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Kathryn R. Reynolds April 18, 2012

Analysis of Remains from Field V Excavations at Tel Halif: An Archaeological Source of Identity

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An abstract of
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
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Abstract

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In 701 B.C.E., the Assyrian King Sennacherib campaigned in Judah in response to a revolt instigated by the Judean king Hezekiah. Destruction levels dated to this time can be found at excavated sites all over the southern Levant region. This report focuses on the material evidence sealed in this destruction level (Stratum VIB) of one such site on the southern fringe of Judah: Tel Halif. In the late 8th century B.C.E., Tel Halif was a small, rural fortified town situated on the northern edge of the Negev desert. The extensive amount of ash, destruction debris, and materials dating to the Iron Age II supports the thought that Tel Halif suffered under Sennacherib's siege like many other settlements. These circumstances provide a unique opportunity to understand life at Tel Halif and in the southern Levant during the Iron Age II. It also sheds light on Hezekiah's revolt and the brutal consequences taken out on any participating parties (involvement being implied by the presence of *lmlk* stamp impressions and *lmlk*-type jars).

For many years archaeologists have sought to build connections between the material culture excavated from the archaeological record and the societies that produced those remains. At its most basic level this thesis aspires to do the same by examining and interpreting the material excavated in Field V of Tel Halif, Israel from 2007 to 2009 focusing specifically on the remains from Stratum VIB in Areas D7, E6, and E7 as they pertain to household archaeology and foreign contact. These investigations should add information to the foundation of data that is currently used for reconstructions of Iron Age (1200 to 500 B.C.E.) Judah.

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Introduction

For many years archaeologists have sought to build connections between the material culture excavated from the archaeological record and the societies that produced those remains. At its most basic level this thesis aspires to do the same by examining and interpreting the material excavated in Field V of Tel Halif, Israel from 2007 to 2009 focusing specifically on the remains from Stratum VIB in Areas D7, E6, and E7 as they pertain to household archaeology and foreign contact. These investigations should add information to the foundation of data that is currently used for reconstructions of Iron Age (1200 to 500 B.C.E.) Judah. First, I will discuss my personal involvement in the project and then some different approaches to the interpretation of archaeological evidence because in archaeology methodology is very important when decoding the ever-increasing complex puzzle of the past.

In the summer of 2009 after my first year at Emory University, I attended a field school at Tel Halif. During that season, I gained hands-on experience excavating Area D7 and the balk between Areas D7 and E7 in Field V. I learned about the history of the tel and the methodology of archaeological excavation. The experience left me with unforgettable memories and valuable knowledge about the tel and archaeology in general. The material that I helped uncover that summer inspired me to examine and interpret the remains in order to further expose information implied in the archaeological record. I hope that this investigation can reveal various facets of identity ranging from occupational choices to political ideology. My goal is to use the physical evidence to expose behaviors and attitudes that are not directly present in the archaeological

record. This includes symbolic and cognitive aspects of societies and cross-cultural exchange of ideas, values, and even identities.[1]

Archaeology has branches reaching into several very different disciplines, but the nature of archaeological study necessitates this complexity in order to fulfill its objectives. Archaeology is considered a sub-discipline of anthropology as a sort of cultural anthropology that applies to past cultures, using material remains instead of experience living with contemporary societies.[2] In a broad sense, archaeology is also history. The benefit of using evidence from each perspective goes both ways, each shedding light on the other discipline, especially while many of those historic sources are excavated through archaeological means.[3] In addition, archaeology is a scientific field, not only using science in analyzing the physical properties of archaeological materials, but also applying scientific methodology. The methods are organized similarly in that the archaeologist must take the evidence at hand, make a hypothesis, find support for this hypothesis, and devise conclusions by producing general principles that summarize an observed pattern.[4] It makes sense then since archaeology has so many different facets that it also has a variety of resources and associated viewpoints from which to collect data and draw conclusions.

Modern scholars use a variety of approaches and sources of data in order to take the most relevant information that can be verified or comparatively confirmed. In effect, using this methodology can build a cohesive and integrative argument that takes many considerations into

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[1] C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 5th ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 17.

[2] Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 12.

[3] Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 12.

[4] Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 12.

account. Not only is it common practice to consult multiple sources and to apply several approaches when reconstructing the past, but it is fortunate, especially for this particular area of study, that there are so many sources of evidence and inquiry with which to piece together the history of biblical times, the ancient Kingdom of Judah and its people, and our site Tel Halif. Referring to the study of the Lachish reliefs from Sennacherib's palace, David Ussishkin states, "There is no other case in biblical archaeology in which a detailed Assyrian relief depicting a city under attack can be compared to the actual remains of that city and that battle uncovered by the archaeologist's spade, while the same events are corroborated by the Old Testament as well as the Assyrian sources."[5] This statement emphasizes the ability to use a variety of sources when reconstructing the Iron Age II in Judah, especially when examining a site that was affected by Sennacherib's attack. While utilizing different approaches, this thesis will incorporate archaeological, historical/epigraphic, ethnographic, and ethnoarchaeological data.

Ethnographic studies examine the behaviors and beliefs of living cultures first hand.[6] Ethnology aspires to compare cultures using ethnographic evidence to create general principles about human society, and historically archaeologists have used these findings analogically in order to better understand the behaviors and beliefs of past societies.[7] Relating to archaeology, this approach uses studies of contemporary societies that may be similar geographically, environmentally, demographically, and culturally to the ancient society being studied. These

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[5] D. Ussishkin, *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib* (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, 1982), 11.

[6] Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 12.

[7] Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 12; J. W. Hardin, *Lahav II: Households and the Use of Domestic Space at Iron II Tell Halif, An Archaeology of Destruction* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 164.

ethnographic data can be used very productively in conjunction with archaeological evidence by providing general models by which to interpret the excavated material.[8] Bringing ethnography and archaeology together, ethnoarchaeology is ethnographic study specifically designed to help explicate archaeological data.[9] Ethnographers study contemporary societies with the particular goal of gaining insight into the archaeological record, and more specifically, the formation and use of material culture.[10] Archaeologists have only in recent decades started taking advantage of this kind of research to aid in archaeological analysis.[11] The ethnoarchaeological data pertaining to this study was retrieved from small rural villages in Palestine and western Iran, similar to what the Iron Age II settlement at Tel Halif would have been like.[12]

Historical and epigraphic data are particularly significant to the region, time period, and culture being examined in this thesis. However, it must be used cautiously since the possible intentions and biases behind the historical texts are unknown and can compromise the authenticity of what is written. "Historical records make statements, offer opinions, pass judgments (even if those statements and judgments themselves need to be interpreted)."[13] This point is especially important when using the text as a source of reliable information when historically reconstructing ancient societies, but like any source used by archaeologists it has to

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[8] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 164.

[9] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 165.

[10] Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 12, 16.

[11] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 164; Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 12.

[12] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 166.

[13] Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, 13.

be carefully considered and interpreted.[14] It can be beneficial to use a comparative approach when using textual data because commonly the same historical events are recorded by multiple sources from opposing sides, sometimes with different accounts of what really happened. These sources also only record particular events and parts of everyday life, so there are many gaps to be filled by other sources of information such as those listed above.

All of these sources have their merits and their faults, but when using them simultaneously I believe it will reveal a realistic and plausible picture of life in the Iron Age II for the inhabitants of Tel Halif. The excavated material in Field V will add to the information that presently lays the foundation for historical reconstructions of this period, and the evidence examined in this thesis will add more data that can be used to gain more insight into ancient life in the southern Levant during the Iron Age II.

In subsequent chapters, after covering an extensive background on the site and the relevant historical data, I will be analyzing the remains of Areas D7, E6, and E7 in order to glean information about the inhabitants of Tel Halif and the world in which they existed. This will be demonstrated on a small scale by focusing on the household and use of space within a pillared dwelling and on a large scale by showing how Tel Halif was integrated into a much larger mercantile system within the Levant and Near East in the Iron Age II. The key to both of these arguments is established in the material culture excavated from Stratum VIB of these areas in Field V.

Using the techniques and methods laid out by household archaeology, I will examine the remains in order to answer questions regarding the use of space in a pillared dwelling, the identification of activity areas, the ability to associate human behaviors with patterns in the

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[14] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 175.

archaeological record, and the possible implications produced by such associations. Specific questions that I will address include the following: How does the use of space in the pillared dwelling reflect upon the inhabitants? What can the material remains reveal about the activities taking place in this domestic structure? And on a related note, how can the material reveal how the space functioned in the household? How was the space divided? And what kinds of boundaries segregate the activity areas? Does this assemblage reflect normal circumstances or a fortified town preparing for war? If so, what kinds of indications would this leave in the archaeological record? What sort of larger and more general implications can this material suggest about the settlement at Tel Halif and society in the southern Levant and Judah under King Hezekiah in the Iron Age II?

The excavated evidence can also shed light on the kinds of trade relations and foreign contact that Tell Halif and the southern Levant experienced in relation to their Near Eastern neighbors. In this thesis, I want to address the following questions: What kinds of evidence can indicate participation in trade? What regions are directly or indirectly in contact with Tel Halif? How does this structure into the larger trade network of the Levant and the Near East? How can the exchange of products affect cultural values? And besides mercantile connections, what other kinds of evidence points to foreign contact? These analyses will provide greater insight into the identities of the inhabitants of Tel Halif and of life in the southern Levant during the Iron Age II.

Chapter 1: Background

Since 1976, long-term studies have been carried out on the archaeological remains excavated at Tel Halif by the Lahav Research Project, and the evidence examined in this thesis comes from Phase IV of the project, which aims at recovering the Iron Age II city.[15] Before going any further it is necessary to present some background information on the site within which to consider the material from Field V, including the geography and location of Tel Halif, the history of excavations, the history of settlements, opinions on its biblical identification, and its possible connections to the siege of the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E.

[15] O. Borowski, ed., *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2008; Limited Circulation), 1.

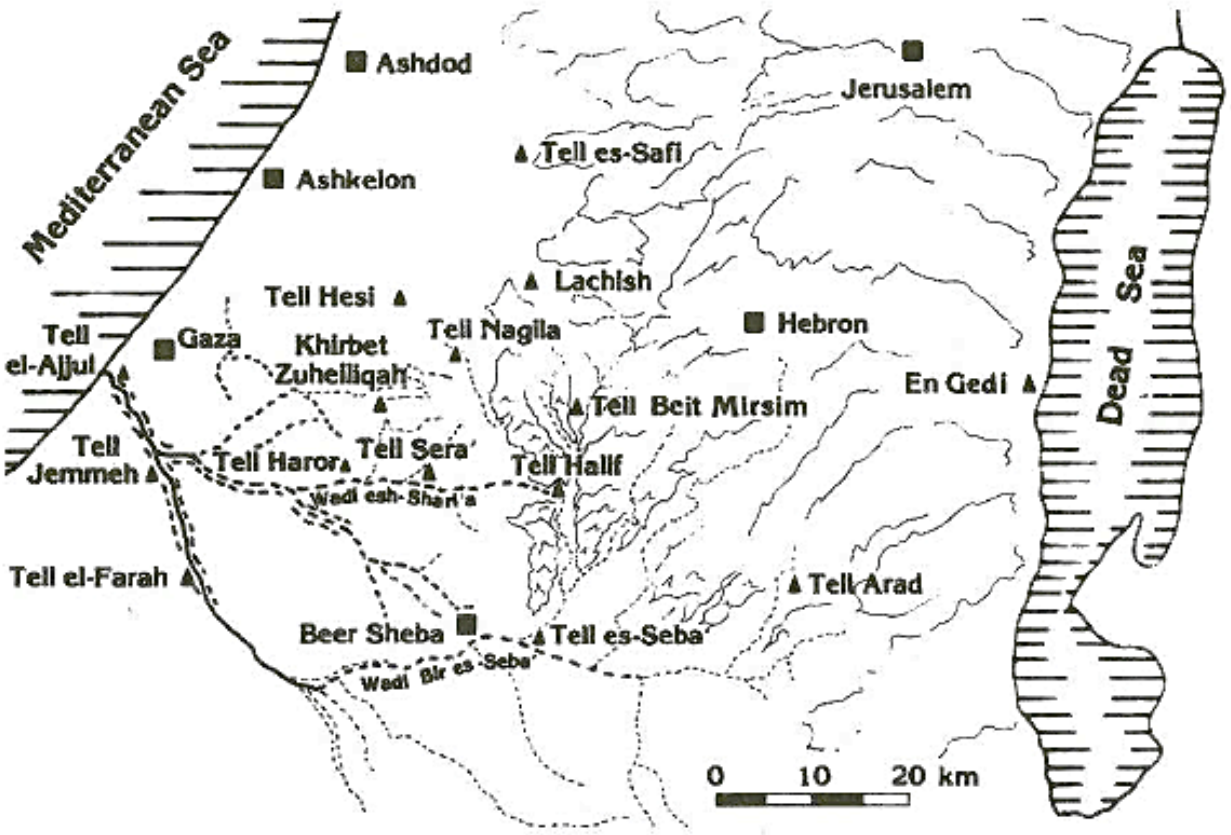

Figure 1: Map of Southern Israel with the location of Tel Halif.

Geography

Tel Halif maintains a unique geographic location where different ecological zones meet, but it is also located at the crossroads of some major ancient trade routes. Rising about 490 meters above sea level, it lies between the Judean hill country near Mount Hebron, the *shephelah* (lowlands), and the northern edge of the Negev desert.[16] In this location, there is a diversity of flora and fauna at the convergence of these different zones and climates, and people throughout history have sought to take advantage of this variety, witnessed by the archaeological evidence

[16] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 84; J. D. Seger and O. Borowski, "The First Two Seasons at Tell Halif," *Biblical Archaeologist* 40, no. 4 (December 1977): 156.

ranging back into the paleolithic.[17] The site of Tel Halif overlooks the plain of Philistia with the Mediterranean Sea only 20 miles to the west.[18] Historically, on the southern fringe of Judah in the late 8th century B.C.E., the site was strategically situated near the main roads going east and west between the seacoast and the hill country and north and south between Egypt, the Negev, and Jerusalem.[19] In particular, Tel Halif is situated not far from the *Via Maris*, an ancient coastal road that ran from Egypt into Philistia and Judah, with subsidiary roads continuing to Megiddo, Tyre, and Damascus.[20] This region is biblically referenced as belonging first to the tribe of Simeon (Josh 19:1-9) and then later to the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:20-32).[21] Nearby prominent Judahite sites include Tel Beit Mirsim, Tel Quneitra, Tel Najila, Arad, and Beersheba.[22]

History of Excavations

The first excavations at the tel took place in 1962 as a salvage project carried out by R. Gophna through the Department of Antiquities of Israel because road construction had

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[17] Seger and Borowski, "The First Two Seasons at Tell Halif," 157.

[18] O. Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," *Biblical Archaeology Review* (May/June 2005): 27.

[19] O. Borowski, "Sennacherib in Judah: The Devastating Consequences of an Assyrian Military Campaign" (paper presented at the annual meeting of Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, GA, November 2010), 1; Seger and Borowski, "The First Two Seasons at Tell Halif," 156-157.

[20] Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 27.

[21] S. H. Bang, "The Assemblage of the Iron Age Cult Objects from Tell Halif Field V and Their Implication for Hezekiah's Reform," A Special Study Presented to Dr. Oded Borowski, Lahav Research Project, 2011, Unpublished Report, 2.

[22] Seger and Borowski, "The First Two Seasons at Tell Halif," 157.

uncovered a late Roman period cemetery on the northern slope of the tel.[23] In 1965 an Iron Age cemetery was discovered south of the tel on the northeastern hillsides across from it, and so A. Biran and R. Gophna began excavations in 1970.[24] Two years later (1972) Gophna exposed fourth millennium B.C.E. remains on the site's eastern terrace while J. Seger oversaw excavations of several caves and tombs that had been discovered on the terrace east of the tel in two locations.[25] In that same year many tombs were found in an Iron Age II cemetery located south of the tel.[26] In 1974 on the eastern terrace, D. Alon uncovered more material dating to the fourth millennium B.C.E., specifically architecture.[27]

As mentioned earlier, the Lahav Research Project was founded in 1976, which denotes the beginning of long-term research carried out at Tel Halif, and it is now in its fourth phase (Phase IV).[28] "This project, made up of a consortium of American institutions and scholars, launched an integrated study of Halif and its environs, including regional survey, excavation, and

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[23] See R. Gophna and V. Zusman. "A Jewish Burial Cave of the Mishnaic Period at Tell Halif" *'Atiqot* 7 (1974); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 88.

[24] A. Biran and R. Gophna, "An Iron Age Burial Cave at Tell Halif," *Israel Exploration Journal* 20 (1970); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 88; O. Borowski, "The Iron Age Cemetery at Tel Halif," *Eretz-Israel* 23 (Avraham Biran Volume; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992): 66.

[25] R. Gophna, "Egyptian First Dynasty Pottery from the Tell Halif Terrace," *Museum Haaretz Bulletin* 14 (1972): 47; J. D. Seger, "Tell Halif, 1972," *Israel Exploration Journal* 22 (1972); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 88.

[26] Seger, "Tell Halif, 1972," 161; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

[27] Gophna and Zusman. "A Jewish Burial Cave of the Mishnaic Period at Tell Halif;" D. Alon, "Lahav – Tell Halif," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 51-52 (1974) [Hebrew]: 28; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 88.

[28] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

ethnographic study."[29] Phase I (1976, 1977, 1979, and 1980) consisted of three fields of excavations (Field I, II, III) on the tel and a fourth subsidiary project in Cave Complex A, located below Field I.[30] Phase II (1983, 1986, 1987, and 1989) proceeded with the work in the three fields on the tel's summit, and in 1985 P. Jacobs supervised some salvage work on the eastern terrace in two fields (Sites 101 and 301).[31] There was also a survey carried out on the area north of the tel with a 5 km radius.[32] In Phase III (1992, 1993, and 1999), a new field was opened up in Field IV in order to investigate remains on the western edge of the tel, and work was continued on the eastern terrace at Site 101.[33] Throughout Phases I and II, J. Seger was the director of the project. In Phase III Seger became the chief investigator while Jacobs and O. Borowski co-directed field excavations (except in 1999 when Jacobs acted as sole director).[34]

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[29] J. D. Seger, "Lahav," in vol. 3 of *The Oxford Encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East*, ed. E. Meyers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 325; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

[30] Seger and Borowski, "The First Two Seasons at Tell Halif," 157-158; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89; J. D. Seger, "Investigations at Tell Halif, Israel, 1976-1980," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 252 (Autumn 1983).

[31] P. F. Jacobs, "Field Report Summary," in *Lahav Research Project 1985: Salvage Season Field Report*, ed. J. D. Seger, 1985, Unpublished Manuscript; J. P. Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics: The Halif Terrace Site 101 and Egypt in the Fourth Millennium B.C.E.* Vol. 1. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

[32] J. D. Seger et al., "The Bronze Age Settlement at Tell Halif: Phase II Excavations, 1983-1987," ed. W. E. Rast, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplement* 26 (Baltimore: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1990); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

[33] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

[34] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

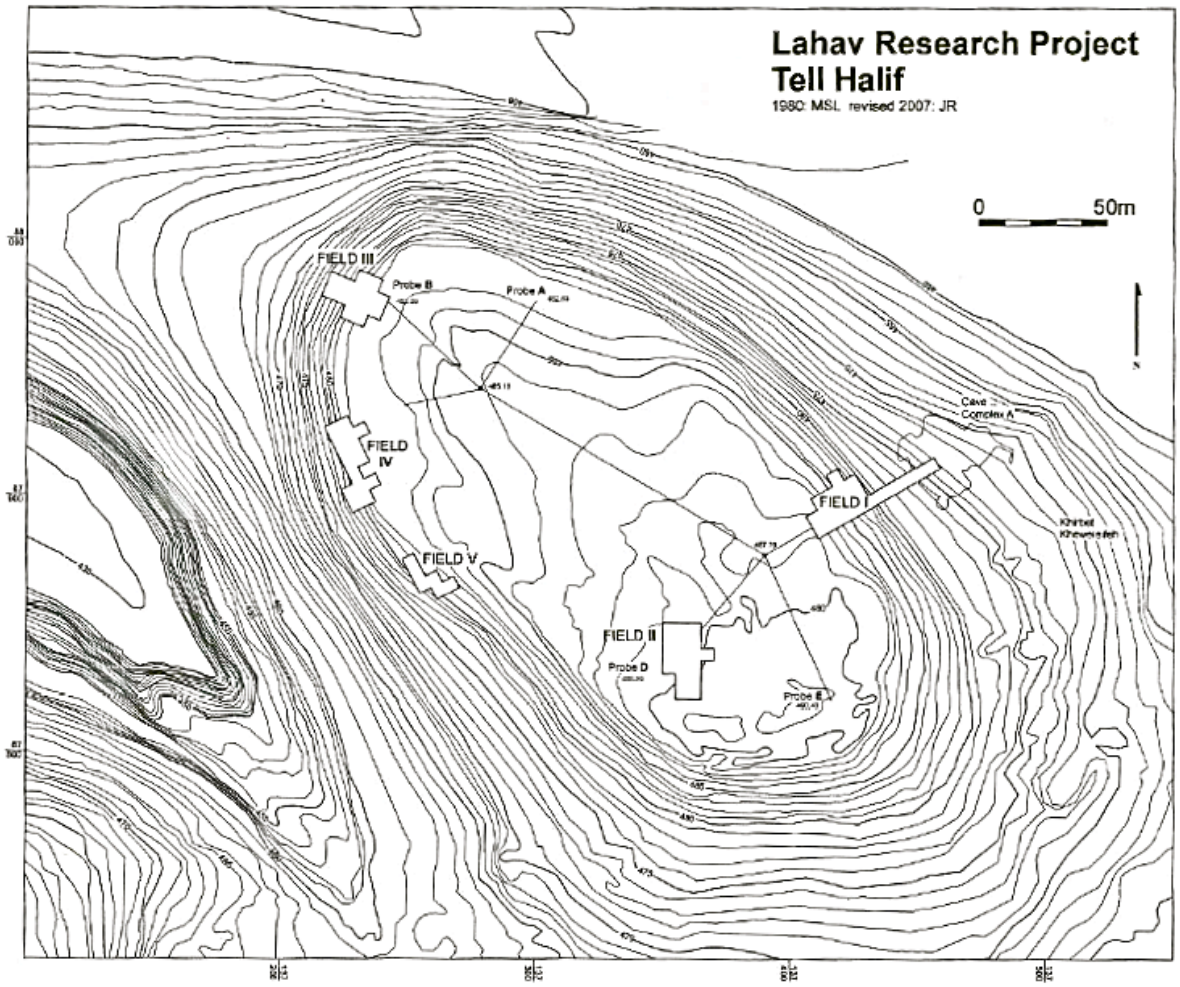

Figure 2: Topographical map of Tel Halif with excavation fields.

In 2007 Borowski began work on Phase IV in Field V, which is on the western edge of the tel directly south and adjacent to Field IV.[35] The goal for seasons 2007-2009 in Field V has been to further investigate Stratum VIB, dating to the end of the 8th century B.C.E. destruction level in order to "better understand daily life in southern Judah at that period; provide a socio-economical profile of the site and the region; study the town plan and its implications for the former topics; attempt to assess the scope of Stratum VIA, the 'squatter' occupation, and its

[35] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89; Borowski, *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2007 Season*, 1.

character."[36] Major remains from Field V include many domestic structures and part of the fortification system, which date to Iron Age II (Stratum VIB) with some continuing into Stratum VIA.[37] Remains from Stratum VIB were found in every area excavated in Field V, and by the end of the 2009 season sections of the city wall and more of the glacis had been uncovered.[38] Some of the domestic architecture included a few pillars, suggesting the presence of a pillared dwelling or otherwise known as a "three-room" or "four-room house."[39] Excavations in Field V are still in progress, and it remains the most recent work done by the Lahav Research Project.

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[36] O. Borowski, "Preface," in *Lahav Research Project, Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University; Limited Circulation), v.

[37] Borowski, *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2007 Season*, 1.

[38] O. Borowski, ed., *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009; Limited Circulation), 1-2.

[39] Borowski, *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season*, 2-3; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 44.

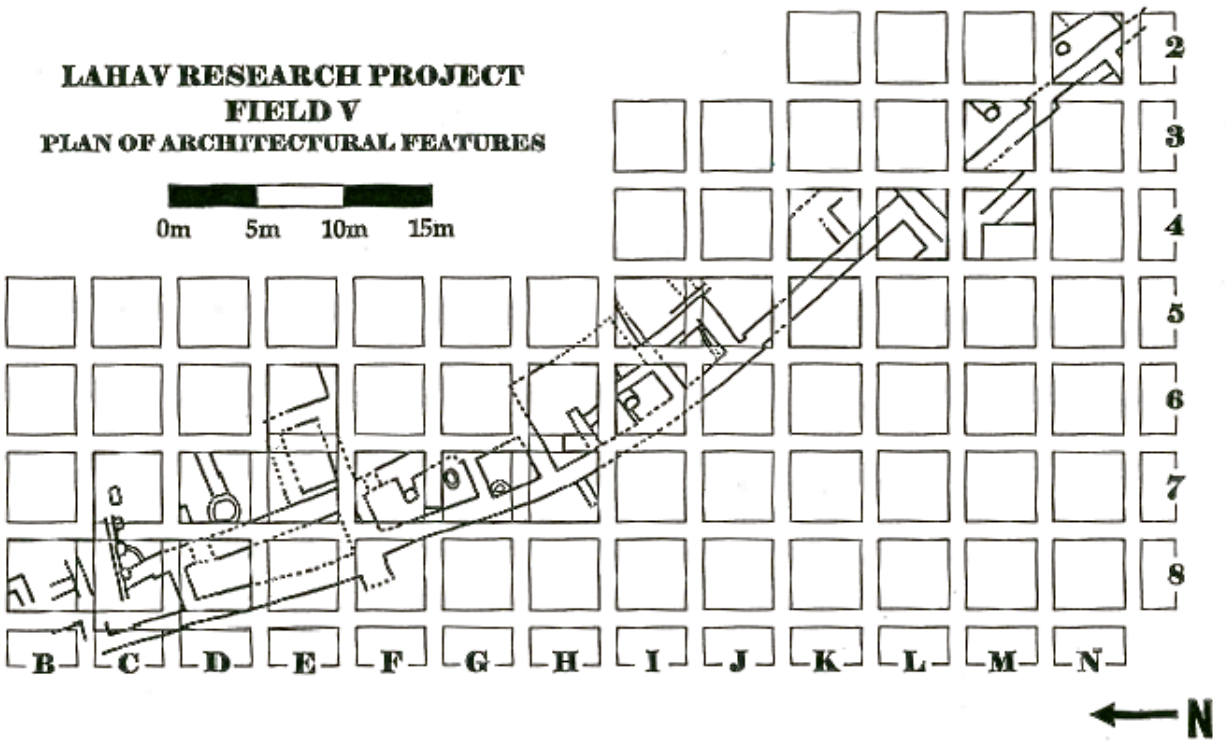

Figure 3: Plan of Architectural Features in Field V.

Additional excavations were conducted by the Nahal Tillah project, which was directed by T. Levy in the summers of 1994 and 1995.[40] This work was carried out on the eastern terrace, to the east of Site 101 and directly south of Site 301, and these efforts were done in conjunction with the investigation of caves near Abu Hof, located about 2 km southwest of Tel Halif.[41] These studies revealed some of the earliest evidence of inhabitants at Halif.[42] The considerable amount of material discovered has shed light on the Egyptian-Canaanite relationship in the latter half of

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[40] T. E. Levy et al., "New Light on King Narmer and the Protodynastic Egyptian Presence in Canaan," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 58, no.1 (March 1995) 26-35; T. E. Levy et al., "Egytian-Canaanite Interaction at Nahal Tillah, Israel (ca. 4500-3000 B.C.E): An Interim Report on the 1994-1995 Excavations," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 307 (1997) 1-51; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

[41] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

[42] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

the fourth millennium B.C.E. and "processes leading to secondary state formation."[43] Tel Halif has clearly been the subject of a multitude of excavations and studies, and the mass amount of archaeological evidence left by its various inhabitants over thousands of years has provided archaeologists with a rare opportunity to study and gain insight into the lives of ancient societies, and inherently the history of the southern Levant. The aim of this study is to present analyses that will contribute to the existing database of information about the tel and its history.

[43] Levy et al., "Egytian-Canaanite Interaction at Nahal Tillah, Israel (ca. 4500-3000 B.C.E.)," 1-3; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

Stratum	*Period*	*Date*
I	Modern Arab	1800–1948 C.E.
II	Early Arab–Crusader	700–1500 C.E.
III	Roman–Byzantine	200–700 C.E.
(Gap)	Early Roman	100 B.C.E.–200 C.E.
IV	Hellenistic	300–100 B.C.E.
V	Persian	500–300 B.C.E.
(Gap)	Late Iron II	680–500 B.C.E.
VIA	Iron II	700–680 B.C.E.
	DESTRUCTION	
VIB	Iron II	800–700 B.C.E.
VIC	Iron II	850–800 B.C.E.
VID	Iron II	900–850 B.C.E.
VII	Iron I	1200–900 B.C.E.
VIII	LB IIB	1300–1200 B.C.E.
IX	LB IIA	1400–1300 B.C.E.
	DESTRUCTION	
X	LB IB	1475–1400 B.C.E.
XI	LB IA	1550–1475 B.C.E.
(Gap)	MB II	2000–1550 B.C.E.
(Gap, traces)	EB IV (Site 101)	2200–2000 B.C.E.
XII	EB IIIB2	2400–2200 B.C.E.
XIII	EB IIIB1	2450–2400 B.C.E.
XIV	EB IIIA2	2500–2450 B.C.E.
	DESTRUCTION	
XV	EB IIIA1	2600–2500 B.C.E.
(Gap)	EB II	2900–2600 B.C.E.
XVI	EB IC (Site 101, 301)	3000–2900 B.C.E.
XVII	EB IB (Site 101, 301)	3100–3000 B.C.E.
XVIII	EB IA (Site 101, 301)	3200–3100 B.C.E.
XIX	Chalcolithic	3500–3200 B.C.E.

Figure 4: Tel Halif Strata by Period and Date.

History of Occupation

Excavations in the last few decades have revealed a considerable amount of information about the occupational history of Tel Halif. The evidence ranges in date from the Chalcolithic to the Modern Arab period up into the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries C.E., but there are a few gaps in habitation such as in the Early Bronze II (2900-2600 B.C.E), the Early Bronze IV (2200-2000 B.C.E.), the Middle Bronze II (2000-1550 B.C.E.), the Late Iron II (680-500 B.C.E.), and the Early Roman (100 B.C.E-200 C.E.) periods.[44] There are nineteen strata and sub-strata with evidence indicating occupation of the site, and the earliest of these are the late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze I strata (XIX-XVI).[45] During these periods the tel was occupied on the eastern terrace, and excavations in this area exposed a thriving village that enjoyed mercantile connections with Egypt in the Early Dynastic period.[46] It is significant to note that this settlement was considerably larger than the norm at that time for southern Palestine (16 versus 10 ha).[47]

The next major settlement was in the Early Bronze Age III witnessed by the evidence from Stratum XV that reveals the first fortified city on the summit of the tel.[48] The discovery of a large and complex fortification system consisting of a perimeter wall, towers, and a glacis made

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[44] J. D. Seger, "Tel Halif," in vol. 2 of *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 554; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89-91.

[45] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

[46] Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics*; Seger, "Lahav," 325; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 89.

[47] Levy et al., "Egytian-Canaanite Interaction at Nahal Tillah, Israel (ca. 4500-3000 B.C.E.)," 3; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 91.

[48] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 91.

of crushed limestone suggests the presence of a strong centralized power over the well-organized city. [49] This settlement ended around 2500 B.C.E. in what must have been a fiery destruction since there were ash deposits discovered to be over 3 meters deep.[50] The next settlement was established shortly after the destruction and carried on to the end of EB III, although after the first EB III city was destroyed, three other distinct architectural styles appeared until a gap in the record appears in EB IV.[51] Some domestic structures and related activity areas were excavated from Stratum XIV (2500-2450 B.C.E.), and the evidence from Strata XIII (2450-2400 B.C.E.) and XII (2400-2200 B.C.E.) revealed a flint tool-making industry at Tel Halif during this time.[52]

The site was mostly unoccupied (with traces in EB IV in Site 101) for about seven-hundred years after the last city was destroyed until 1500 B.C.E. when residents built the first of four Late Bronze Age settlements (Strata XI-VIII) on the tel.[53] These phases are unique for an Egyptian-style residence and associated remains.[54] This residence was inhabited from Stratum X (LB IB) through Stratum IX (LB IIA) into Stratum VIII (LB IIB), but in the last period the floors were resurfaced several times, which could be attributed to the heavy occupation of the site at

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[49] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 91-92.

[50] Seger, "Tel Halif," 554; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

[51] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 91-92.

[52] Seger, "Tel Halif," 555; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

[53] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

[54] Seger, "Investigations at Tell Halif, Israel, 1976-1980;" P. F. Jacobs, "Tell Halif: Prosperity in a Late Bronze Age City on the Edge of the Negev," in *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation*, eds. L. G. Perdue, L. E. Toombs, and G. L. Johnson (Atlanta: John Knox, 1987) 67-86; Seger et al., "The Bronze Age Settlement at Tell Halif;" Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

this time.[55] Also, the associated artifacts from this residence were discovered in a series of phases within Stratum VIII, and occupation ended sometime after 1200 B.C.E. for unknown reasons.[56]

The few remains in Stratum VII from the Iron Age I at Tel Halif (Fields I-III) suggest "modest occupation" on the tel, and the architectural style remains relatively the same, attesting to the continuation of habitation from the LB Age.[57] Ceramic evidence dating to the late eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.E. reveals a relationship and possible trade connections with the Philistine coastal plain during the Iron Age I.[58] In the late 8th century B.C.E. settlement in the Judean Shephelah reached a climax due to a population explosion, apparent from the amount of correlating evidence (artifacts and ceramics) to Lachish III.[59] "During the Iron Age II, the Tel Halif settlement was one of a number of settlements characteristic of the extensive and intensive development of the northern Negev and southern Shephelah."[60] The remains dating to the Iron Age II were discovered all over the tel, in every field and probe on the tel's summit (Fields I-V)

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[55] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

[56] P. F. Jacobs and J. D. Seger, "Glimpses of the Iron Age I at Tel Halif," in *"Up to the Gates of Ekron": Essays on the Archaeology and History of the Eastern Mediterranean in Honor of Seymour Gitin*, ed. S. W. Crawford et al. (Jerusalem: Albright Institute and Israel Exploration Society, 2007); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

[57] Jacobs and Seger, "Glimpses of the Iron Age I at Tel Halif;" Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

[58] Seger, "Tel Halif," 557; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

[59] A. G. Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 22; Y. Dagan, "The Shephelah During the Period of the Monarchy in Light of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys" (M.A. Thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1992), 255.

[60] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

and in many probes in the surrounding area.[61] The occupation layers of the Iron Age II are noted by the four different phases in Stratum VI ranging from approximately 900 to 680 B.C.E.[62] This settlement could be described as a small fortified rural town, and the discovery of a significant fortification system containing a casemate wall with a flagstone-faced glacis supports this.[63] Along with these structures, others were uncovered including pillared dwellings, several casemate rooms, and plastered cisterns designed for water storage.[64] With respect to ceramics, there were numerous *lmlk*-type jars and a considerably large assemblage of other pottery discovered.[65] Additionally, on the hill opposite the tel to the southwest, an Iron Age II cemetery (Site 72) was found and examined.[66] In the late eighth century B.C.E. this town was destroyed, and the fire that brought it down left substantial ash deposits but also the best-preserved level (Stratum VIB).[67]

The tel was resettled immediately after the destruction at the end of the 8th century B.C.E., although the remains from Stratum VIA suggest a much smaller, squatter-like

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[61] Jacobs, "Field Report Summary;" Seger, "Lahav," 325; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

[62] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 91-92.

[63] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92-93.

[64] P. F. Jacobs and O. Borowski, "Notes and News: Tell Halif, 1992," *Israel Exploration Journal* 43 (1993); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92.

[65] Borowski, *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season*, 2.

