

Whence Came the Israelites and Their Language?

ANSON F. RAINEY
Tel Aviv University

THE origin of the socio-ethnic group called Hebrews or Israelites is a perennial topic for debate among scholars of Bible, archaeology, Judaism, Christianity and ancient history. The final decades of the twentieth century have seen a downplay of the biblical tradition and an emphasis on archaeological and pseudo-anthropological models. As with most topical debates concerning the 'Southern Levant', there is a general neglect of the eastern Mediterranean littoral as a whole, as well as of the adjacent regions of the ancient Near East: Egypt, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the Aegean and, most important of all, the central and northern Levant. Most of the participants in the controversy about the origins of the traditional 'Israel' are usually not professionally trained to interpret the evidence from the neighbouring areas, especially the epigraphic data. Since the Bible is no longer considered a reliable source for historical veracity, arguments are primarily based on the archaeological remains discovered during the twentieth century, particularly during its last three decades. A new theory for the origins of this group was introduced by G.E. Mendenhall (1962; 1973), who posited a revolt of Canaanite peasants, who then fled to the hill country. He was followed by N. Gottwald (1979), whose monograph became the flagship essay in favour of the 'revolting peasant theory' (Rainey 1987). Gottwald presumes to apply anthropological theory to the question of Israel's origins. He is highly praised by W.G. Dever, who believes that the archaeological evidence (in fact, he refers to the ceramic evidence) supports Gottwald's thesis of the Canaanite peasant origin for the early Israelites (Dever 2003: 543):

But these insights (of Gottwald), as we shall see, have proven brilliantly correct, even if largely intuitive at the time. Gottwald was *right* (italics Dever's): the early Israelites were mainly 'displaced Canaanites' — displaced both geographically and ideologically.

However, the Late Bronze Age, in particular the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE, are documented by written sources, mainly deriving from Egypt (Amarna letters, royal inscriptions, papyri, and others) and those documents leave no room for revolting Canaanite peasants or a Hebrew people already living in Canaan/Palestine during the Late Bronze Age (Rainey 1995). On the other hand, the inscriptions from the 19th and 20th Dynasties of Egypt (the Ramesside Age) are abundant in references to pastoralists from the steppe land bordering on the sedentary regions of Canaan in the thirteenth century BCE (these texts have been discussed elsewhere; see Rainey 1995; Rainey and Notley 2006: 103).

The late thirteenth and the early twelfth centuries BCE saw a new phenomenon in the hill country areas of the southern Levant. This was the establishment of a plethora of small campsite-like settlements. They appeared in the uplands of the Upper Galilee (Aharoni 1957; Frankel 1994), in the Lower Galilee (Gal 1992; 1994), the hill country of Manasseh (Zertal 1994) and Ephraim (Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz 1997), the hill country of Judah (Ofar 1994) and the biblical Negeb (Herzog 1994). Collateral surveys were conducted in adjacent areas, such as the Shephelah of Judah (Dagan 1992) and the Beth Shean Valley (summarised by Inbar 2001). Surveys on the eastern side of the Jordan Valley (summarised by van der Steen 1996) have also contributed to the clarification of the process involved. The appearance of such sites in the Jordan and Beth Shean Valleys is often given no attention in current discussions. Those particular areas are most inconvenient for the theory of migrating Canaanite peasants (see below).

REGIONAL HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

From the standpoint of historical geography, the identification of these apparently new socio-ethnic elements is fraught with the same problems as that of the new socio-ethnic elements in mainland Greece (Dorians) and the Aramaic pastoralists in Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as the influx of Libyans into the Nile Delta and the Phrygians in central Anatolia (Rainey and Notley 2006: 104–112).

A case in point is the Hellenic tale of the migration led by Mopsus (Hammond 1975: 678–680). They entered Pamphylia and crossed the Taurus into Cilicia. Although the main sources for this legend are from the Roman period, there has been an amazing confirmation in the discovery of the Azatiwada inscription, a Phoenician/Luwian bilingual inscription at Karatepe (Bron 1979; 1997). The Phoenician text refers to the ruling dynasty in Cilicia as *bt mpš* (Phoenician *š* was almost certainly pronounced *s*; Karatepe I, 16, II, 15, III, 11), while the Luwian rendering is *Mu-k(a)-sa-sa* (discussion by Bron 1979: 172–174). This ‘house of Mopsa’ is the eighth-century BCE descendant of the legendary Mopsus, the eponymous ancestor of the people who migrated to Pamphylia and Cilicia.

Apart from ‘Israel’ in the Merneptah stele and the Egyptian references to Shasu (Rainey 2001), only the biblical traditions are available. Those traditions now comprise a national epic (Cross 1973), edited and arranged by much later writers. But like the Dorians/Heraclides, the late traditions about Israelite origins surely have a basis in twelfth-century BCE reality.

The whole controversy surrounding these archaeological sites and their development is linked to the question of Israel’s origins. The biblical tradition is unanimous that the ancestors of Israel were pastoralists, the patriarchs (Gen. 46:34; 47:3–4) and the later tribes (Num. 20:19; 32:1). The biblical traditions also stress the close affinity with the Aramaeans, *not* the Canaanites or Amorites (see Gen. 24:10 [Abram’s servant returns to Aram-Naharaim to look for a wife for the

patriarch's son]; Gen. 25:20 [Rebecca is an Aramaean]; Gen. 28:5 [Jacob goes to Laban, father of Rachel and Leah and the son of Bethuel the Aramaean]; Gen. 31:20–24 [Laban is twice referred to as the Aramaean]; Deut. 26:5 ['My father was a wandering Aramaean']. Compare this with Gen. 14:13, where Abram dwells temporarily at the terebinths of Mamre the Amorite; the implication is clear: Abram is *not* an Amorite). But the modern tendency is to deny the validity of that tradition. The historical philological arguments based on the Late Bronze epigraphic material has been treated elsewhere (Rainey 1995). But explanations other than the arrival of pastoral immigrants in Cisjordan from Transjordan have been dominant in the field, to the point that some archaeologists have denied any ethnic distinctiveness to the new dwellers in the campsites. They are supposedly Canaanites who changed their venue from the coastal 'Canaanite' areas to the refuge of the hill country (Dever 2003). The same thinking underlies much of the discussion about other parts of the East Mediterranean world. The arrival of new socio-ethnic elements, either by invasion or immigration, is staunchly denied by the prevailing 'consensus'. The Late Bronze Age city-states around the eastern Mediterranean are said to have been destroyed as the result of an internal 'systems collapse' (Renfrew 1979). That paradigm has also been applied to the Canaanite social matrix of the southern Levant (Dever 1992).

The King 'Ammurapi of Ugarit would be surprised at that explanation. His peasants were certainly not revolting. There is clear documentation that Ugarit and Alashia were deeply concerned about the actions of enemy forces, by land and by sea. The king of Alashia wrote to 'Ammurapi (*RSL* 1; Cochavi-Rainey 2003: 48):

Thus (speaks) the king to 'Ammurapi, the king of the land of Ugarit:
May it be well with you. May the gods in well being watch over you.
What you have written:

'Have ships of the enemy been seen in the midst of the sea? And if it is true that they have seen ships, then may [you] be strong indeed'.

Now, as for your own, viz. your troops and [your] chariots, where are they located? Is it not with you that they are located? Is it not so? After (= to) the enemy, who is deserting you?

Surround your cities with walls, troops and chariots within (the cities), (And) be on the lookout and <may> you be strong indeed.

