

Chapter One: Introduction

"History is nothing more than a narrative that presents a past."

Marc Z. Brettler, 1995

1.0. Introduction

Dealing with biblical literature is often like "unscrambling omelets" (Leach 1983: 1). In order to understand the Deuteronomistic manuscript, a scholar must unravel the complex web of psycho-mythical constructs and socio-political influences. Only after deciphering these many forces can the researcher discover the font of historical truth intrinsic to the text.

Following this decoding process, this dissertation will show that the "conquest history" in the book of Joshua is a nationalistic myth based upon tribal legend. While this study will focus on the literary psycho-mythology of the biblical book the theoretical template is a paradigm for understanding the rest of Israel's evolutionary lore.¹ Secondly, this project will show why the organized military conquest was not a

¹ E.H. Scheffler (2001: 51) notes that due to the heavy Deuteronomistic redaction of books like Joshua and Judges that the traditions expressed within them may be regarded as "*relics of reminiscences ... stemming from that bygone era.*" This project will break down the Joshua account in search for these relics of reminiscence or as this project terms it, "the inspiration events" upon which the Joshua myth are based.

devastating incursion that destroyed many cities across Canaan. Further, this conquest legend, while possibly based upon actual events², was not the 15th century B.C.E. post-exodus conquest of the *present-text* biblical epic. It was instead an oral myth³, about a semi-nomadic tribal group in an economic struggle with its neighbors.

This exposition shall clarify how the Joshua accounts were actually legends based upon small tribal wars that were fabricated centuries later into the great lore of Israelite conquest. This deciphering process will form a template of the actual demographic structures of the historical region. This framework will be placed upon a model of psycho-mythical confabulation to show how these skirmishes were later embellished into the great lore of an Israelite campaign.

In contrast to a "holy war of righteous conquest" this project will exhibit how any hostilities following the pattern outlined in Joshua would be warfare with a systematic pattern of economic and resource control. The result was that these tribes

² Peet Van Dyk (1992: 98-105) notes that the first task of the Old Testament scholar is to recreate a historically credible "*Urtext*" containing the original form or content of the text. The historical events can therefore be seen from the biblical saga, if one can isolate the different derivations and different literary tendencies that contributed to the narrative traditions of these documents.

³ The term "Myth" used within this thesis follows the precise definition of an "Old traditional story or legend that gives expression to the early beliefs and aspirations of a people through the description of an event that explains the issue of origins." This in contrast to the loose definition often used by scholars like N.P. Lemche and T.L. Thompson as "any fictitious story or account or unfounded belief."

began to amalgamate into a more cohesive force that had the ability to undermine the primary urban Canaanite economies of the day. This resulted in varying degrees of dependence, by the city-states, upon the semi-nomadic population. The range of vulnerability was from those who directly capitulated, to those who resisted and suffered economic manipulation from the tribal populace of the hinterland.

Moreover this thesis shall conclude that Josephus, that long debated Jewish historian, knew of the actual context of the original inspiration event that formed into the Joshua legend. However this event was nothing more than a semi-nomadic occupation of Canaan by a band of tribal groups attempting to exert force over the region.

Further this project shall demonstrate how the cognitive associations of oral mythology lead to other events being incorporated into the mythology of Israelite lore. Such editorial integration into the written antiquarian history eventually led to the present form of the Joshua text. This mythological analysis will provide a glimpse into the first step in the evolution of Israel as a nation that emerged in the 11th and 10th centuries.⁴

⁴ Given the scant extra-biblical evidence for Israel in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E. this paper will typically refer to these 2nd Millennium people as "proto-Israel" (in line with scholars like Neil Silberman and Israel Finkelstein). However given the 1207 B.C.E. reference to "Israel" in the Merneptah stela, it is probably safe to assume that sometime during the Iron Age I a population began to identify itself as "Israelite" through some process of ethnic boundary marking, though it is still not clear what the nature of that entity was (McNutt, 1999).

In essence, this doctoral dissertation will provide a new and unified theory of the nature and function of the conquest myth, providing historical, psycho-mythical, material and literary clues as to its origins.⁵

1.1. Themes

1.1.1. Focal Point

The central focus of this manuscript will be the psycho-mythic, cultural, and natural resource based etiology of Joshua's military legends. Specifically this enterprise will focus upon the initial conquest legend. This assignment will employ several research areas that dove tail to meet the unique historical and literary nature of this project. The employment of literary criticism and analysis is essential in dealing with the issues relating to the actual text of the biblical book of Joshua (which in itself cannot be defined as historical). In addition, this scheme will be examining the mythological nature of the Joshua text through the psychological function of oral mythology. Finally the analysis will provide a substantial historical framework for adequate interpretation.

1.1.2. Historical Theme

The historical facet of this venture will involve the identification of the *relics of remembrance* (Scheffler 1992

⁵ Gerrie Snyman (1992: 81) notes that the biblical text is simply the written performance of a story. The role of the biblical scholar is to determine the status of the story as either an objectifiable account or a story with traces of tradition. This project will carry through on this process and also engage in the psychological functions of both the formation of the oral source accounts and its later experience as a written story.

2001) and the placement of the various conquest components within Canaanite history. This historical endeavor will attempt to utilize the strong demographic and material information that establishes a historical and cultural framework for truly understanding the original conflicts that stirred the imagination of the conquest legends of Joshua. This analysis will focus primarily on the fundamental facts of demographic and archaeological reports. It is the intent of this study to provide the etiological framework necessary for deciphering the legends of various epochs incorporated into the text.

While this study will focus upon historical dates in order to provide an analysis of the data, it is not the purpose of this work to define the historical accuracy of literary documents. Therefore this strategy recognizes that much of the historical discussion will be of an academic and hypothetical nature. Indeed, as any biblical scholar well knows, ancient historiography is quite different from modern historiography in that ancient historiography may include fictions, myths, legends, and hearsay. Therefore, the Deuteronomic writings are stylistically "history" even if it is untrue from a modern scholarly perspective.⁶ Having noted this paradox, this thesis will use the literary documents within the book of Joshua (and other extra-biblical sources) as a guide to focus upon specific

⁶ Marc Zvi Bettler (1995: 2) notes that, "definitions that emphasize the scientific nature of history, its fundamental differences from literature, or the intentions of an author, are problematic" (p.12). Indeed Bettler's own definition ends up defining history as "a narrative that presents a past."

historical periods. These documents will provide a framework for examining dates and events that these literary myths profess.

It is not the purpose of this project to validate the veracity of these literary documents (as such an endeavor would prove to be fool-hardy and produce no fruit). Rather such writings will be placed under the historical template of the times they purport to report about.⁷ Through the evaluation of these times will come the gleaning of any historical "truth". This careful sifting process will yield the sand at the core of these pearls of literary and cultural legend. Finally the larger history of the land will be surveyed to identify alternative contexts for inspiration events incorporated into the final text.

1.1.3. Mythic Theme

It is the focus of this analysis to determine the etiological factors guiding the fabled person Joshua ben Nun, and the movement and settlement of the proto-Israelite people. It is the premise of this exposition that every myth, legend or fable has a kernel of truth that forms the skeletal structure for the myth. Therefore through a keen analysis of the use of the fable the layers of redactor propaganda and story telling

⁷ Focusing on the date noted by the legend (or in this case the larger legendary tradition of the biblical texts) is no small issue since this is holds a central purpose in the function of the Deuteronomistic raconteur. As Jack Sasson states (1987: 335) the teller of a legend usually spares no effort to convince his audience of the story's historical setting' and in many cases Sasson falls just short of saying that the storyteller wanted to believe that the events of the story actually happened, indeed one may infer that this is what Sasson meant.

can be stripped away to reveal a glimpse into the real events that may have inspired the birth of this fictional chronicle.⁸ While this project will examine the overall archaeological & literary testimony vis-à-vis the overall conquest of Canaan and the origins of Israel, this scheme will devote much of its scope to the mythological formation process.

1.1.4. Theme of Initial Conquest

The biblical mythical/literary testimony identifies three distinct campaigns undertaken by Joshua ben Nun during the Deuteronomistic conquest. Though many scholars agree that the biblical literature of Joshua is a highly idealized account (Campbell et al 2001: 90-150), this project will focus on the record of the first and most centrally located campaign on the western side of the Jordan. This will provide a limit of archaeological sites and facilitate decisions about a historical timeframe required to possibly glean the nature of the source of this fable.

While this project will focus on the sites mentioned in Joshua 1-11,⁹ it will also attempt to formulate a broad concept

⁸ As Lawrence M. Wills notes (1995: 96) fiction can be when Jewish authors wrote (in his case he is referring to authors in the period 200 - 100 B.C.E. but it can also apply to Joshua) many entertaining narratives marked by fanciful and idealized settings, adventurous tone, happy endings, and important characters. They were fictitious, not in the sense of bad or credulous history that misrepresents the past but in the sense of prose writing that created an experience of involvement with the readers' world.

⁹ As Sasson noted in *The Literary Guide to the Bible* the emphasis of the story-teller's thrust (in this case the concern with identifying

of the nature of politics at the time in question. Therefore the analysis of specific sites, and a meta-analysis to understand general trends beyond a site-specific interpretation will be incorporated into the project.

1.2. Influence of Assumptions

1.2.1. General Assumptions

In order to discern the complex reality behind the romanticized literature of Joshua, one must form some rudimentary suppositions to pilot the consecution of discussion. Foremost is recognizing the basic tenet that the bible purports to fix a historical date of the conquest of Canaan.¹⁰ The second tenet then is the possible *inspiration event* that may have occurred and served as the source of the conquest mythology.

Due to the immense material and extremely divergent views surrounding both essential tenets of this project, the logical order of discussion on this matter is to use the first tenet to evaluate the nature of the text and help guide investigation into the second tenet. Therefore we shall first review the divergent views of the date and nature of conquest. The decision reached from a review of this research will then focus the research of the second tenet. That is, the actual inspiration

specific sites and a full military progression of conquest) is central to understanding the formation of the myth.

¹⁰ Attention to the date outlined by the bible for the mythical event of Israelite conquest is important as there is likely some event or story from this date in history that, while actually minor in cultural significance, did form the basis of the later biblical saga.

events that were reworked into the later lore of Israelite conquest.

1.2.2. Exodus Assumptions

This thesis shall assume that the exodus was not a historical event, and therefore this project does not wish to confuse an analysis based upon the claimed date (from the Deuteronomistic mythical voice) with any attempt to judge the Israelite pre-monarchic record as historical.¹¹ This project is clear in that it does not consider the Joshua record to be historical (in the modern sense), and any attempt to view this work in such a light is to mistake verisimilitude for historicity.¹²

Having made it clear that this project does not consider the biblical record as "historical", this project does consider

¹¹ In order to avoid the argument between a 15th century or a 13th century exodus date this project is taking the position that there was no exodus as a historical event. This is the view of many scholars as T.L. Thompson, and more recently of centrist scholars such as William Dever, "*... after a century of modern research neither Biblical scholars nor archaeologists have been able to document as historical any of the events, much less the personalities, of the Mosaic era,*" *Recent Archaeological Discoveries*, 5. Therefore this project will default on the minimalistic position relating to the exodus. This is essential in order to avoid the debate of trying to find a historical event relating to the exodus that is outside the scope of this paper. In essence this project follows the somewhat minimalistic ideology of historical investigation as set out in Iaian Provan's (1995: 585-606).

¹² Verisimilitude is the literary phrase for the false impression of reality. A story may sound real, yet this does not mean that it is real.

the Deuteronomistically constructed historical context for the book of Joshua to be crucial. This contextual date of the story is crucial as this enterprise wishes to discover the font of the fable. Naturally the date of the exodus and therefore the date of the supposed conquest under Joshua has long been a source of debate¹³. However, a century of scholarship and archaeological excavation has not provided a consensus on the issue. As Miller Burrows (1940) wrote: "*It must be acknowledged that archaeology has not simplified the problems of the date of the Conquest, but has rather introduced new complications.*" (Burrows 1940). In order to provide a clear analysis of the various perspectives this project shall therefore work through this debate, before narrowing its focus to a date in history.

At the heart of the twentieth century C.E. the bulk of scholars' dated the exodus & conquest in the thirteenth century B.C.E., while some incorporated a wider range of evidence in favor of a twofold entrance into Palestine at broadly separated times as proposed by Sayce (1987: 158). Hence, Albright identified the tribes of Israel with the Habiru (mentioned in the Amarna letters), and asserted that they were in Palestine about 1400 B.C.E. while other tribes, particularly the

¹³ This is an issue only for those fundamentalists and uninformed individuals who attempt to impose their modern views of history upon the ancient legendary function. In contrast the most enlightened can quickly recognize that there is little basis for declaring the exodus itself as historical, and therefore the debate (as an attempt to affirm the historical accuracy of every aspect of the legend accounts) over the date of the exodus is mute. We must not mistake verisimilitude for historicity.

descendants of Judah, left Egypt under the leadership of Moses early in the reign of Rameses II (Albright 1935b: 10).

According to Dr. Stephen Meyers (1992), one of the most important considerations is what the Jewish historians' said about this exodus. Meyers (1992) argues that most of the ancient writers equated the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt around 1570-50 B.C.E. In addition he contends that most ancient writers put the Jews in Egypt for 215 years or less. Meyers also contends that most Jewish writers, of the previous two millennia, took the 400 or 430 years to cover the time in Egypt and Canaan. Some even counted the 400 years from the birth of Isaac, or Abraham's entry into the land of Canaan (Meyers 1992).

In general, the current trend among *mainstream* scholars is to place Israel in Canaan around the 13th century B.C.E. in contrast to the few scholars that place Israel's entrance into Canaan at 1400 B.C.E. Meyers agrees with neither of these assessments, but places the date of the Exodus earlier than even the most conservative estimates.

However, an inherent weakness lies in Meyers' (1992) supposition that the best primer for determining the date of the Exodus is in the literary works of such ancient authors as Josephus. For as we look at the ancient accounts for dating the Exodus we see that the issue was as tortuously convoluted as it is today. The 1st century historian Josephus is a prime example of the *perplexity* of the ancients regarding the exact date. In *The Antiquity of the Jews*, Josephus interprets the 430 years of Exodus 12:40 as starting with Abraham's entrance into Canaan and ending at the exodus. Josephus states:

They left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on the fifteenth day of the lunar month; four hundred and thirty years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but two hundred and fifteen years only after Jacob removed into Egypt. (Whiston, 1998:38)

According to Meyers (1992) this follows the Septuagint reading of Exodus 12:40 that says, "*And the sojourning of the children of Israel, while they sojourned in the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan was four hundred and thirty years*" (Meyers: 28). In addition Whiston (in his notes on Josephus) is puzzled by the Masoretic text that leaves out "Canaan" when Masoretic chronology clearly shows that Israel only stayed half of the 430 years in Egypt. (Meyers 1992: 28)

In *The Antiquity of the Jews*, Josephus claims the Exodus occurred 592 years before the Temple of Solomon was built which is about 960 B.C.E. (Meyers). So the Exodus (according to Josephus) was about 1552 B.C.E. or 1,020 years from Abraham's entry into Canaan. In *Against Apion*, Josephus says the Exodus was 612 years before the temple (Meyers 1992: 30). This would place the Exodus at 1572, almost precisely at the time when modern historians place the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. While this difference may be due to the counting of the years of the judges, it does raise a question about the internal validity of the Josephus' chronology of distant dates. The entrance into Egypt was 215 years before the Exodus, which would be about 1767 BC. This date is close to the beginning of the second intermediate period in Egypt when the Hyksos rose to power (Meyers 1992).

I Kings 6:1 states that the Exodus was 480 years before the

Temple of Solomon was built, yet Meyers (1992) points out that Josephus clearly states 592 years in his book of records. According to Meyers the difference is in the way the rule of the Judges was calculated (Meyers 1992). Josephus appears to include the Egyptian oppression as well as the Judges, whereas the book of Kings excludes the rule of oppressors, as was customary at this time, totaling to about a 111 years difference. (Jackson & Lake: 151)

Josephus quotes Manetho who wrote a history of Egypt. Josephus says, "*Manetho has granted us one fact. He has admitted that our race (the Jews) was not of Egyptian origin, but came into Egypt from elsewhere, conquered it, and afterwards left it*" (Whiston). According to Meyers (1992: 32), Manetho identifies Israel with the Hyksos which were expelled by Ah-moses from Egypt.¹⁴

¹⁴Josephus quotes Manetho describing this expulsion by saying: "*Then the kings of the Thebaid and of the rest of Egypt rose in revolt against the shepherds (Hyksos), and a great war broke out, which was of long duration. Under a king named Misphegmosis, the shepherds, he says, were defeated, driven out of all the rest of Egypt, and confined in a place called Auaris, containing ten thousand arourae. The shepherds, according to Manetho, enclosed the whole area with a great strong wall, in order to secure all their possessions and spoils. Thummosis, the son of Misphegmosis (he continues), invested the walls with an army of 480,000 men, and endeavoured to reduce them to submission by siege. Despairing of achieving his object, he concluded a treaty, under which they were all to evacuate Egypt and go whither they would unmolested. Upon these terms no fewer than two hundred and forty thousand, entire households with their possessions, left Egypt, and traversed the desert to Syria. Then, terrified by the might of the Assyrians, who at that time were the masters of Asia, they built a city in the country now called Judaea, capable of accommodating their vast company, and gave it the name of Jerusalem"* (Whiston, W., 1998: 933).

Later Josephus quotes Manetho again saying "*After the departure of the pastoral people from Egypt to Jerusalem Tethmosis, the king who expelled them from Egypt.*" (Whiston: 933). According to Gardiner (444), Tethmosis is a corrupt form of Ah-moses who expelled the Hyksos in the other passage and "Mispthagmuthosis" who is Thut-moses III is said to drive them out along with his son Thum-moses (Thut-moses IV) (Gardiner: 444).

While Meyers does present a compelling case for an extremely early date, there are a few weaknesses to his argument. The most obvious is the simple fact that the various copies of Josephus works have been grossly corrupted (in both the Greek and Latin copies)(Whiston, 1032). In addition, Josephus is given to "rounding" numbers, as Meyers himself admits (1992). Finally, while Meyers does make a good case that the Josephus account should be equated with the Hyksos, there is little information, other than the account of Josephus, to confirm that the biblical Exodus was indeed equivalent to this expulsion.

W.F. Albright, while agree partially with Meyers' date of 1570 B.C.E., argues also for a date of approximately 1290 B.C.E. In large part this decision is based upon two suppositional pillars. The first pillar is the internal biblical statement of Exodus 11 that the people built a store city (and the Bible states that it was named Raamses) presumably after the 13th century B.C.E. Pharaoh. The second pillar in Albright's decision

for a 13th century B.C.E. date was Glueck's discovery that the Edomite territory was not settled with a sedentary population until the 13th century B.C.E. (Free, 1950: 99).

In addition, Albright affirmed that the *Habiru* mentioned in the Amarna letters refers to the Hebrew people who escaped Egypt earlier (Albright 1943). In this argument then Albright draws close to Meyers' conclusion that the Israelite Exodus is equivalent to the Hyksos expulsion from Egypt. However, in order to affirm the evidence Albright then buys into the suggestion of Sayce (158) of a two pronged exodus: A. the first prong roughly equivalent to the Hyksos expulsion; B. the exodus of Judah led by Moses at approximately 1290 B.C.E. (Sayce: 158).

For the past 100 years the only article that scholars seem to have agreed on is that the question could not be settled by an appeal to the literary works of the Jewish stylized history of Deuteronomistic composition, like the book of Kings. Much of this consensus comes from the well-founded agreement that these *historical* writings cannot be considered historical in the modern sense, and are essentially myths and legends of earlier events reworked into a clear framework of nationalistic propaganda. Yet this does not nullify the issue of historical context, indeed it makes the date of the supposed event even more important as this is the only clue available to the researcher to discover anything about the nature of the inspiration event of the legend.

This project recognizes that the selection of any date for examination of the source of the conquest legend will cause some scholars to bring in associated issues such as the date for the Exodus. Therefore this project must make it clear that this

research has no interest in fixing any date for an *Israelite* Exodus. Further any suggestion that some form of the exodus record is indeed historical is directly rejected by this project. The reason for this assertion is not to deny that such debate is important, but that such a debate will muddle the issue as the readers will be sucked into their old habits of either rigid maximalism or a minimalist framework that suggests that there was no historical inspiration event. This thesis wishes to focus upon evidence directly related to the conquest event and not be drawn into a debate about the Exodus. Therefore any discussion of a date for the Exodus is reserved for the final discussion section of this project. In the interim therefore this project will separate itself from all debate relating to the date of any possible Israelite Exodus, by simply denying the historicity of an Exodus.

Unfortunately, the discussion about the Exodus is not the only debate currently waging relating to the Joshua legends. There is also the issue of both the internal mythic context and the issue of modern archaeological interpretations. Both issues give rise to the various chronologies across the spectrum of maximal and minimalist scholars. It is therefore essential to also survey the discussion relating to these issues in order to provide a vista of the broad range of opinions.¹⁵

¹⁵ Thomas Thompson, a professor of Bible at the University of Copenhagen and the author of *The Mythic Past: Biblical Archaeology and the Myth of Israel* has paved the way for neutralizing these issues of date. While at the far end of the Minimalist spectrum, his ability to narrow the issues beyond that of "historicity and dates" brings much to this discussion relating to the source of the Joshua legends.

1.2.3. Conquest Schemas

Clearly the Joshua myth does serve the nationalistic historical psyche' of Israel, it is therefore important to look at how this, and other legends intersect to place it in the Israelite mythical history. To this end 1 Kings 6:1 makes a clear attempt to place it in a historical context, and as this paper purports this is because it connects the fanciful legend of Joshua with a minor inspiration event. The nature and date of that event one cannot currently delineate, however as 1 Kings 6:1 states, the Exodus preceded the time when Solomon began to build the Temple¹⁶ by 480 years. The 480 years added to 966 B.C.E. yields a date of 1446 B.C.E. for the Exodus. Further mythic affirmations come (from Judges 11: 26) that Israel had possessed the land of Canaan by the time of Jephthah for 300 years. Further support of this Jewish mythic tradition comes from Paul in Acts 13: 19-20 that time from the Exodus to Samuel the prophet was 450 years. Therefore based upon the internal mythic testimony this project will begin by focusing on the time period of approximately 1400 B.C.E. The purpose of focusing on this time period is not to affirm the veracity of the myth (which is a foolhardy endeavor). Rather the purpose is that it is clear that the Jewish mythic traditions are pointing to this time. This project can assume therefore that some inspiration event took place in this general time period.

In addition to the mythic context are the more modern scholarly issues relating to archaeology. There are many unresolved issues relating to the various archaeological sites

¹⁶ It is generally accepted that this general era what approximately 966 B.C.E. (or at least this is the general time period in the mind of the authors/ redactors of Kings).

associated with the initial Joshua legend. There are some sites that have destruction layers in the third millennium; some in the middle bronze age and late bronze ages. Yet overall the sites associated with the present text of Joshua do not provide a unified picture pointing to one particular date of conquest (as described in the present text). The result is a wide range of chronological schemas relating to the conquest. As Silberman (1992) points out, this is the result of a growing number of archaeologists contending that the Joshua invasion is inconsistent with the archaeological record (Silberman, 1992).

Among those scholars who hold the view that there is a strong inconsistency between the literary record and the archaeological evidence are three pervading theories. The first theory is that the conquest was the fabrication of later ideological imagination. Termed *conquest by imagination theory* by T.L. Thompson, this theory has until recent years, not received significant acceptance as it depends on a selective use of archaeological data and an over-reliance on the dubious argument of climactic change (Merling, 1997: 20-57). However, in the past ten years Thompson's propositions have taken hold and now form a central place in scholarly discussion relating to the origins of Israel.

In contrast the other two theories explaining the emergence of Israel in Canaan have enjoyed relative popularity since they were first proposed. The first is the "peaceful migration" model, which is associated with the German scholars Albrecht Alt (1966) and Martin Noth (1972). Appealing to such evidence as the Amarna letters, they concluded that the Israelite settlement of Canaan was due to a gradual immigration into the land, not a military offensive. Alt and Noth further theorized that the

Israelites must have been pastoral nomads who slowly filtered into the settled land from the desert, seeking pastures for their sheep. After a long period of uneasy coexistence with the indigenous population, the Israelites eventually overran, and destroyed, the Canaanite city-states (Silberman, 1992: 28). This migration theory has gained in popularity and influence through the years, but clearly is at odds in some respects with the literary mythology of the biblical book of Joshua and its idealized image of battles and military victories.

The *Indigenous Revolt* hypothesis is the second concept for the formation of Israel. Popularized by George Mendenhall (1958) and Norman Gottwald (1976; 78 & 79), this concept introduces the theory that redefines the ethnic origin of the Israelite nation. This schema suggests that there was no external conquest of Canaan; it was an indigenous liberation movement among depressed Canaanite peasants living in the countryside. These peasants, who formed the lowest level of their culture's highly stratified social order, engaged in an egalitarian rebellion, overthrew their urban overlords, and became "Israelites." This theory, which repudiates the *present-text* literary scenario, has its academic defenders who argue that it is most compatible with archaeological data (Shanks 1994: 30).

It is clear that virtually all scholarly views attempt to corroborate the two most foreboding issues: A. the existence of Israel, and B. the archaeological data. However, all the aforementioned views, including the traditional maximalist biblical interpretation of the conquest of Canaan, cause severe problems for some area of information. The egalitarian rebellion approach does little to acknowledge, however stylized it may be, the biblical literature. The traditional biblical interpretation

of a sudden intense military conflict against centralized cities and armies seems to defy the archaeological evidence regarding the demographics of the region. Finally the gradual *peaceful* migration model defies the testimony of the Amarna letters.

1.2.4. Archaeology and Assumptions

Within this section of the project, the researcher wishes to explore the potential paths that archaeology can lead on this very thorny issue of Joshua's conquest. The author recognizes that the mere idea of reconstructing the conquest of Canaan, based at least partially upon the Biblical literature will be an uphill battle.

Therefore this project will focus on developing a clear paradigm of Israelite history from the 17th to the 11th century. Such an emphasis will attempt to glean any historical events that can be related to the Joshua account. Despite this survey it is clear that the prevailing thought within the academic world is clearly shifting away from a history or origin of Israel that even slightly resembles the traditional interpretation of the text. Indeed, in a 1997 conference sponsored by the Biblical Archaeological Review, William Dever remarked to two minimalist biblical scholars, "If you guys think I or the Israeli archaeologists are looking for the Israelite conquest [of Canaan] archaeologically, you're wrong. We've given that up. We've given up the patriarchs. That's a dead issue." (Halkin, 1999: 39). Yet, in a later article, Dever argues strongly for evidence pointing towards the settled peoples of Israel prior to the divided monarchy and pre-monarchy

historicity (Dever, 2000). However, due to the absence of an adequate viable theory, and since the whole goal of research and publication is to have collegial revision and refinement, not academic dogmatism, this project works through the issues relating to the archaeological testimony.

When examining the issue of history as it relates to archaeology and literary narratives one must be mindful of the two extremes that often tempt scholars. The first concept is the minimalist or revisionist position typified by the likes of Thomas Thompson of the University of Copenhagen. The second trap is that of fundamentalism and the view that since the Bible is a religious text that it is *automatically* accurate and historical in its content.

Generally, within the minimalist school, there is viewed to be no historical basis to any of the narratives in the Pentateuch or in the books of Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel, and the first half of Kings. Essentially, books like *The Mythic Past* (Thompson 1998) suggest that anything to do with Israelite origins is purely imaginative legend. Generally, the minimalist position is, not until the 8th century and the divided kingdom, where there are independent Assyrian records, is the biblical text to be considered in any way, *historical* (Thompson, T.L. 1998).

When relating specifically to the issue of the conquest and settlement (Jewish origins), some scholars like Philip Davies argue that the perceived "crisis" can be placed squarely on the shoulders of the minimalists (a school of thought that Davies is himself considered a part of). Interestingly enough, Davies suggests that much of the *concepts* of the minimalists,

specifically arguments against those that attempt to synthesize biblical narrative and history, have permeated into the mainstream of scholarship to the point that, "*none of the modern critical scholars ... would dare defend [the] old Albrightean view.*" (Davies, 2000:28)

For Davies, the influence of the minimalist has defined the biblical account of the conquest (Halkin 1999) in mainstream scholarship. The consensus, according to Davies is that the narrative of Joshua is simply "good historical fiction" (Davies 2000: 28). While this project does not agree with much of what Davies says, one must acknowledge that Davies (2000) does cite a large body of archaeological research to support his claim. However the extremity of minimalist position threatens to ignore the possibility of clear actual inspiration events.¹⁷

It is important to note that the minimalist approach influences the mainstream biblical scholarship so much, especially relating to the origins of Israel, that there is little difference between the mainstream scholarship and those that reject all historicity. While Davies contends that this is

¹⁷ The account of Davies in "What Separates the Minimalist from the Maximalist", and the literary biblical record **both** suggest that, "Their material culture is generally indistinguishable from that of the surrounding population, although allowance must be made for their particular economic lifestyle. These people ... did not exterminate the indigenous inhabitants or even try to. They established, for whatever reason, a new conglomeration of settlements in the central highlands of Palestine ... the need for cooperation and the nonurban lifestyle almost certainly encouraged a sense of ethnic identity. Whether these people yet called themselves "Israel," I have no idea."

necessary, to free archaeology from "*biblicism and politics*" (Davis P. 2000: 29), Dever (2000:28) contends otherwise.

Dever (2000) insists that archaeology can and does illuminate a historical Israel in contrast to the minimalist or revisionist views of history. Dever points out that according to the most extreme forms of revisionists, "the Hebrew Bible and its portrait of ancient Israel are the product of a perfervid literary imagination - a late Hellenistic phantasmagoria." (Dever 2000). Dever (2000) himself has called the agenda of the revisionists baseless and absurd, while acknowledging the mainstream difficulties with certain understandings of the origins of Israel. While Dever acknowledges that many scholars of repute have been "taken in" (Dever 2000) by the "now fashionable skepticism" (Dever 2000), accounting for the position of Davies, Dever (2000) still affirms that a good portion of the Bible is to be considered, "historical" (Dever 2000: 25-32).

While this paper is obviously not taking a strictly minimalist tack, it must also avoid the maximalist fundamentalism that plagues ecclesiastical biblical scholarship and defies reason. In addition, the mythic aspects must be recognized as the minimalistic school suggests. Further it must be remembered that when examining the biblical text relating to a specific historical context, one must remember that its function is not historical but mythical. As Karen Armstrong shows with the work of the earliest creation stories, often the

ancient stories were to be taken allegorically, not literally (Armstrong 1993).¹⁸

1.2.5. Literary Criticism and Assumptions

In studying ancient literature it should be noted that the ancients did not have the aversion to mythology, nor the need to be purely historical. Indeed the ancients had no problem believing myths for all elements were totally compatible with their worldview. In ancient literature both poetry and myths reflect the inner truths of society. Poetry and myths usually do not accurately reflect the natural world, nor are events normally narrated as accurate descriptions of history (Barr, J 1963: 193-205).

In recognizing the nature and function of literature this thesis can then begin to follow the historical critical method of stripping away much of the biases of the narrator. When the author's/ editor's historical circumstances, intentions and biases have been explained we can have a sense of the past historical events. However, to limit the project to this positivistic approach would do the mythic component of the Joshua narrative a great disservice. Indeed, the "present-text" form contains much of the truth relevant to the evolution of the

¹⁸ Armstrong (1993) contends that a literalist interpretation is a creation of historical Christianity and dogmatism. She argues that in the past some rationalists and mystics had gone out of their way to depart from a literal meaning of the Bible and the Koran in favor of a deliberately symbolic interpretation. Now Protestants and Catholics had both begun to put their faith in an entirely literal understanding of scripture. This new faith in a literal and absolutely correct scripture was the cause of the famous condemnation of Gallileo. His belief that the Earth circled around the sun violated the scriptures that "the world is firmly established; it shall never be moved." (Psalm 96:10).

text. For within the mythic messages of the text is a reflection of the national identity. While this is peripheral to the core of the project it is important to remember the role of oral myths and later mythic in Israel's existence (particularly during the Babylonian and post-exilic eras).

While this project acknowledges that the mythic truth can be found on several levels, of primary concern for this project is the identification of inspiration events within the modern construct of history. Therefore this endeavor must have some source for delving into the past. Along this vein archaeology is obviously important for interpreting history, while not discounting the literary record that attests to the same time period. For a myth grows out of a specific context and provides meaning to the subsequent context. Therefore archaeology and mythic-literary criticism must both be used if any functional understanding of the inspiration event is to be made.

1.3. A Construction of History

This melding of disciplines and sources of evidence is the pursuit of this dissertation. Indeed its historical mythical reconstruction follows the definition of history and historiography provided by Edwin Yamauchi (Drinkard 1998: 172) "History is the study of what people have done and said and thought in the past."¹⁹

Apart from any definition of history, all would agree that mythical/literary documents remain, in and of themselves, a part

¹⁹Yamauchi, Edwin (1994:1) quoted from: (Drinkard, Joel F. 1998: 172)

of the artifacts of history.²⁰ Yet like every other artifact they must be interpreted. Indeed even though ancient cultures recorded the past using the genre of myth²¹, this is no reason to dismiss all the material as non-historical in the ancient sense (Drinkard 1998: 172).

Therefore the role of archaeology in this paper shall bring to bear evidence relating to specific sites and general demographics. Such evidence will then be mixed with the narrative information and the theories of cultural assimilation and pastoral life-style. Through this broad synthesis a new and revised understanding of the source event's context will emerge. This however is not the sum and substance of this project.

The second and most logical step in this project, is then to examine the literary and material evidence, again provided by archaeology. This will further define the nature of conquest and its role in economic acculturation and potential for future conflict with surrounding ethnic groups. From this theoretical framework, suggestions will be made that help us better

²⁰ Peet van Dyk, in his article *The Truth in History and Myth*, notes that Gunkel was not so much interested in the historicity of events as described by a narrative, but in the fact that the narrative reflected the Israelite religion. Therefore for Gunkel the western value of "historical" components to the narrative were really secondary.

²¹ Thomas L. Thompson (1999) argues that it is not even valid to talk of a history of Israel because it has all passed into myth. While this project does agree that the meaning of the Israelite narrative it communicated by myth, it does contend that there is an "inspiration event" that is historically based.

understand those areas of "agreement" regarding archaeological sites relating to the broader issue of the origins of Israel.

For it does appear that while archaeology has developed some schisms in understanding the period prior to 1200 B.C.E., there does seem to be a general consensus between both the conservative main-stream and the conservative minimalists that an ethnic group did emerge out of the central hill country to become known as "Israel".²²

1.4. A Psycho-Mythical Schema

When one attempts to examine the historical roots of biblical mythology one enters a realm that is fraught with difficulties and such divergent theories that emotions flare. Further, due to the mythical nature of the biblical literature it is even more important to layout the ground rules for supporting a consecution of analysis. The methods of analysis may vary, but for the purpose of this study we will remember that history related to biblical studies can take three primary forms or sequential steps: 1. History as Event which turns into 2. History as Account which turns into 3. Myth as History (with an inspirational event/ story)(Long 1994:86).

At the outset of this discussion it seems appropriate to discuss the nature of the pre-exilic oral tradition, in order to make it clear that this is also one of the presuppositions for

²²This "consensus" is based upon the articles of Davies & Dever 2000.

this project. On the one level it may be possible for an oral tradition to preserve reliable historical information over the generations. This project will point out both the positive and negative issues relating to the control of factual information in oral transmission and the serious problems it poses to the high source-critical standards of the modern historian. Lemche (1988 & 1998) points out that no matter how modern scholars date books like Joshua, the written source is clearly removed from the actual events by at least 10 generations. Therefore when the stories of the original inspiration event are told, and the moment they are told they are "history", yet the stories remain fluid and take upon a life of their own (Lemche 1998).²³

It has long been recognized and is commonplace of contemporary Old Testament research that a prolonged oral

²³Lemche, N. P. (1998, 45-46) notes "Disregarding claims which place literature (in this case Kings) either in the late pre-exilic period, in the exilic period, or in the post-exilic period, be it the Persian Period or the Hellenistic-Roman one - after all this literature is removed from the 11th -10th centuries by, in the first example ten generations or more. And in the second by probably more than twenty-five generations - we may safely conclude that the ordinary man in the street had little if any knowledge of what may have happened in his country hundreds of years ago. We could of course think of a prolonged period of oral tradition handed down from father and mother to son and daughter, and there can be no doubt that such tradition existed and that tales were told. We also know that oral tradition is infested with one, although very serious problem: it cannot be controlled. Being orally transmitted, it is in the American sense of the word "history" the moment it has been told. It will never remain stable but will always be changing until the moment when it is written down - accepting the truism that a written record of an oral tradition has already changed it into something different from what it was supposed to be.

transmission existed in pre-exilic Israel and that the written traditions of the Hebrew Bible to some extent are based on traditional tribal myths.²⁴ Indeed Wellhausen acknowledged the existence of an oral tradition behind the individual legends of "JE" and it is a concept that has certainly gained acceptance over the past few generations. Indeed it has become well accepted that the Hebrew Bible was part of an ancient oriental culture where writing was always secondary, oral tradition primary (Nidditch 1996). Of crucial importance for this projects understanding of the historical context of the conquest fable is the hypothesis that the text had largely existed in its form at the oral stage prior to being written down (Engenell 1960). Consequently it is important for this project to reflect, to some extent, upon the importance and nature of the oral tradition, over and above the later written versions.

