USING SOCIAL-SPATIAL PATTERNS WITHIN KHIRBET QEIYAFA AND KHIRBET AL-RA'I TO FIT THEM INTO A LARGER FRAMEWORK OF UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN THE EARLY IRON AGE SOUTHERN LEVANT

by

JACOB DICKEN

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Anthropology
and the Robert D. Clark Honors College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

June, 2020

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Jacob Dicken for the degree of Bachelor of Arts
in the Department of Anthropology to be taken June 2020

Title: Using Social-Spatial Patterns within Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i to Fit Them into a Larger Framework of Understanding Social-Political Organization in the Early Iron Age Southern Levant

Approved: _____ *Stephen Dueppen, Ph.D* _____
Primary Thesis Advisor

Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i are two relatively newly excavated sites in modern Israel relating to the Iron Age IIA period around 1000 BC, the first being a Judean site and the latter being a Philistine site. In this paper, I use spatial data relating to the interior spaces of buildings and settlements to offer several hypotheses as to how they relate to social roles within these settlements as well as to how the settlements relate to the emergent kingdoms of which they are a part. I suggest that Khirbet Qeiyafa is a city which was constructed as a planned city through which the Judean state intentionally spread its hegemony militarily and economically westward and that the two major patterns for how houses are laid out in the settlement are suggestive of social class and status. I suggest regarding Khirbet al-Ra'i that it is fundamentally different from Khirbet Qeiyafa in a variety of ways as a longer-lived settlement characterized by decentralized decision-making over several major phases. I achieve this by reviewing relevant data, comparing them to general patterns in other similar sites, and ultimately offering hypotheses for later research to take interest in regarding the sites and the topic of the Iron Age southern Levant, especially with a focus on political and social layouts.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Doctor Stephen Dueppen who advised this paper and helped me to find direction when planning what I would research as well as being a wonderful professor whose classes helped to expand my horizons. I would like to also thank Professor Daphne Gallagher who was very helpful during my undergraduate career as I tried to catch up with the thesis process in the latter part of my senior year and who helped as an advisor to ensure I would get this far in the first place. I would like to thank Professor Yosef Garfinkel with whom I was able to excavate in Khirbet al-Ra'i in the winter season of 2019, whose works underpinned much of the discussion contained here, and who was always supportive when I asked him for resources in Israel or here at home. I would like to thank the constant support I received from the Clark Honors College and the leniency I received in the late nature of my thesis work. And finally I would like to thank the members of my family, my mother Kandy Dicken, my father Mike Dicken, and my sister Emma Dicken who have not always understood the topic but have expressed interest and support and given me an opportunity to talk about it many times.

Introduction

Map displaying Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i in relation to the major Philistine capitals as well as Jerusalem, capital of Judah. Map made using NatGeo MapMaker Interactive.

In the Judean Shephelah where Israel's central hills transition into the fertile farmlands of the coastal plain, ancient ruins are often not hard to find. Tourist sites have been made of flashy biblical sites such as Lachish, where the Neo-Assyrian ruler Sennacherib launched a famous siege recorded in the Old Testament, and other remnants of the rich history of the region, which includes bronze-age settlements and classical Idumean presence. Recently, however, the region has become the center of a discussion regarding the relationship between two cultures which emerged in the early iron age of the southern Levant as the region recovered from the breakdown of empires following the Late Bronze Age Collapse. The question of the origins of Hebrew civilization has often been at the center of popular and scholarly fascination of Levantine archaeology since the discipline began in the 1800s as western Christian

adventurers sought to find evidence of the places and events associated with the Bible. Since then, a far more nuanced but debated picture has emerged in which scholars no longer take or reject the biblical narrative as a whole but rather look critically to see how the biblical narrative emerged from the complex geopolitical and cultural developments that have become known to us through archaeology. Of particular interest has been the question of the existence or nonexistence of a Davidic dynasty and the nature of statehood for the early Israelite or Judean kingdom. While the early history of the Israelite kingdom as written in the Bible had been increasingly treated as fairly mythological over the course of research in the last two centuries, the momentum of that movement shifted with the discovery of the Tel Dan Stele in northeastern Israel, an Aramaic inscription describing the "House of David" in Israel and/or Judah in reference to two kings who were members to this dynasty being killed in the time of the Aramean king Hazael in the 9th century BC, though the mention of the exact kings referred to is obscured by a lacuna in the text (Biran, 1993). Inscriptions and names alone are not the only things making news however, and several significant site excavations in the last few decades have shed light on the nature of more social aspects of the history such as dietary developments, the scale of settlements and construction, the emergence of new cultural groups and states, and the development of writing forms and language.

One site in particular in the Shephelah which has been at the center of discussions of the early Judean kingdom has been Khirbet Qeiyafa, where the team led by Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem began excavating in 2007 and continued for seven excavation seasons through 2013. During

the Iron Age IIA period (c. 1000-925 BC), a fortified city was constructed on the site with clear circling walls and two gates facing north and south. The excavations yielded a great amount of information relevant to the emergence of what Garfinkel sees as a Judean kingdom of David. The city's apparently highly planned construction and its strategic position atop a hill over major trade routes may seem suggestive of a centralized state attempting to protect key borderlands from an outside force.

Archaeological evidence corroborates the existence of another contemporaneous culture in the Shephelah and the coastal plain to the west, that is, the Philistines who emerged in the early Iron Age as Aegean migrants intermingled with Canaanite peoples to create a unique archaeological culture. While the Philistines are largely remembered today for their role as biblical antagonists, research in recent decades have helped to shed light on their interesting culture. While some aspects of Philistine culture such as their language and their form of government (though city-states were the basic top-level political entities it seems) remain fairly obscure, archaeology of Philistine settlements in recent years have revealed much about a variety of aspects of Philistine culture ranging from DNA evidence linking a Philistine burial in Ashkelon to Aegean ancestry (Feldman et al., 2019) to the use of the presence of Philistine pottery and other characteristically Philistine cultural objects in order to draw a better map of historical Philistine influence. Among the sites related to this fascinating culture is Khirbet al-Ra'i, a site in the Shephelah not far from the well-known ancient city of Lachish. Professor Garfinkel and his team from Hebrew University of Jerusalem began excavating the site in 2015 and excavation remains ongoing. I was lucky to be able to join excavations at this site during the 2019 winter field season.

This paper will deal primarily with analyzing the spatial layouts of Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i as relate to both the sectionalization of settlements into different areas associated with different groups of people and activities as well as the layout of housing spaces and how they might suggest different social groups and relations. These patterns will be compared with other sites from the time and period in order to place them in a greater pattern of understanding. Ultimately, constructing this framework should allow us to compare and contrast Philistine and Judean social systems and statehood within the early Iron Age.

This paper will follow a simple format of four major parts and a conclusion. First, I will lay out the understandings of Iron Age II in modern Israel largely drawing from the compilation *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* compounded by Thomas E. Levy, which includes a number of authors and lays out a basic framework of understanding for the history of the region. The main chapters used in this section are "The Impact of the Sea Peoples (1185-1050 BCE)" by Lawrence E. Stager, "The Great Transformation: The 'Conquest' of the Highlands Frontiers and the Rise of the Territorial States" by Israel Finkelstein, and "The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA-B (c. 1000-750 BCE)" by John S. Holladay Jr.

I will supplement with a number of other articles and books as well as the biblical text when relevant. The second and third sections focus on Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i directly and will draw from books and papers almost entirely written by or including Yosef Garfinkel who led the expeditions. These sections will focus specifically on the internal spaces of these settlements.

The fourth section will compare Khirbet Qeiyafa with Khirbet al-Ra'i and include my speculation about the implications of the site data for the social and political structures relevant to these settlements.

Chapter 1: Current Understandings of the Early Philistine and Judean Cultures

A traditional map of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah as they may have appeared in the ninth century BC, according to the biblical tradition. That for much of the middle

Iron Age there was a northern kingdom of Israel, a southern kingdom of Judah, and a number of Philistine states along the coast is undisputed, however, any map of exact borders at a given time is approximated and often disputed. The earlier period close to the turn of the first millennium BC, which is the subject of this paper, is the most discussed and disputed period in this regard. Traditionalists have long held that one United Monarchy of Israel encompassed much of the region around 1000 BC while many researchers have increasingly turned towards other models, such as the idea that Israel and Judah reflect two separate developments and were not initially unified. Image taken from Wikimedia Commons and is part of the public domain. Information on the map is based on the Jewish Virtual Library. It represents religious understanding, rather than archaeological scholarship, but is a useful starting point for discussion.

Before understanding a site such as Khirbet Qeiyafa or Khirbet al-Ra'i, it is important to have a basic grasp of the time and place such a site existed in. Within the southern Levant, a great amount of archaeological research has been done over the last century and a half, often with religious or political intentions that should be acknowledged. Colonialist ideas involving the Middle-East as a cradle of western civilization, religious narratives about the ancient spiritual and political histories of the region from the three great monotheistic faiths, and the search for ancient land claims to justify stances on the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict have all played into popular understandings--and misunderstandings--of the region. A general dearth of textual information from the early Iron Age when compared to the neighboring regions of Mesopotamia and Egypt has not helped the issue, as most of the endemic ancient

historical records relating to the region that researchers and popular audiences are familiar with were written hundreds of years after this period. Nevertheless, academic models have evolved rapidly to better accommodate the present information. Concerning the origins of both the Philistines and the Judean and Israelite cultures, there are still several key debates which are important to understand to frame further discussion.

Beginning in the decade between 1185 and 1175 BC during the Late Bronze Age Collapse and continuing for some time afterwards, “Sea Peoples” from distant Mediterranean shores began settling on the coasts of ancient Canaan in the modern Gaza Strip and the coast of western Israel (Stager, 1995). These were the Philistines (פלשתים in the biblical text) and by the Hebrew prophets Amos and Jeremiah in the seventh and eighth centuries BC, they are noted to have come from a place called Caphtor, which Lawrence E. Stager believes to be Crete (Stager, 1995; Amos 9:7; Jeremiah 47:4). A long-standing piece of support for the idea of Aegean origins for the Philistines has come from their pottery, the earliest form being Sea Peoples’ Monochrome, which is essentially identical to Mycenaean IIIC and is often considered to be the same (Stager, 1995). Further support for the Aegean origins of the Philistines has come from a recent genetic study of 10 individuals from Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Ashkelon, in southwestern Israel, one of the cities which is considered to have been a major Philistine center by both archaeologists and the biblical text (Feldman, 2019). The team involved in this research found genetic indicators linking Ashkelonites after the start of the Iron Age with European genetic indicators while those who lived in the region in the Bronze Age did not have these indicators, adding to the evidence that

the Philistines came from Southern Europe during the Late Bronze Age Collapse (Feldman et al., 2019).

