

The Moody Atlas of the Bible

Barry J. Beitzel



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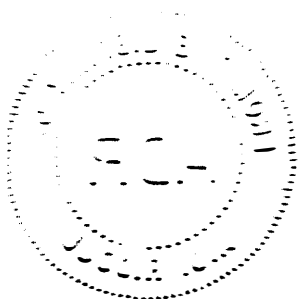
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SOLOMON'S INTERNATIONAL TRADING NETWORKS

Solomon inherited a kingdom that was secure and extensive. His accession to the throne was not seriously challenged by others, but he nevertheless moved quickly and decisively against Adonijah, Abiathar, Joab, and Shimei (1 Kings 2:13–46). In an effort to guarantee external security, Solomon married wives from many nations around Israel (1 Kings 11:1–8), including the daughter of an Egyptian pharaoh (1 Kings 3:1; 9:16). This marriage undoubtedly paved the way for chariots to be imported from Egypt (1 Kings 10:29; 2 Chron. 1:17; 9:28),²²⁶ just as his renewed control of Hamath (2 Chron. 8:3–4) made it possible to import horses from Kue/Cilicia (1 Kings 10:28; 2 Chron. 1:16).

Solomon also led Israel into a brief period of vast commercial expansion. The location, extent, and consolidation of his domain [map 62] meant that he was in control of the main trading arteries connecting Egypt, Asia, Arabia, and the Mediterranean [map 64], which brought lucrative benefits to his court (1 Kings 10:14–15; 2 Chron. 9:13–14). It is conceivable that Solomon's domination of those routes occasioned the visit from the queen of Sheba, who wished to gain trade access for her Arabian commodities into the Mediterranean world and beyond (1 Kings 10:1; 2 Chron. 9:1). At the same time, he revived the alliance with Hiram of Tyre, providing for large quantities of cedar and cypress trees to be imported into Israel in exchange for certain staple commodities not found in abundance in Phoenicia (1 Kings 5:10–11; 2 Chron. 2:15–16).

Solomon's league with Hiram came at the dawn of Phoenician commercial and maritime expansionism into the Mediterranean world. Historical notices in the Bible seem to speak of two nautical partnerships between Hiram and Solomon: one joint merchant fleet on the Red Sea that sailed to the destination port of Ophir (1 Kings 9:26–28; 2 Chron. 8:17–18; 9:10–11), and another one on the Mediterranean that sailed as far as Tarshish (1 Kings 10:22; 2 Chron. 9:21). The text indicates that the Red Sea operation, whatever its nature, focused almost exclusively on exploiting the gold resources of Ophir (located either in East Africa or on the Arabian peninsula), while the royal fleet on the Mediterranean would return from Tarshish with more varied cargoes. The biblical chroniclers indicate that voyages to Tarshish would return every three years (1 Kings 10:22b; 2 Chron. 9:21b); we are not told with what frequency the vessels sailed the Red Sea.

A number of influential historians today regard Hiram's partnership with Solomon on the Red Sea as a reliable tradition,²²⁷ yet many of the same authorities view any such nautical enterprise on the Mediterranean with skepticism,

perceiving that the biblical historians were engaging in hyperbole, describing in imaginative and exaggerated style a “golden age” of Solomon. A great many scholars conflate all these biblical texts into a single maritime activity and locate that activity on the Red Sea, based on literary-critical grounds and/or the strength of one synoptic text describing the failed nautical venture of Jehoshaphat. (See below.) As a consequence, a very broad spectrum of contemporary scholarship embraces the notion that the biblical expression “the ships of Tarshish” represents either a general poetic designation of the Sea or a certain type of nautical vessel of oceangoing quality.

TARSHISH: A REAL LOCATION

Yet there is evidence to justify an alternative viewpoint: (1) that there existed on the Mediterranean Sea an Iron Age site or sites, known by the Phoenicians, Assyrians, and Israelites as “Tarshish”; and (2) that early Phoenicians were navigating a wide sweep of the Mediterranean by the 10th century B.C. and occupied on at least one occasion a site known as “Tarshish.” This evidence is sufficient to challenge the generally accepted understanding of Tarshish described previously, and may even be sufficient on its own to accord these narratives a *prima facie* case of historical plausibility.

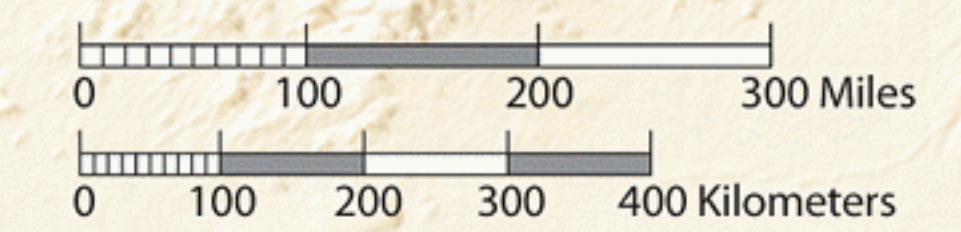
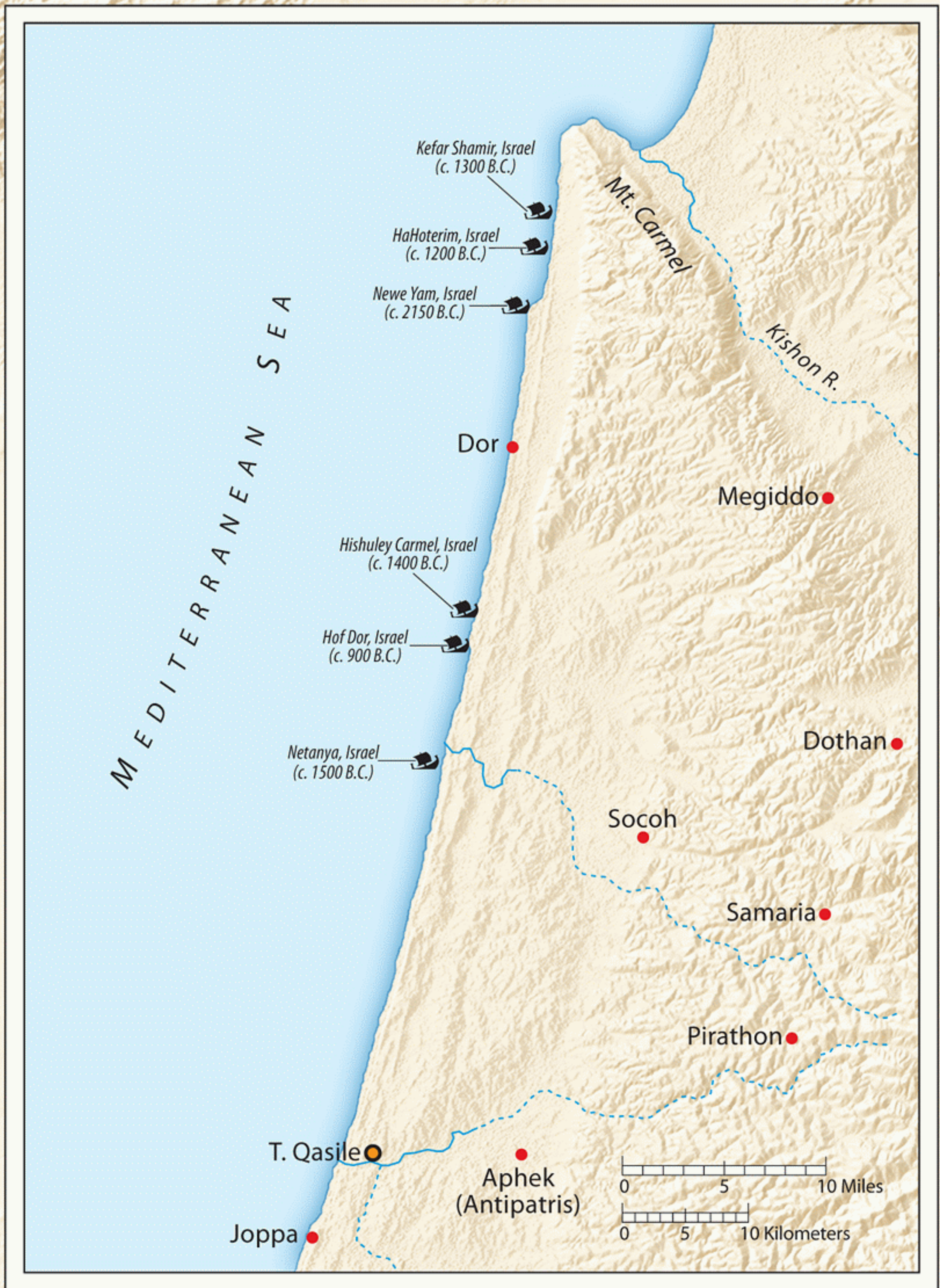
An examination of the numerous biblical citations of the word “Tarshish” reveals four semantic fields:

- Four times as a personal name (e.g., Gen. 10:4; 1 Chron. 7:10);
- Seven times as a jewel or precious stone (e.g., Ex. 28:20; Ezek. 1:16);
- Ten times as an element in the expression “the ship(s) of Tarshish” (e.g., Isa. 2:16; Ezek. 27:25); and
- Fourteen times as a place name (e.g., 2 Chron. 20:36; Isa. 66:19; Jon. 4:2).

As a place name in the Bible, Tarshish is often associated with the city of Tyre (Isa. 23:1, 10–15), the port of Joppa (Jon. 1:3), the island of Cyprus or other islands/coastlands (Ezek. 27:7; Isa. 23:6; Ps. 72:10),²²⁸ the region of Ionia (Isa. 66:19; Ezek. 27:12), or other places unequivocally located in the Mediterranean world (Isa. 23:10; Ezek. 27:12–13). Biblical citations of Tarshish are sometimes governed by verbs like “going to” (2 Chron. 9:21; 20:36–37), “fleeing to” (Jon 1:3; 4:2), or “crossing over to” (Isa. 23:6). The word sometimes contains a feature of the Hebrew language often associated with proper names (and especially with place names) designed to indicate motion or show direction.²²⁹



- City
- City (uncertain location)
- City (modern name)
- Possible alternative location of Tarshish
- ⚓ Mediterranean shipwreck findspots in high antiquity
- Approximate area at sea from which land is not visible



A similar conclusion must be drawn in regard to the three extra-biblical references to “Tarshish.” An eight-line Phoenician dedicatory inscription exhumed from the archaeological site of Nora on the south coast of the island of Sardinia is dated paleographically to the ninth century B.C.²³⁰ The text of the 40-inch limestone stela refers to a military force under the direction of a Phoenician named Milkûtôn that had arrived safely in Sardinia from Tarshish and was looking forward to living there in peace.²³¹ This unambiguous reference to a place name known by the Phoenicians as “Tarshish” requires its placement somewhere in or immediately adjacent to the western Mediterranean Sea.²³² It is equally clear from the stela that this Tarshish was occupied by a Phoenician military force, lending strong support to the supposition that Phoenicians were involved in the western Mediterranean in systematic activities by the ninth century B.C.

A second attestation of the name occurs in a seventh-century B.C. Akkadian inscription of king Esarhaddon discovered in Assur.²³³ This alabaster slab was apparently designed to extol some of Esarhaddon’s greatest architectural and political accomplishments. It declares that the Assyrian king, having vanquished Tyre, an “island in the middle of the sea” (cf. Ezek. 27:32), proceeded to conquer Egypt, Pathros, and Nubia. Later in the text, Esarhaddon’s scribe concludes:

“All of the kings in the middle of the sea—from Yadanana [Cyprus] and Yaman [Ionia, the area of later Greek settlement in and around the Aegean Sea] as far as Tarshish—fell at my feet and presented me with heavy tribute.”²³⁴

Here again, this inscription makes plain that Assyrians knew of a geographical place called “Tarshish” that was situated indisputably somewhere in the Mediterranean. And if one assumes a logical westward progression in Esarhaddon’s pronouncement (from Cyprus, to Ionia, to Tarshish), a location for Tarshish somewhere west of the Aegean Sea would be required. Isaiah’s writing (66:19) also juxtaposes Tarshish and Ionia, and Ezekiel’s lamentation over Tyre (Ezek. 27) makes adjoining mention of Cyprus (27:6), Ionia (27:13), and Tarshish (27:12).

A third extra-biblical text mentioning Tarshish, an Old Hebrew ostrakon, was recently published from a private collection.²³⁵ A late seventh-century B.C. document based on paleographic analysis, this five-line pottery fragment is of unknown provenance and uncertain authenticity. The document speaks of an individual who commands that “three shekels of silver from Tarshish” be donated to the house of Yahweh. In addition to the authenticity question, this text is also the least helpful in our locational quest, though it does clearly mark Tarshish as a geographical name and a place that apparently was a source of silver. Accordingly, a cogent

argument can be advanced from both biblical and Near Eastern literatures that “Tarshish” consistently denoted the name of an ancient site or sites that must have been situated somewhere in the Mediterranean world.

THE SHIPS OF TARSHISH

How is one to understand the biblical expression “the ship(s) of Tarshish”? May it be construed generically to denote a certain type or quality of seaworthy vessel, without regard to any possible geographical designation? The ancient world was certainly familiar with nautical expressions of a generic type, such as “ships of the sea,” “ships of trade,” “deep-going ships,” “planked ships,” “ships of reeds,” “ships with battering rams,” “ships with sails,” “ships of [a particular deity],” “ships of [a particular king],” “ships of [a particular people],” and others.

But in vivid contradistinction to all of these is the expression “the ship(s) of X,” where X is otherwise known to have been a *geographical* entity. Early Akkadian literature describing the seafaring merchants of Ur and Eridu is replete with references to “the ship(s) of Magan,” “the ship(s) of Meluhha,” or “the ship(s) of Dilmun.” While the exact location of some of these places may remain in doubt, the “X” element refers indisputably and without exception to a specific geographic locale. At the same time, Mesopotamian literature occasionally refers to “the ship(s) of Akkad,” “the ship(s) of Assur,” “the ship(s) of Mari,” or “the ship(s) of Ur.” Similarly, Egyptian texts make mention of “the ship(s) of Punt,” “the ship(s) of Byblos,” “the ship(s) of Kittim/Cyprus,” or “the ship(s) of Keftiu/Crete.” In all these instances the “X” element represents a known geographical entity whether the expression originally designated the destination point or the provenience of the respective vessels.²³⁶

Of course, an original geographical designation may occasionally shift, but it does so over time. Two examples: Dilmun was apparently originally situated in what is today eastern Saudi Arabia,²³⁷ but was shifted geographically in the Ur III period to the island of Bahrain; and Meluhha, though originally situated somewhere near the Indus Valley, was shifted to Nubia by the advent of the neo-Assyrian period.²³⁸ “The ship(s) of Meluhha” in literature came to designate a completely different geographical arena. Likewise, an original designation may evolve in its meaning and even become obscured, as when a “ship of Meluhha” or a “ship of Dilmun” was later called a *magillu*-ship (a kind of boat) or a *mabba*-ship (a seagoing vessel). “Ship of Byblos” eventually became a generic expression for any seagoing vessel, and “ship of Keftiu/Crete” came to denote Mediterranean travel to many different destinations.²³⁹ However, in *all* these situations there appears to have been a historical antecedent that originally related to the location of a given ship’s destination or provenience. In other words, whenever the expression “the ship(s) of [a place name]” is applied to a different geographical arena or applied

generally, it appears without exception to be only a *derivative* application, not a *native* application.

