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# Revealing Stratum V at Megiddo

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*This article focuses on Stratum V, Stratum VA–IVB, and Stratum IVA at Megiddo. The true nature of Stratum V is revealed, showing it to be an important multiphased city, complete with two palatial buildings, one of which has similarities with the Omride Palace in Samaria. In addition, the existence of a distinct Stratum IVB (VA–IVB) is questioned, and an alternative layout for Stratum IV in the crucial southern area of the tell is proposed.<sup>1</sup>*

## INTRODUCTION

**C**ontroversy surrounding the Iron Age strata at Megiddo (see Yadin 1960; 1970; 1972) is once again at the forefront of archaeological debate. These strata, vital to the discussion on Iron Age II chronology in the Levant (Finkelstein 1996; Mazar 1997), are currently being excavated and reexamined by the Megiddo Expedition of Tel Aviv University (Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2000).

This paper deals with Megiddo Stratum V, a neglected stratum whose true nature was blurred by both fallacy and inadequate publication. In order to establish a clear picture, the stratigraphy must be clarified.<sup>2</sup>

The stratigraphy of Iron II Megiddo is based on two secure, undisputed anchors:

- From below, the final phase of Stratum VI (VIA), the last city at Megiddo that is characterized by Canaanite material culture. Since the city was totally annihilated by fire, the de-

bris from this “red burnt brick city” (*Megiddo II*: 114; Schumacher 1908: 80) is easily discerned wherever excavations reached this distinctive level.

- From above, the fully developed monumental Iron Age city of Stratum IVA, characterized by City Wall 325 and two sets of public pillared buildings (known as “the Megiddo Stables”). These architectural elements are connected by a plaster surface, which formed a crescent that stretched from the northern to the southern stables, forming the backbone of the last city dating to the Israelite kingdom.

The remains sandwiched between these two cities—referred to here as Stratum V—are the focus of this article.

Understanding Stratum V, an enigmatic city, is essential to understanding the stratigraphy and relative chronology of Megiddo in particular and other northern sites in general. The main questions here are how many phases existed in this stratigraphic sandwich and how they evolved.

Regarding the remains of Stratum V, Robert Lamon, one of the excavators of Megiddo on behalf of the Oriental Institute, stated: “Little of interest or importance has been found in the architecture of the period. No large or unusual buildings have so far been exposed . . .” (*Megiddo I*: 3). This paper will refute Lamon’s statement. It will, for the first time, synthesize all data from past and present excavations and thereby emphasize the importance of this stratum to the history of Megiddo.

<sup>1</sup> This paper forms part of the author’s doctoral dissertation to be submitted to Tel Aviv University. The figures were prepared by S. Stark.

<sup>2</sup> This paper concentrates on the stratigraphy of Iron Age Megiddo based on an analysis of past and present excavations. The many pottery studies that have dealt with the Iron Age assemblages have not been referred to, as it is the author’s opinion that these assemblages must be reevaluated against the new stratigraphic picture presented here.

TABLE 1. The Various Nomenclature of the Stratigraphy of Iron II Megiddo

<i>Megiddo I</i>	<i>Megiddo II</i>	<i>Albright, Wright, and Yadin</i>	<i>Franklin</i>
IV	IV	IVA	IV
IVB	IVB		
V	VA	VA-IVB	V
	VB	VB	(multiphased)
VIA (no reference to it)	VIA	VIA	VIA

In the course of past excavations at Megiddo and the subsequent critical evaluations of its remains, the different phases of Stratum V were referred to by diverse names. In the first final publication of the Megiddo finds, published in 1939, the remains were presented under the description of Stratum V and Stratum IVB (*Megiddo I*: 3–4). In the second and more elaborate volume, published 10 years later, Loud subdivided some of the newly excavated remains of Stratum V into Stratum VB and Stratum VA (*Megiddo II*: 45, 105, 116). On reviewing the excavation reports, Albright and Wright (Albright 1943: 2–3 n. 1; Wright 1950: 42) suggested combining the remains of Stratum V in Area C (of *Megiddo I*) and Stratum VA in Areas AA, BB, and DD (of *Megiddo II*) with the remains of Stratum IVB in Area B (*Megiddo I*) into one unified stratum—VA-IVB. This also meant that Stratum V in Area A (*Megiddo I*) was amalgamated with Stratum VB in Areas AA, BB, and DD (*Megiddo II*), with both labeled Stratum VB. To help clarify this new situation, Stratum IV—including the “Stables,” City Wall 325, and Building 338—was renamed Stratum IVA.

In the 1960s, Yigael Yadin resumed excavations at Megiddo and added new elements to Stratum VA-IVB (Yadin accepted the Albright and Wright proposals regarding an amalgamated stratum, Stratum VA-IVB [Albright 1943: 2–3 n. 1; Wright 1950: 42]). According to the Yadin interpretation, the dominant one in recent decades, in addition to Palace 1723, located in the southern sector of the mound, there was another ashlar palace located in the northern sector, Palace 6000. Accordingly, Yadin (1970) assigned the meager remains found sandwiched between Palace 6000 and the destruction of Stratum VIA to Stratum VB.

In what follows, I will be using the labels Stratum V and Stratum IV in accordance with the right-hand column in table 1.

I propose that all the remains between Stratum VIA and Stratum IVA represent one dynamic city. Therefore, I suggest that VB and certain elements of VA-IVB should be relabeled as Stratum V (the topic of this paper) and that Stratum IVA should be classified, as it was originally, as Stratum IV (see table 1). I further propose that Stratum V was a long-lived city that was built over a considerable period of time, and that its buildings, once constructed, were continuously maintained and/or rebuilt. In a later phase of the life of the city, a more elaborate building (Palace 6000) was added, and this localized addition replaced an earlier phase of Stratum V there.

There is no sign of destruction during the phases of Stratum V (and the passage of time is not marked by any major changes in the nature of the city). This continuity made it difficult for the Chicago Expedition, using hired labor and now-outdated archaeological methods, to trace the minute stratigraphic development of the city of Stratum V. In addition, the Oriental Institute archaeologists directly responsible for excavating the Stratum V remains published in *Megiddo I*,—Clarence Fisher, P. L. O. Guy, Robert Engberg, and Herbert May—had all left the Chicago Expedition prior to the preparation and publication of the final report. The final report, published as *Megiddo I*, was prepared by the chief surveyor, Robert Lamon, and the young, self-taught registrar Geoffrey Shipton. As will be shown below, this had momentous consequences on the final stratigraphic analysis. More recently, the Megiddo Expedition, employing modern archaeological techniques, has been able to discern the multiphase nature of Stratum V, particularly in Area K. There the stratigraphic sequence of the Stratum V city comprises six subphases that represent continuous occupation with only minor changes, consisting mainly of the raising of floors (Lehmann, Killebrew, and Gadot 2000).

In addition to renaming the Iron II strata at Megiddo, this paper will also

- reconstruct the layout and topography of Stratum V, including remains previously inadequately published;
- reassigned to Stratum V certain architectural elements formerly assigned to other strata.

### REVIEWING STRATUM V

Regardless of how Stratum V is classified, it is undoubtedly the "neglected" stratum of Iron Age Megiddo. Yet this stratum was affirmed by the University of Chicago in nearly 50 percent of their excavation area on the upper tell.<sup>3</sup> It was also discerned in the equivalent of two additional "Chicago" squares<sup>4</sup> that had previously been excavated by Schumacher (these remains were also removed by Schumacher). To this can be added the information gleaned from the small-scale excavation of Palace 6000, conducted by Yadin on behalf of the Hebrew University,<sup>5</sup> and the more recent excavations by the Megiddo Expedition of Tel Aviv University in Areas H, K, and L (Knauf in press; Cline in press). In another six squares excavated by the Chicago Expedition<sup>6</sup> there were no Stratum V remains; instead Stratum IV directly followed either Stratum VIA or Stratum VII. Finally, in approximately 20 more squares, excavation did not penetrate further than Stratum III. To sum up, positive and negative evidence concerning Stratum V has been revealed over nearly 75 percent of the upper tell (there were no Stratum V remains on the lower tell).

