

**Those Other Casualties of War:  
Refugees and Resettlement in Iron II Judah**

by

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*To my wife, Kimberley,*

*When I did not believe in myself,  
You believed.*

*With a humble heart, I dedicate this work to you.  
Without your support, it would not have been possible.*

*Twenty-Six years together is not that long,  
You are forever my true love.*

## **Acknowledgments**

Once in a lifetime, someone with a unique gift invests his or her time, energy, knowledge, expertise, skills and patience in the life of another. I have been so fortunate to be a recipient of such an investment. Dr. Brian B. Schmidt, Associate Professor of Hebrew Bible and Ancient Mediterranean West Asian Cultures at the University of Michigan, has inspired me to reach beyond the boundaries of limited thinking. Thank you Dr. Schmidt. This work would not have been possible without your guidance.

## List of Abbreviations

- ANET* *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* Relating to the Old Testament. Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Princeton, 1969.
- BDB* *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. Peabody, MA, 1991.
- BHS* *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1990.
- COS* *Context of Scripture*. Edited by W. W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden, 2003.
- DH* Deuteronomistic History
- HALOT* *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, L. Koehler, and W. Baumgartner. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. Study edition. 2 vols. Leiden, 2001.
- HB* *The Hebrew Bible*. TaNaKh, The Canonical text containing Torah, Nevi'im and Kethuvim.
- LXX* *Septuagint*. “Seventy”, The name for the Greek version of the Old Testament.
- NEAEHL* *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Edited by E. Stern, A. L. Gilboa, and J. Aviram. 5 vols. Jerusalem, 1993 – 2008.
- NRSV* *New Revised Standard Version* of the Bible. The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version With the Apocrypha, An Ecumenical Study Bible. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Michael Coogan. Edited by Professor of Biblical Studies Marc Z. Brettler and Professor of Old Testament Carol A. Newsom. United States: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- UNHCR* United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Website: <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home>

## Special Notes

- Biblical references in this work, unless otherwise noted, are taken from The New Oxford Annotated Bible with The Apocrypha – New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).
- Where applicable, the Hebrew script used throughout this paper is taken from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS).



## List of Illustrations

- Figure 1. Expansion of Israel and Judah during the 9th c. BCE. (Finkelstein, Israel. *The Forgotten Kingdom*. Edited by Roxana Flammini and Ehud Zvi. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013, 79.)
- Figure 2. Kings of the North: 10th - 9th c BCE (Finkelstein, Israel. *The Forgotten Kingdom*. Edited by Roxana Flammini and Ehud Zvi. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013, 64.)
- Figure 3. Early Iron II Jerusalem: 10th - mid 8th century BCE (Geva, Hillel. 'Jerusalem's Population in Antiquity: A Minimalist View 1'. *The Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University* 41, no. 2 (2014): 131–60. doi:10.1179/0334435514z.00000000041. 138.)
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## **Abstract**

From the 10th to the 8th centuries BCE, Jerusalem lay solitary on a tiny spur between two valleys, the Kidron and the Tyropoeon. Jerusalem did not seem to benefit from the two main trade routes, the Via Maris and the Kings Highway. However, on the eve of the Neo-Assyrian's conquest of Samaria in the Northern Kingdom in 722 BCE, Jerusalem began to experience substantial growth. This growth is well demonstrated in the archaeological context, especially the Broad Wall that was uncovered by Nahman Avigad during his excavations on the Western Hill from 1969 to 1982. The purpose of this research is to identify the events that precipitated the growth of Jerusalem during the latter half of the 8th c BCE.

## Introduction

### Refugees: Now and Then - An Ethnographic Study

In 2015, close to a million people crossed the Mediterranean Sea in what the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees described as refugees and migrants fleeing war torn areas in the Middle East.<sup>1</sup> The total number of global refugees reached 20.2 million by mid-2015 and by the end of the year the UNHCR predicted that the number of forced displacements around the world would exceed 60 million for the first time.<sup>2</sup> Although migrants from other countries in the Middle East contribute to these numbers, it is the current war in Syria that "remains the single biggest generator worldwide of both new refugees and continuing mass internal and external displacement."<sup>3</sup>

When local conflict broke out in Syria in March of 2011, no one could have imagined what impact it would have on Syria and the surrounding regions. As of March 2016, "more than 11 million people in Syria have been killed or forced to flee their homes."<sup>4</sup> To date, over 4.8 million Syrians have been displaced by the ongoing conflict.<sup>5</sup> The majority of those fleeing Syria have trekked into neighboring countries such as 2.1

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<sup>1</sup> UNHCR, '2015 Likely to Break Records for Forced Displacement - Study', UNHCR - The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, December 18, 2015, accessed April 10, 2016, <http://www.unhcr.org/5672c2576.html>.

<sup>2</sup> UNHCR, '2015 Likely to Break Records for Forced Displacement - Study', December 18, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Mercy Corps, 'Quick Facts: What You Need to Know about the Syria Crisis', Mercy Corps, February 5, 2016, accessed April 10, 2016, <https://www.mercycorps.org/articles/iraq-jordan-lebanon-syria-turkey/quick-facts-what-you-need-know-about-syria-crisis>.

<sup>5</sup> UNHCR, 'Syria Regional Refugee Response', accessed April 11, 2016, <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>.

million into Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt, 2.7 million into Turkey and 28,000 into North Africa.<sup>6</sup>

The remaining Syrian refugees are travelling farther still into the far reaches of Europe in search of a new home and a fresh start with hopes of being integrated into new cultures with new opportunities. The biggest challenge that migrants face is finding a host, someone who will welcome the newcomers into their community with a willingness to adapt. Not all in the EU have opened their borders to those fleeing Syria. Hungarian riot police have been seen in television footage "throwing food at penned-in refugees" while at the same time "moving to seal the country's border with Serbia" where the refugees are crossing.<sup>7</sup> Others also realize that the refugees need their help but fear that the mass number of migrants integrating into their urban setting can affect their own way of life. A hotel receptionist named Anton in Passau Germany stated:

Of course we have to help them, but I think we will lose our German culture if they don't stop coming in. It is too much. Maybe we would build a wall around Passau.<sup>8</sup>

There are legitimate concerns for host countries that face migrants settling inside their borders. The fear of negative impact on the economy and culture by incoming Syrian refugees have created an oppositional atmosphere in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia.<sup>9</sup> According to an article published by CBS News' Robert Hennelly, "Many in this part of Europe (i.e., Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland and

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<sup>6</sup> UNHCR, 'Syria Regional Refugee Response', accessed April 11, 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Hennelly, 'What's Dividing Europe over the Refugee Crisis', September 14, 2015, accessed April 10, 2016, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/fractured-europe-blocks-unified-response-to-refugee-crisis/>.

<sup>8</sup> Anton (would not provide surname), quoted in, Tony Paterson, 'Refugee Crisis: Germany's "Welcome Culture" Fades as Thousands Continue to Arrive', *The Independent - Europe* (Independent), October 7, 2015, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-germanys-welcome-culture-fades-as-thousands-continue-to-arrive-a6685361.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Hennelly, 'What's Dividing Europe over the Refugee Crisis', September 14, 2015.

Slovakia) see a flood of non-Christian migrants as a threat to their cultural identity and values, as well as a strain on the public purse."<sup>10</sup> While some areas of the EU have been resistant to the flood of refugees, Chancellor Angela Merkel, however, opened Germany's door to those seeking asylum.

The question many in the EU have raised concerning Merkel's decision has been, why? Rather than seeing the refugees as a threat, Merkel has seen them as a welcomed opportunity. According to the report by Robert Hennelly, Germany, with an existing population of "foreign workers in low-wage sectors may also see the influx of immigrants as a way to compensate for its aging workforce and a low birth rate."<sup>11</sup> Farok J. Contractor, professor at Rutgers Business School also realizes the benefits that the influx of refugees will have on the German economy:

Germans may be compassionate and caring toward refugees; but they are also calculating and smart about their own needs. So from a cold-blooded economics perspective, some countries, like Germany, will benefit considerably from the influx. And in Europe overall, the short-term costs of resettling refugees will be more than compensated for by the value of labor, talent, and ideas contributed by the (mostly young) migrants holding jobs over the rest of their lives working in the EU.<sup>12</sup>

All in all, it would seem that Chancellor Merkel has clearly understood that the benefits of refugee integration far outweighs the cost.

Unfortunately, war-torn regions and shifts in population have been part of the geopolitical and socioeconomic landscape for several millennia. Dr. Gary Beckman, Professor of Hittite and Mesopotamian Studies at the University of Michigan, identified

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<sup>10</sup> Hennelly, 'What's Dividing Europe over the Refugee Crisis', September 14, 2015.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Farok Contractor, 'The Refugee Crisis - Does Europe Benefit or Lose? The Angle Not Covered by the Media', Rutgers, September 14, 2015, accessed April 11, 2016, <http://www.business.rutgers.edu/business-insights/refugee-crisis-does-europe-benefit-or-lose-angle-not-covered-media>.

various types of displaced people (including refugees) in cuneiform cultures as early as the third through first millennia BCE.<sup>13</sup> In later texts and inscriptions, such as the Hebrew Bible and the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, king of the ever expanding empire of the first millennium to name a few, war seems to have been an all too common occurrence, in the Ancient Near East, especially during the Iron Age. Many of these Iron Age wars depicted in the biblical texts and Assyrian inscriptions took place in an area we call today Syria-Palestine.

### **Syria-Palestine: Wrong Place at the Wrong Time**

One of the unique aspects/traits of Syria-Palestine is its location. Resting along the eastern Mediterranean seaboard, Syria-Palestine is at the center of what Professor of Oriental History and Egyptology James Henry Breasted long ago called the "Fertile Crescent".<sup>14</sup> Breasted described this Crescent in his 1916 publication:

This fertile crescent is approximately a semicircle, with the open side toward the south, having the west end at the southeast corner of the Mediterranean, the center directly north of Arabia, and the east end at the north end of the Persian Gulf. It lies like an army facing south, with one wing stretching along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and the other reaching out to the Persian Gulf, while the center has its back against the northern mountains. The end of the western wing is Palestine; Assyria makes up a large part of the center; while the end of the eastern wing is Babylonia. This great semicircle, for a lack of a name, may be called the Fertile Crescent.<sup>15</sup>

This geographic crescent has also been called the "Cradle of Civilization" because of its cultivable land that stretches from the emptying of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers into the Persian Gulf to the borders of the Anatolian Plateau down along the eastern

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<sup>13</sup> Gary Beckman, 'Foreigners in the Ancient Near East', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133, no. 2 (June 2013), 203 and 209.

<sup>14</sup> James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Times: A History of the Early World* (Boston U.S.A.: Athenaeum Press, 1916), 100-101.

<sup>15</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Times*, 101.

Mediterranean coastline and ends in the wasteland of the Sinai.<sup>16</sup> Ancient urban civilizations have inhabited this space for several millennia. Mesopotamia lay at one end of the crescent while Egypt rests at the other. The Fertile Crescent narrows like an hourglass along the eastern Mediterranean and within this hourglass is the location of Syria-Palestine.<sup>17</sup>

Being located at the narrowest point of the Fertile Crescent had its advantages and disadvantages. For starters, Syria-Palestine served as what some have called a "land bridge" between continents, i.e., Asia and Africa.<sup>18</sup> As such, commerce flowed generously through the region in every direction, which benefited the area both culturally and economically. However, with commerce and wealth passing through this narrow strip, so did those who wanted to control it. According to Maxwell Miller and John Hayes, "Syria-Palestine was sucked into virtually all major conflicts between the ancient imperial powers."<sup>19</sup> It wasn't the desirability or the resources of Syria-Palestine themselves that attracted these empires, for the region served simply as a means to an end - a way to get from one side of the bridge to the other.<sup>20</sup>

### **Jerusalem: A Topographical Anomaly**

Even though Syria-Palestine was a land bridge that invited empires from east and west to travel its corridor, there were areas within the region that were less travelled. The

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<sup>16</sup> Maxwell J. Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah, Second Edition*, 2nd ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, U.S., 2006), 6-7.

<sup>17</sup> Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 9.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>20</sup> Mario Liverani states that metals are scarce in the region, gemstones are absent, valuable timber is non-existent and except for the extreme north, Syria-Palestine does not even provide safe harbors, see Mario Liverani, Philip R. Davies, and Chiara Peri, *Israel's History and the History of Israel* (London: Equinox Publishing, 2005), 5.

highlands, a series of mountain ridges running north and south along the west side of the Jordan River was 'off the beaten path' so to speak. Remotely located on one of these 'highland hills' was the city of Jerusalem. Three valleys, the Kidron, Hinnom and Tyropoeon, surrounded the city. From an aerial view, these three valleys look similar to the Hebrew letter *ש* *shin*, with the Kidron on the east, the Hinnom on the west and the Tyropoeon running down the middle; all three connecting together at the bottom (south). The city of Jerusalem (also known as Jebus before David's conquest and The City of David or *Ir Dawid* thereafter) was nestled along the spur between the Tyropoeon and Kidron Valleys.<sup>21</sup>

This small, demarcated locale sitting remotely in the highlands of Syria-Palestine, has witnessed its share of developments through the ages. From a remote settlement on the fringes of a hilltop in the Bronze Age to an expansive metropolis in the Iron II period, the city of Jerusalem over time became a hub of cultural interaction that still exists today. The period of Jerusalem's history that is of special interest and the central theme of this paper is the latter portion of the Iron II.

Sometime during the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> c BCE, Jerusalem experienced an unprecedented transformation that has been described as the “zenith of its expansion.”<sup>22</sup> According to some research findings, Jerusalem "quadrupled in size" within a few years and launched a major building campaign under the leadership of Hezekiah, king of Judah - the Southern Kingdom.<sup>23</sup> Hezekiah's public work projects included a fortification wall

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<sup>21</sup> Ephraim Stern, Ayelet Gilboa, and Joseph Aviram, *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern, Ayelet Lewinson-Gilboa, and Joseph Aviram (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993), Vol. 2, 698-701.

<sup>22</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 2, p. 708.

<sup>23</sup> Magen Broshi, 'The Expansion of Jerusalem in the Reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh', *Israel Exploration Journal* 24, no. 1 (1974), 21.



surrounding the southwestern hill, a massive underground water supply for the city and fortifications around the previous area of settlement, i.e., the city of David.<sup>24</sup> The question is, what caused such a massive growth in such a short time of a remotely located city fixed on a tiny spur in a hill country that rarely saw the kind of commercial activity that the cities situated on the coastal plains along the Mediterranean experienced from the traveling empires? Could it have been a shift in market production and a boom in the economy or were there other factors at play such as the previous descriptions concerning the demographic changes created by war, shifting populations and refugees?

Most all scholars agree that Jerusalem indeed went through a season of expansion sometime in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, but many disagree on what triggered it. The aim of this thesis is to engage this scholarly debate and investigate what may have happened to Jerusalem to cause such a massive transformation in the latter part of the Iron II period. This thesis will assess the broader geopolitical and socioeconomic landscapes of the Syria-Palestine region based on the literary texts and archaeological discoveries that cover the development of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms prior to 722 BCE and the northern and southern regions in the wake of the Neo-Assyrian hegemony post 722 BCE. It will then present the history of scholarship along the lines of three major models that account for the growth of Jerusalem. By way of conclusion, this paper will summarize and evaluate the evidence and then present the best-case scenario explaining what caused the growth of Jerusalem during the late 8th c. - 7th c. BCE.

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<sup>24</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 2, p. 704.

# Chapter 1

## A Divided Kingdom

### 1.1 Prosperity and Dominance: The Rise of the Omrides and the Northern Kingdom

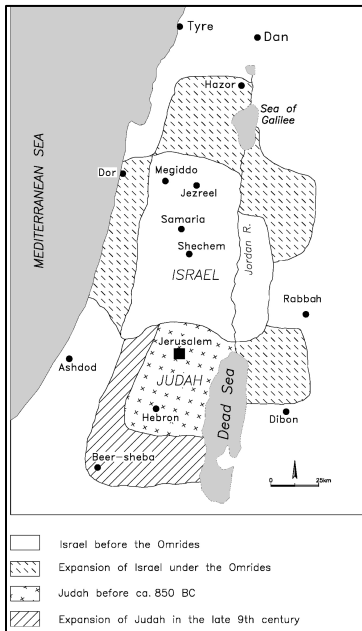


Figure 1. Expansion of Israel and Judah during the 9th c BCE

The Northern Kingdom during the Iron I to Iron II transition (ca. 10th c. BCE) is described in the HB as an area of twelve districts that was ruled by its first king Jeroboam of twenty-two years.<sup>25</sup> After Jeroboam's death, his son Nadab rose to power. However, Nadab's fame was short lived when only two years into his reign, Baasha of the tribe of Issachar, formed a coup against Nadab and killed him along with "all the house (lineage) of Jeroboam."<sup>26</sup> Not only did Baasha wipe out the lineage of

Jeroboam but also it seems he set out to break free from the previous rulers and establish his identity and polity in the

north by moving his residence to Ramah.<sup>27</sup> However, after invading armies from the south were infringing on the territory, Baasha went back to Tirzah, the seat of power during the Jeroboam dynasty.<sup>28</sup> After Baasha's death, his son Elah took charge. Similar to how Baasha overthrew the house of Jeroboam in killing Nadab and all of Jeroboam's lineage, Baasha's son Elah was faced with a coup of his own when Zimri, the

<sup>25</sup> 1 Kgs 12 - 14:20 (NRSV).

