from Jerusalem in particular is brought forward when he states:

> "The idea of a Solomonic archive in Jerusalem was a mirage. First, it was caught in a circular argument: There is genuine information about the 10th century > because there was an archive in Jerusalem > because a court-scribe is mentioned in the Bible."[83]

Following this he argues, regarding the state of the evidence, that "a century and half of excavations in Jerusalem and all other major Judahite sites has provided no evidence for meaningful scribal activity before the late 8th century BCE."[84]

[83] Israel Finkelstein, 'A Great United Monarchy? Archaeological and Historical Perspectives' in *One God – One Cult – One Nation*, ed. by Reinhard Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann (New York: de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 3-28 (p. 5)

A. Mazar makes two counter arguments. First, he makes the pertinent observation that:

> "[T]he Northern Kingdom of Israel, the existence of which is undisputed in the ninth century b.c.e., certainly has not yielded a large number of ninth-century inscriptions either!"[85]

He then goes on to argue that "the dearth of inscriptions from both these centuries is due to the wide use of perishable materials like parchment or papyrus for writing."[86]

So for Finkelstein, absence of evidence is indeed evidence of absence. Again, his particular reading of exactly what the biblical description of the United Monarchy is saying as well as his unspoken assumptions have conditioned the expectations he takes into his archaeological interpretation. His primary assumption that seems to be at play here is that an extensive amount of sophisticated scribal activity clearly utilised for state purposes is presumed within the biblical picture of the United Monarchy. Such purposes would be administrative, such as communication between responsible persons and the provision and management of human and other resources, or less prosaic purposes such as a royal chronicle or the composition of more narrative texts related to the monarchy's cult or legitimating ideology, as might be found in royal inscriptions. Thus, a lack of evidence for the use of writing for such purposes is understood as a critical blow against the historicity of the biblical United Monarchy.

For A. Mazar on the opposite side, note that the same pattern that occurred in the discussion over the City of David is repeating itself here: It is not that A. Mazar wishes to argue for a different interpretive methodology for dealing with the present state of the evidence, for indeed he has bought in to the same assumptions outlined above. These assumptions are again tied to those discussed in the context of the City of David above: that ancient Israel's states were founded on legal-rational authority and were bureaucratic in nature, with a separate, professionalised scribal group responsible for administering the state. Rather, he is seeking to

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[84] Finkelstein, 'A Great United Monarchy?', p. 5

[85] A. Mazar, 'The Search for David and Solomon', p. 135

[86] A. Mazar, 'The Search for David and Solomon', p. 135

remove the evidentiary gap by presenting an excuse, for lack of a better word, for the gap's existence rather than by questioning whether or not it is in fact significant. Essentially, he is simply presenting a different evaluation of the same material available to Finkelstein. This, it must be noted, does not detract from the logic or insightfulness of his arguments[87], but the positions of both Finkelstein and Mazar are thus left open to sociological critique as found in Part III.

II.III: Megiddo, Solomon and the State

Another of the aspects of the biblical picture of the United Monarchy that has been challenged more recently is the notion that in the 10th century BC a kingdom ruled from Jerusalem could have had control in all the areas that are indicated in the biblical text, especially in the northern country that later formed the Northern Kingdom. Such an understanding is of course chronologically dependant and, as will be discussed further herein, is dependent upon a functionalist understanding of the relationship between material culture and the complexity of a state.[88] The north covers the territory of most of the Israelite tribes except for Judah and the Benjaminite territory around Jerusalem. The Jezreel Valley[89] was a particularly important

[87] Anepigraphic seals and bullae for sealing parchment or papyrus scrolls dated by the relevant excavators to the 9th and even a few possibly from the 10th centuries BC have become available from A. Mazar's own excavations at Tel Rehov, from Reich and Shukron's excavations in the City of David and now from Khirbet Summeily lend credence to A. Mazar's argument, see Othmar Keel, Amihai Mazar, 'Iron Age Seals and Seal Impressions from Tel Rehov', *Eretz-Israel* 29 (2009), pp. 57-69*; Ronny Reich et al., 'Recent Discoveries"; James Hardin, Christopher Rollston, Jeffrey Blakely, 'Iron Age Bullae from Officialdom's Periphery: Khirbet Summeily in Broader Context', *NEA* 77 (2014), pp. 299-301

[88] Faust has argued though that using the common marker of the four-room house, it is clear that this house type is demonstrative of cultural uniformity across the Land of Israel, both north and south, and that claimed four-room houses outside of settlements associated at least in the traditions reported in the biblical text are often illusionary, see Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society*, pp. , 215-219; He also argued this point even more stridently in his paper 'Between Israel and Judah: Politics, Economy, Identity' read at the 2014 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in San Diego, CA.;

[89] Here the term 'Jezreel Valley' is used to include both the valley on the east side closer to the west bank of the Jordan around the settlement of Jezreel itself and the western side of the valley closer to the Mediterranean coast. They are sometimes distinguished by calling the eastern side by the Greek term 'Esdraelon', though such

geographic area; first, as a relatively large fertile plain it would be useful to any polity otherwise centred in the less agriculturally-ideal Cisjordanian hill country, as both the biblical United Monarchy and the Northern Kingdom were. Additionally, the Valley provides access to several neighbouring areas: the Galilee to the north, the Transjordan to the east, the Akko plain and from there on to the Phoenician cost to the northwest, the Sharon plain to the southwest, and the hill country to the south. Thus it is no surprise that archaeological excavations at Megiddo, some of the most extensive in the entire Near East have revealed successive cities of both the Bronze and Iron Age that were comparatively large and well-connected with regional trade.[90]

II.III.I: Megiddo in the Lists Pertaining to Solomon's Reign

Megiddo appears in two important lists pertaining to Solomon's reign. The list of Solomonic building projects in 1 Kgs 9:15-19 stretches from Hazor in the far north down to Megiddo in the Jezreel Valley and on to Gezer at the entrance to the Aijalon Valley route into the hill country and Jerusalem and Lower Beth-Horon at the top of the ascent, continuing to the as-yet unidentified Baalath then down to Tamar in the מדבר 'wilderness'.[91] The list's dating and historical reality behind it, as well as the archaeology of Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer in particular, have been a major point of contention in the debate concerning the United Monarchy, going back to Finkelstein's original proposal for the Low Chronology, wherein he criticised the traditionally accepted view of Yigael Yadin that the six-chambered gates discovered at those

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separation seems to be unfounded, see Adrian Curtis, *Oxford Bible Atlas* 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) pp. 21-22; cf. Melvin Hunt, 'Jezreel' in *ABD* vol. 3, ed. by David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), p. 850

[90] Baruch Halpern, 'Centre and Sentry: Megiddo's Role in Transit, Administration and Trade' in *Megiddo III: The 1992-1996 Seasons* vol. II, ed. by Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin and Baruch Halpern (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2000), pp. 535-575 (pp. 535-555)

[91] For an incisive analysis of this list that supports a date nearer to the tenth century BC than later, see William Schniedewind, 'Excavating the Text of 1 Kings 9' in *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: The New Pragmatism*, ed. by Thomas Levy (London: Equinox, 2010), pp. 241-249; Tamar is now identified with Meẓad Ḥaẓeva, sometimes referred to in the literature at 'En Hazeva/Haseva, see; Rudolph Cohen, 'Ḥaẓeva, Meẓad' in *NEAEHL* vol. 2, ed. by Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993), pp. 593-594; Rudolph Cohen, Yigael Yisrael, 'The Iron Age Fortresses at 'En Haseva', *Biblical Archaeologist* 58 (1995), pp. 223-235

three sites were demonstrative of Solomon's tenth century building program.[92] Whether or not this brief list represents what was believed by the biblical author(s) to be a complete list of Solomon's building activities at whatever the time of writing may have been, its presence in the account of his reign would seem to suggest that Megiddo and the other sites included were seen as significant projects and furthermore as aspects of Solomon's governmental and defensive setup.

Megiddo is the only one of the settlements appearing in the list in 1 Kgs 9 that also appears in the list in 1 Kgs 4:7-19 of Solomon's twelve 'prefects' and their 'provinces' responsible for provisioning the king and his household for one month of the year.[93] Though the list of the twelve prefects is given as locating them throughout "all Israel", it would appear that the use of "Israel" refers specifically to the territory of the northern tribes. Verse 19 tacks on a brief reference to one prefect in the "the land", which may therefore mean Judah.[94] Some of the names in the list appear to be corrupted and only the patronymics survive, long taken a possible sign that the source document was damaged.[95] The list is varied in its description of the prefects' provinces; vv. 8, 15-18 simply appear to place the prefect in an existing tribal zone without designating a centre, vv. 10-11, 13 seem to note the settlement in which the prefect resides along with the accompanying territory, and vv. 9, 12, 19 describe the territory alone,

[92] Yigael Yadin, 'Solomon's City Wall and Gate at Gezer', *IEJ* 8:2 (1958), pp. 80-86; Yigael Yadin, 'Megiddo of the Kings of Israel', *Biblical Archaeologist* 33:3 (1970), pp. 65-96; Israel Finkelstein, 'The Date of the Settlement in Philistine Canaan'; Israel Finkelstein, 'The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View'; Thomas, *An Investigation into the Current Debate*, pp. 4-9

[93] The term used for the prefects is the Niphal participle of נצב, so lit. 'one stationed (over something)'; this title is discussed in Fox, *In the Service of the King*, pp. 141-149

[94] Koert van Bekkum, '"The Situation is More Complicated": Archaeology and Text in the Historical Reconstruction of the Iron IIa Southern Levant' in *Exploring the Narrative: Jerusalem and Jordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, ed. by Noor Mulder-Hymans, Jeannette Boertien and Eveline van der Steen (London: T&T Clark, 2014), pp. 215-244 (pp. 230-231); Fox notes that Judah does appear here in the LXX, *In the Service of the King,* p. 145 n. 261

[95] van Bekkum, '"The Situation is More Complicated"', p.231; van Bekkum's proposal here that the lack of personal names for five prefects is a subversive slight is undercut by the fact that personal names are provided by most of the officers, and is otherwise tenuous.

mostly by way of the names of settlements, without any indication of a provincial centre.[96] This includes the territory of "Ba'ana son of Achilud: Ta'anach and Megiddo and all Beth-Shean, which is near Zarethan, beneath Jezreel from Beth-Shean up to Abel-Meholah, as far as the other side of Jokneam" in v. 12. Again, it would seem that in the text Megiddo is considered an important marker or settlement for this province, though its exact role is not clear. The historical veracity of both of these lists and the matter of their possible date, whether to the time of Solomon or after, is of course tied up with the issue of writing in the 10th century as discussed above.[97]

II.III.II: The Archaeology of Relevant Strata at Megiddo

There are four strata at Megiddo that have been central to Megiddo's place in the chronological and historical debate concerning the United Monarchy:

- Stratum VIA, Iron I
- Stratum VB, Iron IIA
- Stratum VA-IVB, Iron IIA[98]
- Stratum IVA, Iron IIB[99]

[96] Verse 14 gives a settlement in which the prefect was located without any other information.

[97] Finkelstein's position is clear, but in addition to what was discussed above concerning A. Mazar's position, note that he does accept that documents that would seem to include these lists could be derived from earlier royal records available to a later author, see Amihai Mazar, 'On Archaeology, Biblical History, and Biblical Archaeology' in *The Quest for Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*, ed. by Brian Schmidt (Brill: Leiden, 2007), pp. 21-33 (pp. 29-30)

[98] Despite the alphanumeric division of the University of Chicago excavations, this is now universally recognised as one stratum.

[99] See the current detailed stratigraphy chart in Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, Eric Cline, 'The 2004-2008 Seasons' in *Megiddo V: The 2004-2008 Seasons* vol. I, ed. by Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, Eric Cline (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), pp. 3-18 (p. 17)

Under the traditional interpretation following the High Chronology, the wealthy and developed Canaanite city of stratum VIA was destroyed at the time of the rise of the Israelite monarchy.

