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THE SAMARIA REGION
DURING THE ISRAELITE PERIOD:
AN URBAN STUDY

by

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B.A. Brock University, 1977
M.Div. Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, 1982

THESIS

Submitted to the Department of Religion and Culture
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
1986

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ABSTRACT: The Samaria Region During the Israelite
Period: An Urban Study

by Olaf J. B. Poulsen

From the Biblical accounts relating the activities of prophets such as Elijah, Elisha, Amos and Hosea, it has long been known that the period after the death of Solomon (ca. 922 B.C.) was one of great political, social, economic and ideational upheaval in Palestine. This situation was especially true within the Northern Kingdom of Israel. In conjunction with and following the accession of the Omride dynasty (ca. 876 - 842/841 B.C.), a number of phenomena occurred which caused a profound transformation of the situation that existed there. The first of these involved the consolidation of the royal power base so that the monarchy became a virtually autocratic institution which was independent of traditional sources of authority (e.g. the Amphictyonic Council at Shechem). The second involved the rise of the "royal interest group" (a social group consisting of those households which benefitted mostly from royal power) and the development of a hierarchical social order. The third involved the emergence of an economic structure that integrated much of northern Palestine. The fourth involved the formation of a pluralistic ideational pattern which caused considerable alienation amongst the traditional sectors of the Israelite population.

One of the aspects of Israelite life that was greatly affected by these developments was the urban system. Throughout the north, a host of centers representing a variety of orders were incorporated into a new, more integrated system which encompassed the entire realm and which was designed to serve the needs of the monarchy and its interest group. Under this new arrangement, urban units were given specialized functions so that some became chariot-cities, while others served as store-cities or administrative centers.

The present enquiry will focus upon the urban system that prevailed within the seat of North Israelite power, namely the Samaria region. With the aid of a model that accounts for six factors, it will attempt to show that during the ca. 870 - 722/721 B.C. period, the dynamics of the cities, towns and villages of this area were governed largely by the above-mentioned political, social, economic and ideational phenomena as well as the technological and physiographical resources that were available. Specifically, it will elucidate the process by which the new city of Samaria became the dominant center of the region and by which the old cities of Shechem and Tirzah became integrated into the northern urban system as centers of secondary importance.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
CHAPTER ONE: THE TASK	1
CHAPTER TWO: ANCIENT URBANIZATION: A SYNTHESIS	10
Religion	13
Social Solidarity	22
Social Systems	27
Power	32
Locational Theory	34
Technology	38
A Proposed Synthesis	42
CHAPTER THREE: URBANIZATION IN THE NORTHERN KING-	
DOM: THE VARIABLES	51
The Political Variable	59
The Social Variable	69
The Economic Variable	81
The Technological Variable	90
The Physiographical Variable	94
The Ideational Variable	96

CHAPTER FOUR: THE NEW CITY: SAMARIA	101
The Political Variable	102
The Social Variable	115
The Economic Variable	137
The Technological and Physiographical Variables	154
The Ideational Variable	155
CHAPTER FIVE: THE OLD CITIES: SHECHEM AND TIRZAH	161
The Political Variable	163
The Social Variable	177
The Economic Variable	185
The Technological Variable	189
The Physiographical Variable	190
The Ideational Variable	193
EPILOGUE	199
BIBLIOGRAPHY	205
FIGURES	238

LIST OF FIGURES

Number		Page
1	A System of Central Places According to the Market Principle	238
2	The Marketing Regions in a System of Central Places	239
3	A System of Central Places Developed Accord- ing to the Traffic Principle	240
4	A System of Central Places According to the Seperation Principle	241
5	A Synthesis of the Ancient City	242
6	Jerusalem During the Seventh Century B.C.	243
7	The Urban Pattern of Palestine According to the Amarna Correspondence	244
8	Schematic Model of Judahite City Planned According to the "Concentric Zone" Prin- ciple	245
9	Tell Beit Mirsim: Stratum A	246
10	Tell en-Nasbeh During the Iron II Period	247
11	Beer-Sheba II	248
12	Agriculture in the Northern Kingdom	249
13	Finds of Phoenician-Style Ivory Carving Throughout the Near East and the Aegean Basin	250
14	Elements in Ashlar Masonry, According to Distribution on Sites and Ashlar-built Structures	251
15	Centers with Casemate Wall Systems During the Iron II Period	252

Number		Page
16	The Highway System of the Northern Kingdom . .	253
17	Annual Temperature Isotherms in the Country .	254
18	Annual Rainfall Distribution in the Country (Isohyets in mm)	255
19	Soil Associations in the Country	256
20	Main Phytogeographic Regions in the Country .	257
21	Shishak's Invasion of Palestine	258
22	The Eastern Provinces of the Assyrian Empire .	259
23	The Immediate Environs of Calah/Nimrud	260
24	Samaria-Sebaste: General Plan of the Site . .	261
25	Samaria: The Acropolis and Royal Quarter . . .	262
26	The Ostraca House in Samaria	263
27	Samaria Ostraca 1 - 17 in Facsimile	264
	Samaria Ostraca 1 - 17 in Transliteration . .	265
28	Samaria Ostraca 18 - 27 in Facsimile	266
	Samaria Ostraca 18 - 27 in Transliteration . .	267
29	Samaria Ostraca 28 - 42 in Facsimile	268
	Samaria Ostraca 28 - 42 in Transliteration . .	269
30	Samaria Ostraca 43 - 58 in Facsimile	271
	Samaria Ostraca 43 - 58 in Transliteration . .	272
30 A	Samaria Ostraca 59 - 63, the Osorkon Vase and the Alphabet of the Inscriptions	274
	Samaria Ostraca 59 - 63 in Transliteration . .	275
31	A Summary of the Data Provided by the Samaria Ostraca	276
32	Graphic Representation of the Economic Data Provided by the Samaria Ostraca	281

Number		Page
33	Samaria: Israelite Periods I and II (ca. 870 - 810 B.C.)	282
34	The Royal Administrative Centre of Megiddo: General Layout of City Plan Showing Division into Public Areas and Residential Quarters	283
35	Megiddo: Northeast Stables and Building 338	284
36	Megiddo: Southwest Stables 1576 and Courtyard of "Palace" 1723	285
37	Hazor: The Upper City	286
38	Hamath: Royal Quarter, Period E (ca. 900 - 720 B.C.)	287
39	Carchemish: The Royal Quarter	288
40	Samal: Royal Quarter and Lower City	289
41	Calah/Nimrud: The Royal Quarter	290
42	Finds of Cypriot Ware at Samaria	291
43	Finds of Ivory Carving at Samaria	292
44	The Urban Pattern of Palestine According to the Execration Texts (ca. 1900 - 1800 B.C.)	293
45	The Perimeters of the Kingdom of Shechem According to the Amarna Correspondence (ca. 1400 - 1350 B.C.)	294
46	The Immediate Environs of Tell Balatah (Shechem)	295
47	A Reconstruction of Ancient Shechem Which Illustrates Its Strategic Position at the Foot of Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal	296
48	Plan Showing the Excavations of the Drew-McCormick Expedition at Tell Balatah (Ancient Shechem)	297
49	The Stratigraphy of Tell Balatah (Shechem)	298

Number		Page
50	Sketch Plan of the Amarna Period Constructions in Field XIII	299
50 A	The Provincial Districts of Solomon (Aharoni, 1979 (1962))	300
50 B	The Provincial Districts of Solomon (Albright, 1925)	301
50 C	The Provincial Districts of Solomon (Abel, 1938)	302
50 D	The Provincial Districts of Solomon (Wright, 1967)	303
51	Tell Balatah: The Fortificative System in the Vicinity of the Northwest Gate	304
52 A	Tell Balatah: Temple 2 and the Israelite Granary	305
52 B	Tell Balatah: Eight-Sided Ivory Die Found in the Plaster Floor of the Israelite Granary (5900)	306
53 A	Large Four-Room Public Buildings	307
53 B	The Family of Store-House Type Buildings	308
54	Tell Balatah: Field VII, Stratum IX B and A (ca. 918 - 810 B.C.)	309
55 A	Tell Balatah: Field VII, Stratum VII, House 1727 (ca. 748 - 724 B.C.)	310
55 B	Tell Balatah: A Reconstruction of House 1727, Field VII, Stratum VII	311
56	The Chronology of the Iron Age Strata at Tell el-Far'ah (Tirzah)	312
57 A	The Immediate Environs of Tell el-Far'ah (Tirzah)	313
57 B	Plan Showing the Excavations of the Ecole Biblique Expedition at Tell el-Far'ah (Ancient Tirzah)	314

Number		Page
58	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII b . . .	315
59 A	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II (north): Stratum VII b (ca. 1100 - 900 B.C.) . .	316
59 B	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II (south): Stratum VII b (ca. 1100 - 900 B.C.) . .	317
60	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII c, Building 411	318
61	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II (north): Stratum VII d (ca. 860 (?) - 723 B.C.) .	319
62	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II (south): Stratum VII d (ca. 860 (?) - 723 B.C.) .	320
63	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII d, Palace 148, Isometric Reconstruction . . .	321
64	Tell el Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII d, Palace 148, Plan	322
65	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII d, House 327, Plan and Isometric Reconstruc- tion	323
66	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII d, House 328, Plan and Isometric Reconstruc- tion	324
67	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII d, House 362, Plan and Isometric Reconstruc- tion	325
68	Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII a, Temple (?)	326
69	The Central-Place System of the Northern Kingdom ca. 800 - 722/721 B.C.	327
70	The Samaria Region During the Iron I Period .	329
71	The Samaria Region ca. 800 - 722/721 B.C. .	331
72	Chronology (ca. 1200 - 900 B.C.)	333
73	Chronology (ca. 900 - 750 B.C.)	334
74	Chronology (ca. 750 - 550 B.C.)	335

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early part of the Master of Arts program at Wilfrid Laurier.

In the years of involvement with this program (1982 - 1986), I have benefitted greatly from an association with a number of individuals. At this point, I would like to acknowledge my debt to them with a word of thanks and recognition. The greatest debt is owed to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Lawrence E. Toombs. I would like to extend a hearty "thank you" to him for his reassuring support over the years and for sharing freely of his expertise within the fields of Palestinian archaeology and Biblical studies. His first-hand experience with key sites that he excavated such as Jericho, Shechem and Tell Hesi and his many perceptive suggestions regarding Israelite centers have provided this thesis with a dimension that it would not otherwise have contained. Indeed, without his guidance and fellowship, it would not have reached completion.

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Olaf J. Poulsen

Fisherville, Ontario

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CHAPTER ONE

THE TASK

History deals with generals, statesmen, and political parties. The man who tends his nets or sells his vegetables is generally forgotten. The ordinary citizen of Palestine was an impoverished peasant in an overpopulated land. Looked down on by the aristocratic Sadducee, held in contempt by some of the Pharisees because he could not know or obey the whole law, betrayed by the native princes, and exploited for taxes by foreign overlords, he was one of the am ha-aretz, the "people of the land," the disinherited of Israel. But he had two things that could not be taken from him - his memory and his hope... 1

From the time that it first appeared in the Near East some 10,000 years ago, the city has been an object of vastly contradictory feelings.² For men and women of all cultures, it has long been regarded with love and hate, fear and joy. As the crowning achievement of all civilization, it has been seen both as a source of material prosperity and as a root of gross injustice. As a center of ever-present ferment, it has been regarded as the birthplace and burial ground of revolutions and future

¹Lawrence E. Toombs, The Threshold of Christianity: Between the Testaments (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 47-48.

²The site which contains the earliest datable city in the world still appears to be Jericho. According to radio-carbon dates, this city flourished as early as ca. 8000 B.C. See Kathleen Kenyon, "Jericho and its Setting in Near Eastern History," Antiquity 30 (1956), 184-195; Yohanan Aharoni, The Archaeology of the Land of Israel (Philadelphia, 1982 (1978)), p. 27; John R. Bartlett, Jericho (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1982), pp. 37-47.

utopias.

An important historical setting for which we have detailed knowledge about these feelings, is the Palestine of the Israelite period. Through the writings of the Old Testament, it has long been known that the ancient Israelites regarded the urban phenomenon both as a source of alienation and as a font of goodness. From the evidence of (1) the Pentateuch, (2) the Deuteronomistic history and (3) many of the prophetic writings, it is quite clear for example, that the Israelite kingdoms harboured a considerable body of anti-urban sentiment. This sentiment is witnessed in the intense account of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 18:16 - 19:29) where the city is portrayed as a center of fear, moral decay and putrid evil. It is also evident in the narrative describing Assyria's investment of Jerusalem (II Kings 19:20-28) where the traditional sources of urban power (e.g. fortifications, chariotry) are disparaged. It is further visible in Amos' invectives against the excesses of the northern monarchy (Amos 3:13 - 4:13, 6:1-7). Here the city is seen as a seat of corruptive wealth and it is a center of superficial piety.

From the Biblical evidence, it is also apparent that certain sectors of the Israelite population regarded the city with considerable favour. For example, in Psalm 48, the city of Jerusalem has special significance because it is the citadel of God. According to Ezekiel's vision, the central element of the long awaited future will be the city of "Yahweh is There" (Ezekiel 48:30-35). This community will be different from its predecessor in that the injustices of the past will be absent. Micah's description of the

New Jerusalem as the center of God's justice and peace (Micah 4:1 - 5:15) further shows that urban life, if cleansed, could be viewed as a source of goodness.

According to the Old Testament, the Israelites thus represented a full spectrum of views concerning the city. While it has long been recognized that this disparity in perspectives was rooted in upheavals dating to the monarchial era, it is only since the early decades of the twentieth-century that these have been examined through the lens of sociological inquiry. Since 1945, a host of disciplines have pursued the trails first set out by such pioneers as Max Weber, Johannes Pedersen, William F. Albright and Father Roland de Vaux and have produced a veritable revolution in our understanding of the Iron II period. Within the science of Palestinian archaeology for example, this movement has resulted in an increased focus upon the systems that governed the lives of all the population groups that existed in Israelite and Canaanite society and not merely those that affected the ruling elites.³ Within the field of Biblical studies, it has led to the recognition that a full understanding of the Old Testament narratives is only possible if a serious attempt is made to appreciate the context from which they evolved.⁴

³The passage that serves to introduce this chapter is illustrative of the socio-economic concerns that have characterized post-War scholarship. It was written at a time (1960) when Palestinian archaeology was rapidly sharpening its focus upon those nameless individuals (i.e. the peasants, the fishermen, the green-grocers) who previously did not figure large in the history books. The author is one of the central proponents of the movement that has produced the interdisciplinary approaches so characteristic of current Palestinian/Biblical archaeology.

With the large amounts of information that have been obtained through textual analysis and archaeological investigation, it is now possible to make the initial steps that are necessary for a comprehensive analysis of some of the urban situations that existed throughout Palestine's long history. This is especially true of the one that prevailed in the Samaritan Hill Country during the Iron II period. With the abundance of data that have been provided by meticulous excavations at Tell Balatah and Tell el-Far'ah and with the advances that have been made within the fields of Biblical research and inscriptional analysis, the time has arrived for a thorough examination of this urban system.

At the present time, a study of this system is an urgent task, since the rise of Samaria as well as the repercussions that accompanied it represent one of the most interesting phenomena within the urban history of the ancient Near East. Not only did this new center become a dominant force within a relatively short time (perhaps five to six decades); it also arose within an area that had previously escaped the more intense forms of urbanization that had characterized other parts of Palestine during the Bronze Age for example. Samaria is also interesting in the chronological sense, in that it appears to have been founded during the early phases of a city-building movement

⁴An illustration of how Biblical research has been influenced in this way over the years, may be seen within the field of prophetic studies. See especially Norman K. Gottwald, All the Kingdoms of the Earth (New York, 1964); Robert R. Wilson, Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel (Philadelphia, 1980); Robert B. Coote, Amos Among the Prophets: Composition and Theology (Philadelphia, 1981); Grace I. Emmerson, Hosea: An Israelite Prophet in Judaeon Perspective (Sheffield, England, 1984).

that witnessed the foundation of Assyrian cities throughout the Near East (e.g. Calah, Dur Sharrukin) and Phoenician, Aramaean and Greek cities throughout the Mediterranean Basin (e.g. new Kition, Carthage, Tell Sukas, Al Mina, Kyme (Italy) and Syracuse.⁵

This thesis will examine the inner dynamics of the Samarian urban system and it will demonstrate that these were largely controlled by royal policies that were first set in motion by the Omride rulers (ca. 876 - 842/841 B.C.) and then continued unabated by their successors until the fall of the Northern Kingdom (ca. 722/721 B.C.). These policies, as well as the political, social and economic forces that they represented, altered the fundamental equilibrium of the previous settlement^{pattern} by doing two things. First, they facilitated the emergence of a vast new metropolis within the traditional heartland of the Israelite people. Secondly, they integrated Shechem and Tirzah into an urban system that was considerably larger than any that had previously existed in Palestine. This latter development was particularly significant since it demoted the status of two centers that had previously enjoyed a measure of regional sovereignty during the Bronze Age and which had also been venerated by Israelite clans.

⁵The foundation dates for these cities have been estimated as follows: Calah (ca. 879 B.C.), Dur Sharrukin (ca. 720 B.C.), new Kition (ca. 900 - 800 B.C.), Carthage (ca. 820 - 800 B.C.), Tell Sukas (ca. 820 B.C.), Al Mina (ca. 825 B.C.), Kyme (Italy) (ca. 750 B.C.), Syracuse (ca. 733 B.C.). See Vassos Karageorghis, Kition: Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus (London, 1976), pp. 95-96; Pierre Cintas, Manuel d'archaéologie punique I (Paris, 1970), pp. 99-242; J. N. Coldstream, Geometric Greece (New York, 1977), p. 93; T. S. Dunbabin, The Western Greeks (Oxford, 1948), pp. 3, 13.

In the present study, we shall develop this hypothesis by employing a three-step procedure. Since urban sociology is an endeavour that offers a wide range of possibilities as far as analysis is concerned, the first step will involve the construction of a suitable methodology. In chapter 2 we will develop a methodology which will share common ground with many of the approaches that have been utilized in the past for the study of ancient cities. However, it will be different from the majority of its predecessors in that it will account for a variable that was often influential in the selection of settlement sites and in the functioning of ancient centers, namely the ideational factor.⁶

With the aid of the model, we will then proceed to the second step (chapter 3) and attempt to isolate the variables that governed the specific urban situation represented by the Northern Kingdom during its roughly 300 years of existence (ca. 1000 - 722/721 B.C.). We will show that after the dramatic increase in the power of the monarchy during the period between the death of Jeroboam I and the accession of Omri (ca. 901 - 876 B.C.), the political, social, economic and ideational variables of the northern cities were largely dominated by the needs of the elite royal interest group. Ancient cities

⁶The ideational differences between the ancient Israelite and his modern observer have often received only insignificant attention in scholarship. As a result, the ideational aspect involving the mentality of the ancients as well as their belief systems, is often ignored or simply discussed under the concept of "religion." A detailed discussion which emphasizes the importance of these differences between the ancient Hebrew and the twentieth-century person is the colloquium paper by Robert W. Fisher entitled "Non-Bodies and Non-Things in Ancient Israel."

with a long Bronze Age history were given specific roles within a new urban system dominated by Samaria. Some became military installations; others became district capitals and store cities.

Having established a general portrait of the northern urban scene, we will then remove ourselves into the dust and soil of specific sites (step 3). With the aid of the model (chapter 4) we will examine the evidence that pertains to the Samaria phenomenon and demonstrate that the variables of this royal city were a direct function of the monarchy and its needs. In chapter 5 we will follow a similar procedure and examine the literary and archaeological strata of Shechem and Tirzah. As the two other centers of significant rank within the Central Hill Country, these cities provide valuable evidence for the integrative processes that characterized the Iron II period.

With the 3-step procedure we will thus attempt to carry out our analytical task. However, before we are able to embark upon the first step, it is necessary to present a brief note about the usage of certain terms in this study and the chronological system that has been selected.

It should first of all be emphasized that terms such as "urban" and "urbanization" are used only in a relative sense. As a preindustrial agricultural society, ancient Palestine was obviously not characterized by the forces ^{which} are implied in the modern usage of the term. Palestinian urbani-

zation, even within its own Iron Age context, was always a modest phenomenon. The size and population of its cities never matched the figures that characterized the huge metropolises of contemporary Assyria, for example.

The same should be noted with regard to the usage of the term "industry". Due to its stage of economic development, Palestinian "industry" was equally a modest phenomenon. In the present study, the term merely denotes the economic activity of full-time handiwork specialists who were generally freed from the labours of agriculture and who generally congregated in urban areas.

Another issue deserving passing mention involves the problem that is shared by all investigations of ancient Palestine - namely chronology. Inevitably, the thankless task of selection has to be made from a repertoire of chronological systems that has grown over the years. In this thesis, we have adopted the low chronology originally proposed by Albright in 1945 and later embraced by scholars such as G. E. Wright.⁷ This system, while not perfect, has the advantage that its originator regarded it as being only approximate. In order to emphasize that we are using it here in this spirit, the dates for two

⁷See the chronological charts, figs. 72-74. See also William F. Albright, "The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy in Israel," B.A.S.O.R. 100 (1945), 16-22. For the general repertoire see "Appendix: Chronology of the Israelite and Judaeon Kings," in John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller, ed., Israelite and Judaeon History (Philadelphia, 1977), 678-683.

significant milestones in the history of the Northern Kingdom will always be presented in the following manner: (1) the overthrow of the Omride dynasty (ca. 842/841 B.C.) and (2) the fall of Samaria (ca. 722/721 B.C.)

CHAPTER TWO

ANCIENT URBANIZATION : A SYNTHESIS

Theories are nets: only he who casts will catch. 1

Man's inquiries into the urban process are as ancient as the phenomenon itself. However, in spite of their relative antiquity, it is only within the last two centuries that they have been pursued with the tools of critical analysis. The traumatic upheavals created by the rise of the industrial city and the use of inanimate sources of energy have led to a torrent of analyses which have subjected all aspects of the urban process - both ancient and modern - to a rigorous examination.

These endeavours have focused on all the various constituent elements of the urban organism, as well as the functional relationships that exist between them. The relationship between the attitudes of rural and urban populations have also

¹Novalis. Quoted from the translation in Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings, Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series (Lund, Sweden, 1976), p. 13.

attracted a considerable amount of attention. However, the most significant points of focus in all important studies have consistently remained those fundamental issues revolving around the actual definition of the urban phenomenon itself and the problems related to its historical origins and continued development.

Throughout the years, urbanism has become the concern of an ever-growing number of scientific disciplines. This has enabled the city to be viewed from the perspective of themes as diverse as religion (e.g. Fustel de Coulanges), social solidarity (e.g. Durkeim), social systems (e.g. Wirth), power (e.g. Weber), locational theory (e.g. Christaller), and technology (e.g. Sjoberg). While the great diversity of these themes (and our list is by no means exhaustive) certainly reflects the ever-increasing refinement of the methodologies employed, it also illustrates the basic fact that the urban process is a complex matter.

Of all the problems that can potentially frustrate an analysis of urban dynamics, the one involving the sheer complexity of the subject is probably the greatest. This is especially true if it is compounded by other problems such as a paucity of written source material. The lack of documentary evidence is a dilemma that is particularly acute for the student of ancient forms of urbanism. Not only does it restrict his area of operation, it also engages him in an interpretive

"balancing act" as he attempts to correlate the meagre literary remains with the more abundant archaeological remains. This continues to be the case even though recent developments within the archaeological sciences have added immeasurably to the amount of precision available.

The task involved in the analysis of an ancient setting is therefore beset with a host of inevitable limitations. A central goal of any new approach is to overcome these limitations by coming to terms with them. However, this is only possible if an attempt is made to account for the efforts of previous generations of scholarship and in some cases to assimilate them. The scholar who neglects the traditions of his predecessors not only runs the risk of being overly bold in his own work but also "deserves nothing but oblivion among the scholars of tomorrow."²

A brief review of past theories is therefore a necessary prolegomenon to the presentation of a new synthesis. This chapter will attempt such a survey but only in a limited sense. Instead of providing a comprehensive overview of the entire corpus of scholarship falling under the "urban studies" heading, this section will focus on research which has made significant progress towards an understanding of the variables governing the preindustrial city.

²Eduard Nielsen, Shechem: A Traditio-Historical Investigation (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 12.

In general, urban studies do not lend themselves readily to any system of classification. However most methodologies may be characterized by the particular factor or set of factors that they identify as being crucial in the development and functioning of an urban system. This survey will focus on works which have employed the above-mentioned themes of (1) religion, (2) social solidarity, (3) social systems, (4) power, (5) locational theory and (6) technology. These endeavors are important for our purposes because they illustrate much of the research that has been done on the preindustrial city and they are a prime source for much of the "building material" used in the present synthesis.

In many respects, the eminent French historian Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges is the father of all modern enquiries into the dynamics of ancient urbanization. As a pioneer of sociological method, he was one of the earliest scholars who successfully penetrated the veil of "classical" imagery left behind by the writers and philosophers of antiquity. With only a fraction of the inscriptional and archaeological evidence that modern theorists have at their disposal, Fustel de Coulanges produced an epochal work, La Cité Antique (1864) which attempted to reach the actual social realities of Graeco-Roman cities.³

His synthesis has been placed within our "religion" category because it regards ancient belief-systems as the critical

³Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, La Cité Antique (1864), E.T. by Willard Small, The Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome (Gloucester, 1979).

factor in the formation and development of urban centers. The basic characteristic of the "religion" classification is that it encompasses most studies which interpret settlement patterns in terms of the ideational resources of the ancients themselves.

While the methodologies of this family usually differ with regard to content and nature they do have one principle in common. They all maintain that the key to an understanding of ancient behaviour patterns lies in the realization that ancient man did not operate with the same assumptions as his modern observer. Instead, he functioned within the realms of a mentality which has been known by a variety of labels such as "primitive," "pre-logical" (Lévy-Bruhl, 1910, 1922),⁴ "naturfolk psychology" (Pedersen, 1934),⁵ "archaic" (Eliade, 1949),⁶ "empirico-logical" (Albright, 1956),⁷ "synthetic" (Johnson, 1964),⁸ and "mytho-poetic."

⁴ Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures (1910), E.T. by Lilian A. Clare, How Natives Think (New York, 1966), ch. 3, pp. 88-117; Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, La Mentalité primitive (1922), E.T. by Lilian A. Clare, Primitive Mentality (Boston, 1966 (1923)), pp. 59-67.

⁵ Johannes Pedersen, Israel I-II: Sjæleliv og Samfundsliv (Copenhagen, 1934 (1920)), pp. 97, 111.

⁶ Mircea Eliade, Le Mythe de l'éternel retour: archétypes et répétition (1949), E.T. by Willard R. Trask, The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History (Princeton, 1974 (1954)), pp. 3-6.

⁷ See William F. Albright's introduction (1956) to the 2nd. ed. (Anchor edition) of his From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process (orig. ed., 1940), (Garden City, N.J., 1957), pp. 7-8.

⁸ Aubrey R. Johnson, The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel (Cardiff, 1964), pp. 1-2.

Though this mentality has expressed itself differently throughout the ages, it is usually characterized by certain recurrent beliefs. First and foremost is the conception of the universe as a collective and dynamic reality, which is animated by mythical and invisible forces.⁹ Coupled with this is the lack of concern for mental abstractions such as the dichotomies between "existence" and "non-existence," "being" and "non-being" and "life" and "death."¹⁰ Equally significant is the preoccupation with the ultimate causes of phenomena rather than with secondary causes.¹¹ While the latter do not exist within the conceptual framework of "naturfolk," the former are usually characterized by such elements as the "numinous," "mysterium tremendum,"¹² and the "sacred."¹³

The "religion" approach suggests that it was concepts such as these which governed not only the locational pattern of settlement sites but also the manner in which the ancients organized themselves as urban societies. In the view of Fustel

⁹ Lévy-Bruhl, Primitive Mentality, ch. 2, pp. 59-96; Thorleif Boman, Das hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem Griechischen (2nd. ed., 1954), E.T. by Jules L. Moreau, Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek (New York, 1970 (1960)), ch. 1, pp. 27-73.

¹⁰ Pedersen, Israel I-II, pp. 83-84, 93-94, 116; Eliade, Myth of the Eternal Return, p. 3.

¹¹ Lévy-Bruhl, Primitive Mentality, ch. 1, pp. 35-58.

¹² Rudolf Otto, Das Heilige (1917), E.T. by John W. Harvey The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational (London, 1943 (1923)), chapters 2-5, pp. 5-30.

¹³ Mircea Eliade, Le Sacré et le profane (1956), E.T. by Willard R. Trask, The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion (New York, 1959), pp. 8-18.

de Coulanges, the earliest roots of sedentary life in the north Mediterranean littoral may be traced to two interrelated products of the "archaic" mentality: (1) the worship of the dead and (2) the worship of the sacred fire. As integral parts of a "pre-Olympian" domestic religion, these phenomena exercised their influence through an organic relationship that existed between a man and the geographical locale of his ancestral home.

According to the Coulangian scheme, ancient man regarded the ancestral homestead as a central place of considerable importance. Not only was it the residence of living family members, it was also the site of the family burial ground. Since death was regarded "not as a dissolution of our being, but...as a change of life," a relationship of mutual benefit was seen to exist between the living and the dead.¹⁴ In this relationship the living were required to tend to the needs of the dead by providing them with sustenance (e.g. milk, wine, meat, cakes) and libations such as oil, blood and perfume.¹⁵ In return, the contented spirits were to bless the household with fertility and prosperity. As the site where this relationship was mediated, the homestead was the shrine of a religion that involved the veneration of departed ancestors and family spirits (Greek demons, heroes; Latin Lares, Manes, Genii).

The family homestead was also the center for the worship of the sacred fire. This fire was venerated upon a domestic

¹⁴Fustel de Coulanges, The Ancient City, p. 15.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 15-21.

altar and it was never extinguished. It had to be fed with the proper sacrifices and libations (e.g. certain varieties of wood, dry herbs, incense) so that the god of the fire would become re-animated and nourished.¹⁶ If these obligations were met, the god would protect the household and prepare the meals of the family.¹⁷ However, if the fire were allowed to burn itself out, the god would then die and this would spell doom for the family. Indeed, in the ancient world "an extinguished hearth, (and) an extinguished family, were synonymous expressions."¹⁸

As integral parts of an archaic domestic religion, the worship of the dead and the worship of the sacred fire exercised a profound influence upon the earliest social development of Greece and Rome. In fact, Fustel de Coulanges regarded these elements as the constituent principles of the ancient family itself (Greek genos, Latin gens). Within his system all life was focused upon the family tomb and the family hearth. As a result, prayers would be addressed to the sacred fire at the beginning of each day and at the close. At certain intervals prescribed by the traditions of the family, members of the household would assemble at the family tomb in order to present their offerings to the ancestors.¹⁹ The initiation of new family members would also be done by means of ceremonies (e.g. marriage, birth, adoption)

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 25-32.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 40-41. Is it possible that ancient processional festivals such as the Mesopotamian akitu festival and the Hittite Yazilikaya procession ultimately have their roots in chthonic cults of the domestic variety that Fustel de Coulanges describes? See Sven Aage Pallis, The Babylonian Akitu Festival (Copenhagen, 1926), pp. 249-306 and O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion (Oxford, 1977), pp. 25-43.

which would attempt to receive the concurrence as well as the blessings of the ancestral spirits and the hearth spirit.²⁰ In general, family life would thus become the expression of a cult in which the master of the household presided as the "chief priest."²¹ As a religion, this cult was very "place-oriented" in that proximity to a specific hearth and burial ground was an absolute necessity if the worshipper were to fulfil his obligations.

Fustel de Coulanges further believed that the ancient city was the product of a long evolutionary process in which social organisms of a lesser order were merged to form units of a higher order. A city-state of great antiquity such as Athens was developed through an intricate process that originated in prehistoric times when the family unit was still the predominant form of social organization. It was set in motion when a small number of families (such as the Cecropidae) combined to form a regional unit called a phratry. It gained further impetus when several phratries coalesced into confederations or tribes.²² It finally reached fruition when all the tribes of Attica (twelve in total)

²⁰ Since the ancestral spirits and those associated with the hearth were usually regarded as being one and the same, brides and newborn sons were always brought before the family hearth in order to sanctify their entry into the family. See Fustel de Coulanges, The Ancient City, pp. 32-39, 42-48, 52-53.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 85-94

²² Ibid., pp. 129-130. Within the Coulangian scheme the activities of Cecrops, the first mythical king of Athens, are representative of the time when the tribal unit was the highest form of association.

were united under the leadership of Athens.²³

This evolution of social groupings was paralleled by a series of developments within the cultic sphere. According to Fustel de Coulanges, cultic developments played a major role in the formation of an increasingly complex social structure. Indeed, in his estimation, religious factors were the cause of all social change in early Greek and Roman society. The emergence of a new level of association occurred only when a group of previously autonomous units agreed to establish a cultic bond with each other. The cult which constituted this bond was usually distinct from the cults of the previously independent units. However, this did not mean that it replaced the older units. It merely supplemented them so that a hierarchy of cultic practises slowly appeared. By the time the urban unit was fully developed, a citizen was obligated (at least theoretically) to observe several strata of worship.²⁴

A place of settlement, whether urban or rural, was thus a sacred space and a religious community. A man could not readily exchange it for another because it was also the home of his ancestral spirits and the gods associated with his clan, tribe and city. However, should he decide to take up residence

²³ Ibid., pp. 130-131. According to tradition, the Athenian Commonwealth was founded when a new level of pan-Attic worship was established - the cult of Athene Polias.

²⁴ Thus within the Greek context, the family had its gods, the *θεοὶ πατρῶες*, the phratry had its *θεοὶ φρατρῶες*, and the tribe worshipped its *θεοὶ φυλῆος*. When the city came into being a *θεὸς πόλιος* was conceived to embrace it. See Ibid., 132.

elsewhere, he would not only have to consult the household spirits, he would also have to bring them along to his new location.²⁵ Throughout antiquity, this relationship between a man and the soil of his fathers continued to exercise a profound influence upon the social behaviour of the ancients as well as their settlement patterns.

Overall the Coulangian synthesis is a very comprehensive system with a wide variety of objectives. Not only does it seek to trace the origins and early development of urban institutions, it also makes a revolutionary attempt to fathom the cultic depths that existed beneath the glittering Olympian veneer. While it is no longer possible to accept all the facets of La Cite Antiqué without modification, the basic principle that ancient belief-systems developed in conjunction with social institutions, has won general acceptance.²⁶ Indeed, it is proba-

²⁵Moving the gods of the hearth and the burial ground was done by means of certain rituals. The traditions relating the founding of Rome describe one such ritual. In performing "the grand act of the foundation," Romulus dug a small circular trench called a mundus (i.e. the region of the Manes). Each inhabitant of the new city was required to throw a clod of earth from his ancestral homestead into the mundus. In this way, the ancestral spirits would adopt the new soil as their own. See Ibid., pp. 136-137.

²⁶Many aspects of Fustel de Coulanges' evolutionary scheme are difficult to substantiate because they are to be dated to pre-literate (or semi-literate) eras of history which have left modern theorists with only a few fragments of first-hand evidence to draw upon. La Cite Antiqué rests largely upon the secondary evidence provided by the writings of classical antiquity. However, it should be stressed, that this situation does not necessarily invalidate the Coulangian argument. Indeed the novelty of the system lies in the fact that later scholarship has somewhat strengthened the hypothesis that ancient social units (such as the family, clan, tribe and city) were generally associated with some form of cultic observance (at least, at

bly this concept more than any other which has attracted the attention of various disciplines. For example, within the study of ancient Greek religion, the Coulangian synthesis stands at the threshold of a movement which has spawned the work of classicists such as Rhode (1893), Harrison (1912) and Murray (1925).²⁷ Within the field of Biblical Studies, it is possible that Coulangian notions have entered the work of scholars (eg. Noth, 1930) who have drawn upon parallels from classical antiquity.²⁸ However, within the field of urban studies the

some point during their existence). Though one may not agree that archaic belief-systems generated the growth of social organisms, it is still difficult to see that they did not play some role in the development of certain settlement sites, for example. For the subsequent treatment of ancient Attica, one of the most important case-studies in La Cite Antiqué, see: Louis Gernet, "The Nobility of Ancient Greece" (1938) and "Political Symbolism: The Public Hearth," (1951) in The Anthropology of Ancient Greece (Baltimore, 1981), pp. 279-288, 322-339; William S. Ferguson, "The Athenian Phratries," Classical Philology, 5 (1910), 257-284; A. Andrewes, "Philochoros on Phratries," Journal of Hellenic Studies 81 (1961), 1-15; N. G. Hammond, "Land Tenure in Attica and Solon's Seisachtheia," Ibid., 76-98; J. N. Coldstream, Geometric Greece (New York, 1977), 317-357.

²⁷ Though scholars of this tradition have generally tended to place great emphasis upon the relatedness of social and religious phenomena, it should be noted that few have espoused the Coulangian system in its entirety. Erwin Rhode, while he highlighted the importance of the chthonic domestic cults, nevertheless refrained from commenting too much on pre-Homeric religion. In his opinion, the evidence that can be gleaned about this aspect of early Greek society is only tenuous at best. See his Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality Among the Greeks, (1893), E.T. (New York, 1972 (1920)), pp. 124, 145-146 (note 48). Jane Harrison, in her provocative Themis, also places considerable weight upon the role of pre-Olympic elements such as mana, and the daimon-hero in the development of Greek religion. However, her treatment of these phenomena would seem to indicate that she did not adhere to the Coulangian principle that belief-systems are the "cause" and social institutions are the "effect." She appears to have accepted the opposite view. See Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion, (London, 1963 (1912)), especially pp. 75-157, 341-444.

work of Fustel de Coulanges has become a landmark. Not only does it represent the first systematic analysis of ancient forms of urbanization, it is also one of the earliest expressions of the "religion" or ideational approach.^{28a}

The second classification of urban research that we shall survey here, emphasizes the role of "social solidarity" in the formation of advanced cultures. This category has been dominated by the work of Emile Durkheim to such an extent that it has vitually become synonymous with his name. The fundamental principle of Durkheim's methodology is that the functioning of any society is determined by the nature of the relationships (i.e. its social solidarity) that exist between its component parts. The nature of these relationships is governed in turn by the degree to which the division of labour has progressed in that society.²⁹ In his epochal study, De la division du travail social (1893), Durkheim identifies two types of solidarity: mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity.

Mechanical solidarity is the most primitive form of social cohesion in that it is based entirely upon a set of affinities and resemblances (e.g. kinship) that are shared by all

²⁸ Though Martin Noth never developed a formal theory of ancient urbanism, it is nevertheless interesting to speculate whether his revolutionary hypothesis concerning the Israelite amphictyony is not actually rooted in the classicist tradition mentioned above. Given the strong emphasis that the German educational system placed upon the writings of classical antiquity, it is quite possible that his hypothesis has relationships with this tradition. See his Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels (Darmstadt, 1966 (1930)), pp. 39-60. See especially pp. 47-60.

^{28a} Since its brilliant debut during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the ideational approach was accepted with only mixed feelings within the field of urban studies. For the longest time it failed to attract any major proponents. However, with the advent of Paul Wheatley's work on the Far Eastern city, this situation changed. In his breakthrough study on the origins of the Chinese city, Wheatley acknowledged his espousal of this approach by dedicating his work to the memory of Fustel de Coulanges. See Paul Wheatley, The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins of the Ancient Chinese City Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971.

²⁹ Emile Durkheim, De la division du travail social (1893), trans. George Simpson, The Division of Labour in Society (New York, 1933), p. 62.

the members of the group. On the societal level it is able to generate only the most rudimentary of social units such as the horde and the clan.³⁰ Mechanical solidarity is always characterized by relationships that tend to subject the individual personality to the interests of the collective consciousness.³¹ As a result, societies which are sustained by this type of cohesion (i.e. segmental societies) are inevitably governed by repressive law codes. These codes usually contain a high percentage of penal punishment as they attempt to enforce the affinities that are vital for the survival of the group.

In contrast to the mechanical type, organic solidarity presupposes dissimilarity and differentiation within the social mass. It is the more advanced form of social cohesion.³² Societies which are sustained by organic solidarity do not dominate the individual in the same manner as those of the segmental type. Instead, they provide the individual with an ever-increasing amount of freedom to cultivate a separate identity and to pursue a specialized function.³³ As a result, law codes which govern advanced societies are characterized by an increasingly

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 174-178.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 105-106, 129-130.

³² Durkheim operated on the assumption that a more pronounced division of labour is always indicative of a more advanced society.

³³ Ibid., pp. 129-132. The fact that the individual is able to foster an identity which is more independent of the collective conscious, does not mean that he also becomes less dependent upon the relationships of society for his sustenance. Indeed, he becomes more dependent upon them. As the role of the individual becomes more specialized, he has greater need for the services provided by all the other specialists in society.

smaller percentage of penal punishment because they are less concerned with the enforcement of relationships based on similarity.

In common with other theorists of his day (e.g. Fustel de Coulanges), Durkheim saw his principles as operating within an evolutionary pattern. In De la division travail social, it appears that he regarded the emergence of organic solidarity as being part of an historical process which originated in the early eras of antiquity. This process was exemplified by the cultures of Israel, Athens and Rome since their law codes reflect a declining trend with regard to the use of penal punishment. For Durkheim, Israelite society appears to have represented one of the earliest stages in the evolution of organic relationships. As evidence, he cited the fact that severe punishment played a dominant role in Hebrew law.³⁴ The city-state of Athens represented a somewhat higher stage of development. While the Attic legal system still contained a strong element of repression, restitutive law played a greater role.³⁵ Durkheim apparently regarded Roman society as the culmination of all social evolution in the ancient world. The law code represented by the Twelve Tablets was not only completely laic in character, it also displayed a further regression of penal law and it marked the beginnings of contract law.³⁶ With Rome, the division of labour

³⁴ Ibid., 138-142, 157-158, 160, 261-262.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 156-157, 160-162.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 156-157, 160-161.

in antiquity reached its apogee.³⁷

The gradual intensification of the division of labour and the progress of organic solidarity brought with them a number of far-reaching developments. The most profound of these was the rise of the city. It appears that Durkheim regarded the growth of urbanism and the spread of organic relationships as movements which were not only parallel with each other but also virtually synonymous. Since organic solidarity will not appear unless the social mass condenses itself within a given region or at one particular site, the formation of urban centers is a prerequisite for its development.

As a result, cities do not function as systems which are independent of the surrounding countryside and the society of which they are a part. They function rather as sub-systems that are dependent upon the entire network of relationships that make up a society. For Durkheim, cities merely represent those places in a society where the volume and density of social relationships are greatest (i.e. where organic solidarity is most advanced).³⁸

While Durkheim was primarily concerned with the task of delineating his system, it was left to other scholars to apply it more directly to specific problems. In his research concerning the origin of cities, the eminent prehistorian, V. Gordon Childe appears to have adopted Durkheim's basic principles. In accordance with these, he maintained that the rise of urbanization

³⁷ Ibid., p. 184.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 256-263.

represents the transition from a mechanical form of solidarity to a more organic one.³⁹ However Childe did not stop there. He carried Durkheim's conclusions a step further by exploring the historical role of technology. In his study of the alluvial cultures in the ancient Near East, he came to the conclusion that technological progress is the factor which enables a population to concentrate itself more and more at a certain site so that it can increase the volume and density of its social relationships. Thus for example, without the food surplus produced by inventions such as the wheel, the plough, the sailing boat, metallurgy and irrigation, early Mesopotamian society would not have been able to develop labour specialization, organic solidarity and urban communities.⁴⁰

In his article "The Urban Revolution" (1950), Childe presents ten criteria which in his view distinguish emergent cities from older neolithic villages. These criteria are especially relevant for our purposes in that they have all been deduced from archaeological evidence. According to Childe, urbanization in its earliest form, was characterized by the presence of: (1) a density of population, (2) the division of labour, (3) an economic surplus,

³⁹V. Gordon Childe, What Happened in History (Harmondsworth, England, 1982 (1942)), 97-120; idem., "The Urban Revolution," Town Planning Review 21 (1950), 3-17.

⁴⁰See What Happened in History, pp. 100-107; "Urban Revolution," pp. 7-9, 16.

(4) public buildings to store the surplus, (5) a ruling elite to administer the surplus, (6) writing, (7) predictive sciences, (8) art, (9) intercity relationships (e.g. trade), and (10) intracity relationships based "on residence rather than kinship."⁴¹ If these characteristics are accepted as valid indicators of such forces as organic solidarity and urbanism, then they may be employed to determine the degree to which an archaeological site had progressed at a given phase. While Durkheim thus attempted to gauge the progress of organic solidarity in more literate cultures by studying their law codes, Childe pursued a similar task by analyzing the technological remains of less literate cultures.

One body of research which is related to the endeavors of Durkheim and Childe is the "social systems" family of urban studies. Indeed the "social solidarity," "social systems," and "power" categories that we identify here, are so closely associated with each other that their respective boundaries are often difficult to define. However, while this situation tends to complicate the task of classification, "social systems" is nevertheless a succinct categorization for studies which have focused on such aspects as social psychology and the dichotomy between rural and urban attitudes. This is especially true of the work of two renowned scholars from the University of Chicago, Louis Wirth and A. Leo Oppenheim.

⁴¹"Urban Revolution," pp. 9-16.

As one of the major proponents of the Chicago school of urban sociology, Louis Wirth clarified the definition of such key sociological terms as "social group," "community" and "society."⁴² These expressions had frequently led to confusion in that they had been employed interchangeably to denote similar entities. However, in his attempt to rationalize their use, Wirth proposed that they actually represent separate concepts. "Social group" is the generic term and it denotes "any aggregation or association of men that can be thought of as in some way belonging together and having a unity of its own."⁴³ "Community" and "society" represent two aspects of the same aggregation. "Community" is that system of symbiotic relationships which enables a group of individuals to co-exist with one another within a certain area.⁴⁴ On the other hand, "society" denotes that system of relationships which is instituted by means of a consensus. This system is highly dependent upon communication for its existence, and it manifests itself in such phenomena as "language, collective symbols, laws and customs."⁴⁵ According to Wirth's terminology, an individual thus belongs simultaneously to several systems of cohesion.⁴⁶

⁴²The essential views of this school are presented in two classic works: Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago, 1937 (1921)) and Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Roderick D. McKenzie, The City (Chicago, 1968 (1925)).

⁴³Louis Wirth, "The Scope and Problems of Community," (1933) in On Cities and Social Life: Selected Papers, ed. Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (Chicago, 1964), p. 166.

⁴⁴Communities within the plant and animal kingdoms represent the simplest form of symbiosis. Ibid., p. 168.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 168. See also Louis Wirth, "Consensus and Mass Communication" (1948), in On Cities and Social Life, pp. 24-31.

Wirth also attempted to construct a sociological defini-
 -ic
 tion of the city. In the histor essay, "Urbanism as a Way of Life"
 (1938), he isolated three factors which in his view, govern the
 functioning of urban social systems and the attitudinal and
 behavioral patterns that they stimulate. These factors involve
 the (1) size, (2) density, and (3) heterogeneity of the popula-
 tion aggregate.⁴⁷ Size is a crucial element because it con-
 tributes to the segmentation, utilitarianism, anonymity and super-
 ficiality that is characteristic of typically urban relationships.
 The enlarged market that size creates also facilitates the forma-
 tion of corporate organizations.⁴⁸ Density is a critical variable
 because it produces differentiation and specialization. Not only
 does it cause a progressive division of labour, it also leads to
 a segregation within the urban area. Place "and nature of work,
 income, racial and ethnic characteristics, social status,
 custom, habit, taste, preference, prejudice are among the signi-
 ficant factors in accordance with which the urban population
 is...distributed into more or less distinct settlements."⁴⁹
 Furthermore, it causes urbanites to become steadily "exposed to
 glaring contrasts between splendor and squalor, between riches
 and poverty, intelligence and ignorance, order and chaos."⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Though an individual might receive his basic necessities
 from the same symbiotic relationships that provide for his neigh-
 bor (i.e. the same community), he may still belong to relation-
 ships of consensus which will set him apart from him. He may, for
 example, belong to another ethnic group or practise a different faith.

⁴⁷ Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1938) in On Cities
 and Social Life, p. 69.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 69-73.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 74.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 73.

Since the city is a point of convergence for a host of diverse forces, heterogeneity is an inevitable factor within the urban dynamic. This determinant leads to a depersonalization and cosmopolitanism within urban institutions as they attempt to serve a mass clientele.⁵¹

While Louis Wirth was primarily interested in the issues related to the rapid urbanization of the United States, A. Leo Oppenheim focused his attention upon the urban systems of ancient Mesopotamia. Regarding himself as a cultural anthropologist, Oppenheim attempted to uncover the dynamics of these early cities by examining the various systems and behavioral patterns that constituted their way of life. Being disenchanted with scholarly attempts to interpret ancient cultures in terms of modern industrial indices such as money, market and price, Oppenheim developed a model which was sensitive to the semantics of the inscriptional data that he had to work with.⁵² In this regard, he came to realize (as Wirth had done before him) that symbiosis is a very useful concept for the analysis of complex urban patterns.

For Oppenheim, the south Mesopotamian city was basically a symbiosis among two or three variables: (1) the city (i.e. the community of urban citizens), (2) the temple organization and later when it emerged as a factor (3) the palace organiza-

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 75-77.

⁵²A. Leo Oppenheim, "A Bird's-Eye View of Mesopotamian Economic History," in K. Polanyi, G. M. Arensberg and H. W. Pearson, ed., Trade and Market in the Early Empires (Chicago, 1957), pp. 27-30.

tion.⁵³ As such, it came into being when an original nucleus of land-owners (with property along natural water-ways) began to congregate around a local cultic-center by building "town-houses" in its immediate vicinity. As the prosperity of these propertied individuals increased, they "eventually moved their main residence into the agglomeration of dwellings that grew up around the temple-complex."⁵⁴ This process gradually led to the formation of a settlement which consisted of a number of people of equal rank who lived in a symbiotic relationship with the sanctuary and later with an emergent palace organization. Each household of this nascent city primarily continued to depend upon its rural estates for its sustenance.⁵⁵ As a result, the early Mesopotamian city was not an integrated marketing center but an aggregation of co-existing social units.⁵⁶

In his analysis of the Mesopotamian situation, Oppenheim also introduced a second element into the discussion of ancient cities, namely the forces of anti-urbanism and decentralization. Since the non-urban population of Babylonia always surrounded the "self-contained city-islands" like a sea, anti-urban forces

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 31-32; A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago, 1977 (1964)), p. 112.

⁵⁴ Ancient Mesopotamia, p. 113.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 113-114. In contrast to the centers of Assyria, Babylonian cities were typically surrounded by "a corona of fields, gardens, pastures and manors." See A. Leo Oppenheim, Letters From Mesopotamia (Chicago, 1967), p. 6.

⁵⁶ Ancient Mesopotamia, p. 114.

exercized a profound influence upon the political, social and economic development of the region. Indeed, for Oppenheim, their significance was almost as great as those which promoted urbanization. He maintained that a full appreciation of their historical role will go far to explain the dynastic behaviour of some cities, for example.⁵⁷

While theorists such as Wirth and Oppenheim examined urbanism from the perspective of social systems and the psychological dimensions that they create, other scholars directed their attention upon the role of "power." This was especially true of Max Weber and the eminent Belgian historian Henri Pirenne. The theories of both these men seem to work from the assumption that the true city is an independent seat of power.

Though a cursory examination of the Weberian hypothesis might indicate that it is just as easily classified under the "social systems" heading as under the one involving "power," Abrams is undoubtedly correct that Weber's basic thrust is centered upon the concept of non-legitimate domination (i.e. power).⁵⁸ In his work, Weber employs the criterion of "power" in order to differentiate two forms of urbanism. The first of these is characterized by cities whose functioning is controlled by power-centers which are external to the urban unit. Cities of this type usually serve as points of mediation between the needs

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 110; Letters From Mesopotamia, p. 32.

⁵⁸ Philip Abrams, "Towns and Economic Growth: Some Theories and Problems," in P. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley, ed. Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 27-31.

of locally based power structures of a political and an economic nature. As a result, they are generally identified by the presence of a fortress, a market and the city-houses of the rural aristocracy.⁵⁹

Cities of the second type are distinguished by the fact that they are governed by power-centers which reside within their precincts. As a result, they are able to function more or less as independent systems. They are characterized not only by the presence of a fortress and a market-place but also by (1) an indigenous urban patriciate, (2) "partially autonomous law, (3) a related form of association and at least (4) partial autonomy."⁶⁰ According to Weber, cities of this variety developed first as isolated phenomena within the cultures of ancient Mesopotamia, Canaan, Phoenicia and Israel and then came into predominance with the emergence of the Hellenistic city and the flourishing of the medieval cities of northern Europe (hence their designation as "Occidental" cities).⁶¹

In his analysis of the urban process in medieval Europe, Pirenne also placed great emphasis upon the concept of power. With Weber he seems to have regarded the city of the high Middle Ages as the crowning achievement of an evolutionary process which lead^s ever onward toward a more genuine form of urbanism. This

⁵⁹Max Weber, The City, trans. D. Martindale and G. Neuwirth (New York, 1966 (1958) first published 1921), pp. 66-79.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 80-81

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 80-86.

development began with the great centers of the ancient Near East and the Graeco-Roman world and was suspended during the Carolingian period when the predominant power structures were rural in nature.⁶² However with the revival of stability, it continued to full fruition in western Europe, when cities acquired an independent power base. This power center was always exemplified by the emergence of an urban middle class whose prosperity was based entirely upon commerce.⁶³ It was also manifested by the development of municipal institutions.⁶⁴

Urban studies belonging to the "locational theory" category share several affinities with the endeavours classified under "power," "social systems," and "social solidarity." Not only do they embrace many of their concepts, they also examine the geographical implications of their hypotheses.

The classic examples of the "locational theory" group are the central place models of Walter Christaller (1933) and August Lösch (1940).⁶⁵ Attempting to uncover the principles that govern the functioning of settlement patterns,^{66a} these theories begin with the premise that the majority of centers within a given landscape function as "central places."^{66b} Central places supply the region surrounding them (known either as^a market region or a complementary region) with goods and services not available elsewhere within its confines. The models assume that the relative importance of central places is determined by the types of goods

⁶²Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade, trans. Frank D. Halsey (Princeton, 1969 (1952) (first published 1925), pp. 42-47 and especially pp. 56-76.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 106-167.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 168-212.

⁶⁵Walter Christaller, Central Places in Southern Germany, trans. Carlisle W. Baskin (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966 (1933)). August Lösch, The Economics of Location, trans. W. H. Woglom and W. F. Stolper (New Haven, 1954 (1940)).

^{66a}See for example, Christaller's statement: "We seek answers to these questions. We seek the causes of towns being large or small, because we believe that there is some ordering principle heretofore unrecognized that governs their distribution." Christaller, op. cit., 2.

^{66b}In Christaller's words: "The chief profession - or characteristic - of a town is to be the center of a region." See Ibid., p. 16.

and services that they provide. If they offer goods that require great technical expertise as well as less accessible raw materials for their manufacture (high order goods), and services that require specialized training for their offering (high order services), then they will command a large market region. If they provide goods and services whose circumstances of manufacture and rendering are less restricted (low order goods and services), then they will serve a smaller, more localized region.⁶⁷ Both theories postulate that within an idealized situation, (1) where the settlement pattern is uniform, (2) where the cost of transportation is a function of only the distance travelled and (3) where the inhabitants behave rationally in the economic sense, the landscape will be sub-divided by a hexagonal pattern (or a derivative of it) of overlapping high and low order market regions.⁶⁸

While the systems of Christaller and Lössch share a number of initial suppositions, they nevertheless represent two widely differing approaches to the problem of settlement location. The former is concerned primarily with the role of centers as places where central goods and services are presented for consumption. It therefore begins its inquiry by postulating, a priori, the existence of a hierarchy of central places and market regions. This hierarchy is characterized by seven central place types which, in descending order of importance are labelled as the (1) L-place, (2) P-place, (3) G-place, (4) B-place, (5) K-place, (6) A-place and the (7) M-place.⁶⁹ On a landscape, it generates a nesting

⁶⁷Christaller, op. cit., 18-21.

⁶⁸See Christaller, op. cit., 66; Lössch, op. cit., 110-114; Leslie J. King, Central Place Theory, Sage Publications (Beverly Hills, 1984), pp. 29-30, 38.

⁶⁹Christaller, op. cit., 58-70.

pattern of overlapping market regions in which the regions of lesser order places are incorporated into those of higher order centers.⁷⁰ The specific nature of the pattern is determined by the degree to which the central place system is dominated by one of three principles: (1) the marketing principle, (2) the traffic principle and (3) the separation/administrative principle.⁷¹

In contrast to the systems of Christaller, the Lösschian scheme does not begin its inquiry with the entire central place hierarchy and its conglomeration of functions. It begins rather with the single economic function itself. By examining the laws that govern the economic thresholds of the lowest order goods and services, it develops its systems from the local level and then ascends gradually to the more regional levels.⁷² Since it does not postulate the existence of a pre-conceived hierarchy in which higher order places are embedded with all the functions of the lower order centers beneath them, it envisions a series of central place patterns which are more pluralistic than those that are possible under Christaller.

In the Lösschian landscape, higher order places occur only when the laws governing the economic viability of several production units (industries for example) place them within close

⁷⁰The boundaries of a market region are determined by the economic range of the highest order goods and services offered by the central place of that region. This "upper limit" of the range of a central place function represents "the farthest distance the dispersed population is willing to go in order to buy a good offered at a place - a central place." (*Ibid.*, p. 22). See King, *op. cit.*, 28-37 and Brian J. L. Berry, Geography of Market Centers and Retail Distribution (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1967), pp. 63-65.

⁷¹See Christaller, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-80. Within the ideal situation, the marketing principle produces the $K=3$ pattern in fig. 2; the traffic principle, the $K=4$ pattern in fig. 3; and the separation principle, the $K=7$ pattern in fig. 4.

⁷²Christaller began his inquiry with the highest order goods and services and then proceeded to those of the lower orders. See also King, *op. cit.*, 37-43; Berry, *op. cit.*, 68.

proximity to each other. As a result, the central places of Lösschian systems are more varied in constitution and are not as easily typologized as those of Christallerian systems. They also generate a larger number of possible ideal configurations (at least 10 as opposed to Christaller's 3).⁷⁴

Over the years, central place theory has shown itself to be useful in the locational analysis of various preindustrial systems. For example, in his re-examination of the prehistoric evidence of Cadbury parish in Devon, D. L. Clarke has shown that this area contained a central place hierarchy during the Iron Age which was structured according to the "seperation" principle.⁷⁵ Furthermore, G. Johnson has found that the Diyala Basin hosted four complementary regions during the Early Dynastic I period.⁷⁶ In an example that relates more specifically to our purposes, I. Hopkins has employed central place analysis in his study of Roman Palestine. One of his most significant findings is the fact that the port of Joppa exercised a considerable amount of influence upon the settlement pattern because it was the center of a large marketing region.⁷⁷

While studies such as these have shed welcome light upon some of the dynamics that operated at various ancient settings it should nevertheless be emphasized that they are pioneering efforts of a tentative nature. Since the student of ancient systems does not have at his disposal the masses of data that are available to the student of modern systems, he frequently has to initiate

⁷⁴Lössch's possibilities for the smallest market areas are $K=3$, $K=4$, $K=7$, $K=9$, $K=12$, $K=13$, $K=16$, $K=19$, $K=21$, $K=25$. Ibid., p. 119; Berry, op. cit., 71; King, op. cit., 44.

⁷⁵David L. Clarke, "A Provisional Model of an Iron Age Society and Its Settlement System," in D. L. Clarke, ed. Models in Archaeology (London, 1972), 801-869.

⁷⁶Gregory A. Johnson, "A Test of the Utility of Central Place Theory in Archaeology," in R. Ucko, R. Tringham and G. W. Dimbleby, Man, Settlement and Urbanism (London, 1972), 769-785.

⁷⁷Ian J. Hopkins, "The City Region in Roman Palestine," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1980), 19-32.

his endeavour with the task of reconciling the evidence that is available to him with the data requirements of central place models. This preliminary step is often wrought with as much difficulty as the one involving his central goal.

Of the two models that have been surveyed, it appears (at least for the present) that Christaller's model is the one that is most amicable to the efforts of disciplines engaged in the study of ancient sites (e.g. archaeology). This appears to be the case since it is concerned primarily with the central place as a single typologized entity that presents a certain variety of goods and services for consumption, rather than with the individual production units that constitute it. The archaeological and linguistic data of ancient sites are generally not able to provide the complete picture that is required by Lösch, of all the individual production units of a given settlement, since the evidence for most lower order functions has usually perished. As a result, this study will follow in the footsteps of earlier endeavours and focus upon the system of Christaller.^{77a}

The sixth and final category of urban study that we shall survey here is the one which emphasizes the role of technology in the formation and development of cities. The "technology" category is probably the youngest branch of urban research in that it is part of an intellectual movement which has reached full fruition only after the Second World War. This movement has been largely interdisciplinary in nature and has been dominated by the work of scholars such as Lynn White, who have attempted to understand social change in terms of technological innovation.⁷⁸ Within the field of ancient urbanization it has been represented primarily by the theories of Gideon Sjoberg.

^{77a} See pp. 141-153.

⁷⁸ Lynn White, Jr., Medieval Technology and Social Change (London, 1962).

In his landmark book, The Preindustrial City, Sjoberg presents a thesis which is not infrequently related to the other endeavors that have been surveyed so far. For example, in accordance with the principles of Durkheim, he argues that the city has never functioned as an independent system. It has always existed as a sub-system within the greater network of relationships that comprise the society at large.⁸⁰ He also supports the emphasis that Weber places upon the influence of power and power centers. Indeed, according to Sjoberg's hypothesis, the life of an urban entity is governed by a dynamic that exists between two primary variables: (1) technology and (2) the power structure. While technology produces the agrarian surplus that is prerequisite for the existence of an urban power base, it is this power center which in turn provides a certain number of specialists with the leisure that is necessary for them to advance the technological level. The two variables thus work in a relationship of mutual benefit and in so doing they intensify the urban process.⁸¹

⁷⁹Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City: Past and Present (New York, 1960); idem., "Theory and Research in Urban Sociology," in Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, ed. The Study of Urbanization (New York, 1965), 157-189. In his analysis of the Israelite city, Frank S. Frick appears to have adopted Sjoberg's basic hypothesis. See his The City in Ancient Israel (Missoula, 1977), pp. 1-23.

⁸⁰Idem., The Preindustrial City, pp. 13-18. In this section, Sjoberg argues against Wirth and Pirenne since their models, in his view, incorporate the erroneous position that cities constitute systems in their own right which are independent of their rural settings.

Throughout the course of history, the combined effects of these variables has led to the evolution of a variety of society-types which may be classified according to the level of their technology and the physiognomy of their centers of power. According to Sjöberg, the first classification encompasses "folk" or "preliterate" societies. Representing the earliest stage of development, societies of this type possess only the most primitive forms of technology. As a result, they are unable to produce the food surplus that is necessary for the emergence of labour specialization and cities.⁸²

Societies classified with the "feudal" label are considerably more advanced.⁸³ Not only do they possess a technological level which is able to produce a large food surplus; they also have the ability to generate more complex social organisms such as the "preindustrial city" and the bureaucracy. However, in spite of advances such as these, they are still "dependent

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 64-77. It is interesting to note that Sjöberg illustrates this point with an example that is especially relevant for our purposes. He cites the intense urbanization process that occurred in western Asia during the Iron Age. With the inception of technological innovations such as iron implements, improved methods of irrigation, new weaving techniques, coined money, the alphabet and improved nautical techniques, cities flourished in areas which had hitherto remained undeveloped. See ibid., pp. 65-67 and V. Gordon Childe, What Happened in History, pp. 193-212. It is also interesting to note that Sjöberg regards early Iron Age Palestine as an example where urbanization was initially retarded because the element of "power" was absent within the region. Though iron-working techniques were present, Palestinian urbanization did not resume until the political situation was stabilized and power bases were established (presumably by the Israelite monarchies). See Sjöberg, op. cit. 65.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 7-10.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 10-12.

upon animate, i.e. human and animal sources of energy."⁸⁴

This situation does ^{not} change until the advent of the "industrial-urban" society. With the ever-increasing development of the technological level, the wide use of inanimate sources of energy becomes possible. Inanimate energy bases facilitate the process of industrialization and this mode of production in turn leads to the emergence of a society which is dominated by the "industrial city."⁸⁵

In The Preindustrial City, Sjoberg demonstrates his hypothesis by focusing upon the city of the "feudal" society. The dynamic between technology and power affects all aspects of preindustrial urban life. For example, within the political sphere, it is the technological level which determines the nature of the urban power center. Since the non-agricultural surplus is produced by animate sources of energy, it is inevitable that only a limited number of goods and services will be produced and that these will be consumed only by a small number of individuals. As a result, the preindustrial city is always characterized by the presence of an aristocratic elite that maintains its power in a repressive manner. This elite legitimizes its favoured position by either appealing to "forces independent of human action" or to traditions that are regarded as timeless.⁸⁶

The power of the elite affects society on the socio-economic level in that the entire economy is mobilized for the

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 224-231.

gratification of its needs. For example, craftsmen, merchants, and outcastes (e.g. prostitutes, dancers, thieves) establish themselves within the limits of the city so that they can maintain a close proximity with their customers. Here they organize the institutions that are attendant upon them (e.g. guilds).⁸⁷ Within the context of the society at large, the urban elite requires a social alignment in which the vast majority of the inhabitants function either as slaves or peasants. In a feudal society, this type of social structure is necessary if the all-important surplus is to be realized.⁸⁸ Sjöberg's theory of urbanism thus envisions a constant interaction between the factors of technology and power.

With Sjöberg we conclude our survey of urban theories that have particular relevance for our study. The task that now lies before us involves the construction of a model which will further our understanding of urban systems similar to the one that was present in the Samaria region during the Israelite period. We propose to accomplish this goal by providing a new framework for the concepts discussed in the survey. However, before we are able to proceed with this, it is necessary to point out a striking phenomenon about the surveyed material as a whole.

While even a cursory examination of the theories from Fustel de Coulanges to Sjöberg will reveal a pronounced dif-

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 182-201.

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 108-142.

ferentiation between the various methodologies, it is nevertheless interesting that they all appear to supplement one another in some way. None of the hypotheses presented so far, are so exclusive in their orientation, that they do not share some common ground with the others. Within the six families that have been surveyed, the strongest points of contact are probably to be found in the triad consisting of the "social solidarity," "social systems" and "power" categories. To this complex may be added the category involving "locational theory." In many ways, urban studies belonging to this classification often function as an adjunct of the larger cluster, in that they are primarily concerned with the spatial implications of social systems and power.

The greatest points of divergence are probably to be sought between this group of four and the categories of "religion" and "technology." Yet even in this area, points of contact are evident. For example, while studies belonging to the "religion" family certainly appear to embrace a unique approach, they nevertheless share several affinities with the social science complex. In common with this group, they are deeply concerned with the relationships that constitute social groupings. Their only point of departure is that they regard religion (i.e. ideational factors) as the primary force of social cohesion.⁸⁹

⁸⁹See pp. 13-16.

At first glance, Sjoberg also appears to represent an independent approach. However a closer inspection of his work makes it apparent that he is working with some of the assumptions associated with the large social science complex. For example, though he disagrees vehemently with Wirth and Pirenne that the city is an independent variable, he nevertheless agrees that the urban organism "is a factor in "determining" selected types of social phenomena."⁹⁰ He also places great emphasis upon the role of power (as noted above) and he concedes that other variables such as value systems and environment play a subsidiary role in the functioning of the city.⁹¹

The fact that the six families are never totally contradictory of each other but are actually complimentary in many of their efforts makes it possible to construct a seventh approach which has roots in them all. We do not propose to develop a model which attempts to synthesize the different methodologies. Such a task would ^{be} impossible in that it would jeopardize the integrity of each. Instead we shall attempt to fashion a new hypothesis by incorporating those elements from the various families ~~that~~ have special relevance for the study of ancient medium-ranked urban systems.

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, there are two considerations that ought to be kept in mind during the construction of a new approach. The first concerns the nature of

⁹⁰ Sjoberg, Preindustrial City, p. 15.

⁹¹ See pp. 39-40; Sjoberg, Preindustrial City, pp. 75-77.

the evidence. Cities of the type that existed during the Iron Age in Palestine pose many problems in their interpretation because they are generally represented by a complicated mix of literary and archaeological evidence. While the literary evidence is often too sparse to shed any direct light upon the functioning of the city, the archaeological data is frequently beset with problems concerning its interpretation. This state of affairs makes it imperative that a new model for such centers should be sensitive to the imprecise nature of the evidence.

The second consideration concerns the complexity of the subject. One aspect that has often received a disproportionately small share of attention is the fact that ancient urbanization was a very tenuous and vulnerable process. In spite of the magnificent power and splendor that they often displayed, ancient cities rose, declined and even vanished with amazing regularity. A single military campaign or a sudden change in the economic climate or the cultic patterns of a region could destroy an urban organism that had required centuries for its development. Examples of this fragility abound throughout antiquity. One may cite the rapid decline of such high-ranking metropolises as Ugarit,⁹² Calah/Nimrud and Nineveh.⁹³ Of medium-ranked centers one may note Carchemish

⁹²Margaret S. Drower, "Ugarit," in The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II, Pt. 2 (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 145-148; M. C. Astour, "New Evidence on the Last Days of Ugarit," American Journal of Archaeology 69 (1965), pp. 253-258.

⁹³David Oates, Studies in the History of Northern Iraq (London, 1968). See especially ch. 3, "The Rise and Fall of the Great City," 42-66.

(ca. 605 B.C.),⁹⁴ Boetian Thebes (335 B.C.)⁹⁵ and Etruscan Volsinii (264 B.C.).⁹⁶ The widespread nature of such phenomena can only lead one to suspect that the dynamics as well as the disintegration of ancient cities were governed by a multiplicity of factors rather than a closed set of one or two determinants (as suggested by many theories).

The nature of the evidence and the complexities surrounding the ancient process of urbanization thus demand that any new model should regard as many variables as possible. It is the basic hypothesis of this study that there are as many as six basic variables that have to be considered. In brief, these involve the (1) political, (2) social and (3) economic requirements of the urban center of power and the (4) technological, (5) physiographical and (6) ideational resources of the urban inhabitants. Operating in configurations that vary from site to site and from one epoch to another, these factors govern not only the formation of ancient cities but also their functioning, prosperity and eventual demise. Indeed, the entire phenomenon of the ancient city may be defined as a direct function of the combined effect of these elements.

⁹⁴ Sir Leonard Woolley, Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum: Part III: The Excavations in the Inner Town (London, 1952), p. 226; J. D. Hawkins, "Karkamis," in Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, Vol. 5 (Berlin, 1980), 426-446.

⁹⁵ Paul Cloché, Thèbes de Béotie: Des origines à la conquête romaine, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et lettres de Namur, (Namur, 19), pp. 183-210.