<sup>26</sup> 1 Kgs 15:29 (NRSV).

<sup>27</sup> 1 Kgs 15:21 (NRSV).

<sup>28</sup> 1 Kgs 14:17 (NRSV). The reference to Jeroboam's wife returning home to Tirzah implies that the Jeroboam's residence was there and most likely the seat of the Northern Kingdom's power. Baasha returned there from building Ramah and was buried and Baasha's son Elah is mentioned as ruling over Israel in Tirzah. See 1 Kgs 15:21; 16:5-6, 8-9.

commander of half of his chariot forces, killed Elah along with all of Elah's lineage, and assumed the throne. After only one week however, Zimri confronted his own challenges when Omri took command of the army, went to Tirzah and laid siege against Zimri. As a result, Zimri set his palace ablaze while he was still inside, thus committing suicide. After Omri seized power from Zimri, the Northern Kingdom split into two factions, half for Omri and half for Tibni. The books of Kings do not say what happened to Tibni except that he died. Of course, seeing how the earlier parts of the story have transpired, we can assume he was killed.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, it seems evident that a struggle was taking place to establish territorial entities and that the town of Tirzah was at the center of this conflict.

Tirzah has been identified in the archaeological remains of Tell el-Far'ah (North).<sup>30</sup> Occupation of the site dates back to the Neolithic period, due in part to its proximity to natural resources.<sup>31</sup> The town is located near the Far'ah brook that flows into the Jordan River and two springs supply the site with water - 'Ein Far'ah to the north and 'Ein Daleib to the south.<sup>32</sup> The Tel is

<b>Kings of the North</b> <i>10th - 9th c BCE</i>	
Jeroboam I	931-909 BCE
Nadab	909-908
Baasha	908-885
Elah	885-884
Zimri	884
Tibni	884-880
<i>(rival rule with Omri)</i>	
Omri	884-873 BCE

Figure 2

<sup>29</sup> 1 Kgs 16 (NRSV).

<sup>30</sup> There are two archaeological sites named Far'ah, Far'ah site II and Tell El-Far'ah (North). Far'ah site II is located in the northwestern Negev desert on the bank of the Naḥal Besor. Tell El-Far'ah (North) is located ca 7 miles northeast of Shechem on the Nablus-Tubas road and was first identified by W. F. Albright as the biblical town of Tirzah. Archaeology has confirmed Albright's first assessment. See: Ephraim Stern, Ayelet Gilboa, and Joseph Aviram, *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern, Ayelet Lewinson- Gilboa, and Joseph Aviram (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993), Vol. 2, 432-433.

<sup>31</sup> Stern, Gilboa and Aviram, NEAHL, Vol. 2, 433.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

surrounded with rich cultivation. Perhaps, the richness of the location was the origin of Tirzah's name - תִּרְצָה (*tirṣāh*) meaning "pleasant."<sup>33</sup> In comparison to the Southern Kingdom of Judah that was located in the remote highlands and removed from fertile seashore plains, Tirzah and the northern regions was home to the richness of the Fertile Crescent with connections to the outside world.

Evidence of far reaching trade or cultural interaction was found at Tirzah in Period VI stratum that correlates to the Late Bronze Age (LBA). Within the excavated tombs and from the site itself, local pottery was discovered along with assemblages that included imported Mycenaean and Cypriot ware.<sup>34</sup> These trade connections along with Tirzah's proximity to natural resources seems to be reason enough that the Northern Kingdom established its capital here during the reign of Jeroboam. Nevertheless, the archaeological record surrounding Tirzah suggests that during the early stages of the Northern Kingdom's development (i.e., 10th - 9th c BCE) the site was less than impressive. Perhaps, the earlier Late Bronze Age crisis may have contributed to the disruption.

According to Israel Finkelstein, 10th - 9th c BCE Tirzah was a "small, sparsely built, unfortified settlement."<sup>35</sup> Although not all of the area of Tirzah has been excavated, explorations in various areas show no signs of public architecture (i.e., palace and temple) during the Iron I to Iron II transition that correlates with stratum VIIa.<sup>36</sup> In stratum VIIb, a later period, one of the rooms of an excavated structure "yielded two

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<sup>33</sup> Ludwig Köhler et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2001), s.v. "תִּרְצָה".

<sup>34</sup> Stern, Gilboa and Aviram, NEAHL, Vol. 2, 439.

<sup>35</sup> Israel Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, ed. Roxana Flammini and Ehud Zvi (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 73.

<sup>36</sup> Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, 73.

terra-cotta chalices that led the excavator to interpret the structure as a temple."<sup>37</sup> However, further investigation confirmed the structure to be a house suggesting that rather than a temple, the structure served as a "type of worship that was incorporated into the domestic life."<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, a "relatively large number of late Iron I-early Iron IIA seals" were uncovered in the excavation of the Period VIIa stratum that may suggest that a bureaucratic apparatus was in place at the northern capital of Tirzah during the 10th - 9th c BCE.<sup>39</sup> Although it seems that Tirzah provides a mixed bag of archaeological finds, it still yields some important information about the Northern Kingdom. Israel Finkelstein concluded that during the early stages, the Northern Kingdom was ruled from a modest setting (Tirzah), had a bureaucratic apparatus and "was strong enough to expand to the Jezreel valley and its environs during the 10th - 9th c BCE."<sup>40</sup>

The transformation of the northern landscape came with the rise of the Omride dynasty that changed the modest setting to an expanding kingdom during the 9th c BCE. Omri and his three sons, Ahab, Ahaziah and Joram ruled from approximately 884 - 842 BCE.<sup>41</sup> Omri and his son Ahab became the first two Israelite kings (north or south), to be mentioned in sources outside the HB. In fact, when referring to the Northern Kingdom, Assyrian inscriptions from the 9th c BCE, such as the Calah Bulls, the Marble Slab and the Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III, identified the region as the "*Bit Humri*" or "House of Omri."<sup>42</sup> These Assyrian inscriptions of king Shalmaneser III seem to signify

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<sup>37</sup> Stern, Gilboa and Aviram, NEAHL, Vol. 2, 439.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, 73.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, 83. See also: Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 284 - 326.

<sup>42</sup> William W. Hallo and Lawson K. Younger, *The Context of Scripture* (n.p.: Brill Academic Pub, 2003), Vol. 2, 266, 267, 268. Inscriptions: Annals: Calah Bulls (2.113C); Marble Slab

that the Northern Kingdom was one, recognizable as a regional player in the broader geopolitical and socioeconomic spectrum and two, that the Omride dynasty was well organized and recognized rulers in the region.

The military of the Northern Kingdom had become a formidable force during the Omrides' second dynastic, Ahab. The 9th c BCE Neo-Assyrian Kurkh Monolith inscription of Shalmaneser III described in great detail the battle of Qarqar in which Shalmaneser III and his army faced off with twelve (only 11 are mentioned by name) confederate kings representing Damascus, Hamath, Israel, Byblos, Egypt, Irqata, Arvad, Usnu, Siyannu, Arabia and Ammon.<sup>43</sup> King Ahab is mentioned in this inscription and the details offer insight into the strength of the Omride dynasty during that period. According to the Kurkh Monolith, Ahab's military consisted of 2,000 chariots and 10,000 troops.<sup>44</sup> Shalmaneser the III claimed to have won the battle at Qarqar, however, scholars such as Mario Liverani posits that Ahab "could have claimed he was not defeated."<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, it's worthy to note that out of all of the kings who are recorded on the Kurkh Monolith that fought against Shalmaneser III, Ahab's army had the most chariots which confirms the military might and wealth of the Northern Kingdom during the Omride dynasty.

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(2113D); Kurba'IL Statue (2113E). See also: Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 43.

<sup>43</sup> Concerning the Twelve Kings, only 11 are mentioned by name yet the inscription boasts of facing off with 12. Some debate whether the name was erroneously omitted or if Qarqar itself was the twelfth state. Others still posit that Ba'asa, (the man) of Bit-Ruhubi may have been two entities. The reference to the region of Ammon is recorded as, "Ba'asa, of Bit-Ruhubi, the Ammonite." Scholars debate whether this site is referring to the Transjordanian state or Amanah in the Anti-Lebanon mountain range or the region of Sobah mentioned in 2 Samuel 8:3. See Hallo and Younger, *COS*, Vol. 2, 263-264, Footnote 33. Inscription: Kurkh Monolith (2.113A).

<sup>44</sup> Hallo and Younger, *COS*, Vol. 2, 263. Inscription: Kurkh Monolith (2.113A).

<sup>45</sup> Liverani, Davies, and Peri, *Israel's History*. 112.

Territorial expansion also took place during the reign of the Omrides. The Mesha Inscription that was erected in Dibon during the late 9th c BCE describes Omri's expansion into the Transjordan, "And Omri had taken possession of the whole la[n]d of Medeba, and he lived there (in) his days and half the days of his son, forty years."<sup>46</sup>

Another great exploit of the Omride dynasty was the moving of the capital from Tirzah to Samaria. The biblical account recalls that after reigning for six years in Tirzah, Omri moved his capital and purchased a hill from Shemer, calling it Samaria in recognition of its previous owner.<sup>47</sup> The archaeological record at Tirzah in the Period VIIc stratum confirms the Omride story. Stratum VIIc was preceded by a destruction of level VIIb that was followed by a short period of abandonment.<sup>48</sup> In stratum VIIc, the reconstruction of the town included large complex buildings. However, "abandoned building materials, partly-dressed stones and the absence of ruins," suggest that the construction project was never finished.<sup>49</sup> Even more telling is the fine craftsmanship on the ashlar structures that resemble the type of work that was discovered in the palace at Samaria.<sup>50</sup> The capital at Samaria truly represented the monumental achievements of the Omride dynasty and the Northern Kingdom's prosperity during the 9th c BCE.

## **1.2 A Vineyard in Samaria: Samaria Before “the Fall” (Pre-722 BCE)**

*"Again you shall plant vineyards on the mountains of Samaria"<sup>51</sup>*

Among the archaeological discoveries from Samaria are the 'Samaria Ostraca'. Inscriptions in Hebrew that was found on these potsherds provide a new dimension to the

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<sup>46</sup> Hallo and Younger, COS, Vol. 2, 137. Inscription: The Inscription of King Mesha (2.23).

<sup>47</sup> 1 Kgs 16:24 (NRSV).

<sup>48</sup> Stern, Gilboa and Aviram, NEAHL, Vol. 2, 439.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Jeremiah 31:5 (NRSV).

story of prosperity of the new capital city in the north during the 9th c BCE. Two of the most repeated phrases were "...a jar of old wine" and "...a jar of fine oil."<sup>52</sup> Included with the inscriptions on these ostraca were year and name. Some have posited that these potsherds were from vessels of wine or oil being sent from various settlements around the Northern Kingdom to the Samarian capital as a form of tax.<sup>53</sup> Not only do these ostraca speak of taxation, but they also bring to mind the capabilities that the northern regions had in olive oil production, administration, cultivation, economy, technology and wealth during the 9th and 8th c BCE.

In addition to providing information on the bureaucracy of Samaria, the ostraca also shows evidence of dialectic distinction in the region. For example, many of the names found on the Samaria ostraca "are formed with the suffix *yāw* and the component *ba'al*."<sup>54</sup> On the Samaria ostrakon No. 2, it states: "In the ten/th year, to Gaddîyāw." The name Gaddîyāw possesses the theophoric element *yāw*, which represents *YHWH*. According to Shmuel Aḥituv, the spelling of the theophoric element in the name Gaddîyāw is distinct to the regions of the Northern Kingdom, such as Samaria.<sup>55</sup> The Southern Kingdom variant of the theophoric element is *yāhû*.<sup>56</sup>

As far as location, Samaria had the best of both worlds. Positioned ten kilometers northwest of Shechem and identified with the site of modern day Sebastiyeh, Samaria lay at the crossroads of two main thoroughfares (north-south and east-west) and was

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<sup>52</sup> Stern, Gilboa and Aviram, *NEAHL*, Vol. 4, 1304.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Shmuel Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta - The Israel Map and Publishing Co., 2008), 264.

<sup>56</sup> Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*, 264.



positioned atop a high hill 430 meters above sea level.<sup>57</sup> Megiddo and the Jezreel Valley to the north, roads to Shechem and the Jordan Valley to the east and the Mediterranean coast and Phoenicia to the west surrounded Samaria.<sup>58</sup> Being positioned in such an area provided great economic and trade advantages. Archaeology testifies to the wealth of Samaria and the Omride dynasty. It is believed from the excavations that Omri built the site on a large scale then a second phase of construction during Ahab's reign enlarged the city.<sup>59</sup> Excavations from the Omride strata at the site of Samaria revealed such finds as a royal quarter enclosed by walls on the acropolis, casement walls, fortifications, "renowned" building techniques of "outstanding quality", ivories - one of which was incised with the name of the Egyptian pharaoh Osorkon II (914 - 874 BCE), "excellent pottery", "outstanding fine burnished vessels with red slip" and ostraca with inscription (see above).<sup>60</sup> A summary of the ivory finds is worth noting:

Many of the ivory plaques bear letters in Hebrew script. The ivories are considered products of Phoenician art, and they were probably used as inlays in the palace furniture of the Israelite kings. The Bible mentions the "ivory house" that Ahab built (1 Kgs 22:39) and the "beds of ivory" that symbolized the life of luxury led in Samaria in Amos' words of reproof (6:4). The excavators attributed all of the ivories to the time of Ahab.<sup>61</sup>

The Phoenician art ivories are important to the overall picture of Samaria and the Northern Kingdom during the 9th c BCE. Famous for their commerce both on land but especially across the Mediterranean sea, the Phoenicians controlled a great deal of

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<sup>57</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 4, 1300. "The site was renamed Sebaste by Herod when he rebuilt the city."

<sup>58</sup> Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel*. 295.

<sup>59</sup> Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, 88.

<sup>60</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 4, 1300 - 1306.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, 1306.

commercial luxury goods such as hardwoods, craft products and metals.<sup>62</sup> Along with supply goods, the Phoenicians were also known for their high quality craftsmanship as evidenced by the Ahab ivories.<sup>63</sup> Trade alliances between Phoenicians and the Omride dynasty must have been even stronger when Ahab married Jezebel, the daughter of *Ethbaal*, king of the Phoenician seaport city of Tyre.<sup>64</sup> The Omride dynasty connections to the Mediterranean coast further illustrate the geopolitical and socioeconomic setting that the Northern Kingdom was a part of. No doubt, economically speaking, it was the best of times.

Things in the Northern Kingdom began to change, however, in the shadow of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. After Ahab and the coalition kings' battle with Shalmaneser III at Qarqar in 853 BCE, Assyria returned in 838-837 BCE. The Black Obelisk retells the story of Shalmaneser III's campaign against the new king of Damascus, Hazael and the land of Tyre, Sidon and Byblos.<sup>65</sup> The Black Obelisk is also telling in relation to the Northern Kingdom. Jehu, king of Israel during Shalmaneser III's sixth campaign (838-837 BCE) seems to have become a vassal to Assyria as he is shown bowing before the Neo-Assyrian king with the following caption, "I received the tribute of Jehu (the man) of *Bit Humri*: silver, gold, a golden bowl, a golden goblet, golden cups, golden buckets, tin,

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<sup>62</sup> Marc van de Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East, Ca. 3000-323 BC* (United States: John Wiley & Sons, 2015): 235.

<sup>63</sup> Van de Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East*, 235-239.

<sup>64</sup> Liverani, Davies, and Peri, *Israel's History*. 112. 1 Kings 16:31 (NRSV). The biblical text states that *Ethbaal* was king of the *Sidonians*. However, the Hebrew word צִידְבָּאֵל appears to be used here as a collective, meaning a name for all within that region, i.e., Tyre and Sidon. See: Köhler et al., HALOT, s.v. "צִידְבָּאֵל". According to Thomas Römer, *Ethbaal* was the king of Tyre. See: Römer, 'Introduction to 1 Kings', in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version*, 518.

<sup>65</sup> Hallo and Younger, *COS*, Vol. 2, 269.

a staff of the king's hand (and) javelins(?)." <sup>66</sup> It seems evident that the Northern Kingdom understood that the Neo-Assyrian Empire was a real threat in the region.

