

# The Huleh Valley from the Iron Age to the Muslim Period

A Study in Settlement History\*

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The Huleh Valley is archaeologically among the least explored regions in present day Israel. Hardly ever is it mentioned in books on the history of Israel, and there is scarcely an article in Bible dictionaries. Two reasons may be responsible for this: first, the term “Huleh Valley” appears neither in the Old nor in the New Testament so that few specialists find it necessary to explore the subject; second, the north of Israel as a whole – from the coastal plain north of Acco through the Upper Galilee to the Huleh Valley – is a region rarely explored comprehensively by archaeologists.<sup>1</sup> While New Testament scholars have worked intensively on the Lower Galilee, and have also considered the Old Testament period,<sup>2</sup> the Huleh Valley seems to be off the beaten track of research on regional history. One comprehensive survey of the area<sup>3</sup> goes back to the year 1962, and therefore has to be considered with caution: a second survey exclusively deals with the Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Ages.<sup>4</sup> Still mostly unpublished is the survey

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\* I thank Ulrike Schorn for translating my paper into English and for further help.

<sup>1</sup> Individual sites have, of course, been excavated, see the entries in *NEAEHL* (and especially the maps on the inside cover of the respective volumes). In this article, I wish to summarize studies on regional history of the Huleh region covering several centuries. For a comprehensive analysis of an archaeological survey in the Upper Galilee see Rafael Frankel, Nimrod Getzov, Mordechai Aviam, and Avi Degani, *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee: Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee* (IAA Reports 14; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2001); on the Iron Age in Lower Galilee see Zvi Gal, *Lower Galilee during the Iron Age* (ASOR Dissertation Series 8; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992); for later periods see the article by Mordechai Aviam in this volume (with references).

<sup>2</sup> See especially Richard A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995); idem, *Archaeology, History and Society in Galilee: The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996); Eric M. Meyers, ed., *Galilee through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999); Sean Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian* (Wilmington: Glazier, 1980); idem, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988); idem, *Galilee and Gospels: Collected Essays* (WUNT 125; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); Willibald Bösen, *Galiläa: Lebensraum und Wirkungsfeld Jesu* (Freiburg: Herder, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> Y. Dayan, *Archaeological Survey of the Hule Valley* (Kibbutz Dan, 1962) (Hebrew).

<sup>4</sup> Rafael Greenberg, “The Hula Valley from the Beginning of the Early Bronze Age to the

conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority whose first publication concentrates on Jewish settlement in the 1st c. C.E.<sup>5</sup>

The small amount of interest in the region as a whole, in its contacts with adjoining areas, and in a comprehensive view of all the available archaeological data, is astonishing since some of the excavations in this area are of major importance for archaeology. Two sites, Hazor (Tell el-Qedah) and Dan (Tell el-Qadi), stand out for their importance and the diversity of finds among Bronze and Iron Age sites in Israel. Tel Anafa/Tell Ahdar, an excavation covered by several publications over the past years, has produced groundbreaking evidence with respect to the Hellenistic era. Caesarea Philippi (Banyas) is situated outside the Huleh Valley itself, but still belongs to its catchment area and is easily accessible from there. It is not only mentioned in the New Testament but has seen intensive archaeological research during the last years.<sup>6</sup> Lastly, the main north to-south connection in the Levant runs through the Huleh Valley. Hazor, situated on this route, produced a large number of Accadian texts, unusual for ancient Palestine, dating to the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>7</sup> In the Middle Bronze archive from Mari on the Euphrates numerous texts have been found mentioning Hazor (and in one case maybe even Laish/Dan).<sup>8</sup>

The northern Jordan valley between Mount Hermon in the north and the decline to the Lake of Galilee in the south is surrounded by high mountains to the east, north, and west. To the west, the hill country of Upper Galilee rises rather steeply to about eight hundred meters above valley level. Immediately north of Dan and Caesarea Philippi, Mount Hermon towers to a height of 2814 meters above sea level; on the east the Golan rises to more than one thousand meters above sea level. To the south, a basalt barrier dating back to the Pliocene blocks the drainage of the valley. In the past the water level rose until it reached this barrier and found new drainage to the south by digging into the basalt barrier of the basin. The result was a drop in water level from which Lake Huleh

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end of the Middle Bronze Age IIA: A Study in Regional Archaeology” (Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1996) (Hebrew).

<sup>5</sup> Idan Shaked and Dina Avshalom-Gorni, “Jewish Settlement in the Southeastern Hula Valley in the First Century CE,” in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches* (ed. Douglas R. Edwards; New York: Routledge, 2004), 28–36. This publication came out too late to be considered in this paper.

<sup>6</sup> For a summary of publications on excavations until 1989, see Zvi U. Ma’oz, “Banyas,” *NEAEHL* 1:136–43, and recently John F. Wilson, *Caesarea Philippi: Banyas, the Lost City of Pan* (London: IB Tauris & Co., 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Compare the details presented in Wayne Horowitz, “Two Late Bronze Age Tablets from Hazor,” *IEJ* 50 (2000): 16–28 and Yuval Goren, “Provenance Study of the Cuneiform Texts from Hazor,” *IEJ* 50 (2000): 29–42; Wayne Horowitz and Nathan Wasserman, “An Old Babylonian Letter from Hazor with Mention of Mari and Ekallatum,” *BASOR* 50 (2000): 169–74.

<sup>8</sup> See the relevant articles by Abraham Malamat, some of which have been collected in *Mari and the Bible* (Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 12; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

developed. The southern border of the Huleh Valley is formed by the Bridge of Jacob's daughters (Jisr Benat Yaaqub), or rather the site of the crusader castle Qasr el Atra situated immediately to the south. Thus the basin of the Huleh Valley, with a length of about twenty-five kilometers and a width of six to eight kilometers, is limited on all sides, and forms an independent regional and geographical entity.

Through the high level of precipitation in the north of Israel, reaching up to 1500 mm in the mountainous region above 1000 m and on the snow covered Mount Hermon, the Huleh basin is amply fed with water from all directions. Uniquely else in the region not only wadis but annual streams can be found flowing during summer. Rising in the north are Wadi Banyas next to Caesarea Philippi, Nahr Dan near Dan, and Nahr el-Hasbani in today's Lebanon, all tributaries of what further south will become river Jordan.

Although they deposited fertile alluvial soil, the sources of the Jordan and the other smaller streams of the region were not entirely beneficial. Owing to their constant flow, the water level of these streams was relatively high, frequently causing damage even to plants with deep roots (e. g. fruit trees). It seems plausible that wheat, and to a lesser extent barley and vegetables, were grown in this area since the Bronze Age. Most likely papyrus, growing in the shallow waters of the Huleh Lake, was also harvested.<sup>9</sup>

These agricultural products are attested for this region in Ottoman tax lists from the 16th c. C.E.,<sup>10</sup> and confirm that at least at the time few places in the region paid taxes; it seems that despite ample water nobody in this area could become rich through agriculture.

### 1. The Size of Lake Huleh according to Flavius Josephus

A person driving north from the Lake of Galilee on the modern road to Metulla sees a number of small fish ponds to the right of the road south and north of Hazor. A small nature preserve in this area is a reminder that Lake Huleh once existed here, shallow but not unimportant. From 1951 to 1958 Lake Huleh was drained by the Israelis, with support from Dutch specialists, in order to fight malaria and to gain new land for agriculture. Today the Huleh Valley is a large plain. Most maps, however, present the shoreline of Lake Huleh as it was before 1951. One reason for this may be that the Huleh Valley has still not been adequately

<sup>9</sup> Today papyrus still grows in the nature resort that aims to preserve, at least in a small area, the conditions of Huleh Lake before it was drained.

<sup>10</sup> See the relevant map in Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlanger Geographische Arbeiten, Sonderband 5; Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Gesellschaft, 1977).



examined by comprehensive surveys. Nevertheless, a few scattered articles published on the Huleh Valley allow us to determine the lake's original size.<sup>11</sup>

The ancient name of Lake Huleh was Lake Semechonitis. The earliest certain reference to it can be found in Theophrastos's (ca. 371 – ca. 287 B.C.E.) nine-volume work *Historia plantarum* (9.7.1).<sup>12</sup> Scholars have repeatedly pondered whether the lake might already be mentioned in Ugaritic or biblical texts, but that the "shores of Shamak" in KTU 1.10 II 9.12 refer to Lake Huleh, as often claimed, seems doubtful since all other place names in the text are to be localized in the area of northern Syria.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the identification of the "swamp" mentioned in KTU 1.92 with Lake Huleh is too speculative. Old Testament scholars often equate the "waters of Merom" (Josh 11:5, 7) with Lake Huleh, but this identification is undermined by the meaning of the word "Merom," namely a "place on a mountain." These waters will have to be found in the mountainous area of Upper Galilee or the Golan, although an exact location cannot be given.<sup>14</sup> It is not impossible that the phrase refers to Lake Phiala in the area of Mount Hermon, which today bears the name Birket er-Ram (grid ref. 221–222.292 293).<sup>15</sup>

In the 1st c. C.E. Flavius Josephus mentions the lake and its size with seeming precision:

Seleukia is situated near the Lake Semechonitis. It is thirty stadia in width and sixty in length; its marshlands extend to the area of Daphne, which by the way is very lush and has springs feeding the so-called little Jordan beneath the sanctuary of the "golden cow"<sup>16</sup> and then speed it towards the greater river.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Of only limited help is the book by Salomon E. Grootkerk, *Ancient Sites in Galilee: A Toponymic Gazetteer* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 1; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2000). It names many sites, but it is incomplete for the area dealt with here, and contains undifferentiated data on the settlement periods. A compilation of all the sites I know of is Wolfgang Zwickel, "Die Größe des Hulesees im Altertum aus der Sicht der Archäologie," in *"Einen Altar von Erde mache mir...": Festschrift für Diethelm Conrad zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Johannes F. Diehl, Reinhard Heitzenröder, and Markus Witte; Kleine Arbeiten zum Alten und Neuen Testament 4/5; Waltrop: Hartmut Spenner, 2003), 324–31.

<sup>12</sup> The text is not printed in Menachem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), since Stern obviously sees it as referring to the Lebanon.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., André Caquot et al., *Textes ougaritiques*, Vol. 1: *Mythes et légendes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974), 283.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., Volkmar Fritz, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT I/7; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1994), 121.

<sup>15</sup> Josephus speaks about Lake Phiala in *J. W.* 3.509, 511, 513.

<sup>16</sup> This refers to the Nahal Dan and to the sanctuary of Dan. See Otto Michel, Otto Bauernfeind, Otto Betz, "Der Tempel der goldenen Kuh. Bemerkungen zur Polemik im Spätjudentum," *ZNW* 49 (1958): 197–212.

<sup>17</sup> *J. W.* 4.3. For further remarks on the lake by Josephus, see *J. W.* 3.515; *Ant.* 5.199; 15.360.