In order to understand the milieu and layout of Stratum V, a detailed topographic analysis of the preceding strata was conducted, with special emphasis on surface elevations. Since very few of the recorded elevation levels were actually published in *Megiddo I*, the relevant elevations have had to be garnered from various sources (see below), such as the published schematic Stratum IV sections (re-drawn here; see figs. 1, 2, and 3). The topographic analysis of Stratum V has proved an invaluable tool in reassigned certain architectural units from other strata to Stratum V. Below is an account of the ex-

cavation and publication of Stratum V. For ease of orientation, the mound has been divided into four quadrants.

#### *I: Squares M–R North–South, 12–15 East–West*

The first remains of Stratum V were revealed here in 1925–1927, although at that time they were attributed to Stratum III by Fisher (1929). In order to clear a space for a chute to a new dump on the eastern slope, five squares were excavated. The material from three of the squares (P/12, 13, and Q/13) was later reassigned to Stratum V (*Megiddo I*: fig. 6, Area C). Fisher's exposure included the ceramic-rich loci Buildings 1A, 10, and 51.

An area to the north of Fisher's original five squares was investigated by Guy in 1927 and named Area H.<sup>7</sup> Guy (1931) could not distinguish between Stratum IV and V there, particularly as in certain places the burnt bricks of Stratum VI appeared immediately below Stratum IV. The remains in Guy's Area H were, therefore, initially published as Stratum IV (Guy 1931: fig. 17), and the error was not corrected until 1933, following the excavation of Area A (*Megiddo I*: 8). The two areas excavated by Fisher (five squares, originally attributed to Stratum III) and Guy (Area H, originally attributed to Stratum IV), totaling 14 squares, were republished as Area C by Lamon and Shipton in *Megiddo I* (fig. 6).

Later still, under the directorship of Loud, Stratum V was exposed in two complete and four partial squares in Area BB (*Megiddo II*: figs. 258, 402, and 406). This includes the area below the southernmost of the northern "stables" (Building 364).<sup>8</sup> Loud, who elsewhere had previously noted different phases of Stratum V, divided some of the material into VB and VA (*Megiddo II*: fig. 406). However, the two plans can in effect be combined since only one building (2051) of VA partially covers a VB structure. In addition, the information regarding Stratum V for this sector can be extended to the west by adding remains excavated by Schumacher (*Megiddo II*: fig. 415).

<sup>7</sup> This area must not be confused with the Area H opened in 1994 by the Megiddo Expedition.

<sup>8</sup> In fig. 258 of *Megiddo II*, a wall in Sq. N/13 was attributed to Stratum V. Other unnumbered walls lying directly under the Stratum IV stables were attributed to either V, VI, or VII, while another wall was tentatively attributed to Stratum VIII. This latter wall also appears on fig. 402, where it was attributed to either VI, VII, or VIII. When the elevations of these walls are estimated on Section B-B of fig. 258, they compare well with Stratum V levels published for Sq. N/13 in fig. 406.

<sup>3</sup> Squares J/9, 10, 11; K/7, 8, 11, 12; L/7, 8, 12, 14; M/15; N/13, 14, 15; O/12, 13, 14; P/3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14; Q/4, 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Chicago's Squares L/11; M/11.

<sup>5</sup> Chicago's Squares K/11, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Squares K/6, 9, 10; M/12, 13; O/15.

### **2: Squares O–S North–South, 3–11 East–West**

In 1933 the Chicago Expedition, still under Guy's directorship, concentrated on the southern part of the mound known as Area A (*Megiddo I*: xxiii).

Area A covered approximately 30 complete or partial squares, and both Stratum IV and Stratum V remains were revealed. However, the only published record of the Stratum V remains is an aerial photograph (*Megiddo I*: fig. 123) labeled "Area 8 with Stratum V exposed." It shows 46 Stratum V loci<sup>9</sup> not published on any plan.

In 1934 the Chicago Expedition focused its excavation on a smaller subarea of Area A, known as Area B. There, Stratum V remains were uncovered in two complete squares and seven partial squares (*Megiddo I*: 4, fig. 5) comprising 25 loci. Thus, there are a total of 71 Stratum V loci excavated by the Chicago Expedition in "Area 8." Some of these loci defined rooms or small areas, while others defined architectural units.

In addition, Stratum V was revealed in Area E, the area around the water shaft, on the southwestern edge of the mound (*Megiddo I*: xx). There, architectural units were exposed in three squares (P/3, Q/4, and R/4) and designated by only three loci numbers (624, 627, and 647). No plan was published, and again these architectural loci are only visible on aerial photographs. Stratum V was just below the surface soil, and the only overlying remains were City Wall 325 and Gallery 629, both of Stratum IV (for Gallery 629, see Franklin 2000). In other words, Stratum V was the latest Iron Age occupation stratum revealed here (*Megiddo I*: 9).

### **3: Squares J–M North–South, 6–10 East–West**

During Guy's directorship, one locus (484) in Square K/8 of Area D was attributed to Stratum V (*Megiddo I*: 218, fig. 117). However, it did not appear on any subsequent plans published for this area—Area AA of *Megiddo II*.

The excavation of Area AA was directed by Loud. It was here that, for the first time, two phases of Stratum V, i.e., VB and VA, were discerned. Stratum VB was exposed in five squares containing only two "scrappy" loci (2008 and 2074) (*Megiddo II*: fig.

387). Stratum VA was revealed in 10 complete or partial squares, comprising 12 loci (2057, 2063, 2081, 2102–3, 2111–12, 2161–64) (*Megiddo II*: fig. 388). No complete buildings were recognized, and although the two strata had the same orientation, no connection could be made between the architectural elements (*Megiddo II*: 45).

### **4: Squares K–L North–South, 11–13 East–West**

In Area DD, remains of Stratum VB and VA were revealed, intertwined in four squares (K/11/12 and L/11/12) (*Megiddo II*: fig. 414). The division here between VB and VA must be treated with even more caution, for Loud stated that it was impossible to determine which "phase" had been built first (*Megiddo II*: 115–16, figs. 277–79). One of the monumental Stratum V walls can still be seen in the balk on the western edge of Area DD (see *Megiddo II*: 115, fig. 274). A monumental element in Square K/11 (*Megiddo II*: fig. 414) previously attributed to Stratum IV should probably be reassigned to Stratum V, since its elevation and orientation accord better with the Stratum V plan.

In addition, some of the revetment walls associated with the approach road to Gate 2156 of Stratum IV (*Megiddo II*: fig. 106)<sup>10</sup> may have originated in Stratum V or even in Stratum VI, as the successive Iron Age access roads cut laterally into the steep slope of the mound (formed by the Bronze Age glacis) and thus necessitated the need for a revetment wall or successive revetment walls. In other words, if the exposed walls do belong to Stratum IV, then they must hide earlier, still hidden revetment walls originally built for the Stratum V or Stratum VI gate.

### **DISMANTLING STRATUM IVB**

The main problem with the stratigraphy of Stratum V and Stratum IV at Megiddo is the affiliation of Palace 1723, Building 1482, Courtyard 1693, Platform 1617, Wall 1444, and Wall(s) 1610 with an interim stratum, Stratum IVB.

Why did the Chicago Expedition designate these remains as Stratum IVB, that is, as an element sandwiched between Stratum V and Stratum IV (*Megiddo I*: 9, 11)? Since the "Stratum V" classification

<sup>9</sup> Loci 1578–79, 1606, 1619, 1621, 1624, 1640–45, 1648, 1652–53, 1658–59, 1660, 1662–66, 1668–69, 1673, 1675–79, 1680, 1682–86, 1688–89, 1691–92, 1696–97, 1699, and 294–95 in the extreme east of this area (Square S/11).

