# Redating Lachish Level I:
Identifying Achaemenid Imperial Policy at the
Southern Frontier of the Fifth Satrapy

ALEXANDER FANTALKIN AND OREN TAL
Tel Aviv University

The extensive archaeological excavations carried out at Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) have uncovered substantial architectural remains and pottery finds attributed to Level I. Both the British excavations on behalf of the Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East, under the direction of J. L. Starkey (Tufnell 1953), and the renewed excavations on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, under the direction of D. Ussishkin (2004), have produced remarkable archaeological data. These data together with the results of surveys in the areas surrounding Lachish (Dagan 1992; 2000) enable us to revise previous interpretations of the finds from Level I (fig. 1). Following our revision, we shall argue that the construction of the Residency of Lachish Level I, and a number of other structures, should be dated to ca. 400 B.C.E., in sharp contrast to the previously suggested date of ca. 450 B.C.E. Our revised chronology for Level I, combined with a reassessment of other sites in southern Palestine, demands a fresh look at a wide range of issues related to the Achaemenid imperial policy in the region. It seems that the establishment of the fortified administrative center at Lachish around 400 B.C.E. and of other Persian centers in southern Palestine at that time became necessary when Persian domination over Egypt came to an end in 404– 400/398. Consequently, southern Palestine became an extremely sensitive *frontier* of the Persian Empire, all of which paved the way to a higher level of direct imperial involvement in the local administration.
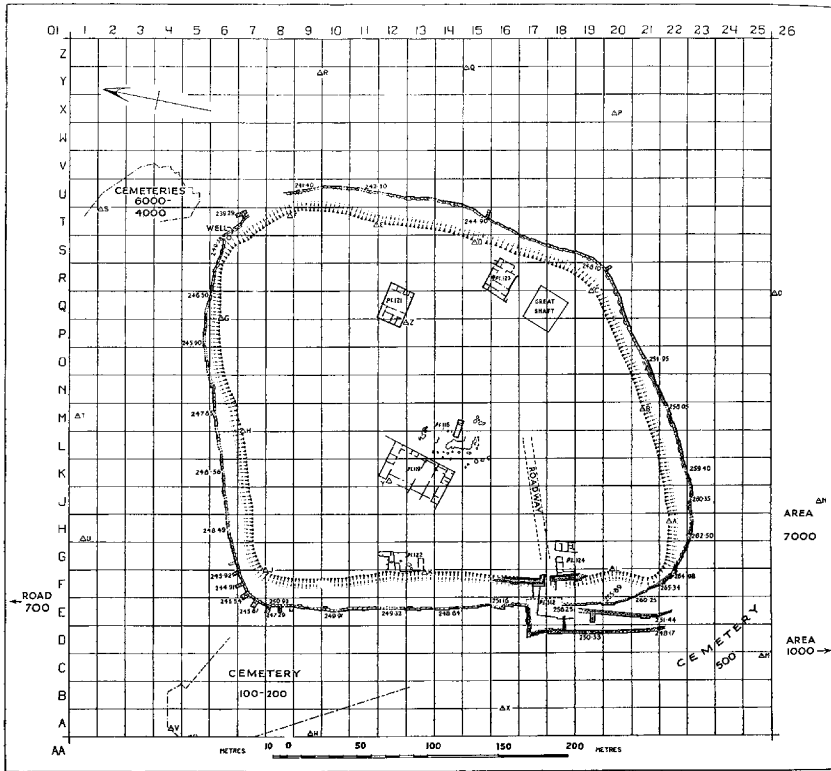
TELL ED-DUWEIR: REFERENCE GRID, TRIANGULATION POINTS, FORTIFICATIONS, BUILDINGS AND CEMETERIES

Fig. 1. Site plan. Reprinted from O. Tufnell, Lachish III: The Iron Age *(London, 1953) pl. 108. Used courtesy of the Wellcome Library, London.*

Archaeological Synopsis of Level I and Its Dating

Lachish is located on a major road leading from the Coastal Plain to the Hebron hills, bordering the Judean foothills (the Shephelah in the local idiom), some 30 km southeast of Ashkelon. According to the archaeological evidence, both the Residency and fortifications (the city wall and the gate) were constructed according to a preconceived plan. These architectural components suggest a Persian governmental center. The Residency was erected on the highest point of the mound upon the podium of the destroyed Judean palace-fort of the Late Iron Age. It was thus located close to the center of the mound, with its back wall facing the city gate. The ground plan of the Residency reflects the com-
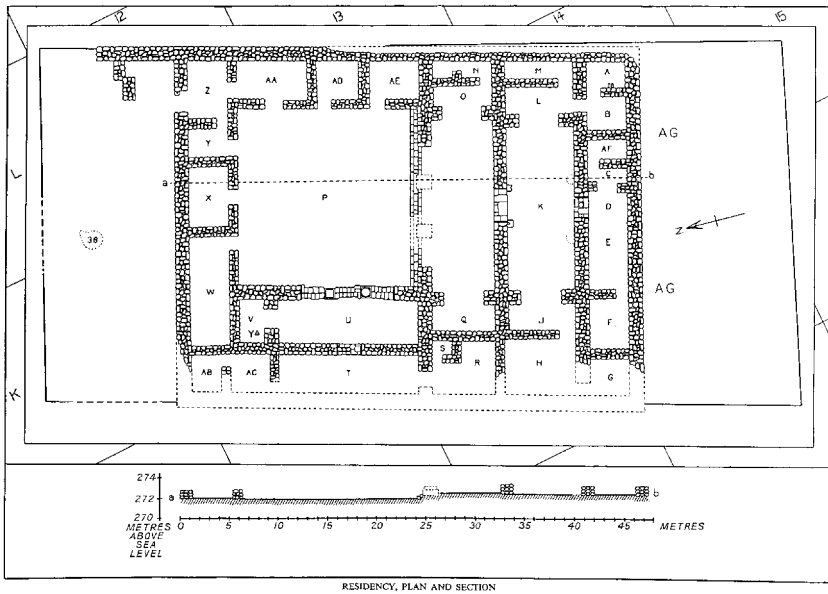
RESIDENCY, PLAN AND SECTION

Fig. 2. Residency. Reprinted from O. Tufnell, Lachish III: The Iron Age *(London, 1953) pl. 119. Used courtesy of the Wellcome Library, London.*

bination of an Assyrian building with central courtyard, evident by the open court in its northern part, and a Syrian *bīt-ḫilāni*, evident by the portico in the west part of the courtyard (fig. 2).[1] Columns of the porticoes were made of well-cut drums standing on round column bases above a square, stepped plinth. The presence of characteristic dressed stones indicates that some of the rooms were roofed by barrel vaulting.[2]

---

1. On the Assyrian open courtyard, see in general Amiran and Dunayevsky 1958; Aharoni 1975: 33–40; Reich 1992a. On the Syrian *bīt-ḫilāni*, see in general Frankfort 1952; Reich 1992a; Arav and Bernett 2000.

2. The well-cut drums found in the Residency at Lachish are the earliest stone-made examples documented in Palestine (see Fischer and Tal 2003: 21, 29). In earlier periods, they were most likely preceded by wooden columns, such as those reconstructed in the *megara*-styled Late Bronze Age buildings of cultic nature. A similar process is evident in the dressed-stone barrel vaulting, which likely replaced a similar technique in mud brick, for which we have examples in the monumental architecture of Palestine from the Middle Bronze Age, such as the mud-brick city gates at Tel Dan (*NEAEHL* 1.324–26) and Ashkelon (*NEAEHL* 1.106–7); and from the Late Iron Age, such as the Assyrian vaulted mud-brick building at Tell Jemmeh (*NEAEHL* 2.670–72).

Fig. 3. City gate of Level I. Reprinted from O. Tufnell, Lachish III: The Iron Age *(London, 1953) pl. 112. Used courtesy of the Wellcome Library, London.*

The city wall and the city gate reused the ruined fortifications of the Late Iron Age Level II, while preserving their contour and method of construction (fig. 3). By contrast, the Residency was built on pits and debris layers, which contained Persian-Period pottery predating its

construction, as shown in the renewed excavations (Ussishkin 2004: 96, 842). There is also evidence for its reuse during a subsequent Late Persian or Early Hellenistic stage: the drums of dismantled columns were found in a secondary context (Tufnell 1953: 133 and pl. 22:7).

Based on renewed stratigraphic analysis (Ussishkin 2004: 95–97, 840–46), we may conclude that Level I consisted of three phases:

- The first phase is designated by us Level IA, which is characterized by Early Persian pits.
- The second phase is designated Level IB, which is characterized by massive Late Persian construction. This included the Residency, fortifications, and a number of other structures and corresponds to Lachish's role as a regional administrative center.
- The third phase is designated Level IC, which is characterized by a Late Persian and/or Early Hellenistic occupation, corresponding to the reuse of both the Residency and the building next to the Great Shaft, and the erecting of the Solar Shrine.

In the process of studying local and imported pottery from the renewed excavations of Level I, we were able to establish a more accurate dating for each of these phases (Fantalkin and Tal 2004). The assemblage of Level I consists of common, semifine and imported fine wares. The vast majority of common and semifine ware is definitely local, though there is a single example of an Egyptian ware bowl and few examples of East Greek amphoras from Chios. The common ware includes bowls and heavy bowls, as well as kraters, cooking pots, jugs, juglets, flasks, storage jars, amphoras, and lamps. The semifine ware includes bowls, juglets, and amphoras. The fine ware, for which we have a considerable number of fragments, is restricted to Attic imports. The pottery finds are mostly of Persian date and came from pits and fills that represent occupation layers. The difficulty in distinguishing typological developments in common and semifine ware pottery types of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., forced us to regard the Attic imports as the best anchor in establishing a chronological frame for the occupational periods of Level I.

