



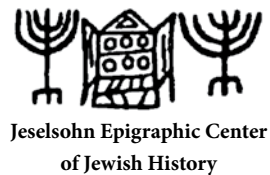
CITY OF DAVID STUDIES OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM

The 20th Conference | Editor: Eyal Meiron | Megalim Institute - City of David, Jerusalem | Elul 2019 | **14**

Twentieth Annual Conference



ISRAEL NATURE
AND PARKS
AUTHORITY



CITY OF DAVID

STUDIES OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM

The 20th Annual Conference | Editor: Eyal Meiron

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A 10th C. BCE State in Judah: The Witness of Archaeology and the Bible

William G. Dever

Lycoming College, PA



■ Introduction

For this conference on the theme of early Israelite statehood, a capital in Jerusalem, and re-assessing the archaeological and biblical data, I am going to talk about *history*. That's because we archaeologists are historians or nothing – historians of material culture, of things, of artifacts that are the embodiment of human thought and behavior.

I am going to highlight our *two* sources for writing new and better histories of ancient Israel: archaeology and the Hebrew Bible. And throughout I am going to emphasize the crucial need for a dialogue *between* our two sources. Neither can stand alone; but combined in the proper way, they can yield a portrait of Israel's remote past that is almost unequalled anywhere else in the world (especially given Israel's relatively small size).

■ I. Toward a Dialogue: A Renewed Appreciation of the Hebrew Bible as History

All of you here today, and many other Israelis, are amazingly well informed about archaeology and its exciting potential. So I want to concentrate first on what I believe to be an exciting possibility for a renewed look at the *biblical* sources.

Dialogue Between Two Sources for History-Writing: Archaeology and the Biblical Texts

If we are to engage in a dialogue with our two sources for history-writing, we must critically assess not only the archaeological data, but also the biblical texts. It is not a question of whether to use the Hebrew Bible, but only *how*. And in taking the Hebrew Bible seriously, we must be unapologetic: we are in no danger of falling into the hands of religious fanatics, either Christian fundamentalists or Jewish *haredim*. We are not, as Finkelstein once charged, “Bible archaeologists.”

Let us try a case-study in critical reading of pertinent biblical texts. I Kings 9:15-17 has been at the forefront the discussion of Israelite statehood for more than 60 years. There we are informed that before Solomon commissioned the Gezer fortifications, an Egyptian Pharaoh had destroyed the site in a military campaign, then retreated and ceded the site to the Israelite King. The Pharaoh is not named, as custom at the time dictated; but given the chronology, he can almost certainly be Siamun of Dynasty 21, whose dates are 978-959 BCE.

We have shown in our excavations that the gate and casemate city wall at Gezer were founded directly on a massive fill of burnt brick destruction debris. Thus we can correlate a campaign of Pharaoh Siamun ca. 970-960 BCE with the early reign of Solomon, the dates being closely correlated.

That leads us to other biblical texts, I Kings 11:40-43; 14:25; and II Chronicles 13:2. Here we are told that 5 years after Solomon's death, another Pharaoh raided Judah – this time actually named. The “Shishak” of the Hebrew Bible can only be Shoshenq I of Dynasty 22, ca. 945-924 BCE. Presumably this campaign, which destroyed many sites, would have taken place some time around 930 BCE, giving us a fixed date of ca. 935 BCE for Solomon's death. If he indeed reigned for the Bible's “40 years,” then he ascended the throne about 975 BCE – very close to Siamun's early reign (above). Even if the “40 years” is a round number, the synchronism of our two chronologies is close.

Now, the crucial question is this: how did the biblical writers, even if they produced the text we have several centuries later than Solomon's day (ca. the 7th c. BCE, as commonly held) *know* about these two Egyptian Pharaohs, one actually named?

Our sources, the Egyptian “King Lists” that arranged dynasties and arranged their kings in order, was not available until the time of the priest Manetho, in the 3rd c. BCE, centuries after the Hebrew Bible was complete. And if the Biblical writers had had Egyptian texts, how could they have read them – or, more significant, have dated them?

The only logical answer to this dilemma is that the authors and final editors of the Kings and Chronicles texts *must* have had at least some earlier sources, either written and/or oral traditions. In short, these biblical texts, even if later, “book-end” the reign of the Israelite King Solomon in a real time and real-life context. That makes those texts *essential* sources.

From the beginning, the biblical “revisionists” insisted belligerently that the Hebrew Bible was “too late” to contain *any* reliable information about an “Israel” in the Iron Age, ca. 1200-600 BCE. It was a piece of Persian, Hellenistic, Roman (or even Medieval) propaganda.

Begging the issue that even propaganda contains some “truth,” the European biblical “revisionists” have now been proven to be poor Hebraists. In 2018 two distinguished experts – Ronald Hendel at UC Berkeley, and Jan Joosten, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford – published a book with the intriguing title *How Old is the Bible?*

In an exhausting analysis of all the levels of Hebrew in the Bible, they proved that most texts, like Samuel, Kings, and other historical works are written in clear “Classical Hebrew” of the Iron Age (like our numerous ostraca and other inscriptions), *not* the “Late Hebrew” of books like Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles, as the “revisionists” tried to argue.

Expert linguist analysis shows beyond doubt that the Hebrew Bible is *not* “too late” to contain any history. And the passages from Kings and Chronicles I’ve cited are not the only reliable reports we have in the Hebrew Bible. The “too late to be history” argument is incompetent and can now be dismissed.