Biblical scholars do not consider any of the biblical text to have been written in the very early Iron Age, the earliest possibly being the Book of Amos, written sometime around 750 BC and considered to be the collected sayings of its titular Judean prophet (notes in the *New Oxford Annotated Bible*). This early text includes an indictment of a number of foreign nations, including notably the Philistines (Amos 1:8; 6:2; 9:7). The following centuries saw the emergence and gradual development of many of the other written texts which are today found in the Bible. Many of the narratives and take place in or close to the times which they illustrate while others reflect back on previous periods of mythic and political history. When dealing with the emergence of the Israelite and Judean states and their early interactions with other cultures such as the Philistines, the Bible is of limited but imperfect use in a scientific setting. Attitudes toward foreign and local peoples as well as various political and religious dynamics may reflect subsequent developments and the historical concerns of later Hebrew-speaking populations. Narratives about actual historical events and figures may also have deviated from factual details as they were transmitted first through the oral traditions and then through the copyists and compilers who processed the text toward its final form. Nevertheless, much of the biblical narrative has been found to be corroborated by archaeological research, such as the aforementioned Tel-Dan Stele which confirmed the existence of a Davidic dynasty (Garfinkel et al., 2016) and the Siloam inscription which recorded the activities of workers digging a water tunnel believed by many to have dated to the reign of King Hezekiah of Judah as recorded in

the books of Kings and Chronicles (Hendel, 1996; 2 Kings 20:20; 2 Chronicles 32: 3-4). Because of the perishable nature of media for writing in the Iron Age Levant, contemporary texts are not abundant and those which were repeatedly copied as sacred works to be passed down to us centuries later are therefore highly valuable to understandings of the period.

The biblical narrative is difficult concerning the Philistines in that it presents an outside account, but the geographical information seems to square well with the archaeological record. Because the Philistine culture still existed in its later stages while early biblical texts like Amos were being written, there may have been some firsthand familiarity and the few culturally specific terms that are present there may be a window into the yet unknown Philistine language. According to the Bible, the Philistine civilization centered around five major cities-- Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gaza, and Gath-- each major city being ruled by a figure known as a *seren*, a word of possible Aegean import which has been suggested as a cognate to Greek *tyrannos* (Stager, 1995). Archaeologists have been able to excavate and confirm a Philistine presence at Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Ekron, while Gath is probably the excavated site Tell es-Safi (though Stager, 1995 disagrees, saying that the proximity of this site to Ekron makes it unlikely) and Gaza is buried under the modern city of the same name which is unfortunately at the center of ongoing conflict between Israel and Hamas (Stager, 1995). The Bible generally refers to Philistine religion as centering around Canaanite deities such as Baal, Astarte, and Dagon but archaeological investigations at Ashdod and Ekron have noted Mycenaean influence in religious objects and spaces, such as Mycenaean-style goddess figurines and the use of a hearth in the cultic spaces

of a large palace or temple in Ekron which has been connected to the role of Hestia in Greek religion as a household goddess (Stager, 1995).

Stager notes that the Philistines brought a wholly different form of urban planning to the places they settled from the Canaanites which preceded them. He writes "It is the scope and the effects of their 'urban imposition' which provides additional reasons for thinking the Philistines were not a small military elite who garrisoned the original population but, rather, a large and diverse group of settlers who transplanted many aspects of their old way of life and culture to a new locale" (Stager, 1995, p. 345). Philistine urban planning carried on a Mycenaean-influenced style that can be seen in Ashkelon where the Philistine city likely reached a size of around 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants and centered around a large public building with large supporting pillars comparable to similar structures at Ashdod, Ekron, and Tell Qasile (Stager, 1995). This building went through several stages of revision during both the Monochrome and Bichrome Philistine pottery periods (Stager, 1995). The similar "palace" structure at Ekron, a settlement which reached probably around 5,000 inhabitants, was used for around 200 years also with constant renovations and was possibly used as a central temple or administrative building (Stager, 1995). This mudbrick structure featured a long pillared hall space with a large sunken hearth in the middle (Stager, 1995). The use of sunken hearths in temple spaces is not a native Levantine tradition but as noted before has associations with Aegean and Mycenaean religious practices (Stager, 1995). Three rooms split off of this central hallway: the first seems to have had a role in weaving as dozens of spoolweights were found in the room (Stager suggests that the purpose of this may have been to dress the statue of a mother

goddess such as in Mycenaean practice or as noted was done for the goddess Asherah in 2 Kings 23:7) and the second room was an altar space in which were found bimetallic knives (with iron blades and bronze rivets) and bronze wheels indicating a mobile cultic object, while the third room was lacking in particularly identifying information (Stager, 1995). While research on the Philistines has much further to go before their culture is fully understood on the same level as many other neighboring civilizations, aspects of religious spaces and architecture as well as their new forms of urban planning centered around temples and palaces make it clear that ongoing researchers need to understand the Philistines in the context of both the Levantine and Aegean worlds.

In the 12th century BC, as the Philistines settled the coastlines of the southern Levant, a new wave of emerging settlements began to appear in the highlands further to the east (Finkelstein, 1995). These settlements were originally created by pastoral nomads who increasingly became sedentary, emerging with new centers of power to replace those which had declined in Canaan during the Late Bronze Age collapse (Finkelstein, 1995). Unfortunately, compared to coastal sites, sites in the hill country from the Bronze Age are relatively unknown and based on fragmentary information, so it is hard to know many details about the preceding local Canaanite cultures that would develop into the familiar Israelites and Judeans, however the emergence of territorial states would come to change the local political dynamic drastically (Finkelstein, 1995).

What to call these new emergent territorial hill polities is complicated. On one hand, there is the tendency to talk about the emergence of “Israel” in the vein of the biblical narrative, which holds that the later Israelite and Judean kingdoms that existed prior to the Assyrian invasions in the seventh century BC emerged from the dissolution

of one large united Israelite kingdom which encompassed the territory of both of them. This kingdom, associated with Saul, David, and Solomon and traditionally considered to have existed between 1025 and 928 BC (notes in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*), has been controversial among archaeologists. Researchers essentially unanimously agree that the geographic scale of the kingdom as described in the Bible, which extends up into Phoenicia and across the Jordan River into Ammon, is an exaggerated literary construct. However, the question as to whether the later capital cities of Jerusalem and Samaria were first under the rule of one power in the Iron Age II hill country remains open for many. In Garfinkel et al.'s 2016 publication *Debating Khirbet Qeiyafa: A Fortified City in Judah from the Time of King David*, three basic models have been listed (Garfinkel et al., 2016). The first follows the biblical narrative almost exactly in political details, has been the standard narrative up until recent decades, and is often termed "maximalist." A staunchly different position termed "minimalism" arose in response to this viewpoint and came to dominate discussions in the 1980s. This viewpoint posits that there is little or no historically useful information in the biblical canon relating to the early Iron Age. Many minimalists argue that an Israelite kingdom centered in the north emerged first around 900 BC before its destruction by the Assyrians in 721 BC after which the power shifted south and the southern kingdom of Judah became dominant. Since the discovery of the Tel-Dan Stele in 1993, a new paradigm emerged out of the necessity to construct a framework which could include the existence of a Davidic dynasty and a scientific skepticism regarding the biblical narrative. This model has generally treated the Israelite and Judean kingdoms as two separate developments rather than as two halves of one predecessor state, identifying

differences in the material culture of the north and south from an early date. It nevertheless acknowledges the existence of a Davidic monarchy in Judah and an associated centralized state in Iron Age II.

In this paper, I will use the term "Judean" to refer to this archaeological culture that emerged in the Jerusalem Hills and the Shephelah during the 11th century BC rather than the term "Hebrew" (a term that applies better to the wider users of the Hebrew language, still in its very archaic form at this point, which include several different archaeological cultures) or "Israelite." The Israelites, for the purpose of this discussion, are the people of the archaeological culture associated with the northern kingdom of Israel centered at Samaria which existed separately but contemporaneously with the kingdom of Judah. The reasons for this are several. Garfinkel, Finkelstein, and others writing on the development of these cultures distinguish them as such and treat them as separate entities in the existing literature. Secondly, while both the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are archaeologically and historically demonstrated, the existence of the United Monarchy remains contentious. Referring to southern sites as "Judean" covers both models with and without the United Monarchy as either the demonym of the southern kingdom or of the tribe of Israel which was dominant within the United Monarchy as the people of David and his dynasty.

Settlement patterns in Israel and Judah between around 1000 and 750 BC have numerous characteristics indicative of the origins of a centralized state (Holladay, 1995). Related to this was a booming population size (Broshi, 1992). Among the "archaeologically discernible characteristics of a state" are the emergence of urban sites and an organization around regional centers within the state as well as a primary capital

center (Samaria in Israel and Jerusalem in Judah), frontier fortifications and defenses, royal references (as known from the aforementioned Tel-Dan Stele as well as other sources such as the Mesha Stele), references to and material evidence for taxation and redistribution of goods to government projects and institutions within the kingdom, and the use of a writing system (Holladay, 1995). Many of the larger Israelite and Judean sites in this period are characterized by defensive walls circumscribing the settlements and prominent positions on tells. The Israelite sites of Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer, and as well as the Judean sites of Lachish and Tell en-Nasbeh are great examples of the new fortified cities emerging in the period (Holladay, 1995). They have well-built but irregularly-shaped walls with one or several major gates often containing, such as at Lachish and Gezer, chambers allowing for the gates to host the merchants who would trade with those traveling through them on entering the city.

Palace structures, a central feature of sites in Late Bronze Age Canaanite settlements which carried over to settlements in the Iron Age, signify places of central importance in Gezer, Lachish, and Samaria, where they may have had some role in local or national administration or the gathering and redistribution of resources. Palace complexes such as at Megiddo, Lachish, and Samaria are arranged in a sort of grid in which interior walls criss-cross inside parallel to the outer walls so as to make rooms of various sizes inside connected by doorways linking the large and small chambers. For example, the palace structure at Megiddo dating to the 10th century BC has one large entryway which was followed by a second doorway leading into one of two large interior rooms. The southern and western edges of the palace are filled with a row each of small connected chambers, possibly some sort of storage rooms (Holladay, 1995).