⁹⁶ H. H. Scullard, The Etruscan Cities and Rome, (Ithaca, New York, 1967), pp. 126-132.

In accordance with the principles of the social science group, we maintain that the ancient city is best understood if it is regarded as a system of relationships which are characterized by the lowest orders of organic solidarity.⁹⁷ As an advanced organism, the city is composed of and influenced by systems (or sub-systems) which are contracted either symbiotically or by means of a consensus.⁹⁸ As Oppenheim has pointed out, a symbiotic system within the ancient context might exist in the form of a mutual co-existence between various organizations such as the community of urbanites, the temple and the palace.⁹⁹ A system based upon relationships of consensus might involve a regional cultic system, a guild or simply that sector or street within the city where the members of a single vocation carry on their business.

Within the greater context of society at large, the ancient city operates as a center of power. The relationships that enable it to function as an organism exercise their power through the political, social and economic structures that they create. To a certain extent our model will continue along the well-beaten path of Weber, Pirenne and Sjoberg by emphasizing the role of power. In accordance with the principles of these theorists, it will work from the premise that social relationships are primarily visible through the power structures that they engender.¹⁰⁰ As a result, our hypothesis will regard the

⁹⁷Cf. the discussion of Durkheim's terminology, pp. 22-25.

⁹⁸Cf. the review of Wirth's terminology, pp. 28-30.

⁹⁹See pp. 30-32.

¹⁰⁰Cf. the discussion of the theories of Weber, Pirenne and Sjoberg, pp. 32-34, 38-42.

political, economic and social requirements of the urban power base as constituting three of the six factors that are crucial in the dynamic of ancient centers.

However, centers of power and the relationships that constitute them do not operate in a vacuum. They are dependent upon other elements for their functioning such as technology. As Sjoberg pointed out, technology is a crucial variable within the preindustrial setting, because it (more than any other factor) is responsible for the formation of the surplus that is necessary for the processes of urbanization and the division of labour to occur. While caution must be exercised in attributing too many phenomena to this variable, it nevertheless produces the innovations that enable an urban community to carry on with its daily activities. It is also an important variable for our synthesis because it is "archaeologically sensitive." By providing later generations with strata upon strata of artifacts, it is one of the main windows into the past.¹⁰¹

A variable that often stimulates the technological factor is the one involving physiography. This variable has special significance for the study of an ancient setting, since preindustrial cities are considerably more dependent upon the physiological conditions of the regions that host them than their industrial counterparts. In the ancient world, soil conditions and climatological factors often determined the size of the agricultural surplus that a region could produce and in this way controlled

¹⁰¹Cf. our discussion of Childe's methodology, pp. 25-27.

its potential for urban development. The presence of extractable mineral resources could play a similar role, though in this case the potential of a region to sustain an urban network was usually increased. Theorists of the "locational theory" family have also shown that the proximity to natural trade routes and even the topography of the land could play a role by defining the boundaries of a marketing region for example.¹⁰² In general, the physiographical variable increases in importance with the decline of the technological level.

A determinant which also has particular relevance for the ancient setting and which enjoys a number of relationships with the other variables, is the one involving the ideational realities of the urban inhabitants themselves. As a factor influencing the dynamics of urban life, the ideational aspect has frequently not received its due amount of attention. However, in the study of an ancient culture, it is difficult to minimize its importance, since ancient man operated with mental equipment that often stands in sharp contrast to that employed by his modern observer. Though one need not accept all the details of an elaborate scheme such as the Coulangian hypothesis in order to appreciate the ideational variable, there is still much evidence to suggest that the archaic consciousness, accounts for a number of behaviour patterns in Antiquity.¹⁰³

¹⁰²See pp. 34-38. ¹⁰³See pp. 13-15.

For example, the specific location of the burial grounds and ancestral homesteads of prestigious family groups may explain why some sites were favoured for urban development while others with as much potential in the physiographical sense, were not. Belief systems may also contribute towards an understanding of why some regions developed technologically while others did not.¹⁰⁴

With the six variables that we have isolated as being crucial for an understanding of ancient urbanization, we are thus able to develop a model which, if illustrated, resembles the star-shaped figure in fig. 5. According to our synthesis, the ancient city was a center of power which was created and maintained by a network of social relationships that were governed in turn by our six variables.

With this basic model as a constant reference, we now proceed to isolate the six factors that controlled the urban development of the northern kingdom of Israel.

¹⁰⁴The relationship between technology and the ideational is a subject that has generally not received much attention outside the disciplines of philosophy, the history of ideas and religious studies. If a social group is to advance technologically, it first has to develop the beliefs and attitudes that are necessary for that advancement. For example, in order for a person to manipulate the physical world for his own benefit, he first has to believe that such an assertion over the elements of nature is possible without lethal repercussions from the forces that control them. A very interesting work in this regard is Erich Neumann, Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins (1949), trans. R. F. Hull, The Origins and History of Consciousness (Princeton, 1973)

CHAPTER THREE

URBANIZATION IN THE NORTHERN KINGDOM : THE VARIABLES

It will surprise those to whom Palestine is known only through the Biblical story that it was only for a very brief span that there were any Royal Cities, for, down to the time in 1948 when the eastern part of the country was incorporated in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in the whole of Palestinian history there was no kingdom of Palestine except for about four hundred years from the time of David down to the Babylonian destruction in 586 B.C., for about thirty years under Herod the Great at the end of the 1st century B.C., and for a mere four years under his grandson Herod Agrippa in the middle of the 1st century A.D. For the last two thousand five hundred years, Palestine has, except for the Herodian interlude, been ruled by great empires based on adjoining countries. 1

In the past, historiographical treatments of Palestine during the period of the Israelite kings have generally focused upon a number of specific processes. These have included the rise and consolidation of monarchical institutions, the increasing differentiation of social strata, the emergence of regional economies and the rise of the Yahwistic religion.² However,

¹Kathleen Kenyon, Royal Cities of the Old Testament (New York, 1971), p. 5.

²E.g. Theodore H. Robinson, A History of Israel I: From the Exodus to the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C. (Oxford, 1932); Martin Noth, The History of Israel, trans., P. R. Ackroyd, 2nd. ed., (New York, 1960), pp. 164-299; William F. Albright, The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra: An Historical Survey (New York, 1963), pp. 49-80; John Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia, 1972 (1959)), pp. 179-339.

in spite of their thorough nature, scholarly endeavours have shed only meagre light upon the processes that were related to the settlement pattern. It has often been de-emphasized or overlooked that Iron II was also the witness of a remarkable increase in the population density of Palestine and of a striking intensification of the urban process. Indeed, it was during this era that the process of urbanization reached levels which were not to be surpassed until the Herodian period.

One of the outstanding realities of the Iron II period is the notable increase in the volume and density of the social mass. A considerable body of evidence suggests that the population levels of this era dramatically exceeded those that prevailed in Iron I.³ For example, archaeological surveys of the

³Population figures for ancient regions such as Palestine have always been inconclusive and open to controversy. However, in spite of this situation, several scholars have attempted to test the murky waters of ancient demography. By utilizing the evidence that is available primarily in the Biblical sources (e.g. the tribal levies, the Davidic census, the tribute made to Assyrian rulers and the lists enumerating the individuals who were deported after the destruction of the capital cities), Roland de Vaux has estimated that the two Israelite kingdoms would scarcely have been able to exceed the 1,000,000 mark. (See his Ancient Israel I: Social Institutions, trans., J. McHugh (New York, 1961), pp. 65-67.) William F. Albright has arrived at a similar figure by using a combination of Biblical and archaeological evidence. In his estimation, the population increase which occurred over the course of Iron II was dramatic. During the 10th century alone, when prosperity was propelled by the stable political situation, the population doubled from 400,000 to 800,000 (op. cit., 56-57). These figures may be compared with his estimate of 200,000 for the Late Bronze period that is documented by the Amarna correspondence (idem., "The Amarna Letters from Palestine," Cambridge Ancient History, II, 2 (Cambridge, 1975), p. 108). However, by employing a methodology which utilizes architectural and archaeological evidence, Yigael Shiloh has arrived at figures for Iron II which are lower than the minimalist estimates of Albright. In his calculations, he has adopted a formula which multiplies the area of a site (at a given phase) with a density coefficient of 40 - 50 inhabitants per dunam. (See his "The Population of Iron Age Palestine in the Light of a Sample Analysis of Urban Plans, Areas and Population Density," B.A.S.O.R. 239 (1980), 25-35.) A dunam is 940 square meters.

ancient North Israelite heartland have shown that the number of settlement sites which were occupied during Iron I was almost doubled during the Iron II period.⁴ This expansion is further evidenced by the fact that a metropolis such as Samaria was able to emerge without causing a corresponding population drain on the surrounding countryside.⁵ In the south, Jerusalem provides further witness of the same phenomenon.⁶

⁴In 1966, the Drew-McCormick expedition to Balatah conducted a survey of the immediate environs of ancient Shechem. Of the 41 sites investigated, 16 displayed various traces of Iron II pottery (8 indicated a strong presence while 8 exhibited a rare and a disputable presence). These findings may be compared with the 12 sites which produced evidence of Iron I. Of these, 9 indicated a definite presence of pottery from this period, while 3 exhibited only rare and possible occurrences. See Edward F. Campbell, Jr., "The Shechem Area Survey," B.A.S.O.R. 190 (1968), 19-41. In 1967 - 1968, the Archaeological Survey of Israel carried out a comprehensive investigation of much of the West Bank. The findings of this effort revealed the existence of a tremendous increase in the number of occupation sites during the Iron II period. In their survey of the ancient tribal lands of Ephraim and Manasseh, R. Gophna and Y. Porat found 119 sites representing Iron II and 65 representing Iron I. Z. Kallai found a similar contrast in his survey of southern Mount Ephraim and the lands of Benjamin. In this region, 51 sites were occupied during the Iron II period while 25 were inhabited in Iron I. See P. Bar-Adon, C. Epstein, et. al., Judaea, Samaria and the Golan: An Archaeological Survey 1967 - 1968, in Hebrew (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 189, 237.

⁵Concurrent with the development of the huge center of Samaria was the apparent founding of many other new settlements. In its surveys of the ancient territories of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin, the Archaeological Survey of Israel found a total of 77 sites which do not appear to have been inhabited before Iron II (loc. cit.)!

⁶Thanks to the recent excavations in the Jewish Quarter (1969 - 1983), it is now possible to settle the old question concerning the actual extent of Jerusalem during the later Iron Age. Nahman Avigad's discovery of the late Iron II wall (Area A) on the Western Hill, proves beyond a doubt that the Davidic city of 44 dunams experienced a phenomenal growth during the period of the Monarchy. By the seventh century B.C., the city's fortified perimeter encompassed an estimated area of 500 - 600 dunams.

The increase in the volume and density of the population was partly translated into a second process that gradually incorporated most Palestinian centers into an urban network encompassing much of the region. Centers whose functioning had previously been limited to the immediate hinterland came to serve the needs of larger urban systems which were supported by regional economies. This process of territorial integration had already begun to flourish during the period of the Egyptian domination⁷

See fig. 6. (N. Avigad, Discovering Jerusalem, trans., R. Grafman (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 31-60; M. Broshi, "The Expansion of Jerusalem in the Reigns of Hezekiah and Mannaseh," Israel Exploration Journal 24 (1974), p. 23). Such an expansion of Jerusalem's defensive system can only be explained in terms of a drastic population increase. However, Broshi's contention that this increase was due to a sudden influx of northern refugees after the destruction of Samaria, seems to be somewhat of a narrow interpretation of the evidence (Ibid., pp. 21-26). It is not more plausible that the Assyrian invasions merely heightened the urgency to fortify areas (the Mishneh and the Maktesh) that had been developing gradually throughout the entire eighth century B.C.? See Avigad, op. cit., 55-57.

⁷The Levant during the Late Bronze Age is an interesting case that still awaits a detailed urban analysis. Evidence from various sources such as the Amarna correspondence and other texts seem to indicate the presence of a fully developed central place hierarchy throughout the entire Syro-Palestinian region during this period (see fig. 7). Within this hierarchy, district capitals such as Gaza, Kumidi and Sumur would have contained the highest amount of importance since they were the residencies of Egyptian commissioners. Strategic garrison points such as Joppa, Beth Shean and Ullasa would have enjoyed a secondary rank. The third category of centers would have consisted of the capital cities of the local chieftains or MILKU as they were known in Canaanite. These towns would have been sub-ordinate to the higher ranking centers not merely in the political sense but also in the economic one. See Yohanan Aharoni, The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography, rev. ed., trans., A. F. Rainey (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 169-176; W. F. Albright, "The Amarna Letters from Palestine," pp. 102-107; Ian W. J. Hopkins, "The City Region in Roman Palestine," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1980), pp. 22-23.

but with the onset of instability during Iron I, it fell victim to decay. However, when Palestine became a seat of power in its own right during Iron II, it not only received renewed impetus, it also reached unparalleled dimensions.

The most striking evidence of this integrative process may be found in the uniformity that characterized much of the architecture and building activity of the Israelite kingdoms. For example, one may cite the proliferation of casemate wall systems which were constructed according to standard measurements when they were employed as members of an urban fortification.⁸ The existence of Solomon's standardized gates at Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer also point to the forces of integration.⁹ In

⁸While casemate constructions first appear in Palestine during the MB IIC - LB I period, they do not come into general use until Iron II. Their use at this time is particularly interesting, in that it reflects the **status** of the Israelite monarchies. Even during their times of greatness, the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (as well as the Davidic Empire), were never able to surpass their status as medium-ranked monarchies. As a result, the wealth that was available to the Israelite kings was always limited. Casemate wall systems were favoured because they were considerably **less** expensive to construct, than solid wall systems. They "offered maximum strength with minimum investment." (See Yohanan Aharoni, The Archaeology of the Land of Israel: From the Prehistoric Beginnings to the End of the First Temple Period, trans. A. F. Rainey (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 199). A second feature concerning their use is also interesting. When they were constructed as the defensive works of cities, the outer wall of the casemates would usually be in the neighbourhood of 1.5 meters thick while the inner wall would vary in thickness from 1.0 - 1.5 meters. This was especially true of Hazor, Shechem, Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth Shemesh, Beer-Sheba and Khirbet Gharra. The two great centers of Megiddo and Samaria are exceptions to this rule. See Aharoni, op. cit., 198 and Nancy L. Lapp, "Casemate Walls in Palestine and the Late Iron II Casemate at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah)," B.A.S.O.R. 223 (1976), 26-42.

⁹Yigael Yadin, Hazor: The Head of All Those Kingdoms, Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1970 (London, 1972), pp. 147-164; Aharoni, op. cit., 195-197.

the south, further evidence may be seen in the way lesser centers such as Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell en-Nasbeh, Beth-Shemesh and Beer-Sheba were laid out according to an established urban plan consisting of four concentric zones.¹⁰ In the north, integration appears to have occurred in a rather brusque manner when a house of the common 4-room plan (the granary) was built directly above the remains of the Temple of El-berith at Shechem.¹¹

Major developments such as the expansion of the population base and the intensification of the urban process were products of a complex set of factors. In the north, these factors involved the emergence of a **significant new center of power** which was based in the Samarian hill country. This power center not only provided the stability that is prerequisite for population growth **but** also integrated the northern regions of Palestine on a scale that was hitherto unprecedented.

There were basically six factors which governed the growth and functioning of the northern cities. The first three of these involved the (1) political, (2) social and (3) economic dynamics of the Samarian power base. The North Israelite

¹⁰ Proceeding towards the interior of the city, this plan consisted of: (1) an outer ring of fortification (usually consisting of a casemate wall and one or more gates), (2) an outer ring of dwellings built up against the defensive system, (3) a circular road separating the outer ring of houses and the last zone which consisted of (4) an inner core of buildings. See the model in fig. 8 and the plans of Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell en-Nâsbeh and Beer Sheba (figures 9, 10, 11). For a detailed exposition of urban planning within the Israelite context, see Y. Shiloh, "Elements in the Development of Town Planning in the Israelite City," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978), 36-51; Aharoni, op. cit., 217-219.

¹¹ See pp. 169-173.

monarchy was the pivotal element of this base. Emerging from the less integrated organization of the tribal amphictyony, this institution not only effected profound political change, it also caused a veritable social revolution. It created a new class of royal dependents and military personnel whose loyalties resided more with the interests of the monarchy than with those of the ancient tribal institutions. Through the consumptive needs and the more cosmopolitan orientation of this class, it also propelled a third development - the growth of an industrial sector and the diversification of the northern economy. In short, the new center of power incorporated a host of divergent interests into a more centralized entity.

While the integrative powers of the monarchy are a vital key to an understanding of the northern urban pattern, it should be emphasized that these forces did not operate without restriction or limitations. The Northern Kingdom was never integrated to the extent that it became a homogenous "national unit." Indeed, until the fall of Samaria in 722/721 B.C., it remained a complex society that was subject to a number of internal developments. The most profound of these was the gradual transition from a mechanical form of social cohesion (which dominated the tribal era) to one that was more organic. As it became more pluralistic in its composition, Israel was characterized by a variety of relationships which were contracted either symbiotically or by means of a consensus. It was also characterized by the emergence of an anti-urban sentiment.

The other factors which governed the urban development of the north involved the (4) technological, (5) (6) ideational resources of the ancient population. Technological resources made substantial contributions towards the evolution of the Samarian power base. Innovations such as terrace farming, plastered cisterns and improved conduits not only provided the agricultural surplus that is so vital for the growth of cities, but also furthered the growth of the population level. Physiographical resources played a similar role. The Mediterranean conditions that prevail in this part of Palestine provided the population with a stable food supply and enabled it to cultivate crops (e.g. grains, grapes, olives) which could be translated into an exportable surplus. The urban cause was also advanced by the ideational resources (e.g. royal ideologies, official cults) that existed in the land. Not only did they further the interests of the power base, they also legitimized its exploitation.

Our model of the North Israelite city thus envisages an interaction of six variables. We shall now examine these factors on an individual basis. However, once again, it should be emphasized that an exhaustive treatment of all the evidence pertaining to each variable is far beyond the scope of this study. It is also unnecessary, since scholarship has long established that the Samarian center of power was the primary source of change within the northern context. Our task is to survey evidence that specifically sheds light upon the dynamics of urban life.

THE POLITICAL VARIABLE

As stated above, the monarchy was the major political manifestation of the new center of power. Its emergence produced a new inter-city level of institutions which appropriated much of the power that had formerly resided with the tribal unit and the individual town. The changing political situation was especially evident in the towns where the traditional forums (e.g. the amphictyonic assembly, urban councils) lost all ability to influence events except in a perfunctory manner. In the Biblical sources, there is enough testimony to trace a declining trend with regard to the popular voice in the north.

This evidence is concerned primarily with the accession of kings. Within the constitutional history of the north, it appears that the reign of Jeroboam I (ca. 922 - 901 B.C.) is a sort of benchmark. Prior to his death, kings were apparently selected and confirmed in their office by a council of individuals who were able to exercise a genuine form of political power. After his reign, the monarchy appears to have consolidated itself to such an extent that it was able to practise (if not institute) a form of hereditary succession which required only the proforma assent of a council.

The earliest known examples of Iron Age kingship in the north, all appear to have existed within the context of a popular assembly. For example, it was "the men of Israel (אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל)" who attempted to make Gideon king (Judges 8:22-23). It was also a group of constituents - "all the lords of Shechem (כָּל בְּעָלֵי)" - who bestowed the royal office upon Abimelech (Judges 9:6).

At Mizpah, Jephthah was given the designation of שָׂרֵי־בְרִיָּה by the "elders of Gilead (זְקֵנֵי גִלְעָד)" (Judges 11:8).¹²

With the kingship of Saul, a similar situation appears to have existed. According to the research of Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, I Samuel 11:1-15 is the "passage that comes closest to depicting the actual participation of the assembly in Saul's investiture."¹³ Here, "all the people (כָּל הָעָם) went to Gilgal, and there they made Saul king..." There "they sacrificed peace offerings before the Lord, and there Saul and all the men of Israel (וְכָל אֲנָשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל) rejoiced greatly (I Samuel 11:15)." In its earliest phases, northern kingship was an institution that was deeply rooted in a popular assembly.

Though the monarchy developed its position during the course of the 10th century B.C. (Iron IIA), the evidence nevertheless suggests that it was subject to a number of restraints. The Deuteronomistic passage relating the election of Saul through the casting of sacred lots (I Samuel 10:17-27) is very interesting in this regard, in that it probably reflects the political realities of the Solomonic period. On the one hand, it hints at the power that the monarchy had already secured by this time, since it contains a subtle attack on absolutism.¹⁴ On the other hand, it suggests that the monarch was not absolute. According

¹²See Robert G. Boling, Judges: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (Garden City, 1975), pp. 198-199.

¹³Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings, Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series (Lund, 1976), p. 111.

to the Solomonic doctrine of kingship, the monarch did not derive his authority from power that was intrinsic to himself, but from the will of Yahweh as it was revealed through an assembly of constituents.

The third passage depicting Saul's accession also echoes an early doctrine of charismatic conciliar election. Reflecting a point of view that probably dates from the period immediately following the death of Solomon (the reign of Jeroboam perhaps), I Samuel 9:1 - 10:16 regards royal authority as a derivative of divine will and popular acclamation.¹⁵ The monarch is anointed by the highest representative of the cult and he participates in a sacrificial meal which is attended by representatives of the people (presumably a group of elders).

The passages relating the events of David's installation in the north (II Samuel 3:17-21) throw considerable light upon the various conciliar proceedings that were integral to early kingship. First, David's representative, Abner, negotiated "with the elders of Israel (עַם זְקֵנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל)" and Benjamin (verses 17-18). Then he returned to his master at Hebron, in order to inform him of plans which would lead to his investiture (verse 21)

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 112-113. For a variant interpretation, see P. Kyle McCarter, Jr. I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction Notes and Commentary (Garden City, 1980), p. 195. I Samuel 10:17-27 comes from a series of "local traditions (others include I Samuel 7:16-17, 7:11b-12a, 8:2) indigenous to the shrines of southern Samaria." See Martin Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, trans. of Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien (pp. 1-110) by J. Doull and J. Barton (Sheffield, 1981), p. 85.

¹⁵ Mettinger, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

by an assembly of "all Israel (כל ישראל)".¹⁶ Finally the procedure was concluded at Hebron (II Samuel 5:3) when David made a covenant with "all the elders of Israel (כל זקני ישראל)" and when he was anointed "king over Israel (למלך על ישראל)".¹⁷ David's investiture was thus a well-documented example of the conciliar nature of the early monarchy.

Biblical evidence also presents a detailed picture of the accession of Jeroboam I (ca. 922 B.C.) and the subsequent "division" of Israelite power (I Kings 12:1-20). Once again, it appears that there were several steps by which a royal candidate was elected. In this instance, the first candidate Rehoboam was rejected and a second was accepted. While numerous issues still prevent us from reaching a full understanding of the processes that were involved in this remarkable event, one fact remains certain.¹⁸ At this time, the council at Shechem which was respon-

¹⁶Ibid., p. 114.

¹⁷Hertzberg suggests that II Samuel 5:1-3 should be regarded as a literary whole and that it therefore discusses a procedure which involved two separate parts. The installation by "all the tribes of Israel (כל שבטי ישראל)" in verses 1-2 was a preliminary step while the transactions with the more august body, "all the elders of Israel," was the final act. See his I and II Samuel: A Commentary, trans. J. S. Bowden (Philadelphia, 1964), pp. 266-267. However, since it is far more likely that verses 1 and 2 are the product of later redaction (as Mettinger suggests op. cit., pp. 114-115), only verse 3 appears to contain a specific references to the northern investiture. As a result, we are left with a constitutional process in which the royal candidate had only to negotiate with a council of elders.

¹⁸See for example, Abraham Malamat, "Organs of Statecraft in the Israelite Monarchy," Biblical Archaeologist, 28 (1965), 34-50; D. G. Evans, "Rehoboam's Advisers at Shechem, and Political Institutions in Israel and Sumer," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 25 (1966), 273-279; and Mettinger, op. cit., pp. 115-117.

sible for the selection of monarchs, was still powerful enough to play a significant role in political affairs. The conciliar ideology that characterized early kingship still existed as a functioning reality.

However, in spite of this situation, the installation of Jeroboam I appears to have been the last instance in which an assembly of constituents was able to assert its traditional authority. After his death (ca. 901 B.C.), a period of chronic instability descended upon the north which seems to have had devastating effects upon the constitutional practises of the early monarchy. For 25 years, kings were elevated and deposed in rapid succession. Jeroboam's son and successor Nadab (ca. 901 - 900 B.C.) was murdered by Baasha (ca. 900 - 877 B.C.), and his son Elah (ca. 877 - 876 B.C.) was in turn killed by the chariot commander, Zimri who reigned for a mere seven days (ca. 876 B.C.).¹⁹

As often happens during times of crisis, a leader came to the fore whose virtues resided more with his ability to restore order than with any legitimate claim to the throne. After defeating his rivals (Zimri and Tibni) in a three-year conflict, an army commander ($\text{אצמ} \text{ } \text{רש}$) named Omri succeeded in bringing stability to the north (I Kings 16:15-23). During his brief but significant reign (ca. 876 - 869 B.C.), Omri appears to have brought about a major break with the constitutional ideals of the past by increasing the autocratic powers of the

¹⁹I Kings 15:25 - 16:15a.

monarchy and by providing it with a solid political base. Evidence of this development may be found in the strong possibility that his successful but protracted struggle with Tibni actually represents a defeat of the tribal militias and the political forces that supported them.²⁰ It may also be seen in the manner by which the army was able to acclaim its candidate without apparent regard for the wishes of a council at the capital (i.e. Tirzah).²¹ The founding of Samaria is the most dramatic evidence of the monarchy's attempt to free itself from the strings of traditional assemblies.

Omri appears to have consolidated his power to such an extent that his son Ahab (c869 - 850 B.C.) was able to continue the expansion of the royal power base. However, this conclusion is not without its challenges since I Kings 20:1-43 would seem to contradict it. In this passage, Ahab is found in a desperate position of weakness. Ben-hadad of Syria has laid seige to Samaria and the Israelite monarch is trapped. According to the interpretation of Malamat, it is clear that Ahab was as dependent upon the conciliar voice as Jeroboam I had been.²²

²⁰See John Gray, I and II Kings: A Commentary (Philadelphia, 1976 (1964)), pp. 364-366.

²¹In Mettinger's view, Omri's acclamation after the defeat of Zimri, represented a constitutional act which was "in line" with the investitures of earlier northern monarchs. The military body that carried out this act, did so "as representing "all Israel" (v. 16-17)" and was therefore "denoted as 'AM (v. 15-16)." See Mettinger, op. cit., 117.

²²Malamat, "Organs of Statecraft..." p. 42.

However, this view is difficult to maintain if the redaction history of the passage is considered. According to C. F. Whitley, the traditions that are recorded in I Kings 20:1-43 throw more light upon the realities that prevailed during the reign of the weak king Jehoahaz (ca. 815 - 801 B.C.) than they do upon the events of Ahab's era. Since a seige of Samaria appears incompatible with the power that Ahab displayed at the battle of Karkar (ca. 853 B.C.), it is quite possible that the Deuteronomistic editor transferred events belonging to the early years of the Jehu dynasty to the period of the Omride kings.²³ His motives for this reconstruction of history are to be sought in his desire to portray the latter as a time of great activity for the champions of Yahweh which culminated in the overthrow of an evil dynasty.²⁴ As a result, it is difficult to see how the

²³Whitley also makes the observation that the emergency created by the invasions of Shalmaneser III would have precluded any conflict between Israel and the Aramean kingdom. The two were allies at the battle of Karkar and likely remained so for the duration of the emergency. The events of the Syro-Ephraimite War seem more compatible with a period of Assyrian weakness. See C. F. Whitley, "The Deuteronomic Presentation of the House of Omri," Vetus Testamentum, 2 (1952), pp. 144-146.

Shalmaneser's monolithic inscription provides valuable evidence for the relative strength of the Israelite monarch during the mid-9th century B.C. According to this document, Ahab, at the battle of Karkar, possessed not only the ability to provide the largest chariot force of the Syro-Palestinian alliance, he was able to match the Assyrian forces! See M. Elat, "The Campaigns of Shalmaneser III against Aram and Israel," Israel Exploration Journal 25 (1975), 25-35. While the figures representing Ahab's chariotry in this inscription are undoubtedly exaggerated (2,000 unites), it is difficult to agree with Rainey's contention that it numbered a mere 20! (See his editorial remarks in Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, p. 336). N. Na'aman's estimate of 200 is probably closer to the truth. See his, "Two Notes on the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III from Kurkh," Tel Aviv 3 (1976), 89-106. See also Herbert Donner, "The Seperate States of Israel and Judah," in J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller, ed., Israelite and Judaeon History (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 400.

²⁴Whitley, op. cit., pp. 150-152.

development of the autocracy was delayed during the reign of Ahab.

The degree to which the monarchy had expanded by the time the last Omride, Jehoram (ca. 849 - 842/841 B.C.) was overthrown may be seen in Jehu's (ca. 842/841 - 815 B.C.) contemptuous manner in dealing with the council and the prominent citizenry of Samaria (II Kings 9:1 - 10:31). His letters "to the rulers of the city (אל שרי יזרעאל), to the elders (הזקנים), and to the guardians of the sons of Ahab (ואל האמנים אחאב)" would seem to indicate that any form of popular input into the selection of kings had long since ceased to be a factor. Whatever influence a conciliar voice might have exercised at this stage, it was entirely perfunctory.²⁵

The Biblical sources are notably silent about the role of councils after the reign of Jehu. While this silence may be attributed to a number of factors, the overall evidence suggests that it was rooted in the political realities of the period. During the last century of its existence, the northern monarchy was virtually independent of conciliar bodies. This fact is evi-

²⁵ Indeed, it is quite possible that Jehu's revolution was not a matter that related purely to the internal affairs of the Israelite kingdom. It may well have been a part of a greater international event - namely Shalmaneser's invasion of Syria-Palestine in 841 B.C. Michael C. Astour has suggested that Jehu's accession may in part be attributed to Assyrian intervention. According to his scenario, it was not the Syrians that Jehoram confronted at Ramoth-Gilead; it was the Assyrian army during its first direct incursion upon Israelite soil. Shalmaneser's cruel destruction of Beth-Arbel (still recounted a century later in Hosea 10:13-15) created such a sense of horror that confusion and disorganization ensued within Israelite ranks. Jehu took advantage of this confusion and proceeded to establish himself upon the throne with Assyrian aid. See Michael C. Astour, "841 B.C.: The First Assyrian Invasion of Israel," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 91 (1971), 383-389.

dent by the apparent abandonment (at least as far as actual practise was concerned) of the principles of charismatic election and by their replacement with a custom involving dynastic kingship.²⁶ Jehu succeeded in founding a dynasty that occupied the throne for nearly 100 years (Jehu, Jehoahaz, Jehoash (ca. 801 - 786 B.C.), Jeroboam II (ca. 786 - 746 B.C.), Zechariah (ca. 746 - 745 B.C.)). Royal absolutism is also indicated by the social upheavals that it created (cf. the criticisms of Amos) and by the power that Jeroboam II was able to wield in Syria and Palestine (II Kings 14:23-29).²⁷ It is finally evident in the political turmoil that followed the death of Jeroboam II. The rapid accession and rejection of kings during the final years of the monarchy (Zechariah, Shallum (ca. 745 B.C.), Menachem (ca. 745 - 738 B.C.), Pekahiah (ca. 738 - 737 B.C.), Pekah (ca. 737 - 732 B.C.), Hoshea (ca. 732 - 724/722 B.C.)) lead only to one conclusion: rulers were made by the few.

The Biblical evidence thus reveals an undeniable trend.

²⁶ Though the autocracy increased its power after the reign of Jeroboam I, the doctrine of charismatic election still existed as late as the time of Jehu and perhaps even later. It is quite possible that an ongoing controversy between the charismatic and dynastic ideologies existed in the north throughout much of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. This controversy would not have been noted by the Deuteronomist historian who as "a Judean took dynastic kingship for granted." See J. M. Miller, "The Fall of the House of Ahab," Vetus Testamentum 27 (1967), 307-324.

²⁷ See Menachem Haran, "The Rise and Decline of the Empire of Jeroboam ben Joash," Vetus Testamentum 17 (1967), 266-297; H. Donner, op. cit., 408-414; James Luther Mays, Amos: A Commentary, (London, 1969), pp. 71-73, 113-117 and Hans Walter Wolff, Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos, trans. Waldemar Janzen, et. al., (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 204-207, 273-278.

During the course of the Iron II period, power was gradually transferred from the traditional assemblies to the newly emergent power-center - the monarchy. In the towns, this process became visible through the increasing presence of inter-city institutions such as the royal officials called שרִים .

As the monarchy developed its administrative apparatus, it appears that officials known as the שרִים became increasingly involved in the affairs of urban life. During the pre-monarchical period, they were virtually "synonymous with the elders (i.e. the traditional political bodies) in function."²⁸ However, as Iron II progressed, they came to serve in various capacities as representatives of the king. Being perhaps more numerous in the larger towns (e.g. Samaria, II Kings 10:1), they functioned as military officers (e.g. I Samuel 8:12; 17:18, 55; II Samuel 24:2, 4; I Kings 9:22; II Kings 1:14, 2:4), governors (I Kings 20:14, 22:26) and in other official capacities (Jeremiah 24:8; 26:10 f.; 34:19, 21).²⁹ שרִים of lesser rank (the נִעָר) may have served in outlying communities as assistants to those of higher rank (e.g. at the time of Ahab, some district governors (שרֵי הַמְדִינֹת) had as many as 232 נִעָרִים beneath them (I Kings 20:14-15)). Regardless

²⁸ Frank S. Frick, The City in Ancient Israel, p. 123.

²⁹ J. van der Ploeg, "Les chefs du peuple d'Israel et leurs titres," Revue Biblique 57 (1950), pp. 40-45; Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel I: Social Institutions, p. 69.

of their rank, מִשְׁרָפִים looked after a host of matters such as the collection of taxes, the administration of the royal estates and the provisioning of the court (e.g. I Kings 4:7-28).

While few details are available about the interaction between the מִשְׁרָפִים and the traditional elements of urban authority, it is fairly certain that the two existed in a symbiotic relationship which caused the former to prosper and the latter to decline. Throughout its entire existence, the northern monarchy never altered the internal structure of the cities. In many respects, the cities preserved their basic character, and institutions such as the elders continued to exist in some form or another. However, as the מִשְׁרָפִים became enriched through their connections with the king, a major shift occurred in the urban balance of power. This shift not only created a new aristocracy of royal dependents, it also integrated cities to such an extent that they came to serve the needs of interest groups which were external to them.³⁰

THE SOCIAL VARIABLE

By increasing its political clout in the cities, the monarchy also created a dramatic shift in the social variables of the north. One of the most profound developments of the Iron II period was the gradual integration of the Israelite and Canaanite social systems. Though this process had significant effects on all population groups it was probably amongst the ruling Israelite populace that they were most keenly felt.

³⁰Johannes Pedersen, Israel: I-II: Sjøleliv og Samfundsliv (Copenhagen, 1934), pp. 28-29.

This is especially evident if one considers the growing heterogeneity and redefinition of identity that it experienced. During the early phases of the tribal era, the Israelite social group was in all likelihood fairly homogenous. To use Wirth's terminology, "community" and "society" probably encompassed the same group of people.³¹ However, with the conquest of Canaanite centers such as Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam, Beth-Shean and Dor, homogeneity gave way to heterogeneity so that "community" and "society" no longer included the same people necessarily. This reality caused considerable adjustment problems for certain portions of the Israelite population. This was especially true when the emerging "society" represented by the monarchy, attempted to integrate the north with new relationships of consensus.

As far as the Israelite populace was concerned the social transformation of Iron II was visible primarily in two concurrent developments. The first of these was the abandonment of a rurally-oriented society that had been characterized by only a minimum of formal integration and class differentiation. The second was the emergence of a new way of life which resembled the one that prevailed amongst the Canaanite peoples. This new society was not only more urban and cosmopolitan in orientation, it was also characterized by a hierarchial social order, class differentiation and a more pronounced division of labour.

At the core of these two developments was a major evolution within the conventional mode of land tenure. Since the tra-

³¹See the discussion of Wirth's definition of "community" and "society" (p. 28).

ditional society of the Israelite population was rural in nature, the family patrimony was regarded not merely as the primary source of wealth, but also as a sacred entity. Between a man and his ancestral homestead existed an inalienable relationship which could not be breached even under the most extreme of circumstances. The efficacy of this bond is shown by the practise of selling wives and children into slavery in order to preserve a financially distraught patrimony. It is also illustrated by Naboth's refusal to divest himself of the Jezreelite vinyard (I Kings 21:3, "Yahweh forbid that I should give you the inheritance of my fathers.")³²

With the expanding power of the royal urban elite, it appears that this traditional pattern of land tenure declined in importance as far as actual practise was concerned. Biblical evidence points to a virtual land revolution during Iron II, in which great aristocratic families increased their holdings by infringing upon the ancient patrimonies.³³ The classic example

³²Johannes Pedersen, Israel I-II, pp. 61-72; K. H. Henrey "Land Tenure in the Old Testament," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1954), pp. 6-7. Collectively, the practises that governed the life of the Israelite production unit are an example of how our understanding of certain ancient phenomena is facilitated if the ideational variable is considered. It is quite possible that Israelite practises concerning the patrimony are to be comprehended in terms of some of the principles that Fustel de Coulanges explored in his research of Greece and Rome. See pp. 15-22.

³³See for example, Max Weber, Das Antike Judentum (Tübingen, 1921), trans. by H. H. Gerth and D. Martindale Ancient Judaism (New York, 1952), pp. 3-89; Johannes Pedersen, Israel I-II, pp. 61-62; Israel III-IV, pp. 55-56; Roland de Vaux, Israel I, p. 73; Edward Neufeld, "The Emergence of a Royal-Urban Society in Ancient Israel," Hebrew Union College Annual 31 (1960), pp. 44-47.

of this process is Ahab's acquisition of Naboth's vinyard.³⁴ Other examples include David's casual transfer of Meribaal's possessions to one of his own henchmen, Ziba (II Samuel 16:4). In Isaiah 5:8, the prophet decries "those who join house to house, who add field to field, until there is no more room, and you are made to dwell alone in the midst of the land." According to Micah (2:2), the rich "covet fields, and seize them; and houses, and take them away; they oppress a man and his house, a man and his inheritance." Other prophetic examples point to the acquisition of wealth through illicit and unjust means (e.g. speculation, fraud (Amos 8:5), bribery (Isaiah 1:23, Jeremiah 5:28, Micah 3:11, 7:3) and unjust financial practises (Amos 2:6-8, 8:6)).

The development of large estates resulted in two substantial changes within the north. First, it increased the complexity of the entire northern community.³⁵ Secondly, it caused an enormous expansion of urban wealth. Since the latter is an integral part of the economic variable, we shall temporarily defer our discussion of this point and turn to the issue of complexity.

The heterogenous situation that came to characterize the northern community was most pronounced in the cities. This development was a natural occurrence since urban centers, by definition, represent those points where the volume and density of social interaction are greatest. It was also natural within the Israelite context in that ancient centers generally functioned as the

³⁴See Francis I. Andersen, "The Socio-Juridical Background of the Naboth Incident," Journal of Biblical Literature 85 (1966), 46-57.

³⁵The progression of heterogeneity was not confined to the Israelite population; it was also intensified within the Canaanite sector.

mander of the army (אל כל הצבא ישראל), (2) the commander of the guard (על הכרי ועל הפלתי), (3) the officer in charge of forced labour (על המס), (4) the herald (המזכיר), (5) the secretary (ספר), and (6) the priests (כהנים). I Kings 4:1-6 (dating from the time of Solomon) presents a similar list of סרים with the addition of (7) the head of the officers (על הנוצבים), and (8) the master of the palace (על הבית).³⁷

For the period after Solomon, the Biblical evidence is primarily reflective of the situation in Judah (especially the time of Hezekiah and after). However, in spite of this, there are enough references to the royal administration and the military structure of the north, to indicate that specialization, as far as the monarchy's interest group was concerned, continued unabated. Not only are we provided with the names of two majors of the palace (Arsa who served Elah (ca. 877 - 876 B.C.), I Kings 16:9 and Obadyahu who served Ahab (ca. 869 - 850 B.C.), I Kings 18:3), we are also able to detect the emergence of a highly specialized group of individuals - the men of the chariotry.³⁸

This group, if it is viewed within the context of Canaanite elites of a similar nature, is very significant for our understanding of Israel's social development. At Ugarit and at other sites, it appears that individuals who were associated with chariot units often constituted a very influential

³⁷ See especially Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, Solomonic State Officials: A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy (Lund, 1971), pp. 7-18; Roland de Vaux, Israel I, pp. 127-129.

³⁸ de Vaux, op. cit., 129.

and privileged social group (such as the maryannu).³⁹ If Zimri's overthrow of Elah (ca. 876 B.C.)⁴⁰ and the widespread presence of "chariot cities" (עָרֵי הַרֶכֶב) throughout the realm (Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Lower Beth-Horon)⁴¹ are indicators of a similar situation in the north, then one conclusion is possible. Heterogeneity was not only advanced, it was associated in part with the adoption of Canaanite practises such as chariot warfare.

Beneath the king and distinguished from most upper class elements of the royal interest group (e.g. the שָׂרִים and the men of the chariotry) was a loosely defined group designated by the term עַם הָאָרֶץ.⁴² As an expression, עַם הָאָרֶץ has remained somewhat of an enigma and it has been subject to a number of interpretations. At the beginning of the century, M. Sulzberger maintained that it was a political designation referring to

³⁹de Vaux, op. cit., 222; A. F. Rainey, "The Military Personnel of Ugarit," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 24 (1965), pp. 19-24; Michael Heltzer, The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit: Royal Service-System, Taxes, Royal Economy, Army and Administration (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 111-115.

⁴⁰According to I Kings 16:9 Zimri was "commander of half his chariots (שָׂר מֵחֵצֵי הַרֶכֶב)."

⁴¹For the term "chariot cities" see I Kings 9:19 and I Kings 10:26. According to the list in I Kings 9:15-19, there were six centers where chariot units were stationed during the reign of Solomon. These included Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Lower Beth-Horon, Baalath and Tamar. Roland de Vaux has suggested that following the death of Solomon, the Northern Kingdom received the first four of these "chariot cities", while Judah retained only Baalath and Tamar. The concentration of the larger installations in the north may reflect the possibility that the traditions of chariot warfare were considerably stronger and more advanced in Israel than they were in Judah. It also reflects the fact that the terrain of Judah is generally prohibitive for the large-scale employment of chariot units. See de Vaux, op. cit., pp. 222-225.

⁴²Mettinger, King and Messiah, pp. 128-129.

repositories of the economic surplus. It was here that the power center was able to develop the means for retrieving, storing and dispensing the surplus (e.g. bureaucracies, public buildings, writing, predictive sciences). It was also here that the symbiosis between the traditional urban citizenry and the palace-temple organization was centered.³⁶

As is typical of preindustrial settings in general, heterogeneity existed within the Northern Kingdom as a hierarchical social order. While the Biblical evidence does not permit us to determine the exact nature and function of all the various elements of this order, a brief survey of some of its more salient interest groups is possible.

At the head of the hierarchy was the king. On the social scale, he represented an interest group whose membership not only incorporated the upper classes but also other strata of the population. Institutionally this group included the king's household, the royal bureaucracy and the military. One of its chief characteristics was the fact that it often functioned as a separate "society" (Wirth's terminology) within the greater community that constituted the Northern Kingdom.

A second characteristic was its heterogeneous nature. In many ways, the royal interest group represented the epitome of Iron II specialization and division of labour. This was true during the period of the United Kingdom. From the lists enumerating David's officials (II Samuel 8:15-18; 20:23-26), we witness a host of functionaries which include: (1) the com-

³⁶For these concepts, see the discussion of Durkheim, Childe, Wirth and Oppenheim see pp. 25-31.

mander of the army (אל כל הצבא ישראל), (2) the commander of the guard (על הכרי ועל הפלתי), (3) the officer in charge of forced labour (על המס), (4) the herald (המזכיר), (5) the secretary (ספר), and (6) the priests (כהנים). I Kings 4:1-6 (dating from the time of Solomon) presents a similar list of סרים with the addition of (7) the head of the officers (על הנוצבים), and (8) the master of the palace (על הבית).³⁷

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³⁷ See especially Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, Solomonic State Officials: A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy (Lund, 1971), pp. 7-18; Roland de Vaux, Israel I, pp. 127-129.

³⁸ de Vaux, op. cit., 129.

and privileged social group (such as the maryannu).³⁹ If Zimri's overthrow of Elah (ca. 876 B.C.)⁴⁰ and the widespread presence of "chariot cities" (עָרֵי הַרֶכֶב) throughout the realm (Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Lower Beth-Horon)⁴¹ are indicators of a similar situation in the north, then one conclusion is possible. Heterogeneity was not only advanced, it was associated in part with the adoption of Canaanite practises such as chariot warfare.

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³⁹de Vaux, op. cit., 222; A. F. Rainey, "The Military Personnel of Ugarit," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 24 (1965), pp. 19-24; Michael Heltzer, The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit: Royal Service-System, Taxes, Royal Economy, Army and Administration (Wiesbaden, 1982), pp. 111-115.

⁴⁰According to I Kings 16:9 Zimri was "commander of half his chariots (שָׂר מִחֵצֵי הַרֶכֶב)."

⁴¹For the term "chariot cities" see I Kings 9:19 and I Kings 10:26. According to the list in I Kings 9:15-19, there were six centers where chariot units were stationed during the reign of Solomon. These included Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Lower Beth-Horon, Baalath and Tamar. Roland de Vaux has suggested that following the death of Solomon, the Northern Kingdom received the first four of these "chariot cities", while Judah retained only Baalath and Tamar. The concentration of the larger installations in the north may reflect the possibility that the traditions of chariot warfare were considerably stronger and more advanced in Israel than they were in Judah. It also reflects the fact that the terrain of Judah is generally prohibitive for the large-scale employment of chariot units. See de Vaux, op. cit., pp. 222-225.

⁴²Mettinger, King and Messiah, pp. 128-129.

a full-fledged Israelite parliament with a bi-cameral structure. R. G. Gordis later suggested that it served to distinguish the rural population from the urban population. Others saw the עַמְּהָרָה as constituting the poorest and lowest elements of the people or at least, the non-ruling segments. Another theory equated it with a landed nobility.⁴³

At the moment, the definition that holds wide acceptance is the one that was proposed by Gillischewski and Würthwein a number of years ago.⁴⁴ This definition, to use Mettinger's turn, refers to "a phenomenon that has to do with the horizontal stratification" of society.⁴⁵ Regarding the עַמְּהָרָה as a social designation, it envisions a "body of free, property-owning, full (male) citizens of a country who played a vital political, economic and military role in the affairs of that country."⁴⁶ This group was bounded at the top by the elites of the royal interest

⁴³ See for example, R. Gordis, "Sectional Rivalry in the Kingdom of Judah," Jewish Quarterly Review 24 (1934-1935), 237-259; M. Sulzberger, The Am Ha-arets: The Ancient Hebrew Parliament (Philadelphia, 1909); idem., "The Polity of the Ancient Hebrews," Jewish Quarterly Review 3 (1912-1913), 1-81.

⁴⁴ Eva Gillischewski, "Der Ausdruck עַמְּהָרָה im A.T.," Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 60 (1922), 137-142; E. Würthwein, "Der 'amm ha'arez im A.T.," Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, 17 (1936); de Vaux, Israel I, pp. 70-71; Mettinger, op. cit., pp. 124-129.

⁴⁵ Mettinger, op. cit., p. 128.

⁴⁶ E. W. Nicholson, "The Meaning of the Expression עַמְּהָרָה in the Old Testament," Journal of Semitic Studies 10 (1965), p. 59. The designation may be compared to the awelum of the Code of Hammurabi.

group, and by the disenfranchised (foreigners, women, slaves) at its base.⁴⁷

While this definition is not without its difficulties, it does clarify much of the Biblical evidence regarding the עַם הָאָרֶץ. By solidifying the contention that a "middling" category existed within the social structure of the north, it strengthens the picture of rising heterogeneity.

One group that clearly reflects the pluralistic developments of the Northern Kingdom was the one comprising resident foreigners, the גֵּרִים. This group has often been compared with the periokoi of Sparta and the Plebians of Rome, because it embraced the original Canaanite population. In common with their Greek and Roman counterparts, the גֵּרִים were generally poor and economically disadvantaged. However, as free men, they enjoyed many of the privileges that were accorded to the Israelite עַם הָאָרֶץ. In legal proceedings for example, they were entitled to the same type of justice (Deuteronomy 1:16) and they were permitted to share in the Passover providing they were circumcized (Exodus 12:48-49, Numbers 9:14). גֵּרִים also shared in the potential to amass wealth and were thus capable of eclipsing their neighbours having full rights of citizenship (Leviticus 25:47, Deuteronomy 28:43).⁴⁸

A group that drew its membership from both the גֵּרִים and

⁴⁷Mettinger, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

⁴⁸Pedersen, Israel I-II, pp. 32-34; Weber, Judaism, pp. 28-57; de Vaux, Israel I, pp. 74-76.

the עַם הָאָרֶץ was the one comprising the property-less labourer (the סֹכֵיִר). In many respects, the fate of this class epitomizes the social upheavals created by the rise of the monarchical center of power. As the large estates expanded their holdings, many small landowners were forced to leave their ancestral homesteads and join the ranks of the סֹכֵיִר. In this capacity, they were employed either as day-labourers (Leviticus 19:13, Deuteronomy 24:14-15) or as workers who were attached to large households for a specified period of time (Leviticus 25:50, Isaiah 16:14, 21:16). They performed a variety of functions such as the harvesting of grain and grapes (Ruth 2:3f., II Kings 4:18) and the tending of livestock (Amos 3:12). On the whole, the lot of the סֹכֵיִר was one of hardship and exploitation (Job 7:1-2, 14:6; Jeremiah 22:13; Malachi 3:5).⁴⁹

Within the Israelite social structure, the craftsmen and the merchants occupied a "middling" position of sorts. As social groups, they are important for our purposes in that they shed considerable light upon the heterogenous situation that developed in the north, especially as it unfolded in the cities. By indicating the presence of a pronounced division of labour, they provide further evidence for the gradual recession of the traditional way of life.

Since the Biblical evidence concerning the craftsmen (חַרְשִׁים) deals primarily with Judah, we must once again rely

⁴⁹Pedersen, Israel I-II, p. 32; de Vaux, Israel I, p. 76.

upon parallels that are taken from areas that are outside the kingdom of Israel. At Jerusalem, the elements of specialization and heterogeneity are particularly evident since the various crafts existed as small "societies" (in Wirth's sense of the word) throughout the city. These "societies" were apparent through the various guilds that they created.⁵⁰ They were also visible in the spatial sense. Jerusalem had its "Baker's Street" (Nehemiah 3:31-32), "Fuller's Field" (Isaiah 7:3), "Gate of the Potsherds" (Jeremiah 19:1f., presumably the center of pottery production) and its "Goldsmiths' Quarter" (Jeremiah 37:21). While certain allowance must be made for differences in detail, it can hardly be doubted that the Judahite situation was paralleled in northern centers such as Samaria.⁵¹

The merchant group presents a similar picture with regard to specialization and heterogeneity, though on a smaller scale. Since Israelite craftsmen generally marketed their own goods within the immediate locale, full-time merchants were usually limited in their endeavours to foreign trade. However, even this field provided only limited opportunities, since its activities were usually carried out under the auspices of royal monopolies. As a result, the merchant community that emerged was only modest in size.⁵²

The limited size of the northern merchant class however, did not prevent it from displaying some of the characteristics

⁵⁰I. Mendelsohn, "Guilds in Ancient Palestine," B.A.S.O.R. 80 (1940), 17-21.

⁵¹de Vaux, Israel I, pp. 76-78.

⁵²de Vaux, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

of specialization and heterogeneity that prevailed elsewhere in the cities. Indeed at Samaria, it appears that it was responsible for bringing a foreign element into the community. According to the evidence of I Kings 20:34, Ahab made an economic agreement with the Aramaean king Benhadad which provided for the establishment of Syrian merchants in Samaria. In so doing, he appears to have reactivated a policy that was originally set in motion by his father, Omri.⁵³ He also continued a practise that was common in the Levant. At Ugarit, for example, where the situation was very complex, the merchant community was comprised of elements from Minoan Crete, Mycenaean Greece, Cyprus, Hittite Anatolia and Egypt.⁵⁴

Occupying the lowest positions of the social order were other groups which reflected the rising complexity of Israelite society. Slaves and outcaste groups such as prostitutes represented a variety of social relationships. For example, while slaves could be held in perpetuity by Israelite masters if they were of Canaanite or foreign origin (Leviticus 25:44-46), the regulations surrounding the Jubilee Year (Leviticus 25:40) make it unlikely that Israelites themselves could be subjected by such relationships. Slaves could also be bound within a variety of situations. While some were attached to large households (Genesis 17:22, 23, 27) and the Temple (Joshua 9:23, 27),

⁵³Loc. cit.

⁵⁴Margaret S. Drower, "Ugarit," in Cambridge Ancient History, II, 2 (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 136-137.

others served the state in various enterprises (e.g. Solomon's building program, I Kings 9:15-21).⁵⁵ Prostitutes represented yet another set of relationships. Whereas women were generally confined in their activity and mobility, prostitutes were free to roam the city. (Isaiah 23:16).⁵⁶

Our survey of prominent social groups thus enables us to conclude that the northern social variable was dominated by a process of integration. As the Israelite and Canaanite social systems were integrated through the influence of the Samaritan power base, a heterogenous society emerged. This society was characterized by a more urban and cosmopolitan orientation.

THE ECONOMIC VARIABLE

The process which involved the emergence of the monarchy and the growth of large estates created a major shift within the economic variable. By greatly increasing the economic potential of a few large households, it stimulated a

⁵⁵Pedersen, Israel I-II, pp. 32-33; de Vaux, Israel I, pp. 80-90. In regard to the emancipation of slaves within the Israelite kingdoms, it is interesting to note that the term חפשי (free) has aroused considerable debate. Drawing upon parallels from the Amarna correspondence and Assyrian sources, various scholars have maintained that it refers to a distinct social group such as a class of peasant landholders or a class of free proletarians. De Vaux has rejected the use of such parallels and maintains (op. cit., 88) that it refers simply to emancipated slaves. See Johannes Pedersen, "Note on Hebrew HOFSI," Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 6 (1926), pp. 103-105; William F. Albright, "Canaanite HAPSI and Hebrew HOFSI Again," op. cit., 106-108; I. Mendelsohn, "The Canaanite Term for 'Free Proletarian,'" B.A.S.O.R. 83 (1941), 36-39; and John Gray, "Feudalism in Ugarit and Early Israel," Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 64 (1952), 49-55.

⁵⁶Pedersen, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

tremendous demand for goods that were available by means of either industrial production or commerce. The most significant aspect of this demand was the fact that in propelling the development of the industrial sector, it produced an economy that was considerably more diversified than the one which prevailed in traditional Israel.

Since the upper class sponsors of this demand resided primarily in urban centers, it was the Israelite city that became the main beneficiary of the new economy. Functioning as the repository of the economic surplus (i.e. the place where storage facilities, fortifications and administrative complexes existed to manage it) and as the market place, the city became a center of great wealth during the Iron II period.

However, this development did not cause the agricultural sector to relinquish its traditional position as the dominant element of the economy. Indeed as the producer of the surplus that is so necessary for urban growth, its influence remained paramount. However, as industry, commerce and the wealth of towns increased, it did have to surrender some of its previously unchallenged control. It was gradually integrated into a new economy which was characterized by a diversity of activity and an increasing interaction between rural and urban entities. We shall now focus upon the major components of this economic variable.

One of the most persistent features of Palestinian agriculture during the Israelite monarchies was its dependence

upon three staples - grain, grapes and olives. This triad not only provided a solid agricultural foundation for the urban developments of the Iron II period, it also provided the elite with a constant source of wealth. The Biblical texts continuously refer to grain, wine and oil as a collective measure of prosperity (Deuteronomy 7:13, Nehemiah 5:11, Hosea 2:8).⁵⁷

By and large, grain production was the most important sector of northern agriculture. Not only was it capable of supporting an ever-increasing urban population, it was also able to furnish the kingdom with an exportable surplus. According to I Kings 5:11 (II Chronicles 2:10), Solomon shipped 20,000 "cors of wheat" to Tyre.⁵⁸ In addition to the Biblical evidence, the archaeological data from various sites throughout the kingdom further point to the importance of grain. For example, at sites such as Tell Keisan, Megiddo (storage pit 1414), Afula, Dothan (Area L) and Shechem (structure 5900) which were centrally located within their respective localities, granaries were found. The presence of such installations strongly indicate

⁵⁷Deuteronomy 7:13: "...he will also bless the fruit of your body and the fruit of your ground, your grain and your wine and your oil,..." Hosea 2:8: "and she did not know that it was I who gave her the grain, the wine, and the oil." See Ernest Wright, Biblical Archaeology, rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 183.

⁵⁸Given their proximity to the Tyrian market, it is quite possible that northern grainlands (the Plain of Esdraelon perhaps) supplied the greater part of this amount.

that the immediate environs of these central places were capable of producing a surplus of grain.⁵⁹

The cultivation of grapes and the production of wine appear to have constituted the second leg of the agricultural tripod. Since vineyards were generally planted in hilly areas (Isaiah 5:2) that were fertile (and presumably terraced), the Northern Kingdom was endowed with a rich potential for the production of wines.⁶⁰ From various bits of evidence, it is apparent that much of this potential was realized. According to the Samaria Ostraca, the Central Hill Country was a major source of wine for the royal household at the beginning of the 8th century B.C. Indeed, it is quite possible that this region was the most important wine-producing area of the entire kingdom.⁶¹ However, be that as it may, recent excavations at Tel Michal in the Sharon Plain have shown that the wine industry

⁵⁹ See Jacques Briand and Jean Baptiste Humbert, Tell Keisan (1971-1976): Une cité phénicienne en Galilée (Paris, 1980), pp. 361-377; Robert S. Lamon and Geoffrey M. Shipton, Megiddo I: Seasons of 1925-34 (Chicago, 1939), pp. 66-68; M. Dothan, "Afula" in M. Avi-Jonah and E. Stern, ed., Encyclopedia of Archaeological Investigations in the Holy Land I (Oxford, 1975), p. 35; Joseph P. Free, "The Fifth Season at Dothan," B.A.S.O.R. 152 (1958), pp. 10-18; for Shechem, see pp. 169-172.

⁶⁰ Aage Bentzen, "Hverdagsliv og Gudstjeneste," in A. Bentzen, ed., Det Gamle Testamente II, Håndbog i Kristendoms-kundskab (Copenhagen, 1943), pp. 138-139.

⁶¹ André Lemaire, Inscriptions Hébraïques, I: Les Ostraca: Introduction, Traduction, Commentaire (Paris, 1977), pp. 29-38, 81.

was not confined to one particular region. It was present throughout much of the kingdom.⁶²

The widespread nature of the olive oil industry also points to its importance within the northern economy. Once again, the Samaritan Hill Country appears to have been a major center of production. In its survey of the area, the Yarkon Basin Project (1975 - 1976) found a total of 40 rock-cut olive presses. This finding is very significant if it is considered in the light of the frequent references in the Samaria Ostraca to olive oil that was produced in the area.⁶³

Aside from the Central Hill Country, most regions of the kingdom (except Galilee) appear to have produced this important commodity. For example, at Tel Dan in the north, an olive press has been found within the sacred precincts of the Iron II "high place."⁶⁴ In the south, at Bethel, an Iron II press has been found in Field E, Area I.⁶⁵ At Tel Shiqmona in the Carmel,

⁶²Steven Derfler, John C. Lawrenz, "Evidence for the Wine Industry in the Sharon Plain: Tel Michal," American Journal of Archaeology 87 (1983), p. 231.

⁶³David Eitan, "Olive Presses of the Israelite Period," Tel Aviv 6 (1979), 146-155.

⁶⁴Lawrence E. Stager and Samuel R. Wolff, "Production and Commerce in Temple Courtyards: An Olive Press in the Sacred Precinct at Tel Dan," B.A.S.O.R. 243 (1981), 95-102.

⁶⁵William F. Albright and James L. Kelso, The Excavation of Bethel (1934 - 1960), A.A.S.O.R. 39 (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 37 and plate 12b. The Bethel press was chiseled from a limestone block and was then cut with a circular groove at the top. Due to its resemblance to the vats at Tell Beit Mirsim and other sites, the excavators believed that it was employed in the dye-making process. However, in his recent study, Eitan has found that this interpretation is incorrect. The so-called "dye-vats" were in fact, oil presses. See Eitan, op. cit., 150-152.

3 oil presses were unearthed within the perimeters of town B (destroyed ca. 800 B.C.).⁶⁶

We are thus presented with a picture of widespread olive cultivation and oil production. From the evidence of I Kings 5:11, it appears that the olive industry was able to produce a surplus which could be sold on the international market. In conjunction with his grain shipments, Solomon also exported 20,000 cors of olive oil to the city of Tyre. With this evidence, we are thus able to conclude that olives were an important source of urban wealth.

From the evidence that we have just surveyed, it is clear that the Northern Kingdom did not lack the agricultural base that is prerequisite for urban development. Indeed the wealth of this sector had reached the level where it was able to stimulate industrial growth.

The industrial sector of Israel was probably typical of preindustrial societies experiencing the first stages of development. With the absence of a middle class, it produced goods that primarily reflected the needs of the upper elite. Since the available technology was highly dependent upon animate sources of energy, manufacturing tended to represent the handicraft variety. The manufacturer of a certain product was involved in all levels of production. As a result, large-scale enterprises rarely existed and when they did, they were always initiated and controlled by the monarchy.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ J. Elgavish, "Tel Shiqmona," in Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land IV (Oxford, 1978), pp. 1103-1104.

⁶⁷ See our discussion of Sjoberg's definition of the preindustrial society, pp. 40-41.

While the northern industrial sector consisted of a large variety of skills, there are three in particular that remain prominent as far as the modern observer is concerned. These include (1) ashlar masonry, (2) ivory carving and (3) potting. The industries represented by these skills have generated a considerable amount of interest because they have been well represented by archaeological artifacts. They have also attracted attention because they reflect the wealth that accumulated in the cities. We shall now examine them briefly as examples of northern industry in general.

An industry that was probably very characteristic of the Israelite situation was the one involving ashlar masonry. As the producer of a high-order product (Christaller's terminology), its fortunes were directly proportional to the wealth of the royal elite. Due to the fact that wood is relatively scarce in Palestine, ashlar masonry was always in great demand for the building of finer homes.⁶⁸ During the building booms of Solomon and the Omride kings, it must have employed an extraordinary number of people.⁶⁹ Structures of ashlar masonry were constructed at all major centers of the northern realm during the Iron II period (e.g. Dan, Hazor, Megiddo, Taanach, Beth-Shean, Samaria and Gezer, see

⁶⁸In opposition to the widely held belief, Yigal Shiloh has shown very convincingly that the production of ashlar masonry was not a skill that was brought into Palestine from outside sources such as Phoenicia. It was actually developed by Canaanite and Israelite craftsmen as a response to the lack of wood. He further maintains that the architectural capital which has usually been designated with the "Proto-Aeolic" label should actually be referred to as the "Israelite" capital because of its frequency in Iron II Palestine. See his, The Proto-Aeolic Capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry, QEDM 11 (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 82-91.

⁶⁹See for example, the references to the building of the Temple in Jerusalem (I Chronicles 22:2, 14-15).

fig. 14).⁷⁰

Ashlar masonry is also interesting in that it appears to have been organized both as a royal enterprise and as a handi-craft industry. While masons working on monarchical projects (e.g. the palaces and the defense installations) were undoubtedly regarded as servants of the king, there is evidence that ashlar were also cut under more private circumstances. For example, at Shechem, it appears that the inhabitants of house 1727 (Field VII, Stratum VII) were engaged in the manufacture of ashlar blocks.⁷¹

Ivory carving was another industry that was generated by the demands of the new center of power. Its products were used almost exclusively by the upper elite of the cities. This is evident by the Biblical references to ivory consumption in Samaria (I Kings 22:34, Psalm 45:8, Amos 3:15, 6:1-8). It is also apparent by the archaeological find patterns of northern ivory products. The only known examples of Iron II carving have been found at the royal centers of Samaria and Megiddo.⁷²

While it is generally accepted that the Palestinian ivories represent an Egyptianizing style that was composed by Phoenician craftsmen, it is less certain whether they were manufactured by these artists in their native homeland or in the land of their patrons.⁷³ However, given the fact that a separate

⁷⁰See Shiloh, op. cit., 50-59 and fig. 13.

⁷¹See pp. 187-188. ⁷²See fig. 13.

⁷³J. W. Crowfoot and Grace M. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste II: Early Ivories From Samaria (London, 1938), pp. 1-6; Irene J. Winter, "Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Questions of Style and Distribution," Iraq 38 (1976), 1-22, *passim*; Sir Max Mallowan, The Nimrud Ivories (London, 1978), pp. 26-42.

school of ivory carving existed in Late Bronze Age Canaan⁷⁴ and given the Phoenician practise of sending craftsmen abroad, it is quite possible that the producers of the Iron II ivories also resided in Israel.⁷⁵

If this is the case, the ivory industry would probably have been organized as a royal enterprise. It is not known whether ivory craftsmen were numerous enough to have constituted a guild or a similar structure. However, if a demand for their product existed at levels beneath the highest echelons of the monarchy, then it is quite possible that they were.

In comparison with ashlar masonry and ivory carving, pottery was a product with a very wide and steady market. Since it was used within a variety of settings (i.e. the household, the temple, and the market-place), it represented an industry with a relatively large workforce.⁷⁶ However, in spite of this, very little is known about the organization of this workforce. Presumably, the northern potting industry was typical of most preindustrial endeavours. It represented a mix of royal enterprise, guild manufacture and domestic production.⁷⁷

⁷⁴Helene J. Kantor, "Syro-Palestinian Ivories," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 15 (1956), 153-174.

⁷⁵II Samuel 5:11, II Chronicles 14:1 (the time of David); I Kings 7:13-47, II Chronicles 2:7, 13-14 (the time of Solomon).

⁷⁶It should be emphasized that the number of craftsmen employed in any industrial endeavour of the ancient Iron Age was small. This was especially true of a situation such as Iron II Palestine. For example, even a very prosperous and well-developed potting industry such as the one of fifth-century B.C. Athens, did not employ more than 125 vase-painters at any given time. See R. M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery (London, 1960), p. 274.

Though, this is by no means certain, it is quite possible that the manufacturers of the fine Samaria Ware, were associated with the monarchy in some capacity. This conclusion is inferred from the find patterns of this pottery form. Samaria Ware has been found primarily in centers where the concentration of wealth was greatest and where royal institutions were present (e.g. Samaria, Shechem, Hazor, Tell Abu Hawam).⁷⁸

The economic variable thus presents a clear picture. With the emergence of a new royal interest group, the surplus of a prosperous agricultural base was mobilized so that the wealth of the cities was greatly increased. This development led to the formation of a more diversified economy.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL VARIABLE

With the economic factor, we thus take leave of the variables that constituted the different aspects of the Samaritan power base. We shall now consider variables which involve the technological, ecological and ideational resources of the ancient urbanites. Since the factors represented by this set of resources varied greatly from one site to another, we shall not focus upon them to any great extent here. Instead, a few observations will be made about their overall impact upon the northern urban pattern.

⁷⁷For example, it is possible that the characteristic potters' marks of Judah (e.g. circles, dots, crossing lines, strokes) actually represent the guilds that produced them. See I. Mendelsohn, "Guilds in Ancient Palestine," pp. 20-21.

⁷⁸Ruth Amiran, Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land: From Its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age (Jerusalem, 1969), plates 66-67, pp. 207-212; G. Ernest Wright, Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City (New York, 1965), pp. 156-157.

In the north, there were primarily four technological resources which came into play during the Iron II period. These included (1) terrace farming, (2) agricultural implements of iron, (3) casemate fortifications and (4) improved water supplies. The first two affected the urban process by increasing the all-important agricultural surplus and by facilitating an increase in the volume and density of the population. The latter two contributed towards the defensibility of important central places.

Terrace farming was an innovation that greatly improved the agricultural potential of Palestine's hill country. Being associated with crops such as grapes, olives and figs (Deuteronomy 32:32, Isaiah 16:8, Habakkuk 3:17), it must have been an important source of wealth for central places of all orders. While research has shown that it was very advanced in the Judaeen mountains (particularly in the regions surrounding Jerusalem), it is certain that it also played a very significant role in Galilee and the Samarian hill country.⁷⁹ When, terrace farming was introduced into the north, is uncertain. Though evidence points to its widespread use during Iron I, there is little doubt that it was greatly stimulated by the

⁷⁹The large number of hill-top villages that were founded in the Central Hill Country during the Iron I period were all supported by terrace farming. See Lawrence E. Stager, "The Archaeology of the East Slope of Jerusalem and the Terraces of Kidron," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 41 (1982), p. 116. For the situation in Judah, see Z. Ron, "Agricultural Terraces in the Judaeen Mountains," Israel Exploration Journal 16 (1966), 33-49, 111-122. For the north, see B. Golomb and Y. Kedar, "Ancient Agriculture in the Galilee Mountains," Israel Exploration Journal 21 (1971), 136-140; G. W. Ahlstrom, "Where did the Israelites Live?" Journal of Near Eastern Studies 41 (1982), 133-138. See also Frank S. Frick, The Formation of the State in Ancient Israel (Missoula, Montana, 1985), pp. 131-141.

expansion of the large estates during the Iron II period.

Another factor which made an impact upon the agricultural development of Palestine was the adoption of iron implements such as the plow. In the north, this process appears to have begun very early at Canaanite centers such as Taanach, and it must have continued fairly rapidly after the conquests of David.⁸⁰ Iron tools were a significant factor, since they were more efficient and less expensive to produce than their bronze counterparts.⁸¹

An innovation that greatly facilitated the consolidation of the Samarian power base throughout the north was the construction of casemate wall fortifications. As noted earlier (note 8, p. 55), the technology represented by these installations was especially advantageous for a medium-ranked monarchy such as Israel, in that it was relatively inexpensive to employ. It enabled the monarchy to project its power by integrating and intensifying the northern urban network. The current tally of casemate systems includes Samaria, Shechem, Tel Qasile, Megiddo, Taanach, Tel Mevorakh, Tel Dan and Hazor (see fig. 15).

A technological field in which the Israelites greatly excelled was the one involving the water supply. This was apparent as early as the period of the Judges. At that time, the

⁸⁰T. Stech-Wheeler, et. al., "Iron at Taanach and Early Iron Metallurgy in the Eastern Mediterranean," American Journal of Archaeology 85 (1981), 245-268.

