



# Israel Exploration Journal

VOLUME 62 • NUMBER 2  
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL • 2012

## ISRAEL EXPLORATION JOURNAL

Published twice yearly by the Israel Exploration Society and the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, with the assistance of the Nathan Davidson Publication Fund in Archaeology, Samis Foundation, Seattle WA, and Dorot Foundation, Providence RI

### ***Founders***

A. Reifenberg, D. Amiran

### ***Former Editors***

Michael Avi-Yonah, Dan Barag, Jonas C. Greenfield, Baruch A. Levine, Miriam Tadmor

### ***Editorial Board***

Shmuel Ahituv and Amihai Mazar, *Editors*

Tsipi Kuper-Blau, *Executive Editor*

Joseph Aviram, *President, Israel Exploration Society*

### ***Editorial Advisory Board***

Gideon Avni, Ofer Bar-Yosef, Shlomo Bunimovitz, Israel Eph'al, Baruch A. Levine, Aren M. Maeir, Gloria Merker, Ronny Reich, Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, Zeev Weiss

*IEJ* is now available online on JSTOR

Email: [iej.editors@gmail.com](mailto:iej.editors@gmail.com)

Books for review: Israel Exploration Journal, P.O.B. 7041, Jerusalem 91070, Israel

Guidelines: <http://israelexplorationsociety.huji.ac.il>

Copyright © 2012 Israel Exploration Society

ISSN 0021-2059

The Editors are not responsible for opinions expressed by the contributors

## CONTENTS

- 129 VERED ESHED and SHAY BAR: An Innovative Analysis of Infant Burials from the Chalcolithic Site of Fazael 2, Israel
- 141 ITZHAQ SHAI, DEBORAH CASSUTO, AMIT DAGAN and JOE UZIEL: The Fortifications at Tel Burna: Date, Function and Meaning
- 158 WAYNE HOROWITZ, TAKAYOSHI OSHIMA and FILIP VUKOSAVOVIĆ: Hazor 18: Fragments of a Cuneiform Law Collection from Hazor
- 177 LILY SINGER-AVITZ: Khirbet Qeiyafa: Late Iron Age I in Spite of It All
- 186 AARON DEMSKY: An Iron Age IIA Alphabetic Writing Exercise from Khirbet Qeiyafa
- 200 RONNY REICH: A Fiscal Bulla from the City of David, Jerusalem
- 206 MITKA RATZABY GOLUB: The Distribution of Names on Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah: A Comparative Study
- 223 SHMUEL AHITUV: A Rejoinder to Nadav Na'aman's 'A New Appraisal of the Silver Amulets from Ketef Hinnom'
- 233 CHRISTOPHER A. ROLLSTON: Epigraphic Notes on the Ossuary of Mariam, Daughter of Yeshua<sup>c</sup>: Limning the Broad Tableau
- 244 NOTES AND NEWS
- 248 REVIEWS

## ABBREVIATIONS

- AASOR Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research  
*ADAJ* Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan  
*AJA* American Journal of Archaeology  
*AfO* Archiv für Orientforschung  
*ANET* Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament<sup>3</sup>, ed. J.B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1969  
*BA* The Biblical Archaeologist  
*BASOR* Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research  
*BT* Babylonian Talmud  
*CAD* Chicago Assyrian Dictionary  
*CIS* Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum  
*DJD* Discoveries in the Judaean Desert  
*DSD* Dead Sea Discoveries  
*EI* Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies  
*ESI* Excavations and Surveys in Israel  
*IAA Reports* Israel Antiquities Authority Reports  
*IEJ* Israel Exploration Journal  
*JAOS* Journal of the American Oriental Society  
*JBL* Journal of Biblical Literature  
*JCS* Journal of Cuneiform Studies  
*JEA* Journal of Egyptian Archaeology  
*JNES* Journal of Near Eastern Studies  
*KAI* W. Donner and W. Röllig: *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* 1–3, Wiesbaden, 1962–1964; 1<sup>s</sup>, 2002  
*NEAEHL* The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land (English Edition), Jerusalem, 1993  
*PEQ* Palestine Exploration Quarterly  
*PT* Palestinian Talmud  
*QDAP* Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine  
*RA* Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale  
*RB* Revue Biblique  
*RE* Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft  
*RQ* Revue de Qumran  
*VT* Vetus Testamentum  
*ZA* Zeitschrift für Assyriologie  
*ZDPV* Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

---

### ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

2013: \$60 including postage or equivalent payable to the Israel Exploration Society, P.O.B. 7041, Jerusalem 91070, Israel. All subscribers are entitled to a 25% reduction on the publications of the Society. Subscribers should give full name and postal address when paying their subscription, and should send notice of change of address at least five weeks before it is to take effect; the old as well as the new address should be given. *Single issue*: \$30 or equivalent.

# The Fortifications at Tel Burna: Date, Function and Meaning

ITZHAQ SHAI  
Ariel University Center of Samaria

DEBORAH CASSUTO  
Bar-Ilan University

AMIT DAGAN  
Bar-Ilan University

JOE UZIEL  
Israel Antiquities Authority

**ABSTRACT:** The first two seasons of work at Tel Burna have focused on revealing a segment of the fortification walls partially exposed along the perimeter of the upper tel. The discovery of a seventh-century BCE silo cutting the inner wall of the fortifications provides a *terminus ante quem* for the wall. This discovery, in conjunction with other finds from the excavations, presents us with a unique opportunity to explore the significance and meaning of fortifications and the fortified towns along the western border of ancient Judah.

## INTRODUCTION

TEL BURNA is located in the Judaeian Shephelah, along the northern banks of Naḥal Guvrin, slightly north of Lachish (fig. 1). Despite the clear prominence of the summit, covering an area of 70×70 m. (fig. 2) and its lower city, covering an area of 16 hectares (Uziel and Shai 2010), and the results of regional surveys (e.g., Aharoni and Amiran 1955; Dagan 1992; 2000; Levy-Reifer 2004: 160) that made note of the significance of the site in the Bronze and Iron Ages, Tel Burna was never excavated prior to the commencement of our project in 2010. The high-resolution survey conducted as the first stage of the current project<sup>1</sup> (Uziel and Shai 2010) showed that the site was first inhabited in the Early Bronze Age and settled intensively in the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze and Iron Ages and suggested that the fortifications (fig. 3) date from the Iron Age II. Although dating an architectural element on the basis of survey data may be problematic, the fact that 77% of the sherds collected on the surface of the summit, enclosed by these fortifications, date from this period (Uziel and Shai 2010: 238) hinted towards the dating of this feature.