Does our recent evaluation of the Hebrew Bible as a possible source for writing mean that anyone can pick it up and read it at face-value *as* history? Not at all. Some Israelis (even a few archaeologists) may think, that as native speakers of modern Hebrew, they can read the Bible first-hand and therefore critically. But Biblical Hebrew is not the Hebrew of *Ha-Arets*, or even of modern literary Hebrew. One needs a sophisticated knowledge of *ancient* Hebrew linguistics, in cultural context – something that too few archaeologists, even Israelis, possess.

Most of us are not well trained in either historical linguistics, literary criticism, or even history-writing. And few of us have struggled sufficiently with *method* in any of these disciplines – what we call “hermeneutics,” the science of interpretation.

So let me turn now to methodology, in this case in critically evaluating the texts of the Hebrew Bible as a historical source. In my recent book, *Beyond the Text: An Archaeological Portrait of Ancient Israel* (2017), I argued that henceforth it is the archaeological data, not the textual data, that constitute our “primary” source. And here I advocated a historiographical method for evaluating texts that few seem to have considered, drawn from jurisprudence, the practice of law.

In jurisprudence, there are several basic principles in “trying” a defendant – in this case, the biblical text – as though in court, that is, getting at the *truth* of the matter. (1) “The defendant is presumed (not “proven”) to be innocent until or unless proven guilty.” (2) “The verdict depends on the preponderance of the evidence” (not 2/3, only 51%). (3) The final truth represents conclusion “beyond reasonable doubt” (doubts may remain, but they will not prevail).

If these historiographical principles are applied to the evaluation of ancient texts – like those of the Hebrew Bible – a rational conclusion about facts is possible. While there

is no *absolute* truth to be obtained, we *can* arrive at a rational and judicious “balance of probability.” That is sufficient to give us some useful knowledge of the past, and therefore of its lessons. We archaeologists – and all of you – can live with that. It is enough. And it is the best response to the skeptics: *we* know something, but you continually brag about knowing nothing. And we are moving with the tide of history, with human nature’s needs and our sense of destiny. If that makes me a “positivist,” so be it.

A few final caveats about using the jurisprudence model in determining whether or not a text in the Hebrew Bible is true historically. (I leave moral and ethical truths to theologians and clerics).

1. Every text must be examined independently and as objectively as possible. Some can be determined to be reliable: others may turn out to be more propaganda; and some may be totally fictitious.
2. In every case, the testimony of the biblical text itself must be corroborated by an *external* witness, which in this court of appeal can only be archaeology, with its own truths, similarly established by critical examination.
3. With appropriate methods, texts – like our biblical texts – can be “read,” that is, *correctly* understood as to what they really say. But several archaeologists have pointed out that *artifacts*, just like texts, can be similarly “read.” Cynics have often argued that archaeology is “mute”; but if you know the vocabulary, grammar, and syntax of *things*, and if you know how to listen, archaeology can speak volumes.

■ II. The Fundamental Issue: The Origin and Nature of the Ancient Israelite State

A. Defining the Problem: The “Revisionist” Challenge

Until about 30 years ago, biblical scholars, archaeologists, and the general public everywhere had few doubts about the existence of an “Israelite” (or “Judahite,” southern) state in the 10th c. BCE, with its capital in Jerusalem – much as the Hebrew Bible portrays it. But since then, skeptical voices have prevailed, not only in America and Europe, but even in Israel.

The biblical skeptics, mostly in Europe, were often called “minimalists” and eventually “revisionists,” but I have called them out as “nihilists.” One of them at Copenhagen

University, Tom Thompson, made the “revisionist” platform clear in 1995 in a leading journal:

There is no more ‘ancient Israel.’ History no longer has room for it. This we do know. And now, as one of the first conclusions of this new knowledge, ‘biblical Israel’ was in its origin a Jewish concept. (Elsewhere he wrote, “a Jewish construct.”)

Another “revisionist,” Phillip Davis at Sheffield University, distinguished three “Israels” in his 1992 book *In Search of Ancient Israel*. He concedes that there might have been a “historical Israel” in the Iron Age, but it is inaccessible to us. He cites the vast archaeological data only once in a footnote referring to Mazar’s handbook, but then dismisses it as irrelevant to his “Persian period” Israel.

The “revisionist” challenge from radical biblical scholars sought nothing less than erasing the whole of ancient Israel from history – not simply the early Monarchy of the Bible. In their view, the Hebrew Bible was nothing more than a late, Hellenistic literary construct, in effort a Jewish “foundation myth.” And the implication clearly was that this “myth” called into question the *whole history* of the Jewish people, and indeed the legitimacy of the modern State of Israel. For them, none of this has any place in *real* history (i.e., their history).

The 1996 book of Keith Whitelam, *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History*, declared not only that the search for “ancient Israel” was bogus, but that it was illegitimate. This bordered on anti-Semitism, as I charged in a review in 2001 in my book *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It?*

The *archaeological* “revisionists” were all Israeli scholars, although not nearly as radical, and never (as they claimed) the majority. I’m happy to say that American archaeologists were never co-opted by the “Tel Aviv” school (as it came to be called, after its mentor, Israel Finkelstein). A proposed “low chronology,” tirelessly promoted since the early 1990s, focused its attempted rewriting of ancient Israelite history on the so-called biblical “United Monarchy,” or the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon.

According to information in the biblical accounts, synchronisms with Egyptian astronomically fixed dates, and widely accepted basic pottery typology and chronology, the combined reigns of these first three kings of ancient Israel spanned approximately the 10th c. BCE. At the time, monumental fortifications and other constructions at sites such

as Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, and possibly Jerusalem were confidently dated to the 10th c. BCE, and seen as reflecting “state” levels of organizations.