⁸¹Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City, p. 65; H. H. Coghlan, "Metal Implements and Weapons," in Charles Singer, et. al., A History of Technology I: From Early Times to Fall of Ancient Empires (Oxford, 1958), pp. 616-621; Gordon Childe, What Happened in History, pp. 191-192.

Israelite population greatly increased its presence in the native hill country by employing an innovation that stabilized the water supply. People built cisterns that were waterproofed with a lining of plaster.⁸²

During the Iron II period, the Israelite monarchies performed tremendous feats of engineering in order to secure the water supply of their major centers. The most impressive of these endeavours involved the construction of the famous "şinnors" or water tunnels.⁸³ In the south for example, Hezekiah constructed the 533-meter long Siloam tunnel which connected the Gihon spring with the pool of Siloam. In the north, the Omride kings carried out the spectacular projects at Megiddo (Gallery 629) and Hazor (Area L).⁸⁴

The technological base that was available to the Israelites, thus enabled them to intensify the settlement of areas that had previously been unable to support higher population densities. In so doing, it also facilitated the spread of the urban network and the emergence of a power center which was not based

⁸²William F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine (Gloucester, Mass., 1971 (1940)), pp. 112-113.

⁸³R. J. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology I (Leiden, 1955), pp. 151-152.

⁸⁴Yigael Yadin, "Megiddo of the Kings of Israel," Biblical Archaeologist 33 (1970), pp. 89-96; idem., Hazor: The Head of All Those Kingdoms, pp. 172-178; Aharoni, Archaeology of the Land of Israel, pp. 234-238.

in the traditional centers of Canaanite power (e.g. the Esdaelon and the Jezreel Valleys) but in the Central Hill Country.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHICAL VARIABLE

The fifth variable which exercised a profound influence upon urban developments was the one involving physiography. This factor played a crucial role because it governed the transportation network of the north and it determined more or less the type of agricultural base that would be available to the inhabitants.

By and large, the road system was a product of geographical forces (see fig. 16). This is particularly evident with the major artery of the Northern Kingdom - the Via Maris. Since the ultimate function of this route was to connect Egypt with the large centers of Phoenicia, Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, its course was dictated by the topography of the land. Following a path of easiest access, it avoided the Samarian hill country by traversing the level western strip of the Sharon Plain.⁸⁵ From the Sharon it proceeded through several passes such as the famous Megiddo Pass where the soft Senonian rock made for a smooth, boulder-free access. In the Jezreel Valley it branched off in two directions. A southerly route descended through the valley to Beth-Shean. A northeasterly route continued down to the Sea of Galilee by passing through the Chesulloth Valley (between the Moreh and Tabor Hills). From there it proceeded

⁸⁵Yehuda Karmon, "Geographical Influences on the Historical Routes in the Sharon Plain," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1960), 43-60.

northward to Damascus.⁸⁶

The pattern of the secondary road system was also directed more or less by the topography of the region. For example, the major longitudinal thoroughfare of Palestine's hill country was defined by the watershed. The latitudinal thoroughfare connecting the centers of Samaria, Shechem and Tirzah with the Via Maris and the Jordan was traced by the valleys of Mount Ephraim and the Wadi Farah.⁸⁷

The net effect of this situation was the emergence of an urban pattern which was dominated by a montaine environment. Omride chariot cities such as Megiddo and Hazor were able to flourish because they occupied strategic positions along the Via Maris. The same applies to Jokneam, Taanach, Afula, Beth-Shean and Chinnereth. In the heartland of Israelite power, centers such as Samaria, Shechem, Tirzah, Dothan, Tappuah, Shiloh, Bethel and Dor owed a good measure of their prosperity to their location at vital junctions.

Aside from its influence upon the transportation network, the ecological factor also facilitated urban development by providing a Mediterranean-type environment. This environment enabled the Israelites to develop an economic surplus which was based upon the cultivation of grain, grapes and olives. One of the primary ecological resources of northern Palestine is the

⁸⁶ Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, pp. 12, 45-54; George Adam Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land (New York, 1966 (1894)), pp. 277-281; F. M. Abel, Geographie de la Palestine II: Geographie Politique. Les Villes (Paris, 1967 (1938)), pp. 217-219.

⁸⁷ Aharoni, op. cit., pp. 57-58, 60.

fact that it belongs to the Csa climate regime (Köppen-Geiger classification) that characterizes much of the Mediterranean littoral.⁸⁸ In the Central Hill Country, this zone is represented by an annual average temperature of 16 - 17 C and 600 - 700 mm. of precipitation (see figs. 17 and 18).⁸⁹ In addition, the north is blessed with a famous geological resource - the fertile terra rosa soil (see fig. 19).⁹⁰ If this factor is viewed in conjunction with the climatological conditions, it is evident that environment bestowed a great agricultural potential upon the Northern Kingdom.

THE IDEATIONAL VARIABLE

The sixth and last variable which affected the life of the northern cities was the one involving the ideational resources of the ancients themselves. As we recall from our initial discussion of the "religion" approach to urban sociology (pp. 14-16), ancient man defined his possibilities according to the perspectives of the "archaic" mentality. Within the Israelite context, this orientation governed all facets of social behaviour and it influenced attitudes towards the city in basically two ways. First, as far as the Israelite was concerned, it added an extra dimension to urban life - the city was not

⁸⁸ See Arthur N. Strahler, Physical Geography, 3rd. ed. (New York, 1969), pp. 228-229, 233, plate 2.

⁸⁹ Ephraim Orni and Elisha Efrat, Geography of Israel, 3rd ed. (New York, 1971), pp. 153-155.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 57-58; Aharoni, op. cit., pp. 11-13.

merely a point of interaction for various political, social and economic forces; it was also a center where the sacred and the profane were mediated in the communal sense. Secondly, the "archaic" attitude stimulated the element that Oppenheim discovered in his study of Mesopotamia - anti-urbanism.

For both the Israelite and Canaanite populations of Iron Age Palestine, cities and towns were regarded as centers in which man attempted to propitiate the unpredictable forces of the universe. This belief affected the urban pattern, since it encouraged development at some sites while it discouraged it at others even though they contained the economic and ecological potential that is necessary for growth. For example, some sites were favoured for growth because they functioned as the burial ground of the neighbouring clan or tribe and hence became the center of a local cult which was associated with these units. To this category, belong Dan, Ophrah and Shechem.⁹¹ It is also possible that the site of Jezreel was favoured in this way, since it may have been the ancestral homestead of the Omride dynasty.⁹²

During the Iron Age, several sites undoubtedly owed some degree of their prosperity to the fact that they were centers of public worship. For example, Samaria, aside from

⁹¹ Before its elevation as an "official" temple of the monarchy, Dan was the tribal sanctuary of the Danites. Ophrah appears to have been associated with the clan of Joash. See Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel II: Religious Institutions, (New York, 1961), pp. 306-308. For Shechem see pp. 194-196.

⁹² John Gray, I and II Kings, pp. 364-365.

its position as the political nucleus of the kingdom, was also a primary center for the worship of Yahweh Seba'ot and for the cult of Baal Melkart.⁹³ Bethel and Dan enjoyed renewed activity as the royal sanctuaries of Jeroboam I.⁹⁴ Megiddo and Hazor were also centers of worship, though on a scale that was greatly reduced from the one that prevailed in the Bronze Age. At these sites, residential quarters have produced small chapels or cultic corners (Megiddo: Building 2081, Stratum VA; Hazor: the bama in Stratum XI, Area B) which reflect a level of worship that existed beneath the royal "official" level.⁹⁵

While it certainly facilitated the urban process at various locations, the "archaic" mentality also produced an anti-urban factor which was particularly vocal within the Israelite sector of the population. In the north, this factor surfaced as a prophetic movement which adhered to a "nomadic

⁹³See pp. 155-158.

⁹⁴The shrine at Bethel was meant to rival the Temple of Jerusalem (see Albright and Kelso, The Excavation of Bethel, pp. 50-51). At the acropolis of Tel Dan, recent excavations have uncovered evidence of a large redevelopment program which is to be dated to the time of Jeroboam I, Ahab and Jeroboam II. One of the most interesting discoveries at this site has been the Iron II sanctuary. See A. Biran, "Tel Dan," Biblical Archaeologist 37 (1974), 26-51; idem., "Tel Dan," in M. Avi-Jonah, ed., Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land I (Oxford, 1975), pp. 313-321.

⁹⁵Yigal Shiloh, "Iron Age Sanctuaries and Cult Elements in Palestine," in Frank M. Cross, ed., Symposia: Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900 - 1975) (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), pp. 149-151. This level, may in fact correspond to the household level that Fustel de Coulanges discussed in his work (see pp. 15-19).

ideal" or "desert ideal." On the whole, it is difficult to gauge what influence it exercised upon the overall situation. However, in one instance, it does appear to have participated in events of the highest magnitude. During the revolution of ca. 842/841 B.C. in which the great city-building dynasty of Omri was overthrown, and in which the cult of Baal Melkart was extirpated from Samaria, a certain Jehonadab ben Rechab appears to have been allied with the usurper, Jehu (II Kings 10:15-27). According to the Biblical sources, this prophet represented a clan or a sect that espoused a nomadic way of life by rejecting the symbols of urbanized existence such as wine (Jeremiah 35:6-7). While it is still not certain where the group belonged within the general structure of Israelite society, one conclusion does seem warranted - during the urban expansion of the Iron II period, the Northern Kingdom was forced to contend with an anti-urban force that could potentially destabilize the situation from time to time.⁹⁶

With the ideational factor, we thus conclude our examination of the basic variables that governed the functioning and growth of the North Israelite city. We shall now direct our attention to the specific cases represented by Samaria, Shechem and Tirzah. In so doing, we shall investi-

⁹⁶ For an extensive treatment of Jehonadab's clan as well as the anti-urban element within the prophetic movement see Frank S. Frick, The City in Ancient Israel (Missoula, Montana, 1977), pp. 209-231.

gate the manner in which the six variables manifested themselves at each of these centers. We shall also, as far as the evidence will permit, determine the nature of the organism that they produced at each site.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NEW CITY : SAMARIA

I have given up hope of making any sensational finds. I propose to utilize our remaining time to the best possible advantage, but with the idea of closing the work here at the end of this season...I am sure that the site might be examined for another two campaigns for the sake of the historical results alone. It is even possible that there may be priceless historical inscriptions somewhere; but the hill is so vast that it is a mere matter of chance whether we strike anything even in a ten year's campaign. No properly conducted expedition ever guarantees anything more than to find what there is in the territory excavated, and to unravel its history. Nothing in the way of scientific results can be hoped for from indiscriminate grubbing in a dozen different places on the odd chance of finding antiquities. 1

For the modern observer, Iron II Samaria is a most interesting city to examine. Since its foundation is to be dated to an epoch that is documented by a fair amount of literary evidence, it provides a unique opportunity for the study of ancient urbanization. In the first place, it enables scholars to analyze the forces that promoted the development of an ancient site during the earliest phases of the urban process. It also permits an examination of the complex rela-

¹Reisner's ironic statement in his unpublished field diary (August 3, 1910) on the eve of his spectacular discovery of the Samaria Ostraca. The passage is quoted by Ivan T. Kaufman in "The Samaria Ostraca: An Early Witness to Hebrew Writing," Biblical Archaeologist 45 (1982), p. 229.

tionships that existed between the urban area and the hinterland that sustained it. Samaria has an added importance for the urban historian in that it provides a rare glimpse into the forces that counteracted urban development during its initial stages.

The Samarian metropolis is also interesting because it represents a unique set of variables. Since it was basically a product of the North Israelite monarchy, its life was governed by the political, social and economic dynamics of the royal power base. As the principle seat of government, it functioned as the political center of the kingdom. In addition, as a primary residence of the various elements that constituted the royal interest group, it served as a focal point of the social processes that characterized the Iron II period. It also served as an economic center of the highest order, since its market became the largest and the most wealthy within the northern realm.

In this chapter, we shall focus upon the evidence that pertains to the variables that operated at this site. As we proceed with the analysis, it will become apparent that Samaria was a royal city which was affected primarily by factors that were related to the monarchy and its interest group.

THE POLITICAL VARIABLE

The greatest element of the political variable is the fact that Samaria was the product of a deliberate policy

which was quite unprecedented within traditional Israelite culture. Since the latter was characterized chiefly by a rural and a tribal orientation, it was quite unaccustomed to the possibility that political power could be consolidated by means of city-building. As a result, Omri's foundation of a new capital upon an unoccupied or sparsely settled site, represented an intrusion of a "non-Israelite" practise which was paralleled at various sites throughout the Near East and the Mediterranean Basin.

That Omri's founding of Samaria represented a departure from tradition is apparent if one compares his policies with those of his predecessors. As noted above (pp. 62-64), the political history of the Northern Kingdom between the death of Solomon (ca. 922 B.C.) and the accession of Omri (ca. 876 B.C.) is a story of royal consolidation. Not only did this forty-two year era witness a notable increase in the power of royal institutions vis-a-vis the tribal councils, it also saw the monarchs engaged in a vigorous search for a viable seat of government. In this period, Shechem, Penuel, Tirzah and Samaria served successively as the royal capital and in each case, their selection reflected a specific set of concerns on the part of the king.

With the death of Solomon, the central goal of the northern monarchy was simply one of providing for its own survival so that its possible reunion with the more solidified Judahite monarchy would not become a reality. Jeroboam I (ca. 922 - 901 B.C.) set out to accomplish this aim by attempting

to weaken the allegiances that were commanded by the powerful Temple of Jerusalem. He elevated the status of two northern sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan (I Kings 12:26-33) so that they would compete with their southern counterpart. In addition, he sought to stabilize his position by paying deference to the amphictyonic council that had elected him - he chose to maintain his entourage at Shechem (I Kings 12:25).

This decision was probably a very wise one given his dependence upon the traditional organs of Israelite society. However, be that as it may, it is quite possible that Jeroboam's policy was also guided by other considerations. Since his primary concern was to counteract the influence of Jerusalem, Shechem was a logical choice of residence because of its antiquity. As the ancient focal point for the religious and political life of the Samarian Hill Country, it possessed a history and a body of traditions that easily rivalled those of its Davidic competitor.² Shechem's associations with the institutions of kingship were also time-honoured. Not only was it the royal seat of the ambitious Late Bronze Age ruler Labayu; it was also the center where the first Israelite experiments with kingship were conducted.³ Given his early preoccupations, Jeroboam's first selection of capitals was thus a very judicious one.

²Aside from being the capital of the Israelite Amphictyony, it was also the site of a sacred area and temple complex that dated as far back as ca. 1750 B.C. See pp. 194-195.

³See pp. 59, 164-165.

Shechem ^{might} well have preserved its status as the "queen" of the north, had it not been for a very notable event in the fifth year of Jeroboam's reign (ca. 918 B.C.) - Pharaoh Shishak's invasion of Palestine (I Kings 14:25-26). The effects of this attack were so devastating upon the north that they had a profound impact upon the policies of the king.⁴ Indeed, it is quite possible that they caused Jeroboam to incorporate the new factor of strategic defensibility into his decision-making, since he abandoned Shechem and sought refuge at Penuel in the Transjordan. This site, while it did not escape the Egyptian force, was considerably more defensible than the old capital.

When the crisis of invasion subsided, Jeroboam once again returned to Palestine, but at this juncture, he did not see it wise to reestablish himself at Shechem. Instead, he moved to Tirzah. This site was advantageous because it not only contained many of Shechem's attributes; it was also more strategically located as far as defense was concerned. Being situated at the head of the Wadi Far'ah, it provided the monarchy with a ready escape route to Gilead should an emergency on the ^sale of Shishak's invasion occur in the future. As the only other center of any size in the ancient amphictyonic heartland, it also fulfilled some of the requirements

⁴The north seems to have been one of the main targets of Shishak's thrust since major centers such as Shechem, Tanaach and Megiddo were destroyed. See fig. 21. See also Yohanan Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, pp. 323-327; John Bright, A History of Israel, pp. 229-230; Kenneth A. Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100 - 650 B.C.) (Warminster, 1973), p. 447; Benjamin Mazar, "The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine," Vetus Testamentum, Supplement 4 (1957), pp. 57-66.

of Jeroboam's earlier policies. It ensured that the monarchy maintained close contacts with the roots of traditional Israel.⁵

The policies that were responsible for Jeroboam's selection of Tirzah appear to have remained in effect after his death since his immediate successors (Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri) chose to remain at this location. However, with the accession of Omri, new political variables emerged which resulted in drastically altered set of policies.

Since he had secured his position by defeating the proponents of the traditional institutions (see pp. 63-64), Omri was at greater liberty than any previous monarch to implement policies that specifically benefitted the monarchy. As a result, he embarked upon a new program which attempted to develop a monarchical power base that overshadowed the traditional sources of power.

While our knowledge about such a program is somewhat fragmentary, the Omride period (ca. 876 - 842/841 B.C.) presents enough evidence to indicate that royal policy consisted of at least four elements. The first of these involved the augmentation of the military, especially the chariot wing. During the reign of Ahab (ca. 869 - 850 B.C.), great amounts of time and energy were expended upon the development of a massive fortification system at Samaria and upon the construction of instal-

⁵Kathleen Kenyon, Royal Cities of the Old Testament, p. 72; see also pp. 165-166.

lations at Megiddo and Hazor which were designed for the servicing and maintenance of the chariotry.⁶

This build-up was accompanied by the hallmark of Omri's program - his foreign policy. In an attempt to ensure the stability of his regime on the international level, he constructed an elaborate system of alliances which was headed by Israel. In the north, he secured the frontier by contracting an agreement with the ambitious king Ethbaal of Tyre. This alliance was of mutual benefit for the kingdoms and it was sealed with the marriage (I Kings 16:13) of Ahab and Ethbaal's daughter, Jezebel (sometime before 872 B.C.).⁷ It is possible that Omri also attempted to stabilize his southern frontier, since Ahab later established good relations with Jehoshaphat of Judah (I Kings 22:45). Around 866 B.C. the relationship between the two Israelite kingdoms was solidified by a marriage alliance. Athalia, the daughter of Omri or Ahab (II Kings 8:18, 26), was married to Jehoram, the crown-prince of Judah.⁸

⁶ Yigael Yadin, Hazor: The Head of All Those Kingdoms, pp. 147-178. Yigal Shiloh, "Elements in the development of Town Planning in the Israelite City," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978), pp.

⁷ Since the two monarchs appear to have shared a number of attributes in common, it is quite possible that the alliance between Omri and the ambitious Ethbaal was rooted in genuine friendship as well as geopolitical interests. Having spent the earlier part of his life as a priest of the Astarte cult in Sidon, Ethbaal (c887 - 856 B.C.) had also come to power by overthrowing an existing regime. As a usurper, he would naturally have shared Omri's preoccupation with the building of a firm political base. He would also have felt it imperative to embark upon a policy of trade and foreign alliances which would fill his coffers with the capital that was necessary for him to maintain his position. During his reign, Tyre not only became a leading entrepot of the

Omri also attempted to strengthen the position of his dynasty by developing a source of wealth which was controlled more or less by the crown. Such a source was available through trade. By setting up the Tyre-Israel-Judah axis, it is quite possible that he hoped to benefit from a potentially lucrative trade between the lands of the Mediterranean Basin and those that border the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.⁹

The fourth element of Omri's program appears to have involved the ideational sphere. Having secured his throne only by means of a protracted struggle, it is possible that the legitimacy of his position was open to question as far as the traditional elements of the Israelite population were concerned. As a result, he probably attempted to broaden his political base by catering to the Canaanite peoples of the kingdom. This policy would naturally include some form of religious toleration. Ahab's marriage to Jezebel, the existence of a Baal temple in or near ^aSm^aria and the proliferation of Baal prophets (I Kings 18:19), all suggest that cultic pluralism was an integral world market, it also became the seat of a burgeoning maritime "empire" which consisted of the colonies of Kition (Cyprus) and Auza (possibly in Tunis). See H. Jacob Katzenstein, The History of Tyre: From the Beginning of the Second Millenium B.C.E. until the Fall of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 538 B.C.E. (Jerusalem), pp. 131-135; Donald Harden, The Phoenicians (Harmondsworth, England, 1971), note 58, pp. 219-220.

⁸For a discussion of the parentage of Athalia see H. J. Katzenstein, "Who Were the Parents of Athalia?" Israel Exploration Journal 5 (1955), pp. 194-197; Noth, History of Israel, p. 236, note 4; Christoph Levin, Der Sturz der Königin Atalja: Ein Kapitel zur Geshichte Judas im 9. Jahrhundert v. Chr., Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 105, (Stuttgart, 1982), p. 83.

⁹See pp. 138-141.

part of royal policy.¹⁰

If principles such as these four were at the heart of Omri's considerations in his search for a viable capital, it is quite apparent why he would no longer regard Tirzah as an adequate site. Since it was an ancient city with a rich heritage dating back at least two millenia,ⁿ its transformation into the type of military complex that the monarchy required would not only be a very expensive undertaking, it would also cause further alienation amongst the Israelite population.¹¹ In addition, its location was contrary to the diplomatic and economic goals of the monarchy. Being situated near the extremity of the Samarian Hill Country, it virtually turned its back upon the Phoenician centers which were to play such an important role in the future. Tirzah was further disadvantaged in that it was poorly connected with the agricultural heartlands of the kingdom and with centers such as Megiddo and Hazor which were vital for the royal administration.¹²

Since Omri's principles also prevented him from finding a suitable location amongst other existing settlements, he was forced to consider an option that was quite unprecedented. As a result, at some point before the sixth year of his reign (c870 B.C.), he decided to embark upon an ambitious building

¹⁰ See pp. 155-158.

¹¹ Roland de Vaux, "The Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah and the Site of Ancient Tirzah," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1956), 125-140.

¹² Ibid., p. 129; Kenyon, Royal Cities, p. 72.

program which would create a new royal city upon a fairly unoccupied site.

For this purpose, he bought a hill-site which was located some 6 miles northwest of Shechem (I Kings 16:23-24).¹³ As it turned out, this site was rich in advantages and it fulfilled all the requirements of Omri's policy. Being unoccupied or only partially settled, it was relatively free of any association with the ancient Amphictyony (and yet its location within the ancient heartland still enabled it to enjoy a certain amount of traditional legitimacy).¹⁴ It was also ideally suited for

¹³Noth, History of Israel, p. 231.

¹⁴The degree to which Shemer's hill was occupied before the Omride building program is still an open question. Several scholars including one of its excavators, Kathleen Kenyon, have maintained that the pottery evidence from the site supports the conclusion that the hill was unoccupied upon Omri's arrival. Other scholars however, have disputed this interpretation. Wright maintains that the hard red-brown ware from Kenyon's strata I and II, does not represent a product that was brought to the site by Omri's entourage. Instead, it is indicative of the activities that occurred at a 10th - early 9th century B.C. village there. See J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon and E. L. Sukenik, Samaria-Sebaste I: The Buildings at Samaria (London, 1942), p. 1; J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot and K. Kenyon, Samaria Sebaste III: The Objects from Samaria (London, 1957), pp. 1-2; Kenyon, Royal Cities, p. 73; Albrecht Alt, "Der Stadtstaat Samaria (1954)," Kleine Schriften zur Geshichte des Volkes Israel III (Munich, 1959), p. 258, note 3; G. Ernest Wright, "Samaria," Biblical Archaeologist, 22 (1959), pp. 75-78; idem., "Israelite Samaria and Iron Age Chronology," B.A.S.O.R. 155 (1959), pp. 13-29.

¹⁵The sea was only some 25 miles away and it was readily approached by an easy road. See Samaria-Sebaste I, p. 1.

the development of Israel's new cosmopolitan orientation. Being situated west of the watershed, it provided the royal elite with a view of the Tyrian galleys on the coast. Ecologically, the site would provide any future city with a large surplus of economic importance. Being located on one of the north-south thoroughfares, it would benefit from trade and being situated in the midst of a very fertile region, it would be able to support a large urban population.¹⁵

The central element of the political variable thus lies in the fact that Samaria was the product of a deliberate royal policy. The question that now remains is the one which involves the sources of Omri's program. Since the founding of cities as a means of consolidating a power base was an option that was without precedent in Israelite culture (at least, as far as we can surmise), it follows that Omri must have been inspired by examples that existed among the neighbours of the Northern Kingdom.

Of the various examples that have been suggested as antecedents of Omri's policy, David's activities at Jerusalem are the most notable.¹⁶ In similarity with Omri, David had desired a "neutral" center which did not have any association with the tribal institutions of Israel and Judah.¹⁷ He had

¹⁶ See for example, Theodore H. Robinson, A History of Israel I, p. 290.

¹⁷ Frank Moore Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), p. 230; Kathleen M. Kenyon, Digging Up Jerusalem

also attempted to enhance the royal position through the acquisition of wealth which was derived from trade and foreign alignments. Early in his reign (ca. 970 B.C.) for example, he had apparently contracted an alliance with Abibaal of Tyre in order to eliminate the commercial power of the Philistine cities.¹⁸

In spite of its merits, the comparison with Davidic policy does not seem entirely convincing. The most serious problem with it, is the fact that Omri, in contrast to David, chose to found a new city. David's enterprise, though it represented a stroke of genius, was not as drastic. It merely transformed an existing Canaanite center into an Israelite capital. We are thus left to inquire whether the broader Near Eastern context provides a suitable parallel for Omri's building program. We believe that such a parallel may be found in Assyria.

It has often been overlooked that the founding of Samaria was contemporary with another important event of urban history - the founding of Calah by Ashur-nasir-pal II (ca. 883 - 859 B.C.).¹⁹ This event, which can be dated fairly precisely to 879 B.C., has particular relevance for our purposes since the motives of the Assyrian king do not appear to have been dissimilar from those of Omri.²⁰ Since his lack of temple construction at Ashur

¹⁸William F. Albright presented this hypothesis to H. J. Katzenstein in a verbal communication. See Katzenstein, History of Tyre, pp. 74-75.

¹⁹This is J. A. Brinkman's dating in his appendix on chronology in A. L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, p. 346.

²⁰D. J. Wiseman, "A New Stela of Assur-nasir-pal II," Iraq 14 (1952), pp. 24-39.

might indicate that he was less concerned than previous monarchs with the placation of the powerful priesthood there, his city-building at Calah probably represents an attempt to become more independent of the traditional strings of power.²¹ This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that he built large temple complexes to Ninurta and Ishtar at the new city.²² He was undoubtedly attempting to create an ecclesiastical constituency that was dependent upon himself.²³

Ashur-nasir-pal's construction of Calah also reflects his desire to develop a source of income that was more or less under his control. Being located near the confluence of the Tigris and the Greater Zab rivers, the city was rich in trade

²¹See G. van Driel, The Cult of Assur (Assen, Netherlands, 1969), p. 20; Max E. L. Mallowan, Nimrud and Its Remains I (New York, 1966), p. 75. Attempts to regard the founding of the Calah metropolis as a mere expression of the king's desire to reside near good hunting grounds are very superficial (e.g. William W. Hallo, "The Rise and Fall of Kalah," Journal of the American Oriental Society 88 (1968), 772-775). They do not account for the complex political and socio-economic realities that existed at the time. Even a reputedly autocratic ruler such as Ashur-nasir-pal II would not have expended the political and economic capital that he did for such a narrow purpose.

²²Mallowan, op. cit., pp. 84-92.

²³Ashur-nasir-pal's attempt to develop this constituency may also be seen in the tremendous festival that he sponsored at the inauguration of his palace at Calah (879 B.C.). According to the stela that commemorates this event, the king entertained 69,574 guests for a period of ten days. The motivations behind an expense of this magnitude were certainly informed by political considerations to a large extent. See Wiseman, op. cit., p. 28.

possibilities.²⁴ In addition, its position within a fertile grainland ensured that it was provided with a substantial surplus of agricultural wealth.²⁵

In many ways, the Assyrian example of Calah therefore presents a striking parallel to Samaria. There are several reasons why we believe that it may have functioned as a sort of precedent in the mind of Omri. First, its contemporaneity is inescapable. Since his highly contested accession had occurred only four to five years after the inauguration of the Assyrian capital, it is very unlikely that Omri would have been oblivious to the advantages, as well as the implications of Ashurnasir-pal's move. Secondly, since Omri may have been born of Canaanite stock, it is quite possible that he was more receptive to options which were derived from foreign sources.²⁶ Thirdly, since the urban plan of Samaria has so clearly adopted the non-Israelite "royal quarter" concept, it is dif-

²⁴ Calah straddled two major Assyrian transportation routes: (1) the road from Nineveh passing south along the east bank of the Tigris and (2) the road from Nineveh to Arrapha (figures 22, 23). See David Oates, "The Rise and Fall of the Great City," in his Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq (London, 1968), p. 45.

²⁵ In the study mentioned above, David Oates has examined the relationship between the potential barley yield of Calah's immediate agricultural zone and the population of the city itself. His findings have produced an interesting illustration of the city's overall surplus of economic importance. Though the immediate agricultural district was capable of sustaining only some 20,000 people (i.e. with the construction of Ashurnasir-pal's irrigation system), the city contained a total population of some 63,000. This difference indicates that at least two-thirds of the inhabitants were sustained by the city's surplus of economic importance. See Oates, op. cit., 43-49.

difficult not to see some form of relationship with the Calah plan where the concept is so prevalent.²⁷ In sum Ashur-nasir-pal's capital appears to be a strong candidate for the role of being Samaria's antecedent.

The evidence pertaining to the political variable, thus presents a clear picture - Samaria was a royal city which was created by royal fiat. As such, it was an expression of policies that were quite unprecedented within the Israelite context.

THE SOCIAL VARIABLE

The evidence pertaining to the social variable also reflects Samaria's status as a royal city. Since the city was the major center of activity of the royal power base, it was the prime focal point for many of the social forces that converged upon the north during the Iron II period. As the permanent residence of the king and the most significant members of his interest group (i.e. the army, the landed aristocracy), it was the center where the forces of heterogeneity were most devel-

²⁶ Scholars have presented various opinions about the ethnic origins of the Omride dynasty. Martin Noth suggested that the root of Omri's name is Arabic and Sanda has pursued this by proposing that the king was originally the governor of Moab during the reign of Baasha. Gray has suggested that the predilection of the Omride kings for Jezreel points to a Canaanite origin. Presumably Omri was a member of the Canaanite community which was amalgamated with the Israelite population during the time of the united monarchy. However, all these proposals remain inconclusive since the name might also be a shortened form of 'Omriyahu (i.e. "(The) life (which) Yahweh (has given)"). See Martin Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen in Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament III, 10 (Hildesheim, 1928), pp. 63, 222, note 7; Gray, I & II Kings, p. 364.

²⁷ See pp. 136-137.

oped. Here a host of Israelite and Canaanite groups lived together as a community which was characterized by a myriad of symbiotic and consensual relationships. Here existed that complex of skills and professions that is characteristic of societies developing an organic form of cohesion.

As one examines the evidence relating to the Samarian situation, it becomes apparent that it is quite limited in scope. Since the areas (e.g. the lower city) which presumably housed the lesser ranked groups of society have yet to produce any substantial evidence, our knowledge of the city's population is based almost exclusively upon evidence from the upper class residences on the acropolis. As a result, we have a situation which permits only a generalized reconstruction of Samaria's social structure.

However, in spite of its limited nature, the evidence does make it abundantly clear that the monarchical elite was the dominant factor of the social variable. This is evident from the relationships that are portrayed in that remarkable corpus of inscriptions known as the Samaria Ostraca. It is also apparent in the architectural patterns that emerged during the ninth-century B.C. and continued to prevail until the fall of the kingdom. Our discussion of the social variable will focus primarily upon the evidence that is involved with the identification of the 7-men of the Samaria Ostraca and with the appearance of the "royal court" concept in North Israelite urban planning.

The 63 ostraca which were discovered in 1910 by the Harvard Expedition, represent a unique body of evidence in that they provide valuable data about some of the social relationships that existed in Israelite Samaria. While the dating and the exact function of the inscriptions have been the subject of extensive (and often heated) debate, it is generally agreed that they record transactions which involved the shipping of wine and oil to the palace from outlying districts. The data pertaining to these transactions is usually recorded by means of one of two formulae which mention (1) a date, (2) a toponym, (3) a clan-name, (4) one or several personal names and (5) a commodity (wine or oil). The two formulas are distinguished from one another by virtue of the fact that one refers to the ninth or tenth regnal year of an unspecified monarch by using Hebrew numerals, while the second cites a fifteenth regnal year by using hieratic numerals.²⁸ The typical inscription of the first variety proceeds in this fashion:

בשנת העשרת מספר לגדיו נבל שמן רחץ (ostracon 16)

while the second follows these lines:

בשנת אר מח לק לאשא אהמלך חלץ מחצרת (ostracon 22).²⁹

One of the most widely discussed issues concerning the formulas has been the role of those individuals whose names

²⁸Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, p. 356.

²⁹For a reproduction of each of the Harvard Ostraca as well as a Hebrew transliteration of them, see figures 27-30. The cited ostraca translate as follows: (ostracon 16) "In the year 10, from Sepher, to Gaddiyau, a jar of fine oil;" (ostracon 22) "In the year 15 (hieratic numerals), from Helek (sender of commodity), to Asa Ahimelech, from Hazeroth (source of commodity)."

are preceded by the ל preposition. Altogether, 11 of the individuals that are mentioned in the corpus (Gaddiyaw, Shemaryaw, Adona'am, Ba'alzemer, Asa Ahimelech, Helez Gaddiyaw, Helez Aphasah, Ahima, Yedayaw, Hannan Ba'asa and Gomer) are affected in this manner and the question that has arisen is whether these ל -men were the "recipients" of the wine and oil shipments concerned or whether they were the "owners" of these products. If they were the recipients, the ל would then denote the preposition "to"; if they were the owners, the ל should be translated by the expression that is very characteristic of Israelite and Judahite bullae - namely "of" or "belonging to."³⁰

Throughout the years, various theories have been put forward in order to account for the linguistic difficulties of the texts as well as the function of the individuals that are recorded by them. Of the three that have received the largest amount of scholarly attention, it is the one represented by Albright and Noth that has come to the fore at the earliest date. This theory maintains that the ל -men were court officials who collected the royal revenues from the immediate district of Samaria. The second theory has been associated especially with the work of Yadin and Kaufman and it suggests that the ל -names refer to estate-owners who lived in the hinterland of Samaria (i.e. the villages mentioned in the texts). This interpretation maintains that the shipments of wine and oil represent taxes paid

³⁰ See the chart in Reisner et. al., Harvard Excavations at Samaria I, p. 230 and fig. 32 of this volume.

in kind into the royal coffers at the capital. The third theory was originally proposed by A. F. Rainey in 1962 and it has found partial adherence in the works of Aharoni. In common with the first hypothesis, it believes that the ḥ-men resided in Samaria. However, it departs from it by suggesting that they were members of a landed aristocracy. The consignments were not part of the royal revenues; they were "income" from rural estates which were owned by nobles that maintained a permanent presence at the court.

The suggestion that the ḥ-names actually refer to tax collectors who worked for the royal administration at Samaria, was first proposed by Albright in 1925 and subsequently reinforced in an epochal article by Noth.³¹ In his work, Albright maintained that the translation of the ḥ should convey the meaning: "business OF (tax collector's name)."³² Noth reached a similar conclusion by drawing upon parallels from hieratic inscriptions found at Tell el Amarna and the Theban Ramesseum.³³ In these sources, the standard formula that was employed for the recording of wine and oil deliveries was very similar to those that appear in the ostraca. After presenting the regnal

³¹William F. Albright, "The Administrative Divisions of Israel and Judah," Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 5 (1925), pp. 17-54; Martin Noth, "Das Krongut der israelitischen Könige und seine Verwaltung," Zeitschrift für die deutsche Palästina Vereins 50 (1927), 211-244.

³²Albright, op. cit., p. 42.

³³Noth, op. cit., pp. 224-225.

year of an unspecified monarch, it indicated the type of the product being sent, its geographical source and the name of the officer in charge of handling it.³⁴

In spite of the distinguished authority of its original proponents, the "tax collector" theory has not received widespread support because it presupposes an element of overlap and discord within the administrative apparatus of the Northern Kingdom.³⁵ For example, if the γ -men are to be regarded as royal servants, the ostraca will then present a confusing situation in which one district is served by four officials, while several others are lumped together under the jurisdiction of one individual.³⁶ While the possible existence of such a

³⁴Ibid., p. 225.

³⁵Modern adherents have included Aharoni and William H. Shea. See Y. Aharoni, "The Samaria Ostraca - an Additional Note," Israel Exploration Journal 12 (1962), p. 69; William H. Shea, "The Date and Significance of the Samaria Ostraca," Israel Exploration Journal 27 (1977), p. 26.

³⁶Thus, during the fifteenth year of the unknown monarch, the clan district of Shemida is served simultaneously by Ahima, Helez Gaddiyaw and Helez Aphzech (ostraca 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39) while the districts of Abiezer, Helek as well as Shemida are served by Asa Ahimelech (ostraca 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29). See the charts in figure 31. See also the table of data in Reisner, Harvard Excavations I, p. 229; Y. Yadin, "Recipients or Owners: A Note on the Samaria Ostraca," Israel Exploration Journal 9 (1959), p. 185; Ivan T. Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca: An Early Witness....," p. 236.

³⁷Yadin, "Recipients or Owners....," I.E.J. (1959), pp. 184-187; idem., "A Further Note on the Samaria Ostraca," Israel Exploration Journal 12 (1962), 64-66.

pattern cannot be ruled out entirely of course, it does seem improbable the lands of the immediate hinterland of the capital, should have been administered by such an unbalanced system. As a result, it is fairly certain that the \aleph -names denote another group of men.

The second theory was originally presented by Yadin and it contends that the names refer to rural land-owners who were in the process of paying their taxes. According to this hypothesis the ostraca functioned as an accounting device which recorded the addressor (i.e. the original owner) of the goods involved, as well as their provenience.³⁷ The framework of the "sender theory" is based primarily upon Yadin's observation that ancient Hebrew epigraphy has not produced a single instance "in which lamed preceeding a proper noun stands for 'to.'"³⁸ On the contrary, the inscriptional evidence from other Iron Age sites (e.g. the Gibeon jar handles) makes it imperative that the \aleph should carry the meaning, "of" and "belonging to."³⁹ As a result, the theory regards it as unavoidable that the average formula is to be translated in terms that refer to the sender (e.g. ostraca 18):

בשנת העשרת מחצרת לגוריו נבל שמן רחץ

"In the tenth year. From Hazeroth, belonging to Gaddiyau, a jar of fine oil."⁴⁰

³⁸Yadin, "Recipients or Owners....," p. 185

³⁹Ibid., pp. 186-187.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 186.

When it first appeared in 1959, the "sender hypothesis" sparked off a lively debate concerning the ostraca, because it provided a genuine alternative to the "tax collector theory." However, as arguments and counter-arguments were mobilized on both sides, it became apparent that it too suffers from weaknesses. The most significant of these concerns the methodology it employs. Yadin's contention that the lamed/noun construction is a syntactical category without parallel is open to question. Rainey has pointed out that the ל preposition has a wide range of meaning in ancient Hebrew epigraphy so that a narrow interpretation of the evidence is difficult to maintain. For example, in Numbers, chapter 7, the flexibility of the lamed is demonstrated by the fact that in one instance it governs an indirect object of the verb (verse 7: נתן לבני גרשון , i.e. "he gave to the sons of Gershon"), while in another it is used in the genitival sense (verse 24: נשיא לבני זבולן , i.e. "prince OF the sons of Zebulun").⁴¹ The newly discovered inscriptions from Arad also indicate its flexibility by providing examples in which the indirect object of the verb is shown by the lamed preposition (e.g. ... לכתים יין , i.e. "give to the Kittiyim ("x" measures of) wine").⁴² As a result, the "sender

⁴¹A. F. Rainey, "The Samaria Ostraca in the Light of Fresh Evidence," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1967), p. 33.

⁴²Loc. cit.; see also Y. Aharoni, "Hebrew Ostraca from Tel Arad," Israel Exploration Journal 16 (1966), 1-7; Y. Yadin, "A Further Note on the Lamed in the Samaria Ostraca," Israel Exploration Journal 18 (1968), 50-51; A. F. Rainey, "Semantic Parallels to the Samaria Ostraca," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1970), 45-51.

theory," while it has found a number of distinguished supporters (e.g. Frank M. Cross, Ivan T. Kaufman), is not without its problems.⁴³

In order to overcome the difficulties that complicate the "tax collector" and "sender" models, Rainey, in a series of articles, has presented an ingenious solution to the 7-men controversy which envisions the existence of a typical oriental land-grant system at Iron Age Samaria.⁴⁴ According to this hypothesis, the Israelite capital was the primary residence of a privileged group of individuals who derived their livelihood from the income of various economic units (e.g. villages, rural estates, individual vineyards, orchards and fields) that were granted to them by the king. In return for such grants, these individuals were required to render service to the monarchy in various capacities. As evidence for his proposal, Rainey cites a number of texts from Syro-Palestinian and Assyrian sources which parallel the Samarian inscriptions in the grammatical sense as well as in the contextual one.

As a major example, he cites the famous document (11.732 PRU IV) which delineates the relationship between the Hittite monarchy and its tribute-paying vassals in Ugarit.⁴⁵

⁴³ Frank Moore Cross, "Ammonite Ostraca from Heshbon," Andrews University Seminary Studies 13 (1975), pp. 8-10; Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca:...", pp. 236-237.

⁴⁴ A. F. Rainey, "Administration in Ugarit and the Samaria Ostraca," Israel Exploration Journal 12 (1962), 62-66.

⁴⁵ Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, Le Palais Royal D'Ugarit IV, Mission de Ras Shamra: Tome IX (Paris, 1956), pp. 47-48, and the chart summarizing the data of the various recensions, p. 38.

In various recensions, this text depicts a system in which the most significant members of the Hittite royal interest group (e.g. the king, the queen, the crown prince, certain government officials) each receive a portion of Ugaritic tribute that is specifically designated for their use. In the Ugaritic translation of the document, the recipients are all introduced by the West Semitic > preposition.⁴⁶

Rainey also demonstrates that this type of system existed at various levels within the internal structure of Ugarit itself. For example, documents show that, as the titular owner of all land within the realm, the king granted the tithe of entire cities to certain important officials (16.153, 16.244, 16.276, PRU III), while in other cases, he granted lesser officials with the income of individual fields or various fields within a specific district (16.247, 15.91 PRU III).⁴⁷ In return for such benefits, the recipients were required to serve the king as administrators or military personnel.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Rainey, "The Samaria Ostraca in the Light of Fresh Evidence," (1967), pp. 35-36.

⁴⁷Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit III, Mission de Ras Shamra: Tome VI (Paris, 1955), pp. 146, 93, 69-70, 65, 75.

⁴⁸For example, as his income, the commissioner of Biru received all the tithes, fines and emoluments of this town (16.244, PRU III). In other instances, the king granted land to individuals bearing the titles of "friends of the king" and "friends of the queen." See Rainey, op. cit., p. 36. See also Ibid., p. 77.

In his work, Rainey places special emphasis upon UT 1098 because "it provides an amazing counterpart to the formulae on the Samaria ostraca."⁴⁹ The text is a ledger which records the delivery of various commodities to the palace from outlying towns and it follows a pattern that lists the (1) provenance of the good, (2) the quantity and type of the good, and (3) the person to whom the good is destined. Since the b preposition of this text denotes the recipient, the tablet represents the strongest linguistic evidence that Rainey puts forth in order to demonstrate that formulae of this type were connected with a land-grant system and that such a system prevailed in the Northern Kingdom.⁵⁰

In addition to the evidence from the Late Bronze Age Ras Shamra archives, Rainey cites the Neo-Assyrian source (Harper 568) describing the relationships that existed between Azuri of Ashdod and the Assyrian monarchy.⁵¹ This text has special relevance for the b -men controversy because it demonstrates the general universality of land-grant relationships for a period that is roughly contemporary with the

⁴⁹Rainey, op. cit., p. 37

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 37-38. In lines 7-9 and 10-11, the Ugaritic b (from) is juxtaposed to the b preposition so that there is no doubt that the latter governs the name of recipient. See Ibid., pp. 36-37.

⁵¹L. Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire I (Ann Arbor, 1930), pp. 402-405; J. N. Postgate, Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire, Studia Pohl: Series Maior (Rome, 1974), pp. 283-284.

Samaria Ostraca.⁵² In common with the other documents, it enumerates a number of individuals that belong to a royal interest group (i.e. Assyrian notables such as the Lady of the Palace, the Crown Prince, the Commander-in-Chief, the šar-tin-nu official, the Steward of the Palace and other officials) and which are in receipt of goods that are specifically designated for their use. As with the other sources, the commodities involved represent the tax remittances of a lower-ranking vassal. Harper 568 also represents an interesting linguistic example in that the recipients are denoted either by the relative ša or by a noun which is in the construct state and which is followed by a genitive.⁵³

With this Near Eastern background in mind, Rainey proceeds to analyze the Biblical evidence and he comes to the conclusion that a land-grant system was also present in Samaria. Following the footsteps of I. Mendelsohn, he notes that

⁵²The dating of the Samaria Ostraca is an issue that is far from settled. Albright and Noth both placed the ostraca within the reign of Ahab (871 - 852 B.C. (early Albright)). Later Aharoni suggested that they belong to the reigns of Joash and Jeroboam II (i.e. years 795-794, 776 B.C.). This proposal was supported by Lemaire and further developed by him. It was contradicted by Kaufman who maintained that the texts represent only one reign, that of Jeroboam II and that they belong to the mid-8th century B.C. A later dating (i.e. the last years of Menahem) was originally proposed by Yadin in 1961 and it was adopted in a slightly altered form by William H. Shea. However of late (1985), it appears that he now opts for the reigns of Jehoahaz and Jehoash (i.e. years 806-805, 800 B.C.). See Albright, "The Administrative Divisions...", p. 42; Noth, "Das Krongut der israelitischen Könige...", p. 237; Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p. 366; Lemaire, Inscriptions Hebraïques I, pp. 79-81; Kaufman, op. cit., pp. 234-235; Y. Yadin, "Ancient Judæan Weights and the Date of the Date of the Samaria Ostraca," Scripta Hierosolymitana 8 (1961), 9-25; William H. Shea, "Israelite Chronology and the Samaria Ostraca," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 101 (1985), 9-20.

⁵³Rainey, "The Samaria Ostraca in the Light...", p. 39.

I Samuel 8:4-17 provides a clear indication that the royal Canaanite practise of bestowing lands and benefices upon privileged individuals such as the maryannu existed within the North Israelite context.⁵⁴ For example, verse 14 states that the king "will take the best of your fields and vinyards and olive orchards and give them to his servants." This lament is clearly reminiscent of the Ugaritic practise in which crown lands (eqlāti sa sarri) were granted to various members of the royal interest group.⁵⁵ Verse 15 further states that the monarch "will take the tenth of your grain and your vinyards and give it to his officers and to his servants." Once again, Ugaritic parallels are very much in evidence.⁵⁶

In pursuance of his argument, Rainey notes other examples such as the Naboth incident and Saul's practise of distributing property to fellow tribesmen who served him within the military structure (I Samuel 22:7). He also presents the example involving the relationship between David and Saul's grandson Mephibosheth (II Samuel 9:1-13).⁵⁷ In his restoration of

⁵⁴I. Mendelsohn, "Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of Akkadian Documents from Ugarit," B.A.S.O.R. 143 (1956), 17-22.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 19; Rainey, op. cit., p. 39; Rainey's note in Y. Aharoni, The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography, rev. ed., trans. A. F. Rainey (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 264.

⁵⁶Mendelsohn, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

⁵⁷Rainey, "The Samaria Ostraca in the Light...", p. 39; idem., Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, pp. 364-365.

the defeated house of Saul, David makes an arrangement whereby Mephibosheth is to live at the royal palace and then receive his livelihood, not from the royal treasury but from the income of his patrimonial estate.⁵⁸ In other words, he is to become an Israelite equivalent of the Ugaritic "diners."⁵⁹

With this array of evidence, Rainey builds a strong case for his contention that the 7 -men are members of the Israelite royal interest group that reside in the Samarian palace and who derive their livelihood from the income of properties that were granted to them by the king. Within this land-grant system, the ostraca function as "scratch-pad" notations which record upon receipt at the palace, the provenance of the incoming goods as well as the person to whom they are destined. The ostraca are later discarded when their data have been transformed on to a master ledger of papyrus.⁶⁰

Of the three theories that have been surveyed, we believe that Rainey's proposal is the most credible. First of all, it accounts for the complex pattern of relationships that exists between the Samarian recipients and the surrounding clan-

⁵⁸In giving his instructions to Ziba, the servant of the house of Saul, David states that "you and your sons and your servants shall till the land for him (i.e. Mephibosheth), and shall bring in the produce, that your master's son may have bread to eat; but Mephibosheth your master's son shall always eat at my table." (II Samuel 9:10).

⁵⁹See our discussion of this evidence, pp. 71-72.

⁶⁰Rainey in Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, pp. 363-364.

districts.⁶¹ Secondly, it recognizes the evidence provided by grammatical parallels in other sources (e.g. the Arad Ostraca) which make it certain that the γ preposition cannot be given a narrow interpretation. Thirdly, it discounts the unlikely possibility that the ostraca were tax receipts.⁶² Finally, by advancing the land-grant theory, it provides the Samarian evidence with a social context that was paralleled in other parts of Syria, Palestine and the Near East.

If Rainey's interpretation may be regarded as the legitimate one, we thus possess clear evidence that Samaria was a focal point for the symbiotic and consensual relationships that enabled the royal interest group to function. Not only are we able to witness the dynamics that operated within the hierarchial social order, we are also able to analyze the specific elements that constituted the new urban "society" (Wirth's sense of the word) created by the monarchy.

Aside from the evidence of the ostraca, we are also able to witness these phenomena in a more general way with the introduction of the "royal quarter" concept into the repertoire of northern urban planning. This concept was first brought into the Israelite context by the Omride kings and it

⁶¹A man such as Asa Ahimelech whose name was associated with three districts (i.e. Abiezer, Helek and Shemida) derived his income from a number of sources while a person such as Ahima received all his goods from a single district (i.e. Shemida). See fig. 31. and 71.

⁶²Rainey, op. cit., p. 363.

is particularly evident in the royal centers of Samaria, Megiddo and Hazor.⁶³ It is very important for our survey of the Samaritan social variable because it represents a specific attempt to physically segregate the two major social groups of the Northern Kingdom, namely (1) the royal interest group and (2) the population in general. Since the construction of the royal quarter at Samaria appears to have been contemporary with the building of the quarters at Megiddo and Hazor, the concept appears to have been an integral part of a revolutionary building program which attempted to meet the needs of a new social reality.

As alluded to earlier (note 14), the dating of the Israelite strata at Samaria is a subject that has been debated extensively. In her publication of the evidence uncovered by the Joint Expedition, Kathleen Kenyon isolated six Israelite building periods on the summit. These periods were dated upon the assumption that Samaria was an uninhabited site before the arrival of Omri and upon the principle that the walls of the acropolis structures are to be dated by the pottery filling existing beneath the floors that are associated with them.⁶⁴

⁶³Kenyon, Royal Cities, p. 74.

⁶⁴As the excavator explains:

...At Samaria, the filling overlying any one floor is almost invariably the make-up imported for the floor above. The succession common in a brick-built town, of an occupation layer overlying the floors, succeeded by a destruction level above which the new floors are laid, is not found, since stone walls do not produce continual deposits in the way that mud brick ones do. It is there-

After the appearance of the third Samaria volume in 1957, several scholars contested this dating and discovered that it contains several weaknesses. For example, in two epochal articles,⁶⁵ G. Ernest Wright demonstrated that Kenyon's terminus ad quem for Iron Age occupation at the Samaria site is questionable and that her dating of the first building phase to the short reign of Omri is clearly problematical.⁶⁶ He also questioned her interpretation of the summit stratigraphy and came to the conclusion that it is wisest not to equate her suggested building phases with her pottery phases.⁶⁷ As a result, he devel-

fore only the pottery of the period of construction that can safely be associated with a building, and not that of the succeeding period of occupation. All the stratified pottery comes from beneath the floors associated with the various walls. In most cases it was sealed by the beaten earth floor, but where that had been destroyed, it was in make-up unquestionably associated with the walls. See J. W. Crowfoot, et. al. Samaria-Sebaste III: The Objects From Samaria, p. 90. Being informed by these suppositions, Kenyon's chronology contained the following elements:

Period I :Reign of Omri	Period IV	: ca. 800 - 750 B.C.
Period II :Reign of Ahab	Period V	: ca. 750 - 721 B.C.
Period III: ca. 840 - 800 B.C.	Period VI	: Contemporary with Period V or immediately subsequent to it

See ibid., pp. 94-97.

⁶⁵G. Ernest Wright, "Israelite Samaria and Iron Age Chronology," B.A.S.O.R. 155 (1959), 13-29; idem., "Samaria," Biblical Archaeologist 22 (1959), 67-78; Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, "A New Scheme for the Sub-Division of the Iron Age of Palestine," Israel Exploration Journal 8 (1958), 171-184.

⁶⁶Wright, "Israelite Samaria....," pp. 19-21; idem., "Samaria," pp. 76-77.

⁶⁷In his work, Wright doubted the stratigraphical principle that Kenyon employed at Samaria and maintained that:

...A much safer principle would appear to be the one commonly used by other archaeologists: namely that, barring evident disturbances, the material lying on a floor comes

oped an alternative chronology which may be summarized as follows:⁶⁸

<u>Wright: Chronology</u>	<u>Kenyon: Building Phases</u>	<u>Kenyon: Pottery Phases</u>	<u>Equivalent Strata at Hazor</u>
10th-early 9th century B.C.	village	Pottery Per. I-II	X-IX
ca. 870 - 842 B.C.	Bldg. Per. I	Pottery Per. III	VIII
ca. 842 - 810 B.C.	Bldg. Per. II		VII (?)
ca. 810 - 750 B.C.	Bldg. Per. III	Pottery Per. IV	VI
ca. 750 - 735 B.C.	Bldg. Per. IV	Pottery Per. V	V
ca. 735 - 721 B.C.	Bldg. Per. V-VI	Pottery Per. VI	--

This chronological revision, if adopted, places the archaeological evidence in a new light and causes the latter to present an interesting situation in which most of the ninth-century B.C. was dominated by the construction of the royal quarter. It enables us to realize that the segregation of the Samarian community was not only a concern of the Omride dynasty; it was also an important goal of the reformist king Jehu who presumably came to power (ca. 842/841 B.C.) in order to purge the Northern Kingdom of its non-Israelite ways.

During building period I, which, according to Wright, corresponds to the period of the Omride rulers (ca. 870 - 842 B.C.), the principle of social segregation was established with the construction of the central elements of the royal quarter. Of major importance was the building of the Inner Wall (161). This system (1.60 m. wide) defined the quarter by enclosing a rectangular

from the time when that floor was last used, except that above it later artifacts may appear in fill used for the foundation of a new floor.

Wright, "Israelite Samaria...", p. 21; *idem.*, "Samaria," pp. 76-77.

⁶⁸"Israelite Samaria and...", p. 26; "Samaria," p. 77.

area of some 5 acres on the summit (see figs. 24, 25). In typical Near Eastern fashion this wall separated the upper city inhabited by the elite from the lower city occupied by households that serviced this elite.⁶⁹ Within the enclosure, various structures were erected which reflected the needs of the royal interest group. For example, within the western sector, a large palace complex was built which provided the royal residents with a view of the coast. In the north, another structure was built (the Ivory House) whose function has not yet been determined with precision. In the southern sector, a large courtyard was constructed which was undoubtedly related to the palatial structures.⁷⁰

If building period II is equivalent to the reign of Jehu (c842 - 810 B.C.) as Wright suggests, a striking phenomenon presents itself, in that a monarch who apparently identified himself with the elements of traditional Israel actually intensified the processes of social segregation and polarization that were absent at the time of the Amphictyony.⁷¹ During

⁶⁹Kenyon, Samaria-Sebaste I: The Buildings at Samaria, pp. 94-96; idem., Archaeology in the Holy Land, pp. 263-265; Wright, "Samaria," pp. 73-74.

⁷⁰Wright, "Samaria," pp. 73-74; J. W. Crowfoot, et. al. Samaria-Sebaste II: Early Ivories From Samaria, pp. 1-4; N. Avigad, "The Ivory House which Ahab Built," in J. Aviram, ed., Eretz Shomron: The Thirtieth Archaeological Convention, September 1972, in Hebrew (Jerusalem, 1973), pp. 75-85.

⁷¹One may speculate why Jehu did not abandon the city of the hated Omrides in order to take up residence at Shechem, if he had been such an ardent traditionalist. Perhaps the reason for this

period II, the royal quarter concept was not only continued; it was reinforced to such an extent that it became a permanent feature at Samaria and within the northern urban scene in general. Perhaps in response to threats from various internal (e.g. Omride and Canaanite factions) and external (e.g. Aram, Judah) quarters, Jehu augmented the defensive system of Samaria in a very comprehensive fashion. By constructing a massive casemate wall in the northern, western and southwestern sectors and by incorporating the existing Inner Wall in the south, he created a fortificative system that considerably overshadowed its Omride counterpart. In the north, it was nearly 31 feet in width and overall it extended the width of the royal quarter by 50 feet (see fig. 33).⁷²

That the royal quarter concept was an element of government policy is also evident from contemporary building projects at Megiddo and Hazor. In the case of the former, one witnesses a dramatic transformation of the entire tenth-century B.C. upper city (Stratum VA - IVB) into a ninth-century B.C. royal quarter which is dominated by royal edifices and installations. While Solomonic Megiddo certainly contained several structures of a public character such as the Bit-hilani style palaces

state of affairs is to be sought in the Deuteronomistic condemnation of Jehu. This monarch, in spite of his virtues, received the same judgement that was reserved for the majority of northern monarchs. See II_Kings 10:29-31.

⁷²See Samaria-Sebaste I, pp. 97-100; Wright, "Samaria," p. 74.

(6000 and 1723) and the large courtyard (1693), its perimeters were largely occupied by private dwellings. Segregation of the social groups does not appear to have been expressed in terms of architecture.⁷³ However, this situation was radically altered after the invasion of Shishak (ca. 918 B.C.).⁷⁴ During the period of Stratum IVA, which encompasses the entire monarchial era until the Assyrian conquest (ca. 733 B.C.), the area occupied by domestic structures was greatly reduced and buildings reflecting the military needs of the monarchy appeared everywhere.⁷⁵ Large stable complexes (such as 364, 403, 404, 407, 1576) able to accommodate 450 horses were built in the northeastern and southeastern quadrants of the town (see figs. 35, 36). The "Governor's House" (338) was erected in the eastern sector where private homes had once existed.⁷⁶ In short, architectural developments in Omride Samaria were paralleled at Megiddo.

⁷³David Ussishkin, "King Solomon's Palace and Building 1723 in Megiddo," Israel Exploration Journal, 16 (1966), pp. 174-186; Yigael Yadin, "Megiddo of the Kings of Israel," Biblical Archaeologist 33 (1970), pp. 73-75; idem., "Megiddo," Israel Exploration Journal 22 (1972), pp. 161-164.

⁷⁴See fig. 34.

⁷⁵This is Yadin's dating (idem., "Megiddo of the Kings of Israel," pp. 95-96.

⁷⁶Loc. cit.; Yadin, "Megiddo," p. 163; Yigal Shiloh, "Elements in the Development of Town Planning in the Israelite City," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978), pp. 48-49.

A similar situation is evident at Hazor, Stratum VIII. During the period of this stratum, which was contemporary with the Omride kings, Hazor appears to have experienced a transition that was not at all dissimilar with the one at Megiddo. Once again, the needs of the monarchy were a paramount concern in the planning of the city and once again, a royal quarter pattern which segregated various population groups was adopted. During the reign of Ahab, the royal area was doubled so that it encompassed the entire upper city. (see fig. 37).⁷⁷ Inside the quarter, a massive citadel was built at the western tip of the summit (Area B).⁷⁸ To the west, ^a large storage complex was constructed (i.e. the Pillared Building, Area A).⁷⁹ While private dwellings certainly existed within the Hazor quarter, it is quite clear that it was designed largely to service the royal interest group.

The evidence pertaining to the use of the royal quarter concept during the ninth-century B.C. thus indicates that Samaria as well as the Northern Kingdom in general was developing

⁷⁷The Solomonic city (Strata X-IX) had occupied only the western half of the mound. See Yigael Yadin, Hazor, Schweich Lectures 1970 (Oxford, 1972), pp. 140, 165. See also Shiloh, op. cit., p. 48.

⁷⁸Y. Yadin, Y. Aharoni, et. al., Hazor II: An Account of the Second Season of Excavation, 1956 (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 43-69.

⁷⁹Y. Yadin, Y. Aharoni, et. al., Hazor I: An Account of the First Season of Excavations, 1955 (Jerusalem, 1958), pp. 11-14.

the type of stratified and segregated social system that was all too prevalent among Israel's neighbours. Indeed in the age corresponding to Palestine's Iron II, urbanized communities everywhere employed the concept. As examples which were contemporary with Omride building activities and which were located in the vicinity of Israel, one need only mention the Neo-Hittite centers of Hamath, Carchemish and Sam'al (Zincirli).⁸⁰ An example which may have inspired the peculiar rectangular shape of the Samarian quarter might be found in the Assyrian metropolis of Calah (see fig. 41).⁸¹

The social variable thus presents a clear picture. As the most important royal city of the kingdom, Samaria was the central focal point of the forces that led to the formation of a stratified, hierarchial social order. The relationships that constituted this system are apparent in the texts of the Samaria Ostraca and in the explicit attempts to segregate population groups by means of architecture and urban planning.

THE ECONOMIC VARIABLE

Given the political and social circumstances that existed at Samaria, it is not surprising that the city's economic variable was also influenced by the activities of the monarchy and

⁸⁰See figures 38-40.

⁸¹For these parallels, see especially Paul Lampl, Cities and Planning in the Ancient Near East (New York, 1968); H. Frankfort, "Town Planning in Ancient Mesopotamia," Town Planning Review 21 (1950), pp. 99-115.

its interest group. Indeed from the available evidence, it would appear that this element was the dominant factor in all of Samaria's economic relationships. Since the royal interest group was the most important source of economic power, it governed the relationships that the capital enjoyed (1) with neighbouring kingdoms, (2) with other urban centers of the kingdom and (3) with its immediate locale. In this section we shall survey briefly the evidence that pertains to each of these levels of economic activity.

As far as the economic sphere was concerned, Samaria's relationships with Israel's neighbours existed primarily within the sphere of trade. In the preceding chapter, some of the evidence pertaining to the trade of the Northern Kingdom as a whole was explored and it was suggested that this kind of activity was restricted primarily to the monarchy as it exchanged agricultural surpluses (e.g. grain, olive oil) for luxury products such as fine woods.⁸² In this chapter, we are presented with the irony that even though there can be little doubt that Samaria was the leading trading center of the north, we have relatively little evidence with which to document that fact specifically. The reason for this paucity of data lies in the fact that most Israelite strata at the acropolis were disturbed and robbed of ashlar during subsequent building projects. As a result, we have a situation in which

⁸²See pp. 78-80, 81-86 passim.

other sites such as Hazor provide more evidence of foreign trade than the capital itself.⁸³

However, be that as it may, enough evidence does exist in the form of archaeological finds within the palace precincts, to indicate that trade was propelled by the consumer needs of the royal interest group and that it was in all likelihood conducted under its auspices. For example, in the so-called "Ostraca House" located within the heart of the palace, Egyptian alabaster jugs were found by the Harvard Expedition. One of these bears the cartouche of Osorkon II (ca. 861 - 829 B.C.).⁸⁴ Within the northern sector of the Royal Quarter, various quantities of another imported product - Cypriot Ware - were found by the Joint Expedition (see fig. 42).⁸⁵ The most famous examples of foreign trade undoubtedly remain the ivories that were discovered in the northern sector of the summit (see fig. 43).

⁸³In a brief but interesting study, Shulamit Geva has demonstrated that the famous "sausage storage jars," which show a strong presence at Hazor and Tyre, are actually Israelite in origin. Their occurrence at both sites provide archaeological documentation for the trading links between Israel and the Phoenician cities. At this point in our study, they are an example of the way in which provincial cities such as Hazor provide more evidence concerning trade patterns, since the capital has yet to produce a single example of this type of pottery. See Shulamit Geva, "Archaeological Evidence for the Trade Between Israel and Tyre?" B.A.S.C.R. 248 (1982), 69-72; Patricia M. Bikai, The Pottery of Tyre (Warminster, 1978).

⁸⁴George A. Reisner, et. al., Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908 - 1910 I: Text (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p. 247.

⁸⁵Samaria-Sebaste III, p. 195.

While we would tend to favour the theory that they were produced largely at Samaria by resident foreigners (see pp. 88-89), the ivories may still be regarded as an imported element in that the raw material from which they were carved is certainly not native to Palestine.⁸⁶

The strongest evidence which points to Samaria's supremacy as a center of trade and which indicates that commerce was conducted under the auspices of the government is the Biblical reference to the קנינות (I Kings 20:34). These "bazaars" or "trading colonies" were comprised of foreign merchants who were allowed to reside within a host country in order to pursue their business activities there. From the context of I Kings, it appears that קנינות are not to be compared to the Assyrian karum of Middle Bronze Anatolia in which a measure of equality existed between the host community and the merchant guests. They seem rather to have been regarded as a trading concession which was exacted from a weaker power by a greater power. Just as the victorious Ahab secured the right to establish his merchants at Damascus after the defeat of Benhadad, so did the latter's father set up Aramaean קנינות at Samaria after he had won a position of authority over Israel.⁸⁷ The location of the קנינות

⁸⁶For a discussion of the various sources of ivory at this period, see Dominique Collon, "Ivory," Iraq, 39 (1977), pp. 219-222.

⁸⁷M. Elat, "The Monarchy and the Development of Trade in Ancient Israel," in Edward Lipinski, ed., State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven, Netherlands, 1979), 527-546; M. Elat, "Trade and Commerce," in Benjamin Mazar, ed., The World History of the Jewish People V: The Age of the Monarchies: Culture and Society (Jerusalem, 1979), 173-186.

at the capitals must certainly reflect the economic rank of these sites since it would have been unprofitable to place foreign merchant groups in communities with little commercial activity.

Samaria's function as the primary residence of the royal interest group and as the administrative capital of the kingdom also governed its relationships with other centers of the realm. With its tremendous economic potential, it quickly eclipsed the more established cities of the north, so that it became the undisputed master of northern Palestine by the time of Jeroboam II (ca. 786 - 746 B.C.). Indeed, it is quite possible that its economic influence exceeded even that of Jerusalem so that it functioned, for a time, as the most important center of Palestine as a whole.⁸⁸

These conclusions suggest themselves if one examines the archaeological evidence pertaining to the mid-Iron II (ca. 800 - 722/721 B.C.) central place system of northern Palestine. While the reconstruction of this system is obviously still in

⁸⁸ That this situation may well have been the case by the middle of the eighth century B.C. is supported by two strands of evidence. First, there is the strong possibility that during the minority of Uzziah (ca. 783 - 742 B.C.), the power of Jeroboam II also extended into Judah, so that a Levantine commercial sphere was established which extended from Hamath to Ezion-Geber. See William F. Albright, The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra: An Historical Survey (New York, 1963 (1949)), pp. 69-70. Secondly, there is the fact that Jerusalem at this stage was still a growing city. It was only beginning to reach out from the narrow boundaries of the Solomonic city (see pp. 53-54 (note 6)). As a result, it is conceivable that Samaria overshadowed it in economic importance.

its infancy, the evidence produced by excavations and surveys has now reached the stage where it is possible to indicate a definite economic hierarchy among the various sites. In this hierarchy, Samaria appears to occupy an unrivalled position at the top while lesser-ranked centers vie for several positions beneath it. We shall first examine the archaeological evidence that is relevant for this matter and then proceed to develop the central-place hierarchy that is suggested by it.

As may be recalled from the initial discussion of the Central Place Theory of Christaller and Lösch (chapter 2), the rank of a center within a given hierarchy is not determined by the size of its population or the area that it occupies.⁸⁹ It is decided rather by the type of goods and services that it offers the complementary region that is associated with it. If it offers goods and services that are available only to individuals or classes of great wealth (i.e. high order goods and services), it will rank high on the scale and contain a large surplus of economic importance. It will also supply a large region. If it offers only low order goods and services that are available to all members of the community (including the poor), it will accordingly contain a small surplus of importance and command a small, more localized region.

In archaeological terms, the position of a site within an ancient central-place hierarchy is measureable if its

⁸⁹See pp. 34-36.

deposits of certain artifacts are compared with the find patterns of similar artifacts throughout the region being studied. If the site under consideration produces what appears to be a heavy concentration of several artifact types in relation to its neighbours, chances are good that an ancient central place of high order is making its presence known. This procedure is able to produce a general economic picture for an ancient region if a large number of potential central place sites are well represented archaeologically and if allowance is made for the fact that many low order goods (e.g. food, the housing of the poorer classes) are unrepresented because they were perishable.

In the present attempt to reconstruct the central place system of the Northern Kingdom, twelve goods and services have been selected as "litmus tests" for the various sites. In general, these goods and services are representative of the overall repertoire that was offered during the eighth century B.C. The first four that have been selected - (1) fortification systems, (2) ashlar masonry, (3) Proto-Aeolic (i.e. Israelite) capitals, (4) chariot production and maintenance - may be classified as "high order goods and services" since their consumption reflects the needs of only the highest echelons of the monarchy. The next five - (5) the four-room house (6) literary service (7) ivory carving, (8) Cypro-Phoenician ware, (9) Samaria ware A and B - are representative of a wider market and may therefore be classified as "medium order

goods and services." These were presumably consumed by the higher-ranking officials of the government and the military (e.g. the סרנים) and by the wealthier elements of the

עם הארץ, גרים, merchant and craftsmen social groups.⁹⁰ The last three - (10) grapes and wine production, (11) olives and oil production, (12) grain - probably represent the widest market as far as Iron II Israel is concerned and may therefore be classified as "low order goods and services."

The chief advantage of this selection, is that it is able to produce a relatively clear find-pattern of artifacts for the north and thereby broaden our understanding of the central place system that existed beneath it. If the artifact-frequency data that is associated with each good and service, is tabulated for all the sites that have been well represented archaeologically, a series of patterns will emerge. In the following pages (chart A), we present a tentative attempt at such a tabulation and we do so with the recognition that later excavations will undoubtedly sharpen the picture considerably. However, be that as it may, it is nevertheless possible at this stage to detect some general patterns that will probably not be altered in any significant manner by future work. For example, as to be expected, Samaria appears to claim its first-rank position by containing the highest concentration of artifacts related to the goods and services under consideration.⁹¹

⁹⁰See pp. 73-77, 78-80.

⁹¹In some ways, this is remarkable if one recalls the destruction that later generations wrought upon the Israelite strata on the summit.