The bulk of Attic imports retrieved in the renewed excavations must be placed in the first half of the fourth century B.C.E., with several transitional late-fifth/early-fourth-century B.C.E. types (Fantalkin and Tal 2004: 2187–88). The same holds true for the vast majority of Attic imports retrieved during earlier British excavations at the site. This pottery is cursorily described in *Lachish III* but has never been fully

published.[3] Despite the difficulties in distinguishing between common and semifine ware from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., the general impression is that a majority of the local pottery is datable to the first half of the fourth century B.C.E. This impression is based on the appearance of so-called "coastal" types at the site and the high occurrence of various pottery types of different wares. These characteristics may point to the fourth century B.C.E., when the regional frontiers of material culture (and especially pottery) were blurred. Unlike the frequency of imports on the Coastal Plain, the diffusion of Attic imports in inland regions such as the Judean foothills and the central mountain ridge is low. Therefore, when encountered in assemblages, Attic imports are typically connected to major administrative centers (as in the case of Samaria). It appears most logical to attribute the bulk of Attic ware retrieved from the site to the Residency—in other words, our Level IB.[4]

In 1953, Olga Tufnell, in her *Lachish III*, dated the foundation of the Residency to ca. 450 B.C.E. (Tufnell 1953: 58–59). This date was based on the Attic imports and the mention of Lachish in Neh 11:30.[5] This date has been subsequently accepted in the archaeological literature as an undisputed fact, the most recent studies not excluded (cf., e.g., Hoglund 1992: 140; Carter 1999: 170; Stern 2001: 447–50; Lipschits 2003: 342). However, since the publication of *Lachish III*, significant progress

---

3. The present whereabouts of many of these sherds is unknown. However, we located and inspected more than two dozen fragments in the storerooms of the British Museum. The vast majority of these newly rediscovered sherds can be dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C.E., a date consistent with that of the Attic ware retrieved during the more recent excavations.

4. See Tufnell's observation: "At the time of excavations Starkey was of the opinion that the temporary resettlement of the ruined Residency took place in the middle of the fifth century B.C., on the evidence of the Black Glazed and Black Figured Attic sherds, which J. H. Iliffe dated to 475–425 B.C. Further investigation of the position of sherds in relation to the Residency floor levels, however, does not preclude the possibility that the good quality Attic imports were used by the original inhabitants of the building, for there were Attic sherds lying on or close to the original floor surfaces in several rooms" (1953: 133).

5. "Taking into consideration Sir J. D. Beazley's remarks on the Red Figured sherds, Miss du Plat Taylor noted an equal proportion of fifth- and fourth-century types, which limits the time range more closely to the last half of the fifth century, continuing into the fourth century B.C. . . . The contents of the floors and fillings of the Residency rooms were consistent. Characteristic Attic sherds provided the best comparisons to dated pottery from other sites, ranging from the mid-fifth to mid-fourth century B.C. . . . A date for occupation of the Residency from about 450–350 B.C. is in close agreement with the historical evidence, for Lachish is mentioned as one of the villages in which the children of Judah dwelt after Nehemiah's return about 445 B.C." (Tufnell 1953: 133, 135).

has been achieved in the study of plain Attic ware and painted Black and Red Figure ware.[6] Based on studies that have appeared since the publication of *Lachish III*, du Plat Taylor's observation regarding an equal proportion of fifth- and fourth-century types (see n. 4) appears to be inaccurate. Consequently, the bulk of imported pottery should be placed in the first half of the fourth century B.C.E. Tufnell's date for the establishment of the Residency, ca. 450 B.C.E., is irreconcilable with ours. Her argument rests on a miniscule proportion of Attic sherds datable to the late fifth century B.C.E. We believe, however, that these sherds are better explained as heirlooms than as constituting a chronological anchor for the establishment of the Residency.

Most of the pits from Level IA clearly predate the construction of the Residency.[7] Indeed, unlike the Residency, the Attic pottery from these pits includes mostly fifth-century B.C.E. types, such as a few earlier forms of Attic Type A skyphoi.[8] It seems that the "pit settlement"

---

6. It will suffice to cite the publications of the Athenian Agora (namely, Sparkes and Talcott 1970), as well as the series of articles and monographs of B. B. Shefton (2000, with earlier bibliography), among others. We should add that in many instances the dating of a given assemblage in the Athenian Agora are based (in whole or in part) on the recovery of Athenian tetradrachms currently dated to circa 450s–404 B.C. (cf. Kroll 1993: 6–7), and that, more often than not, the higher dating (the 450s) was assumed while establishing a date for any given context. The chronology of the Athenian Agora deposits was criticized by Francis and Vickers (1988) as a part of their approach in lowering the dates of all late Archaic Greek art by roughly 50 years (cf. Francis and Vickers 1985). In this regard, one should mention Bowden's attempt to lower the chronology of Greek painted pottery by roughly 40 years (1991). In both cases, the suggested low chronology for the Greek pottery should be rejected (for a general critique of Francis and Vickers's low chronology, see Cook 1989; for rejecting their lower date for the Athenian Agora deposits, see Shear 1993; for rejecting their lower date for the Near Eastern sites, such as Meẓad Ḥashavyahu, see Waldbaum and Magness 1997: 39–40; Fantalkin 2001a: 128–29; for the improbability of significant lowering of accepted Aegean Iron Age absolute chronology and related problems, see Fantalkin 2001b, with earlier references). Most recently, James has reopened the debate (2003), modifying Bowden's earlier study (1991).

7. The renewed excavations demonstrate that the Residency was erected above pits and debris layers containing typical Persian-Period pottery (Ussishkin 2004: 96). Moreover, more pits were uncovered in the Iron Age courtyard, and C. H. Inge suggested (in a field report dated February 1938) that they also predate the Residency (cited in Tufnell 1953: 151). The Level I city was fortified by a city wall and a city gate built over the ruined fortifications of Level II (Tufnell 1953: 98–99, pl. 112). In Area S of the renewed excavations, it was observed that a Level I pit (Locus 5508) had been cut in a place where the city wall, not preserved at this point, must have passed. According to the excavator, it indicates that the fortifications were also built in our Level IB (Ussishkin 2004: 97, 463, fig. 9.41).

8. It is worth noting that, according to registration files in the British Museum, a fragment of an early-fourth-century B.C.E. Attic glazed bowl (BM/1980,1214.9758) was found in the burnt brick debris, below the level of one of the Residency's rooms. If this is
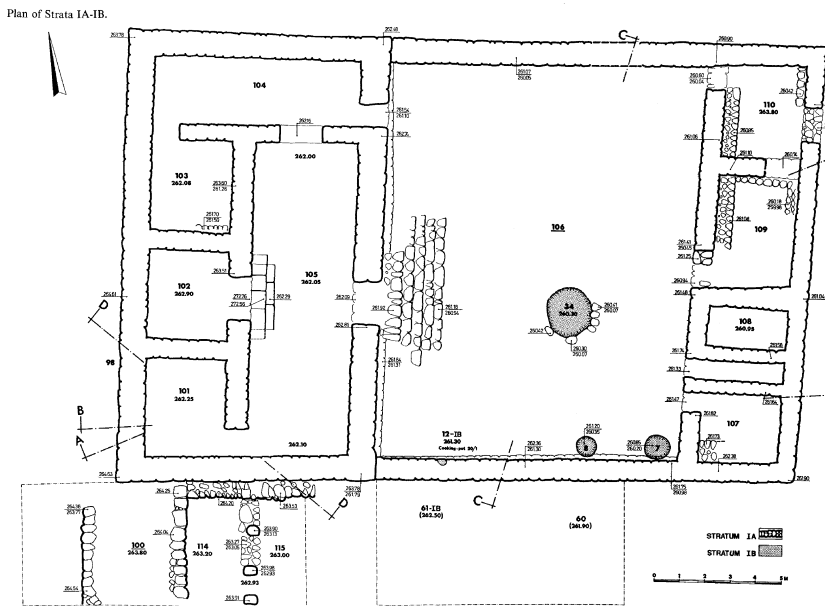
Plan of Strata IA-IB.

Fig. 4. Solar shrine. Reprinted from Y. Aharoni et al., Lachish V: Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency *(Tel Aviv, 1975) pl. 56. Used by permission of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.*

of Level IA, preceding the massive construction activities of Level IB, may be generally dated to the fifth century B.C.E.[9]

Level IC is attributed to the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic occupation of the site. The finds retrieved from the Residency reflect no definite Hellenistic use. It may be assumed, therefore, that the Residency was reused before the end of the Persian Period and abandoned

indeed the case, this sherd may serve as further evidence for placing the Residency within the first half of the fourth century B.C.E., as suggested by the vast majority of the finds from the Residency's floors and fills.

