

### 1.3. Kinneret in Late Bronze Age and Biblical Sources<sup>1</sup>

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#### Late Bronze Age Texts

Kinneret is mentioned in Biblical and extra-Biblical texts. The oldest reference is found as no. 34 in the famous town list of Thutmose III (1479–1426 BCE) in the Karnak Temple.<sup>2</sup> It can be assumed that the corresponding campaign of Thutmose III was largely responsible for the end of the Middle Bronze Age culture in Galilee.<sup>3</sup> The town list survived not as a continuous list, but must be divided into fractions. These fractions can be joined to a main military action with the aim to conquer Qadesh on the Orontes (no. 1) and Megiddo (no. 2) (cf. Fig. 1.3.5.). The area around the Sea of Galilee is mentioned in the sequences in nos. (8–)14–15, 31–38, (49–) 51–53 and 87–91 (–101).



Fig. 1.3.1 Pylon VII, southern face in the Karnak Temple. The upper part portrays the pharaoh slaying a batch of enemies. The lower part contains the town list with oval name rings and stereotyped figures of the foreign chiefs of each town (photographer: JUHA PAKKALA).

The town list is found in three mostly identical lists in the Karnak Temple, all related to Thutmose III:

- list a is found on the western face of the northern tower of pylon VI,
- list b is engraved on the southern face of the western tower of pylon VII,
- and finally list c is situated on the northern face of the eastern tower of the same pylon VII.<sup>4</sup>

The spelling of Kinneret in list a (*k-n-n-3-r-t-w*) differs from its spelling in lists b and c (*k-n-3-t-w*), but all scholars agree that the spelling of list a with its unusual duplication of the consonants in Egyptian transliterations is most trustworthy.

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is in parts an updated, shortened and sometimes elaborated compilation of several papers published in the last years: ZWICKEL 2017, 215–217, 235–238, 279–280; ZWICKEL 2019.

<sup>2</sup> SIMONS 1937, List 1; cf. HELCK <sup>2</sup>1971, 121–132; AHARONI 1979, 152–166.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ZWICKEL 2017, 202.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SIMONS 1937, 29–30. He mentions that text c is found on the western tower, but this is an error.

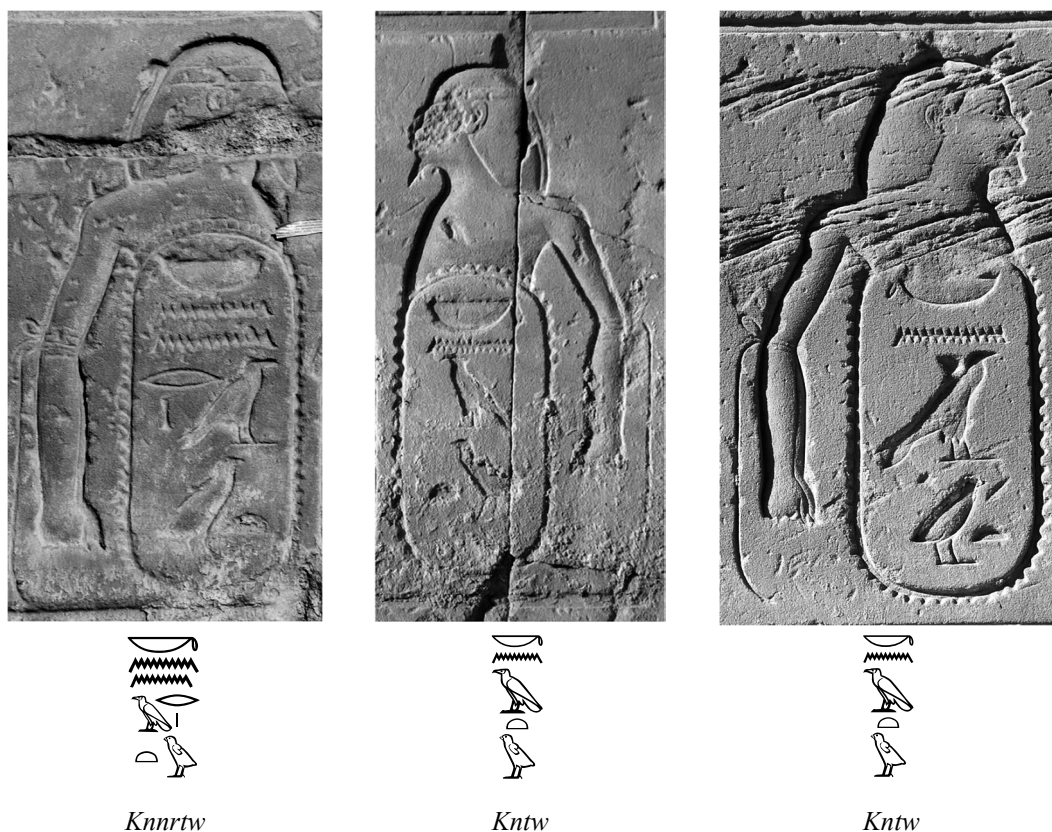


Fig. 1.3.2–4 Hieroglyphic writings of the name Kinneret in lists a, b and c of the Thutmose III list (photographer: JUHA PAKKALA)