Ugarit, the greatest Late Bronze city of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard, was totally destroyed along with its main harbour towns. The documentary evidence makes it clear that this was no 'systems collapse', but was carried out by violent invaders from outside. Nowhere is there any documentation for internal 'systems collapse' anywhere on the eastern Mediterranean littoral.

The nomadic Aramaean incursion into North Syria and the subsequent establishment of dynastic territorial states is also an indisputable fact.

In the late twelfth century BCE, Syria witnessed the energetic campaigns of a new and vigorous Assyrian monarch, Tiglath-pileser I. The first four years, from his succession to his third regnal year, were spent in campaigns to the north and north-east, warding off threats from the Mushku (the Phrygians who had invaded Anatolia) and peoples of Nairi land, west of Lake Van. Tiglath-pileser's fifth campaign, in his fourth regnal year (1110 BCE; Borger 1964: 116) was against the Aḥlamû/Aramaeans.

The Great Ashur Prism (A0 87.1, col. V, 44–63; Grayson 1976: 13–14; 1991: 23) indicates that the Aramaeans were on the eastern bank of the Euphrates (they fled westwards), but that their main settlements were at the foot of the Jebel Bishrī. Elsewhere, Tiglath-pileser I claims:

Twenty eight times, twice in one year, have I crossed the river Euphrates in pursuit of the Aḥlamû-Arameans (KUR *Aḥ-la-me-e* KUR *Arma-a-ia*). I accomplished their defeat from the city of Tadmar of the land of Amurru, the city of ʿAnat of the land of Sūḥu and as far as the city of Rāpiqu of the land of Karduniash (Babylonia). Their spoil and their possessions I carried to my city, Ashur (A0 87.4 = Borger's Tontafel C:34–36; Grayson 1976: 27; 1991: 43 || A0 87.3:29–35; Grayson 1991: 37–38).

So these passages attest to the presence of the Aḥlamû/Aramaeans along the entire course of the Euphrates from the Babylonian border. They were also to be found on the Syrian desert, including especially the el-Hama fault which runs across central Syria, linking the sea coast (Plain of Akkar), the Orontes Valley (south of Hama) with Tadmar/Tadmor and the Euphrates Valley.¹ It would appear that Tiglath-pileser I unleashed a hornets' nest. His actions along the Euphrates managed to deflect the Aramaeans southwards towards Babylonia. During a time of severe famine that struck both Babylonia and Assyria (Brinkman 1968: 129–130; Wiseman 1975: 465), the Aramaeans nearly swamped the Assyrians and finally settled on the rich plains east of the Tigris, where they are found in the eighth century BCE (cf. Grayson 1982: 248; Wiseman 1975: 464–471; Neuman and Parpola 1987: 178–181). In fact, late in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1083 BCE; Brinkman 1968: 127) a Chronicle Fragment (Grayson 1975: 189) records that the Aramaeans had attacked Assyrian territory, causing the inhabitants to flee for their lives to the Kirriuri mountains, leaving their possessions behind.

Likewise, the Libyans made constant attempts, sometimes supported by Aegaeon peoples, to invade the western Nile Delta. These are documented in the

1 The modern oil pipeline from Iraq to the Mediterranean follows this route.

inscriptions of Merenptah (*KRI* 4, 2–12, 13–19) and Ramesses III (*KRI* 5, 20, 1–3; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 18).

Meanwhile, the cities of the Lebanese coast managed to survive the disasters that befell the cities on the north Syrian coast, such as Ugarit and (somewhat later) the cities on the southern coast of Canaan (Gaza, Ashkelon and Ashdod). The invaders were stopped by Ramesses III in the land of Amurru, and the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (see below) and the Story of Wenamon attest to thriving Phoenician coastal maritime activity in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE respectively. The recent attempt, by B. Sass (2000), to lower the date of Wemanon's text to a time after the Shishak campaign has nothing to commend it. All of his arguments are unfounded. No one would write a novel in the 22nd Dynasty and place its *sitz im leben* in the beginning of the 21st Dynasty. Besides, the Tiglath-pileser I inscriptions testify to the flourishing state of the Phoenician cities in the eleventh century BCE. Within the northern valleys (the Plains of Acco, Jezreel and Beth Shean), there was a disruption of settlement in the mid- or late twelfth century BCE, but the respective Canaanite cities were soon rebuilt and continued to function (Mazar 1990: 296–300, 355–357; Dever 2003: 210–212). Those Canaanite cities were now free of Egyptian domination, but economically, they must have owed their survival to the demand by the coastal harbour cities for foodstuffs to feed their industrially-oriented populations. The related agricultural lands were obviously being cultivated. There was no total disruption, although the decline in productivity evidenced for the thirteenth century BCE was only gradually being overcome. In any event, there is no indication of such a total disruption in the Canaanite city state enclaves (as assumed by Dever 2003: 175–176), which would have driven a vast component of the rural, agrarian peasantry to seek refuge in the hill country. Dever (2003: 212) has observed that sites such as Acco, Tel Keisan, Tel Yoqne'am and Tell Qiri, as well as Megiddo, all reflect a continuity from the thirteenth to the eleventh centuries BCE.

THE SOUTHERN LEVANT: THE IRON I PHENOMENON

Dever (2003: 192–200) has presented the components of the early Iron Age archaeological settlement complex as cultural traits that should give some indication of ethnicity. The ensuing discussion will deal with each of these, but not in the same order or extent, depending on the evidence available.

Settlement Type and Distribution

A. Alt (1925), long before there were any archaeological surveys, concluded that there was discontinuity in the settlement pattern and distribution between the LB and the Iron Age. This was easily deducible by comparison of the Canaanite settlement pattern in texts like the topographical list of Thutmose III and the Amarna letters with the geographical information in the biblical books of Judges

and Samuel (plus the Solomonic commissioners' districts). With the advance of archaeological research, these facts are becoming clearer. Everyone agrees that there is an amazing proliferation of small village sites in the hill country areas during this period. One of the most recent analyses and summaries (Stager 1998) notes that in the twelfth–eleventh centuries BCE there were approximately 600 more sites than in the preceding, thirteenth, century, over 300 of those new sites in the hill country. In other words, areas that had been largely unsettled in the Late Bronze Age (conforming to the inference of the written sources already noted) were now filled with small, usually un-walled, sites in the Iron Age I.

Dever rightly notes that these new site locations and distribution show a striking discontinuity with the previous Canaanite social distribution in the fourteenth–thirteenth centuries BCE.

Demography

Recently, Stager (1998: 134–135) summarised this demographic phenomenon, stating that: 'This extraordinary increase in population in the Iron I cannot be explained only by natural population growth of the few Late Bronze Age city states in this region: there must have been a major influx of people into the highlands in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE'. Some years earlier, he observed that there could hardly have been enough rural people from the depleted Canaanite population to furnish occupants for the new Iron Age I sites (Stager 1985: 84). In fact, agriculture was flourishing in the lowland Canaanite areas during the late twelfth and eleventh centuries (see above). The process whereby the new sites came to be established was clearly articulated by Stager (1985: 84–85):

So long as the Late Bronze markets and exchange networks were still operating, the sheep-goat pastoralists would have found specialization in animal husbandry a worthwhile occupation. However, with the decline of these economic systems in many parts of Canaan in the late thirteenth to early twelfth centuries B.C.E. ... the 'pastoralist' sector, engaged in herding and huckstering, may also have found it advantageous to shift toward different subsistence strategies, such as farming with some stock raising.

