Notes

[1] W.F. Albright, "Researches of the School in Western Judaea," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* Vol. 15 (1924), p. 9.

[2] Albright originally thought Tell es-Safi to be biblical Libnah, before changing his mind in favor of Tel Burna. Cf. W.F. Albright, "Contributions to the Historical Geography of Palestine," *The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem* Vol. 2 (1921), pp. 1–17. Tell es-Safi is now recognized as the biblical Philistine city of "Gath."

[3] K. Elliger, "Josua in Judäa," *Palästinajahrbuch* Vol. 30 (1934), pp. 62–63.

[4] Cf. below for the argumentation in full against the equation of Horvat Lavnin for biblical Libnah.

[5] Cf. below for the argumentation in full against the equation of Tel Goded for biblical Libnah.

[6] D.A. Dorsey, "The Location of Biblical Makkedah," *Tel Aviv* Vol. 7:3–4 (1980), p. 192. Subsequent scholarship has largely followed Dorsey's thinking on the location of Makkedah.

[7] Ibid., p. 189.

[8] C. McKinny, *A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah: The Town Lists of Judah and Benjamin in Joshua 15:21–62 and 18:21–28.* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology. Accessed online on 9/7/2017 at: http://biu.academia.edu/ChrisMcKinny (2016), p. 199.

[9] Ibid., p. 232.

[10] In contrast to past scholarship, cf. A.F. Rainey, "The Biblical Shephelah of Judah," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* Vol. 251 (1983), p. 11.

[11] Ibid.

[12] C. McKinny, *A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah: The Town Lists of Judah and Benjamin in Joshua 15:21–62 and 18:21–28.* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology. Accessed online on 9/7/2017 at: http://biu.academia.edu/ChrisMcKinny (2016), pp. 211–215.

[13] C. Warren, "Libnah," *The Jamieson-Fausset-Brown Bible Commentary* (1871).

[14] Ibid.

[15] E.W.G. Masterman, "Libnah," *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, ed. James Orr (1915).

[16] This is to say, Sennacherib attacks Libnah in his 46 city Judean campaign. Later, Hamutal from Libnah marries into the Judean royal family.

[17] Y. Dagan, "Cities of the Judean Shephelah and Their Division into Districts Based on Joshua 15," *Eretz Israel* Vol. 25 (1996), pp. 142–143 (Hebrew).

[18] The excavations by Blakely (et al.) at Khirbet Summeily now places a question mark on Yehuda Dagan's identification for biblical Zenan (Dagan, "Cities," p. 140; and C. McKinny, *Geography*, pp.188–90). Although, perhaps Eshtaol could fit Dagan's argument for the first listed city to represent, ideally, the most northern town. This is the case, apparently in Josh 15:33–36's city list.

[19] Cf. also 1 Chr 6:42 (English 6:57).

[20] Na'aman states that the book of Kings considered Edom to be in the Arabah (N. Na'aman, "The Kingdom of Judah in the 9th Century BCE: Text Analysis versus Archaeological Research," *Tel Aviv* Vol. 40:2 [2013], p. 257).

[21] Personal communication with Itzick Shai.

[22] The title "Queen" is not specifically given to Hamutal in the biblical texts.

[23] The author has not found any other identification in the published literature.

[24] A.M. Maier and I. Shai, "Reassessing the Character of the Judahite Kingdom: Archaeological Evidence for Non-Centralized, Kinship-Based Components," *Sha'ar Hagolan to Shaaraim: Essays in Honor of Prof. Yosef Garfinkel*, ed. S. Ganor, I. Kreimerman, K. Streit, M. Mumcuoglu (Jerusalem, 2016), pp. 323–340.

[25] J. Uziel and I. Shai, "The Settlement History of Tel Burna: Results of the Surface Survey," *Tel Aviv* Vol. 37:2 (2010), p. 237. Iron IIC were discovered by Dagan's 2000 survey and, subsequently, noted by Uziel and Shai (Ibid., 237).

[26] Ibid., pp. 234 and 238.

[27] Ibid.

