Dinner at Dan

Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sacred Feasts at Iron Age II Tel Dan and Their Significance

By
Jonathan S. Greer

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Dedicated to the Memory of
Brian Hesse
1944–2011
Teacher, Mentor, Colleague, and Friend
זיכרונו לברכה

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ABBREVIATIONS

11QT	Qumran Temple Scroll, represented by 11Q19, supplemented by fragments from 11Q20-21, 4Q524, and 4Q365a.
ANEP	Pritchard 1969.
Ant.	Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*.
b. Yoma	tractate *Yoma* (= *Kippurim*) of the Babylonian Talmud.
b. Zebaḥ	tractate *Zebaḥim* of the Babylonian Talmud.
COS	Hallo and Younger 2003.
HI	Dobbs-Allsopp, et al. 2005. Citation of ancient texts in this catalogue follows each reference.
DH	Deuteronomistic History.
DH^{H}	Hezekian Deuteronomistic History.
DH^{J}	Josianic Deuteronomistic History.
DH^{Ex}	Exilic or Postexilic Deuteronomistic History.
Dtrs	Deuteronomistic Historians.
$Dtrs^{H}$	Hezekian Deuteronomistic Historians.
$Dtrs^{J}$	Josianic Deuteronomistic Historians.
$Dtrs^{Ex}$	Exilic or Postexilic Deuteronomistic Historians.
G	the majority of Greek manuscripts.
G^{A}	Codex Alexandrinus.
G^{B}	Codex Vaticanus.
G^{L}	the so-called Lucianic or Antiochene Greek recension (manuscripts b, o, c_2, e_2, unless otherwise indicated).
GKC	Gesenius, Kautzsch, and Cowley 2006.
Heb.	Hebrew.
KAI	Donner and Röllig 2002.
KTU	Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976.
m. Mid.	tractate *Middot* of the Mishnah.
m. Zebaḥ.	tractate *Zebaḥim* of the Mishnah.
MNI	Minimum Number of Individuals.
MT	Masoretic Text.
NED	North-East Deposit.
NF	Number of Fragments.
NISP	Number of Identified Specimens.
NS	Number of Specimens.
OL	Old Latin.

Origen, *Hom.*	Rufinus's translation of *Origenis Homiliae in Leviticum*.
p	Probability (see p. 60, n. 57).
Philo, *Laws*	Philo, *The Special Laws*.
Q	Qumran manuscript, preceded by cave number.
RIMA 3	Grayson 1996.
SAA2	Parpola and Watanabe 1988.
SamP	Samaritan Pentateuch.
SD1	Southern Deposit 1.
SD2	Southern Deposit 2.
SED1	South-Eastern Deposit 1.
SED2	South-Eastern Deposit 2.
TAD	Porten and Yardeni 1986.
Tg. Onq.	Targum Onqelos.
Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.
Ug.	Ugaritic.
WD1	Western Deposit 1.
WD2	Western Deposit 2.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: UNANSWERED QUESTIONS AND THE POWER OF A FEAST

The history and religion of the Northern Kingdom of ancient Israel during the late 10th through the mid-8th centuries BCE are insufficiently understood due to the complicated literary traditions preserved in the Hebrew Bible, the complexity of the archaeological record, and the dearth of contemporary documents in the earliest decades, thus fostering various reconstructions of disparate extremes. The Hebrew Bible names a certain Jeroboam as the first king of the North and describes him as establishing two royal shrines, apparently intended to rival Jerusalem, at the borders of his kingdom: Bethel and Dan. Remarkably, the remains of a major sanctuary from the Iron II period have been uncovered at Tell el-Qadi (now, Tel Dan) and may confidently be identified with biblical Dan.[1] Thus, an examination of the rich textual traditions in the Hebrew Bible and the extensive archaeological remains at Tel Dan together provides an unprecedented opportunity loaded with potential to shed new light on this perplexing less-studied time period, in general, and on the activities at this site, in particular.[2]

That said, the literary traditions in the Hebrew Bible regarding the establishment of the Dan shrine are complex and clearly shaped by an overwhelmingly negative perspective on the religion practiced there. The archaeology of Tel Dan's "sacred precinct" (Area T) is also difficult to interpret and, though efforts are currently underway, most of the material remains are unpublished.[3] The goal of this work is to navigate the

[1] Since Tell el-Qadi was identified with biblical Dan by Edward Robinson in 1838, its identification has not been seriously questioned (see, Biran 1994a: 21; 1993; Ilan 1997; and Ilan and Greer 2013; for a recent challenge to this identification, not followed here, see Ma'oz 2006 with the critique of Davis 2010: 44, n. 8). A Hellenistic dedicatory inscription found in Area T in 1976 mentioning the vow of a certain Zoilos to "the God who is in Dan" would seem to confirm this identification (see Biran 1981).

[2] On the paucity of studies dealing with the earliest period of the Northern Kingdom (from Jeroboam to Tibni, in the biblical scheme), see Moore and Kelle 2011: 313–14.

[3] The final excavation reports of *Dan I* (Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996), *Dan II* (Biran and Ben-Dov 2002), and *Dan III* (Ben-Dov 2011) have been published, with *Dan IV* (edited by D. Ilan) on its way to the press in 2013 and others in preparation. Until the final volumes for the Iron Age appear, one must rely on Biran's popular book *Biblical Dan* (Biran

literary complexity, by taking a close look at some of the most relevant texts, and also to explore the material record, by analyzing a selection of the published and unpublished archaeological remains, in order to create a portrait of religious practice at Dan in the Iron II period, specifically in regard to the sacred feasts that will be suggested to have taken place there. A unique aspect of this project is that it brings new data into the discussion: the analysis of a complex of intentional deposits of ceramic and animal bone remains within the precinct argued to provide evidence of such feasts.

Three central questions guide this exploration: Is there evidence of a monarchic period cult at Dan? If so, what was the nature of this cult and, particularly, its sacred feasts? And, finally, what role might these apparent feasts have played in the socio-political and religious developments of the Northern Kingdom?

The Power of a Feast

Feasting has been a topic of significant academic interest in the last decade especially,[4] and for good reason. Recent studies of "feasts" in a variety of cultural and temporal contexts suggest that the patterns exhibited in these symbolic eating events can tell us much about the worldviews of particular peoples. Further, change is in many cases measurable and diachronic assessments of feasting practices have demonstrated that these eating events are often indicative of larger changes within a given society.[5] This is no less true in the case of ancient Israel, though only recently have studies been undertaken in this context.[6] Indeed, it will be argued

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1994a) and a number of articles cited throughout this work. This author is indebted to the current director D. Ilan for the generous access he has granted to published and unpublished material and for his feedback on this project, and to R. Voss for his close interaction on many aspects of this work as well. Sincere thanks are also extended to the other members of the Tel Dan team, especially to G. Cook and D. Pakman for sharing their first-hand knowledge of excavating Area T with me and answering many of my questions.

[4] Consider the flurry of recent independent works and essay collections such as Dietler and Hayden 2001b; Bray 2003; Wright 2004a; Klarich 2010, on meals and feasting and, more generally, on the social power of food, see Wiessner and Schiefenhövel 1996; Halstead and Barrett 2004; Mee and Renard 2007; Twiss 2007; and a recent collection of essays, published as an e-journal, in Pollock 2012.

[5] See Dietler and Hayden 2001a: 16–17; cf. Goldstein 2003; Goody 1982.

[6] See, e.g., Janzen 2004; MacDonald 2008a; Altmann 2011; and Shafer-Elliot 2013; most working within, or interacting with, an anthropological framework. For other recent biblical inquiries, often focused on issues of cuisine or ethnicity, see Hesse and Wapnish 1997;

here that an assessment of the trends in sacred feasting at Dan provides a unique window into the social, political, and religious dynamics of this ancient people during the Iron II period that may be seen to parallel larger regional changes taking place at this time.

Defining a Feast

Though there is disagreement about which theoretical framework is best suited to approach the basic task of defining a "feast" and the role that such an event might play,[7] most begin with the fact that the consumption of food and drink is an essential and ongoing activity necessary for human survival. As such, these acts often take on symbolic meaning enacted in varying degrees of ritualized behavior.[8] Feasts are defined here as the specialized consumption of food, often meat, and drink, in a communal setting set apart precisely because of the "highly condensed" symbolic importance of the event.[9] Though the rituals, elements, symbolism, and purpose may vary among the different types of feasts—celebratory, competitive, reciprocal, redistributive, diacritical, to name a few[10]—the relational focus remains paramount; no one feasts alone.

Borowski 1998; 2003; 2004; King 1998; King and Stager 2001: 61–68; and for explorations of sacred feasting in Late Bronze/Iron Age Levantine contexts, see Lev-Tov and McGeough 2007; Belnap 2008; Zuckerman 2007; and London 2011b; 2011a.

[7] Contrast the ecological/materialist approach of Hayden (following Harris 1979; 1985) to the culturalist approach of Dietler most blatant in a joint essay (Dietler and Hayden 2001a: 12–16) and transparent in individual contributions (cf., e.g., Hayden 2001 to Dietler 2001).

[8] See, e.g., Mintz 1996: 4–9; Douglas 1984.

[9] While meat may not have been as rare in the standard fare of the ancient Near East as it was once assumed (cf. Dar 1995; MacDonald 2008b), it was clearly an important element in the literary descriptions and archaeological manifestations of feasts. The primary role of alcoholic beverages (occasionally infused with narcotic agents: Sherratt 1991) in feasting has also been well established (Douglas 1987; Dietler 1990; 2006; Pollock 2003: 25; Milano 1994; even in modern feasts: Wilson and Rathje 2001) and carries a social force of its own (see Joffe, et al. 1998). On feasts as "highly condensed symbolic representation[s] of social relations," see Dietler 1996: 89. While others include details of the amount or quality of food and the number of attendees (e.g., Douglas 1984: 15) or the public nature of the event (Dietler 2001: 67) in their definitions of feasting, the definition above does not exclude the likelihood of these characteristics but allows for large-scale public and small-scale private feasting.

[10] The two most-cited recent theorists offer extensive classifications of the different types of feasts often employed in the literature. Hayden (1996) delineates three main types: celebratory, reciprocal aid, and commensal feasts, sub-dividing the last into economic, redistributive, and diacritical feasts. He further sees two types of economic feasts: festive work party feasts and competitive productive feasts. Dietler (1996: 92–99; 2001: 76–88), similarly, outlines three main types: entrepreneurial/empowering, patron-role, and

The communal nature a feast, however, with its inherent scales of contrast between public and private, formal and informal, included and excluded, easily lends itself to the manipulation of these symbols and rituals for the creation and maintenance of power by certain groups of people as a tool for "elite" formation.[11] Yet in addition to differentiating between certain classes of people, feasts can also, paradoxically, promote solidarity among members of certain groups and, as such, serve as events at which diverse members of a society may gather together for a common purpose—be it economic, national, religious—or a combination of purposes.[12] Regardless, while each manifestation of feasting may gravitate toward the pole of elite exclusion, on the one hand, or communal solidarity, on the other, most feasts exhibit characteristics of both,[13] as will be argued to be the case at Dan, with fluctuation between the poles over time.

The Sacred Feast

Whether elite or communal, many feasts in the ancient world were intertwined with religion.[14] In such "sacred feasts," all aspects of the eating events take on new meaning—the slaughter of animals becomes "sacrifice,"[15] the preparation of the meal becomes highly ritualized behavior often guarded by taboo, the consumption itself becomes a religious act—and the social force of feasting is enhanced.[16] The communal aspects also ascend to new heights of meaning, as ancestors or deities are often considered to be participants at such events, commonly conceived of

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diacritical (echoed in Hayden's most recent breakdown [2001]: alliance and cooperation feasts, economic feasts, and diacritical feasts, with various sub categories). These classifications are again characterized by the researchers' primary interest in power structures.

[11] Cf. Goody 1982; Dietler 1996; Hayden 1996; 2001; Isaakidou 2007; Dietler and Hayden 2001a; Wiessner and Schiefenhövel 1996; and Wright 2004b. Hayden (1996; 2001) calls such individuals "Triple-A personalities" (accumulators, aggrandizers, acquisitors/aggressors), emphasizing that there is (literally) no free lunch: feasts (and "gifts," in general; cf. Mauss 1950) are given in order to receive not only status and power, but also invitations to future feasts.

[12] In some cases, participants may engage in symbolic actions intended to "level" class distinctions (cf. Wiessner 1996).

[13] Cf. Lev-Tov and McGeough 2007: 87; Pollock 2003: 17–18; Dietler 2001: 77.

[14] That said, the degree to which a feast was "religious" varied significantly; indeed, it is rarely an easy task to divide the secular from the sacred in most cases (cf. Grant 1991).

[15] See further Hesse, Wapnish, and Greer 2012.

[16] See Schmandt-Besserat 2001; Lev-Tov and McGeough 2007; Cf., too, the essays in Wright 2004a; Georgoudi, Koch Piettre, and Schmidt 2005; and Ryan and Crabtree 1995.

in earthly models of social hierarchy.[17] In this regard, an exploration of sacred feasts may not only provide insight into the religious views of the participants, but also into the social and political relationships mirrored in them.

The Way Forward

In the context of the power of the feast just described, this study endeavors to provide answers to the three questions posed above—those concerning the evidence, nature, and role of sacred feasts at Dan—through a synthesis of textual and archaeological analyses. While many laud the benefits of such an integrated methodology,[18] it is not without its pitfalls. First, there are those who may consider such methods outdated, a still lingering ghost from the positivistic (even fundamentalist) "Biblical Archaeology" days;[19] yet, in any other field of historical study the historian is required to carefully examine all available sources,[20] accounting for bias, ancient and modern, when dealing with textual and material sources as best as one can—no less is attempted here.[21] Second, and perhaps more significant, is the fact that in an attempt to span the ever-widening gap between textual and archaeological studies, something will inevitably be missed;[22] no claim for comprehensive coverage or apology is made here, as it is hoped that the benefit of exploration in both contexts outweighs any shortcomings.

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[17] See the pioneering work of Robertson Smith 1888: 239–43; cf. his pp. 28–83. On the king representing the gods as the central figure in the cult in a variety of ancient Near Eastern contexts, see, e.g., Klein 2006; Machinist 2006; del Olmo Lete 1993.

[18] Consider, especially, Dever's repeated, in his words, "pleading" for "dialogue" between biblical scholars and archaeologists (Dever 2005: 61–62) and his emphasis on the "convergence" of text and artifact in reconstruction (cf. Dever 1983; 1997b; 1997a; 2001: 53–95; see, too, Halpern 1997; Na'aman 2010; J. Smith 2002; as well as many of the essays in Hoffmeier and Millard 2004 and one of the most recent collections from a broader perspective in Levy 2010a).

[19] See an overview and commentary in Dever 2001: 53–62.

[20] So, "historical biblical archaeology" for some (Levy 2010b: 3–4). Consider, e.g., the integration of sources in Mesopotamian (Knauf 1996) and Aegean (Wright 2004b; Isaakidou, et al. 2002; Bendall 2004) contexts; cf., similarly, many of the essays in Maltby 2006.

[21] See the apt comments of Mazar in this regard (in Finkelstein and Mazar 2007: 33); cf. Bunimovitz and Faust 2010.

[22] Indeed, with a few notable exceptions, it is no longer possible to master both fields (so Friedman 2010).

The outline of this study is as follows: Chapter 2 provides an analysis of the primary biblical texts concerning the cult at Dan in the context of Northern religion, arguing that it is described as an essentially Yahwistic cult that incorporated earlier tribal elements; Chapter 3 describes the archaeological analysis of material and faunal remains from Tel Dan's sacred precinct undertaken for this project, suggesting that they represent the remains of Iron II sacred feasts; Chapter 4 provides a synthesis of these two data sets and presents a portrait of Danite cult feasts as Yahwistic and traditional events, exploring the significance of some of the details of the feasts in light of the biblical texts; Chapter 5 concludes the study by summarizing and commenting on the role these sacred feasts may have played at each stage in the Northern Kingdom within the socio-political and religious contexts of the times.

The Importance of this Endeavor

The importance of this integrated exploration lies first in its robust reconstruction of Danite sacred feasts in the Iron II period, one that carefully considers biblical and archaeological evidence. It further adds new data to the discussion of Iron Age Israelite religion through the analysis of unpublished remains from Tel Dan and, as such, provides some of the best evidence for the Israelite royal cult "in action" that may have bearing not only on historical matters but also, by extension, on the dating of cultic materials in the Hebrew Bible.

It is further hoped that this study will demonstrate the interconnected nature of the social, political, and religious factors embodied in these sacred feasts and, also, that the changes observed may relate to larger changes within the Northern Kingdom of Israel at this time. In this way, it highlights the power of the feast at each major stage: power to unite and power to divide; power to maintain old traditions and power to forge new traditions.

CHAPTER TWO

BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE NORTHERN CULT IN THE MONARCHIC PERIOD

First Kings 12:25–33 ostensibly describes the inauguration of the "new" cult of the Northern Kingdom established under Jeroboam I, following the secession from the South and the Davidic monarchy, and details the installation of royal shrines at Bethel and Dan. It is clear, however, that the account stems from a later reflection on these events and represents a largely—yet, not wholly—negative perspective as it stands in the present form of the Deuteronomistic History (DH).[1] The situation becomes even more complex when one acknowledges that the final forms we possess in the Masoretic and Greek traditions represent several layers of redaction that have incorporated various perspectives, and that at each stage there are often text-critical issues that require attention. Further complications arise in light of the relationship of this text to other traditions in the Hebrew Bible, especially the episode of the golden calf at Sinai in Exod 32 and the apparent foundation account of the Danite sanctuary at Dan described in Judg 17–18. The goal in this chapter is to navigate these difficulties in order to establish the essential nature and highlight various aspects of the cult described in the earliest forms of the text complexes, focusing on the primary witness of 1 Kgs 12:25–33.[2]

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[1] For overviews of the DH, including a variety of opinions regarding its reality and/or extent, see McKenzie 1992; Römer and de Pury 2000; Richter 2005; and Knoppers 2000; 2010; as well as a collection of important essays in Knoppers and McConville 2000; and, conveniently, Knoppers and Greer 2010. In the book of Kings, to this author, there seems to be clear evidence for Josianic (DH^{J}) and exilic or postexilic (DH^{Ex}) editions (so Cross 1973: 274–89; cf. Knoppers 1993; 1994) as well as evidence for an earlier Hezekian (DH^{H}) edition (so Weippert 1972; cf. Provan 1988; Halpern 1981; 1998; Halpern and Vanderhooft 1991; Barrick 2002) and questions are explored within this framework. At the same time, such a position does not preclude the interaction among various books within this corpus over time (cf. McConville 1997: 10, with Provan 1995: 4) or even the thematic foci (Historical, Prophetic, Nomistic) of the Göttingen school (cf. Smend 2000; Dietrich 1972; Veijola 1975; 1977) and assumes continuous revision throughout the monarchy (cf. Lemaire 2000; Halpern and Lemaire 2010); indeed, the issues are complex (cf. Leuchter and Adam 2010: 1–7; Auld 2007). For further explanation of other theories regarding the DH, including a survey of recent interest in the relationship of the DH to the Primary History/Enneateuch, see Knoppers and Greer 2010.

[2] While further information on Jeroboam and the Northern cult may be found in other sections of Kings and Chronicles, the 1 Kgs 12:25–33 pericope provides the most detailed

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The Description of the Cult of Jeroboam in 1 Kings 12:25–33

The difficult textual and redactional issues apparent in the 1 Kgs 12:25–33 account necessitate, first, a look at the text itself and an English translation and notes are here provided, with a discussion to follow:

> 25. Then Jeroboam built Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and dwelt there; he went out from there and built Penuel.
>
> 26. Then Jeroboam said to himself, "Now the kingdom may return to the House of David; 27. if this people continues to go up[3] to offer sacrifices at the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, then the heart of this people might turn to their master,[4] to Rehoboam king of Judah"—*and they might kill me, and return to Rehoboam king of Judah*."[5]
>
> 28. So the king took counsel, and he made two calves of gold. He said to them,[6] "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem. Behold: Your *gods*,[7] O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt!" 29. Then he set one up

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account of activities associated with monarchic Dan. When applicable, other texts will be incorporated, as will be seen below. Admittedly, the inquiry at this point assumes the basic historicity of 1 Kgs 12:25–33—i.e., that there was a Jeroboam I who ruled a Levantine kingdom called Israel in the late 10th–early 9th century BCE and that he instituted a national cult. While many histories begin with similar assumptions (see, e.g., Miller and Hayes 2006; also, see Russell's 2009 survey, pp. 27–31), some recent studies have cast doubt on elements of these assertions in general (e.g., Van Seters 1981: 170–74; 1983: 313–14; 1994: 295–301; cf. Knauf 2004; Hoffmann 1980: 59–73; Levin 2008: 153; Berlejung 2009: 21–24) and the extent, character, or existence, of major Israelite royal shrines at Bethel (e.g., Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2009) and Dan (e.g., Noll 1995; Arie 2008) in particular. These challenges will be addressed in Chapter 4.

[3] A cultic context of pilgrim festivals may be implied in the use of עלה; cf., e.g., 1 Sam 1:3; Isa 2:3; Jer 31:6; Ps 122:4.

[4] G^B reads πρὸς κύριον καὶ κύριον αὐτῶν ("to the Lord [i.e., Yahweh] and to their lord [i.e., Rehoboam]") for MT's somewhat ambiguous אל אדניהם, but the MT is to be preferred as G^B likely includes a late gloss intended to underscore the illegitimacy of Jeroboam's cult. In either case, the text here betrays a Southern perspective by acknowledging Rehoboam as "master."

[5] Though the MT continues והרגני ושבו אל רחבעם מלך יהודה ("and they might kill me, and return to Rehoboam king of Judah"), a few Hebrew manuscripts, G^L (here, i, o, c_2, and e_2), and a Latin citation by Lucifer of Cagliari lack והרגני or its equivalent; thus "and they might kill me" may be an editorial insertion marked by *Wiederaufnahme* in the repeated phrase "and they shall return to Rehoboam, king of Judah" (so Knoppers 1994: 26, following Trebolle Barrera 1991: 292–93). Yet the fact that only the repetition is absent in a few Hebrew manuscripts, as well as in G^B and G^A, may suggest that the present form of the MT is a conflation of two early texts.

[6] I.e., the people, made explicit in G^B.

[7] Though clearly plural in the final form of the DH in Masoretic and Greek traditions, an earlier form may well have read the singular; see, further pp. 25–26, below.

in Bethel, and the other he put in Dan[8] 30. (and this thing became a sin)[9] and the people went to worship before the one at [Bethel and before the one at][10] Dan.

31. And he established the Temple of "*bāmôṯ*";[11] and he established priests from among all the people who were not from the Levites; 32. Jeroboam established a festival on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, like the festival that was in Judah, and he went up to the altar . . .[12]

—thus he did in Bethel, to sacrifice to the calves[13] *that he had made. And he appointed in Bethel the priests of the shrines that he had made.* 33. *He went*

---

[8] That different vocabulary is used for the actions of installing the calves at each location may carry some significance: "he set up" (ישם/ἔθετο) the one in Bethel and "he put" (נתן/ἔδωκεν) the one in Dan; see, further, the discussion on p. 15, n. 40.

[9] While this parenthetical comment present in the MT, G^B, and G^L may be an explanatory gloss, it most likely appeared in an early form of the text evidenced in G^L's expansion with the addition of τῷ Ισραηλ (so i, o, c_2, e_2, "for Israel"; b, likewise, though reading τοῦ for τῷ), apparently intended to distance Judah from Northern sin.

[10] While the phrase καὶ πρὸ προσώπου τῆς ἄλλης εἰς Βαιθηλ is present as an addition in G^L, an equivalent is lacking in the MT and in 6QKgs (in broken context) most likely as a result of haplography jumping from the first לפני האחד עד to the second if a Hebrew equivalent is placed as an insertion following the suggestion of the BHS apparatus (with Knoppers 1994: 27). Yet, g, i, and other cursive manuscripts, as well as the OL and a marginal reading in the Syro-hexapla also include καὶ εἴασαν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ("and they neglected the Temple of the Lord"; this addition also appears at the beginning of the verse in Holmes and Parsons manuscript 71 as noted in the apparatus of the Cambridge LXX), raising the possibility that the entire clause was secondary and that G^L reflects a correction. Without the phrase, the verse implies the introduction of both calves at Bethel, then a procession to install one at Dan while the other remained in Bethel (cf. de Vaux 1971: 98–99). Regardless, v. 29 attests to shrines in both locations and the narrative shifts back to Bethel in v. 31.

[11] On the possibility that the construct בית במות may represent a polemical substitute for בית יהוה, see pp. 26–30, below. Cf. Blanco Wissmann 2008: 119; Kogan and Tishchenko 2002: 342.

[12] Vv. 32b–33b appear to be secondary, as others have suggested (e.g., Provan 1988: 80, n. 66; Montgomery 1951: 259; Barrick 1996: 628) based on the following evidence: 1) no new material is presented in the pericope, and it merely repeats the actions of 28–32a in the context of Bethel; 2) the entire section is marked by *Wiederaufnahme* with ויעל על־המזבח, perhaps overlaid in two stages (so Knoppers 1994: 28–29); 3) the text may exhibit intentional literary arrangement confined to the unit (cf. Walsh 1996: 174–75); 4) motivation for an addition may be found in the specific focus on the altar in v. 33 and the repeated focus on Bethel throughout, setting the scene as a redactional bridge for the encounter with the Man of God at Bethel in 1 Kgs 13 (cf. McKenzie 1991: 51–52); and, perhaps, 5) the specific use of the name "Israel" for the Northern Kingdom may be seen to contrast with the apparently inclusive use of "Israel" in the creed of v. 28. If 1 Kgs 12:32b–33b was added in the DH^J, which may be assumed based on its link to the Man of God episode in 1 Kgs 13, then 1 Kgs 12:28–32a was most likely part of the earlier DH^H (so, too, Barrick 1996: 628).

[13] Smith 2007 notes that, although within a late addition, this plural form with related evidence from Papyrus Amherst 63, 1 Kgs 12:28, and Hos 10:5–6 raises the question as to the number of calves at Bethel, making a case that the images (or other related images manufactured later) were remembered as a pair, even into the postexilic period. It may be that the images were indeed dedicated as a pair at Bethel, then split during the installation

> *up to the altar that he had made in Bethel on the fifteenth day in the eighth month, in the month that he devised in his heart;*[14] *he appointed a festival for the people of Israel—*
>
> *. . . and he went up to the altar* to make a smoke offering.[15]

The Ambiguous Portrayal of Jeroboam and His Cult in the DH

The most curious feature of this account may be the subtle ambiguity it preserves.[16] On the one hand, no other king in the Hebrew Bible receives as much repeated criticism as Jeroboam and his religion is often depicted as an un-Israelite counter-cult.[17] Indeed, the final form of the DH as we have preserved in the MT laments over and over again the "sin(s) of Jeroboam" (see 1 Kgs 14:16; 15:30; 16:31; 2 Kgs 3:3; 10:31; 13:2, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28; 17:22; cf., too, 1 Kgs 15:26; 16:2, 7, 19, 26; 22:53), placing much of the blame of the fall of the North on his apostasy and the preservation and perpetuation of his sin(s).[18] Likely later reflections preserved in Chronicles (2 Chr 10:1–11:4; cf. 2 Chr 11:13–17; 13:2–20)[19] and the so-called Greek "supplement" (3 Kgdms 12:24a–z)[20] maintain and even extend this condemnation. The

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of one at Dan, and even reunited under Ahab's centralization in Samaria (though such a position would require seeing 2 Kgs 10:29 as a later gloss). See p. 15, n. 40, above, on the images as a pair in regard to a throne or platform of an invisible deity.

[14] Reading the *Qere* מלבו, with several Hebrew manuscripts and G (cf. Neh 6:8, noted by Russell 2009: 26, n. 18).

[15] These particular "smoke offerings" are argued by some (e.g., Edelman 1985) to specifically encompass food offerings. Others translate "to offer incense," as a later specificity given to the hiphil of קטר (so Clements 2004; cf. NRSV; KJV; contrast JPS; NJB), but see יקטרון and יקטירון in 1 Sam 2:15–16 (unless one repoints the first and emends the second to form piels; see Clements 2004: 11) and cf. G's use of forms of θυμιάω. In either case, the hiphil carries no inherently negative connotation and, though it is used for non-Yahwistic shrines, it most frequently occurs in Yahwistic contexts (so Edelman 1985: 402).

[16] This is generally acknowledged by many recent commentators, and emphasized especially in literary studies (e.g., Bodner 2012 throughout, p. 1 explicitly), though not all will agree (contrast the entirely negative perspective portrayed in Berlejung 2009, for example).

[17] Cf. Toews 1993: 3, 148; Knoppers 1994: 7, 15, 42; Leuchter 2006.

[18] See, e.g., Evans 1983; Mullen 1987; Ash 1998; Blanco Wissmann 2008: 123–26; cf. Knoppers 1993.

[19] 2 Chr 10:1–11:4 essentially follows 1 Kgs 12:1–24, whereas 2 Chr 11:13–17 and 2 Chr 13:2–20 add details of a mass exodus of priests and Levites (2 Chr 11:13–14; 13:9) and people of Israel who wish to sacrifice to Yahweh in Jerusalem (2 Chr 11:16). While many view these divergences as late, postexilic additions of little historical value (see discussion and bibliography in Toews 1993: 24–26, especially n. 4), there may be authentic ancient traditions behind the Chronicler's details (on the priesthood, specifically, cf. Halpern 1976).

[20] There has been some debate regarding the relationship between the supplement (or, more precisely, the Hebrew *Vorlage* behind the supplement; see Talshir 1993) and the MT (see summaries and discussions in Gordon 1975; McKenzie 1991: 27–40; and in the

final Masoretic and Greek forms of 1 Kgs 12:26–33, likewise, emphasize Jeroboam's apostasy in his calculated rebellion (v. 27; even more so in 3 Kgdms 12:24b), his offering to images (v. 32; cf. 1 Kgs 14:9), and his innovation (v. 33). The inclusion of the prophetic judgment stories of the Man of God from Judah (1 Kgs 13) and Ahijah's second oracle (1 Kgs 14:1–18) underscore the condemnation.

Yet, on the other hand, the portrayals of Jeroboam's rise to power and even of the impetus for the establishment of his cult are less damning than one might expect.[21] Jeroboam is described at first positively, supporting the policies of Solomon's administration (1 Kgs 11:28),[22] and the division is clearly identified as God-ordained (1 Kgs 11:31; 12:24). Further, the surety of his rule is presented as a promising alternative to the failure (and polytheism) of the Solomonic kingdom (1 Kgs 11:31–33) and continued oppression under Rehoboam (1 Kgs 12:13–15), and his charge (1 Kgs 11:38) appears in almost identical wording as the charge given to Solomon (1 Kgs 3:14; 9:4; and negatively in 11:11; cf. 1 Kgs 2:3). He may even be intentionally portrayed as a Moses type figure, liberating Israel from "pharaoh" Solomon or Rehoboam.[23]

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recent exchange between Sweeney 2007b and Schenker 2008), characteristic of the larger recent debates regarding the complex relationships among the Versions, particularly in the especially difficult book of Kings (cf. Tov 2008: 285). Those arguing for the witness of the supplement to a pre-deuteronomistic form of the Jeroboam cycle base conclusions on the apparent lack of so-called "deuteronomistic" language (on such, see the classic catalogue of Weinfeld 1992: 320–65) in the account (e.g., Trebolle Barrera 1980) and the coherent state of the narrative (e.g., Schenker 2000a), whereas those viewing the MT as more original draw attention to evidence of the extensive, sometimes confused, redaction of the supplement (see examples in Toews 1993: 26–27) and its apparently more negative perspective (see, e.g., Montgomery 1951: 251–54; Gooding 1967a: 187–88). In agreement with those who identify clear redactional seams, it may be best to consider the supplement as a divergent tradition formed as a composite of units with varying historical value (so Knoppers 1993: 173).

[21] This is especially so in the DH^H, as will be suggested below.

[22] Leuchter 2006 suggests that Jeroboam, as an "Ephratite" (אפרתי; MT 1 Kgs 11:26), was, in fact, a Judahite himself, from the same locale as David (so 1 Sam 17:12; cf. references to Bethlehem in Gen 35:19; Mic 5:1), who distanced himself from this affiliation in alignment with the North initially, and was later purged of his Southern roots by the Dtrs (cf., similarly, Bodner 2012: 42–43 who argues that the term was employed to suggest an association with Samuel and David). Still, the term אפרתי is clearly used for Ephriamites in other cases (see, especially, Judg 12:5; 1 Sam 1:1), and may have carried two meanings (cf. McCarter 1980: 303). Furthermore, from a historical perspective (if such is granted) it would seem unlikely: had Jeroboam, as a Southerner, been appointed as head over the Northern corvée (1 Kgs 11:28), he would more likely have earned the same fate as Adoram (1 Kgs 12:18), rather than the favor of being appointed king.

[23] So Albertz 1994: 140–43, 145, drawing on Schmidt 1988; Crüsemann 1978; and Kegler 1983—note, too, the words attributed to Jeroboam in his inaugural address of 1 Kgs 12:28 discussed below, pp. 25–26.

Such positive potential may even extend to the institution of Jeroboam's new cult. While special privilege is reserved for Jerusalem in the final MT form (1 Kgs 11:13, 32, 36), it is missing in the "supplement" altogether.[24] Indeed, Ahijah of Shiloh relays the promise of Yahweh himself that Jeroboam's kingdom will be as enduring as the House of David if he does his commands, walks in his ways, and does what is right in his eyes by keeping his statues and commands (1 Kgs 11:38)—how would a king who has inherited "Israel" serve the God of Israel without a cultic center? The establishment of a center, or centers, may be implied and, regardless, is not explicitly condemned.

Further, some of the most negative aspects of the account of the cult mentioned above—Jeroboam's offering to the calves themselves (v. 32b) and the emphasis on his innovation (v. 33), as well as the stories of the Man of God from Judah (1 Kgs 13) and Ahijah's second oracle (1 Kgs 14:1–18)[25]—may have been absent in the earliest edition[26] and represent reflections on what the cult had become during the time of subsequent Dtrs.[27] These observations beg the question: if Jeroboam's cult is clearly condemned later in the narrative and judgment ensues in the final form of the DH (cf. 1 Kgs 13:34; 14:9; 2 Kgs 17:7–23; see, also, 2 Chr 11:16–17), why are there hints of ambiguity in the initial descriptions of the cult?

Answers to this question may be sought at the most basic level in the way the deuteronomistic historians used source material. If, with Noth,[28] the Dtrs placed existing blocks of narrative into a larger theological framework with only light editing, the less-damning nature of the account may simply derive from the original source material behind 1 Kgs 12:25–33, perhaps a pedestrian annalistic account, incorporated into the Judahite work.[29] Indeed, the Dtrs neither whitewashed their heroes nor tarred

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[24] With Knoppers 1993: 182–85, 3 Kgdms 12:24o may be more archaic at this point. Cf. Leuchter 2006: 53–57.

[25] On the interpolative nature of these stories, see, e.g., McKenzie 1991: 51–52 and Toews 1993: 110–15 on the "Man of God from Judah" (1 Kgs 13:1–32) and Toews 1993: 135–43 on Ahijah's meeting with Jeroboam's wife (1 Kgs 14:1–18) for overviews and bibliography.

[26] I.e., the DH^{H}; see, n. 34.

[27] Probably, the Dtr^{J}; see, n. 34. That the present form represents the negative perspective of later deuteronomistic editors is, of course, commonly accepted; see, e.g., Chung 2010 and bibliography therein.

[28] So Noth 1991 [1943].

[29] Many note the lack of deuteronomistic language in the pericope (see, e.g., Burney 1903: 176–77; Toews 1993: 37; Knoppers 1994: 30; see discussion and further bibliography in Russell 2009: 34–36) while others disagree (cf. McKenzie 1991: 52, 58, 99; Donner 1973: 49; Würthwein 1977: 102–03); though this author leans toward the former, such differences illustrate that the identification of deuteronomistic language, or lack of, is seldom a precise

their enemies in a comprehensive manner, as evidenced in negative assessments and outcomes during the reigns of "good" kings and recorded blessings for "bad" kings.[30] Regardless, the final form of the DH in Greek and Hebrew forms retains the tension and must be explained.

One explanation may be found in the theological agenda of the Dtrs: Solomon's sin causes the rupture and legitimates Northern secession (1 Kgs 11) and the positive portrayal of Jeroboam's rise validates the political sovereignty of the North;[31] the subsequent negative portrayal of Jeroboam's fall grounds the Dtrs cultic condemnation of the North, while justifying continued coverage of its religious practice (even after its political fall, as in 2 Kgs 17:24–41) and the similar criteria employed for judgment, in anticipation of the cultic reforms of Josiah.[32] On a simply practical level, too, by leaving the initial description of the cult somewhat ambiguous the Dtrs allow for the incorporation of potentially problematic source material, theologically speaking, such as the account of Jehu's bloody Yahwistic reform that leaves the calves intact (2 Kgs 10:18–31) or the narratives of the ardent Yahwists Elijah and Elisha that say nothing of Jeroboam's cult or the calves, even when a prophetic troupe was apparently stationed at Bethel (so 2 Kgs 2:3; cf. v. 23).

While such theological concerns are no doubt apparent, the ambiguity may be further illuminated if the core of the cultic description (1 Kgs 12:26–32a; 33c) is viewed in the historical context of a Hezekian setting (i.e., as part of the DH^{H}). Of course, a Josianic setting may seem equality viable at first glance, but then the addition of vv. 32b–33b, if such is granted,[33] must stem from the $Dtrs^{Ex}$ or later. The difficulty here is that one must further posit a special interest in the Northern cult in the postexilic period that would motivate its condemnation, as indeed some have recently argued.[34] Yet such a suggestion is not without its problems: especially important is the fact that such a view would sever the link between the addition and

endeavor and as such should not be used as conclusive evidence in identifying literary strata but rather as one factor among others to be considered.

[30] Cf. Halpern 1996b: 220–28, and his Fig. 18.

[31] See, especially, Knoppers 1993: 167–223, also Halpern 1996b: 144–45, 154–55.

[32] So Knoppers 1994: 13–44.

[33] In light of the arguments outlined above (see p. 9, n. 12), it seems difficult to maintain a position of a unified pericope running from 1 Kgs 12:26–13:34 as some (e.g., Van Seters 1981: 170–71) would have it.

[34] See, e.g., Pakkala 2002; Blenkinsopp 2003; Gomes 2006; and Knauf 2006; the extent of the influence of the Northern cult in the postexilic period is seen to be varied, and fluctuating (cf. Knauf 2006: 308).

the stories of the Man of God from Judah (1 Kgs 13) and Ahijah's second oracle (1 Kgs 14:1–18), rooted in a Josianic context.[35]

If a Hezekian setting is conceded, the Southern historians would have been faced with recounting the early history of the North at a time when many Northerners were folded into the South. Since there can be little doubt that the religion of the North was Yahwistic, as it was in the South—such is apparent in descriptions of the post-fall Northern cult (2 Kgs 17:24–41) and even, it will be argued below, in the inauguration of Jeroboam's cult—the Dtrs^{H} would have been faced with the uncomfortable position of acknowledging, even to some extent validating, this sibling expression of Northern Yahwism while jettisoning it from the "true" religion of the South.[36] As such, the subtle ambiguity that is retained may be reflective of the Yahwistic nature of the Northern cult portrayed in this context.

Yahwistic Aspects of the Description of the Cult of Jeroboam

In fact, though Jeroboam's inaugural cult is portrayed as a manifestation of his political machinations,[37] several of the characteristics included in the description of 1 Kgs 12:25–33 also suggest its Yahwistic nature;[38] to be sure, as many have previously noted,[39] the cult must have been Yahwistic

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[35] For potential archaeological complications with positing a heightened focus on Bethel in the Persian period, see Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2009: 42, 45, who note the lack of archaeological remains from this period, but such must be cautiously considered, as discussed in n. 308 below in regard to the dismissal of 9th century material (e.g., the very presence of any Persian material under the methods described suggests at least some sort of activity); still, of all the periods represented in their analysis, this is clearly the least well represented.

[36] Incidentally, envisioning the more ambiguous core as part of a Hezekian edition comports well with the view that a Nimshide apology was incorporated in this edition (so Halpern and Lemaire 2010): in a pro-Nimshide DH^{H}, one would not expect to find vehement opposition to the Yahwistic shrines of Bethel and Dan, as Jehu left these shrines unscathed in his bloody Yahwistic revolution (2 Kgs 10:29).

[37] From a political standpoint, it seems clear that Jeroboam capitalized on the growing resentment of the Northern tribes over issues of taxation and the corvée—indeed, his construction of major Northern shrines demonstrated his investment in the North, in stark contrast to Solomon's previous disregard made clear in his sale of Cabul to Phoenicia (to finance a Southern project, no less) and the creation of a Judahite-focused provincial structure (so Halpern 1974; cf. Albertz 1994: 140–41).

[38] As potential insight to Jeroboam's personal allegiance, one may note, too, that his son Abijah (1 Kgs 14:1) bears a Yahwistic name.

[39] See, e.g., Wellhausen 1885: 283; Eissfeldt 1940; Talmon 1958; Cross 1973: 73–74; de Vaux 1971: 100; Albertz 1994: 143–46; Toews 1993: 41–107; van der Toorn 1996: 278–79; Burnett 2001: 97; and Bartusch 2003: 208, to name a few.

if it was intended to rival the Southern cult—even the Chronicler tacitly admits this in mention of Levites prohibited "from acting as priests before Yahweh" (מכהן ליהוה) at Jeroboam's Northern shrines (2 Chr 11:14). Such characteristics include, not only the sanction of the Yahwistic Ahijah of Shiloh previously mentioned, but also likely the utilization of traditionally Yahwistic iconography and the invocation of a well-known Yahwistic creed; it is even possible that Jeroboam's royal shrines at Bethel and Dan were known as Temples of Yahweh, glossed by the Dtrs in regard to Bethel as the Temple of "*bāmôṯ*." Each of these features will be explored below.

Calf Iconography, Yahweh, and Exodus 32

In light of the fact that the description of Jeroboam's infamous installation of the golden calves became a deuteronomistic paradigm for cultic apostasy, it may seem odd to consider that he sought, in some way,[40] to represent Yahweh's presence with these images. Some have thus concluded that the sin of the calves was a late addition, only associated later with Jeroboam in an attempt to further disparage the Northern cult.[41] Even among those who allow for certain degrees of historicity behind the reports of calf construction under Jeroboam, other deities are suggested to have been represented by the images whether independently or fused

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[40] Probably as a vehicle, or podium, for Yahweh comparable to the cherubim of the South, it would seem, a view popularized by Albright 1957: 266, following the earlier proposal of Obbink 1929 (though Fass 1990: 175 credits a form of the view already to Ibn Ezra on Exod 32); since then, see: Weippert 1961: 103; Gray 1970: 290; Cross 1973: 73–74; de Vaux 1971: 101–03; 1997: 333; Würthwein 1977: 165; Noth 1968: 284; Walsh 1996: 172; Zevit 1985: 61–62; Albertz 1994: 144; Cogan 2001: 358; Sweeney 2007a: 177; and Chung 2010: 11–13, to name a few. If so, it may even be that the calves were presented together as a pair forming a throne or platform during their inauguration and then split, one remaining in Bethel and the other being placed in Dan (note the different vocabulary used above, p. 9, n. 8, and cf. 2 Chr 13:8). Perhaps, even when separated as individual icons at Bethel and Dan, they were still envisioned as a pair forming the throne of the invisible Yahweh over the entire kingdom (so Halpern 1976: 32, n. 5). Others suggest that the icons served originally as actual images of Yahweh: see, e.g., Day 2000: 40; cf. Koenen 2003, and references there, especially pp. 95–132; cf. the nuanced treatment of the calves as (intended) markers of divine presence in Berlejung 2009, recast by the Dtrs to suggest divine absence, though the very fact that the image installation pattern does *not* comport with ancient Near Eastern patterns (her pp. 24–27) may also be taken to confirm the proposition above: i.e., that the images were not intended as divine representations (abstract or otherwise), but simply as cultic furniture upon which the invisible god dwelt.

[41] E.g., Pakkala 2008; cf. Dohmen 1982: 19–21.

with Yahweh. Egyptian[42] and Mesopotamian[43] deities have been proposed, as well as Canaanite deities other than Yahweh.[44] While Egyptian and Mesopotamian proposals seem less likely,[45] strong arguments may be made for associations with Baal-Haddu[46] and, even more so, with El,[47] if he may be considered distinct from Yahweh[48]—especially if one views the images as bulls, as many have.[49] Yet the text is explicit in its description

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[42] Candidates include Amun-Re (Oswalt 1973) and Hathor (Danelius 1968); see, too, Pfeiffer 1961: 75 on the Apis (cf. Pfeiffer 1926: 217–18). It is, indeed, tempting to envision Egyptian deities on the basis of Jeroboam's reported tenure in Egypt (1 Kgs 11:40)—the "supplement" even adds his marriage to an Egyptian princess (3 Kgdms 12:24e)—but Jeroboam's invocation of the god(s) of the Exodus would seem to imply anti-Egyptian sentiment (if not revolt; cf. Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 179, 191).

[43] E.g., see Bailey 1971: 104–15 and Key 1965: 20–26 on the moon god Sin.

[44] Another proposal is that of Sasson 1968, who explores the possibility of the calf in Exod 32 as being a representation of Moses.

[45] On the Egyptian candidates, it may be noted that Amun-Re is more often associated with other animals, Hathor is a female deity, and the Apis bull is more of a revered symbol than a god. Further, it seems unlikely, in the literary context of 1 Kgs 12, or even more so of Exod 32, that the people would be depicted as worshiping Egyptian deities since these were the very gods judged by Yahweh in the Exodus (see, also, n. 42, above). For Mesopotamian candidates, there is little evidence of the worship of Sin in the biblical texts (cf. Day 2000: 34) and one is pressed to demonstrate early cross-cultural connections. Further, the context seems devoid of any other apparent indicators of a Mesopotamian context.