Read closely, the text reveals a number of difficulties. The “little Jordan” can be identified with Nahr Dan; its waters constitute one tributary of the Jordan. The rest of the text is more complicated. The site Siluqiye (grid ref. 2223.2671), traditionally identified with Seleukia, produced no remains from Hellenistic or Roman times.<sup>18</sup> The identification of Seleukia with Tell Ahdar/Tel Anafa (grid ref. 2105.2868), proposed by Shemarya Gutman,<sup>19</sup> does not sufficiently consider that the place was given up around 75 B.C.E. and housed only a small settlement later.<sup>20</sup> Yet this identification should not be excluded. Because of the small settlement at Tell Ahdar/Tel Anafa in Josephus’s time, Christa Möller and Götz Schmitt<sup>21</sup> identified Seleukia with ed-Dura (grid ref. 2124.2664) because – according to them – this was the only site in the vicinity of the Huleh Valley that showed Hellenistic pottery sherds. We might also consider Rawiye (grid ref. 2138.2805), Dardara (grid ref. 2115.2747), Tell Naama (grid ref. 2059.2868), and esh-Shekh Mahmud (grid ref. 2109.2816).<sup>22</sup> We will not attain certainty until more intensive surveys have been carried out in the southern Golan Heights.

The place Josephus calls “Daphne” is usually identified with Khirbet Dafne. The *Survey of Western Palestine* reports scattered ruins and basalt walls at this site, yet the Khirbe itself was situated outside the main survey area.<sup>23</sup> The authors of the report refer to Victor Guérin, who describes the site as follows:

A 2 kilomètres environ au sud de Tell el-Kadhy, s’élèvent deux autres tell beaucoup moins considérable et appelés tous deux Tell Defna. (...) Le premier de ces deux petits tell que je rencontre m’est désigné à la fois sous le nom de Tell Defna et sous celui de Tell Cheikh Dhouri, parce qu’on santon ainsi appelé y a son tombeau. Une vingtaine d’autres tombes de Rhaourny y sont ombragées par un bouquet de vieux chênes. Un peu plus au sud, le même nom de Defna est attaché à un second monticule.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See also Götz Schmitt, *Siedlungen Palästinas in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Ostjordanland, Negeb und (in Auswahl) Westjordanland* (BTAVO B/93; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1995), 305.

<sup>19</sup> See the preface in *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967/1968* (ed. Moshe Kochavi; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1972), 246.

<sup>20</sup> *Tel Anafa* can perhaps be identified with Antiochou Pharanx (Josephus, *J. W.* 1.105; *Ant.* 13.394), if this is really the name of a place; see Christa Möller and Götz Schmitt, *Siedlungen Palästinas nach Flavius Josephus* (BTAVO B/14; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1976), 18–20, 195.

<sup>21</sup> Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen*, 168.

<sup>22</sup> For these sites, see Moshe Hartal, *Northern Golan Heights: The Archaeological Survey as a Source of Regional History* (Qazrin: Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums/Ministry of Defence, 1989), 101–2, 106–7.

<sup>23</sup> Claude R. Conder and Horatio H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine. Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archaeology*, vol. 1: *Galilee* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881), 118.

<sup>24</sup> Victor Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*, Vol. 3: *Galilée, tome deuxième* (Paris: Imprimerie imperiale, 1880), 342–3.

It seems that Guérin and his colleagues were the only explorers to visit the two hills; apparently neither Albright<sup>25</sup> nor Dayan visited the place, or took notice of it during their surveys in the region, and there seem to be no other reports about archaeological explorations of the site. Maps like the British 1:50.000 and its modern equivalent from 1998 record a Kibbutz Daphne, founded in 1939 and continuing the old name, but not a Khirbe. Tell Shekh Dury is also not marked on these maps. Most dictionaries give grid ref. 209.292 as the position of both hills, but without further differentiation.<sup>26</sup> The old 1:50.000 map notes two neighbouring settlement hills that could be those referred to by Guérin, but they are situated four kilometers south of Tell el Qadi; those are Tell el Munqatia (grid ref. 2109.2918) and Tell Kawatil (grid ref. 2105.2914). Almost 2 km south of Tell el Qadi we find a site called Khirbet ed Dara (grid ref. 2106.2933), but the second hill mentioned by Guérin is lacking. As far as I know, this tell, too, has never been closely examined.

When I visited the area in the autumn of 2000 I also missed Guérin's two hills.<sup>27</sup> According to the local inhabitants, there are no tells within the area of Kibbutz Daphne. A little further south, at the southern exit of the village of She'ar Yashub, an artificial hill named Tahumat et Tabha (grid ref. 2102.2916) is located to the left of the road. It is also not marked on the modern 1:50.000 map. Guérin's second hill, therefore, could refer to the immediately neighboring Tell Katelit (according to the spelling on the 1:50.000 map from 1998), i. e., Tell Kawatil (according to the older spelling, grid ref. 2105.2913). Both hills, however, are situated about 3.5 km south of Tell el-Qadi, and can therefore not be identified with Guérin's Tell Defna. For the time being, it seems impossible to decide which of the regional mounds was presented to Guérin as Tell Defna.

A different path might, therefore, be appropriate, namely to follow Hadrianus Reland (1676–1718)<sup>28</sup> and Edward Robinson<sup>29</sup> and read "Dan" instead of "Daphne" in Josephus's text. The passage would then provide an exact description of the region. Furthermore, we should keep in mind that Josephus may

<sup>25</sup> William F. Albright, "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," *AASOR* 6 (1924/25): 13–74.

<sup>26</sup> See, e. g., *Geographical List of the Records Files, 1918–1948* (Jerusalem: Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, 1976), 9.

<sup>27</sup> The journey was undertaken as a preparation for the third volume of *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel: Ein Handbuch und Studienreiseführer zum Heiligen Land*, and was sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

<sup>28</sup> Hadrianus Reland, *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (Trajecti Batavorum: ex libraria Guilielmi Broedelet, 1714), 263. His map is now easily accessible in Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Holy Lands: Images of Terra Sancta through two millenia* (New York: Abbeville, 1986); idem, *Atlas zum Heiligen Land: Karten der Terra Sancta durch zwei Jahrtausende* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995), 143.

<sup>29</sup> Edward Robinson, *Palästina und die südlich angrenzenden Länder: Tagebuch einer Reise im Jahre 1838 in Bezug auf die biblische Geographie unternommen von E. Robinson und E. Smith*, vol. 3: *Abtheilung* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1842), 618.



be the only ancient author to attest a place called Daphne. The text in TgNum 34:11,<sup>30</sup> which used to be taken as a parallel to Josephus, probably goes back to a variant reading of the Vulgate version of Num 34:11, where a “daphnim” was added to the original text. It will have to remain an open question, therefore, whether an unknown place – as in TgNum 34:11 – was confused with a Daphne that lies 9 km south of Antioch (cf. 2 Macc 4:33), or whether the name goes back to scribal knowledge of the text of Josephus. In sum, the arguments in favor of the existence of an ancient site named Daphne in the Huleh region are not at all convincing.

Even so, Josephus still provides other reliable information. He states, e. g., that there were wide marshlands north of Lake Huleh, and that the width of the lake measured 30 stadia (ca. 6 km) and its length about 60 stadia (ca. 12 km). These figures of course are approximations, given that modern means of exact measurement were not available to ancient authors. Theophrastos gives a similar width in *Historia plantarum* 9.7.1, which more or less corresponds to the width of the lake before it was drained, namely ca. 5.2 km on the basis of an average yearly water supply. On the other hand, the length of the lake given by Josephus (60 stadia or ca. 12 km) is far longer than the average length of the lake before its draining (about 5.8 km). Was the lake larger in antiquity? Or is Josephus’s figure simply wrong? This question will be discussed in the next section.

For survival in this area to control how much water left the area through the narrow gorge of the Jordan was essential. When people diverted enough water to the high elevated fields in the Huleh Valley they could live a fairly good life, since here – the only inland region in the entire southern Levant – water was plentiful all year round. Whenever irrigation was not properly maintained, the ground water would rise and threaten the survival of deep rooted plants. This also had an impact on the water level of Lake Huleh, which would rise as more water was diverted into it.

Before Lake Huleh was drained in the early 20th c., the Lake had an average size of 31 km<sup>2</sup>. During the summer months the Jordan would remain in its narrow gorge south of the Huleh Valley and carry all the water south but heavy rain in the winter would lead to a rise in the level of Lake Huleh of up to one or two meters. Since the Huleh Basin rises towards the north with an average gradient of 25 cm per 1 km, this meant that up to 8 km of land was regularly flooded. So, every winter a swampy area was created which then dried out again in the following summer.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Roger Le Déaut, *Targum du Pentateuque*, Vol. 3: *Nombres* (Sources Chrétiennes n. 261; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1979), 323.

<sup>31</sup> These details were taken from the excellent essay by Yehuda Karmon, “The Settlement of the Northern Hule Valley since 1838,” *IEJ* 3 (1953): 4–25, which presents extensive material evidence.

The construction of the bridge of Jisr Benat Yaaqub in 1260 C.E. made a profound impact on regional settlement. The remains of this basalt stone bridge can still be seen in situ on the eastern bank of the Jordan some hundred meters north of the modern (northern) Jordan bridge. Since the basalt piers of the medieval bridge artificially narrowed the natural bed of the Jordan, the water in Lake Huleh rose and the entire region surrounding it became increasingly marshy. As a consequence the region was depopulated. Karmon has convincingly demonstrated that it was not before more sophisticated knowledge of canal constructing had developed in the middle of the 19th c., that the population in the area gradually grew.<sup>32</sup>

