

# Urbanism in the Iron Age Levant and Beyond

Edited by  
AREN MAEIR,  
SHIRA ALBAZ,  
and ANGELIKA BERLEJUNG

*Orientalische Religionen  
in der Antike*

59

---

**Mohr Siebeck**

# Orientalische Religionen in der Antike

Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient

## Oriental Religions in Antiquity

Egypt, Israel, Ancient Near East

(ORA)

Herausgegeben von / Edited by

Angelika Berlejung (Leipzig)

Nils P. Heeßel (Marburg)

Joachim Friedrich Quack (Heidelberg)

Beirat / Advisory Board

Uri Gabbay (Jerusalem)

Michael Blömer (Aarhus)

Christopher Rollston (Washington, D.C.)

Rita Lucarelli (Berkeley)

59





# Urbanism in the Iron Age Levant and Beyond

Research on Israel and Aram in Biblical Times VII

Edited by

Aren Maeir, Shira Albaz, and Angelika Berlejung

Mohr Siebeck

*Aren Maeir*, born 1958; Professor of Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, the Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology, Bar-Ilan University.

[orcid.org/0000-0003-3230-292X](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3230-292X)

*Shira Albaz*, born 1987; 2020 PhD; Postdoc at Haifa University; Teaching Fellow at Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies, Bar-Ilan University; Manager at The Tell es-Safi/Gath Archaeological Project, Bar-Ilan University; Member of The Minerva Center for the Relations between Israel and Aram in Biblical Times.

[orcid.org/0000-0002-4556-9167](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4556-9167)

*Angelika Berlejung*, born 1961; Professor for “History and Religion of Israel and its Environment” at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Leipzig, Extraordinary Professor for Ancient Studies at the University of Stellenbosch/South Africa, Visiting Full Professor for Biblical Archaeology at Bar-Ilan University/Israel, and Full Member of the Saxon Academy of Sciences.

ISBN 978-3-16-164199-2 / eISBN 978-3-16-164200-5

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-164200-5

ISSN 1869-0513 / eISSN 2568-7492 (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2025 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen. [www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com)

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher’s written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

Printed on non-aging paper.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany  
[www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com), [info@mohrsiebeck.com](mailto:info@mohrsiebeck.com)

## Table of Contents

AREN M. MAEIR, SHIRA ALBAZ and ANGELIKA BERLEJUNG Urbanism in the Iron Age Levant and Beyond: Preface and Introduction.....	IX
Abbreviations .....	XV
<b>PART I: URBANISM IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT</b>	
SHAY BAR and ERIN HALL An Iron Age IIA–IIB Administrative Structure from Tel Esur Area D East .....	3
ANGELIKA BERLEJUNG The Call of the Wall: The Symbolic Meaning of City Walls and Their Reception in the Hebrew Bible .....	29
JEFFREY R. CHADWICK Hebron in Iron Ages I–II: Finds of the of the American Expedition to Hebron (Tell er-Rumeide) .....	65
JUDITH E. FILITZ On the Road Again: Processions and Pilgrimages as Two Ways of Ritual Mobility...	103
GUNNAR LEHMANN In Search of the Ancient City in the Southern Levant: Urbanism and Complex Small-Scale Societies during the Second and Early First Millennium BCE.....	117
YIGAL LEVIN Text and the City: The Urban Geography of Jerusalem as Depicted in Chronicles ...	149
ODED LIPSCHITS The History of the Area between Ramat Raḥel and Jerusalem during the Hundred Years of Assyrian Rule in Judah.....	169
AREN M. MAEIR Thoughts on the Development of Urbanism in Iron Age Philistia .....	185
EMANUEL PFOH Ethno-Historical Observations on Urbanism and Socio-Political Complexity in the Southern Levant during the Iron Age II.....	225

DANIEL PIOSKE The Traces of Other Times: Iron Age Urbanism, Residuality, and Biblical Impressions of the Past .....	243
ITZICK SHAI A Hierarchical Settlement Pattern on the Western Border of the Kingdom of Judah: A View from Tel Burna .....	263
YIFAT THAREANI Contested Identities: Urban Analysis of Some Assyrian Towns in the Provinces ....	277
WOLFGANG ZWICKEL Settlement Activities in Galilee.....	293
<b>PART II: URBANISM IN THE NORTHERN LEVANT</b>	
DOMINIK BONATZ Iron Age Urbanism in the Northern Levant Reconsidered .....	321
HERBERT NIEHR Karatepe-Aslantaş: Textual and Archaeological Evidence for the Urbanistic Concept of Azatiwadaya .....	335
MIRKO NOVÁK From Hiyawa to Bīt-Baḥiani: Principles of ‘Neo-Hittite’ City Planning .....	351
ALEXANDER E. SOLLEE Iron Age Urbanism in Neo-Hittite City-States and Neo-Assyrian Provinces: A View from the Lower Town of Tell Ḥalaf .....	377
<b>PART III: URBANISM IN OTHER REGIONS, CULTURES AND PERIODS</b>	
JOACHIM BRETSCHEIDER The Short-Lived Settlement of Pyla-Kokkinokremos. How Long is ‘Short’? – Some Preliminary Considerations .....	401
ANDREW T. CREEKMORE III A Magnetometry Study of Infrastructure, Structure, and the Construction of Space at Middle Bronze Age Kurd Qaburstan, Iraq.....	421
JAN DRIESSEN Processions and the Making of the Minoan City .....	457
MANUEL FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ Urbanism in the Temperate European Iron Age: An Overview .....	479

SHIGEO YAMADA

Dūr-Šarrukīn as the Center of World: A Reflection on its City Plan and Ideology.... 505

List of Contributors..... 519

Indices ..... 523





# Urbanism in the Iron Age Levant and Beyond: Preface and Introduction

AREN M. MAEIR, SHIRA ALBAZ and ANGELIKA BERLEJUNG

This volume contains the proceedings of the conference “Urbanism in the Iron Age Levant and Beyond”, held at Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel, on September 18–22, 2022. The conference was an outgrowth of an Israel Science Foundation Personal Research Grant to A.M. Maeir on Iron Age II urbanisation at Tell es-Safi/Gath (“Gath at its Greatest: The development, dating, size and character of the Lower City of Tell es-Safi during the Iron Age I–II”, Grant no. 91/18). The conference itself was funded by an Israel Science Foundation Research Workshop Grant to A.M. Maeir (Grant no. 3032/20), along with additional funds from the Minerva Center for the Relations between Israel and Aram in Biblical Times (co-directed by A. Berlejung and A.M. Maeir; [aramisrael.org](http://aramisrael.org)) and the Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies, Bar-Ilan University (directed by A.M. Maeir). The conference included 3 days with 31 lectures, and then two days of field trips to relevant sites in northern and southern Israel.

The conference was convened to reexamine and reassess the phenomenon of urbanism and related issues in the Iron Age Levant, particularly in light of research on the urban fabric of Iron Age IIA Philistine Gath.<sup>1</sup> The need for this was felt for several reasons. Firstly, most overviews on urbanism in the Iron Age Levant were outdated, either due to being written years ago,<sup>2</sup> or lacking reference to up-to-date theory on urbanism in general and ancient urbanism in particular.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, a large amount of significant finds related to urbanism in the Iron Age Levant have been uncovered in the last decade or so, warranting synthetic treatments combining these finds with theoretical approaches. Furthermore, the fascinating advances in the theoretical study of ancient urbanism in general, which have appeared in recent years, have enabled much more complex and multifaceted approaches to the study of ancient cities. These advances have raised many new questions and ideas, and, in some cases, overturned long-held assumptions on urbanism and its very definition.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> CREEKMORE III/MAEIR 2021.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., KENYON 1971; SHILOH 1987; FRITZ 1995; AUFRECHT *et al.* 1997; HERZOG 1997; ARAV 2008.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., FAUST 2018: 180–184; EDELMAN/BEN ZVI 2014; GARFINKEL/KREIMERMAN/ZILBERG 2016; AITKEN/MARLOW 2018; GARFINKEL 2023.

<sup>4</sup> For recent studies on ancient urbanism, see, e.g., SMITH, M.E. 2012; ID. 2016; ID. 2020a; ID. 2020b; ID. 2021; ID. 2023; KÄMMERER/ROGGE 2013; FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ/WENDLING/WINGER 2014; SMITH, M.L. 2014; CHESON 2015; YOFFEE 2015; CHASE/CHASE 2016; FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ/KRAUSSE 2016; GAYDARSKA 2016; MOELLER 2016; ZUIDERHOEK 2017; RAJA/SINDBÆK 2018; GARCIA *et al.* 2019; SMITH/LOBO 2019; THOMAS 2019; DEVECKA 2020; FARHAT 2020; FLETCHER 2020; ORTMAN *et al.*

Similarly, the understanding that terms used in biblical and other ancient sources, which are translated as “city/town” in modern languages, do not necessarily overlap with what we would call urbanism, and many supposed cities and towns described in ancient sources are far from being actual urban entities. Some scholars even claim that “the biblical ‘city’ is an invention of translators and scholars and may have not existed at all.”<sup>5</sup>

The contributions in this volume represent a diverse cross-section of studies on archaeological, textual and theoretical aspects relating to urbanism. While focusing on the Iron Age northern and southern Levant (Parts I–II), perspectives on urban-related topics in other regions, cultures and periods were included as well (Part III), to provide a broader perspective on ancient urbanism and its various manifestations.

In Part I “Urbanism in the Southern Levant,” thirteen studies are included. Shay Bar and Erin Hall describe an Iron Age IIA–IIB administrative site from Tel Esur in the Iron Valley in northern Israel. While not an urban site itself, it is an administrative complex that is part of the Israelite northern kingdom, a polity with a strong urban fabric at many sites. This is followed by a contribution by Angelika Berlejung, discussing city walls as a form of communication, liminal space, mediator of boundaries, and sketching their symbolic meaning in the Hebrew Bible. Jeffrey R. Chadwick describes the Iron I and Iron II remains from the American excavations at Hebron, conducted in the 1960s, integrated with the results of more recent archaeological research at the site. He demonstrates that the site was extensively settled in both periods, with an impressive fortification in the Iron Age II. The importance of cultic processions and pilgrimages in the biblical text, and their relationship to urban sites, is discussed by Judith E. Filitz, who concludes that the importance of this “Theology of Mobility”, while existing in earlier periods, was accentuated in the Persian Period, following the destruction of the Judahite Kingdom, and Jerusalem, at the end of the Iron Age. Gunnar Lehmann, who gave the opening paper at the original conference, tackles the very relevant and thorny question of whether there were cities in the Iron Age southern Levant. He suggests that while urbanism did exist in the region at this time, it was of a much smaller scale, and complexity, in comparison to other regions in the ancient Near East, and stresses the importance of local diversities and communities and their resilience in small scale urbanism of the Iron Age southern Levant. The vision of the urban geography of Iron Age Jerusalem, as reflected in the Book of Chronicles, a Persian period biblical book, is discussed in Yigal Levin’s contribution. He demonstrates that this vision is a combination of information gleaned from early sources, combined with reality known in the authors’ period. Oded Lipschits describes the archaeology and history of the area between the city of Jerusalem and Ramat Rachel, the palace situated just south of the city, during late 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, when the Assyrians ruled the land. He sketches the roles that Ramat Rachel and other sites in the vicinity played, and how this reflects

---

2020; WOOLF 2020; MIDDLETON 2021; SMITH *et al.* 2021; FOWDEN *et al.* 2022; MOORE/FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ 2022.

<sup>5</sup> VERMEULEN 2020: 16–19. On the issue of “city” in Hebrew, see O’CONNOR 2008: 18–39; GRAY 2018: 17–34.

on the relationship between the Assyrian Empire and the Kingdom of Judah at the time. Aren M. Maeir reviews what is known about urbanism in Iron Age Philistia. Surveying the archaeological evidence in both Philistia and nearby areas, he shows that while the large Philistine cities do seem to exhibit urban qualities – or as Michael Smith<sup>6</sup> has defined “energized crowding” – many other sites that have been referred to as cities in earlier research hardly qualify as such. The oft-assumed rigid connection between urbanism and state formation may not always be the case in the Iron Age southern Levant. Rather, they may be related to tribal and kinship politics, central aspects of the socio-political matrix in this region. Daniel Pioske discussed the relations between Iron Age urbanism and the remains from earlier periods, and how the earlier remains effected the planning and construction of the Iron Age cities, as well as in the biblical texts. The role of the Iron Age site of Tel Burna in the Iron Age, and in particular how it was integrated into the Judahite polity is discussed by Itzik Shai. He demonstrates that the site was a third tier level settlement in the Judahite kingdom, which on the one hand exhibits connections and integration with the Judahite Kingdom’s administrative structure, but on the other hand, may very well reflect the role of local leaders in forming the patron-client relationships which were a dominant part of the political structure of this kingdom. Yifat Thareani discusses the urban fabric of cities in areas after their conquest by the Neo-Assyrians, using the relevant finds from Tel Dan as a case study. She demonstrates that while the Assyrians attempted to install their urban concepts and ideology on these cities, the local population at times pushed back and retained aspects of their identity, resisting the Assyrian attempt to reshape the urban and cultural horizons. Wolfgang Zwickel surveys the evidence for urban settlements in the Galilee, in northern modern Israel, and discusses the archaeological remains and the economic relationship between these urban sites.

In Part II “Urbanism in the Northern Levant,” there are four contributions. In the first contribution of this section, Dominik Bonatz reconsiders some of the basic assumptions regarding urbanism in the northern Levant. In particular, he questions the distinct differentiation between Aramean and Luwian urbanism and state formation. Rather, he sees the urban sites that appear in the early Iron II as integrating many aspects of both of these cultures. The fortress of Azatiwadaya (Karatepe-Aslantaş) was built in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century BCE and served as a fortified site for the ruler, without a substantial population at the site. Herbert Niehr demonstrates that despite it being a site without a large population, it fits well with the urban concepts known in the Syro-Anatolian region during the Iron Age. Mirko Novák discusses the urban planning of “Neo-Hittite/Luwo-Aramean” cities. By comparing various sites, he demonstrates that there were overarching themes present, even when the specific identities (Aramean or Luwian) might have been different at these sites. Tell Ḥalaf, ancient Gūzāna, is one of the best-known Iron Age sites in northeastern Syria. It served as the political centre of the Aramean kingdom Bīt Baḥiāni, which was eventually incorporated into the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Alexander E. Sollee demonstrates that contrary to previous suggestions, the Assyrians did not completely alter the urban fabric of the site. He believes (in contrast to Thareani’s contribution) that this indicates that Neo-Assyrian policy did not require urban reorganisation of conquered sites within their regions.

---

<sup>6</sup> SMITH/LOBO 2019; SMITH, M.E. 2023.

Part III: Urbanism in other Regions, Cultures and Periods include five studies. In the first study in this section, Joachim Bretschneider discusses the short-lived site of Pyla-Kokkinokremos in southern central Cyprus at the very end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE and the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE. This site, with rather flimsy fortifications and domestic quarters – and no monumental architecture – was most probably located just above a contemporaneous port and revealed impressive finds indicating connectivity with many regions in the central and eastern Mediterranean. While the exact reasons behind the initial settlement at the site and its destruction soon after are not clear, he stresses that there is no doubt that they are related to deep changes occurring in the Mediterranean during the Late Bronze/Iron Age transition at this time. Andrew T. Creekmore III presents the results of a remote sensing study using magnetometry, focusing on the urban planning of the site of Kurd Qaburstan in Iraqi Kurdistan. As opposed to some who had suggested that following the collapse of the Early Bronze Age in the region, cities built during the Middle Bronze Age were “hollow,” with relatively few zones of construction. Based on the results of the magnetometric analyses at the site, the city was densely settled during the Middle Bronze Age, contrary to previous assumptions. The formation of Minoan cities of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BCE are the focus of Jan Driessen’s contribution. He argues that the underlying reasons for the development of a small number of central Minoan urban sites are their role as ceremonial hubs. Focusing on Knossos, he demonstrates how the development of the site into a city was directly related to the processional route connecting it with the peak sanctuary at Mt. Juktas, located to the south of Knossos. In his contribution, Manuel Fernández-Götz, takes us to questions on urbanism in Temperate Europe in the Iron Age. He surveys the processes and ups and downs of the development of urbanism in Europe north of the Alps from around 800 BCE until the Roman conquest. In doing so, he not only presents important evidence for the urbanisation in Temperate Europe, but also provides important theoretical insights for the study of urbanism in the Levant as well. The final contribution in the volume, by Shigeo Yamada, discusses the city plan of Dūr-Šarrukīn, the capital city built, but never completed, by Sargon II, king of Assyria. He demonstrates how the plan of the city fits in with the Assyrian world view and its role as serving as the centre of the world, and how it was highly influenced by the plan of the city of Babylon, reflecting the ideological competition between Assyria and Babylonia.