Already in 1958 Yadin had famously cited I Kings 9:15-17 and had connected that description of building activities of Solomon precisely with his excavation of city gates at Hazor and Megiddo. Then in 1967-1971, 1984, and 1990 we followed up with additional evidence at Gezer. So all three gates were seen as Solomonic.

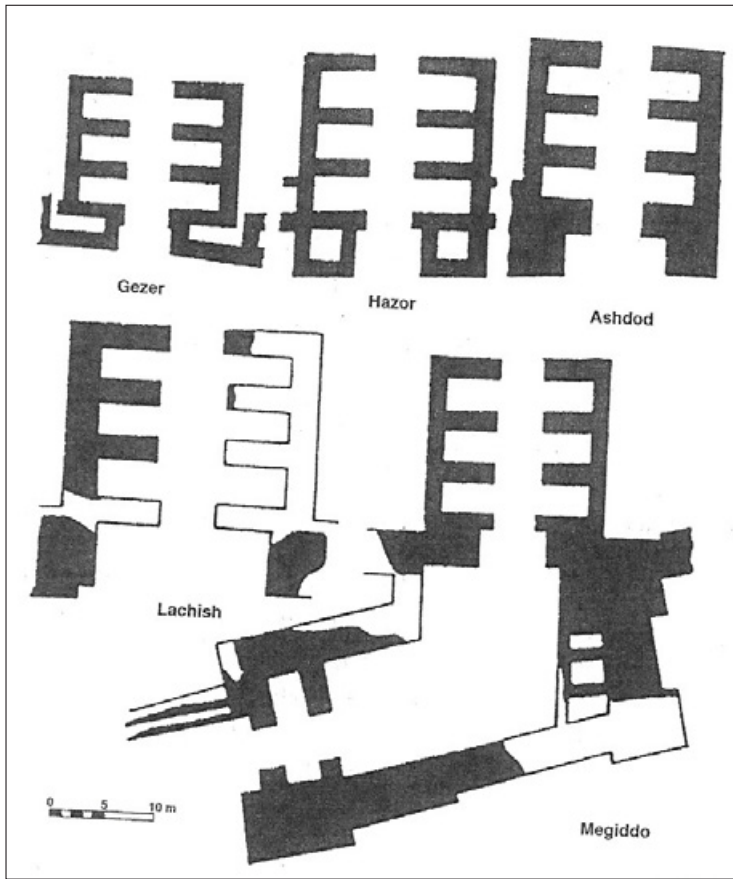


Fig. 1. A comparison of 10th c. BCE city gates. (W. G. Dever).

What the “low chronology” did beginning in the early 1990s was to pull the foundations out from under nearly all the archaeological evidence for early statehood by *down-dating* all this and other evidence from the 10th to the 9th c. BCE and even later. Thus Finkelstein first placed the rise of the Israelite in Judah state as late as the 8th c. BCE, which needless to say rendered “David” and “Solomon” little more than legendary characters, the Hebrew Bible, a Tall Tale.

From the beginning, the “low chronology” was based on debatable stratigraphy and questionable ceramic chronology. But as the controversy grew and C14 dates began to be available, “low chronology” advocates promised *scientific* confirmation.

To make a long and torturous story short, the latest published C14 dates from Megiddo – Finkelstein’s own site – overwhelmingly support the conventional chronology (not “high,” for there is none). And as I shall show, very recent C14 dates for the relevant strata at Gezer (VIII) and Beth-Shemesh (3) fall squarely in the mid-late 10th c. BCE, or the reign of Solomon. And Kh. Qeiyafa (IV), in the *early* 10th c. BCE, best represents the reign of David (below).

