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THE ISHTAR TEMPLE AT ALALAKH

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IN the course of his excavations at Alalakh, Woolley found seventeen superimposed temples.¹ He commented only that they were “presumably dedicated to the city goddess invoked by king Idri-mi.”² He obviously referred to “Ishtar, lady of Alalakh” mentioned in line 2 of Idri-mi’s inscription, and Klengel made the same suggestion in a short note included in his detailed study on the weather-god of Halab.³ It is the purpose of this article to demonstrate this identification in greater detail, basing the analysis on written documents, mainly from the archives of level VII at Alalakh.

We begin with document *AT* 1, which has now been collated.⁴ Here follows a transliteration and translation of the text, accompanied by a detailed commentary at the end.

1. i-nu-ma aḥ-ḥu-šu ^mAb-ba-AN be-el-šu-nu ib-ba-al-ki-tu
2. ^mAb-ba-AN LUGAL-r[u i-n]a ^rtu-ku¹-u[l-t]i ^dIM
3. ^dHé-bat ù ^{giš}IGI.DÙ [ša ^dIS^{TAR}] a-na ^{uru}Ir-ri-de^{ki} il-lik-ma
4. ^{uru}Ir-ri-de^{ki} iṣ(!)-^rba-at¹ [ù a-i]a-ab-šu ik-šu-u[d]
5. i-na [U]D-mi-šu ^m[Ab-b]a-A[N] a-na pu-ḥa-at
6. ^{uru}Ir-ri-de^{ki} [š]a a-b[i-š]u ^rid¹-di-na-am
7. i-na na-ra-[am] li-ib-bi-šu ^{uru}A-la-la-aḥ^{ki}
8. ^ri¹-[i]d-di-in₄ ^rù [i¹-na UD-mi-šu ^mIa-ri-im-li-im
9. DU[MU ^mHa-am-mu]-ra-pí ìr ^mAb-ba-AN [ALAM-šu]
10. [a-na É] ^dIS^{TAR} ú-še-li
11. [šumma(?) warkit(?) ^mAb]-ba-AN ša Ia-ri-im-li-im
12. i[d-di-nu i-le-qé] ^ra¹-[l]a-am pu-ḥa-at a-li-im
13. ^rid-di-na-aš¹-šu ša a-wa-at Ab-ba-AN i-pu-šu
14. ú-na-ak-ka-ru a-na Ia-ri-im-li-im
15. ù pi-ir-ḥi-šu ú-la-am-ma-nu
16. ^dIM i-na ^{giš}TUKUL ša qa-ti-šu li-iḥ-bu-us-sú
17. ^dHé-bat ^dIS^{TAR} ^{giš}IGI.DÙ-šu li-iš-bi-ru
18. ^dIS^{TAR} a-na qa-ti mu-ka-aš-ši-di-šu li-ma-al-li-šu
19. ^dIS^{TAR} SAG.UR.SAG pa-ra ú-ra-am
20. i-na bi-ir-ki-šu li-ṭe₄-eb-bi

¹ C. L. Woolley, *Alalakh* (London, 1955), pp. 33–90.

² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³ H. Klengel, “Der Wettergott von Halab,” *JCS* 19 (1965): 89, n. 23.

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0022-2968/80/3903-0004\$00.81.

⁴ The tablet was published by D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953) (hereafter *AT*). For the main treatments of the text, see W. F. Albright, “Further Observations on the Chronology of Alalakh,” *BASOR* 146 (1957): 27 f.; S. Smith, “Yarim-Lim of Yamḥad,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 32 (1957): 177 f.; Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1965), pp. 136 f. I am grateful to Dr. E. Sollberger for the permission to collate the tablet, now in the British Museum.

When his brothers rebelled against Abbael, their lord, king Abbael, with the help of the gods Hadad,⁵ Hebat and the spear [of Ishtar⁶] went to Irride, conquered Irride and captured his enemy. (5) At that time Abbael, in exchange for Irride which his father granted, gave Alalakh of his free will. (8) And at that time, Yarimlim s[on of Hammu]rapi and servant of Abbael, brought up [his statue to the temple] of Ishtar. (11) [If(?) the offspring(?) of Ab]bael shall take what he (Abbael) gave to Yarimlim—he will give him city for city.

