



ISRAEL IN CANAAN (LONG) BEFORE PHARAOH MERENPTAH? A FRESH LOOK AT BERLIN STATUE PEDESTAL RELIEF 21687¹

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



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ABSTRACT













In 2001, Manfred Görg published a new reading of a fragmentary name ring on a topographical pedestal relief in the Berlin Museum (no. 21687).² Although the inscription had previously been listed in topographical studies,³ the reading of the fragmentary third name ring had not received adequate attention. Görg suggested reading the broken name as an archaic form for “Israel” and argued that it could have been copied during the Nineteenth Dynasty from an earlier list. As his publication was in German, his proposal has so far been unavailable to a wider English-speaking readership. Two scholars, Bryant Wood and James Hoffmeier, have briefly discussed Görg’s proposal;⁴ while the former welcomed it, the latter rejected it on linguistic grounds.⁵ The present authors republish the relief fragment here in English and include new evidence that appears to support Görg’s original reading.⁶

STATUE PEDESTAL RELIEF 21687: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The topographical relief that is the subject of this article is found on a grey granite slab measuring 46 cm in height and 39.5 cm in width (Figure 1).⁷ According to the Egyptian Museum’s warehouse archival notes, the fragment, most likely part of a statue pedestal, was acquired in 1913 by Ludwig Borchardt from a merchant named M. Nachman, along with several other objects.⁸ One of these is an additional pedestal relief of about the same size (50 × 38 cm) that is likewise made of grey granite (no. 21688; Figure 2).⁹ Although its presentation of prisoners and name rings is not exactly the same as on no. 21687, its overall size and layout does suggest it could have had a similar provenance.¹⁰ While no. 21687 in its present state of preservation contains three name rings superimposed on Western Asiatic prisoners, no. 21688 has three name rings superimposed on two Western Asiatic prisoners (outer left and right) and one Nubian prisoner in the center. While the two outer name rings on no. 21688 are only fragmentarily preserved (of the outer left, only traces of a single hieroglyph  [D 21], *r*, can be detected at the top right), the central name ring is complete, and reads   , *3-r-k-3*, which is evidently a

Nubian name.¹¹ Although the outer right name ring is incomplete, its name can be clearly restored as     , *R-t-n-w* + [*hr.*]t, or as     , *R-t-n-w* + [*hr.*]t—i.e., (Upper) Retenu.

Slab no. 21687 has been tentatively dated by Manfred Görg to the Nineteenth Dynasty—possibly to the reign of Ramesses II—primarily because the mention of the three names (see below) resembles that of Merenptah’s “Israel Stele” rather closely.¹² The date may be further supported by additional iconographic features from the same reign at the temple of Karnak (Ashkelon Wall) and a possible *vorlage* from the reign of Ramesses II.¹³ Alternatively, the relief may be older (as originally suggested by Görg and Raphael Giveon, who dated it to the Eighteenth Dynasty).¹⁴

There is also a band of hieroglyphs carved above the heads of the prisoners depicted on slab no. 21687 that reads:            , [. . .] *htb.w hr rd.wi=f* [. . .]: “one, who is falling on his feet . . .”

THE NAME RINGS






As for the name rings on slab no. 21687, three names can be discerned.¹⁵ The first on the left reads     , *i-s-q-l-n*, or “Ashkelon.” A similar writing (but with a vowel marker) is



Figure 1. Slab no. 21687. Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

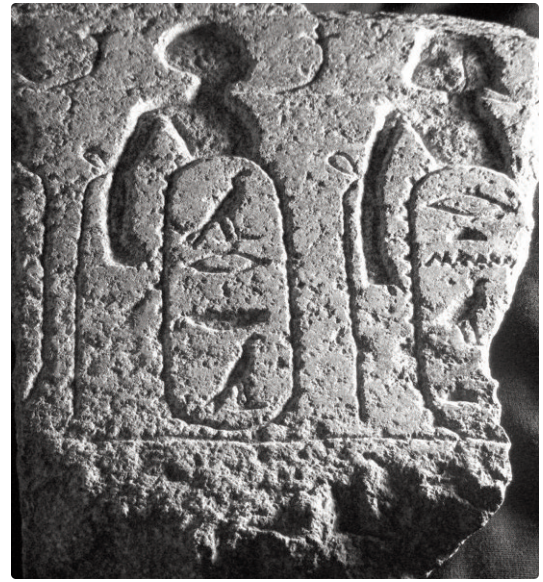


Figure 2. Slab no. 21688. Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

attested on Merenptah’s Israel Stele.¹⁶ Although the short non-vocalized rendering on the Berlin slab is unique, a parallel can be found in pLen 1116 A vs 76 and 186 as $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *i-s-q-3-l-n-3*, from the time of Amenhotep II.¹⁷

The name in the central ring reads $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *k-y-n-c-nw*, or “Canaan.” This form of the name is well attested during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and finds close parallels under Amenhotep II as $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *k-y-n-c-nw*, in Memphis and as $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *k-y-n-c-nw*, in Karnak (also note the use of the final 𓂏).¹⁸ While the name is normally written as $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *P3-Kn^cn*, as in KRI I 8:9 during the Ramesside period (some believe this to be a reference to Gaza; others take it as a term to describe Canaan proper¹⁹), there also exist forms without *P3* whose spelling is longer and clearly deviant from the shorter Berlin and Eighteenth Dynasty references (especially so under Amenhotep II).²⁰

These first two topographical names are written largely consonantly (i.e., virtually devoid of any group-writings) and hence may be compared with earlier Eighteenth Dynasty references (as under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II), though they deviate from Nineteenth Dynasty renderings.²¹ Görg derives the name “Canaan” from *kn^c* (“to flatten”), translating it as “low land”; he has compared the ethnic renderings of the name *Kn^cnw* (“Canaanites”) on the Karnak and Memphis stelae of Amenhotep II with that of the Berlin relief and suggests that the *-nu* (< *-n*) ending reflects an Amorite name pattern. This too would underscore the antiquity of the name.²²

The rightmost name, $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *i-[?]-s3-i-r*, is only partly preserved due to substantial hacking, probably done in modern times. Indeed, the right edge is so badly worn that the remains—especially of the hieroglyph at the top right

(i.e., to the right of the flowering reed 𓂏 [M17], *i*)—can only be detected with difficulty. In his 2001 article, Görg interpreted the upper horizontal stroke as the beak of a vulture 𓂏 [G1], *3*.²³ Subsequent examinations of the original slab by Peter van der Veen and Christoffer Theis indeed support this view (Figures 3 and 4). Although the single stroke might also be interpreted alternatively as the top of a *sw*-plant 𓂏 [M23], or else as 𓂏 [U33], *ti*, most recent re-examinations of the visible remains on the original slab in Berlin (through photography under special lighting and with the use of aluminium foil to capture any remaining detectable depressions in the stone) have revealed evidence of what appears to be the left leg and claw of the vulture hieroglyph 𓂏 [G1] (see reconstruction in Figure 5).²⁴