[66] Borowski, "The Iron Age Cemetery at Tel Halif," 89-92; O. Borowski, "Tel Halif: The Iron Age Cemetery," in vol. 2 of *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993) 559-560; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 92; O. Borowski, *Lahav III*. [In print]

[67] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

population, possibly survivors of the town's downfall.[68] It is evident that some of the Stratum VIB buildings were cleared of destruction debris and reused, but others were simply covered over by new VIA floors, effectively sealing the VIB material. The squatter settlement was short lived, ending in what seems to have been a quick departure, and so the tel was again abandoned in the early seventh century B.C.E.[69] Having compared the material from Stratum VIB and VIA, it was found that there are parallels to remains in strata from other sites in the region including Lachish (Level III), Tel Beit Mirsim (A2), Beer Sheva (2), Tel el-Hesi (sub-Stratum VIIIA), and Tel Eton (Strata I-II).[70] The material from Strata VIB and VIA has been dated to the end of the eighth century B.C.E. and the beginning of the seventh century B.C.E., respectively.[71] Lachish III is used as the standard for dating pottery assemblages and other artifacts including figurines since it has been securely dated to the late 8th century B.C.E., specifically 701 B.C.E.[72]

In the fifth century B.C.E. during the Persian period (Stratum V), Tel Halif was reoccupied.[73] This stratum yielded some large architecture in Field II resembling possibly a

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[68] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[69] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[70] J. A. Blakely and J. W. Hardin, "Southwest Judah in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 326 (2002): 13-34; O. Zimhoni, "The Iron Age Pottery of Tel 'Eton and Its Relation to the Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim and Arad Assemblages," *Tel Aviv: Jouranl of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University* 12, no. 1 (1985) 63-90; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[71] Seger, "Tel Halif," 558; Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib;" Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[72] O. Borowski, "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt against Assyria," *Biblical Archaeologist* 58, no. 3 (September 1995): 152; D. Ussishkin, "The Destruction of Lachish by Sennacherib and the Dating of the Royal Judean Storage Jars," *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977): 50-54; Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 22.

[73] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

military installation.[74] Also significant, there may have been a *favissa* or "ritual dump" in the southern part of Field IV, suggesting that there may have been an active shrine at Tel Halif at this time.[75] There were two sub-phases identified in Stratum IV that belong to the Hellenistic period dating from the fourth to the second centuries B.C.E., and in this stratum in Field II a large domestic structure, two graves, and some smalls items were uncovered.[76] The site was abandoned in the second century B.C.E., and it was not resettled until the Roman-Byzantine periods (Stratum III; second century B.C.E.-fifth century C.E.).[77] This stratum reveals a rejuvenation of occupation at Tel Halif with an abundance of rich remains.[78] The site has been identified with Hurvat Tilla, which is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius.[79] "During this period, the Halif settlement experienced its greatest prosperity since the Iron II period," and it

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[74] Seger, "Lahav," 326; D. P. Cole and J. D. Seger, "Traces of Persian Period Settlement at Tel Halif," in *Eretz-Israel* 29 (Stern Volume; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2009) 11-18; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[75] P. F. Jacobs, "Notes and News: Tell Halif, 1993," *Israel Exploration Journal* 44 (1994) 152-156; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 94; see Dig Master, Cobb Institute of Archaeology, "Lahav Research Project, Tell Halif, Israel: The Figurines," http://www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/start.htm (accessed April 17, 2012).

[76] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 94.

[77] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[78] Seger, "Investigations at Tell Halif, Israel;" Seger, "Tel Halif;" Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[79] F. M. Abel, *Géographie De La Palestine*. Paris: J. Gabalda & C^{IE} Éditeurs (1938), 318; Biran and Gophna, "An Iron Age Burial Cave at Tell Halif," 153; Seger, "Investigations at Tell Halif, Israel," 20; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

must have been active in trade, as witnessed by the finds from the Tilla settlement and its cemetery northwest of it (Site 66).[80]

The most recent occupants of the tel resided there during the Islamic (Stratum II) and Modern Arab (Stratum I) periods.[81] In the caves northeast of the site (right below Field I), there was a long string of occupational phases dating back to at least the Mamluk period (ca. 1300 C.E.), but possibly even into the Abbasid (ca. 750-1200 C.E.) and Ummayyad (ca. 700 C.E.) periods.[82] Most of the remains, however, came from the Khirbet Khuweilifeh settlement (Stratum I) in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries C.E. The architecture from this period was mostly built of materials robbed out from the earlier Roman-Byzantine and probably even Iron II structures.[83] Ethnographic research suggests that the residents of these buildings consisted of Arab *fellahin* working as sharecroppers, shepherds, craftsmen, and traders associated with the local bedouin.[84] The Arabic identification of the site has survived to the present day thanks to the tradition of verbally passing it down through consecutive generations of the local bedouin and through references in travel logs from the nineteenth-century.[85]

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[80] Gophna and Zusman, "A Jewish Burial Cave of the Mishnaic Period at Tell Halif;" O. Borowski, "A Corinthian Lamp at Tell Halif," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 227 (1977) 69-76; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[81] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[82] Seger, "Investigations at Tell Halif, Israel," 18; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[83] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[84] Seger, "Investigations at Tell Halif, Israel," 18-19; Seger, "Lahav," 326; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[85] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

Biblical Identification and the Siege of Sennacherib

Over the history of archaeology at the site, many have tried to identify the ancient name attributed to Tel Halif before the Islamic naming of Tel Khuweilifeh. There has been much debate on the subject with several different suggestions including Kiriath-sepher, Sharuhen, Ziklag, Hormah, Goshen, and Rimmon.[86] The first argument was made in 1935 by A. Alt who believed it was biblical Ziklag.[87] Alt justified this based on Tel Halif's proximity to Khirbet Umm er-Rammamin (Arabic for 'Mother of the Pomegranates'), a nearby site 1km south of the tel. This site was identified earlier as Hurvat Rimmon (or biblical Rimmon/ Ain Rimmon) by C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener when they were surveying western Palestine beginning in 1871.[88] Their identification was based on the similarity between the Arabic and biblical names, the biblical one having been mentioned in the territorial lists of Judah (Josh 15:32) and as being inherited by the tribe of Simeon (Josh 19:1-9).[89] Conder and Kitchner decided that Tel Halif was

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[86] W. F. Albright, "Researches of the School in Western Judaea," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (1924): 6; Abel, *Géographie De La Palestine*, 465; A. Alt, "Beiträge Zur Historischen Geographie Und Topographie Des Negeb: III. Sharuhen, Ziklag, Horma, Gerar," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15 (1935); N. Na'aman, "The Inheritance of the Sons of Simeon," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Verins* 96 (1980): 136; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, trans. and ed. A. F. Rainey (London: Burns & Oates, 1976), 184, 300; O. Borowski, "The Biblical Identity of Tel Halif," *Biblical Archaeologist* 51, no. 1 (March 1988).

[87] Alt, "Beiträge Zur Historischen Geographie Und Topographie Des Negeb: III. Sharuhen, Ziklag, Horma, Gerar," 318; Abel, *Géographie De La Palestine*, 318; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 95.

[88] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 95.

[89] Borowski, "The Biblical Identity of Tel Halif," 21; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 95.

probably the Byzantine settlement of Tala or Tilla, which correlates well with the geographic information given about Tala and Rimmon in the *Onomasticon*.[90]

One of Tel Halif's excavators Joe D. Seger favors the argument for Ziklag, but there are problems with this assessment.[91] The biblical descriptions of Ziklag do not correspond with the geography of Tel Halif, but also recent excavations at a nearby site called Tel Sera' have exposed remains that have shed light on the issue.[92] At the site, excavators discovered architecture made of ashlar-type masonry along with several Philistine-type artifacts from early Iron Age strata; these remains, added to the fact that Tel Sera' lies within the borders of the Philistine coastal plain, point to it as a viable option for biblical Ziklag.[93] In addition to this evidence, new excavations at Khirbet Umm er-Rammamin have revealed remains that indicate the site was not inhabited until the end of the second century B.C.E., which does not help its connection with any site from the Iron Age II.[94] Gophna proposed that Tel Halif is really biblical Rimmon due to the considerable amount of Iron Age II material and its possible Judahite ties.[95] He hypothesizes that "years after its abandonment, its name was assumed by the first inhabitants

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[90] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 95; A. Kloner, "Horvat Rimmon, 1979," *Israel Exploration Journal* 30 (1980): 228.

[91] J. D. Seger, "The Location of Biblical Ziklag," *Biblical Archaeologist* 47, no. 1 (March 1984): 47-53; J. A. Blakely, "The Location of medieval/Pre-modern and Biblical Ziklag," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 139 (2007): 21-26.

[92] Borowski, "The Biblical Identity of Tel Halif," 24.

[93] E. Oren, "Ziklag: A Biblical City on the Edge of the Negev," *Biblical Archaeologist* 45 (1982); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 95.

[94] Kloner, "Horvat Rimmon, 1979," 227-228; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 95.

[95] Biran and Gophna, "An Iron Age Burial Cave at Tell Halif," 151 n. 3; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 95.

to return to the area after a long hiatus—the settlers of the Hurvat Rimmon described in Eusebius."[96] Subsequently, when Tel Halif was later reoccupied the residents simply called it "Tilla" or 'the tel' in Aramaic because its previous name "Rimmon" was taken.[97] Borowski argues that the site's identification correlates well with the biblically recorded name of Rimmon or En Rimmon (Joshua 19:7; 1 Chronicles 4:32; Joshua 15:32; Nehemiah 11:29; Zechariah 14:10) because the geographical and topographical data correspond well with the recorded names, and the archaeological evidence matches with historical events.[98] Some of the archaeological evidence to support Tel Halif's identification as biblical Rimmon consists of artifacts excavated on the tel that have pomegranate motifs. From 2007 to 2009 in Field V, an earring from Stratum VIB in Area B8, possibly made of silver, depicts a small pomegranate, and two stone pomegranates were found in Areas H6 and I5 that date to the time of the siege.[99] Outside of Field V, a shallow bowl with a raised pomegranate in the center was recovered from

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[96] Biran and Gophna, "An Iron Age Burial Cave at Tell Halif," 151 n. 3; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 95; Borowski, "The Biblical Identity of Tel Halif."

[97] Seger, "Investigations at Tell Halif, Israel," 20; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 96.

[98] Borowski, "The Biblical Identity of Tel Halif," 21-27; Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 27.

[99] E. Hawksley, "Jewelry preliminary report 2009," in "Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Season Report," ed. O. Borowski (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2010); Limited Circulation), 245; Bang, "The Assemblage of the Iron Age Cult Objects from Tell Halif Field V and Their Implication for Hezekiah's Reform," 38-39.

the Iron Age II cemetery of the site.[100] In sum, the current evidence supports the biblical identification of Iron Age Tel Halif with ancient Rimmon.[101]

Geographical and archaeological material suggests that during the 8th century B.C.E. (Iron Age II), Tel Halif was located within the borders of ancient Judah. The pottery assemblage from the destruction level of Stratum VIB is similar in type to that of Lachish III, which is a known Judahite city destroyed in 701 B.C.E.[102] Additionally the animal bone remains do not include any pig bones, indicative of Judahite sites. Lastly, several *lmlk* stamped jar handles were found, connecting the site to King Hezekiah, and this will be discussed further below.[103]

The *lmlk* seal impressions have been found all over Judah on jar handles, and may reveal royal connections. These stamps along with the associated official seal impressions only correspond to the reign of Hezekiah, although there has been debate as to whether the seal impressions belong to the reign of Josiah or Hezekiah.[104] Based on findings excavated at Lachish, Ussishkin has concluded that the stamped *lmlk* jars should only be connected with Hezekiah, and his arguments have been generally accepted.[105] Even though their purpose is still

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[100] O. Borowski, "The Pomegranate Bowl from Tell Halif," *Israel Exploration Journal* 45 (1995): 150.

[101] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 95; Borowski, "The Biblical Identity of Tel Halif."

[102] Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 30.

[103] Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 30.

[104] Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 87.

[105] Ussishkin, "The Destruction of Lachish by Sennacherib and the Dating of the Royal Judean Storage Jars;" D. Ussishkin, "Royal Judean Storage Jars and Private Seal Impressions," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 223 (1976); Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 84-85.

not fully understood, the seals are associated with the siege preparations made by Hezekiah, but there is evidence that the seals may not have been solely intended for that purpose.[106] The *lamelek* or "Belonging to the King" inscription suggests that the jars held a commodity that was traded or shipped to troops or government officials and participating settlements throughout Hezekiah's kingdom. The construction of the type of jar indicates it held liquid, probably wine or olive oil.[107] The distribution expanse of these stamped jars has proven to be far-reaching, however, the evidence has only been discovered at a relatively small number of sites.[108] "Plotted on a map, the distribution of *lmlk* stamped jar handles indicates the extent of Hezekiah's influence before the revolt."[109] The discovery of these seal impressions in connection with Hezekiah can be linked to his effort towards economic buildup in preparation for Sennacherib's siege, discussed further below.[110]

There is an extensive amount of evidence attesting to the campaign in Judah undertaken by the Assyrian King Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E., ranging from the associated archaeological remains to destruction levels resulting from a large-scale attack that can be seen at sites all over

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[106] Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 152.

[107] Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 152.

[108] Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 165.

[109] Borowski, "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt against Assyria," 152; N. Na'aman, "The Kingdom of Judah under Josiah," *Tel Aviv* 18 (1991): 23-33.

[110] Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 165; O. Lipschits and O. Sergi argue that the *lmlk* jars were continued to be used after the siege in 701 B.C.E.; see O. Lipshits, O. Sergi, and I. Koch, "Royal Judahite Jar Handles: Reconsidering the Chronology of the *lmlk* Stamp Impressions," *Tel Aviv* 37, no.1 (2010): 3-32;

Judah. The material at Tel Halif from Strata VIB and VIA was dated to the end of the eighth century B.C.E. and beginning of the 7th century B.C.E., respectively, and the remains include destruction debris, many iron arrowheads, sling stones, and *lmlk* stamped handles.[111] Other archaeological studies and epigraphic sources can also corroborate the siege and how it affected Judah. In addition, reviewing the history behind Sennacherib's siege will help in understanding the extent of contact between Judah and its Near Eastern neighbors, the Assyrian's political motives, and the unusual setting within which the remains of Stratum VIB have to be considered. With this knowledge, archaeologists can better assess the role that Tel Halif played in this tumultuous time.

Having only come to the throne in 704/5 B.C.E., Sennacherib launched his third military campaign in 701 B.C.E. possibly in response to King Hezekiah's revolt.[112] Shortly after Sennacherib's accession, Hezekiah instigated a rebellion consisting of a coalition of kings under his leadership in order to achieve Judean independence from Assyrian power.[113] This revolt may have been inspired by the many other uprisings happening at the time against the Assyrians including the rebellion of Luli, the king of Tyre, along with Sidqa of Ashkelon, a Philistine state, and Merodach Baladan of Babylon.[114] The nearby areas of Ammon, Moab, and Edom probably

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[111] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[112] W. R. Gallagher, *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: New Studies* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 1999), 129; Borowski, "Sennacherib in Judah," 1; J. Wellhausen, *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah*, 3rd ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1891), 101.

[113] Borowski, "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt against Assyria," 148; Borowski, "Sennacherib in Judah," 1.

[114] Gallagher, *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah*, 272; Wellhausen, *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah*, 101.

joined in as well, as did the mountain peoples of the east including the Ellipians and Medians.[115] Hezekiah also allied himself with the Egyptians and Ethiopians (Kushites) under the command of Prince Tirhakah (Taharqo).[116]

King Hezekiah had been planning this revolt for many years, possibly beginning in 712 B.C.E after Assyria's last western campaign before Sargon's death in 705 B.C.E. The Judean king knew from experience that unsuccessful revolts stemmed from a lack of preparation, and extensive planning was necessary in order to gain support from Egypt.[117] Predicting the Assyrian response to this uprising, he established economic and cultic reforms in Judah, which were probably connected. "Creating a new order through reforms placed Hezekiah in total control of the economy, the food supplies, and the other materials necessary for the upcoming revolt." Borowski asserts that the religious reforms were probably part of a greater vision that Hezekiah had for the future of Judah, and this included the revolt.[118] All of the towns were fortified and stocked with weapons and supplies to withstand the long-awaited attack.[119] The evidence for stored commodities has been found at many Judahite sites.[120] Tel Halif offers one example. There the appearance of *lmlk*-type jars bearing sealed imprinted handles and typically found at

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[115] Gallagher, *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah*, 272.

[116] J. A. Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah*, 2nd ed. (Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1993), 250; A. Robinson, *Lost Languages: The Enigma of the World's Undeciphered Scripts* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 143.

[117] Borowski, "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt against Assyria," 148.

[118] Borowski, "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt against Assyria," 148.

[119] J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (London: SCM Press, 1986), 354.

[120] Borowski, "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt against Assyria," 152; Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 30.

sites that allied themselves with Hezekiah indicates that the well-fortified town participated in Hezekiah's rebellion and possibly the reform as well.[121]

In addition to the material remains at Tel Halif, A. Ofer carried out some archaeological survey work in the Judean Hill Country revealing evidence that Judah suffered an attack by Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E.[122] The results showed that this region experienced a normal increase in settlement and population from the early 9th to the late 8th century. In the 9th century B.C.E. there were 86 sites, over half being small in size (average was 55.4 hectares), but in the late 8th century B.C.E. the number of settlements increased to 122 with the a total 'average' built-up size of 92.6 hectares which was an amount not exceeded until the Byzantine period.[123] This expansion ended in the late 8th century, and there is a noticeable decline in settlement in the 7th century with 113 sites with a combined 71.5 hectares.[124] Additionally, there was a larger loss in settlement in the southern part of the Judean Hills than in the area near Jerusalem. Based on this evidence, Ofer concludes that Sennacherib laid siege to Judah in 701 B.C.E., which is the reason that settlement decreased after that date in the Judean Hill Country.[125]

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[121] Borowski, "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt against Assyria," 152; Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 30.

[122] A. Ofer, "'All the Country of Judah': From a Settlement Fringe to a Prosperous Monarchy," in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, eds. I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman, 92-121 (Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994); Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 32.

[123] Ofer, "'All the Country of Judah,'" 105; Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 32-33.

[124] Ofer, "'All the Country of Judah,'" 106, 121; Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 33.

[125] Ofer, "'All the Country of Judah,'" 106, 121; Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 33; For criticism of survey methodology

There are a few accounts of the siege in cuneiform texts, artistic representations, and the Hebrew Bible. The cuneiform texts describing Sennacherib's victories appear on the Taylor Prism excavated from Nineveh,[126] where the king's palace was located. The text on the prism describes how Sennacherib "laid siege to 46 of [Hezekiah's] strong cities, walled forts and to the countless small villages in their vicinity and conquered (them) by means of well stamped (earth) ramps, and battering-rams brought (thus) near (to the walls) (combined with) the attack by foot soldiers (using) mines, breeches as well as sapper work."[127] On another cuneiform inscription Sennacherib boasts, "I laid waste the large district of Judah and made the overbearing and proud Hezekiah, its king, bow in submission."[128] These statements are well supported by the archaeological evidence from the Shephelah and Judean Hills since every site (except for Jerusalem and many sites to the north and east) containing late-eighth-century B.C.E. remains ends in a fiery destruction.[129] Additionally, reliefs of the siege and conquest of Lachish, the largest city Sennacherib was able to conquer in Judah, were discovered at his palace in

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see I. Finkelstein, "The Archaeology of the Days of Manasseh," in *Scripture and Other artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King*, eds. M. D. Coogan, J. C. Exum, and L. E. Stager (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 175.

[126] Borowski, "Sennacherib in Judah," 1; Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 29.

[127] D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vols. 1 and 2 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1927); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

[128] J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969): 288; Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 24.

[129] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 93.

Nineveh.[130] The reliefs depict the only image of Judahites from biblical times, including their appearance and clothing, and they afford "a minutely detailed and penetrating view of the besieged city, its inhabitants, the course of battle and its aftermath."[131] Sennacherib was eager to display his victory over Lachish since it was the second most important city in the Judean Kingdom (after Jerusalem of course).[132] In the Hebrew Bible, the event is described in 2 Kings 18-19 and again in Isaiah 36-37 and 2 Chronicles 32.[133] According to 2 Kings 18:13, the siege occurred "in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah's reign," while 2 Chronicles 32:1 reveals that "King Sennacherib of Assyria invaded Judah and encamped against the fortified towns."[134] Despite some discrepancies between differing accounts of the events, both Sennacherib's and Biblical texts clearly tell how Jerusalem was not taken even though it was under siege.[135] The Old Testament viewpoint attributes it to an amazing miracle (2 Chronicles 32: 20-22), and all Sennacherib can boast is that he "made [Hezekiah] a prisoner in Jerusalem, his royal residence, like a bird in a cage."[136]

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[130] Borowski, "Hezekiah's Reforms and the Revolt against Assyria," 152; see Ussishkin, *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib*.

[131] Ussishkin, *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib*, 11.

[132] D. Ussishkin, "Lachish," *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern (New York: Macmillian; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 905; Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, 31.

[133] P. S. Evans, *The Invasion of Sennacherib in the Book of Kings: A Source-Critical and Rhetorical Study of 2 Kings 18:19* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2009); B. S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* (London: SCM Press, 1967).

[134] Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 24-26.

[135] Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 26.

[136] Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 26. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament*, 288.

The rapid and intense destructions that the towns in Judah experienced have left a treasure-trove of remains for archaeologists to excavate and examine later. When there is little time to escape most of the inhabitants' belongings are left behind, and the fiery circumstances under which the settlements were destroyed ensure preservation of mud-brick architecture that has been baked and artifacts and ceramics that have been sealed by destruction debris and ash.[137] Tel Halif was most likely one of the many fortified Judahite towns destroyed by Sennacherib in this swift and intense manner. The abundance of arrowheads, sling stones, and other weapons found in the destruction layer strongly suggests a military attack.[138]

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[137] Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 27.

[138] Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 27.

Chapter 2: Household Archaeology in Areas D7, E6, and E7 of Field V

Only in the last few decades have archaeologists shifted their focus from the monumental architecture and rich remains left by the elite and recognized the importance of studying the domestic sphere and the household, which is the "social group best represented in the archaeological record."[139] If archaeologists are to really understand past societies and ancient settlements, it is necessary to focus on the majority instead of the minority, and most of the population is represented in the "ordinary and humble" domestic setting.[140] As described by A. J. Brody, studying ceramics and small artifacts in their original domestic contexts "provides a bottom-up view of Judean society that stands in contrast to the top-down view of royal or elite society" that is usually focused on by archaeologists and historical evidence.[141] Household archaeology not only provides a micro-analysis of the domestic sphere but can be used to understand the larger aspects of social, economic, and even political organization of society.[142] In order to better understand the settlement and its people at Tel Halif in the Iron Age II and gain a more complete picture of life in the southern Levant before the siege of Sennacherib, I will

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[139] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 7; A. Yasur-Landau, J. R. Ebeling, and L. B. Mazow, "Introduction: The Past and Present of Household Archaeology in Israel," in *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*, eds. A. Yasur-Landau, J. R. Ebeling, and L. B. Mazow (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2011), 1.

[140] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 7.

[141] A. J. Brody, "The Archaeology of the Extended Family: A Household Compound from Iron II Tell En-Naṣbeh," in *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*, eds. A. Yasur-Landau, J. R. Ebeling, and L. B. Mazow (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2011), 237.

[142] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 9, 33; Yasur-Landau, Ebeling, and Mazow, "Introduction," 1; R. Tringham, "Households with Faces: The Challenge of Gender in Prehistoric Architectural Remains," in *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, eds. J. M. Gero and M. W. Conkey (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 101.

examine how the techniques of household archaeology can shed light on the remains of Areas D7, E6, and E7.

The evidence examined here will be used to gain better insight into the aspects of daily life in a small rural fortified Judahite town of the Iron Age II. Excavations in Areas D7, E6, and E7, as part of Phase IV of the Lahav Research Project, have revealed a few rooms of a pillared dwelling dating to the Iron Age II (Stratum VIB). I will use the remains uncovered in these areas to identify and investigate domestic activities, the structure of the household, and the organization of the dwelling. This will, in turn, shed light on the inhabitants of this dwelling and of Tel Halif, the quality of life in this area at this time, and the special circumstances related to Sennacherib's siege. I seek to use the materials excavated from the archaeological record to answer questions relating this evidence to behavioral data. These questions include: How does the use of space in the pillared dwelling reflect upon the inhabitants? What can the material remains reveal about the activities taking place in this domestic structure? And on a related note, how can the material reveal how the space functioned in the household? How was the space divided? And what kinds of boundaries segregate the activity areas? Does this assemblage reflect normal circumstances or a fortified town preparing for war? If so, what kinds of indications would this leave in the archaeological record? What sort of larger and more general implications can this material suggest about the settlement at Tel Halif and society in the southern Levant and Judah under King Hezekiah in the Iron Age II? I will attempt to address these questions by examining and interpreting these excavated materials using archaeological, ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, and textual evidence.

Studying the household during the Iron Age II helps considerably in understanding many aspects of society at that time, including social organization and cultural values.[143] The form of domestic space is "the environment in which the inhabitants' cultural choices frequently become expressed in material form, often covertly."[144] Individuals are socialized by learning their cultural standards in the atmosphere of the household, and so it symbolizes the framework of society at its foundation.[145] The remains found in this context can be very revealing about social stratification and the lifestyle that most people embraced.[146] "When well understood, the household can become a higher analytic unit used to reconstruct more complex societal organizations and can identify behavioral processes of interest."[147]

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[143] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 9.

[144] J. F. Deetz, "Households: A Structural Key to Archaeological Explanation," in *Archaeology of the Household*, ed. R. R. Wilk and W. L. Rathje, 717-724 (American Behavioral Scientist 25/6; Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1982); H. Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975); M. P. Leone, "Some Opinions about Recovering Mind," *American Antiquity* 47 (1982); A. Rapoport, "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings," in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, ed. S. Kent, 9-20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 9-10; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 14.

[145] R. R. Wilk and W. Ashmore, eds., *Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 1; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 9; Yasur-Landau, Ebeling, and Mazow, "Introduction," 1; P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).

[146] W. L. Rathje and R. H. McGuire, "Rich Men… Poor Men," in *Archaeology of the Household*, ed. R. R. Wilk and W. L. Rathje, 705-716 (American Behavioral Scientist 25/6; Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1982), 707; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 9.

[147] J. J. Reid and S. Whittlesey, "Households at Grasshopper Pueblo," in *Archaeology of the Household*, ed. R. R. Wilk and W. L. Rathje, 687-704 (American Behavioral Scientist 25/6; Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1982), 696; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 9.

The Household, Activities, and Ethnoarchaeology

In order to discuss the household and how it manifests itself at Tel Halif in Stratum VIB of Areas D7, E6, and E7, the term must be defined. The household is usually a co-resident domestic unit that is established culturally, and it is interconnected with domestic activities and household tasks.[148] This unit could consist of one or more households (or only parts of a household), and Hardin defines a household as "a group of people who interacted and performed certain activities."[149] The individuals constituting the household range in status and relationship and can include visitors, captives, servants, apprentices, laborers, lodgers, blood relatives, and adopted members.[150] Since kinship and association is something intangible and not apparent in the archaeological record, archaeologists must look at what is available in order to learn about the social and behavioral sides of the household.[151] This can be done by identifying the activities

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[148] A. T. Carter, and R. S. Merrill, *Household Institutions and Populations Dynamics* (Report Prepared for the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, OSAID, Washington, DC, 1979); L. Horne, "The Household in Space: Dispersed Holdings in an Iranian Village," in *American Behavioral Scientist*, ed. R. R. Wilk and W. L. Rathje, 677-685 (American Behavioral Scientist 25/6; Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1982); C. Kramer, "Ethnographic Households and Archaeological Interpretation," In *Archaeology and the Household*, ed. R. R. Wilk and W. L. Rathje, 663-675 (American Behavioral Scientist 25/6; Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1982), 673; P. Laslett, "Introduction: The History of the Family," in *Household and Family in Past Time*, ed. P. Laslett and R. Wall, 1-89 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 1; R. M. Netting, R. R. Wilk, and E. J. Arnould, eds., *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group* (Berkeley: university of California Press, 1984), xxvi-xxviii; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 9.

[149] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 16-18; Hardin goes into detail about the co-residence group which is "a social unit consisting of the people who regularly share living quarters and may or may not be equivalent to a household or a nuclear or extended family;" Ashmore and Wilk, "Introduction," 6.

[150] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 10.

[151] R. R. Wilk, and R. M. Netting, "Households: Changing Forms and Fucntions," in *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*, ed. R. M. Netting et

and tasks undertaken by the household in the domestic home.[152] These remains left behind in the archaeological record include items required to do the work and those produced by its execution. "Patterns discerned in these remains can be associated with specific activities," which means that by studying the remains, archaeologists can infer what kinds of activities took place, where they were performed, and possibly even who did the work (behavioral and social elements of the household).[153] The most common and repeated activities leave the most remains and are the best indicators to help understand the household's occupants and their environment by associating them with particular activities.[154] These activities can be grouped into the following categories: production (food and crafts), consumption, storage and accumulation (food, objects, and raw materials), reproduction, and ritual.[155] It is assumed that the patterns created by these activities are not random but produced and, therefore, limited by and indicative of human behaviors.[156] If

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al., 1-28 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 2-6; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 10.

[152] R. R. Wilk, and R. M. Netting, "Households: Changing Forms and Fucntions," in *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*, ed. R. M. Netting et al., 1-28 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 2-6; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 10.

[153] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 10.

[154] L. R. Binford, "Researching Ambiguity: Frames of Reference in Site Structure," in *Method and Tehory for Activity Area Research: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*, ed. S. Kent, 449-512 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Rapoport, "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings," 9; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 10.

[155] L. Singer-Avitz, "Household Activities at Tel Beersheba," in *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*, eds. A. Yasur-Landau, J. R. Ebeling, and L. B. Mazow (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2011), 276; Hardin groups these activities into four categories: production, distribution, transmission, and reproduction; for a detailed description of each, see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 10-14.

[156] Singer-Avitz, "Household Activities at Tel Beersheba," 276.

archaeologists can identify the activities performed in the home and their respective locations, it can add to our understanding of ancient society and organization of the household.[157] This holds true when one considers that "social relations are generated and patterned by socially constituted activities."[158] In effect, by uncovering the activity areas, the identities of the household's occupants can be revealed.

Based on the materials typically found in pillared dwellings, it is well known that the occupants practiced diverse subsistence strategies with mixed agriculture and some animal husbandry.[159] Besides identifying the domestic activities that were carried out in the dwelling, there is another source of information coming from ethnoarchaeology that can shed light on who the occupants of the household were and how the ancient household in the southern Levant during the Iron Age II was organized. Archaeologists have looked towards ethnoarchaeology to identify established types of households that constitute the most basic foundations of society.[160]

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[157] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 19.

[158] Ashmore and R. R. Wilk, "Introduction," in *Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past*, ed. R. R. Wilk and W. Ashmore, 1-23 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 5; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 19.

[159] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 53.

[160] Ashmore and Wilk, "Introduction," 9; C. Kramer, "Introduction," in *Ethnoarchaeology: Implications of Ethnography for Archaeology*, ed. C. Kramer, 1-20 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 20.

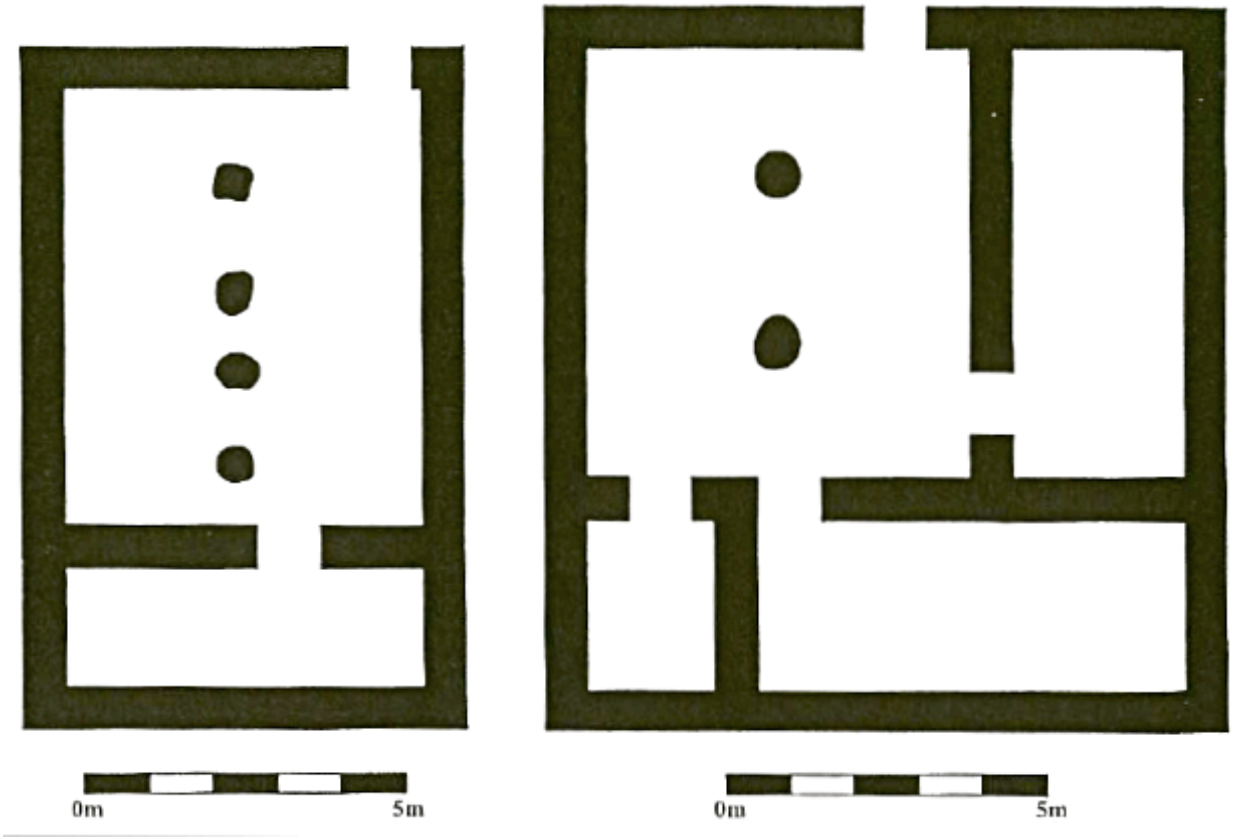

Figure 5: Layouts of typical three- and four-room pillared dwellings in the Iron Age II.

The Pillared Dwelling

Since the remains and areas under study here are most likely part of a pillared dwelling, it would be pertinent to cover some details about the structural context in which these materials have been found. As mentioned in the introduction, these domestic structures are known by many names in the scholarly literature on the topic including "four-room houses," "three-room houses," "Israelite houses," and "Palestinian houses."[161] However, J. W. Hardin refers to them as

[161] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 16, 44; For examples of the different names of the pillared dwelling in archaeological, biblical, and historical scholarly work see Y. Aharoni, ed., *Beer-Sheva I* (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 1973); I. Beit-Arieh, "The Western Quarter," in *Beer Sheva I*, ed. Y. Aharoni, 31-37 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1973); F. Braemer, *L'architecture domestique du Levant a l'age du fer* (Paris: Editions Techershes sur les civilizations, 1982); J. W. Hardin, "Understanding Domestic Space: An Example from Iron Age Tell Halif," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67, no. 2 (2004); J. S. Holladay,

"pillared dwellings," which is a general term that does not alienate different variations of the same basic structure by associating it ethnically or geographically.[162] This will be the term used in this thesis to refer to these structures. The Iron Age II pillared dwelling has been found at many sites in the southern Levant, some in destruction levels.[163] This kind of dwelling was originally associated with the Israelites because it was widespread within the borders of ancient Israel in Judah (at least by the eighth century B.C.E.).[164] These structures seem to have been the standard in this region, but examples of it have been found in the coastal plain and Transjordan.[165]

Jr., "The Israelite House," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D. N. Freedman, 308-319, vol. 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1992); J. S. Holladay, Jr., "Four-Room House," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. E. M. Meyers, 337-341 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); C. H. Ji, "A Note on the Iron Age Four-Room House in Palestine," *Orientalia* 34 (1997); A. Kempinksi and R. Reich, eds., "The Iron Age: Introduction," in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel*, eds. A. Kempinski and R. Reich, 191-192 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992); E. Netzer, "Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age," in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel from the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*, eds. A. Kempinski and R. Reich, 193-202 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992); Y. Shiloh, "The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City," *Israel Exploration Journal* 20 (1970); Y. Shiloh, "The Casemate Wall, the Four Room House, and Early Planning in the Israelite City," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 268 (1987).

[162] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 16; Note that it is called a "dwelling" and not a "house" because the usage is intended to avoid equating the building with a single household, which would define a "house."

[163] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 44.

[164] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 44; see Shiloh, "The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City;" G. E. Wright, "A Characteristic North Israelite House," in *Archaeology in the Levant Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, ed. R. S. Moorey and P. Parr, 149-154 (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1978); Beit-Arieh, "The Western Quarter;" Z. Herzog, *Beer Sheva II* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1984).