<sup>10</sup> The author accepts Chicago's original affiliation of Gate 2156 to Stratum IV(IVA) and Ussishkin's later reconfirmation (*Megiddo II*: 46–57; Ussishkin 1980).

in Area C had been assigned to Buildings 1A, 10, and 51 which were revealed below Stratum IV in the area of the northern "stables," the buildings in Area A below the Stratum IV southern "stables" were also assigned to Stratum V. The problem arose only in Area B, where the foundations of Palace 1723 were revealed. Palace 1723 was built over by the Stratum IV city wall, Wall 325, yet Palace 1723 also appeared to have been built inside the Stratum IV Courtyard 1693,<sup>11</sup> and there were Stratum V buildings preserved below Courtyard 1693 that were also bisected by Wall 1610. Thus, if Palace 1723 and Courtyard 1693 coexisted, then they were both caught between Stratum IV and Stratum V. In addition, Building 1482 (which aligned with Palace 1723 and Courtyard 1693) was partially built over by the "stables." Therefore, an interim stratum, Stratum IVB, had to be created to cope with this unique Area B phenomenon. Accordingly, Palace 1723 was attributed solely to Stratum IVB, while Courtyard 1693, Wall(s) 1610, and Building 1482 were thought to have also originated in Stratum IVB but continued in use in Stratum IV. The adjacent courtyard, Courtyard 977, and the southern "stables" were attributed solely to Stratum IV.

However, certain information that should have alerted the authors of *Megiddo I*, Lamon and Shipton, was entirely overlooked. Specifically, Courtyard 1693 of Stratum IVB and Courtyard 977 of Stratum IV were of similar construction (using the *telaio* technique), measurement (an *IKU* or 120 × 120 Assyrian cubits), and elevation (ca. 167–169 m). In addition, from below, both courtyards had underlying Stratum V architecture which was buried below a comparable fill, while from above, the plaster surfaces belonging to the two courtyards and adjoining surfaces continued in use during Stratum III (*Megiddo I*: 17, 63, 142).

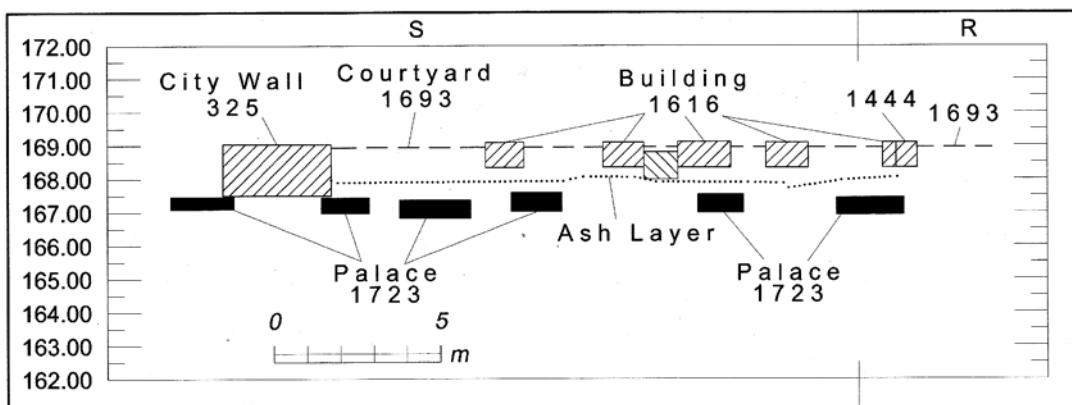
Before reevaluating these Stratum IVB remains, it must be noted that the Chicago Expedition used different premises for the registration of finds, thus establishing an artificial stratigraphic distinction. For example, the surface of Courtyard 1693 was registered as Locus 1693 of "Stratum IV," and the below-floor fill was registered as Locus –1693 (i.e., minus 1693) of "Stratum V." While the surface of the "stable" courtyard was registered as Locus 977 of "Stratum IV," and the below-floor fill was registered

as Locus 1674 of "Stratum IV filling," it was recorded as containing practically every Stratum V pottery form and some Stratum IV types (*Megiddo I*: 32, 146).

Only the foundations of Palace 1723 were encountered; the floors had been destroyed and there was no ceramic evidence (Kenyon 1964: 145). From below, the foundations were set into the easily identifiable destruction layer of Stratum VIA, and there was no overlying Stratum V architecture (Kenyon 1964: 151). The sole possible exception is a single wall stub that confusingly appears on both the Stratum V and Stratum VI plans (*Megiddo I*: 4, fig. 5; *Megiddo II*: fig. 410). Without further elucidation, however, the plan published in *Megiddo II* should be accepted as the correct one, i.e., the wall stub should be attributed to Stratum VI (the wall stub has been allocated to Stratum VIA by Harrison [2004: 183, fig. 10]).

The foundations of Palace 1723 were buried below a number of distinct layers, about 1.5 m deep. One of the more distinct deposits was a 25-cm-thick layer, Ash Layer 1650 (*Megiddo I*: 27, fig. 35, Section P–Q). The Chicago Expedition correctly realized that this ash layer, which only existed in the area of Palace 1723, had to have been deposited after the palace had been dismantled and robbed of its ashlar. In other words, if Palace 1723 and Courtyard 1693 really were built simultaneously in Stratum IVB, then the ash layer was laid down not only after both the palace and the courtyard were built, but after the palace was dismantled at some time during the continued life of the courtyard. However, in the south of the courtyard, Ash Layer 1650 was sandwiched between Palace 1723 (below) and Courtyard 1693 (above). Furthermore, both Ash Layer 1650 and the plaster surface of Courtyard 1693 clearly abut Wall 325 (*Megiddo I*: fig. 35, Section P–Q; see fig. 1). In other words, both Ash Layer 1650 and the plaster surface of Courtyard 1693 must have been laid at the same time that or just after Wall 325 was built (*Megiddo I*: 27) and, most importantly, this had to have occurred after Palace 1723 was dismantled, as Wall 325 is built over the southern part of the palace. That is, the existence of Ash Layer 1650 immediately below Courtyard 1693 but above Palace 1723 proves that the palace and the courtyard could not have existed together. Sandwiched between Palace 1723 (below) and Ash Layer 1650 (above) was another layer registered as Locus –1650 (minus 1650) which yielded only Stratum V and a few Stratum VI

<sup>11</sup> Although some scholars have expressed a different opinion (Kenyon 1964: 150).



**Fig. 1.** North-South Section A.

pottery forms (*Megiddo I*: 27, 146). That is, the pottery from Locus -1650 provides a terminus ante quem for the dismantlement of Palace 1723 and the subsequent construction of Courtyard 1693.

Platform 1617 converged with the plaster surface of Courtyard 1693, and both abutted the upper courses of Wall 1610 at elevation 169.00 m (*Megiddo I*: fig. 35, Section R-S). Platform 1617 was aligned with Wall 1610 and Palace 1723. However, Platform 1617 was three courses higher than the uppermost foundations of Palace 1723, and there was no evidence of any physical connection between the two elements. Furthermore, Ash Layer 1650 did not cover Platform 1617, as it did Palace 1723 (*Megiddo I*: Section R-S; see fig. 2). Yet, despite a complete lack of proof, Platform 1617 became the tenuous link that the Chicago Expedition employed to associate Palace 1723 with Wall(s) 1610 of Courtyard 1693. Thus, the "fact" was established that Palace 1723 was enclosed by Wall(s) 1610 and surrounded by the plaster surface of Courtyard 1693. In other words, the excavators ignored the fact that the plaster surface of Courtyard 1693 also existed some 1.5 m immediately above Ash Layer 1650 and also covered part of Palace 1723's foundation course, and that both the ash layer and the plaster surface eventually abutted City Wall 325 of Stratum IV (*Megiddo I*: 19; fig. 35, Section P-Q, at elevation ca. 169.00 m).

Wall 1444 abutted the plaster surface of Courtyard 1693 where it followed the line of Palace 1723's northern wall. Although Wall 1444 was not physically connected to Palace 1723, as it was at a higher elevation (*Megiddo I*: 19, fig. 35, Section P-Q; see fig. 1), it was attributed to Stratum IVB (with additions in Stratum IV). However for "the sake of clarity" (*Megiddo I*: 21), Wall 1444 was omitted from

the Stratum IVB plan (*Megiddo I*: fig. 12), and it is only shown on the plans of the later strata (*Megiddo I*: fig. 72). Yet, Wall 1444 did function as the northern wall of Building 1616 (see below), which was built above Ash Layer 1650 and the multilayered fill that covered the foundations of Palace 1723 (see fig. 1). Once again, circular reasoning, this time in the guise of Wall 1444, served to reinforce the assumption that Palace 1723 coexisted with Courtyard 1693.