If justified (which we believe it is), this reconstruction would settle the reading of this hieroglyph once and for all. Based on the measurements of the name ring and the size of the individual hieroglyphs, it was also possible to establish with certainty that there is not enough space for any other hieroglyphs to the right of 𓂏 [M8], *s3*, and 𓂏 , *r* (= *l*; Egyptian language did not possess a separate sign for *lamed*²⁵) with vowel sign D21. This element most likely represents the short version of the divine name ‘Il/’El as it is found during the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty. Elmar Edel argues that the (later) plene form became common practice near the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty: “Although the transition from the spelling $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ to $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ for ‘il first occurred under Amenhotep III, the more fully developed rendering is already attested in another place name under Thutmose III, namely in $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *Y^cqb-’il* (= יַעֲקֹבְאֵל) in List I, 102.”²⁶ As discussed above, evidence of early orthography is evident also



Figure 3. Close-up of the upper section of no. 21687, with the remains of the flowering reed [M17], vulture [G1], and lotus pool [M8] signs. Courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.



Figure 4. Close-up of the lower section of the claw and leg of the G1 vulture. Courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

from the other two names on the Berlin pedestal relief, Ashkelon and Canaan, which both reveal archaic elements that suggest this section of the topographical list had been copied from an earlier source that could have had its origin during the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, or perhaps earlier still (Second Intermediate Period?).²⁷ Thus, the name can now safely be reconstructed as: , *i-3-š3-i-r*.

CAN IT READ “ISRAEL”?

Unfortunately, no such name has hitherto been found in any extant topographical list, let alone on those dealing with the more restricted area of Canaan.²⁸ Although Görg originally sought to connect the broken name with , *Y-š3-p-i-l* (Yašap-El), attested in the Thutmose List I, 78a²⁹ (a reading that does not match the remaining signs on the relief), he proposed the alternative reading *I-3-š3(i)-i-l/Y3-šr-il* in his 2001 article (a reading the other two authors of this article were able to confirm through their independent study of the original slab). Moreover, this name is not attested in the Palestinian topographic onomasticon. Görg therefore suggested reading the 3-vowel marker in [M8], š3, as *r* (hence as *šr*), as in many Middle Egyptian topographical and personal names (e.g., the Middle Kingdom Execration Texts, “The Story of Sinuhe”): , *Rw-š3-m-m*, for Jeru-

salem (c 27–28; also see E 45) or , *I-š-q-3-i* (E 2), for Ashkelon (where 3 = *r* representing *l*).³⁰ Indeed, the use of Middle Kingdom 3 for *r* is also—albeit infrequently—attested in New Kingdom topographical names as well as in one royal Kassite name:

- Syro-Palestinian geographical name (GN) , *B3-d3-n-3* (as on Thutmose III’s List I, 23a, b, c)³¹ = , *B3-d3-r-w-n-3*, *B-d-r-n* (as at Amenhotep III’s temple at Kom el-Hetan) = Bušruna (cf. Amarna Letters 197:13; 199:13³²; identical with biblical Bešer or Bozra, e.g., Deuteronomy 4:43; Joshua 20:8).
- North Syrian coastal GN , *I-k3-t-y* (Stelae of Amenhotep II at Karnak and Memphis³³) = , *’-k3-r-y-ti* = Ugarit (Amenhotep List III: IX; Horemheb: List XII)³⁴
- Palestinian GN , *Q-n-ti-k3-m-r* (Ramesses II, Amarah-West³⁵) = supposedly the same rendering as texts of Amenhotep III (lists at Aksha and Amarah³⁶) and Ginti-Kirmil (cf. Amarna Letters 288, 289; 290³⁷).
- Northeast Syrian GN , *m3-k3-š* (Ramesses II, Amarah-West, Nr. 41) = (possibly the same as) Makrisa/Magrisi (located in the middle Habur region).³⁸
- Palestinian GN , *H-k3-i-m* (scarab of Thutmose III from Tell Farah South³⁹) = , *H-y-k-r-y-m*; , *H-w-y-k-3-r’-n-y-3*⁴⁰ (cf. Lists of Thutmose I, no. 89; Amenhotep III⁴¹).

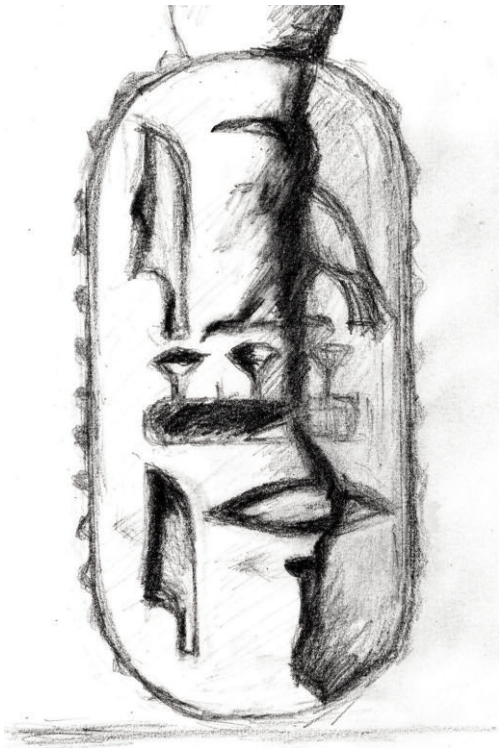


Figure 5. Reconstruction of the third name ring on slab no. 21687. Line drawing by Peter van der Veen.