[28] I. Shai, C. McKinny, and J. Uziel, "Late Bronze Age Cultic Activity in Ancient Canaan: A View from Tel Burna," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* Vol. 374 (2015), pp. 115–133; and C. Sharp, C. McKinny, and I. Shai, "The Late Bronze Age Figurines from Tel Burna." *Strata: Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* Vol. 33 (2015), pp. 61–75.

[29] J. Uziel and I. Shai, "The Settlement History of Tel Burna: Results of the Surface Survey," *Tel Aviv* Vol. 37:2 (2010), p. 234.

[30] Ibid.

[31] I. Shai, "Tel Burna: A Judahite Fortified Town in the Shephelah," *The Shephelah during the Iron Age, Recent Archaeological Studies*, ed. O. Lipschits and A.M. Maeir (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2017), pp. 46–47.

[32] J. Uziel and I. Shai, "The Settlement History of Tel Burna: Results of the Surface Survey," *Tel Aviv* Vol. 37:2 (2010), pp. 237–238.

[33] I. Shai, D. Cassuto, A. Dagan, and J. Uziel, "The Fortifications at Tel Burna: Date, Function and Meaning," *Israel Exploration Journal* Vol. 62 (2012), pp. 141–157.

[34] Per personal communication with Itzick Shai.

[35] I. Shai, "Tel Burna: A Judahite Fortified Town in the Shephelah," The Shephelah during the Iron Age, Recent Archaeological Studies, ed. O. Lipschits and A.M. Maeir (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2017), p. 56.

[36] Ibid., pp. 49–50.

[37] Ibid., p. 50. The Area A2 square supervisor now questions the identification of the building structure as a typical Israelite "four-room" house. I (the author) would favor Prof. Itzick Shai's view as a four room house structure. Area A2, in the 2018 season,

yielded a clear ninth century layer and, probably, also (at least) two eighth century phases (updated 08/27/2018; cf. www.telburna.wordpress.com).

[38] I. Shai, A. Dagan, S. Riehl, A. Orendi, J. Uziel, and M. Suriano, "A Private Stamped Seal Handle from Tel Burna, Israel*," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* Vol. 130 (2014), pp. 121–37.

[39] I. Shai, "Tel Burna: A Judahite Fortified Town in the Shephelah," The Shephelah during the Iron Age, Recent Archaeological Studies, ed. O. Lipschits and A.M. Maeir (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2017), p. 55.

[40] Ibid., p. 53. For the full descriptions of the seal impressions, cf. Shai, Dagan, Riehl, Orendi, Uziel, and Suriano, "Private Stamped Seal," pp. 129–135.

[41] Shai, "Tel Burna: A Judahite Fortified Town in the Shephelah," 53.

[42] Late in the 2018 season, Area B2 has provided ample evidence of an Iron IIA destruction layer (perhaps even as early as the Iron 1), which Itzick Shai relates approximately with the famous Khirbet Qeiyafa destruction layer that Yosef Garfinkel has dated to the first third of the 10th century BC. The destruction layer dating is a tentative conclusion from the Tel Burna team that must await C^{14} testing for a more precise dating (updated 08/27/2018; cf. www.telburna.wordpress.com).

[43] R.E. Tappy, "Historical and Geographical Notes on the 'Lowland Districts' of Judah in Joshua XV:33–47," Vetus Testamentum Vol. 58 (2008), p. 386; idem, "Tel Zayit and the Tel Zayit Abecedary in Their Regional Context," Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context, ed. R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), p. 11; and idem, "The Tabula Peutingeriana, Its Roadmap to Borderland Settlements in Iudaea-Palestina, With Special Reference to Tel Zayit in the Late Roman Period," Near Eastern Archaeology Vol. 75:1 (2012), pp. 36–54.

[44] Even if one assumes that later agricultural work (e.g. agriculture performed by Zeitah's Ottoman period inhabitants) removed much of the ancient city, as Tappy contends (idem, "Tabula Peutingeriana," pp. 38–40), it is doubtful that the archaeological site would still represent a substantial contender for biblical Libnah. Simply put, Tel Zayit is still too small even if portions of it were removed by agricultural activity.

