

Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien

Herausgegeben von
Michael P. Streck

Band 3

2013

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs
in Babylonia and Palestine
in the First Millennium B.C.

Edited by
Angelika Berlejung and Michael P. Streck

2013

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet
at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our
website <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2013
This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.
Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission
of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies
particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage
and processing in electronic systems.
Printed on permanent/durable paper.
Printing and binding: ⊕ Hubert und Co., Göttingen
Printed in Germany
ISSN 2193-4436
ISBN 978-3-447-06544-3

Table of Contents

Angelika Berlejung/Michael P. Streck Vorwort	vii
Rami Arav Geshur: The Southwesternmost Aramean Kingdom	1
Paul-Alain Beaulieu Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Cuneiform Sources from the Late Babylonian Period	31
Angelika Berlejung Nachbarn, Verwandte, Feinde und Gefährten: Die „Aramäer“ im Alten Testament	7
Grant Frame The Political History and Historical Geography of the Aramean, Chaldean, and Arab Tribes in Babylonia in the Neo-Assyrian Period	87
Edward Lipiński The Aramaeans in the West (13th–8th centuries).....	123
Stefan Münzer Early Iron Age Kinneret – Early Aramaean or Just Late Canaanite? Remarks on the Material Culture of a Border Site in Northern Palestine at the Turn of an Era.....	149
Herbert Niehr The Religion of the Aramaeans in the West: The Case of Samʿal	183
Marco Stockhusen Nomadisierende Stammesverbände im Babylonien der neuassyrischen und neubabylonischen Zeit: das Beispiel der Damūnu.....	223
Cornelia Wunsch Glimpses on the Lives of Deportees in Rural Babylonia.....	247
Ran Zadok The Onomastics of the Chaldean, Aramean, and Arabian Tribes in Babylonia during the First Millennium.....	261

Vorwort

Der vorliegende Band enthält die überarbeiteten Vorträge des Workshops „Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Babylonia and Palestine in the First Millennium B.C.“, der im Jahr 2010 von den Herausgebern für den Sonderforschungsbereich 586 “Differenz und Integration. Wechselwirkungen zwischen nomadischen und sesshaften Lebensformen in Zivilisationen der Alten Welt” an der Universität Leipzig organisiert und dankenswerterweise von der DFG finanziert worden war.

Anstelle eines eigenen Abkürzungsverzeichnisses sei auf die folgenden Abkürzungslisten verwiesen: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (RGG), 4. Auflage; Theologische Realenzyklopädie (TRE), Abkürzungsverzeichnis, 2. überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, zusammengestellt von Siegfried M. Schwertner; Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (www.keilschrift.badw.de/reallexikon).

Sofern nicht explizit anders angegeben, verstehen sich alle Daten im Buch als “v. Chr.” bzw. “B.C.”.

Bei der Drucklegung des Bandes wurden die Herausgeber unterstützt von Simon Krause-Heiber, Marco Stockhusen und Janine Wende. Allen Helfern gilt unser herzlicher Dank.

Leipzig, im Juni 2013,

Angelika Berlejung

Michael P. Streck

Early Iron Age Kinneret – Early Aramaean or Just Late Canaanite? Remarks on the Material Culture of a Border Site in Northern Palestine at the Turn of an Era

Stefan Münger – Bern*

In recent years, scholars have identified Early Iron Age Kinneret as belonging either to the kingdom of Geshur¹ or at least as being part of an early Aramaean polity.² It is the purpose of this paper to reexamine the archaeological evidence for such an assumption and to critically test the currently available data against this hypothesis.

Introduction

The beginning of the settlement history of ancient Kinneret,³ located on the northwestern tip of the Sea of Galilee (map ref. 2508.7529 [NIG]; 35.54/32.87 [WGS84]), goes back to the Neolithic period (8300–4500). Its then nature and extent, however, is unknown, since – for the time being – only randomly found stone tools hint at such an early human occupation of the site.⁴ The earliest coherent architectural elements unearthed until now date to the Early Bronze Age II (3000–2700), which marks the site's first period of prosperity.⁵ After a hiatus of almost a millennium, the location was resettled sometime during the Middle Bronze Age II (2000–1550). This phase, which lasted until the end of the Late Bronze Age I

* I would like to express my gratitude to Christa Lennert (Mainz) for preparing most of the figures, to Damian Kessi (University of Bern), Florian Lippke (University of Bern) and Maria Lissek (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen) for helping me in gathering some of the relevant literature and to lic. phil. Markus Isch (University of Bern) for proof-reading the manuscript. My sincere thanks also go to the editors of this volume – Profs. Angelika Berlejung and Michael P. Streck (Universität Leipzig) – for their kind invitation to the Leipzig workshop. Research was partly funded by the Shelby White-Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications.

1 E.g., Knauf 2000, 228, 2002a, note 49, 2002b, 21f., 2003, 166; Dietrich/Münger 2003, 44–46; Dietrich 2007, 140–143.

2 E.g., Finkelstein 1999, 46; Fritz/Münger 2002, 20 and Fritz 2008, 1684; Münger, Zangenberg/Zwickel 2006, 64; Zwickel 2009, 73f.; Weigl 2011, 62; cf. also – with some skepticism – Hafþórsson 2006, 220.

3 For summaries cf. Fritz 1993, 2008 and Münger 2012a.

4 Cf. Karge 1917, 172–174; pers. comm. Dr. Hamoudi Khalaily, Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem.

5 Cf. Winn/Yakar 1984; Fritz 1990a, 19–24; Fritz/Vieweger 1996, 83; Pakkala/Münger/Zangenberg 2004, 13 with Fig. 4.

(1550–1400), is characterized by massive fortification systems including an elaborately constructed, chalk covered glacis. Unfortunately, due to the poor state of preservation, only little is known of the built up space inside the walled perimeter.⁶ Nevertheless, the town must have had some importance, since it is by then, for the first time, epigraphically attested in contemporary Egyptian sources.⁷ During the Late Bronze Age II and at the beginning of the Iron Age I, the site was again unsettled. Nevertheless, the toponym *knrt* appears during this period in the ʾAqhatu legend (KTU 1.19:III:41), where it reads⁸ *yqbr.nn.bmgt.bknrt* “and he [i.e. Dānīʾilu] buried him [i.e. ʾAqhatu] in a tomb⁹ in (the region of) Kinneret¹⁰”.

It was only in the course of the 11th c., when arriving settlers¹¹ started to build up a new town at the site, which eventually turned into one of the most important urban centers in the region. Although this settlement lasted probably not much more than a century, it certainly marks the last floruit in the site’s settlement history, which gradually faded out after the 8th c.¹²

Selected Aspects of the Material Culture

The material remains of the Early Iron Age town bear witness to a multifaceted and diverse society and show cultural footprints mainly from the Central Hill Country and the Lowlands, the Southern Coastal Plain and Phoenicia.¹³ The following, however, concentrates on northern influences to this typical ‘late Canaanite blend’¹⁴ and discusses possible material references to the Syrian realm and beyond.

6 Fritz 1999, 95–98; Fritz/Münster 2002, 8–11.

7 The name *k-n-n-r-t* is found as no. 34 in the topographical list of the first Asiatic campaign conducted by Thutmose III (1479–1425) in his 22nd–23rd regnal year (cf. Jirku 1937, 10; Noth 1938). Note that this roster of sites, of which Thutmose III claims having subjugated them, should not be taken as *terminus ad quem* for the destruction of the MBIII/LBI cities (cf. Weinstein 1981, 10–12; Redford 2003, 43–51). This is especially unlikely for the case of Kinneret, since a fragment of a victory stele, possibly also by Thutmose III (or his successor Amenhotep II), was found in the early 1920ies on the surface of the Tell (Albright/Rowe 1928; Hübner 1986, 258f.). The erection of a memorial stone certainly would not have made sense at a location, which was pillaged and destroyed. – Another reference to Kinneret is Papyrus Hermitage 1116A, which mentions an envoy from this town to the Egyptian court, possibly during the 19th or 20th regnal year of Amenhotep II (1428–1397; cf. Golénischeff 1913; Epstein 1963).

8 The transliteration of the passage has long been subject of debate; recently, however, Pitard (1994) clearly showed that *knrt* is the most preferable transcription.

9 For the translation of *mgt* see Wyatt 2002, 306 and note 247 (with further references).

10 Based on Barton (1941, 217), who first suggested the reading of *knrt* instead of the by then preferred, but hardly translatable *knkn*, and notably on Margalit 1989, 233f.

11 Note that Manhart/von den Driesch assumed a change in the ethnicity of the population based on the introduction of a new, taller sheep type (2004, 176f., 185).

12 For a summary of the Iron Age II and later periods, cf. Pakkala/Münster/Zangenberg 2004, 24–28 with references to earlier literature.

13 For an overview on Early Iron Age Kinneret, cf. Münster/Zangenberg/Pakkala 2011.

14 E.g., comparable to the material culture of Megiddo, Stratum VIA, cf. Harrison 2004, 108; for a general characterization cf. Killebrew 2005, 93–148, see also Joffe 2002, 437–440.

Town Planning and Architecture

As in previous and subsequent periods, the founders of the Early Iron Age town benefitted of the site's favorable natural resources and its strategically advantageous position on a small pass along the *via maris*, which in antiquity connected Egypt with Greater Syria. Moreover, the new settlers took advantage of the still visible remains of the previous Late Bronze Age structures, which covered the entire mound (c. 9–10 hectares in size). It seems that, wherever possible, the lines of the former defensive walls were adopted and repaired (as evidenced on the acropolis and in Areas G, Q and H, see Fig. 3). Only occasionally, the course of the city wall was changed to adapt to new requirements (as evidenced in Area R). It should be noted that fortified settlements – in contrast to the northern Levant¹⁵ – are a very rare phenomenon within the Early Iron Age material culture of Cis- and Transjordan, where villages or towns were usually not protected by freestanding solid walls. Rather, they occasionally followed the concept of the 'enclosed settlement', where the outer walls of the houses had a defensive function.¹⁶ Exceptions to this rule are the "Philistine" towns in the Southern Coastal Plain¹⁷ and a few sites in the north, such as Tel Hadar or Tell el-Fukhar, where the Early Iron Age settlers equally reused the Late Bronze Age defense systems.¹⁸

While the boundaries of the new settlement at Tel Kinrot were consistent with the previous defense lines, the changes of the built-up area inside the walled perimeter of the town were much more dramatic and show clear indications of conceptual town planning right from the outset. After the reconstruction of the city wall, the debris of the Late Bronze Age architecture was cleared and moved in order to prepare suitable building ground, which was delineated and retained by massive terrace walls on the southeastern slope.¹⁹ At the same time, a pre-planned, orthogonal terrace walls on the southeastern slope.²⁰ At the same time, a pre-planned, orthogonal street grid was set out, which structured the different quarters and granted their easy accessibility (Fig. 3). Sophisticated drainage systems in Field II, which are embedded into the street network, emphasize even more the high degree of

15 Cf. Akkermans/Schwartz 2003, 368; Sader 2010, 290f.; on the early Iron Age fortification systems at Tell Afis, see also Affanni/Di Michele 2010, 44f.

16 Cf. H. Weippert 1988, 383–386; Herzog 1997, 190–211; Kamlah 2008; for Early Iron Age fortification systems on the Jordanian Plateau cf., e.g., Herr 2000 for Tell el-ʿUmeiri or Routledge 2000, 48f. for Khirbat al-Mudayna al-ʿAliya; note that agglomerated layouts without a recognizable defensive character are attested as well, cf. Fritz 1990b, 55f.

17 But see, e.g., Ussishkin 2005.

18 Cf. Kochavi 1998a, 470; Yadin/Kochavi 2008, 1756; Ottosson 1993, 97–100.

19 Dietrich/Münger 2001, 49f.; Fritz/Münger 2002, 14.

20 Dietrich/Münger 2001, 49f.; Fritz/Münger 2002, 14.

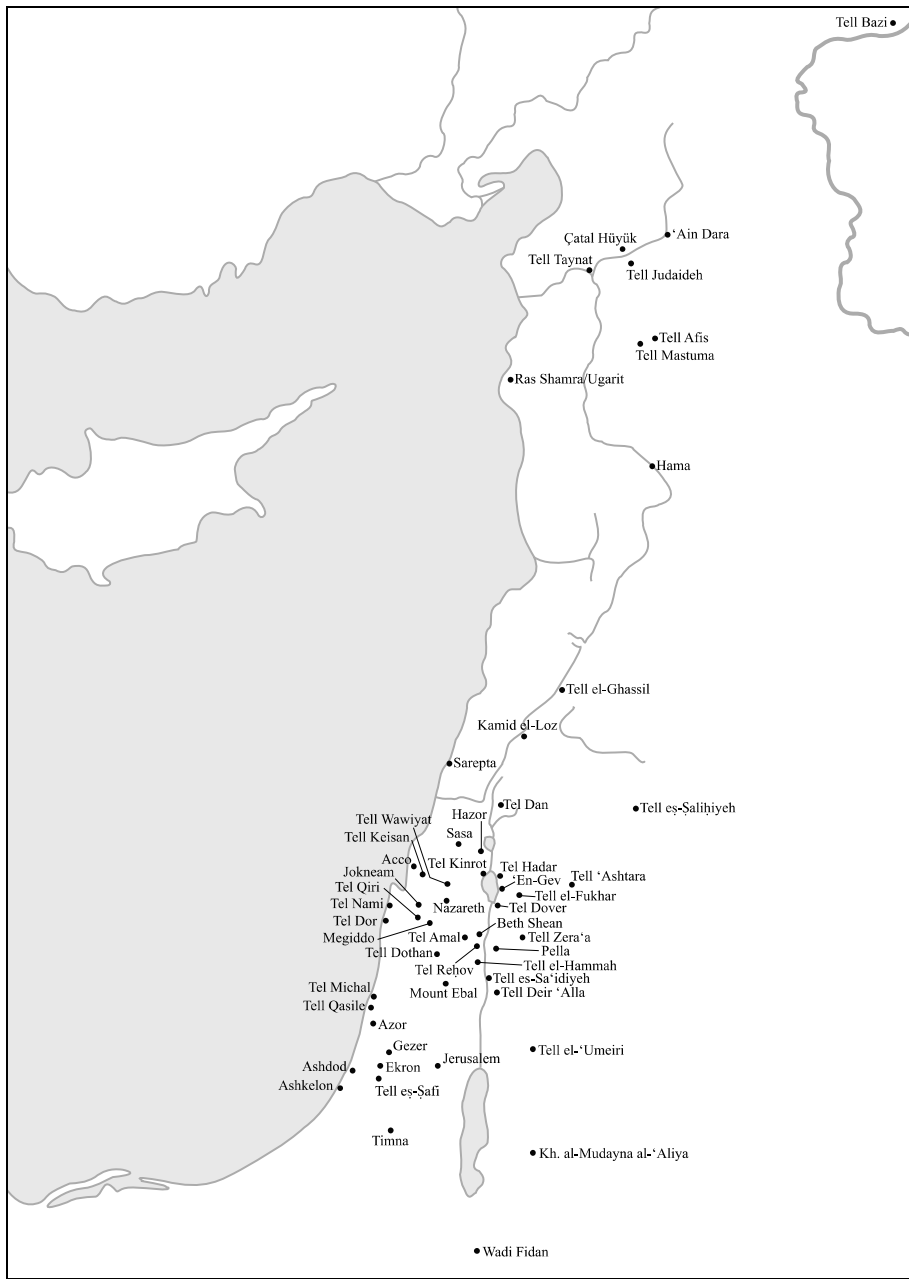


Fig. 1: Map of sites mentioned in the text.