Along this same skein of thought this project also wishes to explore the psychological nature of oral legends. It is the view of this project that an understanding of the nature of memory and recollection from a neuropsychological framework will also add to the tools available for this project. For when dealing with oral traditions and myths we are not dealing with something that is necessarily separated from the every-day human experience. Indeed, this project affirms that the neuropsychological substructure of oral transmission of traditions is identical to our everyday experience of

²⁴Culley, R. C. (1976). Other scholars also support this position such as: Knight, D., ed. 1996 *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament*. Sheffield: JSOT Press and Niditch, S. 1996. *Oral World and Written Word*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox.

distortions of memory²⁵ and beliefs which are part of the continuum that has at the opposite end clinical false memories and delusions. For it should be emphasized that what people call memories and beliefs always reflects the processes that combine earlier memories and mix them with current emotions and associated material within the story tellers cognitive structure. Therefore while biblical legends and oral transmissions will have a natural tendency to change. Yet there are specific psychological functions that operate with memory that can be identified in a thorough analysis of a fable. Such psychological functions will be examined within this project.

However while this project does affirm the oral tradition, at the same time this project does not wish to be accused of an under-emphasis upon the written life of the text. For the role of literary criticism also has a valid basis for emphasis upon the existence and importance of a written transmission predating the final redaction of the Joshua legend. ²⁶In addition this

²⁵ A good example of a distortion in memory is simply trying to remember a conversation that took place in a restaurant on a certain day at a certain time. In addition, normal erroneous beliefs form the psychological basis of discrimination and prejudice, such as that expressed in "most violent criminals are black". For more information on the nature and function of the cognitive processes involved in memory recall the paper by Kopelman, Guinan and Lewis (1995, 71-77).

²⁶ This project seeks to affirm the role of oral traditions as set forward by scholars like Engenell and similarly by Eduard Nielson, (1955: 11-17). However this project also does not wish to give such a predominant view to the oral tradition that it forgets the large complexities of traditions that went into forming the text and thereby forms the basis of scholars like Gerhard von Rad and Martin Noth. It is the opinion of this project that both the oral and written redaction

project does not wish to come across as accepting all of Engnell's conclusions since he holds to a fairly static nature of the oral tradition, which this project cannot affirm.²⁷ For as Nielsen notes (1955), when the active connection between myth and poetry is lost the method of interpretation is no longer smooth, but cognitive aloof and less dynamic (Nielsen 1955).²⁸

Therefore while this thesis affirms a prolonged oral tradition preceding the written fixation of the Joshua text, it does not fully affirm a one-sided hypothesis to the extent of

accounts are important for understanding the nature of the final structure of Joshua.

²⁷ Within A.B. Lord's book (1960: 13) it is noted that modern examples of oral traditions are rather fluid. In noting the work of Milman Perry with the bards in the Balkans, it was noted that the bards did not memorize their traditional poems but created them anew in each performance and perhaps even more importantly, that the poems were used very differently when placed in a literary context of being written down.

²⁸ As Nielsen notes in his book *Oral Traditions*: 33-34 "Where the oral form of education was the predominating one, and where great emphasis was laid on the personal contact between teacher and pupil, this inanimate intermediary link in the living tradition can hardly have had immediate consequences of any importance. But if one imagines the living chain of tradition weakened, even cut off, so that only the documents are left, then the interpretation first and foremost becomes a problem, when the tradition is to be resurrected. Prose and poetry that has achieved a stable, concise mode of expression, either from the very beginning from the hand of the master or from generations of traditionists, falls into the hands of novices. In the most favourable circumstances these will be uncertain as to a whole series of details in the texts; in the least favourable they will force their own interpretation on the material and, as they say, arrange the text."

Engnell, where the texts had largely existed in its collected form at the oral stage prior to its being written down. Nor does this project affirm Engnell's affirmation that the oral tradition was extremely reliable, and that its late written fixation had virtually no negative impact on its reliability. Rather this project affirms that the original oral formation of this legend was relatively fluid. Only after generations of transmission did it take upon a clear form. Then only after a strong liturgical integration can the oral tradition play an important tradition-preserving role prior to the written fixation of the initial conquest legend text. Therefore the struggle for this project is to better understand the nature of the oral tradition in order to delineate the oral mythology from the written redacted aspects of the current text.

In order to engage in this process it is also important to review the methodological issues related to this study. Foremost among the literary methods is the impact of Wellhausen's work. Wellhausen's attempted to write a diachronic political history without violating the principles of synchrony clearly transformed biblical historiography. However while Wellhausen's success did benefit some areas of study, it also narrowed the interpretive focus of modern scholars (Halpern 1988). However the basic premise of linking key "theological" thoughts to specific events provides a means for this project to strip away the redaction layers and glean the actual inspiration event.²⁹

Unfortunately some scholars approach to Wellhausen's legacy is that all late sources had malicious intent, this has forged a

²⁹ One example of this is found in the tendency of some scholars to assign the source of monotheism to the exile (Lang, B. 1983).

legacy in promoting an attitude that weakens the possibility of historical examination. For if taken to extreme, a philological history demands the level of absolute proof that no historian can hand over. Instead, we must acknowledge this danger and yet embrace the essence of Wellhausen's legacy as a construct for mythic development of the Israelite narrative.

One major positive influence of Wellhausen's legacy for this project is its use of multiple sources and the examination of source goals and preferences. Such an approach is obviously important in understanding how we have received the biblical literature. In slight contrast to this approach, Noth (1972) combines the role of author and redactor when approaching the historical books, an author that took his sources seriously. It was therefore Noth who really brought to the forefront the whole issue of the intention of the redactor. Within this study we shall be careful to employ the best strategies from each approach.

Therefore, from Noth's premise this project can form a vision of the Deuteronomic author/redactor as both one who uses antiquity to vindicate his own views and one who wishes to construct a long national history without regard for sources or accepted history (Halpern 1988). It is obvious that the possible range of interpretation is open, since we as people bring assumptions to our analysis of the text. There are those who agree with Halpern (1988), that historical researchers must learn to live with a degree of imperfection in reconstruction of the "history as event" (Halpern 1988), for what we have from any one literary source (biblical or not) is a history as account. Therefore to put the burden of clarifying history as event upon what is clearly a history as account is according to Halpern to

be caught in that extreme minimalistic cycle in which the, "historical intentionality of biblical historiography is called perpetually, and needlessly into question." (Halpern 1988).

This excellent definition by Halpern therefore moves the approach of History as Myth with an inspiration event to the forefront. This perspective suggests that the history of Israel was constructed based upon local legends and loosely connected myths. These myths, in a stable oral form were then transformed into an edited written form. The next step was then the exilic incorporation of these works into a cohesive series of books that are obviously related (the Deuteronomistic literature).³⁰

³⁰Hendel, Ronald S. (1987) notes the variety of ways of understanding Biblical literature including the likes of Herder, Wellhausen, Gunkel, Noth and Albright, Hendel begins in a rather roundabout way to build a case for his contention that neither the biblical narrative nor Canaanite epics are adequate to reconstruct political, religious or economic history. This is based upon his premise that the bulk of biblical narrative was produced by composers who worked with the oral traditions available to them. Hendel argues that both the biblical and Ugaritic myths show unmistakable signs of having originated as oral traditional compositions. That they are comprised primarily of elements drawn (in an oral fashion) from a common stock of narrative conventions shared by the Canaanite and Israelite cultures. While Hendel claims the biblical myths are inadequate to build a "history" he does acknowledge that the written forms have supplied the lenses through which a culture perceived a world. However it is the contention of this project that such a lens does allow for a hint of the former oral stories to remain embedded within the text, and therefore through an analysis of this a sense of the original oral tradition can emerge. Indeed, this is in general what Hendel does when he begins to strip away aspects of the Jacob cycle within biblical mythology.

It is clear therefore that this project, while rejecting the extremism of minimalist, must draw some value from the Copenhagen school, as it provides valuable insight relating to the role of myth in the history of Israel. According to Copenhagen scheme of postmodernist literary theory a text has no absolute intrinsic significance. The textual "meaning" is a fluid concept encircling the cultural preconceptions and personal associations brought to the reading of the text by the reader. The intentions of the author are not so clear under this post-modernist approach. However the meaning of the original myth or legend is typically considered to remain within the text despite the agendas that hijack the original event.³¹ With this perspective this project will be mindful of the role of myth within the formation of the current Joshua text.

Having clarified some of the extreme issues relating to historiography it is important to note the intentions of this project. As was already noted there are three forms or steps of historiography relating to biblical research. A key focus of this project is found in the mythical/literary figure of Joshua, therefore it is important to examine the methodology behind interpreting the biblical narrative. As Benedict De Spinoza noted in the mid 17th Century C.E., "The method of interpreting

³¹ Examples of how that can be used in discovering the meanings of "history", "myth" and "context" see: Ernst Axel Knauf, "From History to Interpretation," in *The Fabric of History. Text, Artifact and Israel's Past*, edited by Diana Edelman, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 127. Also along this line are Appleby and Lynn Hunt & Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth* and Robert Berkhofer Jr., *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (Cambridge and London: The Bellknap Press of Harvard University, 1995), 138-199.

Scripture does not differ from the method of interpreting nature." (Ochs, P. 1994: 440)

This project recognizes some definite benefits to this approach, particularly relating to the study of the conquest of Canaan, from the account of biblical mythology. As Moshe Greenberg (Ochs 1994) notes, "This program promised a universe of discourse transcending partisanship by adopting for scripture interpretation the universally accepted canons of natural science." (Ochs 1994: 441)³² However, this paper must also recognize the limitations of some extreme forms of Historical-Critical methodology. Therefore, both the positive and the potential pit-falls of methodological concern relating to the interpretation of the biblical text will be discussed.

To be sure, one of the key benefits of the historical-critical axiom of interpretation is that it should provide an exegesis that does not put into biblical literature what ought to be believed rather than attending to what it actually records. Unfortunately, the track record of a good historical-critical exegesis of the literary work of Joshua is rare. The result is a very rigid interpretation of what the text actually says, even among the minimalist scholars (Davies 2000).³³ This brings about the weakness of this approach, since the literature under study is by nature myth. Therefore one must be careful not to be caught in a literalist reading for there is a wide range

³² Ewles (translation of a theological/ political tractate) Spinoza (first printing 1670 C.E.) IN: Ochs, Peter (1994: 440).

³³ The popular minimalist scholar Philip Davies (2000: 26) states that the "book of Joshua records a blitzkrieg style attack where city after city is conquered."

of meanings to be found within any form of myth and legend. It is the role of this dissertation to connect any components of these with earlier legends and inspiration events (Davies 2000).³⁴

Issues of structure are a key aspect of any literary evaluation. However, structure is a matter of serious concern and frustration when understanding the book of Joshua, due to its complicated history and the possible influence of multiple redactors. As Biddle (1998) notes, "*... any pre-existing material incorporated into the present book may well have also imported its own structuring scheme.*" (Biddle 1998:189). Therefore when dealing with structure we must be open to the possibility of several structural schemes operating at various levels (Biddle 1998).

As a matter of expediency this paper will not focus in any depth on the present text literary structure of the overall book of Joshua. Instead this project will provide a general outline of the basic Deuteronomistic structure of the book and then focus primarily on the first 11 chapters of the book. To this end there are two very strong ways of looking at Joshua, the first being the generally held view among scholarship that Joshua was part of the Hexateuch and drew upon similar sources as the rest of the Pentateuch. However, even in the midst of this acceptance Wellhausen pointed at (as early as 1899 C.E.) that the material of Joshua was "different".³⁵ It was finally

³⁴ As William Blake noted "Both read the Bible day and night, but you read black where I read white." (Jeremy Patrick 2001: 22).

³⁵ Wellhausen's observation is noted in Jaap Wessels (1992: 179) article "Joshua and Judges: The "occupation" of the Land and the "Function(s)" of the remaining Nations".

Martin Noth who railed against the Hexateuch notion and made a sharp distinction between the Deuteronomist and the Wellhausen sources. Of course Noth accepts that the Deuteronomist had knowledge of the other sources and in current scholarship Noth's notions are well accepted relating to Joshua. Finally, Noth (1962 & 1972) argues that the text continued to evolve further after its Deuteronomistic reworking. This is clearly shown in what Noth calls Deuteronomistic 2 or the second phase of Deuteronomistic composition (which related primarily to chapters 13-21). While this project will follow the general outline of Noth for the purpose of this project, it should also be noted that this project is open to the perspectives of other scholars like Van Seters (Wessels 1992: 181).

Of course we must note that issues of redaction are always of concern when dealing with any biblical text. In the case of Joshua, the more extreme perspective is that the book is the result of up to six major revisions/ redactions throughout the course of its written transmission (Young 1989). Yet one issue is clear within this project, and that is the influence of 6th century B.C.E. Deuteronomic 1 redactor/ author (Young 1989: 162). This issue will become important particularly when we begin to investigate the functional range of meaning relating to key words in the text. This will bring a new insight and depth of understanding regarding the possible message that was being conveyed.

While a range of factors will be considered in the literary and historical analysis of the biblical literature, this writer suggests caution against an attitude that is utterly anchored in either a fundamentalist or minimalist perspective of analyzing text and source. For as de Wette (Halpern 1988: 20) suggests

extreme views render historical analysis impossible, for in the case of a minimalist, if the author(s) had sources or not is almost irrelevant, for they were compiled late. If the author's interest lay solely in conveying religious zeal, then the text is useless for any historical purpose. Yet, it must also be noted that the Copenhagen school cannot be dismissed as they provide good support for the role of myth in the formation of the biblical stories (Halpern 1988).

1.5. Chapter Outline

With this clear understanding of the nature of myth and the function of the mythic memory with the individual and society it is clear what this project must focus on. The key aspects that must center this project are firstly what literary and historical features are tied into the needs and desires of the author. In addition, what is the neuropsychological nature of oral tribal myths and their broadcast. Finally this project must examine the historical date for the writing of the text of Joshua that will allow this project to identify an inspiration event (or at least the inspiration epoch).

1.5.1. Chapter Two

Chapter two of this project will examine the book of Joshua from the perspective of a myth. Clearly this book holds all the hallmarks of the great myths. The overall *present-text* of Joshua deals with the issue of national survival and heroism. Secondly, like most myths, it holds heroic deeds, with both the physical deed of heroic involvement in courageous battles and performing great spiritual deeds.

Of particular concern for chapter two is the formation and function of oral mythology and mythical national memory. This emerges as the oral history of the ancient community becomes mythical in nature. For the tribal community a continually evolving story and revising history is central to a national mythic memory. However it must be remembered that memory's proclivity for revisionist history is paradoxically redemptive. For it is just this type of mythical memory that is essential for the formation of an individual's, as well as a nation's identity and the constant editing and revising necessary to adapt to ever changing situations.³⁶ In essence a mythic past is vital in order to adjust with the needs and requirements of the present. As such it is clear that national myths grow and form out of the attempt to also meet the needs and requirements of the nation in interacting with the present. These myths form out of the culturally available narrative forms for recounting the past, mixed with the needs and meanings of the present. Therefore this project will examine closely the nature of oral communication, mythical formation and memory confabulation in order to glean the deep and subtle origins of many of the stories relating to the Joshua text as we have it today.

³⁶ Jerome Brunner and other "narrative psychologists" have made a very persuasive case for the decisive role played by narrative in identity formation. In addition philosophers like Anthony Kerby claim that "self narration" is the defining act of the human subject, an act which is not only "descriptive of self" but "fundamental to the emergence of reality of that subject".

1.5.2. Chapter Three

In chapter three we will be working with the first 11 chapters of the Joshua text in order to strip away the layers of myth and geo-political fabrication in search of the key inspiration events. This process will begin with a thorough analysis of the various literary approaches and the definition of how this project will understand the text. Choosing primarily the division established by Noth, and refining it with the modern work in Deuteronomistic history of Campbell and O'Brien this chapter will remove the layers of redaction to reveal the core conquest legend.

1.5.3. Chapter Four

Finally this source legend must be evaluated in light of our understanding of archaeology and the factual history. This analysis of the region will provide insight into the mythical components of the text. This obviously means that the project must examine the text of Joshua in its form and content, compare it to the historical background provided by archaeology in order to discern its components. This process will clarify the intermingling of myths from various ages, along with the goals and desires of the Deuteronomistic antiquarian author of the *present text*. While this analysis will not be able to prove or disprove any particular *historical* events referred to in the biblical text of Joshua, it will nevertheless indicate the likelihood of such events within a given period of time. Such a

survey will lead this thesis to its goal of identifying the *inspiration event* of the central conquest legend of Joshua.

Chapter Two: The Psychology of Orality

We have not even to risk the adventure alone, for the heroes of all time have gone before us. The labyrinth is thoroughly known. We have only to follow the thread of the hero path, and where we had thought to find an abomination we shall find a god. And where we had thought to slay another, we shall slay ourselves. Where we had thought to travel outward, we will come to the center of our own existence.

Joseph Campbell (1998: 123)

2.0. Introduction

The formation of the book of Joshua is clearly a case where the written and oral each had a hand in the formation of the text. Therefore as this thesis seeks to decode the current text we must review the basics of orality, and the very human experience of story telling. As many scholars before, this project will delve into the form and function of what was clearly an oral culture. However the demands upon this project are different, for in the age of science it seems a shame to ignore the benefits of disciplines like Neuropsychology.

This paper will therefore take a rare path for the Biblical scholar concerned with orality. This path will include a survey of myth; the neuropsychology of orality and storytelling and the influence of collegial discussion upon the form of a legend. Through this survey this thesis will present a foundation for understanding the influence of oral formation upon the written text.

All oral stories and written literature must undergo a predictable process of construction within the human brain. This process is based upon an intricate interplay between intra-psychic and psychosocial processes. The intra-psychic flow of igniting neurological association zones and semantic structures is found in a cause-effect loop with the psychosocial issues and the socio-cultural perspective of the person. This circular process also includes the role of the oral community's discussion of the source events. All these influences impact the memory of the *inspiration event* reforming the significance and psychological recreation of the event. Finally, the story of the event takes on a form of its own and becomes relatively resistant to further confabulation as its function takes up an official role within the society.

2.1. Aspects of Myth

It is essential that this project evaluate these complex processes that mitigate between the event and the written account. For without a clear understanding of how these processes work the differences between the text and the historical event will be attributed to the deliberate writing of fiction as Thompson (1998) suggests is the case with Joshua. In contrast, this project asserts that this natural circular process between event and written record accounts for the nature of the written sources and the current form of the Joshua text as a historical legend or myth of national origin (Campbell 1998).

The nature of the book of Joshua is clearly one of the preeminent stories of myth told in the ancient world. Indeed it holds all the hallmarks of the great myths as first it deals with an issue of national survival and heroism. Secondly the two

great mythic themes of a courageous battle and a great spiritual deed are both played out within this book. Indeed it carries with it the national myth of psycho-spiritual development as Israel is compelled to give up its wanderings and as an adolescent nation and undergo the rites of initiation into adulthood. This fundamental psychological transformation is evident within the description of trans-Jordanian movement and struggles of defeat at Ai. The continued rites of nationalistic affirmation at Gilgal and Shechem and finally at the end of the conquest series all point to these foundational ethnographical features of myths. Indeed the most typical feature of myth is that which signals birth and in this case we have the birth of a nation (Campbell 1988).³⁷

Another key mythical component of Joshua is the *trial* theme before the *entrance into paradise*. It is a universal component of all myths of "*salvation*" that there be an element of momentous birth pains before possession of paradise. In the Joshua legend this thematic component is veiled thinly as the hero's name means literally, "*Salvation*" hence giving the clear literary indication that such trials are to be expected. The various campaigns of conquest therefore hold a structure that is common to all great paradise themes, where there is no reward without renunciation of former ways and the paying of a price. Later mythic structures also follow this concept, for the legends in the Koran say, "*Do you think that you shall enter the*

³⁷ Otta Rank in his book *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* declares that everyone is a hero in birth, where he undergoes a tremendous psychological as well as physical transformation. So too, myths of the birth of nations have the components of 1.Hero and 2.Transformation of the people.

*Garden of Heavenly Bliss without such trials as came to those who went before you?"*³⁸ Further, the Christian legends also point to this thematic structure as the Matthew myth has Jesus saying, "Wide is the gate and narrow is the way which leads to life, and few there who find it."³⁹ So too, Joshua and the people of Israel undergo great tests before arrival in paradise.

Consonant with this theme of trials, the hero is the one who undergoes much of the suffering for a moral cause that benefits all people. The Christian parallel is that of Jesus, but in Joshua the giver of "salvation" displays that suffering through an emphasis upon the intrinsic heroism of the leadership. In myth this intrinsic heroism often comes in the face of opposition and even deals with moral dilemmas of deception. The Joshua affirmation in chapter 24, "As for my household, we will serve the Lord" provides that mythic component of intrinsic spiritual heroism. In addition, the Gibeonite deception earlier in the legend wrestles with the age-old component of trickery and heroism.⁴⁰

³⁸ This is a thematic summary of Book 70: 2-38 of the Koran. This is part of the "ways of ascent" themes central to the message of the Koran. Summarized from *The Koran* online version by Wesley Tilson, downloaded February 15/03
<http://www.combase.com/~westilson/koran/70wysnt.htm>

³⁹ This is from the researcher's paraphrase of Matthew 7:13 New International Version.

⁴⁰ The moral objective in myths is the saving of people or a person or an idea. The hero suffers in going after the goal and the hero's success benefits others. An archetypal form for this is the Prometheus myth. In that case a trickster animal or bird that steals the fire and then passes it along to a relay team of birds or animals who run with

So many religious legends and national myths begin with their own hero stories. In the Orient there are the teachings of Buddha, and in the Joshua tradition the people were blessed by the Mosaic Law. Further, it is through divine ordinance that the geo-political nation draws its legitimacy through these myths and heroes. It provides a past, a meaning and an identity that is full of components that motivate the maintaining or developing uniqueness (or dominance of Israel) from the surrounding nations. It is at this juncture that we find a hint into the nature and function of the Joshua legends and indications of the dating of the book.

There are two issues to deal with relating to the Joshua myth. The first is the origins of the written form of the "book of Joshua" and the second is the oral/tribal *mythical tradition* related to the origins of that book. The former issue relates specifically to the date of authorship and therefore the questions of motivating factors incorporated into the text such as political and national goals. As such the answer to this question will remain hidden until the last chapter. The latter issue pertains more to the myths that provided the basis for the writing of Joshua text. This issue will be closely dealt with in the next chapter.

it. Sometimes the animals are burned by the flames as they pass the fire along, and this is said to account for their different colorings. Finally Prometheus brings fire to humanity and all civilization benefits. In Joseph Campbell's book *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* he asserts that all mythology gives the same essential quest through a predictable pattern of legend.

It is the contention of this project that while the Joshua stories are not true in the historical sense, neither is they completely in the realm of fiction but rather related to some *inspiration event* which held some component of local legend. The logic behind this assertion is that much of biblical lore is clearly related to earlier near eastern mythology. Furthermore, mythology by nature is related to other oral stories/ myths and motivates later legends and literature and national identity.⁴¹

This logic clearly is a principle not isolated to ancient times, for in the modern era such intermingling of myths is also common. Indeed, biblical mythology has not remained static, but has grown through the millennia with influence that extends far beyond the realm of religion. Indeed biblical myths have annexed the whole of classical mythology as well as the literary spectrum. The fact that one myth can absorb another indicates

⁴¹ The process of mythmaking has been well documented particularly in people experiencing emigration or social transition. Some psychologists argue that it is an essential function of stress management that natural ego mechanisms of self-defense, self-justification and the need to legitimize reality in a new social situation is the motivation behind the social myths. Whatever the case it is clear that cultural myths of heroism and settlement still play an important role in the cultural adjustment process. Examples of this modern myth making can be reviewed in the following articles: Wolf, Kirsten "Emigration and mythmaking: The case of Icelanders in Canada" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2001, Vol. 33, Issue 2. ; Cate-Arries, Francie "Conquering myths: The construction of Mexico in the Spanish Republican Imaginary of Exile"; Ohana, David "Kfar Etzion: The Community of Memory and Myth of Return" *Israel Studies*, Volume 7, Number 2; and finally Kalsunas, Michael P and Thompson, Walter J. "Agency Research: Myth and Legend".

the clear fact that all mythologies were imaginatively much alike (Frye 1973).⁴²

Christianity and Islam both absorbed and reworked the earlier Jewish mythology. Further, these myths grew out of the primitive tribal cultures and whatever the imagination event that sparked the myth it is a historical fact that literature and myth incorporates previous mythology. It can therefore be logically assumed that the Joshua myth is no different.

While biblical scholarship has long since weathered the predicament of separating mythological from natural space, and natural time there are still maximalist habits that remain within the discipline. It is the opinion of this author that much of biblical study is caught in a more insidious and subtle crisis of trying to distinguish the ordinary waking consciousness of external reality from the creative and

⁴² In the essay, "*The Search for Acceptable Words*" Northrop Frye (1973) points out that literature and myths are virtually never free of presuppositions and a mythical context. Rather, all accounts are told and retold and stories are formed and interpreted within a mythical community that, whether it agrees or disagrees with that mythical community, is still formed and influenced by it. The poet or story teller is taken over by a mythical and metaphorical organism, with strong historical mythical roots. It is the mother that brings to life a story that is separate from the mythical mother, yet related to it in meaning and context. Frye points out that every tribal culture contains a number of stories, of which some gradually assume a particular importance as "true" or in some way more deeply significant. These are the stories that are most readily describable as myths, and they are the ones that take root in a specific society and provide for that society a network of shared allusion and experience. Such myths differ in social function, but not in structure, from the generic folk-tale.

transforming aspects of the mind. As a psychologist this author affirms that there is no clear line that can separate these two aspects when dealing with orality in literature. For the basic functions of the human mind depend upon the role of myth and story for personal identity and motivation, as well as corporate functioning.⁴³ Indeed the nature of myth is that it is the most natural of human functions.

2.2. The Neuroscience of Myth

The assertion that myth making is the most natural of human activities is not of course limited to the individual (Eakin 1997)but is part and parcel of national legitimacy (Nidditch 1996).⁴⁴ However, in order to appreciate the nature of myth it is important to break it down to its smallest parts and its

⁴³ At the center of Carl Gustaf Jung's psychology is the role of myth and legend in personal functioning. At the core of his vision of life is a progress from the "ego", ordinary life with its haphazard and involuntary perceptions of time and space, to the "individual", who works with far more coordinated and schematic modes of perception. Essentially, the mythical archetypes are the background for the individual types in the foreground of personality. The cumulative effect of these individual personalities then form the corporate expression that continues the mythical archetype and draws its meaning from it, resulting in the cycle of a cultural context for the individual once again. This then is the form and function of myth within both the individual and society based upon the general Jungian construct.

⁴⁴ In the book *Touching the World: Reference in Autobiography* Paul Eakin argues that autobiography is governed by a referential aesthetic, that points to a mythical context beyond the story told. Eakin contends that this is the most natural of human activities.

function within the individual. For without an understanding of the function of myth within the person we will not be able to fully appreciate the impact or formation of great legends like the book of Joshua.⁴⁵

Myth is in many ways the cornerstone of individual identity and autobiography. While memory is important in much of human functioning the fact is that myth is a greater force from a neuropsychological perspective than memory. In speaking in such terms it is the *stories* that are formed, shaped and invented. To put it simply, the myth forms the schema for the organization of memories. Certainly this does not mean that memory does not play a part in a persons functioning, yet it is relived as a "story" "myth" or "legend" (Shotter 1989). The latest developments in cognitive neuroscience confirms the extent to which memory reconstructs the materials from the past rather than simply retrieving information that is merely stored (Shotter 1989).⁴⁶

The simple fact is that particularly in those tribal cultures where oral tradition is powerful, the history of the individual and the community becomes mythical in nature. For the self is continually evolving, becoming different and revising

⁴⁵ The psychologist John Shotter's (1989: 137) argues that a healthy sense of self-hood is found in the context of myth and experience. The myth then provided the meaning for the experience and it is then through this experience that one's personal identity is formed.

⁴⁶ As Larry Squire (1995: 197-224) argues that memory is not a single faculty but consists of different systems that depend on different brain structures and connections. Since the body changes and the consciousness alters in a very true neurological sense, the past can never be recovered, only the myths of the past are accessible.

history in the individual's mythic memory (Squire 1995). However it must be remembered that memory's frailty and appetite for redefining history is paradoxically helpful. For it is just this type of mythical memory that is essential for the formation of an individual's identity and the constant editing and revising necessary to adapt to ever changing situations.⁴⁷ In essence a mythic past is essential in order for a person to cope with the needs and requirements of the present. As such it is clear that national myths grow and form out of the attempt to also meet the needs and requirements of the nation in interacting with the present. These myths form out of the culturally available narrative forms for recounting the past, mixed with the needs and meanings of the present (Squire 1995).⁴⁸

In essence then as this project looks at the nature of the book of Joshua it is delving into the psyche of the biographers of the nation. The national myths are then the cumulative effect

⁴⁷ Jerome Brunner and other "narrative psychologists" have made a very persuasive case for the decisive role played by narrative in identity formation. In addition philosophers like Anthony Kerby claim that "self narration" is the defining act of the human subject, an act which is not only "descriptive of self" but "fundamental to the emergence of reality of that subject".

⁴⁸ Fivush (1988) argues that the self-concept and memories of past experiences develop dialectically and begin to form a life history. The life history, in turn, helps organize both memories of past experiences and the self-concept. The life history is essentially what is called the extended time-lines. It is only with the construction of the life history that we truly have a mythical memory. This format can also be seen when we examine the history of Israel and the deep impact of myth relating to the life history of Israel, particularly the birth of the nation.

of individual tribal myths, combined with a series revisions and the synthesizing work of a Deuteronomist author (in the case of Joshua). Whatever the conclusions arrived at from the examination of the Joshua legend it is clear that it is part of the great existential imperative to have a continuous and clear existence in biography (for both people and nation).

As mythmakers, the Deuteronomic author(s)/editor(s) are primed to recognize the constructed nature of the past, yet they need at the same time to believe that in writing about the past they are performing an act of recovery (at least a recovery of a meaning of the nation of Israel that fits the moment of the author). It is through this natural synthesis of the authors' needs and the jumbled myths of the past that we find the Joshua legend forming. In a way it is a "synthesized memory of the past" (Eliade 1973)⁴⁹ that models the trajectory of continuous identity and in turn becomes the supremely natural act of presenting a stylized memory as fact (Eliade 1973).⁵⁰

⁴⁹ As Mircea Eliade (1973: 71) myths relate to the essence of supernatural beings and the manifestation of their sacred powers, and it becomes the exemplary model for all significant human activities. An example this continuity of self and national identity can be found in the account of C. Strehlow when he asked the Australian Arunta why they performed certain ceremonies, the answer was always: "Because the ancestors so commanded it." In addition, the Kai of New Guinea refused to change their way of living and working, and they explained: "It was thus that the Nemu (the Mythical Ancestors) did, and we do likewise." Furthermore, the reason for a particular detail in a ceremony, a Navaho chanter answered: "Because the holy people did it that way in the first place."

⁵⁰ Many scholars support the idea that the ancients understood Joshua as a story of meaning not of fact and history. In this case it is an ideal

With this clear understanding of the nature of myth and the function of the mythic memory within both the individual and society it is clear what this thesis must focus on. The key issue, which has never been dealt with by the likes of the Scandinavian school of Oral Biblical scholars, is the neuropsychological nature of oral tribal myths and their transmission. An analysis of this will allow this thesis to clarify key aspects in the formation process oral mythology in general. Subsequently this information will equip this thesis with the tools needed to glean the *relics of oral reminiscence* (Scheffler 1992) from the Joshua myth. As this project will clarify, the natures of oral mythology are very different in their neuropsychological functioning depending upon some basic societal structures and the use of the myth.⁵¹

2.3. Limiting Change in Mythic Transmission

In entering the discussion about the nature of oral mythology we must first gain some understanding of the nature and function of memory in its different forms and how this

description of national identity and avoids the problems that many modern maximalists bring to the understanding of the text.

⁵¹ The study of orality in scripture owes much of its value to the Uppsala school and *Olrick's laws*, that certain recurring patterns in poetic structure are followed in Israelite literary syntax. Of particular importance is Albert Lord's (1968) observation in his book *The Singer of Tales* New York: Atheneum. Lord clearly showed how the oral tales and cultural songs of illiterate Serb-Croatian elders held a specific metric scheme, the completion of thought within each line and a high degree of formulicity.

clarifies the development of oral myths. At the outset it is clear from the term *oral* that we are concerned primarily with the verbal declaration and direct expression of a memory (Lord 1968). This type of memory is what is termed in neuropsychology as, *declarative memory* (Eichenbaum 1997) and it is this type of memory that is mediated through the hippocampus, though the content of memory is stored in the cerebral cortex.⁵² This key function of declarative memory is based, at least partially upon a relational representation encoding of memories, developing a relationship among all the various items (Eichenbaum 1997).⁵³ Simply put the person's personal mythic structure will dictate the schema of memory encoding.

The simplest example is the every-day telling of an event that one experienced during the day. In all likelihood the story will change depending upon the relationship the teller has with the listener. This is indicative of the strong association between declarative memory and its foundation in the association zones within the brain. It also makes the origins of oral mythology to be logically founded in actual events. For it is the natural function of this declarative memory that stories

The work of H. Eichenbaum (1997: 548-572) gives a clear picture of how studies upon forms of human amnesia have clarified the nature of declarative memory.

It is important to recognize that the key foundational aspect of declarative memory is its reliance upon representational flexibility that is very different from the inflexible memories that are encoded in a single isolated location within the brain. This means that declarative memory is flexible and can naturally make transitive inferences.

will continue to grow and change through the natural process of the storytellers' transitive conjecture and relative prejudice (Eichenbaum 1997).

Another simple example is the everyday experience of how a story, when it is told and retold by one teller eventually takes upon a specific form. No longer is there the subtle editing of the story to suit the audience and the mood of the teller. Through this process it becomes very clear that the line between memory of the event (which is fluid) and the belief of the event (which is rigid) quickly becomes blurred. For as the factual encoding of the event based upon a basic personal schema can be called memory, the very relational inferential nature of declaring that memory reworks that memory (Eichenbaum 1997). As that memory transmission process occurs in the sharing of the story beliefs then start to form and are reinforced by the memory and the schema that supports it. Therefore it becomes clear that the telling of stories is the foundation of belief as memories are beliefs about what happened, and beliefs are constructed from, and reinforced by, memories (Schacter 2001).

Further, the transition to the "belief" of the story also means that the form of the story will tend not to change based upon the context. As such certain internal psychological cues begin to form around the story to facilitate recitation of the account of the event. In this formation process certain predictable patterns begin to occur. Most notable for stories with a good history of telling is the cyclic structure that emerges from the semantic organization of the person. Such a cyclic structure may be mnemonic or thematic in nature, whatever the case this predictable repeating structure is the sure sign

that the story has entered the "belief" phase of orality and is therefore resistant to further change (Nidditch 1996).

It is important to recognize the form and function of this type of memory in oral mythology for it will give clues to the researcher about how to evaluate the text. For example it is clear that declarative memory and the cumulative effect of a series of oral stories would have a specific effect upon the corporate memory and belief of an event. This is the qualitative characteristic of mental experience that is also a key aspect of the association nature of memory (Markham 1993: 161). Simply put, we can start with a schema that shapes a memory, but as the memory is reworked into a belief, the schema forms within the individual. This type of experience means that the source monitoring accuracy of a memory is influenced by internal mental associations that vary the qualitative features of memories, through things like perceptual details and semantic associations (Markham 1993).⁵⁴ Therefore every time a story of a real event is re-told there are elements brought into the story that are confabulations of the person's mental organization and associations. In a sense then it is impossible to truly remember anything.

When dealing with a myth like Joshua the biggest issue becomes the dramatic changing of the story until it is entirely fiction. It is this understanding of orality that N.P. Lemche (1988) points to when supporting the Copenhagen school's

⁵⁴ R. Markham and L. Hynes (1993: 160-170) provide a good example of how this qualitative association is central to memory and changes the nature of the memory/ belief. Other studies have also shown that visual imagery during the reading of an account of the event leads people to say they saw in a picture what they only read about in text.

position that Joshua is simply "fiction" (Thompson 1998). Indeed it is true that a story of an inspiration event will change when it is told and retold. However the key to understanding accuracy or error in such stories is found in understanding the nature of memory in a detailed fashion. Indeed it is true that errors can be introduced when a memory is first acquired and anytime thereafter when it is activated and when it is evaluated (Schacter 2001). That is, memories are initially constructed from perceptions, thoughts, beliefs, and goals active together at the time. Subsequently they are reconstructed, often differently, in the context of different goals and different activated information, with the result that they may be reactivated incompletely with different features active at different times, conflated with similar memories from other events and embellished or otherwise changed by additional perceptual or reflective processing (Eisenbaum 1993).

It is also important to remember that the very nature of declarative memory is based upon neurological association zones (as this project has already mentioned). This means that key cues are required in order to maintain the structure of the story, and these cues are always blurred with other aspects associated with them. One of the most common ways of understanding this blurring process is the semantic associates that accompany the nature of memory. As individuals encode information it is placed with other information that is associated with it either through the interpretive meaning of the individual or through semantic association. Later when the memory is recalled the various ranges of interpretive and semantic associations will often resurface, sometimes resulting in a shift of the meaning of the memory, or the confabulation of

additional information based upon the associated encoded information.⁵⁵

Often times the meaning shift through semantic associations can be seen best in oral mythology when a double meaning of a word is used to express divergent layers of meaning within the story. One example of this type of possible semantic association that shifted in the retelling process is the word *AI*. While the word properly means *Ruin* it has taken upon the function of a proper place name within the *present text* of Joshua. However as this project will discuss in later chapters, the meaning *Ruin* may indeed be the preferred range of meaning that was originally expressed within the oral myth.

