

SUB-DIVIDING THE IRON AGE IIA IN NORTHERN ISRAEL: A SUGGESTED SOLUTION TO THE CHRONOLOGICAL DEBATE

Ze'ev Herzog and Lily Singer-Avitz

Tel Aviv University

Abstract

In an earlier paper we discussed the 'high/low' chronology dispute as it relates to the archaeology of southern Palestine and suggested a solution that assigned two sub-phases to the Iron Age IIA. Here we suggest a similar solution for the northern regions of the country.

Using the assemblages of Jezreel as a typological starting point we examine the artefacts and stratigraphy of several key northern sites. We maintain that northern Israel went through different social processes during the Iron Age IIA than did its neighbours to the south and that its Iron Age IIA chronology should be divided into three sub-phases: the Early Iron Age IIA, dated to the second half of the 10th century BCE, and the Late Iron Age IIA, with two sub-phases—the main phase, which dates to the first two-thirds of the 9th century, and the final phase, which dates to the last third of the 9th century.

This observation should solve the on-going debate between the 'low' and 'high' chronologies. The different routes to statehood of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah undoubtedly stem from the variegated environmental and social setting of the two regions.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE IRON AGE IIA

Scholars have tended to present the archaeological strata of the Iron Age IIA as synchronous, viewing them as a singular whole without probing the possibilities that they gradually developed (or declined), or that there might have been occupational gaps at some stage of the period. Thus, supporters of the 'low' chronology compress all Iron Age IIA occupational levels into the 9th century BCE (Finkelstein 1996) while advocates of the 'high' chronology 'stretch' the same levels well back into the 10th century BCE (Zarzecki-Peleg 1997; Mazar 2004: 30–31; 2005).

Pharaoh Sheshonq's military operation in the Levant has been considered a cardinal peg in Iron II chronology (Mazar 1990: 397–398). Accordingly, advocates of the 'high' and 'low' chronologies have attempted to identify the destruction layers wrought by the campaign. At Megiddo, Finkelstein (2002: 120; 2005: 21) attributed a stela erected by Sheshonq and exposed in an unstratified location to the destruction

of Stratum VIA.¹ At Tel Rehov, three strata (VI–IV) yielded Red Slip Hand Burnished Ware (RSHB), and Mazar, at first indecisive about whether Sheshonq had destroyed Stratum V or IV (Mazar 1999: 41), later assigned the ‘partial destruction’ of Stratum V to Sheshonq’s campaign (Mazar *et al.* 2005: 253).

¹⁴C dating was conducted at several sites bearing RSHB Ware and it was hoped that this would provide a definitive answer to the dating of the Iron Age IIA. Yet, here, too, results were less than conclusive. The advocates of the ‘high’ chronology interpreted the results from Tel Rehov as supporting their view (Mazar and Carmi 2001; Bruins *et al.* 2003a; 2003b; Mazar *et al.* 2005) while the advocates of the ‘low’ chronology claimed that the results reinforced their dates (Finkelstein and Piasezky 2003a; 2003b; 2003c). ¹⁴C dates from Tel Dor offered still different sets of dates, suggesting an ‘ultra-low’ chronology (Gilboa and Sharon 2001).² The recent comprehensive collection of essays devoted to ¹⁴C dating (Levy and Higham 2005) unequivocally demonstrates the shortcomings of the method. In the words of a major participant in the debate: “These limitations are frustrating, and make close dating during this time frame a difficult task. It seems that in a debate like ours, over a time span of about 80 years, we push the radiometric method to the edges of its capacity, and perhaps even beyond that limit” (Mazar 2005: 22).

Combinations of ¹⁴C and historical documentation have led both sides to take more flexible stands. Mazar, representing the traditional ‘high’ chronology, finally departed from an Iron Age IIA identified exclusively with the United Monarchy (Mazar 1990) and suggested extending its duration well into the 9th century BCE, terminating with Hazael’s campaign in about 840/830 BCE. However, he still insists on maintaining the starting date for the period as 980 BCE—the traditional date marking the crystallization of the United Kingdom (Mazar 2005).³ Finkelstein, the architect of the ‘low’ chronology, on the other hand, has accepted a date of 925

¹ On one occasion Finkelstein considered the possibility that Sheshonq might be associated with Stratum VB at Megiddo (Finkelstein 2002: 122), but in a later paper he referred only to Stratum VIA as the city that “met a violent end” by Sheshonq (Finkelstein 2005: 21).

² A comprehensive methodological study conducted by Boaretto and her colleagues (2005) attempted to illuminate the grounds for the conflicting results from Tel Dor and Tel Rehov. In their view a statistically safe sample requires at least 400 ¹⁴C measurements. Nevertheless, they suggest several causes for the discrepancies: cultural, terminological, type of ceramic assemblage, archaeological context and laboratory measurement bias. Indeed, the local ceramic assemblage of Dor is unique and incomparable to the pottery groups of the more interior regions of the country. The correlations are based not on the common local wares but on the imported Cypriot and Phoenician types. Moreover, the full account of the Tel Rehov pottery is not available yet. These facts should reduce the level of accuracy in comparing the two assemblages.

³ This is a rather revolutionary shift in doubling the duration of the Iron Age IIA, and not just a ‘Modified Conventional Chronology’ (Mazar 2005: 21).

BCE for the beginning of the Iron Age IIA at Tel Rehov (Finkelstein and Piasezky 2003c: 288). These modifications minimize the gap between the opponents to about 55 years. Obviously, such discrepancy cannot be solved by the current accuracy of ¹⁴C dating, which at best provides dates with a range of ± 30–35 years (Boaretto *et al.* 2005: 42).

Since the ongoing debate over the chronology of the Iron Age IIA cannot, at least at present, be solved by historical or radiometric dating methods, it is necessary to identify other archaeological markers to unravel the typological, stratigraphical and chronological dilemma.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL DEBATE: A PROPOSED SOLUTION

In a previous paper, we attempted to resolve the chronological debate as it relates to the archaeology of the Iron Age IIA in southern Palestine (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004). By analyzing settlement patterns and through a detailed study of ceramic typology, we revealed that the Iron Age IIA covers an extensive period and consists of two distinct sub-phases. Instead of attributing the Iron Age IIA exclusively to either the 10th century (according to the ‘high’ chronology) or to the 9th century BCE (‘low’ chronology), we suggested assigning the period a longer span, from the mid-10th to the end of the 9th (or even early 8th) century BCE. On archaeological grounds, this period has been divided into two sub-phases. We believe that such an understanding of the data provides a positive solution to the chronological debate.

Arad was the key site we used for analysis in southern Palestine. Identification of Stratum XII at Tel Arad with *ʿrd rbt* (Great Arad) of the Sheshonq list (926 or 920 or even 917 BCE—Kitchen 2001; Shortland 2005) provides an important chronological peg. Since Arad appears on the Sheshonq list, Stratum XII was described as “the only level in southern Israel, possibly in the entire country, which can safely be dated, on its own merits, to the tenth century BCE” (Finkelstein 1996: 181; see also 2002: 113). Strata XII and XI at Arad exhibit the settlement pattern and pottery assemblage typical to each of the Iron Age IIA sub-phases: Stratum XII represents the Early Iron Age IIA while Stratum XI represents the Late Iron Age IIA. Comparative data from excavated and well-stratified sites presents a distinctive archaeological picture of the two Iron Age IIA sub-phases. Early Iron Age IIA is characterized by unfortified civilian settlements, mainly of the ‘enclosed settlement’ type (Arad XII, Beersheba VII, Tel Masos II–I, Lachish V and the Negev Highland settlements). In contrast, the Late Iron Age IIA saw the erection of fortified cities and fortresses (Arad XI, Beersheba V–IV, Lachish IV). Despite the evident continuity in ceramic shapes, we observed specific typological features of each sub-phase. We dated the Early Iron Age IIA to the second half of the 10th century BCE, and the Late Iron Age IIA to the 9th (and possibly early 8th) century BCE.

In the present paper we will attempt to apply this same method to northern Palestine. We will identify a typological assemblage that originates from well-stratified sites and that can be sufficiently well-dated within the Iron Age IIA. This will enable us to distinguish sub-phases within the period. Once the assemblage is defined we will be able to compare pottery groups at the main sites to reveal a comprehensive picture of the Iron Age IIA in the north.

As in the south, the diagnostic feature of the Iron Age IIA pottery in the north are the bowls with RSHB treatment. However, the recurrent appearance of the RSHB as typological marker has prevented scholars from recognizing the changes in ceramic typology during the Iron Age IIA that could isolate sub-phases within the period. Iron Age IIA is manifested in reliable ceramic assemblages at Megiddo VB and VA–IVB, Jezreel, Ta'anach IIA, IIB, III–IV, Tell el Far'ah (N) VIIa and VIIb, Hazor X–IX, Yoqne'am XVI–XIII, Tel Rehov VI–IV, Beth Shean S-1b, S-1a, and Ḥorvat Rosh Zayit III–I.

Notwithstanding the central role of Samaria in the formation of the Kingdom of Israel, we are not able to incorporate into our analysis a meaningful discussion of its remains. The pottery unearthed there cannot be correlated to the building phases in any trustful manner (Tappy 1992). The data provided by other sites, such as Tel Amal, Tell Abu-Hawam, Tel Mevorakh and Tel Michal, are too limited to enable the drawing of a reliable picture.

JEZREEL: A KEY SITE

The remains exposed at Tel Jezreel consist of a rectangular enclosure erected over artificial fills that levelled the area. The architectural concept of the orthogonal form of the site illustrates the highest level of monumental site planning (Herzog 1992: 247–248). The enclosure covers an area of *ca.* 4 ha and is demarcated by a casemate wall with projecting towers at its corners. The measurements, including the towers, are 289 × 157 m. A large four- or six-room gate was located on the southern side, and a deep moat surrounded the site. Several structural units, most of which were severely damaged by later occupations, have been recorded within the enclosure (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1992; 1994; 1997).

The excavators report three occupational layers that should be assigned to the Iron Age IIA. The earliest phase is represented solely by sherds collected from the levelling fills that underlie the floors of the enclosure. The pottery found in the fills includes some that date to the Middle and Late Bronze Age, Iron Age I and many sherds that closely resemble the Iron Age IIA assemblage on the enclosure floors (Zimhoni 1997). The excavators consider the latter material as evidence of the presence of occupation of a domestic nature at the site in the 10th century BCE, similar to the situation in Samaria (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1997: 68).

The second and main phase is represented by pottery from the floors and destruction layers of the Jezreel Enclosure. Numerous restorable vessels were uncovered in the casemate rooms, in tower rooms and on the surfaces of structures inside the enclosure (Zimhoni 1992; 1997).

The third and final occupational phase can possibly be discerned at two locations on the southern side of the enclosure. In Area A, two superimposed occupation surfaces are recorded: The lower is associated with the casemate wall. The upper consists of an elevated floor resting on a dismantled part of the casemates. An oven associated with this floor was erected almost directly above an oven from the lower occupational phase (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1992: 19–21). Such superimposition points to functional and temporal continuity between the two phases. In Area F, segments of a later floor were also noticed (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1994: 39). These remains may perhaps indicate a partial reoccupation of the site immediately after its destruction. This phase could be attributed to a squatters' habitation in the final phase of the Iron Age IIA.