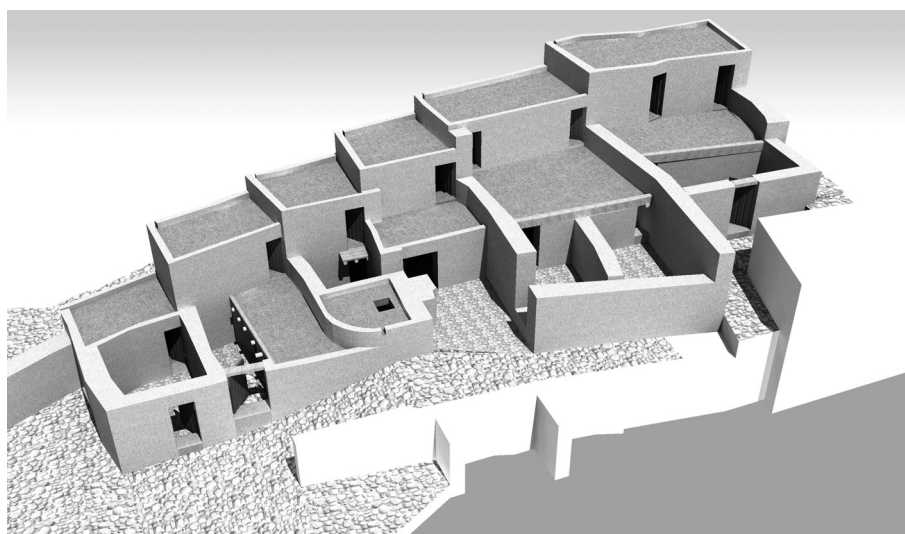


Fig. 2: Early Iron Age architecture in the Lower City of Tel Kinrot: “Complex 1” in Field I (3D-modeling by Christa Lennert).

organization of the Early Iron Age town and add another similarity to northern, i.e. Syrian, city planning.²¹

The architecture thus far unearthed in the lower city of ancient Kinneret is domestic in character, but also incorporates workshops for oil production, grain processing and baking (on a larger scale than regular household production) or small-scale industries using small pools to store liquids (tannery²²). The exceptional size of the domestic units is eye-catching and exceeds, by far, the average ground-plan area of Iron Age I domestic buildings in the region.²² While the building technique of the houses does not differ from the regional norm,²³ their layout seems

21 For a general characterization of Luwian-Aramean city planning, cf. Akkermans/Schwartz 2003, 368; see also Lipiński 2000, 526. Note that due to the limited exposure of Iron Age I remains on the acropolis (Münger 2005a, 77f.), information about an additionally fortified acropolis, a multiple gate system, temples and other typical public buildings (cf. Sader 2010, 289–296; Hafþórsson 2006, 188f.) is missing.

22 Complex 1 in Field I (cf. Münger/Zangenberg/Pakkala 2011, 77f.) measures 28.3 m and Complex 4 in Field II (Fritz/Münger 2002, 14–16) is 32.6 m in length (see Fig. 3).

23 In a recent article Dietrich (2007, 139) claimed peculiar architectural similarities between the two sites of Tel Hadar and Tel Kinrot. According to him, at both sites an allegedly common building technique was used, consisting of dry laid stonewalls intercepted at regular intervals by integrated orthostats. Yet, such walls at Tel Hadar actually date to the Late Bronze Age I (cf. Kochavi 1999, 15*; see also id. 1998b, Fig. 3) and such a building technique has never been found at Early Iron Age Tel Kinrot. The only wall at Tel Kinrot with an orthostat built into a wall structure, which Dietrich might have had in mind, is W6117 – excavated in 1997 – in Square CB13 of then Area R (which is now incorporated into «Field I»). The cautious removal

in some cases to have little in common with contemporary Southern Levantine building traditions.²⁴ Especially the series of small, regular rooms along the longitudinal axes of Complex 1 in Field I (Fig. 2) and Complex 4 in Field II (see also (Fig. 3) resembles certain large buildings in Late Bronze and Iron Age Syria²⁵ and has, for example, good parallels in the domestic architecture of Tell Bazi on the upper course of the Euphrates river or in some houses at Çatal Hüyük.²⁶

Ceramics

The Early Iron Age pottery assemblage of Tel Kinrot shares many similarities with contemporaneous assemblages at major northern sites like Beth-Shean, Hazor, Megiddo or Jokneam,²⁷ including hallmarks or *Leitformen* such as collared-rim pithoi²⁸ or early Phoenician imports.²⁹ Thus, Tel Kinrot's ceramic profile perfectly matches the well-known northern Palestinian Early Iron Age pottery corpus.³⁰

of the nearby baulks in 2007, however, revealed that this orthostat once served as a doorjamb in a stone founded mud brick wall, which was unfortunately overlooked by the previous excavators.

24 Cf. Braemer 1982, passim and esp. table on p. 104; Fritz 2000, 509 considered the edifices at Tel Kinrot as being in Bronze Age tradition.

25 Cf. McClellan 1997; Braemer 1997.

26 See, e.g., Einwag/Otto 2001, Abb. 5f.; Haines 1971, Pls. 24f.

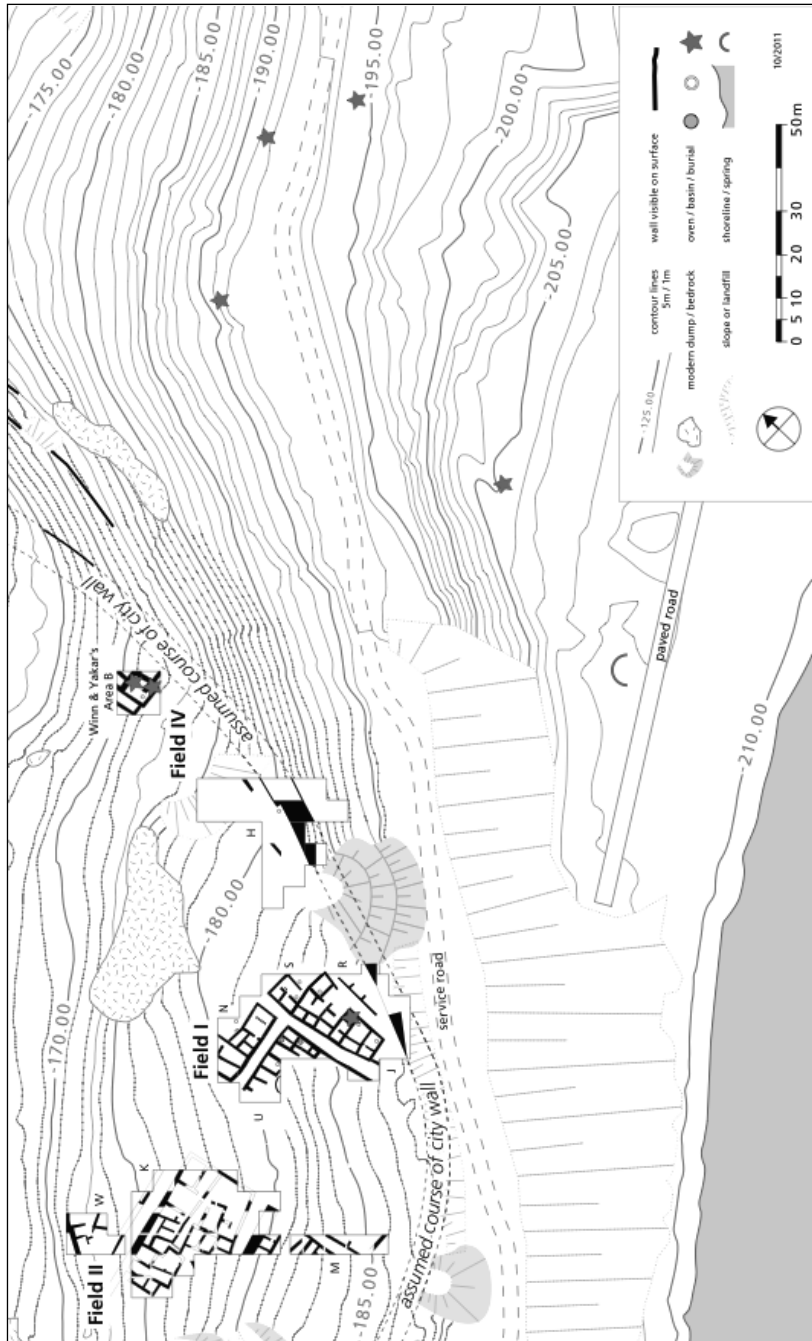
27 For a general overview on the pottery assemblage of Tel Kinrot's 'Early Iron Age Horizon', cf., e.g., Fritz/Münger 2002, 17f.; Münger 2005a; Münger/Zangenberg/Pakkala 2011, 82–84.

28 Cf., e.g., Fritz 1999, Fig. 9: 1f.; Fritz/Münger 2002, Abb. 8: 3; Zangenberg/Münger 2011, Fig. 11.

29 Cf., e.g., Fritz 1998, Abb. 11; Fritz/Münger 2002, Abb. 9: 1f.; Pakkala/Münger/Zangenberg 2004, Fig. 11: 1f. Note the absence of 'Galilean' pithoi and pithoi with wavy-band decoration, which are, e.g., represented – along with collared-rim pithoi – at Tel Sasa, Stratum II: Golani/Yogev 1996, 48–54.56 or Tel Dan, Strata VI and V (IVB): Biran 1989. The reason for this may be that the Tel Kinrot sequence started somewhat later than the respective settlement layers cited above.

30 It is not astonishing at all that the pottery assemblage of Tel Hadar (Stratum IV) is especially close to Tel Kinrot's ceramic profile, with the exception, however, that ribbed rim kraters (Kochavi et al. 1992, 38.84 with note 11; Kochavi 1993a, 27), which are mainly found on the Northern Jordanian Plateau or in the Jordan Rift Valley (Kamlah 2000, 123–127), are lacking at Tel Kinrot.

Fig. 3 (below): The lower city of Early Iron Age Kinneret (main horizon) and adjacent areas (plan by Mareike Beckman, Tobias Rhiel, Tatjana Litke, David Steinemann, Meike Range and Stefan Münger)



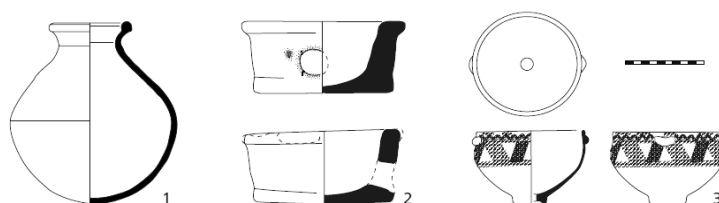


Fig. 4: Cooking jug, cylindrical vessel and skyphos from Early Iron Age layers at Tel Kinrot (drawings by Christa Lennert and Michael Miles).

However, several vessel types seem to lack Southern Levantine parallels, such as the biconical, handle-less cooking jug (Fig. 4:1) that, due to its closed shape, may have been put its main use of brewing liquids. As Ilan notes³¹ – on examples from Early Iron Age levels at Tel Dan –, such vessels are characteristic to the Biq‘ah Valley³² and “appear to reflect local or more northern, food-preparing tradition”, which can be “viewed as having an acculturative resonance” (2011, 146 with Fig. 9, see already *idem.* 1999, 80).³³

Another case is a peculiar vessel in the shape of a short cylinder with at least two small circular openings in the sidewall close to its flat base (Fig. 4:2). Comparable items that share the same characteristics have been found, e.g., in Late Bronze Age contexts at Kamid el-Loz in the Biq‘ah Valley and at Ras Shamra/Ugarit on the central Syrian coast.³⁴ The function of such vessels is unclear, but they could once have served as some kind of lids³⁵ or stands³⁶. Not unattractive is Schaeffer’s

31 With reference to Metzger 1993, Taf. 117; but see now also Penner 2006, 57 and Fig. 24: 1f., 118 with Fig. 64: 1f., 164 with Fig. 94: 1–4, 255 with Fig. 150 etc. with references to her type 7, 1a-b; see also *ibid.* Taf. 28–30.

32 But see, e.g., a very similar vessel found in Stratum 4 = Level VI at Beth-Shean: Yadin/Geva 1986, Fig. 27: 10.

33 Interestingly, this type of cooking jar seems to be missing in Stratum IVB at Tel Dan, but has predecessors in Stratum VIIA, cf., e.g., Ben-Dov 2011, Fig 157: 10; for specimens belonging to Stratum VI see Ilan 1999, Pls. 60: 1 and 8 (= Biran 1994, Fig. 103: 6), 62: 4 and Pls. 22: 10; 24: 7–8 and 38: 5.11 for items from Stratum V.

34 Cf. Adler/Penner 2001, Taf. 103: 7; Schaeffer 1949, Fig. 84: 10–12.16–17 and Monchambert 2004, Fig. 79: 1166 and possibly Fig. 79: 1170; somewhat similar bowls with openings near the base were also found in Late Bronze Age tombs at Megiddo, cf. Guy 1938, 152 with Pls. 37: 7 and 49: 22; see also the Iron Age II item *ibid.* Pl. 38: 30, although this vessel’s reconstruction is uncertain.