I. THE SAMARIA REGION

Evidence for a: strong presence • definite presence ° highly probable presence p

	<u>Samaria</u>	<u>Shechem</u>	<u>Tirzah</u>	<u>Dothan</u>	<u>Bethel</u>	<u>Gezer</u>
High Order						
(1) Fortification Construction	•	°		°		•
(2) Ashlar Masonry	•	°				°
(3) Proto-Aeolic Capital	•					
(4) Chariot Production	P	P	P			
Medium Order						
(5) 4-Room House	P	•	•	°		°
(6) Literary Services	•	°		°		°
(7) Ivory Carving	•					
(8) Cypro-Phoenician Ware	°	°	°	°		
(9) Samaria Ware A & B	•	•	°	°	°	
Low Order						
(10) Grape & Wine Production	•	P	P			
(11) Olive & Oil Production	•	•	P	°	°	°
(12) Grain Production & Storage	P	•	P	°		

II. THE SHARON PLAIN

Evidence for a: strong presence • definite presence ° highly probable presence p

Dor Tel Mevorakh Tel Zeror Tel Kudadi Tel Qasile

High Order

- (1) Fortification Construction ° • °
- (2) Ashlar Masonry ° °
- (3) Proto-Aeolic Capital
- (4) Chariot Production

Medium Order

- (5) 4-Room House ° °
- (6) Literary Services ° °
- (7) Ivory Carving
- (8) Cypro-Phoenician Ware °
- (9) Samaria Ware A & B °

Low Order

- (10) Grape & Wine Production
- (11) Olive & Oil Production °
- (12) Grain Production & Storage

III. THE PLAIN OF ESDRAELON AND THE VALLEY OF JEZREEL

Evidence for a: strong presence • definite presence ° highly probable presence P

	<u>Megiddo</u>	<u>Tel Jokneam</u>	<u>Taanach</u>	<u>Afula</u>	<u>Beth- Shean</u>
High Order					
(1) Fortification Construction	•				
(2) Ashlar Masonry	•		°		°
(3) Proto-Aeolic Capital	•				
(4) Chariot Production	•				
Medium Order					
(5) 4-Room House	•				
(6) Literary Services					
(7) Ivory Carving	°				
(8) Cypro-Phoenician Ware	°	°			°
(9) Samaria Ware A & B	•	°		°	°
Low Order					
(10) Grape & Wine Production					P
(11) Olive & Oil Production		P			P
(12) Grain Production & Storage	°	P			°

IV. GALILEE AND THE PLAIN OF AKKO

Evidence for a: strong definite highly probable P
 presence presence presence

	<u>Hazor</u>	<u>Tel Dan</u>	<u>Ein Gev</u>	<u>Tel Abu-Hawam</u>	<u>Tel Keisan</u>	<u>Tel Michal</u>	<u>Tel Shiqmona</u>
High Order							
(1) Fortification Construction	•	•	•				•
(2) Ashlar Masonry	○	•					
(3) Proto-Aeolic Capital	○	○					
(4) Chariot Production	•						
Medium Order							
(5) 4-Room House	•		○	○	○		○
(6) Literary Services	○	○	○		○		○
(7) Ivory Carving	○				○		○
(8) Cypro-Phoenician Ware	•	○	○	○	•	○	○
(9) Samaria Ware A & B	•	○		○			
Low Order							
(10) Grape & Wine Production						•	
(11) Olive & Oil Production		○					○
(12) Grain Production & Storage	○						

The Central-Place System of the Northern Kingdom (Sources)

(1) Fortification Construction

General: N. Lapp, "Casemate Walls in Palestine...", B.A.S.O.R. 223 (1976), pp. 28-31. Dan: A. Biran, "Tel Dan," Israel Exploration Journal 24 (1974), 262-264. Ein Gev: B. Mazar, A. Biran, et. al., "Ein Gev: Excavations in 1961," Israel Exploration Journal 14 (1964), 1-49.

(2) Ashlar Masonry

General: Y. Shiloh, The Proto-Aeolic Capital, pp. 50-59. Dor: E. Stern, "Tel Dor," Israel Exploration Journal 35 (1985), 61-62. Tel Kudadi: N. Avigad, "Tell Kudadi," in M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern, ed., Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land (Oxford, 1975-1978), p. 720. Dan: A. Biran, "Tel Dan," Israel Exploration Journal 24 (1974), 262-264; idem., "Tell Dan," Israel Exploration Journal 26 (1976), 54-55; Israel Exploration Journal 35 (1985), plate 24.

(3) Proto-Aeolic Capital

See the listings under "Ashlar Masonry."

(4) Chariot Production

See pp. 74-75.

(5) 4-Room House

General: Frank Braemer, L'Architecture domestique du Levant à l'age du Fer (Paris, 1982). Dothan: J. Free, "The Sixth Season at Dothan," B.A.S.O.R. 156 (1959), p. 24. Tel Shiqmona: J. Elgavish, "Tel Shiqmona," Israel Exploration Journal 19 (1979), 247-248.

(6) Literary Services

General: A. Lemaire, Inscriptions Hebraïques I: Les Ostraca (Paris, 1977). Dothan: J. Free, "The Seventh Season at Dothan," B.A.S.O.R. 160 (1960), p. 9. Gezer: G. E. Wright, Biblical Archaeology, pp. 183-186. Hazor: Y. Yadin, Y. Aharoni, et. al. Hazor II (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 70-75. Dan: A. Biran, "Tel Dan 1978," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978), 268-271. Ein Gev: B. Mazar, "Ein Gev," in Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations (Oxford, 1975-1978), p. 383. Tel Keisan: "Une tablette cuneiforme de Tell Keisan," Israel Exploration Journal 32 (1982), 32-35. Tel Shiqmona: J. Elgavish, "Shiqmona," Israel Exploration Journal 20 (1970), 229-230.

The Central-Place System of the Northern Kingdom (Sources)

(7) Ivory Carving

General: I. Winter, "Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Questions of Style and Distribution," Iraq 38 (1976), pp. 12-13. Shechem: G. E. Wright, Shechem, fig. 83. Hazor: Y. Yadin, et. al., Hazor II, p. 35. Tel Keisan: J. Briend and J. Humbert, Tell Keisan (1971 - 1976), pp. 327-329. Tel Shiqmona: J. Elgavish, "Shiqmon " Israel Exploration Journal 20 (1970), 229-230.

(8) Cypro-Phoenician Ware

General: R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery, pp. 286-290. Dothan: J. Free, "The Fourth Season at Dothan," B.A.S.O.R. 143 (1956), p. 13. Tel Jokneam: A. Ben-Tor and R. Rosenthal, "The First Season of Excavations at Tel Yoqne'am, 1977," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978), pp. 57 ff. Beth Shean: F. James, The Iron Age at Beth Shean, (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 123. Hazor: Y. Yadin, et. al., Hazor II, p. 21. Dan: A. Biran, "Tel Dan, 1978," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978), 269-271. Ein Gev: B. Mazar, et. al., "Ein Gev: Excavations in 1961," Israel Exploration Journal 14 (1964), 1-49. Tel Abu-Hawam: G. Van Beek, "The Date of Tell Abu Hawam, Stratum III," B.A.S.O.R. 138 (1955), 34-38. Tel Keisan: J. Briend and J. Humbert, Tell Keisan (1971 - 1976), pp. - . Tel Michal: Ze'ev Herzog, "Tel Michal (Tell Makmish), 1978," Israel Exploration Journal 29 (1979), 120-122. Tel Shiqmona: J. Elgavish, "Shiqmona," Israel Exploration Journal 20 (1970), 229-230.

(9) Samaria Ware A & B

General: R. Amiran, Ancient Pottery, pp. 207-212. Shechem: G. E. Wright, Shechem, pp. 154-157. Dothan: J. Free, "The Fifth Season at Dothan," B.A.S.O.R. 152 (1958), p. 13. Bethel: W. F. Albright and J. Kelso, The Excavation of Bethel (1934 - 1960), pp. 103-104. Tel Zeror: Kiyoshi Ohata, Tel Zeror I: Preliminary Report of the Excavation: First Season 1964 (, 1966), p. 24. Megiddo: F. James, The Iron Age at Beth Shean, p. 117. Tel Jokneam: A Ben-Tor and R. Rosenthal, "The First Season of Excavations at Tel Yooqne'am, 1977," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978), pp. 75-81. Beth Shean: F. James, The Iron Age at Beth Shean, p. 117. Hazor: Yadin, et. al., Hazor II, p. 12. Dan: A. Biran, "Tel Dan, 1978," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978), 269-271. Tell Abu-Hawam: G. Van Beek, "The Date of Tell Abu Hawam, Stratum III," B.A.S.O.R. 138 (1955), 34-38.

(10) Grape and Wine Production

General: See pp. 84-85. Tel Michal: Ze'ev Herzog, "Tel Mikhal (Tell Makmish), 1978," Israel Exploration Journal 29 (1979), 120-122.

The Central-Place System of the Northern Kingdom (Sources)

(11) Olive & Oil Production

Samaria Region: D. Eitan, "Olive Presses of the Israelite Period," Tel Aviv 6 (1979), 146-155. Dothan: J. Free, "The Sixth Season at Dothan," B.A.S.O.R. 156 (1959), pp. 22-23. Bethel: W. F. Albright and J. Kelso, The Excavation of Bethel, p. 37 and plate 12b. Gezer: W. Dever, "Gezer Revisited," Biblical Archaeologist 47 (1984), pp. 215-217. Beth Shean: F. James, The Iron Age at Beth Shean, pp. 120-121. Dan: L. Stager and S. Wolff, "Production and Commerce in Temple Courtyards: An Olive Press in the Sacred Precinct at Tel Dan," B.A.S.O.R. 243 (1981), 95-102. Tel Shiqmona: J. Elgavish, "Tel Shiqmona," in M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern, ed., Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations (Oxford, 1975-1978), pp. 1103-1104.

(12) Grain Production and Storage

Dothan: J. Free, "The Sixth Season at Dothan," B.A.S.O.R. 156 (1959), pp. 22-23. Megiddo: Y. Yadin, Hazor, Schweich Lectures 1970 (London, 1972), p. 184. Beth Shean: F. James, The Iron Age at Beth Shean, pp. 120-121. Hazor: Y. Yadin, Hazor, Schweich Lectures 1970, p. 184.

Secondly, the two regional centers of Megiddo and Hazor that received so much attention by the Omride kings, appear to occupy a second-rank position. What is particularly surprising at first glance, is the fact that Shechem, the ancient venerated capital of the Amphictyony and the one-time residence of Jeroboam I, occupies a third-rank position! It shares this rung with Tirzah, Dothan, Dan and perhaps Tel Shiqmona.

An observation that is especially note-worthy in the frequency pattern of Chart A, is the fact that the inland regions of the Northern Kingdom each contain a site where the concentration of finds is particularly heavy. This is not only an indication of Israel's status as an insular kingdom; it is also an initial reflection of the central-place system that produced this artifact pattern. Indeed, it is quite possible that the entire northern find pattern is to be translated into a central-place system consisting of three to four orders of centers above the village/hamlet level (i.e. the M-place level).⁹²

We believe that four orders above the M-place level are represented by the archaeological data, so that the entire northern system consists of one G-place, two B-places, three to four K-places and several A-places. Samaria of course, is the G-place, while Megiddo and Hazor occupy the B-place positions. With the K-place category, designations become more difficult. For example, while it is fairly certain that Shechem, Tirzah, Dothan and Dan belong to this order, it is not clear

⁹²See p. 35, note 66.

whether Tel Shiqmona does. The situation is further complicated by the fact that future research might easily promote some of the sites that are presently designated as A-places. As a result, it is only tentatively that we place Bethel, Gezer, Dor, Tel Zeror, Tel Kudadi, Tel Qasile, Tel Jokneam, Taanach, Afula, Beth Shean, Tel Abu Hawam, Tel Keisan, Ein Gev and Tel Michal into the latter category.

While our suggested central place hierarchy needs further data in order to overcome certain deficiencies, its effectiveness is nevertheless sufficient for our purposes. If it is transposed onto a map (see fig. 69), it sheds welcome light upon Samaria's relationship with its neighbours. First, by indicating that it is the center with the greatest surplus of economic importance, it verifies our contention concerning Samaria's supremacy. Secondly, by displaying a notable absence of other G-place competitors, it demonstrates that the city served a complimentary region that encompassed the entire Northern Kingdom. Its closest rivals of equal status (presumably Tyre, Damascus and Jerusalem) appear to have existed outside the realm.

The proposed hierarchy also demonstrates that Samaria functioned as the primary center for the complementary region comprising the Central Hill Country. This is especially apparent by the lack of B-places within the region; all the closest centers of economic importance are K-places.⁹³ This phenomenon is a very natural one, since the economic power of the capital

was of such magnitude that it was impossible for K-places to increase their status. The only situation which would have allowed a center such as Shechem to elevate its status by becoming the B-place of the Hill Country would have been the corresponding decline of Samaria. In spite of massive destructions throughout antiquity, this possibility was never realized. Samaria continued to function as the economic capital of the Hill Country until the Moslem period.⁹⁴

⁹³As is evident from the map in fig.71, the northern central place system in the Samarian Hill Country appears to have resembled the montaine variety in which the location of the centers is governed by the traffic principle. In this type of system, the settlements are aligned according to the transportation network and they constitute a linear pattern which radiates out from the central place of the highest order. At this stage of the research, it is interesting to note that the most important radius of the local Samarian system may bear some resemblance to two of the heavily settled radii of Christaller's ideal pattern under the traffic principle. As may be seen in Christaller's pattern (fig. 3), these two radii are characterized by a G-place, an A-place and then a K-place. On the valley road between Samaria (a G-place) and Shechem (a K-place), it is quite possible that an A-place existed some 4 km. west of the latter between Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim. This site - number 35 of the Shechem Area Survey of the Drew-McCormick Expedition to Balatah - has been described as being "a striking tell...of small size at the west end of Nablus" and it has produced clear evidence of Iron II pottery dating from the eighth and the seventh centuries B.C. (See Edward F. Campbell, Jr., "The Shechem Area Survey," B.A.S.O.R. 190 (1968), p. 36). It may be identifiable with ancient Ophrah.

⁹⁴See Albrecht Alt, "Das System der assyrischen Provinzen auf dem Boden des Reiches Israel," (1929), Kleine Schriften II (Munich, 1964), 188-205; Y. Karmon, "The Samaria Mountains: Physiographic Structure and Road Network," and H. Tadmor, "On the History of Samaria in the Biblical Period," in ed., J. Aviram, ed., Eretz Shomron: The Thirtieth Archaeological Convention, September 1972, in Hebrew (Jerusalem, 1973), 67-74, 114-120 respectively; Benjamin Mazar, Cities and Districts In Eretz-Israel, in Hebrew (Jerusalem, 1975), 226-243.

Overall, the economic variable thus presents a clear picture regarding Israelite Samaria. As the residence and the administrative center of the royal interest group, it was endowed with a tremendous economic potential from the day of its foundation. During the course of the ninth century B.C., it realized much of this potential so that by the first half of the eighth century B.C., it not only functioned as the dominant central place of the Central Hill Country and the Northern Kingdom in general, it also served as a major center of trade on the international scene.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL AND PHYSIOGRAPHICAL VARIABLES

To this date, very little research has been done which relates specifically to the technological variable at Samaria. However, in spite of this situation, there is enough evidence to show that terracing was a crucial element in the Israelite development of the site. As a factor, it made two substantial contributions. First, it facilitated the development of the city's agricultural base. Without the technology that it represented the hills of Samaria and its immediate hinterland would probably not have been able to produce the wine and oil products that loom so large in the Harvard Ostraca.⁹⁵ Terracing also enabled the ninth-century B.C. builders to utilize the summit to its fullest. Indeed without the construction of retaining walls, the area that would have been available for the royal quarter would have been considerably

⁹⁵Ivan Kaufman, op. cit., p. 230; Samaria-Sebaste I, p. 2.

reduced.⁹⁶ Terracing thus represents an element that added greatly to the utility of Shemer's Hill.

Since the strategic advantages and the physiological contributions of the Samaria site have already been discussed, there is little that can be added specifically to the discussion of the
 the
 physiographical variable.⁹⁷ We shall therefore proceed with the sixth factor.

THE IDEATIONAL VARIABLE

With the evidence that relates specifically to the ideational variable at Samaria, we once again see a reflection of the phenomena that led to the foundation of the city and continued to govern its functioning throughout the Israelite period. As might be expected in a heterogenous community such as Samaria, where a diversified mixture of Israelite and Canaanite elements existed and intermingled with each other, an ideational situation emerged which was equally complex. While questions remain to be answered about this aspect, it is fairly certain that it involved a tenuous coexistence between the dominant faith of Yahweh and the native cults of the various Canaanite and Phoenician groups. As far as Samaria is concerned, it certainly also involved a rising tendency towards anti-urban sentiments.

From a study of the personal names in the Harvard Ostraca, it is quite apparent that the Canaanite element was

⁹⁶In her examination of the Period I evidence, Dr. Kenyon has shown that structure 161 in the northern sector was a terrace wall as well as an enclosure wall. Op. cit., p. 95.

⁹⁷See pp. 94-96, 109-111.

not insignificant. At the time of Jeroboam II (ca. 778 - 770 B.C.) it may have comprised at least a third of the population in the immediate environs of the capital.⁹⁸ To what extent this minority was able to influence the ideational pattern, is a subject that has been debated extensively. Until the advent of two brilliant studies by Yadin in the 1970s, the case that Samaria was the host of a Canaanite/Phoenician cult center appeared closed.⁹⁹ Prior to this, scholarly opinion more or less accepted Alt's thesis that Jezreel, the northern residence of the Omride dynasty, functioned as the religious capital of the Israelite population, while Samaria served as the prime center for non-Israelite cults such as the notorious one involving Jezebel's Baal Melqart.¹⁰⁰

By demonstrating that Biblical references to a house of Baal in Samaria (e.g. II Kings 16:32-33) need not refer to the city itself, but rather to the Northern Kingdom as a whole, Yadin has proved that Alt's case is far from certain. Indeed,

⁹⁸Albright notes that the ratio between the names with the Baal element and those with the Yahweh (YAU) theophoric is roughly 7:11. William F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (Baltimore, 1942 (1968)), pp. 160-161.

⁹⁹Yigael Yadin, "The "House of Baal" in Samaria and Judah," in J. Aviram, ed., Eretz Shomron: The Thirtieth Archaeological Convention, September, 1972, in Hebrew (Jerusalem, 1973), 52-66; idem., "The 'House of Ba'al' of Ahab and Jezebel in Samaria, and That of Athalia in Judah," in R. Moorey and P. Parr, ed., Archaeology in the Levant (Warminster, 1978), 127-135.

¹⁰⁰Alt, "Der Stadtstaat Samaria," pp. 258-302.

it is quite possible that Omri's city may have to surrender part of its pagan role as far as the ideational aspect is concerned. Since the episode describing Jehu's destruction of the Baal temple (II Kings 10:18-27) does not ever state that the hated sanctuary was actually located in the city of Samaria, but rather that the king's soldiers "went to the CITY of the House of Baal (וַיֵּלְכוּ עַד-עִיר בֵּית-הַבַּעַל) (verse 25)," Yadin believes that an alternative site must be found.¹⁰¹ He suggests that Mt. Carmel was the center of Jezebel's cult and his proposal is supported by Eissfeldt's contention that Baal Shamen is to be equated with the Tyrian Baal Melqart.¹⁰²

While Yadin's thesis is very attractive, it is nevertheless difficult to imagine that an ancient metropolis such as Samaria, which contained a large Canaanite populace within its midst, would have been devoid of significant^t cultic expressions from its minorities. One would furthermore suspect, that if Ahab's queen had been as anxious in her devotion to the Tyrian deities as she is reported to have been (II Kings 18:3-5), then she would not have remained content with a single cult center at Jezreel or at any other place for that matter.¹⁰³ Alt's

¹⁰¹Yadin, op. cit., (1978), p. 129.

¹⁰²Otto Eissfeldt, "'Ba'alsamem und Jahwe," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 57 (1939), 1-31. See also John Gray, I and II Kings, p. 395. In contrast, Albright regards the two deities as distinct. See his Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: An Historical Analysis of Contrasting Faiths (Winona Lake, 1968), pp. 228-233.

¹⁰³There is no reason to doubt that Jezebel was fervent in her zeal for Baal Melqart. She was after all, the daughter of a very ambitious dynasty which attempted to extend its influence throughout the entire Levant coast, Cyprus and perhaps North Africa. See pp. 107-108 (note 7). (See also Katzenstein, History

postulation that two cultic capitals were established in order to resolve the ethnic tension in the Northern Kingdom, is also unconvincing. Had such an institution been developed, it would most certainly have been an anomaly within the Iron Age setting of the Near East.

At present, the evidence does not permit an irrefutable theory regarding the situation between the worship of Yahweh and the cults of Canaan and Phoenicia. However, it cannot be too far from the mark to suggest that given the heterogenous nature of the Samaritan community, both existed side by side within various relationships. This co-existence was disrupted only during times of religious persecution. There can also be little doubt that the Israelite faith was the "official religion" of the city. The fact that Yahweh-names predominate within the royal family - even at the time of the Tyrian connection (e.g. Yehoram, Ahaziah, even Athalia) - bears out this conclusion.¹⁰⁴ It is further evidenced by the Harvard Ostraca in which individuals with the theophoric of Yahweh in their names, usually represent the upper class while people bearing the Baal element always have servile status.¹⁰⁵

While the evidence pertaining to the relationship between the faith of Yahweh and the cults of Canaan and Phoenicia still

of Tyre, pp. 129-135). The rise of Yahwistic opposition to the pagan cults as it is witnessed by Elijah and Elishah, may actually be an indirect testimony to the temporary effectiveness of her persecution.

¹⁰⁴Yadin, op. cit., (1978), p. 128.

¹⁰⁵Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca...", p. 236.

needs clarification, the evidence concerning the anti-urban element presents a clearer picture. From the Biblical narratives, it is quite evident that Samaria was a major source of affliction for several groups of the Israelite population. As mentioned in the previous chapter, it appears that the overthrow of the great city-building dynasty of Omri (ca. 842/841 B.C.) was accomplished with the support of an overt anti-urban element - the Rechabites. To what extent this sect was representative of Israelite sentiment at large is difficult to say. However, it does appear to have commanded enough support among the authors of the Deuteronomistic history in order to be mentioned by them as a significant factor (II Kings 10:15-27).¹⁰⁶

After this initial involvement in the affairs of state, anti-urbanism appears to have existed among the Israelite literati for the duration of the Northern Kingdom. According to the prophetic writings of the eighth-century B.C., the activities of the urbanized royal interest group were seen as producing a chasm between Yahweh and His people. In Amos 6:1-7, Samaria is regarded as a seed-bed of oppression and rampant, self-indulgent consumption. In Hosea 1:4, the site of the kingdom's second monarchical residence is seen as a center of murder.

By and large, the evidence thus produces a strong case

¹⁰⁶ See pp. 98-99.

for the existence of an anti-urban sentiment. If one considers the nomadic and agricultural roots of traditional Israel, the existence of this phenomenon is not surprising. The rapid growth of Samaria and the magnitude of the adjustments that it required within the equilibrium of the northern urban pattern, made its existence a virtual inevitability.

The evidence pertaining to Samaria, thus reflects the dynamics of a city that was largely a product of royal policy and the needs of the royal interest group. In the case of Samaria, the ideational factor was of minimal significance when compared with Shechem and Jerusalem. As a community founded by the monarchy, it represented a phenomenon that was unique within the Palestinian Iron Age setting, but which had several parallels throughout the Near East.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE OLD CITIES : SHECHEM AND TIRZAH

too

The horses are still tired from yesterday to go any farther. Therefore, a day of rest. The question of old Shechem discussed. On the small hill of ruins which the English map shows directly north of Balata near Kubr Yusuf, we discovered to our great joy and surprise a piece of "cyclopean" wall, lying exposed for a distance some 8 m. and to be traced further a distance of 30 m. This is on the west side of the flat hill. The surviving piece still reaches as high as 3 m. above the present soil, but surely goes on down. The blocks are completely unhewn, in part attaining 2 m. in length, though they are laid in fairly regular courses... The further course of this obviously very old wall can be followed only on the north side, where in fact it follows an irregular curve and then with a sharp corner turns inside... Though the hill at first seems unimportant and not very striking, yet its extent is considerable and its situation remarkable. It controls the plain of Askar and at the same time blocks the pass. These two together are not true of modern Nablus. From this the situation of old Shechem is fixed with certainty and the earlier supposition (Nablus) is refuted. All historical conditions are satisfied completely in this regard. Here in any case the investigation must begin... 1

As one takes leave of Samaria in order to examine the variables that operated at Shechem and Tirzah, it becomes rapidly apparent that the latter present an entirely different situation. First of all, in contrast with their powerful competitor in the

¹A quote from the diary of Prof. Hermann Thiersch (June 26, 1903) which records his discovery that ancient Shechem was located at Tell Balatah. This translation has been quoted from G. Ernest Wright, Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City (New York, 1965), pp. 1-2.

west, these centers are not Iron Age phenomena that were created in order to satisfy the needs of an emerging interest group. They represent rather, the type of urban organism that evolved gradually over the course of several millenia and whose origins therefore remain obscured by the primordial mists of pre-historic eras. According to the archaeological data produced by various expeditions to Tell Balatah and Tell el-Far'ah, it appears that the centers of Shechem and Tirzah date at least as far back as the Chalcolithic Age (ca. 4000 - 3200 B.C.).²

Aside from their antiquity, the cities also present a different situation in that they were integrated into the Palestine-wide urban system of the Iron II era. During the period of the Egyptian domination and in the years that followed, Shechem and Tirzah were more or less able to govern their own destiny. However, with the establishment of a strong center of power within the midst of the Samarian Hills, this situation was drastically altered so that the functioning of these cities was no longer determined by forces that resided within their perimeters. It was determined instead by events that were connected with the regional system as a whole. As a result, Shechem and Tirzah provide a unique opportunity for scholars to explore the variables of age-old centers which were forced to accomodate themselves to a new situation because they

²See Lawrence E. Toombs, "The Stratigraphy of Tell Balatah (Ancient Shechem)," Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan 17 (1972), p. 100; Roland de Vaux, "Tirzah," in D. Winton Thomas, ed., Archaeology and Old Testament Study (Oxford, 1967), pp. 371-372.

were in close proximity to a very powerful urban unit.

In this chapter, we shall examine the evidence that pertains to these variables of integration and transition as they unfolded themselves at Shechem and Tirzah during the Iron Age. In so doing, we shall discover that while they certainly contained several similarities with those that operated at Samaria, they were also characterized by many differences of a fundamental nature.

THE POLITICAL VARIABLE

One of the most outstanding events in the urban history of the Central Hill Country is the eclipse of Shechem as the natural capital of the region. As far as it can be surmised at present, it appears that the city was able to maintain its dominant position for most of the Bronze Age as well as the early part of the Iron I period. However, with the appearance of Omri's capital, it ceased to be the primary seat of political power in the region and it thus began a career as a center of secondary importance which lasted until the Moslem conquest. As a result, the central element of Shechem's political variable during the period under consideration involves its loss of power and prestige.

While the city may have existed in embryonic form during the Early Bronze Age as an unwalled settlement, it is not until

³It should be noted that an Early Bronze settlement at Balatah is still an unverified conjecture. It is based entirely upon the contention that the MB II A town must surely have had a humble predecessor somewhere in the immediate vicinity of Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal. Archaeology has yet to produce evidence for such a settlement.

Middle Bronze II B that we receive any definite indication about its relative position.³ According to a text written by an officer of Sesostris III (ca. 1878 - 1843 B.C.), it seems fairly apparent that Shechem was a predominant town at this stage, since its name is synonymous with that of the region. The officer states that "his majesty reached a foreign country of which the name was skmm." The city also makes an appearance in the Brussels Execration Texts (dated ca. 1800 B.C.), and in this instance, its paramountcy is indicated by the fact that it is the only center of the northern Hill Country that is mentioned in these documents (see fig. 44).⁴

In the centuries that followed the period of these initial references, it appears that Shechem was not only able to consolidate its eminent position, but was also able to become the headquarters of a veritable Palestinian "empire." This is the impression that one receives from the literary evidence as well as the archaeological data. According to the famous Amarna correspondence, the ruler of Shechem, Labayu, played a large role in the city-state politics of Canaan. As a nominal vassal of Egypt when that country was experiencing considerable difficulties at home, he took great liberties with his fellow colleagues. By

⁴See G. Ernest Wright, "Shechem," in D. Winton Thomas, ed., Archaeology and Old Testament Study (Oxford, 1967), pp. 356-357; Kathleen Kenyon, "Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age," in I. E. S. Edwards, et. al., ed., The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II, Pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 111-113; Lawrence E. Toombs, "The Stratification of Tell Balatah (Shechem)," B.A.S.O.R. 223 (1976), 57-59.

threatening far-away centers such as Megiddo and Hebron and by allying himself with Gezer, he sought to increase his own influence and that of his capital city (see fig. 45).⁵ Shechem's relative importance at the time of Labayu is also witnessed by its material prosperity. For example, with the palatial structure discovered in Field XIII by the Drew-McCormick Expedition, one receives the impression that LB II, Phase 2 (i.e. the "Amarna period") was a very wealthy time in the history of the city (see fig. 50).⁶

A further indication of Shechem's regional importance during the Bronze Age may be seen in the Biblical evidence relating the early history of the Israelite tribes. At this juncture we shall not enter into the complex debate concerning the date as to when the city became Israelite or when the Temple I and II complexes became centers for the worship of El-berith. We shall merely point out that very ancient traditions regard Shechem as a primary focal point of Israel during its formative period and that this in itself is an indication of its general status in the Central Hill Country. For example,

⁵For a thorough treatment of the letters relating to the affairs of Shechem (i.e. 244, 252, 253, 254, 245, 289, 250, 255) see J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln: Mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen II (Aalen, 1915 (1964)), pp. 1305-1308, 1310-1318, 1341-1343; Edward F. Campbell, Jr., "Appendix 2: Shechem in the Amarna Archive," in G. Ernest Wright, Shechem, pp. 191-207.

⁶As noted by Lawrence E. Toombs: "The general impression created by the remains is one of opulence and of a calculated attempt to create a city of some magnificence." See his unpublished report of the 1968 season at Field XIII, pp. 66-109. See also E. F. Campbell, J. F. Ross and L. E. Toombs, "The Eighth Campaign at Balatah (Shechem)," B.A.S.O.R. 204 (1971), pp. 7-17.

in the Elohist narrative of Genesis 33:18-20, it appears that the city was a center for tribes that roamed the entire Levant. According to this tradition, Jacob purchased a section of land near or in the city and then proceeded to establish a sanctuary upon it. In the Yahwistic Dinah story (Genesis 34), there is further evidence of a close relationship between Shechemites and the neighbouring tribes of Jacob. Apparently a solemn covenant between the two was broken when Jacob's family plundered the city.⁷

Though the fortunes of Shechem probably declined in the material sense after the splendid Amarna phase, it nevertheless seems to have preserved its local predominance until its destruction by Abimelech (ca. 1150/1125 B.C.).⁸ That this is the case may be inferred from a number of sources. First of all, according to the tradition recorded in Joshua 24, Shechem was the place where the Israelite Amphictyony was founded by means of a covenant. As a result, it was able to command the allegiance of tribes scattered throughout the entire Palestinian Hill Country and beyond.⁹ Shechem was furthermore the center

⁷See Lawrence E. Toombs and G. Ernest Wright, "The Fourth Campaign at Balatah (Shechem)," B.A.S.O.R. 169 (1963), p. 27; Wright, Shechem, pp. 129-131.

⁸This is the date which saw the destruction of the Stratum XI city (i.e. Temenos 9 in Fields V-VI). See fig. 49. According to the excavators, Stratum XI is to be equated with the city of Abimelech. See Toombs, "Stratification of Tell Balatah," (1976), p. 59.

⁹Noth, Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels, chapter 2, pp. 28-39. For the opposing view that Shiloh was the central sanctuary of the Amphictyony see Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, pp. 102-105. See also Nielsen, Shechem, p. 36, note 1. Wright's view appears to mediate between those of Noth and Albright. See his Shechem, p. 141.

for the worship of Baal-berith. Judges 9:4 mentions a sanctuary of this deity and it is quite possible that Temple IIb (ca. 1200 - 1150/1125 B.C.) is to be equated with it. This sanctuary is very important because it appears to have been the largest in the region at this time.¹⁰ A final bit of evidence pointing to Shechem's status may be witnessed in its dominance over Thebez (Judges 9:50). Until its destruction and abandonment in the early Iron I period, Shechem thus continued to be a regional center.

With its re-emergence during the period of the United Monarchy (i.e. Stratum X A, B), Shechem appears to have regained its former role but in a modified form. While it once again became the primary center of the Samarian Hill Country, its functioning and general well-being was no longer dependent entirely upon local forces. For the first time in its history, it became integrated into a larger network of urban centers. It became the capital of Solomon's first district (see fig. 50 A).¹¹

¹⁰On the issues relating generally to the Shechem sanctuary before its destruction, see Toombs and Wright, "The Fourth Campaign...", pp. 27-32, and Wright, Shechem, pp. 134-135.

¹¹The exact boundaries of Solomon's provincial system (I Kings 4:7-19) is a subject that has been debated extensively. This is especially true of the district lines in the Central Hill Country. In his epochal study of 1925, Albright followed Alt's suggestion that the first district comprised the tribal region of Ephraim while the third encompassed the western portion of the Mannasseh tribe. Shechem would therefore belong to the latter (see fig. 50 B). (See Albrecht Alt, "Israels Gaue unter Salomo," Kleine Schriften II, pp. 76-89; Albright, "The Administrative Divisions of Israel and Judah," pp. 26-31.). Pere F.-M. Abel later suggested that the governor of the first district resided at Shechem and that his authority encompassed most of the northern Central Hill Country (see fig. 50C). (See his Géographie de la Palestine II: Géographie Politique. Les Villes., pp. 79-83). This proposal

In this capacity it appears to have prospered. According to the archaeological evidence, Stratum X was a time of vigorous building activity in the residential districts of Fields VII and IX.¹²

The city also appears to have enjoyed a period of renewed status which lasted several decades after the death of Solomon. Shechem was the place where northern kingship was conferred. For a brief time, it was also the capital of the entire northern realm. During the reign of Jeroboam I, it was deemed important enough to warrant a rebuilding of its fortificative system.¹³

However, with the accession of Omri, its traditional role came to an end. In a series of developments that amount to a virtual revolution, Shechem not only received a powerful competitor within its backyard; it was also integrated more fully than ever into a large Palestinian network of centers. In tandem with its ancient Bronze Age colleagues in the north (i.e.

gained wide acceptance over the years and we adopt it here. See John Gray, I and II Kings, pp. 36-37; Aharoni, Land of the Bible, pp. 309-313. However, in passing it should also be noted that G. Ernest Wright presented a third proposal in 1967 which appears to mediate somewhat between the Alt-Albright boundaries and those proposed by Abel and his followers (see fig. 50 D). Being concerned about the poor economic viability of a district (i.e. Abel's district 3) comprising only the less fertile Sharon Plain, Wright suggested that the Central Hill Country was actually divided evenly between the first and third districts with the boundary passing just north and west of Shechem (fig. 50 D). The latter would still be within the confines of the first district but it would govern an area that was considerably reduced. (See Wright, "The Provinces of Solomon (I Kings 4:7-19)," Eretz-Israel: Vol. 8 (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 58-68). While Wright's suggestion is definitely an ingenious solution to many of the problems involved, it is based however, upon the unproven contention that Solomon constructed his districts according to the principle of economic viability. Would political considerations (i.e. the concerns of traditional interest groups) not play an equal role in his policy?

Megiddo and Hazor), it became a city with a specialized function. Shechem became the store-city of the area that includes the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal and the valleys to the east of them.¹⁴

Evidence for these developments is available from a number of sources. First of all, there is the fact that after the founding of Samaria, Shechem fades from view in the mainstream of Biblical history. It does not appear to play a significant role in political affairs until the time of Gedaliah's assassination (Jeremiah 40:7 - 41:18). Shechem's new status is also reflected in the Samaria Ostraca. In common with the other towns and districts of the Central Hill Country, Shechem too (or the district that it represents) makes a delivery of wine to the royal capital (Ostrakon 44).¹⁵

The most dramatic evidence which points to the new circumstances is the construction of the government Granary (Building 5900). This structure has been dated to the period of Strata

¹²See Robert J. Bull, Joseph A. Callaway, et. al., "The Fifth Campaign at Balatah (Shechem)," B.A.S.O.R. 180 (1965), p. 26; Toombs, "Stratigraphy of Tell Balatah," (1972), p. 107.

¹³Jeroboam I was apparently responsible for the construction of the casemate structures that constitute Wall E at the Northwest Gate (fig. 51). See Wright, Shechem., pp. 150-151.

¹⁴By using the geographical information provided by II Kings 15:13-17 (i.e. Menahem's rise to power), Wright suggests that Shechem's district extended from Tirzah to Tappuah. See Wright, Shechem, p. 158.

¹⁵See figures 30, 31.

VIII and VII (c810 - 724 B.C.) and it is particularly remarkable because it was built right atop the remains of Temple 2b which dates to Iron I.¹⁶ Indeed from what can be surmised at present, it would appear that the Iron II builders went so far as to incorporate the plan of this Temple (including its orientation) into the design of their own structure (see fig. 52).¹⁷ Is it possible that we are witnessing here a deliberate Omride attempt to secularize or at least neutralize the magnetic pull of a city so steeped in the religious traditions of the Amphictyony or are we seeing the work of builders who were totally unaware that they were employing the foundations of a very sacred structure?¹⁸

For several early interpreters of the building, there was little doubt concerning these questions. During Iron II the acropolis was still a sacred precinct because the structure was a temple. Indeed, according to the provocative thesis of H. Thiersch, 5900 was actually representative of a distinct "altmediterraner

¹⁶Under Wall 5901 and 5902, small fragments of Samaria Ware B were found which date the Granary to the c875 - 725 B.C. period. See Wright, Shechem, p. 149.

¹⁷This contention is based upon the discovery that Temple Wall 5704 is situated just beneath Granary Wall 5904 and upon Wright's suggestion that the proposed Granary Wall 5903 would have been located above Temple Wall 5703. See fig. 52. Wright, Shechem, pp. 147-148.

¹⁸The first possibility would be strengthened considerably if it were possible to demonstrate that the Granary builders actually removed an unknown temple structure dating to the tenth century B.C. (i.e. a rebuild of Temple 2b), before they proceeded with their own work. However, as Dr. Toombs pointed out in a private discussion, this possibility is completely dependent upon an argument of silence since there is no pottery data or architectural evidence to support it.

Tempeltyp."¹⁹ However, as more examples of similar "4-room" structures came to light in the field, this and other cultic interpretations were eventually abandoned.²⁰ In his publication of the Iron Age remains at Tell Beit Mirsim, Albright suggested that the structure and others like it, were Israelite miskanet.²¹ After the thorough re-examination of the acropolis evidence in the 1950s and 1960s "secular" interpretations such as this became more solidified.

Today, especially in the light of several breakthrough studies on Israelite architecture, the evidence seems overwhelming that 5900 was a granary. First of all, as Yigal Shiloh pointed out in 1970, the plan itself is indicative of this function. It belongs to a family of large four-room public buildings which were built at various sites throughout the Northern Kingdom.²² Aside from the plan, the floor construction is also revealing. Taking great care in their work, the builders first placed a

¹⁹E. Sellin, "Die Ausgrabung von Sichem: Kurze vorläufige Mitteilung über die Arbeit im Sommer 1926," Zeitschrift für die deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas 49 (1926), p. 309; E. Sellin and H. Steckeweh, "Kurzer vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabung von balāta (Sichem) im Herbst 1934," Zeitschrift für die deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas 64 (1941), p. 18; H. Thiersch, "Ein altmediterranean Tempeltyp," Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 50 (1932), 73-86.

²⁰It should be noted that the cultic view still continues to attract its supporters in more recent times. G. R. H. Wright, the architect of the Drew McCormick excavations, appears to lean in this direction. See his "Temples at Shechem," Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 80 (1968), pp. 27-33.

²¹William F. Albright, The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim III: The Iron Age. A.A.S.O.R. 21-22 (New Haven, 1943), pp. 22-24.

layer of gray earth (5002) upon the building ground and then proceeded to develop "a thick floor of white marl cement (5001)" on top of it which varied in thickness from 20 to 25 cm. The fascinating aspect about this plaster surface is that it was made to cover the base of the walls. The flooring thus points to a deliberate attempt to create a space that was watertight and inaccessible to vermin.²³ Given the size of the structure, it seems apparent that the function of this space involved the storage of perishable goods such as foodstuffs.

The overall impression that one thus receives from the history of Shechem is that it was an ancient capital that

²²According to Shiloh, this family consists of the following large structures which are generally "fortress-like" in nature and which dominate their respective sites by being located on higher ground for example: (1) the central citadel at Hazor VIII-V (Area B), (2) the "bit-hilani" at Jericho, (3) the Shechem Granary, (4) the central citadel at Tell el-Kheleife I-II (i.e. the former "smelting plant"), and (5) a large undifferentiated structure at Tell el-Hesi. To this group Shiloh adds several smaller four-room types which in his view also functioned as public buildings. These include: (6) the "West Gate and Tower" at Tell Beit Mirsim, (7) Building 379 at Tell en-Nasbeh and (8) Building 411 at Tell el-Far'ah III. See figure 53 A. One of the greatest contributions of Shiloh's system of classification for our understanding of Israelite public architecture is the fact that it differentiates the large four-room family from a second group which encompasses the long store-house type that is partitioned length-wise into three spaces or rooms (see fig. 53 B). This differentiation has untangled a situation which previously led to a considerable amount of confusion and lack of precision. See Yigal Shiloh, "The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City," Israel Exploration Journal 20 (1970), 180-190. On the whole, Shiloh's work has received general approval and in some cases it has been "fine-tuned." In an important article, G. Ernest Wright has drawn out further implications of this classification system and has suggested that the category to which 5900 belongs may actually reflect a distinctly North Israelite tradition. In support of this contention, he argues that Nasbeh 379 and Far'ah 411 do not belong to this category at all. If these are removed from the list, then all the known occurrences of the large four-room type of public building are northern. See his "A Characteristic North Israelite House," in R. Moorey and P. Parr, ed., Archaeology in the Levant (Warminster, 1978), 149-154.

received a drastic demotion in the political sense during Iron II. The fact that this change is strikingly contemporary with the emergence of Samaria and the power of the monarchy is evidence that the city was now called upon to serve the needs of interest groups that existed outside its immediate locale.

While Shechem was experiencing the processes of integration and transition, a similar set of events was unfolding itself at Tirzah (Tell el-Far'ah).²⁴ This city - though it undoubtedly existed for much of its history as a shadow of its western neighbour and though its importance as a regional center was more restricted - was a parallel case to Shechem in many respects.

First of all, in similarity with the latter, it functioned as the ancient political center of a region. According to the evidence uncovered by the expedition of the École Biblique de St. Étienne, it may have served the valleys near the upper Far'ah as early as the Late Chalcolithic period.²⁵ Later, after a lengthy period of abandonment, it developed into a typical Bronze Age city-state. As the capital of a small kingdom, it saw an era of prosperity (ca. 1850 - 1200 B.C.) which has been noted archaeologically

²³Wright, Shechem, p. 147.

²⁴For the arguments which support the identification of Tirzah with Tell el-Far'ah see W. F. Albright, "The Site of Tirzah and the Topography of Western Manasseh," Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 11 (1931), 241-251; Roland de Vaux, "Tirzah," Archaeology and Old Testament Study, pp. 379-382; idem., "The Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah and the Site of Ancient Tirzah," Palestine Exploration Society (1956), pp. 135-140.

²⁵De Vaux "Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah...", (1956), pp. 126-128; idem., "Tirzah," pp. 371-372.

by its well-defended Northeast Gate and its elaborate drainage system.²⁶ While it is not known whether Canaanite Tirzah was a dependency of Shechem (especially during the reign of Labayu), it does seem certain that it was more or less able to maintain an independent status for much of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.

Tirzah also resembles its neighbour in that it was greatly affected by the political powers that resided at Samaria. Indeed, from what can be surmised at the present time, it appears that Tell el-Far'ah provides the clearest evidence known to any site of the integrative forces that transformed the Central Hill Country. In the succession of Iron II levels, one observes a gradual evolution which initially brought growth to Tirzah, then regression and finally reurbanization and new heights of prosperity.

Stratum 7b (i.e. de Vaux's Niveau 3), which dates to the tenth century B.C., presents the earliest evidence for the integrative process - namely growth. After a period of relative inactivity during Iron I, Tirzah appears to have experienced a resurgence. This renewal was stimulated by the political stability of the United Monarchy and by the activities of the

²⁶De Vaux, "Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah..." (1956), pp. 129-132; idem., "Tirzah," pp. 374-375; Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age," in Edwards, et. al., ed., The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II, Pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 108-110.

emerging northern urban system. The 7b urban plan reflects a healthy community with regular, well-ordered streets (see figs. 58, 59). Conditions at this time were apparently tranquil enough to permit the repair and rebuilding of the houses, so that the level of the streets rose eighteen inches over the course of the century.²⁷

However, this situation did not last. Sometime around the turn of the tenth-century B.C., the city of the United Kingdom came to an abrupt end. What followed was a phase of decline and temporary abandonment. Stratum 7c (de Vaux's "Niveau Inter-mediare") which reflects this period is very interesting in that it provides striking testimony of the degree to which the fate of the city had become dependent upon the political forces that existed outside its immediate locale. While it is not known whether Tirzah's brief reign as the northern capital is to be dated to the latter stages of 7b or with the early part of 7c, it is fairly certain that its fortunes were severely affected by the departure of Omri and the royal interest group. The fact that a large construction project such as de Vaux's "unfinished palace" (Building 411, see fig. 60) was suspended at this time is indicative of this. The same may be witnessed in the depopulation of the site. The latter was apparently of such magnitude that the city was not able to

²⁷De Vaux, "Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah....," (1956), pp. 132-133; *idem.*, "Tirzah," (1967), pp. 376-377; Alain Chambon, Tell el-Far'ah I: L'Age du Fer, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations (Paris, 1984), pp. 22-38.

flourish again until the eighth century B.C. Tirzah in the ninth-century B.C. thus represents a community that was guided directly by the Omride political variable.²⁸

While the repercussions of Samaria's founding undoubtedly resulted in a period of transition for the majority of settlement sites in the Hill Country, it did not take long for prosperity to become the norm throughout the north. According to the evidence provided by Stratum 7d, it appears that Tirzah benefitted immensely during the eighth-century B.C. from its membership in the Omride system. Not only was its population density greatly intensified; its level of wealth reached unparalleled proportions. One of the most remarkable features of the 7d plan is the drastic program of rebuilding that it betrays (see figs. 61, 62). In the quadrant near the Northwest Gate, the simple domestic structures of the 7b period were summarily cleared away in order to make way for larger structures which were far superior in quality and construction. Developments of this nature are surely indicative of a massive influx of wealth.²⁹

The political variable at Tirzah thus presents an old established city that was transformed because of its gradual

²⁸De Vaux, "Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah....," (1956), pp. 133-134; *idem.*, "Tirzah," (1967), p. 377; Chambon, Tell el-Far'ah I, pp. 38-39.

²⁹Roland de Vaux, O. P., "La quatrième campagne de feuilles à Tell el-Fâr'ah, pres Naplouse," Revue Biblique 59 (1952), pp. 564-572; *idem.*, "Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah....," (1956), pp. 133-135; *idem.*, "Tirzah," (1967), pp. 377-378; Chambon, Tell el-Far'ah I, pp. 39-47.

integration into a large urban system. In this regard, it is quite similar to Shechem, even though the latter undoubtedly contained a more influential power base within its walls.

THE SOCIAL VARIABLE

As might be expected, the social variable at Shechem and Tirzah provides further elucidation of the processes that placed these communities within a lower rank during the second half of Iron II. Not only do we indirectly witness a tendency towards Durkheim's organic form of social cohesion, we also detect the element that arises when the density of the urban social mass is increased - namely Wirth's principle of heterogeneity. In other words, the stratified society which was the hallmark of the Omride social upheaval is very much in evidence.

One of the remarkable findings that resulted from the post-War excavations at Tell Balatah and Tell el-Far'ah is the fact that these sites contained three "quarters" during the ninth and eighth-centuries B.C. which correspond roughly to the social status of the people that occupied them. Situated on high ground in both cases was an official precinct that may have constituted a miniature "royal quarter" in the Samarian sense. Adjacent to this was a section of wealthy "four-room" houses and further away (on less elevated ground) was a third quarter of poorer housing. While caution must be exercised in reading too many social phenomena into this zoning pattern, it is not overstepping the evidence to suggest that it is an

indicator of the stratified society that the Israelite prophets alluded to in their writings.

Of the two sites under consideration, Tell Balatah presents the more difficult picture as far as interpretation is concerned. This is due to the fact that the data on the "royal quarter" is still relatively limited. While it is certain that the Bronze Age temple platform was occupied by a large granary during our period, it is still an open question whether an upper class quarter also existed there. The argument for its existence is based entirely upon a high rate of probability. If Shechem was similar to other administrative centers of the Northern Kingdom (and there is no reason to doubt that it was), it would naturally require a separate district to house the upper class members of the royal interest group (e.g. the מְלָכִים). Within the framework of the ancient mentality, such individuals could not be expected to reside and function at places that represented less than the choicest parts of the city. As a result, since the upper city at Shechem was the best available real estate in this regard, it is very likely that this section also functioned as a "royal quarter" of sorts. Aside from its small size and the probability that it was not separated from the lower city by a wall, it would be quite similar to its counterpart at Samaria.

In comparison with the data from the "royal quarter", the evidence concerning the wealthy residential quarter at

Shechem is considerably more secure and abundant. This situation has been due in large part to the spectacular discoveries made by the Drew-McCormick Expedition in Field VII.³⁰ For the periods of Strata VII (ca. 748 - 724 B.C.), VIII (ca. 810 - 748 B.C.), IX A (ca. 860 - 810 B.C.) and IX B (ca. 918 - 860 B.C.) outstanding examples of domestic architecture have come to light which provide ample testimony that this area was inhabited by wealthy urbanites who presumably belonged to social categories such as the גרמים, עמ הארץ, merchants and craftsmen. Built on terraces which formed a series of concentric semi-circles around the eastern and southern boundaries of the old temple platform, the houses in this field were well-built and generally appear to have consisted of two stories.

The best preserved of these units was the famous House 1727 which dates to the Stratum VII period (see figs. 55 A, B).³¹ This structure was built according to the typical Israelite "four-room" plan and was probably quite spacious by the standards of the time. The first floor consisted of an open courtyard (Rooms 1 and 2), which, just inside the street entrance, led into two rooms with cobble-stone floors (Rooms 3 and 5).³² Two other

³⁰Toombs and Wright, "The Fourth Campaign...", (1963), pp. 32-44; Bull, Callaway, et. al., "The Fifth Campaign...", (1965), pp. 17-26; Wright, Shechem, pp. 151-163.

³¹Toombs and Wright, "The Fourth Campaign...", (1963), pp. 38-40; Wright, Shechem, pp. 158-163; idem., "A Characteristic North Israelite House...", pp. 151-153; Frank Braemer, L'architecture domestique du Levant à L'âge du Fer (Paris, 1982), pp. 284-286.

³²These rooms accommodated the domesticated animals of the household.

side-rooms (numbers 4 and 6) also had access to this court. At the back, was a room that ran the full length of the house (Room 7), and this in turn led into the kitchen area (Room 11) via a small corridor (Room 8). 1727 was apparently a two-story structure since the excavators found evidence of an elaborate ceiling construction which lay buried beneath "chunks of flat-surfaced floor-plaster, 6 to 7 cms. thick (Rooms 4 and 7)."³³

Aside from its discoveries in Field VII, The Drew-McCormick expedition also uncovered startling evidence concerning the poorer residential district. This quarter was occupied largely by social groups embracing the *ḥḥm*, prostitutes and the poorer elements of the merchant and craftsmen orders. According to the evidence of Field IX, it was located on Shechem's less elevated ground near the presumed South Gate and it consisted of low quality housing which was frequently repaired. Indeed, its housing appears to have been of such poor construction that it was deemed unworthy of pillage by the Assyrian conquerors.³⁴

The overall picture that one therefore receives from Balatah is that during the period of the Omride monarchy and after, Shechem was a city with a pronounced differentiation in its social structure. This situation is especially evident in the contrast between Fields VII and IX.

³³Toombs and Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Wright, "A Characteristic North Israelite House," p. 151.

³⁴Toombs and Wright, "The Fourth Campaign..." (1963), pp. 44-47; Bull, Callaway, et. al., "The Fifth Campaign..." (1965), pp. 9-10.

In comparison with Shechem, Tirzah presents a much clearer picture with regard to the social variable. From the evidence uncovered by the expedition of the Ecole Biblique, it appears that the city experienced a profound stratification of its social structure once it emerged from the turmoils of Samaria's founding. This is especially evident if the urban plan of Stratum 7d is compared with that of its tenth-century B.C. predecessor, Stratum 7b (cf. figs. 58, 59 A, B with figs. 61, 62). In the latter, there is a definite element of uniformity between the various buildings. Houses are constructed more or less along similar lines and they do not indicate much differentiation between the wealth of their owners.³⁵ In the 7d plan, the incongruity between the various structures is so apparent that three separate quarters appear to crystallize themselves. These zones not only suggest that there were great economic disparities among the citizens of eighth-century B.C. Tirzah, but also that the city was characterized by a pronounced class-structure.

Of the three zones, the one that was inhabited by individuals belonging to the highest echelons of the social hierarchy was the one that was located just inside the Northwest Gate towards the south (see fig. 61). This precinct was bordered on the north by the wall adjoining Court 149 A and Room 125, and on the south by the wall connecting Court 311 A and Room 330. It was

³⁵See de Vaux, "La quatrième campagne....," (1952), pp. 558-564; Chambon, op. cit., pp. 31-36.

dominated by one of the most impressive structures ever built in ancient Tirzah - palace complex 148.

This structure is a very crucial one since its identity as an administrative center establishes that the precinct was a "royal quarter" which was occupied by שר'ים and other members of the monarchial "society" (see figs. 63, 64). As the largest building in the 7d plan and as the one most superior in construction, it is unlikely that it functioned as the residence of a mere patrician. It was undoubtedly the seat of an individual with considerable power such as the governor of the city. Its proximity to the gate (as in the case of Shechem) and the discovery of one of its storerooms (Room 129) would further support this conclusion.³⁶ As a result, one is presented with an eighth-century B.C. precinct at Tirzah, that may be regarded as a local miniaturized version of the "royal quarters" that dominated Samaria, Megiddo and Hazor and which were cordoned off from the rest of the city by wall constructions.³⁷

One of the most celebrated events of the Ecole Biblique expedition to Tell el-Far'ah was its discovery of Tirzah's wealthy residential quarter in the area immediately to the south of the "royal quarter." This discovery was hailed as being especially significant for our understanding of the

³⁶ Roland de Vaux, O. P., "La troisième campagne de fouilles à Tell el-Fâr'ah, près Naplouse," Revue Biblique 58 (1951), pp. 412-413; idem., "The Excavations of Tell el-Far'ah," (1956), p. 134; Chambon, op. cit., pp. 44-46. Room 129 contained some 150 jars. See Chambon, op. cit., pp. 104, 192-193.

³⁷ For the view that the Tirzah quarter was not a "royal quarter" as such, see Kathleen Kenyon, Archaeology in the Holy Land, p. 272; idem., Royal Cities, pp. 125-126.

social variable, since the southern boundary of the quarter was demarcated by a wall which was erected specifically for the segregation of well-to-do citizens from those of the so-called "proletarian" zone (i.e. the third quarter) to the south of it (see fig. 62). According to the excavator, Roland de Vaux, the great disparity that existed in the conditions between the two residential areas is evidence that an urban proletariat was emerging at the time of Stratum 7d.³⁸

While it is still an open question whether the latter contention is valid, it is nevertheless certain that de Vaux's appraisal of the second quarter as a section of nouveau riche of sorts is entirely correct. This is apparent from the two beautiful houses (327, 328) that were unearthed in this part of Tell el-Far'ah (see figs. 65, 66). Since the quality of their construction is far superior to that which is generally characteristic of domestic dwellings in the tenth-century B.C., there is little doubt that they were owned by individuals who represented the higher categories of the social order (e.g. the שריים , עם הארץ , wealthy merchants and craftsmen). In comparison with their 7b predecessors, the houses are more regular in plan (with strong corners) and they are constructed with sturdier walls. The exterior walls of 327 and 328 consist of two lines of stone while those of the grandest structures in the earlier period (e.g. Houses 410 A, 436, 440, 442) are only

³⁸ De Vaux, "La quatrième campagne....," p. 566; idem., "The Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah....," (1956), p. 134.

one stone thick.³⁹ In similarity with their famous contemporary at Shechem (House 1727), the 7d buildings are also quite spacious. Built according to the standard "four-room" plan, they contain a central court which is surrounded by various ground-level rooms (e.g. paved stable areas) as well as a second story. In general, the two structures thus indicate that eighth-century B.C. Tirzah contained an elite that must have acquired unprecedented levels of wealth and power through the city's membership in the Omride system.⁴⁰

Contrasting sharply with the nouveau riche sector is the poor residential district south of the celebrated wall. While it is not clear whether this zone provides evidence for an emerging proletariat, it does seem fairly certain that it was occupied by social groups (i.e. those including the poorer craftsmen and merchants) which had smaller financial resources at their disposal. This seems apparent from the architecture of its dwellings. In comparison with the wealthy homes to the north (327, 328), Houses 336, 362 and 366 represent the simpler building techniques of the tenth-century B.C. Their exterior walls consist of only one line of stones and their overall plan is less regular (e.g. see House 362 in fig. 67). They are also less spacious. What we have here is a third quarter which provides further illustration

³⁹De Vaux, "La quatrième campagne....," pp. 564-565, Chambon, op. cit., p. 43.

⁴⁰De Vaux, "La quatrième campagne....," pp. 564-566; idem., "The Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah....," (1956), p. 134; Braemer, op. cit., pp. 217-218.

of Tirzah's stratified social order during the eighth-century B.C.⁴¹

Overall, the social variable thus indicates that the upheavals created by the rise of the royal interest group also affected the social structure of old established centers such as Shechem and Tirzah. As these cities became integrated into the northern urban system, various groups of individuals prospered in terms of wealth and status, while others remained stagnant.

THE ECONOMIC VARIABLE

As suggested in the previous chapter, one of the significant consequences of Samaria's rise to supremacy was the integration of many old Bronze Age centers into an economic system that encompassed much of northern Palestine. For Megiddo and Hazor, this process meant the acquisition of new roles as second-rank B-places within the mid-Iron II central-place hierarchy. For Samaria's two colleagues in the Central Hill Country, it meant renewed prosperity as third-ranking K-places.⁴²

One of the fascinating aspects about the economic variables of Shechem and Tirzah is the fact that the available data seems quite certain about the changing roles of these cities during the ca. 870 - 722 B.C. period. Since they no longer functioned as the residence of individuals who controlled the highest levers of political power (e.g. royalty, the Amphictyonic

⁴¹Idem., "The Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah...", (1956), p. 134; Braemer, op. cit., p. 218; Chambon, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

⁴²See pp. 151-153.

Councils), their markets came to serve a public that represented less than the highest levels of wealth.⁴³ As a result, the artifact remains of goods and services that have been uncovered, testify to the needs of consumers who were less wealthy than their counterparts in Samaria.

One of the remarkable benefits that have accrued from the discovery of the patrician houses at Tell Balatah and Tell el-Far'ah, is the fact that modern observers have been able to obtain a "close-up" view of some of the economic dynamics that operated at these sites. This has certainly been true of House 1727 at Shechem. From the remains of this structure, it has been possible to determine that the household which was situated there during the ca. 748 - 724 B.C. period, was one of affluent means though not on the same scale as the families that resided within the royal quarter at Samaria. The family at 1727 was apparently wealthy enough to use bowls of the exquisite Samaria Ware B variety.⁴⁴ It was also able to afford imported Cypro-Phoenician pottery.⁴⁵ Equally revealing is the fact that it was able to acquire a raw material that is relatively scarce in Palestine, namely wooden beams for its roof construction.⁴⁶ Though one

⁴³This of course, does not rule out the strong possibility that members of the royal entourage would occasionally reside at Shechem and Tirzah but it should be emphasized that such occurrences were an exception rather than a general reality.

⁴⁴Toombs and Wright, "The Third Campaign...", (1961), pp. 49-50; Wright, Shechem, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁵Toombs and Wright, op. cit., p. 52; Wright, Shechem, p. 163 and fig. 85.

⁴⁶Toombs and Wright, "The Fourth Campaign...", (1963), p. 40.

should of course, be aware of the limitations involved in arguments of silence, it is perhaps further indicative of the household's economic position that no remains were found of such high-order goods as ivory carving.⁴⁷ Indeed, the absence of ivory artifacts at this level is particularly striking if it is compared to the situation of the Middle Bronze destruction levels. Within these strata, numerous examples of ornamental ivory and bone carvings were found by the excavators.⁴⁸ What we are thus presented with is a household that was extremely prosperous in terms of local standards but which was less wealthy when compared with the upper class elements of the capital. From this situation we are able to conclude that, though the Shechemite elite enjoyed a significant rise in its standard of living during the eighth-century B.C., the city as a whole, nevertheless lost the paramount economic status that it enjoyed at earlier times.

Aside from the light that it throws upon the consumption patterns of the rich, House 1727 provides further evidence regarding the city's relative position vis-a-vis its neighbours. As one would expect for an urban unit that functioned as a provincial center, the industrial activity at Shechem was limited to the variety that has been designated with the "handicraft" label.⁴⁹ Large-scale enterprises such as would be possible only under the auspices of the government, occurred infrequently.⁵⁰ At the site of 1727, we witness a household that was engaged in

⁴⁷ It will be remembered that ivory carving was one of the high-order products that was found in abundance at Samaria. See pp. 88-89, 139-140.

⁴⁸ This observation was presented by Dr. Lawrence E. Toombs.

⁴⁹ Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City, pp. 196-199.

d) the type of handicraft industry that was undoubtedly typical of Shechem. From the evidence of the pink quartzite saddle quern discovered in the court, it has been suggested that the making of ashlar blocks was one of the activities that sustained this family unit. This suggestion has been based upon the contention that the stone functioned as a tool for the smoothing of these blocks and it receives support from the fact that a large demand for this product existed at neighbouring Samaria.⁵¹ From the data provided by the large hearth in the same court, it has also been suggested that the household was engaged in the slaking of lime.^{51a} In general, we thus have a late Israelite household whose economic endeavours reflect the general status of the city at large.

The patrician houses at Tell el-Far'ah depict a similar situation for Tirzah. Once again, the consumption pattern of wealthy households reveal a level of wealth that is appro-

⁵⁰In its survey of the immediate environs of Tell Balatah, the Drew-McCormick expedition uncovered evidence for what may be two instances of large-scale enterprise. At Site 13 (Najamet Salim 1810.1784), it discovered a "work area" which was characterized by "signs of quarrying and a rock-cut installation." At Site 16 (Tell en-Najameh 1781.1789) a second such Iron II "work area" was interpreted as having been situated there, since wall lines, "cut blocks, and industrial installations are visible." See Edward F. Campbell, Jr., "The Shechem Area Survey," B.A.S.O.R. 190 (1968), pp. 26, 29.

⁵¹According to G. Ernest Wright, the weight of the stone (39 lbs., 9 oz.) suggests that it was used for a purpose other than the grinding of flour. A function involved with the process of making ashlar seems to be the most likely possibility. See Toombs and Wright, "The Fourth Campaign...", (1963), pp. 39-40; Wright, Shechem, pp. 159-160; idem., "A Characteristic North Israelite House...", pp. 151-153.

^{51a}Toombs and Wright, op. cit., pp. 38-39; Wright, Shechem, p. 159; idem., "A Characteristic North Israelite House...", p. 153.

plate for a third rank center. At House 327 for example, the inhabitants were apparently affluent enough to use Samaria Ware and imported Cypro-Phoenician Ware and yet there is no evidence that they consumed higher order products such as ivory carving.⁵² In similarity with the situation at Shechem, the use of large amounts of domestic space for industrial purposes, also indicates that Tirzah's economy was dominated by handicraft enterprises. House 327 reveals that its occupants employed 55% of their available space for economic activities while they reserved 30% as living quarters.⁵³ Once again, we thus have a city that functioned as a central place of lesser importance during the eighth-century B.C.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL VARIABLE

While the Biblical sources and the archaeological expeditions to Tell Balatah and Tell el-Far'ah have yielded a considerable amount of information concerning the political, social, and economic variables, relatively little direct light has been shed upon the technological factors that operated at ancient

⁵²Chambon, op. cit., pp. 71, 221-223 (planche 58:17), 232-233 (planche 62:5). It is interesting to note that the evidence for the consumption of Samaria Ware is greatly increased as one moves from the second quarter (i.e. Houses 327, 328) into the "royal quarter." Palatial loci 130 and 151 indicate a strong presence of this ware. See the pottery charts above. For further discussion of the ceramic evidence, see de Vaux, "La troisieme campagne...." (1951), pp. 415-416; idem., "La quatrieme campagne....," pp. 558-559, 567, 572, fig. 8:6, 13.

⁵³Chambon, op. cit., pp. 43, 121-122.

Shechem and Tirzah. At present, it is only possible to surmise that these cities were similar to other northern centers as far as technology was concerned. For example, though this cannot be established with certainty, it is quite possible that terrace farming made substantial contributions towards their agricultural surplus. Since Shechem is already known as a source of wine in the Samaria Ostraca, there is a reasonable chance that terrace-supported vinyards also existed there. Vinyards, as it may be recalled, were often planted in terraced areas.⁵⁴ However, until further research has been carried out, it will be impossible to determine what impact this innovation, as well as others, may have had upon the life of these cities.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHICAL VARIABLE

In our discussion of the political, social and economic variables, we have attempted to show that during the ca. 870 - 722 B.C. period, Shechem and Tirzah experienced a two-fold process. On the one hand, they saw themselves demoted in terms of relative status as they became integrated into the northern urban system. On the other, they experienced a period of renewed prosperity which was especially significant during the eighth-century B.C. One of the factors which enabled the cities to weather, and indeed to benefit from the Omride upheavals, was centered upon the favourable position that they enjoyed in the physiographical sense. The strategic and physiographic advan-

⁵⁴See p. 91.

tages of their locations not only guaranteed their survival but also ensured them of a measure of material prosperity.

As far as location was concerned, Shechem and Tirzah occupied positions of great strategic importance. The former, located at the virtual center of Palestine, enjoyed a natural defense perimeter consisting of the mountains that surround the Shechem Plain.⁵⁵ At the entrance of the most important pass in Palestine, it was also situated at the hub of an extensive transportation network. From Shechem, roads radiated out towards the west (reaching Samaria and the Via Maris), the north-east (reaching Tirzah, Beth-Shean, Transjordan) and the south (reaching Bethel, Jerusalem).⁵⁶ Tirzah's location was similarly blessed. Being located between the springs of 'Ain el-Far'ah and 'Ain ed-Dleib, it too was situated at an important cross-roads. Towards the north and south went the road connecting Beth-Shean and Shechem; towards the southeast went the Wadi Far'ah route which was the only easy access from the Trans-

⁵⁵From the published results of the Drew-McCormick survey, it would appear that the identification of one of the outlying fortifications of Shechem's ancient defense perimeter has been solidified. According to the survey, Site 41 (Khirbet el-'Urmeh 1805.1727) is an "enclosed oval fortress on the northern spur of the summit of Jebel el-'Urmeh" and it "dominates the surrounding countryside from a height of 843 meters above sea level...." The surveyors found it equipped with an elaborate water system and a strong presence of Iron I and II pottery was evident on the slopes and on the summit. In the view of the Expedition, the site was the location of Israelite Arumah (Judges 9:41). See Edward F. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 38-40.

⁵⁶See fig. 46 B; Wright, Shechem, pp. 9-11; Aharoni, Land of the Bible, pp. 57-58.

jordan into the ancient Israelite heartland.⁵⁷

The cities were able to reap tremendous benefits from these locations because the ancient settlement pattern in the Central Hill Country was governed largely by the traffic principle. As it may be recalled from previous discussion, this principle often dominates in montaine areas. It enriches a few centers that are located favourably within the transportation network since goods and services have few options as far as their movement is concerned.⁵⁸

Aside from the benefits that they enjoyed by virtue of strategic location, the two cities were also favoured by an advantage that was particularly critical for an ancient city - close proximity to an abundant food supply. Being situated at the northwestern corner of a large fertile plain, ancient Shechem was especially blessed in this regard. Since the Shechem Plain contains rich terra rosa soil as well as favourable hydrological conditions, the city was generally assured of a significant agricultural surplus. The same may be said about Tirzah. This center was located in a plentious agricultural zone with an all-year water supply. As a result, it too was able to provide for its own sustenance.⁵⁹ By thus providing

⁵⁷De Vaux, "Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah...", (1956), pp. 125-126; idem., "Tirzah," (1967), p. 370; Chambon, op. cit., pp. 9-11.

⁵⁸See pp. 36-37, 153 (note 93).

⁵⁹Wright, Shechem, pp. 11-13; de Vaux, "Tirzah," (1967), p. 371; Kenyon, Royal Cities, p. 72.

the strategic and physiological conditions that were necessary for urban growth in Antiquity, the physiographical variable made a substantial contribution to the development of the cities after Samaria became a major challenge.

THE IDEATIONAL VARIABLE

With the ideational variable we approach a series of phenomena that often played a significant but varying role in the life of ancient urbanization. As it may be recalled from the initial discussion of the "religion" category of urban sociology, the archaic mentality frequently bestowed a special significance upon a site because it regarded it as "sacred" in some manner.⁶⁰ The place in question may have been the alleged burial ground of heroic ancestors who had been instrumental in the formation of the community. It may also have been the site of a theophany where the numinous had manifested itself at some point in primordial history. In any case, ancient cities frequently benefitted in the political, social and economic sense because they were a focus of such veneration.

One of the profound dynamics that operated within the urban pattern of the Central Hill Country was the fact that Shechem and Tirzah were steeped in ideational meaning while the new city of Samaria was not. At the present time, the impact of this dynamic upon the Iron II situation is difficult to gauge since there is little agreement concerning the interpretation of the evidence. Indeed a proper examination of all the issues

⁶⁰See pp. 14-22.

involved would require a massive study of its own. At this point therefore, we shall merely demonstrate that the dynamic existed and that it contained the potential to influence events.

The least difficult task of this endeavour is to demonstrate that Shechem was an ideational gravity point until the rise of the Omride monarchy. Archaeologically, the record presents the city as a sacred site for most of the Bronze Age as well as the early part of the Iron Age. The earliest structure whose functions were undoubtedly related to the practices of a cult are the Courtyard Temples in Field VI. According to the excavators, these numbered five in total and were built in succession of each other during the Middle Bronze II B period ^{ca.} (1750 - 1650 B.C.).⁶¹ The Courtyard Temples were apparently supplemented and succeeded chronologically by the Gerizim sanctuary. However, in the case of this structure, it should be noted that not all scholars have espoused a cultic interpretation as far as its function is concerned. Some have regarded it as the villa of a Middle and Late Bronze patrician household.⁶²

⁶¹See especially Lawrence E. Toombs and G. Ernest Wright, "The Third Campaign at Balatah (Shechem), B.A.S.O.R. 161 (1961), pp. 30-39 and Wright, Shechem, pp. 103-122. See also G. R. H. Wright, "Temples at Shechem," pp. 2-9.