[46] On the calf (or bull) images being representations of Baal-Haddu, a local *baal*, or "Baalistic" in derivation, see Obbink 1929: 268; Nicholson 1967: 72; Gray 1970: 315; Provan 1988: 64–65; and Curtis 1990. Biblical support is often drawn from Hos 13:1–2, but there is question as to what deity or group of deities is intended by the term הבעל; as Halpern 1993 demonstrates, הבעל, in both the singular and plural (הבעלים), is used generically in the Hebrew Bible (so, too, Toews 1993: 152; cf., especially, Judg 10:6–16) and may even be used as a collective to encompass multiple subordinate deities (which Halpern interprets as the Host of Heaven, i.e., Yahweh's entourage).

[47] See, Schaeffer 1966: 16; and, especially, Wyatt 1992: 78–88.

[48] Many suggest a conflation of El and Yahweh, arguing on the basis of similarities between Canaanite epithets and images employed for El and comparable epithets and motifs used for Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible: see, especially, Cross 1973: 44–76; cf. Albertz 1994: 144–45; Toews 1993: 51–69; van der Toorn 1996: 320–28; Day 2000: 34–41; Smith 2002: 32–43; 2001: 135–48; and Bray 2006: 74–80.

[49] See, e.g., Albright 1968: 172; Cross 1973: 73–75; Donner 1977: 387; Albertz 1994: 144–45; van der Toorn 1996: 279; Burnett 2001: 79–80; Zevit 2001: 448, n. 22; Bray 2006: 71–80; Gomes 2006: 25–28; Köckert 2010: 370; and most others, in some cases apparently trying to harmonize the biblical account with El motifs (see below) by speaking of "young bulls" (e.g., Albright 1968: 172; Cross 1973: 73–75), or viewing the language of the biblical accounts as intentionally disparaging, thus "calf" for "bull" (e.g., Noth 1962a: 248; Montgomery 1951: 257; and Albertz 1994: 144; cf. Hutton 2010: 158–60). The association of the bull with El in Ugaritic literature is clear, evidenced explicitly in his epithet *ṯr ʾil*, "Bull El" (see, e.g., KTU 1.3 5:35–36; 1.6 6:26; cf. 1.4 4:38–39; 1.14 1:40–42, 4:6; see other examples and discussion in Smith 2001: 32), and many of the arguments that seek to equate El and Yahweh in Jeroboam's cult (e.g., Toews 1993: 55–69, 145–46) also draw on apparent descriptions of Yahweh as a bull in the Hebrew Bible, though these examples are less certain than is often

of *calves*,[50] not bulls, and as such significantly weakens associations with El or an El-Yahweh conflation.[51] That a cult of a particular non-Yahwistic *baal* was introduced seems even less likely, as Jeroboam's cult never falls under such an accusation even in the final form of the DH.[52] Indeed, as mentioned above, it seems highly improbable that Jeroboam would have introduced a new god in his attempt to win the people—he may have presented Yahweh in a manner different from the South, but it would have been Yahweh nonetheless.[53] In fact, the association of Yahweh with calf iconography may have been a long-standing tradition within certain circles, as attested in Exod 32.

This well-known text narrates an episode during the wilderness wanderings of post-exodus Israel in which the people pressure Aaron into constructing a golden calf while Moses tarries on the mountain. Though a clearly negative account in its present form, there can be little doubt of the association of the calf with Yahweh in the narrative; indeed, Aaron declares a "Feast unto Yahweh" (חג ליהיה; Exod 32:5) before the image, presumably intended as a celebration of Yahweh's victory over Egypt

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assumed: e.g., most point to Gen 49:24, where the God of Jacob is described as אביר יעקב, often translated as "the Bull of Jacob," and Num 23:22 (// 24:8), where Baalam claims that El/God, who brought Israel out of Egypt is כתועפת ראם לו, "like the horns (?) of a wild-ox for them." The problem with these two texts is in both cases one of vocabulary (i.e., the meanings of אביר and תועפת, respectively) and the extent of metaphoric implication as implied in G (G Gen 49:24 reads δυνάστου Ιακωβ, "the might of Jacob"; G Num 23:22//24:8 reads δόξα μονοκέρωτος, "the glory of a wild ox" [cf. Liddell, Scott, and Jones 1968: 1144 on μονόκερως]) though one may posit a theological gloss on the part of G. Even so, in the case of אביר יעקב, the term אביר is clearly applied in another early text to stallions (Judg 5:22). One may also note that שור (cognate with Ug. *ṯr*) is never used for Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Bray 2006: 74–75).

[50] In some texts feminine forms can refer explicitly to older animals (see Gen 15:9), but masculine forms seem to be restricted to young animals (e.g., Lev 9:3; Micah 6:6). Appeal to Ps 106:19–20 (see, e.g., Toews 1993: 132, n. 54, following Albright 1957: 300), where עגל occurs in clear parallelism with שור in reference to the Sinai incident, may lend some support but parallel terms do not necessarily require equating the two and Ps 106 is in its context a much later reflection. Early inscriptional evidence confirms the use of עגל specifically for a young animal; cf. KAI 222 A1:23, B1:1; 309 1:20–21.

[51] See, n. 49, above. In fact, calf iconography is never used for the head El-type deity in comparative contexts (so Fleming 1999; cf. p. 24, n. 86 below).

[52] One notes that fierce opponents of the Omride *baal* such as Jehu (cf. 2 Kgs 10:18–29) and Elijah (cf. 1 Kgs 18:16–45) do not equate the calves with *baal* worship. Further, the deuteronomistic condemnation of Ahab in 1 Kgs 16:30–32 states that his sin went *beyond* the sin of Jeroboam in worshiping הבעל, which, in this case most likely refers to the Omride *baal* (cf. Toews 1993: 43; note, similarly, the case with Jehoram in 2 Kgs 3:2–3; on the Omride *baal*, and the problem of identification, see p. 131, n. 27).

[53] Cf. de Vaux 1971: 100; Cross 1973: 74 (though related to El, in Cross's understanding); Day 2000: 36; and Gomes 2006: 27–28.

(cf. the creed Aaron invokes, below). But the problem with enlisting this text as support for early Yahwistic calf iconography is that many understand it to be a fictitious or largely embellished story composed after the institution of Jeroboam's cult, either soon after as thinly veiled anti-Jeroboam polemic, or long after with postexilic concerns in mind.[54]

While a full engagement with the spectrum of positions on the composition and dating of Exod 32 (and the inseparable larger discussions of the formation of the Pentateuch and/or the Primary History) is beyond the scope of this present work,[55] some evidence will be highlighted here in order to suggest that authentic, ancient traditions may lie behind the present form of Exod 32, whatever semblance they may have to the final form of the story.[56] To be sure, the accounts of Aaron's calf and Jeroboam's calves are related,[57] and the present form bears evidence of editing after the time of Jeroboam,[58] but there are significant differences between the

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[54] In most reconstructions, whatever the historical origins of the events it describes, the narrative is seen to have been composed after the institution of Jeroboam's calves (see, e.g., Propp 2006: 576–77; Noth 1962a: 246; cf. Knoppers 1995; for the extreme view that entire exodus account is an allegory for the division of the kingdom, see Oblath 2000). The traditional source-critical paradigm, in fact, requires it—if J was only composed in 9th century (so Wellhausen 1885), or even pushed back to the 10th century (so Noth 1962a), the earliest form of the Sinai calf narrative would have been recounted contemporary with or just after the reign of Jeroboam (though it is conceivable in the latter case that the narrative may have been composed just prior to Jeroboam, in the early 10th century). The polemical intent, therefore, must be assumed in such a view (cf., e.g., van der Toorn 1996: 305), or the episode of Jeroboam's calves must be seen to have at least influenced the written form of the narrative (so Knoppers 1995). Some recent paradigms push the date of pentateuchal material later (cf. Schmid 2001: 9–39), thus, for others (e.g., Van Seters 1994: 290–318; 1981: 173–74; Dozeman 2009: 40, 688–700), Exod 32 is a much later political and theological allegory composed by blending information from Deut 9–10 and 1 Kgs 12 (cf., similarly, Achenbach 2005: 140–42, on the priority of 1 Kgs 12).

[55] For recent surveys from different perspectives, see the commentaries of Dozeman 2009 and Propp 2006 and bibliography therein. Cf. Altmann 2012, a recent study of the Levites/Levitical priests that touches on current trends, specifically in regard to the difference between North American and Continental approaches.

[56] Some see an originally positive cult etiology imparting Aaronic authority to the calf iconography at Bethel behind the account (cf. Cross 1973: 73–74; Albertz 1994: 145; Toews 1993: 134–35; Cogan 2001: 358) that may have been reworked after Jeroboam as part of an inner-Israelite priestly struggle in the North between Mushites from Shiloh and Aaronids from Bethel (so Cross 1973: 196–99; cf. Halpern 1976; on the wider context of priestly competition, see Propp 2006: 567–78).

[57] See Aberbach and Smolar 1967; Hahn 1981: 304–13; such seems to have been intentional (Lasine 1992).

[58] The most obvious example of a potential gloss is the change from a presumed singular construction זה אלהיך ישראל אשר העלך מארץ מצרים reconstructed for Exod 32:4 (since Aaron only made one calf; cf. Neh 9:18) to the current plural formulation אלה אלהיך ישראל אשר העלוך מארץ מצרים in light of Jeroboam's dual calves and his plural declaration in 1 Kgs 12:28. See further, pp. 25–26, below.

accounts and questions that must be accounted for if the earliest form is to be understood entirely as later polemic:[59] Why is there only one calf in Exod 32 if Jeroboam is described as making two? Why is Aaron, as a presumably Southern hero,[60] indicted for making the image—would not Moses, often thought to have been favored in the North, have been a better candidate in a polemical fiction?

Further, several literary features point to the archaic nature of the account. For example, the destruction of the calf (Exod 32:20) seemingly employs a curse enactment motif known most clearly from Late Bronze Age sources.[61] So, too, the incorporation of a nearly unintelligible snippet of verse and older verbal forms may harken back to earlier points in the literary history of the text.[62]

Additionally, the story of the golden calf exists in the Hebrew Bible in at least two forms, Exod 32 and Deut 9:7–10:11,[63] and the Exod 32 account has long been considered to be a composite form by some, whether as the result of two complete accounts that have been interwoven along the lines of traditional source-critical theory,[64] or as a primary account that

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[59] Cf., in this respect, Toews 1993: 124; Knoppers 1995.

[60] Some, noting that Aaronids were likely in place at Northern Bethel as well as at Southern Jerusalem, suggest an internal Northern conflict; see n. 56, above.

[61] The closest parallel is found in the oft-cited Ugaritic Baal-Mot cycle: in Exod 32:20 the calf is taken (לקח), burnt (שרף), ground (טחן), and scattered (זרה), just as in KTU 1.6 2:30–37 // KTU 1.6 5:11–19 the body of Mot is taken (*tiḫud* // *lqḥ*), burnt (*šrp*), ground (*ṭḥn*), and scattered (*drʿ*). In both cases, the sequence defies logic and instead serves as a descriptive metaphor for total destruction; see Fensham 1966; Loewenstamm 1967; 1975. For a thorough treatment of this text and its relationship to Deuteronomy 9:21, including ancient Near Eastern parallels to the destruction of cult objects in general, see Begg 1985; cf., too, 2 Kgs 23:4, 6, 15. Some (e.g., Toews 1993: 129, n. 45), acknowledge the parallel but disregard it as evidence for antiquity, noting that a later text may incorporate earlier motifs. While such is irrefutable, it should be noted that the Baal-Mot episode is clearly the strongest parallel to the Exodus account, both in vocabulary and sequence, rather than any of the many later Egyptian or Mesopotamian examples (so Begg 1985: 212–13).

[62] On Exod 32:18, see Albright 1968: 38 who notes not only the wordplay, but also the archaic meter apparently preserved in G (followed in the Syriac) that implies the loss of the vocalic endings (cf. Albright 1968: 19). See, also, the discussion in Propp 2006: 556–58, as well as in Good 1987, with bibliography there. Other archaic features may include the preservation of early orthography in MT v. 15's בידו for "in his hands" (pl., as in G's ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, and paralleled in Deut 9:17; see Propp 2006: 544, who notes a similar instance resulting in a *Qethiv*/*Qere* issue in MT Exod 32:19) and a *yaqtalu* form possibly preserved by MT's pointing in v. 5 (*wayyō'mar*, rather than *wayyō'mer*).

[63] On the dependence of Deuteronomy on Exodus (*contra* Van Seters 1994 and Dozeman 2009), see the strong arguments adduced in Begg 1985; 1997; so, too, Chung 2010: 40–42.

[64] For an example of a classic J/E division (with some redaction), see Driver 1911: 349–57; cf. Hahn 1981: 142–43, for a detailed survey of early divisions of the entire pericope

has been supplemented.[65] Such diversity and diffusion of accounts by the time of the early monarchy for the Epic material, according the the Wellhausian paradigm, might seem to be more easily explained if there were an earlier form of the story that circulated in premonarchic times.[66]

Finally, the iconography of Exod 32 itself may be more at home in a premonarchic setting than in a time contemporary with Jeroboam. Keel and Uehlinger, in their comprehensive iconographic survey,[67] note prolific bovine imagery in the Late Bronze Age Levant that tapers off some in the Iron I,[68] followed by a dearth of comparable imagery in the Iron IIA.[69] Later in the Iron IIB, bovine imagery returns in a few examples,

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in chart form. Potential doublets may include: two instigators for building the calf (the people in v. 1 and Aaron in v. 2); two constructions of the calf (v. 4a, ויצר אתו // v. 4b, ויעשהו); two declarations upon the completion of the calf: one by the people (v. 4b, ויאמרו) and one by Aaron (v. 5, ויקרא אהרן ויאמר); two responses of Yahweh to Moses, with nearly identical phrasing (v. 7, וידבר יהוה אל משה // v. 9, ויאמר יהוה אל משה); two returns to the camp (v. 15 // vv. 17–19); two observations by Moses of the people running wild (v. 19 // v. 25), both initiated by וירא; two actions of judgment initiated by Moses: the burning, grinding, scattering, and forced ingestion of the calf (v. 20), and his call for the Levites to rally to him and strap on their swords (vv. 26–27); two final judgments of those guilty in the golden calf affair: one by the sword of the Levites (v. 28), and the other by the striking of Yahweh (v. 35). Additionally, there are other suggested doublets that do not occur in sequence but appear to parallel each other nonetheless: two intercessions of Moses (vv. 11–13 // vv. 30–32), and two occurrences of the sacral cry "this/these is/are your god(s)" (v. 4 // v. 8). These differences may be divided into two somewhat coherent narratives, one bearing affinity with J-type literature (vv. 1, 4b, 6, 9–16, 19–24, 35a), another with E-type literature (vv. 2–4a, 5, 7–8, 17–18, 25–34, 35b). Still, many recent commentators hold to the basic unity of the pericope (e.g., Propp 2006: 148–49; Friedman 1997: 70–74; 2003: 173–75; see, too, Baden 2012: 109–110 who affirms the unity of Exod 32 with the exception of vv. 26–29, which he sees as relocated from the end of the Massah and Meribah account of Exod 17:1bβ-7).

[65] Some assign the bulk of the account to either J (e.g., Noth 1962a: 241–52) or E (e.g., Beyerlin 1965: 18–22), with supplemental portions added, seeing vv. 1–6 as the original core though differing on the level and extent of the additions (see the survey in Toews 1993: 123–35). Support for the view of supplemental blocks may be found in the seemingly secondary nature of vv. 21–34—notably, Deut 9:7–21 recounts neither the slaughter at the hands of the Levites nor the judgment by plague. Some recent works also affirm a largely unified work, yet date it much later: e.g., Van Seters 1994; 1999; cf. Blum 1984; 1990, and evaluation thereof in Davies 1996.

[66] Of course, for those who argue that Exod 32 is a later work based on Deut 9–10 and supplemented by 1 Kgs 12 (e.g., Van Seters 1994: 290–318; 1981: 173–74; Dozeman 2009: 40, 688–700), this is a non-argument; with Begg 1985; 1997, and for the reasons mentioned here, this author holds to the priority of Exod 32.

[67] See Keel and Uehlinger 1998.

[68] Though it is not entirely absent, as demonstrated in the discovery of the so-called "bull-site." See Mazar 1982.

[69] On the general recession of representations of anthropomorphic deities in the Iron IIA see Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 173–74, 184.

located primarily in the northern hill country.[70] Such trends may be seen to parallel the chronology presented in the Hebrew Bible: bovine imagery is associated with Yahweh at a time when the imagery is prevalent in the premonarchic period, only to disappear during the united monarchy with the cherub iconography of David and Solomon, then to be revived by Jeroboam with scattered examples afterward under the influence of his cult—notably in the image of a calf and centered in the North. It might seem unusual for Jeroboam to have introduced his bovine iconography at a time when such imagery was no longer *en vogue*,[71] but perhaps less surprising if he revived ancient, traditional iconography.[72] That said, evidence has been recently published that suggests that bovine iconography was more prevalent than once thought in Transjordan in the Iron II,[73] and thus the motif was apparently maintained in other contexts.

Regardless, older literary features, the possibility of sources, and the iconographic resonance with Late Bronze Age motifs do not require an early dating for Exod 32. Still, they may increase the plausibility that older traditions lie behind the present form. When such is added to the differences between this narrative and the account of Jeroboam's calves, it seems difficult to assume the account was spun from whole cloth and, at the very least, suggests a complex relationship between the two accounts. Even if the entire tradition is dated to a time after Jeroboam, it does not rule out the presence of early Yahwistic calf iconography; indeed, other evidence associating the calf with Yahweh roughly contemporary with Jeroboam may be suggested in the material record.

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[70] Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 192–94, note that images of bulls, either as vehicles for deities or alone in charging poses, are rare among the iconographic examples of the Iron IIB period. Their reference to the exception of a large number of terra-cotta figures may be even less significant than they suggest, on the one hand, in that many are only fragmentary and cannot be said to represent bovines for certain (cf. the plates in Holland 1977)—such may also be the case with the "bovine" zoomorphic vessels from an 8th century BCE cultic installation at Samaria (see Crowfoot, Crowfoot, and Kenyon 1957: 78–82; Pl. 12, no. 1). On the other hand, cf. the Transjordanian examples cited in n. 73.

[71] This would seem to contrast with cherub iconography which was still popular in the early first millennium; see Keel 1978: 166–70.

[72] Knauf 2004; 2006: 319 argues instead that Jeroboam's calves fit better in an 8th century context when such iconography was more prevalent, which is plausible (though not followed here; see Chapters 4 and 5), but does nothing to lessen Yahwistic associations with the calf.

[73] See, e.g., the Iron IIA bull box of Pella/*Ṭabaqāt Faḥil* (Bourke 2012: 187) and several bull finds from Ataroth/*Ḫirbet ʿAṭārūs* (Ji 2012). Cf., too, far to the north in Syria, a calf figure from *Tell ʿĀfîṣ* (Mazzoni 2012: 33; though associated with a 7th c. Stratum, the image is thought to have been manufactured in the 9th c.).

A prime example may be the oft-cited 10th–9th century Taanach cult stand (Fig. 1) that depicts a striding quadruped with a sun-disk suspended over its back.[74] While opinion is divided between those who believe the animal is a horse[75] and those who think it is a calf,[76] a comparison with other iconographic examples from the same time period, such as a seal from Beth-Shemesh,[77] may swing the balance toward viewing it as a calf. If so, it seems plausible to interpret the top register as a symbolic representation of Yahweh enthroned upon a calf as indeed some have suggested.[78]

More significant still may be a 9th century depiction of what appears to be a winged "Baal-type" deity[79] on the back of a young bull from Dan itself (Fig. 2).[80] Though the image has recently been interpreted as a goddess,[81] the winged deity motif coupled with the bovine imagery may point more toward association with a male deity, perhaps even Yahweh.[82]

Other potential evidence for associating Yahweh with the calf may be found in the epigraphic corpus. For example, the personal name עגליו identified on a Samaria Ostracon (HI Samr 41), possibly translated as "Yahweh is a calf" or, more likely, "Calf of Yahweh," may imply some connection.[83] So, too, inference has been proposed when the epithet

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[74] On the Taanach cult stand, see, conveniently, Keel and Uehlinger 1998: Fig. 184 and discussion.

[75] So Taylor 1988; Hadley 1989: 219, among others.

[76] So Hestrin 1987: 67; King and Stager 2001: 341–44, among others.

[77] See Keel and Uehlinger 1998: no. 185a; Rowe 1936: no. SO 28.

[78] Keel and Uehlinger (1998) suggest that the calf iconography with the sun-disk was associated with Yahweh in the northern hill-country especially. That the calf is depicted in a "striding" pose with the sun-disk suspended over its back stands in notable contrast to the "charging bull" motif often associated with El (cf. images in Koenen 2003: 125, contrasting Abb. 50–55 with 56–57). On the possible significance of this, see p. 24, n. 86, below.

[79] On the winged "Baal-type" deity, see other examples in Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 195–97 and on the origin of the wings in depictions of Egyptian Seth, see Cornelius 1994: 166.

[80] See its publication in Biran 1999.

[81] So Ornan 2006.

[82] As noted above (n. 79), wings appear on male Baal-type deities, an observation that fits with Jeroboam's proposed representation of Yahweh as a subordinate "Baal-type" deity, discussed below on p. 24, n. 86. Cf. Smith 2007: 87–88. The fact that the animal depicted has horns may, however, lessen the likelihood of this association though it does appear to be a younger animal based on the size of the horns and the thin, elongated body.

[83] See de Vaux 1971: 102, following Noth 1928: 150; Ahlström 1984: 125. Note, too, a later Palmyrene inscription *'glbwl*, "Bol is my/a calf" or "Calf of Bol" (Stark 1971: 44, 104; cf. Propp 2006: 550), as well as similar Aramaic (*'glhdd* "calf of Hadad"; Avigad and Sass 1997: no. 835) and Phoenician (*'gla* "calf of [DN]"; Avigad and Sass 1997: no. 1096) examples noted in Albertz and Schmitt 2012: 567. Albertz, however, notes that the invocation of the calf may merely be used as a term of affection in these contexts, thus minimizing any particular association with Yahweh (Albertz and Schmitt 2012: 265).

Figure 1: The Taanach Cult Stand (Top) with a Close-Up View (Bottom) of a Possible Symbolic Representation of Yahweh on the Top Register (photos from the Taanach Expedition provided courtesy of N. Lapp).

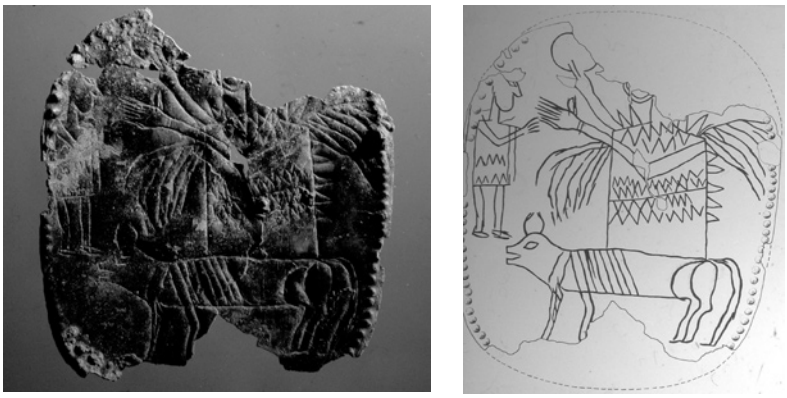

Figure 2: The Dan Plaque (with Sketch) Depicting a Deity Standing on a Calf (photo and sketch provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

"Yahweh of Samaria" from the Kuntillet ʿAjrûd inscriptions (HI KAjr 18) is read in light of the comparable epithet "Calf of Samaria" from Hos 8:5–6.[84] Later traditions may also preserve an association of calf iconography with Yahweh, even specifically at Bethel.[85] Thus, these data coupled with the biblical traditions may strengthen the possibility that from very early on in Israel's history Yahweh was associated with a calf.[86]

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[84] So van der Toorn 1996: 279.

[85] One may cautiously note that Papyrus Amherst 63 (COS 1:310) has been thought to mention "Yaho, our bull" (read by Steiner as *yhwt.r.n.*^{m} = *yhwtrn*; a reading that seems unlikely, as confirmed in personal communication with D. Redford) and "your calves" (read by Steiner as *ʿ.kryk.*^{m} = *ʿglyk*) in association with Bethel (see Steiner 1991; 1995; cf. Smith 2007: 384–87; Russell 2009: 44–46), yet this text is notoriously difficult to read, let alone understand, so any translation should be held tentatively until a full critical edition is prepared.

[86] In this regard, the source of grievance for the Dtrs may not have been the deity represented, but the way in which he (Yahweh) was represented: if calves were only used for subordinate, "offspring" deities in literary and iconographic motifs of the ancient Near East (often the favored deity poised to inherit the position of his father as head of the pantheon; so Fleming 1999; cf. Stager 2006: 408; Smith 2001: 34–35), representing Yahweh enthroned upon the calves would have been interpreted as demoting Yahweh to the status of a subordinate god within the Israelite pantheon, thus raising the ire of monolatrous Southern Yahwists and inviting the later critique that Jeroboam introduced "other gods" (1 Kgs 14:9)—perhaps if he had indeed made bulls as flanking icons for the throne of his invisible Yahweh, he may have escaped such vehement condemnation in certain circles.

The God Who Brought You up from Egypt

Like the iconography, the public declaration uttered by Jeroboam at the installation of the calves in 1 Kgs 12:28—perhaps marked by celebratory ululation[87] and part of a sacred procession[88]—was also most likely Yahwistic in nature:

> Behold: Your God(s), O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt!

Though the present form of the MT most naturally reads in the plural ("…your *gods* [pl. noun]…who brought [pl. verb] you up…"), some ambiguity remains in the MT's הנה אלהיך ישראל אשר העלוך מארץ מצרים. Employing the plural noun אלוהים for the singular "God" in the Hebrew Bible is, of course, commonplace and even its use with plural verbs may have precedent[89]—perhaps, especially so in the mouth of non-Israelites;[90] thus, a singular translation is not impossible. Still, it seems that in the final form of the account in the MT, a plural is indeed intended—the Versions clearly understood it this way (see, e.g., G, Vulgate, and Targums; cf. 1 Kgs 14:9). However, a survey of the other numerous formulations of this creed demonstrates that, with the exception of this text (and the related texts of Exod 32:4, 8 and Neh 9:18), the deity invoked is almost always clearly the singular Yahweh[91]—there is little reason to assume that Jeroboam

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[87] So Propp 2006: 552; this possibility is lessened, however, if one reads sg. זה as argued below.

[88] So van der Toorn 1996: 289.

[89] E.g., see, 2 Sam 7:23 and Ps 58:12, but the former may be the result of misreading an originally defective hiphil with an object suffix in the *Vorlage* of G (so B. Halpern, personal communication). Cf., too, the use of אלהים with a plural attributive in Deut 5:26; also in MT Jer 10:10 and 23:36 (though lacking in G).

[90] It has been suggested that the Hebrew Bible may portray non-Israelites using אלהים in the plural (cf. 1 Sam 4:8) and Israelites using it in the singular as part of the "cultural code" of the biblical writers (so Propp 2006: 551–52; cf. Moberly 1983: 163)—if so, the biblical writers here imply the non-Israelite nature of calf iconography. Arguing to the contrary, Burnett 2001: 82–84 sees the plural formulation in 1 Sam 4:8 representative of the very same authentic exodus credo echoed in part in Exod 32 and 1 Kgs 12; see n. 92, below.

[91] See, e.g., Exodus 13:3, 8, 9, 14, 16; 16:6; and a sampling of the formula in other corpora including Deut 6:12; 7:8, 19; Judg 6:13; 1 Sam 12:6; 1 Kgs 9:9; 2 Kgs 17:36; Amos 9:7; Hos 12:10 (with G); Jer 16:14–15 // 23:7–8; 2 Chr 7:22. Cf., e.g., discussions in Noth 1972: 47–51; Donner 1973: 47–48; Cross 1973: 73–74; Moore 1990; van der Toorn 1996: 291–302; and Burnett 2001: 79–105. Potentially significant exceptions to the Yahwistic formulation of the creed include the so-called Baalam Oracles (Num 23:22 // 24:8) in which El/God is invoked. Such has been seen by some (e.g., Levine 2000: 41–44, 184–85, 197; 2007: 363; and, recently, Russell 2009: 113–19; cf. his survey of previous scholarship on this proposal) to suggest early traditions identifying El, as distinct from—or not yet merged with (see

would have intended to invoke any other god here.[92] Therefore, it seems most reasonable to suspect a change from an originally singular construction to the present plural formulation—a mere addition of a single letter, from העלך to העלוך—by later Dtrs (perhaps as part of the DH^{J}, thus comporting with 1 Kgs 14:9), or even later scribes, reflecting on what the cult had become in their eyes (cf. 2 Kgs 17:24–41): syncretistic at best, if not polytheistic.

Such an alteration seems even more clear in the case of Exod 32:4 (// v. 8) where the plural formulation is again employed with the plural demonstrative אלה, but here for a single icon. In fact, the originally singular formulation may be preserved in a postexilic retelling of the episode in Neh 9:18: זה אלהיך אשר העלך ממצרים ("*This* is your God who brought [sg. verb] you up from Egypt").[93] Further, the Yahwistic nature of the creed is even more explicit in the Exod 32 account, as Aaron declares a "Feast unto Yahweh" (v. 5) immediately after the declaration. In both 1 Kgs 12:28 and Exod 32:4, 8, then, the original creed was most likely singular and, regardless, was clearly associated with Yahweh and his victory in the exodus.

*A Temple of "*bāmôṯ*"?*

There is the further possibility that a hint of the Yahwistic nature of the Northern cult may be detected in the 1 Kgs 12:31 mention that Jeroboam built a בית במות ("house of the *bāmôṯ*") at Bethel, and presumably at Dan.[94]

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the nuanced treatment of Smith 2001: 146–48)—Yahweh, as the god of the exodus. With Toews 1993: 45, n. 14, and others, the fact that El occurs in synonymous parallelism with Yahweh in Num 23:8 (cf., further, the similar use of divine titles in Num 24:4, 16) militates against this view, making it more likely that the use of El in this case is simply a generic appellative. On the possibility of an antecedent Bethel tradition of the creed, upon which the authors of Exod 32 and 1 Kgs 12 drew, see Chung 2010: 57–58.

[92] In fact, Burnett 2001 argues that the term אלהים (as part of an extended cultic recitation here), though originally denoting Yahweh and his divine entourage in association with the ark, was appropriated by Jeroboam and endured in Northern circles as a designation for Yahweh; see, especially, his Chapter 3. For van der Toorn 1996, the creed represented the declaration of a "national charter myth" of the exodus from Egypt that equated El with Yahweh, thus fusing traditional and national religion. In either case, both see this creed as Yahwistic.

[93] Though appeal to a postexilic text may be questioned, it seems more likely that Neh 9:18 preserves an earlier form of Exod 32:4, 8 rather than that it reflects an intentional change from the plural to the singular when recounting the apostasy of their ancestors.

[94] Though 1 Kgs 12:31 may only refer to Bethel, it is clear that shrines were established at both locations; cf. v. 30 and see p. 9, n. 10, above. Josephus, too, understood shrines in both locations, curiously designated as ναΐσκοι, "little temples" (*Ant*. 8:226; I thank M. Lynch for drawing my attention to this reference).

This reference, complicated by lexical problems with the term itself,[95] has long puzzled commentators due to the grammatically awkward singular construct with a plural absolute and various attempts at explanation have been made, often reading the plural with G.[96] Still, there appears to be no consensus other than that it is a negative construction intended to disparage Northern shrines.[97] Yet, it may be that this phrase is, in fact, a cloaked reference to a Temple of Yahweh stemming from deuteronomistic polemic.

Evidence may be drawn, first, from a comparison of this construction with similar constructions of "*bêṯ* + Deity Name" found in the Hebrew Bible and in Northwest Semitic inscriptions that refer to temples of various deities: e.g., in the Hebrew Bible, this construction is used for a Temple of Yahweh (e.g., Exod 23:19; 1 Sam 1:7; Josh 6:24; 2 Kgs 24:13; Isa 2:2) and a Temple of God/Elohim (Gen 28:22; Judg 17:5; 18:31), as well as for a Temple of Baal-Berit/El-Berit (Judg 9:4, 46), a Temple of Dagon (1 Sam 5:2; 1 Chr 10:10), a Temple of Ashtort (1 Sam 31:10), a Temple of Rimmon (2 Kgs 5:18), and a Temple of Baal-Haddu (2 Kgs 10:21–27). In related Northwest Semitic inscriptions, one finds the construction employed for a Temple of Yahweh (HI Arad 18:9),[98] a Temple of Ilwer (KAI 202 B:12, broken

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[95] See, recently, Hardy and Thomas 2012; Kogan and Tishchenko 2002.

[96] Thus reading בתי במות ("houses [pl.] of the *bāmôṯ*") as in G and the Vulgate, drawing support from the plural construction in 1 Kgs 13:32 (so Gray 1970: 317; DeVries 2004: 161; Sweeney 2007a: 173). Others take בית as a collective plural, viewing 2 Kgs 17:29 and 32 as comparable examples (so Burney 1903: 178; Montgomery 1951: 259; Knoppers 1994: 27; cf. GKC §124r and Joüon and Muraoka 2000 §§136m–o, especially §136n, noting several examples specifically with בית); still others read the singular as a reference to a main shrine at Bethel (Provan 1988: 80; de Vaux 1971: 105; Cogan 2001: 359–60; Barrick 1996: 624–25, cf. his n. 19).

[97] In Barrick's thorough study of the use of the phrases בית־ה/במות and בתי־הבמות and detailed comments on the compositional analysis of related texts, he concludes that, "[t]he only discernible distinction [between these phrases and במה] is that בית־/בתי־הבמות is used for non-Judahite installations, while במה/במות seems to be used indiscriminately. Perhaps the former was more typical of (North-)Israelite vocabulary . . . and the latter more typically Judahite" (Barrick 1996: 642). On the disparaging nature of the construction, see LaRocca-Pitts 2001: 145–46; cf. Talmon 1981: 63, reading בית (though erroneously with הבמות) with MT (taking it as intentionally disparaging) and Schenker 2000b: 105–106, 115–20, 142–46, reading בתי with G and Vulgate (understanding it as later polemic aimed at Gerizim in a Hellenistic context). For the suggestion that במות in general refer to regional, provincial sanctuaries in less regulated contexts, see Ackerman 2012: 30–35; as she admits, the text of 1 Kgs 12:31 conflicts with such a view unless intended polemically.

[98] On the Arad inscription, see, conveniently, the discussion in Dobbs-Allsopp, et al. 2005: 37–41, and bibliography there; cf., too, the Temple of Yahu in the Elephantine papyri (TAD D7 18:2–3; also, A3 3:1 and D4 9:1 in broken context) and in a recently published Idumean ostracon (AL 283:2 in Lemaire 2006: 416–17). The construction also appears on

context), a Temple of Chemosh (KAI 306 1:2, broken context), a Temple of Hadad (KAI 309 1:17), and a Temple of the elusive "Ptgy" of Ekron (KAI 286, not in construct), not to mention legion parallel examples from cognate literature. Further evidence may come from the fact that the construction is marked with the definite direct object marker, and as such may indicate a proper name.[99]

Of course, the obvious difference between these examples and the example in 1 Kgs 12:31 is that במות is not a known deity name—but it may very well stand as a polemical substitute for "Yahweh,"[100] much in the same way Beth-El ("Temple of God") is rendered Beth-Aven ("Temple of Wickedness")[101] by Hosea (4:15; 5:8; 10:5; cf. 10:8; note, too, the wordplay in Amos 5:5).[102] The term במה (pl. במות) is familiar enough and is, perhaps, best understood as a cultic complex, the form of which varied, though some debate swirls around its precise meaning.[103] Its suitability as a polemical stand-in lies in the way the term is often used by the Deuteronomists: as an ambiguous term for Yahwistic shrines other than the temple in Jerusalem permitted by "good" Judahite kings.[104] As such, the phrase could be used by Jerusalem-centered historians to acknowledge

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a Moussief ostracon (HI Mous* 1) and may have appeared on the Jerusalem pomegranate (HI Pom*, in broken context), though both are unprovenanced and may be forgeries.

[99] On the direct object marker in a perfective transitive construction, see Garr 1991: 119–20, 126–27; note comparable references to Shechem and Peniel in v. 25 (cf. Russell 2009: 25, n. 14; also de Vaux 1971: 105, citing the toponym "בת.במת" on the Mesha Stela [KAI 181 1:27] though it is unmarked).

[100] Cf. Blanco Wissmann 2008: 119; Kogan and Tishchenko 2002: 342.

[101] Cf. Blenkinsopp 2003: 94. Admittedly, however, the situation becomes more complicated if בית און is understood as a polemicized transformation of בית אבן, perhaps a satellite shrine of Bethel (so Na'aman 1987: 14, 19). It may be that early Israelite shrines were outside the city (as Na'aman suggests), but that under Jeroboam, the cultic centers were incorporated into the city (as at Dan, which will be seen below), and as such the phrases would have been synonymous.

[102] Cf. similar punning of divine names, such as Baal-Zebub ("Lord of Flies") for Baal-Zebul ("Exalted Lord") in 2 Kgs 1:1–17 and, possibly, "Shame of Samaria" for "Asherah of Samaria" in Amos 8:14 (so Freedman 1987: 248; Dever 2005: 150; but see Olyan 1991).

[103] In agreement with Barrick (Barrick 1980; 1992; 1996; cf. Kogan and Tishchenko 2002: 339–42) we can conclude that a במה was a "sanctuary complex," often royally sponsored, rather than specifically a rural "high place" (as a mound or altar) or an open-air platform distinct from a temple (contrast Haran 1978: 18–25)—see a succinct summary in Barrick 1996: 641–42, especially on the use of the term with the preposition. On the varied meaning of the term throughout the Hebrew Bible, see LaRocca-Pitts 2001: 127–59.

[104] E.g., 1 Kgs 15:14; 22:43; 2 Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35. There can be little doubt that these Yahwistic kings must have understood these shrines as Yahwistic (cf. 2 Kgs 23:5, 9), especially in a Southern context, and thus felt no need to remove them (cf. Halpern 1996b: 226–27) even if they did not build them. The use of the term in the plural may be a further key flagging its use as a polemical substitute.

the Yahwistic nature of the major urban "royal shrines" (cf. Amos 7:13) of the North, without legitimating their existence.[105]

Understanding the phrase בית במות in this way is further consistent with the only other singular construct form of the phrase in 2 Kgs 17:29, 32,[106] where it may again be best understood as a reference to a specific Temple of Yahweh in Samaria,[107] and further differentiates it from similar constructions in the Hebrew Bible.[108] In fact, the storyline of 2 Kgs 17:24–41 requires a Yahwistic Northern cult, even though it represents different perspectives on the extent of its syncretism (cf. 2 Kgs 17:32–34).[109] Thus, we may have further evidence that the Northern cult was not only

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[105] While it is true that this would be exceptional, as the במות are a usually regarded as a Southern issue, it would be understandable within a DH^{H} context, argued for above, in which the Southern historians strove to mitigate the influence of Northern Yahwism without completely condemning it.

[106] A comparable expression occurs in Isa 15:2, but here the terms are split for poetic parallelism (which, notably, strengthens the argument that a במה is a sanctuary complex equivalent with a temple; cf. Barrick references in n. 103, above) and thus excluded from this discussion.

[107] 2 Kgs 17:29b appears to be a later gloss, marked by *Wiederaufnahme* (גוי גוי . . . גוי), attempting to reconcile this text with 2 Kgs 23:19 (cf., too, 2 Kgs 17:32). The resulting scenario is that the newcomers were placing their icons in a Temple of Yahweh—a description that has precedent in the DH (cf. 2 Kgs 21:4–7; 23:4, 11); cf. de Vaux 1971: 109, n. 49. That a Temple of Yahweh existed in Samaria draws support not only here, but also from Hos 8:5–6; 10:5 and HI KAjr 18:1. Further, one wonders who "the *baal*" of 1 Kgs 16:32 might be in whose temple Ahab presumably set up an altar to a particular Phoenician *baal*, if they were not one and the same (cf. Hos 2:18; so, too, Köckert 2010: 365 and Niehr 1995: 56, with support from G's mention that Ahab set up his altar "in the house of his offenses" [ἐν οἴκῳ τῶν προσοχθισμάτων αὐτοῦ] perhaps referring to a Yahweh temple); or, similarly, where Obadiah, as a devout Yahwist (1 Kgs 18:3, 12) would have worshiped within Samaria if there were no temple. As seems to have been the case even in the Southern capital of Jerusalem at certain periods (cf. 2 Kgs 23:8, 13; Jer 11:13; see Keel 2012: 323), Samaria surely housed temples of a variety of deities including Yahweh.

[108] The remaining references, i.e., 1 Kgs 13:32 and 2 Kgs 23:19, preserve the plural formulation בתי ה/במות and, notably, may be attributed to a later edition of the DH, at least DH^{J} if not DH^{Ex}.

[109] The present form of the text clearly represents at least two redactions with apparently different perspectives (contrast v. 33 and v. 34). See, further, Knoppers 2007, and his division of vv. 29–34a from 34b–40 in agreement with other commentators; v. 41, may, in fact, represent an additional layer harmonizing the two perspectives, in its own words representative of a later perspective. Cogan's argument that v. 34b picks up from v. 23 and describes Israelites in the exiled provinces (Cogan 1978; 1988; Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 204–7) seems unlikely as the concern of the Dtrs is almost always focused within the land (with Knoppers 2007: 230, who provides other arguments against this position as well). As such, the different perspectives of vv. 29–34a and 34b–40 may concern sub-groups of Northerners (foreigners in the former and Israelites in the latter; cf. Knoppers 2007) or reflections representative of different periods, i.e., the time just after the fall of the North in the former (DH^{H}) and the time after the return in the latter (DH^{Ex}).

Yahwistic in its origins but also in its perpetuation,[110] perhaps even practiced within Northern "Temples of Yahweh."[111] Admittedly, such a suggestion is speculative on textual grounds alone, but the proposal may garner strength when considered in light of the architectural remains from Area T at Tel Dan, as will be seen in Chapter 4 below.

Traditional Aspects of the Description of the Cult of Jeroboam

Though the persistence of a Northern cult of Yahweh alongside of a Judahite Yahwistic cult seems clear, questions remain regarding the relationship between the two. Many suggest intense competition, and it seems hard to imagine that there would not have been elements of rivalry.[112] In fact many of the differences between Northern and Southern expressions of Yahwism (the calf iconography, already discussed, for example) are seen to be illustrations of this competition as Jeroboam attempted to "out-archaize" Solomon's cult.[113] On the other hand, one may wonder if the differences rather reflect a subtle deference to the cult of the South on the part of Jeroboam; instead of a full-on, frontal attack on the cult of his Judahite rival (incorporating his own cherub iconography, for example),[114] he may have even acknowledged its legitimacy and, instead, promulgated a complementary cult rooted in shared traditions.[115]

Regardless, whether it was one-upmanship or respect that lay behind the differences, the account in 1 Kgs 12:25–33 spells out additional points of apparent contrast with the Southern cult—i.e., the location of the shrines and the priesthoods that served at them—that have not only

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[110] Though, indeed, the profiles of Northern and Southern Yahwism were not entirely identical (cf. Köckert 2010).

[111] One may note, too, the proliferation of personal names containing Yahwistic theophoric elements in both Judah *and* Israel; cf. Tigay 1986; 1987; on the critique of Day 2000: 227–28, see Hess 2007: 270–71, n. 106.

[112] E.g., de Vaux 1971: 97–110.

[113] So Cross 1973: 74; cf. Wellhausen 1885: 283.

[114] If the cherub iconography was first associated with Shiloh and thus the earliest form of royal Yahwism (see Eissfeldt 1957; Mettinger 1982; cf. 1 Sam 1:3, 11; 4:4), had Jeroboam also made cherubim, such would have clearly proved to highlight the rival nature of his cult. On cherub iconography in the early first millennium, see Keel 1978: 166–70; see, too, Wood 2008 for a biblical, comparative linguistic, and archaeological survey.

[115] Consider, e.g., the fact that Jeroboam's major festival was one month different (see pp. 39–41) and that his iconography may suggest subordination to the cult in Jerusalem (see p. 24, n. 86)—the temple at Dan, proposed below (see pp. 108–16), may have even faced south intentionally out of respect to Jerusalem.

Yahwistic connotation, but also a traditional ring. In fact, such may have harkened back to traditions within Israelite religion that, like the calf iconography, predated the royal religion of David and Solomon. These would have been, then, in very tangible ways, expressions of heeding the call: "To your tents, O Israel!" (1 Kgs 12:16; cf. 2 Sam 20:1).[116]

Location and Ancient Roots in Judges 17–18

Most obvious of the traditional elements of Jeroboam's cult described in 1 Kgs 12:25–33 are his choices of location. Unlike his Southern counterparts, he deliberately distanced his cult from his capital, and chose Bethel and Dan (see Fig. 3).[117] Clearly there was significance in the geographic location of the sites at the northern and southern edges of his kingdom, whether as a practical move intended to hem in his subjects or as a symbolic choice demonstrating his dominion.[118] His selection of Bethel seems obvious enough in both respects, standing only some twelve miles north of Jerusalem, just off the same north-south ridge-road, close to the Israel-Judah border. The location of Dan also lay near a junction of international routes and a major royal shrine there would have surely secured the favor of the northernmost tribes, especially in light of Solomon's earlier disregard for the North.[119] But, more significantly it would seem, Jeroboam chose locations of traditional religious significance with antecedent priesthoods.[120]

Bethel was associated with Patriarchal traditions and apparently had a long history within Israelite religion.[121] Abram is said to have pitched his tent nearby and built an altar to call on the name of Yahweh

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[116] On the expression as a formula for assembly disbandment, rooted in a traditional tribal past, see Homan 2002: 187–92.