Kinneret (no. 34) is part of subgroup 31–38 with the following sites:<sup>5</sup>

No.	Egyptian name (simple transcription)	Modern Arab name	Coordinates
31	Lawisa/Laish	<i>Tell el-Qādi</i>	211.294
32	Hazor	<i>Tell el-Qedah</i>	203.269
(33)	Pahil/Pella	<i>Ṭabaqat Faḥl</i>	207.206)
34	Kinneret	<i>Tell el-'Orēme</i>	200.252
35	Shimon	<i>Ḥirbet Sammūniye</i>	170.234
36	Adamam	<i>Ḥirbet ed-Dāmiye</i>	194.239
37	Qasan/Kishjon/Qishion	<i>Tell Qasyūn</i>	187.229
38	Shunem	<i>Sōlem</i>	181.223

Table 1.3.1. Sites 31–38 of the Thutmose III list.

<sup>5</sup> We are not able to discuss the identification for each site in this chapter; cf. ZWICKEL 2017, 235–238.277–296 and specifically for Shunem ZWICKEL 2021.

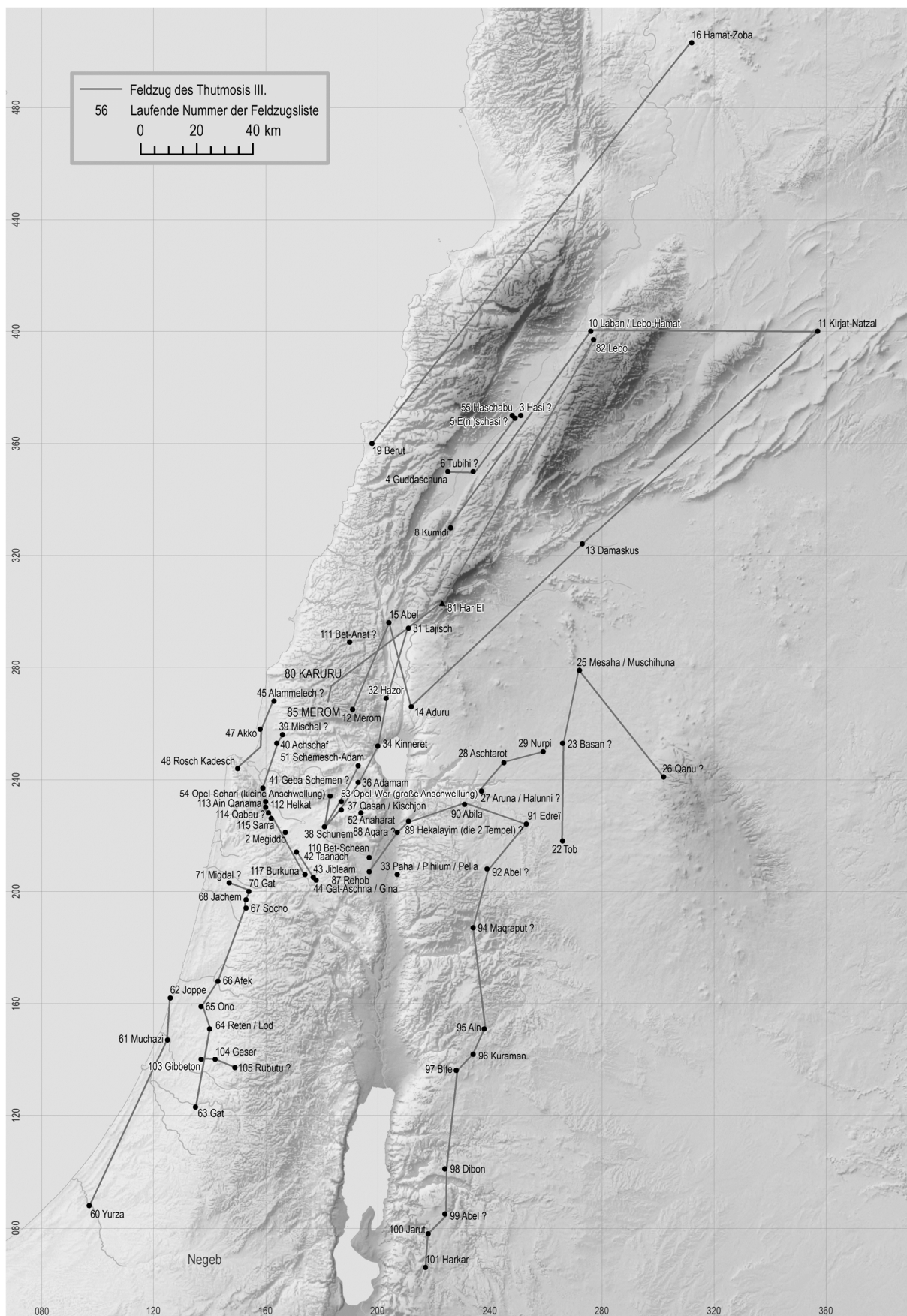


Fig. 1.3.5. Sites of the Thutmose III list and its subgroups (ZWICKEL et al. 2013, 41).

The subgroup nos. 31–38 follows the course of a road, usually called the *Via maris*, connecting Anatolia and Mesopotamia with Egypt and running in northern Palestine through the *Hūle* Valley (Laish, Hazor) and Lower Galilee to the Jezreel valley (Shunem). Lawisa/Laish (no. 31), identified by all scholars with *Tell el-Qādi*, lies at the southern edge of the Anti-Lebanon mountains and was an important Middle and Late Bronze Age town.<sup>6</sup> The excavations at Hazor (no. 32), generally identified with *Tell el-Qedah*, have shown that this site was really “the head of all those kingdoms” (Josh 11:10) because it was the largest site during the Middle and Late Bronze Age in the southern Levant.<sup>7</sup> Pella (no. 33), generally identified with *Ṭabaqat Fahl*, is incorrectly situated between Hazor and Kinneret. This site is situated east of the Jordan River opposite of Bet-Shean. Shimon can now definitely be identified with *Hirbet Sammūniye*, a huge and important *tell*, which yielded in newer excavations also a Late Bronze Age layer.<sup>8</sup> Adamam (no. 36), identified with *Hirbet ed-Dāmiye*, is an unexcavated large (2.5 ha) site.<sup>9</sup> Qasan/Kishjon/Qishion (no. 37), identified with *Tell Qasyūn*, was only partly excavated and yielded until now only Middle Bronze Age burials, but no settlement from this period.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, no systematic excavation was undertaken until now, and surveys yielded both Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery. In Shunem (no. 38), generally identified with *Sōlem*, several salvage excavations found plenty of both Middle and Late Bronze Age remains.<sup>11</sup>