⁶²For the cultic interpretation see G. R. H. Wright, "Temples at Shechem," pp. 9-16 and Martin Noth, Die Welt des alten Testaments (Berlin, 1957), pp. 138-139. For the alternative interpretation see William F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine (Gloucester, Mass., 1949 (1971)), p. 92; A. G. Barrois, Manuel D'Archéologie Biblique II (Paris, 1953), p. 365; Wright, Shechem, p. 29.

The most significant testimony for Shechem's ancient role as a religious center are the famous Fortress Temples which have been equated with the worship of El-berith. Temples 1 A and B date to the ca. 1650 - 1550 B.C. period while the 2 A and B sanctuaries date to the long ca. 1450 - 1100 B.C. period.⁶³ Overall, we thus have a clear archaeological statement that Shechem was a traditional site of veneration.

When this evidence is viewed in conjunction with the literary record, it is quite apparent that a certain ideational tension must have existed between Shechem and Samaria. According to the Biblical sources, it appears that Shechem was an ancestral "homestead" so-to-speak for the Jacob-Joseph-Israel clans.⁶⁴ It was first of all, the site (1) where Abraham received his promise from Yahweh (Genesis 12:6-7 (J)). In addition, it was the site (2) where Jacob purchased a piece of land and then proceeded to erect the massebah named אל אלהי ישראל (Genesis 33:18-19 (primarily J and E)). For Israelites, it was (3) also a sacred burial ground since the tomb of Joseph was located there (Joshua 24:32).⁶⁵ Containing so much tradition, there can thus be little doubt that Shechem was superior to its rival as far as ideational

⁶³Sellin, "Die Ausgrabung von Sichem...im Sommer 1926," pp. 309-311; Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Toombs and Wright, "The Fourth Campaign...", (1963), pp. 27-32; G. R. H. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-26.

⁶⁴See our discussion of the terminology of Fustel de Coulanges, pp. 16-20.

status was concerned and that this "imbalance" aroused the concerns of both the Samaritan rulers and the "non-official" elements of the prophetic movement.⁶⁶

In concert with the situation at Shechem, the ideational variable at Tirzah also presents a series of circumstances which may have produced some competition so-to-speak for Omri's capital. Once again, the archaeological evidence presents a city with an age-old record of ideational significance. According to Father de Vaux, this record dates as far back as the Late Chalcolithic Age, since his expedition uncovered a burial ground of this period.⁶⁷ It was continued during the Middle Bronze Age when Tirzah appears to have been a center for the cult of the Great Mother goddess. In the levels of this era, the École Biblique expedition uncovered an "underground sanctuary, where young pigs were sacrificed."⁶⁸ The structure was equipped with benches and

⁶⁵ See Karl Jaroš, Sichem: Eine archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Jos 24 (Göttingen, 1976), pp. 67-75; Eckart Otto, Jakob in Sichem: Überlieferungsgeschichtliche, archäologische und territorialgeschichtliche Studie zur Entstehungsgeschichte Israels (Stuttgart, 1979) and G. R. H. Wright, "An Egyptian God at Shechem," Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins 99 (1983), 95-109. See also Albrecht Alt, "Die Wallfahrt von Sichem nach Bethel," (1938), Kleine Schriften, I, pp. 79-88; Noth, A History of Pentateuchal Traditions, pp. 79-87 and Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," Harvard Theological Review 55 (1962), 236-259.

⁶⁶ Indeed, as we intimated earlier, it is quite possible that Omri attempted to address this tension by "secularizing" the function of Shechem. See pp.

⁶⁷ De Vaux, "The Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah....," (1956), pp. 126-128.

a place for offerings. Tirzah's role as a cult center continued into the Iron I period (Stratum VIIa) when it was the site of a large building that may have functioned as a temple.⁶⁹ The impression that one therefore receives from the archaeological data is that the city was a regional center of religious import.⁷⁰

In the Biblical sources, we receive specific information concerning the identity of the peoples who regarded Tirzah as an ancestral "homestead." According to various texts in Numbers and Joshua, Tirzah is one of the five daughters of Zelophehad, the son of Hopher.⁷¹ The other four are Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah and Milcah. Since the Samaria Ostraca represent Hoglah as a "minor clan" within close proximity to Tell el-Far'ah, it is quite possible that Tirzah, at various points in its history, functioned as a cultic center for the Hopherite clan.⁷² This contention is strengthened by the fact that the archaeological data presents Tell el-Far'ah as one of the most prominent sites in this part of the Central Hill Country. It is also supported by the fact that Jeroboam I chose Tirzah as his permanent capital.

⁶⁸ See Ibid., pp. 129-132 and especially p. 131. In the ancient Near East, practises involving the sacrifice of prolific animals such as the pig and the mouse were generally associated with the mother goddess cult. Erich Neumann, The Origins and History of Consciousness, pp. 83-86.

⁶⁹ Chambon, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

⁷⁰ For a study that disputes the cultic interpretations of Father de Vaux which have been adopted here, see Mervyn D. Fowler, "Cultic Continuity at Tirzah? A Re-examination of the Archaeological Evidence," Palestine Exploration Quarterly (1981), 27-31.

⁷¹ Numbers 26:33, 27:1, 36:10; Joshua 17:3.

The sixth variable thus consists of an ideational dynamic between the new city and the old cities. Since Samaria represented a departure from the traditions and ancestral allegiances that were embodied in Shechem and Tirzah, there can be little doubt that much of the anti-urban sentiment that crystallized around the former was rooted in this dynamic.⁷³

The overall evidence relating to the variables at Shechem and Tirzah thus presents a strikingly clear picture. During the middle of the Iron II period, these ancient cities experienced a profound change in their relative status and function. This change was a direct product of the political, social and economic forces that lead to the foundation of Samaria. It resulted in their integration into an urban system that encompassed much of northern Palestine. It also brought them renewed prosperity because they enjoyed favourable technological, ecological and ideational conditions.

⁷²The Ostraca have provided scholars with the names of two villages which were subsidiary to the Hogleh clan: YASIT and GEBA'. Since these may be identified with the modern villages of Yasid and Djeba', it is fairly certain that the clans represented by Zelophehad's daughters were situated in the immediate environs of Tell el-Far'ah (i.e. Tirzah). See especially Albright's important article, "The Site of Tirzah and the Topography of Western Manasseh," (1931), pp. 241-251. See also de Vaux, "The Excavations at Tell el-Far'ah...", (1956), pp. 135-140; Wright, "The Provinces of Solomon...", pp. 63-64.

⁷³See pp. 98-99, 158-160.

EPILOGUE

The city and civilization are inseparable: with the city's rise and spread, man at last emerged from the primitive state. In turn, the city enabled him to construct an ever more complex and, we would like to believe, more satisfying way of life. Some scholars regard the city as second only to agriculture among the significant inventions in human history. We shall not quibble over the proper ranking due the urban community in man's storehouse of great inventions. It is sufficient to recognize that it is worthy of intensive treatment. 1

While the urbanization fostered by royal policy created and tenaciously maintained cities which evolved into political centers of gravity, they in turn evoked anti-centralization reactions in certain strata of the population. 2

With the aid of the model that we developed in chapter 2, we have attempted to show that during the Iron II period, the urban pattern of the Samaria region experienced a dramatic transformation which was produced by a series of inter-related developments within the political, social, economic and ideational variables of the north.

The key element of these developments was the rise of the monarchy as a formidable seat of power. In the period between the death of Jeroboam I (ca. 901 B.C.) and the accession of Omri (ca. 876 B.C.), the authority of the royal government reached such proportions that it became virtually independent

¹Gideon Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City, p. 1.

²Frank S. Frick, The City in Ancient Israel, p. 201.

of the tribal institutions that had founded it.

Its increase in power was accompanied by a second development involving the rise of the royal interest group. As the Samarian government built up a bureaucracy consisting of individuals whose interests and loyalties resided primarily with the monarchy and as small ancestral homesteads were incorporated into the holdings of large estate owners, this group became the most influential "society" (Wirth's terminology) in the kingdom. Its emergence created a hierarchial social order.

The rise of the monarchy and the royal interest group propelled a third development which involved an economic boom. As the government carried out the immense building programs of kings such as Omri, Ahab and Jeroboam II and as the royal interest group translated its wealth into consumption, periods of prosperity became common during the ca. 876 - 746 B.C. period. This prosperity created a more diversified economy by generating the growth of urban-based industry.

Concurrent with the political, social and economic developments were changes within the ideational variable. As the activities of the government and the royal interest group brought the Israelite and Canaanite sectors together, a pluralistic pattern developed as far as religion was concerned. This situation led to a considerable amount of alienation within the traditional elements of the Israelite population and it produced an anti-urban movement.

By and large, the Israelite city became the major point of convergence for these developments. As the seat of local and regional administration, it became the fundamental tool by which the monarchy was able to project its power throughout the kingdom. As the primary residence of households belonging to the royal interest group, it became the center where the depravities as well as the splendors of the social hierarchy were most evident. As the main repository of wealth in the kingdom, it also became the primary center of consumption, extravagance and industrial enterprise. Ideationally, it became the point of focus for a host of forces and attitudes.

Within the Central Hill Country, the collective effort of these developments was a major transformation of the urban system. The cornerstone of this transformation was the founding of the royal city of Samaria (ca. 870 B.C.). This event was of paramount importance since it changed the entire equilibrium of the Iron I settlement pattern. Not only did it suspend Shechem's traditional role as the capital of the region, it also moved the focus of power to a site that was west of the Gerizim and Ebal Mountains (i.e. to the west of the watershed). This process was very significant because it appears to have been motivated by a royal policy that attempted to end the relative isolation that the Central Hill Country had enjoyed during the period of the Amphictyony. Samaria faced west with easy access to the coast and the Phoenician cities. Shechem, Penuel and Tirzah, the early capitals, faced the interior and lay

within easy reach of the entire Hill Country, the Arabah and Gilead.

The second aspect of this transformation was the fact that the ancient centers of Shechem and Tirzah were integrated into an urban system that was dominated by the new metropolis. This event was particularly significant for these cities since they had previously enjoyed a measure of autonomy. During the Late Bronze Age for example, Shechem had been the capital of a small "empire" and Tirzah had been the seat of a local dynasty of kings. Under the new Samarian system and in conjunction with their ancient colleagues to the north (e.g. Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam, Hazor), both were given specific roles. Shechem became the store city and administrative center of this part of Palestine and Tirzah became the center for the projection of royal power at the vital junction between the Wadi Far'ah route and the north-south "Via Appia" of the Hill Country.

In our study, we have thus attempted to substantiate the hypothesis that after the accession of Omri, urbanization in the Central Hill Country was largely a product of the forces that were related to the monarchy. At this point and as a way of conclusion, we will briefly and informally present two observations concerning the possible relevance of this study for future endeavours within the fields of Biblical scholarship and the urban history of ancient Palestine.

One of the exciting prospects that is presented by our hypothesis is that with further research it may provide some new insights into the formative stages of classical Israelite prophecy. It is indeed a very interesting coincidence that the activities of Elijah and Elisha occurred precisely during that era when the urban processes initiated by the Omrides began to acquire momentum. Is this contemporaneity purely a matter of chance or is it rooted in the fact that the two phenomena were actually deeply related to each other. With the conclusions that we have reached concerning the rise of the new urban system and with the fact that our first definite evidence concerning the struggle between the worship of Yahweh and the cults of Canaan is to be dated precisely to the ninth century B.C., it is unwise to ignore the possibility that northern prophecy (and thus much of classical prophecy) was partially rooted in a sentiment that vehemently opposed the transition to a more urbanized way of life.³

Our examination of the Samaritan urban system is also relevant for future studies of ancient Palestine's urban history. In recent years (since ca. 1970) there has been a rising tendency to employ sociological methods and systems-theory within the study of various Israelite phenomena. This has been particularly true of issues pertaining to the questions of "Israelite

³Johannes Pedersen, Israel III-IV: Helliged og Guddommelighed (Copenhagen, 1934), pp. 389-395.

origins" and the origins of the "Israelite state."⁴ Here, within this Late Bronze and Iron I arena great results have been achieved. From the results that have been uncovered in the present study, it seems apparent that sociological studies of the Iron II period have potential to become just as rewarding. We believe that the time has now arrived for a thorough analysis of all the urban systems that existed throughout the Palestine of the Israelite monarchies. Such urban regions as the Plain of Esdraelon, the Jezreel Valley, the Galilee, the southern Hill Country (Jerusalem and environs) and perhaps the entire kingdom of Judah, all await their sociological urban "biographers."

⁴For a detailed summary of this research, see Frank S. Frick, The Formation of the State in Ancient Israel: A of Models and Theories (Sheffield, England, 1985).

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STATIC RELATIONS

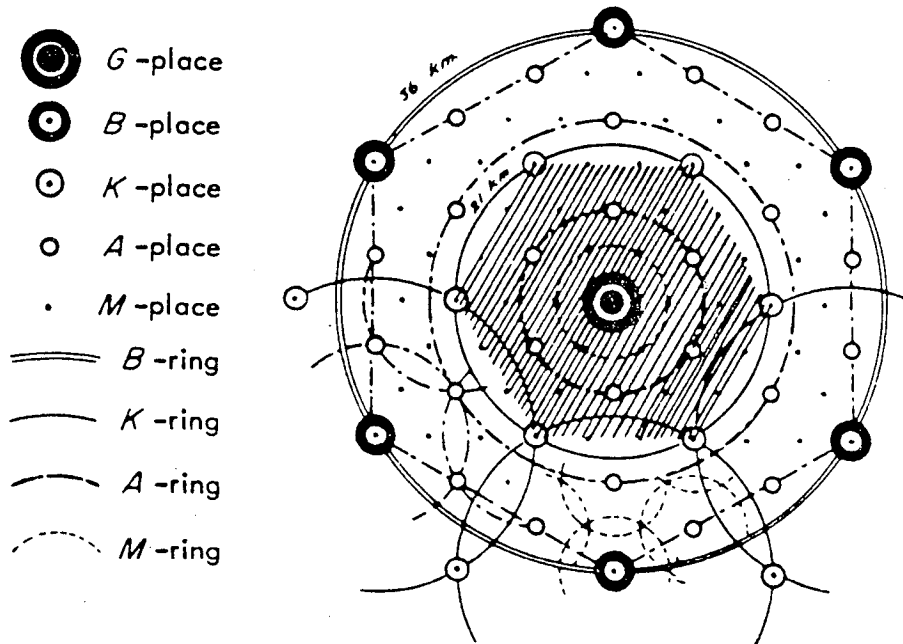


Fig. 1 : A System of Central Places According to the Marketing Principle

Source: Walter Christaller, Central Places in Southern Germany (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966), p. 61.

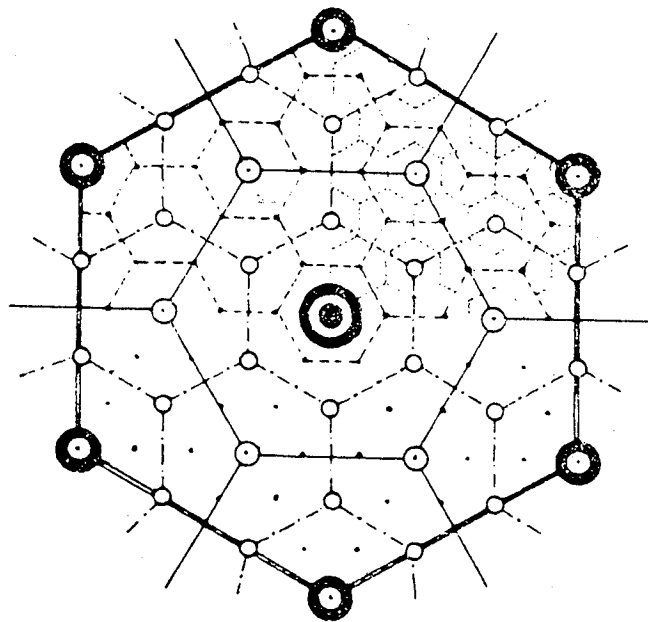
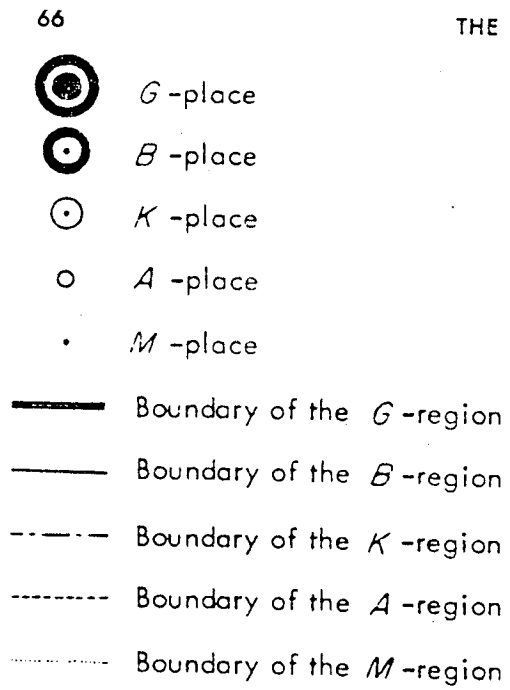
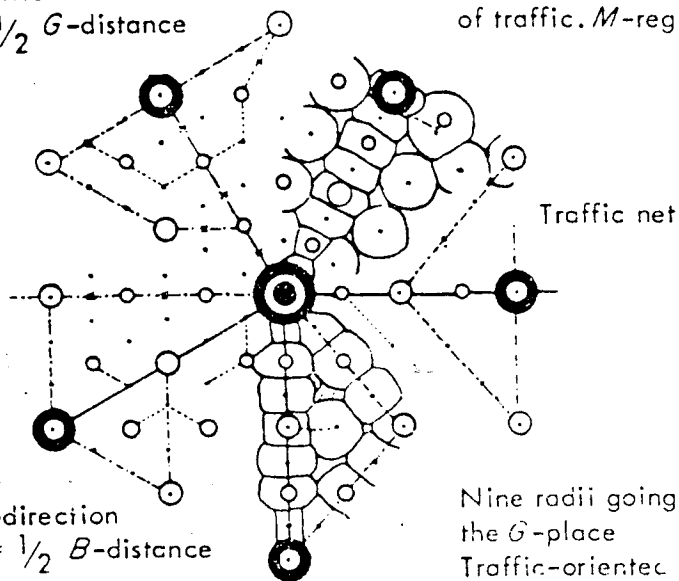


Fig. 2 : The Marketing Regions in a System of Central Places

Source: Ibid., p. 66.

Only the *B*-place is traffic-oriented
B-distance = 31 km. = $\frac{1}{2}$ *G*-distance
M-distance = 6 km.

Preference for one line of traffic. *M*-regions



K-place lying on a *B*-direction
K-distance = 18 km. = $\frac{1}{2}$ *B*-distance
M-distance = 6 km.

Nine radii going from the *G*-place
 Traffic-oriented










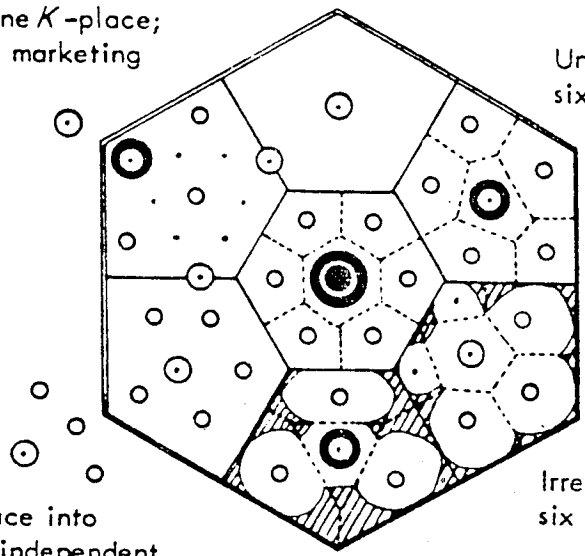
- | | | | |
|---|-----------------|---|-------------------------|
|  | <i>G</i> -place |  | Railroad station places |
|  | <i>B</i> -place |  | Main lines |
|  | <i>K</i> -place |  | Secondary lines |
|  | <i>A</i> -place |  | Local lines (feeders) |
|  | <i>M</i> -place | | |

Fig. 3 : A System of Central Places Developed According to the Traffic Principle

Source: Ibid., p. 75.

Division of a *B*-place into one *B*-place and one *K*-place; otherwise only the marketing principle rules

Uniform structure of six parts



Division of a *B*-place into two *K*-places with independent *K*-systems

Irregular structure of six parts

Structure of four parts
In the middle: structure of seven parts










-  *G*-place
 -  *B*-place
 -  *K*-place
 -  *A*-place
 -  *M*-place
-  Border of the *G*-region
 -  Border of the *B*- and *K*-regions
 -  Border of the *A*-region
 -  Uninhabited border districts

Fig. 4 : A System of Central Places According to the Separation Principle

Source: Ibid., p. 79.

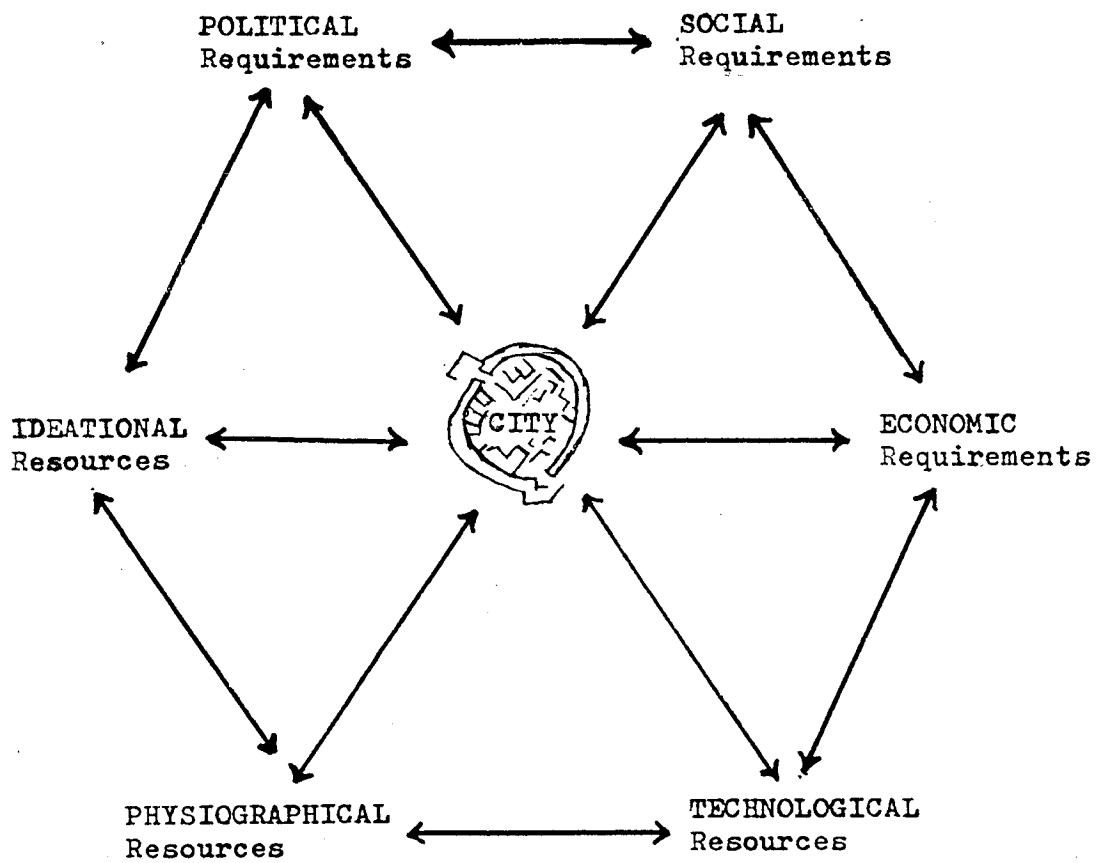


Fig. 5 : A Synthesis of the Ancient City

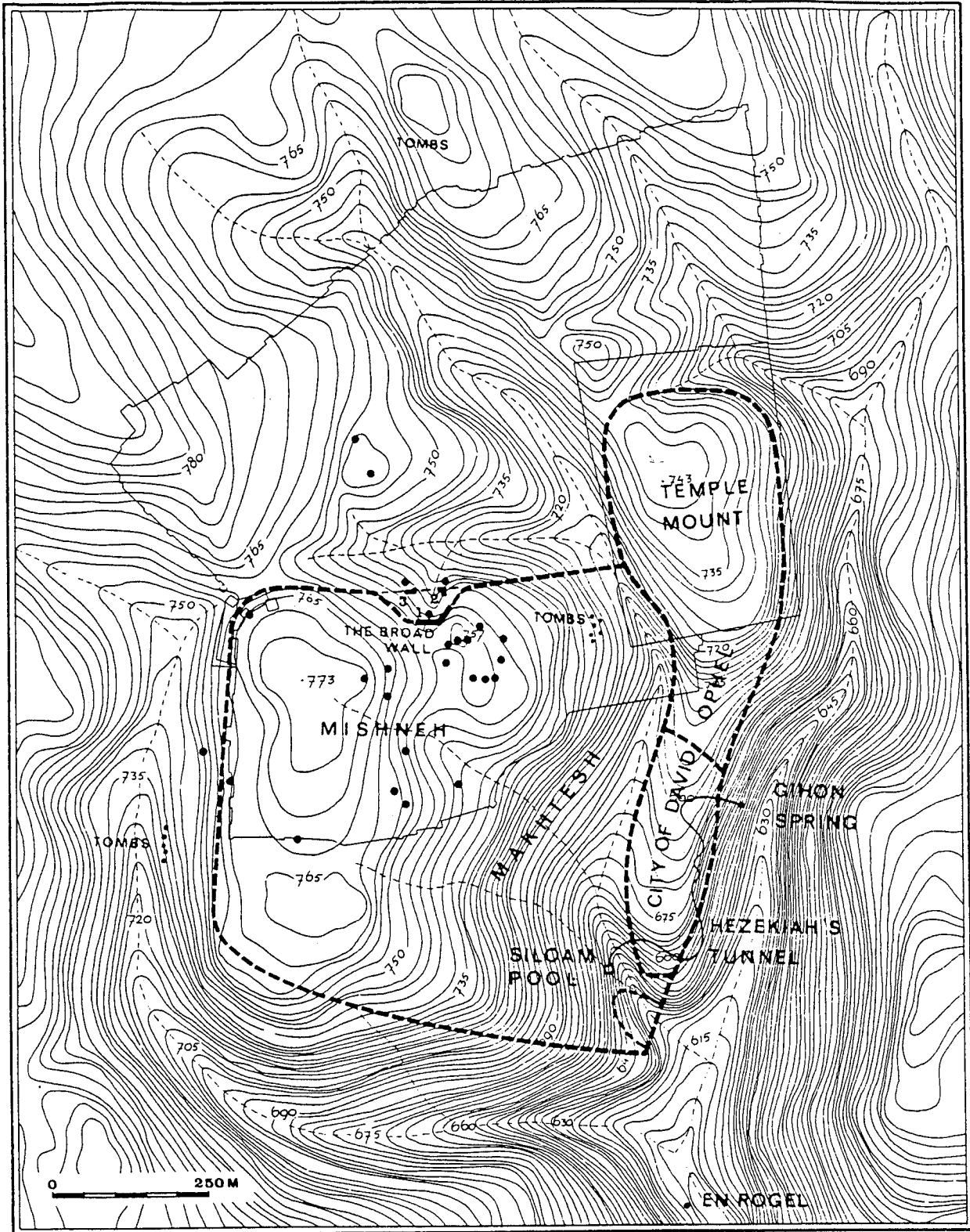


Fig. 6: Jerusalem During the Seventh Century B.C.

Source: Nahman Avigad, Discovering Jerusalem
(Jerusalem, 1983), p. 58.

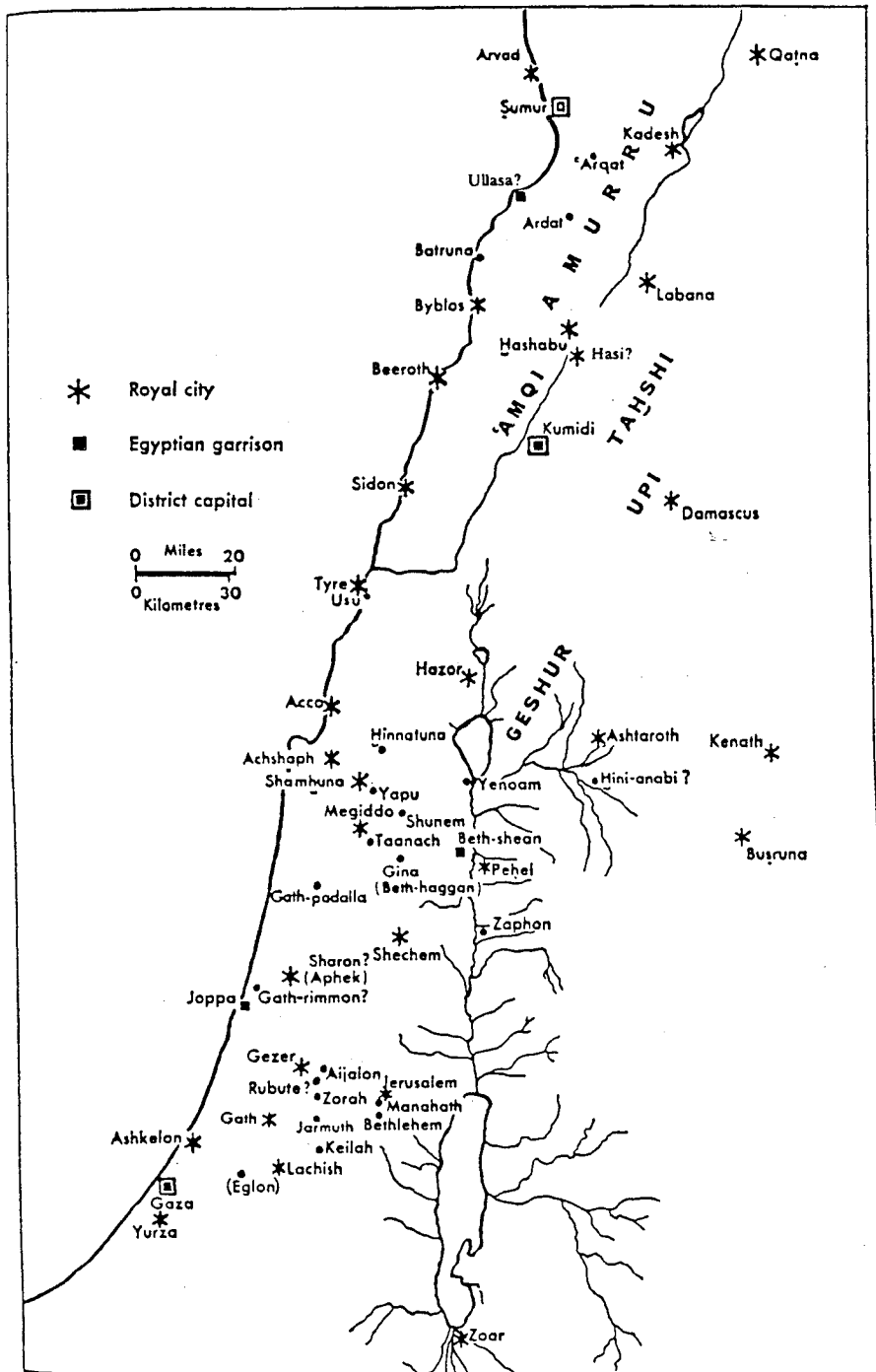


Fig. 7 : The Urban Pattern of Palestine
According to the Amarna Correspondence.

Source: Yohanan Aharoni, The Land of the Bible
(Philadelphia, 1979), p. 173.

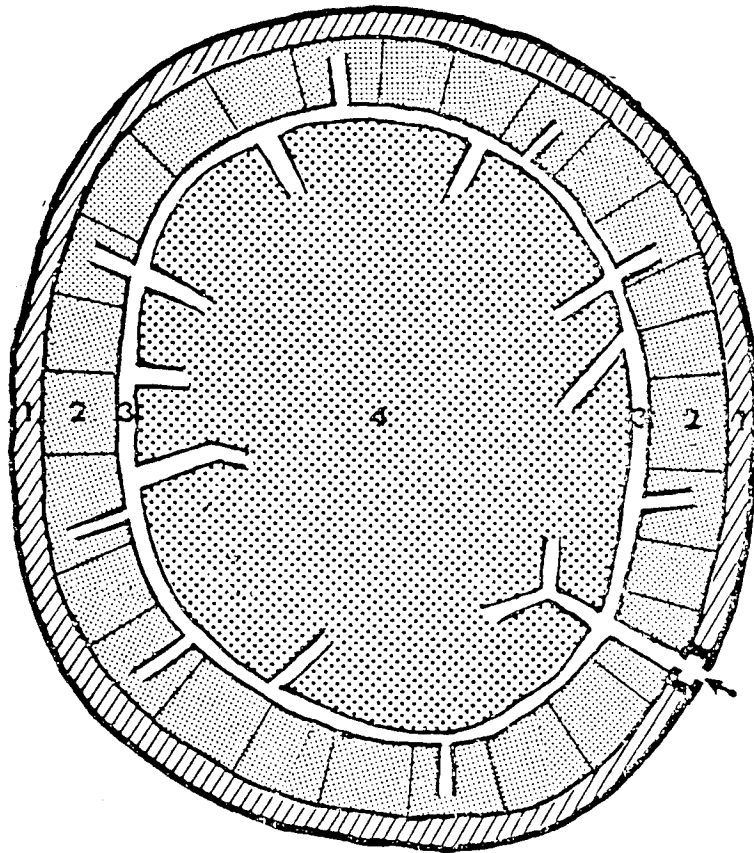


Fig. 8 : Schematic model of Judahite city planned according to the "Concentric Zone" principle. Zone 1 consists of the fortifications; zone 2 of the outer belt of buildings; zone 3 of the ring road; and zone 4 of the central core of the city.

Source: Yigal Shiloh, "Elements in the Development of Town Planning in the Israelite City," Israel Exploration Journal 28 (1978), p. 41

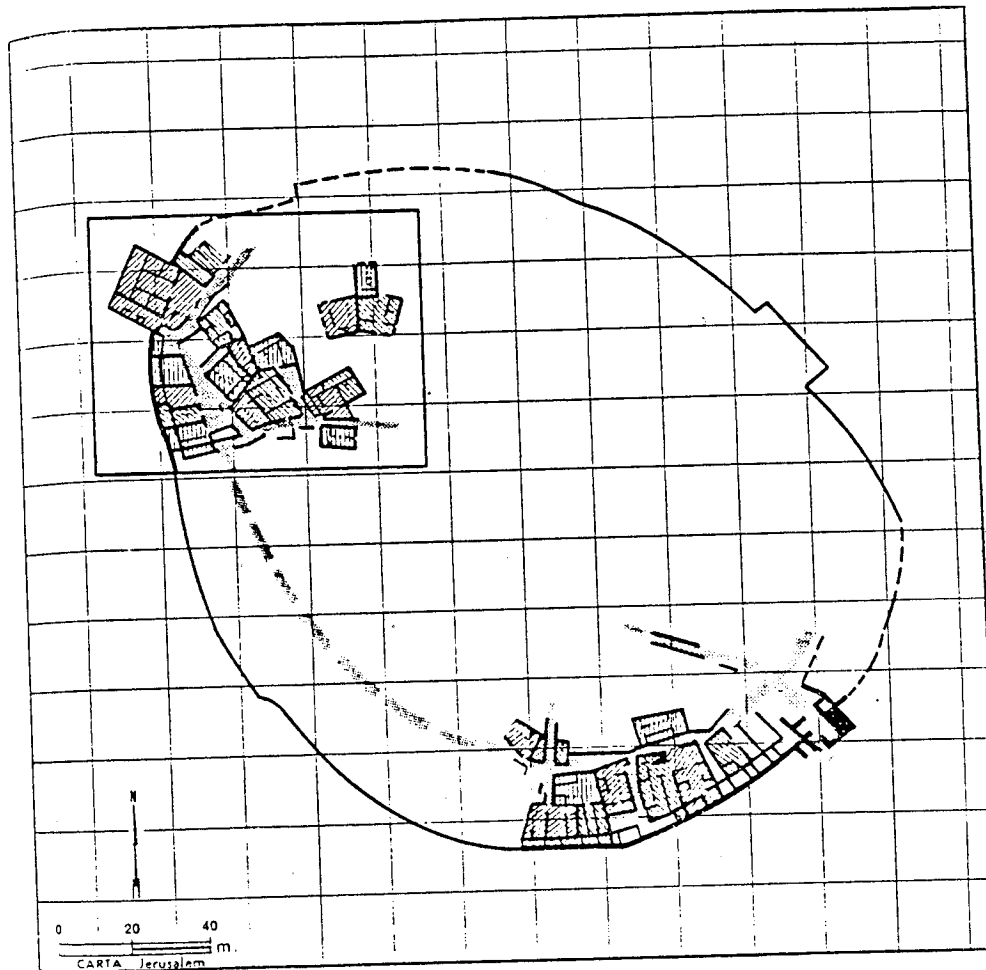


Fig. 9 : Tell Beit Mirsim: Stratum A.

Source: Yigal Shiloh, "The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City," Israel Exploration Journal 20 (1970), p. 185.

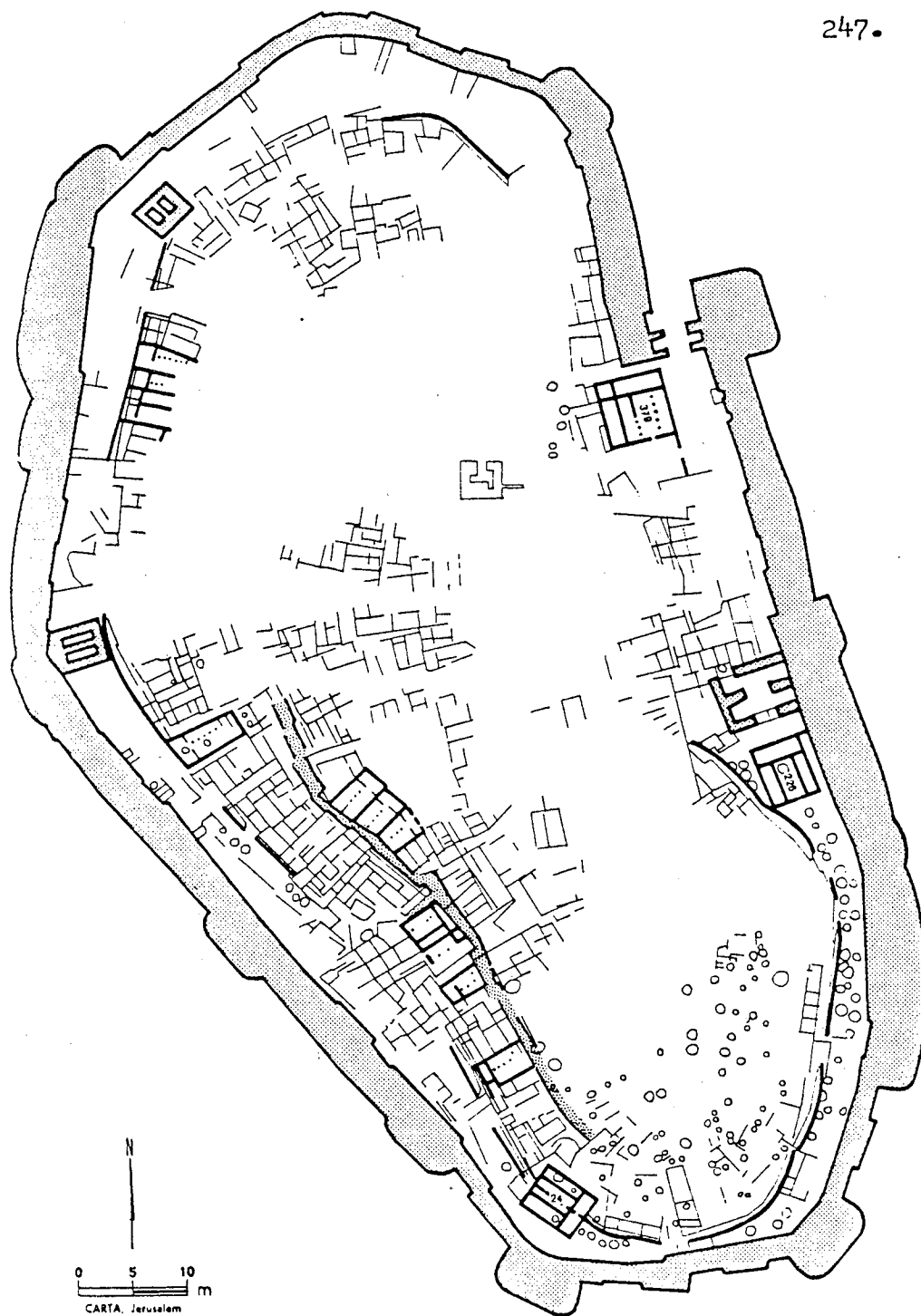


Fig. 10 : Tell en-Nasbeh during the Iron II period.

Source: Ibid., p. 189.

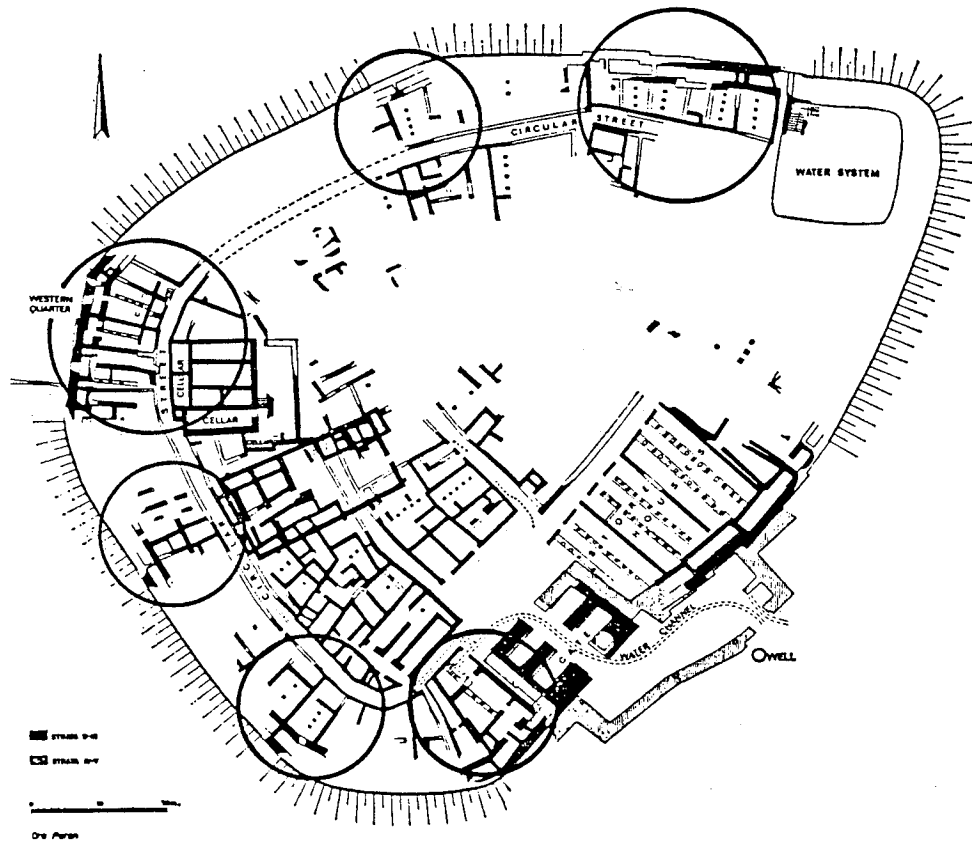
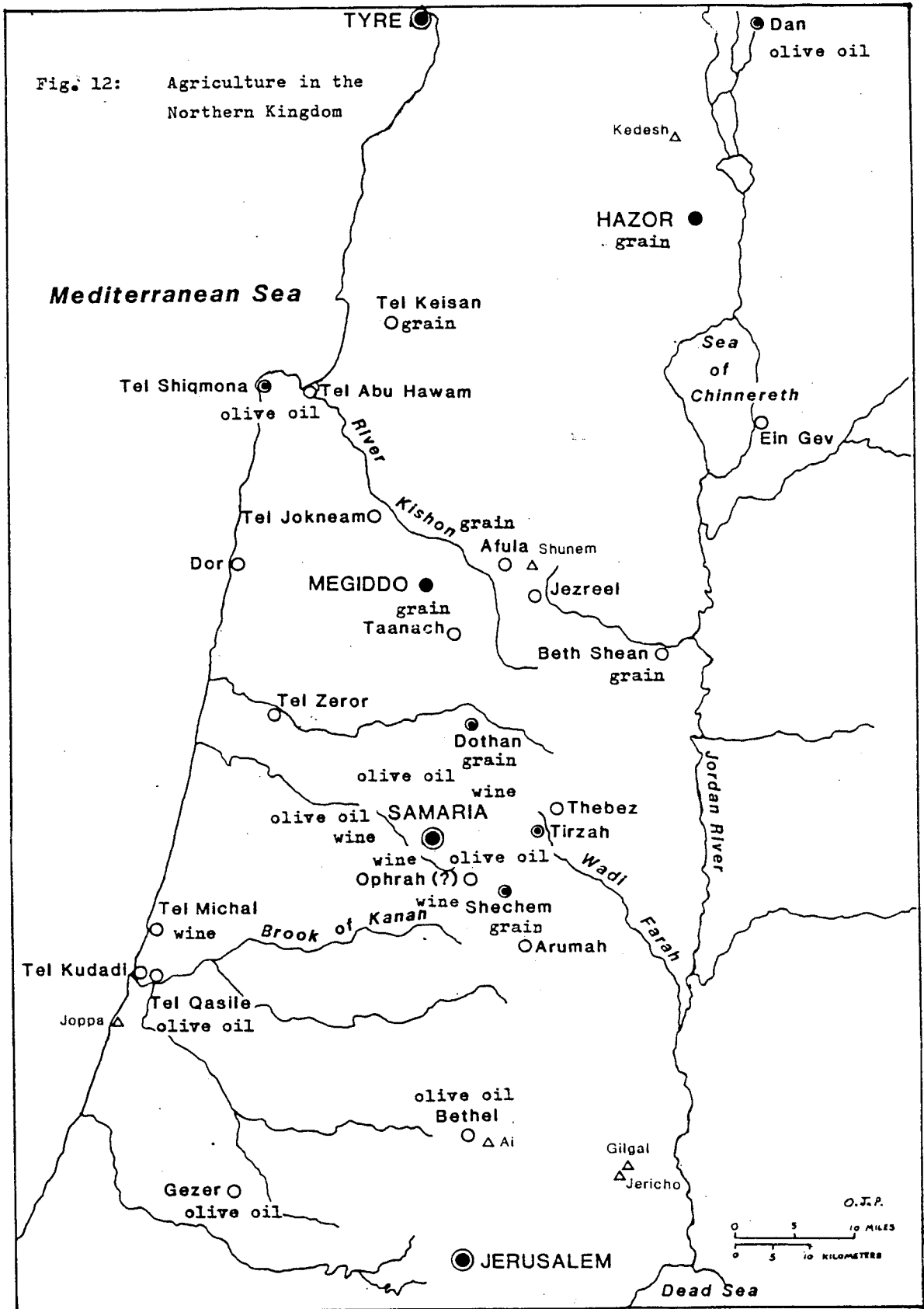


Fig. 11 : Beer-Sheba II

Source: Shiloh, "Elements in the Development...",
(1978), p. 42.

Fig. 12: Agriculture in the Northern Kingdom



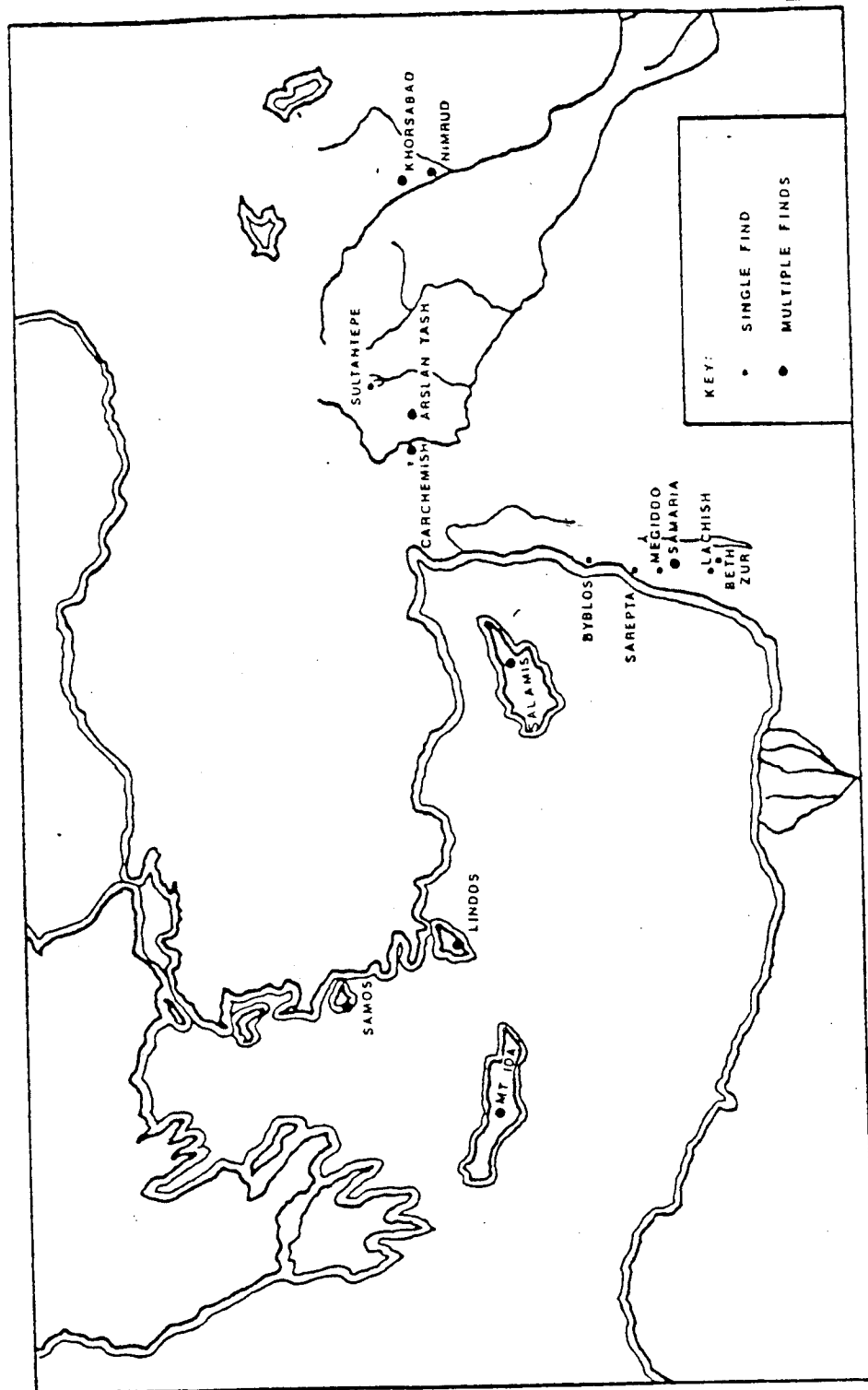


Fig. 13 : Finds of Phoenician-Style Ivory Carving throughout the Near East and the Aegean Basin.

Source: Irene J. Winter, "Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context...", Iraq 38 (1978), p. 12.

Site	DAN	HAZOR	MEGIDDO	TA-ANACH	BETH-SHEAN	SAMARIA	JERUSALEM	RAMAT RAHEL	GEZER
Elements	Gate "Bamah" Structure south of "bamah"	Corners of citadel "Stratase structure" (area B) Underground water system Wall, area G	Gate 2156 Palace 6000 Palace 1723 Palace 1567 Enclosure wall 1610 Building 1482 Gallery 629 Building 338 Stables Quarry	North-eastern citadel North-eastern tower	City-gate	Palace Inner wall Casemates Auxiliary buildings on west "Eastern gate" Supporting wall Quarry	Area S II Quarry	Walls, stratum VB Northern casemates Southern casemates Eastern gate Quarry	City-gate Towers in outer wall
Stratum		VIII	IVB-VA IVA		V	I-II I-II II I-II		VB VA	
Foundation trench				+					
Foundation course	+								
Upper courses	+								
Adjustment step	+								
Fitted block									
Marginal drafting	+								
Smooth dressing	+								
Rough dressing									
Masons' marks									
Fugitive course									
Ashlar/fieldstone integration									
Ashlar flooring									
Ashlar in secondary use	+								
Ashlar quarry on site									

251.

Fig. 14 : Elements in Ashlar Masonry, according to Distribution on Sites and Ashlar-built Structures.

Source: Yigal Shiloh, The Proto-Aeolic Capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry (Jerusalem, 1979), Table 5, p. 65.

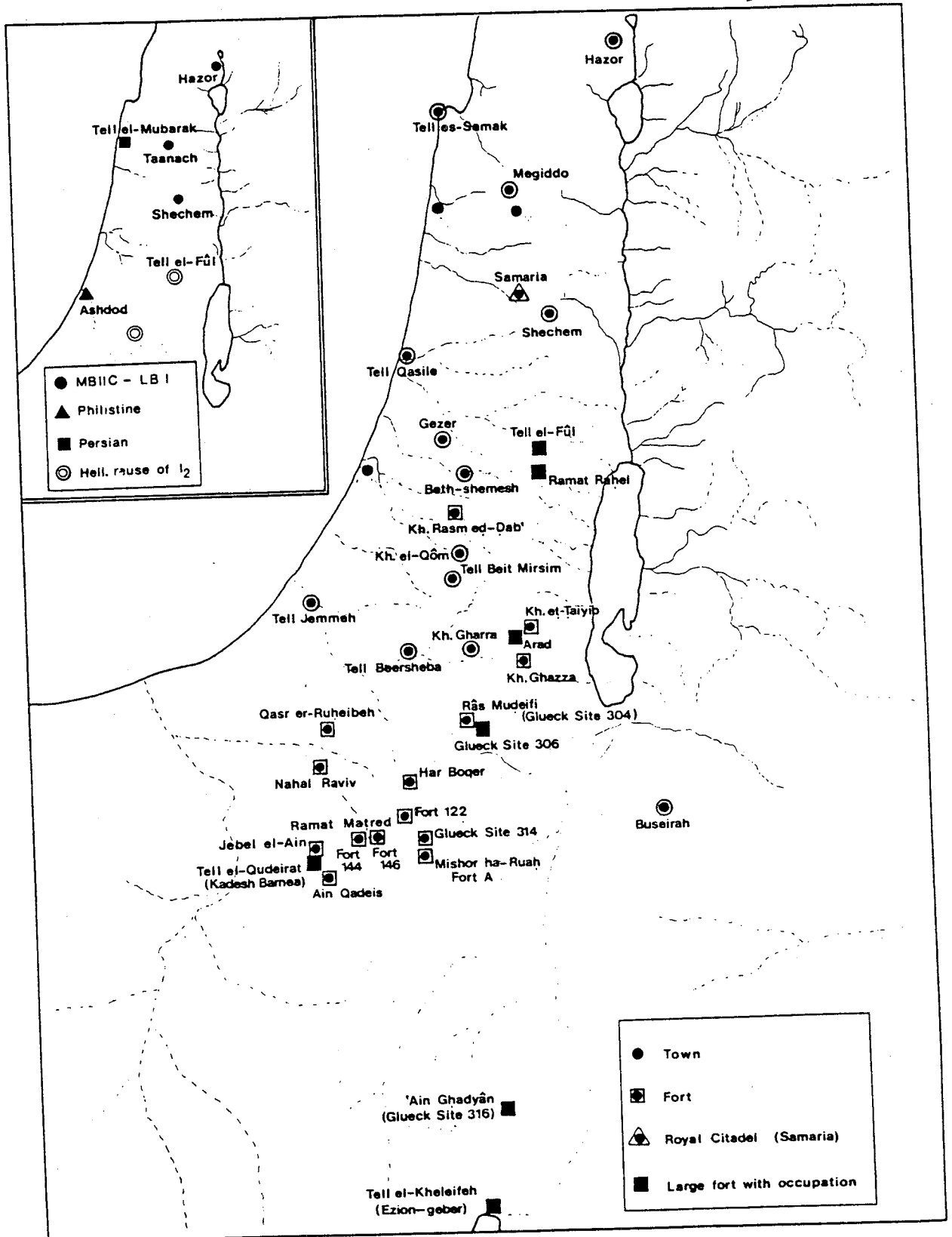


Fig. 15 : Centers with casemate wall systems during the Iron II period.

Source: Nancy L. Lapp, "Casemate Walls in Palestine and the Late Iron II Casemate at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah)," B.A.S.O.R. 223 (1976), p. 26.

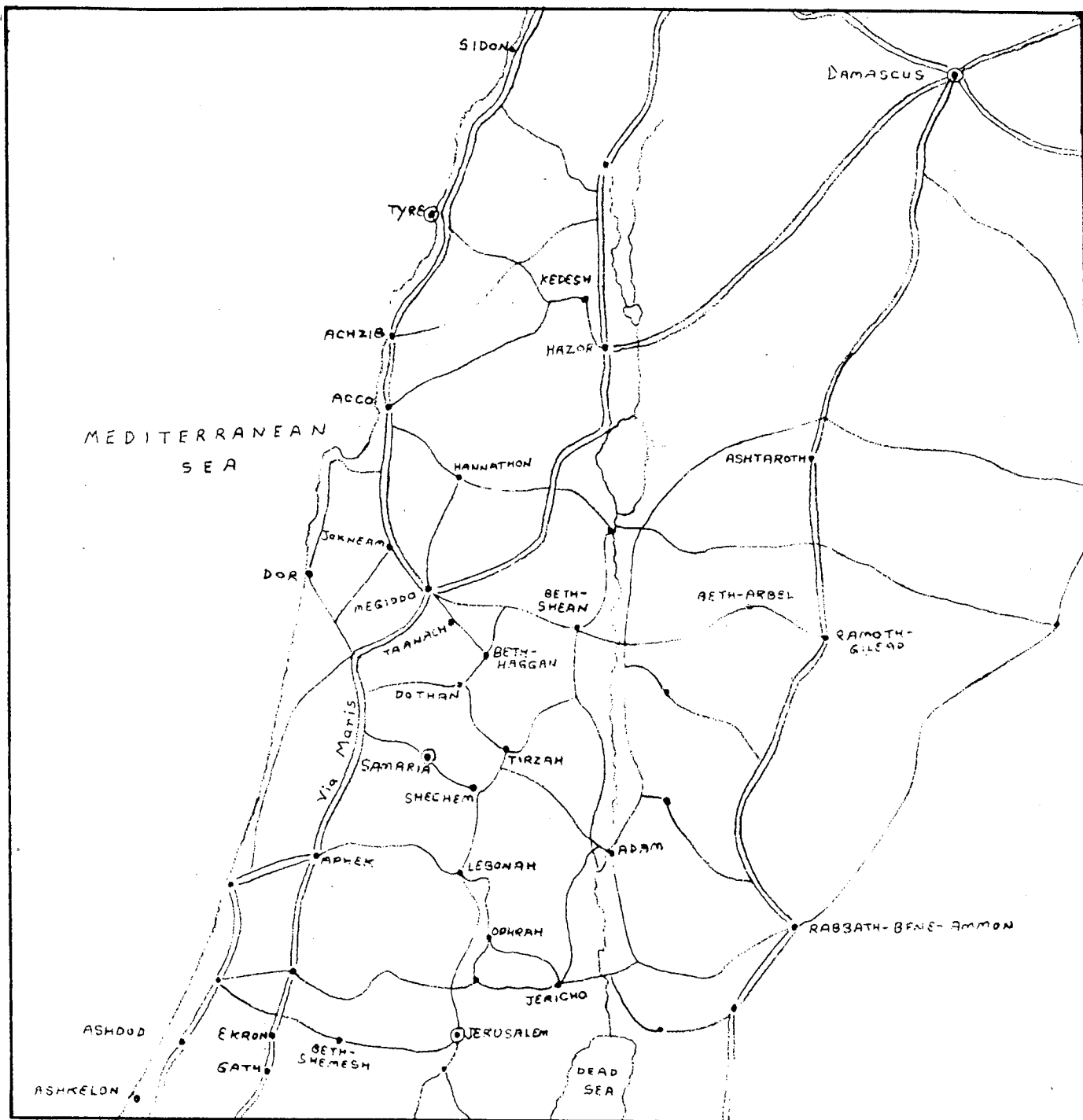


Fig. 16 : The Highway System of the Northern Kingdom.

Source: Based upon Map 10 "The Routes in Palestine" in Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, The Macmillan Bible Atlas (New York, 1977), p. 17.

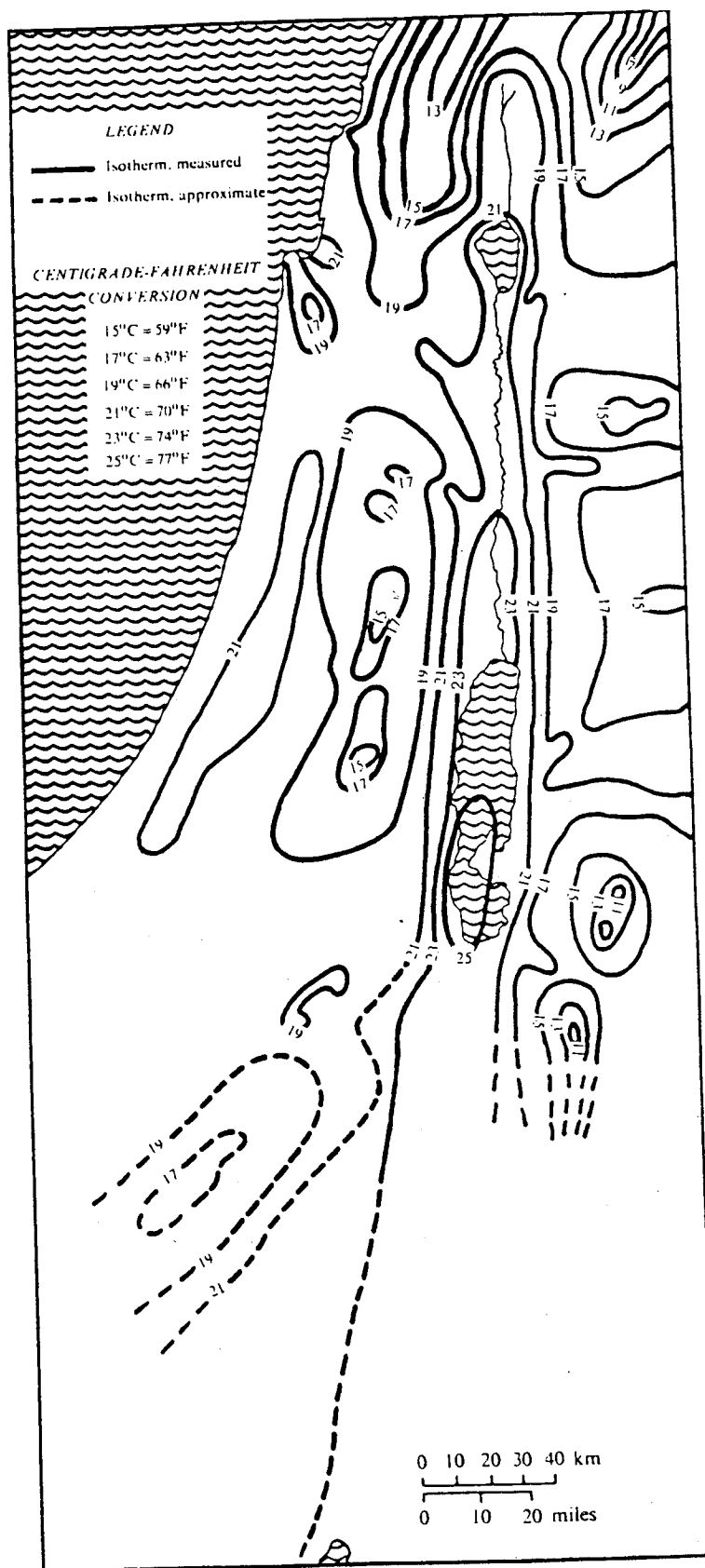


Fig. 17 : Annual temperature isotherms in the country.

Source: Ephraim Orni and Elisha Efrat, Geography of Israel, 3rd. ed., (New York, 1971), p. 136.

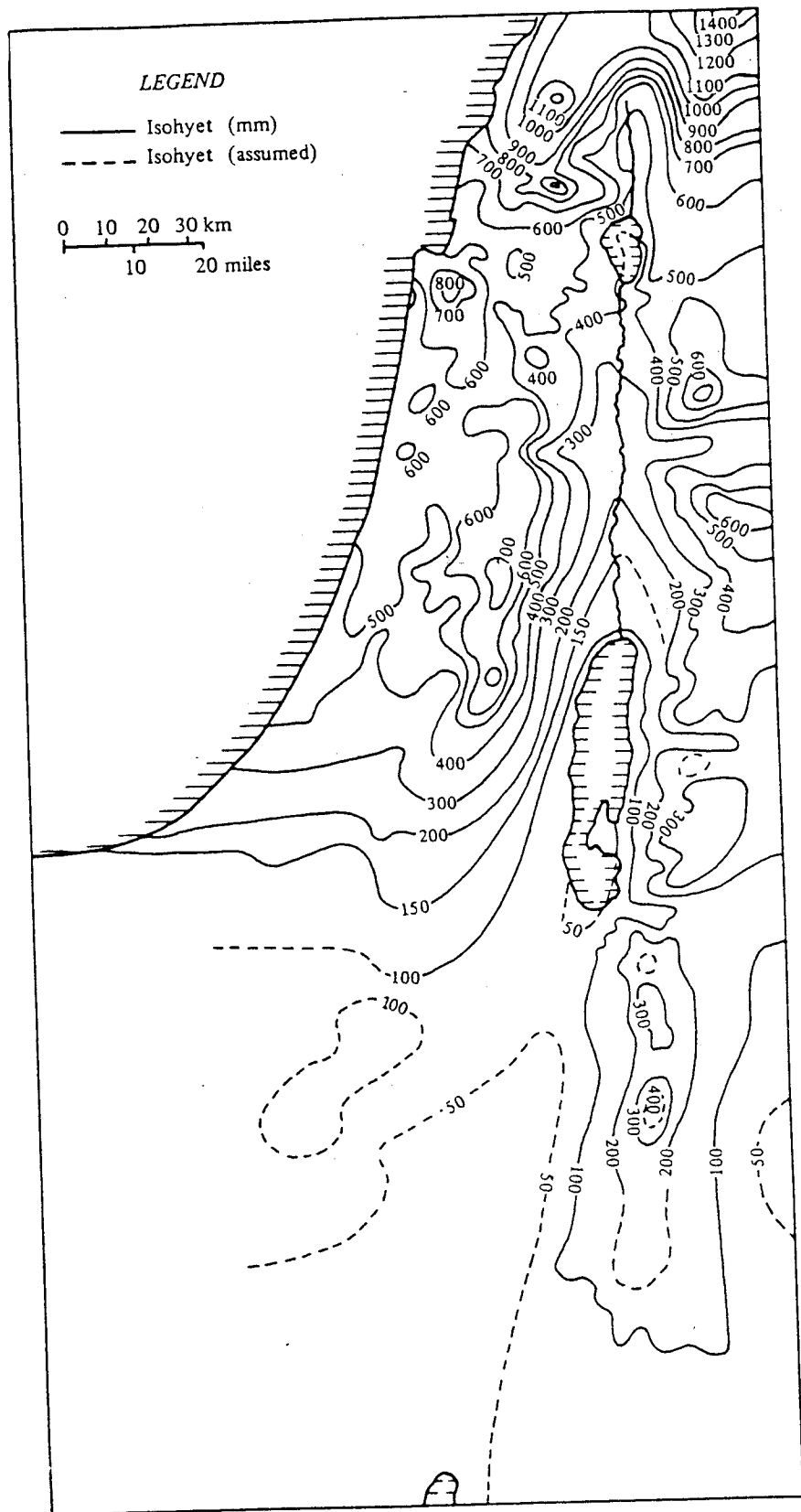


Fig. 18 : Annual rainfall distribution in the country (isohyets in mm).

Source: Ibid., p. 145.

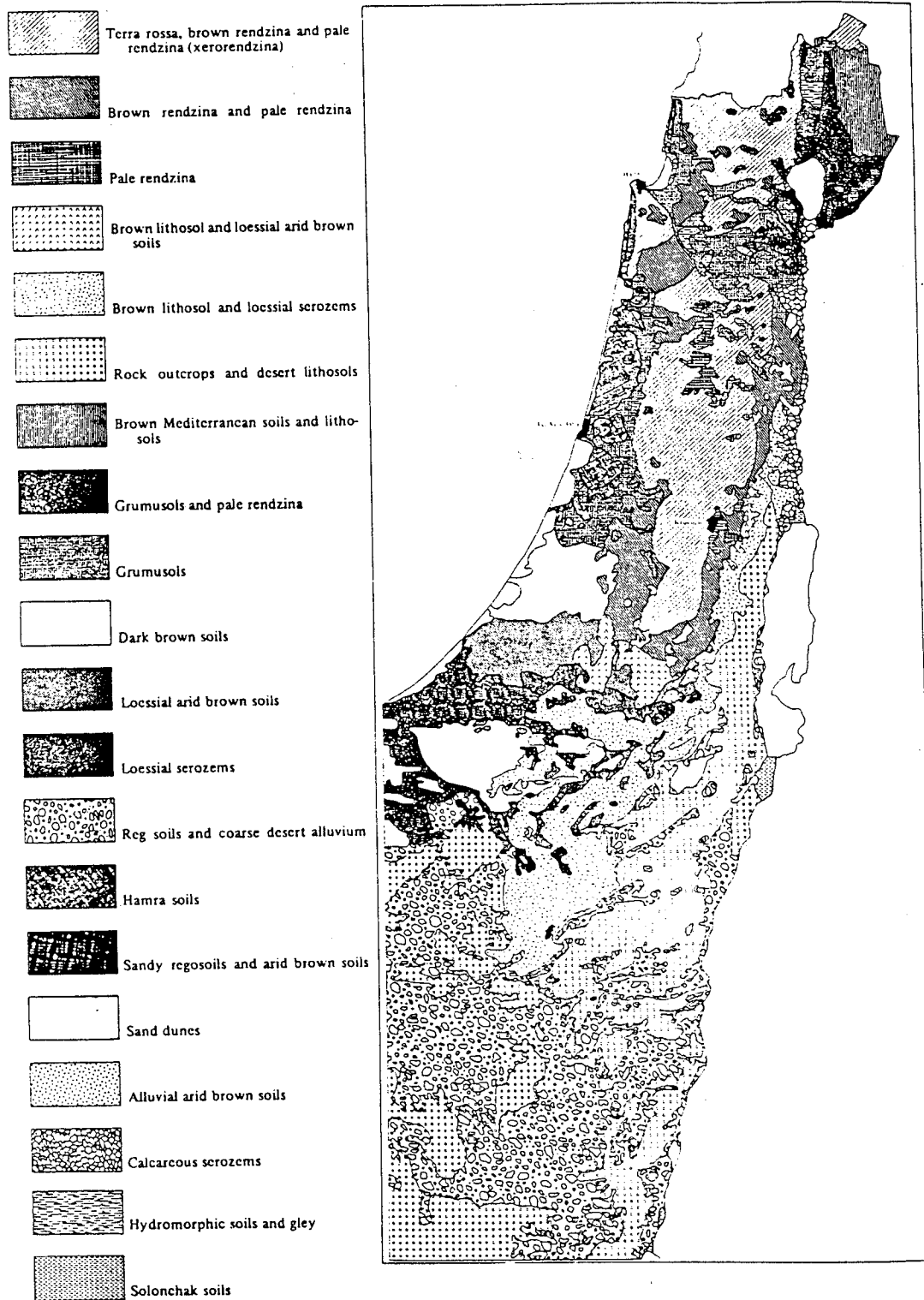


Fig. 19 : Soil associations in the country.