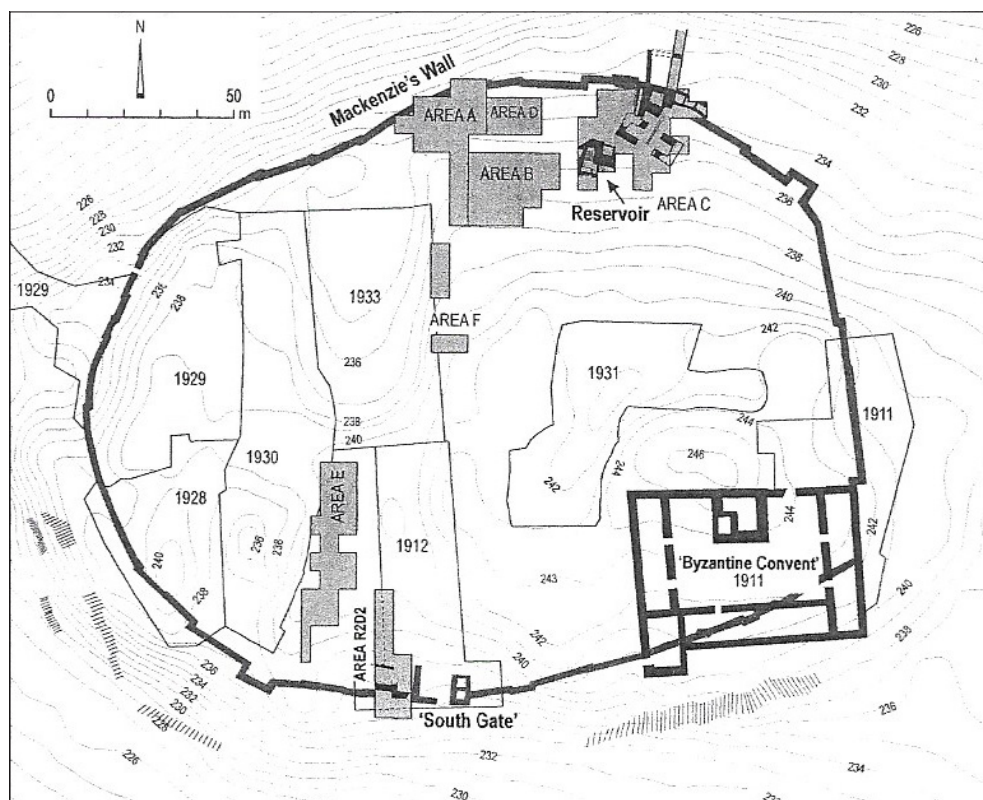


Fig. 6. Plan of Beth-Shemesh Str. 3. (“Beth-Shemesh.” *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, E. Stern (ed.), Jerusalem, 2008, Vol. 5: 1645).

Among the many problems with both biblical and archaeological “revisionism” – denying any early Israelite state – was the general failure to *define* the term “state,” or to specify the archaeological correlates – that might attest and date its existence. At one point, Finkelstein had suggested at least a dozen terms for any state-like polity.

As evidence mounted against the “low chronology” and its theories of statehoods, Finkelstein finally concocted a “Saulide polity” with its “hub” at Gibeon. So there were no such real Kings as “David” and Solomon”; but their *predecessor* was a historical figure. And the capital was not at Jerusalem, but at Gibeon, for which there is not a shred of textual or archaeological evidence. This is a counsel of despair. The “low chronology” and non-state scenarios can finally be declared bankrupt.

The literature on what we call “state-formation processes” is too vast to survey here. But there is a widespread consensus on two points. (1) The essence of a state-level of political and socio-economic organization is not size, but *centralization* – the consolidation of power in the hands of some charismatic authority that is able to coerce goods and services from the masses, and to sell them a unifying sense of ethnicity – of language, culture, “peoplehood” and national destiny.

That’s what “states” (or, if you like, “Kings”) do. And all these actions and events leave traces in the archaeological record – the material culture remains of the past, the “facts on the ground.” So let us look first at some of these facts.

B. The Archaeological Data for Early Statehood

We have time here only to summarize the archaeological evidence for a 10th c. state or kingdom in Judah at three sites.

1. *Kh. Qeiyafa*. This is a 6 acre hilltop site some 10 km. south of Beth-Shemesh, strategically located at the entrance to the Valley of Elah and the road leading from the Shephelah up to Jerusalem. Qeiyafa faces the site of Azekah across a deep ravine, probably a Philistine outpost. Qeiyafa was virtually unknown until excavations began in 2008 by the Hebrew University, led by Yossi Garfinkel.

Qeiyafah is virtually a one-period site, dated by all authorities (even “low chronology” advocates) to the early 10th c. BCE.

Qeiyafah features a massive casemate wall running some 600 m. around the site; two triple-entryway gates; a series of houses built directly into the city wall; a large central storage building; and a cult center. Among many finds are numbers of store jars with identical thumb-indented markings; a large repertoire of metal implements; pottery that includes imported luxury vessels from Cyprus; and, above all, three inscriptions borrowing the Old Canaanite alphabet but written in Hebrew. One seems to be an

administrative text; another on a store jar contains the name “Ishba‘al,” a name of one of Saul’s sons in the Hebrew Bible, and found nowhere else in the Bible.

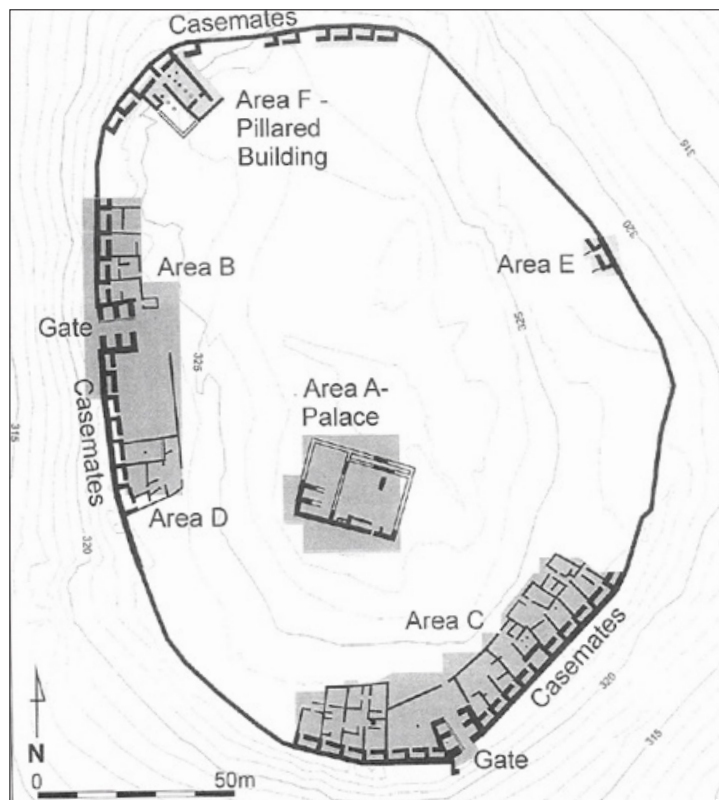


Fig. 4. Plan of Kh. Qeiyafa, early 10th c. BCE. (Y. Garfinkel and M. Mumcuoglu, *Solomon's Temple and Palace: New Archaeological Discoveries*, Jerusalem, 2016: 15).

