In the Neighborhood of the Defeated: Urban Analysis of the Provincial Town at Neo-Assyrian Dan

Yifat Thareani

Assyria's desire for global domination was marked by the empire's ideological conception of a "superior" center and an "inferior" periphery. The creation of the Neo-Assyrian provincial system during the 8th–7th centuries B.C.E. was intended to bring order and stability to a chaotic frontier and to create new realities for colonizers and colonized alike. Nevertheless, upon conquering new regions imperial ambitions were reined in by considerations of ecology, demographics, and politics. While the "colonial geography" of the Assyrian empire is often studied from textual, visual, and historical perspectives, it is also marked by distinct material culture expressions that are often explored from a technical point of view. Being one of the main foci of Assyrian imperial expansion, the southern Levant constitutes an ideal case study for investigating material culture manifestations of Assyrian imperial influence on conquered territories. An extensively explored site, the rich archaeological evidence from Tel Dan in the Hula Valley (Stratum Ib) provides a unique opportunity to explore imperial policies of deportation and resettlement in the face of geopolitical forces, as well as Assyrian impact on the everyday life of indigenous populations and recently arrived deportees.

Keywords: urban analysis; emplacement; colonization; material culture; agency

In memory of Shlomo Bunimovitz

As dust from the hoofs of Tiglath-pileser III's (745–727 B.C.E.) horses settled on the traumatized Hula Valley, Assyrian officials started annexing the former Israelite region to the imperial provincial system (Tadmor 1994: 136–43, 176–79, 186–89; Tadmor and Yamada 2011: 106; Text 42, Lines 17b–19a). Soon after, when Shalmaneser V was succeeded by the ambitious Sargon II (727–705 B.C.E.), the annexation of the northern valleys was completed, and the area was included within the territory of the Assyrian province of *magiddu* (**Fig. 1**; Forrer 1920; Alt 1929; Naʾaman 1995).

For good reason, modern Assyriology has focused on what are often called Assyria's "Home Provinces," or those established on the ruins of the former Aramaean and Neo-Hittite city-states (Postgate 1995; MacGinnis, Wicke, and Greenfield 2016). The study of these provinces benefits from a wealth of inscriptions and letters, illuminating aspects of provincial administration, imperial policy, and reactions on the part of conquered societies. In the vast area extending west of the Euphrates River, the Assyrians founded and administered many provinces for about a century (Forrer 1920; Alt 1929; Naʾaman 1995; Bagg 2011, 2013).

Yet in spite of the clear Assyrian presence, relatively few cuneiform tablets have been discovered here, indicating that correspondence to and from this region was written in Aramaic on perishable materials (Parpola 1981: 123, 132). Various archaeological findings do reveal something of the nature of Assyrian rule as well as sociopolitical dynamics upon the arrival of foreign groups with Mesopotamian names who were settled along the main transportation corridors and in the provincial centers of the newly conquered territories (Becking 1981: 88–89; Zadok 1985: 568–69; Naʾaman and Zadok 2000: 180–81; Ornan, Ortiz,

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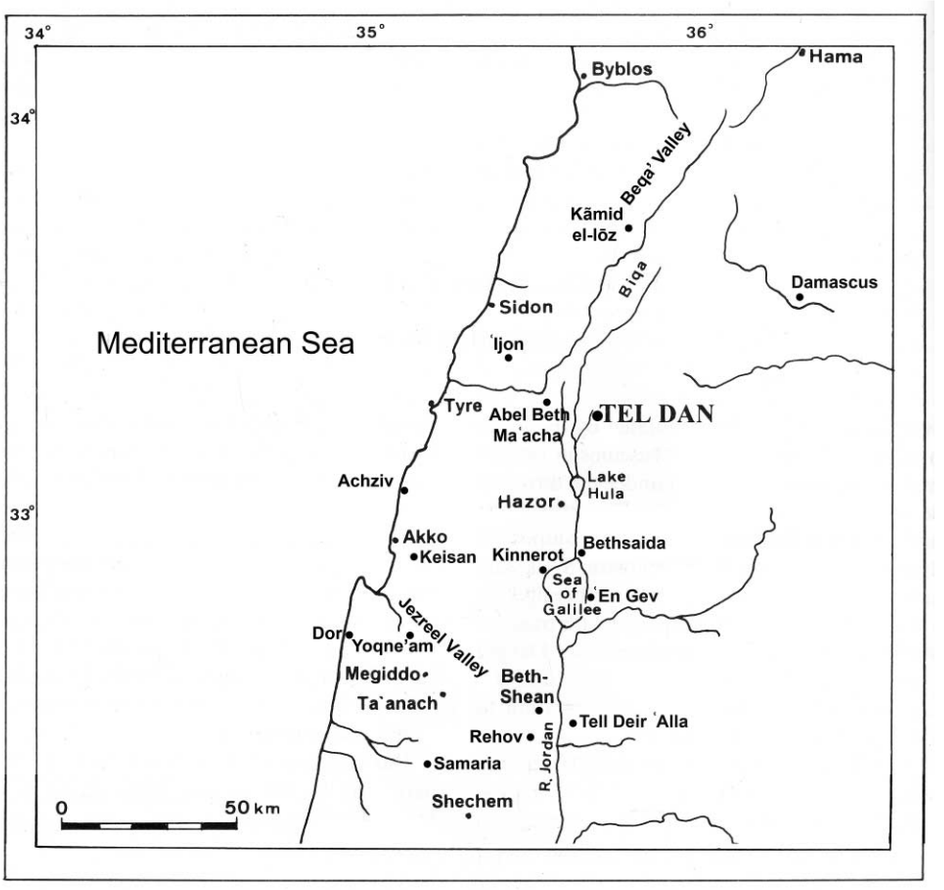

Fig. 1. The Hula Valley and its environs; geographic location and main Iron Age IIb-c sites. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

and Wolff 2013; Faust 2021). Nevertheless, in the absence of inscribed materials and with the relative disciplinary isolation of biblical archaeology, interest in Assyrian provinces of the southern Levant has received less scholarly attention—doomed to partial investigation in spite of a rich material record.

Problems, Theories, and Methods

History of Research

While many studies have illuminated various aspects of the geographic distribution, administration, and material culture of the south Levantine Assyrian provinces (e.g., Ornan 1997; Stern 2003; Faust 2011; Ben Shlomo 2014; Aster 2015; Aster and Faust 2018; Hasegawa and Radner 2020), most scholarship has been drawn to the cultural particularities of Assyrian dominion. In this research milieu, few studies offer a synthesis of Assyria's control strategies in the region (Otzen 1979; Naʾaman 1995; Parpola 2003; Bagg 2013; Faust 2021), most of which reflect a cultural-historical perspective.

A relatively new trend in Neo-Assyrian studies is the practice of anthropological archaeology (Parker 2001a: 19–21, 249–71, 2003; Thareani 2019). By this the author refers to the approach that studies past humans and communities through their material culture, which is interpreted in cultural-humanistic terms (Hodder 1982: 210–12; Renfrew and Bahn 2016: 12).

It might be expected that the enormous historical and archaeological literature generated on the Neo-Assyrian empire would include vibrant anthropological-archaeological discussion. In reality, it seems that in comparison with other empires—such as the Romans and New World—those in Mesopotamia have been explored less from an anthropological perspective, being clearly dominated by cultural-historical approaches (Matthews 2003: 20–21, 133–34; for a critical view of the cultural-historical paradigm, see Lyman, O'Brien, and Dunnell 1997).

Being highly influenced by a wealth of royal inscriptions and administrative documents, the archaeology of the Assyrian empire has been traditionally attracted to top-down approaches that give credence to the Assyrian point of view.

Imperial records provide scant and fragmentary insights about everyday life in conquered territories. In addition, there are great differences in reliability between the exaggerated and biased accounts found in royal inscriptions and the basic information provided by administrative records, which focuses only on those details that are relevant to the imperial administration. Furthermore, most of the iconographic representations of deportees in the Assyrian reliefs adhered to imperial artistic conventions and a relatively limited set of emotional expressions. More importantly, as products of the Assyrian propaganda machine exclusively, imperial iconography and inscribed records represented only the interests and motives of the ruling bureaucracy and elite (Liverani 1979; Tadmor 1997), hence displaying only one subset of those who participated in the experience of empire—that of the colonizers.

Contrasting with this biased view of Mesopotamian archaeology is an array of archaeological and anthropological studies that presents an abundance of theoretical and methodological models dealing with the archaeology of empire. These range from how ancient empires are defined (Sinopoli 1994; Goldstone and Haldon 2009), through diverse imperial control strategies (Feinman 1998; D'Altroy 1992; Postgate 1992), to processes of acculturation (Bee 1974; Wachtel 1974; Bartel 1985: 15–18; Woolf 1998: 14–16) and resistance of occupied societies (Miller, Rowlands, and Tilley 1995; González-Ruibal 2014: 6–12).

While this enormous body of theoretical and methodological data holds great potential for illuminating various macro- and micro-level aspects of ancient life, it also presents some major obstacles that stand in the way of an archaeologist wishing to overcome the frequent over-use of biased historical sources and instead to emphasize archaeological manifestations of ancient empires.

In this context, one major problem refers to the archaeologist's ability to overcome the inevitable gap between "natural" evidence produced and consumed by mute anonymous societies in a distant past and a scholarly desire to transform this into a meaningful process of identity formation and social order in the present (Buccellati 2017: 109–10, 175).

It is the author's hope that this paper will: 1) illustrate the transformation that domestic quarters underwent under Assyria's imperial patronage; and 2) help clarify the active role of colonized societies in the imperial act by applying a bottom-up approach and examining issues of spatiality, agency, and power.

Urban Analysis of Imperial Provincial Spaces: Theoretical Background and a Bottom-Up Perspective

Mapping human activity across space as evidenced by the distribution of artifacts, households, settlements, and monuments is a fundamental concept in archaeological practice (Flannery and Winter 1976; Hodder and Orton 1976; Wilk and Rathje 1982; Kent 1984). Ever since the 1990s, this trend has been accompanied by a growing concern with the social nature of colonization processes and the way these articulate with the cultural sphere and lived experience (Preucel and Meskell 2004: 216).

Although archaeological space extends beyond a mere geographic concept, physical place is central to the processes by which people construct their understanding of the world; its study enables an extrapolation of social behavior from the spatial record (Blake 2004: 230, 233; Chesson 2012: 45–46). While spatiality provides very powerful physical expressions of social groupings and identities, spaces are subject to the playing out of different facets of identity (Kealhofer 1999: 58–60). In this framework, town layout and sense of place share an important role in the creation of urban ideology and social identity (Tolbert 1999). Accordingly, the connection between power relations and space—and the material culture manifestations of this—are of high relevance to this topic (Orser 1996: 131–58).

Combining the wealth of archaeological findings with an extensive theoretical framework, the desired informational connection between material remains and a descriptive reconstruction of the past can be mediated by a bottom-up approach. Bottom-up archaeology is founded upon patterned physical evidence from the scale of activity area to region and beyond (Mayer 2002; Erickson 2006, with references). This perspective, which was originally developed in political economy, stands in contrast to the common elite perspective that has dominated the archaeological discussion of imperial eras. It aspires to explore changes in settlement and cultural patterns by emphasizing issues of spatiality, decision-making, and agency among the "silent majority." It aims at creating a significant counterbalance to other perspectives that dominate the current discourse, especially various "elite models" that are highly influenced by the historical sources.

This paper attempts to correlate various scales of spatiality as reflected in the archaeological record—a region, town, neighborhood, and a house—with human behavior, especially with aspects of political power, social formation, and ethnic identity, in order to formulate new understandings of the relationships between ruling powers, communities, localities, and identity-making in times of imperial occupation. These correlations will be produced through a preliminary model for the identification and analysis of

archaeological evidence that relates to imperial presence in ancient landscapes and urban spaces. As such, this study investigates the way material culture assemblages reflect relations between what the late Bradley Parker called "colonizers, colonized, and colonists" in the regional and urban spheres from the points of view of these protagonists in the imperial act (2001b). In this framework, this article will tackle the extent of imperial involvement and influence on everyday life in conquered societies from the macro/regional scale to the micro/household level, bearing in mind the possibility that chronological differences between the various discussed spaces—region, town, neighborhood, and house—may be the outcomes of different social transformations (Blake 2004: 234).

In order to narrow down possible significant chronological pitfalls, a relatively short time span was selected for study, from the Assyrian conquest of the southern Levant (733 B.C.E.) to its imperial withdrawal from the region (640 B.C.E.), in a limited geographical area (the Hula Valley, see details below) and a specific urban setting (Tel Dan, at the north end of the valley).[1]

Following the view that imperial and colonial dynamics will leave their footprint on public and private spaces alike (Sinopoli 1994), a contextual approach toward the archaeological record is applied here, placing ceramics and other objects in their architectural setting and location across the urban space. In order to answer questions that concern broad economic and sociopolitical aspects of imperial dominance in occupied territories beyond everyday life in local communities, the history of settlement of the Hula Valley will be followed by survey and analysis of material culture expressions from two main urban spaces:

- "From above": the administrative complex, representing the activity of elite groups such as the Assyrian governor, Assyrian personnel, and locals in the service of imperial rulership.[2]
- "From below": the domestic space, reflecting the active role of non-elite individuals in shaping social life and change through the dwellings of the local conquered population and groups of deportees sent here from other lands conquered by the Assyrians.

A clear case study in imperialism, the Assyrian occupation of the Hula Valley raises many questions relating to Assyrian dominance in frontier zones. What was the nature of Assyria's imperial rule in the Westland? How did the indigenous local population cope with the presence of Assyrian overlords? In what ways were communities of deportees from elsewhere in the empire integrated among local society? What was the nature of this daily interaction and what implications did it have for the local urban fabric? And finally, to what extent can answers to these questions be drawn from material culture manifestations?

On a more general level, one may ask: what characterized the transition to imperial rule in a conquered region? What effect did this change have on urban and rural communities? To what extent did local communities collaborate with imperial authorities? Which local cultural elements were open to new influences, and which remained closed in the face of change? How were imperial ideas diffused to local populations, and how did they find expression in daily life?

In an attempt to answer these questions, this paper tracks the occupational history of the Hula Valley from the eve of the Assyrian conquest (733 B.C.E.) through its occupation until ca. 640 B.C.E. Therefore, discussion will embrace the urban layout of Dan as it became a provincial center under Assyrian rule (Stratum Ib), as well as the architectural character of an Assyrian administrative center (Area T1) vis-à-vis a selected neighborhood from the city (Area M), and several houses along with their contents (Buildings M2-1, M2-2, and M2-3). It should be noted that due to the documentation and registration system that was used by the previous excavators of Dan, our knowledge concerning the exact location of each object is missing. It was possible, however, to reconstruct the division of objects per architectural unit (see Supplementary Text accompanying figures below).

The Hula Valley under Imperial Rule

Situated between Mount Hermon and the Golan Plateau to the east and the steep Naphtali Hills to the west, the Hula Valley is bordered by the Sea of Galilee to its south and the Valley of ʿIjon to the north (**Fig. 1**). The three main sources of the Jordan River flow into the upper valley. There are also additional perennial water sources and springs in the area (Greenberg 2002: 11–18; Feibel, Goren-Inbar, and Frumin 2009: 23–24, 26–27).

Until the early 20th century C.E., the middle of the valley was dominated by the Hula Lake and swamps, resulting in harsh conditions for local inhabitants in the pre-industrial era. Human settlement concentrated at the

[1] Processing the material culture from Iron Age II Tel Dan is part of the author's preparation for its final publication, conducted on behalf of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Hebrew Union College and funded by the Shelby White and the Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications and the Morningstar Foundation, to whom the author is most grateful.

[2] For a detailed urban analysis and discussion of the Assyrian governor's residence at Dan, see Thareani 2016b. For the purpose of the current paper, a brief summary of the main points that are relevant to the discussion will be presented.

margins of the valley, near springs and streams.[3] The extensive marshlands caused most of the valley floor to be covered by a thick layer of rich alluvium. Given the amenable topography and climate, wide availability of water and fertile soils, it is likely that ancient Hula inhabitants used irrigation to intensify cultivation and ensure consistent yields (wheat, barley, vegetables, papyrus). However, alongside these multiple ecological advantages the valley presented significant obstacles to human settlement. These included regular floods that damaged crops and even fruit trees, and swamps that were rife with malaria. The area along the lakeshore remained unsettled until the mid-19th century C.E. (Karmon 1953: 4–6; Greenberg 2002: 18–23; Zwickel 2007: 165, 170).

In antiquity, the importance of the Hula Valley derived from its proximity to several overland routes. Two roads crossed the valley to the west and east of the lake, connecting it with the main trade route to the north that led to Tyre. Another east-west road linked the region with the Gilead and Damascus farther northeast (Zwickel 2007: 175).

The eve of the Assyrian conquest (Iron Age IIb, 8th century B.C.E.) found the Hula Valley under the rule of the northern kingdom of Israel. **Figure 2** and **Table 1** present a list of occupied Iron Age IIb sites in the Hula Valley just prior to the Assyrian invasion. This list is based on evidence retrieved from archaeological surveys (mainly the *Archaeological Survey of Israel* conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority) and excavations (preliminary and final reports). Calculations of total built-up areas and population estimates follow those in Broshi and Finkelstein 1992, with some modifications.

Several central sites dominated the settlement map of this region during Iron Age IIb—Tel Dan (200 dunams), Tel Abel Beth Maʿacah (140 dunams), and Tel Hazor (120 dunams)—all located to the north of the Hula marshes. In light of this, Iron Age IIb occupation around Lake Hula just prior to the Assyrian campaigns included ca. 45 settlements covering a total built-up area of ca. 1150 dunams.[4] Following a density coefficient of 25 inhabitants per dunam, the local population just prior to the Assyrian campaign has been estimated at about 28,750 people.

Its remote geographical location and ecological challenges meant that the Hula Valley would remain relatively marginal in the eyes of regional—let alone imperial—powers throughout most of the pre-industrial era. Neverthe-

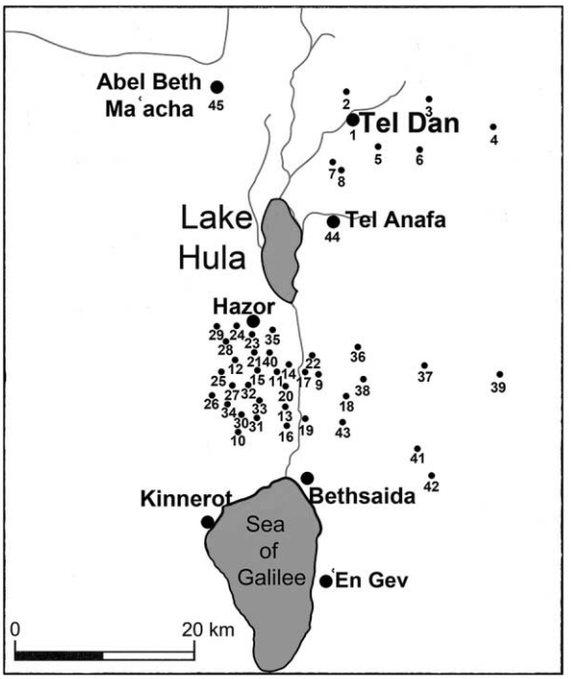

Fig. 2. The Hula Valley. A survey map of Iron Age IIb settlements on the eve of the Assyrian invasion (mid-8th century B.C.E.). See **Table 1** for the names of the sites by number. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

less, as the first imperial conquest of the Hula Valley, the Assyrian invasion was a critical moment in the history of the region (Thareani 2018a).

By 733 B.C.E. the Hula Valley fell into Assyrian hands and for the first time Dan experienced the overwhelming might of an imperial conquest (Tadmor 1994: 136–43, 176–79, 186–89; Tadmor and Yamada 2011: 106; Text 42, Lines 17b–19a). Once subdued, the valley was annexed to Assyria and was integrated in the newly created province of *magiddu* (Forrer 1920; Alt 1929; Naʾaman 1995).

Under Assyrian patronage, the local settlement system of the Hula Valley went through a fundamental change that included the disappearance of medium- and small-sized sites from the 7th century B.C.E. map. This is suggestive of imperial involvement. The new settlement layout was the outcome of Assyria's colonial policy, the aim of which was to concentrate population groups in one central site and settle a few sites in strategic locations (Thareani 2018a: 311–14, 316–19, 321–22).

Imperial policy that integrates conquests and destructions followed by re-organization of conquered territories and by creation of new governmental structure and settlement layout has ancient roots. The Middle Assyrian empire, for instance, had separated the Jazira from Mitanni to create the "Home Provinces" (Machinist 1982: 13; Postgate 1995: 9; Llop 2011: 597, 601–3). A similar picture appears

[3] Both Theophrastus (ca. 371–287 B.C.E.) in *De causis plantarum* (9.7.1) and Josephus Flavius (1st century C.E.) in *Judean Wars* 4.3 report that there were wide marshlands north of the lake and that the lake extended to a width of approximately 6 km and a length of approximately 12 km.

[4] Note that no size is specified for some of the Iron Age IIb Hula Valley sites.

Table 1. List of Iron Age IIb Sites in the Hula Valley on the Eve of the Assyrian Conquest, Associated with **Fig. 2**.

No.	*Site*	*Size (dunams)*	*Settlement*	*References*
1	Tel Dan; Tell el-Qadi	200	Town	Biran 1994; Thareani 2018a
2	Tel Dan (North)		Cemetery	Hartal 2017: Site No. 44
3	Baniyas		?	Hartal 2017: Site No. 49
4	ʿEin Quniyye		Sherds	Hartal 2017: Site No. 61
5	Givat ʿAz; Tell el ʿAzaziyya		?	Hartal 2017: Site No. 77
6	Mispe Golani; Tel Fakhr		?	Hartal 2017: Site No. 79
7	Tahunat el Tabkha		?	Hartal 2017: Site No. 89
8	Tel Kotlit; Tell Kawatil		?	Hartal 2017: Site No. 92
9	ʿAlmiīn		?	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 171
10	ʿElifelet Enclosure	20	Animal pen	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 277
11	ʿEnot Shuv; ʿUyun Shahyūn	12	Settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 160
12	ʿKefar Yaʿaqovʿ	40	Settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 118
13	Horvat Tūbā	150	?	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 230
14	Horvat Arbel Yarden; Khirbet Irbid	5–10	Settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 165
15	Horvat Qettanna	10	?	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 159
16	Horvat Sakhar; Khirbet Shukr	5-10	?	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 300
17	Ard es Seiyârah	20	?	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 139
18	Jazāir	40	Settlement and burials	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 20
19	Khirbet el Ḫammām	10	Small settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 266
20	Khirbet el Bei	20	Settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 164
21	Khirbet el Lôzîyeh	30	Caves	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 138
22	Mezad ʿAteret	30	Settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 143
23	Tel Hazor	120	Administrative center	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 19
24	Naḫal Makhberam		Tumuli?	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 16
25	Qabbāʾa	20	Settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 116
26	Rosh Pinna; Jāʿūna	60	Town?	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 187
27	Rosh Pinna (east)	5–10	Small settlement?	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 213
28	Tel Mashshav; Tell er Riḥ	5–10	Small settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 7
29	Tel Mashshav (northwest)	Unknown	Small settlement?	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 4
30	Tel Nes; Tell es Sanjak	20	Fortress	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 241
31	Tel Nes (east)	10	Tumuli and buildings	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 242
32	Tel Yaʾaf; Tell el Kûsab	30	Settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 189
33	Tel Yaʾaf (south)	5–10	Small settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 218
34	Tel Yaʾaf (southwest)	10	Animal pen	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 216
35	Tell es Safa	60	Settlement	Stepansky 2012: Site No. 28
36	ʿOrpa; el ʿUrefiya	8	Small settlement	Hartal and Ben Ephraim 2014: Site No. 6
37	Horvat Hapar		?	Hartal and Ben Ephraim 2014: Site No. 12
38	Darbashiye	1	Small settlement	Hartal and Ben Ephraim 2014: Site No. 14
39	el-Mughayyir		?	Hartal and Ben Ephraim 2014: Site No. 15
40	Khirbet ʿEin et-Tineh		?	Hartal and Ben Ephraim 2014: Site No. 20
41	Deir Sras		?	Hartal and Ben Ephraim 2014: Site No. 40
42	Nʿaarn		?	Hartal and Ben Ephraim 2014: Site No. 53
43	Shivʿat Ha-Alonim; Mazar es-Sibaʾiyat		?	Hartal and Ben Ephraim 2014: Site No. 26
44	Tel Anafa	18	Town?	Herbert 1993: 58–61
45	Tel Abel Beth Maʿacah	140	Town	Panitz Cohen and Yahalom Mack 2022
TOTAL	45 sites	Ca. 1150 dunams		

Note: Most info is taken from the Archaeological Survey of Israel (https://survey.antiquities.org.il/index_Eng.html#/). Some maps that are relevant for this discussion are currently in preparation (Maps 10, 14). In those areas that were not surveyed some of the info concerning the large sites was supplemented by other available sources.

in other frontier regions that came under the dominance of the Neo-Assyrian empire.

Excavations and surveys undertaken in the Upper Tigris Valley attest to a drastic change in the settlement layout following this region's annexation by Assyria and its integration as an imperial province (Parker 2003: 536). Many of the medium- to small-sized sites that had existed in the region on the eve of the Assyrian campaigns disappeared from the map. Rather, the Assyrians created an entirely new occupational reality by developing Ziyaret Tepe (ancient Tušhan) as the central town of this region (MacGinnis and Matney 2009; Matney et al. 2012, 2017).

In light of such examples and dramatic changes in settlement patterns, we can safely conclude that in their policy in the west, the Assyrians exercised this same traditional strategy; its political and economic efficiency had been demonstrated successfully in the past and in different regions.[5] In the Hula Valley, the conquered people of towns such as Hazor in the west, Chinnereth and Beth Saida in the south, and Dan in the north had all experienced a violent destruction and were forced to share their homes. They were now compelled to adjust to a new political reality, and to rebuild their ruined lives.

As in other conquered territories, Tiglath-pileser was not satisfied with the mere conquest of north Palestine and initiated large-scale deportations from the conquered region. Surviving fragments of Assyrian inscriptions refer to deportations, mostly from Lower Galilee (Tadmor 1994: 136–43, 176–79, 186–89; Tadmor and Yamada 2011: 106; Text 42, Lines 17b–19a). The question is whether the Assyrian deportations were two-way and if deportees were brought to Dan from other conquered territories as well and were resettled in the city? We shall return to this question.

Under Assyrian patronage, Dan was converted into an imperial provincial center and its hinterland was controlled through a network of imperial fortresses and administrative centers. The Hula Valley was subjected to agricultural exploitation—an arrangement whereby the loyalty and productive output of Dan's inhabitants would become valuable assets for the imperial administration. A recent article argues that technological innovations displayed in the building techniques and pottery crafts at Assyrian Dan—as well as major demographic changes evinced there—support the notion that a foreign population element was residing in the city (Thareani 2019: 225–27). The fact that no cuneiform inscription has ever been discovered at Dan suggests the non-Babylonian origin of the deportees and supports the assumption that correspondence here was written mainly on parchments made from the papyrus that was available around the Hula marshes (Parpola 1981: 123, 132; Naʾaman and Zadok 2000: 180). The silence of sources may also suggest a greater autonomy of the provincial and colonial communities formed in the regions far from the imperial centers and their palace administration—a topic that will be elaborated elsewhere.

In what way did Assyrian conquest and dominance influence the urban layout and everyday life of the former Israelite city of Dan?

In the Provincial City, Among the Rulers

Covering some 200 dunams (200,000 m^2), on the eve of the Assyrian conquest Dan was one of the northernmost cities of the Israelite kingdom and a national cult center (**Fig. 3**; I Kings 12:29). The southern edge of the settlement was dominated by elaborate gate complexes incorporating fine masonry and monumental construction techniques. A broad piazza was located in front of the outer city gate. A paved ceremonial road led from the lower to the upper gate and from there to the Sacred Precinct. The center of the city of Dan (Stratum IIa) was occupied by a flagstone-paved piazza, of which 130 m^2 has been exposed. This was most likely a venue for public gatherings. Public buildings and dwellings have been found in all excavated areas. These structures contained rich assemblages of ceramic finds, local and imported wares, figurines, craft items, seals, seal impressions, and inscriptions indicating various writing traditions, probably attesting to the presence of a heterogenic population (Biran 1994: 255).

The destruction of Stratum IIa at Dan involved a heavy conflagration that was detected in all excavated areas—public and domestic alike (Thareani 2018a: 311–12, figs. 3–4). Ordered by Tigalth-pileser III and executed by his well-trained soldiers, the Assyrian conquest of Dan brought horror and destruction to the city, but at the same time marked the beginning of a new political era.

Under Assyrian rule, the city experienced its greatest period of expansion since the Early Bronze Age, with the settlement occupying approximately 200 dunam (Stratum Ib). A new town plan was developed, under which all available space was utilized (**Fig. 3**). Housing expanded, reaching the top of the ridge around the site. Intensive dwellings, public buildings, and paved streets attest to this new town plan (Biran 1994: 261–70; Thareani 2015: 63–66, 102–17, 137–49).

A remarkable piece of evidence for the extent of Assyrian involvement in the renewed city comes from Area T1, to the southwest of the Sacred Precinct. A single rectangular building was constructed in this area: Building T1-3/1, which was dominated by a monumental wall incorporating seven pilasters in its northern face (**Fig. 4**). Long corridors and open courtyards led to eight architectural units

[5] For the same strategy as reflected on Assyria's western frontier, see Parker 2003. For the imposition of the same control strategy on Palestine's Coastal Plain, see Thareani 2016a.

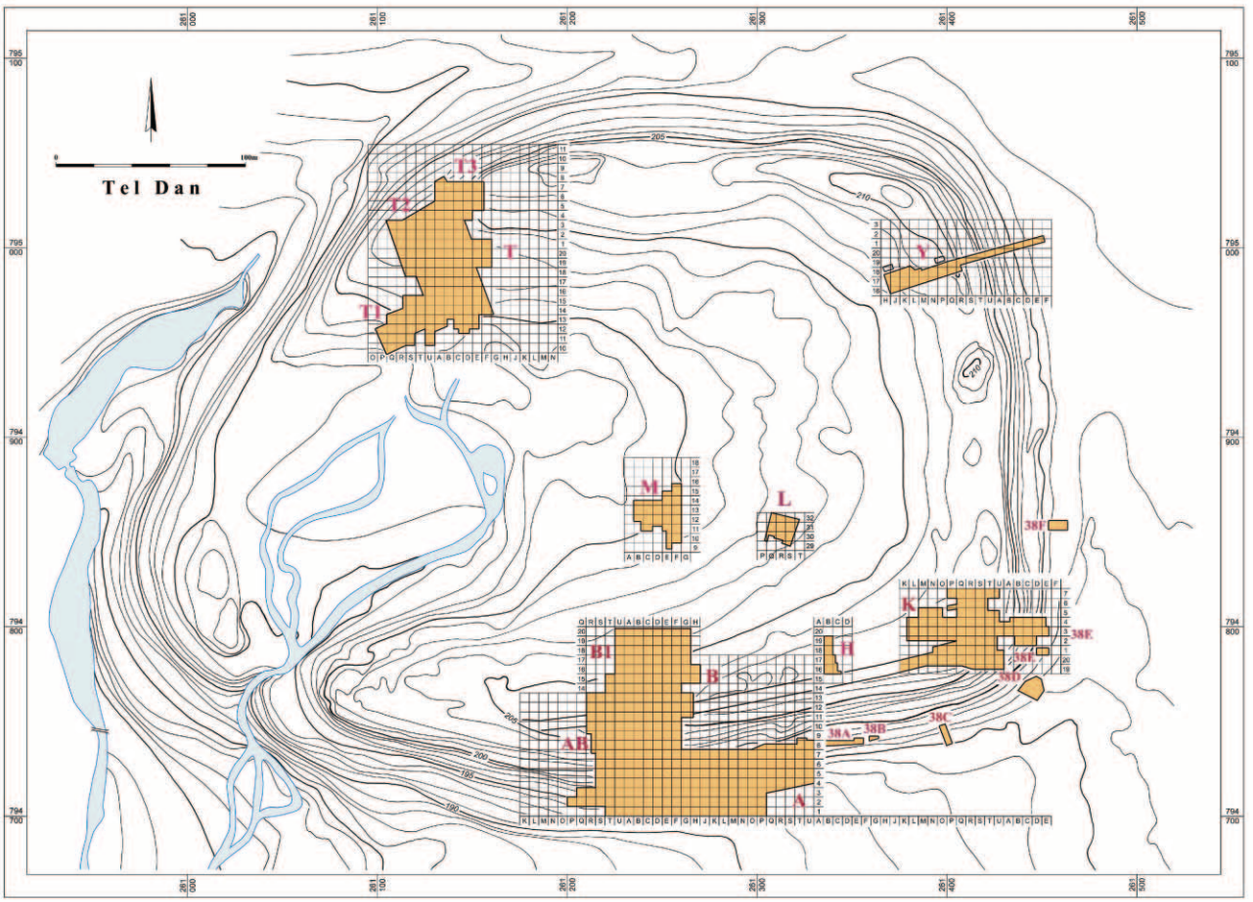

Fig. 3. Tel Dan, plan of excavation areas. (Illustration by D. Porotsky and S. Mirsky)

of various sizes and functions (**Fig. 5**): a kitchen with a subterranean space with a water channel, a courtyard, and a storage basement, a reception hall in addition to service and storage rooms, two courtyards, and a possible living room. Elsewhere the author has suggested that the "Pilasters Building" should be dated to the Neo-Assyrian period and that the preserved segment represents part of an Assyrian edifice—the residence of the Neo-Assyrian governor of Dan (for a detailed study and reconstruction of this structure, see Thareani 2016b).

Spatial and quantitative analyses of the archaeological remains from the Pilasters Building (**Figs. 6**–**7**) support its function as an imperial enclave (for theoretical background, see Bartel 1985: 14–22, fig. 1; Horvath 1972: 47–48, figs. 1–2), with Assyrian personnel—comprising both colonizers sent from the imperial core, and local agents acting on behalf of the imperial power—all residing in and administering provincial affairs from this building.

A similar pattern of exerting the imperial model of urban organization is evident at the site of Zincirli-Samʾal in southern Turkey, where archaeologists uncovered an isolated district of elite residence that was dated to the 8th century B.C.E., the time of the Assyrian occupation of the site. Similar to Dan, this act of reorganization of the urban space involved the deletion of the countryside and the concentration of population into one urban center. In the case of the former Neo-Hittite capital of Zincirli, a clear spatial stratification accompanied the urban reorganization that followed the imperial conquest (Herrmann and Schloen 2016: 268–70; Herrmann 2017: 292, 303–5). In other places, such as the previous Aramaean city-states of Tell Ahmar/Til Barsip (Bunnens 2022: 135–56) and Charchemish (Postgate 1974: 234–35; Barbanes Wilkinson and Ricci 2016: 132–83), a similar trend was observed even if the picture there is less clear.

While the Pilasters Building from Dan is an example of elite residence and activities, the rest of the city was populated by the "common people." A guided tour in the neighborhood "of the defeated" sheds light on what is usually invisible to the naked eye.

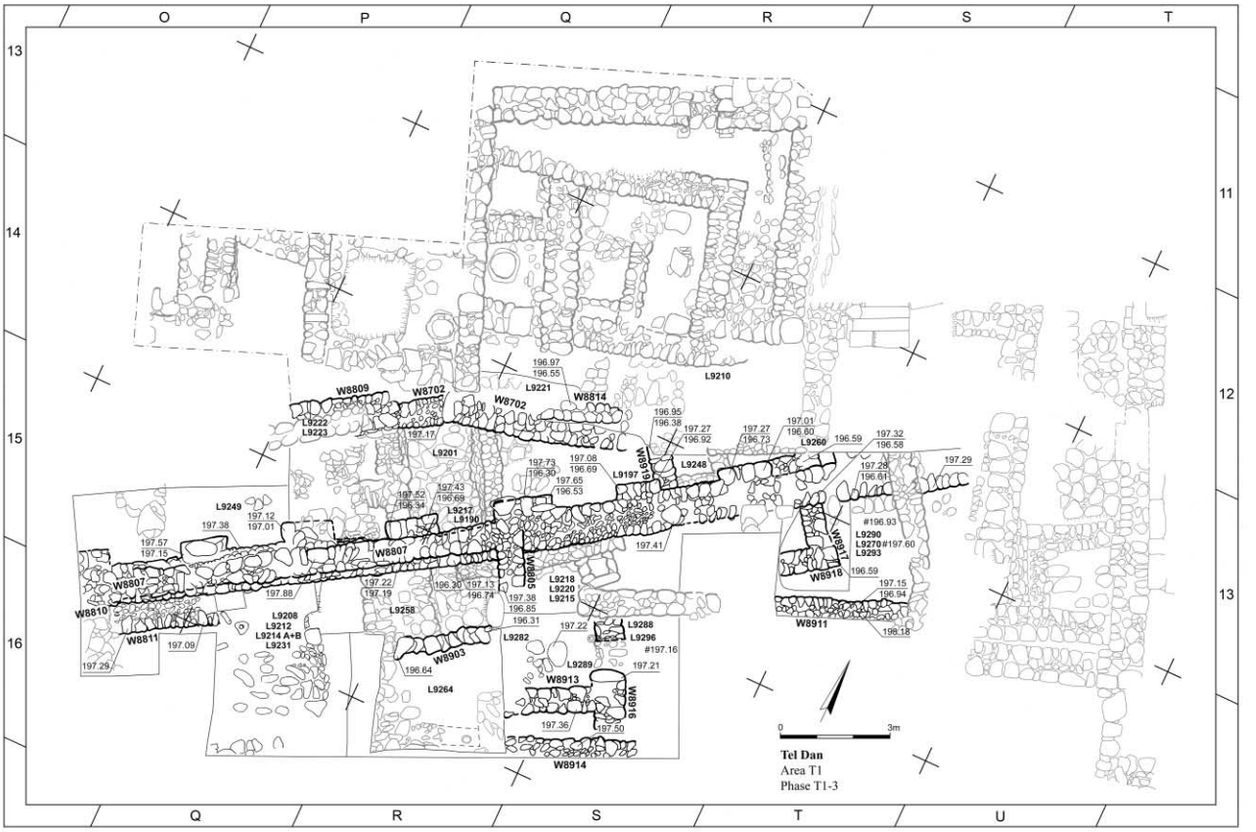

Fig. 4. Tel Dan, Area T1, plan of the "Pilasters Building" (Building T1-3/1), Phase T1-3, Stratum Ib (late 8th–early 7th century B.C.E.). (Illustration by D. Porotsky)

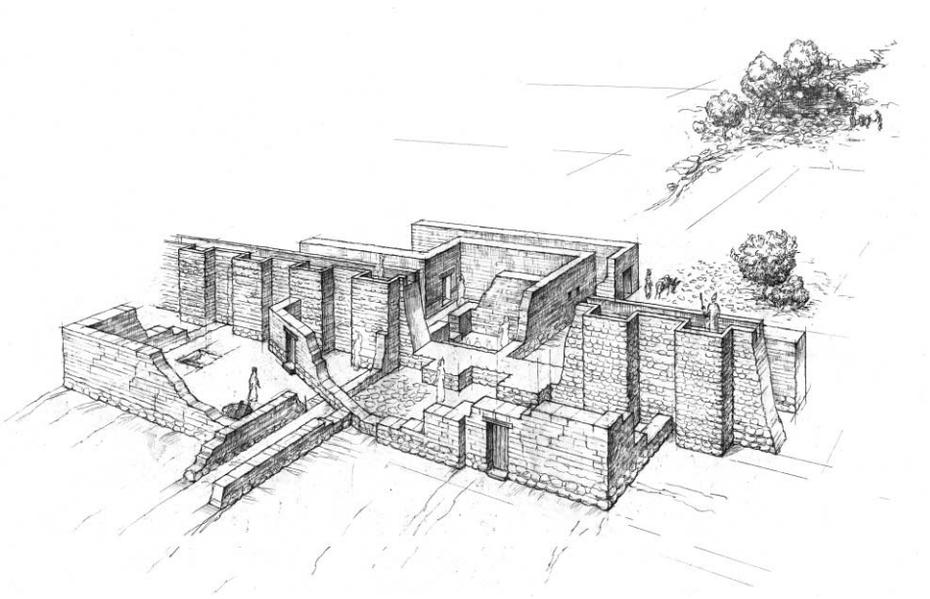

Fig. 5. Tel Dan, Area T1, suggested reconstruction of the "Pilasters Building" (Building T1-3/1), Phase T1-3, Stratum Ib (late 8th–early 7th century B.C.E.). (Illustration by D. Porotsky)

In the Neighborhood of the Defeated

Located at the heart of Tel Dan, between the gate complex to the south and the Sacred Precinct to the north, Area M presents extensive remains of the Iron Age II city (**Fig. 8**). Excavation in Area M took place over seven seasons, from 1971 to 1991, covering 20 dig squares (5 × 5 m) and yielding strong evidence for Neo-Assyrian occupation. Among the local phases in Area M, architectural activity is most extensive in Phase M2. Archaeological remains are found in most excavated squares in this phase, over an area of approximately 475 m^2 (**Fig. 9**).

Urban analysis of Phase M2 indicated the existence of seven architectural units, some of which were only partially exposed. The area is dominated to the north by an architectural unit (M2-1) that is significantly larger than others (**Fig. 10**). Immediately to its south are several smaller units, each with a similar layout of two parallel walls divided by shorter intersecting walls to create sets of small wide rooms (see a detailed description below).

Examining the ground plan of Phase M2 at Tel Dan, the viewer is struck by the unavoidable impression of a densely built area, in which all available space is utilized. This is reinforced by comparing the Phase M2 ground plan (**Fig. 9**) with that of the preceding Phase M3, on the eve of the Assyrian invasion in 733 B.C.E. (**Fig. 11**). Phase M3 is characterized by large cobble pavements, the remains of which have been found throughout most of the excavated area. In this phase Area M presented a total built-up area of ca. 50 m^2 and additional 425 m^2 that were left as open spaces. In the transition to Phase M2 the area was extensively built up by reusing these cobble pavements. Small streets, alleys, and open spaces connected houses—some well-planned, others built shoddily, and all forming one crowded heterogeneous neighborhood. A total built area of ca. 425 m^2 left only a limited open space of ca. 50 m—a negative mirror of the area's layout in the previous phase.

Looking at well-documented architectural equivalents of towns that went through similar processes of forced habitation will help to understand the low and high resolution of the urbanization processes practiced at Dan under Assyrian occupation. Ethnographic work at refugee camps in Garissa, northeastern Kenya describes the building of blocks complexes there: 100–150 habitats built in areas of 20–30 dunams, housing 300–600 refugees, and organized in rows with streets between them. The refugees were grouped according to place of origin, ethnicity, and sometimes tribal affiliation. Upon arrival, they were each given a tarp, mattress, and kitchen utensils. They collected wood from around the camp to make their shelters (Agier, Nice, and Wacquant 2002: 324–26). Various facilities were built in the camp: a small church, market area, coffee shop, nursery, and row of shower and toilet facilities round off this refugee camp cast in the mold of an African village, or at least a small makeshift neighborhood. All of these activities presuppose uses that transform the everyday vision that the refugees have of space in their daily lives. The functional aspects of this behavior are accompanied by symbolization of place, as seen in certain spaces within the camp that were given names by its inhabitants. Trading and craft activities help to keep the refugees occupied and to provide educational and social benefits, while some of the refugees were employed by the camp's central authority. These few activities and resources tease out and shed light on subtle social differences within the camp, even if

Supplementary Text for Figure 6

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Bowl	31101/3	9260	T1-3/a	Round carinated deep bowl with flattened rim
2	Cooking pot	31166/2	9260	T1-3/a	Round carinated cooking pot with grooved rim
3	Cooking pot	30538/2	9190	T1-3/b	Cooking pot with high neck, grooved rim, and pronounced carination
4	Cooking pot	30692/1	9201	T1-3/b	Cooking pot with high neck, grooved rim, and pronounced carination
5	Decanter	30537/3	9190	T1-3/b	Decanter with ridged neck
6	Storage jar	30538/3	9190	T1-3/b	Storage jar with sharp carinated shoulder and pointed base
7	Bottle	30607/3	9201	T1-3/b	Assyrian bottle
8	Spatula	F/30552/1	9197	T1-3/b	Bone
9	Spatula	F/30627/1	9197	T1-3/b	Bone
10	Stone object	F/30596/1	9201	T1-3/b	Basalt round object
11	Stone object	F/30597/1	9201	T1-3/b	Basalt round object
12	Stone bowl	F/31108/1	9260	T1-3/a	Limestone; small round shallow bowl; dome-shaped
13	Storage jar	30352/13	9107	T1-3/c	Storage jar with round shoulder
14	Pithos	30352/14	9107	T1-3/c	Pithos with swollen body decorated with the rope motif

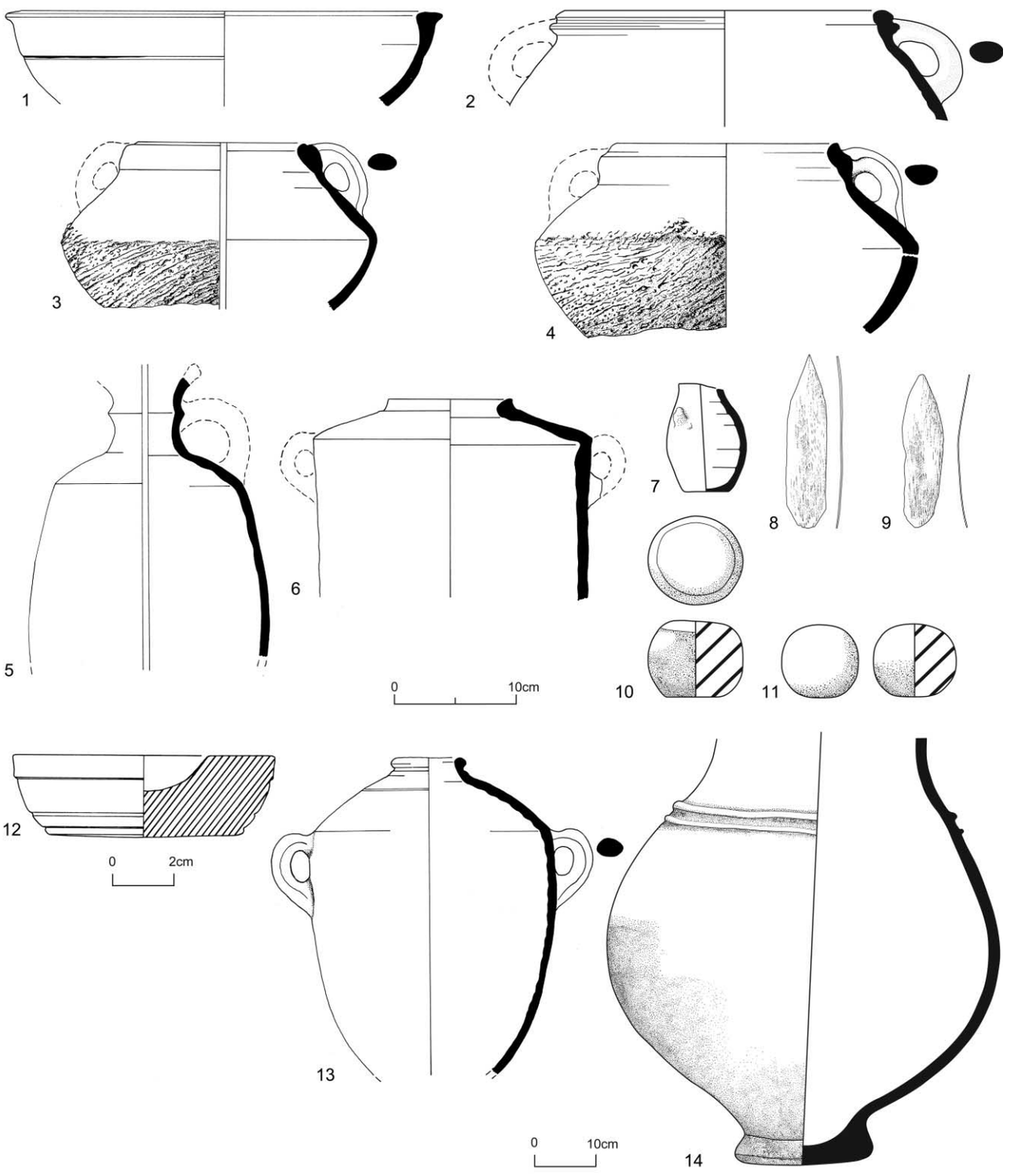

Fig. 6. Selected ceramic vessels and objects of Area T1, the "Pilasters Building," (Building T1-3/1), the northern wing. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

these appear only in outline against a common background stamped by overwhelming destitution and idleness (Agier, Nice, and Wacquant 2002: 329).

Returning to Tel Dan, both the ground plans and ethnographic comparanda support the view that following Assyrian occupation the city was revamped as an imperial metropolis into which local inhabitants were forced to crowd together with refugees from other Hula Valley sites, as well as with deportees brought from afar. From a thriving cultic capital of the northern kingdom of Israel (Stratum IIa), incorporating several piazzas leading to a Sacred Precinct and home to 1,000–1,500 people, under imperial patronage Dan was turned into a refugee camp (Stratum Ib) accommodating 5,000 souls.[6]

Under Assyrian auspices, areas such as the paved piazzas that had been for public use were converted into densely built domestic areas (**Fig. 12**). Based on the ethnographic parallel, it seems reasonable to assume that the domestic neighborhood at Dan also offered some public services for its inhabitants, although the nature of the architectural evidence and the resemblance between the composition of the archaeological assemblages found in the various units explored in Area M at Tel Dan limit our ability to draw further conclusions. Analysis of the macro-level urban setting of Dan in the Neo-Assyrian period illustrates the dramatic demographic and socio-political changes that befell this Israelite cultic center under imperial rule. At the same time, study of various residential units in Area M might tell us whether imperial culture did in fact leave a mark on the everyday lives of Dan's populace. If so, what material culture manifestations of this may have survived?

[6] This estimate is based on a density coefficient of 25 inhabitants per dunam. The Stratum IIa estimate was made by Magen Broshi and Israel Finkelstein (1992: 50), while that for Stratum Ib was by Yosef Stepansky (1999: 96).

In the House

Being one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories, and dreams of mankind, the house embodies dialectic between vast exterior and tangible interior (Bachelard 1994: 6, 211). As such, household economy is commonly thought of as an important strategy employed by displaced populations in their attempts to emplace themselves in their new home. Ethnographic survey of refugee repatriation to Ada Bai in northwestern Ethiopia illustrates the potential of studying spatial activity in domestic areas in order to better understand these dynamics. Household practices among refugees focused on maximizing the economic potential and efficient use of resources in the new environment. Resettlement and emplacement in the new home was achieved through countless everyday activities. Thus, the household reflects the way the physical environment was used to create a new community. Contacts with other households and public institutions were established to enhance economic potential. In this way the household "became the locus for social formation just as it was the foundation of survival" (Hammond 2004: 110–11, 117–18).

Playing an important role in the creation of new community, survey and analysis of households in a recently conquered city created under colonial circumstances may shed light on how household strategy was used in the economic and social survival of displaced populations. To investigate this possibility, four houses in Area M were selected—all attributed to Phase M2, Stratum Ib, of the late 8th or early 7th century B.C.E.

Of the better-exposed structures at Dan, Building M2-1 stands out due to its architectural layout and dimensions. Situated at the northernmost point of the excavated area (**Figs. 9–10**), this edifice presents a somewhat square shape in plan, 62 m^2 in size with four sub-units (**Figs. 12–13**). The relative thickness of the walls supports the possible

Supplementary Text for Figure 7

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Bowl	31284/1	9214a	T1-3/g	Round carinated deep bowl with flattened rim
2	Bowl	31132/2	9215a	T1-3/f	Carinated bowl with straight wall
3	Stone bowl	F/31129/1	9264	T1-3/h	Basalt; round shallow bowl
4	Krater	31132/4	9215a	T1-3/f	Krater with thickened rim
5	Jug	31143/1	9215a	T1-3/f	Jug with wide mouth
6	Decanter	31156/17	9270	T1-3/d	Decanter with elongated body and carinated shoulder
7	Loomweight	F/31109/1	9215a	T1-3/f	Doughnut shaped
8	Lamp	31130/1	9264	T1-3/h	Lamp with flat base
9	Stone object	F/31302/1	9214a	T1-3/g	Round
10	Roof roller	F/31301/1	9214a	T1-3/g	Basalt
11	Pithos	30683/1	9214a	T1-3/g	Pithos with thickened rim and narrow body decorated with rope motif
12	Pithos	30683/2	9214a	T1-3/g	Pithos with thickened rim and short neck

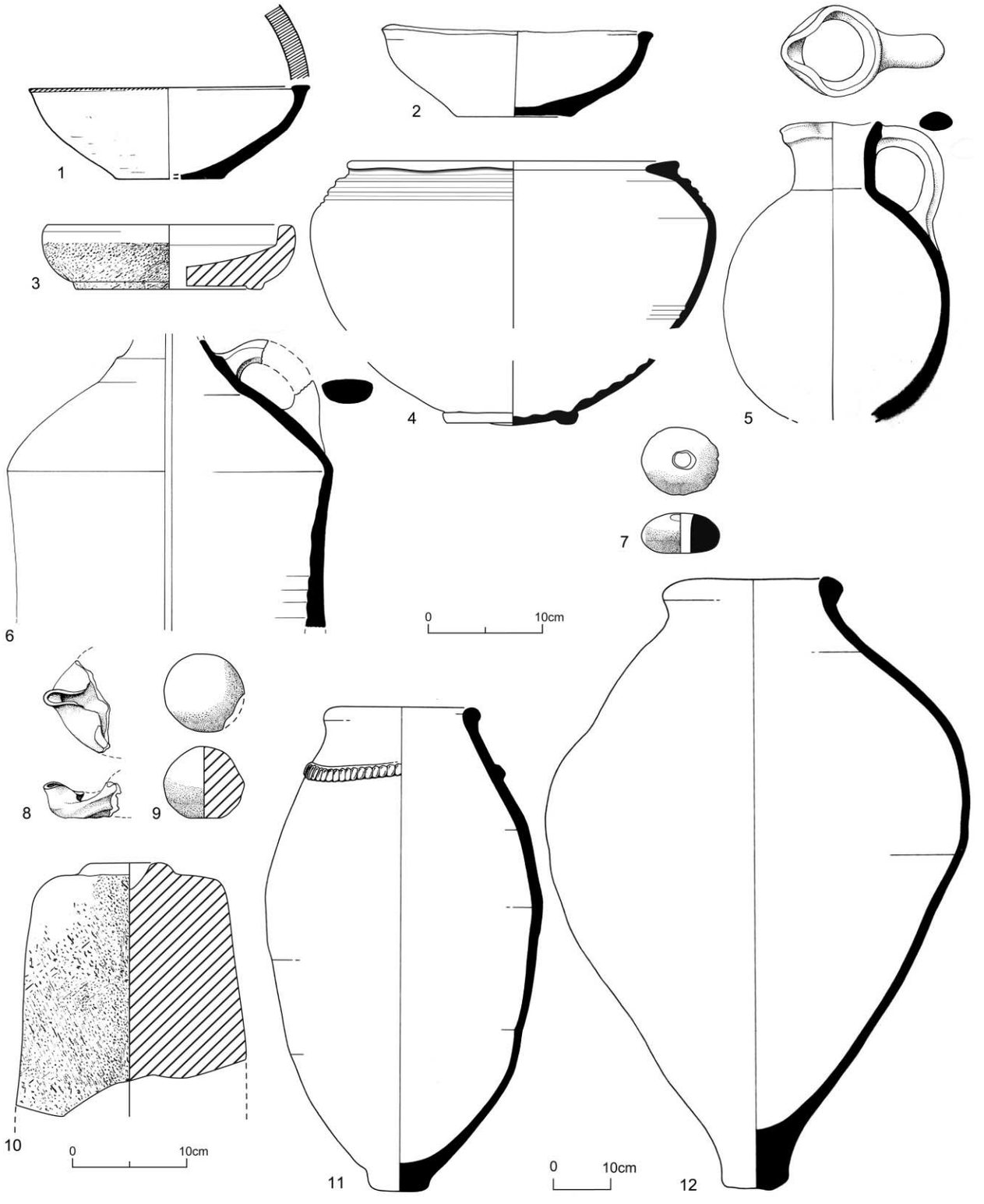

Fig. 7. Selected ceramic vessels and objects of Area T1, the "Pilasters Building," (Building T1-3/1), the southern wing. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

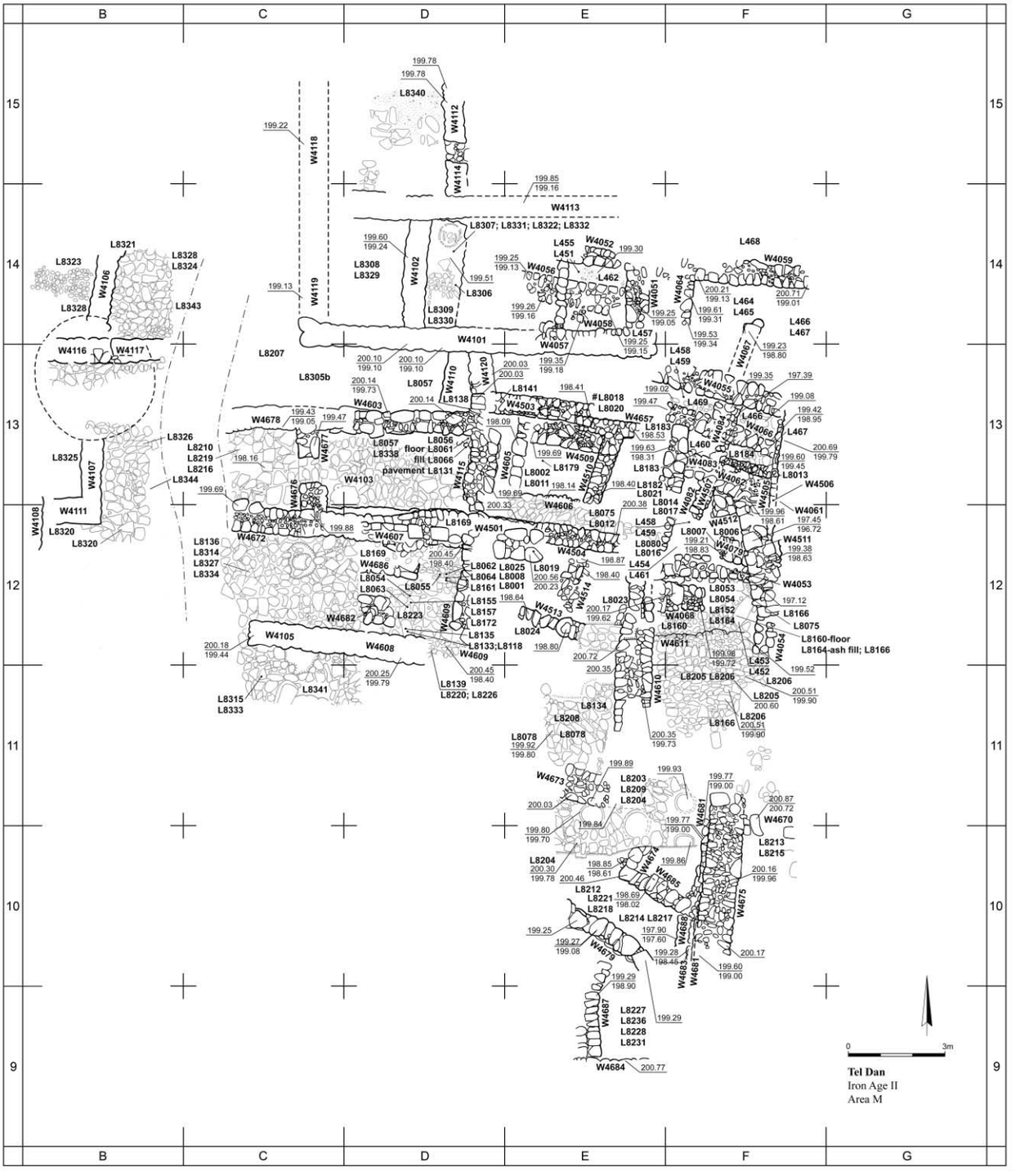

Fig. 8. Tel Dan, Area M, general plan. (Illustration by D. Porotsky)

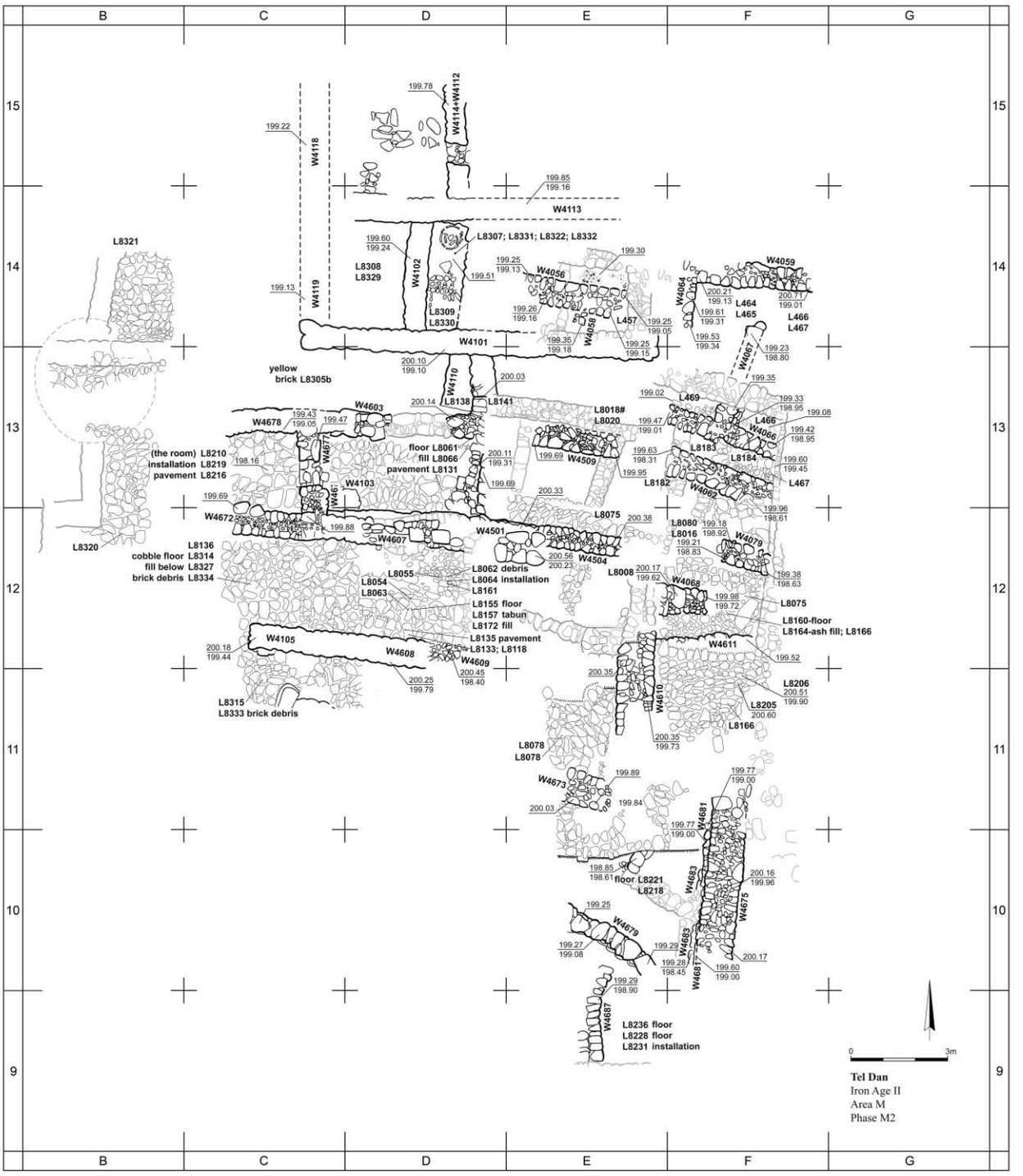

Fig. 9. Tel Dan, plan of Area M, Phase M2, Stratum Ib (late 8th–early 7th century B.C.E.). (Illustration by D. Porotsky)

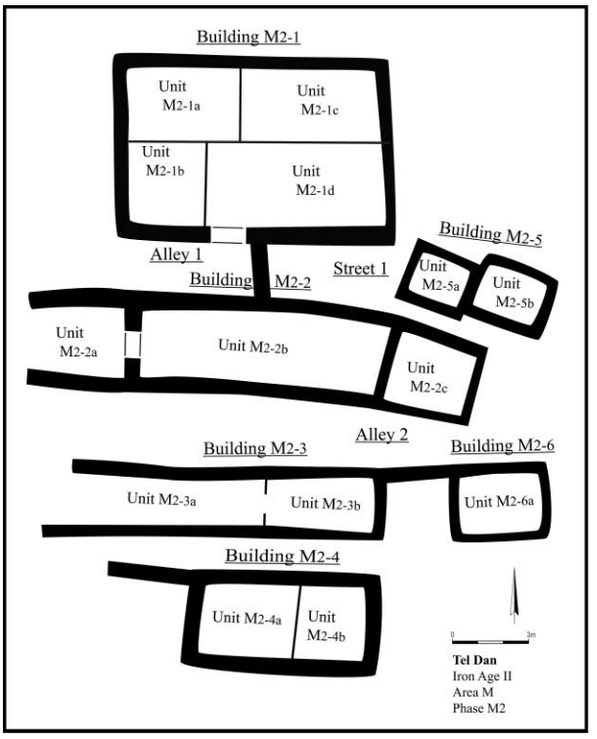

Fig. 10. Tel Dan, schematic plan of Area M, Phase M2, Stratum Ib (late 8th–early 7th century B.C.E.). (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

existence of a second story. Surprisingly, the entrance was not found in the southern wall, which faces the neighborhood. Therefore, it seems that access to this building was indirect.

Nearly 20% of the ceramic vessels from Phase M2 were found therein (**Figs. 14–15**). Counted among these were: Samarian and perforated bowls; *mortaria*; cooking pots; storage jars; decanters; a jug; a Cypro-Phoenician juglet; lamps; as well as stone vessels including a bowl's pestle and a possible door socket; and metal tools including knives, an awl, and lids.

The rest of the buildings located to the south, Buildings M2-2, 3, and 4 present a similar layout of two parallel walls divided by shorter intersecting walls, making use of earlier cobble pavements (**Figs. 9–10**, **16–17**). These structures' dimensions range from 26 to 62 m^2. Separated by an alley to the west and by a street to the east, Building M2-2 is situated immediately to the south of Building M2-1. This longitudinal structure stretches over 45 m^2 and includes three sub-units: one main central unit (M2-2b) and two smaller units from each side (M2-2a and M2-2c).Various objects were found in the building including: a bowl, a cooking pot, a storage jar, a decorated *pitho*s, a jug, a juglet, decanters, an Assyrian bottle, lamps, many decorated sherds, handles bearing post-firing marks, an inscription bearing the Phoenician name *plt*, a bead, a bracelet, a spindle whorl, and a perforated bronze plaque (**Figs. 18–19**). A small street or an alley separates Building M2-2 and M2-3 to its south. Two sub-units divided by a short intersecting wall and an entrance were identified to the west (Unit M2-3a) and to the east (Unit M2-3b) of this building, which covers 28 m^2. A relatively large assemblage of ceramic vessels—including bowls, Assyrian bowls, cups, chalice, kraters, *mortaria*, cooking pots, storage jars, a decorated *amphoriskos*, a jug, decanters, bottles, lamps, a saucer lamp, and decorated pottery—was unearthed there. Objects such as seal impression of a man holding two horned animals, various stone objects, a lid, a sickle blade, an arrowhead, and a bronze pin were found there as well (**Figs. 20–23**). A smaller rectangular building (Building M2-4), separated by an alley, is situated to the south. It consists of two sub-units to the east (Unit M2-4b) and to the west (Unit M2-4a) and occupies 31 m^2. A tamped earth surface containing many animal bones and pottery occupied the western part of the unit and covered a stone pavement. Spouts and a holemouthed cooking pot, together with a lid, bronze spout, cube, iron button, bronze nail, and a post-firing mark were found there. The excavators interpreted this space as a courtyard.

Finally, three small units measuring between 4–20 m^2 were partially uncovered to the east (Units M2-5, 6, and 7) (**Figs. 9–10**, **12**). Several small streets, open spaces, and alleys connected these structures (**Figs. 9–10**, **24–25**). Building M2-5 is the northernmost of these segments, located to the east of Building M2-1. A relatively small space measuring some 13 m^2, Building M2-5 displays a slightly squared plan with two sub-units connected to one another through a threshold (**Figs. 9–10**). No objects were associated with Building M2-6.

The author submits that this cluster of houses can be divided into two types, based on differences in architectural layout and dimensions. One of the houses (Unit M2-1) represents a relatively high economic and/or social status in the community because it occupies a larger area and yielded a rich material culture assemblage (for methods of inferring social stratification from household architecture and assemblages, see Marfoe 1980: 320–21; Ilan 2001: 347). The three other well-preserved houses (Units M2-2, 3, and 4) are smaller in size, and probably represent average domiciles in Assyrian Dan. Analysis of the utensils and objects found in these houses sheds light on the typical household economy of such units.

The ceramic assemblage from Phase M2 includes intact, complete, half-complete, and full-profiled vessels from loci that are securely associated with Phase M2 (**Table 2**). Altogether, 57 complete vessels were found, with roughly equal representation of service, food preparation, and storage vessels. Noted here is the relatively high number and diversity of cooking pots (**Figs. 6:2–4, 14:10,**

Fig. 11. Tel Dan, plan of Area M, Phase M3, Stratum IIa (mid eighth century B.C.E.). (Illustration by D. Porotsky)

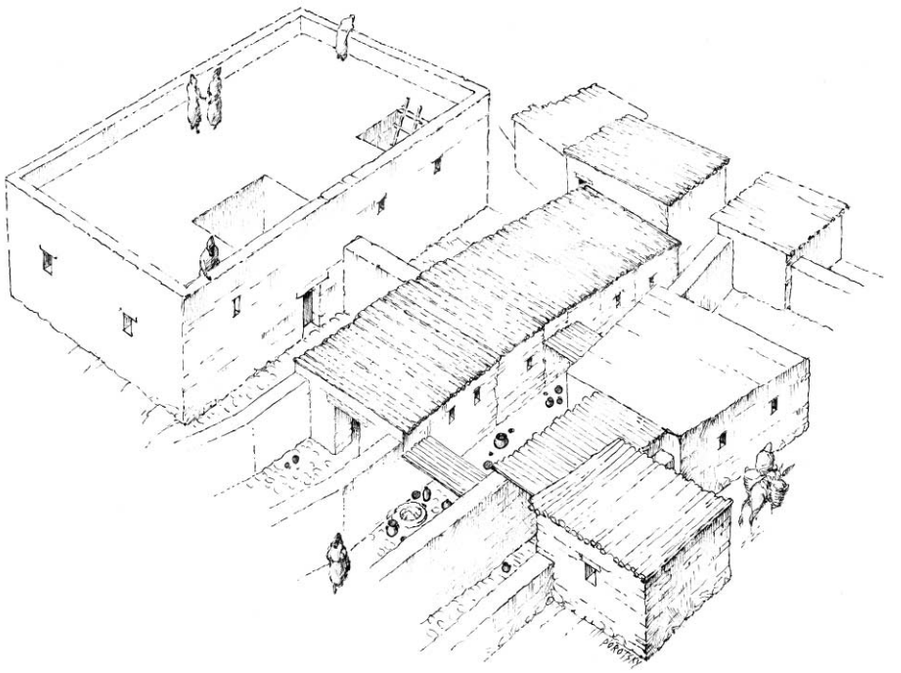

Fig. 12. Tel Dan, suggested reconstruction of Area M, Phase M2, Stratum Ib (late 8th–early 7th century B.C.E.). (Illustration by D. Porotsky)

18:29, 20:26–27, 21:1–5). Considered in conjunction with several *tabuns* and other installations in the area, this suggests the existence of multiple centers for food preparation. Prominent among the serving vessels are *mortaria*, or large open kraters (**Figs. 14:8–9, 20: 23–24**). Also notable is the high number of jugs and decanters (**Figs. 7:5; 14:6, 11–12; 19:1, 3; 20:28; 21:6–10**).

Given the similarities of vessel types found in the architectural units and their spatial distribution, it seems reasonable to assume that most of the dwelling units in Area M were equipped with similar kits of vessels, comprising a bowl, krater, storage jar, and jug or decanter. Phase M2 (Stratum Ib) was the first occupation layer in which Assyrian bowls and bottles made their primary appearance in the local ceramic repertoire of Dan. Might this indicate the possible standardization of Assyrian vessels in provincial sites across the empire?

Among the artifacts in Phase M2 (**Table 3**) are also knives and a sickle blade, hinting at the agricultural practices of the inhabitants (**Figs. 15:7, 23:20**). The appearance of Hebrew script and Yahwistic and Phoenician names (**Figs. 19:7, 25:11**) attest to the continuity of local population with Israelite and Phoenician ethnic affiliation—most likely the former inhabitants of the Hula Valley and Dan who were not deported by the Assyrians and stayed in the town. At the same time, the Pilasters Building attests to the arrival of Assyrians. In this large structure as well as in households of Area M, the appearance of new forms and styles alien to local material culture attest to the presence of foreigners—non-local artisans who produced new forms and styles that echoed those from their place of origin. Seal impressions, letters, and inscriptions bearing foreign names and reflecting new religions as well as objects of personal adornment also attest to the presence of deportees. Deported potters and artisans who possessed the requisite technological know-how altered traditional Assyrian forms, acting as intermediaries between Assyrian imperial culture and local communities (Thareani 2019). The large number of seals, seal impressions, and marks found on ceramic vessels associated with Stratum Ib at Dan may indicate a need to mark property and create individual, social, or other boundaries in the face of this new crowded urban reality.

Toward a Middle-Range Theory and Urban Analysis of a Provincial Town

Military offensives are always sold as supremely swift, "surgical," and effective. But beyond the age-old dance between them and the humanitarian challenges created by them—the establishment of refugee camps, nutrition, and

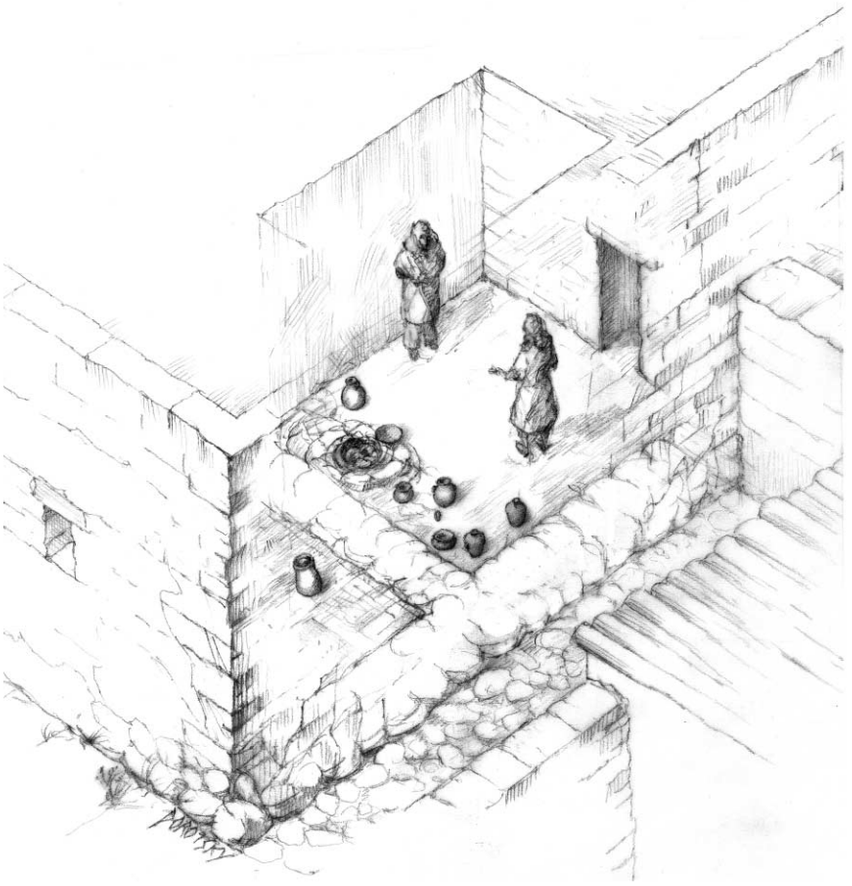

Fig. 13. Tel Dan, suggested reconstruction of Building M2-1, Phase M2, Stratum Ib (late 8th–early 7th century B.C.E.). (Illustration by D. Porotsky)

Supplementary Text for Figure 14

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Samarian bowl	21310/1	8309	M2-1d	Carinated rim
2	Lid	F/21332/1	8330	M2-1d	Clay
3	Bowl	21309/7	8308	M2-1b	Perforated body
4	Cypro-Phoenician Juglet	21341/6	8329	M2-1b	Body; exterior white-slipped with black concentric circles
5	Lid	F/21133/1	8322	M2-1d	Clay
6	Jug	21233/8	8331	M2-1d	Handle
7	Lamp	21259/6	8331	M2-1d	Lamp with flat base
8	Mortarium	21342/4	8330	M2-1d	Mortarium with a flattened rim
9	Mortarium	21233/7	8309	M2-1d	Mortarium with a thickened rim
10	Cooking pot	21161/1	8309	M2-1d	Cypriot/North Syrian round cooking pot
11	Decanter	21310/2	8309	M2-1d	Decanter with elongated body and carinated shoulder
12	Decanter	21131/1	8309	M2-1d	Decanter with elongated body and carinated shoulder
13	Storage jar	21163/1	8309	M2-1d	Storage jar with sharp carinated shoulder and pointed base

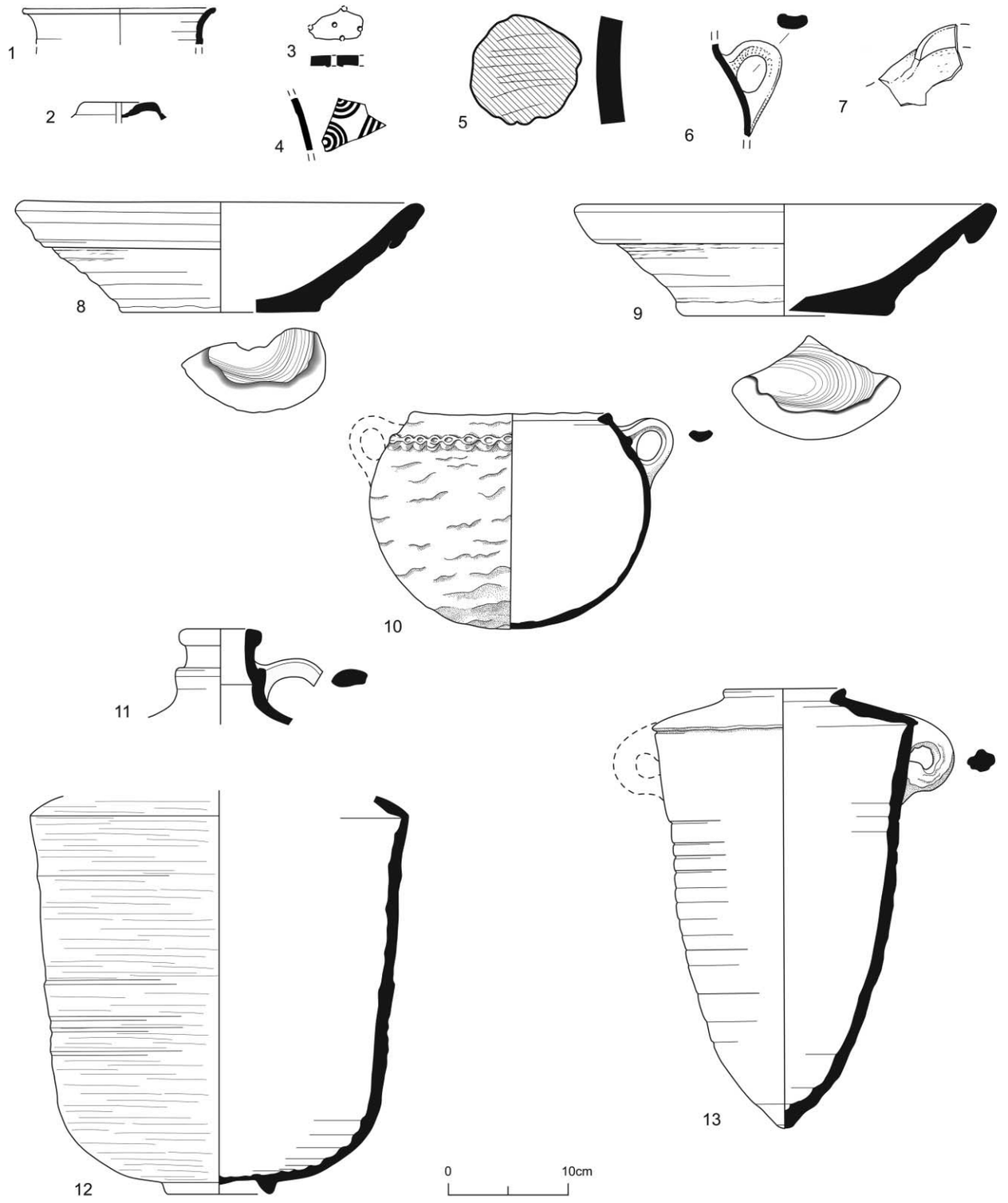

Fig. 14. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Building M2-1. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

supplies for displaced persons—we see playing out the familiar exoduses, suffering and loss that wars provoke on one hand, and on the other the human response that accompanies them. Based on the Assyrian experience as reflected from the occupational history of the Hula Valley during the Iron Age II and the urban analysis of Stratum Ib from Tel Dan, several general characteristics can be highlighted as typifying this post-traumatic human condition in the past, its effect on local material culture assemblages, and the potential to identify it in the archaeological record.

Restructuring Local Settlement Patterns

Imperial expansion into new regions was achieved through conquest and annexation, followed by the creation of new imperial space. Nevertheless, for empires to endure, expansion must be accompanied by processes of consolidation. This began with physical rehabilitation. At the symbolic level, nothing could be allowed to survive from the old order. In terms of organization and control, the Assyrian practice of strengthening strategic towns and locations underpinned the imperial policy of urbanizing the empire. An administrative provincial system of bureaucratic control had to be created, with power in the hands of imperial officials and representatives (Larsen 1979: 92; Liverani 1979: 298; Sinopoli 1994: 162–63; Tadmor 1997: 327).

Assyrian conquest of the Hula Valley was followed by annexation to the Assyrian provincial system and exertion of direct imperial rule. Administratively, the conquered area was included within the Assyrian province of *magiddu* that was directly ruled by Assyrian officials sent from the imperial court. The archaeological remains from Iron Age IIb–c Hula Valley sites suggest that the empire practiced a flexible control strategy in its southwestern frontier region. The newly created infrastructure ensured Assyrian political and military control over this conquered region. The previous settlement pattern in the Hula Valley ceased to exist and a new imperial network took its place. The Assyrians chose Dan—an already existing town—to fulfill the role of regional center (Thareani 2018a).

Loyal to an ideological framework that called for universal hegemony, restructuring of conquered territories involved conquest, destruction, deportations, and annexation into the imperial provincial system, followed by a drastic change in settlement. This saw the obliteration of previous administrative centers and of small- to medium-sized settlements and the creation of one metropolis, usually in a pre-existing town, where the region's populace might be resettled, together with refugees and deportees from elsewhere. Imperial outposts were established along the main transportation corridors and meeting points, and natural resources (soil, water, etc.) were subjected to imperial economic exploitation.

Reorganization of the Urban Space

Once conquered, an initial step in the consolidation of any newly annexed area at a symbolic and organizational level was the reconstruction and reordering of towns and the creation of a centrally located administrative and military hub (Schreiber 1987: 266; D'Altroy 1992; Sinopoli 1994: 163–64; Schortman, Urban, and Ausec 2001: 325; Matthews 2003: 143–44). At the same time, the very process of imperial control had a significant sociopolitical effect upon the indigenous population and its material culture (Bartel 1985: 10; Parker 2003: 552).

Assyria exercised forced displacement of populations in recently conquered territories, uprooting and transferring people both to distant regions as well as within their own countries. Once the Assyrians had concentrated subject populations in their new homes, several actions were taken to reorganize these urban spaces.

A classic example of how the Assyrians reorganized conquered cities is Kišesim in Media. Following its defeat and sacking by Sargon II (716 B.C.E.), the city was revamped

Supplementary Text for Figure 15

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Storage jar	21162/1	8309	M2-1d	Oval storage jar with sharp carinated shoulder
2	Storage jar	21342/5	8330	M2-1d	Storage jar with sharp carinated shoulder and pointed base
3	Bowl	F/21233/1	8331	M2-1d	Basalt; perforated
4	Pestle	F/21097/1	8307	M2-1d	
5	Scale weight	F/21079/1	8307	M2-1d	Hematite
6	Worked stone	F/21240/1	8331	M2-1d	Door socket?
7	Knife	F/21177/1	8309	M2-1d	Iron
8	Awl	F/21273/1	8331	M2-1d	Iron
9	Knife	F/21272/1	8329	M2-1b	Iron

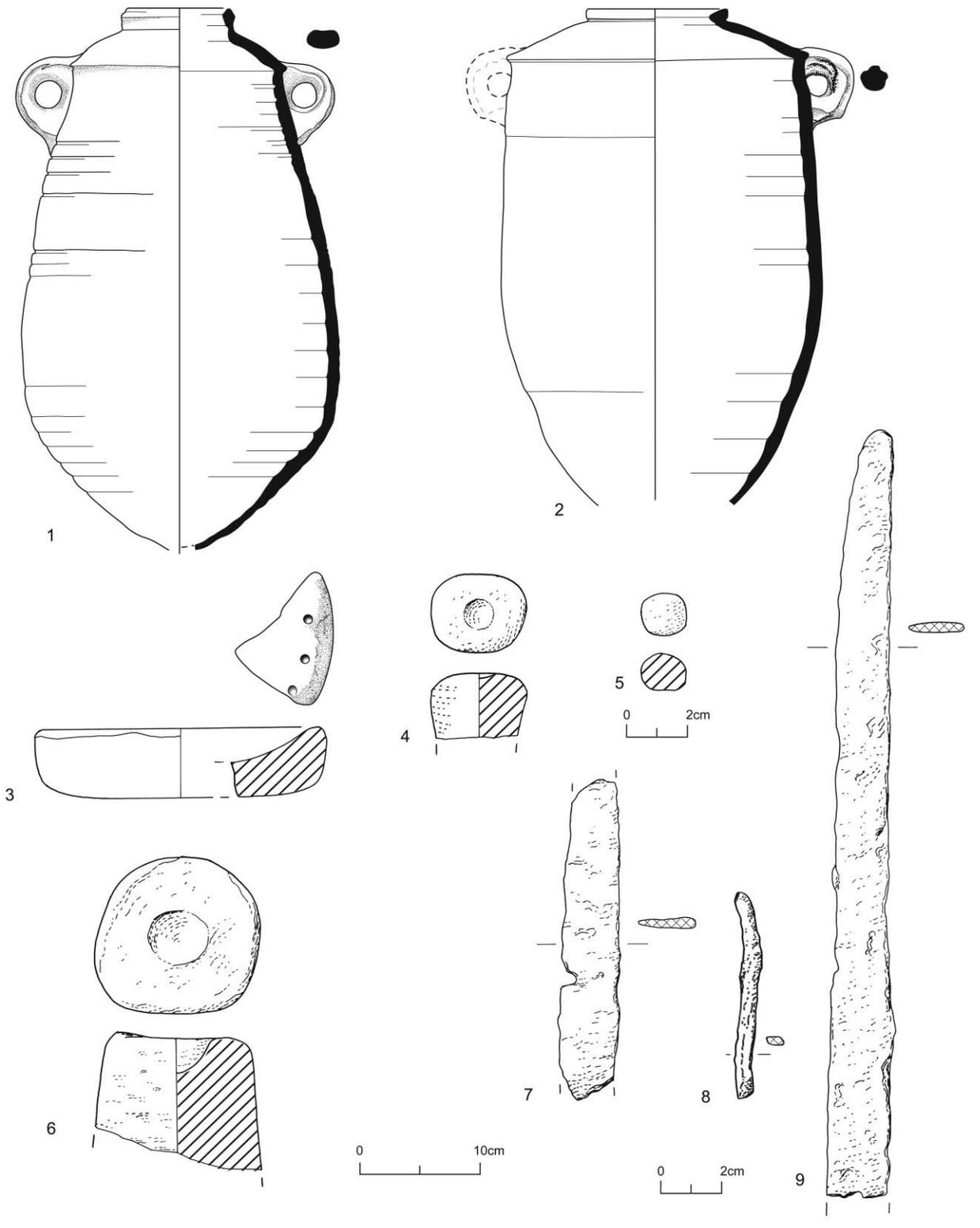

Fig. 15. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Building M2-1. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

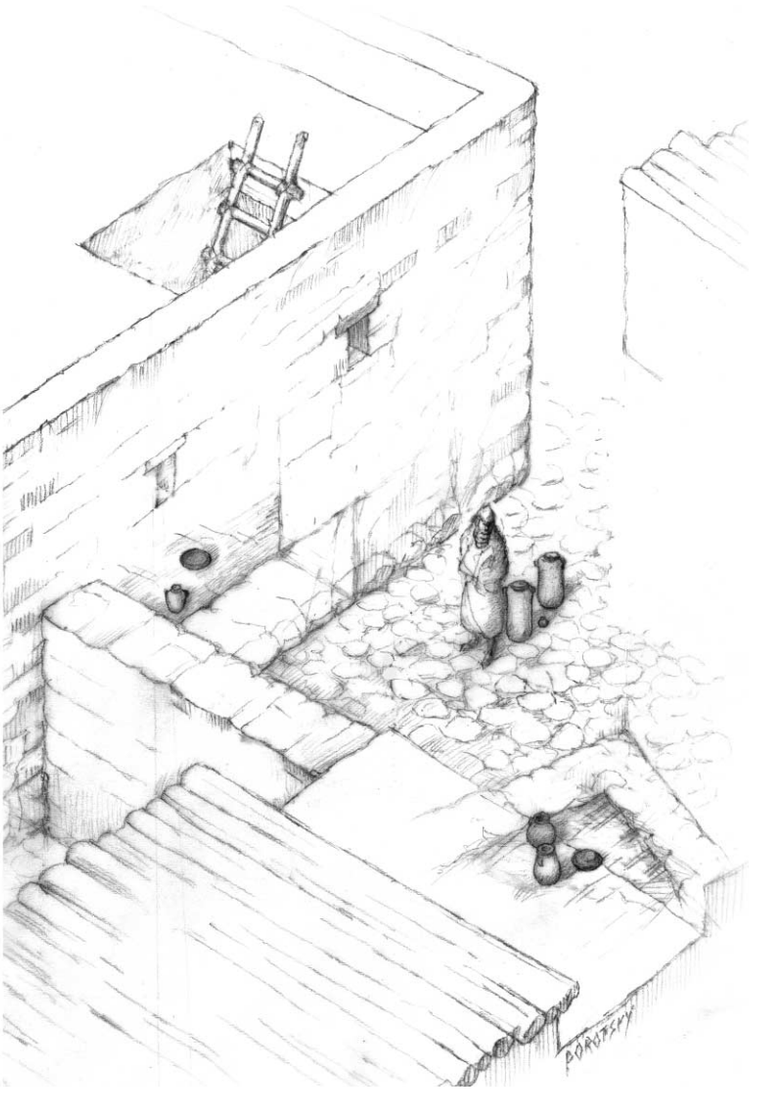

Fig. 16. Tel Dan, suggested reconstruction of Building M2-2, Phase M2, Stratum Ib (late 8th–early 7th century B.C.E.). (Illustration by D. Porotsky)

and renamed. Symbols of Assyrian gods were placed there. Foreign population elements were resettled therein: "People from the countries which I had conquered I caused to enter there and considered them as inhabitants of Assyria" (Luckenbill 1927: 203). Neighboring areas were added to the district and an Assyrian governor was nominated. A stele with the king's heroic deeds in the land of Media was prepared and stationed in the temple. Tribute was collected from the city's leadership (Naʾaman and Zadok 1988: 39).

Organizing the province involved choosing one urban center that would soon become an Assyrian metropolis. Local colonized populations were forced to participate in the building activities of the provincial center. In a letter sent by a Syrian provincial governor to Sargon II, the sender wondered: "As to what the king my lord ordered: 'The people living on the mounds should come down and build the fort,' they have come down; should these ten fortified towns in the desert come down as well? What does the king my lord say?" (Parpola 1987: 138, SAA 1 176).

Architectural and material culture remains from Tel Dan attest to various physical operations that the Assyrians practiced in the chosen urban center and that left their mark on the archaeological record. There was a clear spatial differentiation between administrative zones in which the colonizers—imperial governors and personnel—resided

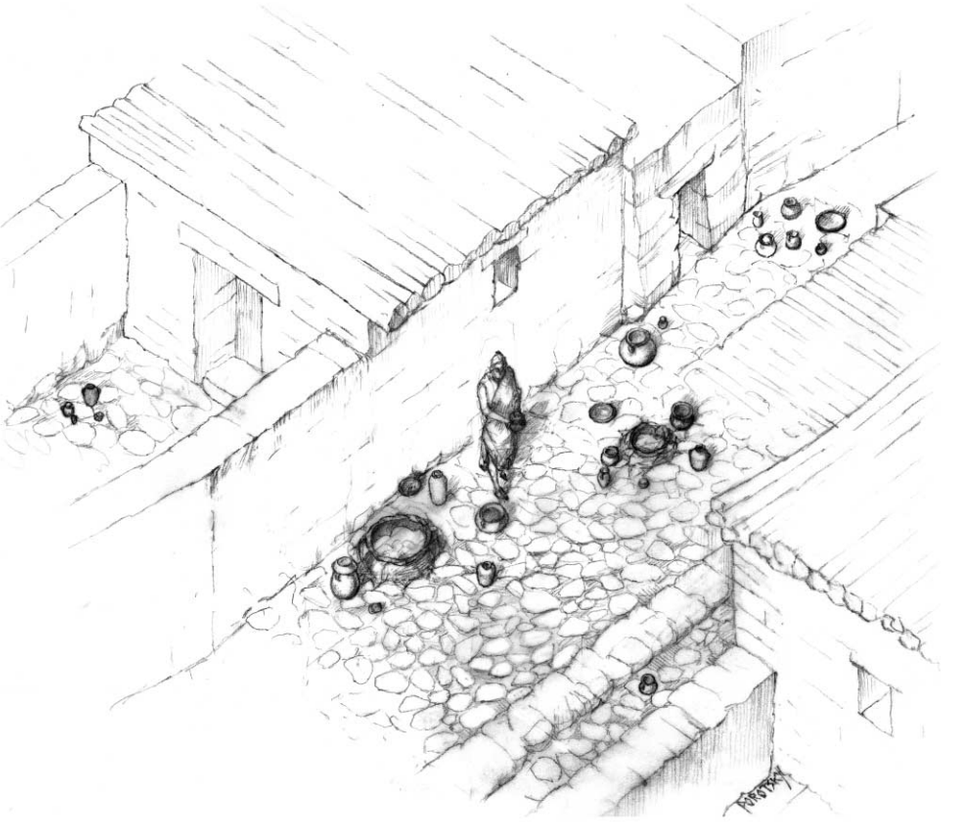

Fig. 17. Tel Dan, suggested reconstruction of Building M2-3, Phase M2, Stratum Ib (late 8th–early 7th century B.C.E.). (Illustration by D. Porotsky)

and from which they maintained regional and city administrative affairs,[7] as distinguished from densely built residential neighborhoods for both colonized and colonists, in this case, the former inhabitants of Dan and other Hula Valley sites, as well as deportees from other lands.

Under the watchful eyes of the imperial overlords or their emissaries, Israelite refugees as well as Assyrian deportees were forced to share a crowded urban space and limited resources. In this framework, the conquered city became an emblem of the social conditions created by the coupling of war and humanitarian action. Created in a situation of emergency and intended to provide for the physical needs of various deportees and fugitives, through quotidian practices these "city-camps" gradually became sites of an enduring organization of space, social life, and power structure.

Daily Practices in Provincial Towns

Once the architectural foundations of the provincial town were laid, the colonized people of Dan, the Hula Valley, and recently arrived deportees were forced to adjust their daily life to the changing urban setting and hinterland.

Various letters from Assyria and the west attest to daily practices involved in controlling occupied territories. War captives who were deported and resettled became totally dependent upon the empire. Assyrian emissaries are explicitly commanded by their king "... to provide the people with bread and the teams with fodder" (Parpola 1987: 13, SAA 1 10). As the palace superintendent in Marqasi happily reassured Sargon II: "Just as the king my lord wrote to his servant, saying: 'You are to settle them in Marqasa, they will eat bread there'—the king my lord knows that in Guzana they ate stored grain, three seahs per person ... now, just as the king my lord orders, is one really to give them oil as well?" (Parpola 1987: 199, SAA 1 257).

[7] A useful term to describe this socio-economic and political context would be "imperial enclave"—a scenario under which settlers or administrators from the imperial homeland were confined to specific settlements within the conquered territory. To a great extent, the enclave lifestyle may resemble that of the imperializing nation (Horvath 1972, 47–48, figs. 1–2; Bartel 1985, 14–22, fig. 1). For the archaeological expressions and discussion of imperial enclaves, see Thareani 2016b.

However, beyond a grace period of being supplied with food, such war captives—who would soon become Assyrian citizens—also had to fulfill their imperial duties within and outside town. Upon arriving, they were encouraged to build homes and cultivate fields, either by incentives such as land grants, or otherwise by threats. The speech of an Assyrian governor referring to groups deported from Bīt-Adini in Syria to Babylon reveals these methods (Gallagher 1994: 59, 60–62):

> "(Now) they are at peace and are doing their work. I sent them out of six fortresses, saying 'Go, one and all! Each to a field! Let him build, let him settle!'"
>
> "The 50 who have come are building their houses, I told them 'Let each one build and enter his own house. Let him live in his own house.'"

In another letter the king is informed that "The harvest of the deportees . . . had come out well; they brought along all the food they had. The deportees and the pack animals are eating stored grain [. . .] like the king's servants." The governor concludes: "The deportees and the pack animals are well; the king my lord can be pleased" (Parpola 1987: 167). A small clay tablet found at Tell Keisan mentions distribution of rations to people who Nadav Naʾaman suggested were deportees brought to Keisan during the days of Esarhaddon (Sigrist 1982; Naʾaman 1993: 117).

Urban analysis of the Assyrian governor's residence (Area T1) along with several houses located in the domestic zone (Area M) at Dan reveals the diverse imperial and local strategies involved in the creation and maintenance of a daily routine in the provincial city, tailored to meet necessities created by a new sociopolitical order. These involved aspects of demand, production, consumption, and use of new material culture forms and techniques, some of which left their imprint on the archaeological record of Dan.

The demand for new forms and techniques in crafts and production was a direct outcome of the physical presence

Supplementary Text for Figure 18

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Body sherd	20037/14	8012	M2-2b	Decorated
2	Body sherd	20037/15	8012	M2-2b	Decorated
3	Body sherd	20209/4	8080	M2-2c	Decorated
4	Body sherd	20209/5	8080	M2-2c	Decorated
5	Body sherd	20193/12	8080	M2-2c	Decorated
6	Body sherd	20193/13	8080	M2-2c	Decorated
7	Body sherd	20648/1	8182	M2-2c	Decorated
8	Body sherd	20096/10	8016	M2-2c	Decorated
9	Body sherd	20056/2	8016	M2-2c	Decorated
10	Body sherd	20056/14	8016	M2-2c	Decorated
11	Body sherd	20096/9	8016	M2-2c	Decorated
12	Body sherd	20056/13	8016	M2-2c	Decorated
13	Body sherd	20061/2	8016	M2-2c	Decorated
14	Body sherd	20129/9	8061	M2-2b	Perforated
15	Body sherd	20055/4-5	8016	M2-2c	Perforated
16	Body sherd	20798/1	8210	M2-2a	Plastic decoration
17	Body sherd	20047/17	8012	M2-2b	Plastic decoration
18	Juglet	20413/5	8131	M2-2b	Rim
19	Juglet	20794/10	8210	M2-2a	Decorated body sherd
20	Lamp	20037/4	8012	M2-2b	Lamp with flat base
21	Lamp	20037/3	8012	M2-2b	Lamp with flat base
22	Lamp	20050/9	8012	M2-2b	Lamp with flat base
23	Lamp	20802/1	8210	M2-2a	Lamp with flat base
24	Handle	20798/3	8210	M2-2a	Post-firing mark
25	Handle	20794/5	8210	M2-2a	Post-firing mark
26	Body sherd	F/20798/1	8210	M2-2a	Seal Impression
27	Assyrian bottle	20825/1	8219	M2-2a	Elongated body, a short narrow neck
28	Decanter	20825/2	8219	M2-2a	Small decanter with a narrowing body
29	Cooking pot	20043/9	8012	M2-2b	Carinated cooking pot with high neck

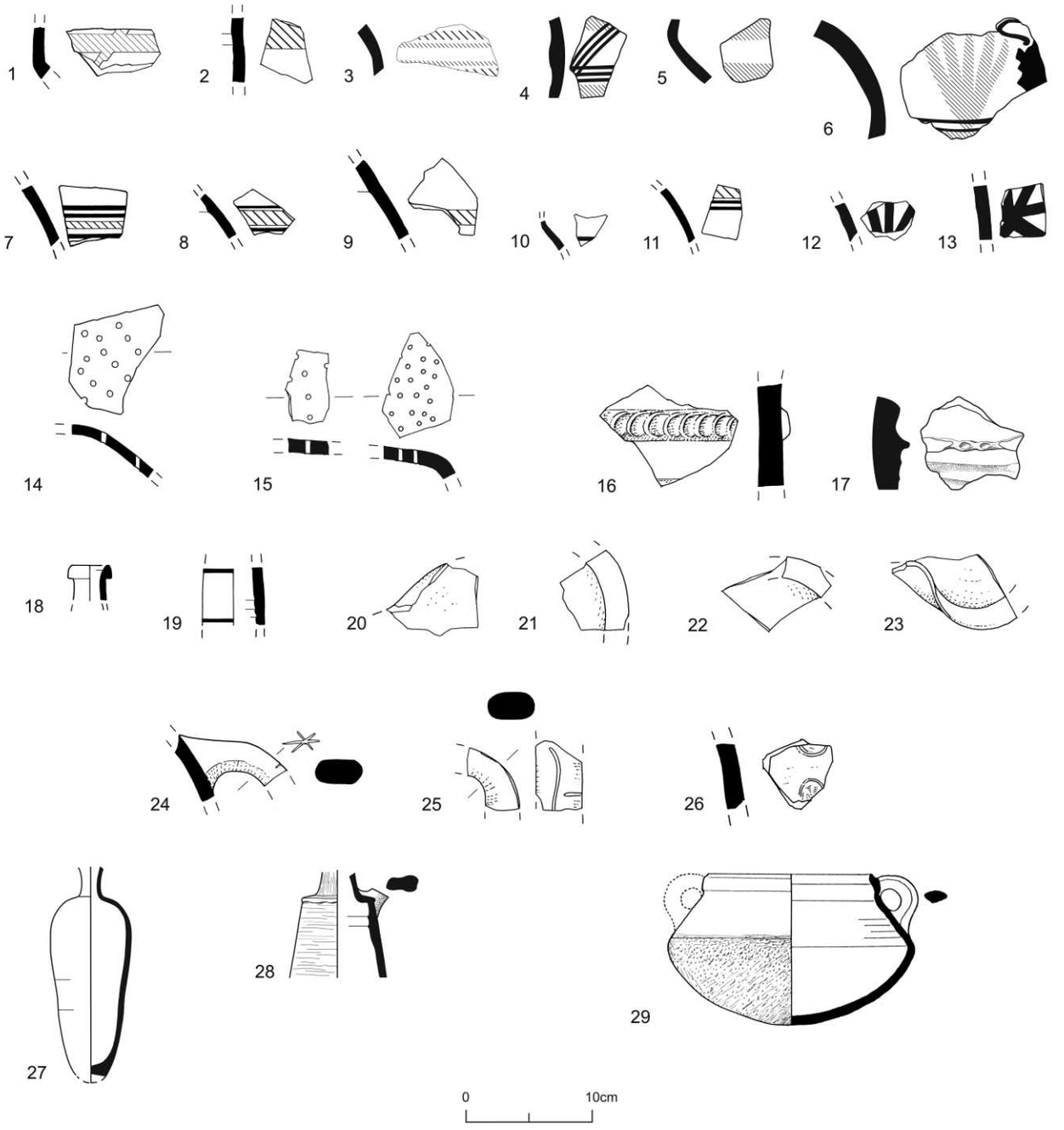

Fig. 18. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Building M2-2. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

of colonizers and their agents in the provincial town. Since colonization of the Hula Valley and other northern districts involved the settlement of imperial personnel, the symbolic needs of elite groups and deportees associated with the imperial power and motivated by acculturation processes that took place under imperial patronage dictated demand for new forms and styles (e.g., demand for Assyrian drinking and serving vessels). Other administrative needs and ceremonial norms (e.g., reception suites, storage facilities) resulted from the resettlement and agricultural colonization of the Hula Valley and imperial strategy in locations such as crossroads and other key locations that were important for imperial consolidation. Some operations such as the construction of a governor's residence at Dan (Thareani 2016b) and the Assyrian fort/palace at ʾAyyelet ha-Šahar (Kletter and Zwickel 2006; Reich

2011) served to meet both symbolic and administrative necessities.

Production of vessels and the introduction of new forms into the local ceramic repertoire were executed by highly skilled artisans, some of whom were of local origin. This also holds true for the architecture of the governor's residence and production of local ceramic wares. Other craftsmen were trained foreigners, leading to the production of, for example, vessels of Syro-Mesopotamian style.[8] Sent by the Assyrian authorities to meet imperial needs in this new province, newcomers included, among others, people originating from Syro-Mesopotamia: elites, experts, and artisans from conquered territories, forced to leave their homes and march westward. Challenged by these somewhat harsh political and personal circumstances, deported potters found their way to provincial centers such as Dan with only their technological knowledge and craft. This scenario explains the total absence of vessel prototypes originating from the imperial core in the local assemblage—Assyrian and Syrian vessels at Dan were locally produced by skilled, deported potters (Thareani 2019: 229–31).

Although the new forms and styles introduced in the provincial city of Dan comprised only a small part of the archaeological assemblage of Stratum Ib, their distinctive typological character and spatial distribution hint at the consumption and use of these forms in both public and domestic spheres, across the city. Use of storage vessels was typical of the imperial administrative zone, where agricultural products were collected and redistributed. Other serving and drinking vessels were found in the administrative building and private households alike at Dan, attesting to the diffusion of imperial ideas and styles to the provinces. While it is logical to assume that the appearance of the new forms had been initiated by elite imperial groups and administrative agents into the urban space and that these forms found their way down to other social strata only in the second phase of imperial rule, limitations of dating and stratigraphy make it difficult to differentiate subphases during the lifespan of Stratum Ib (last quarter of the 8th century–mid-7th century B.C.E.). We should therefore assume that the archaeological assemblage from the provincial city of Dan in Stratum Ib reflects the last and final phase of Assyrian occupation at the site.

Repeatedly represented in the domestic assemblages of the dwelling areas at Dan is a set of ceramic vessels including various cooking pots alongside bowls, kraters (*mortaria*), storage jars, and jugs or decanters (**Figs. 14, 18–21**). This standardization of types of the ceramic repertoire representing households might suggest involvement of the imperial authorities in the concentration and the redistribution of supplies and rations (grains, oil, etc.) to deportees and refugees who were resettled in Dan—a policy that is well attested from the historical and archaeological record across the empire (Parpola 1987: 167; Naʾaman 1993: 117).

Between these lines are revealed daily nuances of Assyrian resettlement policy: instead of simple mass deportation, there was a preference for selective forced transfers within a colonizing mission, a practice that has equivalents in later periods as well (see, for example, the French experience in North Africa: Davis 2007; Owen 2012). As in other case studies, success in the emplacement process was measured by the ability of the newcomers to adapt to their environment, to exploit it economically, and to create a viable space in which to build a future (Hammond 2004: 143).

[8] Mobility of artisans in imperial eras is evident from both the archaeological and the historical records. For the Middle Assyrian period, see Zaccagnini 1983: 249, 257; Duistermaat 2008: 25–26; Wiggermann 2008: 561–63, T93-3; Postgate 2010: 27. For the Neo-Assyrian Period, see Waterman 1930–1931: 129; Parker 1997: 82. For the Ottoman period, see Ribeiro 2009: 110; Khatcherian 2015: 1, 32–33, 38–39.

Supplementary Text for Figure 19

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Jug	20817/1	8016	M2-2c	Globular jug with wide neck
2	Storage jar	20809/2	8216	M2-2a	
3	Decanter	20817/2	8216	M2-2a	Decanter with elongated body and carinated shoulder
4	Bowl	F/20129/1	8061	M2-2b	Stone
5	Bead	F/20205/1	8080	M2-2c	Ivory
6	Spindle whorl	F/20406/1	8131	M2-2b	Ring shaped
7	Inscription	F/20135/1	8061	M2-2b	Phoenician name *plt* פל
8	Plaque	F/20641/1	8182	M2-2c	Bronze; perforated
9	Bracelet	F/20633/1	8182	M2-2c	Copper
10	Pithos	20056/1	8016	M2-2c	Plastic decoration

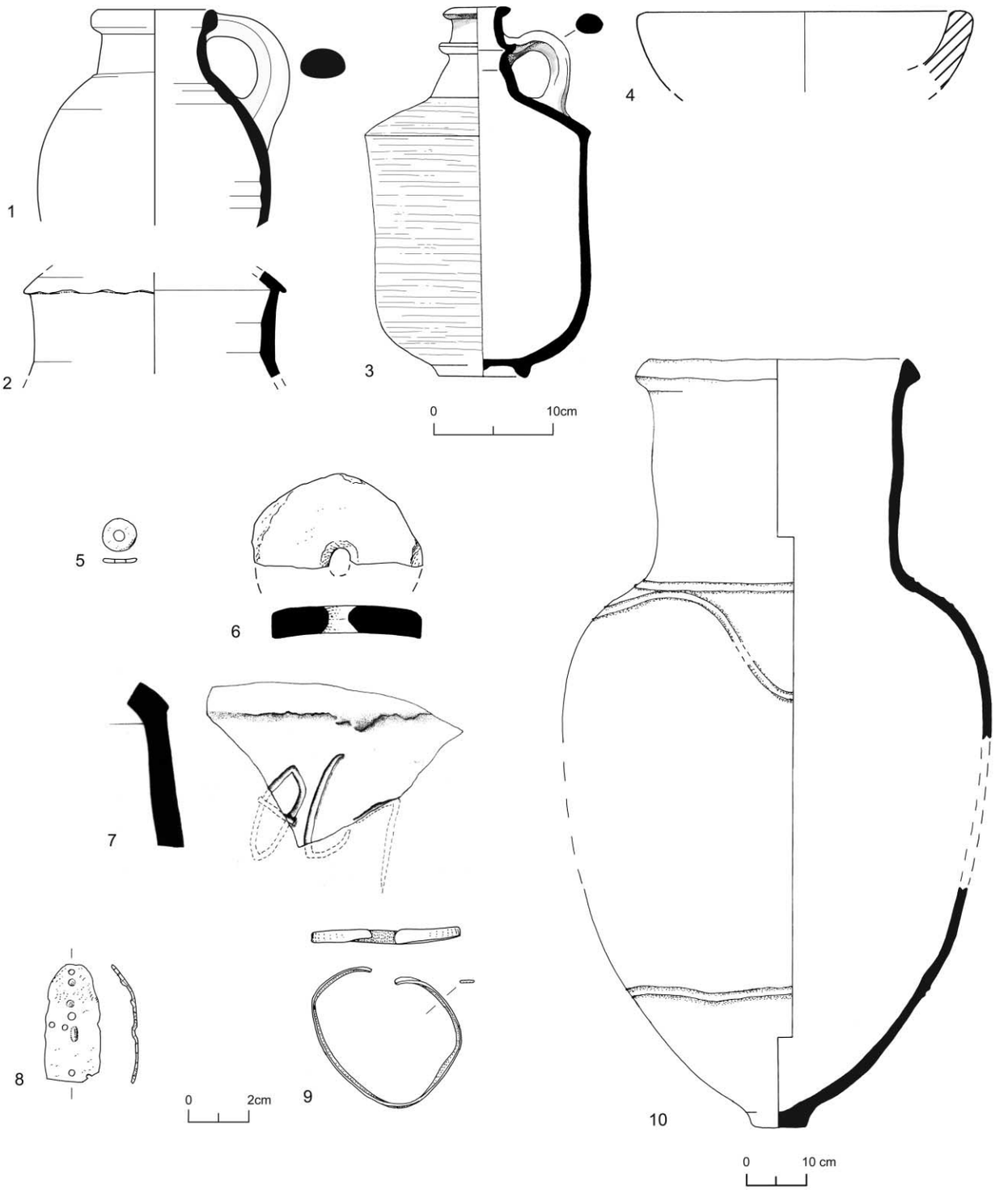

Fig. 19. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Building M2-2. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

Relationships between Empire, Community, Locality, and Identity-making in the Provincial City of Dan

Contrary to the standard picture of colonialism and in accordance with what Parker showed for the Upper Tigris River (Parker 2001b), Assyrian rule over Dan most likely involved three groups: the colonized (the indigenous people of Dan and other Hula Valley sites such as Hazor, Chinnereth, and Beth Saida), the colonizers (Assyrian officials administering the region who were sent from the imperial core and who resided in the Pilasters Building), and the colonists (foreign populations brought in by the Assyrians from distant lands, and resettled in this provincial center). Upon crowding under the same imperial umbrella, interaction between indigenous populations, foreigners, and imperial bureaucrats necessitated sociopolitical negotiation in which distinctive cultural elements were translated into cultural hybridization. Thus, political conditions in the imperial frontier stimulated the creation of multicultural communities and brought quiet and stability to the region.

While the economic and sociopolitical advantages of hegemonic rule are clear, imperial control comes at a price. Naturally, relationships between colonizers, colonized, and colonists were not egalitarian, and the conquered communities who had been torn from their homes and forced to contribute to the imperial effort were also destined to experience a permanent tension between the distinct new societal threads among which they were woven—a reality that necessitated the permanent presence of colonial power (Thareani 2018b: 480–81).

Finding oneself in a strange, volatile predicament for which one is unprepared can provoke a questioning of one's own threatened, traumatized past. On the other hand, the city-camp, its organization, and above all, the fact that it constitutes a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals, creates a survival or support system of sorts, including opportunities for encounters, exchanges, and reworking of identity among all who live there. For the community of Dan who comprised the conquered Israelite population of the region, as well as groups of deportees brought in by the Assyrian rulers, the potential of this place to provide their basic needs was an essential condition for the formation process of their new home.

Supplementary Text for Figure 20

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Assyrian bowl	21135/6	8320	M2-3a	Assyrian bowl with pronounced carination
2	Cup	20531/13	8161	M2-3a	Perforated
3	Assyrian bowl	21293/1	8327	M2-3a	Assyrian bowl with pronounced carination
4	Assyrian bowl	20578/7	8172	M2-3a	Assyrian round carinated bowl with short rim
5	Assyrian bowl	20530/19	8161	M2-3a	Assyrian round carinated bowl with long rim
6	Lid	F/20127/1	8054	M2-3a	Clay
7	Rim	21179/29	8320	M2-3a	Incised
8	Bowl	20571/1	8172	M2-3a	Round carinated bowl with flattened-thickened rim; mending hole
9	Body sherd	20541/3	8161	M2-3a	Perforated
10	Body sherd	20136/2	8063	M2-3a	Decorated
11	Body sherd	20548/7	8161	M2-3a	Decorated
12	Body sherd	20548/9	8161	M2-3a	Decorated
13	Body sherd	20578/15	8172	M2-3a	Decorated
14	Body sherd	20104/1-2	8054	M2-3a	Decorated
15	Body sherd	20127/10	8054	M2-3a	Decorated
16	Bottle	21158/5	8320	M2-3a	Narrowing ridged body
17	Bottle	20436/3	8137	M2-3a	Decorated
18	Bottle	20033/1	8008	M2-3a	Squeezed
19	Bottle	20032/13	8008	M2-3a	Squared narrowing body
20	Lamp	20119/7	8055	M2-3a	Lamp with flat base
21	Saucer lamp	20411/1	8136	M2-3a	Base and body
22	Cup	20573/4	8172	M2-3a	Tripod
23	Mortarium	20119/8	8055	M2-3a	Mortarium with a flattened rim
24	Mortarium	20033/2	8008	M2-3a	Mortarium with a thickened rim
25	Jug	20022/3	8008	M2-3a	Swollen body
26	Cooking pot	20119/9	8055	M2-3a	Round cooking pot with high neck and grooved rim
27	Cooking pot	20032/11	8008	M2-3a	Deep cooking pot with short neck and thickened rim
28	Jug	20032/12	8008	M2-3a	Jug with wide mouth

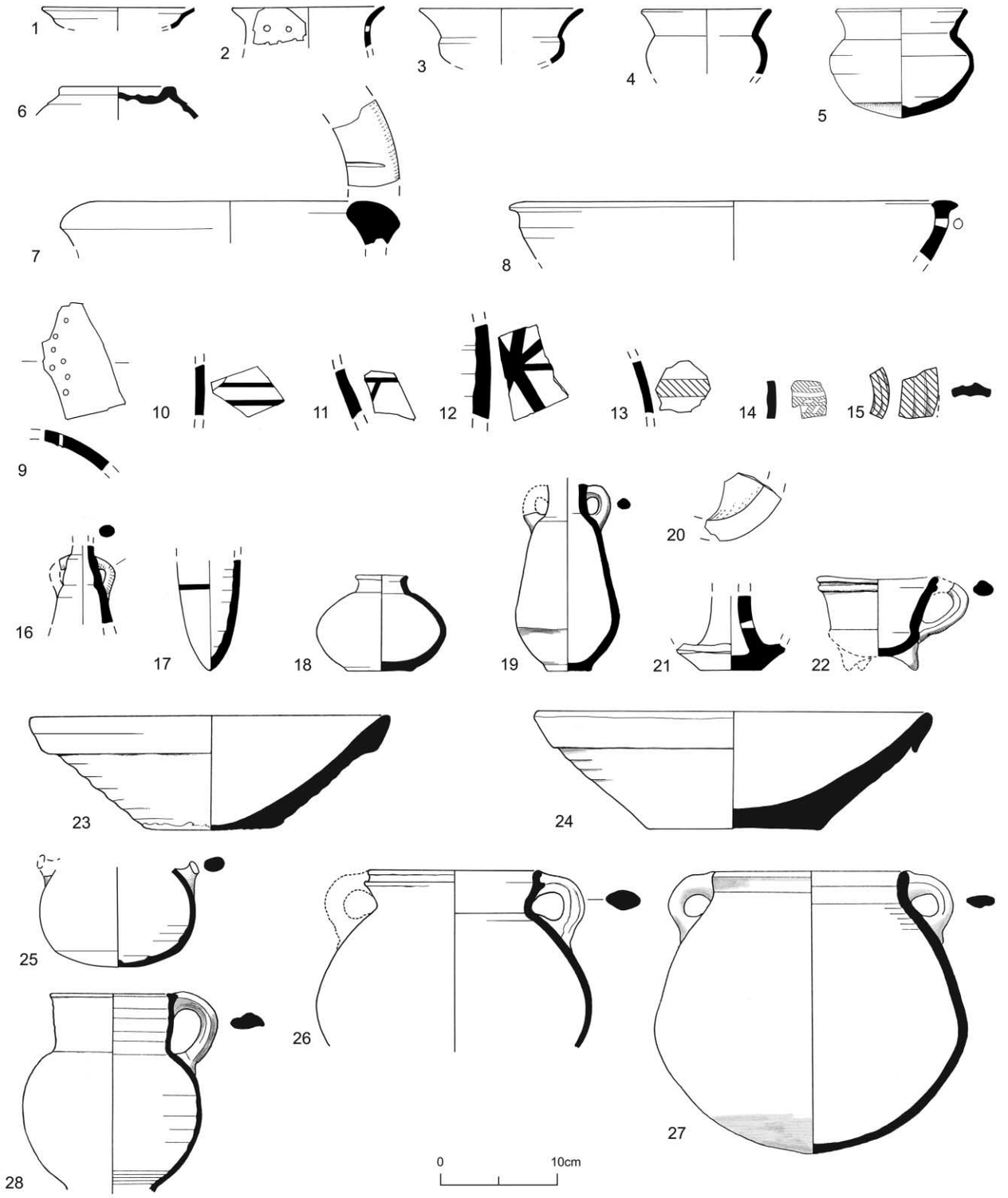

Fig. 20. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Building M2-3. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

Supplementary Text for Figure 21

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Cooking pot	20411/2	8136	M2-3a	Carinated cooking pot with high neck
2	Cooking pot	20422/7	8136	M2-3a	Carinated cooking pot with high neck
3	Cooking pot	21419/4	8136	M2-3a	Carinated cooking pot with high neck
4	Cooking pot	20136/26	8063	M2-3a	Carinated cooking pot with high neck
5	Cooking pot	21237/10	8327	M2-3a	Round carinated cooking pot with grooved rim
6	Decanter	21138/1	8320	M2-3a	Squared decanter
7	Decanter	21183/1	8320	M2-3a	Squared decanter
8	Decanter	20120/11	8054	M2-3a	Squared decanter
9	Decanter	20418/1	8320	M2-3a	Squared decanter
10	Decanter	21082/1	8314	M2-3a	Squared decanter

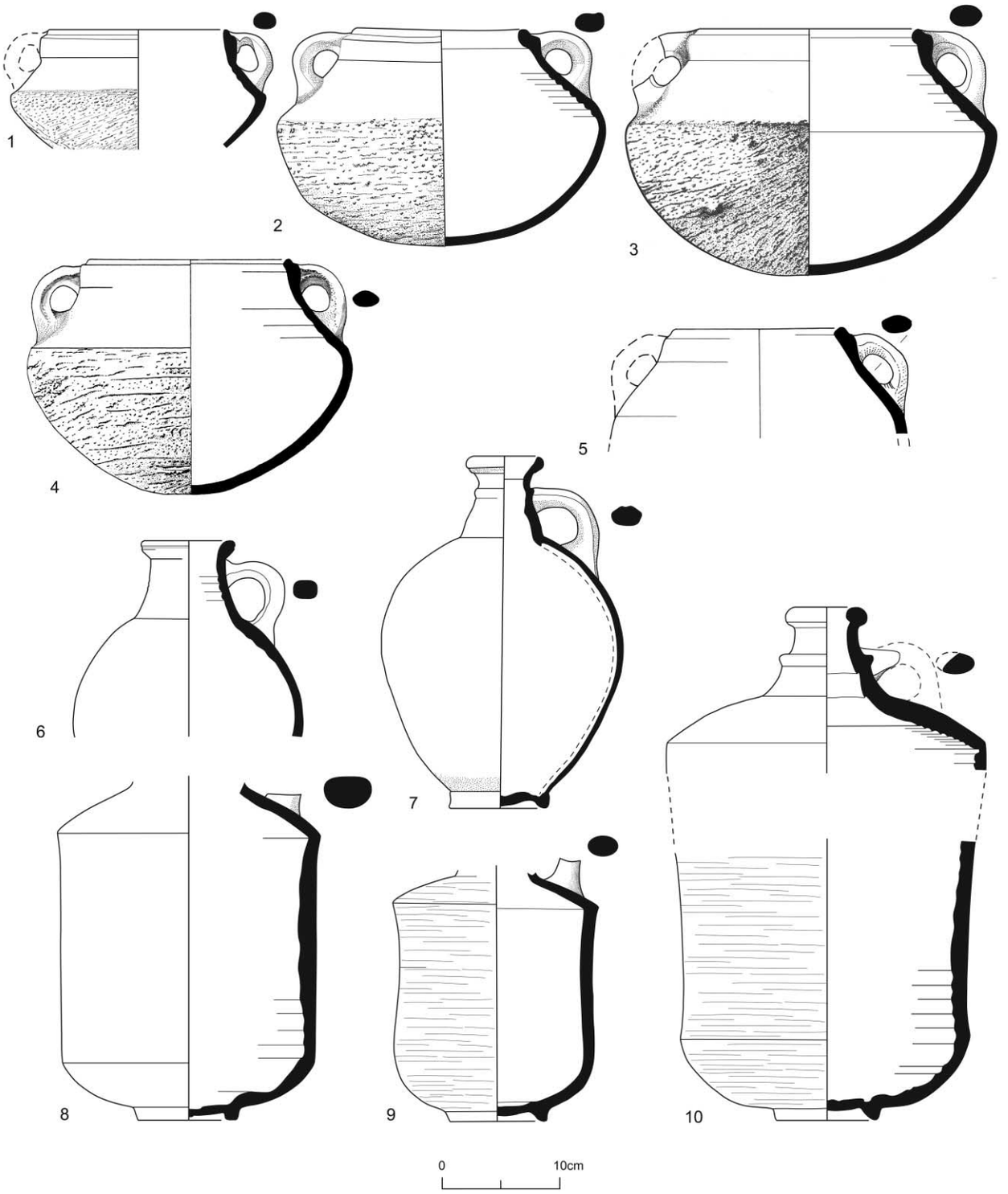

Fig. 21. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Building M2-3. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

Supplementary Text for Figure 22

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Krater	20127/12	8054	M2-3a	Deep krater with protruding handles
2	Krater	21164/1	8314	M2-3a	Closed decorated krater with pronounced neck
3	Amphoriskos	20136/1	8063	M2-3a	Small-sized, bottle-like decorated vessel
4	Storage jar	21142/1	8314	M2-3a	Ovoid storage jar
5	Storage jar	21123/1	8314	M2-3a	Long narrow storage jar with no handles
6	Storage jar	20026/14	8008	M2-3a	Storage jar with round shoulder
7	Loomweight	F/21166/1	8314	M2-3a	Disc-shaped

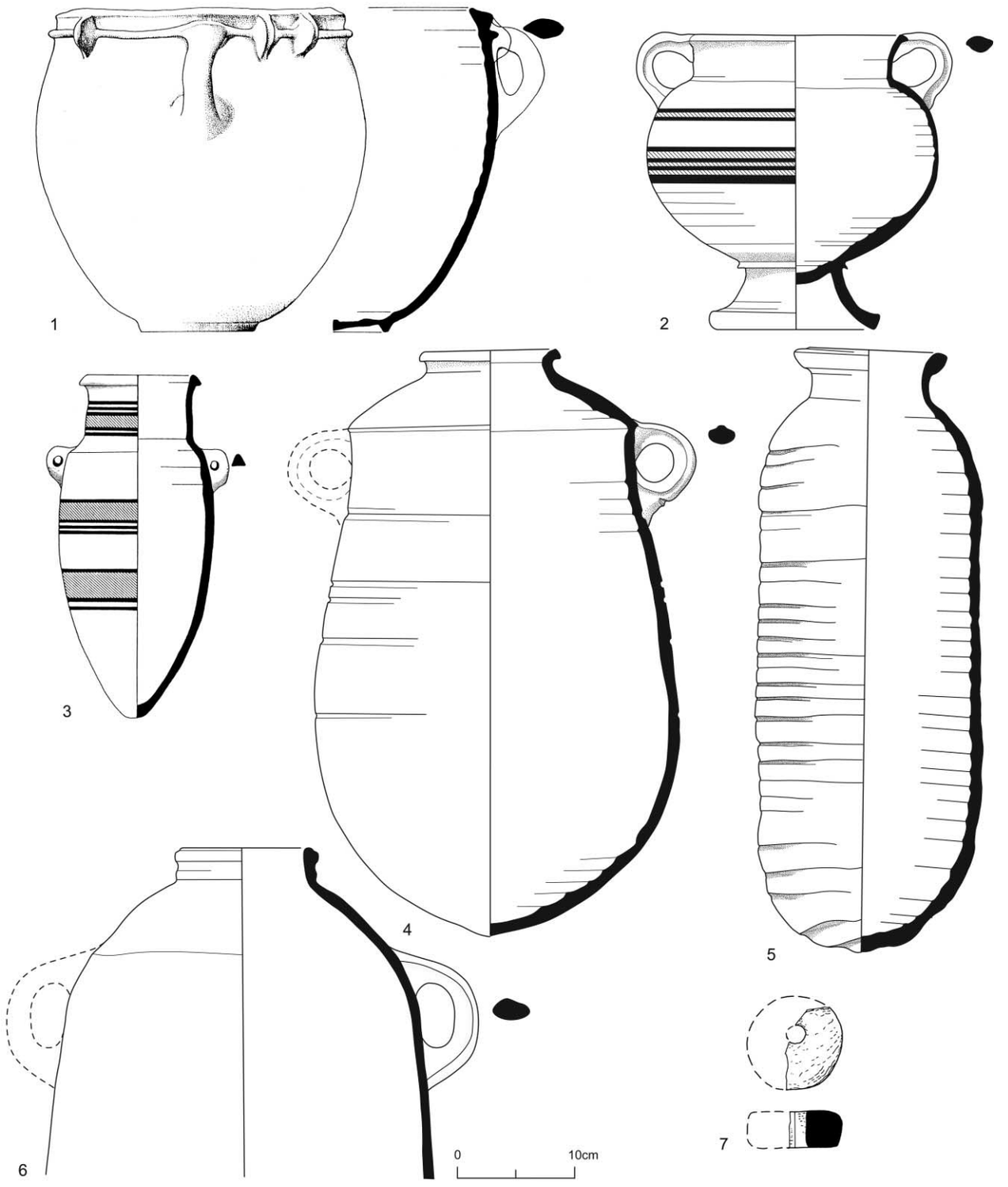

Fig. 22. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Building M2-3. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

Supplementary Text for Figure 23

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Stone object	F/20530/2	8161	M2-3a	Basalt
2	Stone object	F/21234/1	8320	M2-3a	Basalt
3	Stone object	F/20411/2	8136	M2-3a	Basalt
4	Stone object	F/20425/1	8137	M2-3a	Basalt
5	Stone object	F/20411/1	8136	M2-3a	Basalt
6	Stone object	F/21237/1	8327	M2-3a	Basalt
7	Stone object	F/21237/2	8327	M2-3a	Basalt
8	Stone object	F/20422/1	8136	M2-3a	Basalt
9	Stone object	F/20416/1	8136	M2-3a	Basalt
10	Stone object	F/21208/1	8320	M2-3a	Rounded shallow basalt object
11	Chalice	F/20132/1	8063	M2-3a	Basalt base
12	Bowl	F/20581/1	8172	M2-3a	Straight walls and flat base
13	Bowl	F/20534/1	8161	M2-3a	Basalt with legs
14	Bowl	F/21294/1	8327	M2-3a	Basalt
15	Bowl	F/21187/1	8320	M2-3a	Basalt
16	Stone object	F/21190/2-3	8320	M2-3a	Basalt; lower millstone
17	Stone object	F/21190/1	8320	M2-3a	Basalt; lower millstone
18	Seal impression	F/20530/1	8161	M2-3a	A man holding two horned animals
19	Arrow head	F/20536/1	8161	M2-3a	Iron
20	Sickle blade	F/21207/1	8314	M2-3a	Iron
21	Pin	F/20029/1	8008	M2-3a	Bronze

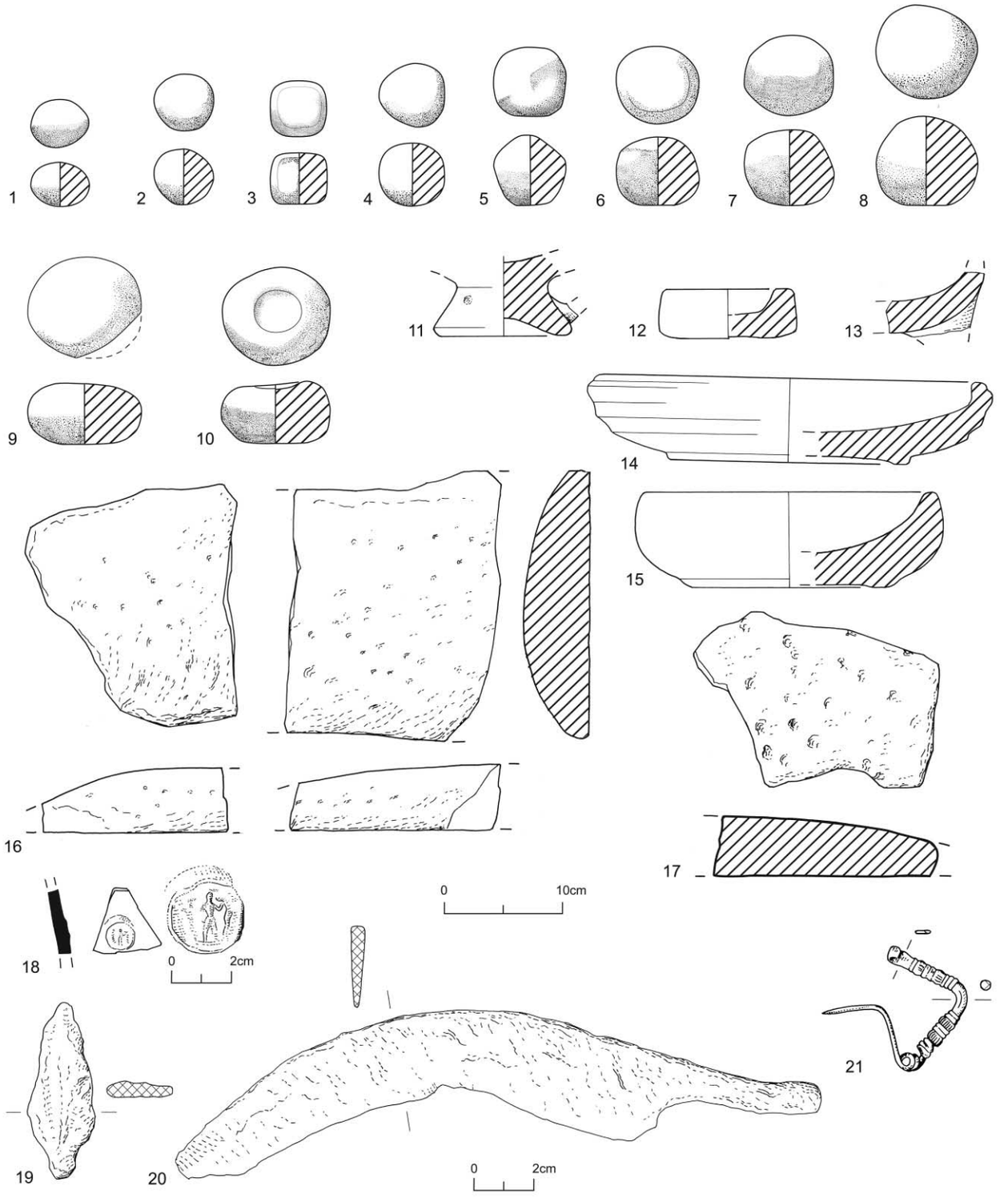

Fig. 23. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Building M2-3. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

Supplementary Text for Figure 24

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Bowl	21175/2	8321	Open space	Bowl with splayed rim
2	Bowl	6694/4	467	Street 1	Bowl with straight wall
3	Bowl	6719/22	467	Street 1	Bowl/Baking tray? Rim
4	Bowl	20063/6	8018	Street 1	Flat bowl with straight wall; exterior and interior red-slipped and wheel-burnished; rim
5	Bowl	20063/14	8018	Street 1	Bowl with thickened rim; interior and partial exterior are red-slipped; interior wheel-burnished; rim
6	Bowl?	20057/7	8018	Street 1	Flattened rim; exterior red-slipped
7	Bowl	21210/1	8321	Open space	Rin and body; ridged below rim
8	Lid	F/20057/1	8018	Street 1	Clay
9	Body sherd	20057/12	8018	Street 1	Decorated
10	Body sherd	20652/19	8184	Street 1	Decorated
11	Body sherd	20658/5	8184	Street 1	Decorated
12	Body sherd	21175/31	8321	Open space	Perforated
13	Baking tray	20090/2	8020	Street 1	Perforated; broken
14	Body sherd	21175/29	8321	Open space	Plastic decoration
15	Body sherd	21175/30	8321	Open space	Plastic decoration
16	Body sherd	20076/1	8018	Street 1	Decorated Cypriot; White Painted IV Ware

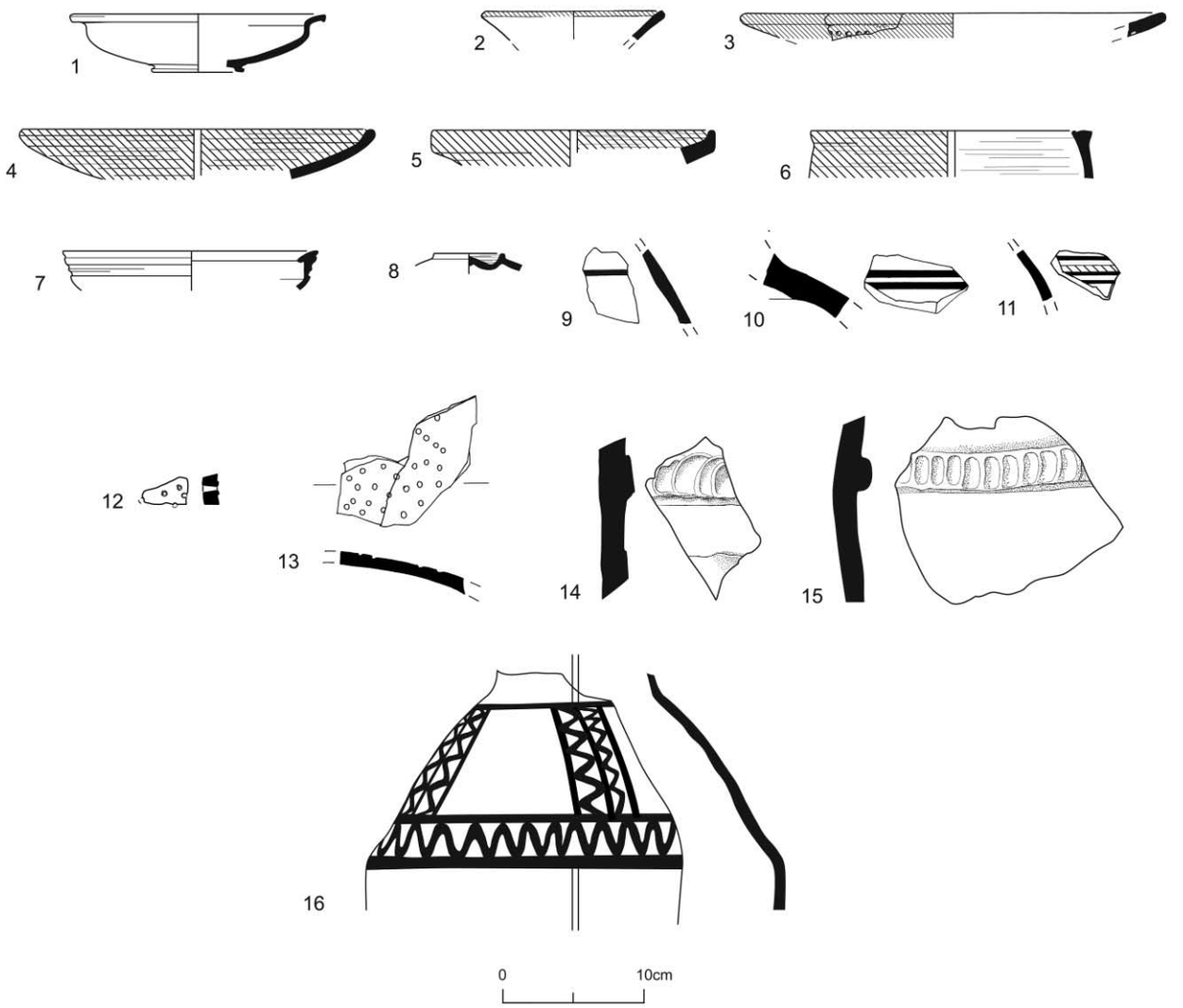

Fig. 24. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Street 1, open space, and alley. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

Supplementary Text for Figure 25

Number	*Object*	*Registration Number*	*Locus*	*Unit*	*Description*
1	Handle	6694/8	467	Street 1	Decorated
2	Handle	6705/3	467	Street 1	Post-firing mark
3	Handle	6705/4	467	Street 1	Post-firing mark
4	Handle	6705/5	467	Street 1	Pre-firing mark
5	Handle	6710/3	467	Street 1	Decorated
6	Handle	6716/1	467	Street 1	Pre-firing mark
7	Body sherd	6722/3	467	Street 1	Decorated
8	Seal impression	F/6719/1	467	Street 1	Round
9	Handle	20063/16	8018	Street 1	Decorated
10	Scale weight	21152/1	8321	Open space	Stone
11	Seal impression	F/21175/2	8321	Open space	Israelite name l*'mdyw* לעמדיו

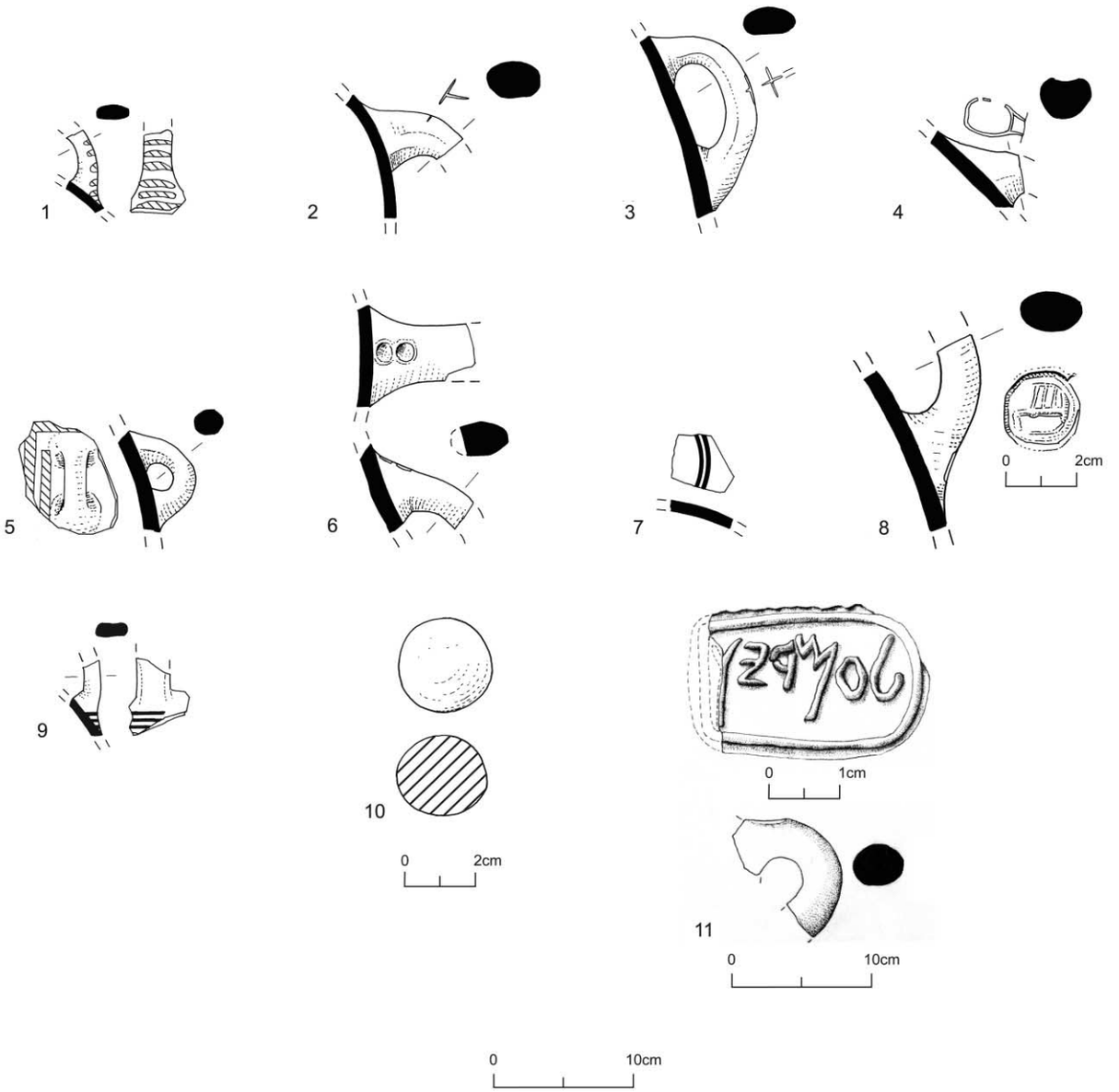

Fig. 25. Ceramic vessels and objects found in Street 1, open space, and alley. (Illustration by N. Zeevi)

Table 2. Distribution of Vessel Types Found in Area M, Phase M2, Stratum Ib (Intact, Complete, Half Complete, and Full Profile Vessels). BL = bowl, CH = chalice, KR = krater, CP = cooking pot, SJ = storage jar, JG = jug, DC = decanter, JT = juglet, FL = flask, LP = lamp, MS = miscellaneous.

Locus/Type	*BL*	*CH*	*KR*	*CP*	*SJ*	*JG*	*DC*	*JT*	*FL*	*LP*	*MS*	*Total*	*%*	*Plate*
Building M2-1														
8308					1							1	1.75	3
8331			1							1		2	3.5	3
8330			1		1							2	3.5	3
8309				1	2		2					5	6.66	3
Total			**2**	**1**	**4**		**2**			**1**		**10**	**15.41**	
Open space and an alley														
8321	1											1	1.75	6
Total	**1**											**1**	1.75	
Street 1/entrance														
8351											1	1	1.75	6
Total											**1**	**1**	1.75	
Building M2-2														
8210										1		1	1.75	4
8219											1	1	1.75	4
8216						1	1					2	3.5	4
8012				1						3		4	7.01	4
8016						1						1	1.75	4
Total				**1**		**2**	**1**			**4**	**1**	**9**	**15.76**	
Building M2-3														
8320	1						1				1	3	5.26	5
8314	1				2		2					5	8.77	5
8327	1			1								2	3.5	5
8161	1											1	1.75	5
8172	2											2	3.5	5
8055			1	1						1		3	5.26	5
8054			1				2					3	5.26	5
8063				1							1	2	3.5	5
8136				3			1			1		5	8.77	5
8137											1	1	1.75	5
8008			1	2	1	2					1	7	12.28	5
Total	**6**		**3**	**8**	**3**	**2**	**6**			**2**	**4**	**34**	**59.6**	
Building M2-4														
8315				1								1	1.75	
Total				**1**								**1**	1.75	
Building M2-5														
464								1				1	1.75	
Total								**1**				**1**	1.75	
Total	**7**	**–**	**5**	**11**	**7**	**4**	**9**	**1**	**-**	**7**	**6**	**57**	**100**	
%	**12.28**	**0**	**8.77**	**17.3**	**12.28**	**7.01**	**15.78**	**1.75**	**0**	**12.28**	**10.52**		**100**	

Table 3. Distribution of Artifacts in Area M, Phase M2, Stratum Ib.

Locus/Type	*Artifact*	*Number*	*Total*	*%*	*Plate*
	Building M2-1				
8329	Iron knife	1	1		3
8307	Hematite scale-weight	1	1		3
8307	Pestle	1	1		3
8331	Iron Awl (?)	1	1		3
8331	Basalt bowl	1	1		3
8331	Basalt socket?	1	1		3
8322	Lid	1	1		3
8330	Lid	1	1		3
8309	Iron knife	1	1		3
	Open space and an alley				
8321	*l'mdyw* – a stamped handle	1	1		6
8321	Lid	1	1		6
8321	Stone scale-weight	1	1		6
	Street 1/entrance				
8018	Lid	1	1		6
467	Seal impression	1	1		6
	Building M2-2				
8210	Seal impression	1	1		4
8061	Inscription, two pre-firing inscribed letters: לת	1	1		4
8061	Basalt bowl	1	1		4
8131	Spindle whorl	1	1		4
8182	Pointed bone object made of a bear claw	1	1		4
8182	Bracelet	1	1		4
8182	Bronze plaque	1	1		4
8080	Bead	1	1		4
	Building M2-3				
8320	Rounded basalt	1	1		5
8320	Rounded low basalt	1	1		5
8320	Lower millstone	3	3		5
8314	Loomweight	1	1		5
8314	Sickle blade	1	1		5
8327	Ostracon	1	1		5
8327	Rounded basalt	2	2		5
8327	Basalt bowl	1	1		5
8161	Arrow head	1	1		5
8161	Seal impression	1	1		5
8161	Rounded stone	1	1		5
8161	Basalt bowl	1	1		5
8135	Pre-firing mark on handle	2	2		5
8172	Stone bowl	1	1		5
8054	Lid	1	1		5
8063	Basalt chalice	1	1		5
8136	Rounded basalt	2	2		5
8136	Cube	1	1		5
8136	Round object	1	1		5

Table 3. (*Continued*)

Locus/Type	*Artifact*	*Number*	*Total*	*%*	*Plate*
	Building M2-4				
8315	Spout	2	2		
8315	Lid	1	1		
8315	Cube (?)	1	1		
8333	Spout	1	1		
8333	Button	1	1		
8333	Nail	1	1		
8333	Post-firing mark on handle	1	1		
	Building M2-5				
464	Basalt bowl	1	1		
	Street 2				
8160	Loomweight	2	2		
8160	Seal impression	1	1		
8164	Loomweight	1	1		
	Building M2-6				
8205	Amulet	1	1		
8206	Seal impression	5	5		
8206	Potter's mark	1	1		
	Building M2-7				
8218	Bead	1	1		
8218	Iron rod	1	1		
8218	Stone seal	1	1		
8218	Grinding stone	1	1		
8236	Scarab	1	1		
8228	Spout	1	1		
8228	Upper millstone	1	1		
8231	Cube	1	1		
Total		-	**74**	**100**	

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