[165] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 44; see E. Oren, "Esh-Shari'a, Tell," in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, eds. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern, 1064-1066, vol. 4 (Jerusalem: Masada, 1978), 1064; A. Mazar, *Excavations at Tell Qasile, Part I* (Qedem 12; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1980), 74; G. L. Kelm and A. Mazar,

These domestic structures ranged in size from 35 to 80 m^2 on the ground floor, and the median was about 40 to 50 m^2.[166] There was enough space for a large extended household consisting of multiple nuclear families, who would have separated the space among themselves.[167] Pillared dwellings of the Iron Age have almost identical layouts being rectangular in form with a broad, narrow (median width of 1.9 m) room or rooms (the room was often divided, usually unevenly) at the back of the compound.[168] There were also two or three long, narrow rooms set perpendicularly to the back room extending to the front of the structure.[169] Usually, the long rooms were separated by two or four pillars, and the entryway to the compound was located in one of the long rooms, usually the middle one in the four-room version. One of

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"Notes and News: Tell Batash (Timnah)," *Israel Exploration Journal* 29 (1979): 243; G. L. Kelm and A. Mazar, "Three Seasons of Excavation at Tel Batash – Biblical Timnah," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 248 (1982): 27-31; L. Herr, "The Iron Age II Period: Emerging Nations," *Biblical Archaeologist* 60 (1997); M. Ibrahim, "Third Season of Excavations at Sahab," *Annual of the Department of the Antiquities of Jordan* 20 (1975): 74-75; J. B. Pritchard, *Tell es-Sa'idiyeh: Excavations on the Tell, 1964-1966* (University Museum Monograph 60; Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1985).

[166] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 44; see Pritchard, *Tell es-Sa'idiyeh: Excavations on the Tell, 1964-1966*, 30-31; see A. Faust, "Household Economies in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," in *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*, eds. A. Yasur-Landau, J. R. Ebeling, and L. B. Mazow (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2011), 263.

[167] Faust, "Household Economies in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," 263.

[168] W. F. Albright, *Excavations of Tell Beit Mirsim: The Iron Age*, vol. 3 (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 21-22; New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1943), 49-50; G. R. H. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*, vols. 1-2 (Leiden; Brill, 1985); Braemer, *L'architecture domestique du Levant a l'age du fer*, part 2; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 16, 44, 48.

[169] W. F. Albright, *Excavations of Tell Beit Mirsim: The Iron Age*, vol. 3 (Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 21-22; New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1943), 49-50; G. R. H. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*, vols. 1-2 (Leiden; Brill, 1985); Braemer, *L'architecture domestique du Levant a l'age du fer*, part 2; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 16, 44, 48.

these rooms may have been an open courtyard, however, this is a commonly debated subject.[170] The dwellings were built mostly with sun-dried mud brick on top of stone foundations, and the surfaces on the inside and outside were covered in plaster.[171] There is evidence for a second story that covered at least part of the compound because there has been ceramic material discovered on top of ceiling remains.[172] Moreover, staircases have been found, and the walls and pillars are strongly built, more than would be necessary for only one floor.[173]

Similar to the activity areas, each room in the pillared dwelling was designated for specific functions, and sometimes the rooms were used for more than one activity. Ethnoarchaeological studies in Middle Eastern villages have found that room functions can change over time as the household and its needs grow and change, or their uses can be based on seasonal change.[174] While this makes identification of activity areas more difficult, it does explain the discrepancies in the material evidence and the differing opinions on the use of space. For example, there are several theories about how the broad room was used. The smaller room was probably used as a storage space or a related domestic activity, and the larger one may have functioned as the main living area where many activities took place including sleeping, eating,

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[170] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 16, 44.

[171] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 47; Holladay, "The Israelite House," 309; R. Reich, "Building Materials and Architectural Elements in Ancient Israel," in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel*, eds. A. Kempinski and R. Reich, 1-16 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992).

[172] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 48; see J. R. Zorn, *Tell en Nasbeh: A Re-evaluation of the Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Early Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Later Periods* (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1993); For a discussion on which rooms in the compound were roofed and how the second story may have been laid out see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 51-53.

[173] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 48.

[174] Brody, "The Archaeology of the Extended Family," 252.

and guest entertainment.[175] Recently, however, this theory has been challenged due to the idea that living quarters were located on the second floor, and the large broad room was unsuitable for this function for many reasons.[176] An area in one of the long rooms may have been designed for domestic stables, suggested by the flagstone floors among other evidence.[177] Additionally, the long rooms were most likely used for a variety of functions including storage and task related activities such as cooking and weaving.[178] Based on the diversity of materials and features found within the central room, through which people entered, there were probably many activities located in this area including food preparation, storage, and work activities related to household or family production and consumption.[179] Supporting evidence for this interpretation is based on items commonly found in central rooms such as hearths, ovens (*tabuns*), grinding stones, and small installations made of stones (probably used to hold up large jars).[180] Many archaeologists believe that the central room was open and unroofed to provide light for this and other rooms in

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[175] Shiloh, "The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City," 186; Y. Shiloh, "The Four-Room House: The Israelite Type House," *Eretz-Israel* 11 (I. Dunayevsky Volume; 1973): 277-285 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society); Wright, "A Characteristic North Israelite House;" Herzog, *Beer Sheva II*, 76; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 49.

[176] L. E. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260 (1985); Holladay, "The Israelite House;" Holladay, "Four-Room House;" Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 49-50.

[177] Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," 14; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 50.

[178] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 50.

[179] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 51.

[180] G. E. Wright, *Shechem* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1965); C. Doumas, *Santorini: The Prehistoric City of Akroteri* (Athens: Hannibal, 2003); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 51.

the structure and facilitate the activities taking place there, however, there are many others who argue that the entire compound was roofed.[181]

In the southern Levant during the Iron Age, the pillared dwelling became the standard domestic dwelling for most people in this area, enduring for 600 years despite some of the demographic and sociopolitical changes that took place during that time.[182] "This longevity and durability attest to the success with which the dwelling's plan and features continued to meet the needs of the inhabitants of the southern Levant throughout the Iron Age, both functionally and ideologically."[183] While examining Iron Age II settlements in this region, the dwellings have been found to commonly form a large part of the fortification system, with the rear broad rooms being part of the casemate wall.[184] This dwelling was clearly structured to be flexible in the division and use of its space, not only addressing the needs of its immediate inhabitants but also those of the entire settlement, witnessed by its widespread use for many years.

Socially Conditioned Patterns

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[181] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 51; For arguments on a fully roofed compound see Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," 15; Netzer, "Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age," 196; Holladay, "The Israelite House," 314-317; Holladay, "Four-Room House."

[182] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 44-45; see A. H. Joffe, "The Rise of Secondary States in the Iron Age Levant," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45 (2002); J. Portugali, "Theoretical Speculations on the Transition from Nomadism to Monarchy," in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, eds. I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman, 203-217 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994).

[183] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 45; On more about how the pillared dwelling served the needs and reflected the values of its inhabitants, see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 53-55.

[184] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 47; see Shiloh, "The Casemate Wall, the Four Room House, and Early Planning in the Israelite City."

In order to reconstruct behavioral systems, archaeologists must implement a system that can identify patterns in the material remains of activity areas. As with any archaeological interpretation, it is a difficult task taking the material remains excavated from the archaeological record and attempting to somehow connect those remains with behaviors and values that may have created the remains. It requires archaeologists to assume that they can reconstruct "living dynamic heritages" from "static physical objects," and the crux to this assumption is the idea that the archaeological record is purely a product of a cultural system that is indicative of ancient societies.[185] The key to a better understanding of the behavior and organization involved within the household is to identify the activities based on typical patterns consisting of certain kinds of material remains.[186] Based on this information, activities such as butchering, food preparation and consumption, sleeping, tool-making, ritual activity, and animal husbandry can be identified, and that data implies certain behaviors and attitudes. The materials indicative of specific activities can include tools or objects used to perform it or residual debris leftover from the action.[187] There are several inherent assumptions made by archaeologists when examining activity areas.[188] Besides being able to find activity areas in the archaeological record, it is

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[185] D. M. Brugge, "Historical sites in the San Juan Basin," (paper presented at San Juan Advanced Seminar at the School of American Research, Santa Fe, 1980), 3; L. R. Binford, "Willow Smoke and Dogs' Tails: Hunter-Gatherer Settlement Systems and Archaeological Site Formation," *American Antiquity* 45 (1980): 5; P. J. Watson, *Explanation in Archaeology: An Explicitly Scientific Approach* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 21.

[186] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 21.

[187] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 21.

[188] S. Kent, *Analyzing Activity Areas: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of the Use of Space* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 21.

assumed that many activity areas are specific to one function and one gender and/or sex.[189] Men and women did not usually perform the same tasks or activities, and so they probably would not use the same activity areas. Moreover, artifacts and other remains are assumed to be abandoned in the place where they were in use, and refuse left in an activity area can be useful in identifying what kind of activity was performed in that location.[190]

It is important to recognize the patterns and identify the correlating location of the activity areas because they are not random when produced by human behavior: they are "socially conditioned."[191] These activities necessitate specific requirements, which produced the patterns that archaeologists depend upon to identify the activity areas and address certain characteristics of ancient society.[192] "The material aspects of these conditions exist in the archaeological record as patterned groups of residues and artifacts."[193] However, there are many factors that can ultimately compromise the integrity of the evidence provided by the archaeological record, which is discussed later with cultural and natural formation processes.[194]

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[189] Kent, *Analyzing Activity Areas*, 2; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 21.

[190] Kent, *Analyzing Activity Areas*, 2; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 21-22.

[191] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 23.

[192] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 23; For a definition and elaboration on the terms activity and activity areas see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 24.

[193] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 23-24.

[194] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 25.

Spatial Analysis

In order to understand past human behaviors through activity areas by identifying patterns, it is necessary to utilize spatial analysis. The first step in using spatial analysis to identify the patterns indicative of activity areas is to carefully map a three-dimensional layout of the area.[195] The map should include the locations and boundaries of different parts of the space such as architecture, artifacts, clusters, voids, and other features.[196] Great care must be given to the detail of stratigraphic relationships and the specific context of every object, and this includes information on the provenience of all the artifacts and refuse.[197] This will help in suggesting relationships between the various features of the space, and after this is done, artifact frequencies can be associated with certain behaviors.[198] When identifying patterns, there are several factors to look for such as object function, raw material, particular microenvironment, behavior (object's use), culture in terms of technology in its most abstract sense, specialization, and division of labor.[199] To make correlations between the patterns in the archaeological record and past human behaviors, archaeologists must recognize how the patterns differ from each other and the

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[195] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 26.

[196] C. Carr, "Introductory Remarks on Intrasite Spatial Analysis," in *For Concordance in Archaeological Analysis*, ed. C. Carr, 297-301 (Kansas City: Westport, 1985); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 26.

[197] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 27.

[198] P. L. Gnivecki, "On the Quantitative Derivation of Household Spatial Organization from Archaeological Residues in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Method and Theory for Activity Area Research: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*, ed. S. Kent, 176-235 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 177; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 26-27.

[199] S. Kent, "Understanding the Use of Space: An Ethnoarchaeological Perspective," in *Method and Theory for Activity Area Research: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*, ed. S. Kent, 1-60 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 3; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 27.

processes that produced those patterns.[200] These patterns and variations can arise in spatial distributions, occurrences, frequencies, and other types of relationships when keeping in mind the artifacts and refuse excavated from the archaeological record. Once patterns have been identified, explanations can come from inferences and/or analogies gleaned from ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, experimental, and/or ethnohistorical data and analytical techniques devised by other sciences.[201] These analogies are useful because ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological findings can show where there are similar patterns produced by contemporary societies that match those found in the archaeological record. These data can also provide information regarding the materials used and produced by the process.[202] If all of these things are considered, the results should shed light on the kinds of tool kits in use in that area during the Iron Age II, the activity areas, and the dwelling organization. In effect, all of these aspects will allow us to further understand past societies.[203]

Artifact Context

The context from which items come is vital to this whole process, and there are three contexts to which objects can belong. These are behavioral, archaeological, and site context.[204] The behavioral context applies when artifacts and refuse have been abandoned either deliberately or accidentally where they were used or are somehow involved in a behavioral system.[205] When

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[200] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 27.

[201] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 27.

[202] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 27.

[203] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 27.

[204] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 28.

these remains have been left they become primary refuse, which is rare and usually contains small items.[206] Sometimes this primary refuse can include de facto refuse, which defines artifacts that "are left behind when an activity area is abandoned from the systemic or behavioral inventory.[207] Secondary refuse is archaeological refuse that has been removed from its original use location, and it is often found in behavioral contexts, secondary uses, or site contexts.[208] Site context refers to the case where artifacts and refuse are taken from their use location and interact only with the natural environment, which can be a result of cultural activities during occupation or disturbances after abandonment.[209] These disturbances can be natural or cultural in type including such possibilities as curation, plowing, sweeping, dumping, running water, gravity movements, wind deflation, animal activity, and much more. It is important to keep these factors

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[205] M. B. Schiffer, "Archaeological Context and Systemic Context," *American Antiquity* 37 (1972); M. B. Schiffer, *Behavioral Archaeology* (New York: Academic, 1976), 27-28; M. B. Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 3; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 28.

[206] Schiffer, *Behavioral Archaeology*, 31, 188; Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, 18; W. R. DeBoer, "The Archaeological Record as Preserved Death Assemblage," in *Archaeological Hammers and Theories*, ed. J. A. Moore and S. A. Keene, 19-36 (New York: Academic, 1983); J. A. McKellar, *Correlates and the Explanation of Distributions* (Atlanta: Occupational Paper 4; Tucson: Anthropology Club, University of Arizona); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 28.

[207] M. B. Schiffer, "Is there a 'Pompeii Premise' in Archaeology?" *Journal of Anthropological Research* 41 (1985): 18; Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, 89; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 28.

[208] Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, 18; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 28.

[209] B. K. Montgomery, *Understanding of the Archaeological Record: Ceramic Variability at Chodistaas Pueblo, Arizona* (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1994), 17-18; Schiffer, "Archaeological Context and Systemic Context;" Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, 4; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 28.

in mind in order to identify the correct context of archaeological remains.[210] Lastly, archaeological context refers to the one that artifacts and refuse enter after having been excavated and recovered, which includes processing, analysis, and publication.[211]

Formation Processes

The disturbances mentioned earlier are factors that complicate an accurate identification of the context of material remains and muddle the material signature created by human behaviors.[212] These issues can be introduced into the archaeological record by many different means, ranging from misclassification of artifacts to "taphonomic" or "formation processes" that alter the patterns and introduce variability into the archaeological record that is not connected to the human behaviors that are of interest to archaeologists.[213] In order to identify these formation

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[210] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 28.

[211] Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, 4; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, xvii.

[212] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 28.

[213] C. Carr, "Dissecting Intrasite Artifact Palimpsests Using Fourier Methods," in *Method and Theory for Activity Area Research: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*, ed. S. Kent, 236-91 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 277-279; L. R. Binford, "Forty-Seven Trips: A case Study in the Character of Some Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record," in *Contributions to Anthropology: The Interior Peoples of Northern Alaska*, ed. E. S. Hall Jr., 299-351 (National Museum of Man, Mercury Series 49; Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1976); L. R. Binford, "Dimensional Analysis of Behavior and Site Structure: Learning from an Eskimo Hunting Stand," *American Antiquity* 43 (1978); L. R. Binford, "Organization and Formation Processes: Looking at Curated Technologies," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 35 (1979); D. P. Gifford, "Ethnoarchaeological Observations of Natural Processes Affecting Cultural Materials," in *Explorations in Ethnoarchaeology*, ed. R. A. Gould, 77-101 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978); D. P. Gifford, "Ethnoarchaeological Contributions to the Taphonomy of Human Sites," in *Fossils in the Making: Vertebrate Taphonomy and Paleoecology*, eds. A. K. Behrensmeyer and A. P. Hill, 93-106 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Kent, *Analyzing Activity Areas*; J. F. O'Connell, *Site Structure and Dynamics among Modern Alyawara Hunters* (paper presented at the 44th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Vancouver, BC, 1979); J. J. Reid, *Response to Stress at Grasshopper*

processes and gauge how they have affected the remains of Stratum VIB in Field V of Tel Halif, it is necessary to look at how Hardin has done this with Field IV where he used the procedures laid out by B. K. Montgomery.[214] These procedures examine possible cultural and natural formation processes known to affect behavioral, archaeological, and site context.[215] Once possible formation processes were identified, they were tested in the areas of Field IV to determine which ones were the most active on the material from Stratum VIB and disturbed the remains the most. After having done this, any patterns identified and determined to not have been created by formation processes through spatial analysis can be examined for behavioral implications.[216] Possible formation processes affecting the material from Areas D7, E6, and E7 are discussed below. After considering these factors, information will come from ethnographic

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Pueblo, Arizona (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1973); J. J. Reid, "Response to Stress at Grasshopper Pueblo, Arizona," in *Discovering Past Behavior: Experiments in the Archaeology of the American Southwest*, ed. P. Grebinger, 195-213 (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1978); J. J. Reid, "Formation Processes for the Practical Prehistorian," in *Structure and Process in Southeastern Archaeology*, eds. R. S. Dickens Jr. and H. T. Ward, 11-13 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1985); Schiffer, "Archaeological Context and Systemic Context;" Schiffer, *Behavioral Archaeology*; M. B. Schiffer, "Toward the Identification of Formation Processes," *American Antiquity* 48 (1983); Schiffer, "Is there a 'Pompeii Premise' in Archaeology?"; Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*; W. R. Wood and D. L. Johnson, "A Survey of Disturbance Processes in Archaeological Site Formation," in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 1, ed. M. B. Schiffer, 315-381 (New York: Academic, 1978); J. E. Yellen, "Cultural Patterning in Faunal Remains: Evidence from the Kung Bushmen," in *Experimental Archaeology*, eds. D. Ingersoll, J. E. Yellen, and W. Macdonald, 272-332 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 28.

[214] Montgomery, *Understanding of the Archaeological Record*; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 32-33.

[215] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 32-33; For lists of possible cultural and natural formation processes considered here see Carr, "Dissecting Intrasite Artifact Palimpsests Using Fourier Methods;" Montgomery, *Understanding of the Archaeological Record*; Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*; Wood and Johnson, "A Survey of Disturbance Processes in Archaeological Site Formation."

[216] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 33.

and ethnoarchaeological sources, experimentation, analytical methods created by "hard sciences," and textual evidence.[217]

Excavation Methodology in Field V

Spatial analysis has been used in the past for the remains at Tel Halif, and it is a viable analytical option for future excavated material because of the established methodology and great amount of attention given to spatial data. The material remains from Tel Halif have been collected with great care given to stratigraphic excavation and recognizing the relationships between floors, walls, artifacts, and other features.[218] In Field V, virtually everything from the surface to the floors of the Iron Age II was sifted with ¼-inch mesh screens, and soil samples were taken from every floor and surface. In addition, the "magic square" technique was used, which creates up to 16 50-cm squares that are laid over a particular area with a significant amount of material (such as a ceramic assemblage in the case of the Iron Age II floors of D7 and E7), creating a sort of grid imposed over the area.[219] This allows material to be collected by 50-cm square increments, promoting well-organized excavations methods and more accurate location designations. Besides finding and recording the horizontal location, the vertical positioning was also noted, in comparison to sea level.[220] After the provenience of the artifact, potsherd, or vessel was recorded, the object was collected, labeled, registered, and weighed before analysis or reconstruction could begin. With the specific locations of every item recorded, it is possible to answer questions concerning the location of the artifact or pottery, how far it may

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[217] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 33.

[218] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 31.

[219] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 31.

[220] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 32.

have scattered across a floor while breaking, and if any of its fragments made contact with the floor (also hinting at its original location that may have been above the floor).[221] This kind of field excavation comes from an altered version of the Wheeler/Kenyon or traditional balk/debris method of excavation that was adopted from Phases I and II of the Lahav Research Project and brought to the project by core staff (especially Joe D. Seger) of the Hebrew Union College Gezer Project.[222] Implementing these kinds of methods is important in order to identify and recognize patterns associated with behaviors and activities, and this methodology aids in determining the formation processes that may have compromise the remains.[223]

Sources of Evidence

Before discussing what was excavated from Field V and specifically Areas D7, E6, and E7, it is relevant to discuss the types of excavated evidence and keep this in mind when determining the use of space in a domestic setting. Besides ceramics, which is a significant source of data here that will be covered later, non-ceramic sources of data are also very valuable in identifying activity areas and the types of activities undertaken in those locations, especially since some domestic activities would not require ceramics. They can also be very helpful in

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[221] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 32.

[222] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 31; J. D. Seger, *Lahav Research Project Field Operations Guidebook* (Omaha: University of Nebraska, Omaha, 1980) [Limited Circulation]; P. F. Jacobs, "Additions to the *Lahav Research Project Phase III Field Operations Guidebook*," 3rd ed. (Starkville, MS: Cobb Institute of Archaeology) [Limited Circulation]; see W. G. Dever and H. D. Lance, eds., *A Manual of Field Excavations: Handbook for Field Archaeologists* (Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, 1978); For a more detailed description of excavation methods and supplementary procedures see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 30-31.

[223] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 31.

corroborating the evidence suggested by the ceramic assemblage.[224] These kinds of data can include architectural features and installations as well as artifacts and refuse including lithics, shells, metals, floral and faunal remains, and microartifacts.[225] In the F7 dwelling of Field IV, Hardin uses microartifact data as a major source of information because they can reveal information about an area that is not visible from larger objects and features. Microartifacts are small remains (0.25-30 mm) that accumulate on and are ingrained into floors, not being large enough to have been moved far from their location of production or use, which is fortunate when investigating activity areas.[226] In addition to microartifacts, non-portable artifacts are significant because they are usually less affected by formation processes and remain in the place of their use. If these artifacts were left in the place where they were used or stored right before the attack, then it can be very helpful when determining the use of space.[227]

Moving on to the value of ceramic data, it is an important source of information because of its abundance and commonality in the archaeological record, its extensive use throughout antiquity, its durability, and its variability.[228] Ceramics can be very informative about culture; "many culturally determined choices are made when ceramics are produced, including choices of

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[224] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 55-56.

[225] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 56; For more specific examples see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 57.

[226] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 56; see A. M. Rosen, "Ancient Town and City States: A View through the Microscope," *American Antiquity* 54 (1989); A. M. Rosen, "Micro Artifacts and the Study of Ancient Societies," *Biblical Archaeologist* 54 (1991).

[227] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 56-57.

[228] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 57; There are many factors that affect the condition of vessels by the time they are excavated and enter the archaeological context. For a detailed description of various factors affecting the durability and life of vessels, see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 58-59.

form, style, distribution, and function in a behavioral system."[229] Ceramics are so widespread because they are cheap to produce, with a low technology level required, and they are useful for many domestic activities such as food preparation and serving, storage, weaving, transportation, and cultic and/or ritual rites.[230] The variability of ceramics, however, is the key reason it is so useful in archaeological study of particular times and places.[231] Variations can arise through many different aspects of a vessel's style and form, which is dependent on the types of materials available, the level of technology, decorative preferences, and much more.[232] While the information that variability can provide is significant, it is also important to investigate the use and function of vessels.

Determining a Vessel's Function

Only in the last few decades have archaeologists developed methods to ascertain the use of a vessel, and these methods are established in ethnographic and experimental data.[233] Identifying the function of vessels in the pillared dwelling will shed light on the activities performed in those areas. There are many aspects of the vessel that allow for analysis to

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[229] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 57.

[230] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 58.

[231] J. M. Skibo, M. B. Schiffer, and N. Kowalski, "Ceramic Style Analysis in Archaeology and Ethnography: Bridging the Analytical Gap," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 8 (1989); P. Rice, *Pottery Analysis: A Source Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 244-72; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 59.

[232] Skibo, Schiffer, and Kowalski, "Ceramic Style Analysis in Archaeology and Ethnography: Bridging the Analytical Gap;" Rice, *Pottery Analysis: A Source Book*, 236-72; E. F. Henrickson and M. M. A. McDonald, "Ceramic Form and Function: An Ethnographical Search and an Archaeological Application," *American Anthropologist* 85 (1983); M. B. Schiffer, and J. Skibo, "The Explanation of Artifact Variability," *American Antiquity* 62 (1997); For a full list, see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 59.

[233] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 59.

determine its use such as its shape and form, use/wear, chemical residue, raw materials, examination of the vessel's surfaces, manufacturing methods, and correlating ethnographic evidence.[234] Other considerations when deducing the vessel's function include size of the opening, ease of access to contents, volume, and vessel stability.[235] The ethnographic and ethnoarchaeolgoical research has focused on manufacturing, distribution, and function of ceramics.[236] Cross-cultural ethnographic data have revealed that there are defined similarities in ceramic vessels, and these studies have found that there are certain features of vessels that are

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[234] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 60.

[235] C. M. Sinopoli, *Approaches to Archaeological Ceramics* (New York: Plenum, 1991), 84; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 60.

[236] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 60; see B. Annis, "Resistance and Change; Pottery manufacture in Sardinia," *World Archaeology* 17 (1985); J. Birmingham, "Traditional Potters of the Kathmandu Valley: An Ethnoarchaeological Study," *Man* n.s. 10 (1975); H. Howard and E. Morris, eds., *Production and Distribution: A Ceramic Viewpoint*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 120 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1981); P. Nicholson and H. Patterson, "Pottery Making in Upper Egypt: An Ethnoarchaeological Study," *World Archaeology* 17 (1985); B. L. Stark, "Archaeological Identification of Pottery-Production Locations: Ethnoarchaeological and Archaeological Data in Mesoamerica," in *Decoding Prehistoric Ceramics*, ed. B. A. Nelson, 158-194 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985); S. E. van der Leeuw and A. C. Pritchard, eds., *The Many Dimensions of Pottery: Ceramics in Archaeology and Anthropology*, CINGULA 7 (Amsterdam: Institute for Pre- and Proto-History, University of Amsterdam, 1984); J. E. Ericson, D. Read, and C. Burke, "Research Design: The Relationships between the Primary Functions and the Physical Properties of Ceramic Vessels and Their Implications for Ceramic Distributions on an Archaeological Site," *Anthropology* 3 (1972); Henrickson and McDonald, "Ceramic Form and Function: An Ethnographical Search and an Archaeological Application;" R. Linton, "North American Cooking Pots," *American Antiquity* 9 (1944); F. R. Matson, "The Archaeological Present: Near Eastern Village Patterns at Work," *American Journal of Archaeology* 78 (1974); M. F. Smith, Jr., *The Study of Ceramic Function from Artifact Size and Shape* (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 1983); M. F. Smith, Jr., "Toward an Economic Interpretation of Ceramics: Relating Vessel Size and Shape to Use," in *Decoding Prehistoric Ceramics*, ed. B. A. Nelson, 254-309 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985); W. G. Solheim, II, "The Functions of Pottery in Southeast Asia: From the Present to the Past," in *Ceramics and Man*, ed. F. R. Matson, 254-273 (Chicago: Aldine, 1965); R. H. Thompson, *Modern Yucatecan Maya Pottery Making*, memoirs of the Society of American Archaeology, no. 15 (Salt Lake City: Society for American Archaeology, 1958).

commonly associated with particular types of functional vessels.[237] Different types such as cooking pots and dry- and liquid-storage vessels differ in shape and form to facilitate their use for different purposes.[238] Although this usually holds true, sometimes for numerous reasons (including normative ideas, fashions, technology, etc.), the shape and form of the vessel does not necessarily reflect its function.[239] For this reason it is necessary to look to the "hard sciences" for other analytical methods along with analysis of vessel wear patterns.[240]

These analytical techniques consist of chemical analyses like liquid and gas chromatography that can identify the residues leftover on the inside of a vessel, providing information on what was stored or held in it.[241] Some of the ceramics from the F7 dwelling

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[237] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 60; see Henrickson and McDonald, "Ceramic Form and Function;" Smith, "Toward an Economic Interpretation of Ceramics;" J. Birmingham, "Pottery making at Andros," *Expedition* 10 (1967); Ericson, Read, and Burke, "Research Design: The Relationships between the Primary Functions and the Physical Properties of Ceramic Vessels and Their Implications for Ceramic Distributions on an Archaeological Site;" B. L. Fontana, W. J. Robinson, C. W. Cormack, E. E. Leavitt, *A Quantitative Method of Deriving Cultural Chronology*, Technical Manual 1 (Washington, DC: Pan American Union, 1962).

[238] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 60-61.

[239] For a more detailed description of the features of each different type, see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 60-61.

[240] Sinopoli, C. M. *Approaches to Archaeological Ceramics*, 84; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 61.

[241] V. R. Badler, P. McGovern, and R. H. Michel, "Drink and Be Merry: Infrared Spectroscopy and Ancient Near Eastern Wine," *MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology* 7 (1990); D. J. Hally, "The Identification of Vessel Function: A Case Study from Northwest Georgia," *American Antiquity* 51 (1986); P. E. McGovern, *Organic Contents of Ancient Vessels: Materials Analysis and Archaeological*, eds. W. R. Biers and P. E. McGovern (Philadelphia: University of Penssylvania Museum, 1990); P. E. McGovern and R. H. Michel, "The Analytical and Archaeological Challenge of Detecting Ancient Wine: Two Case Studies from the Ancient Near East," in *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, eds. P. E. McGovern, S. J. Fleming, and S. H. Katz, 57-66 (Singapore: Gordon and Breach, 1996); J. M. Skibo, *Kalinga Ethnoarchaeology: Expanding Archaeological Method and Theory*, eds. J. M. Skibo and

examined by Hardin were tested with Fourier-transform, diffuse-reflectance infrared spectrometry, high-performance liquid chromatography, and wet chemical techniques.[242] The results found tartaric acid residue in some of the vessels (*lmlk*-type), indicating they held wine.[243] When vessels hold acidic liquids like wine or beer, especially during fermentation, the inside becomes pitted, and, similarly, wear and abrasion patterns can be very indicative of a vessel's function.[244] Along with these kinds of use wear, vessels with charred marks may have been used as cooking pots or light sources,[245] however, considering the unique circumstances in which the remains from Stratum VIB have been found, it is quite clear that many of the charred marks on vessels and sherds have resulted from the destruction fire and not necessarily its use. In this case it is important to look for patterns in the charred markings that may indicate that it was produced by the vessel's use or exposure to fire during the siege. If the latter, the charring may be found along the breakage of the sherds.

W. Longacre (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 61.

[242] Patrick McGovern from the Museum of Applied Science and Center for Archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania carried out these tests; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 61.

[243] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 61, 156; Tartaric acid is almost exclusively found in grapes and is, therefore, a good indication of the presence of wine.

[244] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 58, 61-62; Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, 48; M. B. Schiffer and J. Skibo, "A Provisional Theory of Ceramic Abrasion," *American Anthropologist* 91 (1989); I. Levi-Sala, "Use Wear and Post-depositional Surface Modification: A Word of Caution," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 13 (1986).

[245] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 62.

Recovery and Processing of Ceramics in the Field

To discuss the ceramic remains from Field V, and specifically Areas D7, E6, and E7, I would like to review how these materials were recovered and processed. In the field while excavating, vessels and sherds were separated by area and collected in a pottery basket that was tagged with provenience information including the pottery basket number and locus number. After the sherds had been lightly cleaned and sufficiently dried, they were "field read" by the ceramicist and field staff.[246] Field reading is an important component to the process because by identifying the sherd and designating the time period from which it came, the excavators not only determine the dating of each stratum but also are made aware of possible intrusions from later periods. When materials dating to a later date appear in the same basket as materials belonging to that stratum's real date, it indicates disturbances such as robber trenches, pits, root perturbation, rodent burrows, and other intrusions.[247] This contaminates the rest of the material, and it complicates the context of the material from that basket and makes it more difficult to correctly or confidently interpret these remains when considering activity areas and use or function of the ceramic material.

Procedures at the Cobb Institute of Archaeology

Processing and analysis of the materials from Field V continued in 2011 when it was shipped to the Cobb Institute of Archaeology at Mississippi State University. The sherds were kept together in their original pottery basket units to aid in the processing and analysis. The

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[246] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 62.

[247] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 63.

boxes of material were separated by areas, and soil and charcoal samples were set aside.[248] The following methods have resulted from a mix of experimentation and an adaptation of the 1994 method of processing used for Field IV material outlined by Hardin in order to create the most efficient potsherd registration system.[249] This system entails applying clear nail polish to every sherd and then writing with a fine sharpie on top of the film, so that later on this could be removed by acetone. Further along the process the nail polish was replaced in use by acetone-based restoration glue. Each potsherd is marked in consequential numbering and then each weighed individually. This weight is then recorded in an Excel database.[250] Also, every sherd is labeled with provenience data that includes Field, Area, and Pottery Basket number, and it is marked with an individual identification number. This information will remain with the sherd throughout the process and is included in the databases with the restored vessel data.[251] After every sherd from a pottery basket is registered and weighed, they are bagged by pottery basket and shelved. Later on, reconstruction efforts begin by laying the sherds out on a table for examination and associating them with other sherds that may have been part of the same vessel. Once the potsherds have been grouped together, the restoration process begins at a station set up

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[248] T. Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," (a report prepared for director Dr. Oded Borowski, 2011), 2. [Unpublished Report]

[249] Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," 2; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 64-72.

[250] Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," 2.

[251] T. Frank, personal communication, April 2, 2012.

with cartons filled with rice.[252] By setting the vessel in the rice, it can be adjusted to a position that allows the sherd to be glued onto the vessel at the correct angle, aided by gravity. The laboratory was set up with four work stations, each working on different parts of this process from start to finish, and this allows for a large amount of sherds to be processed at the same time.[253] As a vessel can completely or only partly be reconstructed, it is given an identification number, which is recorded along with the sherds and their provenience information on a "Vessel Identification Form."[254] After it is complete, the vessel is also weighed with the total number of sherds noted, and it is sent to the illustration laboratory to be drawn.[255] After this, it is taken back to the first work-station to be described by its form, manufacture technique, paste color (inside, outside, surface treatment), interior and exterior, inclusions/temper, firing, hardness, and observable surface ware and to have any remaining potsherds attached.[256] While the vessel is being drawn and described, they are separated into typological classes, which may have some relationship to the vessel's function.[257]

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[252] Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," 2.

[253] Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," 2.

[254] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 64.

[255] Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," 2.

[256] Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," 2-3; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 64; See Seger, chap. 5, in Dever and Lance, *A Manual of Field Excavations: Handbook for Field Archaeologists*, 107-33.

[257] T. Frank, personal communication, April 2, 2012.

According to the most recent information on the restoration efforts taking place at the Cobb, there have been 343 sherds identified that have been associated to 20 vessels that are completely or partially restored.[258] These vessels mostly come from Area E6 with one coming from Area E7. The assemblage so far consists of 16 carinated bowls (one being a sigma bowl), a jug and juglet, and three cooking jars (one with an "X" potter's mark).[259]

The information gathered from the processing system is recorded on a backed up online network established through the university on four different databases. First there is the laboratory location database that contains all of the artifacts housed in the Near Eastern Laboratory of the Cobb Institute of Archaeology, in the museum, or otherwise displayed.[260] Vessels from Phase IV are entered into this database as they are provisionally shelved after being restored. The second database consists of the potsherd registration and individual weights, and this data is recorded in the database as the information is collected.[261] The vessel part database is the third, where partially or wholly reconstructed vessels are recorded with a list of sherds they contain, and weights are automatically extracted from the registration database. Lastly, there is the description database that contains descriptions of the vessels in accordance with the Lahav Research Project standards and the Gezer guidelines that were developed by Dr. Joe Seger.[262]

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[258] T. Frank, personal communication, April 2, 2012.

[259] T. Frank, personal communication, April 2, 2012.

[260] Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," 3.

[261] Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," 3.

[262] Frank, "Lahav Research Project, Phase IV: Report on Pottery Receival and Laboratory set-up at Cobb Institute of Archaeology, 2011," 3.

This entire process began in late July of 2011 and remains an ongoing project established through the Lahav Research Project.

The next stage of the project will include separating the sherds into two groups: the first consisting of sherds that were successfully re-associated with a restorable vessel, and the second made up of sherds that could not be refitted. Despite not being restored into a whole vessel, some sherds by themselves alone can indicate the sort of vessel they are a part of, so they can definitely still be useful in identifying the types of vessels present in that location. These "special" or diagnostic sherds usually consist of rims, bases, decorative pieces, etc.[263] The first group would clearly be part of the de facto refuse that was abandoned because of the siege (behavioral context). The second group varies with some belonging to the primary context (have been abandoned on the floor near its use location) and others to the secondary context (introduced into the debris through other actions).[264]

As a vessel is partially or wholly restored, it will be plotted on a drawing and/or photograph of the area in which it was found (this includes a three-dimensional reconstruction of the space that has already been started with the reconstructed vessels placed near their find locations).[265] When the mapping is complete, many questions can be addressed, including the distance and manner in which a vessel scattered over a floor while breaking, the amount of sherds that touched the floor(s), and what kind of spatial relationship the vessel had with regard

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[263] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 63.

[264] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 63.

[265] See Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 64.

to the destruction material around it.[266] However, as this is an ongoing process, these questions cannot be answered in this thesis.