Source: Ibid., p. 434.

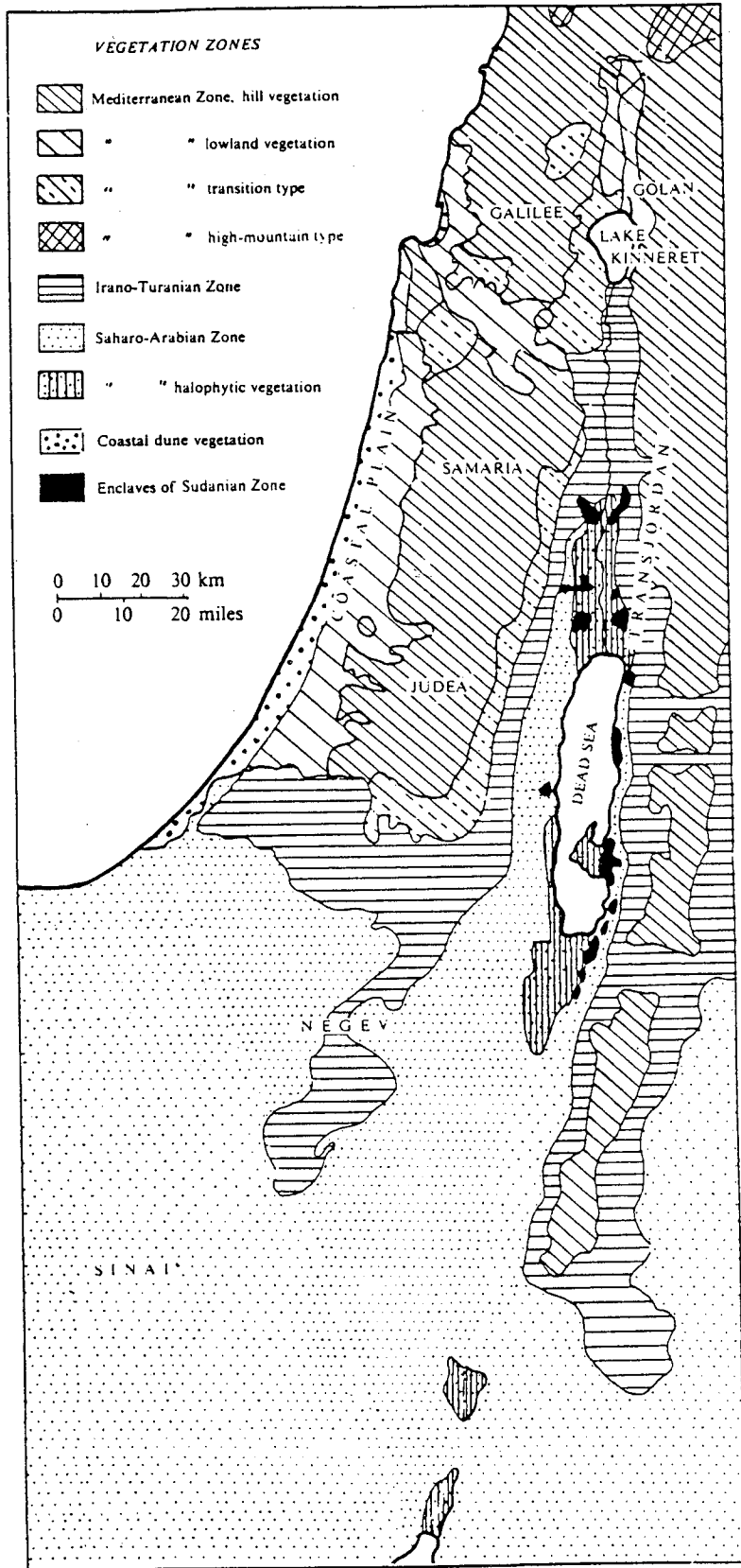


Fig. 20 : Main phytogeographic regions in the country.

Source: Ibid., p. 165.

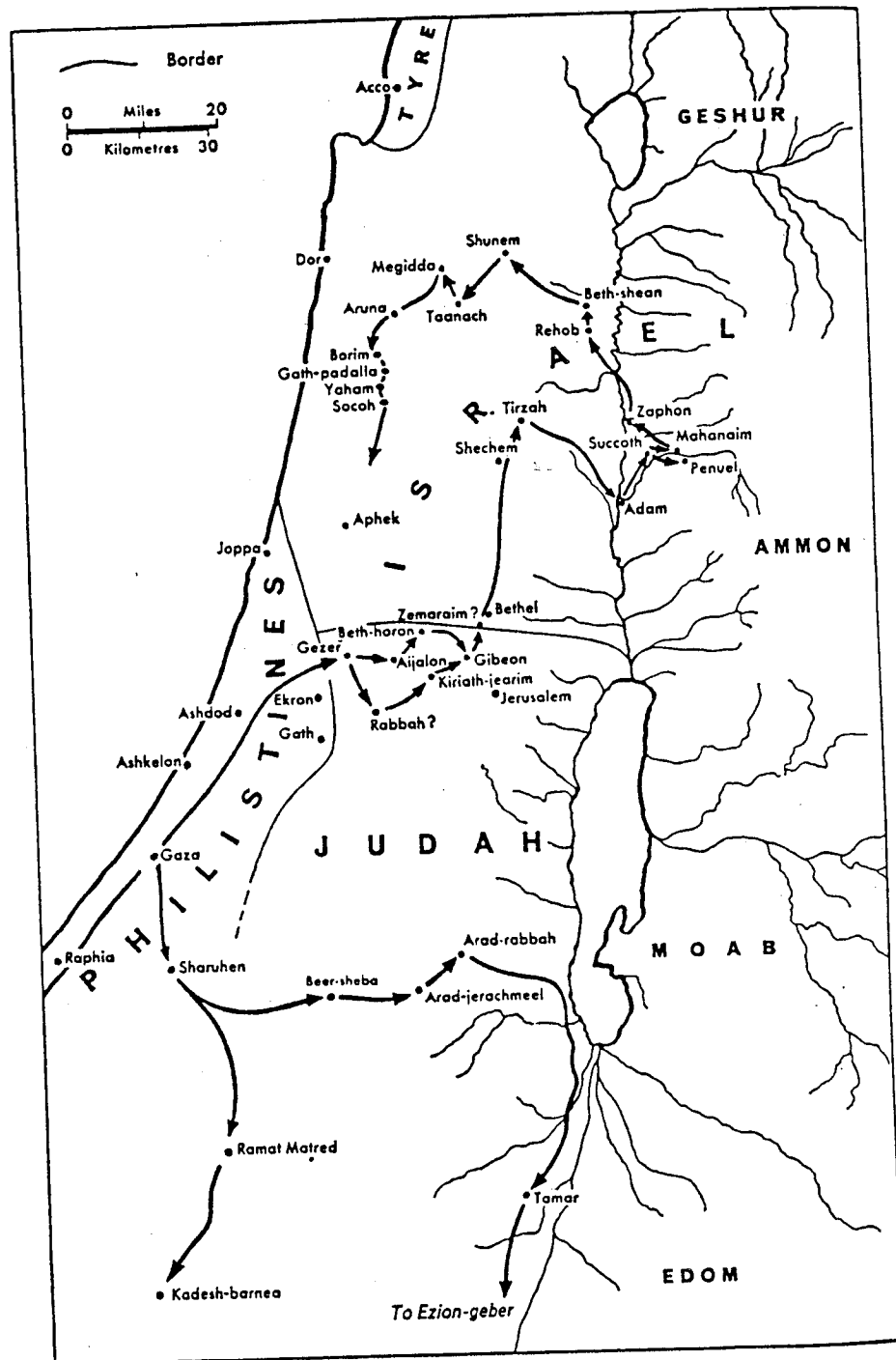


Fig. 21 : Shishak's Invasion of Palestine.

Source: Aharoni, Land of the Bible, p. 324.

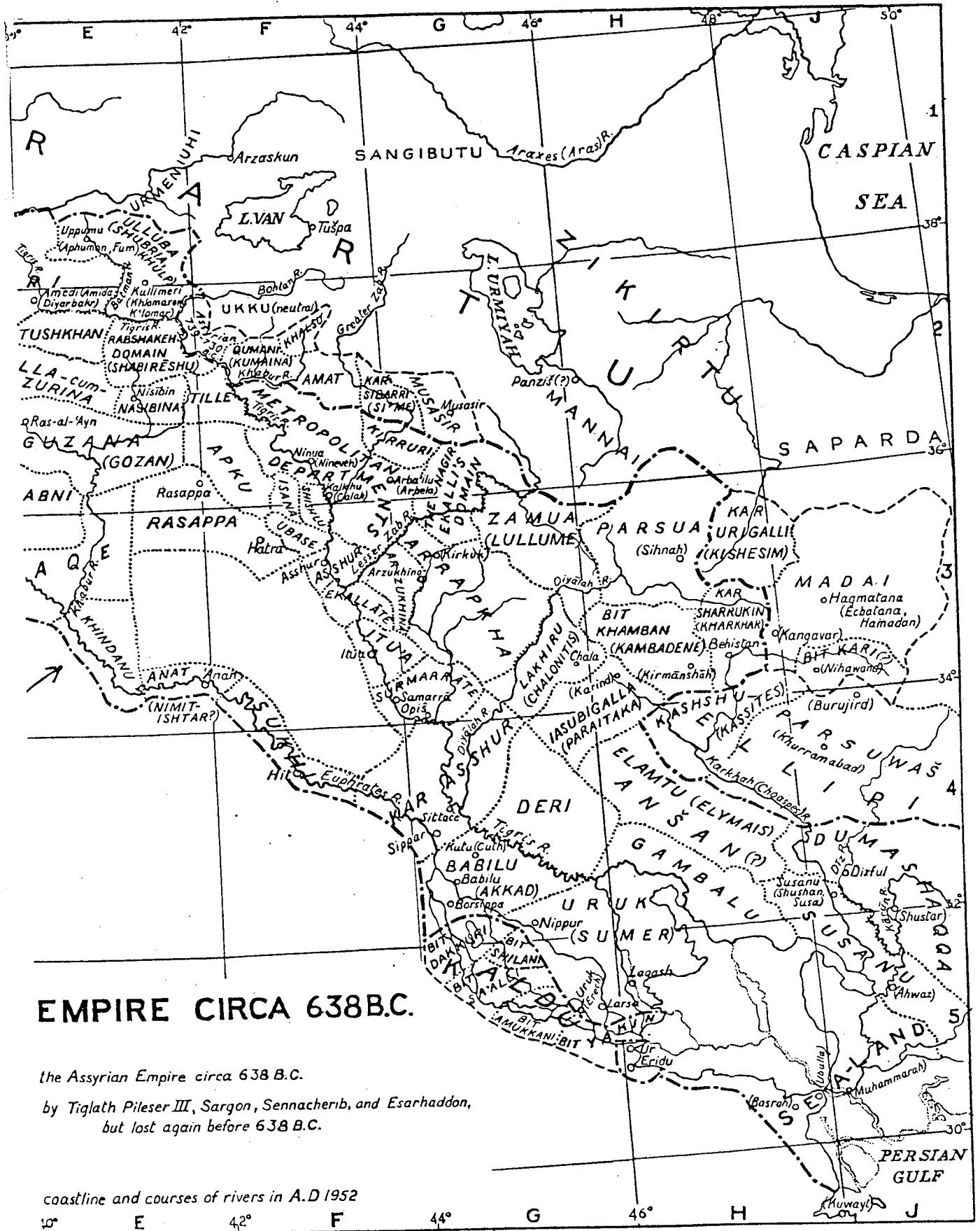


Fig. 22 : The eastern provinces of the Assyrian Empire ca. 638 B.C.

Source: Arnold J. Toynbee, A study of History XI: Historical Atlas and Gazetteer (Oxford, 1959).

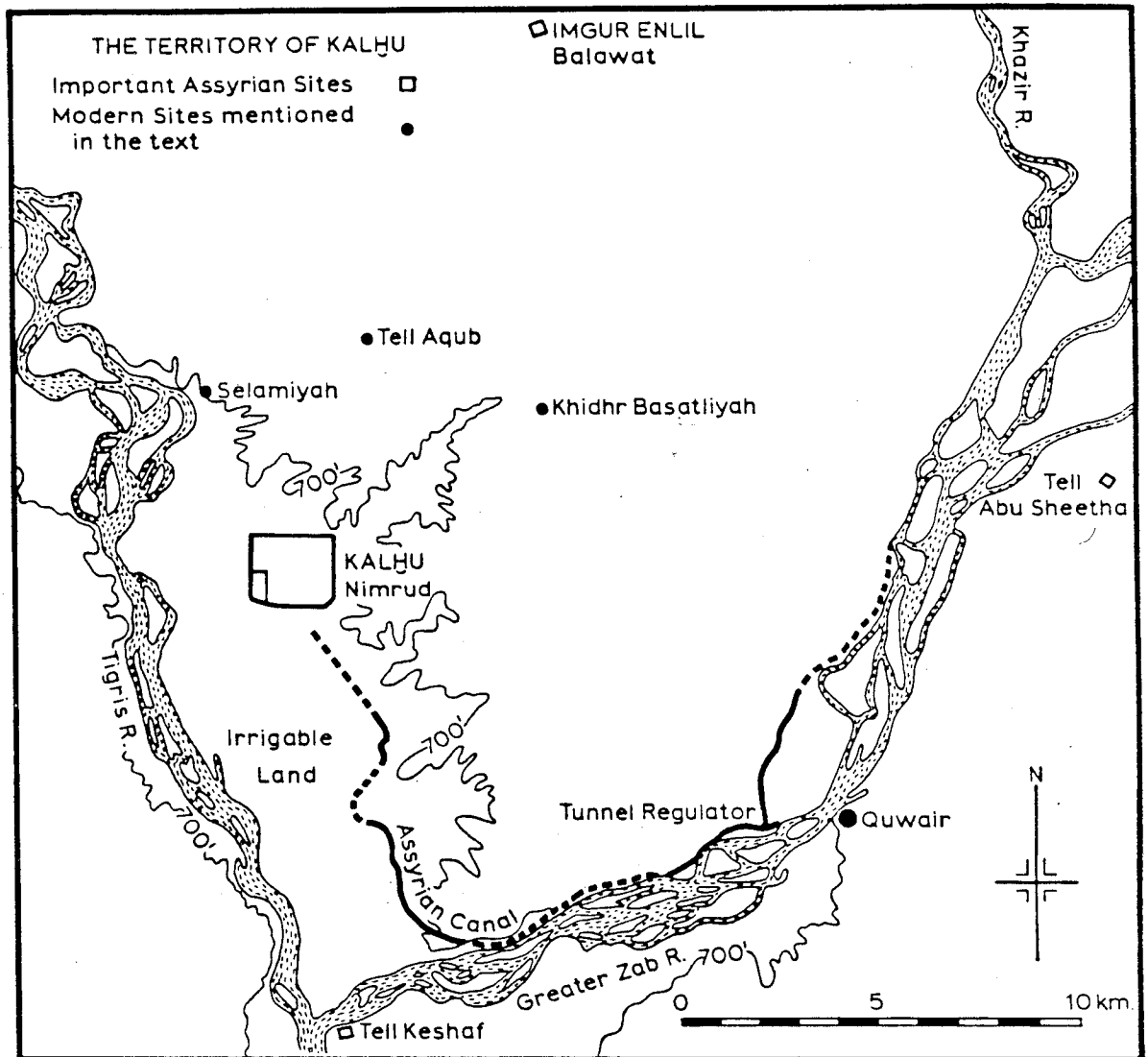


Fig. 23 : The immediate environs of Calah/Nimrud.

Source: David Oates, "The Rise and Fall of the Great City," in his Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq (London, 1968), p. 43.

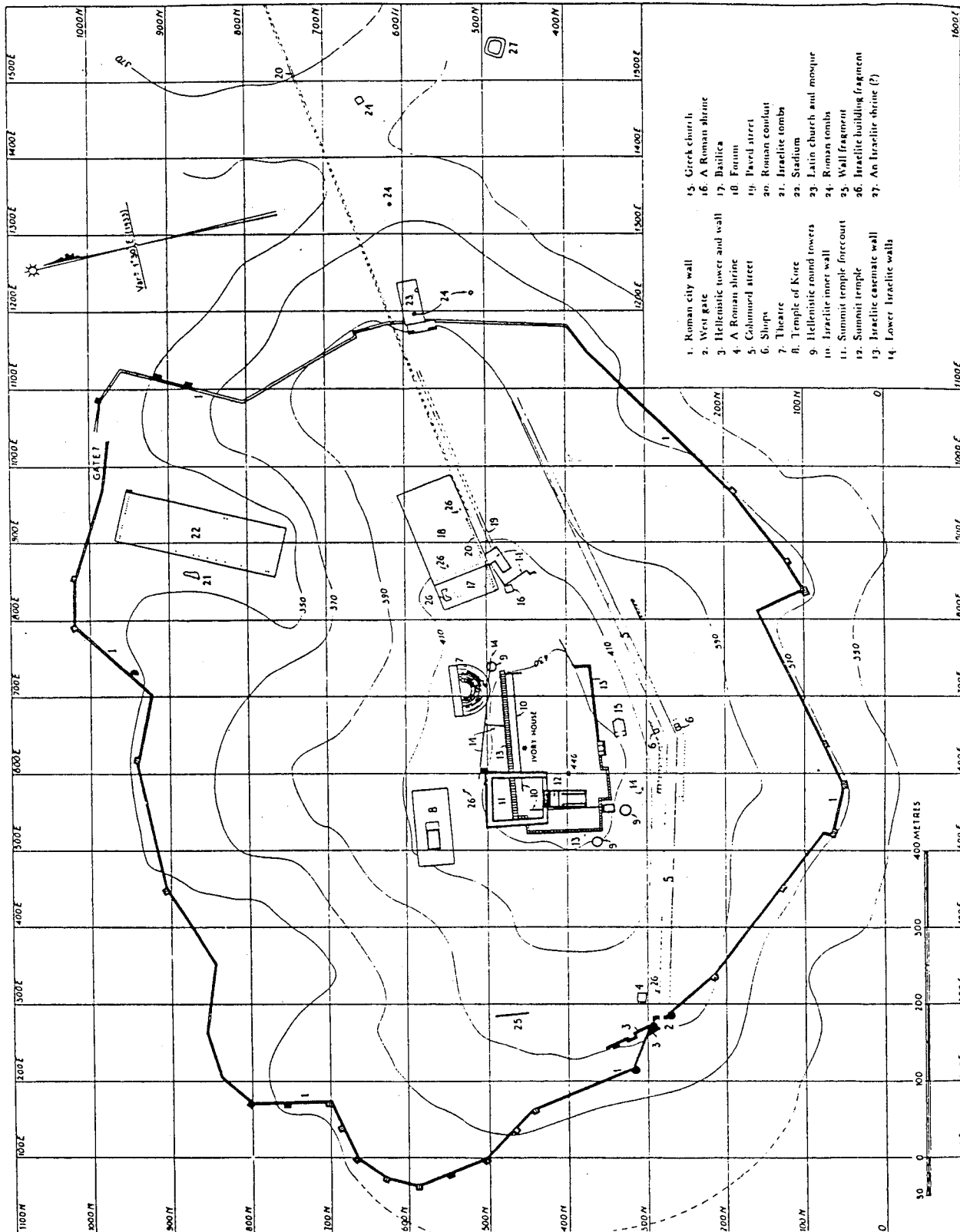


Fig. 24 : Samaria-Sebaste: general plan of the site.

Source: J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon and E. L. Sukenik, Samaria-Sebaste I: The Buildings at Samaria (London, 1966 (1942)), Plate I.

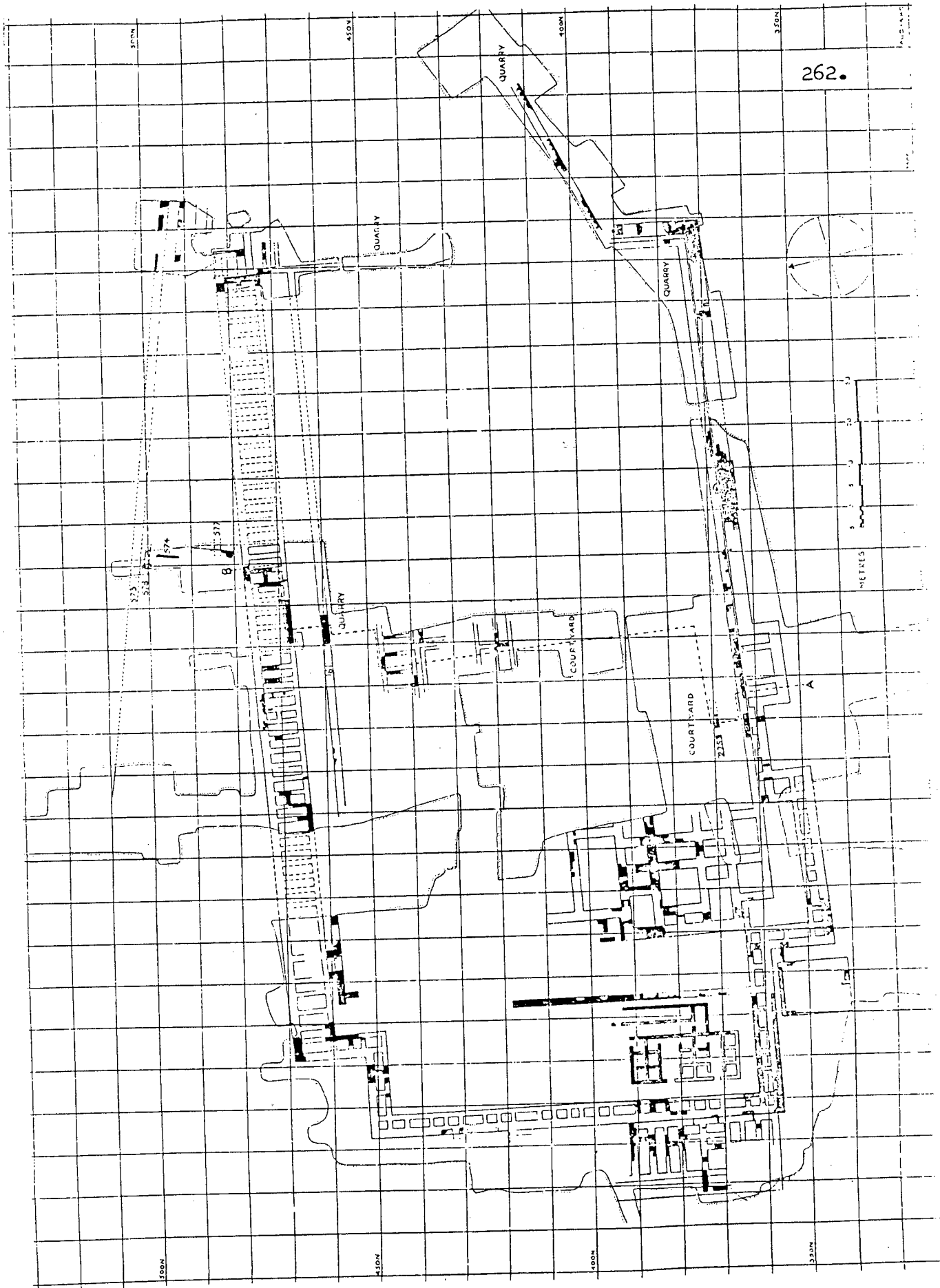


Fig. 25 : Samaria: the Acropolis and Royal Quarter.
 Source: Ibid., Plate II.

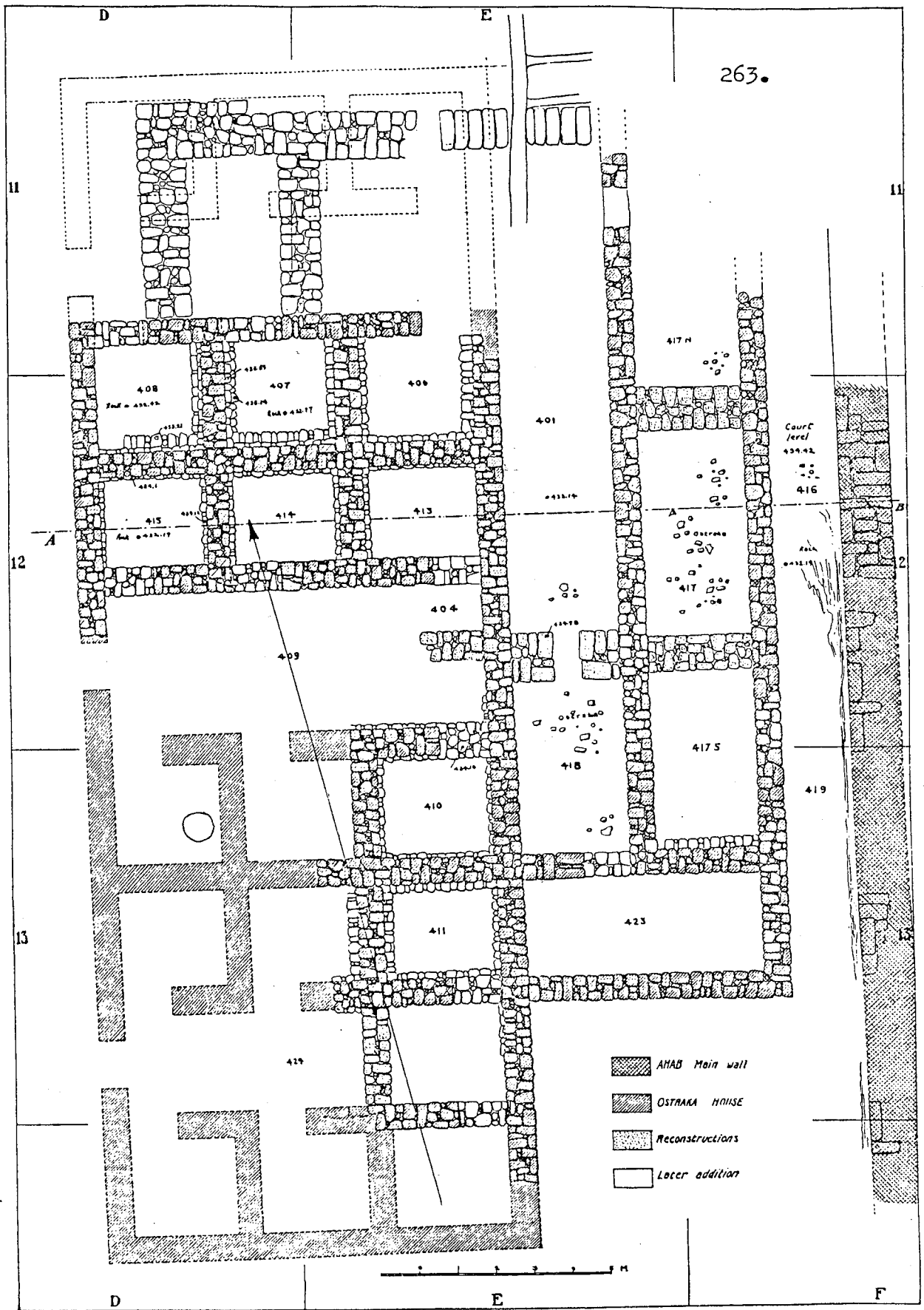


Fig. 26 : The Ostraca House in Samaria.

Source: George A. Reisner, et. al., Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908 - 1910 I: Text (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p. 114.

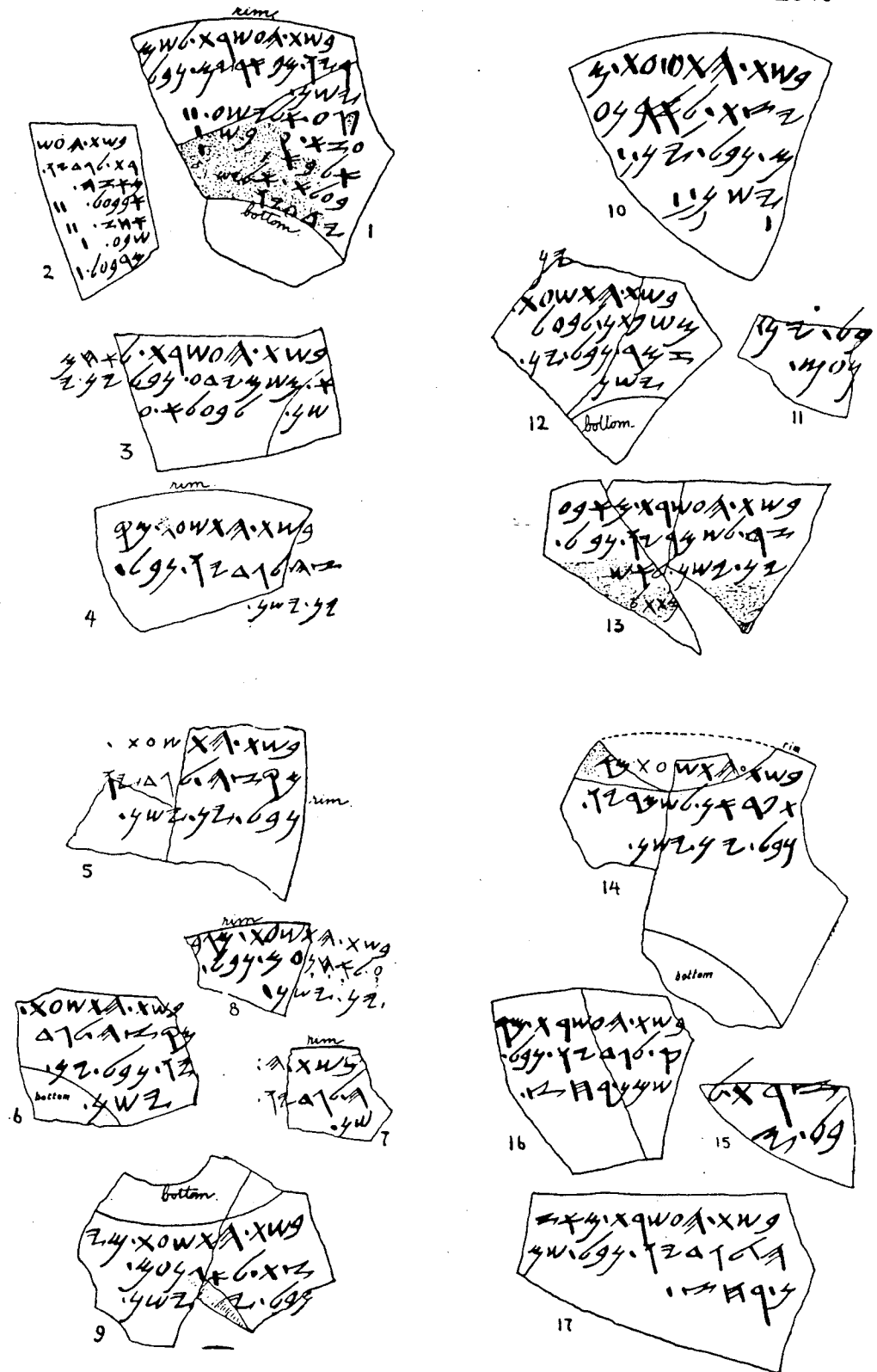


Fig. 27 : Samaria Ostraca I - 17 in facsimile.

Source: George A. Reisner, et. al., Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908 - 1910 I: Text (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p. 239.

- (1.) בשת העשרת לשמ
ריו מכארים נבל (ין)
ישן
2 רגע אלישע
1 עזא ק - בש
1 אלבא -----
(1) כעלא אליש(ע)
(1) ירעיו ----
- (2.) בשת העש
רת לגריו
מאזה
2 אכבעל
2 אחז
1 שבע
1 מרבעל
- (3.) בשת העשרת ל(אחמ)
א משמידע נבל (ין י)
שן לבעלא ב-----
- (4.) (נ)שת החשעת מק
(צה) לגריו נבל
(ין ישן)
- (5.) Duplicate of No. 4.
- (6.) Duplicate of No. 4.
- (7.) Duplicate of No. 4.
- (8.) (בשת ה)חשעת מגב
(ע לאחנ)עם נבל
(ין ישן)
- (9.) בשת החשעת מי
צת לאחנעם
(נ)בל י(ן) ישן
- (10.) Duplicate of No. 9.
- (11.) (נ)בל ין
ם-----
- (12.) בשת החשעת
משפחן לבעל
זמר נבל ין
ישן
- (13.) בשת העשרת מאבע
זר לשמריו נבל
ין ישן לאש(א)
מתחל ----
- (14.) בשת החש(עת) מא(ז)
תפראן לשמריו
נבל ין ישן
- (15.) (מח)צרת ל-----
(נ)בל י(ן) ישן
- (16.) בשת העשרת מס
ק לגריו נבל
שמן רחץ
- (17.) בשת העשרת מאז
ה לגריו נבל שמ
ן רחץ

Fig. 27 : Samaria Ostraca 1 - 17 in transliteration.

Numbers in brackets (e.g. (12.)) denote the numbers of specific ostraca.

Text in brackets (e.g. (ין ישן)) represents reconstructed lacunae.

Source: Ibid., pp. 233-234.

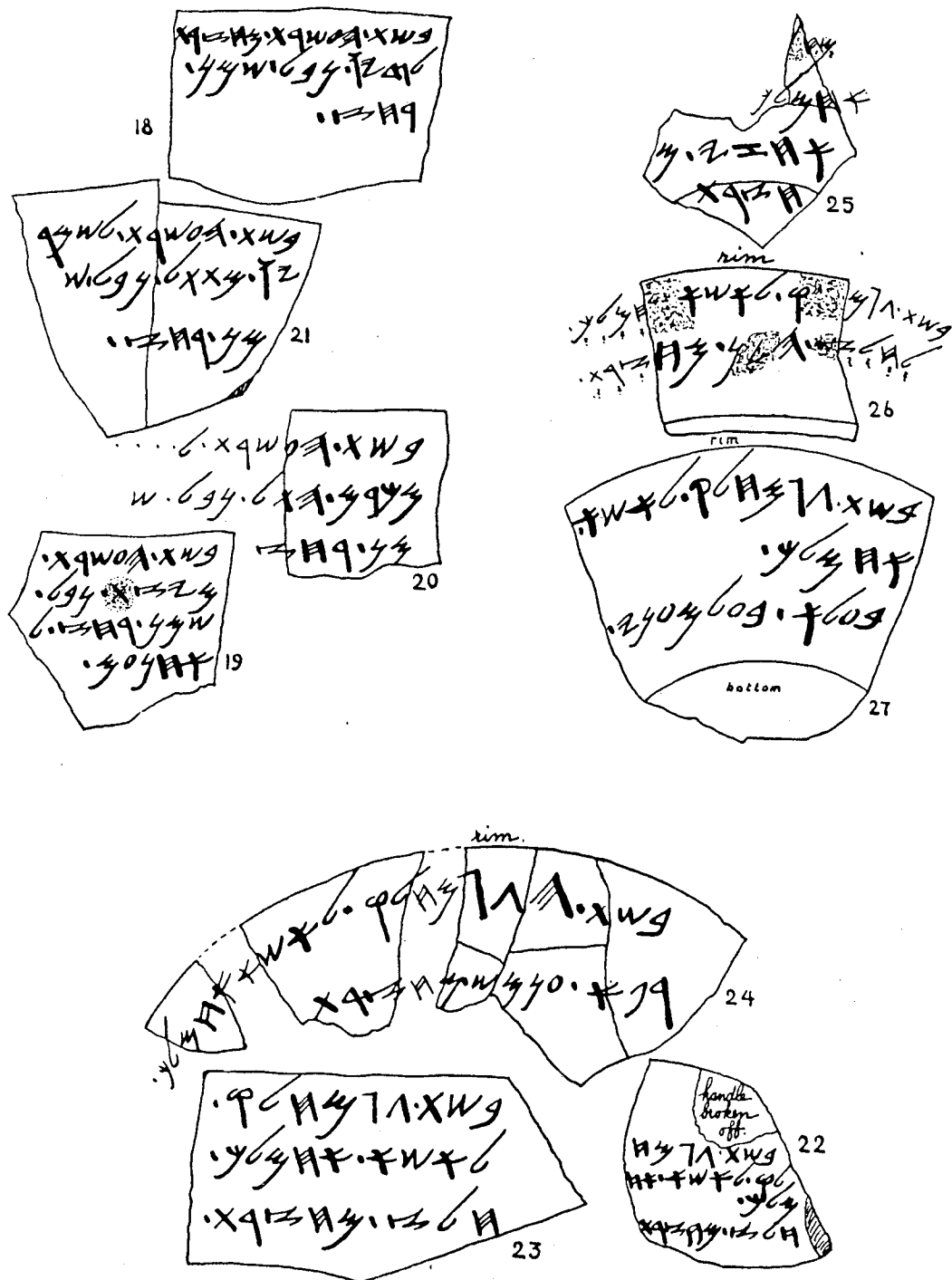


Fig. 28 : Samaria Ostraca 18 - 27 in facsimile.

Source: Ibid., p. 240.

- (18.) בשת העשרת מחצרת
לגדיו נבל שמן
רחץ
- (19.) בשת העשרת
מיצת נבל
שמן רחץ ל
אחנעם
- (20.) בשת הע(שרת ל---)
מכרם הת(ל נבל ש)
מן רח(ץ-)
- (21.) בשת העשרת לשמר
ין מתחל נבל ש
מן רחץ
- (22.) בשת אד מח
לק לאשא אח
מלך
חלץ מחצרת
- Duplicate of No. 22. (23.)
- (24.) בשת האד (מח) לק לאשא(א)
אחמל(ך)
רפא ענמש מ(ח)צרת
- (25.) (בשת אד) מחל(ק לאשא)
(א)חמל(ך)
אחזי מ
חצרת
- (26.) (בשת אד מחל)ק לאשא (אחמלך)
(לחל)צ ה - ין מח(צרת)
- (27.) בשת אד מחלק לאשא
אחמלך
בעלא בעלמעני

Fig. 28 : Samaria Ostraca 18 - 27 in transliteration.

Numbers in brackets (e.g. (12.)) denote the numbers of specific ostraca.

Text in brackets (e.g. (ין ישן)) represents reconstructed lacunae.

Source: Ibid., pp. 234-235.

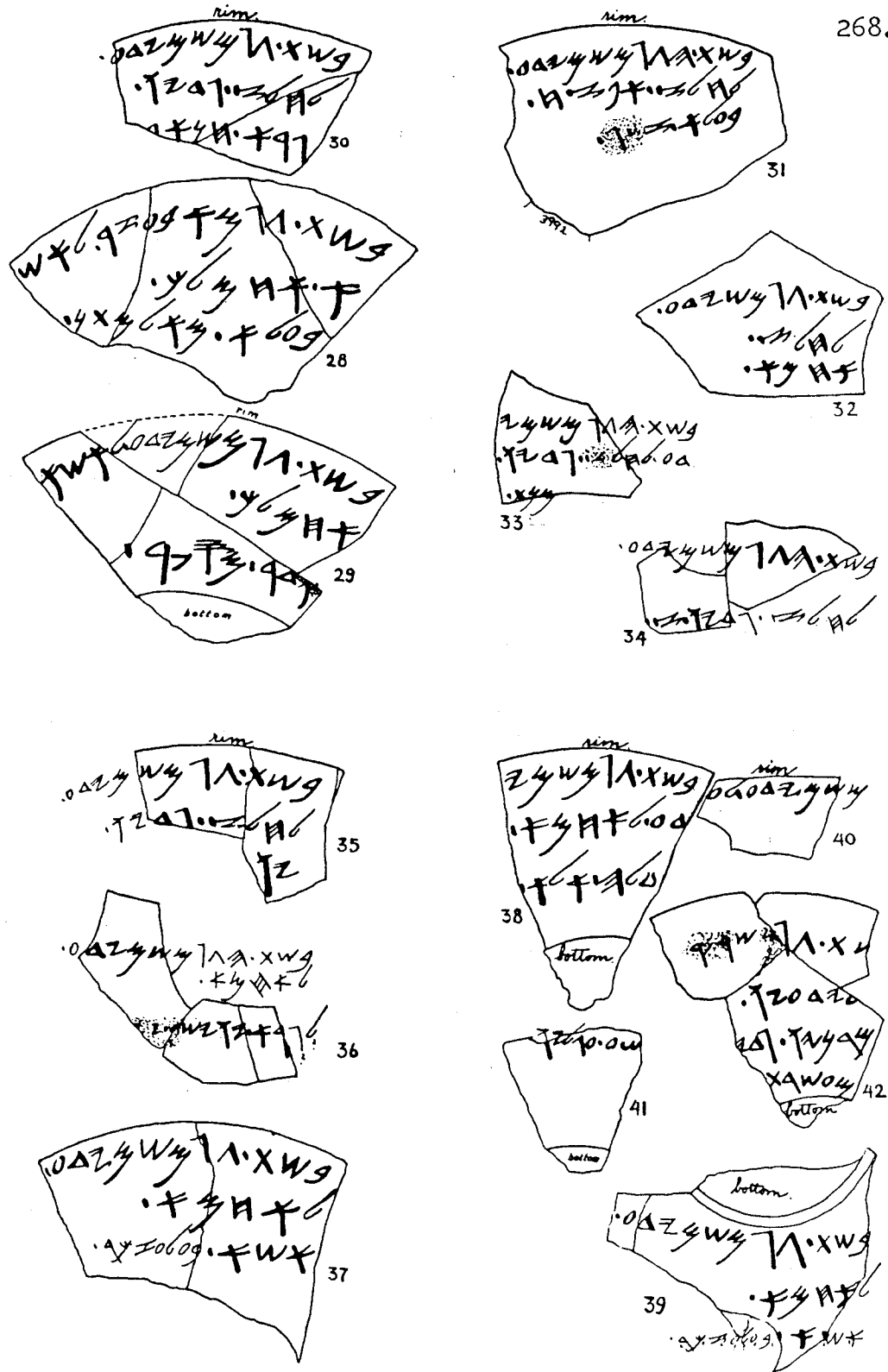


Fig. 29 : Samaria Ostraca 28 - 42 in facsimile.

Source: Ibid., p. 241.

(28.) כשת אד מאכעזר לאש
א אהמלך
בעלא מאלמתן

(29.) כשת אד מש(מידע ל)אשא
אחמלך
קדר מסק

(30.) כשת אד משמידע
לחלץ גריו
גרא חנאב

(31.) כשת האד משמידע
לחלץ אפצח
בעלא זכר

כשת (האד משמיד
ע ל-----)

(32.) כשת אד מש(מ)ידע
לחלץ
אחמא

(33.) (כשת ה)אד משמי
(דע ל)חלץ גריו
מנת-----

(34.) (כשת ת)אד מ(שמידע
(לחלץ ג)ריו צ---

(35.) כשת אד מש(מידע)
לחלץ גר(יו)
יך-----

(36.) (כשת האד מ)שמיד(ע)
(לאחמא)
(לנ)רא יו ישב---

(37.) כשת אד משמידע
לאחמא
אשא בעלעזכר

(38.) כשת אד משמי
דע לאחמא
עלה אלא

Fig. 29 : Samaria Ostraca 28 - 42 in transliteration.

Numbers in brackets (e.g. (12.)) denote the numbers of specific ostraca.

Text in brackets (e.g. (יך ישן)) represents reconstructed lacunae.

Source: Ibid., pp. 235-236.

Duplicate of No. 37. (39.)

---שמידע לע- (40.)

שע עגליו ---- (41.)

(ב) שח אר משרק (42.)
לירעיו

מרניו גדי (ו)
---מעשרה

Fig. 29 : Samaria Ostraca 28 - 42 in transliteration.

Numbers in brackets (e.g. (12.)) denote the numbers
of specific ostraca.

Source: Ibid., p. 236.

- (43.) כשת ה(גד משכס ל)
 חנן (בערא)
 ----- אל
- (44.) (כשת) הגד משכס
 (ל)----הפ - ר
 הין -----
- (45.) כשת הגד מחגל(ה)
 לחנן ב(ער)א (מרנ)
 ין נתן מיצ(ת)
- (46.) כשת גר (מחגלה)
 לחנן ב(ערא)
 -----א
- (47.) (כשת גר מ)חגלה לחנן בערא מ
 (רניו נתן) מיצת
- (48.) כשת גר משר(ק) לידעיו
 אחמלך
 יעש מישב
- (49.) כש(ת גר משמיד)
 ע לחל(ץ גדיו)
 מזי-----
 כסר
- (50.) כשת גר לגמר מנעה
 עבדיו לאביו
- (51.) כשת העשרת ל-----

 אחא היהוד(י)
- (52.) בגר חב-----
 אביו-----
- (53.) כשת העשרת ין
 כרם החל בנבל שמן
 רחץ
- (54.) כשת העשרת ין כ
 רם החל נבל שמן רח
 ץ

Fig. 30 : Samaria Ostraca 43 - 58 in transliteration.

Numbers in brackets (e.g. (12)) denote the numbers of specific ostraca.

Text in brackets (e.g. (יין ישן)) represents reconstructed lacunae.

Source: Ibid., pp. 236-237.

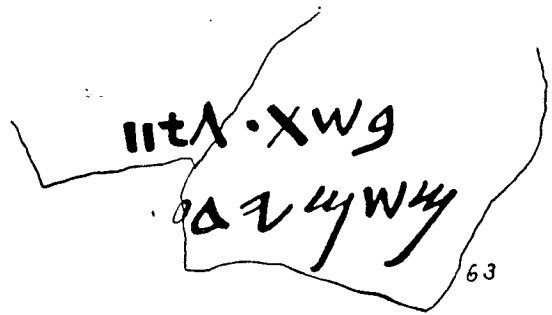
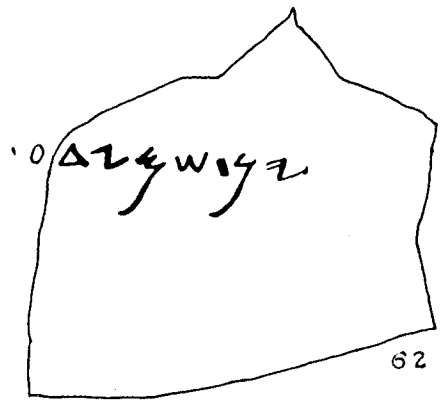
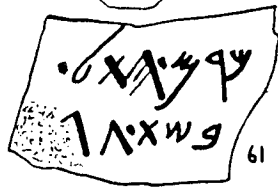
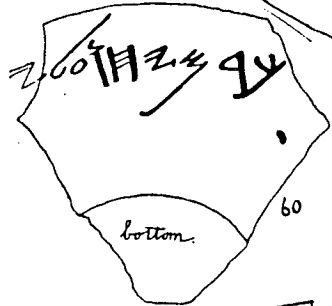
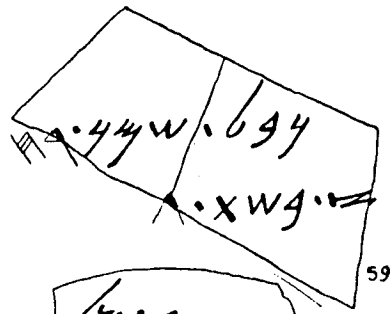
- (55.) כשת העשרת כר
 ם יחועלי נכל
 שמן רחץ
- (56.) כשת אר מהת(ל)
 לנמש
 ---עד----ל---
- (57.) עכרא ין
 נא שמרע
 יג----
- (58.) כשת אר לכריו
 כרם התל

Fig. 30 : Samaria Ostraca 43 - 58 in transliteration.

Numbers in brackets (e.g. (12.)) denote the numbers of specific ostraca.

Text in brackets (e.g. (יך ישן)) represents reconstructed lacunae.

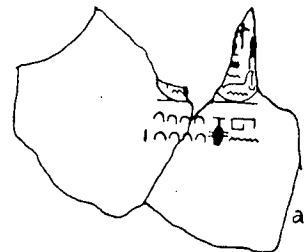
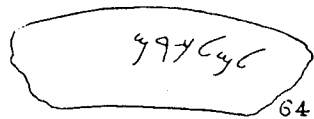
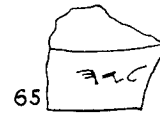
Source: Ibid., pp. 237-238.



κ	††††	λ	666
κ	99	δ	44
ν	777	ι	444
π	ΔΔΔ	ο	999
ρ	777	υ	00
σ	≡≡≡	φ	9
τ	ΗΗΗΗ	χ	999
θ	4444	ψ	99
ι	z z z z z w	ω	w w w
κ	44	η	x

OSTRACA ALPHABET

Δ	9	7	7	9	9	9
4	Η	†	†	†	†	†
9	9	4	4	4	4	4
4	9	9	9	9	9	9
4	≡	≡	≡	4	z	z



a, b, c - OSORKON VASE

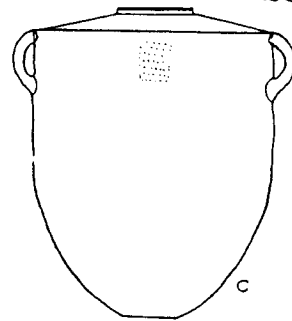


Fig. 30 A : Samaria Ostraca 59 - 65, the Osorkon Vase and the alphabet of the inscriptions.

Source: Ibid., 243.

- (59.) נבל שמן ר(ח)
 ץ בשת א(ד)
- (60.) כרם יחו עלי
- (61.) כרם התל
 בשת אד
- (62.) ין שמיד(ע)
- (63.) בשת אטו
 משמידע
- (64.) למלכרם
- (65.) ליה

Fig. 30 A : Samaria Ostraca 59 - 65 in transliteration.

Numbers in brackets (e.g. (12.)) denote the numbers of specific ostraca.

Text in brackets (e.g. (ין ישן)) represents reconstructed lacunae.

Source: Ibid., p. 238.

Fig. 31 : A summary of the data provided by the Samaria Ostraca.

Source: Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, pp. 358 - 362.

TABLE A

Ostraca No.	Date	Place	Recipient	Commodity
4-6	In the Ninth Year	from *Kozoh (מקצה)	to *Gaddiyau (לגוריו)	jar of old wine
9-10	In the Ninth Year	from *Yazith (מליצת)	to Ahinoam (לאחנעם)	jar of old wine
12	In the Ninth Year	from *Siptan (משפתן)	to *Baalzemer (לבעלזמר)	jar of old wine
16	In the Tenth Year	from Sepher (מספר) ¹⁰³	to *Gaddiyau	jar of fine oil
18	In the Tenth Year	from Hazeroth (מחצרת)	to *Gaddiyau	jar of fine oil

TABLE B

Ostraca No.	Date	Clan	Recipient	Sender	Place
22-3	In Year גא	from Helek (מחלק)	to *Aša (son of) Ahimelech (לאשא.אחמלך)	Helez (חלץ)	from Hazeroth
24	In Year גא	from Helek	to *Aša (son of) Ahimelech	Rapha (son of) *Anmes (רמא.ענמש)	from Hazeroth
28	In Year גא	from Abiezer (מאביעזר)	to *Aša (son of) Ahimelech	*Baala (באלא)	from *Elmattan (מאלמתן)
29	In Year גא	from Shemida (משמידע)	to *Aša (son of) Ahimelech	Kedar (קדר)	from *Sepher ?
30	In Year גא	from Shemida	to Helez (son of) Gaddiyau	Gera (son of) *Hanniab (גרא.חנאב)	

Fig. 31 : A Summary of the data provided by the Samaria Ostraca.

No.	Year	Place	Clan	Recipient(s)	Sender(s)	Commodity
1.	10	from *Poraim (מסארים)		to *Shamaryau (לשמריו)	*Pega (son of) Elisha (רנע.אלישע)	2 jars of old [wine]
					Uzza (son of) *Kabesh (?) (עוזא.קבש)	1
					*Eliba (אלבא)	1
					*Baala (son of) Elisha	2
					*Yedayau	1
					*Abibaa (אבכעל)	2
					Ahaz (אחז)	2
					Sheba (שבע)	1
					Meribaa (מרבעל)	1
2.	10	from *Azzah (מאזה)		to *Gaddiyau		jar of [old] wine
3.	10		from Shemida	to [. . .]א (א . . . ל)		
				to *Baala A[. . .] (לבעלא ע . . . א)		jar [of old wine]
				to *Gaddiyau		jar of old wine
				to [*Gaddi]yau		jar of old wine
				to *Gaddiyau		[jar of o]ld [wine]
				to *Gaddi[yau]		jar of [o]ld [wine]
4.	9	from *Kozoh		[to] Ahino[am]		[j]ar of old wifne
5.	9	from *Kozoh		to Ahinoam		jar of old wine
6.	9	from *Kozoh		to Ahinoam		[j]ar of wine
7.	?	?		to *Baalzemer		jar of old wine
8.	9	from Geb[א] (מנב[ע])				
9.	9	from *Yazith				
10.	9	from *Yazith				
11.						
12.	9	from *Siptan (משפתן)				

Fig. 31 : A summary of the data provided by the Samaria Ostraca.

13.	10	from Abiezer from *Tetel (? מִתְּעֵל ?)	to *Shamaryau to *Aš[aʔ]	jar of old wine [?]
14.	9	from A[zn]oth.*Par'an (מֵאֲנֹת פֶּרְאָן)	to *Shamaryau	jar of old wine
15.		from Hazeroth	to [. . .]	jar [of . . .]
16.	10	from Sepher	to *Gaddiyau	jar of fine oil
17.	10	from *Azzah	to *Gaddiyau	jar of fine oil
18.	10	from Hazeroth	to *Gaddiyau	jar of fine oil
19.	10	from Yazith	to Ahinoam	jar of fine oil
20.	10	from *Cherem-hatte[] (מִכְרֵם הַחֵטְא)		[jar of] fine oil
21.	10	from *Tetel (?)	to *Shamaryau	jar of fine oil
22.	15	from Hazeroth	to *Aša (son of) Ahimelech	Helez
23.	15	from Hazeroth	to *Aša (son of) Ahimelech	Helez
24.	15	from [Ha]zeroth	to *Aš[ā] (son of) Ahime[te]ch	Rapha (son of) *Anmes
25.		from Hazeroth	[to *Aša (son of) Ahime[te]ch]	Ahazai
26.		from Ha[zer]oth	to *Aša (son of) [Ahime[te]ch]	[Helez (son of) H]. ? .Jn
27.	15	Baal-meon (בַּעַל־מְעוֹן)	to *Aša (son of) Ahimelech	*Baala (the) Baalmeonite
28.	15	from *Elmattan	to *Aša (son of) Ahimelech	*Baala
29.	15	from Sepher	[to] *Aša (son of) Ahimelech	Kedar

Fig. 31 : A Summary of the data provided by the Samaria Ostraca.

No.	Year	Place	Clan	Recipient(s)	Sender(s)	Commodity
30.	15		from Shemida	to Helez (son of) Gaddiyau	Gera (son of) *Hanniab	
31.	15		from Shemida	to Helez (son of) *Aphzech (אפזח) (לחלץ אפזח)	*Baala (son of) Zecher (בעלא זכר)	
32.	15		from She(m)ida	to Helez	*Ahima (אחמא)	
33.	[1]5		from Shemi[da]	[to He]lez (son of) *Gaddiyau	... ? (פוח ...)	
34.	15		from [Shem]i[da]	[to Helez (son of) *Ga]ddiyau	... ? (... צ)	
35.	15		from She[mida]	to Helez (son of) *Gaddiyau		
36.	15		[from] Shemid[a]		[Ge]ra	[o]ld wine
37.	15		from Shemida	to *Ahima	*Aša (son of) *Baalzēcher (אשא בעלזכר)	
38.	15		from Shemida	to *Ahima	*Ullah (son of) Ela (עלה אלא)	
39.	15		from Shemida	[to] *Ahima	*Ašja (son of) [Baalzēcher?]	
40.			[from] Shemida	to? (... לע)		
41.					?.sha (son of) *Egliyau (שע עגלוי?)	
42.	15	from *As(h)ereth (מעשרת)	from <A>rie[ל]שרא[to *Yedayau (לידעי)	*Meronyau (son of) Gaddiya[u]	
43.	(h ?)			[to] Hannan ... (חנב ...)	El ... (אל ...)	
44.	15		from Shechem (משכם)	to Hanan (son of) Ba[ar]ja	El ... (ה ...)	wine
45.	15	from *Yaz[ith]	from Hogla[h]		*Meronyau (son of) Nathan (מרנוי נתן)	

Fig. 31 : A Summary of the data provided by the Samaria Ostraca.

46.	15				to Hanan (son of) Ba[ara] (...א) (לחנן בן ערא)			
47.		from *Yazith	[from] Hoglah (חוגלה)		to Hanan (son of) Baara ? (...ב)			
48.	15	from *Yashub (בישב)	from <A>snic[ן]		to *Yedayau (son of) Ahimelech	Joshua (ישע)		
49.			[from Shemid]a		to He[lez] (son of) *Gaddiyau	? (כו' כטר)		
50.	15		from Noah (נועה)		to Gomer (לומר)	*Obadyau to *Uriyau (עבדין לארין)	wine, in a jar of fine oil	
51.	10					*Aha the Judea[n] (אחא היהודין)	wine	
52.	15					*Abiyau	jar of fine oil	
53.	10	*Cherem-hattel					jar of fine oil	
54.	10	*Cherem-hattel					jar of fine oil	
55.	10	*Cherem-Yeho-eli (כרם יחועלי)						
56.	15	from *Hatt[el]			to Nimsh[ן] (לנמשין)?	דל...עד		
57.			Shem<ן>da		Abda	? (י...נא...ין)		
58.	15	*Cherem-hattel			to *Bedeyau (לודין)			
59.								jar of [in]e oil
60.		*Cherem-Yeho-ē[ן]						
61.	15	*Cherem-hattel						
62.			Shemid[a]					wine
63.	17	(7)	from Shemid[a]					
3892.	10	*Cherem-hattel						wine, in a jar of fine oil
3893.	(10)	*Chere[m-hattel]						wine, [in a jar of fine] oil

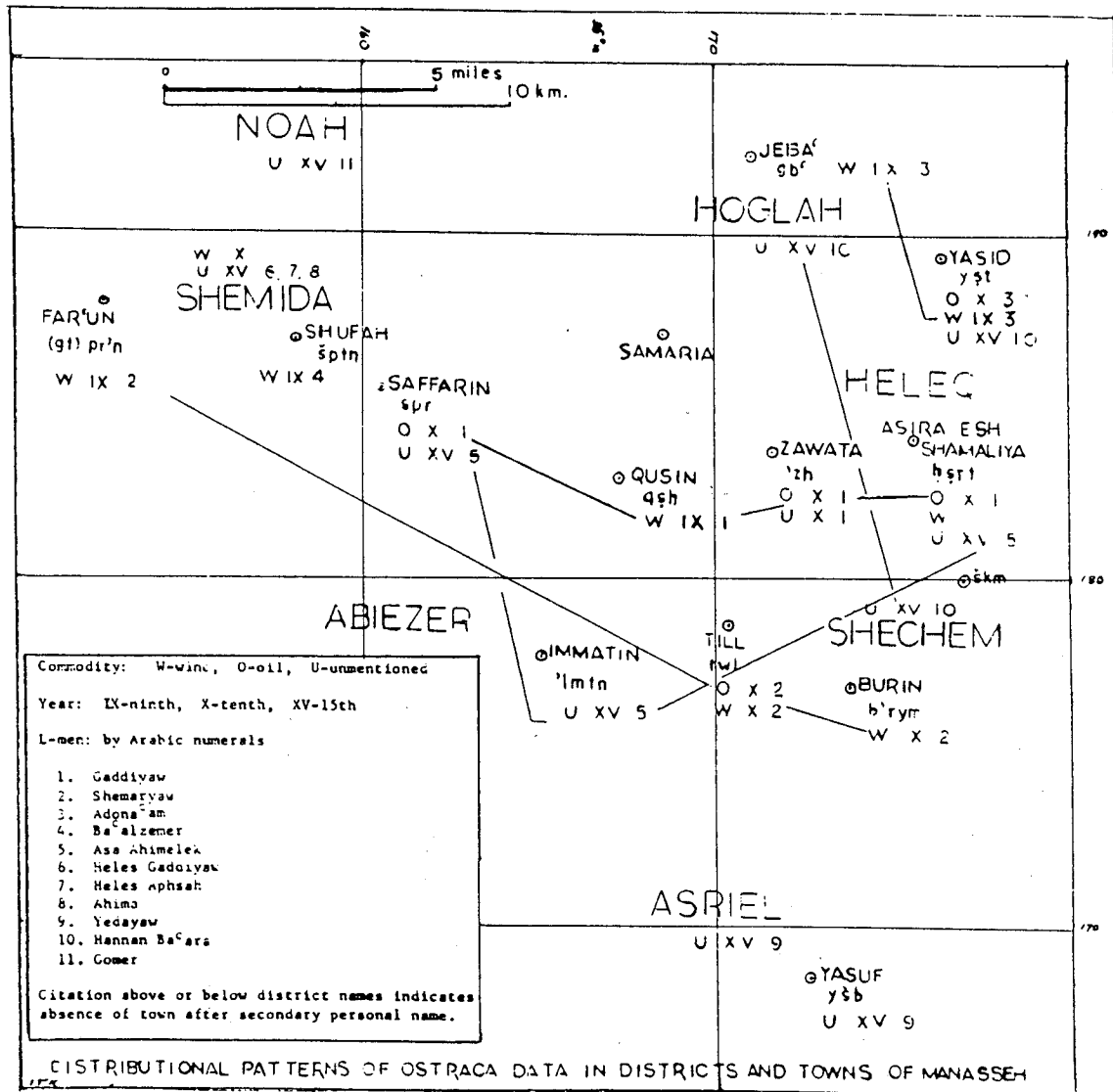


Fig. 32 : Graphic representation of the economic data provided by the Samaria Ostraca.

Source: Ivan T. Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca: An Early Witness to Hebrew Writing," Biblical Archaeologist 45 (1982), p. 236.

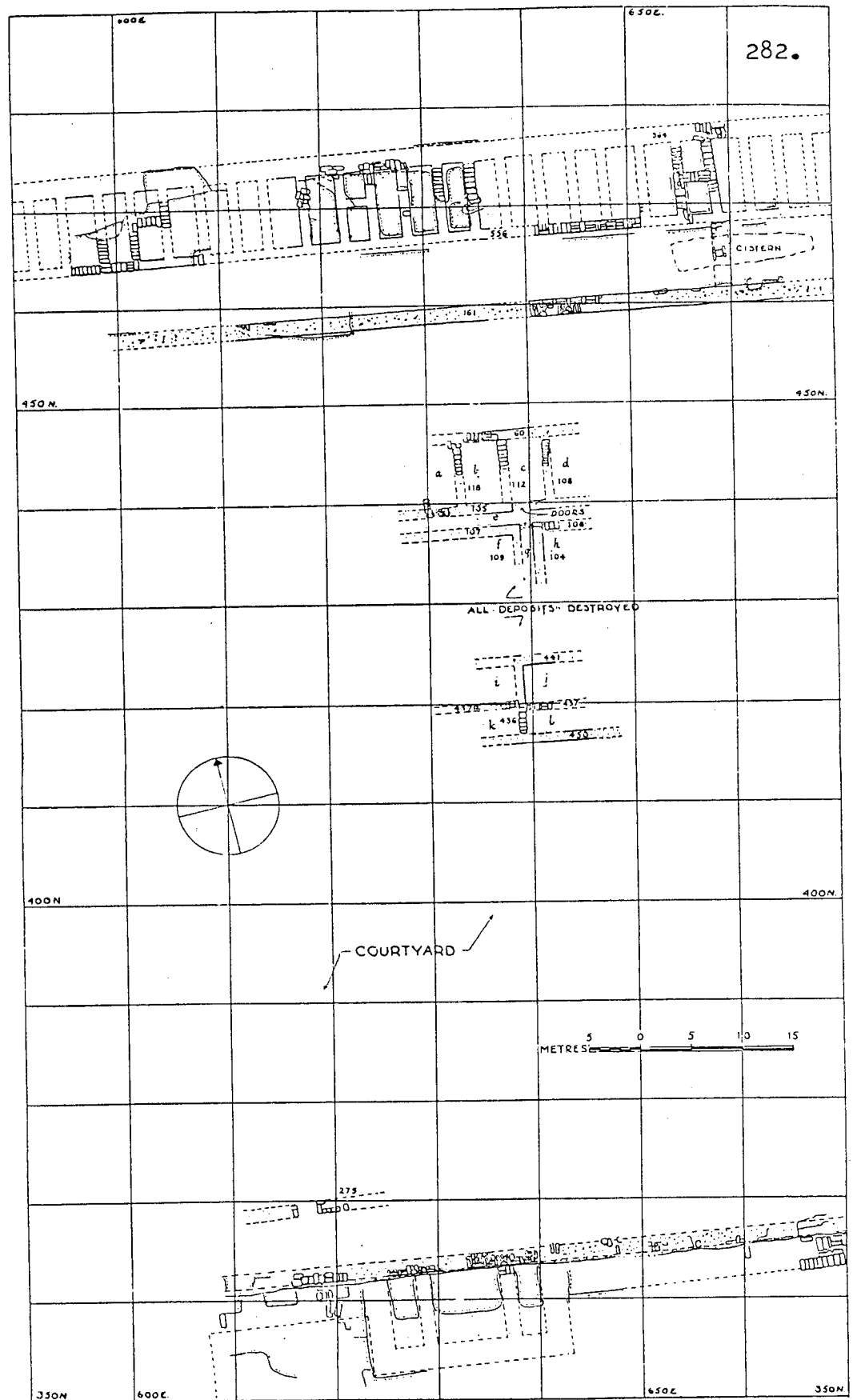


Fig. 33 : Samaria: Israelite Periods I and II
(ca. 870 - 810 B.C.).

Source: Samaria-Sebaste I, Plate VIII.

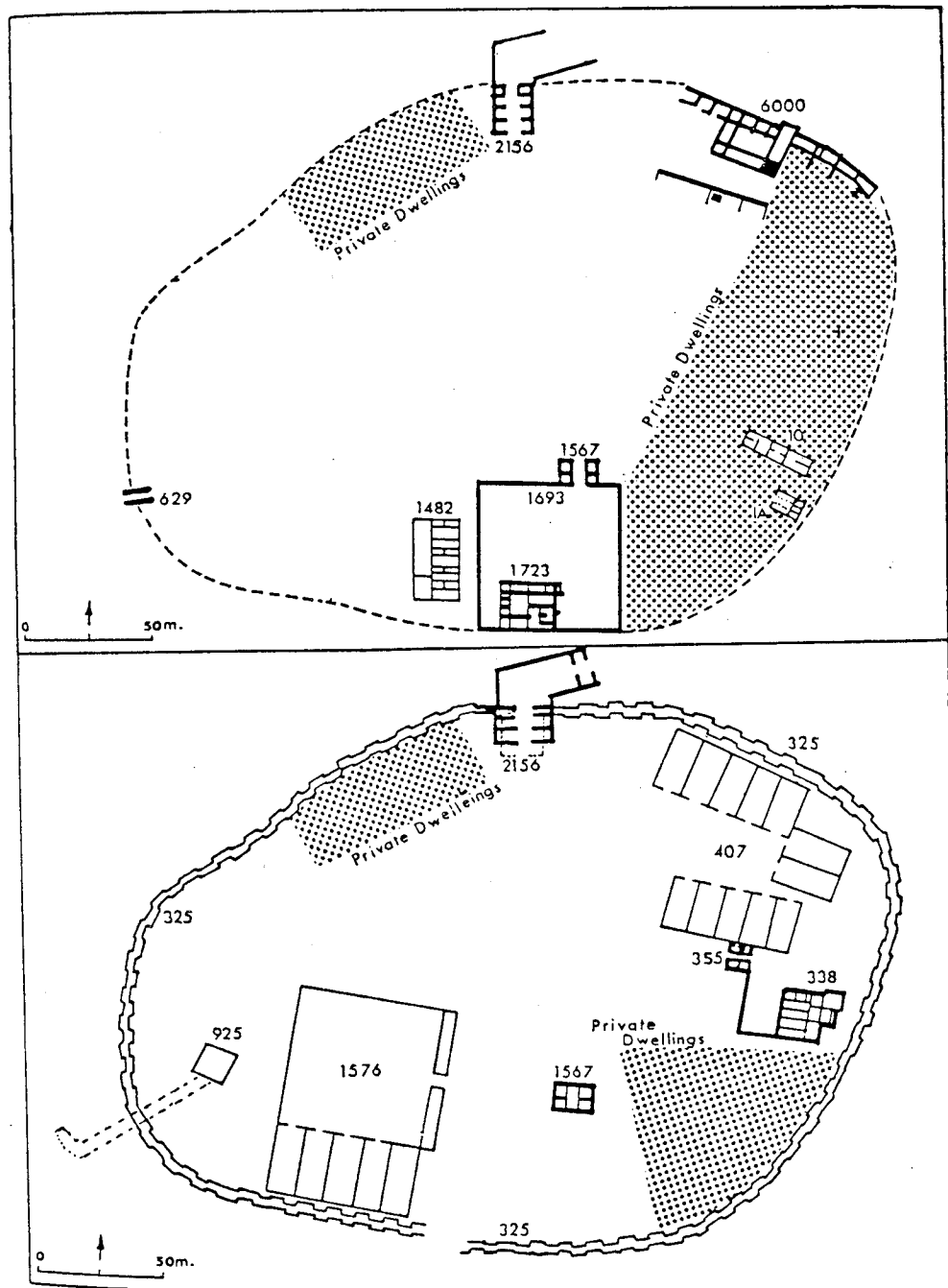


Fig. 34 : The royal administrative centre of Megiddo, general layout of city plan showing division into public areas and residential quarters:
 1 (above): Strata V A - IV B, tenth century B.C.;
 2 (below): Stratum IV A, ninth century B.C.

