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On the cover: an 18th-century map of the Holy Land, by Eman. Bowen.

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Editorial

This ninth volume of the *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* (*BAIAS*) is the fourth in its present format as a research journal dedicated to the publication of original articles on Near Eastern subjects of archaeological and historical interest.

The first issue, which appeared in 1982, was conceived as an in-house newsletter to provide members of the Society with short lecture summaries and the occasional article on current research. Much credit is due to Roberta Harris and Jeremy Schonfield for establishing the *Bulletin* as a quality publication, and to Mr John Day for providing the necessary financial support over the years. Since 1987, the *Bulletin* has been successfully transformed into a professional journal for the publication of papers by scholars and field archaeologists. The present issue is published with the overall sponsorship of the John S. Cohen Foundation, to whose trustees we are most grateful.

Four research articles are included here. The first, by Joan Taylor, is a re-examination of the Franciscan excavations at Capernaum, on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Taylor's very convincing but controversial arguments concerning the chronology and development of the so-called 'House of Peter' will doubtless stimulate further debate on the subject. Taylor has recently completed her PhD thesis for the University of Edinburgh, on the archaeological evidence for Jewish-Christians in Palestine during the Roman and Byzantine periods. She is also the co-author of a forthcoming book entitled *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Select Archaeological and Historical Problems* (PEF Monograph).

Gregory Wightman's article on the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Akra fortresses is the first instalment of a two-part study on the temple fortresses in Jerusalem. The problem of the location of the Akra has been a subject for debate ever since research into the topography of ancient Jerusalem commenced in the 19th century. Wightman makes a valiant attempt to clear up the problem. Part two of Wightman's study, entitled 'The Hasmonean Baris and Herodian Antonia', will appear in the next issue of the *Bulletin*. Wightman has recently published a detailed report on excavations conducted in the 1960s at the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem. Dan Bahat discusses this major contribution to the archaeology of Jerusalem in the Review section. We look forward to Wightman's forthcoming book on the archaeology and history of the fortification walls of Jerusalem.

A unique Assyrian glazed vase from Lachish is the subject of Pamela Magrill's

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contribution. This imported Assyrian vase, which was mistakenly published in the original excavation report by O. Tufnell as a 'faience' flask, is the only one of its kind known from Palestine. Magrill has participated in the renewed excavations at Lachish (directed by D. Ussishikin), and is currently engaged in postgraduate research on materials derived from the earlier Starkey excavations.

The fourth article, by Shimon Dar, is on a group of five copper axes, of Early Bronze I date, found at a site near the Nahal Alexander river not far from Kibbutz Ma'abarot.

Shimon Gibson

Capernaum and its 'Jewish-Christians': A Re-examination of the Franciscan Excavations

JOAN E. TAYLOR

The site of ancient Capernaum is located on the north side of the Sea of Galilee. The western part of the site is owned by the Franciscans. It is here that stands the famous synagogue, the dating of which has been so fiercely debated, and the remains of a Byzantine octagonal church on the alleged site of the house of St Peter. The eastern part of ancient Capernaum is owned by the Greek Orthodox Church. Excavations here have as yet uncovered less remarkable structures.

In this discussion, the focus will be on the Franciscan side of the town (Fig. 1), particularly the so-called 'House of Peter' and the claims made by the excavators that the octagonal church was built on a Jewish-Christian house-church. What the limestone synagogue might tell us about Capernaum in the Byzantine period will also be considered.¹

The Site of the 'House of Peter' and the Octagonal Church

Part of a basalt octagonal structure south of the synagogue ruins was first uncovered by a Franciscan, Wendelin Hinterkeuser, prior to the First World War. In May 1921 excavations continued under the direction of Father Gaudence Orfali. He brought to light the rest of the building and the remains of mosaic pavements with a central motif of a peacock, as well as the walls of more ancient houses (Orfali, 1922, 103–9). As a result of his excavations it was determined that the main structure consisted of three concentric octagons (8, 16.5 and 23 metres wide respectively).

In April 1968, V. C. Corbo and S. Loffreda renewed excavations at the site and proceeded to dig over a large area of the Franciscan property. The excavations still continue, although the region around the octagonal structure is now being enclosed within a large modern church. Corbo identified two strata below the area of the octagonal structure: firstly, a house-church of the 4th century and, secondly, domestic buildings constructed late in the Hellenistic period which underwent subsequent modifications (Fig. 2). These three levels will be looked at individually in order to check their dating, and to examine the conclusions that have been drawn concerning the Jewish-Christians.