[117] Cf. Hahn 1981: 345; see Olivier 1983 on the lack of a need for a centralized cult or capital, but note Toews 1993: 76–86 for arguments against this proposal, suggesting Shechem functioned as an administrative and religious center under Jeroboam (see, especially his pp. 80–86). Still, it would be most surprising that such a center would have escaped notice (and condemnation) by the Dtrs.

[118] On the symbolic import of temples at the extremities of the kingdom, see Aharoni 1968: 28–29.

[119] Cf. Halpern 2001: 418–21, n. 56; 1974: 519–32.

[120] For religious traditions concerning Bethel, see several recent monographs including Koenen 2003; Köhlmoos 2006; and Gomes 2006 (cf., too, Matthews 2009) and for Dan, Niemann 1985; Bartusch 2003; and Bray 2006. On the sparse archaeological remains at Bethel, see, cautiously, Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2009 (see further, p. 14, n. 35). For the priesthoods, see pp. 36–39, below.

[121] See, e.g., discussion in Gomes 2006: 62–100 (and bibliography there).

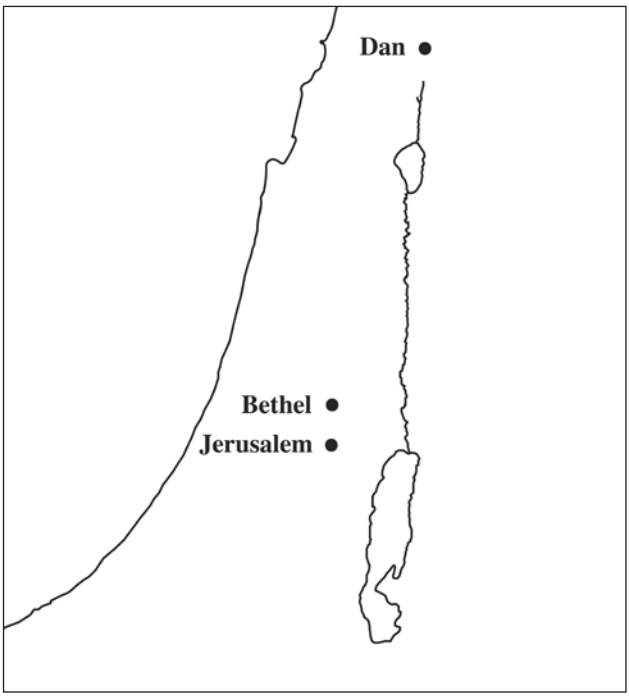

Figure 3: The Location of Dan and Bethel (drawn by J. Greer after Lancaster 1992, used with permission of Bible Backgrounds, Inc.).

(Gen 12:8; 13:3–4).[122] Jacob is also associated with Bethel in a detailed tradition recounting his encounter with the divine and his installation of a standing-stone (Gen 28:11–22; 31:13; 35:1–15), apparently crediting him with changing the name of the city formerly know as Luz to Bethel (Gen 28:19; 35:6–7). More interesting still is a tradition of a premonarchic shrine at Bethel that housed the Ark of the Covenant under the ministry of Phineas, son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron, at which the tribal league could sacrifice as well as inquire and receive answers from Yahweh (Judg 20:18–28; 21:2–4; 1 Sam 10:3).[123] The center is also included among the sacred

[122] The location commemorated in this altar building episode, and followed in the Jacob traditions, may more specifically refer to Beth-Aven (cf. Josh 7:2 and, perhaps, wordplay with אבן in the Jacob account: Gen 28:11, 18, 22; 35:14), possibly a satellite shrine of Bethel. On this, and the location of Israelite shrines adjacent to, rather than within, the city, see Na'aman 1987.

[123] Some consider the Judges reference to the ark at Bethel to be secondary and thus of dubious historical value (e.g., Na'aman 1987), but it would seem that the theological *lectio*

sites of Samuel's circuit while he served as judge (1 Sam 7:16). Admittedly, arguments against the antiquity of any of these traditions may be made (the discussion of which lies beyond the scope of this work), especially in light of the dearth of archaeological illumination of a major cultic installation at the site itself (if it has been correctly identified),[124] but the collection and variety of stories suggests old and venerable traditions surrounded a shrine at Bethel.

Similarly, the location of Dan is imbued with religious significance in the Hebrew Bible. Rather than a variety of traditions, as is the case with Bethel, one lengthy block found in Judg 17–18 purports to provide a description of the site's history prior to Jeroboam, telling of the first Israelite occupation and installation of a shrine.[125] The narrative begins in the hill-country of Ephraim, perhaps even at Bethel,[126] centered on a man named Micah and the construction of an "image" (פסל ומסכה)[127] installed

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difficilior (from a Southern deuteronomistic standpoint) would be to consider that the ark was thought to be at Bethel for a time.

[124] On the archaeology of Betin, accepted by most to be the location of ancient Bethel (so Rainey 2006, engaging challenges of Livingston 1994; see, surveys and bibliography on the debate in Koenen 2003: 3–12; Gomes 2006: 4–7), see Kelso 1968; Dever 1971; and Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2009 (note, too, that the possibility of future excavations at the site remains unlikely). Notably, in regard to Jeroboam's alleged shrine, if the Bethel sanctuary was not originally in the city proper, but adjacent to it at Beth-Aven (cf. Na'aman 1987), remains would not be found within Betin even if it is Bethel. Still, Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2009: 43, n. 122, dismiss the possibility as surveys have not yielded any evidence to support such a claim and further find little evidence for occupation in the Iron IIA—but see p. 97, n. 2, below.

[125] The only other explicit reference to Dan as a cult site prior to Jeroboam is G 2 Sam 20:18 (referring to inquiring at Abel and Dan), most likely a better reading, followed in some OL texts but absent in the MT (see McCarter 1980: 428–29; Bray 2006: 68–69). As such, it seems likely that this preserves an ancient memory of cultic activity at the site.

[126] See arguments in Talmon 1958: 52 and Halpern 1976: 36–37.

[127] Judg 17:4 identifies the image with the nominal pair פסל ומסכה predicated by a singular verb (cf. other occurrences of the pair in 17:3; 18:14; and the use of פסל alone in 18:20 and 30), suggesting that the construction may be taken as a hendiadys (so Ahlström 1963: 25–26; Soggin 1981: 265; Boling 1975: 256; contrast Niditch 2008: 172, 181). The construction most likely originated as a reference to two parts of the same image, thus "an image" (פסל) and its "covering" (מסכה); see discussions in Kletter 2007: 198–99; Dohmen 1998; cf. Stager 2006: 407; King and Stager 2001: 130. Alternatively, the term מסכה—employed for metal icons (e.g., Num 33:52; Judg 17:3–4; Hos 13:2; Hab 2:18), sometimes cast (e.g., Isa 30:1) and sometimes plated (e.g., Isa 30:22; cf. the destruction of the calf in Exod 32:20, but see p. 19, n. 61 above)—may be a later gloss (so Bray 2006: 64–66), suggested by the appearance of the terms separately (Judg 18:17, 18) and thought to stem from the clearly negative connotations of the term in other texts (notably, Exod 32:4; also Exod 34:17; cf. Deut 27:15) deliberately inserted by the Dtrs to discredit the Northern cult (cf. 1 Kgs 14:9; 2 Kgs 17:16). In either case, the image as a מסכה—whether bovine (Malamat 1970: 12, n. 2; Halpern 1976: 36; Bartusch 2003: 183; Bray 2006: 71–80; van der Toorn 1996: 247) or anthropomorphic (Haran 1978: 29; Uehlinger 1994); Judg 17–18 is not explicit—was an

in his local shrine alongside of preexisting cultic paraphernalia,[128] under the ministry of one of his sons acting as a priest (Judg 17:1–5). The narrative then shifts focus to a young Levite who had been residing in Bethlehem of Judah, but whose wanderings led him to the household of Micah where he was installed as priest (Judg 17:7–13).[129] The story transitions again to the tribe of Dan and their conquest of Laish, which they rename Dan (Judg 18:1–29).[130] En route they loot Micah's cultic paraphernalia and abscond with the young Levite—later delighted in his new appointment—for installation and service at their new shrine (Judg 18:18–21). The conclusion names the said Levite—Jonathan, son of Gershom, son of Moses[131]—and adds that this priest and his sons served at Dan "until the day the land went into captivity" and that the image remained central "all the days the House of God was in Shiloh" (Judg 18:30–31).

While clearly highlighting the religious importance of Dan, the historicity of the earliest traditions behind the text, the relationship of the story to the account of Jeroboam, and its place in the DH remain issues of discussion.[132] Though it is clear that at least some light editorial activity

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abomination for the Dtrs. Note, too, that the silver is given to a צורף, a "smith" (Judg 17:4), the same craftsman denounced for his construction of images in the prophetic literature (see, e.g., Isa 40:19; Jer 10:9).

[128] Specifically, an *ephod* and various *teraphim*, though exactly what material forms these cult objects took, let alone their functions, is unclear. See discussion and bibliography on the *ephod* in Meyers 1992 and on the *teraphim* in van der Toorn and Lewis 2006 (with comments on the *ephod*, as well, pp. 784–87) and Bray 2006: 112–23.

[129] On "filling the hand" as an act of ordination, see Bray 2006: 90–94. The origin of the expression may lie in the dependence of the priest on the ministering community in providing for their needs; cf. Exod 28:41; 29:33; Lev 8:33; 16:32; 21:10; 1 Kgs 13:33. Calling a cultic functionary "father" has parallels elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (Gen 45:8; 2 Kgs 6:21; 13:14; and, with a king as "son" to a prophet in 2 Kgs 8:9), and may refer to the role of the priest in teaching or divination (see, further, Cody 1969: 53, n. 55; Bray 2006: 90).

[130] On the conquest motif employed in this episode, see Malamat 1970 (compare and contrast Bauer 2000).

[131] The Leningrad Codex inserts a *nun suspensum*, intentionally changing the ancestor from Moses to Manasseh so as not to disrespect the name of Moses, it would seem (for another possibility, see Weitzman 1999). The majority of other Hebrew manuscripts, along with G, the Vulgate, and the Syro-hexapla, read Moses. For Gershom, son of Moses, see Exod 2:22; 18:3; 1 Chr 23:15; 26:24.

[132] For a general discussion, see Bray 2006, and bibliography there. On the historicity, see, e.g., Bartusch 2003: 178–81, his "Hypothesis Two"; Soggin 1981: 269; cf. Niemann 1999, who reverses the direction of the migration and dates it to the Neo-Assyrian period. Also, see Noth 1962b on the suggestion of an older tradition that has been polemically distorted. Opinions vary as to the dating of the first form of the story, with some upholding a preexilic date in some form or another (e.g., Noth 1962b, early monarchic; Guillaume 2004: 129–43, specifically dating it to the time of Josiah). Even within Continental circles that have a tendency to date texts dealing with the development of the Levites to later time periods, it is often acknowledged that older, even preexilic, traditions lie behind the pres-

postdates Jeroboam,[133] a number of archaic features—such as the preservation of the name Laish (Judg 18:7, 29),[134] the political setting,[135] and the social setting,[136]—may support the plausibility of positing that an earlier tradition existed prior to Jeroboam,[137] albeit in a literary narrative form very different from later historiography.[138] Further, the story seems to vary too widely from the account of Jeroboam's cult preserved in the DH to be considered pure polemic invented during or after his reign,[139] especially

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ent form (see Altmann 2012: 136, n. 4; 142–43, citing examples in regard to Judg 17–18 such as Otto 2002 and Achenbach 2002). As for its incorporation in the DH, many suggest a late date due to its rather awkward placement as an appendix (cf. discussion and references in Bray 2006: 23–28; note some who see more integration with preceding material, such as Brettler 2002: 80–81, arguing for Judges as a self-contained unit; contrast Frolov 2009), yet it seems to include much preexilic material (as above; see also Cody 1969: 52–53, and on the *ephod* and its use in divination see Bray 2006: 28) and may have existed independently prior to its incorporation. In the larger framework of the DH adopted here (for another perspective, see Guillaume 2004), the epilogue likely served as apologetic for the monarchy: without a king, there was cultic (chs. 17–18) and moral (chs. 19–21) deviance.

133 Most obvious are the retrospective "in those days" clauses (Judg 17:6; 18:1; 19:1) and the postexilic (or post mid-8th century, more likely) perspective of Judg 18:30–31.

134 Laish is known from the Egyptian Execration texts and, possibly, in the Mari letters (cf. Malamat 1998: 41, n. 2) of the 18th century BCE, as well as in the conquest lists of Thutmose III in the 15th century BCE, but no later in confirmed contexts; see Aḥituv 1984: 130; Rainey 1972: 404. In Josh 19:47, it occurs as Leshem (לשם) rather than as Laish (ליש); see Boling 1982: 466 for a possible explanation. Note, too, an Iron II jar handle from nearby et-Tell/Bethsaida inscribed לשם with an ankh symbol, the translation of which remains ambiguous, but which seems to be best understood as "for the sake of [*ankh symbol* =DN]" rather than as a reference to ancient Leshem (see Savage 2009).

135 The claim that the Danites could not settle the area of the coastal plain that was allotted to them (cf. Josh 19:40–48; Judg 18:1) has some resonance in an Iron I setting in light of what is known of the early Philistine occupation of that area (see Stager 1998: 152–54; cf. the geographic setting of Samson's struggles in the Sorek Valley of the Shephelah). Likewise, mention in Judg 18:7 of a connection with Sidon, but no dealings with Aram (reading ארם with G, rather than MT's אדם) fits in the late Iron I, as the Phoenician cities were well established with continuity between the Late Bronze Age and Iron I (see Markoe 2000: 12, 24–26) and interaction seems likely (cf. Stager 1989 on Judg 5:17; also, cf. 1 Kgs 7:13–14 and 2 Chr 2:12–13), but the kingdom of Aram, so familiar to the Dtrs, was still in formation.

136 See Stager 1985: 18–23, especially p. 22, on Micah's compound as a typical Iron I בית אב.

137 So, too, Boling 1975: 262, though such a view is hardly unanimous (see, e.g., Na'aman 2005a and references therein for a late dating of the entire pericope; cf. Guillaume 2004; Niemann 1999).

138 Cf. Brettler 2002, especially pp. 1–8, on the genre of Judges though, as in the notes above, this author finds a more historical core than Brettler would consent to (see also Brettler 1989; on the creative reworking of existing genres, see Bauer 2000).

139 Obvious differences include no explicit mention of a calf icon, the silver composition of the image, the apparent implication that Micah's iconography disappeared with the fall of Shiloh (Judg 18:31), and the fact that Levites are incorporated into the cult rather than barred from it. Noth 1962b sees the Danite cycle as reflective of an inner-(North-)Israelite conflict between the royal cult of Jeroboam (with gold image and royal priesthood)

if it is assumed to have been written after the composition of 1 Kgs 12. In fact, though the present form is clearly negative,[140] the account curiously preserves several neutral, if not positive,[141] features about the cult at Dan in regard to its Yahwistic nature: the blessing uttered by Micah's mother and her consecration of the image are both Yahwistic (Judg 17:2–3; cf. HI KAjr 9, 18, 19; HI Qom 3), as is Micah's confession (Judg 17:13) and his very name (with a Yahwistic theophoric element, spelled in full in 17:1, 4). Note, also, the Levite's response to the Danite inquiry (Judg 18:5–6)—they inquire of Elohim and he replies with the blessing of Yahweh!—and that his name, too, is a Yahwistic theophoric compound.[142] Such features would be surprising if the story were a complete fabrication intended to disparage the Northern cult. Thus, for Dan and Bethel, it seems reasonable to suggest that there existed Yahwistic traditions deeply rooted within a tribal framework prior to the time of Jeroboam, complex as they may be.

A Priesthood of Everyman

In light of such observations, it seems incongruent that Jeroboam is said to have appointed priests who "were not from the sons of Levi" (1 Kgs 12:31; cf. 13:33): if the cult of the North was Yahwistic and traditional, would not Jeroboam have desired the service of Levites at his shrines? While the very mention of "Levites" in this context conjures up over a century of critical discussion and debate regarding the nature and the origin of the Israelite priesthood,[143] if it may be assumed that "Levites"—whatever their ethnic

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and an earlier shrine of the tribal league (with silver image and "vagabond" priesthood) and has been followed by some (e.g., Niemann 1985: 131–46; Bray 2006: 23–28; cf. van der Toorn 1996: 246–51, placing it in the context of a Bethel priesthood).

[140] Cf. Na'aman 2005a. On the pro-Judah, anti-Israel perspective of the final form, see Brettler 1989; cf. Amit 1990, highlighting that the account reflects poorly on not only Dan, but even more so Bethel.

[141] With Noth 1962b; Ahlström 1963: 25–27.

[142] That these potentially positive features of the early cult at Dan were not whitewashed by the Dtrs, again, may speak of a form of the narrative existing at the time of an active, or recently merged, Northern cult (i.e., as part of the DH^{H}; cf. pp. 10–14, above). Others see these Yahwistic elements as merely "local color" added to a description of a pagan shrine (so Levine 2007: 364) or, in some cases, included to emphasize the extent of the apostasy of how far these particular Yahwists had strayed (cf. Boling 1975: 258, on the name Micah).

[143] While a detailed exploration is beyond the scope of this present study, see the classic statement in Wellhausen 1885, especially his pp. 121–51, with overviews, including a history of scholarship, in Rehm 1992; Nelson 2009; Kugler 2009; and, specifically in regard to Kings, Spencer 1995 and Zwickel 2010. Also see the extended treatment of Cody 1969, and the still-influential analysis of Cross 1973: 195–215, along with the recent general works

or functional origin—were Yahwistic cult specialists that held some sort of preferred status by the time of the division of the monarchy,[144] would not Jeroboam have capitalized on this opportunity?

Indeed, such is apparently claimed for Dan in the Judg 17–18 account that explicitly identifies the priesthood there as "Levitic" until the land went into captivity (Judg 18:30).[145] In light of the tension, then, between claims of Levitic rejection on the one hand (1 Kgs 12), and Levitic retention on the other (Judg 17–18), some would discredit the former as anachronistic polemic aimed at the Northern cult;[146] others see behind the accusation a rivalry between priestly houses, thus the "non-Levites" Jeroboam is said to have installed were (or were to become) really just the wrong kind of Levites.[147] To be sure, there is evidence for different priestly houses within Northern Yahwism—specifically, in the view of this author in agreement with others, Aaronids at Bethel and Mushites at Dan[148]—and competition between factions seems reasonable,[149] but there is little reason to discount the appointment of other cultic specialists on this basis alone. Indeed, there is no claim of exclusivity in the 1 Kgs 12 account and thus

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of Nelson 1993 and Nurmela 1998. For a brief overview of differing approaches to the problem, see Altmann 2012.

144 Cf. Cody 1969: 111–12.

145 Probably a reference to the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser III in the Upper Galilee in 732 BCE (cf. 2 Kgs 15:29–30; 16:1–9; Tadmor 1994: 202–203, 279–81; also see Rainey and Notley 2006: 230–32).

146 On the anachronistic nature of the accusation, see Toews 1993: 89–90; van der Toorn 1996: 290.

147 See, especially, the classic and oft-followed formulation of Cross 1973: 195–215, who argues for Aaronids at Bethel and Mushites at Shiloh and Dan. Halpern's (1976) variation envisions non-Shilonite Mushites in both shrines (those at Dan installed as early as the time of Solomon and those at Bethel installed after potentially pro-Judahite Aaronids were expelled by Jeroboam) and the Shilonite Mushites as a separate faction who initially supported Jeroboam's cult, but later opposed it over the issue of bull-iconography and the disenfranchisement of Shiloh. Cf. Toews 1993: 95–100.

148 While the Danite tradition in Judg 17–18 clearly traces its priesthood to Moses (see p. 34), no explicit biblical claim is made for Aaronids at Bethel under Solomon or Jeroboam, yet the Judg 20:26–28 reference to Phineas son of Eleazar serving before the ark at Bethel and the burial of Eleazar in Ephraim (Josh 24:33) seem to suggest an affiliation (so Cross 1973: 199; Halpern 1976: 34; van der Toorn 1996: 305; contrast Gomes 2006: 29–33, 215).

149 See, e.g., Cross 1973: 198–207; and Halpern 1976, in the context of rivalry in the time of Jeroboam. Recently, some have placed a greater emphasis on the apparent conflict between Jerusalem and Bethel factions in the late monarchic and postexilic periods (e.g., Knauf 2006: 319–33; Blenkinsopp 2003); while conflict in the later periods was no doubt present, transferring all biblical instances of friction to this time frame does not account for evidence of diachronic and progressive development within, for example, Kings (cf. Halpern and Lemaire 2010), especially when compared to Chronicles.

non-Levites may very well have been appointed alongside of existing Levites, whether Aaronid or Mushite.[150] If so, Jeroboam's appointment might have had less to do with mitigating waring factions of the priestly houses than it had to do with reviving ancient traditions in drawing priests "from the extent of the people" (מקצות העם)[151] to serve alongside them.

In this regard, one recalls that in the biblical depiction of premonarchic religion, a more fluid priesthood is described prior to Levitic restriction.[152] Abram builds altars at Shechem (Gen 12:7), near Bethel (Gen 12:8), and at Hebron (Gen 13:18) to worship Yahweh, presumably through offering sacrifices. Isaac, likewise, builds an altar at Beersheba (Gen 26:25) and Jacob sacrifices and provides a cultic feast to solidify a treaty (Gen 31:54) as well as builds an altar at Bethel (Gen 35:7). So, too, early Exodus traditions apparently maintain the sacrifice of the paschal lamb by the heads of families, thus non-Levities (Exod 12:21; cf. Exod 12:46–47).[153] There is also the example of non-Levitic Jethro offering various sacrifices and sharing a sacred feast with Aaron and the elders of Israel (Exod 18:12) and the Sinai pericope further preserves early traditions of a lay-priesthood it would seem (Exod 19:6; 24:5).

Even after the consecration of the Levites in the episode of the golden calf (Exod 32:29) in the biblical chronology, there are examples of non-Levites serving as priests. Gideon builds altars and offers sacrifices (Judg 6:19–27), Manoah also sacrifices to Yahweh (Judg 13:19), and one would assume priestly functions were carried out by non-Levites at family festivals described at both major shrines (1 Sam 1:3–4) and family compounds (1 Sam 20:6). Even during the monarchy, non-Levitic appointees to the priesthood are described during the reigns of David (2 Sam 8:18; 20:26) and Solomon (1 Kgs 4:5), and these kings themselves performed priestly duties though they were not from the tribe of Levi.[154]

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[150] Even the Chronicler's account (cf. 2 Chr 11:13–14) need not preclude the likelihood that some Northern Levites held their appointments (as at Dan; also, cf. 2 Kgs 17:24–41, especially vv. 27–28, which may imply a similar situation at Samaria and/or Bethel though only designated as כהנים), while others apparently fled (or were expelled) due to political loyalty to the South (see Toews 1993: 90–95, with Mazar 1960; cf. Ahlström 1982: 44–55, 80–82; Halpern 1976: 34).

[151] On the neutral (if not positive) force of מקצות, see Talmon 1958 (cf. Gen 47:2; Num 22:41; Ezek 33:2); so, too, Barrick 1996: 622, n. 8.

[152] See, further, Moberly 1992: 84–87.

[153] Cf. Levinson 1997: 62–74.

[154] For David, see 2 Sam 6: 13–14, 17–18 (note, too, Absalom in 2 Sam 15:12) and for Solomon, see 1 Kgs 8:62–64; 9:25 (though lacking in G). Jeroboam acted likewise in 1 Kgs 12:32–33.

While a detailed study of these accounts and their contexts is beyond the scope of this work, suffice it to say, they seem to preserve memories that in the time before the monarchy, at least, if not long before, there was no official priesthood and the *pater familias* served as the cultic specialist for his family unit independently or in addition to an established priesthood.[155] It may be that Jeroboam drew upon these traditions, though judged negatively by the Dtrs, in promoting a populist religion in which a "kingdom of priests" (Exod 19:6)[156] was realized, while not eschewing either of the priestly houses of old.

Festivals of Old

Another important traditional element of Jeroboam's religion described in 1 Kgs 12:32–33 was likely the establishment of a חג, a pilgrim feast,[157] of special importance in this study. That the festival is described as one "like the feast which is in Judah" seems to affirm its Yahwistic nature, but it also raises questions as to the ways in which it was similar. Its celebration as an autumn festival apparently identifies it as Sukkot—no doubt, one of the most important, if not the most important, festival in the cultic calendar throughout Israel's religious history (cf. Zech 14:16–19)[158]—and its association with the dedication of Jeroboam's sanctuary at Bethel may confirm this connection in parallel to Solomon's similar dedication of the Jerusalem temple during Sukkot (1 Kgs 8:2).[159]

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[155] Cf. Cody 1969: 12.

[156] Propp 2006: 160 speculates that in the JE context, it may have been Yahweh's implied intent that all Israel would serve him as priests; the Levites are only set apart after the apostasy represented in the episode of the golden calf.

[157] On the pilgrim festivals, see Haran 1978: 289–300. Noth 1960: 92–94 suggests a specific liturgical pilgrimage from Shechem to Bethel.

[158] See Haran 1978: 296–300. Also, see Miller 1985: 220–22 for a survey and the connection to kingship, and Ulfgard 1998: 96–107 on the association with temple building in general and his pp. 102–104 on Jeroboam's feast; cf. Mowinckel 1962: 118–30.

[159] 1 Kgs 6:38, however, states that Solomon completed the temple in the eighth month (cf. 2 Chr 5:1–6 and 7:8–10, the latter of which apparently telescopes the events); thus, some assume he waited eleven months before the dedication (e.g., DeVries 2004: 124) or that he celebrated the festival one month earlier (e.g., Dillard 1987: 41) or that Sukkot was originally celebrated in the eighth month or changed to the eighth month by Solomon (e.g., Gomes 2006: 34–35), and only later set at the seventh month and put down in writing in postexilic P (see Wellhausen 1885: 101 on the postexilic context for the setting of festival dates). On the other hand, it may be that Solomon, too, slid the celebration one month later and, as such, may have provided another precedent for Jeroboam's apparent move.

The date given of the fifteenth day of the eighth month for the feast, however, is one month later than the date preserved for Sukkot in the priestly materials;[160] according to Lev 23:34, 39 and Num 29:12, the feast was to be celebrated on the fifteenth day of the *seventh* month. Indeed, in 1 Kgs 12:33, this is the apparent source of condemnation: Jeroboam celebrated the feast on a day "which he devised in his heart" (אשר בדא מלבו; with the *Qere*). This difference has been explained in a number of ways. Some suggest that the date given for Jeroboam's feast corresponded with an earlier cultic calendar that was intact at the time of Jeroboam,[161] or that it was representative of a more fluid system based on differences in harvest times between northern and southern regions,[162] or that he added an intercalary month[163]—in any of these scenarios, Jeroboam is not seen as introducing anything new, but rather as simply maintaining or reverting to a traditional calendar.

Alternatively, Jeroboam may have indeed shifted the date back one month, but perhaps as an act of deference to the South—interpreted by the Dtrs as nothing more than disingenuous plotting—rather than as a direct affront. If Jeroboam had intended a clear confrontation with Southern Yahwism, it might seem more likely that he would have kept the date the same, or even moved it up one month,[164] but by celebrating his feast one month *later*, he hypothetically allowed for pilgrims to journey to both Jerusalem and Bethel or Dan. Further, it is notable that he changed the date by exactly one month—an act that may have had precedent (cf. Num 9:11) and would have further demonstrated his respect for traditional structures.[165]

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[160] Notably, dates are given neither in the prescriptions of Exod 23:16; 34:22; nor in Deut 16:13–15. This is especially striking in contrast to the broad date (the month of Abib) given for Pesach in Exod 23:15; 34:18; and Deut 16:1. See Toews 1993: 103–4 and, on the reworking of earlier traditions in light of centralization in Deuteronomy, see Levinson 1997: 53–54, 90–93.

[161] See discussion in Toews 1993: 100–4; cf. Gomes 2006: 34–35.

[162] I.e., in that the harvest of certain crops would have occurred one month later in the north than in the south; see, Talmon 1958 and, similarly, Morgenstern 1964; cf. de Vaux 1971: 107–8; Toews 1993: 103.

[163] So DeVries 2004: 163.

[164] Cf. Mowinckel 1962: 119, n. 43.

[165] While some contend that the omission of a roasting requirement in Num 9:11 suggests a later date for this text (so Levine 1993a: 293), others affirm its antiquity (so Milgrom 1990: 69). Cf. the account of the Pesach celebration of Hezekiah (2 Chr 30:1–31:1), which is described as having taken place exactly one month later than the appointed time (2 Chr 30:2–3) apparently based on the sanction granted in Num 9:10–11 (on the authenticity of this detail, see Barrick 1996: 639, n. 85, and references there). As such, it may show

Whatever the motivation, whether reverting to an older calendar or sliding the date one month within a traditional framework, the very fact that Jeroboam apparently maintained Yahwistic pilgrim festivals is significant as an indicator of continuity and his commitment to the religious traditions of Israel. Further, it seems that in the North the pilgrim festivals were regularly carried out even into later centuries (cf. Hos 2:13; 9:5; Amos 4:4; 8:10). As such they would have celebrated the solidarity of the larger community within a traditional Yahwistic context and proved to become a powerful tool in the hands of the Northern monarchs who encouraged them, as will be developed further in regard to Dan in Chapter 5, below. But, first, it must be determined whether or not there is indeed material evidence of sacred feasting at Dan.

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some accommodation of the Northern calendar or respect for older traditions in Judah when Northerners may have been fleeing to the South in light of the onslaught of Assyria (cf. 2 Chr 30:11, 18, 25).

CHAPTER THREE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF SACRED FEASTS AT TEL DAN

Having argued that the cult of the Northern Kingdom, as described in the Hebrew Bible, was essentially Yahwistic and traditional in its inception and perpetuation—notwithstanding the critique of many Southern Yahwists—attention is now turned to faunal and material evidence of sacred feasting at Tel Dan in an attempt to potentially illuminate one important aspect of this religion as practiced at Dan. Yet before any synthesis of the biblical and archaeological data is considered (Chapter 4), the archaeological remains will be explored here as an independent source apart from the biblical narrative with an eye toward answering two questions: 1) is there evidence that eating events charged with religious significance took place in Area T at Tel Dan in the Iron II period? 2) If so, what specific characteristics of these events can be deduced from the archaeological evidence?

Introduction: Tel Dan Area T

Tel Dan (Tell el-Qadi) undoubtedly boasts some of the most impressive cultic remains in the southern Levant in the Iron II period.[1] Though the final reports for the Iron Age strata are still forthcoming,[2] preliminary publications of the excavations carried out in Area T (Fig. 4) from 1968–

[1] Though remains of other impressive Iron Age II sanctuaries have been recovered in the southern Levant—such as an apparent temple at Arad (see, further, p. 110, n. 46 [bottom]) and smaller shrines at Lachish, Megiddo, and other sites (see, conveniently, Nakhai 2001: 176–200; Faust 2010; also see Zukerman 2012 on the Lachish shrine)—in most cases these shrines are smaller and embedded within other structures whereas the Tel Dan precinct is seemingly a much larger, independent complex (on the likelihood of a temple on the northern platform in Area T, see pp. 108–16, below) recently dubbed a "supra-regional sanctuary" (so Albertz and Schmitt 2012: 237–39, 244). While some have questioned the cultic nature of certain elements of Area T, specifically the large podium of T-North (see, e.g., Barkay 1992: 312; Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006: 153–55; Zwickel 2010: 416; cf. the comprehensive and compelling critique thereof in Davis 2010: 52–60), this study provides support for the cultic nature of the area as will be stated explicitly in the discussion of pp. 80–82 and developed in Chapter 4, below. For other temples from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in the region, see Kamlah 2012.

[2] See p. 1, n. 3, above.

1993 under the direction of Avraham Biran (director of the Tel Dan project from 1966–1999) describe a large sacred precinct dating to the Iron Age II with temple-like architecture.[3] Features include a massive 18 × 18 m raised podium with a 5.25 × 8 m stepped porch in T-North (Biran's "*bamah*"),[4] upon which most likely stood a large superstructure,[5] and a 4.75 × 4.75 m platform in T-Center that was apparently a monumental four-horned altar, indicated by a single horn of proportionate size found nearby in secondary use in a later phase.[6] The area is hemmed by side chambers on the west[7] and apparently by similar structures on the east, which together delineate a courtyard 45 m wide and at least 60 m long.[8] In the earliest phase (Biran's IVA), the excavators suggest that storehouses

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[3] Though this study focuses on the central precinct of Area T, Tel Dan, in general, is rich in Iron II cultic remains. For an important survey of evidence for gate cults at Dan, see Blomquist 1999 (especially, pp. 57–69), as well as comments in Biran 1998; cf. Biran 1994a: 235–54.

[4] Though Biran originally suggested that the earlier Stratum IVA structure was rectangular (ca. 18 × 7 m), Davis 2010: 65–66 (citing personal consultation with R. Voss) concluded that it was also 18 × 18 m, precisely the same proportions of the Stratum III platform.

[5] While one cannot be certain that a superstructure existed upon the podium, it seems likely (so R. Voss, personal communication) and a transition in the excavators' opinion in this direction may be marked by comparing earlier reconstructions of an open-air platform (Biran 1975: 320–21, with illustration on p. 319) with later ones that show a superstructure on at least part of the podium beginning in Stratum III (Biran 1994a: 188, illustration 149). Davis 2010: 52–60, 64–68, in consultation with R. Voss, strengthens claims of a superstructure on the basis of the thickness of the walls and evidence of rebuilding efforts in Stratum III while suggesting that the front of the building may have been an open courtyard (see, his p. 68); still, it seems just as likely that the front was also enclosed due to the fact that the foundation walls are of the same thickness in that section.

[6] On the altar and its horn, see the cautious discussion of Zevit 2001: 187. The exact proportions of the altar apart from the stairs are difficult to determine, as the altar was reused, altered, and dismantled in subsequent phases of activity. In some of the more detailed plans examined for this study, the second tier of the altar structure itself is shown to be .25 m more narrow than the 5 × 5 m base, thus it is reconstructed here as a 4.75 × 4.75 m structure. According to Davis 2010: 69–77, this central structure did not necessarily serve as an altar in Stratum III, but rather as a platform upon which symbolic pillars were occasionally erected marking a transitional space between the entrance to the complex and the raised podium. Yet such a view does not preclude envisioning sacrificial activity there and, further, the fact that a large horn was found in secondary use nearby strongly suggests that it was an altar in certain phases (see Biran 1994a: 202–3), as Davis agrees. Indeed, if the structure served as an altar in a later phase, it is most likely that the earlier structure upon which it was built also served the same function—i.e., as an altar, and it is understood as such in this study in each phase.

[7] See the summary description in Biran 1994a: 159–233, and comments in Zevit 2001: 180–91 and Dever 2005: 139–51, along with a detailed discussion in Davis 2010.

[8] The extent of the length of the courtyard in the earlier phases has not yet been determined, though it does not appear to have extended much beyond the 60 m. See Biran 1994a: 159–209.

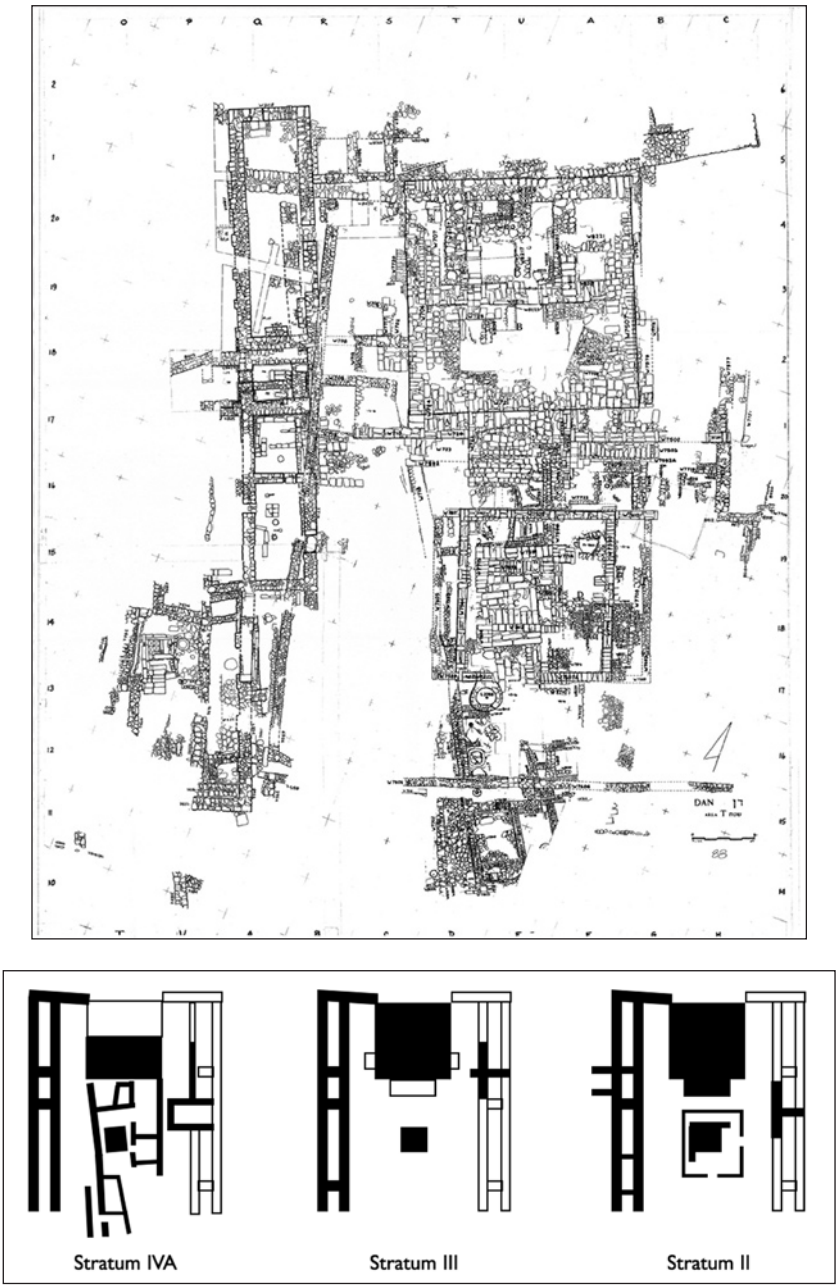

Figure 4: Plans of Area T at Tel Dan Showing Major Iron II Architectural Features by Stratum (top plan illustration by G. Cook provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion; bottom reconstructed phases illustration by J. Greer after Biran 1994a: 182, 188, 205).

stood in the courtyard,[9] but in later phases (Biran's III and II) these were apparently covered by a thick yellow travertine floor[10] resulting in an open courtyard.

Area T shows signs of activity from at least the Iron I through the Hellenistic and Roman periods with intense activity in the Iron II period.[11] Three architectural phases have been identified within the Iron II, subdivided into Strata IVA, III, and II by Biran.[12] Due to the prolonged activity and the constant reuse of earlier architecture and surfaces in later stages, the stratigraphy of Area T is extremely complex and the revised strata of the forthcoming publications will likely include subdivisions within these phases;[13] tentatively, here, Biran's IVA is divided into IVA2 (late 10th century BCE) and IVA1 (late 10th–early 9th), his Stratum III into IIIB (early 9th–mid-9th) and IIIA (mid-9th–early 8th), with his Stratum II (mid-8th) retained as a single horizon, as indicated in Table 1, below.

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[9] The relationship of these structures to the later monumental architecture is not entirely clear at this point. Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006: 154–55 suggest that the central "altar" structure (which they refrain from explicitly identifying as such by placing the word altar in quotes, until they discuss the Hellenistic altar) and podium of T-North alone were constructed after the storerooms of Biran's Stratum IVA but before the superstructure and side chambers were built in Stratum III.

[10] Dubbed the Yellow Floor (always intentionally capitalized in excavation reports and in this study), this surface is a 10–20 cm thick packed floor created by the dressing of travertine limestone within the precinct. The Yellow Floor was often employed by the excavators throughout the area wherever it was present to differentiate between Biran's Stratum IVA and Stratum III. Confusion results in that this surface was often reused, cut, or resurfaced in the Hellenistic period (so R. Voss, personal communication).

[11] While the continuity of occupation has been challenged (Arie 2008), recent stratigraphic analysis of Area T has confirmed activity from at least the Iron I: on extensive Iron I activity in Area T, see the forthcoming *Dan IV* final publication volume edited by D. Ilan, and on Iron IIA–B activity and a detailed critique of Arie's claims, see planned preliminary publications by this author and Tel Dan staff members. One may note already the evidence of 10th century forms among the cooking pot types analyzed in several of the deposits discussed here, though most of the forms parallel 9th and 8th century forms (see Appendix). Initial radiocarbon dating has apparently confirmed Biran's chronology (Bruins, et al. 2005), though more samples from short-lived organic materials are needed.

[12] Biran attributed these phases to the building efforts of Jeroboam I, Ahab, and Jeroboam II, respectively (see, Biran 1994a: 165–209), a proposition that is generally followed here later in this study, as will be seen in Chapter 5, below.

[13] In the words of R. Voss (1988), the longtime area supervisor of Area T: "Each phase of high place stratigraphy has affected every subsequent phase. All or parts of some buildings were in use for centuries. Typically, new buildings were constructed on earlier wall lines or follow a similar plan. This aspect of the stratigraphy complicates and makes unravelling the sequence of phases very difficult. Often ceramic material was mixed, absent or not definitive enough to date phase changes. A more common problem was the disturbance or removal of floors and walls, leaving gaps in the stratigraphy. Finally, the size of the high place itself was a complicating factor. What was or was not excavated controlled to a large extent what we know or could say about the various phases."

Table 1: Tentative Phasing of Iron II Area T Strata.

Biran Strata	Adjusted Strata	Approximate Date
II	II	mid-8th century BCE
III	IIIA	early 8th–mid-9th century BCE
	IIIB	mid-9th–early 9th century BCE
IVA	IVA1	early 9th–late 10th century BCE
	IVA2	late 10th century BCE

According to preliminary publications, numerous objects often considered to be cultic—including small altars, metal implements associated with animal sacrifice, painted stands, and perforated cups—were recovered and viewed by the excavators to confirm the religiously charged nature of the site.[14] Further, an estimated more than three cubic meters of animal bones, the primary witness to feasting activities,[15] as well as massive amounts of ceramic material, were collected from Area T throughout the decades of excavation, representing only a fraction of the bone remains preserved from the carcasses that passed through the hands of the peoples who once acted within this space and the ceramic vessels they employed.[16]

[14] See, especially, Biran 1994a: 165–210; also Pakman 2003; Greer 2010.

[15] Contrary to popular conception, the presence of animal bones within the precinct is not evidence of "sacrifice" in the way it is commonly conceived—namely, as an animal that is killed and ceremonially *destroyed*—but rather evidence of *eating*, residue from meals once consumed and discarded in that place, still very much a sacrificial act (see p. 4, above, and, further, Hesse, Wapnish, and Greer 2012). Animals that were entirely devoted to the deity, according to traditions preserved within the Hebrew Bible (see, e.g., Lev 6:4), were burned and the ashes were deposited outside the precinct, thus leaving very little archaeological trace as will be discussed further in the next chapter. On the archaeological reflexes of feasting in other contexts and the importance of zooarchaeological evidence, see, e.g., Dabney, Halstead, and Thomas 2004 and Pappa, et al. 2004.

[16] The present sample was, of course, subject to a number of taphonomic forces (cf. Shipman 1981b; Lyman 1994), but the lack of evidence of widespread gnawing (cf. Halstead and Isaakidou 2004: 138–39) and the fact that bone elements of various sizes were recovered, suggests a relatively high state of preservation (see Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 21–23 on taphonomic considerations in respect to a sample from the western chambers). The greatest effect was clearly the lack of extensive screening, but the overall distribution of bone element types is comparable to those reported from Levantine historical sites in general (see Wapnish and Hesse 1991), and the bone fragment categories used in this analysis are large enough to give modest confidence they were routinely collected by the excavators (so, B. Hesse, personal communication). Few whole vessels were recovered from the deposits discussed below, suggesting that such contain primarily the remnants of vessels that were broken during the feasting activities, thus we have only a partial representation of the vessels employed. The whole vessels that were recovered from Area T were likely to

Previously published studies of subsamples from the larger collection of animal bone remains suggested that the animals killed in Area T were younger than those killed in other areas of the site.[17] High concentrations of phalanges—the bones of the "foot"—were also noted and concluded to represent the residue of the processing of skins.[18] Another unpublished preliminary study noted numerous examples of bones of sheep, goat, and cattle from Area T that bore cut marks associated with slaughter, processing, and consumption activities.[19] This same study noted further evidence of preparation for consumption throughout the sample, indicated by the overwhelmingly fragmentary state of meat-bearing long bones (humeri, radii, femora, and tibiae) when compared to the state of lower leg bones (metapodia),[20] suggesting that a much greater effort was applied to the reduction of the shoulders and hips and their associated joints than to the lower leg during the preparation phase.[21] Massive concentrations of vessels and vessel fragments of various types were also noted in preliminary publications[22] and while most of these studies concentrate on presumably cultic types or issues of stratigraphy, they provide many examples of common vessel types used for eating and drinking.[23]

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have been votive deposits (e.g., possibly, those of SED2, discussed below on pp. 83–84) or those covered in a sudden catastrophic destruction, such as those of Stratum II.