Future endeavors, after all of the reconstruction efforts have been completed may include putting the typological classes into a corpus catalog.[267] This would aid in ceramic comparison with other areas and fields at Tel Halif in addition to other sites in general.[268] Any remaining sherds that cannot be reconstructed into restorable vessels will be separated back into pottery baskets, and the diagnostic sherds will be analyzed (drawn and described like the vessels, also separating them into typological classes).[269] Once the appropriate analysis has been undertaken to classify the restored vessels from the corpus into meaningful functional categories and to identify patterns observed in the sherd assemblage, "the spatial distributions and frequencies observed among these different classes of ceramics could be used to assess, first, the ravages of the formation processes and then, the relationships of vessels to permanent features and other classes of artifacts."[270]

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[266] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 64-65.

[267] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 65; The corpus catalog created for the project that began in 1994 for Field IV was based on standards developed by Tufnell and Gitin; see O. Tufnell, *Lachish III* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953) and S. Gitin, *Gezer III* (Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School, 1990).

[268] See Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 65.

[269] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 65; T. Frank, personal communication, April 2, 2012.

[270] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 68.

Rooms of Areas D7, E6, and E7 as part of a Pillared Dwelling

Now that I have covered the factors and methods that need to be considered to examine the material, I will describe the excavated material being studied here. As mentioned in the background information on excavation history at the tel, Field V is part of Phase IV of the Lahav Research Project, and excavations in the field began in the summer of 2007 and continued through 2009. On the very edge of the western side of the tel, Field V has revealed sections of the fortification system of Tel Halif during the Iron Age II in Stratum VIB. This includes a casemate wall that may be incorporated into some pillared dwellings that were partially exposed during excavations. The rooms that span the excavated Areas D7, E6, and E7 are most likely part of a pillared dwelling. Since Areas D8 and E8 (unexcavated) would contain the broad room(s) that back up to the casemate wall, Areas D7, E6, and E7 would contain the long narrow rooms running perpendicular to the broad room(s) at the back of the compound. These rooms may be part of a larger compound reaching into Areas C7 and C8, but this can only be confirmed by further excavations.[271] This discussion will focus on the material remains found in Areas D7 and E7, although the assemblage does spill over into Area E6. The remains in these areas have exposed a weaving and dying workshop spanning Areas E6 and E7 and another workshop to the north of this room in Area E7. There are also remains indicating food preparation/processing areas (at least three) on the edge of the weaving/dying workshop room, in the room adjacent to that spanning Areas D7 and E7, and in the cobbled floor area beyond in the installation in Area D7. The layout of these areas and then the types of materials excavated in each respective area

[271] O. Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2009 Season," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 2. [Limited Circulation]

are described below, however, beforehand it is important to detail the specific formation processes that may have affected these remains.

Formation Processes in Areas D7, E6, and E7

With regard to possible formation processes that may have impacted the Iron Age II remains from Stratum VIB of these areas, there are some factors that are apparent from excavation (evidence of pitting in Areas D7 and E6 and robbed out walls in Area E6 with backfill) and others that are not so discernable.[272] For this reason, Hardin takes established lists of possible cultural and natural formation processes in order to assess the degree to which these factors may have affected the material remains from Tel Halif and more specifically, the F7 dwelling of Field IV.[273] The strategy used by Hardin is based on the methods of Montgomery's work at Chodistas Pueblo in Arizona, and the lists of possible formation processes have been compiled by Carr, Montgomery, Schiffer, and Wood and Johnson.[274] These processes come from behavioral, site, and archaeological contexts.[275] The cultural formation processes identified as having the most impact on the F7 dwelling included loss on floors, deposition resulting in primary refuse, abandonment, reclamation, scavenging and salvage, and other disturbances (such

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[272] T. Frank, "Area D7: Phasing Report," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 65 [Limited Circulation]; T. Frank, "Area E6: Phasing Report," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 52. [Limited Circulation]

[273] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 99-123.

[274] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 99-100, 116; Montgomery, *Understanding of the Archaeological Record*; Carr, "Dissecting Intrasite Artifact Palimpsests Using Fourier Methods;" Schiffer, "Is there a 'Pompeii Premise' in Archaeology?;" Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*; Wood and Johnson, "A Survey of Disturbance Processes in Archaeological Site Formation."

[275] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 99.

as earthmoving and surficial processes).[276] The natural formation processes that most affected the F7 dwelling in Field IV included wind and water action (because it was at the edge of tel), pedoturbation (including faunalturbation and floralturbation; the affects of the movements of plants and animals), and graviturbation (like slow processes such as soil creep).[277] While Areas D7, E6, and E7 probably suffered many of the same formation processes as the F7 dwelling (with the same environment and also on the same side of the tel), they do not seemed to have been as affected as the remains from the F7 dwelling by the natural formation processes, possibly because these areas are not as close to the steep slope of the western side of the tel as the F7 dwelling. However, the remains from Areas D7, E6, and E7 were subject to the same cultural formation processes as the F7 dwelling, with evidence of trenching and mining activities aimed at scavenging fieldstones from Iron Age II walls for later structures.[278] How these disturbances have affected Stratum VIB in these areas and the material remains at this level will be discussed below.

Excavated Remains from Areas D7, E6, and E7

I will begin the discussion of the architectural features of the areas and their correlating materials with the first area that was excavated out of these three, but in continuing the description, I will focus on the materials of a room in the dwelling instead of an excavated area. This does not allow for a chronological description following the excavation timeline of each area, but ultimately it produces a more efficient and organized method of examining the architecture and artifact and ceramic assemblages of each room. Consequently, this will facilitate

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[276] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 105-116.

[277] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 118-119.

[278] See Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 116.

analysis and understanding of the materials, organization of the space, and activities taking place in these rooms. Geographically, I will move in a northern direction beginning in the south with Areas E6 and E7 that constitute the first long room, and then I will continue into the food preparation/processing central room spanning Areas E7 and D7. In conclusion, I will briefly discuss the few elements of the third and most northern long room in Area D7.

Weaving/Dying Workshop in Areas E6 and E7

Excavations in Area E7 first began in 2007 and then continued into 2008 and 2009.[279] In 2007, excavations uncovered what seemed like a mud brick wall (L. E7005) running through the entire space running in a northwest to southeast direction with a preserved height of 0.58 m, although, excavations in 2008 refuted this.[280] After this "wall" was taken down in 2008, two walls (L. E7011 and E7012) that defined the northern and western boundaries of the room were uncovered.[281] There were three surfaces, beaten earth floors, recovered in all of Area E7, but only one (L. E7007) lies within the borders of the room.[282] The other two floors are located west of the room (Floor E7008) and north of the room (Floor E7014).[283] In addition to surfaces there

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[279] Frank, "Area E7: Phasing Report," 109.

[280] J. Bidmead, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," in *Lahav Research Project, Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2008), 16 [Limited Circulation]; J. Bidmead, "Final Top Plan: E7," in *Lahav Research Project, Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2008), 5 [Limited Circulation]; T. Frank, "Area E7: Phasing Report," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 90. [Limited Circulation]

[281] Frank, "Area E7: Phasing Report," *2008 Season Report*, 90.

[282] T. Frank and D. Karges, "Final Top Plan: E7," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 85. [Limited Circulation]

[283] Frank and D. Karges, "Final Top Plan: E7," *2008 Field Season*, 85.

was a circular installation (L. E7009) found on Floor E7007 in the southeast corner of Area E7 against the south balk, consisting of nine boulder-size fieldstones (22-25 cm).[284] The function of a similarly designed installation (L. E7034) is discussed below. The materials excavated from this area exposed a weaving and dying workshop.

During the 2008 field season, Area E6 was opened up to continue excavations on the weaving/dying workshop in order to gain more insight into the textile activities present at Tel Halif in the Iron Age II.[285] The rest of the architectural unit (room and workshop) was uncovered, spanning Areas E6 and E7.[286] The room is bound by Wall E7011 on the north side, Wall E6007 at the east, Wall E7010 at the south, and Wall E7012 to the west.[287] Excavations also uncovered a semi-circular installation (L. E7009) that lies against Wall E7010. A threshold stone in Wall E6007 indicates that the entrance to the room was in the southeast corner.[288] The artifacts uncovered in Area E7 and later when Area E6 was excavated strongly suggest the existence of a weaving and dying workshop in this dwelling, yielding several "donut"-shaped clay loom weights, grinding and bone weaving tools, and ceramic vessels that may have been

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[284] Bidmead, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 22.

[285] O. Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 2 [Limited Circulation]; Frank, "Area E6: Phasing Report," 52.

[286] Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," 2-3.

[287] Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," 3; Frank and D. Karges, "Final Top Plan: E7," *2008 Field Season*, 85.

[288] Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," 3.

used to prepare and hold dyes.[289] The rich and dense assemblage spans Areas E7 and E6 and is concentrated towards the eastern part of the room.[290]

The floor (L. E7007/E6005) of the room was covered in occupational accumulation and destruction debris (L. E7007.P/E6005.P and E7006). [291] Some of the materials that are part of the assemblage extending through Areas E6 and E7 include lithics, shell (including sea shells and an abalone shell), bone (including worked bone and a bone instrument), charcoal, and metal (including iron, a metal object, and a metal tool).[292] Many objects associated with weaving activities were discovered such as several clay loom weights and bone pick-up sticks, a bead, and a spindle whorl.[293] There were also several unfired loom weights discovered.[294] Some of the discernable pottery included bowls, jars, juglets, and a cup.[295] In addition to these items, excavations uncovered numerous processing tools that may have been used for food preparation and possibly even for part of the weaving and dying activities. These include some grinding stones, several pounding stones, pounders, pestles, stone grinding implements, a mortar, a saddle

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[289] O. Borowski, ed., "Tell Halif: Field V, 2007 Season," *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2008), 2. [Limited Circulation]

[290] T. Frank, and D. Karges, "Weaving Assemblage: Areas E6 and E7," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 89. [Limited Circulation]

[291] Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," 3.

[292] Frank, "Area E6: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," 60-65; Bidmead, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 16-21.

[293] Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," 3; Frank, "Area E6: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," 60-65; Bidmead, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 16-21.

[294] Bidmead, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 16.

[295] Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," 3.

quern, and a whet stone.[296] There were also artifacts used for economic activities such as a clay token and a small weight.[297] Other various items include some worked stones, a rubbing stone, ballista stones, oil lamps, many weights, an olive pit, and jar stoppers.[298] More work done on Floor E7007 in 2008 exposed a large ceramic assemblage including numerous bowls that were stacked within each other and contained seeds, olive and grape pits, and other organic material.[299] Based on the types of tools, vessels, personal adornment objects (the beads), and other artifacts that were found, the excavations in Areas E6 and E7 clearly show the presence of a weaving/dying workshop that was in use during the Iron Age II right before the siege in 701 B.C.E. Before even continuing excavations into Area E6, the occupational accumulation of Floor E7007 (L. E7007.P) alone exposed a rich ceramic assemblage including many restorable and/or complete vessels (about 50) and a significant amount of loom weights (approximately 60).[300] While the excavations in 2007 and 2008 in Area E7 uncovered many textile related tools on other parts of Floor E7007, the work carried out in 2008 at the edge of the room revealed remains suggesting food processing; however, the remains could also reflect a food consumption area.[301] This could indicate a multi-functional use of this room, and/or these two activities could

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[296] Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," 3; Frank, "Area E6: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," 60-65; Bidmead, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 17-21.

[297] Bidmead, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 17-18.

[298] Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," 3; Frank, "Area E6: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," 60-65; Bidmead, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 16-21.

[299] Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," *2008 Season Report*, 93.

[300] Bidmead, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 17.

[301] O. Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2009 Season," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 2 [Limited Circulation]; Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," *2008 Season Report*, 93.

be closely related in nature or bound by a common factor (perhaps one being that both of these tasks were most likely performed by women), which explains their proximity to each other in the physical space.

The weaving and dying activities taking place in this room may shed light on whether this area of the dwelling was roofed or unroofed. In the analysis of household activities at Tel Beersheba, L. Singer-Avitz asserts that the large central room of the pillared dwelling functioned as a weaving area due to a large concentration of loom weights excavated in those rooms at Beersheba.[302] She also argues that this area could not have been an open courtyard as suggested by some because it was a winter activity.[303] Ethnographic data shows weaving is a typical activity of the wintertime because the sheep were sheared in the spring months, and in the summer the wool was spun and sometimes dyed.[304] This data also suggest that weaving is usually a domestic activity and not typically done on an industrial scale, which means that the inhabitants would have performed weaving activities inside the house and would prefer protection from the elements.[305]

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[302] Singer-Avitz, "Household Activities at Tel Beersheba," 286.

[303] Singer-Avitz, "Household Activities at Tel Beersheba," 286; Shiloh, "The Four-Room House," 278; V. Fritz, *The City in Ancient Israel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 141.

[304] Singer-Avitz, "Household Activities at Tel Beersheba," 286.

[305] Singer-Avitz, "Household Activities at Tel Beersheba," 286; J. B. Koster, "From Spindle to Loom: Weaving in the Southern Argolid," *Expedition* 19 (1976): 38; Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography in Western Iran*, 174-186; Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 283- 298; Nelson, *Gender in Archaeology: Analyzing Power and Prestige*, 109-110; Stager, L. E. "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," 15.

Food Preparation Space in Areas D7 and E7

Before excavations began in Area D7 or through the balk between Areas D7 and E7, the materials excavated in 2008 from Areas E7 and E6 gave a very different picture of the room than when it was further excavated in the 2009 field season (because of the shift of types of materials discussed below). To the north of the workshop in Areas E7 and E6 (above Wall 7011), in 2008 remains of possibly another workshop were discovered with a large assemblage of clay loom weights and other items ranging from ceramic vessels to bone tools and stone grinding implements.[306] The respective locations of the in situ loom weights form distinct lines, suggesting the presence of strung looms at the time of destruction.[307] However, these artifacts related to textile production, did not extend into the rest of the room, which means that this small area may have only been where the loom was stored or temporarily placed before the destruction. Large amounts of charcoal (some pieces being several centimeters long) were also discovered among the objects on Floor E7014. This charcoal could be the remains of a loom's frame or of wooden tools.[308] Additionally, there were large deposits of dark ash (L. E6012.P) uncovered at the most eastern point of the room on Floor E6012, indicating the combustion of organic material that was lying on the floor right before the destruction.[309] Other materials found in these areas (L.

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[306] Borowski, "Tell Halif: Field V, 2008 Season," 3; Frank, "Area E7: Phasing Report," *2008 Season Report*, 90; Frank, "Weaving Assemblage: Areas E6 and E7," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 89. [Limited Circulation]

[307] Frank, "Area E7: Phasing Report," *2008 Season Report*, 90; T. Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 97. [Limited Circulation]

[308] Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," *2008 Season Report*, 97.

[309] T. Frank, "Area E6: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 67. [Limited Circulation]

E6012.P and E7014) and in the destruction debris (L. E7015) above it include bone (including pick-up sticks), shell, lithics, grindstones, a juglet, and a carnelian bead.[310] This evidence matches the activity area patterns of the weaving/dying workshop of Areas E7 and E6; however, almost immediately beyond the north balk of Area E7 the material changed dramatically. This variation in use of space that was also witnessed in the first room could be for the same reason(s) as mentioned above.

In 2009, the north balk between Areas D7 and E7 was excavated (subsequent to the excavation of Area D7) using the rolling balk method in order to follow Floor E7014.[311] It turned out that Floor E7014 continued extensively into Area D7 as Floor D7026.[312] Underneath the destruction debris (L. D7026.P and D7025) on this floor there was a large ceramic assemblage including storage jars and items associated with food production.[313] This surface extends through the inside of an oval installation (L. D7034) sitting adjacent to the west balk of Area D7 up to a curtain wall (L. D7016) that sits on the north side of the installation and up to Wall D7032.[314] The installation is built on top of Floor D7026 and incorporates the curtain wall into its northern

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[310] Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," *2008 Season Report*, 97-100; Frank, "Area E6: Index A, Locus Summary Lists," 67-68.

[311] Frank, "Area E7: Phasing Report," 109.

[312] T. Frank and D. Karges, "Final Top Plan: D7," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 62 [Limited Circulation]; Frank, "Area D7: Phasing Report," 65; T. Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 87 [Limited Circulation]; Frank, "Area E7: Phasing Report," 109.

[313] Frank, "Area D7: Phasing Report," 65.

[314] Frank and Karges, "Final Top Plan: D7," 62.

edge, creating a "stepped layout."[315] It also lies next to a possible pillar base in the west balk of Area D7. The installation is made up of one row of stones with a height of 5 to 12 cm above floor level, and numerous storage jars were found inside the ring, which is at most 1.21 m wide.[316] The remains of the jars could indicate its use for holding up large storage jars full of wine (possibly during the fermentation process) or as a bin.[317]

Originating from the east balk, Wall 7032 runs northeast to southwest, directly through Area D7 up to the installation, dividing the space; however, the curtain wall suggests that the space may have continued into another room or area, possibly the third long room.[318] The Area Supervisor Tim Frank notes, "the courses of the wall adjacent to the E balk (L. D7032) may represent a threshold leading to the room to its N" since the wall is only one course high (24 cm) by the east balk for a distance of 78 cm until it becomes two courses high at 68 cm. [319] This could be the case here since mud brick would have been placed on top of stone foundations to construct walls, and over time the mud brick decays and the stone foundations survive. When the room was originally constructed, a section of this stone foundation may not have been built upon but may have simply served as a threshold and entryway into the northern room.

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[315] Frank, "Area D7: Phasing Report," 65. Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 77-78.

[316] Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 92.

[317] For more about why installations like this may have been used in the fermentation process of wine and/or beer, see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 157; O. Borowski, personal communication, March 29, 2012.

[318] Frank and Karges, "Final Top Plan: D7," 62.

[319] Frank, "Area D7: Phasing Report," 65; Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 91.

As excavations progressed into the balk between Areas D7 and E7, instead of uncovering more loom weights, a food preparation area was exposed. This area consisted of a *tabun* or bread oven, many cooking pots, grinding stones, a saddle quern, and oil lamps.[320] These materials originated from the occupational accumulation (L. E7014.P and D7026.P) and destruction debris (L. D7025 and E7019) above Floor E7014/D7026.[321] In the destruction debris (L. E7019) above Floor E7014, pieces of the *tabun* were uncovered up to .60 m away from the center of the oven.[322] The *tabun* (L. E7021) is constructed of clay and has stones supporting it on its north and south sides. It has a diameter of .42 m, and it survived to a height of .24 m. In the destruction debris, there was also flat-lying pottery about .07-.12 m above floor level.[323]

Some non-ceramic remains from this room include materials such as lithics, bone (astragali, pick-up sticks, and worked bone), a significant amount of charcoal, ash, shell (including bivalves), wood, and metal (including a fibula). Other artifacts consisted of potter's marks, a socket, a figurine fragment, a stone ring, three jar stoppers, a loom weight, grinders, a smooth stone, worry stones, worked stone, four pounders with a fragment of another, six grinding stones, a saddle quern, and two oil lamps.[324] The presence of oil lamps in this and the first room could indicate that the sections where oil lamps were found were roofed and not an

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[320] Frank, "Area E7: Phasing Report," 109.

[321] T. Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 112-117. [Limited Circulation]; Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 83-87.

[322] Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 116.

[323] Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 116-117.

[324] Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 112-114, 115-117; Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 84-89.

open part of the dwelling (correlating with the theory of Singer-Avits that the weaving/dying workshop area was enclosed).[325]

There was a considerable amount of pottery and sherds found in this area. The types of ceramics uncovered in Stratum VIB of Area D7 and E7 in this central long room include craters, jugs, juglets, sausage jars, a trefoil jug, and storage jars.[326] The assemblage covered loci D7025, D7026.P, D7028, E7014.P, and E7019.[327] In the destruction debris above Floor D7026 (L. D7025), there was a layer of ash 5 cm thick and flat-lying pottery about 15 cm above the floor level.[328] Some of this pottery was collected in L. D7026.P as part of the occupational accumulation above Floor D7026 (including from within the installation), and the pottery dates the floor to the Iron Age.[329] When collecting this material, a .50 m x .50 m grid (the "magic square") was used. More flat-lying pottery (.20 m above floor level) was discovered in the destruction debris (L. D7028) above Floor D7026 along with ash and charcoal deposits.[330] In addition to this, storage jars and other potsherds were collected from the accumulation and debris (L. E7014.P and E7019) above Floor E7014.[331]

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[325] Brody, "The Archaeology of the Extended Family," 250.

[326] Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 85-87, 89, 92.

[327] Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 85; Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 112, 115-116.

[328] Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 84-85.

[329] Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 85, 92.

[330] Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 85, 88.

[331] Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 112, 116.

The materials excavated in Area D7 along with the remains found in the balk between Areas D7 and E7 suggest that this area or room in the house was a kitchen.[332] The close proximity of a food processing area and a weaving/dying workshop suggests a close relationship between the two activities as also mentioned in reference to the first room. Moreover, it has been suggested that these activities are carried out by women, and that the presence of material remains unique to food preparation and/or weaving activities indicate areas of female activity,[333] which could explain the connection between the two activities and their areas in the archaeological record.

The Third Long Room Located in Area D7

I consider the section of Area D7 north of Wall 7032 and Installation D7034 as possibly a third long room in the pillared dwelling and definitely a separate area from the food preparation room spanning Areas D7 and E7. On the other side of the curtain wall, opposite of the installation, there is a small section of cobbled floor with a beaten earth surface (L. D7015) that was probably in use at the same time as Floor D7026 despite it being about 15 cm higher.[334] The rest of the space on the north side of the dividing wall (L. D7032) in the area, besides the

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[332] T. Frank, "Area E7: Phasing Report," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 109. [Limited Circulation]

[333] Singer-Avitz, "Household Activities at Tel Beersheba," 292; S. M. Nelson, *Gender in Archaeology: Analyzing Power and Prestige* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1997), 104-106, 109-110; P. J. Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography in Western Iran* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology 57; Tucson, AZ: 1979), 174-186; E. J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 283-298; E. M. Brumfiel, "Weaving and Cooking: Women's Production in Aztec Mexico," in *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, eds. J. M. Gero and M. W. Conkey (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991).

[334] Frank and Karges, "Final Top Plan: D7," 62; Frank, "Area D7: Phasing Report," 65. Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 77.

northwest corner where there lies another small section of a wall (L. D7004), contains a dirt surface (L. D7033).[335] Although the floor was not reached in this section, the presence of loom weights and pottery suggests a possible floor. There were two sub-phases within Stratum VIB uncovered in Area D7. Wall D7032 and possible Floor D7033 were dated to Stratum VIB2, but they could have been part of the same phase (Stratum VIB1) as the other features (Floor D7015, Curtain Wall D7016, Floor D7026, Installation D7034, and Wall D7032).[336]

Organic, Charcoal, and Soil Samples

There were samples taken in the field by the Weizmann Institute during excavations in 2009 from the contents of the ceramics and the *tabun* uncovered in Areas D7 and E7, and three of these were taken from the occupational accumulation and destruction debris above the floor spanning this room.[337] The findings of this analysis could reveal what was contained in those vessels, giving a better idea about the use of space, the diet of the inhabitants, and maybe even aspects of possible trade relations with areas outside the vicinity of the tel. The results from this analysis have not been completed, and unfortunately could not be included in this study. Other soil samples along with some charcoal samples (six samples altogether) that were taken from Areas B8, C7, D7, and E7 have been tested with radiocarbon dating analyses in order to establish a range of dates for the material from Strata VIB and VIA. Unfortunately, the C-14 results are too problematic to consider in this study.

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[335] Frank and Karges, "Final Top Plan: D7," 62; Frank, "Area D7: Phasing Report," 66.

[336] Frank, "Area D7: Phasing Report," 66.

[337] Frank, "Area D7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 86; Frank, "Area E7: Index A, Locus Summary List," 117.

Ethnographic and Ethnoarchaeological Comparison

The ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological data used for comparison here comes from many villages located in Palestine and western Iran, dating from the late nineteenth to late twentieth-century C.E. This information, when used cautiously, can be valuable for the analysis of the evidence from Field V because it can shed light on social, political, and economic organization of ancient societies and can aid in "understanding the function of certain artifacts, identifying the execution and organization of certain activities, and suggesting likely social organization at the household level."[338] In using ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological data the contemporary societies must be similar to the past societies in demographic and in geographic location (because both would have had similar available materials afforded by their environment and would have had to experience similar environmental conditions).[339] The small rural Arab villages from Palestine are good comparisons due to similar subsistence strategies and social structure (described in biblical texts and associated with Iron Age Israel).[340] The small, rural, egalitarian villages of western Iran are useful for data concerning dwelling construction and function, social structure, and material culture as it is used in domestic activities (allowing for

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[338] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 161, 166.

[339] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 165; For more on the organization of the household see J. D. Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*, Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 2 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001); Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 162-164.

[340] O. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrans, 1987), 1-30; O. Borowski, *Every Living Thing: Daily Use of Animals in Ancient Israel* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 1998), 39-80; P. J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* (Louiseville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 85-122; Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 161.

support of the interpretations of archaeological data).[341] When comparing the ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological data collected with the archaeological remains excavated, there were similarities found in the organization of the dwellings in the western Iran village of Aliabad, which was most similar to archaeological evidence found in Field IV.[342] The F7 dwelling that Hardin focuses on includes rooms that are common in the village of Aliabad such as living rooms/areas, storage facilities, stables, kitchens, and courtyards. Features within the courtyard area were also similar, including animal pens, food preparation areas, horizontal looms, and multifunctional platforms.[343] From this evidence Hardin notes that "the parallels for the organization of the activity areas between the ethnographic data and the archaeological data are striking."[344] Hardin uses this data to take the analysis a step further by suggesting organization of the ancient household and a loose division of space and activity areas based on gender.[345] The rooms examined in Field V above have some of the same activity areas as those found in the F7 dwelling and the village of Aliabad, and so similar assertions can be made about the rooms of Areas D7, E6, and E7.

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[341] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 166; For the "appropriateness of the fit" between archaeological data and their interpretations, see M. Weinstein, "Household Structure and Activities," *Anatolian Studies* 23 (1973): 276.

[342] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 166, 171; For more information on Aliabad, see Kramer 1982a; 1982b.

[343] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 171-172.

[344] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 172.

[345] For more on the organization of the household that may have inhabited the F7 dwelling and the division of space associated with gender, see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 172-173.

Biblical Evidence

According to Hardin, the biblical text provides some evidence about the Iron Age dwelling and social structure. The construction of Iron Age dwellings is not specifically mentioned, but there is discussion about construction of other structures that parallel the Iron Age dwelling.[346] In the description of the *House of the Forest of Lebanon* (1 Kings 7), there are many similarities in structural features to the pillared dwelling. Additionally, Ecclesiastes (10:18) speaks about the maintenance of a house by applying plaster to its roofs and walls.[347] There are also references to the designated spaces within the dwelling for certain activities such as domestic stables (1 Sam 28:24, Ps 50:9, Amos 6:4, Jer 46:21, and Mal 4:2), living areas on the second floor (1 Sam 9:25-26, 1 Sam 19:12, 2 Sam 11:2, 2 Sam 18:33, 1 Kgs 17:19-23, 2 Kgs 4:10, 2 Kgs 1:2-6, Deut 22:8, Josh 2:15), and the style and use of dwellings (Josh 2:6) and space (cultic; Judg 18:17-20, 1 Sam 19:13-17, Jer 19:13).[348]

Iron Age Social Structure

The Iron Age social structure in ancient Israel that was biblically referenced contains small, medium, and large social groups that were organized into egalitarian groups that have been dubbed by scholars (increasing in size) as "families" ("houses"), "clans," and "tribes." There were three major social groups in early Israel: the *bet-'av* (the smallest and least-inclusive group), the *mishpaḥah*/*'eleph* (the intermediate group), and the *shevet*/*maṭṭeh* (the largest and

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[346] For specific details, see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 175.

[347] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 175.

[348] Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," 15; see B. Halpern, *The First Historians* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984), 45-58; T. A. Jull, "*Mqrh* in Judges 3: A Scatological Reading," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 81 (1998); Judg 3:12-23; For a better description of how these passages reference the existence of these spaces, see Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 176-177.

most-inclusive group).[349] These groups shaped the lives of Tel Halif's residents through their identity, ideas of kinship, responsibility, living arrangements, daily interactions through shared activities, and economics. While being socially bonded through the *mishpaḥah*, the *sheveṭ*/*maṭṭeh* would receive military units from the *bet-'av* or the households that inhabited the pillared dwellings.[350] Hardin argues that "the *bet-'av* occupied a single pillared dwelling as a small extended household, organized just as the biblical texts intimate into an extended endogamous, patrilocal household."[351] Others, including Brody, Stager, and Scholen, support Hardin in the belief that Iron Age II pillared dwellings were inhabited by extended families.[352]

Conclusions

Answers to the questions posed at the beginning of the chapter have been implied throughout the examination, discussion, and analysis of the materials from Areas D7, E6, and E7. This evidence has provided information on how the pillared dwelling was structured in the Iron Age II at Tel Halif and how the space within the architectural features have been divided. Sometimes these divisions are less obvious and must be observed by the change in material patterns, as with the first and seconds rooms regarding the boundaries between weaving/dying

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[349] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 178.

[350] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 178-184.

[351] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 184; A. Faust, "Differences in Family Structure between Cities and Villages in the Iron Age II, " *Tel Aviv* 26 (1999); A. Faust, "The Rural Community in Ancient Israel during the Iron Age II," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 317 (2000); H. Reviv, *The Society in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah* (Jerusalem: 1993). [Hebrew]

[352] Brody, "The Archaeology of the Extended Family," 254; Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," 18-22; Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol*, 167-168; In his article "Household Economies in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," Avraham Faust argues that the Iron Age II pillared dwelling was actually the residence of nuclear families, not extended ones; however, he does admit that in rural areas families were usually structured in extended households; Faust, "Household Economies in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," 262.

and food preparation/consumption activities. The remains suggest what kind of activities took place and in which locations, suggesting that certain activities were done in specific areas of the house (like weaving in a roofed section of the dwelling and food preparation in the central long room). These materials obviously show that the inhabitants of these spaces were involved in textiles production on a domestic scale, and the record demonstrates that the three activities (food preparation, food consumption, and textile production) represented in the archaeological record here are closely related. This connection has implications about the use of space by specific genders based on the kinds of activities performed. The unique circumstances in which these remains were deposited in the archaeological record have to be considered, but it is difficult to determine which elements are normal and which are not. The presence of *lmlk*-type storage jars and the appearance of a couple *lmlk* seal impressions, is at least one factor that points to an unusual situation. Also, items may not have been found where they were usually stored or used since the tel was abandoned so rapidly. This could account for the loom weights found in the southwest corner of the middle long room. Ultimately, the data collected from these areas have confirmed and added further support to already established concepts regarding household archaeology, the Iron Age pillared dwelling, and the use of space in such a domestic structure. This includes connecting the material remains to past human behaviors (correlating the loom weights to weaving activities), seeing a division of space (whether by a wall or not) between different types of activities, and designating specific locations of certain activities in the pillared dwelling (like food preparation in the central long room and weaving in a roofed area). This corroboration extends to the larger contexts mentioned below.

Household archaeology has much to offer towards a better understanding of not only the people who inhabited the rooms of the dwelling examined here, but also the occupants of Tel

Halif and the larger society of Judah and the southern Levant in the Iron Age II in which it existed and functioned. The extensive methods covered in this chapter are integral to interpreting the material confidently and, hopefully, fairly accurately. These methods have put forth many considerations to take into account before bridging the gap between material culture excavated in the archaeological record and the dynamic behavioral system that produced these patterns. Based on the analysis of the remains from three architecturally distinct rooms, I was able to identify a textile workshop, a large food preparation area, and possibly a food consumption space. The cross-over of different types of artifacts indicative of differing activities can be explained by a variety of reasons including a multi-functional space, a close relationship and possible connection between the three activities, a case of storage and not use (as with the loom), and the separation of food preparation and consumption. The ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, and textual evidence suggests that the inhabitants of this dwelling were organized into an extended patrilocal household and that the structure of space in the dwelling was segregated into specific areas or rooms by activity types. This kind of data also helps in understanding the multi-functional nature of rooms in a dwelling and how the use of space can vary depending on the circumstances in which they being used.

Chapter 3: Foreign Contact and Trade Relations

Tel Halif was a Judahite site conveniently located at a crossroads between major cities and societies, this geographical advantage is possibly the most important factor when considering the extent to which the occupants of the tel experienced trade relations and foreign contact. These trade routes came from Egypt, the Negev, the seacoast, the hill country, and Jerusalem.[353] This prime location also accounts for the tel's almost complete continuity of habitation from the Chalcolithic to the Modern Arab period, providing archaeologists with a plethora of material, aiding in the reconstruction of the history of occupation and foreign contact on the tel.[354] The Iron Age II settlement at Tel Halif ended in a fiery destruction at the hands of the Assyrian King Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E., sealing the materials abandoned by the tel's inhabitants in a layer of ash and destruction debris, effectively preserving the remains in the archaeological record. These factors (advantageous location, extensive occupational history, and well-preserved materials that can be confidently dated to the end of the 8th century B.C.E.) present an opportunity to carry out an in depth examination of trade relations and foreign contact at Tel Haif and using these data to shed light on the larger contexts of the southern Levant in the Iron Age II (ninth to seventh century B.C.E.).[355]

The excavated material from the 2007, 2008, and 2009 field seasons in Field V of Tel Halif will be used as evidence for a notable amount of outside influence and trade relations. I will begin by covering the early history of foreign contact at the tel by examining the Egyptian

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[353] Seger and Borowski, "The First Two Seasons at Tell Halif," 156.

[354] I. Ktalav and O. Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 3. [Limited Circulation]

[355] Borowski, "The Pomegranate Bowl from Tell Halif," 150.

material recovered from the fourth millennium B.C.E. Then I will move on to foreign contact in the Iron Age II at the site using malacological, faunal and fish, figurine fragment, incense altar, and metal remains to suggest direct and indirect trade. I will also examine the possibility of a textile cottage industry present at the tel during the Iron Age II. Questions that I seek to address with this investigation include to what extent was Tel Halif involved in the far-reaching trade networks of the Levant and the Near East? What was being exchanged? From where did these products originate? Does this evidence suggest direct or indirect trade? Did Tel Halif produce any commodity? How did this affect the quality of life of the tel's inhabitants? How did this interaction affect their economy, standard of living, and culture? How can this give a broader picture of foreign contact and trade in Judah during that period? Can the trade of certain highly sought commodities reflect upon the values of this culture? By examining the material evidence excavated in Field V, I aspire to address these concerns.

Historic Egyptian Connections

To understand trade at Tel Halif in the Iron Age, it is necessary to review the site's early history regarding connection with foreign trade and contact. The site's relationship with Egypt has been established since the beginning of its occupational history. The archaeological evidence shows that there was extensive interaction between Tel Halif and its Egyptian neighbors beginning in the Chalcolithic period. The site experienced foreign contact since the beginning of its occupation indicated by the Egyptian material excavated on the sloping terrace that sits on a large limestone platform beginning at the base of the tel and extending eastward to the Yaval Valley.[356] While examining the Egyptian-South Levantine relationship in the latter half of the

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[356] Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics*, 1; see T. E. Levy et al., "Egyptian-Canaanite Interaction at Nahal Tillah, Israel (ca. 4500-3000 B.C.E): An Interim Report on the 1994-1995 Excavations," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 307 (1997): 1-51.

fourth millennium B.C.E., J.P. Dessel concluded that Tel Halif was not in a strategic location for trade in the Early Bronze Age.[357] This shows how trade relations, and consequently foreign contact, at the site have changed over time suggesting that the trade routes into Judah may have shifted or just expanded into previously isolated areas. This also implies that the occupants of the tel became more involved with the exchange networks after the Early Bronze Age (perhaps for reasons related to a larger population necessitating more dependence on outside sources). On the Eastern Terrace there was a Chalcolithic/Early Bronze I site uncovered, and soon after starting excavations the director, D. Alon, found Pre-dynastic Egyptian pottery, dating to the late Naqada III/Dynasty 0 period (3200-3000 B.C.E.).[358] On the eastern edge of the terrace near the valley floor, T. Levy, who continued Alon's excavations, uncovered a large complex of Early Bronze IA and B buildings along with a significant amount of Egyptian pottery and seal impressions.[359] In local Phase 8 or Stratum XVII of the Halif terrace, Egyptian material is present beginning in Early Bronze IA, but its presence does not become prominent until Late EB IB, indicating a shift to a large scale Egyptian influence in southern Palestine at that time.[360] Other finds from this area include carnelian and faience beads, both of which are found in abundance in Egypt due to the

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[357] Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics*, 1, 11.

[358] Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics*, 14; Gophna, "Egyptian First Dynasty Pottery from the Tell Halif Terrace," 49; D. Alon, "Lahav," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 41-42 (1972): 34 [Hebrew]; see D. Alon and Y. Yekutieli, "The Tell Halif 'Silo Site' and its Implications for the Early Bronze Age I," *'Atiqot* 27 (English; 1995): 149-189.