35 As suggested by Prof. P. M. Michèle Daviau on occasion of a paper given by this author at the SBL annual meeting in Boston in November 2008. Penner’s identification as a “kumpfartiges Gefäß” (2006, 138), which alludes to the Neolithic three-quarter spherical bowl in Middle Europe, is not overly appropriate.

suggestion that such receptacles may originally have been used for the production of cheese (1949, 204).

Noteworthy is also the skyphos that features a decorative pattern (Fig. 4: 3),³⁷ which Gilboa dubbed “Overlapping Multiple Diagonal Strokes (OMDS)”. This characteristic style not only occurs in contemporary assemblages in Cyprus, on the Phoenician Coast (Dor) and in the Western Jezreel Valley (Megiddo and Jokneam), but has also a long history in Bronze Age Syria where it continuously developed into the Iron Age, which might indeed point to its region of origin.³⁸

Most conspicuous of being heavily influenced by Syrian pottery traditions³⁹ is a medium-sized ovoid double-handled storage jar, which was found abundantly in the Early Iron Age layers at Tel Kinrot (Fig. 5).⁴⁰ This amphora-like vessel type is entirely foreign to the Palestinian pottery repertoire of the Early Iron Age.

The shape of these slender amphorae is biconical or ovoid. At Tel Kinrot, they normally have a narrow rounded to tapered base. Their rims are molded or ridged and in many instances slightly inclined. Two vertical handles are extending from the rim down to the vessels’ sloping shoulders. The volume of these containers varies significantly and three capacity standards can be discerned:⁴¹ the largest ones measure between 9 and 12 liters (Fig. 5: 3–4.10.18), the medium sized ones 4 to 6 liters (Fig. 5: 8.11–12.20.25) and the smallest ones between 1 and 3.5 liters (Fig. 5: 19.23–24).⁴²

36 Like, e.g., the stands from Beth Shean, Megiddo or Tell Qasile, which feature comparable circular openings, cf. James 1966, Fig. 53: 14; Panitz-Cohen 2009, Pl. 37: 16; Guy 1938, Pl. 35: 20; Mazar 1985, Fig. 45: 1; for a similar interpretation cf. also Monchambert 2004, 190.

37 On the phenomenon of the „Northern Skyphoi“ (as opposed to their “Philistine” counterparts), cf. Gilboa 2005, esp. 56f.; fine parallels to the item from Tel Kinrot were found at Megiddo, Stratum VI(A): Loud 1948, Pl. 85: 2; Arie 2006, Fig. 13.68: 3 (see also the stratigraphically insecure item in Watzinger 1929, Abb. 78) and Beth Shean, Level VI: James 1966, Fig. 50: 17.

38 Gilboa 2006–2007.

39 See already Kochavi et al. 1992, 42 and 84 (note 11).

40 Two further Early Iron Age amphorae were found close to the surface: Reg. no. 07686/01; Locus 5269 in Area K; found at an elevation of -52.47; characteristics of clay: 5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.)/10YR gray 5/1 (int.); many small black, white and gray grits and few big white grits; medium firing. – Reg. no. 06858/11; Locus 3670 in Area N; found at an elevation of -55.10; characteristics of clay: 5YR reddish yellow 7/8 (ext.)/10YR grayish brown 5/2 (int.); many small gray grits and few big white and gray grits; medium-high firing.

41 Due to the lack of pertinent sources, the following units cannot be translated into a known metrological system; but cf. Powell 1992, 903–905 for a general overview. Note that in Early Iron Age Kinneret also the Egyptian weight system may have played some role, cf. Fritz/Münger 2002, 19 with note 51 and Abb. 10: 4.

42 Measurements were computed according to Senior/Birnie’s improved stacked-cylinder-method (1995, 324–330) under the assumption that a single profile represents the entire shape; the level of filling to determine the effective volume was assumed at the maximum negative curvature below the vessel’s neck; I thank Damian Kessi (University of Bern) for assisting me in taking the measurements. For alternative approaches cf. Steinbach 2006, Karasik/Smilansky 2006 and Zapassky, Finkelstein/Benenson 2009, 57f.

Morphological parallels to this type of storage containers are found in Early Iron Age contexts at Çatal Hüyük⁴³ and Tell Tayinat⁴⁴ in the ʿAmuq Plain. In this region, such jars – like the quite numerous ones found at Tell Afis,⁴⁵ an important Iron Age site c. 10 km north of Ebla/Tell Mardikh in the Idlib plain – normally bear a monochrome decoration and feature a ring base. To the south, the vessel type loses its decoration and the ring base starts to be replaced by a narrow rounded base, as can be seen, e.g., on an example from Cemetery I at Hama on the Orontes River⁴⁶ or on several comparanda from Tell el-Ghassil in the Biqʿah Valley.⁴⁷ South of Tel Dan⁴⁸ the distribution is restricted to the Jordan Rift Valley, with attestations – beside Tel Kinrot, where by far the most such items have been found – at Tel Hadar,⁴⁹ ʿEn Gev⁵⁰ and possibly Tel Dover^{51, 52}.

43 Phase N: Swift 1958, Fig. 24.

44 Early Iron Age context: Harrison, Batiuk/Snow 2006, Fig. 11 = Janeway 2006–2007, Fig. 4: 5.

45 General Stratum VII, Level E1/9a: Venturi 2000a, Fig. 7: 13 = Venturi 2000b, Fig. 7: 16; E1/Level 8, Venturi 1998 Fig. 4: 5; E1/7-6, Venturi 2000a, Fig. 11: 1; see also Mazzoni 1992, Fig. 10: 9 and Venturi 1998, Figs. 4: 4, and 7: 4.6.

46 Riis 1948, Fig. 48.

47 Level 7, Joukowsky 1972 Pl. 30: 31; Level 6, *ibid.* Pl. 29: 11; Level 5, *ibid.* Pl. 12: 44. I thank Dr. Leila Badre, AUB Archaeological Museum, Beirut, for providing me access to this important work.

48 Stratum VI: Biran 1989 Fig. 4.24: 6 = Biran 1994, Fig. 93: 8 = Ilan 1999, 53: 7; Stratum V: Biran 1994 Fig. 99: 4; Stratum IVB Ilan 1999 Pl. 3: 6 and Pl. 5: 6; note that all completely preserved specimen from Tel Dan feature ring bases and that all items found in Stratum IVB are red-slipped.

49 Stratum IV: Kochavi et al. 1992, 38 (photograph), Kochavi 1998a, Fig. 4, Kochavi 1993b, 551 with photo on p. 552 (middle right); Yadin/Kochavi 2008, 1757 (photograph), Moshe Kochavi and Esther Yadin *pers. comm.*

50 *Pers. comm.* Prof. David Sugimoto, Keio University, Tokyo.

51 *Pers. comm.* Dr. Samuel Wolff, Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem.

52 Possible outliers are Megiddo, Megiddo Stratum VIB or VIA: Loud 1948, Pl. 74: 15 (globular body; red-slipped) and esp. Stratum F5 = VIA: Finkelstein, Zimhoni/Kafri 2000, Fig. 11.3: 13 (Arie 2006, 204 identified the latter example as a one-handled jug type). Quite remote from the suggested core-area is Mount Ebal, Stratum IB: Zertal 1986–87, 140 with fig. 17: 2.

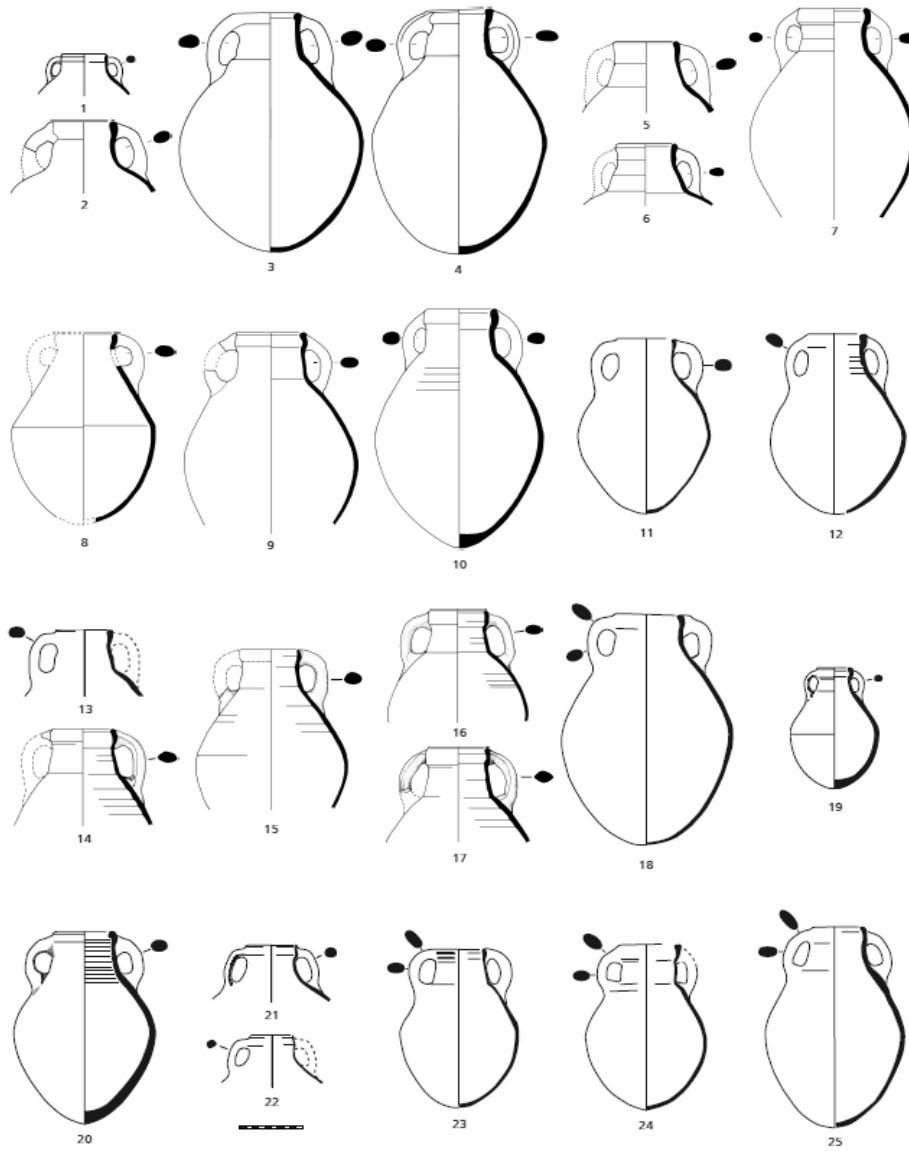


Fig. 5: Amphora-type storage jars from the Early Iron Age layers at Tel Kinrot (drawings by Christa Lennert, Michael Miles and Marina Zeltser).

Interestingly, in the Beth-Shean area, the vessel with its typical shape developed into a cooking jar,⁵³ as can be deduced from its distinctive petrographic composition.⁵⁴ Apart from the different type of clay, these items are morphologically indistinguishable from the specimens discussed here.⁵⁵

According to visual examination of the clay matrix, the vessels from Tel Kinrot seemingly have been produced locally⁵⁶ and it is important to note that this specific shape has no predecessors at other sites with a more continuous settlement history, like at Tel Dan⁵⁷, Tell el-Ghassil⁵⁸ or Tell Afis⁵⁹. From a regional viewpoint, one can therefore assume that locally residing/producing potters introduced such amphorae sometime during the Iron Age I and that their appearance at northern Palestinian

53 Cf. Cohen-Weinberger 2009, 521 sub FG73 for type CP72 at Beth-Shean (see note 54).

54 E.g., type CP72 at Beth-Shean, Stratum S-3a or S-2 (= Level VI or late Level VI and part of Level V): Panitz-Cohen 2009, 230 Pl. 68: 4. For a more globular specimen that was found in the contemporaneous Stratum 2, cf. Yadin/Geva 1986, Fig. 9: 3; see also Tell el-Hammah, 11th c. context: Cahill 2006, Fig. 4: 9; Pella: Iron Age I/IIA context: Smith/Potts 1992, Pl. 68: 6 (contra Whincop 2009, CD-ROM [Type Data.pdf, Class 057b *ad loc.*]). – From the available documentation it is not clear if the item Beth-Shean, Lower Level V: James 1966, 18: 8 is a cooking vessel or – more likely – a storage container. – Two handled cooking jars with a significantly shorter and much wider neck from the Iron I period are, e.g., found at Hazor: Stratum XII: Yadin et al. 1961, Pl. 201: 19; Megiddo, tomb 37, Guy 1938, 39: 14; Stratum VIA: Loud 1948, Pls. 77: 5f. and 84: 1–3 = Harrison 2004, Pl. 9: 5f. and 9–11 (for the erroneous attribution of these vessels to the Philistine cooking ware tradition by Holladay 1995, 381f. with note 27, cf. Panitz-Cohen 2009, 280 note 18) and Zarzecki-Peleg 1997, Fig. 3: 5; Stratum F-5 = VIA: Finkelstein, Zimhoni/Kafri 2000, Fig. 11.2: 11; Stratum K-4 = VIA: Arie 2006, Figs. 13.59: 9, 13.66: 9 and 13.70: 9; Stratum L-5 = VIA: Finkelstein 2006, Fig. 15.1: 5; Jokneam, Strata XVII–XIV: Zarzecki-Peleg, Cohen-Anidjar/Ben-Tor 2005, Fig. II.23: 1 and 4; Tell Qiri, Stratum VIII: Hunt 1987, Fig. 17: 1; Tell Keisan, Stratum 9c: Briend/Humbert 1980, Pl. 77: 6 or Tell Qasile, Stratum XI: Mazar 1985, Fig. 26: 1. This type developed further during the Iron Age IIA.