- Nubian GN *M3-k-i-3* (name as written under Sesostri III, with variant *M3-k-3*, as found under Thutmose III according to Georges Posener), probably identical with *M-r-k3-rw*⁴² (likewise from the reign of Thutmose III).⁴³

- Egyptian rendering of the royal Kassite personal name “Kurigalzu”—i.e., King Kurigalzu I (early contemporary of Amenhotep III), referred to in Amarna Letters 9:19; 11, rev. 19–20: *K3-rw-k-3-t3*, and with bureaucratic title *imi-r' wr n(i) S3ngr*, “Great Leader of Sangar”⁴⁴ on an inscribed carnelian cylinder seal from the Armenian Iron Age gravesite of Metsamor.⁴⁵ This name is also attested in Egyptian topographical lists from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan as GN *Dwr-k3-r'-k-n-[]* and *[], []-k3-r'-k-n-t3 = Dur Kurigalzu (modern ‘Aqar Quf).*⁴⁶

If the reading of *r* for *3* in the third Berlin name ring is accepted, then the name may be read as *T3-šr-i-r = T3-šr-il* or *Y3-šr-il*,⁴⁷ a name that undoubtedly resembles the biblical name “Israel” (Hebrew *yśrʾl*), with the exception that the Hebrew name is written with *šin* (𐤱) instead of with *šin* (𐤳).⁴⁸ Indeed, the only mention of Israel in any extant Egyptian text is that of the Israel Stele of Merenptah, where the name is written with *s*:

Y-s-r-i-r.⁴⁹ This discrepancy was noted by James Hoffmeier, who argued that Görg’s reading *T3-šr-il/Y3-šr-il* “is plagued by serious linguistic and orthographic problems that preclude it from being Israel” and that “[o]ne would not expect the second sign to be a (*3*), but or (*šin*) if Israel was the toponym,” and again that “*š* should be used as on the Merneptah stele, and not *ś*.”⁵⁰ Hoffmeier, however, correctly concludes that if the second sign is *3* (as we were able to confirm), then it cannot be *s* (something Görg indeed never suggested). As for the vowel marker *3* of , *š3*, Hoffmeier then argues that it must represent Semitic *lamed* (or presumably *resh*, as appears evident from his own name reconstructions). Consequently, he suggests the names *Il-* or *Irshalir*, *Il/Irsharil*, and/or *Il/Irshalil*. He then goes on to say that *š3* equals Hebrew *šā*, which disagrees with *śr* as in *Israel*. Lastly, he states that the final does not likely read Semitic *lamed*, as *lamed* is written with the sign in Ashkelon on the same pedestal relief, and it seems strange that the same scribe would have used “two different signs . . .” for the same letter.

Regardless of the issue of the different sibilants (to which we shall return in due course), Hoffmeier’s other three arguments are not convincing:

(1) There is no reason why *3* should represent Semitic *lamed* or *resh*, even if the vowel marker in *š3* is read as *r* in accordance with the examples listed above. While *3* admittedly can represent Semitic *lamed* or *resh*, in initial position followed by an *ʾaleph* can represent *i* or *é* (as has been cogently argued by Wolfgang Helck and more recently by Thomas Schneider⁵¹) or simply *y3*.

(2) It is untrue that *š3* only equals Hebrew *šā*. As we have argued above, the vowel marker can be read as *r* as in Middle Egyptian documents (e.g., in the names *B3-d3-n-3*, *T-k3-ti*, *Qnt-k3mr*).

(3) It is untrue that the same scribe should have utilized the same sign for *lamed* as in Ashkelon if this was the letter he intended to represent. The interchange of variable signs in foreign topographical and personal names from New Kingdom Egypt surely speaks against this (compare, e.g., the personal name Kurigalzu on the Metsamor cylinder seal above, with *r* written as and *l* represented by *3*).⁵² Moreover, Semitic *lamed* as found in the theophoric element “Il/El” is frequently written as either short (earlier) or as longer (later) (with variants).⁵³ As the theophoric element is not found in the name “Ashkelon,” there is also no reason why the scribe should have used the same sign.

CAN IT BE (BIBLICAL) ISRAEL?

The topographical sequence of the name *T3-šr-il/Y3-šr-il* on the Berlin pedestal relief occurs together with Ashkelon and Canaan and therefore closely resembles the topographical names listed in close proximity to Israel on the Israel Stele (i.e., Pa-Canaan, Ashkelon, Gezer, Yenoam, Israel).⁵⁴ The proximity of the names in both documents seems to suggest that both texts are related in some way and that both could date to the

Nineteenth Dynasty (Görg tentatively suggested the reign of Ramesses II for the Berlin relief) and that their geographical nearness suggests the identification with the same topographical entity within central Palestine. For what other name in the same general region would be so strikingly reminiscent of that of biblical Israel?⁵⁵ As a matter of fact, no linguistically feasible name is attested in any of the extant texts, so “Israel” remains the most logical candidate.

1. *Israel in Biblical Tradition and Beyond*

Hoffmeier’s understanding of the name “Israel” is based solely on a single (folk-)etiological explanation in Genesis 32:29 (cf. Hosea 12:4) that interprets the name in the light of Jacob’s wrestling with the Lord’s angel and translates “he wrestled (with) EL.”⁵⁶ Quite frankly, the connotation of the verbal (phrase) name “Israel” is more complex than Hoffmeier admits, and its etymology and orthography have been a repeated source of disagreement among scholars.⁵⁷ Although Martin Noth argued in 1928 that “Every alteration of the preserved pronunciation must be rejected”—as it was founded “on ancient Tradition” and had been “preserved through a living use [of the name]”—his warning did not terminate the discussion.⁵⁸ This is not surprising, as the Old Testament books appear to allow a variety of verbal roots to be associated with the name “Israel” (one of which is even written with *šm*): *šry/h* (“to fight/struggle,” Genesis 32:29), *šrr* (“to rule, to be strong”⁵⁹: Numbers 16:13, Isaiah 32:1) or *yšr* (“to be upright, righteous”: Deuteronomy 32:15; 33:5, 26; Micah 2:7).⁶⁰ We note that the punctuation of the sibilant *š* was only finalized by the medieval Masoretes, and hence both *šm* and *šm* are theoretically possible (the meaning of the name “Israel” was still debated by classical authors and church fathers, who variously derived the name from verbs and nouns written with *š* and *š*—for the latter position, see, e.g., Philo of Alexandria and Jerome [*Ad Marcum*]⁶¹). Even though the first biblical appearance of the name in Genesis 32:29 is written with *šm* (due to the etiological explanation of Jacob’s wrestling), it deserves attention that another name for Israel/Jacob, *Yešurūn* (name with single noun: “the righteous one”⁶²), is written with *šm* and relates to the verb *yšr*.⁶³ While the name *Yešurūn* may be a mere poetic or honorary name for Israel (and hence may not be etymologically related to the “real” name), the possibility remains that it may be related, as some exegetes have indeed argued (e.g., Eugen Sachse, Edmond Jacob, Othniel Margalith and Manfred Görg). Co-author Manfred Görg suggests that the name “Israel” could have derived from an original Canaanite name *Ešhar-Il/ *Yashar-Il, “Perfect is EL.”⁶⁴ Similar names (with and without divine elements) and derived from the verb **yšr*/**yšr* (“be upright”) are attested in the Amorite onomasticon of the early second millennium BCE (cf. *Ya-sa-rum*, *I-šar-li-im*, *Ha-mu-yi-šar*).⁶⁵ If the name on the Berlin block reflects the correct (original) orthography of

the name “Israel,” such an etymological connection becomes a true possibility, especially since the name appears to have derived from an early topographical list (ca. mid–second millennium). Since, according to biblical tradition, the Israelite patriarchs originated from the Amorite Harran-Balih region, an Amorite origin for this name is feasible (Genesis 11:31–32 and 28:5–7, 10; Deuteronomy 26:5; Joshua 24:2–3, etc.). According to Görg (see above), the orthography of the name “Canaan” on the Berlin relief also reveals Amorite elements.