Housing for the majority of the population in the early Israelite and Judean sites varies between sites, but a general pattern can be drawn of a house with three or four rooms (at least in the first floor). It is generally believed, through comparison with contemporary Iranian farmers with similar houses, that one or two of these rooms were used for the storing of grain and other agricultural goods as well as sheltering herd animals in times of storm (Holladay, 1995). It is possible that many of these houses had a second story which we are no longer able to see. Holladay points out that there is a lack of evidence of significant public grain storage with the exception of the palace granary at Samaria and several cases of grain storage accompanying the presence of stables, such as at Megiddo, Hazor, and Beth Shemesh, suggesting that most ownership and storage of these resources was happening in the private household sphere (Holladay, 1995). Many mid-sized sites have habitations in a ring around the settlement wall such as at ‘Izbet Sartah and many larger fortified settlements such as Tell en-Nasbeh have large blocks of high-density habitation within the interior of the settlement (Holladay, 1995). There is likely some condition which can be used to explain the occurrence of both of these patterns of housing. I would suggest that the ringed standard rooms built into the walls of certain sites such as ‘Izbet Sartah are indicative of a use of planned constructions, such as a wall, to solve the problems of defense and the need for housing both at once in one organized construction project whereas the haphazard housing units dotted about the interior site such as at the densely-packed Tell en-Nasbeh represent the development of household construction projects by individual families for their own sake, independent of large-scale centrally-planned construction projects. Within these early Israelite and Judean settlements, centrally-administered

development is juxtaposed with the less-codified bustle of private affairs, a situation which suggests that while a powerful state seems capable of doing the grand engineering of public works, it does not directly control all aspects of the society in a command economy. We will revisit this idea when discussing Khirbet Qeiyafa.

Finally, it is worth noting that there is much evidence for intense interaction between the peoples of the early Iron Age Levant such as trading interactions between Judah and Philistia, the presence of Phoenicians settled in and working in Israel and Judah, and the involvement of the early kingdoms in the Red Sea trade with Arabia. Tell Qasile pottery data in particular shows at least some interaction of Judeans with Philistines (Holladay, 1990). While the Philistines are largely remembered in modern culture as antagonists to Samson and David, different Philistine polities probably had varying positive and negative relations with Israelite and Judean rulers and towns over the course of their centuries of side-by-side existence. Even the biblical narrative is suggestive of the movement of individuals between these cultures, as David takes refuge among the Philistines in Ziklag in 1 Samuel 27. Holladay also believes that there is plenty of evidence for Phoenician specialists working in the northern kingdom of Israel in particular under the period attributed to the reign of the Omride dynasty in the traditional chronology (882-842 BC), including stone-working at Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor which bears a strong resemblance to that used in Tyre and a very large amount of imported Phoenician ceramics at Hazor (Holladay, 1995). The biblical record supports the use of Tyrian resources and specialists for the purpose specifically of constructing Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem in 2 Chronicles 2 in which King Hiram of Tyre sends cedar of Lebanon for the construction of the Temple as well as the architect Hiram-Abi

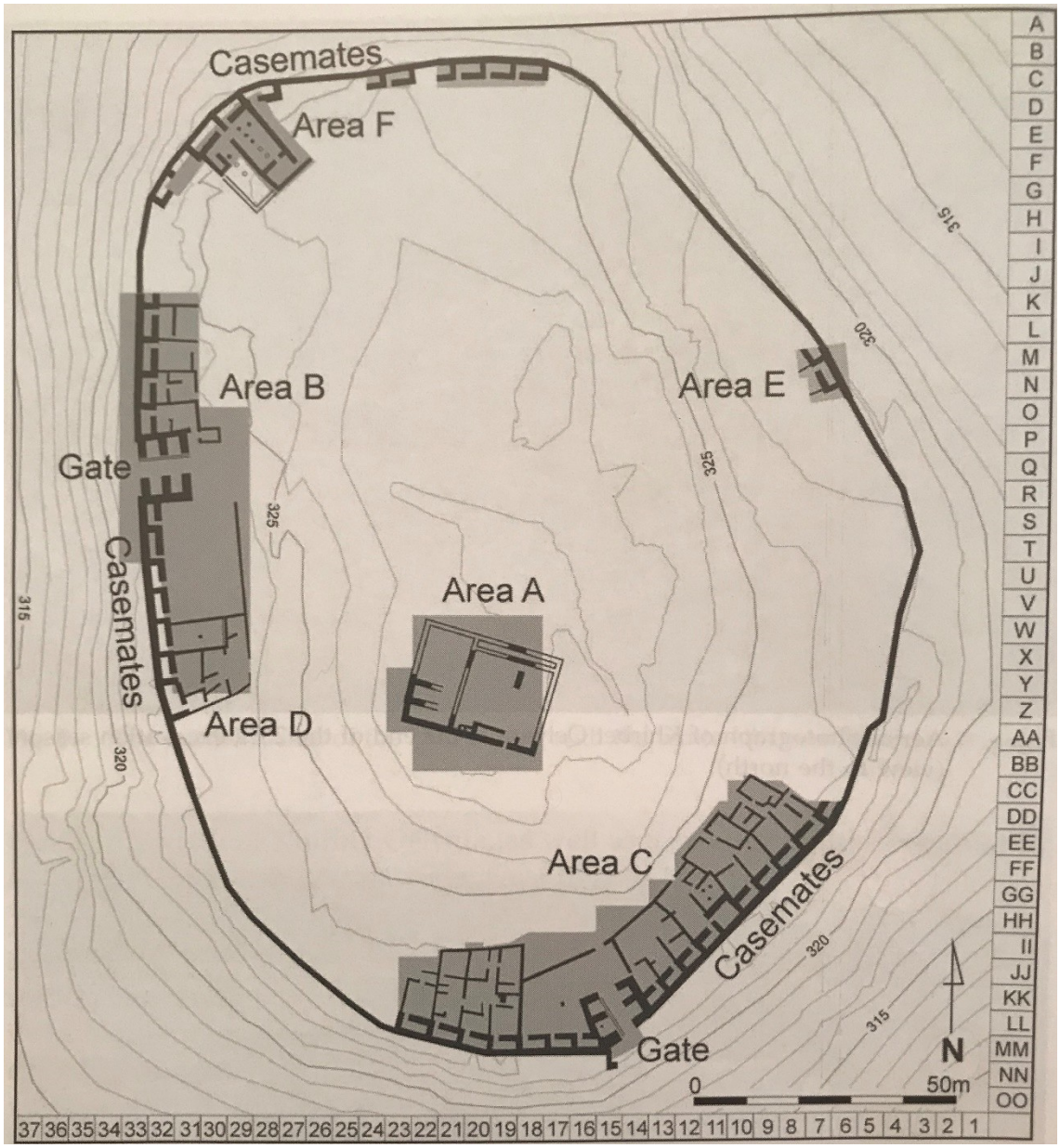
to carry out the construction. Holladay has pointed out that the geographical position of Israel and Judah made for a natural relationship with the mercantile kingdom of Tyre as well as the port cities of the Philistines in Iron Age II (especially as the once and future mighty powers of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon were relatively diminished in this period of recovery from the Late Bronze Age Collapse) because they provided links between the Mediterranean and the rich coastal and overland trade routes of the Arabian Peninsula (Holladay, 1995). He claims that present estimates at the time of writing in 1995 allowed for an inference of around 3,000 to 5,000 camels that traversed these routes annually with cargo worth hundreds of millions of dollars in today's money (Holladay, 1995).

To condense our understanding of the southern Levant as it existed in the Iron Age II period into a short summary, we must ultimately view it as an animated and multicultural region full of a number emerging territorial states which both cooperated and competed with one another. The disappearance of the great empires of the Bronze Age had opened up new power vacuums in Canaan which were filled gradually, first by the Philistines in the 1100s BC who established a number of coastal cities, importing Mycenaean cultural elements from their Aegean places of origin and combining them with indigenous Canaanite elements to create a unique culture centered around approximately five major city-states which flexed their control over a number of smaller settlements on the coastal plain of what is now southwestern Israel and the Gaza Strip. Shortly afterward, manifesting shortly before or around 1000 BC, the kingdoms (or possibly originally one unified kingdom based on the debated traditional account) of Israel and Judah emerged as the pastoralist Canaanites of the inland hill country

coalesced into centralized territorial states for the first time, undergoing strong regional cultural changes that resulted in the archaeologically and biblically attested cultures that we are familiar with from later periods. All the while, these new approximately seven major states engaged in both positive and negative relations with one another, fighting for land and resources--as indicated by the fortifications which have been found at major urban centers and outposts as well as structures such as stables indicative of the fielding of military forces-- and engaging in more peaceful relations-- as indicated by the evidence of trade and cross-cultural interchange. In assessing the social relations which people within this world had with one another, we must focus both on their relations with the larger emergent political structures as well as the intercultural economic landscape made up by the lives of these various people.

Chapter 2: Khirbet Qeiyafa

(Unless otherwise attributed, site data relevant to Khirbet Qeiyafa in this section comes from Garfinkel et al.'s *Debating Khirbet Qeiyafa*, 2016, although much of the interpretation is mine.)



Map displaying the various excavation areas at Khirbet Qeiyafa, taken from Garfinkel et al.'s Debating Khirbet Qeiyafa, *2016, p. 42.*

Khirbet Qeiyafa is located on a major Iron Age intercultural crossroads, just 30 kilometers southwest of Jerusalem and some 12 kilometers east of ancient Gath, putting it very directly between the capital of the kingdom of Judah and the center of a very prominent Philistine state. The site is situated on a fortified hill overlooking the Elah Valley in the Shephelah to its south. Today a major regional road, road 375, runs right through this valley east and west, forming part of one potential route between Kiryat Gat and Jerusalem. It can be imagined that in ancient times, this valley may have been the natural route of transit for travelers on a similar journey. The site is archaeologically quite different from many of the hill settlements in Israel in that it is not on a tell built up from hundreds or thousands of years of inhabitation but rather an Iron Age city which was built on and around later only to some limited degree, never as densely inhabited since as it was during the kingdom of Judah. The earliest archaeological information at Khirbet Qeiyafa comes from the Chalcolithic when ancient people left some small tools that were later found by archaeologists. During the Middle Bronze Age, Canaanite people left pottery across much of the site, suggesting that there may have been some form of settlement in the period, although the intensive construction of the Iron Age seems to have removed whatever trace of their architecture existed there. The early Iron Age IIA, the subject of this paper, saw the emergence of a fortified Judean city on the site complete with a double-gated encircling wall, a watchtower, and a stable. Following the Iron Age, several buildings were built on parts of the site during the Persian, Hellenistic, and Hasmonean periods, though the site lost its urban nature. The site was abandoned in the Roman period and some presence resumed in the Byzantine, Arab, and Ottoman periods when it was home to some

agricultural settlements. Many of these later occupations' structures were built over the top of the Iron Age ruins and did some level of damage, but overall the Iron Age site is fairly preserved.

Khirbet Qeiyafa's most distinguishing figure is easily its encircling wall which totals some 600 meters long, 150 meters of which was excavated and researched by Garfinkel and his team. Two gates, one facing southward and the other facing westward, penetrate this wall. The wall has casemates all the way around it, one after another, each with their walls built in L shapes pointing away from the nearest gate, possibly indicative of a direction of construction. Many of these casemates are integrated into housing spaces or other buildings, which are built standardly to contain one casemate each in some areas whereas in others, larger structures include several of them. We will address the relationship of the walls with dwellings later at length. In the center of the city is a palace or administrative building fitting to the patterns of those which form the centerpieces of many Israelite and Judean settlements as discussed earlier. Next to the southern gate are what Garfinkel believes are a stable and a watchtower, signifying at least some base level of military presence in the city.