Dating of the enclosure admittedly relies heavily on the biblical-historical documentation that associates the site with the palace erected in Jezreel by the Omride dynasty, either by Omri (882–871 BCE) or by Ahab (873–852) (Na'aman 1997; Ussishkin and Woodhead 1992: 53; Williamson 1991). The Jezreel Enclosure was apparently destroyed as a result of the Aramaean conquest under Hazael in about 840/830 BCE (Na'aman 1997). These historical circumstances are considered sound and valid bases for dating the archaeological material, since the historical reconstruction is based on matching biblical and extra-biblical data. The short-lived Jezreel Enclosure, and its resemblance to Samaria (Finkelstein 2000b), thus exhibits an unambiguous pottery assemblage (Zimhoni 1992; 1997). Hence, we consider Tel Jezreel a key site that provides a secure chronological peg for Iron Age IIA in the north.

THE 'JEZREEL CLUSTER'

We have labelled the well-defined ceramic assemblage uncovered on the floors of the Jezreel Enclosure the 'Jezreel Cluster'. In an effort to identify reliable contemporary occupational layers in northern Israel, we will compare the analogous pottery groups unearthed from well-stratified sites. This comparison will enable us to define typological sequences of pottery horizons as well as their settlement patterns during the Iron Age IIA. The analysis will offer a new chronological and historical understanding of the sub-phasing of the Iron Age IIA in northern Israel.

The following types categorize the 'Jezreel Cluster':

- (1) Rounded-wall bowl with flat base (Fig. 1: 1). The bowls are commonly covered by thin orange slip (Zimhoni 1992: Figs. 1: 7–8, 2: 3–5; 1997: Fig. 5: 1).

- (2) Carinated ring-based bowl with partial red slip (Fig. 1: 2). The rim is plain or ledged. The base consists either of a thin high ring or is slightly footed. The bowls are red-slipped with dense hand-burnishing on the inside as well as on the outside down to the carination (Zimhoni 1992: Figs. 1: 12, 2: 8–10, 5: 1, 6: 1–2; 1997: Figs. 5: 2, 8: 4–5, 12: 2).
- (3) Carinated red-slipped bowl (Fig. 1: 3). The bowls are similar to Type 2, but the red slip covers the entire vessel, including the base. The colour of the slip is dark red and burnished to create a lustrous effect (Zimhoni 1992: Fig. 1: 13–15).
- (4) Storage jar with swollen body and rounded base (Fig. 1: 6). The rim is thickened and a marked ridge encircles the neck. Often two circles are engraved over the shoulder. The colour of the body is distinct from the other jars by its grayish tone. Usually called the ‘hippo’ storage jar (Zimhoni 1992: Figs. 3: 7–8, 4: 6, 8, 5: 6; 1997: Fig. 11: 4).⁴
- (5) Carinated-shoulder storage jar (Fig. 1: 7). The body widens downwards from the shoulder carination, then narrows near the bottom. The rim is short with a triangular section (Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 11: 5).
- (6) Cylindrical holemouth jar without handles (Fig. 1: 8) (Zimhoni 1992: Figs. 3: 11, 5: 6–12, 6: 16–17; 1997: Figs. 7: 1–8, 12: 6–7).
- (7) Cypriot BoR Ware (Fig. 1: 4) (Zimhoni 1992: Fig. 2: 11; 1997: Fig. 12: 5).
- (8) Amphoriskos (Fig. 1: 5). This type was not found at Tel Jezreel, however we include it in the ‘Jezreel Cluster’ since it is found together with the above-listed types in many other northern sites. The example presented here is from Tel Ta’anach (Rast 1978: Fig. 36: 3).

‘Jezreel Cluster’ Types at other Northern Sites

In the following survey of northern Israel sites, we provide a combined analysis of typological affinities and stratigraphical observations, and show that pottery groups from well-stratified layers are consistent with the ‘Jezreel Cluster’. At the same time, we attempt to identify assemblages that predate or postdate the ‘Jezreel Cluster’.

Megiddo

The Iron Age IIA at Megiddo is unanimously identified at Strata VB and VA–IVB,⁵ developing from rural to urban in the latter phase. The two strata share some common

⁴ For a comprehensive study see Alexandre 1995; Gal and Alexandre 2000: 44–48.

⁵ To prevent terminological confusion, the term VA–IVB is maintained in this paper. See, however, the alternative terminology in Herzog 1997. Finkelstein considered Stratum VIA as an optional candidate for a city destroyed by Sheshonq in the 10th century (1996: 183; 2002: 120). Stratum VIA should be assigned to Iron Age I (e.g., Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 231).

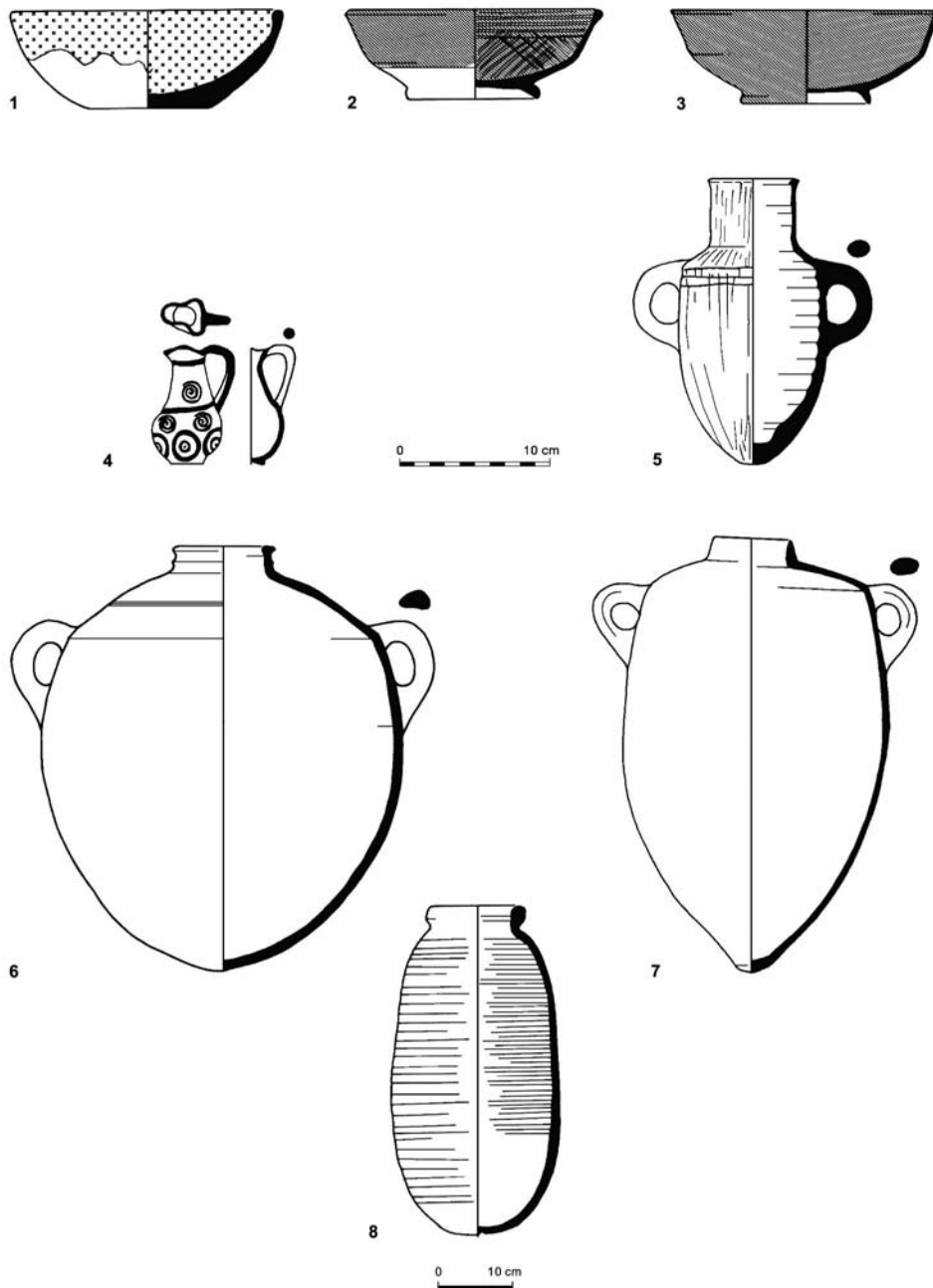


Fig. 1. The 'Jezreel Cluster'. (1) Rounded-wall bowl (after Zimhoni 1992: Fig. 1: 7); (2) Ring-based bowl (after Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 2: 12); (3) Red-slipped bowl (after Zimhoni 1992: Fig. 1: 14); (4) BoR Juglet (after Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 12: 5); (5) Amphoriskos (after Rast 1978: Fig. 36: 3); (6) Storage jar (after Gal and Alexandre 2000: Fig. III. 93: 12); (7) Storage jar (after Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 11: 5); (8) Holemouth jar (after Zimhoni 1997: Fig. 7: 1).

features: The settlements in both VB and VA–IVB lack a city wall and are protected by the outer back walls of dwellings densely constructed on the city’s perimeter line.

Stratum VB is poorly exposed and exhibits mainly residential units. The rural nature of the Stratum VB settlement is manifested by the sections unearthed by the various expeditions to the site. In Area B of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Expedition, several houses were uncovered under Courtyard 1693 (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 3–7). Yet, as we argue below, these houses should be associated with both Strata VB and VA–IVB rather than only with VB. The Tel Aviv University Expedition unearthed this settlement in Area K and assigned it as local Stratum K-3 (Lehmann *et al.* 2000: 126–131). The meticulous exposure of the remains in this area revealed the presence of several occupational sub-phases within this stratum, indicating continuous reuse and rebuilding of the settlement assigned as Stratum VB. The remains of a relatively large building (6107) were uncovered by Y. Yadin of the Hebrew University directly under Palace 6000 (Zarzecki-Peleg 2005a: Figs. 2, 6).

Stratum VA–IVB, although occupied mainly by domestic houses, contains several structures that exhibit the consolidation of the ruling elite. Palaces 1723 and 6000, a new approach-way (2150), a gate and Administrative Structure 1482 are assigned to this stratum. Ceremonial or ‘cultic’ interpretation was suggested for structures uncovered at both sides of the upper part of Approach-Way 2150 (Herzog 1986: 96). A hoard of ceremonial objects found in a corner chamber of Courtyard 2081 near the city gate (Loud 1948: 45, Fig. 102) could originate from these installations (Herzog 1997: 212).

Pinpointing the stratigraphic association of Palace 1723 and adjacent Courtyard 1693 elicits serious questions. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago excavators assigned the palace to Stratum IVB (our Stratum VA–IVB), but assumed that plastered Courtyard 1693 with its enclosure wall and four-room Gate 1567 were utilized in both Strata IVB and IV (our Strata VA–IVB and IVA) (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Figs. 12, 34). This double association was rightly questioned by Zarzecki-Peleg, who noticed that the floor of the courtyard partly covered the southern wing of Palace 1723. She concluded that Palace 1723 had been built in Stratum VA–IVB, adjacent to the domestic houses, and that Enclosure 1693 must be dated to Stratum IV (Zarzecki-Peleg 2005a: 148–152). However, we believe her assumption that Palace 1723 was completed and used in Stratum VA–IVB, surrounded by domestic units, is unwarranted. The aerial photograph clearly shows that the walls of Palace 1723 differ in orientation from and take no account of the walls of the domestic units around them (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Fig. 123). Palace 1723 was erected in Stratum VA–IVB, along with a strip of a lower plaster floor, but the building was

never completed. Clear evidence of this can be seen in the remains of Stratum VIA burnt bricks that were left intact and preserved high above the top of the inserted foundations of Palace 1723 (see Section P–Q in Lamon and Shipton 1939: Fig. 35). This fact indicates that the spaces allocated for the rooms of the palace had not been levelled and prepared for habitation. It should be noted also that the enclosure walls of Courtyard 1693 were not connected to Palace 1723.⁶ Indeed, the levelled foundation courses of the structure were found covered by 1.60-m-thick fills (Locus 1650) with the plastered floor of Courtyard 1693 in Stratum IVA laid on top of them. Actually, although the excavators published a detailed reconstruction of Palace 1723 (*ibid.*: Fig. 29), they still considered the possibility that “the buildings were never really completed and occupied” (*ibid.*: 59). To attempt to assign all the pottery recorded under Courtyard 1693 exclusively to Stratum VB (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000: 271–272; Fig. 11: 23–29) is thus risky. The houses around the palace could just as well have been occupied continuously in both Strata VB and VA–IVB.