It must be borne in mind that during the Late Bronze Age (and throughout the Middle Bronze Age), there were always pastoralists on the steppe lands living in symbiosis with the sedentary, agricultural populations. The scenario described by Stager corresponds perfectly to the real-life anthropological model of the behaviour of the Transjordanian bedouin during the nineteenth century CE in Palestine (van der Steen 1995; 1997).

On the other hand, the scenario drawn by Dever (2003: 168–180) is unrealistic.

Agricultural workers were still needed and were still employed in the traditional agribusiness districts (Jezreel Valley *et al.*) during the eleventh century BCE. As Dever himself noted, the towns of the Acco Plain and the Jezreel Valley were flourishing in the eleventh century. They could not have done so without agriculture.

To find an alternate source for the new population elements, it has been argued (Finkelstein 1988: 336–349) that the occupants of the newly-established small villages were pastoralists, who had been archaeologically ‘invisible’ in the hill country of Cisjordan during the Late Bronze Age all along and who now began settling down (Finkelstein 1988: 347). But if he had posited the infiltration of pastoralists coming via the Jordan Valley, his theory could have embraced the seasonal huckstering and post-harvest grazing that was practiced by the Shasu (Sutû) through the generations, as described by Stager above. They were archaeologically ‘invisible’ only because they camped there during the post-harvest period when the local farmers welcomed their arrival. When planting season would begin, the pastoralists had to return to their eastern steppe land. This is the identical anthropological model noted by Evelyn van der Steen for the bedouin of the nineteenth century (1995; 1997). This real anthropological model (facts on the ground) is totally ignored by Dever and those whose theory he supports.²

House Form, Social Structure and Political Organisation

The much discussed ‘four-room house’, as well as the simpler three-unit house, all with a row or rows of pillars separating the long rooms, is especially typical of the new settlements in the Iron Age I. There are several examples from the Late Bronze Age on the coastal plain, viz. at Tel Ḥarasim and at Tel Batash. But there are also examples from Transjordan, especially at Tell ‘Umeirī and at Tell el-Mudeiyineh (on the southern Moabite plateau). It does not have to derive from the bedouin tent. The design was highly functional, providing light and temperature control with adequate space for the domestic functions required by a large family. It may, however, also suggest nuclear family units. Each had its own mini-economy to meet its immediate needs. The extensive use of houses of these types is recognised by Dever as discontinuous — in other words, a radical departure from the Late Bronze Age family units.

The very nature of the new sites can be defined as clusters of dwellings. The cluster pattern that brought them together shows that a few families had elected to live together in close proximity by a social bond. Such configurations would be natural for any rural population, whether originally sedentary or nomadic. The

2 Incidentally, the misconception that the hill country of Samaria and Judah was a ‘frontier’ (Chaney 1983; Bunimovitz 1995; Dever 2003: 180–181) cannot be accepted. The real frontier is the eastern steppe land bordering on the Arabian Desert, as has been recognised by scholars researching the Roman *Limes Arabicus* (cf. Parker 1997).

almost random spread of the small settlements across the terrain is quite unlike the extreme site hierarchy of previous ages, e.g. the Middle Bronze pattern on the Sharon Plain. Dever (2003: 102–107) correctly notes that this is another sign of discontinuity.

The political organisation, which Dever defines as discontinuous, is presumably tribal. But it is hard to see how that can be deduced from the data of archaeological surveys. In any case, a tribal structure can be typical of sedentary, as well as nomadic, populations. Nevertheless, the absence of a hierarchy of strongly fortified sites and central storage depots does point to the absence of some central government like a monarchy. The eleventh century does witness the development of some sites into substantial villages (which will become even stronger and often fortified in the Iron Age II).

Economy

Dever (2003: 107–109) goes to great lengths to demonstrate that the Iron I settlements subsisted on agriculture. He cites the remains of food stuffs found in excavations, usually due to modern micro-archaeology retrieval, as well as the agricultural tools. Animal remains include not only small cattle, sheep and goats, but also larger animals, such as bovines and donkeys. These latter were used in plowing. But this is in no way proof that the settlers originated on the agricultural plains below. The pastoralists from the eastern steppe had come to the Cisjordanian highlands precisely in order to find places where they could produce food for themselves. The crisis of the twelfth century BCE had driven them to abandon the eastern frontier. Their old symbiosis with the sedentary Late Bronze regime could no longer meet their needs. The presumed archaeological evidence for their pastoral way of life would be hard to find once they had begun to engage in independent agricultural activities.

One striking aspect has emerged from the analysis of animal bones in the Early Iron Age. The hill country people did not have pigs. In contrast, the Philistines at Ekron did have pigs, and pig bones are also typical of the older Canaanite sites in the coastal plain areas (Hesse and Wapnish 1997; King and Stager 2001: 119; Dever 2003: 108). It cannot be argued that the hill country areas were unsuitable for raising pigs since quite the opposite is true. If the new settlers of the Iron Age I had come from the lowlands, where pigs were domesticated and utilised, why did they not continue that tradition? On the other hand, the eastern steppe land would not be conducive to pig raising. Since pigs do not have sweat glands, they suffer terribly in the heat; sheep and goats are best adapted to the steppe land. This may explain the absence of pigs in the culinary diet of the hill country settlers; they were not used to raising pigs because they did not have them in their former habitat on the eastern steppe. The cultural/religious ideology that seems to have accompanied the prohibitions on eating pork probably derives from a rejection of the values of the sedentary Canaanite and Philistine religion. In cultures around

the eastern Mediterranean, pigs were sacred to the underworld deities and were sacrificed to them (de Vaux 1972: 252–269). That this was true for Greece suggests that it could also have been true of Philistia.

As a typical case history, the analysis of the Ephraim survey (Finkelstein 1988; 1994) furnishes a basic framework for the process as a whole. With the decline of the Late Bronze sedentary population and the ecological crisis of the twelfth century BCE that made life on the Transjordanian steppe land intolerable, the pastoralists may have begun seasonal usage, utilising some fields for dry farming and the adjacent steppe for grazing their herds. Eventually, as the population grew, more settlements developed along the western side of the watershed, and some of those eventually grew into the main occupied tels of the later Iron Age II. Where the ridges and slopes were wild and rocky, the settlers utilised terraces in order to create more cultivable land.³

When they began to cultivate the terraces on the rocky slopes is impossible to determine, but when they did, they transformed the land utilisation of the hill regions almost forever (until the neglect of later periods). Therefore, the subsistence strategies can rightly be reckoned as a reflection of discontinuity.

Technology (Pottery, Etc.)

This is one of Dever's most important categories, which serves as the basis for his arguments for continuity, as well as all his other arguments. He concludes that the pottery tradition of the Iron I settlers shows that they brought their knowledge of ceramics from the Canaanite areas of the coastal plains.

Analysis of the material finds from two excavations of such sites in the hill country of Ephraim (et-Tell and at Kh. Raddana) led the excavator, J. Callaway, to conclude that the inhabitants were 'Hivites', who had migrated to the hills from the western coastal areas (Callaway 1968). Years later he argued that the occupants of all the strata from his Iron Age I settlement (and all the other sites in the hill country from that period) had migrated from the north and west: 'the Iron I villagers at Ai had their background in Canaanite culture and religion and this can be documented extensively with artifacts which have their parallels at lowland and coastal sites' (Callaway 1987: 96–97).

In other words, the material culture from the plethora of hill country sites that sprang up at the end of the Late Bronze Age must point to a Canaanite coastal or lowland origin for the settlers. This opinion is representative of a considerable 'consensus' (especially Miller 1977: 255; Dever 1995: 204–207; 1997: 73–80; 2003).