Between 2007 and 2013, Garfinkel and Ganor led a series of excavations at the site which focused on six distinct areas of the site that together act as our sample for understanding the site. The following areas as designated in Garfinkel et al., 2016 will be referenced in future discussion of the site. Area A excavations were conducted in the middle of Khirbet Qeiyafa and uncovered the palace or administrative structure which stood at the central high point of the city. This area had been later covered by a Byzantine farmstead built over the Iron Age structure. This administrative building was

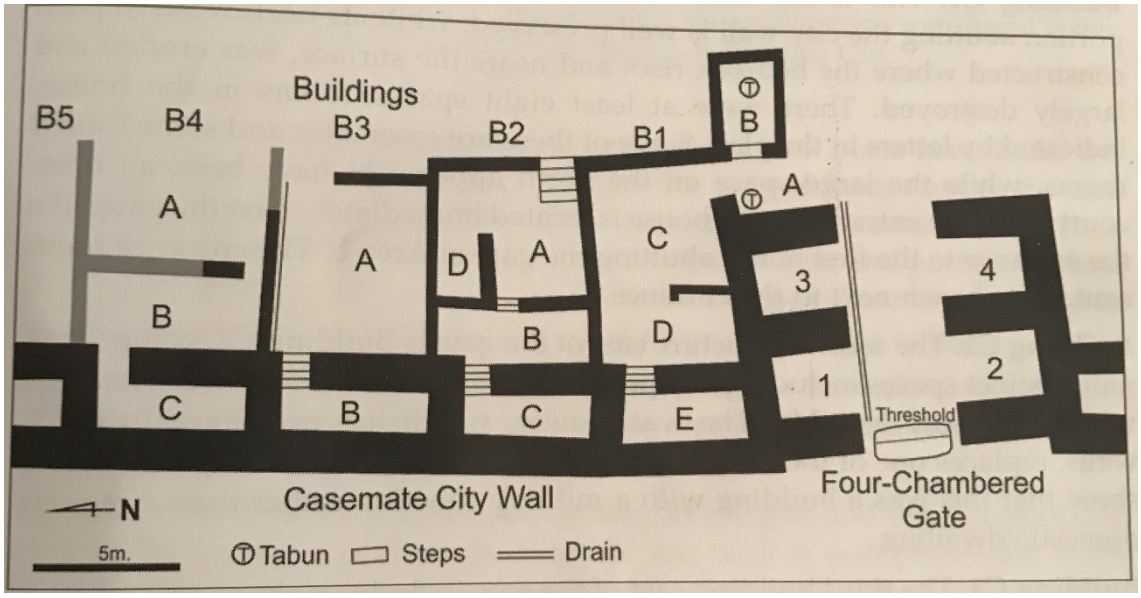
characterized by a very large courtyard and walls which are three times as thick as those in more standard structures of this region and time, suggesting to Garfinkel that the structure may have been around 3 storeys high. Area B focused on the westward-facing four-chambered city gate and the four houses immediately to its left built into the casemates of the walls. Area C is the largest area in terms of space, including the southern four-chambered city gate and the plaza it opened into. To the left and right of this gate are a number of attached structures all built along and adjoining to the wall, incorporating its casemates into their back spaces. These include houses, two of which have cultic rooms, and the stable and watchtower. Area D directly connected with Area B and expanded southward to the right of the westward-facing city gate. This area included a plaza and an olive oil press. Area E involved a very small opening on the eastern side of the city, revealing a pair of casemates along the wall. Area F was on the north side of the city and represented the place where the patterns of the casemates--whose openings are on the sides generally facing away from the nearest gate--meet so as to have two casemate openings directly adjacent. Here there was a large pillared building.

It should be noted that there is a debate over the ancient name for Khirbet Qeiyafa and a number of biblical names have been suggested based on the names of Israelite, Judean, and Philistine sites mentioned in the general area at different points in the Bible. These include ‘Adataim, Gob, Shaaraim, Neta’im, and Ma’gal. Garfinkel and the Khirbet Qeiyafa expedition believe that Shaaraim is the most fitting of these when all details are considered. Shaaraim, Garfinkel’s preferred identification, is described as being in the region of the Elah Valley, dating to the “time of David” or

approximately the formation of the Israelite and Judean kingdoms in Iron Age II, and the name means “two gates,” which Khirbet Qeiyafa happens to have. None of these options has been particularly convincing to me in reading the descriptions and I will not be asserting any particular option here, nor do I see the issue of ancient naming as vitally important in discussing the political and economic dynamics of the site.

A second debate to make some note of is the fact that not all scholars have agreed with Garfinkel et al. in attributing Khirbet Qeiyafa to the Judean kingdom. Several alternative hypotheses have posited that Khirbet Qeiyafa is instead Israelite, Philistine, or even Canaanite. The Philistine hypothesis was the first to be prominent in 2008 as interest fell on the site and was put forth by Nadav Na’aman, 2008. This hypothesis fell away fairly quickly as excavation showed that the site followed closely to the pattern of Israelite and Judean settlements but lacked many identifying Philistine features such as separate buildings for religious activities. The wall is also distinctly not Philistine. The Canaanite hypothesis, later advanced also by Na’aman whose views had been altered by the lack of support for the Philistine hypothesis, hinges on the idea that following the Late Bronze Age collapse, pockets of Canaanite settlement remained in the early Iron Age, even as potentially incorporated in new kingdoms such as that of Judah. Other sites have been suggested by Na’aman as Canaanite including Gezer, Khirbet el-Qom, and Tell ‘Eitun, but Garfinkel et al. write that the evidence of these sites’ Canaanite habitation is lacking and that a number of these sites have clear Israelite and Judean cultural markers while others simply have a poorly preserved or relatively unexcavated archaeological assemblage. The attribution of Khirbet Qeiyafa to either Israel or Judah has become the major pair of interpretations in recent years. Finkelstein

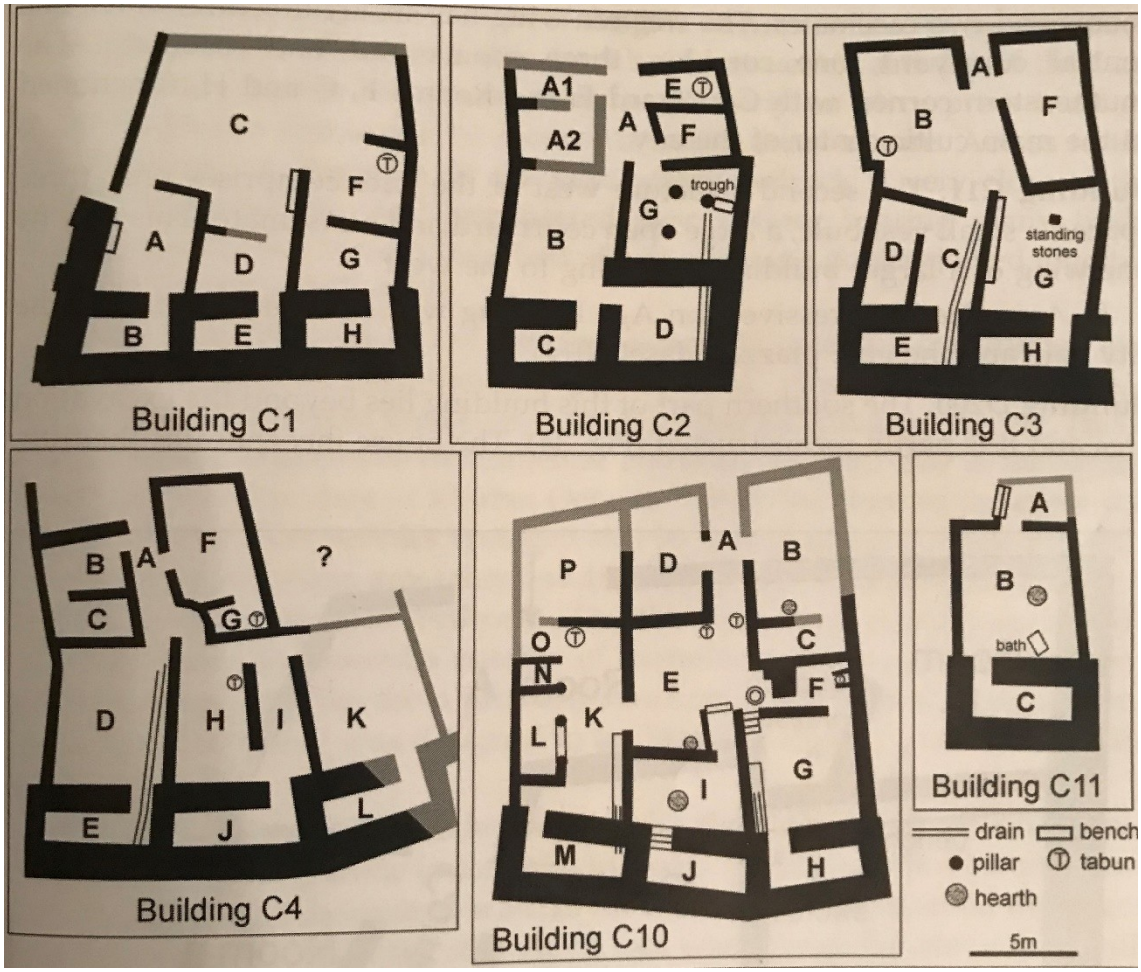
and Fantalkin, 2012 have attributed at least the famous ostracon found at the site to an "Israelite territorial entity" but what exactly that means is up to some debate and the site is fairly far to the south and much closer to Jerusalem than Samaria. In working at the site, Garfinkel et al. have concluded that the site is representative of Judah though they cannot necessarily rule out alternative interpretations. In this paper, I am working with the idea that Khirbet Qeiyafa is Judean because it is the conclusion espoused by the most extensive research I have read and I have not seen significant reason to doubt it while issues have been pointed out with the Philistine, Canaanite, and Israelite models.



Schematic of Area B as shown in Garfinkel et al.'s Debating Khirbet Qeiyafa*, 2016, p. 61.*

Returning to our spatial description of the site, Area B's four houses demonstrate a basic model for planned housing at Khirbet Qeiyafa and they each share walls with the houses on either side of them, B1 being attached to one wall of the western gate. All four of them integrate a single casemate of the wall each into their design so as to form a back room within the wall which is around two meters deep and

five meters wide with steps leading in. With the exception of B3, each house also has a partition running parallel to the wall approximately two to three meters out of the casemate. This has the effect of making a basic three-roomed pattern among these houses with some variance in its details. In B2, however, there is a wall running perpendicularly to the city wall in the room furthest from the casemate, partially separating two rooms. Despite these variations, the general pattern holds for a row of methodically constructed partially standardized lower-class housing. The walls of these structures are thin and it does not appear likely that they would have held up additional storeys. Also of interest is the fact that there are only two "tabuns" (covered round baking ovens) located in the stretch of houses, one in the space just outside the door to B1 and the other in a small extraneous structure projecting into the city just across from the outdoor tabun. If these are the only such similar cooking structures in this area, perhaps they represent a communal space.