Source: Shiloh, "Elements in the Development of...",
 p. 47.

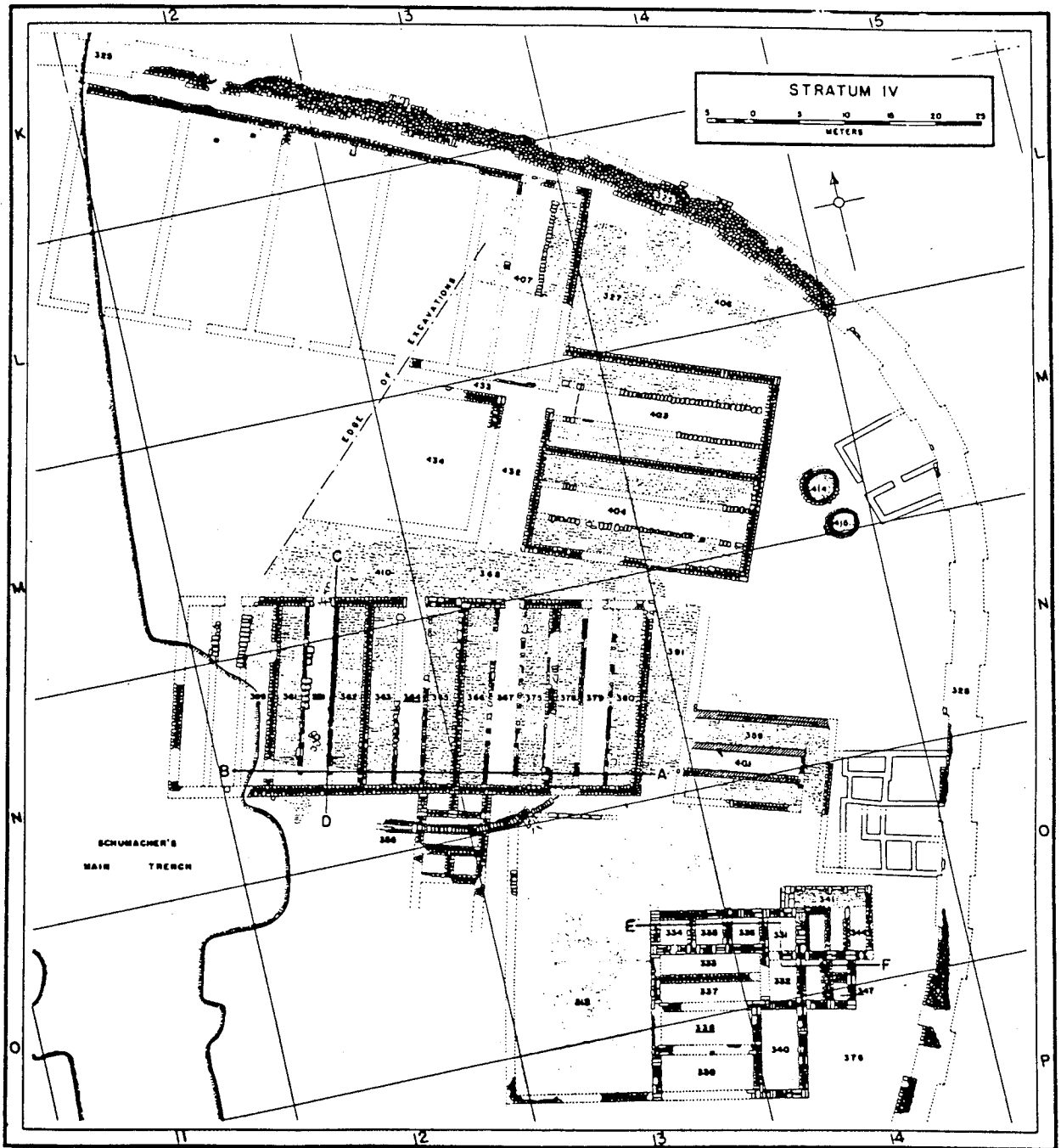


Fig. 35 : Megiddo: Northeast Stables and Building 338.

Source: Kathleen Kenyon, Royal Cities of the Old Testament (New York, 1971), p. 94.

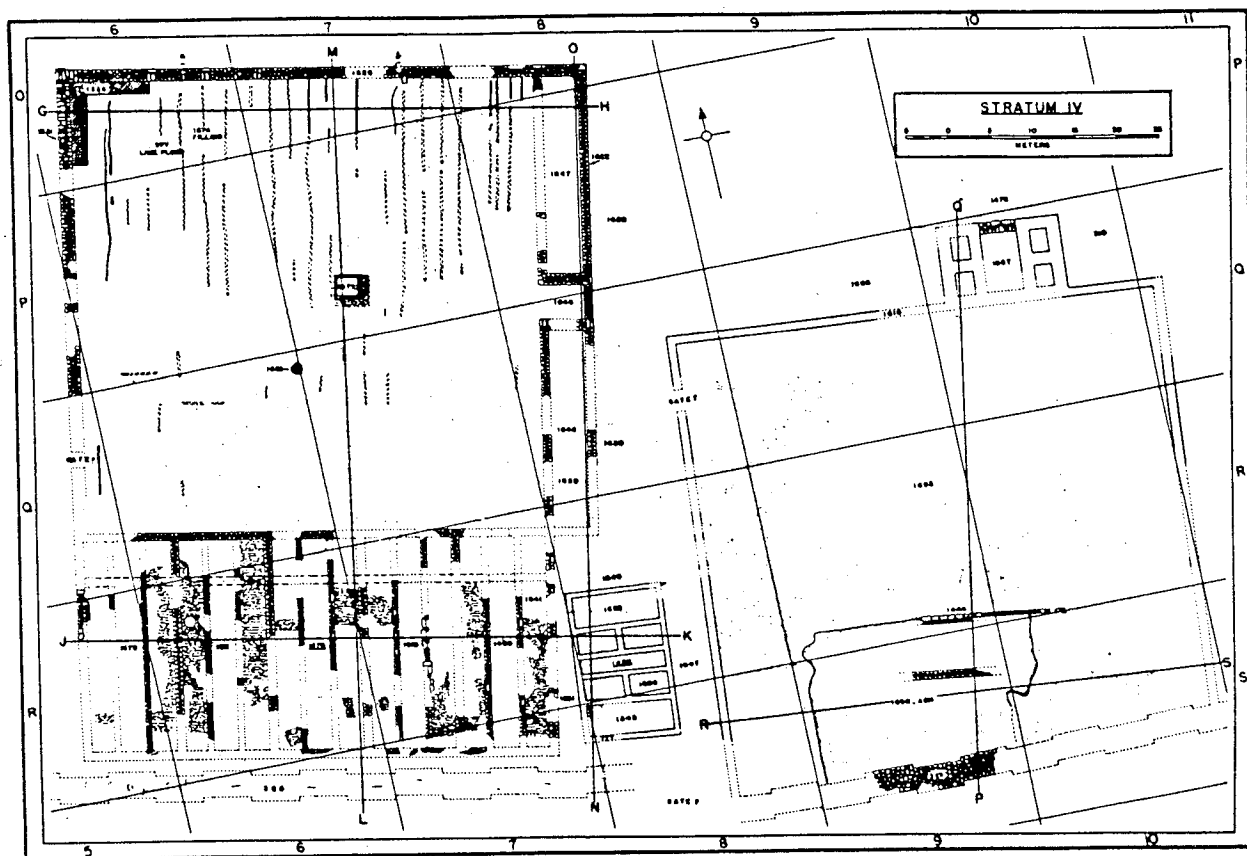


Fig. 36 : Megiddo: Southwest Stables 1576 and
Courtyard of "Palace" 1723.

Source: Ibid., p. 96.

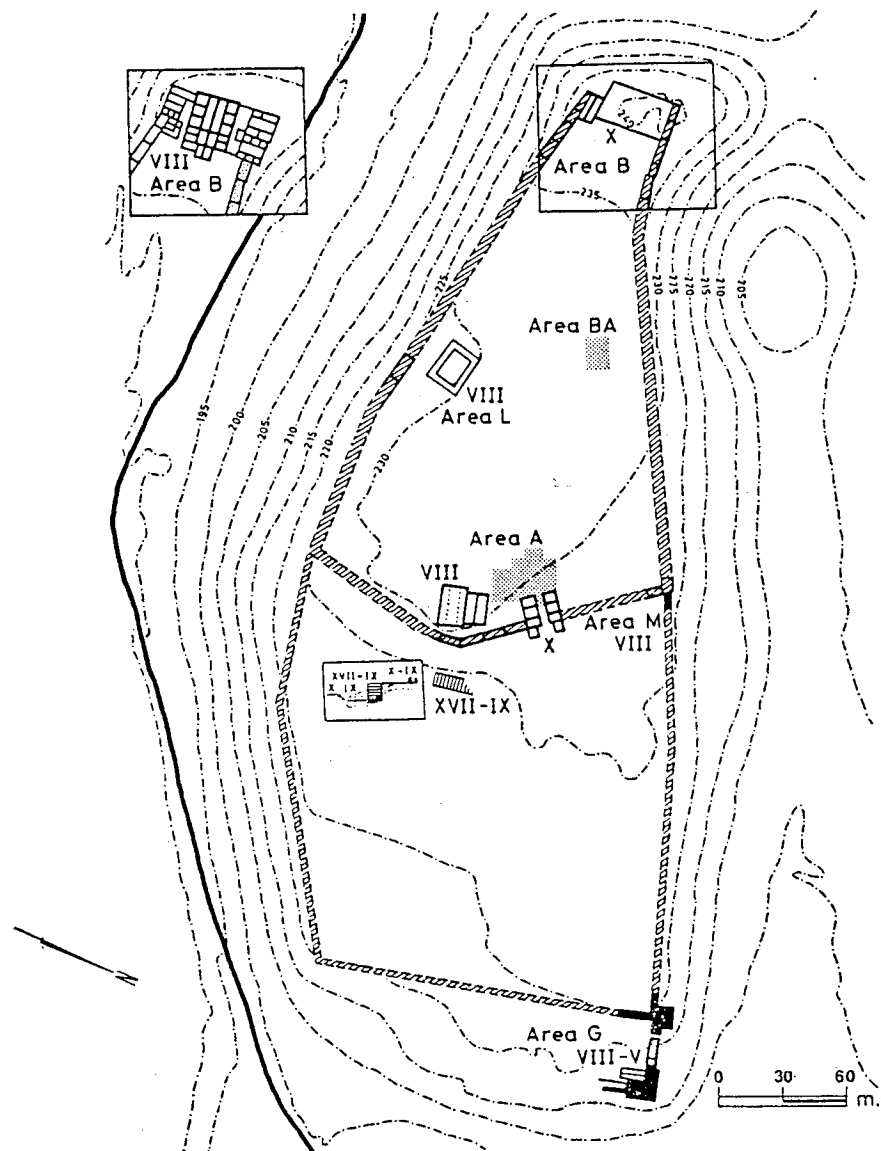


Fig. 37 : Hazor: The Upper City

Source: Yigael Yadin, Hazor, Schweich Lectures 1970 (Oxford, 1972), p. 111.

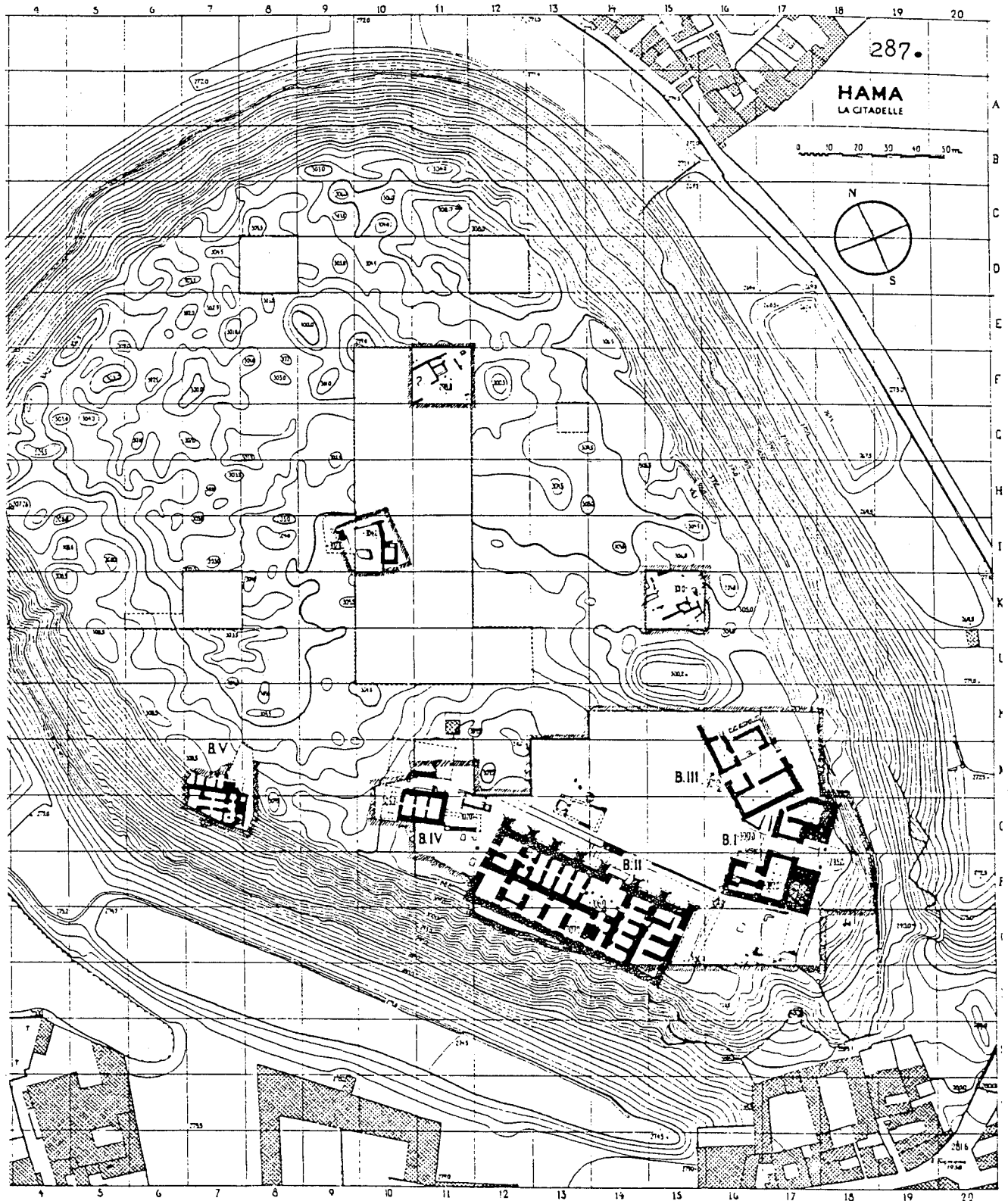


Fig. 38 : Hamath: Royal Quarter, Period E (ca. 900 - 720 B.C.)

Source: E. Fugmann, Hama: fouilles et recherches 1931 - 1938 II 1: L'architecture des périodes pré-hellénistiques (Copenhagen, 1958), p. 151.

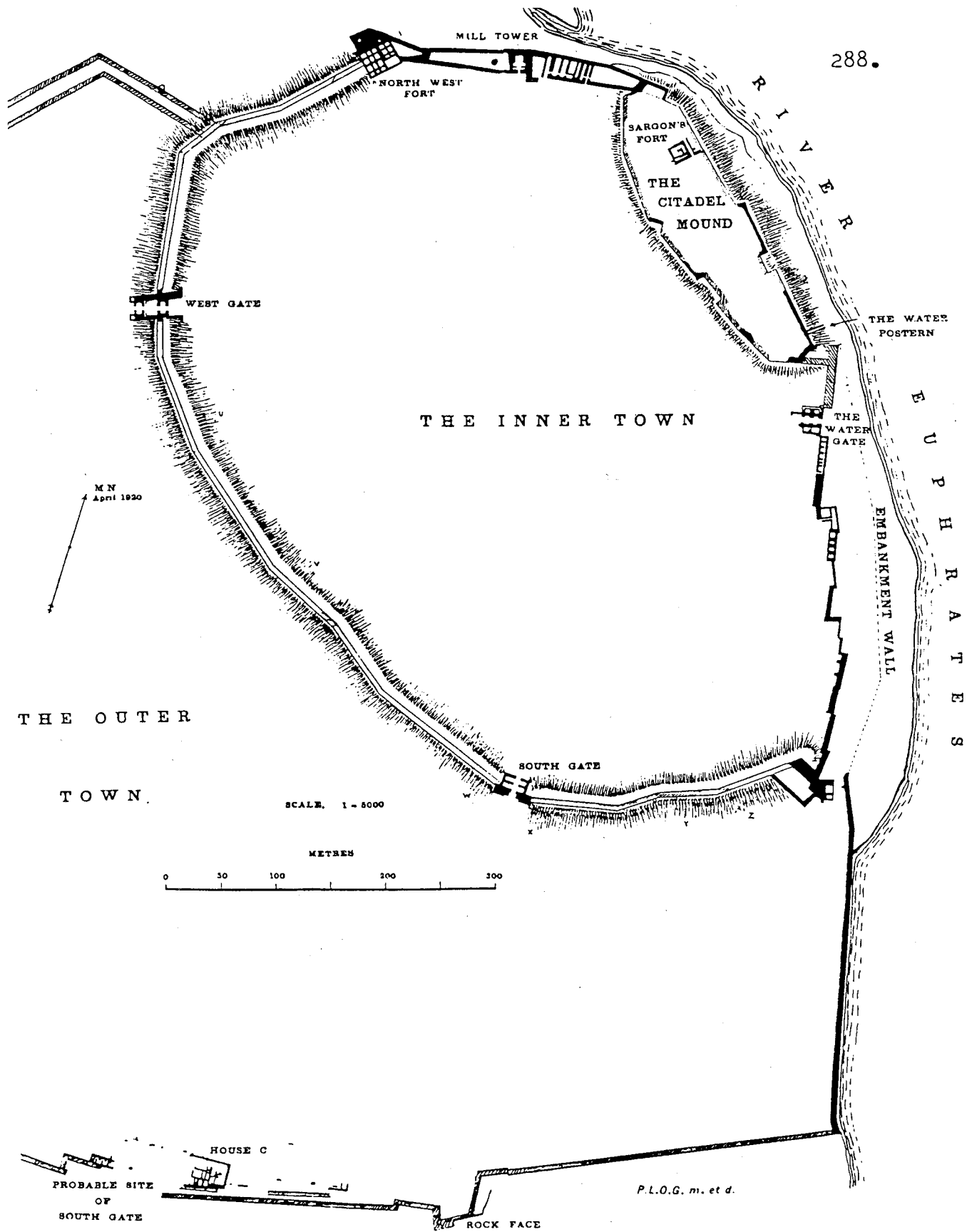
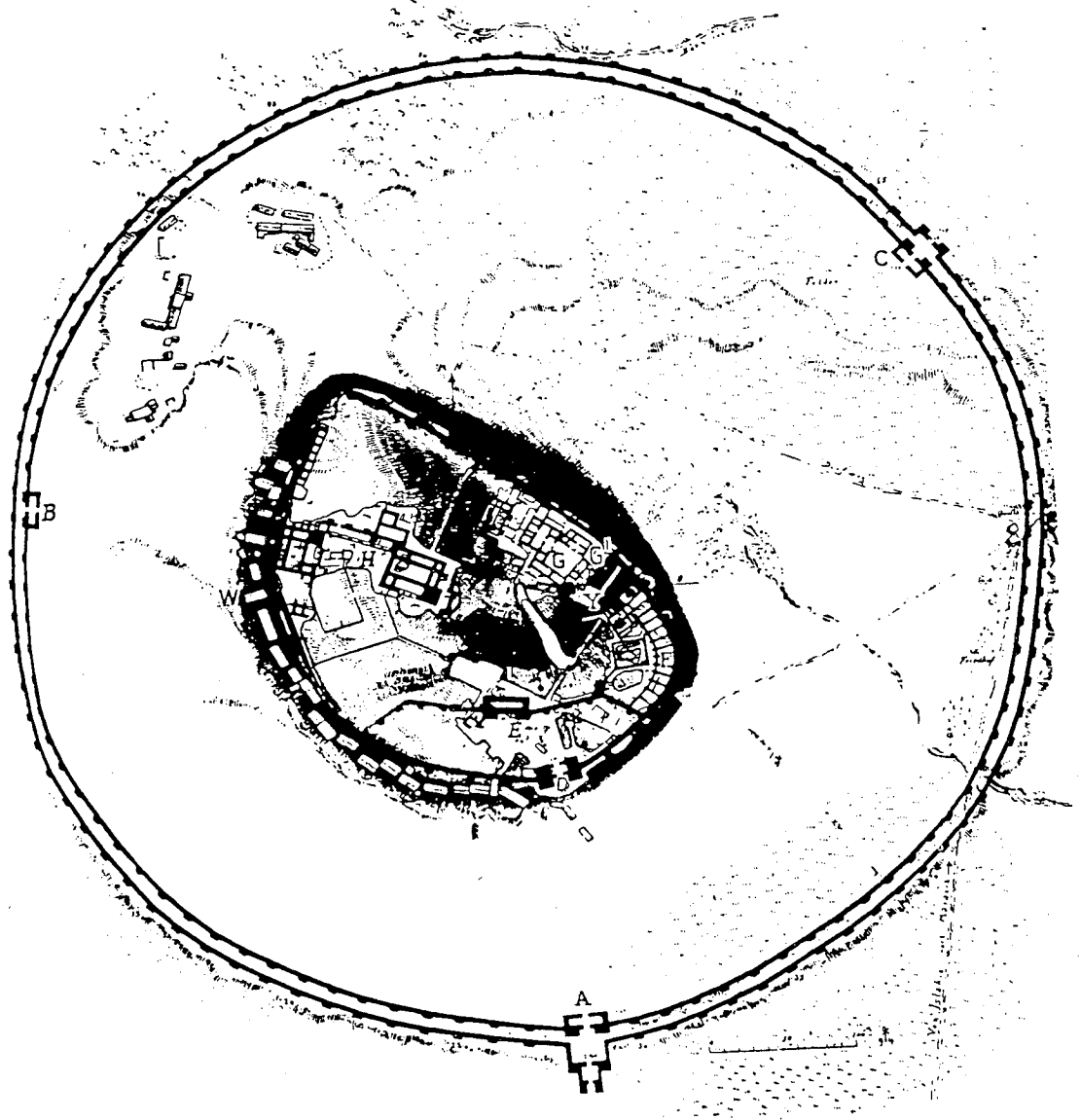


Fig. 39 : Carchemish: The Royal Quarter.

Source: Sir Leonard Woolley, Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum III (London, 1952), plate 3.



PLAN 16. SAMAL.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| A. South Gate. | F. Casemates in Wall. |
| B. West Gate. | G. Upper Palace. |
| C. Northeast Gate. | G1. Old Hilani. |
| D. Citadel Gate. | H. Lower Palace. |
| E. Gate in Cross Wall. | I. Inner Wall. |

Fig. 40 : Samal: Royal Quarter and Lower City

Source: A. T. Olmstead, History of Palestine and Syria
Plan, between pages 408 and 409.

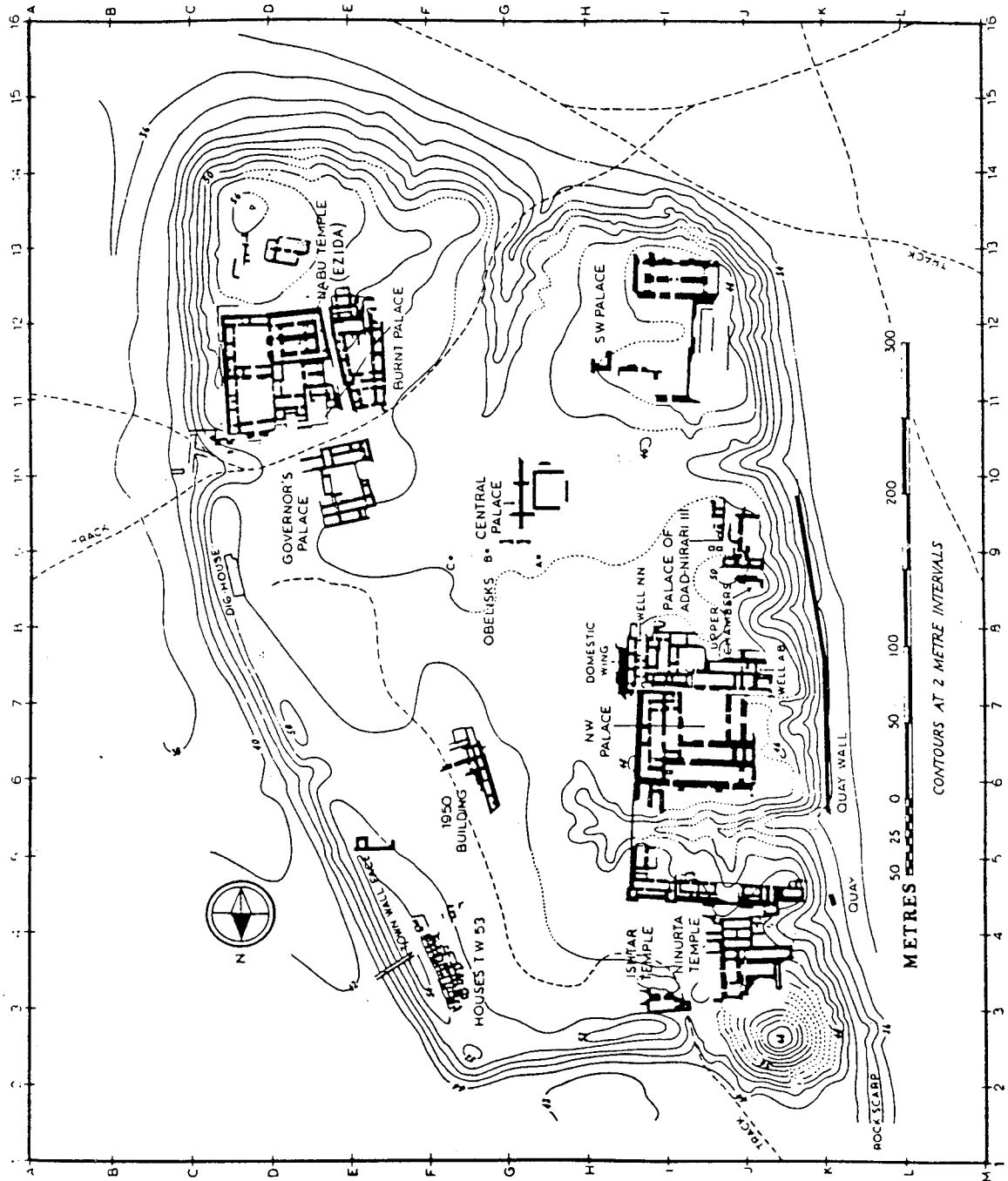
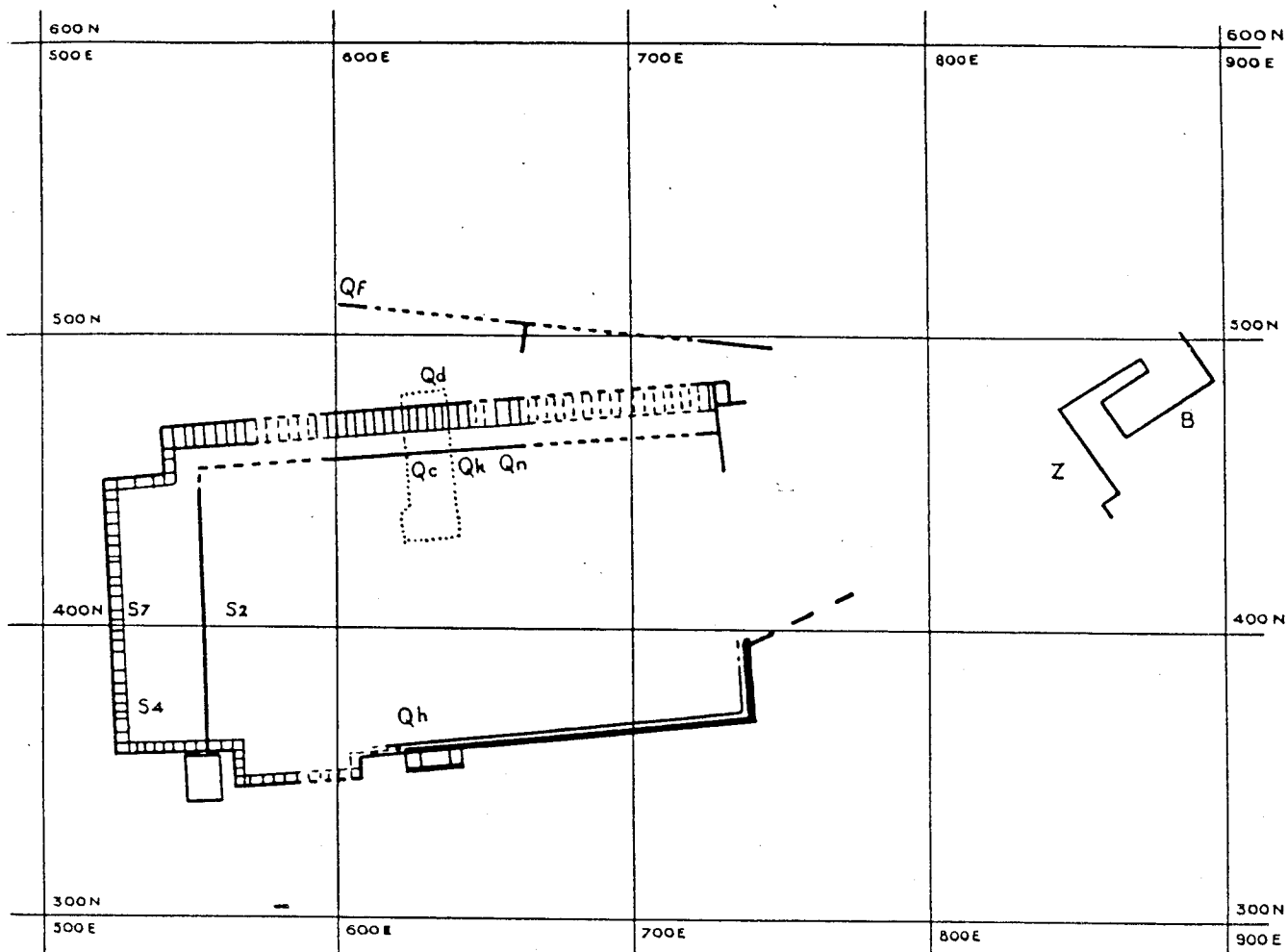


Fig. 41 : Calah/Nimrud: The Royal Quarter

Source: Seton Lloyd, The Archaeology of Mesopotamia,
(London, 1978), p. 195.



The sketch map above shows the walls of the Israelite palace enclosures on the summit of the hill and other Israelite walls on the lower slopes to north and east. The excavations of the Harvard Expedition lay west of the line 600E and the letters S2, S4 and S7 mark the position of the strips where ivories were found during their work. The letters Qc, Qk, Qd, Qf, Qh, Z and B, mark the position of the strips where ivories were found during the work of the Joint Expedition. Qn marks the strip where they were found by the British Expedition in 1935. Scale 1 : 2,500.

Fig. 43 : Finds of Ivory Carving at Samaria.

Source: J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste II: Early Ivories From Samaria (London, 1972 (1938)), p. 3.

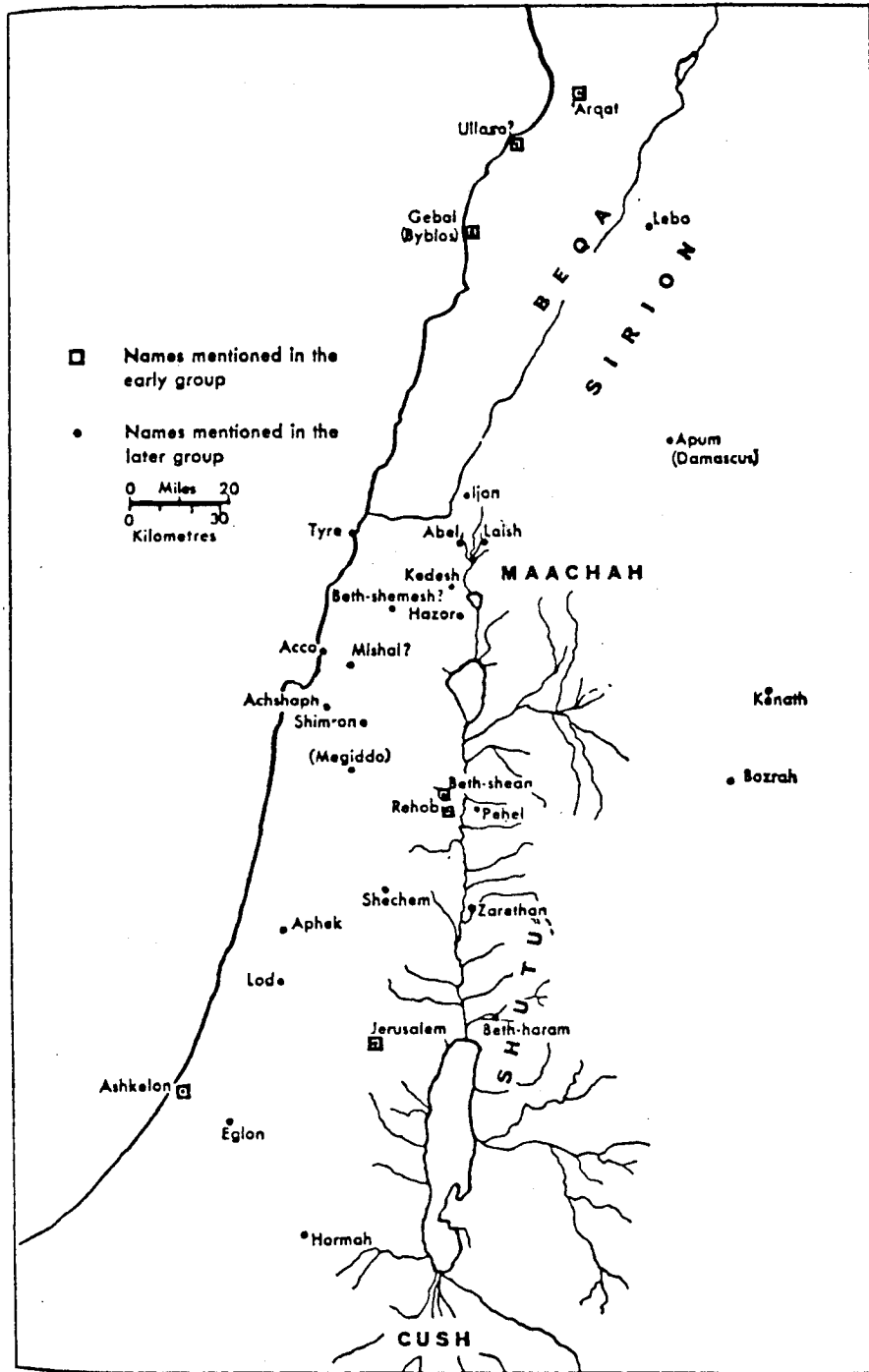


Fig. 44 : The Urban Pattern of Palestine
 According to the Execration Texts
 (ca. 1900 - 1800 B.C.)

Source: Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, p. 145.

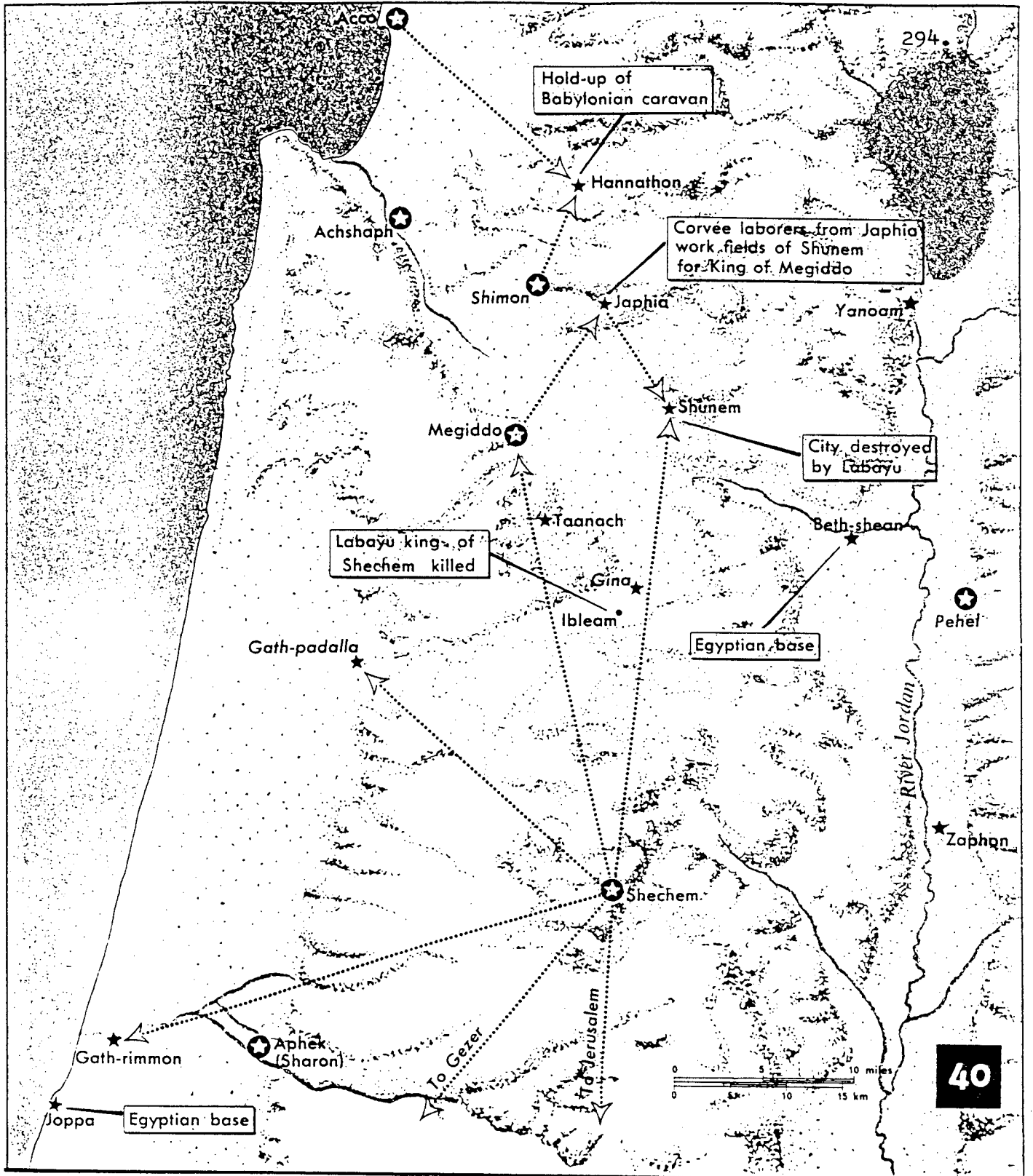


Fig. 45 : The perimeters of the Kingdom of Shechem
 According to the Amarna Correspondence
 (ca. 1400 - 1350 B.C.)

Source: Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, Macmillan Bible Atlas,
 Map 40, p. 36.

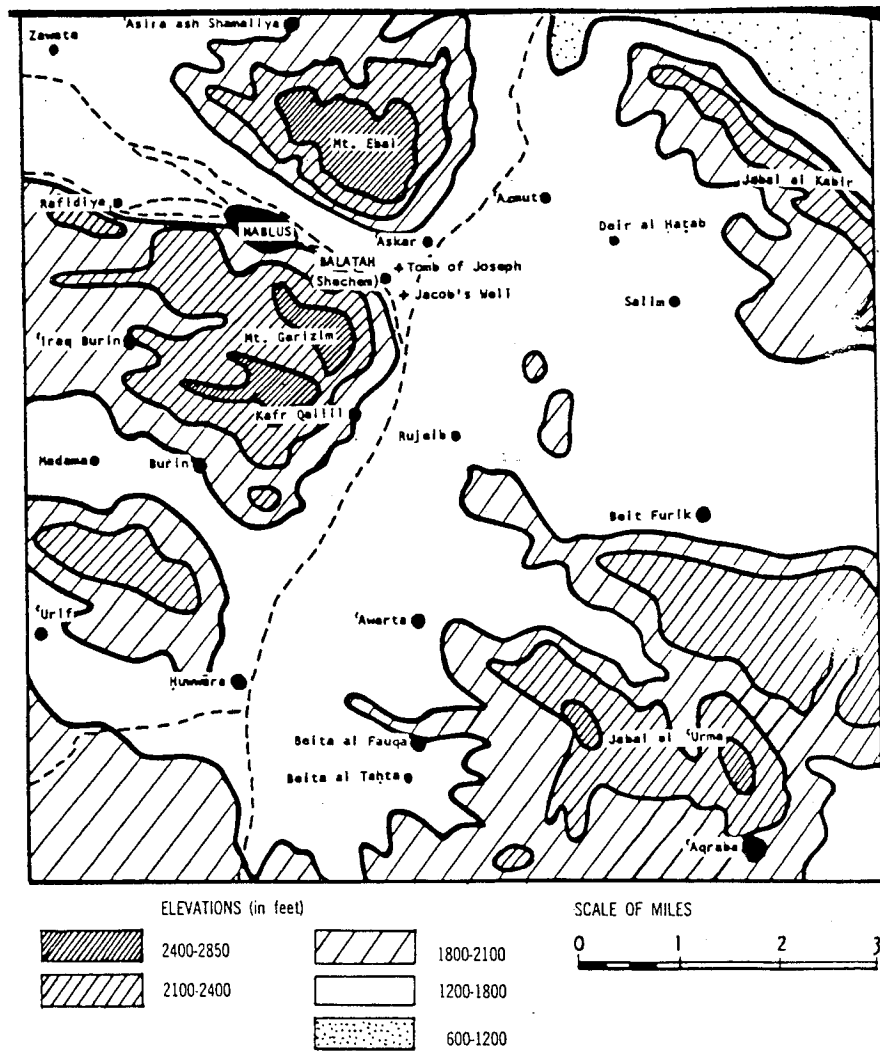


Fig. 46 : The immediate environs of Tell Balatah (Shechem).

Source: G. Ernest Wright, Shechem (New York, 1965), Fig. 2.

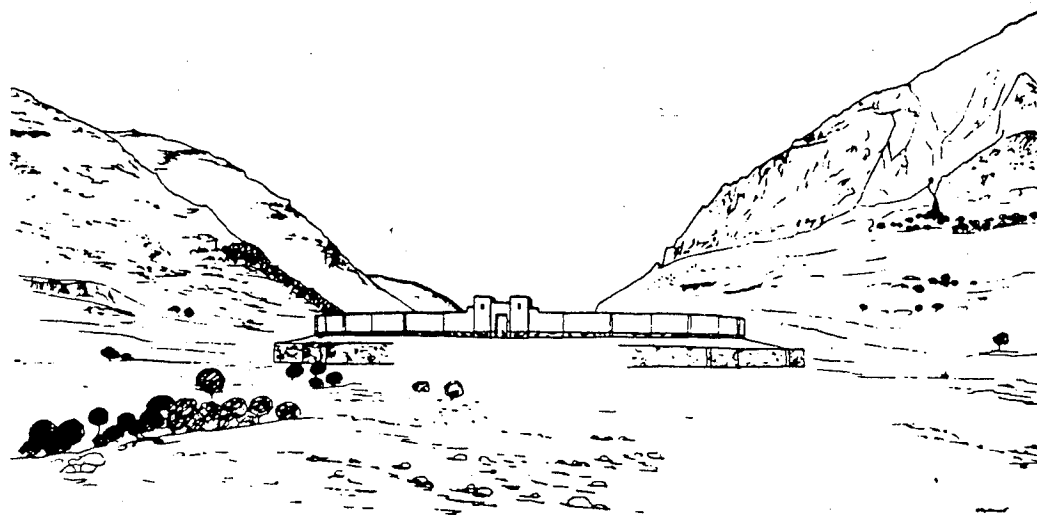


Fig. 47 : A reconstruction of ancient Shechem which illustrates its strategic position at the foot of Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal.

Source: Karl Jaroš, Sichem (Göttingen, 1976), p. 192.

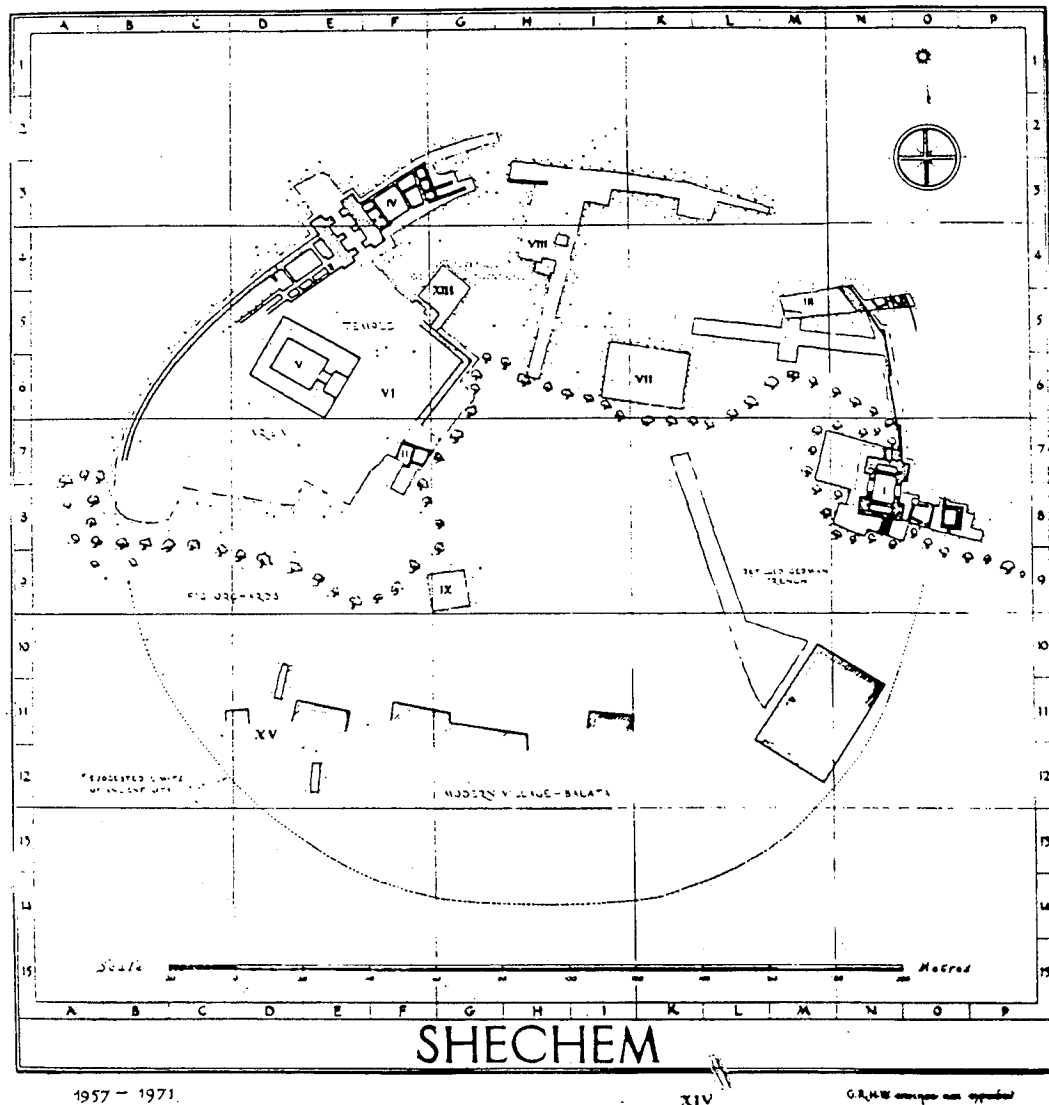


Fig. 48 : Plan showing the excavations of the Drew-McCormick Expedition at Tell Balatah (ancient Shechem). Roman numerals indicate the archaeological fields.

Source: E. Campbell, J. Ross and L. Toombs, "The Eighth Campaign at Balatah (Shechem), B.A.S.O.R. 204 (1971), p. 3.

Shechem: Date B.C.	Field I	Field II	Field III	Field IV	Field V-VI	Field VI-2	Field VII	Field VIII	Field IX	Field XIII
I ca. 150/128-107	Debris	Helienistic House	Debris	German Excavation	German Excavation	German Excavation	Stratum I	Excavation	Phase 1	German Excavation
II ca. 150/128	401		Phase 1 Walls				II		2	
IIIA ca. 225-190			Phase 2 Walls				IIIA		3a	
IIIB ca. 250-225							IIIB		3b	
IVA ca. 300-250	170						IVA		4a	
IVB ca. 311-300							IVB		4b	
ABANDONMENT Ca. 475 - 331 B.C.										
V ca. 600-475	Sherds						V		5	
VIA ca. 724-600	412A						VIA	German	6	
VIB ca. 748-724	412B	Iron II Building					VIB		7	
VIII ca. 810-748	412C		Sherds Present in the Wash down the Slope				VIII		8a	
IXA ca. 860-810	175						IXA	Phase 1	9a	
IXB ca. 918-860							IXB		9b	
XA ca. 950-918	1/6 and Floors and Floors	Iron II Building					XA		10	Surface as A.D. 1934. Poor Rebuild
XB ca. 975-950	190						XB			
ABANDONMENT Ca. 1150/1125 - 975 B.C.										
XI ca. 1200-1150/25	178		Debris behind Wall B				Strata 11-12 (Layers 3-4)		11	Phase 1
XII ca. 1350/10-1200	127A						Strata 13-15 (Layers 5a-c)		12a	(LB Phase 1)
XIII ca. 1400-1350/10	127B		"palace"				Stratum 16a (Layer 6a)		12b	(LB Phase 2)
XIV ca. 1450-1400	127						Stratum 16b (Layer 6b)		12c	(LB Phase 3a-b)
ABANDONMENT Ca. 1550 - 1450 B.C.										
XV ca. 1600-1550	Wall B		MB Phase 1a-d	Wall B			Stratum 17 (Layer 7)		13	MB IIC house in Area 4
XVI ca. 1650-1600	Wall A		MB Phase 2a-b	MB-Gate Erected					14	MB IIC Drain
XVII ca. 1675-1650	Wall C		Earthen Embankment	Earthen Embankment					15	Embankment
XVIII ca. 1700-1675									16	
XIX ca. 1725-1700									17	
XX ca. 1750-1725									18	
XXI ca. 1800-1750									19-20	
XXII ca. 1900-1800										
XXIII										
XXIV										

Fig. 49 : The Stratigraphy of Tell Balatah (Shechem).

Source: Lawrence E. Toombs, "The Stratification of Tell Balatah (Shechem)," B.A.S.O.R. 223 (1976), p. 58.

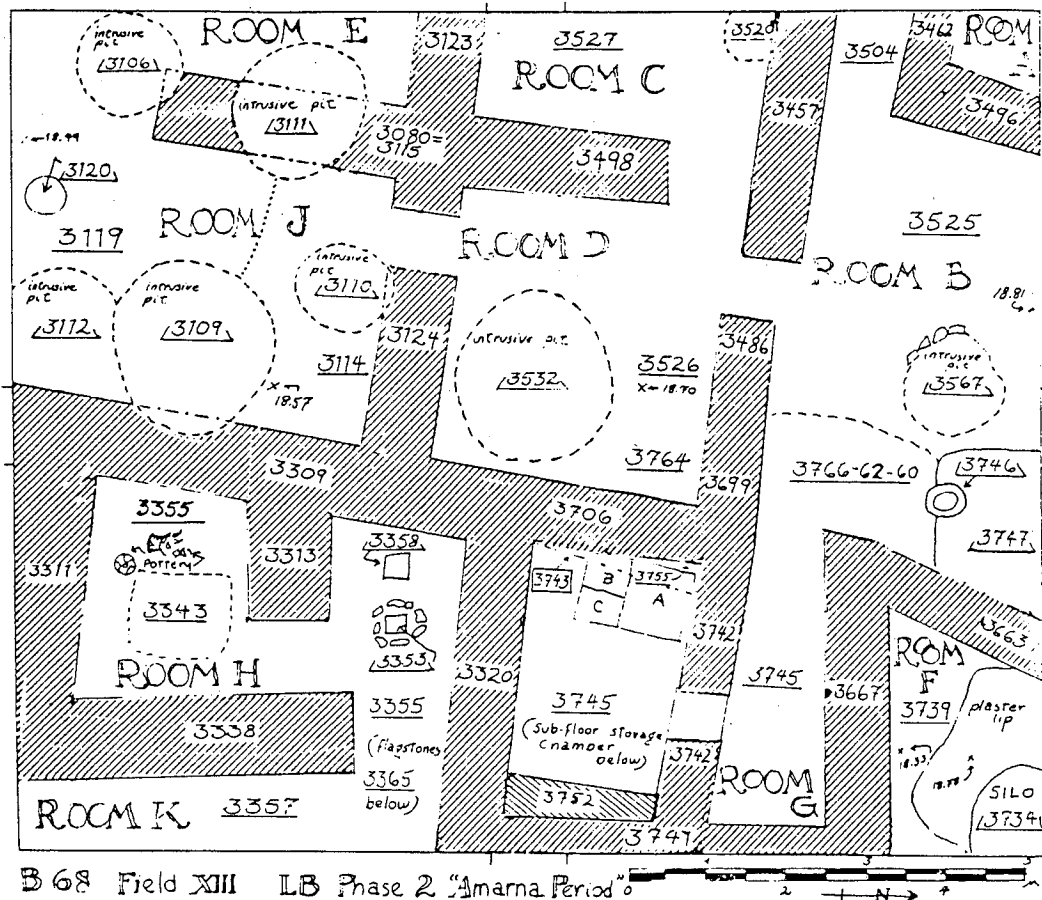


Fig. 50 : Sketch plan of the Amarna Period constructions in Field XIII. Prepared by Carney Gavin after Lawrence E. Toombs.

Source: E. Campbell, J. Ross and L. Toombs, "The Eighth Campaign at Balatah (Shechem)," B.A.S.O.R. 204 (1971), p. 10.



Fig. 50 B : The Provincial Districts of Solomon
(Albright, 1925).

Source: William F. Albright, "The Administrative Divisions of Israel and Judah," Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 5 (1925), p. 29.



Fig. 50 C : The Provincial Districts of Solomon (Abel, 1938).
 Source: Le P. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine II*, Map III.

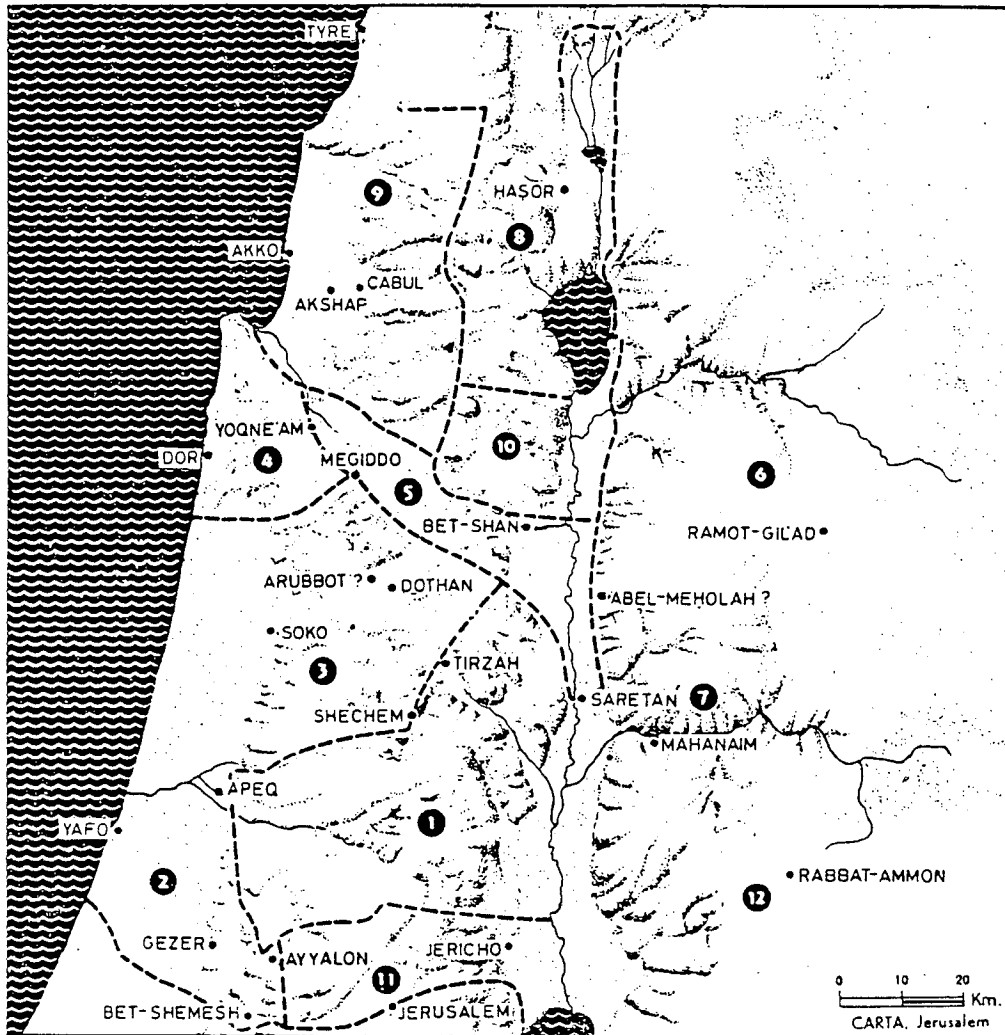


Fig. 50 D : The Provincial Districts of Solomon
(Wright, 1967).

Source: G. Ernest Wright, "The Provinces of Solomon
(I Kings 4:7-19)," *Eretz-Israel: Vol. 8*
(Jerusalem, 1967), p. 60.

Wall A (the cyclopean fortification) and the Northwest Gate as published by Sellin in 1926 (*ZDPV* 49, Taf. 33, following p. 372) with a few additions from the 1927 plan (*ibid.* 50, Taf. 22, following p. 338). The names of the fortification walls are those of the Drew-McCormick Expedition. South of the gate are the rooms designated "the Palace" by Sellin.

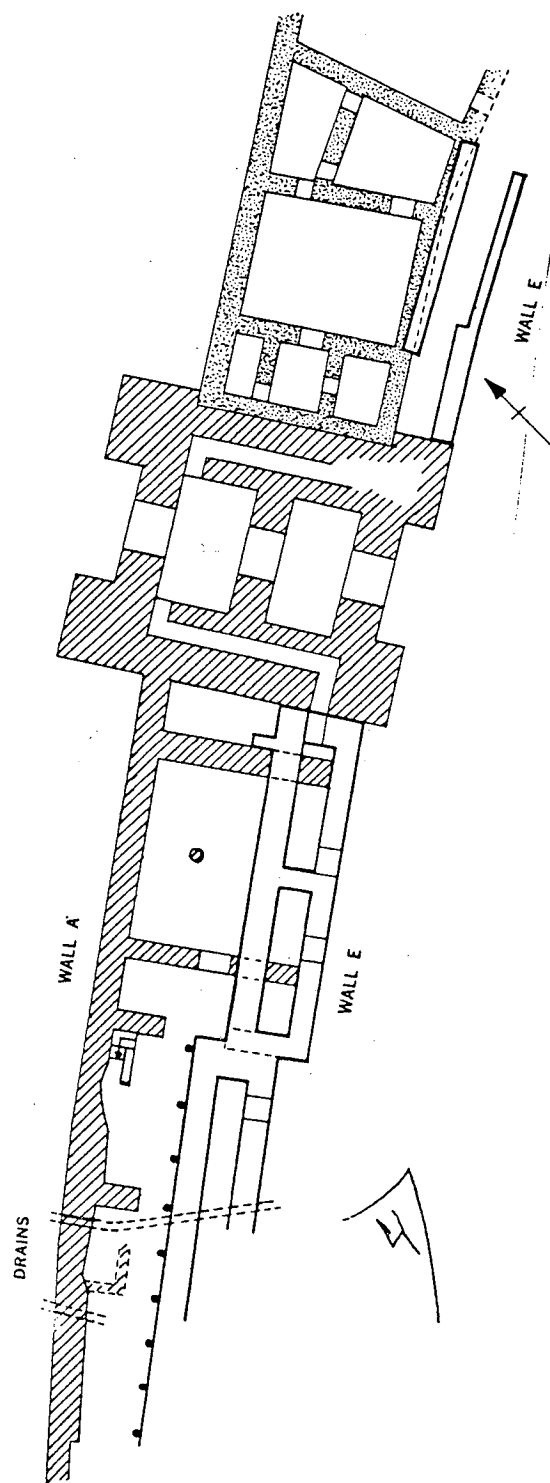
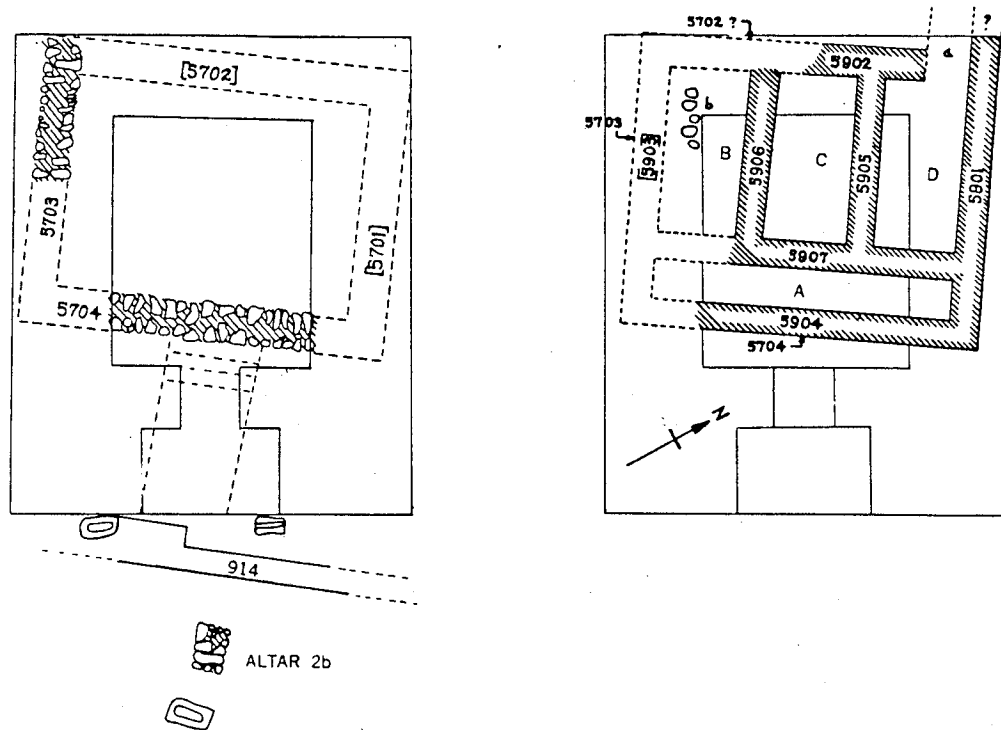


Fig. 51 : Tell Balatah: The Fortificative System in the vicinity of the Northwest Gate.

Source: Wright, Shechem, Fig. 9).



Reconstructed plan of Temple 2.
The entry probably had towers flanking it,
but no evidence remains of the plan.

Plan of the Israelite government
warehouse erected over the ruins of the
fortress-temple.

Fig. 52 A : Tell Balatah: Temple 2 and the
Israelite Granary

Source: Wright, Shechem, Figs. 56 and 73.

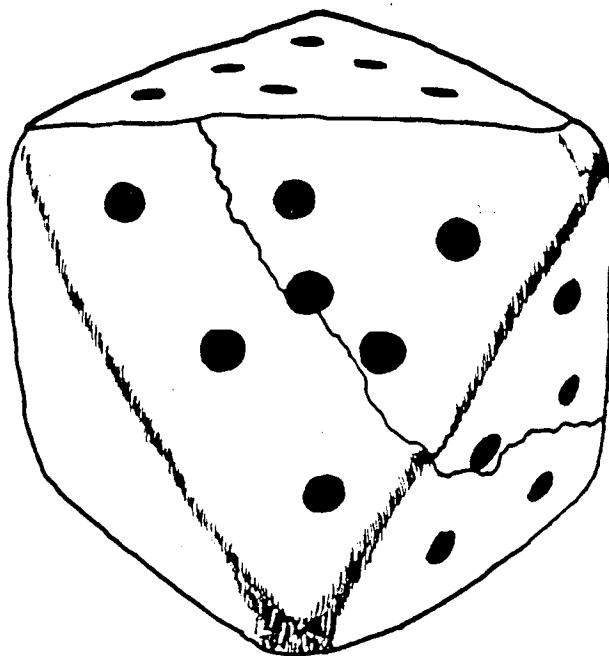


Fig. 52 B : Tell Balatah: eight-sided ivory die found
in the plaster floor of the Israelite
Granary (5900).

Source: Karl Jaros, Sichem (Göttingen, 1976), p. 262.

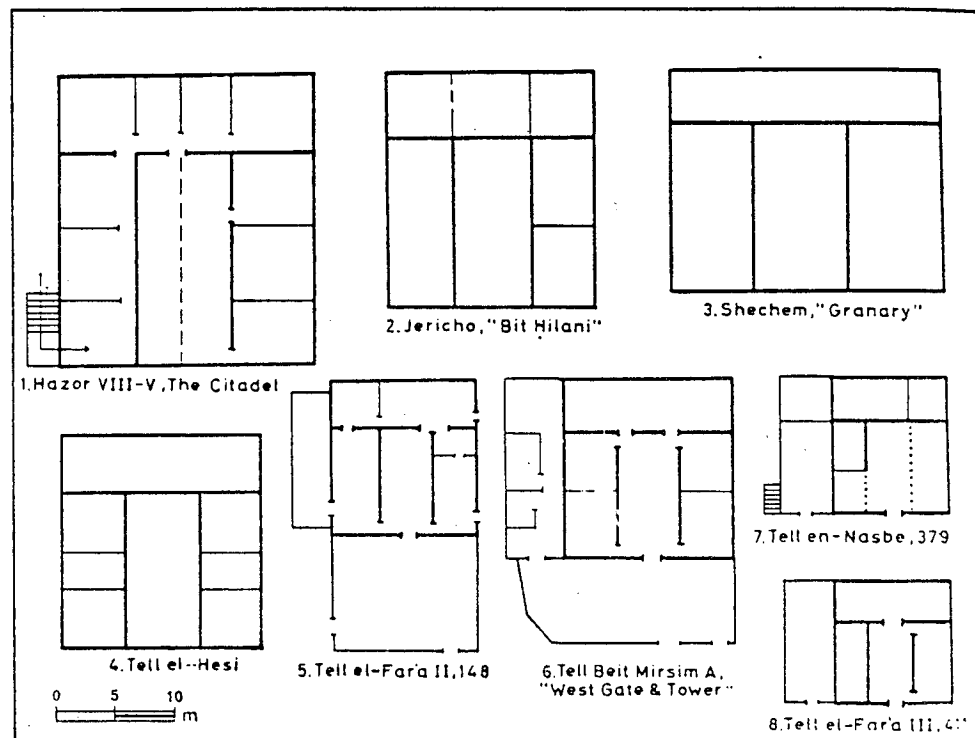


Fig. 53 A : Large four-room public buildings.

Source: Shiloh, "The Four-Room House....," p. 184.

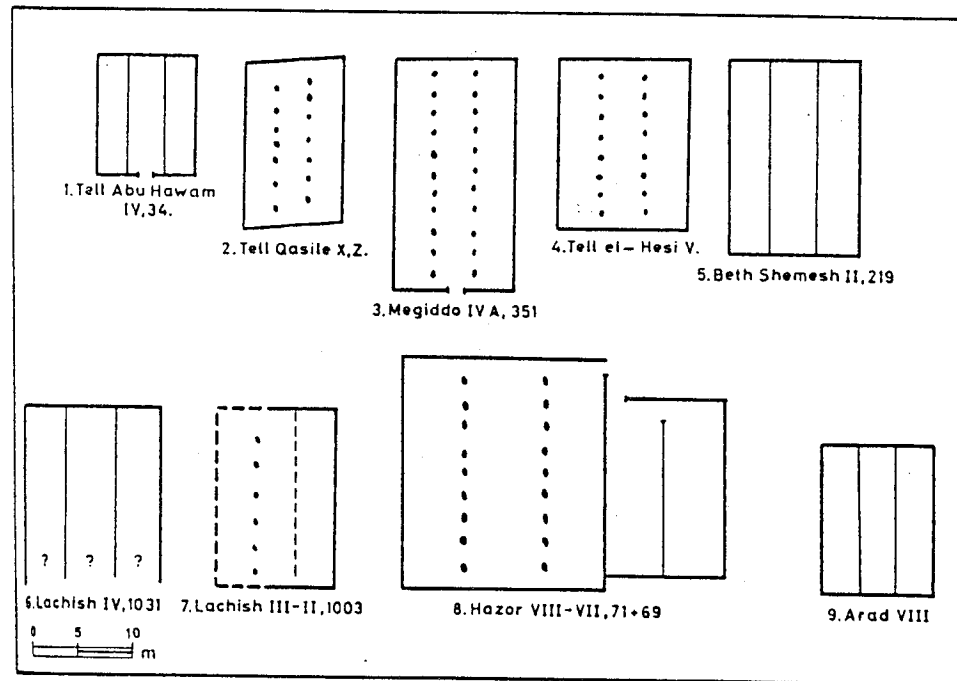


Fig. 53 B : The family of store-house type buildings.

Source: Ibid., p. 181.