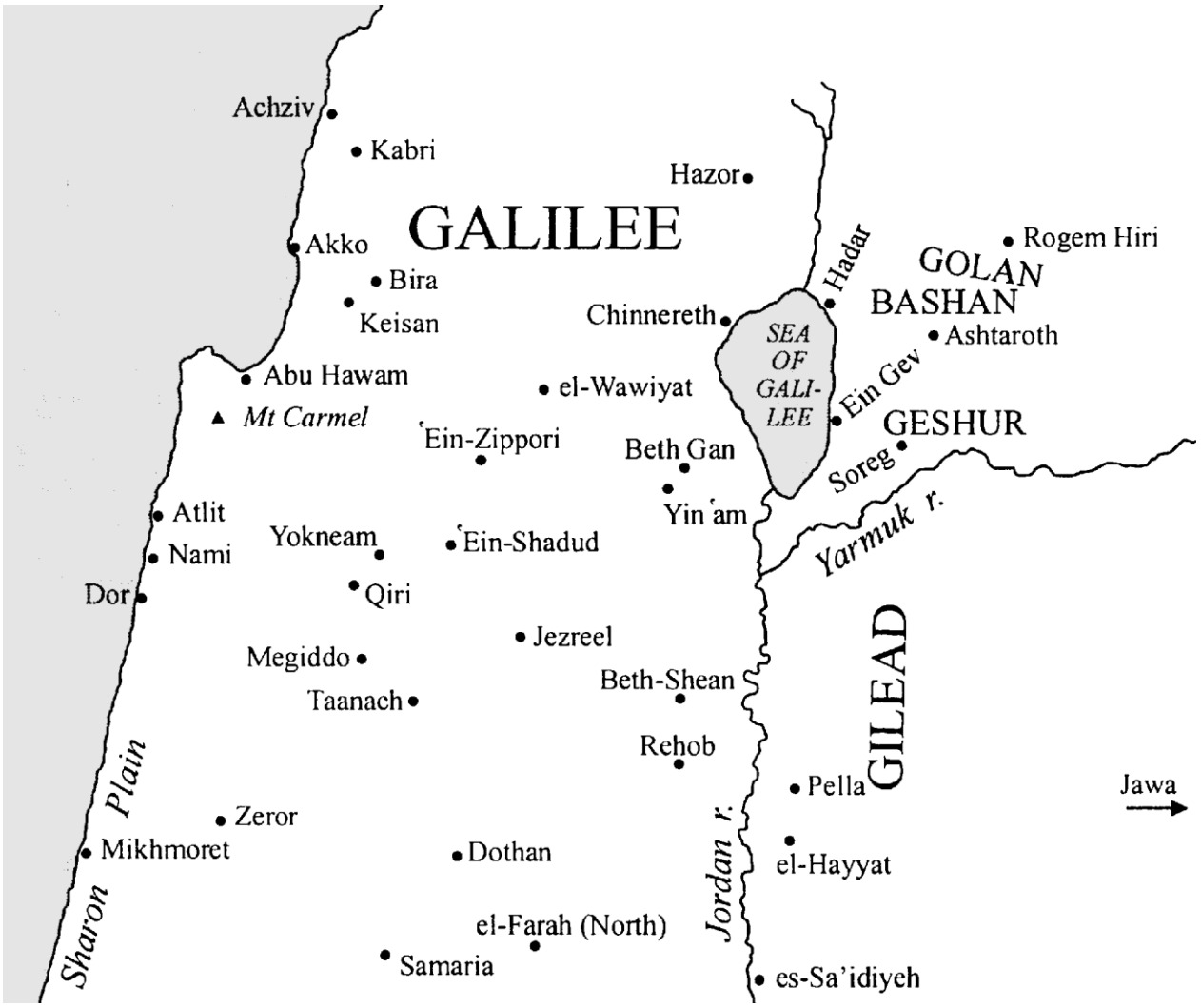

Fig. 4[100]: Megiddo in its northern context.

Following the rather ephemeral stratum VB, VA-IVB was a renewed city linked directly with the aforementioned list of Solomon's building projects. It featured a casemate wall, large ashlar-built 'public' buildings, Palace 6000 in the north and Palace 1723 on the south, and the aforementioned six-chambered gate. It was presumed that stratum VA-IVB was the city destroyed or conquered by Sheshonq I as mentioned in his campaign record at Karnak and in 1

[100] Adapted from map in Trevor Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. xxxi

Kgs 14:25.[101] Stratum IVA was ascribed to the 9th century Omride dynasty of the Northern Kingdom. It is known particularly for its two large stables, the large shaft and gallery cut to access the water spring from inside the city, and an offset-inset type city wall including a four-chambered gate built over the preceding six-chambered gate.[102]

Finkelstein, not incidentally a director of the renewed excavations at Megiddo, has of course argued a different understanding of the absolute chronology and historical attribution of these strata as part of his wider Low Chronology programme. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of Megiddo's role in the chronological debate, but a brief synopsis is as follows[103]: In keeping with his down-dating of the end of the Iron I period, Finkelstein dates the end of the Canaanite city to the later 10th century BC, making it more likely to be the city captured or destroyed by Sheshonq. This therefore placed the constructing of stratum VA-IVB not in the time of Solomon but instead in the time of the Omride dynasty in the 9th century, therefore also pushing the construction of stratum IVA even later as well.[104] In doing so he has followed his

[101] Robert Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period* (Atlanta: SBL, 2009), pp. 206-10; As with other relevant inscriptions or biblical records that mention the conquest of a city, it is often unclear as to whether or not the physical destruction or simply the successful capture of the city is intended, though in the archaeological discussion of the destruction layers to historical events an archaeologically-discernible destruction, especially by fire, often seems to be presumed.

[102] Yigael Yadin, Yigael Shiloh, 'Megiddo' in *NEAEHL* vol. 3, ed. by Ephraim Stern (Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993), pp. 1003-1024 (pp. 1012-1023); However the earliest phase of the water system may have in fact have been constructed as far back as the Middle Bronze Age, and it seems that only a renovation took place during the Iron Age, see Norma Franklin, 'Relative and Absolute Chronology of Gallery 629 and the Megiddo Water System: A Reassessment' in *Megiddo III: The 1992-1996 Seasons* vol. II, ed. by Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin and Baruch Halpern (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2000), pp. 515-523; Norma Franklin, 'Who Really Built the Water System at Megiddo', *ASOR Blog*, http://asorblog.org/2013/10/08/who-really-built-the-water-system-at-megiddo/ [accessed 17th August 2015]

[103] See Chapter 2 for the role of radiocarbon dating including results from Megiddo, in addition to the discussion regarding the archaeological situation at Megiddo in Thomas, *An Investigation into the Current Debate*, pp. 32-38 with references.

[104] Finkelstein, 'Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View'; Israel Finkelstein, Neil Asher Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts* (New York:

previous co-director David Ussishkin's reassignment of the six-chambered gate to stratum IVA rather than stratum VA-IVB, a position that has been convincingly opposed by Baruch Halpern.[105]

Finkelstein has also argued that the 9th century BC date of VA-IVB is evident from ceramic parallels from the 9th century Omride royal enclosure of Jezreel as well as architectural parallels between Omride Samaria and the aforementioned buildings at Megiddo VA-IVB drawn by his student Norma Franklin.[106] The architectural parallels with Samaria however have been seriously undermined by the examination of Thomas Levy and Daniel Frese.[107] As for Finkelstein's argument regarding the pottery from Jezreel and VA-IVB at Megiddo, A. Mazar has noted that in addition to the pottery from the Omride royal enclosure, similar pottery was found in the construction fills beneath it, likely from an earlier settlement. This forms part of his own Modified Conventional Chronology programme suggesting a wider date for the Iron IIA between the early 10th and late 9th centuries. Under such a chronological arrangement, he notes that Megiddo VA-IVB could plausibly have been built by either Solomon *or* the Omrides, and would then have continued down to the end of the period.[108]

Touchstone, 2001), pp. 183-190, 209-210; Finkelstein, 'King Solomon's Golden Age', pp. 113-114; Israel Finkelstein, 'Omride Architecture', *ZDPV* 116:2 (2000), pp. 114-138 (pp. 120-121)

[105] Israel Finkelstein, 'A Low Chronology Update', in, *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*, ed. by Thomas Levy and Thomas Higham (London: Equinox 2005), pp. 31-42 (p. 34); David Ussishkin, 'Was the "Solomonic" City Gate at Megiddo Built By King Solomon?', *BASOR* 239 (1980), pp. 1-18; Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, pp. 434-450

[106] Finkelstein, 'King Solomon's Golden Age: History or Myth?', p. 113-114; Finkelstein, 'A Low Chronology Update', p. 36-37; Orna Zimhoni, *Studies in the Iron Age Pottery of Israel* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1997), pp. 25-26; Norma Franklin, 'Correlation and Chronology: Samaria and Megiddo Redux' in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*, ed. by Thomas Levy and Thomas Higham (London: Equinox 2005), pp. 310-322; Norma Franklin, 'Masons' Marks from the 9th Century BCE Northern Kingdom of Israel: Evidence of the Nascent Carian Alphabet', *Kadmos* 40:2 (2001), pp. 107-116

[107] Thomas Levy, Daniel Frese, 'The Four Pillars of the Iron Age Low Chronology', in *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: The New Pragmatism*, ed. by Thomas Levy (London: Equinox, 2010), pp. 187-202 (pp. 192-193);

[108] A. Mazar, 'The Search For David and Solomon', pp. 119-120; Zimhoni had already suggested that the royal enclosure at Jezreel could have destroyed an earlier settlement, and further notes that the pottery from Jezreel is similar not only to stratum VA-IVB at Megiddo but to the earlier stratum VB as well, see Zimhoni, *Studies in the Iron*

II.III.III: Functionalist Approaches to Megiddo and the United Monarchy

It must first be recognised that because Megiddo is a major linchpin in the core chronological aspect of the debate over the United Monarchy, its role in both the functionalist approach discussed here and in the sociologically-informed approach in Part III is at least somewhat dependent upon the chronological scheme that is adopted. That said, the impact of Finkelstein's down-dating of stratum VA-IVB to the Omride period, his implicit denial of any connection between 10th century Megiddo and the monarchy in Jerusalem and his wider historical conclusions about the United Monarchy that result are revealing of a particular understanding of the site's role. The difference between, on the one hand, what the traditional archaeological view might seem to assume about Megiddo's role both in terms of the site's own attributes and functions in the 10th century and, on the other hand, what Finkelstein's Low Chronology-based vision of the historical situation in the same period assumes about Megiddo uncovers particular shared assumptions about the form and nature of Solomon's government and the role of Megiddo within it as it exists within the biblical text, including the lists from 1 Kgs 4 and 9.

The central assumption is clearly that Megiddo operated as a major regional node within a legal-rational, bureaucratic power structure and that the nature of the city itself was reflective of this, with physical manifestations of the state assumed in much the same way as is operative for the City of David, as discussed above. As such, it is presumed, by Finkelstein especially, that if such manifestations, namely stratum VA-IVB, cannot be dated to the time of Solomon, then the possibility of a state ruled from Jerusalem exercising control and administration in the north is seriously undermined if not totally negated, and again there is a clear parallel with the interpretive situation for the City of David. Rather, he prefers that such manifestations do not appear until the Omride period and therefore are evidentiary of the independent rise of the Northern Kingdom.

Age Pottery of Israel, pp. 29-39; A rather cruel irony is the partial stele of Sheshonq I found at Megiddo in the pre-war University of Chicago expedition, which, if it had been found in situ and not in the spoil, would have indicated the stratum that existed at the time of his campaign and therefore would have served as the secure anchor for the 10th century BC that is otherwise lacking.

As laid out in an important programmatic paper from the earlier years of the chronology debate, this caused Finkelstein to push for a radical shift in thinking concerning Judah in the 10th and 9th centuries, and for the question of the United Monarchy as a whole.[109] Here, Finkelstein acknowledges that he is first of all aligned with an evolutionary understanding of state development, and the idea that fully developed states have certain objective characteristics including, of particular interest here, a:

> "well-stratified society, one directed by a specialized public administration led by a ruling stratum which extends beyond the immediate kinship circles of the ruler" and "erection of monumental structures that serve both propaganda and legitimization goals as well as practical functions".[110]

His down-dating of Megiddo VA-IVB, as well as other sites, is of course a major factor in his view that such characteristics and therefore state formation in general are not present in either Israel or Judah in the 10th century BC.[111] How or why such characteristics should be applicable in these cases however is not elaborated upon. His assumption above regarding monumental structures and their "practical functions" is as applicable to Megiddo as it was to the City of David, just as there is a lack of explanation for why such structures, their monumental character in particular, were necessary for whatever activity they are presumed to have facilitated.

