

The Early Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country

BENJAMIN MAZAR

Institute of Archaeology
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Jerusalem, Israel

When we come to examine the history of the settlement of the Israelite tribes in the mountainous region west of the Jordan, particular attention should be given to the implications of the few and limited excavations and archaeological surveys carried out in recent years. It now appears with a fair degree of certainty that in the last stage of the Late Bronze Age (14th-13th centuries B.C.) there were only a few fortified towns and some scattered unfortified hamlets on the ridge of the mountains, where since earliest times the main north-south highway had run along the watershed. The towns are mainly those familiar from biblical sources: Shechem, Luz-Bethel, Jerusalem, Hebron-Kiriath-arba, and Debir-Kiriath-sefer (probably to be identified with Kh. Rabūd, south of Hebron).¹

No doubt these towns served both as centers for the caravan trade and as political centers, where various crafts and small-scale agriculture were also practiced. The population of the hill country (that is, "the hill country of Israel," Josh 11:16) consisted mostly of nomadic and seminomadic tribes, tent-dwellers whose main livelihood depended on pasture for their livestock. Their way of life is reflected in the sagas of the Patriarchs in Genesis, according to which the places where the Fathers of the Israelite nation dwelt or sojourned were the hill country of Judah, Ephraim, and Gilead, and also in the wide expanses of the Negev. Sometimes they pitched their tents near sacred oaks and altars, as well as in the vicinity of ancestral tombs.² In this connection, the Egyptian "Satirical Letter" (Papyrus Anastasi I), from the second half of the 13th

century B.C., is of special interest. The author of this document gives an instructive account of prosperous life in the coastal towns, in the valleys, and in the north of Palestine. At the same time, he notes the dangers posed for travellers by the Shosu-bands (ššw) bands, while mentioning only incidentally the hill country in the center of Canaan, which he calls the "mountains of Shechem."³ He also refers to a nomadic group designated as *šr*, probably to be identified with the tribe of Asher, which according to obscure biblical passages settled first in the southern hill country of Ephraim.⁴

Excavations and soundings carried out in early Iron Age settlements in the hill country, such as Shechem, ^cAi, Bethel, Kh. Raddhana near Ramallah, Gibeon, and elsewhere reveal a picture of a relatively well developed material culture. Some of these settlements were fortified, and their houses show evidence of planning and even of technological achievement equal to the best standards then current in the country. Especially characteristic are pillared houses with three or four rooms.⁵ Other features of these dwellings are the numerous round grain silos and cisterns for storing rainwater installed in almost every house, features that must have played an important role in the development of the settlements. The pottery of the period is plain and utilitarian, typical of that found in all areas of Israelite settlement.⁶ Especially distinctive are the "collared-rim" pithos, the cooking pot with elongated triangular or "adze" rim and loop handles, and the heavy bowl with disk or ring base.⁷ Callaway's excavations at Kh. Raddhana uncover-

ed a deposit of metal tools, a fragment of an early alphabetic inscription on a jar handle (early 12th century?), as well as a fragment of a cultic krater, unique in Palestine, which may have Anatolian connections.⁸ Up to the present, no traces of the Late Bronze Age have been found at Gibeon (el-Jib), though tombs of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages have been discovered nearby.⁹ The early Iron Age village is represented by part of an enclosing wall on the edge of the mound and by a water system that brought water from a spring outside the town.¹⁰

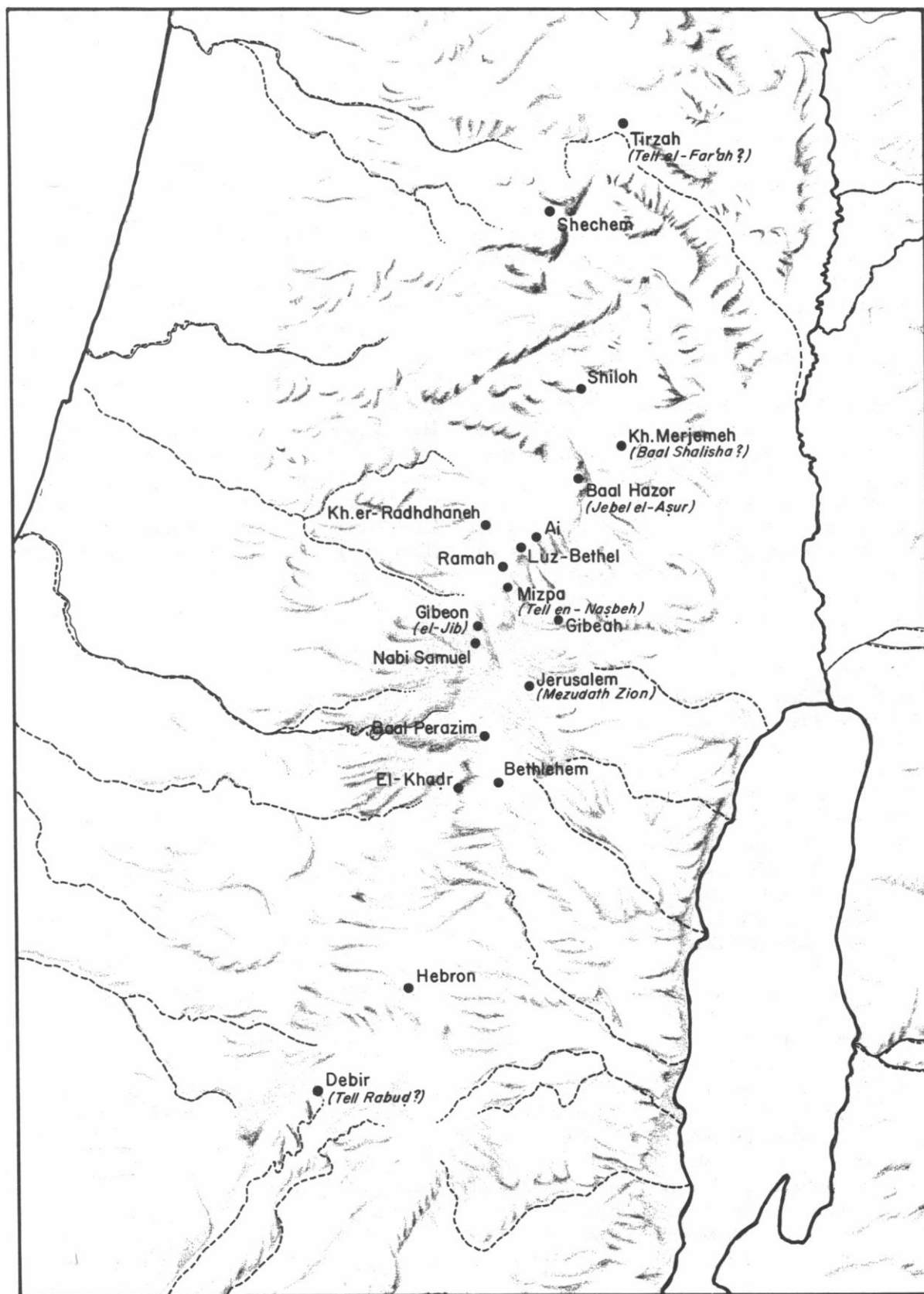
The settlement of the Israelite tribes in the hill country appears from the first to have been governed by their sense of national-religious destiny and by their way of life as stock breeders who ranged with their herds over Canaan and Transjordan. It is only gradually that the early Israelites adapted to the conditions of a settled life, to living in permanent villages, and to direct contact with their non-Israelite neighbors whose influence made itself felt in the establishment of their settlements and in their gradual transition to an economy based mainly on agriculture. The Israelite tribes and associated groups contracted alliances with these neighbors on the one hand, but they also fought them fiercely to secure life and property, for the right to settle surplus populations, in order to make subject the autochthonous inhabitants or absorb them into the Israelite tribal framework, and eventually to attain political supremacy.¹¹ These events are reflected in many biblical sources—especially in early episodes embedded in the historiographic works, as well as in the national poetry and in fragments of memories scattered in the genealogies. Instances are the mention of the bloody clash between the inhabitants of Gath¹² and the tribe of Ephraim, “whom the men of Gath who were born in the land slew, because they came down to raid their cattle” (1 Chr 7:21); or the account of how the heads of Benjamin in Aijalon “put to flight the inhabitants of Gath” (1 Chr 8:13).