Hazael, king of Damascus leaped into the Northern Kingdom at some point during the last half of the 9th c BCE, creating disruption that would have lasting repercussions. <sup>67</sup> The Tel Dan inscription, an Aramaic script found at the site of Tel Dan in the northern borders of Israel and modern day Lebanon, has been accredited to Hazael and his expansionist ambitions. <sup>68</sup> Although the Tel Dan inscription does not mention Hazael by name, scholars are able to ascribe the events recorded on the stele to Hazael by its date (i.e., 9th c BCE - the period of Hazael's reign) and its contents (i.e., the celebration of an Aramean king victory over Israelite kings that reigned during the period of Hazael). <sup>69</sup> The king on the stele boasts of his exploits in Israel:

I departed from the seven [cities] of my kingdom, and I slew [seven]ty kings, who harnessed thou[sands of chariots and thousands of horsemen/horses. And [was killed Jo]ram son of [Ahab king of Israel, and [was] killed [Ahaz]yahu son of [Jehoram, king of the House of David. And I set [their cities into ruins and turned their land into [desolation.] <sup>70</sup>

Hazael began to exploit the wealth and prosperity of the Northern Kingdom by recapturing territory from Israel in the Transjordan and extending his presence further into Syria-Palestine thus taking control of the Via Maris along the Mediterranean coast. <sup>71</sup> Miller and Hayes posit that Hazael also took control of Elath and the city's port at the Red

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<sup>66</sup> Hallo and Younger, *COS*, Vol. 2, 269-270.

<sup>67</sup> Finkelstein claims Hazael's assault began as soon as he ascended the throne ca 842 BCE, whereas Miller and Hayes posit that Hazael's expansion into the Via Maris route occurred ca 832 BCE. See: Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel*. 338. See Also: Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, 119.

<sup>68</sup> See Liverani, Davies, and Peri, *Israel's History*. 113-14.

<sup>69</sup> Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel*. 340-41.

<sup>70</sup> Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*, 468.

<sup>71</sup> Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel*. 339.

Sea thus giving Hazael and Damascus control over "all the major trade routes previously dominated by the Omrides."<sup>72</sup> These actions by Hazael would have definitely warranted a response from Assyria.

### **1.3 Samaria's Little Sister: Jerusalem and Judah Before 722 BCE**

*"Your elder sister is Samaria, who lived with her daughters to the north of you"*<sup>73</sup>

While the Northern Kingdom was living life in the fast lane during the 10th to the 9th centuries BCE, Jerusalem and Judah seemed to be sitting still. Jerusalem was still confined to the city of David with an estimated population of 2,500 and Judah as a whole was just emerging from the developmental phase on its way to state formation.<sup>74</sup> Between the Late Bronze Age to the 9th-8th c BCE, south of Jerusalem only grew from 10 to 36 inhabitable sites.<sup>75</sup> In comparison, the northern Samarian hills during the same period grew from 23 to 238 sites.<sup>76</sup> In terms of growth, Judah did not expand into the Shephelah and Beersheba valleys until the last half of the 9th c BCE.<sup>77</sup>

The Shephelah has been described as a "long strip of land that separates the southern coastal plain from the Judean Highlands."<sup>78</sup> During the Late Bronze Age, the Shephelah was densely settled but was later abandoned during the transition to the Iron I

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ezekiel 16:46 (NRSV).

<sup>74</sup> Israel Finkelstein and Neil Silberman, 'Temple and Dynasty: Hezekiah, the Remaking of Judah and the Rise of the Pan-Israelite Ideology', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 30, no. 3 (March 1, 2006), 260. doi:10.1177/0309089206063428. For Jerusalem's population numbers see Yigal Shiloh, 'The Population of Iron Age Palestine in the Light of a Sample Analysis of Urban Plans, Areas, and Population Density', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 239 (1980), 25-35. doi:10.2307/1356754.

<sup>75</sup> Liverani, Davies, and Peri, *Israel's History*. 136.

<sup>76</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 4, 1312.

<sup>77</sup> Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, 43.

<sup>78</sup> Avraham Faust, 'The Shephelah in the Iron Age: A New Look on the Settlement of Judah', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 145, no. 3 (September 2013), 203. doi:10.1179/0031032813z.00000000058.

period.<sup>79</sup> According to Avraham Faust, the Shephelah during the Iron Age II saw an influx of population from the highlands combined with Canaanite population gradually settling into the region.<sup>80</sup> Faust stated, "the process of resettlement was long, and lasted until the 8th c BCE", at which time the region reached its peak of 277 settlements.<sup>81</sup> Out of these 277 settlements, Lachish was the most populated site in the Shephelah.<sup>82</sup>

Lachish, along with Beth-Shemesh, Beer-Sheba and Arad, demonstrate the first signs of advanced state formation in Judah during the Iron IIA period with the development of "fortification systems and other significant public building activities."<sup>83</sup> Lachish reached "full-blown statehood by the late 8th c BCE with "an advanced bureaucratic apparatus, fully developed settlement hierarchy, monumental building activities and mass production of secondary agricultural products."<sup>84</sup>

The wealth and economy of Lachish is demonstrated by the famous *Lamelekh* Storage Jars that were uncovered during archaeological excavations within "a dated stratigraphical context", which was the destruction of Lachish by the Assyrians in 701 BCE.<sup>85</sup> The *Lamelekh* (*lmlk*) Jars were royal storage jars that are recognizable by the *lmlk* (i.e., "belonging to the king") stamped handles.<sup>86</sup> Over 85 percent of the *lmlk* stamped handles that were recovered from Lachish include four-winged symbols and

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<sup>79</sup> Faust, 'The Shephelah', 203.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>82</sup> Liverani, Davies, and Peri, *Israel's History*. 136

<sup>83</sup> Finkelstein and Silberman, 'Temple and Dynasty', 260.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 3, 909.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* See Oded Lipschits, Omer Sergi, and Ido Koch, 'Judahite Stamped and Incised Jar Handles: A Tool for Studying the History of Late Monarchic Judah', *Tel Aviv* 38, no. 1 (June 2011), doi:10.1179/033443511x12931017059468.

over 74 percent include the name "Hebron."<sup>87</sup> Excavations and surveys throughout Judah have yielded over 2,000 stamped or incised jar handles dating from the late 8th c to the early 6th c BCE (i.e., destruction of the Northern Kingdom to the destruction of the Southern Kingdom, respectively).<sup>88</sup> According to Oded Lipschits, the *lmlk* stamped handles "represents a living administrative and economic system that was established when Judah became an Assyrian vassal kingdom, probably during the last third of the 8th c BCE."<sup>89</sup> Comparing the number of *lmlk* stamped handles that have been found throughout the Judean region shows that Lachish was possibly the main administration collection center during the late 8th c BCE.<sup>90</sup> With Lachish being at the heart of the Southern Kingdom's economy, it's no wonder it drew the attention of the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 701 BCE.

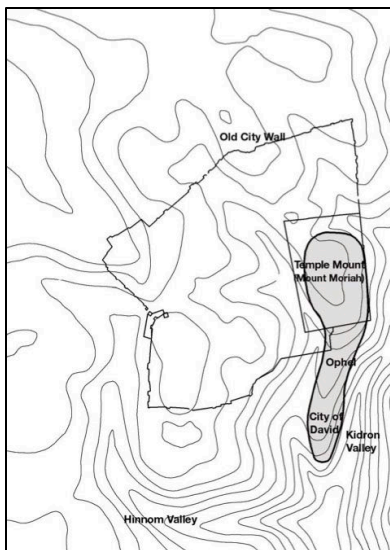


Figure 3: Early Iron II Jerusalem: 10th–mid-8th century BCE

Jerusalem during the 10th century is somewhat of an enigma. According to Maxwell Miller and John Hayes, "Occupational remains from Early Iron Age Jerusalem, including the tenth century when Solomon would have lived, are meager and difficult to interpret."<sup>91</sup> This is not to say that activity in Jerusalem is *nil*. Quite the contrary, the archaeological record verifies that Canaanite Jerusalem existed as far back as the twentieth and nineteenth centuries BCE in the

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. Note: The percentage numbers are based on finds till the end of 1990. By 1990 413 *lmlk* stamps and 65 "private" stamps had been recovered at Lachish.

<sup>88</sup> Lipschits, Sergi, and Koch, 'Judahite Stamped and Incised Jar Handles', 5.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 10-11.

<sup>91</sup> Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel*. 203.

Egyptian Execration texts that mention the city by name -  $\lambda ws)mm = *(U)rušalimum$ .<sup>92</sup>

What Miller and Hayes refer to, however, are the archaeological discoveries in and around Jerusalem dating to the 10th c BCE that fall short of chronological certainty. These discoveries have now called into question the impression that Jerusalem during the 10th - 9th centuries was a metropolis.

According to Israel Finkelstein and Neil Silberman, up till the 8th c BCE, "Jerusalem was still restricted to the ridge of the City of David."<sup>93</sup> The total area of Jerusalem during this period covered 6 hectares and included the City of David, the Ophel (area between the City of David and the Temple Mount), and the Temple Mount. Moreover, "excavations on both the eastern and western slopes of the ridge failed to produce evidence for a pre-late 8th c defense system and there is good reason to argue that the city had not yet been fortified."<sup>94</sup> In addition, excavations for the 8th c BCE period in the highlands of Judah have not revealed any major urban centers and "lacking" in the archaeological record from the 9th - early 8th c BCE are literacy, centralized

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<sup>92</sup> Köhler et al., HALOT, s.v. "ירושלם, ירושלים". Other notable archaeological finds that highlight Jerusalem by name include the Amarna letters from the fourteenth century BCE (*Urusalim*) and the seventh century BCE Sennacherib prism inscription *Uruslimmu*. See also: Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 2, 698.

<sup>93</sup> Finkelstein and Silberman, 'Temple and Dynasty', 262. More recent studies carried out by Israel Finkelstein, Ido Koch and Oded Lipschitz now propose that possibly there was an original mound on the temple mount that was covered by Herod's temple expansion in the early Roman period that may explain various questions surrounding pottery findings or the lack thereof and the lack of a defensible western wall in the city of David on the southern slope. This proposal would actually make Jerusalem 5 hectares in size rather than the 2 hectares that was proposed earlier. This would make Jerusalem comparable to other Bronze and Iron Age mounds in the hill country such as Lachish, Tel Beer-sheba and Mizpah. This theory has yet to be proven due to the fact that excavations cannot be carried out on the temple mount at this time. For Finkelstein, Koch and Lipschitz's theory see: Israel Finkelstein, Ido Koch, and Oded Lipschitz, 'The Mound on the Mount: A Possible Solution to the "Problem with Jerusalem"', *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 11 (2011): 2-14. doi:10.5508/jhs.2011.v11.a12.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

economy, "meaningful scribal activity", evidence for mass production of secondary products (i.e., olive oil), standardized weights, and pottery mass production.<sup>95</sup>

Population estimates based on archaeological findings seem to support Finkelstein and Silberman's proposal. By measuring the habitable space discovered in the archaeological record and multiplying that number by a density coefficient (i.e., the number of people estimated by certain criteria that can inhabit a certain area during the time period and historical context in question), Yigal Shiloh proposed that a reasonable estimate of population for that area could be determined.<sup>96</sup> Shiloh estimated that during the tenth century BCE Jerusalem's population was 2,500 people.<sup>97</sup>

Jerusalem's development between the mid-9th to mid-8th c BCE, according to Mario Liverani, was "very modest" and was "substantially more like stagnation than real growth."<sup>98</sup> In fact, the "meager" finds from excavations carried out in the 9th century stratum of Jerusalem confirm Liverani's "very modest development" hypothesis.<sup>99</sup> Hillel Geva calculated the population of Jerusalem for the period between the mid-10th to the

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 262-263.

<sup>96</sup> Yigal Shiloh proposes that 40-50 persons per dunam is a reasonable density coefficient. A Dunam = ca. 900 - 1000 meters<sup>2</sup> (about 0.25 acre). Formula: area X density coefficient = population. Method to obtain density coefficient: "A study is made of a number of sample settlements of various periods, and their estimated population is then taken as a basis for calculating the total population of the country." Density coefficient Calculation Guidelines: "If we can determine, with the aid of a reasonably well-founded sample, the density coefficient of a town belonging to a group of towns of a certain type, we can then use the same coefficient for estimating the population of all the other towns in this group" - 1.) In towns that are to serve as statistical samples, a considerable area must have been excavated, 2.) The outlines of the town plan must be clearly defined, 3.) It must be possible to define with certainty the limits of the residential area and of the individual dwelling units, 4.) The dwelling units must be clearly defined architecturally, so as to make it possible to arrive at a reasonable classification of all dwellings making up the residential area. See: Yigal Shiloh, 'The Population of Iron Age Palestine in the Light of a Sample Analysis of Urban Plans, Areas, and Population Density', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 239 (1980), 25-35. doi:10.2307/1356754.

<sup>97</sup> Shiloh, 'The Population of Iron Age Palestine', 30.

<sup>98</sup> Liverani, Davies, and Peri, *Israel's History*. 136.

<sup>99</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 2, 704.



mid-8th c BCE by defining the area of the limits of the city (i.e., city wall) and the urban plan based on archaeological finds.<sup>100</sup> Geva estimated that the population of Jerusalem did not exceed 2,000.<sup>101</sup> Geva's calculation covers a two hundred year span, which is telling in itself. Unfortunately, the 9th century stratum in Jerusalem has yielded very little.<sup>102</sup> During the 8th century, however, the demographics of Jerusalem change immensely.

#### 1.4 'Assyrian' Samaria and Judah (Post-722 BCE)

##### Samaria

The adverse effect of the Assyrian presence on the Northern Kingdom was at its peak in ca 725 BCE when according to the books of Kings Samaria, Israel's capital city, experienced a three-year siege by Shalmaneser V and was ultimately conquered by his successor Sargon II in 722/1 BCE.<sup>103</sup> In the Annals of Sargon II, discovered at his ancient palace in modern day Khorsabad, the conquering of Samaria is recorded, "At the begi[nning of my royal rule, I ...the town of Sama]rians [I besieged, conquered]."<sup>104</sup> The books of Kings speaks of the "carrying away" of Israel the Northern Kingdom by the Assyrians.<sup>105</sup> Assyrian inscriptions attest to Sargon II's exploitation of Samaria in which Sargon states that he "led away as booty 27,290 inhabitants."<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Hillel Geva, 'Jerusalem's Population in Antiquity: A Minimalist View 1', *The Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University* 41, no. 2 (2014): 132. doi:10.1179/0334435514z.00000000041. Note: As part of his population estimate, Geva also reviews approximations that have been proposed by other scholars as part of his overall demographic analysis.

<sup>101</sup> Geva, 'Jerusalem's Population in Antiquity', 138.

<sup>102</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 2, 704

<sup>103</sup> 2 Kgs 18:9-10 (NRSV).

<sup>104</sup> James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament with Supplement*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 285.

<sup>105</sup> 2 Kgs 18:11 (NRSV).

<sup>106</sup> Pritchard, *ANET*, 285.

Equally so, archaeological evidence for the Northern Kingdom during the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE confirms the devastation left behind by the Assyrians. According to a demographic study by Israel Finkelstein and Magen Broshi, 734 BCE marked a demographic decline beginning with Tiglath Pileser III's campaign that left discernible "signs of destruction...in almost every site excavated in the area of the former Kingdom of Israel".<sup>107</sup>

Using the region of Samaria as an example, we can see the evidence for a major population shift that occurred in the Northern Kingdom prior to the arrival of the Assyrians and after. The population of the region of Samaria at its peak in the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE reached a total population of 102,500.<sup>108</sup> Archaeological surveys have also revealed that during Iron II, the region of Samaria had reached its peak of 238 settlements during the Iron II.<sup>109</sup> In comparison, only 95 settlements were evident "after the conquest of Samaria in 722 BCE."<sup>109</sup> Thus, archaeological evidence confirms that the Northern Kingdom of Israel suffered a major population decline in the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE.

According to both Assyrian inscriptions and biblical accounts, deportation and resettlement was part of the Assyrian policies employed in lands they subdued. In the books of Kings, Shalmaneser removed the inhabitants of the northern regions of Syria-Palestine and resettled them "in Halah on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."<sup>110</sup> In the Assyrian inscriptions, for example, Tiglath-Pileser III claimed to

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<sup>107</sup> Broshi and Finkelstein, 'The Population of Palestine', 55.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 51. Broshi and Finkelstein use the mean density coefficient of 270 inhabitants per hectare, pg. 48.

<sup>109</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*, 1312. Note: This survey is based on the Northern Samarian Hills. These numbers do not include the region of Southern Samarian Hills or Western Samaria.