9. We tend to consider this phase sporadic, because not all the pits of Level I are necessary connected to Level IA. Moreover, the possibility of the existence of earlier pre–Level I occupations at the site cannot be completely rejected. There are a few vessels of possible late-sixth-century B.C. date that were retrieved in the renewed excavations; among them are an Egyptian bowl (cf. Fantalkin and Tal 2004: fig. 30.7: 1) that is dated according to comparative material to the Late Saite and Persian Period; and two fragments of Chian amphoras (cf. Fantalkin and Tal 2004: figs. 30.2: 1; 30.3: 16) that can be dated to the late sixth century B.C.E. In both cases, however, a much later date appears to be possible.
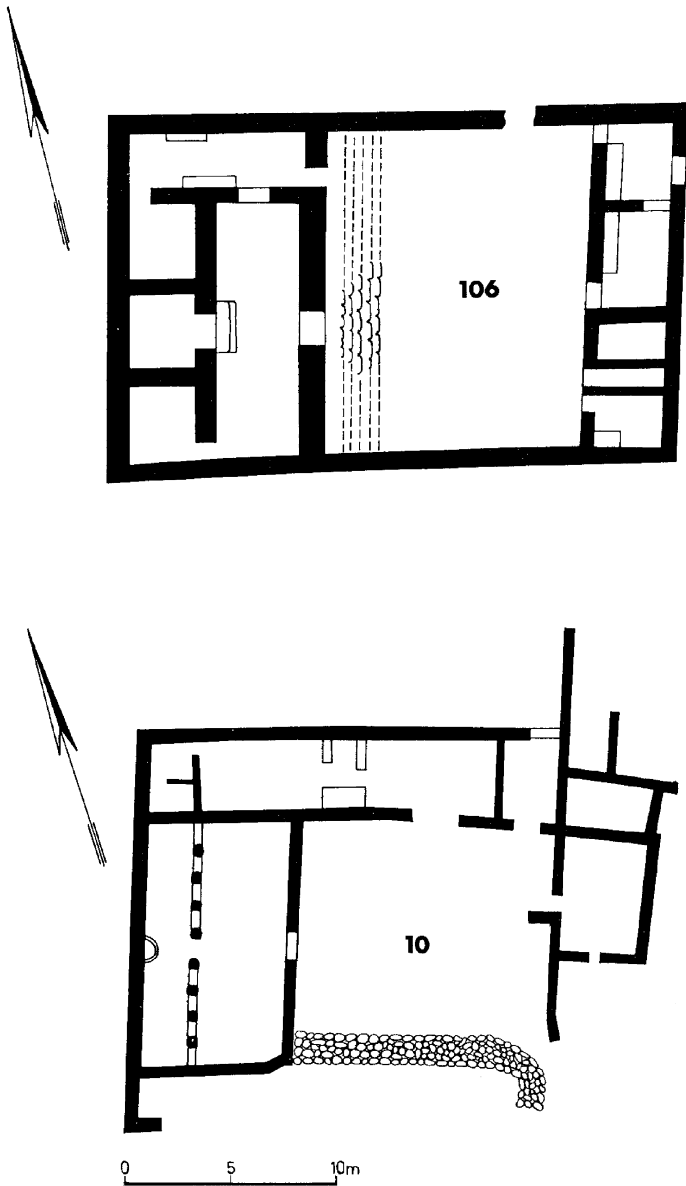
Fig. 5. Solar shrine (top) and building in grid squares R/Q/S.15/16: 10–21 (bottom). Reprinted from Y. Aharoni et al., Lachish V: Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency *(Tel Aviv, 1975) fig. 3. Used by permission of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.*

during Late Persian times. The ceramic evidence does not clarify the nature of this later phase, and the reasons for the site's abandonment during the Hellenistic Period cannot be determined. The Solar Shrine appears to be the only building of a secure Hellenistic date (fig. 4). Following Aharoni's suggestion, it may be reconstructed as a Yahwistic shrine serving nearby rural, and possibly urban, inhabitants of Jewish faith during the Early Hellenistic Period. We have a dedication altar with a possible Yahwistic name incised upon it found in Cave 534 southwest of the city gate (Tufnell 1953: 226, no. 534, pls. 49:3, 68:1; and see also pp. 383–84; for its reading, Dupont-Sommer in Tufnell 1953: 358–59; and Aharoni 1975: 5–7, fig. 1, with discussion).[10]

This altar formed part of an assemblage found in a number of caves southwest of the city gate (506, 515, 522, 534; cf. Tufnell 1953: 220–21, 224–26) and was probably cultic in nature. The recovery of Persian and Hellenistic pottery in Pit 34 below the floor in the center of the temple's courtyard strongly suggests a Hellenistic date for its foundation. According to Ussishkin (2004: 96 n. 9), this data is not reliable: only a few Hellenistic sherds were uncovered in Pit 34, their stratigraphy is unclear, and a single fragment was uncovered deep beneath the floor of the antechamber. However, if we accept Aharoni's stratigraphic attribution of Building 100 to the Hellenistic Period and contemporaneous stratigraphic relation to the Solar Shrine (Aharoni 1975: 5), we see no possibility for an earlier dating. Moreover, none of the finds recovered in the Solar Shrine is of Persian date. The same holds true for the Hellenistic pottery recovered during Aharoni's excavations but never presented in the report. This pottery is at present in the Israel Antiquities Authority storehouses.

Some reference must be given to another building (fig. 5, bottom) still in use during this phase and discovered to the north of the Great Shaft (Grid Squares R/Q/S.15/16: 10–21). According to Tufnell (1953: 147), "Nearly all the pottery fragments were found on or in the floor levels of the building and can be associated with it." She adds, ". . . there are enough fourth- to third-century forms in the rooms to show that the house was in use at that time" (1953: 148).[11] Aharoni's sugges-

---

10. Starkey's identification of its cult as an intrusive one, "introduced during the Persian regime" (Tufnell 1953: 141 [*PEQ* October (1935) 203]), supported by Ussishkin in light of his reconstruction of the Solar Shrine as a cultic Persian governmental center (2004: 96–97), can be rejected due to the late date of the finds (third and second centuries B.C.E.).

11. Tufnell misread, however, the cooking-pot fragments that are of Early Roman date (cf. 1953: pls. 104, 692) and may well correspond to the two Roman coins found minted at Ashkelon (cf. 1953: 413, nos. 56a and 56b).

tion, based on their similar building plan, orientation, and a limestone altar imitating a shrine (1975: 9–11, fig. 3), that this building served as the fourth- to third-century B.C.E. forerunner of the Solar Shrine is reasonable. It seems that both the Solar Shrine and the building in Grid Squares R/Q/S.15/16: 10–21 were abandoned sometime during the second half of the second century B.C.E.[12]

A Reorganization of the Southern Frontier of the Fifth Satrapy

The Arrangement of Boundaries

Our reevaluation of the archaeological data and the revised chronology for Level I force us to reconsider a range of issues related to Achaemenid imperial policy in southern Palestine.

First, we have to address the question of "Lachish and its fields" mentioned in Neh 11:30. One could suggest that our "pit settlement" (Level IA) is a reflection of the settlement's renewal, which can be connected to Judean settlers returning from the Exile. Likewise, the establishment of the fortified center with the Residency (Level IB) could have been initiated by the Achaemenid government in response to changes occurring in the Judean foothills at the time (cf. Tufnell 1953: 58–59). However, does the present state of research permit us to take literally the passage in Nehemiah 11? Much of the scholarship regarding this particular chapter has recently been summarized and reevaluated by O. Lipschits (2002). According to Lipschits, although a few scholars accept the list's historicity despite historical and textual problems, the vast majority suggest different interpretations. According to some, this list represents settlements where Judeans resided before the Exile, although certain parts of the region were no longer within the boundaries of the province of Yehud. Others suggest that these are the settlements that were not destroyed by the Babylonians and, as such, continued to be settled by Judeans, even though they were subjected to Edomite/Arab influence. It has even been proposed that the list reflects the reality of the end of the First Temple Period or even the Hasmonean Period (see Lipschits 2002, with earlier references). The majority of scholars, however, follow the view of Gerhard von Rad (1930: 21–25), who saw the list in Nehemiah as an ideal vision and not an actual reflection of the borders of Yehud. According to this view, it is a utopian

---

12. According to Finkielsztejn (1999: 48 n. 6), Hellenistic Lachish was destroyed by John Hyrcanus in the course of his campaign in Edom. We cannot support such a claim, however. No Hellenistic destruction is documented at the site, and none of the Hellenistic finds attests to an exclusive Edomite presence.

outlook, based on perceptions of the remote past and on hopes for the future, after the building of the walls of Jerusalem.

What can be said from an archaeological perspective? The establishment of the Persian fortified administrative center around 400 B.C.E. is definitely preceded by the "pit settlement." A special term appears in Neh 11:30 for the hinterland of Lachish—שדתיה, that is, its fields. It seems that the author had an intimate knowledge of Lachish's area and thus deliberately labeled it in a different manner as an agricultural hinterland. In the survey map of Lachish, eleven settlements from the Persian Period were documented (Dagan 1992: 17*). Given the nature of material collected in the surveys, it is virtually impossible to establish their precise chronological setting within the Persian Period. Generally, they could be attributed to a fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. chronological horizon. It seems to us, however, that given the existence of the "pit settlement" at Lachish already in the fifth century B.C.E. (Level IA), it is more than probable that some of the sites discovered in the survey are of the same date. The establishment of the Persian fortified administrative center around 400 B.C.E. (Level IB) can be seen as a response to the changes occurring in the area. Who were these new settlers? Were they Judeans, Edomites/Arabs, or both? Based on the archaeological data, we find it virtually impossible to answer this question in a satisfactory manner. It should be noted, however, that even many of those who follow von Rad's view admit that, although Nehemiah 11 is an ideal vision, there is no dismissing the possibility that Judeans continued to live in the towns of the Negev and the Judean foothills during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., after the Babylonian destruction (cf. Lipschits 2002). It seems that, even if some Judeans did indeed remain in this region, a larger number of Edomites/Arabs expanded toward the north, gaining control over lands of questionable Judean control. Epigraphic evidence suggests that, by at least the second half of the fourth century, a majority of Edomites/Arabs inhabited the region side by side with a minority of Judeans (Zadok 1998: 792–804; Lemaire 2002: 218–23, 231–33, 264–83, 284–85). The resettlement in the area surrounding Lachish during the fifth century B.C.E., either by Judeans, Edomites, or both may have created potential territorial quarrels between the inhabitants of the area. The establishment of the administrative center at Lachish (bordering Judah and Edom) could have played a significant role in preventing any further territorial disputes in an area where borders are flexible. This new reality required a new policy in which a Persian official, or officials, most likely with a garrison, were stationed permanently at Lachish in order to

protect the political, economic, and social interests of the Empire in the region.