On a wider, more inter-site level, Finkelstein also denies that a clear settlement hierarchy, another of his primary characteristics for a developed state, existed in either the north or south at the time of the United Monarchy. Judah was lacking in sites of sufficient size to be "regional administrative and trade centers surrounded by peripheral, secondary villages", while even the north, though it had more intensive early Iron Age settlement in the hill country of Samaria, only saw a transition to the settlement system of the monarchic period with the "first large,

[109] Israel Finkelstein, 'State Formation in Israel and Judah: A Contrast in Context, A Contrast in Trajectory', *NEA* 61 (1999), pp. 35-52

[110] Finkelstein, 'State Formation', p. 39

[111] Finkelstein, 'State Formation', p. 39-40

regional centers" in the 9th century.[112] Though it is not stated as such by Finkelstein, the obvious implication would be that a system described in the aforementioned lists in 1 Kgs, and Solomon's districts in particular, would not be archaeologically reconstructable for the 10th century. As shall be discussed in Part III however, the relationship of the 1 Kgs 4 list to the idea of settlement hierarchy and simple economic redistribution is out of sync with the sociology of the ancient Near East.

For the immediate purpose of this section however, it is clear that Finkelstein assumes that cities such as Megiddo VA-IVB functioned within a bureaucratic legal-rational system that had two basic functions: first to administer the economic and trade interests, resource management and military infrastructure of the state, and second to act as the propagandistic presence of the state in the particular region of the city's location, the hand of power reaching out from the capital to signal its control throughout the countryside. In the case of Megiddo, Finkelstein understands that the city of stratum VA-IVB acted to project the control that the Israelite state and its capital had, both in practical and propagandistic terms, into the non-Israelite Jezreel Valley, which lay outside the Israelite heartland in the hill country. The Israelite state and its capital that Finkelstein sees as responsible for this were the Northern Kingdom and Samaria of the 9th century BC, not the United Monarchy and Jerusalem in the 10th century.[113]

Faust takes the position in favour of the establishment of the United Monarchy in the 10th century based in large part on the sudden depletion of the rural population in Israel and the shift towards a concentration of the population at that time, in addition to a stated preference for the higher chronologies.[114] Several sites, including Megiddo, became "regime centers of the new Monarchy".[115] Like Finkelstein, he connects this with a desire to establish control in non-Israelite areas, even though Faust regards areas such as the Jezreel Valley to be newly

[112] Finkelstein, 'State Formation', p. 42

[113] Finkelstein, 'State Formation', p. 46

[114] Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society*, pp. 255-259; A. Mazar does not seem to have responded to Finkelstein or outlined his own understanding in detail on the particular issues addressed in Part II.III.

[115] Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society*, p. 259

incorporated by conquest into the United Monarchy, aligning with written sources such as the list in 1 Kgs 9 specifically.[116] Hence:

> "[T]he monumental construction projects and conspicuous consumption typical of fortified settlements and public buildings used for various needs (administration, military or propaganda…)"[117]

Faust, on the other hand, argues that this opening up of the newly conquered lowlands led many of the highlands population to move to these lowland centres to take up attractive roles in the new administrative and military system of the Monarchy, thus disrupting and in a sense leaving behind the traditional kinship structures of core Israelite territory.[118] Even though his chronological and historical preferences differ from Finkelstein, it would seem that Faust regards the operation and role of sites such as Megiddo as well as its place within the wider system of the state in much the same way that Finkelstein does.

Faust's broader understanding of the form and nature of the state is similar to Finkelstein as well. Although he leaves room for nuance, Faust also understands the concept of a 'state' as part of an evolutionary process wherein it can be distinguished by particular characteristics. Characteristics of interest to Faust, particularly indicators of the state's "complex administrative system…that can be identified materially", include "specialized officials who are not necessarily blood relations of the ruler", a tendency towards social stratification, the conspicuous deployment of resources in awe-inspiring building projects that fulfilled resource-management and military functions, and an administrative organisation in place to undertake such projects.[119]

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[116] Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society*, p. 259

[117] Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society*, p. 259-260

[118] Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society*, p. 260

[119] Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society*, p. 191-193; Faust also notes that the presence of writing for administrative purposes, though he does not comment regarding the situation in the 10th century BC, see Faust, *The Archaeology of Israelite Society*, p. 193-194

A legal-rational, bureaucratic understanding of the exercise of power is once more obvious for both Finkelstein's and Faust's positions. They envision a settlement such as Megiddo VA-IVB as a major cog in the professionalised administrative and propagandistic machine of the state, founded upon the notion of a state-wide system of economic and military management separate from the kin-centred social world of the state's core inhabitants. Though they have different understanding of the historical situation, both follow the functionalist assumption that characteristics such as those described above must be visible in the archaeological record if the existence of a state it to be validated. Therefore, both Finkelstein and Faust implicitly understand that if such characteristics are not visible, the historicity of the biblical United Monarchy is adversely affected.

II.IV: Concluding Remarks on the Functionalist Approach

Though it is perhaps not as evident in Section II.III, a remarkably similar pattern obtains for all three topics of discussion here. That is, Finkelstein in all three cases has presented his analysis and resulting conclusions on each topic to the effect that in each case, he sees the situation is indicating against the historicity of the biblical United Monarchy. This is then followed by the presentation of the opposing position, by A. Mazar, who deploys counter arguments in Sections II.I and II.II, and to a lesser extent by Faust, who presents the view of II.III from the side of the higher chronology, albeit without attempting to challenge Finkelstein's archaeological and historical arguments. Indeed Faust, much like A. Mazar, has no reason to challenge Finkelstein's underlying methodology or assumptions because both of them are clearly arguing from the same functionalist standpoint as Finkelstein. The question now to be discussed in Part III is this: whatever the chronology, how justifiable and valid are the assumptions about the form and nature of ancient Israelite society, in particular its structures and native understandings of power, and the subsequent impact upon their mode of archaeological interpretation?

Part III: The Sociologically-Informed Approach

This Section presents a quite different understanding of the same topics discussed in Part II. The primary attribute of this understanding is that it accounts for the patriarchal and patrimonial form and nature of Israelite society within its wider ancient Near Eastern context. In doing so, it acknowledges that the perception and operation of power and authority, within the context of a state in particular, were founded upon a traditional legitimation as opposed to a legal-rational legitimation characteristic of modern bureaucratic government. Using the patrimonial model in conjunction with various other studies, Part III presents the sociologically-informed approach to the archaeological correlates to the biblical United Monarchy.

III.I: Jerusalem, Centre of the Universe

It has already been established that the cacophonous and bewildering archaeology of the early Iron Age at the City of David presents a significant challenge towards forming an accurate impression of the city as it existed in the 10th century BC. As is discussed in this Section however, it is not only the 'situation on the ground' that should be considered in doing so, but also how Jerusalem was conceived within the 'state of mind' that pertains within a patrimonial society, especially in light of what the biblical and ancient Near Eastern evidence suggests about the particular native conception and role of a capital city.[120]

Discussions of the Jerusalem of the archaeological record and its relationship to Jerusalem of the biblical record have paid more attention to the detailed minutiae of the former without often considering a close reading of the latter, and so this is where this Section commences.

[120] It is of course recognised that as a capital city is something universally present in modern bureaucratic states there may seem to be risk of the kind of anachronism that this thesis is generally criticising. But cities that functioned as a royal, administrative and religious seat are of course well attested in the ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean world, so the heuristic applicability of the term if only for convenience remains.

III.I.I: The Bibliology of Jerusalem in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings

First it is necessary to distinguish between the 'City of David' and 'Jerusalem' as far as those names are used in the biblical texts, as they are apparently not coterminous. It has already been observed that the City of David was the deliberate refashioning of the 'Fortress of Zion' by David as established in 2 Sam 5:7, 9, even after he and his men arrive in front of 'Jerusalem' specifically back in v. 6. That a fortress has suddenly become a city is in fact an idiosyncrasy of the English translation of the Hebrew word עיר, a rather amorphous term that can be used for various types of settlements including what might be rendered as 'fortresses' in English, but certainly does not conform at least exclusively to the modern notion of a city.[121] It can be presumed that the house that Hiram of Tyre has built for David is understood in the text to be located within the City of David/Fortress of Zion. Therefore the City of David is to be located upslope from the rest of Jerusalem, of which it was still considered to be a part. This is borne out in the wording of 2 Sam 11:1-2, 8 where David's residence is clearly positioned above the residence of Uriah and Bathsheba.[122]

It is clear though that the Jerusalem and the City of David are distinguished within the text. In both the narrative of the transfer of the Ark in 2 Sam 6 from the custody of Obed-Edom and the description of Solomon's wife daughter of Pharaoh residing in the City of David until the completion of her own residence in 1 Kgs 3:1, 9:24, the עיר stands in apposition to another house as opposed to another whole settlement. The contrast is even more striking in the description of the transfer of the Ark into the newly-complete Jerusalem Temple; the elders are gathered by Solomon in Jerusalem but it is from the City of David, equated directly there with Zion, that the Ark is removed. The same is clear from the relevant building accounts, which begin with David's work only in the apparent context of the City of David. Solomon also closes a

[121] Ziony Zevit, 'The Davidic-Solomonic Empire from the Perspective or Archaeological Bibliology' in *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, ancient Near Eastern literature, and postbiblical Judaism presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Chaim Cohen et al., (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), pp. 201-224 (p. 203); Jürg Hutzli, 'The Meaning of the Term 'îr dawıd in Samuel and Kings', *TA* 38 (2011), pp. 167-178 (pp. 174-176)

[122] Zevit, 'The Davidic-Solomonic Empire', p. 205; Thus lending support to the provisional identification of both the Large Stone Structure as the Fortress of Zion as the *biblical* City of David given its geographic location, as opposed to the modern usage covering the whole southeast hill.

'breach' in the City of David in 1 Kgs 11:27 as well as (re)building a wall for Jerusalem in 1 Kgs 9:15.[123] Thus it can be gleaned that the City of David refers to a distinct part of Jerusalem, likely a single fortified complex between the main Jerusalem settlement below and the Solomonic palace and Temple compound higher up the hill above.[124]

Fig. 5[125]: The Large Stone Structure.

It is also quite interesting to note the role of the City of David in the burial formulas in 1-2 Kgs of each king from David to Hezekiah. In each instance the king is stated to have been buried in the City of David where he 'sleeps' with his fathers, literally he is buried in the same place as his

[123] Jürg Hutzli, 'The Meaning of the Term 'îr dawıd', pp. 167-174; Zevit, 'The Davidic-Solomonic Empire'' pp. 204-208

[124] Zevit, 'The Davidic-Solomonic Empire' pp. 207; Hutzli, 'The Meaning of the Term 'îr dawıd', p. 173

[125] Photograph courtesy of the author

ancestors.[126] Burials within the royal residence have been found at several ancient Near Eastern sites, including Ugarit, where excavations have not as yet revealed any separate necropolis.[127] Indeed, Schloen notes that at least one familial tomb within each multi-house compounds is quite common at Ugarit, where the ancestors and the proper deference to them continued to be part of household family life even in death.[128]

It can be surmised then that the biblical text regards the Jerusalem of David to have constituted a defensive complex of some description located on the higher part of the hill and originally known as the מצדת ציון, renamed עיר דוד by its conqueror and rebuilt as his residence. The City of David therefore constituted only part of Jerusalem as a whole. It seems that 'Jerusalem' was the name referring to the settlement area as a whole, that is both the City of David and the settled area beneath it. It was only under Solomon that Jerusalem first expanded with the construction of the palace-Temple complex north of the City of David on the highest section of the eastern hill.[129] As such it can be said the biblical text furnishes a relatively minimal and somewhat ambiguous description of the royal area of Davidic and Solomonic Jerusalem, with even less concerning the occupation below the עיר דוד. Even in the case of the much more richly described palace and Temple compound it is difficult to both asses the geographic context of

[126] Except of course for David, who is not taken home to be buried in Bethlehem

[127] Hutzli, 'The Meaning of the Term 'îr dawıd', p. 172; Sophie Marchegay, 'The Tombs', *NEA* 63 (2000), pp. 208-209

[128] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 329-330, 342-347; A group of apparent tombs some way further down the slope of the eastern hill within the present City of David National Park were excavated by R. Weill and considered by him to be the tombs of the Davidic dynasty. However these 'tombs', the damage from later quarrying to which can be observed at the site, are not securely dated to the First Temple period and thus there is no basis to assume that they should remain the best candidate for the dynastic family's place of burial, see Nahman Avigad, 'Jerusalem: The Early Periods and the First Temple Period: Tombs' in *NEAEHL* vol. 2, ed. by Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993), p. 712; Given the above conclusion concerning the original delimitation of the City of David it would therefore seem that at least for the kings preceding Hezekiah their entombment would have been at the top of the hill closer the Ophel and Large Stone Structure, if not beneath the Structure itself, contra Jeffrey Zorn, 'Is T1 David's Tomb?', *BAR* 38 (2012), pp. 45-52, 78

[129] Though it is granted that this would appear to mean that the Fortress of Zion would have been in a somewhat strategically disadvantageous place if the hill was still higher to its north (were Solomon's construction took place), this must be considered against the difficulty of reconstructing the original topography of the eastern hill given the amount of later construction, the Temple Mount especially.