The mention of Kinneret demonstrates that this site was a significant town in 1457 BCE, when Thutmose III conquered Palestine. This is in accordance with the archaeological finds at *Tell el-‘Orēme* and with an Egyptian inscription from the time of Thutmose III that was found at *Tell el-‘Orēme*.<sup>12</sup> The mention in the town list does not mean that any specific site of the list was conquered or even destroyed. Many towns may have capitulated without any Egyptian attack because of the superiority of the Egyptian force. The erection of a stela in *Tell el-‘Orēme* by Thutmose III can rather be considered as a hint that the site was not destroyed by him, but elected as an important town in his administration system of Galilee.

The next reference to Kinneret in Egyptian texts is found in Papyrus Leningradensis 1116A. This papyrus from the reign of Amenhotep II (1426–1400 BCE) includes a list of Palestinian messengers who arrived in Memphis and were supported there with beer and spelt.<sup>13</sup> The list mentions *marjannu* (leading group/military elites of the Canaanite society)<sup>14</sup> from Megiddo (= *Tell el-Mutesellim*), Kinneret (= *Tell el-‘Orēme*), Achshaph (= *Tell Kēsān*), Shim’on/Shimron (= *Hirbet Sammūniye*), Taanach (= *Tell Ta’anek*), Mish’al (= *Tell Bīr el-Ġarbī*), Tinni (not identified), Sharon (hinterland of Dor/*Hirbet el-Burġ*), Ashqelon (= *Asqelān*), Hazor (*Tell el-Qedah*), Lakhish (*Tell ed-Duwēr*), and Hatum (not identified). Most of the sites mentioned in this text are situated in northern Palestine. Both spellings of Kinneret in this text are a little bit different, but the same site is mentioned. Line 69 has *k-n-n-n-3-r-t-w*, while line 186 has *K-nw-n-3-r-t-w*. Evidently, Kinneret was still an important site during the reign of Amenhotep II and the reference in the papyrus implies that there was an upper class or elite segment of society that was called *marjannu*.