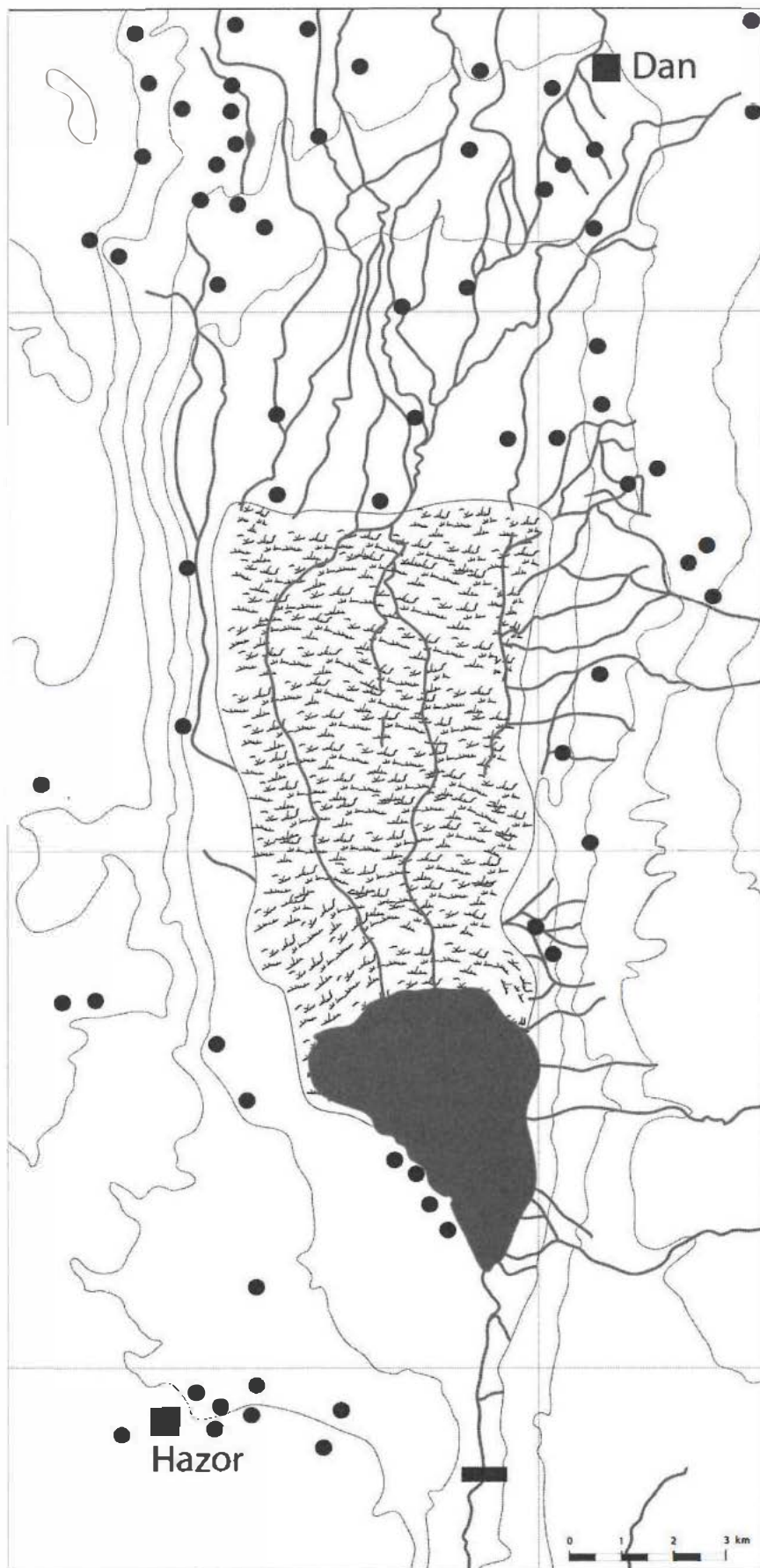
But what was the situation in antiquity?<sup>33</sup> The result of drawing a map collecting all the archaeological sites in the Huleh Valley is rather surprising (map 1). Throughout all periods of settlement the same area along the banks of the lake, and especially to the north, remained unsettled. In the north Tell Naama (grid ref. 2059.2868) and Tell esh Shekh Yusuf (grid ref. 2083.2877) mark a relatively exact border line of settlements. To the immediate north of these two sites is a large accumulation of settlements, whereas to the south there is not a single one! We can conclude from this observation that the territory south of these two sites was affected by the regular floods mentioned above, and therefore was not suitable for settlement. Hence the northern margin of the Huleh marshland can be delineated. It appears that the size of the Huleh marshland was – at least at times – larger than so far suggested, covering an area of about 6 km east-west, and 14.4 km north-south. Hence, Josephus's measurement of the lake as 12 km long is even too small. The maximal northern border of settlement runs approximately along the 75 m contour line. Since the outlet of Lake Huleh lies at about 70 m altitude, we can determine a gradient of ca. 5 m between Lake Huleh and its marshland. It seems obvious that in antiquity nobody tried to regulate the level of the Lake, with everything left to nature. The part of the Huleh Valley located south of the lake was sufficient to provide agricultural supplies for the only major regional site, Hazor, if that city was limited to the upper tell of about 12 hectares. When the lower mound was also settled, as in the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages, Hazor depended mainly on trade. It then obtained such a rich surplus that grain and fruit could be acquired from Galilee, and especially

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> In what follows, Efraim Orni and Elisha Efrat, *Geographie Israels* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1966), 84–5 was not taken into consideration: “Die an den Steilhängen des Tals [i. e. the Huleh Valley, W. Z.] herunterbrausenden Bäche führen große Mengen Schwemmaterial mit sich. Sobald sie aber den flachen Talboden erreichen, erlahmt ihre Zugkraft plötzlich, und das Alluvium wird überlagert. Das Ausmaß dieses Prozesses läßt sich nach den Überresten einer Siedlung der spätbyzantinischen und früh-arabischen Zeit (d. h. 7.–8. Jh. n. Chr.) ermessen, welche unter einer 4 m hohen Schicht von Schwemmerde aufgefunden wurde.” Although this remark has been cited over and over again I have found no hint on the possible identification of this site in all the literature I have consulted.



Map 1



from the Golan. The area available without any manipulation of nature to the north of Lake Hule was probably sufficient for the rest of the settlements in the region. The inhabitants were probably even grateful for the marshland, since it offered opportunities for fishing, bird-hunting, and harvesting reeds. Reeds were widely used for making baskets and little boxes (Ex 2:3), and even (at least on the Nile) simple ships (Isa 18:2). Hence, the marshland expanded the options for income. It seems therefore that people did not consider the marshland a threat and disadvantage – unlike the 20th century.

## 2. The Settlement History of the Huleh Valley in Iron Age II<sup>34</sup>

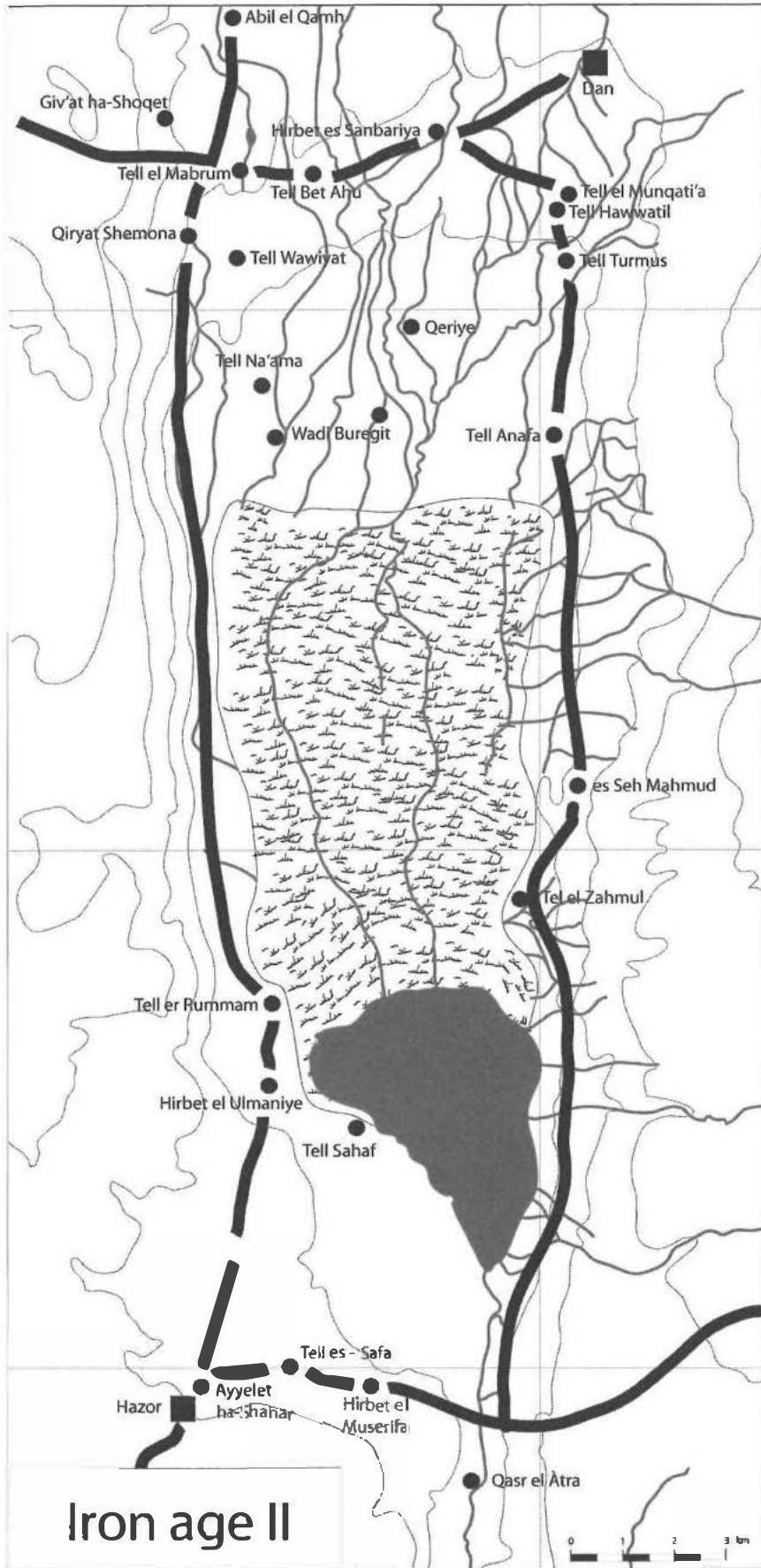
Despite the proximity of excavated sites like Hazor and Dan, nobody has yet attempted to correlate the Iron Age II pottery found there with material from other Iron Age II sites in the area (map 2). One reason may be that hardly any pottery from Iron Age Dan has been published so far.<sup>35</sup> We have some biblical and extrabiblical facts on the regional Iron Age II that appear somewhat reliable, since they mention the area more or less in passing, without glorifying any historical events attributed to it. Solomon, for example, is reported to have reestablished and secured the old site of Hazor (1 Kings 9:15) in order to promote along the *via maris* the trade that grew with the rise of the monarchy. At the same time, the massive 10th c. B.C.E. fortifications of Hazor provided a formidable stronghold against the Arameans of Damascus who at that time were hostile to Solomon (1 Kings 11:23–25). Since the Huleh Valley played a prominent role in trade, Solomon obviously intended to secure the region against any possible Aramean invasion. Hazor's consolidation in the second half of the 10th c. B.C.E., therefore, made sense from both military and economic perspectives.

The foundation of an Israelite sanctuary in Dan by Jeroboam II (1 Kings 12:26–29) fits well into that picture. The site is situated a distance away from the *via maris*, but lies in immediate proximity to the road to Damascus. This probably indicates one of the ideas behind Jeroboam's border sanctuaries: Dan had visibly to proclaim the God of Israel to the Arameans of Damascus who were becoming increasingly influential and threatening at that time, and Bet El demonstrated the power of Israel's God to the Judaeans. These sanctuaries were not built primarily to protect the frontier – if so we would have expected another sanctuary in the northwest facing Phoenicia –, but to manifest the power of Israel's God before the eyes of the enemies. Anyone intending to conquer the territory of Israel, had first of all to face the sanctuary of Israel's national god.

<sup>34</sup> See also Wolfgang Zwickel, *Siedlungsgeschichte des Hulebeckens von der Mittelbronze- zur Eisenzeit* (forthcoming).

<sup>35</sup> A helpful compilation of pottery data from Dan is presented in Larry G. Herr, *Published Pottery of Palestine* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 149–50, 179–80.

Map 2





The idea behind this is probably the mythological concept of the national God keeping back the enemies.

The following years are characterized by increasing tension between the Arameans of Damascus and the Israelites. The Huleh Valley was constantly disputed and not – as many would assume – an integral part of Israel. The history of the subsequent period is marked by repeated attempts from both sides to conquer the region. First, Ben Hadad of Aram took at least Dan, and perhaps even Hazor (1 Kings 15:20), but apparently lost the area again only a little later to Israel. The Daninscription demonstrates that Dan, and possibly even Hazor, were conquered by the Aramean Hasael. Again, a few decades later, Jeroboam II seems to have recaptured both places for Israel in the course of his expansionist policy (2 Kings 14:25; Am 8:14). Finally, Hazor was leveled by the Assyrian king Tiglat Pileser with such devastating effects that the once powerful place never recovered (2 Kings 15:29).