Building 1482 was attributed to Stratum IVB but was thought to have continued in use during Stratum IV, albeit in a reduced form. Although it was acknowledged that the stratigraphy was particularly complex here (see *Megiddo I*: 26, fig. 33) and that the foundations of the later buildings were either "humped" over the walls of the earlier buildings or incorporated into them (*Megiddo I*: 8, 24), Lamon and Shipton did not detect<sup>12</sup> that immediately below Building 1482 was Building 1648 (Loci nos. 1648, 1640, 1641, 1645, and 1667) of Stratum V. Both buildings were built in the same orientation, and some of the walls belonging to the earlier, Stratum V, building were incorporated into the later, Stratum IV, building. The plans of the earlier building, Building 1648 of Stratum V, were never drawn<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The area was excavated by Guy and May, while the report was written by Lamon and Shipton after the former had left the expedition.

<sup>13</sup> Due to the pressure of work during the era of P. L. O. Guy's directorship, the Chicago Expedition would often only draw buildings that were to be removed. Building 1648 was not removed and therefore not drawn, apart from Porch 1667 and the other "IVB walls." The remains of Building 1648 are still visible on the site today.

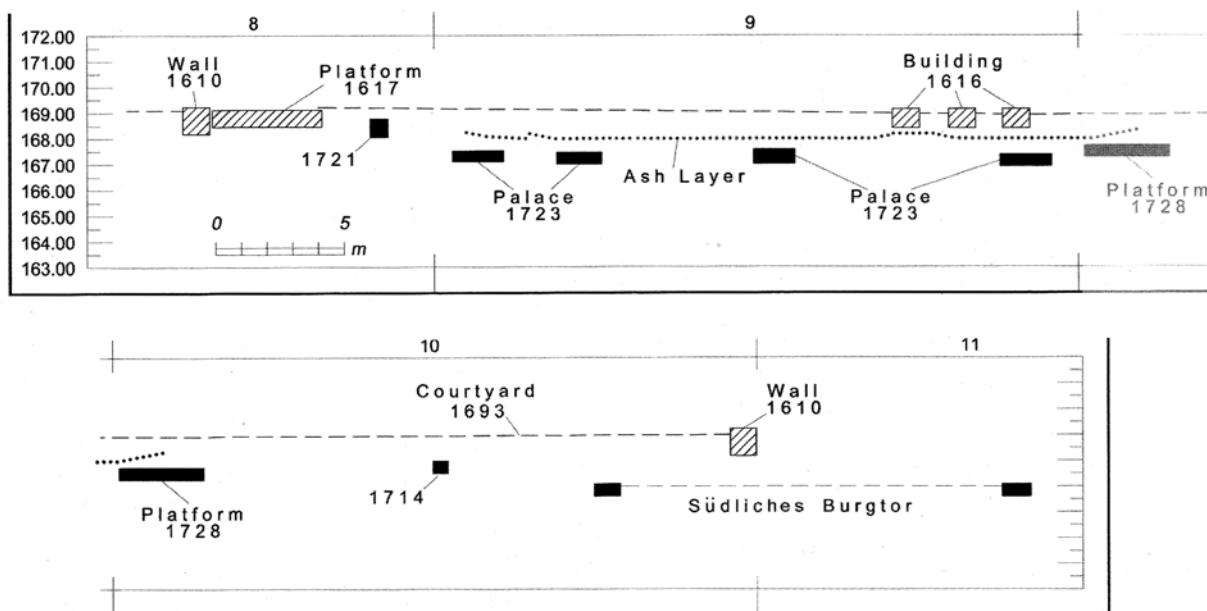


Fig. 2. East-West Section C, broken into two images. Right edge of top image shows overlap with lower image.

and the outline of the building only appears on an aerial photograph (*Megiddo I*: fig. 122). The omission of Building 1482 of Stratum V from the archaeological record gave rise to the mistaken assumption that there were two phases of Building 1482, a Stratum IVB phase and a Stratum IV phase. The pottery retrieved from Building 1482 has also been clearly identified as belonging to the Stratum IV (IVA) milieu (Finkelstein, Zimhoni, and Kafri 2000: 313).

Porch 1667 was attributed to the earlier, Stratum IVB, phase of Building 1482. The large square-hewn ashlars of Porch 1667 (larger than those in Building 1482 and devoid of any marginal drafting) were sealed below the “stables,” some 1.5–2.0 m below the surface of Stratum IV (*Megiddo I*: 24). However, as has been shown above, there was no early phase of Building 1482; rather Porch 1667 formed part of Building 1648 of Stratum V.

Wall(s) 1610 surround Courtyard 1693 on its west, north, and east sides (there was no southern stretch detected, and the southern boundary wall was Wall 325 of Stratum IV). These walls (1610) are revetment walls, not free-standing walls. They are built of rubble with ashlar piers spaced along their lengths every 2.5–3.0 m (*Megiddo I*: 11–12, fig. 13). Other examples of walls built using this technique are known from the late Iron Age through to the Hellenistic period. The technique was initially thought to be a decorative innovation (Pritchard 1978: 93–94). However, in most cases it can be demonstrated

that this technique, sometimes called *a telaio*, was used only on foundation walls, i.e., it is a structural technique (Kenyon 1964: 150; Sharon 1987: 30–31). Furthermore, Van Beek and Van Beek (1981) have established that this technique was specifically designed to strengthen foundation walls, enabling them to withstand the lateral pressure caused by deep fills. This is exactly the situation here, for Wall(s) 1610 are revetment walls specifically designed to resist the lateral pressure exerted by the deep Stratum IV fills.

Wall 325, the massive offset-inset wall that surrounded the Stratum IV city, also served as the southern wall of Courtyard 1693. The wall was built of mudbricks and, where extra strength was needed, also of ashlar and rubble masonry salvaged from earlier strata (*Megiddo I*: 30–31, figs. 38–40). The section that was built over the southern part of Palace 1723 was composed, in the main, of ashlars taken from the dismantled palace. The wall had to be able to withstand the lateral pressure of the deep Stratum IV fill, plus the additional stress caused by Building 1616 (see below). In fact, Wall 325 must have succumbed to some extent to the pressure because at a later stage, a buttress was built against the inner face of the wall in Square S/9 (a buttress, Wall 1055, was also built against the inner face of Wall 325 in Area D, Squares K/L 6–8, where it reinforced the stretch of wall adjacent to Assyrian Buildings 1853 and 1052 [*Megiddo I*: fig. 89]). The buttress was probably built when Building 1616 (see below) was altered,

presumably during Stratum III (see *Megiddo I*: fig. 72 inset). Some sections of the buttress in Square S9 are shown on the plan for Stratum III (*Megiddo I*: fig. 89). An additional trace of the buttress, consisting of just three ashlars located directly over (dismantled) Palace 1723, aligned with the other recorded sections of the buttress. This small excavated remnant of buttress was recorded as Locus 1649. The three ashlars were mistakenly thought to be the sole remains of the superstructure of Palace 1723 and therefore were marked on the plan for Stratum IVB (*Megiddo I*: 20, fig. 25). However, Locus 1649 is not the sole remains of the palace superstructure, and these ashlars must be correctly reattributed to the buttress that was known to have been added to Wall 325 here during Stratum III.

#### ***Building 1616: An Addendum***

Building 1616 appeared to be a “crude copy” of Palace 1723, and it even had a rectangular structure similar to the one in Room M of Palace 1723 (*Megiddo I*: 23, fig. 30; 68, fig. 80). Building 1616 was at ca. elevation 169.00 m, similar to the elevation of the plaster surface of Courtyard 1693 of Stratum IV. Building 1616 contained virtually no ceramic evidence, and it was tentatively attributed to Stratum III, yet the excavators admitted that they would have allocated Building 1616 to Stratum IV had it not been for the presence of an inexplicable solitary wall located below the floors of Building 1616, but above Ash Layer 1650 (*Megiddo I*: 21, 68–69, fig. 34). However, a similar solitary wall was located some 5 m south of the “stable” courtyard, running below the row of stables (Locus 1576). There is no obvious reason for either of these walls, but a related technical purpose can be presumed. The north wall of Building 1616 also incorporated the supposedly “reused” Wall 1444 that was built on the same line as the northern foundation wall of Palace 1723 but about 1.50 m higher. The west wing of Building 1616 was not preserved, but the building presumably followed the same line as the western foundation wall of Palace 1723. If this had been the case, then Building 1616 would have connected to Platform 1617, as they were both at ca. elevation 169.00 m. These elevations were recorded in the Chicago Expedition’s Elevation books but were not published; if they had been, the connection would have been recognized.