In order to further clarify this associated encoding and retrieval of information for memory creation it is important to break down the sub-groups of this process. The first type of memory encoding is the episodic memory encoding that consists of singular events that a person recalls. There is some thought that this method of memory is uniquely different from other memory systems (Tulving 2002). This episodic memory is factual to be sure, but requires other abilities to function,

⁵⁵ In the author's neuroscience class a simple example of this type of associative function of meaning and semantics is given and here is illustrative. If you quickly flash words across a screen and then ask people to recall as many words from the list, there will be common constructed confabulations. An example of this is if the list contains the following words: "silver, grey, sewing, thin, long, hospital, poke, pain, nurse, dentist, drugs, blood, old, white". And you ask the audience to write out as many words as they remember, approximately 70% will respond with the common constructed confabulation of "needle" (though needle was not in the list).

specifically a sense of subjective time, an auto-noetic awareness, (the ability to be aware of subjective time) and the ability to define the "self" that can travel in subjective time (Tulving 2002).⁵⁶ This ability to in essence travel through time, either to the past or the future in one's imagination is the coordinated function of episodic or autobiographical memory (Tulving 2002).⁵⁷

In contrast to episodic memory is the semantic memory that includes knowledge of historical events and figures as well as recognition processes. This is factual information that helps to frame a person's interpretation of the environment and enables them to remember the typical factual memory of life (Tulving 2002). The difference with semantic memory is that it does not have the ability to place a person in a past or future situation in that normal imaginal state. Therefore when one is engaged in oral mythology about the past it is clear that the primary memory system activated is the episodic memory system. However it is also influenced by the secondary semantic memory system (Tulving 2002).

This is important for understanding the nature and function of oral mythology within a society because it suggests that people initially retelling the event stories will vary their

⁵⁶ These structures of memory are illustrated in E. Tulving (2002: 1-25).

⁵⁷ It should be noted that this study is simply looking at the function of what is termed, "explicit memory" within the neuroscience community. This includes both episodic and semantic memories, but does not include implicit memories such as skills, emotional or conditioning memory.

recollection based upon the immediate goals of the situation (Goody 1968). This is supported by anthropological research on non-literate societies that indicates that social groups alter their histories to make them consistent with their present knowledge.⁵⁸ However, lest this project attribute any variability to the function of oral mythology it should be noted that variability may also occur in successive literate writings of national histories within well developed written societies (Ross 1994)).⁵⁹

This editorial process appears to be a completely natural function of memory, or more accurately of *creating the past* (Ross 1989).⁶⁰ According to neuropsychological research individuals possess implicit schemas and that they use these theories to construct their past standing on a personal attribute when memories fade or are difficult to access (Ross 1989). Implicit schemas incorporate specific beliefs regarding the inherent stability of an attribute (such as the right of a nation to their land or the strength of God), as well as general principles concerning the conditions likely to promote change. Within a culture, individuals share many implicit theories that

⁵⁸ Some clear examples of this type of oral mythic event based confabulation is found in Goody, J and Watt, I (1968: 27-70). More contemporary research on this topic can also be found in Ong, W. J. (1982).

⁵⁹ Ross, M. and Beuhler, R. (1994: 205-235).

⁶⁰ The work of M. Ross (1989: 341-357) does a good job of describing how individuals construct memories in the light of current mythical constructs, values and experiences.

are largely influenced by common mythical stories and experiences (Ross 1989).

Implicit theories often are quite accurate and yield recollections that correspond well with the person's original views. At other times people's theories may lead them astray. Even valid theories of human behavior do not apply to all contexts and individuals and may lead to altered views of the past self (Ross 1994). While there is still much to learn about the nature of memory it is clear that the individual's self-concept, beliefs, and implicit schemas influence their recollections and construction of past selves and indeed national pasts in light of that construct (Ross 1989). So on one level this project does acknowledge some value to Lemche's contention that oral stories are different from the actual inspiration event. However as this thesis looks deeper the error of the Copenhagen school's claim becomes clear. For while Lemche and Thompson (1998 1999) suggest that the oral legend continues to change from one generation to the next, evidence suggests that such a claim may be false.

In understanding the role of episodic memory and semantic memory within the construction of the past it is clear that episodic/ autobiographical memory is the essential element for traveling into the past and finding an emotional connection with the past situation (Ross 1994). Within Judaism that is a cultural component that this project views as important (at least in light of modern Judaic cultural practices). The personal incorporation into the past stories is something that is central to the *halakhic* obligations that remember key events that an individual may never know through an immediate experience (Yarushalmi 1989). It is obvious that this is a clear

example of a cultural construction of the past, with a deep personal interpretation to it.⁶¹ In essence the construction of the past is lived out through the celebration of feasts and festivals and ritual practices. The question that ties within this study is how such past construction can be accomplished, particularly in the early oral cultures, without distortions?

One argument that is legitimate in the eyes of this scheme is that the overall cultural structures do tend to limit oral confabulation when it is combined with other cultural structures. For example the ritualistic, personally integrative and festival celebrations of cultures have long been recognized as norming forces within cultural identities and national narratives. Indeed studies conducted on the Abrahamic religions tend to affirm the role of liturgical remembrance as a limiting factor in oral memory distortions (Spence 1984).⁶²

⁶¹ Y. Yerushalmi (1982: 9-10) notes that in modern Judaism there is the cultural injunction to "remember" which is central to the cultural/faith community identity. In essence this "remembering" is an individual's construction of the past based upon the ritualistic imperatives and mythical context of the individual.

⁶² It is widely accepted among cultural anthropologists that ritual participation is effective in making an individual a self-aware part of the memorial of the remembered events. This general sacramental orientation has long been a tenet of Catholicism in that memory finds specific application in a wide range of diverse memory-inducing practices, such as the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola. Such observations were made by the Yale historian Jonathan Spence (1984). In addition, such observations have also been identified as ritual aids for national memory in Judaism as they tell stories describing events with every festival acting as a "historical dynamo regenerating and reproducing the past into a living form of our collective spirit. It is

Such an observation is also confirmed by neuroscience since the fuller the ritualistic involvement of the acts of memory in oral traditions (Alderblum 1966) the more diverse the areas of brain involvement. Logically the more physical areas that are involved in constructing the vision of the past, the less likely the constructed vision will fall victim to the associative confabulations that naturally form from simply one area of memory. In understanding the logic of this it must of course be remembered that memory confabulation is a natural function that "fills in the gaps" for a particular memory function. Therefore the greater the areas of involvement the fewer *gaps* there are. In addition the cultural nature of ritual tends to also limit the nature of individual confabulations. However at the same time, once a confabulation is incorporated into the rituals of the community it tends to remain a part of the constructed past (Kolb 2003).⁶³

a re-living of the whole of history from its very beginning."
(Adlerblum, N.H., 1966: 44-59).

⁶³ The reason for this is a neurological function known as synesthesia where the full brain is used in memory. A famous and unusual example of this is type of unconfabulated explicit memory in an individual was recorded by the neuropsychologist Lauria in *The Mind of a Mnemonist*. In one example of total recall a reporter was asked to study a table of letters and numbers with 4 columns and 14 letters or numbers in each column. After a period of 2 minutes of study the reporter was able to recall the exact order of the table with specifics diagonally, vertically and horizontally. Furthermore in an interview 16 years later the reporter was still able to remember the table without error. The memory method of this mnemonist was to use the principle of synesthesia by making multi-sensory impressions of things. This entails the processing of sensory events in all sensory modalities simultaneously. Thus, a word was recorded as a sound, a splash of color, an odor, a

To further clarify the way that festivals, rituals and stories all combine within an individual to produce a relatively homeostatic constructed past it is important to walk through the neuro-anatomy of memory construction. In this fuller sense of past construction the mind contains memories of both an *Explicit* and *Implicit* manner (Schacter 1995). An explicit memory is simply an item that can be retrieved and identified in a conscious way, in contrast to an implicit memory where an individual can demonstrate knowledge but cannot explicitly/ consciously indicate the nature and full source of the item. In ritualistic and festival community remembering an individual uses both explicit and implicit memory construction (Schacter 1995).⁶⁴

taste, a texture, and a temperature. Finally the use of a collection of standard images was used and associated them with the item remembered. In Kolb, B. and Whishaw, I. (2003: 479) such a principle of full brain memory is the type of action that occurs in the creating of a past through festival, story and ritual.

⁶⁴ Neuroscience researchers have noted that the aspect of "practice" tends to minimize the distortion of memory because "practice" is typically larger than a simple cerebral activity. Most commonly, cultural "remembering" is an elaborate act central to an entire system of ritualized bodily practices, ranging from quiet meditations, to arguous initiations, to dramatic public spectacles. Generally, the modern world does not have a long-practiced ritual experience lying at the basis of knowledge and cultural memory and find the existence of such systems difficult to evaluate. The book edited by Daniel L. Schacter D. (1995) *Memory Distortions: How Minds, Brains and Societies Reconstruct the Past*, provides psychiatric and neurobiological perspectives to this issue of memory reconstruction within societies.

It should further be noted that explicit memory contains the types of memory most often associated with oral traditions, namely semantic and episodic/autobiographical memory (Ross 1989). However in the acts of community remembering the implicit memory systems are also integrated into the process resulting in a full-brain past-reconstruction process. The persons' conditioning (positive conditioning by festival/ food reinforces or negative conditioning by sacrificial rituals) is contained largely by the cerebellum that interacts with the emotions contained in the upper brain stem/amygdala. The actions and skills enacted in the communal act of mythical past reconstruction reside in the sensori-motor cortex. The semantic memory of understanding or re-telling the story resides in the left frontal and temporal lobes. This imaginal story telling process also enacts the parietal lobe with the visual cortex (Kolb 2003). Finally the imaginal ability to "time-travel" and be a part of the past-events that the rituals/ festivals remember incorporates the right frontal and temporal lobes (Ross 1989).⁶⁵

At this time it seems important to note that the level of ritualistic culture within Israel can be tracked with some level of logic. It should be noted that the archaeological loci of the origins of Israel is in the central highlands. According to thorough research of animal remains it is clear from this region that the *so-called* Mosaic abolishment of pig consumption was followed beginning in the 12th century within the highland settlements (Finkelstein 2001). It is logical from this that

⁶⁵ This basic structure shows the foundations for memory that is less likely to exhibit confabulation in past-reconstruction through full brain involvement, (Kolb, B. and Whishaw, I 2003: 480).

there was a high level of full community ritualistic structure within the culture of the highlands that is unique to the history of the region (Yarushalmi).⁶⁶ According to this finding and the neuropsychology of community oral mythology it is likely that the strong ritualistic and festival culture of the proto-Israelite people would counter the confabulation of oral myths during the 12th century B.C.E and following.

While the cultural structures of proto-Israel may have been limited confabulation after the 12th century B.C.E. there are some other positive aspects of oral tradition that should be noted. These aspects are common to oral mythic expression and do enable an enriched coding of memory. Of particular concern of course is the semantic encoding of oral mythical stories and the opportunity for elaboration. In the telling of a story in a tribal situation there may be the opportunity for interaction between the storyteller and the recipient. The ability to elaborate on the story with related examples would indeed enable the hearer to encode the story better.⁶⁷ However one must also be mindful that questions calling for elaboration can cause the

⁶⁶ In the book by Israel Finkelstein & Neil Silberman *The Bible Unearthed*: 118 the authors note that there is a strong indication based upon archaeological evidence that the raising and sacrifice of pigs is clearly absent from the 12th century through the entire Iron Age. The authors note the significance of this since it is the only time in the history of this region that pig remains cannot be found to be part of the culture.

⁶⁷ In the article by Palmere, M, Benton, S, Glover, J. (1997: 898-907), a controlled experiment was conducted that clearly indicates that the length and clarity of examples influence memory encoding and recall.

storyteller to form confabulations that will then alter the future telling of the story.

This issue of story-teller confabulation without ritualistic and cultural constraints does appear to be an issue of concern prior to the 12th century B.C.E., based on the evidence of a ritualistic culture following at least some of the mosaic abolitions beginning at this time. The assumption is therefore that prior to this time the confabulation of the stories is more likely to occur and this will in fact influence the later form of the ritualized national identity such as is found in the 12th century B.C.E.⁶⁸

The time period of greatest concern for mythic confabulation is therefore the time leading up to the 12th century B.C.E. While it is not impossible to have national confabulation within a stable culture as the previous paragraph notes, it is more unlikely. However, while confabulation may be of greater concern during the centuries prior to the 12th century it is not necessary that the oral myths would have changed significantly from their original stories. For there are also personal referential reasons for expecting a limiting effect

⁶⁸ Jonathan T. Church (1990: 31-43 provides a lucid example of how confabulation of a people's narrative can dramatically influence the supposedly stable structure of a governmental society and result in a shift of the overall community identity. However it should also be noted that part of this confabulation was due to a dramatic shift in the traditional life of the people (in this case the infusion of oil money from North Sea production) that would naturally reduce the limiting effects of the culture on national confabulation of narrative and identity.

upon confabulation in the time period prior to 12th century B.C.E.

The very personal nature of oral mythology and its central role within tribal societies does suggest that the self-referential encoding of the stories was activated within individuals. This essentially means that the stories are personally meaningful which encourages richer and more accurate encoding of the story.⁶⁹ In general this type of self-referential encoding can promote a better organization of related information and recall of the story (Kuiper et al 1977).⁷⁰

This type of self-referential encoding is important because when dealing with oral mythology and the communication of inspiration events we are dealing with several issues. The first is obviously the level of encoding within the hearer and the second is the level of long-term memory involved. This second level is clearly important for when dealing with the mythology of Joshua we are clearly dealing with memory-reconstruction and story telling from one generation to the next, from one century to the next.^{71 72}

⁶⁹ The study by Roger, T. Kuiper, N and Kirker, W (1977: 677-688) indicated that when information presented is personally meaningful to a person's identity or context then factual recall was greater.

⁷⁰ Symons, C and Johnson, B (1997: 371-394) indicated that self-referent encoding appears to enhance recall by promoting additional elaboration and better organization of information.

⁷¹ A basic schematic structure of long-term memory is further described in Appendix L.

2.4. First and Third Hand Accounts

Another aspect of mythology that this project should deal with is the obvious question of the natural changing of the story as an oral myth shifts to a written story. The difficult nature of written material and its use is a natural issue to consider since much of this project deals with the written accounts available through the Deuteronomistic authors and redactors. This project will therefore survey how modern research on oral and written mythology can enlighten this process of transfer and possible keys that indicate the age of orality before the writing of the myth.

The first notable issue is that written records from actual eyewitness events tend to be piecemeal and often lack the overall picture or meaning of the event. General oral confabulation and storytelling is what fills in the gaps for events. Often times therefore, the best way to understand the inspiration event is by examining the formation of the identity of people themselves. This includes specifically the songs, symbols and narrations that form as cultural expressions of the people's experiences (Vail 1986).⁷³ In such stories it is not

⁷² This project will deal with the issue of false memories and confabulation further in Appendix D.

⁷³ Vail, L and White, L (1988: 193-227) give this framework as an example of how to understand the cultural shift of people in response to colonialism in Mozambique. This model is preferred over other psychosocial approaches like case studies etc. since it provides a glimpse into the "popular consciousness" of the culture. Such a model makes it clear that the songs and stories do provide a glimpse into the meaning of the event.

uncommon to have a double meaning of words that play a central place in the story to give it meaning (Alnais 1989).⁷⁴

In such cases where a strong oral narrative can be linked to traumatic inspiration events the group tends to retain an identity related to that event (Alnais 1989). In addition it is not something that is a rationally detached story of the event. Rather the full integration of the oral narratives and traditions play a deep and profound role in influencing the basic emotional structure of the individuals within that culture, just as the neuropsychology of such full brain activities suggests. In such a way the subjective perceptions of tribal people involved with traumatic events are passed on to the next generation in a way generally foreign to people in modern western cultures.⁷⁵ While some specific facts may not be retained, the emotion of the event is clearly maintained within the emotional structure of subsequent generations.

⁷⁴ Kirsten Alnaes (1989: 275) notes that in this case a story was told by several leaders who re-told the story some 75 years after their land was lost in colonialism. The oral story was told by several leaders, with the story using the double meaning of the Herero word *ehi*. Through this use of the word the story would convey both an attitude celebrating trickery against the enemy and also emphasizing the sheer brute force of the enemy.

⁷⁵ Kirsten Alnaes "Living in the Past": 291 provides a qualitative example of this when she notes how women interviewed about cultural songs reacted. Women who were asked to demonstrate motifs used in wailing found it difficult. "I cannot do it, it makes me cry," one of them said with tears in her eyes.

From all the research it is clear that when dealing with a narrative, even a written narrative of a people, the history of the people will still tend to exert its influence upon the document. The Joshua myth is an excellent example of this continued confabulation, even with the written text. A clear example of this is through the five different fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran and one from Masada that are based on the Joshua mythology. According to some researchers (Tov) many of these texts were part of a written tradition that retells components of the Joshua myth. It is clear from these fragments that a good deal of confabulation and creative license can be taken even with a written account of the myth.⁷⁶ Of particular interest however is that even in these written Qumran accounts termed the "apocryphon of Joshua" (Tov) the key aspects of the myth are still present with accounts of Joshua's transition to power, the crossing of the Jordan, the movements of the ark and the incident of Achan as well as the Gibeonite ruse are all mentioned. (Tov, 19)

From this example it is clear that even at the transformation of the legend into written form does not eliminate creative license with the text. However in order to better understand the Joshua text and its formation process it is important to reflect on some of the issues relating to its

⁷⁶ Emmanuel Tov's paper presented at a Biblical Society symposium "The Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada" makes it clear that the mythic nature of Joshua and its use within the culture is not limited to simple oral transmission of the tale. Rather, that there was at least one additional written tradition that added information absent in the canonical text of Joshua. Internet Article accessed: March, 17, 2003: <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/orion/symposiums/1st/papers/tov.html>

oral use and transformation into written use and application within tradition. To this end we must remember the premise set forth by Susan Niditch (1996) that, "large, perhaps dominant threads in Israelite culture were oral, and that literacy in ancient Israel must be understood in terms of its continuity and interaction with the oral world." (Nidditch 1996)⁷⁷

The whole concept of legend formation and writing in the arena of oral register is something that must be explored in dealing with the Joshua text. In essence the research suggests that when textual formation happened it was done in a manner that took into account a strong tradition that was known and shared within the community (Nidditch 1996). It is also suggested that the structure can indicate much of the formulation as a collection of freeze frames of a full oral tradition. Therefore evaluation of the text must always take place with view of the oral mythic psychology still being present in the formation of the text (Nidditch 1996).⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Susan Niditch (1996) notes that oral and written existed together throughout the biblical period, forming a continuum or spectrum in which oral tended to be stronger at the earlier times relating to books like Joshua and that written language was normally in that oral-traditional, or oral register style.

⁷⁸ Susan Niditch (1996) highlights the issues of formulas, issues and patterns of content in textual formation as well as the "freeze frame" nature of written texts in chapter two of her book *Oral World and Written Word*. This provides a basis for her discussion in chapters 5-7 of the same book that suggest that virtually all of the Hebrew Bible is a mixture of transformational results of oral stories in a largely oral culture being placed in written form.

2.5. The Role of Orality

The affirmation of Niditch (1996) suggests that this project must closely examine the natural transition of the stories experience from an oral world to a written word. Along this line of research modern anthropological observations clearly suggest that oral and written narrative conventions can be complementary. While the oral tradition necessitates a face to face human interaction the written tradition forms an isolated, abstract experience that none the less communicates the story (Daymond 2002).⁷⁹

While it is clear that the function of the two forms of story are different, the question must be asked as to whether the effects of information processing are different between the oral or written traditions. While this project has already noted that personal encoding and ritual can limit confabulation in oral myths the question is, what is the level of personal interaction and integration of the information within an oral or written narrative. To examine this it is important to simply evaluate the more modern issue of the efficacy of written versus oral instruction for affecting cognitive behavioral change. The information upon such research is that oral personal communication tends to elicit more immediate results than does

⁷⁹ Margaret J. Daymond, (2002: 331-346) notes that the function of myth in oral and written forms provides a different function. However a written form that provides a continuity of information that is greater than the face-to-face interactions of an intergenerational meeting ensures that information can still be passed from one generation to the next. In addition, the complimentary nature of oral tradition brings to life this written form that is otherwise distant, abstract and impersonal.

written communication (Daymond 2002). However given a time lapse for the information to transition to longer term memory the efficacy of the oral and written is not significantly different (Hursch et al 2002).⁸⁰ Therefore it can be deduced that while oral and written transmission of myths also do not produce significant differences in behavioral changes, assuming other issues like ritualistic and cultural identity support, remain constant (Daymond 2002).

It should be noted however that while the function of myth being oral or written may not differ as far as the information and behavioral results that are imparted the transition from oral to written does play a role upon the culture (Hursch et al 2002). To put it simply when the egalitarianism of oral tribal culture is replaced by written culture the centrality of oral performance at important junctures in life may be lost. With this the role of women that are often associated with such intergenerational structures is diminished resulting in a much more oppressive patriarchal system (Nnaemeka 2000).⁸¹ In the

⁸⁰ The article by Daniel Hursch; Jean Shumaker; Stephen Faucett and James Sherman (2000: 455-465) highlights an experiment that was conducted upon twelve undergraduate students and determined that there was no statistical difference between oral and written instructions. The only exception was that oral instruction appeared to produce more immediate results, however overall efficacy rates did not differ between the methods.

⁸¹ Obioma Nnaemeka in the article "From Orality to Writing: African Women Writers and the (Re)Inscription of Womanhood" *Research in African Literature: 137 - 157* notes that the role of women in many cultures shifts as written literature overtakes the oral traditions of the community. This results in a shift in the identity of the community and the need for women to redefine their role in community.

final analysis this decreased role of women also suggests a decreased role of mythical narrative in personal identity formation and this can potentially lead to a culture or nation forgetting the core of their rituals and identity (Nnaemeka 2000).

Whatever the case relating to cultural transition with the shift to dependence upon oral or written mythology it is clear that orality almost always plays a role in written mythology (Vasina).⁸² It follows therefore that whereas oral traditions are particularly important in documenting those societies without written records, throwing light on historical, social, economic and cultural development, it is also important in literate societies (Henige 1982).⁸³ Indeed, orality can be viewed as forming a buffer in the transition between the actual events and the written record of the event (which tends to be more removed from the event and providing a sense of historical perspective). Therefore the general form of orality in its first stage is subjective and narrow in focus and only develops a "historical perspective" through the intergenerational telling of the event or through the writing of the event.⁸⁴

⁸² Jan Vansina in the book *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* London: Penguin: 19 notes that even among people who have a strong tradition of history in writing, that many "historical" sources including the more ancient ones are largely based upon oral traditions.

⁸³ David Henige (1982: 7) notes that a number of ancient literary works, both biblical and Greek are based upon oral evidence.

⁸⁴ Walter Ong (1982: 136) notes that there are two types of orality, primary orality and secondary orality. While primary orality exists where there is absolutely no writing, the type of orality dealt with as

If indeed orality is a buffer between the actual event and the written account the influence of this buffering must be investigated (Ong 1982). The premise of this function of orality is often ignored or simply assumed without clear analysis of its role in the formation of the understanding of the event. Of course in modern educational theory the function of oral argumentation is an essential feature of the education process. While this "discussion method" is called collaborative reasoning it requires further evaluation to show how this collaborative reasoning of orality may play a role in the buffering function for understanding an event and the form of its written account(Ong 1982).⁸⁵

The few projects that do address the nature of discussion upon the written record address the specific effects of participation in a discussion on the quality of argumentative reasoning (Govier 1987). This research was done by comparing individuals written arguments about an ill-structured problem

a source of Joshua is what Ong terms secondary orality. This is the forms of oral communication that are part of a largely literate society but can still form the basis of much of the written history and myth of that society.

⁸⁵ T. Govier (1987: 233) notes that the general concept of social orality and interaction as the primary means for promoting individual and social reasoning is expressed: "... something quite elementary and yet illusive to many not encouraged to think about reasoning, argumentation, and the justification of claims. It is the sense that reasoning is going on, that there is an inference made from some propositions to others, and that this inference can be critically scrutinized."

before and after their participation in a two-person discussion. Several qualitative improvements in reasoning abilities of participants were noted, including an increased range of arguments, (Anderson 2001)the propensity to consider counterarguments, and meta-cognitive awareness of alternative perspectives (Govier 1987).⁸⁶ This also results in an improved contextual perspective of the event when written.

The research does also suggest that these changes are made to the written perspective of the argument only from a certain type of oral engagement (Anderson 2001). It seems that the normal unstructured discussion of the event is the only method that elicits *change* in the perspective and strength of argument in the transition from oral to written form (Govier 1987). In contrast, the authoritarian structured problem-solving oral interaction does not seem to elicit such changes to the perspective of the event or issue when translated into written form (Anderson 2001).⁸⁷

⁸⁶ In the article by Kuhn, D.; Shaw, V.; and Felton, M. (1997: 287-315) the researchers note that while overall awareness of the issue was improved it is not clear if this was due to improved reasoning skills or simply recollection of the aspects and perspectives touched on in discussion.

⁸⁷ At the National Reading Conference in San Antonio, TX, USA (1992), R.E. Knudson presented a paper entitled, "An analysis of persuasive discourse: Learning how to take a stand." In this presentation it was noted that "no significant gains" are found in written argumentation due to authority led discussion and highly structured problem solving tasks. This presentation suggests, based upon other research in the area, that unstructured interaction and debates do tend to elicit these changes within participants. (Notes accessed through ERIC Document Reproduction Service NO. ED 353 381)

Applying this theoretical structure to the orality of ancient Israel it can be argued that the liturgical and the highly structured cultural engagement of recalling or recreating the event would not encourage change of the account from one generation to the next or from media forms from oral to written forms. However, a tribal interactive method of inquiry and discussion between individuals in a more unstructured setting would produce this change of perspective from "subjective eyewitness" to a wider perspective (Anderson 2001). The result of research shows that the nature of writing after engaging in this type of collaborative reasoning in an unstructured group setting is writing that is qualitatively and quantitatively different from those who have not (Kuhn 1997).⁸⁸

2.6. Conclusion

In the evaluation of orality's influence upon the Joshua text there are several issues that come to light relating to this. The first is that memory of an event always involves the very human task of *rebuilding the past* based upon associations and previously developed schemas. This rebuilding of the past uses previous structures and verbal cues in order to activate the semantic zones and activate the past reconstruction process. Therefore the eyewitness accounts of an event will carry with it a particular emotion and subjectivity.

⁸⁸ The article by Anderson, R; McNurlen, B; Nguyen-Jahiel, K; Archodidou, A; Kim, S (2001: 155 - 177) notes that people who participated in group focused collaborative reasoning wrote essays with quantitatively more arguments, counterarguments, rebuttals and formal argument devices as well as reference to text information.

The subjectivity of the gist perspective will tend not to change significantly if the eyewitness account is transformed into writing. Nor will a perspective change tend to occur in a structured, authoritarian, ritualistic oral forum. This is due to whole brain past reconstruction which firstly tends to limit memory confabulation (by limiting the information gaps that cause confabulation) and secondly limits option exploration.

The transformation of the perspective does tend to occur in the more unstructured setting of group discussion and oral interaction (Anderson 2001). Therefore the nature of the oral history of a written narrative that purports itself to be fact can be understood, to some extent, by the level of meta-cognitive perspective, counterarguments, rebuttals and references to text information (Anderson 2001).

Since every written text, including the book of Joshua, has an oral history that serves as the buffer between the event and the written accounts, this orality is crucial to understanding the nature of the book. For story telling is a very human process, and perspective taking too comes from the social process. Therefore in order to gain insight into the inspiration events of the Joshua legend it is essential to bring the role of memory confabulation, and perspective development into the discussion, along with the archaeological and literary information.

This project has reviewed the nature of memory reconstruction and orality that serves as the conduit, and mitigates between the inspiration event and the written sources of the text. This chapter has clearly laid out that the predictable patterns of legend are indicative of the role of the

oral register. In addition this pattern is partially a mnemonic device for the illiterate performer and his/her listening audience.

In addition to these basic structures, the age and history of the oral tradition may be determined based upon its structure. That is, oral legends that are formalized through an authoritarian process tend to be more predictable and less likely to appeal to other sources in argumentation. In contrast, issues that are discussed within a peer group tend to appeal to other sources and provide counter-arguments in the final presentation. This will become important later on in dealing with the history of various source legends of the Joshua *present text*. With the thorough review of the function of orality in mythology, it is now important to examine the written text of Joshua. For through this analysis the key pearls of the *Source Legend* may be gleaned. This will obviously pave the way for our quest of the historical inspiration events.

Chapter Three: A Literary Analysis

There are those who are less interested in telling the truth than in catching the attention of their public, whose authorities cannot be checked, and whose subject matter, owing to the passage of time, is mostly lost in the unreliable streams of mythology.

*Thucydides*⁸⁹

3.0. Introduction

The literature of the Deuteronomist is a type of poetic mythos that *redeems* the legend history of proto-Israel by portraying God's work in the past oral accounts. This chapter will be working with the Joshua text to strip away of the layers of unifying mythic accretions and geo-political revisions in search of the key inspiration legend and event (Frye 1990:42).⁹⁰

⁸⁹ In Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* there is a clear attempt to demarcate the work of Thucydides from those that have spun the romantic tales prior to his historic work. However as Thucydides himself admits, establishing the truth of essential facts is no easy task. Indeed history is fraught with subjectivity and relativism that allows for an inter-play of fiction and fact. Indeed while writer like Thucidides attempted to divide fiction and fact, the interplay still remains.

⁹⁰ Northrope Frye in his book (1990) *The Great Code* argues that the Bible can only confuse and exasperate a historian who tries to treat it as history. Rather Frye argues that we must understand that the Bible is telling a mythic message for national identity and that any

The clear historical reconstruction based upon the archaeological evidence will then provide a basis for determining what aspects of the present text of Joshua can be linked with events of history. This will allow a clear demarcation between what is mythical legend from the specific time periods and what is fact (in the modern sense). It will also allow a clearer understanding of how the later writing of the Joshua myth was the combination of oral-tribal myths based upon actual inspiration events, their written forms of these legends and the later geo-political goals of the 6th & 5th centuries B.C.E.

3.1. Literary Nature of Joshua

The literary nature of the book of Joshua has as many controversies surrounding it as the archaeological evidence associated with the book (Campbell et al 2001). While some scholars argue for a date of authorship close to the time of the Davidic monarchy (Nidditch 1996)⁹¹, other more minimalist (Thompson 1997) researchers place the original authorship/creation date at the neo-Persian era or even later.⁹² Indeed,

historical element is only a mythic "sense" of history and not history in the proper modern sense.

⁹¹ While Nidditch herself does not set a date for the book of Joshua, she does note that some scholars look at the books of the Hexateuch and consider that some early form of these books was written in the earliest days of the monarchy.

⁹² Thomas L. Thompson has gone so far as to contend that the book is a story from that sprung from the minds of the classical Greek era.

some of the more extreme minimalists even argue for a date in the Hellenistic period (Dever 2001).

In approaching the text this project wishes to affirm the contribution of various approaches in understanding the text and the role of author(s). While this project does affirm some aspects of Thomas L. Thompson's perspectives, the general structure of development that will be followed is that of Martin Noth. In this line it should be noted that there are some aspects that Thompson and Noth appear to agree upon. The most notable of these being the role of the author(s) of books like Joshua.

It is clear that both Thompson (1999) and Noth (1972) reject the label of "historiographer" to describe the author of Joshua and prefer the designation of "antiquarianism", since none of the Deuteronomistic books display the same formal characteristics normally connected with Greek historiography (Lemche). The Greek genre of historian denotes an image of a detached and rational researcher, in contrast to the imaginative legends/poetic myths that Biblical scholars see in the Deuteronomist's writings. Thompson argues (1999) that the criterion for this discipline of historiography was historicity that was the factual accuracy of the events recounted (in both context and content)(Thompson 1991 & 1998). In sharp contrast to the extensive historiographical tradition of Greece, biblical literature according to Thompson (1998 & 1999) does not present any critical historiographical material. Thompson views (1992 1997 1999) the biblical authors as antiquarians interested in using older accounts to write a history. However Thompson believes that the redactional technique betrays the antiquarian interest of the biblical authors (Thompson 1998). For Thompson

such a method is only valid for literary analysis if the genre is historiographical and for Thompson this does not apply to a Deuteronomic author. While there is some value in Thompson's statement that the authors were interested in presenting a framework of national story rather than a real past⁹³ one needs to be careful when going to such an extreme. For as Bolin (1999) follows in the line of Thompson (1991 1992 1998), the Joshua text may be nothing but a formation of imagination that was never meant to be presented as a history (Thompson 1991 1992).⁹⁴

In contrast, while this project agrees that there are a series of traditions and mixed motivations, there was an attempt by the late author(s) to bring together ancient legends in the creation of a "sense of" history (based upon ancient legends). This is more along the line of Noth therefore and must be affirmed by clarifying the relationship that this project has with both Thompson and Noth. For while Thompson does claim that there is no structure to Joshua or level of layers but only a mass of unsubstantiated stories, he does agree with Noth (1972) on the very basic nature of the author being antiquarian. For Noth (1966) the closest parallel of the Deuteronomic authors

⁹³ Thomas L. Thompson in his book *Early History*, 168 notes that the worlds of biblical traditions are in contrast to the historiography of the ancient world in that biblical traditions were not interested in presenting a real past. They are however worlds of story and fragmented tradition past, worlds from which theology and self understanding provide a parable for the future of the nation.

⁹⁴ Thomas Bolin (1999: 131-137) notes that the biblical authors were concerned with preserving anything that "smacked of antiquity" and Bolin draws from this the intention of the author being no interest in real history but rather with preserving certain cultural and religious values alone.

were those Hellenistic and Roman historians who use older accounts, mostly unacknowledged, to write a history not of their own time but of the more or less distant past. For Noth the preservation of these older stories embedded within the material is wholly based upon the existence of the Deuteronomist as antiquarian (Noth 1981: 84). This understanding of the nature of the text must also be balanced of course by the contributions of Gerhard von Rad as he defined this type of authorship as creating a *sense of origin* that was applied to a wide spectrum of political events (Von Rad 1966).⁹⁵ Therefore this project will follow the general sense of von Rad (1966) and the outline of Noth (1981) in their perspective that the author(s) of the Joshua text held to some substructural component of "history". Following this notion then, this project can proceed to examine how the Joshua stories connect with the inspiration events of true history (in the modern sense).

To affirm the use of Noth's Deuteronomic construct even further this project points to the work of John Van Seter and his perspective of biblical history as the mental form in which a culture tells itself of its past.⁹⁶ It was general perspective of both Van Seters and Noth that the author collected disparate

⁹⁵ Gerhard von Rad, (1966: 166-167) notes that in the case of Israel, it handled older material much more freely than did the Greek antiquarians, but that the function was much the same.

⁹⁶ John Van Seters definition is taken from **In Search**, 1. This definition is adapted from Johan Huizinga's classical definition (1936) in, "A Definition of the Concept of History," in **Philosophy & History. Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer**, ed. R. Klibansky Oxford: Clarendon. 9.

material and arranged it into a continuous history, the so-called "Deuteronomistic History".

3.2. Noth's General Schema

With all the divergent approaches to the nature of the Joshua text, this project will therefore choose the one that has the most historical credibility within scholarship, namely the work of Martin Noth. However, while Noth thought that the Deuteronomic history was the work of an author and antiquarian this project leaves that option open.⁹⁷ While Noth asserts that it was composed from written sources by one person with a distinctive style, perspective and theology and was never revised but subsequently it was attached to the Pentateuch, divided into books, and enhanced with supplements and additions are also notions that will remain open in order to facilitate discussion (Mayes 1982).

Noth's notion of Deuteronomistic authorship argued that isolating linguistic and literary criteria will bring out those

⁹⁷ On many issues this project will not agree with Noth's conclusions, though his general Deuteronomic structure is affirmed. With the updated works of scholars like Robert Polzin *A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History* and Graeme Auld's *King's Without Privilege* it is clear that this author has chosen a path like most scholars. While affirming Noth's basic structure there is reason to question some of his assertions. Such scholars as Frank Moore Cross for example point to positive signals in the text as evidence of formation of sections prior to the exile. Further scholars like Rudolf Smend and Walter Dietrich place the original composition of the Deuteronomic History in the period of the exile, and see evidence of two subsequent Dtr editors.

aspects that were typical of an editor (Mayes 1982).⁹⁸ In his theory of a Deuteronomistic history he confined the historicity to the etiologies, sources and traditions that it recorded and quoted verbatim. This reliance upon earlier myths and legends is of course central to this project's analysis of the Joshua text (Mayes 1982).⁹⁹

In general Noth's theory (1971) can be verified by analyzing the composition of the history and its reference to sources. Its informants were complete independent works that comprised both the components of the Pentateuch and an earlier version of the history (Dtr-1) (Mayes 1982). However as this project will note, these works were themselves incorporations of earlier disparate written legends. Noth believed that some of these works were included not simply by citation but with annotation, commentary, criticism and interpretation. They were combined with each other by a system of cross-reference and harmonization and were distributed in the new version of the Pentateuch and the history composed and written by the Deuteronomic-2 author (Mayes 1982). This was a monumental work but it has substantial literary resources and profound historical antecedents (Frye 2000).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ A general outline of the Literary Structure of Deuteronomic History can be found in *Appendix H* of this study.

⁹⁹ It should be noted that the works of C. Westermann, Gerhard von Rad and G. Fohrer also bring much into the discussion of deuteronomistic history/ authorship and redaction. However for the sake of clarity the essential structure of Noth will be followed.