2. *Israel in Written and Oral Transmission*

Even if one prefers to defend *šm* as the original sibilant (as Hoffmeier and many others do), that does not necessarily mean the name “Israel” could not have been rendered with *š* some centuries before Merenptah! It surely is impossible to know how the name had originally been introduced to the Egyptian scribes. Was it introduced to them through written sources (i.e., through early proto-Canaanite and/or cuneiform documents) or merely through oral communication (perhaps based on travel diaries, oral communication with merchants, etc.)—in which case the transmission could have suffered from an irregular pronunciation? The following possibilities must therefore be considered:

(1) The name “Israel” (as a personal name unrelated to the biblical people of Israel) is attested in ancient Near Eastern documents from the Bronze Age, where it is written with *š*: *Iš-ra-il* and perhaps *I-šar-il*, as well as *Išra’il* (at Early Bronze Age Ebla and Late Bronze Age Ugarit, respectively).⁶⁶ Some scholars have therefore assumed that the original name was written with *š*.⁶⁷ According to Josef Tropper, however, at least at Ugarit the issue is more complicated, as Ugaritic *š* can also represent *s*² (= Hebrew *šm*).⁶⁸

(2) It cannot be ruled out that Egyptian scribes’ primary knowledge of foreign names came via cuneiform documents, such that the scribes never actually learned how the names were properly pronounced in their original languages. As Akkadian was the *lingua franca* of ancient Near Eastern Middle and Late Bronze Age societies, and was also used by Egyptian scribes, it is possible that the name “Israel” had originally reached the Egyptian bureaucracy through cuneiform writing.⁶⁹

(3) The transmission of foreign names into another language is a complicated matter that does not consistently follow a strict set of rules (even if the opposite is frequently argued). Perhaps the source of confusion lies in now-lost foreign documents, once available to the Egyptian scribe, in which the orthography of the name “Israel” was already inconsistent or even corrupted. While discussing a series of Mesopotamian topographical names attested in the Medinet Habu Lists (possibly drawing upon earlier sources from the time of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II), Michael Astour was probably correct when he argued that the inconsistency of sibilants in some of the names was not necessarily due “to the carelessness of the Egyptian scribe but to an actual confusion of sibilants in the Northern

Mesopotamian usage itself—a phenomenon well attested in the cuneiform writing of the Mari texts and other contemporaneous documents, caused by the interplay of dialects within both Akkadian and West Semitic.”⁷⁰

(4) Nonetheless, the shift of sibilants could also have occurred in Egypt itself, as the scribe may have either been uninformed about the correct pronunciation or simply mistaken about the orthography of the West Semitic name. Although Egyptian scribes usually wrote *s* or *š* in order to represent West Semitic *s* or *š*, there are several exceptions to the rule.⁷¹ Sometimes names with an original *s* or *š* are represented by *š*. Sometimes one document has *s* or *š* while another one has *š*, yet both seek to represent the same geographical/personal names. For instance, the topographical name “Ashur” is referred to as *šr/šwr* (with several variants) and as *ššr/šr* (with several variants).⁷² The same is true for the Canaanite/Israelite town Socho. While the name is rendered as *swk* in the Thutmoside List I, 67, it is written as *š3-jw-k3* (= *šuk*) in Shoshenk’s Karnak list XXXIV, 38.⁷³

(5) James E. Hoch has argued that Egyptian *š* sometimes does represent Semitic *š*, in which case the sibilant in *T3-šr-il* could well represent the original *š* in Israel.⁷⁴

We do not wish to downplay the complexity of the linguistic issues involved, which go beyond the scope of this article. But it is important to stress that the rendering of foreign names—in Egypt as well as beyond—does not necessarily *always* agree with our linguistic expectations and is not ultimately set in stone. Consequently, we would like to emphasize that the reading of “Israel” on the Berlin pedestal relief is at least possible for two main reasons. First, since there exists linguistic evidence that the original name “Israel” could have been written with *š* (for instance, based on the verb *yšr*), the Egyptian use of *š* (instead of *s* as on Merenptah’s Israel Stele) does not preclude the possibility that the name was originally written with *š* in West Semitic.⁷⁵ Second, and more significantly, the geographical proximity of *T3-šr-il/Y3-šr-il* to Ashkelon and Canaan makes the identification with Israel likely. No known location (especially so near to those two familiar geographical entities) has a name so reminiscent of the biblical name “Israel.”

As stated above, we tentatively ascribe the Berlin pedestal relief to the reign of Ramesses II. Although the reference to “Israel” in association with Ashkelon and Canaan recalls the reference from the reign of Merenptah, a Ramesside date is by no means certain. Görg originally ascribed the block to the reign of Amenhotep II due to the archaic renderings of the names “Ashkelon” and “Canaan.”⁷⁶ Giveon preferred a date during the reign of Amenhotep III, which was tentatively accepted by Shmuel Ahituv.⁷⁷ A date later than Ramesses II (for instance, during the reigns of Merenptah or Ramesses III) seems unlikely, however, as suggested by the short renderings (i.e., largely void of group writings) and the earlier form of the theophoric element *ʿEl*. These clearly deviate from the longer versions during the late Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