To sum up: The city of Stratum VA–IVB was surrounded by a belt of houses whose entrance was through plastered Gateway 2150 (Herzog 1986: 96). The administration occupied Palace 6000 in the north and Administrative Building 1482 at the southern end of the mound. The foundations of Palace 1723 were never completed.

The pottery of Strata VB and VA–IVB is distinctive from that which preceded it in Stratum VIA and that which followed it in Stratum IVA. Yet, there are serious problems in differentiating between the two phases typologically. In all the exposed areas of the site the domestic sectors were continuously occupied during the lifespan of both Strata VB and VA–IVB, with no destruction layer separating them. As a result, the houses in Stratum VB yielded only small sherds and almost no complete vessels. The floors of Stratum VA–IVB, on the other hand, were found covered by a conflagration layer.

Zimhoni (1992) compared the assemblage from the Jezreel Enclosure with Megiddo Strata VA–IVB. Advocates of the ‘low’ chronology (Finkelstein 1996, 1998b) accepted Zimhoni’s thesis but supporters of the ‘high’ chronology disagreed. Mazar claimed that both sites ended simultaneously, but that Megiddo VA–IVB had been erected long before Jezreel (Mazar 1997; 1999: 37–42; 2003; Mazar and Carmi 2001: 1340). Zarzecki-Peleg, Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami believe that the Jezreel assemblage should be considered later than Megiddo VA–IVB, and rather

⁶ Possibly also the foundations of Gate 1567, and even parts of the walls of Courtyard 1693, were initially built along with the construction of the foundations of Palace 1723. But unlike the foundations of Palace 1723 the gate was reused and the walls were completed in Stratum IVA to accommodate a large open space and a smaller Structure 1616 (Kempinski 1989: Plan 12). This might explain why the entryway of the gate was found blocked. For a different interpretation see Ussishkin 1994.

contemporary with Megiddo IVA (Zarzecki-Peleg 1997: 284–287; Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami 1998: 31–32). We cannot accept this claim since the typology of Megiddo IVA pottery is entirely different from that uncovered at the Jezreel Enclosure.

The pottery recorded at Stratum VA–IVB contained the following diagnostic types:

- (1) Rounded-wall bowl with flat base (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000: Fig. 11.30: 3).
- (2) Carinated ring-based bowl (*ibid.*: Figs. 11.20: 1, 11.30: 6, 8–10, 11.36: 7, 12).
- (3) Storage jar with carinated shoulder (*ibid.*: Fig. 11.35: 3).
- (4) Cylindrical holemouth jar (*ibid.*: Fig. 11.21: 8, 11.34: 3).
- (5) Cypriot BoR Ware: assorted group of bowls and juglets (*ibid.*: Figs. 11.30: 18–19, 11.32: 1–2, 6, 11.36: 13, 16, 19, 11.39: 19–24, 27–29).
- (6) Amphoriskos (*ibid.*: Fig. 11.35: 1).

These types unquestionably resemble the ‘Jezreel Cluster’. Accordingly, Stratum VA–IVB at Megiddo belongs to the same cultural and chronological horizon as the Jezreel Enclosure. Stratum VB, although lacking a distinct ceramic repertoire, is defined stratigraphically as an earlier phase, in which the crystallization of the managerial elite is still in its rudimentary stage.

Tel Yoqne‘am

Tel Yoqne‘am was excavated under the direction of A. Ben-Tor on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Iron Age IIA settlement was erected over the destroyed remains of Iron Age I Stratum XVII, and is represented by Strata XVI–XIV (and apparently Stratum XIII as well) (Zarzecki-Peleg 2005b: 90–183). The first phase of Stratum XVI was observed in a single area (the ‘piazza’). This occupation lacks wall remains and is characterized by meagre remains of floors, an oven and a small installation. Few walls were erected in Stratum XV, and the site began to take on an urban character only in Stratum XIV: It became fortified by a casemate city wall, contained a domestic quarter and apparently had a water-system. At the end of Stratum XIV the site seems to have been abandoned; there are no signs of destruction. Above Stratum XIV patches of floors, wall fragments and several pits attributed to Stratum XIII were uncovered and dated to a transitional Iron Age IIA and IAIIIB phase (*ibid.*: 169–183). Zarzecki-Peleg compares Stratum XVI at Yoqne‘am to Phase K3b at Megiddo, suggesting that the latter be designated Stratum VC and that Yoqne‘am Stratum XIV parallels Megiddo Stratum VA–IVB (Zarzecki-Peleg 2005b: 229).

The meagre pottery remains from both Strata XVI and XV are mainly fragmentary rims. The Stratum XIV assemblage is extensive and consists of many complete vessels. Red-slipped bowls appear for the first time in Stratum XVI and some are burnished, although the type of burnish is unspecified (Zarzecki-Peleg *et al.* 2005: 254).

The following types in Stratum XIV at Yoqne‘am may be compared to the ‘Jezreel Cluster’:

- (1) Rounded-wall bowl with flat base (Zarzecki-Peleg 2005b.: Fig. I. 44: 2).
- (2) Carinated red-slipped bowl; regrettably this solitary example was found in a fill (Zarzecki-Peleg *et al.* 2005: Fig. II. 9: 8).
- (3) A ‘hippo’ storage jar, assigned to Stratum XIV, although its first occurrence is assigned to Stratum XV (*ibid.*: 300–302). The rims of the two sherds attributed to Stratum XV (Zarzecki-Peleg 2005b: I. 64: 30–31) are probably intrusive, as is suggested by the excavator’s observation that “the ceramic assemblage from this stratum in Area B2 may be mixed” (*ibid.*: 105). Thus, the assured association of this type is with Stratum XIV (*ibid.*: Figs. I. 58: 34, I. 60: 2, I. 67: 4).
- (4) Cylindrical storage jar with everted rim, common to northern Israel sites, is missing from Yoqne’am. Interestingly, holemouth-jars with thickened rims that first appear in Stratum XIV (*ibid.*: Figs I. 39: 12, I. 69: 4; Zarzecki-Peleg *et al.* 2005: 307) are known in southern Palestine in the Late Iron Age IIA (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 213, Fig. 5: 3).
- (5) Cypriot BoR Ware is most common in Stratum XIV, with a few examples in Strata XIII and XII (Zarzecki-Peleg 2005b: 250–251; Zarzecki-Peleg *et al.* 2005: 334–335). The sherds assigned to Stratum XV also originate in the mixed assemblage in Area B2 (see above) and should be ignored.

The material in Stratum XIV is analogous to the ‘Jezreel Cluster’. Strata XVI and XV, lacking such affinities, might be related to the pre-Jezreel Enclosure horizon. Stratum XIII, which contains mainly pits, might be related to the post-Jezreel Enclosure.

Tel Ta’anach

Iron Age IIA remains at Ta’anach are exposed in Periods IIA and IIB. The Period IIA occupation was apparently erected, after a gap, atop the heavy Iron Age I destruction remains of Period IB (Rast 1978: 4). The remains of the small Period IIA rural settlement were first compared to assemblages from Megiddo VIA and VB and Hazor XI and dated to 1020–960 BCE (*ibid.*: 6). However, a reanalysis of the data, based on the complete vessels of Period IIA, found closer resemblance to Megiddo VB only (Finkelstein 1998a: 215–216).

The Period IIB remains consist primarily of the ‘cultic structure’ (Frick 2000). A large building constructed of ashlar masonry (called ‘Nordostburg’ by Sellin [1904: 21–30]) was uncovered in the northeastern corner of the tell. It was tentatively assigned to the Iron Age IIB (Nigro 1994); the incorporation of vaulted mudbrick cellars in this building (*ibid.*: 174), however, may actually place it in a late 8th century BCE context, following the Assyrian conquest of the region. The current state of information provides no data on additional elements apart from the cultic structure that may be related to the Iron Age IIA at Ta’anach.

The Period IIA ceramic assemblage is limited, and consists mainly of sherds. “The most important innovation of Period IIA is the use of a red slip on...bowls along with the practice of hand burnishing” (Rast 1978: 21). The single indicative complete cooking-jug (Rast 1978: Fig. 21: 5) resembles the IAIIA jugs at Megiddo (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000: Figs. 11.25: 14, 11.38: 1). Following Finkelstein (1998a: 215) we date Period IIA to the IAIIA and not to the IA I. This stratum should be paralleled with the pre-Jezreel Enclosure horizon.

Period IIB, which was destroyed by violent conflagration, revealed a rich pottery repertoire analogous to that of Megiddo VA–IVB (Rast 1978: 56; Finkelstein 1998a: 216), with the following characteristic types:

- (1) Carinated ring-based bowl (Rast 1978: Figs. 45: 1–6, 46: 1–8, 47: 9–14).
- (2) Carinated red-slipped bowl. Two bases, red-slipped inside and out (*ibid.*: Figs. 39: 3, 5), may belong to this type.
- (3) ‘Hippo’ storage jar (*ibid.*: Figs. 34: 1–3).
- (4) Cylindrical holemouth jar (*ibid.*: Fig. 35: 2).
- (5) Cypriot BoR Ware (*ibid.*: Fig. 93: 5–6).
- (6) Amphoriskos (*ibid.*: 1978: Fig. 36: 3–5)

Tel Ta’anach exhibits a continuous ceramic sequence. Period I belongs to the Iron Age I. Period IIA is related to the pre-Jezreel Enclosure phase. Period IIB compares well with the ‘Jezreel Cluster’. The scant pottery from Periods III and IV is similar to that of Period IIB and may represent attempts to reoccupy the site after its destruction and should be assigned to the post-Jezreel Enclosure phase. Period V contains Iron Age IIB material, similar to Megiddo IVA.

Tell el-Far‘ah (N)

Tell el-Far‘ah (N) is commonly identified with biblical Tirzah (Albright 1931). Chambon (1984) reexamined the Iron Age material from de Vaux’s excavations (1947–1962) and renamed and redated the occupational phases as follows (Chambon 1993): Stratum VIIa, represented by an unfortified settlement, 12th–11th centuries BCE; Stratum VIIb, with a rebuilt rampart, 11th–10th centuries BCE; Stratum VIIc, which allegedly consisted of an ‘unfinished building’, early 9th century BCE (the latter phase was associated with the biblical account of Omri’s transfer of his capital from Tirzah to Samaria [1 Kings 16: 23–24]); Stratum VIId, 9th–8th centuries; and Stratum VIIe, 7th century BCE (*ibid.*: 440).