Qeiyafa is not, as some have suggested, either a Canaanite or a Philistine site. It is an exceptionally well planned Judahite “barracks town,” similar in layout to other 10th–9th c. administrative centers – a fort guarding the border with Philistia. After a brief period, it was destroyed, probably by the King of Gath, some 12 km. distant.

What is most significant is that Qeiyafah supplies us with a site that fits exceptionally well in the context of what the Hebrew Bible tells us about David’s rise to power and the wars of his fledgling kingdom with the Philistines, now pushing inland. And archaeology overall proves that David *won* these wars, as the biblical writers maintain, securing the border with Philistia for another four centuries.

2. Gezer, named specifically in I Kgs. 9, is a prominent 33 acre site at the juncture of the inner Shephelah and the lower central foothills, with magnificent views overlooking both the Sharon plain and the Valley of Aijalon.

Long-running American and later joint American-Israeli excavations between 1964 and 2018 have brought to light a city wall with numerous ashlar masonry towers, running nearly 2 km. around the perimeter, and a monumental four-entryway city gate with an outer gateway (Str. VIII). Incorporated into the upper gate complex is a large multi-room administrative building (“Palace 10,000”), just recently dated by C14 to ca. 975-925 BCE, precisely the reign of Solomon.

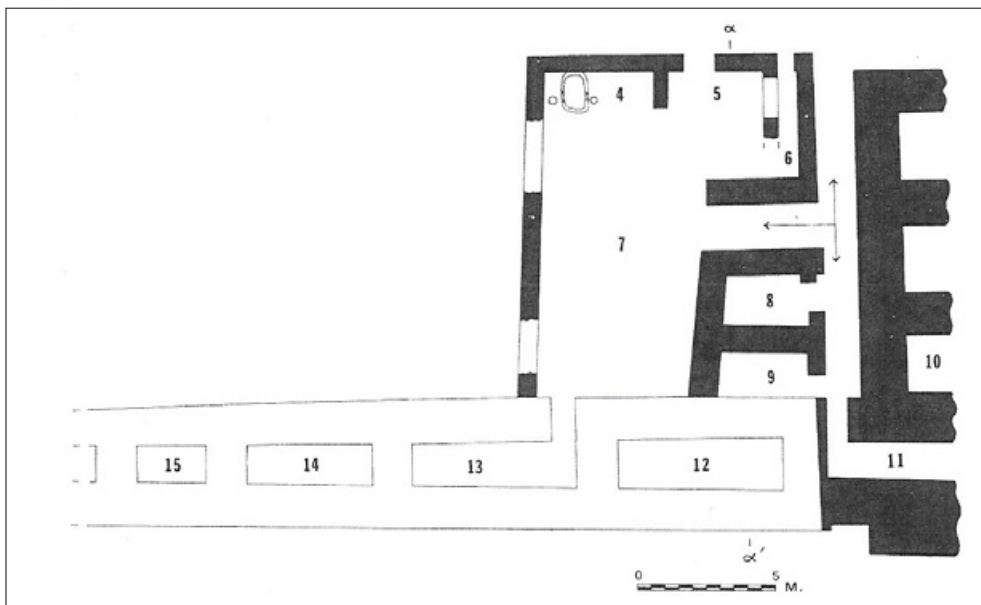


Fig. 5. “Palace 10,000,” adjoining the city gate at Gezer. (W. G. Dever).

Gezer may have been the district center for Solomon’s district 2 (Dan?). Although reckoned by the Hebrew Bible with the northern kingdom, it is in reality right on the border of Judah, only about 15 km. north of Beth-Shemesh. Its monumental architecture certainly qualifies it as a site under royal, state administration, precisely dated to the mid-late 10th c. BCE.

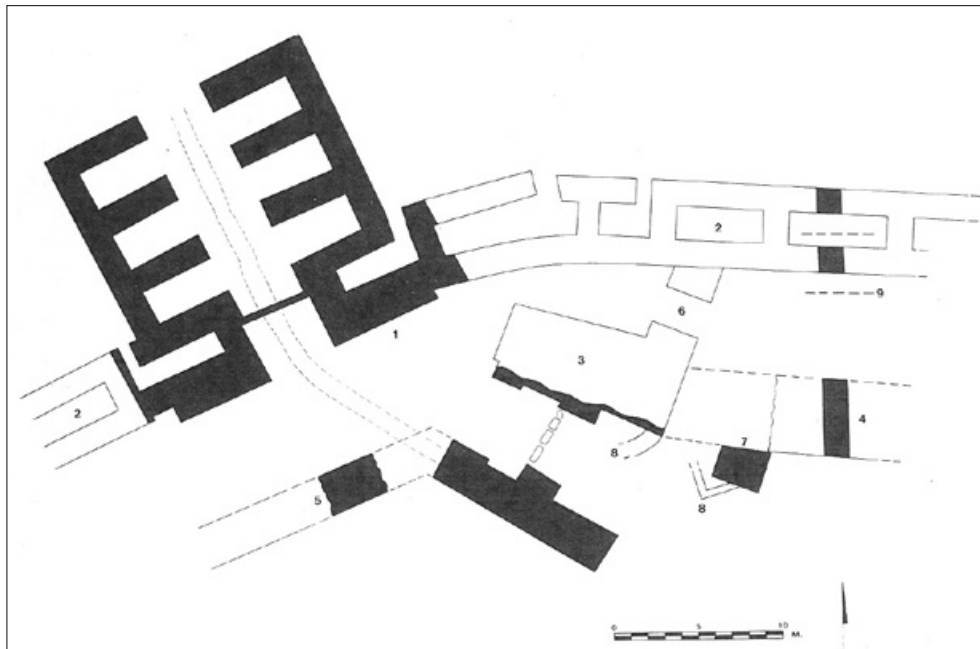


Fig. 2. The Str. VIII city gate complex at Gezer. (W. G. Dever).