(13) Whoever shall change the settlement that Abbael has made and will do evil against Yarimlim and his descendants—may the god Hadad dash him into pieces with the weapon which is in his hand; may Hebat-Ishtar shatter his spear; may Ishtar deliver him into the hands of those who pursue him; may Ishtar . . . impress feminine parts into his male parts.

COMMENTARY

The text is divided into two equal parts: lines 1–10 include the “historical introduction” and the actual deed, while lines 11–20 include the legal clauses as well as the divine sanction for the transaction.

Line 3: the three gods, Hadad, Hebat, and Ishtar, are invoked in lines 16–18 of our text. This trio of gods is mentioned again in the inscription of Idrimi (lines 1–2): “Idrimi, the son of Ilm-ilimma, devotee of the gods Hadad, Hebat, and my lady Ishtar, lady of Alalakh.”⁷ In view of these texts, tablet *AT* 456, lines 24–27 might be restored as follows: “With the . . . [. . . of Hebat] and the mighty weapon [of Ishtar, the la]dy(?); with silver, gold, lapis-lazuli, precious stones and the strong weapon of Hadad.”

The weapon of Ishtar appears in our text as *šukurru*, either “lance” or “spear” (E. Salonen, *Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier*, *Studia Orientalia*, no. 33 [Helsinki, 1965], pp. 90–92). For the various symbols held by the goddess Ishtar, see Marie-Thérèse Barrelet, *Syria* 32 (1955): 222–60; Dominique Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, AOAT 27 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), pp. 180 ff.

Line 4 is a précis of the events described in more detail in *AT* 456: 26–28. “His enemy” is Muzun-addu mentioned in *AT* 456:21, 28 (cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Ugarit Forschung* 1 [1969]: 214 f.).

Line 6: Hammurapi I, king of Yamhad, gave the town of Irride to his son Yarimlim while his heir to the throne of Yamhad, Abbael, gave Yarimlim the city of Alalakh in exchange for Irride.

Lines 7–8: the restoration is based on *AT* 63:19–22: *šanat Niqmiepuḫ šarru . . . šalamsu ana bit Hadad ušelū*. (For further parallels see: A. Parrot, *Studia Mariana* [Leiden, 1950], p. 57, nos. 20–21; *CAD* E 130 c); *AHW* 209a h.)

Lines 11–13: the subject of these lines is presumably the future heir of Abbael, king of Yamhad, which should be restored in the lacuna at the beginning of line 11. For the

⁵ The reading of ^dIM (either Hadad or Teshub) and ^dIS^TAR (either Ishtar or Išhara) is uncertain. However, in order to facilitate the discussion, I have transcribed ^dIM as Hadad and ^dIS^TAR as Ishtar throughout the article. For details, see the recent discussion by V. Haas and G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna*, AOATS, vol. 3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), p. 138.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The inscription of Idrimi was published by Smith in *The Statue of Idrimi* (London, 1949). For the most recent treatment of the inscription, see E. L. Greenstein and D. Marcus in *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 8 (1976): 59–96.

formula GN₁ *pūhat* GN₂ *nadānu*, see A. Draffkorn (-Kilmer), "Was King Abba-AN of Yamhad a Vizier for the King of Hattuša?" *JCS* 13 (1959): 94, n. 5.

Line 17: for Ishtar (Inanna) breaking the lance, see Åke W. Sjöberg, "in-nin ša-gur₄-ra: A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enheduanna," *ZA* 65 (1975): 185, line 82.