All told, the 22 contributions in this volume provide a broad overview of many aspects of urbanism in the Iron Age Levant, in the north and in the south, as well as perspectives on urbanism in other regions, cultures and periods. The integration of new finds, fresh perspectives, biblical exegesis, and theoretical approaches, sets the stage for further studies and reassessments of myriad aspects of urbanisation, in the Iron Age Levant and in other ancient contexts.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to the 23 authors for their excellent contributions, to the staff of the Tell es-Safi/Gath Archaeological Project for their assistance in organising and running the original conference, and to Dr. Nadine Eßbach for expertly copy editing the volume.

Ramat-Gan/Leipzig, June 2024.

## Bibliography

- AITKEN, J.K./MARLOW, H.F. (eds.), 2018, *The City in the Hebrew Bible: Critical, Literary and Exegetical Approaches* (LHBOTS 672), London.
- ARAV, R. (ed.), 2008, *Cities through the Looking Glass*, Winona Lake.
- AUFRECHT, W./MIRAU, N./GAULEY, S. (eds.), 1997, *Urbanism in Antiquity: From Mesopotamia to Crete* (JSOTSS 244), Sheffield.
- CHASE, A.F./CHASE, D.Z., 2016, Urbanism and Anthropogenic Landscapes. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 45, 361–376.
- CHESSON, M.S., 2015, Reconceptualizing the Early Bronze Age Southern Levant without Cities: Local Histories and Walled Communities of EB II–III Society, *JMA* 28/1, 51–79.
- CREEKMORE III, A.T./MAEIR, A.M., 2021, Philistine Urban Form at Tell es-Safi/Gath, Israel: A Magnetometric Perspective, *Levant* 53: 164–185.
- DEVECKA, M., 2020, *Broken Cities: A Historical Sociology of Ruins*, Baltimore.
- EDELMAN, D.V./BEN ZVI, E. (eds.), 2014, *Memory and the City in Ancient Israel*, Winona Lake.
- FARHAT, G. (ed.), 2020, *Landscapes of Pre-Industrial Cities* (Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 41), Washington.
- FAUST, A., 2018, Society and Culture in the Kingdom of Judah during the Eighth Century, in: Z.I. FARBER/J.L. WRIGHT (eds.), *Archaeology and History of Eight-Century Judah* (Ancient Near East Monographs), Atlanta, 179–203.
- FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ, M./KRAUSE, D. (eds.), 2016, *Eurasia at the Dawn of History: Urbanization and Social Change*, Cambridge.
- FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ, M./WENDLING, H./WINGER, K. (eds.), 2014, *Paths to Complexity: Centralisation and Urbanisation in Iron Age Europe*, Oxford.
- FLETCHER, R., 2020, Urban Labels and Settlement Trajectories, *Journal of Urban Archaeology* 1, 31–48.
- FOWDEN, E.L. *et al.* (ed.), 2022, *Cities as Palimpsests? Responses to Antiquity in Eastern Mediterranean Urbanism*, Oxford.
- FRITZ, V., 1995, *The City in Ancient Israel* (The Biblical Seminar 29), Sheffield.
- GARCIA, D. *et al.* (eds.), 2019, *Country in the City: Agricultural Functions of Protohistoric Urban Settlements*, Oxford.
- GARFINKEL, Y., 2023, Early City Planning in the Kingdom of Judah: Khirbet Qeiyafa, Beth Shemesh 4, Tell en-Naşbeh, Khirbet Ed-Dawwara, and Lachish V, *Jerusalem Journal of Archaeology* 4, 87–107.
- GARFINKEL, Y./KREIMERMANN, Y./ZILBERG, P., 2016, Debating Khirbet Qeiyafa: A Fortified City in Judah from the Time of King David, Jerusalem.
- GAYDARSKI, B., 2016, The City is Dead! Long Live the City! *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 49/1, 40–57.
- GRAY, A.R., 2018, Reflections on the Meaning(s) of עִיר in the Hebrew Bible, in: J.K. AITKEN/H.F. MARLOW (eds.), *The City in the Hebrew Bible. Critical, Literary and Exegetical Approaches* (LHBOTS 672), London, 17–34.
- HERZOG, Z., 1997, *Archaeology of the City: Urban Planning in Ancient Israel and Its Social Implications* (Monograph Series 13), Tel Aviv.
- KÄMMERER, T.R./ROGGE, S. (eds.), 2013, *Patterns of Urban Societies* (Acta Antiqua Mediterranea et Orientalia 2), Münster.
- KENYON, K.M., 1971, *Royal Cities of the Old Testament*, New York.
- MIDDLETON, G.D., 2021, A Tale of Three Cities: Urban and Cultural Resilience and Heritage Between the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in the Eastern Mediterranean, *Urban History* 48/4, 724–748.
- MOELLER, N., 2016, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge

- MOORE, T./FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ, M., 2022, Bringing the Country to Town: ‘Rurban’ Landscapes in Iron Age Europe, *Journal of Urban Archaeology* 5, 101–105.
- O’CONNOR, M.P., 2008, The Biblical Notion of City, in: J.L. BERQUIST/C.V. CAMP (eds.), *Constructions of Space II: The Biblical City and Other Imagined Spaces (LHBOTS 490)*, New York/London, 18–39.
- ORTMAN, S.G. *et al.*, 2020, Why Archaeology Is Necessary for a Theory of Urbanization, *Journal of Urban Archaeology* 1, 151–167.
- RAJA, R./SINDBÆK, S.M. (ed.), 2018, *Urban Network Evolutions: Towards a High-Definition Archaeology*, Aarhus.
- SMITH, M.E. (ed.), 2012, *The Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies*, Cambridge.
- SMITH, M.E., 2016, How Can Archaeologists Identify Early Cities? Definitions, Types and Attributes, in: M. FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ/D. KRAUSSE (eds.), *Eurasia at the Dawn of History: Urbanization and Social Change*, Cambridge, 153–168.
- , 2020a, Definitions and Comparisons in Urban Archaeology, *Journal of Urban Archaeology* 1, 15–30.
- , 2020b, The Comparative Analysis of Early Cities and Urban Deposits, *Journal of Urban Archaeology* 2, 97–205.
- , 2021, Ancient Egyptian Urbanism in a Comparative, Global Context, *JEH* 13/1–2, 77–100.
- , 2023, *Urban Life in the Distant Past: The Prehistory of Energized Crowding*, Cambridge.
- SMITH, M.E., *et al.*, 2021, The Persistence of Ancient Settlements and Urban Sustainability, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118/20 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2018155118>.
- SMITH, M.E./LOBO, J., 2019, Cities Through the Ages: One Thing or Many? *Frontiers in Digital Humanities* 6/12, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fdigh.2019.00012>.
- SMITH, M.L., 2014, The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes, *ARA* 43, 307–323.
- THOMAS, A.R., 2019, *The Evolution of the Ancient City: Urban Theory and the Archaeology of the Fertile Crescent. Comparative Urban Studies*, Lanham.
- VERMEULEN, K., 2020, *Conceptualising Biblical Cities. A Stylistic Study*, Cham.
- WOOLF, G., 2020, *The Life and Death of Ancient Cities: A Natural History*, Oxford.
- YOFFEE, N. (ed.), 2015, *The Cambridge World History 3: Early Cities and Comparative History, 4000 BCE–1200 CE*, Cambridge.
- ZUIDERHOEK, A., 2017, *The Ancient City (Key Themes in Ancient History)*, Cambridge.

## Abbreviations

Ä&L	Ägypten & Levante
AASOR	The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
ADOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANESSup	Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
ARA	Annual Review of Anthropology
AASOR	The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch/Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk
AVO	Alttertumskunde des Vorderen Orients
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BAMS	Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Society of Overseas Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BCSMS	Bulletin of The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies
BINS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BSAW	Berlin Studies of the Ancient World
BSFAC	Bulletin de la Société Française d'archéologie Classique
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
DAA	Denkmäler Antiker Architektur
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HeBAI	Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel



HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HThK.AT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
IAA	Reports Israel Antiquities Authority Reports
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JAA	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
JAAS	Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism: Supplements
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEH	Journal of Egyptian History
JEMAHS	Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JJAR	Jerusalem Journal of Archaeology
JMA	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages
JSA	Journal of Social Archaeology
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JRSR	Judea and Samaria Research Studies
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
KUSATU	Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt
LAS	Leipziger Altorientalische Studien
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LMEH	Library of Middle East History
MAAO	Münchener Abhandlungen zum Alten Orient
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
NEAEHL	The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NSK.AT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar – Altes Testament
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO.SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica
OIP	Oriental Institut Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OREA	Oriental and European Archaeology
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PIPOAC	Publications de l'Institut du Proche-Orient ancien du Collège de France

PNAS	Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
RIAB	Research on Israel and Aram in Biblical Times
RIHAO	Revista Del Instituto De Historia Antigua Oriental
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
RSO	Ras Shamra Ougarit
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAHL	Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant
SBA	Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Archäologie
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature, Ancient Israel and Its Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SHANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici
SoSchrÖAI	Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
SVA	Schriften zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
SWBAS	Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series
TA	Tel Aviv
TA Mon. Ser.	Tel Aviv University, Monograph Series
TdH	Texte der Hethiter
TSSI	Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WdO	Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZOrA	Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie



## Part I: Urbanism in the Southern Levant



# An Iron Age IIA–IIB Administrative Structure from Tel Esur Area D East

SHAY BAR and ERIN HALL

*Abstract:* Tel Esur is situated at the western end of Nahal 'Iron, a wadi that leads eastward to Megiddo. The site was strategically important in the Bronze and Iron Ages, given that it is located on a branch of the *Via Maris*, the main route connecting Egypt to the north. Excavations at the site in Area D East revealed architecture in the form of a gate complex, pottery, as well as a unique assemblage of cult finds. After ceramic analysis, which included both late Iron IIA–B forms, it was determined that the materials date to the “early” Iron IIB. This gate complex was part of a larger Israelite administrative area already excavated and published, that included a fortified tower and large storage facilities. The following article presents a report of the finds from the gate complex and interprets all the Iron Age data from the site based on geopolitics and ritual activity within northern Israel.

## 1. Introduction

Tel Esur (Tell el-Asawir) is situated in the northern Sharon Plain (Israel New Grid 2020/7097), at the western entrance to Nahal 'Iron (Wadi 'Ara; Fig. 1). This wadi was one of three possible routes through which the *Via Maris* could have crossed eastward toward the Jezreel Valley, the two others running through the Dothan Valley and Nahal Tut.<sup>1</sup> Although many scholars agree today that the 'Iron Pass was not the most prominent route of the three, it was nevertheless in use, branching northeastward from the vicinity of the site. Other two important roads passed by the site leading to Wadi Milh, toward Yoqneam, and westward towards the port city of Dor.

There are two tels at the site of Esur: the larger is approximately 2,2 ha, rising 11 m above its surroundings (66 m above sea level); the smaller one, about 0,4 ha (58 m above sea level), is situated about 100 m to the southeast (Fig. 2). In the excavations of the larger tel, the remains of a well-built Middle Bronze Age city were unearthed, including a unique fortification system and large public structures and plazas.<sup>2</sup> These were replaced by a smaller scale activity in the Late Bronze Age, when the site shrank in size, but not in importance. During this time period, it housed an Egyptian-related caravan station named *Djefti*, mentioned by Thutmose III.<sup>3</sup> A sizeable protohistoric site covering an area of 60–70 ha is located south of the larger tel and is partially buried beneath the small mound.

---

<sup>1</sup> DORSEY 1991: 59f., 70f., 78–80; GADOT 1999: 27–30; ZERTAL 2000.

<sup>2</sup> BAR 2021.

<sup>3</sup> SHALVI *et al.* 2019; BAR 2021.

A large spring, 'Ein Asawir (also called 'Uyun al-Assawir/'Ein Arubboth), is located east of the larger tel, about 50 m north of the smaller tel, and another spring lies adjacent to the southwestern side of the former.

## 2. Stratigraphy and Architecture

Earlier excavations in Area D, on the western slopes of the small tel, exposed the foundations of a large complex dated to the Iron Age IIB.<sup>4</sup> The complex was constructed on an uninhabited area, cutting into the remains of a long-buried Early Bronze Age I settlement.

This complex includes three structures (Fig. 3): the first is a fortified square tower-like structure measuring about 13 x 13 m, its inner plan comprising nine rectangular rooms of various sizes. Eight of the rooms surround a central square room/yard. The second part is composed of three long, paved rooms, probably storage facilities, abutting on the east. The orientation and width of these rooms follow the inner division of the tower, and the two structures were probably built at the same time. Together they comprise a massive stone-built rectangular structure, symmetrical along its main east-west axis. Another structure, built of thinner walls and in a different layout, abuts from the north. Several *tabuns* and other installations were found in this structure, which seems to be a service unit.

This complex was found almost empty: a few vessels (mainly cooking pots and bowls dated to the early phases of the Iron Age IIB<sup>5</sup>) were found in the northern structure, and several sherds were found lying on the floor in one of the rooms of the fortified structure. All other rooms contained only stone and disintegrating mudbrick collapse on the floors, indicating that it was abandoned in an orderly manner.

Between 2015 and 2022, the excavation in Area D shifted a few meters eastward (Fig. 3), bypassing the modern concrete paving on the upper part of the tel. This was therefore named Area D East. Another large structure was unearthed with the same style of masonry, wall orientation and floor heights as the earlier excavated complex, suggesting that there are larger and more well-built structures at the site than previously assumed.

The complex of Area D East (Figs. 4–5) is interpreted as a three-chambered gate with two abutting structures. The overall size of the structure is 7.5 x 18 m, 135 sq m. Neither the gate nor its abutting structures are related to a fortification wall or additional structures. It therefore seems that the gate had a monumental and symbolic significance, rather than being built for defensive purposes.<sup>6</sup>

The gate is oriented north-south (Fig. 4) and has a 1.2 m wide opening in the north between walls 114028 and 124028. It is bounded in the west and east by walls 114038 and 124010. The southern part is not built-up and a plaza 38 sq m in size was left open between these walls. Four antes abut the eastern and western walls. Interestingly, only two antes face each other (walls 124055 and 124047). The other two antes (eastern part

---

<sup>4</sup> SHALEV/BAR 2017; BAR *et al.* 2021.

<sup>5</sup> SHALEV/BAR 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. FINKELSTEIN *et al.* 2018 for a similar phenomenon at Megiddo.

of 124054 and 144018) do not sit opposite others (in the case of the southern ante, the area was disturbed in later periods; Iron Age remains were destroyed, and so we cannot rule out that an opposite ante was built there in the Iron Age). There are at least two phases to the opening in the northern part of the gate complex between walls 114028 and 124028. In the earlier phase, discernible only through masonry changes in the northern walls, the opening to the gate was much larger, almost 3.5 m wide. In terms of beaten earth floors, there are at least two levels attested. It is currently thought that the earlier floor may predate the construction of at least some of the gate antes, suggesting architectural changes and prolong use of the gate. Abutting gate wall 124048 was a staircase (124049) that led to a probable second floor.

The gate structure is abutted from the west (shared wall 114038) by a rectangular stone paved room (walls 114038, 114024, 124054 and 154027). The room's dimensions are 4 x 7.5 m (inner dimensions) and its overall inner area is 30 sq m. In the fill above floor were found many broken vessels, including Phoenician sherds, a miniature votive vessel (see below), and a unique animal-decorated seal (not detailed here). It seems that this room served for storage.

The gate structure was abutted from the east (shared wall 124010) by a badly preserved square-shaped room (preserved walls 124010, 124048, and 154061). The southern wall and southeastern corner are missing and several undated walls (e.g. 154086, 154085 and 154098) do not yet make a cohesive structural plan. The room's probable dimensions are 5 x 5.5 m (inner dimensions) and its overall area is about 27.5 sq m. This area was badly disturbed by later occupational activity (mainly dating to the Late Ottoman period), and several Early Bronze Age walls (e.g. 144033 and 144030) protrude beneath the Iron Age walls and associated floors.

Additional features and walls lying outside the main gate structure (e.g. 154033, 154057 and 154082) are mostly undated or represent later elements, seemingly not an integral part of the Iron Age II constructions.