[359] Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics*, 17; Levy et al., "New Light on King Narmer and the Protodynastic Egyptian Presence in Canaan," 26-35; T. E. Levy et al., "Egyptian-Canaanite Interaction at Nahal Tillah, Israel (ca. 4500-3000 B.C.E): An Interim Report on the 1994-1995 Excavations," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 307 (1997): 1-51.

[360] Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics*, 24-30.

local production/acquisition and popular use in various products. In local Phase 7/6 or Stratum XVI of the terrace dating to Late EB IB, several Egyptian bread molds were found in association with a large-scale bread making area.[361] Again, the increased Egyptian presence in the Late EB IB is indicated by large ceramic assemblages, and with the associated surge of Naqada IIB-C pottery in Phase 7/6 the Egyptians may have occupied the terrace.[362] More interesting finds included two *serekhs*, one of which was of the Egyptian King Narmer, who reigned during the Early Dynastic Period. Afterwards, the site was abandoned by the Egyptians and possibly also by the local Levantine population.[363] Although these materials do not fall within the Iron Age II, the history of Tel Halif's foreign relations and contacts is significant to note as this relationship will continue into the Iron Age.

Foreign Contact in Times of War

In the Iron Age II, there is evidence for a considerable amount of trade and foreign contact. With regard to specifically foreign contact during Hezekiah's revolt and the siege of Sennacherib, there are a few cases of contact between Judah and its Near Eastern neighbors. In preparation for the uprising, Hezekiah allied himself with the Egyptians and Ethiopians (Kushites) under the command of Prince Tirhakah (Taharqo), indicating a close enough relationship to warrant partnership in a rebellion against the victorious Assyrian king.[364] It is important to see how foreign contact is strengthened by the alliances that are created in times of

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[361] Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics*, 31.

[362] Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics*, 34.

[363] Dessel, *Lahav I: Pottery and Politics*, 34.

[364] Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah*, 250; Robinson, *Lost Languages*, 143.

war. It is clear that during this period and throughout the history of the Near East there is constant contact between neighboring societies and empires, many times involving military campaigns. The siege of Sennacherib is a violent and large-scale example of contact between Iron Age Judah and its Near Eastern neighbors, but this study will focus on more subtle commercial interactions. The evidence for trade relations comes from Stratum VIB of Field V at Tel Halif, and the types of materials examined here include shells and molluscs, faunal remains (caprids and fish), figurines, incense altars, metal objects, and textile related materials.

Malacological Remains

While investigating the extent of Tel Halif's participation in foreign trade networks, it is important to look at the malacological remains that can provide information about the specific regions that were involved in trade with Judah at that time. These data also confirm the site's strategic location near many trade routes. This analysis provides insight into how and where value (whether monetarily, aesthetically, or symbolically) was placed and how these regions may have affected the culture and identities of the inhabitants of the tel. The molluscs analysis performed by I. Ktalav on the shell material found during the 2007 to 2009 excavation seasons in Field V reveals that Tel Halif traded with a variety of regions and that shells were a popular commodity for different reasons. The site's location along the route from the coastal plain to the hill county is key in its involvement in the shell trade as it maintained connections with the Mediterranean, Red Sea, Indo-Pacific, and Syria/Lebanon.[365] Three different types of shells were found including land snails, freshwater shells, and marine shells, but only the freshwater and marine shells were examined in depth. Of the shells excavated from Strata VIB and pre-VIB there were thirty-four Mediterranean shells of the *Glycymeris insubrica* species, four shells from

[365] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 1.

the Red Sea/Indo-Pacific with two from the *Monetaria annulus* species and two from the *Monetaria moneta* species, and one shell from Syria/Lebanon from the species *Pseudunio syriaca*.[366] The two shell species from the Red Sea/Indo-Pacific are commonly found together in warm seawaters and shallow lagoons in the basins of the Indian and Pacific Oceans ranging from the Red Sea to Mozambique in the west and to Japan, Hawaii, New Zealand, and the Galapagos in the east. The one shell from Syria or Lebanon was a broken freshwater stream bivalve. In Syria these shells occur in Lake Homs and the Orontes River, and in Lebanon they can be found in the Nahr-el-Kabir.[367] The function of the bivalve is unknown since it was found in Area E7, which contained a textile workshop that sat next to a food preparation area, but it probably came to Tel Halif from the north through indirect trade, along with other imported objects found in this stratum. As indicated by this evidence, trade with the Mediterranean, the Red Sea/Indo-Pacific, and Syria/Lebanon was prevalent at Tel Halif in Stratum VIB, namely in the Iron II period.[368]

Almost all of the collected shells, not only from the Iron Age II, were worked by polishing or drilling, a process demonstrating their use for ornamentation. *Monetaria annulus* and *Monetaria moneta* are cowrie shells, which historically, since the Late Epi-Palaeolithic, have been collected and prized in the Levant, especially in the Natufian culture. However, they are also commonly found at Iron Age sites.[369] It has been suggested that cowries were used as a form of currency since they have many attractive features facilitating this role such as portability, consistency in shape and size, durability, and uniqueness to impede counterfeit attempts.

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[366] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 2-3.

[367] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 4.

[368] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 4.

[369] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 5.

Monetaria annulus is commonly found at Iron Age sites throughout Israel, having been uncovered at Lachish, City of David, Megiddo, and Tel Dan among others. Historically these cowrie species have been referred to in texts as 'shell money' and have been associated with wealth in other parts of the world including China, India, and Egypt.[370] However, since only a small amount of these shells was discovered at Tel Halif, they were probably not used as money at that time. Instead, they were probably worn as beads since all of those found from Stratum VIB were ground and polished.[371] The back of the shell was often removed in order to thread fabric through it and to sew it to a garment, but it was also used to create necklaces and bracelets.[372] Also, the fact that these worked shells were found in the context of a textile workshop supports the view of their use in a decorative or symbolic way, as depicted on a terracotta figurine found in an Edomite shrine at Horvat Qitmit wearing clothing adorned with cowries.[373] Cowries had additional meanings related to the cosmic forces, fertility, and life after death. They could also be used to ward away the evil eye, a prevalent concept throughout the Mediterranean region, the Middle East, and northwest India.[374] Additionally, it is possible that

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[370] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 5.

[371] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 6.

[372] Hawksley, "Jewelry preliminary report 2009," 245.

[373] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 6; see I. Beit-Arieh, *Horvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev* (Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University 11; Tel Aviv: 1995).

[374] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 7; see M. Eliade, *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism* (London: 1961); M. L. Thomsen, "The Evil Eye in Mesopotamia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19 (1992): 32-51.

the shells were used as pendants hung on a string, for purely aesthetic reasons.[375] The shell trade with the Mediterranean, Red Sea/Indo-Pacific, and Syria/Lebanon clearly affected the Iron Age II people of Tel Halif through cultural beliefs and valued ideas.[376]

Participation in the Incense Trade

Based on the cultic objects found from Field V (Areas I5, E7, H6, and C7), Tel Halif may have been actively participating in the expansive Near Eastern incense trade that originated in Arabia.[377] Evidence for Tel Halif's participation in the incense trade is witnessed by two intact limestone incense altars and two additional fragments. One of the intact altars is distinctly different from the other because it has incised depictions of a hunter or warrior and various animals; this altar had been in use in the past, clearly evident from the leftover soot in the top depression.[378] The four sides of the altar were smoothed out, and the drawings were skillfully incised within a frame of lines and geometric shapes.[379] The typology of the incense altar suggests that northern Arabian craftsmen produced and decorated them, which would make

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[375] Ktalav and Borowski, "Molluscs from Iron Age Tel Halif," 8; see A. Golani, *The Development, Significance and Function of Jewelry and the Evolution of the Jeweler's Craft in the Land of Israel during the Iron Age II Period*, vol. 1 (PhD diss., Tel Aviv University) Tel Aviv: forthcoming.

[376] For more information about the economic value of shells see M. Bar-Yosef, "The Economic Importance of Molluscs in the Levant," in *Archaeozoology of the Near East IVA: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on the Archaeozoology of Southwestern Asia and Adjacent Areas*, eds. M. Mashkour, A. M. Choyke, H. Buitenhuis, and F. Poplin, (Groningen: 2000).

[377] Bang, "The Assemblage of the Iron Age Cult Objects," 42.

[378] Bang, "The Assemblage of the Iron Age Cult Objects," 28.

[379] Bang, "The Assemblage of the Iron Age Cult Objects," 31-32.

sense considering the incense trade route came from South Arabia into the Levant.[380] However, it turns out that the stone source for this altar is actually local, suggesting that the incense trade also transferred ideas.[381] The other altar is undecorated and does not have any sign of soot, and its craftsmanship is less skilled than the other's, indicating that it may have been a poorly produced local imitation or was never completed.[382] Tel Halif's location on the incense route and the excavated incense altars imply that the Judahites living on the tel may have burned incense obtained through the incense trade route, but this cannot be confirmed since the soot analysis is incomplete.[383]

O. Keel and C. Uehlinger claim that "the aromatics trade over the incense road was completely in Arab hands,"[384] but others like the Assyrians tried to take advantage of the lucrative commerce and control parts of the incense trade network. South Arabia really began trading incense at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. with Mesopotamia, Assyria, the Levant, the Mediterranean, and Egypt.[385] Incense was a necessity in these regions for cultic use, but there were also social, technological, and economic advancements involved that spurred the

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[380] Bang, "The Assemblage of the Iron Age Cult Objects," 34, 43.

[381] O. Borowski, personal communication, March 6, 2012.

[382] Bang, "The Assemblage of the Iron Age Cult Objects," 28, 36.

[383] O. Borowski, personal communication, March 6, 2012.

[384] O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel*, trans. T. H. Trapp (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 382.

[385] C. Singer, "The Incense Kingdoms of Yemen: An Outline History of the South Arabian Incense Trade," in *Food for the Gods: New Light on the Ancient Incense Trade*, ed. D. Peacock and D. Williams (Connecticut: David Brown Books, 2007), 4-5.

long distance trade.[386] I. Finkelstein asserts that Hezekiah's revolt posed a considerable threat partly because the Assyrians wanted to control the incense trade coming into the Levant; "these campaigns were aimed at strategic and economic advantages; controlling the gateways of the Arabian trade must have been one of the Assyrian's main goals, if not the most important one."[387] Along with the ever popular frankincense and myrrh the merchants would carry goods that came into South Arabia from further east such as cinnamon, pepper, silk, cardamom, turmeric, sandalwood, and aloeswood.[388]

Figurines and Trade

As already discussed, Tel Halif's geographical location between major regions has been instrumental to its connections with the close-by trade routes, but there are other indications of its convenient distance to trade routes, implying the magnitude of its immersion into the Judean exchange networks and cultural and cultic model. T. Eddinger draws a direct correlation between the appearance of figurines with a town's proximity to and involvement in interregional exchange with the major trade routes running through Judah in Iron Age II.[389] Terracotta figurines have been discovered at 96 sites that are spread throughout Syria-Palestine, including

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[386] Singer, "The Incense Kingdoms of Yemen," 4-5.

[387] I. Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighbouring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 146.

[388] Singer, "The Incense Kingdoms of Yemen," 6.

[389] T. W. Eddinger, "A Social Setting for Judahite Terracotta Figurines of the Late Iron Period" (PhD diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1995), 176-181; see M. Peterson-Solimany and R. Kletter, "The Iron Age Clay Figurines and A Possible Scale Weight," in *Salvage excavations at Tel Moza: The Bronze and Iron Age settlements and later occupations* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2009), 115-123.

Judah, and "areas distant from trade routes have few sites where figurines have been found."[390] This fortifies the point that Tel Halif was indeed within active range of the trade routes since there is ample evidence of figurines. These figurine fragments excavated at Tel Halif indicate mercantile, cultural, and foreign influence. In Field V there were a few fragments of the horse and rider figurines, a common warrior motif in ancient times. There have been 328 of these figurines found at 33 sites in the region; "horse-and-rider figurines are the most prominent of the identifiable animal figurines and are found widespread in Palestine."[391] Other objects including a few fragments of Judean pillar figurines, animal figurines, and bird-face figurines were found at Tel Halif.[392] Eddinger argues that these figurines have social and religious implications for these communities.[393] When examining the location of these sites, it exposes a pattern; all of them are located on or near major interregional or international trade routes including the King's Highway, the Watershed Road, and the Via Maris, which runs by the coast, not far from Tel Halif.[394] These sites must have been heavily engaged in outside trade, whereas the lack of figurines at sites farther from the main roads suggests that they had "minimal outside influence or contact." The historical evidence of the region in Iron Age II supports this argument since it experienced a thriving economy and relative peace before the Assyrians came to attack in 722

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[390] Eddinger, "A Social Setting for Judahite Terracotta Figurines," 171.

[391] Eddinger, "A Social Setting for Judahite Terracotta Figurines," 73, 171.

[392] Bang, "The Assemblage of the Iron Age Cult Objects," 8-9.

[393] Eddinger, "A Social Setting for Judahite Terracotta Figurines," 176-177.

[394] Eddinger, "A Social Setting for Judahite Terracotta Figurines," 177-178; Borowski, "Tel Halif in the Path of Sennacherib," 27.

B.C.E., after which there was an economic depression, hindering the trade networks.[395] Judah's border in the Iron Age II also encouraged interregional trade because it extended so far as to be within the range of the major trade routes including the Central Hill region, the Shephelah, the Negev, going into the Jordan Valley and Coastal Plain. However, in the Persian period this area shrank to the Hill Country, effectively isolating Judah.[396] Other archaeological evidence reinforces this argument with finds from Egypt, Assyria, and Phoenicia. Figurines transmit ideas and values, and since they are present on the tel, the inhabitants must have identified with them on some level, usually through cultural or cultic memes. If the figurines have cultic connotations common to Judahites, this could further prove Tel Halif's participation in Hezekiah's cultic reforms and, effectively, the revolt. The appearance of these figurines demonstrates not only how the occupants of Tel Halif were impacted by foreign cultures and to some extent participating in foreign belief systems, but it also shows how this town was a small unit that was active in embracing the complex of Judahite identity and the commercial web that Judah was prodigiously involved in.

Faunal Evidence

The faunal report from Field V in the 2007, 2008, and 2009 field seasons gives further insight into how developed the economy of Tel Halif was in Iron Age II and how much it depended on foreign trade networks as an important food source, implying that the inhabitants must have had frequent and regular interactions with different kinds of merchants from the trade routes. "Relative frequency of species and their mortality profile reflect the economy of ancient

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[395] Eddinger, "A Social Setting for Judahite Terracotta Figurines," 177-178.

[396] Eddinger, "A Social Setting for Judahite Terracotta Figurines," 178.

sites and, furthermore, point to the subsistence strategy of their inhabitants."[397] There were 614 bones found in Strata VIB and VIA, the latter dating to a squatter's settlement right after the destruction, and of these bones most were identified as sheep or goat, with cattle also being prominent.[398] The local economy depended on these animals as domesticated livestock, which is common to many sites in the southern Levant during the Iron Age.[399] L. Sapir-Hen suggests that Tel Halif had a thriving and wealthy economy in the early Iron Age II as indicated by a prevalence of meat-rich body parts and young culling ages correlated to prime aged animals. According to the faunal evidence, this economically wealthy time lay within Strata VID and VIC, which are both dated to the Iron Age II.[400] The goats from these strata were killed at ages from 12 to 24 months, demonstrating a steady stream of prime aged meat without concern to maintaining a herd of livestock for the meat or secondary products, which were probably also obtained through exchange.[401] There is a dominance of meat-rich body parts such as the upper fore and hind limbs with a very small amount of meat-poor body parts such as trunk sections and the head.[402] This also suggests that the inhabitants obtained their livestock from outside the tel,

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[397] A. Sasson, "Reassessing the Bronze and Iron Age Economy: Sheep and Goat Husbandry in the Southern Levant as a Model Case Study," in *Bene Israel: Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and the Levant during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Honour of Israel Finkelstein*, eds. A. Fantalkin and A. Yasur-Landau (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2008), 113.

[398] L. Sapir-Hen, "Faunal remains from Tel Halif," In *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, Special Studies*, ed. O. Borowski (Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, 2011; In preparation): 3.

[399] Sapir-Hen, "Faunal remains from Tel Halif," 7.

[400] Sapir-Hen, "Faunal remains from Tel Halif," 4.

[401] Sapir-Hen, "Faunal remains from Tel Halif," 4.

[402] Sapir-Hen, "Faunal remains from Tel Halif," 4.

being active in trading regularly to maintain their diet and practicing little to no husbandry on the tel itself. "It is frequently argued by archaeologists and zooarchaeologists that caprine and their products were traded as part of the prevalent market economy of the Bronze and Iron Ages."[403] However, in the 8th century B.C.E. there is a shift in the economy away from trade dependent subsistence, which is evident from the range of culling ages into senility and the exploitation of secondary products such as wool and hair. In Pre–Stratum VIB most of the sheep and goats were slaughtered when they were either adult or senile, and there was an equal representation of meat-rich and poor body parts.[404] In Stratum VIB all of the goats and sheep seem to have been killed in adulthood with a range of ages (only one tooth could be aged at a range of 4-6 years). There are almost no meat-rich body parts, but the remains consisted of only the meat-poor parts of the lower fore and hind limbs.[405] This shift indicates that the people of Tel Halif at this time probably raised their own animals and killed them on site.[406] Additionally, the animals may have been raised to and killed in adulthood for their wool that could have been used in the textile industry on the tel.[407] This must have occurred shortly before the siege because the bones that were so well preserved by the destruction indicate that the inhabitants at that time did not eat well with a scarcity of meat-rich body parts and there was a presence of all ages of animals.[408]

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[403] Sasson, "Reassessing the Bronze and Iron Age Economy," 113-114.

[404] Sapir-Hen, "Faunal remains from Tel Halif," 5, 8.

[405] Sapir-Hen, "Faunal remains from Tel Halif," 6.

[406] Sapir-Hen, "Faunal remains from Tel Halif," 8.

[407] See O. Borowski, *Every Living Thing: Daily Use of Animals in Ancient Israel* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 1998), 231-232.

[408] Sapir-Hen, "Faunal remains from Tel Halif," 8.

However, it is unclear how long before the destruction the changes ocurred because if the city was preparing for the attack, as is indicated by the *lmlk*-type jars and stamped handles, then it too may have been a deliberate attempt to secure a food supply during the siege, instead of being the result of a changing economy. In addition to caprid remains, evidence shows the presence of saltwater fish (probably dried and/or salted), which must have been obtained through trade with the Mediterranean through the Philistine plain, but the bones also represent fish native to the Nile River.[409] These remains alone demonstrate the extent that trade networks spread throughout the Near East into the southern Levant.

Metal Objects and a Cosmetic Palette

Other finds indicating active trade at the tel include metal objects including tools and jewelry since there is no indication of metallurgy at the tel. The metal objects excavated from Stratum VIB of Field V were found in Areas B8, C7, D8, E7, F7, H6, I5, I6, J5, and K5. Items uncovered include several iron artifacts (a spike from Area B8, a clamp from Area C7, a tool and a trowel from Area F7, an implement from Area I6, and a pipe from Area J5), some arrowheads (Areas D8, I6, and K5), a few bronze pieces (two bronze sticks from Area I5 and a fibula and a pin from Area J5), a metal tool (Area E7), a fibula (Area D7), a scale of armor (Area I6), jewelry (an earring possibly made of silver with a pomegranate design from Area B8, a bronze earring from Area C7, a ring possibly made of bronze from Area D7, and a bracelet from Area H6) and some metal fragments (Areas I5, J5, and K5).[410] Another item that clearly indicates trade outside of the tel is a beautifully carved Phoenician cosmetic palette (Object 3494; see Figure 35).

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[409] Hardin, *Lahav II: An Archaeology of Destruction*, 172; see Borowski, *Every Living Thing*, 235.

[410] J. Bidmead, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area E7," in *Lahav Research Project, Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA:

Textile Production at Tel Halif

In the 9th and 8th centuries, there was a strong textile tradition in Judah.[411] Evidence for textile activities at Tel Halif go back to the Early Bronze Age (Field I).[412] There is a noticeable shift in textile manufacture at the tel in the Iron Age II, having experienced substantial development (perhaps due to the explosion in population).[413] G. Friend suggests that the amount

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Emory University, 2008), 25-30 [Limited Circulation]; J. Bidmead, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area F7 2007," in *Lahav Research Project, Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2008), 52-54 [Limited Circulation]; D. Appler, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area H6," in *Lahav Research Project, Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2008), 96-98 [Limited Circulation]; J. Bos, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area I5," in *Lahav Research Project, Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2008), 144-146 [Limited Circulation]; J. Bos, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area I6," in *Lahav Research Project, Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2008), 164-165 [Limited Circulation]; E. Hawksley, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area D8," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009.), 45-46 [Limited Circulation]; N. Bierling, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area J5," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 137-141 [Limited Circulation]; N. Bierling, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area K5," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 170-172 [Limited Circulation]; E. Hawksley, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area B8," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 25-27 [Limited Circulation]; E. Hawksley, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area C7," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 54-57 [Limited Circulation]; T. Frank, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area E7," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2009 Field Season, Field V Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 120-122 [Limited Circulation]; Hawksley, "Jewelry preliminary report 2009," 245-248.

[411] G. Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif: The Development of Iron Age II Cottage Industries" (master's thesis, Baltimore Hebrew University, 1996), 41.

[412] E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (London: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 554; Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 56.

[413] Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 57.

being produced must have transcended the needs of the inhabitants of the tel, and, therefore, may indicate the establishment of cottage industries.[414] Because remains such as countless loom weights, some spindle whorls, and weaving tools (bone pick-up sticks) indicate textile production at an industrial level but were found in a domestic setting in Field V of Tel Halif, textile manufacture at the tel is considered a cottage industry. The bone pick-up sticks suggest that the women performed pattern weaving in the areas where these tools are found (including the room spanning Areas E6 and E7).[415] Although the large amount of loom weights uncovered in the room included in Areas E6 and E7 points to industrial level production, the small number of loom weights found in the room covering Areas D7 and E7 alongside items indicating domestic activities (cooking pots, saddle querns, grinding stones, a *tabun*, and storage jars) suggests domestic level production. If these two rooms are part of the same pillared dwelling, this discrepancy can be explained by the temporary storage of a loom in that corner (a suggestion mentioned in the previous chapter). Based on the weight variances of the loom weights from Field III of Tel Halif, Friend argues that the inhabitants of the site manufactured a full range of woven textiles during the Iron Age II "with some possible concentrations in fine/medium gauge woolen textiles."[416] Since excavations in Field V uncovered materials indicative of each step in the textile production process (raising sheep for wool, production of thread by spinning, possibly dying, and weaving), the tel may have been a self-sustaining site of textile industry. This industry is represented by the caprid faunal remains, many spindle whorls (Areas B8, C7, C8, D8, E6, E7, F7, H6, and J5), remains of vessels within the textile areas (indicated by materials such as loom

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[414] Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 57.

[415] Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 58, 60.

[416] Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 61-62.

weights, spindle whorls, and bone pick-up sticks) that may have held dyes, numerous loom weights (Areas B8, D8, E6, E7, F7, H7, and I5), and weaving tools such as bone pick-up sticks (Areas E6 and E7).[417] The appearance of some of these remains without the others may indicate a separation of textile activities, such as spinning in one dwelling and weaving in another. Also pattern weaving that requires bone weaving tools (pick-up sticks) may have only been performed by some inhabitants of the tel and not others.

Assyrians and the Judahite Textile Trade

Similar to their involvement with the incense trade coming into the Levant, the Assyrians seem to have attributed high value to textiles produced in the Levant. This is suggested by the Assyrian records (annals, campaign lists, and booty and gift inventories) where tributes received from Judah, Israel, and Philistia are documented.[418] At the end of Sennacherib's siege, Hezekiah paid tribute to the Assyrian king, and these treasures included woolen, linen (*Tug.kite*), and

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[417] Bidmead, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area E7," 25-30; Bidmead, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area F7 2007," 52-54; Appler, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area H6," 96-98; Bos, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area I5," 144-146; E. Hawksley, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area C8," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009.), 26-27 [Limited Circulation]; Hawksley, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area D8," 45-46; T. Frank, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area E6," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 73-81 [Limited Circulation]; T. Frank, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area E7," in *Lahav Research Project: Phase IV, 2008 Season Report* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2009), 103-106 [Limited Circulation]; Bierling, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area J5," 137-141; Hawksley, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area B8," 25-27; Hawksley, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area C7," 54-57; D. Karges, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area H7," in *Lahav Research Project, Phase IV, 2007 Season: Field Report Excavations in Field V* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 2008), 119-121 [Limited Circulation]; Frank, "Index D: MC Numbers by Basket and Locus Area E7," 120-122.

[418] J. B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 287-288; Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 2, 41.

purple garments (*lubulto baramu argaman*).[419] Since these types of garments show up next to other types of tribute materials such as silver and gold, it suggests that this clothing held a certain level of significance in the Assyrian economy, and the specificity in describing garment types, materials of manufacture, and decoration may indicate its importance in the Assyrian court.[420] Alongside these references to garments collected from Judah, this region is also explicitly cited as a place of high-quality textile production in the lists of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 B.C.E.) and Sargon II (721-705 B.C.E.).[421] From this evidence, there seems to be a connection between wool production in Judah and cloth made specifically for Assyrian tribute.[422] This may be the case at Tel Halif because, as mentioned earlier, the sheep raised on site were killed in adulthood, possibly to raise them for secondary products such as wool.

Biblical References to Textile Production

The textile tradition in Judah had an established vocabulary that was commonplace in the Judahite culture, which explains the appearances of textile related words in biblical texts.[423] There are many biblical references to weaving, discussing textile production traditions (1 Chr.

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[419] Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, 287-288; Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 2.

[420] M. De Odorico, *Use of Numbers and Quantifications in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, vol. 3 of *State Archives of Assyria Studies* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1995), 201; Oppenheim, "Overland Trade," 246; Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 43.

[421] Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 45-46.

[422] D. C. Browning, "The Textile Industry of Iron Age Timnah and Its Regional and Socioeconomic Contexts: A Literary and Artifactual Analysis," PhD diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1988; Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 5.

[423] Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 37.

4:21), weaving tools (Job 7:6), and looms (1 Sam. 17:7, 2 Sam 21:19, 1 Chr. 11:23, 1 Chr. 20:5, Judg. 16:13-16, and Isa. 38:12). The story in Judg. 16:13-16 describes Delilah weaving Samson's hair.[424] While describing the virtuous wife in Proverbs 31, it mentions her spinning and working eagerly with wool (Prov. 31:13, 19).

Conclusions

Fortunately, Tel Halif affords archaeologists with a massive amount of material to better piece together the history of the site. This begins in the heavily Egyptian influenced Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age and follows into the site's biblical history as ancient Rimmon. This report concentrates on the material from Field V and Stratum VIB in order to shed light on life during the Iron Age II and the Assyrian siege in the late 8th century B.C.E. The geographic location of Tel Halif within the Kingdom of Judah, which itself was at a crossroads between major societies and geographical landmarks, certainly encouraged the occupants of the site to participate extensively in trade outside the town and in long distance trade when possible. Hezekiah's reforms and revolt, which Tel Halif participated in according to the archaeological evidence, set the stage for Sennacherib's siege. These circumstances present a unique setting in which to consider the material excavated from Stratum VIB opening up issues such as how Hezekiah's rebellion affected the inhabitants of a small town like Tel Halif?; how it affected their trading interactions outside of the tel?; and how the revolt required even stronger foreign relations between Judah and Egypt, a long established relationship. According to the faunal materials, the diet of the people living on the tel was diminished in quality before the attack, suggesting that they may have been preparing to become more self-sustaining and less commercially dependent in order to hold out better against the attack. Biblical evidence describes Hezekiah's newly

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[424] Friend, "Textile Production at Tell Gezer and Tell Halif," 34-35.

formed alliances with the Ethiopian King Tirhaka of Egypt, but in planning the rebellion he was influenced and encouraged by many other uprisings in the Near East at that time.

As mentioned earlier, Finkelstein believes that one of the main factors motivating the Assyrians to maintain their authoritative presence in the Levant region was to sustain their power over the incense trade, which was a thriving and far-reaching market. Since Tel Halif has already proven to be engaged in trade that Judah was involved in, the incense trade stemming from South Arabia seems to be no different demonstrated by the incense altars present in Field V. Besides the indirect trade with Arabia, Judah was also in mercantile contact (possibly direct trade) with the Mediterranean, Red Sea/Indo-Pacific, and Syria/Lebanon in the Iron Age II as demonstrated by the mollusc remains.

The shell evidence and figurine theory put forth by Eddinger can give a broader image of the state of Judean economics, ranging from when it was thriving in the early Iron Age II to when it was probably declining in light of imminent war with the Assyrians in the late Iron Age II. The Levant and Judah were heavily involved with maritime and interregional trade with societies around the Mediterranean, being right by the coast, and with nearby regions reaching from Turkey to Egypt and eastward into Persia. Indirectly, they acquired commodities from as far as India. Tel Halif played a small role in a large complex of well-established and historic trade networks, taking advantage of what the larger region and community were already involved in. It is important to examine the mercantile economics of Judah and Tel Halif through interregional exchange networks to dig deeper into the interactions between various Near Eastern societies and to see and appreciate the widespread exchange of ideas and cultural and cultic values that results in a large-scale ancient Near Eastern culture.

Conclusion: Activity and Identity

In 701 B.C.E., the Assyrian King Sennacherib campaigned in Judah in response to a revolt instigated by the Judean king Hezekiah. Destruction levels dated to this time can be found at excavated sites all over the southern Levant region. This report focuses on the material evidence sealed in this destruction level (Stratum VIB) of one such site on the southern fringe of Judah: Tel Halif. In the late 8th century B.C.E., Tel Halif was a small, rural fortified town situated on the northern edge of the Negev desert. The extensive amount of ash, destruction debris, and materials dating to the Iron Age II supports the thought that Tel Halif suffered under Sennacherib's siege like many other settlements. These circumstances provide a unique opportunity to understand life at Tel Halif and in the southern Levant during the Iron Age II. It also sheds light on Hezekiah's revolt and the brutal consequences taken out on any participating parties (involvement being implied by the presence of *lmlk* stamp impressions and *lmlk*-type jars).

The remains from Stratum VIB (Iron Age II) of Field V of Tel Halif have revealed much information about the identities of the occupants of the pillared dwelling spanning Areas D7, E6, and D7 and of the Iron Age II settlement at Tel Halif. This can further provide insight into the identities of inhabitants of the southern Levant, of Judah, and of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern worlds. The residents of the pillared dwelling were probably part of an endogamous, patrilocal household with various statuses and relationships. This small extended household or *bet'-av* (the smallest and least inclusive egalitarian social group referenced in the Hebrew bible) would have inhabited a single pillared dwelling. As occupants of a pillared dwelling (the domestic structure prevalent throughout the southern Levant and the standard home in Judah for

about 600 years), these people were part of a Judahite and Levantine tradition, identity, and culture.

The occupants of Tel Halif during the Iron Age II were Judahites, with the area belonging to the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:20-32). Although the settlement is on the border of ancient Judah, the remains suggest that its occupants strongly identified themselves as Judahites. Evidence implies that this settlement was biblical Rimmon, and so the occupants would have associated themselves with this name and with the pomegranate imagery associated with the town (shown by the pomegranate bowl and earrings that were found). Since there was a population boom in the Iron Age II (represented by the extensive remains at the tel), it must have been a bustling place in the small rural fortified town.

Living in the country, the inhabitants of Tel Halif were farmers and weavers. They practiced mixed agriculture and some animal husbandry for food and secondary products such as wool. This wool was then probably used in the textile industry present during the Iron Age II. The concentrations of loom weights represents both domestic and industrial textile production on the tel, but it is considered a cottage industry based on the domestic context. Historically, women would have been most involved in the textile production, and with the space in Areas E6 and E7 being distinctly separated from the rest of the dwelling and other activities, this area could have been divided by gender as well as function. This may indicate cultural values related to space division in the household according to gender. Also, in the F7 dwelling that Hardin discusses, the occupants may have practiced winemaking. If these activities produced a surplus (most likely with textile manufacture), then this material was probably traded for other goods.

The materials excavated from Field V show that the people of the tel were active in trade. The malacological, faunal (caprid and fish), and incense evidence demonstrates how far the

networks extended, and the occupants of the tel were frequently involved with trade directly or indirectly with regions as far as South Arabia and Egypt. These connections go back to the beginning of occupation at the tel, probably because the site is conveniently located near major trade routes. In this way, the residents of Tel Halif were embracing the Judahite identity through the use of Judah's commercial ties that were connected with the trade networks of the Near East and Mediterranean. The inhabitants of Tel Halif were participants in the mercantile culture and connectedness of these regions, and it seems like they succeeded economically at least in the textile trade, probably improving their quality of life by having the advantage of a much larger range of available commodities (that they did not necessarily need to or were able to produce themselves).

Foreign contact did not only come in the form of trade, but in this case, it was still linked to the desire to control the flow of commodities. The Assyrians were heavily invested in the incense and textile trade going through and coming out of the Levant (receiving tribute from kingdoms in this region). When this control was challenged by the revolts of the Judean king Hezekiah alongside many others in the Near East, the Assyrians, led by Sennacherib, made a swift and decisive attack on Judah and nearby regions, leaving a fiery destruction in their wake. The residents of Tel Halif probably supported Hezekiah's revolt (witnessed by the *lmlk* materials) and had to abandon their home when the siege destroyed it. Although some survivors may have come back to resettle the tel (Stratum VIA), they would have been squatters trying to piece together their previous lives out of ash and destruction debris. They were politically involved as revolutionaries against the Assyrian overlords, and they were victims of the Assyrians' subsequent wrath. Again, this shows how the people of Tel Halif embraced their Judahite identities and backed up their leader, even if it meant risking their lives.

In preparation for the siege of Sennacherib, Hezekiah instituted economic and cultic reforms, solidifying his control over the economy and supplies of Judah. In turn, these supplies were distributed to the participating towns that were already fortified and stocked with weapons and other supplies. Tel Halif may have been one of these towns involved in this system, a part of a whole and united Judah against the "big bad" Assyrians. With the other peoples of the Near East rioting at the same time as Judah and considering Hezekiah's alliance with the Egyptians, it appears to have been a more cooperative effort throughout that entire region (even if it was not an established alliance), joining the citizens of each kingdom in a common goal and in effect producing a common sense of identity. The inhabitants of Tel Halif may have felt this connection and commonality, further establishing their identities as people of the Near East.

The trade networks running through Judah not only brought goods but also ideas and cultural values. The exchange of ideas is represented by the figurines, incense altars, and shells from Field V. Figurines are cultic objects that hold cultural significance like the Judean pillar figurine and the horse and rider figurine. In the case of the incense altar, with the stone of the skillfully decorated altar being local, it suggests something less simple than direct or indirect trade occurred. Perhaps there was a transfer of skills and of value attributed to those skills along with the incense. The shells clearly originated from distant places, but it was a highly exchanged commodity (implying that it was also highly valued) throughout these regions spanning the Near East. These shells may have represented ideas of beauty and wealth, but ones such as cowries held deeper meanings associated with fertility, cosmic forces, and the evil eye. These items also reflect the aesthetic preferences of the people of Tel Halif, of Judah, and of the Near East. The identities of the occupants of Tel Halif may have been somehow attached to these ideas, values, and decorative choices, especially if it was part of the Judean or Near Eastern cultural identity.

I have analyzed the materials from Stratum VIB (Iron Age II) of Field V of Tel Halif, excavated from 2007 to 2009, in order to answer general questions regarding the identities of the occupants of the tel and the quality of life at the site and in Judah during the Iron Age II. More specifically, I have used household archaeology to interpret these remains for the purpose of addressing matters concerning the household, domestic activities, organization of the pillared dwelling, and the function of space within this structure. While investigating materials on a small scale, this analysis can provide a significant amount of insight into the society of Judah during the Iron Age II on a large scale because the behaviors and values contained within the household represent aspects of a common culture and ideological framework. The information extracted from such an analysis can be extremely valuable in reconstructing history. This philosophy can be taken when investigating trade relations and foreign contact, ranging in scale from the occupants of Tel Halif to the widespread mercantile networks active throughout the Levant and the Near East during the Iron Age. In a similar manner, the materials excavated from Field V show how the case of Tel Halif (with reference to how it is influenced by foreign trade and contact) exemplifies how the people of Judah, the southern Levant, and the Near East were affected by these connections.

The ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern world is distinct in its complexity of extreme and inherent interconnectedness. This aspect of these regions is what makes archaeological studies in these regions so unique and often difficult, but also amazing. While there are individual cultures and societies with their own beliefs, practices, and lifestyles, at some level there is an absolute commonality. It is fascinating to witness the interactions and subsequent consequences on the identities of these people, and the intangibility of this kind of concept is the fuel that drives archaeological study. In hopes of further clarifying this abstract

idea of identity in this report, I present these analyses of the material culture excavated at Tel Halif.