17 See Wapnish, Hesse, and Ogilvy 1977; Wapnish and Hesse 1991; and Wapnish 1993.

18 On phalanges as indicative of the processing of skins, see Wapnish and Hesse 1991.

19 Cf. Binford 1978; 1981.

20 In the preliminary study of Greer, Hesse, and Wapnish 2009 of a subsample from Area T of 59 Small Cattle Lower Leg portions (metapodia) and 67 Upper Leg portions (humeri and femora), clear differences between the samples were observed in this regard ($p=9.9 \times 10^{-6}$; see p. 60, n. 57, on the methods for statistical analyses employed in this study): 41% of Lower Leg portions were whole or "nearly whole" (defined by visual observation of any portion of both proximal and distal ends) as opposed to only 7% in the Upper Leg category. Further, of the 54 distal humeri examined in the Greer, Hesse, and Wapnish 2009 sample, 31 (57%) exhibited spiral breaks typical of damage done to green bone (personal experience, in class experiments conducted with P. Shipman in the Fall of 2008) prior to cooking and may also suggest evidence for marrow extraction, surely an important resource in this context as it as in others (cf. Binford 1978; 1981; Outram 2001; Pickering and Egeland 2006; and Jin and Mills 2011 [special thanks to J. Jin for sharing a draft of this paper with me prior to publication]).

21 On methods of assessing the intensity of carcass processing by comparing completeness:fragmentation ratios, see, e.g., Todd and Rapson 1988; Outram 2001; and Pickering and Egeland 2006.

22 Such include plates published in Biran 1982; 1994a; and Pakman 1992.

23 On ceramic remains as archaeological "signatures" of feasts, with a variety of specific markers listed, see, e.g., Dabney, Halstead, and Thomas 2004; note, however, that the characteristics in this list, and others, are highlighted for their "unusual nature" (e.g., exceptionally high proportions of certain vessels, larger sized vessels, "deviation from the

Thus, these previous studies and preliminary observations seem to suggest that cultic feasts took place within Area T and this chapter intends to test this hypothesis through a detailed examination of what will be argued to be the concentrated remains of feasting deposits within the precinct.[24] Further observations will be drawn in regard to the sorts of animals that were utilized, the vessel types employed, the sexes and ages of the animals consumed, and any carcass part distribution in order to suggest something of the dimensions of the events, trends over time, and the culinary practices of those who participated in these feasts before a reconstruction is provided.

Methods

Faced with massive quantities of material and the complex stratigraphic context of Area T that is still under investigation, a comprehensive analysis of all of the remains was not feasible at this time and strategies were developed in order to target material with the greatest potential to yield information specifically about feasting activities.

Defining Contexts

The original field diaries, locus cards, reports, photos, and drawings from the Tel Dan excavations were first examined, thanks to generous access provided by the current director David Ilan and close interaction with one of the original area supervisors, Ross Voss, in order to identify potential feasting deposits. Select loci were isolated that were described in excavation records as having high concentrations of faunal and ceramic remains within relatively secure contexts based on chronologically homogenous ceramic assemblages, clear site matrix relationships, or sharply defined stratigraphic features. Eight such loci were identified throughout the precinct forming seven distinct concentrations, two of which were clearly pits and all of which appeared to represent intentional deposits rather than random scatter, as will be detailed below.

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norm" in terms of decoration, etc.)—in Area T, however, many of the forms are noted for their "usual" nature. See further p. 73, n. 72, on typical assemblages of the period.

[24] A popular, concise summary of some of the results of this aspect of the study has been recently published in Greer 2012.

Faunal Analysis

All of the faunal remains from each of these seven concentrations housed in The Pennsylvania State University zooarchaeology laboratory, totaling 3,434 bone fragments, were examined and sorted by taxonomic category and bone element by this author under the direction of Brian Hesse from 2006–2010.[25] Information regarding the taxa encountered, the abundance, anatomical position and physical size of bone types and carcass parts, the osteological and dental maturity evidenced by the state of fusion and the degree of tooth wear, and the frequency of post-mortem modifications to the bone was recorded.[26]

Taxonomic category representation was estimated on the basis of the proportion of the Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) and the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) in each category.[27] Categories employed in this study include Small Cattle, Large Cattle, and Other (always identified by taxon and element in the description), decided to be the most meaningful in this exploration of sacred feasting.[28] Further analyses were restricted to the Small Cattle category due to the relative abundance of this taxon in comparison to Large Cattle.[29]

Age at death for Small Cattle was determined on the basis of mandibular tooth wear patterns following Payne,[30] and epiphyseal fusion

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[25] Additionally, any displaced faunal material found in the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion storage rooms during 2010–11 was also analyzed and included.

[26] Cf. Hesse and Wapnish 1985; Reitz and Wing 2008.

[27] Counts are obviously much higher for NISP, in that it assumes that the bones derive from a large number of animals thus minimizing the likelihood of interdependence (two or more bones coming from the same animal), and much lower for MNI, in that it assumes the opposite: that most bones are likely to have come from a small number of carcasses. On the strengths and weaknesses of both, see Hesse and Wapnish 1985: 112–16.

[28] Though in many cases, sheep and goats were differentiated when possible based on the morphological characteristics identified by Boessneck 1969 (recently reexamined and found to be highly reliable in Zeder and Lapham 2010), categories were simplified to include a joint Small Cattle (sheep-goat) category for two reasons: 1) as a combined category, they provide a larger sample size for determining statistically significant differences between samples; and 2) for the purposes of comparing the archaeological reflexes of sacred feasting with priestly prescriptions for sacrifice in the Hebrew Bible (see Chapter 4), there is little distinction between the taxa.

[29] Since in each case, at least one of the samples for comparison in the Large Cattle category fell below three elements, it was decided to focus the analyses on Small Cattle in which case larger samples were available for analysis.

[30] See Payne 1973. The reliability of age estimation based on tooth eruption and wear has recently been confirmed by the study of a modern sample by Greenfield and Arnold 2008, though these authors found Grant's method (Grant 1975; 1982) and their absolute aging for Grant's Mandibular Wear Stages to provide more precise ages estimations.

of scapulae, proximal and distal radii, proximal and distal humeri, distal phalanges (1st and 2nd), proximal and distal tibiae, distal metapodia, calcanei, proximal and distal femora, and proximal ulnae following age ranges in Silver.[31] Sex differentiation for Small Cattle was determined by comparing the measurements (taken according to the specifications of von den Driesch)[32] of the antero-posterior depth of the medial side (Mh) of the distal humeri and the greatest breadth (Bd) of the distal metatarsals in the deposits to measurement ranges established in other studies,[33] according to the methods of Hesse.[34] Any cut marks identified on the Small Cattle bones (by visual inspection only)[35] following Binford,[36] were recorded and grouped by marks associated with slaughter, processing, and consumption.[37] Particular attention was also focused on the frequency of bone element representation in certain analytic categories for Small Cattle consistent with the methods of Hesse and Wapnish,[38] including the proportion of right-sided portions compared to left-sided portions in both

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[31] See Silver 1969.

[32] See von den Driesch 1976.

[33] Cf., especially, Zeder 2001 and references there, independently confirmed in Greer, Hesse, and Wapnish 2009.

[34] See Hesse 1982. Both measurements, among others, were shown in Hesse 1982 (cf. Hesse and Wapnish 1985; and Zeder 2001) to be sexually dimorphic in Small Cattle. For methods, see Hesse and Wapnish 1985: 101–4 and Zeder 2001, with the caution of Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 44–45.

[35] Though the cut marks have not been subject to an analysis with a scanning electron microscope (SEM) in order to confirm whether they were made with metal or stone blades (cf. Greenfield 1999; 2006; building on Walker and Long 1977; Olsen 1988; Shipman 1981a; Shipman and Rose 1983), visual examination and the presence of both types of blades within the precinct suggest that both were used in some part of the process. Notably, however, the presence of metal blades does not always indicate their use in disarticulation (cf. Pollio 2009).

[36] See Binford 1978; 1981.

[37] Specifically in this study, cut marks on bones associated with slaughter included thin cuts on atlas, axis, and cervical vertebrae, likely made during the slitting of the throat. Those associated with processing included long bones with lateral cut marks on their proximal and distal ends, as well as cut marks circling the proximal ends of metapodia, presumably made during the disarticulation or skinning process. Bones associated with the preparation for consumption included long bone fragments marked by broad, ragged depressions, presumably made by the chopping or smashing of these bones with axes or machete-type instruments while the bones were still surrounded by flesh, and cut marks on thoracic and lumbar vertebrae and ribs; these patterns are consistent with ancient Near Eastern sources and ethnographic examples of food preparation in which meaty long bones are chopped at the extremities prior to the deposit of whole joints in cooking pots for stewing (see Klenck 1995, especially his pp. 63–64; cf. Grantham 1995; 2000).

[38] On the application of this method of identifying "archaeological animals," see Hesse and Wapnish 1985: 93–96.

forelimb and hindlimb categories[39] and in regard to meat-bearing long bones (those of the forelimb and hindlimb) compared to bones indicative of butcher refuse (those of the "foot," i.e., phalanges).

Ceramic Analysis

All of the ceramic remains from the seven deposits stored at the Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion Nelson Glueck School in the Skirball Center for Biblical and Archaeological Research were examined by this author in cooperation with Ross Voss and David Ilan during 2010–2011. From these remains, 593 diagnostic sherds or whole vessels were identified and analyzed for this study.

These identifiable sherds and nearly whole vessels were recorded and grouped by type following basic descriptions in Amiran[40] and some examples were drawn if drawings were not already prepared or found. Type categories include bowl, jug, cooking pot, platter, jar, krater, lamp, and other (always identified by type). Type counts and percentages of vessel types for comparison were calculated only on diagnostic fragments or nearly complete vessels. A comprehensive typology of cooking pot rims was also prepared as a general indicator of the relative date of the deposits and is referred to throughout the discussion.[41] Special attention was also given to any painted sherds, which were isolated and tabulated.

Artifactual Analysis

All of the other artifactual remains from the seven deposits were also recorded, many of which have been previously published in preliminary forms.[42] Any additional artifactual remains identified in this analysis and stored at the Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion Nelson Glueck School in the Skirball Center for Biblical and Archaeological Research were also examined and recorded in cooperation with Ross Voss and David Ilan during 2008 and 2010–2011. These objects were described and grouped in three categories: objects associated with the slaughter and processing of animals; objects of a possibly cultic nature; and incised ceramic fragments.

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[39] The forelimb calculations chosen for this analysis include the fragments of any scapulae, humeri, radii, or ulnae, and the hindlimb calculations include the fragments of any femora or tibiae. On variability in the division of carcass units, see Bunn, Bartram, and Kroll 1988.

[40] See Amiran 1970.

[41] See the Appendix.

[42] See, especially, Biran 1994a: 165–210; also Pakman 2003; Greer 2010.

Results

Observations drawn from the examination of the faunal, ceramic, and artifactual remains from the seven deposits isolated for this study are here laid out for inspection before a model capable of linking these variables to the culture-historical questions will be offered and evaluated.

Spatial and Stratigraphic Contexts

The seven concentrations are located in two separate areas within Area T, the first clustered around the central altar structure that is present in all Iron Age II phases of activity and the second in a specific space of the western chamber complex (see Fig. 5). Two deposits are south of the altar, designated here as Southern Deposit 1 (SD1; L.2390) and Southern Deposit 2 (SD2; L.2395 and L.2709);[43] two more deposits lie off the southeastern corner, South-East Deposit 1 (SED1; L.2321) and South-East Deposit 2 (SED2; L.2311); and one deposit is adjacent to the northeastern corner, the North-East Deposit (NED; L.2155). The remaining two deposits, Western Deposit 1 (WD1; L.2844) and Western Deposit 2 (WD2; L.2881), are found in the western chambers of the precinct and represent two phases of activity within roughly the same spatial context. Each context is described more specifically below with an estimated stratigraphic context according to Table 1, above.

Southern Deposit 1 (*SD1*)

Locus 2390, identified here as Southern Deposit 1 (SD1), was excavated in 1979 and contained a compaction of grey brick debris and fill under a surface. The fill included numerous ceramic remains and an especially high concentration of animal bone remains covering the bottom of a grey plaster basin. Subsequent excavation revealed that this basin was part of the now well-known olive press installation (Fig. 6),[44] here apparently used as a bone repository in a later phase of activity. Stratigraphic context and ceramic evidence suggest a IVA1 or IIIB (primarily 9th century BCE) dating for the deposit.

[43] The contents of this deposit were excavated over three seasons and assigned to two loci, though they derive from the same pit as detailed below.

[44] Biran suggested that the installation may have been used for water libation (Biran 1994a: 177, 181), though further exploration confirmed that it was an olive press (see Stager and Wolff 1981; Borowski 1982).

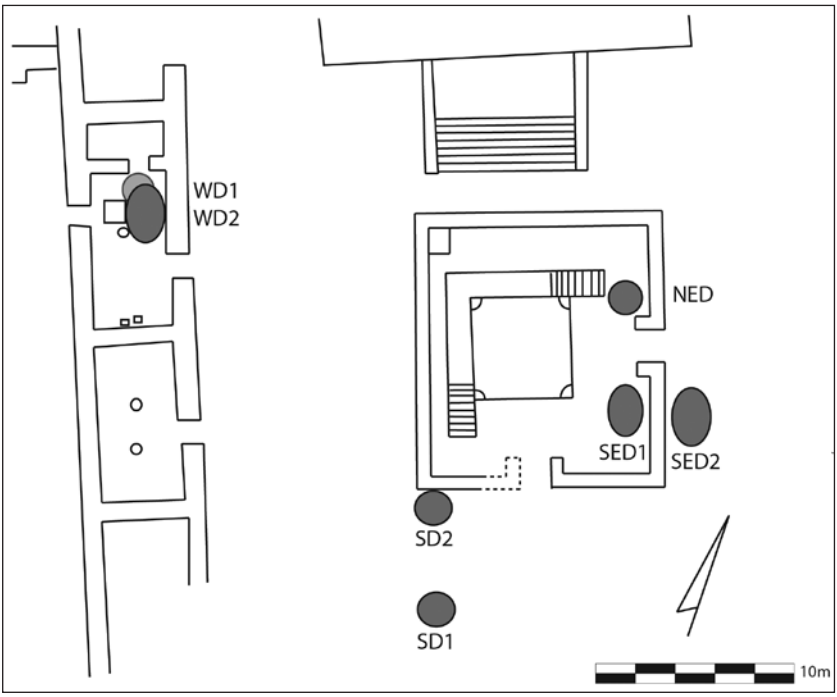

Figure 5: The Location of High Concentration Bone Deposits of Area T Shown in Relation to Stratum III/II Architecture (drawn by J. Greer after site plans provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

Southern Deposit 2 (*SD2*)

Southern Deposit 2 (SD2) was identified as a "bone pit" by the excavators who dug the area over three seasons in 1979, 1980, and 1984. The shallow pit (first designated as L.2395) was described as reaching a depth of 15 cm, encircled by basalt stones, and completely filled with bones. The pit was cut by a much later Hellenistic basin that disturbed the contents of the eastern edge of deposit especially; when the Hellenistic basin was subsequently removed, more bones were collected and the deposit was renamed Locus 2709. Stratigraphic context and the presence of late 9th to early 8th century ceramic material in the fill of the locus above the western half of the deposit (L.2385) suggest a IIIB period date (early-mid-9th century) for the deposit. Further, careful study of the section drawing and excavation notes, in consultation with Ross Voss, seems to indicate that this deposit dates to approximately the same temporal horizon as SD1 (see Fig. 7), also dated to the 9th century (see above); in any case, it is

Figure 6: Area T Olive Press Installation Where Bone and Ceramic Remains Were Found (photo provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

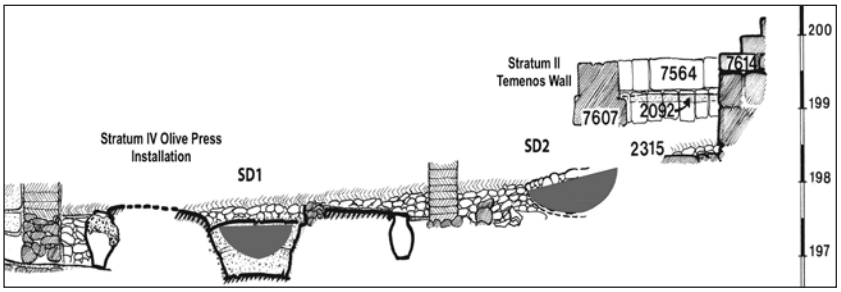

Figure 7: Section Drawing of Southern Deposit Area Showing Stratigraphic Relationship between SD1 and SD2 (adapted from section drawing by G. Cook provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

later than the olive press installation of Stratum IVA2 (late 10th century) and earlier than the Stratum II (mid-8th century) temenos wall, as seen in Fig. 7.

South-East Deposit 1 (*SED1*)
Locus 2321, here South-East Deposit 1 (SED1), was excavated in 1978 and described as a red and grey clay fill, underneath a white and yellow travertine pavement,[45] that covered an earlier basalt cobbled platform of the early altar structure. The stratigraphic sequence suggests a IVA1/IIIB (late 10th–mid 9th century) context and ceramic evidence and relative depth suggests that it predates the nearby deposit of SED2 (L.2311).[46]

South-East Deposit 2 (*SED2*)
Locus 2311, here South-East Deposit 2, was excavated in 1978 and contained one of richest deposits of Area T in terms of material remains. The deposit consisted of a thick accumulation of animal bones, restorable vessels, and other artifacts including a painted stand (see Fig. 23, below), two "mask-like" anthropomorphic clay face fragments from a second stand,[47] a metal blade with studs for a handle (see Fig. 21, below),[48] two fragments of a so-called "snake pithos,"[49] and a complete burnished bar-handled bowl with a trident shape inscribed on its base containing animal bones (see Fig. 17, below). These items were found *in situ* on a basalt cobbled sur-

[45] It is important to note that this is not "the" so-called Yellow Floor (see p. 46, n. 10) often mentioned in the excavations reports, as it was missing in this section of Area T (so R. Voss, personal communication).

[46] See especially the cooking pot examples in the Appendix and note the absence of the bulbous 8th century types in SED1 (Appendix B) compared to SED2 (Appendix C). Note, too, the identification of three hand-burnished sherds, the apparent absence of which was applied by Arie 2008 to suggest an activity gap for the Iron IIA. In fact, out of the 173 diagnostic sherds, only one—from a top basket—suggests a later Iron IIB date: the sherd of what is most likely a "mortarium bowl" (cf. Gal and Alexandre 2000: 190–92).

[47] See Pakman 2003, *contra* Uehlinger 1994; 1997: 116–17. R. Voss, in personal communication, also notes that an additional fragment was found in the northern jar of the olive press installation, mentioned above.

[48] This blade was unpublished until first mentioned in Greer 2011 and now in this work, and is not included in the tabulation mentioned on p. 76, n. 78, as it was found by the author among the bones during the analysis of the larger sample at The Pennsylvania State University during 2006–2010.

[49] Several large pithoi with a banded snake decoration, dubbed "snake pithoi" by the excavators, were found in Area T in Biran's Stratum IVA and additional fragments were found throughout the precinct in later phases (see Biran 1994a: 166–68, 177).

Figure 8: Excavation Photo Showing Slot between Walls in Which the SED2 Deposit Was Found (photo provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

face in a slot between two walls under a compact surface (Fig. 8).[50] Based on stratigraphic context and ceramic evidence, a IIIA (probably early 8th century) date is assigned to this deposit.

North-East Deposit (*NED*)

Excavated in 1977, Locus 2155, here the North-East Deposit (NED), is the second true pit in the subsample of significant contexts to be considered. The deposit was sealed below a clay floor (see Fig. 9), apparently associated with the courtyard of one of the Stratum III phases, and contained a large amount of pottery, bone, and apparently some ash.[51] Based on stratigraphic context and on ceramic evidence, the pit is here tentatively assigned to the IVA1 phase (late 10th–early 9th), but possibly may be situated in the IIIB phase (early 9th–mid 9th).[52] Many of the ceramic forms,

[50] The relationship of this basalt cobbling to the basalt cobbling in SED1 is not entirely clear: though this adjacent deposit is at a higher elevation than SED1, there is evidence of terracing throughout Area T, especially in earlier phases, and the ceramic parallels suggest that this deposit is later.

[51] Unfortunately, none of the ash has been located in the storerooms and thus cannot be submitted for scientific analysis.

[52] Cf. the cooking pot types displayed in Appendix D.

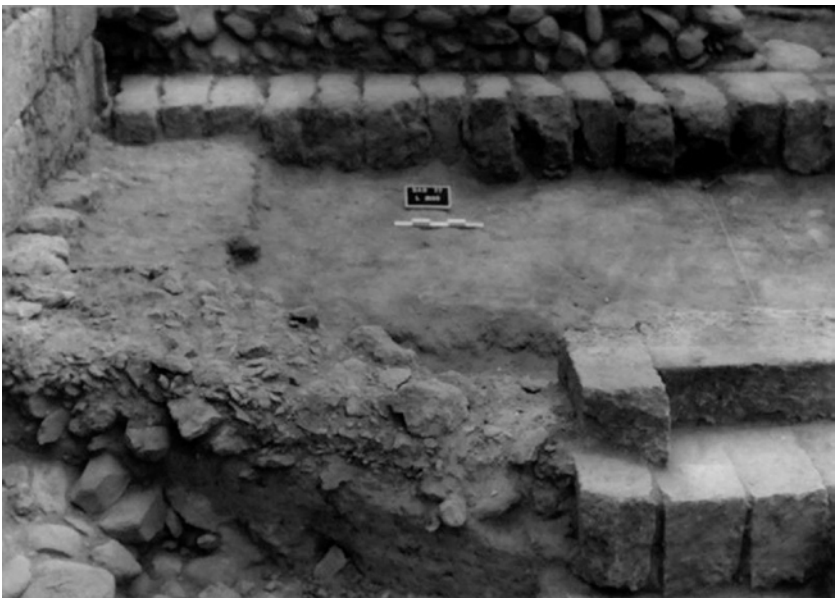

Figure 9: Excavation Photo Showing Thick Clay Floor (Foreground) under Which NED Was Found (photo provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

further, find parallels in those of SED1 (here tentatively assigned to IVA1/IIIB; late 10th–mid 9th century).

Western Deposit 1 (*WD1*)

The two western deposits represent subsequent stages of activity in the same area described as a walled open space (though it is possible that the southern half of the room, at least, supported a roof in some stages)[53] dubbed the "altar room" in preliminary publications (see Fig. 10).[54] This identification is based on the discovery of a 1.03 × 1.03 m limestone altar in the northern part of the room that was apparently used in both stages, along with a sunken ash-filled pot containing burnt animal remains in the latest stage and a second sunken pot also containing burnt animal

[53] The presence of the altar would seem to suggest that at least the northern section of the room was open or well-ventilated, while the possibility of central pillars and the narrow width of the room may indicate that the southern section of the room was roofed. The presence of lamps in the western chambers may also indicate an enclosed area (see Table 9).

[54] Cf. Biran 1986; 1994a: 192–99.

Figure 10: Excavation Photo of Western "Altar Room" Showing Earlier and Later Phases with the Location of the Deposits Indicated by Circle (photo provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

remains in the earlier phase.[55] Metal implements including a bronze bowl and three iron shovels were also found resting on the floor of the later phase (see Fig. 24, and discussion below), and two small incense altars were found near the southern wall of the room. This later phase, Locus 2844, here Western Deposit 1 (WD1), was covered by thick ash attributed to a mid-8th century destruction and is therefore assigned to the last major stage of Iron Age II activity, Stratum II.

Western Deposit 2 (*WD2*)

The earlier deposit of Locus 2881, here Western Deposit 2 (WD2), is defined by the same architectural features as WD1 and is graphically shown on the locus card as a pit (approximately 1 m in diameter) with clear edges that projected under the threshold of Stratum II architecture (see the approximate location identified by the circle in Fig. 10). Ceramic material suggests a later date within the second architectural phase of activity in Area T and the deposit is, thus, tentatively assigned to Stratum IIIA (mid 9th–early 8th c.), despite its depth at a level below the so-called

[55] The analyzed ash from both jars is cited in Biran 1994a: 195.

Yellow Floor (see p. 46, n. 10, above) and the clear presence of at least three stages of activity in this space (see levels in Fig. 10).[56]

Faunal Remains

The analysis of the animal bone remains from the seven deposits highlights both similarities and differences among the deposits, in many cases demonstrating a statistically significant[57] contrast between the two areas demarcated above, i.e., the deposits of the courtyard and the deposits of the western chambers. Among the courtyard deposits, further contrast is noted between SED2 and the other deposits, as will be discussed below.

Taxa Represented

Previous studies and the sorting of taxa from the larger sample of Area T in preparation for the intensified focus on the seven deposits in this study yielded plentiful remains of the three main domesticates common at other Iron Age Levantine sites: sheep (*Ovis*), goats (*Capra*), and cattle (*Bos*).[58] Far less common were the remains of equid (*Equus*, most likely all donkeys), deer (*Dama*, or, in some cases, *Cervus*) and gazelle (*Gazella*), in addition to a few remains of bear (*Ursus*), fox (*Vulpes*), pig (*Sus*),[59] dog

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[56] Here, the Yellow Floor was cut away in later stages of activity (so R. Voss, personal communication).

[57] Statistical difference or similarity was established on the basis of Pearson's (χ^2) test in which two samples of data were compared. The two samples most often compared here were the combined totals of the courtyard deposits and the combined totals of the western chamber deposits, as the reliability of the test is reduced when the elements in any category are few in number (a common rule is that each category should have five or more elements). Consistent with standard practice, if the probability (p) that the samples were the same was less than 0.05, the "null hypothesis" (i.e., that the two samples are from the same distribution) was ruled out with 95% confidence and the samples were considered to be statistically different. Special thanks to J. Woo for her assistance with the statistical analyses that follow.

[58] See, especially, Wapnish and Hesse 1991. For sheep, goats, and cattle as the most common taxa at other sites in this time, see a summary of relevant sites in Raban-Gerstel, et al. 2008: 46–47; cf., too, Sasson 2010: 2.

[59] As discussed by Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 13, the *Sus* remains recovered in other areas at Tel Dan were probably those of wild boar. Though no evidence of pig was found in Area T in earlier studies (cf. Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 46–47), several fragments have come to light in the larger sample outside of the deposits, including one small scapula fragment that may bear butcher marks. Still, the stratigraphic complexity clouds a precise context for these bones and it cannot be determined yet if the sample derives from a secure Iron Age context. Cf., similarly, nearby Iron II et-Tell/Bethsaida where pig bones were recovered from the *bit hilani* structure, but not in the vicinity of the gate complex where sacrificial meals were thought to have taken place (see Fisher 2005: 54). On the significance of the presence/absence of pigs in this context, see further p. 100, n. 10, below.

(*Canis*), camel (*Camelus*), various fish, birds, and rodents, and a single lion (*Panthera*) bone.

The seven deposits analyzed for this study (see Table 2, below) contained the remains of almost entirely sheep and goats (combined in the Small Cattle category) and cattle (tabulated in the Large Cattle category) and are represented in similar proportions in the combined deposits of the western chambers and in the combined deposits of the courtyard ($p=0.68$), excluding SD2.[60]

When the "Other" category is included, however, differences between these areas are apparent ($p=2.7 \times 10^{-8}$); notably, there is a significantly disproportionate amount of "Other" taxa in the western chambers (4%) compared to the courtyard deposits (less than 1%). Those elements of taxa comprising the "Other" category include: fragments of two gazelle bones (a radius and a phalange) and an equid metapodial fragment in SD1; three deer phalanges in SD2; one bird bone in SED1; one fragment of a gazelle metatarsal in NED; two deer phalanges in WD1; and five fragments from deer (a cranial fragment, one tooth, two phalanges, and one metapodial), four bird bones, two equid teeth, and a piece of turtle shell in WD2. When SED2 is excluded, the combined totals are statistically different whether or not the "Other" category is included ($p=0.0033$ without "Other"; $p=0.00025$ with "Other") and, in addition to contrast in the proportions of the "Other" fauna (remaining < 1% : 4% for the courtyard : western chambers), there is a higher percentage of Large Cattle in the courtyard compared to the western chambers (25% : 16%). No pig remains were found in any of the seven deposits.[61]

Age at Death

Mortality profiles were constructed for the combined totals of the courtyard deposits and for those of the western chambers based on the data derived both from the analysis of mandibular tooth wear and from the analysis of epiphyseal fusion according to the methods described above. The data

[60] Small Cattle also outnumbered Large Cattle in SD2 in NISP (70:40) and MNI (4:3) counts, but the nature of the deposit described above (pp. 54–56) and the high percentage of identifiable fragments among the total number of fragments (91%; 113:124) in comparison to the percentages of SD1, SED1, SED2, NED, WD1, and WD2 (ranging from 55–65%) suggest that only the larger diagnostic bones were collected by those digging in this deposit; thus, the percentage of 62% Small Cattle: 35% Large Cattle recorded for SD2 is likely skewed and is therefore excluded from statistical analyses of taxonomic abundance (cf. Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 15).

[61] See n. 59, above.

Table 2: Taxa Proportions for the Seven Deposits of Area T.

				Large Cattle				Small Cattle				Other			
	NS	NISP	% ID	NISP	%	MNI	%	NISP	%	MNI	%	NISP	%	MNI	%
SD1 (L2390)	147	83	56%	20	24%	3	30%	60	72%	5	50%	3	4%	2	20%
SD2 (L.2395–2709)	124	113	91%	40	35%	3	38%	70	62%	4	50%	3	3%	1	13%
SED1 (L.2321)	328	214	65%	50	23%	2	22%	163	76%	6	67%	1	0%	1	11%
SED2 (L.2311)	1777	1020	57%	115	11%	3	12%	905	89%	22	88%	0	0%	0	0%
NED (L.2155)	439	240	55%	63	26%	3	27%	176	73%	7	64%	1	0%	1	9%
Courtyard Combined	2815	**1670**	59%	**288**	17%	14	22%	**1374**	82%	44	70%	**8**	0%	5	8%
WD1 (L.2844)	86	55	64%	12	22%	1	33%	41	75%	1	33%	2	4%	1	33%
WD2 (L.2881)	533	333	62%	51	15%	2	15%	270	81%	8	62%	12	4%	3	23%
W. Chambers Combined	619	**388**	63%	**63**	16%	3	19%	**311**	80%	9	56%	**14**	4%	4	25%
Total	3434	2058	60%	351		17		1685		53		22		9	

Table 3: Mortality of Small Cattle from the Deposits Based on Mandibular Tooth Wear Evaluated with Payne 1973 Scoring.

	SD1	SD2	SED1	SED2	NED	Courtyard Combined		WD1	WD2	W. Chambers Combined	
Payne 1973 Stage						NISP	%			NISP	%
A-B-C (0–12 mo)	0	0	1	2.5	2	**5.5**	13	1.75	0.5	**2.25**	45
D (12–24 mo)	0	0	0	0.5	1.5	**2**	5	0.25	0.5	**0.75**	15
E (24–36 mo)	0	0	0	4.5	0.5	**5**	12	0	0.25	**0.25**	5
F-G-H-I (36–120 mo)	1	2	1	17.5	7	**28.5**	70	1	0.75	**1.75**	35
NISP	1	2	2	25	11	**41**		3	2	**5**	

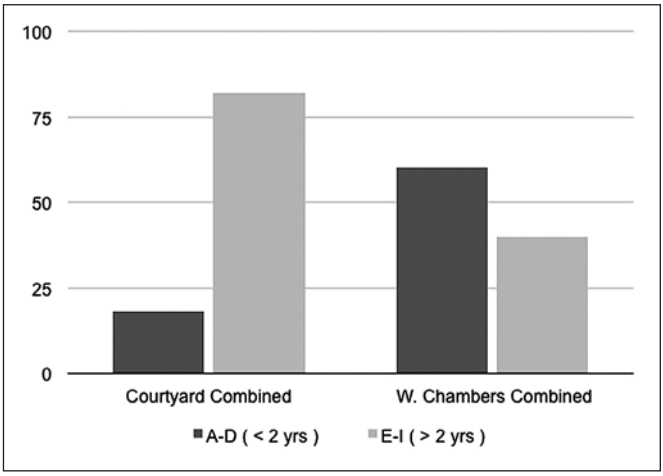

Figure 11: Graphic Representation of Percent Mortality of Small Cattle from the Combined Deposits Based on Mandibular Tooth Wear Evaluated with Payne 1973 Scoring.

generated from the evaluation of mandibular tooth wear according to the stages established by Payne (Table 3; Fig. 11)[62] suggest a difference in that more animals were killed under the age of two years old in the western chambers compared to the courtyard when SED2 is included (p=0.045), though without SED2 this difference is not maintained (p=0.25); however,

[62] See Payne 1973. Here Payne categories were combined to create larger sample sizes and, since the Pearson's (χ^2) test used in this study (see p. 60, n. 57) is designed for strict counts of whole numbers, fractions were added or subtracted from the counts in such a way as to make the result less favorable.

in either case, with fewer than five elements in each category statistical confidence is diminished and these observed differences should not be considered reliable.

In fact, the larger body of data from long bones evaluated by Silver's epiphyseal fusion age ranges in combined courtyard and western chambers categories (Table 4; Fig. 12) does not show significant contrast in regard to age at death (p=0.093).

Male-Female Proportions

Sexual dimorphism was determined by the methods of Hesse outlined above using both distal humeri and distal metapodia.[63] Of the subsample of 28 distal humeri and the 11 distal metatarsals from the seven deposits, only two specimens in each grouping lie within the range of measurements associated with larger and presumably male animals (Table 5). This may suggest that more adult females were killed in all of Area T,[64] with the possibility that of the few males more may have been processed in the western chambers. However, no statistically significant contrast between the samples may be established due to the fact that the western chambers yielded only three bones total in each category.

Butchery Marks

As mentioned above, the preliminary sorting of the entire collection in preparation for this study yielded numerous examples of bones of sheep, goat, and cattle with cut marks associated with slaughter (Fig. 13), processing (Fig. 14), and preparation for consumption (Fig. 15),[65] based on ethnographic comparisons.[66]

For the seven deposits, most cut marks observed on the remains of Small Cattle were associated with processing activities, though evidence for preparation was also evident and, in one case in each category, for

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[63] Hesse 1982; see p. 51, n. 34, above.

[64] Since the fusion timing for distal humeri is approximately at 10 months and that of the metatarsal at approximately 20–28 months (so Silver 1969), these data express only the relative proportions of larger and smaller animals (presumably males and females) who died at ages older than these fusion estimates; however, qualitative examination of the bone maturity in the measured specimens suggests that most of these animals died at ages older than the estimated fusion age—thus these results can best be taken as estimates of the death ratio only of fully mature males and females (so B. Hesse, personal communication).

[65] See p. 51, n. 37.

[66] Cf. Binford 1978; 1981; Klenck 1995; and Grantham 1995; 2000.

Table 4: Mortality of Small Cattle from the Deposits Based on Long Bone Fusion According to Silver 1969 (T = Total; F = Fused; % = % Fused).

	SD1			SD2			SED1			SED2			NED			Courtyard Combined			WD1			WD2			W. Chambers Combined		
	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%
Scapula (8 mo)	1	1		3	3		2	2		11	11		2	3		19	20		0	0		2	2		2	2	
P. Rad (10 mo)	1	1		1	1		4	4		6	7		1	3		13	16		0	0		1	1		1	1	
D. Hum (10 mo)	3	3		1	1		4	5		15	19		4	4		27	32		0	1		3	4		3	5	
Total (Age >1 yr)	5	5	100	5	5	100	10	11	91	32	37	86	7	10	70	59	68	**87**	0	1	0	6	7	86	6	8	**75**
D. PH1-2 (16 mo)	3	3		2	2		2	2		16	22		5	5		28	34		5	6		8	10		13	16	
D. Tib (24 mo)	4	6		2	2		1	1		17	24		2	2		26	35		0	0		2	3		2	3	
D. Mtp (24/28 mo)	3	5		3	4		0	0		11	13		1	6		18	28		2	2		1	5		3	7	
Total (Age >2 yr)	7	11	64	5	6	83	1	1	100	28	37	76	3	8	38	72	97	**74**	2	2	100	3	8	38	18	26	**69**
Calc (36 mo)	1	1		0	0		2	3		7	14		2	3		12	21		1	2		2	2		3	4	
D. Rad (36 mo)	0	0		0	1		1	3		2	8		2	3		5	15		0	0		0	1		0	1	
P. Fem (36 mo)	0	0		1	1		0	0		3	8		1	4		5	13		0	0		1	1		1	1	
P. Ulna (36 mo)	0	0		0	1		0	1		2	2		0	0		2	4		0	0		0	0		0	0	
D. Fem (42 mo)	0	0		0	0		0	0		1	5		1	1		2	6		0	0		0	1		0	1	
P. Tib (42 mo)	0	0		1	1		0	0		2	8		1	2		4	11		0	0		0	0		0	0	
P. Hum (42 mo)	0	0		0	0		0	0		2	6		0	2		2	8		0	0		0	0		0	0	
Total (Age >3 yr)	1	1	100	2	4	50	3	7	43	19	51	37	7	15	47	32	78	**41**	1	2	50	3	5	60	4	7	**57**
NISP		17			15			19			125			33			**243**			5			20			**41**	

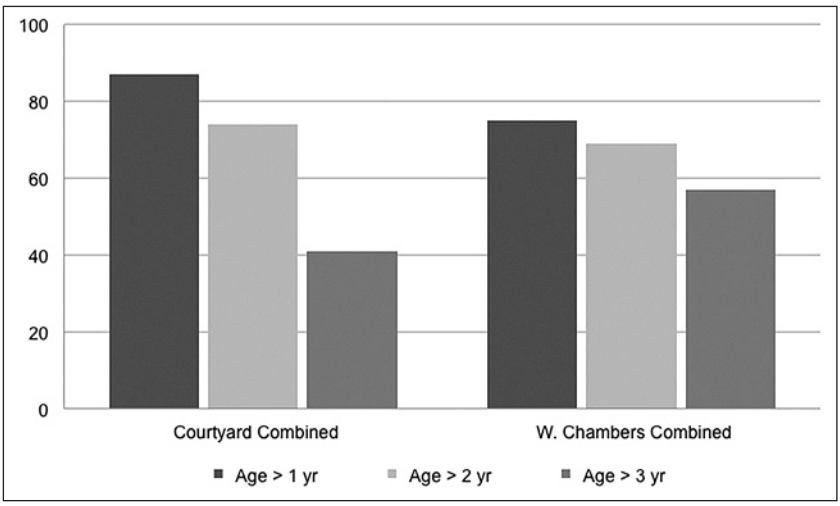

Figure 12: Graphic Depiction of Mortality of Small Cattle from the Combined Deposits Based on Long Bone Fusion According to Silver 1969 Showing Percent Mature in Each Age Range.

slaughter as well (Table 6). The low counts prohibited any meaningful statistical analyses.

Left-sided to Right-sided Proportions

Moving to the frequency of bone element representation in certain analytic categories for Small Cattle consistent with the methods of Hesse and Wapnish,[67] contrast between the courtyard and western chamber deposits was first noted in respect to right-sided and left-sided carcass elements in forelimb (including scapulae, humeri, radii, and ulnae) and hindlimb (femora and tibiae) categories (see Fig. 16).

In the combined forelimb and hindlimb categories (see Table 7), left-sided portions were more abundant than right-sided portions in SD1, SD2, SED1, and NED (combined totals = 63% Lefts : 38% Rights) compared to the predominance of right-sided portions over lefts (67% Rights : 33% Lefts) in WD2 (p=0.033), with WD1 excluded due to the fact that only a single element was present.[68] SED2, on the other hand, stands out in this regard with almost equal portions of 86 rights to 82 lefts, and when added

[67] See Hesse and Wapnish 1985.

[68] Even when the single element from WD1 (a left-sided element) is included, a borderline statistical difference is maintained (p=0.0599).

Table 5: Sexual Dimorphism for Small Cattle Based on: (A) the Measurements of the Antero-posterior Depth of the Medial Side of Distal Humeri and (B) the Greatest Breadth of Distal Metatarsals.

A.

	NISP	Male		Female	
SD1 (L.2390)	3	0	0%	3	100%
SD2 (L.2395–2709)	0	0	0%	0	0%
SED1 (L.2321)	4	1	25%	3	75%
SED2 (L.2311)	14	0	0%	14	100%
NED (L.2155)	4	0	0%	4	100%
Courtyard Combined	**25**	**1**		**24**	
WD1 (L.2844)	0	0	0%	0	0%
WD2 (L.2881)	3	1	33%	2	67%
W. Chambers Combined	**3**	**1**		**2**	

B.

	NISP	Male		Female	
SD1 (L.2390)	1	0	0%	1	100%
SD2 (L.2395–2709)	2	0	0%	2	100%
SED1 (L.2321)	0	0	0%	0	0%
SED2 (L.2311)	4	1	25%	3	75%
NED (L.2155)	1	0	0%	1	100%
Courtyard Combined	**8**	**1**		**7**	
WD1 (L.2844)	2	1	50%	1	50%
WD2 (L.2881)	1	0	0%	1	100%
W. Chambers Combined	**3**	**1**		**2**	

to the other courtyard deposits in the combined category the statistical difference between the courtyard deposits and the western chambers is no longer maintained (p=0.17).

A further observation concerning right-left distribution is that in the bar-handle bowl of SED2, mentioned above,[69] all of the identifiable bones for which side could be determined were from the right side of what was likely a single goat (Fig. 17).[70]

[69] See p. 56, above.

[70] Two fragments were too small to determine sidedness (fragments of a distal femur and a proximal humerus epiphysis), but the remainder were all rights from the forelimb (fragments of a scapula, humerus, radius and also a second accessory) and hindlimb (fragments of a femur, tibia, and also the right half of a pelvis), as well as three long bone shaft

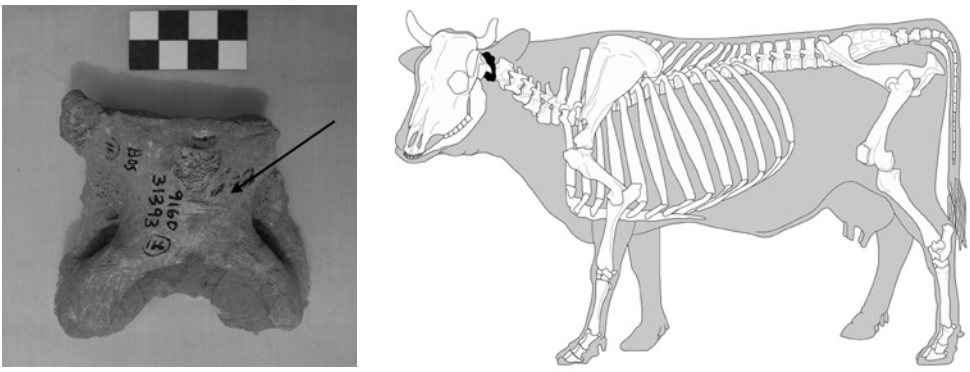

Figure 13: Lateral Cut Marks on the Ventral Surface of a Young Bos Atlas Vertebrae (Left) with Anatomical Location (Right), Likely the Result of Slaughtering Action (photo with cm scale by J. Greer; anatomical sketch adapted from illustration by M. Coutureau after Barone 1976, made available for public use at http://www.archeozoo.org/en-article134.html).

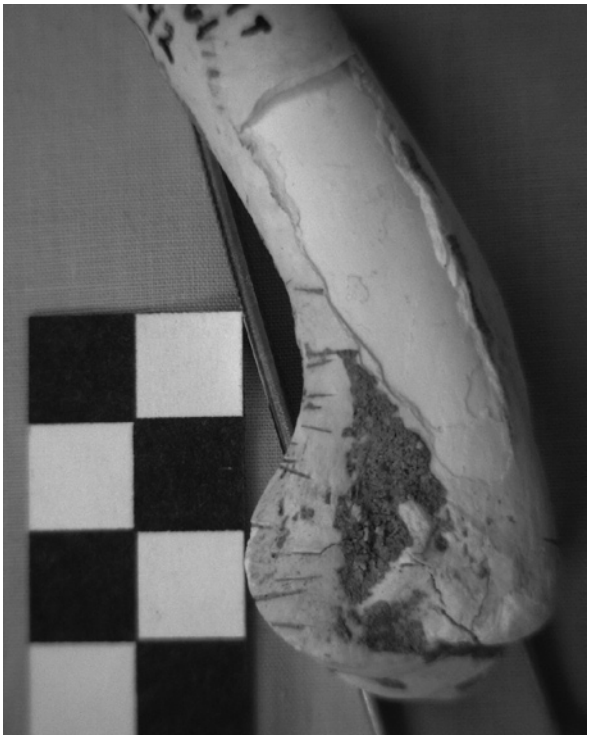

Figure 14: Cut Marks Perpendicular to Long Axis of the Shaft on the Medial Aspect of an Ovis Right Distal Humerus and Associated Diaphysis Shaft (photo with cm scale by J. Greer).

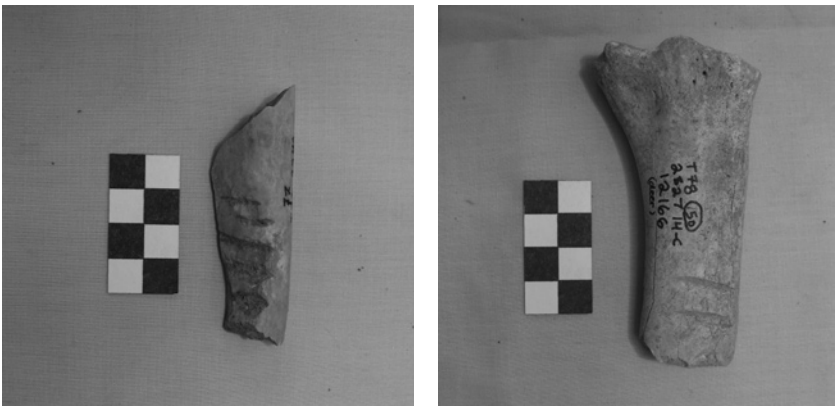

Figure 15: Chop Marks on a Small Cattle Long Bone Fragment (Left) and on the Anterior Surface of a Right Proximal Radius with Associated Shaft (Right) (photos with cm scales by J. Greer).

Table 6: Summary of Cut Marks on Small Cattle Bones from the Seven Deposits.

	NISP	Slaughter Marks	Processing Marks	Preparation Marks	Total	
SD1 (L.2390)	60	1	5	3	9	
SD2 (L.2395–2709)	70	0	0	0	0	
SED1 (L.2321)	163	0	2	0	2	
SED2 (L.2311)	905	0	12	8	20	
NED (L.2155)	176	0	3	1	4	
Courtyard Combined	**1374**	**1**	**22**	**12**	**35**	**3%**
WD1 (L.2844)	41	1	1	0	2	
WD2 (L.2881)	270	0	3	2	5	
W. Chambers Combined	**311**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**7**	**2%**
Total	1685				42	

Meaty Long Bone to Phalange Proportions

Significant difference between the courtyard and western chamber deposits was also noted in respect to the proportions of bone fragments from

fragments, two vertebrae, two phalanges, and one incisor with some mandible fragments. No articulations were evident, though the relative size suggests that they may have come from the same animal. Still, this is impossible to determine with absolute confidence due to the fragmentary state of the bones and the possibility of mixing with other bones in the large deposit. No cut marks were observed on any of the bones.

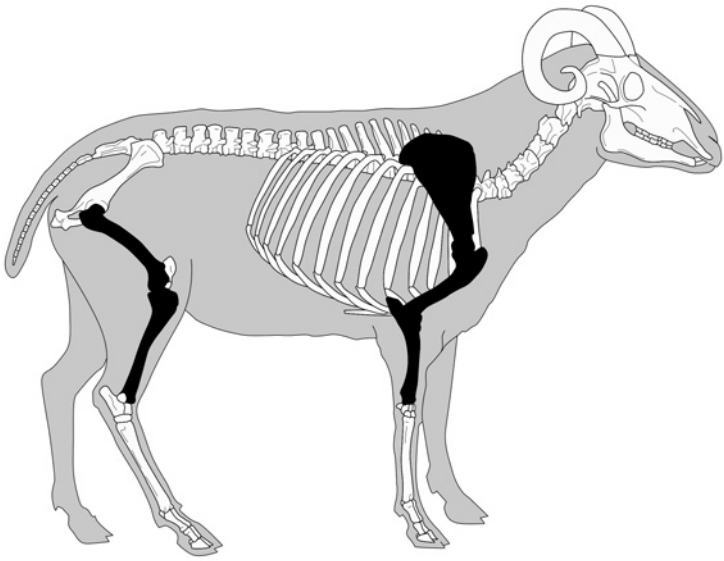

Figure 16: Anatomical Location of the Bones of Hindlimb (Femur, Tibia) and Forelimb (Scapula, Humerus, Radius, Ulna) Portions (adapted from illustration by M. Coutureau after Barone 1976, made available for public use at http://www.archeozoo.org/en-article134.html).

Table 7: Proportion of Left-Sided to Right-Sided Bones in Forelimb and Hindlimb Categories by Deposit.

	NISP	Forelimb				Hindlimb				Total			
		L		R		L		R		L		R	
SD1 (L.2390)	15	5	71%	2	29%	6	75%	2	25%	11	73%	4	27%
SD2 (L.2395–2709)	18	7	64%	4	46%	4	57%	3	43%	11	61%	7	39%
SED1 (L.2321)	30	14	56%	11	44%	4	80%	1	20%	18	60%	12	40%
SED2 (L.2311)	168	56	52%	52	48%	30	50%	30	50%	86	51%	82	49%
NED (L.2155)	33	16	67%	6	33%	4	36%	7	64%	20	61%	13	39%
Courtyard Combined	**264**	**98**		**75**		**48**		**43**		**146**		**118**	
WD1 (L.2844)	1	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%
WD2 (L.2881)	15	4	40%	6	60%	1	20%	4	80%	5	33%	10	67%
W. Chambers Combined	**16**	**5**		**6**		**1**		**4**		**6**		**10**	

Figure 17: The Bar-handled Bowl (Top) and the Bones It Contained (Bottom) from SED2 (photo of the bowl provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion and photo of the bones with cm scale by J. Greer).

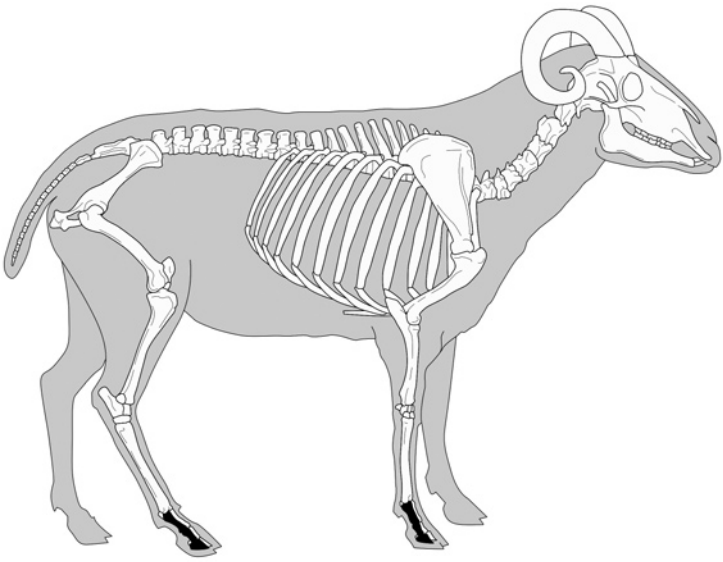

Figure 18: Anatomical Location of Small Cattle Phalanges (anatomical sketch adapted from illustration by M. Coutureau after Barone 1976, made available for public use at http://www.archeozoo.org/en-article134.html).

meat-bearing long bones (including those of the scapula, humerus, radius, ulna, femur, and tibia; see Fig. 16, above) to phalanges or "foot" bones (see Fig. 18).

This difference between proportions of phalanges to meaty long bone fragments (Table 8) was maintained whether with SED2 (p=0.00019) or without SED2 (p=0.00011). Phalanges ranged from 4–17% of the samples from SD1, SD2, SED1, SED2, and NED, whereas in the samples from WD1 and WD2 phalanges comprised 63% and 26% of the bone assemblages, respectively. Moreover, the contrast between the two deposits of the western chambers (WD1 and WD2) may suggest a statistically significant increase (p=0.047) moving from the earlier WD2 to the later WD1, though the reliability of this figure is diminished since only three meaty long bone elements were recovered in WD1.

Ceramic Remains

The analysis of the ceramic remains from the seven deposits, again, highlights both similarities and differences among the deposits.

Table 8: Proportions of Meaty Long Bones to Phalanges by Deposit.

	NISP	Phalanges		Meaty Long Bone	
SD1 (L.2390)	18	3	17%	15	83%
SD2 (L.2395–2709)	23	3	13%	20	87%
SED1 (L.2321)	48	2	4%	46	96%
SED2 (L.2311)	230	32	14%	198	86%
NED (L.2155)	52	5	10%	47	90%
Courtyard Combined	371	**45**	12%	**326**	88%
WD1 (L.2844)	8	5	63%	3	38%
WD2 (L.2881)	38	10	26%	28	74%
W. Chambers Combined	46	**15**	33%	**31**	67%

Ceramic Types

While presumably "cultic" ceramic vessels are extant in different phases throughout Area T and in the deposits (e.g., chalices, so-called tripod perforated "incense" cups, and seven-spouted lamps),[71] typical vessel types used in the storage, preparation, and especially in the consumption of food dominate the remains from the deposits (see, e.g., Fig. 19):[72] bowls, deep (nos. 1–2) and shallow (nos. 3–4), store jars (no. 5), jugs (no. 6), platters (no. 8), and cooking pots (Appendix).

The fragments of these various vessels (see Table 9)[73] were found in each of the deposits in similar proportions for bowls, the most prevalent type in each assemblage, followed in most cases by cooking pots, jugs, and jars; serving vessels, on the other hand, such as platters and kraters, were represented in different proportions.[74]

Other ceramic remains include: one pithos fragment in SD1; two pithos fragments, three baking tray fragments and single chalice, mortaria, and

[71] A discussion of whether or not these forms are, in fact, cultic is beyond the scope of this present work. If they are not cultic, it only emphasizes the "domestic" nature of the assemblage. For contemporary parallel examples, bibliography, and discussion of the function of "incense" cups, shown in an example here in Fig. 19:7, see Arav 2009: 84–94. On seven-spouted lamps, see Gitin 2012: 233.

[72] See Hardin 2010 for examples of typical Iron II domestic assemblages, albeit in a Southern context. On the larger issues concerning "household archaeology" see the recent essays in Yasur-Landau, Ebeling, and Mazow 2011.

[73] Note, however, that there is some ambiguity in distinguishing among sherds of cooking pots, jars, and kraters, for example, when little remains of the vessel; these counts should be taken as relative proportions.

[74] For ceramic proportions without the categories Platter, Krater, Lamp, and Other, p=0.51 with SED2, and p=0.45 without SED2; when these categories are added, statistical difference is apparent either with (p=0.0018) or without (p=0.013) SED2.

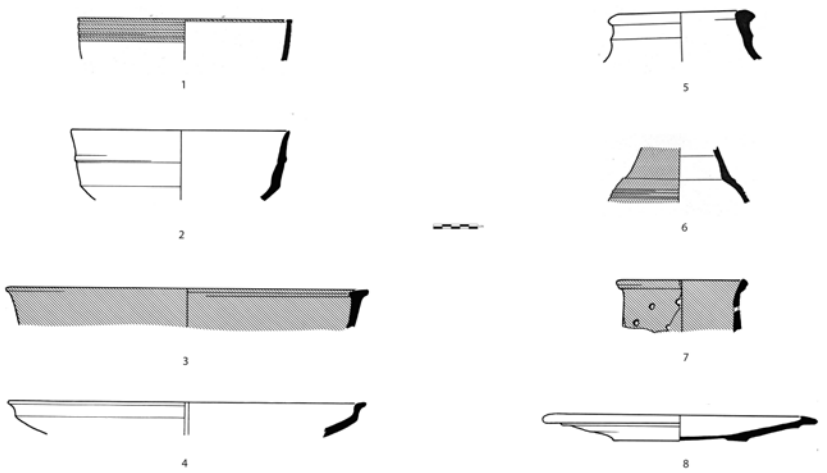

Figure 19: Typical Deposit Assemblage, This One From SED1 (graphic adapted by J. Greer from plate drawings provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

tripod cup fragments in SED1; two pithos fragments and one chalice fragment in SED2; two pithos fragments, two baking tray fragments, and single chalice and tripod cup fragments in NED; and one tripod cup fragment in WD2.

Painted to Unpainted Wares

In addition to the remains of simple bowls, cooking pots, and other undecorated items of local domestic ware, fragments of special types were also recovered from the deposits including fine Samaria Ware vessels, red-slipped burnished wares[75]—both hand and wheel burnished[76]—as well as Cypriote and Phoenician styled vessels (see, e.g., Fig. 20).

From these, a statistically significant difference between the deposits of the courtyard and the deposits of the western chambers was noted in the proportion of painted sherds to unpainted diagnostic sherds (see Table 10;

[75] On the association of burnished wares with "maleness," specifically in the context of public, communal feasts, see Faust 2002; while the importance of this decorated ware certainly extends beyond practical function, and the communal and public context would be affirmed here, it seems more likely to be indicative of a cultic context (cf. Gal and Alexandre 2000: 34) than of gender differentiation.

[76] The presence of a few hand-burnished fragments (i.e., three hand-burnished sherds in SED1) may be significant in that the presumed absence of such was used as an argument against any Iron IIA activity at Dan by Arie 2008.

Table 9: Ceramic Type Proportions for the Deposits of Area T.

	NF	Bowl		Jug		Cooking Pot		Platter		Jar		Krater		Lamp		Other	
SD1 (L.2390)	50	17	34%	12	24%	8	16%	2	4%	6	12%	4	8%	1	2%	0	0%
SD2 (L.2395–2709)	14	5	36%	0	0%	3	21%	0	0%	2	14%	3	21%	0	0%	1	7%
SED1 (L.2321)	173	53	31%	26	15%	28	16%	11	6%	30	17%	12	7%	5	3%	8	5%
SED2 (L.2311)	96	41	43%	14	15%	20	21%	4	4%	13	14%	1	1%	0	0%	3	3%
NED (L.2155)	161	61	38%	22	14%	27	17%	8	5%	23	14%	13	8%	1	1%	6	4%
Courtyard Combined	**494**	**177**	36%	**74**	15%	**86**	17%	**25**	5%	**74**	15%	**33**	7%	**7**	1%	**18**	4%
WD1 (L.2844)	42	18	43%	4	10%	8	19%	0	0%	2	5%	7	17%	3	7%	0	0%
WD2 (L.2881)	57	21	37%	10	18%	5	9%	1	2%	8	14%	8	14%	3	5%	1	2%
W. Chambers Combined	**99**	**39**	39%	**14**	14%	**13**	13%	**1**	1%	**10**	10%	**15**	15%	**6**	6%	**1**	1%
Total	593	216		88		99		26		84		48		13		19	

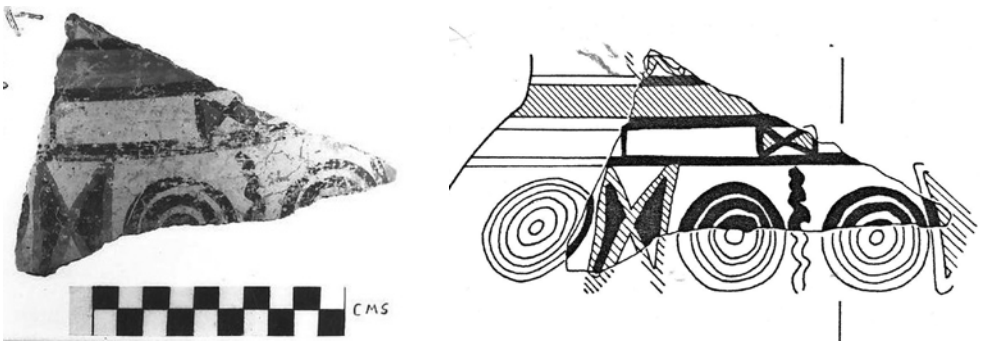

Figure 20: Cypro-Phoenician Bichrome Style Sherd (with Reconstructive Sketch) Indicative of Fine Wares among the Deposits, This One from SED1 (photo and sketch provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

$p=1.8 \times 10^{-8}$ with SED2, and $p=6.6 \times 10^{-8}$ without SED2).[77] In SD1, SD2, SED1, SED2, and NED, painted wares were much less common than unpainted wares, being either completely absent or present as at most 6% of the

[77] Of course, these percentages are in no way indicative of the actual proportions of unpainted to painted vessels, since the unpainted vessels are only represented by diagnostic sherds and the painted vessels are represented by *any* painted sherds in this comparison; the actual percentage of painted vessels would, then, have been much lower, but the comparison here still gives a relative perspective on the concentration of decorated vessels in that the categories are used consistently in each of the two groupings of deposits compared.

Table 10: Proportion of Painted Sherds to Unpainted Diagnostic Sherds by Deposit.

	NF	Painted		Unpainted	
SD1 (L.2390)	51	3	6%	48	94%
SD2 (L.2395–2709)	14	0	0%	14	100%
SED1 (L.2321)	178	7	4%	171	96%
SED2 (L.2311)	100	5	5%	95	95%
NED (L.2155)	167	8	5%	159	95%
Courtyard Combined	510	23	**5%**	487	**95%**
WD1 (L.2844)	46	5	11%	41	89%
WD2 (L.2881)	72	18	25%	54	75%
W. Chambers Combined	118	23	**19%**	95	**81%**
Total		46		582	

assemblages. In contrast, in WD1 and WD2 painted wares comprised 11% and 25% of the assemblages, respectively. Furthermore, the difference (of borderline significance; p=0.059) between the two deposits of the western chambers—the chronologically later WD1 and earlier WD2—may suggest a decrease in the percentage of painted sherds over time.

Other Artifactual Remains

Other artifactual remains were found throughout Area T and, specifically, among the deposits including: those likely associated with the slaughter and processing of animals, others of a presumably cultic nature, and incised fragments (see Table 11).

Artifacts from the entire precinct associated with slaughter and processing include at least six thin metal blades from knife-sized instruments and three larger axe-type tools from among 24 corroded metal implements recovered from Area T.[78] Within the deposits, the remains of a single metal blade with handle studs was found among the faunal material of SED2 (Fig. 21).[79] A thin flint blade (Fig. 22) was also found among the

[78] This author thanks A. Davis for sharing his tabulation of all of the metal objects recorded on the locus cards for Area T, which was used as the starting point for this examination. None of these metal objects have been fully published, but select examples were personally examined by this author in the Tel Dan project storerooms at the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion in Jerusalem during the Summer of 2008 and the Fall of 2010.

[79] The blade was in two pieces: one piece measured 66.5 × 19.2 cm and the other, 38.5 × 16.5 cm.

Table 11: Artifacts from the Deposits.

	Processing	"Cultic"	Incised	Total
SD1 (L.2390)	0	0	0	0
SD2 (L.2395–2709)	0	0	0	0
SED1 (L.2321)	1	0	2	3
SED2 (L.2311)	1	4	1	6
NED (L.2155)	0	0	1	1
Courtyard Combined	**2**	**4**	**4**	**10**
WD1 (L.2844)	0	5	0	5
WD2 (L.2881)	0	0	0	0
W. Chambers Combined	**0**	**5**	**0**	**5**
Total	2	9	4	15

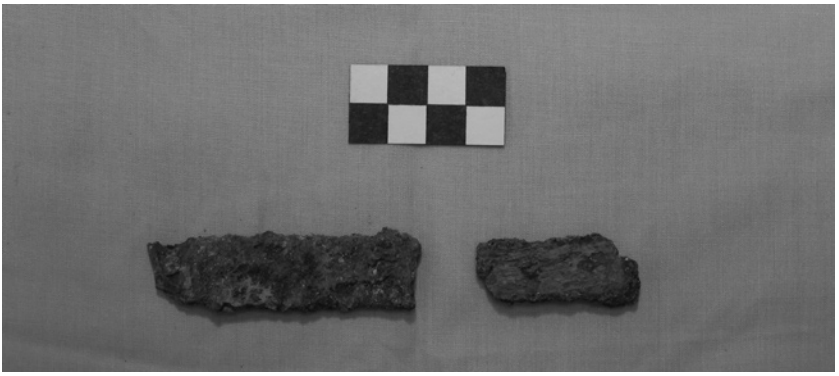

Figure 21: Metal Blade Found Among the Bones of SED2 Possibly Used in Animal Processing Activities (photo with cm scale by J. Greer).

Figure 22: Flint Blade Found Among the Ceramic Remains of SED1 Possibly Used in Animal Processing Activities (photo with cm scale by J. Greer).

ceramic remains of SED1 and was likely associated with animal processing activities as well.[80]

Presumably cultic objects found in Area T include three small incense altars (one of the four-horned type and the other two of the non-horned type), a ceramic basin large enough for the submersion of an adult male, and fragments of at least three small Iron Age figurines.[81] Two of the deposits examined here were particularly rich in this regard, SED2 from the courtyard and WD1 from the western chambers. In SED2 the remains of at least two decorated stands (see one, e.g., in Fig. 23), one of which incorporated anthropomorphic iconography,[82] and two "snake pithos"[83] fragments were recovered.

In WD1 a bronze bowl and three iron shovels (Fig. 24), likely associated with sacrificial offerings,[84] and the head of a zoomorphic figurine (probably a young bull) were found.[85]

Two incised base fragments in SED1 and an incised handle in NED (Fig. 25) were also identified within the assemblages of the deposits and may be suggestive of specialized activities, though the significance of these markings remains enigmatic.[86]

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[80] This blade was examined during the Fall of 2010, found among the ceramic assemblages, and is, as of yet, unpublished other than here and in Greer 2011. Y. Rowan, in personal communication and examination in the HUC lab, confirmed that the blade (pictured in Fig. 22) was unlikely to be a sickle blade.

[81] On the altars, see Biran 1994a: 196–97, 203–204; on the basin see his pp. 174–75; and on the figurines, see his p. 177. A. Davis tabulated more than some 20 potential fragments from figurines in his personal examination of the locus cards from Area T, which he kindly shared with this author, though the stratigraphic context is not clear in many of the cases as of yet.

[82] See Biran 1994a: 172–73, on the stands, and on the reconstruction of the stand with "mask-like" face reliefs, see Pakman 2003.

[83] See p. 56, n. 49.

[84] For a discussion of the bowl and shovels, see further pp. 106–8, below.

[85] It is unclear if this derived from a vessel, or from a small figure, as only the head remains.

[86] Most recent studies have focused specifically on pre-fired incised marks on cooking pots in Southern (Maeir 2010) and Northern (Sharon, Yellin, and Perlman 1987) contexts (cf., too, Gitin 2012: 226–27 on the potential connection between *tet* [=*tebel*] and tithing). On a possible, though deemed to be unlikely, cultic connotation for the "aleph" mark, see Maeir 2010: 53, n. 32. The five-pointed star (Fig. 25, Left) is particularly intriguing, especially when considered in light of an inscribed base fragment found prior to professional excavation at Dan which reads יא[ח]לטב, "for the butchers (or cooks)" in Aramaic along with a depiction of a five-pointed star (Avigad 1968), perhaps implying a connection between the symbol and the allocation for (cultic? cf. 1 Sam 9:23–24) butchers; unfortunately, the area find spot was not recorded. For the suggestion that the design served simply as a guide for the potter to locate the center of the base prior to the application of the ring bottom, see Arav 2009: 79; such is not applicable here, as both examples in Fig. 25

Figure 23: Painted Stand Found in SED2, Possibly Suggesting a Cultic Context for the Deposit (photo provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

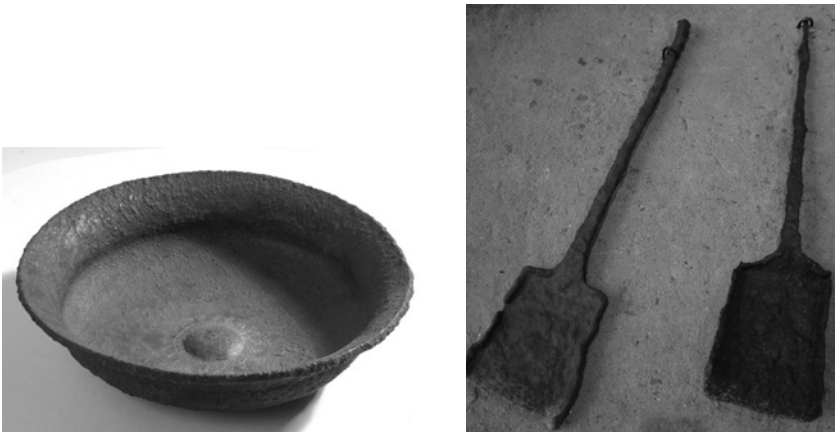

Figure 24: Bronze Bowl (Left) and Iron Shovels (Right) Likely Associated with Sacrificial Procedures Found in WD1 (photo of the bowl provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion and photos of shovels by J. Greer).

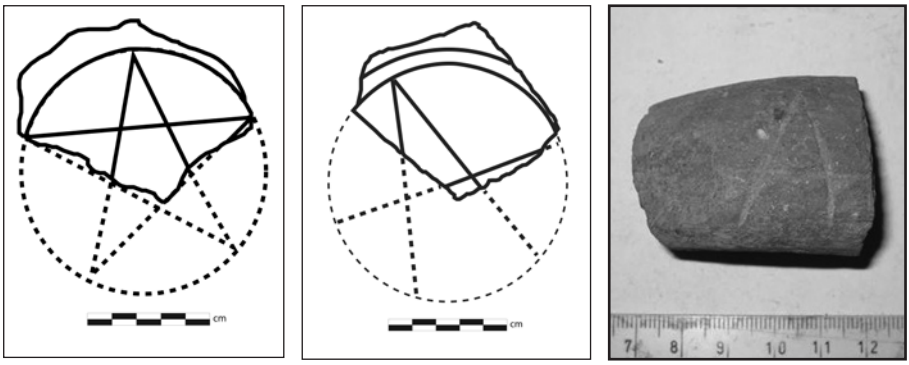

Figure 25: Inscribed Bases (Left and Center; from SED1) and Handle (Right; from NED) Possibly Indicating Specialized Function of the Vessels (sketches and photo with cm scale by J. Greer).

Discussion

Such observations permit a discussion of the processes that may be linked to the residue left in these deposits and the nature of the deposits themselves. Further, they may give some indication of different spheres of activity within the area and change in practice over time.

Cultic Meals in Area T

Indeed, ample evidence has been provided to suggest that sheep, goats, and cattle were being killed, processed, and eaten along with other food and drink within Area T. That these activities took place within an area charged with religious significance evidenced in architectural features and cultic paraphernalia justifies, on archaeological grounds alone, identifying these activities as cultic feasts.

The meat portions of these cultic feasts would have consisted primarily of sheep and goats and, to a lesser degree, cattle, as indicated by the proportions of taxa represented (Fig. 26).[87] This stands in marked contrast to the site profile of Dan at this time[88] and other regional sites that suggest

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are incised on disk bases. Regional contemporary parallels have been discovered at Hazor (Strata VIII and VI) and et-Tell/Bethsaida (Stratum V); see Arav 2009: 76–79.

87 See pp. 60–62, above.

88 I.e., when comparing the main three categories of domesticates (sheep/goat, cattle, pig) based on published NISP counts, we observe 53% cattle at Dan III-II in Area M (Wapnish and Hesse 1991); notably, the contrast with Area T was already observed in their study,

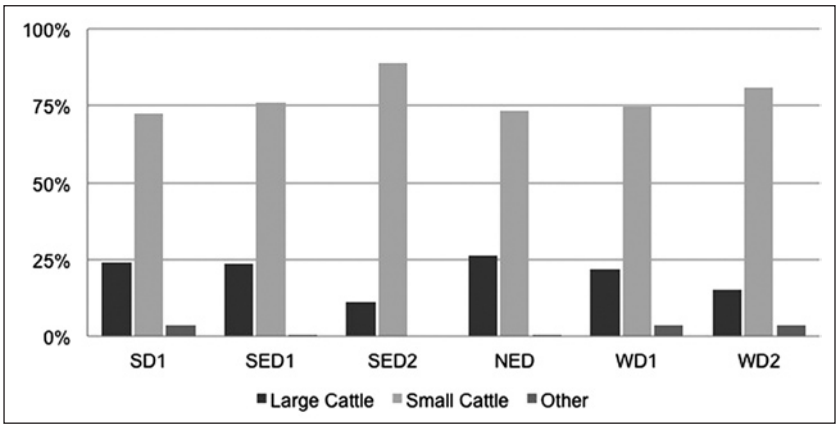

Figure 26: Percentage of Category Abundance by Deposit Based on NISP.

a much higher percentage of cattle consumption.[89] The few remains from deer and gazelle may also indicate that such animals were consumed, but the fact that these taxa are represented almost entirely by bones of the lower leg (i.e., metapodia and phalanges) suggests that these elements may have been left attached to skins and not necessarily associated with meat portions.[90] The few other bone elements recovered, i.e., the two equid teeth and a metapodial fragment, and five bird bones, likely represent intrusive elements, in most cases found in baskets that showed evidence of some mixing with ceramic contents from other loci. The single fragment of turtle shell was probably decorative in nature and cannot be viewed as direct evidence for consumption.[91] That younger animals were preferred, based on earlier analyses[92] and not contradicted in this study,

calculating a similarly small proportion of cattle (25%; cf. the 17% observed in this study, considering these same three domesticates).

[89] Cf. cattle percentages from other Iron II regional sites when comparing the main three categories of domesticates (sheep/goat, cattle, pig) based on published NISP counts: 52% at Tel Kinrot III-I (Manhart and von den Driesch 2004); 37% at Tel Kinrot II-I (Bar-Oz and Raban-Gerstel n.d., cited in Raban-Gerstel 2008); 46% at et-Tell/Bethsaida VI-IV (Fisher 2005); notably, when the gate complex assemblage is separated from the *bit hilani* structure and Area B at et-Tell a distribution closer to that at Dan is observed: 33% cattle in the gate complex compared to 54% in the *bit hilani* structure and Area B. Rosh Zayit stands as an exception to the high percentage of cattle in northern Iron II contexts (see Horwitz 2000) and may have to do with the function of the site as a fort.

[90] See Wapnish and Hesse 1991.

[91] So B. Hesse, personal communication.

[92] See Wapnish, Hesse, and Ogilvy 1977; Wapnish and Hesse 1991; and Wapnish 1993.

and that pigs were entirely lacking from the deposits may find resonance in other contemporary cult locales.[93]

It seems most likely that the meat portions were stewed in pots, rather than roasted, based on the observations that: 1) there were no burned ends of meaty long bones in any of the samples from the deposits; 2) the breakage patterns discussed above are consistent with this method of preparation;[94] and 3) a variety of wide-mouthed cooking pots (see examples by deposit in the Appendix) were recovered from the deposits.[95] These portions, along with other food and drink were then apparently served in a number of vessel forms, especially bowls, of qualities and styles typical of domestic assemblages (Fig. 27).[96]

The faunal and ceramic evidence, together, further suggest that each stage of the foodway process—from the slaughter and processing, to the preparation, distribution, and consumption—took place in this area. Additional evidence for eating-related activities may also be drawn from the presence of food-preparation installations within Area T, such as tabuns and the olive press in Stratum IVA2, as well as from other artifacts, including the flint and metal blades mentioned above.[97]

The presence of lamps in the courtyard deposits may also be important, suggesting that activities may have occurred, at least occasionally, at night or predawn.

The Nature of the Deposits of Area T

The seven deposits examined apparently represent deliberately selected and opportunistically chosen areas within the precinct where debris from these eating activities would have been deposited. In the case of SD2, NED, and WD2, these places were defined by pits dug into a courtyard floor, whereas in the case of SD1 and SED2, the bones were deposited in spaces created by the reuse of earlier architectural features. Since, in most of the deposits, the actual bone and ceramic counts were relatively low, these spaces may have served as temporary bins that were filled during specific events, or series of events, and then periodically emptied outside

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[93] Cf. et-Tell/Bethsaida's gate complex in Fisher 2005: 44–54 in which a high percentage of juvenile sheep/goat remains were identified, along with a complete absence of pig, in contrast to other areas of the site.

[94] See p. 48, n. 20; p. 51, n. 37.

[95] "Pot polish" was not observed on any of the specimens due to the fact that this author was not trained in its identification at the time of the analysis, and none of the cooking pots has yet been subject to residue analysis.

[96] See pp. 72–75, above.

[97] See Figs. 21 and 22, above.

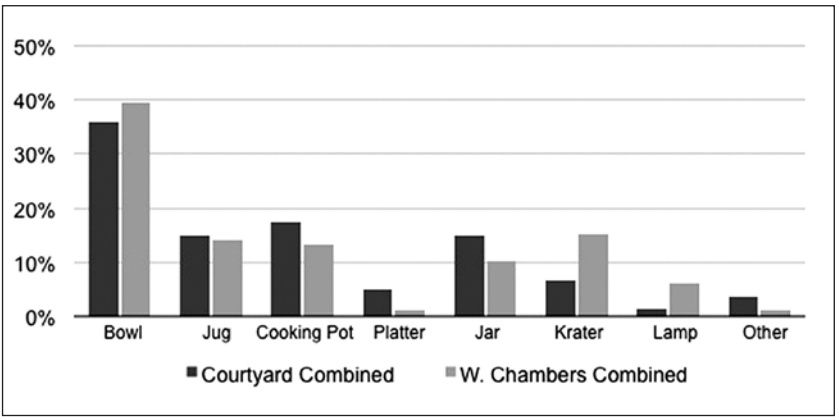

Figure 27: Graphic Depiction of the Percentages of Ceramic Types for the Combined Deposits Demonstrating the Variety of Vessel Forms Typical of a Domestic Assemblage.

of the precinct; if so, one would expect the pits to have been lined with a removable surface, such as a basket or cloth, that would have since deteriorated.[98]

It is also possible that the contents of the deposits were purposefully buried under floors, perhaps after inaugural celebrations before new building phases or as votive or dedicatory offerings, thus charged with meaning and therefore retained. Such may especially be the case with SED2, which differs from the other deposits of the courtyard in a number of respects: 1) it has impressive cultic artifacts including at least two painted stands;[99] 2) it contains the unique find of the incised bar-handled bowl with fragments of right-sided bones;[100] 3) it does not indicate a preference for right or left-sided elements of Small Cattle forelimb and hindlimb portions,[101] other than in the bar-handled bowl; 4) it apparently contained a high

[98] Unfortunately, no soil samples were retained that might be tested for the remains of such to either confirm or refute this theory. I thank P. Shipman for drawing attention to this possibility and hope that future excavations will provide an opportunity to test this hypothesis.

[99] See pp. 78–79, above.

[100] See Fig. 17 and p. 67, n. 70, above. The fact that remains from the head and right-sided portions are represented without butcher marks may indicate that the bowl contained a head and meat portions with the flesh intact, rather than the residue of meals; if so, this may strengthen the possibility of a votive context for the deposit.

[101] Right and left-sided portions are represented as 51% and 49%, respectively. As mentioned above, the statistical difference (p=0.033) between the deposits SD1, SD2, SED1, and NED of the courtyard and WD2 of the western chambers in regard to right and left portions no longer holds when SED2 is added (p=0.17). See pp. 66–67, above.

percentage of restorable vessels;[102] 5) it contained a larger proportion of Small Cattle compared to Large Cattle than in any of the other courtyard deposits ($p=2.22 \times 10^{-16}$); and 6) it almost completely lacks kraters when compared to the other courtyard deposits ($p=0.014$), which is especially odd in that it is one of the largest deposits.

These differences signal that the activities associated with this deposit differed from those associated with the others. Further, these characteristics are consistent with a repository for votive or dedicatory offerings, or perhaps some sort of *favissa*. The location of SED2, too, in a slot between two walls under a compact surface (see Fig. 8, above) would also be consistent with such a scenario. Thus, it may be that SED2 was a space that was used not only for feasting refuse (perhaps from a momentous single event), but for other types of offerings as well.

Contrast between Spheres of Activity

When SED2 is set aside from the other deposits for the reasons listed above, significant contrast is noted between the remaining deposits of the courtyard (SD1, SD2, SED1, and NED) and the deposits of the western chambers (WD1 and WD2). Statistical differences were specifically observed in: 1) the proportions of taxa; and in the ratios within certain analytic categories including 2) right-sided to left-sided meat portions; 3) meaty long bone fragments to phalanges, and 4) painted to unpainted ceramic ware fragments. To these we may add the possibility of further contrast between the courtyard and western chamber deposits in respect to 5) mortality patterns and 6) sexual dimorphism, though the differences observed in these latter two categories are not statistically significant and more data is needed to assess any reliable difference, as will be discussed below.

For taxa proportions (see Fig. 28; cf. Table 2), it was noted that the western chamber deposits contained a higher percentage of "Other" taxa (4%) compared to the courtyard (< 1%) and further that they contained a higher percentage of Small Cattle (80%) compared to the courtyard deposits (74%).[103]

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[102] The exact number of restorable vessels could not be quantified, nor statistically evaluated, as a figure is not given on the locus card and this author is not confident that he has located all of the vessels described. The excavators believed these vessels to have been intentionally smashed (they suggested a desecration of some sort), a profile consistent with a votive deposit.

[103] See p. 61, above.

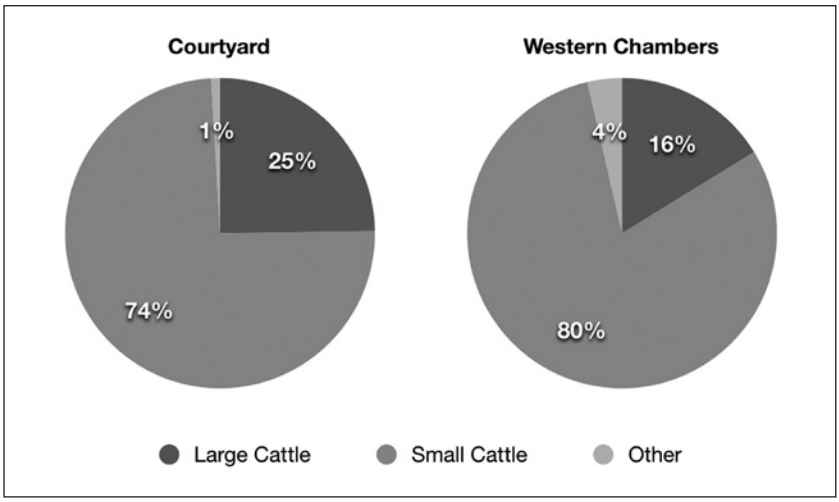


Figure 28: Graphic Depiction of Taxa Proportions from Combined Totals of NISP from the Deposits of the Courtyard and the Western Chambers.

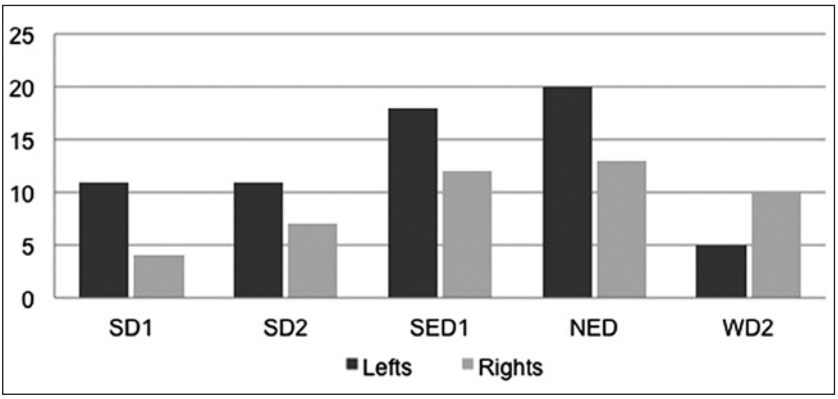
In the case of right-to-left distribution, the tabulations above (Table 7) showed that in the courtyard deposits left-sided meat-bearing portions of Small Cattle predominated in forelimb (including scapulae, humeri, radii, and ulnae) and hindlimb (femora and tibiae) categories, whereas in the western chamber deposit of WD2, right-sided portions were more prevalent (Fig. 29).[104]

In regard to the proportion of the bones of the "foot" (phalanges) to bones from the meat-bearing upper limb (scapulae, humeri, radii, ulnae, femora, and tibiae), the percentage of phalanges was significantly lower in the case of the courtyard deposits, but much higher for the western chamber deposits (Fig. 30; cf. Table 8, above).[105]

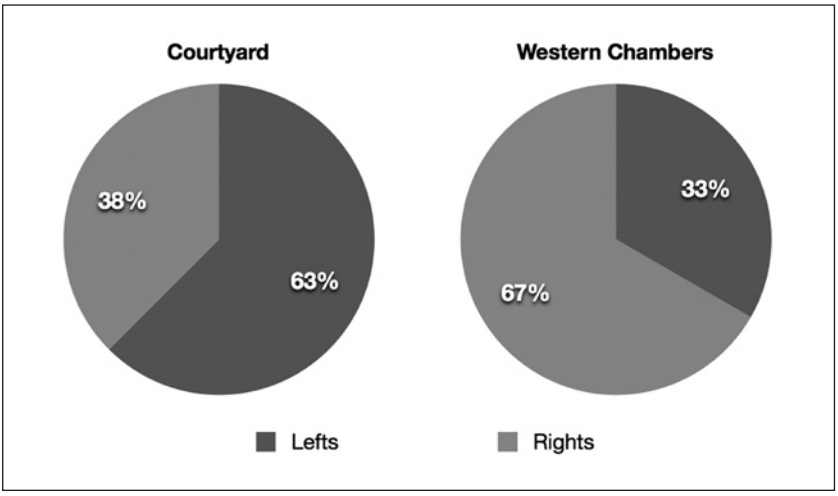
Also, in regard to the ratio of painted to unpainted wares tabulated above (Table 10), the percentage of painted sherds to unpainted diagnostic sherds was noted to be significantly lower in the deposits of the courtyard and higher in the deposits of the western chambers (Fig. 31).[106]

While further contrast between the deposits of the courtyard and the deposits of the western chambers may be suggested in respect to the mortality rate of Small Cattle based on mandibular tooth wear (see Fig. 32, below), the difference is not statistically reliable (due to the small sample

[104] See pp. 66–67, above.
[105] See, also, pp. 69 and 72, above.
[106] See pp. 74–76, above.

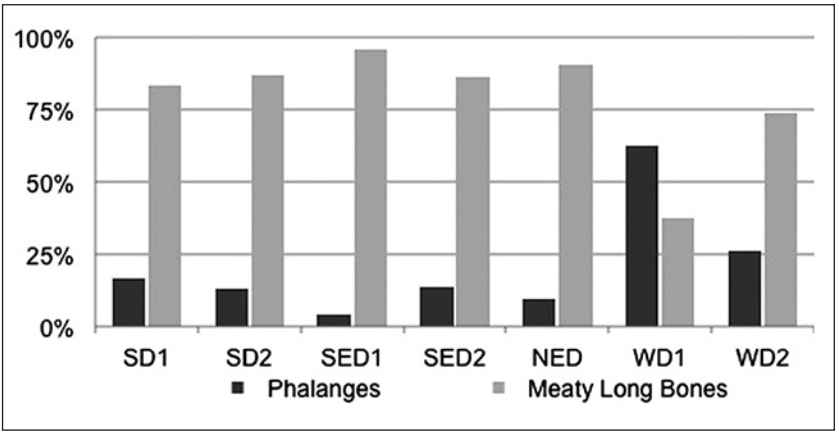


A

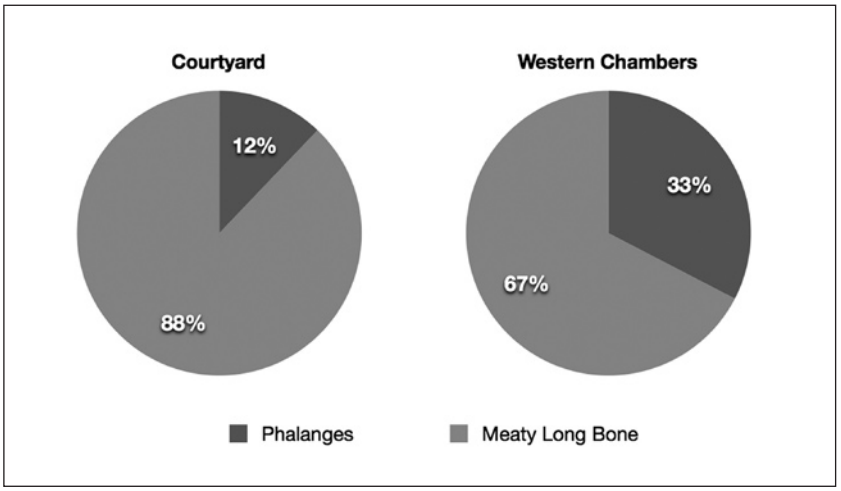


B

Figure 29: Graphic Representations of the Ratios of the Total Number of Left and Right Forelimb and Hindlimb Portions by Deposit (A) and Combined (B) Showing Contrast between Deposits of the Courtyard (SD1, SD2, SED1, NED) and a Deposit of the Western Chamber (WD2).

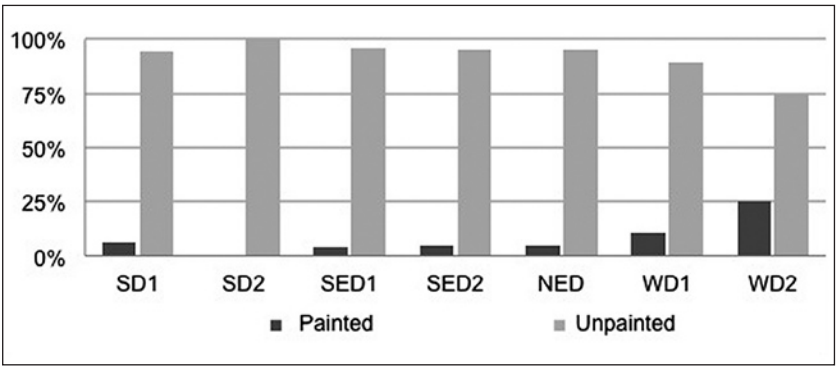


A

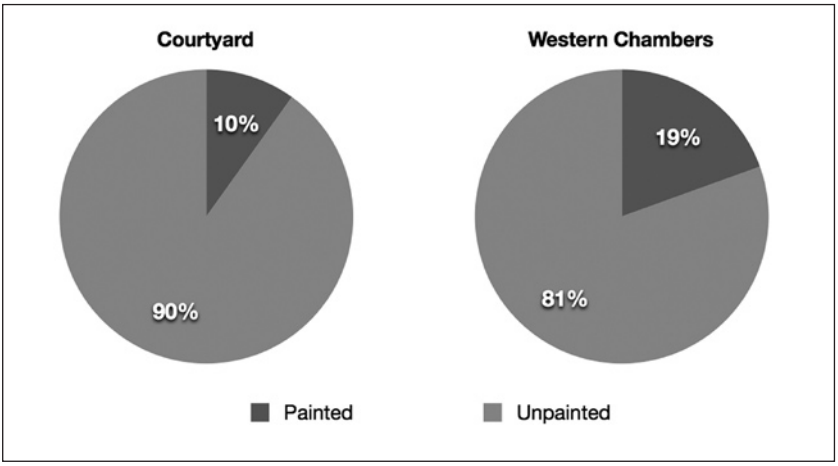


B

Figure 30: Graphic Representations of Percentages of Phalanges to Meat-Bearing Long Bone Fragments by Deposit (A) and Combined (B) Showing Contrast in Skeletal Element Representation between the Deposits of the Courtyard (SD1, SD2, SED1, SED2, NED) and the Deposits of the Western Chambers (WD1 and WD2).



A



B

Figure 31: Graphic Representations of the Percentages of Painted Sherds to Unpainted Diagnostic Sherds by Deposit (A) and Combined (B) Showing Contrast between Deposits of the Courtyard (SD1, SD2, SED1, NED) and the Deposits of the Western Chambers (WD1 and WD2).

sizes for the western chambers), and the mortality profile established by epiphyseal fusion for a larger number of bones did not show any significant contrast with respect to age among the deposits.[107]

[107] See pp. 61–64, above. Though contrast in ages at death for Small Cattle cannot be determined with confidence between the western chamber and courtyard deposits, previous studies demonstrated that the animals in Area T were killed at younger ages than in

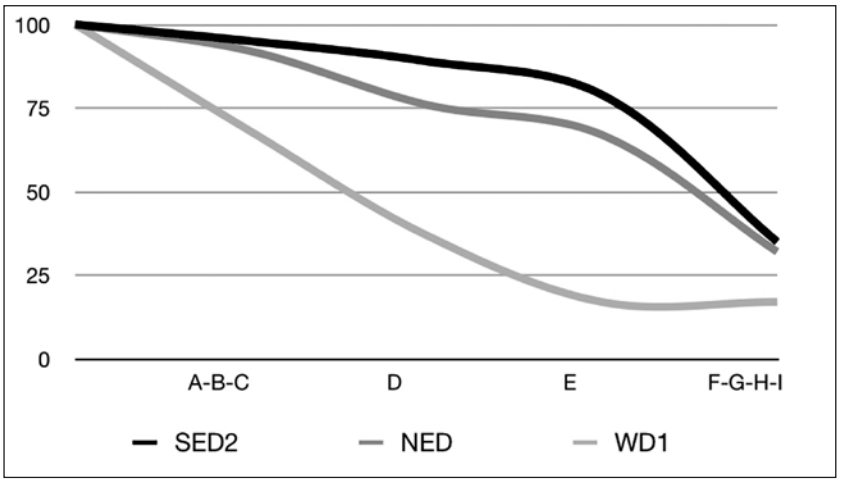


Figure 32: Mortality Curve Showing Percent Survival of Small Cattle in Each Mandibular Tooth Wear Stage According to Payne 1973 for the Two Largest Courtyard Deposits (SED2 and NED) Compared to the Largest Western Chamber Deposit (WD1).

So, too, some difference may be hinted at in respect to male-female proportions, possibly pointing to a greater proportion of male animal elements in the western chambers,[108] but the sparse remains eliminate the possibility of reaching any statistically sound conclusions.

Thus, based on the differences between the courtyard and western chamber deposits in respect to taxa represented, the proportions of Small Cattle right-sided to left-sided meat-bearing portions, Small Cattle meaty long bone fragments to phalanges, and painted to diagnostic unpainted ceramic ware fragments, two different spheres of activity may be demarcated: the courtyard deposits of SD1, SD2, SED1, and NED, on the one hand, and the western chamber deposits of WD1 and WD2, on the other (see Fig. 33).

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other areas of the site (see Wapnish, Hesse, and Ogilvy 1977; Wapnish and Hesse 1991). Cf. Fisher 2005: 47, 52 for a similar association of younger animals with possible sacrificial contexts.

[108] See p. 64, above. Though only two humeri and two metatarsals that likely came from adult male animals were extant in all of Area T, the fact that one of each was found in the western chambers may be suggestive of a higher concentration of adult males in WD1 and WD2, though more data is needed to make a reliable assessment.

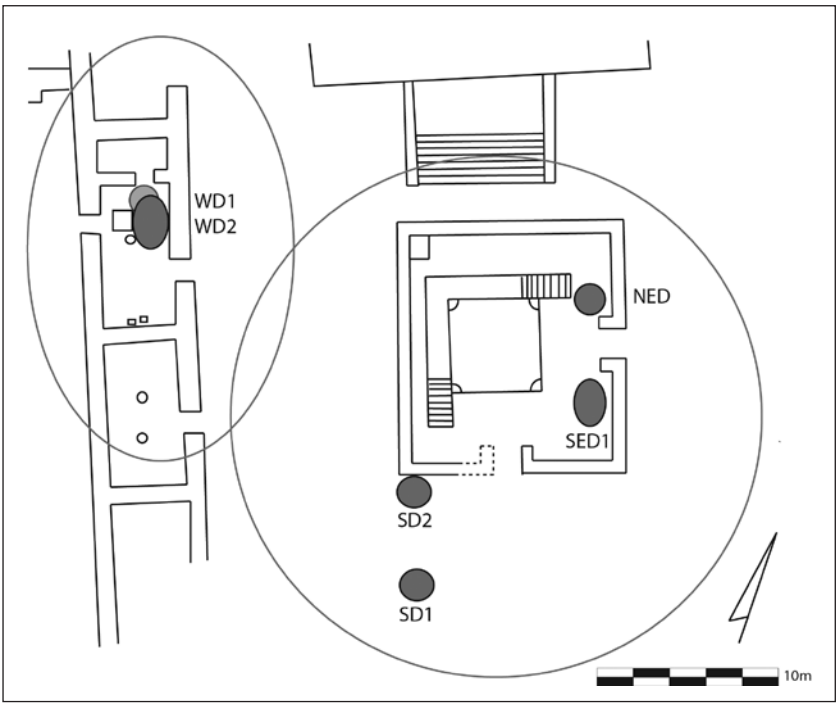

Figure 33: Spheres of Activity in Area T.

Chronological Trends

Further, there is some evidence for change over time in the activities of the precinct. Though the complex stratigraphy of Area T renders the precise sequencing of each of the deposits (and thus a comprehensive assessment of chronological trends) an impossibility at this time, the superimposed strata associated with WD1 and WD2 suggest change in two respects. First, moving from the earlier WD2 to the later WD1, a noticeable increase in the percentage of phalanges was observed compared to a decrease in the percentage of meaty long bone fragments.[109] Second, a marked decrease in the percentage of painted ware fragments was observed compared to

[109] As mentioned above, however, though the difference between the deposits is statistically significant (p=0.047), the reliability of this figure is diminished due to the fact that fewer than five meaty long bone elements were recovered in WD1.

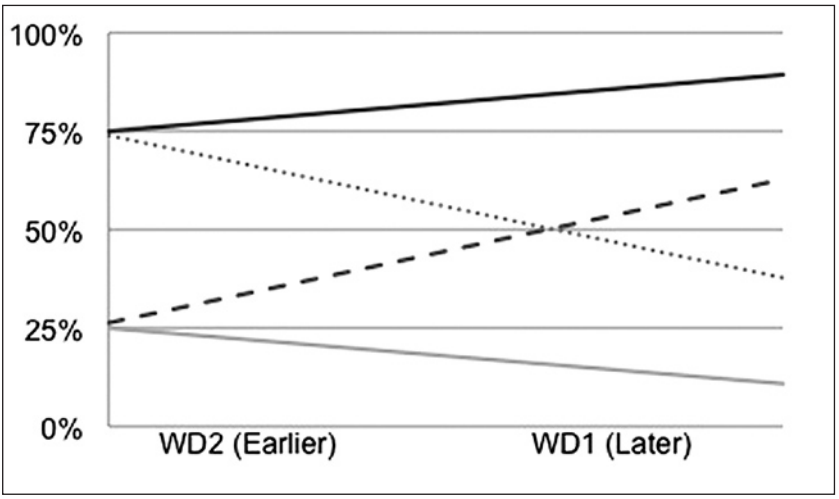

Figure 34: Trend Lines Showing that as the Percentage of Phalanges (Dashed Line) Increases Moving from the Earlier Phase (WD2) to the Later Phase (WD1), the Percentage of Painted Wares (Light Grey) Decreases, Just as the Percentage of Meaty Long Bones (Dotted Line) Decreases and the Percentage of Unpainted Wares (Dark Grey) Increases.

an increase in the percentage of unpainted wares in this same time period (Fig. 34).[110]

Together, such data may suggest that the activities of the earlier phase (WD2)—notably the same stage in which the predominance of right-sided portions was observed—were centered more on eating events, apparently employing more decorative vessels in the process, whereas the activities of the later phase (WD1) likely consisted less of eating and focused primarily on the processing of skins.

Conclusions

Thus, after analyzing 3,434 bones, 593 diagnostic ceramic fragments, and 15 artifacts from seven Iron Age II deposits in Area T, there is good evidence that eating events charged with religious significance took place there. Support for feasting is garnered from cut marks observed on Small

[110] Yet, as mentioned above, there is a only a borderline statistically significant difference between the deposits (p=0.059).

Cattle bones analyzed for this study and in preliminary studies that showed marks and breakage patterns on sheep, goat, and cattle bones consistent with slaughter, processing, and preparation activities, as well as evidence from large quantities of vessel types used in the storage, preparation, and consumption of other food and drink.

Further observations provided details regarding certain aspects of these cultic feasts. One of the courtyard deposits was singled out as a potential votive deposit, likely also including feasting remains, and the other four were understood to be feasting deposits. Four patterns of non-random distribution in respect to 1) taxa proportions, 2) right-sided to left-sided portions, 3) phalanges to meaty long bone fragments, and 4) painted to unpainted diagnostic ceramic sherds, suggested that the feasting activities took place in two distinct spheres: the western chambers, on the one hand, and the courtyard, on the other. Change was suggested to have occurred over time, based on the increase of the percentage of phalanges to meaty long bone fragments and the decrease of the percentage of painted sherds to unpainted diagnostic sherds moving from the earlier WD2 to the later WD1.

It is hoped that renewed excavations of the largely unexcavated eastern chambers in Area T, under continued careful direction and analysis, will provide further evidence, especially in regard to age at death and sexual dimorphism of the animals consumed, either confirming the difference between the courtyard and western chambers, refuting it, or offering a new perspective. It is also hoped that future efforts to understand the stratigraphy of Area T will clarify the proposed change over time.

Reconstruction

In light of these conclusions, a reconstruction of the Iron Age II activities in these respective spheres and chronological contexts may be proposed based on this archaeological evidence alone.

The Cultic Feasts of the Courtyard

Evidence from the courtyard deposits suggests that, at least during the phases of activity associated with Strata IVA1, IIIB, and IIIA, people enjoyed meat-based meals in a communal setting in the courtyard area, and deposited the remains from these events close to the large central altar structure. Sheep, goats, and cattle were apparently brought into the courtyard live and killed within the precinct, before being gutted, skinned,

and disarticulated. Portions of meat would then have been boiled or stewed in cooking pots and distributed to participants in a variety of small bowls. Beverages, probably wine, were also served in jugs and imbibed from small bowls at such meals alongside of other consumable products. That left-sided portions of hindlimbs and, even more so, forelimbs dominate the faunal remains of the courtyard suggests that more right-sided portions were consumed or disposed of elsewhere and reeks of symbolic choice that will be explored in the next chapter.

People apparently dined with vessels typical of a domestic assemblage.[111] The variety within each type (various styles of cooking pots, jugs, bowls, etc.) may suggest a less regulated environment in which these feasters brought their own "mess kits," rather than utilizing mass-produced wares upon arrival in the precinct. The presence of lamps among the assemblages of the courtyard may also suggest that such feasts carried on into the night.

The feasts would have been charged with religious significance imparted from their enactment within the sanctuary. Thus, the vessels employed—few of which display any overtly cultic markers—may have become "cultic" simply by having been used in that place, a notion perhaps reinforced by any associated rituals.[112] As sacred vessels, the feasters may have intentionally smashed them after use and deposited the remains in one of the concentrations of the courtyard,[113] such as in SED2, though it seems that in most cases the participants simply scraped together the refuse from their feasts—leftover bones and any vessels that were accidentally broken during the activities—and deposited them in established repositories, due to the fact that few restorable vessels were recovered.[114]

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[111] On a typical domestic assemblage, see p. 73, n. 72, above.

[112] The use of domestic vessels for cultic purposes in a variety of contexts is common in ancient Israel, the ancient Near East, and even in present day ethnographic examples (cf. Meyers 2010: 121–22).

[113] Cf. Lev 6:21 and the smashing of any ceramic vessel used for the cooking of the purification offering. Early rabbinic interpretation added that the sherds of these broken vessels were to be buried within the courtyard (*b. Yoma* 21a; *b. Zebaḥ* 96a).

[114] It is impossible to tell if these deposits are representative of one-time events or recurrent feasts (in which case the contents would have been repeatedly emptied; see pp. 82–83), but the fact that there was a high percentage of unidentifiable bone fragments compared to identifiable bone fragments (see Table 2), low MNI counts, and some ceramic mixing, leads this author to lean toward the latter for all of the deposits except SED2, as suggested above (see pp. 83–84).

The Cultic Feasts of the Western Chambers

The participants in the western chambers, likewise, apparently partook of feasts in a communal setting in the earlier phase of activity, but in smaller enclosed rooms.[115] The presence of the fragments of cooking pots and other consumption vessels, especially bowls and jugs, suggests meals of meat, wine, and other consumable products, likely paralleling those of the courtyard, took place there. The fewer number of vessel fragments and the architectural confines of the space suggest that the meals may have been enjoyed in smaller groups.

While most of the vessel types are typical of domestic assemblages, as was the case with the courtyard deposits, the higher percentage of painted sherds may indicate an elevated social status of those dining there, though the fragmentary nature of the ceramic assemblage and the inherent problems in using ceramic forms to determine class render any conclusions speculative.[116] The lion and bear bones noted in other studies and several other bear bones identified in the larger survey of the remains for this project—notably almost all from paws, and thus indicative of skins (Fig. 35)[117]—also found in the vicinity of the western chambers may perhaps reinforce the idea of an elite presence, whether the skins were used as wall hangings, rugs, or utilized in the cult. Contradicting this interpretation is the fact that bear bones were found in other areas as well.[118]

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[115] Perhaps such activities expanded to encompass the northern and southern rooms of the western chambers as well, though further exploration is required to assess this possibility.

[116] The use of ceramic differences to determine the presence of feasting (see, e.g., Dabney, Halstead, and Thomas 2004) and often class distinction (see, e.g., Day and Wilson 2004; Wright 2004b: 140–45; Borgna 2004) in a variety of contexts is common, but not without its problems (cf. Faust 2012: 117–27). In this regard, it may be noted that high percentages of slipped and burnished wares are also seen to indicate the special, even cultic, nature of assemblages (cf. the discussion in Gal and Alexandre 2000: 34, on the contrast between the Rosh Zayit plain-ware forms and comparable slipped and burnished forms from Hazor Strata IX–X and, especially, Taanach Period IIB; for another perspective, cf. Faust 2002), yet such wares occur in large quantities in this sample in the courtyard rather than in the western chambers.

[117] On the previously published single lion bone (a complete 1st metacarpal) and two bear bones (a phalange and a metatarsal fragment) also found in the western chambers, see Wapnish and Hesse 1991. Twelve more bear bones, seven for which context could be determined, were found in the sorting of taxa for this study, all associated with paws (three phalanges, six metacarpals, and one distal radius fragment) with the exception of one tooth and one scapula fragment.

[118] In addition to the western chamber area, some of the bear remains mentioned above were found in the area of the central altar.

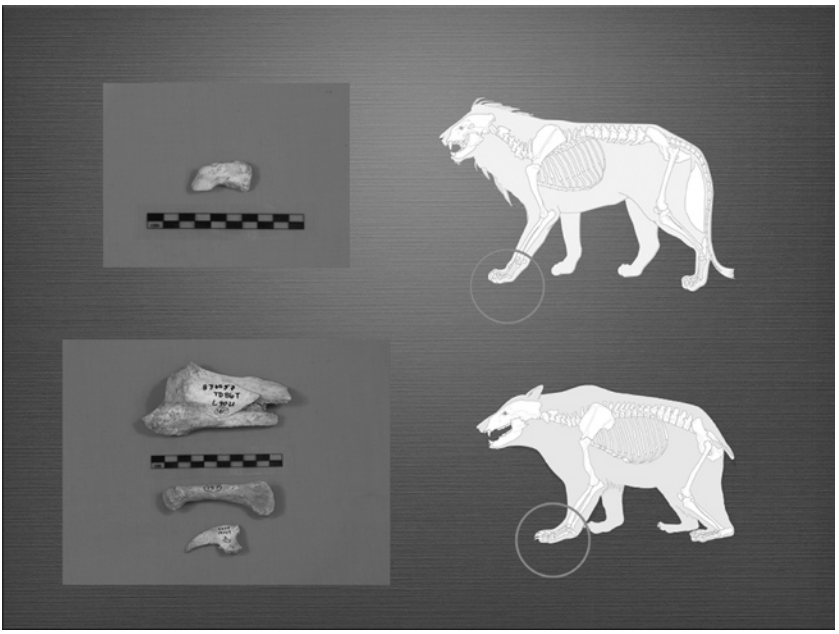

Figure 35: Lion (Top) and Bear (Bottom) Bones with Anatomical Location Suggesting the Use of Carnivore Skins in the Area of the Western Chambers (photos with cm scale by J. Greer [left]; anatomical sketches [right] adapted from illustrations by M. Coutureau after Barone 1976, made available for public use at http://www.archeozoo.org/en-article134.html).

As in the courtyard, sheep, goats, and cattle were likely killed within the precinct close to the western chambers before being gutted, skinned, and disarticulated. Some portions, notably from a higher percentage of sheep and goats compared to the courtyard, were then likely cooked and consumed in or near the western chambers, while other portions were burned up on the small altar of the "altar room" or disseminated. The predominance of right-sided meat-bearing portions from Small Cattle suggests a symbolic choice for the right over the left, as opposed conversely to the choice of left-sided portions over right-sided portions observed in the courtyard. The possible preference for younger male animals in the western chambers cannot be evaluated until more data is brought to bear.[119]

In addition to feasting in the western chambers, those present apparently engaged in activities involving the burning of animal carcasses or

[119] See p. 89, n. 108, above.

carcass parts and the processing of skins in both phases of activity. The bronze bowl and iron shovels (Fig. 24, above) in the last phase, Stratum II, were almost certainly implements associated with the altar—likely part of a standardized "altar kit" used in sacrificial procedure, as will be described in detail in Chapter 4, below. The higher proportion of phalanges to meaty portions when compared to the courtyard deposits (Fig. 30, above) further suggests that a primary activity in the western chambers involved the processing of skins. These processing activities continued and apparently intensified over time, whereas the feasting activities decreased and were, perhaps, relocated to another space.

Some of the details of these feasts, the possible identities of the feasters, and potential reasons behind the changes that occurred over time will be explored further in the synthesis of the following chapter and in the conclusion of Chapter 5.

CHAPTER FOUR

A SYNTHETIC ANALYSIS OF SACRED FEASTS AT ISRAELITE DAN

Integrating the biblical and archaeological data from Chapters 2 and 3, respectively, affords an opportunity to further refine the proposed archaeological reconstructions suggested above in light of the biblical narrative and address the first two of the three central questions posed at the outset of this study: namely, was there a cult at Dan in the period of the kings of Israel? If so, what was the nature of this cult and, specifically, its sacred feasts?

The Historicity of an Iron Age II Danite Cult

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the essential historicity of a cult established by Jeroboam as described in the Deuteronomistic History is not accepted by all. Some question particular aspects of the account, such as the use of calf icons, while others cast doubt on the grandeur, or even the existence, of the major royal shrines Jeroboam is said to have established.[1] This is especially the case with Dan, for even while many (but not all)[2] regard the report of the dedication of a shrine at Bethel to be historical, a comparable cult at Dan is found to be less convincing for some on the basis

[1] On the calves as a late addition, see Pakkala 2008 (reading bulls); cf. Dohmen 1982: 19–21. For general doubts regarding the historicity of the account, see, e.g., Knauf 2004; 2006: 319; and Berlejung 2009: 21–24, who would place the context of the calves in the reign of Jeroboam II; cf., too, Van Seters 1994: 295–301; Hoffmann 1980: 73; Jones 1984: 259; Levin 2008: 153; Becker 2000.

[2] See, e.g., citations in n. 1, above. Further, for a recent archaeological challenge to the historicity of Jeroboam's shrine at Bethel, see Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2009 but, as the authors themselves point out, the paltry remains from mixed loci render any reconstruction doubtful (p. 36). They suggest only a small settlement, sparsely built in the later IIA, which Finkelstein would slide to the mid-late 9th century (p. 39; on the 10th century chronological debate, see, conveniently, Finkelstein and Mazar 2007), leaving "no clear indication that it was inhabited" at the time of Jeroboam, and conceding only that if it were inhabited, "it was no more than a small, very meager settlement" (p. 44). Yet, if there are IIA remains at all—and there are, listed on their pp. 38–39—and the ceramic record is judged to be incomplete and inadequate for reconstruction (so the authors), these claims should be tempered; suffice it to say, that there are Iron IIA remains bears witness to some activity of the site, the extent of which cannot be surmised based on the incomplete archaeological record.

of text-critical, literary, or archaeological grounds.[3] Still, many others find the basic description of the inauguration of the Northern cult in 1 Kgs 12, including the revivification of a major shrine at Dan, to be essentially reliable.[4] This study affirms this latter view.

Indeed, in light of the archaeological excavations at Tel Dan and further evidence of sacred feasts there in the last chapter, it seems difficult to maintain a position that would doubt at least some sort of cultic activity in the Iron II period,[5] especially during the early 9th through mid-8th centuries BCE.[6] Based on Biran's preliminary publications alone, there is ample evidence for intensive Iron II cultic activity in Area T including the remains of what was likely a massive four-horned central altar, several smaller altars (four-horned and flat-topped), ceramic stands, jars filled with burned animal remains, and other cultic paraphernalia, as detailed above (see Chapter 3). Other recent works have added more evidence for viewing Area T as a major Iron II shrine, including a thorough study of the changing dynamics of sacred space and studies of particular cultic artifacts.[7] Though the historicity of some sort of Iron II cultic activity at Area T Tel Dan seems beyond doubt, the nature of the cult is much more difficult to determine and requires further attention.

Yahwistic Aspects of Danite Feasts

While certain details of the biblical description of the cult at Dan cannot be confirmed archaeologically, such as the presence of a golden calf,

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[3] See recent examples in Noll 1995; Liverani 2005: 105 (but contrast his pp. 119–20); Arie 2008; as well as earlier doubts regarding a second image at Dan expressed in Nielsen 1955: 195–96; Motzki 1975: 475–76; and Würthwein 1977: 164; as discussed with a response in Toews 1993: 70–73. In response to the text-critical claims of Nielsen, see, too, Halpern 1976: 32 and Bartusch 2003: 213.

[4] See, e.g., Cross 1973; Albertz 1994; Toews 1993; van der Toorn 1996; Zevit 2001; Miller and Hayes 2006; Hess 2007; to name a few; cf., also, the discussion and cautionary comments in Russell's 2009 survey, pp. 27–31.

[5] Cf. the discussion of Davis 2010: 15, 46–51 and his application of Renfrew's sixteen archaeological indicators of ritual (see Renfrew and Bahn 2008: 412–13) to the remains from Tel Dan (cf., similarly, Bloomqist's application in regard to gate cults [1999: 23–38]).

[6] Admittedly, on archaeological grounds alone it is more difficult to establish the extent and nature of the earlier cult, as excavations have not exposed large sections of the earliest strata. Still, late 10th–early 9th century material has been recovered from Area T (*contra* Arie 2008; cf., e.g., cooking pot rim profiles in the Appendix) and probes indicate continual activity from at least the Iron I as will be detailed in forthcoming preliminary publications by this author and Tel Dan staff members.

[7] On the dynamics of sacred space, see Davis 2010; and on specific cultic artifacts see Pakman 2003 on the cult stand from SED2 as well as Greer 2010 on the altar kit discussed further below.

others, such as the cult feasts, find resonance in the material record and are rich in potential to provide insight regarding the nature of the cult. In fact, many of the details of feasts as they have been reconstructed from the archaeological evidence above exhibit a high degree of correspondence with those of Yahwistic cult feasts described in the priestly materials in the Hebrew Bible.[8] That said, none of the correspondences is unique to Yahwistic practice, and some are more representative of a common Levantine cultic milieu. For example, the choice of the main animals offered and consumed—sheep, goats, and cattle[9]—and even the

[8] Comparing Iron Age practices with the priestly materials touches on the thorny problem of the date of P, still very much debated (see a concise recent survey in Ska 2006: 159–61; cf. Leuchter and Hutton 2012: 1–7). While a full discussion is beyond the scope of this work, in brief, there is a growing consensus in certain circles that much of what is known as the Priestly source is a product of the Persian period (see the essays in Römer 2008, especially his "Introduction," pp. xiii–xxvii; also Nihan 2007; Dozeman 2008; Achenbach 2008; Blum 2009; cf. Levine 1982; 1983; 1989; 1993a). Others, operating within the classic source-critical paradigm (recently defended anew in Baden 2009, though his juncture of combination is also in the Persian period), invert the relationship of D and P and support a preexilic date for the priestly materials (e.g., Haran 1978: 132–48; Zevit 1995; Friedman 1997; Halpern 2003a; 2003b; Hurvitz 1974; 1982; 2000; Rendsburg 1980). Still others highlight continuity with earlier practices, even reaching back to the Late Bronze Age (e.g., Milgrom 1991: 3–13; 1990: xxxii–xxxv; cf. Wenham 1997: 81–91; 1999; Weinfeld 1983; Meyers 1976: 182–84; Feder 2011). The debates have been further complicated by discussions concerning H (see Knohl 1987; 2007; Milgrom 1991; cf. Haran 1981) and its relationship to P (see the essays in Shectman and Baden 2009, especially Schwartz 2009; cf. Nihan 2007; Blum 2009), as well as arguments for a redaction in Numbers that is later still (see Achenbach 2008; Nihan 2009, especially his p. 90, following Achenbach 2003: 443–628; cf. Knoppers 2004). Regardless, even those who date the shape, theology, and politics of P to the Persian Period do not doubt that it preserves memories of genuine, ancient practices (cf. the succinct statement of Blum 2009: 31–32, following Wellhausen 1885: 404)—cult is, after all, conservative—and as such, whatever the date of the final form, the priestly materials may be cautiously considered to be reflective of earlier practice.

[9] As mentioned above, the seven feasting deposits from Area T were dominated by these three domesticates and the other animal remains present may most likely be explained in other ways, possibly as the residue of skins (see pp. 60–61 on taxa represented, above). As is well known, only sheep, goats, and cattle, were permissible for sacrificial meals in the priestly system (birds were also permitted for burnt offerings, considered by some, such as Milgrom 1991: 166, to be a later addition; in any case, they were not eaten). Other Levantine cult systems shared this preference according to literary records from Late Bronze Age Ugarit (e.g., KTU 1.46; 1.109; 1.130), Iron Age Karatepe (e.g., KAI 26 AIII:1–2), and Punic Carthage (e.g., KAI 69), to name a few covering a large chronological and geographical span, complimenting vast archaeological data from a variety of contexts (see, e.g., Hesse, Wapnish, and Greer 2012; Fisher 2005; Zuckerman 2007; Lev-Tov and McGeough 2007); yet, the inclusion of other animals is also attested, such as deer in texts (e.g., the Marseilles Tariff [KAI 69 5, 9]; cf., too, comments in Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 38–40 on the possibility of the acceptability of the sacrifice of deer and gazelle with reference to the Baal Epic; note, too, the curious mention of a tax due to priests and Levites for birds, fish, and game in 11QT Col. 60:2–11) and other archaeological contexts in addition to Dan (cf. Arav 2009: 44; Fisher 2005; Horwitz 1986–87 [if the Mount Ebal site is indeed cultic]). Rarely,

avoidance of pig,[10] find resonance in comparable literary and archaeological contexts and cannot be taken as unambiguous markers of a Yahwistic cult.[11] So, too, the phenomenon of burying faunal and ceramic remains from cultic meals in sacred areas was not uncommon.[12]

Still other features of the feasts exhibit more precise correspondences and seemingly increase the plausibility of reconstructing Yahwistic cult feasts at Dan—especially when viewed in the context of other potentially Yahwistic markers including specific cultic paraphernalia and architecture, as will be detailed below.[13]

The Priestly Portions

One of the most striking correspondences between the descriptions in the Hebrew Bible and the archaeological record is found in regard to priestly portions. The very notion of a portion of an offering granted to a cultic officiant as a way of support for his religious service is deeply rooted in

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in Ugaritic texts, other fauna appear to have been acceptable for offering including fish (e.g., KTU 1.106:22), donkeys (e.g., KTU 1.119:16), and geese (e.g., KTU 1.106:30).

[10] The absence of pig remains in these deposits may not be significant as a distinctive marker of Yahwistic practice, since pork was rarely consumed in this period in this region (Hesse and Wapnish 2002: 468–70) and sparse remains have been found in other contexts at Tel Dan. For a contemporary parallel example, consider Fisher's 2005 findings at Iron II (Geshurite?) et-Tell/Bethsaida in which no pig remains were discovered in the cultic gate complex in contrast to a small percentage of pig remains found in the *bit hilani* structure. In other geographic contexts, though pigs were consumed, they were apparently only utilized in contemporary religious systems for purification rituals or offerings to chthonic deities in Mesopotamian (Scurlock 2002: 375, 386, 393) and Hittite (Collins 2002: 321–23) settings. One must further note that several pig bones—one exhibiting cut marks, perhaps from an animal used in some ritual—were found in the larger sample of Area T, the temporal context of which is at this point undetermined (see p. 60, n. 59, above). On the use of pig bones as an ethnic marker, including comments on the Philistine question, see the balanced and cautionary remarks of Hesse 1990 and Hesse and Wapnish 1997, in general, and on pigs at Tel Dan in particular, Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 46, though at the time of that study no pig bones had yet been identified in Area T.

[11] While it may be possible to associate certain cut marks on bones with later Jewish butchering practice (see Cope 2004; cf. Greenfield and Bouchnick 2011), the most that can be said here is that many of the cuts marks observed on the sheep, goat, and cattle remains may be consistent with such (e.g., cut marks on the underside of cervical vertebrae and possible evidence for "muscle stripping" [see Cope 2004]), but there is not enough evidence yet to identify the associated practices as exclusively Israelite.

[12] Cf. evidence from Aramaean Iron II–III *ʿĀfiṣ* (Mazzoni 2012: 33); Canaanite MB and LB Hazor (Zuckerman 2012); LB and Iron IIA Pella (Bourke 2012: 179–91); and Persian Gerizim (Magen 2008: 160–62).

[13] Note, too, some support from the sparse onomastic evidence cited below on p. 120.

some of the earliest accounts of Israel's cult (e.g., 1 Sam 2:13–14),[14] and is hardly unique to Israel.[15] Still, the details of the biblical descriptions of the priestly portions align very closely with the archaeological evidence discussed in Chapter 3 and provide an opportunity to sharpen the reconstruction offered there by suggesting that: 1) the courtyard was the stage for the sacred feasts of the offerers, and 2) the western chamber area was the domain of priests. In fact, all four of the non-random distributions noted above—taxa proportions, right-sided to left-sided portions, phalanges to meaty long bone fragments, and painted to unpainted diagnostic ceramic sherds—are congruent with this scenario.[16]

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[14] In the Shiloh tradition, the servants of the priests took a random portion from the offerers' cooking pot within the sanctuary (so 1 Sam 2:13), though there is the possibility that the שוק was considered a special portion for sacred meals (cf. MT and 4Q51 [in broken context] 1 Sam 9:24, with G's κωλέα; the Targums read ית שקא וירביה, "the hindlimb and its hindlimb-part") based on Saul and Samuel's interaction at the shrine of Zuph and their participation in a sacred banquet in the chambers of the precinct (1 Sam 9:5–24).

[15] Cf. literary evidence stretching from prescriptions for the breast to be given to priests and the hides to diviners from LB Emar (Fleming 2000a: 269–75) to fees and leg portions granted to priests in the Punic Marseille Tariff (KAI 69). Carcass-part preference, in general, has also been noted in elite and cultic archaeological contexts (see S. Davis 2008; Forstenpointer 2003; Lev-Tov and McGeough 2007: 105; MacKinnon 2010; Marom and Bar-Oz, forthcoming). The special nature of right forelimbs, in particular, has been observed in Levantine cultic contexts including LB Lachish (see Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940: 25, 93; Croft 2004: 2315 citing D.M.S Watson in Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940: Appendix 2), LB Pella (Bourke 2012: 179), and Iron Age Qiri (see Ben-Tor, et al. 1987: 89; Davis 1987; 2008: 66–67), though it is not entirely clear whether or not these remains represent consumption refuse or votive offerings that were burned or buried (similar portion preferences have also been noted in MB and LB tomb offerings [Horwitz 1987; 2001; Lev-Tov and Maher 2001: 104–05] and in articulated forelimb burials from Iron I Ashkelon and Miqne-Ekron [Hesse, Wapnish, and Greer 2012]). In Cyprus, right hindlimbs were singled out for votive offering by fire in an Iron Age temple of Apollo (S. Davis 2008: 65–66; cf. Jameson 1988: 93 for a similar example from a 5th c. Apollo temple in Greece) and at Zincirli a predominance of right hindlimbs is also reported in a cultic context (Marom, forthcoming); so, too, in Iron Age samples from Rehov in both forelimb and hindlimb categories, though the differences are not statistically significant (Marom and Bar-Oz, forthcoming). I am grateful for the feedback of N. Marom on this topic and for the generous access he provided to his unpublished manuscripts and for D. Schloen's kind permission to mention the Zincirli finds here prior to publication.

[16] It is tempting to add the potential contrast between the sexes and ages of animal victims in the western chambers and the courtyard, though more evidence is needed to assess any trends. The possible predominance of adult females (see p. 64, above), if confirmed, may coincide with a scenario in which more males were offered as burnt offerings before reaching maturity, thus those left for consumption would have included more females, but a clear explanation is not apparent; without a corresponding explanation for the slaughter of males, it makes little economic sense to kill more adult females, as they are the bearers of young, nor are there indications in the texts that it was considered a special offering as both males and females are permitted for consumption in the fellowship offerings according to the priestly texts (cf. Lev 3:6). The preference for adult females

First, in regard to taxa proportions, the predominance of Small Cattle over Large Cattle throughout the precinct fits, in that sheep and goats are far more often the victims specified in the priestly texts, but this may seem to be of little significance since Small Cattle outnumber Large Cattle at most Levantine sites from this period in a variety of contexts.[17] That said, preliminary analyses of remains from comparative non-cultic contexts from Iron II Tel Dan and other Northern sites (i.e., Kinrot and Bethsaida),[18] show higher percentages of cattle making the large proportion of sheep and goats in the precinct stand out.

Further, the fact that in the offerings in which all of the meat portions of the animal are given to the priests and nothing is consumed by the offerer—certain "sin" (חטאת) offerings (for a ruler, Lev 4:22–35; for a layman, Lev 5:6–10; 6: 18–20) and "guilt" (אשם) offerings (Lev 7:1–7; for a cleansed leper, Lev 14:12–21)—the victims are always sheep or goats. Conversely, there are no regular offerings of cattle in which priests receive the entire animal; rather, they only receive their portion of the breast and hindlimb (discussed below), as is the case with other offerings of sheep and goats (cf. Lev 3:6–7; 7:11–34). Thus, one may conclude from the biblical texts that the percentage of sheep and goats consumed by priests in a sacrificial setting might be higher than the percentage consumed by offerers, just as we have in the western chambers compared to the courtyard.

Second, in regard to right-sided to left-sided proportions, the predominance of left portions in the courtyard and rights in the earlier deposit of the western chambers also exhibits a high degree of correspondence with the biblical texts.[19] In the MT versions of the priestly materials (with

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may indicate an ideologically driven effort to give up a more valuable offering to the deity as a "double loss," both in the loss of animal life and in the economic value of the animal, comparable to the predominance of females in Middle Bronze Age tomb offerings as meals for the dead (see Horwitz 2001: 88, following Firth 1996). Yet, on the other hand, the value of "maleness" may carry special import in the arena of sacrifice (cf. Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 44, n. 22).

[17] See, e.g., a summary of relevant sites in Raban-Gerstel, et al. 2008: 46–47 and references there.

[18] For Dan, see Wapnish and Hesse 1991; for Kinrot, see Manhart and von den Driesch 2004 and a forthcoming contribution by Bar-Oz and Raban-Gerstel cited in Raban-Gerstel, et al. 2008; for Bethsaida, see Arav 2009: 116, n. 29 and Fisher 2005. For percentages, see p. 81, n. 89, above.

[19] The fact that the right-left differentiation is present for forelimbs consistently in the courtyard deposits of SD1, SD2, SED1, and NED compared to WD2 (see pp. 66–67, above) and with greater disparity than that for hindlimbs may lend weight to the priority of G's priestly prescription compared to that of the MT (cf., similarly, Milgrom 1991: 11, who suggests, independently from a comparison with G, that the forelimb as a priestly portion in

the SamP, Targums, and Qumran biblical manuscripts as well as 11QT, when extant), the priests are awarded the right "hindlimb" (שוק)[20] and "breast" (חזה) of the animal offered for fellowship offerings, whereas in the G versions for the same texts they are awarded the right "forelimb" (G βραχίων = MT זרע; cf. Philo, *Laws* 1.145; Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 5:12; Vulgate)[21] and "breast" (G στηθύνιον = MT חזה) consistently (cf. Exod 29:27–28; Lev 7:32–33);[22] in Deuteronomy (Deut 18:3–5) the portion consists simply of the "forelimb" (MT זרע = G βραχίων), without specification of side, along with the "jowls" (לחיים) and "innards" (קבה), a tradition that may have existed independently and, at times, may have been combined with the tradition of the priestly portion of "the waved breast and the presented hindlimb" (את חזה התנופה ואת שוק התרומה), as in Num 6:19–20.[23] It is

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the case of the Nazarite vow of Num 6:19 is a vestige of premonarchic practice) or it may simply be reflective of common preference for the right forelimb (see p. 101, n. 15). Still, that the right-left distribution holds for both forelimbs and hindlimbs (with the exception of hindlimbs in NED) may attest to the presence of different traditions in their fused state or, perhaps, even to a point of transition between the traditions.

[20] While the term שוק clearly refers to the "thigh" in most cases in regard to humans (thus, comparable to the hindlimb in animals) in the Hebrew Bible, the term only occurs six times in such contexts (Deut 28:35; Judg 15:8; Isa 47:2; Ps 147:10; Prov 26:7; Song 5:15), and it is not impossible that it may have had another meaning in cultic texts referring to animals (see, similarly, Wenham 1979: 126; also, on the specificity of technical vocabulary employed in the cult often contrasting with general use, see Anderson 1987: 27–34 in regard to the מנחה), though cognate terms support a translation as "hindlimb" (so Milgrom 1991: 431–32). The term also occurs in the recently discovered KTMW stela (Pardee 2009, line 13) and, though little help regarding the specific cut of meat is provided in the related iconography, the reported presence of numerous right-sided hindlimb bones in its related archaeological context (Marom, forthcoming) may support an association with the hindlimb (I thank N. Marom for sharing this data with me prior to publication and for D. Schloen's permission to include mention of it here).

[21] Josephus, *Ant.* 3:229, adds another variation in his description of τὴν κνήμην τὴν δεξιὰν, "the right shin/lower-leg."

[22] Surprisingly, the witness of G receives little if any mention in the commentaries with very few exceptions in spite of the fact that there is a growing body of evidence supporting the antiquity of the *Vorlage* the Greek texts represent (see summarizing comments specifically in regard to Leviticus in Metso and Ulrich 2003 as a balance to Wevers 1997: xxvii); Harlé and Pralon 1988: 111, commenting specifically on the Greek text here, note simply that there is no satisfactory explanation for the divergence. On the inconsistency and complexity of sacrificial terminology among the versions in general, see Himbaza 2006 on Lev 1–7.

[23] This is, in fact, the only time where MT priestly texts use זרע in a priestly portion prescription (G reads βραχίων), and may be specific to the requirements of the fulfillment of the Nazarite vow described there. A similar and more blatant example of the combination of the deuteronomic and priestly prescriptions for portions given to the priests is in 11QT Col. 20:14–16; Col. 21:2–5; Col. 22 [supplemented with fragments from 11QT20 Cols 5–6]:8–11. Such may indicate that even in the Second Temple period discussion regarding variant traditions of the priestly portions ensued.

notable that, while there may be evidence of different—perhaps regional (Northern vs. Southern)—traditions and diachronic development,[24] when a side of the animal is specified, whether forelimb or hindlimb (see Fig. 16, above), it is always the right-sided portion that is given to the priest. Thus, we may conclude from the biblical texts that the percentage of right portions consumed by priests in a sacrificial setting would be higher than the percentage consumed by offerers, just as we have evidence of in the western chambers compared to the courtyard.[25]

Third, in regard to the proportions of phalanges to meaty long bone fragments, correspondence is again observed. In the priestly texts, the priests are apportioned the skins from the regular, and perhaps most frequent (at least twice daily, in the tradition of Exod 29:38–42), "burnt" (עלה) offerings (Lev 7:8). Presumably, the receipt of these skins provided an additional source of income, in that they could be sold.[26] Thus, we may conclude from the biblical texts that the percentage of bones associated with skin processing activities—specifically "foot" bones (phalanges) attached to the skin[27]—would be higher in an area acted in by priests in

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[24] Within the priestly traditions, there may be evidence that two early practices were combined. In the ordination description of Exod 29 it seems that the original priestly portion was the right שוק, "thigh," i.e., the hindlimb (so MT, Targums, 4Q22 [in broken context], and SamP), or "shoulder," i.e., the forelimb (G reads βραχίων, as above) in v. 22, with the addition of the חזה ("breast"), i.e., the sternum, in v 26, followed by a harmonizing stock phrase of the perpetual ordinance that את חזה התנופה ואת שוק התרומה ("the waved breast and the presented hindlimb") were to be for the priests in vv. 27–28. The opposite seems to be the case in Lev 7:28–38 where an original prescription for the "breast" as an offering may have been supplemented by that of the right "hindlimb/forelimb" in vv. 32 and 33 marked by *Wiederaufnahme* (שוק הימין . . . שוק הימין) and followed by the same standardized perpetual ordinance clause. Further evidence may be drawn from the observation that the former is assigned to all the priests and the latter is apparently assigned to the officiating priest alone (so Milgrom 1991: 33). Leviticus 8:1–36 seemingly represents the incorporation of the Exod 29 ordination tradition (so, too, Milgrom 1991: 545–49; contrast Levine 1965: 310–12), after it had been supplemented with the Leviticus "breast" tradition of Lev 7:31 (also in Lev 9:21), though the perpetual ordinance clause is omitted. While some believe the tradition of the right שוק for the officiating priest to be the earlier tradition situated in a Shiloh context (so, e.g., Milgrom 1991: 33), it is difficult to determine with certainty and others find evidence that the traditions stem from the same hand (Nihan 2007: 124–47) or are based upon a common source (Hartley 1992: 109). Regardless, in the present form of the MT, the two are fused and occur as a pair in these examples and throughout as provisions for all the priests (cf. Lev 10:15; Num 6:20; 18:18).

[25] Cf., similarly, the predominance of right-sided meaty portions in the elite acropolis of Hazor compared to a greater number of lefts in the poorer lower-city (see Marom and Zuckerman 2012; Marom and Bar-Oz, forthcoming; I thank N. Marom for kindly sharing this data with me prior to publication). See further references on p. 101, n. 15.

[26] Perhaps, too, they were further processed to be written upon (I thank P. Altmann for making this intriguing suggestion).

[27] So Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 45–47.

a sacrificial setting than it would be in an area acted in by offerers, just as we have in the western chambers compared to the courtyard.[28]

Fourth, in regard to the proportion of painted to unpainted diagnostic ceramic sherds, the greater percentage of painted wares in the western chambers may strengthen an association with the priests in that space, though admittedly not as strongly as in the case of the previous three. If such wares are viewed to indicate an elevated social status and the priests at this time were considered to be an elite group, one would expect a higher percentage of painted wares in the western chambers as we in fact have. The presence of carnivore skins, too, may suggest an elite status and even hint at the possible incorporation of animal skins in ritual activity, but, again, such is speculative.[29]

In addition to the correspondence of these four non-random distributions with priestly prescriptions, the fact that processing and consumption activities are attested in both spheres of activity is also significant in that in the texts both the offerers' portion and the priests' portion must be consumed within the precinct[30] (though there is evidence that this area may have expanded in later texts).[31] The discovery of lamps in each of the deposits also fits, as the texts require consumption of the offerings within the day and night of their slaughter (e.g., Lev 7:15), with the

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[28] Cf. Wapnish and Hesse 1991: 18–19, 45–47.

[29] See pp. 94–95, above. For comparable use of carnivore skins in ritual activity, one may think of the Egyptian depictions of priests draped in leopard skins (e.g., ANEP Fig. 640) or of Assyrian depictions of processions in which lion skins were worn (e.g., Curtis and Reade 1995: 62; cf. Ataç 2010: 42–43 on the symbolic import of animal skins in Neo-Assyrian reliefs).

[30] Though a difference in wording is evident in the Exod 29 ordination tradition that states that the offering must be cooked "in a holy place" (במקם קדש) and eaten at the "entrance to Tent of Meeting" (פתח אהל מועד) in a single night (vv. 31–32), compared to the incorporation of this tradition within the Leviticus framework that describes the offering as both cooked and eaten at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting (in the MT and Targums) without a given timeframe for consumption (Lev 8:31), the writers likely envision both activities taking place within the precinct. The sentiment that the "holy place" and the "entrance to the Tent of Meeting" were understood to be related spheres within the precinct is even more clear in G's rendering of the Lev 8:31 clause ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ ("in the courtyard of the Tent of Witness in a holy place"), as well as in SamP's פתח אהל מועד במקום הקדש ("[at] the entrance to the Tent of Meeting in a holy place"), though such likely represent later attempts at harmonizing the two traditions. Cf., too, 11QT Col. 21:3–4; Col. 22 [supplemented with fragments from 11QT20 Cols 5–6]:13.

[31] Cf. MT Lev 10:14–15 (with the Targums) which specifies that the consumption of the waved breast and the presented hindlimb must take place במקום טהור "in a clean place" whereas SamP and G consistently read "in a holy place" (SamP במקום הקדש = G ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ). Since SamP and G are more restrictive in this case, and consistent with Exod 29:31–32 (cf. n. 30, above), it seems more likely that they preserve an earlier reading and that the MT expanded the sphere of permissible consumption to include "a clean place."

burning of any remains left to the next day, or the day after that in other cases (cf. Lev 19:5–8).

In sum, while these correspondences between the archaeology and the texts regarding the priestly portions and consumption within the precinct, again, do not demand Yahwistic practice, they are certainly congruent with such. Moreover, such convergences between the archaeology of Area T and biblical texts concerning ritual practice are not alone, and a Yahwistic context may be further suggested by particular paraphernalia employed and by the space in which the feasts were enacted.

Cultic Paraphernalia

Several of the cultic objects found in Area T fit with the picture of sacrificial procedures and their related feasts as described in the Hebrew Bible, in general, and others more specifically. General correspondences include the discovery of a large basin near the entrance that may have been used for ritual purification, possibly for priests, upon entering the precinct or the inner sanctum (cf. Exod 29:4; 30:17–21; Lev 16:4; 2 Chr 4:6). Similar practice may be suggested by evidence of a spring pool in this same southern section of Area T, originally an oval basin lined by flagstones that was later expanded to a stepped 1.5 × 1 m rectangular pool.[32] In either case, ritual purification is hardly unique to Israelite religion.[33] Likewise, the presence of four-horned altars in Area T, including the massive central altar that was almost certainly of the four-horned type and a smaller four-horned portable limestone altar, is compatible with Yahwistic practice (cf. Exod 27:1–8; 30:1–5), but again not exclusively so.[34]

Other objects, however, may signal a more specifically Yahwistic context. Chief among these may be the "altar kit" of Stratum II in the altar room of the western chambers. As argued in greater detail elsewhere,[35] this kit consisting of a bronze bowl, a pair of long-handled shovels, a short-handled long-blade shovel, and a sunken pot filled with the ash of animal remains matches in close detail the biblical descriptions of such kits used in the service of the courtyard altars of the tabernacle and Jerusalem

[32] See Biran 1994a: 174.

[33] Cf. examples in Weinfeld 1983: 111–16.

[34] On the symbolic import of four-horned altars, including a survey of examples from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, see Gitin 2002.

[35] See Greer 2010; cf. Greer 2007 on the use of such vessels in Amos 6.

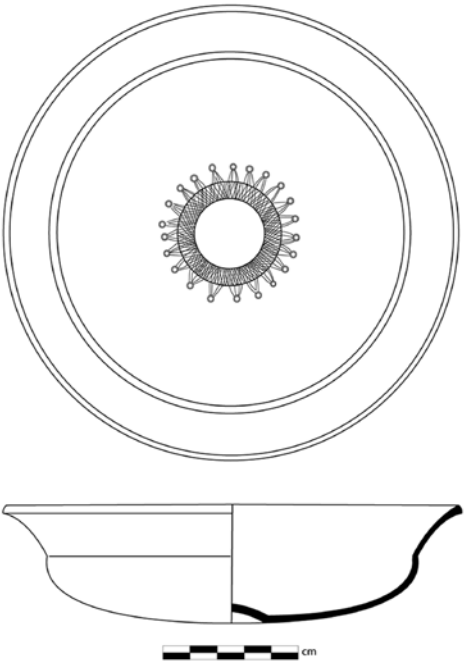

Figure 36: The Proposed *Mizrāq* from the Altar Room Suggesting a Connection with Rituals Described in the Hebrew Bible (after Biran 1986: 186, Fig. 15 with permission of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

temple.[36] Most significantly, the bowl in this kit (Fig. 36) may be identified as a *mizrāq*, a sprinkling vessel likely used in blood manipulation rites that are described in the biblical texts.[37] If so, this kit in general, and the

[36] The tabernacle kit included "pots" (סירת), "shovels" (יעים), "cult bowls" (מזרקת), "forks" (מזלגת), and "firepans" (מחתת) (cf. Exod 27:1–8 // Exod 38:1–7; Num 4:13–15) and the Solomonic temple kit included bronze "pots" (סירת), "shovels" (יעים), and "cult bowls" (מזרקת) for the courtyard altar (1 Kgs 7:40, 45 // 2 Chr 4:11, 16), with gold מזרקת for the inner sanctum. Notably, whenever a bronze מזרק is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (Exod 27:3; 38:3; 1 Kgs 7:40, 45; 2 Kgs 25:14–15; 2 Chr 4:11; Jer 52:18), it is referenced together with the יעים and the סירת for collecting sacrificial remains, often along with a מחתה (Exod 27:3; 38:3; Num 4:14), and in the Tel Dan altar room the bronze bowl was found alongside a pair of iron shovels, a sunken pot (though ceramic), and a third iron shovel. See further discussion in Greer 2010.

[37] The function of *mizrāq* vessels is implied in the use of the verbal form of its root זרק ("to throw," "toss," or "scatter") to describe actions associated with the altar in related texts; presumably, it was the *mizrāq* (a nominal form of זרק; see GKC §85e, on the possibility of a *mem*-instrumental) that was used to collect the blood of the sacrificial victim that was

mizrāq in particular, may provide evidence of this definitive ritual,[38] and strengthen the plausibility of Yahwistic practice within the precinct.

The Architecture of Area T

The architectural plan of Area T, too, may suggest a Yahwistic context, insofar as it exhibits an intriguing correspondence to the plan described for the temple of Solomon in the book of Kings (Fig. 37). Admittedly, the correlation is not exact at every point and more problematic still may be the use of the literary description of the Solomonic temple for any historical reconstruction of an actual building,[39] especially as the temple was altered throughout the monarchic period,[40] but the similarities in light of the evidence above deserve consideration.

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to be "thrown" (זרק) against the altar (see Exod 29:16, 20; Lev 1:5, 11; 3:2, 8, 13; 7:2; 8:19, 24; 9:12, 18; 17:6; cf. 2 Chr 29:22; 30:16; 35:11; also, 2 Kgs 16:13–15, albeit on Ahaz's Damascene altar). The later Targums make this function explicit and name the vessel as a *mizrāq* (see *Tg. Onq.* Exod 24:6; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Ex 24:6, 8; Lev 1:11; see, too, 11QT19 23:12; 26:6).

[38] While blood does seem to carry some importance in comparative cultic contexts (McCarthy 1969; Feder 2011), direct references to extensive blood manipulation rites like those in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Gilders 2004) are largely absent (so Milgrom 1991: 706, excepting pre-Islamic Arab practice cited in Henninger 1979: 486; cf. de Vaux 1997: 433–37; see, also, Oppenheim and Reiner 1977: 92 in regard to Mesopotamian practice and del Olmo Lete 2004: 41 on Ugaritic practice, though Pardee 2002: 272 wonders if the "sacrificial pit" [*ǵb*; KTU 1.105:1', 3', 21'] may have been used as a place to pour out the blood of a sacrifice). Still, blood manipulation played a role in divination and purification rituals (see, e.g., Scurlock 2002: 386, on Mesopotamian examples) and, perhaps in covenant rituals (so Lewis 2006) and was notably prominent in Hittite rituals (Feder 2011, especially pp. 7–33).

[39] Some have argued that the description of Solomon's temple is largely an ideological creation of the exilic/postexilic period devoid of accurate details regarding the earliest form (e.g., Van Seters 1997; adapted and expanded by McCormick 2002; cf., too, Tomes 1996, who believes the description to be based on and related to the temple on the eve of the 587 destruction). Still, the strength of late second and early first millennium archaeological (see, e.g., Wright 1941; Dever 2001: 144–57; King and Stager 2001: 330–38; Monson 2006; Hurowitz 2011; see also Busink 1970, and the range of archaeological parallels stretching even earlier on his pp. 353–565, but note the caution of Ouellete 1976; Kamlah 2012: 520–21), symbolic (Bloch-Smith 1994; 2002), and literary (Hurowitz 1992) parallels, cannot be ignored; indeed, it is hard to imagine an exilic or postexilic author inventing such detail that corresponds to these examples without a record (so, forcefully, Dever 2001: 157). Thus, while the final description may exist in a later and theologically shaped form (so Smith 2006), one may be confident that many of the details reflect an actual earlier building (cf. Hurowitz 2010; 2011) even if some of the descriptions may be a composite of various descriptions of Iron Age (even Persian, so Edelman 2012) temples and, regardless of date, a building that was used in the worship of Yahweh.

[40] See, e.g., 2 Kgs 12:5–16; 16:10–18; 21:4; 23:4–7, 11–14; and note the contrast of Ezra 3:12. Cf. Meyers 1982; Hurowitz 2005: 90–95; Smith 2006: 281; Crawford 2012.

To begin with, 1 Kgs 6–7 apparently describes Solomon's temple as 60 cubits long and 20 cubits wide (90 × 30 ft; 27.4 × 9.1 m)[41] with attached side chambers in three successive floors of 5, 6, and 7 cubits (7.5, 9, 10.5 ft; 2.3, 2.7, 3.2 m), respectively, and a 10 × 20 cubit (15 × 30 ft; 4.6 × 9.1 m) porch; thus, the total dimensions for the temple plan depict a building 70 cubits long and 30 cubits wide (105 × 45 ft; 32.0 × 13.7 m) at the base,[42] though there is some uncertainty as the thickness of the walls is not given.[43] The dimensions of the courtyard altar are not mentioned in the Kings account, though a curious note in 1 Kgs 8:64 claims that the original altar was too small to service Solomon's incredible dedication offerings and MT 1 Kgs 9:25 (absent in G) may imply that Solomon replaced it with his own construction.[44] It may be that a 10 × 10 cubit (15 × 15 ft; 4.6 × 4.6 m) form was envisioned,[45] based on analogy with the tabernacle texts that describe a 5 × 5 cubit (7.5 × 7.5 ft; 2.3 × 2.3 m) form (cf. Exod 26–27) and an understanding of the 2:1 proportions of Solomon's temple to the

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[41] Calculations are based on an 18 inch (45.7 cm) "standard" or "old" cubit (cf. 2 Chr 3:3), except in the case of Ezekiel when the "royal" cubit of 20 inches (50.8 cm, comparable to the Mesopotamian cubit of 50 cm and the Egyptian cubit of 52.5 cm) is employed (so Ezk 40:5); on the imprecise nature and problems of the "cubit" in ancient records, see Powell 1992: 899–900. On the cautious use of temple descriptions in Ezekiel, see Hurowitz 2005: 66–67.

[42] This is assuming that the ground level floor was 5 cubits on each side as specified in the text, rather than that the dimensions of the floors were inverted. If the floors were inverted and the ground floor was 7 cubits wide, the structure would have been described as 34 cubits (51 ft; 15.5 m) wide. I thank Liz Bloch-Smith for drawing my attention to this important detail.

[43] As duly noted by Crawford 2012: 125–26; by his reckoning of 5 to 6 cubit thick walls, he approximates a 100 × 50 cubit structure to be a more accurate understanding of the description.

[44] In 2 Chr 4:1 an altar constructed by Solomon is described as measuring 20 × 20 cubits (30 × 30 ft; 9.1 × 9.1 m)—even larger than the upper ledge of Ezekiel's visionary altar of 14 × 14 "royal" cubits (23.3 × 23.3 ft; 7.1 × 7.1 m; on the "royal" cubit, see n. 41) in Ezk 43:17—and may preserve an early detail missing in Kings (so Hurowitz 2005: 67, 77–78, who suggests it may have been omitted in Kings due to haplography, skipping from ויעש of the alleged description of the altar to the ויעש of the description of the Sea). Still, it is unclear whether these dimensions refer to the original altar or the possible replacement (cf. de Vaux 1997: 410, speculating on the relationship of these proportions to Ahaz's altar), while the chronology delineated in 2 Chr 3–7 suggests the former.

[45] 2 Chr 6:13 also mentions a 5 × 5 cubit (7.5 × 7.5 ft; 2.3 × 2.3 m) bronze כיור that Solomon built in front of the altar and stood upon, often understood as a "platform" rather than "basin," perhaps alluding to his modification and extension of the existing altar. Such an altar would have been notably smaller than the 12 × 12 (long) cubit (20 × 20 ft; 6.1 × 6.1 m) אראיל (apparently, "altar hearth" or "grill," [so Rainey 1994: 338]; the term is a *hapax legomenon*, with little help from the tantalizing reference in the Mesha stele [KAI 181 1:12] only confirming its cultic use) of Ezekiel's visionary stepped altar (Ezk 43:16); one wonders if this design might be reflective of Ahaz's altar in 2 Kgs 16:10–16.

tabernacle, though the relationship between the tabernacle and the temple is complex and such an analogy is by no means certain.[46] A demarcated courtyard is also described (1 Kgs 6:36; 7:12; cf. 2 Chr 4:9, referring to inner and outer courtyards) and, if the same 2:1 temple : tabernacle analogy is employed,[47] may be envisioned as a 200 × 100 cubit (300 × 150 ft; 91.4 × 45.7 m) enclosure (see Fig. 37, below).

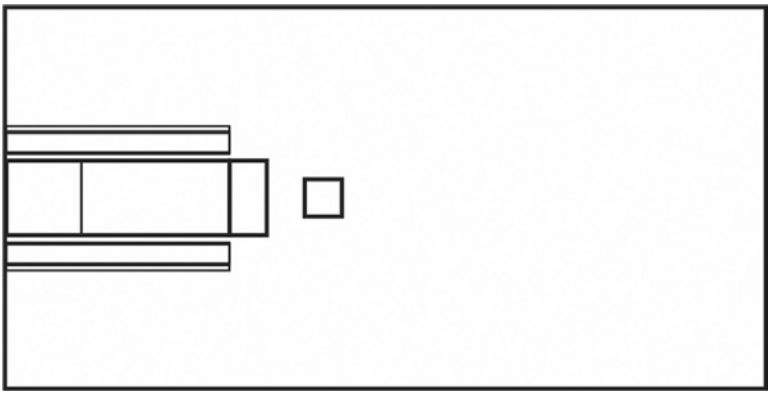

Figure 37: Hypothetical Plan of Solomon's Temple Based on 1 Kings 6–7 (drawn by J. Greer after biblical descriptions).

[46] Cf. Crawford 2012. While a full discussion of the relationship of the tabernacle (see Exod 25:1–31:11; 35:4–40:33) to the First Temple is beyond the scope of this work, in any formulation—whether as an exilic/postexilic retrojection of an idealized tent shrine (Wellhausen 1885: 38–45; Driver 1911: 262, 426–32; cf. George 2009: 9–14, while acknowledging the incorporation of earlier traditions), a memory of a Davidic Tent for the ark (Cross 1973: 231–32, n. 52; Cross 1998: 84–95), a description of a tent at Shiloh (Haran 1978: 189–204; cf. Milgrom 1991: 30–34), a creation imagined in light of the post-Ahaz preexilic First Temple (Crawford 2012: 130–31), or a description based on an even earlier portable shrine comparable to other ancient Near Eastern examples (Weinfeld 1983: 103–05; Kitchen 2003: 275–83; cf. Fleming 2000b)—they are related and, based on the traditional calculation of measurements given in the biblical texts, they correspond in a 2:1 temple : tabernacle analogy. That said, some of the measurements are ambiguous (i.e., the total length of the sides derived from adding together the measurements for each of the frames, the arrangement of which is uncertain; a further complication is that G retains different measurements [cf. Gooding 1959; 1967b]) and others are not given and thus can be refigured for alternative structures. See, e.g., Friedman's (1980; 1981: 47–61; 1992) interpretation of the tabernacle dimensions as 20 × 8 cubits, though such has been questioned (so, forcefully, Hurowitz 1995; for a modest defense of Friedman's theory in light of Hurowitz's critique, with some revisions, see Homan 2002: 167–73). With specific regard to the altar, it is curious to note the correspondence of the altar discovered at Arad that was reported as measuring 5 × 5 cubits (though Zevit 2001: 169–70 suggests these measurements are somewhat off), possibly implying that it and the entire temple were built on the plan of the tabernacle (so Aharoni 1968; cf. the smaller Beersheva altar, Rainey 1994).

[47] Notwithstanding the problems presented in the note above.

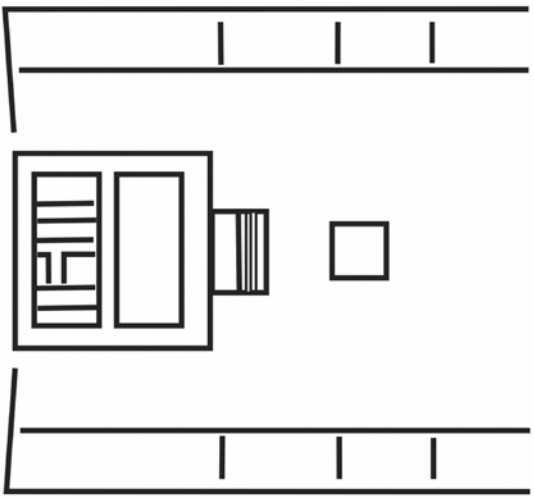

Figure 38: Basic Architectural Plan of the Major Structures of Area T, with T-East Reconstructed (drawn by J. Greer after plans provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

While the above reconstruction (Fig. 37) is speculative since one cannot be absolutely certain of the spatial relationship of the architectural features or the dimensions of the altar and courtyard, the plan of the major structures of Area T most clearly defined in Strata III and II yields similar proportions as far as what can be surmised from the excavated areas.[48] As mentioned above,[49] the western chambers and those reconstructed for the eastern side based on the remains of some extant walls, mark out a 45 m wide courtyard that encloses the 18 × 18 m podium and 4.75 × 4.75 m altar, depicted above (Fig. 38).[50]

When the plan of Area T is superimposed on the hypothetical plan of the description of Solomon's temple, the similarities between the two become

[48] See Biran 1994a: 159–209.

[49] See pp. 43–46.

[50] Though the stairs are shown in the figure in front, these may have only been built in Stratum II and the main access to the temple in Stratum III may have been via platforms on the east and west (so Davis 2010: 68, 94–95, though he also notes that an earlier southern stair may have been present as well); cf. Biran 1994a: 189, and see, also, Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006: 153–55, who suggest only a western ramp in the Iron Age and believe the stairs to be Hellenistic, a suggestion that appears untenable in light of Davis's (2010: 94–95, especially n. 3) analysis.

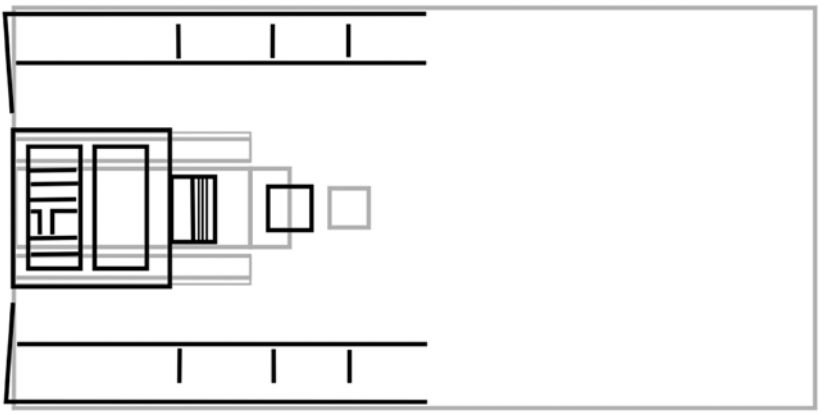

Figure 39: Reconstructed Area T Plan Superimposed on the Hypothetical Plan of the Solomonic Temple (drawn by J. Greer).

most clear (Fig. 39). Both courtyards are 45 m wide and both altars (4.75 × 4.75 m and 4.6 × 4.6 m, respectively) are of similar proportions. The 18 m width of the Area T foundation podium, also, is not too dissimilar to the 13.7 m wide Solomonic plan—and even closer if the Kings description is understood to describe a 15.5 m wide structure[51]—though the length of the Area T podium is significantly truncated.

More interesting still may be the internal proportions of the superstructure that stood upon the podium of T-North based on the evidence from the remnants of the foundation walls (see Fig. 40).[52] The podium is clearly divided into northern and southern sections by a thick wall and, though the complex of walls in the northern section is far less clear,[53] the measurements from the main dividing wall to the back of the northern podium wall and from the two outermost eastern and western dividing walls of the rear section (though only one is clearly Iron Age)[54] yield proportions of almost exactly 9 × 9 meters—dimensions curiously equivalent to the 20 × 20 cubit (30 × 30 ft; 9.1 × 9.1 m) Holy of Holies in the description of Solomon's temple. Likewise, the widths of the side chambers

[51] See p. 109, n. 42.

[52] See p. 44, n. 5, above.

[53] While the remains of the east-west wall may have been part of a bench structure in the central room, the north-south wall base in the same room remains unexplained and, in the absence of secure loci with ceramic remains, determining in which stage the walls were built is difficult.

[54] So G. Cook, personal communication.

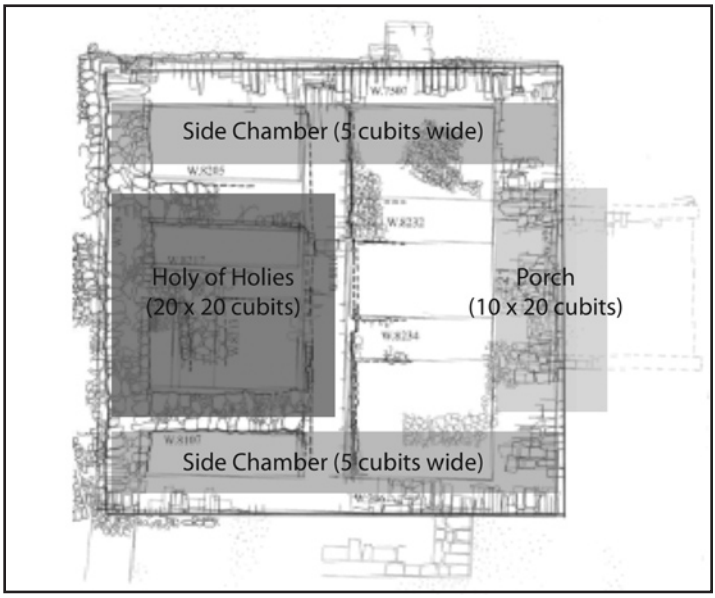

Figure 40: Plan of the T-North Podium with Shaded Areas Showing "Solomonic" Proportions for the Holy of Holies, Side Chambers (Here, Shortened and Drawn to Appropriate Width Only), and Porch (adapted from plans provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

described for Solomon's temple at 5 cubits wide (7.5 ft; 2.3 m) each correspond closely, as do the approximate dimensions of the porch, from the threshold wall to the beginning of the stairs, in regard to the 10 × 20 cubit (15 × 30 ft; 4.6 × 9.1 m) Solomonic description.[55]

Notably, too, a construction technique of integrating wooden beams with ashlar blocks was apparently utilized in the construction of the podium (see reconstruction in Fig. 41), recalling for the excavators similar descriptions in biblical texts concerning the building of the First (1 Kgs 6:36; 7:12) and Second (Ezra 6:4) Temples,[56] though such a technique is neither limited to temples nor to the Iron Age.

Further, portions of architectural features that may be associated with monumental structures, such as a temple, have been found within Area T, including decorative pillar bases and capitals (both lotus- or

[55] See p. 111, n. 50, and references there, on the date of the stairs.
[56] See Biran 1994a: 184–85.

Figure 41: Photo of the Reconstructed Southwest Corner of the T-North Podium at the Present Site of Tel Dan Illustrating the Ashlar and Beam Construction Technique (photo by J. Greer).

palmette-styled in design)[57] and three large crenellations (see, e.g., Fig. 42), all in secondary use.[58]

Thus, while other functions for the structure have been proposed,[59] such correspondences between the architecture of Area T and the descriptions of the temple in 1 Kgs 6–7 in light of the cultic context discussed above seem to, at least, support the views of those who suggest that a temple structure stood upon the podium of T-North (see a hypothetical

[57] For preliminary published examples, see lotus-styled columns in Biran and Ben-Dov 2002: 29, Figs. 1.42 and 1.43, as well as other architectural elements in Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996: 44, Fig. 1.43, and a basalt column base in Biran 1994a: 190, Fig. 150 (note, too, parallels with column bases from Tayinat in Davis 2010: 70–71, and mention of others from Zincirli in his n. 24).

[58] Two have been published in preliminary form in Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996: 49, Fig. 1.49 and all three were examined by this author.

[59] Though not entirely dismissing the cultic nature of the enclosure, Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006: 153, following Barkay 1992: 312, suggest that the podium of T-North was a "palace/administrative center" typical of their "Lateral-Access Podium" (LAP) structural template. However, as Lehmann and Killebrew 2010: 28 point out, the architecture of T-North does not conform as much to the LAP template as they suggest, and, as Davis 2010: 53 clearly argues and is here confirmed, the cultic nature of the structure seems beyond doubt.

Figure 42: Crenellation Found in Area T Measuring 33 × 22 × 19 cm (photo by J. Greer).

reconstruction in Fig. 43, below).[60] These similarities may further suggest that such a structure was perhaps in some way related to the description of the temple in Jerusalem.[61]

[60] While this reconstruction is this author's own, others have suggested that a temple of some form stood upon the platform; see, e.g., Mazar 1992b: 184–85; Herzog 1997: 222; King and Stager 2001: 327.

[61] While the *a priori* assumption and most logical scenario in line with the biblical chronology followed here would be that the Dan temple was modeled after a temple in Jerusalem (if they are indeed related), it is not impossible to argue on archaeological grounds that the relationship may be inverted since there are no physical remains of the Jerusalem temple and the final form of the description of the Jerusalem temple may postdate the Dan remains (suggestive in this direction, cf. Smith 2006 on the possibility of an 8th century reworking of earlier material for the description of the temple). Whatever one makes of the connection, these architectural similarities may present a closer parallel geographically, chronologically, and, in many ways, materially to the description of Solomon's temple than the temple from ʿAin Dara (Abu Assaf 1990) or either of the temples from Tayinat (McEwan 1937 on the earlier one; Harrison 2009 on the most recent with descriptions of the eclectic architectural style of both in Harrison 2012; also see season reports at http://www.utoronto.ca/tap/index.html) often invoked as Solomonic exemplars (see, e.g., King and Stager 2001: 335; Monson 2006; Hurowitz 2011; cf. Novák 2012; contrast the reluctance of Kamlah 2012: 521, though one would hope the findings here would mitigate some of his misgivings).

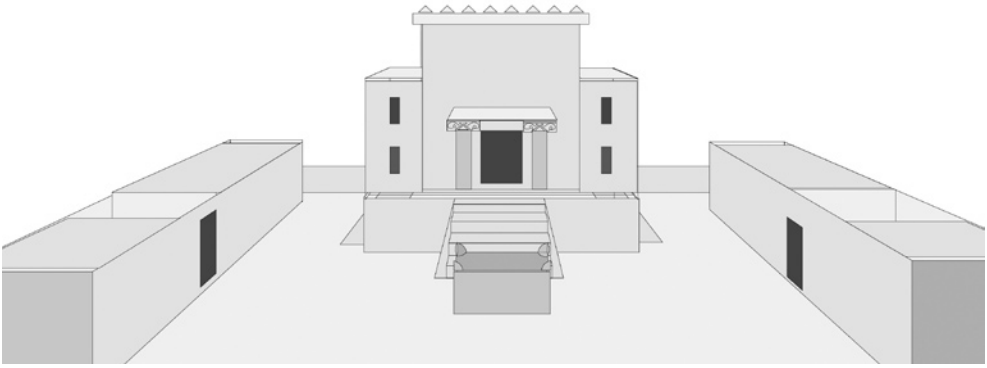

Figure 43: Hypothetical Isometric Reconstruction of the Proposed Temple at Dan Based on the Architectural Plan and Associated Finds from Area T (drawn by J. Greer).

The Syntax of Offering in Area T

A final observation suggesting a connection between the Tel Dan complex and the cult of Yahweh is that the ritual movements described in the priestly literature for the tabernacle and/or temple correspond exceedingly well with the architecture of Area T. These actions are here laid out in sequential order with corresponding features from Area T, followed by an illustration depicting these movements as they might be imagined within Area T (see Fig. 44).[62]

1. Initially, as an offerer or priest prepared to offer sacrifice they would ritually cleanse themselves in the courtyard of the precinct (cf. Exod 29:4; Lev 16:4);[63] in Area T the excavators uncovered a pool in the southern part of the area, as well as a large ceramic basin suitable for the submersion of an adult male.[64]

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[62] For comparable portraits of courtyard activities with the addition of the symbolic importance of the movements in a phenomenological context, see Levine 2002; Klingbeil 1995; cf. Levine 1993b.

[63] In other texts, such as Exod 30:17–21, purification of the priests takes place at the bronze basin between the altar and the tent (see n. 68, below); thus, it seems most likely that two places of washing were understood, one near the entrance of the precinct (whether just inside or just outside) and one between the altar and the tent, though it is possible that the entire area was considered "the entrance of the Tent of Meeting" (so Klingbeil 1995: 62–63, with Milgrom 1991: 145–47, 392–94) and that only one place was envisioned.

[64] See p. 106, above.

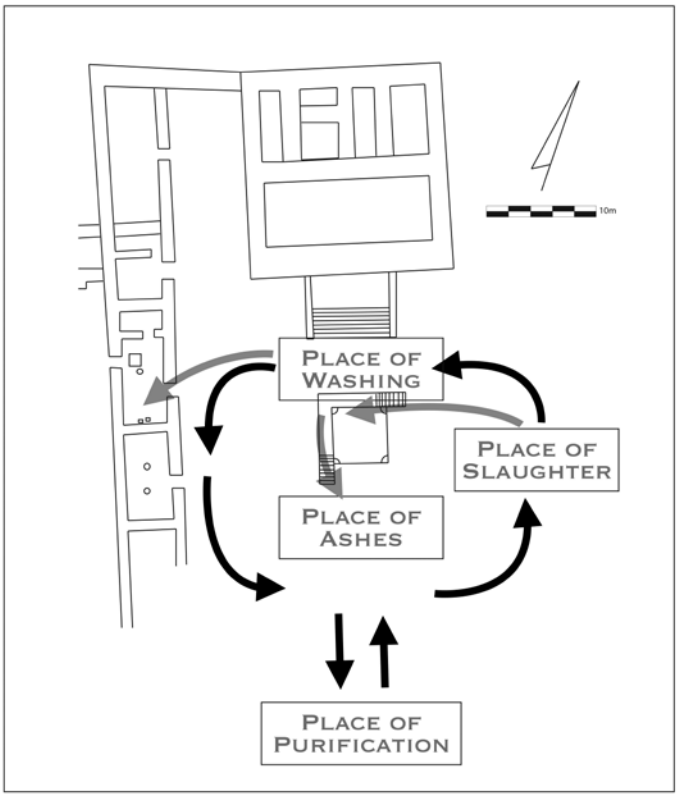

Figure 44: The Syntax of Offering Reconstructed for Area T According to the Priestly Texts with the Movement of the Offerers in Dark Grey and the Movement of the Priests in Light Grey (drawn by J. Greer, upon adapted plans provided courtesy of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College/Jewish Institute of Religion).

2. Once facing the altar, an offerer would turn to their right (Lev 1:11; so, too, *m. Mid.* 3:5)[65] to slaughter, skin, and quarter their offering (Lev 1:6).[66] From there, in the case of the burnt offerings, the meat portions, head,

[65] A place north of the altar in the priestly texts, which corresponds to the east in Area T, as the tabernacle and temple faced east whereas the Tel Dan complex faces south (on the possible ideological motivation for the orientation, see p. 30, n. 115, above).

[66] Milgrom (1991: 164, commenting on Lev 1:5 in contrast to 1:11, and comparing Lev 4:4, 15) suggests that in earlier traditions bovine offerings could be slaughtered anywhere in the forecourt in contrast to sheep and goat offerings that were always slaughtered north of the altar, but in later traditions, preserved in post-biblical literature (*m. Mid.* 3:5; 11QT 34), both bovines and sheep/goats were slaughtered north of the altar (see full discussion in Milgrom 1991: 164–65).

and fat would be surrendered to the priest (for other offerings, it would have only been the fat) who would ascend the altar to burn them (Lev 1:8); in Stratum II of Area T, when the interior temenos wall was built around the altar, one of the entrances and a stair were installed on the eastern side of the altar (see Fig. 33 and Fig. 44, above).

3. Then, as the priest burned the main carcass parts, the offerer would proceed to wash the shins (presumably removing the attached skin of the animal at that point)[67] and innards (Lev 1:9) between the altar and the tabernacle/temple (Exod 30:18; 40:7, 30; cf. 1 Kgs 7:39; 2 Chr 4:6; so, too, *m. Mid.* 3:6).[68] Then, the shins and innards would be added to the fire and the skin would be surrendered to another priest (Lev 7:8) as the offerer completed his or her circumnavigation of the altar; in Area T, the evidence of skin processing is to the west of the altar (see Fig. 44, below).

4. Finally, when the priest completed the burning of the animal, he would deposit the ashes in a location between the altar and the entrance of the precinct (Lev 1:16; 6:3), and later carry them outside of the area (Lev 6:4);[69] in Area T, the second opening in the Stratum II temenos wall, again with a corresponding stair, is in the south, between the altar and the entrance of the precinct (see Fig. 33 and Fig. 44, above)—interestingly, too, large ash deposits are noted in this area.[70]

While the fact that the movements choreographed in the priestly materials may be acted out within the architectural confines of Area T is clear, such does not necessarily imply a connection between them as these movements may also fit in other contexts. Yet the precision with which they may be envisioned in Area T is intriguing, especially in the correspondence of the eastern and southern stairs in Stratum II to the place of

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[67] On translating כרעים as "shins," see Milgrom 1991: 159–60.

[68] These biblical texts locate the tabernacle and temple "Sea" for priestly ablutions and basins, specifically for the washing of animal parts by the priests in the case of the temple, in this spot. Though moveable basins are not mentioned in the tabernacle descriptions, the washing of animal parts must have been understood to have occurred there too as it was the only location with significant amounts of water within the precinct (so Klingbeil 1995: 75–76). While some argue that this area was more sacred and out-of-bounds to worshipers (Levine 1989: 49, on the basis of later tradition), if offerers were understood to be washing animal parts there, at least in an earlier configuration, it could not have been restricted (cf. Klingbeil 1995: 62–63, building on Milgrom 1991: 145–47, 392–94).

[69] On the exploration of Jerusalem's ash dump outside the city walls, see Milgrom 1991: 240.

[70] As of yet, these ash deposits mentioned in excavation records are unanalyzed and unpublished, though this author hopes to turn his attention to them in the future if the contents may be located.

slaughter and the place of ashes, respectively; for, in post-biblical descriptions of the Second Temple, there is only one ramp in a location equivalent to the western side of the Area T altar (see *m. Mid.* 3:3).[71]

"Yahwistic Aspects" in Context and the Aramaean Question

As stressed repeatedly, none of the features of the feasts and the related artifacts and activities proposed for Area T in this chapter so far—evidence of priestly portions, a *mizrāq* and its kit, temple-like architecture, and the syntax of movement—can be said to be uniquely Yahwistic, as similar practices, structures, and artifacts have been identified in other contexts.[72] Further, biblical texts (1 Kgs 15:20) and extrabiblical sources (the Tel Dan Stela; an Aramaic inscription on a bowl)[73] also suggest an Aramaean presence at Tel Dan, the duration and impact of which is not yet clear. Some have suggested a prolonged Aramaean occupation at the site, which carries with it the implication that the material remains viewed here as reflective of Israelite religion were, in fact, Aramaean,[74] and as such must be addressed.[75]

First, in regard to the Aramaean occupation, several arguments may be adduced to suggest that Dan was under Aramaean control only for a brief period following the "smiting" of Bir-Hadad,[76] and that, soon after, the city reverted to Israelite rule, at least by the time of the Omrides: 1) the Mesha Stela (KAI 181) notes the strength of the Omrides and their reclamation of lands formerly seized by neighboring powers, which may have included Dan; 2) the biblical claim that when Hazael rose in strength, he annexed

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[71] That is, in the south, which is equivalent to Area T's west as the Jerusalem temple faced east and the Dan complex faces south (contrast further Ezk 43:17, which refers to one set of east-facing steps).

[72] Cf. examples paralleling the priestly portions discussed on p. 101, n. 15, or the common tripartite plan of the temples mentioned on p. 115, n. 61. As more Iron Age Aramaean and Phoenician material comes to light, we will be better equipped to assess potential parallels. One may note in brief, however, that though Levantine religions presumably exhibited similarity in practice and paraphernalia, some differences were certainly distinguished by practitioners (e.g., see 2 Kgs 16:10–16 on Ahaz's altar).

[73] On the Tel Dan Stela inscription, see pp. 133–34, n. 35, and references there; on the Aramaic bowl inscription, see Avigad 1968.

[74] Cf., e.g., Noll 1998; Arie 2008; Athas 2003: 255–57.

[75] That said, whether Dan was under Aramaean or Israelite political control, the site has a long history of ethnic diversity (Ilan 1999) and it may very well be that religion there for the local inhabitants was carried out much in the same way regardless of their overlords.

[76] See p. 129, n. 17, below.

only Transjordanian territory (2 Kgs 10:32);[77] and 3) the biblical claim that when Jeroboam II reclaimed lost territory, it encompassed land beyond Dan (i.e., Damascus and Hamath).

Second, in regard to the cult, in addition to the evidence provided above further indicators suggest that the deity venerated at Dan was most likely Yahweh rather than any other deity: 1) the lack of any deuteronomistic claim to the contrary in any of the biblical accounts—it would indeed seem odd to think that if the cult were an Aramaean cult of Hadad,[78] for example, it would have escaped deuteronomistic censure; 2) the biblical reference to a continuous Yahwistic priesthood until the Assyrian conquest (Judg 18:30); and 3) additional material evidence such as the presence of Yahwistic names on stamped jar handles from Iron II strata, including the name of *Zekariyaw* from an inner fortification wall and three impressions with the name *'Immadiyaw* (one found adjacent to the scared precinct),[79] both names containing the Yahwistic theophoric element "*-yw*" (/yaw/) typical of the Northern Kingdom.[80]

Thus, the cumulative mass of this evidence, added to those practices mentioned above that are congruent with Yahwistic prescriptions, may suggest the enactment of Yahwistic feasts in Area T, the plausibility of which is significantly strengthened in light of biblical evidence describing a cult with Yahwistic features in this place at this time (i.e., 1 Kgs 12:29–32 and related texts; see Chapter 2, above): a remarkable example of, in Dever's terms (see Introduction), "convergence."

Traditional Aspects of Danite Cult Feasts

Notably, these potentially Yahwistic markers, above, are especially conducive to an organized cult in an established context, such as a kingdom:

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[77] That said, he likely held sway over the Upper Galilee (attested on the Tel Dan Stela, with Jehu perhaps acting on his behalf as a vassal; see pp. 133–34, n. 35, below).

[78] So Noll 1998.

[79] See Biran 1994a: 15, 199–201; 1994b; Brandl 2009 and citations there. The first *'Immadiyaw* impression discovered in 1974 was reconstructed on the basis of a complete one found in later excavations. Note, too, that all three of these impressions, along with an identical *Zekariyaw* impression found at Bethsaida, a damaged fourth example from Tel Dan, and an unprovenanced *Yada'yau* impression, were formed on jar handles made "at or near the city of Samaria," the Northern capital (so Brandl 2009: 141, citing personal communication with Yuval Goren)—such would certainly underscore the Israelite nature of Tel Dan at this time as a royal city of the Northern Kingdom.

[80] See Hackett 2002: 142. One *baal* theophoric name (*b'lplt*) was also published (Biran 1993: 331), but its context apparently postdates the mid-eighth century Assyrian destruction.

priestly portions to fund an official priesthood, regulated temple utensils for prescriptive services, and monumental temple architecture as a statement of royal power. Still, other features of the refined reconstructed feasts at Dan suggest aspects of cultic practice that fit better in a less-regulated, clan-based, environment rather than in an official state cult as one might imagine from later texts and parallel contexts.

Communal Family Feasts

For instance, the very fact that the entire precinct shows evidence of wide-scale feasts in close vicinity to the central altar may suggest a more open, communal context in which worshipers moved freely about the sanctuary courtyard. Such is reminiscent of depictions of Israel's cult in early texts that describe sacrifice by "any man" (כל איש; 1 Sam 2:13, cf. 1:4)—notably consistent with the reconstruction of the "priesthood of everyman" suggested above[81]—and consumption thereof within the sanctuary complex in family groups (cf. 1 Sam 1:4–7; 2:13),[82] as well as in priestly materials situated in a tabernacle context that describe worshipers, both male and female,[83] as active participants in the rituals of offering.[84] Even in the reconstructed feasts of the priests, they apparently occurred alongside of the feasts of the courtyard and interaction would be expected.[85]

That the ceramic assemblages of the courtyard exhibit significant variation in form, style, and quality may also be suggestive of a clan-centered, or at least a less regulated, atmosphere.[86] The eating events reconstructed

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[81] See pp. 36–39.

[82] Notably, communal consumption of the thanksgiving offering by lay offerers within the precinct as in Lev 7:11–15 is one of the characteristics of the Priestly source concerning sacred meals that Milgrom finds to predate the monarchic sacrificial system, incorporated from local shrine worship (see Milgrom 1991: 11, 32–33). It is, however, also possible that such is reflective of regional variation.

[83] The very fact that women must be present for purification rituals suggests such (so Milgrom 1991: 148; cf. Ackerman's [2012: 41–43] comments in regard to Shiloh).

[84] On the active role of the worshiper in P, see Milgrom 1991: 55–56, 148.

[85] Milgrom also suggests that the instructions assigning certain priestly portions including the right hindlimb, the meat of the purification offering, and that of the guilt offering to the officiating priest (see Lev 7:32–33; 6:19; and 7:4; respectively), are reflective of the premonarchic cults of the local shrines, rather than of the later cult of the Jerusalem temple in which the portion went to all the priests (see Milgrom 1991: 11, 17, 411–12); while it is impossible to tell exactly who is eating the offerings in Area T, the fact that the priests appear to be eating alongside of the offers (albeit in a separate room) in the earlier stage of activity in the western chambers in contrast to the later stage when evidence points to more processing rather than consumption in this location may suggest a more localized phenomenon in the former.

[86] On the ceramic remains, see pp. 72–76, above.

above centered on family units who brought their own cooking and eating vessels of varying types depending on what they had in their pantry at home, rather than receiving standardized vessels from a centralized power. The relative absence of large serving vessels, too, fits with such a reconstruction: family groups gathered around their cooking pots and served their stewed sacrificial meat directly into individual bowls, rather than into vessels used for mass distribution in a more regulated environment.

Increasing Regulation

The traditional, clan-based nature of the earlier Iron II feasts of Area T may also be suggested conversely by several indicators of increasing restriction and regulation of the area in the later Iron II phases.

For example, Andrew Davis has recently identified the architectural delineation of two spheres of activity in Area T, namely, the courtyard on the one hand, and the western chambers on the other—precisely the same two spheres differentiated in this study based on ceramic and faunal remains—and has convincingly argued on the basis of architectural changes within the latest two Iron Age phases that sacred space was increasingly restricted.[87] Specifically, Davis traces a transition from Stratum III, which he characterizes as an "open" environment in which worshipers had access to the central altar as well as to the northern podium,[88] to Stratum II, in which "non-elite" worshipers[89] were barred from the central altar by the temenos wall and relegated to the western chambers for coexisting family-centered rites, perhaps loosely administered by priests.[90]

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[87] See his recent Johns Hopkins dissertation (2010), as well as his preliminary studies (2008; 2009).

[88] See Davis 2010: 89–91, though the example of the tabernacle/temple as a closed environment would not seem to hold based on the architectural similarities of the plans argued here. Cf. Albertz 1994: 145–46 on the "open" nature of the Northern cult in contrast to the Southern cult.

[89] On Davis's use of "elite" and "non-elite," see Davis 2010: 25–41.

[90] Cf. Davis 2010: 117–19. While this author finds Davis's thesis of increasing restriction overwhelmingly compelling, he differs somewhat in regard to the function of the western chambers; Davis sees T-West as a center of "non-elite" activity in which religious specialists, i.e., the priests, played a minimal role (Davis 2010: 124–26), whereas this author sees more direct administration of the priests based on the evidence of extensive skin processing, and, perhaps, on the possibly elite markers of lion and bear skins as well as decorated pottery (see pp. 94–96, above). Still the two views are not entirely incompatible and "non-elite" worshipers are viewed to have interacted with priests in this ritual space in either reconstruction. Regardless, there is little doubt that family and household religion

Additional support for increasing regulation in Area T is found in the reconstruction here, particularly in regard to the two phases of activity in the western chambers. As suggested above, in the earlier phase, the space is defined both by consumption activities—notably consisting of a majority of right-sided portions—as well as processing activities, particularly in regard to skins.[91] In the later phase, evidence for consumption is minimal, but evidence for processing increases dramatically.[92] Thus, a scenario in which priests are eating separate from, but alongside of, worshipers and receiving skins as their priestly due in the earlier phase, as mentioned above, is consistent with the more open environment of Stratum III. Evidence for the decreased consumption of meat portions with the increased processing of skins of the later phase fits with the more restricted environment of Stratum II, in which the priests perhaps partook of their sacred feasts in another location further removed from the common worshipers and the western chambers became a place for large-scale processing and the stockpiling skins; notably, these observations clearly dovetail with Davis's thesis.

Thus, the evidence of communal feasts and increasing regulation may suggest that traditional, clan-based features, perhaps hold-overs from premonarchic local shrine practices, persisted alongside of more regulated Yahwistic features in the Iron II feasts of Area T, especially in earlier phases. Such a scenario is all the more plausible if one grants some degree of historicity to the Danite cultic etiology discussed in Chapter 2: if there was a premonarchic cult at Dan (cf. Judg 18:30–31)—most likely a family-based cult comparable to that described for Shiloh[93]—certain elements of this cult might be expected in subsequent religious expressions at the shrine.

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persisted outside of the precinct as it was, by its very nature, far less affected by the currents of change in the official sphere (see Albertz and Schmitt 2012: 17–18).

[91] See pp. 90–91, above.

[92] Further excavation is required to establish whether or not this division was as stark in the earliest Iron II strata.

[93] Notably, both would have been Northern cults and, thus, one might assume a greater degree of continuity.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS: KINGDOM, PAST, AND *REALPOLITIK* AT MONARCHIC DAN

In this study evidence has been presented that suggests that cultic feasts were carried out at the site of Tel Dan in the Iron II period and that the nature of these events may be illuminated by a close look at related biblical texts. In the conclusion that follows, a summary is provided before the possible significance of these feasts in the context of the Northern Kingdom is suggested.

The Yahwistic Royal Cult in Action

To summarize to this point, after an introduction illustrating the explanatory power of a feast to open windows of insight into various aspects of particular cultures, the biblical texts discussed in Chapter 2 were argued to be suggestive of a Yahwistic and traditional religious context in which sacred feasts at Dan may have been acted out: ambiguity was noted in the deuteronomistic account of 1 Kgs 12:25–33, perhaps suggesting the recognition of an active Yahwistic cult in the North close to the time of composition,[1] and older traditions related to the account, i.e., Exod 32 and Judg 17–18, were thought to contain traces of the Yahwism maintained in the cult of Jeroboam. The archaeological remains from the deposits of Area T presented and analyzed in Chapter 3 were understood to confirm that eating activities charged with religious significance took place there, notably within different spheres of activity, and that change in practice occurred over time. Further, several details of the feasts discussed in Chapter 4 were found to exhibit a close correspondence with the priestly texts, especially in regard to the priestly portions. When this evidence was considered in light of other archaeological features of Area T that also seemed to parallel biblical descriptions of cultic *realia* (i.e., the "altar kit" and its *mizrāq* in T-West and the "Solomonic" architecture of the Area T plan)

[1] That is, as part of the DH^H; see pp. 10–14, above.

and cultic movements (cf. the "syntax of offering" in Area T),[2] the Yahwistic nature of the feasts at Tel Dan was argued to be more plausible.

As noted in the discussion, however, the evidence from Area T could be interpreted in other ways and, barring an inscription explicitly identifying the site as a Yahwistic shrine, the most that can be said, archeologically speaking, is that people participated in eating activities that were likely cultic in nature, apparently within different spheres of activity, and that change may have occurred in these activities over time. But if the basic narrative of the biblical account—namely, that an Israelite king (re)established Yahwistic cult centers in the North when a temple stood in Jerusalem—is granted any degree of historicity,[3] and has been accurately understood in this study, then the convergence of our "monologues" of texts and archaeology[4] would suggest that these events were indeed Yahwistic cult feasts carried out during the days of the Israelite kings.[5]

As such, this study of sacred feasts at Tel Dan may provide one of the best examples of the Yahwistic royal cult in action hitherto presented and invites further exploration of these remains, especially as final reports are underway,[6] as well as a close look at relevant comparanda from other sites and related textual traditions.[7] In fact, in light of the absence of any excavated remains of the First Temple in Jerusalem (and no hope of excavation in light of the current political climate), a modern city on what may be the site of ancient Bethel, and no evidence of a major temple yet from Samaria, Tel Dan will likely retain its place as the most extensive archaeological context in which to explore royal Yahwistic cultic practice in the Iron II period.[8] It is hoped that in this alone, a contribution has been made.

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[2] See pp. 116–19.

[3] Many historians, with whom this author would concur, find the list of kings and their length of reigns—however complex synchronizing the data may be (cf. Albright 1945; Thiele 1983; Hayes and Hooker 1988; Galil 1996; Tetley 2005)—as well as many of the events surrounding their reigns, to be among the most verifiable information contained in the Hebrew Bible, exhibiting a high degree of correspondence with Assyrian annals, epigraphic sources, and archaeological excavations (see, e.g., Knoppers 1997; 1999; Halpern 1996b; 2000; Miller and Hayes 2006: 239–41). For a discussion of the issues involved in parsing the details of the history of the monarchic period and for a survey of the range of scholarly opinion on this matter, see Moore and Kelle 2011, especially pp. 145–333.

[4] So Halpern 1997; cf. Na'aman 2010, and comments above, pp. 5–6.

[5] On the Aramaean question, see pp. 119–20, above.

[6] See p. 1, n. 3, above.

[7] To these endeavors this author hopes to turn his attention in the near future.

[8] Arad, too, though not as large, will provide another important context for similar exploration, especially once final publications are prepared (see p. 43, n. 1, above).

That said, such a conclusion leaves unexplored some explanation for the incorporation of traditional elements in these feasts, the changes that apparently occurred over time, and the role these events played at each stage. Explanations, however speculative, may be sought by considering these events in the socio-political and religious contexts of the Northern monarchy sketched out—though by no means comprehensively[9]—below.

Sacred Feasts at Dan in the Context of the Kingdom

Though little is known about the earliest period of the Israelite monarchy outside of the Hebrew Bible, what can be pieced together with supplementation from other ancient records and archaeology suggests that it was a time of fluctuation in both socio-political and religious respects. While the North often enjoyed times of peace and prosperity, clearly surpassing the South in terms of power and international prestige under the Omrides especially, it was also affected by political instability evidenced in a succession of shifting dynasties, most of which ended in the assassination of the incumbent dynast and the annihilation of the royal family. On the religious front, though opinion varies widely,[10] continuity between premonarchic Israelite religion and Canaanite religion,[11] the prominence

[9] In neither historical nor religious respects are any claims of comprehensive coverage made here for the outline that follows, as these complex tasks lie beyond the scope of this work; these brief sketches are intended only to provide a context for the Danite feasts described and readers are referred to bibliographies in recent standard histories that incorporate biblical and ancient Near Eastern data such as Miller and Hayes 2006: 221–391 and Rainey and Notley 2006: 168–253 (cf. Kuhrt 1995: 456–72, for an overview of these events in a wider ancient Near Eastern context), with which this sketch is largely consistent or draws upon, for more detailed discussions. Even in histories that are more skeptical of biblical portrayals, such as the recent reconstruction of Liverani 2005: 104–16, the content differs little from the sketch provided here. For a survey of the changing face of scholarship on the history of this time period, see Moore and Kelle 2011: 266–333. On the religious context, see recent discussions in Halpern 2009; Smith 2002; 2001; 2008; Zevit 2001; Albertz 1994; van der Toorn 1996; Nakhai 2001; Day 2000; Dever 2005; Miller, Hanson, and McBride 1987; Miller 1985; Keel and Uehlinger 1998; Hess 2007; and Stavrakopoulou and Barton 2010, among others.

[10] See recent surveys of the history of research in Zevit 2001: 27–73; Smith 2002: xii–xxii; and Hess 2007: 25–80.

[11] See, e.g., Halpern 1983: 246–47; Coogan 1987; Niehr 1995; van der Toorn 1996: 206, 236–65; Miller 2000: 24–25; Smith 2002: 6–7, 19–31; Albertz 2002: 90–92; Dever 2001: 113–14; 2005: 252–71; and bibliography in these works. On the social structure of the tribe, clan, and family, and the notion of communal identity and corporate responsibility, in relation to early Israelite religion, see Halpern 1991; 1996a; cf. Stager 1985. See, also, Dever 1987, especially his p. 236, and Stager 1998: 137, on the continuity of material culture

of Yahweh from at least the early monarchic period,[12] and the diversity of religious expression in the period that followed,[13] are several characteristics that have been largely agreed upon in recent studies. In these contexts, sacred feasts would have played an important role in both the kingdom and the cult.

Sacred Feasting in the Precinct of the Early Northern Monarchs

Jeroboam I, according to the biblical narrative, would have been most assuredly faced with various factions and disarray in both socio-political and religious spheres. Further instability during his reign, and the reigns of the early 9th century monarchs that followed, would have been wrought by Sheshonk I's late 10th century BCE Levantine campaign (1 Kgs 14:25–26; 2 Chr 12:1–12; Karnak reliefs),[14] war between the Northern and Southern

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as it relates to the cult, but note differences in iconographic trends traced by Keel and Uehlinger 1998.

[12] See, e.g., van der Toorn 1996: 266–86, especially his pp. 277–81; Zevit 2001: 663, 686; Albertz 1994: 105–46; Smith 2002: 91–101; Miller 2000: 40–43; Mettinger 1982; with further support from iconographic (cf. Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 173–74, 278–80) and onomastic (see, especially, Tigay 1986; 1987; but note the cautious comments of Day 2000: 227–28 and Smith 2002: 4–5, 35, as well as full discussion of these and other challenges with a response in Hess 2007: 269–74) corpora.

[13] That is, diversity based primarily on variation in context and on the array of cultic paraphernalia identified archaeologically (see examples in Holladay 1987; Dever 2005; and the summary of Hess 2007: 330–32) in light of biblical denouncements of "deviant" cultic practice (cf. Day 2000: 226). See the recent collection of essays in Stavrakopoulou and Barton 2010 (especially their introduction) bound by this theme. Consider, too, the intentionally plural titles (underlined emphasis added here) of several recent volumes including *Archaeology and the Religions of Canaan and Israel* (Nakhai 2001), *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches* (Zevit 2001), and *Israelite Religions: An Archaeological and Biblical Survey* (Hess 2007); see discussions and bibliography in Zevit 2001: 648–52; Nakhai 2001: 183–92; and contrast the recent challenge of Faust 2010. Such diversity is often discussed in terms of a continuum ranging from "family" religion to "royal" religion, classified by various terms and subsets (see Holladay 1987; Ackerman 1992; van der Toorn 1996; 1997; Berlinerblau 1996; Miller 2000; Albertz and Schmitt 2012; and note discussions on the terminology employed in Dever 2005: 5–7; Davis 2010: 25–41). An increasing sensitivity to regional diversity, between Northern and Southern traditions in particular, is also apparent in works such as Hutton 2010; Albertz 1994: 18; and Russell 2009, operating within this paradigm.

[14] See a standard treatment of Sheshonk in Kitchen 1996: 85–88, 287–330, especially his pp. 293–300 and 432–47 on the campaign, with transliteration and notes in Ritner 2009: 193–213, and comments in Redford 1992: 312–15; 2006: 207–08; Kitchen 2003: 32–34; and Rainey and Notley 2006: 185–89 (also see an alternative treatment in Wilson 2005, but with the comments of Hoffmeier 2008). From an archaeological perspective, it is common to associate late 10th century destruction layers in the southern Levant with this campaign (see Mazar 1992a: 397–98); indeed, while the list of toponyms should be used with caution due to its propagandistic character based on earlier reliefs (cf. Redford 1992: 314; Myśliwiec

kingdoms through the reign of Baasha (cf. 1 Kgs 14:30; 15:16, 32), mounting Assyrian pressure,[15] and repeated Aramaean campaigns[16]—one of which, under Bir-Hadad I (biblical Ben-Hadad), is said to have led to the "smiting" of Dan (1 Kgs 15:20),[17] probably a punitive raid.[18] In such a context, a chief concern must have been an attempt to appease the various disgruntled tribal factions and unify the burgeoning Northern Kingdom.

In the biblical account, as discussed in Chapter 2, Jeroboam may be viewed as catering to these tribal concerns in a number of ways through his cultic initiatives. To begin with, he intentionally distanced his major cult centers from his capital, in contrast to the kingdom-cult merger in Jerusalem. He further revivified ancient Yahwistic cult centers, surely winning the favor of traditionalists—perhaps Aaronids at Bethel and Mushites at Dan—who may have looked with suspicion on the Davidic-Solomonic "innovations" in Jerusalem.[19] Yet, the tribal groups in the North apparently did not reject the concept of the monarchy and, thus, Jeroboam was faced with fitting traditional religion in a monarchic mold—the religious "syncretism" in this case, then, was not with gods unfamiliar to Israel,[20] but an *internal* syncretism between tribal and national religious expressions.[21]

2000: 44–46), there seems to be little doubt that some sort of campaign was undertaken (cf. the fragment of a stela bearing the name of Sheshonk at Megiddo) and it seems reasonable to attribute certain destruction levels throughout the region to this activity (contrast Wilson 2005: 97–99, who affirms the unlikely view of only a southern campaign; see Hoffmeier 2008), especially in regard to Negev sites (see Halpern 2001: 462–63).

15 See Yamada 2000 on the western campaigns of Assyria under Shalmaneser III, and Holloway 2002 on the ideology of Neo-Assyrian expansion and religious imperialism.

16 See Pitard 1987: 81–189; Lipiński 2000: 347–407.

17 In the biblical account, Asa of Judah bribed Bir-Hadad of Damascus to attack Baasha of Israel's northern front during a period of conflict over the central Benjaminite plateau (1 Kgs 15:16–22 // 2 Chr 16:1–6; see Rainey and Notley 2006: 195–97). On potential archaeological reflexes of Aramaean campaigns, see Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami 1998 (cf. Pitard 1987: 107–14); and specifically on Dan, see Biran 1994a: 181–83.

18 See pp. 119–20, above.

19 See pp. 30–41, above.

20 Though Yahweh was clearly worshiped as the national god of Israel, in certain factions other deities were apparently recognized, at least as valid national gods for other peoples (see Smith 2008: 99–130; cf. Smith 2002: 9–11) if not as subordinate deities functioning within a limited pantheon (see Zevit 2001: 648–52; Smith 2002: 64) as part of Yahweh's entourage or divine council, often identified with the Host of Heaven or stars, with close connection to the ancestors (so Halpern 1987; 1993; 2003b).

21 This internal syncretism is perhaps best exemplified in Jeroboam's choice of bovine iconography that he associated with the national god Yahweh, discussed above (see p. 24, n. 86). While the calf was the pedestal of Yahweh rather than some other god (see p. 15, n. 40) to be sure, by portraying Yahweh as a calf-rider Jeroboam seemingly incorporated Yahweh into the familiar tribal pantheon and placed him in a subservient position to a bull-riding El—a concession that drew the critique of the later Dtrs and the charge

As part of his programatic internal syncretism, Jeroboam is said to have further instituted national pilgrim feasts "like those in Judah" (1 Kgs 12:32) honoring their tribal god Yahweh. These feasts would have served as mechanisms intended to build solidarity in the formative years of the kingdom, bonding the people together at a time of weakness and reinforcing traditional ties.

The archaeological evidence of large scale eating events in Area T at the end of this phase may bear witness to such corporate feasts at Dan. The consumption of food in a traditional context and the overall absence of elite markers, as well as the variety of pottery styles and types, may perhaps suggest the communal and family-based nature of these events: people may have brought their own eating kits, along with the animals to be killed, and partaken of sacred meals together in small groups as part of a larger whole within the precinct, celebrating their unity as a people of Yahweh.

Regardless, the cultic experiment of internal syncretism credited to Jeroboam, and likely the feasts that empowered it, apparently led to the eventual success of Northern religion, witnessed in the enduring nature of the Bethel and Dan shrines, and perhaps paved the way for the rise of the Omrides.

Sacred Feasting in the Precinct of the Omrides

With the reign of the Omrides, especially under Ahab, the North showed newfound strength, alluded to not only in the biblical accounts (1 Kgs 16:24, 31; 22:39; 2 Kgs 3:4) and on the Mesha Stela (KAI 181), but also in Assyrian records listing Ahab as one of the leaders of the coalition that thwarted the advance of Shalmaneser III in the Levant at the Battle of Qarqar in 853 BCE (RIMA 3:22–24).[22] Much of the Iron II monumental

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that Jeroboam "worshiped other gods" (1 Kgs 14:9). On Yahweh as part of the Canaanite pantheon, see Cross 1973: 191. On the related convergence of divine motifs in this period, see Smith 2002: 54–59; cf. his pp. 185–89, following, especially, Cross 1973: 1–75, 147–94.

[22] While the coalition apparently halted the initial advance, subsequent campaigns of Shalmaneser III repeatedly penetrated deeper into the Levant (see, e.g., campaigns of years 11, 18, and 21 on the Black Obelisk; RIMA 3:65–67) resulting in eventual tribute from former members of the coalition and their successors, including Jehu "son of Omri" (RIMA 3:149); cf., too, later tribute extracted from the land of Omri under Adad-Narari III (RIMA 3:213). For a survey of references to Israel in Assyrian, Babylonian, and Northwest Semitic sources for this period, see Millard 2010, and on these campaigns in particular, see Halpern 2001: 466–71 and Yamada 2000, as well as Na'aman 2005b for an intriguing reconstruction of the outcome of the Battle of Qarqar.

architecture identified archaeologically in the region, too, has been attributed to the strength of the dynasty.[23] The move of the capital from Tirzah to Samaria further signified closer ties with the Phoenician coast, solidified in an apparent marriage alliance through Ahab and Jezebel, while maintaining access to the Jezreel and the major trade routes that flowed through it.[24] Northern influence also apparently stretched to the South, where Judah may have served as a sort of vassal under Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:4), indicated by joint military (1 Kgs 22:1–38) and economic (2 Chr 20:35–37; contrast 1 Kgs 22:49–50)[25] ventures, as well as by intermarriage (2 Kgs 8:26).[26]

As Northern monarchs with unprecedented international interaction, it is no wonder that cultic changes are described during the days of the Omrides; alliances with foreign powers necessitated intermarriage and cultic accommodation in the political scheme of the times (no less true in the descriptions of Solomon; 1 Kgs 11: 5, 7, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13). While alliance with Phoenicia through Jezebel and the state sanction of the worship of a certain *baal*, perhaps Baal-Shamem,[27] drew a fierce critique from Northern Yahwists (1 Kgs 16:30–33) epitomized in the portrayal of the

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[23] Regardless of which chronology one follows, whether the "high" or the "low" (see overviews in Halpern 2001: 427–78; Kletter 2004; Miller and Hayes 2006: 250–52; Finkelstein and Mazar 2007; Frese and Levy 2010 and references therein), major building efforts are attributed to the Omrides: in the "high chronology" (e.g., Mazar 1992a), followed here, such strata include Hazor VIII, Megiddo IVA, and Gezer VII, and, in the "low" (e.g., Silberman and Finkelstein 2002), such include Hazor X–IX, Megiddo VA–IVB, and Gezer VIII, in addition to the palatial phases I and II at Samaria in both scenarios.

[24] See Rainey and Notley 2006: 197–99; Stager 1990.

[25] Miller and Hayes 2006: 319–20 suggest that prior to Jehoshaphat, a joint Phoenician, Israelite, and Judahite shipping operation (perhaps, with Edomite support) was already under way and that Jehoshaphat unilaterally took control. In any case, the very fact that cooperation is offered (whether accepted or denied) attests to joint ventures in this time.

[26] On the vassal status of Judah, see Miller and Hayes 2006: 303–304, 316–19; for the Chronicler's perspective on Jehoshaphat in this case, which contrasts the independent successful characteristics of this monarch with his dependent failures, see Knoppers 1991.

[27] Though the precise identification of this deity is not clear and may have varied by region, roughly contemporary inscriptions (e.g., KAI 4 and 26, in Phoenician contexts; KAI 202; 266, in Aramaean contexts; and SAA2 5, in a god list from an Assyrian-Phoenician treaty) suggest Baal-Shamem as likely candidate, over Melqart (so, too, Smith 2002: 68–71; Day 2000: 73–77; for Melqart, see Aramaean KAI 201, and also the list of gods in SAA2 5, cited above). On the possibility of a local "Palestinian Baal" particular to the region, see Herrmann 1999: 136–38 (cf. Smith 2002: 71) and for a comprehensive survey of attestations of Baal-Shamem in literary sources, with different historical conclusions, see Niehr 2003 (especially his pp. 185–91 in regard to Israel). The problem of identity is exacerbated by the fluidity of divine figures in this period, and, even more so, by the fact that the biblical texts most often employ the term (even in the defined singular) as a collective for lesser gods of the local pantheon rather than as a proper name (so Halpern 1993).

Mount Carmel showdown (1 Kgs 18:1–40),[28] there can be little doubt that the worship of the national *baal*, Yahweh (Hos 2:18; cf. 1 Chr 12:6), also continued in this period.[29]

Ahab himself, at times, is described in the biblical texts—whatever their dates and perspectives[30]—as tolerating Yahwistic prophets (e.g., Micaiah in 1 Kgs 22:8), following their prophetic command (e.g., 1 Kgs 20:13–30), and even repenting before Yahweh (1 Kgs 21:27–29). He also is said to have given his sons Yahwistic names: Ahaziah (1 Kgs 22:40) and Joram (2 Kgs 3:1; 8:25). Even in the days described in the text as part of a Yahwistic persecution, prophets of Yahweh are said to have survived in the court of Ahab (1 Kgs 18:3–4, 12–13) and 7,000 other Yahwists were apparently preserved elsewhere (1 Kgs 19:18). Hints of a Yahwistic rival are also mentioned in passing under Joram (2 Kgs 3:1–2) and the Mesha Stela refers to no national god of the Israelite Omrides other than Yahweh (KAI 181 1:18). Thus, it seems most likely that under the Omrides, while a particular *baal* cult was established (or continued) in Samaria, a cult of Yahweh was maintained there (and elsewhere), as well; further, it seems likely that Ahab's perpetuation of the "sins of Jeroboam" (1 Kgs 16:31) would have included support of the Yahwistic shrines at Bethel and Dan.

The feasts at Dan, then, probably continued within a Yahwistic framework, perhaps still under the ministry of Mushite Yahwists (Judg 18:30),[31] and nothing in the excavations from Area T would suggest otherwise. From the various sub-strata of Stratum III (i.e., those associated with the Omrides in this reconstruction), in fact, the greatest correlations between the faunal remains and the priestly prescriptions were noted: common domesticates were apparently killed and eaten in the precinct with a measurable distribution of carcass parts that have been interpreted as

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[28] While some would discount the Carmel affair as later exaggerated polemic, whatever its date and perspective it bears witness to a growing internal religious conflict that paralleled the Omride efforts of centralization and marked a turning point in Northern religion (cf. Cross 1973: 190–94; van der Toorn 1996: 334–38; Smith 2008: 122–24; 2002: 75).

[29] Cf. van der Toorn 1996: 328–34; Smith 2002: 73. Cf., too, the mention of "Yahweh of Samaria" at Kuntillet 'Ajrûd (HI KAjr 18).

[30] While a detailed treatment regarding the dates and perspectives of each of the following texts is beyond the scope of this discussion, suffice it to say that even if some represent anti-Omride/pro-Nimshide polemic, or other perspectives well after the events they describe, the fact that Yahwism under the Omrides is mentioned at all is remarkable.

[31] In light of potential Mushite connections and the association of Moses with snake motifs (see Num 21:4–9; cf. 2 Kgs 18:4), it is interesting to note biblical traditions that associate Danites with serpentine imagery (Gen 49:17) and the discovery of several "snake pithoi" (see p. 56, n. 49) within Area T (see, Biran 1994a: 165–67, 177).

evidence for the selection of a priestly portion of the right forelimb or hindlimb and skins.[32]

The communal nature of the feasts would have likely still been maintained, as the same variety of vessel types was represented in the Stratum III deposits, but the space in which the feasts took place was altered dramatically. In place of clustered storerooms with food preparation installations, tabuns and the olive press, a large courtyard was constructed, paved in thick yellow travertine resulting from the dressing of fine ashlars for monumental construction. The resulting plan, as argued above, bore some semblance to the descriptions of the Solomonic temple complex in 1 Kgs 6–7 and may have even included a renovated temple on the platform of T-North and an enlarged altar in T-Center. The plan was, however, still "open" in terms of its architecture[33] and, as such, would have done nothing to impede the frequent family-based feasts that one would imagine took place there. People could have circulated freely, with priests and people still interacting in the courtyard, though designated portions may have been given to the priests and been consumed in separate areas of the precinct, as suggested above.

The complex and its feasts under the Omrides, then, may have represented a period of transition between the old and the new: the successful internal syncretism attributed to Jeroboam was maintained—the worship of Yahweh in a traditional mold—but royal aspects—the monumental architecture and a more regulated priesthood—were now present. The proposed feasts would have still reinforced the notion of a larger community and ties with tribal Yahwism, but in the shadow of the crown. This conflict between the past and the kingdom, perhaps evident in other manifestations as well,[34] would have set the stage for what was to come.

Sacred Feasting in the Precinct of the Nimshides

The wealth and power of the Omrides, according to the biblical texts, lasted until the bloody coup of Jehu (2 Kgs 8:25–10:27; cf. Hos 1:4) in which both Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah were killed.[35] Yet, the

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[32] See, pp. 100–6, above.

[33] So Davis 2010: 91; see pp. 122–23, above.

[34] E.g., consider the classic conflict between tribal and monarchic law portrayed in the story of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kgs 21:1–16; cf. Andersen 1966; Rofé 1988; King and Stager 2001: 48–49; and Cogan 2001: 486 for varying perspectives on the date and intent of the narration of this episode).

[35] The biblical text attributes their assassinations to Jehu (2 Kgs 9:14–28, though Joram received a mortal blow in battle with Hazael), but the Tel Dan Stela likely suggests that

subsequent reigns of Jehu and his son Jehoahaz were apparently plagued by continued Aramaean pressure under the powerful Hazael (and his son Bir-Hadad II), whose strength is evident by numerous references in biblical (2 Kgs 10:32–33; 12:18–19; 13:3) and Assyrian texts (RIMA 3:48, 54, 60, 67, 78, 151), as well as in contemporary inscriptions and, possibly, in archaeological excavations.[36] After Adad-Narari III crippled Damascus and imposed tribute (RIMA 3:211, 213), however, Israel enjoyed a period of expansion and prosperity during the reign of Joash and especially under Jeroboam II (cf. 2 Kgs 14:25). Yet it was not long before internal turmoil resulted in the assassination of Jeroboam II's son Zechariah, and Shallum who briefly followed, under the shadow of the growing strength of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria. Menahem held power as a vassal of Assyria, but Pekah's assassination of the pro-Assyrian Pekahiah (Menahem's son), and his subsequent revolt (cf. 2 Kgs 16:1–9; Isa 7:1–6) resulted in the conquest of the Upper Galilee by Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 BCE (cf. 2 Kgs 15:29)[37] that most likely brought the Iron Age cultic activities of Stratum II in Area T at Dan to an end.[38]

On a religious front, the revolution of the usurper Jehu, violent as it was (2 Kgs 9:14–10:17), is said to have been supported by Elisha (2 Kgs 9:1–3) and is remembered positively in the Deuteronomistic History (2 Kgs 10:30; contrast Hos 1:4) due to the Yahwistic reforms that apparently accompanied it (2 Kgs 10:18–28). Jehu is said to have purged the land of the worship

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Hazael claimed credit for these killings. Though the Aramaean king is not mentioned in the inscription, Hazael seems most plausible (with Schniedewind 1996; Suriano 2007) and though the inscription does not explicitly mention either king, but only "[ ]ram, son of [ ], king of Israel, and [ ]yhw, son of [ ], king of the House of David," the only known "king of Israel" ending in *-rm* is Jehoram and the only 9th century Judahite king ending with the Yahwistic theophoric element *-yhw* is Ahaziah (see a succinct summary in Miller and Hayes 2006: 324 with references there; also see the extended treatments of the inscription in Athas 2003 and Hagelia 2009, including coverage of the ensuing debates). The two perspectives may not be as incompatible as they at first appear, as Jehu may have killed the kings acting on behalf of Hazael (consider a possible parallel example in Neo-Assyrian records concerning the execution of Giammu in Halpern 2001: 113, n. 12). On historical issues surrounding these episodes, see further Halpern 2010.

[36] For inscriptions, see Suriano 2007 on the Tel Dan stela (cf. mention of Bir-Hadad [II], son of Hazael [KAI 202 A4–5] in the Zakkur inscription) and Eph'al and Naveh 1989 on the Hazael Booty Inscriptions (cf. Bron and Lemaire 1989). For possible archaeological evidence of a coastal campaign of Hazael at Tell es-Safi/Gath (2 Kgs 12:18), see Maeir 2004 (cf. Maeir 2009; see, too, 2 Kgs 10:32–33 for mention of Transjordanian campaigns [cf. Richelle 2010 on 4 Kgdms 13:22] and, on the extent of Hazael's "regional empire," see Galil 2007).

[37] See, Rainey and Notley 2006: 230–32; cf. Tadmor 1994: 202–203, 279–81.

[38] So Biran 1994a: 206, 201.

of the Omride *baal*,[39] but to have left the shrines of Dan and Bethel intact (2 Kgs 10:28–29, 31), which comports with the view that these centers were considered to be Yahwistic sanctuaries.

In such a context, one may even imagine a revival of Yahwistic worship, albeit of an intolerant type.[40] Notably, Jehu's son Jehoahaz entreats Yahweh (2 Kgs 13:4), and the only critique of each of his successors in the formulaic introductions is that they perpetuated the "sins of Jeroboam." The major Yahwistic shrines of the North may have been renovated during this period, especially under the prosperity and expansion of Jeroboam II, possibly attested at Dan in Stratum II, according to Biran.[41]

It should not be surprising, then, that the reconstructed feasts at Dan under the Nimshides, again, give every appearance of being Yahwistic:[42] priestly portions were likely maintained (specifically in the portion of skins), cultic paraphernalia like that described from the Jerusalem temple was employed (i.e., the altar kit and its *mizrāq*), and extensive sanctuary renovations apparently included the addition of staircases to the altar and a temenos wall with openings that corresponded precisely with the movements of priests in the priestly texts—the Danite Yahwists would have indeed been "doing it right" as Amos 5:21–23 affirms, for the very fact that Amos condemns the religious feasts and offerings of the North at this time attests to their being maintained. Yet these Yahwistic feasts likely differed from those of the earlier phases in several ways, perhaps indicative of the increasing exclusivity of the movement.

To begin with, the context in which the feasts were carried out apparently became more segregated: boundaries of sacred space were imposed, most notably in respect to the altar area which was restricted by the temenos wall.[43] Further, this division appears to have carried over to the feasts themselves, evidenced in the observation that the eating that was taking place in the western chambers all but disappears at the same time evidence for the processing of skins increases dramatically. There is even

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[39] On the difficulty of assessing the identity of "the *baal*" of the Omrides, see p. 131, n. 27 (cf. Halpern 1993). If, indeed, Jehu eliminated the Omride *baal*, Jehu's reform, in a sense, did in the North what Hezekiah's reform would later do in the South, but one step further: he not only destroyed the rural cult, but also a major element of the rival royal cult.

[40] Cf. Albertz 1994: 155; 2002: 94; and van der Toorn 1996: 334–38.

[41] See Biran 1994a: 191–209.

[42] Notably, too, the few epigraphic finds from the area in this period bore two Yahwistic names (see p. 120, above).

[43] Following Davis 2010: 117–19. For a plan of the precinct, and the changes among strata, see Fig. 4, above.

evidence of exotic animal skins, both lion and bear, in this later phase, perhaps another indication of the elite status of the ministering priests but not exclusively so.

Thus, it appears that the feasts in the Nimshide precinct became tools for division, further separating the priests from the people.[44] In such a reconstruction, the domain of priests in the western chambers became little more than a processing center, serviced by standardized sacrificial paraphernalia and stockpiled with skins collected as due, while the priests took their meals elsewhere apart from the common worshipers.

The Significance of this Study

The above reconstructions of the roles that feasting played in each period of activity at Iron Age II Tel Dan are admittedly speculative, but they do incorporate the available data—biblical and archaeological—in a meaningful synthesis. They further emphasize the inextricable link between manifestations of cultic eating and larger political, social, and religious trends in Northern Israel at this time, as well as the power structures that may have been created and maintained through these events.

At the very least, then, this study presents evidence that confirms the presence of sacred feasting in the Iron Age II precinct at Tel Dan and suggests that change in practice occurred over time: as such it adds a new data set to the discussion of Israelite history and religion in this period—a potential portrait of the Yahwistic royal cult in motion—and opens opportunities for the future explorations mentioned above. It is further hoped that this biblical and archaeological investigation has provided a plausible explanation of the nature and role of these feasts: Yahwistic cult-feasts utilized for kingdom building that at the same time reached back and embraced the tribal heritage of the ancestors, events marked by internal syncretism as a society reinterpreted its tribal past in a monarchic framework, and a cultural transition, from communal events to more segregated ones, paving the way for a new elite.

These proposed transitions in the North, not surprisingly, would have paralleled similar changes sweeping across the Mediterranean basin at this time,[45] changes that ignited the radical reformations in Judah a few

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[44] Cf. Olyan 2000.

[45] See, e.g., Halpern 1987; 1991 (also see a reproduction of these and other essays arranged thematically in Halpern 2009, especially the overview on his pp. 1–10); Albertz

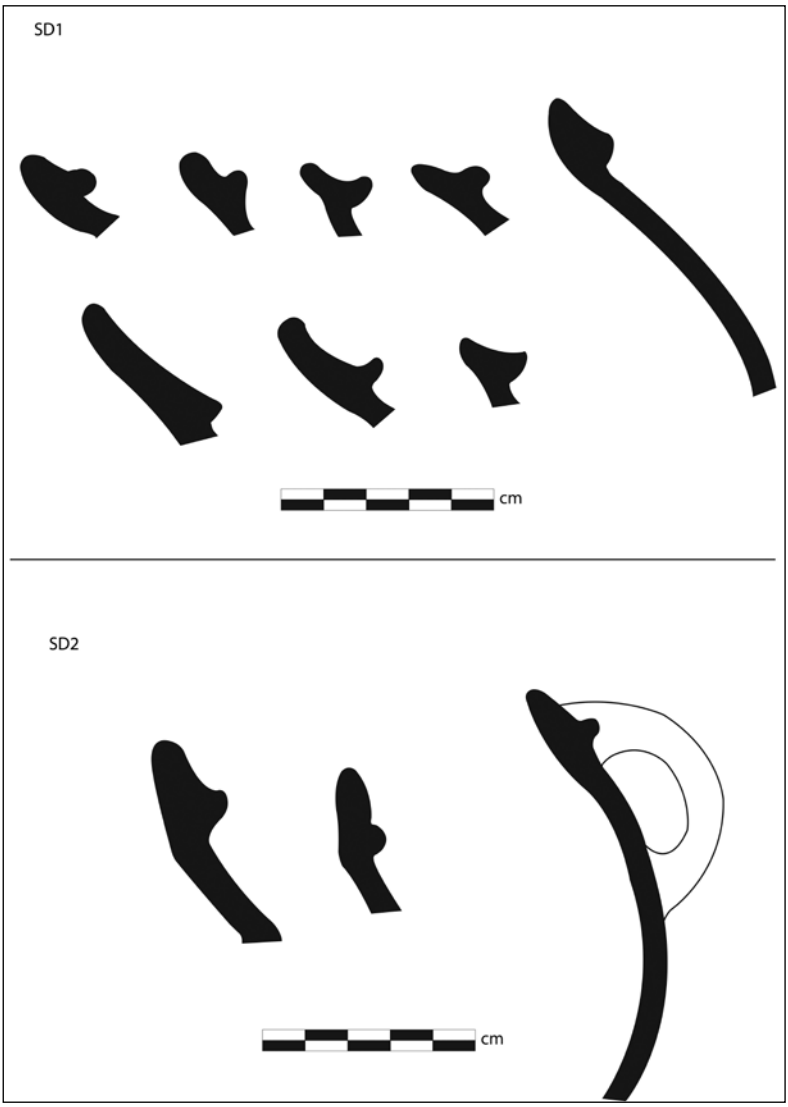
decades later under Hezekiah, encouraged by the onslaught of Assyria, and then shortly after under Josiah—reformations that attempted to purge the centralized Yahwistic cult in Jerusalem of much of its tribal past and paved the way for later formulations of the monotheism preserved in the final form of the Hebrew Bible.[46] But the ultimate outcome of this transition was never to be felt at Dan: it began only to be cut short by the sword of Assyria and subsequent annexation. Still, elements of this movement may have further encouraged transition in the South and survived in their later reincorporation into the greater tradition of ancient Israel, both North and South, preserved in the Hebrew Bible.

1994: 159, 195–231; 2002: 95–98; Smith 2002: 189–91; 2008: 159; Cf. Liverani 2005: 203–13, on the "axial age" in a wider context.

[46] On the 8th century reform, and the Assyrian catalyst, see Halpern 1991, especially his pp. 18–49, and also Smith 2008: 157–63; Knoppers 2007. On the 7th century reform, see Halpern 1996a; 2003a; 2003b; 2007; Knoppers 1994: 171–228; and on the deuteronomistic perspective of these reformers, with different emphases, Knoppers 1992.

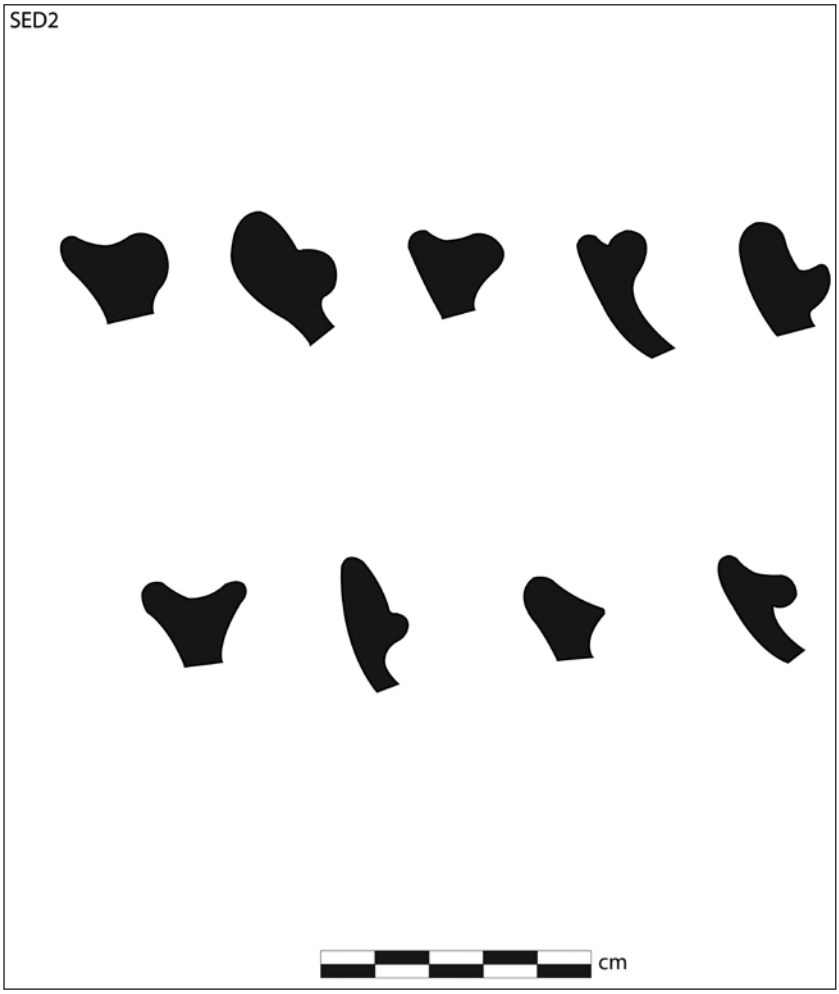
APPENDIX

COOKING POT RIM PROFILES BY DEPOSIT

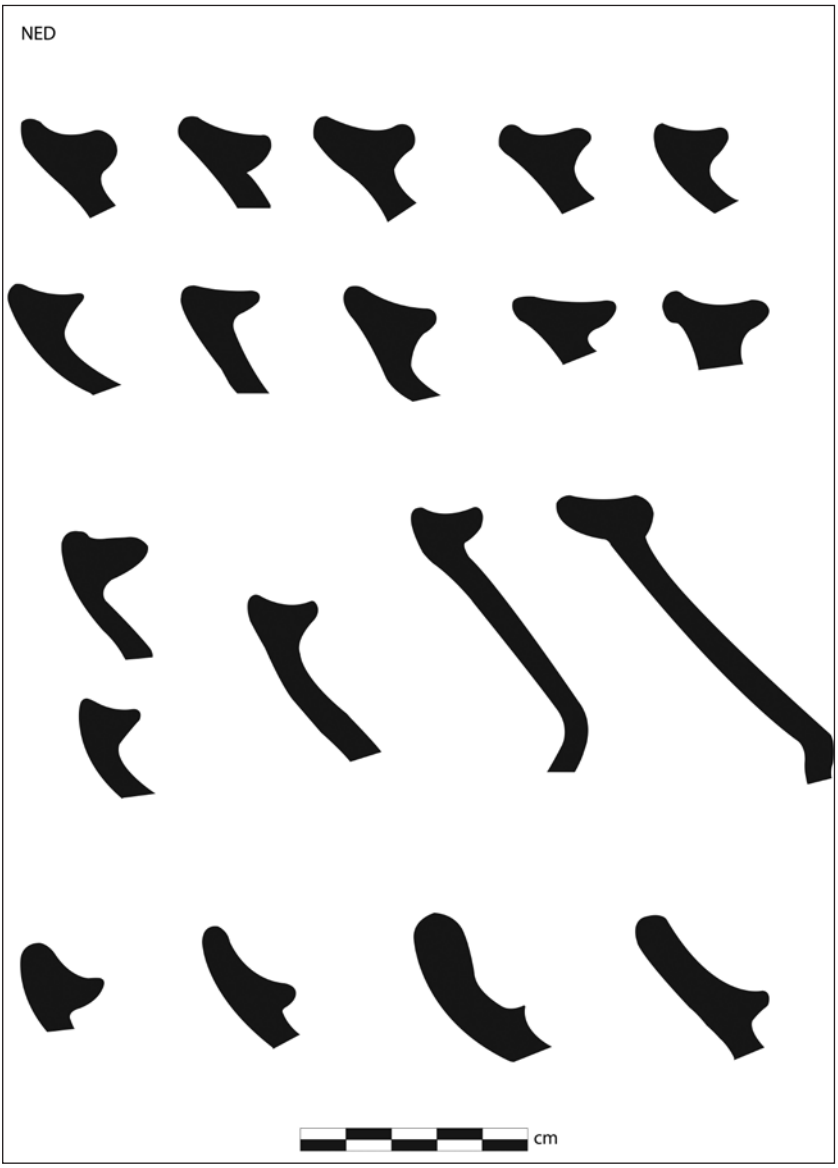


Appendix A

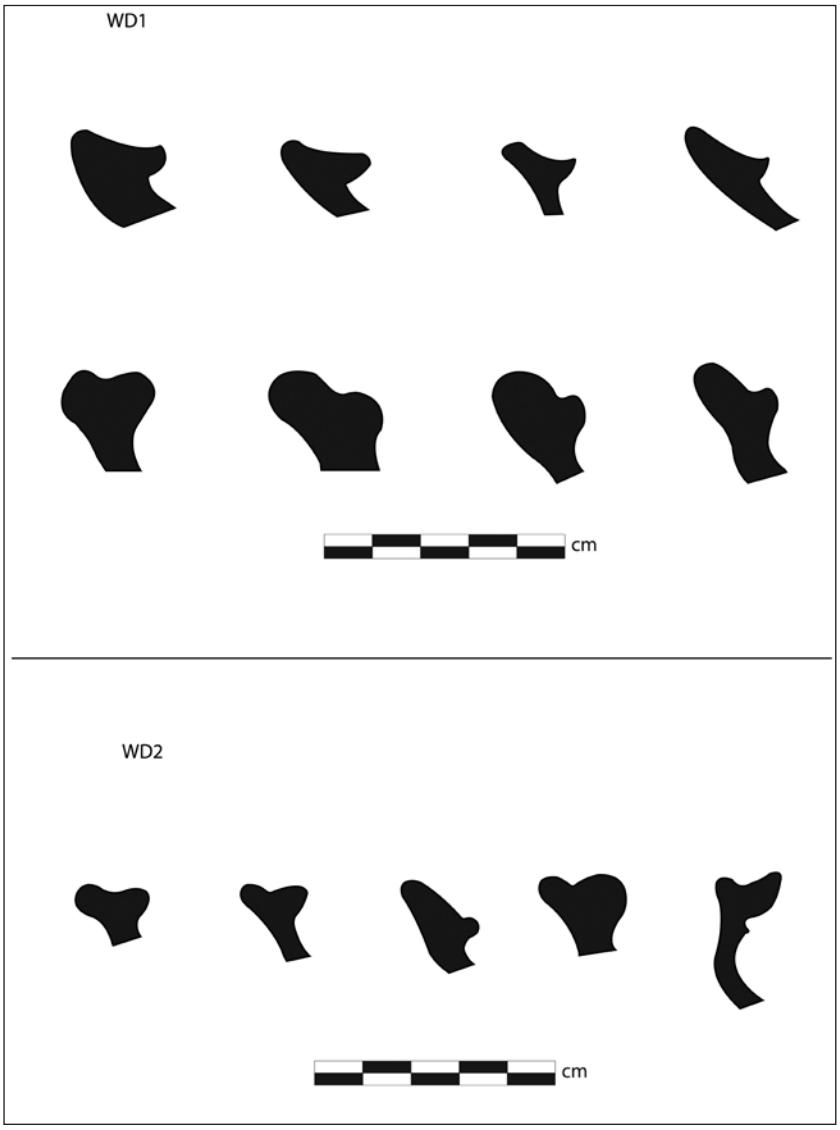
Appendix B



Appendix C



Appendix D



Appendix E

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