3 In some instances, new sites also developed in the low-lying plains in this period (e.g., at Tel Gerisa [Tell Jerîsheh]) on the Sharon Plain, but they were ephemeral and short lived.

Some scholars, however, stressed that there were, nevertheless, decided differences between the Iron I artefactual repertoire and that of the preceding Late Bronze Age, such as increased use of hand-made techniques, few foreign imports and a limited variety of vessels, viz. mainly cooking pots and storage vessels (Finkelstein 1988: 312–313; see, especially, Franken and London 1995; Dever 2003: 118–125). Dever insists, however, that since the vessels that do predominate all show that they have evolved from Late Bronze prototypes, the population must have its origins in the coastal areas where the Canaanite population lived (Dever 2003: 121). This misconception underlies Dever's understanding of the origin of the Iron I settlers.

Today, Transjordan and the eastern side of the Jordan Valley cannot be ignored as the most probable source for the new immigrants who established the small villages on the heights of Mt. Ephraim (the Samaria Hills) and elsewhere. The fact that their pottery and other artefacts show some continuity with the Late Bronze material culture is no deterrent. The recent survey of known Late Bronze materials in Transjordan by van der Steen (1996) shows the extensive nature of the spread of Late Bronze material culture there. Now the excavations of Tell el-ʿUmeirī (Herr 1998) add more weight to the argument that there was plenty of Late Bronze material culture in Transjordan during the Late Bronze Age and the transition to the twelfth century BCE. A pillared house excavated there produced an abundance of collar-rimmed storage pithoi. In fact, as early as 1983, when I first saw the materials from the work by McGovern in the valley north of Amman (McGovern 1986; 1989), I realised that when Callaway made his determination of the origin of the people who produced the Iron I pottery, he could not consider the evidence from Jordan, since the Jordan River was, at that time (1967 to 1993), a political and military barrier. Through the good offices of Andrew Dearman, I managed to keep abreast of the archaeological progress there.

Dever ignored the development that would open up a new vista on the nature of life in Transjordan. To prove his point, Dever constructed a comparative table of twelfth-century vessels from ʿIzbet Ṣarṭa and Shiloh alongside similar thirteenth-century pottery examples from Gezer, Lachish and Megiddo. Recently, Christie J. Goulart (Andrews University) has prepared a comparable chart, using the same twelfth-century Iron I vessels from Shiloh and ʿIzbet Ṣarṭa alongside vessels from thirteenth-century Transjordanian contexts (Rainey and Notley 2006: 130). An updated version with vessels, supplied by Randel Yonker, is appended here (fig. 1). Her chart clearly demonstrates that there is no longer any excuse to look westward for the inspiration of the surviving Iron I pottery shapes. The new settlers acquired their pottery traditions from their life on the Transjordanian plateau and the Jordan Valley. Their symbiotic interaction with the more sophisticated centres gave them the models for their own domestic wares. Tell ʿUmeirī is a principal case in point today. But considering that the Shasu of the Late Bronze Age were probably also making their rounds from the steppe lands to the western Canaanite

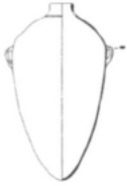








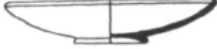


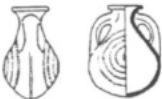
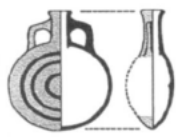


	12th century BCE	13th century BCE	13th century BCE
Izbet Sartah, str.III		Baq'ah Valley Project, Khirbet Umm ad-Dananir McGovern 1986:109 (fig.48:3)	
Izbet Sartah, str.III		Tall Abu al-Kharaz - Fischer 1993: 291 (fig. 8:9)	
Izbet Sartah, str.III		Baq'ah Valley Project, Cave B3 McGovern 1986:109 (fig.35:7)	
Izbet Sartah, str.III		Baq'ah Valley Project, Cave B3 McGovern 1986:109 (fig.36:3)	
Izbet Sartah, str.III		Tall Abu al-Kharaz - Fischer 1991: 89 (fig. 10:2)	
Shiloh, str. V		Baq'ah Valley Project, Cave B3 McGovern 1986:109 (fig.28:9)	
Izbet Sartah, str.III		Tall as-Sa'diyah - Pritchard 1980 (fig. 39:6)	
Izbet Sartah, str.III		Tall Abu al-Kharaz - Fischer 1991: 93 (fig. 12:1)	
			Baq'ah Valley Project, Cave B3 McGovern 1986:109 (fig.39:12)

Fig. 1. Comparative chart of thirteenth- and twelfth-century vessels, updated from Rainey and Notley 2006: 130, Christie J. Goulart (Andrews University)

centres in the age-old fashion, they could also have become acquainted with 'Canaanite' ceramic styles that way. Most important of all is the recognition that all the epigraphic evidence points to their normal habitat on the real eastern frontier.

Art, Ideology and Religion

Dever notes that the archaeological assembly from the Iron I settlements really furnish nothing to go on in terms of art. A bull figurine, a chance find at a small site in northern Samaria (Mazar 1982; 1999), seems thoroughly Late Bronze in nature, but its actual Iron I provenance is not really in doubt. In any event, it could have been manufactured at one of the Late Bronze centres in the Jordan Valley or on the Transjordanian plateau. Like all presumed Late Bronze Age features in the material repertoire of the Iron I sites, this cultic artefact can just as likely be the product of Transjordan. In no way does it prove a coastal Canaanite origin. Neither can much be learned about ideology from the Iron I material remains. The fact that their ideology was 'egalitarian' (without drastic site hierarchies) says nothing with regard to the direction from which the people may have come.

As for religion, Dever considers it certain that there is continuity between that of the early Iron Age settlers and Canaanite society. Apart from the small bull figurine, there is no evidence of any continuity, but what contacts there are can be easily explained by the symbiosis (going back to the Late Bronze Age) between the steppe land pastoralists and the sedentary areas. However, there are some sharp differences, especially the worship of Aštar/Athtar (documented for Moab and also in Syria), a desert deity who cannot, according to Ugaritic mythology, compete with Baal/Hadad. Thus, religion can in no way serve as an indicator of coastal origin.

Language

During the past several years, my study of North-west Semitic languages, especially more recent discoveries in the late twentieth century, has led me to the conclusion that ancient Hebrew has more affinities with Aramaic and Moabite than with Phoenician (the real Canaanite of the Iron Age). This can have profound significance for the origin of the Iron I settlers.

Dever records continuity in language: '... since the birth of modern linguistics it has been clear that Hebrew is a Canaanite dialect' (Dever 2003: 168). Dever relies on a general reference to a language classification in vogue since the days of Z.S. Harris (1939). In those days, Ugaritic was also considered a Canaanite dialect, a notion that most linguists do not maintain today. The classification of the North-west Semitic languages is still in need of further revision. In many respects, Phoenician, i.e. 'Coastal Canaanite', stands apart from the other North-west Semitic languages. Certain features that distinguish Phoenician from Hebrew, Moabite and Aramaic have not been taken into account in the dialect geography of

the Levant (Garr 1985). There are several features that make it clear that ancient Hebrew has strong affinities with the languages of Transjordan and central Syria.