Schematic of the various houses of Area C from Garfinkel et al.'s Debating Khirbet Qeiyafa, *2016, p. 63.*

Area C is interesting to juxtapose with Area B in that the buildings do not stick to the same pattern of one casemate to a house and instead have very extensive interiors with rooms of various morphologies and functions. The individual buildings vary in width from one to three casemates and in the number of rooms between 3 and 15. Many of them also have benches inside which the houses in Area B seem to lack. C1 is a large house directly east of and abutting the southern gate which incorporates three casemates and contains a total of eight rooms. C2 integrates two casemates and has

nine rooms. It is an interesting building in that one of its rooms, Room G, seems to have been a stable complete with a trough for the horses and a drain leading out of the city wall while directly adjacent to this room sits another, Room D, which is built into one of the casemates to form the base of a watchtower overlooking the southern gate. C3 is built around two casemates and has a total of eight rooms and contains several features which distinguish it notably from other buildings. First in Room B is a tabun around which were found a number of animal bones indicating cooking of animals in that space. Rooms C and E have a drain leading out. Room G is a very interesting space in that it contains two standing stones, a basalt altar, and a number of pottery vessels believed to have been used for making offerings, all suggesting that this was some sort of religious space. C3 may have been a religious building of some sort. C4 incorporates three casemates and contains twelve rooms. Within two of the rooms, there are tabuns and a drainage channel runs through two of the rooms and out of the city wall just like in the other two previous buildings. It is somewhat difficult to determine the use of this building and Garfinkel et al., 2016 does not provide a suggestion. I might suggest that like with C1, it may be some sort of especially large elite dwelling with its own cooking spaces. To the west of the southern gate, there is a very large building which has been called C10 and has more rooms than any other excavated building in the city, incorporating three casemates and containing a total of fifteen rooms. Numerous features are peppered throughout this building, which has a very eclectic and asymmetric internal pattern organized into two major wings making up each a third and two-thirds of the building, including four tabuns, three hearths, and four different benches. Two of these benches have drains flowing off of them

southward, perhaps indicating them as altars off of which blood from offerings may have flowed. Garfinkel et al., 2016 suggests that the central room of this structure, Room E (which includes two tabuns and one furnace) and rooms F, G, and H which form the southeast corner of the structure abutting the city gate (one tabun being in Room F and one altar being in Room G) form the primary religious center at Khirbet Qeiyafa. The last structure excavated in Area C is C11, which includes one casemate and three rooms. It is arranged in a linear pattern similar to the houses in Area B and the middle room, Room B, contains a hearth and a bath. C11 sits at the very edge of Area C and so it is possible that it is merely part of a larger adjoining structure that has not yet been excavated.

Finally I will address the single structure at Area D, which directly adjoins Area B, abutting the western gate to the south and containing a single structure (D200) incorporating three casemates and a total of 11 rooms, arranged around a central courtyard (Room I). In the entry room of this house in Room A, a libation vessel was found in a corner. In the central room, Room I, there is a standing stone, and accessible through this room is the largest space, Room J, where there is an offering table, another standing stone immediately next to it, and a bench similar to the ones used in other similar cultic rooms. Three large iron swords were also found in this room. This building is proposed in Garfinkel et al., 2016 as having a number of families living in its various spaces (Garfinkel et al., 2016). It appears as well that these people had their own religious space.

In synthesizing these three areas, we can see two major types of houses and other buildings, the first having a very simple linear layout of three rooms as shown in

Area B and the second the more extensive and expansive form of asymmetric floorplans seen in Areas C and D which have multiple internal branches and wings and often incorporate other uses of certain spaces beyond housing such as religious sites and military establishments. Khirbet Qeiyafa was a very planned settlement, having emerged very quickly in Iron Age II after the clearing of the ground to bedrock so that the pre-planned construction of the city could happen on a decently flat and workable base. Whatever existed previously in the Bronze Age was removed for Iron Age construction and so we must thus consider that the Iron Age structures were built over a relatively quick period.

Regarding the linear three-room house pattern of Area B, their consistent design is indicative to me of a housing development which uses a basic formula to create a neighborhood quickly which new civilian populations can soon move into. These are likely for the lower-ranking peasants because they control little in the way of specialized rooms and must collectively rely on outside tabuns for cooking, the two nearby tabuns available being located in B1A and B1B, both outside of the basic three-room structure of B1 itself, indicating a separation of private and public space perhaps managed by the household living in B1. It is hard to know what the people who lived in these spaces might have done as their occupation but being that Judah was at this time largely an agricultural-pastoralist society and this strip of houses is located near the gate, perhaps it is because the people living here would go out to farm or take livestock to pasture, livestock being stored in the house as in other sites in Judah. Farmers and herders would have made up the largest chunk of an Iron Age site's population and it makes sense that housing for such people would be simple, standard, and repeated. In

addition, in the case of the animal-herders who might have stored animals in their houses like has been found regarding other contemporary settlements, placement near the western gate would reduce the difficulty of moving animals large distances through a crowded urban center.

The buildings of Areas D and C are a little more complicated. Potentially all of them could have had some habitation though the various specialized purposes of certain rooms in buildings such as C2, C3, and C10 as either religious or military establishments could also indicate that the whole buildings served some sort of public purpose. I tend to lean towards the first option, as in many other houses with cultic centers such as D200, Garfinkel et al. believe that people lived in wings and spaces separate from the ritual space within the building. The only major exception to this is C2, which does not have a significantly large space or wing separated from where military personnel would have to walk to access the stable or watchtower, showing that a private living space would not be possible. C3 and C10, despite having each some rooms devoted to religious purposes, both have some rooms outside and clearly separated from these cultic spaces and so might have also acted as the living spaces for the religious figures that tended them. This is based merely on speculation on my part however and more information is required to understand if that is true. C1 and C4 do not seemingly have any obvious public service uses and each show a clear division into three wings each associated with a casemate reminiscent to the houses of Area B. The size of these spaces could indicate that their inhabitants were higher-status individuals than the commoner folk of Area B. It should be noted that with the exception of the possibly incompletely excavated C11, all buildings in Area C have at least one tabun,

contrary to the communal tabuns in Area B. This private control of an essential activity center demonstrates a level of economic independence which the peasantry does not have and is, I believe, another indicator of status within Khirbet Qeiyafa. Unlike Area B, there is no simple format for how a building in Areas C or D is constructed and I believe this is also indicative of the increased agency of the inhabitants and managers of these buildings as elites and notable individuals to influence the otherwise centrally planned construction process of the city.

It is important to consider when thinking about class's relation to structural layout that our interpretations are necessarily only influenced by the data that has been so far excavated and catalogued. My suggestions that the differences between Area B and Areas C and D are indicative of class differences relate to several details that seem to suggest a greater autonomy of physical and social resources in Areas C and D. The most defining of these differences is the greater size and variety of room placements in dwellings in Areas C and D, many of which have rooms and features devoted to institutional purposes, suggesting that the people living in the structures had some role in managing important social functions that affected the whole settlement and in some cases related directly to the administrative actions of the state. Another more humble object which displays the difference in control of resources is the tabun, which in Area B is an external item shared between dwellings while in Area C, every building (except the possibly incompletely excavated C11) has a tabun. These distinctions seem to represent a stark difference in social power. Within the context of the state, they likely represent the difference between those attached to some sort of important offices versus

those who simply performed work for others or their own small family units under the state.

Administration in Khirbet Qeiyafa would have managed from the central building in Area A, fitting the general pattern of a central building existing in an urban setting and overseeing it. Unfortunately, most of this building was demolished during construction on the spot during the Persian-Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. Despite being the largest building in the settlement, it is not itself much larger than the larger of the houses such as D200 and C10, with its one large remaining wall measuring some 30 meters in length. It is hard to know exactly how the local government of Khirbet Qeiyafa was composed, how it related to the local inhabitants, and how it related to the central government of the kingdom of Judah. Nevertheless we can make an educated guess that it is from this building that important decisions were made at this site concerning the layout and construction of buildings within the city. Israelite and Judean palace and administrative structures rarely have large spaces for the purpose of grain storage, instead allowing individual households to largely store their own resources (Holladay, 1995). There is however in Area F a large rectangular building, 11 by 15 meters in size, with two pillared halls. Much of the building was destroyed in later Persian-Hellenistic construction but Garfinkel et al., 2016 writes that similar structures are often used as storage sites, commercial sites, or stables, saying “Structures of this kind are indicative of a strong central authority that collects taxes and redistributes them to the rest of the population,” however “we were unable to retrieve a complete Iron Age assemblage that could indicate the exact function of the building.”

To sum up Khirbet Qeiyafa in relation to site layout, social structure, and statehood, the site's buildings are suggestive of central planning executed in construction over a very short period of time to create a city which kept a basic model for the building of structures such as the wall, gates, and low-status houses while also including in the plans several key essential structures such as those relating to religious and military purposes. Overall, Khirbet Qeiyafa generally fits within the pattern of standard Judean settlement layouts and so must be understood within the paradigm of the emergent Judean state within the Iron Age. However, the speed of its construction and brevity of its inhabitance suggest that unlike many of the population centers that it might compare to, it did not develop progressively over a long period of time but was rather created and declined at the specific strategic decisions of a centralized state which sought to control the vital trade and military route through the Elah Valley between Jerusalem and Gath. The population of this city consisted largely of a peasant base that lived in small houses while elite families, probably with heads appointed to specific city offices during the state organization that also laid out the plans for the buildings and institutions associated with these posts. Extended families of some prestige lived in larger houses of several connected living spaces connected with or close to the institutional buildings.

Chapter 3: Khirbet al-Ra'i

(Unless otherwise attributed, all data related to Khirbet al-Ra'i in this section comes from Garfinkel et al.'s "Khirbet al-Ra'i in the Judean Shephelah," 2019, although much of the interpretation is mine.)

Overhead of Khirbet al-Ra'i with excavation areas labeled from Garfinkel et al.'s "Khirbet al-Ra'i in the Judean Shephelah," 2019, p. 14.