Illustrations (scale 1:25)

2007 Report: Area E7

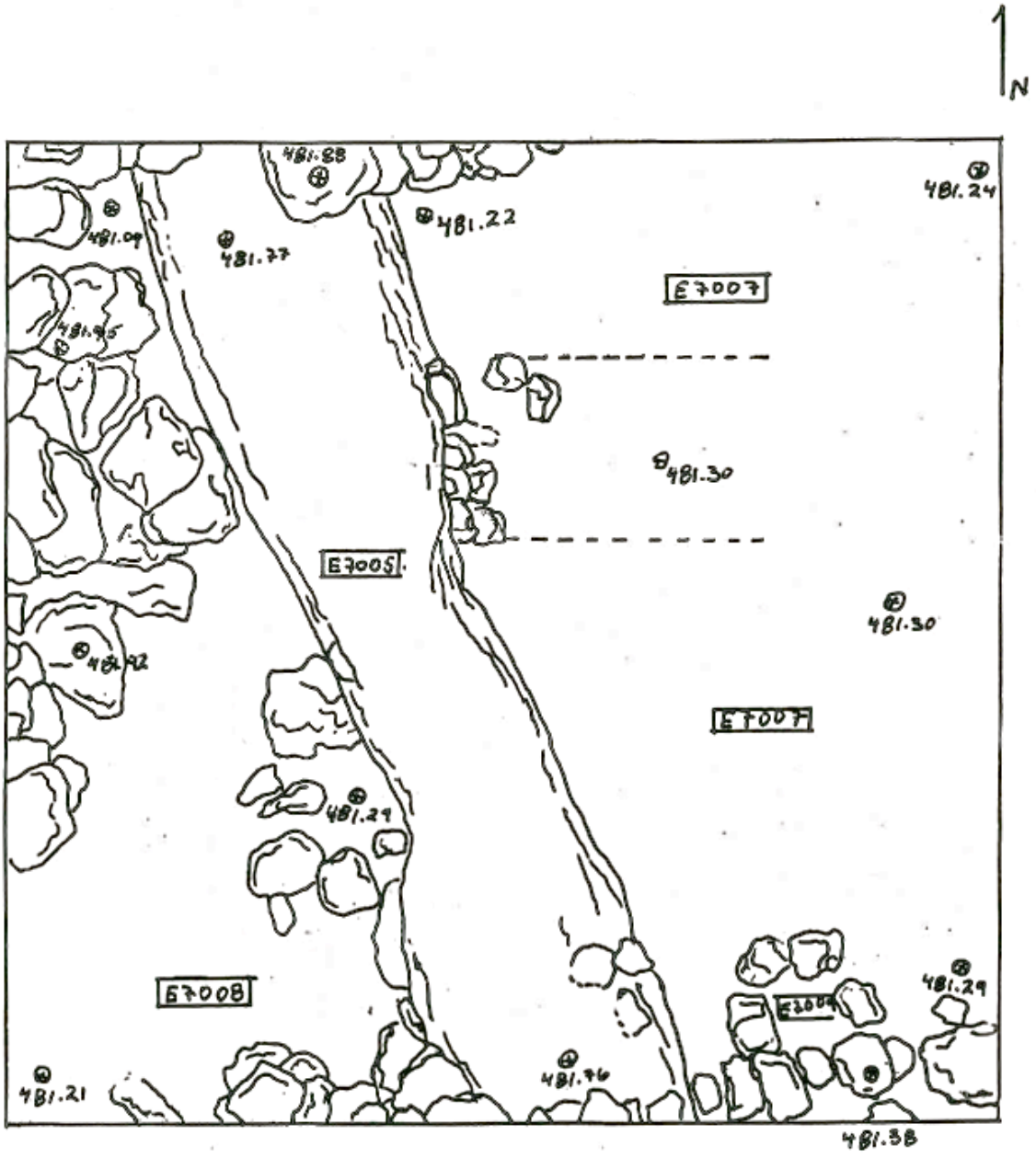


Figure 6: Final Top Plan of Area E7.

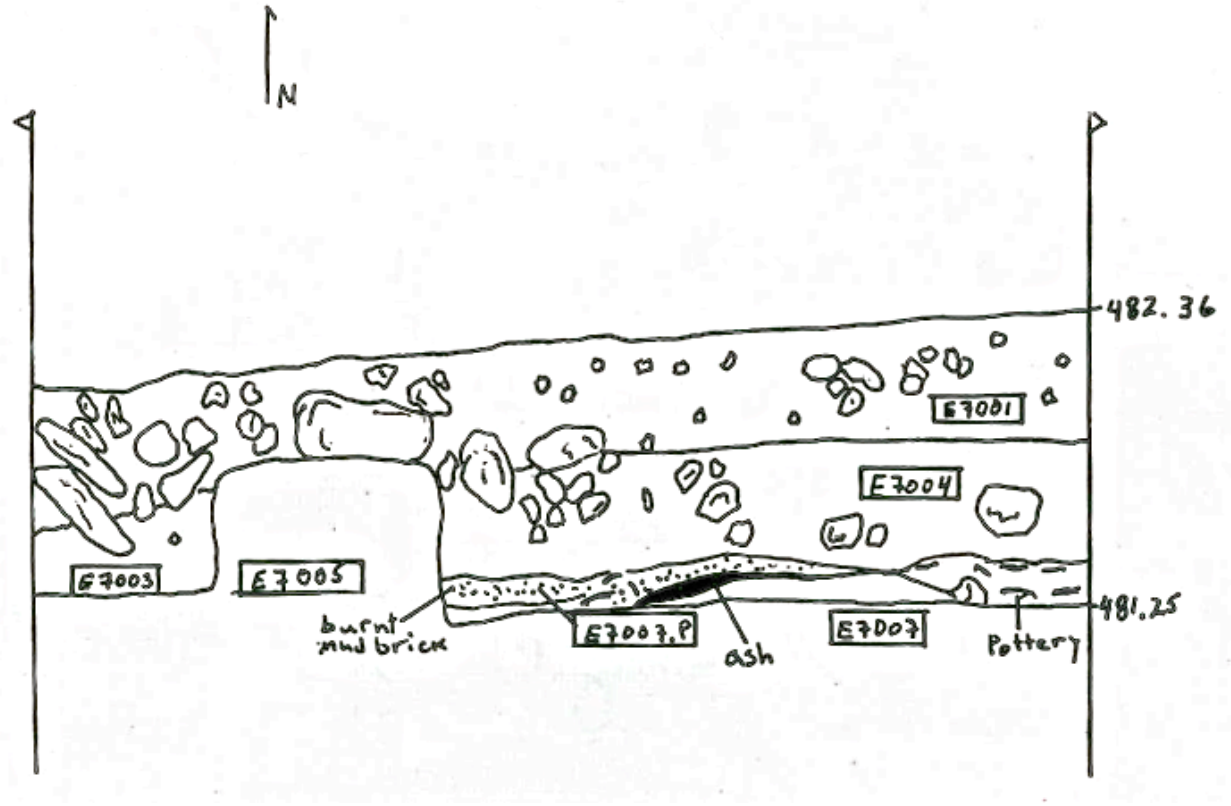


Figure 7: North Balk of Area E7.

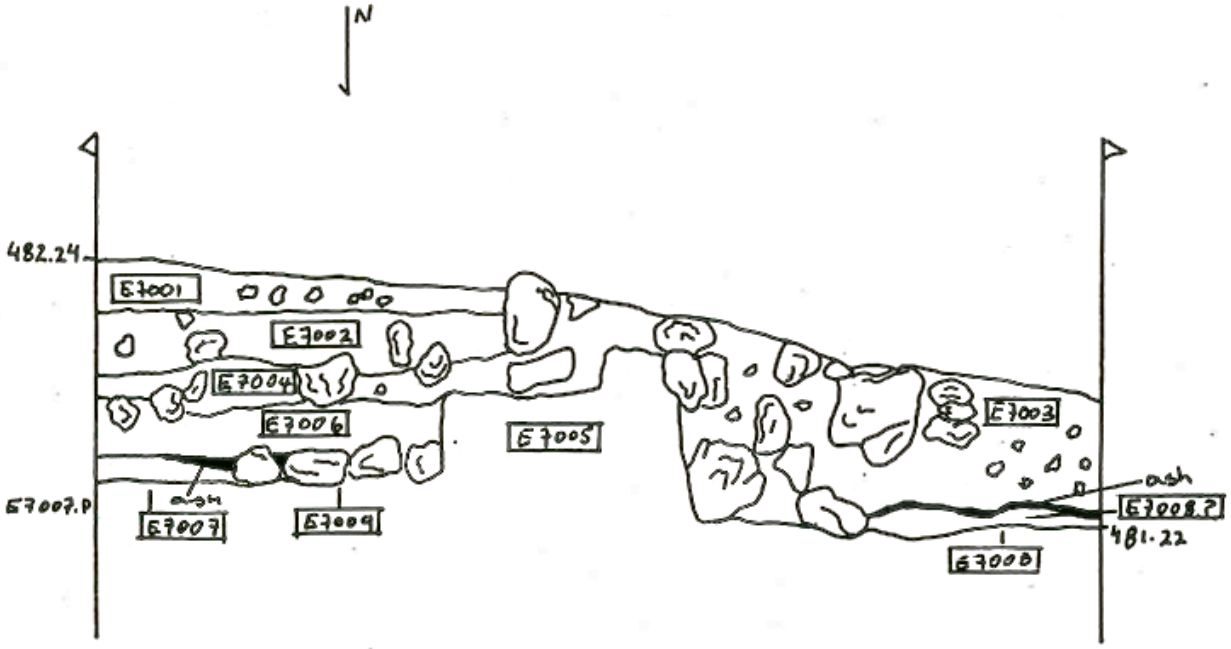


Figure 8: South Balk of Area E7.

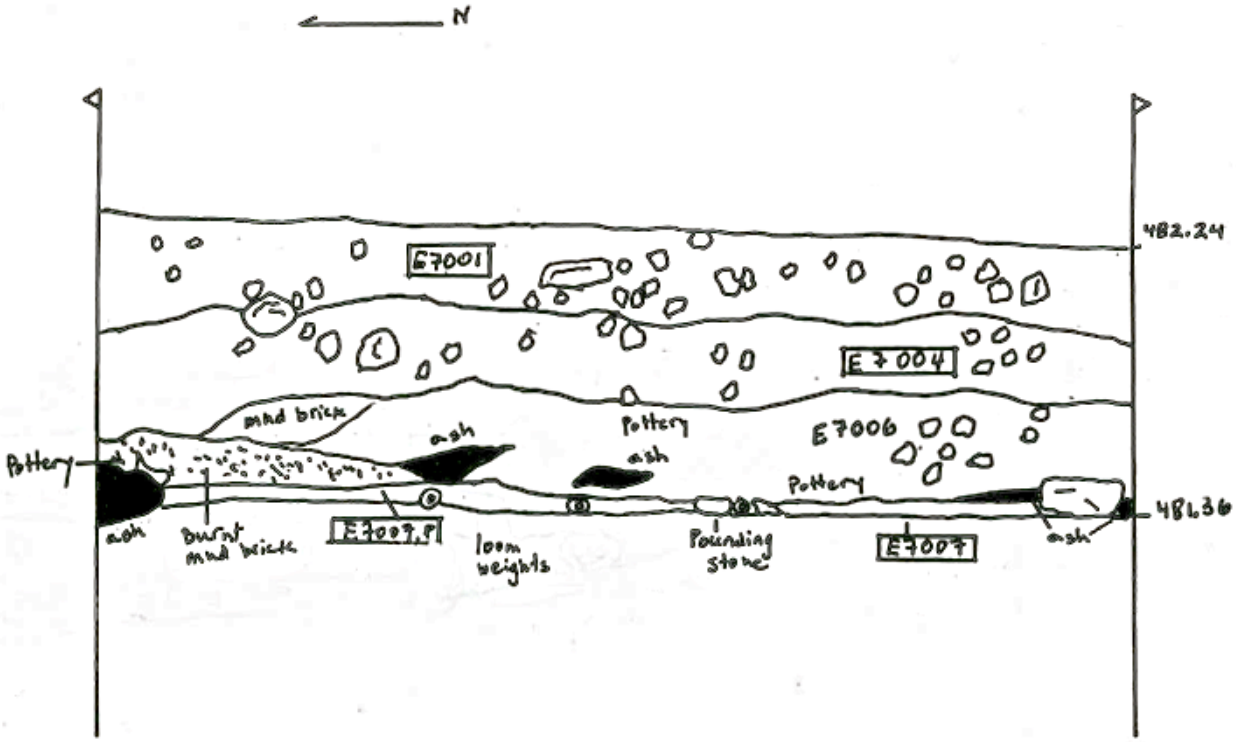


Figure 9: East Balk of Area E7.

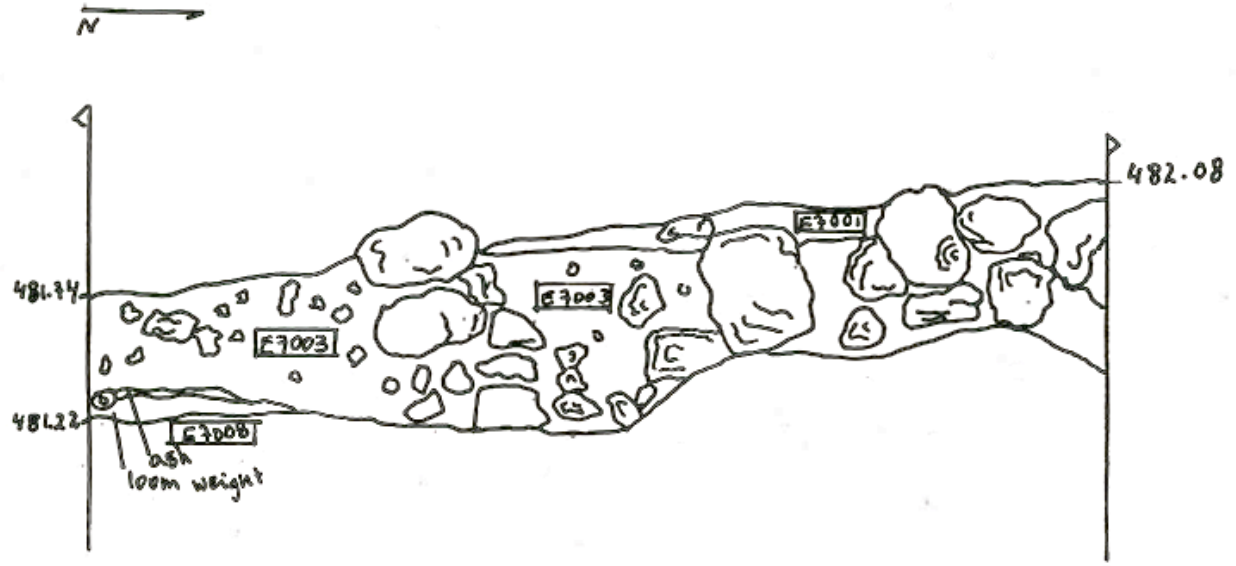


Figure 10: West Balk of Area E7.

2008 Report: Area E6

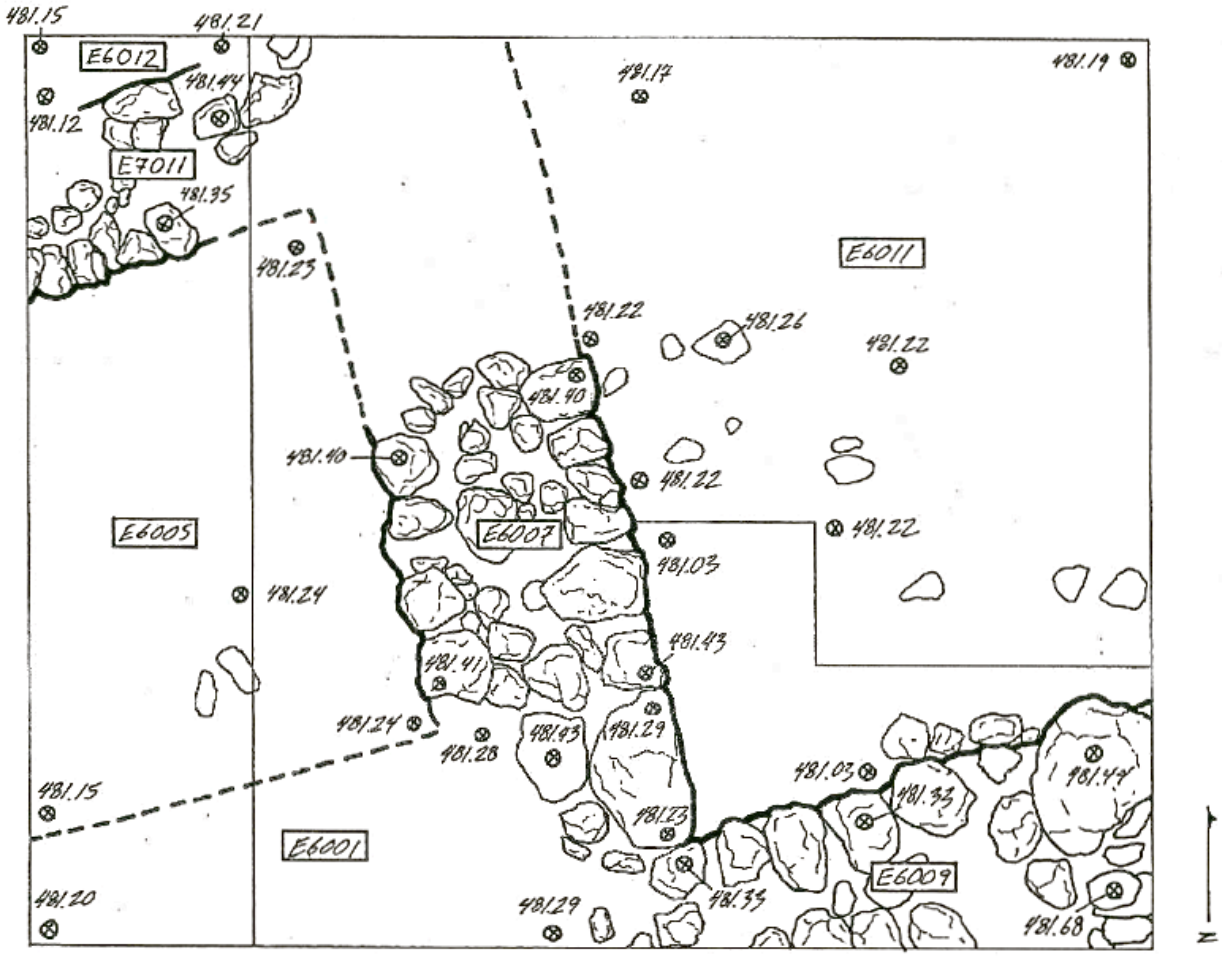


Figure 11: Final Top Plan of Area E6.

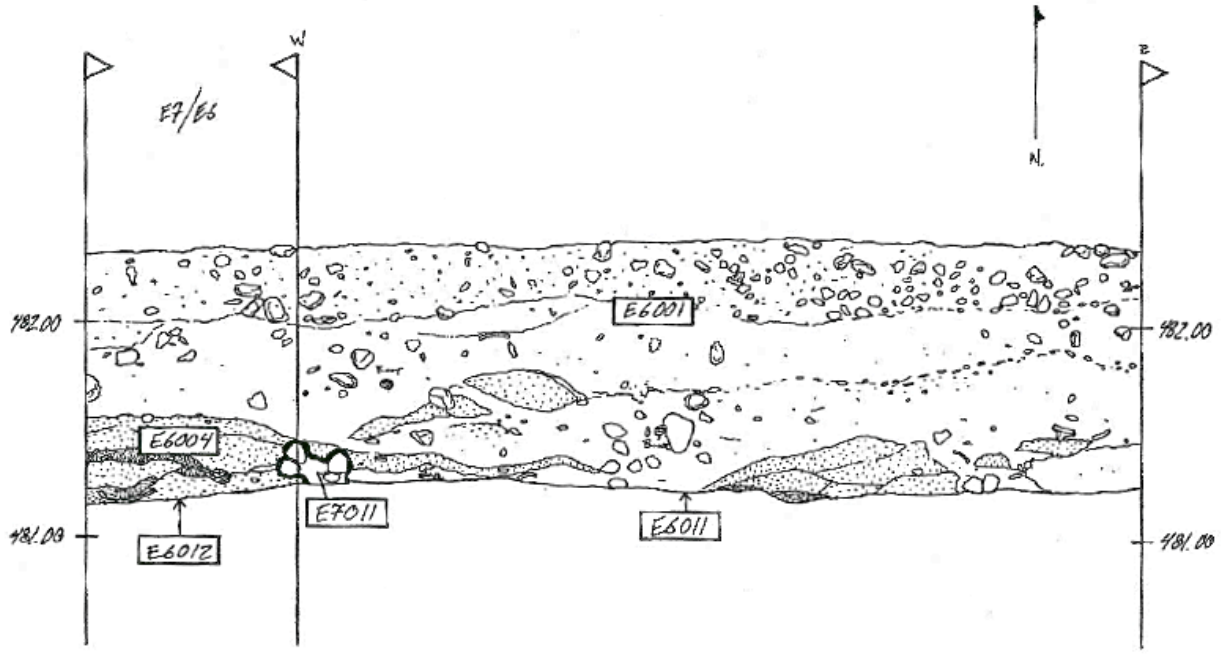


Figure 12: North Balk of Area E6.

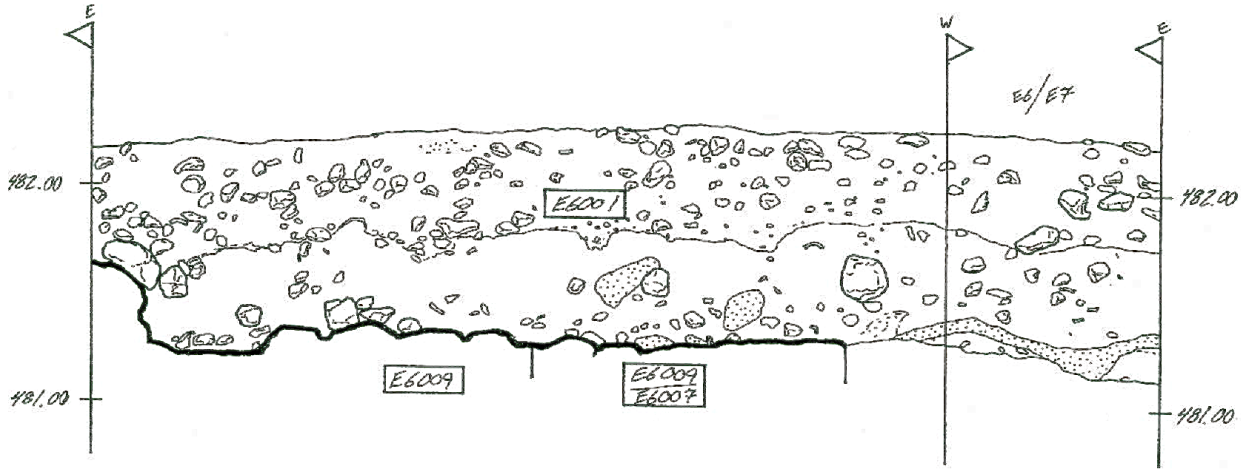


Figure 13: South Balk of Area E6.

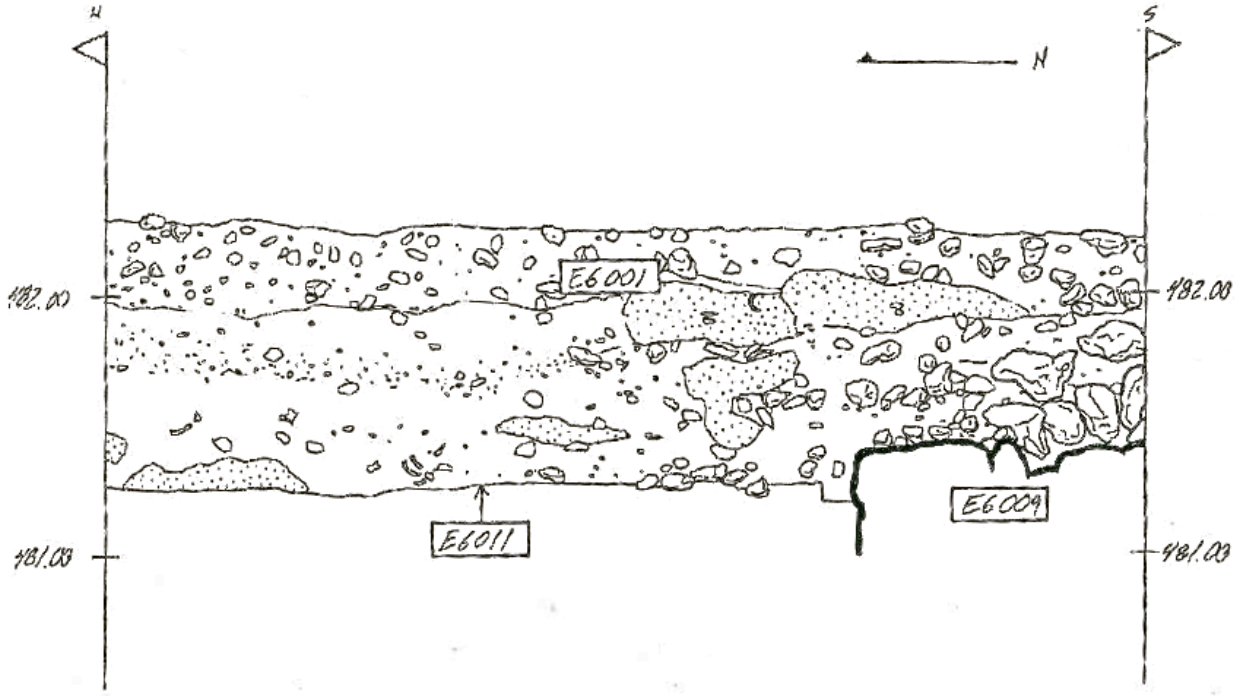


Figure 14: East Balk of Area E6.

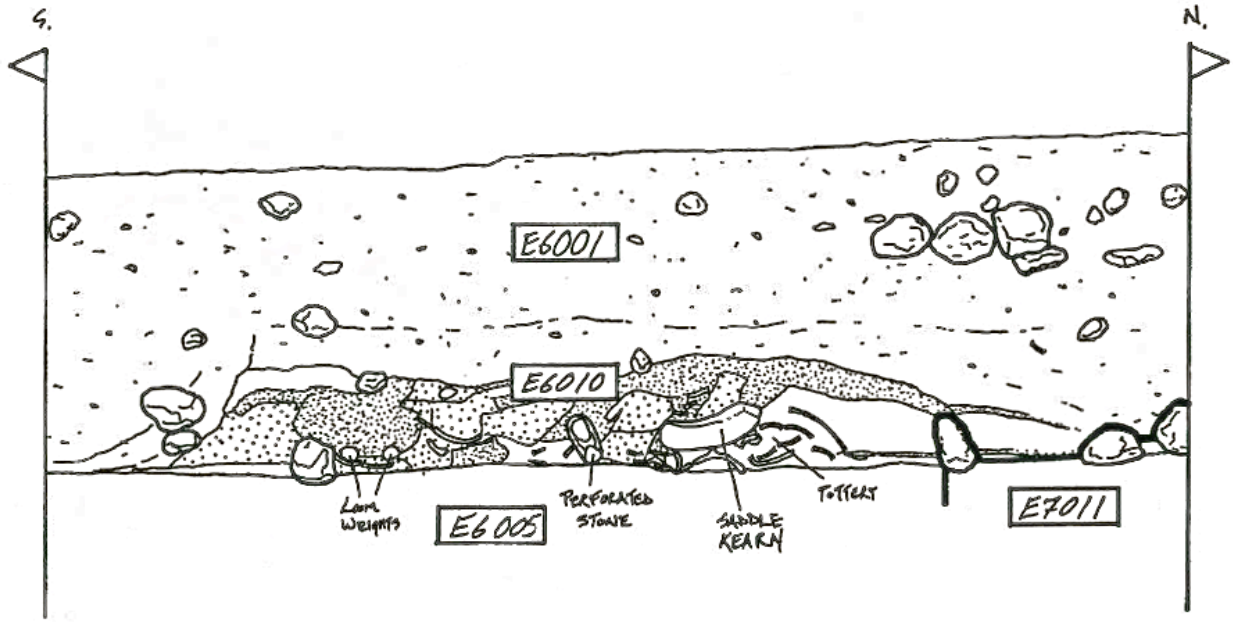


Figure 15: West Balk of Area E6.

2008 Report: Area E7

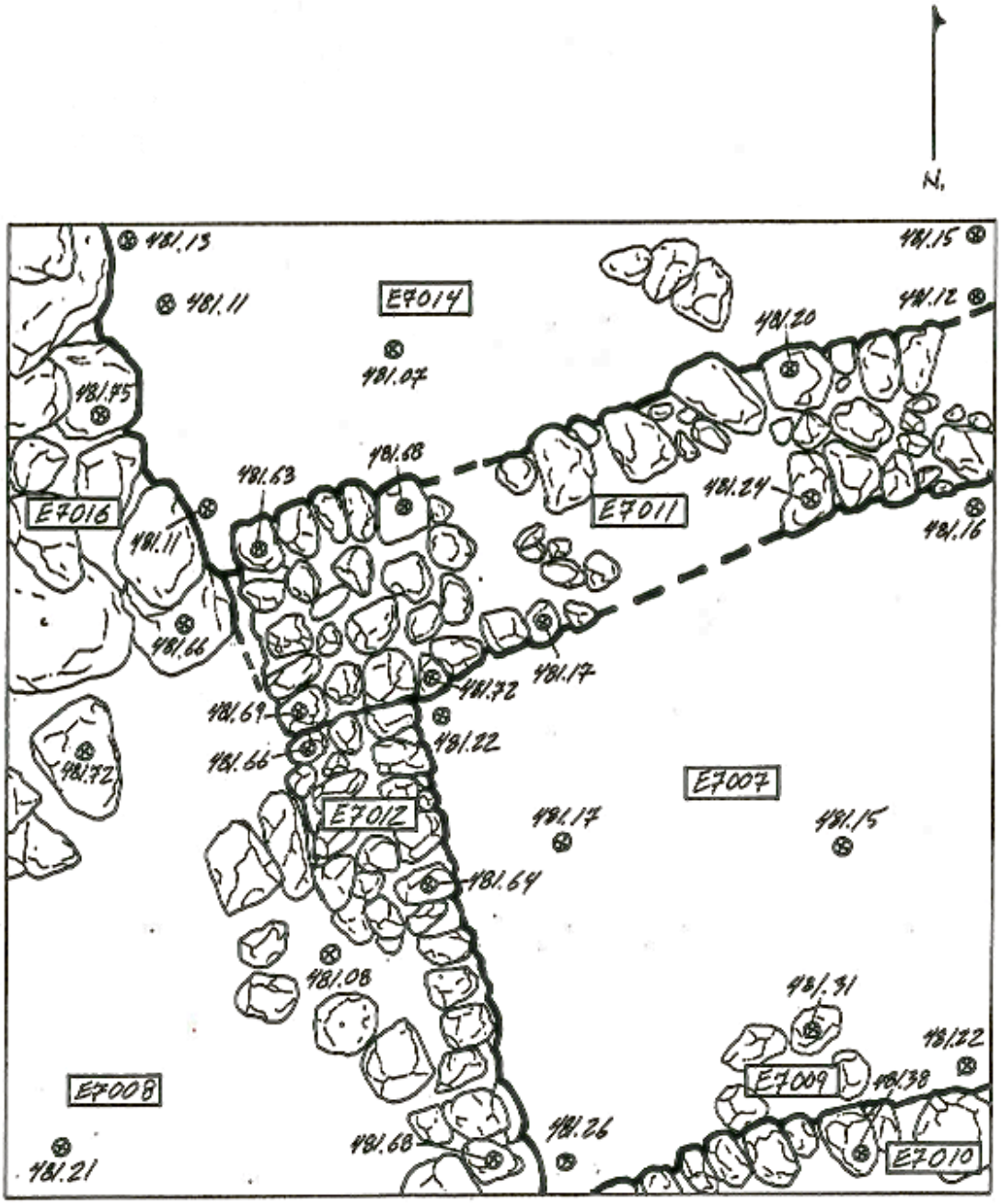
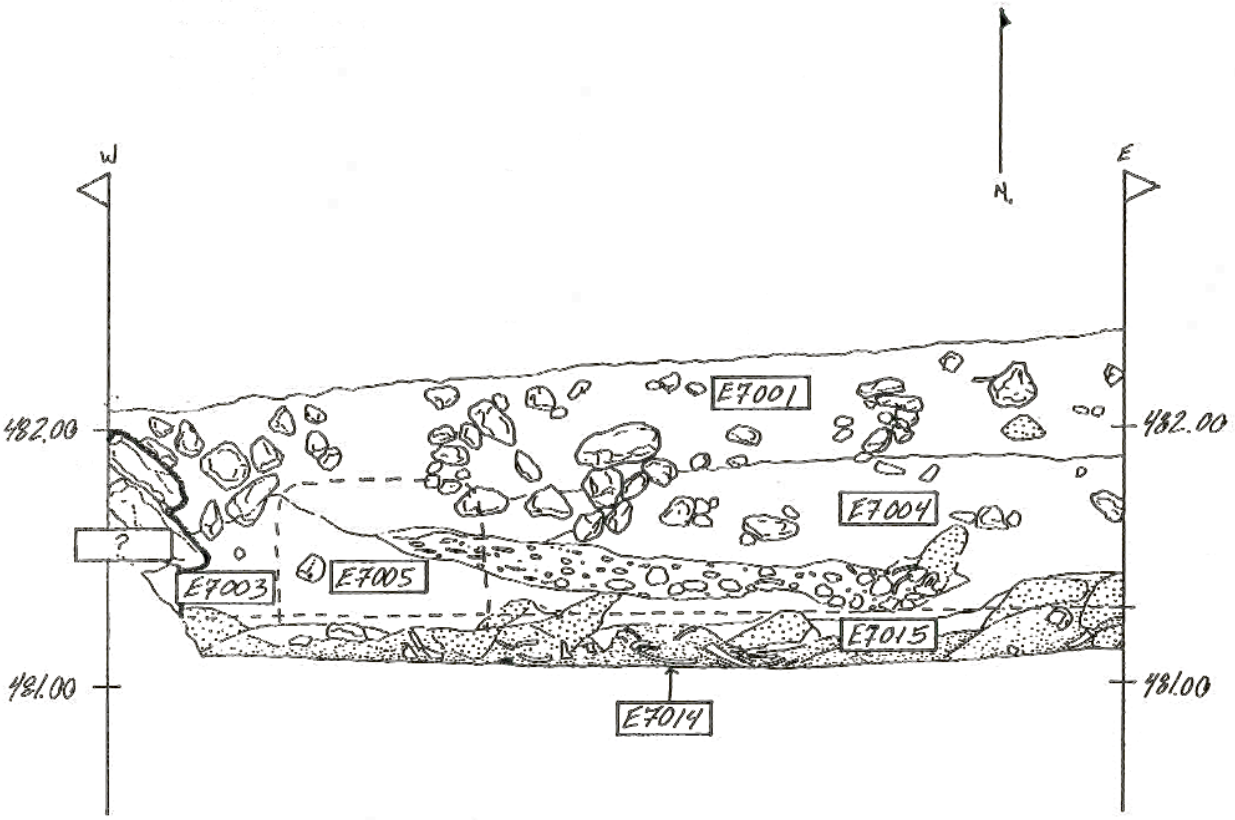


Figure 16: Final Top Plan of Area E7.



