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Current Perspectives from Archaeology,
Epigraphy, History and Chronology

Proceedings of the Third BICANE Colloquium held at Sidney
Sussex College, Cambridge 26-27 March, 2011

Edited by

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Figure 1. Participants of the Third BICANE Colloquium at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. (Photography by D. Ellis and A.Umpleby).

Back row (from left to right): Andrew Stopyra, Michael Schön, James Patrick, David Dix, John Bimson, Wolfgang Zwickel, Robert Morkot, Rupert Chapman, Anthony Snodgrass, Aidan Dodson, Ad Thijs, Uwe Zerbst, Tom Tribelhorn, Robert Porter.

Front row (from left to right): Sara Kipfer, Donald Smith, Peter James, Simone Burger Robin, Nikos Kokkinos, Dan’el Kahn, Shirly Ben-Dor Evian, Sarah Tribelhorn, Peter van der Veen, Erika Gitt, Adrian Umpleby, David Ellis.

The following persons also attended, but are not shown in the photograph: John Adey, Dr Andrew Jackson and Dr Ros Jackson (Cambridge Science & Archaeology Forum).

CONTENTS

PREFACE <i>by Peter James & Peter van der Veen</i>	ix
SESSION 1: IS THE BIBLICAL SHISHAK THE SAME AS THE EGYPTIAN PHARAOH SHOSHENQ I?	
SHISHAK AND SHOSHENQ: A CHRONOLOGICAL CORNERSTONE OR STUMBLING-BLOCK? <i>by John Bimson</i>	3
SHOSHENQ I: A CONVENTIONAL(ISH) VIEW (extended abstract) <i>by Aidan Dodson</i>	10
SHOSHENQ I AND THE LEVANT: SYNCHRONISING CHRONOLOGIES (extended abstract) <i>by Shirly Ben-Dor Evian</i>	17
DEAD-RECKONING THE START OF THE 22ND DYNASTY: FROM SHOSHENQ V BACK TO SHOSHENQ I <i>by Robert Morkot & Peter James</i>	20
FROM THE LUNAR ECLIPSE OF TAKELOTH II BACK TO SHOSHENQ I AND SHISHAK <i>by Ad Thijs</i>	42
SHOSHENQ I AND ŠÍŠAQ: A PHILOLOGICAL DEFENSE OF THEIR TRADITIONAL EQUATION <i>by Troy Sagrillo</i>	61
THE NAME SHISHAQ: ŠOŠENQ OR ŠYŠU/Q? RESPONDING TO THE CRITICS AND ASSESSING THE EVIDENCE <i>by Peter van der Veen</i>	82
RAMESSES III AS BIBLICAL SHISHAK? SOME NOTES ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE <i>by John Bimson</i>	98
ZERAḤ THE KUSHITE: A NEW PROPOSAL REGARDING HIS IDENTITY <i>by Peter van der Veen and Peter James</i>	117
WHEN DID SHOSHENQ I CAMPAIGN IN PALESTINE? <i>by Peter James & Peter van der Veen</i>	127
SESSION 2: THE GLORIOUS REIGN OF SOLOMON, FACT OR FICTION? ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS	
SAMARIA AND MEGIDDO: SHISHAK AND SOLOMON <i>by Rupert Chapman</i>	137
SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, ITS CULTIC IMPLEMENTS AND THE HISTORICITY OF SOLOMON'S KINGDOM <i>by Wolfgang Zwickel</i>	148
JOSEPHUS AND GREEK CHRONOGRAPHY: TROY, SOLOMON, SHISHAK AND RAMESSES III <i>by Nikos Kokkinos</i>	158
EARLY IRON AGE EPIGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGICAL REVISION - A SUMMARY ARTICLE <i>by Peter van der Veen</i>	190
DOES RADIOCARBON PROVIDE THE ANSWER? <i>by Uwe Zerbst and Peter van der Veen</i>	199
RECENT PROBLEMS WITH DENDROCHRONOLOGY? <i>by Robert Porter</i>	225

