*Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*

# A Maximalist Interpretation of the Execration Texts—Archaeological and Historical Implications of a High Chronology

**Katharina Streit**
Martin Buber Society of Fellows in the Humanities, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

## Abstract

*The two groups that now form the core of the Execration Texts (ET) are accepted as dating to the mid-12th and early 13th Egyptian dynasties, which have been synchronized to the Middle Bronze I in the southern Levant according to the Low Chronology. However, recent radiocarbon determinations suggest that those dynasties should instead be synchronized to the later Middle Bronze II. This has implications for ongoing arguments about whether the ET can be used to gauge the historical reality of the southern Levant: maximalist interpretations (Albright, Rainey, Redford) suggest that they can; minimalist ones (Weinstein, Cohen, Ben-Tor) suggest that they cannot and were instead generic lists of toponyms, possibly preserving a memory of the Early Bronze Age occupation (Ben-Tor). In this paper the author highlights the importance of a thorough reconsideration of historical sources such as the ET in light of the new, radiocarbon based chronology. The analysis presented here indicates that most of the sites mentioned in the ET show limited building phases in the Middle Bronze I but had been developed and fortified by the Middle Bronze II. Accordingly, they would have been powerful entities when the ET were created, and therefore a maximalist interpretation is more viable.*

## Introduction

Two discoveries made in the 1920s now form the core of what are generally known as the Execration Texts (ET). The first is a group of 323 sherds that were acquired on the antiquities market in 1925 and were tentatively sourced to a burial in western Thebes. Most of the sherds had been inscribed in hieratic and were subsequently reconstructed to about 100 bowls. They were published shortly after purchase by Kurt Sethe,[1] who recognized that they belonged to a genre of Execration Texts, which consists of lists of names of cities and rulers, usually inscribed on clay vessels or figurines which were subsequently broken.

After this first group (subsequently named the "Berlin Group" because they are housed in the Berlin Museum), a second group, the "Brussels Group," was published by Georges Posener and Baudouin van de Walle.[2] Part of this second group was bought on the antiquities market, but part was excavated in the cemetery of Teti at Saqqara, providing a more secure archaeological context. This group consists of over 120 schematic clay figurines of bound prisoners, about 30–34 cm tall when restored and inscribed in hieratic with names of kings and foreign lands (Fig. 1). Like the bowls of the Berlin Group, they had been intentionally shattered. A third group of ET was found in a burial near the Mirgissa fortress in Nubia and largely repeats the toponyms of the Berlin Group and supports the paleographic dating.[3]

The inscriptions on both groups typically follow the formula "the ruler of … [called] …." Many of the toponyms they contain refer to the Levant (the so-called Asiatic section), Nubia, and Libya, although numerous Egyptians are mentioned, as is a generic list of "evil" things. There is some overlap between the two groups, with the Brussels Group showing a considerably more extensive list of toponyms than

**Figure 1:** Execration figurine from the Brussels collection (E.7465).

the Berlin Group. Similar ET are also known from the Old Kingdom,[4] so the Middle Kingdom examples reflect a long tradition of such execration rituals, which were probably a form of sympathetic magic aimed at preventing future injury from those perilous entities inscribed on the bowls or statues by smashing them to pieces.

Since their initial publication, the ET have been understood as belonging to the ritual of "breaking the red pots."[5] While this ritual was originally part of an offering meal to the dead ("Opferspeisung"), it later became an independent ritual intended to threaten enemies ("Feindeinschüchterung") and prevent potential harm.[6] This notion was probably not exclusive to ancient Egypt: Albrecht Alt noted what appears to be a similar practice in Psalm 2:9,[7] while listing enemy cities and their rulers has been observed in prophetic literature (particularly Amos 1–2).[8]

The two ET groups were dated using epigraphic parallels. While a detailed discussion of the dating is beyond the scope of this paper, the consensus is that the texts date to the mid-12th to early 13th Dynasties, with the Berlin Group predating the Brussels Group.[9]

Many researchers have sought to identify the Asian toponyms mentioned in the ET, as they could potentially reveal valuable information about the political landscape of the southern Levant (Fig. 2). Readings of place names have been identified with known toponyms[10] that in turn have been ascribed to specific archaeological sites (Table 1).[11] The following identifications have been accepted: *ỉkspỉ* (Brsl. E11) as toponym *Achshaph* with Tel Keisan; *ʿkj* (Brsl. E49) as *Akko* with Tel Akko; *ỉpḳwm* (Brsl. E9) as *Aphek* with Tel Aphek; *ỉsḳ*$^{3}$*ỉ* (Berl. f15, Ber. E2) as *Ashkelon* with Tel Ashkelon; *ḥḏwỉ*$^{3}$*ỉ* (Brsl. E15) as *Hazor* with Tel Hazor; *$^{3}$wšmm* (Berl. f18, Ber. E45) as Jerusalem; *$^{3}$wśj* (Brsl. E59) as *Laish* with Tel Dan; *pỉḥ*$^{3}$*wm* (Brsl. E8) as *Pehal* with Tabaqat Fahl (Pella); and *skmimỉ* (Brsl. E6) as Shechem with Tell Balatah. The "tribes of Byblos" mentioned in the ET almost certainly refers to the area surrounding Byblos.[12]