### 3. The Pottery Typology

The typology details the Iron Age assemblage uncovered only in the Iron Age gate structure from Area D East. The pottery is described according to type, providing information regarding the significance of specific vessels. The corpus is comprised of bowls, kraters, cooking pots, a jug, storage jars, decorated pottery and cultic vessels. These types are mainly characteristic of the Iron IIA–B transition, continuing to the beginning of Iron Age IIB.

Since many Iron Age sites in the Sharon Plain and Yarkon Basin, such as Tel Michal, Makhmis, Tel Poleg, Tel Hefer, and Tel Mikhmoret, have not yet been published in full,<sup>7</sup> it is not possible to conduct a survey of ceramics within these regions. Instead, sites dating to the Iron IIA–B located in the Jezreel Valley, Beth-Shean Valley, Huleh Valley, Akko Plain and the Carmel Coast are considered. Iron IIA sites include Megiddo Stratum VA–IVB, Level Q-6 to Q-4, and the “Burnt Debris”; Beth-Shean S-1 and P-10;

---

<sup>7</sup> Cf. FAUST 2007.



Horvat Rosh Zayit II; Tell el-Farah North VIIb; Tel Rehov V–IV; Taanach Period II; Yoqneam XIV; and Hazor X–IX. Those sites dated to the Iron IIB include Megiddo Strata IVA, Levels K-3, H-3 and Q-2; Yoqneam XIII–XII; Beth-Shean P-9 to P-7; Tel Rehov III–II; Horvat Rosh Zayit Areas A, B and C; Hazor VIII–V; Kinneret II–I; Tell el-Farah North VIIId; Taanach Period V and Shikmona Level A6. The connection between Tel Esur, an inland site, and the Phoenician cities of Sarepta and Tyre III–II may not be obvious, however the presence of Phoenician pottery calls for comparison. In some cases, sites from the Judahite cultural milieu are also cited, including Lachish V–IV, Tel Batash V–IV, and Tel Masos Stratum II.

Several bowls found in the assemblage are common throughout the land of Israel in the Iron IIB. Types include carinated bowls with ledge rims (BL1; Fig. 6:1–4), straight-walled bowls with a diagonally cut everted rim (BL2; Fig. 6:5–6), straight walled bowls with plain rim (BL3; Fig. 6:7) and rounded bowls with tapering rim (BL4; Fig. 6:8). The rim of a possible chalice (CH1; Fig. 6:9) was also uncovered. Chalices are typical of early Iron Age assemblages but become more sporadic in the Iron IIB.<sup>8</sup> This may be due to a lack of sites with evidence for cultic activity in this period.<sup>9</sup>

Several kraters were also found within the assemblage. These include kraters with a folded or straight rim (KR1; Fig. 7:1–3), carinated kraters with folded rim (KR2; Fig. 7:4), a deep krater (KR3; Fig. 7:5) and kraters with gutter rim (KR4; Fig. 7:6–8). All of the krater types appear in the Iron IIA and continue into the Iron IIB. Deep kraters are either rounded or carinated and can have different rim styles.<sup>10</sup> The one example of this type from Tel Esur has a rounded body and a flattened rim. Such vessels were probably sunken into floors for use as storage vessels (*ibid.*). As for the kraters with gutter rims, at Hazor, they begin to appear in Stratum X–IX but become more popular in Stratum VIII assemblages. In Strata VII to VI they decline in appearance and are lacking from Strata V–IV.<sup>11</sup> This may mean that they are mainly characteristic of the Iron IIA–B transition.

Cooking pots with triangular rim (CP1; Fig. 8:1–2), straight rim (CP2; Fig. 8:3–5), inverted, flat rims (CP4; Fig. 8:7) and grooved rims (CP5; Fig. 8:8–9) are all attested. One sherd of a cooking jug (CJ1; Fig. 8:11) was also uncovered. The holemouth cooking pot uncovered is probably intrusive, since this type is typical of the Iron IIC<sup>12</sup> and a cooking pot with overhanging triangular rim (CP3; Fig. 8:6) seems residual from the Middle Bronze Age.

Two cooking pots with triangular rim (CP1) were uncovered at Tel Esur. Pots of this kind are typical of the Iron IIA and represent the continuation of an Iron I type. At Keisan, cooking pots with triangular rim are found as late as the Iron IIC.<sup>13</sup> Although this type does not continue at inland sites, it is known from the late Iron Age at certain

---

<sup>8</sup> BEN-AMI/SANDHAUS/BEN-TOR 2012: 445; cf. AMIRAN 1969: 213; MAZAR/PANITZ-COHEN 2001: 56–57.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. HALL 2020.

<sup>10</sup> BEN-AMI/SANDHAUS/BEN-TOR 2012: 449.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 448–449.

<sup>12</sup> ARIE 2020: fig. 4:6.

<sup>13</sup> BRIEND/HUMBERT 1980: pl. 35:5.

sites along the Akko Plain.<sup>14</sup> Similar types also appear at Tel Kabri Stratum E3<sup>15</sup> and Shikmona Phase A6.<sup>16</sup> Although it was originally thought that this type was residual at Shikmona, its appearance at several late Iron Age sites means residuality is not necessarily the case. Indeed, their appearance in Level Q-2 at Megiddo suggests that there was a dwindling in production but not an all-out termination of this type.<sup>17</sup>

Cooking pots with inverted, flat rim are found in the early Iron IIA.<sup>18</sup> Arie suggests that this type is “southern” in style. However, examples are known from the north in the late Iron IIA and may continue into the Iron IIB in light of the sherd from Beth-Shean Stratum P-8.<sup>19</sup>

As for cooking pots with thickened, grooved rims, these are characteristic of Iron IIB assemblages found throughout the country.<sup>20</sup> In northern assemblages, cooking pots of this type also continue into the Iron IIC.<sup>21</sup> Handles were not preserved on the two examples found at Esur.

Cooking jugs continue earlier traditions and are commonly found in the Iron I and Iron IIA.<sup>22</sup> There is a significant decline in this type of ware in the Iron IIB.<sup>23</sup> Continuity, nevertheless, is apparent given the appearance of cooking jugs in Iron IIB contexts at Megiddo Level Q-2, Shikmona A6 and Yoqneam XII (see parallels for references).

The one jug uncovered in the assemblage has a convex rim (Fig. 9:1). Mazar refers to jugs of this type as “elongated”.<sup>24</sup> He also states that this jug type is mainly attested in Iron IIB assemblages of northern Israel.

Storage jars in the assemblage include bag-shaped examples (SJ1; Fig. 10:1–3), Hippos (SJ2; Fig. 10:4–6), ovoid jars (SJ3; Fig. 10:7), jars with triangular rim (SJ4; Fig. 10:8) and a holemouth jar with flattened, inverted rim (SJ5; Fig. 10:9). All of these types begin in the Iron IIA and continue into the Iron IIB. Hippos jars are found all over northern Israel and petrographic results indicate that “there was no specialization of clay recipes;” they were most likely locally produced.<sup>25</sup> As for the holemouth jar, it is classified as type HM IIA at Horvat Rosh Zayit.<sup>26</sup> According to Kleiman, they are “an indisputable marker of the Iron IIB at Megiddo”.<sup>27</sup>

Turning to the decorated pottery, a sherd of a Black-on-Red jug/juglet (BoR; Fig. 11:1) was uncovered in addition to several examples of Phoenician Bichrome Ware (BW; Fig. 11:2–6).

---

<sup>14</sup> E.g., Rosh Zayit Area B and C of the Iron IIB; see GAL/ALEXANDRE 2000: 43.

<sup>15</sup> LEHMANN 2002: fig. 5.73: 4–5.

<sup>16</sup> HALL/BAR forthcoming.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. KLEIMAN 2022: 915.

<sup>18</sup> ARIE 2013: 694.

<sup>19</sup> MAZAR 2006: 336, type CP55.

<sup>20</sup> MAZAR 2006: 344.

<sup>21</sup> MAZAR 2020: 285.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Megiddo Level Q-5 in KLEIMAN 2022: fig. 23.44:10 as well as ARIE 2013: 696.

<sup>23</sup> KLEIMAN 2022: 917–918.

<sup>24</sup> MAZAR 2006: 362–363.

<sup>25</sup> BEN-SHLOMO 2020: 308–309.

<sup>26</sup> GAL/ALEXANDRE 2000: 173.

<sup>27</sup> KLEIMAN 2022: 928.

Black-on-Red jugs and juglets are common in the late Iron IIA and early Iron IIB.<sup>28</sup> This vessel, like others of this ware, was probably imported from Cyprus. As for the Bichrome Ware, this type of decoration may have origins in either Cyprus or Phoenicia. It is characterised by vessels decorated with red- and black-painted lines.

Lastly, several items of cultic significance were uncovered, including a zoomorphic vessel (ZM; Fig. 12:1) and two miniature vessels (MV; Fig. 12:2–3). The zoomorphic vessel seems to have been used for libation purposes. Horse,<sup>29</sup> bovine<sup>30</sup> and sheep<sup>31</sup> figurines all appear in the Iron IIA–B. Zoomorphic vessels are common in this period and could represent daily objects, libation vessels, or even children's toys.<sup>32</sup> The example from Tel Esur may represent ritual activity. The two miniature vessels have parallels at several sites. At Tel Qasile, excavators uncovered a group of seven similar vessels from an Iron I context that was interpreted as a *favissa*.<sup>33</sup> According to Mazar,<sup>34</sup> miniature vessels continue a Bronze Age tradition and are known at sites such as Nahariya, Megiddo and Beth Shemesh (Middle Bronze Age) and Ugarit (Late Bronze Age).

#### 4. Summary

In the late 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE, a new settlement was erected at Tel Esur, which had at this point been uninhabited for several hundred years. Faust has shown in his study of the rural settlement of ancient Israel during the Iron Age, that many rural settlements were newly established during the Iron Age IIB (especially in the highlands), and that the vast majority did not continue from Iron Age I.<sup>35</sup> Tel Esur, however, seems to deviate from the typical model: on one hand, the architecture – the gate complex, the storage facilities and the fortified tower – clear evidence of a royal or state presence, usually existed in country towns or cities of higher hierarchy; on the other, its small size, usually indicates a small village or a farmstead, rather than a larger, high rank settlement. The plans of the structures: the gate, the tower, with axial symmetry oriented around a central hall, and the storehouse building with its tripartite layout, are characteristic of the southern Levantine Iron Age II official architectural tradition.<sup>36</sup> In this manner Tel Esur, which is clearly too small in size to be even a town, may have been a large estate or a regional administrative centre (probably subservient to Megiddo, but maybe also to Dor), in which agricultural products and other commodities were collected and stored. One of the excavators of the site recently suggested that it functioned as part of the horse-

---

<sup>28</sup> MAZAR 2006: 375–376; SCHREIBER 2003: 88–220 for parallels.

<sup>29</sup> TADMOR 2005: 491.

<sup>30</sup> BEN-SHLOMO 2008.

<sup>31</sup> TADMOR 2012: 491.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. TADMOR 2012: 491.

<sup>33</sup> MAZAR 1980: 117, fig. 47.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> FAUST 2015a.

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed comparison to other Israelite administrative structures and a possible functional suggestion see SHALEV/BAR 2017.

management economy centered in nearby Megiddo, and that the tripartite structure is actually stables.<sup>37</sup>

It is important to note that the excavation exposed only small segments of the site (in the centre and western slope) and it is very probable that additional Iron Age administrative structures are still buried in the uppermost part of the tel, north of the free-standing gate, and along its northern and eastern slopes.

The construction of the administrative centre at Tel Esur in the transition between the Iron Age IIA and IIB and its use until the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, might be an indication of the will of the Kings of Israel to enforce their jurisdiction over the area. According to one of the authors, Shay Bar, such activity may culminate in the days of Jeroboam II (786–746 BCE), a period in which Israel experienced economic prosperity and territorial growth, reaching its maximum territorial range. Recovering from the Aramean pressure the Kingdom of Israel started expanding again in Jeroboam II's reign as “He restored the border of Israel from the entrance of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah ...” (2Kings 14:25).

The latest pottery from good context at the site is dated to the mid-8th century BCE, providing a *terminus ad quem* for the demise of the site, but offers no clues as to why it was abandoned. Nevertheless, while most sites in the territories of the former Kingdom of Israel show signs of destruction, damage, or at least decline following the Assyrian conquest,<sup>38</sup> the site at Tel Esur seems to come to an end a decade or two before Tiglath Pileser III's campaign. While the reasons for the abandonment are yet to be determined, it should be mentioned that the same phenomenon was recently noticed at the nearby Israelite city of Dor.<sup>39</sup> This process of severe decline or even total abandonment prior to the Assyrian occupation was therefore more than a single local event and should be regarded as a possible deliberate regime choice for other reasons than just the fear of the approaching Assyrian army.

In terms of the cultic assemblage, gate shrines are attested in the Iron IIA at sites like at Tell el-Farah N.<sup>40</sup> and possibly at Megiddo Stratum VA–IVB.<sup>41</sup> It is possible that the Esur cultic assemblage is reflective of ritual activities within the gate complex. If so, this would make it one of few cultic assemblages attributable to the Iron IIB in northern Israel. Apart from the four-horned altar from a possible Iron IIB context at Tel Kedesh/Tell Abu Qudeis,<sup>42</sup> the only cultic activity attested in this period is debatably attested at Megiddo Building 338,<sup>43</sup> with possible feasting activities at Samaria as well.<sup>44</sup> This is in contrast to a “boom” of cultic activity in the Iron IIA.<sup>45</sup> Ritual activity in the gate may have been intended to bless its construction, those entering the place, or it may mean that cultic practices took place in the gate itself. Gates were liminal places where those

---

<sup>37</sup> BAR *et al.* 2021.

<sup>38</sup> FAUST 2015b.

<sup>39</sup> GILBOA *et al.* 2015: 71.

<sup>40</sup> HERZOG 1997: 218; MUMCUOGLU/GARFINKEL 2020.

<sup>41</sup> HERZOG 1997; for a summary of the possible interpretations for Building 2081's cultic assemblage, see HALL 2020.

<sup>42</sup> STERN/BEIT-ARIEH 1979: 5, figs. 7.15–7.16.

<sup>43</sup> For a discussion of the date of this building, see HALL 2020: 165–166; HALL forthcoming.

<sup>44</sup> HALL 2022.

<sup>45</sup> FINKELSTEIN 2013.

who approached entered into a new context. It is thus not surprisingly that rituals may be associated with such an area. Further excavations may clarify the nature of cult at Esur, as only three cult finds were uncovered thus far.

## Bibliography

- ANDERSON, W.P., 1988, Sarepta I: A Stratigraphic and Ceramic Analysis of the Late Bronze and Iron Age Strata of Sounding Y at Sarepta (Sarepta, Lebanon), Beirut.
- AMIRAN, R., 1969, Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land, Jerusalem.
- ARIE, E., 2013, The Iron IIA Pottery, in: I. FINKELSTEIN/D. USSISHKIN/E.H. CLINE (eds.), *Megiddo V: The 2004–2008 Seasons, Volume II*, Tel Aviv, 668–828.
- , 2020, Phoenicia and the Northern Kingdom of Israel: The Archaeological Evidence, in: B. GÜR/S. DALKILIÇ (eds.), *A Life Dedicated to Anatolian Prehistory: Festschrift for Jak Yakar*, Ankara, 1–20.
- BAR, S., 2021, In the Footsteps of Adam Zertal. A Summary of Eight Seasons of Excavations at Tel Esur (2010–2017), in: R. HAWKINS/E. GAB/D. BEN-YOSEF (eds.), *נחלתו – A Memorial Volume for Adam Zertal (AOAT 454)*, Münster, 229–254.
- BAR, S./PINSKI, S./SHALEV, Y., 2021, An Israelite 8<sup>th</sup> Century BCE Administrative Structure at Tel Esur, in: K. COVELLO-PARAN/R. BEERI (eds.), *Zafon, Israel Antiquities Authorities*, 41–60.
- BARAKO, T., 2007, Tel Mor: The Moshe Dothan Excavations, 1959–1960 (IAA Reports 32), Jerusalem.
- BEN-AMI, D./SANDHAUS, D./BEN-TOR, A., 2012, The Pottery of Strata VIII–IV, in: A. BEN-TOR/D. BEN-AMI/D. SANDHAUS (eds.), *Hazor VI: The 1990–2009 Excavations. The Iron Age*, Jerusalem, 436–473.
- BEN-SHLOMO, D., 2008, Zoomorphic Vessel from Tel Miqne-Ekron and the Different Styles of Philistine Pottery, *IEJ* 58, 24–47.
- BEN-SHLOMO, D., 2020, Petrographic Studies of the Iron Age Pottery, in: A. MAZAR/N. PANITZ-COHEN (eds.), *Tel Rehov: A Bronze and Iron Age City in the Beth-Shean Valley, Vol. IV, Pottery Studies, Inscriptions and Figurative Art (Qedem 62)*, Jerusalem, 297–314.
- BIKAI, P.M., 1978, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster.
- BRIEND, J./HUMBERT, J.P., 1980, Tell Keisan (1971–1976): Une cité phénicienne en Galilée (OBO.SA 1), Göttingen.
- CHAMBON, A., 1984, *Tell el Far'ah I: L'Age du Fer*, Paris.
- DORSEY, D.A., 1991, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel*, Baltimore.
- FAUST, A., 2007, The Sharon and the Yarkon Basin in the Tenth Century BCE: Ecology, Settlement Patterns and Political Involvement, *IEJ* 57, 65–82.
- , 2015a, Chronological and Spatial Changes in the Rural Settlement Sector of Ancient Israel during the Iron Age: An Overview, *Review Biblique* 122, 247–267.
- , 2015b, Settlement, Economy, and Demography under Assyrian Rule in the West. The Territories of the Former Kingdom of Israel as a Test Case, *JAOS* 135, 765–789.
- FINKELSTEIN, I., 2013, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel*, Atlanta.
- FINKELSTEIN, I./ZIMHONI, O./KAFRI A., 2000, The Iron Age Pottery Assemblages from Areas F, K and H and Their Stratigraphic and Chronological Implications, in: I. FINKELSTEIN/D. USSISHKIN/B. HALPERN (eds.), *Megiddo III: The 1992–1996 Seasons*, Tel Aviv, 244–324.
- FINKELSTEIN, I./M.J. ADAMS/E. HALL/E. LEVY, 2019, The Iron Age Gates of Megiddo: New Evidence and Updated Interpretations, *TA* 46, 167–191.
- FRITZ, V./KEMPINSKI, A., 1983, *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf der Hirbet el-Maf (Tel Maas) 1972–1975*, Wiesbaden.