#### **“STRATUM IVB”: A SUMMARY**

In short, there is no secure evidence to support the existence of an interim stratum, Stratum IVB. Rather, there are two Stratum V buildings, Palace 1723 and Building 1648, while the other elements originate in Stratum IV: Wall(s) 1610, Courtyard 1693, Building 1482, Platform 1617, and Building 1616, etc. The inception of Stratum IV follows the dismantling of Palace 1723, the laying down of Ash Layer 1650 directly over the dismantled palace, and the palace’s replacement by a slightly smaller building, Building 1616. Building 1616 occupied the central location in Courtyard 1693, which was specially built to contain it. Courtyard 1693 was identical in size, construction, and elevation to the adjacent (stable) courtyard, Courtyard 977. A large part of Building 1648 of Stratum V was buried below Courtyard 977, and the remainder of Building 1648 (the eastern section of the building), located between the two courtyards, was reused as the foundations of the smaller Stratum IV building, Building 1482. Therefore, to fully appreciate the true nature of Stratum V at Megiddo, Stratum IVB must be dismantled and its architectural elements must be correctly attributed to Stratum V or Stratum IV (see table 2 and figs. 3 and 4).

#### **NEW ADDITIONS TO STRATUM V**

The renewed excavations by the Megiddo Expedition have added to our knowledge of Stratum V in the following sectors.

#### **I: Area K—Square R/12–13**

The Megiddo Expedition renewed excavations in 1996 and designated the Stratum IV Wall 325 as local level K-1. Two other levels, K-2 and K-3, revealed below K-1, represent the entire span of Stratum V. Below, the easily recognizable burnt brick debris of Stratum VIA was designated level K-4.

Levels K-3 and K-2 were further divided into six subphases: K-3b, K-3aii, K-3ai, K-2bii, K-2bi, and K-2a. These phases are closely related architecturally, the main difference between them being a gradual rise of floor levels (Lehmann, Killebrew, and Gadot 2000: Area K). In fact, the authentic character of Stratum V is best illustrated by the six subphases of local levels K-3 and K-2.

TABLE 2. The Main Architectural Elements and Their Stratigraphic Affiliation

<i>Architectural Element</i>	<i>Chicago Oriental Institute</i>	<i>Albright, Wright, and Yadin</i>	<i>Franklin</i>
Palace 1723	IVB	VA-IVB	V
Platform 1728	IVB	VA-IVB	V
Wall 1444	IVB (continues in IV and III)	(no reference to)	IV
Building 1616	IV or III	(no reference to)	IV
Platform 1721	IVB	VA-IVB	IV
Courtyard 1693 (plaster surface)	IVB (continues in IV and III)	VA-IVB (continues in IVA)	IV
Courtyard 977	IV	IVA	IV
Wall(s) 1610	IVB (continues in IV)	VA-IVB (continues in IVA)	IV
Gate 1567	IVB (continues in IV)	VA-IVB (continues in IVA)	IV
Gate 2156	IV	VA-IVB (continues in IVA)	IV
Building 1482	IVB	VA-IVB (continues in IVA)	IV
Porch 1667	IVB	VA-IVB	V
Building 1648	V	(no reference to)	V
Palace 6000	(not excavated)	VA-IVB	V
Südliches Burgtor	VI	(no reference to)	V
Silo 1414	III	(no reference to)	V

**2: Area H—Square L/6–7**

The Megiddo Expedition first exposed local level H-6 in 2000. A number of walls and floor surfaces were revealed at elevation 160.14 m. Local level H-6 corresponds to Stratum V (VA of *Megiddo II*), and the elevations match those in Chicago's grid square L6 (Finkelstein and Ussishkin in press).

**3: Area L—Palace 6000—Squares K/12–13**

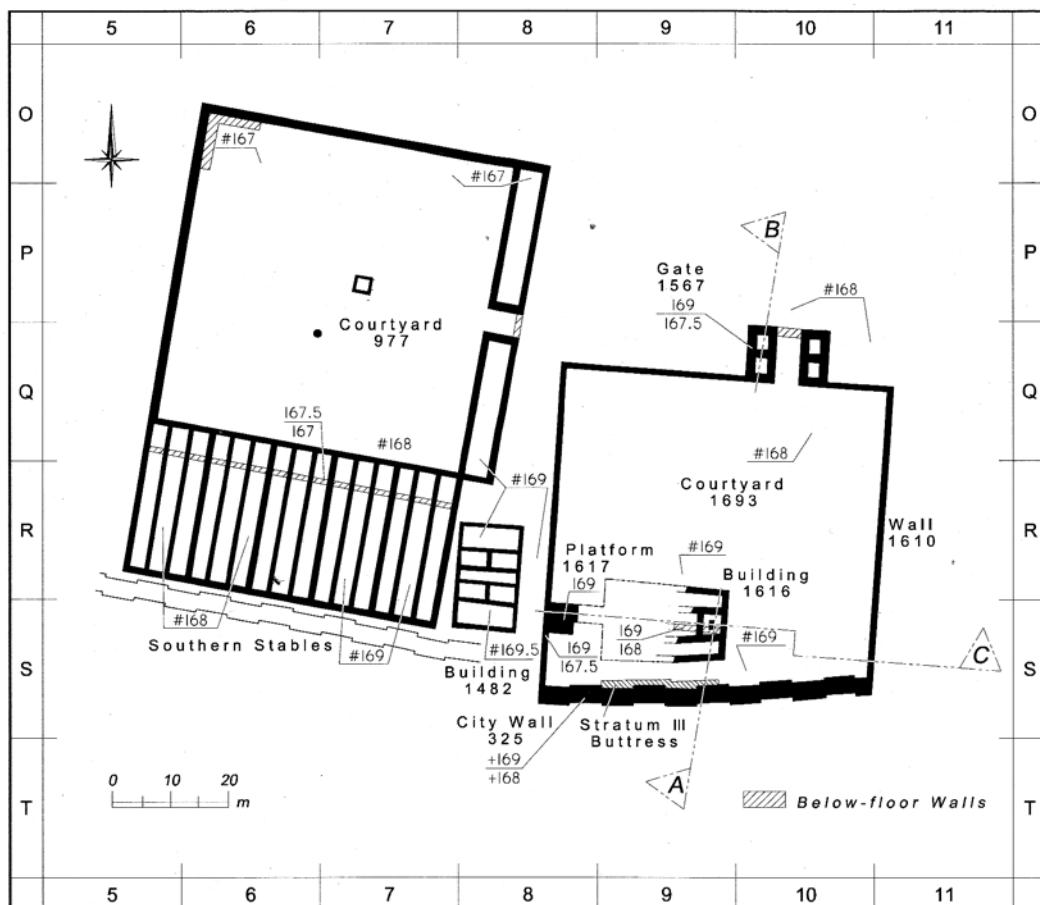
Palace 6000 was first revealed by Yadin (1970: 75). It was built over by City Wall 325 and Stable Complex 407 of Stratum IV and was, therefore, attributed by Yadin to Stratum VA-IVB. Below, sandwiched between the burnt mudbricks of Stratum VIA and the palace, were remains that Yadin attributed to Stratum VB.

The Megiddo Expedition renewed excavation of Palace 6000 in 1998, designating it local level L-3, corresponding to Stratum V (VA of *Megiddo II*), and the underlying remains to local level L-4 corre-

sponding to an earlier phase of Stratum V (VB of *Megiddo II*) (Cline in press; Cline and Cohen in press).