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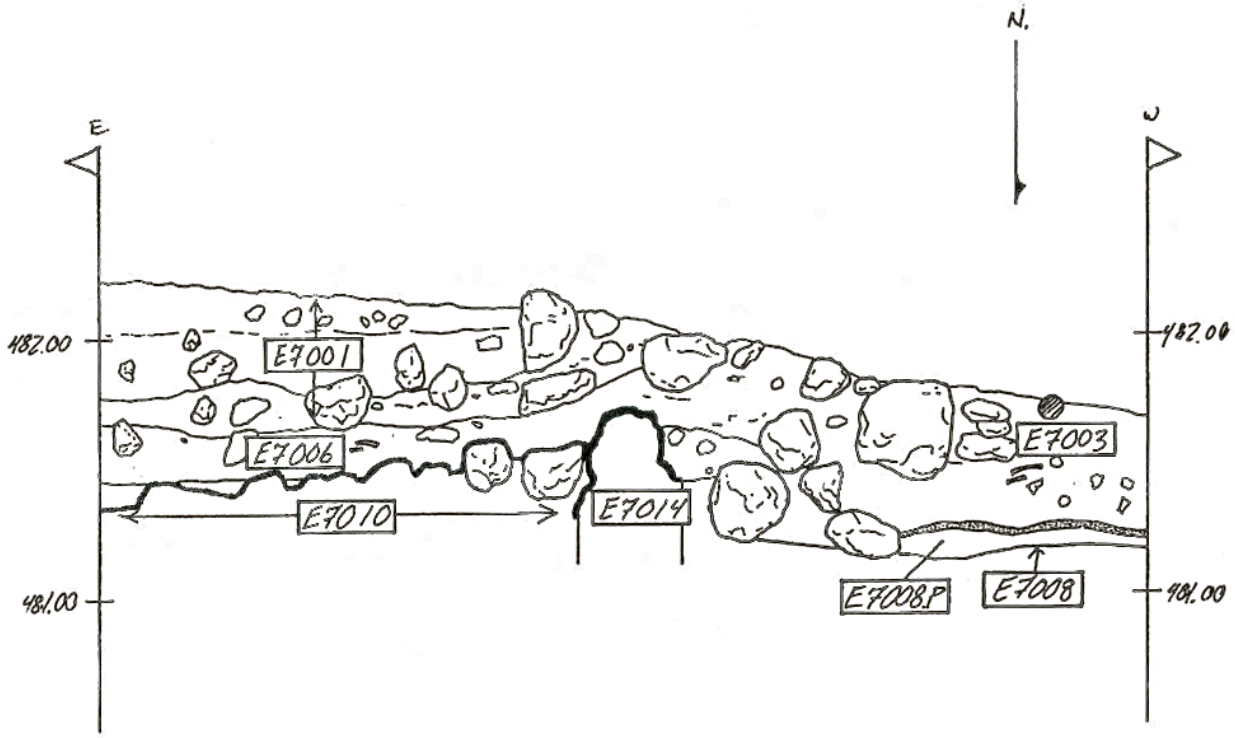

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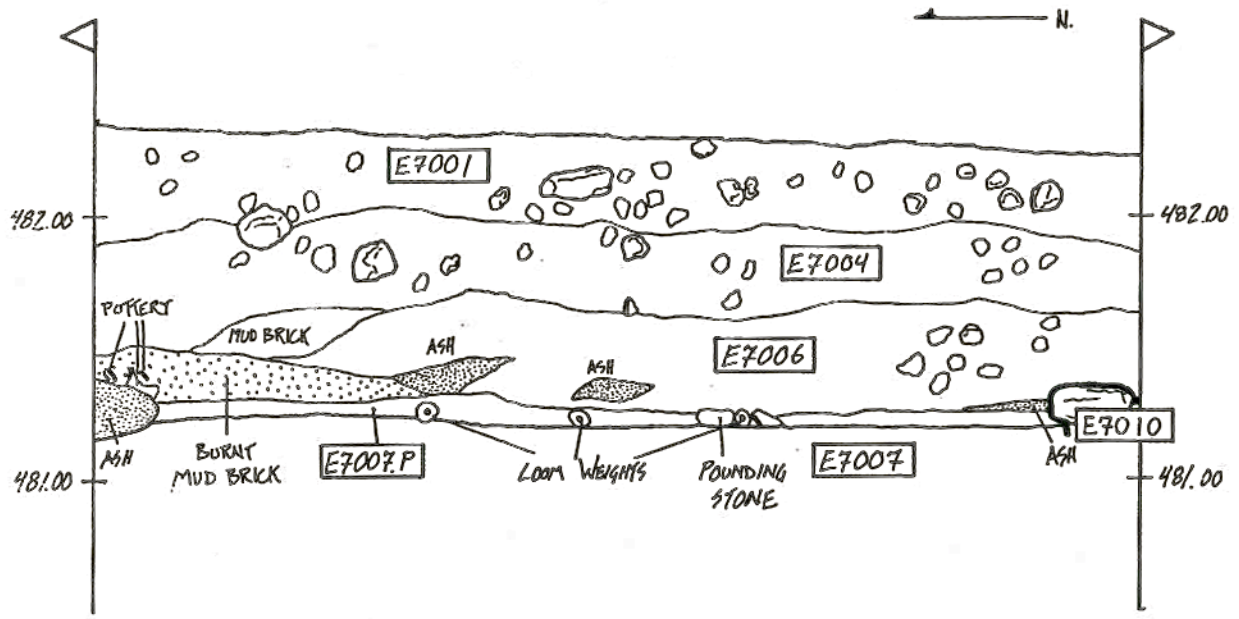

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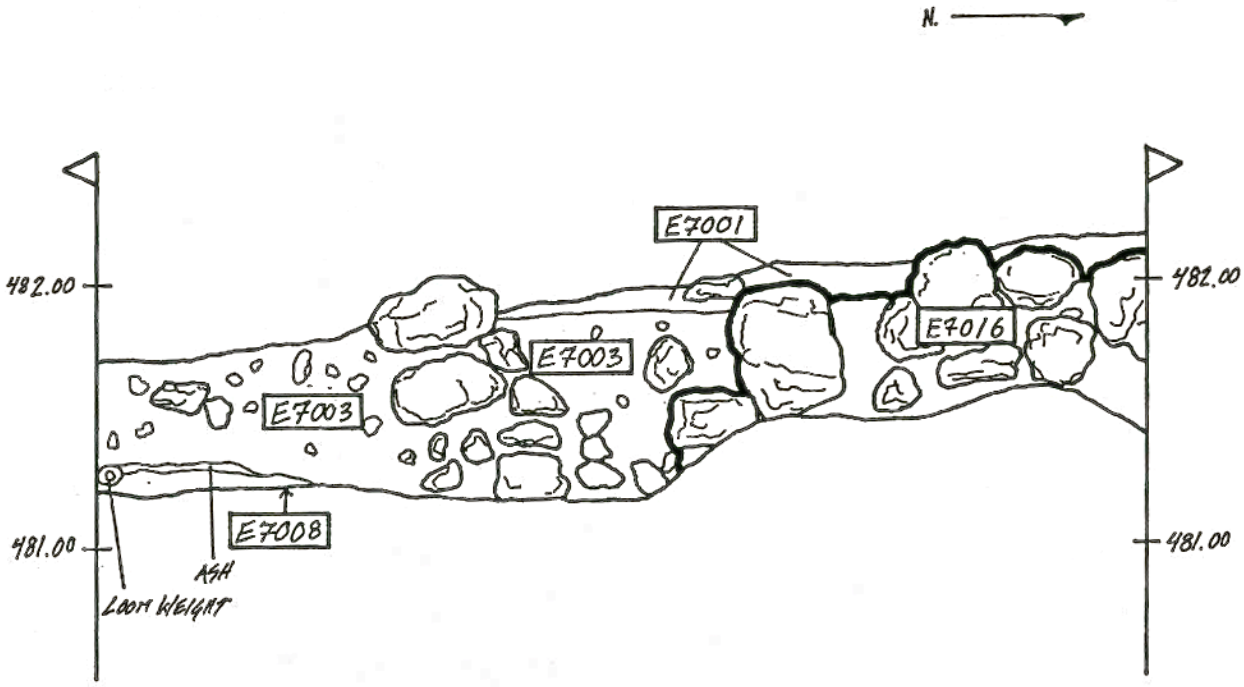

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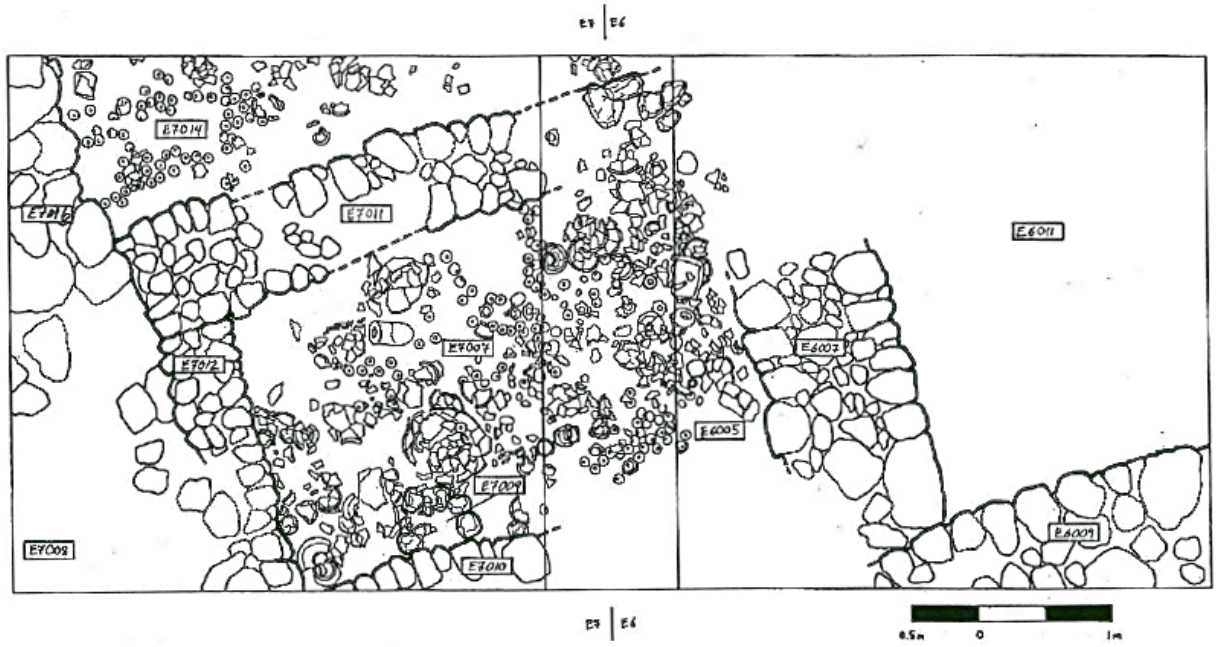

Figure 21: Weaving Assemblage of Areas E6 and E7.

2009 Report: Area D7

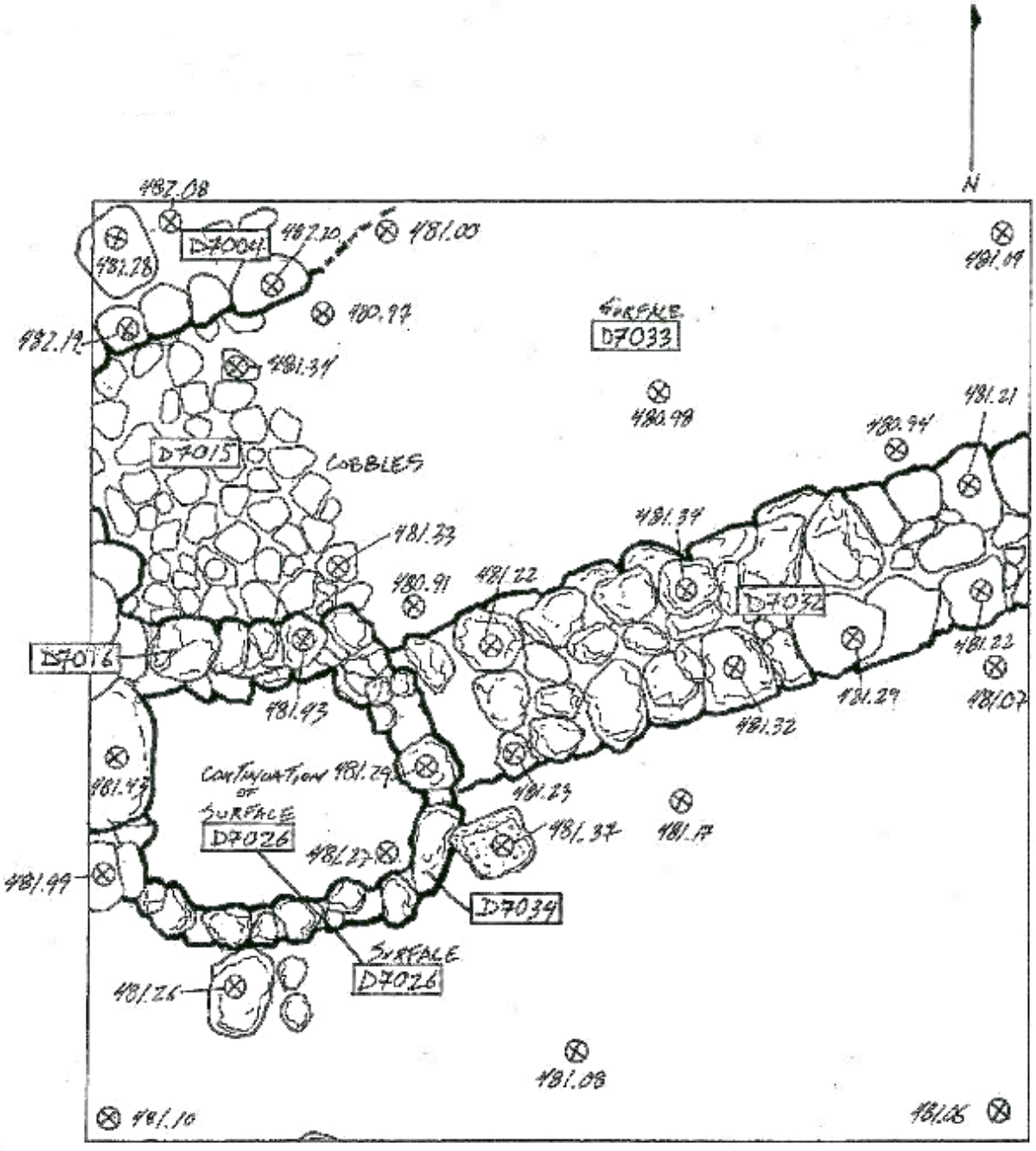

Figure 22: Final Top Plan of Area D7.

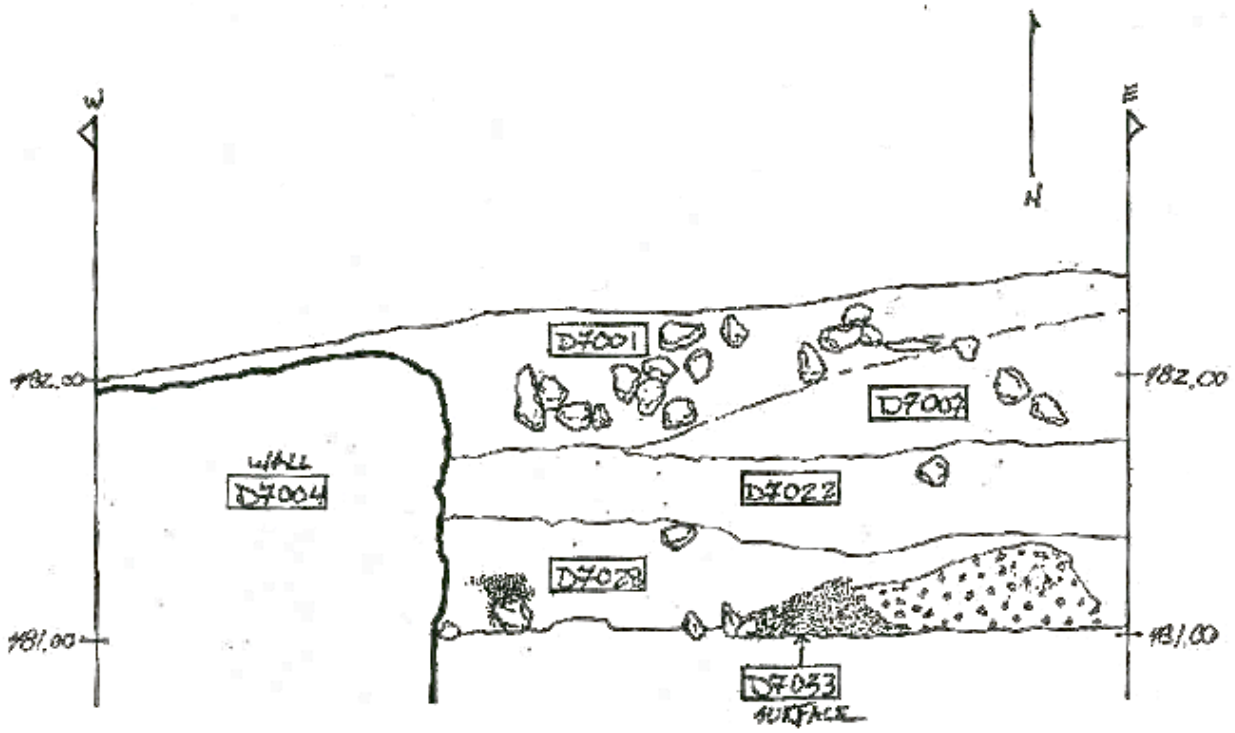

Figure 23: North Balk of Area D7.

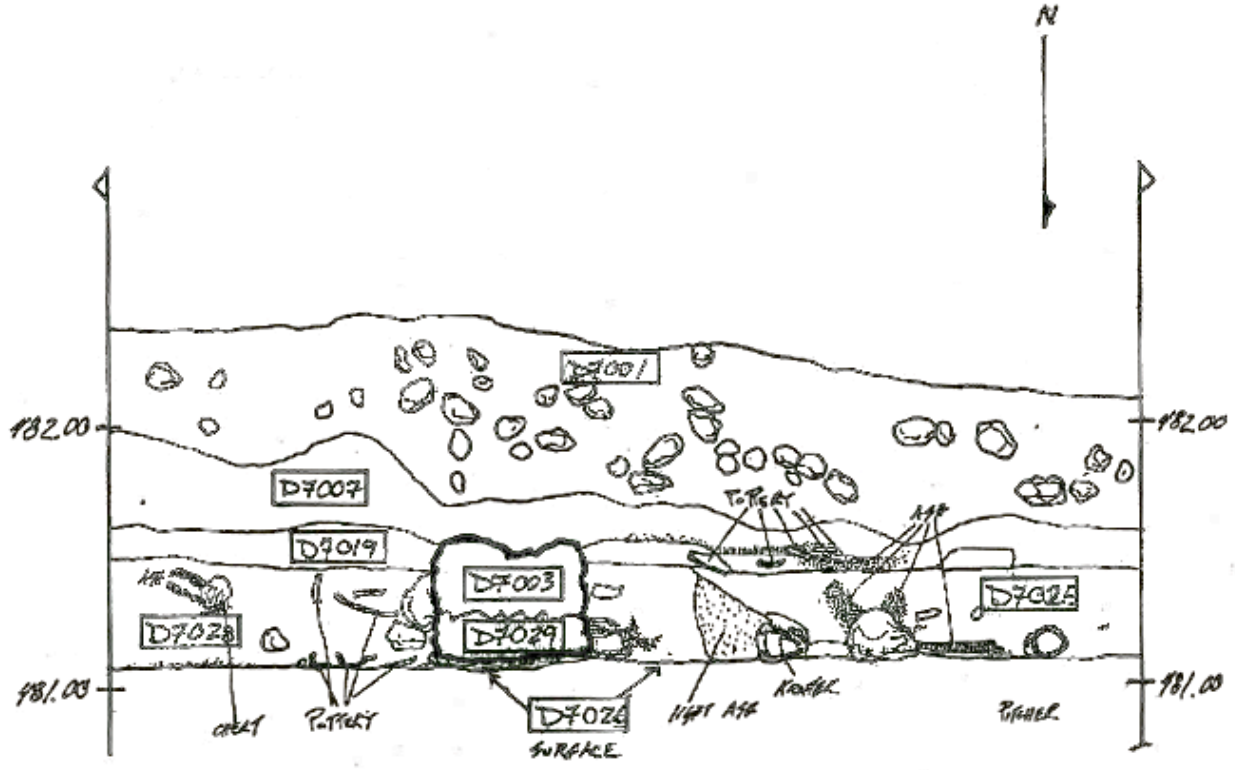

Figure 24: South Balk of Area D7.

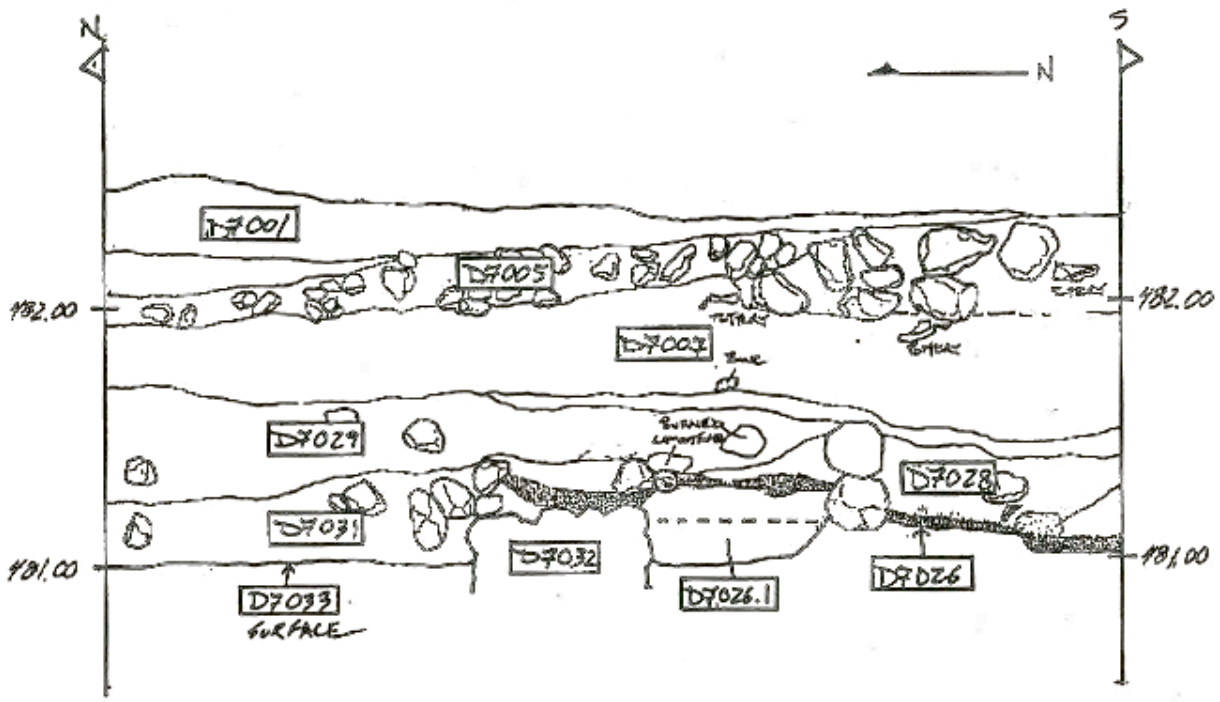

Figure 25: East Balk of Area D7.

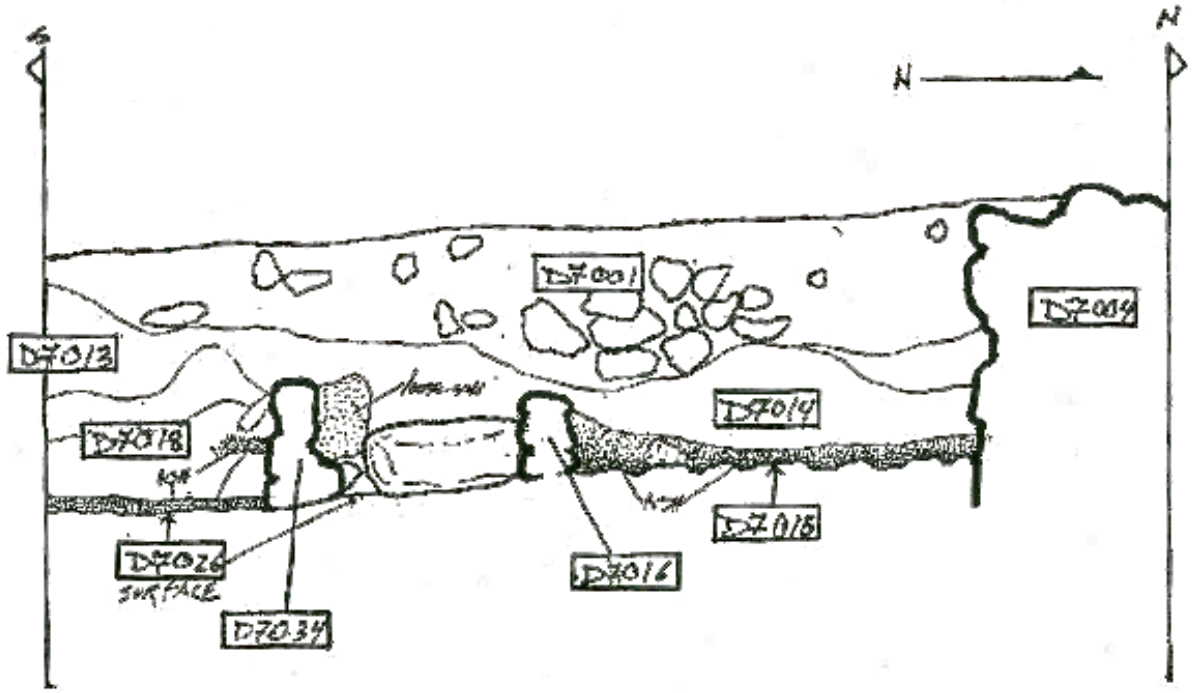

Figure 26: West Balk of Area D7.

2009 Report: E7/D7 Balk

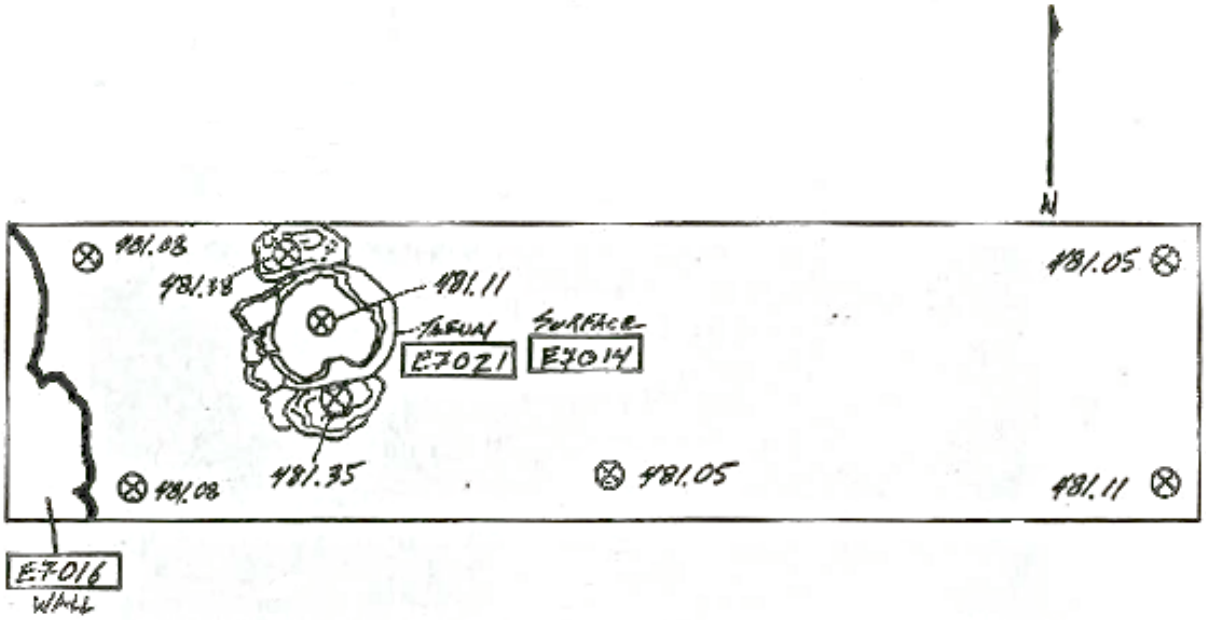

Figure 27: Final Top Plan of E7/D7 Balk.

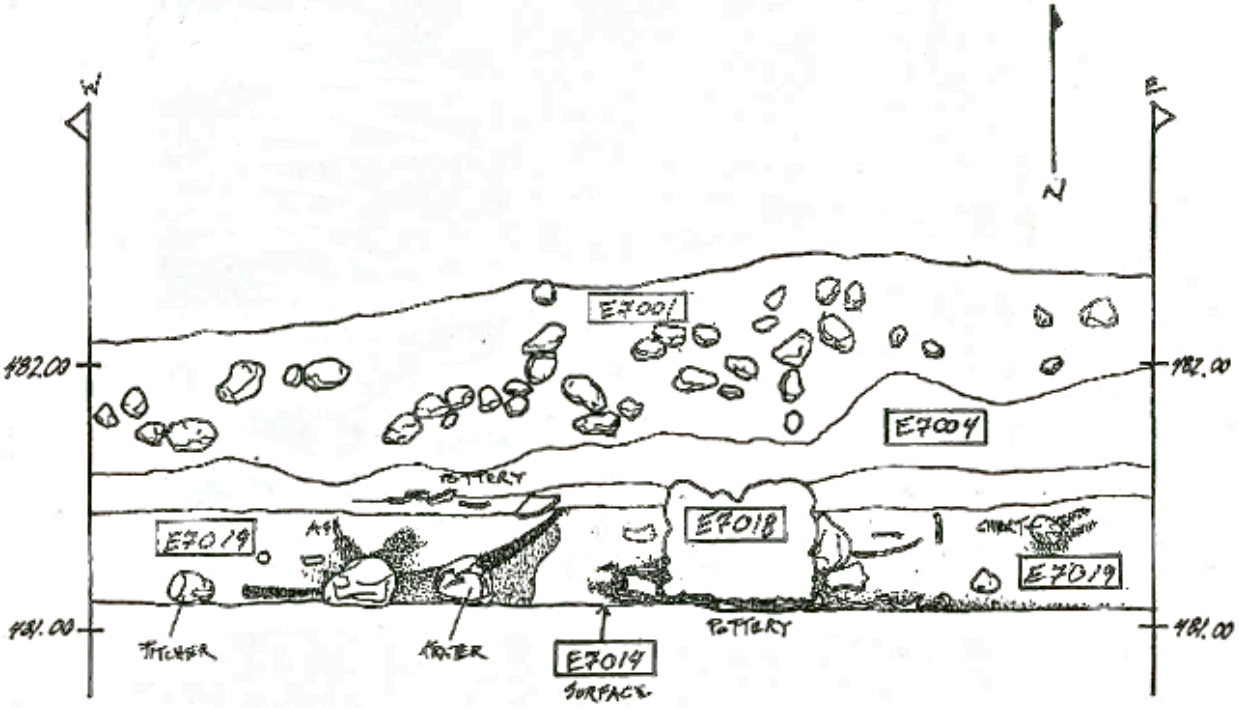

Figure 28: North Section of E7/D7 Balk.

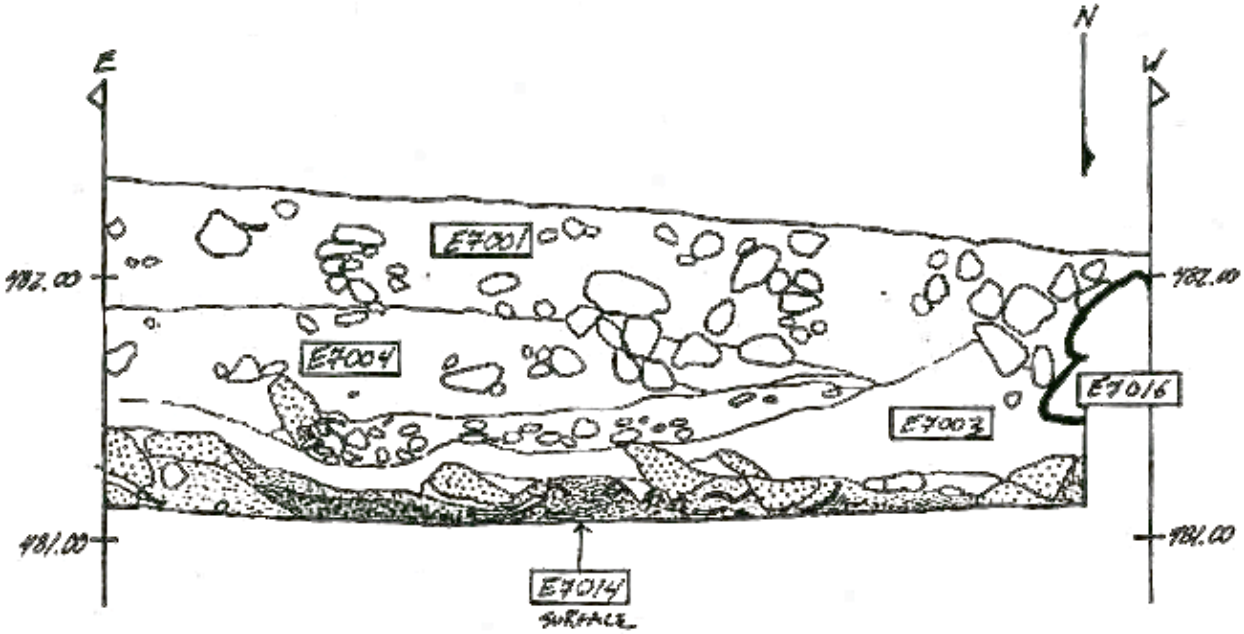

Figure 29: South Section of E7/D7 Balk.

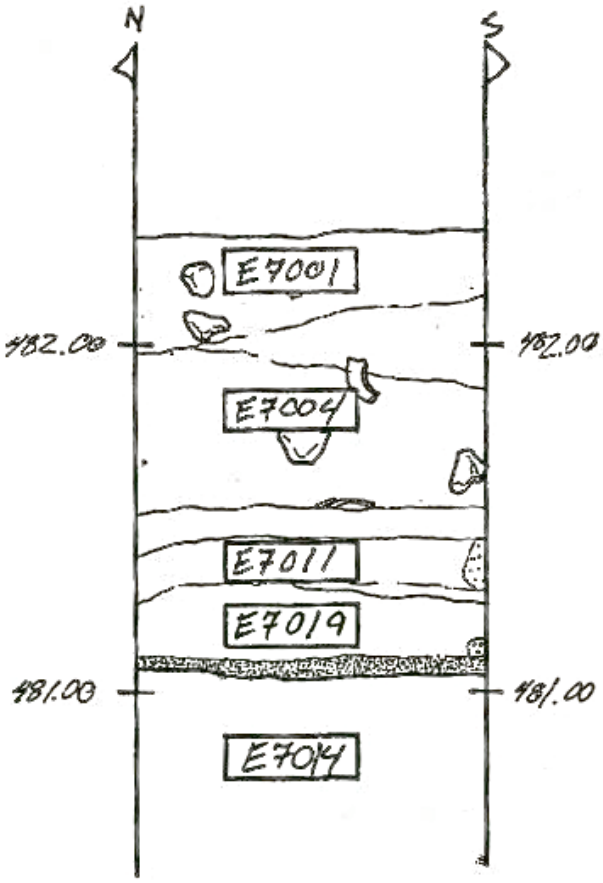

Figure 30: East Section of E7/D7 Balk.

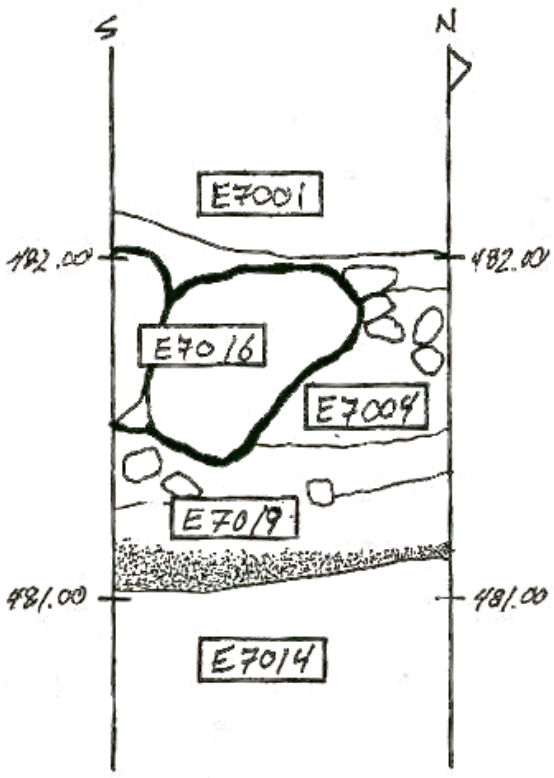

Figure 31: West Section of E7/D7 Balk.