Line 19: the logogram SAG.UR.SAG appears again in *AT* 265:4 (see below) and might be read as *assinnum* (cf. W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit* [Leiden, 1965], pp. 157 f.). The *assinnum* was clearly connected with the cult of Ishtar (cf. *CAD* A/2 341 f.; J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit," pt. 2, *ZA* 59 [1969]: 192 f.). One of the citations in the *CAD* article (*Era* IV 55) mentions "the dancers and the singers whom Ishtar had changed from men into women." Sjöberg ("in-nin ša-gur₄-ra," pp. 223–26) has argued that "when referring to the Inanna-Ishtar cult the passages refer only to the changing of roles of women and men in the cult ceremonies."⁸ But there are several passages in the Assyrian royal inscriptions where Ishtar is clearly changing males into females (cf. *AHW* 1047a s.v. *sinnišāniš* and *sinnišānu*). Our passage, where the *assinnum* is mentioned, also contains that same motif. The change of men into women is repeated in the Hittite military oaths (N. Oettinger, *Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter*, StBoT 22 (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 11, lines 42–53, with further references on pp. 38 and 75).⁹ All these passages might therefore refer to some popular legend or belief where Ishtar played the role of a castrating goddess.

For the translation of lines 19–20, see E. A. Speiser, "The Alalakh Tablets," *JAOS* 74 (1954): 23. For a different suggestion, see *AHW* 833a s.v. *paraurum*.

The two principal gods mentioned in the Alalakh tablets are IM (Hadad) and IŠTAR (Ishtar).¹⁰ Hadad appears mainly in the two narrative passages cited above (*AT* 1:2, 16; 456:27) and in penalty clauses (*AT* 52:19; 54:20; 58:12; 95:r.3; 455:43). Most, if not all, of these tablets are genuine products of the court of Halab. It is clear that such passages were directly borrowed from the scribal tradition of Yamhad.¹¹ The god Hadad is also frequently mentioned in the inscriptions accompanying the seal impressions of both levels VII and IV at Alalakh. Some of the seals had actually belonged to the personnel of the court of Yamhad.¹² In addition, Hadad is evoked once in the blessing at the beginning of letter *AT* 116 (line 5). We might therefore conclude, with Klengel, that it is Hadad of Halab who appears in all these references, and not a local deity of Alalakh.

The goddess Ishtar, on the other hand, is referred to as "lady of Alalakh" in the inscription of Idrimi. This epithet is probably understood in the other two passages cited above (*AT* 1:3, 18; 456:25). It seems to me that Hebat here was reckoned to be the consort of Hadad of Halab (cf. *AT* 15:13–14) while Ishtar was the great goddess of Alalakh. This immediately clarifies the passage *AT* 1:8–10, where Yarimlim, while establishing his seat in Alalakh, erected a statue of himself before the goddess Ishtar in her local temple. Woolley intuitively proposed that the magnificent diorite head found in the level VII temple was the statue of Yarimlim, ruler of Alalakh.¹³ The restoration

⁸ I wish to thank Professor A. Shaffer for calling my attention to these two references.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Wiseman, *AT*, pp. 16 f.; Klengel, "Wettergott von Halab," pp. 88 f.

¹¹ Klengel, "Wettergott von Halab"; see also my

forthcoming article in *Anatolian Studies* 29 (1979).

¹² D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, AOAT, vol. 27 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), passim; see also my forthcoming article cited in n. 11 above.

¹³ Woolley, *Alalakh*, pp. 64, 235–37.

of *AT* 1 suggested above corroborates his proposal. It would seem that Yarimlim set up the statue during the dedication of the temple which he built in his new capital.

The practice of the king setting up his statue before the god is well known from Mesopotamian documents and has been the subject of extensive research.¹⁴ Besides our passage, there is a second and parallel Old Babylonian reference in the Alalakh VII archives. One year was named "Year of king Niqmiepuh . . . (when) he brought up his statue (*šalmum*) to the temple of Hadad" (*AT* 63:19-22). Thus a king of Yamhad erected his statue in the central temple of his kingdom which was dedicated to Hadad of Halab. The statue of Idrimi, originally belonging to level IV at Alalakh, is another indication of that same practice.¹⁵

The Akkadian term *šalmum* appears several times in the texts of Qatna, but on each occasion in the sense of "figurine" and not as "statue."¹⁶ Nevertheless, the inventory lists may shed indirect light on the problem at hand, since they mention rulers and other important persons dedicating numerous objects to the local gods of the temple.¹⁷ Among those named is Durusha, king of Kadesh, the most powerful in Syria at the time.¹⁸

The uninscribed statues found in the Syro-Palestinian temples should be considered in light of these documents. Besides gods, there are two additional categories of candidates for the subjects of those statues: *a*) the local king or other important persons; and *b*) a foreign king, either a suzerain or an ally, expressing his piety towards the local god. It goes without saying that there is no easy way to solve the problem of identification, and every case must be examined individually.