This new interpretation of the archaeological data from Lachish forces us to reconsider the previous scholarly consensus regarding the boundaries of the province of Yehud. Those who believe that the list in Nehemiah 11 is wishful thinking have stated that such a utopia can be explained by the fact that most of the settlements appearing in the list are in areas that are not within the boundaries of the province at the time of Return, whereas the actual areas of settlement are hardly represented. What do we really know about the boundaries of the province at the time of Return, that is, the fifth century B.C.E.? Can the existence of these boundaries during the Early Persian Period really be assumed?

The boundaries of Yehud are one of the most debated issues in the study of the Persian Period in the region of Israel. According to most scholars, after the Neo-Babylonian destruction, Lachish never reverted to being a part of Judah, and it likely served as the center of the province of Edom (see, most recently, Lipschits 2003: 342). However, there are still numerous questions concerning the boundaries of both provinces, Yehud and Edom, during the Persian Period (see Carter 1999: 75–113, 288–94, with earlier references). The insufficiency of biblical testimony and the fragility of the archaeological interpretations have led some to apply Christaller's "Central Place Theory" (1933) to the analysis of the boundaries of Yehud. This theory is based on the logical assumption that the socioeconomic relationship between larger, central sites and smaller, "satellite" sites is best represented graphically, through a series of interconnected hexagons, a spatial organization that is similar to the geographical organization implemented in southern Germany during the 1930s. This model was subsequently applied to other geographical settings, while political, economic, and social aspects of a settlement were reconstructed according to a pattern of "Site Hierarchy" (cf. Lösch 1954; Haggett 1965: especially pp. 121–25). Later scholars such as Johnson (1972), who suggests that a rhomboid pattern is preferable to a hexagonal one, modify the model without contradicting its basic premises (see in general Jansen 2001: 42–44). Scholars who have tried to apply this theory to the boundaries of Yehud have drawn a series of circles or ellipses with radii of approximately 20 km surrounding Jerusalem, Lachish, and Gezer (cf., e.g., Carter 1999: 93–97, fig. 7). Both Lachish and Gezer, at least according to general scholarly consensus, have architectural remains that can be interpreted as governmental complexes. It is postulated that the spheres of influence of these sites intersect at the

border of the Judean foothills and the hill country. The Judean foothills were therefore outside the province of Yehud.

It is definitely not our intention to embark here on taking theoretical models from the exact sciences and applying them to a complicated human past. What appears to be quite certain, however, is that the new archaeological evidence from Lachish undermines previously proposed reconstructions of the boundaries of the provinces of Yehud and Edom, based as they are on the Central Place Theory. These reconstructions assumed the establishment of Lachish Phase IB as a major administrative center by at least 450 B.C.E. (i.e., Tufnell's dating), in stark contrast to the foundation date closer to 400 B.C.E. that is suggested here. It seems to us that, given the contested nature of the region's periphery (cf. Berquist 1996; M. J. Allen 1997), the final settlement of its boundaries, including those of Yehud, is better seen as part of a flexible process that was finally accomplished no earlier than the fourth century B.C.E. In this regard, it is worthwhile to remember that the creation of an Idumean provincial district cannot be traced before the fourth century B.C.E. (cf. de Geus 1979–80: 62; Eph'al 1984: 199; Graf 1990: 139–43). The same holds true for Yehud. This is not to suggest that Judah was not an autonomous entity with a series of governors already in the beginning of the Achaemenid Period (Williamson 1998) and perhaps even earlier (Na'aman 2000). But signs of autonomy such as the minting of Yehud coins and standardized Aramaic stamp-seal impressions on local storage-jar handles, whether connected to the Judahite administrative authority or more likely simply to be explained as potter's marks (Ariel and Shoham 2000: 138–39), probably did not appear before the fourth century B.C.E.[13] The same holds true for a few thousand Aramaic ostraca (Lemaire 1996; 2002; Eph'al and Naveh 1996, all with further bibliography) and a "dated" ostracon discovered earlier that actually dates to 363 B.C.E., all allegedly from the site of Khirbet el-Kom and its immediate environs in the Judean foothills (Edom). It thus seems that southern Palestine experienced a significant transformation in its political organization sometime around 400 B.C.E. This transformation suggests a higher level of direct imperial involvement in the local administration. What one can observe here is a completely different

---

13. On the chronology of the Yehud coins, see the recently published summary by Ariel on the coins discovered during "Operation Scroll" in the caves of the northern Judean Desert: dates of "early" coin types are lowered on the basis of their contexts (2002: 287–94, with further references). On the Aramic stamp-seal impressions, see the recently published summary by Ariel and Shoham (2000), where Persian types are differentiated from Hellenistic counterparts on the basis of contexts, comparisons, and paleography.

level of Achaemenid involvement in local affairs that most likely in-cluded a fixed arrangement of district boundaries, garrisoning of the frontiers, and, most of all, tight Achaemenid control and investment, witnessed by the unprecedented construction at the sites in southern Palestine briefly and selectively described below.

A New Architectural Landscape

Tell Jemmeh in the southeastern Coastal Plain should be considered another example of Achaemenid governmental presence. The site, lo-cated some 10 km south of Gaza, was excavated during the 1920s, first by W. J. Phythian-Adams (1923) and, more thoroughly, by W. M. F. Petrie (1928). In accordance with Stern's thorough analysis of Petrie's stratigraphic conclusions (1982: 22–25), Persian remains at the site should be divided into three stratigraphic phases: the first, probably of mid-fifth-century B.C.E. date—Building A—a central courtyard fortress with dimensions of ca. 38 × 29 m; the second, probably of late-fifth/early-fourth-century B.C.E. date—Building B—a Residency (or "Pal-ace") composed of two separate units of the central courtyard house type; and the third, probably of late-fourth- to third-century B.C.E. date—storehouse and granaries—scattered on the mound. This theory may be strengthened by the limited number of published Attic frag-ments and vessels from Petrie's excavations (1928: pl. 46; but see also Iliffe 1933: nos. 8–11, 13–14, 16–19, 21, 23, 25–27, 29–31, 33–36, and rele-vant plates; and Shefton 2000: 76 n. 4). It would, however, be extremely intriguing to recheck these data in light of the recent excavations car-ried out at the site (cf. Van Beek 1983; 1993; *NEAEHL* 2.667–74).[14]

---

14. It is worth quoting some of Van Beek's observations regarding the date of the Persian remains at Tell Jemmeh: "Petrie's historical biases led to strange interpretations as, for example, his haste to have granaries built by 457 B.C.E. so that they might serve as grain depots to feed a Persian army during its invasion of Egypt in 455 B.C.E. The key evi-dence here is the large red-figured lekythos in the Rockefeller Museum, which was found beneath one of the granaries [Petrie 1928: pl. 46: 4]. This lekythos was reluctantly dated to 460 B.C.E. by Gardiner, as against his preferred date of 450 B.C.E.; but for Petrie, a date of 450 was seven years too late to get it under a granary. Indeed, the lekythos may well have been *in situ* in the pre-granary layers, rather than having been thrown in the foundation hole just prior to construction of the granary, as Petrie assumed. According to Beazley, the lekythos is by the Phiale Painter, a pupil of the Achilles Painter, both of whom were active between 450 and 420 B.C.E. On this evidence alone, the granaries could hardly be dated much before the end of the 5th or early 4th centuries B.C.E. Thus, Petrie's lack of interest in late periods and his historical biases led to a cavalier treatment of archaeological deposits from the granary periods" (Van Beek 1993: 577–78, with ear-lier references). Bearing in mind this quotation, Tufnell's comparisons with dated pot-tery from other sites, chiefly with Tell Jemmeh's 457 B.C.E. dating (1953: 135; see above, n. 5), further undermines her dating of the Residency.

Persian remains at Tel Seraʿ are quite similar to those discovered at Tell Jemmeh. The site is located in the western Negev desert on Naḥal Gerar, some 20 km to the east of Tell Jemmeh. Judging from the short report published by the excavator, Persian-Period Tel Seraʿ (Stratum III) consisted of the same elements discovered at Tell Jemmeh: a brick-lined granary (ca. 5 m in diameter) in Area A on the south part of the mound and the remains of a citadel and courtyard building in Area D on the north part of the mound (*NEAEHL* 4.1334).