<sup>110</sup> 2 Kgs 18:11 (NRSV)

have deported 30,300 at one time and resettled them in the province of “Ku[...].”<sup>111</sup> Likewise, Sargon II claimed to have removed 27,290 from Samaria and employed some of them into his own military.<sup>112</sup> In turn, as the Assyrians moved people out of the Northern Kingdom into other provinces, they likewise moved inhabitants from other provinces into the Northern Kingdom. Archaeological evidence confirms resettlement of outside populations into the region of Samaria: “a unique group of pottery” that is “attributed to *Cuthean* settlers who were brought to the Samarian Hills from Mesopotamia in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE” was discovered in the region.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, Sargon claimed that he settled in Samaria the Arabs who live, far away, in the desert.<sup>114</sup>

In addition to deportation and resettlement of populations, Assyrian inscriptions make reference to those who escaped:

Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE)

I took away from them (their) chariots, their calvary, (and) their military equipment. In order to save their lives they ran away.<sup>115</sup>

Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BCE)

As for Samsi, the queen of the land of Arabia. And she, in order to save her life, ...[to] a desert, an arid place, like an onager [made off].<sup>116</sup>

Sargon II (721-705)

I defeated them; Sib'e ran away, afraid when he (only) heard the noise of my (approaching) army, and has not been seen again.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Pritchard, *ANET*, 283.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*, Vol. 4. 1312.

<sup>114</sup> Pritchard, *ANET*, 286.

<sup>115</sup> Hallo and Younger, *COS*, Vol. 2, 265.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 288.

<sup>117</sup> Pritchard, *ANET*, 284-285.

It is remarkable that Shalmaneser III, Tiglath-pileser III, and Sargon II, all make reference of people who were able to escape from them.

### Jerusalem

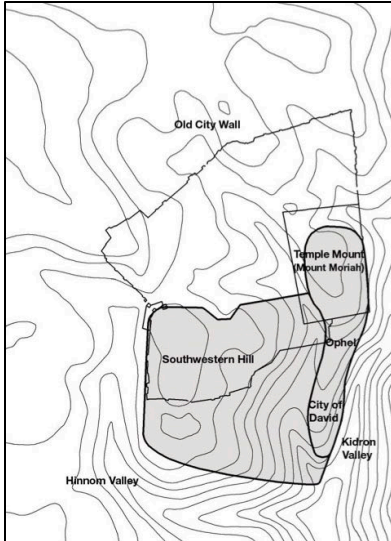


Figure 4: Iron II Jerusalem:  
Mid-8th - 6th century BCE

After the conquest of the Northern Kingdom's capital Samaria in 701 BCE by Sargon II, the region of Samaria experienced a major decline in population. Jerusalem on the other hand experienced growth. According to population estimates, Jerusalem's population grew from 2,500 in the 10th-9th to 10-12,000 in the late 8th c BCE.<sup>118</sup> During the reign of Hezekiah in

the last half of the 8th c BCE, the City of Jerusalem that was once delimited to the tiny spur between the Kidron and Tyropoeon valleys expanded onto the Western Hill to make room for a new settlement. Several public work projects were initiated at the end of the 8th c BCE, one of which was the impressive Siloam Water Tunnel. The purpose of the tunnel was to bring water from the Gihon spring to inside the walls of the new expansion on the Western Hill. The Siloam Tunnel was an engineering marvel. Workers chiseled simultaneously on either end and met in the middle. To celebrate their accomplishment, the workers inscribed the following in the rock wall of the tunnel:

[The matter of]the breakthrough: And this is the matter of the breakthrough. While [the hewers are swinging the] ax, each towards his companion, and while there were still three cubits to he[w, there was hea]rd the voice of a man ca[ll]ing to his companion because there was a fissure(?) in

<sup>118</sup> Finkelstein and Silberman, "Temple and Dynasty: Hezekiah", 263. For the population during the 10th-9th c BCE, See, Yigal Shiloh, "The Population of Iron Age Palestine", 239.

the rock, on the right and on the le[f]t. And on the day of its breakthrough, the hewers struck each man towards his companion, axe towards [a]xe, and the waters flowed from the outlet to the pool, one thousand [and t]wo hundred cubits, and a [hu]ndred cubits was the height of the rock above the heads of the hewe[rs].<sup>119</sup>

Other public works included the new fortification wall that was built around the Western Hill, existing walls were strengthened, and tombs within the new settlement area were abandoned in favor of new tombs beyond the new wall installation.

Descriptively, Jerusalem had "reached the zenith of its expansion in the First Temple period toward the end of the 8th and in the 7th c BCE."<sup>120</sup>

### **1.5 History of Research / Scholarship**

Between 1969 and 1982, Nahman Avigad led archaeological excavations in Jerusalem's old city of the western hill also known today as the Jewish Quarter. Avigad uncovered evidence that suggests that the city of Jerusalem had significantly expanded sometime during the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>121</sup> This expansion considerably increased the size of the city of Jerusalem from approximately 40 acres to 160 acres of habitable space.<sup>122</sup> Because this expansion was so extensive it in turn led to a flurry of debates and theories among scholars as to what triggered such a significant if not rapid growth in Jerusalem during the Iron II period and what significances such growth presented for better

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<sup>119</sup> Shmuel Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period*. Jerusalem: Carta - The Israel Map and Publishing Co., 2008, 22-23.

<sup>120</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 2, 704-708.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 704-706.

<sup>122</sup> Nadav Na'aman, "When and How Did Jerusalem Become a Great City? The Rise of Jerusalem as Judah's Premier City in the Eighth-Seventh Centuries B.C.E.," *BASOR* 347 (August 2007): 22. See also Aaron Burke, "Coping with the Effects of War", in *Disaster and Relief Management = Katastrophen Und Ihre Bewaltigung*, by Angelika Berlejung, ed. Angelika Berlejung (Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 274. Burke uses hectares in estimating Jerusalem's growth from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE, i.e., from "8 hectares to 50 hectares." One hectare is approximately 10,000 square meters.

understanding the social history of Iron II Judah.

Some researchers have suggested, such as Nadav Na'aman from the Tel Aviv University, that the expansion of Jerusalem between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE was the result of the “natural growth of the city’s population, combined with the steady movement of peoples from the Judahite highlands and the Shephelah” – east and southwest of Jerusalem respectively – along with “refugees from the areas destroyed by Sennacherib”.<sup>123</sup> Magen Broshi, Aaron Burke and Israel Finkelstein, however, have proposed that a rapid, [large?] influx of refugees fled to Jerusalem from the north in the wake of Assyria’s conquest of Israel, the Northern Kingdom culminating in the collapse of its capital city Samaria in 722/1 BCE.<sup>124</sup> In addition to the initial flow of refugees from the Northern Kingdom of Israel in the wake of the Assyrian conquest, both Broshi and Finkelstein posit that a “second wave of refugees reached the Judaeen hill country in 701 BCE” after Assyrian armies “conquered the western provinces of Judah”.<sup>125</sup> Philippe Guillaume, on the other hand, sees Jerusalem’s growth as a “direct consequence of Assyrian policies rather than a reaction against it”.<sup>126</sup> In other words, Guillaume refutes the refugee hypothesis and claims rather that “Jerusalem’s population and prosperity ‘exploded’ after 701 BCE” as a result of Assyria’s war with Egypt. For example, by Jerusalem playing host to the Assyrian army while the Assyrians prepared to launch an

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<sup>123</sup> Nadav Na'aman, “Dismissing the Myth of a Flood of Israelite Refugees in the Late Eighth Century BCE”, *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 126, no. 1 (January 1, 2014), 11, doi:10.1515/zaw-2014-0001.

<sup>124</sup> Broshi, “The Expansion of Jerusalem”, 21. See Aaron Burke, “Coping with the Effects of War”, in *Disaster and Relief Management = Katastrophen Und Ihre Bewältigung*, ed. Angelika Berlejung (Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 275 and Israel Finkelstein, “The Settlement History of Jerusalem in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC”, RB. (2008), 500.

<sup>125</sup> Broshi and Finkelstein, “The Population of Palestine in Iron Age II”, 47.

<sup>126</sup> Philippe Guillaume, “Jerusalem 720-705 BCE. No Flood of Israelite Refugees”, *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 22, no. 2 (November 2008): 207. doi:10.1080/09018320802661184.

attack on Egypt, the local production was stimulated with supplying the Assyrian war machine with needed food, supplies, metallurgy, shelter and clothes.<sup>127</sup>

Among researchers, three possible scenarios that three different time periods lead to Jerusalem's expansion have emerged: 1) the natural, if not gradual growth within the city of Jerusalem (i.e., normal population increase from economic growth eventually leading to possible increase in birth rates) combined with local migration during the 9<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE;<sup>128</sup> 2) Jerusalem's rapid growth from northern and southern refugees in two waves seeking sanctuary there during the last third of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE as a result of the Assyrian hegemony;<sup>129</sup> or 3) the city expanded and economically prospered owing to the intensification of the Assyrian war effort against Egypt during the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE and Jerusalem's function as a staging area that encouraged specialists to enter the region.<sup>130</sup> In the subsequent chapters, I will lay out the history of scholarship addressing the models for refugees, military occupation and combined movements in search of an explanation for Jerusalem's demographic surge during the late Iron II period.

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<sup>127</sup> Guillaume, "Jerusalem 720-705", 197.

<sup>128</sup> Na'aman, "Dismissing the Myth", 11. See also Israel Finkelstein's summary of Na'aman's argument in, "The Settlement History of Jerusalem in the Eighth and seventh Centuries BC", *RB*. (2008): 500.

<sup>129</sup> Broshi and Finkelstein, "Population of Palestine", 47.

<sup>130</sup> Guillaume, "Jerusalem 720-705", 197. Guillaume does not specify whether these specialists are foreign or indigenous.

## Chapter 2

### The Refugee Models

#### 2.1 Magen Broshi

Several archaeological discoveries by Nahman Avigad, Benjamin Mazar, Ruth Amiran, Avraham Eitan and Magen Broshi himself, led Broshi to an extraordinary conclusion about Iron II Jerusalem. According to Broshi, until the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE, Jerusalem was limited to the “Lower City, the Ophel and the Temple Mount.”<sup>131</sup> However, around 700 BCE, says Broshi, “the city [Jerusalem] expanded to three to four times its former size.”<sup>132</sup> Broshi contends that this expansion was a direct result of Israelites migrating from the Northern Kingdom after the conquest of Samaria in 721 BCE by Sargon II and a subsequent inflow of refugees from the Shephelah after Sennacherib had taken the southwestern territories of Judah and handed them over to the Philistines.<sup>133</sup>

#### Supporting Evidence

Magen Broshi cites several archaeological finds as evidence for the Jerusalem expansion phenomenon during the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Mazar, for example, discovered “a series of rock-cut tombs” dating to the eighth century that were located “west of the south-western corner of the Temple Mount.”<sup>134</sup> Avigad’s excavations on the western hill (i.e., modern day Jewish Quarter) led to the discovery of the so-called ‘broad wall’ that

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<sup>131</sup> Magen Broshi, “The Expansion of Jerusalem in the Reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 24, no. 1 (1974): 21.

<sup>132</sup> Broshi, “The Expansion of Jerusalem”, 21. See also Magen Broshi and Israel Finkelstein, “The Population of Palestine in Iron Age II”, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 287 (1992): 47-60, Especially page 47. doi:10.2307/1357138.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*



measured approximately 7 meters wide.<sup>135</sup> Under this ‘broad wall’, a structure that dated to the Iron II C period was also discovered.<sup>136</sup> Along the western edge of the upper city, excavations revealed, “Israelite remains.”<sup>137</sup> Further evidence from the Amiran and Eitan excavations divulged “five Israelite floors” that date to the seventh century.<sup>138</sup> During the first century BCE, when Herod the Great had his palace built, a fill was used to build up the platform. According to Broshi, excavations reveal that this fill (i.e., Herod’s palace platform), contained “large quantities of late Iron Age II pottery.”<sup>139</sup> Broshi’s excavations, carried out on Mount Zion, found “numerous Iron Age II C...pottery, figurines, weights, etc.” along with “a dozen complete pottery vessels” on a “typical lime plaster floor”.<sup>140</sup>

### Supporting Arguments

With the material evidence he provides, Broshi builds his case concerning both the size of Jerusalem’s expansion and the time in which it took place. The rock-cut tombs reveal both architecturally and culturally – “some 250 pottery vessels in one of them” –

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 21-22. See also: Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 2, 704-706.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 22. See also Stern, Gilboa and Aviram, *NEAEHL*, 706. Note: It seems evident that Broshi's division of the Iron Age is similar to that of Bar-Yosef Ofer who labels Iron II C as the 8th c BCE. See Avraham Faust, ‘The Shephelah in the Iron Age: A New Look on the Settlement of Judah’, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 145, no. 3 (September 2013), 212. doi:10.1179/0031032813z.00000000058. Israel Finkelstein adopted a low chronology that dates the Iron II C to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> c BCE. However, the NEAEHL explains the date of the Iron II structure found under the ‘broad wall’ to the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE, see NEAEHL, 706. See also Amihai Mazar’s work in ‘The Debate Over the Chronology of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant’, in *The bible and radiocarbon dating: Archaeology, text and science*, by Thomas Levy and Thomas Higham (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2014) 13-28. On page 14, Mazar provides a table that reflects the varying views by date and author that identifies the Iron II C period beginning at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE. For Finkelstein’s explanation of the Iron II A, B, C divisions see “Migration of Israelites into Judah after 720 BCE: An Answer and an Update”, *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 127, no. 2 (January 28, 2015): 190-191, doi:10.1515/zaw-2015-0011.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 23.

that the cemetery was still in use “during the eighth century BCE” and that the Western Hill was thus “uninhabited at that time.”<sup>141</sup> On the other hand, the ‘broad wall’ discovered by Avigad can be dated by the Iron II C structure immediately under it – i.e., *terminus post quem* – showing a buildup of habitation by the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE thus demonstrating that Jerusalem’s expansion on the Western Hill started toward the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE. Furthermore, Broshi contends that the Israelite [cultural] remains, the five Israelite floors, large quantities of late Iron II pottery, numerous Iron Age II C finds and complete pottery vessels all confirm that an extensive Iron II population existed in the Western Hill region by the end of the eighth century and early seventh. According to Broshi, Jerusalem “had mushroomed, historically speaking, overnight” around 700 BCE.<sup>142</sup> Broshi argues that this expansion in Jerusalem “cannot be explained by natural population increase or by normal economic growth” seeing the relatively short period in which the growth transpires.<sup>143</sup> Thus Broshi concludes, “No economic factor could have necessitated” a larger populace nor is there any indication that “Judea enjoyed any substantial income from foreign commerce at that period”, seeing that Judah was situated outside the main trade routes to Arabia and Egypt.<sup>144</sup>

Considering that neither natural population nor normal economic growth explains the expansion of Jerusalem, Broshi proposes that the answer lies in the surrounding regions. The Assyrian invasion of the Northern Kingdom created a decline in the population that can be identified in the archaeological record from Dan to Bethel.<sup>145</sup> Likewise, the Assyrian invasion in the south forced the transfer of property from the

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<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 21 and 23.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 25.

hands of the Judeans to the Philistines as demonstrated in the Assyrian annals of the Sennacherib prism inscription.<sup>146</sup> Therefore, Broshi concludes in light of this evidence that the Assyrian presence in the north initiated a first-wave of refugees fleeing to Judah and a second-wave coming from the west (south-west) after Assyria invaded the Southern Kingdom under the command of Sennacherib.

### **Strengths**

The use of archaeological discoveries by Magen Broshi to demonstrate what happened to Jerusalem under the reign of Hezekiah is paramount. Broshi effectively demonstrates that following the abandonment of rock-cut tombs on the Western Hill population buildup began with the Iron II structure under the ‘broad wall’. Furthermore, Broshi adds to this phase of occupation by both confirming the date of settlement and the extent of the expansion through the presentation of archaeological finds from the Western Hill area and its peripheries, such as the Iron II artifacts. By establishing a narrow window for the expansion, and providing sources (i.e., Sennacherib Prism and the Bull inscription) that demonstrate the Assyrian campaign in the Shephelah, Broshi makes a very strong case for the refugee phenomenon.<sup>147</sup>

### **Weaknesses**

On the other hand, Broshi readily admits that the “chronological and historical evidence was still incomplete.”<sup>148</sup> Much of the weakness to this segment of Broshi’s argument are due to the limits of accessibility to the archaeological excavations in and

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament with Supplement*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 287-288. The Sennacherib Prism has also been called OI Prism of Sennacherib (i.e., Oriental Institute Prism of Sennacherib).

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 21.

around Jerusalem during the time of his publication – i.e., 1974 – which still persist even today. Based on Broshi’s discoveries, it seems premature to identify those who settled into the region of the Western Hill without a more substantial connection of the material culture left behind with those who participated in its use. Broshi's argument that foreign commerce had little to do with Jerusalem's growth during this period may or may not be plausible. For example, between 721 and 701 BCE - maybe even earlier, Judah could have indeed exploited newly opened avenues to the trade routes in the north, on the northern coast, and to the northeast through Aram since Samaria was under heavy Assyrian rule and then invasion. Of course, all that is predicated on the issue of regional stability at the time. If Hezekiah was a good vassal, then Assyria would perhaps have allowed Judah's window for economic opportunity to remain open, that is until Hezekiah decided to resist.