Khirbet al-Ra'i, located on a hill in the Shephelah just some 25 kilometers southwest of Khirbet Qeiyafa, is a site of direct relation in time and political atmosphere to the latter. Both sites existed as important regional centers during Iron Age II though not as major political capitals, instead representing the major outposts of two states that would have competed in this region in the period. Khirbet al-Ra'i shows clear Philistine pottery presence in the Iron Age, identifying it most likely with the city-state of Gath, located within a day's walk from the site to its north. Unlike Khirbet Qeiyafa, however, Khirbet al-Ra'i predates the Iron Age II and originated as a Bronze Age

Canaanite settlement which appears to have been in the sphere of influence of Lachish. With the Late Bronze Age Collapse and the decline and destruction of many of the major Canaanite centers such as Lachish, the power dynamics shifted considerably and so did the culture of Khirbet al-Ra'i which contains a surplus of Philistine pottery after Iron Age I.

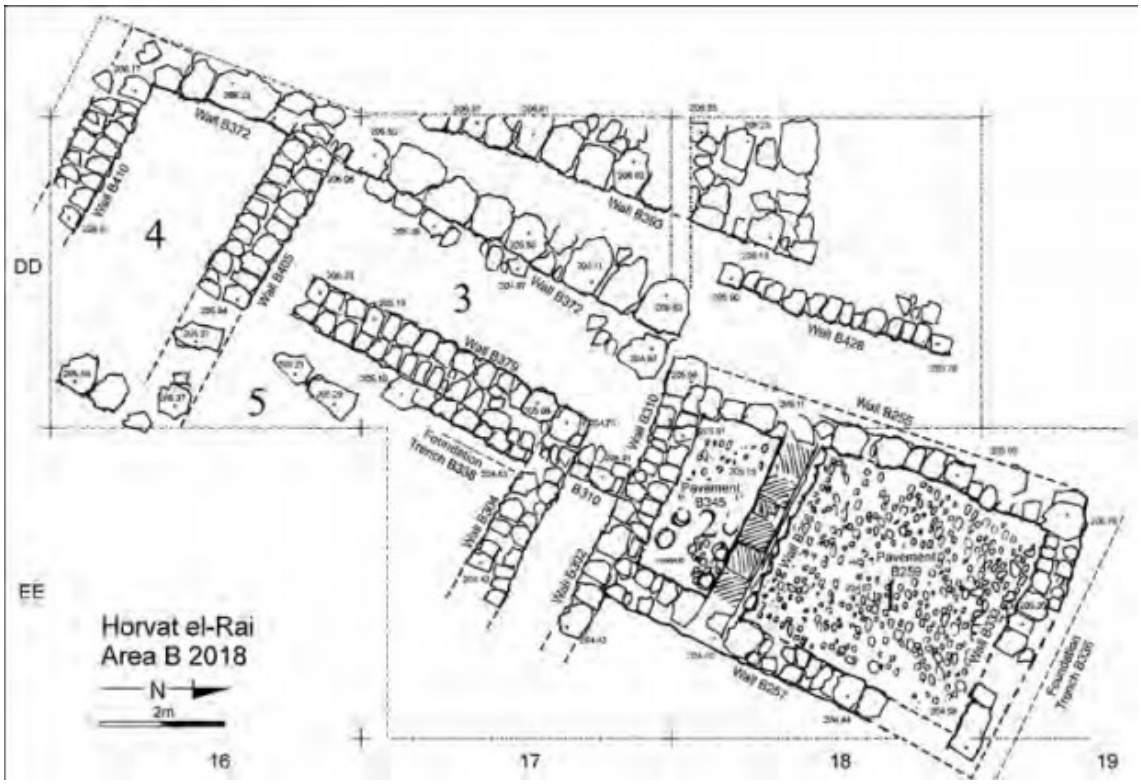
Five distinct areas have been chosen for excavation at Khirbet al-Ra'i. Area A is at the southern end of the site and includes a number of Iron Age buildings attached with one another. Area B is at the eastern edge of the settlement and contains a large number of clustered rooms from the Iron Age that appear to be from a very large building. The extremities of this building have not been fully excavated and it remains in many ways incompletely understood. Area C is in the north of the site and revealed little of note except some pottery material and was likely beyond the boundaries of the ancient settlement. Areas D1 and D2 are located high on the hill in the middle of the site. D2 is at the highest point while D1 is placed midway between Area A and Area D2. Area D1 contained remains of Iron Age walls and floors but the buildings themselves were badly damaged. In Area D2, at the acropolis of the site, a rich layering of two Iron Age structures and a Persian-Hellenistic site were found, the earlier Iron Age building being a very large multi-roomed building with pillared halls and what appear to have been a grain silo and a cultic space while the later Iron Age building being a massive structure of monumental stones over a meter long each with a columned hall where loom weights were found.

Excavations at Khirbet al-Ra'i are still ongoing and the full picture of the settlement is not as complete as at Khirbet Qeiyafa. A number of excavation areas have

revealed enough structures to at least have a basic model for interior spaces within the settlement. Overall, Garfinkel in "Khirbet al Ra'i Near Lachish" lists eleven historical periods that archaeological materials at Khirbet al-Ra'i can be identified to. The first two belong to the Middle and Late Bronze Age from which no structures have been identified but from which Canaanite pottery sherds are abundantly present, indicating some level of habitation and use of the area. Next is from early Iron Age I in the 12th century BC in which the earliest known existing structure was built at Area D2 at the "acropolis" of the site. Later Iron Age I in the 11th century BC is Philistine and the only layer which is represented in all five excavation areas, with structures found in Areas A, B, and D2. Iron Age IIA, dating to the early 10th century BC, represents a contemporary site with the city at Khirbet Qeiyafa described above and shows structures at sites A and B. Iron Age IIB and IIC represent the 8th and 7th centuries BC and while some habitation continues, there are no new known structures built at this time. In the Persian-Hellenistic period, a large stone structure was built in Area D2 at the top of the settlement's hill. The Roman-Byzantine and Islamic periods have some level of remains with no new structures until the Ottoman period when a terrace wall was built at Area A and a pottery pipe and large stone fences were built at Area C.

It should be noted briefly that as with Khirbet Qeiyafa, there is some debate about what the name of the site was in antiquity. There is no scholarly consensus as to the ancient name of Khirbet al-Ra'i. It is also worth noting that except for a few Philistine borrow words in the Bible and elsewhere, the Philistine language remains unknown. However, two biblical site names have been suggested for Khirbet al-Ra'i. Za'anan was one name considered, however a more extensive consideration has been

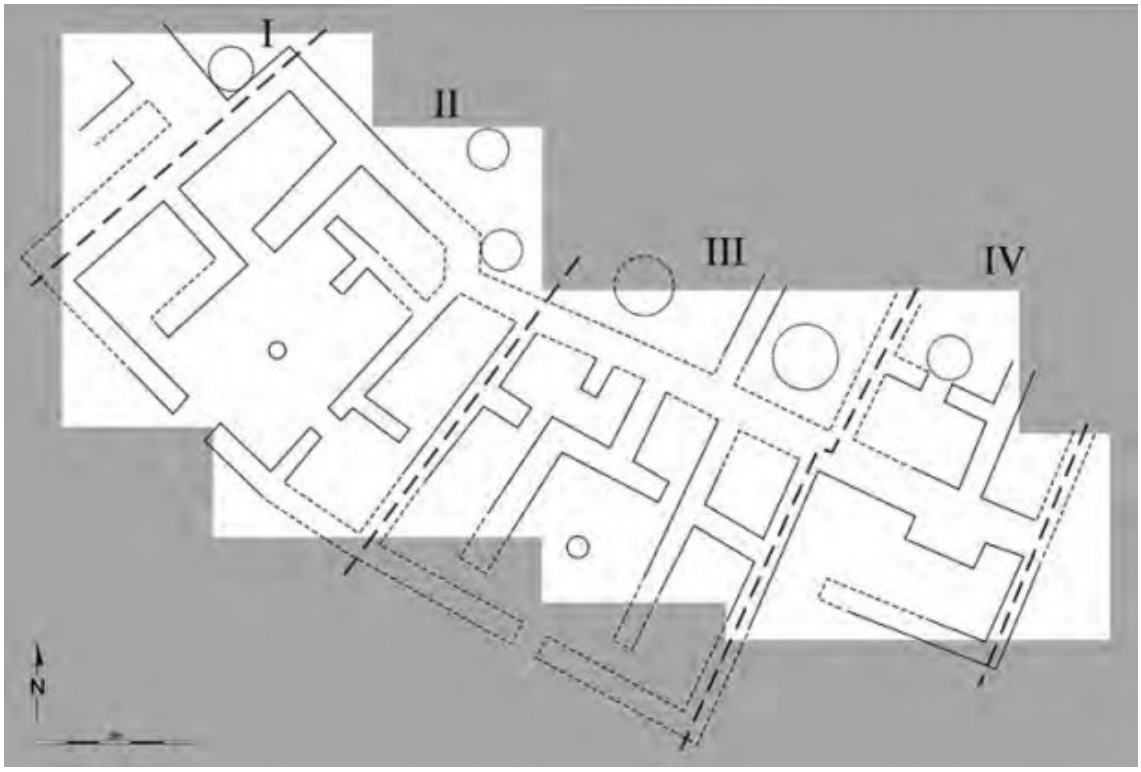
given to Ziklag, the name of a city that was given over to David to settle in by Achish of Gath when David was fleeing the forces of Saul according to 1 Samuel 27. The argument for Khirbet al-Ra'i being Ziklag relies on a number of factors including the site's place within the sphere of influence of Gath and the timing of the major habitation (Garfinkel, "Was Khirbet al-Ra'i Ancient Ziklag?"). This discussion colors much of the popular discourse regarding the site and is thus worth noting although a satisfactory answer is not necessary for the purposes of understanding Khirbet al-Ra'i's socio-spatial dynamics and political relations as established in the archaeological record.



Area B schematic from Garfinkel et al.'s "Khirbet al-Ra'i in the Judean Shephelah," 2019, p. 27.

Area B's Phase 9 dates to the 11th century BC and contains a part of a massive structure. It consists of two large walls damaged in places by later construction but

clearly having once been part of some monumental building. Smaller walls cut between these walls to create a number of rooms with various purposes and features including a silo, two tabuns, and a drain. The larger structure is not fully excavated and its nature is not fully understood. A Phase 8 complex dating to the Iron Age IIA is built directly above and incorporates parts of the lower structure into it. This complex includes what appear to be several tightly-packed houses (totaling five excavated rooms), one of them, composed of a thick stone wall encompassing the medium space Room 1 and the small space Room 2, showing a potential internal floorplan of a small building. The two rooms are separated only by a thin mud-brick wall. Both rooms were filled with broken ceramic vessels and in Room 2 these appear to have been full of seeds. I might suggest that it is possible that this small structure was some sort of storage space although Garfinkel's article "Khirbet al-Ra'i near Lachish" does not explicitly suggest that. Room 3 and the partially excavated Room 5 together make up another connected space, Room 3 having its own fair share of pottery and Room 5 having what appears to be two fallen standing stones. Room 4 sits on the other side of the far wall of Rooms 3 and 5 from Rooms 1 and 2. It also has many pottery vessels. The whole complex ended in a fire at some point and the development of a road over the site in the 1950s damaged a portion of it. Based on the manner of the collapse, Garfinkel suggests that at least some of the rooms supported second stories, which appears possible considering the thickness of the walls. The area sampled in excavation so far is not wide-ranging enough to see the general shape of the complex as a whole but Garfinkel suggests that it may have been a part of a larger ring of connected houses circling the settlement.