3. Beth-Shemesh is another 10th c. Judahite administrative center, as recent Israeli excavations have shown decisively. In the mid 10th c. BCE, the small Canaanite village on the Philistine border is transformed into a large Judahite administrative center (Str. 3) with a massive city wall; a large public building; a tripartite storage building with a plastered courtyard; a large, extraordinary cistern dug into the bedrock; and the largest iron smelter ever found in this period. Recently published C₁₄ dates for the founding of Str. 3 fall squarely in the mid 10th c. BCE, when Beth-Shemesh was a border fortress, fronting Philistine Gath and Ekron, just ca. 10 km. to the west.

I admit that I have neglected what may be the most important Judahite site of all: Jerusalem. Because of necessarily limited exposure (and I think, of unnecessary “contrarian” interpretations); we do not know as much as we would like about 10th c. Jerusalem. But we do know that the massive Stepped Stone Structure was in use, probably the biblical *millio*; that an early water system was already in use (“Warren’s Shaft”); that Eilat Mazar’s “Citadel of David” may have been constructed this early; and that Jerusalem and its environs had a substantial population. We even have several close Canaanite-Phoenician

parallels for the fabled “Solomonic Temple.” The argument of “revisionists” that Jerusalem could not have been the capital of any state because it was too insignificant is fatuous and should be dismissed. It rests mostly on that most dangerous of all archaeological arguments: silence. But the silence can be shattered by a single discovery. Archaeology is *not* “mute,”; but some historians are deaf.

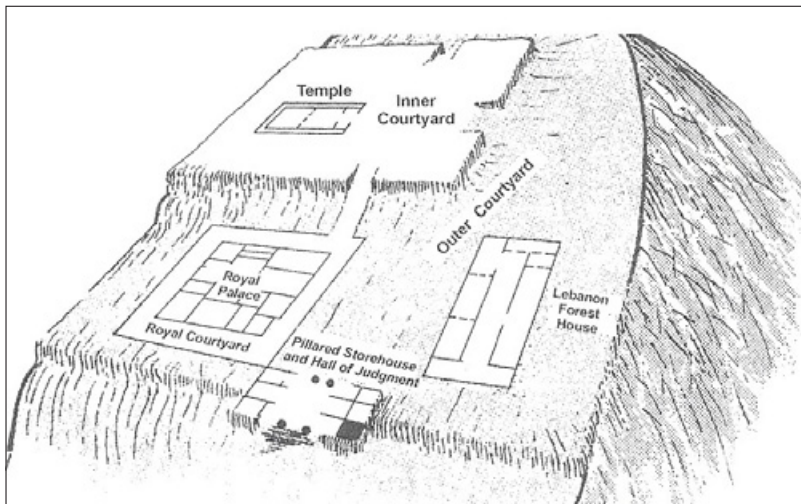


Fig. 7. The royal acropolis in Jerusalem in the 10th c. BCE. (No. 4: 69).

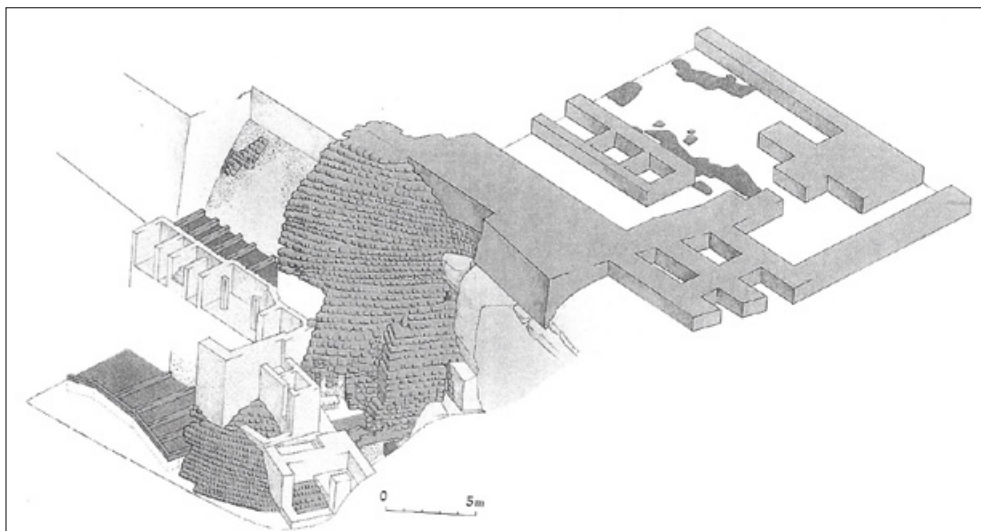


Fig. 8. The stepped stone structure and “David’s Citadel” in Jerusalem. (E. Mazar, *The Palace of King David: Excavations at the Summit of the City of David: Preliminary Report of Seasons 2005–2007*, Jerusalem 2007: Fig. 2.