It is improper to argue, then, that “the ship(s) of Tarshish” *originally* designated some kind of generic oceangoing vessel or that the phrase must be interpreted as such even in its earliest usages in the Bible. That perspective flies in the face of documentation and appears to represent an assertion that must stand without the benefit of evidentiary support from antiquity.

This basic understanding is necessary to properly understand 2 Chronicles 20:36–37 (cf. 1 Kings 22:48), a passage that unmistakably places “the ship(s) of Tarshish” on the Red Sea and is the lynchpin text for a “generic” interpretation of Tarshish in the Bible. However, the statement is contained entirely within the summary conclusion of Jehoshaphat’s reign, which must not be underestimated or too easily dismissed.

The reigns of Israelite and Judahite kings are summarized in the biblical text with an astonishing degree of uniformity. Each summarizing formula begins with a standard introduction and a reference to an annalistic written account, followed in sequence by: (1) a statement about sleeping with one’s ancestors; (2) an identification of one’s burial site; and (3) a declaration of legitimate succession. With arresting consistency, this pattern appears in the case of 18 of the 19 kings of Israel and 15 of the 19 kings of Judah. (The exceptions generally come toward the end of the series when the

kingdoms are in turmoil due to assault from without.) This pattern is the same whether the king was from the north or the south, whether recorded in Kings or Chronicles, whether citing a standard secondary source or an unusual source, whether the reign was short or covered decades, whether the king was militarily strong or weak, and whether the king was assessed by the biblical historians in positive or negative terms.

Admittedly, there are instances when not all elements of this pattern are present, as when a reference is omitted to sleeping with one’s ancestors (e.g., Amon), naming one’s burial place (e.g., Jehoash), or identifying one’s successor (e.g., Ahab). In just a few cases more than one element may be missing. However, almost without exception this standard formula is not interrupted by the *insinuation of additional material*. And even in those few instances where an additional element may appear, it represents either a general summary of a given king’s life of warfare (“there was continual war all his days”) or a description of unusual circumstances relating to a given king’s death (mention of a foot disease that killed Asa, a conspiracy that killed Joash or Amaziah, or a brief explanation of Josiah’s or Shallum’s untimely demise).

In contrast to this consistent pattern stands the unique summary record of Jehoshaphat. It is precisely into the *middle* of the Jehoshaphat formula—immediately after reference to a

Relief of a Phoenician vessel.



secondary source (2 Chron. 20:34b) and immediately before reference to his sleeping with his ancestors, being buried in Jerusalem, and being succeeded by Jehoram (2 Chron. 21:1)—that one finds statements having to do with his building a fleet of ships of Tarshish to go to Tarshish, including Ahaziah's possible partnership with him in the effort and the wrecking of his fleet at Ezion-geber.

One must be wary about foundationally anchoring an assertion of a single nautical enterprise on a text that, in point of fact, may be an exegetical outlier.²⁴⁰ Given the four generations between Solomon and Jehoshaphat and the estimated interval of some 90 years between their alleged nautical ventures, it is possible that the Jehoshaphat text may represent an evolutionary attestation of the expression “ships of Tarshish” rather than reflecting its native original geographical designation. Whatever the case, caution is advised against allowing this one text to dictate and categorically redefine the meaning of the expression “the ship(s) of Tarshish.” It is the only known text in antiquity, biblical or otherwise, explicitly to locate the *site* of Tarshish, not just the ships of Tarshish, some place other than on the Mediterranean Sea.

EVIDENCE FOR 10TH-CENTURY B.C. PHOENICIAN TRADE ON THE MEDITERRANEAN

A case is sometimes made that the upheaval associated with the end of the Late Bronze Age was actually fortuitous for Phoenicia's trade and politics. The destruction of the Hittites and the neutralization of significant city-states across North Syria and the Syrian coast ended any further serious threat from the north, and the death of Ramses III appears to have led to an eclipse of Egypt's nautical endeavors in the south. Meanwhile, Mycenaean trading networks into the Levant and their maritime stranglehold on the mid-Mediterranean came to an end around 1200 B.C., and Assyria was unable to sustain its expansionism as far west as the Mediterranean until

the ninth century B.C. [See map 75.] As a result, Phoenician coastal cities were momentarily no longer at the mercy of passing imperial armies or competitive naval interests. Phoenicians began to sail farther west rather freely.²⁴¹

The map shows the extent of land visibility from Tyre and the Phoenician coastland across the entire span of the Mediterranean, although the Phoenicians are credited with navigating the open seas at night.²⁴² No fewer than 19 ancient shipwrecks in the greater Mediterranean world can be dated to the approximate time of Hiram and Solomon or earlier. [See map for locations and dates.] A few include Phoenician materials and all are found in waters where land is visible.²⁴³ Discussions addressing the date of Phoenician westward expansion often include elements that may lack sufficient modal clarity or precision of dating,²⁴⁴ so the story is most likely greater than told here, but it cannot be less.

Phoenicians were undoubtedly present at several places across Cyprus by the 11th century B.C., as amply demonstrated by inscriptional, stratified pottery, and perhaps even architectural evidence.²⁴⁵ They may even have colonized the island by the end of the 10th century B.C.²⁴⁶ Phoenician evidence across Crete dates perhaps as early as the late 11th century B.C. and, in any event, not later than the 10th century B.C.²⁴⁷ Sardinia has produced three early Phoenician texts that range in dates from the 11th to the ninth century B.C.²⁴⁸ All are monumental in nature and strongly suggestive of a Phoenician *presence* there rather than merely an article of trade or something with an heirloom quality.

Evidence for a Phoenician presence in coastal Spain dates to the end of the 10th century B.C. or the beginning of the ninth century B.C. In 1998 at the modern city of