Who were these peoples in the hill country at the time of the Israelite settlement? Three ethnic groups play the most important role as neighbors of the tribes of Israel until the crystallization of the Monarchy. They are: (1) the Hivites in Shechem and in the four neighboring cities of Beeroth, Chephirah, Baalath-Kiriath-jearim, and Gibeon, which “was a great city, like one of the royal cities” (Josh 10:2); (2) the Hittites in Hebron, and according to Judg 1:22-26 also in Luz-Bethel; and

(3) the Jebusites in the Jerusalem region, who most probably were related to the Hittites.

These groups differ from each other both ethnically and in their descent either from the Amorites, a term used in the historiographic sources as a general name for the non-Israelite population, and especially the autochthonous inhabitants of the hill country, or from the Canaanites, a name generally applied to the population of the Egyptian province of Canaan.¹³ It should be noted that the Hivites stand out as an alien element and even as new settlers in the hill country. Their origin, as Judg 3:3 and Josh 11:3 indicate, should be sought in the area of Mt. Hermon, Lebanon, and the Beqa^c “as far as Lebhamath,”¹⁴ that is, in the border region between the Hittite and Egyptian empires in the 13th century B.C. From there they spread to the Palestinian cities (2 Sam 24:4) and to Shechem and to Gibeon and its vicinity, northwest of Jerusalem in the hill country. It should be remembered that in the folk tale recounted in Joshua 9 the Hivites-Gibeonites told the Israelites encamped at Gilgal that “we have come from a far country, so now make a covenant with us” (v. 6), and they said to Joshua “from a very far country your servants have come” (v. 9). The story goes on to tell, however, that after the covenant had been made the deception came to light, and the congregation discovered “that they were their neighbors and that they dwelt among them” (v. 16). For this reason they were employed to cut wood and to carry water for the congregation and for the altar of Yahweh, the latter perhaps referring to the great *bāmāh* that the Israelites set up at Gibeon, which served as a cult place until the time of Solomon.¹⁵

As for Hivite Shechem, it should be remembered that in the story of Abimelech (Judges 9), which has its counterpart in the folk tale about Dinah (Genesis 34), the rulers of the town were “the men of Hamor the father of Shechem” (Judg 9:28). Hamor is the name of the noble family (and its “father”) who headed the “lords of Shechem,” that is, the ruling class who entered a covenant with Gideon and his family, the Manassite clan of Abiezer. This covenant found expression in the sanctuary or “house” of El-berith-Baal-berith (i.e., the God of the covenant) in Beth-millo, which is probably synonymous with the “Tower” of Shechem, the citadel where the lords of Shechem resided.¹⁶ Of particular interest is the opening of the story in Genesis 34, where Shechem is called “the son of



Hamor the Hivite, the chief of the land (*nešīḥ hā'āreš*)" (v. 2), indicating that Hamor, the "father" of the noble Shechemite family, was a Hivite bearing the honorific title "*nāšīḥ* of the land," that is, the Land of Shechem. Both stories are based on a common tradition reflected in the record of the relations between the Israelites and their Hivite neighbors, the inhabitants of Shechem: the covenant between the two peoples and its violation caused by complex quarrels, culminating in the annihilation of the Hivite nobility and the destruction of the city and its sanctuary. Eventually, in the beginning of the Monarchic period, an Israelite town, the Levite town of Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, arose on the ruins of the Hivite city.