Historical Event	Hazor	Dan
construction by Solomon	attested (1 Kings 9:15)	
area controlled by Israel under Jeroboam I (926–907)	likely	attested (1 Kings 12:26–32)
conquest by Ben-Hadad I around 885 B.C.E.	?	attested (1 Kings 15:20)
recapture of the area by Israel shortly after 885 B.C.E.	?	likely, since the Dan inscription indicates a reconquest of Dan by the Arameans
conquest by Hasael around 845 B.C.E.	?	very likely (Tell Dan inscription)
reconquest by Jeroboam II (787–747 B.C.E.)	likely (2 Kings 14:25)	likely (2 Kings 14:25; Am 8:14)
conquest by Tiglat-Pileser (734–732 B.C.E.)	attested (2 Kings 15:29)	?
settlement after 732 B.C.E.	?	attested (Jer 4:15; 8:16)

Against this background Hazor's numerous settlement layers require a thoroughgoing investigation on the basis of a comparison of the pottery from Dan with the material from Betsaida/et Tell and Tel Kinrot. Only then will we be able to gain a better insight into the settlement history of the region.

The northern kingdom was mostly depopulated after 732 B.C.E., yet, large mansions were built, obviously in order to control and organize trade. One of them was the palace at Ayyelet ha Shajar. Close examination of its pottery (still in the archives of the Israel Antiquities Authority) suggests that the building

was erected during the Assyrian period. It has been excavated only partially, but obviously follows Babylonian building traditions.<sup>36</sup> A second, contemporary palace was also detected in Ayyelet ha Shahar.

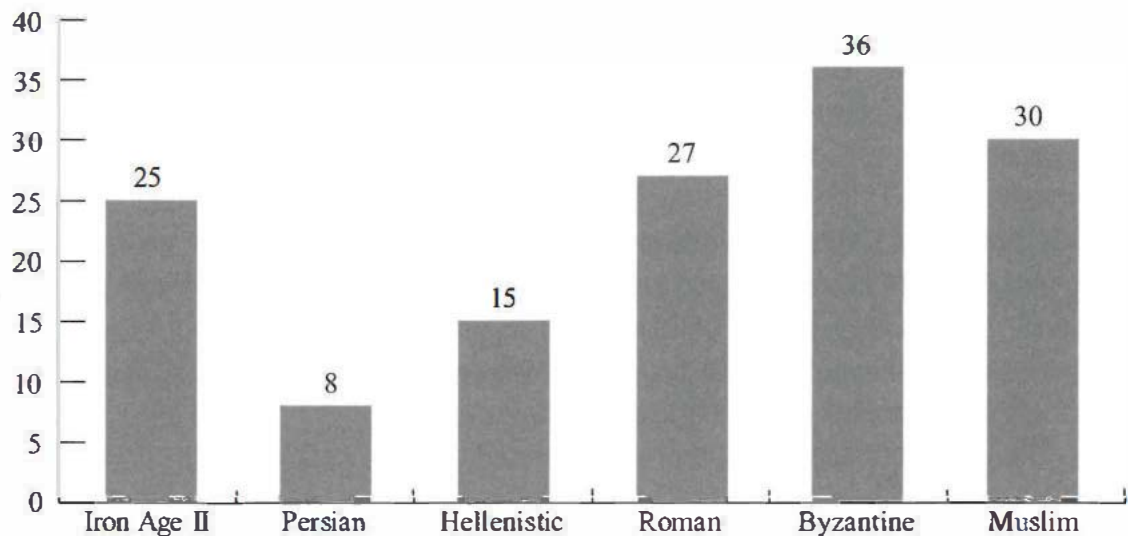
Looking at the position of Iron Age settlements in the Huleh Valley clarifies the road system (map 2). Although only one road existed to the west of Lake Huleh during the Late Bronze Age, a second road running along the eastern side of the lake seems to have played an important role in the Iron Age. Perhaps Bet-saida/et-Tell on the Lake of Galilee had become more important and therefore a connection was needed with the main trade route to the north. The east west connection too seems to have played a major role in this period. One road ran from Hazor to Damascus; another was situated further north and connected Tyre and Damascus. Apart from a few minor sites north of the marshland area, nearly all villages were situated along these main roads; this indicates the importance of transregional trade. Compared to the cosmopolitan Late Bronze Age city of Hazor, however, which was the most important site throughout the country, the Huleh Valley in the Iron Age II lacked a comparable center. The region merely functioned as a transit area, and as a subject of continuous dispute between Arameans and Israelites.

### 3. Settlement History of the Huleh Valley in the Persian Period

We have clear signs of a decline in urban culture during the Persian era in the Huleh Valley as well as throughout many parts of the country (see the chart on p. 176 and map 3). The roots of the decline go back to the year 732 B.C.E. when the Assyrians conquered the area. After 732, settlement conditions were similar to those during the Persian period. The North in general was scarcely settled, and we know of no major settlements in the Huleh Valley. Little signs of resettlement after the Assyrian onslaught have been identified at sites already settled during the Iron Age II, only on a very low level. Examples are the former palaces at Hazor, and the one at Ayyelet ha-Shahar; these were likely to have been used in connection with trade on the *via maris*. North of Lake Huleh only a few small settlements existed, all at sites already inhabited in the Iron Age. The road along the eastern shore of Lake Huleh was given up, probably because no major road in this area was needed after the Assyrian destruction of Bet Saida/et-Tell. The east-west roads apparently also lost their importance because the Golan was completely depopulated and trade along the roads was minimal.

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<sup>36</sup> Raz Kletter and Wolfgang Zwickel, "The Assyrian Building of 'Ayyelet ha-Šaḥar,'" ZDPV 122 (2006), 151–186.



Number of archaeological sites in the Huleh valley

Excavated sites indicate that the Persian period was of minor importance. Only marginal remains were detected in Dan, as is also true for Hazor south of Lake Huleh. Obviously the country had to be rebuilt.

#### 4. Settlement History of the Huleh Valley in the Hellenistic Period

During the Hellenistic period, all evidence points to a significant increase in settlement activity, although the areas north and south of Lake Huleh need to be clearly distinguished (map 4). The area immediately south of the lake was completely neglected. The few houses we find in Hazor are poorly built, and the palace in Ayyelet ha Shahar was abandoned.

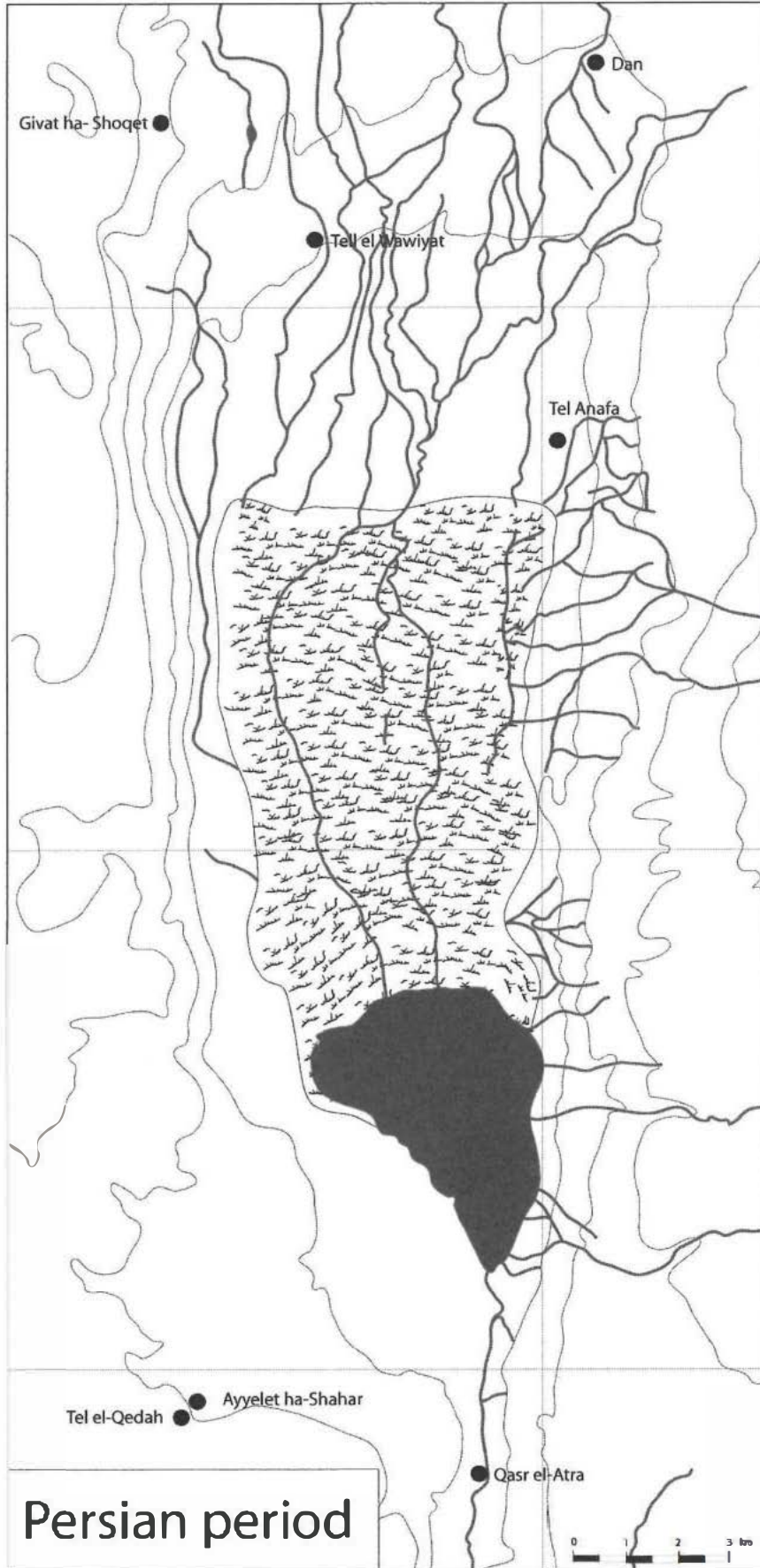
The situation north of the lake, however, shows a number of flourishing settlements. Even if no permanent settlement existed in Banias yet, we have evidence of a Pan cult in the area from the 3rd c. B.C.E., demonstrating Greek influence in the area. Tell Anafa constituted a small Ptolemaic settlement in the 3rd c. and a more important Seleucid settlement in the 2nd c.; this seems to be a general pattern for the region.