Solomon's northward expansion given the realities of modern Jerusalem, and to test them archaeologically.

Just as important as understanding the layout of the city is the interpretation of certain statements about Jerusalem's character at the time of the United Monarchy. The particular passage of note, which seems to be what Finkelstein directly has in mind when expresses his view discussed in Section II.I, is 1 Kgs 10:23-25, 27:

> "King Solomon became greater than all the kings of the earth in riches and in wisdom. And all in the earth were seeking the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, which God had given into his heart. Those men brought tribute, objects of silver and objects of gold, robes, weaponry and balsam spices, horses and mules, it was the case year by year. The king deposited silver in Jerusalem that was like stones and he deposited cedar-wood that was like sycamore trees in the Shephelah in multitude."

Questions of the date of composition aside, it must first be recognised that this is a political text from an ancient Near Eastern society, therefore the methodology of reading political texts from the ancient Near East must apply; taking it literally ignores its context of composition.[130] Deliberate hyperbole, taking a kernel of truth and inflating for the purpose of ideological expression is typical of royal expression in the ancient Near East. It is so typical that more than once utopian depictions of the king's reign extended as far as claiming a uniqueness akin to the decorative lions on the steps of Solomon's throne that "alike had not been made for any kingdom" in 1 Kgs 10:20.[131] This is rhetoric that may overstep the bounds of credibility to a

[130] K. Lawson Younger Jr., 'The Figurative Aspect and the Contextual Method in the Evaluation of the Solomonic Empire (1 Kings 1-11)' in *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in celebration of forty years if Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield*, ed. by David Clines, Stephen Fowl and Stanley Porter (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), pp. 157-175 (pp. 157-159)

[131] Younger, 'The Figurative Aspect', pp. 160-166; Halpern has also observed that a modicum of truth had to underlie the expansive claims about the king or otherwise those claims, and by extension the king, would lose their legitimacy in the eyes of their readers, see Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, pp. 130-131; Halpern's claim is buttressed when it is considered who would have access to royal monuments or annals and who could indeed read them in the first place. As is discussed in Part II and Section III.II below, only a small coterie of persons would have

modern reader, and indeed what ancient reader would have the position or desire to tell the king otherwise?[132] Moreover, the image of Solomon as a king presented in 1 Kgs aligns with the manner of public representations of a Near Eastern king of the 11th to 9th centuries BC as evident from the Assyrian records of that period. This is most prominent in the portrayal of Solomon as a natural philosopher and as a collector of exotic species.[133] However the corollary of the above is that it is difficult to render a historical judgement from a passage like 1Kgs 10:23-25, 27 because the rhetoric obscures the kernel of truth beneath, as is its purpose; this seriously limits its usefulness as a point of evaluation in attempting to render an archaeological and historical verdict on the biblical United Monarchy.[134]

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had both the access to and the ability to read royal texts, such as scribes and military commanders. As such persons would have been directly involved in and had knowledge of activities of which the king may make reference in royal texts, such as trade or military campaigns, it makes sense that even hyperbolic rhetorical statements would need to be grounded in some veracity; complete fabrications would not escape the notice of literate readers.

[132] Halpern has also described what he has names the "Tiglath-Pileser Principle", by which a modern critic of an ancient Near Eastern royal text may ask of its particular claims: what is the minimum that the king had to have achieved in order to be able to put forth a particular claim?, for which see Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, pp. 124-132.

[133] This is explicated in Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, pp. 114-123 and summarised in Thomas, *An Investigation into the Current Debate*, pp. 83-85; Inscriptions and annals of relevant kings are sourced from A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C.*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,* v. 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1972)

[134] Finkelstein's wording would seem to suggest that he demands a rather extensive and unambiguous amount of evidence from excavation in order to find a description such as that in 1 Kgs 10 to be historically reliable, all the more so because of his essentially literal assumption regarding the text's intentionality. But even if one were to accept for the sake of argument that these passages are reflective of a historical store of impressive wealth that Solomon collected in Jerusalem, it is unlikely that archaeological investigation could recover it, let alone Solomon's Jerusalem in anything like its original state. It is not just the effects of centuries of extensive rebuilding on the eastern hill that forces this conclusion; The text also claims in 1 Kgs 14:26 that Rehoboam handed over the wealth of his father to pay off Shishak from destroying Jerusalem, and this was not the last time that the city and Temple would be plundered to pay off a foreign power. The Jerusalem of Solomon would not even have been recognisable in the reduced, pillaged and war-ravaged Judah of the late monarchy; it was never practical to expect that it would somehow emerge in modern excavation.

III.I.II: From Disembedded Capital to Symbolic Centre

The decision that David makes in the text to conquer Jerusalem, rename its citadel for himself and make it his capital is typical of an ancient Near Eastern monarch wishing to demonstrate his power, in particular his power as a creator.[135] It has also been observed that the biblical description of David moving his court from Hebron to Jerusalem is a classic case of the disembedded capital.[136] The concept of the disembedded capital refers to the establishment or relocation of the royal centre of power to a new location to a neutral location in order to undercut and shut out traditional structures of power and influence and therefore re-align the system to the monarch's advantage.[137] In the biblical text, David removed himself and his court from Hebron, a traditional centre of his native tribe of Judah and shifts it to the so-far unconquered Jebusite stronghold of Jerusalem where he remains outside and un-beholden to the vicissitudes and traditional loyalties of the Israelite tribal system.[138] The criteria for recognising a disembedded capital are primarily archaeological and therefore difficult to apply to what is known of early Iron Jerusalem. Unlike the typical disembedded capital, Jerusalem was not a foundation *de novo*. Also, some criteria shade somewhat too close to functionalist assumptions, that of "[e]vidence of centralized administrative activities, such as writing, sealing, storage, or redistribution" in particular. However these criteria are not binding; historical and geographical variation is accounted for in the concept.[139]

Indeed, the term 'disembedded capital' is somewhat imprecise when its applicability to Jerusalem is seen within parameters of the United Monarchy. Schloen has re-emphasised what had already been recognised, that disembedded capitals had to re-embed into existing

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[135] Younger, 'The Figurative Aspect', p. 168; Joe Uziel, Itzhaq Shai, 'Iron Age Jerusalem: Temple-Palace, Capital City', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127 (2007), pp. 161-170 (p. 166); Uziel and Shai assume here that in the biblical usage Jerusalem and the City of David are coterminous, and that it was "exclusively a dynastic city". The latter point is discussed below, but see the discussion above for reasons why Jerusalem and the City of David should not be assumed to have been interchangeable in the biblical text.

[136] Alex Joffe, 'Disembedded Capitals in Western Asian Perspective', *Society for Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40 (1998), pp. 549-580 (p. 566 n. 6)

[137] Joffe, 'Disembedded Capitals', pp. 549-550

[138] Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, p. 219; Uziel, Shai, 'Iron Age Jerusalem', pp. 164-166

[139] Joffe, 'Disembedded Capitals', p. 551; See Section III.II below regarding writing and administration.

structures of power and those who wielded it.[140] Otherwise they could not survive the changes that removed the need for them in the first place, namely regime change, which tended to be the prime factor behind the decision to move the capital and thus shift the structures of power.[141] In the context of patrimonial society throughout the Near East, the need to re-embed into existing power structures is especially prescient, for how could a king who has stubbornly walled himself off from connections to his wider national house possibly hope to sustain the basic economic necessities of his capital or to exercise his power down through the father-son relationship that he exercised with his subordinates and they with their subordinates? The survival of the Davidic dynasty and the resulting survival of Jerusalem as the dynastic and cultic capital are further contrasted not only to the wider Near East but also to the situation in the Northern Kingdom, which had three different capitals, each beginning with a new dynasty.[142]

Schloen also points out that the act of re-embedding the capital in a new location was not only a matter of a purely pragmatic reorientation of the centre of power within the existing social structure but also a matter of reorienting the symbolic structures of that society.[143] The case of Jerusalem as presented in the biblical text is once again demonstrative of symbolic re-embedding beginning with the relocation of the Ark under David and completed in Solomon's construction of the Temple to be the one and only legitimate shrine for the worship of the national deity.[144] Within Deuteronomistic ideology in particular this undercut the old decentralised worship of YHWH at local sanctuaries in insisting on His worship in the Jerusalem Temple alone.[145] Placing the sole legitimate place of worship, at least within the royal

[140] Schloen, *HFFS*, p. 198 n. 19; Joffe, 'Disembedded Capitals', p. 572-573

[141] Joffe, 'Disembedded Capitals', pp. 572-573

[142] Jeroboam appears to locate his capital at Shechem though the wording of 1 Kgs 12:25 is not abundantly clear; Baasha has Jeroboam's successor Nadab assassinated (1 Kgs 15:27) and when king, moves the capital to Tirzah (1 Kgs 15:33); Omri is made king in a coup against Zimri and several years after securing the throne he purchases the site of his new hilltop capital Samaria (1 Kgs 16:15-24).

[143] Schloen, *HFFS*, p. 198 n. 19

[144] Uziel, Shai, 'Iron Age Jerusalem', pp. 165-166

[145] Uziel, Shai, 'Iron Age Jerusalem', p. 165; The idea that the worship of YHWH was to be centred at the Temple alone as a main tenant of Deuteronomism was recognised in the original explication of the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis, for which see Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, trans. by Jane Doull (Sheffield: JSOT Press,

ideological outlook, in the capital and indeed immediately adjacent to the royal palace compound assisted in creating an indelible theological link between the deity and the Davidic dynasty.[146] As an ancient Near Eastern capital, Jerusalem was to be the centre of its cosmion, its own 'little world', and therefore drew in and contained elements of its world into itself, be they pilgrims to the central cultic place or splendid exotic goods from the furthest reaches.[147] If any conspicuous display of wealth in the Jerusalem of David and Solomon is even to be supposed then, it is not to be understood as part of some functionalist facilitation-reflection of base economic development but rather as a symbolic representation of the city and dynasty as the centre of its patrimonial domain.

In fact it may even be that the Jerusalem of the United Monarchy is to be imagined as an exclusively regal-ritual centre that held the non-elite domestic populace at arms-length to increase the separate and distinctive character of the royal city, before the city's domestic populace began to expand in the Iron IIB period due to changing regional circumstances.[148] A similar proposal relating to Megiddo is discussed in Section III.III below.[149]

1981), pp. 93-94; Concern about ongoing cultic practices at local במות 'high places' is mentioned throughout the evaluations of Judah's kings, even the evaluation of Asa in 1 Kgs 15:11-15 which is otherwise amongst the most positive.