Stratum VIIa consists of several domestic units built of thin walls and is without doubt an unfortified rural settlement.

Stratum VIIb consists of densely-positioned domestic structures, many of the four-room house type. The houses were built in large blocks with a common orientation,

separated by reasonably straight lanes. Chambon's view that the Iron Age II city of Stratum VIIb was protected by the rebuilt Middle Bronze Age fortifications and gate (*ibid.*: 439) is tenuous. Although the foundations of the Middle Bronze city wall and its glacis marked the western edge of the city they could not serve at the above-ground level (Fritz 1995). The western wall of House 149B (Chambon 1984: Pl. V) is clearly built over the line of the old city wall. Nor was the MB city gate reutilized as a gate. The old gate structure was restored in the Iron Age, but its outer entrance was blocked by a wall. Thus, the building was converted into a shrine with a niche at the back wall and with benches erected at either side of the niche (Herzog 1997: 218, Fig. 5.18). In the courtyard, in front of the shrine, a square stone pedestal and a stone basin, both apparently utilized for the outdoor cult ceremonies, were found.

Attributing the 'unfinished building' to Stratum VIIc, supposedly sandwiched between Stratum VIIb and Stratum VIId, was seriously criticized. The remains of this phase were most probably an integral part of Stratum VIId, and should not be attributed to Omri (Weippert 1985; McClellan 1987). Stratum VIId thus consists of a large palatial complex in the north, medium-size domestic units in the centre and smaller houses in the south. This architectural sequence seems to represent a three-tier hierarchy of citizens: a ruling class, wealthy families and poorer families (Herzog 1997: 232). Only the northern sector of the previous palace was rebuilt in Stratum VIIe. The cultic function of the gate was maintained, but the presence of many Assyrian-type pottery vessels may support a 'garrison' role for the site under Assyrian rule (Chambon 1993: 440).

Chambon compared pottery from Stratum VIIa to that of Megiddo VI (Chambon 1984: 12). However, the assemblage from Stratum VIIa is rather small and lacks bowls, making it impossible to determine whether red-slip and hand-burnishing were applied. The jugs (*ibid.*: Pls. 48: 10–11, 18; 49: 3–4, 7) and two pyxides (*ibid.*: Pl. 60: 12, 19) may be parallel to either Megiddo VI or VB. The spouted jug (*ibid.*: Pl. 49: 13) is parallel to vessels in both Megiddo VIA (Loud 1948: Pl. 77: 12; Finkelstein *et al.* 2000: Fig. 11.3: 8) and VA–IVB (Loud 1948: Pl. 19: 106). The krater with multiple handles (Chambon 1984: Pl. 47: 5) seems to belong to Iron Age I, but a small amphoriskos (*ibid.*: 70, Pl. 61: 32) and a black juglet (*ibid.*: Pl. 50: 36) are definitely later than Megiddo VIA.

Stratum VIIb contains the largest corpus of vessels. Typologically the assemblage resembles that of Megiddo VA–IVB, as recognized by Chambon (*ibid.*: 12). The number of bowls is surprisingly meagre, but some are red-slipped and burnished (*ibid.*: Pl. 56: 7, the type of burnish is not specified). Closed kraters with folded rims are also recorded (*ibid.*: Pl. 54: 7), as are cooking-pots with elongated rims (*ibid.*: Pl. 52: 2–4) and with short rims (*ibid.*: Pl. 52: 6–9), as well as black juglets (*ibid.*: Pl. 50: 17–27, 29–32, 34–35, 37). Types of vessels that appear for the first time in this stratum are:

- (1) Rounded-wall bowl with flat base (*ibid.*: Pl. 57: 11).
- (2) Carinated ring-based bowl (*ibid.*: Pl. 56: 18).
- (3) Cylindrical holemouth jars (*ibid.*: Pl. 45: 10–11, 14).
- (4) Large group of Cypriot BoR Ware (*ibid.*: Pl. 62: 1–3, 7–10).
- (5) Amphoriskos (*ibid.*: Pl. 46: 1, 3–4).

Stratum VIIc (including VIIc, as noted) represents an 8th-century assemblage. It is parallel to Stratum IVA at Megiddo and is beyond the scope of the current discussion.

To sum up: Stratum VIIa exhibits a rural occupation that contains pottery with Iron I tradition and some Iron Age IIA affinities. Stratum VIIb, like Megiddo VA–IVB, lacks a fortification system and its pottery corresponds well to the ‘Jezreel Cluster’. The post-Jezreel Enclosure phase is not represented.

Tel Beth Shean

The University of Pennsylvania Expedition (1921–1933) exposed broad areas of the mound but did little to clarify the stratigraphy of the site. The pottery within the two sub-phases of Upper and Lower Stratum V relates to the IAIIA (James 1966). The renewed excavations (1989–1996) by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem Expedition, directed by A. Mazar, uncovered the remains of the Iron Age IIA in Areas S and P (Mazar 2006). Evidence found in Area S pointed to the fact that Layer S-2, the final Iron I layer, was destroyed by fire. The first Iron Age IIA stage, exposed in Stratum S-1b, consists of wall foundations and a stone pavement of a domestic nature (*ibid.*: Fig. 7.1). Evidence showed that the occupation had been abandoned; no destruction layer was found. The pottery consists mainly of sherds.⁷ Stratum S-1b may be correlated to the pre-Jezreel Enclosure horizon.

In Stratum S-1a (*ibid.*: 180–196: Fig. 7.2), four partially-preserved buildings which may be integrated into the quarter exposed by the University of Pennsylvania in Level Upper V (*ibid.*: Fig. 7.5) have been unearthed. Stratum S-1a buildings were constructed of mudbrick on basalt stone foundations. Building A is an outstanding unit crafted of thick walls with wooden beams inserted between the stones and bricks. The location of the building at the eastern edge of the mound may suggest that it served as a watch-tower.

The pottery in Stratum S-1a consists of the following diagnostic types:

- (1) Carinated red-slipped bowl (*ibid.*: Pl. 9: 9).
- (2) Carinated ring-based bowl (*ibid.*: Pl. 9: 10).

⁷ The only two complete vessels assigned to this phase are a cylindrical holemouth jar (*ibid.*: Pl. 7: 5) and an amphoriskos (Mazar 2006: Pl. 8: 6). However, their attribution is questionable since both originate from Locus 88859, defined as ‘topsoil’. Moreover, this locus (Square A/11) is heavily disturbed by pits of later Stratum S-1a (*ibid.*: Plan 7.4). Thus, both vessels might rather be assigned to Stratum S-1a.

- (3) Amphoriskos (*ibid.*: Pl. 8: 6).
- (4) ‘Hippo’ storage jar (*ibid.*: Pls. 10: 2–4, 11: 18–19).
- (5) Cypriot BoR Ware (*ibid.*: Pls. 11: 5–8, 12: 8–9).

The buildings of Stratum S-1a were destroyed in a severe conflagration that burned the bricks into white powder (*ibid.*: 31). The developed nature of the settlement, as well as the pottery typology, position Stratum S-1a at Beth Shean parallel to the Jezreel Enclosure horizon.

A final stage of occupation following shortly after the destruction of Stratum S-1a, may be recognized in the “post-Stratum S-1 remains” (*ibid.*: 197). A plastered silo with some Iron Age IIA sherds (*ibid.*: Pl. 14: 10–12) was dug into the debris of the former level. This may hint at the presence of a post-Jezreel Enclosure phase at Beth Shean.

Tel Rehov

At Tel Rehov, in the southern Beth Shean Valley, Strata VI, V and IV are associated with the Iron Age IIA (Mazar 1999; 2003; Mazar *et al.* 2005). In Area C (Mazar *et al.* 2005: 217–218, Fig. 13.16) several structures of Stratum VI were exposed and all were found void of valuables, suggesting that the settlement had been abandoned, possibly as the result of an earthquake (*ibid.*: 218).

Stratum V is more extensively exposed in Area C and exhibits a partial rebuilding of the Stratum VI structures, with alterations and modifications (*ibid.*: 223, Fig. 13.20). Innovations in this phase include the incorporation of wooden beams into the walls and floors of the buildings. The buildings of Stratum V were severely damaged as a result of a violent conflagration. Stratum IV is considered a reused phase of Stratum V (*ibid.*: 237, Fig. 13.33).

The absolute chronology of Strata VI to IV at Tel Rehov strongly relies on the ¹⁴C date readings. The excavator suggests dates for Stratum VI in the first half of the 10th century (980–950 BCE, *ibid.*: 252). The partial destruction of Stratum V is correlated to Sheshonq I’s campaign. Yet the date of the campaign (925 or 920 BCE) is incompatible with the ¹⁴C findings (910 BCE) for the end of Stratum V (*ibid.*: 252–253). It was assumed that Stratum IV was destroyed during the attacks of Hazael, King of Aram Damascus, *ca.* 840–830 BCE. Yet recently Mazar has also begun considering an earlier 9th-century date for the destruction of Stratum IV (*ibid.*: 254). Finkelstein assigns Strata VI–IV at Tel Rehov to a period extending from the late 10th century to 840–830 BCE (Finkelstein 2004). Finkelstein and Piaetzki (2003c: 287) attribute the destruction of Stratum V to the emerging Northern Kingdom of Israel in the late 10th or early 9th century BCE.

The pottery of Strata VI, V and IV includes the Iron Age IIA typical RSHB Ware:

“There is a modicum of continuity of ceramic types from Stratum VI to V, while the overwhelming majority of ceramic types of Stratum V continue into Stratum IV” (Mazar *et al.* 2005: 243). However, some variation might be noted. ‘Hippo’ storage jars have not been recorded in Stratum VI (*ibid.*: 220), and BoR Cypriot imports are not evident. These two types do appear in Strata V and IV (*ibid.*: 229, 242). Thus Stratum VI seems to represent a slightly earlier phase.

The pottery of both Strata V and IV consists of types known from the ‘Jezreel Cluster’:

- (1) Carinated red-slipped bowl (Mazar *et al.* 2005: Figs. 13.23: 4, 13.35: 7).
- (2) Cylindrical holemouth jar (*ibid.*: Figs. 13.25: 4, 10, 13.37: 8).
- (3) ‘Hippo’ type storage jar (*ibid.*: Figs. 13.25: 1, 5, 13.37: 1).
- (4) Amphoriskos (*ibid.*: Figs. 13.24:11, 13.36: 1).
- (5) Cypriot BoR Ware (*ibid.*: 229, 242).

We suggest assigning Stratum VI to the pre-Jezreel Enclosure horizon and Strata V and IV to the Enclosure horizon. During the post-Jezreel Enclosure phase Tel Rehov apparently was unoccupied.

Hazor

Iron Age occupation was uncovered only in the upper tell. Strata XII and XI should be considered as a single phase of a small rural nature dating to the Iron Age I (Finkelstein 2000a; Ben-Ami 2001). The remains of Stratum X indicate that it was a city fortified by a casemate wall and a six-room city gate. Few domestic units have been uncovered at the eastern end, near the city wall (Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami 1998). The city covers less than half of the size of the upper tell, an area of *ca.* 2.5 ha. The city was reused in four successive strata (XB, XA, IXB, IXA). No evidence of conflagration has been observed, and the ashes found appear to be of a local, apparently industrial nature (*ibid.*: 12).