55 Later derivatives of this shape might be seen in vessels like, e.g., Tell Qasile, Stratum XI: Mazar 1985, Fig. 30: 12, Tel Amal, Stratum III: Levy/Edelstein 1972, Fig. 10: 9, Beth Shean, Stratum V: James 1966, Fig. 7: 6, Tel Rehov, Stratum IV: Mazar 1999, Fig. 24: 14, Mazar 2003, Fig. 18: 15, Mazar et al. 2005, Fig. 13.36: 2, Megiddo: Stratum VA–IVB: Lamon/Shipton 1939, Pls. 19: 105, 22: 128; Loud 1948, Pl. 89: 1–2, Hazor, Strata VII and VI: Yadin et al. 1960, Pl. 74: 1 and Ben-Tor et al. 1997, Fig. III.30: 30, Tell el-Ghassil, Levels 2–4, Baramki 1961, Fig. 4: 1; Joukowsky 1972, Pls. 3: 3, 10: 5–11, 18: 39.43, 19: 10.13.15–16.18.21 and 26: 27.30, Tell eṣ-Ṣalihiyyeh, Bauschicht III and V: von der Osten 1956, Taf. 37: 44 and possibly Taf. 37: 55 and 38: 22.36, Tell Mastuma, Level I: 2–1, Wakita, Wada/Nishiyama 2000, Figs. 10: 1.3 and Wada 2009b, 370 with Figs. 6.24, 6.32: 58, Tell Afis, Level 3, Mazzoni 1998, Fig. 22: 2 or Tell Judaideh, Phase O: Swift 1958, Fig. 39. Finally, this peculiar shape develops well into the Iron Age III, cf. Lehmann 1996, Taf. 53: 321 (see also the overview in Whincop 2009, CD-ROM [Type Data.pdf, Classes 057b and 059] for further references).

56 The same holds true for the items from Tel Hadar, cf., e.g., Kochavi 1993b, 501. Note that petrographic analysis of the vessels from Tel Kinrot is pending.

57 Ilan 1999, 87.

58 Cf. Doumet-Serhal 1996; the jars Pls. 26: 31 (niveau VIII; MBIIC/III) and 45: 10 (niveau VII; LBI) are single-handled and not double-handled as insinuated by the respective drawings.

59 Cf. Mazzoni 2000a, Pl. on p. 136 and Venturi 2010, Figs. 6–10.

sites must be viewed as an import or as a transfer⁶⁰ of a previously foreign pottery tradition.⁶¹

Mortuary Practices

As opposed to most other Early Iron Age settlements⁶² in Cis- and Transjordan,⁶³ ancient Kinneret had a – presumably quite extensive – necropolis to the northeast, just outside of the walled town.⁶⁴ In this area, rescue excavations and random finds documented several double-jar burials (Fig. 3).⁶⁵

In addition, the Israeli-American Expedition unearthed in 1982 in their Area B “cist [?] graves, one of which was complete with funerary jars and pots”. The excavators tentatively dated the tombs to the Iron Age IB.⁶⁶ This chronological attribution, however, is far from being secured, since Winn/Yakar dated the architecture in their area B to the otherwise unattested Late Bronze Age II period, instead of the Iron Age IB.⁶⁷ Consequently, the cist tombs, which were dug into these structures, should be dated – at the earliest – parallel to Stratum IV, at a time when the Early Iron Age settlement was not walled anymore.⁶⁸

60 For the amalgamation of the amphora-like storage jars with the pottery traditions of the Central Highlands at Tel Kinrot, cf. Münger 2005b, 86f. with Abb. 1.

61 It may well be that this vessel type’s shape has its prototypes in the Mycenaean pottery repertoire (Furumark’s shapes 69 and 70 (1992, Pl. 42f., Types 69–70: 2), see, e.g., Mountjoy 1986, 98.138.162.185.197 with Figs. 117.171.206.239.261 and 1993, 93.105.111.115 Nos. 235.281.307.329 for decorated Late Helladic IIIB1 to Sub-mycenaean examples [c. 1300–1000]; for their undecorated predecessors *ibid.* 62 and 88, Nos. 107 and 214 dating to the Late Helladic IIB-IIIB period [c. 1450–1300]).

62 On the dearth of Early Iron Age I tombs (focused on the Central Highlands) cf., e.g., Kletter 2002 and the replies to him by Bloch-Smith 2004, ead. 2009 and Faust 2004; see also Ben-Shlomo 2008.

63 For the scarce evidence for cemeteries and isolated burials during the Early Iron Age I, cf. Bloch-Smith 1992, Fig. 16 and the update in Ben-Shlomo 2008, 47f.; add, e.g., Nazareth: Vitto 2000; Tel Dover: Wolff 1998, 775 and Rapuano 2001, 19*f.; Gezer: Maeir 2004; Tell eṣ-Ṣafi: Faerman et al. 2011 or Wadi Fidan: Levy et al. 2004.

64 The relative proximity of the graves to the settlement conforms to similar situations at roughly contemporary sites, like, e.g., Tell Dothan (western cemetery in Area K): Cooley/Pratico 1993, 374 and Master 2005, Fig. 4.5, Tel Nami (and Tel Nami East): Artzy 1993, plan on p. 1095 and ead. 1995, 20f. or Tell es-Sa’idiyeh: Green 2008 and 2010.

65 Edelstein 1964, 11; Stepanski 2000, 16 with Fig. 23 and 11* and Dr. Samuel Wolff, Israel Antiquities Authority, pers. comm. on excavations undertaken by Gershon Edelstein; detailed reports on these double-jar burials will be published in the forthcoming final reports. – Whether this burial practice should be viewed as foreign, i.e. Hittite, is controversial. For the traditional view cf. the references in Münger 2012b note 17, for its abandonment cf. Singer 2006, 740–743.

66 Cf. Winn/Yakar 1984, 26.

67 Note that the pottery assemblages of Winn/Yakar’s Area B as well as the grave goods of the tombs in question have never been published.

68 Alternatively, these tombs might be interpreted as evidence for ad-hoc burials of victims of the tectonic event, which caused the end of the main Early Iron Age horizon (= Stratum V) at Tel Kinrot (cf. Münger/Zangenberg/Pakkala 2011, 83, see also Thomsen/Zwickel *ibid.* 76). A

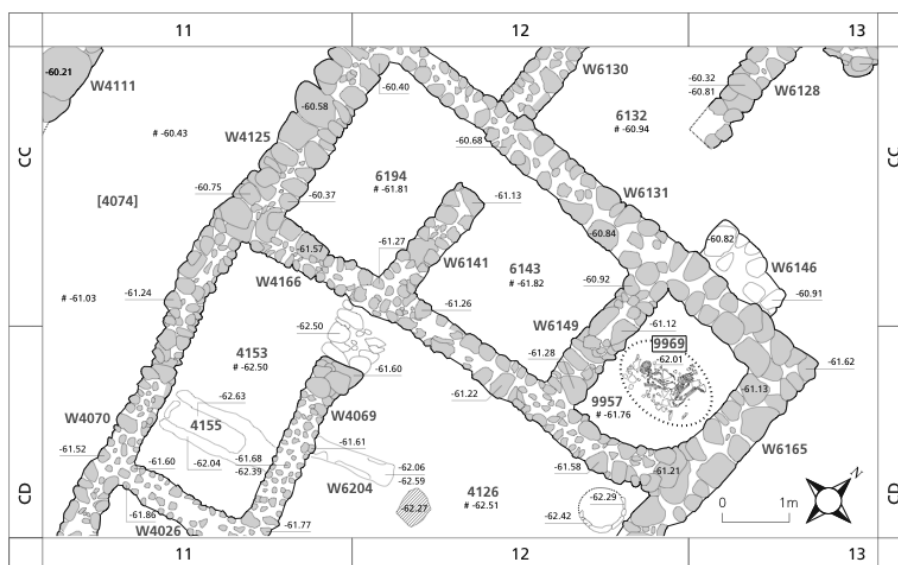


Fig. 6: An intra-site burial in Field I at Tel Kinrot (Locus 9969; plan by Bärbel Schöneweiß-Mehring, Axel Maurer and Stefan Münger).

Most exceptional, however, was the discovery of an intra-mural interment in Field I (Fig. 6). It is a primary burial in a domestic context below the floor of a small, subrectangular room of Complex 1, which belongs to the main phase of the Early Iron Age horizon. The grave contained the articulated remains of a twenty- to thirty-year-old woman in flexed position and the body of a *c.* four-year-old child that was carefully placed over the legs of the adult. Apart from a pierced shell pendant – originally belonging to a necklace – and a large fragment of a flask, the tomb was void of funeral offerings.⁶⁹ The burial type is that of a “Scherbengrab”⁷⁰, which is occasionally found in Early Iron Age contexts in the Southern Levant.⁷¹

contemporary example for such a symbolical burial was, e.g., unearthed in Area K, Stratum K-4 (= VIA) at Megiddo, cf. Gadot et al. 2006, 101.

69 This finding was first mentioned by Pakkala/Münger/Zangenber 2004, 17 and is now fully published in Münger 2012b.

70 For a definition cf. Strommenger 1971, 582.

71 Examples for such burials, where the body was covered by large sherds, are Azor: Ben-Shlomo 2008, 48; Tell Dothan, Western Cemetery: Cooley/Pratico 1995, 166; Ekron, Stratum VIA: Gitin, Meehl/Dothan 2006, 55 note 69 and Stratum VB: Mazow 2005, 450; Megiddo: Esse 1992, 88 with Fig. 4 or Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh: Tubb 1988, 61.

Except for Philistia,⁷² the practice of burying the deceased below floors of houses is virtually unknown within the Early Iron Age material culture of the southern Levant,⁷³ though the custom was known in the region until the Late Bronze Age I.⁷⁴ In contrast, sub-floor burials are well attested in the northern part of the Levant and in Mesopotamia until the mid first millennium, be it in private houses or even in public buildings.⁷⁵ Therefore, the Tel Kinrot intra-mural burial – the only one of its kind thus far excavated at this site – is an outstanding anomaly in the archaeological record of Cis- and Transjordan, which needs explanation.⁷⁶

Cultic Paraphernalia, Figurative Art and Iconographic Peculiarities

While many of the outstanding finds and findings from the Early Iron Age settlement layers at Tel Kinrot point to a multitude of commercial and cultural contacts with Egypt,⁷⁷ the Southern Coastal Plain⁷⁸ or the Phoenician Mediterranean littoral,⁷⁹ some artifact groups show affinities towards the Syrian realm.

The first items to be mentioned are wheel-made clay vessels with a cylindrical body, a rounded top and a ring base that feature a square opening cut into the side. Vertical handles are attached to each side of the cut-out (Fig. 7: 1–3).⁸⁰ These allowed the opening to be sealed with a lid by means of a stick or a similar device (Fig. 7: 4). The lid was similarly equipped with a handle.

72 Intra-mural burials of infants detected in Iron Age I layers are attested at Ashdod, below Stratum IX-VIII walls: Dueitch 2006; Ashkelon, Grid 38, Phases 20a–18b: Stager et al. 2008, 266 with Fig. 15: 35, Birney/Doak 2011 and Ekron, Strata VIIB–VC: Gitin, Meehl/Dothan 2006, 54f., Mazow 2005, 450f.

73 Cf. Münger 2012 b for possible exceptions that were discovered at Tel Dor and Megiddo.

74 Cf., e.g., Ilan 1997, 385; Hallote 2002, 108f.; Brody 2010.

75 Cf., e.g., Akkermans/Schwartz 2003, 381f. or Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999 with various examples; add, e.g., Tell Mastuma: Wada 2009a, 328–336 or Tell 'Ashtara: Abou Assaf 1969, 102–105.

76 According to scholarly consensus, mortuary practices are considered to reflect group identity; cf., e.g., Gonen 1992, 30f., McHugh 1999, 40–50, Parker Pearson 1999, 124, Kletter 2002, 36f., Killebrew 2005, 12.65–67.110.176f.218.249, Faust 2006, 92f., 161f., Tenu 2009, 94f.; see also Fantalkin 2008.

77 E.g. attested by the presence of imported Nile perch (*Lates niloticus*) in the Early Iron Age Faunal Assemblage, cf. Manhart/von den Driesch 2004, 182, Thomsen in Münger/Zangenberg/Pakkala 2011, 79, Thomsen 2011, 72–74. Nilotic fish imports have also been observed in Iron Age I contexts, e.g., at Akko, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Jerusalem (City of David), Sarepta, Tell Qasile, Tel Rehov, Tell el-'Umeiri, Tell el-Wawiyat or Timna: Van Neer et al. 2004, 120–123 with Tables 3 and 4; see also Beth-Shean: Lernau 2009, esp. 776; Dor: Raban-Gerstel et al. 2008, esp. 24f.; Megiddo: Lernau 2006, esp. 493. – Other evidence for trade contacts with Egypt are various Egyptian scarabs found within the structures of Strata VI–IV, cf. Münger 2007. – See also above note 41.

78 Indicated, e.g., by the presence of late Philistine pottery, cf. Dietrich/Münger 2001, Fig. 3.

79 See, e.g. Fassbeck 2008 for a thymaterion with petal decoration found in Stratum V; for their wider context cf. Morstadt 2008. – See also above note 28.

80 For a description of item no. 1, see Fassbeck, Münger/Röhl 2003, 49f. and Nissinen/Münger 2009, 134f. Items no. 2 and 3 are fully published in Berkheij-Dol 2012.

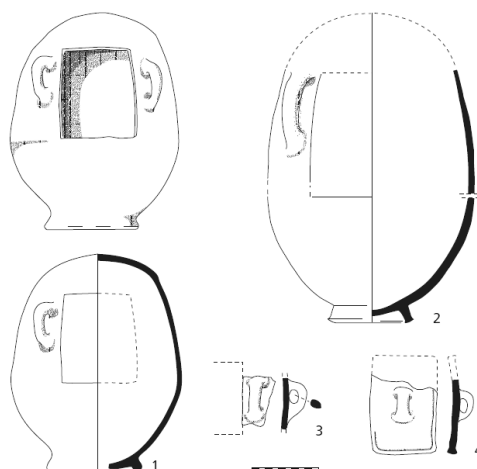


Fig. 7: Fenestrated vessels and a lid from Early Iron Age contexts at Tel Kinrot (drawings by Michael Miles and Christa Lennert).

Such fenestrated vessels belong to a specific type of shrine models, which has its prototypes in the Minoan plastic art.⁸¹ They first appear on the mainland in Ugarit in Late Bronze Age contexts and are subsequently found at Kamid el-Loz and further to the south at Hazor and Tell Deir ‘Alla. In Early Iron Age contexts they are – in addition to the Tel Kinrot items – found at Tel Dan, Tel Hadar and Tell Zera’a. A quite late, but elaborately decorated specimen was retrieved from an Iron Age II layer at Tel Rehov.⁸² The geographic distribution is obvious. Apart from Ugarit, such shrine models were seemingly only in use in the regions of the upper Great Rift Valley during the Late Bronze and the earlier Iron Age periods, where they had their use in the local cult.⁸³

Another case is a fragment of a jar handle sculptured in the shape of a female body (Fig. 8:1), which finds its best parallel on a basket-handle jar from Kamid el-Loz dated to the Late Bronze Age.⁸⁴ Only the parts from the chest to the abdomen including the separately modeled arms are preserved. While one hand of the figure is placed below her left breast, the other one is supposedly covering her pubic area.