The road system also changed in this period: the main road, instead of running west of the Jordan connecting Kinnereth, Hazor, and Abel Bet-Maacha, now followed its eastern banks via Betsaida, Tell Anafa, and Dan, and then went further west to Tyre or east to Damascus.<sup>37</sup> The reason for this shift is probably the two new sites, Gadara and Hippos, that originated in Hellenistic times and would have a great impact in the future. Both sites had to connect with the trade from

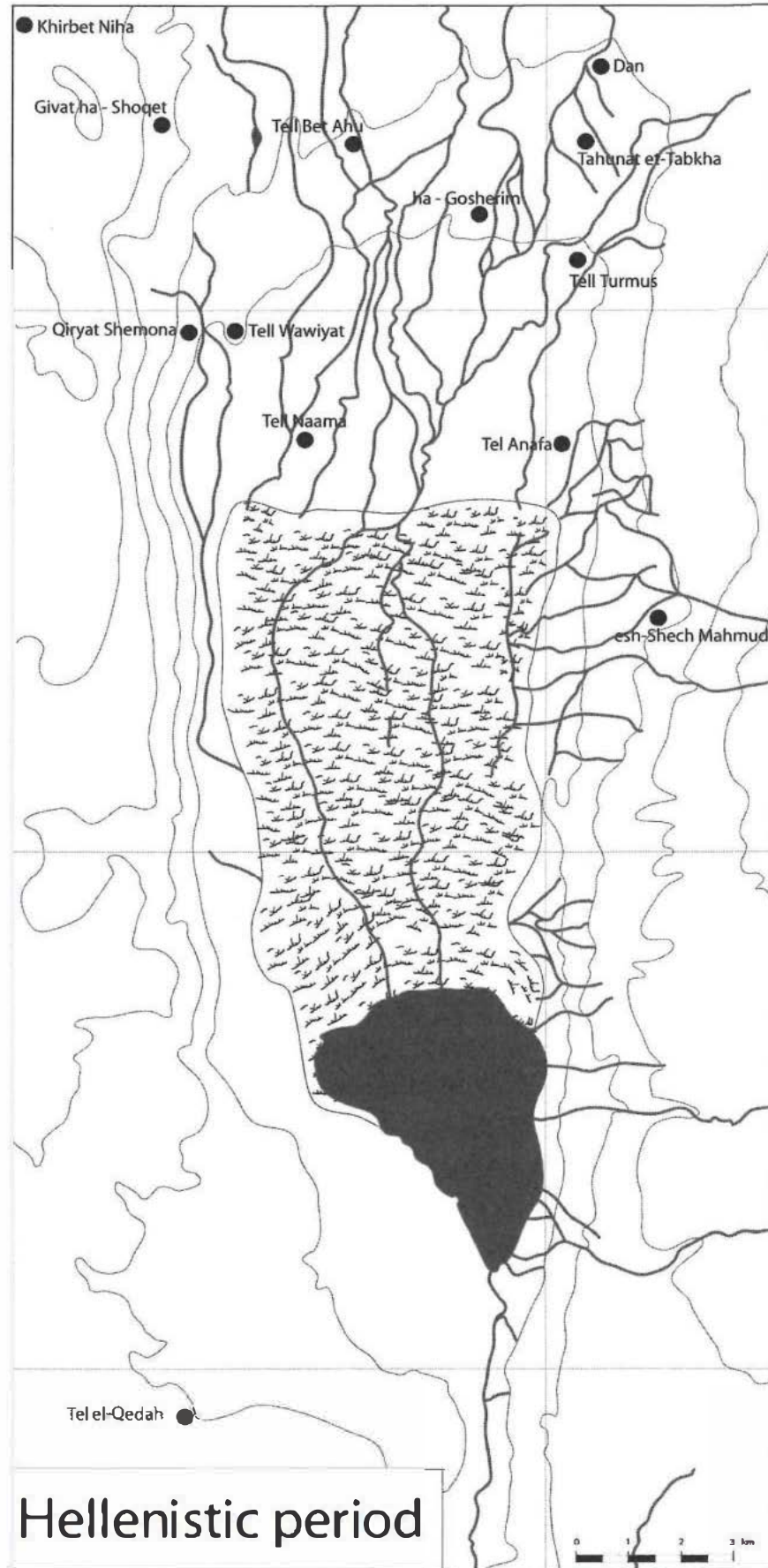
<sup>37</sup> Cf. Hartal, *Northern Golan Heights*, map 5.



Map 3



Map 4



east and west, and this could best be accomplished via the Huleh Valley and the east-west routes running through it. The distribution of settlements makes clear that in Hellenistic times the east-west connection had become more important than the north-south route.

What were the reasons for resettling the northern Huleh Valley in the Seleucid period? First of all, agriculture must have played an important role, because the rapidly growing coastal cities like Tyre and Sidon were dependent upon supplies from the hinterland. This certainly explains why so many sites in the northern Huleh Valley have a direct road connection to the coast. Even under the Hasmoneans the region remained under strict Tyrian control, since Hasmonean rule extended only to Lake Huleh and not further north. Thus, Lake Huleh constituted a cultural divider during the 1st c. B.C.E. between areas under Judean and under Phoenician influence. Judean expansion into the densely populated area north of Lake Huleh would probably have led to serious military conflicts with the Phoenicians, so only the thinly populated area south of it could be firmly incorporated into the Hasmonean area of control.

## 5. Settlement History of the Huleh Valley in the Roman Period

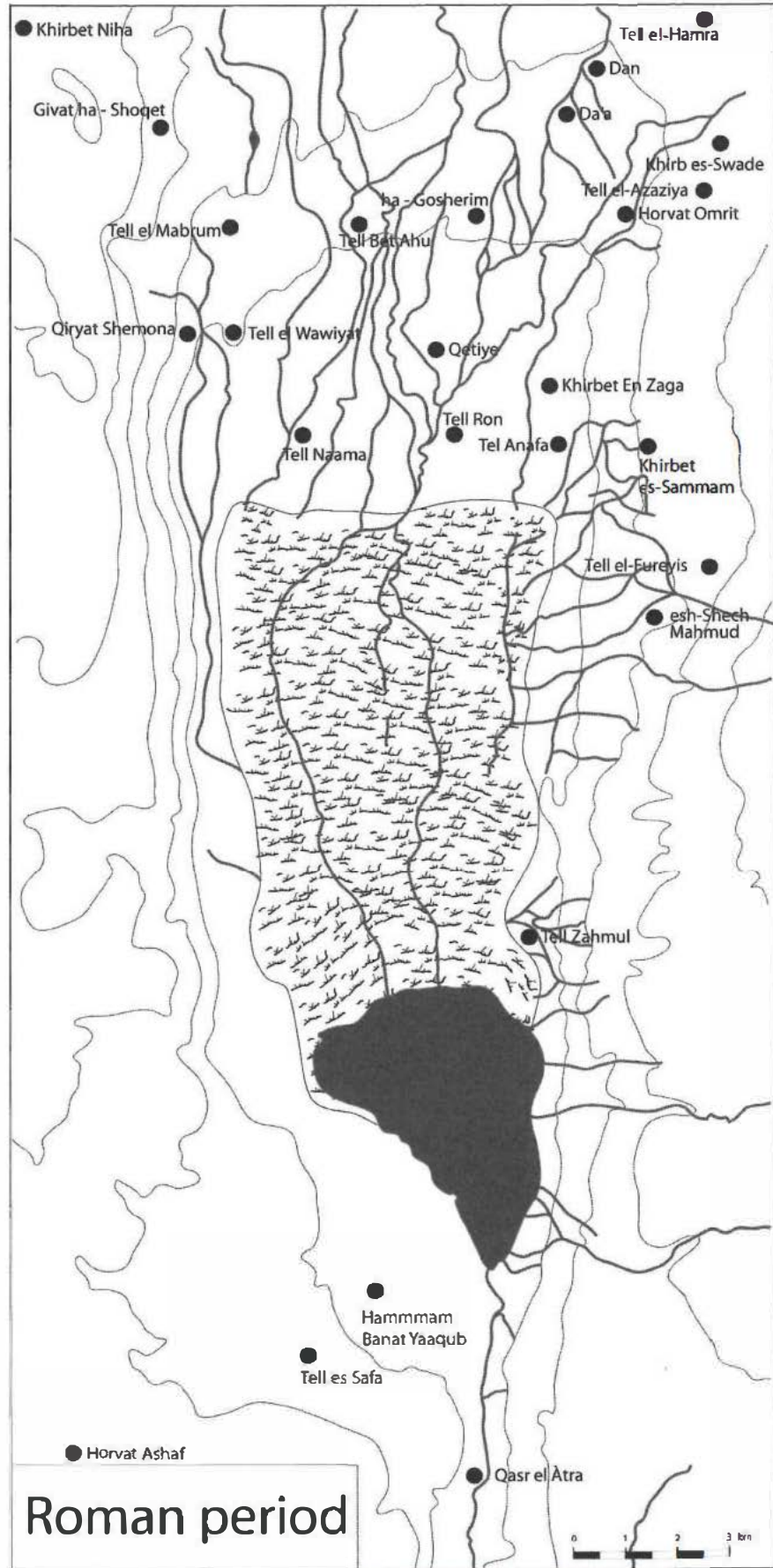
During the Roman period the area north of Lake Huleh saw intensified settlement activity (map 5). Large building projects developed especially under Herod the Great (e. g., the rural temples of Omrit and Caesarea), but much continuity existed with the preceding epoch.

In the region south of Lake Huleh some new settlements can be found, but they do not indicate a profound increase. This region seems to have remained in the shadow of the general development, differing considerably from the settlement history around the Lake of Galilee where we find a significant increase of activity just as in the region north of Lake Huleh. It lay in the extreme north of Antipas's (4 B.C.E. – 39 C.E.) territory and was perhaps not considered worth a substantial investment. The northern part of the Huleh Valley formed the southern part of Philippus's (4 B.C.E. – 34 C.E.) territory; he was interested in trade with Damascus and therefore favored it. Since the northern and southern parts of the Huleh Valley were politically different, they developed differently. The Romans do not appear to have had a particular interest in improving the regional infrastructure; the old trade routes from north to south had lost their significance, with the main emphasis now on sea trade and the orientation directed to the west. The Huleh region was marginal.

Internal development, however, continued. Several boundary stones from the years 293–305 C.E. have been found in the Huleh Valley. Each of them marks the territory of an individual settlement. Most of the stones are rough-hewn and bear a Greek inscription. Outside the Huleh Valley similar stones are known



Map 5



from the Golan and the region south of Damascus.<sup>38</sup> The stones were part of an official land registry project aiming at integrating the area.<sup>39</sup> In the long version the inscription reads (there is also a short version naming only the respective places): “Diocletianus and Maximianus, Augusti, Constantius and Maximianus, Caesares, have ordered to set up the stone which divides the territory of the vil-lages X and Y, through the care of the excellent Aelius Statutus.”

The following boundary stones are known from the Huleh Valley (grid-num-bers refer to Aharonis’s catalogue):

Number	1. Place	2. Place	site (grid-nr.)
1	Galania	Migerame	2120.2855
2	Migerame	Galania	2125.2862
3	Mamsia	Bet Achon	2067.2933
4	Chresimiana	—	ca. 2077.2970
13	Dera	Migerame	ca. 211.283
14	Osea	Perise	ca. 211.283
15	Dera	Osea	ca. 210.283
16	Osea	Perise	ca. 210.283
17	Galania	Rama	ca. 210.283

Scholars have not yet been able to locate the places mentioned on the stones with certainty.