¹⁰⁰ Northrop Frye in his book *The Great Code: Bible and Literature*: 40-49, notes that there must be a balance between bible as poetics and bible as history. For to view Biblical myth as purely poetical is a far

Noth (1971) defended his Deuteronomistic history by attributing the secondary passages to later interpolators who wrote in the Deuteronomistic style but contributed nothing to the basic scheme of the history.¹⁰¹ The complexity that Noth (1971) considered peripheral is according to other scholars original and integral to the history. In contrast to researchers like Campbell (et al 2000), Noth did not consider it to editorial accumulation or the mass of secondary passages but to Deuteronomistic-2's deliberate and systematic incorporation of an earlier version of the history by Deuteronomist-1 (Mayes 1982).

In many ways the Deuteronomistic-1 history is the sequel of J (Mayes 1982). It narrates the history of Israel from the last days of Moses to the reign of Hezekiah. Like J it is composed of episodes and paragraphs and tells the story of heroes and kings. But it has more provincial interests, and a rigid local perspective, and is more clearly doctrinaire (Mayes 1982). In many respects one can recognize that the Joshua Deuteronomistic-1 history is very much like one would expect a first hand account or an oral tribal story to appear, an official/authoritarian local version of past events. In particular it is important to note that this (Joshua Dtr-1) *history* has all the characteristics of a story told by a first

more liberal task than reading it as history. In essence Frye points to the function of the text as poetic remembering and an exercise in filling in a national past and expressing political thought.

¹⁰¹ Campbell (et al 2000) also seems to agree that part of the revision of earlier sources did this sort of revisionist work without influencing the essential text.

generation eyewitness which incorporates earlier myth into the story and that was reformed into a cyclic story that was maintained by ritual and cultural structures, until it was written.

The first portion of Dtr-1 authorship begins with revisions of the J Sinai covenant, affirming the validity of the covenant and by assuring Israel of the impending conquest. This brings the Dtr-1 authorship into the focus of this project, namely the legends of Deuteronomistic Joshua (Mayes 1982).

It is clear that the Deuteronomic-1 developed a legend history that contains commentary, legislation, narratives and short descriptive accounts (Mayes 1982). It also follows a general pattern of near eastern victory legend (Nidditch 1996: 22-25). Such themes and patterns point to a strong oral component to the original formation of the story.¹⁰² In all of the Dtr-1 makes it clear that there was the conquest of the land (Mayes 1982).

In contrast to Dtr-1, the Deuteronomic-2 stories are a comprehensive and systematic revision of the sources (Mayes 1982). In many ways this thesis considers the Dtr-2 the collection of other legends and the overall synthesizing work of the Deuteronomistic antiquarian author. Dtr-2 continues and expands the process initiated by Deuteromonic-1. It is also a running commentary on the sources and somewhat distinguished from them by its language, style, organization and interests

¹⁰² Walter Ong, (1982) points out that stories based upon oral traditions tend toward a thematic formulation with standardized themes, epithetic expressions and stock characters. All of these aspects clearly fit into the style of the Deuteronomic-1 author.

(Ong 1982). From a stylistic perspective then this part of the formation of the *present text* can be seen as being strongly influenced by the "perspective changing" function of free community discussion. As such it is relatively free from the authoritarian liturgical and cultural structures that then tend to limit such changes in perspective (Kuhn 1997).

A principal feature of the Dtr-2 interpretation is its reorganization of the sources. The Dtr-2 story is composed of various sections incorporating the sources and preserving their original segmentation while providing a synthesis of the overall present-text of the book. In essence Deuteronomistic-2 is a harmonizing force that integrates sources into a complete and continuous mythical history (Mayes 1982). Such a referential system is somewhat indicative of the community discussion model of orality that was discussed in the previous chapter (Kuhn 1997). As such it can be understood that a free debate with others in the community took place prior to the writing (at least the core legend) of this second Deuteronomistic story. This also suggests that the core legend of the 2nd Deuteronomistic source had a shorter oral history than did the source legend of the 1st Deuteronomistic story in Joshua.

In the Deuteronomistic-2 contribution (Peckham 1982) there are several subsections relating to initial conquest. The first part is found in Joshua 1-8 and is based upon the Deuteronomistic-1 narrative of the capture of Jericho and Ai rewriting it to prove that the conquest took place in obedience to the law of Moses (Mayes 1982) (Campbell et al 2000). The rewriting consists in adding opposites and rearranging the earlier version. Deuteronomistic-1's story of the spies is

matched by Deuteronomistic-2's commission to the transjordanian group in Joshua 1:12-18. The spies become redundant and their story becomes an occasion for Rahab's confession of faith. Dtr-1 considered the conquest of Jericho central to the story, however,¹⁰³ the Deuteronomistic-2 source (or other sources outside Noth's Dtr-1 central source) combined it with the theory of the ban, modeled it on Israel's journey through the wilderness and turned it into a triumphant procession (Mayes 1982) (Campbell 2000). In addition the Deuteronomistic-1 story of the conquest of Ai is all but overshadowed by the thematic story of Deuteronomistic-2 story of Achan's sin (Campbell et al 2000).

This method of composition facilitates an inclusion of incongruent opinions, and contributes to the development of intricate and sophisticated argumentation (Peckham 1985). The four pairs of opposites found in Joshua 1-2, chapters 3-4, chapters 5-6 and 7-8 have a complex set of relationships: they combine text and commentary, follow each other sequentially, and interpret each other analogically (Mayes 1982). In many ways, as this thesis will show later, one can see that the present-text of Joshua 1-8 is built around the skeleton of a poetically formed oral legend and its predictable structure (Nidditch 1996). Upon this skeleton are found layers of historical redaction and the additions of the Dtr-2 synthesizing stories.

¹⁰³ This type of emotional deification and meaning making of an event is reminiscent of many tribal models of oral tradition related to a traumatic war event. Such a formation of meaning making is noted for example in A. Jourbert & J Van Schalkwyk's (1999: 29-50).

The second portion of Deuteronomistic-2 is also important due to its function within initial conquest legend of Joshua (Peckham 1985). For in Joshua 9-11 the Dtr-2 author incorporates the Deuteronomistic-1 narrative of the conquest into the disquisition of the theory of the ban. Such a strong influence of the Dtr-2 brings to mind the actual first evidence of Mosaic ban put into cultural practice in the 12/ 11th centuries B.C.E. (Finkelstein et al 2001). Chapter nine of the present text refers to the earlier legislation on war and exonerates Joshua by blaming the leaders from the treaty with Gibeon, and by reducing the Gibeonites to the status of slaves (Mayes 1982).

The last portion of Joshua is entirely Deuteronomistic-2 as it reconsiders the conquest from the perspective of the individual tribes and describes the expropriation and allotment of the land (Mayes 1982). Its focus is on the inheritance of Benjamin that lies between Judah and Joseph and includes Jerusalem in Joshua 18. The beginning and ending chapters of this section then frame and serve to synthesize this section with the rest of the newly constructed mythical story (Peckham 1985).

From this analysis of Noth's work it is clear that this thesis is approaching the present-text not as accounts of the events of Israel's unified and earliest existence. Rather this thesis views the present-text as a series of separate traditions of individual tribes that were assembled into a unified "sense of national history" to serve the cause of the political unification of diverse tribal population.

3.3. A Refined Schema of Investigation

It is clear that this project affirms Noth's general theory about the Deuteronomistic history¹⁰⁴. However it is clear that the Deuteronomistic story may be more than an editorial compilation of materials but the culmination of an overwhelmingly rich proto-Israelite tribal oral mythology. This oral mythology and later its written and literary traditions were eventually brought together to affirm Israelite occupation and power within the land.¹⁰⁵

With all of these redactor and authorship contributions the question must be asked as to what is the mythic origins of these stories. The affirmation of Thomas L. Thompson is that the final

¹⁰⁴ This project agrees with A. Campbell and M. O'Brien (2000) that the Deuteronomistic history is likely far more complex and rich in tradition than Noth's original model. There will therefore be significant attention devoted to the assessment of original orality and late revisions within the text.

¹⁰⁵ While this project affirms the literary structure of Noth's deuteronomistic literary construction it is important to note that this does not represent the full spectrum of approaches in the historical critical school. For the subtle shift of Gerhard von Rad emphasizes that the evolution of Israelite theology is also integral to this process. Rad emphasizes the fact that we cannot divorce Israel's theological world of thought from her world of history. Therefore Rad views it as essential to not strip the accounts of Israel's narrative from its irrational mystical elements for they present an important aspect of the national narrative. However, the weakness of Rad's view is that his underlying assumption is that assumes that the value within the text is to be found primarily in the events of history (Von Rad, G. 1975:118-121).

story is a complete fabrication of imagination.¹⁰⁶ However, this project does affirm the concept that these stories are a combination of written sources as Noth (1982; 1971) notes, based upon oral tribal legends based upon original inspiration events. It is the contention of this project that evidence for such basic stories can be seen in some subtle references embedded with the stories (Campbell 2000).

As such this project does acknowledge the influence of those scholars that have followed Noth's evaluation. As F.M. Cross (1973) notes there is a tone of Josianic reform within parts of the Deuteronomistic history that cannot be ignored (Cross, 274-89). As such this project will explore the possibility (later in this chapter) that some of the redaction of the text took place in the pre-exilic era. While this does disagree with the likes of Noth there is enough literary support to further this study along these lines. Yet beyond this minor point, this project will follow the general outline of Noth's Deuteronomistic structures (Campbell et al 2000).¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ It is important to note that Thompson's affirmation that the Joshua account is purely myth does not devalue the text but rather incorporates the important view that mythology is a way of expressing reality with meaning.

¹⁰⁷ Campbell and O'Brien note in the book *Unfolding the Deuteronomistic History: 12* that "the challenge to Noth's understanding of pre-dtr material has also come from two quite different directions." One view argues that the DH contains more conceptually shaped and theologically weighted source material than Noth supposed according to Wolfgang Richter. In contrast Van Seters argues that one cannot distinguish between dtr and non-dtr material with any certainty. However the extensive work of Campbell and O'Brien make it clear that a case can be

It is through the exceptional work of Noth that this project is able to focus in upon one source legend that was later incorporated into the Deuteronomistic-1 overall story. While the Dtr-1 writer may have added and synthesized a series of legends, and undoubtedly the exilic Deuteronomistic author further synthesized the texts, the core of the source legend is still visible. In beginning the process of identifying the source legend of original conquest this project must begin by looking at what precisely makes up the Dtr-1 account in Joshua and what linguistic clues may be gleaned as to its historical and geographical origins.

The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History The Book of Joshua A General Interpretation of Noth's Outline ¹⁰⁸	
Dtr-1	Dtr-2
1:1ab(a), 2-5ab	1:1b(b), 5b(a), 6-18
2:1-9a, 12ab(a), 13-16	2:9b-11, 12b(b), 17-21, 24b
3:5, 10b, 16b	3:1-4, 6-10a, 11-16a, 17
	4:1-24
	5:1-15
6:2, 16b, 20a(a)b(b), 22, 23a(a), 25a(a)b	6:1, 3-16a, 17-19, 20a(b)b(a), 21, 23a(b), 24, 25a(b), 26-27
	7:1-26
8:1-2a(a)b, 3ab(a), 4-5a, 6a(a)b, 7, 9a(a), 11, 16, 18-19a	8:2a(b), 3b(b), 5b, 6a(b)b, 8, 9a(b)b 10, 11b-15, 17-18, 19a(a), 19b-35
9:3-5, 8-9a(a), 12-13, 15a(a)	9:1-2, 6-7, 9a(b)-11, 14, 15a(b)b-27
10:1a(a)b(a), 2-4a, 5, 8-9a, 10a	10:1a, 4b, 6-7, 9b, 10b-43
11:1, 5, 6a, 8a(a), 18, 23a(a)b	11:2-4, 6b, 8, 9-17, 19-22, 23a(b)
	12:1-24
	13:1-33
<u>Portions not examined within this study:</u>	
	14:1-15
	15:1-63
	16:1-10
	17:1-18
	18:1-28
	19:1-51
	20:1-9
	21:1-45
	22:1-34
	23:1-16
	24:1-33

¹⁰⁸ Noth's Deuteronomistic outline of Joshua as presented by Brian Peckham in his monograph 1985 *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* Atlanta: Scholars Press Figure 7.

3.4. Literary Analysis

Despite the variability between scholars about the interpretation of the various redactions, the overall view of discreet sources does show relative agreement. Virtually all scholars agree that Joshua 1-11 is primarily of a different source than is 12 and following. While the variability of opinions relating to the smaller revisions remains, the agreement does exist in this general area. Therefore this project is on a good foundation relating to its decision to limit its study to only the first primary source section of the final Joshua material. In understanding the primary source of the initial conquest story this project must therefore look not only at form and content but other more subtle cues revealing age. As such this project must examine what the linguistic features say about the primary source material of Joshua 1-12.

The overall Deuteronomistic authorship places the historical context of Joshua within the Late Bronze Age.¹⁰⁹ Indeed internal evidence does suggest that parts of the original source legends can be traced to this time period. Through a literary analysis of the non-Israelite names the source of some of these stories can be identified. This analysis suggests that linguistic and lexical elements that make up the names carry West Semitic

¹⁰⁹ It is important to note that in Noth's original outline he describes seven key Deuteronomistic passages that comprise the overall Deuteronomistic History. Of these seven the third passage contains the 1 Kings 6:1 passage that contains the chronology that gives the figure of 480 years and fixes Joshua in its history (Campbell, A. & O'Brien, M.: 11).

characteristics unique to that period. This counters the suggestion by Barr(1990) that the author "made up" the names (Barr 1990: 63). As Hess concludes in his study, eleven of the twelve key names identified in the Joshua text have parallels or roots identical to those used in personal names from that era (Hess 1996b: 213). Such evidence suggests that this study ought to remain open to the possibility that much of the Deuteronomistic-1 mythic narrative (source material) is actually from an earlier period than the later Deuteronomistic-2 formulation.¹¹⁰

As such this project will examine carefully the location of each of these personal names in order to identify which written source carries the essence of this Middle/ Late Bronze-Age era within its tone. The reason for this examination is that sources for non-Israelite names have a good deal of consistent historical examples, in contrast to Israelite names (Hess 1996).

¹¹⁰ It is important to note that while part of the mythic content of the Joshua text may have its roots in the time period of the 16th - 14th century B.C.E. this is not a basis for claiming the present-text "historical". Rather, as modern examples display, past geo-political circumstances and former myths can be incorporated into later literary works resulting in a mythical history. An excellent example of this in modern literature is the work of Wole Ogundele's evaluation of African oral-mythic narratives and how a cultural narrative is often formulated from myth, folklore intermingled with the politics of nationalism and history. Indeed, Ogundele notes that even in modern literature there can be a displacement of actual history in favour of a revised national narrative. That is, the substitution of myth and culture for history, using a created mythic history that legitimizes current political visions (Ogundele, Wole 2002: 33).

The first non-Israelite name in Joshua is Rahab (Hess 1996b)¹¹¹ and occurs in the final form of the Joshua text five times including Joshua 2:1, 3; 6:17, 23, 25. The first two occurrences of the name in Joshua 2:1 and 3 are clearly in the source of Noth's Deuteronomiac-1 author. The third occurrence of the name falls in the Deuteronomiac-2 source with the fourth occurrence from a Deuteronomiac-1 source. The final occurrence of Rahab also occurs in Noth's Deuteronomiac-1 source. From this it is clear that the name of Rahab has some relation to both traditions, with a stronger association with the time of Deuteronomiac-1 story formulation (Hess 1996b).

The second non-Israelite name in Joshua is also a personal name shortened by the omission of a divine name, Japhia, (Hess 1996b) meaning to "be bright and shine".¹¹² This occurrence of a

¹¹¹ Richard Hess (1996: 205) notes that Rahab means "to make wide". This element was probably attached originally to the name of a deity, according to Hess. Normally such a name served as a confession that that deity was active in opening the womb of the mother and bringing forth the child. There are other personal names with this basic root such as Rehoboam, the name of the son of Solomon. This root also appears in west semitic personal names of the second millennium B.C.E. There are examples of the root *rhb* in proper names of the Late Bronze Age Ugarit, but these may be exclusively place names. For the Late Bronze Age Taanach, a tablet bears the name, *e-lu-ra-he-ba*. The largest source of parallels is the collection of Mari texts, of the Middle Bronze Age. Here are found several Amorite personal names containing this root, including two feminine names, *ru-uh-ba-tum* and *ba-al-ku-us-ra-ha-ab*. Thus Hess argues that Rahab is a name that is most at home in the west Semitic world of personal names in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E.

¹¹² Hess (1996) notes that this name occurs in Joshua 10:3 to refer to the leader of Lachish. Hess notes that it is a name that can be found

non-Israelite that is associated with the Late-Bronze era is found in the Deuteronomistic-1 source as is the majority of the Rahab references. In addition, the third example of a west Semitic name, Jabin, also appears as a shortened personal name. This name refers to the king of Hazor and is found in Joshua 11:1¹¹³ (Hess 1996b). Again, this name falls predictably within Noth's construct of the Deuteronomistic-1 written source.

The fourth non-Israelite name in Joshua is not as clearly identifiable as the others. The reason for this is that the name of the king of Gezer found in Joshua 10:33, Horam, (Hess 1996b) is not a shortened form of a common personal name. Rather, Horam is considered to be a variant form of Haran.¹¹⁴ The root form of

as the name of a son of David and that its root appears in two names from the Amarna texts, those of *ia-ap-pa-ah-ba-lu/haddu*, someone associated with Byblos, and of *ia-pa-hi*, the leader of Gezer, a site in the same region as Lachish.

¹¹³ Hess (1996) notes that this name appears to be associated with the Semitic root "to build". The same form of the root appears in the name of a ruler of Lachish in the Amarna letters, *ia-ab-ni-ilu*. Of other special interest in this case is the parallel between Jabin and Yabni-Addu, the name of a king of Hzor mentioned in the Mari texts a few centuries earlier. It has been suggested that Jabin was a dynastic name at Hazor, and that this name remained for centuries. Recent excavations at Hazor have yielded Old Babylonian cuneiform texts with an example of a name beginning with the same root, also in a prefixed form, *ib-ni*. At any rate the root of this name is common only in the 2nd millennia B.C.E.

¹¹⁴ Hess (1996) notes that such a variant form would require a significant vowel shift and the addition of a suffix. However since the root is such a common name throughout the region Hess argues for the logic of this shift.

this name was apparently common not only in the 2nd millennia but also throughout the 1st millennia B.C.E. Therefore it should not be surprising to find the location of this name only in the Deuteronomic-2 source of the Joshua text (Hess 1996b).

Adoni-zedek, (Hess 1996b) was identified as the leader of Jerusalem in Joshua 10:3. While this name is made up of the two common roots of *lord* and *righteousness* as a personal name it best fits the middle of the (Hess 1996b) second millennia B.C.E.¹¹⁵ In addition, the name Debir, the king of Eglon also appears in this verse. Yet its source as a personal name is unclear with the only other reference to a name linked with its root occurring in an Egyptian text of the New Kingdom in the second millennia B.C.E.¹¹⁶ Jobab, (Hess 1996b) king of Madon¹¹⁷ also has a difficult source, but was generally considered to be related to the Amorite root *wbb* or *ybb* (Hess 1996b). Again the pattern emerges that all three names best fit the 2nd millennia B.C.E. and all occur within the Deuteronomic-1 source.

The remaining non-Israelite personal names recorded in Joshua all fall within the same general category. Sheshai (found in Joshua 15:14)(Hess 1996b), Talmai (Hess 1996b)(Joshua 15:14) and Ahiman (Joshua 15:14) all appear to be northern or Hurrian in origin (Hess 1996b). Further they all appear to have some

¹¹⁵ Hess (1996) notes that there are two west Semitic names from the Amarna letters that also use these two roots.

¹¹⁶ Hess (1996) notes that the source of the name may be related to a "place" rather than a "personal name".

¹¹⁷ This name is found in Joshua 11:1

relation to sourcing roots that can be tied most closely to the Sea Peoples of the 2nd millennia B.C.E. While it must also be noted that the name Ahiman also occurs in 1 Chronicles 9:17 relating to the Persian period (Hess 1996b). It is also interesting to note that these are the names that are contained within the Deuteronomistic-2 source of the current Joshua text.

The significance of the Deuteronomistic-2 non-Israelite names having strong ties to Phoenician and more northern sources supports Noth's assertion of it being a somewhat different source than Deuteronomistic-1. In addition, the subjective focus relating to the tribe of Benjamin in the Deuteronomistic-2 story and the fact that the account describes that Benjamin inherited lands toward the coastal region along strong trade routes between the Egypt, Philistia and Phoenicia groups seems more than coincidental. Indeed one can argue that the Deuteronomistic-2 story does have a strong, geographically focused, oral influence within the central coastal region of Benjamin.

The next two names, Hoham and Piram are apparently northern and with both there is only evidence of their occurrence in the Middle and Late Bronze Age (Hess 1996b)¹¹⁸. As has been the pattern, these older names occur only in the Deuteronomistic-1 source.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Hess (1996) notes that *Hoham* reflects a Hurrian or Anatolian form of personal names in Hittite texts while *Piram* is reflective of Ugaritic late bronze age personal names.

¹¹⁹ Both names occur in Joshua 10:3 only.

3.5. The Dtr-1 Legend

At this point it is important to provide an overview of the story of Joshua according to the primary source outlined by Noth (Peckham 1986), namely the Deuteronomistic-1 source. This overview will be a very general outline to examine the general oral-mythical storyline followed in the creation of this narrative.¹²⁰

After the death of Moses the servant of the Lord, the Lord said to Joshua, "Moses my servant is dead. Now then, you and all these people, get ready to cross the Jordan River in to the land I am about to give to them to the Israelites. I will give you every place where you set your foot, as I promised Moses. Your territory will extend from the desert to Lebanon, and from the great river, the Euphrates all the Hittite country - to the Great Sea on the west. No one will be able to stand up against you all the days of your life. I will never leave you nor forsake you."

Then Joshua son of Nun secretly sent two spies from Shittim. "Go, look over the land," he said, "especially Jericho." So they went and entered the house of a prostitute named Rahab and stayed there.

The king of Jericho was told, "Look! Some of the Israelites have come here tonight to spy out the land." So the king of Jericho sent this message to Rahab: "Bring out the men who came to you and entered your house, because they have come to spy out the whole land."

But the woman had taken the two men and hidden them. She said, "Yes the men came to me, but I did not know where

¹²⁰ The following recreated narrative is based upon the New International Version translation of Joshua following the Noth outline.

they had come from. At dusk when it was time to close the city gate, the men left. I don't know which way they went. Go after them quickly. You may catch up with them. (But she had taken them up to the roof and hidden them under the stalks of flax she had laid out on the roof. So the men set in pursuit of the spies on the road that leads to the fords of the Jordan, and as soon as the pursuers had gone out, the gate was shut.

Before the spies lay down for the night she went up on the roof and said to them, "I know that the Lord has given this land to you and that a great fear of you has fallen on us, so that all who live in this country are melting in fear because of you. Now then, please swear to me by the Lord that you will show kindness to my family. That you will spare the lives of my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, and all who belong to them, and that you will save us from death."

"Our lives for your lives!" the men assured her. "If you don't tell what we are doing, we will treat you kindly and faithfully when the Lord gives us the land."

So she let them down by a rope through the window, for the house she lived in was part of the city wall. Now she had said to them, "Go to the hills so the pursuers will not find you. Hide yourselves there three days until they return, and then go on your way."

Joshua told the people, "Consecrate yourselves, for tomorrow the Lord will do amazing things among you and he will certainly drive out before you the Canaanites, Hittites,

Hivites, Perizzites, Gergashites, Amorites and Jebusites."
So the people crossed over opposite of Jericho.

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "See, I have delivered Jericho into your hands along with its king and its fighting men."

Joshua commanded the people, "Shout! For the Lord has given you the city!" When the trumpet sounded every man charged straight in, and they took the city.

Joshua said to the two men who had spied out the land, "Go into the prostitute's house and bring her out and all who belong to her, in accordance with your oath to her." So the young men who had done the spying went in and brought out Rahab. Joshua spared Rahab and she lives among the Israelites to this day.

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be not be afraid for I have delivered into your hands the king of Ai, his people, and his land." So Joshua and the whole army moved out to attack Ai. He chose thirty thousand of his best fighting men with these orders: "Listen carefully. You are to set an ambush behind the city. Don't go very far from it. All of you be on the alert. I and all those with me will advance on the city. They will pursue us until we have lured them away from the city. So when we flee from them, you are to rise up from ambush and take the city. The Lord your God will give it into your hand."

Then Joshua sent them off, and they went to the place of ambush. The entire force that was with him marched up and approached the city and arrived in front of it. They set up

camp north of Ai, with the valley between them and the city. All the men of Ai were called to pursue them, and they pursued Joshua and were lured away from the city. Then the Lord said to Joshua, "Hold out toward Ai the javelin that is in your hand for into your hand I will deliver the city." So Joshua held out his javelin toward Ai. As soon as he did this, the men in the ambush rose and rushed forward from their position.

When the people of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done to Jericho and Ai, they resorted to a ruse: They went as a delegation whose donkeys were loaded with worn-out sacks and old wineskins, cracked and mended. The men put worn and patched sandals on their feet and wore old clothes. All the bread of their food supply was dry and moldy.

"We are your servants," they said to Joshua.

But Joshua asked, "Who are you and where do you come from?"

They answered: "Your servants have come from a very distant country. This bread of ours was warm when we packed it at home on the day we left to come to you. But now see how dry and moldy it is. And these wineskins that were filled were new, but see how cracked they are. And our clothes and sandals are worn out by the very long journey."

Then Joshua made a treaty of peace with them.

Now Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem heard that Joshua had taken Ai, doing to the king of Ai as he had done to the king of Jericho. He and his people were very much alarmed

at this, because Gibeon was an important city, like one of the royal cities; it was larger than Ai, and all its men were good fighters. So Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem appealed to Hoham king of Hebron, Piram king of Jermuth, Japhia king of Lachish and Debir king of Eglon.

"Come up and help me attack Gibeon. " said the king of Jerusalem.

Then the five kings of the Amorites - the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon joined forces. They moved up with all their troops and took up positions against Gibeon and attacked it.

The Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them; I have given them into your hand. Not one of them will be able to withstand you."

After an all-night march from Gilgal, the Lord threw them into confusion before Israel, who defeated them in a great victory at Gibeon.

When Jabin King of Hazor heard of this, he sent word to Jobab king of Madon, to the kings of Shimron and Acshaph. All these kings joined forces and made camp together at the Waters of Merom, to fight against Israel. The Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them."

Joshua waged war against all these kings for a long time and Joshua took the entire land.

From this overview of Noth's D-1 general story there is a very striking component to it. This conspicuous factor is the very rhythmic structure of the text, with an almost mnemonic quality. This particular organization is of interest to this study since it suggests that this story originally functioned as an oral tradition, or at the very least has an influence of orality in its formation (Nidditch 1996).¹²¹ Logically this codification process is something that occurs only after the structures of semantic memory has transformed the story from one of retelling the event as memory to retelling the event as belief. However, following the pattern suggested in the previous chapter, this oral legend is not concerned about quoting sources and can therefore be viewed as a legend told by those in authority (Kuhn 1997) (Biakola 1999).

The purpose of this legend, eventually at least, was apparently to transmit a formalized narrative of an important event in the past of the people. It was meant not to be an issue to be debated in dialogue, as its form does not hold the marks of that type of structure (Biakola 1999). Rather, its eventual simplistic mnemonic structure as found in the Deuteronomistic-1 source suggests that it was simply to be part of the code and

¹²¹ This type of structure is central to Ong's argument that since oral cultures have no fixed texts, they organize and transmit knowledge and information in a unique way. It proceeds in "heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulary expressions, in standard thematic settings (the assembly, the meal, the duel, the hero's helper and so on) ... or other mnemonic forms" Ong, Walter in his book *Orality and Literacy*, and by Emevwo (1999: 45).

structure of a people's identity and source of self-understanding and national narrative (Biakola 1999).¹²²

It is clear from research on oral traditions that this type of structuralized codification is indicative of a very conservative and traditionalist form of legend (Nidditch 1996). This type of structure does not lend itself easily to oral experimentation or discourse and is therefore resistant to confabulation, once in this structured form. This is of course largely due to its structural mnemonic devices that ensure that the *filling in the gaps* process natural to oral confabulation will no longer be an issue.

The structural configuration observed in this legend is a nine-cycle structure that varies slightly depending upon repetition of the focal characters. The foundational formula for each cycle is a four-step process of: Context; Transition; Narrative and Action. When the narration character repeats from one cycle to the next the order shifts to: Context; Transition; Action and Narrative:

¹²² This follows Havelock's assertion that the basis of this type of oral thought and style is memory. Where the, "secrets of orality, then, lie not in the behaviour of language as it is exchanged in the give and take of conversation but in the language used for information storage in the memory." Havelock *Origins of Western Literacy* as quoted in Biakolo, Emevwo (1999: 30).

Basic Mnemonic Oral Pattern
For Noth's Deuteronomistic-1 Legend

Sample cycle

Con-1

Contextual statement

TR-1

A transitional statement

N-1

Narrative that holds the key point of the Mnemonic block
"Go, look over the land ... especially Jericho"

D-1

Descriptor of action

The overall perspective of this D-1 legend also supports the assertion that this is not an eyewitness account, but a formalized account of the hypothetical inspiration event (Kuhn 1997). The first issue relating to this is that memory of an event always involves the very human task of "rebuilding the past" based upon associations and previously developed schemas. This rebuilding of the past uses previous structures and verbal cues in order to activate the semantic zones and activate the past reconstruction process. Therefore the eyewitness accounts

of an event will carry with it a particularly unstructured nature with clear emotion and subjectivity. This subjectivity and emotionality of the D-1 account is clearly lacking. In addition the mnemonic cyclic structure indicates a process of formulizing this account through the oral register (Kuhn 1997) (Nidditch 1996).

It can therefore be observed that in general D-1 was indeed an official authority based oral tradition about the conquest of a land by a semi-nomadic people. From the work of Hess this thesis can suggest that the tradition does have its roots in the period between 1700 - 1500 B.C.E. Beyond this little can be said about the legend without further examining the text. It is at this point that this project will further narrow its focus, following the analysis of Campbell and O'Brien (2000) relating to the D-1 author. It should be noted that the methodology of this section is a synthesis of Noth's general D-1 legend and observations made by Campbell and O'Brien. This is done in order to maintain the integrity of Noth's general Deuteronomistic structure while taking advantage of the insightful observations of more recent research (Campbell et al 2000).

3.6. Source Legend-1

At the beginning of this analysis it can be noted that the first phrase of the contextual statement of the D-1 legend¹²³ is clearly an add-on phrase. While Campbell (et al 2000: 107) notes that this introductory phrase may have been written by any redactor, at any time, there are some contextual clues that this

¹²³ See Appendix I for this section of the Basic Mnemonic Oral Pattern for Noth's Deuteronomistic-1 Legend.

project wishes to highlight. The first clue is that the opening phrase picks up immediately where Deuteronomy 34 left off. Further the subtle phrasing of the final Joshua text makes it clear that there is a continuation of action between Deuteronomy and Joshua¹²⁴. It can therefore be understood as not part of the original source legend and possibly the synthesis work of Noth's antiquarian Deuteronomistic author in the exilic period. Therefore the phrase, "*After the death of Moses, the servant of the Lord*" can be dropped from the original Dtr-1 legend and considered an add-on phrase by the exilic Deuteronomist.

The remainder of the contextual statement of the first cycle of Noth's Deuteronomistic legend is phrased in a way that Campbell (et al: 107) views this as largely a revision in the Josianic age in order to emphasize the continuity between Moses and Joshua.¹²⁵ As such the elimination of the Josianic ideology

¹²⁴ McGee notes in his analysis of Joshua 1 that the book begins with the waw consecutive with the verb in the imperfect tense to denote a continued action or train of thought. McGee suggests that this is a strong indication that we are dealing either with the same author of the previous book (or the last section of the previous book) or with one who is presumptuous enough to follow the book with the words "and then". It should also be noted that Judges is also connected to Joshua in the same manner, lending further credence to the suggestion that this is the work of Noth's exilic Deuteronomistic author. McGee analysis of Joshua 1 - Website: http://sites.netscape.net/scutfargus/JOSH_01.htm accessed March 17, 2001.

¹²⁵ Campbell and O'Brien, (2000: 20-22) argue that there was a Josianic age editor that revised the known text of what became Deuteronomistic History. The major influence of this editor was in the continuation of Joshua in the line and calling of Moses. This particular section is noted (p. 107) as having revised language that is in service of the

within this section leaves very little within the contextual statement of the first cycle, except perhaps a general contextual statement that Joshua was the leader of the people (if indeed such a person name Joshua existed)(Campbell 2000).

The transitional statement of cycle one is the short phrase, "*Then Joshua son of Nun secretly sent two spies from Shittim.*" This simple phrase is, according to Campbell (et al 2000), a part of what can be considered the pure pre-Deuteronomistic History conquest narrative and therefore will be retained within this study.¹²⁶ In addition the remainder of the first cycle of the D-1 legend is, according to Campbell and O'Brien (2000), to be considered a part of the pre-Deuteronomistic History and therefore will also be retained.

The result of removing editorial additions from the source material of the first cycle of the D-1 legend is a theoretically pure source legend. The first cycle of this revised D-1 legend therefore follows the basic structure of¹²⁷:

other Josianic Dtr ideology of exclusive fidelity to YHWH and centralization of worship (in Jerusalem). Joshua's job according to this revision is therefore to lead the people into the land in fulfillment of the promise given to Moses.

¹²⁶ Campbell and O'Brien (2000: 110) note that this phrase is part of a larger section that contains significant elements of a pre-dtr Conquest narrative. However they also note that others disagree with this conclusion, most notably Van Seters who contends that it is "not the beginning of the earliest conquest account but a later addition."

¹²⁷ In order to clearly display the mnemonic structure (while facilitating reading in english) this analysis will use Young's Literal translation.

Refined Cycle One.

Contextual Statement: *[And] Joshua son of Nun sendeth from Shittim, two men, spies, silently*

Narrative Statement: *Saying, "Go, see the land and Jericho;"*

Descriptor of action: *"and they go and come into the house of a woman, a harlot, and her name is Rahab, and they lie down there."*

The entire second cycle of the D-1 legend according to Campbell (et al 2000: 110-111) is part of the pre-DH narrative and will therefore remain fully intact. The result is the inclusion of the story of Rahab's collusion with the two spies:

Refined Cycle Two:

Contextual statement

And it was told to the king of Jericho, saying, "Lo, men have come in hither to-night, from the sons of Israel, to search the land." And the king of Jericho sendeth unto Rahab, saying "Bring out them who are coming in unto thee, who have come into thy house, for to search the whole of the land they have come in."

Transitional statement

And the woman taketh the two men, and hideth them

Narrative statement

And saith thus: "The men came in unto me, and I have not known whence they are; and it cometh to pass - the gate is to be shut - in the dark, and the men have gone out; I have

not known whither the men have gone; pursue ye, hasten after them, for ye overtake them."

Descriptor of action

And she hath caused them to go up on the roof, and hideth them with the flax wood, which is arranged for her on the roof. And the men have pursued after them the way of the Jordan, by the fords, and the gate they have shut afterwards, when the pursuers have gone out after them.

The entire third cycle of the D-1 legend, according to Campbell (et al 2000:111), is also part of the pre-DH narrative and will therefore remain fully intact. The result is the conclusion of the story of Rahab's collusion with the two spies:

Refined Cycle Three:

Contextual statement

And before they lie down she hath gone up unto them on the roof, and she saith unto the men, I have known that Jehovah hath given to you the land, and that your terror hath fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land have melted at your presence and we hear and melt doth our heart, and there hath not stood any more spirit in any man. And now, swear ye, I pray you, to me by Jehovah because I have done with you kindness that ye have done, even ye, kindness with the house of my father, and have given to me a true token and have kept alive my father, and my mother, and my brothers, and my sisters, and all that they have, and have delivered our souls from death."

Transitional statement

And the men say to her, "Our soul for yours to die; if ye declare not this our matter, then it hath been, in Jehovah's giving to us this land, that we have done with thee kindness and truth."

Descriptor of action

And she causeth them to go down by a rope through the window, for her house is in the side of the wall, and in the wall she is dwelling;

Narrative statement

And she said to them, "To the mountain go, lest the pusuers come upon you; and ye have been hidden there three days till the turning back of the pursuers, and afterwards ye go on your way."

In contrast to the previous two cycles, Campbell (et al 2000: 114) views the content noted in cycle four of this projects' D-1 legend as containing several add-on sections. The first section of the contextual statement of cycle four is considered to be from a mysterious source other than the main pre-DH source. While Campbell and O'Brien (2000) do not give reasons for their categorization on this point, they consider this section to be an addition from an unknown source that is incorporated into the text without changing the nature of the text. Yet this section is believed to be post-Josianic in its time frame. However, the final line of the cycle four contextual statement is considered to be part of the main pre-DH conquest narrative source and is therefore retained (Campbell et al 2000: 116).

The transitional statement of cycle four is also considered by Campbell and O'Brien to be part of the main pre-DH conquest narrative and also retained. However the narrative and descriptor statements of cycle four are considered to be a

revision that while it may have followed a previous structure, reflects a tendency towards revision with a nationalistic focus.

Based upon Campbell's (et al 2000) observation this project considered abandoning this section as not part of the original legend. However, closer examination of Campbell's (et al 2000: 120-23) reasoning for this revisionist section is based upon the dialectical and liturgical language of the present text (Joshua 6). However the liturgical notations are not part of this project's basic D-1 legend format. In addition, Campbell (et al 2000: 121) acknowledges that linguistic features of this revisionist section suggest that it is based upon an earlier text in some form. Therefore this project will retain the basic content of the cycle four, with the exception of the anonymous post-josianic source:

Refined Cycle Four:

Contextual statement

And the people have passed through over-against Jericho.