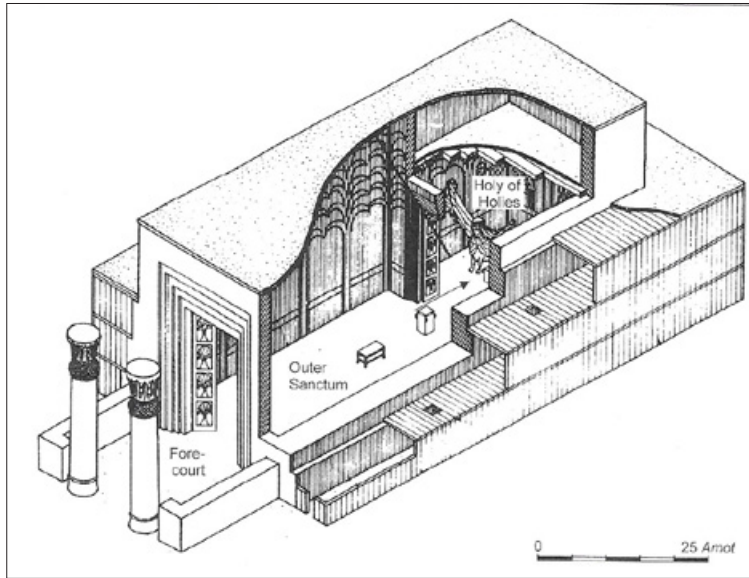


Fig. 9. A possible reconstruction of the Temple of Solomon. (No. 4: 158).

What these 10th c. sites in Judah (and at least half-dozen others) represent is a highly organized and efficient central administration, a complex socio-economic structure, that is light-years away from the largely simple, rural society of early Israel in the 12th-11th c. BCE. *This* is what power and charismatic leadership looks like: a huge footprint in the dirt.

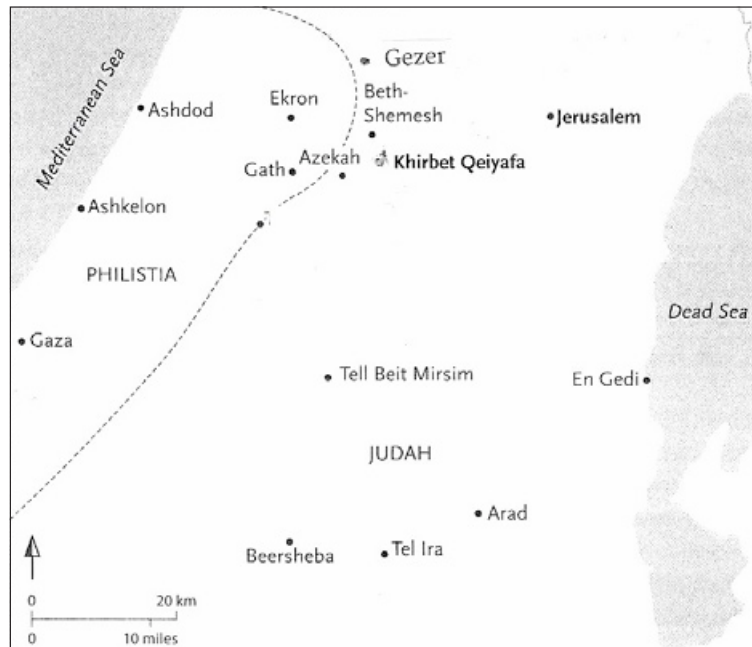


Fig.3. Map of 10th c. BCE sites in Judah. (Y. Garfinkel, S. Ganot, and M. G. Hasel, *In the Footsteps of King David: Revelations from an Ancient Biblical City*, London, 2018: 14).

The following traits of statehood in the archaeological record can all be shown to have left clear traces in the archaeological record, with specific reference to Judah, all well dated to the late 10th c. BCE.

1. A shift in settlement pattern to larger, more centrally located places, and the rise of a more complex society, typically but not necessarily urban (seen in numerous studies).
2. Clashes that clarify borders and help to establish territorial claims and create ethnic identity and a sense of “nationhood” (as with Philistia, for example at Kh. Qeiyafa and in David’s wars with the Philistines).
3. The gradual absorption of previously non-Judahite ethnic groups (the end of the last “Canaanite” sites, as at Gezer and Beth-Shemesh, and even in the north).
4. The buildup of “central place” sites and administrative centers (Gezer; Beth-Shemesh; Tel Masos; and arguably Jerusalem).
5. Deliberate and distinctive town plans at many other sites (Kh. Qeiyafa; Tell en-Nasbeh; eventually Tell Beit Mirsim; Beersheva).
6. Monumental architecture such as city *walls and gates* (Kh. Qeiyafa; Tell en-Nasbeh; Gezer; Tell Beit Mirsim; Beersheva; Lachish; Tel Masos; possibly the Negev forts); palaces (Gezer; Beth-Shemesh); and water systems (Beth-Shemesh; eventually Beersheva, Arad).
7. A typical, distinctive, house-style (the well known “four-room” or “pillar-courtyard” domestic dwelling).
8. A characteristic socio-economic structure (the “patrimonial society”).
9. Standardized industries (such as distinctive 10th c. BCE red washed and hand-burnished pottery at nearly all sites).
10. A developing national language and script (true “Hebrew” inscription at Kh. Qeiyafa; Izbet Sartah; Gezer; Tel Zayit; Beth-Shemesh; Jerusalem).