The Hittites were found mainly in Hebron, where the ruling class before the Calebite conquest was called by the Israelites *ʿam hā'āreš*, "the people of the land, the children of Heth." Ephron son of Zohar the Hittite, who owned the field and the cave of Machpelah "which was before Mamre," was a member of this class. He sat "among the Hittites at the gate of the city," and there he sold to Abraham the field and cave of Machpelah as a burying place for "four hundred shekels of silver according to the weights current among the merchants" (Genesis 23). Abraham the Hebrew was "a stranger and sojourner" among them (v. 4); during their wanderings he and his descendants sojourned at the Oaks of Mamre (cf. Gen 35:27). According to a tradition associated with the time of the Calebite settlement, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai, "the descendants of Anak," were the heads of the noble families of Hebron in the pre-Israelite period (Num 13:22; Josh 15:14), and they may well have been Hittite noblemen.

The central role played by the Hivites and Hittites in the non-Israelite population of the hill country is further indicated by sources such as Gen 36:2ff. The short account in Judg 1:22-26 concerning the conquest of Luz-Bethel by the Joseph clans poses a particular problem. According to this story the man who delivered the city to the House of Joseph migrated with his family to the land of the Hittites and built there a city that he called Luz, after the town he had left, and "that is its name to this day." It is reasonable to assume that this is the town Lawazantiya (with the common Anatolian suffix *-antiya*) in the land of Kizzuwatna, in Hittite Anatolia, often mentioned in the Bogazköy texts.¹⁷ In any event, this story shows that a bond of origin

and kinship existed between the inhabitants of Canaanite Luz before it became Israelite Bethel at the time of the settlement, and the city of Luz in Hittite Anatolia.

The Jebusites (Jebus) were the inhabitants of Jerusalem and its neighborhood in the 12th-11th centuries B.C. and until David's reign. Their capital was called by the Israelites the Stronghold of Zion, or Jebus, "the city of foreigners, who do not belong to the people of Israel" (Judg 19:11-12). Jebus undoubtedly refers to one of the ethnic groups that, like the Hivites, migrated from a distant country, probably the land of the Hittites, and settled in Jerusalem. This event may perhaps have taken place after the destruction of "Canaanite" Jerusalem by Judah, an enigmatic episode mentioned in Judg 1:8. The kinship of the Jebusites with the Hittites (the general name for the peoples of the Neo-Hittite empire) is underlined by Ezekiel's words addressed to Jerusalem: "Your origin and your birth are of the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite, and your mother a Hittite" (Ezek 16:3); and "Your mother was a Hittite and your father an Amorite" (v. 45). However, it should be remembered that Uriah the Hittite, one of David's heroes, was a permanent inhabitant of Jerusalem (2 Sam 11:8ff.). Furthermore, the valley south of ancient Jerusalem is called the "Valley of the Son (Sons) of Hinnom," reminiscent of the Land of *Hnm* in Lebanon, at the southern end of the Neo-Hittite empire.¹⁸ It can reasonably be conjectured that the family that gave its name to the valley reached Jerusalem from *Hnm*, within the boundaries of Hittite rule in southern Syria.

Especially instructive is the title of the head of the Jebusite noble family—Araunah, Avarnah, or *the* Avarnah, the Jebusite owner of the threshing floor that David purchased for a price and where he built an altar to Yahweh (2 Sam 24:18-25). The meaning of the Horite word *eweri* (with the suffix *-ne*), which was also taken over in Hittite, is "lord" and certainly also "feudal lord."¹⁹ It is noteworthy that David purchased the threshing floor from Araunah the Jebusite for the full price in perpetuity, just as Jacob bought the plot of land in Shechem from the sons of Hamor, "father" of Shechem (Gen 33:19; Josh 24:32), and Abraham bought the field of Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite in Hebron. Perhaps it can be suggested that the title "chief of the land" (*nešīḥ hā'āreš*) borne by Hamor the Hivite, the "father" of Shechem, has a similar or identical meaning as Araunah (Avarnah, the

Avarnah), indicating that Hamor was the lord of Hivite Shechem, just as Araunah was the feudal lord of Jebusite Jerusalem. On the other hand, when Ephron the Hittite called Abraham “a *nāšīr* of God (*nešīr* ²*‘elohīm*) among us” (Gen 23:6), this may well have been a rhetorical title, perhaps an abstraction of the concept “*nāšīr* of the land” (*nešīr* *hā’āreš*), by which Ephron wished to honor a famous Hebrew “stranger and sojourner” who dwelt frequently at the Oaks of Mamre and who sought peaceful relations and an alliance with the Hittite lords of Hebron.

It must be emphasized that nothing is known of a monarchic system in any of the ethnic territorial groups of the Hivites, Hittites, and Jebusites who remained as enclaves among the Israelite tribes.²⁰ Only late sources, like Joshua 10 and 12:7-24, mention the “kings” of Hebron, Debir, ²¹Ai, Bethel, etc., “all the Kings who were beyond the Jordan in the hill country and in the lowlands” (Josh 9:1), according to a schema acceptable to the Israelite historiographers late in the time of the Monarchy. The political system in all the above-mentioned cities actually was based on a ruling aristocracy, known to us by inclusive terms such as the “lords of Shechem,” the “people of the land” at Hebron, or the “elders” at Gibeon. Through their leaders—the Hivite “*nāšīr* of the land” in Shechem or the Jebusite Araunah in Jerusalem—they entered into treaty relationships with the Israelites, intermarried with them, and continued to be absorbed by them. This process was accompanied by syncretistic practices recorded in the historical sources (Judges 3, 5, etc.).