---

<sup>1</sup> The excavations are affiliated with the Institute of Archaeology at Bar-Ilan University and are partially supported by the Kushitsky Fund and Dr. Simon Krauthammer Chair in Archaeology, as well as by private donations. We would like to thank Prof. Aren M. Maeir for his constant support of the Tel Burna project, from its onset, in every way possible. Plans are by J. Rosenberg; pottery drawings by Y. Rodman and A. Karasik; aerial photography by Skyview; field and find photos by A. Dagan and M. McKinny.

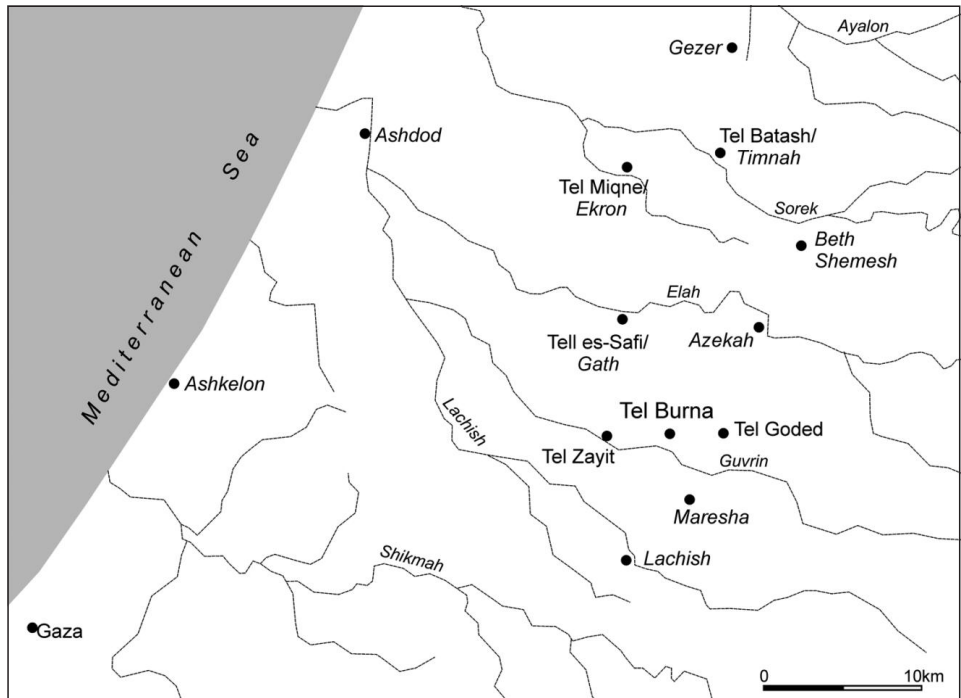


Fig. 1. Map showing location of Tel Burna



Fig. 2. 3D reconstruction of the tel and its surroundings based on topographic data and aerial photography (view from the west; prepared by Gal Avraham)



Fig. 3. Aerial view of Tel Burna: fortifications are visible on the surface

Several scholars have suggested Tel Burna as the location of the biblical city of Libnah (e.g., Albright 1921; Rainey and Notley 2006: 127; Zadok 2009). This was primarily based on the geographic location of Libnah in the third administrative district of Judah, together with Maresha and Eter (Josh. 15:42), and corroborated by its mention alongside Lachish and Maqedah in the southern Shephelah (Josh. 10:29) and by its mention as a Levitical/asylum city in the region (Josh. 21:13). None of these sources, however, provide data as to the specific location of Libnah; thus, others argue for a different location for Libnah (e.g., Dagan 1996, who proposes Ḥorvat Lavnin; Tappy 2008 who proposes Tel Zayit, west of Tel Burna; see also Mazar 1974; Rainey 1980; Zadok 2009). Regardless of the location of Libnah, the position of Tel Burna along the border between Judah and Philistia, in conjunction with the extensive survey and excavation data, indicate that this site was a prominent settlement in the Iron Age, particularly in the Iron Age II, when the site reaches its largest size (8 hectares; see Uziel and Shai 2010).

### THE EXCAVATIONS

Thus far, our excavations have produced substantial evidence for Late Bronze and Iron Age occupations. We excavated 14 squares in three areas (fig. 4): three squares on the terrace just west of the summit (area B), five squares in the centre of the upper tel (area A2), and six squares forming a section along the eastern slope of the summit (area A1). The eastern section in Area A1 was excavated in