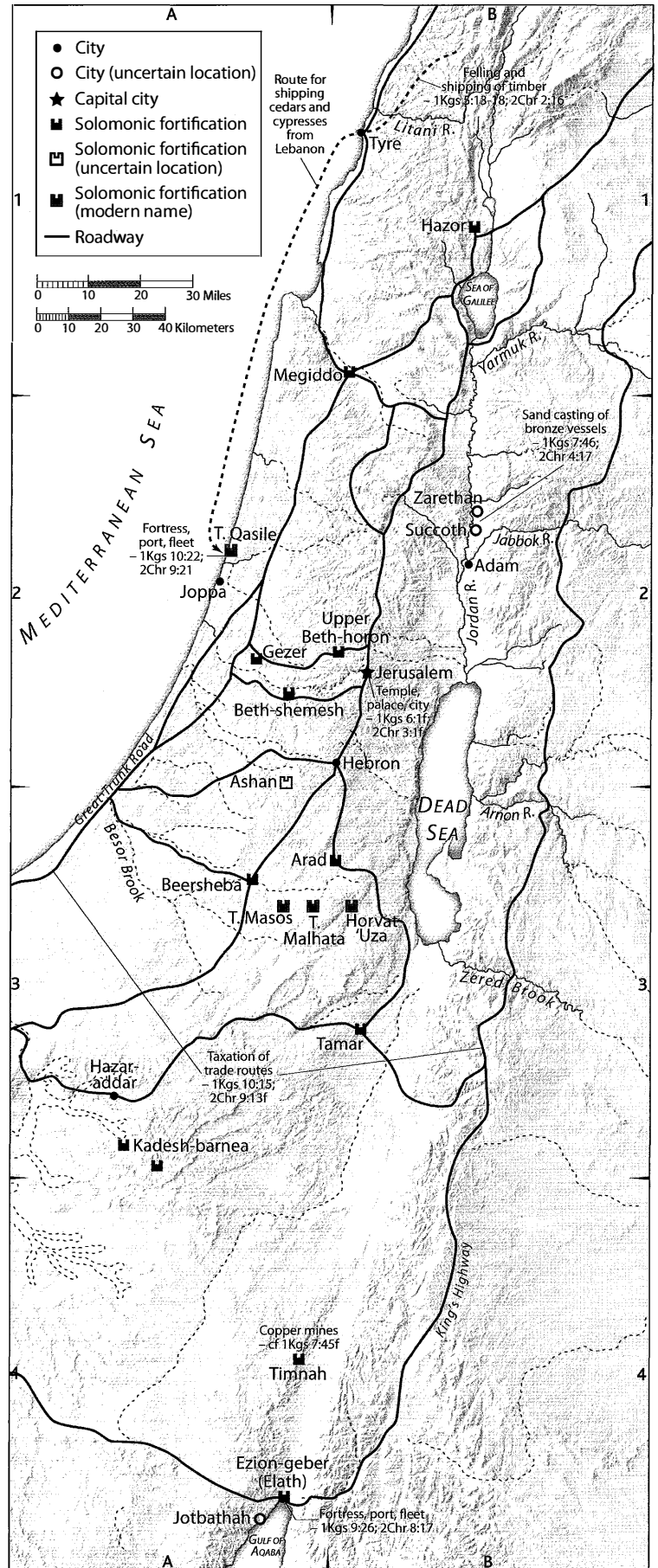


The dreary terrain of Timnah, site of Solomon's copper mines.

Huelva, on the Atlantic coast of Spain north of the mouth of the Guadalquivir River, a huge site now thought to have been an ancient Phoenician emporium was accidentally uncovered.²⁴⁹ To date, more than 3,000 pieces of distinctly Phoenician pottery of various types have been discovered *in situ* (undisturbed), together with vestiges of goods from all over the Mediterranean, including Italy, Sardinia, Greece, and Cyprus.²⁵⁰ The Phoenician materials are largely of a domestic nature, rather than luxury or prestige articles, which may be taken to suggest the presence of a full-fledged settlement and not merely of a transit station for trade. Reliable radiocarbon tests conducted on several bone samples yielded a mean calibrated age of 930–830 B.C.²⁵¹ These Phoenician finds, the oldest of their kind in the western Mediterranean, are strongly suggestive of an *ongoing* Phoenician presence in Spain. In the words of the Spanish excavators, they are “remarkably close in date to Hiram and Solomon . . . only a difference of a few decades, if any.”²⁵²

This kind of evidence may reveal when Phoenicians first engaged in systematic settlement in Spain, but it begs the question: When did Phoenicians first arrive there? Is it more logical to assume that the earliest Phoenician settlements in coastal Iberia were founded on impulse by seamen passing that way for the first time around 930–900 B.C., or by traders/merchants who after perhaps as many as two to three generations had developed the need for more permanent stations and not just offshore moorings? Scholars are in agreement that the earliest Phoenician pre-colonial contacts in the west would have left little or no recognizable material traces.²⁵³ Students of Mycenaean or Greek colonization in the Mediterranean describe what they call a “phased development” that lasted a few generations.²⁵⁴ It seems altogether reasonable to make the same sort of claim for the process of Phoenician colonization.

The existence of Phoenicians in the middle and western Mediterranean by the 10th century B.C. is supported by writing and both nautical and terrestrial archaeological discovery. While the evidence points overwhelmingly to a motivation of mercantilism, which would be consistent with the biblical verdict, the dynamics and modalities of their activities are not well known. Moreover, direct proof of any Judahite participation in Mediterranean Sea trade is still lacking.²⁵⁵ Yet while many internal complexities still require elucidation, given the unambiguous presence of Phoenicians across the Mediterranean by the 10th century B.C., it seems reasonable to accord a level of plausibility to the Tarshish narratives in this regard.