T3-šr-il/Y3-šr-il AND THE STUDY OF ISRAEL’S ORIGINS

1. *Proto-Israelite Migrations Before Merenptah?*

It is to be expected that many scholars will find it hard to accept that the name *T3-šr-il/Y3-šr-il* on the Berlin pedestal relief could refer to biblical Israel in Canaan prior to the reign of Merenptah. The question indeed needs to be asked whether it is at all possible that biblical Israel arrived in Canaan during either the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty or the even earlier Second Intermediate Period. Most scholars today—regardless of whether they accept the biblical Exodus and Conquest traditions as historical⁷⁸—suggest that the ethnogenesis of the tribes of Israel occurred no earlier than the end of the Late Bronze Age or the beginning of the Iron Age.⁷⁹ A number of scholars, however, have questioned this view by arguing that “Israel” could have been in Canaan well before 1200 BCE.⁸⁰ Sir Alan Gardiner, Hermann Schögl, Donald Redford, and (most recently) Israel Finkelstein have suggested that the biblical tradition likely contains vague memories of the expulsion of the (West Semitic) Hyksos from Egypt at the start of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁸¹ This is not surprising, as the classical Jewish historian Flavius Josephus equated the biblical Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt.⁸² Some scholars wish to go beyond the stage of vague memories at this point and argue in favor of a complex sociopolitical situation at the end of the Hyksos period that could have included ethnic and social groups, such as the Proto-Israelites, who migrated from Egypt and brought many of the well-fortified Canaanite Bronze Age cities to their knees.⁸³ Yohanan Aharoni and (recently) Aaron Burke have argued that the political and military situation at the end of the Middle Bronze Age was reminiscent of the descriptions of Canaan found in the biblical stories, as they portray a country that was strongly fortified by impressive urban defenses.⁸⁴ This situation is completely different from that during the subsequent Late Bronze Age (especially so during Late Bronze Age II⁸⁵), when, according to Rivka Gonen, the Canaanite towns were frequently unfortified and therefore did not fit the biblical descriptions well.⁸⁶ John Bimson and Bryant Wood have shown that the biblical story of the capture of Jericho (Tell es-Sultan) so closely resembles the archaeological circumstances regarding the destruction of Jericho’s impressive Middle Bronze Age fortifications that one is inclined to believe the two must be related one way or another.⁸⁷ Barbara Sivertsen has recently revived an old German view that the biblical stories are based on multiple “Exodi.”⁸⁸ She dates one Exodus to the Hyksos period (and suggests that this is reflected by archaeological evidence from the Eastern Delta) and the other to the early Eighteenth Dynasty—to which scholars such as Hans Goedicke, Bryant Wood, and (originally) John Bimson have also assigned the biblical event.⁸⁹




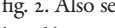
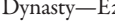

2. *T3-šr-il/Y3-šr-il and Proto-Israelite Migrations*

How would this relate to the name *T3-šr-il/Y3-šr-il* on the Berlin relief? If the name refers to *biblical* Israel, and if it was located in Canaan (as seems to be indicated by its association with

Ashkelon and Canaan), and if the names had been copied from an earlier source (supported by the archaic orthography of all three names on the slab), this would indeed suggest that Proto-Israelites had migrated to Canaan sometime nearer the middle of the second millennium BCE. Naturally, this proposition will need to be supported by additional archaeological and epigraphic evidence.

NOTES

1. The authors would like to thank Dr. John Bimson, Prof. Dr. Gershon Galil, Viktor Golinetz, Dr. Martin Heide, Robert Porter, and Dr. Bryant Wood for their helpful advice on various aspects of this paper and for correcting the English.
2. Manfred Görg, "Israel in Hieroglyphen," *Biblische Notizen* 106 (2001), 21–27. The article deals with the name "Israel" on the Merenptah Stele, its possible etymology and in closing with the name ring found on the pedestal fragment discussed more fully within this article. Also see: Elmar Edel and Manfred Görg, *Die Ortsnamenlisten im nördlichen Säulenhof des Totentempels Amenophis' III., Ägypten und Altes Testament* 50 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 86 and 118.
3. For instance, see Manfred Görg, *Untersuchungen zur hieroglyphischen Wiedergabe palästinischer Ortsnamen, Bonner Orientalische Studien* NS 29 (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, 1974), 47ff.; Raphael Giveon, "Three Fragments from Egyptian Geographical Lists," *Eretz Israel* 15 (1981), *137–*139 and Plate 12. Also see Shmuel Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1984), 15.
4. Bryant G. Wood, "The Rise and Fall of the 13th-Century Exodus-Conquest Theory," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 48 (2005), 475–489. James K. Hoffmeier, "What is the Biblical Date for the Exodus? A Response to Bryant Wood," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 50/2 (2007), 225–247. Also see John J. Bimson, "Die 'Akte' Exodus," *Abenteuer Archäologie* 1:4 (2004), 25; Uwe Zerbst and Peter van der Veen (eds.), *Keine Posaunen vor Jericho? Beiträge zur Archäologie der Landnahme* (Holzgerlingen: Hänssler Verlag, 2009), 44.
5. Hoffmeier, esp. 241–242.
6. A preliminary response by Görg was published by Wood in the form of a translated quotation lacking the detailed information contained in this article. See Bryant G. Wood, "The Biblical Date for the Exodus is 1446 B.C.: A Response to James Hoffmeier," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 50/2 (2007), 259–258 (esp. 254–255).
7. Its thickness (7.5 cm) is not relevant, as it was cut out of a large block, probably in modern times.
8. Also see Günther Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929), 597.
9. Roeder, 596.
10. While the size of the name rings is approximately identical on both slabs (on no. 21687 the name rings measure 18 × 9 cm, while on no. 21688 they are 20.5 × 9 cm) the execution of the prisoners is slightly different. While the prisoners on no. 21687 are bound by horizontal fetters tied

- to their necks, the fetters on no. 21688 are bent upwards and terminate in what resemble a fleur-de-lis and a papyrus symbol.
11. See: Karola Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten, Beihefte Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients—Reihe B Nr. 1*. (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1972), 71–72. Zibelius argues that the name is a misspelling for *trrk* or *trk* (especially 176–178, 82 and n. 70) and that the G1 vulture was a copyist error for the *tiw*-bird . This would represent a region located to the west of modern Darfur, inhabited by the Turuy tribe. However, the reading remains tentative.
 12. Görg, "Israel in Hieroglyphen," 26.
 13. Görg, *ibid*, 26 with further references in n. 37.
 14. For more details see ns. 76 and 77 below.
 15. Traces of a name ring on the left can be made out but no remains of any hieroglyphs could be seen by van der Veen and Theis during their examination of the relief.
 16. Cairo Museum CG 34025 and duplicate Karnak stele = , *i-s-q-3-l-y-n* + hill-country determinative. See, e.g., Pierre Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Vol. XLV: Nos. 34001–34064 (Cairo: 1909), 52–59 (esp. 58) and Pls. XVII–XIX; Hourig Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1989), 167–170 and Pl. 31. Also Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions—Translated and Annotated, Translations, Vol. IV, Merenptah and the Late 19th Dynasty* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2003) [KRI], 10, 15. The name on the outer western face of the Cour de la Cachette with battle scenes of Merenptah is written as , *i-s-q-l-n-3* + determinative. See Frank Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* XXIII (1986), 189–215 and fig. 2. Also see Ahituv, 69–70. The name found on the Berlin slab is listed here together with the other references. Its simple rendering suggests a form that may have preceded the reign of Amenhotep II as in pLen 1116A vs 76 and 186 (, *i-s-q-3-l-n-3* + determinative) and post-dated the time of the Middle Kingdom Execration Texts, more specifically those from the Thirteenth Dynasty—E2 (, *i-s-q-3-i* + determinative). Cf. Wladimir Golénischeff, *Les Transcriptions des Papyrus Hiératiques Nos. 1116A (Verso) et 1116B (Verso) de l'Émitage Impérial à St. Pétersbourg* (San Antonia: 1969, Tb. 6, l. 76 & Tb. 16, l. 186).
 17. Ahituv, 69. A shorter but vocalized rendering (and with  *rw* for *l*) is attested on Merenptah's Israel Stele from Karnak. Cf. Golénischeff, Pl. 6 and 16.
 18. Ahituv, 83.
 19. Most recently, see Michael Hasel, "Pa-Canaan in the Egyptian New Kingdom: Canaan or Gaza?," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 1:1 (2009), 8–17. For a list of all the renderings see Ahituv, 83–84.
 20. Ahituv, 84. Especially those in Papyrus Anastasi III and IV are markedly different.
 21. Görg, *Untersuchungen*, 47f.
 22. Manfred Görg, "Kanaan" in Manfred Görg and Bernhard Lang (eds.), *Neues Bibellexikon* Vol. II (Zürich/Düsseldorf: Benzinger,