The same applies to the remains discovered at Tel Haror located in the western Negev desert on Naḥal Gerar, located midway between Tell Jemmeh and Tel Seraʿ. The excavator's brief report concludes that there are one or two Persian-Period settlement phases at the site (i.e., Stratum G1), represented in Area G on the southern part of the upper mound by a large building, cobbled floors, and grain and refuse pits (*NEAEHL* 2.584). It is thus tempting to see both Tel Seraʿ and Tel Haror in a similar stratigraphic context to the one suggested in Tell Jemmeh, since both sites not only share similar architectural elements but also yielded numerous Greek ware fragments, Aramaic ostraca, and other finds that may point to a governmental role.

To the above sites, we are inclined to add Tel Ḥalif, located some 15 km to the east of Tel Seraʿ. Excavations in Stratum V, which, according to the excavators, belongs to the Persian Period, uncovered elements of a large building with walls one meter thick in Field II and pits and bins scattered in Fields I and III and Area F6 (*NEAEHL* 2.558). Furthermore, the excavators of Tell el Ḥesi, some 20 km to the north of Tel Seraʿ, conclude that the Persian-Period settlement at this site ceased to exist by the end of the fifth century B.C.E. (Bennett and Blakely 1989). Therefore, one may presume a southward shift in the settlement process of the western Negev desert region at this time. Needless to say, without the full analysis and publication of the finds from these sites, our argument is largely theoretical. However, the architectural elements discovered in the excavations of Tell Jemmeh, Tel Haror, Tel Seraʿ, and Tel Ḥalif, as well as their location along the same latitude line and their placement at somewhat fixed intervals of 10–15 km on the southernmost inhabited Lowlands regions of southwestern Palestine, doubtless had an Egyptian-oriented raison d'être.

The location of governmental sites in the Highlands (the central mountain ridge) was dictated by other factors, among which topography and the immediate environs seem to have played a significant role.

Reich's reconstruction of the Beth-Zur II Citadel as a Persian Residency on the basis of its similarity to Lachish (in dimensions and

building plan) is worth noting (1992b). The site is located some 30 km south of Jerusalem in the hill country of Judah. Whether we accept or reject his reconstruction (and see Carter's counterarguments, 1999: 154–57), the fact remains that the pottery finds and coins (Sellers 1933; Sellers et al. 1957) show that, during the late fifth or early fourth century B.C.E., Beth-Zur experienced a change in its settlement history. At this time a fortress or, perhaps, a residency was erected at the site.

The same is perhaps true of the meager architectural remains discovered at Ramat Raḥel (Stratum IVb), which include the sections of a wall (1.2 m thick) in the eastern part of the excavated area, following the course of an earlier Iron-Age citadel's outer wall. According to the excavator, it served as part of a defensive wall enclosing a large courtyard and a complex of three rooms (two adjoining and a larger to the south) with a passageway between (Aharoni 1964: 17–19). Aharoni dated the material from Stratum IVb, especially the material discovered in the foundation trench of the defensive wall, to a transitional Persian–Hellenistic date—that is, the late fourth century B.C.E. This date, however, is disputed by Stern (1982: 35–36), who suggests a fifth-century B.C.E. date on the basis of the recovered Attic and east Greek ware. However, the few published Attic fragments (Aharoni 1956: pl. 13C) may easily attest a fourth-century B.C.E. date. Furthermore, Naʾaman has recently suggested that, during the period of the Neo-Assyrian domination over Palestine (Stratum Vb), Ramat Raḥel's citadel served the seat of an Assyrian official appointed to supervise Jerusalem's affairs (2001). It seems that the site was abandoned (or destroyed) sometime during the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.E. (Stratum Va). Naʾaman suggests that during the fifth century B.C.E., after Jerusalem was established as the center of the province of Yehud, the Achaemenid authorities resettled Ramat Raḥel (Stratum IVb), making it their center of government, similar to that of the Neo-Assyrians. In any case, none of the published finds from the excavations at Ramat Raḥel attests an exclusively fifth-century B.C.E. date.

ʿEn Gedi (Tel Goren) on the western shore of the Dead Sea is another worthy example. Here as well one may suggest a governmental function for the site as a royal estate during the Iron Age and the Persian Period (cf. Lipschits 2000; 2003: 340). The excavators postulate a fifth- and fourth-century B.C.E. occupation date, based on the main feature of the Persian Period at the site, Building 234 (Mazar, Dothan, and Dunayevsky 1966: 38–39; but especially Mazar and Dunayevsky 1967: 134–40). According to the excavators, Building 234 was in use during the last three-quarters of the fifth century B.C.E. and was destroyed in

ca. 400 B.C.E. Judging from the Attic ware distribution within Building 234, the excavators conclude that the western part of the building was cleared of debris and reused as a dwelling by the surviving inhabitants of the site for half a century or more (the first half of the fourth century B.C.E.) until this too was destroyed by nomadic (possibly Nabatean) raiders (Mazar and Dunayevsky 1967: 138). The finds from this later phase, such as glass pendants in the shape of human heads and a relief-ware rhyton, are not consistent, however, with the proposed lateral domestic function assigned by the excavators to this later phase. Excavations at the site were published in a preliminary form, and it is thus difficult to verify their conclusions. As it stands, there is a consensus that some construction activity occurred in ca. 400 B.C.E.

There is certainly an extensive amount of site hierarchy among the above-mentioned governmental sites, and a few suspected others that are beyond the scope of this study. In our opinion, however, Lachish ranked fairly high on our proposed hierarchical ladder.

With the above outline of the southern governmental Palestinian sites of the inhabited land in mind, we can now briefly address the question of the Negev desert fortresses (and suspected fortresses), which yield some indications of Persian-Period occupation. Among them are Ḥorvat Rogem (Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: 160–72); Ḥorvat Ritma (Meshel 1977; Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: 185), Meṣad Naḥal HaRoʿa (Cohen 1980: 71–72; 1986: 112–13; Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: 176–85), Ḥorvat Mesora (Cohen 1980: 70; 1986: 113; Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: 172–75), as well as the suspected fortresses located at Arad (Aharoni 1981: 8; Herzog 1997: 245–49; *NEAEHL* 1.85), Beer-sheba (Aharoni 1973: 7–8; *NEAEHL* 1.172), and perhaps also at Tell el Farʿah (S), where tombs with varied finds of the period were excavated (Stern 1982: 75–76). Surprisingly, the location of these fortresses on the same latitude line suggests a linear setting. We have Ḥorvat Rogem, Arad, Beer-sheba, and possibly Tell el Farʿah (S) arranged in linear fashion on the edge of the inhabited territory and Meṣad Naḥal HaRoʿa, Ḥorvat Ritma, and Ḥorvat Mesora in another somewhat linear pattern some 30 km to the south of the former. We further suggest that Kadesh-barnea (Cohen 1980: 72–74, 78; but especially 1983: 12–13) and ʿEn Ḥaẓeva (biblical Tamar; Cohen and Yisrael 1996; but see Naʾaman 1997, who suggests that the Stratum 4 fortress is of Persian date) were the southernmost defensive line against the south (i.e., Egypt), although Persian finds at Kadesh-barnea were attributed by the excavator to an unwalled domestic settlement and at ʿEn Ḥaẓeva are merely absent. Evidently, all suspected fortresses were located on main routes,
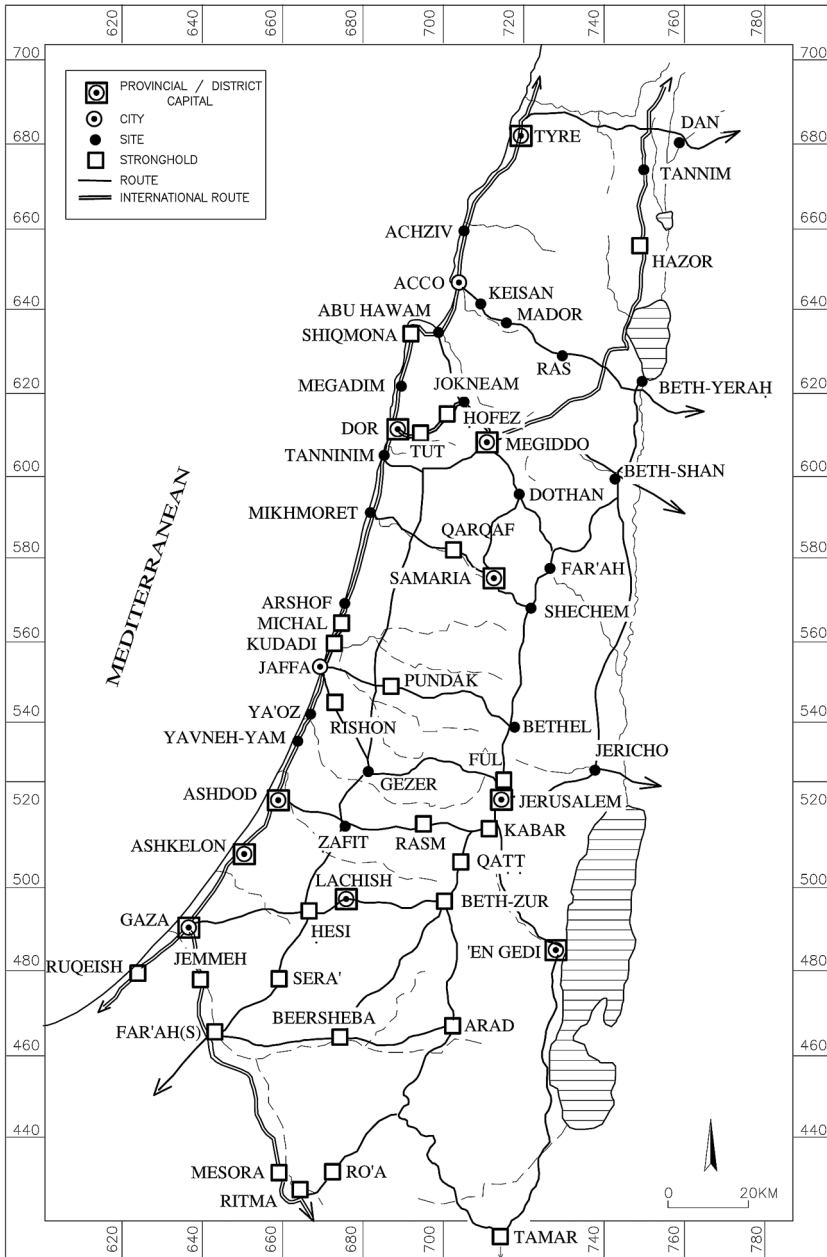
Fig. 6. Sites and suggested routes in Persian-Period Palestine (from Tal 2005: fig. 1).