- is qualified by a semantic indicator for an ethnic group, which is probably significant both in context and at that point in Israel's pre-monarchic history. This same engagement into Canaan is arguably described and depicted on Meneptah's battle relief at Karnak, located on the west exterior wall of the so-called "Cour de la Cachette" (W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr., eds., *The Context of Scripture*, [Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002], 2:40–41; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975–1980], 2:77–78; M. G. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300–1185 a.c.*, [Leiden: Brill, 1998], 178–181, 194–205; so F. J. Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23, [1986], 190–215; F. J. Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign and Israel's Origins," in E. S. Frerichs and L. H. Lesko, eds., *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*, [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997], 27–55).
- 190 E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993), 2:504; S. Gitin, "Excavating Ekron: Major Philistine City Survived by Absorbing Other Cultures," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 31/6, (2005), 50–52; so J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 258b.
- 191 Here is an instance where the Egyptian Negeb and the modern Negeb are basically coextensive, in contrast to the biblical Negeb.
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- 193 so R. Cohen, "Iron Age Fortresses in the Central Negev," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 236, (1980), 77–78; M. Haiman, "The 10th century B.C. Settlements of the Negev Highlands and Iron Age Rural Palestine," in A. M. Maeir, S. Dar, and Z. Safrai, eds., *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel*, BAR International Series 1121, (Oxford: Basingstoke Press, 2003), 76–77.
- 194 so A. Mazar, "Remarks on Biblical Traditions and Archaeological Evidence Concerning Early Israel," in W. Dever and S. Gitin, eds., *Symbiosis, Symbolism and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palestine*, (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 93; L. E. Stager, "The Patrimonial Kingdom of Solomon," in W. G. Dever and S. Gitin, eds., *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palestine*, (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 63–74; A. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979), 323–330.
- 195 cf. M. A. Sweeney, "Davidic polemics in the Book of Judges," *Vetus Testamentum* 47/4, (1997), 517–526 and literature cited there.
- 196 The identity of Caleb's antagonist cannot be known. Personal names containing the element *-baal* are rare in the Old Testament, although *-baal* tends to be a more common component of place names. This feature is not encountered elsewhere in the book of Judges, but the phenomenon does occur later with the names of some of King Saul's progeny. Saul's youngest son and temporary successor is consistently identified as Eshbaal ("man of Baal") in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chron. 8:33; 9:39) but as Ish-bosheth ("man of shame") in Samuel (e.g., 2 Sam. 2:8–15; 3:8–15; 4:5–12). Saul's grandson is identified as Meribaal ("hero of Baal") in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chron. 8:34; 9:40), but as Mephibosheth ("utterance of shame") in Samuel (e.g., 2 Sam. 4:4b; 9:6–13; 16:1–4; 19:24–30; 21:7).
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- 202 Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews*, 5:205–206) remarked that Siser's demise was caused by a great storm that turned valleys into quagmires and streams into torrents, which would have neutralized the military superiority and mobility of a chariot force.
- 203 E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993), 2:595–603.
- 204 Recent literature is fairly extensive: for the Midianites, see e.g., *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 4:817–818; K. A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 213–214; for the Ammonites, consult B. Macdonald, *East of the Jordan: Territories and Sites of the Hebrew Scriptures*, (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2000), 161–170; E. Lipiński, *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 153, (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 299–303.
- 205 L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, eds., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1:197; *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1:824–826; A. L. Oppenheim, et al., eds., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956), 7:2b.
- 206 A. Malamat, "Maui," *Biblical Archaeologist*, 34/1, (1971), 156–157; cf. Numbers 21:24b.
- 207 I. Finkelstein, "Shiloh Yields Some, But Not All, of Its Secrets," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 12/1, (1986), 22–26; R. S. Hess, "Early Israel in Canaan: A Survey of Recent Evidence and Interpretations," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 125/2, (1993), 137–138.
- 208 Sources outside the Bible acknowledge the early worship of Dagon in the Euphrates valley (Archives royales de Mari: transcriptions et traductions 16/1:260; Kupper 1954:54, 69–71; S. Dalley, *Mari and Karana: Two Old Babylonian Cities*, [London: Longman, 1984], 112–113, 120–125). Syria (P. Artzi, "Some Unrecognized Syrian Amarna Letters [EA 260, 317, 318]," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27/3, [1968], 163–164), and Palestine (e.g., H. Donner and W. Röllig, eds., *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962], 1:20–23).
- 209 so R. P. Gordon, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986), 99.
- 210 The Hebrew text of 1 Samuel 6:19 is slightly garbled, and the Versions make it even more difficult to understand, especially as it relates to the number of casualties. Depending on the ancient source one employs, the casualty count could be 50,000; 50,070; 50,070; 1,057; or 70. There are several trenchant arguments, both syntactical and historical, why a compound number may not be in view here. First, compound numbers in Hebrew are normally set forth in a descending sequence: thousands + hundreds + decimals + units (cf. T. O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*, [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971], 255–256 [§182]; W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963], 434 [§134]), whereas this text, if it were presenting a compound number, would be arranged in an ascending order (literally "70 men 50,000 men," i.e., decimals + thousands). Secondly, the various elements of a compound number are supposed to be joined by intermediate copulas (C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963], 68; S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*, [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], 58; cf. H. Bauer and P. Leander, eds., *Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache Des Alten Testaments*, [Hildesheim: Olms, 1962], 627 [§79u]), whereas no such copula appears in this text. On a historical note, the site of Beth-shemesh was only about seven acres in size (E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993], 1:249a), which means that its residential population would not have exceeded about 1,200 people. In this case the disaster did not even take place within the confines of the town itself, but rather out in the middle of a field, which makes a compound number potentially involving tens of thousands of people even more difficult to conceive. For these reasons, numerous scholars regard the "50,000" figure as a later gloss (so Keil
- and Delitzsch, 68; D. M. Fouts, "Added support for reading '70 men in 1 Samuel vi 19,'" *Vetus Testamentum* 42, [1992], 394; E. Van Staalkuine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, [Leiden: Brill, 2002], 252–253; cf. the wanderings found in the *MRSV, NU2, TNUV, ESV, contra KJV, NASB*; consult also Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 6:16). Another scenario might also be given some consideration, though it is admittedly speculative. The relevant part of the verse could be read literally in Hebrew: "And he slew some of the men of Beth-shemesh, because they had looked into the ark of Yahweh; he slew of the people 70 men [and] 50 oxen of [the] men." In such a scenario, the lexeme *elep* is not read "thousand" but rather "oxen" (see F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, eds., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], 48b; L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, eds., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 1:59b); cf. Deuteronomy 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51; Psalm 8:7; Proverbs 14:4; Isaiah 30:24 ["oxen/bull/cattle"]; which in point of fact is the primal meaning of this root in comparative Semitics (cf. Akkadian [alp], Ugaritic [alp], Phoenician [alp]). The oxen would have been out in the field because the incident took place during the wheat harvest (1 Sam. 6:13), and the oxen would have been slain because they were the property and therefore part of the extended personality of the individuals who looked inside the ark (cf. Josh. 7:24b where everything related to Achan was destroyed).