**RECONSTRUCTING STRATUM V***The Topography*

To understand the true character of the Stratum V city, it is essential to reconstruct its topography. The published plans of Areas A and C for Stratum V in *Megiddo I* were not accompanied by elevations; however, the elevations were taken by the Chicago Excavation team and duly noted in the "Elevation Book." (The author wishes to thank John Larson and the Oriental Institute for access to this material.) Fortunately, the Stratum IV sections also show the Stratum V, Stratum IVB, and Stratum IV elements in Areas A and C, and these were published in *Megiddo I* (fig. 35). These underlying Stratum V buildings, when recorded, provide an accurate picture of the Stratum V topography in the immediate vicinity. The



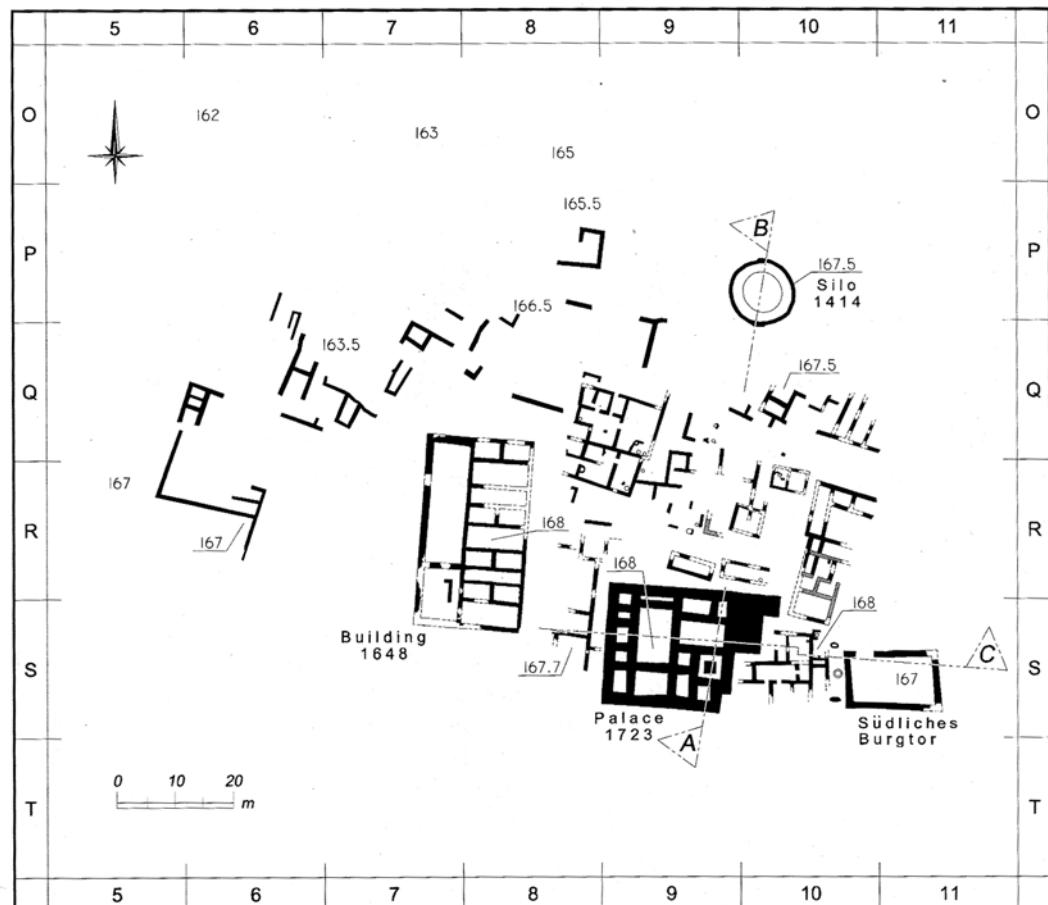
**Fig. 3.** Plan of Area A, Stratum IV.

author has checked the information contained in these sections against the original plans and the levels recorded in the elevation books (located in the archives of the Oriental Institute) and found them accurate. It is clear that the extended topography of Stratum V in Areas AA, BB, and DD can be reconstructed from the plans published in *Megiddo II*, as there they were fortunately accompanied by elevations. Still other elevations—for example, in the north of Area C—can be calculated by correlating the elevations for Area BB with those of Palace 6000. The present-day surface in the south of Area C represents Stratum V; the elevations were retaken on site by the author<sup>14</sup> (e.g., Building 1A and buildings

in Squares O/P12, 13) and also correlated with the elevations in Area K (Lehmann, Killebrew, and Gadot 2000). In addition, the elevations for Stratum VI originally published in *Megiddo II* can also be used as an aid in reconstructing the Stratum V elevations omitted from *Megiddo I*.

The foundations of Palace 1723 were recorded as being sunk down to ca. elevation 167.00 m and cut into the Stratum VI burnt mudbrick debris. To the immediate north of the palace, the Stratum V floors were at ca. elevation 167.50 m. The palace was one of the periphery buildings, all of which were at an elevation approximately 1–2 m higher than the inner-city buildings. The inner-city buildings are located some 20 m from the edge of the mound and are positioned, more or less, on a north-south axis (*Megiddo II*: 45). The actual direction is in

<sup>14</sup> The author also wishes to thank Daniel Abuhatsira for his assistance in rechecking these surviving elevation points.



**Fig. 4.** Plan of Area A, Stratum V.

fact northeast/southwest, and the doorways were orientated northeast, in keeping with other Iron Age II sites (Faust 2001: 129–55). Furthermore, as the periphery buildings followed the curve of the mound, they were stepped down, for the difference in elevation between the southern and northern perimeters of the mound is ca. 13 m.<sup>15</sup> The monumental periphery building, Palace 6000, was apparently built during a later phase of Stratum V (see below). The surface sloped steeply here due to the underlying natural topography of the original hill (Franklin and Peersmann 2004), and a podium would have had to have

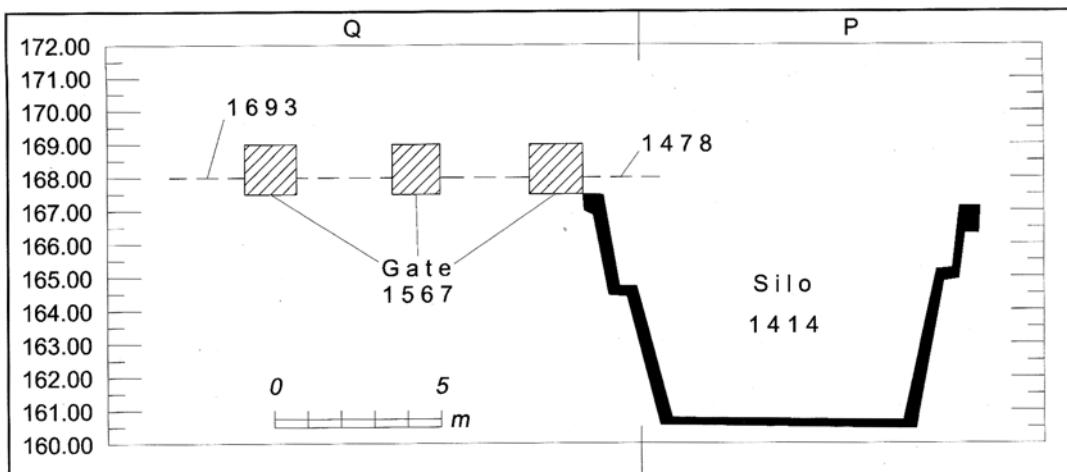
been built in order to provide a level surface for the construction of Palace 6000. It is possible that the so-called casemate wall discerned by Yadin (Yadin 1972) was in fact a component of this proposed podium.

#### *Reassigning “Lost” Stratum V Architectural Elements*

Once the undulating topography of the city is elucidated, it then becomes possible to propose that some of the architectural elements previously attributed to other strata be reassigned to Stratum V (see table 2).