Schematic of Area A from Garfinkel et al.'s "Khirbet al-Ra'i in the Judean Shephelah," 2019.

The shape and nature of Iron Age I constructions located in Area A is much easier to recognize and comment on. Four distinct buildings can be identified, two (II and III) being relatively complete and exhibiting a basic pattern involving a large spacious entryway courtyard surrounded by a number of rooms separated by branching asymmetric walls, both totaling six rooms. To the north of the contiguous line of houses, all four have one or two associated storage pits. Perhaps the buildings each represent the living space of an extended family. Buildings II and III were full of small artifacts of varying types including numerous pieces of pottery and lamps as well as flint-knapping debris associated with the creation of sickle blades, and a bronze spearhead. Room 5 of Building II, accessible only by walking through Room 6 from

Room 1 and thus forming effectively the end of a small wing of the building, contains a hearth. Regarding Buildings I and IV, it is difficult to know how they relate to the patterns established in Buildings II and III due to their damaged state and partial excavations and therefore it is hard to get a sure view of the "average" house in this area. Taking into account that Building IV appears to have a different pattern with two large elongated rooms and a silo, I would suggest that it might have a different function as a place for stored goods and is not representative of the extended family home of Buildings II and III. Like in Area B, the Area A buildings were destroyed in fire and in neither case were buildings rebuilt on the site immediately afterward, likely signifying a major coordinated disaster affecting the whole settlement, such as a military action.

Comparing Areas A and B to try to understand the patterns and dynamics of society at Khirbet al-Ra'i is difficult because they lack obvious similarities in layout. Structurally, both contain thick walls made of piled stones and have floors of rammed earth or small pebbles but beyond basic construction materials, a central plan or format is hard to identify. The Area B rooms do not fit into the housing format of Area A seemingly due to the lack of centering the rooms have around any central space. My hypothesis is that unlike at Khirbet Qeiyafa, where certain state projects such as the wall provided the basic backbone and outline of all the major construction works, Khirbet al-Ra'i had considerably less local government directing construction and other such affairs and the site was not built to achieve a state purpose in the same way. While a more complete dataset may flesh this idea out more, varying building designs could represent individual family units making and executing construction decisions for their own purposes. As suggested by Garfinkel however, the idea that there was a ring of

houses surrounding the settlement makes sense with the spatial data, considering Areas A and B are at the edge of the hill and represent dense directly adjacent houses whereas Area D2 sits at the height of the hill at the center of the settlement, much as a palace or administrative structure does in many other Iron Age sites as we have seen, exhibiting monumental architecture. Unfortunately, while part of the original aim of this thesis project was to hypothesize class dynamics and how they related to site layouts in Khirbet al-Ra'i, after reading and deliberating over the data, I do not believe the relevant body of excavated data is large enough to make an educated hypothesis regarding this area.

While Khirbet al-Ra'i possibly lacks the site-wide architectural patterning that underpins a site such as Khirbet Qeiyafa, having more decentralized architectural styles that varied over the spatial areas of the settlement and over the several stages of its occupation, it certainly was not without some level of administration. As mentioned, the monumental structures in Area D2 from both the 11th and 12 centuries BC fit the location suggestive of an elevated and centrally-placed administrative or palace building in the pattern of other Iron Age settlements. The earlier structure contained a silo and a number of cultic instruments (Garfinkel, "Khirbet al-Ra'i in the Judean Shephelah", 2019), possibly suggesting that the central administration was involved in activities such as grain storage and religious practices, although we should be wary about jumping to conclusions that specifically religious institutions ran the settlement. However, perhaps the storage of farmed goods in a central structure is indicative of a system of taxation. The later structure in this area is also monumental in scale, constructed with massive stones. Neither a silo or cultic instruments were found

relative to this structure, however, its great scale and columned halls once again speak to the centrality of the structure within the settlement. Fundamentally, more research must be done at the site in order to better understand administration.

In conclusion regarding Khirbet al-Ra'i, more work needs to be done to fully fit into the framework of understanding we have for other sites, but it can be placed into a general paradigm of understanding. Khirbet al-Ra'i had some ancient Canaanite presence that gave way to Philistine rule in the Iron Age. It was likely in the sphere of influence of Gath and functioned as an outlying settlement of the Gathite state. It seemingly had a layout similar to the general plan of nearby contemporary sites such as Khirbet Qeiyafa in which houses and similar buildings ringed the settlement while a central administrative building sat in the middle at the highest point in the settlement to visually project power over the surrounding buildings. The differences between the sites in many regards are stark however. In the following chapter, I will highlight several of these differences, which when juxtaposed show the relationships each of these sites held with their Iron Age II states and demonstrate the varying ways these new states held power over frontier spaces.

Chapter 4: Relating Khirbet Qeiyafa with Khirbet al-Ra'i within the Iron Age

Everything so far in this paper has been either a summary of existing data or a simple statement of my hypotheses about what the data means on a larger scale. Whenever possible, I have tried to work within the framework of scholars' understanding of the period so as to use the experts' viewpoints to better illuminate the matter. I wanted to combine the recent research at Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i with the larger picture and understand them within that, while also looking at how they might update and add to the older work by researchers that I was reading alongside. I believe that the best way of doing this is through looking to make comparisons between sites both within and between settlements. In this section, I will juxtapose various dynamics of the two sites through the lens of both the theory developed by experts and the hypotheses I have come to while looking at the sites.

Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i, located in the Shephelah, both sat at what was a natural conflict zone between Judean and Gathite forces, if the biblical narrative of Philistine-Judean relations is to be believed and these two states were frequently at war (which may be overly simplistic as Holladay, 1995 reminds us that the early Judean kingdom seemingly had cooperation with at least one Philistine port city based on information from Tell Qasile). Khirbet Qeiyafa's fortifications and structures clearly show an invested interest in the ability to defend the settlement from possible attackers. The large walls are the most obvious measure in this regard and when combined with the fact that its placement on a high hill overlooking the Elah Valley gives it both a natural vantage point over a key pathway between Gath and Jerusalem and a defensible

position against enemy forces, made it a strategic fortified outpost from which to monitor and intercept any Philistine armies from Gath that might have tried to push closer to the Judean core. The presence of a watchtower and a stable both reinforce the idea that the settlement may have been in part a military basing point or at least a point from which danger could be spotted and riders could dispatch messages to facilitate a government response. It is worth considering that the small houses such as in Area B could have housed soldiers among their inhabitants. None of the currently excavated structures at Khirbet al-Ra'i are obviously defensive or military structures. A settlement wall has not been identified. The site is however not located on any logical route between Gath and Jerusalem and is considerably closer to the capital in Gath than any major Judean power center, so it is possible that the need for security was not felt the same way. It is also possible that defensive or military structures will be found there with more excavations. Whatever the case, the destruction of Khirbet al-Ra'i by fire as evidenced in Areas A and B sometime during or after Iron Age IIA may be symptomatic of military conflict having eventually come to Khirbet al-Ra'i. Since I believe that the evidence suggests that Khirbet Qeiyafa was established and planned out intentionally by the Judean state in Iron Age IIA based on the suddenness of its appearance, the intensity of the construction (which included cutting the hill down to bedrock across much of the fortified settlement), and its planned and organized nature, I see this military role for the city as a major initiative of the territorial state of Judah to control its borders, which is one way it differs from the more organically-developed Khirbet al-Ra'i.

In Garfinkel and Mendel-Geberovich's article "Hierarchy, Geography, and Epigraphy: Administration in the Kingdom of Judah," they discuss the spatial relationship Judean settlements have with each other in terms of central place theory. In short, that is the theory that there is a fundamental pattern explaining the size and location of human settlements in which regional centers in the form of large settlements are ultimately formed some distance from each other and smaller settlements are made between them, exchanging resources with them, but largely under the regional influence of these larger settlements, resulting in large states having a number of effective administrative centers projecting their power. They show Khirbet Qeiyafa as a regional center of influence over the area west of Jerusalem during the early part of the 10th century BC. As they show however, Khirbet Qeiyafa was ultimately a short-lived site and so that power center shifted to Beth Shemesh, where a new fortified city was built close to the same time as Khirbet Qeiyafa's abandonment. Comparing with the Philistines, political maps of the various Philistine sites which include the relations between sites and states are harder to formulate, although some research has been done (Garfinkel, 2007). The political dynamics of Philistine states' control of territory will likely continue to be a topic to be illuminated in future research.

Originally I considered roles and interactions in trade for the two settlements to be a major goal of this paper to look into, thinking it might relate to class dynamics within the site, and so I find it relevant to bring up what information I did find here. Khirbet Qeiyafa, for the same reason it sits at a strategic military point, sits at a strategic point for trade along the east-west road through the Elah Valley. It has been suggested that its two six-chambered gates cater to this by allowing for merchants to set up in the

chambers of the gate to facilitate trade with outsiders approaching the city. In *Debating Khirbet Qeiyafa*, Garfinkel et al., 2016 describe Ashdod ware (a form of Philistine pottery associated with the major port city-state of Ashdod) as appearing in Khirbet Qeiyafa. Also noted were jugs from Cyprus and scarabs and amulets from Egypt. Since Judah did not have a Mediterranean port in the early 10th century BC, this all suggests active trade through Philistia. Garfinkel suggests timber as a potential local good that could have been traded out. Khirbet al-Ra'i has very little information regarding trade but a nearby Canaanite city which flourished in the Late Bronze Age and which Khirbet al-Ra'i may have been aligned with, Lachish, apparently held active relations with the New Kingdom of Egypt and recently a scarab dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty was found there (Brandl et al., 2019). Perhaps ongoing excavation at Khirbet al-Ra'i will reveal more about its Bronze Age habitation and potential connections with the Egyptian-Canaanite trade and political networks. Regardless, the distance of trade relations in the Iron Age Levant are often underemphasized and the topic is worth revisiting.