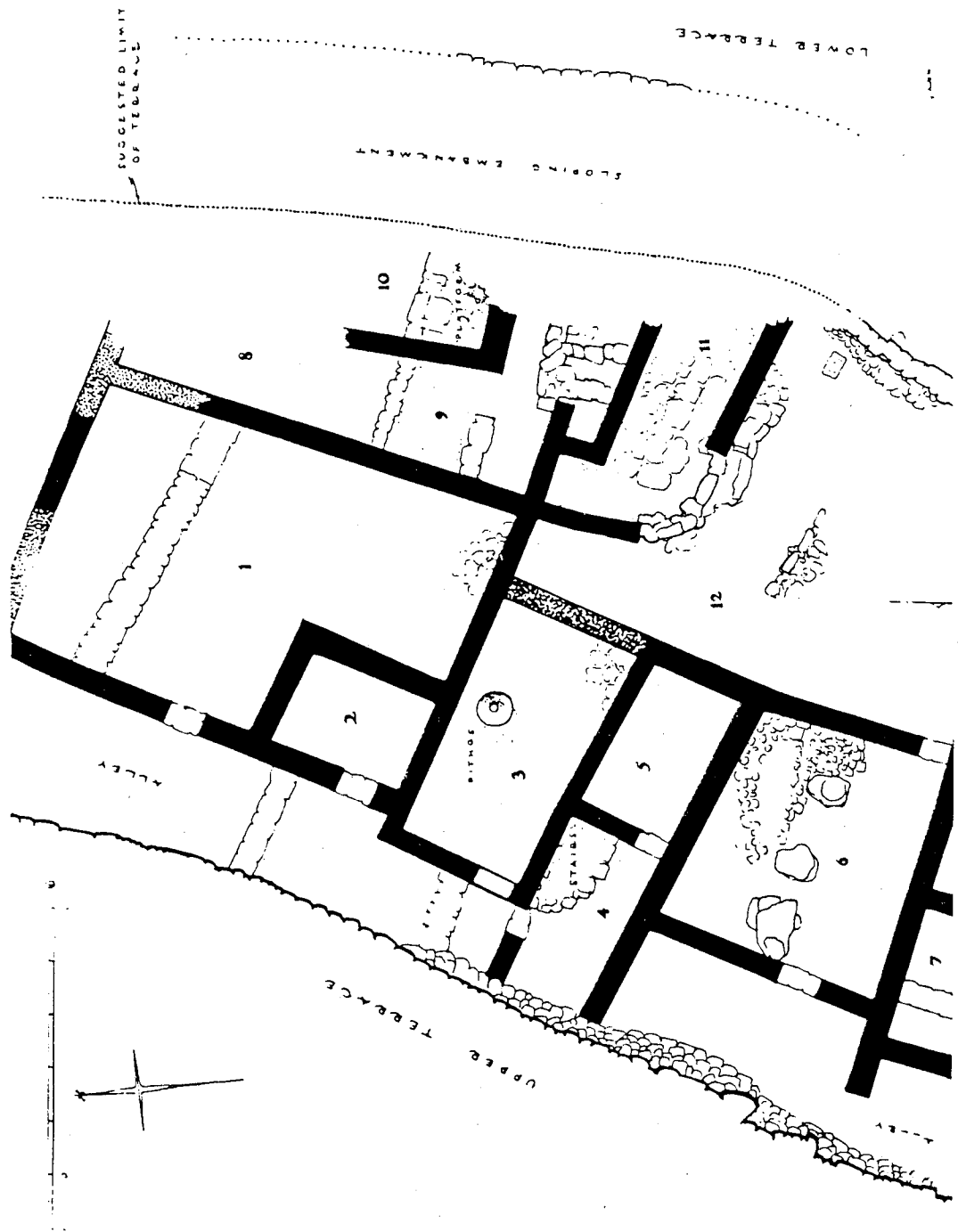


Fig. 54 : Tell Balatah: Field VII, Stratum IX B and A
(ca. 918 - 810 B.C.)

Source: Wright, Shechem, Fig. 75.

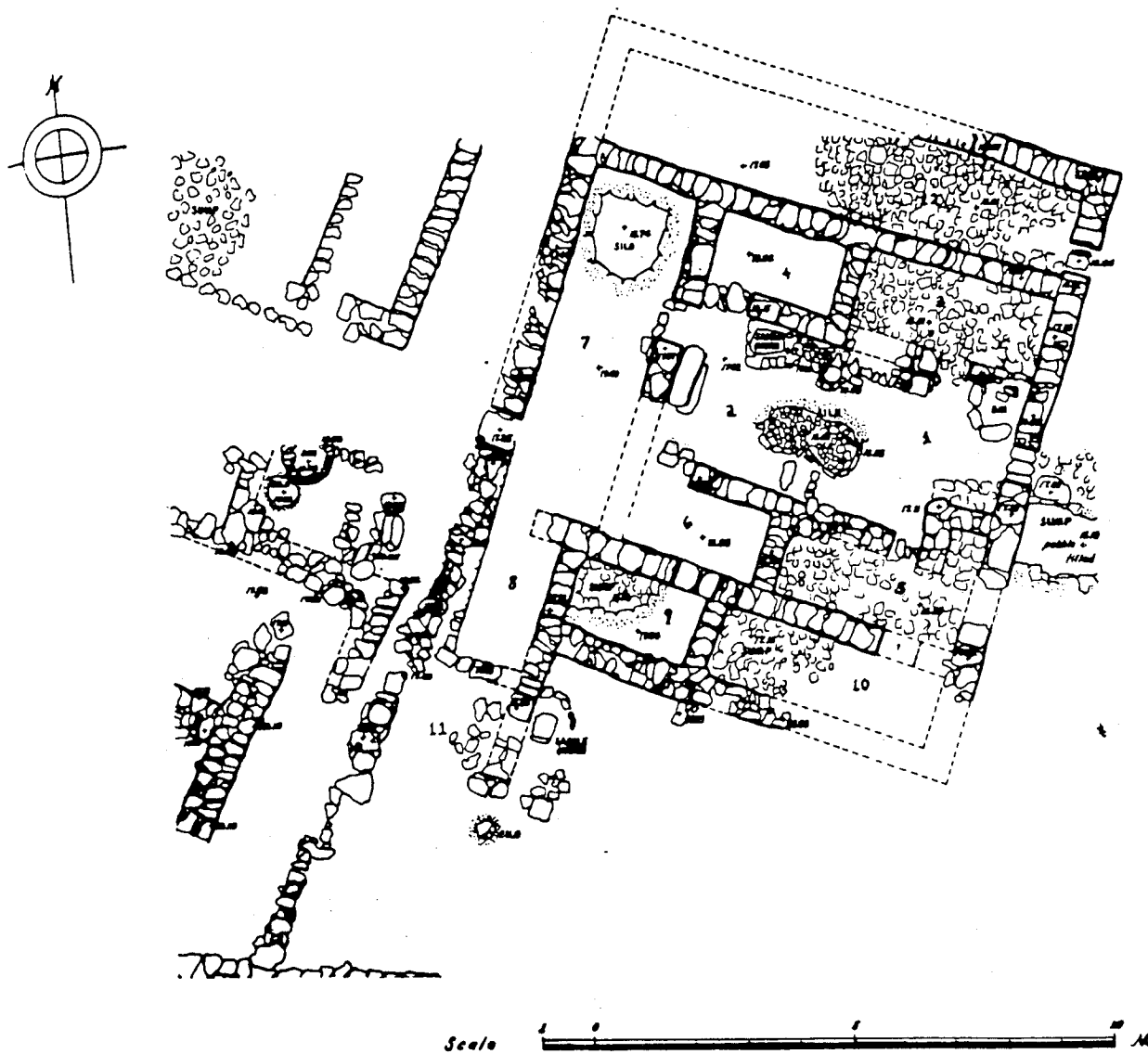


Fig. 55 A : Tell Balatah: Field VII, Stratum VII,
House 1727 (ca. 748 - 724 B.C.)

Source: Wright, Shechem, Fig. 76.

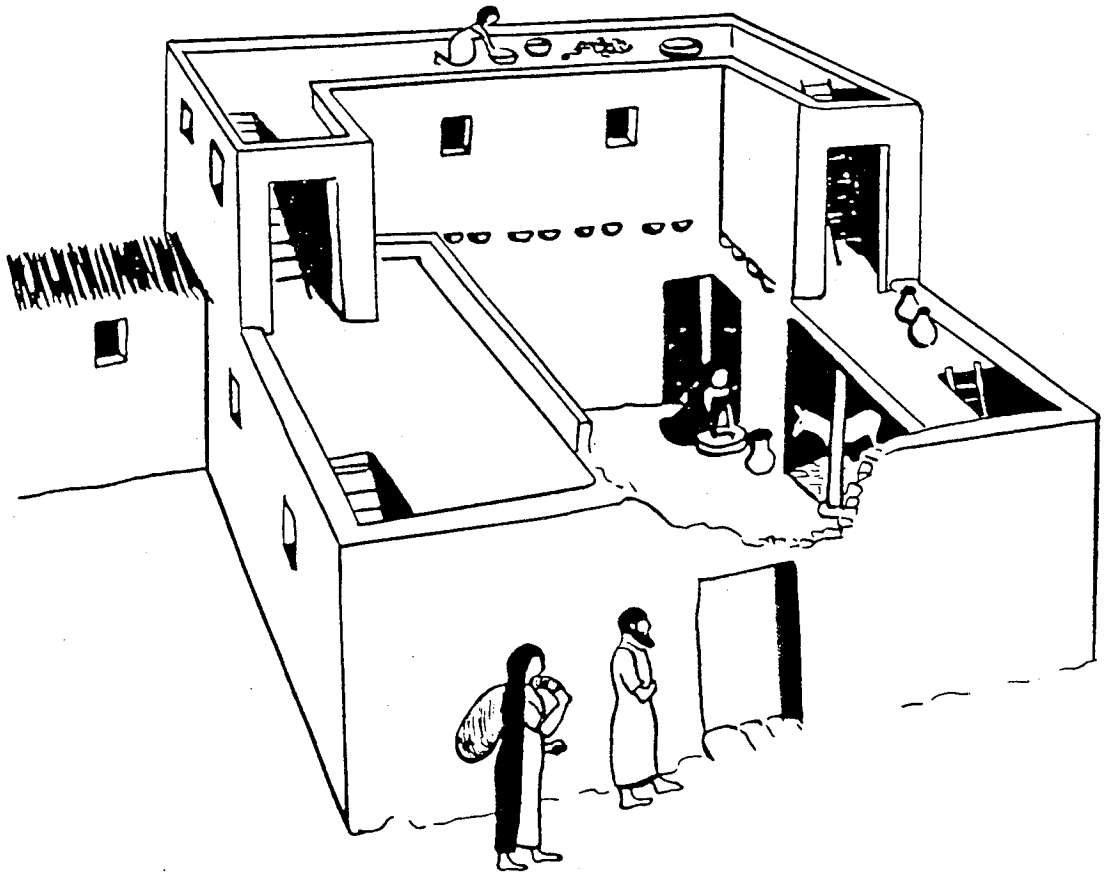


Fig. 55 B : Tell Balatah: a reconstruction of House 1727,
Field VII, Stratum VII.

Source, Jaroš, Sichem, p. 248.

<i>T. el-Fâr'ah</i>		<i>Date</i> (s. BC)	<i>Parallèles</i>					<i>Observations</i>	
<i>(rapp. pré.)</i>	<i>publ.</i>		<i>Megiddo</i>	<i>Taanak</i>	<i>Hazor</i>	<i>Samarie</i>	<i>T. Amal</i>		<i>T. Keisan</i>
(str.4)	VIIa	XII-XI	VI (Beth Shan VI)						urbanisme non fortifié; très détruit rempart relevé; céramique <i>Black-on-red</i> nouvel urbanisme sans lendemain ville forte; céramique de Samarie" garnison; céramique "assyrienne" "squatters"; céramique Fer II et perse
(str.3)	VIIb	(XI)-X	V(IV)	IIB	IX(VIII)	—	IV(III)	8-9a	
("bâtiment inachevé")	VIIc	début IX							
(str.2)*	VIIId	IX-VIII	IV-III	III-IV	VIII-VI	I-VI*	III	6-7	
(str.1)	VIIe	VII	II	V	IV-III	VII		5	
	VIIe ₁	VI-V	—	V				4-3	

* Le fouilleur avait introduit une lacune (*T. el-Fâr'ah 1955*, p. 587), correspondant à Samarie I-II, et un "niveau intermédiaire", peu bâti, répondant à Samarie III. Cette subdivision n'est pas exclue, mais la stratigraphie effective, tout comme l'évolution de la typologie céramique, ne sont pas assez précises pour garantir une équivalence aussi exacte.

Fig. 56 : The Chronology of the Iron Age Strata at
Tell el-Far'ah (Tirzah)

Source: Alain Chambon, Tell el-Far'ah I: L'Age du Fer
(Paris, 1984), p. 12.

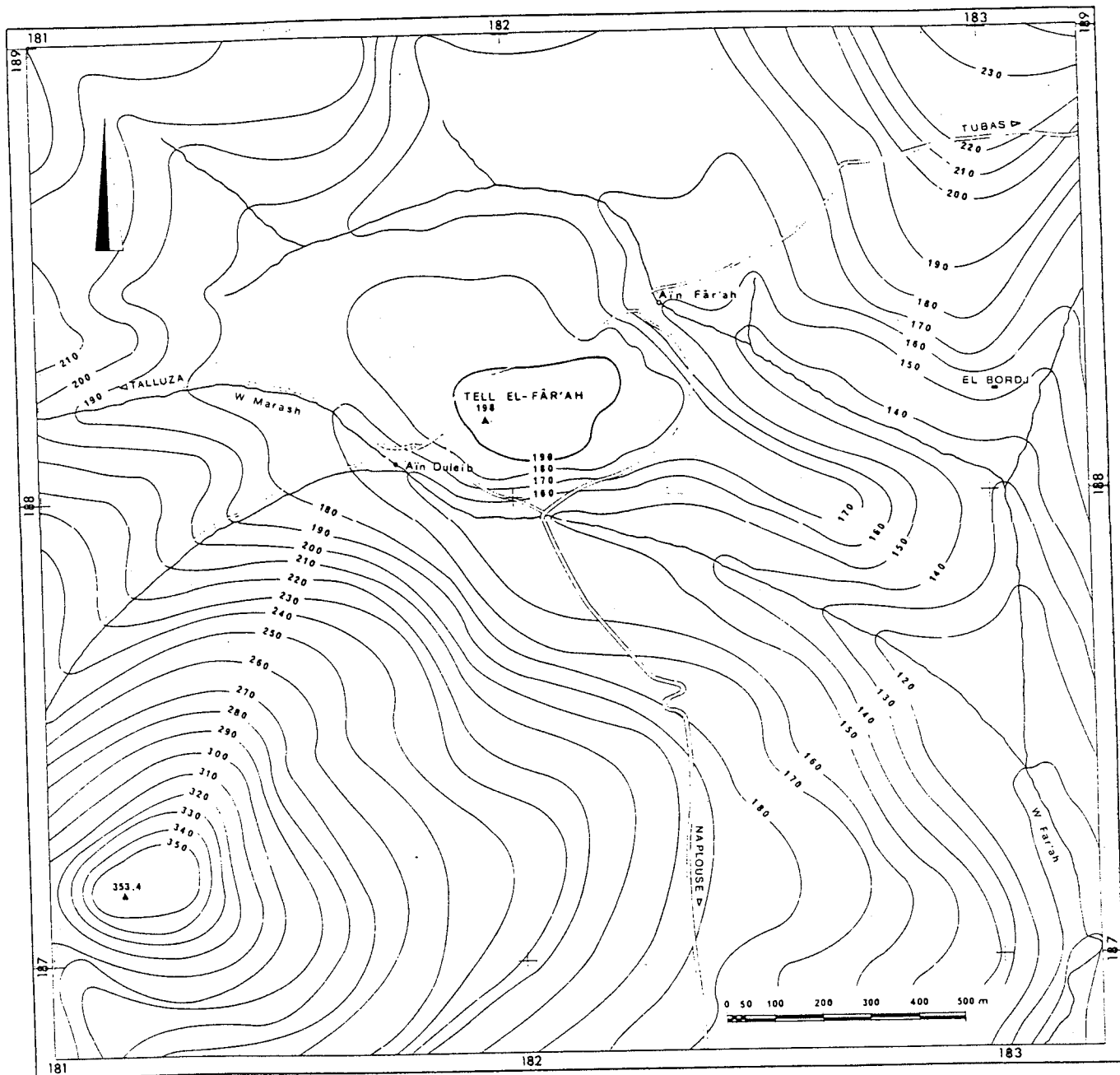


Fig. 57 A : The immediate environs of Tell el-Far'ah (Tirzah).

Source: Alain Chambon, Tell el-Far'ah I: l'Âge du Fer (Paris, 1984), Planche 3, p. 150.

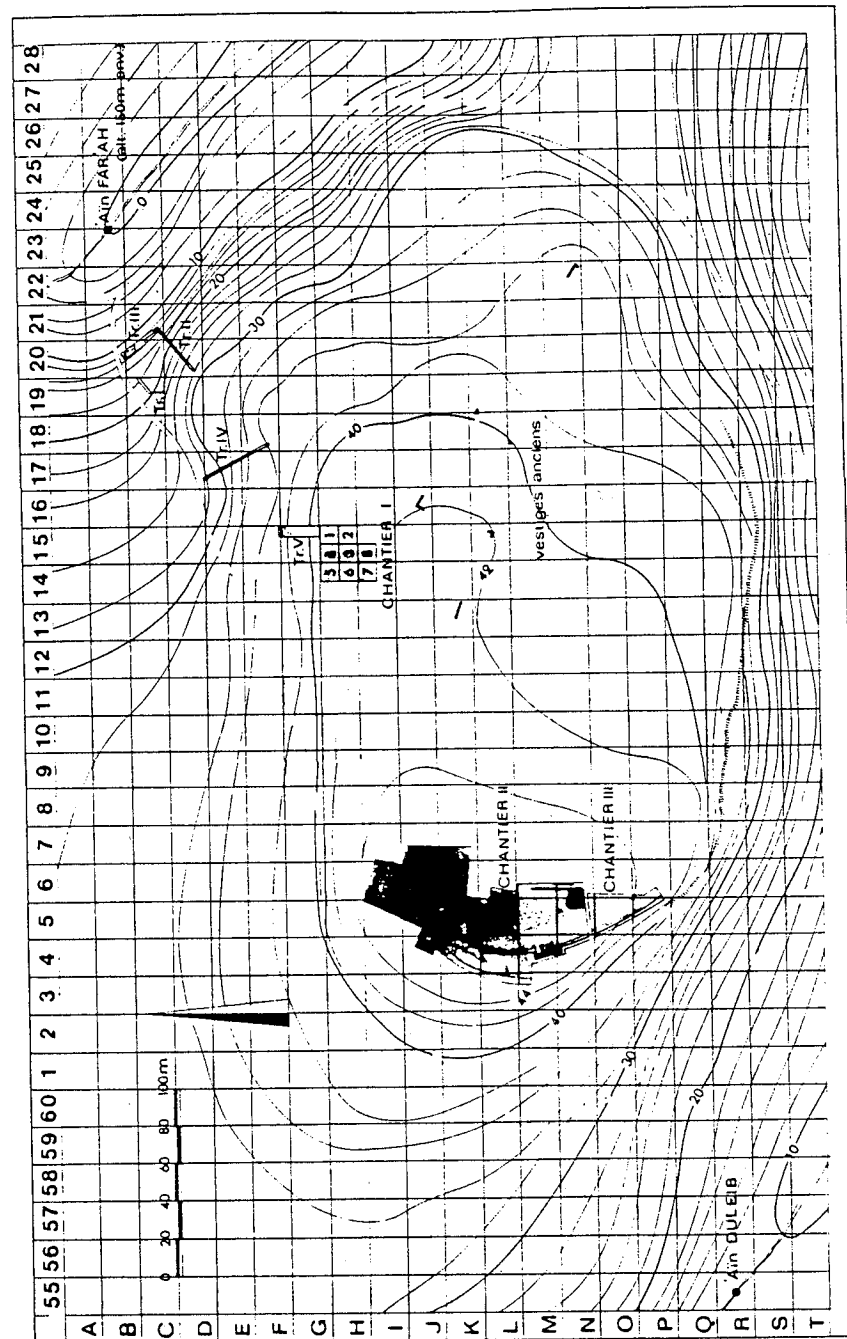


Fig. 57 B : Plan showing the excavations of the Ecole Biblique expedition at Tell el Far'ah (ancient Tirzah).

Source: Ibid., Planche 4, p. 151.

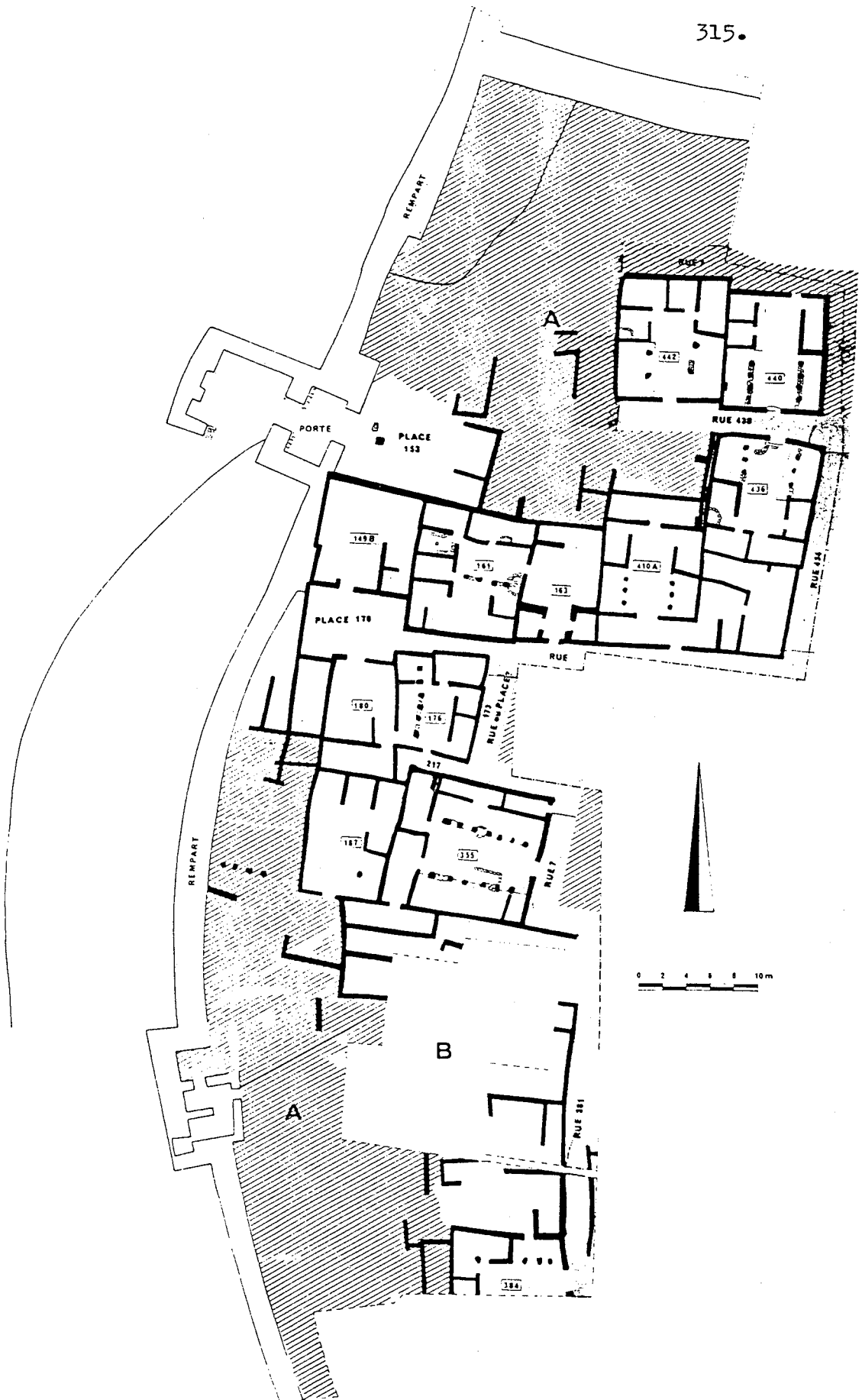


Fig. 58 : Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII b.
Source: Ibid., Fig. 3, p. 24.



Fig. 59 A : Tell el-Far'ah: Field II (north): Stratum VII b
(ca. 1100 - 900 B.C.)

Source: Chambon, op. cit., Plan III.

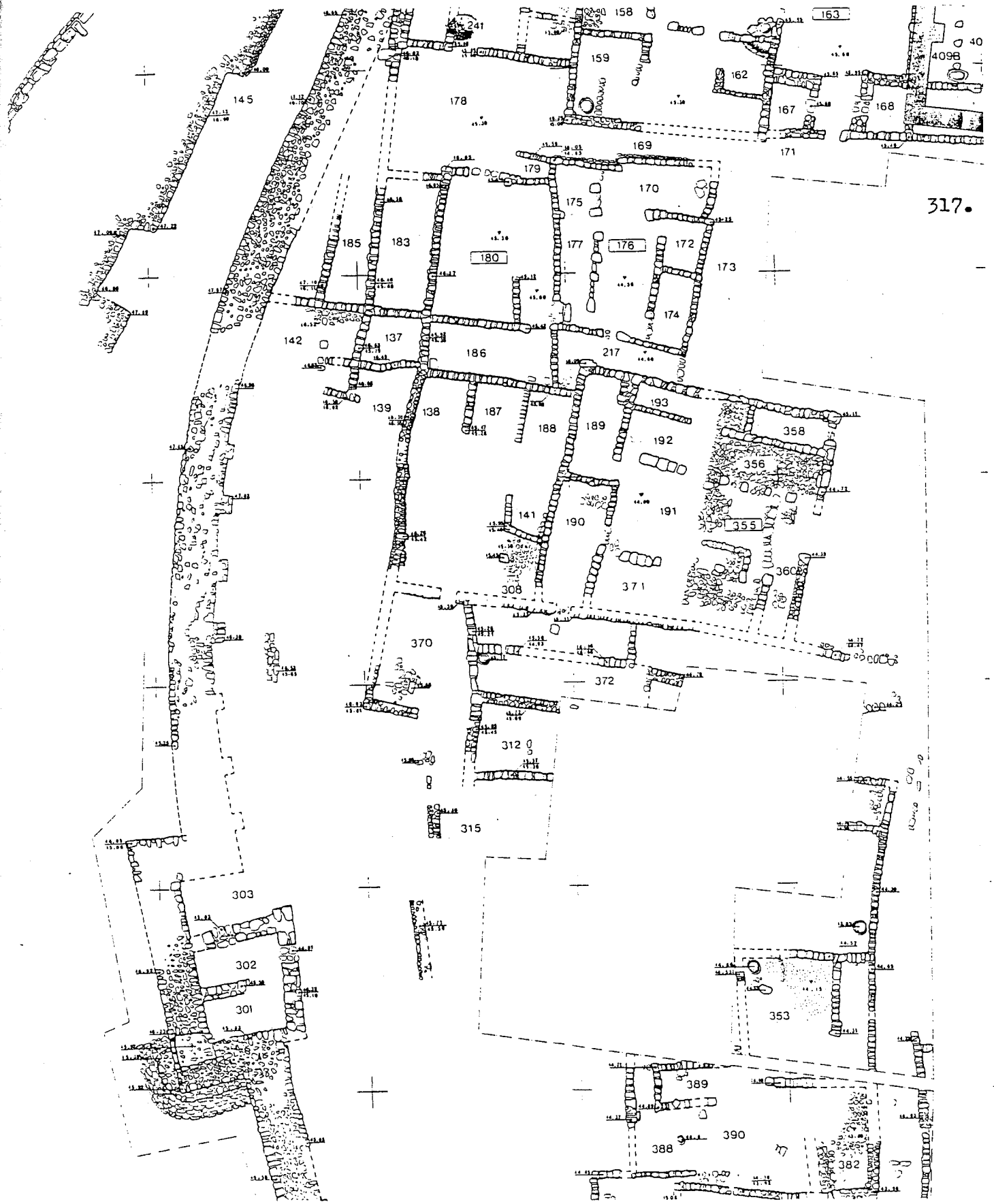


Fig. 59 B : Tell el Far'ah: Field II (south): Stratum VII b
(ca. 1100 - 900 B.C.)

Source: Chambon, op. cit., Plan III.

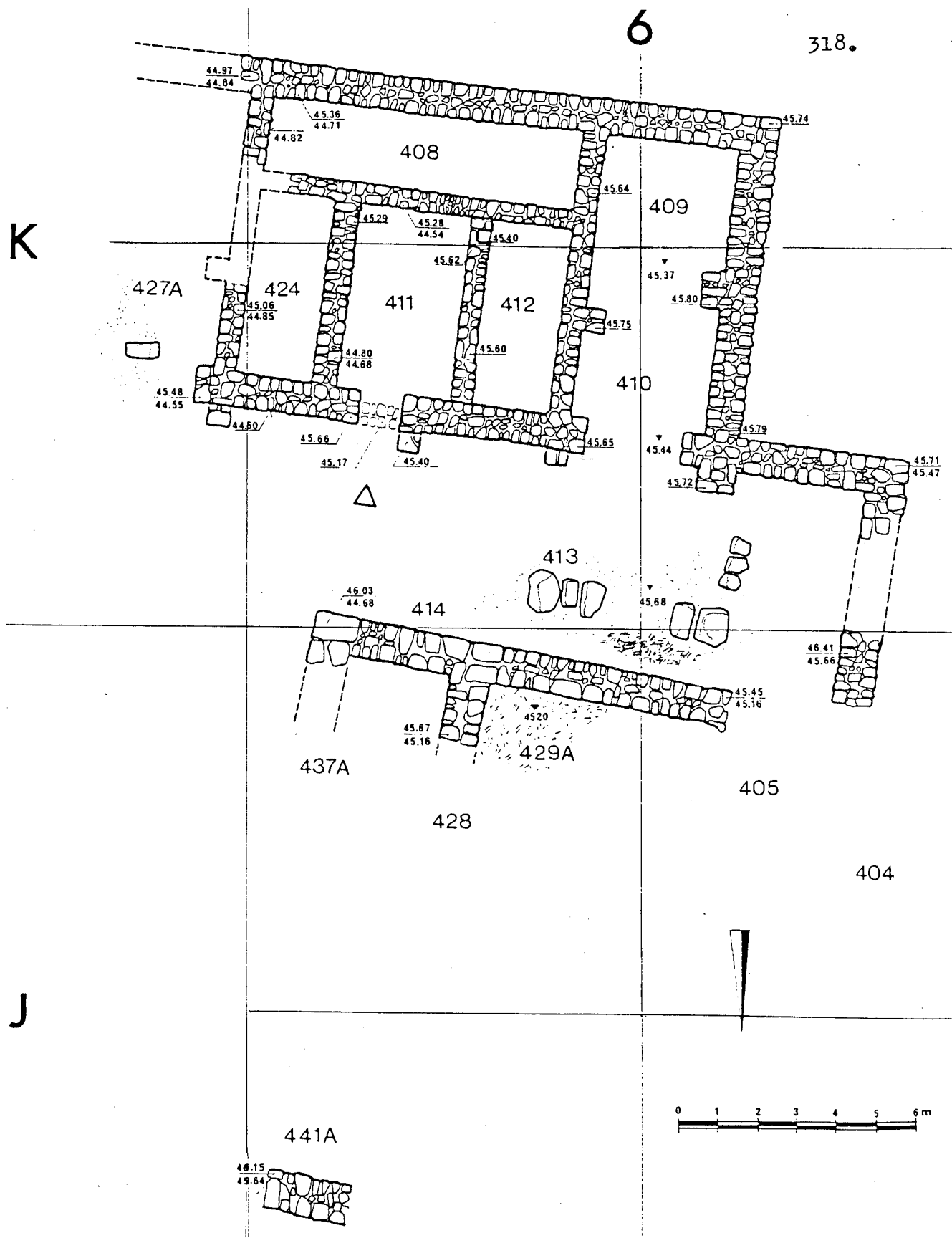


Fig. 60 : Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII c,
Building 411.

Source: Ibid., Planche 18, p. 165.



Fig. 61 : Tell el-Far'ah: Field II (north): Stratum VII d
(ca. 860 (?) - 723 B.C.)

Source: Chambon, op. cit., Plan V.

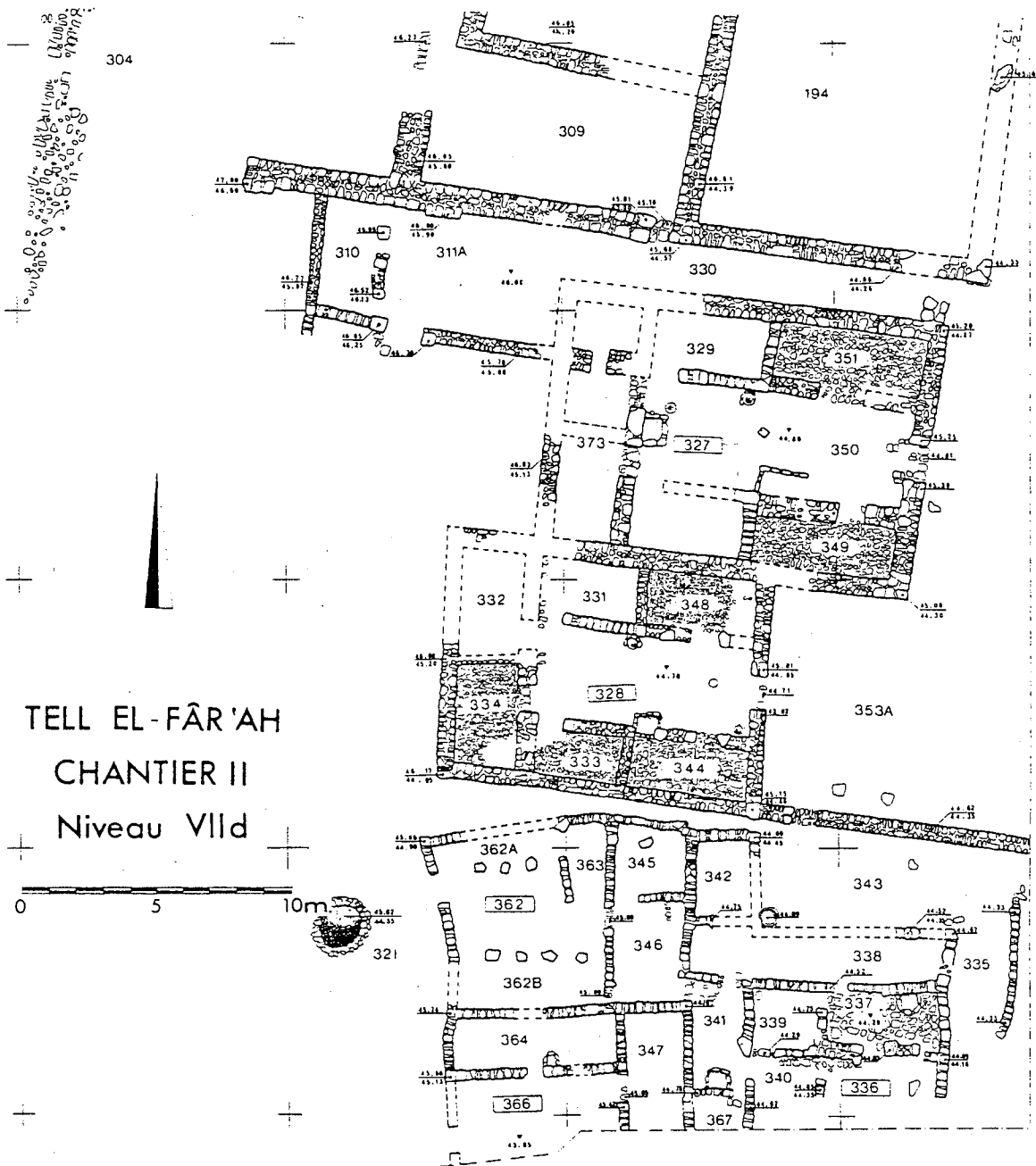


Fig. 62 : Tell el-Fâr'ah: Field II (south): Stratum VII d
(ca. 860 (?) - 723 B.C.)

Source: Chambon, op. cit., Plan V.

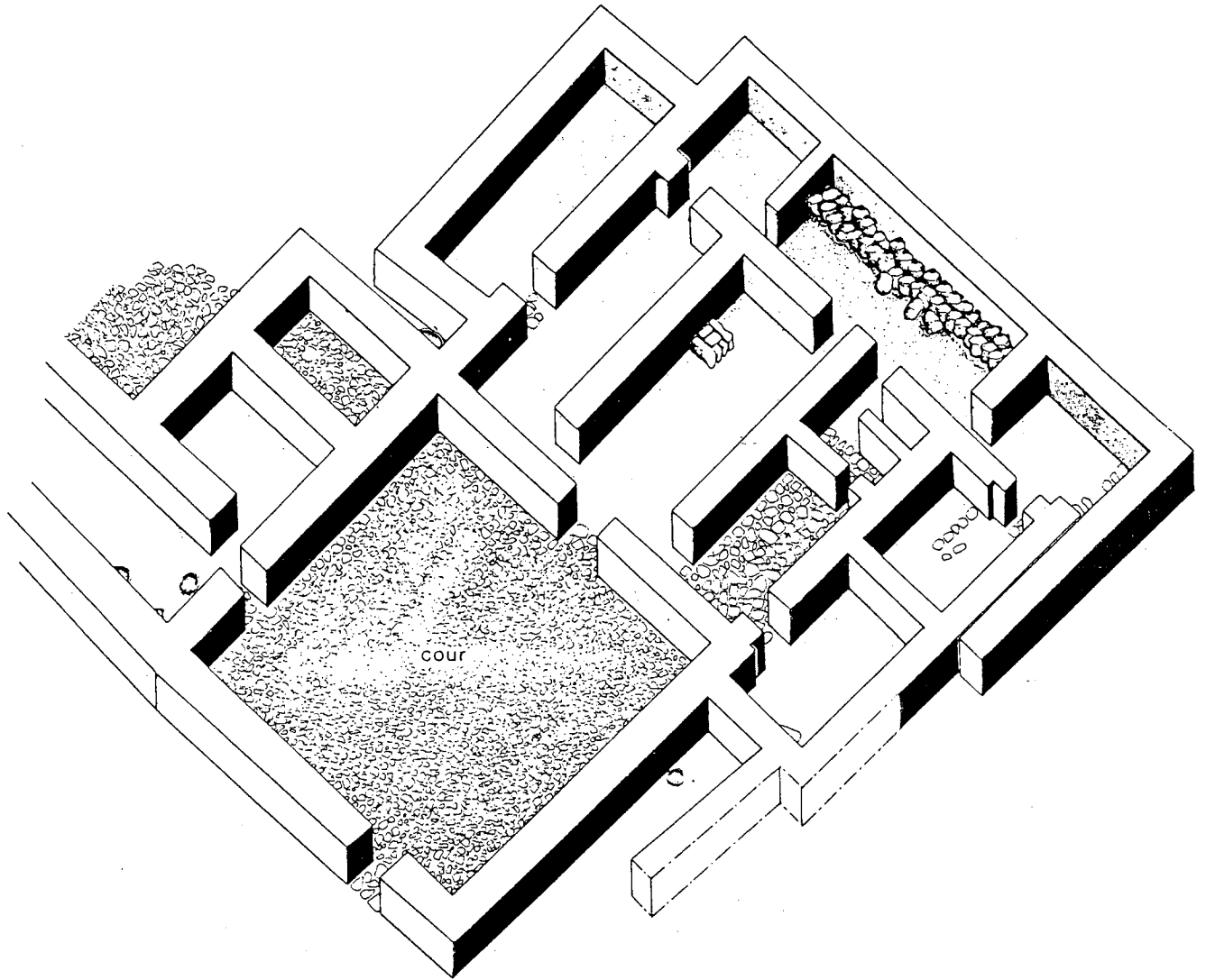


Fig. 63 : Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII d,
Palace 148, isometric reconstruction.

Source: Ibid., Planche 19, p. 166.

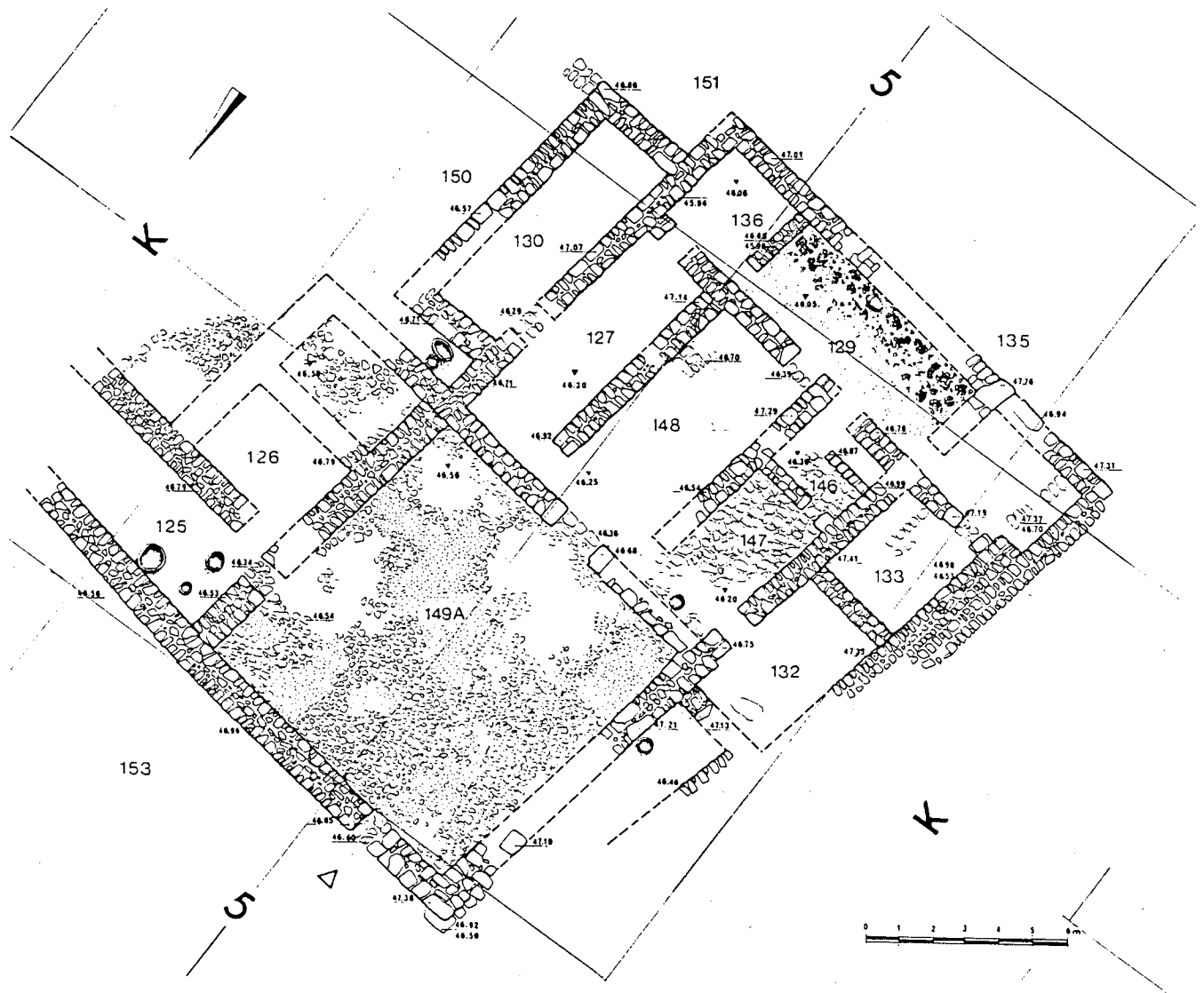


Fig. 64 : Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII d,
Palace 148, plan.

Source: Ibid., Plance 20, p. 167.

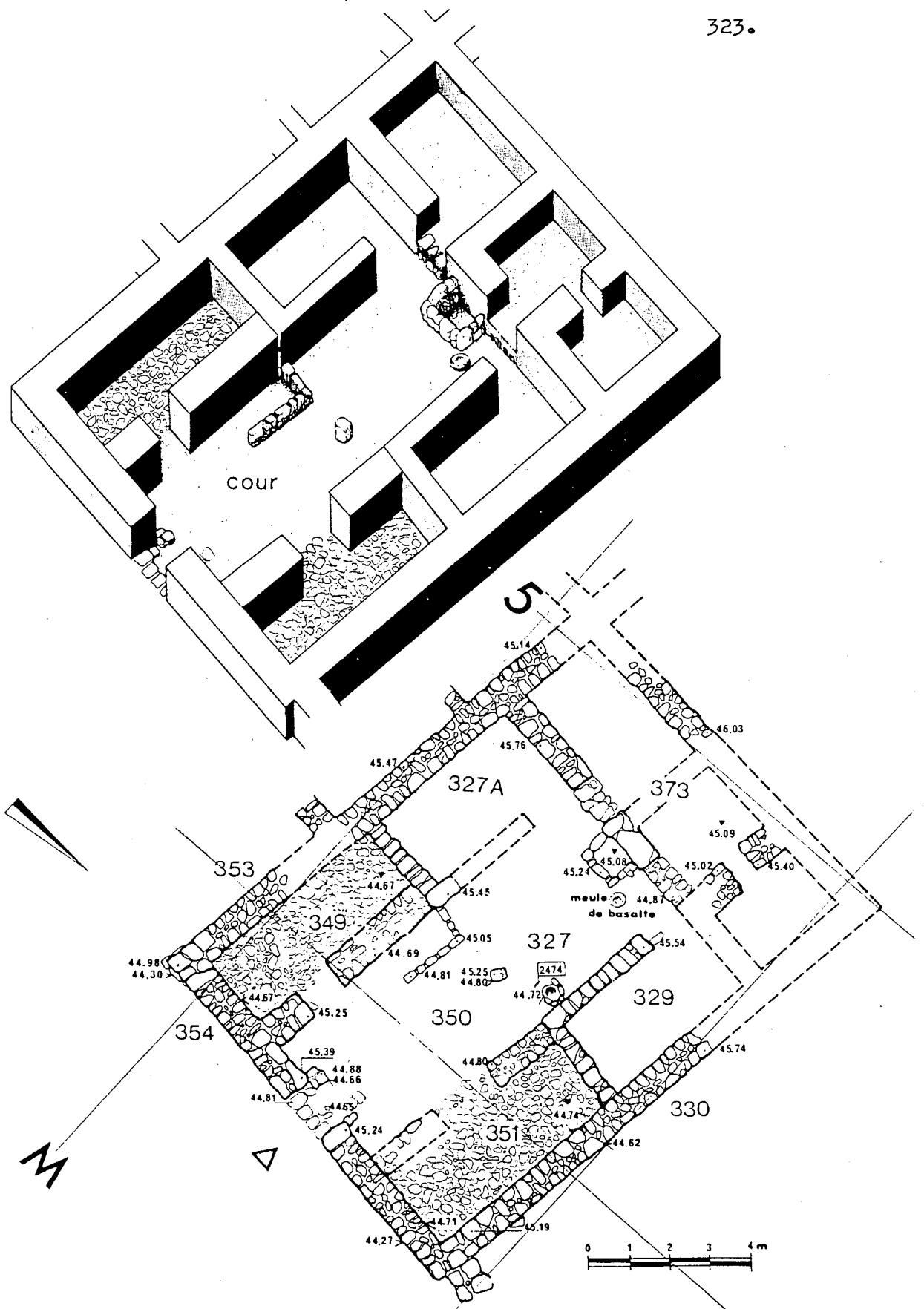


Fig. 65 : Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII d,
House 327, plan and isometric reconstruction.

Source: Ibid., Planche 21, p. 168.

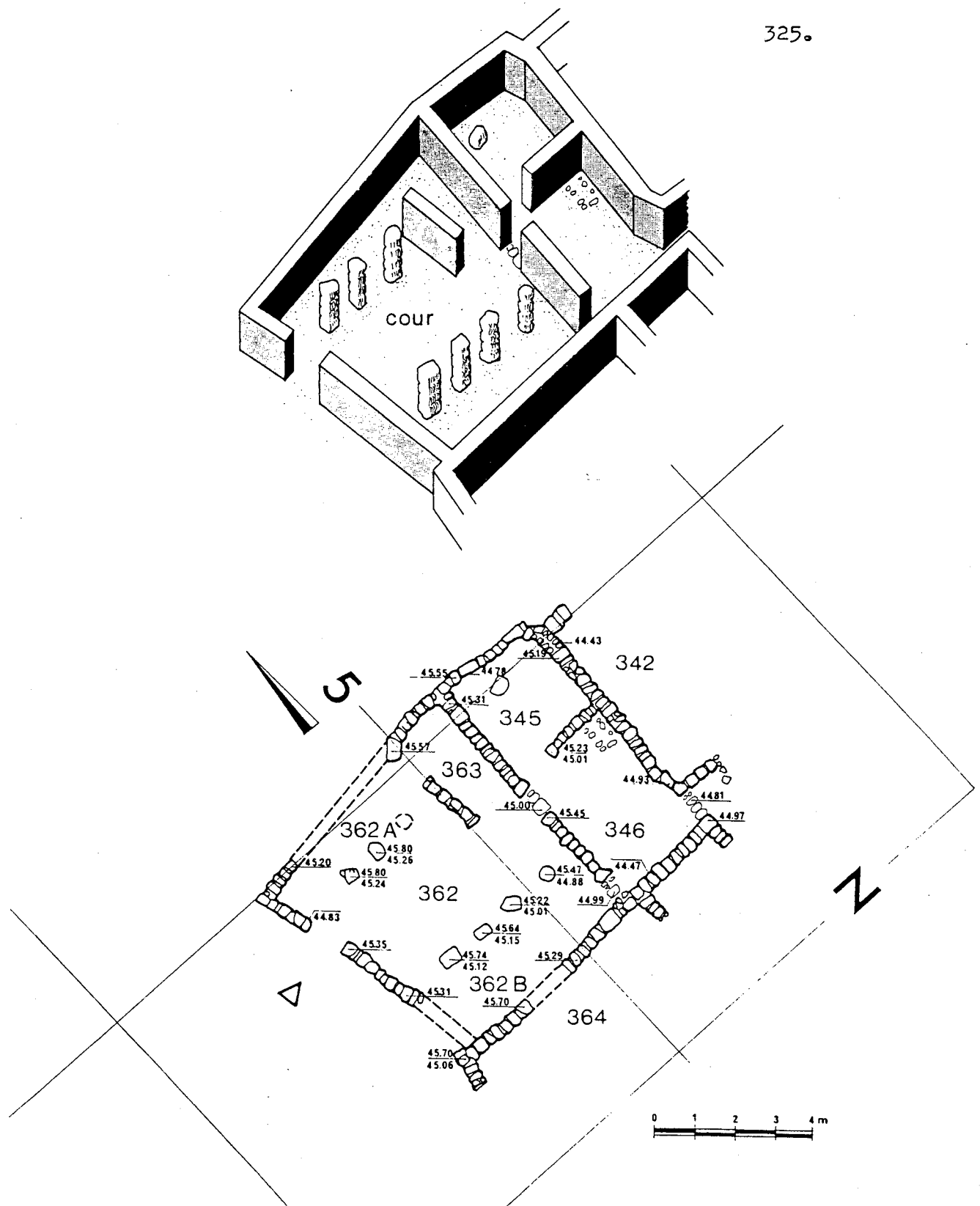


Fig. 67 : Tell el-Far'ah: Field II, Stratum VII d,
House 362, plan and isometric reconstruction.

Source: Ibid., Planche 23, p. 170.

FIG. 69

THE CENTRAL-PLACE SYSTEM
OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOM

ca. 800 - 722/721 B.C.

- G - place
- B - place
- ⊙ K - place
- A - place
- M - place

- △ undifferentiated towns
mentioned in the Biblical sources

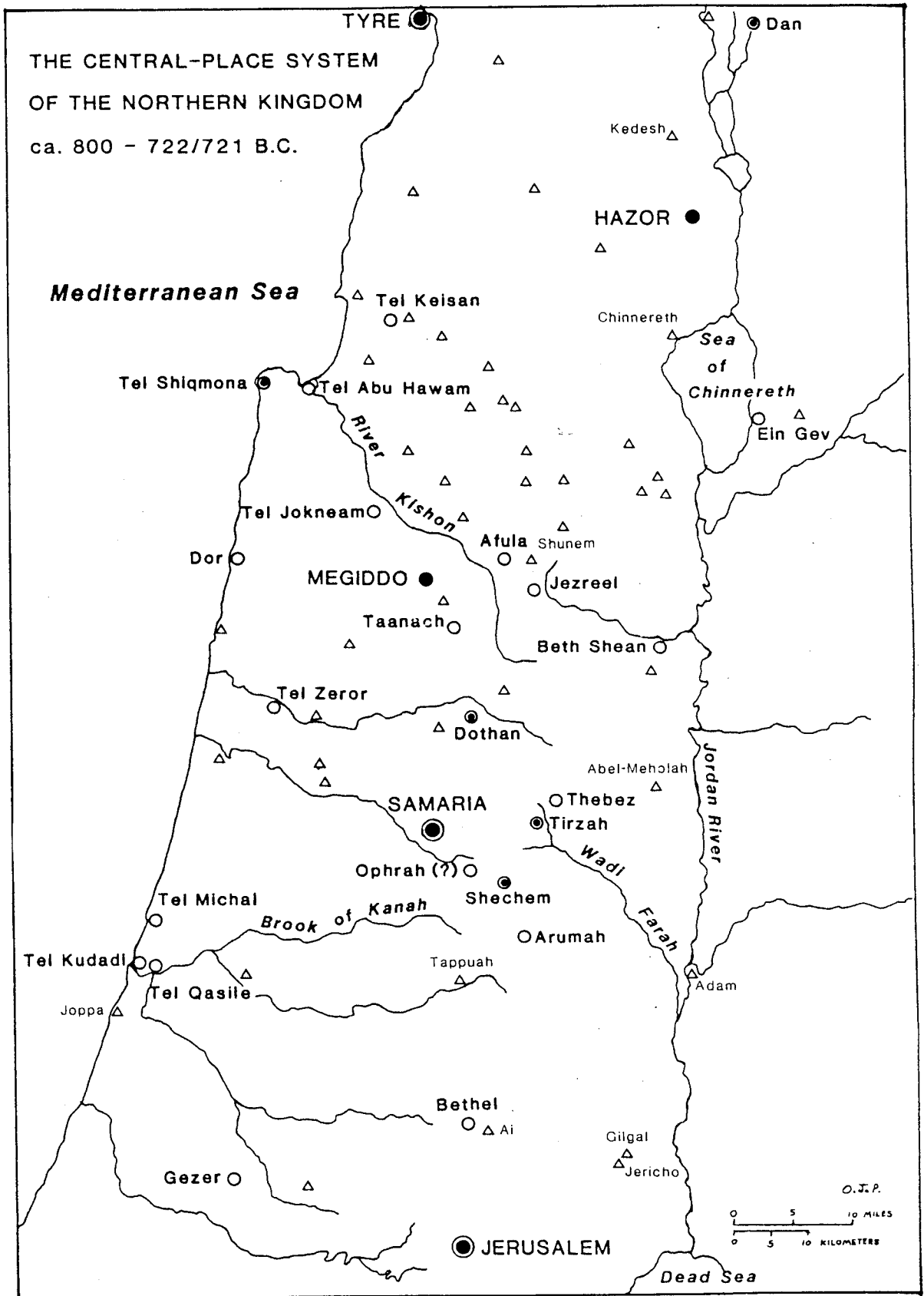
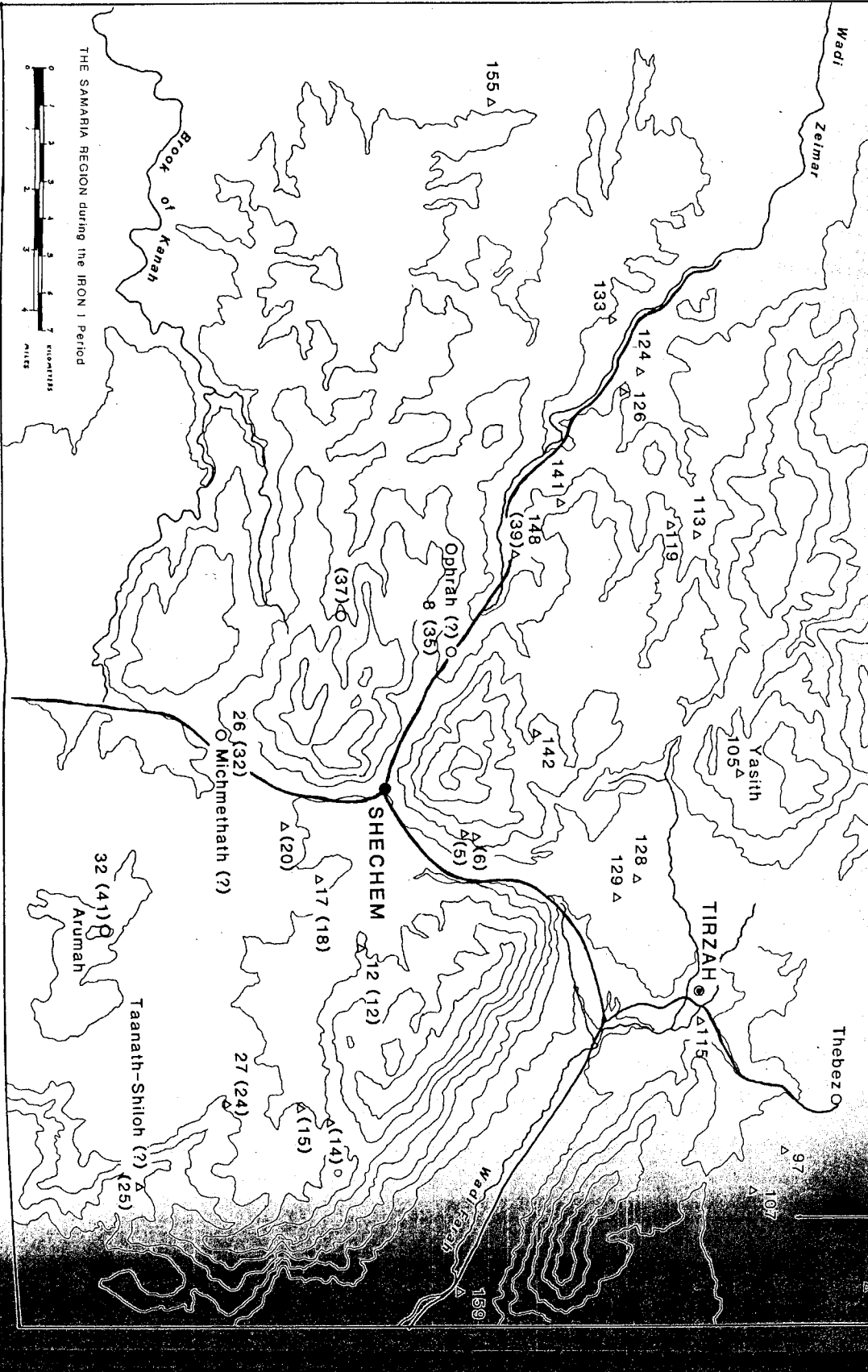
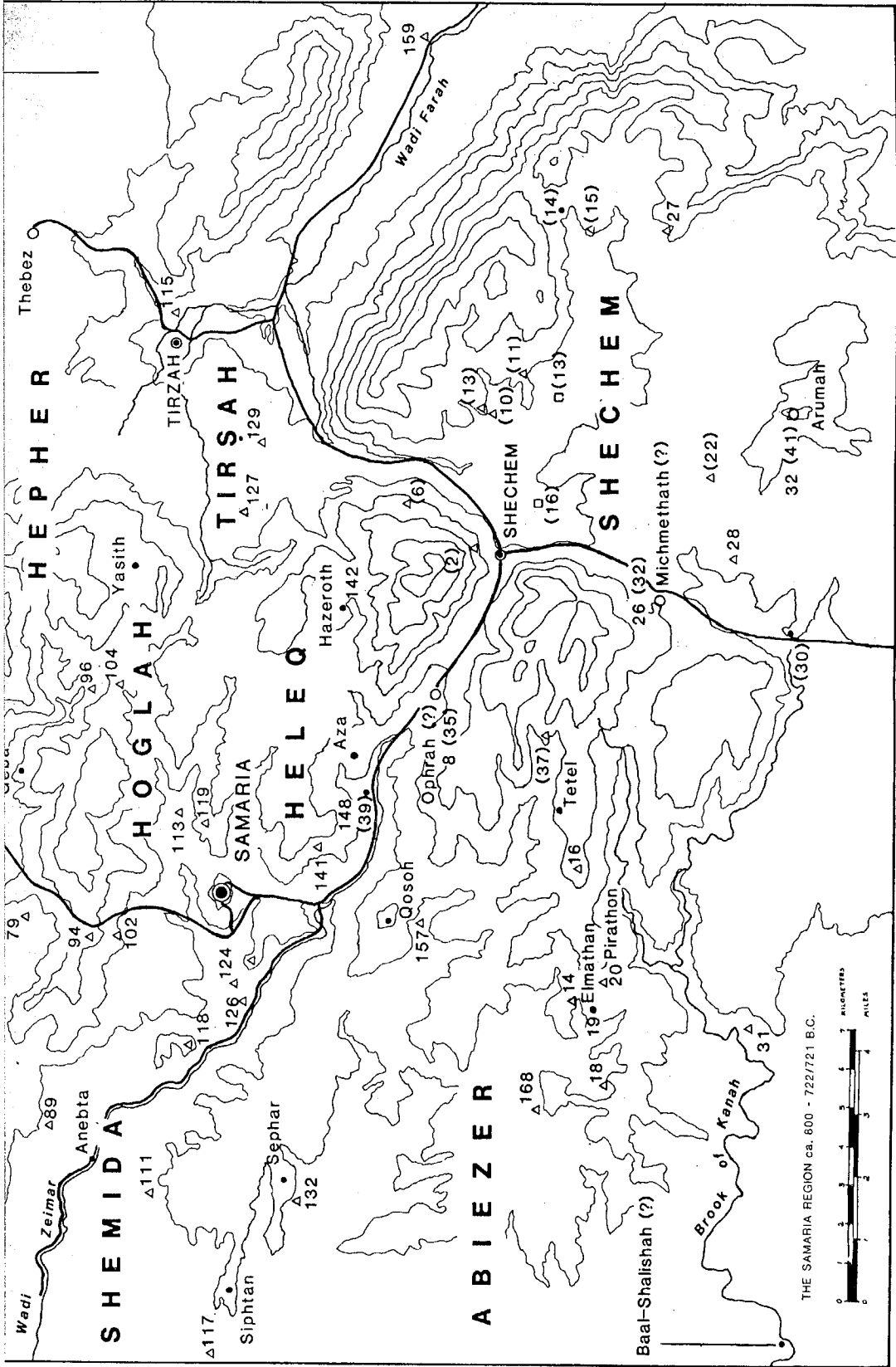


FIG. 70

THE SAMARIA REGION
during the IRON I Period

- primary center
 - ⊙ secondary center
 - village
 - △ undifferentiated sites of possible Iron I settlement
which have produced pottery dating to this period
- 148 numbers without brackets represent the notation of
the Archaeological Survey of Israel during its
survey 1967 - 1968
- (39) numbers with brackets represent the notation of
the Drew - McCormick Survey 1966





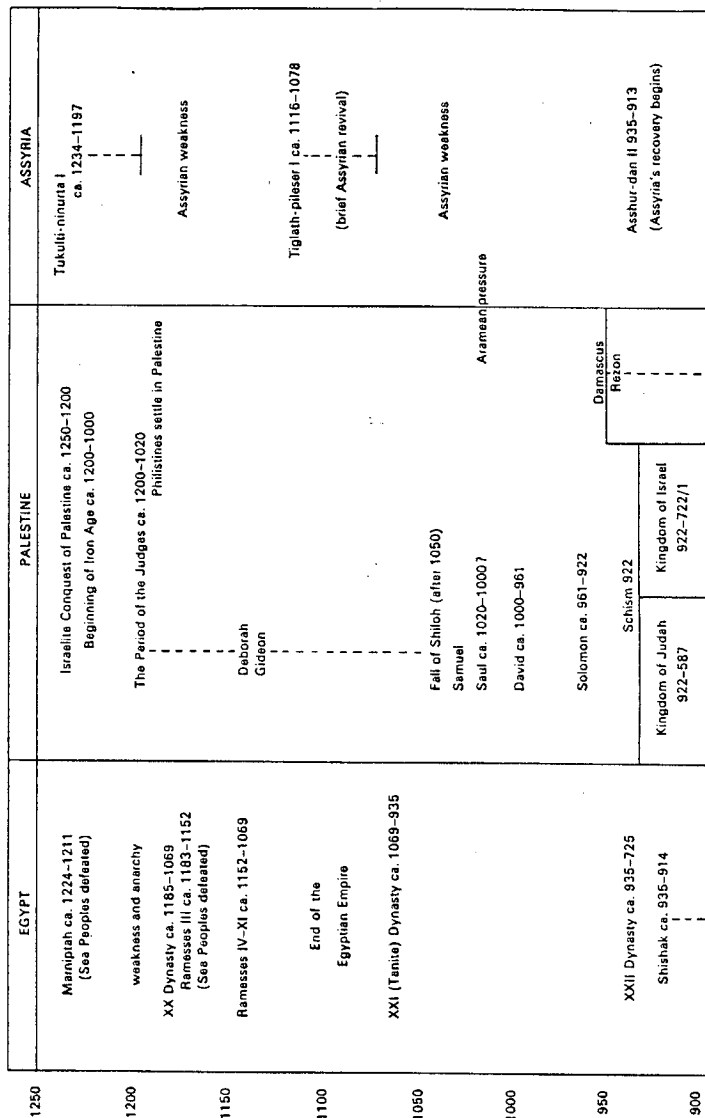


Fig. 72 : Chronology (ca. 1200 - 900 B.C.)

Source: John Bright, A History of Israel, (Philadelphia, 1972), Chart IV.

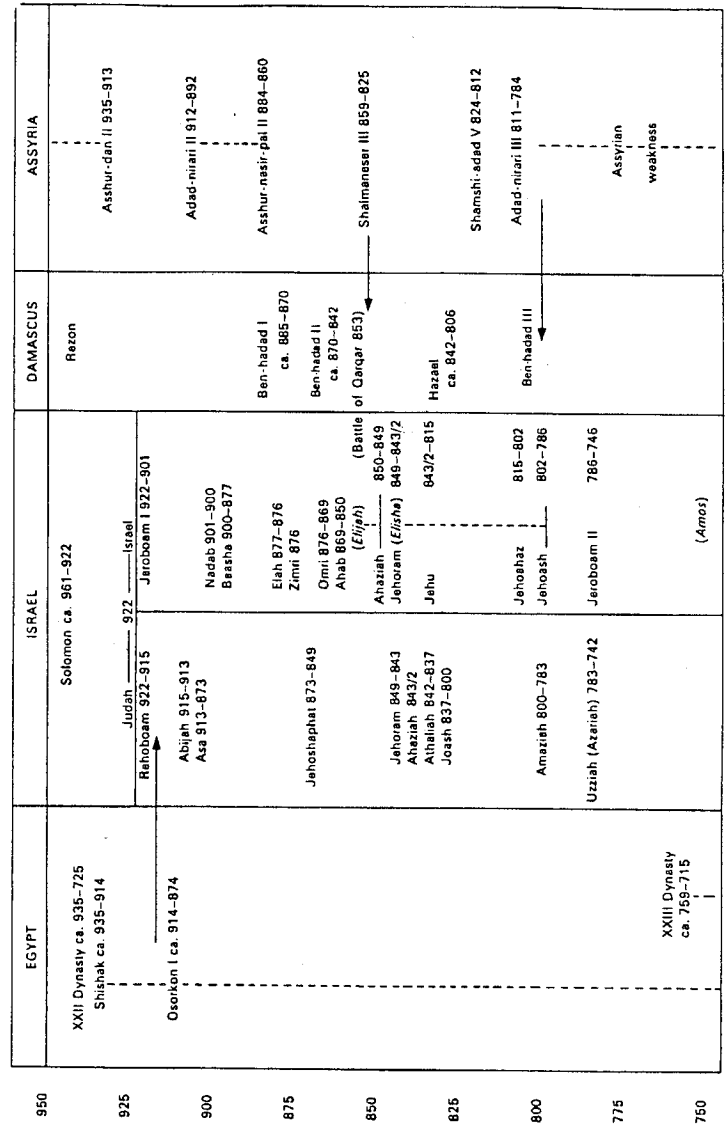


Fig. 73 : Chronology (ca. 900 - 750 B.C.)

Source: Ibid., Chart V.

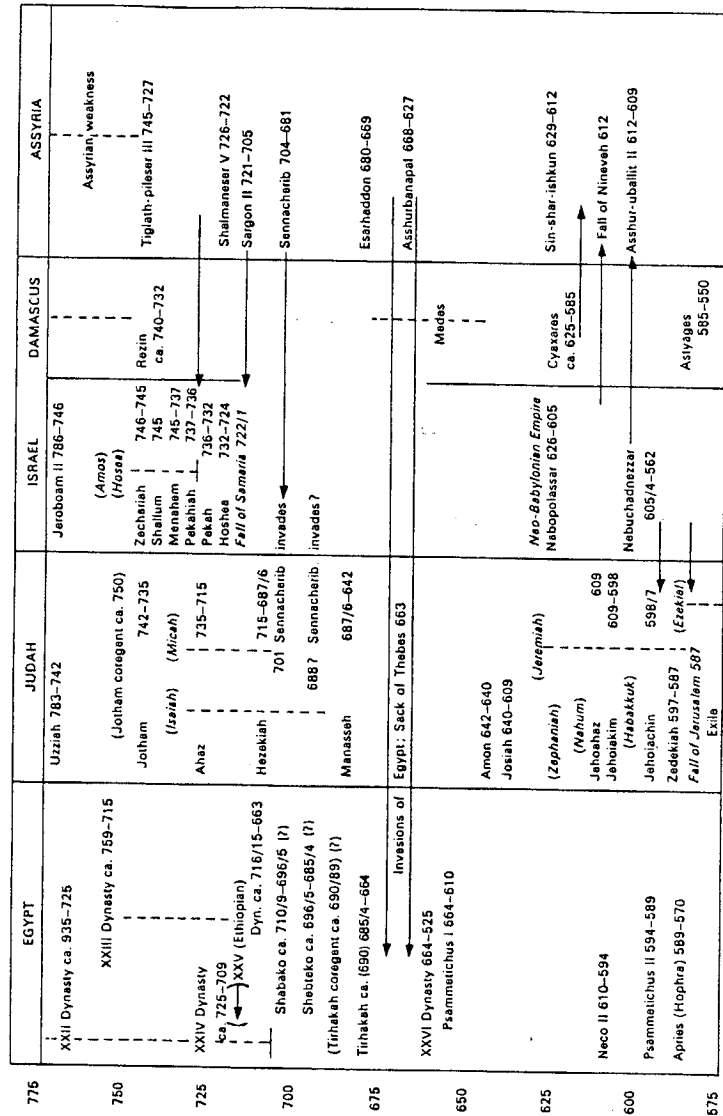


Fig. 74 : Chronology (ca. 750 - 550 B.C.)

Source: Ibid., Chart VI.