The Südliches Burgtor building was excavated by Schumacher in 1903–1907 and only later (renamed as Building 1781 in Square S/10) attributed to

<sup>15</sup> Palace 1723 was at 168.00 m, Area K at 167.00 m, Area C at 166.00 m, Palace 6000 at ca. 162.00 m, and the city gate’s forecourt at ca. 155.00 m. The city rose up again to the west with Area AA at elevation 157.00 m and Area H at 159.00 m.



**Fig. 5.** North–South Section B.

Stratum VI by Chicago (*Megiddo II*: figs. 400, 410; Harrison 2004: figs. 10, 100, 101). However, no reason for the attribution of the Südliches Burgtor to Stratum VI was provided by the Chicago Expedition. This is surprising as it is clear from Schumacher's description that, although he reached the burnt brick tumble of Stratum VIA, he did not penetrate below this thick burnt layer, which lay directly below the Südliches Burgtor. Schumacher's detailed drawings clearly show a wall, later designated as Wall 1610 (east) of Stratum IV by the Chicago Expedition, resting directly on the walls of the Südliches Burgtor (Schumacher 1908: 80, Taf. 29).<sup>16</sup> In other words, the Südliches Burgtor is unmistakably shown sandwiched between the burnt bricks of Stratum VI and Wall 1610 of Stratum IV. Furthermore, a wall remnant is at elevation 167.10 m, and the floor level can be presumed to have been at a similar elevation. This elevation is in accord with the Stratum V elevations, for an elevation of ca. 167.00 m is in keeping with the slight drop in elevation that occurs between the floors of Palace 1723 ca. 167.50–168.00 m and the Stratum V floors farther to the east in Area K at ca. 167.00 m. In addition, the orientation of the Südliches Burgtor aligns perfectly with Porch 1728 of Palace 1723 and is in keeping with the periphery architecture of Stratum V. It does not fit the layout of

the Stratum VI or Stratum VII cities excavated to its west. Therefore, the Südliches Burgtor must be attributed to Stratum V (see figs. 2 and 3).

Silo 1414 is located in the southwest corner of Chicago's Grid Square P/10. Overlying the disused and debris-filled silo were two superimposed strata that displayed settlement of up to 2 m. Due to the fact that only two superimposed strata were discerned overlying the silo, it was automatically assigned to Stratum III (*Megiddo I*: 66–68). This mistaken affiliation was further corroborated by the fact that the previously excavated Stratum III city, north of the silo, was at a lower elevation than the silo. However, the Stratum IV city, located due south of the silo, was at a higher elevation than the silo (see fig. 5).<sup>17</sup> In fact, each successive city sloped steeply down to the north due to the underlying natural topography of the original hill (Franklin and Peersmann 2004). The area immediately surrounding the silo was excavated down to Stratum V, but once again the only documentation is an aerial photograph and a few recorded Stratum V loci. The Stratum V surface immediately adjacent to the silo was recorded at elevation 167.43 m, and a Stratum V building in the adjoining Grid Squares Q/9–10 is at ca. elevation 167.50 m. The latter corresponds to the elevation of

<sup>16</sup> The Südliches Burgtor was not removed, and it still exists on the site today. Therefore, the underlying strata have not been checked.

<sup>17</sup> The nearest Stratum IV surface to the silo was Locus 310, in Square Q/10 at ca. elevation 168.00 m. This plaster surface, immediately east of Gate 1567 and north of Wall 1610, is still visible today.

167.50 m given for the silo's rim<sup>18</sup> (*Megiddo I*: 66, fig. 72). It has already been noted that the silo does not fit into the Stratum III city plan (Peersmann 2000: 524–34), and it has been suggested that it should be attributed to Stratum IV (Ussishkin 1994: 410–19). Moreover, there is the issue of the silo's proximity to Gate 1567 of Stratum IV, or rather the gate's built-up foundations (Ussishkin 1994: 410–19). Contrary to what would be expected, Gate 1567 was not located in the center of Wall 1610 (north); rather, it was constructed east of center. I propose that the massive built-up foundations of Gate 1567 could not be positioned centrally in Wall 1610 because of the preexisting silo. In other words, Silo 1414 should probably be attributed to Stratum V, with the possibility that it continued in use during Stratum IV.<sup>19</sup> If the silo continued in use during Stratum IV, then the gate obviously had to have been built to one side of it. If it had been abandoned and filled in when the Stratum IV gate was built, the ground would have proved unstable and prone to settlement, rendering the area unsuitable for a gate passage and thus causing the gate to be built east of center.

#### CHRONOLOGICAL CLUES

##### *Relative Stratigraphy*

But when was Stratum V built? Does Palace 1723 mark the advent of Stratum V? There are two clues regarding a relative date for the construction of Palace 1723. The first, and weaker of the two, is that below Palace 1723 (and the adjacent Südliches Burgtor) there are no earlier phases of Stratum V, just the great burnt layer of Stratum VI. The second clue is that surrounding the palace on three sides there were numerous buildings. Although some were built very close to the palace, none of them were negated by it. Many were pillared buildings, and these buildings, with their stone uprights, were still standing when the city was transformed by the Stratum IV builders, e.g., Building 1706 (*Megiddo I*: figs. 5, 6, 8,

and 9). Palace 6000, on the other hand, must belong to a later phase of Stratum V as it transplanted earlier Stratum V buildings (Yadin 1960: 67). Therefore, Palace 1723 may indicate the advent of an epoch, represented by the many phases of Stratum V.

##### *Comparative Studies*

Significantly, Palace 1723 at Megiddo and the ninth-century Building Period I palace at the Israelite capital of Samaria share a unique building trait which indicates that their construction must to some extent be coeval.

##### *The Use of Masons' Marks on Undrafted Ashlars in Stratum V*

One indicator of contemporaneity is the use of masons' marks inscribed on ashlar stones at both sites. The derivation of the masons' marks has been dealt with in depth elsewhere (Franklin 2001). For the present purposes, however, the following must be emphasized.

At Megiddo, some 52 ashlar stones inscribed with masons' marks have been recorded (Schumacher 1908: Taf. 30e; *Megiddo I*: figs. 16:20, 26:25, 32; Yadin 1970: 92, fig 17; Yadin 1972: 164; Shiloh 1979; Franklin 2001: 108). Only 19 of the inscribed ashlar stones were discovered in situ, all located in the foundations of Palace 1723 (including Porch 1728). The remaining inscribed ashlar stones were found—apparently in secondary use—in Strata IV, III, or II.

At Samaria, there are 20 ashlar stones also inscribed with masons' marks. Although most of the Samaria examples were found, apparently in secondary use, in Building Period II or later architecture, two of the inscribed ashlar stones were discovered in situ in the Building Period I palace (Shiloh 1979; Franklin 2004a: 201). It is significant that Megiddo and Samaria are the only sites with these particular types of masons' marks (contra Shiloh 1979). Forty-four of the masons' marks out of a total of the 73 excavated examples, or 8 out of the basic 17 known characters, have been recorded at both sites.

In every case they are inscribed on the large, roughly hewn ashlar stones devoid of marginal drafting,<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The National Parks Authority has rebuilt the rim of the silo and added a metal safety railing.

<sup>19</sup> The Iron Age City Gate at Khirbat al-Mudayna was also surrounded by a number of earlier silos, at least one of which appears to have continued in use (M. Daviau, personal communication 2004).

<sup>20</sup> Only one ashlar inscribed with a mason's mark has marginal drafting. It is an ashlar used as a "strengthening corner" on the

with no interspersed fieldstones, that typify the monumental architecture of Stratum V at Megiddo and Building Period I at Samaria (Franklin 2005; 2004a; 2001: 110–11, fig. 1).

In short, an analysis of the findspots of the inscribed ashlar, when viewed together with the stratigraphic information at both sites, confirms that these distinctive masons' marks originated in the Stratum V Palace (1723) at Megiddo and the Building Period I Palace at Samaria. The function of these unique marks is unknown. They may have served an apotropaic purpose or reflect the presence of foreign construction workers, but their apparent concurrent use implies a brief time period.

In addition to the above similarities linking Stratum V with Building Period I at Samaria, there are other building traits that show a distinct change in building technique between those strata and the succeeding strata at both sites, which confirms that Stratum IV at Megiddo and Building Period II at Samaria must be contemporaneous to some extent.