Artifacts

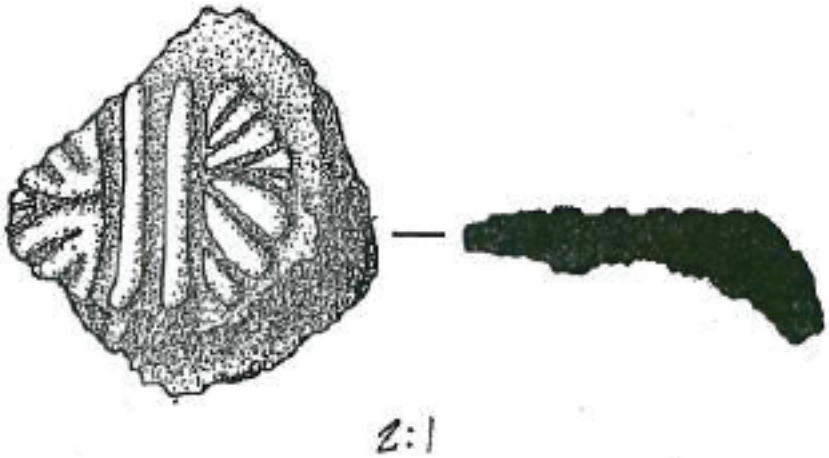

Figure 32: Bulla Clay (Obj. 3559) from Area N2.

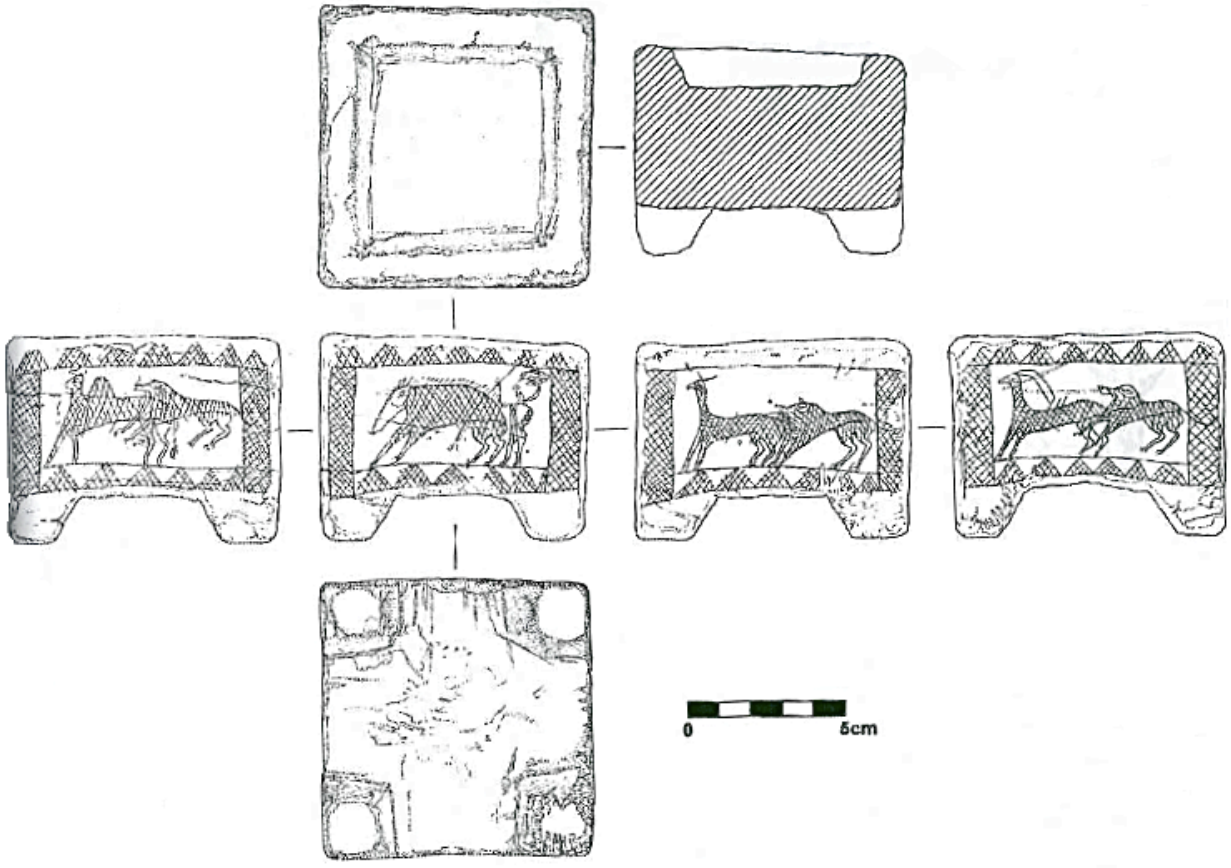

Figure 33: Incense Altar (Obj. 3191) from Area H6.

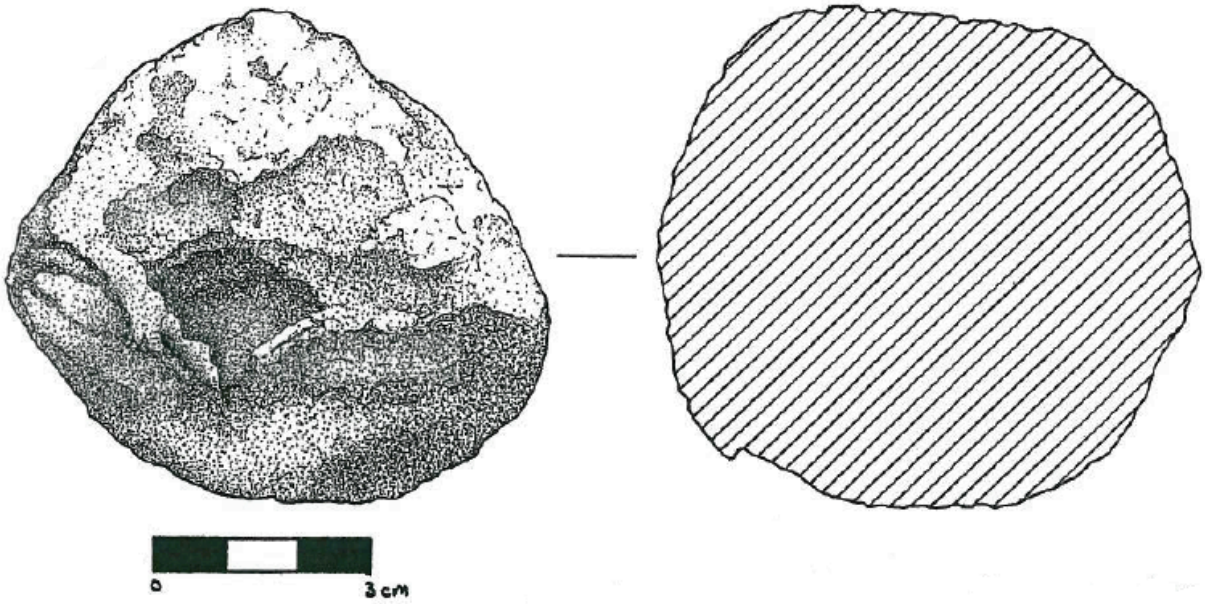

Figure 34: Stone Pounder (Obj. 3277) from Area E6.

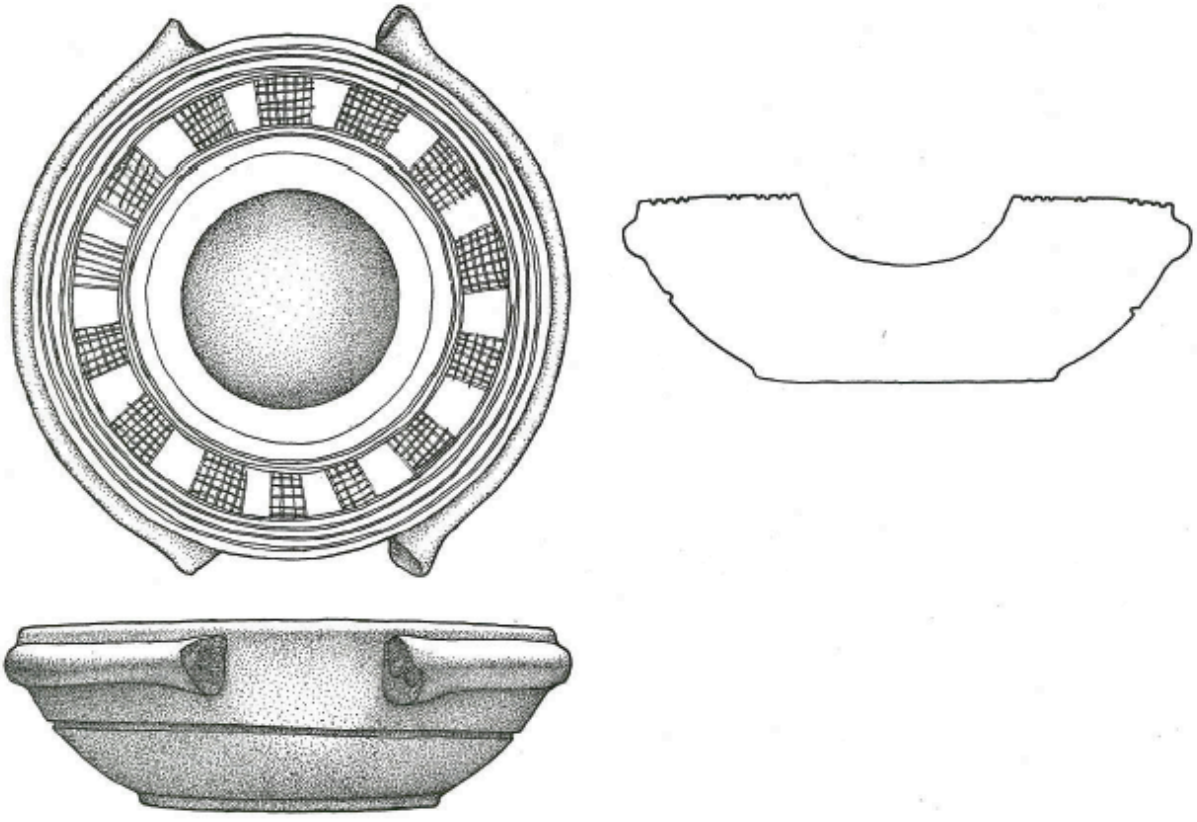

Figure 35: Cosmetic Palette (Obj. 3494) from Area N2.

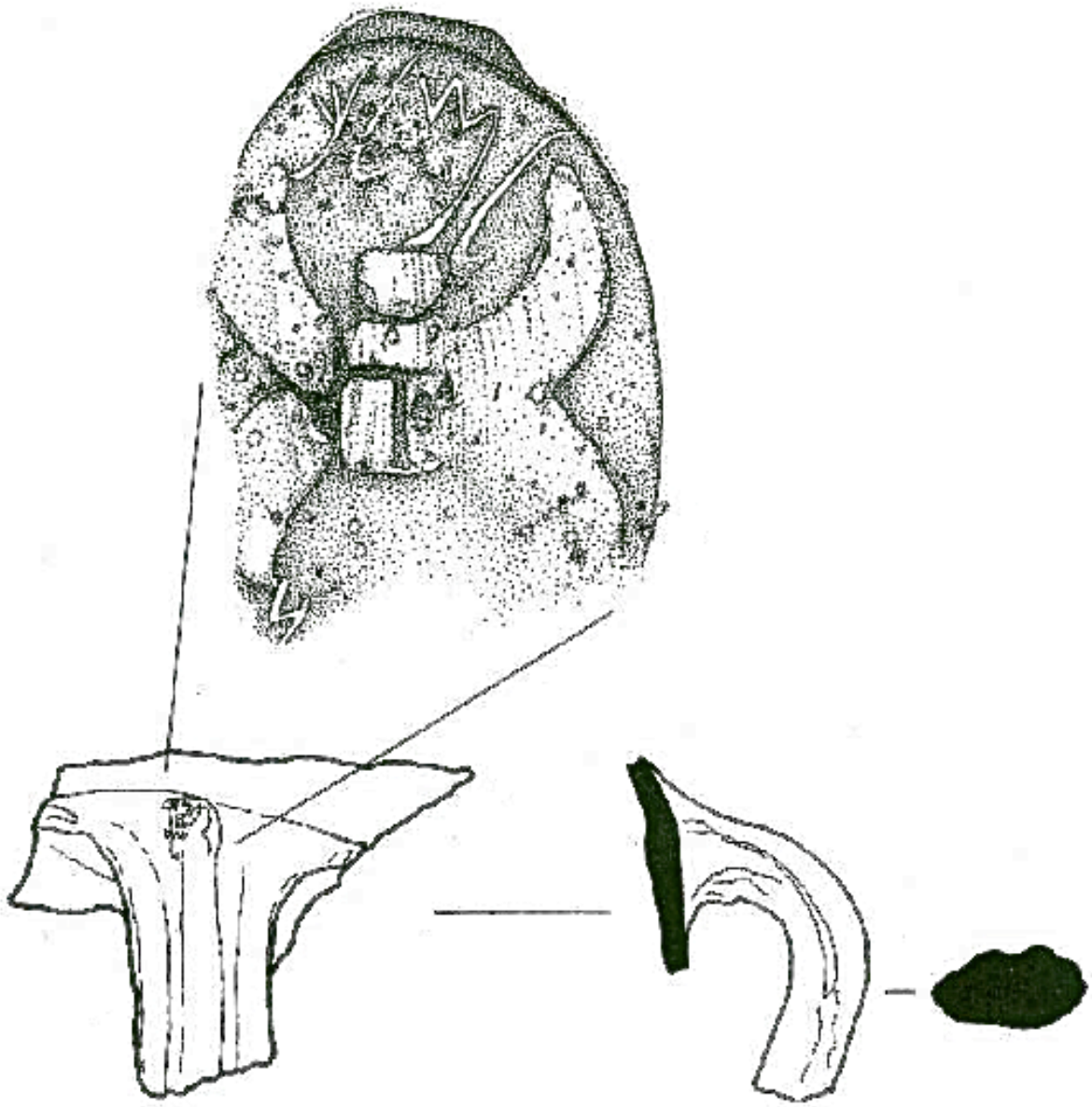

Figure 36: *Lmlk* seal impression on jar handle (Obj. 3447) from Area B8.

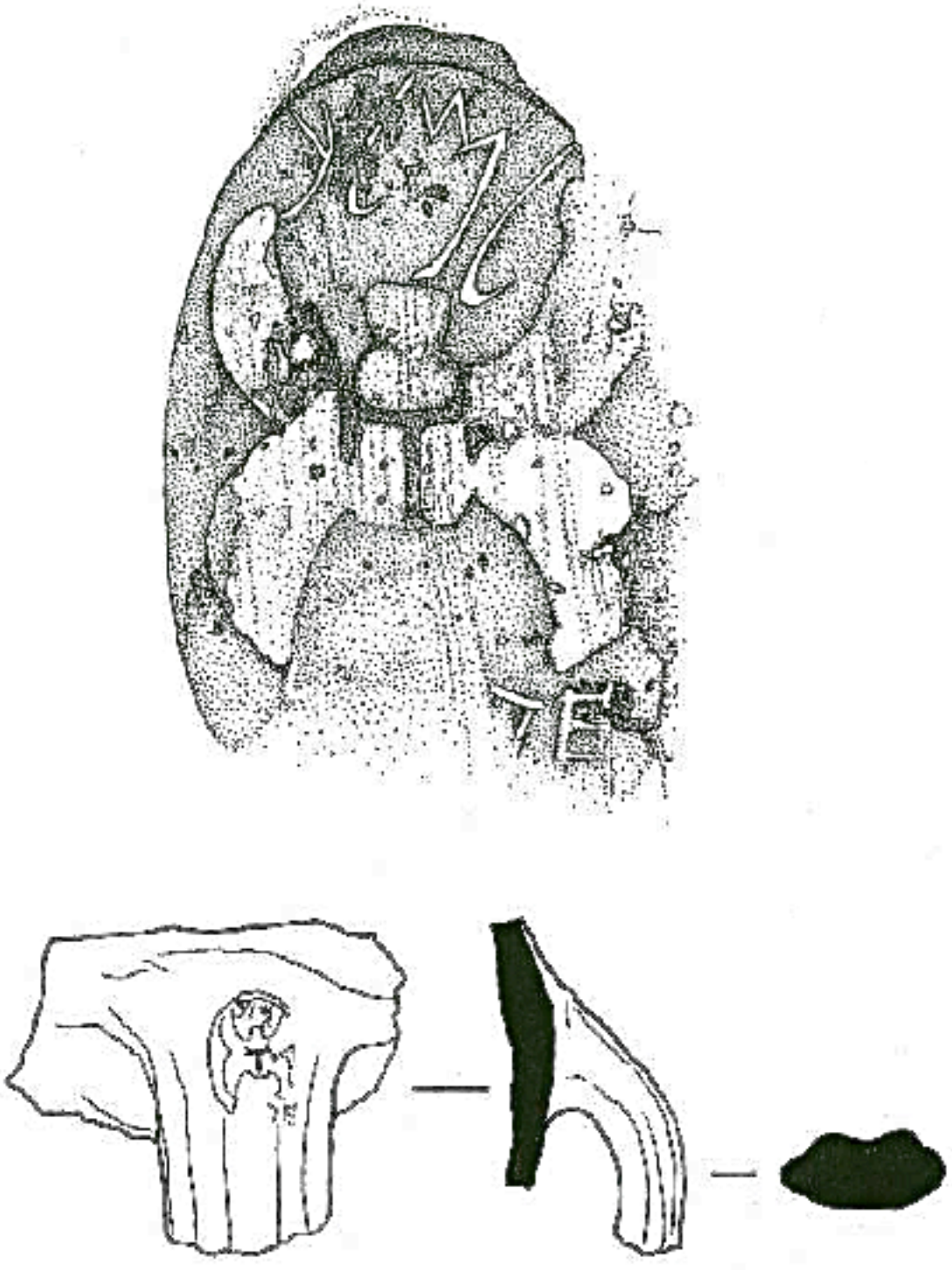

Figure 37: *Lmlk* seal impression on jar handle (Obj. 3522) from Area B8.

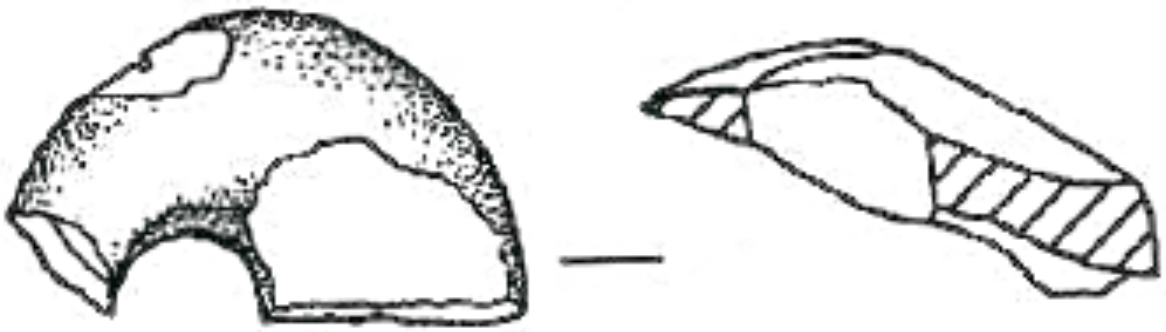

Figure 38: Stone spindle whorl (Obj. 3339) from Area D8.

Figure 39: Ceramic spindle whorl (Obj. 3265) from Area C8.

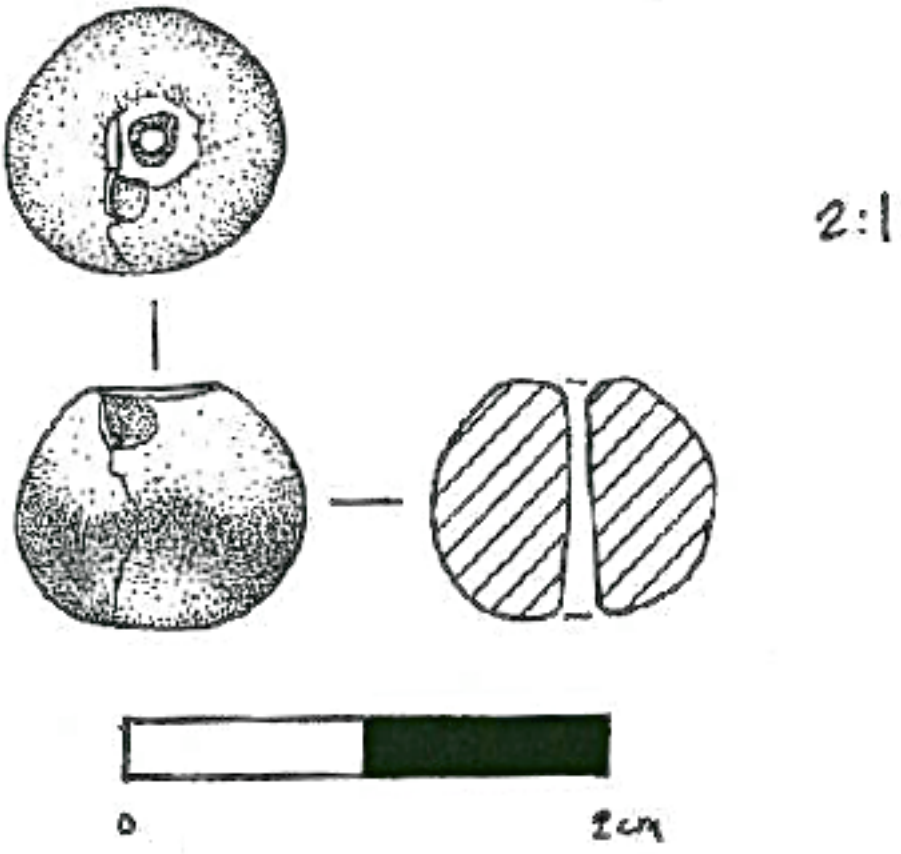

Figure 40: Stone bead (Obj. 3267) from Area E7.

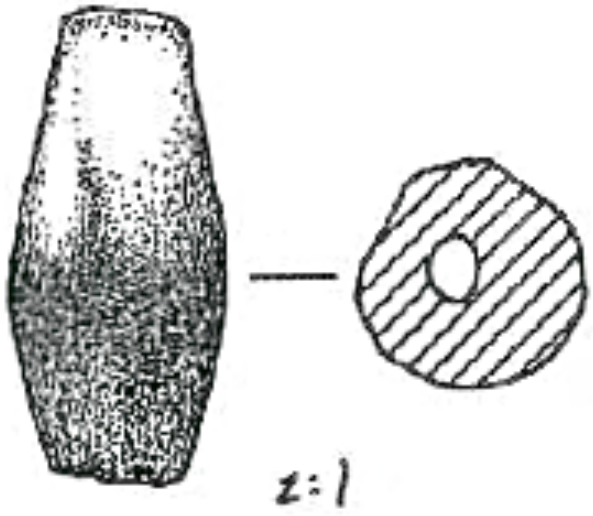

Figure 41: Stone bead (Obj. 3603) from Area D7.

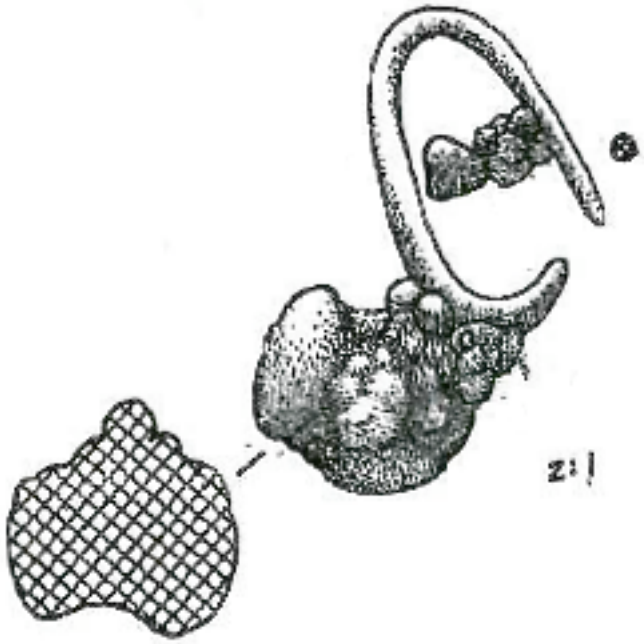

Figure 42: Metal earring (Obj. 3498) from Area B8.

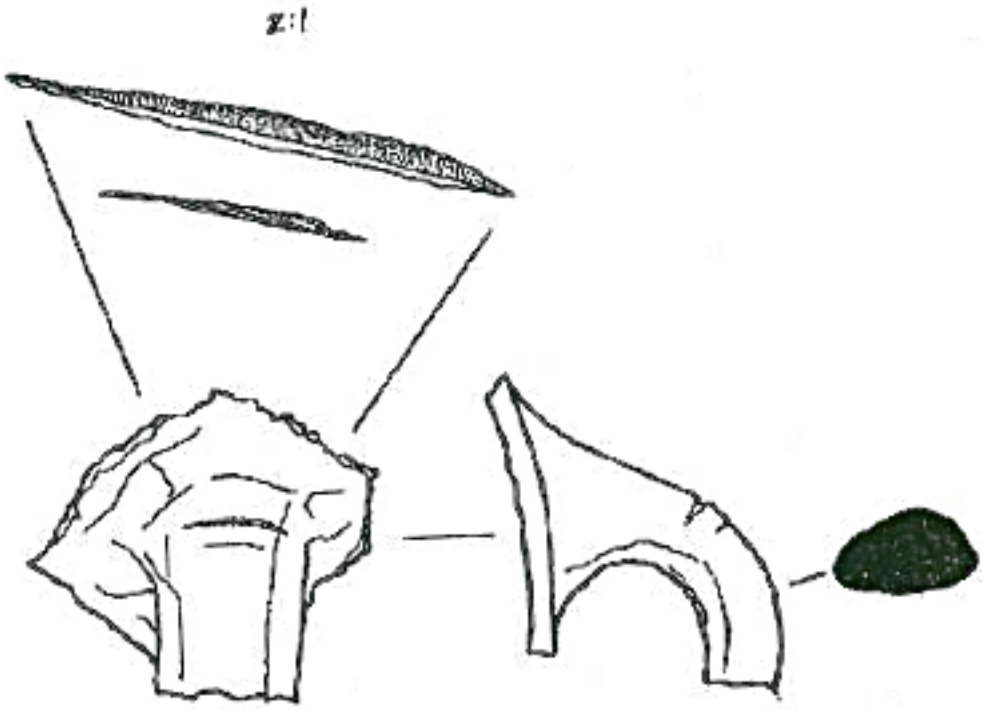

Figure 43: Potter's mark (Obj. 3570) from Area D7.

Vessels

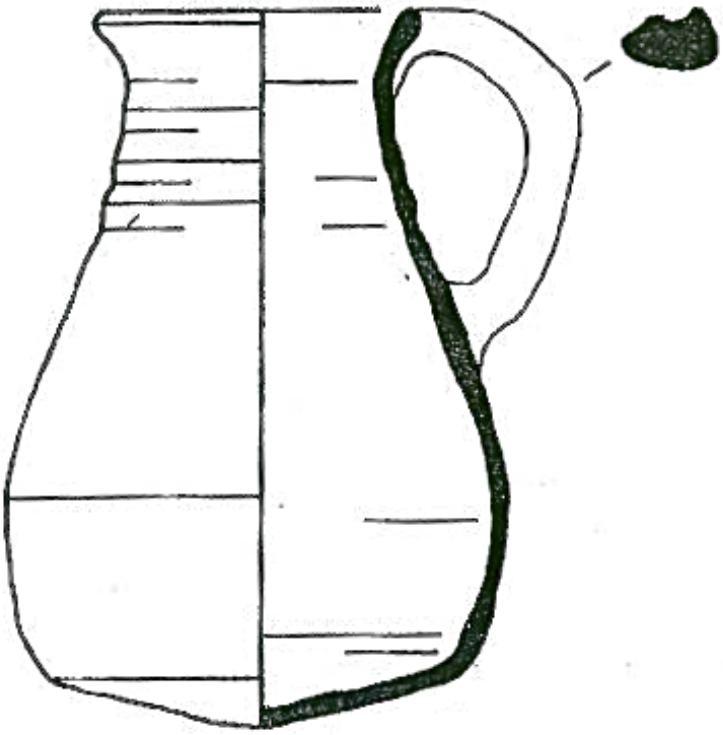

Figure 44: Juglet D7.81.1 from Area D7.

Figure 45: Vessel E6.105A.1 from Area E6.

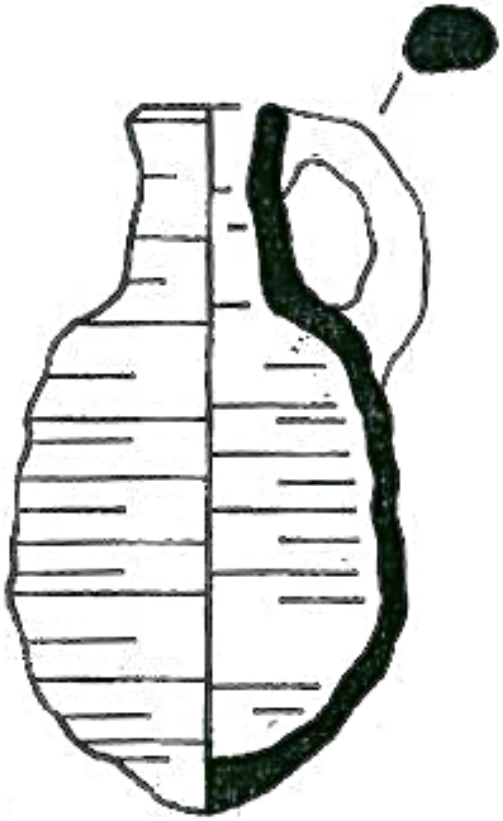

Figure 46: Juglet D7.76.1 from Area D7.

Figure 47: Vessel E6.101A.1 from Area E6.

Figure 48: Juglet D7.102.1 from Area D7.

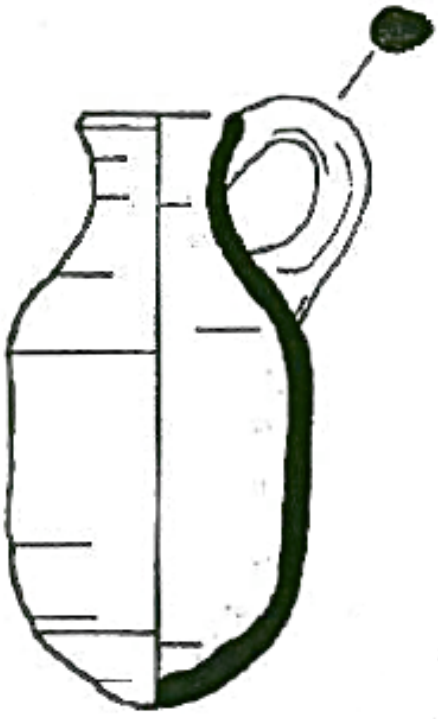

Figure 49: Vessel E6.98B.1

Other Images

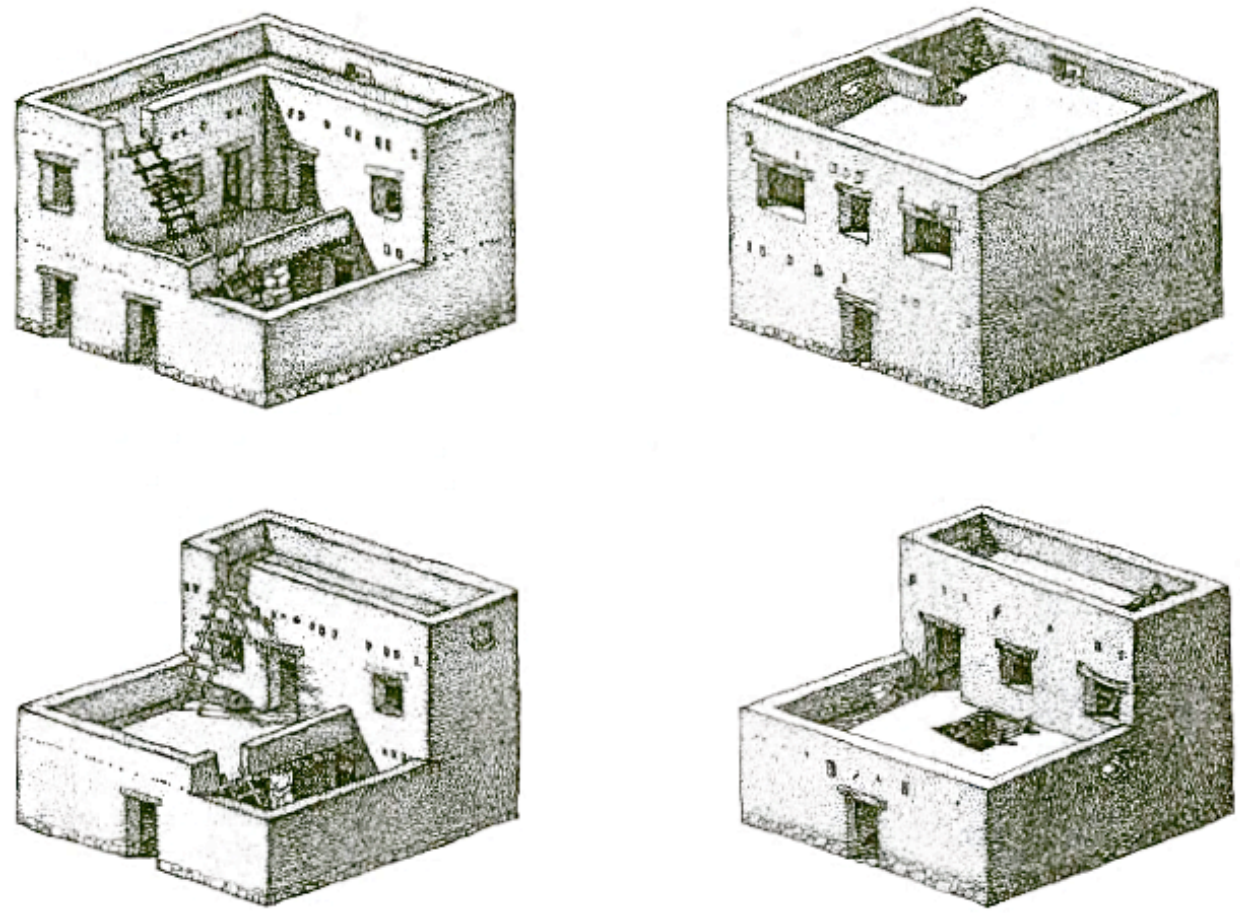

Figure 50: Possible Reconstructions of the four-room version of the pillared dwelling.

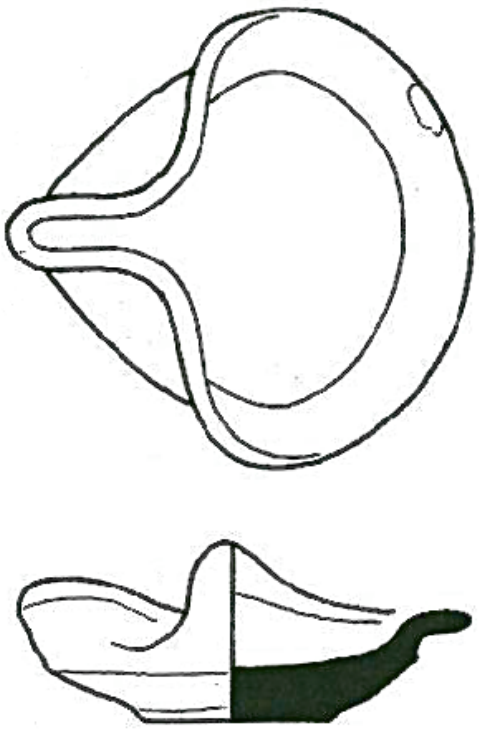

Figure 51: Oil lamp E7.102B.1 from Area E7.

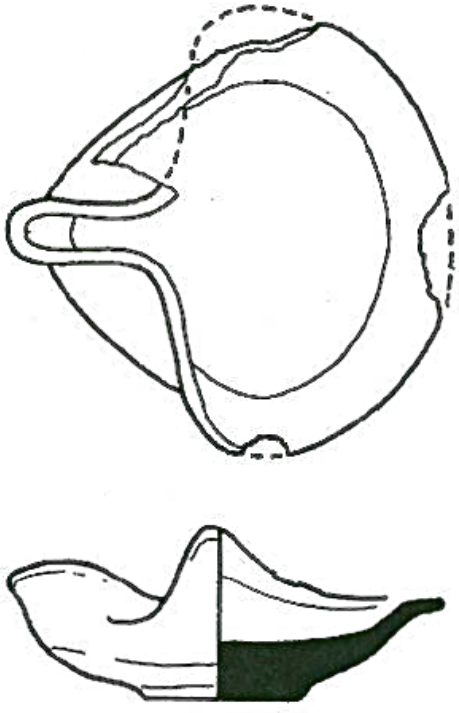

Figure 52: Oil lamp E6.84B.1 from Area E6.

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