SESSION 3: THE EGYPTIANS AND JERUSALEM

KINGS OF JERUSALEM AT THE LATE BRONZE TO IRON AGE TRANSITION – FORERUNNERS OR DOUBLES OF DAVID AND SOLOMON? <i>by Peter James</i>	236
ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DATING OF A PROBLEMATIC EGYPTIAN STATUARY FRAGMENT DISCOVERED IN JERUSALEM <i>by Simone Burger Robin</i>	258
‘HE PLACED HIS NAME IN JERUSALEM’: RAMESSIDE FINDS FROM JUDAH’S CAPITAL <i>by Peter van der Veen & David Ellis</i>	264
THE CAMPAIGN OF RAMESSES III AGAINST PHILISTIA <i>by Dan ’el Kahn</i>	274

PREFACE

This volume represents the proceedings of the third BICANE Colloquium* held at Sidney Sussex College in Cambridge from March 26-27, 2011 (see *Figure 1*, p. vi, and 2 p. x below).

The third BICANE colloquium focussed on two key figures: Shishak and Solomon. The Old Testament describes a period of great prosperity and strength for Israel during the reigns of kings David and Solomon. The alleged ‘golden age’ ended – as the biblical narrative relates – because of oppressive measures used to work the people and the machinations of an Egyptian pharaoh referred to as ‘King Shishak’. He fostered Jeroboam I, who led a revolt in the northern region (Israel) and in the 5th year of Solomon’s successor, Rehoboam, invaded Judah c. 925 BC, attacked its strongholds and took tribute of the treasures from the Temple built by Solomon.

Hardly a single point of the biblical story has remained undisputed in recent years. In particular the ‘minimalist’ school (mainly from the universities of Copenhagen and Sheffield) has disputed the very existence of David and Solomon. Others consider them to be very minor local rulers at best. Many of the arguments for such positions come from the archaeological record. The age of David and Solomon is usually thought to be reflected in the Iron IIA period. Yet the dating of this period to the 10th century BC has been increasingly challenged over the last two decades (by G. J. Wightman; P. J. James *et al.*; I. Finkelstein *et al.*; R. L. Chapman). Ongoing radiocarbon debates aside, to many it seems clear that the Iron Age IIA strata belong largely to the period of the Omride dynasty of the 9th century BC (and possibly later). This would apparently relegate King Solomon to the Iron I period (or to the Iron Age I-II transition period), in something of an archaeological vacuum, particularly where Jerusalem is concerned.

Here the problems become complex. Those scholars who challenge the validity of the Biblical account of Solomon tend to overlook the fact that the archaeology of Late Bronze to Early Iron Age Israel is largely dated from parameters derived from Egyptian chronology. An absolute lynchpin of this is the dating of Shoshenq I, who is usually identified as the biblical king Shishak. Here Egyptian chronology is dependent on biblical. Shoshenq I left an inscription of a Palestinian campaign in his year 21, usually equated with the year 5 of Rehoboam. Hence Shoshenq’s reign, and the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty, has been placed c. 945 BC (by most scholars including K. A. Kitchen). Minimalists who doubt the existence of Solomon might consider that arguments based on archaeology are based on an Egyptian chronology that is biblically based – on an event recorded as having taken place only five years after the death of Solomon. Some circularity has entered the debate, while, it seems, an increasing number of scholars are uncertain about the key identification of Shoshenq I with Shishak.

* BICANE is the acronym for the study group formed to make a fundamental review of ‘Bronze to Iron Age Chronology of the Ancient Near East’. While not a formally constituted body, it is an umbrella for a collaboration between an increasing number of scholars working together on the chronological interrelations between the archaeology and history of the Aegean, north-east Africa (Libya, Egypt and Nubia) and Western Asia (for convenience termed ‘Near East’) during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages.



Figure 2. Lecture by Dr John J. Bimson and audience during the third BICANE Colloquium in Cambridge. (Photo by D. Ellis).