Despite its obvious importance during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Kinneret is not mentioned in the Amarna letters dated to the reign of Amenhotep III (1390–1353 BCE) and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaton (1353–1336 BCE) or in any of the site lists of the pharaohs of the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty. This may indicate that the site was abandoned and did not exist as an important city during these times. Archaeology also suggests that *Tell el-‘Orēme* was not settled during the Late Bronze Age II period. A scarab of queen Tiy (about 1398–1338 BCE), the influential wife of Amenhotep III,<sup>15</sup> was found in 1905 by a boy within the freshly ploughed fields at the bottom of the *tell*. This find is the last datable proof for potential settlement activity at *Tell el-‘Orēme* in the Bronze Age.<sup>16</sup> However, it is unlikely that the site had a notable settlement during the days of Amenhotep III because of lacking references in the Amarna letters and missing archaeological evidence from the Late Bronze Age II period. Due to the activities of *Ḥabīru*-groups, trade connections became insecure in the area,<sup>17</sup> and the *Via maris* lost its importance as the main interna-

<sup>6</sup> BIRAN 1994, 47–123; BIRAN et al. 1996; BIRAN/BEN-DOV 2002.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. as a summary of the excavations BEN-TOR 2016, 45–117.

<sup>8</sup> Personal communication DAN MASTER.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. ZWICKEL 2017, 64.

<sup>10</sup> ARNON/AMIRAN 1993; GOLANI 2020.

<sup>11</sup> For a summary of the excavation results cf. ZWICKEL 2021, 292–293.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. WIMMER in this book, chapter 1.4.

<sup>13</sup> GOLÉNISCHEFF 1913; HELCK <sup>2</sup>1971, 166; WEIPPERT 2010, 122–124.

<sup>14</sup> HELCK <sup>2</sup>1971, 482–486; HELCK 1980; WILHELM 1987–90.

<sup>15</sup> MADER 1930, 37–39; HÜBNER 1986, 258; MÜNGER in KEEL 2017, 602–603 no. 1

<sup>16</sup> Cf. generally for seals mentioning this queen HÜBNER 1986, 258 n. 30; KEEL 2010, 420 and chapter 1.5.7. in this volume.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. ZWICKEL 2018.

tional trade road in the Levant. Seti I and Ramesses II therefore replaced it by a new road connecting Beth-Shean with the Euphrates River, which now ran east of the Anti-Lebanon mountains.<sup>18</sup>

The following list demonstrates Egyptian activities in Galilee during the Late Bronze Age period. The pharaohs gradually withdrew from northern Galilee and Beth-Shean became the center of their activities during the Late Bronze Age II period. The sites in the table are grouped from north to south:

Pharaoh	Regnal year	Hazor <i>Tell el-Qedah</i>	Kinneret <i>Tell el-'Orēme</i>	Anaharat <i>Tell el-Muḥarḥaš</i>	Beth-Shean <i>Tell el-Ḥōṣn Bēsān</i>	Other sites
Thutmosis III	1479–1426	Town list	Town list Stela			
Amenhotep II	1426–1400	Papyrus Leningradensis 1116A	Papyrus Leningradensis 1116A	Town list (year 9)		
Amenhotep III	1390–1353	EA 148:11; 227:3,21;	Scarab of Tiy	EA 237–239 <sup>19</sup>	EA 289:20	
Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaton	1353–1336	228:4,15,23; 364:18				
Seti I	1290–1279	Town list			Stelae I + II in Beth-Shean, Town list	New Road east of Anti-Lebanon
Ramesses II	1279–1213	Papyrus Anastasi I			Papyrus Anastasi I	

Table 1.3.2. Historical data concerning Galilee in the Late Bronze Age.

There is another possible Late Bronze Age reference to Kinneret in the Ugaritic text KTU 1.19 III 41. Aqhat, the son of Danil, died; Danil grieves and buries him (III 40). The next line is difficult to interpret: *yqbr.nn . b mdgt [or: bm dgt] . b knrt*. There is a long discussion about the translation of this line.<sup>20</sup> Only some prominent translations shall be mentioned:

- “il l’enterre dans un lieu ténébreux, dans une sépulture [*knkn*]<sup>21</sup>
- “He buried him in a mausoleum in Kinnereth”<sup>22</sup>
- “Er begrub ihn in/im *mdgt/dgt*, <legte ihn nieder> in/im *knrt*”<sup>23</sup>
- “He buried him in a tomb in a cemetery”<sup>24</sup>
- “Daniel buried his son near the lake of Kinnereth”.<sup>25</sup>

According to line 44, Aqhat was buried in a tomb, and therefore the old interpretation of *knrt* as “(Sea of) Kinneret” is definitely incorrect. The burial in a lake would also be extremely unusual in a Semitic culture. The text was probably written during the Late Bronze Age II period (cf. the colophon in KTU 1.17 VI 56 “Ilumilku the Shubanite wrote it, the student of Attanu, the diviner” – he was the scribe during the reign of Niqmaddu II [ca. 1349–1315 BCE], cf. KTU 1.4 VIII 48), and therefore it is unlikely that Kinneret would be mentioned, for it was unsettled during this time. Nonetheless, the tradition might be older than Late Bronze Age II. We know nothing from archaeology or from other texts about a mausoleum in Kinneret. Likely PITARD is right in his conclusion of the careful discussion about this line: “Since cognates are of no help and the context of the passage does not clearly indicate even whether the word is a common or proper noun, it seems appropriate at this point to refrain from translating the word at all, and more important, from using the word as foundations evidence for interpretations of

<sup>18</sup> ZWICKEL 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. GOREN et al. 2004, 240–243.