[45] N. Na'aman, "The Shephelah According to the Amarna Letters," The Fire Signals of Lachish: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze, Iron Age, and Persian Periods in Honor of David Ussishkin, ed. I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), pp. 284–285.

[46] In the year 1955, as cited in Z. Kallai, Historical Geography of the Bible: The Tribal Territories of Israel (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986), pp. 379–385.

[47] Ibid., p. 381.

[48] Ibid., pp. 381–382.

[49] Ibid., p. 384.

[50] J. Jeremias, "Moreseth-Gath, die Heimat des Propheten Micha," Palästinajahrbuch Vol. 29 (1933), pp. 42–53; and S. Vargon, "Gedud: A Place-Name in the Shephelah of Judah," Vetus Testamentum Vol. 42:4 (1992), p. 558.

[51] K. Elliger, "Josua in Judäa," Palästinajahrbuch Vol. 30 (1934), pp. 117–121.

[52] Y. Aharoni, The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979), p. 330.

[53] Z. Kallai, Historical Geography of the Bible: The Tribal Territories of Israel (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986), pp. 386–387.

[54] Ibid., p. 381.

[55] J.L. Peterson, *A Topographical Surface Survey of the Levitical "Cities" of Joshua 21 and I Chronicles 6*, Unpublished Dissertation (Evanston, IL: The Chicago Institute of Advanced Theological Studies and the Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1977), p. 482.

[56] F.J. Bliss and A.S. Macalister, "Excavations in Palestine, 1898–1900," *Palestine Exploration Fund* (London, 1902), pp. 44–51.

[57] S. Gibson, "The Tell el-Judeideh (Tel Goded) Excavations: A Re-appraisal Based on Archival Records in the Palestine Exploration Fund," *Tel Aviv* Vol. 21 (1994), p. 197.

[58] S. Vargon, "Gedud: A Place-Name in the Shephelah of Judah," *Vetus Testamentum* Vol. 42:4 (1992), p. 560. Moreover, one would expect the adjective "new" to be found in widespread usage for toponyms in any language, as also in the case of Palestinian Arabic (e.g. "New York" in the United States).

[59] J.L. Peterson, *A Topographical Surface Survey of the Levitical "Cities" of Joshua 21 and I Chronicles 6*, Unpublished Dissertation (Evanston, IL: The Chicago Institute of Advanced Theological Studies and the Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1977), p. 482.

[60] S. Gibson, "The Tell el-Judeideh (Tel Goded) Excavations: A Re-appraisal Based on Archival Records in the Palestine Exploration Fund," *Tel Aviv* Vol. 21 (1994).

[61] Ibid., p. 231.

[62] Y. Dagan, The Settlement in the Judean Shephelah in the Second and First Millennium BC: A Test Case of Settlement Processes in a Geographical Region, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2000), p. 161 (Hebrew).

[63] C. McKinny, A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah: The Town Lists of Judah and Benjamin in Joshua 15:21–62 and 18:21–28. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology. Accessed online on 9/7/2017 at: http://biu.academia.edu/ChrisMcKinny (2016), pp. 211–215.

[64] J. Jeremias, "Moreseth-Gath, die Heimat des Propheten Micha," Palästinajahrbuch Vol. 29 (1933), pp. 42–53.

[65] C. McKinny, A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah: The Town Lists of Judah and Benjamin in Joshua 15:21–62 and 18:21–28. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology. Accessed online on 9/7/2017 at: http://biu.academia.edu/ChrisMcKinny (2016), pp. 211–215.

[66] R.E. Tappy, "Historical and Geographical Notes on the 'Lowland Districts' of Judah in Joshua XV:33–47," *Vetus Testamentum* Vol. 58 (2008), p. 381–403; idem, "Tel Zayit and the Tel Zayit Abecedary in Their Regional Context," *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, ed. R.E. Tappy and P.K. McCarter (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), pp. 1–40; and idem, "The Tabula Peutingeriana, Its Roadmap to Borderland Settlements in Iudaea-Palestina, With Special Reference to Tel Zayit in the Late Roman Period," *Near Eastern Archaeology*, Vol. 75:1 (2012), pp. 36–54.