Regarding living spaces in Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i, both sites seem to have several categories of housing. In Khirbet Qeiyafa, there is a clear distinction between the simple generally three-roomed housing built along the wall and in alignment with its casemates as exemplified in Area B versus the larger multi-roomed structures as seen in Area C and elsewhere. I believe there is an underlying class or status difference between the two basic varieties, although what the determining social category is is hard to determine. Institutional buildings such as the stable and the religious sites likely had some sort of designated overseer, possibly placed, assigned, or

at least approved by the Judean central government or its representatives within the central administration of Khirbet Qeiyafa. Figures with such institutional roles likely enjoyed some level of economic and social status within the settlement and may have inhabited the larger housing structures along with their extended families. The fact that the smaller dwellings have a more uniform layout whereas the larger ones are more varied in their exact layouts may suggest more agency in the inhabitants in creating an individual interior layout. If so, these individuals may have had some role to play in community leadership which would lead to their habitation of a larger space. Alternatively, being that it's hard to guess at the relative frequency of the two types of houses in the site due to the data set being only a small portion of what would have existed throughout the site, we could make a hypothesis related to Khirbet Qeiyafa's status as a military and trading center. Perhaps the difference between the two types of houses are representative of long versus short term occupation. If Khirbet Qeiyafa was constantly host to soldiers from across Judah and traders from the various lands that it interacted with, then it would have needed a place to host these people. Larger buildings with multiple spaces could have functioned like inns or barracks with multiple passersby using them as necessary. Obviously not all the larger housing would have been for this purpose, but the additional place of military garrisons and staying travelers is worth keeping in mind when discussing settlement housing, which must have accommodated them somehow. My cumulative hypothesis is that the small houses of Area B are representative of a basic model that is likely to appear again if more excavation is done around the interior of the walls of Khirbet Qeiyafa. The small set of rooms would have been enough to accommodate a small family, some basic

possessions, and perhaps some livestock animals while public spaces such as the tabuns in Area B may have facilitated certain other domestic functions such as cooking. Multi-roomed buildings as in Areas D and C and almost certainly elsewhere yet unexcavated were largely a mix of public institutional buildings, the extensive houses of elites, and the places in which traveling traders and soldiers would be lodged during their stays. Such sites often self-contained their own features such as tabuns and temple spaces to provide for the relevant activities of those who lived, stayed, or worked there.

Khirbet al-Ra'i remains a harder site to read involving housing, as the small sample size of living spaces as yet excavated does not reveal much information regarding general site patterns. Area A and Area B's placements around the edge of the hill suggest that houses possibly ringed the settlement. Area A has multi-roomed houses with associated storage pits (a common feature at Philistine sites) whereas Area B has several clustered-together rooms which appear to have had multiple stories previously. In both cases, multiple buildings are contiguous with one another. While I do not feel that a unifying explanation for how these types of buildings might relate, I do believe that if Area A is indicative of any general trend, then the Philistine inhabitants of Khirbet al-Ra'i may have largely stored resources as well as finished goods at home as suggested by the flint-knapping material of Building II and the large storage pits associated with each house. Area B's excavation coverage is hard to make full sense of. Rooms 1 and 2 seem to make a structure together, 3 and 5 make a second, and 4 is part of a third, but due to the shape of the excavation, it is difficult to lay these into a larger context. Due to the sheer amount of ceramics in all but Room 5, it might make sense to say that these spaces are not houses but some sort of storage

buildings but there is still little evidence to definitively know that. At this point, how housing dynamics relate to class or status at Khirbet al-Ra'i feels too uncertain to make a cumulative statement on.

On a final note, one feature which Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i both clearly show similarly to one another is the administrative center, located at the center and highest point of the settlement in Area A at Khirbet Qeiyafa and Area D2 at Khirbet al-Ra'i. These buildings with their great foundations and possibly multiple storeys would have presided over the settlement as such structures are known to have done in both Philistine and Judean settlements at other sites. While in both cases, later constructions damaged these central structures, we can imagine them as the central bureaucratic center of elites who directed official activities and acted as intermediaries between the local people and the Judean and Gathite central governments. The most significant difference in the two was one of settlement origin: Khirbet Qeiyafa was an intentionally-constructed city directed by the Judean government. Khirbet al-Ra'i does not seem to have been similar in that regard. Due to the relative brevity of Khirbet Qeiyafa's habitation, it is likely that the Iron Age structures that can be seen there were mostly part of one large construction process and that the elites who oversaw it had close relations with the Judean royal government whereas Khirbet al-Ra'i, where there were several layers of Iron Age construction as shown especially in Area D2, probably involved a more progressive development and may have had its own more local elites subservient to, but not necessarily coming from, Gath.

Conclusion

Khirbet Qeiyafa and Khirbet al-Ra'i both represent provincial sites, regional centers which were not political capitals but which occupied locations in the Judean Shephelah key to the interactions between the Judean and Philistine worlds. They add to our understanding of the social and political dynamics of Iron Age Philistia and Judah in a variety of ways. The early Iron Age and the emergence of the Philistine, Judean, and Israelite states have had a number of quickly changing paradigms for research in recent years which have often focused on migrations, religious transitions, and the existence of biblical concepts such as the United Monarchy. However, going forward in study, researchers will find themselves taking interest in how these early Iron Age kingdoms ultimately projected power over space and provincial settlements are the key to understanding that dynamic. The kingdom of Judah and large Philistine states like Gath actively looked to stretch their domains through the annexation or construction of centers from which to project. This can be especially seen at Khirbet Qeiyafa, where purposeful military and commercial power projection seems to have been a key part of planning and administration of the city. Khirbet al-Ra'i remains harder to read in this regard but certainly will come to speak to Philistine activities in the key border region of the Shephelah where the coastal country of Philistia and the hill country of Judah converged.

Class is an issue that I have found to be underrepresented in discussion in the literature in this period. While the conclusions regarding class and social roles related to housing in this paper are merely hypotheses that will require more information to better test, my intention is to raise questions and avenues of thought that may lead to

new areas of interest for the better understanding of the period. Judean and Philistine societies both clearly had some level of class stratification but a better understanding of components such as the function of local nobility and the organization of labor remain very open to debate and further investigation.

As a final remark, juxtaposing an understanding of the Philistine and Judean cultures with one another fundamentally emphasizes the fact that all of the Levant was involved in complex interlocal and international relations. Consequently, understanding the political nature such settlements had to their states is deeply intertwined with the question as to how regional administration within Iron Age states ultimately related to other states such that they traded with one another, acted militarily against one another, often cooperated, and drew from the influences which the others imparted on them in this swift period of cultural change.

Bibliography

Biran, Avraham and Joseph Naveh, 1993. "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan." *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. 43, No. 2 / 3, pp. 81-98. Israel Exploration Society.

Brandl, Baruch, et al., 2019. "A Diorite New Kingdom Scarab from Tel Lachish." *Egypt and the Levant: International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines*. Edited by Manfred Bietak et al.

Broshi, Magen and Israel Finkelstein, 1992. "The Population of Palestine in Iron Age II." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 287, pp. 47-60. The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The American Schools of Oriental Research.

Feldman, Michal et al., 2019. "Ancient DNA sheds light on the genetic origins of early Iron Age Philistines." *Science Advances*, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington DC, 5 (7), eaax0061.

Finkelstein, Israel, 1995. "The Great Transformation: the 'Conquest' of the Highlands Frontiers and the Rise of the Territorial States." In Levy, Thomas E., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (pp. 349-365). Leicester University Press.

Finkelstein, Israel and Alexander Fantalkin, 2012. "Khirbet Qeiyafa: An Unsensational Archaeological and Historical Interpretation." *Tel Aviv*, vol. 39, pp. 38-63. Friends of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University.

Finkelstein, Israel and Nadav Na'aman, 1994. *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*. Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem.

Garfinkel, Yosef, 2019. "Çatalhöyük and Sha'ar Hagolan: A Tale of Two Cities." In A. Marciniak (ed.) *Social and Economic Changes in the Second Half of the 7th Millennium in the Near East. A conference held at Çatalhöyük in August 2014*, pp. 77–100. Atlanta: Lockwood Press.

Garfinkel, Yosef, 2007. "The dynamic settlement history of Philistine Ekron: a case study of Central Place Theory." *Up to the Gates of Ekron. Essays on the Archaeology and History of the Eastern Mediterranean in Honor of Seymour Gitin*, pp. 17-24.

Garfinkel, Yosef and Anat Mendel-Geberovich, 2020. "Hierarchy, Geography and Epigraphy: Administration in the Kingdom of Judah." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 39(2) 159-176.

Garfinkel, Yosef and Saar Ganor, 2018. "Khirbet al-Ra'i near Lachish." *Tell it in Gath: Studies in the History and Archaeology of Israel*, special issue of *Ägypten und Altes Testament*, Zaphon, volume 90, pp. 943-955.

Garfinkel, Yosef and Saar Ganor, 2019. "Was Khirbet al-Ra'i Ancient Ziklag?" *Strata: Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, volume 37.

Garfinkel, Yosef and Saar Ganor, 2017. "חורבת אל ראעי—אחר מתקופת הברזל בשפלת יהודה." Published in *חידושים בחקר ישראלים*, Bar-Ilan University, volume 26, pp. 53-67.

Garfinkel, Yosef, et al., 2016. *Debating Khirbet Qeiyafa: A Fortified City in Judah from the Time of King David*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society.

Garfinkel, Yosef et al., 2019. "Khirbet al-Ra'i in the Judean Shephelah: The 2015-2019 Excavation Seasons." *Strata: Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, volume 37.

Garfinkel, Yosef et al., 2019. "חידושים בביצורי לכיש הכנענית והיהודאית." Published in *חידושים בארכיאולוגיה של ירושלים וסביבותיה*, Jerusalem.

Grabbe, Lester L., 2008. *Israel in Transition: From Late Bronze II to Iron IIa (c. 1250-850 B.C.E.) Volume 1. The Archaeology*. T & T Clark International, New York.

Grabbe, Lester L., 2008. *Israel in Transition 2: From Late Bronze II to Iron IIa (c. 1250-850 B.C.E.): The Texts*. T & T Clark International, New York.

Hendel, Ronald S., 1996. "The Date of the Siloam Inscription: A Rejoinder to Rogerson and Davies." *The Biblical Archaeologist*, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 233-237. The American Schools of Oriental Research.

Holladay, John S., 1995. "The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA-B (ca. 1000-750 BCE)." In Levy, Thomas E., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (pp. 368-398). Leicester University Press.

Holladay, John S., 1990. "Red Slip, Burnish, and the Solomonic Gateway at Gezer." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 277-278, pp. 23-70.

Levy, Thomas E., 1995. *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. London, Leicester University Press.

Mumcuoglu, Madeleine and Yosef Garfinkel, 2020. "Gate, Piazza, and Cult at Iron Age IIA Tell El-Far'ah North." *Revue Biblique* 127, no. 1, pp. 105-129.

Na'aman, Nadav, 2008. "In Search of the Ancient Name of Khirbet Qeiyafa." *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*, volume 8, article 21.

The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha. Editor, Michael D. Coogan, Fully Revised Fourth Edition, Oxford University Press, 2010.

Stager, Lawrence E., 1995. "The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185-1050 BCE)." In Levy, Thomas E., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (pp.332-348). Leicester University Press.

Weissbein, Itamar et al., 2020. "The Level VI North-East Temple at Tel Lachish." *Levant*, The Council for British Research in the Levant.