## **2.2 Israel Finkelstein, et al**

Comparatively speaking, the differences in size, scale and complexity between the Northern Kingdom of Israel and the Southern Kingdom of Judah in the early 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE, was like day and night. According to Israel Finkelstein, Israel hit its “peak of economic prosperity, territorial expansion and diplomatic dominance” during the early 8th c BCE.<sup>149</sup> The ostraca from Samaria, advanced “horse-breeding and [horse] training industry” at Megiddo, the “elaborate” water systems at Hazor and Megiddo and the “social criticism” of “the northern prophets Amos and Hosea”, confirms the “highly organized, bureaucratic economy” of Israel at the beginning of the 8th c BCE.<sup>150</sup> In

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<sup>149</sup> Israel Finkelstein and Neil Silberman, “Temple and Dynasty: Hezekiah, the Remaking of Judah and the Rise of the Pan-Israelite Ideology”, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 30, no. 3 (March 1, 2006): 261, doi:10.1177/0309089206063428.

<sup>150</sup> Finkelstein and Silberman, “Temple and Dynasty”, 262.

Judah, however, there was little to boast about regarding the situation in the environs of Jerusalem during the early 8th century. Delimited to 6 hectares of habitable space, Jerusalem yielded little in way of evidence in the archaeological record for fortifications, literacy or even a centralized economy.<sup>151</sup> Standardized weights, mass production of olive oil and pottery were all non-existent in Jerusalem in the early stages of the eighth century BCE.<sup>152</sup> However, according to Finkelstein, in a relatively short period of time in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE, the “Southern Kingdom was utterly revolutionized” and Jerusalem subsequently grew from 6 to 60 hectares.<sup>153</sup> According to Finkelstein, “two momentous events” triggered this massive change, “the incorporation of Judah into the Assyrian global economy” and the fall of the Northern Kingdom ca 722 BCE resulting in a “torrent of refugees” fleeing into Jerusalem after Assyria conquered the north and then a subsequent wave after Assyria devastated the Shephelah in the south.<sup>154</sup>

### **Supporting Evidence**

To verify Judah’s incorporation into the Assyrian economy and waves of refugees fleeing into Jerusalem, Finkelstein cites both archaeological and historical evidence. The archaeological data includes: 1) excavated areas in Jerusalem that demonstrate demographic changes reflecting an increase in population from 1,000 to 10-12,000 inhabitants; 2) massive fortifications built on the eastern slope of the city of David; 3) the 7 meter thick ‘broad wall’ encompassing the new settlement area of the Western Hill; 4) the new Siloam Tunnel water supply; 5) Elaborate new rock-cut tombs constructed around the peripheries of the city; 6) the increase in the number and size of settlements

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 262-263.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 263.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 263-264.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 266.

around the peripheries of Jerusalem and the Shephelah; 7) the augmentation of well planned towns; 8) indications of high levels of organization: the Siloam Tunnel inscription, the Siloam tomb inscriptions, seals, seal impressions and ostraca; 9) the appearance of standard weights for the first time; 10) *lmlk* (seal impressed) jars; 11) proof of the mass production of pottery; 12) state controlled olive-oil production and 13) the demographic growth in the environs of Judah and Jerusalem during the late 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE.<sup>155</sup> Two historical events include: 1) the "incorporation of Judah into the Assyrian global economy which must have started in the days of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria and King Ahaz of Judah" ca 730 BCE and 2) Sargon II's ultimate conquest of the Northern Kingdom in 722 BCE.<sup>156</sup>

### **Supporting Arguments**

By comparing the archaeological and historical evidence of the early 8<sup>th</sup> century to the latter half thereof, Finkelstein asserts that Judah's revolutionized economy, demography and society testify to its transition from an "isolated, formative tribal state into a developed state" in a relatively short amount of time from 732 to 700 BCE.<sup>157</sup> With this narrow window of transition in view, Finkelstein thus concludes that the "dramatic increase in the population of Judah" could not have been the result of natural population growth due to "gradual peaceful migrations" into the region from Judah's neighbors.<sup>158</sup> Economically speaking, the "Judahite hill country" had far less to offer than the lowlands or the central hill country and therefore, it seems most unlikely that

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 263-265.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 265.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 266.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 265-266.

Judah's setting had the 'drawing power' to stimulate its prosperity.<sup>159</sup> Finkelstein points out that the seemingly "meager" amount of diagnostic evidence that indicate the northern Israelite presence in the environs of Jerusalem and Judah can be easily explained when one considers that the bulk of the refugees from the north may have come from the southern part of the Samarian highlands. In other words, the material culture of the southernmost north and the south at this point in time were very similar.<sup>160</sup> However, a significant and distinguishing item that is typical to the environs of Samaria was the 9th to 8th century "stone-cut olive-oil press" that first appeared in Judah in the late 8<sup>th</sup> c BCE.<sup>161</sup> Lastly, Finkelstein explains that in order to distinguish the origins of an influx of people to a discreet area during a specific period (i.e., Judah) one must look outside that area for inverse fluctuations in demography. Accordingly, Finkelstein discovered a sharp decline in the number of southern Samarian sites from 238 in the eighth century to 127 in the Persian period and the general habitation area "shrank" from 170 to 45 hectares during the same period. Translated into population numbers, that is a decline from 34,000 to 9,000 people.<sup>162</sup>

### **Strengths**

Finkelstein provides an overwhelming amount of 8th c. archaeological data that correlates the period of decline in the Northern Kingdom with the period of prosperity and demographic growth in Southern Kingdom. Not only does Finkelstein present the material cultural data, he then invokes historical accounts from literary and epigraphic

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 266.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 266-267.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 267-268. See also, Magen Broshi and Israel Finkelstein, "The Population of Palestine in Iron Age II", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 287 (1992): 47-60. doi:10.2307/1357138.

sources that link up with his findings on the ground. One has to appreciate Finkelstein's method of combining both sources of information, i.e., archaeology and history, to minimize possible biases of interpretation. Presenting the corresponding decline and increase in the material culture between the north and south and between the early and late 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, identifying material cultural data that confirm a period of Judah's prosperity, highlighting items distinguishable between northern and southern culture and demographic studies that reveal population shifts in the north and south all help to embolden Finkelstein's argument.

### **Weaknesses**

Two specific areas of concern abide in Finkelstein's argument. First, the dating of the 'broad wall' construction to before 701 BCE in the words of Finkelstein is an "assumption."<sup>163</sup> Even though Finkelstein states that "Judah was a tame vassal of Assyria after 701 BCE" and sees no need for Judah to build such a wall at that time, it leaves room for other explanations such as that which is offered by Philippe Guillaume, i.e., the Assyrians building the wall to defend against the Cushites.<sup>164</sup> Second, the "meager" amount of evidence for northern Israelite culture found in Judah and Jerusalem is troubling if one contends, as Finkelstein does, that a "torrent of refugees" entered the region. It would seem intuitive to believe with such a mass number of migrants, a greater amount of items that culturally links them to the area they inhabited would be found.

### **1.3 Aaron Burke**

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 265.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid. See also, Philippe Guillaume, "Jerusalem 720-705 BCE. No Flood of Israelite Refugees", *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 22, no. 2 (November 2008): 198-199. doi:10.1080/09018320802661184.



In the early 10th c BCE, Jerusalem was ca 4 hectares in size and limited to a tiny spur between the Kidron and Tyropoeon valleys known as the city of David.<sup>165</sup> By the end of the 9th c BCE, Jerusalem expanded into the Ophel (the area between the city of David and the upper platform of the temple mount) and grew to ca 8 hectares.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, during the last half of the 8th c BCE, Jerusalem expanded to the Western Hill and reached 50 hectares in size, according to Aaron Burke. Based on the size of expansion between the end of the 9th century and the later part of the 8th century, Burke concluded that the "most straightforward explanation for the growth of Jerusalem's Western Hill remains the association with the arrival of Israelite refugees from about 720 BCE over what was by any account a relatively short period of time."<sup>167</sup>

Although others such as Magen Broshi, Israel Finkelstein and to an extent, Nadav Na'aman believed that refugees came from both Israel in the north and Judah from the west, Burke, posits that only "Israelite refugees were responsible for the growth of Jerusalem between 720 and 701 BCE."<sup>168</sup> Burke states that "the growth of Jerusalem did not occur as a result of Sennacherib's 701 BCE campaign and that therefore the refugees were not Judeans" but northern Israelites.<sup>169</sup> Burke established his conclusion by comparing "population growth rate trends for Jerusalem from 1000 to 700 BCE."<sup>170</sup> These population trends are based on total inhabitable area of Jerusalem during different periods of recognizable growth. According to Burke:

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<sup>165</sup> Aaron Burke, 'Coping with the Effects of War', in *Disaster and Relief Management = Katastrophen und ihre Bewältigung*, ed. Angelika Berlejung, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 274.

<sup>166</sup> Burke, 'Coping with the Effects of War', 274.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 277

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 276-277.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 274.

During the 10th century it [Jerusalem] grew at 0.6% per annum, while from 900 to 700 BCE it grew at a rate of more than 1%, thus constituting a more than 65% increase over earlier growth if this growth were sustained over two centuries. The difference between the expected total settled area and the total settled area by ca 720 BCE reveals that approximately 53% of Jerusalem's population arrived in the late eighth century. The arrival of this population correlates with the expansion of Jerusalem onto the Western Hill.<sup>171</sup>

However, rather than agreeing with the hypothesis that Jerusalem grew "four-fold" in the late 8th c BCE, Burke suggests that the rapid influx of refugees "accounted for approximately half of Jerusalem's size, or about 25 hectares, which by minimal estimates (200 persons per hectare) would be around 5,000 persons."<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, Burke estimates that 20% of the average population is comprised of "men of adult age."<sup>173</sup> This number, according to Burke, translates into "1,000 able-bodied men seeking means by which to subsist and to provide for their families."<sup>174</sup> Therefore, these able-bodied workers became providers for the needs of other refugees and excess labor to "undertake large and conspicuous projects."<sup>175</sup>

### **Supporting Evidence**

To arrive at the population growth rate, Burke does not employ estimated population numbers previously established by other scholars, but rather uses the area of growth in terms of hectares and thus calculates the growth rate of that area over time which in turn translates into population.<sup>176</sup> Burke's hypothesis for Jerusalem's growth in

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 275.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 276.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> The area that Burke calculates has been determined by archaeology to be inhabitable. Also, the inhabitable area of 50 hectares is Burke's estimate for Jerusalem at the end of the 8th c BCE

the last quarter of the 8th century BCE as a result of Israelite refugees is presented using two main criteria; chronology of the expansion site in Jerusalem (i.e., the Western Hill) and evidence for northern Israelite culture in the archaeological record. Evidence to determine the chronology of the expansion site includes: 1) forty-two stamped *lmlk* jar handles recovered from the Jewish Quarter (i.e., Western Hill) during Avigad's excavations, and 2) the so-called Broad Wall. Israelite cultural remains include: 1) tombs in the Hinnom Valley and north of Jerusalem, 2) the lack of cultic evidence inside the Western Hill, 3) the Siloam Tunnel Inscription, 4) seals excavated on the Western Hill, 5) public works projects, e.g., Siloam Tunnel water system and the Broad Wall, 6) expansion in the hinterland areas, the Judean Desert, and the Negev, and 7) territorial expansion.<sup>177</sup>

### **Supporting Arguments**

First, Burke employs an anthropological model to identify refugees in the archaeological record and to further distinguish these refugees from "other migratory populations, such as colonists and merchants."<sup>178</sup> To do this, Burke enlists the United Nations convention definition to emphasize context for refugee formation:

An individual who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or, who, not having a nationality or being outside the country of his former

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based on archaeological maps. Burke excludes from his estimates the area of the Temple Mount. Burke, 'Coping with the Effects of War', 274.

<sup>177</sup> Burke, 'Coping with the Effects of War', 273-284.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.<sup>179</sup>

In addition to clarifying refugee formation, Burke also adopts the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model to establish the criteria to help identify refugees in archaeological contexts, in the case at hand Iron II Judah. The IRR model, according to Burke, was developed to "identify strategies for the successful resettlement of refugees" and furthermore, "it identifies universal risks encountered by refugees that must be addressed through relief efforts."<sup>180</sup> The IRR model includes the following criteria adopted by Burke and applied to the refugee phenomenon in Jerusalem during the late 8th c BCE; landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, access to common property assets, and community or social disarticulation.<sup>181</sup> By using these criteria, Burke establishes a method to identify contexts that may have been affected by refugee interaction.

Second, Burke assesses the archaeological data discovered on the western hill of Jerusalem to establish the period in which expansion took place. The so-called Broad Wall discovered by Avigad, according to Burke "can only date to the 8th century BCE."<sup>182</sup> The earliest phase in Area A of the Jewish Quarter (the Western Hill) excavations is stratum 9 where the Broad Wall was excavated. Forty-two *lmk* jar handles that were discovered by Avigad's excavations on the Western Hill of Jerusalem

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<sup>179</sup> United Nations quoted in, Burke, 'Coping with the Effects of War', 264. Also, Ibid., "An Anthropological Model for the Investigation of the Archaeology of Refugees in Iron Age Judah and Its Environs," in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, ed. Brad E. Kelle, Frank Richtel Ames, Jacob L. Wright and Rainer Albertz (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 43.

<sup>180</sup> Burke, 'An Anthropological Model', 43.

<sup>181</sup> Burke, 'An Anthropological Model', 44-45. Also, Burke, 'Coping with the Effects of War', 266.

<sup>182</sup> Burke, 'Coping with the Effects of War', 273.

derived from stratum 8 when the Broad Wall was constructed and therefore, according to Burke, "provide the most tightly defined chronological marker" for the date of the Broad Wall construction.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore, Burke states, "any reconstruction of the growth of Jerusalem must account therefore for the exponential growth of the city during the eighth century in well under a century."<sup>184</sup>

Third, Burke contends that material culture, linguistic evidence, public works projects, settlement growth, and territorial expansion are all evidenced by an influx of Israelite refugees at the end of the 8th c BCE. The material culture that Burke posits as Israelite in nature is comprised of the tombs in the Hinnom Valley and north of Jerusalem (e.g., St. Etienne). Burke suggests, based on his earlier calculations on growth rate in Jerusalem, "that if 50% of the population was identified as Israelite refugees then it could be suggested that at least 50% of the tombs constructed from the late 8th c BCE onward may evince the burial practices of this population."<sup>185</sup> Based on this 50% calculation, Burke points out that the tombs of Silwan, constructed before the fall of Samaria (pre-720 BCE) may belong to Judeans, and the tombs in the Hinnom Valley and north of Jerusalem (post- 720 BCE) may belong to Israelites.<sup>186</sup> Both the Silwan tombs and the tombs in the Hinnom Valley and the north of Jerusalem exhibit "qualitative and scalar differences" between them.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 273.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 274.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 277-278.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.278. The Silwan, the Hinnom Valley and the St. Etienne tombs referenced by Burke are part of David Ussishkin's work in which Ussishkin describes the differences between these tombs. The Silwan necropolis is considered to have no parallel in Jerusalem and consists of distinct architectural styles of a gabled ceiling and monolithic above-ground tombs from the time of the Judean Monarchy. The Hinnom valley and St. Etienne tombs have flat ceiling architecture. The flat ceiling tombs in St. Etienne are "grandeur in size" in comparison to similar

As further evidence from the material culture listed by Burke identifies cultural variations between groups. According to Burke, the ceramic and artifact assemblages that have been excavated on the Western Hill exhibit little to no cultural distinction between Israelite and Judahite data. In reference to these finds, Burke states, "many cultural influences are either too subtle to detect or impossible to detect archaeologically especially if the origin of these refugees was as little as 30 km (a day's journey) to the north."<sup>188</sup> Much of Burke's argument on this particular aspect of cultural identification is a response to "Na'aman's assertion that there is a need for major evidence of material culture belonging to northern émigrés before identifying them as Israelite refugees," which Burke concludes is "incorrect."<sup>189</sup>

The linguistic evidence proposed by Burke includes the Siloam Tunnel Inscription and several seals excavated on the Western Hill. Concerning the Siloam Tunnel Inscription, Burke cites the article of Gary A. Rendsburg and William M. Schniedewind in *Israel Exploration Journal* that analyzes the inscription. The inscription according to Burke, "provides linguistic evidence of Israelian Hebrew," which is "evidence in support of the identification of Israelite refugees from southern Samaria who settled in Jerusalem."<sup>190</sup>

Another source of a linguistic nature are the several epigraphic seals excavated on the Western Hill. According to Burke, these seals come from secondary contexts,

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tombs. See, David Ussishkin, *The Village of Silwan: The Necropolis from the Period of the Judean Kingdom* (Israel: Israel Exploration Society, Israel, 1996), 294-298.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 278.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 278.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 279. See also, Gary A. Rendsburg and William M. Schniedewind, 'The Siloam Tunnel Inscription: Historical and Linguistic Perspectives', *Israel Exploration Journal* 60, no. 2 (2010).

however, "they date to the Iron II (being either *lmlk* seals or of the *lmlk* type)."<sup>191</sup> Burke states that these seals reveal that Israelites were among Hezekiah's official staff during the late 8th c BCE.<sup>192</sup> Two of the seal impressions show "the spellings of Shebna's name is distinctly northern, of Israelian Hebrew ending in *-yaw*, the northern theophoric suffix writing for *YHWH*, while the other, provides another variant spelling of Shebna's name, featuring an Aramaic writing."<sup>193</sup> Another seal, according to Burke, is again that of an official (Menahem) and was found in a robbers pit near the Broad Wall and includes northern writing - *Yawbanah*.<sup>194</sup> According to Burke, "the presence of northern Israelite spelling of the name of a Judean royal official does suggest a broad level of the incorporation of Israelite refugees in the administration of Judean affairs."<sup>195</sup>

Applying his anthropological model for identifying refugees, Burke posits that the public works projects initiated by Hezekiah in the late 8th c BCE addressed refugee unemployment and brought about positive economic and social integration changes in Jerusalem. The two projects Burke cites are the broad wall and the Siloam tunnel. As evidence for northern refugees contributing to these projects, especially the Siloam tunnel water source project, Burke highlights the fact that water tunnels, which exhibit such engineering capability as the Siloam tunnel are "mainly witnessed in Israelite water systems attested at Megiddo, Hazor, and Ibleam."<sup>196</sup>

In addition to the Siloam Tunnel, the Broad Wall was another public works project. The excavation of the broad wall uncovered evidence that during construction

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 279-280.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 280.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 280-281.

existing houses underneath the wall were cut through in order to complete the building process. Burke cites Isa 22:11 that speaks of the demolishing of houses to build the wall during the days of king Hezekiah. In summary, Burke highlights that such public works were major undertakings that required specialized labor. These public works benefited not only the refugees who needed the work, but also benefited the city of Jerusalem and Hezekiah who needed laborers to get the work done, especially in the shadow of the Assyrian advance toward Jerusalem.