[67] J.A. Blakely, J.W. Hardin, and D.M. Master, "The Southwestern Border of Judah in the Ninth and Eighth Centuries B.C.E." in *Material Culture Matters Essays on the Archaeology of the Southern Levant in Honor of Seymour Gitin*, ed. J.R. Spencer, R.A.

Mullins, and A. Brody (Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake, IN, 2014), pp. 33–51; J.W. Hardin, C.A. Rollston, and J.A. Blakely, "Biblical Geography in Southwestern Judah." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 75:1 (2012): 20–35; idem, "Iron Age Bullae from Officialdom's Periphery: Khirbet Summeily in Broader Context." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 77:4 (2014): 299–301.

[68] Tappy uses the term "liminal" in his writings. E.g. cf. Tappy, "The Tabula Peutingeriana, Its Roadmap to Borderland Settlements in Iudaea-Palestina, With Special Reference to Tel Zayit in the Late Roman Period," *Near Eastern Archaeology* Vol. 75:1 (2012), p. 37

[69] McKinny and Tavger draw parallel thought from Lebonah in Ephraim for their arguments. Cf. C. McKinny and A. Tavger, "From Lebonah to Libnah: Historical Geographical Details from the PEF and Other Early Secondary Sources on the Toponymy of Two Homonymous Sites," *The PEF and the Early Exploration of the Holy Land*, ed. D. Gurevich and A. Kidron (2018), *forthcoming*.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Y. Dagan, "Cities of the Judean Shephelah and Their Division into Districts Based on Joshua 15," *Eretz Israel* Vol. 25 (1996), pp. 142–143.

[72] Ibid., 142-143; and, more recently, E. Klein and I. Shai, "Burial Caves from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages at Horvat Lavnin in the Judean Shephelah," *Tel Aviv* 43 (2016), 225–242, specifically p. 227.

[73] G. Beyer, "Das Stadtgebiet von Eleutheropolis im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. und seine Grenznachbarn," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. 54 (1931), 209–271.

[74] Y. Dagan, "Cities of the Judean Shephelah and Their Division into Districts Based on Joshua 15," *Eretz Israel* Vol. 25 (1996), p. 143.

[75] Ibid., pp. 142–143.

[76] C. McKinny and A. Dagan, "The Explorations of Tel Burna," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* Vol. 145 (2013), p. 303.

[77] E.g. cf. M.J. Suriano, I. Shai, and J. Uziel, "In Search of Libnah," *Journal of Near Eastern Society* (2018), *forthcoming*. However, Suriano, Shai, and Uziel do not necessarily adhere to the claim that the background for the name of the city of "Libnah" derives from the prevalent white chalk of the region. But, this theory for the origin of the name of "Libnah" is the best one offered in current scholarship.

[78] Possibly the name "Libnah" derives from some unknown type of "white" tree or vegetation, such as *populus alba* or possibly *styrax officinalis* and its white material inside the stems (cf. Gen 30:37 and Hosea 4:13). For example, one could note the parallel example of biblical "Rithmah," whose name is presumably derived from the Semitic/Hebrew name of the Juniper or broom tree (Numbers 33:18–19). Alternatively, perhaps a priestly clan bestowed their family name on the city by rite of their early inhabitation (i.e. the Levitical descendants called "Libnites" mentioned in Exod 6:17; Num 3:18, 21; 26:58; 1 Chr 6:2, 5, 14)? There are many possibilities besides the mundane idea that the ground is white and locals wished to name the city after the white stones and dirt.

[79] R. Zadok, "Philistian Notes I," Ugarit-Forschungen Vol. 41 (2009), p. 668.

[80] C. McKinny, A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah: The Town Lists of Judah and Benjamin in Joshua 15:21–62 and 18:21–28. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and

Archaeology. Accessed online on 9/7/2017 at: http://biu.academia.edu/ChrisMcKinny (2016), pp. 218–220; and, for Chezib, cf. K. Elliger, "Josua in Judäa," Palästinajahrbuch Vol. 30 (1934), p. 124.

[81] Y. Dagan, "Cities of the Judean Shephelah and Their Division into Districts Based on Joshua 15," *Eretz Israel* Vol. 25 (1996), p. 143.