The colloquium aimed to get down to ‘brass tacks’ on these issues. The identity of the Shoshenq I of the Egyptian monuments with the biblical Shishak was examined, pro and con, and alternative candidates were discussed. Related themes were Egyptian Third Intermediate Period chronology, the dating of Iron Age archaeology in Israel, the historicity of Solomon and relations between Egypt and Israel in the Late Bronze-Early Iron Ages. Our other aim (in inviting the participating scholars) was to have a balanced debate on the various issues involved. (Unfortunately the paper by Jonathan N. Tubb, ‘Omri and Ahab and the Literary Invention of the United Monarchy’, was not prepared by the author for publication.) The editors have included some extra papers and material by the participants – as we felt that their content not only was relevant to the subject matter of the colloquium but also helped complete the scope of some topics which are not dealt with in sufficient detail in the other articles: one by John Bimson based on a lecture presented at the second BICANE conference (Cambridge, June 2008) on the Palestinian campaign conducted by Ramesses III; a major contribution by Nikos Kokkinos on Solomon and Shishak in Josephus (continuing his series of detailed publications on ancient chronography); an addendum by Troy Sagrillo to his paper on the name Shishak; and two papers by the editors, one on identity of ‘Zerah the Ethiopian’ whose invasion of Judah forms a pendant to the narrative concerning Shishak, the other on a possible alternative historical context for the campaign of Shoshenq I.

We wish to express our gratitude to the contributors to this volume for the time and research spent to make the colloquium and these proceedings happen. Special thanks go to David Ellis for his remarkable efforts in organising everything ‘on the ground’ at Sidney Sussex College and

to Adrian Umpleby for his technical expertise with resolving conflicting computer problems and providing sound and skype. Our sincere thanks also to various sponsors: the Cambridge Science and Archaeology Forum and the Caeno Foundation (Henry Zemel) for help with accommodation and travel expenses, but especially to the Mainwaring Archive Foundation and Arbeitsgruppe für Biblische Archäologie (Wort und Wissen research foundation) for their generous help to the editors.

We also wish to thank a number of colleagues and friends, who kindly helped us finalising this book through giving expert advice and who assisted with final editing and production: with special thanks to Lorna Heaslip (as production editor, with much appreciated assistance from Troy Sagrillo), Friedrun van der Veen and Marinus van der Sluis (for proofreading) and Uwe Zerbst (for the maps).

The articles contained in these proceedings were all peer-reviewed by two or more referees, including other BICANE contributors but also the following scholars to whom we offer our sincere thanks:

- B. BAULAND, Historian, Nijmegen, Netherlands
- B. BRYAN, Art historian/Egyptologist, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore
- D. LAPPIN, Independent researcher in astronomy, biologist, research fellow (Dental School), Glasgow University
- B. MANLEY, Tutor in Egyptology and Coptic language, University of Glasgow
- Sir F. MILLAR, Classicist, Emeritus Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University
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- J. TEBES, Ancient historian, Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente, Buenos Aires
- N. J. THORPE, Prehistorian, Principal Lecturer & Head of Department of Archaeology, University of Winchester
- M. A. VAN DER SLUIJS, Historical linguist, consulting scholar, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia
- R. WALLENFELS, Ancient historian and cuneiform scholar, New York University

We also wish to thank the editors of the BAR International Series who accepted this volume for publication. Our hope is that this volume will contribute to this fascinating period of study and will arouse further debate.

Peter James and Peter van der Veen
December 2014

Postscript A major book on the 22nd dynasty appeared in print when the current proceedings were already in their final stages of editing: Frédéric Payraudeau, 2014. *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXII^e dynastie bubastide*, Vols. 1 and 2. Cairo: Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale. In this book (based on the author's 2004 PhD thesis), Payraudeau refers to a number of publications written by adherents of revised chronology schemes (but none later than 2002*) and briefly discusses some of their arguments and states why he believes that the Third Intermediate Period chronology cannot be drastically shortened (see especially Vol. 1, 13-18). But several publications by these revised chronology authors have appeared in print after 2002 and witness some important modifications with which Payraudeau appears to be unfamiliar.

* Payraudeau refers several times to the volume by P. van der Veen and U. Zerbst (eds), 2002. *Biblische Archäologie am Scheideweg? Für und Wider einer Neudatierung archäologischer Epochen im alttestamentlichen Palästina*. Holzgerlingen: Hänssler Verlag. Although this book, which critically assessed revised chronology issues and which incorporated articles by critics (including A. Dodson, K. Jansen-Winkel, Ph. Brissaud), primarily studied D. Rohl's scheme, which van der Veen and Zerbst now believe to be untenable.