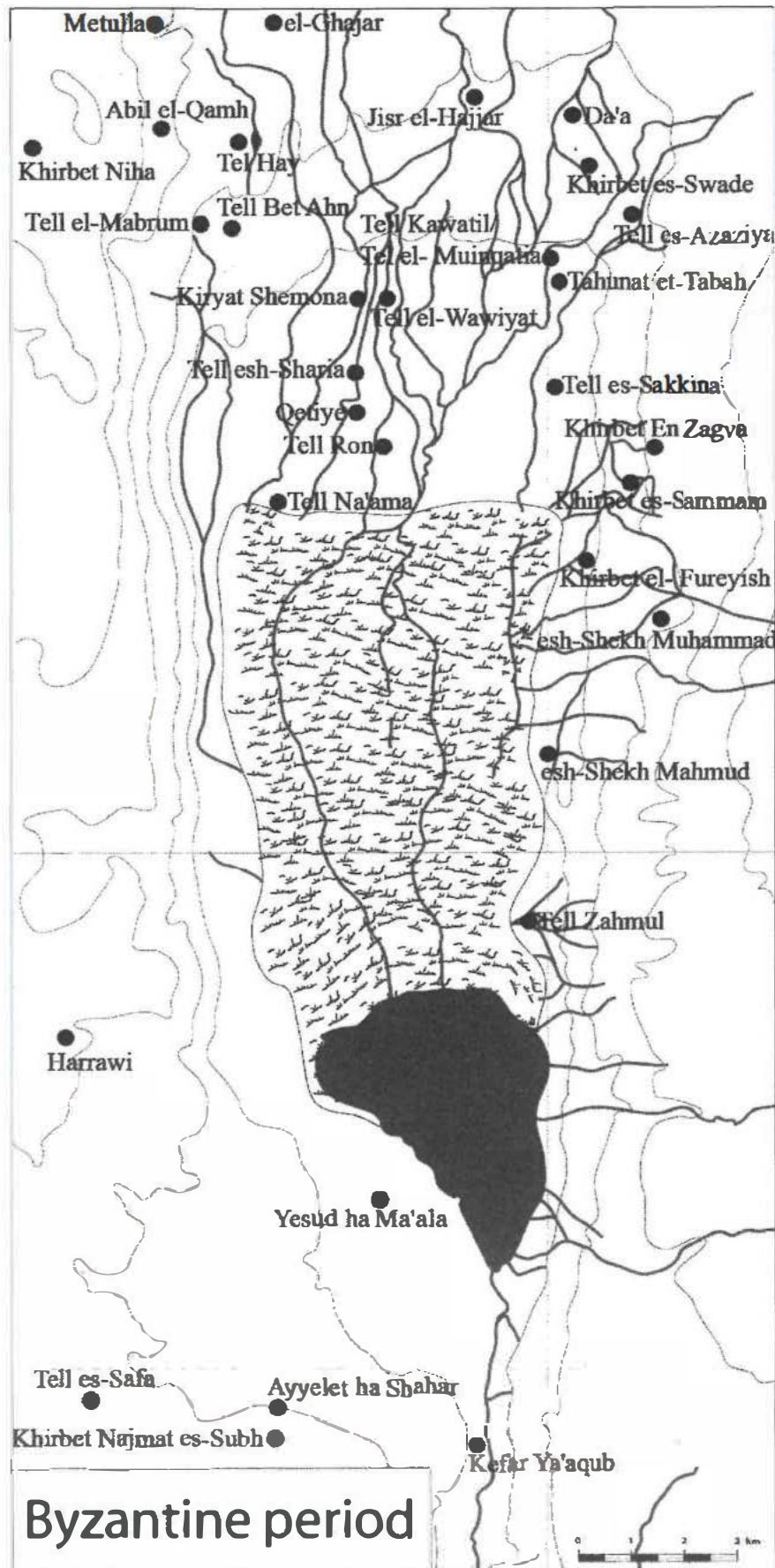
## 6. Settlement History of the Huleh Valley in the Byzantine Period

Regional development during the Byzantine period resembles what is evident in the rest of the country: we can speak of an intense rise in activity (cf. the chart on p. 176 and map 6). Yet the distribution of settlements continues tendencies already known from the Roman era: the majority of the settlements cluster in the north of Huleh Valley, and neither the north-south connection west of Lake Huleh, nor the one running along its eastern bank, seem to have played a major role. The most important road for the entire region remained the one leading from Tyre and the Phoenician coast to Damascus.

<sup>38</sup> See the compilation in Yohanan Aharoni, “Three New Boundary Stones from the Western Golan,” *Atiqot* 1 (1955), 109–14; idem, “Two Additional Boundary Stones from the Hule Valley,” *Atiqot* 2 (1959), 152–4; idem, “Three New Boundary Stones from the Hule Valley,” *Atiqot* 3 (1961), 186–7; and Moshe Hartal, “Quneitra Valley, Boundary Stone,” *ESI* 13 (1993), 121.

<sup>39</sup> See Albrecht Alt, “Augusta Libanensis,” *ZDPV* 71 (1955): 173–86.

Map 6





## 7. Settlement History of the Huleh Valley in the Muslim Period

At first sight only insignificant changes appear in Arabic times. The number of settlements decreases (see the chart on p. 176 and map 7), which is typical in this period, but many places continue to be inhabited, though only very few villages are newly founded.

Despite all the apparent continuity we have to note a number of important changes. Only a brief look at the distribution of settlements demonstrates that the decrease in settlements affects the area north of the Huleh Valley more than to the south. The area west of the lake becomes more densely populated, which suggests that a major trade route crossed the area again, although this road seems not to have followed the old *via maris*. It probably ran closer to the Jordan, like the gravel road still existing today.

The most important buildings are found south of the lake in the vicinity of this road. First, Baldwin IV erected a castle in 1179 at a strategic spot immediately next to the Jordan.<sup>40</sup> Although there had been an agreement that neither the crusaders nor the Ajjubids would erect any further fortresses after the defeat of the Ayyubids under Saladin at Mount Gisard in October 1178, the Templars exerted enough pressure to have this castle built only one year later. In August 1197 the Muslims attacked the fortress. Numerous arrowheads that have been detected near the eastern gate give impressive evidence of the military conflict. On August 30, 1179 the Muslims conquered the still unfinished fortress, but soon gave it up again, perhaps as a consequence of the earthquake in 1202.

Only a few decades later, under the Mamluk sultan Baybars (1260–1277), the first bridge was built across the Jordan (Jisr Benat Jaakub). Some of its remains can still be seen today, a few hundred meters north of the modern bridge. Originally meant to facilitate trade with Damascus, the bridge had fatal consequences for its immediate vicinity. As stated earlier, the piers of the bridge constricted the Jordan, caused constant floods during the winter months, and prevented the marshland water from draining.

The whole region suffered a considerable decline during the following centuries. Tax lists from the 16th c. show that only a few settlements still payed any taxes – and the amount of these taxes was strikingly low compared to the ones from Galilee.<sup>41</sup> The once flourishing region north of Lake Huleh witnessed increasing decline and became insignificant.

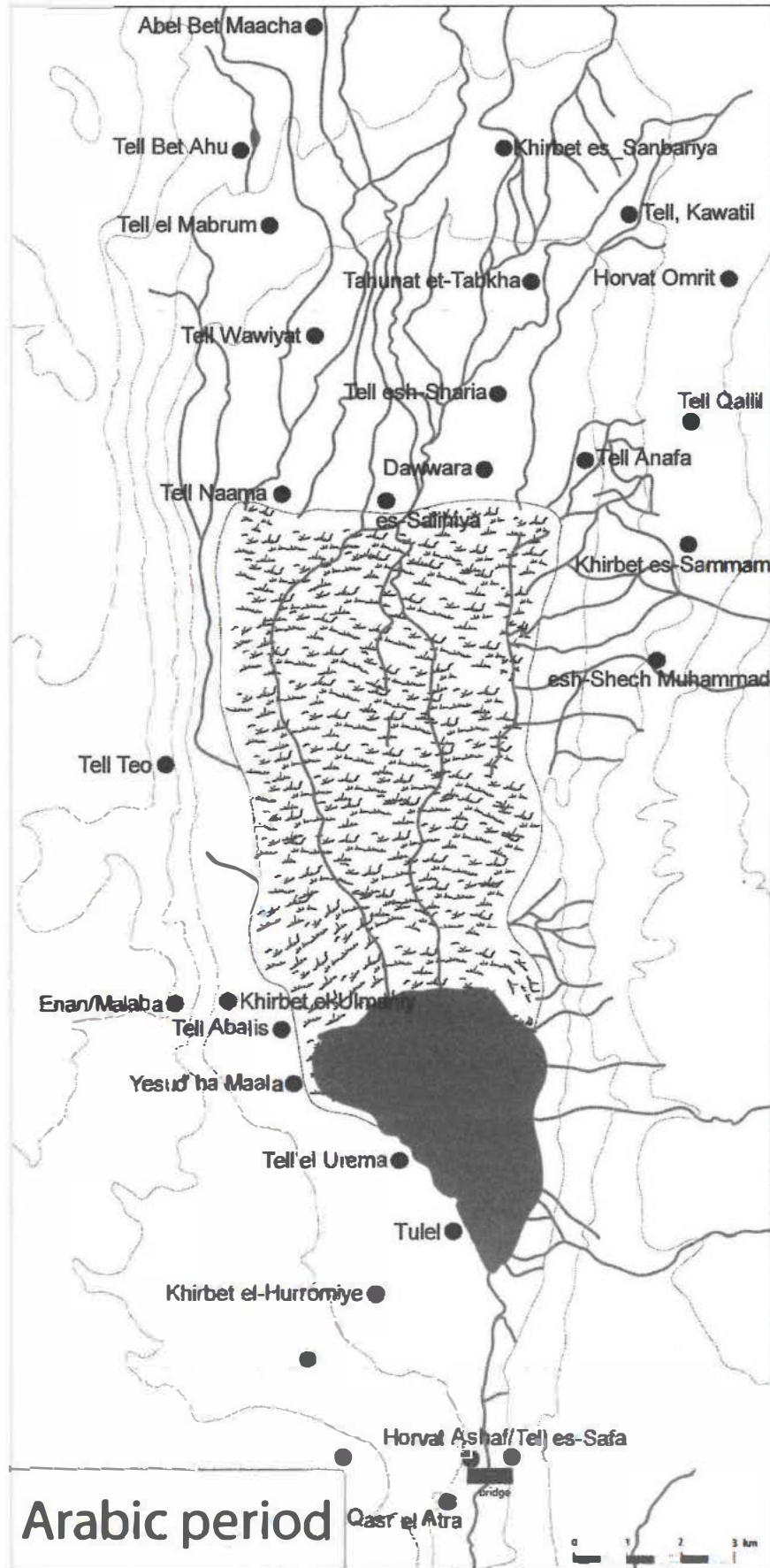
When Mark Twain visited the Holy Land on his cruise through the Mediterranean in 1867 and 1868 he came to the Huleh region. His description gives a

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<sup>40</sup> The site was settled during the Neolithic period, the Early Chalcolithic period, the Early Bronze Age, and finally in Roman times; see Yosef Stepansky, "Rosh Pinna Map, Survey – 1992," *ESI* 14 (1994): 13; Kochavi, *Survey*, 269.

<sup>41</sup> Hütterroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*.

Map 7



vivid picture of how insignificant the area had become in the 19th c., before the modern Jewish settlement:

There is not a solitary village throughout its whole extent – not for thirty miles in either direction. There are a two or three clusters of Bedouin tents, but not a single permanent habitation. One may ride ten miles, hereabouts, and not see ten human beings. To this region one of the prophecies is applied: I will bring the land into desolation; and your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it. And I will scatter you among the heathen, and I will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate and your cities waste. No man can stand by deserted Ain Mellaha, and say the prophecy has not been fulfilled.<sup>42</sup>

## 8. Conclusion

The Huleh Valley looks back on an eventful history. It was especially important during the Bronze Age when Hazor, one of the most important cities of the Levant, flourished. Afterwards, the region lay at the margin of political and economic developments, which eventually led to its almost complete decline. The surveys carried out so far do not allow us to estimate regional population numbers at any given period, but the numbers and patterns of settlements (cf. p. 176) are an eloquent witness for the development of a decline of the Huleh region during the past 3000 years.

<sup>42</sup> Mark Twain, *The Innocent Abroad* (New York, 1992 [1869]), 527–8.



