comparisons with some 180 vessels from a cistern at Tell Mor, near Ashdod¹⁰ and dated by Rhodian stamped jar handles and imported wares to ca. 175-150 B.C., help to fix the date. Since Roman wares like terra sigilatta wares do not appear until later, in Stratum 1, we have a convenient end for this stratum toward the close of the 2nd century B.C.

Save for a thin occupation during Roman times, down to the first century A.D., when the Gezer boundary inscriptions may indicate that the site was a large estate (see Fig. 7 and p. 47), Gezer was subsequently uninhabited. Only during the summers, when the Hebrew Union College excavation camp on the western spur of the tell is bustling with activity, does this dead city come to life again!

Gezer in the Tell el-Amarna Letters¹ JAMES F. Ross

The Theological School, Drew University

The vast majority of the Tell el-Amarna tablets were discovered in Egypt in 1887, and were given their definitive edition in 1915. Subsequently several other tablets appeared, and the total now reaches 378 pieces, of which 356 are letters, either between the Egyptian Pharaohs and other rulers of the ancient Near East (forty-three items), or the Egyptian court and its vassals in Syro-Palestine.² Almost all of the letters come from the latter years of Amenophis III, who reigned from ca. 1402-1364 B.C., and from the time of his son, Amenophis IV (ca. 1364-47 B.C.), better known as Akhenaten. It was a period of international unrest; the Hittites were threatening the northern borders of the Egyptian empire, and various landless groups were seeking to find a place in the Fertile Crescent. Furthermore the city-states in Syria and Palestine were in constant tension with each other and with the ruling power in Egypt; a great many of the letters contain complaints from a given ruler about the actions of his neighbors, as well as appeals for Egyptian aid.

Among the Canaanite city-states playing a prominent role in the letters is Gezer. It owed its importance largely to its geographic position. Gezer is situated at the border of the Shephelah and the Philistine plain, and in ancient times controlled both an important route from the coast to the interior (now traversed in large part by the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway) and the "Way of the Sea" (Isa. 9:1), which led from Damascus to Egypt by way of Hazor, Megiddo, Aphek, and Gezer. Thus it was in a position either to support or attack the Egyptian strongholds in Gaza and Joppa. It is no wonder that control of Gezer was a crucial factor in the political situation of the 14th century B.C., and that a Pharaoh of a later age, Merneptah, proudly called himself the "Binder of Gezer."3

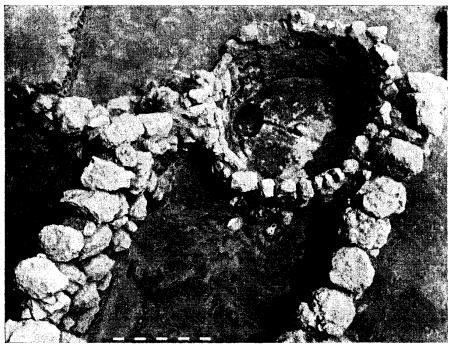


Fig. 13. Philistine wine-vat from 12/11th cents. B.C. (Strata 4/3), Field I, Area 1. Note the dipper juglet on the floor near the vat.

In the period prior to the writing of the Tell el-Amarna letters, Gezer was firmly under Egyptian control. Apparently the city was faithful to the Pharaohs of the 20th and 19th centuries B.C., for its name does not appear in the Execration Texts of this period, objects on which the Egyptians wrote the names and rulers of enemy cities. However, it is listed among the conquests of Thutmose III (ca. 1490-1436 B.C.), and this may indicate a previcus rebellion on the part of the city. And in the reign of one of the next two Pharaohs, either Amenophis II (ca. 1436-1410 B.C.) or Thutmose IV

^{10.} Excavated by M. Dothan of the Department of Antiquities in Israel and mentioned here by courtesy of H. C. Kee, who is preparing the collection for publication.

^{1.} This is an abridgement of an article in Bulletin No. 8 of the Museum Haaretz, Tel Aviv (June, 1966), and is published here with the kind permission of the Museum's director, Dr. C. Elperin. The original contains several references to works in modern Hebrew, particularly H. Reviv, Tarbiz, XXIII (1963/1964), 1-7.