Transitional statement

And Jehovah saith unto Joshua, "See, I have given into thy hand Jericho and its king - mighty ones of valour."

Narrative statement

And Joshua saith unto the people, "Shout ye, for Jehovah hath give to you the city"

Descriptor statement

And it cometh to pass that the people hear the voice of the trumpet and the people goeth up into the city, each over-against him, and they capture the city.

Cycle five is a fairly simple text as virtually the entire cycle is considered by Campbell (et al 2000: 120-124) to be part of the main Pre-DH conquest source. The one exception to this general rule is the add-on concluding line of the contextual statement of this cycle. This final line is considered to be a part of the nationalistic revision of a post-Josianic editor that wished to emphasize the compliance of Joshua's (and subsequently the people of Israel's) promise to Rahab. As such this project will retain the entirety of cycle five with the dropping of the nationalistic revision statement of, "*Joshua spared Rahab and she (her family) lives among the Israelites to this day.*"

Refined Cycle Five:

Contextual statement

And to the two men who are spying the land Joshua said, "Go into the house of the woman, the harlot, and bring out thence the woman, and all whom she hath, as ye have sworn to her." So the young man, the spies, go in and bring out Rahab.

Transitional statement

And the lord saith unto Joshua, "Fear not, nor be affrighted, take with thee all the people of war, and rise, go up to (the ruin)¹²⁸ Ai; see, I have given into thy hand the king of (the ruin) Ai, and his people, and his (watch or encampment)¹²⁹ city, and his land.

Descriptor statement

And Joshua riseth, and all the people of war, to go up to (the ruin) Ai

¹²⁸ The Hebrew says literally "THE RUIN" though Young's literal translation uses Ai as a proper name.

Narrative statement

And Joshua chooseth thirty thousand men, mighty ones of valour. And commandeth them, saying "See, ye are liars in wait against the city, at the rear of the (encampment/ fortification) city, ye go not very far off from the (encampment/ fortification) city, an all of you have been prepared. And I and all the people who are with me draw near unto the (encampment/ fortification) city. And they have come out after us and ye rise from the ambush, and have occupied the (encampment/ fortification) city, and Jehovah your God hath given it into your hand."

Cycle six of this project's D-1 source legend also has full agreement with the assessment of Campbell and O'Brien (2000: 126-127) as being part of the main Pre-DH conquest narrative. As such this entire section will be retained, fully intact and in its structural format:

Revised Cycle Six

Contextual statement

And Joshua sendeth them away, and they go unto the ambush. And all the people of war who are with him have gone up, and draw night and come in over-against the (encampment/ fortification) city, and encamp on the north of (the ruin) Ai; and the valley is between him and (the ruin) Ai.

Transitional statement

And all the people who are in the (encampment/ fortification) city are called to pursue after the, and they pursue after Joshua and are drawn away out of the (encampment/ fortification) city.

¹²⁹ The Hebrew term *eer* here translated "city" can mean "encampment" or "a place guarded by watching" (Strong's) or a rural town or fortification (Brown).

Narrative statement

And Jehovah saith unto Joshua, "Stretch out with the javelin which is in thy hand towards (the ruin) Ai, for into thy hand I give it;

Descriptor statement

And Joshua stretched out with the javelin which is in his hand toward the (encampment/ fortification) city.

Cycle seven of this project's D-1 source legend also has full agreement with the assessment of Campbell (et al 2000:127-128) as being part of the main Pre-DH conquest narrative. As such this entire section will be retained, fully intact and in its D-1 structural format.

Refined Cycle Seven:

Contextual statement

And the inhabitants of Gibeon have heard that which Joshua hath done to Jericho and to (the ruin) Ai, and they work, even they, with subtlety, and go, and feign to be ambassadors, and take old sacks for their asses, and wine-bottles, old, and rent, and bound up, and sandals, old and patched, on their feet, and old garments upon them, and all the bread of their provision is dry - it was crumbs.

Transitional statement

And they say unto Joshua, "Thy servants we are." And Joshua saith unto them "Who are ye? And whence come ye?"

Narrative statement

"This our bread - for we provided ourselves with out of our houses, on the day of our coming out to go unto you, and now, lo, it is dry, and hath been crumbs; and these are the wine bottles which we filled, new, and lo, they have rent; and these, our garments and our sandals, have become old, from the exceeding greatness of the way."

Descriptor statement

And Joshua maketh with them peace.

Cycle eight of the D-1 narrative is also retained. As this project seeks to ensure a level of scholarly affirmation, we see that Campbell (et tel 2000: 131) identify these verses as part of a Pre-DH conquest narrative.

Refined Cycle Eight:

Contextual statement

And it cometh to pass, when Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem heareth that Joshua hath captured (the ruin) Ai, as he had done to Jericho and to her king so he hath done to (the ruin) Ai and to her king, that they were greatly afraid, because Gibeon is a great city, as one of the royal cities, and because it is greater than (the ruin) Ai, and all its men - heroes.

Transitional statement

And Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem sendeth unto Hoham king of Hebron, and unto Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king of Lachish, and unto Debir king of Eglon,

Narrative statement

Saying, "Come up unto me, and help me, and we smite Gibeon."

Descriptor statement

And five kings of the Amorite (the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon) are gathered together, and go up, they and all their camps, and encamp against Gibeon, and fight against it.

The final cycle of the D-1 conquest narrative is a very different creature from the previous cycles. The ninth cycle is rife with what Campbell (et al 2000: 133-136) call "nationalistic revisions". These revisions permeate the latter half of cycle nine and threaten to break the very predictable pattern of the narrative. However before the latter half is rejected it is important to know why this issue comes into question (Campbell et al 2000).

According to Campbell (et al 2000) the opening verse of chapter 11 (which constitutes the mid-section of the cycle nine transitional statement) lacks a clear context for Jabin to behave in such a manner. This is due to the fact that it automatically assumes a wider conquest strategy than Campbell's pre-DH conquest narrative indicates. However it should also be noted that Campbell (et al 2000: 130-135) is looking at this verse from the perspective of the "present text" construct.

The "*present text*" perspective of Campbell (et al 2000) causes some confusion since the key pointers mentioned would not apply if taken from the perspective of this project's D-1 narrative. The first key issue of context is instantly cleared up when the phrase in 11:1 is placed in the D-1 context. Secondly the pointer of describing extensive territory (while true in the present text) does not apply to the D-1 narrative embedded within that text. This project concedes, that the present text relating to a northern campaign is largely a nationalistic revision (along with a collection from other sources as noted by Campbell).

However, this project will choose to conditionally accept the structure of the D-1 final cycle as it stands since the

primary reason for the category of "national revision" of the small section of text does not apply when placed in the D-1 framework. In addition, as this chapter has already mentioned, the names of Jabin and Jobab (Hess 1996) were not common names in the 1st Millennium B.C.E. and therefore are unlikely derivatives of a nationalistic revision.

Revised Cycle Nine:

Contextual statement

And Jehovah saith unto Joshua, "Be not afraid of them, for into thy hand I have given them, there doth not stand a man of them in they presence." And Joshua cometh in unto them suddenly. And Jehovah doth crush them before Israel.

Campbell considers the remainder a nationalistic revision (However this project will retain it based upon Hess's (1996) argument).

Transitional statement

And it cometh to pass when Jabin king of Hazor hearth, that he sendeth unto Jobab king of Madon, and unto the king of Shimron, and unto the king of Achsaph and all these kings are met together, and they come and encamp together at the waters of Merom, to fight with Israel.

Narrative statement

And Jehovah saith unto Joshua, "Be not afraid of their presence."

Descriptor statement

Many days hath Joshua made with all these kings war; and Joshua taketh the whole land; and the land hath rest from war.

The meaning of this final section is significant in two ways. The first, if the supposed *nationalistic revisions* are removed the hypothetically original conquest narrative was purely an account of a southern campaign. The meaning of this is that such an account cannot be considered the inspiration account of a fuller legend tradition about any northern battles and therefore all northern battles are purely add-ons'.

However, if this material is retained it becomes a much more potent source, as a general framework for the entire Joshua narrative in its present text form. This very simple D-1 mnemonic legend could indeed have become the proverbial speck of sand that formed the pearl of the book of Joshua and the entire elaborate conquest history. Yet before we discuss such a weighty issue it is important to re-evaluate the meaning of this original D-1 structure and its possible context.

In dealing with the structure of this now hypothetically pure-source conquest legend (hereafter to be referred to as "*SL-1*" for "*Source Legend-1*")¹³⁰ it is clear that this project's process of cutting the Josianic revisions has done little to influence the oral mnemonic structure of the legend. Therefore it is logical to conclude that the previous assertion that the D-1 legend was an authoritarian official oral legend still remains true for the SL-1.

¹³⁰ The full text of the SL-1 legend can be found in appendix J.

3.7. Trail of Development

According to Noth the present text form of Joshua was the Deuteronomist's work of synthesizing two key source accounts into a coherent work. This process was done through the editorial melding of these sources and quoting them verbatim. However, as Campbell (et al 2000) notes, the development of the text goes beyond this simplistic Deuteronomistic history as each of these two key source accounts have a long history of revision and contextualization.

Within the Deuteronomistic-1 account are some revisions from the Josianic age (Campbell 2000). Some of these revisions are reflective of a feeling during this age of a sense of ownership of the land. In addition are further revisions that while they contain the sense of an older text, still are flavoured with a nationalistic revision (Campbell 2000). Yet, despite these revisions the cyclical poetic pattern of the D-1 account can be refined into a Source Legend account that pre-dates the Josianic tendency towards revision.

Within the Deuteronomistic-2 account Campbell (et al 2000) also notes that a number of sub-sources and revisions have been included. Among these sources are other pre-Deuteronomistic History accounts, Josianic revisions, nationalistic revisions and then of course Noth's exilic Deuteronomist. What is clear is that much of the latter section of the present text of Joshua (what area Noth attributes to the D-2 source) is a Pre-Deuteronomistic source that is independent of the D-1 account. Indeed, as this project will show, there is question whether or not the destruction accounts of northern cities (contained in D-2) actually should be connected with the D-1 narrative at all.

3.8. Conclusion

It is logical to assume that the Source Legend-1 (SL-1) was transferred from its oral mnemonic form into its written form prior to the Josianic period since the mnemonic structure is retained even after Josianic and nationalistic revisions. This conclusion, combined with the Deuteronomistic history of Josiah's influence helps this project conclude that the SL-1 legend was likely put into writing no later than 750 B.C.E. This is of course also taking into consideration the societal decay noted in the Deuteronomistic history of Israel and Judah in the century prior to this (which would cause many of these oral legends to be lost).

However, this conjecture is only the first step back into the history of the text. The next step is the construction of the 2nd Millennium history of Israel in order to delineate the application of the SL-1 (Dtr-1) account. In addition, a cursory examination of the core of the D-2 account will examine the historical context of this legend and its relation to the focus of this project, the *Inspiration Event* of the *Source Legend - 1*.

Chapter Four: Historical Context

We are not isolated objects who impose interpretations on a mute world, but we and the world are an ontological unity, and the world first imposes itself on us. We grow to self-consciousness gradually through images and interpretations. And just as we are constituted by an unconscious world or myth, the process of becoming conscious is that of a world or myth becoming conscious. It is impossible to isolate history from meaning, theological, autobiographical, or otherwise. We are history writing itself.¹³¹

Hal Childs

4.0. Introduction

It is imperative when dealing with the issues of orality, archaeology, history and biblical literature to grasp the nettles of what each discipline brings to the search for inspiration events. At the outset it is clear that archaeology cannot indicate whether biblical traditions are historical in the modern sense. While archaeology is scientific, it does have the limitation of being at the mercy of surviving evidence that obviously imposes severe limits upon the field. Furthermore only

¹³¹ Hal Childs, "The Myth of the Historical Jesus and the Evolution of Consciousness" Was read at the SBL 2000 Annual Meeting's Psychology and Biblical Studies Section. Accessed from online version January 18, 2001 at:

<http://www.egroups.com/files/crosstalk2/Articles+for+Review/ChildsCrossanExchange.htm>

a limited number of sites have been examined and there again time, finances and political issues (especially in the middle east) influence how much information can be gleaned from the site.

On the positive side, however, archaeology can significantly affect the assessment of odds. Therefore archaeology will be employed in this section to examine the likelihood of certain events occurring at key times outlined by biblical scholarship. While this analysis will not be able to prove or disprove any particular *historical* events referred to in the biblical text of Joshua, it will nevertheless indicate the likelihood of such events within a given period of time.

4.1. General Archaeological Findings

This project will begin by surveying the general archaeological data relating to the Joshua text and then evaluate that information on the basis of its correlation to the two key time periods identified within biblical scholarship. These two time periods are the 15th century and the 13th centuries. The reasons for the inclusion of an analysis of these epochs are obvious since these are the ages most often chosen by the maximalist and mainstream scholars. Suffice it to say that while this study will be attempting to reconstruct a history based upon archaeological data, it does not mean that this project regards the Joshua record to be historical (Finkelstein 2001).¹³²

¹³² Israel Finkelstein and Neil Silberman (2001), assert that the texts of Joshua, while concerned with historical events are not to be considered historical. Rather the current texts are the result of a long process of amalgamating several separate traditions into a formulation that reflects the 6th century B.C.E.

Today most biblical scholars and archaeologists doubt the historicity of even the most basic outline of the Joshua narrative of conquest. The biblical traditions as we have them are seen as the result of a long and complex process of development, only taking shape during or after the 6th century B.C.E. and reflecting the political and theological concerns of that late period. This project will however attempt to find any relics of reminiscence possible. Yet it should be noted that many scholars are rightly pessimistic about the possibility that these traditions preserve historical facts from a much earlier period. The majority view today is that the nation of Israel arose within Canaan as an indigenous development and this project will not dispute this very accepted point by entering the debate about a possible Egyptian exodus (Gottwald 1978).¹³³

4.2. Two Main Dates for Joshua

This section will begin with examining the most popular date related to the present-text Joshua account and then evaluate the era identified by the internal biblical mythology. Through this evaluation of archaeological sites this project will be able to present an informed level of probability relating to the events described within the Joshua text.

¹³³ N. Gottwald (1978: 37-52) is typical of many in affirming that the traditions concerning Israel's origins outside the land of Canaan are of questionable historical credibility. In addition N.P. Lemche (1985) is confident that its present form of the account of Israel's pre-palestinian existence is fiction.

It is clear that in the earlier part of the 20th century there was a flood of archaeological data that pointed to the possibility of a Joshua style conquest event in Canaan during the 13th century B.C.E. From this short-lived influx of information this date has become the majority view within biblical scholarship. The influx of information was primarily data from archaeological sites of cities that were destroyed at or near the end of the late Bronze Age. These included cities that the Joshua text recorded as being conquered by the Israelites: Lachish, Bethel, Debir, and Hazor. The fall of all these cities was dated to around 1220 B.C.E. (Finkelstein et al 2001), and seemed to provide evidence for a wave of destruction at that time. Therefore there seemed to be good grounds for viewing these destructions as the work of the Israelites under Joshua (especially for those scholars who took the Joshua text be "historical").¹³⁴

It does indeed appear that archaeology supports the emergence of "Israel" at the transition period from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Davies 1999). At the beginning of the Iron Age a great many new settlements appeared in the hill-country of Palestine. Almost a hundred new settlements have been traced in the central region of the hill country. While these are small, open agricultural villages, they do serve as an indication of a demographic shift within the region (Finkelstein et al 2001). The rise of such settlements in the hills has been

¹³⁴ N. Frye (1990: 30-40) notes that while the bible was keenly interested in historical issues, that does not make the bible "historical". Rather any scholar dealing with the biblical texts must also keep in mind the issues of mythology and its relatively autonomous functions of interpretation and re-creation.

linked in many ways with Israel's emergence. With their initial date to roughly 1200 B.C.E. and Israel's supposed conquest only a few decades previous at the end of the Late Bronze Age it did seem that these settlements were part of the present-text Joshua narrative (Finkelstein 2001).

However it has been pointed out by a number of scholars that the agricultural villages indicate a strong cultural continuity with the Late Bronze Age and are not indicative of a newly arrived people from outside the region (Davies 1999). While the new settlements appear in the highlands of Canaan at the beginning of the transition between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age they cannot be clearly linked with a newly arrived group of people. Indeed it can be suggested that these Israelite settlements are an indicator that they were a people group that had a cultural tie with the area that dated back at least a 100 years previous (Finkelstein 2001).

With this issue pushing back the origins of Israel this project ought to look at the earlier periods since the Deuteronomistic biblical tradition (according to Kings) has also suggested an earlier presence of Israel. As such this project will also evaluate the possibility of a conquest in the 15th century B.C.E.

Beyond the obvious connections between the exodus debate and the date/nature of the conquest of Canaan under Joshua, another issue is the site-specific information. In this section of the project we shall seek to survey the body of archaeological literature relating to this time period. It is not the focus of this project to affirm or deny the archaeological interpretations, but rather to glean a sense of

the range of interpretations and possible applications to history and the text. For in order to understand the holistic nature of the inspiration event of the initial conquest Joshua legend we must develop a general vista of the culture and its functioning.

4.3. Problem Sites

It is clear that this body of research has brought about a divergence of opinions regarding the conquest itself.¹³⁵ Indeed, the sites relating to the central campaign, which is the focus of this project, are at the heart of the deliberations. Debates have raged for decades over the interpretation of sites like Jericho and Ai, with each site yielding some surprising and confounding information. Indeed those sites associated with the early conquest seem to display characteristics that do not fit the mainstream interpretation of the conquest, or the Deuteronomistic date of 1400 B.C.E.

The city of Ai is a prime example and a good illustration of this divergence of opinion. J. Marquet-Krause's study of the site Khirbet et Tell, identified as the city of Ai. Marquet-Krause's study indicated that the city was destroyed approximately 2200 B.C.E. (LaSor 1982) and never rebuilt and resettled with a permanent sedentary population. Indeed, the confounding nature of the site of Khirbet et Tell is what lead Vincent to propose his extremely wide range of dates between 1250 B.C.E. and 2000 B.C.E. for the fall of Jericho (Harrison

¹³⁵ The debate between the maximalist and "main stream" positions is no where more pronounced than surrounding the archaeological sites mentioned in the Joshua epic.

1991).¹³⁶ Finally, Zevit came out with the declaration that the Ai myth of Joshua was borrowed from some unknown war from the period prior to 2000 B.C.E. (Zevit 1985).

While controversy still swirls around the site of Khirbet et Tell (Ai), it is nothing when compared to that first city of conquest, Jericho. The whole debate began with the excavations of Jericho in the 1930s when John Garstang and William F. Albright excavated at Jericho and Beitin, respectively.¹³⁷ Initially, both Garstang (LaSor 1982) and Albright (1957) held to the earlier traditional Deuteronomistic date of the conquest being set at 1446 B.C.E. However, during excavations at the site Albright (1957) (associated with the biblical city of Bethel (modern site Beitin)) adopted the 13th century date for the conquest. He made this about face because he discovered a thick destruction level at Beitin, which he dated at about 1250 B.C.E, and attributed to the invading Israelites. Due to this evidence and similar finds at other sites, coupled with Albright's pervasive influence, the date of approx. 1250-1220 B.C.E. for the conquest has prevailed for the past 50 years (LaSor 1982).

Kathleen Kenyon's detailed excavations at Jericho further blurred these once-clear chronological lines. John Garstang found evidence of a violent inferno at Jericho around 1400 B.C.E., which he attributed to the Israelites (Harrison 1991). Kenyon's conclusions, however, sharply contradicted Garstang's interpretations. She dated this destruction level at approx. 1550 B.C.E., and contended that there was no city with

¹³⁶ Vincent, L.H. (1930) as quoted in Harrison, R.K. (1991: 120).

¹³⁷ Albright, W.F. (1957: 13).

protective walls for the Israelites to destroy in 1400 B.C.E. (Kenyon 1957). Additionally, and in harmony with Garstang (1931), she found no evidence of occupational activity on that site in the 13th century B.C.E. This then casts a serious question on the period in which most current scholars believe the conquest actually occurred. Hence, Kenyon's (1957) conclusions supported neither the traditional date of conquest at 1400 B.C.E. - 1390 B.C.E. nor the late date of 1250 B.C.E.-1220 B.C.E. Again debate raged about the true nature of the Joshua legend, and how the actual destruction of Jericho became part of the biblical myth repertoire.

Some argue that the way we will understand more about the Jericho site is by evaluating some of the concrete findings of the supervising archaeologists, in the hopes of finding new ways to interpret the data. In particular it is the maximalists that continue the debate of the Jericho site and contend the Kenyon findings. The prime targets of maximalist' focus are Garstang and Kenyon, and one of the lead maximalist researchers to recently investigate the Jericho findings is Bryant Wood. In general these archaeologists have discovered that Jericho had an impressive system of fortifications. Surrounding the city was a retaining wall fifteen feet high. At its top was an eight-foot brick wall strengthened from behind by an earthen rampart. Domestic structures were found behind this first wall. Another brick wall enclosed the rest of the city (LaSor 1982). In one part of the city, large piles of bricks were found at the base of both the inner and outer walls, suggesting a collapse of the fortifications (LaSor 1982). The collapsed bricks formed a pile of rubble and have been interpreted by some in light of the conquest, saying it served as a ramp that an invader might easily enter the city (which according to some maximalists seems

to support Josh. 6:20). Of this discovery Garstang (1931b) states, "As to the main fact, then, there remains no doubt: the walls fell outwards so completely, the attackers would be able to clamber up and over the ruins of the city." (Garstang 1931b: 146)

A thick layer of soot indicates the city was destroyed by fire (LaSor 1982).¹³⁸ Kenyon describes it as, "*The destruction was complete. Walls and floors were blackened or reddened by fire and every room was filled with fallen bricks.*" (Kenyon 1960: 370) Archaeologists also discovered large amounts of grain at the site. Maximalists point to this as an example that if it had fallen as a result of a siege, the grain would have been used up. According to Joshua 6:17, the Israelites were forbidden to plunder the city, but had to destroy it totally. Clearly then many maximalists have argued that this is consonant with the biblical version that the city was captured quickly, while others contend that nothing should be read into such a find.

Although the archaeologists agreed Jericho was destroyed, they disagreed on the date of the conquest of Jericho (it is open to debate what the assumptions of each archaeologist was). Garstang (1931) held to a date of 1400 B.C.E. While Kenyon (1960) conjectured that the destruction occurred in 1550 B.C.E. This does leave open the possibility of an older inspiration event being brought into the Joshua repertoire (with no consideration of historical context). However, then enters the

¹³⁸ Destruction by fire described in Joshua 6:24

arguments of Dr. Bryant Wood and again the issue of context was brought into the picture.

Wood investigated Kenyon's research related to the site of Jericho, suggests that Kenyon's early date was based on faulty assumptions about pottery found at the site (Wood 1990). Wood's later date is also based on the discovery of Egyptian amulets in the tombs northwest of Jericho. Inscribed under these amulets were the names of Egyptian Pharaohs dating from 1500 B.C.E. - 1400 B.C.E., showing that the cemetery was in use up to the end of the Late Bronze Age, in the time after 1550 B.C.E. to 1400 B.C.E. Finally, a piece of charcoal found in the debris was carbon-14 dated to approximately 1410 B.C.E (Wood 1990).

In defense of Garstang's initial dating of the destruction of Jericho's "City IV" to approximately 1400 B.C.E. Wood also argues that, " ... no imported Cypriote ware diagnostic for the ensuing Late Bronze I period was found at Jericho." (Wood 1990)¹³⁹ This is a point of interpretation and not of fact, as Kenyon herself acknowledged that the inhabitants of City IV were "simple villagers" (Wood 1993) with "no suggestion of luxury." Wood (1990) stated that "she based her dating on the fact that she failed to find expensive, imported pottery in a small excavation area in an impoverished part of a city located far from major trade routes." (Wood 1990)

Wood (1993) then suggested further evidence in support of Garstang's conclusion. First, the ceramic data found by Garstang was characteristic of the late Bronze age, including a large

¹³⁹ Wood, Bryant (1990: 50).

amount of what appears to be the imported Cypriote bichrome ware that Kenyon failed to find.

Secondly, the stratigraphy of City IV between what Kenyon believed fit between 1650 and 1550 B.C.E. displayed 20 different building phases. To this Wood (1990) wrote, "*If Kenyon ...(was) ... correct that City IV met its final destruction at the end of the Middle Bronze period , then all these 20 phases would have been squeezed into a mere 100 years. It is hardly likely that all of this activity could have transpired in the approximately 100 years of this ... period.*"(Wood 1990)

It is clear from this last statement that Wood does have a maximalistic bent that must be considered when viewing his arguments.¹⁴⁰ What this discussion does make clear however is that the researcher's assumptions greatly influence the interpretation about the site. However despite the efforts of

¹⁴⁰ To a limited extent Dr. Wood has revived the argument about Jericho. Wood has investigated the available archaeological evidence about Tell es-Sultan, identified as ancient Jericho. Notably for this study, the site of Tell es-Sultan lies next to a large natural spring. The location of this abundant water supply next to Jericho, according to this study, is a key feature to be discussed. For Jericho itself was not an impressive tell being less than 400 meters long and 150 meters wide. Wood's perspective is: "*If the Hyksos did not destroy Jericho and the Egyptians did not destroy Jericho, then who did? The only written record to survive concerning the history of Jericho in the Late Bronze Age is that found in the Hebrew Bible. When we compare the archaeological evidence at Jericho with the Biblical narrative describing the Israelite destruction at Jericho, we find a quite remarkable agreement.*"

maximalists, the general consensus of scholars is still full acceptance of Kenyon's findings.

4.4. A Historical Schema

While mythology focuses on the individual as shaper of history, and biblical archaeology focuses on particular sites, this ecological approach will bring to the forefront the generalizations that can reveal important insight. For in order to develop a hypothetical construct behind the reasons for the individual's actions (in this case Joshua), and from that point project the intentions of the proto-Israelite tribes, one must have a sense of the general demographic trends. Indeed, without a view of the general context and trends one cannot truly make sense of the isolated pieces of evidence that comprise the whole, whether they be literary or archaeological (Long 1988: 136).

Obviously any reconstruction of the culture and society in its historical context must be based upon evidence. Such an array of evidence must be of credible and multiple supports (Scheffler 2001).¹⁴¹ It is this projects concern to try to meld the various modes of knowledge about the relevant time periods in order to clearly elucidate the axioms that best fit the divergent bodies of data (Halpern 1988: 13).

This method of study is itself not unique, as it is a natural progression from the influences of Ernest Wright and

¹⁴¹ E.H. Scheffler (2001) notes that in understanding the true historical nature of ancient Israel it is essential to engage in a holistic approach. This includes extra-biblical literature, archaeological evidence and geo-political references and descriptions.

Lawrence Toombs (LaSor 1982). As archaeology is intended to be used there are three main goals for developing a functional framework of understanding: A. to reconstruct cultural history; B. to reconstruct the "life-ways of the people who left the archaeological record", and C. to study cultural processes. As such this approach is the result of a re-evaluation of the philosophical praxis for constructing a paradigm of history (Long 1994: 143).

In essence this project will attempt to follow this historical endeavor where, the setting gives value to the foreground, where the historical context gives meaning to the text or event (Brandford 1987: 42). In such a way this thesis shall construct a socio-economic template, based on an understanding of the archaeological evidence, to better understand the Canaan that is purported to relate to the Joshua literature (Brandford 1987).

To begin at 3000 B.C.E. it appears that in Canaan, the artifactual civilization rose briefly, in which the initial urban phase of the Early Bronze Age I-III periods developed (Richard 1987: 22-40). Finally, urban Canaanite culture collapsed toward the end of the third millennium B.C.E. and experienced a massive shift of the population from urban centers to a pastoral lifestyle (Dever 1987). In the late part of the 1500's B.C.E. the region was subjected by the ruling Pharaohs and most of the prime cities were occupied by at least a small contingent of Egyptian troops to ensure allegiance (LaSor 1982).

Along the central hill country the trend of de-urbanization was significant with sites like Ai being permanently abandoned from use as urban centers around the period of Bronze III (2350-

2250 B.C.E.)(Dever 1987). In contrast to Ai (and much of the central valley region west of the Jordan) however, the rest of Canaan appears to have experienced a revival of urbanization during the Middle Bronze Age (approx. 2200 B.C.E. - 1500 B.C.E.). In this Dever notes that nearly all the old urban Early Bronze "tell sites", many of them abandoned for centuries, were reoccupied (Dever 1987). Apparently an unprecedented number of urban settlers inundated the central hill country, while a significant increase is also found in the fertile valley region (Finkelstein 1988).

In contrast to the prosperity and urbanization of the Middle Bronze Age, the Late Bronze Age was typified by a sharp recession in settlement (Finkelstein 2001). This project agrees with Devers supposition, that the reduced link of Egypt and Canaan during this Late Bronze Period is notable in understanding this Canaanite crisis (Finkelstein 2001) (Dever 1987).

The socio-economic shift appears to have been most pronounced in the hill country, a region containing such biblical sites as Ai and Bethel (Dever 1987)(Finkelstein 2001 & 1988). It is in these areas that the most severe demographic shift occurs, with a drastic reduction of the number of sedentary settlements (Finkelstein 1988). This was long considered evidence of a shift to a semi-nomadic existence by the population. This tendency towards a pastoralist lifestyle¹⁴²

¹⁴² Finkelstein in *The Bible Unearthed* notes that the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt occurred at approximately 1570 B.C.E. resulting in a psychological and political shift within Egypt relating to its foreign holdings.

was also prevalent in the trans-jordan region north east of the Dead Sea during this time period (Finkelstein 2001).¹⁴³

While the reason for such a shift is unclear, Finkelstein argues that it may have been caused by a multitude of factors from population pressure, confiscation by authority or heavy taxation (Dever 1987)(Finkelstein 1988). Evidence for these reasons is cited with reference to a modern demographic shift in the 18th and 19th centuries under heavy Ottoman taxation which brought about the destruction of the rural frameworks of Palestine and southern Syria. Apparently in this modern example, large parts of the sedentary population became nomadized (Finkelstein 1988).

The trend in Canaan during the age immediately prior to a traditional date of the conquest was from urbanization and towards nomadization. This has been determined through the thorough ecological analysis of archaeological sites. This methodology is firstly the identification of isolated sanctuaries, either unrelated to any settlement or secondly, those located close to a permanent site, but that lay outside the fortified areas (Finkelstein 1988 & 2001).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Internet Article from the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History: Accessed December 29/00

<http://britac3.britac.ac.uk/institutes/biaahhp/iktham.html>

¹⁴⁴ Four reasons are used by Finkelstein to argue for the validity of equating isolated shrines with pastoralist populations in Canaan:

- A. The phenomenon is unknown in those periods of antiquity characterized by urban activity.
- B. Faunal analysis of the remains at Shiloh suggest a population of pastoralists. That is to say, the ratio of sheep/goat bones

The Late Bronze Age does show some destruction under Egyptian influence. In the region mentioned in the literary account of Joshua, there was an especially weak central region for many reasons: First the largely pastoralist population in this region. Secondly, this population had suffered serious setbacks under the conquest of Egyptian rulers like Ah-moses (Pritchard 1969). With the defeat of the Hyksos by Ah-moses, this region was apparently significantly weakened. However, the first real substantial campaign against the inland region was by Thutmose III (Beitak 1987: 59). The result was a weakened pastoralist population, city-states under independent rule with some allegiance to Egypt (when it suited them). However, these Egyptian conquests do not account for everything according to Finkelstein (2001). He states: "There is no solid archaeological evidence that many sites across the country were destroyed simultaneously, and such campaigns would fail to explain the wholesale abandonment of hundreds of small rural settlements in the remote parts of the land".¹⁴⁵ This study agrees with

to cattle bones was higher in the Middle Bronze II age while the opposite ratio was true in the urbanized Iron I age.

- C. At both Shechem and Lachish, there were also temples within the bounds of the city. The necessity for extra shrines is difficult to explain except as serving the needs of non-sedentary groups outside the settlements.
- D. Most of these shrines were situated in typical "frontier zones" like the central hill country, the Jordan valley and the trans-Jordanian plateau.

¹⁴⁵ As quoted in Hoffenheimer, James, K. (1990), "Some Thoughts on William G. Dever's "'Hyksos', Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age.": 87

Finkelstein's findings of a demographic shift, were the result of years of Egyptian pressure, from 1530 - 1470 B.C.E. The decline of the Hyksos as a military force as well as additional resource pressures, that resulted from both Egyptian taxation and urban demands for trade (Finkelstein 2001 & 1998) (Davis 1987).

In recognizing this basic population shift, the next step is to interpret what this demographic paradigm means for the life of people within Canaan, politically and economically. The very basic principle that is central to this project is the understanding that a pastoralist society is not isolated in any meaningful sense from the sedentary populations that surround it (Barfield 1993:3). Indeed, one cannot truly understand any nomadic people group except as they relate to the larger regional systems. Despite the pastoralist lifestyle, these Canaanites still appear to have had a high level of material culture. This is likely due to the close tie between the pastoralist and sedentary populations (Barfield 1993). This close relationship may be largely due to the economic function of such a dimorphic society (Mazar 1990: 240-257). For while the semi-nomadic pastoralists supply the sedentary dwellers with animal products, the sedentary supply grain and limited manufactured goods (Barfield 1993). Hence the disruption of the economic efficiency of either group dramatically affects the whole of society (Finkelstein 1988).

The principle is true that economic and political areas are influenced by this dimorphic societal structure, however other issues also have to be considered in the reconstruction of such a historical society. A central issue to any culture in any age is obviously the issue of resources, resulting in a multifarious

interaction among the animals, land and people to produce a complex web of ecological relationships. Barfield (1993) typifies the sheep/goat pastoralists, which is what the people of the Canaanite region were, as *economic specialists* that have a "*symbiotic relationship with their sedentary neighbors with whom they have constant contact, trading meat, animals, wool, milk products, and hides for grain (which constitutes the bulk of their diet) and manufactured goods.*" (Barfield 1993: 8)

It is apparent from the studies of Finkelstein (1988; 1991; 2000) that the Canaanite pastoralists population of the Late Bronze age was one that was of a complex system. Raising a variety of species provides a pastoralist group with many benefits, including the ability to efficiently exploit a wider range of available vegetation. Cattle and sheep, for example, are grazers that favor grasses that require a specific rotation, since sheep and goats will eat the vegetation too low for the cattle to use afterward (Barfield 1993: 23).

To better understand the Canaanite pastoralists we must look to modern groups like the east African tribal groups. From these tribal groups it is clear that the Canaanites likely existed in a daily cycle of pastoral movement. A base is normally located near a well from which the herd will travel in search of food. How often a species requires watering, and how far the animals can travel to find it, sets a limit on how large an area a pasture can be used. The more time the animals spend traveling to reach water, the less time they have to graze and their mortality rate rises accordingly. For example, McCabe (1985) reveals that in environmental conditions similar to Canaan, cattle will remain within 6 kilometers of the primary wells, while sheep and goats remain within 4 kilometers of the

wells (however, while cattle require daily watering, sheep need only be watered every second day)(McCabe 1985: 90).

The second most notable issue for considering a Canaanite pastoralist system is the cycle of herd management. Pastoralism is a risky enterprise, in that the cycles of growth and collapse have different rhythms depending on the percentage of large stock in the herd and the number of breeding females. In theory, the minimum time for a cattle herd to double is six years, and three years for sheep and goats (Dahl 1976). This is important when we later examine the role of economic warfare against the Canaanites. For with the destruction of a herd, there is a long period of rebuilding affording a window of opportunity for another population to "*fill the economic gap*" without a sudden glut on the market. This issue of herd destruction or development is an issue that will be discussed further in the final chapter.

The possible organization of these Canaanite pastoralists may follow the example of the modern Masai tribes of Kenya. Within these tribes, organization was determined by age sets. For each tribe may have organized its age set system separately, and individual heads of compound polygamous families secured rights to communal grazing and water within the tribal boundaries by initiation into a specific tribal age set. Such heads of these compound polygamous family sets could be considered the "ruler" or "king" of the region. Due to these age sets there would be no "formal" leaders, instead, groups of about fifteen to twenty camps come to form a local "council of elders".¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Jacobs, Alan "Masai"

There is some biblical support for this type of local structure as Ruth 4:2 suggests. Another possibility is that the Canaanite pastoralists followed a style akin to Arabic tribes-men while the council of elders may be similar to the tribal sheikhs of the Rwala Bedouin.

The issue of urban Canaanite life prior to the approx. 1570 B.C.E. period is one that can be characterized by a high level of trade; international commerce and a significant material culture. This culture was largely dependent upon international trade that had a long and relatively steady history.

In the Neolithic age it is clear that along the coastal regions of northern Canaan/ Syria, that there were significant trade routes connecting Egypt and other regions. Indeed, as early as the Old Kingdom era of Egypt there were maritime routes to Syria, the Aegean and also south to the west coast of Africa via the Red Sea. In the early Bronze Age the most important of which was the route tracing along the Nile, out through its ports and northward to the Syro-Palestinian coastal towns to the main maritime terminal at Byblos.¹⁴⁷

According to Stieglitz (1984) the Egyptian maritime trade was interested in securing raw materials. The interests were primarily in timber, metals, aromatic plants, ivory, hides, animals and slaves. This demand of the royal courts of Egypt undoubtedly encouraged the economic development of the urban centers along the coast northwards to Syria. It is clear that

¹⁴⁷ The Canaanite town of Gubla established in the Early Bronze Age. Stieglitz, Robert R. (1984: 135).

technology developed in these early years of maritime trade facilitated the many expeditions of Egypt, strongly influencing the Egyptians influence of the northern coastal region in the late 1500's and early 1400's B.C.E. (Stieglitz 1984: 135).¹⁴⁸

It is apparent that trade between the Mesopotamian and Egyptian super-powers was facilitated through three main routes. The first was overland to the Syrian coast, and by boat to the Nile access into Egypt (Stieglitz 1984). The second was along the Persian Gulf-Indus River axis and across to the Red Sea (Stieglitz 1984). The third was the more hazardous overland route through the interior highways of Canaan. According to the Ugaritic texts it is clear that Canaanite maritime merchants were among the most active of the ancient world (Stieglitz 1984).