**Table 1:** Transliterations, respective toponyms, and their possible identifications (P = Posener 1940; S = Sethe 1926; A1 = Aharoni 1979; A2 = Ahituv 1984).

| Reading (P) | Toponym (P) | Berl. (S) | Brsl. (P) | Identification (A1; A2) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ỉkspỉ* | Achshaph | — | E11 | Tell Keisan |
| *ʿkj* | Akko | — | E49 | Tel Akko |
| *ỉpḳwm* | Aphek | — | E9 | Tel Aphek |
| *ỉsḳ*$^{3}$*ỉ* | Ashkelon | f15 | E2 | Tel Ashkelon |
| *ḥḏwỉ*$^{3}$*ỉ* | Hazor | — | E15 | Tel Hazor |
| *$^{3}$wšmm* | Jerusalem | f18 | E45 | Jerusalem |
| *$^{3}$wsj* | Laish | — | E59 | Tel Dan |
| *pỉḥ*$^{3}$*wm* | Pehal | — | E8 | Tabaqat Fahl (Pella) |
| *skmimỉ* | Shechem | — | E6 | Tell Balatah |


**Figure 2:** Sites identified in the toponyms of the Execration Texts.

### "Do the Execration Texts Reflect an Accurate Picture of the Contemporary Settlement Map of Palestine?"

The historical value of the ET has been the subject of debate, and two main schools of thought can be distinguished. The first takes a maximalist approach, and its adherents include all those who have argued that the ET reveal the historical reality of the assumed southern Levant. While there have been disputes about the precise synchronization, Sethe,[13] Posener,[14], Albright,[15] Rainey,[16] and Redford[17] share the notion that the mentioned sites were likely settled and the toponyms thus known in Egypt. While they generally agree that the ET reflect the landscape of the southern Levant, opinions differ as to whether the society was of an urban (Rainey) or a pastoral-nomadic nature (Redford). The second, more skeptical approach questions the possible historical information in the toponym list, regarding them instead as a generic list of toponyms, appropriated for the purpose but not necessarily having any basis in reality.[18]

A good example of the minimalist approach is a recent article by Amnon Ben-Tor, "Do the Execration Texts Reflect an Accurate Picture of the Contemporary Settlement Map of Palestine?" in which he systematically examined some of the toponyms mentioned in the Berlin and in the Brussels Groups of ET.[19] He followed the consensus in assuming a mid-12th Dynasty date for the Berlin Group and an early 13th Dynasty date for the Brussels group,[20] but also synchronized these with the Middle Bronze Age I of the southern Levant, following a Low Chronology scheme based on Manfred Bietak's work at Tell el-Dabᶜa.[21] Of the sites he examined,[22] four (Ashkelon, Aphek, Akko, Tel Dan) had the rich Middle Bronze I architectural assemblage (and in some cases even fortifications) that one might expect to find in cities deemed worthy of execration by Egyptians, but six (Jerusalem, Shechem, Tel Rehov, Pehel, Hazor, Achshaph) showed only minor construction or none at all, and certainly no fortifications. Ben-Tor therefore concluded that the ET do *not* reveal a realistic picture of the southern Levant in the Middle Bronze I.[23] He suggested, rather, that the ET might instead reflect the Old Kingdom reality of the area, rightly pointing out that the earliest example of a comparable ET ritual tradition dates to this period.[24] Consequently, Ben-Tor ascribed little or no historic value to the toponyms of the ET for the Middle Bronze I, emphasizing their abstract, even generic, nature in the framework of ritual and sympathetic magic. This conclusion follows from the evidence that Ben-Tor had at his disposal, but new chronological data warrants a reevaluation of the "minimalist" conclusion that the ET do not reflect a contemporary reality of settlement patterns in Levant.

### Implications of the Radiocarbon-Based Chronology

Two competing chronological models for the southern Levant are in use at this point (Fig. 3), the Traditional and the Low Chronology. The Traditional Chronology for the Middle Bronze Age proposes a synchronization between the mid-12th and early 13th Dynasties (ca. 1900–1700 BCE) mainly with the Middle Bronze I phase and the very early part of the Middle Bronze II of the southern Levant, with the transition to the Middle Bronze II around 1750 BCE.[25] The Low Chronology, which provided the base for the analysis of the ET by Amnon Ben-Tor, dates this transition even later, around 1700