2. For an excellent introduction to the letters, see E. F. Campbell, Jr., BA, XXIII (1960), 2-22, which contains references to major publications and discussions of the texts. Recently W. F. Albright has contributed a chapter entitled "The Amarna Letters from Palestine" to the revised edition of the Cambridge Ancient History (Fasc. 51, 1966; hereafter CAH). In what follows, the letters are numbered in accord with Campbell's system (BA, XXIII, 4); number 3-8 is assigned to the Gezer letter published by A. R. Millard in the Palestine Exploration Quarterly XCVII (1965), 140-43, Pl. XXV.

^{3.} J. H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, III (1906), 258f., no. 606.

(Vol. XXX,

64

estates) in Thebes.5

We have no references to Gezer during the first thirty years of Thutmose IV's successor, Amenophis III, the first Pharaoh of the Tell el-Amarna letters, and therefore we are unable to trace the background of the subsequent events. But from the last phase of his reign Gezer is mentioned in two letters from Lab'ayu, the powerful ruler of the city-state around Shechem. In one he protests his loyalty to the Pharaoh and says that his only "sin" was that he "entered the city of Gezer" (253:18-22). In the other, which bears a date probably to be read "year [3]2" (of Amenophis III, i.e., ca 1370 B.C.),6 Lab'ayu again refers to this "entry", and remarks that he "said publicly: 'Will the king take my property, and the property of Milkilu, where (is it)?" He goes on to complain, "I know the things which Milkilu has done against me.' "7 From these words we may conjecture that Lab'ayu of Shechem and Milkilu of Gezer had once collaborated with each other, but later there was a parting of the ways. The first point is supported by references to the two kings together in a letter from Balu-UR.SAG, the prince of Gitipadalla: "May the king [let me] see the [destruction] of Milkilu [and La]b'ayu" (249:15-17). Apparently Milkilu was the stronger partner, or at least more of a threat to Ba'lu-UR.SAG; earlier in the same letter there is one certain and one probable reference to the rebellious deeds of Milkilu alone, as well as a note that he has given his servants to (provided troops for) his father-in-law, Tagu, the prince of Ginti-carmel.8 The allies thus provided a considerable threat to Egypt, controlling, as they did, the northwest (Tagu in Carmel), the center (Lab'ayu in Shechem), and the southwest (Milkilu in Gezer). Unfortunately we do not know the reasons

4. R. A. S. Macalister, Gezer I, 30f., and frontispiece, Fig. 4. See esp. W. F. Albright, BASOR, No. 92 (Dec., 1943), pp. 28-30, and A. Malamat, Scripta Hierosolymitana, VIII (1961), 228-31. 5. J. A. Wilson in J. B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts (hereafter ANET), p. 248. 6. For the difficult question of the reading of this date, see Campbell in G. E. Wright, Shechem (1965), p. 100

7. Letter 254:19ff. As noted by J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tajeln, J (1915), p. 813, the concluding words should be attached to Lab'ayu's public complaint rather than to his direct remarks to the Pharaol.

marks to the Pharaof.

8. Letter 249:5-10. In 263:33f., Tagu and Lab'ayu are mentioned together, but the context is broken. Later we shall see an alliance among Tagu, Milkilu, and the sons of Lab'ayu. Letter 289:18f, gives us Tagu's homeland; the exact location of Ginti-carmel is urknown, but it is, of course, in the Carmel region. We have three letters from Tagu himself (264-265 and probably 266), in which he tells the Pharaoh that he has tried to keep the caravans moving, and protests his undying loyalty.

for the break-up of the coalition; possibly Milkilu was frightened by the capture of the Shechemite cities, in spite of a non-aggression pact made in the presence of an Egyptian official, and went over to the Egyptian side.9

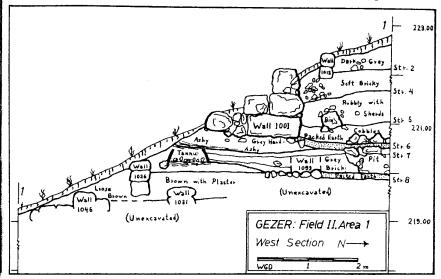


Fig. 14. Simplified section on the west edge of Field II. Area 1. Refer to the text for explanations, At any rate, when Amenophis III sent troops and took some property from Lab'ayu, Milkilu escaped a similar punishment. This defection on the part of his former ally naturally enraged Lab'ayu, and he "entered" Gezer in order to proclaim "publicly" his disgust; most probably he intended to raise the citizens against their ruler. However this may be, Milkilu made a trip to Egypt (270:12-13), probably at the order of the Pharaoh, perhaps it was during his absence that Lab'ayu took the opportunity to visit Gezer. After the reconciliation between Milkilu and the Pharaoh, the latter felt confident in ordering him to send concubines, precious goods, and "every good thing"; he even honored him with the title "(free-)man, chief".10