In the light of the foregoing, it can be assumed that all the ethnic groups discussed—the Hittites, Hivites, and Jebusites—reached the hill country of Canaan, which was sparsely settled and economically backward, from the Hittite provinces in Syria and Anatolia at the time of the catastrophe that overtook the Hittite empire. This tremendous upheaval happened during the transitional period between the 13th and 12th centuries, when the Hittite empire broke up during the reigns of its last kings, Arnuwanda III and Shuppiluliuma II. There is a cause-and-effect relationship between this historic event and the massive migratory movement of the “Sea Peoples” in the Aegean Sea basin and the Anatolian coast, which was fraught with momentous consequences. The “Sea Peoples” ravaged the Hittite provinces in Syria and even threatened the very existence of the Egyptian

empire. Our main documentary source for these events is the description of the assault of the five “Sea Peoples” in the inscriptions of the 5th and 8th regnal years of Ramses III in the temple of Amon at Medinet Habu.²¹ The complete destruction of the flourishing harbor-town of Ugarit also serves as striking evidence of the catastrophe that overtook the Hittite empire and its vassal states. However, the migratory tide of the “Sea Peoples” was not the only decisive factor in the decline and breakup of the Hittite empire and the widespread population shifts within its borders. This process was certainly accelerated by the pressure of the population groups invading from the north and by the power struggle with Assyria on the east, but first and foremost by the breakdown of the political and social system and the collapse of the economy within the empire. This was accompanied by famines and epidemics (and, according to some opinions, by earthquakes and climatic changes) and by the mass migration of uprooted population groups into Egyptian lands.²²

The “Sea Peoples,” made up of various ethnic groups and tribes including the Philistines, the Shikal (Tkr), and the Danuna, invaded the coastal areas of Canaan down to the very south and settled there in towns or in encampments, either on their own initiative or as captives or mercenaries under the protection of Egyptian rule. Together with this influx of the “Sea Peoples” came a host of refugees and immigrants consisting of various ethnic groups, including Hittites, Jebusites, and Hivites, as well as Gergeshites and Perizzites,²³ who had abandoned their homelands in Syria and Anatolia and who settled mainly in sparsely populated areas in the hill country. They seized power in the few existing cities, some of which they destroyed and rebuilt, and established new settlements on the major highways. In this fashion, mountainous areas in Canaan became a refuge for immigrants from Hittite lands at the time of the catastrophe that befell their homeland. Among them must have been merchants (especially in Shechem), artisans, and farmers (cf. Judg 9:27), and perhaps also military men (see below). At the time when the Egyptians were still sufficiently powerful to retain their hold on the coastal areas, their political and military strength in the interior of the country was completely spent. They could not check the influx of immigrants from Syria, and they certainly could not contend with the Israelites and their kinfolk who entered the country with increasing thrust

from Transjordan as well as from the Negev, and who were to determine the fate of the country for generations to come.

Some of these peoples survived within the borders of Israel until the days of the United Monarchy. The members of the Hivite clan Hamor were slain in Shechem, but it may well be that remnants of the population were assimilated as a "family" into the tribe of Manasseh. This is the Shechem known to us as a "family" territory already in the Samaria ostraca of the 8th century B.C. Many of the Hivites in Gibeon were slain by Saul "in his zeal for the people of Israel and Judah" (2 Sam 21:2-6). The Jebusite "stronghold of Zion" was conquered by David early in his reign, while Joab "repaired the rest of the city" (1 Chr 11:8; cf. also Josh 15:63, Judg 1:21). At the same time, we find non-Israelite military men in Saul's and David's service, including captains and "heroes" (*šarīm* and *gibborīm*). These came mainly from the Hivite cities Beeroth, Kiriath-jearim, and Gibeon, as well as from Jebusite-Hittite Jerusalem.²⁵ It is possible that the arrowheads of the 11th century B.C. that were found at el-Khaḍr near Bethlehem, each bearing the inscription in alphabetic script *ḥš bdlbʿt*, "Arrow of the servant of the Lioness," may indicate the existence of a professional guild of archers (known from an administrative Ugaritic text). Perhaps these were the bowmen led by Saul's "Benjaminite kinsmen" (1 Chr 12:2).²⁶ Of special interest is the story about the two sons of Rimmon, Saul's captains, who were Beerothites, "for Beeroth was also reckoned to Benjamin" (2 Sam 4:2). The author's intention must surely have been that they are Beerothites of Hivite extraction who were assimilated by Benjamin and who served the Israelite royal house. After the sons of Rimmon had slain Eshbaal and David had them put to death in retribution, "the Beerothites fled to Gittaim, where they have lived ever since" (v.3). This Gittaim seems to be the Gath-rimmon (the estate of the Rimmon family) in the territory of Dan.²⁷

As for the Israelite tribes settling in the hill country—and especially the large national units of the Joseph and Judah tribes—they adjusted to conditions in their new surroundings through a complex and eventful process of gaining a foothold in the vicinity of non-Israelite cities, clearing the forests (Josh 17:15-18), and breaking virgin soil for agriculture. Archaeological excavations and surveys²⁸ have revealed a situation that corresponds to or approximates the historical-cultural fabric

reflected in reliable sources from the pre-Monarchic period that have been preserved in the Bible. These discoveries unfold before our eyes an illuminating picture of widespread settlement, of increasing adaptation to conditions in the hill country, and of growing sophistication in utilizing its economic resources. At the same time, this period is characterized by wars and clashes with the Israelite's neighbors and with invaders, as well as by conflicts among the tribes themselves, which sometimes resulted in the destruction of settlements and the migration of the settlers to other places and regions. Undoubtedly this was a dynamic process accompanied by vigorous development and by the creation of a dense settlement pattern, as revealed in archaeological surveys. This process, which can be traced also in the hill country of Transjordan and of Upper Galilee as well as in the Negev,²⁹ reached its peak in the days of the United Kingdom. The new settlements were generally established on previously uninhabited sites and only a few arose on the ruins of destroyed cities (mainly Shechem, Tīrzah[?]-Tell el-Fār^cah [N], Shiloh, Luz-Bethel, and Hebron) or on the remains of Early Bronze Age settlements (ʿAi, Mizpah-Tell en-Nasbeh). These new settlements are generally of a lower standard than the non-Israelite cities; their character is consistent with the lifestyle of clans and families living on their lands. Some of these settlements are modestly fortified; others are unfortified villages or temporary dwellings, forts, or watchtowers for defense. In the permanent settlements that continued to exist there appears a type of house with three or (more frequently) four rooms, which becomes very common in Israel and among its neighbors (see above). Among the pottery, too, characteristic vessels make their appearance from the beginning of settlement onward. A few iron implements begin to appear, together with the traditional copper ones, and their spread in Israel may perhaps be attributed to migrants from Hittite lands. Furthermore, the first signs of the introduction of the alphabetic script in Israel can be discerned.³⁰