<sup>20</sup> For a short overview see DIETRICH/LORETZ 1997, n. 326.

<sup>21</sup> CAQUOT et al. 1974, 452.

<sup>22</sup> DE MOOR 1987, 258.

<sup>23</sup> DIETRICH/LORETZ 1997, 1298 with n. 316.

<sup>24</sup> WYATT 1998, cf. n. 247: “translation is conjectural”.

<sup>25</sup> MAZZINI 2008, 889.

the Aqhat epic in general.”<sup>26</sup> Archaeology, settlement history and history teach us to be cautious connecting *knrt* mentioned in Ugaritic text with the site Kinneret but no other meaningful interpretation of the word can be offered.

### Biblical Texts

Surprisingly, Kinneret is only seldom mentioned in Biblical texts. Numb 34:11; Deut 3:17; Josh 11:2;<sup>27</sup> 12:3; 13:27 refer to the Sea of Kinneret.<sup>28</sup> The lake probably received its name from the city called Kinneret, which was the most prominent site at its shores during the Middle and Late Bronze Age I period, and again during the Iron Age I period.

In 1 Kings 15:20 we read:

Ben-Hadad listened to King Asa and sent the commanders of his armies  
against (*al*) the cities of Israel,  
and conquered Ijjon, Dan, Abel-Beth-Maacah and all-Kinrot,  
against (*al*) all the land of Naphtali.

The phrase “against all the land of Naphtali” is introduced with Hebrew *al* “against” and is in close connection with *al* at the beginning of the description of the attack “against the cities of Israel.”<sup>29</sup> “Against the land of Naphtali” is a summary of this attack. Instead of this summary, “all-Kinrot” is introduced with the object marker *et*. All the towns which are previously mentioned are also introduced with the object marker *et*. Therefore, “all-Kinrot” is the continuation of the conquered territory.

Historically, this attack can be dated to the reign of the Judean king Asa (906–883 BCE). Ijjon is identified with *Tell Dibbīn* (coord. 205.308),<sup>30</sup> today situated in Lebanon, Dan with *Tell el-Qāḍi* (coord. 211.294) and Abel-Beth-Maacah with *Tell Ābil el-Qamḥ* (coord. 204.296). The three city names Ijjon, Dan, and Abel-Beth-Maacah describe the northern border of Israel by listing the three strongest towns in this area. According to the excavators of *Tell Ābil el-Qamḥ*/Abel-Beth-Maacah, this site came to its final end in the Iron Age IIA period,<sup>31</sup> perhaps through the attack of Ben-Hadad mentioned in 1 Kings 15:20. Evidently, he was not interested in occupying this site east of the *Hūle* valley after having conquered it because it was outside his economic interest. He only wanted to destroy this fortified settlement. In *Tell el-Qāḍi*/Dan, the transition from stratum IVB to IVA should be connected to the conquest of Ben-Hadad.

The rest of this campaign is summarized in the phrase “all-Kinrot, against all the land of Naphtali”. Kinrot is definitely not the town of *Tell el-‘Orēme*/Kinneret which was not settled in those years. Hebrew *kol* does not refer to a place name, but to a region, like *kol-ha’arāz* “the whole country,” *kol-kikkar ha-yarden* “the whole region of the Jordan valley” or *kol-yisra’el* “whole Israel.” Kinrot must therefore refer to an area, either to the territory around the Sea of Galilee or perhaps more probably to the whole depression between Upper Galilee and the Golan (*Hūle* Valley).

It is probable that Ben-Hadad also conquered *Tell el-Qedah*/Hazor; the destruction level of stratum X/IX should be connected to this campaign. But Ben-Hadad was evidently not able to or not interested in controlling the area permanently. His campaign was more likely a short punishment raid partly financed by Judah (1 Kings 15:19). Already after a short time *Tell el-Qedah*/Hazor and *Tell el-Qāḍi*/Dan must have been re-conquered by Israel, since according to the Tel Dan-Stela both cities belonged to Israel some decades later. Stratum III in *Tell el-Qāḍi*/Dan and Stratum VIII in *Tell el-Qedah*/Hazor were probably rebuilt by the Israelites shortly after the campaign of Ben-Hadad I in the year 906/883 BCE.