Unfortunately for Milkilu, the highest Egyptian official in Palestine, Yanhamu, was not informed of the rapprochement. After Milkilu's return from Egypt, Yanhamu demanded from him not only 2000 pieces of silver, but also his wife and children (270:9-21; cf. 271:22-27). Still, the tone of Milkilu's own letters is that of an obedient servant. He assures the king

9. The capture of the cities is reported in the third letter from Lab'ayu, 252. The identity of the assailants is unknown, and the significance of the pact is unclear. See Albright, BASOR, No. 89 (Feb., 1943), pp. 29-32.

10. Letter 369; see G. Dossin, Revue d'Assyriologie, XXXI (1934), 125-36. As Dossin points out, the king in question must be Amenophis III, since he says, "Behold, the god Amon has placed the upper land, the lower land, the rising of the sun, and the setting of the sun under the two feet of the king" (lires 28ff.; Albright's translation, ANET, p. 487). His son would, of course, have used the name of his own god, Aten.

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 N_i that the "place" (Gezer) is safe (267:15-20), and that he is sending tribute (268:16-20). But he had to suffer for this pro-Egyptian policy. The Habiru raiders, undoubtedly instigated, if not led, by his former colleague, Lab'avu, attacked him and his new-found friend, Shuwardata, who was probably the prince of Hebron.¹¹ Indeed he seems to be afraid that even his own servants will attack him (271:17-21); perhaps Lab'ayu's seditious words had found their mark.

In the meantime Lab'ayu had turned to the north. He captured Gitipadalla and Giti-rimuni, and attacked Shunama (biblical Shunem), Burquna, and Harabu (250:12-14, 42-46). All of these are in or near the valley of Jezreel. Obviously Lab'ayu's objective was Megiddo, the chief Egyptian base in the area, and Biridiya, the prince of that city, writes a despairing letter in which he says that the fortress is under siege, and pleads for Egyptian help (letter 244). Certainly Milkilu must have shared Biridiya's anxiety. If Lab'ayu were to secure his position in the north, he would then turn to the south, and probably the first target would be the turncoat ruler of Gezer. It looked as if the whole land would soon have Shechem as its capital.

But at this critical juncture there occurred an even: which changed the subsequent course of Palestinian history: Lab'ayu was captured by Biridiva. On the Pharaoh's order he was to have been sent from Megiddo to Egypt, but he bribed his escorts and escaped. His freedom was of brief duration; before Biridiya could recapture him, Lab'ayu was killed by men of Qena (letter 245 and 250:17-18).

For Biridiya of Megiddo, Lab'ayu's death meant a time of relative peace and security; now he could till his fields, and even work with a corvée in Shunem, far down the valley of Jezreel (letter 365). But for Milkilu of Gezer, the situation was even more promising; now he had a chance to become sole ruler in the land. Trusting that the Egyptians would be slow to divine his intentions, he formed a new coalition of malcontents, many of whom had a previous record of anti-Egyptian activity. His neighbor to the east, Shuwardata of the Hebron area, and his father-in-law, Tagu of Carmel, were probably persuaded with ease (289:11ff.; 290:5ff.). Other allies were the men of Ashkelon, Gath, Keilah, and Lachish (287:14f.: 290:9)apparently the citizens of the latter city murdered their king to go over to the rebels (288:43f.). But the most important converts were the sons of Lab'avu; Ba'lu-UR.SAG reports that the messenger of Milklilu is in constant attendance upon them (250:53ff.), and although there are hopes of resisting the Shechmites, he knows that the real danger is from Gezer;

"Behold, Milkilu wants to destroy the land of the king, my lord" (lines 55f.). So also 'Abdu-Heba of Jerusalem recognizes Milkilu's role. He informs the Pharaoh, "Milkilu has written to Tagu and the sons of (Lab'avu): 'Truly you are of my house. Give all that they desire to the men of Keilah and let us indeed break off (with) Jerusalem!' "12 The coalition had some astounding early successes. Milkilu and his allies, with the help of others called merely Habiru, captured Rubutu, and proceeded to seize Beth-Ninurta, which is usually equated with biblical Bethlehem. 13 And across the Jordan, one of the sons of Lab'avu, a certain Mut-Ba'lu, established himself in Pella, and, in spite of his protestations of innocence in letter 255, interfered with Egyptian caravans to the kingdom of Mitanni.