- 1996), column 438. Also personal communication with Manfred Görg—May 18, 2010.
23. For flat, long beaks on this type of vulture, see Edel and Görg, *Die Ortsnamenlisten*, Tb. 2, 5, 6, 8, 12 etc. For the palaeography of this type of beak on rudimentary renderings of G1, see also Jan Moje, *Untersuchungen zur hieroglyphischen Paläographie und Klassifizierung der Privatstelen der 19. Dynastie, Ägypten und Altes Testament* 67 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007) and enclosed CD—“Vögel” G 01–02 (esp. DeM 176 P, 001 P, KeG 004 F, The 001 P). As on slab no. 21688, the head of the vulture is mainly represented by its pronounced beak.
 24. On the same level with the bottom of the flowering reed, a down-curved depression reminiscent of a more elaborate type of claw can be detected. Above it, a diagonal sloping line can also be seen intersecting with the “claw.” Very faint remains of what may also be the continuation of the same “claw” can be seen to the right of the “claw,” but the downward-sloping edge of the block at this point does not allow for certainty. As on slab no. 21688, the legs of the bird have not been carved as deeply as the rest of the animal or certain other hieroglyphs. The close-up photographs and aluminium foil “cast” were taken on December 9, 2009 by Peter van der Veen and Christoffer Theis with the help of the trustee of the Berlin Museum Warehouse, Frank Marohn; we wish to thank him for his kind assistance. As may be seen in Figure 3, the right edge of the stone reveals remains of a modern vertical cutting of which the vulture’s beak seems to be the extension. But this is not the case: the cuts clearly are of different width and depth, and do not actually join up.
 25. Also see Hoffmeier, “What is the Biblical Date,” 241.
 26. Edel and Görg, 55.
 27. A Second Intermediate Period Date was suggested for the latest $\bar{s} = r$ reading by Thomas Schneider in personal correspondence to Peter van der Veen, October 20, 2009. At the same time, Schneider argues that “in high register texts/milieus (royal sphere) the older/traditional orthography was maintained longer than in administrative documents.” Thus an early Eighteenth Dynasty date is also possible.
 28. Although it shows some similarities with the name “Asher” in the Bible, there is no straightforward resemblance, as the latter lacks the theophoric element. Also see the discussion in Hasel, 49. Hoffmeier’s guesses at a readable form of the name on the Berlin relief are incomprehensible and unattested; see Hoffmeier “What is the Biblical Date,” 242.
 29. Again, see Görg, *Untersuchungen*, 47f.
 30. Ahituv, 122, 69. Other examples include *d-i-3-m* in E19 (= *dī-rʾ* = B_N perhaps אֲחִיטוּב in Joshua 19:35), *ʿ-s-t-3-t-m* in E25 (= *ʿ-s-tj-rʾ-tw* = אֲשֶׁת־רָחֵל): Edel/Görg, *Die Ortsnamenlisten*, 59–60, 62–63. Also Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962), 57, 59.
 31. See, for instance, the writing in the Execration Texts E 27, Edel and Görg, 50, 78f.; J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937), 111: 23a, b–c with determinative.
 32. William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Press, 1992), 274–277.
 33. On the rendering *3kt* for Ugarit, see Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie—Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), 36 and n. 1, “Urkunde” 1312; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 303, and n. 28. Elmar Edel, “Die Stelen Amenophis’ II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht der asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 69 (1953), 149f. Also Nicolas Grimal, “La preuve par neuf” in Faried Adrom et al., *Altägyptische Weltansichten—Akten des Symposiums zur historischen Topographie und Toponymie Altägyptens vom 12.-14. Mai 2006 in München, Ägypten und Altes Testament* 68 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 61 and n. 29.
 34. Simons, 132:5; 136: 12; Elmar Edel in Edel and Görg, 63–64; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 303.
 35. Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Vol. II: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 217, Inscr. 56, no. 98; id., *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated, Translations, Vol. II—Ramesses II Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 75, no. 98. Portions from this list were copied from earlier Eighteenth Dynasty topographical lists, i.e., from Thutmose III and Amenhotep III. Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated, Translations, Vol. II, Ramesses II Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999), 123ff. For more by Kitchen on these lists, see his “The Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan,” in P. Bienkowski (ed.), *Early Edom and Moab* (Sheffield: Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, 1992), 25ff.
 36. Elmar Edel, “Die Ortsnamenlisten in den Tempeln von Aksha, Amarah and Soleb im Sudan,” *Biblische Notizen* 11 (1980), esp. 78. Already, see Bernhard Grdseloff in an unpublished paper, referred to in Görg, “Israel in Hieroglyphen,” 25, n. 32.
 37. Moran, 330–334.
 38. Manfred Görg, “Weitere asiatische Toponyme in den Listen von Amara-West” in Manfred Görg (ed.), *Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte der Anfänge Israels, Dokumente—Materialien—Notizen, Ägypten und Altes Testament* 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1989), 112; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Vol. II: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 216, Inscr. 55, no. 41.
 39. Edel and Görg, 63, read the inscription from Tell Farah South as *mn-hpr-rʿ nbw hk3ym*: Menkheperre, Lord of *h-k3-y-m*. See also Alan Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français, 1936), 11.
 40. Alternatively written with “m.”
 41. List B_N: Edel and Görg, 63.
 42. Zibelius, 125 and 132.
 43. It seems clear from our general search for examples of the $\bar{s} = r$ phenomenon that a systematic search would yield several more examples. Other names that may be added, for instance, are *i3* and *i33i* in Zibelius, 72. Görg’s original reading of P3-[]*3-w3-i-k3* for “Man of Uruk” may be revived (alternatively, the third *3* could represent *r*, rather than the second as originally suggested), especially since an *ʾrk* = Uruk is also attested, e.g., at Amarah-West no. 88 (Ramesses II) followed by no. 89 = Babylon (*Bbr*). On this, see Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*,