It is apparent that the urban Canaanite centers were involved in significant trade between the super-powers. However it is also clear that these individual cities influenced power beyond their walls. Each city clearly maintained a level of economic and political influence over the surrounding unwalled villages and town, as well as the hinterland (Finkelstein 2001). This is made especially clear in a letter from Mari and tablets from Ugarit. According to Hess these are part of records relating to a treaty where the boundary between Ugarit and its northern neighbor, Mukish is defined (Stieglitz 1984). A city-

¹⁴⁸ The old forms of converted riverine crafts were even used in the Punt expedition of Queen Hatshepsut at 1475 B.C.E. according to the illustrations recounting the event on her temple at Deir el-Babri. Stieglitz, Robert R. (1984: 137).

states' political and economic boundary was therefore defined by listing the smaller sedentary populations along the borders edge. This represents not only the parties involved but also the smaller towns¹⁴⁹ associated with the boundary dispute (Hess).

The influence of trade upon these Canaanite urban centers is unclear. It is logical, through anthropological perspectives, to surmise that this trade did foster a tendency toward social stratification, and a shift toward individualistic patterns of leadership, as opposed to the more egalitarian forms found in pastoralist societies (Adams 1974: 146). This perspective also suggests that the urban centers would be very dependent upon connective networks between the pastoralists for raw materials, and sale to the imperial markets of the Pharaoh in Egypt.

¹⁴⁹ In order to fully understand this strategy one must also be mindful of the fact that the biblical reference to a village or town was usually, as today, a small group of dwellings, distinct from a city. This is evidenced clearly in Leviticus 25: 29-31 where they are identified as being unwallled without defences (Ezekial 38:11). Many biblical "cities" could be translated "village" in the modern sense. However, the distinction between town or village is not always made.

Whatever the case, the literal Hebrew reference in Numbers 21:25 indicates that the villages were often grouped as "daughters" around the city on which, as agricultural communities, they depended politically and economically as is clear from Joshua 15: 13-63. The inhabitants would retreat within the nearest defences in times of war. The common Semitic word for village (Heb. "Kapar" - AKK. "Kapru") may not necessarily relate to this "protection" so much as denote a hamlet or village set in open country as we see in Judges 5: 7-11. It is also important to remember that nomadic camps set outside a city can also be considered a village as is mentioned in Genesis 25:16 and Isaiah 42:11. The book of Ruth (4:2) also makes it clear that, later at least, a village had its own local government of elders.

It is logical to conclude that those cities that were separated from the sea trade routes relied extremely heavily upon the interconnectivity of overland trade between superpowers. As Adams (1974) characterizes the trade situation in the early and middle Bronze Ages: *"On the basis of what is already known ... there appears to be little doubt that long-distance trade was a formidable socio-economic force. This was so in spite of its being confined largely to commodities of very high value in relation to weight and bulk because of high transport costs, and in spite of its directly involving only a small part of the population."* (Adams 1974: 149).

The period from approximately 1510 B.C.E. to approximately 1350 B.C.E. sees a shift in the internal stability of Canaan. The development of an imperial power vacuum, particularly indicative of Akhenaten's reign, but suggestive of his predecessors occurs along with this internal stability. This instability is characterized by the obvious tension developing between the cities and the countryside (Mendenhall 1970: 110). This may be presumably be due to the hinterland people's attempt to avoid Egyptian oppression & taxation, while the urban areas remained dependent upon Egypt as vassal city-states. Clearly some significant event, socio-political factor or series of events occurred to shift the relationship between city and hinterland in this time period.

During this period of unrest it is anthropologically understandable that the tribal and ethnic allegiances would become extremely important. In terms of defense, the ready-made structure would likely follow as an ever-widening circle. Based on the premise that more closely related kinship groups would

ally in opposition to less closely related groups, and that everyone would unite against outsiders, relationships would be relativistic, with no absolute values. This relativistic nature is something that is clearly portrayed, even at the urban level, from the writing of the Amarna letter.

Under the concept of an ever widening defense structure among the pastoralists, the question must be addressed as to how the urban practices of Canaan fit into this symbiotic relationship between urban and pastoralists peoples. Some insight into this may be gleaned from the Ugaritic administrative texts (1550 B.C.E.- 1400 B.C.E.). According to these texts, the administration of the territory was based upon local regions. While this suggests a weakened tribal system there is no reason to assume it was forgotten. In addition, this reference is primarily for fiscal and military purposes which views a region, the city and its hinterland, as an administrative, economic and military unit (Gray 1952:50). One should also be mindful of the fact that kinship ties tend to be weaker among sedentary and urban dwellers, which may account for the lack of emphasis upon such issues.

Within the Ras Shamra texts and Amarna letters are indications of a crude feudal system with an upper class of military leaders who derived their status from the king of the city (Gray 1952). From Egyptian and Akkadian texts we see specific examples of an urban military structure with chariots as part of the force (at least in the north of Canaan) (Gray 1952: 52).

This organization of urban military power centered in local cities also appeared to have a relativistic quality to it, not

unlike the tribal relationships already mentioned. For at times the range of dominion of a king of a city may just extend to a hinterland, and at other times to a larger region including other cities and "*other kings*".

The clearest evidence of the relativistic nature of "kingship" however comes from the el-Amarna letters that provide a vital historical source on the land of Canaan immediately following the initial conquest of Canaan by the Israelites. Some scholars suggest these letters are a part of the archives of the Egyptian kings Amenhotep III and his son Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton) (1400 B.C.E. - 1350 B.C.E.) (Aharoni). These diplomatic tablets, half of which are from Canaanite kings, reveal a Canaanite political situation where Canaanite cities rule over small areas, each attempting to extend its dominion. It is interesting to note that the el-Amarna letters indicate several Canaanite cities as city kingdoms: Gezer, Jerusalem, Shechem, Megiddo (Aharoni: 35).

However, one must also recognize that each stage of government is accountable to another. This is simply a matter of standard practice throughout the ancient near east. As one Ras Shamra document from the king of Babylon to Akhenaton states, "Canaan is your land and its kings are your servants." (Aharoni). Hence these Canaanite kings appear to relinquish their title when addressing an authority with greater dominion and political power. Such is the case when a Canaanite king addresses the Pharaoh of Egypt.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ One letter from the Amarna collection highlights the relativistic nature of kingship within Canaan, "To the king, my lord, my sun, my god, say: "Thus says Suwardata, thy servant, the servant of the king and the dust under his feet, the ground on which thou dost tread: At

In many ways it is clear that the urban life of Canaan did not shift dramatically in the years of 1500 B.C.E. - 1300 B.C.E. The one issue that does highlight itself during this period is the unrest in the hinterland and how this unrest threatens the stability and economic wellbeing of the urban centers. It is clear that this trouble, the source of this disruption was clearly identified by the urban dwellers by the approximate time of 1370 B.C.E. It is also clear that the hinterland peoples whom the urban dwellers identified as the source of the trouble were a well-organized and relatively unified group.

For many this issue is characterized as a peasant uprising against the greedy urban nobility.¹⁵¹ It was a unified struggle by the people to develop a more egalitarian society with greater economic freedom to the poor rural dwellers (Mendenhall 1962). This whole issue was largely dependent upon the modes of economic production and the factors that determine the distribution of goods. Hence the hinterland peoples sought to reduce the economic power that the urban centers wielded over them. The summary of the demographic struggles of political/economic power that spark this unrest in the early 1300's B.C.E (Mendenhall 1973).¹⁵²

the feet of the king, my lord, the sun of heaven, seven times I prostrated myself, on my belly and on my back...."

¹⁵¹ The most public scholars holding this view include: Halpern, Mendenhall and Hauser.

¹⁵² Mendenhall, George E. (1973) notes, "... Whenever a new king, a new military conqueror, assumed power, he regarded the whole of the productive land as his personal property to dispose of as he saw fit ... The villagers who did the work could not own their own land - they were

Whatever the actual nature, it is clear that the tension did exist between the urban and rural centers during this time period. It is also clear that the power of Egypt was essentially impotent in intervening in this matter. While the urban leaders continually appeal to Egypt for assistance, the character of Akhenaton's reign in particular was one of reducing political and economic influence over the Canaanite region.

In addition, it is important to note that the Hapiru mentioned in the Amarna letters, that unified rural force that was disrupting the life and economic goals of the urban centers had some political allies. Apparently the city of Shechem is accused of having joined alliances with the armed rural bands that so threatened the security of the rest of the city-states of the region. In addition, there appears to have been a large Hivite population in the city of Shechem. In addition a significant Hivite population had urban centers around the region south of Bethel, typically associated with the region of "Gibeon" (Halpern A: 313).

What can be concluded from this demographic evaluation is that there was a clear socio-economic climate in Canaan emerging from the mid 16th century B.C.E. and continuing through to the 13th century B.C.E. that can be characterized as a fragile yet balanced dimorphic society between the urban and rural areas. It is logical to conclude that the rural areas provided much needed raw materials and resources for the cities. The cities also

merely permitted to till it and were then generously given enough of their own produce to keep them alive. They were ... probably not legally slaves but might as well have been."

relied upon the inter-city and international trade to keep their economies thriving.

The one pervading problem that remains for placing a "historical" conquest at the period of the 15th / 14th century transition point (as the Deuteronomistic history suggests) is that there is no evidence of widespread destruction among the cities mentioned within the Joshua myth. Therefore this project must also examine the time period when these sites were destroyed in the 13th century. Yet beyond these issues of destruction layers at specific sites there is the enigma of Ai. Ai it interesting in that archaeologically it does not indicate any settlement during any time period typically associated with the Joshua mythological traditions. Further there is an unusual agreement among both maximalist and minimalist scholars on this point.

Therefore before this project transitions to the 13th century reconstruction based upon archaeology it will delve deeper into the Ai controversy and attempt to glean what options can relate to this site. Traditionally scholars involved in the interpretation of Ai have held two variant views regarding the location of the biblical city. By far the majority of scholars identify the site of Ai as Khirbet et-Tell (Zevit). However, archaeological studies of this site only indicate Early Bronze Age and Iron Age settlements. Consequently, there is no archaeological indication of a settlement at Khirbet et-Tell during the time of Joshua's conquest (at least according to the time-table of this project)(Callaway 1985). As such, almost all of the scholars who identify the Ai site as Khirbet et-Tell conclude that the present text biblical record is inaccurate or non-historical (Barton 1941).

Several variant sites have been proposed over the years. Of these Khirbet Nisya a site proposed by Dr. Livingstone (1970) is held by a limited number of scholars to be the site of Ai (Livingston 1970). However, it is the view of this project that the tendency for favoring the Khirbet Nisya site or any other site over Khirbet et-Tell is a reactionary measure. That is, due to the conclusions of archaeologists about the site of Khirbet et-Tell, some scholars prefer a different site for Ai.

Extensive difficulties have developed with all of these variant sites. Indeed, variant Ai sites such as Khirbet Heiyan (Callaway et al 1966), Khirbet Khudriya (Callaway 1970) and Khirbet el-Hay (Kallai 1972) have failed to reveal Late Bronze age occupation. Indeed, even the site proposed by Dr. Livingstone (1970) and the most popular of variant sites has shown significant difficulties, equal to, or greater than those presented by the Khirbet et-Tell site. Livingstone's proposal based upon a variant site for Bethel of el Bireh has proven to be of little value. For an intensive survey of the proposed Ai site located two miles southwest of the Biblical Bethel (modern Beitin) indicated that there had been no Middle or Late Bronze Age occupation (Blizzard 1974). However, like Khirbet et-Tell, Livingstone's (1970) Ai near Bireh did have a small Iron Age settlement on the site, although the major periods of this sites development were Roman and Byzantine (Livingstone 1970).

The Livingstone (1970) proposal of Ai being located near Bireh has therefore been rejected. In response to Blizzards study Livingstone states: "*The location for Ai which Blizzard has investigated was only a proposal. Not too much is lost if it proves not to be the biblical Ai.*" (Livingstone 1974). Therefore

the location of Bethel is, in the view of this project, still to be associated with modern Beitin, subsequently the location of Ai is that of Khirbet et-Tell. Anson Rainey (1971) supports this location of the site of Ai with a chronicle of patristic evidence from both Eusebius and Jerome concerning the location of Bethel (Rainey 1971).

Moreover, due to the extensive difficulties with variant sites, and the clear topographical detail presented in the Deuteronomistic Biblical text this study will conclude, that the site of Ai is indeed Khirbet et Tell (which is the generally accepted site). For the Deuteronomistic 2 literary source evidence suggests such a site, as it states, "*They set up camp north of Ai, with the valley between them and the city.*" (Joshua 8:11 NIV). Such a valley is situated on the northern edge of Khirbet et Tell (Zevit 1985). In addition, the biblical Ai is supposed to be separated from Bethel by a mountain. This is most certainly the case with Khirbet et-Tell. For the topography certainly indicates a large hill/ mountain formation between Bethel (Beitin) and Ai (Khirbet et-Tell). Therefore this project agrees with Ziony Zevit when he states that the biblical description of topographical features support the site of Khirbet et-Tell as the biblical Ai: "*They guarantee that the Ai story in the Bible was told about Khirbet et-Tell.*" (Zevit 1985).

In the preliminary surveys in the 1920's of Khirbet et-Tell Dr. Albright (Orr 1943) determined that the site was not inhabited at the time of the Israelite conquest of Canaan. As a result of this preliminary evidence Albright (Orr 1943) suggested that the Ai story of the Bible was originally told about the Israelite destruction of the Late Bronze Age city of

Bethel. Sometime during the Iron Age however, when Bethel was a thriving Israelite city and the nearby site of Khirbet et-Tell simply an impressive ancient ruin, the focus of the story was somehow transferred to the latter site. The battles took place at ancient Bethel but were told about Ai (Khirbet et-Tell)(Orr 1943). Two major archaeological expeditions have been conducted at the site of Khirbet et-Tell, between Jericho and Bethel. The first was by Judith Marquet-Krause in the 1930's (Marquet-Krause 1941) and the second by Joseph A. Callaway in the 1960's -70's (Callaway). The archaeological evidence adduced by these excavations is clear. During the Early Bronze Age I B (3100 B.C.E. - 3000 B.C.E.) an unwalled village existed on the Tell. Gradually, this village grew until it developed into a major walled city of 27.5 acres in Early Bronze I (3000 B.C.E. - 2860 B.C.E.), (Callaway 1985). This city was destroyed at the end of the Early Bronze III B (2550 B.C.E. - 2350 B.C.E.), apparently by Amorite raiders (Harrison 1969) and the site remained unoccupied for more than 1100 years. No evidence of a Middle Bronze Age (2200 B.C.E. - 1500 B.C.E.) or a Late Bronze Age (1500 B.C.E. - 1250 B.C.E.) settlement has been found at the site (Zevit 1985).

The top of Khirbet et-Tell was resettled as a small, unwalled village at the beginning of Iron Age I A (1229 B.C.E. - 1125 B.C.E.)(Zevit 1985). This village revealed two archaeological phases. The village was then abandoned towards the beginning of Iron Age I B (1125 B.C.E. - 1050 B.C.E.). There was no further ancient occupation of the site. Callaway (1985) stated that his joint expedition to Ai worked nine seasons between 1964-1976 and spent nearly \$200,000 only to "*eliminate the historical underpinning of the Ai account of the Bible.*" (Callaway 1985).

While W.F. Albright concludes that Ai was a story transferred from the destruction of Bethel, and Callaway and Marquet-Krause deny the historical underpinnings of the biblical literary account of Ai's destruction, Ziony Zevit (1985) then enters the picture. Zevit then readjusts the Albright theory to conclude that the biblical text was based upon the site of Ai (Khirbet et-Tell), for the explicit geographical information makes it clear. However, Zevit theorizes that the story of Ai arose after the abandonment of the Iron Age village of Ai (1985).

In contrast to these theories, L.H. Vincent (Free 1950) presents an option that allows for the historicity of the biblical account. Vincent's proposal argues that Ai was utilized by Bethel as a military installation. That is, the Canaanites of Bethel were using the ruins at Ai as a temporary military outpost against the Israelite invaders. However, while this project considers Vincent's proposal to be valuable as an effort to settle the Ai controversy, it does possess some significant problems (Free 1950). However, whatever the function of Ai, the simple fact is that it did not contain a significant permanent settlement until the iron age and thus neither the maximalist or mainstream dating system fits the site of Ai.

It is therefore clear that there is NO archaeological evidence to support a maximalist date of Joshua conquest within the 15th century B.C.E. This thesis shall therefore move through the historical epochs of the 14th through to the 13th century B.C.E. In doing so this thesis can focus on the 13th century in order to note the sites associated with this more accepted age of Joshua conquest.

From a view of the historical progression toward the 13th century there were some interesting events in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. In the 14th century B.C.E. It does seem clear that the Egyptian ascendancy that was propitiated through the vassal kings of Canaanite city-states was clearly eroded during the reigns of Amenophis III (1405-1368) and of Ahkenaton (1377-1358) (LaSor 1982). It is also clear that "renegade elements" known as the Habiru were attempting to capitalize on the erosion of Egyptian rule over Canaan (Aharoni 1977 1982). It is against this background that this project can understand how it was that the Hebrews came into tenancy of the land. As two of the El-Amarna letters show, Shechem had a history of acts of disloyalty toward Pharaoh. In the first, Biridiya of Megiddo, a loyal Egyptian vassal, accuses Labayu governor of Shechem of raiding his territory with designs to capture Megiddo.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ One letter from Amarna notes this the very clear call for help from this band of criminal nomadic people under the leadership of Labayu:
To: Pharaoh My Lord, My Sun!

From: Biridiya, Governor of Megiddo

Your servant renews his oath of loyalty to Pharaoh by bowing to his feet seven times seven times.

Pharaoh should know that since he recalled his archers to Egypt, Labayu, Governor of Shechem, has not stopped raiding my territory. We cannot shear our sheep, nor even leave the city for fear of Labayu's soldiers. Because you have not replaced the archers, Labayu is now strong enough to attack the city of Megiddo itself. If Pharaoh does not see fit to reinforce the city, Labayu will capture it. The people of Megiddo are already suffering from hunger and disease.

I beg Pharaoh to send one hundred soldiers to protect Megiddo from Labayu or he will certainly capture the city"

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Labayu answers the charge that he was revolting against Pharaoh by expanding his domain in taking Megiddo in the following correspondence.¹⁵⁴ From this letter we know that Pharaoh's provincial governor was still at least a "figure head" ruler in Canaan (and may be the actual "king"). Likely, Pharaoh's official presided over a territory of several city-states. However large the region, it is clear that Megiddo and Shechem were sister vassal cities, locked in political competition. We may assume that the political power that each exercised as well as the political arrangement was more or less comparable.

¹⁵⁴ Amarna letter states:

To: Pharaoh, my Lord, my Sun!

Your servant, who is less than the dust under your feet, renews his oath of loyalty to Pharaoh by bowing seven times seven times.

I have received Pharaoh's letter. Your fears are unfounded. I am far too insignificant to be a threat to my Pharaoh's lands. I am and always have been a faithful servant of Pharaoh. The proof that I am neither a criminal nor a rebel can be seen in my regular payment of tribute and my willingness to obey all of the commands of your provincial governor. Despite the fact that wicked lies have been spoken against me, my lord pharaoh has not taken the time to look personally into my case. The only crime that can be charged against me is that I invaded Gezer. This is based, however, on the Pharaoh's confiscation of my own lands. Milkilu has committed even worse offenses than I have and no move has been made to take his possessions.

On another occasion, Pharaoh wrote me concerning my son. I had no idea that he was consorting with the Habiru! I have since handed him over to Addaya. Even if my lord wrote concerning my wife, I would not withhold her. I would not even refuse to obey Pharaoh's command to thrust a bronze dagger into my heart

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It is clear that each city-state was fairly significant. Both governors had scribes who obviously knew Akkadian, the international language of diplomacy, as members of their administration. They also commanded armies (Aharoni 1977 1982) (Bimson 1982). The fact that Biridiya requested one hundred soldiers suggest that these armies were relatively small in that only one hundred soldiers were needed to assure Megiddo safety from threat of Labayu's forces.

It is clear from the El Amarna letters that the Habiru or Apiru were considered an "annoyance" in terms of the countryside. It is also clear that Shechem quickly agreed to the Habiru presence as the Amarna letters mentioned that even the son of the ruler of Shechem was allied with the Habiru.¹⁵⁵

One issue is clear, this semi-nomadic people were present in the hinterland, and this restricted travel and trade within the city-states from the general period of approximately 1450 - 1300 B.C.E. In addition, the nature of the Habiru peoples' activities was identified to be military and economic in nature, as is made clear by a letter from Abdu-Heba of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ An Amarna letter testifies to the connection between Shechem and this semi-nomadic terrorist group, "Labayu's own son has been found to be cavorting with their renegade bands and has since been handed over to Addaya, (who was apparently empowered to punish the wayward son of the governor."

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¹⁵⁶ Amarna Letter from the King of Jerusalem (translation) indicates that the Habiru threat limiting travel between city-states:

It should also be noted that the Habiru people did not comprise all the Canaanite peoples in the hinterland regions. Some scholars argue that this affirms a connection of ethnicity between the Habiru and the proto-Israelite conquest in the Joshua and Judges literary accounts (Albright 1942) (Free 1950). Indeed, some scholars also point to the linguistic range of meaning attributed to the "Habiru".¹⁵⁷ Such scholars contend that

"To the king, my Lord, thus speaks Abdu-Heba,...While the king, my Lord lives, I will say to the commissioner of the king, my Lord: "Why do you favour the Hapiru and are opposed to the rulers?" And thus I am accused before the king, my Lord. Because it is said: "Lost are the territories of the king...seized everything, and ...the land of Egypt... Oh king, my Lord, there are no garrison troops here!... May the king take care of his land! ...I repeat: Allow me to enter the presence of the king, my Lord, and let me look into both eyes of the king, My Lord. But the hostility against me is strong, and I cannot enter the presence of the king, my Lord. May the king send garrison troops, in order that I may enter and look into the eyes of the king my Lord. So certain as the king, my Lord, lives, when the commissioners come, I will say: Lost are the territories of the king. Do you not hear to me? All; the rulers are lost...my Lord, send troops of archers, the kings has no more lands. The Hapiru sack the territories of the king, If there are archers (here) this year, all the territories of the king will remain(intact); but if there are no archers, the territories of the king, my Lord, will be lost! To the king, my Lord thus writes Abdu-Heba, your servant. He conveys eloquent words to the king, my Lord. All the territories of the king, my Lord, are lost."

Internet Article Accessed Feb. 21/01

Address:

<http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/a-abdu-hebal.htm>

¹⁵⁷ The historical use of the term "Habiru" carries a triangle of meanings including: 1. A lower class/ formerly slave people; 2. A disruptive country-side military force; 3. An ethnically diverse but unified group.

this supports the recorded trend of local alliances of Canaanite towns joining the Hebrew/Israelite league and become culturally and economically integrated.¹⁵⁸ At present however the debate still rages on this issue (Scheffler 2001).

One thing is clear, from the 16th to the mid 14th century, Canaan was a region under the overall sovereignty of Egypt, with functional military power being held by Kings of the larger city-states that claimed for themselves districts of town & cities (Aharoni 1977). Within each city was a king that claimed rule over a zone of hinterland and hence was responsible for the safety of a significant pastoralist population. What made each zone distinct was the pastoralism embedded within a larger urban regional economy. Semi-nomadic pastoralists in close symbiotic relationships with farmers in surrounding villages and merchants in the larger cities. While they may have appeared to be radically distinct from their sedentary neighbours because of their primacy to animal husbandry, their use of tents in seasonal movements, and their tribal political organization, they were in reality agrarian professionals who exchanged milk products, meat and wool for fashioned commodities and grain (Finkelstein).

These Canaanite pastoralists undoubtedly came to form an integral part of the regional political & economic system, and had to coexist with the sedentary states that claimed sovereignty to the region where they lived (Barfield).

¹⁵⁸ Judges 1-3 gives clear indication of this type of integration.

The prosperity of the city-states of the kingdoms of Canaan and Syria depended largely on trade. With such subjugation by more powerful kingdoms these powerful kingdoms were expected to provide some benefits to the city-states. Namely the advantages of a secure seat on the throne for the local leader, military support in case of aggression by their (Dever 1987: 159) neighbours, and assurance that trade routes would remain open (Anati 1963).⁹⁰ However it is evident that the Habiru people and their league of rural populations did indeed present significant pressure upon the city-states and their economies.¹⁵⁹

This project will now shift to exploring the data relating specifically to the 13th and 12th centuries in order to glean information that may have served as an inspiration event for part of the Deuteronomistic Joshua legends. The premise of this examination is that there is recognition that the relation between history and fiction is an intimate one. There is the interaction of subjectivity and relativism that will inevitably blur the historical explanation of the historic facts (Scheffler 2001).

The blurring of the essential facts and the narrative of *history* has also occurred in the Joshua legends. Indeed the

⁹⁰ Anati, E. (1963) IN: Edwards, I.E.S. (1973: 506).

⁹¹ Albright, W.F. (1966) IN: Edwards I.E.S. (1973: 507).

¹⁵⁹ This "mixed multitude" is mentioned by Mendenhall as the group that rose against the city-states to effect a "peasant revolt". While this project argues that there indeed a "mixed horde", and economic impact, the actual control of the land was rapid and not the "slow infiltration" championed by Mendenhall.

blurring is so deep and number of myths so broad that it is at times difficult to clarify what is indeed fact. In an attempt to cut between the issues of fiction and fact this project will examine the issues of Israelite emergence in the 13th century in order to bring into focus some of these historic facts.

The scholarly consensus relating to the date of the 13th century is formulated for a number of reasons. However while there is a general consensus that the 13th century is the time of the emergence of Israel the issues of exodus and conquest are still greatly contested. Indeed, while this project has taken a stance that the exodus is not historical (in order to focus only on the initial conquest narrative), for the purpose of discussion the question of Egyptian exodus will be touched upon at this time(Dever 2000).

In general the 13th century theory of exodus and conquest are based upon three main arguments. The first is the identification of Pithom and Raamses in Exodus 1:1 (Albright 1930). The second issue is the contentious archaeological evidence pointing to the date of 1230 B.C.E (LaSor 1982). Finally, there is the evidence for few to no organized cities in the trans-Jordan region from the Middle to Late bronze ages, also known as Nelson Glueck's "Gap theory" (LaSor 1982).

The starting point is the Deuteronomistic textual evidence within the exodus legend itself. To begin, various writers have used the information present in the opening chapter of Exodus where the main thrust of the text is that the Egyptians force the Hebrews to construct the cities of Pithom and Raamses. Most scholars who support the 13th century date and affirm some exodus/ conquest event actually occurred infer that the city was

built just before the exodus by order of Rameses II. To determine the validity of this inference, it is essential to review the physical evidence.¹⁶⁰

In order to begin with this study it is clear that much of the exodus account is largely mythical in nature. In contrast it is fair to say that archaeology has done some significant work in providing the "fact" of the physical legacy of this civilization so that we can separate it from the *legend* of the exodus account (Glueck 1970). Of particular note in this is the issue that trans-Jordanian cities could not have been conquered, at least not according to the mythic timeline of the larger biblical account (Glueck 1970). The reason that this is clear is that while Numbers 21 and Deuteronomy 3 among other passages mention trans-Jordanian cities and kings being conquered, such cities per se did not exist during the purported period of conquest (according to the early dating model) (Glueck 1970).

The fact that much of the legends in the conquest cycles are related to the 13th century can be understood when one examines the archaeological evidence. One example of the wider interpretation of this evidence can be found in the work of the likes of Nelson Glueck (1970), who carried out archaeological research in the area east of the Jordan during the 1930's.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Albright, Noth, Rowley and Wright all support this general assumption though there is some disagreement of the intricacies of the actual nature and function of the exodus from Egypt.

¹⁶¹ Glueck's book (1970) concluded that the kingdoms of Sihon and Og could not have existed before the end of the 13th century B.C.E., because between 1900 and 1250 B.C.E. the region was not urbanized.

Glueck made it clear that the Trans-Jordan region was inhabited exclusively by semi-nomadic a people during the 16th - 15th centuries and therefore any mention of trans-Jordanian conquest of cities is false (when one assumes the biblical timeline). However, since such cities did emerge in the middle of the 13th century it would be possible that some of these cities could have been conquered by an exodus horde (Glueck 1970).¹⁶²

It is clear therefore that portions of the exodus legends in Numbers and Deuteronomy do appear to be local legend products based upon some inspiration events that occurred after 1250 B.C.E. This in itself is a strong reason to examine the 13th and 12th century archaeological data, for it is entirely possible that if one mythic aspect of the exodus/ conquest narrative has its origins in this time period there will be others. Indeed archaeology relating to the Joshua fable yields a plethora of information about "inspiration events" that are later formulated into the Joshua conquest mythology.

One of the most significant finds relating to the 13th century, as an inspiration event for the Joshua myth, came at the site of Hazor. According to archaeological interpretation Hazor was a strategic fortified Canaanite city located in northern Israel. According to the Joshua fable it was captured in battle and destroyed in the early campaigns (Joshua 11).

¹⁶² Glueck's hypothesis was based upon archaeological work carried out from 1933 through 1938. While Glueck published many of his findings between 1938 and 1951 it was in a 1970 revised edition of his book that Glueck notes some weaknesses in his theories and acknowledged that some small settlements did exist in this region, though the majority of the population was semi-nomadic.

While there may be discrepancies in some of the mythic content relating to other cities, the account of Hazor is clear that it was burned in conquest (LaSor).

In a study of Hazor, J. Garstang in the 1920's revealed signs of a minor fire¹⁶³, but no clear destruction layer that could be related to the 15th century B.C.E (Free 1950). After a more extensive survey by Y. Yadin in the 1950's it was revealed that a major destruction of the city had occurred in the 13th century B.C.E. The city was only lightly occupied until around the 11th century when it was heavily fortified, was destroyed again in the 8th century, and again rebuilt (LaSor 1982). According to Yadin's interpretation, the archaeological evidence of the excavation could fit within the broad outlines of the biblical mythology, but could not support a date in the 15th century B.C.E. Indeed it was Yadin's conclusion that a date within the 13th century best fit the information at the Hazor site.

It is clear that both the Trans-Jordanian sites and the Hazor site do not correlate with the mythic time-line proposed in biblical lore. However even with the significant problems found with the 15th century date for the exodus some scholars still have a problem placing an actual exodus and Israelite conquest within the 13th century because the Deuteronomistic mythic structure does not support it. However, when one takes the tack of this project one can understand how the significant events in the tribal past have been reworked into the biblical mythology of the present text of Joshua. For when one

¹⁶³ While Garstang did interpret this minor burn layer to the 15th century

reconstructs the history based upon archaeological fact it is clear that the Joshua account is a conglomerate of older myths and legends tied into a nationalistic propaganda package.

Other evidence that suggests that 13th century B.C.E. events are related to the Joshua legend can be seen in the excavations of the cities of Lachish, Debir and Bethel. At each of these sites mentioned in Joshua 10 archaeological studies reveal a burn layer in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C.E. One the surface at least this does provide some support for the moderate scholars that contend that a biblical style exodus and conquest actually occurred in the 13th century. However, this project is clear not to make that assumption. For while some archaeologists may make such suggestions or suppositions, there is to date no direct evidence to link the destruction of these cities with the Israelites. The biblical accounts do not say that the Israelites burned the cities (the exception is suggestions in Joshua 8 referring to Bethel). Indeed it is very likely based upon an understanding of the political nature of this time period that the destruction levels are the result of Egyptian raids into the area and in fact be totally unrelated to any Israelite conquest.

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In addition to the archaeological evidence supporting the 13th century as the focal point of many of the conquest myths of the Joshua legend there is also some significant peripheral evidence that can support the 13th century as a source of much of the mythic inspiration. To begin with there is the clear records

¹⁶⁴ Finkelstein and Silberman note that the inevitable clash between the Egyptian and Hittite empires was undoubtedly the cause of a great deal of destruction the border region, which these cities are a part of.

of Egyptian links and incursions into Canaan during this time period.

Since the area of Palestine occupies a narrow strip of land connecting Egypt with the great empires to the north, it was frequently the victim of wars and raids between these empires seeking to establish spheres of influence. The historical record regarding the wars under the Pharaohs Sethos I (Seti, 1306-1290 B.C.E. approx.) and Rameses II (1290-1224 B.C.E), and the Hittites (Finkelstein 2001). There were battles and incursions that ranged back and forth through Palestine. A peace treaty finally led to a long era of peace between the two empires, and allowed the reign of Rameses II to be one of the most powerful and prosperous of all the pharaohs (Finkelstein et al 2001).

If indeed the myths of Joshua were to be taken as historical then the Israelites would have been continually battered by the incursions of these two pharaohs as they marched north to engage the Hittites in Syria. Given this protracted warfare between the Hittites and Egypt with Palestine in the centre, it is inconceivable that there would be no mythic record of it (if indeed the bible was to be taken as historical). This suggests that either the Israelites were not yet in the land, or simply that the bible is not to be taken as historically literal but mythologically. ¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ The researcher does acknowledge that this is an argument from silence that is difficult to prove. There is no need to conclude a 13th century date from the lack of biblical reference to the Egyptian incursions since there are other explanations possible for that silence. It is also clear that the Egyptians were only interested in battling the Hittites and their supporters and it can be argued that such battles did not effect the Israelite peoples that lived at this time. This does

4.5. Possible History of the Source Legends

Declaring that the present text Joshua account was not historical does not nullify the containment of some truth within the mythology. As was already noted with the archaeological evidence of destructions relating to cities mentioned in Joshua's conquest, there is also clear evidence of settlement patterns within the central hill country. From this evidence many models have emerged, the most recent of which is the symbiotic model. This theory relies heavily on archaeological data (Scheepers 1992).¹⁶⁶ The advocates of this theory note that the archaeological evidence clearly supports a new settlement pattern in the early hill country in the time from approximately 1200 - 1000 B.C.E. The material culture displays a clear mixture of old and new objects, so that the Iron Age undoubtedly represents a continuation of the Late Bronze Age culture in all areas except architecture. For that reason, the Early Iron Age settlements cannot be regarded as splinters of the earlier Canaanite city-states, and the progress in culture can be explained by the close contact that these settlers, who could

not however provide any support for the bible as history, but rather is simply meant to be an acknowledgement that there is a weakness to the argument presented.

¹⁶⁶ Coenie Scheepers (1992: 132) notes the primary conquest models of Albright, the peasant revolt model of Mendenhall & Gottwald, the peaceful infiltration model of Albrecht Alt and Martin Noth. Finally Scheepers notes that scholars like Volkmar Fritz and Michael Rowton support the Symbiotic Model.

only be the proto-Israelites, must have had with Canaanite culture (Davies 1999).

Clearly there is a great deal of weight placed upon the archaeological evidence when discussing the origins of Israel, and the nature of conquest. This reliance upon the physical record is indeed of great benefit to the understanding of history and the possible range for interpreting the Bible.

In order to determine any possible inspiration events relating to the Joshua mythological tradition this project must portray a clear outline of Israelite history. Following Finkelstein's assertion of Israel as emerging from within Canaan this project will now provide a clear historical/ cultural framework. Therefore in order to identify what E. Scheffler (1992) calls the *relics of reminiscence* of Israelite conquest such relics must fit within this proposed historical structure. However it must also be cautioned that any direct appeal to archaeological destruction layers is not accurate in identifying the date or nature of any *Israelite* conquest. Indeed, to attempt to identify destruction layers associated with these events is based upon faulty assumptions that are not supported by the overall literary account, nor secular history. Indeed, direct appeal to such site-specific data often yields inconclusive or confusing results resulting in a myriad of theories. Therefore the revised structure of this project will try to balance these theories, and the popular dates of the origins of proto-Israel are incorporated.

In order to clearly evaluate this project's model of the history of Canaan and its semi-nomadic peoples it is obvious that much of the current variability of the period relating to

sedentarization must be cleared up. For the historical inconsistency of interpretations relating to surveys of early Israelite settlements has itself caused a great deal of confusion. For example, Aharoni's survey of the emergence of sites in close proximity to each other suggests that the late thirteenth century was the time of Israelite settlement (Aharoni 1957). This difficulty comes largely from the fact that much of the Iron I culture displays continuity with the Canaanite culture of the Late Bronze period. Therefore, while Yadin (1979) argued for an earlier date for various sites, others interpreted these sites as much later. However, Brimson (1991) argues that Bryant Wood's model for dating these sites has finally brought some refined insight to this issue of variability, setting the start of Israelite sedentarization at the transition point between the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.E. (Bimson 1991). ¹⁶⁷

In light of this structure of dating the sedentarization of Israel, this project shall explore what ages and epochs best fit with the Deuteronomic 1 and 2 general sources, and most specifically the Source Legend-1. This project proposes that the Source Legend-1 formation process followed a Six Stage Model, which mimics the formation legacy of proto-Israelite semi-nomadic peoples. This six stage evolution begins in the 16th century with a conquest legend of semi-nomadic peoples and extends to a 13th/12th century formalization that occurred with proto-Israelite sedentarization.

¹⁶⁷ It is contested that on the basis of Wood's model no "settlement site" can be dated with a high level of confidence before the early twelfth century B.C.E. IN: Bimson, J.J. (1991: 4).