It should be noted that the speakers of both Hebrew and Aramaic borrowed the Phoenician (Canaanite) alphabet of 22 letters, despite the fact that their own languages had a larger repertoire of consonants. In each case, they had to make compromises. Some letters had to do double duty, i.e. were polyphonal. The use of one sign for *shin* and *sin* is the most obvious. It is now known that Hebrew ך (*het*) and the ח (*ha*) were differentiated at least as late as the third century BCE by virtue of the practices of the transcriptions in the Septuagint (Blau 1982), and there is evidence that they were still kept apart, at least in public reading, as late as the Herodian period (Steiner 2005). Hebrew had at least 25 consonants. The implications should be clear: the speakers of Hebrew did not speak the same dialect as those from whom they borrowed the alphabet. The same can be said, of course, of the speakers of Aramaic, whose language had at least 26 consonants. The true consonantal repertoire of Ammonite, Moabite and Edomite cannot be established under present circumstances. It would, of course, be illogical to suggest that the vast population of the newly-established hill country sites were peasants from the lowlands who had always spoken a different dialect from their Canaanite feudal masters. The Phoenician alphabet enjoyed high prestige in the Levant, probably because of the Phoenicians' high degree of literacy. The rustic clans from the steppe lands were so impressed by that superior cultural feature that, as they began to develop their own social and political organisations (including fiscal), they adopted the writing medium of the highly cultured people of the coastal areas.

It was Professor Gary Rendsburg who reminded me that there is a significant lexical isogloss between Aramaic, Hebrew and Moabite, for example, the verb 'to be', from the root(s) **HWY/HYY*. The coastal languages, Phoenician and Ugaritic, both used the root **KWN*, and that seems to be the case in the mother tongue of the Amarna scribes from Canaan as well. Of course, it is also standard in Arabic. So the innovation of Aramaic, Hebrew and possibly Moabite (the Mesha Stone, line 12; cf. Lemaire 1987; Schade 2005; Lemaire, forthcoming) is truly significant. It has not been proposed, to the best of my knowledge, but I feel certain that this verb was a denominative from the third-person singular independent pronouns, *huwa* and *hiya*. Unfortunately, Garr (1985) did not consider lexical innovations in his classification of the dialect geography of the Levant (cf. Izre'el 1988). The Akkadian verb *ewû* 'to become' is often considered cognate to West Semitic **HWY/HYY* (von Soden 1959–81: 266–267). However, the vowel colouring (*a*>*e*) suggests that the real cognate is **H̄WY/H̄YY* 'to live', which is equally logical as a development for 'to become'.

Another significant link between Hebrew and Moabite is the use of the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, which is in no way related to Phoenician אש (pronounced *'is* or *'es*). The latter is simply the -ש with prothetic *alef*. The relative אֲשֶׁר is the construct of

the archaic noun **ašru* (< **atru*), meaning either ‘place’ or ‘pace’. It did not develop in Hebrew and Moabite from the use of the construct *ašar* ‘wherever’ in the Amarna letters (Rainey 1996: 3, 71; *contra* Garbini 1960: 105).

Another major isogloss between Hebrew, Moabite and Aramaic is the syntagma of the narrative preterit. That use of a string of prefix preterite verb forms joined by an incremented *wa-* conjunction, viz. *wa:*, has always been thought to be a Canaanite innovation. The facts do not support this, however. Although the Amarna letters from Canaan still employed the prefix preterite (Rainey 1971; 1996: II, 222–226; acknowledged by Moran 1975; Rainey 2003b), they do not use it in a string of clauses connected by the conjunction in order to express a sequence of actions. This is significant inasmuch as Amarna Canaanite did use the suffix conjugation in sequences to express result and other nuances. This latter feature was so striking that Moran made a special issue of it, and rightly so (1961: 63; cf. Rainey 1996: II, 355–365; 2003a).

The preterite sequence is commonplace in ancient Hebrew (e.g. Gen. 8:6–9 *et passim*). Moabite had this syntagma in common with Hebrew, e.g., the Mesha Inscription lines 10–14 (*KAI*, no. 181; Rainey 2001: 294, 296, 300–305). For this reason, the syntagma of the narrative preterites was always considered as ‘Canaanite’ syntax throughout the twentieth century. This was despite the fact that it is not present in Phoenician (Garr 1985: 184; *contra* Rainey 2003c: 404) or Ugaritic. So when it was discerned in the Old Aramaic inscription of Zakkûr king of Hamath (found at Āfis in North Syria; Millard 2000; *KAI*, no. 202; Rainey 2003b: 404; Rainey and Notley 2006: 220–221), it was said to be ‘Canaanite influence’ (Segert 1975: 377) on an Aramaic text.

Then the same prefix preterite sequence showed up in the Deir ʿAllah inscription (*KAI*, no. 312). The prefix preterite sequences played a central role in the debate over the linguistic classification of that amazing text. It was listed as one of the ‘Canaanite’ features (e.g., McCarter 1980: 50) in what still seemed to be an Aramaic text. But it was also suggested that this was a part of the ‘shared inheritance’ with Canaanite (Kaufman 1980: 73).

Finally the prefix preterite with and without the sequential conjunction (Rainey 2003c: 405) appeared in the Tel Dan inscription (*KAI*, no. 310).

Again scholars spoke of Canaanite influence in an Aramaic inscription, until it was pointed out (Schniedewind 1996) that we now have enough evidence (three inscriptions) in Old Southern Aramaic to show that the prefix preterite narrative sequences were common to that dialect just as in Hebrew and Moabite.

The absence of the prefix preterite and the prefix preterite narrative sequences in Phoenician, the one language that can rightly be called ‘Canaanite’, means that a radical change in our classification is long overdue. The narrative prefix preterite sequences with the augmented conjunction are not Canaanite. This is a syntactic feature shared by three languages that have their origin in the eastern steppe lands of the Fertile Crescent. It is, in fact, a very strong argument for

classifying ancient Hebrew and Moabite not as Canaanite dialects, but as Transjordanian languages.

Finally, returning to the issue of religion, there is no possibility to define the true intellectual nature of religion on the basis of archaeological materials alone. Epigraphic evidence is essential, and today, any attempt to deal with North-west Semitic religion requires a thorough competence in Ugaritic (not to mention the other languages); likewise the biblical materials in the Pentateuch are indispensable in any discussion of cult places and ritual of ancient Israel. Those latter texts are replete with discussions of realia: artefacts, architecture and various building materials and foodstuffs.

Returning to the evidence for the religion of the Early Iron Age settlers, there is a crucial philological and linguistic argument. Since the verb ‘to be’, from the root(s) **HWY/HYY*, is not used at all in Phoenician, i.e. in coastal Canaanite, it is significant that in epigraphic and biblical texts, the personal name of Israel’s deity, **Yahweh*, was a derived imperfect verb form, specifically a causative (Albright 1924: 374) from that very non-Canaanite verb. The newcomers in the Early Iron Age not only brought with them a new verb ‘to be’, but they also brought a personal deity, *Yahweh*, whose name is derived from it.