with the aim of protecting the southern Arabian trade and alerting the Persians to an approaching Egyptian army (fig. 6). The preliminary form of some publications on these fortresses and suspected fortresses as well as the reported character of the finds make it difficult to reach a conclusion on the precise date within the Persian Period for each foundation—the more so, because the finds shown in the recent final publication of the Negev highlands Persian-Period fortresses (namely Ḥorvat Rogem, Ḥorvat Ritma, Meṣad Naḥal HaRoʻa, and Ḥorvat Mesora; Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: 159–201) point to a late Persian rather than an early Persian date, although the finds are quite scant and the quantity of imported ware is very small. One thing is clear, however: the careful pattern of their arrangement indicates that most (if not all) were contemporaneous with each other. What is the best explanation for this new settlement pattern?

The Rationale behind the Achaemenid Imperial Policy at the Southern Frontier of the Fifth Satrapy

What occurred in the region that triggered the Achaemenid authorities to act in the way they did? A broader look, beyond the borders of southern Palestine, shows that in 404–400/398? B.C.E. Persian domination over Egypt, in effect since 525 B.C.E. (almost continuously), came to an end.[15] It seems that the end of Persian domination in Egypt and the establishment of the fortified administrative center at Lachish, both around 400 B.C.E., as well as the establishment of other Persian centers in southern Palestine at that time are not just coincidental. In this case, the establishment of Persian fortified administrative centers at Lachish, Tell Jemmeh, Tel Haror, Tel Seraʻ and Tel Ḥalif, Beth-Zur, Ramat Raḥel, and ʻEn Gedi must be seen, not just as a response to the changes occurring in the region during the fifth century B.C.E., but mainly as a response to a new political reality: Egypt is no longer a part of the Persian Empire or subject to Achaemenid rule. Graf's suggestion that garrisons strung between Gaza and the southern end of the Dead Sea protecting the southern frontier during the period of Egypt's independence between 404–343 B.C.E. (1993: 160) may fit well with such a

---

15. Due to the fact that one of the documents in the Elephantine archive, from September 400 B.C.E., refers to Year 5 of King Amyrtaeus (most likely a grandson of Amyrtaeus I), he must have been proclaimed Pharaoh during 404 B.C.E. Based on the Elephantine documents, it may be safely assumed that, though between 404 and 400 B.C.E. Upper Egypt still remained under Persian control, Amyrtaeus had already dominated all or part of the Delta (Briant 2002: 619, 987, with earlier references).

reconstruction, especially when one observes the linear arrangement of the fortresses listed above.

Lowering the dating of the establishment of the Residency at Lachish to around 400 B.C.E. may have additional significance. More than a decade ago, Hoglund proposed that the Inarus Rebellion in ca. 464–454 B.C.E. was an extremely significant event due to Delian League involvement. He argues that this is the reason for the establishing of a network of Persian fortresses of a distinctive type (central courtyard) in Palestine, dating to the mid-fifth century B.C.E. (Hoglund 1992: 137–205). This theory was adopted in another extensive summary published by Carter (1999) and most recently by Betlyon (2004). In all cases, the ca. 450 B.C.E. date is seen as a clear-cut line in the history of Persian-Period Palestine. Tufnell's dating of the Residency at Lachish to ca. 450 B.C.E. may have served as key evidence for both Hoglund and Carter. Based on Hoglund's work, Carter suggests a new subdivision for the Persian Period: Persian Period I lasts from 538 to 450 B.C.E. and Persian Period II from 450 to 332 B.C.E. Those reconstructions, however, find no echoes in the archaeological record (see critique on Carter's method in Lipschits 2003: 359; but more extensively, Sapin 2003; and on Hoglund's method, Sapin 2004: 112–24). In fact, *not a single site* in Hoglund's list of fortresses can be dated with any degree of certainty to around 450 B.C.E. The same holds true for Hoglund's list of sites in Transjordan.[16] From the data presented above, it is clear that both Hoglund's and Carter's theories must be rejected.

The Inarus Rebellion was just another event in a series of upheavals in the long period of Persian rule over Palestine and Egypt (cf., e.g., Tal 1999: table 4.13, with relevance to the southern Sharon Plain). This event, with no trace of rebellion anywhere but in the Nile Delta (Briant 2002: 575–77, 973), was not significant enough to motivate a new policy regarding the political reorganization of Palestine. The events that had

---

16. Thus, Hoglund amends Pritchard's date of 420 B.C.E. for Tell es-Saʿidiyeh's Persian-Period building, placing it in the mid-fifth century B.C.E. However, the recent excavations at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh have demonstrated that Prichard's Stratum III square building must be seen as the climax of a renovation process above a number of earlier levels of a courtyard building that started sometime in the Persian Period or even earlier (Tubb and Dorrell 1994: 52–59). Therefore, as Bienkowski points out, "these earlier levels may not fit into Hoglund's suggested chronology, or his proposed construction specification for a garrison" (2001: 358). Moreover, Bienkowski offers an additional example of a Persian-Period administrative building discovered at al-ʿUmayri (cf. Herr 1993), which continues from the Neo-Babylonian period, "suggesting that such administrative buildings simply reused existing structures" (Bienkowski 2001: 358).

followed the year 404 B.C.E., on the other hand, seem to be on a completely different scale. We believe that the situation in Egypt and the new reality in southern Palestine triggered the Persian authorities to establish an impressive administrative center at Lachish. The establishment of the Residency was accompanied by additional architectural features (see above) and reflected a new political reality that apparently demanded a new "imperial landscape" (cf. DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996). We have to realize that, for the first time in more than a century of Persian rule, southern Palestine became *the frontier* of the Persian Empire. This frontier was an extremely sensitive one, not only bordering on recently rebellious Egypt, but also subject to external influences from the west (Berquist 1996). It is no longer plausible to speculate that, after the Persian conquest, Egyptian civilization continued just as before, virtually unaffected. New discoveries have shown that Egypt was an integrated and extremely important part of the Achaemenid Empire (Briant 2001, with earlier references). One has to recognize the significance of this new situation for both Persian and Egyptian affairs, especially during the first half of the fourth century B.C.E. (Briant 2002: 664–66, 991–92). As Ray has pointed out, "the entire history of Egypt in the fourth century was dominated, and perhaps even determined, by the presence of Persia, a power which doubtless never recognized Egyptian independence, and which was always anxious to reverse the insult it had received from its rebellious province" (Ray 1987: 84). With southern Palestine as the southern frontier of the Persian Empire, the region must have been organized differently. From an archaeological point of view, it looks as though the Persian authorities expended significant energy organizing their newly created buffer zone with Egypt ca. 400 B.C.E. We are suggesting that only after this date should one look for established boundaries for the provinces of Yehud or Edom. It seems that before this date, during the fifth century B.C.E., the Persian authorities deliberately permitted a certain degree of independence with regard to the resettlement of the area: first they let the newly established rural communities organize themselves and, thereafter, they included them within a rigid taxation system. The organization and spatial distribution of these newly established rural communities may be seen as an internal creation, due to the "self-organization process,"[17]

---

17. For a definition and theoretical framework for the "self-organization" paradigm, see Nicolis and Prigogine 1977; Prigogine and Stengers 1984; Haken 1985; McGlade and van der Leeuw 1997. For methodological implications, see Allen 1982; 1997; cf. also Schloen 2001: 57–58. In terms of the "self-organization" approach, the arrival of the Golah

and without strict imperial intervention at any time during the fifth century B.C.E.[18]

The ethnic diversity in the area discussed—Judeans, Idumeans, Samaritans, descendants of the Philistines, which included a strong Phoenician element and even Greeks (cf. Eph'al 1998)—may be seen as an additional component that triggered the immediate need for the intervention of imperial authority in the newly established frontier, resulting in roads,[19] fortresses, and royal residences.[20]

The Effects of the Achaemenid Reconquest of Egypt on Southern Palestine

Persian domination over Egypt was reestablished for a short period, between 343 and 332 B.C.E., prior to the Macedonian conquest.[21] As a result, the frontier shifted once more, leaving Palestine deep in Achaemenid territory. It is thus tempting to connect the 343 B.C.E. date with the archaeologically attested abandonment of the Residency, which was then reused by local inhabitants during the late years of Persian rule.[22] In this context, for levels attributed to the Late Persian Period, it

---

returnees, who may be considered a "Charter Group" (see Kessler, in this volume, pp. 91–121), doubtless creates a new paradigm. This new pattern suggests that the Golah returnees may be identified as creating an "order parameter" that "enslaved" a previous unsteady system and brought it into a new steady state. This transformation took place during the fifth century B.C.E. as a result of "self-organization" and without strict Achaemenid intervention. However, the imperial Achaemenid authority, doubtless stood behind the initial decision-making, that is, in letting the groups of people return. In this regard one should look for a delicate combination of the so-called "positive-pull factors" and the "negative-push factors" that make any migration possible (cf. Antony 1990; Burmeister 2000).