4.5.1. Stage One

The first stage was the existence of a proto-Israelite semi-nomadic people group throughout Canaan. This first stage may have included a Hivite tribal political alliance (Bimson 1991 1981).¹⁶⁸ This initial phase was likely typified by tribal wars and tribal displacement of the hinterland pastoralists. It seems reasonable that control of rural water resources and inland trade routes would also be central in this stage (Zertal 1988). This first stage likely also included the direct pillage of livestock and land as is common in tribal warfare. This model clearly has aspects that serve as a pre-cursor of the *Peaceful Settlement or Infiltration Model* proposed by Albrecht Alt and Martin Noth. This is often identified as the proto-Israelite group (Finkelstein 1988) (Davies 1999) that began their pastoralist lifestyle in the early to mid sixteenth century B.C.E. (some identify this group as the Hyksos expelled from Egypt) (Finkelstein 1988). Since this is the time Kenyon (1960) sets for the destruction of Jericho, this project places the *inspiration event* of the *Source Legend-1* at approximately 1550 B.C.E.¹⁶⁹

4.5.2. Stage Two

This project's second stage of *SL-1* formation is: 2. *The Pastoralist Negotiation Age*, in which the various tribes of the

¹⁶⁸ Such a Hivite alliance is certainly recognized in the second stage of this model. Archaeology attests to this in the later controversies surrounding Shechem's involvement with the Habiru peoples in the El Amarna letters.

¹⁶⁹ The parts of the source legend relating directly to a 1550 B.C.E. inspiration event are noted in appendix B

central hill country began to forge alliances.¹⁷⁰ This was likely done as the Hyksos suffered defeat at the hands of the Egyptians at approx. 1520 B.C.E. and the Egyptians then supported the city-states, making them vassal powers. This phase connects with the process observed by Mendenhall and Gottwald, and therefore agrees with the diametrically opposed nature of the once stable dimorphic economy of Canaan. This obviously involved the beginning of tensions between the various remaining Canaanites as is reflected in the literary perspective of this era. The consequential relationship was that while the city-states were largely dependent upon this emerging pastoralist union for resources, their ties with Egypt made for an anxious economic mood. Further, practical mobility for any type of trade or military operation was somewhat restricted as this tribal alliance gained control of the hinterland. The practical result of such a new environment would likely not be seen in history for at almost a century, as the dimorphic societal structure began to crumble.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that the source legend does indicate the forging of alliances between groups over against the urban centres. This trend sets the stage for later troubles in the Amarna age and is an accepted fact of proto-Israelite history.

¹⁷¹ Biddle clarifies that the literary structure actually gives a picture that is very much contrary to the "traditional interpretation of the conquest". Such structure suggests that at the end of the "conquest" period, the Hebrew people were indeed in danger due to the Canaanite elements remaining both in their midst and along the fringes of the region. The Gibeonites who were incorporated into the conquering pastoralists and worked as "hewers of wood and drawers of water"; the Anakim along the region of Gaza; Gath and Ashdod, Gesher and Maacah, the Jebusites and the inhabitants of Gezer. From all of these structural commentaries, the text is clearly expressing that while Joshua was intent on "keeping the morale of the people up" the actual

It is through this time period that story of the 1550 B.C.E. *SL-1 inspiration event* was told over campfires and formed part of the identity of this proto-Israelite people. Due to the continually stressful time between urban and pastoralist peoples, the theme of conquest over a city would be a very popular theme. Of special interest would be the story of Ahab collusion with this conquering force. It is this time of increased pressure between urban and pastoralist peoples that likely served as the impetus of the final cycle of the SL-1 and its account of finally "taking the land".¹⁷²

4.5.3. Stage Three

The affirmation of the existence of Stage 2 comes with the evidence for Stage 3, "The Economic Sturm Und Drang". As the semi-nomadic population develops better relationships in this pastoralist alliance¹⁷³ and begins to exercise its collective

state of conquest was tentative at best. Based Upon: Biddle, Mark E. "Literary Structures in the Book of Joshua" *Review and Expositor* (Vol. 95, 1998): 196

¹⁷²This general information likely reflects the continuing struggles that occur through the second stage of legend formation:

When Jabin King of Hazor heard of this, he sent word to Jobab king of Madon, to the kings of Shimron and Acshaph. All these kings joined forces and made camp together at the Waters of Merom, to fight against Israel.

The Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them." *Joshua waged war against all these kings for a long time and Joshua took the entire land.*

¹⁷³ As supported by the Judges 1 Deuteronomistic account.

power through disruption of trade, the political will of the region breaks. This is evidenced by the dramatic shift in the interest that Egypt has with the region during the Amarna age. This stage is clearly an aspect of proto-Israel's history as Lemche (1988) argues it is part of the "evolutionary Israel" (Lemche 1988). This too is also a key concept of Mendenhall and Gottwald's "Peasant Revolt" model (Mendenhall 1970). Further, the historical literary evidence of the Amarna letters provides ample evidence of the nature of the "economic sturm und drang" (storm and stress). It is likely through this time period that SL-1 took upon its mnemonic cyclic structure. For it is clear that such a story would be a clear inspirational story for a people constantly disrupting the life of urban centers.

4.5.4. Stage Four

The next phase is more difficult to offer a clear description, except to characterize it as Stage 4, *Collapse and Latency*. Clearly this phase is key to Alt's view of *Israelite* origins (Bimson 1988), though this project states that this is but one phase in proto-Israelite origins, and not its only mode of development (Drinkard 1998). This is the stage where the dimorphic economic structure between pastoralists and urban centers has collapsed. Although occasionally an urban centre would attempt to expand its power, this period was not typified by pastoralist pressure upon the cities. Indeed this was largely a period of the tribe known as "Israel" becoming a latent part of the regional structure, and part of a massive group of regional pastoralists. The character of this period is supported by a model put forward by Coote and Whitelam, as they suggest that Israel's origins are to be found in this context at the close of the Late Bronze Age (Coote et al 1987). This period also sees the rise of the Philistine's as a major power along

the coastal region.¹⁷⁴ The decline of inter-regional trade, the relative latency of the region, and the rise of the Philistine threat would then all likely factor into Egypt becoming once again involved in the region. Therefore, for economic and security reasons the Pharaohs of Egypt began campaigns of the Phoenician/ Philistine regions, and then naturally in-land to Canaan. Therefore this fourth stage of "Collapse and Latency" ended in the reign of Ramesses in the thirteenth century B.C.E., giving birth to a crucial stage in Israelite identity.

4.5.5. Stage Five

According to this project, stage five can be characterized as the *Foreign Oppression* phase. In this stage the proto-Israelite tribal people, with their strong commonalities with their Canaanite neighbours begin to shift their preferred lifestyle. This phase comes about due to the military oppression the region experiences under Ramesses II and his successor Merenptah. With the common oppression of all the people groups of the region, the Israelite socio-cultural taboo against the sedentary life-style is reduced. This project agrees with Lemche's (1988) claim that the thirteenth century also brought with it significant technological advances that allowed for the adaptation of the Israelite pastoralists to a sedentary agrarian life-style (Lemche 1988). This is also the phase at which Albright identified "destruction" of specific sites traditionally linked with the conquest of Joshua. However, it is evident that the regional turmoil and pressure from Egypt, with a massive regular army is a more likely cause of these thirteenth century layers.

¹⁷⁴ As is suggested by the Deuteronomistic literary account in Judges.

However, while Finkelstein (2001); Coote (1986) and Lemche (1991) all view the process of sedentarization to have begun prior to the conquest by Merenptah, Bimson (1991) points out that Wood's refined model for dating this era makes it clear that sedentarization did not start until shortly after this conquest.

Therefore, since the Merenptah inscription of the famous stele predates the sedentarization process, the central region to which the stele refers indicates a nomadic people. As Bimson (1991) points out, Finkelstein¹⁷⁵ has assembled archaeological evidence for a large population of pastoralists existing during the Late Bronze Age. In Finkelstein's view then this population emerged into Israel during the Iron Age I. However, as Bimson (1991) makes clear, the nomadic people were viewed as "Israel", and not merely "ancestral to Israel" as Finkelstein claims (Bimson 1991: 19).

Bimson (1991) makes the point very clear that the Stele also refers to Israel, not as a city-state, but as a regional grouping of people. This issue is argued in both the structure of the stele and the semantic phrase with specific reference towards Israel. The resulting picture is that Merenptah conquered three city-states and a region in the central area of Canaan, of "foreign peoples" called "Israel" (Bimson 1991).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Here Bimson notes Finkelstein's article: "Excavations at Shiloh 1981-1984": 123

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix C about the Mernenptah Stele
"Understanding Israel's Position in the Stele"

Since there is a co-variation between oppression and sedentarization; and a time-order relationship it is logical to say that, in part at least, the oppression of Egypt caused this cultural shift of Israel.

Of significant interest to this project is the archeology of this time period. For this period is when virtually all of the information linking the Joshua *present text* to archaeological sites of the 13th and 12th centuries is from the Dtr-2 source. In addition since this project has already noted a coastal and northern focus in the Dtr-2 history (in contrast to the central and southern focus of the Dtr-1 history) it is more logical to assume that this northern archaeology is in actual fact not connected with any SL-1 inspiration events. However, it is likely that the inspiration events of the Dtr-2 stories originate in this century. This is clearly a logical conclusion given the overwhelming scholarly consensus about the importance of the 13th century B.C.E.

4.5.6. Stage Six

This final stage in formulation of the structure of the *Source Legend-1* took place in a key phase of the proto-Israelite population. It is at this phase *Israel* becomes recognizable to archaeology, is Stage Six: *Sedentarization*. This final phase is characterized by a shift in the reign of Ramesses III to an emerging society that formed a sedentary agrarian society. The

Model based upon

Bimson, J. 1991. "Mernenptah's Israel and Recent Theories of Israelite Origins" **Journal for the Study of the Old Testament** 49: 21-22.

pottery of this hill-country though referred to as Israelite, likely became dominant in the pottery repertoire of the hill country sites because they were ideally suited to the largely self-sufficient economy of these people (Bimson 1991).

This final phase of Israelite origins is the one that has the greatest amount of support. Therefore this project can agree with the consensus described by Philip Davies. For as Davies (2000) notes, *"Their material culture is generally indistinguishable from that of the surrounding population ...They established, for whatever reason, a new conglomeration of settlements in the central highlands¹⁷⁷ of Palestine ... the need for cooperation and the nonurban lifestyle almost certainly encouraged a sense of ethnic identity. Whether these people yet called themselves "Israel," I have no idea."* (Davies 2000).

From this point it is clear that there is a fairly rapid rebuilding process undertaken with strong Egyptian influence and support. In this period we see the reigns of Ramses III to VI followed by a decline in Egyptian influence around 1150 B.C.E. (Scheffler, 2001:52) According to this construct scholars have deduced that while Israel was under strong Egyptian influence there was little danger from other traditional super-powers. However smaller people groups also under the Egyptian control, began to flex their political muscles as that influence waned. At this time Israel apparently functioned as a somewhat segmented society with both semi-nomadic and sedentary groups

¹⁷⁷ It is important to remember that Davies here is speaking of an "Iron-Age" Israel. According to the traditional biblical chronology this would be a description of the time period of the Judges.

with no strong political structure or military capacity (Scheffler 2001).¹⁷⁸

While it must also be noted that even after the process of settlement there is still much of history that influences the formation of the Joshua legends and/or the transmission of historically based oral myths. However, an interesting phenomenon occurs at this time in Israelite development. As Finkelstein's (2001) thorough survey of sacral sites notes, there becomes evidence of a liturgical influence at this time. This liturgical influence is evidenced in the utter absence of pig remains at the sacral sites (the only era when such an absence occurs) (Finkelstein 2001). Such evidence of a strict formalized sacral structure suggests that the authoritarian liturgical nature of the society has taken control of this entire society. This of course suggests that the use of oral legends within this liturgical life would become formalized. As chapter two makes clear, such a formalized societal structure severely limits the natural confabulation of legends and as such this project can conclude that this is the age when the poetic/mnemonic cyclical structure found in *SL-1* was finally set.

¹⁷⁸ Scheffler (2001: 58-63) notes that there are many cultural models for understanding Israel during this period of the "Judges". While a significant portion of the population remained Pastoral nomads there are models like Noth's Amphictyony which suggested that the core of Israelite identity was formed around the *sanctuary* which was the centrepiece of their daily lives. According to Gottwald the retribalisation of this period was a "mixed coalition" of ethnic and socio-economic groups. However Scheffler notes that one issue which is clear is that the religious identity and emphasis upon *Yahwism* was undoubtedly the greatest unifying factor of the Israelites. This will have significant implications later on when this study engages in the nature of oral mythology and natural confabulation of history.

Since this historical survey suggests that the *Source Legend for Dtr-1* had approximately 300 years of oral formation it is expected that a clear mnemonic structure would form (as is noted in the Dtr-1 (SL-1) source). In contrast, the time from the Deuteronomistic-2 source event (particularly Joshua chapter 12-24) in the 13th century until evidence of a strong authoritarian liturgical society that can preserve its form is at most two generations. Therefore we would expect to find structural evidence of peer debate in the account, which interestingly enough is what this project has already noted (in appendix P). Unfortunately, since Dtr-2 is a more convoluted mixture of materials and redactions (Cambell et al 2000), anything beyond this basic structural analysis is not possible within this project.

4.6. Conclusion

The unexpected decision is that while the source legends upon which Dtr-1 and Dtr-2 are based are both proto-Israelite there is little other actual connection. While geographically the information relating to both is similar, the nature of the Dtr-1 legend is concerned primarily with two aspects: #1. The destruction of the city of Jericho. #2. Gaining control of the hinterland regions. In stark contrast Dtr-2 is concerned with the conquest of both the southern and northern cities and specifically the burning/destruction of major cities like Hazor. In addition Dtr-2 is utterly obsessed with Mosaic abolitionist tones, suggesting its influence by the newly formalized liturgical culture of this age.

In addition, the time of separation of the two events is some 300 years, with the inspiration of the *source legend* (SL-1)

of Dtr-1 occurring at approximately 1550 B.C.E. This allowed for several hundred years for natural oral functioning to craft the legend into a poetic mnemonic structure. In contrast, the 13th century saw the inspiration event of Dtr-2 take place and shortly thereafter the settlement and formalization of the liturgical life of "Israel" preserved the basic structure of both great stories in the psyche of this people.

Sometime in the next 300 years these well preserved legends were written down and were from time to time given editorial notations. Since both legends occurred in the pre-liturgical phase of this peoples' history (proto-Israelite) they would likely have been categorized together (in the psyche of the people). This is likely since information is always formulated in schemas and with liturgical and sacral shifts come a shift in schemas. Therefore all events that occurred in the pre-sedentary stage of the proto-Israelite lore would be psychologically categorized together. This categorization would undoubtedly be separate from post-sedentary categorization. As such in the corporate historical narrative of the now sedentary Israelite people, the legends of Jericho's destruction (Dtr-1) and Hazor's destruction (Dtr-2) would be placed together.

Then in the Josianic age and the revival of nationalism further additions would be made to both sources (Campbell et al 2000), with the addition of other information. This editorial/redactor impact was then culminated in Noth's Deuteronomic antiquarian author's attempt to provide a synthesized history of Israel (Peckham 1982).

Unfortunately, this synthesis of sources brought together two separate events in the life of the proto-Israelite people

and was accepted as history for the next 2400 years. It was not until the age of modern archaeology and literary criticism that the truth has been revealed. The question now is, how strong is the case for this separation of the sources, and what does this mean for a modern understanding of the present text of Joshua. These issues will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Foundations of the Fable

The difference between knowledge and belief in their purest forms is that knowledge is a disposition that is constantly subject to corrective modification and updating by experience, while belief is a disposition to behave in a manner that is resistant to correction by experience.

Howard Eichenbaum¹⁷⁹

5.0. Introduction

This project concludes that the Source Legend-1 for the Deuteronomistic-1 segment of the Book of Joshua is an oral account of the 1550 B.C.E. conquest of Jericho. The impact of this on our perspective of a proto-Israel (particularly its conquest history) is astounding. For in essence the maximalist

¹⁷⁹ Howard Eichenbaum and J. Alexander Bodkin clarify the neuropsychology of knowledge and belief and the essential interactions between both for human functioning. It is interesting to note that Bodkin and Eichenbaum note that myth is essential in healthy human functioning as a way to fill in the gaps that exist in "knowledge". The result in healthy individuals is a constant and very normal alteration of belief-driven and knowledge-driven processing that allows for daily living. Through this normal alteration memory is used effectively to guide responses in new situations, and to modify knowledge structures rapidly when circumstances warrant.

It is clear from research like this that the nature and function of myth and legends (based upon inspiration events) grows out of such natural intrapsychic interactions. This very human enterprise is essential not only for the functioning of an individual but for a society as well. In the absence of clear and appropriate knowledge, legends will form.

position is utterly rejected, and the typical mainstream scholarly position is accepted only conditionally.¹⁸⁰ The next step will explore the validity of this conclusion. Finally a discussion of its impact upon biblical scholarship will round out this project.

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5.1. Testing Our Options

In order to validate the conclusions reached, this thesis will employ a simple hypothesis testing procedure to eliminate the other hypotheses. The remaining schema, proposed by this project, will then be examined for its validity in providing a context for the "inspiration event" of the SL-1:

Option #1 is that the SL-1 inspiration event took place at 1405 B.C.E. as is the Deuteronomistic History context. While the maximalist scholars constantly encourage the evidence to point towards this date the simple fact is that the mainstream scholarship does not support this position. The first basic fact is that Kenyon's studies identify the final destruction layer of Jericho as occurring at approximately 1550 B.C.E. In spite of work by scholars like Bryant Wood (1991) the revision of Jericho's date of destruction to this age has been thus far unconvincing.

Option #2 is that the SL-1 inspiration event took place, however the layers of editorial comments into the present text resulted in the misidentification of the sites of Jericho and Ai so that we cannot appeal to archaeology. Such a

¹⁸⁰ The condition for acceptance being that a 13/12 century date of inspiration events applies only to that information contained in the Dtr-2 account from Joshua 12-24 (of the present text format).

misidentification is certainly possible, especially relating to the site of Ai. While scholars still debate the proper location of Ai there is general agreement that it is Khirbet et Tell. However while scholars like Ziony Zevit frequently affirm this location by quoting the DH geographical information, there is no assurance that the DH revisions can be accurately associated with the SL-1 inspiration event. In other words, we do not know for sure whether or not the DH editors (particularly Dtr-2) did not simply add geographical information relating to a site they were familiar with. Such an event would result in fixing the geographical site related to the SL-1 (though the SL-1 itself has no geographical information).

However, while the site of Ai remains a question within scholarly circles, there is little controversy relating to the location of Jericho. From the ancient times Jericho has been a well-recognized location northeast of Jerusalem and has always been associated with the significant water resource near its location. Therefore this project will tentatively reject this hypothesis for the sake of furthering research relating to the SL-1.

Option #3 is that there was an approximately 1230 B.C.E. conquest upon which the SL-1 was based. This option is under consideration due to the popularity of this time period, especially with biblical archaeologists who insist on using the present-text model of Joshua for setting its date (relating to archaeology). There are some fairly obvious problems relating to this option, not the least of which is that both Jericho and Ai were destroyed hundreds of years previous (in Ai's case 1000 years previous). In addition, while northern archaeological sites like Hazor do contain destruction layers that relate to

this age, this does not necessarily relate to the SL-1. For as this project has clearly noted the SL-1 is not concerned with the destruction of northern sites like Hazor (or indeed central cities like Bethel). Indeed, the SL-1 never mentions the destruction of Hazor¹⁸¹ and it only alludes to war waged against the rulers of the Northern cities in the final and most questionable section of the SL-1.¹⁸²

The fact is that virtually all of the information linking the Joshua text to archaeological sites of the 13th and 12th centuries is from the Dtr-2 source. In addition since this project has already noted a coastal and northern focus in the Dtr-2 history (in contrast to the central and southern focus of the Dtr-1 history) it is more logical to assume that this northern archaeology is in actual fact not connected with any SL-1 inspiration events. It does however raise an interesting issue relating to the inspiration events of the Dtr-2 source and the possibility of inspiration events in 13th and 12th century. This is particularly interesting in that the Dtr-2 material does appear younger (a less vital authoritarian oral formation) than the D1/SL-1 source¹⁸³. Unfortunately this issue remains outside of the scope of this paper.

¹⁸¹ The final section of the SL-1 legend only alludes to the control of territory and not to the destruction of cities.

¹⁸² Campbell and O'Brien (2001) argue that the section relating to the northern cities was part of a national revision of the legend prior to the exilic compilation of the present text of Joshua.

¹⁸³ Based upon structural issues relating to orality and legend formation this project argued in the previous chapters that the Dtr.1 source was older than Dtr.2. (or at the very least the Dtr. 2 was the result of more community peer discussion than was Dtr.1).

Since it is clear that the SL-1 is not connected with the DH information that relates to the destruction of cities in the 13th and 12th centuries this option is rejected. The rejection of these fairly significant options forces this project to examine dates that are earlier than the options previously considered.

Option #4 is the possibility that the SL-1 has its inspiration in a conquest of the cities of Jericho and Ai in the Early Bronze III age (2350-2250 B.C.E.). In this time period both the sites of Jericho and Ai are occupied with permanent settlements and thereby make the accounts more logical. However it is assumed that the people lead by (the mythic figure) Joshua were semi-nomadic (as the present-text suggests), and there is no evidence for a significant semi-nomadic population in the area at this time. In addition Kenyon does not that Jericho did suffer a significant destruction in the same general time period as did Ai (in the 3rd Millennium B.C.E.). However, such an extremely old date seems to defy the setting and language in the SL-1 that scholars associate with the mid-2nd Millennium B.C.E. In addition, the SL-1 notes the minor nature of Ai, and in the 3rd Millennium B.C.E. the intact fortification at Khirbet et Tell was extremely impressive. Therefore the option of the SL-1 being based upon 3rd Millennium B.C.E. inspiration event is rejected.

Option #5 is that the SL-1 inspiration event took place at 1550 B.C.E. Such an event would mean that the SL-1 was related to the destruction of a permanent settlement at Jericho and a semi-nomadic population at Ai. It is obvious from Kenyon's research that Jericho was destroyed at this time. It is also apparent from Finkelstein's research that there was a significant pastoralist population in the region at this time.

Therefore at least part of this statement is true and will therefore be tentatively accepted, pending investigation into the nature of Ai.

5.2. A 1550 B.C.E. Legend & The Ai Problem

While there was no permanent settlement at Ai during this century (16th B.C.E.), there is evidence for a large semi-nomadic population within the region at this time. Such evidence, combined with a permanent settlement at Jericho does make this a very viable option. Further the language used in the SL-1 allows for understanding the population of Ai in this light.

There are three key points that must be noted when evaluating the SL-1 and the site of Ai. The first point is that the generic Hebrew term for "city" used in the SL-1 is a broad term that can include any population protected by a guard watch (Strong) (Brown) including an encampment or a city-state. In addition the Hebrew in the SL-1 literally means "The Ruin" (which is clearly a descriptive term for Khirbet et Tell which was/is a fortress ruin from the 3rd Millennium B.C.E.). Finally, the term "King of Ai" may have a fairly broad meaning.

Obviously it is important to evaluate the question relating to the phrase used in the SL-1 myth, "king of Ai". The question is, "Can the text be understood to mean the leader of a Canaanite pastoralist horde or army when the term *Melek* (King) is used?"

This is a serious question that requires some attention. For we must examine the diachrony of the term in its emerging use in biblical literature, and it's more modern and static synchronic meaning (with our European concept of kingship). This project

suggests that such a use of the term is feasible based upon an understanding of the Ugaritic feudal system (Gray 1952). In such a case a military specialist may be referred to as a king, due to their relationship to another king. In this way, this project argues that the diachronic range of the term *Melek* can indeed extend to a simple pastoralist tribal/military leader.

In truly considering this proposition, one must consider whether the Hebrew term *Melek* possesses a range of meaning that extends to that of a military leader. In considering this we suggest that the term carries with it a general concept of "ruler" or "one with dominion over" (Brown et al 1991). From this framework any tribal leader could be properly called "king". Such an understanding clearly frees the text from the synchronic colonial European rigidity of the concept of king, and all the psychological associations intrinsic in a modern understanding of the term.

However, we must remember the heavy Deuteronomic influence upon the text of Joshua. Therefore, it is essential that we show that the term *Melek* have a similar range of meaning during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. For failure to demonstrate this functional range of meaning would result in arguments that the redactors of this period had a more modern understanding of the text. Fortunately, the book of Daniel gives an example that affords the needs of this proposal. For in Daniel, Belshazzar is continuously called "king", yet for many years archaeologists denied that Belshazzar was anything but the oldest son of king Nabonidus. Finally even opponents had to admit that Belshazzar was an important person in the kingdom and perhaps his father's general (Gruenther 1947). As such we can see that the term does

have a flexibility that extends to those who serve as military leaders.

Another example of the functional range of the term can be found in an ancient statue noted by Raaflaub (1988), *"The inscription of the Governor of Gosan - 850 B.C. The inscription in two different languages, are parallel, nearly identical, and each helps to interpret the other. The Assyrian text describes the ruler on whose statue the inscription is written as the "governor of Gosan"; the Aramaic text describes him as "king"."* (Raaflaub 1988: 74).

Since the Assyrian/ Aramaic speaking populations had such an interchangeable concept of governor and king, it is not unreasonable that the Canaanite/ Hebrew populations should also have such an interchangeable and flexible concept (Raaflaub 1988). Whatever the logical progression may be from the 9th century B.C.E. example, the Daniel model still stands. Indeed, it is clear that the term had a significant flexibility during the time of the Deuteronomistic author. Therefore, it is logical to understand the text of SL-1 myth as meaning, "the leader of the pastoralist peoples hiding in at "the Ruin" (Ai)" when it speaks of the, "City of Ai" and the, "King of Ai".

In addition, we have already noted the presence of material that places the context of the SL-1 myth at the transition between the middle and late bronze ages (Hess 1996). This analysis suggests that linguistic and lexical elements that make up the names carry West Semitic characteristics unique to that general period. As this project has already noted about the Hess (1996) study, all non-Israelite names in the SL-1 parallel or contain roots identical to those used in personal names from

that era (Hess 1996). Such evidence suggests that this study ought to accept that the SL-1 occurred during this general time period. Particularly in light of demographic information that allows for a semi-nomadic population (based in the Jericho hinterland) using Ai as a defensive ruin (this issue is discussed in detail in Appendix Q)¹⁸⁴

Through the archaeological evidence supporting the 1550 B.C.E. destruction of Jericho and the demographic evidence supporting the alternate use of Ai as a temporary defensive site (of Jericho's hinterland pastoralists) it is clear that this project can accept that the SL-1 was indeed based upon this 16th century conquest *inspiration event*.

5.3. DISCUSSION

It is clear that there are a plethora of models for understanding the book of Joshua and Israelite origins. Indeed, due to the mountains of evidence, in all the camps, it is a wonder that anyone can hold a strong opinion on the issue. For

¹⁸⁴ It is important to note that while part of the mythic content of the Joshua text may have its roots in the time period of the 16th - 15th century B.C.E. this is not a basis for claiming the text "historical". Rather, as modern examples display, past geo-political circumstances and former myths can be incorporated into later literary works resulting in a mythical history. An excellent example of this in modern literature is the work of Wole Ogundele's evaluation of African oral-mythic narratives and how a cultural narrative is often formulated from myth, folklore intermingled with the politics of nationalism and history. Indeed, Ogundele notes that even in modern literature there can be a displacement of actual history in favour of a revised national narrative. That is, the substitution of myth and culture for history, using a created mythic history that legitimizes current political visions (Ogundele, Wole 2002: 33).

in light of the evidence conclusions can only be held tentatively. Oddly enough there is an interesting cementization of positions within scholarship. On the one side we have the Copenhagen school with the likes of Niels P. Lemche; Thomas L. Thompson and Philip Davies who make excellent points about the issues that plague orality and the historicity of the Bible. On the other side are the Maximalist's with the likes of Baruch Halpern and Bryant Wood, who have an equally insightful view of history and provide critiques to the archaeological findings. Finally we have the centralist Albrightean School, with the likes of William Dever¹⁸⁵ and Anson Rainey. All three groups gathering as many disciples as possible, in their battle for acceptance as the defining model for proto-Israelite conquest. This project is no different from the other groups on that point.

For while this paper provides new insight into the inspiration events of Joshua's conquest the topic is an old one. Since this is a topic that has been discussed for thousands of years there will undoubtedly be past scholars who agree with this paper's conclusions. Indeed there are two key figures that agree with the generalist aspects of this project, and they are figures that cannot be discounted easily: William Albright and Flavius Vespanius Josephus.

While this thesis has not acknowledged the existence of an Egyptian Exodus, it does acknowledge that in the literary schema an exodus is associated with Joshua conquest legends. Therefore

¹⁸⁵ It should be noted that William Dever is very much against being called a "devotee of Albright's temple" as P. Davies calls him. IN: Dever, W. "Contra Davies" On Line Article accessed May 21/2003.

[Http: //www.bibleinterp.com/articles.Contra_Davies.htm](http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles.Contra_Davies.htm)

it makes sense to widen the discussion at this point and use the reference of "exodus" as a framework for dating the conquest legends. It is at this point that Albright and Josephus fall in line with the general paradigm of this paper.

For Josephus ties the antiquity of the Jews with the Hyksos and as such history can connect the Joshua legend with the well documented expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt in 1570 B.C.E. In turn this is well in line with this study's schema that the SL-1 inspiration event occurred at approximately 1550 B.C.E. (and was likely a conquest carried out by the Hyksos). Indeed, as this thesis has already noted, Josephus actually places Israelite exodus/conquest at two dates within his writing: 1572 B.C.E. and 1552 B.C.E. While we may continue to question Josephus and his style of history, his schema of dates with those of this dissertation are striking.

In addition, William F. Albright adopts the Sayce model and suggests that the evidence points to a two-pronged exodus from Egypt. The first wave of the exodus occurring as the Hyksos expulsion in the 16th century B.C.E. and the second wave of the exodus occurring in the 13th century. Such an interpretation is obviously in line with this thesis' own interpretation of the inspiration events.

5.4. Suggestions for Further Study

While this thesis examined many aspects of the Joshua conquest mythology, there is clearly more work that can be done in all areas. The first and most obvious is further excavation

at the Jericho site, which is currently off-limits due to the political situation. Secondly, is the issue of textual development relating to editorial components of the present-text form of Joshua in Deuteronomistic formation. While the work of Campbell and O'Brien is impressive, a more refined model is still needed. Thirdly, while the role of orality in the natural mnemonic cyclical formation of legends was dealt with, further examination is called for relating to this legend. Finally, the most logical sequel to this project is a study of the formation of the Dtr-2 (Joshua 12-24) legend and its relationship to the political context of the 13th and 12th centuries.

The conclusion of this dissertation is therefore also the beginning of a new and fruitful approach to the book of Joshua and the history of proto-Israel.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TIME-LINE OF MONARCHY

This chart is based on the chronology of John Bright 1981. <i>A History of Israel</i> , 3rd edition, Westminster. From Website: http://www.cresourcei.org/israelitekings.html Accessed: May 26/03.				
The United Monarchy				
Dates (BC)	Kingdom of the Israelites			
1020- 1000	Saul			
1000- 961	David			
961- 922	Solomon			
The Divided Kingdoms				
Dates (BC)	Israel (Northern)		Judah (Southern)	Dates (BC)
922- 901	Jeroboam I		Rehoboam	922-915
			Abijah	915-913
901- 900	Nadab		Asa	913-873
900- 877	Baasha			
877- 876	Elah		Jehoshaphat	873-849
876	Zimri	Tibni		
876- 869	Omri			
869- 850	Ahab		Jehoram	849-843
850- 849	Ahaziah			
849- 843	Joram (Jehoram)		Ahaziah	843
843- 815	Jehu		Athaliah (non-Davidic Queen)	843-837
815- 802	Jehoahaz		Joash	837-800
802- 786	Jehoash (Joash)		Amaziah	800-783
786- 746	Jeroboam II		Uzziah (Azariah)	783-742

746-745	<u>Zachariah</u>		<u>Jotham (co-regent)</u>	750-742
745	<u>Shallum</u>		<u>Jotham (king)</u>	742-735
745-737	<u>Menahem</u>			
737-736	<u>Pekahiah</u>			
736-732	<u>Pekah</u>		<u>Ahaz</u>	735-715
732-724	<u>Hoshea</u>			
721	Fall of Samaria			
			<u>Hezekiah</u>	715-687
			Manasseh	687-642
			Amon	642-640
			<u>Josiah</u>	640-609
			<u>Jehoahaz</u>	609
			<u>Jehoikim (Eliakim)</u>	609-598
			<u>Jehoiachin (Jeconiah)</u>	598-597
			<u>Zedekiah (Mattaniah)</u>	597-587
		Fall of Jerusalem	587	

APPENDIX B

**The parts of the source legend relating directly to a 1550
B.C.E. inspiration event**

SL-1 and the 16th Century B.C.E.

Joshua son of Nun secretly sent two spies from Shittim.

"Go, look over the land," he said, "especially Jericho."

So they went and entered the house of a prostitute named Rahab and stayed there.

The king of Jericho was told, "Look! Some of the Israelites have come here tonight to spy out the land." So the king of Jericho sent this message to Rahab: "Bring out the men who came to you and entered your house, because they have come to spy out the whole land."

But the woman had taken the two men and hidden them.

She said, "Yes the men came to me, but I did not know where they had come from. At dusk when it was time to close the city gate, the men left. I don't know which way they went. Go after them quickly. You may catch up with them."

But she had taken them up to the roof and hidden them under the stalks of flax she had laid out on the roof. So the men set in pursuit of the spies on the road that leads to the fords of the Jordan, and as soon as the pursuers had

gone out, the gate was shut. Before the spies lay down for the night she went up on the roof and said to them, "I know that the Lord has given this land to you and that a great fear of you has fallen on us, so that all who live in this country are melting in fear because of you. Now then, please swear to me by the Lord that you will show kindness to my family. That you will spare the lives of my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, and all who belong to them, and that you will save us from death."

"Our lives for your lives!" the men assured her. "If you don't tell what we are doing, we will treat you kindly and faithfully when the Lord gives us the land."

So she let them down by a rope through the window, for the house she lived in was part of the city wall.

Now she had said to them, "Go to the hills so the pursuers will not find you. Hide yourselves there three days until they return, and then go on your way."

So the people crossed over opposite of Jericho.

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "See, I have delivered Jericho into your hands along with its king and its fighting men."

Joshua commanded the people, "Shout! For the Lord has given you the city!"

When the trumpet sounded every man charged straight in, and they took the city.

Joshua said to the two men who had spied out the land, "Go into the prostitute's house and bring her out and all who belong to her, in accordance with your oath to her." So the young men who had done the spying went in and brought out Rahab.

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid for I have delivered into your hands the king of Ai, his people, his city and his land."

So Joshua and the whole army moved out to attack Ai.

He chose thirty thousand of his best fighting men with these orders: "Listen carefully, you are to set an ambush behind the city. Don't go very far from it. All of you be on the alert. I and all those with me will advance on the city. They will pursue us until we have lured them away from the city. So when we flee from them, you are to rise up from ambush and take the city. The Lord your God will give it into your hand."

Then Joshua sent them off, and they went to the place of ambush. The entire force that was with him marched up and approached the city and arrived in front of it. They set up camp north of Ai, with the valley between them and the city.

All the men of Ai were called to pursue them, and they pursued Joshua and were lured away from the city

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "Hold out toward Ai the javelin that is in your hand for into your hand I will deliver the city." So Joshua held out his javelin toward Ai. As soon as he did this, the men in the ambush rose and rushed forward from their position.

When the people of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done to Jericho and Ai, they resorted to a ruse: They went as a delegation whose donkeys were loaded with worn-out sacks and old wineskins, cracked and mended. The men put worn and patched sandals on their feet and wore old clothes. All the bread of their food supply was dry and moldy.

"We are your servants," they said to Joshua.

But Joshua asked, "Who are you and where do you come from?"

They answered: "Your servants have come from a very distant country. This bread of ours was warm when we packed

it at home on the day we left to come to you. But now see how dry and moldy it is. And these wineskins that were filled were new, but see how cracked they are. And our clothes and sandals are worn out by the very long journey." Then Joshua made a treaty of peace with them.

Now Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem heard that Joshua had taken Ai, doing to the king of Ai as he had done to the king of Jericho. He and his people were very much alarmed at this, because Gibeon was an important city, like one of the royal cities; it was larger than Ai, and all its men were good fighters.

So Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem appealed to Hoham king of Hebron, Piram king of Jermuth, Japhia king of Lachish and Debir king of Eglon.

"Come up and help me attack Gibeon." said the king of Jerusalem.

Then the five kings of the Amorites - the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon joined forces. They moved up with all their troops and took up positions against Gibeon and attacked it.

The Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them; I have given them into your hand. Not one of them will be able to withstand you."

After an all-night march from Gilgal, the Lord threw them into confusion before Israel, who defeated them in a great victory at Gibeon.

APPENDIX C

THE MERNENPTAH STELE

Understanding Israel's Position in the Stele

APPENDIX D
FALSE MEMORIES AND CONFABULATION

Since this project will be trying to peel away the layers of written and oral tradition it is important to review the oral-cognitive components of myth formation and memory confabulation. Of all the issues that are most intriguing relating to ancient oral mythology and indeed to modern neuropsychology is the purely false memory formation process. These memories are unconsciously contrived and appear with such a vengeance that it is difficult for anyone to separate the genuine from the fictional.