There is even the possibility that this divine name may be documented in an Egyptian list of territories, ‘lands’, associated with the Shasu. They are listed in the topographical texts of the Soleb temple built by Amenhotep III. The list was copied by Ramesses II in his temple at Amarah. The latter is the fuller list and is cited here (Giveon 1971: 75), with a correction of the last entry based on Amenhotep’s list:

t3 ša-šu Šá^c-ra-ra
t3 ša-šu La-bá-na
t3 ša-šu Pa-y-s-pá-y-š
t3 ša-šu Ša-ma-tá
t3 ša-šu Ya-h-wə
t3 ša-šu <t>u>-r-bi-r

The *Šá^c-ra-ra* entry with geminated *ra*, is a faulty spelling of *Šá^c-ra*, as demonstrated by other examples in Egyptian texts (Ahituv 1984: 169 for references and discussion). It can readily be assumed to be a reference to Seir (Hebrew שַׁעִיר *šē’ir*), a hilly country area in the south of Canaan/Israel. It is associated with Edom, e.g. אֶרֶץ שַׁעִיר וְיַד אֱדוֹם ‘to the land of Seir, the territory of Edom’ (Gen. 32:4).⁴

In any event, Seir and Edom, according to some biblical references, can be on

4 Astour (1979: 20–21) compared *Šá^c-ra-ra* to ÉRIN.MEŠ^{URU} *Še-eh-la-li* of the Amarna letters from ‘Abdi-Ashirta, the leader of an *špîru* militia in northern Lebanon (EA 60 and EA 371).

the western, as well as the eastern, side of the Arabah (e.g., 1 Chron. 4:42). Be that as it may, the Egyptian reading *Ya-h-wə* as the name of a land of the Shasu is significant. The reference in the Song of Deborah cannot be ignored (Judg. 5:4–5):

YHWH, when you went forth from Seir,
 When you strode from the territory of Edom,
 The earth quaked, the heavens also dripped,
 Even the clouds dripped water.
 The mountains quaked before YHWH, The One of Sinai,
 before YHWH, the God of Israel.

This very archaic poem refers to Yahweh as a deity who comes from Seir/Edom. The connection with Edom cannot help but remind us of the well-known school exercise which is a copy of a report from a frontier official (Papyrus Anastasi VI, lines 51–57; Gardiner 1937: 76–77):

... We have completed the transfer of the Shâsu tribes of ʾAduma (*ʾA-du-ma*) past the fortress ‘Merneptah-ḥotep-ḥer-Maʿat ...’ which is in Səku (= Succo[th]) to the pools (*sic!*) of Per-Atum (= Pithom) of ‘Merneptah ḥotep-ḥer-Maʿat...’, which are in Səku (= Succo[th]), in order to keep them alive and in order to keep their cattle alive.

This text, originally from the reign of Merneptah, not only confirms the pastoral nature of the Shasu, but also derives them from Edom. In the late thirteenth century, these southern Shasu sought refuge in the Nile Delta because of ecological hardship in their native habitat.

Finally, one must address the issue of ethnicity. Dever (2003: 191–221) devoted 30 pages to this subject. His rebuttal there of the negative pontifications of certain critics, such as Diana Edelman (1996) is commendable. Dever rightly emphasises that the reference to ‘Israel’ in the Merneptah Stele is clearly a valid ethnonym. On the other hand, Dever’s map (2003: 205) reveals that he is unaware of the proper region for seeking Yanʿam. According to the Amarna letters, Yanʿam must be somewhere in the southern Bashan, probably Tell Sheikh esh-Shibâb. This has been well known for nearly three decades (Naʿaman 1977; 1988: 183; cf. also Aharoni *et al.* 1993; maps 37 and 38; Rainey and Notley 2006: 82). In Merneptah’s victory poem, the pharaoh claims to have conquered Ashkelon, Gezer, Yanʿam (all city-states) and a people called Israel (in that order). There is an obvious geographical progression in that hieroglyphic poem. Since Yanʿam was in Transjordan, it would seem to follow that the Egyptian army encountered the people called Israel east of the Jordan River. There is no reason to look for them in the western hill country at this point. Perhaps it is significant that Jacob first received the name ‘Israel’ in Transjordan before crossing over into Canaan (Gen. 31:28).

Most recently, Mary Joan Wynn Leith (2006) has insisted that the new Iron I settlers had no consciousness of ethnic identity. She opines that only later, in the monarchy period, did the people of Israel define themselves and set up the anti-Canaanite apologetic. All across the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East there were massive invasions of the sedentary areas by outsiders at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The Libyans (with their constituent tribes or nations) invaded the Egyptian Delta with a clear consciousness of their ethnic identity, and the Egyptians recognised it. The Phrygians/Mushku who invaded Anatolia also knew who they were — and who they weren't. The Sea Peoples (including the Philistines, Sikels and others) were thoroughly aware of their own ethnic identity — and were 'recognised' as such in the Egyptian texts. The hordes of Aramaeans who stormed into North Syria and Mesopotamia also had their own ethnic identity, of which they were aware; and the Assyrians and the Neo-Hittites knew full well who the Aramaeans were. So why should scholars insist that the new immigrants in the hill country areas of Galilee, Samaria and Judaea would not have brought with them a consciousness of their own ethnic identity? In light of the documented ethnic groups throughout the entire area during the twelfth century BCE, there is no basis for denying that the new Iron Age settlers had their own ethnic consciousness from the beginning. At least one major group of those settlers migrated from Transjordan and bore the ethnicon 'sons of Israel'.

CONCLUSIONS

The latest archaeological research indicates that there is no reason to doubt the principal assumption of the biblical tradition that the ancient Israelites migrated as pastoralists from Transjordan to Cisjordan. However, this is not proof that the epic account in the Book of Joshua is literal history. Israel was evidently one group among many *Shasu* who were moving out of the steppe lands to find their livelihood. Nor does this constitute proof that the Israel (that was probably encountered in Transjordan) of Merneptah's inscription is already a 12-tribe league. For example, the tribes who settled in the heights of Upper Galilee may very well have come from the Syrian Desert or from Hauran. Some 'tribes' (socio-ethnic groups) may have arrived much earlier, e.g. Asher, which may possibly be mentioned in 19th-Dynasty inscriptions, and as evidently absorbed by the coastal Phoenicians as field hands (Judg. 1:32), and Issachar (Gen. 49:14) may have found a similar role in the Jezreel Valley. Nevertheless, the case for a Transjordanian pastoralist origin for the bulk of the clans in the eastern Jordan Valley, the Beth Shean Valley and the central hill country is very strong.

It is perfectly clear that all the cultural features examined by Dever (2003) point to a radical change in the demography and settlement pattern of the hill country areas during the early twelfth century BCE. All of those features are completely compatible with a movement of an ethnic group, or groups, from the

eastern steppe land. There is absolutely nothing among those cultural features that would suggest that this new population derived from the Late Bronze Canaanite areas on the coastal plains and valleys. Furthermore, the scenario being offered here has the support of analogy with real-life anthropological models from the nineteenth-century bedouin of the Transjordanian steppe land and the Jordan Valley.