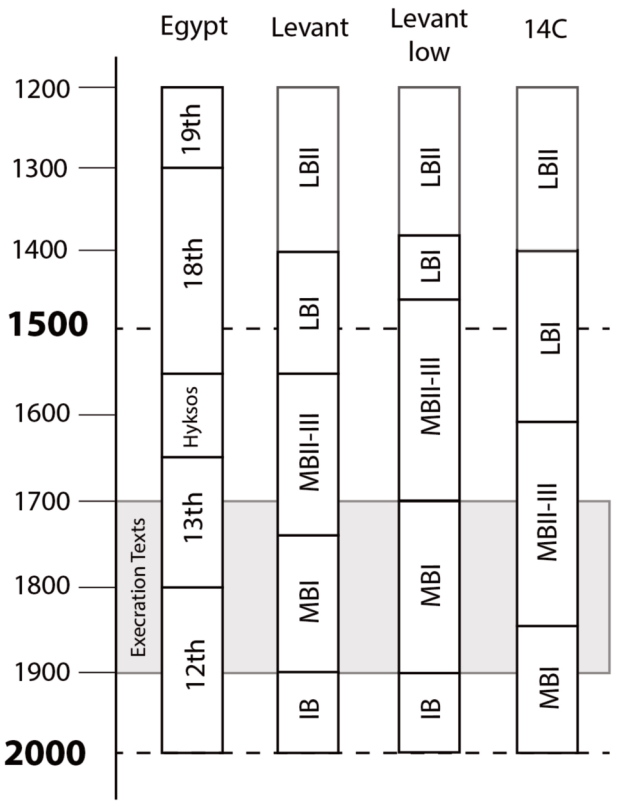


**Figure 3:** Chronological schemes and the position of the Execration Texts.

BCE.[26] Consequently, the mid-12th and early 13th Dynasties covered the Middle Bronze I phase exclusively.

However, a new higher chronology based on radiocarbon dating at sites such as Tell el-Dabʿa,[27] Tell Kabri,[28] Tell Ifshar, and Tell el-Burak[29] suggests that the Middle Bronze II started in the mid-19th century BCE.[30] With absolute dates for the Egyptian historical chronology now broadly confirmed,[31] the implication of the new High Chronology for the southern Levant is that the late 12th and early 13th Dynasties of Egypt would be synchronized with the very late Middle Bronze I and, primarily, the Middle Bronze II. Contrary to previous attempts to understand the ET within a Middle Bronze I reality, the toponyms in the ET should be assessed according to Middle Bronze II settlement patterns and urban development.

The radiocarbon-based chronology and the resulting new synchronization between Egypt and the Levant might greatly influence the interpretation of historical sources of the respective period. Focusing on the ET, this paper highlights the necessity for a systematic reassessment of similar sources.

## The Southern Levant in the Middle Bronze II

The following section examines the Middle Bronze Age II strata of sites that can be identified in the ET. Most are sites for which the identification has been broadly agreed (Tel Ashkelon, Tel Aphek, Tel Akko, Tel Dan, Tel Balatah, Tel Hazor, Tabaqat Fahl [Pella]), and two for which it is less certain (Jerusalem, Tell Keisan). Sites where the identification is more speculative have been omitted from this discussion.

### Ashkelon

*ʾIsḳ³i* appears in both the Berlin (e23, e24)[32] and the Brussels (E2)[33] texts, and was identified as Askhelon in the original publications. It was a fortified settlement in the late Middle Bronze I, with a rampart and a gate (Phase 13 and Phase 12), and occupation continued into the Middle Bronze II (Phase 11). The fortification system of the Middle Bronze II continued to use the rampart, but the layout of the gate changed from a ca. 2.3 m wide barrel-arched gate with a pronounced façade, to a simple "pedestrian" gate with a width of only 1.5 m (Fig. 4).[34] It is evident that Ashkelon was a key site in the region from the late Middle Bronze I onwards, and all phases display evidence of extensive contacts with Egypt. The ceramic evidence might even suggest that interactions intensified from the Middle Bronze I to Middle Bronze II periods.[35]

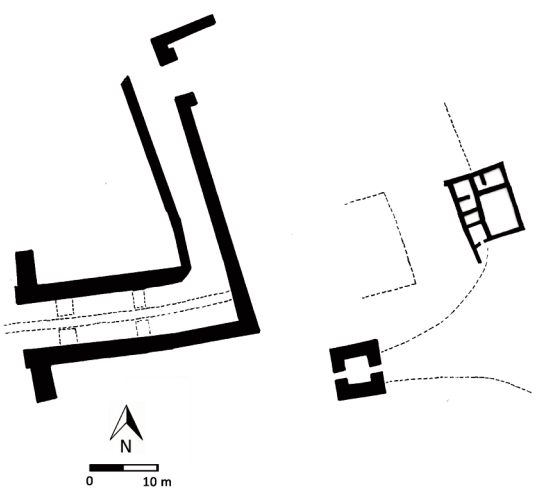


**Figure 4:** Ashkelon: Middle Bronze II fortification of Phase 12 (left) and Phase 11 (right).

### Aphek

*ʾIpḳwm* appears in the Brussels list (E9).[36] The site identified as Tel Aphek was a flourishing city in the Middle Bronze I, with a palace (Palace Phases I and II) protected by fortifications that have been uncovered in the northern part of the tell.[37] In the following Palace Phase III, which dates to the Middle Bronze II, a monumental palace covering ca. 30 × 30 m was constructed, which surpassed the size of all previous structures.[38] It is evident that the city was a flourishing center in the Middle Bronze II, but the city walls seem to have fallen out of use and the palace appears to have been unfortified (Fig. 5).[39]