In Stratum VIII the city extended over the entire upper tell. The old casemate wall at the edges of the mound was filled with soil and the new part was protected by a solid wall. To this stratum, dated by Yadin to the Omrides, are assigned also the citadel at the northern end, a pillared building and the water system (Yadin 1970). Advocates of the ‘low’ chronology attribute the construction of the city of Strata X–IX to the Omrides and Stratum VIII to the conquest of the city by the Kingdom of Aram Damascus in the second half of the 9th century BCE (Finkelstein 1999a).

Stratum XII–XI pottery is Iron Age I in nature (Ben-Ami 2001). The assemblages of Strata X–IX of the renewed excavations have been thoroughly analyzed by Ben-Ami (2003: 64–146), who concludes that the dates first assigned by Yadin *et al.* (1958: 23)—the second half of the 10th and the early 9th century BCE—should be maintained for these strata. Scholars have claimed that the typological affinities of

the pottery assemblages in the northern Jordan Valley are different from those in the Jezreel Valley (Finkelstein 1999a: 55; Ben-Ami 2003: 113). Thus, Ben-Ami claims that the slipped and burnished bowls are not dominant at Hazor (2003: 123). But according to our count, of 169 published bowls (mostly rim fragments), 26.6% are slipped and burnished. When burnished bowls without slip are added the amount grows to 36%. Thus this method of surface treatment was quite well-known at Hazor, although it was less popular than in the south of the country (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 211).⁸

The vessels associated with the 'Jezreel Cluster' first appear in Stratum X:

- (1) Rounded bowl with flat base (Stratum XB, Yadin *et al.* 1961: Pl. CLXXI: 2–3, 5).
- (2) Carinated red-slipped bowl (Ben-Ami 2003: Fig. 40: 7–8).
- (3) 'Hippo'-type storage jar that continues into later strata (*ibid.*: 135–136).
- (4) Storage jar with carinated shoulder (Ben-Tor *et al.* 1997: Fig. I.1: 9).
- (5) Cylindrical holemouth jar, comprising about 10% of all storage jars found in Strata X–IX (Ben-Ami 2003: 134, Fig. 26: 1–2).
- (6) Cypriot BoR Ware appears starting in Stratum XB and onwards (*ibid.*: 145, Fig. 29: 6–10).

Hence, we may safely assert that Hazor X–IX contains the majority of pottery types within the 'Jezreel Cluster'.

The pottery assemblage of Stratum VIII contains some types that carry on the former tradition, like the 'hippo' storage jars (Yadin *et al.* 1960: Pl. LX: 1, 6) and cylindrical holemouth jars (*ibid.*: Pl. LXI: 1–13). However, other Strata X–IX types, such as hand-burnished bowls, are missing from the Stratum VIII assemblage. More significant is the appearance in Stratum VIII of new types that continue in subsequent layers. To this category belong bowls and cooking-pots with short rims and two handles (Yadin *et al.* 1989: 237–239). The decanter (Yadin *et al.* 1960: Pl. LVIII: 16, although it is more popular in Stratum VII) and the elongated storage jar (Yadin *et al.* 1961: Pl. CCXVI: 9) also begin to appear in Stratum VIII. Accordingly, as is correctly observed by Ben-Ami (2003: 106), Stratum VIII consists of pottery vessels considerably different from those found on floors of Strata X–IX. This conclusion, based on the abundant material from the recent excavations at Hazor, refutes the

⁸ In the Hazor reports published by the Yadin Expedition the description of the pottery plates does not define the type of burnish, whether it was made by hand or on the wheel. Only occasionally is it marked as 'irregular', a term applied to the hand-burnish treatment. Moreover, in some cases, when the rim fragment is small, the hand burnish may appear in parallel lines, although the bottom of the bowl would have been clearly hand-burnished. Thus, we may assume that part of the observations published in the earlier reports might be erroneous. Locus 3281, assigned to Stratum IX, which allegedly contained both hand- and wheel-burnished bowls (Yadin *et al.* 1961: Pl. CCVIII), was defined as a mixed locus of Strata X–VB (Yadin *et al.* 1989: 118).

claim by Aharoni and Amiran (1958) that the major shift at Hazor occurred between Strata VIII and VII. The Stratum VIII assemblage is completely different from the 'Jezreel Cluster' and therefore must postdate it.

The absolute date of the transition between Strata IX and VIII is, of course, related to the chronological debate. Ben-Tor (2000) agrees with Yadin's claim that Hazor IX was destroyed by Ben-Hadad and that Stratum VIII was erected by Ahab in the first half of the 9th century BCE. Finkelstein, on the other hand, suggests assigning the destruction of Hazor IX to Hazael in about 840–830 BCE, and claims that Strata VIII and VII were built and ruled by the Aramaeans (Finkelstein 1999a). Our typological observations point to a contemporaneity between the end of Hazor IX and the end of the Jezreel Enclosure. Stratum VIII signifies the transition to the new era of Iron Age IIB. Neither the pre-'Jezreel Cluster' nor the post-'Jezreel Cluster' phase were detected at Hazor. The site may have been deserted during these periods.

Horvat Rosh Zayit

The isolated building erected on a low hill at Horvat Rosh Zayit in western Galilee has been interpreted as a 10th-century BCE fort (Gal and Alexandre 2000). The first occupation, below the fort, consists of a few thin walls and a cistern (Stratum III), apparently of a local farmhouse. The main building, *ca.* 24 × 22 m, was erected in Stratum IIb and reused in IIa. Stratum I is a partial reoccupation of the ruined fort by squatters (*ibid.*: 23). The excavators date Stratum III to 1000–960 BCE, Stratum IIb to 960–920 BCE, Stratum IIa to 920–880 BCE and Stratum I to 880–860 BCE (*ibid.*: 8).

The excavators' conjecture that the fort was strengthened in Stratum IIa by the addition of Wall 62 on the western side of the building seems erroneous. The wall is constructed as a retaining wall with no clear-cut eastern edge. It should be interpreted, therefore, as a foundation for an approach ramp leading toward Entry-Room 20 (*ibid.*: Plan 5). Accordingly, the reconstruction of the only possible approach into the fort by means of a ladder (*ibid.*: Fig. II: 16) may be abandoned. The blocking of the entrance by Wall 24 should be attributed to its reuse in Stratum I.

The pottery assemblage of Stratum III is small and exhibits both Iron Age I and Iron Age IIA traditions, such as cooking-pots with triangular rims (*ibid.*: Fig. III.1: 12–18). Compared with Stratum II, Stratum III contains a greater number of painted vessels and the bowls are less carinated. Typical Stratum II types like the cooking-pot with pinched triangular rim, and the 'hippo' storage jar do not exist yet (*ibid.*: 150–151). Among the bowls several are red-slipped and only a single fragment is both red-slipped and hand-burnished (*ibid.*: Fig. III. 1: 10). The single cooking-jug

(*ibid.*: Fig. III.1: 19) resembles those of Iron Age IIA at Megiddo (Finkelstein *et al.* 2000: Figs. 11.25: 14; 11.38: 1). The overall impression is that Stratum III is earlier than the 'Jezreel Cluster'.⁹

The assemblage in Stratum II is exceptionally rich. Both phases are discussed together, and most of the pottery is attributed to the later, IIA phase. The majority of bowls is neither red-slipped nor hand-burnished, although this technique does exist (Gal and Alexandre 2000: 34, 38). The 'Jezreel Cluster' is represented in Stratum II by:

- (1) Carinated red-slipped bowl (*ibid.*: 36, Fig. III.74: 12).
- (2) 'Hippo' storage jar (*ibid.*: 44–48, Figs. III. 16:17, III.76: 6, 7, III.80: 16–18, III.83: 10–12, III.86: 10–12, III.88: 1, 2, 4, 5, III.90: 2, 4, III.92: 3, III.93: 8–13, III.122: 5–6);
- (3) Cylindrical holemouth jar (*ibid.*: 53–54, Figs. III:26, III.80: 15, III.85: 26, III.90: 1, III.95: 17).
- (4) Large group of Cypriot BoR Ware is represented by bowls, jugs and juglets (*ibid.*: 68–78).

The pottery in Stratum II is clearly comparable to the 'Jezreel Cluster'. The Stratum I material is similar to that of Stratum IIA and may represent the post-Jezreel Enclosure phase.¹⁰ Stratum III, although lacking definite types, might be associated with the pre-Jezreel horizon.

Tel Dor

The excavations at Tel Dor yielded a variegated archaeological repertoire of the Iron I and early phases of Iron II. The stratigraphical sequence is exposed in several areas and the correlation between the areas is expressed by 'horizons' (Gilboa and Sharon 2003: 10–11, and Table 1). The latest Iron Age I occupation, Horizon Ir1b in Area D2 (local Strata 10–9), consists of remains of three 'large public structures', two of which were built using massive limestone boulders. This phase is defined by the excavators as a "real" town, although it apparently was not fortified by a city wall (*ibid.*, n. 2).

The Horizon Ir1/2 is described as a "transitional" phase, both in terms of ceramic typology and settlement pattern. The nature of the occupation is maintained in the subsequent phases. The large buildings in Area D2, as well as the domestic quarters

⁹ Two sherds, one a BoR bowl (Gal and Alexandre 2000: Fig. III. 3:5) that originated in Cistern 80 (a rock-cut cistern) and another a cylindrical holemouth jar (*ibid.*: Fig. III. 3: 1) from Locus 83 (defined as "not in use", see List of Loci, *ibid.*: 241) that might have been correlated with the Jezreel Cluster do not necessarily belong to Stratum III. These sherds are most probably intrusive.

¹⁰ The excavators even suggest that the occupants of Stratum I reused vessels from the remains of the previous phase (mainly from Locus 88) (*ibid.*: 141).

in Areas B1 and G, were continuously rebuilt in both Horizon Ir1/2 and Ir2a (*ibid.*: 10–11).

While the pottery of these phases was discussed in much detail (Gilboa 1989; 1999), and the dates were established through numerous ¹⁴C readings (Gilboa and Sharon 2001; 2003), the Iron Age IIA assemblages at Dor exhibit local traits unlike those found in inland regions. Consequently, the correlation with other sites is achieved not by local types but primarily through comparison of imported Phoenician and Cypriot vessels. Based on the ¹⁴C readings the Dor excavators suggest an ‘ultra low’ chronology. They terminate Horizon Ir1b at 880 BCE (conventionally at 1000/980 BCE). They date Horizon Ir1/2 at 880–850 BCE, and Ir2a after 850 (see their summary, *ibid.*: Table 21).¹¹

Horizon Ir1b consists of forms that resemble those of Megiddo Stratum VIA. Horizon Ir1/2 apparently corresponds to the pre-‘Jezreel Cluster’ phase. The pottery in Stratum Ir2a is the first to contain Cypriot BoR Ware and thus might be parallel to the ‘Jezreel Cluster’.

SUB-PHASES OF THE IRON AGE IIA IN THE NORTH

The termination of Iron Age I was accompanied by major destruction at many sites: Megiddo VIA, Yoqne‘am XVII, Beth Shean Upper VI, Tel Hadar IV, Tel Kinnerot V, Ta‘anach IB (Finkelstein 1998a: 208). In the wake of the extensive devastation came a new cultural milieu with a novel settlement pattern and pottery types, termed the Iron Age IIA. RSHB Ware, observed throughout the country, became an important indicator of the Iron Age IIA.