[146] Joffe, 'Disembedded Capitals', pp. 569-570; Uziel, Shai, 'Iron Age Jerusalem', p. 167

[147] Younger, 'The Figurative Aspect', pp. 168-171; Stager, 'Patrimonial Kingdom', pp. 66, 69-70; Stager, 'Archaeology of the Family', p. 25

[148] Uziel, Shai, 'Iron Age Jerusalem', pp. 167-170

[149] The present author remains frankly undecided on this otherwise attractive proposition. Uziel and Shai's observations that "There is no reason to assume that in order for Jerusalem to have been the most important site it must have been the largest" and "the presumption that Jerusalem must have been a large city in the tenth century in order to function as a capital is more a result of modern conceptions of capital cities than a conclusion to be drawn from the Biblical account" are quite in keeping with the understanding offered here that power in ancient Israel was based on a traditional and not legal-rational legitimation, so the physical size of the capital was socially insignificant. On the other hand though, it must also be recalled that a city in the patrimonial understanding might have 'elites' as they are normally thought of but not full-time specialists, rather they would be heads of their own primarily agricultural households. Therefore even the priests or royal ministers would possibly have had their immediate family and therefore their immediate mean of subsistence in Jerusalem with them just as their equivalents in smaller settlements would. Assuming that Jerusalem was an independent bureaucratic-cultic elite

III.I.III: Jerusalem as Patrimonial Capital

It can thus be asked how the Jerusalem of the United Monarchy should be envisioned. As the exercise of power and authority in the patrimonial capital was not exercised on a legal-rational basis, the notion that Jerusalem would have been the home of a distinct, separate and professional bureaucracy of scribes and other officials must be dispensed with. Rather, Jerusalem would have been the base of the king and the small cadre of persons who served him via a literal or symbolic father-son, master-servant relationship.[150] These persons were therefore members of the king's state-wide household at its highest levels, while they were themselves heads of their own households, with corresponding relationships to their servants and children in the same way that they had with the king, both in terms of the agricultural subsistence functions of their house and in terms of the role those in a son or servant relationship to them played as their subordinates in the business of the king. Of course, by dispensing with the distinction between public and private spheres as discussed in Part I, the basic subsistence functions and the activities related to the state as a whole are not to be separated, as both were bound within the structure of the king's house *as* the state itself.[151]

Traditional authority, of which the king was the apex, therefore filtered down through the relationships he shared with his immediate sons and servants, and that they as the אב of their

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city contrasted against the agricultural countryside settlements runs to close to the false urban rural dichotomy proffered for the ancient Near East, see Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 101, 196-198. Still, it is noted that members of David and Solomon's courts could have been sustained from their patrimonial allotments in their ancestral homes even after being relocated to Jerusalem with the king. Solomon's banishment of the priest Abiathar to his "own fields" in his ancestral hometown of Anathoth in Benjamin (1 Kgs 2:26; concerning the background of Abiathar and Anathoth see Brian Neil Peterson, *The Authors of the Deuteronomistic History* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2014), pp. 23-29) may be indicative of this. The scene of David looking out onto the city in 2 Sam 11 mentioned above would seem to suggest that Jerusalem did have a residential populace living on the hill running below, that is south, of the City of David. At present little is known archaeologically about the Iron IIA in the area of the modern City of David National Park to the south of the area of the Stepped and Large Stone Structures.

[150] It can be supposed that the location of the king's 'family', that is both his biological offspring and members of his court in symbolic subordinate relationships to him, follows of the general preference for patrilocal residence is customary, see Stager, 'Archaeology of the Family', p. 20;

[151] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp 64-68, 195-196, 266; Master, 'State Formation Theory', pp. 128-129; Stager, 'Patrimonial Kingdom', pp. 67-71; Stager, 'Archaeology of the Family', pp. 24-25

own בית shared with their sons and servants, negating any need for a separate administrative sector. These familial links back to the king would then be the reason for those patrilineal connections with the Davidic and Solomon courts; that Solomon's scribes seem to be sons of David's scribes was discussed in Section II.II above, but note some other examples: Ahimmaz and Jonathan the respective sons of David's priests Zadok and Abiathar,[152] Azariah, another of Zadok's son as a שר of Solomon,[153] and another Azariah as well as Zabud the sons of David's seer Nathan as Solomon's chief of the prefects and 'king's friend'.[154] There are more indications of patrilineal links in list of Solomon's officials, and provincial prefects as well, which are discussed below.

Because the distinction between public and private spheres has been abandoned and the state conceptualised as to be undistinguished from the household that encompassed the totality of the king's subjects existing in patrimonial association with him and with each other in a system of nested households, the functionalist assumptions discussed in Section II.I concerning indications of bureaucratic facilitation, expression, and activity at Jerusalem should be rejected. The very idea of the 'public building' no longer needs to be taken for granted, and certainly no longer needs to be conjoined with the operation of power and authority on a legal-rational basis, which was in fact alien to Israelite society in this period. As such the presence or lack of monumental architecture is no longer significant in terms of indicating the state's degree of development or the reach of its control in the 10th century.[155] Rather:

> "The construction of a monumental building—a temple or a palace, for example—was done by the divine or human ruler's servants in order to provide him or her with a house, in exactly the same way that any householder's dependents labored on his behalf to build and maintain his household."[156]

[152] Mentioned together in 2 Sam 15:27

[153] 1 Kgs 4:2

[154] 1 Kgs 4:5

[155] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 195-196, 265-267

[156] Schloen, *HFFS*, p. 266

Ergo, any construction of monumental buildings such as David's house, Solomon's palace of the Temple, insomuch as they might or might not even be archaeologically recoverable, have more to do with Jerusalem's symbolic role as the regal-ritual centre discussed above. In the Jerusalem that *should* be the object of historical examination, bureaucratic scribal activity and the auspicious projection of power in the construction of public buildings need to be the measures by which the historicity of the biblical account is assessed. Unlike in the functionalist approach, in the sociologically-informed approach these factors do not form part of the native understanding; abandoning the functionalist approach reveals that physical manifestations of a state are only indirect evidence of what is in fact a state of mind, so similar manifestations cannot be used to compare or evaluate societies when they had different symbolic conceptualisations of social order.[157]

III.II: Iron Age IIA Scribal Culture in Regional and Patrimonial Context

The present state of evidence regarding scribal culture in the early Iron Age does not need to be taken as contraindicating the historicity of the biblical United Monarchy; within the sociologically-informed approach, it can in fact be seen as supportive. This Section discusses why this is so on two bases: First, the epigraphic corpus from Israel as well as some clues from the biblical text itself suggest that Israelite scribal culture at the time of the United Monarchy was part of the wider Phoenician scribal culture that dominated much of the Iron Age, in particular its earlier part before distinct scribal traditions began to branch off. At this time the Phoenician script held a prestige status throughout the Levant. Second, the patrimonial model does not demand the large amount of bureaucratically-produced administrative writing that the functionalist approach does, therefore the limited epigraphic corpus of the early Iron Age comfortably fits with the needs of a patrimonial state.

[157] Schloen, 'The Iron Age as a State of Mind', p. 287

III.II.I: The Phoenician Context of Writing in Israel in the Early Iron Age

It was established in Section II.II that the amount of scribal activity in Israel in both the period of the United Monarchy and that immediately preceding it was rather minimal in comparison to the Late Bronze and later part of the Iron Age, and further lacking in any marks of script standardisation or use for clearly state-related administrative purposes. But aside from the transition from the use of Akkadian cuneiform to the linear alphabetic script after the end of the Bronze Age, there are several indicators that scribal culture of the Late Bronze survived into the Iron Age. Some of these appear in the biblical text itself, such as the apparent Ugaritic background to the form of much biblical Hebrew poetry[158] and the likely roots of several Israelite administrative roles in the Egyptian-Akkadian administration of Late Bronze Canaan, including that of the scribe.[159] From the archaeological side the use of Egyptian hieratic numerals is found to have continued well into the Iron Age from its initial reception into Canaan in the Late Bronze Age, again of course as part of the Egyptian administration.[160]

But unlike in the preceding and following periods, the available epigraphic corpus connotes a scribalism in the early Iron Age that was a craft practiced by only a few inheritors of the Late Bronze practice and whose employ was limited to a group of retainers who wished to make a statement through the deployment of writing. But what was written was quite minimal; the marking of objects for votive purposes or to indicate property was yet some distance from the uptake of writing and the development of national scripts in the late 9th century BC in Levantine states as a means of royal and national expression. Scribal practice was not yet something that a state was looking to utilise and control, so signs of standardisation are lacking.[161]

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[158] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, pp. 47, 54, 56-57

[159] Fox, *In the Service of the King*, pp. 77-80, 99-101, 127-128, 141, 158-163; note that Fox is also quite deliberately eschewing the drawing of easy links between Israelite administrative titles and their functions and Egyptian or Mesopotamian influence and only wishes to do so where reasonable evidence can be found, adding gravity to instances where she does find such links viable, see Fox, *In the Service of the King*, pp. 10-14

[160] Fox, *In the Service of the King*, pp. 266-268

[161] Byrne, 'Refuge of Scribalism', pp. 22-23; Sanders, *Invention of Hebrew*, pp. 106-113; To use the term 'elite' in this case has been refrained from lest as it could be easily confused with the assumption of social class that, as established in Part I, is alien to patrimonial society. The term could perhaps still be used to denote those at the top of the state-synonymous patrimonial house of the king in the monarchic period.

Other scholars have already described Phoenician scribal culture as having a prestige status in the Iron Age Levant, most notable in the Phoenician script's use in Anatolia as discussed below.[162] Indications from the epigraphic corpus and biblical description of the United Monarchy strongly suggests that scribal practice in Israel in the early Iron Age should be located within an early Iron Age scribal world wherein Phoenician practice was still dominant and a distinct national Hebrew traditional had not yet emerged. The available evidence therefore sits comfortably in a historical context that equates well with the time of the biblical United Monarchy.

The West Semitic alphabet appears to have crystallised in terms of form into what is generally referred to as the Phoenician alphabet sometime in the 11th century BC.[163] A few inscriptions dated paleographically to the horizon of the 10th-early 9th centuries have emerged from Phoenicia proper and the site of Byblos in particular. Perhaps the most outstanding of these royal dedicatory inscriptions is found on the sarcophagus of king Ahiram in the name of his son Ittoba'al.[164] The Phoenician script also found its way into the Aramean sphere at this time; alongside cuneiform Assyrian, the bilingual Tell Fakhariyeh Inscription is written in an deliberately archaising script imitative of the early Phoenician scripts of the 11th-10th centuries. The language though is Aramaic and the inscription's orthographic features give away its date in the 9th century BC.[165] The otherwise minimal number of inscriptions from Phoenicia at this time

[162] Ian Young, 'The Languages of Ancient Sam'al', *Maarav* 9 (2002), pp. 93-105 (pp. 96-99); Sanders, *Invention of Hebrew*, pp. 112-113; Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, pp. 41, 44

[163] Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, p. 19

[164] Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, pp. 20-27; Concerning the respective texts discussed by Rollston: for the Azarba'al/Bronze Spatula Inscriptions see P. Kyle McCarter, Robert Coote, 'The Spatula Inscription from Byblos', *BASOR* 212 (1973), pp. 16-22; for the Ahiram Sarcophagus Inscription text see *KAI* 1, for translation see *COS* 2.55; for the Yehimilk Inscription text see *KAI* 4, for translation see *COS* 2.29; for the Abiba'al Inscription Text see *KAI* 5, for translation see John Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), pp. 19-21; for the Eliba'al Inscription text see *KAI* 6, for translation see Gibson, *Textbook*, pp. 21-22; for the Shipitba'al Inscription text see *KAI* 7, for translation see Gibson, *Textbook*, pp. 23-24

[165] Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, pp. 36-39; for the text see *KAI* 309, for translation see *COS* 2.34; Although it is not always clear which is meant in the scholarly literature, it is important to distinguish between language and script as they are not the same and one may be used without the other, see Schniedewind, *Social History*, pp. 9-15

is itself significant, especially when the Ahiram sarcophagus already signals the existence of a dynastic kingdom. Otherwise, the Phoenician cities have produced no more in the way of epigraphic evidence for the administrative use of writing than Israel has.