18. Perhaps with the exception of Stratum IVb at Ramat Raḥel, which may be considered the sole center of Persian government during the fifth century B.C.E. However, even this attribution is uncertain due to the fact that none of the published finds from the excavations at Ramat Raḥel attests to an exclusive fifth-century B.C.E. date (see above).

19. For the political reasoning behind the construction and maintenance of formal road systems, see Earle 1991. For the social complexity inherent in the establishment of a road system, see Hassig 1991.

20. For somewhat similar cases of organizing a frontier, see Smith 1999; 2000 (for Urartu); and Parker 1997; 2001; 2002; Gitin 1997 (for Neo-Assyria). For suggested reorganization of the Achaemenid Cilician frontier at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.E., see Casabonne 1999.

21. For the reconquest of Egypt in 343/342 B.C.E., see, in general, Briant 2002: 685–88, with earlier references.

22. Here, some reference must be made to the Tennes Rebellion; it was Barag (1966) who first suggested that destruction (and abandonment) evident in more than a few

is abandonment rather than destruction that we are witnessing in the
above-listed governmental sites of southern Palestine, with the excep-
tion of the alleged destruction at ʿEn Gedi. Some of these sites were
never resettled after this abandonment, while others were occupied
during the Hellenistic Period, a few of which preserved the govern-
mental character of their Achaemenid predecessors.

---

sites in Palestine, the Coastal Plain, Galilee, and Judah, including Lachish and ʿEn Gedi
(1966: 11 and n. 31) are the result of this event. Stern on the other hand partially relates
this event to several sites along the coast of Palestine (1982: 243; 1995: 274). The extent of
this rebellion and its exact dating are still questionable (Elayi 1990: 182–84; Briant 2002:
683–84, 1004). Our reconstruction tends to support Stern's view and other minimalists.

Bibliography

Aharoni, Y.
  1956   Excavations at Ramat Raḥel, 1954: Preliminary Report. *Israel Explora-
          tion Journal* 6: 102–11, 137–57.
  1964   *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel: Seasons 1961 and 1962.* Rome.
  1981   *Arad Inscriptions.* Jerusalem.
Aharoni, Y. (ed.)
  1973   *Beer-Sheba I: Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba, 1969–1971 Seasons.* Tel Aviv
          University Publications of the Institute of Archaeology 2. Tel Aviv.
Aharoni, Y., et al.
  1975   *Lachish V: Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency.* Tel
          Aviv University Publications of the Institute of Archaeology 4. Tel
          Aviv.
Allen, M. J.
  1997   *Contested Peripheries: Philistia in the Neo-Assyrian World-System.* Ph.D.
          dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
Allen, P. M.
  1982   The Genesis of Structure in Social System: The Paradigm of Self-
          Organization. Pp. 347–74 in *Theory and Explanation in Archaeology,* ed.
          C. Renfrew, M. J. Rowlands, and B. A. Segraves. New York.
  1997   Models of Creativity: Toward a New Science of History. Pp. 39–56 in
          Time, Process and Structured Transformation in Archaeology, ed. S. E. van
          der Leeuw and J. McGlade. One World Archaeology 26. London and
          New York.
Amiran, R., and Dunayevsky, I.
  1958   The Assyrian Open-Court Building and Its Palestinian Derivatives.
          Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 149: 25–32.
Antony, D. W.
  1990   Migration in Archaeology: The Baby and the Bathwater. *American An-
          thropologist* 92: 895–914.

Arav, R., and Bernett, M.
  2000 The *bīt-ḫilāni* at Bethsaida: Its Place in Aramaean/Neo-Hittite and Israelite Palace Architecture in the Iron Age II. *Israel Exploration Journal* 50: 47–81.
Ariel, D. T.
  2002 The Coins from the Surveys and Excavations of Caves in the Northern Judean Desert. ʿ*Atiqot* 41: 281–304.
Ariel, D. T., and Shoham, Y.
  2000 Locally Stamped Handles and Associated Body Fragments of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods. Pp. 137–71 in *Inscriptions*. Vol. 6 of *Excavations at the City of David, 1978–1985*, ed. D. T. Ariel. Qedem 41. Jerusalem.
Barag, D.
  1966 The Effects of the Tennes Rebellion on Palestine. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 183: 6–12.
Bennett, W. J. Jr., and Blakely, J. A.
  1989 *Tell el-Hesi: The Persian Period (Stratum V)*. Winona Lake, Indiana.
Berquist, J.
  1995 The Shifting Frontier: The Achaemenid Empire's Treatment of Western Colonies. *Journal of World-System Research* 1. [http://jwsr.ucr.edu/archive/vol1/v1_nh.php]
Betlyon, J. W.
  2004 Egypt and Phoenicia in the Persian Period: Partners in Trade and Rebellion. Pp. 455–77 in *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*, ed. G. N. Knoppers and A. Hirsch. Probleme der Ägyptologie 20. Leiden.
Bienkowski, P.
  2001 The Persian Period. Pp. 347–65 in *The Archaeology of Jordan*, ed. B. MacDonald, R. Adams, and P. Bienkowski. Levantine Archaeology 1. Sheffield.
Bowden, H.
  1991 The Chronology of Greek Painted Pottery: Some Observations. *Hephaistos* 10: 49–59.
Briant, P.
  2001 New Trends in Achaemenid History. *Noruz Lecture Foundation for Iranian Studies Washington D.C.: March 23, 2001*. [http://www.fis-iran. org/achemenid.htm]
  2002 *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*. Trans. P. T. Daniels. Winona Lake, Indiana.
Burmeister, S.
  2000 Archaeology and Migration: Approaches to an Archaeological Proof of Migration. *Current Anthropology* 41: 539–67.
Carter, C. E.
  1999 *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement 294. Sheffield.

Casabonne, O.
  1999   Local Powers and Persian Model in Achaemenid Cilicia: A Reassessment. *Olba* 2: 57–66.
Christaller, W.
  1933   *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland: Eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesetzmässigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen.* Jena.
Cohen, R.
  1980   The Iron Age Fortresses in the Central Negev. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 236: 61–79.
  1983   Excavations at Kadesh-Barnea, 1976–1982. *Qadmoniot* 61: 2–14. [Hebrew]
  1986   Notes and News: Negev Emergency Project, 1984–1985. *Israel Exploration Journal* 36: 111–15.
Cohen, R., and Cohen-Amin, R.
  2004   *Ancient Settlements of the Negev Highlands II: The Iron Age and the Persian Period.* Israel Antiquties Authority Report 20. Jerusalem.
Cohen, R., and Yisrael, Y.
  1996   The Excavations at ʿEin Ḥaẓeva / Israelite and Roman Tamar. *Qadmoniot* 112: 78–92. [Hebrew]
Cook, R. M.
  1989   The Francis-Vickers Chronology. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 109: 164–70.
Dagan, Y.
  1992   *Archaeological Survey of Israel: Map of Lakhish (98).* Jerusalem.
  2000   *The Settlement in the Judean Shephelah in the Second and First Millennium B.C.: A Test-Case of Settlement Processes in a Geographical Region.* Ph.D. dissertation. Tel Aviv University. [Hebrew]
DeMarrais, E.; Castillo, L. J.; and Earle, T.
  1996   Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies. *Current Anthropology* 37: 15–31.
Earle, T.
  1991   Paths and Roads in Evolutionary Perspective. Pp. 10–16 in *Ancient Road Networks and Settlement Hierarchies in the New World*, ed. C. D. Trombold. Cambridge.
Elayi, J.
  1990   *Sidon: Cité autonome de l'Empire perse.* 2nd ed. Paris.
Ephʿal, I.
  1984   *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* Jerusalem.
  1998   Changes in Palestine during the Persian Period in Light of Epigraphic Sources. *Israel Exploration Journal* 48: 106–19.
Ephʿal, I., and Naveh, J.
  1996   *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea.* Jerusalem.
Fantalkin, A.
  2001a Meẓad Ḥashavyahu: Its Material Culture and Historical Background. *Tel Aviv* 28: 3–165.

2001b Low Chronology and Greek Protogeometric and Geometric Pottery in the Southern Levant. *Levant* 33: 117–25.

Fantalkin, A., and Tal, O.
  2004 The Persian and Hellenistic Pottery of Level I. Pp. 2174–94 in *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish, 1973–1994*, ed. D. Ussishkin. 5 volumes. Tel Aviv University Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology 21. Tel Aviv.

Finkielsztejn, G.
  1999 More Evidence on John Hyrcanus I's Conquests: Lead Weights and Rhodian Amphora Stamps. *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 16: 33–63.

Fischer, M., and Tal, O.
  2003 Architectural Decoration in Ancient Israel in Hellenistic Times: Some Aspects of Hellenization. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 119: 19–37.

Francis, E. D., and Vickers, M. E.
  1985 Greek Geometric Pottery at Hama and Its Implications for Near Eastern Chronology. *Levant* 17: 131–38.
  1988 The Agora Revisited: Athenian Chronology c. 500–450 B.C. *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 83: 143–67.

Frankfort, H.
  1952 The Origin of Bit Hilani. *Iraq* 14: 120–31.