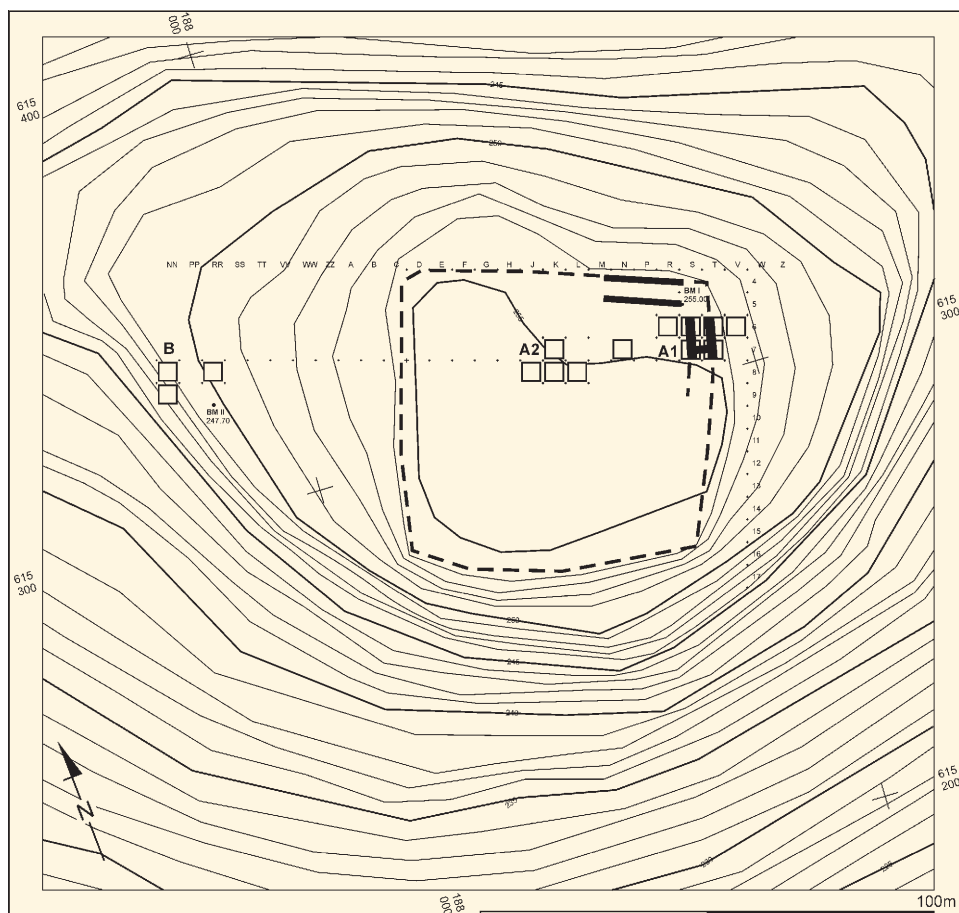


Fig. 4. Tel Burna: topographical map, showing squares excavated

order to establish the various stratigraphic layers of the summit and to further reveal parts of the substantial fortification system.

Work in the eastern section in area A1 has exposed a casemate fortification system in four of the squares (fig. 5). This is composed of two parallel walls (W13002 and W12006), running north–south and connected by a perpendicular wall (W21206). The outer fortification wall (W13002) is *c.* 2 m. thick, with six courses of large field stones exposed (fig. 6). Although we have yet to reach a clear surface outside the external wall, excavations east of this wall have produced significant amounts of restorable Iron II pottery (see below). The inner parallel line of the fortification (W12006) is built of large field stones (1.5 m. wide), of which four courses have been exposed to date. Although no surface has yet been reached in the area between W13002 and W12006, the pottery from the fill almost entirely dates from the Iron Age II.



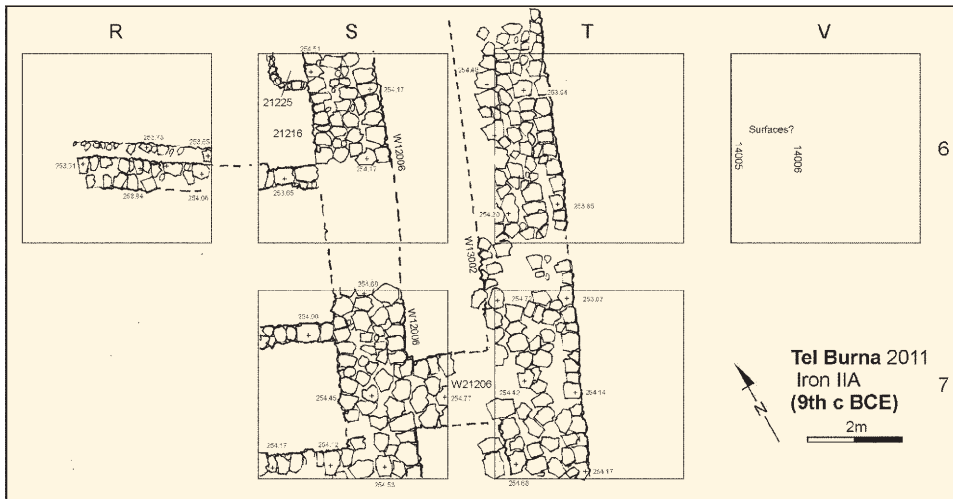


Fig. 5. Plan of ninth-century remains at Tel Burna



Fig. 6. Excavated section of outer fortification wall

With the walls lying *c.* 2 m. apart, the entire fortification system is *c.* 5.5 m. thick. Based on the topography and surface survey, this fortification enclosed a square area (*c.* 70×70 m.) and the entire length of the wall was 280 m.; while today