Many of the events and the authentic patterns of daily life and of socio-religious practices of the settlers are reflected in the historiographic fabric of the monumental literary creation that took shape in Israel in the course of many generations. At the same time it is clear that in addition to the various national, tribal, and family traditions—"things which we have heard and known, that our fathers

have told us" (Ps 78:3), literary or prose compositions, fragments of chronicles, epic poems and folk tales that have been preserved in the biblical sources—special significance should be attached to the early genealogies. These genealogical lists, as well as the names of ancestral heads of clans and families and of their settlements and territories, are often authentic and factual material for the study of the conquest and settlement of the Israelite tribes. They contribute a great deal to our understanding of the settlers' society and of clans and families and of their adherence to ancestral traditions and attachment to their holy sites.³¹

Many of the new settlements have names like Geder, Gederah, Gederoth, Gederothaim (with the locative *-aim*) and Gedor (also a Phoenician term); Hazer, Hazor, Hazerim, Hezron; Atarah, Ataroth³²; and Mezad, Mezudah, Mizpah, Zephath, Bezer, Chesalon—all names that describe various kinds of settlements and strongholds. Similarly, names like Ramah, Ramoth, Ramathaim, Geba (which also serves as a Canaanite term), Gibeah, and Gibeon refer to the topographical character of the settlement. Names like Migron, Naweh, Naioth, and Goren signify places of grazing and crafts within the settlement, while names like Kadesh (also a Canaanite term), Gilgal, and Elon indicate sanctified sites. It is not surprising that many of these place-names are found in combination with another name, usually that of a tribe, clan, or a family in Israel. Many are the toponyms whose first component is a common West Semitic element, such as *bayit*, *qiryah*, *migdal*, *gat* (estate). Especially instructive is the term "land," meaning the territory of an Israelite family or a non-Israelite territorial unit. Saul looks for his father's asses in the land of Shalishah, the land of Shaalim, the land of Benjamin, and the land of Zuph. On the evidence of the genealogical lists of Asher (1 Chr 7:31-40), the land of Shalishah and the land of Shual were the territories of the early Asherite families Shalishah and Shual (vv. 36-37), and evidently Baal-shalishah served as a center (probably a cult center) of the Shalishah family in the land of Ephraim (2 Kgs 4:42).³³ Similarly, Baal-hazor (2 Sam 13:23) must be the cult center of the village of Hazor in Ephraim.³⁴ In the land of Yemini (Benjamin) such a center existed at Gibeah, which is Gibeath Benyamîn, "the hill of Benjamin." On the hilltop stood the *bāmāh* of the tribe (and originally the clan) of Benjamin, and therefore it was called Gibeath ʿElōhīm.³⁵ As for the land of Zuph, its central

settlement was at Ramah, also called Ramathaim-zophim, home of the prophet Samuel, who belonged to the Zuph family (1 Sam 1:1). The *bāmāh* of the family was situated on the summit of the height implied in the name Ramah³⁷ (1 Sam 9:11-14, 18, 19, 25).

In the light of the foregoing, it seems reasonable to assume that Baal-perazim near Bethlehem, David's birthplace, is none other than the cult center of the widely ramified family whose "father" was Perez, according to tradition Judah's eldest son, and to whom David son of Jesse belonged (cf. the genealogy of Perez in Ruth 4:18-22). Perhaps this is the site of the cult assembly of the people of Bethlehem and the other members of the clan to which David hastened from Gibeah of Saul, "for there is a yearly sacrifice there for all the family" (1 Sam 20:6).³⁷ Significantly, the first bloody clash between David and the Philistines, after David had been anointed king over Israel, took place in Baal-perazim near Bethlehem and in the vicinity of the Valley of Rephaim, where the Philistines were encamped: "And David came to Baal-perazim, and David defeated them there, and he said: 'Yahweh has broken through my enemies before me like a bursting flood; therefore the name of that place is called Baal-perazim'" (2 Sam 5:20; 2 Chr 14:11). It is to this event that the verses in 2 Sam 23:13-14 refer: "And a troop of Philistines was encamped in the Valley of Rephaim. And David was then in the stronghold (apparently the stronghold of Zion, that is the City of David), and the garrison of the Philistines was then at Bethlehem." The memory of this event was deeply engraved upon the national memory and is referred to by Isaiah: "For Yahweh will rise up as on Mount Perazim" (28:21).

Amihay Mazar has suggested that Baal-perazim should be identified with the site in Giloh (a suburb of modern Jerusalem), on the top of the ridge between the valley of Rephaim and Beit Jalla (830 m. above sea level), which he investigated. During three seasons of excavations he uncovered a hamlet from the Iron I period.³⁸ Several factors support this identification: the site's proximity to Bethlehem and its command over the Valley of Rephaim; its lofty situation confirmed by its mention in Isaiah's prophecy (Mount Perazim); and the equation of Baal-perazim with Mount Perazim, just as Baal-hazor is Mount Hazor. The remains uncovered at the site, which date from the Iron I period, complete the picture.