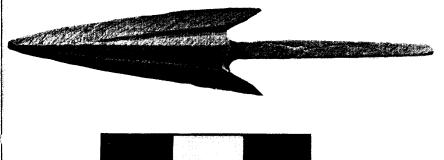


Fig. 15. Bronze arrowhead from the 10th cent. B.C. destruction debris (probably left by Pharaoh Siamun), used as makeup for floors of the founding phase of Solomon's casemate wall in Field II, Area 1. The measure shows three centimeters, or one and three-sixteenths

So the coalition controlled the valley of Jezreel, with a bridgehead across the Jordan; the central highlands around Shechem; the Shephelah; and probably most of the Philistine plain. It is no wonder that 'Abdu-Heba cried

Let the king take care for his land! The land of the king is (as good as) lost; all of it is taken from me. There is hostility against me from the land of Seir to Ginti-carmel. There is peace for all the (other) governors, but hostility against me. I am (like) a Habiru, and I do not see the eyes of the king, my lord, for hostility is determined against me, since (I am) a ship in the midst of the sea. The arm of the mighty king captures the land of Naharaim and the land of Cush, but now the Habiru capture the cities of the king. (288:23-38)

the name to Jerusalem itself.

^{11.} Letter 271. For the Habiru in the Amarna period, see M. Greenberg, The Hab/piru (1955), esp. pp. 32-50, 70-76, and Albright, CAH, pp. 14ff.

^{12.} Letter 289:25-29, following Campbell, Shechem, pp. 200f.; for a somewhat different render-12. Letter 289:125-29, following Campbell, Steelers, pp. 2001; for a somewhat different rendering, see Albright, CAH, p. 20 and note 6.

13. Rubutu is perhaps biblical Rabbah, near Jerusalen (Josh. 15:60); see Y. Aharoni. Vetus Testamentum, IX (1959), 229f. It is unlikely that this is the Rubutu of the earlier Taanach letters (No. 1:26). For another opinion on the identity of Beth-Ninutta, see J. Lewy, Journal of Biblical Literature, LIX (1940), 519 ff., who reads "the house of the god Shulman" and refers

(Vol. XXX 967, 2)

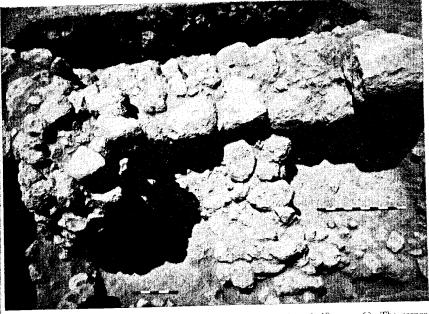
THE BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGIST

the Habiru in the company of his former enemy, 'Abdu-Heba; indeed, he was, the identity of whom is obscure, and appeals for Egyptian help; his claims to have believe to have claims to have had the help of the princes of Acco and Achshaph at one of the princes of Acco. time.14 However, the decisive factor was probably the death of Milkil himself. To be sure, we have no specific reference to this event, unless doubtful passage in letter 250 is so to be interpreted. But there are no further references to Milkilu after the Jerusalem letters, and the subse quent rulers of Gezer are clearly faithful servants of Egypt.

This change in the political situation is probably also the result of military campaign by Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) to Palestine. 15 However this may be, it is clear that the successors of Milkilu in Gezer were contemporaries of this Pharaoh, and it is probable that Milkilu disappeared early in his reign. Contrary to assumptions made when scholars first studied the Amarna letters, Akhenaten was able to bring about a certain stability in Canaan, in contrast to the turbulent situation in the last days of his father.

We have the names of and letters from two of Milkilu's successors. It may be that Yapahu is the earlier in point of time. In letters 297-300, 378 he writes to the king telling of raids by the Sutu (nomads nominally in the service of Egypt), and reporting that his younger brother has gone over to the Habiru. And he claims that he is loyal, "like my father", and is guarding the "place" of the king. It is just possible that this "father" is none other than Milkilu himself; elsewhere we have sons citing dubious examples of their fathers' loyalty.16 As for Yapahu's "younger brother" this may be Ba'lu-shipti, the ruler of Gezer who writes letter 292-295. He tells of enemies from the mountains, and says that he has built a "house" by the name of Manhatu for the archers of the king (292:28-32). This may well be biblical Manahath (I Chron. 8:6 and Josh. 15:59 Septuagint) and is possibly to be located at modern Malhah, on the outskirts of Jerusalem. If so, we have evidence that the power of Gezer still reached far into the interior. In two letters Ba'lu-shipti complains of the actions of a certain Peya, the son of Gulate, against Gezer; he plundered it, and demanded ransom for prisoners which is more than three times as high as that asked by common brigands from the mountains (292:41-52). And this Peya has taken away the men whom Ba'lu-shipti had sent to protect