81 Nissinen/Münger 2009, 137, for alternative derivations, see, e.g., Zevit 2001, 328–343 or Caubet/Yon 2001.

82 For references and further literature, cf. Nissinen/Münger 2009, 135f.; add Vieweger/Häser 2010, 13 with Taf. 7A.

83 See also Mazar/Panitz-Cohen 2008, 45f.

84 Metzger 1993, 327 with Taf. 15: 4, 68 and 122: 3.

The arms and the body are decorated with impressed circles, crescent-shaped signs and short strokes.⁸⁵

Handles decorated with human figures are absent in the currently known corpus of figurative art of the southern part of the Levant. According to Saarelainen, however, the concept was known in Greater Syria, e.g. at Ugarit or Kish, and a very similar decoration pattern can be observed, e.g., on a Late Bronze Age figurine from Tell Judaideh in the 'Amuq plain.⁸⁶

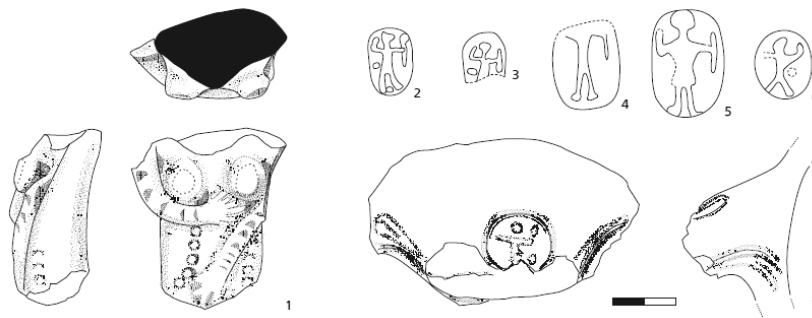


Fig. 8: A decorated handle and seal impressions on storage jar handles found in the Early Iron Age layers at Tel Kinrot (drawings by Christa Lennert and Michael Miles).

Finally, several impressions on jar handles should be mentioned that signal centralized administrative processes within the local community. They all display a standing anthropoid figure with one arm raised and the other one holding a vertically positioned object. Normally, there is a round element behind the figures' back. The motif is repeated in different styles and executions and should be interpreted as representation of the god Resheph⁸⁷ in a menacing position with its attributes, i.e. a shield and a lute.⁸⁸ Immediate glyptic comparanda are rare,⁸⁹ but a good parallel has been found on the surface at Hazor, which is possibly dating to the Late Bronze Age.⁹⁰

The varying executions of the same motif underline the popularity and importance of the Syro-canaanite god Resheph in the local pantheon and its graphic rendering points to the absorption of northern iconographic traditions. Therefore,

85 The item was first mentioned in Pakkala/Valkama/Tynjälä 2006, 328, and is fully published in Saarelainen 2007, 72–76, see also Saarelainen in Münger/Zangenberg/Pakkala 2011, 85 with Fig. 24.

86 Saarelainen 2007, 74f. with Pl. 7, see references there.

87 Cf., e.g., Cornelius 1994; Niehr 2003; Lipiński 2009.

88 Münger 2009, 121f.

89 See also Lipiński 2009, 150–160.

90 Shanks 1973 with Pl. 63C; Münger 2009, 122f. with Fig. 3.

generic affinities of Kinneret's ancient population towards the Syrian cultural realm may be assumed.

Summary and Conclusions

Given its geographical location, northern, i.e. Syrian, cultural footprints within the various find assemblages of Early Iron Age Kinneret are neither surprising nor exceptional. If isolated, many of the phenomena described above can easily be explained on the background of status, trade or accessibility. But taken as a whole, it is questionable whether economic factors alone played a role in the formation of the cultural profile of ancient Kinneret. Rather, shared (northern) traditions of at least a segment of the population of ancient Kinneret should be taken in consideration.⁹¹ Nevertheless, it is inappropriate to subsume the above-mentioned, isolated aspects of Early Iron Age Tel Kinrot under the label "Aramaean", which is neither ethnically nor otherwise culturally indicative,⁹² but instead a geopolitical, linguistic or social concept.⁹³

From a regional point of view, the Early Iron Age material culture at Tel Kinrot closely resembles the one encountered at Tel Hadar in Strata V and IV. Both sites were resettled during the Iron Age IB after a hiatus during the Late Bronze Age II period. In addition, at both locations the new settlers reused the fortification systems of the Late Bronze I in order to protect their newly founded settlements. Furthermore, the pottery assemblages of the two sites are nearly identical. Consequently, if Tel Hadar is viewed as belonging to a Geshurite polity,⁹⁴ then

91 Note that there are also substantial cultural differences to Northern Levantine cultural traits. E.g., regarding dietary patterns, ancient Kinneret's faunal assemblage (cf. Thomsen 2011) does not significantly differ from other Early Iron Age sites in Cis- and Transjordan, though cattle – similar to the situation at Tel Dan – was predominant vis-à-vis sheep and goat (Raban-Gertsel et al. 2008, 19). Especially noteworthy is the fact that the ancient inhabitants' swine exploitation (domestic pig and wild boar) – although the ecological conditions close to the lakeshore were certainly most favorable (Manhart/von den Driesch 2004, 169) – was marginal and comparable to assemblages at equally water rich sites like Tel Dan in the north or Tel Dor, Tel Michal or Tell Qasile on the Mediterranean coast (Raban-Gerstel et al. 2008, Table 7 and Fig. 13). This is in stark contrast not only to the contemporary food habits in Philistia on the southern coastal strip (Faust/Lev-Tov 2011, 18–21), but also to the faunal evidence from north Syrian sites like Tell Afis or 'Ain Dara (Vila/Dalix 2004, Fig. 4 with references on p. 236; add Frey/Marean 1999), where pork consumption is amply attested.

92 Cf., e.g., Akkermans/Schwartz 2003, 367f.; Lebeau 1983, 142; Mazzoni 2000a, 34; Tenu 2009, 94f.; see also Mazzoni 2000b and Szuchman 2009.

93 Cf., e.g. Bunnens 2000, 16; Sass 2005, 63; Sader 2010, 277; see also Lipiński 2000, *passim*; there is no conclusive information whether there ever was Aramaean presence on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee at the turn of the second to the first millennium, but according to Prof. E. Axel Knauf, University of Bern (pers. comm.), the southern Syrian toponomasticon reflects – as preserved in topographic lists of Ramses II – beginning aramaeization of the local language already in the 13th c.; see also M. Weippert 2010, 168 with note 143.

94 Cf., e.g., Kochavi 1989; Lipiński 2000, 239; Joffe 2002, 439; Mazar 2007, 138; Dever 2010,

contemporary Tel Kinrot should be similarly identified, since the cultural interconnections between the two sites are simply too strong.⁹⁵ Yet, a secure localization for the Geshurite territory – mentioned in EA 256 and appearing in several Biblical texts that refer to the pre- and early monarchic periods⁹⁶ – is far from being clear.⁹⁷ In addition, it is even questionable whether Early Iron Age Geshur, if historical at all, indeed reached the Sea of Galilee. Since, according to EA 256, the core of this kingdom is located in the Southern Golan and the sites mentioned are at some distance to the lakeshore.⁹⁸ Thus, the association of ancient Kinneret with the kingdom of Geshur should be abandoned in view of geographical and historical considerations.

The material presented in this article does neither allow claiming early Aramaean presence on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee during the Iron Age IB nor does it support any sound material reference to a Geshurite polity of whatever nature. Nevertheless, it does – based on the portrayed culturally sensitive indicators – add new facets to the variegated and complex society of ancient Kinneret at the turn of the second to the first millennium. To call it ‘Late Canaanite’, is thus the best denominator currently available.

Annotations to Pottery Figures

The reader should note the following conventions:

- The Strata indicated in the following tables refer to a preliminary stratification of the Early Iron Age settlement layers at Tel Kinrot and may be subject to change in the final publication.
- Elevations refer to the internal Cartesian coordinate system used at Tel Kinrot; to obtain absolute values (*b.s.l.*), 125.00 m should be subtracted from the figures indicated.
- Colors are noted in the Munsell® color space. The description of the “characteristics of clay” is based on the work of the past and present registrars of the Excavations at Tel Kinrot lead by Volkmar Fritz and Kinneret Regional Project, respectively: Anke Welzel (1994–1999); Virpi Holmqvist (2001); Tuula Tynjä (2003–2007); Inga Müller (2008) and Sophie Kauz (2011).

525 and many others.

95 Cf. also Kochavi 1998b and Fritz 2000.

96 Dtn 3: 14, Josh 12: 5, 13: 2, 13: 13, 1Sam 27: 8, 2Sam 3: 3 (|| 1Chr 3: 2), 13: 30–39, 15: 8, 1Chr 2: 23.

97 Cf. the critical review by Pakkala 2010 with references to the earlier literature; see also Hafþórsson 2006, 235f. For a more balanced view cf. Na’aman 2012.

98 Note that, according to epigraphic evidence, the eastern lakeshore became incorporated into the kingdom of Aram-Damascus only in the Iron Age IIB; cf. Lipiński 2000, 398f., but see also Finkelstein 2011, 238f. for an alternative interpretation.

<i>Fig. no.</i>	<i>Reg. no.</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Elevation</i>	<i>Characteristics of Clay</i>
Fig. 4:1	09922/02	6132	R	V	-60.79	7.5YR pink 7/4 (ext.)/10YR very pale brown 7/4 (core); few white small and big grits; medium firing.
Fig. 4:2	10951/01	4348	U	V	-56.51	5YR yellowish red 5/6 (ext. and int.)/2.5Y pale yellow 8/2; many medium sized black and some quartz grits, some coarse white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 4:3	12030/01	5409	W	Ø ⁹⁹	-47.63	5YR pink 7/4 (ext. and int.)/5YR reddish yellow 6/6 (core); few coarse black and some coarse white grits; medium-high firing; decorated with 2.5YR red 5/6 and 7.5YR very dark gray N3/ colors.

<i>Fig. no.</i>	<i>Reg. no.</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Elevation</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Characteristics of Clay</i>
Fig. 5:1	04828/01	1809	F	VI	-26.40	-	5YR reddish yellow 7/8 (ext.)/10YR light gray 7/2 (core); many small black and white grits, few big white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:2	07402/03	4088	J	VI	-63.84	-	5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.); many small black and white grits; some big white and few big gray grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:3	07426/04	4159	J	V	-62.42	11.9 l	7.5YR pink 7/4 (ext.); many small gray and white grits; few big gray and white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:4	07430/01	4126	J	V	-62.51	10.7 l	7.5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.); many small gray and white grits; few coarse white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:5	08463/04	5088	K	V	-52.74	-	5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.)/7.5YR pinkish gray 7/2 (core); many small white and gray grits; few coarse white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:6	08488/01	5100	K	V	-54.20	-	7.5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.)/7.5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (core); small white and gray grits; few very big white grits, some medium-sized white and gray grits; medium-low firing.

⁹⁹ The skyphos was found out of context immediately below surface. It is likely that it slipped into this position due to the steep terrain in Area W; its attribution to the Early Iron Age horizon is beyond any doubt.

<i>Fig. no.</i>	<i>Reg. no.</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Elevation</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Characteristics of Clay</i>
Fig. 5:7	09270/01	6106	R	V	-60.45	-	10YR very pale brown 8/4 (ext.)/10YR very pale brown 7/4 (core); many small white and gray grits; coarse white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:8	09272/02	6105	R	V	-60.14	5.9 l	5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.)/10YR very dark gray 3/1 (core); small black and white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:9	09289/01	6116	R	V	-60.31	-	5YR reddish yellow 7/8 (ext.)/5YR reddish yellow 7/8 (core); small black and white grits; few coarse white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:10	09351/01	6132	R	V	-60.94	9.5 l	5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.)/5YR reddish yellow 6/6 (core); very many small black and few white grits; few coarse white grits; medium-high firing.
Fig. 5:11	11075/12	9904	R	V	-60.84	4.1 l	7.5YR light brown 6/4 (ext.)/2.5YR dark gray N4(core)/7.5YR gray N2 (int.); some medium-sized black, little medium-sized white grits; medium firing; traces of fire.
Fig. 5:12	11327/01	6431	R	V	-60.25	5.1 l	5YR reddish yellow 6/6 (ext.); some small black, little coarse white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:13	11317/02	6431	R	V	-60.25	-	2.5YR light reddish brown 6/4 (ext.); many small black, many medium-sized white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:14	07012/02	3725	S	V	-59.52	-	10YR very pale brown 7/4 (ext.)/10YR pale brown 6/3 (core); many small gray, few small white and some big white and gray grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:15	07011/01	3725	S	V	-59.52	-	5YR reddish yellow 6/8 (ext.)/7.5YR reddish yellow 6/6 (core); very many small black, many small and big white; medium firing.
Fig. 5:16	07013/01	3725	S	V	-59.52	-	5YR reddish yellow 6/8 (ext.)/7.5YR reddish yellow 6/6 (core); some small and big white grits; medium firing.

<i>Fig. no.</i>	<i>Reg. no.</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Elevation</i>	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Characteristics of Clay</i>
Fig. 5:17	07014/01	3725	S	V	-59.52	-	5YR reddish yellow 6/6 (ext)/10YR grayish brown 5/2 (core); many small gray and brown grits, few small and big white and gray grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:18	12828/01	1721	S	V	-60.11	10.8 l	7.5YR pink 7/4 (ext.); some coarse red, some small black, little medium-sized quartz grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:19	10128/01	9012	T	V	-36.30	1.2 l	2.5YR 5/6 (ext.)/7.5YR pink 7/4 (int.); many small black, some coarse white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:20	10152/01	9020	T	V	-36.68	4.8 l	5YR yellowish red 5/6 (ext./core/int.); some coarse white and some little dark gray grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:21	12141/01	5447	W	V	-49.00	-	2.5YR red 5/6 (ext.)/10YR very dark gray 3/1 (core)/2.5YR red 5/6 (int.); many medium-sized black, some coarse white and very little small quartz grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:22	12155/01	5447	W	V	-49.02	-	2.5YR red 5/6 (ext.)/7.5YR dark gray 4/1 (core)/2.5YR light red 6/6 (int.); many small black and few medium-sized white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:23	14405/02	1849	S	IV	-58.99	3.4 l	2.5YR red 5/6 (ext.)/10YR very dark gray 3/1 (core)/2.5YR red 5/6 (int.); many medium-sized black and some coarse white grits; medium firing; traces of fire.
Fig. 5:24	14408/01	1849	S	IV	-59.02	3.4 l	5YR yellowish red 5/6 (ext.)/7.5YR pinkish gray 7/2 (int.); some small black and little coarse white grits; medium firing.
Fig. 5:25	14409/01	1849	S	IV	-59.10	5.6 l	5YR yellowish red 5/6 (ext.)/7.5YR pinkish gray 7/2 (int.); some small black and little coarse white grits; medium firing.