The attack of Ben-Hadad I demonstrated that the Arameans became a powerful opponent of Israel and therefore northern Israelite cities had to be fortified. For instance, *Tell el-Qedah*/Hazor VIII became “a strongly fortified city, with mighty walls, strong citadel, public store houses and, above all, a huge underground water system, capable for sustaining the city through a long siege.”<sup>32</sup> In *Tell el-‘Orēme*/Kinneret stratum III, they built a tower to

<sup>26</sup> PITARD 1994, 36.

<sup>27</sup> Although theoretically Kinneret in this verse can be understood as the name of the site, the corresponding word Araba demonstrates, that the author means the Sea of Galilee.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. ZWICKEL 2003.

<sup>29</sup> LXX misunderstood this parallel structure and uses ἕως = ἄχρι, but generally LXX did not really translate this verse and had no knowledge about the geographic situation mentioned in this text.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. MARFOE 1995, 185 Nr. 001.

<sup>31</sup> YAHALOM-MACK et al. 2018.

<sup>32</sup> YADIN 1972, 165.

protect the *Via maris*.

The events described in 1 Kings 15:20 took place during the reign of the Israelite King Baasha (906–883 BCE). It is not completely certain that he was the one to manage all these rebuilding activities. His successors Ela (883–882 BCE) and Simri (882 BCE) reigned too briefly to organize such fortification activities. Maybe Omri (882–871 BCE) was the only king strong and powerful enough to stabilize the northeastern border and to build stratum III of *Tell el-'Orēme/Kinneret*.