While it is clearly difficult to test for false memory creation it is not impossible to clarify the likelihood of false memory creation. In research examining this issue it is clear that semantic associations, as this project mentioned earlier, is at the heart of false memory creations (Seamon 2002: 226).¹⁸⁶ It is also clear that this formation of memories is a natural and normal by-product of cognition yet this study requires a more detailed paradigm for evaluating the nature of false memories in order to make a clear identification of such memories within the Joshua mythology.

¹⁸⁶ The Deese-Roediger-McDermott (DRM) paradigm is a memory assessment model for evaluating the creation of false memories. It was first developed by Deese's work on memory systems in the late 1950's and later incorporated the work of Roediger and McDermott. Further clarification of this system can be found in Seamon J. G. 2002. "False Memories are Hard to Inhibit: Differential effects of directed forgetting on accurate and false recall in the DRM procedure." **Memory**. 10: 225-237.

There are several theories as to why false memories form. The Implicit Activation Hypothesis (Seamon 2002) suggests that the encoding words into memory, this activates semantic associations (Seamon 2002). This process is known as *activation* and results in the recollection of associated images and words. The process of activation allows for quick thinking and rapid cognitive processing of information. In monitoring, the semantic associates are identified as being the semantic key to the list and eliminated from the acceptable responses. When monitoring is unable to draw out the semantic key then it will fail to prevent false memories. It is important to recognize that monitoring is a much slower process and does not allow for rapid processing for information, since each recalled item must be specifically assessed to determine its validity (Seamon 2002).

A second theory that attempts to explain the creation of false memories is the *Fuzzy Trace Theory* (Seamon 2002). This theory separates mechanisms for encoding memory in two accounts. The first account of memory is the verbatim accounts that are all relatively accurate memories. Verbatim accounts are based on external presentation and focus on surface details. The second account of memory is gist accounts, which are not always accurate memories. Gist accounts are based on internal activation and thus focus on thematic convergence. Over time gist traces will influence verbatim traces through interference affects each time verbatim traces are activated corresponding

gist traces will be activated and must be suppressed (Seamon 2002).¹⁸⁷

It is also important to note that memory confabulation forms in different ways according to age, which is essential for understanding oral transmission of stories from generation to generation. Research suggests that memory confabulation within children is the result of a summary blending of verbatim and gist accounts, therefore they have poor verbatim memory (Matlin 1988).¹⁸⁸ Later in life, as cognitive processes slow down adults use different strategies for recalling information. The activation process with its pure processing speed provides an opportunity for adults to think quickly and intuitively, with *gist memory* increasing with age.

In relating to oral mythology and generational training it is clear that larger narrative false memories are very easy to

¹⁸⁷ Seamon J. G. 2002. "False Memories are Hard to Inhibit: Differential effects of directed forgetting on accurate and false recall in the DRM procedure." **Memory**. 10:225-237. Further research on this issue can be found in: Schacter, D.; Norman, K. & Koutstaal, W. 1998. "The Cognitive Neuroscience of Constructive Memory" **Annual Review of Psychology** 49: 298-318.

¹⁸⁸ The research suggests that the encoding process between age groups differs resulting in varying rates of memory recall. Essentially this is attributed to children having confused meanings and thus not recognized conceptual relations. This is further explained in Matlin, M.W. 1988. **Cognition**, 4th ed. New York: Harcourt Brace.

implant within children. According to leading researchers there are typically three main conditions that must be met in order to create this memory confabulation and formation of a personal narrative fable. Firstly the event must be plausible to the subject (Seamon 2002). Secondly there must be sufficient information surrounding the event for the subject to be able to generate a narrative for the false event (Seamon 2002). Thirdly the subject must commit a source monitoring error, which means that the subject has to fail to recognize that the event is externally prompted and must feel that their own experience is what has created the memory (Seamon 2002). Source monitoring is the key to all discussions considering false memories. Memories are separated from imagination by recognizing event for from ideation. As anyone who reflects upon one's own childhood will know, at times a story heard as a child becomes part of the event narrative of the person, though the event did not happen to that individual (Thomas 2002).¹⁸⁹

Other issues of confabulation deal with the very simple issue that the memory of many events cannot be repeated. Therefore the first initial memory of the actual event is the primary source of information and there is no evidence that it

¹⁸⁹ Further information on the nature and criterion for the creation of false memories can be found in:

Thomas, A & Loftus, E. 2002. "Creating Bizarre False Memories Through Imagination" *Memory and Cognition*. 30: 423-431.

will be accurate or correct (Thomas 2002). This is simply because stressful situations tend to disrupt event memory significantly and no one can claim that the events in the Joshua myths are anything, if not stressful. A Further description of confabulation is presented in table 1:

Table 1¹⁹⁰Confabulation and ConfabulatorsOriginal

- A. Typically, but not exclusively, an account more or less coherent and internally consistent.
- B. The account is false in the context named and often false in details within its own context.
- C. Its content is drawn fully or principally from the patient's recollection of their own experiences, including their thoughts in the past.
- D. It reconstructs this content, modifies and recombines its elements, employing the mechanism of normal remembering.

Reformulation

- E. Most apparent when autobiographical recollection is required.
- F. As original
- G. Not true of all confabulation.
- H. Some aspects are derived from semantic memory.
- I. Confabulations are not intentionally produced - redundant in context and are produced by memory processes not compensatory procedures.

¹⁹⁰ As presented in Paul Burgess and Tim Shallice (1996) article: "Confabulation and the Control of Recollection" *Memory*. 4: 361.

APPENDIX E

STRUCTURE ANALYSIS OF DEUTERONOMIC HISTORY

Structure Analysis of Deuteronomic History¹⁹¹

I. Instruction to Israel by Moses	Deuteronomy 1-34
A. Retrospect and prospect (exhortation and warning)	- Deut. 1-3&4
B. Instruction (with introduction and conclusion)	- Deut. 5-28 +30:11-20
C. Foreboding consequences of infidelity	- Deut. 29-34
II. Story of Israel's Life in the Land	Joshua - Kings
A. Land occupied	- Josh. 1-24
1. Conquest under Joshua	- Josh.1-12
2. Land allocation	- Josh.13-22
3. Foreboding: consequences of infidelity	- Josh 23-(24)
B. Land secured	Judges 1-1Kings 8
1. Life threatened	-Judges 1-12; 13-16; 17-21
a. Initial failure	-Jdg 1:1-2:5
b. Story of disloyalty and deliverance	-Jdg 2-12
c. Final anarchy	-Jdg 17-21
2. Life offered	-1 Sam 1 - 2 Sam 5
a. Emergence of prophet at Shiloh	- 1 Sam 1-3
b. Retreat of ark from Shiloh	- 1 Sam 4-6
c. Ambivalence of kingship: with warning	- 1 Sam 7-11&12
d. Failure of Saul: disloyalty	- 1 Sam 13-15
e. Success of David: loyalty	- 1 Sam 16 - 2 Sam 5
3. Life secured	2 Sam 6-1Kings 11
a. David: ark and kingdom	- 2 Sam 6-20
b. Solomon: kingdom and temple	- 1 Kings 1-8
c. Foreboding: warning and apostasy	- 1 Kings 9-11
C. Land lost	1 Kings 12 - 2 Kings 25
1. Division	- 1 Kings 12
2. North: exile - 722	- 1 Kings 13 - 2 Kings 17
3. South: exile - 587	- 1 Kings 14 - 2 Kings 25

¹⁹¹ Based upon analysis in: Campbell, A. & O'Brien, M. (2000) *Unfolding the Deuteronomic History – Origins, Upgrades, Present Text* (Fortress, Minneapolis): 18-19.

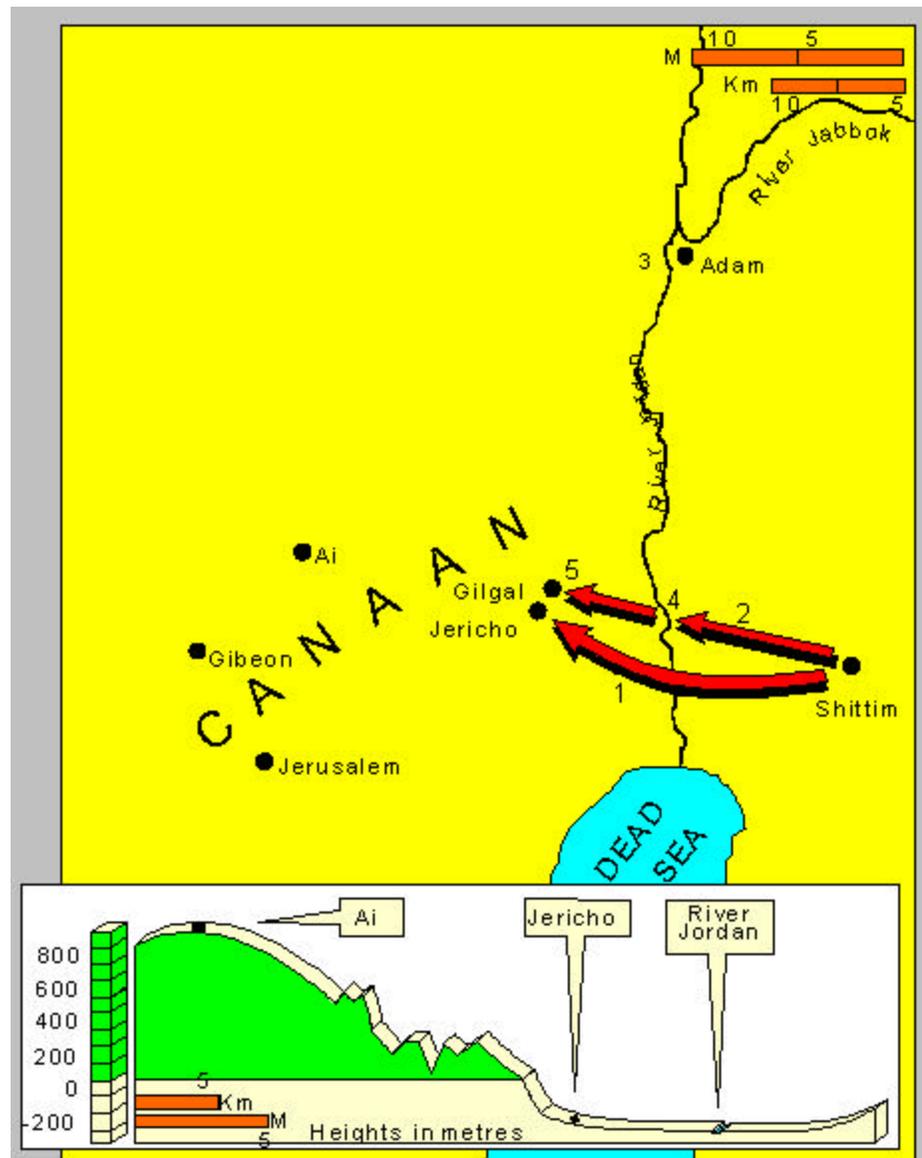
APPENDIX F
NOTH'S DEUTERONOMISTIC STRUCTURE
Of Joshua

The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History Noth's Outline ¹⁹²	
Dtr-1	Dtr-2
1:1ab(a), 2-5ab 2:1-9a, 12ab(a), 13-16 3:5, 10b, 16b	1:1b(b), 5b(a), 6-18 2:9b-11, 12b(b), 17-21, 24b 3:1-4, 6-10a, 11-16a, 17 4:1-24 5:1-15
6:2, 16b, 20a(a)b(b), 22, 23a(a), 25a(a)b	6:1, 3-16a, 17-19, 20a(b)b(a), 21, 23a(b), 24, 25a(b), 26-27
8:1-2a(a)b, 3ab(a), 4-5a, 6a(a)b, 7, 9a(a), 11, 16, 18-19a	7:1-26 8:2a(b), 3b(b), 5b, 6a(b)b, 8, 9a(b)b 10, 11b-15, 17-18, 19a(a), 19b-35
9:3-5, 8-9a(a), 12-13, 15a(a)	9:1-2, 6-7, 9a(b)-11, 14, 15a(b)b-27
10:1a(a)b(a), 2-4a, 5, 8-9a, 10a 11:1, 5, 6a, 8a(a), 18, 23a(a)b	10:1a, 4b, 6-7, 9b, 10b-43 11:2-4, 6b, 8, 9-17, 19-22, 23a(b)
	12:1-24 13:1-33
<u>Portions not examined within this study:</u>	
	14:1-15 15:1-63 16:1-10 17:1-18 18:1-28 19:1-51 20:1-9 21:1-45 22:1-34 23:1-16 24:1-33

¹⁹² Noth's Deuteronomistic Outline as presented by Brian Peckham in his monograph *The Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1985): Figure 7.

APPENDIX G
HISTORICAL SITES
AI and JERICHO

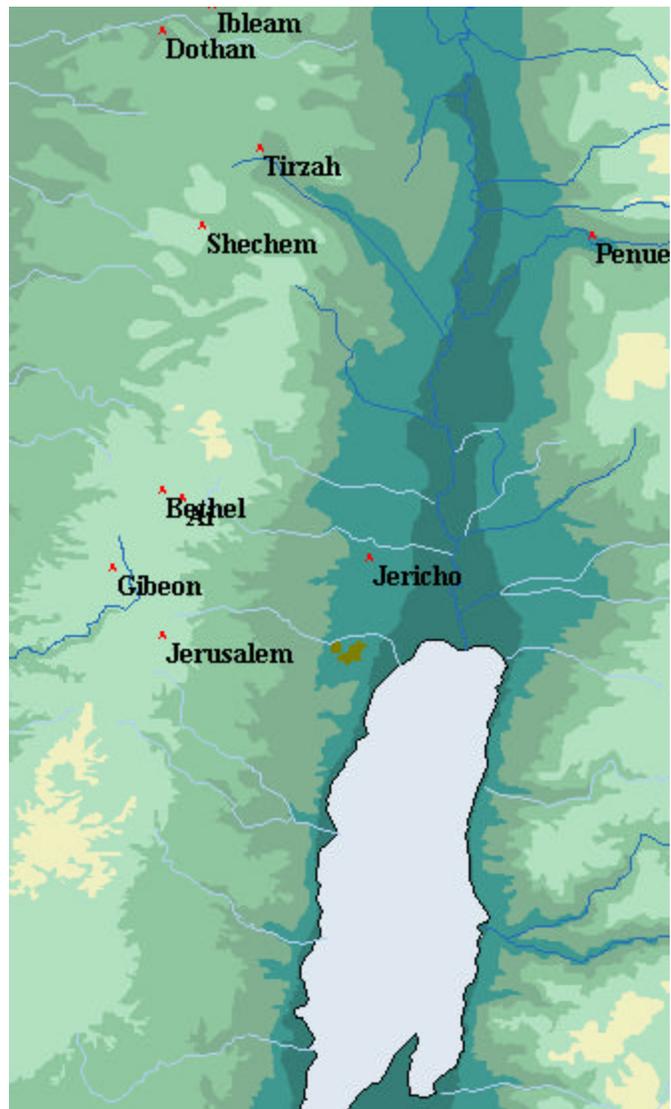
Based upon: Logos Reference Maps 1999.



APPENDIX H

MAP OF ENVIRONMENT

Based upon Logos Maps, 1999.



APPENDIX I
MNEMONIC STRUCTURAL CONFIGURATION OF
DEUTERONOMISTIC-1 LEGEND (JOSHUA)

Basic Mnemonic Oral Pattern
For Noth's Deuteronomistic-1 Legend

CYCLE ONE:

CON-1 Contextual statement

After the death of Moses the servant of the Lord, the Lord said to Joshua, "Moses my servant is dead. Now then, you and all these people, get ready to cross the Jordan River in to the land I am about to give to them to the Israelites. I will give you every place where you set your foot, as I promised Moses. Your territory will extend from the desert to Lebanon, and from the great river, the Euphrates all the Hittite country - to the Great Sea on the west. No one will be able to stand up against you all the days of your life. I will never leave you nor forsake you."

TR-1 Transitional statement

Then Joshua son of Nun secretly sent two spies from Shittim.

N-1 Narrative statement

"Go, look over the land," he said, "especially Jericho."

D-1 Descriptor of action

So they went and entered the house of a prostitute named Rahab and stayed there.

CYCLE TWO:

CON-2 Contextual Statement

The king of Jericho was told, "Look! Some of the Israelites have come here tonight to spy out the land." So the king of Jericho sent this message to Rahab: "Bring out the men who came to you and entered your house, because they have come to spy out the whole land."

TR-2 Transition

But the woman had taken the two men and hidden them.

N-2 Narrative

She said, "Yes the men came to me, but I did not know where they had come from. At dusk when it was time to close the city gate, the men left. I don't know which way they went. Go after them quickly. You may catch up with them."

D-2

Descriptor of action

But she had taken them up to the roof and hidden them under the stalks of flax she had laid out on the roof. So the men set in pursuit of the spies on the road that leads to the fords of the Jordan, and as soon as the pursuers had gone out, the gate was shut.

CYCLE THREE

CON-3 Contextual statement

Before the spies lay down for the night she went up on the roof and said to them, "I know that the Lord has given this land to you and that a great fear of you has fallen on us, so that all who live in this country are melting in fear because of you. Now then, please swear to me by the Lord that you will show kindness to my family. That you will spare the lives of my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, and all who belong to them, and that you will save us from death."

TR-3 Transitional statement

"Our lives for your lives!" the men assured her. "If you don't tell what we are doing, we will treat you kindly and faithfully when the Lord gives us the land."

D-3 Descriptor of action (not that the order changed (likely since it is the second cycle with the same primary character). This order system is likely a Mnemonic device.

So she let them down by a rope through the window, for the house she lived in was part of the city wall.

N-3 Narrative statement

Now she had said to them, "Go to the hills so the pursuers will not find you. Hide yourselves there three days until they return, and then go on your way."

CYCLE FOUR

CON - 4 Contextual statement

Joshua told the people, "Consecrate yourselves, for tomorrow the Lord will do amazing things among you and he will certainly drive out before you the Canaanites, Hittites, Hivites, Perizzites, Gergashites, Amorites and Jebusites." So the people crossed over opposite of Jericho.

TR - 4 Transitional statement

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "See, I have delivered Jericho into your hands along with its king and its fighting men."

N - 4 Narrative statement

Joshua commanded the people, "Shout! For the Lord has given you the city!"

D - 4 Descriptor statement

When the trumpet sounded every man charged straight in, and they took the city.

CYCLE FIVE:

CON-5 Contextual statement

Joshua said to the two men who had spied out the land, "Go into the prostitute's house and bring her out and all who belong to her, in accordance with your oath to her." So the young men who had done the spying went in and brought out Rahab. Joshua spared Rahab and she lives among the Israelites to this day.

TR-5 Transitional statement

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be not be afraid for I have delivered into your hands the king of Ai, his people, his city and his land."

D - 4¹⁹³ Descriptor statement

So Joshua and the whole army moved out to attack Ai.

N-5 Narrative statement

He chose thirty thousand of his best fighting men with these orders: "Listen carefully. You are to set an ambush behind the city. Don't go very far from it. All of you be on the alert. I and all those with me will advance on the city. They will pursue us until we have lured them away from the city. So when we flee from them, you are to rise up from

¹⁹³ The D and N order changed since it is the second cycle with the same primary character - same as the 3rd cycle. Note: this is a good memory device to keep discreet modules that are closely associated separate and still organized.

ambush and take the city. The Lord your God will give it into your hand."

CYCLE SIX

CON - 6 Contextual statement

Then Joshua sent them off, and they went to the place of ambush. The entire force that was with him marched up and approached the city and arrived in front of it. They set up camp north of Ai, with the valley between them and the city.

TR-6 Transitional statement

All the men of Ai were called to pursue them, and they pursued Joshua and were lured away from the city.

N - 6 Narrative statement

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "Hold out toward Ai the javelin that is in your hand for into your hand I will deliver the city."

D - 6 Descriptor statement

So Joshua held out his javelin toward Ai. As soon as he did this, the men in the ambush rose and rushed forward from their position.

CYCLE SEVEN

CON-7 Contextual statement

When the people of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done to Jericho and Ai, they resorted to a ruse: They went as a delegation whose donkeys were loaded with worn-out sacks and old wineskins, cracked and mended. The men put worn and patched sandals on their feet and wore old clothes. All the bread of their food supply was dry and moldy.

TR - 7 Transitional statement

*"We are your servants," they said to Joshua.
But Joshua asked, "Who are you and where do you come from?"*

N-7 Narrative statement

They answered: "Your servants have come from a very distant country. This bread of ours was warm when we packed it at home on the day we left to come to you. But now see how dry and moldy it is. And these wineskins that were filled were new, but see how cracked they are. And our clothes and sandals are worn out by the very long journey."

D - 7 Descriptor statement

Then Joshua made a treaty of peace with them.

CYCLE EIGHT

CON-8 Contextual statement

Now Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem heard that Joshua had taken Ai, doing to the king of Ai as he had done to the king of Jericho. He and his people were very much alarmed at this, because Gibeon was an important city, like one of the royal cities; it was larger than Ai, and all its men were good fighters.

TR-8 Transitional statement

So Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem appealed to Hoham king of Hebron, Piram king of Jermuth, Japhia king of Lachish and Debir king of Eglon.

N-8 Narrative statement

"Come up and help me attack Gibeon." said the king of Jerusalem.

D-8

Then the five kings of the Amorites - the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon joined forces. They moved up with all their troops and took up positions against Gibeon and attacked it.

Cycle Nine

Note the concluding theme:

"DO NOT BE AFRAID"

CON-9 Contextual statement

The Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them; I have given them into your hand. Not one of them will be able to withstand you."

TR-9 Transitional statement

After an all-night march from Gilgal, the Lord threw them into confusion before Israel, who defeated them in a great victory at Gibeon. When Jabin King of Hazor heard of this, he sent word to Jobab king of Madon, to the kings of Shimron and Acshaph. All these kings joined forces and made camp together at the Waters of Merom, to fight against Israel.

N-9 Narrative statement

The Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them."

D-9 Descriptor statement

*Joshua waged war against all these kings for a long time
and Joshua took the entire land.*

APPENDIX J**SL-1 Full Text**

(In the New International Version translation)

The Hypothetical Source Legend

(Without the Deuteronomistic History Redactions.)

Cycle One

Contextual Statement

Joshua son of Nun secretly sent two spies from Shittim.

Narrative Statement

"Go, look over the land," he said, "especially Jericho."

Descriptor of action

So they went and entered the house of a prostitute named Rahab and stayed there.

Cycle Two:

Contextual statement

The king of Jericho was told, "Look! Some of the Israelites have come here tonight to spy out the land." So the king of Jericho sent this message to Rahab: "Bring out the men who came to you and entered your house, because they have come to spy out the whole land."

Transitional statement

But the woman had taken the two men and hidden them.

Narrative statement

She said, "Yes the men came to me, but I did not know where they had come from. At dusk when it was time to close the city gate, the men left. I don't know which way they went. Go after them quickly. You may catch up with them."

Descriptor of action

But she had taken them up to the roof and hidden them under the stalks of flax she had laid out on the roof. So the men set in pursuit of the spies on the road that leads to the fords of the Jordan, and as soon as the pursuers had gone out, the gate was shut.

Cycle Three

Contextual statement

Before the spies lay down for the night she went up on the roof and said to them, "I know that the Lord has given this land to you and that a great fear of you has fallen on us, so that all who live in this country are melting in fear because of you. Now then, please swear to me by the Lord that you will show kindness to my family. That you will spare the lives of my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, and all who belong to them, and that you will save us from death."

Transitional statement

"Our lives for your lives!" the men assured her. "If you don't tell what we are doing, we will treat you kindly and faithfully when the Lord gives us the land."

Descriptor of action

So she let them down by a rope through the window, for the house she lived in was part of the city wall.

Narrative statement

Now she had said to them, "Go to the hills so the pursuers will not find you. Hide yourselves there three days until they return, and then go on your way."

Cycle Four

Contextual statement

So the people crossed over opposite of Jericho.

Transitional statement

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "See, I have delivered Jericho into your hands along with its king and its fighting men."

Narrative statement

Joshua commanded the people, "Shout! For the Lord has given you the city!"

Descriptor statement

When the trumpet sounded every man charged straight in, and they took the city.

Cycle Five

Contextual statement

Joshua said to the two men who had spied out the land, "Go into the prostitute's house and bring her out and all who belong to her, in accordance with your oath to her." So the young men who had done the spying went in and brought out Rahab.

Transitional statement

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid for I have delivered into your hands the king of Ai, his people, his city and his land."

Descriptor statement

So Joshua and the whole army moved out to attack Ai.

Narrative statement

He chose thirty thousand of his best fighting men with these orders: "Listen carefully, you are to set an ambush behind the city. Don't go very far from it. All of you be on the alert. I and all those with me will advance on the city. They will pursue us until we have lured them away from the city. So when we flee from them, you are to rise up from ambush and take the city. The Lord your God will give it into your hand."

CYCLE SIX

Contextual statement

Then Joshua sent them off, and they went to the place of ambush. The entire force that was with him marched up and approached the city and arrived in front of it. They set up camp north of Ai, with the valley between them and the city.

Transitional statement

All the men of Ai were called to pursue them, and they pursued Joshua and were lured away from the city.

Narrative statement

Then the Lord said to Joshua, "Hold out toward Ai the javelin that is in your hand for into your hand I will deliver the city."

Descriptor statement

So Joshua held out his javelin toward Ai. As soon as he did this, the men in the ambush rose and rushed forward from their position.

CYCLE SEVEN

Contextual statement

When the people of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done to Jericho and Ai, they resorted to a ruse: They went as a delegation whose donkeys were loaded with worn-out sacks and old wineskins, cracked and mended. The men put worn and patched sandals on their feet and wore old clothes. All the bread of their food supply was dry and moldy.

Transitional statement

*"We are your servants," they said to Joshua.
But Joshua asked, "Who are you and where do you come from?"*

Narrative statement

They answered: "Your servants have come from a very distant country. This bread of ours was warm when we packed it at home on the day we left to come to you. But now see how dry and moldy it is. And these wineskins that were filled were new, but see how cracked they are. And our clothes and sandals are worn out by the very long journey."

Descriptor statement

Then Joshua made a treaty of peace with them.

CYCLE EIGHT

Contextual statement

Now Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem heard that Joshua had taken Ai, doing to the king of Ai as he had done to the king of Jericho. He and his people were very much alarmed at this, because Gibeon was an important city, like one of the royal cities; it was larger than Ai, and all its men were good fighters.

Transitional statement

So Adoni-Zedek king of Jerusalem appealed to Hoham king of Hebron, Piram king of Jermuth, Japhia king of Lachish and Debir king of Eglon.

Narrative statement

"Come up and help me attack Gibeon." said the king of Jerusalem.

Descriptor statement

Then the five kings of the Amorites - the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon joined forces. They moved up with all their troops and took up positions against Gibeon and attacked it.

Cycle Nine

Contextual statement

The Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them; I have given them into your hand. Not one of them will be able to withstand you."

Transitional statement

After an all-night march from Gilgal, the Lord threw them into confusion before Israel, who defeated them in a great victory at Gibeon.

Campbell considers the remainder a nationalistic revision. *When Jabin King of Hazor heard of this, he sent word to Jobab king of Madon, to the kings of Shimron and Acshaph. All these kings joined forces and made camp together at the Waters of Merom, to fight against Israel.*

Narrative statement

The Lord said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them."

Descriptor statement

Joshua waged war against all these kings for a long time and Joshua took the entire land.

APPENDIX K

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS

According to the El Amarna Letters

Appendix L

SEMANTIC MEMORY STRUCTURE

Semantic Memory¹⁹⁴

This model shows the relationship between memory control processes and cognitive systems in autobiographical recollection. Input activates key nodes within long-term memory that are linked with pathways of differing associative strength. Recall of semantic information proceeds through activation of these nodes with the descriptor defining the path taken. The editor detects incompatibilities in recall structure and uses other problem-solving routines to form new descriptions of the event.

Input

Long-term storage systems

Input templates

Editor

Back to Long-term storage

Mediator Zones

Analysis of task

Descriptor

Input templates

Descriptor

Editor

Descriptor

Editor

Output

¹⁹⁴ As presented in the article by Paul Burgess and Tim Schallice "Confabulation and the Control of Recollection" *Memory*, 4, 1996: 361.

Appendix M

THE ROLE OF D-1 AND D-2

Role of D-1: (Peckham)

A history that is the sequel to J.

It narrates the history of Israel from the last days of Moses to the reign of Hezekiah.

- More limited interest
- A narrower perspective
- More clearly doctrinaire
- It is very much like one would expect a first hand account or an oral tribal story to appear. Maintained by ritual and cultural structures, until it was written in order to preserve its form.

Values:

1. The story of conquest. It begins by repeating assurances given in the 1st episode as well as Jericho & Ai conquest and Gibeonite surrender.

Role of D-2

A commentary on the sources

It is clearly a stylistic commentary that results from the "perspective changing" function of free community discussion. As such it is relatively free from the authoritarian liturgical and

cultural structures that then tend to limit such changes in perspectives.

- Concerned with synthesizing the past and creating a clear and valid perspective for the future.
- Divided into 3 parts:
 - a. Commentary on Joshua 1-8 (Jericho and Ai) (adding opposites into the story)
 - b. Joshua 9-11 focuses on the issue of BAN
 - c. Joshua 12-24 focuses on individual conquest and tribes with focus on Benjamin.

APPENDIX N
THE LITURGY OF THE SL-1
A HYPOTHETICAL CONSTRUCT

According to renowned Biblical scholar Martin Noth, the ancient Biblical Book of Joshua was written by a Deuteronomistic author in the mid-1st Millenia B.C.E. The author used two primary sources known as the Deuteronomistic-1 source and the Deuteronomistic-2 source. It is the contention of this project that while each source was based upon inspiration events that neither source relates to the other. That in fact each account is separated by hundreds of years of history. The Deuteronomistic-1 source being a tribal myth based upon a tribal victory over the city of Jericho and a rival pastoralist faction in approximately 1550 B.C.E. In contrast the Deuteronomistic-2 source relates to the well-documented destruction of Hazor and proto-Israelite settlement of the land in the 13th Century B.C.E. However since both events occurred prior to completion of the settlement period and subsequent monarchy they were tied together in later editorial editions as being of the same period. Only through the pairing of an intricate psychological analysis and the review of archaeological data can we understand the logical evolution of the Joshua mythology of the Bible.

Due to the complex nature of this article we will focus upon the Deuteronomistic-1 source and its evolutionary process

towards integration into the book of Joshua. Since this article will take some twists and turns that may confuse either the Biblical scholar or the psychologist let us take a moment and absorb the common experience of all people: "Stories". In the following pages we will relive a hypothetical situation in which the Deuteronomistic-1 legend has gone through its evolutionary history of orality and has formed into a community tribal liturgy of remembering. This basic experience will provide a larger picture that will frame discussions about the evolution of the Joshua mythology.

The Liturgy of Remembering

The fire in the middle of the camp grew brighter as the night's cold cloak of darkness fell over the dry arid hills. A melodic cry echoing through the camp was met with the reply of children's laughter, as they rushed forward to claim their place close to the warmth of the flame. Flanking the children, the women emerged from their tents with blankets in their arms, anxious for a rest from the business of the day. Finally the men slowly formed an outer ring along the edge of firelight. The murmuring of the group slowly dying as the dark figure kneeling next to the fire gradually rose to his full height.

The light soon revealed this intimidating figures true demeanor. As the flickering light revealed thick snowy brows

crowning weathered eyes that twinkled with delight. The light dancing along the man's rosy cheeks and full white beard that extended down his robe, almost disguising his portly physique.

"My children," The old man said, "Tonight I want to tell you the story about that ruin." Pointing to the rough-hewn silhouette at the top of the hill across the valley. It is a story about what happened many, many, many years ago.

At this a squeal of delight erupted from the children and it took several minutes for the excited chattering of the children (and scolding from annoyed mothers) to finally settle down. The old man took a full long breath, held it for a moment as he raised his arms as if to conduct an orchestra, then in a deep melodic voice began.

"Joshua son of Nun sendeth from Shittim" He said in a full strong voice. Then he bent forward with dramatic flare to focus on the children as he continued, *"Two men, spies, silently."*

The story teller then stood straight and again shifted his tone as he shouted out one word, "Saying!" Then turned his head to the side and threw back his arms as if to receive a bellowing reply. On cue, the children around the campfire shot back in unison with eager voices. *"Go, see the land and Jericho!!!"*

The story teller was obviously pleased as he raised his eyes to the group flanking the children, and again the

conductor's cue was met as the women took up the yarn, "and they go and come into the house of a woman, a harlot, and her name is Rahab, and they lie down there."

Without missing a beat the storyteller again takes control, setting up the next scene, "And it was told to the king of Jericho, saying, "Lo, men have come in hither to-night, from the sons of Israel, to search the land." And the king of Jericho send unto Rahab, saying "Bring out them who are coming in unto thee, who have come into thy house, for to search the whole of the land they have come in." The storyteller done, he raises his eyes as if to ask, "what will happen next?" The children eagerly answer the silent question, "And the woman take the two men, and hide them."

Again the women chime in, obviously energized by the heroism of the feminine protagonist.

"And saith thus: "The men came in unto me, and I have not known whence they are; and it cometh to pass - the gate is to be shut - in the dark, and the men have gone out; I have not known whither the men have gone; pursue ye, hasten after them, for ye overtake them"."

Finally, the men sitting along the outer ring of light chime in to fulfill their task of describing the key action of the cycle. "And she hath caused them to go up on the roof, and

hide them with the flax wood, which is arranged for her on the roof. And the men have pursued after them the way of the Jordan, by the fords, and the gate they have shut afterwards, when the pursuers have gone out after them."

The story teller stands still for a moment, walking by the edge of the flame, then turns and continues, *"And before they lie down she hath gone up unto them on the roof, and she saith unto the men, I have known that Yahweh hath given to you the land, and that your terror hath fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land have melted at your presence and we hear and melt doth our heart, and there hath not stood any more spirit in any man. And now, swear ye, I pray you, to me by Yahweh because I have done with you kindness that ye have done, even ye, kindness with the house of my father, and have given to me a true token and have kept alive my father, and my mother, and my brothers, and my sisters, and all that they have, and have delivered our souls from death".*

The storyteller pauses ... points his figure down at the children and says, *"And the men say to her?"*

In fantastically dramatic fashion the children recite, and some even act out the begging tone of the men, *"Our soul for yours to die; if ye declare not this our matter, then it hath*

been, in Yahweh's giving to us this land, that we have done with thee kindness and truth."

Knowing how the story has shifted, the men pick up the story, aided by the directive actions of the fireside conductor. *"And she causes them to go down by a rope through the window, for her house is in the side of the wall, and in the wall she is dwelling."*

Obviously pleased the women conclude the cycle, *"And she said to them, "To the mountain go, lest the pursuers come upon you; and ye have been hidden there three days till the turning back of the pursuers, and afterwards ye go on your way"."*

Picking up the pace, the storyteller excitedly sets up the next scene, *"And the people have passed through over-against Jericho."*

The children too become excited and expressive as they pick up the story, *"And Yahweh saith unto Joshua, "See, I have given into thy hand Jericho and its king - mighty ones of valour"."*

The women also quickly run through their part, *"And Joshua saith unto the people, "Shout ye, for Yahweh hath give to you the city"."*

Finally the men join in with a sense of enthusiasm as they identify with the victory, *"And it cometh to pass that the*

people hear the voice of the trumpet and the people goeth up into the city, each over-against him, and they capture the city."

Adjusting the cadence of the story yet again, the story teller slows down his pace, *"And to the two men who are spying the land Joshua said, "Go into the house of the woman, the harlot, and bring out thence the woman, and all whom she hath, as ye have sworn to her." So the young man, the spies, go in and bring out Rahab."* Again preparing the children the storyteller then said, *"And the Lord saith unto Joshua,"*

Reflecting the tone of the story teller the children response, *"Fear not, nor be affrighted, take with thee all the people of war, and rise, go up to the ruin¹⁹⁵; see, I have given into thy hand the king of the ruin, and his people, and his encampment¹⁹⁶, and his land."*

Continuing the theme of the story the men then join in, *"And Joshua riseth, and all the people of war, to go up to the ruin."*

Finally the women concluded the cycle, *"And Joshua chooseth thirty thousand men, mighty ones of valour. And commandeth them,*

¹⁹⁵ The Hebrew says literally "THE RUIN" though Young's literal translation uses Ai as a proper name.

¹⁹⁶ The Hebrew term eer here translated "city" can mean "encampment" or "a place guarded by watching"(Strong's) or a rural town or fortification (Brown).

saying "See, ye are liars in wait against the city, at the rear of the (encampment/ fortification) city, ye go not very far off from the (encampment/ fortification) city, an all of you have been prepared. And I and all the people who are with me draw near unto the (encampment/ fortification) city. And they have come out after us and ye rise from the ambush, and have occupied the (encampment/ fortification) city, and Yahweh your God hath given it into your hand"."

The storyteller now turns and points to the dim shadow of the ruin that crowns the hill, *"And Joshua sendeth them away, and they go unto the ambush. And all the people of war who are with him have gone up, and draw night and come in over-against the fortification, and encamp on the north of the ruin; and the valley is between him and the ruin."*

The children eager to tell their part, obviously delighted by the trickery within the story, *"And all the people who are in the encampment are called to pursue after them, and they pursue after Joshua and are drawn away out of the fortification."*

It is now the women's turn to delay the story while the tension of the story builds, *"And Jehovah saith unto Joshua, "Stretch out with the javelin which is in thy hand towards the ruin, for into thy hand I give it."*

And the men all extend their arm towards the dim figure as they conclude their part, "*And Joshua stretched out with the javelin which is in his hand toward the fortification.*"

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