# Index of Sources

## Old Testament

<i>Genesis</i>		2:6	46
19:1	45	5:13–6:27	32
22:2	154	6	33, 46, 48, 255
23:10	45	6:5	44
23:18	45	6:20	44
23:19	66	6:25	46
23:2	19	6–8	255
24:37	248	7:5	45
34:20	45	8	257
35:27	256	8:28	255
37:14	256	8:29	45
49:22	43	10:3	66
49:29–31	66	10:3–23	257
		10:36–37	257
<i>Exodus</i>		11	256, 298
23:14–19	109	11:10	298
33:2	248	11:1–13	256
34:18–26	109	11:22	256
		12:10	256
<i>Leviticus</i>		12:21	256
23	106, 110	13:3	188
23:40–41	106	14:14	258
		15:8	160
<i>Numbers</i>		15:21–62	264
22:24	43	18:16	160
22:25	43	19:13	301
28–29	110		
35:4	43, 45	<i>Judges</i>	
		1:8	21, 256
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		1:27	256
20:17	248	9	44–45
20:20	43	9:28–30	294
23:2	50	9:35	45
28:52	44, 48	9:40	45
3:4f	44, 48	9:44	45
3:5	44	9:50–54	44
		19:15	160
<i>Joshua</i>		19:17	160
2	6, 32–33, 44–46	<i>Ruth</i>	
2:8	46	4:1	45
2:15	44, 46	4:11	45

<i>1 Samuel</i>		9:10–28	248
1:3	110	9:15	44, 152, 155
6:16–18	188	9:24	155
7	110	10:17	155
9:18	45	11:27	152
17:52	45	11:43	155
18:11	43	12:26–33	105, 110
21	110	15:13	156
22:4–5	152	15:20	298
24	110	15:24	156
24:23	152	16:18	164
31:10	34, 44	20:30	44, 48
31:12	44	21:1–16	141
		21:23	45
		22:10	44, 47
		22:26	294
<i>2 Samuel</i>		<i>2 Kings</i>	
2:1–11	258	3:25–27	34, 44
5	66, 151–153	5:24	152, 159
5:5	66	6	35, 44, 46, 48
5:6–10	151	6:26	35, 44, 46
5:6–11	151	6:30	35, 44, 46
5:7	152	7:1	44, 47
5:9	152	7:18	44, 47
6	105, 153, 252	7:20	44, 47
6:16	153	8:22	211, 265
6:17	153	8:24	157
6:6–9	252	9:28	155, 157
7	153	9:33	43, 45
8:1–14	248	11	157
11:20–24	44	11:4	157
12:9	152	14:13	44, 157
12:20	153	14:25	9, 301
15:23	156	15:7	155
17	152	15:25	164
18:24	44	15:35	158
20:15	44	16:20	155
20:21	33, 44	16:3	159
22:2	152	17:9	294
22:30	43	18	34, 161
23:14	152	18:26	44
24	154	18–19	161
		19:8	265
<i>1 Kings</i>		19:21	31, 152
1	154	20:2	43
2:10	154	20:20	161
3:1	44	21	140, 155, 162
3:16ff	46	21:21	155
4:13	44	21:24	140
5–7	154	22:14	163
7:12	155	23	156, 160, 163, 272
7:46	298		
8:1	152		
9:10	155, 248		

23:4–12	156	12:4	43, 45
23:10	160	12:9	156
23:30	140	14:5	43, 45
23:31	272	14:6	44
25:1–4	48	15:16	156
25:3	59	16:10	156
		16:14	156
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		17:12–13	156
2:3–4:23	151	18:25	294
3:4–5	150	18:9	44, 47
4:24–43	151	19:8	156
5:1–10	151	20:5	156
5:11–22	151	21:1	156
5:23–24	151	21:3	43, 45
5:36	150	21:20	157
5:41	150	22:9	155, 157
6:16	150	23	45, 157
7:1–5	151	24:16	155
7:12b	151	25:4	44
7:13	151	25:10	44
7:14–19	151	25:23	44, 157
7:20–29	151	26:23	155
8:1–40	151	26:6	44
8:28	150	26:9	158
9:3–6	151	27:3	44, 152, 159, 162
9:16	155	28:27	155
11:4–8	252	28:3	159
11:4–9	151	29:16	156
11:5	16, 152	29:4	160
11:7	152	30–31:1	110
13	153	30:14	156
21	154	32:1–8	161
21:10	211	32:1–23	161
22:1	154	32:5	44
		32:6	160
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		32:18	44
1:4	154	32:21–24	161
3:1	154	32:33	155
4:9	154, 156	33	159, 162
5:2	152	33:14	44, 152, 159
8:1	155	34	163, 294
8:11	155	34:8	294
8:5	43–45	34:22	163
9:31	155	35	110
10–26	156	36:19	44, 163
11:10	45		
11:10f	43	<i>Ezra</i>	
11:5	43, 45	1–6	52
11:5–10:6	45	7–Neh 13	52
11:23	43	10:9	160



*Nehemiah*

1	44, 52–55
1–2	53
1:3	44, 53
1:5–11	55
1–6:15	54
1–7	54 11:30 160
2:8	44
2:10	53
2:12	53
2:13	44, 158, 160
2:15	44, 158
2:17	44, 53
2:18	53
2:19	53
2:8	53
2–6	36
3	52
3:1a	55
3:1b–32	55
3:3	162
3:8	44
3:13	44, 158
3:13–14	160
3:15	44
3:19–25	158
3:26–27	152, 159
3:27	44
3:33	44
3:33–35	53
3:34	54
3:35	44
3:36–37	55
3:38	44, 53
4	52, 54
4:1	44
4:7	44
4:9	44
4:11	44
4:13	44
4:14	54
5	52
5:16	44
5:19	55
6:1	44
6:1–2	53
6:5–7	53, 55
6:6	44
6:9	55
6:14	55
6:15	44
6:15–16	53, 55

7:1	44
7–12	52, 55
8:16	157, 160
8–10	52
9:5–37	55
11:21	152, 159
12:27	44
12:27–29	56
12:27–43	56
12:30	44, 56
12:31	56, 160
12:37	44
12:39	157, 162
12:43	56
13	32, 52, 57
13:14	55
13:19–22	57
13:21	44
13:22	55
13:31	55

*Esther*

6:9	11, 160
-----	---------

*Job*

39:28	152
-------	-----

*Psalms*

9:7	255
18:3	152
18:30	43, 48
24:1	129
24:7–10	103, 105–108
31:3–4	152
47:6	105
48:14–15	48
51:20	44, 51–52, 54
66:11	152
68:25–28	105
71:3	152
84	111–112, 114
89:41	48
91:2	152
95:4f	129
120–134	114
122	111–113
144:2	152

*Proverbs*

18:11	47
25:28	47

*Song of Songs*

2:9 43  
 7:5 45  
 8:9–10 47

*Isaiah*

2:2 154  
 2:3 154  
 2:15 48  
 5:5 43  
 22:9–11 162  
 25:12 48  
 26:1 43, 50–51  
 29:3 43, 45  
 30:29 105, 154  
 30:32b 105  
 32:14 152, 159  
 36:11–12 44  
 36–37 161  
 37:22 152  
 37:32 152  
 44:26 244  
 49 48, 50, 59  
 49:16 48, 50, 59  
 52:8f 49  
 56:4f 50  
 58:12 50  
 59:14 160  
 60 44, 50–51  
 60:4–22 50  
 60:10 44, 50  
 60:11 50  
 60:12 50  
 60:14a 50  
 60:18 44, 50–51  
 60–62 50  
 61:4 50  
 62:6 44

*Jeremiah*

1:15 44  
 1:18 47  
 7:31 160  
 7:32 160  
 9:20 160  
 15:20 47  
 17:2 141  
 19:2 160  
 19:6 160  
 20:2 157–158

20:20 158  
 21:4 44  
 30:18 244  
 31:38 158  
 32:35 160  
 37:13 157  
 39:3 158  
 39:4 44  
 39:8 44  
 41:5 110  
 49:3 44  
 49:27 44, 48  
 50:15 44  
 51:12 44, 48  
 51:44 44  
 51:58 44  
 52:7 44  
 52:14 44

*Lamentations*

1:4 110  
 2 43–44, 48–49, 160, 164  
 2:5 164  
 2:7 44, 164  
 2:8 43–44, 48–49  
 2:8f 48  
 2:11–12 160  
 2:18 44, 164  
 2:18–19 49  
 2:19 49

*Ezekiel*

4:2 43  
 4:3 43–44  
 9:2 158  
 12:5 44  
 12:7 44  
 12:12 44  
 13:5 43  
 13:10 43  
 13:12 43–44  
 13:14–15 44  
 22:30 43  
 26:4 44  
 26:9 44  
 26:12 44  
 26:20 256  
 27 299–300  
 27:11 44  
 33:30 44

38:11	48, 51	7:11	50
38:20	48	<i>Nahum</i>	
40–48	51–52	2:2	45
41:5f	43	2:6	44
41:9	43	3	43–44, 48
41:12f	43	3:8	43–44
42:7	43		
42:10	43	<i>Habakkuk</i>	
		2:11	49
<i>Hosea</i>			
4:15	110	<i>Zephaniah</i>	
		1:10	162–163
<i>Amos</i>		1:10–11	163
1:7	44		
1:10	44	<i>Zechariah</i>	
1:14	44	1–2	49
4:4–5	110	2:5–6	51
5:4–5	110	2:5–9	51
7:7	44	2:7a	51
9:11	50	2:7b	51
9:14	244	2:8	51
		2:9	51–52
<i>Micah</i>		8:4–5	160
4:14	43	9:3	43, 45
4:8	152, 159	14:10	158

### Rabbinic Literature and Targumim

<i>Biccurim</i>		<i>Tosefta Shekalim</i>	
III 2–4	111	I 1	111
<i>Ekha Rabbati</i>		<i>Targum pseudo-Jonathan</i>	
I 52	111		163

### Deuterocanonical Works and Septuagint

<i>Judith</i>		<i>2 Maccabees</i>	
15:12–13	106	14:1–46	32–33
		1–2	110
<i>Jubilees</i>			
XI 29–30	106		

### Egyptian Sources

<i>Amarna letters</i>	121, 123, 231
-----------------------	---------------

## Ancient Near Eastern Sources

<i>Enūma Eliš</i>	104, 106, 514	2, no. 9, ll. 81–82	509
		2, no. 43, l. 66	509
<i>RINAP</i>		<i>VAT 8411</i>	
2, no. 2, ll. 477–483	508	Šu'ila prayer mu-LU é-a ku4-ra-zu-ta	
2, no. 8, ll. 41–42	509		107

## Ugaritic Sources

<i>Ba'al cycle</i>	106
--------------------	-----

## North-west Semitic Sources

<i>Mesha Inscription</i>	152, 159	III 15–16	343
		III 7–16	339
<i>PhSt/C</i>		III 9–12	337
I 1–3	337	IV 6–12	340
I 1–4	337	IV 10–12	337
II 1–6	337		
II 6–13	338	<i>Phu/A</i>	
III 12–14	345	III 12–IV 1	344

## Classical Writers

Josephus		Plutarch	
<i>Antiquities</i>		<i>Quaestiones convivales</i>	
III 10,4	106	IV 6.2	106
<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>		Statius	
III, 42	300	<i>Thebais</i>	
III, 516–520	300	10,610ff	33
VI, 9,3	110		

# Index of Names

## Names of Rulers and Persons

- Abimelekh 44  
Abi-salāmu 378  
Abraham 66, 154, 258  
Absalom 153, 156  
Adad-apla-iddina 514  
Adad-nārārī II 378  
Adoniah 154  
Ahaz 155, 159, 162, 164, 169, 174, 176, 181  
Ahaziah 155, 157  
Aher 151  
Amaziah 157–158, 162  
Asa 156  
Aššur-nāšir-apli II 244, 378, 505  
Athaliah 157  
Awarikku 337  
Azariah 155  
Azatiwada 335, 337–346  
Bathsheba 153  
Benjamin 45, 150–151, 157–158, 160, 170, 178–179, 181  
Caleb 258  
Cyrus 36, 149  
Daduša 428, 432, 449  
Daniel 160  
David 66, 69, 98, 112, 133, 149–159, 161–164, 169, 173, 209, 225–226, 248–249, 251–252, 258  
Drusus 495  
Elishah 47  
Ephraim 137, 151, 157–158, 160  
Esarhaddon 244  
Esther 160  
Ezekiel 155, 160, 256  
Geshem 53  
Gilgamesh 42  
Hanani 156  
Hazeal 189, 191–192, 205, 208, 212, 250, 316  
Hezekiah 97–99, 141, 152, 155–156, 159–162, 164, 174, 177–178  
Hoham 66  
Isaac 66, 154  
Išme-Dagān 428  
Jacob 52, 66  
Jehoash 157  
Jehoiada 155, 157  
Jehoram 156–157  
Jehoshaphat 156  
Jeremiah 47, 49, 140, 158, 160, 164, 244, 265  
Jeroboam I 110  
Jeroboam II 9, 316  
Jesse 66  
Joab 151–152  
Joash 157–158, 316–317  
Josiah 110, 141, 156, 162–163, 265, 272, 274  
Jotham 158–159, 162, 164  
Kamani 337  
Kammaki 368, 391  
Kapara 328, 331, 356, 378, 380, 386–387, 389  
Katuwa 331, 368  
Leah 66  
Maacah 156  
Manasseh 151, 162–164, 171, 178, 182, 235  
Marduk-apla-iddina 514  
Marduk-šāpik-zēri 514  
Michal 153  
Moses 53, 154  
Nabonidus 42, 244  
Nabopolassar 38, 42, 514  
Naphtali 151, 298  
Nathan 153  
Nebuchadnezzar II 150, 194, 197–198, 514  
Nehemiah 48, 52–56, 59  
Nicanor 32  
Omri 227  
Ornan 154, 164  
Rahab 33, 46  
Ramses II 411  
Rashapabu 412  
Rasi 32–33  
Rebekah 66  
Rehoboam 156, 158  
Rīm-Sin 107  
Ruth 66  
Salmānu-ašarēd III 378, *see also* Shalmaneser III