Finally, Burke sums up the evidence for Jerusalem's growth by addressing two related events, settlement growth in the hinterland of Judah and territorial expansion. Burke contends that during the late 8th c BCE, the expansion of settlement sites in the Negev and Judean Desert reveal the growth resulting from the absorption of northern refugees. Burke cites "occupational evidence from caves in the Judean Desert reveal the presence of refugees."<sup>197</sup> Much like the expansion of settlements in the Negev and the Judean Desert, territorial expansion is witnessed as well in Philistia. The territorial development in the region of late 8th c Judah, according to Burke, was "the result of demographic pressures caused by an influx of refugees."<sup>198</sup> Due to this demographic pressure, Hezekiah expanded into Philistia, which met opposition when Sargon II in 712 BC sieged Ashdod and Ekron as a way to stalemate Hezekiah's move.<sup>199</sup>

### **Strengths**

Aaron Burke presents several key pieces of evidence in regard to Jerusalem's growth during the later half of the 8th c BCE. Of great importance is Burke's study on the population growth rates of Jerusalem. Most scholars have addressed the population

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 283.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 284

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.



of Jerusalem and its peripheries in terms of the number of inhabitants. However, Burke identifies the need to understand those numbers in relation to how, when and at what rate populations changed, which in turn provides a better understanding of the overall trends in population growth rates in Jerusalem at different periods. By achieving these calculations, one is better equipped to assess whether the events that surrounded the expansion of Jerusalem was normal growth rates or stimulated by other processes. Another point that Burke presents that is equally helpful is the introduction of both the definition of refugee and the IRR anthropological model for identifying refugee activity in the archaeological record.

The archaeological data presented by Burke provides a strong case for the presence of Israelite refugees in Jerusalem and the peripheries. The Broad Wall is an important discovery that highlights Jerusalem's expansion. While, most agree that Jerusalem expanded, there remains much debate over the period in which that expansion occurred and much of that debate surrounds the chronology of the Broad Wall. Burke's treatment of the *lmlk* jar handles and their importance for establishing a date for the Broad Wall is most compelling. The Siloam Tunnel signals another important datum in the debate of Jerusalem's demography. Comparing the Siloam Tunnel with the water tunnels at Megiddo, Hazor and Ibleam provides a compelling case for Israelite engineers in the south. Even though the Siloam Tunnel inscription has been debated, connecting the inscription with Israelite workers contributing to the Jerusalem public works as at Megiddo, Hazor and Ibleam is persuasive.

### **Weaknesses**

The linguistic evidence proposed by Burke concerning the seal impressions discovered on the Western Hill likewise show a possible link with northern refugees in Jerusalem. However, the difficulty with confirming this argument lies in the fact that the seals were found in secondary contexts. The argument for the tombs in the Hinnom valley and north Jerusalem as those of northern Israelite refugees, although interesting, is also problematic. Even in the words of Burke, "lack of Iron Age burial evidence from Samaria prevent an adequate comparison of tomb architecture despite its striking contrast to Jerusalem's earlier tombs and Iron Age tombs throughout Judah."<sup>200</sup> Perhaps, when and if more information is made available in the future, the tomb evidence can be revisited. Burke's argument concerning settlement growth and territorial expansion is equally inviting. However, Burke recognizes that the concept of settlement growth cannot be adequately addressed due to the lack of ceramic indicators such as the *lmk* jars to establish the transition between 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Finally, Burke's contention that only Israelite refugees fled to Jerusalem seems problematic. Understandably, Burke is addressing the northern crisis during the Assyrian siege and overthrow of the Northern Kingdom of Samaria in 722 BCE. However, with an Assyrian presence so close to Judah and Jerusalem's growth from northern refugees and with its public works under way to protect the city, it only seems logical that settlers on the peripheries of Jerusalem took shelter in Jerusalem prior to 701 BCE. It also seems undeniable that after 701 BCE, when Sennacherib overthrew Lachish, that people were seeking protection and Jerusalem had what they were looking for. Whether or not Burke believes Judahites fled to Jerusalem in such a scenario is unclear because Burke only addresses the narrow chronological corridor of 722-701 BCE.

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 278.

## Chapter 3

### The Military Occupation Model

#### 3.1 Philippe Guillaume

For Philippe Guillaume, the growth the “ancient Orient” experienced during the Iron II period was “unprecedented.”<sup>201</sup> Jerusalem was transformed from a “modest Amarna phase” setting to the “largest city in the entire country.”<sup>202</sup> In response to Israel Finkelstein’s theory that Jerusalem’s growth was attributed to a flood of northern Israelite refugees fleeing the Assyrian campaign between 730 and 701 BCE, Guillaume proposes a whole new theory.<sup>203</sup> Guillaume suggests rather, that the growth of Jerusalem was a “direct consequence of Assyrian policies rather than a reaction against it.”<sup>204</sup> According to Guillaume, it was Assyrian “war efforts in Egypt” led by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal between 671 and 667 BCE that gave rise to the prosperity in Jerusalem during the Iron II period.<sup>205</sup>

#### Supporting Evidence

First, Guillaume uses the biblical books of 2 Kings to identify individuals that demonstrate northern and southern relationships – i.e., Joram and Athaliah.<sup>206</sup> Second,

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<sup>201</sup> Philippe Guillaume, “Jerusalem 720-705 BCE. No Flood of Israelite Refugees”, *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 22, no. 2 (November 2008): 195, 199. doi:10.1080/09018320802661184.

<sup>202</sup> Guillaume, “Jerusalem 720-705”, 195. See also Israel Finkelstein, “Migration of Israelites into Judah after 720 BCE: An Answer and an Update”, *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 127, no. 2 (January 28, 2015), 192. doi:10.1515/zaw-2015-0011. In Finkelstein’s article the term “Amarna phase” as a descriptor for Jerusalem is also used.

<sup>203</sup> See Israel Finkelstein, “The Settlement History of Jerusalem in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC”, *RB.* (2008), 500.

<sup>204</sup> Guillaume, “Jerusalem 720-705”, 207.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.* See 2 Kings 8 where Athaliah is described as the daughter of Ahab and the wife Jehoram, the king of Judah who also becomes Queen of Judah after the death of her husband and son.

Guillaume ascertains the value of Syria-Palestine's strategic location to Assyria.<sup>207</sup> Third, Guillaume references historical interpretations of the Assyrian war campaign against Egypt between 671 to 667 BCE under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.<sup>208</sup> Fourth, Nahman Avigad's 'broad wall' is revisited by Guillaume and determined to be of a later date – i.e., not 701 but 670 BCE – based on the Chronicler's accounts that attributes defensive works to both Hezekiah and Manasseh.<sup>209</sup> Lastly, using the biblical stories in Jeremiah 40 and 41 as an example, Guillaume concludes that the "hoards of metals found in excavations" demonstrate the intent of the owners to return home after the threat of war was over.<sup>210</sup>

### **Supporting Arguments**

Based on the evidence he provides, Guillaume proposes the following. The established family relationships between Israel and Judah, as demonstrated by Athaliah and Joram in 2 Kings, suggest that the borders between Israel and Judah during the 9th and 8th centuries BCE were not as impermeable as one may expect re-opening the window of possibilities for Jerusalem's prosperity beyond the 730 to 701 BCE narrow time span as advocated by Israel Finklestein. By being situated in the center of what is commonly known as the 'Fertile Crescent', the area of Syria-Palestine was the 'kingpin' between Mesopotamia and Egypt and thus the center of conflict for control when one was seeking domination over the other of these two regions. As such, Syria-Palestine, says Guillaume, became a "supply base of Assyrian troops" during their campaign against

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 198. Guillaume also cites the Chronicler accounts in 2 Chronicles 32:5 and 33:14.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 200.

Egypt and thus Jerusalem became the recipient of stimulated production.<sup>211</sup> Since the 'broad wall' on the Western Hill can be dated to a later period, as described by the Chronicler, Guillaume contends that it was built by the Assyrians to protect their interests from the Cushites "rather than by a flood of refugees" fleeing "an Assyrian offensive."<sup>212</sup> Furthermore, it seems improbable, according to Guillaume that "dangerous Israelite refugees" could be "converted into fervent members of the new pan-Israelite Judean nation."<sup>213</sup> Even if refugees entered into the region of Jerusalem, according to Guillaume, they had no intentions to stay as evidenced by biblical explanations in Jeremiah and the hoards of metals left behind in Samaria that have been discovered by recent excavations which in turn lent nothing to the prosperity of Jerusalem.<sup>214</sup>

### **Strengths**

Philippe Guillaume's argument is both well thought out and organized. By ascertaining what is evidenced in Iron II Judah as a consequence rather than a reaction to Assyrian policies, Guillaume posits a 'thinking outside the box' approach. The location of Syria-Palestine in the broader region of the 'fertile crescent' as an area of dispute has been established for millennia. What's new with Guillaume is presenting Jerusalem as a recipient of these imperialistic impositions rather than one struggling for survival. The strength of Guillaume's argument is, 1) the geographical location of Jerusalem, 2) historical accounts that corroborate Assyrian policies with Egypt in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, such as the Esarhaddon's Victory Stela, 3) Assyria's actual presence in Judah, and

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 198 – 199.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 200.

4) evidence for Assyrian military presence, i.e., Sennacherib in Lachish relief from the Assyrian royal palace, destruction layers at Lachish, and the Sennacherib inscriptions.<sup>215</sup>

### **Weaknesses**

However compelling and well thought out Guillaume's argument may be, it seems that it generates more questions than answers. First, Guillaume proposes that the border between Israel and Judah was not as "tight" as some suspect. The open border, according to Guillaume is indicated by the biblical stories of family ties between the north and south that seem to imply a congenial relationship between the two regions. At the same time, however, Guillaume argues that refugees fleeing Assyria and coming to Judah is less than likely because these refugees were considered "dangerous."<sup>216</sup> The first question then is; was the relationship between Israel and Judah congenial or contentious? Second, Guillaume's argument is overly dependent on written explanations that he did not fully assess on the basis of material sources on the ground. Guillaume states that archaeological data is open "to vastly different interpretations."<sup>217</sup> Cannot the same be said of written sources? E.g., can we trust the family relationships reflected in the DH to be reliable reflections of the period portrayed or are they idealizations of what an author hoped for in his own day that are retrojected into the past? Third, the material artifacts that Guillaume interprets as having been left behind by those who wished to return, like the metal hoards, as an attestation to those who had the mindset of coming back one day is highly speculative. It has the exact opposite effect on his argument. The very fact that archaeologists have discovered these 'hoards' of artifacts tell us that those

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<sup>215</sup> Hallo and Younger, COS, Vol. 2, 302-304. See: Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel*. 416-433.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 198.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., 197.

who left them did not come back. Fourth, if Assyria had such a strong presence in Jerusalem, should we not find at least some evidence that confirm their presence? It would seem that to Guillaume the Assyrian campaigns in Iron II Judah was more friendly than foe-like which seems highly unlikely in light of Assyria's devastating destruction of Lachish.

## Chapter 4

### Convergence Models

#### 4.1 Nadav Na'aman

The thesis that Judah, in particular Jerusalem, was totally transformed from a “formative tribal state” to a fully “developed state” at the end of the eighth century BCE as a result of a flood of Israelite refugees, “lacks concrete foundation”, according to Nadav Na'aman.<sup>218</sup> Citing evidence from the Nahman Avigad excavations and others, Na'aman agrees that indeed Jerusalem expanded from its modest ‘city of David’ and ‘Ophel’ boundaries and crossed the Tyropoeon valley to include the Western Hill, which increased the settlement size of Jerusalem from 40 to 160 acres.<sup>219</sup> What led to this massive expansion, however, is where Na'aman and other scholars such as Israel Finkelstein and Magen Broshi part ways. Rather than viewing Jerusalem’s expansion as a result of a sudden outside trigger, Na'aman explains this massive growth increase by a combination of factors that were neither sudden nor unprecedented. Accordingly, Na'aman states:

“The emerging picture is of a long, gradual process involving many factors, such as natural increase, the developing economy and commerce, internal migration to the kingdom’s principal urban center offering economic potentialities, and finally, the immigration of many

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<sup>218</sup> Nadav Na'aman, “Dismissing the Myth of a Flood of Israelite Refugees in the Late Eighth Century BCE”, *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 126, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 13, doi:10.1515/zaw-2014-0001. For Judah’s state transformation see Israel Finkelstein and Neil Silberman, “Temple and Dynasty: Hezekiah, the Remaking of Judah and the Rise of the Pan-Israelite Ideology”, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 30, no. 3 (March 1, 2006): 266, doi:10.1177/0309089206063428.

<sup>219</sup> Nadav Na'aman, “When and How Did Jerusalem Become a Great City? The Rise of Jerusalem as Judah’s Premier City in the Eighth-Seventh Centuries B.C.E.”, *BASOR* 347 (August 2007): 21-23.



refugees seeking shelter within the fortified city following the Assyrian campaign to Judah in 701 B.C.E.”<sup>220</sup>

To summarize, this ‘natural growth’ proposed by Na’aman began as early as the 9th c BCE, gained momentum during the 8th with the local economy and climaxed with refugees from bordering Judahite towns in the Shephelah fleeing Sennacherib’s campaign after 701 BCE and the resultant Philistine domination of the southwestern regions.<sup>221</sup> Na’aman adds to this scenario the “steady movements of people from the Judahite highlands and the Shephelah” – in other words from the east in addition to the southwest of Jerusalem providing a picture of a ‘perfect storm’, if you will, that explains Jerusalem quadrupling in size.<sup>222</sup>

### **Supporting Evidence**

To support his argument, Na’aman initially turns his attention east away from the ‘Western Hill’. Excavations around the city of David confirmed the origin of a new residential quarter dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.<sup>223</sup> Gradual growth in this residential area was identified by the Kenyon and Shiloh excavations and attributed to the late 9th to early 8th century BCE.<sup>224</sup> Reich and Shukron discovered further evidence when they uncovered the 9th to early 8th century BCE fortifications that were built on the lower parts of the eastern slope near the “gully of the Kidron.”<sup>225</sup> Other evidence cited by Na’aman pertains to artifacts found both around the City of David and also on the Western Hill namely, pottery and small artifacts, *lmlk* and rosette seal impressions, tombs

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<sup>220</sup> Na’aman, “When and How Did Jerusalem Become a Great City?”, 27.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., 47. See also: Nadav Na’aman, “The Growth and Development of Judah and Jerusalem in the Eighth Century BCE: A Rejoinder,” *Revue Biblique* 116, no. 3 (July 1, 2009): 321–335.

<sup>222</sup> Na’aman, “Dismissing the Myth”, 11. See also, Nadav Na’aman, “When and How Did Jerusalem Become a Great City?”, 47.