These “trait lists” are useful in defining an early Judahite state, but there are some precautions. (1) The chronology, now securely established in the 10th c. BCE by C₁₄ dating, accords well with the reigns of David and Solomon. But the biblical portrait of a sort of “empire” is obviously exaggerated; and we must dismiss many legendary and miraculous elements in the stories.

(2) We should probably drop the term “United Monarchy”; it does not occur in the Hebrew Bible and is only implied as the ideal. What we really have is a “not-yet-divided” monarchy, i.e., before the succession of the north in a civil war after Solomon’s death.

(3) Finally, whether the southern kingdom of Judah ruled over the north in the 10th c. BCE is still debatable. But there is to my mind no real reason to doubt the 10th c. date of the other gates mentioned in I Kgs. 9:15-17, Hazor and Megiddo.

Based on a productive dialogue between our two sources for history-writing – a proper critical interpretation of the rich archaeological data, and some texts of the Hebrew Bible – we can now claim confidently that there *was* a true Judahite state in the 10th c. BCE, with its capital in Jerusalem and David and Solomon as real-life kings.

As we know from the Dan stele, David was known by his neighbors as the founder of a dynasty (one that lasted in the south for some 400 years). His may have been a nascent state; but it achieved statehood before Philistia, Phoenicia, Aramean Syria, and several Transjordanian polities did. And by the 9th c. BCE, Israel (with Judah) was the most powerful of the petty kingdoms in the Levant (whether or not David was God’s anointed).

As for Solomon, the larger-than-life portrait in the Hebrew Bible is partly fiction, the stuff of legend. He was not the wisest man who ever lived; he did not rule over an empire

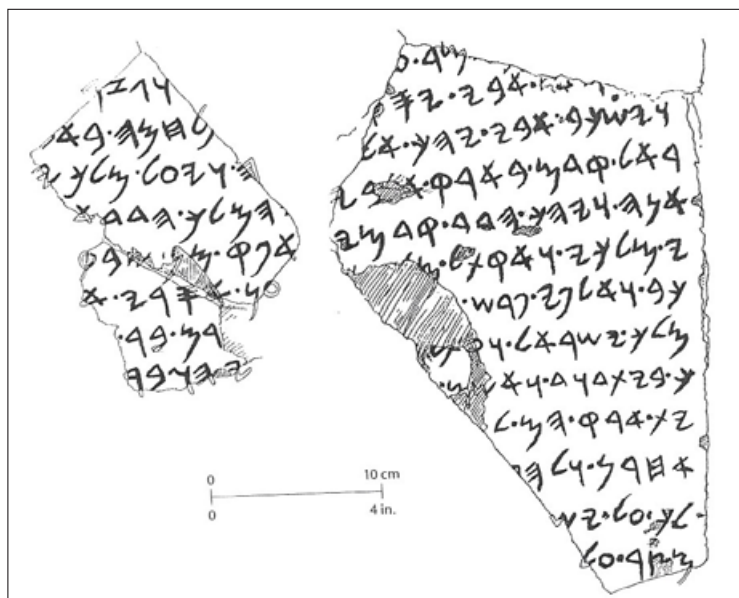


Fig. 10. The Tel Dan stele mentioning the “House/dynasty of David.” (. (Y. Garfinkel, S. Ganot, and M. G. Hasel, *In the Footsteps of King David: Revelations from an Ancient Biblical City*, London, 2018: 28).

that stretched from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates; everything he touched did not turn to gold; he did not have 1,000 wives and assistant wives. But he was a real king, one who consolidated the Judahite state and built it to new and impressive heights – a “Golden Age” after all.

■ Conclusion

We have analyzed the archaeological and textual data, using our jurisprudence model. And on the basis of “the preponderance of the evidence,” we have proven both to be factual “beyond a reasonable doubt.” In particular, both lines of evidence point in the same direction, and in *converging* they give us our best for learning the truth about this part of our past. (In science, that is called “consilience,” the basis of all scientific method). So we have brought together Solomon, Science, and Scripture in what a colleague of mine calls “sweet reasonableness.”

The biblical and archaeological “revisionists” have held the stage for 30 years. It is time to reclaim the stage and say, front and center, “No.” The negativists have been proven wrong. We positivists will not allow the state and the people of ancient Israel to be erased from history – anymore than modern Israel and its people, and its capital right here in Jerusalem.

■ Suggested Readings:*

“Revisionism” and “Biblical archaeology”

W. G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It?* Grand Rapids, 2001.

Better histories of ancient Israel

W. G. Dever, *Beyond the Text: An Archaeological Portrait of Ancient Israel and Judah*, Atlanta, 2017.

Chronology

T. E. Levy and T. Higham, (eds). *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*, London, 2005.

A Davidic-Solomonic State

L. E. Stager, The Patrimonial Kingdom of Solomon, in: W. G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.), *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*, Winona Lake, 2003: 63-74.

A. Mazar, Archaeology and the Biblical Narrative: The Case of the United Monarchy, in: R. G. Kratz and H. Spieckermann (eds.), *One God—One Cult—One Nation*, Berlin, 2010: 29-58

State formation processes

A. H. Joffe, The Rise of Secondary States in the Iron Age Levant, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45: 425–67.

See details of forthcoming volume edited by A. Faust and Y. Garfinkel on a 10th cent. BCE state, Jerusalem, 2020.

See generally

Y. Garfinkel, S. Ganor, and M. G. Hasel, *In the Footsteps of King David: Revelations from an Ancient Biblical City*, London, 2018.

