Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

Number 372 — November 2014

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research • Number 372 • November 2014

BULLETIN
OF THE
AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH
(ISSN 0003-097X)
PUBLISHED BIANNUALLY
(May, November)
by
THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH
Located at Boston University, 656 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02215-2010

The *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (*BASOR*) is published biannually by the American Schools of Oriental Research. The journal will consider for publication manuscripts consistent with the broad areas of research supported by the society. These include the art and archaeology, history, anthropology, literature, philology, and epigraphy of the Near East and eastern Mediterranean world from the Palaeolithic period through Islamic times.

Manuscripts and books to be considered for review should be sent to the Editors. Manuscripts are subject to peer review by at least two outside readers as well as the Editors.

BASOR's "Editorial Policy and Instructions for Contributors" is available online at http://www.asor.org/pubs/basor/documents/basor-instructions-contributors.pdf. As a general rule, authors should follow the guidelines in *The Chicago Manual of Style* (16th edition; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

Annual Subscription Rates: $260.00 for print or electronic for individuals (please note that individuals receive the journal at a greatly reduced rate as part of an ASOR membership). Non-U.S. customers please add $30.00 for postage. Subscribers may receive both print and online subscription for an additional $25.00. The price of a print subscription for U.S. institutions is $260.00; for institutions outside the U.S., the price is $290.00. Institutions should email JSTOR at participation@jstor.org for the electronic prices, which are tiered by institution size and discounted based on a number of factors. Please write or call for more information to American Schools of Oriental Research, Located at Boston University, Member/Subscriber Services, 656 Beacon Street, 5th Floor, Boston, MA 02215. Phone: (617) 358-4376; Fax: (617) 353-6575; E-mail: asorpubs@bu.edu; URL for more information on BASOR subscriptions: http://www.asor.org/pubs/subscribe/howtoorder.html#basor. URL for information on ASOR memberships: http://www.asor.org/membership/individual.html.

The *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (ISSN 0003-097X) is published biannually by the American Schools of Oriental Research, Located at Boston University, 656 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02215. Periodicals postage paid at Boston, MA and at additional offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to American Schools of Oriental Research, Located at Boston University, Member/Subscriber Services, 656 Beacon Street, 5th Floor, Boston, MA 02215.

COMPOSITION BY EISENBRAUNS, WINONA LAKE, INDIANA

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

NUMBER 372

Table of Contents

NOVEMBER 2014

Articles

The Legacy of Frank Moore Cross

Book Reviews

An Iron Age I Canaanite/Phoenician Courtyard House at Tel Dor: A Comparative Architectural and Functional Analysis

Ayelet Gilboa, Ilan Sharon, and Jeffrey R. Zorn

In this paper, we present an analysis of an Iron Age I dwelling at the Phoenician site of Dor, on Israel's Carmel coast. We provide a definition for the architectural mental template for this type of house—a Central Courtyard Hash-Plan House. By combining an analysis of the size and layout of the house, and the distribution of artifacts and ecofacts in it, we define rooms devoted to specialized economic activities such as food production and storage and also attempt to identify gendered spaces. We conclude that the house was a self-contained agrarian unit engaged in complex economic activity. The same conceptual plan, housing similar economic activities, can be identified in other dwellings in the southern Levant, from Late Bronze Age I to Late Iron Age IIA. The gradual disappearance of this house type, vis-à-vis the emergence, on the one hand, of smaller and simpler dwellings such as the ubiquitous Four-Room House and, on the other, that of public facilities for specialized economic tasks, signifies to our minds a fundamental ideological and economic transformation, a change in the habitus *of Levantine society—namely, the gradual segregation between households and various aspects of economic life.*

Introduction

Objectives and Outline

People's *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977: 78, 89)—the imprinting of both physical space and human perception by repeated patterns of activities—can best be gleaned in archaeology through the study of the structuring of architectural space and the distribution of objects and activities within it. In such a constructed environment, a conceptual plan, intended to facilitate certain functional outcomes, is imposed upon physical space by erecting durable barriers, thus restricting sight and movement. Once in place, these barriers direct the pattern of human activities within and around them, and shape what can or cannot be reasonably done in each artificial space. In turn, the habitually repeated patterns of activity within these circumscribed spaces condition the inhabitants' outlook in diverse ways.

Activities repeated (or never engaged in) in particular spaces with (or without) certain other members of the household (or with guests) determine the inhabitants' conception of privacy, personal space, and sense of decorum. Spaces habitually utilized by members of one sex become gendered, as do activities engaged in within such spaces. Certain spaces, such as courtyards, corridors, or cul-de-sacs, allow for control and segregation. Determining who is allowed in, or excluded from, such spaces at particular times, and who is responsible for including or excluding others, establishes or enhances relations of power and dependency.

An individual's subjective window to the world—framed by barriers one's society has built—solidifies with time and repetitiveness, until it comes to be regarded as the objective structure of that world. Eventually, such objectified habits are perceived as needs or constraints when

Ayelet Gilboa: Department of Archaeology, University of Haifa, Mt. Carmel, Haifa 31905, Israel, *agilboa@research.haifa.ac.il*

Ilan Sharon: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem 91905, Israel, *sharon@mscc.huji.ac.il*

Jeffrey R. Zorn: Department of Near Eastern Studies, 409 White Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853, *jrz3@cornell.edu*

 BASOR 372 (2014): 39–80.

the time comes to plan new structures. As per Bourdieu, then, architectural shape is not simply a shadow of the function of particular buildings or of the mind-set of a particular architect at a given time. Rather, it is a quasi-independent agent in the social world, able to actively shape the very fabric of its inhabitants' society; it even has the power to regenerate itself and imprint itself onto new generations of inhabitants.

Even if one accepts some version of the statements above at the theoretical level, an archaeological research program intended to tease emic perceptions from house remains should proceed in a series of steps, from the concrete to the abstract and from the easily demonstrable to the more speculative. The first, and easiest, step is identifying the plans of individual houses—though even that has obvious limitations in real-life archaeological situations. The second step, reliably determining domestic behavior (what each space was used for in a given house and who used it) from archaeological remains, is much more difficult. The third step is to juxtapose such domestic contexts diachronically and synchronically in order to identify recurring patterns in the organization of space—both in conception (house-plan) and actualization (function)—as well as spatial and temporal changes in these patterns. Finally, at the highest level of abstraction, and with a sufficiently large data set, one's goal is to demonstrate how typological form and functional pattern affect each other and shape a society's self-perception.

In this essay, we analyze one particular courtyard house, which continued in use for two centuries or so of the early Iron Age in Phases 9–6 of Area G at Tel Dor (**Fig. 1**). One of these phases (G/9; **Fig. 2**) ended in a violent destruction, which enables us to offer a functional analysis of its systemic contexts. Since Dor's material culture throughout the early Iron Age affiliates with the Phoenician cultural milieu (Sharon and Gilboa 2013: 395 and further references in n. 13), this is the first household archaeology study that deals with a Phoenician house.

To put our study in context, we start with a short survey of the scholarship on domestic contexts in the second and first millennia B.C.E. in the southern Levant and the main theoretical stances underlying this research. Subsequently we present our own theoretical framework (already introduced above), and some practical aspects of our fieldwork and methods of analysis—those facilitating our investigation and those constraining it. We then present the house itself. We start with architecture, beginning with an overview of the local archaeological context. We then introduce a rigorous definition for the so-called Canaanite Courtyard House and suggest a new designation for this type of structure: Central Courtyard Hash-Planned House, or CC# (pronounced si-si-hash or si-si-sharp)—with a wink toward the old acronym CCH (for "Canaanite Courtyard House"). Then we attempt to identify domestic patterns in the Tel Dor CC# and compare them with other domestic contexts in order to trace recurring patterns in the organization of space. For this comparison, we mainly consider other houses excavated at Dor, other CC#s in other southern Levantine sites, and, to some extent, also the ubiquitous and partially contemporary four-room houses. Finally, we offer some conjectures relating to house types, domestic vs. public activity, social structure, and ideology.

Household Archaeology in the Southern Levant in the First and Second Millennia B.C.E.: A Review of Previous Studies

Before moving on to the Tel Dor house itself, it is useful to set the present study within the context of previous works on household archaeology of the second and first millennia B.C.E. in the Levant, paying special attention to the theoretical background of some of the major studies. This will show this study's connections to these earlier efforts, as well as its divergence from them.

For over two decades, Wilk and Rathje's *Household Archaeology* (1982) has gone largely unnoticed in the archaeology of the southern Levant. This is not to say that houses and households have not been studied. Much discussion, for instance, was focused on the ubiquitous Iron Age three- and four-room houses (henceforth 4RH; see more below and **Fig. 17**).[1] Initial interest in this house type stemmed from the peculiar preoccupation of the culture-history paradigm with the origins of *urtypes* and their attribution to ethnic *volksgeist*—in this case, the conception of the 4RH scheme as "the Israelite house" and the attribution of a nomadic tribal origin to both house and people. However, it soon extended beyond that. Conjectures regarding the nature of the households inhabiting these structures were posited. Social/economic stratification and negotiations of power were adduced by comparing these houses with other house types. Even ideological issues—cosmology, ritual purity, and attitudes toward the dead—were connected to house shape and orientation. Curiously enough, this preoccupation with the 4RHs was based almost solely on typological (architectural) considerations and, with rare exceptions (noted below), has not led research one step further—to conduct an analysis (and comparison) of the contents of these houses.

[1] Shiloh 1970; 1987; Fritz 1977; 2007; Braemer 1982; Stager 1985; Netzer 1992; Schloen 2001; Faust 1999a; 1999b; 2000a; 2000b; 2001; 2006; Bunimovitz and Faust 2003—and this is only a partial list.

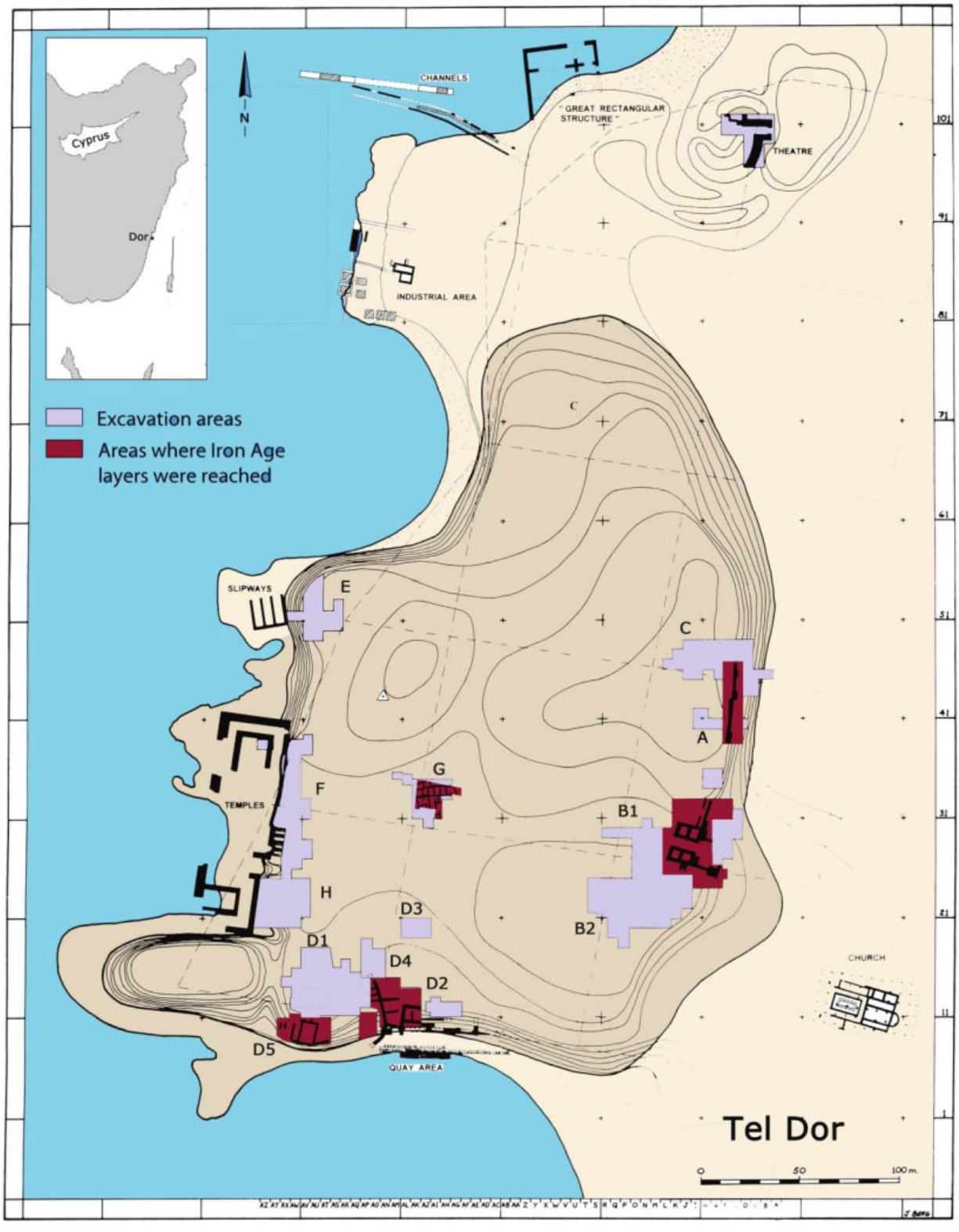

Fig. 1. General plan of Tel Dor with excavation areas, highlighting those where significant Iron Age remains were reached.

Dwellings of the preceding periods—the Middle and Late Bronze Ages—have received far less attention. These studies fall into two very general categories: typological studies and household archaeology studies. The former are concerned mainly with architectural form (e.g., Wright 1985; Ben-Dov 1992; and Foucault-Forest 1996, discussed further below [under "Previous Typologies of Levantine Courtyard Houses"]). Some of the more sophisticated studies are Olivier Callot's (1983; 1994) architectural analyses of residential structures at Ugarit. Although outside the southern Levant, these studies are of relevance, since certain aspects of Callot's method are emulated here.

Callot starts his expositions with analyses of the construction of the house and subsequently investigates the possibilities of movement within it.[2] This is followed by analyses of lighting—how sunlight and fresh air could have penetrated each one of the spaces. Only then is a division of each *insula* into residential units proposed, together with a synthesis of the plan of each individual house.

While most of the typological studies mentioned above grew out of the culture-history paradigm, the intellectual roots of household archaeology—the second broad category of studies of residential houses—can be traced to the processual/functionalist approaches that prevailed in the 1960s–1980s. Wilk and Rathje's original study (1982) is a classic example (though significantly qualified in Wilk 1993). Processualists understand households as a strategy/adaptive tool, which evolves to fit a society's ecological and economic environment. Another hallmark of this theoretical stance is the preoccupation with global "laws" of human behavior. This, on the one hand, encourages far-reaching (some would say baseless) ethnoarchaeological or ethnohistorical analogies across space and time (e.g., Wilk and Rathje 1982; Kent 1987: 2; Blanton 1994) and, on the other hand, shuns a typological approach, which assigns "types" specific to cultures or groups. It also takes a dim view of any attempts to reconstruct ideology from material remains ("palaeopsychology," according to Binford 1965: 204).

Processual attitudes are also reflected in some studies in our region. Examples include Meyers (2003), and Daviau's (1993) seminal *Houses and Their Furnishings in Bronze Age Palestine*. Daviau's study, until recently, stood out as an exception to the dearth of contextual analyses of houses and activity areas in Levantine archaeology. She developed a theoretical framework with an explicit method of functional and contextual analyses, based on a comparison of the data to largely ethnographically derived "activity sets" or "functional paradigms," in a genuine processual spirit (e.g., p. 47). The houses that she investigated include some that are of the courtyard type with which we are concerned here. However, she makes no typological distinctions within her data set.[3] Daviau's book represents not only the potential, but also the pitfalls, of such analyses as applied to conventional site-reports in our region. Her database was in most cases very problematic, as she indeed acknowledges (e.g., on pp. 62–64, 77, 468). Hardly any depositional information whatsoever is available in the site reports she used. Moreover, many assemblages of the houses she investigated were only partially published—if at all—and even in the better cases she had no means to ascertain what parts of systemic assemblages in fact made their way into the site reports.

An altogether different theoretical approach underlies David Schloen's *House of the Father* (2001). Though much wider in scope, the investigation of houses and households forms a fundamental component of this magnum opus. The chosen theoretical outlook is hermeneutics, particularly the hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur. For Schloen (and for Ricoeur), text and context (the latter including the built environment) need to be interpreted together, using essentially the same tools.

The principal archaeological case-studies that Schloen interprets, each in the context of its corpus of texts, are houses in Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age, and 4RHs in Iron Age Israel. In the case of Ugarit, Schloen builds on the work of Callot and, in the case of Israel, on the works quoted above and in particular on Stager (1985). He then reexamines the texts—especially those in the Ugarit archives that relate to household structure and land tenure—in light of the plans of the actual houses. This leads him to propose a new interpretation of the social structure as a whole.

The received wisdom, which Schloen attributes to Marxist world-views, is that ancient Near Eastern society is "sectorial" (2001: 189–94). That is, it is made up of (at least one) public sector—royalty, officials/priests, their retainers and slaves—and a private sector of independent landowners who are subject to taxation by the state but are not owned by it. Schloen rejects this model and proposes that, at least in Ugarit, society consisted of a hierarchy of isomorphic households with a paternalistic ideology. The duties of the household toward the king were modeled after those of a son to his father. These could be dis-

[2] Callot was apparently unaware of the formal technique of access analysis (Hillier and Hanson 1984; Hillier 1996; Hanson 1998), which has become standard since and which we use here.

[3] Contra Foucault-Forest (1996), who analyzes many of the very same houses in a purely typological fashion, with no reference to installations or assemblages within them.

charged in kind (taxes), in manual labor, or in specialized services—such as those of a scribe or a trader. Moreover, this same model served to define the relationship between a freeman and his slave, a vassal and his overlord, and, at least to a certain extent, between the king and his god. He then extends this model to subsume other societies in the Ancient Near East, notably those of Iron Age Israel. We shall come back to Schloen's proposal at the end of our essay, with slightly different conclusions.

The last decade has witnessed a flood of household archaeology studies covering the first and second millennia in the southern Levant.[4] Below we refer to these studies when relevant.

Theoretical Framework of the Present Study

Having discussed the theoretical stances behind previous studies of households, we owe it to the reader to be explicit about ours. Inasmuch as it is not purely inductive (for which see further below), our approach is indebted to Bourdieu's (1977) Theory of Practice—already alluded to in the first lines of this work.

Several points in the concept of *habitus* are important for archaeologists. First, *habitus* is physically experienced. It is both conditioned by and leaves its mark on the physical environment, including, of course, architecture. Specifically, the interdependence of domestic architecture and patterns of activity within it (cf. Kent 1990: 2–3) has the potential to shed light on some of the most fundamental emic world-views at the most basic, primary social level—that of the kin group, residence group, or household.[5] ". . . [T]he house . . . is the principal locus for the objectification of generative schemes; and through the intermediary of the divisions and hierarchies it sets up between things, persons, and practices, this tangible classifying system continuously inculcates and reinforces the taxonomic principles underlying all the arbitrary provisions of culture" (Bourdieu 1977: 89).

Second, the concept of *habitus* returns typology—much belittled by evolutionists, functionalists, and processualists—to center stage, and in this respect it harks back to cultural-historical attitudes. The latter define "culture" as a set of norms and reflexively identify specific ancient cultures by a typology of material attributes assumed to be the archaeological correlates of cultural norms. Unlike the use of typologies by cultural historians, however, the Theory of Practice does not see types as arbitrary variables denoting cultures. Types have to be explained by the actual practices of the people who habitually use them. Also, different *habiti* are not assumed to covariate equivalently in time and space. That is, while a type of structure recurrent in the archaeological record is the material remnant of the *habitus* of its planners, builders, and users, the spatial or temporal coordinates of such a type need not define the extent of a language, polity, cuisine, or any other of the usual correlates of a culture.

Conversely, vis-à-vis the materialist functional/adaptive paradigms, the Theory of Practice reduces environmental determinism by pointing out that humans often do not (only) adapt to pressures but make strategic choices according to perceived needs (Bourdieu 1977: 116; and cf. Hendon 1996). Further, since similar choices evince similar responses, the latter, elected repeatedly by the agents and their reference groups, become part of their social reality. Bourdieu (1977: 82) refers to this—somewhat cryptically—as "breaking the dichotomy between the objective and the subjective"; i.e., the *habitus* occupies a space in between the objective constraints and the subjective perception.[6] Habitual practices, in turn, influence the ideology of the inhabitants. Thus, this theory provides a way to think about the archaeology of the mind. We shall come back to the issue of ideology at the end of this paper.

Our approach can also perhaps be termed "contextual" in the sense advocated in Vayda (1983) and specifically for archaeology by Ian Hodder and by others (e.g., Hodder 1987). As mentioned, our interpretations hinge mainly on the juxtaposition of the characteristics of our house to other contexts at Dor itself, and subsequently at other sites. We thus attempt to place this particular house within wider and wider contexts and explain the particular in view of the wider context and the contexts by reference to the particular (a classic hermeneutic circle). More than anything, we advocate a close reading of the archaeological data. Whether or not one accepts the underlying theory or the generalizations we propose in the end, the merit of this type of study is that it attempts to scrutinize each possible facet and to look at the same object—a single house, in this case—from as many angles as possible.

[4] For example, Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006; Panitz-Cohen 2006; Aja 2009; Hardin 2010; Yasur-Landau 2010; Ben-Shlomo 2012; Shai et al. 2011; Chadwick and Maeir 2012; Uziel and Avissar Lewis 2013, as well as the various contributors to Yasur-Landau, Ebeling, and Mazow 2011; Parker and Foster 2012; all with references to the vast literature on this subject outside the Near East.

[5] These terms are not necessarily synonymous; cf. Bender 1967; Wilk and Rathje 1982; Aja 2009: 44–45; Routledge 2013; and below.

[6] By the same token, the Theory of Practice itself occupies a place between the objectivist, materialist world-view (that human culture is determined by environment, production, and technology) and a subjectivist idealist one (that culture is shaped by free will, human reason, and cultural norms).

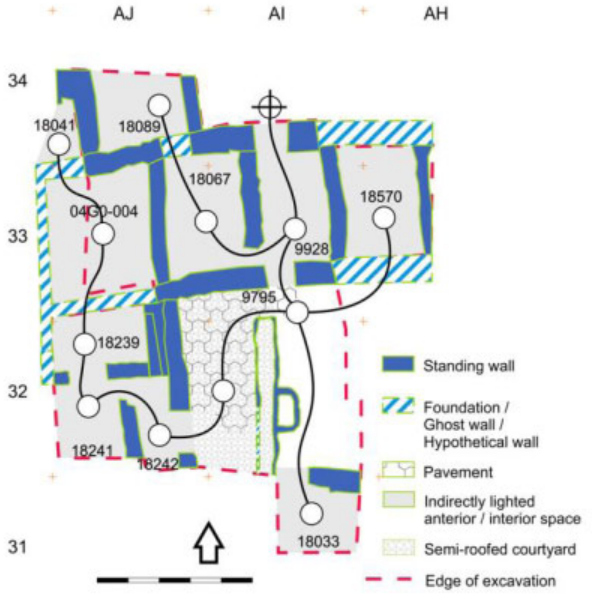

Fig. 2. Plan of the G/9 house ground floor, with analysis of movement (rooms, doorways, and unjustified access-analysis graph). Access to Rooms 04G0-004, 18041, and 18570 is assumed but plausible.

Some Practical Considerations: The Nature of the Data, Retrieval and Analytical Methods, and Some Caveats

Data limitations. The first and main drawback of our analysis is that we do not know the full extent of the Phase G/9 house. It extends on all four sides into areas that will not be excavated in the near future (**Fig. 2**). In some cases (mainly the suite of rooms extending to the northeast), we can reasonably deduce the structure's plan based on subsequent phases and on the assumption that the same continuity existed as in the units that were fully excavated. However, not even in its widest exposure, in Phase 6 (below; **Fig. 3**), was the full extent of the house revealed. The limitations this poses on the analyses are self-evident. For example, quantitative assessments (such as distributions of different classes of pottery in the different assemblages, or storage capacities) were not undertaken; nor did we use mathematical indices provided by access-analysis theory (Hillier and Hanson 1984; cf. below), which require the entire layout to compute (cf. Cutting 2003: 7, 19).

A second issue is that, at least at one spot (the West Wing; see below), we were able to demonstrate that the house had a second floor. We do not know, however, the full extent of this second story, and thus this study relates mostly to the ground floor.

Third, it is obvious that certain rooms were disturbed by post-destruction activities (mainly the leveling operations of the subsequent Phase 8 and by Persian-period pits [Phase 4]). Although these disturbances/contaminations were easily identified and excluded, they still obliterated part of the contents of some rooms.

Fourth, as we explain below, we have not identified the cause of the destruction. We thus have to allow for the possibility that the inhabitants had a chance to flee the disaster. This of course means that certain items, specifically valuables, may have been removed. Since the disaster may have been foreseeable, assemblages as found may reflect an ad hoc situation, different than the routine. Food may have been assembled (or, conversely, dispersed), etc.[7]

Finally, architectural analyses that are concerned with the way behavior is linked to the partitioning of houses must take into consideration that some partitions are invisible to archaeologists. These may include semi-fixed elements—perhaps of perishable materials—and even conceptual partitions (e.g., Rapoport 1990).

Retrieval Methods. Excavation was conducted manually, and during most seasons, only selected contexts were dry-sifted (with a 5 mm mesh). This must have resulted in some loss of the small and less visible items. For example, although occasionally found without sifting, micro-beads (below) started to be found in large quantities only when systematic sample-wet-sifting was implemented (only during the last season of excavation). The lack of sifting surely also affected the representation of microfauna, including the omnipresent fish bones of Dor, and these taxa are definitely underrepresented. However, relative data regarding larger taxa should still be considered sound (cf. Sapir-Hen et al. 2012). Botanical remains, other than phyoliths, have not been studied, and no flotation was conducted. Residue analysis has not been conducted systematically, and such information exists only for some of the small flasks.

Defining and Analyzing Systemic Contexts. Defining primary/systemic contexts in stratified sites of the historical periods, such as Dor, largely depends on detecting finds in articulation. This is usually a straightforward matter for contexts that produce ceramics—either intact pots, or restorable ones (whether restoration produces totally complete vessels or not). It is not our intention to delve here into the "Pompeii Premise." We have already noted some reasons—cultural, depositional, and post-depositional—why several of our archaeological assemblages are not complete. As mentioned, we be-

[7] For hoarding/stockpiling in destruction and other contexts, see Panitz-Cohen 2006: 179, with references.

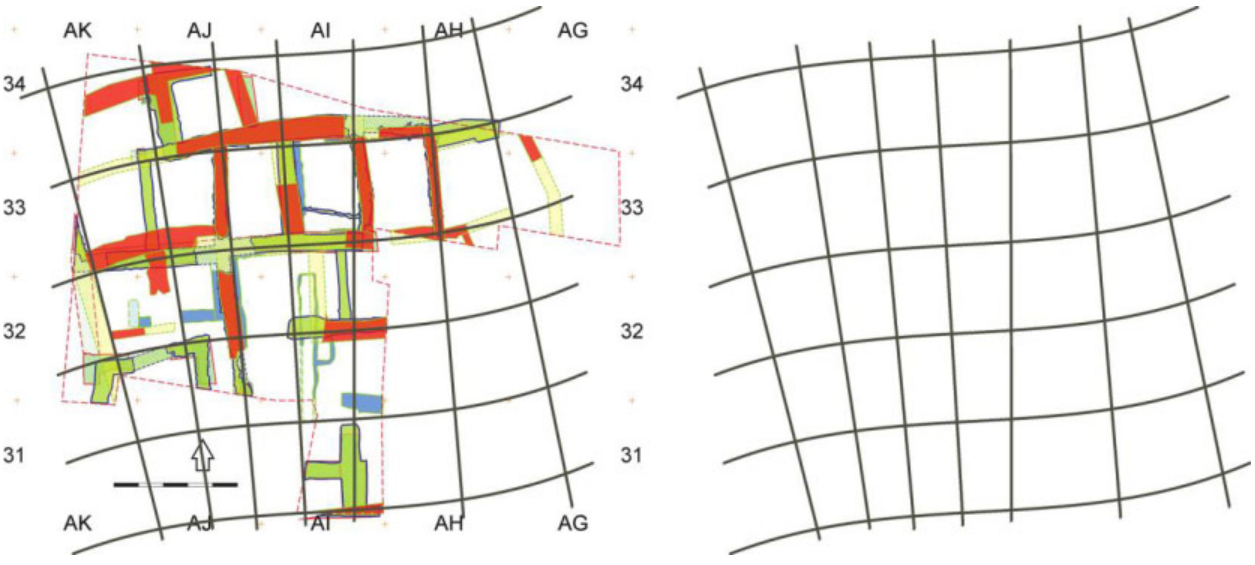

Fig. 3. Left: Superposition of Phase 9–6 walls imposed on the grid (Phase 9: cyan with green outline; Phases 8–7: green with blue outline; Phase 6: brown with green outline). Right: The conceptual grid along which most walls and spaces in the house are aligned.

lieve that we managed to minimize the effects of post-depositional disturbances, but we must also consider the opposite depositional dynamic—that of earlier redeposited items turning up in seemingly primary contexts and skewing the evidence. This is especially crucial for units like our house. Continuous occupation is evident, and occupational phases are very close in time, meaning that redeposited items will not stand out typologically. People operated mostly on earthen surfaces, which are not really floors in any constructional sense, but rather matrices of sediment. These naturally include many artifacts and ecofacts surviving either from earlier constructional phases of the house or from earlier episodes of activity within the same constructional phase (cf. Allison 1992). How can these be isolated and eliminated from the analysis?

For pottery, beyond the obvious intact and restorable items, we also considered incomplete vessels as primary if the pieces were large enough, or if several different pieces could be mended. All other items were considered potentially redeposited and ignored. The same logic was followed for other large artifacts such as ground stone vessels/tools.[8] Clearly, different inclusion/exclusion strategies will affect the outcome of the analysis. A less restrictive strategy (e.g., including all indicative pieces found in the destruction deposits) will tend to blur the functional profile for a space, inasmuch as redeposited pieces are usually randomized to a certain extent by the post-depositional processes that moved them around. Conversely, a stricter choice (e.g., considering only completely restorable pots, or even only those found in some degree of articulation) may ignore some of the systemic assemblage—possibly skewing the sample.

The predicament is worse with small items, such as beads, bone, or flint tools. How can one tell whether such an item is in primary/systemic context and not simply part of the trampled dirt, or part of the debris that fell on the floor at the time of destruction, or even afterward? Implicitly, it seems that in most other relevant archaeological investigations, all of the small finds were considered systemically sound. We, however, consider every small find suspect unless there are good reasons to infer otherwise. Obvious cases are clusters of such artifacts, which can safely be considered primary. In other cases, a systemic association may be inferred not by depositional considerations but by more circumstantial inferences—for example, an unusual concurrence of finds that seems to fit the objects that are in obvious primary deposition. A few such cases are described below.

The same problem concerns bones. We ended a previous study (Raban-Gerstal et. al. 2008: 52) with the rhetorical question: What are all these bones doing here? It is an empirical fact that nearly every bucket of dirt excavated on a tell site contains many animal bones. Does this mean that people had bones (and decomposing flesh) strewn about in any space in which they lived? Obviously, most of the bones were originally dumped, and re-entered the archaeological context through processes

[8] Similar methods are described by Hardin for Tell Halif (2010: 62–72, 98–123), and Liebowitz at Tell Yinʿam (2003: 85, 87, 105); for slightly different strategies, cf. Arie 2006: 192 for Megiddo, and Panitz-Cohen 2006 for Tel Batash.

of redeposition. Only rarely can they be considered part of the systemic assemblage of a room or other kind of defined space (Sapir-Hen et al. 2012). Therefore, for bones, we employ here the same strategy delineated above for artifacts. Since no bones were found in articulation, we consider only unusual concentrations of bones to be in systemic contexts.

The Area G Courtyard House

The building presented here (**Figs. 2, 16**) was situated in about the middle of a densely built and fortified town (**Fig. 1**).[9] Four main constructional phases were discerned (G/9–G/6; **Fig. 3**; some with subphases) in an accumulation of over 3 m of cultural debris. They preserve a near-full record of the early Iron Age sequence at Dor. This spans Ir1a late–Ir2a, in Dor terminology (Gilboa and Sharon 2003), or Iron Age IB to Late Iron Age IIA in the terminology used, e.g., in Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004; 2006; Finkelstein 2011; and Mazar 2011. It was thus inhabited from either the late 12th or 11th century B.C.E. to somewhere between the late 10th to the first half of the 9th century, depending on the framework employed for the absolute chronology of the Levantine Iron Age.

Phase 9

The analysis presented here concentrates on Phase 9, of the Ir1a late horizon, which should date (according to any chronological scheme) to some stage in the 11th century B.C.E. The reason for our choice is twofold. Most importantly, this is the only phase that ended in total destruction, and therefore the lion's share of its finds was found in primary deposition (most of them, however, were smashed and strewn about the rooms and so are not strictly in situ). Second, though Phase 9 reveals limited architectural continuity with the underlying Phase 10, the house was completely rebuilt from the ground up in Phase 9 and often exemplified a new layout.[10] Therefore, architecturally speaking, Phase 9 represents the original intended layout of the house.

The Destruction

The destruction debris was nearly 1 m deep at places, comprised of burned mud-brick debris interspersed with bits of carbonized roofing timbers, fallen stones, fallen fire-hardened mud-bricks, and ceiling plaster.[11] The fire, however, did not consume the entire building. It was mostly evident in the south (Rooms 18033 and 9795). Toward the north and west (Rooms 04G0-004 to 18570), traces of fire gradually dwindled. Some rooms in the north (e.g., 18570) were not burned at all (but still had finds in primary deposition). This indicates that (unidentified) combustible materials were concentrated in the southwest. Smashed pots and other artifacts were found in most of the building's rooms. In several cases, we have clear evidence that pots were broken and their fragments scattered, not only before the architecture collapsed but also before the fire started.[12] This seems to best fit a scenario in which the house was ransacked and then burned, though alternative explanations (e.g., an earthquake and a subsequent fire) cannot be ruled out absolutely.[13] Since we cannot prove an unexpected, sudden destruction, such as an earthquake, the catastrophe may have been anticipated (see above for the impacts of this analysis).

After the Destruction

Despite the dramatic destruction at the end of Phase 9, the house was rebuilt in Phase 8 (Ir1a|b; **Fig. 3**) with only minor alterations. Some of the Phase 9 walls were apparently still standing, sticking out of the debris; but others were completely buried in it. Nevertheless, the new house emulated the previous structure. Walls that were still visible above the collapsed debris were rebuilt, and

[9] Excavations at Dor were directed by Ephraim Stern of the Hebrew University from 1980 until 2000. Area G was excavated between 1986 and 1996 by a group directed by Andrew Stewart of the University of California at Berkeley. Jeffrey R. Zorn of Cornell University took over the direction of the area from 1997 to 1999; and in 2000, excavations in Area G were directed by Elizabeth Bloch-Smith of St. Joseph's University. Between 2002 and 2004, limited excavations in this area were conducted by the New Tel Dor Expedition, led by Ilan Sharon and Ayelet Gilboa, supervised in the field by Elizabeth Bloch-Smith and Avshalom Karasik. These seasons concentrated mainly on sediment analyses, conducted by a group from the Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, led by Steve Weiner.

[10] The Phase 10 structure was excavated to a much more limited extent than the overlying structures. It, too, possessed a courtyard (right under the Phase 9 courtyard; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: lower figure on p. 153), and some of the Phase 9 walls were built right over walls of Phase 10, but other walls of Phase 9 followed new lines.

[11] Heat-altered clay and calcination of building stones indicate a fire temperature above 500 °C and in specific places as high as 1000 °C (Berna et al. 2007).

[12] In many of the restored vessels, fragments that were heavily burned mended with others that underwent absolutely no fire.

[13] Stern (e.g., 1990; 1991) associates this destruction, and contemporary ones in other excavation areas, with a violent conquest by Phoenicians taking over the "Sea People town." We, in contrast, do not see any abrupt cultural change coincident with this destruction. We term the entire early Iron Age sequence "Phoenician." Our arguments have been presented in detail elsewhere (Gilboa 2005; 2006–2007; Gilboa and Sharon 2008: Sharon and Gilboa 2013). Although considerable exposures of this destruction event were located in all areas where comparable levels were reached at Dor, no bodies, or any other traces of warfare, were found.

some that were completely buried were built anew along the same lines. Even non-constructional details such as the exact position of the pavement in the half-paved courtyard (see below) were retained, although the Phase 9 pavement was buried under deep structural collapse and so was invisible to the builders. This means, in our view, that the people who lived in the Phase 8 house—if not the very ones who escaped the destruction—shared the same *habitus* to a high degree.

The same house continued in use with few changes (other than the occasional raising of floor levels and the subdivision of spaces with partition walls) through Phase 7d–c (Ir1b in Dor terminology), 7b–a (Ir1/2), 6b (Ir1/2), and 6a (Ir2a) (**Fig. 3**). Although part of the later changes attest to certain transformations in the function of some spaces, the evident overall continuity allows us occasionally to use data from phases later than G/9 to complement the information regarding this phase.

Architectural Analysis of the Phase G/9 House and a Typological Definition of the CC# Plan

Previous Typologies of Levantine Courtyard Houses

The more-or-less consensual designation "Canaanite Courtyard House" seems nowhere to be strictly defined. Inasmuch as its spatio-temporal distribution is not entirely congruent with that of Canaanite culture (see below, "Architectural Typology and Corollaries") and that the possession of a courtyard does not uniquely define it, it is worthwhile to review previous attempts to define this type of structure before moving on to the description of the Dor house.

One survey on the subject simply asserts: "All the houses [of the Middle and Late Bronze Age] are of the courtyard type, containing a relatively large courtyard with adjoining rooms, although individual buildings differ" (Ben-Dov 1992: 100). The first part of the definition is too vague: Most houses in the Near East and around the Mediterranean, from the Neolithic to the present day, contain "courtyard[s] with adjoining rooms." The sequel is both tautological and cryptic at the same time. Granted that plans differ, how they differ is nowhere explained. This definition is hardly helpful.

Holladay defines "Syro-Palestinian Houses" of the second millennium as "characterized by rooms on one side of a large hall . . . or rooms on two opposing sides of such a hall. . . . A third alternative has rooms along one long side [of the hall] and an adjacent short side. . . . A fourth variety has rooms on three or even four sides" (1997: 105). While this definition is more detailed than the former, it is hardly more discriminating. Any arrangement of rooms around a central space seems to fit. Note that Holladay does not think such houses contained courtyards at all. He calls the central space a "roofed hall." Indeed, for him "Courtyard House" is a misnomer. This is a characterization we cannot accept (see below, "Lighting").

In a book entirely devoted to Bronze Age houses, Foucault-Forest starts out with a seemingly more critical definition: "Du point de vue de la structure, on assiste au triomphe du schema tripartite . . . en particulaire, il n'y a jamais d'habitations bipartites"; but then she adds to this base plan, "les plans à aile transverse," "les plans à aile lateral supplémentaire," and "les plans à extension combinée"—ending up, again, with almost all possible arrangements of rooms around a courtyard (1996: 106–7). Note that the one arrangement that Foucault-Forest deems nonexistent—a bipartite division of rooms along one side of a courtyard/hall—is exactly Holladay's base plan.

Perhaps the best extant definition is provided by G. R. H. Wright (1985: 289): "As a norm, the developed town house in Palestine has regular compact outlines, and this squarish figure is divided into several (say 2–5) ranges by long through walls. Then . . . these ranges are subdivided into smaller and relatively numerous compartments. In this way individual rooms tend to be square in form. . . . generally a range or residuum is left relatively undivided and this may or may not be a court." Although incorporating additional attributes (shape of the building, shape of rooms), this definition, too, is still somewhat ambiguous. In particular, it is not clear whether the "long walls" that divide the "square outline" into "2–5 ranges" are parallel or orthogonal. On the premise that they can hardly be all parallel, this characterization is analogous to part of the definition we offer below—the hash-mark (#) division of the structure.

All of the definitions above suffer from several deficiencies common to a naive typological approach: they are monothetic, i.e., they depend on just one formal attribute, in this case the arrangement of rooms around the courtyard. They are also quite arbitrary. It is not clear whether or how the formal variability in the classification criterion is significant. Finally, they try too hard to be all-inclusive (i.e., to incorporate all the structures within the designated domain), and end up being uninformative. We now offer a set of criteria that allows us to propose a more nuanced and comprehensive definition for the typology of this house. The next section is arranged as follows: We begin by positing the "mental graph paper" upon which the plan is based. We then analyze the constraints—access between the spaces and how these spaces could have been lighted and ventilated.

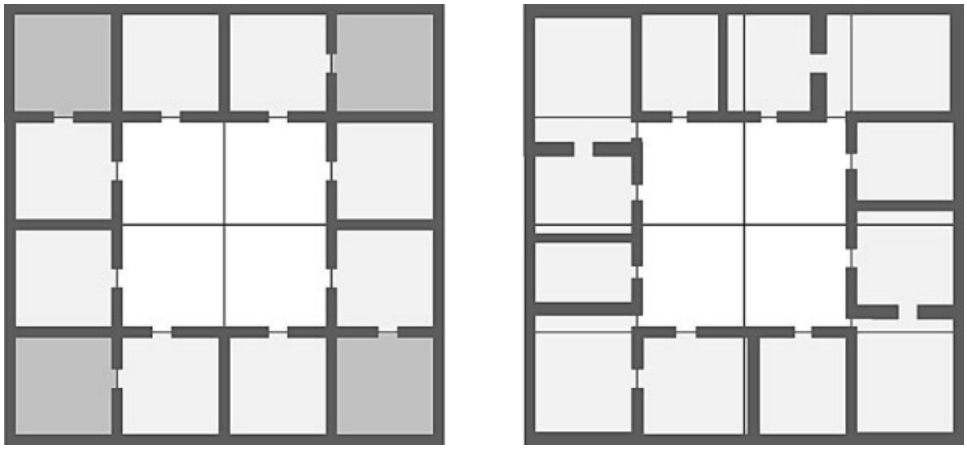

Fig. 4. Diagram of a CC#, contrasting a plan strictly adhering to grid lines (left) vs. one where the walls are slightly off-grid (right).

Conceptual Grid

Unlike formal—measured—architectural blueprints, the *habitus* produces conceptual schemas that are fluid enough to fit different constraints offered by the terrain, the available raw materials, and technologies, as well as specific functional objectives in each specific case to which the schema is applied. We should not expect—nor do we see—adherence to strict orthogonality, much less a consistent metrology, in domestic houses that were constructed by traditional builders. We submit that we can, however, reconstruct the conceptual schema by following the recurrent patterns of its manifestation.

If we superimpose Phases 9–6 of the Area G house onto the same plan (**Fig. 3**), it becomes readily apparent that not only do the walls of the different phases tend to fall on the same lines, but that these lines have a regular pattern—and define a slightly warped grid, an accordion-like distortion of an orthogonal template. The east–west lines of this grid are somewhat S-shaped but are parallel, while the north–south ones are straight and perpendicular to the latter and hence are not parallel to each other. This peculiar shape is probably dictated by a mix of the local topography at the time the house was built—a gentle slope roughly from north-northeast to south-southwest and the layout of the previous Phase 10 structure. It should be stressed, however, that while the general orientation of the walls may be influenced by local topography, their positions are in no way determined by it. Elevation differences between adjacent spaces are slight (see below), and there are no natural terrace lines that necessitate the erection of walls along them.

These lines make for a grid of trapezoidal cells ca. 3.50–3.80 m long (north–south) and ca. 2.20–3.20 m wide (east–west). Some 24 of these cells were partly or completely excavated (not all in Phase 9). Rooms are usually one cell in size (and rarely two), averaging 10 m^2, and the central courtyard—in phases where it was not subdivided—took up six of these cells (2 × 3), or about 60 m^2. Assuming the house was quadrilateral (for corollaries, see below), it would have been at least four, possibly five, cells (north–south) by at least seven cells (east–west) in size, or roughly 275–350 m^2.

The basic mental template, then, is a roughly rectangular field, subdivided by a hash-like configuration (#) into a large central space with subsidiary spaces around it. Inasmuch as this hash-plan is what Wright (1985: 289) meant by "squarish figure . . . divided into . . . ranges by long through walls," the house in Area G certainly fits the type, though the hash plan forms only part of the polythetic definition we continue to develop below.

Note that although a hash plan is arguably quite simple and basic, it is not necessarily efficient. In an agglomerative town-plan, where each house is attached to its neighbors, corner rooms would present lighting and access problems in grid-oriented structures. **Fig. 4** shows two similar plans, but in the one that diverges from a strict grid, the corner rooms are better lighted and better integrated than those in the plan following a strict grid.

Access, Lighting, and Ventilation

The plan of the Phase 9 house in **Fig. 2** shows the hypothesized traffic flow in it, and **Fig. 5** shows a justified access diagram.[14] Some explanations are in order:

[14] For an introduction to the technique of access analysis, and definitions of the terms, cf. Hillier and Hanson 1984; Hillier 1996; Hanson 1998.

Fig. 2 differentiates between, on the one hand, walls on which the superstructure exists in Phase 9, and on the other, walls that were preserved only at foundation level, or whose existence is inferred by their robber trenches, or walls whose Phase 9 instance is obscured by later (Phases 8–6) walls above them. Though the latter three categories are hypothetical to a certain extent, we regard the existence of these walls as quite likely. It is not the case, as it all too often is, of purely hypothetical walls dashed-in merely on the basis of architectural feasibility. Naturally, we do not know whether—or where—such walls had doorways.

Similarly, we differentiate between observed and surmised doorways. In many surmised cases, though, there actually was a doorway in one or more of the higher phases. Another factor taken into consideration before marking a possible doorway was that the relative elevation of the floors in two adjacent rooms (see below) was a reasonable one-step difference. Finally, for this diagram, it is assumed that Room 18570 was entered from the ground floor; see below for a discussion of the possibility that it was entered via its ceiling.

Justified access-analysis graphs (**Fig. 5**) require the presence of a root-node outside. We assume that the northern doorway of Room 9928 is the main door of the house, but of course we cannot prove it. The main door could have been located in the unexcavated east or south sectors of the building, and it is possible that the unexcavated space north of Room 9928 is not an alley but another room or courtyard. We shall show below that it is not unusual for two, or even more, CC#s to be joined through a doorway in an ancillary room, or for one house to borrow a suite of rooms from another. Still, the peculiar configuration of Room 9928, with three doorways and little else (cf. below), make it likely that it is an antechamber.

We also assume (**Figs. 2, 5, 16**) that the two narrow spaces 18241 and 18242 are a stairwell (or a staircase and a landing) for a second story that covered (at least) Rooms 18239 and 04G0-004 on the west. This assumption is based on the fact that we found unmistakable evidence for the collapse of the second story in Rooms 18239 and 18242 and—less certainly—in 18241 and 04G0-004. Such an assumption also accounts for the strange division of this space, and especially for the extremely narrow corridor 18242. We also note that this particular space continues to be partitioned into two corridors in phases subsequent to 9—though the dividing wall sometimes runs east–west rather than north–south. Reconstructing these spaces as a stairwell is reflected in the justified access diagram (**Fig. 5**), although it is impossible to know, of course, whether the divisions in the upper floor were the same as in the lower one, much less whether the doorways were in the same places.[15] It is certainly possible that the second story covered additional wings of the house, but we have no evidence for (or against) this.

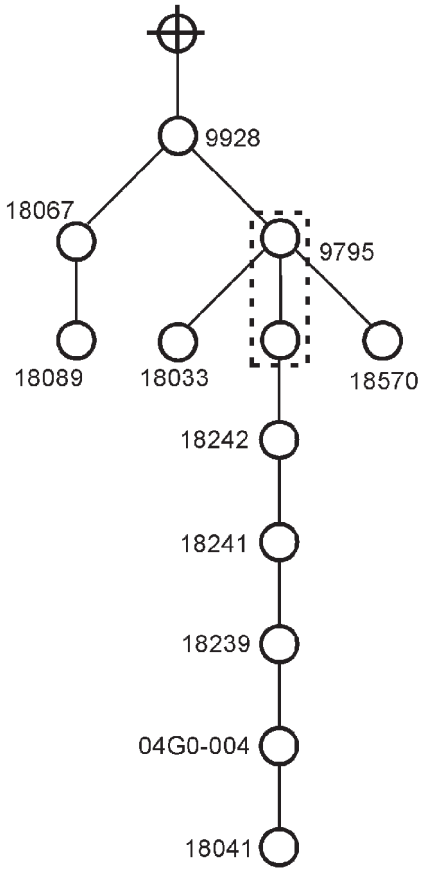

Fig. 5. Justified access-analysis graph for the G/9 house.

The most salient features of the justified graph are the long tentacles—the division into suites of rooms, each of which (except the last) is a necessary passage to the ones following it. Note that the justified graph is actually rather minimal in its reconstruction of these suites. For all we know, Rooms 18033 and 18570 were merely the first nodes for similar suites.

This arrangement—where each suite can be closed off with no impact on activities in the rest of the house, but little privacy is afforded within the suite—is well suited either for a division of the house into several nuclear families (or other subhousehold groupings) or for a functional division where suites are dedicated to specialized

[15] Below we assume at least a somewhat similar arrangement of rooms over the West Wing of the building. However, the artist's reconstruction in **Fig. 16** shows an alternative interpretation of an open floor plan for the second floor. Both interpretations, and others, are possible.

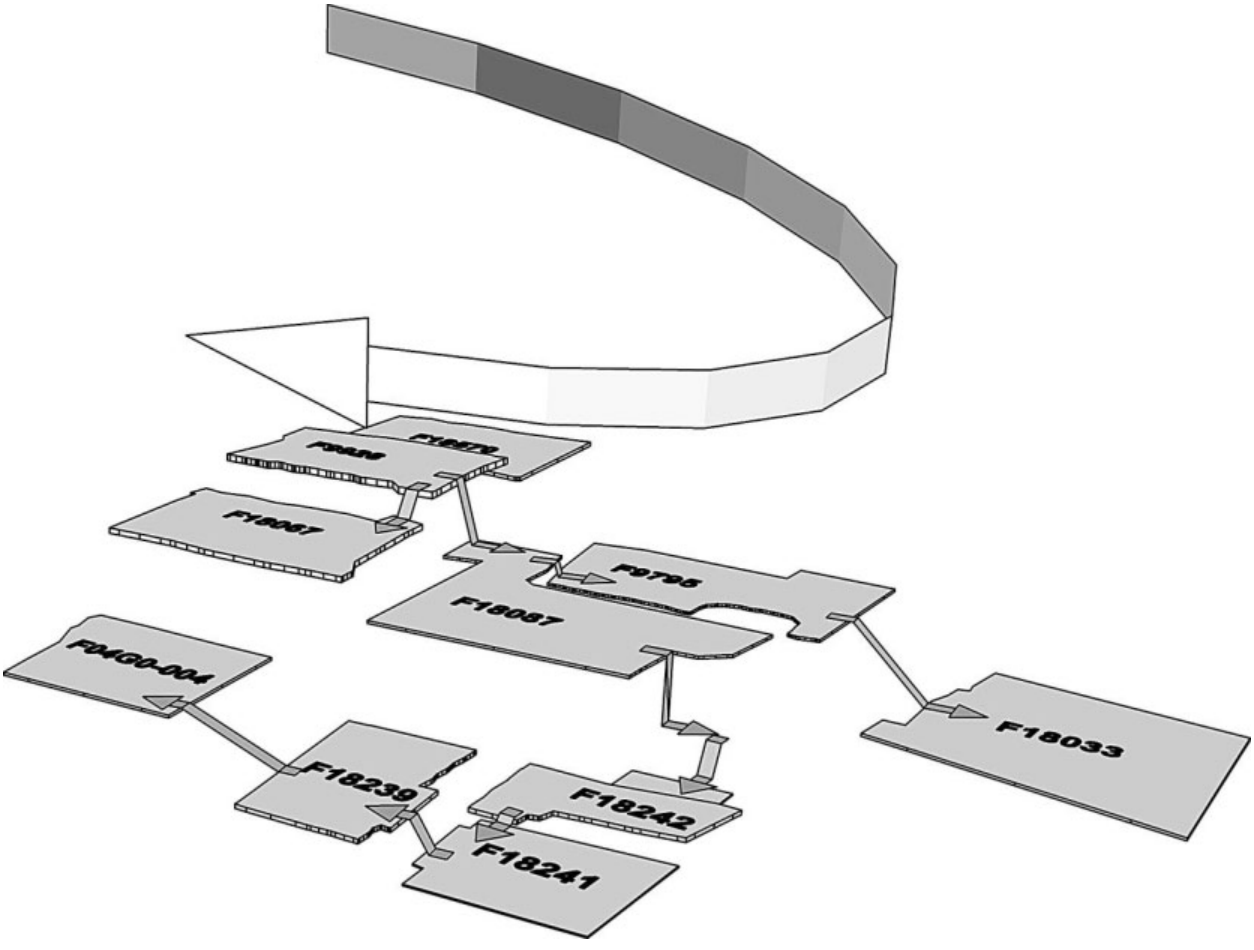

Fig. 6. 3D access model of the ground floor of the house (without walls) showing elevation difference between the floors, along with the main direction of movement (not including Rooms 18089 and 18041).

activities. Note also that the clear loci of control—common nodes through which every person moving through the house must pass—are the forks at the start of the tentacles: Anteroom 9928, Courtyard 9795, and Stairwell 18242. The fact that all of these are adjacent—in fact, one control node leads directly to the next—must also be significant.

The natural slope (north-northeast to south-southwest) and the clockwise direction of the long tentacle 9928–9795–18242–18241–18239–04G0-004–(18041?) means that this movement actually describes a corkscrew path (**Fig. 6**), which ends quite close to where it began, but at about 1 m lower in elevation. This partly explains why Rooms 18067 and 04G0–004 are not connected. The maximal elevation difference within the house at Phase 9 (between Anteroom 9928 and Stairwell 18242) is about 1.5 m.

As noted above, Holladay (1997: 105) believes that the main space of the "Canaanite house" was a roofed-over hall—i.e., that "Courtyard House" is a misappellation. We assume, on the contrary, that 9795, the main node of the house, is an open courtyard, or semi-roofed (for which see below). It is by far the largest space in the house, and would have been quite difficult to cover with a permanent, load-bearing roof. Furthermore, if this space were completely roofed, the rest of the house would be quite dark and airless, particularly if the house shared party-walls with its neighbors and lighting the rooms from the outside—from windows facing a street or a backyard—was not an option.[16]

Fig. 7 shows a light-and-ventilation analysis, following Callot (e.g., 1983, fig. 27). Again, there are some caveats. For the purpose of this analysis, we assume an internal window (between the courtyard and adjacent rooms) wherever one might improve the lighting of a given space.

[16] For similar debates regarding houses with a large central space in Mesopotamia, cf. the various papers in Veenhof 1996, especially by Kohlmeyer (1996), Lebeau (1996), and Margueron (1996).

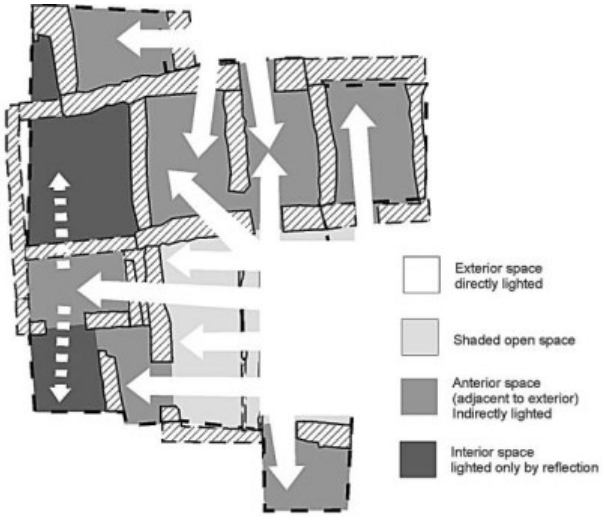

Fig. 7. Lighting analysis of the ground floor, assuming that 9795 is a courtyard.

For example, Room 18239 may get its illumination from Courtyard 9795, although we have no excavated evidence for an actual window in the wall between the two spaces. On the other hand, we make no assumptions as to open spaces outside the excavated area. For example, Rooms 04G0-004, 18041, and 18241, the most poorly illuminated/ventilated spaces in the current scheme, may have had windows to an alley west of them, if such existed. It is easy to see that the proposed lighting scheme affords maximal lighting at minimal sacrifice of roofed space.

Collapsed sections of roof were found on Pavement 18087 in the western half of the courtyard. Thus we reconstruct Courtyard 9795 as semi-open—with Installation 9982 and the pavement west of it as an open but roofed space. We shall show below that there are indications that several, if not most, similar houses had semi-roofed courtyards. Again, from the perspective of lighting, this arrangement is quite efficient. Given a Mediterranean climate with plenty of sunlight and few days a year when heating is a major consideration, the courtyard gains roofed space—shaded in summer and at least partly protected from rain in winter—with a minimal sacrifice of lighting. A verandah across the courtyard on the second floor, presumably accessed from Stairwell 18242, could also afford access to various rooms on the second floor, although in the present analysis we have ignored that possibility.

Architectural Typology and Corollaries

We are now finally in a position to attempt to define a house type, and then search for parallels. We note the following list of attributes for our type of house:

- A squarish building with a squarish central courtyard. The conceptual design of the house is that of a hash mark (#) or the musical sharp symbol—two intersecting tripartite divisions, a lateral one and a transversal one. This makes for a central space—the courtyard—surrounded by rooms on all sides.
- The courtyard serves as the integrative focus of the house and its main supply of light and ventilation. It is often half paved, and often divided by a wooden colonnade (i.e., half roofed-over), a situation also portrayed in clay models of houses (e.g., McGeough 2007: 280).
- Access to this central courtyard is indirect. It is gained via an antechamber that separates the public space (the street or plaza outside the house) from the private space inside the house.
- Rooms around the courtyard are very often arranged in segregated sets, or suites, of unilinearly connected spaces, forming long tentacles in the access diagrams. Each suite is self-contained from the rest of the house, but within the suite there is little privacy; each room (except the innermost) forms a necessary passage between other rooms.
- Suites of rooms are open to the courtyard or sometimes to the antechamber.

Note that, contrary to most of the definitions discussed above, this one is polythetic (Clarke 1968: 246). That is, when examining a structure, we consider a list of attributes, but the criterion for inclusion is not that every structure examined possess all the attributes of the type, but merely that each structure has most of the attributes, and each attribute appears in most of the members of the type. **Figs. 8** and **9** present the Levantine houses that fit the CC# house type, of the Bronze and Iron Ages, respectively.[17] The type spans the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I, with some examples as late as Late Iron Age IIA. In view of the usual assumption of cultural continuity between the Middle and Late Bronze Age, it is noteworthy that our survey of the relevant literature did not discover any clear Middle Bronze Age examples.[18] It is not clear

[17] These figures present the clearest examples we could find in a survey of the available literature. In most cases, we follow the excavators in the reconstruction of house plans, though for some of the older or less well-published examples we cannot even tell to what extent these reconstructions are valid. In some cases, however, we disagree with the excavators in how we reconstruct missing parts of the structure, and consequently about its typology.

[18] A possible MB II example has recently been published from Tel Nagila Stratum IX, where the authors describe "a single complex, composed of a central courtyard . . . with smaller rooms surrounding it" (Uziel and Avissar Lewis 2013: 275, fig. 4). Judging by the better-preserved Strata VIII and VII (figs. 5, 6 there)—which have considerable architectural continuity with this structure—the central

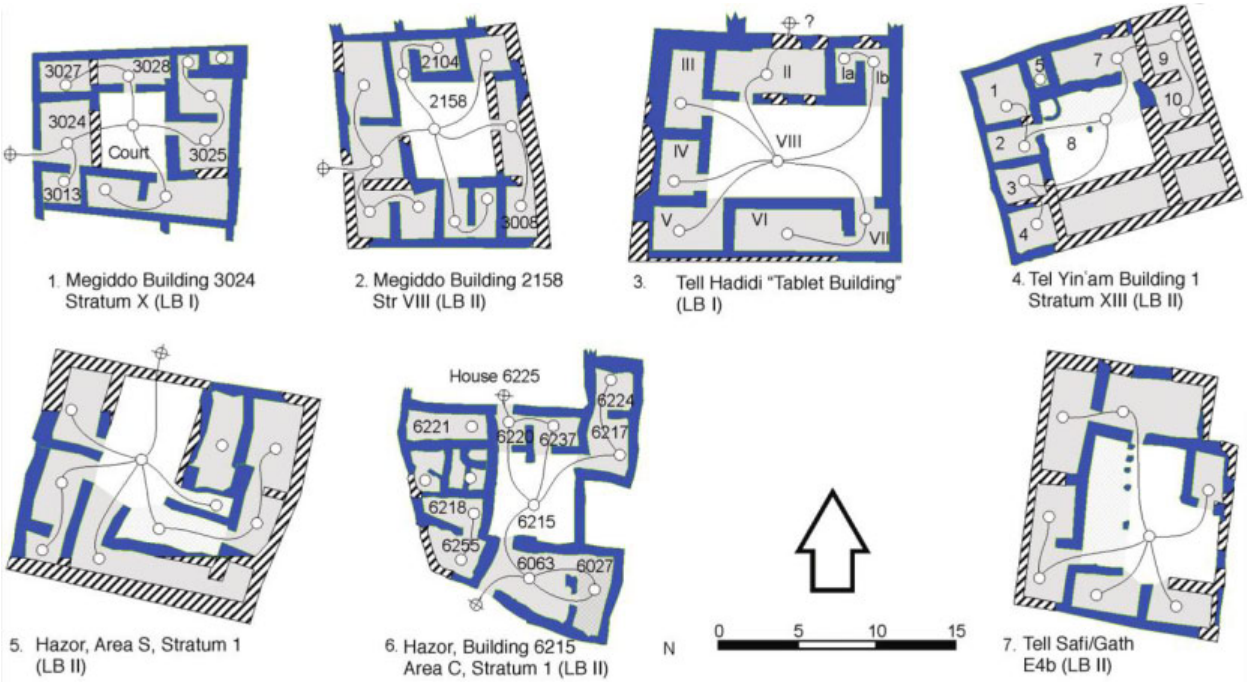

Fig. 8. Late Bronze Age CC#s:
1. Megiddo, Building 3024, Area BB, Stratum IX, Late Bronze I (based on Loud 1948: figs. 242, 401). Overall area = 141 m^2.
2. Megiddo, Building 2158, Area BB, Stratum VIII, Late Bronze II (based on Loud 1948: figs. 246, 402). Overall area ≈ 170 m^2.
3. Tell Hadidi, the "Tablet Building," Late Bronze I (based on Dornemann 1981: fig. 2). Overall area = 242 m^2.
4. Tel Yinʿam, Building 1, Stratum XIII, Late Bronze II (based on Liebowitz 2003: plans 3.1, 3.3). Overall area ≈ 190 m^2.
5. Hazor, Area S, Stratum 1, Late Bronze II (courtesy of S. Zuckerman). Overall area ≈ 240 m^2.
6. Hazor, Building 6215 in Area C, Stratum 1, Late Bronze II (based on Yadin et al. 1960: pl. 208). Overall area = 176 m^2.
7. Tell es-Safi/Gath, Area E, Stratum E4b (earlier subphase), Late Bronze II (based on Maier 2012: pl. 10.4). Overall area ≈ 200 m^2.

Fig. 9. (opposite page) Iron Age corollaries:
1. Gezer, Field VI, Northeast house in local Stratum 5B, Iron I (based on Dever et al. 1986: fig. 16). Overall area ≈ 240 m^2.
2. Gezer, Field VI, Northwest house in local Stratum 5C, Iron I (based on Dever et al. 1986: fig. 18). Overall area ≈ 160 m^2.
3. Tell Beit Mirsim, house in SE 12B-3, Stratum B1–2 (based on Albright 1943: pl. 11). Overall area ≈ 220 m^2.
4. Megiddo, Building 00/K/10, Area K, Level K-4 = Stratum VIA, Iron IB (based on Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2000: fig. 7.7). Overall area ≈ 200 m^2.
5. Tell Qasile, Building O in Stratum X, Iron IB (based on Mazar 1980: fig. 16). Overall area = 196 m^2.
6. Tel Masos, Building 480, Stratum II, Early Iron IIA (based on Fritz and Kempinski 1983: plan 18). Overall area = 214 m^2.
7. Tel Masos, Building 314, Stratum II, Early Iron IIA (based on Fritz and Kempinski 1983: plan 14). Overall area ≈ 160 m^2.
8. Tel Masos, Building 410, Stratum II, Early Iron IIA (based on Fritz and Kempinski, 1983: plan 18). Overall area ≈ 240 m^2.
9. Hazor, Building 8158, Stratum X, Late Iron IIA (based on Ben-Ami 2012: plan 2.3). Overall area ≈ 240 m^2.
10. Megiddo, Buildings 2081 (overall area = 171 m^2); 2100 (overall area = 82 m^2); 2111 (overall area ≈ 80 m^2); 2112 (overall area ≈ 90 m^2) in Area AA, Stratum VA, Late Iron IIA (based on Loud 1948: figs. 100, 388).
11. Shechem, House B in Field VII, Stratum IX, Late Iron IIA (?) (based on Campbell 2002: fig. 237). Overall area = 83 m^2.

whether this is due to the much smaller corpus of complete structures excavated from the Middle Bronze Age, or whether this reflects a genuine phenomenon. The latest examples—in addition to the Dor Area G house itself, whose use continues into the Iron Age II—may be found in Hazor X (**Fig. 9:9**), Megiddo VA–IVB **(Fig. 9:10)**, and Shechem IX (**Fig. 9:11**).

Geographically, the type seems almost completely confined to the southern Levant. Regarding the northern Levant, Tell Hadidi on the Euphrates (Dornemann 1981: fig. 2) is the only site where we clearly identified this house type. Other possibilities are Kamid el-Loz in the Beqaʿa Valley in Lebanon (Heinz 2010: fig. 85) and Tell Afis in northwestern Syria (Chiti 2010: fig. 4). Ven-

courtyard rather seems to be an open space between buildings. In the latter strata, another structure is added in that open space, which narrows down to an alley. In Strata VIII and VII it is also clear that the area comprises not one, but several partial houses, sharing party-walls but with no direct access to each other except via the alley (Uziel and Avissar Lewis 2013: 279–81).

Fig. 9. The Iron Age corollaries.

turi's (2008) typology of private houses in Syria does not include anything similar to our CC#, but the typical Ugarit house might be its functional northern Levantine equivalent.[19] It differs from the CC# in that it has a double focus: a rather small and unroofed courtyard—more of a lighting shaft than a functional space—and a large "living room" connected to it via a wide opening (or two smaller ones). Other rooms are accessible through either—and often both—of these. Access to the house is gained by an antechamber, with a staircase to the upper floor just off the main doorway (e.g., Callot 1983: fig. 3; 1994: figs. 6, 70, 80, 126). This difference might be due to a wetter, cooler climate, or to scarcity of space. The Ugaritic plan allows for nearly the same amount of light and ventilation while gaining roofed space (and possibly losing some unroofed activity area); as well as enabling the construction of upper stories over a larger part of the ground floor.

Several of the buildings in **Figs. 8** and **9** were not seen by their excavators as dwellings at all—or were classified as other types of houses. House 480 in Tel Masos (**Fig. 9:6**), for instance, was identified as an Egyptian governor's "residency." This attribution can no longer be maintained.[20] The house at Tel Yinʿam (**Fig. 8:4**) was labeled as the "residence of the ruler," though the excavator also suggested similarities to houses at el-Amarna and Egyptian residencies in Canaan (Liebowitz 2003: 46, 55, 57). No other houses in this site were completely excavated, but there seems no compelling reason to assume that it is anything more than a dwelling. Building 8158 in Hazor (**Fig. 9:9**) was characterized as a 4RH (Ben-Ami 2012: 53), although it is nothing of the kind. Neither the "Northeast" nor the "Northwest" houses at Gezer (**Fig. 9:1, 2**) were completely excavated. Even based on the partial plan, however, their identification as 4RHs (Dever 1986: 91) is unlikely. Reconstructing them as CC#s is more plausible but, of course, cannot be proven. The same is true for the house in Shechem (**Fig. 9:11**).

Secondary attributes evident in the Dor Area G/9 house find parallels in several of the above structures. For example, note how the presence of columns suggests the possibility of a half-roofed courtyard in the houses in **Figs. 8:4, 7; 9:2, 4, 6, 10**. Such columns—where there is evidence for them—are usually wooden, in marked contrast to the ubiquitous stone columns in the 4RH (cf. Reich 1992: 9–12). Additional attributes shared by some of the structures include semi-paved courtyards (**Figs. 8:4, 7; 9:4, 6, 10**), and the trough-shaped installation with a bin (see below, in the courtyard) in Building 2111 in Megiddo (**Fig. 9:10**). Storage rooms that have no floor-level access, and that were probably entered by a ladder from the roof or a high window-like aperture, are evident in **Figs. 8:1, 8:4, 8:6,** and **9:6** (see below for the possibility that one of the rooms in the Dor house was likewise accessed in this fashion).[21] Another property, not found in our building but evident in **Figs. 8:6** and **9:10**, is the modularity of the structure. Individual rooms may be "sublet" to neighboring structures, units may be subdivided, or two adjacent units coalesced into one residence, as circumstances of the household change (cf. Schloen 2001: 329 for a discussion of similar phenomena in Ugarit).

Functional Analysis of Rooms in the Area G House

The description below begins with the courtyard and then proceeds by room, starting from the southern room (18033) and moving clockwise. The ceramic contents of each room are summarized in **Table 1**, and the main pottery types in the house are illustrated in **Fig. 10**.

The Courtyard (Room 9795) and Installation 9982

The house is dominated by its large central-space courtyard (Room 9795). As we have noted already, the half-paved—and in all probability half-roofed—courtyard must have had a dominant role in the function of the building, since stone pavements are a very unusual feature at Iron Age Dor.[22] That the pavement was important for the function of the house is also clear because, despite this general rarity, stone floors were reestablished in the same location in Phases 8 and 7. However, at present we are unable to explain its function in this—apparently roofed—part of the courtyard. As shown above, such half-paved/half-roofed courtyards are a recurring feature in CC#s.

[19] Though both Callot and Marguerite Yon—the director of the renewed excavations at the site—repeatedly underscore the extensive architectural variability between houses, in size, layout, and more (e.g., Yon 1992: 29; Callot and Yon 1995: 162; Gachet 1996: 180; similarly McGeough 2007: 279), there do seem to be recurrent patterns in most, though not all, Ugarit houses.

[20] For its definition as an Egyptian residency, see Oren 1992: 118–19; Fritz and Kempinski 1983: 64–65. In fact, this house is not much larger than other houses at the same site, and is much smaller than firmly identified Egyptian "residencies," such as at Beth-Shean. There is nothing particularly Egyptian or particularly governmental about the assemblage found in it, and its chronological attribution to the period of Egyptian rule over Canaan is no longer accepted (e.g., Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 222–23; Iron IIA).

[21] Note that such roof-access property may be more prevalent in dwellings than may be apparent from available plans. In our analysis, we assumed such an access only when all four walls of a room are preserved above floor level and show no evidence of a doorway.

[22] The only other one in this house is in Room 04G0-004 (below).

TABLE 1. Main types of ceramic vessels in primary deposition, Phase 9 destruction (MNI)

Room	*Open Vessels*		*Cooking vessels*		*Small Containers*			*Store-jars*					*Pithoi*	*Other*
	Bowls	Kraters	Open cooking pots	"Aegean" cooking jug	Jug	Juglet	Flask	Carinated "Canaanite"	Pear-shaped	Small	Egyptian	Other	—	—
	Fig. 10:1	**Fig. 10:2, 3**	**Fig. 10:4**	**Fig. 10:5**	**Fig. 10:6,**		**Fig. 10:7, 8**	**Fig. 10:11, 12**	**Fig. 10:13**	**Fig. 10:14**	**Fig. 10:15**		**Fig. 10:16, 17**	
1. 9795 east	1	2 simple	—	—	1	1 dipper	1 small, decorated	4 (1 large, 3 small, incl. 1 decorated)	1	2	—	—	1 Wavy Band	—
2. 9795 west	—	1 decorated amphoroid	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. 18033	2	1 decorated amphoroid			2	—	—	7 (4 large, 3 small)	1	1	5	1	4 Collared Rim	1 IB teapot
4. 18242	1	1 simple	1	1	2 incl. 1 decorated spouted jug **Fig. 10:10**	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	3 pyxis, lamp, lid or conic bowl
5. 18241	—	1 simple	1	—	1 decorated strainer jug **Fig. 10:9**		2 small decorated	2	3	—	—	—	—	—
6. 18239 Upper floor	2	2 simple	—	—	—	—	1 decorated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. 18239, Lower floor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1 funnel
8. 04G0-004	2	1 simple	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9. 18089	1 or 2	1 simple	—	—	—	—	1 large decorated	—	1	—	—	—	1 Wavy Band	—
10. 18067	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 small decorated							
11. 9928	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12. 18570	—	1 decorated amphoroid	—	—	—	—	1 large decorated	—	—	—	—	—	2 or 3 Wavy Band	—

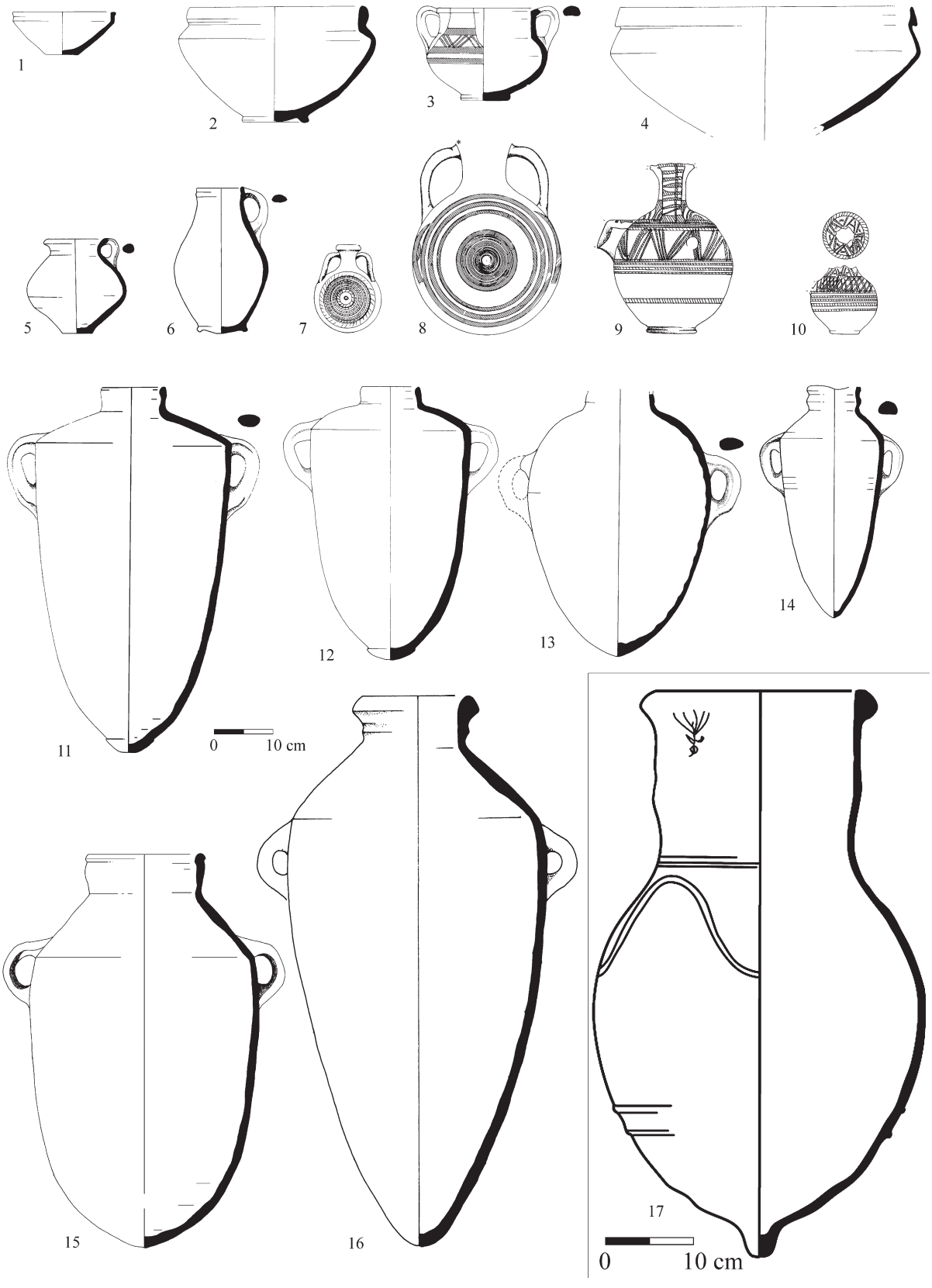

Fig. 10. Main ceramic types found in the Area G house (no. 17 is from Area D5—the type is prevalent in Area G, but no complete specimen exists).

Fig. 11. Looking north. Phase 9 "trough" installation L9982 with bin 9805; the courtyard's pavement is to its left and the unpaved part of the courtyard to the right, with the "tripod" installation. Traces of fire are clearly seen on both floor and installation.

Separating the paved (and presumably roofed) western part of the courtyard from its unpaved eastern part was the so-called trough Installation 9982 (**Fig. 11**).[23] No exact parallels for this structure are known from the Levant. In other regions, there are examples of waist-high installations used for grinding grain or kneading dough.[24] Kneading in nearly identical installations is attested by clay models from Greece (Stern 2000: fig. 247) and probably also Cyprus (**Fig. 12**), and this is the activity we illustrate below in **Fig. 16**. However, the clay surface of the Dor trough could only have been suitable for kneading if some woven material or the like were laid in it.

On the eastern side of the trough, a low, floor-based bin was attached.[25] Just to the north of the bin, a few grinding stones were found (see below), and so this installation, instead of the trough, could have been used for grinding. In that case, the trough may have been used for sieving and hand-picking grain (and possibly kneading as well), while the lower bin was where the grinding itself took place.

In the center of the unpaved area, three stones were found, forming an approximately equilateral triangle (**Fig. 11, right**). These were the only stones found in this space. They probably served as a stand of some kind, but their exact function is unclear.

Stone Implements. Near the northeastern (preserved) edge of the installation, several basalt implements were found (**Fig. 13**): a large complete grinding bowl; an upper loaf-shaped grinding stone (too long to have served with the bowl), and fragments of two other such upper grinding stones; a grinding slab and small abrader or polishing stone. Though not all these items are complete, their conjunction and position indicate their functional relation to the installation.

Ceramic Vessels. The preponderance of storage vessels in the eastern, unpaved part of the courtyard, 9795 east

[23] As found, the installation is 5.2 m long (possibly continuing to the south), 1.0 m high, and 0.8 m wide, with a rounded central channel 30 cm deep. It was constructed of stones of various sizes, mud-brick, and packed clay over which was a thin sealing layer of clay plaster. For a detailed description and parallels, cf. Zorn 2009.

[24] For a list of corollaries, e.g., at Ebla, Gordion, and Amarna, see Zorn 2009.

[25] The bin is a low, semicircular basin about 1.4 m long, 0.8 cm wide, and 0.4 m high. For parallels, see Zorn 2009; the best example is from Tel Rehov.

Fig. 12. Clay model from Cyprus (Karageorghis 2006: no. 20). Courtesy Louvre Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities, no. AM 816.

(**Table 1:1**; **Fig. 10:11–14, 17**) indicates that other than its function in relation to flour/bread production, the courtyard was also used for (at least temporary) storage. The fierceness of the fire in this area, similar to that in Room 18033 described below, suggests that the jars may have been used for storing highly combustible materials.

The western, paved part of the courtyard was almost empty (**Table 1:2**). One plausible explanation is that it was kept empty because it served as a passageway to Room 18242 and beyond, and that activity in the courtyard was concentrated mainly in its eastern part. Contrary to the commonplace association of courtyards with cooking, no cooking/baking installations or vessels clearly associated with such activities were found in this (albeit only partially excavated) courtyard.

Other than the pottery and the stone vessels/tools, the courtyard yielded very few objects. A few bone needles were found, some of them in a cluster in the eastern part of the courtyard, a bone point in the west, a clay loomweight and a stone spindlewhorl in the east. These may hint that some textile-related activity took place here as well.

Room 18033 in the South

This space was only partially excavated; its original size is unknown, and it is unclear whether it was indeed a separate room or a partially partitioned space associated with the courtyard. Whichever the case, it could be directly and easily accessed from the courtyard. It was also the most fiercely burned space in the house: its floor was covered by a 1 m deep mass of burned wood, burned brick, and other debris. It must therefore have contained some highly flammable resources.

Ceramic Vessels. Relative to the very restricted space excavated (ca. 2 × 2.5 m), a considerable number of large storage vessels were found here, including collared-rim pithoi, but very few other items (**Table 1:3**; **Fig. 10:11–16**). The room was thus packed with large containers, with very little room to spare; that is, it was some sort of pantry, perhaps connected to the activities that took place in the courtyard north of it.[26]

One intriguing issue involves the contents of the Egyptian jars (**Fig. 10:15**), five of which were found in this room. These jars (which are prolific at Dor throughout the early Iron Age) may have been here in secondary use. However, the fact that several of them were found in this specific room, and that this was the only place in

[26] We have no information regarding the contents of the jars, but it is perhaps worth noting that collared-rim pithoi in a contemporary destruction context in Area D5, on the southern margins of the tell, contained grape pits and possibly lentils (Gilboa, Sharon, and Shalev 2010).

Fig. 13. In situ pottery near the "trough" installation in the courtyard, looking west. Note the basalt bowl, upper grinding stone (above the meter stick), and two legs of the "stone tripod" at the bottom, left of the meter stick.

the Phase G/9 house where they were found, suggests that they contained some specific commodity, or perhaps that the inhabitants of the house were somehow involved in the trade of bulk commodities with Egypt. Preserved Egyptian fish (also prolific; cf. Raban-Gerstel et al. 2008) was one of the options considered, but no bones of Egyptian fish were found in this specific room.[27]

The presence of a decorated amphoroid krater (**Fig. 10:3**) among the jars also begs an explanation. Decorated vessels (other than commercial containers) are a rarity in Ir1a Dor and must have had some social function (Gilboa 2006–2007). The pantry is hardly the place where this vessel would have been used; most probably it was put there for storage, awaiting a special occasion. The other complete decorated amphoroid krater in the house was likewise found in a storage context (Room 18570; below).

Perhaps the most baffling find is a complete Intermediate Bronze Age teapot in this room. Other than this specimen, not a single Intermediate Bronze Age potsherd has ever been identified at Dor. We are at a loss to explain how it ended up in this context, except to suppose that some inhabitant of the house had found it (e.g., while robbing an Intermediate Bronze Age tomb?) and kept it. Like the decorated krater, this object of (presumed) symbolic character is incongruous with the other contents of the room.

Stone Objects. Found interspersed between the jar fragments was a cluster of 15 small implements. These were chiefly of hard limestone but also of basalt, flint, and other stones and were mostly roughly cubic, roughly rounded, or disk-shaped. Their functions are not always clear, but specific signs of wear on some of them indicate that they were used as hammerstones and polishers. Some of the cubes, notably those that had one flat side, may have been used as weights. A small (ca. 7 × 6 cm), flat schist palette was probably used for grinding some delicate substance, possibly cosmetics, and near it was found a small trapezoid scoria object. Notably, no stone tools associated with food production were found here.

[27] Moreover, the co-occurrence of Nile fish bones with Egyptian jars cannot be demonstrated anywhere else at Dor.

Fig. 14. Floor 18239 of the West Wing under excavation, looking south. Note the slope of the surface (bottom left), in situ pottery, and deer antler.

The possible weights in this room may be related to some trade activity conducted by the inhabitants of the house. Their association with the jars thus may not be accidental, since a similar clustering of jars and small, mostly limestone cubes is evident in at least one other early Iron Age house at Dor, in Area D5 (Gilboa, Sharon, and Shalev 2009).

Other than the jars and stone objects, Room 18033 was very poor in finds; the only other objects were a cluster of three worked bone points of unknown function.

Rooms 18242, 18241, and 18239 (the "West Wing")

To the west of the courtyard four rooms are known: 18242, 18241, 18239, and 04G0-004. The fourth will be considered separately because of the uncertainty surrounding its connection to the other three rooms. The complete extent of these western rooms is unknown. Room 18242, however, is only about 1 m wide and thus could not have functioned as an ordinary space. It is either a corridor or, as in our reconstruction here, a stairwell. Fire in this part of the house was minimally attested, but in all these spaces, destruction was clearly established by a large number of restorable pots on the floors, as well as structural collapse. As mentioned, in Rooms 18239, 18242, and possibly also in 18241, two distinct artifact-bearing surfaces were detected. The upper one (F18239) is sharply sloped and sags toward the center of the room, where it nearly merges with the lower surface F18370 (**Fig. 14**). We interpret the upper surface to be the floor of the second story, which fell onto the first floor. Unfortunately, other than in part of Room 18239, it was impossible to segregate stratigraphically between finds associated with the upper and lower stories. Since we have no clue as to the number or location of upper-story rooms that may have contributed finds to the assemblages below, the interpretation offered here relates to the entire West Wing assemblage as one unit.

Ceramic Vessels. The ceramic profile of the West Wing assemblage (**Table 1:4–7**) is totally different from those of the other rooms of the house, and some of the vessels found there are unique at Dor. This is the only assemblage that is not dominated by jars/pithoi (only 8 jars of 28 vessels, 3 of them of the small narrow variety; **Fig. 10:14**). Conversely, this is the only assemblage where serving/drinking vessels prevail, indicating that consumption, and possibly preparation of food and beverages, were the primary activities in this context (**Fig. 10:1, 2, 5–10**). Moreover, this assemblage produced the two most elaborately decorated spouted jugs ever uncovered at the site (**Fig. 10:9, 10**), along with another

fragmentary one. This unusual concentration (by Dor standards) suggests liquid consumption in some socially significant context. The three decorated flasks are also associated with the consumption of expensive liquids (**Fig. 10:7, 8**). Residue analysis of such flasks (including flasks from the Area G house) indicates that in several of them the (as yet unidentified) liquid was spiced with cinnamon from South/Southeast Asia (Namdar et al. 2013).

Also noteworthy are the cooking vessels, which are otherwise completely missing from the house assemblage. The Aegean/Cypriot cooking jug is the only such jug positively identified in Area G (**Fig. 10:5**). Only four other rim fragments that may belong to such jugs were found in the entire Area G sequence (one of them is from the same West Wing context). In general, this is an extremely rare shape at Dor, though it is well known in Philistia (recently, Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008). At other sites, these cooking vessels often exhibit burn marks and soot that attest to their use, but ours bore no such telling traces. The open shallow cooking pot (**Fig. 10**:**4**) is exceptionally large (diam. 50 cm). It is by far the largest such vessel uncovered to date in Dor.

Only in the assemblage from 18239 could we clearly segregate between vessels belonging to the second story (**Table 1:6**; two simple kraters and a small flask) vs. those of the ground floor (**Table 1:7**; a small store-jar and a funnel). We submit, however, that most of the vessels from the West Wing originate from the collapse of the second floor. This assumption is corroborated by contemporaneous contexts in other excavation areas in which ground-floor rooms produced very little ceramics beyond storage vessels (jars and pithoi) and smaller closed containers, chiefly flasks. Concentrations of serving/drinking/eating vessels were attested when upper floors were clearly recognized (see further below). The two small, elongated jars in 18242, which are rather unusual at Dor, probably also belong to the upper floor and therefore are likely connected to the preparation or consumption of food or drink there (as opposed to longer-term storage in the larger jars and pithoi on the lower floor).

Other Artifacts. It is not only the pottery that makes this assemblage unique. When compared with all other early Iron Age contexts at Dor, the following idiosyncrasies become very conspicuous. It is one of the few contexts in which a cluster of beads was found—five total, four of them large glass ones, including two eye beads, and the fifth made of shell (Ben Basat 2011: 90–92). Three fragmentary bone objects were identified in the field as possible game pieces but were apparently lost before documentation. This is also the only context in Area G where a significant concentration of flint tools is attested. Of about 30 worked flint objects, this suite of rooms produced 18, comprising 10 blades (4 defined as sickles), 6 flake tools, 1 miscellaneous tool, and 1 core (the only core in Phase 9). In comparison, the much larger courtyard (above) only had five, not in a cluster. Room 18033 had two, Room 04G0-004 (see below) had one, and other rooms had none.

The assemblage of stone tools in this context is also rather unusual. Other than several hard limestone pebbles of unclear use (some of them clearly on the lower story and some on the upper one), there was a fragmentary engraved Chalcolithic V-shaped basalt bowl, a flat rectangular beach-rock palette, a small square object made of apatite (perhaps a scale-weight or an inlay), and a not-clearly-identified object made of (nonlocal) gabbro. The latter two are from the upper story. More mundane (basalt) items, which cannot be associated with a specific story, are an upper grinding stone and an oval grinding slab.

Animal Bones. Most conspicuously, the West Wing assemblage is distinguished by its faunal remains. Though in general, as explained above, bones were not taken into consideration in this study, this assemblage is so unique as to suggest that indeed, systemically, it belongs to the primary contexts under consideration.

A nearly complete antler of a fallow deer (*Dama mesopotamica*) was found on the upper floor of Room 18239 (**Fig. 14**), in addition to seven more fragments of such antlers. These are the only examples of deer antlers in Area G Phase 9. They were accompanied by two metapodials (finger bones) of deer. Other than in this concentration, only one deer bone has been identified in Phase 9. In the entire Area G sequence, only 19 other deer antler fragments were identified (scattered in different loci), and only 4 among the extensive bone assemblages studied from other early Iron Age areas (again in different loci; Raban-Gerstel et al. 2008; Sapir-Hen et al. 2014). Also attested here is an unusual concentration of mountain gazelle (*Gazella gazella*) bones: a mandible, three lower-foot finger fragments, and two teeth. These are the only gazelle remains in Phase 9. In the entire Iron Age sequence of Area G, 13 more gazelle bones were identified, in various contexts, and only seven in other early Iron Age loci at Dor, all as isolated specimens. There were also two red fox bones (femur and pelvis fragments)—the only bones of this species in Phase 9. Only two more fox bones have been recognized in Iron Age Dor. Other faunal peculiarities of this context are a dog bone (a mandible), one of only two dog bones in Phase 9 and of nine in the entire Area G sequence; three pig bones, a metatarsus (finger bone) and two teeth (out of five in this phase); and one equid tooth

(out of two in Phase 9). Pigs are extremely rare at Dor during the Iron Age, and most of the animals that could be typed were apparently wild boars (Raban-Gerstel et al. 2008: Sapir-Hen et al. 2014). Thus, although the pig bones in this context could not be positively identified as game, they are likely to be so. The same assemblage also produced two fragments of hippopotamus incisors, both identified as industrial waste.

Since early Iron Age faunal assemblages at Dor have been extensively studied, both in Area G and in other areas, we can state categorically that the assemblage of game bones, teeth, and antlers of this context is unique. Of nearly 10,000 identified bones, bones and horns of wild species (or even potentially wild, as in the case of pigs) are attested in negligible numbers. Hunting contributed a very marginal portion of the diet of Dor's Iron Age inhabitants, and this concentration of game animals in one context is unparalleled.

Room 18239 also produced three human bones: two finger bones and a skull fragment. These are the only human bones in the Area G sequence, other than a complete skeleton buried under a stone collapse in Phase 7. One of the bones, however, was found in the fill, well above the floor. On the other hand, restorable pottery was found in the same locus at approximately the same elevation.

Room 04G0-004

This room in the northwest is somewhat unusual because of the stone pavement in its northern part. Above this pavement, a thick layer of unburned phytoliths was found (**Fig. 15**), which originated from domesticated grasses related to common modern wheat, *Triticum aestivum*. The phytoliths included inflorescence, but no spherulites were found associated with them (Albert et al. 2008). Most other Iron Age phytolith accumulations at Dor examined to date contain a mixture of wild grasses with fecal spherulites, indicating that the grasses had been digested by herbivores and deposited as dung. Their absence here, and the nature of the phytoliths themselves, suggests an area for storage of grain or hay.

Pottery Vessels and Other Finds. This room showed no evidence of burning and, consistent with its use as a storage room for vegetal matter, it produced very scant ceramics, embedded in the phytoliths (only four vessels; **Table 1:8**; **Fig. 10:1, 2, 6**), and no other finds in primary deposition. The phytolith layer did, however, yield many dozens of microbeads of glass, faience, gold, and a few larger beads (Ben Basat 2011: 90–91). The unique microbeads evidently belonged to one piece of beadwork, possibly a necklace or the like, though other uses (such as an adornment for some object) cannot be ruled out. Either these beads were lost here, or fell from the upper floor, which seems to us more plausible in light of the indications of a second-story collapse in the west and the cluster of beads in the adjacent Room 18242. A fragment of a hippopotamus incisor found here may indicate industrial waste, but this could not be ascertained. If so, it may have originated in the same context that produced the positively identified wasters in nearby Rooms 18241 and 18239.

Rooms 18041 and 18089

These two rooms are the only rooms (partially) excavated in the far north of the building, and they produced few finds, most probably because both of them were disturbed by post-destruction activities (of Phase 8). We are not even positive that there are proper Phase 9 living surfaces in them—either because they were removed by later activities or because excavation was stopped before they were reached. In Room 18041, nothing can be demonstrated to be in primary deposition. In Room 18089, despite the disturbances, destruction is evidenced by crushed pottery, which was partly overlain by stone collapse and mud-brick debris, with only very few traces of fire. Four vessels were found in primary deposition, including a Wavy Band pithos and a large decorated flask (**Table 1:9**; **Fig. 10:1, 2, 8, 17**). The co-occurrence of these types is repeated in Room 18570 (discussed below).

Rooms 18067 and 9928

Room 18067 had also been disturbed and likely scavenged in Phase 8. Consequently, it was nearly devoid of primary finds, other than a small decorated flask. Just north of the doorway to this room, however, the remains of several dozen small fish skeletons were found embedded in the floor in articulation (but they proved too fragile to excavate). These suggest another food processing locale (drying? salting?) besides the courtyard.

Room 9928 is our main candidate for an entryway to the Phase 9 house (see above). The absence of any finds in primary deposition in this locus is consistent with its interpretation as an entrance space.

Room 18570

This room did not burn and was evidently disturbed by post-destruction activities. In it were two, more

Fig. 15. Phytolith surface in Room 04G0–004, looking southeast. Photograph courtesy of Theresa Ortballs.

probably three, Wavy Band pithoi, and two decorated vessels—an amphoroid krater and a large flask (**Table 1:12**; **Fig. 10:3, 8, 17**). The room's contents suggest yet another storage space, similar to Rooms 18033 and probably 18089. The decorated amphoroid krater was probably also put here for storage. Though this room was completely excavated, it betrayed no sign of a doorway. The only possibility for one is via its southern wall (which is just under a baulk) into the courtyard (assuming the latter extended this far to the east). This is the possibility we present in **Fig. 2**. However, when the two (or three) pithoi were upright, very little space was left to move about the room, and it is possible that access was via the ceiling (and see above for possible parallels).

Domestic Behavior in the Area G House and at Dor

Activities and Their Patterning in the Area G House and in Other Dor Houses

In spite of the limitations acknowledged at the beginning of this paper, activity areas in the Phase 9 building just before it was destroyed may be summarized as follows (**Fig. 16**).

Food processing on a large scale, probably related to grain grinding and production of bread (though not baking, so far as existing evidence suggests), took place in the courtyard. Whatever its exact function, it is quite obvious that our minimally 5 m long trough was designed

Fig. 16. An artist's tentative reconstruction of Phase 9 showing the house with its contents prior to destruction. Here the upper floor of the West Wing is presented as one space, since the locations of walls are unknown. Illustration: Tuvia Kurz, based on an illustration by Vera Damov.

for a task conducted simultaneously by several individuals, possibly as many as seven to eight, as is clearly portrayed in the Cypriot model in **Fig. 12**. It is reasonable to suggest here a gender-specific task, probably of women (as in the model from Cyprus). If true, this has important implications for assessing the size and nature of the social group that functioned here.[28] Some slight evidence for spinning and possibly weaving also exists in the courtyard, an activity customarily considered feminine and often attested to have been carried out in conjunction with food processing (Meyers 2003: 432–34). The courtyard was therefore a communal and gendered space.

Beyond the flour/bread-related activities in the courtyard and the fish processing in Room 18067 on the north, food-preparation activities, specifically cooking, could not clearly be identified in the Phase 9 Area G house, and not a single *tanur* was encountered in this phase. However, a sequence of *tanur*s was found in the northeastern part of the house in Phases 6 and 7, where excavation did not continue down into Phase 9 (east of Room 18570; see **Fig. 3**; Stern, Gilboa, and Sharon 1992: 45). Thus, this might be where a kitchen was situated.

Most of the rest of the ground floor consists of rooms designated specifically for storage. This includes Room 18033 south of the courtyard, Room 18570 north of it, and Room 18089 on the north; some storage was also conducted in Corridor 18242 on the west and in the courtyard. There is also some patterning evident in the placement of different types of storage containers: Egyptian jars (**Fig. 10:15**) and collared-rim pithoi (**Fig. 10:16**) are found only in the small southern space (18033). Wavy Band pithoi (**Fig. 10:17**) were found mainly in the small Room 18570 in the north (as well as one each in Room 18089 and in the courtyard). The great majority of the carinated jars (**Fig. 10:11, 12**) were found in the court-

[28] For the definition of linear and simultaneous tasks—complex and simple—cf. Wilk and Rathje 1982: 622–23; for the common, cross-cultural association between women and cereals/bread processing, see, e.g., Meyers 2003: 431 with references.

yard and in Room 18033 (with the Egyptian jars and the pithoi). Pear-shaped and the smaller narrow jars (**Fig. 10:13, 14**) occur sporadically in almost every context (but not in the pithoi room).

This pattern of ground-floor rooms specifically designated for storage in large containers is definitely not coincidental. It occurs in all ground-floor rooms of buildings in other areas at Dor, destroyed during the same event. The other rooms, however, are known only partially, and we cannot assess the type(s) of houses to which they belong. They include two rooms in Area B on the east (Sharon and Gilboa 2013: fig. 18); two buildings, each with three rooms, in Area D2 on the south (Sharon and Gilboa 2013: fig. 26; Sharon, Gilboa, and Shalev 2011: fig. 2, building in blue); and one building (three rooms) in Area D5 on the southwest (Gilboa, Sharon, and Shalev 2010: fig. 10). All of them contained almost exclusively store-jars, pithoi, and flasks.

Some of these rooms also echo the distribution of specific types of containers attested in the Area G house: the conjunction of pithoi and flasks; Egyptian jars and collared-rim pithoi; and the prevalence of concentrations of carinated jars. Several of the other rooms also exhibit the peculiar phenomenon of having a special decorated drinking/serving vessel stored in them, like the storerooms in the Area G building. These stand out in the town's extremely mundane ceramic repertoire. Ordinary household vessels, such as simple kraters, cooking pots, juglets, lamps, and the like—vessels whose fragments are ubiquitous in all secondary contexts at Dor (e.g., constructional and other fills and other deposits where the pottery cannot be demonstrated to belong to some functionally meaningful context)—are hardly represented in any of the primary assemblages in ground-floor storerooms. We therefore assume that originally most of them belonged to upper floors. Significantly, in the only other building where we could differentiate between primary assemblages of the ground and upper floors—the above-mentioned one in D2—the pattern evident in the Area G house recurs: mainly jars and flasks on the ground floor and a variety of other household vessels on the second floor.

We do not claim that all ground-floor rooms in the destroyed Ir1a town were storerooms (and, as demonstrated below, some of the Area G house lower rooms definitely had other functions), but the fact that this is largely what we have encountered to date in all excavation areas clearly indicates that many of them indeed were. We also acknowledge that rooms, and spaces within rooms, may have been multifunctional, that there is no reason to expect a priori that they represent discrete behavioral units (cf. Newell 1987: 137; Shai et al. 2011: 111), and that some functions are more visible in the archaeological record than others (e.g., Ciolek-Torrello 1985). All this notwithstanding, the recurring patterns in the Ir1a buildings described above unambiguously demonstrate that, in this case, the function of most of their ground-floor rooms was indeed specific.

The second floor of the Area G house, attested clearly only over the West Wing, contained a highly peculiar assemblage. The ceramic repertoire is dominated by drinking/serving vessels, with an unusual (for Dor) proportion of decorated specimens. To these should be added some quite exotic stone objects (such as the Chalcolithic bowl). Flint artifacts were also kept here, and possibly even produced, and similarly also ivory objects. The (now missing) game pieces may attest to another activity here.

Most peculiar, however, is the concentration of game-animal bones. As mentioned, hunting was a totally insignificant food-procurement strategy at Iron Age Dor. It might, therefore, be understood here as a socially prestigious activity. Moreover, the representation of body parts of the exotic animals in this context is also peculiar. Teeth, mandibles, and finger bones (and of course the antlers) are all poor in meat, suggesting that these are probably not food remains and likely had another function.

Therefore, we propose that the room(s) on the second floor of the West Wing served for the gathering of men. Hunting trophies were probably kept here, together with other exotica. Activities included eating, drinking, and games, probably on socially significant occasions, as well as flint knapping and the production of ivory utensils.[29] This context also suggests a masculine association for the cluster of large decorated glass beads—and possibly also for the microbeads found in Room 04G0-004. Similar beads were found in Phase G/10 in a metallurgical context, most probably also associated with men.[30]

A comparison of the two postulated gendered spaces, based on both functional analysis and access analysis, shows that they are nothing alike. The female space is the open courtyard, which serves as the integrative hub of the building; it is indeed a necessary passage from almost any room in the house to any other. Female activities in it—grinding, bread production, and perhaps some cloth production—took place in full view of the entire household. The courtyard is at once the essential space in the house and also the locus of the essential activities of the household—the most public and yet the most easily controlled. Male activities, on the other hand, were identified only in a possible cul-de-sac tentacle of the access diagram in the

[29] For the predominant documented role of men in most of the above activities in traditional societies, see Murdock and Provost 1973: table 1.

[30] For the prevalent role of men in metallurgy, see Murdock and Provost 1973: table 1.

second story (assuming a somewhat similar floor plan for the second story), possibly invisible from the rest of the house. These measures ensured privacy, if not secrecy. Activities in this space may have been the most extraneous to the house and the household, in the sense that this part of the house could be shut off without affecting the rest of the activities in the house and that no important subsistence-related activity took place there.

House and Household in the Area G Courtyard House

Is our house a simple dwelling, or can it be categorized as an elite residence? Other contemporary houses at Dor are too partial to allow for comparison, though smaller houses must have existed. For instance, in Area B1 in Phases 9–8 (Ir1b–Ir2a), only about 5 m separate the town wall from an alley that runs along it. The house occupying this space, though only partially excavated, must surely have been much smaller.

In more extensively excavated sites (e.g., Megiddo, Hazor, Tell Beit Mirsim), it is clear that the CC#s are among the larger residences, but also that they are not unique. In most of these cases, several contemporary CC#s were found side by side. This is well illustrated in the residential quarter west of the gate in Megiddo Stratum V (**Fig. 9:10**), but the same phenomenon occurs in earlier strata at the same site as well. House 2158 of Stratum VIII (**Fig. 8:2**) is adjacent to House 3000, the successor to Stratum IX's House 3024 (**Fig. 8:1**), while House 3003 across the street was also probably similar, though it is less well preserved (Loud 1948: fig. 402). Building 8158 in Hazor Stratum X (**Fig. 9:9**) has several similar structures in the vicinity throughout Strata X–IX (e.g., Ben-Ami 2012: plan 2.8, Building 8382), and the two earlier (Late Bronze Age) structures from the same site—6215 of Yadin's excavations (**Fig. 8:6**) and the one in Area S (Zuckerman's excavation—**Fig. 8:5**)—were probably contemporaneous, as were several other similar structures in Hazor (e.g., 8039 and the adjacent 8068: Yadin et al. 1960: pl. 210). The three houses at Tel Masos (**Fig. 9:6–8**) were also used concurrently, as well as with several much smaller 4RHs (for which see below). The Northeast and Northwest houses at Gezer coexisted as well. Though some CC#s were identified by their excavators as public (Tell es-Safi; Shai et al. 2011) or even as "Governor's" (Tel Masos) or "Ruler's" residencies (Tel Yinʿam), real palatial structures—both in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages—are much larger (Nigro 1994; Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006; Lehmann and Killebrew 2010).

On the other hand, whatever specialized activity took place in the Men's Lounge on the second floor of the West Wing was apparently elite in nature. The label "a well-to-do residence"—though it admittedly avoids the issue to a certain extent—is perhaps the best fitting (cf. Herzog 1997: 208, regarding House 314 at Tel Masos).

All the evidence at hand supports the notion that the Area G house should be defined as a self-sufficient agrarian unit. This is evident not only from the great amounts of foodstuffs presumably stored in its several first-story storerooms, and the large-scale food production and preparation that apparently took place in the courtyard, but also from the several sickle-blades found in it—evidence that the inhabitants personally participated in the harvest; from the phytolith accumulations—indicating the storage of wheat, for human or animal consumption; and from body-part representation of the animal bones. These suggest that in this house, and in all others in early Iron Age Dor, meat was procured "on the hoof," and all stages of meat production took place within the town (Shahack-Gross et al. 2005; Raban-Gerstel et al. 2008; Albert et al. 2008: 73–74; Sapir-Hen et al. 2014). This is probably the case for most other Near Eastern societies preceding the second half of the first millennium B.C.E.[31]

That the central and largest space of the house—the courtyard—was devoted mainly to food processing, in a large (and permanent) installation that obstructed movement through this hub, and that the adjacent rooms were designated apparently only for storage, attest to the importance of these activities. Quite plausibly, a surplus/cash crop was also generated here, to be transmitted to or exchanged with other households at Dor, and possibly also beyond.[32] This is probably true also regarding the fish processed in Room 18067. We cannot assess, however, if and to what extent these activities represent any specialization (in the Dor context), since information from other town houses is partial.

Were the house's residents also engaged in long-range exchanges? This is definitely a possibility, since several ceramic containers attest to such contacts. Cases in point are the Egyptian jars in Room 18033 and the many carinated Canaanite jars. Ongoing fabric analysis of the latter jars demonstrates that Dor's inhabitants were engaged both in the import and export of such jars (and cf. Master 2009: 114*–15*).

The small decorated flasks with their spiced liquids (above) may also indicate long-range trade. Such containers—several of them Dor-made—reached Cyprus in numbers, indicating overseas export of some sort of precious liquids (Gilboa and Goren in press). Whether

[31] Cf. Schloen 2001: chapter 6, and e.g., pp. 196–98; specifically regarding Ugarit: pp. 313, 320, 323, 327, and passim.

[32] Cf. Wilk and Rathje 1982: 621; for a similar situation postulated for Ugarit households, see, e.g., Schloen 2001: 229.

all these represent some independent trade activity by the house's inhabitants, whether they were trading commodities produced by the household,[33] or whether the inhabitants of the Area G house were merely the recipients of the fruits of other Dorians' entrepreneurial exploits is impossible to say.

Activities in the Area G house were thus quite complex. However, because we are not acquainted with the complete structure, we cannot seriously assess whether our house also represents a discrete household in the structural and/or economic sense (e.g., Allison 1999: 4–5, and references). We cannot rule out the possibility that the house was but one wing of a larger, unexcavated complex and thus part of a larger organizational unit. We have already noted the recurring phenomenon at other sites of several interconnected courtyard houses, apparently inhabited by large extended families or some other social group. Cases in point include Hazor Stratum 1 (Late Bronze II) Houses 6215 (**Fig. 8:6**) and 6225; Megiddo Stratum VIA (Ir1b) Building 3021 and Building 2072 (Herzog 1997: fig. 5.8; cf. Arie 2006: 238), and Buildings 2081, 2100, 2111, and 2112 in Megiddo Stratum V (**Fig. 9:10**).

The incomplete exposure of the house also means that it is difficult to assess the size and nature of the group residing here. The size of the house, the complexity of activities conducted in it, and the communal simultaneous processing (of bread?) in the courtyard installation clearly indicate that it was larger than a nuclear family. A joint or extended family would be closer to the mark. Another possibility is a family with non-familial dependents (slaves, servants, or hired men), or non-live-in dependent households (tenants).

Activity Patterns in Courtyard Houses of the CC# Variety: Some Preliminary Comparisons

Whether, and (if so) how, the distinctive "Canaanite Courtyard House" also reflects some distinctive patterning of activities has rarely been asked. Naturally, due to the many behavioral, depositional, and post-depositional factors affecting the recovery of such activity patterns (and those resulting from different methods of analysis), comparing activities is infinitely more difficult than comparing the layout of houses. Because of the limited comparative database available, what we offer here is definitely preliminary, in places no more than an outline of future avenues of inquiry. The comparison is limited to those aspects of the Area G house that are better defined than others—size, layout, and storage—and to houses in urban contexts.

Size and the Organization of Space and Movement

Schloen (2001: tables 5, 7, 9) summarizes the size of 62 Iron Age II houses (mostly of the 2-3-4RH varieties) from Tell Beit-Mirsim, Tell en-Naṣbeh, and Tell el-Farʿah (N). The overall size—including courtyards and excluding possible second floors—is 65 ± 23 m^2. Faust (e.g., 2012: table 14) calculates a similar average for urban 4RHs and somewhat more for rural ones. The overall statistics for the 22 structures presented in our **Figs. 8** and **9** are 178 ± 53 m^2. Admittedly, these statistics are somewhat skewed. Schloen (and Faust) used all types of houses to calculate their statistics; and it stands to reason that the smaller three- or two-room derivatives of the 4RH would tend to deflate the average size. We, on the other hand, took into consideration only classic exemplars of the CC# (the ones in **Figs. 8** and **9**). Still, the smallest of the CC#s are about the same size as the largest 4RHs, while the largest—or even average-sized CC#s—are much larger.

Other than the size of the buildings, the number of rooms or spaces per dwelling should be taken into account. Minimally, the more numerous these are, the more potential there is for segregating activities, including, for example, gender-specific, age-specific, task-specific, or status-specific ones. Conversely, the more such segregation is deemed culturally appropriate, or functionally necessary, the more rooms we should expect in a house. This factor, perhaps even more than size, may also reflect on the complexity of economic (or other) activities conducted within it, and concomitantly on the size (number of individuals) of the household (cf. Wilk and Rathje 1982: 632). The relatively numerous spaces in Courtyard Houses has already been noted by Daviau regarding Late Bronze Age Hazor (1993: 255). Beyond the courtyard, the ground floors of CC#s typically have minimally eight or nine spaces in which people could operate, and frequently several more (**Figs. 8, 9)** (not counting upper floors, for which reliable information is not available).

The number of rooms on average is significantly larger than the standard urban 4RHs (**Fig. 17a**), which typically have three to four spaces beyond the central space (which, to our understanding—similarly to Fritz 2007 and contra, e.g., Stager 1985, and others—usually served as a courtyard)—again, not counting possible upper floors. For the Iron Age, urban 4RHs with more than five main spaces (beyond the narrow central courtyard) are rare. The best examples are some of those at Tell el-Farʿah North VIIB and VIID (Herzog 1997: figs. 5.18, 5.23).

[33] Certain private households at Ugarit engaged in trading activities (Monroe 2009: 255, 264, 279; more hesitantly McGeough 2007: 276, 288–89, 307, with references).

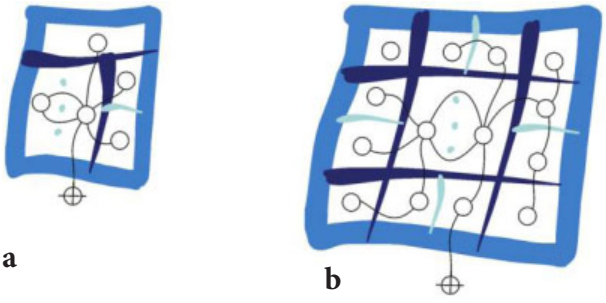

Fig. 17. A comparison of the conceptual plan and access diagram of a 4RH (a) and a CC# (b). The calligraphic-like quality of the sketch is intended to emphasize that a *habitus* is not any specific real-world structure, much less a measured architectural blueprint. Rather, much like a calligraphic sign, it is an abstraction imprinted by often-repeated physical experience.

To provide another comparison: House 475, the earlier of two superimposed so-called Patrician Houses excavated in Late Bronze Age Tel Batash (Strata VIII and VII, respectively; Panitz-Cohen 2006: 176, figs. 15–17) was about 180 m^2, apparently only one story high, and beyond the courtyard it had eight spaces. However, five of these were only about 1 m wide, and no real activity, other than some sort of storage, could have been conducted in them. This left, in addition to the courtyard, only three spaces where people could move about. The later house (315), often considered a potential prototype of the Iron Age 4RH, has only three spaces on the ground floor: a narrow stairwell and a large hall divided by two rows of columns, with a small square cell in the far corner. This size and spatial arrangement stands in marked opposition to the situation in the CC#s.

In order to assess the complexity of the layout of houses beyond just size and number of rooms, one should examine their access graphs, since these constitute the highest abstraction of the layout—disregarding size, shape, or orientation. Hillier and Hanson (1984) devised several numeric measures based on the depth of the access graph.[34] Here we use the intuition behind their models without doing actual calculations (which are not possible where the plan is not completely known, as in the case of the Dor house).

The flattest possible plan is where every room in the house is accessible from the outside. Such a house can be thought of as a set of one-room apartments. From the point of view of the potential complexity of the household, this is a rather simple plan. In access analysis terms, this plan is completely symmetric in the sense that there is no built-in preference for any one space over another. The deepest possible plan—a linear train-like row of rooms, one room leading to the next—is also not very complex. It is a completely segregated plan. Each room controls access to all subsequent ones, and a measure of privacy is only available in the deepest room. Layouts that allow for complex interactions, where there are different loci of control and several private spaces, are those for which the total depth lies near the middle between these extremes.[35]

A different set of statistics is based on distributedness: how many different ways there are to get from one room to another. In a well-distributed layout, spaces do not control access, in the sense that if one of them is closed off, there are alternate routes to others (Hillier and Hanson 1984: 148–55).

The 4RH conceptual plan is almost as flat as can be (**Fig. 17a**). One enters the courtyard from outside and from there can move directly into any other room. The CC# conceptual plan, with several tentacles coming off the central courtyard (**Fig. 17b**), is much closer to the ideal diamond shape. Both plans score badly on distributedness, as there is usually only one way to reach any given space in the house. Therefore, we claim that when the various architectural characteristics of courtyard houses are taken into consideration, they are generally more complex than the different variants of 4RHs (see more on this below).

As a final example, most Iron I domestic buildings in Philistia's core sites are strikingly different from the CC#s in all three aspects (size, partition, and access), as recently discussed by Aja (2009). Most of the houses are in the 30–40 m^2 range, have very few rooms—often just two or three—and feature very few spaces that could qualify as courtyards. The access diagrams (Aja 2009: fig. 4.2) are usually of the deep type. For Tel Miqne-Ekron, Mazow (2005) presents two domestic units in Field IV (353 and 354, Strata VI–IV). They are again rather small, ca. 60 m^2, and their incipient layout has three to four spaces.[36]

Storage Patterns

The need to allot specific, controllable rooms for long-term storage, most probably of agricultural staples, is certainly a factor that dictates the number of rooms per house. Such rooms should be relatively easy to recognize, e.g., by concentrations of large containers (jars or pithoi; cf. Daviau 1993: 231). Large containers are less likely to move about, or be removed when people are fleeing

[34] They defined the depth of each node as the number of different nodes (spaces) one would have to pass through in order to get from that room to the outside (in the shortest possible way). The total depth of the house is the sum of all depths of the rooms.

[35] Hillier and Hanson (1984: 109–13) posit a theoretical diamond-shaped access diagram as this mid-value, and calculate the integration value of the plan as the relation between the access diagram of a given house to a diamond shape of the same number of spaces.

[36] Later some minor subdivisions are introduced.

destructions. Other clear permanent storage spaces are rooms that have no entrances (from the ground floor) and/or are subdivided into bins or other small spaces that cannot be used for anything but storage.

Among the CC# structures for which sufficient information is available, several rooms used for the storage of goods in ceramic containers were indeed clearly identified, similar to the cases at Dor. Also similarly to Dor, some of these storerooms contained especially large containers.[37]

The Megiddo K-4 Iron I building (**Fig. 9:4**) preserved an extensive primary record of its last, destroyed phase, meticulously analyzed by Gadot and Yasur-Landau (2006; cf. also Arie 2006). It was interpreted as an ordinary (non-elite) household (Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006: 594), either of an extended family (Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006: 591) or of a nuclear one (Arie 2006: 235). Specific functions for some of the rooms (such as cooking) could convincingly be argued. Among these were two rooms (98/77 and 00/51) that were devoted mainly to long-term storage in store-jars. The rooms could not be directly accessed from the courtyard and could easily be controlled.

In addition to the many store-jars, storage space K/77 at Megiddo produced two of the few vessels there that may be associated with ceremony: a ceremonial stand and an elaborately decorated strainer jug (Arie 2006: figs. 13.62:11 and 13.60:2, respectively), which recalls the situation at Dor, where specially decorated vessels were kept in spaces otherwise devoted to store-jars. Arie's suggestion (2006: 247) that these vessels were put there in order to protect the stored merchandise is intriguing. Conversely, Gadot and Yasur-Landau (2006: 589) suggest, as we do, that those special vessels were simply stored there, similarly to a cult stand in a storage room in Building 2072 at Megiddo (Arie 2006: 237).

In the small Late Bronze Age settlement at Tel Yinʿam in Galilee, storage spaces were clearly identified in Building 1 (**Fig. 8:4**; see Liebowitz 2003: 60, Rooms 2 and 3). Other rooms too were suggested to have served for storage, but evidence regarding them is less conclusive. The storerooms (and the courtyard) produced concentrations of very large kraters (ca. 70 cm high) and pithoi (e.g., Liebowitz 2003: figs. 7:6, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19). Indeed, Liebowitz (2003: 139) found the abundance of large storage vessels worthy of comment and compared the phenomenon to houses at Hazor, which we discuss next.

House 6215 in Area C at Late Bronze Age Hazor (**Fig. 8:6**) had at least two rooms (6217, 6220) that were primarily devoted to long-term storage (Daviau 1993: 228–35; she calls it House 6063). Both rooms had direct access to the courtyard (which Daviau, however, considers a roofed space). In addition, the space east of the courtyard was divided into five built bins, each about 1 m wide, which could hardly have been used for anything but storage. Entry into this room must have been from above. Storage rooms were recently excavated in another Late Bronze CC# in Hazor's lower city (**Fig. 8:5**; Sharon Zuckerman, pers. comm.).

In both these houses at Hazor, the storerooms contained pithoi—in this case, the so-called Galilean Pithoi (Daviau 1993: 228–35). These also occur at Hazor in other domestic structures[38] as well as in palatial/administrative contexts.

Finally, well-defined storerooms containing dozens of store-jars also exist in House O at Tell Qasile (**Fig. 9:5**; Mazar 2009: 327; cf. also Gadot 2011).

The evidence from the Tell Hadidi's so-called Tablet House is somewhat different. Large-scale storage was unequivocally conducted there, inter alia in very large containers—jars and vats (70–90 cm high), which were the dominant vessels in the house (Dornemann 1981: 31–33, table 1 and, e.g., figs. 3, 8). However, no space seems to have been devoted only to storage in such large containers, and the storerooms included also other, smaller household vessels, such as bowls and cooking pots. House 314 at Tel Masos (**Fig. 9:7**) also produced numerous jars, as already pointed out by Holladay (1995: 386, n. 5, 392) and Pedrazzi (2007: 287 and nn. 96, 97). Regrettably, not enough data are provided in the site report to assess with accuracy the distribution of vessels in this building.[39]

The fact that many CC#s have rooms specifically devoted to storage should be contrasted with the relative dearth of such spaces in other types of houses. Despite the fact that Daviau considered storage spaces relatively easy to identify, her entire study, in which she examined hundreds of spaces in many types of houses, identified only 19 such spaces; several of them, indeed, are in courtyard houses. She attributes this (1993: 452) to the very partial data at hand, but also postulates that storage spaces may not have been "static."

[37] At Dor, these are the Wavy Band pithoi such as in **Fig. 10:17**.

[38] Such as in Area 210 of Yadin's expedition (Yadin et al. 1961: pl. 297).

[39] To Holladay, the many jars seemed rather unusual, and consequently he defined the building as "an outsized house with special storage facilities," which—if indeed a courtyard house—is "out of its milieu by something like 250 years." Because of the Phoenician Bichrome vessels in the building and a comparison he drew with the "Phoenician" fort at Rosh Zayit, he considered the building either an actual Phoenician construction or one that reflects some special entrepreneurial activity modeled on Phoenician prototypes.

While the rarity of specifically designated storage places in Daviau's study might at least partially be attributed to insufficient recording by the excavators, or to depositional or post-depositional processes, the same cannot be argued for the two houses at Tel Batash (Buildings 475 and 315, mentioned above), thoroughly analyzed by Panitz-Cohen (2006: 151–73, 190). Both were violently destroyed and produced extensive primary assemblages. Still, no clusters of store-jars were found, and no specific functions for rooms could be determined (beyond "domestic activities") (e.g., Panitz-Cohen 2006: 182, 191, table 54). The two Tel Batash houses were also devoid of pithoi, other than one fragment (Panitz-Cohen 2006: 182).

Philistia's early Iron Age houses also present a totally different picture than the CC# buildings. Neither Aja's (2009) nor Mazow's (2005) study of, respectively, the Ashkelon and Ekron houses mentioned above, identified any spaces designated specifically for storage in containers, and most rooms were defined as multifunctional. Indeed, allotting rooms only for storage would reduce further the spaces available for other activities in these small and relatively unpartitioned structures. It should be acknowledged, however, that contextual analyses in these two sites were hampered by the lack of primary assemblages of artifacts. What is clear, though, is that Philistia's extensively excavated early Iron Age centers have hardly ever produced pithos-sized clay vessels, a phenomenon attesting to very different storage habits (explicitly for Ekron, see Mazow 2005: 161).

To date, only two studies have considered destruction assemblages in 4RHs in Israel: Geva (1989) regarding several strata in Hazor, and Singer-Avitz (2011) for Tel Sheva Stratum II.[40] Generally speaking, few significant concentrations of jars have been identified in either study, with possibly one exception in each. In Area A at Hazor, Geva's House 15 (Geva 1989: 46–47, fig. 20 of chap. 3) has one small space (Room 2) which, by its dimensions, must have been designed as a storeroom. In its earlier phase, a maximum of six jars can be claimed to be in primary deposition, but most of the pottery consists of small household vessels.[41] Among the various houses analyzed by Singer-Avitz at Tel Sheva (most of which are of the 3RH and 4RH types), a concentration of jars (accompanied by grinding tools, loomweights, and more) was identified only in one instance—in the central space of Building 75, a 4RH (Singer-Avitz 2011: fig. 5)—and most of the spaces in the various houses were regarded by her as multifunctional (pp. 288–89). We note, however, that both Tel Sheva Stratum II and Hazor V (one of the strata analyzed by Geva) ended in Assyrian destructions that must have been anticipated, and artifact distribution at the moment of destruction may not reflect routine patterns.[42] This is perhaps also suggested by the above-mentioned concentration of jars and other objects in House 75 at Tel Sheva, which for all intents and purposes blocks the entrance to the back (casemate) room of this house. The 4RH at Tall al-ʿUmayri in Jordan (the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition) is a notable exception. Its ground floor was, inter alia, used for extensive storage, as attested by the approximately 75 pithoi, while most other activities, including grinding grain, took place on the second floor (Herr and Clark 2009: 83–86, 88).

A rare Iron II instance where many jars (16) were found (in conjunction with other ceramics) in one room of a domestic building is the Tell Halif house analyzed by Hardin (2010: 156, fig. 5.6, pls. 18, 19). The plan of this house, however, is not entirely clear.

Considering the fact that no other house type in the Levant has been studied so extensively, artifact distribution evidence for 4RHs is still very scant. Still, the fact remains that few clear storage spaces have been identified, in marked contrast with the situation in CC#s.

We certainly do not claim that courtyard houses of the type described in this study were the only urban houses with well-defined storage arrangements. Beyond these houses, an early Iron Age example is provided by one house at Tell Keisan (Stratum 9a–b), where 16 jars (most of them, as at Dor, of the carinated type) were unearthed in one very small space (Briend and Humbert 1980: 202 and fig. 52). Other relevant cases in point are the many houses at Ugarit (of various ground plans—courtyard houses and others) where storerooms with numerous store-jars, very large pithoi, and occasionally also flasks were clearly identified, often with few other ceramics (Yon, Cachet, and Lombard 1987: note *, 178, 180, 181; Yon, Lombard, and Renisio 1987: 45, 52, 82–83, 105–6, fig. 72; Callot 1994: 176; Gachet 1996: 70, 164, 167–68, 180, fig. 17; Mallet and Matoïan 2001: 100). In general, very large pithoi are a recurring feature in the city's domestic quarters (Monchambert 2004: 168–75), though specific contextual data are unavailable for many of them.

If and how the Ugaritic patterns reflect the use of space in other urban sites in Syria is beyond our scope here. Concentrations of jars and pithoi on lower floors

[40] Brody (2011) studied artifactual assemblages from several types of houses—including three- and four-room ones—at Tell en-Naṣbeh Stratum 3 (late Iron Age). However, there were no primary assemblages, and most of the pottery in this old excavation originates in mixed fills (Zorn 1999: 61–63; Faust 2012: 111, n. 53). Therefore, we do not include this study in our discussion.

[41] The pottery is best seen in Bonfil and Greenberg 1997: fig. 2.51; in their publication, the building is named 2A.

[42] As noted above, this may have also been the case at Dor.

of domestic units in Syrian sites are discussed by Pedrazzi (2007: 282, 290, 292) and Chiti (2010: 30), e.g., at Tell Kazel and in Building A at Tell Afis, mentioned above.

In addition to specific storerooms with jars and pithoi, specially designated storerooms for organic substances stored in bulk or in perishable containers are of interest for functional analyses. Above we suggested that Room 04G0-004 may exemplify such a situation. Comparable arrangements were identified, for example, in the Tablet House at Tell Hadidi (Dornemann 1981: 33, fig. 2, the southeastern room), where large quantities of grain were uncovered; and in Building 1 at Yinʿam, in Room 1 (mostly wheat grains and phytoliths; Gorham and Dering 2003: table 14; Liebowitz 2003: 60). In the Megiddo K-4 house, empty spaces were suggested to have been devoted to the storage of organics in bulk, and not in containers (e.g., within Room 98/70, the "kitchen"), and similar functions were suggested for other spots as well, but not for entire rooms (e.g., Arie 2006: 232).

Admittedly, suggesting specific uses for a space simply on the absence of evidence is a risky proposition. In the case of Dor, of the five spaces found relatively empty of (macro)artifacts, two—Antechamber 9928 and the paved half of Courtyard 9795—are estimated to have been passages, one—Room 18067—was used for processing of fish, and only one—Room 04G0-004—may have been used for storage of hay or of wheat, as is verified by the phytolith layers found in it. On the other hand it, too, may have had other uses—e.g., as a stable, though this option is less likely because of the total absence of spherulites.

Concluding Remarks and Further Implications of the CC# House Type

We have offered in this paper a polythetic definition of a specific type of southern Levantine elite dwelling house, the Central Courtyard House with a Hash-like Plan (CC#), and have shown that it typifies several subregions in the southern Levant from the Late Bronze Age I to Late Iron Age IIA and that at several sites more than one CC# functioned concurrently. The CC# houses were large, had many rooms, and several apparently had more than one story. This allowed effective segregation of several specific activities within. Access to these activity areas could be constrained in a variety of ways, enabling an easy implementation of power and control. When comparing the CC# houses functionally, we mainly highlighted similarities regarding storage activities—including storage in very large vessels—primarily because there are more data regarding this aspect but also because modes of storage are essential for elucidating economic patterns and survival strategies.[43] Other aspects, such as surplus-generating food production, structures of production, labor organization, specialization (e.g., Hendon 1996: 52, 55; Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006: 592–94, with references), as well as gendered spaces were only addressed briefly, because of the limitations of our data. We argue that the CC#s were to a large extent self-sustaining households. The layouts of these houses were meant to serve complex activities, especially economic ones, such as the various cottage industries (and possibly also foreign trade) attested in the Dor house. In addition, we identified fundamental differences between spatial behavioral patterns in the CC#s and those in other types of urban houses—especially the three- and four-room houses, which were usually smaller, where activities were less segregated, more rooms were multifunctional, and much less storage took place.

We conclude with some considerations on the social, economic, and ideological significance of these findings. Naturally, in making broader generalizations from the fairly narrow perspective of house form and spatial patterning, we are stepping into a far more speculative mode. Nevertheless, we repeat the conviction stated in the introduction, that it is in the intimate, daily interactions and repeated activity patterns within the dwelling that ideology and self-determination are objectivized.

Is our CC#-type house "Canaanite"? While the type definitely has its roots in Late Bronze Age Canaan, its geographical and temporal distribution does not fit Canaanite culture as usually defined. It can be found in Canaanite contexts, but at least in one case (Qasile) in a Philistine site, albeit one with a mixed pedigree (e.g., Bunimovitz 1990; Mazar 2009: 332–34; Yasur-Landau 2012). It can also be found, however, in Israelite administrative centers in the Late Iron Age IIA. For the time being, Dor is the only Phoenician site where this type is clearly attested. We would like, therefore, to underscore the fact that a Canaanite appellation may be maintained as long as it is understood that it is regional rather than ethnic.

As we briefly summarized in earlier sections of this paper, considerations of the courtyard houses have thus far chiefly focused on the residence groups they may have housed. Gadot and Yasur-Landau (2006: 596) claim that late courtyard houses (meaning, in their study, Iron Age I) embody the end of the Canaanite tradition of urban houses of extended families. In this, they follow Faust, who sees the 4RHs (and variants) as serving nuclear families. According to Faust, the latter attest to the disintegration of the extended family and the concomitant

[43] For the importance of the former in assessing the latter, see, e.g., Cecconi and Parisi 1998.

shrinking of houses—all this as a consequence of the rise of the monarchy in Israel (Faust 1999b: 235, 243–44, 247; 2012: 24).

Schloen too (2001; e.g., 287, 329) considers the courtyard houses he investigated in several second-millennium Near Eastern sites, especially at Ugarit, to be a major component of the patrimonial structure and ideology of these societies. And despite his view that residential patterns as gleaned from the Ugaritic texts are fairly varied, he concludes, based on texts and archaeology, that joint-family[44] houses of seven to ten members were prevalent, while extended families or clans shared a neighborhood or a cluster of houses (Schloen 2011: e.g., 126, 209 and references, 287, 325–26, 329, 335).

Contra Gadot and Yasur-Landau and contra Faust, however, Schloen postulates a continuity of the patrimonial mode of residence and economic structure into Iron Age II, in spite of the different architectural traditions, even in densely settled towns (Schloen 2001: 136–37, 147 with some references to opposing views): "[The Iron Age Pillared Houses] are directly comparable, in functional and social terms, to the Canaanite "courtyard house" and the clan-based urban neighborhoods found in the Late Bronze Levantine cities like Ugarit."

The main archaeological parameter on which Schloen's conviction is based (e.g., p. 150) is the size of the houses, and his concomitant calculations of the sizes of the residence groups, based on Naroll's (1962) rule-of-thumb of 10 m^2 roofed-space per inhabitant. Regarding the house types we are concerned with here, as we argued above, even when size alone is considered, there is a marked difference between the average CC# and the (significantly smaller) average 4RH.

Beyond size, if we also consider the more complex layout, the number of rooms, and, above all, the contents, we have to conclude that there are fundamental contextual and functional differences between courtyard houses and the different variants of 4RHs, suggesting different social *habiti*. The patterning of activities in our house and its corollaries, and especially the space given over to large-scale permanent storage, demonstrates that at least in the economic sense, the household in the CC# was larger than a nuclear family (see also above). How many of the household members de facto resided in the house is currently indeterminable.

As outlined above, the CC#, the largest and most complex dwelling type in Late Bronze Age Canaan, gradually disappears in the course of the early Iron Age, with the latest attestations in Late Iron Age IIA. Having expressed the conviction that the significance of the CC# in the southern Levant, and the difference between it and the 4RH, should be sought mainly in the economic sphere, we cannot fail to connect the gradual replacement of the CC# by the urban 4RH with the appearance of a host of new types of public structures, many of them concerned with the storage, redistribution, and administration of surplus goods. These include the monumental Iron Age administrative buildings—whether under the name "Lateral Access Podium Structures" (LAPS; Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006), or "Central Hall Tetra-Partite Residencies" (Lehmann and Killebrew 2010). The important point here is that these monumental structures mainly functioned as local administrative centers. Whether or not a local governor, or even occasionally the king, actually lived in them is indeterminable (Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006). New, too, are the Tripartite Pillared Buildings, which at least in certain cases were used for economic activities (Herr 1988; cf. references in Faust 2012: 101–2); and the multiple long-hall buildings (Wright 1985: 304–6; Herzog 1992: 228–29) which cannot be anything but storerooms, as well as communal silos (Herzog 1992: 228). That no parallel structures have ever been identified in Middle or Late Bronze Age strata in the southern Levant can hardly be attributed to insufficient excavation. In these periods, storage—and most probably other economic and administrative activities—seem to have taken place either in people's houses or in the ruler's palace; but there are no specific buildings set aside for such.

We thus submit that one of the major transformations that took place after the collapse of the Bronze Age Canaanite system in the Levant, in the course of Iron Age I–IIA, was the gradual transference of substantial economic activity in urban centers from the private to the public sphere. This, inter alia, is reflected by the gradual abandonment of the CC#s and the emergence of the smaller and simpler 4RHs that become dominant after Iron IIA.

The process was gradual. During the transitional period (largely Iron I–IIA), there are households engaged in large-scale storage and distribution, both in CC#s and in other types of houses.[45] Concurrently, large-scale public facilities serving the same function start to be attested—for example, at Phoenician sites such as Dor (the so called Mud-Brick Building: Sharon and Gilboa 2013: 421–24) and at Tell Abu Hawam (the so-called Galleries; Hamilton 1935: 9–10). We do not claim that

[44] That is, a nuclear family plus several additional adults, such as elderly parents, unmarried siblings, newlywed offspring.

[45] Such as at the above-mentioned house at ʿUmayri.

during Iron Age IIB no household was engaged in large-scale storage.[46] Nonetheless, a clear trajectory may be discerned.

Here we return to Schloen's Patrimonial model. Canaanite—and Mesopotamian, and Israelite—society, according to Schloen, is made up of fractal units (self-similar across scales), each of which is modeled after a father–son relationship. We contend that Schloen's arguments can be extended, on the grounds of archaeological patterning of houses and households, to the Late Bronze Age (and the early Iron Age) southern Levant, but that important structural changes start to occur soon thereafter. To wit, a public sector develops.

The exodus of economic activity (or at least some of its aspects) from the dwelling is a seminal change. Polanyi (1944: 56–68) described the "invention" of the market economy as a process of disembeddedness. Formalist economy, according to him, is a game played by disembodied phantoms (rational agents), with imaginary chips (money), according to abstract rules (e.g., supply and demand) in a virtual arena (the market). Substantivist premonetary economy, by contrast, was embedded in the social matrix, and economic activity was not conceived as a separate domain. Various facets of what we now call "The Economy" were integrated with other domains of human activity such as food procurement, child rearing, socializing, or appeasing gods and rulers.[47]

According to the tenets of the Theory of Practice, such a process of disembeddedness cannot be entirely ideological. For an imagined metaphysical entity to be objectified into a social fact, it must be anchored to repeated concrete experiences in the daily life of society. Disengaging the storage of surplus capital from the context of the house—whether it be the serf's house, the landlord's house, the king's house, or the god's house—and storing it in the public domain is a necessary first step in the conceptualization of economy as a separate sphere of social interaction.

Having connected the changing concept of the house during the Iron Age with the disembedding of economy from the social matrix, we will go one step further in our abstraction. The Axial Age hypothesis, formulated by Jaspers (1953) and promulgated by Eisenstadt (1986), posits that the common denominator of the religious, philosophical, and scientific revolutions in the half-millennium between ca. 800 and ca. 300 B.C.E. is "transcendentalism"—the separation of metaphysical entities from their physical manifestations in the corporeal world. The rise of monotheism, philosophy, geometry, and the rudiments of science are all attempts to formulate systems of general abstract principles with rational cohesion and global validity. A market economy is just such a transcendental system. That there is a relation between the invention of coinage and early Greek thought has already been hypothesized (e.g., Graeber 2011: 224). We propose that changes in domestic *habitus* in the period just preceding this Axial Age are among the precursors of this great transcendental transformation.

The most intriguing question to our minds involves the ways the CC#s and their activity systems operated vis-à-vis, and interacted with, other houses/households at the same sites, either of the same type or of other types—and there are always other types of houses (cf. Rapoport's 1990 "sub-cultures," or "lifestyle groups"). Since we eschew an ethnic explanation for the differences in architectural models, the answer must be sought in the socioeconomic arena.

Susan Kent (1990: 5) concluded an extensive cross-cultural ethnographic and historical study of houses by stating that "the greater the amount of sociopolitical complexity present in a group, the higher the ratio of functionally restricted to multipurpose activity loci and the more compartmentalized the architecture." The southern Levantine case discussed here does not conform to this rule. As society evolves from Canaanite city-states of the Bronze Age to the small territorial states of the Iron Age, the urban matrix and activities within it become more complex, but dwellings become smaller and simpler, and activities in them less functionally restricted. On the other hand, new types of functionally specific urban structures appear. Sociopolitical complexity, therefore, cannot be gauged by investigating houses (i.e., dwellings) alone. It is the entire urban/architectural ensemble of the various sites that requires investigation.

To conclude, this paper has dealt only with very specific aspects of the southern Levantine CC#s, which are, of course, just the tip of the iceberg regarding these houses. We did not consider, for example, fundamental issues such as the way these houses (and their disappearance) reflect on degrees of urban/rural dichotomy during the Bronze and Iron Ages, or how the changes we outlined correlate with other facets of economic activity, such as long-distance trade. We hope, however, to have demonstrated that no assessment of the Iron Age (and of the Bronze/Iron Age transition) can be complete without considering the biographies of these houses, the way(s) they functioned, the activities conducted therein, and their meanings.

[46] The Tell Halif house mentioned above may provide such an example.

[47] For a popular, often amusing, recent treatment of the formalist vs. substantivist debate (but without using these terms), see Graeber 2011.

Acknowledgments

The investigation of the Area G house is based in part on yet unpublished analyses by the following scholars: László Bartosiewicz and Elicia Lisk (fauna); Hagar Ben Basat (small finds); John Berg, Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, and Allen Estes (stratigraphy; John Berg also studied the flint tools); and David Eitam (ground-stone objects). Svetlana Matskevitch and Anat Regev took care of the graphics. The photograph in **Fig. 15** is by Steve Weiner, and the rest are by Israel Hirshberg. We are indebted to them all. We thank Sharon Zuckerman for providing us with yet unpublished information regarding her recent excavation at Hazor. The Tel Dor Excavations are supported by the Goldhirsh-Yellin Foundation, the Berman Foundation for Biblical Archaeology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the Faculty of Humanities at the University Haifa, the Hirsch Fund at Cornell University, and anonymous donors. Parts of the research regarding Area G were also supported by Israel Science Foundation Grants 812/97 778/00, 141/04. We thank the reviewers of this paper for their very constructive comments.

References

Aja, A. J.
2009 Philistine Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age I. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

Albert, R. M.; Shahack-Gross, R.; Cabanes, D.; Gilboa, A.; Lev-Yadun, S.; Portillo, M.; Sharon, I.; Boaretto, E.; and Weiner, S.
2008 Phytolith-rich Layers from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages at Tel Dor (Israel): Mode of Formation and Archaeological Significance. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35: 57–75.

Albright, W. F.
1943 *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim,* Vol. 3: *The Iron Age*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 21–22. New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research.

Allison, P. M.
1992 Artefact Assemblages: Not the "Pompeii Premise." Pp. 49–56 in *Papers of the Fourth Conference in Italian Archaeology*, Vol. 3/1: *New Developments in Italian Archaeology,* ed. E. Herring, R. Whitehouse, and J. Wilkins. London: Accordia Research Centre.
1999 Introduction. Pp. 1–18 in *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. P. M. Allison. London: Routledge.

Arie, E.
2006 The Iron Age I Pottery: Levels K-5 and K-4 and an Intra-Site Spatial Analysis of the Pottery from Stratum VIA. Pp. 191–298 in *Megiddo IV: The 1998–2002 Seasons*, ed. I. Finkelstein, D. Ussishkin, and B. Halpern. 2 vols. Monograph Series 24. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire-Yass Publications in Archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.

Ben-Ami, D.
2012 The Early Iron Age II (Strata X–IX). Pp. 52–153 in *Hazor VI: The 1990–2009 Excavations: The Iron Age,* by A. Ben-Tor, D. Ben-Ami, and D. Sandhaus. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Ben Basat, H.
2011 Early Iron Age Beads at Tel Dor: A Comparative Study. M.A. thesis, University of Haifa.

Bender, D. R.
1967 A Refinement of the Concept of Household: Families, Co-residence, and Domestic Functions. *American Anthropologist* 69: 493–504.

Ben-Dov, M.
1992 Middle and Late Bronze Age Dwellings. Pp. 99–104 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods: In Memory of Immanuel (Munya) Dunayevsky*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Ben-Shlomo, D.
2012 Tell Ğemme during the Bronze Age and Canaanite Household Archaeology. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 128: 133–57.

Ben-Shlomo, D.; Shai, I.; Zukerman, A.; and Maeir, A.
2008 Cooking Identities: Aegean-Style Cooking Jugs and Cultural Interaction in Iron Age Philistia and Neighboring Regions. *American Journal of Archaeology* 112: 225–46.

Berna, F.; Behar, A.; Shahack-Gross, R.; Berg, J.; Boaretto, E.; Gilboa, A.; Sharon, I.; Shalev, S.; Shilstein, S.; Yahalom-Mack, N.; Zorn, J. R.; and Weiner. S.
2007 Sediments Exposed to High Temperatures: Reconstructing Pyrotechnological Processes in Late Bronze and Iron Age Strata at Tel Dor (Israel). *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34: 358–73.

Binford, L. R.
1965 Archaeological Systematics and the Study of Culture Process. *American Antiquity* 31: 203–10.

Blanton, R. E.
1994 *Houses and Households: A Comparative Study*. New York: Plenum.

Bonfil, R., and Greenberg, R.
1997 Area A. Pp. 15–176 in *Hazor V: An Account of the Fifth Season of Excavation*, *1968,* ed. A. Ben-Tor and R. Bonfil. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Bourdieu, P.
1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. R. Nice, from French. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 16. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Braemer, F.
1982 *L'architecture domestique du Levant à l'Age du fer*. Cahier 8. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
Briend, J., and Humbert, J.-B.
1980 *Tell Keisan (1971–1976), une cité phénicienne en Galilée*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 1. Fribourg, Switzerland: Éditions universitaires.
Brody, A. J.
2011 The Archaeology of the Extended Family: A Household Compound from Iron II Tell en-Naṣbeh. Pp. 237–54 in *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*, ed. A. Yasur-Landau, J. R. Ebeling, and L. B. Mazow. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 50. Leiden: Brill.
Bunimovitz, S.
1990 Problems in the "Ethnic" Identification of Philistine Material Culture. *Tel Aviv* 17: 210–22.
Bunimovitz, S., and Faust, A.
2003 Building Identity: The Four Room House and the Israelite Mind. Pp. 411–23 in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina: Proceedings of the Centennial Symposium, W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, May 29–31, 2000,* ed. W. G. Dever and S. Gitin. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
Callot, O.
1983 *Une maison à Ougarit: Études d'architecture domestique*. Mémoire 28; Ras Shamra-Ougarit 1. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
1994 *La tranchée "ville sud": Études d'architecture domestique*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 10. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
Callot, O., and Yon, M.
1995 Urbanisme et architecture. Pp. 155–68 in *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.: Histoire et archéologie: Actes du colloque international, Paris, 28 juin–1er juillet 1993*, ed. M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 11. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
Campbell, E. F.
2002 *Shechem III: The Stratigraphy and Architecture of Shechem/Tell Balâtah*. 2 vols. American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports 6. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
Cecconi, F., and Parisi, D.
1998 Individual versus Social Survival Strategies. *Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation* 1/2. http://jasss.soc.surrey.ac.uk/1/2/1.html.
Chadwick, J. R., and Maeir, A. M.
2012 How Households Can Illuminate the Historical Record: The Judahite Houses at Gath of the Philistines. Pp. 501–18 in *New Perspectives on Household Archaeology*, ed. B. J. Parker and C. P. Foster. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
Chiti, B.
2010 Dynamiques de réoccupation: Le passage du Bronze récent au Fer I à Tell Afis. Pp. 29–38 in *Societies in Transition: Evolutionary Processes in the Northern Levant between Late Bronze Age II and Early Iron Age: Papers Presented on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the New Excavations in Tell Afis, Bologna, 15th November, 2007*, ed. F. Venturi. Studi e testi orientali 9; Serie Archeologica 2. Bologna: CLUEB.
Ciolek-Torrello, R.
1985 A Typology of Room Function at Grasshopper Pueblo, Arizona. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12: 41–63.
Clarke, D. L.
1968 *Analytical Archaeology*. London: Methuen.
Cutting, M.
2003 The Use of Spatial Analysis to Study Prehistoric Settlement Architecture. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22: 1–21.
Daviau, P. M. M.
1993 *Houses and Their Furnishings in Bronze Age Palestine: Domestic Activity Areas and Artefact Distribution in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages*. JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 8. Sheffield: JSOT.
Dever, W. G., ed.
1986 *Gezer IV: The 1969–71 Seasons in Field VI, the "Acropolis."* 2 vols. Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology 4. Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.
Dornemann, R. H.
1981 The Late Bronze Age Pottery Tradition at Tell Hadidi, Syria. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241: 29–47.
Eisenstadt, S. N. ed.
1986 *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*. Albany: State University of New York.
Faust, A.
1999a Socioeconomic Stratification in an Israelite City: Hazor VI as a Test Case. *Levant* 31: 179–90.
1999b Differences in Family Structure between Cities and Villages in Iron Age II. *Tel Aviv* 26: 233–52.
2000a Ethnic Complexity in Northern Israel during the Iron Age II. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 132: 2–27.
2000b The Rural Community in Ancient Israel during Iron Age II. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 317: 17–39.
2001 Doorway Orientation, Settlement Planning and Cosmology in Ancient Israel during Iron Age II. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 20: 129–55.
2006 *Israel's Ethnogenesis: Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance*. London: Equinox.
2012 *The Archaeology of Israelite Society in Iron Age II*. Trans. R. Ludlum, from Hebrew. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Finkelstein, I.
2011 The Iron Age Chronology Debate: Is the Gap Narrowing? *Near Eastern Archaeology* 74: 50–54.
Finkelstein, I., Ussishkin, D., and Halpern, B., eds.
2000 *Megiddo III: The 1992–1996 Seasons*. 2 vols. Monograph Series 18. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
Foucault-Forest, C.
1996 *L'habitat privé en Palestine au Bronze moyen et au Bronze récent*. BAR International Series 625. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.
Fritz, V.
1977 Bestimmung und Herkunft des Pfeinlerhauses in Israel. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 93: 30–45.
2007 On the Construction of the Four-Room House. Pp. 114–18 *in "Up to the Gates of Ekron": Essays on the Archaeology and History of the Eastern Mediterranean in Honor of Seymour Gitin*, ed. S. W. Crawford, A. Ben-Tor, J. P. Dessel, W. G. Dever, A. Mazar, and J. Aviram. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
Fritz, V., and Kempinski, A.
1983 *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf der Ḫirbet el-Mšāš (Tęl Māśōś) 1972–1975*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Gachet, J.
1996 Le "centre de la ville" d'Ougarit: La maison C. *Syria* 73: 153–84.
Gadot, Y.
2011 Houses and Households in Settlements along the Yarkon River, Israel, during the Iron Age I: Society, Economy and Identity. Pp. 155–81 in *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*, ed. A. Yasur-Landau, J. R. Ebeling, and L. B. Mazow. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 50. Leiden: Brill.
Gadot, Y., and Yasur-Landau, A.
2006 Beyond Finds: Reconstructing Life in the Courtyard Building of Level K-4. Pp. 583–600 in *Megiddo IV: The 1998–2002 Seasons*, ed. I. Finkelstein, D. Ussishkin, and B. Halpern. 2 vols. Monograph Series 24. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
Geva, S.
1989 *Hazor, Israel: An Urban Community of the 8th Century* B.C.E. BAR International Series 543. Oxford: BAR.
Gilboa, A.
2005 Sea Peoples and Phoenicians along the Southern Phoenician Coast—A Reconciliation: An Interpretation of Šikila (*SKL*) Material Culture. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 337: 47–78.
2006–2007 Fragmenting the Sea Peoples, with an Emphasis on Cyprus, Syria and Egypt: A Tel Dor Perspective. *Scripta Mediterranea* 27–28: 209–44.
Gilboa, A., and Goren, Y.
In press Early Iron Age Phoenician Networks: An Optical Mineralogy Study of Phoenician Bichrome and Related Wares in Cyprus. *Ancient West and East.*
Gilboa, A., and Sharon, I.
2003 An Archaeological Contribution to the Early Iron Age Chronological Debate: Alternative Chronologies for Phoenicia and Their Effects on the Levant, Cyprus, and Greece. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 332: 7–80.
2008 Between the Carmel and the Sea: Tel Dor's Iron Age Reconsidered. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 71: 146–70.
Gilboa, A.; Sharon, I.; and Shalev, Y.
2009 Tel Dor 2006. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 121. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=1309&mag_id=115.
2010 Tel Dor—2007, 2008. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 122. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=1577&mag_id=117.
Gorham, D., and Dering, P.
2003 Plant Remains. Pp. 249–54 in *Tel Yinʿam I: The Late Bronze Age. Excavations at Tel Yinʿam, 1976–1989*, ed. H. A. Liebowitz. Studies in Archeology 42. Austin: Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, University of Texas at Austin.
Graeber, D.
2011 *Debt: The First 5000 Years*. Brooklyn: Melville House.
Hamilton, W. R.
1935 Excavations at Tell Abu Hawâm. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 4: 1–69.
Hanson, J.
1998 *Decoding Homes and Houses*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
Hardin, J. W.
2010 *Lahav II: Households and the Use of Domestic Space at Iron II Tell Halif. An Archaeology of Destruction*. Reports of the Lahav Research Project, Excavations at Tell Halif, Israel 2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
Heinz, M., ed.
2010 *Kamid el-Loz. Intermediary between Cultures: More than 10 Years of Archaeological Research in Kamid el-Loz (1997–2007)*. Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises, Hors-série 7. Beirut: Ministère de la Culture, Direction générale des antiquités.
Hendon, J. A.
1996 Archeological Approaches to the Organization of Domestic Labor: Household Practice and Domestic Relations. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25: 45–61.
Herr, L. G.
1988 Tripartite Pillared Buildings and the Market Place in Iron Age Palestine. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 272: 47–67.

Herr, L. G., and Clark, D. R.
2009 From the Stone Age to the Middle Ages in Jordan: Digging up Tall al-ʿUmayri. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72: 68–97.
Herzog, Z.
1992 Administrative Structures in the Iron Age. Pp. 223–30 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods: In Memory of Immanuel (Munya) Dunayevsky*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
1997 *The Archaeology of the City: Urban Planning in Ancient Israel and Its Social Implications*. Monograph Series 13. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
Herzog, Z., and Singer-Avitz, L.
2004 Redefining the Centre: The Emergence of State in Judah. *Tel Aviv* 31: 209–44.
2006 Sub-dividing the Iron Age IIA in Northern Israel: A Suggested Solution to the Chronological Debate. *Tel Aviv* 33: 163–95.
Hillier, B.
1996 *Space Is the Machine: A Configurational Theory of Architecture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
Hillier, B., and Hanson, J.
1984 *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
Hodder, I., ed.
1987 *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
Holladay, J. S., Jr.
1995 The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA–B (ca. 1000–750 BCE). Pp. 369–98 in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. E. Levy. New York: Facts on File.
1997 House: Syro-Palestinian Houses. Pp. 94–114 in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, Vol. 3, ed. E. M. Meyers. New York: Oxford University.
Jaspers, K.
1953 *The Origin and Goal of History*. Trans. M. Bullock, from German. New Haven: Yale University.
Karageorghis, V.
2006 *Aspects of Everyday Life in Ancient Cyprus: Iconographic Representations*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
Kent, S.
1987 Understanding the Use of Space: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach. Pp. 1–60 in *Method and Theory for Activity Research Area: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*, ed. S. Kent. New York: Columbia University.
1990 Activity Areas and Architecture: An Interdisciplinary View of the Relationship between Use of Space and Domestic Built Environments. Pp. 1–8 in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, ed. S. Kent. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
Kohlmeyer, K.
1996 Houses in Habuba Kabira South: Spatial Organization and Planning of Late Uruk Residential Architecture. Pp. 89–103 in *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5–8, 1993*, ed. K. R. Veenhof. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul 78. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.
Lebeau, M.
1996 Les maisons de Melebiya. Pp. 129–36 in *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5–8, 1993*, ed. K. R. Veenhof. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul 78. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.
Lehmann, G., and Killebrew, A.
2010 Palace 6000 at Megiddo in Context: Iron Age Central Hall Tetra-Partite Residencies and the *Bīt-Ḫilāni* Building Tradition in the Levant. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 359: 13–33.
Liebowitz, H. A.
2003 *Tel Yinʿam I: The Late Bronze Age: Excavations at Tel Yinʿam, 1976–1989*. Studies in Archaeology 42. Austin: Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, University of Texas at Austin.
Loud, G.
1948 *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935–39*. 2 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 62. Chicago: University of Chicago.
Maeir, A. M., ed.
2012 *Tell es-Safi/Gath I: The 1996–2005 Seasons*. 2 vols. Ägypten und Altes Testament 69. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Mallet, J., and Matoïan, V.
2001 Une maison au sud du "Temple aux Rhytons": Fouilles 1979–1990. Pp. 83–190 in *Études ougaritiques*, Vol. 1: *Travaux, 1985–1995*, ed. M. Yon and D. Arnaud. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 14. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
Margueron, J.
1996 La maison orientale, Pp. 17–38 in *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5–8, 1993*, ed. K. R. Veenhof. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul 78. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.
Master, D. M.
2009 The Renewal of Trade at Iron I Ashkelon. *Eretz-Israel* 29 (Ephraim Stern Volume): 111*–22*.

Mazar, A.
1980 *Excavations at Tell Qasile, Part One: The Philistine Sanctuary: Architecture and Cult Objects*. Qedem 12. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
2009 The Iron Age Dwellings at Tell Qasile. Pp. 319–36 in *Exploring the* Longue Durée*: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*, ed. J. D. Schloen. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
2011 The Iron Age Chronology Debate: Is the Gap Narrowing? Another Viewpoint. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 74: 105–11.
Mazow, L. B.
2005 Competing Material Culture: Philistine Settlement at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Early Iron Age. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona.
McGeough, K. M.
2007 *Exchange Relationships at Ugarit*. Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 26. Leuven: Peeters.
Meyers, C.
2003 Material Remains and Social Relations: Women's Culture in Agrarian Households of the Iron Age. Pp. 425–44 in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina: Proceedings of the Centennial Symposium, W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, May 29–31, 2000*, ed. W. G. Dever and S. Gitin. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
Monchambert, J.-Y.
2004 *La céramique d'Ougarit: Campagnes de fouilles 1975 et 1976*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 15. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.
Monroe, C. M.
2009 *Scales of Fate: Trade, Tradition, and Transformation in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1350–1175* BCE. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 357. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
Murdock, G. P., and Provost, C.
1973 Factors in the Division of Labor by Sex: A Cross-Cultural Analysis. *Ethnology* 12: 203–25.
Namdar, D.; Gilboa, A.; Neumann, R.; Finkelstein, I.; and Weiner, S.
2013 Cinnamaldehyde in Early Iron Age Phoenician Flasks Raises the Possibility of Levantine Trade with South East Asia. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 12/3: 1–19.
Naroll, R.
1962 Floor Area and Settlement Population. *American Antiquity* 27: 587–89.
Netzer, E.
1992 Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age. Pp. 193–201 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods: In Memory of Immanuel (Munya) Dunayevsky*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
Newell, R. R.
1987 Reconstruction of the Partitioning and Utilization of Outside Space in a Late Prehistoric/Early Historic Inupiat Village. Pp. 107–75 in *Method and Theory for Activity Research Area: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*, ed. S. Kent. New York: Columbia University.
Nigro, L.
1994 *Ricerche sull'architettura palaziale della Palestina nelle età del Bronzo e del Ferro: Contesto archeologico e sviluppo storico*. Contributi e materiali di archeologia orientale 5. Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza."
Oren, E. D.
1992 Palaces and Patrician Houses in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Pp. 105–20 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods: In Memory of Immanuel (Munya) Dunayevsky*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
Panitz-Cohen, N.
2006 Distribution of Finds, Activity Areas and Population Estimates. Pp. 173–94 in *Timnah (Tel Batash) III: The Finds from the Second Millennium* BCE, ed. N. Panitz-Cohen and A. Mazar. Qedem 45. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
Parker, B. J., and Foster, C. P., eds.
2012 *New Perspectives on Household Archaeology*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
Pedrazzi, T.
2007 *Le giare da conservazione e trasporto del Levante: Uno studio archeologico dell'economia fra Bronzo Tardo II e Ferro I (ca. 1400–900 a.C.)*. Ricerche di archeologia del Vicino Oriente 2. Pisa: ETS.
Polanyi, K.
1944 *The Great Transformation*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart.
Raban-Gerstel, N.; Bar-Oz, G.; Zohar, I.; Sharon, I.; and Gilboa, A.
2008 Early Iron Age Dor (Israel): A Faunal Perspective. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 349: 25–59.
Rapoport, A.
1990 Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings. Pp. 9–20 in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, ed. S. Kent. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
Reich, R.
1992 Building Materials and Architectural Elements in Ancient Israel. Pp. 1–16 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods: In Memory of Immanuel (Munya) Dunayevsky*, ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Routledge, B.
2013 Household Archaeology in the Levant. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 370: 207–19.
Sapir-Hen, L.; Bar-Oz, G.; Sharon, I.; Gilboa, A.; and Dayan, T.
2012 Understanding Faunal Contexts of a Complex *Tell*: Tel Dor, Israel, as a Case Study. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39: 590–601.
2014 Food, Economy, and Culture at Tel Dor, Israel: A Diachronic Study of Faunal Remains from 15 Centuries of Occupation. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 371: 83–101.
Schloen, J. D.
2001 *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*. Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
Shahack-Gross, R.; Albert, R.-M.; Gilboa, A.; Nagar-Hilman, O.; Sharon, I.; and Weiner, S.
2005 Geoarchaeology in an Urban Context: The Uses of Space in an Early Iron Age Phoenician Monumental Construction at Tel Dor (Israel). *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31: 1417–31.
Shai, I.; Maeir, A. M.; Uziel, J.; and Gadot, Y.
2011 Differentiating Public Buildings from Residencies: A Case Study from Late Bronze Age II Tell es-Safi/Gath. Pp. 107–31 in *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*, ed. A. Yasur-Landau, J. R. Ebeling, and L. B. Mazow. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 50. Leiden: Brill.
Sharon, I., and Gilboa, A.
2013 The *SKL* Town: Dor in the Early Iron Age. Pp. 393–468 in *The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples" in Text and Archaeology*, ed. A. E. Killebrew and G. Lehmann. Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies 15. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
Sharon, I.; Gilboa, A.; and Shalev. Y.
2011 Tel Dor—2009. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 123. http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=1713&mag_id=118.
Sharon, I., and Zarzecki-Peleg, A.
2006 Podium Structures with Lateral Access: Ploys of Authority in Royal Architecture in the Iron Age Levant. Pp. 145–67 in *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*, ed. by S. Gitin, J. E. Wright, and J. P. Dessel. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
Shiloh, Y.
1970 The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City. *Israel Exploration Journal* 20: 180–90.
1987 The Casemate Wall, the Four Room House, and Early Planning in the Israelite City. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 268: 3–15.
Singer-Avitz, L.
2011 Household Activities at Tel Beersheba. Pp. 275–301 in *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*, ed. A. Yasur-Landau, J. R. Ebeling, and L. B. Mazow. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 50. Leiden: Brill.
Stager, L. E.
1985 The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260: 1–35.
Stern, E.
1990 New Evidence from Dor for the First Appearance of the Phoenicians along the Northern Coast of Israel. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 279: 27–34.
1991 Phoenicians, Sikils and Israelites in the Light of Recent Excavations at Tel Dor. Pp. 85–94 in *Phoenicia and the Bible: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Leuven on the 15th and 16th of March 1990*, ed. E. Lipiński. Studia Phoenicia 11; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 44. Leuven: Peeters.
2000 *Dor, Ruler of the Seas: Nineteen Years of Excavations at the Israelite-Phoenician Harbor Town on the Carmel Coast*. Rev. and expanded ed. Trans. J. Shadur, from Hebrew. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
Stern, E.; Gilboa, A.; and Sharon, I.
1992 Tel Dor, 1991: Preliminary Report. *Israel Exploration Journal* 42: 34–46.
Uziel, J., and Avissar Lewis, R. S.
2013 The Tel Nagila Middle Bronze Age Homes—Studying Household Activities and Identifying Children in the Archaeological Record. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 145: 268–93.
Vayda, A. P.
1983 Progressive Contextualization: Methods for Research in Human Ecology. *Human Ecology* 11: 265–81.
Veenhof, K. R., ed.
1996 *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 40e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5–8, 1993*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul 78. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.
Venturi, F.
2008 Elements de continuité dans l'architecture domestique du Levant à travers l'âge obscur; Le cas des maisons aux piliers. Pp. 587–600 in *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 29 March–3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin*, Vol. 1: *The Reconstruction of Environment: Natural Resources and Human Interrelations through Time; Art History: Visual Communication*, ed. H. Kühne, R. M. Czichon, and F. J. Kreppner. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Wilk, R. R.
1990 The Built Environment and Consumer Decisions. Pp. 34–42 in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of*

Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study, ed. S. Kent. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Wilk, R. R., and Rathje, W. L.
1982 Household Archaeology. *American Behavioral Scientist* 25: 617–39.

Wright, G. R. H.
1985 *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*. 2 vols. Handbuch der Orientalistik 7:1:2:B3. Leiden: Brill.

Yadin, Y.; Aharoni, Y.; Amiran, R.; Dothan, T.; Dunayevsky, I.; and Perrot, J.
1960 *Hazor II: An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956*. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Yadin, Y.; Aharoni, Y.; Amiran, R.; Dothan, T.; Dothan, M.; Dunayevsky, I.; and Perrot, J.
1961 *Hazor III–IV: An Account of the Third and Fourth Season of Excavations, 1957–1958 (Plates)*. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Yasur-Landau, A.
2010 Under the Shadow of the Four-Room House: Biblical Archaeology Meets Household Archaeology in Israel. Pp. 142–55 in *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: The New Pragmatism*, ed. T. E. Levy. London: Equinox.
2012 The Role of the Canaanite Population in the Aegean Migration to the Southern Levant in the Late 2nd Millennium BCE. Pp. 191–97 in *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters*, ed. J. Maran and P. W. Stockhammer. Oxford: Oxbow.

Yasur-Landau, A.; Ebeling J. R.; and Mazow, L. B., eds.
2011 *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 50. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Yon, M.
1992 Ugarit: The Urban Habitat: The Present State of the Archaeological Picture. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 286: 19–34.

Yon, M.; Cachet, J.; and Lombard, P.
1987 Fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ougarit 1984–*1987* (44ème–47ème campagnes). *Syria* 64: 171–91.

Yon, M.; Lombard, P.; and Renisio, M.
1987 L'organisation de l'habitat: Les maisons A, B et E. Pp. 11–128 in *Le Centre de la ville: 38e–44e campagnes (1978–1984)*, ed. M. Yon. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 3. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.

Zorn, J. R.
1999 This Old Site: Issues in the Reappraisal of Early Excavations. Pp. 59–70 in *Archaeology's Publication Problem*, Vol. 2, ed. H. Shanks. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society.
2009 The Daily Grind at Tel Dor: A Trough and Basin from an Iron Age I Kitchen. *Eretz-Israel* 29 (Ephraim Stern Volume): 267*–80*.

This article was in final proofs when we learned that our dear colleague and friend, Dr. Sharon Zuckerman of the Hebrew University, had passsed away. We often discussed with her the topics dealt with in this paper, and she generously shared with us unpublished information regarding the houses she was excavating at Hazor. It is with deep sorrow we dedicate this paper to her memory.