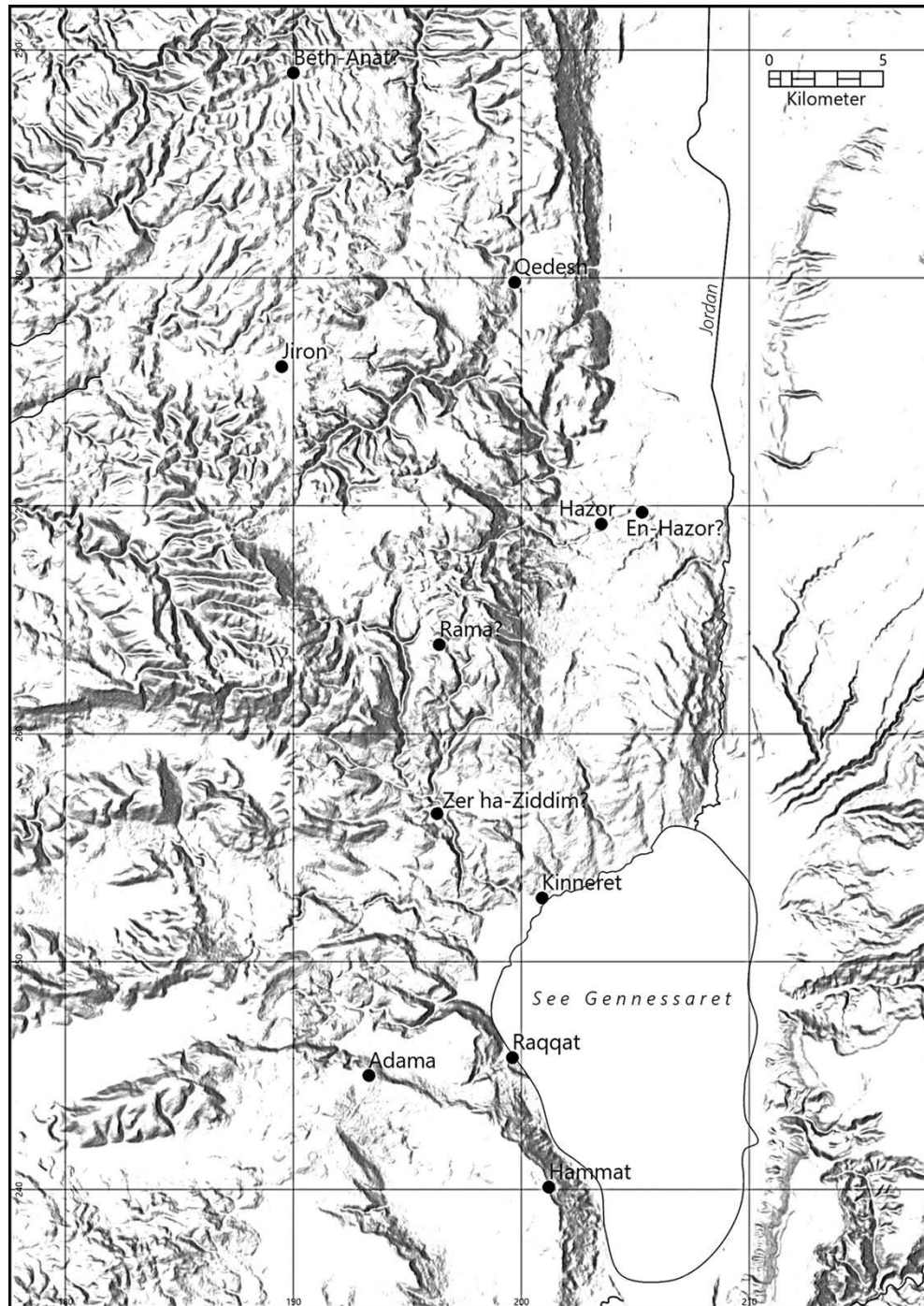


Fig. 1.3.6. Sites of the tribe of Naphtali according to Josh 19:32–39.

As part of the townlist of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:32–39), Josh 19:35 is the only Biblical reference to the town of Kinneret:

32 For [the sons of]<sup>33</sup> Naphtali the sixth lot came out, [for the tribe of Naphtali according to its families].<sup>34</sup> 33 And its boundary ran from Helef, from the oak in Zaananim, and Adami-Nekeb, and Jabneel, as far as Laqqum; and it ended at the Jordan; 34 then the boundary turns westwards to Asnot-Tabor, and goes from there to Huqqoq, touching Zebulon at the south, and touching Asher on the west, [and Judah on the east at the Jordan].<sup>35</sup> 35 The fortified towns are Ziddim, Zer,<sup>36</sup> Hammat, Raqqat, Kinneret, 36 Adama, Rama, Hazor, 37 Qedesh, Edrei, En-Hazor, 38 Jiron, Migdal-El, Horem,<sup>37</sup> Beth-Anat, and Beth-Shemesh – [nineteen towns with their villages].<sup>38</sup> 39 This is the inheritance of the sons of Naphtali [according to its families] [– the towns with their villages].<sup>39</sup>

The southern border (v. 33) of this tribe is shared with the tribe of Issachar. From west to east are mentioned Helef, the oak of Zaananim, Adami-Nekeb, Jabneel, Laqqum, and the Jordan River. Especially the mention of the Jordan River demonstrates that the southern border was south of the Sea of Galilee. In v. 34, the phrase “then the boundary turns westwards to” can be considered as a hint that the border line in v. 33 was not in direct east-west direction, but rather northwest-southeast. Naphtali also had a common border with Zebulon in the south and with Asher in the west.

ALT<sup>40</sup> convincingly demonstrated that the border list in the book of Joshua must be relatively old, likely older than the “Gauliste” of King Solomon in 1 Kings 4:7–19, while the town list with Galilean towns would probably be from the time of Josiah. The border list may be a text from the time of David. Likely, the organization of a united monarchy during David’s time made it necessary for the new Jerusalem administration to fix the exact border lines of every tribe. This helped to manage all political or military quarrels and conflicts. Describing the borders exactly, especially in territories that are controversial, such a well-defined border system was important and helped to stabilize the authority of a new political system. The town list of every tribe was certainly added later as ALT has shown convincingly. Therefore, for the identification of sites on the border list we should expect an Iron Age I/IIA settlement, while sites on the town list must have been settled during the Iron Age IIB period.

For the border list the following identifications can be proposed:<sup>41</sup>

Name	Identification	Coordinates
Helef	<i>Ḥirbet ‘Arbīṭa</i>	1891.2367
Oak in Zaananim	<i>Ḥān el-Tuġġār</i> near Mount Tabor?	1888.2363
Adami-Nekeb	<i>Ḥirbet ed-Dāmiye</i>	1940.2394
Jabneel	<i>Tell en-Nā‘am</i>	1983.2355
Laqqum	<i>Tell el-‘Ubēdīye</i>	2024.2328
Asnot-Tabor	<i>Umm Ġebel</i>	186.237
Huqqoq	<i>Ġebel eš-Šēḥ</i> ? <sup>42</sup>	181.236

Table 1.3.3. Border towns of the tribe of Naphtali.

<sup>33</sup> In v. 32 LXX likely kept with *lnptly* (instead of *lbne nptly*) the original version.

<sup>34</sup> “For the tribe of Naphtali according to its families” is likely a later redactional attribution, which is missing in LXX.

<sup>35</sup> “And Judah on the east at the Jordan” is certainly corrupt because Judah is situated much further in the south (cf. also BARTHÉLEMY 1982, 59). Likely, this corrupted verse cannot be restored anymore. Perhaps it can be understood as a scribal error.