The combined analysis of the typological affinities and the stratigraphical observations suggests the identification of three sub-phases with this period:

Phase I: Early Iron Age IIA

The first phase of this era is recognizable by the presence of rural settlements comprised mainly of domestic buildings. This phase is observed in the pre-Jezreel Enclosure occupation (represented only by pottery in the fill), at Megiddo VB, Ta‘anach IIA, Yoqne‘am XVI–XV, Ḥorvat Rosh Zayit III, Tell el-Far‘ah (N) VIIa, Tel Rehov VI and possibly at Tel Dor Ir1/2. Lack of fortifications or monumental architecture demonstrates the embryonic stage of socio-economic complexity within the communities. The pottery of this phase displays the Iron Age I tradition, such as kraters with thickened rims, although major trends such as painted ware of the Late Bronze Age style, Philistine style or cyma-shaped bowls are missing. The dominant

¹¹ More cautiously they state in the text: “One can say with 95 percent certainty that the beginning of the Ir2a is somewhere between 900 and 825 B.C.” (Gilboa and Sharon 2003: 60).

new trends include abundant red-slipped and hand-burnished ware (mainly on bowls and kraters), carinated bowls, a new type of cooking-jug (with convex rim), elongated storage jars (with simple rim) and black juglets.

The settlements occupied during the first phase did not suffer from violent destruction but show a process of socio-economic progress as they were rebuilt or remodelled into more developed settlements. We call this occupational phase the 'pre-Jezreel Enclosure' horizon. We label the pottery assemblage of this stage the pre-'Jezreel Cluster' and term the period 'Early Iron Age IIA'.

Phase II: Late Iron Age IIA

This is the flourishing phase of the period, evidenced by large palatial structures and prosperous communities. The planning of an orthogonal, large-scale enclosure erected over artificially-levelled platforms, as in Samaria and Jezreel, manifests the highest degree of site planning (Herzog 1992: 247–248). This 'Omride Architecture' exhibits a unified planning concept as well as high-quality dressed-stone masonry (Finkelstein 2000b). Similar, although with lesser investment, are the structures exposed in the city of Hazor X. A possible enclosure was also suggested at Gezer VIII (Herzog 1997: Fig. 5.17). Smaller palatial enclosures, though still impressive in the high quality of their masonry, are seen at Megiddo VA–IVB. Most probably only Palace 6000, erected near the city gate, was used, while the construction of southern Palace 1723 and surrounding Courtyard 1693 were not completed. The full extent of the casemate wall at Yoqne'am XIV is unknown; it might not have encompassed the full circumference of the mound. In addition, the date and the details of the water system there must await further clarification. At Tell el-Far'ah (N) VIIb, the exposed part of the mound includes spacious dwellings that housed the local elite. The excavated areas at Tel Rehov V–IV and Ta'anach IIB revealed fragments of domestic units.

The documented remains of this phase suggest that military interests were not a major concern of the rulers in the region. The enclosures at Samaria, Jezreel, Yoqne'am and Hazor were protected by casemate walls—a method employed to lower construction costs. Casemate walls required less construction material and labour than solid walls, and the space between the walls was available for storage. On the downside, casemates were weaker due to their thinner outer wall. Megiddo, Tell el-Far'ah (N), Tel Rehov and apparently Ta'anach had no fortifications whatsoever. Apart from a tentative installation at Yoqne'am, no water-supply systems have been attributed to the settlements of this phase.

Outstanding features of this phase are the ceremonial artefacts unearthed at several sites, mostly in domestic contexts. These include the extraordinary clay stands at Ta'anach (Beck 1994), a rich deposit of 'cult objects' including limestone altars and

offering stands, found in Building 2081 at Megiddo (Loud 1948: 45–46), a pottery altar (or ‘cult stand’) in Building H of Stratum V and a ‘model shrine’ in Building F in Stratum IV at Tel Rehov (Mazar *et al.* 2005: 224, 238). ‘Cult stands’ of stone and clay were also uncovered at Tel ‘Amal (Levy and Edelstein 1972). At Tell el-Far‘ah (N) Stratum VIIb, a terra-cotta model of a temple was found (Chambon 1993: 439) and the Middle Bronze Age city gate was rebuilt as a shrine (Herzog 1997: 218). The bountiful appearance of ceremonial or ‘cultic’ remains in this phase indicates the social elite’s aspiration to demonstrate and maintain its high status. This end was apparently achieved through enticing the upper class with ceremonial feasts and offering foodstuffs and drinks in a perfumed atmosphere. The consolidation of the managerial elite in many settlements in this phase is expressed by palatial residences and ceremonial cultic objects. The Cypriot BoR Ware points to commercial contacts with Cyprus and reflects the prosperity of the phase.

We identify the second phase of the Iron Age IIA as exhibiting the cultural horizon of the Jezreel Enclosure and label its pottery the ‘Jezreel Cluster’. The pottery assemblages of this phase contain types that continue from the earlier stage, mainly the RSHB treatment on open vessels. Very significant are the types that made their first appearance at this stage. The second phase constitutes the central part of the Iron Age IIA. We term it the ‘Late Iron Age IIA’ period.

Phase III: Late Iron Age IIA (Final Stage)

The third phase of the Iron Age IIA exhibits an overall decline. A few sites remained unsettled while others were occupied by squatters or small rural villages. The pottery found in the resettled occupations is similar to that of the ‘Jezreel Cluster’, and should thus be assigned as the ‘Final Stage of the Late Iron Age IIA’. Re-occupation over the ruined settlements is recorded at Ḥorvat Rosh Zayit I, Ta‘anach III–IV and Yoqne‘am XIII and probably at Tel Jezreel. An occupational gap is suggested at Megiddo (Finkelstein 1999a: 63), at Hazor and possibly at Tell el-Far‘ah (N) and Tel Rehov.

The sequence of the three phases of Iron Age IIA is presented in Table 1.

CHRONOLOGY

The ‘Jezreel Cluster’ represents a reliably-dated short-period assemblage of the Omride kings in the first half of the 9th century BCE. The termination of the Iron Age IIA in association with the military campaign of Hazael, King of Aram, has been accepted by supporters of both the ‘high’ and ‘low’ chronology (Finkelstein 1999a; 2000a; Mazar 2003).

TABLE 1. STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF SITES IN NORTHERN ISRAEL

<i>Period</i>	<i>Early IAIIA</i>	<i>Late IAIIA</i>	<i>IAIIB**</i>	
<i>Site</i> \ <i>Horizon</i>	Pre-Jezreel Enclosure	Jezreel Enclosure	Post-Jezreel Enclosure	
Jezreel	Village	Enclosure	Squatters?	-----
Megiddo	VB	VA–IVB	Gap	IVA
Yoqne'am	XVI–XV	XIV	XIII	XII
Ta'anach	IIA	IIB	III–IV	V
Tell el- Far'ah (N)	VIIa	VIIb	Gap?	VIIc–VIId
Tel Beth Shean	S-1b	S-1a	Post-S-1	P-8a-b, P-7
Tel Rehov	VI	V–IV	Gap*	III*
Hazor	Gap	X–IX	Gap	VIII–VII
Horvat Rosh Zayit	III?	II	I	Village
Tel Dor	Ir1/2	Ir2A	?	Occupational Remains*

* Tentative observation; no pottery yet published.

** 8th century BCE Pre-Assyrian domination.

Although Pharaoh Sheshonq's campaign no longer marks the end of the Iron Age IIA, even for supporters of the 'high' chronology such as Mazar, scholars continue their search for the destruction layers caused by this event (Finkelstein 1996; 2002; Mazar 2005). In our treatment of southern Israel we maintained that the assumption that Sheshonq systematically destroyed settlements should be reconsidered (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 233). Destruction of settlements would have been counter-productive to Egyptian interests. Indeed we accept that the Sheshonq stele at Megiddo was erected in a living city (Ussishkin 1990: 71–74) and that no destructions should be sought for Sheshonq's campaign in most of the cities listed by him (Na'aman 1998: 29–30). This conclusion is attested also in the excavations at sites such as Arad XII, Beersheba VII and Tel Masos II, as well as numerous sites in the Negev Highlands. All these settlements bear no signs of comprehensive destruction, thus indicating piecemeal abandonment (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004). We believe with Clancy (e.g., 1999: 19) that the campaign was a "large raid rather than a conquest" aimed at reestablishing Egyptian hegemony over the trade routes and retrieving the economic benefits of taxes and labour by the local population (Ahlström 1993). The same claim holds in the north. The occupational layers that belong to the pre-Jezreel Enclosure

horizon show no extensive conflagration. Since this early stage should date to the pre-Omrade phase, we may conclude that in northern Israel as well Sheshonq did not wreak systematic and comprehensive devastation.

The absolute dates for the three phases follow the same chronology proposed for the southern regions (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004). The Early Iron Age IIA should cover the second half of the 10th century BCE, the central or main phase of the Late Iron Age IIA should date from the beginning of the 9th century until *ca.* 840/830 BCE and the final phase of the Late Iron Age IIA should cover the last third of the 9th century BCE. The shift to Iron Age IIB should be rounded to 800 BCE.

For our purposes, the essential difference between the south and the north is the presence in the north of the decline phase at the end of Late Iron Age IIA. This is a phase that does not materialize in the south and may well point to a divergence in the processes that generated the social and cultural change expressed archaeologically by the transition from Iron Age IIA to Iron Age IIB. If 840/830 BCE is acknowledged as the date for the massive devastation of the cities in northern Palestine, the final stage of the Late Iron Age IIA should represent a phase of oppression of the Kingdom of Israel by the Aramaeans in the late 9th (or even in early 8th) century BCE. The Iron Age IIB should thus be assigned to the 8th century BCE, until the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 721 BCE.

STATE FORMATION IN ISRAEL

Comparison of the processes that led to state formation in Judah and Israel is most revealing. The first stage of the Early Iron Age IIA is quite similar in both the north and south. The settlements are rather small, rural and lack fortifications and the advanced structures of a social elite are not apparent. Aside from Megiddo VB, the concept of the 'enclosed settlement', dominant in this phase in the south, is unknown in the north. Possibly the concern for protecting settlements against hostile neighbours was stronger in the south than in the north.

The transition from the Early Iron Age IIA to the Late Iron Age IIA in the south was explained by a possible combination of triggers: the economic burden that followed Egyptian control of the region, the degeneration of climatic conditions, economic insufficiency and, apparently, political conflicts. The resulting pattern led to the creation of fortified cities and fortresses such as Lachish IV, Beersheba V and Arad XI. The solid city walls and the complex city gates show the predominance of military concern in this region (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004).

The picture in the north is different. Impressive monuments rather than fortifications are dominant. Prosperous settlements are established throughout the region, most protected by a casemate city wall that was by far less strong and required less investment in labour and materials than the solid city walls of their southern

counterparts. On the other hand, a considerable effort in the north was invested in the construction of palatial and administrative structures for the managerial class. The large enclosures built at Samaria, Jezreel, Hazor and possibly Yoqne'am, as well as Palace 6000 and the unfinished Palace 1723 at Megiddo and the wealthy quarter at Tell el Far'ah (N), all indicate the prosperity enjoyed by the nobility. Many of the structures were built of costly ashlar masonry, indicating their owners' attempts to display their high social status. The abundant ceremonial-cultic remains recorded in the settlements of this phase further illuminate this tendency to flaunt.