The goddess Ishtar is mentioned almost exclusively in the administrative documents from level VII at Alalakh. Besides *AT* 1:10, the temple of Ishtar is mentioned in *AT* 127:10,15. After a detailed list of silver cups¹⁹ (lines 1-8) comes the summary (lines 9-16): "A total of 708 shekels of silver Yarimlim paid to the temple of Ishtar; 1,800 (shekels), the rest of the silver of [the temple] of Ishtar, is charged to Yarimlim." A second debt of the palace to the temple of Ishtar is to be inferred from document *AT* 369:1-3: "190 shekels of silver, the silver of Ishtar, (delivered) to Nakkušše." Nakkušše, mentioned several times in the archives of Alalakh (*AT* 9:18; 10; 30:10; 55:31, 80:6; 98 f.),²⁰ had received silver borrowed by the palace from the temple of Ishtar. A second delivery of

¹⁴ E. D. Van Buren, "The *šalmē* in Mesopotamian Art and Religion," *Or.* n.s. 10 (1941): 70-75; *CAD* § 80-81; A. Spycket, *Les Statues de culte dans les textes mésopotamiens des origines à la I^{re} dynastie de Babylone* (Paris, 1968).

¹⁵ Woolley apud Smith, *Statue of Idrimi*, pp. 2-3, 7; and Woolley, *Alalakh*, p. 89.

¹⁶ J. Bottéro, "Les Inventaires de Qatna," *RA* 43 (1949): 16, 21 f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29 f.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31; C. Epstein, "That Wretched Enemy of Kadesh," *JNES* 22 (1963): 242-46.

¹⁹ For the interpretation of *GAL* as *kāsum*, see M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Der Vertrag zwischen Šuppiluliuma und Niqmandu: eine philologische und kulturhistorische Studie," *WdO* 3 (1966): 234 f.; also *CAD* K 256a. The reading *ti-iš-nu* suggested by Anne Draffkorn (-Kilmer) ("Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalakh: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis [Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania 1959], p. 209) and the *CAD* (K 256a) is preferable in this context to the reading *dī-iš-pē* proposed by Dietrich and Loretz.

Compare the passage *AT* 366:1 and *AT*, p. 163, s.v. *tišnu*.

²⁰ Nakkušše was most probably a brother of Yarimlim, ruler of Alalakh. This is proven by tablet *AT* 9 (in conjunction with the still unpublished tablets *AT* 10 and 98 f.), which relates to a dispute over inheritance between two brothers, Yarimlim and Nakkušše. The deceased king, their father, is clearly mentioned in line 13 ("Now one hundred sheep and ten cows of the king are debited to Yarimlim."); and in my opinion he is Ammitaqum I of Alalakh (see my article, "A New Look at the Chronology of Alalakh VII," *Anatolian Studies* 26 [1976]: 129-40). Nakkušše appears several times in the Alalakh tablets, all from the time of Niqmiepuh, king of Yamhad (*AT* 30:10; 55:31; 80:6; 369:3), holding a high position in the court of Alalakh. A third royal brother, Dini-addu, held the office of *sukkallu* (*AT* 55:30). Nakkušše the diviner (*bārū*), serving in the time of Irkabtum of Yamhad (*AT* 54:31), might be connected with Nakkušše, the son of Kaššena, serving at the same period in the court of Alalakh (*AT* 64:16).

two cups of silver to the personnel of the palace (É.GAL)²¹ is recorded afterwards (lines 4–9). The two transactions were roughly recorded in the same manner, specifying the sum of silver, its origin and the recipient(s), with the total expenditure stated at the end (lines 10–12).