<i>Fig. no.</i>	<i>Reg. no.</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Elevation</i>	<i>Characteristics of Clay</i>
Fig. 7:1	06603/02	3594	N	V	-57.77	7.5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.)/10YR very dark gray 3/1; many small black and white and few gray and some white big grits; medium firing.
Fig. 7:4	10103/02	9010	T	VI or V	-36.18	7.5YR strong brown 5/8 (ext.)/5YR light reddish brown 6/3 (core)/ 5YR yellowish red 5/8 (int.); some coarse white and small black grits, little coarse organic material; medium-high firing.
Fig. 7:2	06480/05	3531	N	VI	-58.14	5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.)/7.5YR dark gray N4/ (core); many small black and white, some gray grits, few gray and some white big grits; medium firing.
Fig. 7:3	06480/01	3531	N	VI	-58.14	5YR reddish yellow 7/6 (ext.)/7.5YR dark gray N4/ (core); many black and white and few gray small grits, white and gray big grits; medium firing.

<i>Fig. no.</i>	<i>Reg. no.</i>	<i>Locus</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Elevation</i>	<i>Description</i>
Fig. 8:1	11831/01	6619	R	VI/V	-58.55	Characteristics of clay: 10YR very pale brown 8/3 (ext.)/10YR light gray 7/1 (core); 2.5YR light red 7/6 slip; some medium sized black and little coarse white grits; medium firing; measurements: 23mm (Ø), 59mm (max. H), 48mm (max. W).
Fig. 8:2-7	For description, stratigraphic attribution and references to previous publications, see Münger 2009, 117.					

References

- Abou Assaf A. 1969: Tell Aschtara. 2. Kampagne 1967, *Annales archaéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 19, 101–108.
- Adler W./Penner S. 2001: Kāmid el-Lōz 18. Die spätbronzezeitlichen Palastanlagen (= Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 62).
- Affanni G./Michele A. Di 2010: The Development of Defence Strategies at Tell Afis (Syria), in: Matthiae P./Pinnock F./Nigro L./Marchetti N. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Vol. 2: Excavations, Surveys and Restorations: Reports on Recent Field Archaeology in the Near East (Wiesbaden)* 39–53.
- Akkermans P. M. M. G./Schwartz G. M. 2003: *The Archaeology of Syria. From Complex Hunter-gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c. 16,000–300 BC)*. Cambridge.
- Albright W. F./Rowe A. 1928: A Royal Stele of the New Empire from Galilee, *JEA* 14, 281–287.

- Arie E. 2006: The Iron Age I Pottery: Levels K-5 and K-4 and an Intra-site Spatial Analysis of the Pottery from Stratum VIA, in: Finkelstein I./Ussishkin D./Halpern B. (eds.), Megiddo IV. The 1998–2002 Seasons (= Tel Aviv University. Sonja and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology. Monograph Series 24) 191–298.
- Artzy M. 1993: Art. Nami, Tel. New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land 3, 1095–1098.
- 1995: Nami. A Second Millennium International Maritime Trading Center in the Mediterranean, in: Gitin S. (ed.), Recent Excavations in Israel. A View to the West. Reports on Kabri, Nami, Miqne-Ekron, Dor/Ashkelon (= Archaeological Institute of America. Colloquia and Conference Papers 1) 17–40.
- Baramki D. 1961: Preliminary Report on the Excavation at Tell el Ghassil, Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth 16, 87–102.
- Barton G. A. 1941: Danel, A Pre-Israelite Hero of Galilee, JBL 60, 213–225.
- Ben-Dov R. 2011: Dan III – Avraham Biran Excavations 1966–1999: The Late Bronze Age (= Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology 9).
- Ben-Shlomo D. 2008: The Cemetery of Azor and Early Iron Age Burial Practices, Levant 40, 29–54.
- Ben-Tor A./Bonfil R./Garfinkel Y./Greenberg R./Maeir A. M./Mazar A. 1997: Hazor V. An Account of the Fifth Season of Excavation, 1968. Jerusalem.
- Berkheij-Dol J. 2012: Sacred or Profane? Identifying Cultic Places In The Early Iron Age Southern Levant. A Study on the Pillared Courtyard-building of Tel Kinrot and its Shrine Model. Unpublished MA thesis, Protestantse Theologische Universiteit Kampen.
- Biran A. 1989: The Collared-rim Jars and the Settlement of the Tribe of Dan, in: Gitin S./Dever W. G. (eds.), Recent Excavations in Israel: Studies in Iron Age Archaeology (= Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 49) 71–96.
- 1994: Biblical Dan. Jerusalem.
- Birney K./Doak B. R. 2011: Funerary Iconography on an Infant Burial Jar from Ashkelon, IEJ 61, 32–53.
- Bloch-Smith E. 1992: Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead (= Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series 123).
- 2004: Resurrecting the Iron I Dead, IEJ 54, 77–91.
- Bloch-Smith E. 2009: From Tomb to Womb. The Israelite Family in Death as in Life, in: Dutcher-Walls P. (ed.), The Family in Life and in Death: The Family in Ancient Israel. Sociological and Archaeological Perspectives (= Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 504) 122–131.
- Braemer F. 1982: L'architecture domestique du Levant à l'âge du fer (= Recherche sur les civilisations. Cahier 8).— 1997: Architecture domestique de l'âge du fer, in: Castel C./Al-Maqdissi M./Villeneuve F. (eds.), Les Maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux débuts de l'Islam. Pratiques et représentations de l'espace domestique (Beyrouth) 61–71.
- Briend J./Humbert J.-B. 1980: Tell Keisan (1971–1976). Une cité phénicienne en Galilée (= Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 1).
- Brody A. 2010: New Perspectives on Levantine Mortuary Ritual. A Cognitive Interpretive Approach to the Archaeology of Death, in: Levy T. E. (ed.), Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: The New Pragmatism (London/Oakville) 123–141.
- Bunnens G. 2000: Syria in the Iron Age. Problems of Definition, in: Bunnens G. (ed.), Essays on Syria in the Iron Age (= Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 7) 3–20.

- Cahill J. M. 2006: The Excavations at Tell el-Hammah: A Prelude to Amihai Mazar's Beth-Shean Valley Project, in: Maeir A. M./Miroshedji P. de (eds.), "I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times". Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday (Winona Lake) 429–459.
- Caubet A./Yon M. 2001: Ougarit et les maquettes architecturales, in: Muller B. (ed.), «Maquettes architecturales» de l'antiquité (= Travaux du centre de recherché sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques 17) 463–471.
- Cohen-Weinberg A. 2009: Petrographic Studies, in: Panitz-Cohen N./Mazar A. (eds.), Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996, Vol. III: The 13th–11th Century Strata in Areas N and S. (Jerusalem) 519–529.
- Cooley R. E./Pratico G. D. 1993: Dothan. New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land 1, 372–374.
- 1995: Tell Dothan: The Western Cemetery, with Comments on Joseph Free's Excavations, 1953 to 1964, in: Dever W. G. (ed.), Preliminary Excavation Reports: Sardis, Bir Umm Fawakhir, Tell el-'Umeiri, The Combined Caesarea Expeditions, and Tell Dothan (= Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 52) 147–190.
- Cornelius I. 1994: The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al. Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500–1000) (= OBO 140).
- Dever W. G. 2010: Archaeology and the Question of Sources in Kings, in: Lemaire A./Halpern B. (eds.), The Book of Kings. Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception (= Vetus Testamentum. Supplements 129) 517–538.
- Dietrich W. 2007: David, Amnon und Absalom (2 Samuel 13): Literarische, textliche und historische Erwägungen zu den ambivalenten Beziehungen eines Vaters zu seinen Söhnen, in: Rofé A./Segal M./Talmon S./Talshir Z. (eds.), Text-Criticism and Beyond. In Memoriam of Isaac Leo Seeligmann (= Textus 23) 115–143.
- Dietrich W./Münger S. 2001: Ausgrabungen in Kinneret/Israel, in: Schweizer Arbeitsgemeinschaft für klassische Archäologie (ed.), Schweizer Ausgrabungen im Ausland. Methodik, Ziele und wissenschaftliche Praxis (Fribourg) 45–61.
- 2003: Zentrum und Peripherie – Die früheisenzeitliche Stadt Kinneret und ihr regionaler Kontext, in: Fassbeck G./Fortner S./Rottloff A./Zangenberg J. (eds.), Leben am See Gennesaret. Kulturgeschichtliche Entdeckungen in einer biblischen Region (= Sonderbände der antiken Welt) 43–46.
- Doumet-Serhal C. 1996: Les fouilles de Tell el-Ghassil de 1972 à 1974. Étude du matériel (= Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 146).
- Dueitch E. 2006: Human Skeletal Remains (Burial 5338), in: Moshe D./Ben-Shlomo D. (eds.), Ashdod VI. The Excavations of Areas H and K (1968–1969) (= IAA Reports 24) 43–44.
- Edelstein G. 1964: Tel Kinrot, *Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot* 11, 9–12 (Hebrew).
- Einwag B./Otto A. 2001: Tall Bazi 1998 und 1999 – Die letzten Untersuchungen in der Weststadt, *DaM* 13, 65–88.
- Epstein C. 1963: A New Appraisal of Some Lines from a Long-known Papyrus, *JEA* 49, 49–56.
- Esse D. L. 1992: The Collared Pithos at Megiddo: Ceramic Distribution and Ethnicity, *JNES* 51, 81–103.

- Faerman M./Smith P./Boaretto E./Uziel J./Maeir A. M. 2011: "... In Their Lives, and in Their Death...": A Preliminary Study of an Iron Age Burial Cave at Tell eš-Šāfī, Israel, ZDPV 127, 29–48.
- Fantalkin A. 2008: The Appearance of Rock-cut Bench Tombs in Iron Age Judah as a Reflection of State Formation, in: Fantalkin A./Yasur-Landau A. (eds.), *Bene Israel. Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and the Levant During the Bronze and the Iron Ages in Honour of Israel Finkelstein* (= CHANE 31) 17–44.
- Fassbeck G. 2008: A Decorated Chalice from Tell el-‘Orēme/Kinneret, ZDPV 124, 15–37.
- Fassbeck G./Münger S./Röhl S. 2003: Gotteshaus und Hausgott – Ausgewählte Hinweise auf möglichen Hauskult im antiken Kinneret, in: Fassbeck G./Fortner S./Rottloff A./Zangenberg J. (eds.), *Leben am See Gennesaret. Kulturgeschichtliche Entdeckungen in einer biblischen Region* (= Sonderbände der antiken Welt) 47–51.
- Faust A. 2004: ‘Mortuary Practices, Societies and Ideology’: The Lack of Iron Age Burials in the Highlands in Context, IEJ 54, 174–190.
- 2006: *Israel’s Ethnogenesis. Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance. Approaches to Anthropological Archaeology*. London/Oakville.
- Faust A./Lev-Tov J. 2011: The Constitution of Philistine Identity: Ethnic Dynamics in Twelfth to Tenth Century Philistia, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 30, 13–31.
- Finkelstein I. 1999: State Formation in Israel and Judah, A Contrast in Context, A Contrast in Trajectory, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62, 35–52.
- 2006: The Iron Age Pottery: Levels L-5, L-3, H-5 and H-4, in: Finkelstein I./Ussishkin D./Halpern B. (eds.), *Megiddo IV. The 1998–2002 Seasons* (= Tel Aviv University. Sonja and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology. Monograph Series 24) 303–314.
- 2011: Stages in the Territorial Expansion of the Northern Kingdom, *Vetus Testamentum* 61, 227–242.
- Finkelstein I./Zimhoni O./Kafri A. 2000: The Iron Age Pottery Assemblages from Areas F, K and H and Their Stratigraphic and Chronological Implications, in: Finkelstein I./Ussishkin D./Halpern B. (eds.), *Megiddo III. The 1992–1996 Seasons* (= Tel Aviv University. Sonja and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology. Monograph Series 18) 244–324.
- Frey C. J./Marean C. W. 1999: Mammal Remains, in: Stone E. C./Zimansky P.: *The Iron Age Settlement at ‘Ain Dara, Syria* (= BAR International Series 786) 123–146.
- Fritz V. 1990a: Kinneret: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell el-‘Orēme am See Gennesaret, 1982–1985 (= *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins* 15).
- Fritz V. 1990b: *Die Stadt im alten Israel*. München.
- 1993: Art. Chinnereth, Tel, *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 1, 299–301.
- 1998: Ein Tell am See Gennesaret. Neue Ausgrabungen in Kinneret – Zur Frühgeschichte des Heiligen Landes, *Antike Welt* 29, 431–438.
- 1999: Kinneret: Excavations at Tell el-Oreimeh (Tel Kinrot). Preliminary Report on the 1994–1997 Seasons, *Tel Aviv* 26, 92–115.
- 2000: Bronze Age Features in Cities of the Early Iron Age in the Southern Levant, in: Matthiae P./Enea A./Peyronel L./Pinnock F. (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (Roma)* 507–511.
- 2008: Art. Chinnereth, Tel, *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 5, 1684f.
- Fritz V./Münger S. 2002: Vorbericht über die zweite Phase der Ausgrabungen in Kinneret (Tell el-‘Orēme) am See Gennesaret, 1994–1999, ZDPV 118, 2–32.