## Appendix: Catalogue of Archaeologically Attested Sites in the Huleh Valley

The catalogue includes (from south to north) all sites known to me from the Paleolithic Period to the Middle Ages. Also listed are the tombs. Dolmen are ascribed to the Early Bronze IV/Middle Bronze I Period.

List of Abbreviations:

Pal.	Paleolithic
NL	Neolithic
CL	Chalcolithic
EB	Early Bronze
MB	Middle Bronze
LB	Late Bronze
IA	Iron Age
pers.	Persian-Achaemenid Period
hell.	Hellenistic
rom.	Roman
byz.	Byzantine
arab.	Arab
Cru.	Crusader

Site	Grid. Nr.	Periods Represented at Site
Qasr el-Atra <sup>43</sup>	2089.2678	NL/CL, EB I, II, IA II, pers., rom, Cru.
En Yarda <sup>44</sup>	2054.2682	CL, EB I
Jisr Benat Yaaqub <sup>45</sup>	2091.2682	Pal.
Kefar Yaaqub	2096.2685	byz.
Ard Qibliya/Merj Qatil <sup>46</sup>	2041.2688	EB II-III
Khirbet Jisr Benat Yaaqub <sup>47</sup>	2090.2688	MB II
Jisr Benat Yaaqub <sup>48</sup>	2091.2689	bridge from the times of Baybars
Khirbet el-Khurromiye <sup>49</sup>	2026.2691	arab.

<sup>43</sup> Kochavi, *Survey*, 269; Stepansky, "Rosh Pina–1992," 13; Roni Ellenblum and Adrian Boas, "Metzad 'Ateret," *HA* 109 (1999): 5–6; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 135.

<sup>44</sup> Yosef Stepansky, "Rosh Pinna Map, Survey," *ESI* 10 (1991): 67; idem, "Rosh Pinna Map, Survey – 1991," *ESI* 12 (1993): 6; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 43.

<sup>45</sup> Naama Goren-Inbar, "Gesher Benot Ya'aqov," *NEAEHL* 2:493–5; idem, "Gesher Benot Ya'aqov," *ESI* 9 (1989/90): 89–91; idem, "Gesher Benot Ya'aqov," *ESI* 10 (1991): 2–3.

<sup>46</sup> Stepansky, "Rosh Pinna Map, Survey – 1991," 6; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 134–5.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas L. Thompson, *The Settlement of Palestine in the Bronze Age* (BTAVO B/34; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979), 86.

<sup>48</sup> Stepansky, "Rosh Pinna," 66.

<sup>49</sup> Hana Abu Uqsa, "Kh. el-Khurromiyé," *ESI* 16 (1997): 19.

Site	Grid. Nr.	Periods Represented at Site
Tel Hazor/Tell el-Qedah <sup>50</sup>	2035.2692	EB, MB, LB, IA I, IA II, pers., hell.
Khirbet Najmat es-Subh/ Horvat Ashaf	2050.2692	rom., byz., arab.
Horvat Mizpe Yarden/ Khirbet Musherifa <sup>51</sup>	2070.2692	IA I, IA II
NN <sup>52</sup>	2042.2693	CL
Gadot <sup>53</sup>	2087.2694	EB I, II (tomb)
Ayyelet ha-Shahar <sup>54</sup>	2042.2697	EB II, EB IV/MB I, MB II, pers., byz.
Kirad el- Gannama/Tell es-Safa <sup>55</sup>	2054.2697	MB I, MB II, LB, E, rom., byz., arab. (tombs of Hazor?)
Benat Yaaqub <sup>56</sup>	2090.2700	EB I
Hammam Banat Yaaqub <sup>57</sup>	2089.2705	rom.
el-Hosaniya	2049.2718	CL, EB I
Tulel <sup>58</sup>	2083.2729	arab.
Tell el-Urema/Hulata <sup>59</sup>	2072.2731	arab.
Yesud ha-Maala/Khirbet el-Muesara <sup>60</sup>	2076.2739	EB I, byz., arab. (4.-13. C.)
Tell Shahaf/Tell Abalis <sup>61</sup>	2069.2741	CL, EB I (?), IA I, IA II, arab.
Daraja <sup>62</sup>	2102.2744	EB, MB II

<sup>50</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, "Hazor," *NEAEHL* 2:594–606. The excavations that have been taken up again are basically confirming the older results.

<sup>51</sup> Stepansky, "Rosh Pinna," 67.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Thompson, *Settlement*, 86; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 133–4; Rafael Greenberg, "Gadot," *ESI* 19 (1999): 4.

<sup>54</sup> Ronni Reich, "The Persian Building at Ayyelet ha-Shahar: The Assyrian Palace of Hazor?," *IEJ* 25 (1975): 233–7; Stepansky, "Rosh Pinna," 67.

<sup>55</sup> Stepansky, "Rosh Pinna," 67; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 134; Walid Khalidi, ed., *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992), 468.

<sup>56</sup> Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 133.

<sup>57</sup> Stepansky, "Rosh Pinna," 66–7.

<sup>58</sup> Albright, "Jordan Valley," 24; Khalidi, *All that Remains*, 500–1.

<sup>59</sup> Albright, "Jordan Valley," 24.

<sup>60</sup> Frowald Hüttenmeister and Gottfried Reeg, *Die antiken Synagogen in Israel* (BTAVO B/12; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977), 1:514–5; Avraham Biran and Dan Urman, "Yesud Hama'ala, Synagogue 1982/1983," *ESI* 2 (1983): 110–1; Avraham Brian and Yair Shoham, "Remains of a Synagogue and of Sugar Installations at Yesud haMa'alah," *ErIsr* 19 (1987): 199–207 (Heb.), 78 (Eng. summary); Stepansky, "Rosh Pinna," 67.

<sup>61</sup> *Yalkut* 1091 vom 18.5.1964, 1367; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 132; Albright, "Jordan Valley," 24; Dayan, *Survey*, 27.

<sup>62</sup> "Archaeological News in Israel 1949–1950," *Alon* 3 (1951): 7 (Hebrew); "Archaeological News in Israel Teveth 1952–Elul 1953," *Alon* 5 (1957): 10 (Hebrew).

Site	Grid. Nr.	Periods Represented at Site
Khirbet el-Ulmaniye <sup>63</sup>	2052.2754	IA, arab.
Enan/Mallaha <sup>64</sup>	2037.2763	NL, EB I, EB II, EBIV/MB I, arab.
Darbashiya <sup>65</sup>	2112.2770	EB I, II, MB I, MB II
Harrawi <sup>66</sup>	202.277	byz.
Tell er-Rummam <sup>67</sup>	2048.2774	EB, MB, LB, IA I, IA II
Nahal Khamdal <sup>68</sup>	2107.2778	EB II, MB IIA
Besamun <sup>69</sup>	2047.2781	NL
Tell Zahmul <sup>70</sup>	2098.2781	EB, E, rom., byz.
Wadi Qazab <sup>71</sup>	2112.2798	EB I, EB II, MB IIA
Birkat Tarjam <sup>72</sup>	201.281	EB IV/MB I
esh-Shekh Mahmud <sup>73</sup>	2109.2816	IA, hell., rom., byz.
Tel Teo/Jahula <sup>74</sup>	2035.2819	NL, CL, EB I, EB II, arab.
Lehavot haBashan <sup>75</sup>	2112.2828	CL, EB I, EB II
Seker Jardinun <sup>76</sup>	2128.2844	MB II A b
esh-Shekh Muhammad <sup>77</sup>	2124.2847	EB, MB II, IA I, byz., arab.
En Awwazim <sup>78</sup>	2037.2848	NL, CL, EB I, EB IV/MB I

<sup>63</sup> Grootkerk, *Sites*, 120–1.

<sup>64</sup> Jean Perrot, “Enan,” *NEAEHL* 2:389–93 (Lit.); Emanuel Eisenberg, “Enan,” *ESI* 2 (1983): 28; idem, “A Burial Cave of the Early Bronze Age IV (MB I) near ‘Enan,” *Atiqot.ES* 17 (1985): 59–74; Thompson, *Settlement*, 77; Albright, “Jordan Valley,” 24; Greenberg, “Hula Valley,” 131; Hamoudi Khalaily and Francois R. Valla, “Enot ‘Enan – 1996,” *ESI* 20 (2000): 6.

<sup>65</sup> Greenberg, “Hula Valley,” 130–1.

<sup>66</sup> Khalidi, *All that Remains*, 453–4.

<sup>67</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 25; *Yalqut*, 1366; David A. Dorsey, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 97; Thompson, *Settlement*, 77.

<sup>68</sup> Greenberg, “Hula Valley,” 130.

<sup>69</sup> Monique Lechevallier, “Beisamûn,” *NEAEHL* 1:175–7 (Lit.).

<sup>70</sup> *Yalqut*, 1367; Dayan, *Survey*, 26; Albright, “Jordan Valley,” 24; Thompson, *Settlement*, 76.

<sup>71</sup> Greenberg, “Hula Valley,” 130.

<sup>72</sup> *Yalqut*, 1363.

<sup>73</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 26.

<sup>74</sup> Emanuel Eisenberg, “Tel Te’o,” *ESI* 5 (1986): 107–9; idem, “The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Occupations at Tel Teo,” in *L’Urbanisation de la Palestine à l’âge du Bronze ancien* (ed. Pierre de Miroschedji; BAR.I 527; Oxford: BAR, 1989), 29–40; Greenberg, “Hula Valley,” viii–130; Emanuel Eisenberg, Avi Gopher, and Raphael Greenberg, *Tel Te’o: A Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Early Bronze Age Site in the Hula Valley* (IAA Reports 13; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority); Khalidi, *All That Remains*, 457.

<sup>75</sup> Greenberg, “Hula Valley,” 129.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 25; *Yalqut*, 1364.

<sup>78</sup> Rafael Greenberg, “Hula Valley, Survey of Early Bronze Age Sites,” *ESI* 13 (1994): 121; idem, “Hula Valley,” 128; Yoav Alon, “En Awwazim,” *HA-ESI* 115 (2003), 2–3.



Site	Grid. Nr.	Periods Represented at Site
Khirbet el-Fureyis?	2133.2852	Pal., rom., byz.
Kibbutz Shamir <sup>79</sup>	2117.2862	EB I; EB II, EB III; EB IV/MB I
Tell Naama <sup>80</sup>	2059.2868	NL/CL, EB IA, EB II, EB IV/MB I, MB IIA/B, LB II, IA I (10. C. B.C.E.), IA II, hell., rom., byz., arab.
Khirbet es-Sammam <sup>81</sup>	2122.2868	EB, rom., byz., arab.
es-Salihiya <sup>82</sup>	2075.2869	arab.
Tell el-Akhdar/Tel Anafa <sup>83</sup>	2105.2869	EB II, EB IV/MB I, MB IIB, LB I, LB II, LB II/IA I, IA II, pers., hell., rom., arab.
Dawwara <sup>84</sup>	2094.2870	arab.
Wadi Bureghit/ha-Ashan <sup>85</sup>	2054.2873	EB I, MB II, LB, E
Tell Ron/Tell esh-Shekh Yusuf <sup>86</sup>	2083.2877	EB I; EB II (?); MB I; rom., byz.
Khirbet En Zagha <sup>87</sup>	2115.2882	EB II; rom., byz.
Tel Qallil/Tell es-Sakkhina <sup>88</sup>	2111.2888	MB II, LB, byz., arab.
Qetiye <sup>89</sup>	2075.2894	IA, rom/byz.
Tell esh-Sharia <sup>90</sup>	2088.2898	byz., arab.
el-Khalisa	2040.2900	EBIV/MB I
En Eqed <sup>91</sup>	2024.2907	EB II

<sup>79</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 24; Dan Bahat, "The Date of the Dolmens Near Kibbutz Shamir," *IEJ* 22 (1962): 44–6; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 128.