But again the tide turned, this time in favor of Egypt. Apparenth Egyptian base at Joppa (294:16-24). It thus appears that Peya was an bostily made at Joppa (294:16-24). the hastily-made alliance began to break up. We have a letter from Shu gyptian official who was (at least in Ba'lu-shipti's opinion) misusing his wardata, Milkilu's erstwhile ally, in which he says he is fighting against fice. 17 Elsewhere this prince of Gezer complains of attacks from his neighbor Habitan in the Ha f Amarna letters, he affirms his loyalty to the king: "A brick may move from beneath its fellows, but I will not move from beneath the feet of the king, my lord" (292:13-17).



3g. 16. The inner line of Solomonic casemate wall in Field II, Area 1 (Stratum 6). The cornering wall in foreground is from reuse in the 8th cent. B.C. (Stratum 5). The circular bin at left was reused as late as the Hellenistic period (Stratum 2).

As for the connection between Yapahu and Ba'lu-shipti, it is certain that they came from the same period, since they both mention a certain Egyptian commissioner, Maya (292:33; 300:26). Thus it is unlikely that they were father and son. If they were brothers, Yapahu would seem to be the elder, since he complains about his rebellious "younger brother". Finally, if we really have two sons of Milkilu, in 292-295, and in 297-300, 378, we may note the letters of a certain princess NIN.UR.MAH of Şab/puma who informs the king that "the whole land of the king is falling away to the Habiru." She goes on to say that Aijalon and Zorah have been attacked, and that "the two sons of Milkilu came within a finger's breadth of being

17. W. F. Albright, Journal of Near Eastern Studies, V (1946), 19.

^{14.} Letter 366. Cp. Albright, ANET, p. 487, note 16, who suggests that this letter may come from the period before Lab'ayu's death. This is unlikely, since 'Abdu-Heba was a contemporary of Lab'ayu's sons, and not of Lab'ayu himself.

15. See Israel Exploration Journal, XVI (1966), 80, for a summary of an article in Hebrew by H. Reviv, Yediot, XXX (1966), 45-51.

16. Mut-Ba'lu has the gall to say, "Behold, [La]b'ayu, my father, [served] the king, his lord, [and he] sent on [every ca]ravan..." (255:14-18).

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hit."18 Naturally it is not at all certain that these "sons" are respectively Yapahu and Ba'lu-shipti, but it is interesting to speculate that in NIN.UR-MAH's letters we have evidence that the Habiru were attacking sons of Milkilu who had gone over to the Egyptian camp.

There are no further references to Gezer or its rulers in the Tell el-Amarna letters. Apparently an anti-Egyptian party gained control of the city some time in the following century and a half, for Merneptah (ca. 1223-1211 B.C.), in addition to calling himself the "Binder of Gezer". singles out the city for special mention as one of his conquests in Canaan.¹⁹ But a later Pharaoh (Siamun of the 21st dynasty?) was forced to capture Gezer and slav the Canaanites in it, whereupon he gave it as a dowry to his daughter, the wife of King Solomon of Israel (I Kings 9:16).20 Possibly in the time following Memeptah's conquest Gezer had fallen into the hands of the Philistines; excavations at Gezer have found evidence of Philistine occupation, as Dr. Dever's article in this issue reports.

But with these last remarks we have gone beyond the bounds of our subject and entered a new phase of Gezer's history. Returning to the Amarna age, we may summarize the results of this study by noting that Gezer is, in many respects, the key to the history of the period. Its relationships to Egypt and its neighboring city-states are symptomatic of Palestinian power politics. The city ran the gamut of proud independence under Milkilu to cringing subservience under his successors. And control of Gezer was a mark of supremacy in the affairs of the land; unlike Jerusalem, or even Shechem, it could not be by-passed or ignored. Were it not for the accidents of history, Gezer, rather than remaining a relatively insignificant border city, might have become the effective capital of Israel.