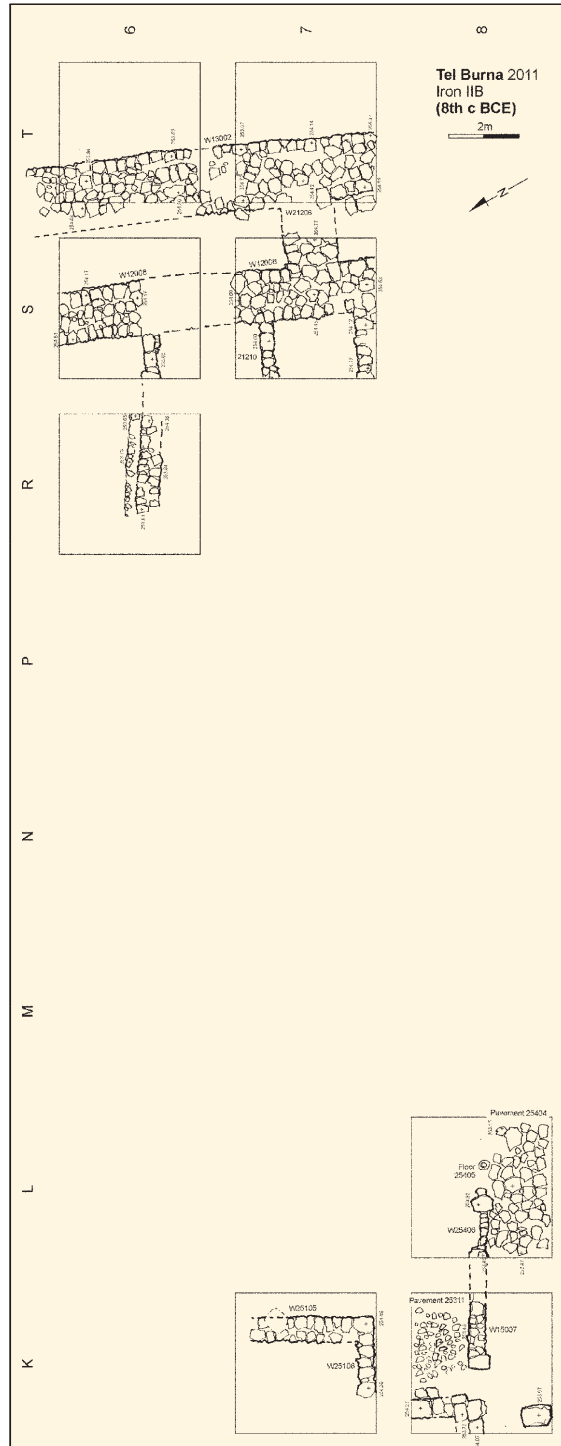


Fig. 7. Plan of eighth-century remains at Tel Burna

it stands to a height of approximately 2 m., it was certainly considerably higher in antiquity.

Two surfaces have been exposed to the west of W12006. The earlier surface (L21216) had a small installation (L21225) built of field stones, upon which several loom weights were uncovered, alongside ninth-century BCE pottery (see below, fig. 9). The later surface (L21210) may be dated to the eighth century BCE on the basis of the pottery found there (fig. 7; see below, fig. 10).

The inner wall (W12006) is cut by a later silo (L12007; fig. 8). The silo — one of five such silos discovered so far in the excavations — is lined with field stones (W12008) and has yielded seventh-century BCE pottery (see below). This indicates that the wall must pre-date the intrusive silo and would have clearly been out of use by the time the silo was constructed in the seventh century BCE. Thus, it provides a firm *terminus ante quem* for the fortifications.



Fig. 8. Silo L12007 cutting inner fortification wall

### THE POTTERY

The earliest pottery assemblage exposed in relation to the fortification walls dates from the ninth century BCE. Found on floor L21216 and in installation L21225, alongside a concentration of loom weights, its most significant type is a small carinated bowl with a plain rim, red slip and interior burnishing (fig. 9:1), similar to bowls from Tell eṣ-Şafi/Gath Stratum A3 (Shai and Maeir 2012: fig. 14.6:1),

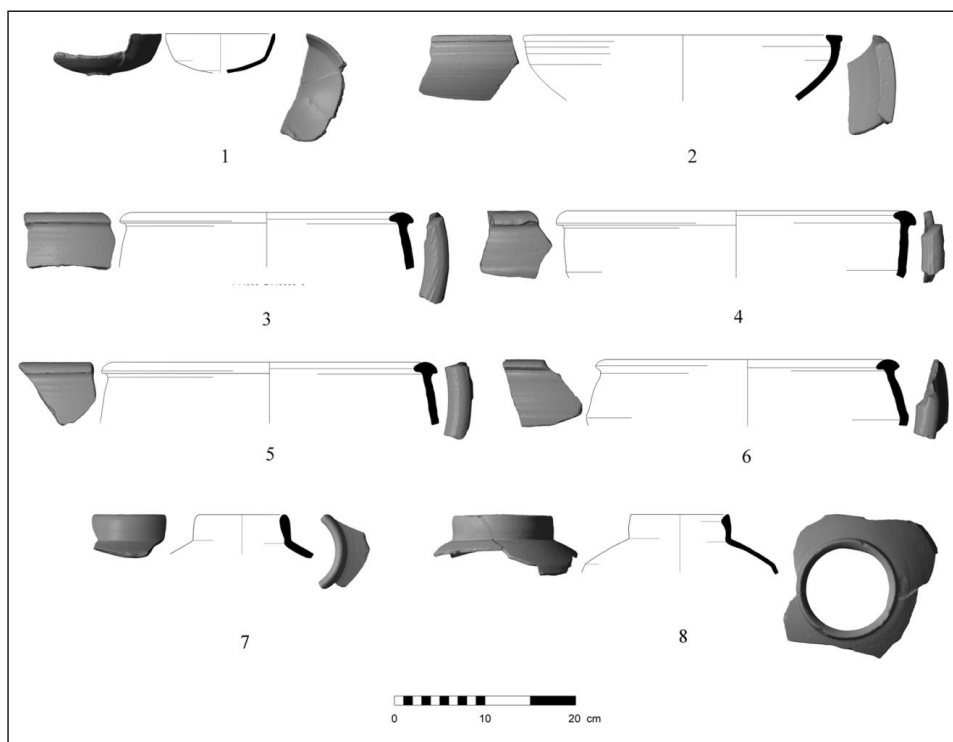


Fig. 9. Ninth-century BCE pottery from Tel Burna

Lachish Level IV (Zimhoni 2004a: fig. 25.29:6) and Tel Batash Stratum IV (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: pl. 5:16). Another common type is a rounded bowl with ridges below a flattened rim (fig. 9:2). The vessel is red-slipped and hand-burnished, typical of the late Iron Age IIA. Parallels can be found at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath Stratum A3 (Shai and Maeir 2012: pl. 14.11:3), Lachish Levels V–IV (Zimhoni 2004a: fig. 25.19:15) and Tel Batash Stratum IV (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: pl. 1:9). Typical late Iron IIA kraters (figs. 9:3–6) are large, with a hammerhead rim and red slip with burnish on the interior and upper exterior; they sometimes bear multiple handles. These vessels are comparable to kraters from Lachish Levels V–IV (Zimhoni 2004a: fig. 25.41), Tel Ḥamid VI–VII (Shavit 2003: pl. 4:4) and Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath (Shai and Maeir 2012: pl. 14.11:10). Finally, jars with a short neck and wide shoulder were found (fig. 9:7, 8) these are similar to examples from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath (Shai and Maeir 2012: pl. 14.11:11), Gezer Stratum VIB (Gitin 1990: pl. 11:6–9) and Ashdod Stratum VIII (Dothan 1971: fig. 38:4).