- Šamši-Adad I 428, 441–442, 449  
 Sanballat 53–55  
 Sarah 66, 256  
 Sargon II X, 36, 53, 197, 280, 284, 331, 345, 505, 508, 510, 514–515  
 Saul 34, 133, 153, 209, 225–226  
 Sennacherib 37, 90–91, 98, 160–161, 170–171, 174, 177–178, 181, 194, 203, 210, 264–265, 270, 274, 280, 314, 506, 515  
 Shalmaneser III 505, *see also* Salmānu-ašarēd III  
 Shalmaneser V 345, 514  
 Sheshonq I 77, 99, 267, 297, 315  
 Sheshonq II 91  
 Shishak 99, 156, 203, 210, *see also* Sheshonq I  
 Sin-aḥu-ušur 506  
 Solomon 46, 48, 59, 133, 150–152, 154–156, 158, 225–226  
 Thutmose III 3  
 Tiberius 495  
 Tiglath-Pileser III 9, 169, 253, 284, 317, 331, 345, 514  
 Tobijah 53  
 Tukultī-Ninurta I 505  
 Urtenu 125  
 Uzza 153  
 Uzziah 155–156, 158–159, 162  
 Yahdun-Lim 340  
 Yariri 337  
 Yehoram 211  
 Zebulun 151  
 Zekediah 158  
 Zeruiah 151

### Names of Gods, Angels & Demons

- Adad 508–510, 512–513, 515, *see also* Lugal-dingira  
 Anu 42, 509–510, 512  
 Anunnakū 42  
 Asherah 156  
 Ba'al 337–344  
 Ba'al-Krntryš 337–343  
 Ba'al Shamem 344  
 Bēlet-ilī 509–510, 512  
 Dagān 42, 428  
 Demeter 469  
 Dido 32  
 Ea 42, 508–510, 512, 515  
 Elqn-'rš 344  
 Enlil 42 51, 428, 441, 507, 509–510, 512–514  
 Igīgū 42  
 Ištar 42, 508–510, 512–513, *see also* Šauška  
 Kidudu 512  
 Kulla 508  
 Lugal-dingira 508, *see also* Adad  
 Lugal-girra 42  
 Menoecus 32–33  
 Marduk 36, 42, 104, 107, 513–515  
 Meslamta'e 42  
 Mullissu 509–510, 512, *see also* Ninlil  
 Mušda 508  
 Ningal 508, 515  
 Ninlil 512, *see also* Mullissu  
 Ninurta 42, 366, 505–506, 508–509, 513, 515  
 Reshep-sprn 339  
 Runtiyas 339  
 Siggā 508, *see also* Šamaš  
 Sīn 49, 107, 506, 508, 515  
 Šamaš 42, 284, 443, 508–510, 512–513, 515, *see also* Siggā  
 Šauška 508, *see also* Ištar  
 Šērū'a 512  
 Šumaḥ of Šakkan 512  
 Uraš 513  
 Yhwh/Yah 43, 45–56, 58–59, 103, 105–110, 112–114, 244, 256  
 Zababa 513–514

### Topographical Names

- A'zāz 367  
 Abel Bet-Maacah 44, 299  
 Abu edh-Dhahab 306  
 Achzib 296  
 Adana 335, 339, 345, 353–354, 358, 361  
 – Adana-Tepebağ 358, 361  
 – Adaniya 358, 361  
 Adoraim 45

- Adullam 45, 152  
 Aegean 117, 193, 254, 324, 401, 406, 410–411, 457–458, 467, 471  
 Aegina 460  
 Afghanistan 129, 131, 133  
 Afrin Valley 330  
 Agios Nikolaos 463  
 ‘Ai (et-Tell) 45, 135–136, 255, 257  
 ‘Ain Dārā 329–330, 362, 364–365  
 Ain el-Hayia 309  
 Ain el-Qasal 309  
 Ain en-Nahla 311  
 Ajalon 45  
 Akbara west 308  
 Akko 5, 7, 280, 296–300, 313–314  
 – Akko Plain 5, 7  
 Akziyaret Tepe 367  
 Alalakh 123, 323, *see also* Tell Atchana  
 Aleppo 321, 324, 361, *see also* Ḥalab  
 Aliawa 435  
 Alma 309  
 Alonaki 468  
 Alps 479, 482–483, 486, 497  
 Amanus 367  
 Ambigatus, kingdom of 485  
 Amida 366, *see also* Diyarbakır  
 Ammon 44, 233–234, 329  
 Amnon 153  
 Amuq 321, 323–324, 329–330, 362  
 – Amuq plain 321, 323–324  
 Anakim 256  
 Anatolia 342–344, 346, 351, 353–354, 367, 401, 410, 486, 506  
 Anemospilia 468  
 Aphek 44  
 Araba 310  
 Arabah 9  
 Arad 110, 244–245, 255  
 Aram 189, 208, 212, 298  
 Arbela 300  
 Arbil 367  
 Argob 44  
 Argolid 460  
 Argos 460  
 Ariel 45, 68–69  
 Armon Ha-Natziv 169, 171–175, 177–181  
 Arpad 309, 324, 346, 361–362, 366, 369, *see also* Tell Rif‘at and Tell Safira  
 Arslān Ṭāš 367, *see also* Ḥadattu  
 Arslantepe 346, 364, 508, *see also* Melid, Malatya and Malizi  
 Aruna 154, 164  
 Arverni 493  
 Arzā 207  
 Asekah 45  
 Ashdod 42, 44, 47, 53, 185, 188–189, 196–198, 204, 211–212, 273, *see also* Tel Ashdod  
 – Ashdodites 53  
 Ashdod-yam 42, 204  
 Ashkelon 185, 188–189, 196, 198–200, 211–212, 254  
 Asia Minor 111, 298  
 Aslantaş XI, 324, 335–347, 357, 362, *see also* Karatepe  
 Aššur 244, 277, 368, 378, 380, 389–390, 441, 443, 505, 507, 509, 511–515, *see also* Qal‘at aš-Šarqāt  
 Athens 130, 471, 487  
 Augusta Treverorum 495  
 Augustodunum 495  
 Aulnat 487–488  
 Austria 487  
 Ayanot Amittay 309  
 Ayanot Sho‘im 309  
 Ayun Hore‘a 311  
 Azatiwadaya XI, 335, 339–340, 346, 357, 362  
 Azekah 181, 189, 210, 264  
  
 Baalath 45  
 Baalim 160  
 Bab el-Hawa 310  
 Bab el-Manwasa 306  
 Babylon XII, 36, 42, 44, 47, 51, 108, 162, 182, 194, 232, 505, 513–515, *see also* Tintir  
 Babylonia XII, 36, 48–49, 59, 90–91, 150, 200, 203, 210, 505, 514–515  
 Bagdād 367  
 Balakhiya 201  
 Balawat 507, *see also* Imgur-Enlil  
 Balkans 486  
 Barada 362  
 Basel Gasfabrik 487  
 Bashan 44, 299  
 Bassetki 436  
 Be‘ana 311  
 Beeroth 179, *see also* Khirbet el-Burj  
 Beersheba 110, 263  
 Beirut 299  
 Bekçi Kulübesi 358  
 Ben-Hinnom, Valley of 159–160, 162–164  
 Beqa‘a valley 299  
 Berber (Amazigh) 129, 133  
 Berching-Pollanten 488

- Berry 484  
 Besançon 495  
 Besor 207  
 – River 188  
 Bet ha-Emeq 305  
 Bet-Awen 110  
 Beth Saida 280  
 Beth Shemesh 8, 263–264, 273–274  
 Bethel 110  
 Beth-Haccerem 55  
 Beth-Horon 44–45  
 Bethlehem 45, 136  
 Beth-Shean 5–7, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 34, 44,  
 121, 296–297, 299–300, 315  
 Beth-Zur 45, 55  
 Bet-Maacah 44, 298–299, *siehe auch* Abel  
 Bet-Maacah  
 Betsaida 295  
 Bettelbühl 483  
 Bibracte 489, 492, 495  
 Bir el-Maksur 310  
 Bīt-Adini 362, 367  
 Bīt-Agūsi 366  
 Bīt-Baḫiāni XI, 351, 353–354, 360, 377–378,  
 389, *see also* Palē  
 Bīt-Gabbar 367  
 Boeotia 460  
 Bourges 482, 484–487, 495  
 Britain 490  
 Burgundy 484, 489  
  
 Cádiz 487  
 Canaan 46, 48, 122, 201, 248, 256–257  
 Cantabri 495  
 Carkemish 279, 337, 346, *see also* Karkamiš  
 Carmel Coast 5  
 Carthage 32  
 Çatal Höyük 330  
 Cave of Machpelah 66  
 Ceyhan River 335, 343, 346, 358–359  
 Chania 470  
 Chinnereth 280  
 Chuera 433, 436  
 Cilicia 323, 330, 335–336, 338, 346, 354, 358  
 City of David 149, 151–159, 161–164, 173,  
 251, *see also* Jerusalem  
 Corent 493–494  
 Crete 401, 403, 406, 457–461, 467, 470, 472  
 Çukorova 335  
 Cyclades 460  
 Cyprus X, 8, 117, 401, 412, 414  
  
 Dabburiyeh 309  
 Dalton North 308  
 Damascus 44, 47, 157, 169, 189, 250, 298–299,  
 301, 353, 355, 361–362, *see also* Dimašqa  
 Danube River 482  
 Dead Sea 301  
 Deir Arba'in 66  
 Demida 310  
 Dhekeleia 401  
 Dhekelia-Louma 403  
 Dibon 152, 159  
 Dimašqa 353, 361–362, *see also* Damascus  
 Dishon 309  
 Diyala Region 443  
 Diyarbakır 366, *see also* Amida  
*Djefti* 3  
 Domuztepe 335, 345  
 Dor 3, 8–9, 125, 208, 279, 301  
 Dothan 3, 127, 135–136, 188, 192–194, 196,  
 208, 296  
 – Dothan Valley 3, 127  
 Duheidilan 306  
 Dūr-Katlimmu 361, 366, 368, 382, 392, *see*  
*also* Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad  
 Dūr-Kurigalzu 340  
 Dürrenberg 486  
 Dūr-Šarrukīn X, 53, 284, 340, 382, 505–509,  
 511–515, *see also* Ḥorsābād and Khorsabad  
 Dūr-Yaḥdun-Līm 340  
  
 Ebla 423, 441  
 Edom 153, 233–234  
 Egypt 3, 41, 111, 182, 201, 207, 232, 235,  
 254, 401, 410  
 'Ein Asawir 4, *see also* 'Uyun al-Assawir/'Ein  
 Arubboth  
 Ein Be'era 311  
 'Ein Hanniya 175  
 Ein Jedida 66–67  
 'Ein Joweizeh 175  
 Ein Lappidot 309,  
 Ein Samereth 309  
 Ein Sippori 309  
 Ein Ya'aqov Site 306  
 Ein Yibqe'a 310  
 Ekron 45, 178, 185, 188–189, 192–195, 203,  
 211–212, 280, 288, *see also* Tel Miqne  
 Elah Valley 176, 189, 209–210, 250  
 El-Bi'na 306  
 El-Buqbaq 305  
 El-Burediya 305



- Eleusis 471  
 El-Hadata 311  
 El-Jib 178–179, *see also* Gibeon  
 El-Khirba 307, 309  
 El-Makr 305  
 El-Mansura 308  
 El-Murhan 305  
 El-Naqqar 305  
 Elon 307  
 Emar 323  
 En Rogel 154  
 En Shi'im 309  
 Enkomi 401, 411, 414–415  
 Erbil 421, 427–428  
 – Erbil Plain 427–428  
 Eridu 42  
 Er-Ruwais 306  
 Esağıla 104, 107  
 es-Shaqqarah 307  
 Esur 3, 6–10, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22–23, 25, 27  
 Ešnunna/Eshnunna kingdom of, 428, 441, *see also* Tell Asmar  
 eš-Şahra 299  
 Etam 45  
 Et-Tulul 311  
 Euphrates 323, 362, 366–367, 513  
 – Middle Euphrates 323  
 Europe 228, 458, 479, 481–483, 485–487, 489, 491–493, 497  
 Ez-Zib 305  
  
 Farradiya 308  
 Fassuta 307  
 France 487, 489–491, 493  
  
 Gad 151, 154  
 Galilee XI, 111, 253, 293, 295–296, 298–302, 305, 309–310  
 – Lower Galilee 295–296, 299, 301, 305, 309–310  
 Garissa 284  
 Gath IX, 44–45, 47, 89–90, 185, 188–192, 194–195, 204–206, 209–212, 250–251, 256, 258, 264–265, 273, *see also* Tell es-Safi  
 Gat-Hefer 301  
 Gaul 481, 495, 497  
 Gaza 44, 47, 121, 185, 188–189, 196, 198, 201, 204–205, 207–209, 211–212, 273, *see also* Tell el-Kharrubi  
 – Wadi Gaza 201, 207–208  
  
 Gerar 188, 205–207  
 – Gerar River 188  
 Gerçin 329  
 Germany 482, 489, 495  
 Gezer 44, 246, 254  
 Ghabbatiya 308  
 Gibeon 55, 135–136, 154, 178–179, *see also* el-Jib  
 Gießübel-Talhau 483  
 Gihon 154, 161–164, 251  
 – Spring 161, 251  
 Gilgal 110  
 Ginnosar 300  
 Ğirğib River 366  
 Giv'at ha-Meshuryan 305  
 Giv'at Qarad 311  
 Glauberg 484  
 Golan 300–302  
 Gourmia 458  
 Gözāna 351, 354–357, 359–366, 368–370, *see also* Guzana and Tell Ḥalaf  
 Greece 111, 130, 135–136, 138, 401, 472  
 Gürgel Dağı 359  
 Gush Halav 309  
 Guvrin River 268  
 Guzana/Güzāna/gwzn XI, 323–324, 328–329, 331, 343, 346, 354, 377–378, 380, 384, 390, 392–393, *see also* Gözāna and Tell Ḥalaf  
 Gypsadhes hill 469  
  
 Ḥābūr 354, 361, 366, 377  
 Ḥadattu 367, *see also* Arslān Tāš  
 Ḥadiānu 378  
 Ḥaḍrak/Hazrak 362, 364, 367, *see also* Tell Āfis  
 Hagia Triada 470  
 Hala Sultan Tekke 401, 411, 415  
 Ḥalab 361, *see also* Aleppo  
 Halbun 299, *see also* Helbon  
 Hallein 487  
 Ḥamat (Ḥamā') 361–362  
 Hamath 9, 346  
 Hamutal 265, 274  
 Har Adir 308  
 Har Gamal 306  
 Har Hanita 306  
 Har Hiram 307  
 Har Kammon 311  
 Har Meron Site 308  
 Har Yehuda 65  
 Har Yona 309

- Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan 67  
 Ha-Teena Site 305  
 Hattusha 343  
 Hawa 310, 423  
 Hazor 6, 16, 18, 20, 24, 26, 35, 44, 121–122,  
 134, 186, 188, 232, 249, 253–254, 256–  
 257, 280, 295, 297–302, 309, 316, *see also*  
 Tell el-Qedah *and* Tel Hazor  
 Hebron X, 45, 65–69, 75, 81, 89–94, 97–99,  
 136, 150, 176, 249–251, 256–258, 273, *see also*  
*also* Tell Rumeida  
 Helbon 299, *see also* Halbun  
 Hermon Mountain 299  
 Heshbon 45  
 Heuneburg 482–486  
 Hierapetra 462  
 Hinnom Valley 160, 162–164, *see also* Ben-  
 Hinnom  
 Hiram 153, 307–308  
 Hiyawa 351, 354, 358, 360–362, *see also*  
 Kawa  
 Hohmichele 483  
 Ḥorsābād 33, 382, 506, 508, 515, *see also*  
 Dūr-Šarrukīn *and* Khorsabad  
 Horvad Eved 307  
 Horvat Akin 311  
 Horvat Aprit 310  
 Horvat Aqrav 307  
 Horvat Aqudim 307  
 Horvat Arpad 309  
 Horvat Avot 309  
 Horvat Balu'a 307  
 Horvat Barzayit 307  
 Horvat Beer Sheva 307  
 Horvat Bet Zeneta 306  
 Horvat Binnit 310  
 Horvat Bussin 309  
 Horvat Debora 309  
 Horvat Ed'ad 311  
 Horvat Edron 307  
 Horvat Ein Kibshan 310  
 Horvat Erav 307  
 Horvat Eshkar 307  
 Horvat Fazelet 307  
 Horvat Ga'aton 306  
 Horvat Galil 307  
 Horvat Gamum 311  
 Horvat Gayis 307  
 Horvat Gobit 310  
 Horvat Gov Yanoah 307  
 Horvat Hammama 308  
 Horvat Hovav 309  
 Horvat Hur 306  
 Horvat Kadduran 309  
 Horvat Karkara 307  
 Horvat Kenesiyya 306  
 Horvat Mahoz 307  
 Horvat Masref south 306  
 Horvat Medudat Hunin 309  
 Horvat Menora 311  
 Horvat Mesah 311  
 Horvat Mirgan 311  
 Horvat Mizga 311  
 Horvat Natteret 308  
 Horvat Nemat Akhziv north 305  
 Horvat Neriyya 308  
 Horvat Nesibba 309  
 Horvat Netofa 310  
 Horvat Ovesh 306  
 Horvat Pli'ah 310  
 Horvat Qesharun 310  
 Horvat Rashim 307  
 Horvat Rom 308  
 Horvat Rosh Zayit 6–7, 16, 18, 20, 24, 300,  
 311  
 Horvat Ruma 310  
 Horvat Sadir 307  
 Horvat Salmon 311  
 Horvat Sarteva 308  
 Horvat Seraf 306  
 Horvat Serah east 307  
 Horvat Serah Illit 307  
 Horvat Shefannim 308  
 Horvat Shimshit 310  
 Horvat Siah 307  
 Horvat Tiria 309  
 Horvat Turit 305  
 Horvat Uza 305  
 Horvat Ya'annin 311  
 Horvat Yavnit 308  
 Horvat Yiftah'el 310  
 Horvat Zeved 308  
 Hula Valley 5, 253, 279–280, 285, 298–300  
 Huldah 163–164  
 Hurfeish 307  
 Hushim 151  
 Iberian Peninsula 490  
 Ida 470  
 Idlib 367  
 Idumea 111  
 Imgur-Enlil 507, *see also* Balawat