[82] McKinny essentially reverses the argumentation of Yehuda Dagan, who posits that Tel Burna represents Ashan, in contrast to McKinny's choice of Tel Goded. However, aside from the reservations listed above for equating Tel Goded with Libnah, it is not clear that Tel Burna would be a better agricultural or industrial center for the production of wine than the candidate of ancient Tel Goded's town, although Dagan assumes this postulation without explicit reasoning (Ibid). For his argument, Dagan cites David Ussishkin's discovery of a decanter sherd with "wine from Ashan" written upon it (Ibid; and D. Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tel Lachish—1973–1977: Preliminary Report," *Tel Aviv* Vol. 5:1–2 [1978], pp. 83–84). However, from Tel Lachish in the modern landscape, both Tel Burna and Tel Goded are at similar distance or proximity to Lachish and are clearly visible with the naked eye. Thus, it is difficult to claim one of them is a better choice for Ashan from the standpoint of simply trade of wine. Moreover, the mention of "Ashan" may not be a toponym, as discussed by Ussishkin (ibid., 83–84).

[83] Y. Dagan, "Cities of the Judean Shephelah and Their Division into Districts Based on Joshua 15," *Eretz Israel* Vol. 25 (1996), p. 143.

[84] A. Grayson and J. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), p. 176.

[85] R.E. Tappy, "Historical and Geographical Notes on the 'Lowland Districts' of Judah in Joshua XV:33–47," *Vetus Testamentum* Vol. 58 (2008), p. 381–403; idem, "Tel Zayit and the Tel Zayit Abecedary in Their Regional Context," *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, ed. R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), pp. 1–40; and idem, "The Tabula Peutingeriana, Its Roadmap to Borderland Settlements in Iudaea-Palestina, With Special Reference to Tel Zayit in the Late Roman Period," *Near Eastern Archaeology* Vol. 75:1 (2012), pp. 36–54.

[86] J.A. Blakely, J.W. Hardin, and D.M. Master, "The Southwestern Border of Judah in the Ninth and Eighth Centuries B.C.E.," *Material Culture Matters: Essays on the Archaeology of the Southern Levant in Honor of Seymour Gitin*, ed. J.R. Spencer, R.A. Mullins, and A. Brody (Eisenbrauns, 2014), pp. 33–51; J.W Hardin, C.A. Rollston, and J.A. Blakely, "Biblical Geography in Southwestern Judah," *Near Eastern Archaeology* Vol. 75:1 (2012), pp. 20–35; and J.W. Hardin, C.A. Rollston, and J.A. Blakely, "Iron Age Bullae from Officialdom's Periphery: Khirbet Summeily in Broader Context," *Near Eastern Archaeology* Vol. 77:4 (2014), pp. 299–301.

[87] C. McKinny and A. Dagan, "The Explorations of Tel Burna," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* Vol. 145 (2013), p. 304, note 13. In Libnah's case of its toponym's migration roughly three kilometers east of Tel Burna, Libnah's name shift to Lobana, about 0.5 kilometers to the north of Eleutheropolis sprung from the "overwhelming draw of metropolitan Eleutheropolis and its historical predecessor of Marisa/Maresha" (ibid.).

[88] The analogy was suggested to the author in personal conversation with Nadav Na'aman.

[89] A.F. Rainey, "The Biblical Shephelah of Judah," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* Vol. 251 (1983), pp. 10–11.

[90] I. Shai, "Understanding Philistine Migration: City Names and Their Implications," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* Vol. 354 (2009), pp. 15–27.

[91] N. Na'aman, "The Kingdom of Judah in the 9th Century BCE: Text Analysis versus Archaeological Research," *Tel Aviv* Vol. 40:2 (2013), pp. 254–255, 264, and 267.

[92] R.E. Tappy, "Historical and Geographical Notes on the 'Lowland Districts' of Judah in Joshua XV:33–47," *Vetus Testamentum* Vol. 58 (2008), pp. 15–16. Tappy frequently uses the term "liminal" to describe the Nahal Guvrin and its environs.