Eighth-century pottery was found in various areas of the summit, including the upper surface relating to the inner wall of the casemate fortification (L21210). Hand burnishing is almost completely replaced by wheel burnishing (fig. 11).

Typical forms include Judaeen folded-rim bowls (figs. 10:2–3), other bowl types (fig. 10:1,4–5), closed cooking pots with a ridge around the rim (fig. 10:6), kraters (fig. 10:7), holemouth jars with ledge rim (fig. 10:8) and *lmk*-type jars (figs. 10:9–11). The eighth-century repertoire resembles that of Lachish Level III (Zimhoni 2004b), Tel Batash Stratum III (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001) and Tell eš-Šafi/Gath Stratum A2 (Avisar and Maeir 2012). Note that a single two-winged

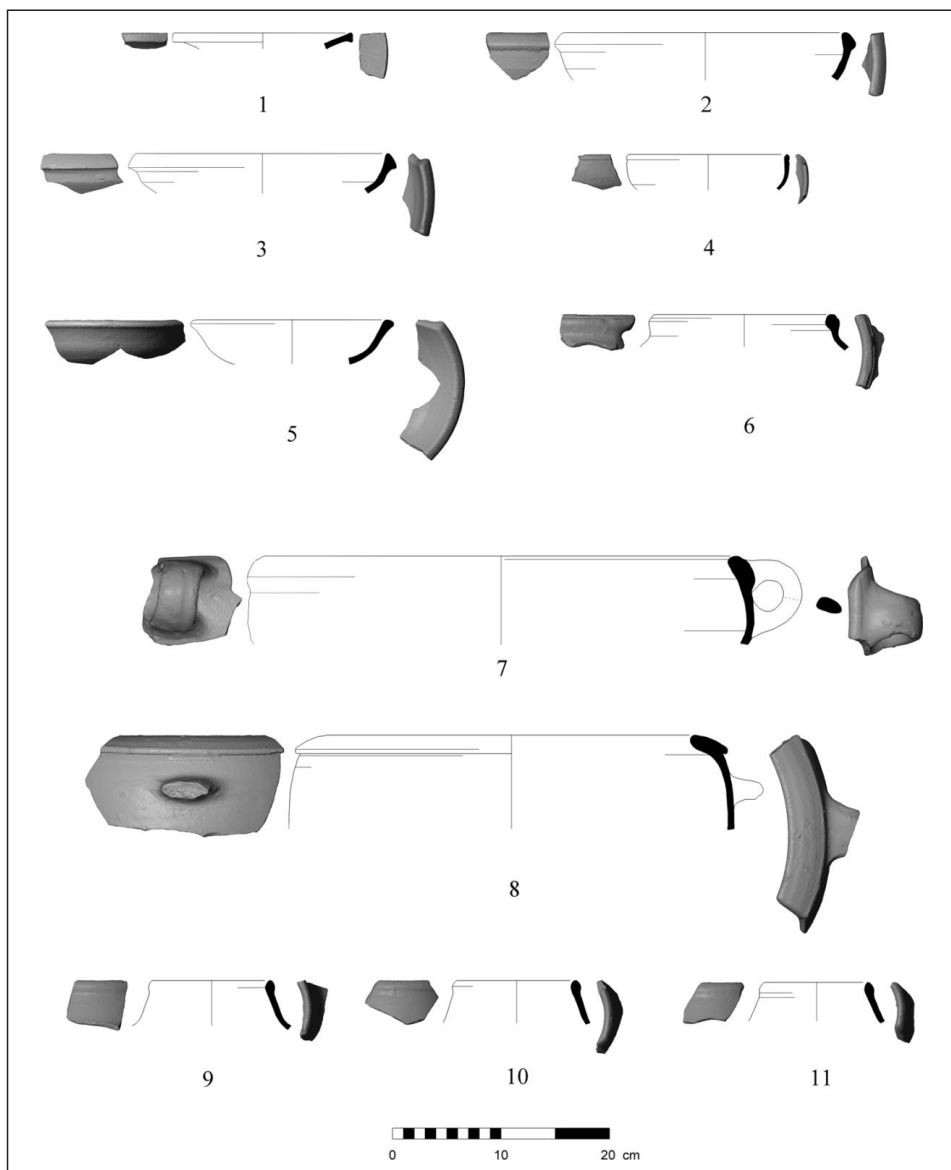


Fig. 10. Eighth-century pottery from Tel Burna



Fig. 11. Eighth-century BCE pottery with wheel burnishing

*lmlk*-stamped handle (fig. 12) was found in an unstratified fill; thus, it cannot be attributed with certainty to either the eighth- or seventh-century context at our site (for recent debate on the dating of these stamped handles, see Lipschits, Sergi and Koch 2010; Ussishkin 2011).

The seventh-century BCE pottery originates almost exclusively from the five silos excavated — including silo L12007, which, as aforementioned, cuts the fortification wall. Forms include bowls (fig. 13:1,2), lamps with raised base (fig. 13:3), storage jars with short necks (fig. 13:4,5), cooking pots with ridged rim (fig. 13:6–7), holemouth jars (fig. 13:8) and storage jars (fig. 13:9–10). These forms can be compared with vessels from other sites in the region, such as Lachish Level II (Zimhoni 2004b) and Tel Batash Stratum II (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001).