In that regard, one final observation is in order. Throughout the past 30 years, biblical scholars and archaeologists have adduced various ‘models’ taken from a reading of professional anthropological literature. Not one of the ‘models’ adduced thus far have contributed anything of substance to the correct understanding of the Early Iron Age settlers of the twelfth century BCE or their development into a territorial state in the tenth century BCE. By contrast, the living model of the nineteenth-century bedouin has helped to put the ancient processes into a realistic cultural and geographical matrix.⁵

REFERENCES

- Aharoni, Y.
1957 *The Settlement of the Tribes in Upper Galilee*, Jerusalem (Hebrew)
- Aharoni, Y., Avi-Yonah, M., Rainey, A.F. and Safrai, Z.
1993 *The Macmillan Bible Atlas* (rev. 3rd ed.), New York
- Ahituv, S.
1984 *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, Jerusalem—Leiden
- Albright, W.F.
1924 Contributions to Biblical Archaeology and Philology, *JBL* 43: 363–393

5 One cannot conclude a study involving Dever’s monograph (2003) without noting the serious errors in his use of letters from Amarna (2003: 170–174). It would appear that he has taken his information from some secondary source. The most glaring misstatements are as follows: There is no reference to a ‘chief of the ‘Apiru’. The letter where he purports to find that expression is not anonymous. It is a letter from Shuwardata who was evidently the ruler at Tell eṣ-Ṣafī (Tel Zafit), as attested by the clay of his epistles (Goren, Finkelstein and Na’aman 2004: 279–286). Dever cites it simply as ‘RA XIX’. In fact, the reference is *RA* 19:106 for the facsimile. The latest transcription is Rainey 1978: 32, 34; the latest translation in English is Moran 1992: 364. The long established correct sigla for this text is EA 366. Though he does not name Shuwardata, one of his texts (EA 280) is cited by Dever (2003: 172) as if it is from the king of Hebron, an idea long abandoned in the profession. On pp. 173–174, a letter from Gezer (EA 270) is cited with regard to a problem with Yanḥamu, whom Dever erroneously calls the king of Pella! Yanḥamu was a senior — perhaps the senior — representative of the Egyptian government in the Levant. He was never associated with Pella in the texts. Needless to say, such glaring mistakes show that Dever is trying to use materials for which he has no competence.

- Alt, A.
1925 *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palastina* (repr. 1953 in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel I*): 89–125, Munich
- Astour, M.
1979 Yahweh in Egyptian Topographic Lists, in Görg, M. und Pusch, E. (eds.), *Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments* (Festschrift Elmar Edel, 1. März 1979), vol. I, Bamberg: 17–33
- Blau, J.
1982 *On Polyphony in Biblical Hebrew* (Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities VI/ 2), Jerusalem
- Borger, R.
1964 *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königs inschriften, erster Teil: Das Zweite Jahrtausend vor Chr.*, Leiden
- Brinkman, J.A.
1968 *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158–722 B.C.*, Rome
- Bron, F.
1979 *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*, Geneva
1997 Karatepe Phoenician Inscriptions, in Meyers 1977: 268–269
- Bunimovitz, S.
1995 On the Edge of Empires — Late Bronze Age 1500–1200 BCE, in Levy, T.E. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, New York: 320–331
- Callaway, J.A.
1968 New Evidence on the Conquest of ʿAi, *JBL* 87: 312–320
1987 Ai (et-Tell): Problem Site for Biblical Archaeologists, in Perdue, L.G., Toombs, L.E. and Johnson, G.L. (eds.), *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation. Essays in Memory of D. Glenn Rose*, Atlanta GA: 87–99
- Chaney, M.L.
1983 Ancient Palestinian Peasant Movements and the Formation of Premonarchic Israel, in Freedman D.N. and Graf, D.F. (eds.), *The Emergence of Ancient Israel*, Sheffield: 39–90
- Cochavi-Rainey, Z.
2003 *The Alashia Texts from the 14th and 13th Centuries BCE. A Textual and Linguistic Study*, Münster
- Cross, F.M.
1973 *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge MA
- Dagan, Y.
1992 The Shephelah of Judah during the Period of the Monarchy in Light of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys (unpublished M.A. thesis; Tel Aviv University; Hebrew with English abstract)
- De Vaux, R.
1972 *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, London

Dever, W.G.

- 1992 The Late Bronze — Early Iron Horizon in Syria-Palestine: Egyptians, Canaanites, ‘Sea Peoples’, and ‘Proto-Israelites’, in Ward, W.A. and Joukowsky, M.S. (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C., From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, Dubuque IA: 99–110
- 1995 Ceramics, Ethnicity, and the Question of Israel’s Origins, *BA* 58: 200–213
- 1997 Is there any Archaeological Evidence for the Exodus? in Frerichs, E. and Lesko, L.H. (eds.), *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*, Winona Lake IN: 67–86
- 2003 *Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?* Grand Rapids MI — Cambridge, U.K.

Edelman, D.V.

- 1996 Ethnicity and Early Israel, in Brett, M.G. (ed.), *Ethnicity and the Bible*, New York: 22–55

Edgerton, W.F. and Wilson, J.A.

- 1936 *Historical Records of Ramses III. The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I and II. Translated with Explanatory Notes*, Chicago

Finkelstein, I.

- 1988 *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*, Jerusalem
- 1994 The Emergence of Israel: A Phase in the Cyclic History of Canaan in the Third and Second Millennia BCE, in Finkelstein and Na’aman 1994: 150–178

Finkelstein, I., Lederman, Z. and Bunimovitz, S.

- 1997 *Highlands of Many Cultures I. The Sites*, Tel Aviv

Finkelstein, I. and Na’aman, N.

- 1994 (eds.), *From Nomadism to Monarchy. Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, Jerusalem — Washington

Fischer, P.M.

- 1991 Tel Abu al-Kharaz: The Swedish Jordan Expedition 1989, First Season Preliminary Report from Trial Soundings, *ADAJ* 35: 67–104
- 1993 Tel Abu al-Kharaz: The Swedish Jordan Expedition 1991, Second Season Preliminary Excavation Report, *ADAJ* 38: 127–146

Frankel, R.

- 1994 Upper Galilee in the Late Bronze Age — Iron I Transition, in Finkelstein and Na’aman 1994: 18–34

Franken, H.J. and London, G.

- 1995 Why Painted Pottery Disappeared at the End of the Second Millennium BCE, *BA* 58: 214–222

Gal, Z.

- 1992 *Lower Galilee during the Iron Age*, Winona Lake IN
- 1994 Iron I in Lower Galilee and the Margins of the Jezreel Valley, in Finkelstein and Na’aman 1994: 35–46

Garbini, G.

- 1960 *Il semitico di nord-ovest*, Naples

Gardiner, A.H.

- 1937 *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Brussels

- Garr, W.R.
1985 *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine*, Philadelphia
- Giveon, R.
1971 *Les bédouins shosou des documents égyptiens*, Leiden
- Goren, Y., Finkelstein, I. and Na'aman, N.
2004 *Inscribed in Clay. Province Studies of the Amarna Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Tel Aviv
- Gottwald, N.K.
1979 *The Tribes of Yahweh. A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250–1050 B.C.E.*, Maryknoll NY
- Grayson, A.K.
1975 *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Locust Valley NY
1976 *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions II/2: From Tiglath-pileser I to Ashur-nasir-apli II*, Wiesbaden
1982 Assyria: Ashur-Dan II to Ashur-Nirari V. Vol. III/1, in Boardman, J., Edwards, I.E.S., Hammond, N.G.L. and Sollberger, E. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*², Cambridge: 238–281
1991 *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I. 1114–859 BC*, Toronto — Buffalo — London
- Hammond, N.G.L.
1975 The End of the Mycenaean Civilization and the Dark Age: (B) The Literary Tradition for the Migrations (Chap. XXXVI, Vol. II/2), in Edwards, I.E.S., Hammond, N.G.L. and Sollberger, E. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*³, Cambridge: 678–709
- Harris, Z.S.
1939 *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (American Oriental Studies 16), New Haven CT
- Herr, L.G.
1998 Tell el-ʿUmayri and the Madaba Plains Region during the Late Bronze–Iron Age I Transition, in Gitin, S., Mazar, A. and Stern, E. (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE, in Honor of Professor Trude Dothan*, Jerusalem: 251–264
- Herzog, Z.
1994 The Beer-Sheba Valley: From Nomadism to Monarchy, in Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994: 122–149
- Hesse, B. and Wapnish, P.
1997 Can Pig Bones be Used for Ethnic Diagnosis in the Ancient Near East? in Silberman, N.A. and Small, D. (eds.), *Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, Sheffield: 238–270
- Inbar, D.
2001 The Geographical History of Bet-Shean Valley and Its Adjacent Mountainous Area: From the LB IIb to the End of the Iron IIc Periods (unpublished Ph.D. diss.; Bar-Ilan University; Hebrew with English summary), Ramat Gan