It is a reasonable assumption that "Baal," as an

epithet meaning "Lord," and its substitution for Yahweh in Israelite theophoric names of the pre-Monarchic period and of the days of Saul and David, was usual both in place names—especially those of family cult places such as Baal-shalishah, Baal-hazor, and Baal-perazim—and in personal names such as Eshbaal,³⁹ Mephibaal, Meribaal, and Ahibaal.⁴⁰ Its replacement by a term of derision in personal names such as Ishbosheth, Mephibo-

sheth, or Ahithophel in historiographic sources, is similarly the result of the historical development that began in the first half of the 9th century B.C. with the establishment and spread in Israel of the worship of the Tyrian Baal under the Omride dynasty, and its suppression in the reign of Jehu with the rise of the national-religious movement initiated by Elijah and continued by the "faithful of Israel."⁴¹

NOTES

*This article is an expanded translation of a Hebrew article submitted for *Eretz-Israel* 15 (the Aharoni volume), forthcoming in 1981.

¹Kochavi 1974: 1ff.

²Kaufmann 1954: 126ff.; de Vaux 1961: 289ff.; Haran 1978: 48ff.; and on the historical background of the patriarchal sagas in Genesis, see Mazar 1969: 73ff.

³*ANET*: 477 b.

⁴Yeivin 1971: 31f.; Gardiner 1947: 191ff.; and de Vaux 1973: 99.

⁵Shiloh 1973: 277ff.; *idem* 1970: 180ff.; and Kempinski and Fritz 1977: 136ff.

⁶See Callaway's reports on the excavations at 'Ai, 1969: 5ff.; *idem* 1970: 19ff.; *idem* 1971: 9ff.; *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land I*, 1975: 44ff.; cf. also 1968: 312ff.

⁷This pottery, especially the collared-rim jar, was first recognized as characteristic of the Israelite settlement (12th century B.C.) by W. F. Albright (1924: 10; 1960: 118) and, following him, by Y. Aharoni and others (Aharoni 1957: 21ff.). Recently, M. M. Ibrahim has shown that collared-rim jars were in widespread use also in Transjordan (especially in Sahab; see 1978). In his opinion, therefore, it is doubtful whether they can be attributed to any particular ethnic group.

⁸Callaway and Cooley 1971: 9ff.; Cross and Freedman 1971: 19ff.; and Kempinski 1979: 43-45.

⁹Pritchard 1963; Gonen 1979: 85-87.

¹⁰Pritchard 1961; 1962: 55ff., 158ff.

¹¹In recent decades different and even contradictory methods of study and research concerning the process of the Israelite conquest and settlement have been developed, especially by Alt and Noth, Albright, Yeivin, and Kaufmann, and lately Mendenhall and others. These methods are based on differing approaches to biblical sources and to original solutions of historical, archaeological, and sociological problems. Cf. the summaries of the subject in Aharoni 1966: 174ff.; Weippert 1971; de Vaux 1971: 443ff.; and recently Miller 1977: 213ff.

¹²For Gath-Gittaim and its identification with Rās Abū Hamīd, see B. Mazar 1954: 227ff. Some fragmentary sources which deserve notice testify that Amorite towns in the area of the Aijalon Valley continued to exist, "but the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed and they became tributaries" (Judg 1:35), whereas the Danites, who were attached to the house of Joseph, settled in the region of Eshtaol-Zorah, where they were "forced by the Amorites into the mountains, for they would not suffer them to come down to the valley" (Judg 1:34, cf. also Judg 18:12 and 1 Sam 7:14).

¹³Maisler (Mazar) 1930, and recently de Vaux 1973: 123ff.; for a summary of the subject see Ishida 1979: 465ff. and selected bibliography there.

¹⁴Mazar, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Weippert 1971: 36, n. 103.

¹⁵Possibly, the great *bāmāh* at Gibeon, a site sacred to the Israelites in the Hivite-Gibeonite region, should be placed as Nebī Samwīl, a high hill towering over el-Jib (cf. de Vaux 1971: 573, n. 4). A parallel situation can be seen at the holy site of Gibeath/Kiriath-jearim (Deir el-Azhar), which dominates the Hivite town of Kiriath Baal (Baalath)-Kiriath-jearim (Qaryat Abū-Ghōsh, cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica* VII [1976]: s.v. Kiriath-jearim).

¹⁶Wright 1965: 95ff., 123ff.; Dever 1974: 31ff.; and B. Mazar 1980: 147-48.

¹⁷Cf. Mazar 1975: 25, n. 19; for this town see Garstang and Gurney 1959: 52ff.

¹⁸A scene showing cutting down trees in Lebanon for Sethos I at the town of QDR in the land of HNM is depicted in the great hypostyle hall at Karnak; *ANET*: 254f.; Mazar 1975: 25, n. 19.

¹⁹For a detailed treatment, see Mazar 1980: 219-20; cf. Gordon 1965: Glossary No. 116. Yadin's suggestion should be mentioned here, namely that the affair of the lame and the blind in the story of the conquest of the Jebusite stronghold of Zion (2 Sam 5:7-9) is a magic act, which recalls a similar incantation of the Hittite army in a text from Bogazköy; cf. Yadin (Suknik) 1952: 222ff.

²⁰This phenomenon is also found in border areas, and especially in Geshur and Maacah in the Golan, where a monarchical regime apparently was established in the second half of the 11th century B.C.; cf. B. Mazar 1961: 23.

²¹Edgerton and Wilson 1936; Wilson *ANET*: 262f.

²²Helck, Otten, and Bittke 1976; Tadmor 1979; and on the decline of the Mycenaean civilization, Stiebing 1980: 7ff.

²³Cf. *Encyclopaedia Biblica* II (1954): s.v. Gergeshi; *ibid.*, VI (1971): sv. Perizzi. For Karkīša in Hittite Anatolia, see now *RLA* V. 5-6 (1980): 446ff. It is not in vain that the Israelite historiographer so frequently describes Canaan before the Israelite conquest as the country of the seven nations—Amorites, Hittites, Gergeshites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites—who dwell in large fortified cities and have houses full of fine goods and rock-cut cisterns. This, at least, was the way the people during the Monarchy saw their distant past; cf. Ishida 1979: 463ff.