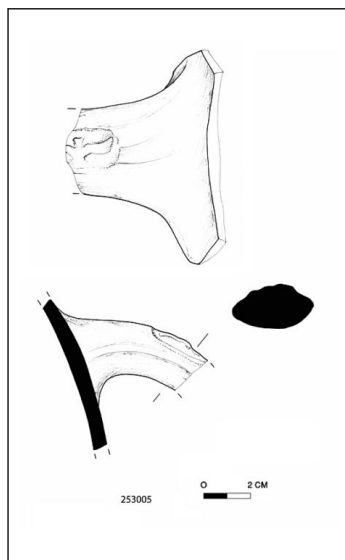


Fig. 12. *Lmlk*-stamped handle

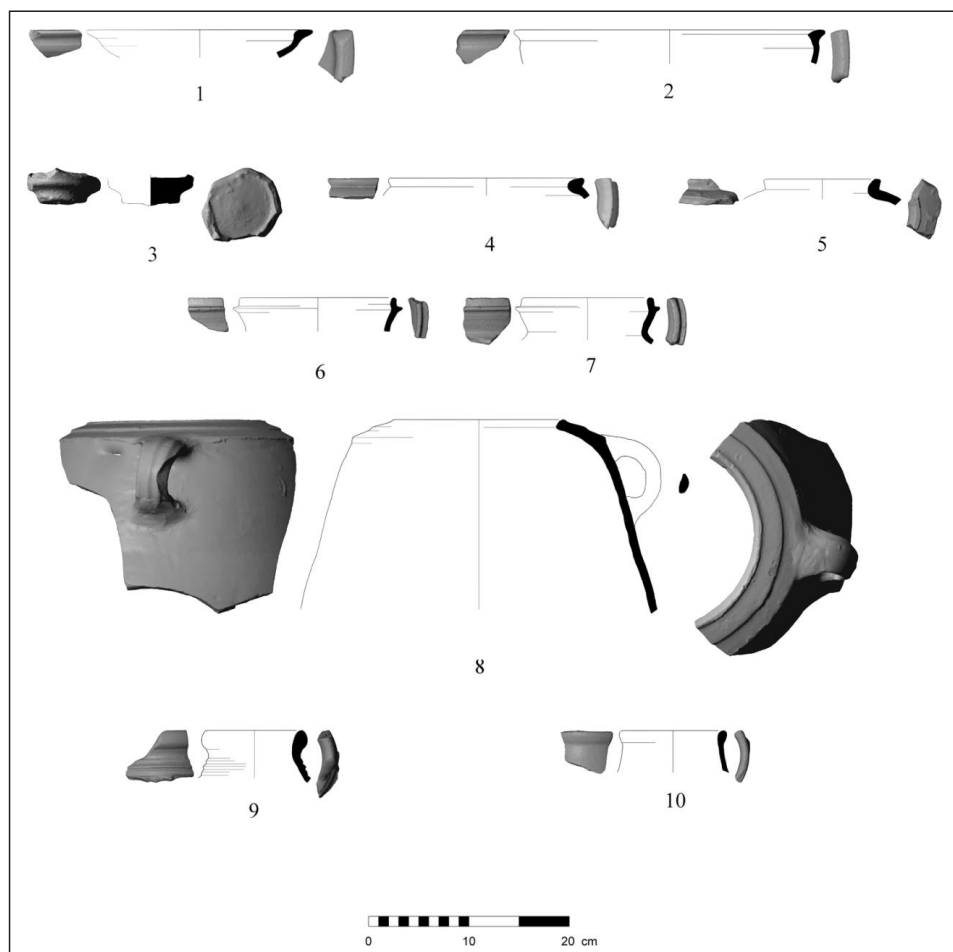


Fig. 13. Seventh-century BCE pottery from Tel Burna

#### FORTIFIED SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE BORDER

From the above data it is clear that the fortifications of Tel Burna were in use during the ninth and eighth centuries BCE. While the outer wall may have continued to function, the inner wall clearly went out of use by the seventh century BCE, as noted above. The site was most likely destroyed by Sennacherib in the late eighth century BCE and the fortification walls, or at least the inner wall of the casemates, not rebuilt when the site was resettled in the seventh century BCE.

The fortified sites along the western border of Judah appear to have been a strategic placement along the conflict zone with one of their primary adversaries — the Philistines. Such fortifications, dating from the Iron Age IIA, have been found throughout the Shephelah. One example is Khirbet Qeiyafa, located in the western

part of the high Shephelah on the summit of a hill bordering the <sup>2</sup>Elah Valley to the north. This site controls the main road from Philistia to the hill country. Excavations have revealed a well-planned settlement, including an elaborately built fortification wall (Garfinkel and Ganor 2009: fig. 1.1). The base of this wall consists of cyclopean stones, some weighing 4–5 tons, and its upper part is constructed of medium-sized stones (Garfinkel and Ganor 2010: 67). On the basis of the stratigraphic observations, the pottery assemblage and <sup>14</sup>C analyses, the excavators date the construction of the two gates and the casemate wall to the early Iron Age IIA, the first half of the tenth century BCE (Garfinkel and Kang 2011 and references therein).<sup>2</sup> It seems that this would be the earliest fortified Iron Age site in the western Shephelah. Its location on what would appear to be both a physical and a political border between the lowlands and the highlands in this early stage of the Iron Age, overlooking a major route to the southern mountains of Judah, raises several issues, including the identity of the builders of this enclosure. While the excavators associate the site with the kingdom of Judah or even the United Monarchy, others suggest that it was a Philistine or Canaanite stronghold (Na<sup>2</sup>aman 2008; although note that the option of the site being Philistine has been recently abandoned, see Na<sup>2</sup>aman 2011). Whereas the undecorated pottery assemblage (Kang and Garfinkel 2009a; Garfinkel and Kang 2011) cannot be interpreted as Philistine, the presence of Late Philistine Ware (Kang and Garfinkel 2009b) may point to Philistine influence or even possible domination. If this was the case, the site would most likely have been under the jurisdiction of the city of Gath, an indication of the powerful role this Philistine city would have played in the early Iron Age II. However, the location, architecture, dietary habits, undecorated pottery and other aspects of material culture, as well as the possible use of the Hebrew language found on an ostrakon (Misgav, Garfinkel and Ganor 2009; Yardeni 2009), indicate that this was, in all likelihood, a Judaeian site (e.g., Garfinkel, Ganor and Hasel 2011).