- Ipf 484  
 Iqrit 307  
 Iraq 421–422, 427  
 Iribbin 307  
 Iščali 443  
 Isin 514  
 Israel X, 3, 6–9, 30, 32, 35, 45–46, 48, 65, 69,  
     105, 111–112, 126–127, 130–131, 133–  
     134, 138–141, 150–151, 154–157, 169,  
     171, 175, 188, 194, 225–229, 231, 233–  
     235, 244, 247, 263, 279, 293–294, 298, 301  
 Issachar 151  
 Isthmus 462  
 Italy 482, 486
- Jabneh 44, 47  
 Jatt 306  
 Jazira 278  
 Jebel Arba'in 308  
 Jebel er-Rumeide 66  
 Jebel esh-Sheikh 309  
 Jebel et-Tawil 307  
 Jebel et-Tur 309  
 Jebus 151  
 Jericho 31, 44–48, 54–56, 66, 254–255  
 Jerusalem X, 29, 32, 35–36, 43–45, 48–59,  
     65–66, 97–98, 105, 107, 110–114, 127–  
     128, 134–135, 149–164, 169–182, 189,  
     225, 227, 229, 232, 249–252, 256–257,  
     263, 273–274, 277, 294–295  
 Jezreel 3, 5, 45, 122–123, 134, 141, 157, 252,  
     280, 299–302  
 – Jezreel plain 122, 299  
 – Jezreel Valley 3, 5, 252, 280, 300–302  
 Jibleam 136  
 Jibyata 310  
 Joeuvre 489  
 Jordan 65–67, 122–123, 134, 141, 231, 295–  
     296, 298–301  
 – Jordan valley 122–123, 134, 141, 295–296,  
     298–301  
 Judah XI, 44–45, 48–50, 56, 59, 65–66, 90–  
     91, 97, 99, 105, 126, 134, 138, 140–141,  
     149–151, 155–157, 159–161, 163, 169–  
     170, 172–182, 194, 204–205, 210–211,  
     225–230, 233–235, 244, 263–264, 266–  
     267, 270, 273–274, 280  
 Judea 65, 69, 111  
 – Judean Hills 66, 249  
 – Judean hill country 66, 176  
 Julis (south) 305
- Kadirli 346  
 Kalḫu 505–508, *see also* Nimrud  
 Kalil 305–306  
 Kamares Cave 470  
 Karatepe XI, 324, 335–347, 357, 362, *see also*  
     Aslantaş  
 Karem el-Ras 310  
 Karkamiš 321, 323–324, 331, 353, 361–364,  
     366, 368–370, *see also* Carkemish  
 Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta 366, 505–506  
 Kastrocephala 406  
 Kawa 351, 354, 358, 360–362, *see also*  
     Hiyawa  
 Kefar Rosh ha-Niqra 306  
 Keftiou 467  
 Keilah 55  
 Keisan 6, 20, 280, 288, 296–297, 314  
 Kenneth Hirth 232  
 Kenya 284  
 Kerak 34, 44, *see also* Kir-Heres  
 Khabur 323, 390  
 Khirbet Abbad 307  
 Khirbet Abde 306  
 Khirbet Abu esh-Sheba 307  
 Khirbet Abu et-Twein 140  
 Khirbet Abu Mudawer I'blin 310  
 Khirbet Abu Mudawer Tamra 310  
 Khirbet Ain el-Haya 311  
 Khirbet al-Rai 210  
 Khirbet Aqbara 307  
 Khirbet Arabada 309  
 Khirbet Banit 308  
 Khirbet Barza 307  
 Khirbet Bir Biyin 310  
 Khirbet Busema 309  
 Khirbet Da'wajiya 308  
 Khirbet Dalhamiye 301  
 Khirbet Damiya 311  
 Khirbet ed-Dawwara 135–136  
 Khirbet ed-Dir 311  
 Khirbet el-Burj 179, *see also* Beeroth  
 Khirbet el-Dabsha 307  
 Khirbet el-Halladiye 310  
 Khirbet el-Humeima 308  
 Khirbet el-Jermaq 308  
 Khirbet el-Kharaib 308  
 Khirbet el-Lun 310  
 Khirbet el-Menara 308  
 Khirbet el-Sammura 308  
 Khirbet el-Uyun 305  
 Khirbet el-Waziya 305

- Khirbet en-Nuseiba 309  
 Khirbet esh-Shubeka 305  
 Khirbet es-Sallama 311  
 Khirbet et Abbasiya 306  
 Khirbet et-Tantur 305  
 Khirbet et-Tayyibe 310  
 Khirbet Hamsin 306  
 Khirbet Hazawa 311  
 Khirbet Idmith 306  
 Khirbet Ja'ed 305  
 Khirbet Jedur 127  
 Khirbet Isdeir 307  
 Khirbet Ja'tun 306  
 Khirbet Jalil 307  
 Khirbet Jubb Ruheij 307  
 Khirbet Ju'eila 307  
 Khirbet Jumeyjima 311  
 Khirbet Karkara 307  
 Khirbet Malta 309  
 Khirbet Mahuz 307  
 Khirbet Mughier 309  
 Khirbet Qeiyafa 189, 209–210, 264, 273  
 Khirbet Quda 307  
 Khirbet Ras es-Suq 307  
 Khirbet Rasheida 308  
 Khirbet Samah 306  
 Khirbet Sammukhiya 308  
 Khirbet Sartaba 308  
 Khirbet Sheikh al-Muhammed 309  
 Khirbet Shufnin 308  
 Khirbet Tannuriye 308  
 Khirbet Uba 309  
 Khirbet Zabud 308  
 Khirbet Zeytun er-Rami 311  
 Khirbet Zuweinita 306  
 Khorsabad 33, 506, 508, 515, *see also* Dür-  
   Šarrukīn *and* Ḥorsābād  
 Kidron 156, 158, 160–161, 163–164  
 – Kidron Valley 156, 158, 161, 163  
 Kilizu 367, *see also* Qaşr Šemamok  
 Kinneret 6, 18, 134, 295, 298–299, 316  
 Kir-Heres 34, 44, 47, *see also* Kerak  
 Kiriath-jearim 153  
 Kish 42  
 Kisuatni 355, 357–358, 360, *see also* Sirkeli  
   Höyük  
 Kition 297, 401, 406–407, 412, 415  
 Kititum-Temple 443  
 Kizzuwatna 358, *see also* Kummanni  
 Knossos X, 254, 457–459, 461–465, 467–471  
 Kokkinokremos 404  
 Kolonna 460  
 Korphos-Kalamianos 460  
 Koukoufouthkia 403  
 Kummanni 358, *see also* Kizzuwatna  
 Kunulua 321, 323–324, 329–331, 346–347,  
   362–364, 366, 369–370, 392, *see also* Tell  
   Tayinat  
 Kurd Qaburstan X, 421–428, 430, 432, 435–  
   437, 443, 446–450  
 Kutamuwa/Katumuwa 368  
 Kutha 42  
  
 Lachish 6, 20, 34, 37, 45, 122, 181, 204, 210,  
   263–265, 268, 273–274  
 Lagash 448  
 Lagos 235  
 Larnaca 401, 414–415  
 – Larnaca Bay 401, 414–415  
 Larsa 443  
 Leilan 423, 428, 441, *see also* Tell Leilan *and*  
   Subat-Enlil  
 Levant 30, 36, 65, 103, 105, 109, 117–122,  
   126, 128, 133, 169–170, 174, 176, 178–179,  
   185–186, 188, 191, 194, 201, 211, 213, 225–  
   228, 230–233, 235–236, 243–244, 247–250,  
   252–254, 256–258, 263, 266, 288, 294, 300,  
   319, 321–324, 329–332, 351–354, 364, 401,  
   404, 410–412, 414, 505  
 Levroux 487, 489–490  
 Libnah 91, 211, 263, 265, 273–274  
 Litani River 299  
 Lithares 460  
 Lovosice 488  
 Lubyia 310  
 Luxembourg 493  
  
 Maa-Palaeokastro 406, 411  
 Ma'arat Tefen 307  
 Maganubba 508  
 Magharat Beiyada 306  
 Ma'lul 309  
 Magharat Ijliliya 307  
 Magharat Manhir 306  
*magiddu* 279–280, *see also* Megiddo  
 Mahanaim 45  
 Makhmis 5  
 Malatya 321, 327 353, 364, *see also* Arslan-  
   tepe, Malizi *and* Melid  
 Malia 458–459, 462, 468  
 Malizi 361, 364, *see also* Arslantepe, Malatya  
   *and* Melid

- Malthi 460  
 Mamre 45  
 Manching 489, 492, 494–495  
 Mannu-kī-māt-Aššur 378  
 Mardin Plain 367  
 Maresha 45, 265  
 Mari 3, 367, 423–424, 433, 436–437, 441  
 Martberg 495  
 Mashkan Shapir 436  
 Massalia (Marseille) 482  
 Masuwari 364–365, *see also* Til Barsip *and*  
 Tell Ahmar  
*mdr' /Mu-ud-'ru'* 362  
 Me'arat Serakh 307  
 Mediterranean  
 – Basin 231  
 – coast 188, 204, 297, 299, 354  
 – Sea 204  
 Megiddo 3–9, 16, 18, 20–22, 24, 26, 28, 44,  
 121, 123–125, 134, 186, 188, 204, 252–  
 253, 256–257, 280–281, 288, 299, *see also*  
 Tell el-Mutesellim *and* magiddu  
 Melid 321, 346, 353, 364 *see also* Arslantepe,  
 Malatya *and* Malizi  
 Me'ona 307  
 Mesopotamia 35, 41, 111, 117–119, 232, 298,  
 340, 344, 354, 421–425, 432, 436–437,  
 439, 442, 447–448, 450  
 – Lower Mesopotamia 424, 437, 442, 448,  
 450  
 – Upper Mesopotamia 354, 421–426, 436–  
 437, 447–448, 450  
 Messara 470  
 Messenia 460  
 Mezudat Gadin 306  
 Mi'ilya 307  
 Migdal Shechem 45  
 Minoans 463  
 Misis Mountains 358–359  
 Mispah Tur'an 310  
 Mitanni 278  
 Mizpah 55, 149, 178–179, *see also* Tell en-  
 Našbeh  
 Mizpe Yamim 308  
 Mizpeh Zebulun 310  
 Moab 34, 229, 233–234  
 – Moabite kingdoms 229  
 – Moabites 235  
 Mochlos 461  
 Mont Beuvray 489  
 Mont Lassois 482, 484–485  
 Monte Bernorio 496  
 Mopsos 337–339, 345  
 Mordot Arnona 170–175, 177–180  
 Moriah 154, 158, 164  
 – land of Moriah 154  
 – Mount Moriah 154, 158, 164  
 Mount Zion 152  
 Mountain of Yahweh 154  
 Mt Juktas X, 467–469  
 Mt. Muşri 508  
 Mūru 362, *see also* Tell Rifa'at  
 Myrtos Pyrgos 461  
 Nahal Amud 312  
 Nahal Besor 207  
 Nahal Bezet 306  
 Naḥal Darga 174–175, 177  
 Nahal Gerar 205–207  
 Nahal Guvrin 265, 273  
 Nahal 'Iron 3  
 Nahal Keziv 306  
 Nahal Lachish 204  
 Nahal Patish 208, 212  
 Nahal Shikma 204  
 Nahal Shiloh, 135–136  
 Nahal Tut 3  
 Nahal Yattir Site 308  
 Nahariya 8  
 Nahariyya north 305  
 Nahf 306  
 Nahr el-Kelb 299  
 Naşībīna 366, 390, *see also* Nusaybin  
 Nazareth 301, 309  
 Negev 135, 207–209, 244  
 Nēmčice 488  
 Nigeria 235  
 Nimrud 34, *see also* Kalḫu  
 Nineveh 36, 44–45, 47, 119, 232, 505–506,  
 508  
 No-Amon 43–44  
 North Africa 129, 133  
 Nusaybin 366, 390, *see also* Naşībīna  
 Nuzi 510, *see also* Yorgan Tepe  
 Obed-edom 153  
 Og, kingdom of 44  
 Ophel 149, 152, 159, 162–163  
 – of Dibon 152  
 – of Jerusalem 152, 162  
 – of Samaria 152  
 Orné 406

- Orontes 330, 362  
 – Valley 330  
 Otzenhausen 490–491  
  
 Palaepaphos 406–407  
 Palaikastro 458–459, 467, 470  
 Palê 354, 360, 509, *see also* Bīt-Baḫiāni  
 Palestine 30, 45  
 Palastin/Palistin 321, 324, 362, *see also* Wa-  
 listin  
 Panathenaic Road 471  
 Pancarlı 323  
 Patina 330  
 Pauza/Pa'zi 367  
 Pella 253  
 Perez-Uzza 153  
 Petra 66, 461  
 Petsofas 470  
 Phaistos 459, 461–462, 464, 468, 470  
 Philistia XI, 48, 185–189, 192, 194, 201–202,  
 204–205, 209, 211–213  
 Philistine Pentapolis 185, 188, 211  
 Phoenicia 8, 134, 194, 338  
 Plain Cilicia 358  
 Platanos 461  
 Pseira 458  
 Psiloriti Mountains 470  
 Pyla 401–408, 410–412, 414–415, 417  
 Pyla-Kokkinokremos X, 401–408, 411, 415  
 Pyla-Koukoufouthkia 403  
 Pyla-Stavros 403  
 Pyla-Steno 403  
 Pyla-Verghi 403  
  
 Qabrā 426, 428, 432, 442, 449–450  
 Qaddita 308  
 Qal'at aš-Šarqāt 389, *see also* Aššur  
 Qal'at Jiddin 306  
 Qasr Šemamok 367, *see also* Kilizu  
 Qubur el-Walayda 212  
 Que 335, 338, 342, 345  
 Qurn Hannawi 306  
  
 Rabbah 44, 47  
 Ramat Raḫel X, 149, 169–181  
 Ras Ali 310  
 Ras el-Ayin/Ra's al-'Ayn 310, 354  
 Ras Kalban 306  
 Refa'im valleys 170  
 Rehob 160, 297, 315, *see also* Tel Rehob and  
 Tell es-Sarim  
  
 Rehov 6, 20, 121, 134, 191  
 Reuben 151  
 Rhine 496  
 Rimah 423, 441, 443  
 River Ceyhan 335, 343  
 Roanne 489  
 Rome 111, 487  
 Roseldorf 488  
 Rosh Zayit 6–7, 16, 18, 20, 24, 26, 300, 311  
 Rosha 307  
  