A temple of Ishtar is mentioned also in *AT* 126:38–39, “you shall enter the temple of Ishtar with your hands unwashed.” The subject of this sentence is Yarimlim, the *rabû* [sic]. This entrance to Ishtar’s temple is the last of a series of sacrifices and rituals of expiation to be performed by him after he had transgressed his oath of loyalty to his brother, the ruler (*awilum*) of Alalakh.²² The above-mentioned temple is therefore Ishtar’s temple in Alalakh. Moreover, I believe that Hadad and Ishtar, the two *Eidgötter* to these sacrifices and rituals (lines 2–3 and 26–29),²³ were regarded as the great gods of Halab and Alalakh.

The close economic relationship existing between the palace and the temple at Alalakh is evidenced also in the ration lists, where different commodities delivered to the temple of Ishtar were recorded among the expenditures of the palace. Thus, rations of barley and emmer were offered “before the goddess Ishtar on the (celebration)-day of the month *utithi*” (*AT* 269:11 and 44). Sheep were sacrificed at a second celebration described as “the (celebration)-day *hiari* of Ishtar” (*AT* 346:2 and *AT* 348:2). Two seahs of barley and an equal quantity of emmer were allotted to Haliya “before the goddess Ishtar” (*AT* 242:14–15).

A priest of Ishtar is mentioned (always anonymously) in many tablets from level VII (*AT* 27:11; 61:22; 65:11; 238:21; 270:3; 274:19; 281:6; 378:20). All other personnel functioning in cult performances (*šatammu*, *šangû*, *bārû*) appear without specification of the name of the god whom they served (with the exception of *AT* 55:35, Ehli-aštar SANGA IM). But the *assinnum*, mentioned only once in these ration lists (*AT* 265:4), is certainly to be connected with the cult of Ishtar (see above).

Finally, in a list of distributed rations, barley and emmer were allotted to the É.BÀD ʾIŠTAR (*AT* 243:9,13). É.BÀD = *bīt dūri* = “fortress.”²⁴ The meaning of this phrase, “the fortress of Ishtar,” becomes clear once we realize that it refers to the temple of level VII. This temple had walls four meters thick enclosing a single inner room measuring

²¹ For the use of *ekallû* in the meaning of “personnel of the palace,” see *CAD* E 62.

²² *AT* 126 lines 1–4: (1) ^m*Ia-ri-im-ti-im GAL(!)* (2) *KI LÚ-lim a-hi-im ni-iš ʾIM* (3) ^u*ʾIŠTAR i-pu-uš-ʾma(?)* (4) *wa-ar-ka-nu-um a-na LÚ-lim [hi-i-a]-[ti] i-pu-uš.*

Translation: “Yarimlim, the *rabû*, swore the oath of Hadad and Ishtar with the ruler, (his) brother, and afterwards he has committed sins against the ruler.”

For the discussion of this passage see my article cited in n. 11 above.

²³ For lines 2–3 see n. 22 above. *AT* 126 lines 26–29: (26) *[ša]-ni-tam aš-šum uḫ-ni-ša LÚ-lim* (27) *[ki-ši-i]-ti a-ia-bi-ka ʾIM i-na-ad-di-na-ak-kum* (28) *[šu]m-ma a-za-az-ḫa ú-ul te-ep-pu-uš* (29) *aš-šum ni-iš ʾIŠTAR en-na ú-ul-ti-šu.*

Translation: “Furthermore, on account of the ‘taboo’ (?) Hadad will give you [the booty(?) of your enemies. If you will not perform the *azazhum*-sacrifice you will not have grace on account of the oath of Ishtar.”

Notes to the text:

Lines 26–27: see *CAD* A/1 222b. For the translation of *uḫnu* as “taboo,” see my article cited in n. 11 above. Line 28: for the term *azazhum*, see Draffkorn (-Kilmer), “Hurrians,” p. 160.