Lachish was clearly the primary Judaeian entity in the Shephelah in the Iron Age II (see Barkay and Ussishkin 2004). The city's extensive fortification system was constructed in Level IVd (ninth century BCE), and the site continued to be fortified until its final destruction by the Babylonians, albeit with extensive changes following the Level III destruction and rebuilding (for Level II, see Barkay and Ussishkin 2004: table 9.1). The establishment of the fortification system and Palace B in Stratum IV indicates that the city had become a major administrative centre of the kingdom of Judah at that time (Barkay and Ussishkin 2004: 416–417, 423). Barkay and Ussishkin (2004: 423) have noted a direct correlation between the thickness of the wall and the city's political administrative

---

2 The date of Kh. Qeiyafa may be debatable (e.g., Finkelstein and Piasezky 2010; Garfinkel, Ganor and Hasel 2011; Garfinkel and Kang 2011), but for the purpose of this study the precise dating is not critical.



standing. Thus, the fortification at Lachish was two *kanim* thick (c. 6.3 m.), less than that of Jerusalem during the eighth century BCE (which was 2.5 *kanim*, or 7.8 m., thick), but thicker than that of Tel Batash (which was 8 cubits — approximately 1.3 *kanim*, or c. 4 m. — thick). In line with this discussion, the wall at Tel Burna is, as aforementioned, c. 5.5 m. thick — slightly thinner than that of Lachish. Other casemate systems discovered include Beer Sheba (approximately 4 m.; Aharoni 1973: 10), Tell Beit Mirsim, of approximately the same size, and Beth Shemesh (see below). Therefore, the casemate system at Burna is slightly thicker than other casemates, but not as thick as the solid walls of the primary Judaeen centres.

Interestingly, Bunimovitz and Lederman (2001) note that the ancient city of Beth Shemesh was also fortified by a casemate wall (and has other markers of central government; see Bunimovitz and Lederman 2011: 39–40, fig. 4), from as early as the tenth century BCE (Bunimovitz and Lederman 2011: 40–41). Neighbouring Tel Batash Stratum IV, which dates from the early Iron Age IIA, was not fortified (Mazar 1997: 254–255). There, the fortification system was constructed only in Stratum III and subsequently partially destroyed by Sennacherib in the late eighth century BCE; it later continued to be used in the seventh century BCE.

Naturally, borders serve as contact zones for neighbouring cultures and political entities. It is here that we can observe the development of national identities and their symbolic ethnic markers. It is also where we expect to see fortifications, meant to guard the border, on the one hand, and to demonstrate, on the other hand, a political entity's strength both externally, towards its neighbors, as well as internally, indicating administrative control. In fact, it has already been suggested that the casemate walls and city gates built in the time of the United Monarchy were a symbol of power for this rising political entity (Whitelam 1986; although note that the date of these structures is highly debated). Williamson (1996: 49) suggested that the ninth-century BCE fortifications at Jezre'el were a display of King Omri's power to the local population. In the case of the border with Philistia, there is no doubt that the building of fortifications was not only a symbol of power for the Judahites but a display of power facing the opposing Philistine forces. In this sense, the structures would have been of both functional and symbolic importance (e.g., Uziel 2010). Interestingly, no fortifications of the Iron Age City at Gath have been revealed to date (Maeir 2012: 19–43). While this may, of course, be due to the limited exposure of the excavations thus far, the dismantling of the fortifications at a later period, or the possible reuse of earlier fortifications in the Iron Age (Welch 2011), it is possible that the rulers of Gath were sending a clear message of rebuttal to the forts being built by Judah, implying that the great city of Gath had no need for fortifications, since, as the most powerful force in the region, they had no reason to fear military attack. If this was the case, it is possible that the size of the Iron II city of Gath — 50 hectares (Uziel and Maeir 2005) — would have been a clear implication that size and topography did count (e.g., Maeir 2003).

In sum, Judaeen settlements in the western Shephelah began to be fortified in the early Iron Age IIA. This is evident at sites such as Khirbet Qeiyafa and Beth Shemesh. Later, in the late Iron Age IIA, Lachish, as the most important Judaeen city in the region, also became fortified. As more cities and towns were fortified during the Iron Age II, the casemate-wall fortification system became a common phenomenon in this region. The fortifications uncovered at Tel Burna are in keeping with this picture: they include a casemate wall built during the Iron Age IIA (probably sometime in the ninth century BCE) and used throughout the ninth and eighth centuries BCE. Along the western border of Judah one finds a series of fortified settlements that share the same objective: to protect the main roads to the central hill country and to demonstrate to the people of the region, on both sides of the border, the power of the central administration.

Although the excavations at Tel Burna have only just begun, the extensive casemate fortification system exposed thus far is plainly indicative of the significant role this site must have played during the Iron Age II. The location of Tel Burna — midway between Gath, the dominant Philistine city in the Iron Age IIA, and Lachish, the main Judaeen city, monitoring the road along Nahal Guvrin, with visibility all the way to the coastal plain — would account for the investment of the central authority of Judah in establishing such a large walled city so close to the city of Lachish.

## REFERENCES

- Aharoni, Y.  
1973 *Beer-Sheba I. Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba. The 1969–1971 Seasons*, Tel Aviv
- Aharoni, Y. and Amiran, R.  
1955 A Survey of the Shephelah Tels, *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society* 19: 222–225 (Hebrew)
- Albright, W.F.  
1921 Libnah and Gath, *BASOR* 4: 2–12
- Avissar, R.S. and Maeir, A.M.  
2012 Iron Age IIB Pottery from Stratum A2, in Maeir 2012: 365–382
- Barkay, G. and Ussishkin, D.  
2004 Area S: The Iron Age Strata, in Ussishkin 2004: 411–503
- Bunimovitz, S. and Lederman, Z.  
2001 The Iron Age Fortifications of Tel Beth-Shemesh: A 1990–2000 Perspective, *IEJ* 51: 121–147
- 2011 Close Yet Apart: Diverse Cultural Dynamic at Iron Age Beth-Shemesh and Lachish, in Finkelstein, I. and Naʿaman, N. (eds.), *The Fire Signals of Lachish. Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze, Iron Age, and Persian Periods in Honor of David Ussishkin*, Winona Lake IN: 33–53