The palatial and ceremonial remains found in the northern settlements reflect the rise of a competitive managerial elite. This process may have led to the emergence of small, independent city-states, as was the case in the coastal regions of Phoenicia and Philistia. Possibly, this old tradition of rival cities is preserved in the biblical report on the 'wandering' of the capital in the Northern Kingdom, from Shechem (1 Kings 12: 25) to Peniel (*ibid.*) to Tirzah (1 Kings 14: 17) and finally to Samaria (1 Kings 16: 23–24). The consolidation of a unified state in Israel, with Samaria as the capital, probably resulted from rivalry over domination of the fertile lands in the northern Jordan Valley.

There is no justification to the claim that the process of state formation in Judah lagged 150 years behind that of Israel (Finkelstein 1999b). The two independent processes in the Kingdoms of Judah and in Israel should be seen as concurrent. The difference in the conditions that generated the establishment of state seems to reflect two different causes. The Kingdom of Judah, with its military emphasis, was formed as a reaction to harsh conditions resulting from environmental and economic pressure (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004). The Northern Kingdom of Israel, with its emphasis on ceremonial apparatus and monumental architecture, reflects prosperity—a situation brought about by favourable climate and the arable soils of the region, as well as the apparent economic rewards of trade with Phoenicia and Cyprus. These varied processes support the claim (Yoffee 2005) that state formation is a particular phenomenon.

The final phase of the Late Iron Age IIA, the 'post-Jezreel Enclosure' horizon, is, due to disparate geographical circumstances, evident only in the north. While termination of the Late Iron Age IIA in the south was probably linked to a major earthquake early in the 8th century BCE, no such catastrophe occurred in the northern regions. The north, however, did suffer from continuous conflicts between the Kingdoms of Israel and Aram, conflicts that resulted in the devastation of its major cities about 840/830 BCE. This fate apparently was also shared by cities such as Dor on the Coastal Plain and Gath in the Shephelah, but did not affect cities in the Kingdom of Judah.

What model of state formation may be observed in the IAIIA phases in northern Israel? The nature of archaic state and the dynamics of its formation are continuously

debated. Well-known sociological concepts have been adapted to provide an adequate interpretation of the phenomenon.

One model is Max Weber's 'partimomial state'. This concept conceives of the pre-modern state as the extended personal household of a ruler exercising traditional authority (Weber 1968). This concept was adapted by scholars who wished to justify the modest institutional character of the 'United Monarchy' as revealed by archaeological research (Master 2001; Stager 2003; see also Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1996, with reservations).

Another model used to identify the ancient state was Antonio Gramsci's concept of 'Hegemony' (Gramsci 2000). This approach was advocated by Routledge (2004), notwithstanding the fact that Gramsci's work focused on the modern state (*ibid.*: 38–40). Hegemony is a process of rule made possible by the coercive and consensual elements of state power. Yet, the hegemony theory perceives state hegemony as an effect of a specific project carried out by specific actors within the framework of a historical bloc. Viewed from the long-term perspective of archaeology, state formation is striking in its inconsistency.

The diverse settings for the emergence of the archaic state led to the conclusion, presented forcefully by Yoffee (2005). He rejects 'the myth' of a universal process leading to the archaic state, and claims that its emergence resulted from particular situations. In line with this, we believe that the Iron Age polities that emerged in the early 1st millennium BCE in the southern Levant should be viewed against their environmental and geo-political setting. The particular path to statehood observed in the archaeological record in the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel provides a solid affirmation for the theory of variegated evolution.

Our study of the phases of the Iron Age IIA in the north suggests a new understanding of the dynamics of state formation in Israel as revealed by stratigraphical and typological analysis. The division of the period into three sub-phases illuminates the specific case of the Kingdom of Israel, and provides—along with our discussion of the Kingdom of Judah—a satisfactory solution for the chronological debate.

ADDENDUM

The article by Fantalkin and Finkelstein in the most recent issue of *Tel Aviv* (Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006) appeared after the present paper was submitted for publication. Since that paper questions some of our views presented in an earlier article relating to the IAIIA in Southern Palestine (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004) we wish to add here a few remarks.

First, we are pleased that Fantalkin and Finkelstein accepted and adopted our suggested sub-division of the Iron Age IIA into Early IAIIA and Late IAIIA. However, we disagree with their main claim that the ‘Tel Masos Chiefdom’ represented by Stratum II at Tel Masos had already been erected in the Iron Age I. The following points clearly refute their view.

Pottery Typology of Iron Age I and Early IAIIA

We feel that Fantalkin and Finkelstein failed to acknowledge the profound typological criteria of the Iron Age IIA that distinguish this period from the Iron Age I. As we clearly pointed out in our study, the Early IAIIA assemblage does consist of vessels that continue the Iron Age I tradition, but that there are significant innovative elements that signify the changeover into a new period (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 210). An additional profound marker of Iron Age IIA is the dominance of the RSHB pottery. The beginning of the occupation in Tel Masos took place in Iron I, but this phase was exposed in Stratum III, which contained only insignificant amounts of pottery of this type. The Iron I assemblage of Stratum III at Tel Masos cannot—and should not—be confused with the Early IAIIA of Stratum II. Relying on the evidence of pottery sherds from Stratum II (Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006: 20) contradicts a recent statement by one of the authors: “...I tried to concentrate on vessels, as sherds can surface from earlier occupation layers. This is especially true for Ḥirbet el-Mešāš, where sherds from Stratum III may contaminate the assemblage of Stratum II” (Finkelstein 2002: 118). Consequently, the attempt to divide the homogeneous pottery assemblages in Stratum II at Tel Masos and the Negev Highland sites to both Iron Age I and Iron Age IIA without any stratigraphical basis opposes the elementary rules of artefact association.

Not surprising is the discrepancy into which Fantalkin and Finkelstein are dragged as a result of their erroneous typological judgement. On the one hand, the end of Iron Age I occurred “sometime in the mid-10th century BCE” (2006: 21), but on the other hand they date the beginning of the Iron Age IIA to the late 10th century (*ibid.*: 21). What happened in between? These missing details are precisely the period we assigned as the first part of the Early Iron IIA (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2005).

Arad XII and Sheshonq I

Even more problematic is their attempt to dissociate Stratum XII at Tel Arad from Sheshonq I’s list. This diametrically contradicts the blunt statement on the importance of the correlation between Sheshonq’s list and Arad XII as “In fact, Arad XII is the only stratum in Israel which can be securely associated with the Sheshonq campaign” (Finkelstein 2002: 114; see also 1996: 181). The cultural assemblages of Masos II, Arad XII and the Negev Highland settlements comprise a coherent and integrated occupational phase. Fantalkin and Finkelstein acknowledge the association of the settlements (including Arad XII) with the Sheshonq list

(*ibid.*: 19), so how could Arad XII be dated only *after* Sheshonq's campaign, in the late 10th century?

Chronology of Early and Late IAIIA

We were pleased to note that Fantalkin and Finkelstein accepted our view that the Sheshonq I campaign did not destroy the occupational wave of Early IAIIA in the south (Herzog 2002: 92–93, Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 232–233). This observation supports our dating of the Early IAIIA to a period extending slightly before the Sheshonq I campaign and slightly after it, in the second half of the 10th century.

Fantalkin and Finkelstein wrongly attribute to us an observation that “because of the intensity of building activity in the Late IAIIA...this phase must be allotted a longer time span” (Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006: 18). We never made such a claim and actually we strongly oppose a view that correlates the intensity of construction with the duration of a settlement. A massively built city could have fallen to disaster a few years after its completion.

Finally, the termination of the Late IAIIA was dated by us to the late 9th or early 8th century BCE (Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 230), corresponding to the rounded date of 800 BCE advocated by Fantalkin and Finkelstein (2006: 24).

REFERENCES

- Aharoni, Y. and Amiran, R. 1958. A New Scheme for the Sub-Division of the Iron Age in Palestine. *IEJ* 8: 171–184.
- Ahlström, G.W. 1993. Pharaoh Shoshenq's Campaign to Palestine. In: Lemaire, A. and Otzen, B., eds. *History and Traditions of Early Israel*. Leiden: 1–16.
- Albright, W.F. 1931. The Site of Tirzah and the Topography of Western Manasseh. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 11: 241–251.
- Alexandre, Y. 1995. The ‘Hippo’ Jar and Other Storage Jars at Hurvat Rosh Zayit. *Tel Aviv* 22: 77–88.
- Beck, P. 1994. The Cult-Stands from Taanach: Aspects of the Iconographic Tradition of Early Iron Age Cult Objects in Palestine. In: Finkelstein, I. and Na'aman, N., eds. *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*. Jerusalem: 352–382.
- Ben-Ami, D. 2001. The Iron Age I at Tel Hazor in Light of the Renewed Excavations. *IEJ* 51: 48–170.
- Ben-Ami, D. 2003. *The Galilee and the Hula Valley during the Early Iron Age II: The Characteristics of the Material Culture in Northern Israel in View of*

- the Recent Excavations at Tel Hazor* (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University). Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Ben-Tor, A. 2000. Hazor and the Chronology of Northern Israel: A Reply to Israel Finkelstein. *BASOR* 317: 9–15.
- Ben-Tor, A. and Ben-Ami, D. 1998. Hazor and the Archaeology of the Tenth Century B.C.E. *IEJ* 48: 1–37.
- Ben-Tor, A., Bonfil, R., Garfinkel, Y., Greenberg, R., Maeir, A.M. and Mazar, A. 1997. *Hazor V: An Account of the Fifth Season of Excavation, 1968*. Jerusalem.
- Boaretto, E., Jull, A.J.T., Gilboa, A. and Sharon, I. 2005. Dating the Iron Age I/II Transition in Israel: First Intercomparison Results. *Radiocarbon* 47: 39–55.
- Bruins, H.J., van der Plicht, J. and Mazar, A. 2003a. ¹⁴C Dates from Tel Rehov: Iron Age Chronology, Pharaohs, and Hebrew Kings. *Science* 300: 315–318.
- Bruins, H.J., van der Plicht, J. and Mazar, A. 2003b. Response to Comment on ‘¹⁴C Dates from Tel Rehov: Iron-Age Chronology, Pharaohs, and Hebrew Kings’. *Science* 302: 568c.
- Chambon, A. 1984. *Tell el-Far‘ah I: l’âge du Fer*. Paris.
- Chambon, A. 1993. Far‘ah, Tell el-(North): Late Bronze Age to the Roman Period. *NEAEHL* 2: 439–440.
- Clancy, F. 1999. Shishak/Shoshenq’s Travels. *JSOT* 86: 3–23.
- Fantalkin, A. and Finkelstein, I. 2006. The Sheshonq I Campaign and the 8th-Century-BCE Earthquake—More on the Archaeology and History of the South in the Iron I–IIA. *Tel Aviv* 33: 18–42.
- Finkelstein, I. 1996. The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View. *Levant* 28: 177–187.
- Finkelstein, I. 1998a. Notes on the Stratigraphy and Chronology of Iron Age Ta‘anach. *Tel Aviv* 25: 208–218.
- Finkelstein, I. 1998b. Bible Archaeology or Archaeology of Palestine in the Iron Age? A Rejoinder. *Levant* 30: 167–173.
- Finkelstein, I. 1999a. Hazor and the North in the Iron Age: A Low Chronology Perspective. *BASOR* 314: 55–70.
- Finkelstein, I. 1999b. State Formation in Israel and Judah, A Contrast in Context, A Contrast in Trajectory. *NEA* 62: 35–52.
- Finkelstein, I. 2000a. Hazor XII–XI. With an Addendum on Ben-Tor’s Dating of Hazor X–VII. *Tel Aviv* 27: 231–247.
- Finkelstein, I. 2000b. Omride Architecture. *ZDPV* 116: 114–138.
- Finkelstein, I. 2002. The Campaign of Shoshenq I to Palestine: A Guide to the 10th Century BCE Polity. *ZDPV*: 118: 109–135.
- Finkelstein, I. 2004. Tel Rehov and Iron Age Chronology. *Levant* 36: 181–188.
- Finkelstein, I. 2005. From Canaanites to Israelites: When, How and Why. In:

- Liverani, M., ed. *Recenti Tendenze nella Ricostruzione della Storia Antica d'Israele (Roma, 6–7 marzo 2003)*. Rome: 11–27.
- Finkelstein, I. and Piasezky, E. 2003a. Recent Radiocarbon Results and King Solomon. *Antiquity* 77(298): 771–779.
- Finkelstein, I. and Piasezky, E. 2003b. Comment on “¹⁴C Dates from Tel Rehov: Iron-Age Chronology, Pharaohs, and Hebrew Kings”. *Science* 302: 568b.
- Finkelstein, I. and Piasezky, E. 2003c. Wrong and Right: High and Low. ¹⁴C Dates from Tel Rehov and Iron Age Chronology. *Tel Aviv* 30: 283–295.
- Finkelstein, I., Zimhoni, O. and Kafri, A. 2000. The Iron Age Pottery Assemblages from Areas F, K and H and Their Stratigraphic and Chronological Implications. In: Finkelstein, I., Ussishkin, D. and Halpern, B., eds. *Megiddo III. The 1992–1996 Seasons* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University No. 18). Tel Aviv: 244–324.
- Frick, F.S. 2000. *Tell Taanek 1963–1968, IV/2: The Iron Age Cultic Structure*. Birzeit.
- Fritz, V. 1995. *The City in Ancient Israel*. Sheffield.
- Gal, Z. and Alexandre, Y. 2000. *Horbat Rosh Zayit: An Iron Age Storage Fort and Village* (IAA Reports 8). Jerusalem.
- Gilboa, A. 1989. New Finds at Tel Dor and the Beginning of Cypro-Geometric Pottery Import to Palestine. *IEJ* 39: 204–218.
- Gilboa, A. 1999. The Dynamics of Phoenician Bichrome Pottery: A View from Tel Dor. *BASOR* 316: 1–22.
- Gilboa, A. and Sharon, I. 2001. Early Iron Age Radiometric Dates from Tel Dor: Preliminary Implications for Phoenicia, and Beyond. *Radiocarbon* 43: 1343–1351.
- Gilboa, A. and Sharon, I. 2003. An Archaeological Contribution to the Early Iron Age Chronological Debate: Alternative Chronologies for Phoenicia and Their Effects on the Levant, Cyprus and Greece. *BASOR* 332: 7–80.
- Gramsci, A. 2000. *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916–1935*. New York.
- Herzog, Z. 1986. *Das Stadttor in Israel und in den Nachbarländern*. Mainz.
- Herzog, Z. 1992. Settlement and Fortification Planning in the Iron Age. In: Kempinski, A. and Reich, R., eds. *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*. Jerusalem: 231–274.
- Herzog, Z. 1997. *Archaeology of the City: Urban Planning in Ancient Israel and Its Social Implications* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University No. 13). Tel Aviv.
- Herzog, Z. 2002. The Fortress Mound at Tel Arad: An Interim Report. *Tel Aviv* 29: 3–109.

- Herzog, Z. and Singer-Avitz, L. 2004. Redefining the Centre: the Emergence of State in Judah. *Tel Aviv* 31: 209–244.
- James, F.W. 1966. *The Iron Age at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VI–IV* (University Monographs). Philadelphia.
- Kempinski, A. 1989. *Megiddo: A City-State and Royal Centre in North Israel*. Munich.
- Kitchen, K.A. 2001. The Shoshenqs of Egypt and Palestine. *JSOT* 93: 3–12.
- Lamon, R.S. and Shipton, G.M. 1939. *Megiddo I: Seasons of 1925–34, Strata I–V* (Oriental Institute Publications 62). Chicago.
- Lehmann, G., Killbrew, A. and Gadot, Y. 2000. Area K. In: Finkelstein, I., Ussishkin, D. and Halpern, B., eds. *Megiddo III. The 1992–1996 Seasons* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University No. 18). Tel Aviv: 123–139.
- Levy, S. and Edelstein G. 1972. Cinq années de fouilles à Tel ‘Amal (Nir David). *RB* 79: 325–367.
- Levy, T.E. and Higham, T., eds. 2005. *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*. London.
- Loud, G. 1948. *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935–39*. Chicago.
- Master, D. M. 2001. State Formation Theory and the Kingdom of Ancient Israel. *JNES* 60: 117–131.
- Mazar, A. 1990. *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: 10,000–586 B.C.E.* New York.
- Mazar, A. 1997. Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein. *Levant* 29: 157–167.
- Mazar, A. 1999. The 1997–1998 Excavations at Tel Rehov: Preliminary Report. *IEJ* 49: 1–42.
- Mazar, A. 2003. The Excavations at Tel Rehov and Their Significance for the Study of the Iron Age in Israel. *EI* 27: 143–160 (Hebrew).
- Mazar, A. 2004. Greek and Levantine Iron Age Chronology: A Rejoinder. *IEJ* 54: 24–36.
- Mazar, A. 2005. The Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant. In: Levy, T.E. and Higham, T., eds. *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*. London: 15–30.
- Mazar, A. 2006. *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996*. Jerusalem.
- Mazar, A., Bruins, H.J., Panitz-Cohen, N. and van der Plicht, J. 2005. Ladder of Time at Tel Rehov: Stratigraphy, Archaeological Context, Pottery and Radiocarbon Dates. In: Levy, T.E. and Higham, T., eds. *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*. London: 193–255.
- Mazar, A. and Carmi, I. 2001. Radiocarbon Dates from Iron Age Strata at Tel Beth Shean and Tel Rehov. *Radiocarbon* 43: 1333–1342.

- McClellan, T.L. 1987. Review of Chambon 1984. *BASOR* 267: 84–86.
- Na'aman, N. 1997. Historical and Literary Notes on the Excavation of Tel Jezreel. *Tel Aviv* 24: 122–128.
- Na'aman, N. 1998. Shishak's Campaign to Palestine as Reflected by the Epigraphic, Biblical and Archaeological Evidence. *Zion* 63: 1–30 (Hebrew).
- Nigro, L. 1994. The Nordostburg of Tell Ta'anek: A Reevaluation of the Iron Age IIB Defence System. *ZDPV* 110: 167–180.
- Rast, W.E. 1978. *Taanach I: Studies in the Iron Age Pottery*. Cambridge, MA.
- Routledge, B.E. 2004. *Moab in the Iron Age: Hegemony, Polity, Archaeology*. Philadelphia.
- Schäfer-Lichtenberger, C. 1996. Sociological and Biblical Views of the Early State. In: Fritz, V. and Davies, P.R., eds. *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite States* (JSOT.S. 228). Sheffield: 78–105.
- Sellin, E. 1904. *Tell Ta'anek* (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 50). Vienna.
- Shortland, A.J. 2005. Shishak, King of Egypt: The Challenge of Egyptian Calendrical Chronology. In: Levy, T.E. and Higham, T., eds. *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*. London: 43–54.
- Stager, L.E. 2003. The Patrimonial Kingdom of Solomon. In: Dever, W.G. and Gitin, S., eds. *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina. Proceedings of the Centennial Symposium, W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, May 29–31, 2000*. Winona Lake: 63–74.
- Tappy, R.E. 1992. *The Archaeology of Israelite Samaria, vol. 1: Early Iron Age through the Ninth Century B.C.E.* (Harvard Semitic Studies, 44). Atlanta.
- Ussishkin, D. 1990. Notes on Megiddo, Gezer, Ashdod, and Tel Batash in Tenth to Ninth Centuries BC. *BASOR* 277/278: 71–91.
- Ussishkin, D. 1994. Gate 1567 at Megiddo and the Seal of Shema, Servant of Jeroboam. In: Coogan, M.D., Exum, C.J. and Stager, L.E., eds. *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King*. Louisville, KY: 410–428.
- Ussishkin, D. and Woodhead, J. 1992. Excavations at Tel Jezreel 1990–1991: Preliminary Report. *Tel Aviv* 19: 3–56.
- Ussishkin, D. and Woodhead, J. 1994. Excavations at Tel Jezreel 1992–1993: Second Preliminary Report. *Levant* 26: 1–48.
- Ussishkin, D. and Woodhead, J. 1997. Excavations at Tel Jezreel 1994–1996: Third Preliminary Report. *Tel Aviv* 24: 6–72.

- Weber, M. 1968. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. New York.
- Weippert, H. 1985. Review of Chambon 1984. *ZDPV* 101: 179–183.
- Williamson, H.G.M. 1991. Jezreel in the Biblical Texts. *Tel Aviv* 18: 72–92.
- Yadin, Y. 1970. Megiddo of the Kings of Israel. *BA* 33: 66–96.
- Yadin, Y., Aharoni, Y., Amiran, R., Dothan, T., Dunayevsky, I. and Perrot, J. 1958. *Hazor I: An Account of the First Season of Excavations, 1955*. Jerusalem.
- Yadin, Y., Aharoni, Y., Amiran, R., Dothan, T., Dunayevsky, I. and Perrot, J. 1960. *Hazor II: An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956*. Jerusalem.
- Yadin, Y., Aharoni, Y., Amiran, R., Dothan, T., Dothan, M., Dunayevsky, I. and Perrot, J. 1961. *Hazor III–IV: An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957–1958. Plates*. Jerusalem.
- Yadin, Y., Aharoni, Y., Amiran, R., Ben-Tor, A., Dothan, M., Dothan, T., Dunayevsky, I., Geva, S. and Stern, E. 1989. *Hazor III–IV: An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957–1958. Text*. Jerusalem.
- Yoffee, N. 2005. *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States and Civilizations*. Cambridge, UK.
- Zarzecki-Peleg, A. 1997. Hazor, Jokneam and Megiddo in the 10th Century B.C.E. *Tel Aviv* 24: 258–288.
- Zarzecki-Peleg, A. 2005a. *Tel Megiddo during the Iron Age I and IIA–IIB. The Excavations of the Yadin Expedition at Megiddo and Their Contribution for Comprehending the History of the Site in Northern Israel* (Ph.D. dissertation, The Hebrew University). Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Zarzecki-Peleg, A. 2005b. Stratigraphy and Architecture. In: Ben-Tor, A., Zarzecki-Peleg, A. and Cohen-Anidjar, S., eds. *Yoqne'am II. The Iron Age and the Persian Period. Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1977–1988)* (Qedem Reports 6). Jerusalem: 3–232.
- Zarzecki-Peleg, A., Cohen-Anidjar, S. and Ben-Tor, A. 2005. Part II: Pottery Analysis. In: Ben-Tor, A., Zarzecki-Peleg, A., and Cohen-Anidjar, S., eds. *Yoqne'am II. The Iron Age and the Persian Period. Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1977–1988)* (Qedem Reports 6). Jerusalem: 233–344.
- Zimhoni, O. 1992. The Iron Age Pottery from Tel Jezreel: An Interim Report. *Tel Aviv* 19: 57–70.
- Zimhoni, O. 1997. Clues from the Enclosure Fills: Pre-Omrude Settlement at Tel Jezreel. *Tel Aviv* 24: 83–109.