Line 29: for the translation of *enna* as “grace,” “favor,” see I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian*, MAD 3 (Chicago, 1957), pp. 51–53 and idem, “Thoughts about Ibla” in G. Buccellati, ed., *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies, Monographic Journals of the Near East* (Malibu, California, 1977), p. 18; *CAD* E 170; *AHW* 219 s.v. *ennum*. All other occurrences of that word belong to the Old Akkadian period, and it seems that the word continued into the second millennium B.C. only in the western periphery.

²⁴ For the meaning of *bīt dūri* see *CAD* D 197 and *AHW* 178a d). Our reference is missing in both dictionaries, whose entries include only material from the first millennium B.C.. However, the expression *āl dūri*, “fortified city,” appears in Old Babylonian omen texts (see *AHW* 178a c).

9.65 × 11.50 meters. Presumably more than one story high,²⁵ it indeed had the appearance of a fort.

The temple of Alalakh level VII is one of a group of temples, known in modern scholarship as "fortress temples."²⁶ These temples are all geographically Syro-Palestinian and were discovered at Ebla,²⁷ Megiddo,²⁸ and Shechem.²⁹ Closely related temples were excavated at Ugarit³⁰ and Hazor.³¹ In the biblical narrative of Judges 9:46–49, the "migdal of Shechem" is mentioned three times. Mazar³² and Wright³³ independently suggested that this expression referred to the massive temple excavated in the Canaanite city of Shechem, and that this kind of temple would accordingly be called a "migdal temple." Thus the biblical term *migdal*, indicating the temple of Shechem, is parallel to the Akkadian term *bīt dūri*, "fortress," referring to the temple of Alalakh level VII. Either term, "migdal temple" or "fortress temple" may be used to designate that kind of Syro-Palestinian temple.

Summing up the results of this rather short discussion, it is clear that the fortress temple adjacent to the palace of Alalakh level VII was dedicated to the goddess Ishtar. The inscription of Idrimi, mentioning Ishtar as the "lady of Alalakh," agrees well with this conclusion. Accordingly, the temple of level IV, built above the level VII temple, was also dedicated to the same goddess. By inference, one might also suggest that the other fifteen temples, situated one over the other, were erected for the cult of Ishtar, the "first lady" of Alalakh.

²⁵ Woolley, *Alalakh*, p. 59.

²⁶ B. Mazar, "migdal" in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 634 f. (Hebrew); idem, "The Middle Bronze Age in Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal* 18 (1968): 92 f.; L. E. Toombs and G. E. Wright, "The Fourth Campaign at Balāṭah (Shechem)," *BASOR* 169 (1963): 18.

²⁷ A. Davico et al., *Missione archeologica italiana in Siria: rapporto preliminare della campagna 1960 (Tell Mardikh)* (Rome, 1967), pp. 63 ff. and fig. 6; P. Matthiae, "Unité et développement du temple dans la Syrie du bronze moyen" in *Le Temple et le culte*, CRAI, vol. 20 (1975), pp. 49 ff., 63 ff.

²⁸ G. Loud, *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935–1939* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 102–5; I. Dunayevsky and A. Kempinski, "The Megiddo Temples," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 89 (1973): 179–84.

²⁹ Wright, "The Second Campaign at Tell Balāṭah (Shechem)," *BASOR* 148 (1957): 20; idem, "The Fourth Campaign at Balāṭah (Shechem)," pp. 18–20; idem, *Shechem* (London, 1965), pp. 123–28.

³⁰ C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Les Fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras-Shamra, deuxième campagne (printemps 1930): rapport sommaire," *Syria* 12 (1931): 8–10; idem, "Les Fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras-Shamra, quatrième campagne (printemps 1932): rapport sommaire," *Syria* 14 (1933): 119 f.

³¹ Y. Yadin, *Hazor* (London, 1972), pp. 75–83.

³² See n. 26 above.

³³ Wright, *Shechem*, pp. 123–28; idem, "The Significance of Ai in the Third Millennium B.C." in A. Kuschke and E. Kutsch, eds., *Archäologie und Altes Testament: Festschrift für Kurt Gallig zum 8. Januar 1970* (Tübingen, 1970), p. 314.