<sup>223</sup> Na’aman, “When and How Did Jerusalem Become a Great City?”, 38.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

found in the Siloam village and graveyards west and north of the Western Hill.<sup>226</sup> However, in the seventh century – as noted by Ariel and de Groot – Na’aman points out that the eastern quarter was abandoned.<sup>227</sup>

After looking east, Na’aman turns west to examine the Western Hill. Here, Na’aman points to the dating issues with the ‘Broad Wall’ by examining the archaeological and the historical evidence that has been proposed by other scholars to establish its date of construction, i.e., the “preceding structure, the fill underneath, as well as its associated floor and the fill over it” along with the absence and presence of *lmk* seal impressions in the corresponding layers.<sup>228</sup> The historical sources used in conjunction with the archaeological evidence for dating the Broad Wall are the biblical texts of Isaiah 22:10 and 2 Chronicles 32:5, of which the latter Na’aman suggests “is not to be relied on for this dating.”<sup>229</sup> Na’aman adds to this evidence the biblical texts of 2 Kings 16:5 and Isaiah 7:1, 5-6 and proposes a different time period for the ‘Broad Wall’s’ construction than that of his contemporaries.<sup>230</sup> In addition, Na’aman also mentions the Lachish III type pottery that was found throughout the environs of Jerusalem as a method to establish the date of settlement on the Western Hill.<sup>231</sup>

### **Supporting Arguments**

The arguments proposed by Na’aman concerning the growth of Jerusalem are long and arduous. Before addressing the specifics of his own hypothesis, Na’aman first tackles the refugee model and systematically presents evidence why that model fails. For

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 48

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 26 and 40.

now, I will present the arguments that specifically correlate with Na'aman's proposed reasons for Jerusalem's growth and deal with his critique of the refugee model in a subsequent chapter.

First, Na'aman suggests that the area of Judah had been "steadily increasing since the late 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE" and that in the 8<sup>th</sup> century "invisible nomadic elements" settled down and "gradually joined the sedentary inhabitants" enlarging the population of the Southern Kingdom.<sup>232</sup> Na'aman continues this discussion with the possible proof for gradual growth in Jerusalem throughout the First Temple period, in particular beginning in the 11<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE, with the discovery of the residential quarter uncovered on the eastern slope in the City of David.<sup>233</sup> Archaeological evidence suggests that this settlement on the eastern slope gradually developed during the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>234</sup> In addition to this growth a fortification wall was built at the bottom of the eastern slope at the end of the eighth century.<sup>235</sup> This evidence provides a model for Na'aman of a demographic incline that was already in place before the Assyrian empire was a threat to the region.

Second, Na'aman adopts Reich and Shukron's evaluation of the data from the eastern slope as evidence for, "a natural increase in the number of inhabitants, while it also attracted people from outside, thanks to the economic potentialities of the capital, and that as a result, it was necessary to extend the built-up area."<sup>236</sup> Na'aman also

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<sup>232</sup> Na'aman, "The Growth and Development of Judah and Jerusalem", 333.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 39. See also: Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, "The Urban Development of Jerusalem in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.," in *Jerusalem in bible and archaeology: The First temple period (symposium series (society of biblical literature), no. 18.) (symposium series (society of*

suggests that this buildup on the eastern slope was a “matter of choice rather than constraint” by the residents seeing the prestige of its location in proximity to “the royal palace, the temple and the city’s main water source.”<sup>237</sup> In short, the City of David was “the seat of the ruler, the ruling elite and the city’s prosperous class” and therefore the eastern settlement became the "Beverly Hills" of Jerusalem, in spite of its topographical difficulties.<sup>238</sup> As a result of this much desired real-estate, the “eastern quarter was relatively crowded.”<sup>239</sup>

Artifacts discovered on the eastern slope corroborate this same hypothesis, according to Na’aman. Citing as evidence the quality and quantity of the finds, Na’aman points to the architecture, quality of pottery and small artifacts, the sheer quantity of *lmlk* and rosette seal impressions found in the environs of the City of David as compared to other areas and the quality of tombs in the Siloam village all affirm the richness of the City of David.<sup>240</sup>

Third, Na’aman suggests that the Western Hill settlement began during the first half of the eighth century and extended to the first half of the seventh century BCE:

“Jerusalem was inhabited uninterruptedly throughout the First Temple period, and there, unlike in the cities destroyed in Sennacherib’s campaign to Judah, the types of pottery paralleling the types found in Lachish III remained in use in the early seventh century, until the fashion changed and potters began to produce new types of vessels. Since Jerusalem was first destroyed in 587/586, many years after these vessels had fallen into disuse, the pottery of the

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*biblical literature*, no. 18.), by Andrew G Vaughn and Ann E Killebrew (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 209–218.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 39. See Reich and Shukron, "The Urban Development of Jerusalem in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.," 213-214. Reich and Shukron posit that the population of the settlement on the eastern slope was ca. 150.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*

types found in Lachish III was shattered and scattered all over. We have, therefore, no choice but to date the broken vessels of these types that were found in excavations throughout the Western Hill to the years in which they were in use, approximately from the first half of the eighth century BCE to the first half of the seventh. Thus, it was during that period that most of the area of the Western Hill became inhabited and was also fortified with a surrounding wall.”<sup>241</sup>

The Lachish III pottery type that was found during excavations scattered throughout the Western Hill dates to the first half of the 8th century settlement period, according to Na’aman.

In addition, by the end of the 8th century BCE, Na’aman proposes that the area of the Western Hill was fortified with a wall, the so-called ‘Broad Wall’.<sup>242</sup> Na’aman posits that the ‘Broad Wall’ was constructed over several years beginning in 734-732 BCE during the reign of King Ahaz (based on the biblical texts 2 Kings 16:5 and Isaiah 7:1, 5-6) with construction continuing into the reign of Hezekiah. During the reign of Hezekiah, according to Na’aman, the construction of the wall changed course and shifted to the north thus explaining the absence and or presence of *lmlk* seal impressions in the corresponding wall strata.<sup>243</sup>

Fourth, Na’aman seems to agree with Ariel and de Groot as well as with Reich and Shukron that the eastern quarter was abandoned in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Ariel and de Groot attribute the eastern quarter abandonment to the vulnerability of its fortification wall that became apparent after Sennacherib’s campaign in 701 BCE.<sup>244</sup> Reich and Shukron suggest that the eastern slope settlement predated the Western Hill

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 26-27, 47-48.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., 47-48.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., 39.

settlement and due to limited resources, inconvenience of the site and increase in prosperity, the inhabitants “gradually moved to the fortified quarter in the west.”<sup>245</sup> However, Na’aman does not think it was due solely to the population's desire to move to the Western Hill as a result of prosperity as suggested by Reich and Shukron, who view the prestige associated with the eastern slope as more desirable. Instead, Na’aman suggests that the “possibility of another Assyrian campaign lingered after the army’s withdrawal in 701 BCE” contributed to the shift in populations from the eastern slope and nearby villages and towns who sought shelter inside the walls.<sup>246</sup>

Fifth, Na’aman claims that ca 701 BCE “refugees poured into Jerusalem” fleeing nearby settlements and cities overrun by the Assyrian campaign.<sup>247</sup> These refugees in turn settled in Jerusalem “greatly increasing its population.”<sup>248</sup> The combination of refugees and internal population shifts along with the scatter of the ‘fashionable’ Lachish III pottery, “created the impression of a big city whose population had grown in a matter of a few years.”<sup>249</sup> During the 7<sup>th</sup> century, when the threat of war was over however, the refugees, according to Na’aman, returned “to their places or settled in the environs of Jerusalem and other settlements” and the population of Jerusalem declined.<sup>250</sup>

To summarize Na’aman’s arguments, the longevity of Jerusalem’s existence accompanied by the evidence from the eastern slope suggests a steady and gradual growth of the city. Evidence from the Western Hill also suggests the process of gradual

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid. See also: Reich and Shukron, "The Urban Development of Jerusalem in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.," 209–218.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

growth.<sup>251</sup> The eastern slope excavations provide evidence for their desirability and economic prosperity through the quantity and quality of the finds. The Lachish III pottery confirms the duration of the settlement on the Western Hill and the ‘Broad Wall’ construction was an ongoing process spanning the days of Ahaz and Hezekiah as confirmed in the archaeological strata and the biblical texts. Combining these elements with refugees fleeing from the Judahite regions just before and after 701, Na’aman presents his argument for Combined Movements model and which for him explains the demographic shifts in Jerusalem of the 8<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

### **Strengths**

Na’aman’s argument for combined movements as an explanation for the demographic changes effecting Jerusalem during the 8th century BCE is compelling. Na’aman invokes the invisible nomadic elements, the longevity of Jerusalem’s existence, data verifying settlement patterns and periods from the eastern quarter, evidence from the biblical texts concerning Jerusalem’s fortification walls and the Lachish III pottery as the bulk of his evidence. By turning the away from the Western Hill in search for other criteria that may have contributed or were linked to the changes on the west side of the city is significant, Na’aman effectively demonstrates that during the same period as the Western Hill expansion Jerusalem was also undergoing developments elsewhere. These include for example the eastern slope around the City of David. By comparing artifacts found around the City of David with those discovered on the Western Hill settlement, Na’aman demonstrates the differentiation in social classes in those neighborhoods. Na’aman associates these findings with ‘matters of choice’ regarding living arrangements and desirability to live in the capital city of Judah. They also attest to the gradual growth

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<sup>251</sup> See Na’aman, “The Growth and Development of Judah and Jerusalem”, 333–334.

on the Western Hill prior to any influx of refugees from the environs of Judah during Sennacherib's campaigns ca 701 BCE. Na'aman's observations regarding the Lachish III type pottery scattered throughout Jerusalem is equally important. In the absence of a destruction layer in Jerusalem during the Assyrian campaigns or historical documentation, this 'scatter' of Lachish III type pottery speaks of the duration of its use and provides an approximate timeline of habitation on the Western Hill.<sup>252</sup> The importance of examining data plausibly indicative of a multiplicity of causes and affects witnessed in the archaeological record cannot be overstated. Na'aman's attempt to examine natural growth, shifting populations and the effects of war is a crucial contribution to the ongoing discussion concerning Jerusalem's expansion in the Iron II period.

### **Weaknesses**

Nevertheless, the line of argument that Na'aman proposes is hard to follow. To embolden his argument for causes that correspond to the magnitude of growth experienced in the city of Jerusalem during the 8th century BCE, Na'aman devotes the majority of his energy discrediting the opposing view, namely the model for the refugees from the Northern Kingdom. Understandably, if Na'aman can disprove evidence in favor of another option than one must look elsewhere for a better explanation. However, the evidence Na'aman provides for his own argument, by using this method, becomes overshadowed since his evidence for combined movements is at best meager.

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<sup>252</sup> Israel Finkelstein also supports the 8<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> century date for the Lachish III potter type. See Finkelstein, "The Settlement History of Jerusalem in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC", RB. (2008 – T. 115-4), 501.



First, Na'aman points to a pattern of steady growth as seen in the 'invisible elements' of the nomadic tribes settling in Judah. There is little reason to doubt that nomadism was a norm during this era and region and that nomads played a role in population variations, however, the very term 'invisible' reveals the weakness of this argument. It is based on a hypothesis that he failed to substantiate with hard data.

Second, Na'aman fails to provide any empirical evidence for economic stimulus even though it may have existed. If this stimulus was in association with the build up area on the eastern slope, this suggestion seems to fall short of any substantial benefit. According to the article published by Reich and Shukron quoted by Na'aman, the eastern slope had a populace of ca 150 people.<sup>253</sup> The workforce needed to carry out the wall extension for the built-up area was estimated to have been ca 50 workers and the task could have been completed in about three to four months.<sup>254</sup>

Third, in explaining the construction of the fortifications around Jerusalem, in particular the 'Broad Wall' on the western hill, Na'aman seems to rely heavily upon textual sources to determine its chronology. As important as textual sources may be, Na'aman readily admits that some stories in Chronicles cannot be used for the wall dating. Nevertheless, Na'aman employs the texts of 2 Kings, and Isaiah to describe the construction of the wall and hypothesizes the Broad Wall construction began in the days of Ahaz in 734-732 BCE as recorded in the biblical texts. This dependence on texts to establish chronology is also evident in his proposal regarding the Western Hill settlement period. In his assumption that the Western Hill settlement began as early as the late 9th

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<sup>253</sup> Reich and Shukron, "The Urban Development of Jerusalem in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.," 214.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

century, Na'aman points out that the “absence of written documents and the later destruction of the city [Jerusalem] make this supposition impossible to prove.”<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Na'aman, “When and How Did Jerusalem Become a Great City?”, 27.

## Chapter 5

### A New Solution

The expansion that Jerusalem witnessed during the Iron II period is undeniable. The scholars presented in this thesis have offered different answers to the same questions, "when did Jerusalem's growth begin" and "what precipitated such a dramatic change?" Within this thesis the scholars Magen Broshi, Israel Finkelstein et al, Aaron Burke, Nadav Na'aman and Philippe Guillaume have presented three models, refugees, combined movements, and military as a way to explain Jerusalem's demographic surge.

To approach this broad range of possibilities in search of what created demographic changes in Jerusalem, I employ an integrated approach. In other words, I will be reviewing four areas; the scholarly debate as presented above, demographics, archaeology (including epigraphic evidence) and ethnography (which in this case is more so an anthropological approach). The scholarly debate will be assessed throughout the discussion of the other three areas of the model. With this model, I will attempt to answer the following more specific questions, 1) When did Jerusalem begin to grow? 2) What was the size of habitable area? 3) How many people inhabited the area? and 4) Where did they come from? Perhaps, by elucidating these areas of research we can gain a better perspective of what transpired in Jerusalem during the Iron II period.

#### *Demographical Study*

Trying to reach a general census about populations within the boundaries of certain regions in the ancient world is not easy. The population numbers have varied greatly among scholars during the 8th - 7th c BCE as well as at other time periods. The range usually falls between a maximalist (highest possible number) and a minimalist

(lowest possible number) configuration. Various scholars are either maximalist, minimalist or somewhere in the middle. The determining factor of the max/min range is one's assessment of the density coefficient. The density coefficient is achieved by sampling present settlements in the region that may reflect similarities to the case study (e.g., how many people live within a certain area). The population estimate is then achieved by multiplying the size of the habitable area with the density coefficient (area x dc = population). This method is what creates the variability in the population estimates.

Jerusalem's estimated population numbers during the expansion have ranged from 5,000 to 40,000, which is a wide margin.<sup>256</sup> However, when examining what areas of the city are being included into the estimate along with the max/min density coefficient selection, then the varying margin can be better understood. For example, the 40,000-population estimate was proposed by Barkay, however, he included the unfortified northern neighborhoods that were not included by the other estimates.<sup>257</sup> These factors must be considered when making a conclusion. A minimalist estimate for Jerusalem's expansion has ranged between 5,000 - 8,000.<sup>258</sup> Reich and Shukron proposed the 5,000-population number while Hillel Geva posited the 8,000, both of which admit these are minimalistic.<sup>259</sup> In this case, Geva achieved his number by observing the space, excluding areas he thought would not be populated and reviewed previous population

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<sup>256</sup> Hillel Geva, 'Jerusalem's Population in Antiquity: A Minimalist View 1', *The Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University* 41, no. 2 (2014), 139. doi:10.1179/0334435514z.00000000041.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

estimates and provided his own number without using a dc (density coefficient).<sup>260</sup> Geva's method is highly subjective.

That being said, the majority of the population estimates for Jerusalem at its peak expansion during the 8th c BCE range between 15,000 and 16,000.<sup>261</sup> Those who adopted these estimates were Yigal Shiloh, Magen Broshi, Israel Finkelstein, Avraham Faust, Neil Silberman, Lipinski and Hecker. In summary, the population numbers do vary somewhat when considering methods used and area included in the calculation.

Aaron Burke, on the other hand, takes a different approach. Burke estimates the space in terms of the rate at which the habitable space grew during the late 8th c BCE (i.e., growth rate) in comparison to what the previous trend was before the late 8th. Burke's final assessment was a 1% growth rate that surged at the end of the 8th c BCE.<sup>262</sup> The normal rate of growth before the late 8th c BCE surge was 0.6%.<sup>263</sup> Burke's final population assessment however, was not the total amount of inhabitants in Jerusalem but how many migrated to Jerusalem in addition to its existing population. In real numbers Burke proposed that Jerusalem increased in size by 5,000 people at the end of the 8th c BCE concerning which he posits could be nothing else but refugees because the normal rate of growth could not have achieved that number.<sup>264</sup>

Another variable to consider is the size of space that is analyzed for the demographic study. With the population numbers that have been provided thus far, most have defined the space of expansion in Jerusalem differently and or use a different form of measurement (i.e., acre, dunam, hectare), which can vary somewhat; Burke's - 50

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 133-134.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>262</sup> Burke, 'Coping with the Effects of War', 275.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

hectares, Finkelstein - 60 hectares, Hillel Geva - 1,000 dunam, Nadav Na'aman 160 acres and Magen Broshi 500-600 dunam.<sup>265</sup>

The variability of population estimates for Jerusalem thus becomes self evident. The differences in methodology and measurements used can account for many of the discrepancies in population numbers that have been posited for Jerusalem in the late 8th c BCE by the various scholars. What we do know, however, is that archaeology has provided us with reliable information regarding what happened in relation to the size of Jerusalem. The Broad Wall discovered by Avigad has defined the space and all scholars agree that for some reason the city of Jerusalem had more than tripled its size, something it had never done before.