<sup>36</sup> Some scholars consider the first four words “fortified towns: Ziddim, Zer” as a later addition or a defective transformation of v. 28–29 (ALT 1927, 72; NOTH <sup>3</sup>1971, 116; FRITZ 1994, 196). LXX offers no convincing solution. Likely LXX did not understand the text and tried to restore it. But this is not helpful at all, because there is no convincing re-translation into Hebrew. SAARISALO (SAARISALO 1927, 128 n. 1) did not understand these words as placenames, but this is not likely. There is no textcritical argument to skip these words. Therefore, these four words should be kept.

<sup>37</sup> The spelling of the site Horem is different in the versions (Harum, Horam, Harem). It is no longer possible to decide which one was the original spelling.

<sup>38</sup> The counting of 19 towns in v. 38 is definitely wrong. All together 23 towns are mentioned. If we consider Zer ha-Ziddim as only one site, still 22 towns instead of 19 are attested. The counting is missing at all in some manuscripts of LXX and is likely a later addition.

<sup>39</sup> “According to its families” in v. 39 is missing in LXX, as well as “the towns with their villages” in some LXX manuscripts. Both may be later redactional additions.

<sup>40</sup> ALT 1927.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. ZWICKEL 2017, 291–295 for a discussion of the identifications.

<sup>42</sup> Huqqoq has definitely not to be identified with the site of *Yaqūq* (coord. 1966.2538), which is only settled since the Byzantine period.



The following identifications can be proposed for the town list:

Name	Identification	Coordinates
Zer ha-Ziddim <sup>43</sup>	<i>Hirbet Sīrīn?</i>	1963.2565
Hammat	<i>el-Manāra</i>	2012.2401
Raqqat	<i>Hirbet el-Qunēṭire</i>	1996.2458
Kinneret	<i>Tell el-'Orēme</i>	2009.2528
Adama	<i>Qarn Hiṭṭīn</i>	1933.2450
Rama	<i>Ṣafed?</i>	1964.2639
Hazor	<i>Tell el-Qedah</i>	2035.2692
Qedesh	<i>Tell Qedes</i>	1997.2798
Edrei	?	
En-Hazor	<i>Ayyelet ha-Šaḥar?</i>	2053.2697
Jiron	<i>Yārūn</i>	1895.2761
Migdal-El	?	
Horem	?	
Beth-Anat	<i>Hirbet Islim?</i>	193.291
Beth-Shemesh	?	

Table 1.3.4. Town list of the tribe of Naphtali.

Kinneret was one of the towns in Galilee. Excavations of Stratum II confirm that it was not very prominent but a rather small town, not mentioned anywhere else neither in the Bible nor in Assyrian sources. Despite limited size, the site was fortified with four massive towers during the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, confirming the reference to a fortified town in the Biblical text. Before Galilee was conquered by the Assyrians, stratum II is the only Iron Age II stratum with a proper settlement. Therefore, the archaeology may help to confirm the thesis that the town list originates from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. After the Assyrian conquest the site of Kinneret is never mentioned anymore in ancient sources.

#### Identification of Kinneret with *Tell el-'Orēme*

The identification of Kinneret with *Tell el-'Orēme* is now accepted by all scholars. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars identified Kinneret with *Hirbet el-Kerak* on the outlet of the Jordan River in the southern part of the Sea of Galilee. PAUL KARGE was the first scholar to identify *Tell el-'Orēme* as Kinneret and this was certainly well known among the Biblical scholars in Jerusalem.<sup>44</sup> After his early death both W.F. ALBRIGHT<sup>45</sup> and G. DALMAN<sup>46</sup> independently proposed the same identification without mentioning KARGE.

The basic arguments for the identification can be summarized as follows:

- Any site identified with Kinneret must have been settled during the Late Bronze Age I and Iron Age II periods (see the discussion of the texts above).
- Kinneret must have been a very import site at least during the Late Bronze Age because the lake was named after the site (“Sea of Kinneret”: Deut 3:17; Numb 34:11; Josh 11:2; 12:3; 13:27).
- No other site around the Sea of Galilee fits these two conditions.

<sup>43</sup> For the reasons to combine the two names Zer and Ziddim cf. ZWICKEL 2017, 293–294.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. his publication in a German newspaper in this volume chapter 1.5.8. He also published the identification in a short report (KARGE 1915, 124): “Die Ebene Gennezareth wird, wie erwähnt, im Norden durch den Berg Oreme abgeschlossen. ... Dieser von allen Seiten mit Ausnahme des Nordens durch Steilabhänge geschützte Berg stellt eine vorzügliche Ortslage dar und trug auf seinem Gipfel eine altkanaanäische Stadt, möglicherweise das alte Gennezareth-Kinneroth, welche etwa im achten Jahrhundert v. Chr. durch Eroberung zugrunde ging.“

<sup>45</sup> ALBRIGHT 1923, 36–37.

<sup>46</sup> DALMAN 1921, 118–120.

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