²⁴Albright 1961: 36ff. and the critical notes of Speiser 1961: 23ff.

²⁵B. Mazar 1980: 198, nn. 59-60; 210-11.

²⁶Milik and Cross 1954: 5ff.; B. Mazar *ibid.*: 186. It should be remembered that not only Uriah the Hittite, but also Ahimelech

the Hittite (1 Sam 26:6), was one of David's mighty men, although his name does not appear in the list of these heroes.

²⁷B. Mazar 1963: 319, n. 1. For the meaning of the name Gath, see Heltzer 1979: 31ff.

²⁸See the articles on Bethel, Gibeah, 'Ai, Mizpah (Tell en-Naşbeh), Shiloh, Shechem, and Tell el-Far'ah (N) in *Encyclopedia of Excavations in the Holy Land* I-IV (1975-78). For surveys, see especially Kochavi 1972: 20-21, 153-55, 196-99; Bach 1958: 41ff.; and Campbell 1968: 19ff.

²⁹Aharoni 1966: 217ff.; and Glueck 1970: *passim*.

³⁰Cross 1979: 97ff.; Demsky 1977: 14ff.

³¹For place names in Palestine in the biblical period, see W. Borée 1968; Rainey 1978: 1ff.

³²For the term *hṣr* see Loewenstamm 1958: cols. 273-74; Malamat 1963: 180ff. As for Ataroth (Ataroth of the Archites, Atroth-Shophan, Atroth-Beth-joab, etc.), it seems that this name was given to encampments enclosed by a circular fence (no doubt from the word 'atarah, "diadem"). The origin of names like Geder, Gedor, is indicated by the verses "we will build sheepfolds (*gdrwt s'n*) for our cattle and cities for our little ones . . . and our little ones shall dwell in the fenced cities" (Num 32:16-17). All these names serve as names of settlements, as well as of clans and families.

³³Kallai 1976: col. 716. The identification of Baal-shalishah with the important site of Kh. el-Marjame (near 'Ain es-

Samiyeh), in the southeastern hill-country of Ephraim, seems likely; cf. A. Mazar 1976: 138. Recently Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age remains have been uncovered at this site.

³⁴The identification of Baal-hazor with Jebel el-'Asūr is generally accepted. The site lies 9 km. northwest of Bethel and is the highest peak in the hill country of Ephraim (more than 1003 m. above sea level). Abel proposed to read in 1 Macc 9:15 Ἀζώρου ὄρους; Abel 1967: 372; 1924: 386. For the phrase "Baal-hazor, which is near Ephraim" (2 Sam 13:23), see de Vaux 1973: 591; Seebass 1964: 497ff.

³⁵On Gibeath Elohim, see B. Mazar 1954: 80ff., and the suggestion by Miller 1975: 145ff.

³⁶Kallai 1976: col. 374-75.

³⁷See the discussion of Malamat 1968: 173.

³⁸A. Mazar 1980: 34ff.

³⁹The first component of the name is yeš/□eš, and the second is ba'al or Yahu (1 Sam 14:49; LXX Lag.= Ἰεσοῦ). Cf. B. Mazar 1980: 191, n. 18; 210, n. 47; 1963: 315, n. 2.

⁴⁰Interchanges in theophoric names, such as Ahibaa-Ahijahu, or Beeliada (1 Chr 14:7, David's son)-Eliada (2 Sam 5:16), were widespread in the early part of the Israelite Monarchy, when the national-religious spirit flowed strongly in the hearts of the Israelite tribes.

⁴¹Cf. Eissfeldt 1962: 1ff.; Cross 1973: 190ff.; and B. Mazar 1978: 39ff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abel, F.-M.
1924 *Topographie des campagnes machabéennes (suite). Revue biblique* 33: 201-17.
1967 *Géographie de la Palestine, Tome I. Géographie physique et historique*. Third Edition. Paris: Gabalda.
- Aharoni, Y.
1957 *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Upper Galilee*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Hebrew).
1966 *The Land of the Bible*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Albright, W. F.
1924 *Excavations and Results at Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah of Saul)*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 4. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
1956 *The Archaeology of Palestine*. Revised edition. Baltimore: Pelican.
1961 Abram the Hebrew: A New Archaeological Interpretation. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 163: 36-54.
- ANET
1950 *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Bach, R.
1958 *Zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Talkessels von Samaria. Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 74: 41-54.
- Borée, W.
1968 *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas*². Hildesheim: Reinhold Berger.
- Bull, R. J., and Campbell, E. F., Jr.
1968 The Sixth Campaign at Balatah (Shechem). *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 190: 2-41.
- Callaway, J. A.
1968 New Evidence on the Conquest of Ai. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 87: 312-20.
1969 The 1966 'Ai (et-Tell) Excavations. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 196: 2-16.
1970 The 1968-69 'Ai (et-Tell) Excavations. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 198: 7-31.
- Callaway, J. A., and Cooley, R. E.
1971 A Salvage Excavation at Raddana, in Bireh. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 201: 9-19.
- Cross, F. M.
1973 *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic. Essays in the History and Religion of Israel*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
1979 Early Alphabetic Scripts. Pp. 97-123 in *Symposia: Celebrating the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975)*, ed. F. M. Cross. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Cross, F. M., and Freedman, D. N.
1971 An Inscribed Jar Handle from Raddana. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 201: 19-22.
- Demsky, A.
1977 A Proto-Canaanite Abecedary from the Period of the Judges and its Implications for the History of the Alphabet. *Tel Aviv* 4: 14-27.
- Dever, W. G.
1974 The MB II Stratification in the Northwest Gate Area at Shechem. *Bulletin of the American Schools*