#### *The Use of Marginally Drafted Ashlars in Stratum IV*

Both Stratum IV at Megiddo and Building Period II at Samaria were built using ashlar apparently robbed from the previous stratum, i.e., the ashlar were found in secondary use. Marginal drafting was then needed to facilitate alignment of these reused (originally plain) ashlar, and a mason's datum line was marked on their faces by snapping a taut cord with red pigment, marking where they should be drafted (*Megiddo II*: 48; Reisner, Fisher, and Lyons 1924: 103–7, 111; figs. 26, 30, 37; Guy 1931: 37; Crowfoot, Kenyon, and Sukenik 1942: 12, 98; Reich 2001: 64\*, 91). In addition, at both locations, a deposit of limestone powder and limestone chips shows that these margins were drafted *in situ* (*Megiddo II*: 47; Crowfoot, Kenyon, and Sukenik 1942: 99). The ashlar were used intentionally by the Stratum IV builders to strengthen the corners of fieldstone walls or as "strengthening ashlar piers" (the *a telaio* technique) at intervals along revetment long walls. These building techniques were used in all the monumental Stratum IV buildings, e.g., Building 338, the "stable"

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western foundation pier of Gate 1576. The ashlar is in secondary use and acquired its marginal drafting as an aid in aligning the structure correctly.

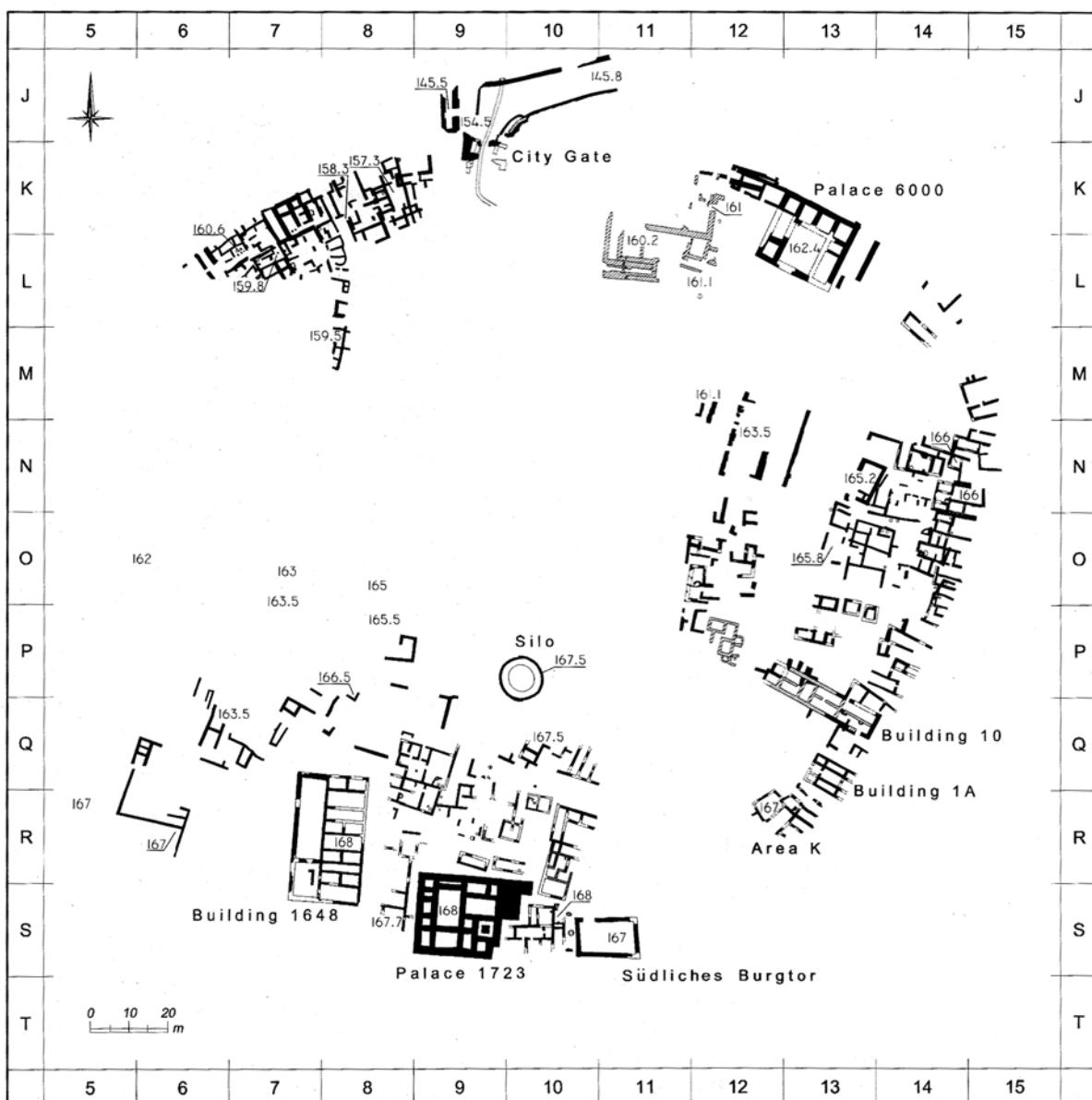
courtyard walls, Wall(s) 1610, and Gate 1576; they were not used in any of the earlier buildings.

#### *The Replacement of the Short Cubit of 0.45 Meters by the Assyrian Cubit of 0.495 Meters*

The roughly hewn ashlar foundations of the Stratum V Palace 1723 were laid out using the "short cubit" of 0.45 m, whereas the marginally drafted ashlar foundations of the Stratum IV stables, fortification walls, and gateways were laid out using the Assyrian cubit of 0.495 m. Correspondingly, at Samaria the builders of the Building Period I palace used the "short cubit," while the builders of Building Period II used the Assyrian cubit (Franklin 2004b).

#### CONCLUSION

Stratum V is a long-lasting, multiphased city, as epitomized by Area K, and Palace 1723 appears to be one of its earliest buildings. It was built at the highest point in the city, and the palace's probable atrium, Platform 1728, aligns with the adjacent Südliches Burgtor which is at approximately the same elevation. The palace's foundations were sunk into the burnt brick debris of Stratum VIA, and there were no underlying Stratum V buildings. Along the edge of the mound there were other periphery buildings (e.g., Buildings 1A and 1648), while the "inner-city" buildings were all orientated northeast and were at a slightly lower elevation (see fig. 6). This layout persisted throughout the period, with the earlier buildings being reused and later buildings occupying vacant lots. The most radical change was the addition of the periphery building, Palace 6000 (Yadin 1970; Cline in press; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern in press). In order to accommodate Palace 6000, on a still steeply sloping part of the site, a podium (misinterpreted as a section of casemate wall) was erected over the earlier Stratum V buildings. At some point during the life of Stratum V, perhaps at the time that Palace 6000 was built, Palace 1723 became superfluous and a number of non-palatial buildings sprung up around it. Eventually Stratum V came to an end, and its ashlar masonry was either reused or buried deep below the Stratum IV fill. The large, roughly hewn ashlar were often refashioned when reused, and the red guidelines, marginal drafting, and limestone chip debris were left behind as mute evidence of this recycling. The stone uprights, a com-



**Fig. 6.** Plan of Stratum V.

mon architectural element of the Stratum V domestic buildings, were either buried still standing within the deep Stratum IV fill; re-used as "elongated" ashlar; or relocated, many becoming a trademark of the "stable" units. The superstructure of Palace 1723 was systematically dismantled and its foundations buried deep below the Stratum IV fill. Building 1616, located in Courtyard 1693, supplanted it. To the east, the Südliches Burgtor was built over by Wall 1610. To the west, the Stratum V periphery

building, Building 1642, was partially incorporated into the Stratum IV building, 1482, and partially buried below the fill of the stable's courtyard. In the north, Palace 6000 was robbed of its ashlar and supplanted by the northern stable complex.

In short, the Stratum V city was a long-lived, multi-phased city with two monumental palaces. It was continuously maintained and rebuilt, and not destroyed. Eventually, it was dismantled and buried, and replaced by the "stable and courtyard" city of Stratum IV.

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