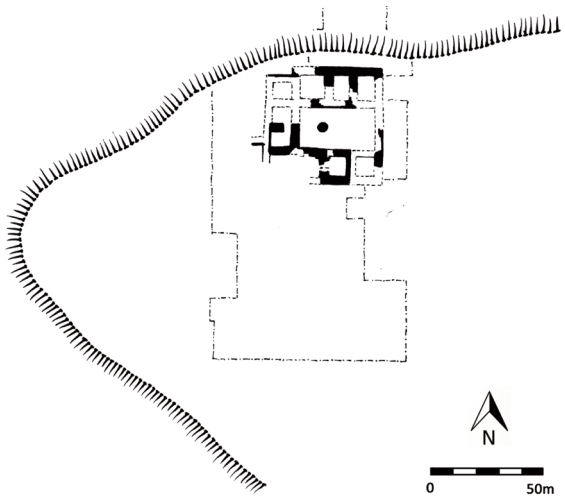


**Figure 5:** Aphek: Middle Bronze II palace of Stratum III.

### Akko

*ʿkj* appear in the Brussels list (E49)[40] and was identified as Tel Akko. The site was excavated by Moshe Dothan and Avner Raban, who uncovered settlement remains from both the Middle Bronze I and Middle Bronze II.[41] Extensive fortification structures are evident from both periods, with a rampart and glacis having been uncovered in the northern part (Area B, AB, F, H, K) of the tell,[42] while both Middle Bronze I and Middle Bronze II gate structures have been found in the western part, in Area F. These included the four-pier "Sea Gate" structure, which was built in Area F in the western part of site, during the Middle Bronze I, and a narrow postern gate from the Middle Bronze II that is preserved in the southern part of the site (Area P).[43] It is evident that Tel Akko was a flourishing center throughout the Middle Bronze Age.

### Laish

*ʒwsj* appears in the Brussels Group (E59) and has been identified with Laish, now typically identified with Tel Dan.[44] The site has been extensively excavated in the last few decades by Avraham Biran and David Ilan,[45] whose excavations uncovered evidence of a sustained period of occupation, particularly in the Middle Bronze I/II transition and the Middle Bronze II itself. The burial record and stray finds in the later rampart at Tel Dan show that the site was already settled during the period when Stratum XI, which dates to the Middle Bronze I, was laid down.[46] The site was heavily fortified in the following Middle Bronze I/II transitional period (Stratum X), with an earthen rampart that has been traced in the south (Area A–B), east (Area K), and north (Area Y and T).[47] A massive, mud-brick-built six-pier gate from the same period has been uncovered in Area K,[48] the passageway of which was about 2.5 m wide, and might have been two stories high (Fig. 6).[49] Tel Dan appears to have been a key strategic site in the northern part of the southern Levant and was fortified accordingly, at the time when the ET were created.

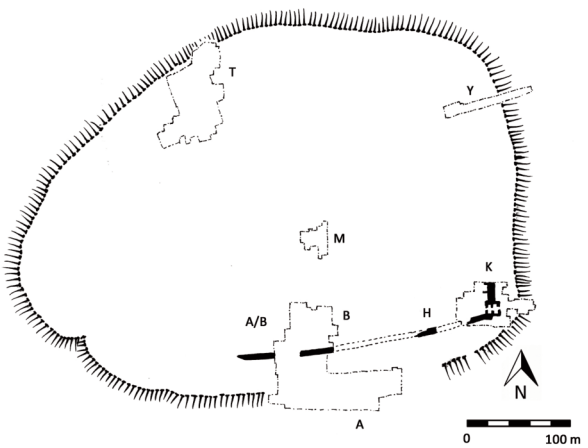


**Figure 6:** Tel Dan: Middle Bronze II fortifications.

### Shechem

*Skmʾmʾ* appears in the Brussels Group (E6) and was identified as Shechem by Posener and van de Walle, who proposed that the toponym is identical with the site mentioned in the Khu-Sobek stele.[50] This