The most interesting evidence for the spread of the Phoenician script and its use as the prestige script of the Iron Age however comes from Anatolia, where Semitic scripts and languages were not even native. For the purpose of monumental inscriptions the inheritance of the Neo-Hittite states from the defunct Hittite Empire was a hieroglyphic script of the Indo-European language Luwian. Aside from monolingual Luwian inscriptions, which are not of concern here, this period has produced both monolingual Phoenician inscriptions and bilingual Phoenician-Luwian inscriptions in Anatolia. Of the monolinguals, the royal memorial inscription of king Kilamuwa of Yaudi/Sam'al from the late 9th century is written in the Phoenician language and script, and prefigures four other inscriptions originating from or near the kingdom's capital at modern Zinçirli and of the 9th-8th centuries that deploy the Phoenician script while transitioning to the local Aramaic dialect.[166] Phoenician monolinguals from Anatolia are known even as late as the 7th century, attesting to its continued influence in the region.[167]

There are at present three Luwian-Phoenician bilinguals known from Anatolia, known by their place of discovery: Karatepe, Çineköy and Ivriz. To this is added the Luwian-Phoenician-Assyrian

[166] Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, p. 40; for the text Kilamuwa Inscription see *KAI* 24, for translation see *COS* 2.30; A short inscription on a sceptre with both Phoenician and Aramaic elements is associated with the same Kilamuwa, for the text see *KAI* 25, for translation see Gibson, *Textbook*, pp. 39-41; for the 8th century Panamuwa I Inscription text see *KAI* 214, for translation see *COS* 2.36; for the 8th century Panamuwa II Inscription text see *KAI* 215, for translation see *COS* 2.37; for the 8th century Rar-Rakib Inscription text see *KAI* 216, for translation see *COS* 2.38; This kingdom effectively seems to have been an Aramean state (at least by the 10th century) where the local Luwain populace culture was retained and mixed hence both Luwian and Semitic names for kings and the possibly Luwian alternate name for the kingdom, Yaudi, see Bryce, *Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, pp. 612-613; Trevor Bryce, *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 169

[167] For the text of the 8th century Hassan-Beyli Inscription see *KAI* 23 and see the discussion in Edward Lipinski, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 116-118; for the text of the the 7th century Cebelireis Dağı Inscription see *KAI* 287, for translation see *COS* 3.55 and see the discussion in, Lipinski, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, pp. 128-130

trilingual of Incirli; all are dated to the 8th century. The Karatepe Inscription is in fact the longest Phoenician inscription yet found.[168] The Karatepe and Çineköy bilinguals , both inscriptions of the Neo-Hittite state of Que in Cilicia, seem to have been Phoenician in primary composition with a Luwian translation. If linguistic and material culture clues are taken to reveal the Greek colonisation of Que some time before the 8th century then this would suggest that Phoenician's ubiquity made it a natural script and language for the new rulers to utilise, and one their kin in Greece were beginning to use for their own language. But the question of Greek migration aside, the non-local and therefore distortional character as well as the availability of an existing scribal tradition seem to have made Phoenician an attractive choice for Que's ruling dynasty.[169]

In Sam'al situation is somewhat different, for while Kilamuwa wished to use a script and language with international relevance and prestige in his day, the prestige of the Phoenician script continued under his successors even as it became used to write inscriptions in the local Samalian dialect. The situation in Sam'al is comparable to that in the Levant in approximately the same period: in the 10th-9th centuries Sam'al would have had no impetus to use anything but the Phoenician script and language, but by the 8th century the choice has been made to use public inscriptions to communicate in a locally-relevant manner by adopting the local language.

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[168] Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, pp. 38-41; Ilya Yakubovitch, 'Phoenician and Luwian in Early Iron Age Cilicia', *Anatolian Studies* 65 (2015), pp. 35-53 (p. 36) For the Phoenician text of the Karatepe Inscription see *KAI* 6-7, for its translation see *COS* 2.31, for the Luwain text and translation see *CHLI*, I.1; for the Çineköy Inscription see the translation of the legible Phoenician in Lipinski, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, pp. 127-128, and transcription and translation of the legible Phoenician and part of the Luwian in Yakubovitch, 'Phoenician and Luwian', pp.40- 44; The Ivriz Inscription is as yet unpublished but see already Belkis Dinçol, 'New Archaeological and Epigraphical Finds from Ivriz: A Preliminary Report', *TA* 21 (1994), pp. 117-128; Lipinski, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, pp. 133-135; a full *editio princeps* has yet to appear for the Incirli Inscription and it is not well preserved (not to mentioned overwritten with a later Greek inscription) but see now Stephen Kaufman, 'The Phoenician Inscription of the Incirli Trilingual', *Maarav* 14 (2007), pp. 7-26

[169] Yakubovitch, 'Phoenician and Luwian', pp. 44-50; Yakubovitch is not quite as clear on the question of why these inscriptions also made the local Luwian in parallel to the Phoenician, but it appears that the presumption is a desire to accommodate the local culture rather and avoid too alien a public face for the ruling dynasty; Young also notes that Greek sources about Phoenician colonies on the Cilicia coast, the presence of Phoenician pottery and artistic influence from 9th century reliefs at Karatepe do indicate Phoenician presence at that early a date as well, see Young, 'Languages of Ancient Sam'al', p. 95

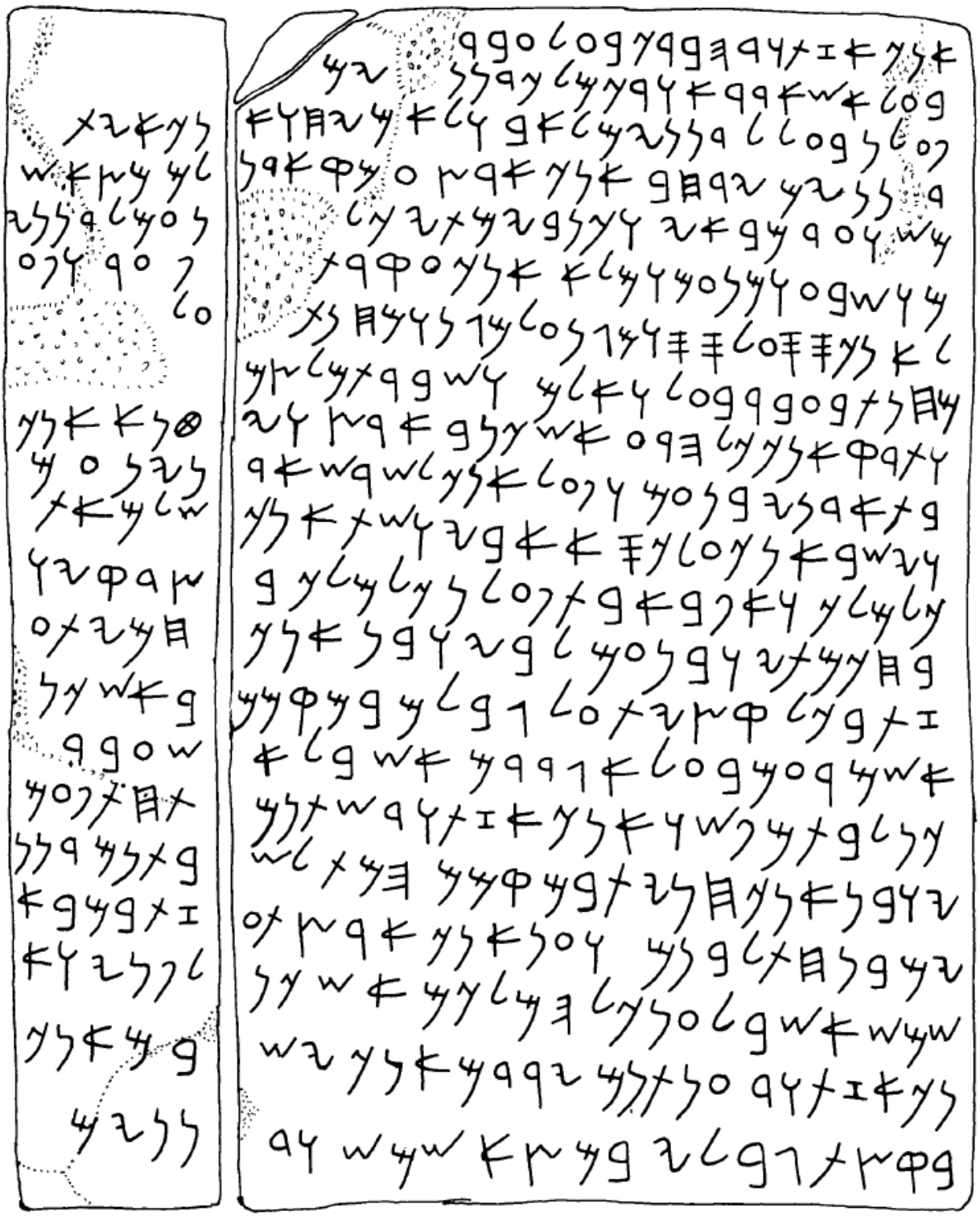

Fig. 6[170]: A drawing of one of the orthostats of the Phoenician version of the Karatepe Inscription.

[170] Adapted from *CHLI* vol. 2, pl. 9

The local constituents of the king's 'little world' discussed above in Section III.I.II are his target audience.[171]

The court of the United Monarchy in the 10th century can be usefully compared to a medieval French court where Latin, a language of no local significance but rich regional and historical pedigree, was used for court documents. Thus, it would have been in the Phoenician script just as it would have been for David and Solomon's regional neighbours, and if it is allowed that papyrus was the medium for court and Temple records, they have not survived just as they have not survived in Phoenicia. Still, there is at present some disagreement about how exactly to describe the script form of the epigraphic corpus in Iron IIA Israel.[172] One view sees both palaeographic continuity with alphabetic inscriptions from the area in preceding centuries and distinctiveness from the Phoenician corpus, even while recognising the prestige and influence of Phoenician scribalism.[173] The other view sees the same corpus as simply Phoenician in form, with no distinctive markers in the 10th century.[174] So under either interpretation, a close relationship between Phoenician scribal culture and that of early Iron Israel is admitted.

That the Phoenician language was in use as well is hinted at in the Temple building account of 1 Kgs 6-8: there are three instances of the use of an old Canaanite month name, זו, בול, and אתנים.[175] Each appears alongside ירח, the old Canaanite word for month, which is also found in

[171] Young, 'Languages of Ancient Sam'al', pp. 94-105

[172] The Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon should perhaps be considered somewhat of an outlier given that Rollston considers it's script to be rather archaic, 'The Khirbet Qeiyafa Ostracon', pp. 76-77; Further evidence and analysis may further validate or revise Rollston's judgement.

[173] P. Kyle McCarter, 'Paleographic Notes', pp. 46-49; McCarter notes that the sound inventory of the languages of the southern Levant, including Hebrew, have been squeezed into the twenty-two letter Phoenician alphabet. Hebrew scribes of the Iron Age therefore had to use the same sign for both שׁ and שׂ.

[174] Christopher Rollston, 'The Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary and Putative Evidence for Israelite Literacy' in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, ed. by Ron Tappy and P. Kyle McCarter (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), pp. 61-89 (pp. 79-89); Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, pp. 27-35; Rollston notes there a few other Phoenician inscriptions that were in at least geographic terms found in Israel, such as the Kefar Veradim bowl, which he dates palaeographically to the 10th century.

[175] 1 Kgs 6:37, 38, 8:2 respectively.

the Gezer Calendar. In each instance in 1 Kgs 6-8, the Canaanite month name is glossed with a conversion to the standard Hebrew month number using חדש, the standard Hebrew word for month. This has been taken as an indication that the original Temple building account was the composition of a scribe working within the Phoenician tradition whose time notations needed to be updated by a later editor.[176] Therefore, clues gleaned from the available epigraphic evidence indicate that the scribal culture of early Iron Israel can be situated in the broader Phoenician context that pertained for much of the Iron Age, including the period of the United Monarchy. The Canaanite month names in the Temple building account are particularly interesting since as their glosses indicate, they are unlikely to have been used were the account to have been written in the context of the later development of an independent Hebrew tradition. For the scribe who provided the glosses, they were still understood but had already become archaic. Because of the limited amount of both epigraphic and textual evidence this argument should not be overstressed, but it does highlight a significant matter of historical context whose recognition is lacking in the functionalist approach.