- original meaning of the name involved. Two examples of where the etiology clearly does not reflect the original meaning of the names will suffice: Samuel (= “Name/Posterity of El,” reinterpreted etologically as “asked of El”—1 Samuel 1:20, i.e. the meaning of another important name in the Book of Samuel, namely that of King Saul/Shaul); Moab (reinterpreted etologically as *me-ab*, “from the father,” to underline the incestuous relationship—LXX Genesis 19:37). See also Robert P. Gordon, I & II Samuel—A Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Regency/Zondervan Publishing, 1986), 76; Gordon Wenham, Genesis 16–50, Word Biblical Commentary 2 (Waco, TX: Word Books Publisher, 1994), 62.
57. E.g. Eugen Sachsse, “Die Etymologie und älteste Aussprache des Namens **יִשְׂרָאֵל**,” *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 34 (1914), 1–15. Martin Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1928), 207ff. For a detailed, more recent overview on the etymology, see Ortniel Margalith, “On the Origin and Antiquity of the Name ‘Israel,’” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 102:2 (1990), 225–237. Also see Thomas Wagner, “Israel (AT).” For a recent suggestion on reading the name “Israel” as “God heals, protects,” see Leonid Kogan, “The Etymology of Israel (with an Appendix on Non-Hebrew Semitic Names among Hebrews in the Old Testament),” in Leonid Kogan, et al. (eds.), *Babel und Bibel 3, Annual of Near Eastern, Old Testament, and Semitic Studies* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 237–255. Classical authors also disagreed about the etymology of the name “Israel” (see Sachsse, 1–3; Margalith, 226–227).
 58. Noth, 207.
 59. See Gordon J. Wenham, 296f. The Greek translators (Septuagint, Aquila and Symmachus) and the Vulgate link the name “Israel” to this particular root.
 60. Already Sachsse, 7ff., Görg, “Israel in Hieroglyphen,” 26. Also, personal correspondence of Manfred Görg with Peter van der Veen, January 9, 2007.
 61. Again Sachsse, Margalith, *ibid*.
 62. Moshe Garsiel takes *yešurūn* either as a midrashic development “upon the common ‘Israel,’” or as a pun on Israel attested in Micah 3:9 where the rulers of Israel abhor “justice” and pervert all “equity” (*b-yšrb*). See Moshe Garsiel, *Biblical Names—A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1991), 134.
 63. Sachsse, 14–15. Also for instance Edmond Jacob, *Théologie de l’Ancien Testament* (Neuchâtel: Éditions Delachaux et Niestlé, 19682), 165 and n. 1. Similarly see Görg, “Israel in Hieroglyphen,” 26.
 64. Görg, *ibid*.
 65. Readings of similar names with *š* can also be found in the Amorite onomasticon—for instance, names based on the verb “to protect” (as per Kogan above). Compare *Ia-ās-ra-da-gan* (ARM 21, 337:4) or *Ia-ās-ra’* (ARM 21, 403 xii 5).
 66. Görg, 26, with literature. Note that the Eblaite names may either be related to the verb *šry* (“to struggle/contend with,” as in Genesis 32) or *šry* (“to protect”). Personal correspondence with Viktor Golinetz, June 1, 2010.
 67. Margalith, 228. For the use of the personal name at Ebla, see Giovanni Pettinato, “The Royal Archive of Tell Mardikh/Ebla,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 39:2 (1976), 48, and “Polytheismus und Henotheismus in der Religion von Ebla” in Othmar Keel (ed.), *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt, Biblische Beiträge* 14 (Fribourg: Verlag Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980), 43. For the name at Ugarit (*Yšrl*, CAT 4.623), see Margalith, 227–228, with multiple references.
 68. On the ambivalence of the use of *š* in Ugaritic, see Josef Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik, Altes Orient und Altes Testament* 273 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2000), esp. 91–92 and 107–108. Note also that Ugaritic *šry*, “to fight, struggle” = Hebrew *šrbh*, which is precisely the verb associated with the name “Israel” in Genesis 32:29. See Tropper, 92 (32.122, I-š).
 69. Similarly, Thomas Schneider argued that the Egyptian scribes were familiar with West Semitic personal names as found in cuneiform writing, which influenced their transmission of these names; see Schneider, 31–32. Notably, geographic names written with *š* in cuneiform documents are indeed sometimes rendered with *š* in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, the name (*matati*) *še-e-ri* in Amarna Letter 288 (from Jerusalem) is believed by most scholars to refer to the biblical land of Seir (**שַׁעִיר**) or Edom, which is written with *šin* in Hebrew and with *š* in Egyptian texts from the Nineteenth Dynasty: i.e. *ʿ3 [š3sw] šʿrr*. Another example would be the name “Damascus,” i.e., *Dimašqu/a* (Amarna Letter 53, 107, 197), which is written with *šin* in Hebrew (**דַּמָּשֶׁק**) and with *š* in Egyptian as *t-mš-(š)-q* (with variants).
 70. Michael Astour, “Mesopotamian and Transjordanian Place Names in the Medinet Habu Lists of Ramses III,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88:4 (1968), 747–748.
 71. Even during the Middle Kingdom this seems to have been the standard practice. Yet Thomas Schneider argues: “Sporadisch scheint auch die Wiedergabe von semitisch *š* durch ägyptisch <š> vorzukommen, z.B.  = amurritisch kabšati, kibšati ‘mein Lamm.’ . . .” and “. . . wo der Name *ʿmmwnšj* des palästinischen Fürsten im Sinuhe (= ‘Ammu-nanšī’ oder ‘Ammu-la-našī’) jedenfalls dieselbe Wiedergabe zeigt.” Thomas Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten—während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit, Vol. II—Die ausländische Bevölkerung, Ägypten und Altes Testament* 42 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003), 118.
 72. Edel and Görg, 128. Written (1) with the M8 *š3* sign and (2) with single/double S29 *s* (*š*), M23 *sw* (*šw*) and Aa 18 *s* signs. The name can, for instance, be found in multiple topographical lists from the time of Thutmose III and Amenhotep III.
 73. Edel in Edel and Görg, 128.
 74. Hoch, table on p. 433.
 75. See also Hoch, 431 and 433.
 76. Manfred Görg, *Untersuchungen*, 47f.
 77. Raphael Giveon, *137-139; Shmuel Ahituv, 69, 83.
 78. The traditional interpretation combined with the thirteenth century date is, for instance, adhered to by Kenneth A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003, 241ff.) and James K. Hoffmeier, *Israel*