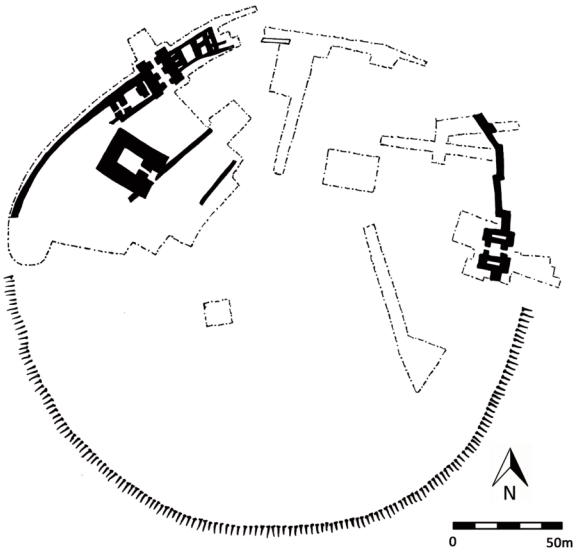


**Figure 7:** Shechem: Middle Bronze II/III and Middle Bronze III fortification of Strata XX–XV.

inscription, which honors a general who led a campaign to the southern Levant in the reign of Senwosret III, mentions the destruction of a site called *skmm*, which is normally identified with biblical Shechem, Tell Balatah.[51] This is widely accepted,[52] although not universally.[53] Ben-Tor rejected the identification based on the absence of substantial Middle Bronze I remains at Tell Balatah, an absence that he believed would rule out the city's appearance in the ET or an Egyptian campaign against it. Indeed, the Middle Bronze I remains (Strata XXII–XXI) at the site are limited to few fragmentary walls and installations covering a very restricted area,[54] but the first fortification wall (Wall D) was constructed during the Middle Bronze I/II transition period (Stratum XX).[55] Further, major fortifications, including an earthen rampart, were uncovered in the northern part of the site from the following Middle Bronze II period (Strata XIX–XVII),[56] while two gates were added in the east and the northwest in the Middle Bronze III (Strata XVI–XV), along with a *migdol* temple and gate sanctuaries (Fig. 7).[57] The city was evidently flourishing in the Middle Bronze II and Middle Bronze III periods, because remains from these periods have been reached in virtually every trench. Based on the new radiocarbon chronology, the Khu-Sobek inscription might still be contemporary with the (unfortified) Middle Bronze I at Shechem, but the ET refer to the slightly later one that had reached a developed urban stage.

### Pehal

*Piḥ³wm* (Brussels Group E8) was identified with toponym Pehal and Tabaqat Fahl (Pella).[58] The site was fortified during the Middle Bronze I/II transition, and possibly even earlier in the Middle Bronze I, as attested by the discovery of a substantial Phase X fortification wall in the southern part of the tell. This fortification was still in use in the following phases (IX/VIII), which belong to the Middle Bronze II.[59] Domestic remains have been uncovered in both the Middle Bronze I and Middle Bronze II phases, along with intramural burials and extramural tombs,[60] which indicates that the site was occupied throughout the Middle Bronze Age. As the main gateway community into the Jordanian highlands, Tabaqat Fahl (Pella) appears to have been an important site.

### Hazor

Brussels Group toponym *ḥḏwi³i* (E15) was identified with Hazor by Posener and van de Walle,[61] and this has been widely accepted. Tel Hazor has yielded only minor occupational remains from the late Middle Bronze I or Middle Bronze I/II transitional periods (Stratum pre-XVII), which are restricted to the upper city of the site and consist of single walls

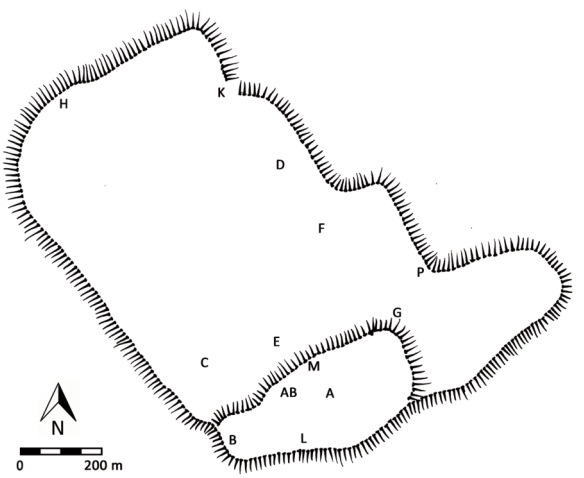


**Figure 8:** Hazor: excavation areas.

and a few tombs.[62] Ben-Tor was emphatic about this,[63] writing that "*no settlement existed at Hazor during MB I*" (emphasis by Ben-Tor), and even calling Hazor a "nonentity."[64] It was on this basis that he argued against a ruler of Hazor, bearing the non-Semitic name *gṯi*, being included in E15. In the Middle Bronze II (Strata XVII and 4), however, a prominent earthen rampart was erected that surrounded the lower city (Fig. 8), complementing fortifications (Wall 375) that were constructed around the upper city.[65] Ben-Tor pointed out that the city became a flourishing center only after these fortifications were completed, in the later Middle Bronze II, Middle Bronze III, and Late Bronze Age,[66] which would be consistent with a revised chronology: a person named *gṯi* may well have ruled Hazor at some point during the Middle Bronze II and Middle Bronze III, after it had grown to become the dominant city of the north.

### Jerusalem

The toponym *ꜣwšmm* was included in both the Brussels Group (E45) and in the Berlin Group (f18 and e27/28) and has been identified with Jerusalem,[67] although Nadav Naʾaman has questioned this.[68] As the toponym appeared in both groups, occupation during the late 12th and early 13th Dynasties at the site could be expected. While no remains dating to the Middle Bronze I have yet been uncovered in Jerusalem, several finds have been dated to the Middle Bronze II, including from the excavations by Kathleen Kenyon,[69] Yigal Shiloh,[70] and Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron.[71] These projects have revealed sections of a Middle Bronze II city wall extending from the eastern slope of the City of David, as well as a water system of similar age at the Gihon Spring and the adjacent tower (Fig. 9). In some cases, reuse of the Middle Bronze II structures can been observed in the Iron Age II, although it is possible that they date to a later period altogether.[72] David Ussishkin recently suggested re-dating some of these remains to the Iron II to III period,[73] and indeed radiocarbon dates from the Gihon Spring tower might support an Iron Age date of this structure.[74] Although some of the alleged Middle Bronze II structures might be of later date, the ceramic evidence still supports the notion that Jerusalem was a substantial settlement by this period based on ceramic assemblages.