III.II.II: Administrative Writing in a Patrimonial Kingdom

The discussion above has established the context in which writing may have been produced in Israel and in the court in Jerusalem in the Iron IIA period. As such it can be put forth that texts such as the Temple building account in 1 Kgs 6-8 or the rhetorical description of Solomon's wealth in 10:23-25, 27 may be reasonably located to the time of their reference, and that there is no *a priori* reason to suggest that they could not have been composed under the United

[176]; Gary Rendsburg, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2002), pp. 127-128; Sanders, *Invention of Hebrew*, p. 111; Rendsburg includes these instances as part of his wider thesis concerning the presence in the Hebrew Bible, in particular pre-exilic texts, of a distinctive dialect of northern Israel which shared linguistic features with its northern neighbour, Phoenician. Ian Young however has provided a serious critique of Rendsburg's methodology and evidence. He allows that such a district dialect is likely to have existed, but questions whether or not it can really be seen in the present Hebrew text, given its long history of transmission and deliberate or non-deliberate scribal emendation. Even so, he allows that Rendsburg is on safer ground concerning these Phoenician month names in the Temple building account (in conversation); see also Ian Young, 'The "Northernisms" of the Israelite Narratives in King', *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 8:1 (1995), pp. 63-70; Ian Young, 'Evidence of Diversity in Pre-Exilic Judahite Hebrew', *Hebrew Studies* 38 (1997), pp. 7-20

Monarchy simply because of the relatively small epigraphic corpus of that time. More broadly the same obtains for literary texts in general, such as those describing the reigns of David and Solomon. It is unnecessary to search for any reason why a scribe in this period could not write anything they liked so long as they had the materials available and the training to transfer their thoughts into words and sentences on the page.[177]

As far as administrative writing is concerned, the approximate amount of scribal output necessary for the administration of a state such as the United Monarchy differs in the sociologically-informed approach from that expected in the functionalist approach. That is to say, the approximate amount is significantly lower in the former than the latter for the primary reason that because a patrimonial state lacks a separate, professional bureaucracy, there was no body of bureaucrats producing a continuous or substantial body of administrative texts. As has already been discussed, the administration of a patrimonial kingdom is nothing other than the regular maintenance of the king's house, as that house in its broadest sense is undistinguished from the state.[178]

The purpose of state administration, ancient and modern, patrimonial or bureaucratic, may be taken as the accountancy, management, distribution and utilisation of the state's human and physical resources for purposes in which the state is engaged, such as the sustenance of its citizens and maintenance of the king and his court, military operations and the construction of defences, and the facilitation and taxation of trade. In a depersonalised bureaucratic state, writing would then facilitate these functions amongst officials who's positions and actions were based upon legal-rational justification, not on a shared a personal connection and a corresponding innate understanding of the whole state as unified familial entity. In contrast, the economic redistribution and the movement of resources in a patrimonial state are constrained within the household relationships of the different actors. Concomitant with the lack of a public-private distinction is the lack of a depersonalised free market in the modern sense, as economic

[177] Contra Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, p. 63, who states that the literature of Israel at the time was primarily oral. There seems no reason though to exclude written literature at this time as well, as there was nothing hindering its creation.

[178] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 77-79

activity was primarily personalised within the reality and symbolism of the household.[179] Although market forces were not absent within these relationships, "the extraction of goods for the king was fully embedded into the local patrimonial fabric."[180]

Therefore in a patrimonial kingdom the administrative functions are subsumed within the daily life of its citizens at their individual household level, though matters affecting the kingdom as a whole would be more of a concern to the king and his immediate servants. Patrimonial society would not support the creation of a specialised bureaucratic group, for the idea of specialisation in terms of a profession or economic role occurs little if at all when households are primarily agricultural, no matter what the kind or size of the settlement of residence. Although specialist economic activities did occur they were part-time and confined to the household, hence the lack of need for public buildings in facilitating administrative activities including writing.[181] The corollary is that the very terms used such as 'scribe' therefore represent that individual's role in the patrimonial administration overseen by the king, but not necessarily a full-time specialised role. The only time that the king's servants could be imagined as having practiced their specialisation and administrative or cultic roles closer to full-time is during David's years in Jerusalem and in Solomon's early reign, if 1 Kgs 2:26 is indicative.[182] Even then however, their attention would still be split between both the affairs, primarily agricultural, of the house in which they were the אב, and their service to the king. But this is a time in which Jerusalem may have been still disembedded. Although speculative given the lack of clear evidence in the biblical text, it can be proposed that Jerusalem's subsequent re-embedding would coincide with the typical land grants made by the king to his servants in a patrimonial society, thus moving at least part of the personal land holdings closer to their city of their residence.[183]

[179] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 66-67, 80-81, 120

[180] Master, 'Economy and Exchange', p. 85

[181] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 101, 140, 199, 323, 335

[182] See n. 149 above.

[183] Schloen, *HFFS*, p. 81, 189; Schloen discussed land grants at Ugarit in detail, see *HFFS*, pp. 241-246

Evidence from Ugarit indicates that sons typically followed their fathers in terms of the part-time specialisations or military roles.[184] The biblical and epigraphic evidence for Israel is stronger for the later Judean monarchy than it is for the United Monarchy concerning officialdom families. As will be discussed below, David and Solomon's officials do not always seem to conform to the ideal that a father and son share the exact same court role. If it is accepted that Solomon's scribes are the son of David's scribe then this is the only instance.[185] This is explicable for two reasons: first, it is doubtful that any other role in the Davidic and Solomonic courts strictly required the very specific training that would be necessary for a new scribe.[186] In agreement with the patrimonial model, there is no indication from throughout the ancient Near East that such education necessitated dedicated school buildings, so it would have the scribe would have taught his son within his own home.[187] Second, it appears that David and Solomon would have needed to construct many of their administrative positions anew; there would not have been a pre-existing family of those in the roles such as the רעה המלך "king's friend" or the

[184] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 211-215

[185] The heading to the list of Solomon's officials (1 Kgs 4:2) is somewhat difficult to interpret. The rest of the list gives the name(s) of the official first followed by their title, while the heading seems to be backwards: "These are the שרים that he had: Azariah son of Zadok(,) the priest". Fox opines that titles following a patronymic usually refer to the person named and not their father, though sometimes the opposite may be true, and goes on to cite the mention in 1 Kgs 1:42 of "Jonathan son of Abiathar(,) the priest" *because* Jonathan is likely also a priest. So is Azariah a priest? If he is, it is odd that he is not mentioned together with Zadok and Abiathar as priests in 1 Kgs 4:4 (and nor is Jonathan). He is obviously one of the שרים and not the only one as it is a plural noun. Because Fox also recognises that the term שר, in both its Hebrew and cognate Egyptian usage and can be used as an adjunct to a more specific title, so it seems likely that it is intended to refer to every person on this list. It is possible though not at all certain therefore that any or each of Azariah, Jonathan or Ahimaaz were though by the biblical author to be priests, though either way they are certainly members of the court, see Fox, *In the Service of the King*, pp. 97 n. 60, 158-163; otherwise there are no clear examples in David and Solomon's court of a father and son sharing the same roles even though Zadok and Abiathar come from priestly families, as it seems likely that the designation of "Ahimelech the son of Abiathar" as a priest in 2 Sam 8:17 should be the other way around in line with 2 Sam 20:25, especially as Ahimelech is the name of Abiathar's father and a son of his named Ahimelech is mentioned nowhere else.

[186] Rollston notes that the learning to write even in a vowel-less alphabetic script like that of Hebrew was much less simple than has been supposed, see *Writing and Literacy*, pp. 92-94

[187] Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, pp. 115-116

על־המס "(one) over the corvee" as such specialisations would obviously have not existed before the monarchy.[188]

So what writing would have occurred at the court of the United Monarchy is to be situated within the Phoenician scribal tradition, as there is at that time little to no evidence of a distinct Hebrew scribal tradition. The biblical text's description of a very small number of court scribes comports well with the epigraphic evidence for the period, that writing was a craft practiced by a very small group who were the inheritors of the Late Bronze administrative scribal practice. That they used writing for the regular propagandistic texts typical of any Near Eastern monarch seems feasible, though such perishable nature of the papyrus medium and lack of monumental Israelite inscriptions must qualify this suggestion for now. That writing was used for banal administrative purposes should not be ruled out considering the few potential indicators gleaned from the present early Iron Age corpus discussed in Section II.II. But in the absence of other evidence, it is presently concluded that such writing would at most be either an administrative convenience where needed or a way to communicate between individuals over distances that barred face-to-face communication, in the manner of the later Arad or Lachish letters. The upshot is that as writing was not required to facilitate administration as it should be defined and practiced within a patrimonial state, the present evidence for writing at the time of the biblical United Monarchy is sufficient for such a state and should not therefore be taken as a mark against its historicity.

III.III: Megiddo and Solomon's Patrimonial Organisation

The understanding of both Megiddo as an archaeological site and its place within the biblically-attested patrimonial organisation implemented by Solomon should be re-analysed so that the conception and role of such a settlement within the patrimonial model can be appreciated. In the absence of more definitive historical evidence only further refinement of archaeological periodization and absolute dating can, if ever, decide which stratum is to be dated to the time of Solomon. The associated matter of whether or not that stratum should be *attributed* to

[188] Neither title is evident for Saul's reign either; for these titles see respectively pp. 121-128 and 136-141 in Fox, *In the Service of the King*

Solomon or if Megiddo was at least controlled from Jerusalem at that time is a question within the purview of the overall debate regarding the historicity of the biblical picture of the United Monarchy. This section therefore seeks to further the understanding of the historical context in which that question must be answered by discussing the effects of patrimonialism to the present evidence concerning Megiddo and its wider role.

III.III.I: Solomon's Prefects as Patrimonial Appointees

The discussion in Section III.II above has shown that there is nothing in the corpus of epigraphic evidence that would disallow locating the underlying source or actual composition of the list of Solomon's prefects in 1 Kings 4 at the time of his reign. Further, the names of several of the provincial prefects reveal that their positions are typical examples of a patrimonial governance structure, which expects real or symbolic familial linkages amongst the different levels.

The two most striking examples are those two officers who had at some point become directly related to the king by marriage, and yet it seems that neither character is necessarily unknown in the text that precedes the list. Zadok's son Ahimaaz had already been encountered back in 2 Sam in the narrative of Absalom's rebellion. As there is no clear indication in the text that he followed his father Zadok as a priest, it seems logical that the same Ahimaaz is the prefect over Naphtali, thus the tying by marriage the ruling dynasty to one of the most important members of the court. The prefect in the land of Dor, who also marries a daughter of Solomon, is given as 'the son of Abinadab', and it is likely that he is in fact the descendant of David's brother Abinadab. These are not the only likely links to members of the court in this list: the Baana, whose province includes Megiddo, appears to share the same father as Jehoshaphat, David and Solomon's herald, while another Baana, the prefect in Asher, appears to be the father of Hushai, the 'king's friend' to both David and Solomon. Somewhat less secure may be the identification of Shimei, prefect in Benjamin, with the courtier among those who did not join Adonijah's camp in 1 Kgs 1:8. The list also contains a potential instance of a father and son serving together if Geber is intended the father of the 'son of Geber'; both serve in Gilead and Bashan.[189]

[189] Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, p. 412

Again the names and patronymics of the prefects seem to reflect the same phenomenon regarding David and Solomon's immediate court officials. At the time when Solomon's provision system would have been developed, it would have been necessary to appoint trusted individuals who either were or could be made part of the king's immediate house as again there was no family with a tradition in the occupation of those roles. Indeed the lack of more prosopographical information spanning more of the history of Israel and Judah makes it unclear if that was even the norm outside of the scribal office and perhaps the priesthood as seems to be indicated at Ugarit. However, it does not seem necessary within a patrimonial society for male members of a household, sons in particular, to always follow in the footsteps of their biological father, particularly where events disrupt and reorient the normal progress of daily patrimonial life and the regular inheritance of a share in the patrimonial estate. The creation of the monarchy, however or whenever it in fact took place, can plausibly be seen as an example of such a disruption.[190]

III.III.II: Megiddo and the Patrimonial State

Returning to the issue of state formation, it is worth first reflecting on the assumptions regarding state formation in the functionalist model. In Part II, it was shown that proponents of the functionalist approach adhered rather uncritically to an evolutionary approach as an important part of the debate concerning Israel's status as a political entity in the 10th century BC, in which its potential designation as a state is dependent on certain criteria..[191] It seems however that the evolutionist thinking employed in the functionalist model, in particular from the Low Chronology side, represents an anthropological view that has now become effectively passé within its home discipline. Nor has its application to archaeology stood the test of time, due the inherent difficulty of shoehorning the archaeological record into rigid and artificial categories. Moreover it seems that the evolutionist model was never able to justify its own

[190] Stager, 'Archaeology of the Family', pp. 25-28

[191] The discussion below is focused primarily on Finkelstein, though Kletter notes that even Finkelstein's critics never question it, see Raz Kletter, 'Chronology and United Monarchy: A Methodological Review', *ZDPV* 120 (2004), pp. 13-53 (p. 14)

categories in utilising modern concepts like 'tribes', 'chiefdoms' and 'states' or their criteria without having first established the validity of such models in societies no longer extant.[192]

The functionalist approach to the archaeology and history of the United Monarchy is further grounded in a common assumption that when kinship ties were the primary organising aspect of an ancient society, that that society must by definition have been something less than a state, because one important criterion of a state is its breaking of the power of kinship ties and subsequent movement to the formation of a tiered class system, alongside an effort by the ruling elite to operate and express power through material symbols within a legal-rational understanding of authority.[193] As was discussed in Part I however, such notions are both inappropriate for application to the ancient Near East and are furthermore ignorant that the state is a 'state of mind'.