- Izre'el, S.
1988 Review of Garr 1985, in *BASOR* 270: 94–97
- KAI* Donner, H. and Röllig, W., *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften I–III*, Wiesbaden 1962–64; I⁵ 2002
- Kaufman, S.A.
1980 The Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla, *BASOR* 239: 71–74
- King, P. and Stager, L.E.
2001 *Life in Biblical Israel*, Louisville—London
- KRI* Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* 1–8, Oxford, 1975–1990
- Leith, M.J.W.
2006 Review of A.E. Killebrew, in *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel (CA. 1300–1100 B.C.E.)*, Atlanta GA; *Biblical Archaeology Review* 32, No. 3 May/June 2006: 22–23
- Lemaire, A.
1987 Notes d'épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique: 19. La stèle de Mésha: épigraphie et histoire, *Syria* 64: 205–214
- Forth-coming New Photographs and *ryt* or *hyt* in Mesha, Line 12, *IEJ*
- Mazar, A.
1982 The 'Bull Site': An Iron Age Open Cult Place, *BASOR* 247: 27–42
1990 *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible 10,000–586 B.C.E.*, New York — London — Toronto — Sydney — Auckland
1993 Batash, Tel (Timnah), in *NEAEHL* 1: 152–157
1999 The 'Bull Site' and the 'Einun Pottery' Reconsidered, *PEQ* 131: 144–148
- McCarter, P.K.
1980 The Balaam Texts from Deir 'Alla: The First Combination, *BASOR* 239: 49–60
- McGovern, P.E.
1986 *The Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of Central Transjordan, the Baq'ah Valley Project 1977–1981*, Philadelphia
1989 The Baq'ah Valley Project 1987, Khirbet Umm ad-Dananir and Al-Qesir, *ADAJ* 33: 123–136
- Mendenhall, G.E.
1962 The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine, *BA* 25: 66–87
1973 *The Tenth Generation. The Origins of Biblical Tradition*, Baltimore — London
- Meyers, E.M.
1997 (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, New York — Oxford: 268–269
- Millard, A.R.
2000 The Inscription of Zakkur, King of Hamath, in Hallo, W.W. and Younger, K.L. (eds.), *The Context of Scripture 2*, Leiden — Boston — Cologne: 155

- Miller, J.M.
 1977 The Israelite Occupation of Canaan, in Hayes, J.H. and Miller, J.M. (eds.), *Israelite and Judaeon History*, Philadelphia: 213–284
- Moran, W.L.
 1961 The Hebrew Language in Its Northwest Semitic Background, in Wright, G.E. (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, New York: 54–72
 1975 Amarna Glosses, *RA* 69: 147–158
 1992 *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore — London
- Naʿaman, N.
 1977 Yenōʿam, *Tel Aviv* 4: 166–177
 1988 Biryawaza of Damascus and the Date of the Kāmīd el-Lōz ʿApiru Letters, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 20: 179–193
- Neuman, J. and Parpola, S.
 1987 Climatic Change and the Eleventh–Tenth-Century Eclipse of Assyria and Babylonia, *JNES* 46: 161–182
- Ofer, A.
 1994 ‘All the Hill Country of Judah’: From a Settlement Fringe to a Prosperous Monarchy, in Finkelstein and Naʿaman 1994: 92–121
- Parker, S.T.
 1997 *Limes Arabicus*, in Meyers 1977: 358–361
- Pritchard, J.B.
 1980 *The Cemetery at Tell es-Saʿīdiyeh, Jordan* (University Museum Monograph 41), Philadelphia
- Rainey, A.F.
 1971 Verbal Forms with Infixes *-t-* in the West Semitic el-Amarna Letters, *Israel Oriental Studies* 1: 86–102
 1978 *El Amarna Tablets 359–379. Supplement to J.A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (2nd ed. rev.), Neukirchen-Vluyn
 1987 Review of Gottwald, N.H., *The Tribes of Yahway. A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250–1050 B.C.E.*, *JAOS* 101: 541–543
 1995 Unruly Elements in Late Bronze Canaanite Society, in Wright, D.P., Freedman, D.N. and Hurvitz, A. (eds.), *Pomegranates and Golden Bells. Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, Winona Lake IN: 481–496
 1996 *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets. A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by the Scribes from Canaan* vols. I–IV, Leiden — New York — Cologne
 2001 Israel in Merenptah’s Inscription and Reliefs, *IEJ* 51: 57–75
 2003a Aspects of Life in Ancient Israel, in Averbek, R.E., Chavalas, M.W. and Weisberg, D.B. (eds.), *Life and Culture in the Ancient Near East*, Bethesda MD: 253–267
 2003b The Suffix Conjugation Pattern in Ancient Hebrew: Tense and Function, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 40: 3–42
 2003c The *Yaqtul* Preterite in Northwest Semitic, in Baasten, M.F.J. and Van Peursen, W.Th. (eds.), *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Leuven — Paris — Dudley MA: 395–407

Rainey, A.F. and Notley, R.S.

2006 *The Sacred Bridge. Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World*, Jerusalem

Renfrew, C.

1979 Systems Collapse as Social Transformation: Catastrophe and Anastrophe in Early State Societies, in Renfrew, C. and Cooke, K.L. (eds.), *Transformations: Mathematical Approaches to Culture Change*, New York: 481–505

Sass, B.

2000 Wenamon and His Levant — 1075 BC or 925 BC? in *Egypt and the Levant. International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines* 12: 247–255

Schade, A.

2005 New Photographs Supporting the Reading *ryt* in Line 12 of the Mesha Inscription, *IEJ* 55: 205–208

Schniedewind, W.

1996 Tel Dan Stele: New Light on Aramaic and Jehu's Revolt, *BASOR* 302: 81–82

Segert, S.

1975 *Aramäische Grammatik*, Leipzig

von Soden, W.

1959–81 *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden

Stager, L.E.

1985 Response, in Amitai, J. (ed.), *Biblical Archaeology Today, Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984*, Jerusalem: 83–87

1998 Forging an Identity: The Emergence of Ancient Israel, in Coogan, M.D. (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, New York: 123–175

Steiner, R.C.

2005 On the Dating of Hebrew Sound Changes (**H* > *H̄* and **G̣* > *ḡ*) and Greek Translations (2 Esdras and Judith), *JBL* 124: 229–267

van der Steen, E.J.

1995 Aspects of Nomadism and Settlement in the Central Jordan Valley, *PEQ* 127: 141–158

1996 The Central East Jordan Valley in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, *BASOR* 302: 51–74

1997 Migrations from the East into the Jordan Valley. Paper presented on 23 November at the American Academy of Religion, Society of Biblical Literature, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 22–25 November, 1997

Wiseman, D.J.

1975 Assyria and Babylonia, c. 1200–1000 B.C., in Edwards, I.E.S., Hammond, N.G.L. and Sollberger, E. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*³, Cambridge: 443–482

Zertal, A.

1994 'To the Land of the Perrizites and the Giants': On the Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country of Manasseh, in Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994: 47–69