### Tell Keisan

*ꜣkspi* appears in the Brussels Group (E11) and was identified as toponym Achshaph, Tell Keisan,[75] but

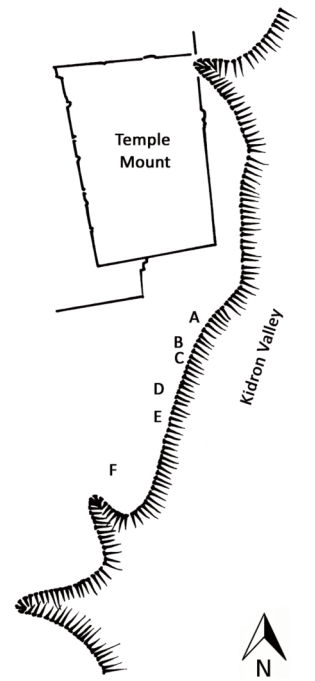


**Figure 9:** Jerusalem: major excavation areas: A: Kenyon's wall, B: Warren's Shaft, C: Gihon Spring, D: Shiloh's Wall, E: Wall 501, F: Birkat el-Hamra.

this is not wholly accepted.[76] Excavations were conducted in there in the 1930s by John Garstang,[77] and then again in the 1970s by Jean Prignaud, Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jacques Briend.[78] The earlier excavations uncovered a core wall, earthen rampart, and glacis in the southern part of the tell (Area S) that were ascribed to Stratum XVI, which has been dated to the Middle Bronze II.[79] A larger section of the same fortification structure was recently exposed during work by heavy machinery, and was recorded and surveyed by Gunnar Lehmann and Martin Peilstöcker.[80] Excavations to date have not exposed the Middle Bronze Age strata any further, so little can be concluded regarding the settlement in this period, but the fortification system nevertheless indicates that the site was a flourishing center in the Middle Bronze II.

## Conclusion

The new high radiocarbon chronology for the Middle Bronze Age Levant has allowed us to reassess the valuable corpus of toponymic data that is available in the Egyptian ET. Little historical value has been ascribed to them due to their supposed incompatibility with the archaeological record with

which they were assumed to be contemporary. The high chronology indicates that these texts do not belong to the Middle Bronze I, but rather to the Middle Bronze II—a period in light of which they have not yet been interpreted.

Many of the toponyms for which there are reasonable identifications with archaeological sites have showed no or scant remains dating to the Middle Bronze I, reinforcing conclusions about the historical unreliability of the ET. However, those same sites were flourishing, often fortified, centers in the subsequent Middle Bronze II. While these sites did not necessarily have to pose an actual threat to Egypt, the inclusion in the ET indicated the familiarity of Egypt with these toponyms and thus an awareness of the southern Levant.

When Ben-Tor asked whether the ET accurately reflected the contemporary settlement map of the southern Levant, his answer had to be negative. Instead of potentially threatening societal entities in the southern Levant, Ben-Tor saw in the toponym list a more abstract, symbolic function, and concluded that using the ET for sympathetic magic did not require real or contemporary enemies.[81] While this still might hold true, it is now evident that the mentioned sites examined in here were settled in this period. Consequently, the toponym list is likely to reflect the landscape of the southern Levant to a certain degree and therefore can be a valuable historical source for the southern Levant.

**Acknowledgments**

I would like to thank Dr. Gareth Roberts for improving the language of this paper as well as his valuable comments on the topic itself.

---

1 Kurt Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches,* Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften phil.-hist. Klasse 5 (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1926).

2 Georges Posener and Baudouin van de Walle, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoutement du Moyen Empire; suivis de remarques paléographiques sur les textes similaires de Berlin,* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1940).

3 Jean Vercoutter, "Textes exécratoires de Mirgissa," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 107.1 (1963): 97–102; Yvan Koenig, "Les Textes d'Envoûtement de Mirgissa," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 41 (1990): 101–117.

4 A. M. Abu Bakr and Jürgen Osing, "Ächtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 29 (1973): 97–133.

5 Sethe 1926, 5; Alt 1941, 21.

6 Jan Assmann, "*Spruch 23 der Pyramidentexte und die Ächtung der Feinde Pharaos*," in Catherine Berger, Gisele Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, Études pharaoniques 1 (Cairo: Institut français d'archeologie orientale, 1994), 45–59.

7 Albrecht Alt, "Herren und Herrensitze Palästinas im Anfang des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. Vorläufige Bemerkungen zu den neuen Ächtungstexten," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 64 (1941): 21.

8 For a summary and critique see: M. Weiss, "The Pattern of the 'Execration Texts' in the Prophetic Literature," *Israel Exploration Journal* 19.3: 150–157.

9 Posener 1940, 31–35; Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 87–88; for a summary see Amnon Ben-Tor, "Do the Execretion Texts Reflect an Accurate Picture of the Contemporary Settlement Map of Palestine?" in Yairah Amit, Ehud Ben Zvi, Israel Finkelstein and Oded Lipschits (eds.), *A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman: Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 63–87.