 Sam'al 279, 281, 323–324, 327, 329, 331,  
 343, 346–347, 355, 357, 362–365, 367–  
 370, 391–392, *see also* Zincirli  
 Samaria 9, 44–47, 58, 69, 114, 134, 152, 155,  
 157, 159, 186–188, 225, 229, 232, 280,  
 288, 294  
 Sardinia 401  
 Sarepta 6, 26  
 Sarı Kulak River 359  
 Sarpa 339  
 Sasa 308  
 Scandinavia 479  
 Sea of Galilee 253, 300–301  
 Seine Valley 484  
 Selena Mountain 463  
 Senir 299  
 Seyhan 361  
 Sharon Plain 3, 5  
 Šaruḫen 208  
 Shavuot 109  
 Shechem 45, 127–128, 135–136, 156–157,  
 253–254, 294  
 Sheikh Mazghit 311  
 Sheikh Muza Kazem 311  
 Sheikh Nashi 312  
 Sheikh Nebi en-Heyja 310  
 Shephelah 134, 141, 170–171, 174, 176, 178–  
 179, 181, 189, 192, 209–210, 250, 263–  
 267, 274, 280  
 Šibaniba 390, *see also* Tell Billa  
 Shikmona 6–7, 16, 20  
 Shiloh 110, 135–136, 185, 251  
 Shoco 45  
 Sifsufa 308  
 Sikāni 329, 354, *see also* Tell Feḫeriye and  
 Waššukanni  
 Siloam 161  
 Simeon 151  
 Siph 45  
 Sirat en-Natira 308

- Sirin 312  
 Sirkeli 323, 329–330, 351, 353–355, 357–362, 365, 368–370, 392  
 Sirkeli Höyük 351, 353–355, 357–362, 365, 368–369, *see also* Kisuatni  
 Sissi 462–463, 466  
 Skarkos 460  
 Slovakia 487  
 Sodom 45  
 Sorek 170, 174–175  
 – River 203  
 – Valley 203  
 Sources de l'Yonne 489  
 Spain 492, 495  
 Subat-Enlil/Shubat-Enlil 428, 441, *see also* Leilan *and* Tell Leilan  
 Suhmata 307  
 Şur Bahir 174, 177  
 Sur el-Mushrayfa 310  
 Syria 111, 117, 119, 176, 234, 323, 354–355, 370, 377  
  
 Taanach 6, 18  
 Tabal 353  
 Taita 321  
 Tamar 153  
 Tarsus 353  
 Taurus mountains 351  
 Tebez 44  
 Teil Keisan 296  
 Teitaba 308  
 Tekoa 45, 136  
 Tekoites 55  
 Tel 'Amal 26  
 Tel Adami-Hanneqeb 311  
 Tel Akhziv 305  
 Tel Alil Hamma'aribi 310  
 Tel Alil 310  
 Tel Arad 244–245, 255  
 Tel Ashdod 204, *see also* Ashdod  
 Tel Avdon 306  
 Tel Aviv 68–69, 126, 201, 335  
 Tel Azekah 210  
 Tel Batash 6, 20, 181, 189, 203, *see also* Timnah  
 Tel Burna XI, 91, 189, 210–211, 263–266, 268, 273–274  
 Tel Dan XI, 110, 134, 151, 280–283, 285–289, 298–300, 302, 317, 506  
 Tel Ein Hadda 311  
 Tel Eitun 264  
  
 Tel el-Fül 179  
 Tel Emeq 305  
 Tel Esur X, 3, 6, 8–9, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22–23, 25, 27, *see also* Tell el-Asawir  
 Tel Gat-Hepher 310  
 Tel Gobel 309  
 Tel Goded 265  
 Tel Hannaton 295, 310  
 Tel Harashim 307  
 Tel Haror 189, 212  
 Tel Hazor 309  
 Tel Hefer 5  
 Tel Hesi 189  
 Tel Hevron 66  
 Tel Jarmuth 257  
 Tel Kabri 7, 16, 20, 24, 305  
 Tel Kedesh 9, *see also* Tell Abu Qudeis  
 Tel Mador 310  
 Tel Mashhav 309  
 Tel Masos 6, 20  
 Tel Michal 5  
 Tel Mikhmoret 5  
 Tel Miqne 192–193, 195, 203, 280  
 Tel Moza 110  
 Tel Poleg 5  
 Tel Qasile 8  
 Tel Qasis 296  
 Tel Qedesh 309  
 Tel Rehob 297, 315, *see also* Rehob *and* Tell es-Sarim  
 Tel Rehov 6, 20, *see also* Rehov  
 Tel Rekešh 311  
 Tel Rekhesh 295–296  
 Tel Rosh 308  
 Tel Sera 189, 212  
 Tel Sha'ar 308  
 Tel Vavit 310  
 Tel Yarmuth 255  
 Tel Yin'am 311  
 Tel Zayit 264–265  
 Tell Abil el-Qamh 297  
 Tell Abu Baben 308  
 Tell Abu Qudeis 9, *see also* Tel Kedesh  
 Tell Āfis 323, 329, 362, *see also* Hadrak/Hazrak  
 Tell Ahmar 279, 324, *see also* Til Barsip *and* Masuwari  
 Tell al-Rimah 441, 443  
 Tell Asmar 441, *see also* Ešnunna  
 Tell as-Safira 362, 366  
 Tell Atchana 323, *see also* Alalakh  
 Tell Beit Mirsim 135–136

- Tell Billa 390, *see also* Šibaniba  
 Tell Chuera 433  
 Tell Dothan 127, 135  
 Tell el-Ajjul 189, 207, 212  
 Tell el-Asawir 3, *see also* Tel Esur  
 Tell el-Badawiye 310  
 Tell el-Farah 6, 9, 18, 20, 189, 208–209, 212  
   – North 6, 18, 20, 127  
   – South 189, 208–209, 212  
 Tell el-Gheiyada 306  
 Tell el-Hesi 204–205  
 Tell el-Kharrubi 201, 207, *see also* Gaza  
 Tell el-Muqarqash 295, 311  
 Tell el-Mutesellim 252, *see also* Megiddo  
 Tell el-Qedah 253, *see also* Hazor  
 Tell el-Ruqeish 201  
 Tell el-Sumeiriya 305  
 Tell el-Wawiyat 310  
 Tell en-Na'am 311  
 Tell en-Naşbeh 135–137, 178–179, 264, 273,  
   *see also* Mizpah  
 Tell er-Rumeide 65–69, 76, 82, 91, 99  
 Tell er-Ruqeish 212  
 Tell er-Ruweis 308  
 Tell esh-Sharia 205–206, *see also* Tell Sera  
 Tell es-Safi 89, 185, 189–192, 204–205, 209–  
   210, 264–265, *see also* Gath  
 Tell es-Sarim 297, 315, *see also* Rehob *and*  
   Tel Rehob  
 Tell ez-Zurru'a 310  
 Tell Feḥerīye 323, 329, 354–355, 378, 389,  
   *see also* Sikāni *and* Waššukanni  
 Tell Ḥalaf XI, 323–324, 326, 328–329, 331,  
   343, 346, 351, 353–357, 351, 359–361,  
   377–379, 382, 385–386, 389–393, *see also*  
   Gōzāna *and* Guzana  
 Tell Haror 206  
 Tell Hasanušaḡi 330  
 Tell Ibrahim Bayis 507  
 Tell Jemmeh 189, 207, 212  
 Tell Kazel 411  
 Tell Keisan 20, 297, 314  
 Tell Leilan 428, *see also* Leilan *and* Subat-  
   Enlil  
 Tell Mastepe 330  
 Tell Michal 5  
 Tell Mimas 305  
 Tell Qarne Hittin 311  
 Tell Qasile 189, 201–202, 205–206  
 Tell Qeiyafa 135  
 Tell Qiri 28  
 Tell Rifa'at 324, 361–362, 366, *see also* Arpad  
   *and* Mūru  
 Tell Rumeida 249, *see also* Hebron  
 Tell Safira 346, 366, *see also* Arpad  
 Tell Salihiyeh 330  
 Tell Šeḥ Ḥamad 361, 366, 382, *see also* Dūr-  
   Katlimmu  
 Tell Sera 205–206, *see also* Tell esh-Sharia  
 Tell Tayinat 321, 323–324, 329–331, 346,  
   353, 361–364, 366, 392, *see also* Kunulua  
 Tell Tulel 307  
 Tell Tweini 411  
 Tell Umm Jubeil 309  
 Tell Zakariya 210  
 Thebes 32  
 Tigris 278, 323, 367, 505–506  
   – Middle Tigris 505  
 Til Barsip 279, 324, 332, 346, 361–362, 364–  
   365, 367, 369, *see also* Tell Ahmar *and*  
   Masuwari  
 Timnah 181, 203, *see also* Tel Batash  
 Tintir 505, *see also* Babylon  
 Tirza 136  
 Titelberg 493, 495  
 Titriş 436–437  
 Titriş Höyük 437  
 Tohma river 361  
 Transjordanian 151, 225  
 Traostalos 470  
 Treveri 493  
 Troodos mountains 401  
 Troy 254  
 Turkey 279, 354  
 Tuşhan 367, *see also* Ziyaret Tepe  
 Tyllisos 470  
 Tyre 6, 16, 26, 44–45, 47, 153, 280, 293, 297–  
   300  
 Ugarit 8, 123–125, 232, 234, 323, 411–412,  
   414–415  
 Unqi 362  
 Upper Tigris Valley 278  
 Uruk 42  
 'Uyun al-Assawir/'Ein Arubboth 4, *see also*  
   'Ein Asawir  
 Vasiliki 462  
 Verghi 403, 415  
 Via Maris 3  
 Vix 484  
 Vlychia river 469



- Wadi Gaza 201, 207–208  
 Wadi Guvrin 210  
 Wadi Hesi 204  
 Wadi Milḥ 3  
 Walistin, the land of 324, *see also* Palistin  
 Wallendorf 495  
 Waššukanni 354, 389, *see also* Sikāni and  
     Tell Feḥerīye  
 West Bank 65, 204  
  
 Ya'ar Goren Site 307  
 Yabne'el 311  
 Yanuh 306  
 Yaphia 309  
 Yarkon Basin 5  
 Yarkon River 188, 201–202  
 Yedi Kizlar 432, 449  
 Yehud 53–57, 59, 110, 149  
 Yemen 129, 131, 133, 139  
 Yılan Kale 359  
 Yirka 306  
  
 Yoqneam 3, 6–7, 16, 18, 21, 24  
 Yorgan Tepe 510, *see also* Nuzi  
 Yurza 207, *see also* Tell Jemmeh and Arzâ  
  
 Zahar 299  
 Zakros 470  
 Zanoah 55  
 Závist 487  
 Zefat Castle 308  
 Ziklag 205, 208  
 Zincirli 279, 281, 323–325, 327, 329–331,  
     342–343, 346–347, 353, 355, 357, 361,  
     365, 367, 391, *see also* Sam'al  
 Zion 48–49, 54, 110–112, 114, 151–153, 155,  
     161–162, 164, 252  
 Ziyaret Tepe 278, 367, *see also* Tušḥan/Tushan  
 Zomet Hiram Site 308  
 Zominthos 470  
 Zorah 45  
 Zuph 45

# Index of Words

## Akkadian

<i>akītu</i>	104, 107–108	<i>Melam-kurkurra-dulla</i>	
<i>ālān šarruti</i>	330		42
<i>ālāni dannuti</i>	330		
<i>ālāni ša limēti</i>	331	<i>qēpu</i>	173
<i>alu</i>	344		
<i>amurru</i>	510	<i>rebītu</i>	160
<i>bīt ḫilāni</i>	328, 331, 340, 342–343, 353, 356, 378, 508	<i>sūtāni</i>	510
<i>dūru</i>	43, 512–513	<i>šadāni</i>	510
<i>Egal-gabari-nutukua</i>	508, 515	<i>šadū</i>	509–510
<i>iltānāni</i>	510	<i>šarru</i>	505
<i>iltānu</i>	510	<i>šūtu</i>	510
<i>māhāzu</i>	42	<i>šēru</i>	344
		<i>tarwani</i>	337
		<i>turtānu</i>	337

## Arabic

<i>qabile</i>	131	<i>rujum</i>	174–175
---------------	-----	--------------	---------

## Egyptian

<i>Djefti</i>	3
---------------	---

## Hebrew

<i>ʾbl</i>	49	<i>zbh</i>	56
<i>ʾml</i>	49	<i>zkr</i>	55
<i>armon</i>	163–164, 169–175, 177–181	<i>zeqenim</i>	133
<i>gader</i>	43–44	<i>ḥāšer</i>	294
<i>gdr</i>	43	<i>ḥēl</i>	43–45, 48–50

<i>ḥmh/y</i>	43	<i>pinnah</i>	157–158
<i>ḥomah</i>	43–44, 47–51	<i>pinnim</i>	158
<i>kabod</i>	51	<i>plš</i>	156
<i>kotel</i>	43	<i>poneh</i>	157–158
<i>lmlk</i>	75, 90, 171–172, 177– 179, 181	<i>šrr</i>	43
<i>mašor</i>	43–45	<i>šwr</i>	43
<i>mšurah</i>	43–45	<i>qdš</i>	55
<i>nšr</i>	43	<i>qyr</i>	43–45, 49
<i>naḥalah</i>	125, 129, 132, 139	<i>rogem</i>	174–175
<i>seren</i>	188	<i>šar ha 'ir</i>	294
<i>shevet</i>	130–131, 133	<i>šmḥ</i>	56
<i>sinnôr/šinnor</i>	151	<i>šr</i>	43
		<i>šur II</i>	43

## Luwian

kattun(i)-	368	kutassar(i)	368
------------	-----	-------------	-----

## Northwest Semitic

<i>abarakku</i>	337, 343	<i>hmh</i>	43
<i>ḥmyt 'zt</i>	340	<i>qrt</i>	340

## Ugaritic

<i>nḥlt</i>	125, 129
-------------	----------

## Subject Index

- Ackerbürger 122  
Acropolis 159, 186–187, 193–194, 197, 253,  
297, 316, 329–330, 362, 471  
Agglomerations 479, 486–489, 494  
Aggressors 29  
agoras 460  
agrotowns 122  
*aḥlamu-Aramaeans* 323  
*akītu*-festival 107–108  
*akītu*-procession 104, 107  
'Am Ha'aretz 140  
Ammonites 235  
Arameans 46, 234–235, 284, 298, 301, 321–  
323, 351, 354  
architects 29, 35–36  
ark 150  
Assyrian Empire 140, 169, 173, 175, 179,  
194, 278, 331–332, 351, 378, 380, 390–  
391, 514  
– Assyrians 48, 92, 97, 161, 176, 197, 204–  
206, 277–278, 280, 284–285, 296, 298,  
332, 339, 345, 354, 365, 390  
– Assyrianisation 281  
attackers 29, 34, 432  
Augustan period 36, 495
- Babylonians 36, 48–49, 59, 90–91, 150, 200,  
203, 210, 505, 514–515  
30, 34, 39–40, 43, 57, 426  
bastion 29, 404–405, 432, 434  
batei-av 132, 135, 139  
borderlands 39  
builders 29, 35–36, 51, 54–55, 425, 447  
building ritual 55  
Bullae 194  
burial 34, 209, 378, 392, 447–448, 482–483  
Byzantine 66–67, 300, 305–306, 311
- Canaanites 32, 46, 126, 142, 163, 209–210  
capital 36, 45, 57, 66, 117, 119, 121, 123–  
124, 126, 128, 134, 149, 169, 172, 175,  
186–187, 229, 263, 273, 280–281, 284,  
294, 321, 324, 328–331, 335, 346, 351,  
354, 358, 360–362, 366–367, 390, 423,  
428, 470, 485, 495, 505–506, 511, 513  
Caravanserai 469  
Carites 157  
caves 39, 461, 470  
cemeteries 208–209, 461–462, 483  
centre 8–9, 30, 33, 38, 40–41, 45, 51–52, 54–  
59, 66, 103, 112–114, 120, 122–123, 134,  
141, 149–150, 154, 170, 173–176, 179,  
181, 201–202, 207, 209, 212, 229, 232,  
243–244, 247–250, 254, 257–258, 263,  
265, 268, 270, 273–274, 277–281, 284–  
285, 288–289, 293, 296–298, 301–302,  
314, 323, 328–330, 341–342, 346, 356,  
358, 362, 377–379, 390, 401, 406, 421,  
423, 426–427, 430, 432, 436–437, 443,  
448–450, 460, 463, 472, 479, 482, 485–  
486, 488, 493–495, 505, 511–515  
– centralisation 109–110, 176, 211, 226–229,  
234, 236, 274, 423–425, 480, 486–488,  
497  
Chaldeans 163  
cherubim throne 105  
child cannibalism 46  
child sacrifice 34  
citadel 37–38, 44, 150–153, 155, 158, 161–  
162, 164, 206, 244, 281, 313, 325, 327,  
331, 340, 345–346, 353, 356–367, 369–  
370, 377–380, 382, 385–386, 390–391,  
393, 447–448, 506, 508, 510, 515  
– of Zion 151, 153, 155, 161–162, 164  
city IX–X, 3, 6, 8–9, 29–52, 54–59, 65–66,  
68–69, 80, 82, 90–92, 94–95, 97–99, 103–  
104, 106–115, 117–126, 129, 134–135,  
137–138, 141–142, 149–164, 169–170,  
173, 178, 181, 185–194, 197–204, 206,  
209–213, 226, 232, 234–235, 244, 247–  
259, 263–265, 273, 277–279, 281, 284–  
285, 288–289, 293–294, 296–297, 315,  
321–324, 326, 328–331, 337–344, 346,  
351, 353–354, 356, 358–362, 364–370,  
377–378, 380, 383–385, 388–390, 393,  
404, 406, 417, 421–439, 441–442, 444–