Returning to Megiddo itself, it must first be noted that what applies to Jerusalem in terms of its archaeological interpretation within the sociologically-informed approach applies here as well. As such, the question of which stratum might be assigned to Solomon loses some it its significance when the presence or absence of supposed indicators of material culture indicators of societal functions and degree of development are found to be inapplicable to the ancient Israelite society. It matters less whether it is stratum VB or VA-IVB that is dated to the time of Solomon, because the presence or absence of monumental architecture in the 10th century does not reflect the native understanding of authority, nor is it necessary for the facilitation of

[192] Kletter, 'Chronology and United Monarchy', pp. 19-29; Aside from this, Kletter describes both that Finkelstein's terminology regarding his classification of the United Monarchy, the Northern Kingdom and Judah has been remarkably varied, ill-defined and inconsistent and has never seemed to be able to settle on when Judah became a state (in the 9th, 8th or 7th century) and what kind of state it became, see 'Chronology and United Monarchy', pp. 13-19

[193] Master, 'State Formation Theory', pp. 123-127; Kletter criticises Master for using Weber and states that "conceptualization of ancient Israel and Judah in Iron Age Palestine would do better without imaginary "chiefdoms" and "states"" (p. 28), but this seems unnecessary. Kletter shows no awareness of the work of Schloen, and his contention that "[t]here was one form of society which dominated the ancient Near East, certainly during the Iron Age II period: the kingdom" (p. 28) risks overlooking the importance of the kin-based patriarchal and patrimonial structures that underlay kingdoms in the ancient Near East, as Schloen has demonstrated.

administrative activities in a patrimonial state. Making a yardstick out of the presence or absence in the 10th century of 'public buildings' is misdirected if the very validity of the term is questionable, considering that Israelite society did not distinguish between public and private.[194] There is no reason therefore to see structures such as Megiddo VA-IVB's gate as some elite project imposed from above as measures of elite control on the majority of the populace, for indeed such projects would have been viewed within the native patrimonial understanding as relating as much to the agricultural majority as to the minority, as an artificial separation between them as per a class society was alien to society conceived within the idea of every individual as part of the great household of the king.[195]

Fig. 7[196]: Megiddo from above.

Still, if stratum VA-IVB were to be assigned as per the traditional archaeological interpretation to Solomon, then it raises the following question: if monumental structures of that stratum were not instruments of elite control or necessary for the facilitation of a bureaucratic

[194] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 64-68, 195-196, 266; Schloen, 'The Iron Age as a State of Mind', p. 287

[195] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 65, 77-79

[196] Photograph from Curtis, *Oxford Bible Atlas*, p. 96

administration, then what is their purpose. This question is admittedly difficult to answer but two potential explanations present themselves. As has been discussed above, the ideological potential of material wealth was not lost on ancient Near Eastern monarchs but unlike in the functionalist understanding where material culture is both a necessary facilitator and outcome of a developed state, the sociologically-informed understanding recognises that they are in fact utilised in royal propaganda for their symbolic value. As with Solomon's collection of exotic goods, monumental architecture, assuming it was even looked upon as anything of distinction by its native audience, may be seen as just another showpiece that demonstrated the king's majesty and proved his blessedness from on high. A military purpose is also very likely as well even if the above reason is allowed for; even more so than Jerusalem, the locations mentioned in 1 Kgs 9:15-19 are all strategically important, so the mention of "storehouse cities" and "chariot cities" in v. 19 makes sense in the context. Hazor guarded the approach through Galilee in the north, Gezer and Lower Beth-Horon guard one of the main routes from the coastal plain into the hill country and Tamar guards the desert trading routes from the north and the Arabah towards the interior of Edom and down to the Red Sea. If it is historical, Solomon's building projects could be as much a practical effort to fortify major nodes of communication, trade and defence as anything else.

It remains then to consider Megiddo's possible role within Solomon's province system. The patrimonial model would generally expect to see Megiddo as a typical "overgrown village", a settlement primarily comprised of residents whose dominant concern was subsistence agriculture rather than specialised economic activity.[197] But the lack of much in the way of domestic architecture uncovered so far in stratum VA-IVB and or domestic populace in the nearby areas of the Jezreel Valley has led to a suggestion similar to the idea of Jerusalem as a disembedded capital discussed above. Megiddo would therein be seen as a local example of a disembedded administrative centre, shutting out local elites while necessitating the importation of labour to cultivate the surround countryside in the manner of an Amarna-age king of Megiddo. If this picture were accepted it would indicate that Megiddo was part of a political

[197] Schloen, *HFFS*, p. 197

entity based elsewhere, as any local entity would presumably need to concentrate its agricultural population within or nearby to Megiddo.[198]

The city may then have hosted only at minimum a number of posted officials and their immediate families who were either supplied from their own hereditary land holdings or, by repositioning their own household to their post at Megiddo, had the local land cultivated by sharecroppers, who thereby entered into a master-servant relationship as part of the houses of those officials.[199] A combination of both is not inconceivable but both present conundrums as well. Where would these sharecroppers be housed? Farmland around Bronze Age settlements of the ancient Near East did not exceed a few kilometres or an hour's walk at most, so if it is indeed the case that there is little domestic occupation in the Iron IIA hinterland of Megiddo, this question is difficult to answer.[200] If sharecroppers were not used, then this would mean that prime agricultural land was going largely unused.

Regrettably there is not sufficient space here to tackle an important question concerning Solomon's provinces: do they largely conform to the boundaries of the tribes or do they deliberately cross-cut the tribal boundaries? If the latter is the case, then it might be concluded that the provinces have been deliberately drawn to break-up and undermine the tribal system and re-orient power towards Solomon's administration.[201] The former would seem though to be the more likely within the patrimonial model, as it acknowledges the continuing relevance of tribal structures even within a patrimonial kingdom. It would seem perhaps counter intuitive that the king, naturally conceiving of his kingdom as a series of nested households in which the tribes formed a major traditional component, to construct his administration in such a way as to risk their loyalty. On the surface, the text of 1 Kgs 4:7-19 seems to be a mix; some districts, those in vv. 8, 15-18 seem to be stated as nothing more than the territory of one tribe, while the

[198] Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, pp. 212-220

[199] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 119-120

[200] Schloen, *HFFS*, pp. 274-275, 341-342

[201] Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, pp. 412-413; Baruch Halpern, 'Sectionalism and the Schism', *JBL* 93 (1974), pp. 519-532 (pp. 528-531)

other districts are given without a tribal reference. This problem requires further study though a potential explanation as a point of departure will be picked up again in Part IV.

III.IV: Concluding Remarks on the Sociologically-Informed Approach

Applying the sociology of the ancient Near East, namely acknowledging that its society was patriarchal and patrimonial in form and nature, seriously affects the manner in which its archaeological correlates should be interpreted. It contrast to the functionalist approach, the sociologically-informed approach has accounted for cognitive aspects of society and organising ideas like the 'state' by way of an appreciation of a native understanding of the traditional basis of power and authority. The central fact and symbol of a patrimonial kingdom envisioned as the household of the king encompassing the totality of the state removes the public-private distinction and exposes the anachronistic assumptions of the functionalist position, in particular its assumptions concerning the presence of a legal-rational understanding of power manifest in bureaucratic-type administration. In so doing, the United Monarchy has been returned to a correct position within its own native sociological context.

Part IV: Conclusion

This thesis has sought to accomplish two goals. The first goal was to demonstrate the serious flaws and unjustified assumptions inherent in the functionalist approach to the archaeological correlates of the biblical United Monarchy of ancient Israel largely by way of the second goal, to situate the United Monarchy in its proper ancient Near Eastern sociological context. This context was locatable mostly thanks to the important work of Schloen, in his explication of the patrimonial model rooted in the fact and symbol of the House of the Father and its accompanying basis in Weber's traditional legitimation of authority.

It was noted in Part I that the superiority of the sociologically-informed approach follows naturally from the fact that unlike the functionalist approach, it considers and accounts for an aspect of ancient Israel so fundamental it is difficult now to believe how the archaeological and historical study of the United Monarchy has done without it; the native form and nature of ancient Israelite society, as opposed to the blatant and unfounded anachronism that permeates the functionalist approach. Two results that were prefigured in Part I are worth recalling here though: first, this study has not sought to disrespect even those scholars that it criticised or to suggest the discarding of their work, even if their understandings and broad historical-archaeological interpretative frameworks need to be seriously revised. Nor does it seek to claim that in placing the biblical United Monarchy in its historical context is its historicity assured; this study has certainly sought to show that many of the ways in which some scholars, primarily Finkelstein, had argued against its essential historicity are highly problematic, but this should not be taken as an argument that the historicity of the United Monarchy is automatically confirmed.

Only a broader study that also addresses many of the issues that this study has only been able to address in outline if at all can demonstrate fully how the sociologically-informed approach can make its fullest contribution to what is a very complex issue. A few particular matters that a longer study should address have arisen in the course of research and composition. The most interesting matter comes in the form of a seeming tension regarding the way that David and Solomon have constructed their patrimonial government, at least as presented by the text. With

David using Jerusalem as an initially disembedded capital, Solomon possibly undermining the tribal system in his province system, and both needing out of necessity to make appointments to positions that only needed to come into existence with the advent of the monarchy, there seems to be a theme of what might be called 'patrimonial manipulation'. David and Solomon may have envisioned their kingdom within the native patrimonial house model but constructed it in such a way that realigned the structure of the state-encompassing house in order to realign power and authority in a way more beneficial to the monarch.

Therefore, a longer study would undertake a detailed study of Solomon's district system and previous scholarship on it, including the archaeological reality concerning the sites names therein in addition to seeking an answer regarding its relationship with the tribal boundaries. Such a study would also undertake a detailed review of David and Solomon's official appointments, including both immediate court officials and provincial prefects. It would more fully explicate than has been possible here the nature and role of their offices and the prosopographical links among those named. The work of Fox, though very useful for this thesis, invites some modifications in light of the patrimonial model. The situation at Megiddo begs further consideration also; how best can its role be defined and how defensible is the idea that neither the city nor surrounding country hosted a substantial domestic agricultural population? Lastly a longer study would have more room to study the veritable elephant-in-the-room that this thesis has not had the space to consider: Saul, Israel's first king in the biblical account. Finkelstein's newest work discusses the period of the monarchy's emergence in northern Israel, and beyond this it would be ideal to discuss the organisation of Saul's kingdom and to then compare it to the Davidic and Solomonic equivalents.[202]

Now that the United Monarchy has been returned to its native social context, such a study can begin.

[202] Israel Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel* (Atlanta: SBL, 2013)

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