10 Sethe 1926.

11 Shmuel Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press Hebrew University, 1984); Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*: *A Historical Geography* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1967).

12 For a summary of acceptance and rejection of individual toponyms see Aharoni 1968, table 1–4.

13 Sethe 1926.

14 Posener and van de Walle 1940.

15 Albright 1941.

16 Anson F. Rainey, "The World of Sinuhe," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 369–408; Anson F. Rainey, "Remarks on Donald Redford's Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 295 (1994): 81–85; Rainey 2006.

17 Donald B. Redford, "A Response to Rainey's "Remarks on Redford's Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 301 (1996): 77–81.

18 James M. Weinstein, "Egyptian Relations with Palestine in the Middle Kingdom," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 217 (1975): 1–16; Susan L. Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections*: *The Relationship of Middle Bronze IIA Canaan to Middle Kingdom Egypt* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 17.

19 Ben-Tor 2006.

20 Ben-Tor 2006, 64–65.

21 Ben-Tor 2006, 65.

22 Ben-Tor 2006, table 1–4.

23 Ben-Tor 2006, 77–80.

24 Ben-Tor 2006, 80–81.

25 Amihai Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. 10,000–586 B.C.E.* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

26 Manfred Bietak, "Antagonisms in Historical and Radiocarbon Chronology," in Andrew J. Shortland and Christopher Bronk Ramsey (eds.), *Radiocarbon and the Chronologies of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 76–109; for a critique see Felix Höflmayer and Sturt W. Manning, "Middle Bronze Age Chronology and Synchronisms in the Ancient Near East: A Radiocarbon Perspective," in D. Lacambre and W. Nahm (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Chronology of the Early Second Millennium BC in the Near East and Egypt. Proceedings of an International Colloquium 8–9 September 2015, Maison de la Recherche (Université de Lille 3-SHS), France* (forthcoming).

27 Walter Kutschera, Manfred Bietak, Eva M. Wild, Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Michael W. Dee, Robin Golser, Karin Kopetzky, Peter Stadler, Peter Steier, Ursula Thanheiser, and Franz Weninger, "The Chronology of Tell el-Daba: A Crucial Meeting Point of 14C Dating, Archaeology, and Egyptology in the 2nd Millennium BC," *Radiocarbon* 54 (2012): 407–422.

28 Felix Höflmayer, Assaf Yasur-Landau, Eric H. Cline, Michael W. Dee, B. Lorentzen and Simone Riehl, "New Radiocarbon Dates from Tel Kabri Support a High Middle Bronze Age Chronology," *Radiocarbon* 58 (2016): 599–613.

29 Felix Höflmayer, Jens Kamlah, Hélène Sader, Michael W. Dee, Walter Kutschera, Eva M. Wild, and Simone Riehl, "New Evidence for Middle Bronze Age Chronology and Synchronisms in the Levant: Radiocarbon Dates from Tell el-Burak, Tell el-Dabᶜa, and Tel Ifshar Compared," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (2016): 53–76.

30 Höflmayer, this volume.

31 Christopher Bronk Ramsey, Michael W. Dee, Joanne M. Rowland, Thomas F. G. Higham, Stephen A. Harris, Fiona Brock, Anita Quiles, Eva M. Wild, Ezra S. Marcus, and Andrew J. Shortland, "Radiocarbon-Based Chronology for Dynastic Egypt," *Science* 328 (2010): 1554–1557; Michael W. Dee, "A Radiocarbon-based Chronology for the Old Kingdom," in Andrew J. Shortland and Christopher Bronk Ramsey (eds.), *Radiocarbon and the Chronologies of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 209–217; Michael W. Dee, "A Radiocarbon-based Chronology for the Middle Kingdom," in Andrew J. Shortland and Christopher Bronk Ramsey (eds.), *Radiocarbon and the Chronologies of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 174–181; Michael W. Dee, "A Radiocarbon-based Chronology for the New Kingdom," in Andrew J. Shortland and Christopher Bronk Ramsey (eds.), *Radiocarbon and the Chronologies of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), 65–75.

32 Sethe 1926, 52.

33 Posener and van de Walle 1940, 65.

34 Ross Voss, "A Sequence of Four Middle Bronze Age Gates in Ashkelon," in Manfred Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant. Proceedings of an International Conference on MB IIA Ceramic Material* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), 379–384.

35 Lawrence E. Stager and Ross Voss, "Egyptian Pottery in Middle Bronze Age Ashkelon," *Eretz Israel* 30 (2011): 119*–126*.

[36] Posener and van de Walle 1940, 69.

[37] Esther Yadin, "Middle Bronze Age Pottery," in Yuval Gadot and Esther Yadin (eds.), *Aphek-Antipatris II: The Remains on the Acropolis* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2009), 111–181.

[38] Yadin 2009, 19–31.

[39] Yadin 2009, 39.

[40] Posener and van de Walle 1940, 87.

[41] A. Raban, "The Port City of Akko in the MBII," *Michmanim* 5 (1991): 17*–34*.