- 450, 457–458, 460, 467, 471–472, 480, 489, 495, 497–498, 505–515
- farmers 122
- gate 29–30, 37, 41, 45, 47, 82, 92, 99, 108, 160, 203, 338, 340–341, 343–344, 359, 370, 450, 505–506, 511–514
- governor 294, *see also* šar ha'ir
- identity 35, 57, 442
- laments 49
- patron deity 36, 124
- planning 41, 194, 199, 351, 359, 426, 446, 450
- ruler 32
- states 117, 119–123, 125–126, 129, 234, 279, 321–324, 328, 331, 377, 383, 472
- temple 369, *see also* Stadttempel
- city wall 29–52, 54–59, 65–66, 69, 80, 82, 91–92, 94–95, 97–99, 111, 113, 161, 193, 197, 209, 249–250, 356, 359–360, 365, 384–385, 388–389, 393, 404, 421, 423, 425–430, 432–437, 439, 441, 444–449, 505–506, 508–515, *see also* walls
- of Babylon 36
  - Nemed-Enlil 42, 51
  - Imgur-Enlil 42, 51, 514
- of Jericho 46, 48, 54
  - fallen wall 54
  - Cyclopean wall 31
- of Jerusalem 29, 32, 43, 45, 49–52, 53–54, 58–59, 98, 155
- of Kish (Melam-kurkurra-dulla) 42
- of Kutha (Ugal-amaru) 42
- Nehemiah's wall 52–54
- of Ur 36
- cooking 6–7
  - pot 4–7, 20, 127, 285–286
- crenellation 37, 40
- crossroads 39, 280, 450
- Crusader 66, 305–306
- culs de sac 426, 436–437, 450
- cult 3, 10, 35, 42, 56, 104–107, 109–110, 113–114, 141, 150, 169, 192, 194, 197, 252–253, 343–344, 353, 356, 358, 368, 381–382, 391, 441, 462, 469, 483, 488, 495
- place 42, 343, 356, 483, 495
- cultic centre 30, 112, 150, 202
  
- Danunians 337–340, 345
- Davidic kingdom 149
- Davidides 247–248
- decentralisation 486, 497
  
- defensible space 426, 436–437, 450
- deity 36, 41–42, 51, 58, 103–108, 113–114, 124–125, 244, 256, 326, 343–344, 505, 510, 512, 515
- demons 34, 41, 344
- deurbanisation 479, 486, 497
- Diaspora 110–111, 113–114
- divine processions 103–106
- divine-human relationship 42
- doing space 103
  - doing religious space 103, 107
- door 30, 39, 55, 83, 106, 390, 507
- Dorfstadt* 117, 126, 133, 139–141
  
- Ebabbar 443
- economic terms 31
- Edomites 235
- emperor 36
- enemies 29, 31, 34, 42, 47–48, 53–54, 59, 344
- Ephraim Gate 157–158, 160
- execution chamber 30
- extramural zone 34
  
- favissa 8, 42
- festival 34, 109, 343, 444, 493
- First Temple Period 160
- firstborn 34
- Fluchtpunkte* 37
- food supply 34, 109
- fortification 3–4, 29, 38, 43, 45, 51–52, 54, 65, 67–68, 82–83, 87, 91–93, 95–99, 131, 135–136, 161, 186, 190–194, 196–199, 201–204, 206, 208, 210, 212, 232, 244, 249–255, 266–268, 270, 273–274, 330, 346, 358–361, 365, 421, 447, 484, 488–489, 493, 513, *see also* maṣor and mšurah
- Fürstengräber* 482
- Fürstensitze* 482–483, 487
  
- gate 9, 29–30, 34–35, 37–42, 44–45, 50–51, 55–56, 58–59, 106–108, 110–111, 154, 157–158, 164, 209, 252–253, 324, 326–327, 338, 340, 343–344, 356, 359, 362, 370, 426–427, 430, 435, 443, 450, 505–506, 508–515
- of Benjamin 157
- of Harsith 160
- Corner Gate 158
- Damascus Gate/Bāb el-'Amūd 157
- Dipylon Gate 471
- Dung Gate 160
- Fish Gate 162–163

- Potsherd Gate 160
- Scorpion's Gate 356
- Valley Gate 158
- Geshurites 301
- Gittite 153
- glacis 40, 43, 193, 249, 254, 270, 432–434
- god 32, 41–42, 46, 48–51, 53–56, 59, 103–104, 107, 109, 112–114, 124–126, 129, 149–150, 153–155, 160, 162–163, 277, 284, 323, 329, 337–344, 353, 435, 442, 505, 508–509, 512–515
- Greek mythology 32
- Grundtext* 50
- guards 33–34, 509
  
- hamlets 122, 127, 131–132, 134, 345, 347, 483, 493
- hapax legomenon* 156
- harbour town 297–298
- Heidengraben* 490, 495
- Hellenistic 32, 59, 67, 75, 87, 89, 110–111, 150, 204, 247, 251, 310, 314–315, 393
- heterarchy 139, 426
- hīlāni* 328, 331, 340, 342–343, 353, 356, 378, 508
- hillforts 483
- Hittites 321
- households 125–126, 129, 136, 232, 285, 329, 368, 392, 412
  
- inhabitant 30–33, 35–36, 38, 40, 46, 49, 55, 57–58, 91, 118–119, 122, 132, 135, 138, 151, 161, 163, 186, 202, 234, 250, 252–253, 257, 263–264, 267, 272, 277, 280–281, 285, 288, 294–296, 298, 340, 345, 359, 368–369, 380, 391–392, 404, 406, 417, 457, 480, 482, 492–493
- Israelites 32, 46, 66, 126, 142, 202, 225, 256–257
  
- Jebusite 151, 153–154, 161
- Jerichoans 46
- Jews 32, 54
- Judahites 93
  
- kilns 426, 430
- King's Road 354
- kinship 123, 125–126, 128–136, 138–141, 191, 227–228, 230–231, 234–236, 424
- kouloures* 462
  
- Kranzhügel* 367
- Kultraum* 356, 368, 381–382, 385–387, 389–393
  
- legal 29–30, 41, 43, 54–55, 57, 123, 129, 131, 285, 293–294, 435, 437
- court 30
- Levites 45, 55–56, 151, 153–154, 156–157, 160
- lieu de mémoire 31
- liminality 30, 39, 41–42, 57
- liminal place 9, 39, 58
- liminal space X, 30, 39–40, 46–47, 56, 58
- Linear B 471
- Lulav 106
- Luwian 321–324, 335, 337–340, 351, 353–354, 358, 360–361
  
- marketplace 30, 33–34
- martyrdom 32
- martyrs 33
- maṣor* 43–45, *see also* fortification
- massebah* 105, 252
- Mazzot 109
- megasites 458
- merlons 37
- migdal* 45, 252–253
- military 29–30, 40, 42–43, 48, 52, 54, 97, 134, 140, 169, 174, 176, 181, 188, 230, 285, 314, 331, 335, 342, 344, 470–471, 489, 495–496, 506
- Millo 151–153, 155, 161–162
- Mishneh 163–164
- mishpaha/mishpahot* 129–132, 135, 138–140
- mnemonic 43
- mortaria* 285
- mourning 31, 47
- mṣurah* 43, 45, *see also* fortification
- musicians 34, 153
- Mycenaean koine 406
  
- Neo-Hittite kingdoms 321
- niches 33–34, 37, 40
- Nisannu 107
- non-urban space 38
- Nucleation 426, 457, 479–480, 487, 497
  
- Omride kingdom 229
- Oppidum 479, 481, 487–497
- outsiders 32, 40–41, 57

- patrimonial state 228  
*pax Assyriaca* 288  
 Pentapolis 185, 188–189, 211  
 periphery 38, 40, 45, 55–58, 103, 112–114,  
 134, 201, 207–209, 211, 229, 265, 273,  
 277, 351, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364, 366,  
 369, 472, 485  
 Persian empire 51, 53–54  
*Persona non grata* 34  
 Pesach 110–111, 113  
 Pharaoh 126, 155  
 Philistines 34, 126, 189, 192, 197, 202, 210–  
 211, 265, 267  
 piazza 30, 32, 38, 40  
 pillars 37, 246, 469  
 place 9, 30–32, 39, 41–42, 44–45, 50, 57–58,  
 73, 93, 95, 103–113, 121, 123, 127, 138,  
 142, 149–150, 152–156, 158–160, 162–  
 163, 169–171, 173, 177, 179, 181–182,  
 229, 233, 244, 248, 253, 255, 277, 284–  
 285, 287–288, 293–294, 321–323, 326,  
 329–330, 332, 338, 342–343, 345, 354,  
 356, 364–365, 367, 369, 378, 386–387,  
 390–391, 403, 406, 428–429, 436, 443–  
 444, 457, 460–462, 467, 469–471, 479–  
 480, 482–483, 486–487, 489, 493–495,  
 506, 512, 515  
 – for performing royal propaganda 30  
 – of memory 31  
 polis 138, 192, 460  
 political stage 30  
 princely seats 479, 481–487, 497  
 processions 41, 56, 103–106, 109, 111, 114–  
 115, 457, 462–463, 467, 469–471  
 prophetic literature 47, 164  
 public announcements 30  
 public  
 – area 32  
 – place 32, 160  
 – space 30, 32–33, 38, 47, 57, 103, 249, 344,  
 493  
 – urban space 32  
 – toilet 33  
  
 Rab-shaqe 44  
 Raumfunktion 35  
 Raumwirkung 35  
 Raumwirkungsanalysen 35  
 religious boundary 40–41, 46, 55, 58  
 religious terms 31, 41, 49  
 representational spaces 32  
  
 restoration 42, 50, 52, 54, 244  
 reurbanisation 244, 365  
 revetment walls 40, 254  
 risalits 37, 40  
 ritual (liminal) 43  
 ritual pit 42  
 road 3, 113, 191, 265, 273, 296, 299, 359,  
 431, 436, 457, 462, 467, 470–471, 483  
 Roman empire 36, 121  
 Roman-Herodian 67, 75  
 rooftop 29, 34, 58, 439  
 royal-ideological 31, 43  
 rubbish 33, 89, 160, 417  
 ruins 31, 35, 49, 53, 66, 150, 162–164, 243–  
 245, 252–259, 280–281, 342, 380, 435,  
 448  
 rurbanism 186  
  
 Sabbath 50, 56–57  
 sanctuary 42, 103–104, 109–110, 113, 141,  
 157, 252–253, 467–470, 472, 493–494  
 Sea People 324  
 Second Temple 106, 154  
*shofar* 54  
*Sichtachsen* 37  
 siege 31, 34–37, 40, 46, 46, 48, 57, 160–161,  
 211, 428  
 site of pilgrimage 150  
 social 29–33, 35–36, 39–41, 45–47, 55–59,  
 103–105, 108, 117–119, 121–123, 126, 128,  
 130–133, 139–142, 191–194, 197–199, 202,  
 207, 225–227, 229–232, 234–236, 264, 277,  
 281, 284–286, 288, 293–294, 324, 329–330,  
 352–353, 357, 359–360, 368, 380, 393, 416,  
 421, 428, 437, 439, 444, 450, 457, 460, 470,  
 480, 483, 486, 494, 497–498, 512  
 – boundary 41  
 – gathering place 30  
 – organisations 31, 128  
 – terms 31, 108  
 soldiers 34, 54, 162, 277  
 spatial boundary 40  
 sphinx throne 105  
*Stadttempel* 356, 380, 382–383, 390–391, *see*  
*also* city temple  
 staircases 30, 40  
 stairs 34, 40–41  
 storage jars 5, 7, 23–24, 127, 267, 416, 444  
 streets 37–38, 107–108, 110, 199, 281, 390,  
 417, 425–426, 428, 430–431, 433, 435–  
 439, 444, 446–450, 458, 462, 467

- suicides 32, 57  
 Sukkot 106, 109  
 symbolic 4, 29–30, 32, 34, 37–38, 40–43, 47,  
     52, 54, 57, 118, 123, 131, 231, 236, 288,  
     356, 359–361, 422–423, 488–490  
 – boundaries 30  
 – sacrifices 34  
 Synagogues 111  
 Syro-Anatolian city-states 321–322, 328, 331  
 Syro-Hittite states 321
- tabuns 4, 285  
 temple 33, 36–38, 42–43, 52–53, 55–57, 59,  
     103, 105–108, 110–114, 124, 136, 150–152,  
     154, 156–160, 162–164, 169, 173, 190–191,  
     194, 202, 233, 236, 252–254, 294, 315, 323,  
     329–331, 337, 340–341, 343–344, 353, 356,  
     362–364, 369–370, 382, 390, 421, 423–426,  
     430, 437, 441–444, 447–450, 468–469,  
     493–495, 506, 508, 514–515  
 – mount 158–159, 162, 173  
 – *temple-in-antis* 353, 362  
 – wall 52  
 theological significance 43  
 theophany 48, 105, 154  
 Topheth 160, 163  
 Torah 54, 109, 163, 257  
 towers 29–30, 34, 37–38, 40–41, 44, 48, 53,  
     58, 97, 113, 158, 161–162, 253–254, 341,  
     343, 401, 432, 435, 484  
 tribe 110–112, 128–131, 133–134, 139, 150–  
     151, 156, 226, 256–257, 284, 298, 323,  
     346, 354  
 – tribal societies 125, 128–129, 131, 133  
 tumulus 174, 483  
 tunnel 161  
 – Siloam Tunnel 161
- urban 29, 31–34, 36–38, 40–41, 46, 48, 55–  
     56, 58, 103–104, 107–109, 112–114, 120,  
     122–123, 128, 134–135, 138, 141, 149–  
     151, 160, 164, 185–195, 197–206, 209–  
     212, 229, 231–233, 235–236, 243–248,  
     250–255, 257–259, 263, 273, 277–278,  
     281, 284–286, 288, 293–294, 321–324,  
     326, 328–332, 335, 346–347, 353–354,  
     357–358, 360–362, 364, 369–370, 377–  
     378, 380, 389–391, 393, 406, 416, 421–  
     428, 430, 444, 447–450, 457–458, 460–  
     461, 471, 479–481, 485, 487, 490, 493,  
     495, 497–498, 506, 513–514  
 – community 29, 128, 134, 138, 281, 285,  
     288  
 – networks 481  
 – space 31, 40–41, 252–254, 257, 259, 422  
     – non urban space 40–41  
 – urbanised religion 104  
 – urbanising 104, 425  
 – urbanism 117, 119, 122–123, 133–134, 137,  
     185–186, 188, 213, 225–228, 230–232,  
     234–236, 243–244, 247–248, 259, 287,  
     295, 319, 321–322, 324, 331–332, 341,  
     351, 353–354, 361, 370–371, 377, 383,  
     389–391, 393, 399, 457–460, 471, 479–  
     480, 489, 492
- victims of plagues 34  
 villages 44, 56, 111, 119, 122–123, 125, 127,  
     131–136, 138, 175, 231, 233–234, 297,  
     301–302, 330, 345, 347, 406, 423, 428, 483  
 village-town 44, 117, 126, 133, 138, 141  
 visitors 29, 31, 34–35, 38, 103, 113, 246,  
     341–342, 442, 448, 460, 467  
 visual axes 35, 38
- walls 4–5, 29–45, 47–53, 55, 57–59, 66, 70–  
     71, 75–77, 79, 82, 84, 88–89, 92, 95, 98,  
     111–113, 136, 155, 157–158, 162, 172,  
     177, 180, 231, 233, 253–254, 273, 281,  
     324–326, 340, 343–345, 359, 380–381,  
     386, 389, 404, 421, 423, 425–426, 428–  
     432, 435, 437, 439–441, 444–448, 458,  
     462, 489, 506, 508–513, 515, see also *city*  
     *wall*  
 – wall metaphor 47  
 warlords 133, 135  
 weaponry 34  
 wild animals 34  
 wilderness 33, 41  
 wisdom literature 47