- 211 so Babylonian Talmud, *Yoma* 53b–54a; 1 Esdras 1:54; 4 Ezra 10:22.
- 212 so Babylonian Talmud, *Yoma* 53b–54a; 2 Baruch 6:7.
- 213 so 2 Maccabees 2:4–8.
- 214 See C. D. Matthews, *Palestine—Mohammedan Holy Land*, Yale Oriental Series, Researches 24, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), 30; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 18:85–86.
- 215 Plutarch, *Pompey*, 39; Dio Cassius 37:15–17; Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 106; Strabo 16.2.40.
- 216 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 14:71–73; *War*, 1:152–153; Tacitus, *Historiae*, 5:9; Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 67–68; cf. Psalms of Solomon 2.
- 217 e.g., Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 3:2.66; Livy 14.102.11a.26a; C. Ritter, *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaiic Peninsula*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 2:26.
- 218 Several parts of 1 Samuel 13:1 appear to be missing in the Hebrew text. As it stands, the verse reads literally: "Saul was . . . year(s) old when he began to reign, and he reigned . . . and two years over Israel." Theoretically, the text could be read as follows: "Saul was one year old when he began to reign (which is incredulous), and he reigned two years over Israel" (which is highly improbable, despite A. D. H. Mayes, "The Period of the Judges and the Rise of the Monarchy," in J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller, eds., *Israelite and Judean History*, [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977], 329). Saul's age when he began to reign has been reconstructed to read 30 years (so *TNUV*), 40 years (so *NASB*) or 50 years (so *NEB*). Likewise, the length of his reign is interpreted as 22 years (so *NEB*), 32 years (so *NASB*) or 42 years (so *TNUV*) (cf. Acts 13:21; Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 6:378).
- 219 Or Geshur (so Syriac and Vulgate).
- 220 A. Mazar, "Four Thousand Years of History at Tel Beth-Shean: An Account of the Renewed Excavations," *Biblical Archaeologist* 60/2, (1997), 62–74.
- 221 See R. G. Khouri, *The Antiquities of the Jordan Rift Valley*, (Amman: Al Kutba Publishers, 1988), 42–45 for Saidiyah; see *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:218 for Deir 'Alla.
- 222 e.g., W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr., eds., *The Context of Scripture*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002), 1:79; G. A. Wainwright, "Some early Philistine history," *Vetus Testamentum* 9, (1959), 79–80.
- 223 Y. Yadin, *The Art of Biblical Warfare in Biblical Lands*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), 1:9–10, 159, 229; 2:364; A. Glock, *Warfare in Israel and Early Israel*, (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1968), 198; G. A. Wainwright, "Some early Philistine history," *Vetus Testamentum* 9, (1959), 79–80; A. L. Oppenheim, et al., eds., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956), 1/1:39; 1/2:339, 342; L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, eds., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 2:1106; C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, *Analecta Orientalia* 38, (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), 478 (#223); *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:893–895; cf. Judges 20:16; 2 Kings 3:25; 1 Chronicles 12:2; 2 Chronicles 26:14.
- 224 Compare 1 Samuel 17:33, 42, 55, 58 where David—probably beardless (1 Sam. 17:42b, so H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library, [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964], 152), still unmarried, and living at home—is repeatedly described as a *na' ar* ("adolescent, minor, young person"; W. A. VanGemeren, ed., *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997], 3:124–125), i.e., someone who had not yet achieved adult status, which would ordinarily take place at age 20 with 2 Samuel 5:4 (where David is 30 years of age when he began to reign).
- 225 contra V. Fritz, "Where Is David's Ziklag?," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19/3, (1993), 58–61, 76; see now *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:1090b–1093.
- 226 Ikeda 1982; T. Barako, "Philistines Upon the Seas," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 29/4, (2003), 23.
- 227 e.g., J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2006), 208–211; J. M. Miller, "Separating the Solomon of History from the Solomon of Legend," in L. K. Handy, ed., *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 11; G. W. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 516–518; J. A. Soggin, *A History of Ancient Israel*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1985), 78.
- 228 cf. M. C. A. Korpel, "The Greek Islands and Pontus in the Hebrew Bible," *Old Testament Essays* 19/1, (2006), 105–109 for *ἰβυζία* as an early Old Testament designation of the Hellenic world.
- 229 T. O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 51–52 (§58).
- 230 H. Donner and W. Röllig, eds., *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962), 46 = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum 1.144; F. M. Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 208, (1972), 13–14; "Phoenicians in the West: The Early Epigraphic Evidence," *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology* 2, [1980], 118; G. Bunnens, *Expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*, (Bruxelles: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1979), 40; E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 127, (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 234.
- 231 so B. Peckham, "The Nora Inscription," *Orientalia [New Series]* 41, (1972), 459; F. M. Cross, *Lessons from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Paleography and Epigraphy*, (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 251; so G. W. Ahlström, "The Nora Inscription and Tarshish," *Maarav* 7, (1991), 43.
- 232 Some scholars working on this text have sought to locate Tarshish somewhere on Sardinia itself (e.g., D. Neiman, "Phoenician Place-Names," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24, [1965], 115; F. M. Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 208, [1972], 16; C. R. Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 499; E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 127, [Leuven: Peeters, 2004], 238), somewhere east or southeast of Sardinia (G. W. Ahlström, "The Nora Inscription and Tarshish," *Maarav* 7, [1991], 44), or somewhere beyond Sardinia, from a Phoenician perspective, probably in coastal Spain (e.g., B. Peckham, "The Nora Inscription," *Orientalia [New Series]* 41, [1972], 467–468; B. Peckham, "Phoenicians in Sardinia: Tyrians or Sidonians?" in M. S. Balmuth and R. H. Lykot, eds., *Sardinian and Aegean Chronology: Towards the Resolution of Relative and Absolute Dating in the Mediterranean*, [Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1998], 352; M. Eilat, "Tarshish and the problem of Phoenician Colonisation in the Western Mediterranean," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 13, [1982], 60–61).
- 233 Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts 1.75 = Assur 3916 = Istanbul 6262; cf. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assurbaddas, Königs von Assyrien*, (Innsbruck: Biblio-Verlag, 1967), 86–89.
- 234 cf. A. L. Oppenheim, et al., eds., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956), 8:144–145; 1772.297a.
- 235 P. Bordreuil, F. Israel, and D. Pardee, "Deux ostraca paléo-hébreux de la collection Sh. Mousaieff," *Semítica* 46, [1996], 49–76; "King's Command and Widow's Plea: Two New Hebrew Ostraca of the Biblical Period," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 61/1, [1998], 2–13; cf. W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr., eds., *The Context of Scripture*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002), 2:174.
- 236 cf. A. Padilla Monge, "Consideraciones sobre el Tarsis bíblico," *Aula Orientalis* 12/1, (1994), 56.
- 237 so *PoT*, 1955:1455.
- 238 W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr., eds., *The Context of Scripture*, (Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002), 2:297 n9.
- 239 P. J. King, "Travel, Transport, Trade," *Fretz-Israel* 26, (1999), 96.
- 240 Long ago F. W. Albright's analysis ("New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 83, [1941], 20–22) led him to suggest that we should expect to find a name such as Tarshish to become associated with various trading locations (as was noted previously with Meluhha and Dilimun, and which occurs at a later time with the Phoenician trading emporium of Carthage).