- in Egypt*, 135ff. Also see Richard S. Hess, “Early Israel in Canaan: A Survey of Recent Evidence and Interpretations,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 125 (1993), 125–142; Richard S. Hess, “The Jericho and Ai of the Book of Joshua,” in Richard S. Hess, et al. (eds.), *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History, Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplement* 3 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 33–46.
79. For two recent in-depth studies on the subject of Israel’s origins in Canaan during the early Iron Age, see Avraham Faust, *Israel’s Ethnogenesis—Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance* (London/Oakville: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2006) and Koenraad van Bekkum, *From Conquest to Coexistence: Ideology and Antiquarian Intent in the Historiography of Israel’s Settlement in Canaan*, unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to the Theologische Universiteit Kampen (March 2010).
80. Görg, “Israel in Hieroglyphen,” 26–27 with references in n. 39. Especially in the German-speaking world, the idea of multiple entries by different tribes of Israel starting during the Eighteenth Dynasty has a long tradition, e.g., Albrecht Alt, “The Settlement of the Israelites in Palestine,” in Albrecht Alt (ed.), *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 165ff. Also see Udo Worschech, *Das Land jenseits des Jordan: Biblische Archäologie in Jordanien* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1991), 106–112; Lemaire, 241–243.
81. Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 156; Hermann A. Schögl, *Ramses II.—mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, 2000), 130; Donald Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 412, 419f.; Israel Finkelstein in Hershel Shanks, “The Devil Is Not So Black As He Is Painted—BAR Interviews Israel Finkelstein,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 36:3 (2010), 52.
82. Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apion*, Book 1, 15.
83. Piotr Bienkowski, *Jericho in the Late Bronze Age* (Warminster: Aris & Philips Ltd., 1986), 12; John J. Bimson, “Wann eroberte Josua Kanaan, am Ende der Mittleren Bronzezeit IIC oder am Ende der Späten Bronzezeit I,” in Uwe Zerbst and Peter van der Veen (eds.), *Keine Posaunen vor Jericho? Beiträge zur Archäologie der Landnahme* (Holzgerlingen: Hänssler Verlag, 2009, second ed.), 83–97.
84. Yohanan Aharoni, “Nothing Early and Nothing Late: Re-Writing Israel’s Conquest,” *Biblical Archaeologist* (May 1976), 55–76 (esp. 71–74). More recently, see Aaron A. Burke, “Walled Up to Heaven”: *The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant, Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant* 4 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008). Burke states: “It is curious, therefore, that the biblical tradition regarding fortified Canaanite cities finds what superficially appears to be its historical antecedent in the walled cities of Middle Bronze Age Canaan.” p. xiii. Also see: William D. Dever, “The Middle Bronze Age: The Zenith of the Urban Canaanite Era,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 50:3 (1987), esp. 154.
85. David Hansen has argued that Canaanite cities were partly fortified during the Late Bronze Age I period; see his “The Cities are Great and Walled Up to Heaven: Canaanite Fortifications in the Late Bronze I Period,” in Glenn A. Carnagey Sr. (ed.), *Beyond the Jordan: Studies in Honor of W. Harold Mare* (Eugene, OR, Wipf & Stock, 2005), 79–92.
86. Rivka Gonen, “Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 253 (1984), esp. 69–70; John J. Bimson, “Wann eroberte Josua Kanaan,” 84–87; also Burke, xiii.
87. Bryant G. Wood, “Did the Israelites Conquer Jericho? A New Look at the Archaeological Evidence,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16:2 (1990), 44–59; John J. Bimson, *Redating the Exodus and Conquest, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 5 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1981), 106ff. Also see Amos Nur (with Dawn Burgess), *Apocalypse: Earthquakes, Archaeology, and the Wrath of God* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), 216–223.
88. Barbara J. Sivertsen, *The Parting of the Sea: How Volcanoes and Plagues Shaped the Story of Exodus* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009).
89. Hans Goedicke, “Seminar Paper by Hans Goedicke,” in Mike Rowland (ed.), *Exodus: Myth or History?, ISIS Occasional Publication Series* 2 (Basingstoke: Institute for the Study of Interdisciplinary Sciences, 1994), 1–15; Hans Goedicke, *The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut and Related Discussion* (Baltimore, MD: Halgo Inc, 2003); Hershel Shanks, “The Exodus and the Crossing of the Red Sea, According to Hans Goedicke,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 7:5 (1981), 42–50. Bryant Wood opts for an Exodus during the reign of Thutmose III/Amenhotep II and a conquest ca. 1400 BCE at the end of the Late Bronze I period; see: Wood, “Did the Israelites Conquer Jericho?” Also: Bryant G. Wood, “The Search for Joshua’s Ai,” in Richard S. Hess, et al. (eds.), *Critical Issues*, 205–312. For a critique of Wood’s view, see John J. Bimson, “Wann eroberte Josua Kanaan,” esp. 88–97. Also see Peter van der Veen, “Jericho,” on www.wibilex.de. Geochronologists Henrik Bruins and Johannes van der Plicht have sought to connect (1) the biblical Plagues and Exodus traditions with the volcanic Eruption of Thera/Santorini in 1628 BCE, and (2) Joshua’s Jericho with the Middle Bronze Age remains at that site ca. 1580 BCE, while dating both events on the basis of radiocarbon dating: “The Exodus Enigma,” *Nature* 382 (1996), 213–214. Also see their earlier article: “Tell es-Sultan (Jericho): Radiocarbon Results of Short-Lived Cereal and Multiyear Charcoal Samples from the End of the Middle Bronze Age,” *Radiocarbon* 37:2 (1995), 213–220. Also see Nur (with Burgess), 197. A date around this time (i.e., at the end of the Middle Kingdom in terms of Egyptian chronology) has also been previously advocated by John Bimson and David Rohl, who both have suggested a lowering of dates into the fifteenth century BCE. On these theories, see the introductory chapter in Uwe Zerbst and Peter van der Veen, 19–71. Also John Bimson, “Die <Akte> Exodus,” 26–28.