<sup>80</sup> Albright, "Jordan Valley," 18; Dayan, *Survey*, 24; Greenberg, "Tel Na'ama," *ESI* 7/8 (1990): 138–40; Raphael Greenberg, Liora K. Horwitz, Omri Lernau, Henk K. Mienis, Hamoudi Khalaily, Ofer Marder, "A Sounding at Tel Na'ama in the Hula Valley," *Atiqot* 35 (1998): 9–35; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 127.

<sup>81</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 25.

<sup>82</sup> Grootkerk, *Sites*, 148–9.

<sup>83</sup> Sharon C. Herbert, "Anafa, Tel," *NEAEHL* 1:58–61; see also idem (ed.), *Tel Anafa* Vol. I, i, ii: *Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum, 1994); idem (ed.), *Tel Anafa* Vol. II, i: *The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery. The Plain Wares/The Fine Wares* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum 1997).

<sup>84</sup> Grootkerk, *Sites*, 146–7.

<sup>85</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 25; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 126; *Yalqut*, 1363.

<sup>86</sup> Dan Bahat, *HA* 22/23 (1967): 7; Dayan, *Survey*, 22; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 126.

<sup>87</sup> *Yalqut*, 1364; Dayan, *Survey*, 26; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 125–6.

<sup>88</sup> Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 125; *Yalqut*, 1364; Claire Epstein, "Middle Bronze Age Tombs at Kfar Szold and Ginosar," *Atiqot* 7 (1974): 13–39 (Hebr.).

<sup>89</sup> Grootkerk, *Sites*, 148–9.

<sup>90</sup> Grootkerk, *Sites*, 146–7.

<sup>91</sup> Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 124.

Site	Grid. Nr.	Periods Represented at Site
Tell Turmus <sup>92</sup>	2108.2909	CL, EB I, (IA, hell.)
Mazoq Ramim <sup>93</sup>	2020.2909	NL, EB IV/MB I (20265.28870) <sup>94</sup>
Tell el-Wawiyat <sup>95</sup>	2050.2910	NL, EB II-III, MB II, IA (11.-9. c., 7. c.), pers., hell., rom., byz., arab.
Qiryat Shemona <sup>96</sup>	2045.2915	EB IV/MB I, MB II, LB, IA II, hell., rom., byz
Tahunat et-Tabkha <sup>97</sup>	2102.2915	EB II; MB II; IA I, hell., byz., arab.
Horvat Omrit/en-Nebi Huda <sup>98</sup>	2123.2915	rom. (temple), byz., arab.
NN <sup>99</sup>	2038.2915	NL
Tell Kawatil <sup>100</sup>	2105.2917	IA, byz., arab.
Tell el-Munqatia <sup>101</sup>	2109.2918	IA, byz.
ha-Gosherim <sup>102</sup>	2087.2921	NL, CL, EB IV/MB I, MB I-IIA; hell., rom.-byz. (tombs)
Maal En Roim <sup>103</sup>	2029.2922	EB II
Tell Roim/Tell En es-Sabur <sup>104</sup>	2043.2922	NL, EB II, rom./byz.

<sup>92</sup> *Yalqut*, 1363; *HA* 5, 15; Yehuda Dagan, "Tell Turmus in the Huleh Valley," *IEJ* 19 (1969): 65–78; Howard Smithline, Karen Covello-Paran, and Ofer Marder, "Tell Turmus," *ESI* 20 (2000): 3–4.

<sup>93</sup> Idan Shaked and Ofer Marder, "Survey of the Map of Metulla – Prehistoric Sites," *ESI* 18 (1998): 5.

<sup>94</sup> Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 125.

<sup>95</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 25; Alexander Onn, "Tell el-Wawiyat," *ESI* 7/8 (1988/89): 181–3; Alexander Onn, Rafael Greenberg, Idan Shaked, and Yehuda Rapuano, "Tell el-Wawiyat (Tel Tannim) – 1993," *ESI* 15 (1996): 10–2; Dina Avshalom-Gorni and Nimrod Getzov, "Tell el-Wawiyat – 1999," *HA-ESI* 113 (2001): 1–3; idem, "Tell el-Wawiyat – 2001," *HA-ESI* 115 (2003): 1–2.

<sup>96</sup> *HA* 56 (1975), 5–6; Idan Shaked, "Qiryat Shemona, Giv'at Shehumit," *ESI* 12 (1993): 3–4.; idem, "Qiryat Shemona, Giv'at Shehumit," *ESI* 14 (1994): 7–8; idem, "Qiryat Shemona, Giv'at Shehumit," *HA* 109 (1999): 4–5.

<sup>97</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 24; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 125; *Yalqut*, 1363.

<sup>98</sup> *Yalqut*, 1363; *HA* 65–66 (1978), 3–4.

<sup>99</sup> Idan Shaked and Ofer Marder, "Metulla," *ESI* 18 (1998): 5.

<sup>100</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 24; *Yalqut*, 1363.

<sup>101</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 25; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 123.

<sup>102</sup> Shmuel Yeivin, "Ancient Tombs at Kibbutz ha-Gosherim," *Yediot* 30 (1966): 98–109; Tamar Noy, "Ha-Gosherim," *NEAEHL* 2:553 (Lit.); idem, "A Limestone Statuette from Hagosherim," *Atiqot* 14 (1980): 93–4; Idan Shaked, "Hagosherim," *ESI* 10 (1991): 61–2; Karen Covello-Paran, "Hagosherim," *ESI* 13 (1993): 11; Nimrod Getzov, "Ha-Gosherim," *HA* 110 (1999): 2–3; Ruth Ovadia, "A Burial Cave of the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods at Hagosherim," *Atiqot* 38 (1999): 33–47, 223–4.

<sup>103</sup> Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 122.

<sup>104</sup> Shaked and Marder, "Metulla," 5.

Site	Grid. Nr.	Periods Represented at Site
Tell el-Mabrum/Tel Barum <sup>105</sup>	2045.2923	Bronze Age ?, IA, rom.-byz. (mainly), arab.
Tell Bet Ahu/Tell el-Battikha/Khisas <sup>106</sup>	2061.2923	NL, CL, EB, MB, LB, IA I, IA II, hell., rom., byz., arab.
Tell el-Azaziya <sup>107</sup>	2126.2923	Pal., hell., rom., byz.
Ras el-Biad <sup>108</sup>	2045.2929	EB I
Khirb es-Swade <sup>109</sup>	2138.2929	hell., rom., byz.
Khirbet es-Sanbariya/Horvat Mamzi/Tel Khazaz <sup>110</sup>	2082.2930	EB I, EB II, EB III; MB IIA; IA I, IA II, rom., arab.
Tel Hay/Khirbet Talha <sup>111</sup>	2038.2933	byz. (tombs)
Daa <sup>112</sup>	2106.2934	EB, rom., byz. (mainly)
Givat ha-Shoqet <sup>113</sup>	2030.2937	NL, EB, IA II, pers., hell., rom. (3rd c., mausoleum)
NN <sup>114</sup>	2047.2937	NL
En Salakh/En el-Burdiya <sup>115</sup>	2088.2938	
Maayan Barukh <sup>116</sup>	2070.2940	MB I
Jisr el-Hajj ar <sup>117</sup>	2086.2943	byz. (bridge)
NN <sup>118</sup>	2027.2945	pers. (farmstead)
Qibbuz Senir <sup>119</sup>	2135.2945	hell., rom., arab.

<sup>105</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 21; Dorsey, *Roads*, 97; Emanuel Damati, "Tel Barom," *HA-ESI* 112 (2000): 8–9.

<sup>106</sup> *Yalqut*, 1362; Dayan, *Survey*, 21; Danny Syon, "Khisas," *HA-ESI* 112 (2000), 2–7.

<sup>107</sup> Kochavi, *Survey*, 259 n. 14.

<sup>108</sup> Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 121–2.

<sup>109</sup> Kochavi, *Survey*, 259 n. 15.

<sup>110</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 25; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 122; *Yalqut*, 1361; Khalidi, *All that Remains*, 494–5.

<sup>111</sup> Nurit Feig, "Tel Hay," *ESI* 1 (1982): 109–10.

<sup>112</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 22.

<sup>113</sup> Joseph Kaplan, "The Identification of Abel-Beth-Maachah and Janoah," *IEJ* 28 (1978): 157–60; idem, "A Mausoleum at Kfar Giladi," *ErIsr* 8 (1967): 104–13 (Heb.), 71–2 (Eng. summary); Dina Shalem, "Kefar Gil'adi," *HA-ESI* 112 (2000): 7–8.

<sup>114</sup> Shaked and Marder, "Metulla," 4–5.

<sup>115</sup> Grootkerk, *Sites*, 142–3.

<sup>116</sup> Ruth Amiran, "The Pottery of the Middle Bronze Age I in Palestine," *IEJ* 10 (1960): 204–25; idem, "Tombs of the Middle Bronze Age I at Maayan Barukh," *Atiqot.ES* 3 (1961): 84–92; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 121.

<sup>117</sup> Claude R. Conder and Horatio H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archaeology*, vol. 1: *Galilee* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881) 1:115–6.

<sup>118</sup> Grootkerk, *Sites*, 138–9.

<sup>119</sup> Yosef Stepansky, "Senir," *HA-ESI* 116 (2004): 1–2.



Site	Grid. Nr.	Periods Represented at Site
Tell el-Qadi/Dan <sup>120</sup>	2112.2948	CL, EB II, EB III, MB II, LB, IA I, IA II, pers., hell., rom.
En Abel <sup>121</sup>	2045.2950	EB II, MB IIA
Khirbet Niha <sup>122</sup>	2027.2952	hell., rom./byz., arab.
Tell el-Hamra <sup>123</sup>	2143.2953	rom., byz.
En ha-Shomer/En Ruwehina <sup>124</sup>	2077.2954	NL, EB
Abil el-Qamh/Tell Abil/Abel-Bet-Maacha <sup>125</sup>	2043.2957	EB II (-III?), MB IIA, LB, IA I, IA II, rom., byz., arab.
el-Ghajar <sup>126</sup>	2083.2973	byz., arab.
Metulla <sup>127</sup>	2040.2974	byz.

<sup>120</sup> Avraham Biran, "Dan," *NEAEHL* 1:323–32; Khalidi, *All That Remains*, 464.

<sup>121</sup> Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 120.

<sup>122</sup> Kaplan, "Identification," 160.

<sup>123</sup> Kochavi, *Survey*, 258 n. 8.

<sup>124</sup> Shaked and Marder, "Metulla," 4.

<sup>125</sup> Dayan, *Survey*, 21, 24; *Yalqut*, 1361; William G. Dever, "Abel Beth-Maacah: Northern Gateway of Ancient Israel," in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies Presented to Siegfried H. Horn* (ed. Lawrence T. Geraty and Larry G. Herr; Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1986), 207–22; Greenberg, "Hula Valley," 120; Khalidi, *All That Remains*, 428–9.

<sup>126</sup> Kochavi, *Survey*, 258 n. 1.

<sup>127</sup> Vassilios Tzaferis, "Metulla," *HA-ESI* 113 (2001): 130.