It was no small gift that Pharaoh gave to his son-in-law, Solomon of Israel.

[A substantial financial contribution from the sponsors of the Gezer excavations, Hebrew Union College, has made possible the publication of this unusually long issue of the BA, almost completely devoted to the story of Gezer. Our special thanks are due to Dr. Nelson Glueck. — EFC]

RECENT BOOKS RECEIVED

William F. Albright, Archaeology, Historical Analogy, and Early Biblical Tradition. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. Pp. 69 + ix. \$2.75.

William F. Albright, New Horizons in Biblical Research. Lindon, New York, and Interest Country Country Press, 1966. Pp. 51 + ix. \$1.70.

Two small volumes packed with Dr. Albright's incisive thought. Each contains three lectures, the first set being the Rockwell Lectures at Rice University and the econd the Whidden Lectures for 1961 at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. The Rockwell Lectures begin with a treatise on the way in which the discovery of the historical setting for the Bible has opened up "the historical interpretation of early Hebrew literature." The other two lectures then are on Abraham and Samuel, recalling studies which Dr. Albright has published in BASOR and as the Goldenson Lecture for 1961 at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. The Whidden Lectures include a general treatment of archaeology and Israelite tradition, a study of "the ancient Israelite mind" which carries forward Dr. Albright's studies of "empirico-logical" thought and involves him in the "Hebrew-thought-compared-with-Greek" controversy, and a survey of Dead Sea Scroll research in relation to the New Testament.

Betty Hartman Wolf, Journey through the Holy Land. Garden City: Doubleday, 1967. Pp. 267 + xiv 5 maps. \$4.95.

A thoroughly delightful and accurate presentation of travel and tourist information for anyone who would like to get behind the touristic facade of modern Jordan and look closely at both the ancient and the modern life of the Holy Land. Mrs. Wolf is the wife of Dr. C. Umhau Wolf, who has written for the BA about Eusebius. She writes so engagingly that one can do his traveling with her while sitting in his armchair at home. Nine pages at the end of the volume contain some sensible travel tips.

Agnes Carr Vaughan, Zenobia of Palmyra. Garden City: Doubleday, 1967. Pp. 250 + xiv. 8 photographs. \$4.95.

"A dramatic chronicle" is what the dust jacket calls this story of the fabulous queen of the desert oasis city of southern Syria, connected by trade and cultural contacts to Bosra and Petra and flourishing in the third century of the Christian era. Miss Vaughan, who is Classics professor emeritus at Smith College, has used her lively imagination together with the growing collection of historical data to reconstruct the life and setting of the gifted woman who opposed the might of Rome and of the Emperor Aurelian. Her reconstruction, although on occasion fanciful, is always gripping.

Lenore Cohen, Buried Treasure in Bible Lands. Ward Ritchie Press, 1965 (distributed by Lane Book & Magazine Co., Menlo Park, California). Pp. 225 + xii. 38 photographs. \$4.95.

A popularly written, chronologically arranged presentation of Palestinian history and pre-history, with a glance at Egypt and Mesopotamia. Miss Cchen has written about the Bible for children on other occasions, and she aims here at younger readers, but produces a story effective for anyone who wants a simplified and sympathetic overview of the subject. Her chapter on daily life at Gezer in monarchic times, which is a fictionalized account of the schoolboy who produced the Gezer calendar (see the frontispiece of this issue), is not bad at all! Her description of volunteer work at Tell Arad, on pages 15-18, left me gasping, but it succeeds in depicting how a greenhorn comes to appreciate the care with which one must learn to do archaeological work.

^{18.} Letters 273 and 274. See Albright, BASOR, No. 89 (Feb., 1943), 15-17. Albright's equation of Sab/puma with biblical Zaphon, at the mouth of the Jabbok in Transjordan, is generally accepted, but it is difficult to understand how NIN.UR.MAH could have intimate knowledge of events in the area of Gezer if she lived so far away. H. Clauss, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palistina-Vereins, XXX (1907), 50, suggests the Zeboim resettled by Benjaminites returning from the Exile. Since this Zebom was near Lod (Nch. 11:34f.) and thus in the vicinity of Gezer, Aijalon, and Zova, it ways be the zite in question. and Zorah, it may be the site in question.

^{19.} In the famous Israel stela, translated by Wilson in ANET, pp. 376ff. Merneptah's conquest probably took place in 1219 B.C.
20. A. Malamat, Journal of Near Eastern Studies, XXII (1963), 10-17.