Realizing that some variability exists, the demographic studies are useful when applied to the ancient civilizations in capturing trends and surges in population, especially when considering that those trends change across regions and owing to external forces.

Considering the external forces applied by the Neo-Assyrian Empire on the region of Syria-Palestine during the 8th c BCE, demographic models can help in relating the accompanying shifts in the population. The most telling of these shifts is seen before and after the Neo-Assyrian presence arrived. Before Sargon II in 701 BCE conquered Samaria, Samaria witnessed a surge in settlement population. In Iron IC, Samaria had 81 settlements in the region. During the Iron II period, that number swelled to 238 settlements, which correspond with the time of the Omride dynasty and economic boom. After the Neo-Assyrian Empire conquered Samaria, the settlements dropped to 95.

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<sup>265</sup> Geva, 'Jerusalem's Population in Antiquity', 139.

It could be argued, based on the demographic study that the Assyrian hegemony was successful in deporting the large numbers that they had claimed. The Assyrians had also stated that they resettled new groups into the region where some *Cuthean* pottery has been discovered and around the area of Samaria that may correlate those accounts. However, it doesn't seem possible to have removed everyone from the region and emptied the land as some experts have proposed. The Assyrian inscriptions themselves speak of those who “escaped,” “fled,” “ran away afraid,” “fled alone and disappeared,” “fled far overseas and perished” and “dispersed” during various campaigns by various Assyrian kings.<sup>266</sup> If the Assyrians took the time to mention those that fled from them, one has to wonder, how many more left that are not mentioned or that had left before the Assyrians had arrived in Samaria? The Assyrian presence had been popping up from time to time. The battle at Qarqar, recorded on the 9th c BCE Neo-Assyrian Kurkh Monolith inscription of Shalmaneser III, is descriptive of the Assyrian presence in Syria-Palestine during the 9th c BCE and the Northern Kingdom's awareness of what was transpiring around them. It only seems logical that the closer the Assyrians infringed on the Northern Kingdom, the more people would make preparation to do what was necessary when full out invasion occurred.

Another aspect to consider in the demographic study, the expansion of Jerusalem occurs during the same period as the decline of the Northern Kingdom, as many have concluded, that seems more than coincidental. Furthermore, even when considering Aaron Burke's proposal that Jerusalem's population surge was only 5,000 compared to other numbers that were higher, Burke admits that percentage-wise, the 5,000 immigrants

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<sup>266</sup> Pritchard, *ANET*, 279-281, 284, 286-287. See accounts of Shalmaneser III (pp. 279, 280, 281); Tiglath-Pileser III (p. 284); Sargon II (pp. 285 & 286); Sennacherib (p. 287).

still made up 53% of the population. In that scenario, the migrants make up the majority of the new population. Among the group there may have been specialists, elites who were aware of what Assyria was doing and had prepared to leave when and if things turned for the worse. The only way to truly confirm these assumptions is to look at the archaeological record.

### *Archaeological Study*

If indeed, people from the Northern Kingdom were able to escape the Assyrian hegemony when Samaria was conquered in 722 BCE, then one would expect that certain cultural elements associated with the northern groups would find their way to their new settlements. After all, archaeology can confidently trace movements of people by the material culture that is left behind. Three cultural traits distinct to the population in the Northern Kingdom are architecture, dialectic distinctions (epigraphic evidence) and engineering capabilities.

The Northern Kingdom was home to some magnificent structures. Megiddo and Hazor, two important administrative centers that were strategically built to protect the Via Maris trade route. These two cities were engineered with elaborate fortification systems, walls and underground water systems that had been tunneled through rock, an amazing achievement that took skill and manpower. The purpose of these tunnels was to protect the city's water supply in case of a siege. Those that designed such structures must have known the impact of war and how to best sustain a city in the wake of imperialistic expansionism. Being located on the ancient trade route within the narrowing of the Fertile Crescent, placed Megiddo and Hazor within a stone's throw of



conflict. Megiddo and Hazor's location must have allowed them to fine-tune their abilities to fortify the cities owing to the amount of conflicts they faced.

When the Northern Kingdom was overthrown, Jerusalem began its expansion. Massive fortification walls were built that dwarfed Jerusalem's earlier structures, so much so that the old walls had to be rebuilt. The Broad Wall uncovered by Avigad reveals the massive structure that was put in place. The famous *lmlk* stamped handles that Avigad excavated, as mentioned by Burke, provides a strong case for when the Broad Wall was built, i.e., the late 8th c BCE. Some have argued that the settlement inside the wall was sparse, but this seems wrongheaded. Existing structures had to be demolished to make room for the Broad Wall, which suggests that the area was densely populated.

In addition to the wall fortification that extended around the Western Hill, Hezekiah commissioned the construction of the Siloam Tunnel. The tunnel was cut simultaneously from both north and south through rock to bring water from the Gihon spring on the edge of the City of David to inside the newly constructed wall at the southeast end of the Western Hill.<sup>267</sup> Without engineering capability and workforce, this project could not have been accomplished. Moreover, the best examples of the water tunnel construction are found in the Northern Kingdom, namely Megiddo and Hazor. on this score, the Northern Kingdom may have influenced Jerusalem.

Another element that is connected to the Siloam Tunnel is the inscription. The inscription is not a royal display, does not speak of a king or a deity, was located six meters inside the tunnel and only those who had engraved it would have known of its

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<sup>267</sup> Eyal Shalev, Amihai Sneh, and Ram Weinberger, 'The Why, How, and When of the Siloam Tunnel Reevaluated', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 364 (November 2011), doi:10.5615/bullamerschoorie.364.0053.

existence.<sup>268</sup> According to Gary Rendsburg and William Schniedewind, three Israelian Hebrew words (friend, it was, and water source) found on the Siloam Tunnel inscription are "limited to a specific region of ancient Israel."<sup>269</sup> Rendsburg and Schniedewind propose that these dialectic variants come from southern Samaria on the Ephraim-Benjamin border.<sup>270</sup>

#### *Archaeology - Ramat Raḥel*

Another architectural connection to the Northern Kingdom was found at the City of David. Kathleen Kenyon, during her excavation around the stepped stone structure in the City of David, discovered an accumulation of ashlar blocks under a 5th - 3rd c BCE layer.<sup>271</sup> Within the accumulation of blocks was a proto-Aeolic capital.<sup>272</sup> According to Yigal Shiloh, the proto-Aeolic capital:

Originated in Palestine as an architectural feature of the ashlar masonry construction system, which was characteristic of the royal centers of Israel in the Iron Age. To date, [1976] 34 such capitals have been found in Palestine, of which 13 come from Megiddo and 7 from Samaria.<sup>273</sup>

Based on similar Iron Age capitals that had been found in Samaria and Megiddo along with the find spot of the proto-Aeolic capital in proximity to the stepped-stone structure, Kenyon posited that the proto-Aeolic capital belonged to the 10th c BCE during the period of king Solomon's reign, even though the capital was found in a secondary

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<sup>268</sup> Gary A. Rendsburg and William M. Schniedewind, 'The Siloam Tunnel Inscription: Historical and Linguistic Perspectives', *Israel Exploration Journal* 60, no. 2 (2010), 191.

<sup>269</sup> Rendsburg and Schniedewind, 'The Siloam Tunnel Inscription', 191-192.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 198-199.

<sup>271</sup> Oded Lipschits, 'The Origin and Date of the Volute Capitals from the Levant', in *Fire signals of Lachish: Studies in the archaeology and history Israel*, by Israel Finkelstein (United States: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 212.

<sup>272</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 2, 703.

<sup>273</sup> Yigal Shiloh, 'New Proto-Aeolic Capitals Found in Israel', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 222 (April 1976), 67. doi:10.2307/1356300.

context.<sup>274</sup> Such a discovery by Kenyon seemed to confirm Solomon's building campaigns as they are presented in the HB. Recent scholarship, however, has now questioned Kenyon's hypothesis.

Oded Lipschits described the proto-Aeolic capital as a palm tree motif formed from two volutes.<sup>275</sup> The term proto-Aeolic is used to distinguish the capital from those that have been found in ancient Greek architecture, i.e., the Aeolic and Ionic order. According to Lipschits, the proto-Aeolic capitals discovered within the boundaries of the Northern Kingdom antecede the Greek capitals by nearly two centuries and are a distinctly different in style.<sup>276</sup>

In addition to Megiddo and Samaria, these proto-Aeolic capitals have also been discovered in Dan, Hazor, and Mount Gerizim.<sup>277</sup> Once thought to date to the 10th c BCE, many scholars now agree that the proto-Aeolic capital should be dated to the middle of the 9th c BCE during which the Omrides were building monumental structures throughout the Northern Kingdom.<sup>278</sup> According to Lipschits, the proto-Aeolic capitals "were a central feature in the grand architecture of the Kingdom of Israel starting from the middle of the 9th c BCE."<sup>279</sup> Furthermore, Lipschits states that all of the known proto-Aeolic capitals "were in use from the 9th c BCE until the destruction of the kingdom by the Assyrians in the last third of the 8th."<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 2, 703. See also, Lipschits, 'The Origin and Date of the Volute Capitals', 212.

<sup>275</sup> Lipschits, 'The Origin and Date of the Volute Capitals', 203.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

The reemergence of the proto-Aeolic capital as an architectural feature was discovered at the late 8th c BCE site of Ramat Raḥel.<sup>281</sup> Ramat Raḥel was located in the Southern Kingdom midway between the Old City of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.<sup>282</sup> Several proto-Aeolic capitals were discovered at the site of Ramat Raḥel. According to Lipschits, these capitals are dated to the late 8th or early 7th century BCE.<sup>283</sup> The proto-Aeolic capital discovered in the City of David by Kathleen Kenyon was originally associated with the ones from Samaria and Megiddo based on typological similarities. However, according to Lipschits, "Betancourt and Shiloh already noticed the fact that the closest parallels to the capital from the City of David are the ones found at Ramat Raḥel."<sup>284</sup> The reason for separating the City of David proto-Aeolic capital from the earlier capitals from Samaria and Megiddo is the "concentric circles (oculi) on both sides of the central triangle carved in three parallel lines under the abacus are the main characteristics of this typological phase in the development process of the volute capitals; they do not appear on the 9th c BCE capitals from the Kingdom of Israel."<sup>285</sup> There is little doubt that the proto-Aeolic capitals from Ramat Raḥel are connected to the Northern Kingdom capitals, however, they are part of a later development consistent with the chronological gap between the 9th to the late 8th - 7th c BCE. Therefore, the Kenyon

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<sup>281</sup> The settlement of the Ramat Raḥel site was previously dated to the 9th or 8th c BCE. Oded Lipschits, however, points out that not a single pottery sherd can be dated to the 9th century at Ramat Raḥel. The Iron Age strata at Ramat Raḥel include VB - Iron IIC (8th-7th c BCE), and VA End of Iron Age (608-597 BCE). The Aharoni excavations revealed *lmlk* and "private" stamp impressions associated with the VB stratum in the VA construction fill. The proto-Aeolic capitals were dated by Aharoni to the VA stratum. However, Lipschits states that "Ramat Raḥel volute capitals in the late 8th or early 7th century BCE is now well founded", [WHICH] leads me to believe that Lipschits finds a close connection between the VB and VA stratum. See Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 4, 1261 and 1263. And Lipschits, 'The Origin and Date of the Volute Capitals', 209-13.

<sup>282</sup> Stern, Gilboa, and Aviram, *NEAEHL*. Vol. 4, 1261.

<sup>283</sup> Lipschits, 'The Origin and Date of the Volute Capitals', 213.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*

capital found near the City of David, according to Lipschits, "should also be dated to the late 8th - 7th c BCE."<sup>286</sup> It is very compelling evidence that Jerusalem had construction elements with links to the Northern Kingdom and that the Southern Kingdom was growing in wake of the Assyrian conquest of the North.

#### *Archaeology - Samaria Ostrakon*

Another distinct element that seems to have regional connections is the dialectic variant of the theophoric name for *YHWH*. As mentioned above, the Samaria ostrakon No. 2 contains the name of Gaddîyāw. The name Gaddîyāw possesses the theophoric element *yāw*, which represents *YHWH*. According to Shmuel Aḥituv, the spelling of the theophoric element in the name Gaddîyāw is distinct to the regions of the Northern Kingdom, such as Samaria.<sup>287</sup> The Southern Kingdom variant of the theophoric element is *yāhû*.<sup>288</sup> The northern theophoric *-yāw*, according to Aaron Burke, was discovered on the Western Hill on a seal bearing the name of *Shebna*, which was spelled with the *-yāw*. Although, the seal was found in a secondary context; it was dated to the Iron II period and shows a connection to the Northern Kingdom.

#### *Ethnoarchaeology*

Ethnography "is the study at first hand of individual living cultures."<sup>289</sup> Ethnoarchaeology is a way of using the present to define the past. The concept of Ethnology may be of some use in the case of Jerusalem's expansion in the late 8th c BCE. Philippe Guillaume suggested that the concept of refugees flooding into the environs of

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<sup>286</sup> Ibid., 213.

<sup>287</sup> Shmuel Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta - The Israel Map and Publishing Co., 2008), 264.

<sup>288</sup> Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*, 264.

<sup>289</sup> Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 6th ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 12.

Jerusalem would most likely be rejected because the people of Jerusalem would see them as "dangerous."<sup>290</sup> The current crisis of refugees fleeing Syria may be of use on this topic. The introduction of this paper, outlines the real challenges people face when forced to leave their homes and families and settle in a new area. If we use the Syrian crisis as a type of Ethnological study, we can see many parallels to the refugee crisis, first hand.

Guillaume is correct when he states that some are less than welcoming to migrants. According to the Syrian refugee model, the fears of those recipients of refugees are, 1) loss of cultural identity, and 2) fear of negative impact on economy. The positive impact of refugees are: 1) compensation for aging workforce, 2) compensation for low birth rate, 3) value of labor, 4) provision of new talent, 5) introduction of new ideas, and 6) after short-term costs are absorbed, the refugees will provide long term economic growth.<sup>291</sup>

In terms of Jerusalem's background that was described as stagnant, confined, limited, remote and unassuming, with the need to grow and in wake of the Northern Kingdom collapse, refugees would seem like a welcome commodity. Like Chancellor Merkel, Hezekiah may have welcomed the refugees even when others refused to let them in. After all, the fortifications were repaired and enlarged, the water source was engineered and completed, and with the threat of the Assyrians in the north, these improvements were a necessity. Finally, Jerusalem seemed to have been living in the shadow of a northern Empire for a long period but now the Judeans have an opportunity to grow.

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<sup>290</sup> Guillaume, "Jerusalem 720-705", 198.

<sup>291</sup> See This Paper, Introduction, 'Refugees: Now and Then - An Ethnology Study', 1-2

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

With Syria-Palestine's geographic location in the narrowing of the Fertile Crescent, it's easy to see why they were drawn into so many conflicts. Syria-Palestine was stuck in the middle without a choice. The end result, conflict and war torn regions affected various groups of people, the sad reality are those who get caught in middle, like the Syrian refugees and in this thesis, the Northern Israelite refugees. It seems most likely that a mass number of refugees fled the northern regions and southern regions in the wake of the Neo-Assyrian onslaught.

Magen Broshi's original assessment of the Broad Wall on the Western Hill of Jerusalem, a sign that refugees flooded the area causing the Jerusalem administration to respond the best they knew how, seems most likely. The numbers have been updated in more recent years since Broshi's article came out in 1974 due to advances in technology in the field of archaeology, i.e., chronological dating, new finds with new information, electronic analysis, etc. Nevertheless, the premise is the same; Jerusalem built a massive wall that more than tripled their habitable space. Israel Finkelstein's approach relies heavily on the archaeological data, which is something we can feel more certain about. Finkelstein's argument for refugees has been updated to include the economic resources that the Neo-Assyrian Empire would have brought to those who stayed loyal. Finkelstein recognized that refugees in two waves, i.e., 722 BCE destruction of Samaria and 701 BCE destruction of Lachish, were most likely, this proposal is also accepted by Broshi. Nadav Na'aman's argument of combined movements is most compelling. It seems likely that populations from all the peripheries would settle into a city and move back out.

However, Na'aman's argument of the nomadic element cannot be confirmed. Furthermore, it seems contradicting to propose Judahite refugees came to Jerusalem when Sennacherib conquered Lachish but dismiss refugees coming from Samaria in wake of Sargon II's conquest. Philippe Guillaume has an interesting approach concerning Jerusalem's growth coming at a later period when Esarhaddon prepared to face off with Egypt in the 7th c BCE. However, it seems that the date of the Broad Wall construction does not fit Guillaume's model.

A review of the demographic shifts, the scholarly research, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence still point to refugees coming to Jerusalem. The chronology is consistent, the cultural connections are consistent, outside triggers are present, (i.e., war and the threat of war) and the urban development are all consistent within the archaeological context of refugees.



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