Geus, C. H. J. de
  1979–80 Idumaea. *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap ex Oriente Lux* 26: 53–72.

Gitin, S.
  1997 The Neo-Assyrian Empire and Its Western Periphery: The Levant, with a Focus on Philistine Ekron. Pp. 77–103 in *Assyria 1995: Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project*, ed. S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting. Helsinki.

Graf, D. F.
  1990 Arabia during Achaemenid Times. Pp. 131–48 in *Centre and Periphery: Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt. Leiden.
  1993 The Persian Royal Road System in Syria–Palestine. *Transeuphratène* 6: 149–66.

Haggett, P.
  1965 *Locational Analysis in Human Geography.* London.

Haken, H.
  1985 Synergetics: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Phenomena of Self-Organization. Pp. 205–11 in *Links between the Natural and Social Sciences*, ed. J. Portugali. Special Theme Issue of *Geoforum* 16/2. Oxford.

Hassig, R.
  1991 Roads, Routes, and Ties that Bind. Pp. 17–27 in *Ancient Road Networks and Settlement Hierarchies in the New World*, ed. C. D. Trombold. Cambridge.

Herr, L. G.
  1993   What Ever Happened to the Ammonites? *Biblical Archaeology Review*
          19/6: 26–35, 68.
Herzog, Z.
  1997   The Arad Fortresses. Pp. 111–256 in *Arad*. Tel Aviv. [Hebrew]
Hoglund, K. G.
  1992   *Achaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria–Palestine and the Missions of
          Ezra and Nehemiah*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
          125. Atlanta.
Iliffe, J. H.
  1933   Pre-Hellenistic Greek Pottery in Palestine. *Quarterly of the Department
          of Antiquities in Palestine* 2: 15–26.
James, P.
  2003   Naukratis Revisited. *Hyperboreus: Studia Classica* 9: 235–64.
Jansen, H.
  2001   *The Construction of Urban Past: Narrative and System in Urban History*,
          trans. F. de Jong. Oxford and New York.
Johnson, G. A.
  1972   A Test of the Utility of the Central Place Theory in Archaeology.
          Pp. 769–85 in *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, ed. P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham,
          and G. W. Dimbleby. Cambridge.
Kroll, J. H.
  1993   *The Athenian Agora XXVI: The Greek Coins*. New Jersey.
Lemaire, A.
  1996   *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au Musée d'Israël*. Supplé-
          ment 3 à Transeuphratène. Paris.
  2002   Vol. 2 of *Nouveaux ostraca araméens d'Idumée et probleme d'interpretation*.
          Supplément 9 à Transeuphratène. Paris.
Lipschits, O.
  2000   Was There a Royal Estate in En-Gedi by the End of the Iron Age and
          during the Persian Period? Pp. 31–42 in *Jerusalem and Eretz Israel (Arie
          Kindler Volume)*, ed. J. Schwartz, Z. Amar, and I. Ziffer. Ramat Gan.
          [Hebrew: English abstract, p. 101*]
  2002   Literary and Ideological Aspects of Nehemiah 11. *Journal of Biblical Lit-
          erature* 121: 423–40.
  2003   Demographic Changes in Judah between the Seventh and the Fifth
          Centuries B.C.E. Pp. 323–76 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian
          Period*, ed. O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, Indiana.
Lösch, A.
  1954   *The Economics of Location*. New Haven, Connecticut.
Mazar, B.; Dothan, T.; and Dunayevsky, I.
  1966   *En-Gedi: The First and Second Seasons of Excavations, 1961–1962*. ʿAtiqot
          5. Jerusalem.
Mazar, B., and Dunayevsky, I.
  1967   En-Gedi: Fourth and Fifth Seasons of Excavations, Preliminary Re-
          port. *Israel Exploration Journal* 17: 133–43.

McGlade, J., and van der Leeuw, S. E.
  1997   Introduction: Archaeology and Non-linear Dynamics: New Ap-
            proaches to Long-Term Change. Pp. 1–31 in *Time, Process and Structured
            Transformation in Archaeology*, ed. S. E. van der Leeuw and J. McGlade.
            London and New York.
Meshel, Z.
  1977   Ḥorvat Ritma: An Iron Age Fortress in the Negev Highlands. *Tel Aviv*
            4: 110–35.
Naʾaman, N.
  1997   Notes on the Excavations at ʿEin Ḥaẓeva. *Qadmoniot* 113: 60. [Hebrew]
  2000   Royal Vassals or Governors? On the Status of Sheshbazzar and Zerub-
            babel in the Persian Empire. *Henoch* 22/1: 35–44.
  2001   An Assyrian Residence at Ramat Raḥel? *Tel Aviv* 28: 260–80.
Nicolis, G., and Prigogine, I.
  1977   *Self-Organization in Non-equilibrium Systems*. New York.
Parker, B. J.
  1997   Garrisoning the Empire: Aspects of the Construction and Mainte-
            nance of Forts on the Assyrian Frontier. *Iraq* 59: 77–87.
  2001   *The Mechanics of Empire: The Northern Frontier of Assyria as a Case Study
            in Imperial Dynamics*. Helsinki.
  2002   At the Edge of Empire: Conceptualizing Assyria's Anatolian Frontier
            ca. 700 BC. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 21: 371–95.
Petrie, W. M. F.
  1928   *Gerar*. London.
Phythian-Adams, W. J.
  1923   Report on Soundings at Tell Jemmeh. *Palestine Exploration Fund* 1923:
            140–46.
Prigogine, I., and Stengers, I.
  1984   *Order out of Chaos*. New York.
Rad, G. von
  1930   *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*. Stuttgart.
Ray, J. D.
  1987   Egypt: Dependence and Independence (425–343 B.C.). Pp. 79–95 in
            *Sources, Structures and Synthesis: Proceedings of the Groningen 1983
            Achaemenid History Workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg. Achaeme-
            nid History 1. Leiden.
Reich, R.
  1992a Palaces and Residences in the Iron Age. Pp. 202–22 in *The Architecture
            of Ancient Israel*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem.
  1992b The Beth-Zur Citadel II: A Persian Residency? *Tel Aviv* 19: 113–23.
Sapin, J.
  2003   Notes et Discussions. Un rééquilibrage archéologique concernant la
            Judée à l'époque perse: À propos d'un ouvrage récent. *Transeuphratène*
            26: 121–42.
  2004   La "frontière" judéo-iduméenne au IVᵉ s. av. J.-C. *Transeuphratène* 27:
            109–54.

Schloen, J. D.
  2001 *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East.* Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 2. Winona Lake, Indiana.
Sellers, O. R.
  1933 *The Citadel of Beth-Zur.* Philadelphia.
Sellers, O. R., et al.
  1968 *The 1957 Excavations of Beth-Zur.* Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 38. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Shear, T. L. Jr.
  1993 The Persian Destruction of Athens: Evidence from Agora Deposits. *Hesperia* 62: 383–482.
Shefton, B. B.
  2000 Reflections on the Presence of Attic Pottery at the Eastern End of the Mediterranean during the Persian Period. *Transeuphratène* 19: 75–82.
Smith, A. T.
  1999 The Making of an Urartian Landscape in Southern Transcaucasia: A Study of Political Architectonics. *American Journal of Archaeology* 103: 45–71.
  2000 Rendering the Political Aesthetic: Political Legitimacy in Urartian Representations of the Built Environment. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 19: 131–63.
Sparkes, B. A., and Talcott, L.
  1970 *The Athenian Agora XII: Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.* Princeton.
Stern, E.
  1982 *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538–332 B.C.* Warminster and Jerusalem.
  1995 Historical Conclusions. Pp. 271–83 in *Excavations at Dor: Final Report Volume I A. Areas A and C: Introduction and Stratigraphy,* by E. Stern. Jerusalem.
  2001 *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible II: The Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian Periods 722–332 B.C.E.* New York.
Tal, O.
  1999 The Persian Period. Pp. 83–222 in *Apollonia-Arsuf: Final Report of the Excavations I: The Persian and Hellenistic Periods (with Appendices on the Chalcolithic and Iron Age II Remains),* by I. Roll and O. Tal. Tel Aviv University Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology 16. Tel Aviv.
  2005 Some Remarks on the Coastal Plain of Palestine under Achaemenid Rule: An Archaeological Synopsis. *Persika* 6: 71–96.
Tubb, J. N., and Dorrell, P. G.
  1994 Tell es-Saʾidiyeh 1993: Interim Report on the Seventh Season of Renewed Excavations. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 126: 52–67.
Tufnell, O.
  1953 *Lachish III: The Iron Age.* London.

Ussishkin, D. (ed.)
  2004   *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish, 1973–1994.* 5 volumes. Tel Aviv.
Van Beek, G. W.
  1983   Digging up Tell Jemmeh. *Archaeology* 36/1: 12–19.
  1993   The Reexcavations of Sites: Tell Jemmeh. Pp. 575–80 in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology. Jerusalem, June–July 1990*, ed. A. Biran and J. Aviram. Jerusalem.
Waldbaum, J. C., and Magness, J.
  1997   The Chronology of Early Greek Pottery: New Evidence from Seventh-Century B.C. Destruction Levels in Israel. *American Journal of Archaeology* 101: 23–40.
Williamson, H.
  1998   Judah and the Jews. Pp. 145–63 in *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, ed. M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt. Achaemenid History 11. Leiden.
Zadok, R.
  1998   A Prosopography of Samaria and Edom/Idumea. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 30: 781–828.