- of *Oriental Research* 216: 31-52.
- Edgerton, W. F., and Wilson, J. A.
1936 *Historical Records of Ramses III*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 12. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Eissfeldt, O.
1962 *Kleine Schriften I*. R. Sellheim and F. Maass, eds. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Encyclopaedia Biblica VII*
1976 Jerusalem: Bialik Institute.
- Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*
1975, 76 Vols. I-II. Ed. M. Avi-Yonah. Jerusalem: Masada.
- Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*
1977, 78 Vols. III-IV. Eds. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern. Jerusalem: Masada.
- Gardiner, A.
1947 *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. London: Oxford University.
- Garstang, J., and Gurney, O. R.
1959 *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Glueck, N.
1940 *The Other Side of the Jordan*. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Gonen, R.
1979 Burial in Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Gordon, C. H.
1965 *Ugaritic Textbook*. *Analecta Orientalia* 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Haran, M.
1978 *Temples and Temple Service in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Helck, W.; Otten, H.; and Bittel, K.
1976 *Geschichte des 13. und 12. Jahr. v. Chr., Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte*. Frankfurt: University of Frankfurt.
- Heltzer, M.
1979 *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*.
- Ibrahim, M. M.
1978 The Collared-rim Jar of the Early Iron Age. Pp. 117-26 in *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, eds. P. R. S. Moorey and P. J. Parr. London: Aris and Phillips.
- Ishida, T.
1979 The Structure and Historical Implications of the Lists of Pre-Israelite Nations. *Biblica* 60: 461-90.
- Kallai, Z.
1976 *Encyclopaedia Biblica VII* cols. 374-75; 716 (Hebrew). (Notes 33 and 36.)
- Kaufmann, Y.
1954 *History of the Religion of Israel II*. Tel Aviv: Bialik Institute and Dvir (Hebrew).
- Kempinski, A.
1979 Hittites in the Bible—What Does Archaeology Say? *Biblical Archaeology Review* 5: 21-45.
- Kempinski, A., and Fritz, V.
1977 Excavations at Tel Masos (Khirbet el-Meshâsh), Preliminary Report of the Third Season, 1975. *Tel Aviv* 4: 136-58.
- Kochavi, M., ed.
1972 *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan, Archaeological Survey 1967-1968*. (Hebrew.)
- 1974 Khirbet Rabûd = Debir. *Tel Aviv* 1: 1-33.
- Loewenstamm, S.
1958 *Encyclopaedia Biblica III*: Cols. 273-74. (Hebrew.)
- Maisler (Mazar), B.
1930 *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte Syriens und Palästinas*. Giessen.
- Malamat, A.
1963 *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*.
- Mazar, A.
1976 Iron Age Burial Caves North of the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem. *Israel Exploration Journal* 26: 1-8.
- 1978 They Shall Call Peoples to their Mountain. *Eretz-Israel* 14 (H. L. Ginsberg volume): 39-41.
- 1980 *Canaan and Israel* (Hebrew).
- 1980 *Qadmoniot* 13 (Hebrew).
- Mazar, B.
1954 Gath and Gittaim. *Israel Exploration Journal* 4: 227-35.
- 1961 Geshur and Maacha. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 80: 16-28.
- 1963 The Military Élite of King David. *Vetus Testamentum* 13: 310-20.
- 1969 The Historical Background of the Book of Genesis. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 28.2: 73-83.
- 1975 *Cities and Districts in Eretz Israel* (Hebrew).
- Milik, J. T., and Cross, F. M.
1954 Inscribed Javelin-heads from the Period of the Judges: A Recent Discovery in Palestine. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 134: 5-14.
- Miller, J. M.
1975 Geba/Gibeah of Benjamin. *Vetus Testamentum* 25: 145-66.
- 1977 The Israelite Occupation of Canaan. Pp. 213-84 in *Israelite and Judaeon History*, eds. J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Pritchard, J. B.
1961 *The Water System of Gibeon*. Philadelphia: University Museum.
- 1962 *Gibeon, Where the Sun Stood Still*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- 1963 *The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon*. Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Rainey, A. F.
1978 The Toponymics of Eretz-Israel. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 231: 1-17.
- Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
1980 Pp. 446f. of Vol. 5.5-6.
- Seebass, H.
1964 Ephraim in 2 Sam XII 23. *Vetus Testamentum* 14: 497-500.
- Shiloh, Y.
1970 The Four-Room House—Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City. *Israel Exploration Journal* 20: 180-90.
- 1973 The Four-Room House—The Israelite Type-House? *Eretz-Israel* 11 (Dunayevsky volume): 277-85 (Hebrew).
- Speiser, A.
1961 The Word SHR in Genesis and Early Hebrew Movements. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 164: 23-28.

- Stiebing, W. H.
 1980 *The End of the Mycenaean Age. Biblical Archeologist* 43: 17-21.
- Tadmor, H.
 1979 *The Decline of Empires*. Pp. 1-14 in *Symposia: Celebrating the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, ed. F. M. Cross. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Vaux, R. de
 1961 *Ancient Israel, Its Life and Institutions*. Tr. from French by J. McHugh. New York: McGraw-Hill.
 1971 *Histoire ancienne d'Israël. Des origines à l'installation en Canaan*. Paris: Gabalda.
 1973 *Histoire ancienne d'Israël. La période des Juges*. Paris: Gabalda.
- Weippert, M.
 1971 *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine: A Critical Survey of Recent Scholarly Debate*. Studies in Biblical Theology, New Series 21. London: SCM.
- Wilson, J. A.
 1969 *An Egyptian Letter: A Satirical Letter*. Pp. 475-79 in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd edition, ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University.
- Wright, G. E.
 1965 *Shechem: Biography of a Biblical City*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Yadin (Sukenik), Y.
 1952 *העיוורים והפיסחים וכיבוש ירושלים על ידי דוד*. *World Congress of Jewish Studies I* (1947): 222-25.
- Yeivin, Sh.
 1971 *The Israelite Conquest of Canaan*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 27. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten.