



Endnotes for *Cult Worship at Tel Dan* Spring/Summer 2016 *Bible and Spade*

¹ *Tel Dan*, Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, <http://ngsba.org/tel-dan> (accessed 3/5/2013).

² Avraham Biran, *Dan I—A Chronicle of the Excavations, the Pottery Neolithic, the Early Bronze Age and the Middle Bronze Age Tombs*, (Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 1996), 1.

³ Biran, *Dan I*, 1.

⁴ When referring to the Canaanite stratum the name Laish will be used, while Dan will be used when discussing the stratum associated with the Israelites. Genesis 14:14, Judges 19:7, 29–30, Joshua 19:47, 1 Chronicles 21:2, 2 Samuel 24:6.

⁵ 1 Kings 12:29.

⁶ Avraham Biran, *Biblical Dan*, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 108. Additional notes: “Now we did have evidence of the Late Bronze Age here and there. We found Israelite settlement pits years ago. It took us about ten years to come to the conclusion that we had a lot of Israelite settlement pits. It wasn’t so clear until we opened up a larger area. These past two seasons have convinced us that there were so many of them, one next to the other, that they destroyed much of the Late Bronze Age stratum. Obviously if you dig a pit and you excavate a wall, you remove it. That’s what the Israelites did when they dug their pits. I think there was quite an important Late Bronze city here. The fact that we have the Mycenaean tomb from the Late Bronze Age and the fact that we have the Dancer from Dan from the Late Bronze Age indicate a very developed civilization.” Shanks, “BAR Interview.”

⁷ Avraham Biran, “Five Years Later,” *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 43, No. 3 (Summer 1980), 168–82.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 169–72.

¹⁰ Avraham Biran and Rachel Ben-Dov, *Dan II—A Chronicle of the Excavations and the Late Bronze Age “Mycenaean” Tomb*, (Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 2002), 36.

¹¹ Hershel Shanks, “BAR Interview: Avraham Biran—Twenty Years of Digging at Tel Dan,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 13, no. 4 (Jul/Aug 1987), <http://members.bib-arch.org/publication.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume=13&Issue=4&ArticleID=1> (accessed 2/19/2013).

¹² Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 114.

- ¹³ Biran, *Dan II*, 37
- ¹⁴ Biran, *Dan II*, 37.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 114.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Biran, *Dan II*, 63.
- ¹⁹ Ibid, 64, Shanks, “BAR Interview.”
- ²⁰ Shanks, “BAR Interview.”
- ²¹ Avram Biran, “Tel Dan,” *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 37, No. 2 (May, 1974), 26–51.
- ²² Shanks, “BAR Interview,” Biran, “Five Years Later,” 172.
- ²³ Rachel Ben-Dov, *Dan III—Avraham Biran Excavations 1966–1999—The Late Bronze Age*, (Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 2011), 349.
- ²⁴ Ibid., 349.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Ibid, Ibid, 25.
- ²⁷ Shanks, “BAR Interview.”
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid., Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 120.
- ³⁰ Ben-Dov, *Dan III*, 349, Ibid, 26.
- ³¹ Ibid, 26.
- ³² Avraham Biran, “The Dancer from Dan,” *Near Eastern Arch*, 66, No. 3, (Sep., 2003), 128–32.
- ³³ Biran, “The Dancer,” 128.
- ³⁴ Dominique Collon, “Dance in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *Near Eastern Archaeology*, 66, 3 (Sep 2003), 96–102.
- ³⁵ Ibid., 97.
- ³⁶ Biran, “The Dancer,” 128.
- ³⁷ Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 120.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Ben-Dov, *Dan III*, 126.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 105.
- ⁴² Ben-Dov, *Dan III*, 134.
- ⁴³ Louise Steel, *Materiality and Consumption in the Bronze Age Mediterranean*, New York: Rutledge (2013), 90–91.
- ⁴⁴ Sharon Zuckerman, “Fit for a (not-quite-so-great) King: A Faience Lion-Headed Cup from Hazor,” *Levant*, vol 40, no 1 (2008), 115–25.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 121.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ben-Dov, *Dan III*, 353.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 105.

⁵¹ Ben-Dov, *Dan III*, 353.

⁵² S. Blakely-Westover, "Smelting and Sacrifice: Comparative Analysis of Greek and Near Eastern Cult Sites from the Late Bronze through the Classical Periods," *Metals in Antiquity*, eds S.M.M. Young, A.M. Pollard, P. Budd and R.A. Ixer (Oxford: BAR International Series 792, 1999), 11–15.

⁵³ Israel Nature and Parks Authority, "Tel Dan Nature Reserve," <http://www.parks.org.il/parks/ParksAndReserves/rel%20dan/Pages/default.aspx>, (accessed 4/23/2013).

⁵⁴ Israel, "Tel Dan."

⁵⁵ For a city described in such lush terms to be "unsuspecting," a supreme amount of confidence in one's defensive structures is required. Second mention of "unsuspecting" noted in Judges 18:10.

⁵⁶ Shanks, "BAR Interview."

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Laughlin, "The Remarkable."

⁶⁰ Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 128–9.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 128–29.

⁶³ Thomas L., Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People from the Written and Archaeological Sources*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 241.

⁶⁴ Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 128.

⁶⁵ Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem: Massada Press Ltd. (1969), 143.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 143, 232, 235. Abraham Biran, "The Collared-rim Jars and the Settlement of the Tribe of Dan," *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 49, Recent Excavations in Israel: Studies in Iron Age Archaeology (1989), 71–96, 71.

⁶⁷ Biran, "The Collared-rim," 71.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 73.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Biran, "Collared-Rim," 81.

⁷¹ Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, 232–33.

⁷² Exodus 27:1–8, Exodus 35:30–38:31.

⁷³ Biran, "Collared-Rim," 81.

⁷⁴ Laughlin, "The Remarkable."

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Note that the cult practices of Israelite religion discussed in this section are of the prescribed and expected nature of their religion, as set forth by its founding documents. This discussion does not include the analysis of adherence to orthodoxy, nor does it account for variations from the original prescription.

⁷⁷ M.D. Coogan, *Stories from Ancient Canaan*, Louisville: Westminster (1978), 86–115.

⁷⁸ Exodus 22:20.

⁷⁹ Biran, “Two Discoveries,” 95–98.

⁸⁰ M.D. Coogan, *Stories from Ancient Canaan*, Louisville: Westminster (1978), 86–115.

⁸¹ Clay Jones, “We Don’t Hate Sin So We Don’t Understand What Happened to the Canaanites,” *Philosophia Christi*, Vol 11, No 1 (2009), 53–72, 56.

⁸² Exodus 23:31–33.

⁸³ Exodus 23:24.

⁸⁴ Judges 1:27

⁸⁵ Exodus 35:30–36:38.

⁸⁶ Exodus 40:9–15.

⁸⁷ Leviticus 1:5, tent of meeting is another name for the tabernacle.

⁸⁸ Leviticus 3:2, 8, 13.

⁸⁹ Leviticus 4:4–5, 7.

⁹⁰ Leviticus 4:18; These are just a few examples. For more examples of offertory requirements which brought the people of Israel to the tabernacle, see the following passages. Leviticus 6:30; 8:3, 4, 33–36; 9:23; 10:7; 14:8, 11, 23; 12:6; 15:14, 29; 16:7; 17:4–6, 9; 19:21.

⁹¹ Exodus 34:22–24.

⁹² Biran, “Tel Dan,” 43.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Biran, “Five Years Later,” 177.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ The definition of ḥuṣṣot ranges from “street, plaza, to market, bazaar,” and “designates structures or defined spaces lying ‘outside’ other spaces or structures, such as buildings or walls.” Ibid., Avraham Biran, “Two Bronze Plaques and the Ḥuṣṣot of Dan,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 49, No ½ (1999), 43–54, 50.

⁹⁷ Biran, “Two Bronze,” 52.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Biran, “Two Bronze,” 53.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 54.

¹⁰¹ Avraham Biran, "Sacred Spaces," *Biblical Archaeology Review* Sept/Oct 1998, <http://members.bib-arch.org/search.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume=24&Issue=5&ArticleID=2> (accessed 12/27/2012).

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. The bowl was "decorated with a sign resembling a trident."

¹⁰⁵ Biran, "Sacred Spaces."

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ben-Dov, *Dan III*, 154.

¹¹² Biran, "Sacred Spaces."

¹¹³ Ben-Dov, *Dan III*, 155.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ben-Dov, *Dan III*, 155. Of special note is Ben-Dov's footnote: Brandl and Ophel's study "was undertaken in 1982, but never published. The statuette is attributed to this period on the basis of typological criteria, but it is impossible to say when it was brought to Tel Dan.

¹¹⁶ Laughlin, "The Remarkable."

¹¹⁷ Laughlin, "The Remarkable."

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Biran, "Sacred Spaces."

¹²³ Shanks, "BAR Interview."

¹²⁴ Shanks, "BAR Interview."

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Shanks, "BAR Interview"; Biran, "Sacred Spaces."

¹²⁷ Biran, "Sacred Spaces," Leviticus 10:1.

¹²⁸ Jonathan Greer, "An Israelite Mizrāq at Tel Dan," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 358 (May 2010), 27–45, 38.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Avram Biran, "An Israelite horned Altar at Dan," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 37, No. 4 (1974), 106–107, 107.

¹³¹ Biran, "Sacred Spaces"; Laughlin, "The Remarkable."

¹³² Avraham Biran, "Two Discoveries at Tel Dan," *Israel Exploration Journal* 30 No. ½ (1980), 89–98, 91.

¹³³ Biran, "Two Discoveries at Tel Dan," 91.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Suzanne F. Singer, "Is the Cultic Installation at Dan Really an Olive Press?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 10:06, (Nov/Dec 1984), 52–58. <http://members.bib-arch.org/publication.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume10&Issue=6&ArticleID=3> (accessed 2/18/2012); Initial idea proposed in: Cathy Small and Terry Small, "Queries and Comments," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8:01 (Jan/Feb 1982), 12, 14, 16, 56, 58. <http://members.bib-arch.org/publication.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume=8&Issue=1&ArticleID=13> (accessed 3/9/2013).

¹³⁷ Singer, "Is the Cultic."

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Biran, "Two Discoveries," 95.

¹⁴⁰ Biran, "Two Discoveries," 95–97.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 97–98.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 97–98.

¹⁴³ Although the bronze plaques are dated to the Iron Age II and are in no way relatable to Israelite cult worship, these artifacts were found outside the city parameters in the market area and could have come to Dan in any number of ways.

¹⁴⁴ Greer, "An Israelite," 36.