- Fritz V./Vieweger 1996: Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen in Kinneret (Tell el-'Orēme) 1994 und 1995, ZDPV 112, 81–99.
- Furumark A. 1992: The Mycenaean Pottery, Vol. III: Plates (= Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 20,3).
- Gadot Y./Martin M./Blockman N./Arie E. 2006: Area K (Levels K-5 and K-4, The 1998–2002 Seasons), in: Finkelstein I./Ussishkin D./Halpern B. (eds.), Megiddo IV. The 1998–2002 Seasons (= Tel Aviv University. Sonja and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology. Monograph Series 24) 87–123.
- Gilboa A. 2005: Sea Peoples and Phoenicians along the Southern Phoenician Coast – A Reconciliation: An Interpretation of Šikila (SKL) Material Culture, BASOR 337, 47–78.
— 2006-2007: Fragmenting the Sea Peoples, with an Emphasis on Cyprus, Syria and Egypt: A Tel Dor Perspective, Scripta Mediterranea 27–28, 209–244.
- Gitin S./Meehl M. W./Dothan T. 2006: Occupational History – Stratigraphy and Architecture, in: Meehl M. W./Dothan T./Gitin S. (eds.), Field INE East Slope. Iron Age I (Early Philistine Period). Tel Miqne-Ekron Excavations 1995–1996 (= Tel Miqne-Ekron Final Field Report Series 8) 27–69.
- Golani A./Yogev O. 1996: The 1980 Excavations at Tel Sasa, 'Atiqot 28, 41–58.
- Golénischeff W. 1913: Les papyrus hiératiques N^o 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'hermitage impériale à St. Pétersbourg. Leipzig.
- Gonen R. 1992: Burial Patterns and Cultural Diversity in Late Bronze Age Canaan (= American Schools of Oriental Research. Dissertation Series 7).
- Green J. D. M. 2008: Forces of Transformation in Death: The Cemetery at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Jordan, in: Bachhuber C./Roberts R. G. (eds.), Forces of Transformation: The End of the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean. Themes From the Ancient Near East (= BANEA Publication Series 1) 80–91.
- Green J. D. M. 2010: Creating Prestige in the Jordan Valley: A Reconstruction of Ritual and Social Dynamics from the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Cemetery at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, in: Matthiae P./Pinnock F./Nigro L./Marchetti N. (eds.), Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Rome, 5th–10th May 2008, Vol. 1: Near Eastern Archaeology in the Past, Present and Future. Archaeological Heritage and the Archaeologist's Identity (Wiesbaden) 765–779.
- Guy P. L.O. 1938: Megiddo Tombs (= OIP 33).
- Hafþórsson S. 2006: Passing Power. An Examination of the Sources for the History of Aram-Damascus in the Second Half of the Ninth Century B.C. (= Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series 54).
- Haines R. W. 1971: Excavations in the Plain of Antioch (= OIP 45).
- Hallote R. S. 2002: Real and Ideal Identities in Middle Bronze Age Tombs, Near Eastern Archaeology 65, 105–111.
- Harrison T. P. 2004: Megiddo 3: Final Report on the Stratum VI Excavations (= OIP 127).
- Harrison T. P./Batiuk S./Snow H. 2006: 2004 Yılı Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, Kazi sonuclari toplantisi 27, 353–362.
- Herr L. G. 2000: The Settlement and Fortification of Tell al-'Umayri in Jordan during the LB/Iron I Transition, in: Stager L. E./Greene J. A./Coogan M. D. (eds.), The Archaeology of Jordan and Beyond. Essays in Memory of James A. Sauer (= Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 1) 167–179.

- Herzog Z. 1997: *Archaeology of the City: Urban Planning in Ancient Israel and Its Social Implications* (= Tel Aviv University. Sonja and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology. Monograph Series 13).
- Holladay J. S., Jr. 1995: *The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA–B (ca. 1000–750)*, in: Levy T. E. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (New York) 368–398.
- Hübner U. 1986: *Aegyptiaca vom Tell el-‘Orēme*, *Liber Annuus* 36, 253–264.
- Hunt M. 1987: *The Iron Age – The Pottery*, in Ben-Tor A./Portugali Y. *Tell Qiri. A Village in the Jezreel Valley. Report of the Archaeological Excavations 1975–1977* (= *Qedem* 24) 139–206.
- Ilan D. 1997: *Art. Burial Sites*, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* 1, 384–386.
- 1999: *Northeastern Israel in the Iron Age I: Cultural, Socioeconomic and Political Perspectives*, unpublished PhD thesis Tel Aviv University.
- 2011: *Household Gleanings from Iron I Tel Dan*, in: Yasur-Landau A./Ebeling J. R./Mazow L. B. (eds.), *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond* (= *CHANE* 50) 133–154.
- James F. W. 1966: *The Iron Age at Beth Shan* (= *Museum Monographs*). Philadelphia.
- Janeway B. 2006-2007: *The Nature and Extent of Aegean Contact at Tell Ta‘yinat and Vicinity in The Early Iron Age: Evidence of the Sea Peoples?*, *Scripta Mediterranea* 27–28, 123–146.
- Jirku A. 1937: *Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen. In Umschrift und mit historisch-archäologischem Kommentar* (= *Klio Beiheft* 38 = N.F. 25).
- Joffe A. H. 2002: *The Rise of Secondary States in the Iron Age Levant*, *JESHO* 45, 425–467.
- Joukowsky M. 1972: *The Pottery of Tell el-Ghassil in the Beqa‘a. A Comparative Study and Analysis of the Iron Age and Bronze Age Wares*. Beirut.
- Kamlah J. 2000: *Der Zeraqōn-Survey 1989–1994. Mit Beiträgen zur Methodik und geschichtlichen Auswertung archäologischer Oberflächenuntersuchungen in Palästina* (= *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 27,1).
- 2008: *Palästina während der frühen Eisenzeit. Die Entstehung Israels aus archäologischer Sicht*, *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 2008/3, 28–33.
- Karasik A./Smilansky U. 2006: *Computation of the Capacity of Pottery Vessels Based on Drawn Profiles*, in: Mazar A. (ed.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996, Vol. I: From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period* (Jerusalem) 392–394.
- Karge P. 1917: *Rephaim. Die vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens. Archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (= *Collectanea Hierosolymitana* 1).
- Killebrew A. E. 2005: *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity. An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel, 1300–1100 B.C.E.* (= *Society of Biblical Literature. Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 9).
- Kletter R. 2002: *People without Burials? The Lack of Iron I Burials in the Central Highlands of Palestine*, *IEJ* 52, 28–48.
- Knauf E. A. 2000: *Kinneret and Naftali*, in: Lemaire A./Magnus S. (eds.), *International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament: Congress Volume. Oslo 1998* (= *Vetus Testamentum. Supplements* 80) 219–233.
- 2002a: *The Queens’ Story. Bathsheba, Maacah, Athaliah and the ‘Historia of Early Kings’*, *Lectio difficilior* 2/2002: http://www.lectio.unibe.ch/02_2/axel.htm.
- 2002b: *Kinneret and Early Iron Age Chronology*, *Biblische Notizen* 113, 18–23.

- Knauf E. A. 2003: «Kinneret I» Revisited, in: den Hertog C. G./Hübner U./Münger S. (eds.), *Saxa loquentur. Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israels. Festschrift für Volkmar Fritz zum 65. Geburtstag* (= AOAT 302) 159–169.
- Kochavi M. 1989: The Land of Geshur Project: Regional Archaeology of the Southern Golan (1987–1988 Seasons), *IEJ* 39, 1–17.
- 1993a: Land of Geshur – 1991/1992, *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 13, 24–28.
- 1993b: Art. Hadar, Tel, *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 2, 501f.
- 1998a: The Eleventh Century Tripartite Pillar Building at Tel Hadar, in: Seymour G./Mazar A./Stern E. (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries. In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan (Jerusalem)* 468–478.
- 1998b: The Ancient Road from the Bashan to the Meiderranean, in: Eskola T./Eero J. (eds.), *From the Ancient Sites of Israel. Essays on Archaeology, History and Theology in Memory of Aapeli Saarisalo (1896–1986)* (= *Justitia Supplement Series*) 25–47.
- 1999: Land of Geshur – 1997, *Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot – Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 109, 14*f.
- Kochavi M./Renner T./Spar I./Yadin E. 1992: Rediscovered! The Land of Geshur, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18,4, 40–44.84f.
- Lamon R. S./Shipton G. M. 1939: Megiddo I. Seasons of 1925–34. Strata I-V (= OIP 42).
- Lebeau M. 1983: La céramique de l'Âge du Fer II-III à Tell Abou Danné et ses rapports avec la céramique contemporaine en Syrie (= *Centre de recherche d'archéologie orientale, Université Paris 1 no. 2/Recherche sur les civilisations* 12).
- Lehmann G. 1996: Untersuchungen zur späten Eisenzeit in Syrien und Libanon. Stratigraphie und Keramikformen zwischen ca. 720 bis 300 v.Chr. (= *Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients* 5).
- Lernau O. 2006: Fish Remains, in: Finkelstein I./Ussishkin D./Halpern B. (eds.), *Megiddo IV. The 1998–2002 Seasons* (= Tel Aviv University. Sonja and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology. Monograph Series 24) 474–496.
- 2009: Fish Bones. Pp. 774–781 in Panitz-Cohen N./Mazar A. (eds.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996, Vol. III: The 13th–11th Century Strata in Areas N and S. Jerusalem.*
- Lev-Tov J. 2006: The Faunal Remains: Animal Economy in the Iron Age I, in: Meehl M. W./Trude D./Seymour G. (eds.), *Field INE East Slope. Iron Age I (Early Philistine Period). Tel Miqne-Ekron Excavations 1995–1996* (= *Tel Miqne-Ekron Final Field Report Series* 8) 207–233.
- Levy S./Edelstein G. 1972: Cinq années de fouilles à Tel 'Amal (Nir David), *RB* 79, 325–367.
- Levy T. E./Najjar M./Muniz A./Malena S./Monroe E./Beherec M./Smith N. G./Higham T./Münger S./Maes K. 2004: Iron Age Burial in the Lowlands of Edom: The 2004 Excavations at Wādī Fīdān 40, *Jordan, Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 49, 443–487.
- Lipiński E. 2000: *The Aramaeans. Their Ancient History, Culture and Religion* (= OLA 100).
- 2009: *Resheph. A Syro-Canaanite Deity* (= OLA 181).
- Loud G. 1948: *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935–1939* (= OIP 52).
- Maeir A. M. 2004: *Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tel Gezer, Israel. Finds from Raymond-Charles Weill's Excavations in 1914 and 1921* (= *BAR International Series* 1206).

- Manhart H./von den Driesch A. 2004: Tierreste der Bronze- und Eisenzeit von Kinneret (Tell el-Oreme), Israel, in: Grupe G./Peters J. (eds.), *Conservation Policy and Current Research* (= *Documenta Archaeobiologiae* 2) 161–203.
- Margalit B. 1989: *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht: Text, Translation, Commentary* (= Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 182).
- Master D. M. 2005: *Methodology: Re-excavating after 50 Years*, in: Master D. M./Monson J. M./Lass H. E./Pierce G. A. (eds.), *Dothan I. Remains from the Tell (1953–1964)* (Winona Lake) 21–26.
- Mazar A. 1985: *Excavations at Tell Qasile, Part Two: The Philistine Sanctuary: Various Finds, The Pottery, Conclusions, Appendixes* (= *Qedem* 20).
- 1999: *The 1997–1998 Excavations at Tel Rehov: Preliminary Report*, *IEJ* 49, 1–42.
- 2003: *The Excavations at Tel Rehov and their Significance for the Study of the Iron Age in Israel*, *Eretz Israel* 27, 143–160 (Hebrew).
- 2007: *The Search for David and Solomon*, in: Schmidt B. B. (ed.), *The Quest for Historical Israel. Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel* (= *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 17) 117–139.
- Mazar A./Bruins H. J./Panitz-Cohen N./van der Plicht J. 2005: *Ladder of Time at Tel Rehov. Stratigraphy, Archaeological Context, Pottery and Radiocarbon Dates*, in: Levy T. E./Higham T. (eds.), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating. Archaeology, Text and Science* (London/Oakville) 193–255.
- Mazar A./Panitz-Cohen N. 2008: *To What God?*, *Biblical Archaeology Review*. 34/4, 40–47.76.
- Mazow L. B. 2005: *Competing Material Culture: Philistine Settlement at Tel Mique-Ekron in the Early Iron Age*, unpublished PhD thesis University of Arizona.
- Mazzoni S. (ed.) 1992: *Tell Afis e l'età del Ferro* (= *Seminari di orientalistica* 2).
- 1998: *Area E1 – Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I-II. The Late Iron I and Early Iron II Levels*, in: Cecchini S. M./Mazzoni S. (eds.), *Tell Afis (Siria). Scavi sull'acropoli 1988–1992/The 1988–1992 Excavations on the Acropolis* (= *Ricerche di archeologia del Vicino Oriente* 1) 163–199.
- 2000a: *Syria and the Chronology of the Iron Age*, *Isimu. Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la antigüedad* 3, 121–138.
- 2000b: *Pots, People and Cultural Borders in Syria*, in: Milano L./de Martino S./Fales F. M./Lanfranchi G. B. (eds.), *Landscapes. Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East III/2: Geography and Cultural Landscapes* (Padova) 139–152.
- McClellan T. 1997: *Houses and Households in North Syria during the Late Bronze Age*, in: Castel C./Al-Maqdissi M./Villeneuve F. (eds.), *Les Maisons dans la Syrie antique du III^e millénaire aux débuts de l'Islam. Pratiques et représentations de l'espace domestique* (Beyrouth) 29–69.
- McHugh F. 1999: *Theoretical and Quantitative Approaches to the Study of Mortuary Practice* (= *BAR International Series* 785).
- Metzger M. 1993: *Kāmid el-Lōz 8: Die spätbronzezeitlichen Tempelanlagen. Die Kleinfunde*. 2 Vols (= *Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 40).
- Mofidi Nasrabadi B. 1999: *Untersuchungen zu den Bestattungssitten in Mesopotamien in der ersten Hälfte des ersten Jahrtausends* (= *Baghdader Forschungen* 23).
- Monchambert J.-Y. 2004: *La céramique d'Ougarit. Campagnes de fouilles 1975 et 1976* (= *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* 15).