- 241 M. Liverani, "The collapse of the Near Eastern regional system at the end of the Bronze Age: the case of Syria," in M. Rowlands, M. Larsen, and K. Kristiansen, eds., *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, New Directions in Archaeology 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 69–73.
- 242 D. L. Davis, "Sailing the Open Seas," *Archaeology Odyssey* 6/1, (2003), 61–62.
- 243 Cf. A. J. Parker, "Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces," BAR International Series 580, (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1992); J. S. Blisley, "An indexed bibliography of underwater archaeology and related topics," (Oswestry, Shropshire: Anthony Nelson, 1996); M. Juršić, "Ancient Shipwrecks of the Adriatic: Maritime Transport during the First and Second Centuries AD," BAR International Series 828, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000). After map 63 had been created, announcement was made of the accidental discovery of a hieroglyphically inscribed anchor and other artifacts dated to approximately 1000 B.C., found off the shore of Kyrenia on the north coast of Cyprus. This find may prove to be another shipwreck site (*Turkish Daily News*, April 11, 2008).
- 244 For example, the western presence of certain technological innovations ascribed to Phoenician craftsmanship, such as copper patina (a tenth-century process in Spain where lead was heated so that the metal is converted into an oxide, leaving pure silver in the solid state) or novel artistic motifs of an oriental kind (e.g., wariar stele) may very well suggest a Phoenician presence at this or that western location. However, this evidence is not decisive, in my opinion, unless it is found in a stratified context or controlled by some other objective criteria. J. N. Coldstream ("The First Exchanges between Euboeans and Phoenicians: Who Took the Initiative?," in S. Gitin, A. Mazur, and E. Stern, eds., *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1998], 353–355) and G. E. Markoe (*Phoenicians*, [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000], 139) have shown clear evidence of direct contact between Tyre and Lefkandi (on the west coast of the Greek island of Euboea) in the form of tenth-century B.C. datable tombs containing distinctive Phoenician bowls and pitchers, and a 13th-century B.C. bronze statue of the Phoenician god Melqart has been discovered accidentally off the southern coast of Sicily. But how any of those objects got there or who was responsible is not yet clear. Even employing distinctive Phoenician pottery found in an unstratified context may be problematic in this regard. I wish therefore to confine my remarks to a fairly narrow slice of what I regard as more precise and unambiguous evidence.
- 245 So B. Peckham, "The Phoenician Foundation of Cities and Towns in Sardinia," in R. H. Tykot and T. K. Andrews, eds., *Sardinia in the Mediterranean: A Footprint in the Sea*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 412; G. E. Markoe, *Phoenicians*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 170; *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 5:352a; J. M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), 1324; A. Raban, "Near Eastern Harbors: Thirteenth–Seventeenth Centuries B.C.E.," in S. Gitin, A. Mazur, and E. Stern, eds., *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1998), 430.
- 246 J. D. Muhly, "Homer and the Phoenicians," *Berytus* 19, (1970), 45–46.
- 247 A bronze bowl/cup containing a Phoenician inscription was found *in situ* in an unlooted tomb (I) at Tekke, a northern necropolis of Kionissos. On paleographic grounds, F. M. Cross ("Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 238, [1980], 17; see now *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy*, [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003], 227–230) dated this inscription to the late 11th century B.C. (so J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography*, [Leiden: Brill, 1982], 40–41; E. Puech, "Présence phénicienne dans les îles à la fin du II^e millénaire," *Revue Biblique* 90/3, [1983], 385–391; O. Negbi, "Early Phoenician Presence in the Western Mediterranean," in M. S. Balmuth, ed., *Nuragic Sardinia and the Mycenaean World*, BAR International Series 387, [Oxford: BAR, 1987], 248; E. Lipiński, "Notes d'épigraphie phénicienne et punique," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 14, [1983], 130–133 dates the bowl to c. 1000 B.C.). Such a date appears to be corroborated by the fact that the tomb also contained some early Greek proto-geometric pottery as well as a late Minoan III seal (1200–1000 B.C.). Moreover, across the island on Crete's southern coast numerous fragments of distinctive 10th-century Phoenician pottery have been found in stratified contexts at Temple A (925–800 B.C.) at Kommos (I. Boardman, "Aspects of 'Colonization,'" *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 322, [2001], 36), which points to some sort of ongoing Phoenician initiative there.
- 248 These texts include the Nora stele (Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum 1.145), dated by Cross ("The Oldest Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia: The Fragmentary Stele from Nora," in D. M. Golomb, ed., *Working With No Data: Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin*, [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987], 65–72) on the basis of a detailed paleographic analysis to the 11th century B.C., a date accepted by a host of scholars, including J. Naveh (*Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography*, [Leiden: Brill, 1982], 40–41, 59); E. Puech ("Présence phénicienne dans les îles à la fin du II^e millénaire," *Revue Biblique* 90/3, [1983], 385–391); O. Negbi ("Early Phoenician Presence in the Western Mediterranean," in M. S. Balmuth, ed., *Nuragic Sardinia and the Mycenaean World*, BAR International Series 387, [Oxford: BAR, 1987], 248); M. Balmuth ("Phoenician Chronology in Sardinia: Prospecting, Trade and Settlement before 900 B.C.," in T. Hackens and G. Mouchart, eds., *Studia Phoenicia IX: Travaux du Groupe de contact interuniversitaires d'études phéniciennes et puniques sous les auspices du Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique*, [Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1992], 218); and G. S. Webster and M. Tegulund ("Toward the Study of Colonial-Native Relations in Sardinia from c. 1000 B.C.—a.o.456," in R. H. Tykot and T. K. Andrews, eds., *Sardinia in the Mediterranean: A Footprint in the Sea*, [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992], 448). E. Lipiński (*Itineraria Phoenicia*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 127, [Leuven: Peeters, 2004]) down dates the fragment to the ninth or early eighth centuries B.C. In addition, a small stone fragment found at Bosa (Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum 1.162), in north-west Sardinia about 100 miles from Nora, consisting of a few letters but part of a monumental inscription, is dated paleographically by F. M. Cross to the ninth century B.C. ("Phoenicians in the West: The Early Epigraphic Evidence," *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology* 2, [1986], 120). Moreover, leading Sardinian scholars (F. Barreca, "Phoenicians in Sardinia: The Bronze Figurines," *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology* 2, [1986], 131–133; M. Balmuth, 218–222) have long argued that Phoenicians were present on both the northern and southern coasts of Sardinia by 1000 B.C., basing their claim on Phoenician bronze figurines found at numerous Sardinian sites but dated only on stylistic grounds. More recently, however, F. R. Serra Ridgway ("Commentary: some remarks on A. M. Bis's paper 'Near Eastern Bronzes in Sardinia: imports and influences,'" in M. S. Balmuth, ed., *Nuragic Sardinia and the Mycenaean World*, BAR International Series 387, [Oxford: BAR, 1987], 251–252) has reported the tantalizing discovery of a portion of one such figurine found in a sealed locus that cannot be dated later than the 10th century B.C. (cf. C. Burgess, "The East and the West: Mediterranean Influence in the Atlantic World in the Later Bronze Age, c. 1500–700 B.C.," in C. Chevillon and A. Coffin, *L'Âge du Bronze atlantique*, [Dordogne, France: Association des Musées du Sarladais, 1991], 36).
- 249 E. González de Canales, P. L. Serrano, and G. J. Llompart (*El emporio fenicio precolonial de Huelva (ca. 900–770 a.C.)*, [Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2004]; and "The Pre-colonial Phoenician Emporium of Huelva ca 900–770 B.C.," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 81, [2006], 13–29).
- 250 González de Canales et al., "The Pre-colonial Phoenician Emporium of Huelva ca 900–770 B.C.," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 81, (2006), 13.
- 251 In regard to these samples, taken from the Phoenician stratum, the quality of the determinations was assessed as excellent, having yielded a mean calibrated age of 930–830 B.C., with a low error analysis (± 25 years) and a high degree of probability (94 percent) (A. J. Nijboer and J. van der Plicht, "An interpretation of the radiocarbon determinations of the oldest indigenous Phoenician stratum thus far, excavated at Huelva, Tartessos [south-west Spain]," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 81, [2006], 31).
- 252 González de Canales et al., "The Pre-colonial Phoenician Emporium of Huelva ca 900–770 B.C.," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 81, (2006), 27.
- 253 A. R. Rodríguez, "The Iron Age Iberian Peoples of the Upper Guadaquivir Valley," in M. Díaz-Andreu and S. Keay, eds., *The Archaeology of Iberia*, (London: Routledge, 1997), 175–191; Lipiński 1992:166.
- 254 E. J. Kilian, "Mycenaean Colonization: Norm and Variety," in J.-P. Descaudres, ed., *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 465; e.g., S. Pomeroy et al., *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 90–95.
- 255 C. Burgess, "The East and the West: Mediterranean Influence in the Atlantic World in the Later Bronze Age, c. 1500–700 B.C.," in C. Chevillon and A. Coffin, *L'Âge du Bronze atlantique*, [Dordogne, France: Association des Musées du Sarladais, 1991], 33 speculates that Hiram permitted Solomon a share in his already existing Tarshish trade as a quid pro quo for access to the new trade on the Red Sea and Ophir. J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes (*A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, [Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2006], 208) argue more soberly that the Red Sea venture was really a Phoenician undertaking in which Solomon was allowed to participate "because he controlled access to the Gulf of Aqaba. I submit that their inferential argument might just as well be applied to the evidentiary record that exists for Phoenicians on the Mediterranean, as it is not clear to me how a joint nautical venture to a foreign port on the Mediterranean is inherently any more hyperbolic or exaggerated than a similar claim for the Red Sea, where no distinctive Iron Age evidence of Phoenician nauticalism of any kind has yet been discovered.