[42] M. Dothan, "Tel Acco," in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993), 17–23.

[43] Dothan 1993, 19.

[44] Posener and van de Walle 1940, 92.

[45] Avraham Biran, *Biblical Dan* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994); Avraham Biran, David Ilan and Raphael Greenberg (eds.), *Dan I*: *A Chronicle of the Excavations, the Pottery Neolithic, the Early Bronze Age and the Middle Bronze Age Tombs* (Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 1996); Avraham Biran, Baruch Arensburg, Rachel Ben-Dov, Avi Gopher, David Ilan and Raphael Greenberg (eds.), *Dan II* (Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 1996–2002); Rachel Ben-Dov, *Dan III*: *Avraham Biran Excavations 1966–1999* (Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 2011).

[46] Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996, 19.

[47] Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996, 18–20, 51–61.

[48] Avraham Biran, "The Triple Arched Gate of Laish at Tel Dan," *Israel Exploration Journal* 34 (1984), 1–19; Biran, Ilan and Greenberg, 1996, 58–61, plan 10.

[49] Biran 1984, 12.

[50] Posener and van de Walle 1940, 68.

[51] Mazar 1947, 46–47.

[52] Albright 1941, 18; Aharoni 1967, 134.

[53] Ben-Tor 2006, 71–72.

[54] Edward F. Campbell, Jr. and G. R. H. Wright, *Shechem III*: *The Stratigraphy and Architecture of Shechem Tell Balatah* (Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002), 17–26.

[55] Campbell and Wright 2002, 25–26.

[56] Campbell and Wright 2002, 44–49, fig. 10.

[57] Campbell and Wright 2002, 105–143, figs. 2, 7.

[58] Posener and van de Walle 1940, 68.

[59] Stephen J. Bourke, Rachael Sparks, and M. Schroder, "Pella in the Middle Bronze Age," in Peter M. Fischer (ed.), *The Chronology of the Jordan Valley during the Middle and the Late Bronze Ages: Pella, Tell Abu al-Kharaz, and Tell Deir ʿAlla* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 9–58.

[60] Bourke, Sparks, and Schroder 2006, table 2.

[61] Posener and van de Walle 1940, 73.

[62] Amnon Ben-Tor, "Hazor and Chronology," *Ägypten & Levante* 14 (2004): 45–67, and references therein.

[63] Ben-Tor 2006, 75.

[64] Ben-Tor 2006.

[65] Amnon Ben-Tor (ed.), *Hazor III–IV*: *The James A. de Rothschild Expedition to Hazor: An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavation 1957–1958* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989).

[66] Ben-Tor 2004, 51.

[67] Posener and van de Walle 1940, 86; Alt 1941, 31; Aharoni 1967, 133.

[68] Nadav Naʾaman, "Canaanite Jerusalem and Its Central Hill Country Neighbours in the Second Millennium B.C.E.," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 24 (1992): 276–291; Ben-Tor 2006, 69–70.

[69] Margret L. Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967*: *Vol. 3: The Settlement in the Bronze and Iron Age* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

[70] Alon de Groot and Hannah Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985, Directed by Yigal Shiloh*: *Vol. VIIA: Area E: Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Jerusalem: The Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2012).

[71] Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, "The History of the Gihon Spring in Jerusalem," *Levant* 36 (2004): 211–223; Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, "The Date of the City-Wall 501 in Jerusalem," *Tel Aviv* 35 (2008): 114–122; Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, "A New Segment of the Middle Bronze

Fortification in the City of David," *Tel Aviv* 37 (2010): 141–153; Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, "The Date of the Siloam Tunnel Reconsidered," *Tel Aviv* 38 (2011): 147–157.

72 Joseph Uziel and Nahshon Szanton, "Recent Excavations near the Gihon Spring and their Reflection on the Character of the Iron II Jerusalem," *Tel Aviv* 42 (2015): 233–250.

73 David Ussishkin, "Was Jerusalem a Fortified Stronghold in the Middle Bronze Age? An Alternative View," *Levant* 48 (2016): 135–151.

74 Johana Regev, Nahshon Szanton, Joseph Uziel and Elisabetta Boaretto, "Dating the Fortification of the Gihon Spring," *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 10 (2016): 72–81 (Hebrew).

75 Yuval Goren, Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Naʾaman, *Inscribed in Clay*: *Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 231–233; Ben-Tor 2006, 75–76.

76 Gunnar Lehmann and Martin Peilstöcker, *Map of Ahihud (20)*: *Archaeological Survey of Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2012), 16–18.

77 Unpublished.

78 Jacques Briend and Jean-Baptiste Humbert (eds.), *Tell Keisan (1971–1976)*: *Une cité phénicienne en Galilée* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1980).

79 Jean-Baptiste Humbert, "Tell Keisan," in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993), 862–867; Marjory V. Seton Williams, "Report on the Preliminary Investigations," in Jacques Briend and Jean-Baptiste Humbert (eds.): *Une cité phénicienne en Galilée, Tell Keisan (1971–1976)* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1980), 382–389.

80 Lehmann and Peilstöcker 2012, 36–37.

81 Ben-Tor 2006, 80.