- Dagan, A.  
 1992 The Judean Shephelah during the Monarchy Period in Light of Archaeological Survey and Excavation (unpublished M.A. thesis, Tel Aviv University; Hebrew)  
 1996 Cities of the Judean Shephelah and Their Division into Districts Based on Joshua 16, *EI* 25: 136–146 (Hebrew), 92\* (English summary)  
 2000 The Settlement in the Judean Shephela in the Second and First Millennium B.C. — A Test-Case of Settlement Processes in a Geographic Region (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University; Hebrew)
- Dothan, M.  
 1971 *Ashdod II–III. The Second and Third Seasons of Excavations: 1963, 1965*, Jerusalem
- Finkelstein, I. and Piasezky, E.  
 2010 Khirbet Qeiyafa: Absolute Chronology, *Tel Aviv* 37: 84–88
- Galil, G.  
 2009 The Hebrew Inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa/Neta'im. Script, Language, Literature and History, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 41: 193–242
- Garfinkel, Y. and Ganor, S.  
 2009 *Khirbet Qeiyafa I. Excavation Report 2007–2008*, Jerusalem  
 2010 Khirbet Qeiyafa in Survey and in Excavations: A Response to Y. Dagan, *Tel Aviv* 37: 67–78
- Garfinkel, Y., Ganor, S. and Hasel, M.G.  
 2011 Khirbet Qeiyafah and the Rise of the Kingdom of Judah, *EI* 30: 174–194 (Hebrew), 150\* (English summary)
- Garfinkel, Y. and Kang, H.-G.  
 2011 The Relative and Absolute Chronology of Khirbet Qeiyafa: Very Late Iron Age I or Very Early Iron Age IIA? *IEJ* 61: 171–183
- Gitin, S.  
 1990 *Gezer III. A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tel Gezer*, Jerusalem
- Kang, H.G. and Garfinkel, Y.  
 2009a The Early Iron Age IIA Pottery, in Garfinkel and Ganor 2009: 119–149  
 2009b Ashdod Ware I: Middle Philistine Decorated Ware, in Garfinkel and Ganor 2009: 151–160
- Levy-Reifer, A.  
 2004 The Settlement in the Judean Shephelah during the Early Bronze Age in Light of the Archaeological Excavations and Surveys (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Bar-Ilan University), Ramat Gan (Hebrew)
- Lipschits, O., Sergi, O. and Koch, I.  
 2010 Royal Judahite Jar Handles: Reconsidering the Chronology of the *lmlk* Stamp Impressions, *Tel Aviv* 37: 3–32
- Maeir, A.M.  
 2003 Does Size Count? Urban and Cultic Perspectives on the Rural Landscape during the

- Middle Bronze Age II, in Maeir, A.M., Dar, S. and Safrai, Z. (eds.), *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel*, Oxford: 61–69
- 2012 (ed.), *Tell eš-Şafi/Gath I. Report on the 1996–2005 Seasons*, Wiesbaden
- Mazar, A.  
1997 *Timnah (Tel Batash) I. Stratigraphy and Architecture*, Jerusalem
- Mazar, A., and Panitz-Cohen, N.  
2001 *Timnah (Tel Batash) II. The Finds from the First Millennium BCE*, Jerusalem
- Mazar, B.  
1974 *Canaan and Israel*, Jerusalem (Hebrew)
- Misgav, H., Garfinkel, Y. and Ganor, S.  
2009 The Ostrakon, in Garfinkel and Ganor 2009: 243–257
- Naʿaman, N.  
2008 Shaaraim — The Gateway to the Kingdom of Judah, *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures: Article 24*  
2011 Khirbet Qeiyafa in Context, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 42: 497–526
- Rainey, A.F.  
1980 The Administrative Division of the Shephelah, *Tel Aviv* 7: 194–202
- Rainey, A.F. and Notley, R.S.  
2006 *The Sacred Bridge*, Jerusalem
- Shai, I. and Maeir, A.M.  
2012 The Late Iron Age IIA Pottery Assemblage from Stratum A3, in Maeir 2012: 313–364
- Shavit, A.  
2003 Settlement Patterns in Israel's Southern Coastal Plain during the Iron Age II (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University; Hebrew with English summary)
- Tappy, R.  
2008 Historical and Geographical Notes on the 'Lowland Districts' of Judah in Joshua xv 33–47, *VT* 58: 381–403
- Ussishkin, D.  
2004 (ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*, 4, Tel Aviv  
2011 The Dating of the *lmlk* Storage Jars and Its Implications: Rejoinder to Lipschits, Sergi and Koch, *Tel Aviv* 38: 220–240
- Uziel, J.  
2010 Middle Bronze Age Ramparts: Functional and Symbolic Structures, *PEQ* 142: 24–30
- Uziel, J. and Maeir, A.M.  
2005 Scratching the Surface at Gath: Implications of the Tell eš-Şafi/Gath Surface Survey, *Tel Aviv* 32: 50–75

Uziel, J. and Shai, I.

2010 The Settlement History of Tel Burna: Results of the Surface Survey, *Tel Aviv* 37: 227–245

Welch, E.L.

2011 A Mighty Fortress Is Our Gath: The Reuse of Bronze Age Fortifications in the Iron Age at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath (lecture at the ASOR annual meeting, November 2011, San Francisco CA)

Whitelam, K.W.

1986 The Symbols of Power: Aspects of Royal Propaganda in the United Monarchy, *BA* 49: 166–173

Williamson, H.G.M.

1996 Tel Jezreel and the Dynasty of Omri, *PEQ* 128: 41–50

Yardeni, A.

2009 Further Observations on the Ostrakon, in Garfinkel and Ganor 2009: 259–260

Zadok, R.

2009 Philistian Notes I, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 41: 659–688

Zimhoni, O.

2004a The Pottery of Levels V and IV and Its Archaeological and Chronological Implications, in Ussishkin 2004: 1643–1788

2004b The Pottery of Levels III and II, in Ussishkin 2004: 1789–1899