- 256 A. F. Rainey and R. S. Notley, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World*, (Jerusalem, CA: 2006), 177; A. F. Rainey, "Aspects of Life in Ancient Israel," in R. E. Averbeck, M. W. Chavalas, and D. B. Weisberg, eds., *Life and Culture in the Ancient Near East*, (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2003), 264.
- 257 W. W. Hallo, "Sumer and the Bible: A Matter of Proportion," in J. K. Hoffmeier and A. Millard, eds., *The Future of Biblical Archaeology*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 174–175; J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 221–223; cf. J. Gray, *1 and 2 Kings, A Commentary*, Old Testament Library, (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1970), 135–136.
- 258 I. Beit-Arieh, "Edomites Advance into Judah," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 22/6, (1996), 28–36; E. Lipiński, *On the Shirts of Canaan in the Iron Age*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 153, (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 370–418.
- 259 so S. Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library, [Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993], 666; L. C. Allen, *The First and Second Books of Chronicles*, *The New Interpreter's Bible*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 3:521.
- 260 contra T. R. Hobbs, "The Fortresses of Rehoboam: Another Look," in L. M. Hoffmeier, ed., *Uncovering Ancient Stones: Essays in Memory of H. Neil Richardson*, (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 41–61.
- 261 Unless specified to the contrary, regnal dates for the kings of Israel and Judah are adopted from E. R. Thiele (*The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, [Exeter, Devon: The Paternoster Press, 1965]; cf. M. Cogan, "Chronology," in D. N. Freedman, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, [New York: Doubleday, 1992], 1:1010; A. F. Rainey, "Down-to-Earth Biblical History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122/3, [2002], 545; B. J. Beitzel, chief consultant, *Biblica*, *The Bible Atlas: A Social and Historical Journey Through the Lands of the Bible*, [London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2006], 498). Beyond the Assyriological data, dates near the beginning of the divided monarchy may also be helpfully addressed by means of the chronologically discreet but contemporary Tyrian king list, on which consult *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 5:356; W. H. Barnes, *Studies in the Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 48, (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 29–55; F. M. Cross, "Newly Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads of the 11th Century B.C.," in A. Biran and J. Aviram, eds., *Biblical Archaeology Today*, 1990, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 540 n.3; F. M. Cross, *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy*, (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 207 n.3; Liverani 2006:166–174.
- 262 see most recently, E. Blyth, *Karnak: Evolution of a temple*, (London: Routledge, 2006).
- 263 The triumphant battle reliefs at Karnak include those of Thutmose III (1479–1425 B.C.; six reliefs), probably the greatest military strategist in Egyptian history, who undertook at least 21 military campaigns into Asia and boasted that he had even "crossed the Euphrates" to rout the enemy. This grand tradition was continued by Amenhotep II (1427–1400 B.C.; two reliefs), Amenhotep III (1390–1352 B.C.; one relief), Horemheb (1323–1295 B.C.; one relief), Set I (1294–1279 B.C.; two reliefs), Ramses II (1279–1213 B.C.; two reliefs), Memphat (1213–1203 B.C.; one relief), Shishak (945–924 B.C.; one relief), and Taharqa (690–664 B.C.; one relief). One pauses to note here a rather unbroken succession between Thutmose III and Memphat, then a 260-year hiatus until Shishak, followed by another 245-year interval until Taharqa.
- 264 The inscription records the date of the quarrying of Shishak's slabs as: "21st year, second month of the third season" (stela 700; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*, [Warminster, England: Arts & Phillips Ltd., 1973], 73 n.358). It was normal procedure for pharaohs to commence erecting their triumphal battle reliefs immediately upon returning from their victorious battles. In this case we know that Shishak's reign ended near the end of his 21st year (which probably explains why his relief panels were never finished), so there is every reason to conclude that he also acted in this manner. This all means that Shishak's Asiatic campaign was conducted not too long before the date on his quarry inscription. Shishak began his reign in the year 945 B.C. (so E. Blyth, *Karnak: Evolution of a temple*, [London: Routledge, 2006], xxiv; W. W. Hallo and W. K. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: A History*, [New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998], 299; K. A. Kitchen, "Egypt, History of (Chronology)," in D. N. Freedman, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, [New York: Doubleday, 1992], 2:329; W. J. Murnane, *The Penguin Guide to Ancient Egypt*, [Harrisonburg, Va.: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1983], 354) or 946 B.C. (so E. F. Wente, *Review of K. A. Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period of Egypt, Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35/4, [1976], 278), and therefore his 21st year would be either 926/925 B.C. (Wente) or 925/924 B.C. (Hallo and Simpson; Kitchen; Murnane), depending on whether it was an autumn or spring campaign.
- 265 e.g., A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible 10,000–586 B.C.E.*, (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 398; e.g., Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979), 323–330; R. Cohen, "Iron Age Fortresses in the Central Negev," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 236, (1980), 61–79; G. Barkay, "The Iron Age II–III," in A. Ben-Tor, ed., *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 323–327; M. Haiman, "Negev," in S. R. Hafetz, ed., *Near Eastern Archaeology: A Reader*, (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 282; A. Faust, "The Negev Fortresses' in Context: Reexamining the Fortresses' Phenomenon in Light of General Settlement Processes of the Eleventh–Tenth Centuries B.C.," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126/2, (2006), 153–154. [See map 44.]
- 266 Some critics attack the authenticity of the relief itself. Since there is no other record in Egyptian documentation of a campaign by Shishak into Asia, they argue that Shishak sought to make himself great at home by simply manufacturing in stone what some of his predecessors had actually accomplished in Asia (e.g., J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, [Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1914], 68 n.1). They contend that no one had written of such things for more than 250 years at Karnak. However, the Egyptian topography of Shishak's relief differs markedly from earlier reliefs (A. F. Rainey and R. S. Notley, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World*, [Jerusalem: Carta, 2006], 185), and of the 150 or so place names that appear on the panels of his relief, about 50 names are unique to Shishak and are not found on earlier reliefs, including such places as Hebron (#23), Beth-horon (#24), Aijalon (#26), Tappuah (#39), Penuel (#53), Adam (#56), Mahanaim (#22), Succoth (#55), and the Jordan River (#150). This almost certainly means that Shishak's invasion route differed from any of his Egyptian predecessors and took him inland into the hill country of Judah and Samaria, even apparently crossing the Jordan River. [See map 44.] Anyone wishing to follow the easiest route from the Great Trunk Road to Jerusalem would quite naturally have passed the sites of Aijalon, Beth-horon, and Gibeon. [See map 27.] Such novel elements can do nothing but help authenticate both the relief and the events it described.
- 267 D. Rohlf, *Pharaohs and Kings: A Biblical Quest*, (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1995), 163.
- 268 Redford (*Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 5:1221b) has shown that Shishak and the entire 22nd dynasty that he founded was of Libyan descent. (His army is said to have included elements from Libya [2 Chron. 12:38].) In addition, Shishak's name derives from a perfectly transparent Libyan root, recorded also in Akkadian and in Greek.
- 269 Some wish to ascribe the Rehoboam account to Josiah (e.g., E. Junge, *Der Wiederaufbau des Heereswesens des Reiches Juda unter Josiah*, [Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1937], 73–80; V. Fritz, "The List of Rehoboam's Fortresses in 2 Chr. 11:5–12—a Document from the Time of Josiah," *Festschrift Isak* 15, [1981], 50), because the "title of building" in Chronicles should be taken to indicate a king who enjoys the blessings of God as the result of obedience, which is at variance with the Chronicler's verdict about Rehoboam (2 Chron. 12:1–14, 14). Others ascribe the account to Hezekiah (e.g., N. Na'aman, "Hezekiah's Fortified Cities and the *UMK* Stamps," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 261, [1986], 5–21; S. L. McKenzie, 1–2 *Chronicles*, Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries, [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004], 265–266; S. S. Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, Interpretation, [Louisville: John Knox Press, 2001], 159; P. R. Ackroyd, *1 & 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, [London: SCM Press, 1973], 131), either on textual critical grounds (the similarity of wording in 1 Kings 14:25 and 2 Kings 18:13, where Sennacherib invades Judah and Jerusalem) or on archaeological grounds (distribution throughout Judah of wine jars, with handles bearing a royal Pselek ["belonging to/for the king"] stamp, associated with Hezekiah and his preparations for the Assyrian war). The textual argument here may be coincidental in nature and is mitigated by the fact that a similar stylistic formula is also found in other texts as well where a list of fortified cities is clearly not in view (e.g., 2 Kings 15:29; 16:5; 18:9; 25:1). There is also the fact, as pointed out by S. Japhet (*1 & 2 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library, [Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993], 678), that cities were said to have been "saved" during the days of Hezekiah (2 Chron. 32:21–23), meaning that an Assyrian threat was ultimately averted in his time.