- Morstadt B. 2008: Phönizische Thymiateria. Zeugnisse des Orientalisierungsprozesses im Mittelmeerraum. Originale Funde, bildliche Quellen, originaler Kontext (= AOAT 354).
- Mountjoy P. A. 1986: Mycenaean Decorated Pottery (= Studies in Mediterranean archaeology 73).
- 1993: Mycenaean Pottery: An Introduction (= Oxford University Committee for Archaeology. Monograph 36).
- Münger S. 2005a: Of Pots and Strata – A Reply to ‘Kinneret and Early Iron Age Chronology’ by E. A. Knauf, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes* 9/10, 77–91.
- 2005b: Medien und Ethnizität – Das Beispiel einer Tanitischen Stempelsiegel-Gruppe der Frühen Eisenzeit, in: Frevel C. (ed.), *Medien im antiken Palästina? Materielle Kommunikation und Medialität als Thema der Palästinaarchäologie* (= Forschungen zum Alten Testament II,10) 85–107.
- 2007: Amulets in Context: Catalogue of Scarabs, Scaraboids and Stamp-seals from Tel Kinrot/Tell el-‘Orēme (Israel), in: Bickel S./Schroer S./Schurte R./Uehlinger C. (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen – Images as Sources. Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts and the Bible Inspired by the Work of Othmar Keel* (= OBO. Special Volume) 81–99.
- 2009: “Handle with Care” – Notes on Stamp-Seal Impressions on Jar Handles and a Bulla from Early Iron Age Tell el-‘Orēme/Tel Kinrōt, *ZDPV* 125, 116–138.
- 2012a: Chinneret (I. Archaeology; II. Hebrew Bible), *The Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception* 5 (Berlin et al.) 130f.
- 2012b: « ... et on l’inhuma dans sa maison » (1 S 25,1) : Indices archéologiques au sujet de l’enterrement dans la maison d’habitation en Ancien Israël et dans ses alentours pendant le Fer I (c. 1130–950 avant notre ère), in: J. M. Durand/T. Römer/J. Hutzli (eds.), *Les vivants et leurs morts. Actes du colloque organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 14-15 avril 2012* (= OBO 257) 227–239.
- Münger S./Zangenberg J./Pakkala J. (in collaboration with Bar-Oz G./Klee M./Saarelainen K./Thomson I./Zwickel W.) 2011: Kinneret – An Urban Center at the Crossroads: Excavations on Iron IB Tel Kinrot at the Lake of Galilee, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 74, 68–90.
- Münger S./Zangenberg J./Zwickel W. 2006: Kinneret – Die geheimnisvolle Metropole Palästinas, *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 2006/3, 63f.
- Na’aman N. 2012: The Kingdom of Geshur in History and Memory, *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 26, 88–101.
- Niehr H. 2003: Zur Entstehung von Dämonen in der Religionsgeschichte Israels. Überlegungen zum Weg des Rešep durch die nordwestsemitische Religionsgeschichte, in: Lange A./Lichtenberger H./Römheld K. F. D. (eds.), *Die Dämonen. Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* (Tübingen) 84–107.
- Nissinen M./Münger S. 2009: «Down the River...»: A Shrine Model from Tel Kinrot in its Context, in: Kaptijn E./Petit L. P. (eds.), *A Timeless Vale. Archaeological and Related Essays on the Jordan Valley in Honour of Gerrit van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (= Archaeological Studies Leiden University 19) 129–144.
- Noth M. 1938: Der Aufbau der Palästinaliste Thutmose III, *ZDPV* 61, 26–65.
- Ottosson M. 1993: The Iron Age of Northern Jordan, in: Lemaire A./Otzen B. (eds.), *History and Traditions of Early Israel. Studies Presented to Eduard Nielsen* (= *Vetus Testamentum. Supplement* 50) 90–103.

- Pakkala J./Münger S./Zangenberg J. 2004: Kinneret Regional Project: Tel Kinrot Excavations (= Proceedings of the Finnish Institute in the Middle East 2/2004).
- Pakkala J./Tynjä T./Valkama K. 2006: Kinneretin kaivaukset vuosina 2001–2005, Teologinen Aikakauskirja 4/2006, 323–344.
- Pakkala J. 2010: What Do We Know about Geshur? *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 24, 159–177.
- Panitz-Cohen N. 2009: The Local Canaanite Pottery, in: Panitz-Cohen N./Mazar A. (eds.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996, Vol. III: The 13th–11th Century Strata in Areas N and S (Jerusalem)* 195–433.
- Parker Pearson M. 1999: *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Stroud.
- Penner S. 2006: Kāmid el-Lōz 19. Die Keramik der Spätbronzezeit. Tempelanlagen T3 bis T1, Palastanlagen P5 bis P1/2, Königsgrab ('Schatzhaus') und 'Königliche Werkstatt' (= Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 63).
- Pitard W. T. 1994: The Reading of KTU 1.19.III:41: The Burial of Aqhat, *BASOR* 293, 31–38.
- Powel M. A. 1992: Art. Weight and Measures, *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 6, 897–908.
- Raban-Gerstel N./Bar-Oz G./Zohar I./Sharon I. 2008: Early Iron Age Dor (Israel): A Faunal Perspective, *BASOR* 349, 25–59.
- Rapuano Y. 2001: Tel Dover, Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot – Excavations and Surveys in Israel 113, 21–23 and 19*–21* (English and Hebrew).
- Redford D. B. 2003: The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III. (= CHANE 16).
- Riis P. J. 1948: Hama. Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931–1938, Vol. II,3: Les cimetières à crémation. København.
- Routledge B. 2000: Seeing Through Walls: Interpreting Iron Age I Architecture at Khirbat al-Mudayna al-‘Aliya, *BASOR* 319, 37–70.
- Saarelainen K. 2007: *Traditions in Clay – Anthropomorphic Representations and Figurines from Tel Kinrot*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Helsinki.
- Sader H. 2010: The Aramaeans of Syria: Some Considerations on their Origin and Material Culture, in: Lemaire A./Halpern B. (eds.), *The Book of Kings. Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception* (= *Vetus Testamentum. Supplements* 129) 273–300.
- Sass B. 2005: The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium. The West Semitic Alphabet ca. 1150–850. The Antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian Alphabets (= *Tel Aviv. Occasional Publications* 4).
- Schaeffer C. F. 1949: *Ugaritica II*. (= *Mission de Ras Shamra 5/Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 47).
- Senior L. M./Dunbar P. B. III 1995: Estimating Vessel Volume from Profile Illustrations, *American Antiquity* 60, 319–334.
- Shanks H. 1973: An Incised Handle from Hazor Depicting a Syro-Hittite Deity, *IEJ* 23, 234f.
- Singer I. 2006: Hittites and the Bible Revisited, in: Maeir A. M./de Miroschedji P. (eds.), "I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times". *Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday (Winona Lake)* 723–756.
- Smith R. H./Potts T. F. 1992: The Iron Age, in: McNicoll A./Edwards W./Edwards P. C./Hanbury-Tension J./Basil Hennessy J./Potts T. F./Smith R. H./Walmsley A. G./Watson P. (eds.), *Pella in Jordan 2* (= *Mediterranean Archaeology. Supplement* 2) 83–101.
- Stager L. E./Schloen J. D./Master D. M./Press M. D./Aja A. 2008: Stratigraphic Overview, in: Stager L. E./Schloen J. D./Master D. M. (eds.), *Ashkelon 1. Introduction and Overview (1985–2006)* (= *Final Reports of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon* 1) 215–323.

- Steinbach E. 2006: A Method for Estimating the Capacity of Ceramic Vessels, in: Mazar A. (ed.), *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989–1996, Vol. I: From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period* (Jerusalem) 395–397.
- Stepanski Y. 2000: Map of Kefar Nahum, Survey, *Hadashot Arkheologiyot – Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 112, 13–16 [Hebrew; 9*–11* English].
- Strommenger E. 1971: Grab (I. Irak und Iran), *Reallexikon des Assyriologie*, 581–593.
- Swift G. F. 1958: *The Pottery of the ‘Amuq Phases K to O, and Its Historical Relationships*, unpublished PhD thesis University of Chicago.
- Szuchman J. 2009: Bit Zamani and Assyria, *Syria* 86, 55–65.
- Tenu A. 2009: Assyrians and Arameans in the Upper Euphrates Valley Viewed from the Cemetery of Tell Shiukh Fawqâni (Syria), *Syria* 86, 83–96.
- Thomsen I. 2011: *Die früheisenzeitlichen Tierknochen von Tel Kinrot, Israel – Eine archäozoologische Analyse*, unpublished MA thesis, Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz.
- Tubb J. N. 1988: Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh: Preliminary Report on the First Three Seasons of Renewed Excavations, *Levant* 20, 23–80.
- Ussishkin D. 2005: The Fortifications of Philistine Ekron, *IEJ* 55, 35–65.
- Van Neer W./Lernau O./Friedman R./Mumford G./Poblome J./Waelkens M. 2004: Fish Remains from Archaeological Sites as Indicators of Former Trade Connections in the Eastern Mediterranean, *Paléorient* 30, 101–147.
- Venturi F. 1998: Area E1 – Late Bronze Age II and Iron Age I-II. The Late Bronze II and Early Iron I Levels, in: Cecchini S. M./Mazzoni S. (eds.), *Tell Afis (Siria). Scavi sull’acropoli 1988–1992/The 1988–1992 Excavations on the Acropolis (= Ricerche di archeologia del Vicino Oriente 1)* 123–162.
- 2000a: Le premier âge du Fer à Tell Afis et en Syrie septentrionale, in: Bunnens G. (ed.), *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age (= Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Supplement 7)* 505–536
- 2000b: Tell Afis et la “Dark Age” (les niveaux de la fin du Bronze récent II et de l’âge du Fer I), in: Matthiae P./Enea A./Peyronel L./Pinnock F. (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (Roma)* 1715–1730.
- 2010: Cultural Breakdown or Evolution? The Impact of Changes in the 12th Century BC Tell Afis, in: Venturi F. (ed.), *Societies in Transition. Evolutionary Processes in the Northern Levant between Late Bronze Age II and Early Iron Age. Papers Presented on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the New Excavations in Tell Afis, Bologna, 15th November 2007 (= Studi e testi orientali 9. Serie Archaeologica 2)* 1–27.
- Vieweger D./Häser J. 2010: Das “Gadara Region Project”. *Der Tell Zerā‘a in den Jahren 2007 bis 2009*, *ZDPV* 126, 1–28.
- Von der Osten H. H. 1956: *Svenska Syrien Expeditionen 1952–1953, Vol. I: Die Grabung von Tell es-Şalihiyeh (= Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4^o, 4)*.
- Yadin E./Kochavi M. 2008: Art. Hadar, Tel, *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* 5, 1756–1757.
- Yadin Y./Aharoni Y./Amira R./Dothan T./Dunayevsky I./Perrot J. 1960: *Hazor II. An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956*. Jerusalem.
- 1961: *Hazor III–IV. An Account of the Third and Forth Seasons of Excavations, 1957–1958*. Jerusalem.
- Yadin Y./Shulamit G. 1986: *Investigations at Beth Shean. The Early Iron Age Strata (= Qedem 23)*.

- Vila E./Dalix A.-S. 2004: Alimentation et idéologie: la place du sanglier et du porc à l'Âge du Bronze sur la côte levantine, *Anthropozoologica* 39, 219–236.
- Vitto F. 2000: An Iron Age Burial Cave in Nazareth, *'Atiqot* 42, 159–169.
- Wada H. 2009a: Stratum I-1, in: Iwasaki T./Wakita S./Ishida K./Wada H. (eds.), *Tell Mastuma. An Iron Age Settlement in Northwest Syria* (= *Memoirs of Ancient Orient Museum* 3) 303–336.
- Wada H. 2009b: Review of Stratum I, in: Iwasaki T./Wakita S./Ishida K./Wada H. (eds.), *Tell Mastuma. An Iron Age Settlement in Northwest Syria* (= *Memoirs of Ancient Orient Museum* 3) 340–398.
- Wakita S./Wada H./Nishiyama S. 2000: Tell Mastuma: Change in Settlement Plans and Historical Context During the First Quarter of the First Millennium B.C., in: Bunnens G. (ed.), *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (= *Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Supplement* 7) 537–557.
- Watzinger C. 1929: *Tell el-Mutesellim, Vol. II: Die Funde*. Leipzig.
- Weigl M. 2011: Der See Gennesaret, *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 2011/4, 60–63.
- Weinstein J. 1981: The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment, *BASOR* 241, 1–28.
- Weippert H. 1988: Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit (= *Handbuch der Archäologie, Vorderasien* 2,1).
- Weippert M. 2010: *Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (= *Grundrisse zum Alten Testament. Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Ergänzungsreihe* 10).
- Whincop M. 2009: *Pots, People, and Politics. A Reconsideration of the Role of Ceramics in Reconstructions of the Iron Age Northern Levant* (= *BAR International Series* 1902).
- 2010: The Complexity of Ceramic Regions in the Iron Age Northern Levant: The Application of Correspondence Analysis to Near Eastern Ceramic Data, *Levant* 42, 30–47.
- Winn S. M. M./Jak Y. 1984: The 1982 Excavations at Tel Kinrot: The Early Bronze Age Settlement, *Tel Aviv* 11, 20–47.
- Wolff S. 1998: *Archaeology in Israel*, *AJA* 102, 757–807.
- Wyatt N. 2002: *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (= *The Biblical Seminar* 53, 2nd revised edition).
- Zangenberg J./Münger S. 2011: Horbat Kur – Preliminary Report, *Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot – Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 123, online [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=1746].
- Zapassky E./Finkelstein I./Benenson I. 2009: Computing Abilities in Antiquity: The Royal Judahite Storage Jars as a Case-study, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 16, 51–67.
- Zarzecki-Peleg A./Cohen-Anidjar S./Ben-Tor A. 2005: Pottery Analysis, in: Ben-Tor A./Zarzecki-Peleg A./Cohen-Anidjar S. (eds.), *Yoqne'am II. The Iron Age and the Persian Period. Final Report of the Archaeological Excavations (1977–1988)* (= *Qedem Reports* 6) 233–344.
- Zarzecki-Peleg A. 1997: Hazor, Jokneam and Megiddo in the 10th Century B.C.E, *Tel Aviv* 24, 258–288.
- Zertal A. 1986-1987: An Early Iron Age Cultic Site on Mt. Ebal: Excavation Seasons 1982–1987, *Tel Aviv* 13–14, 105–165.
- Zevit Z. 2001: *The Religions of Ancient Israel. A Synthesis of Parallaxic Approaches*. London/New York.
- Zwicker W. 2009: *Das Heilige Land. Geschichte und Archäologie*. München.