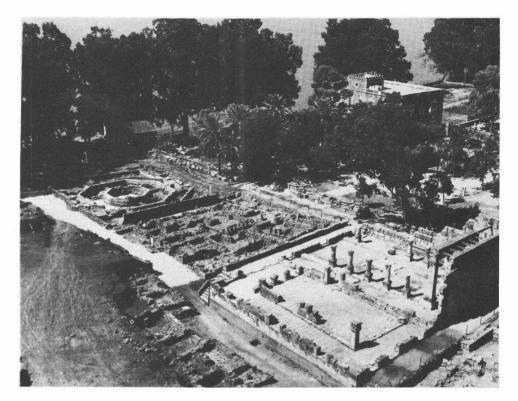


Fig. 1. Capernaum: aerial view of synagogue and octagonal church.

The Octagonal Church

A 5th-century dating of the octagonal structure (Corbo, 1975, 56) seems reasonably sure on the basis of coins from the first two decades of the 5th century found beneath the mosaic pavements (1975, 54) and from pottery. James Strange thinks that it was begun in the late 4th century and completed in the 5th (Strange, 1977, 68), but this depends on considering the date of the coins to be the exact date of the demolition and rebuilding, which may be incorrect. The coins give only the earliest possible dates for the renovations, and other factors must be brought to bear upon the matter to establish the chronology of the structure. Gideon Foerster prefers a date in the early 6th century (Foerster, 1971a, 210), which may well be closer to the mark. As Foerster points out, the structure is very similar in plan to the Church of the Theotokos on Mount Gerizim built by the Emperor Zeno after the Samaritan revolt of 484 (cf. Procopius of Caesarea, *Aedif.* 5.7; for the structure itself see: Schneider, 1951; Ovadiah, 1970, 140, Fig. 143). The Church of the Theotokos was a larger and far more impressive construction, and it would make better sense if the builder of the octagonal church at Capernaum had borrowed the architectural

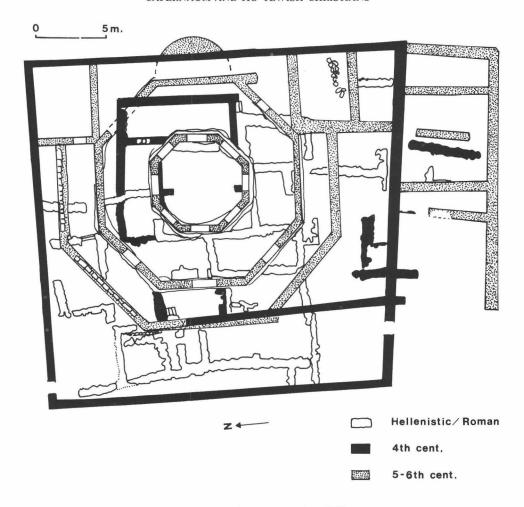


Fig. 2. Capernaum: plan of octagonal church (based on Corbo, 1975).

concept from Zeno's splendid edifice, rather than the reverse (cf. Fig. 3). Nevertheless, neither needed to be copied from the other, since the architectural model of an octagonal church could have been used by each separately.

The apse and small baptismal font at the Capernaum octagon were, according to Corbo, constructed after the main part (Corbo, 1975, Fig. 2.3, Foto 13, Pl. VI:A; *idem*, 1969, 11–12, 25–7) because a lime floor between the middle octagon and the eastern wall was found to run under the platform for the apse. It is just possible that the apse was constructed not much later than the rest of the building; mistakes could have been made and corrected in the course of the same building operation. Alternatively, the church may have followed the Syrian pattern of having a square internal apse, which was later changed.

Like the Church of the Theotokos on Mount Gerizim, the church in Capernaum

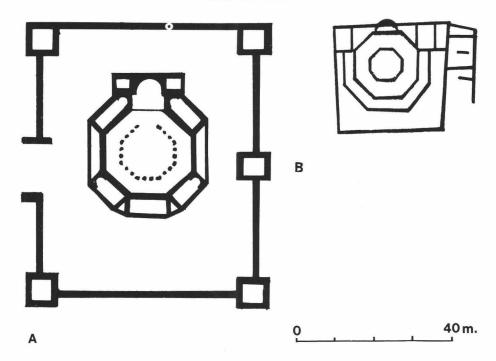


Fig. 3. A: Church of the Theotokos, Mt Gerizim (after Ovadiah, 1970); B: Capernaum octagon, same scale.

may have been constructed mainly for pilgrims. The focus for prayer in the former was a fragment of rock taken from 'Holy Calvary' (Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 8:134). The focus for prayer in the octagonal church of Capernaum is unknown, but it interesting that Egeria mentions, in regard to an earlier structure, that it was here that the Lord healed the paralytic (Mark 2: 1-12); some relic of this event may therefore have been displayed. The only pilgrim to mention a church in Capernaum which just might correspond to the octagonal structure calls it, somewhat strangely, a 'basilica' (Piacenza Pilgrim, Itin. 7), but of course it was nothing like a basilica. This 6th-century pilgrim does say it stood where the House of Peter used to be located, which corresponds with Egeria's testimony to the existence of such a place almost 200 years earlier (for which, see below). Later sources, however, do not confirm the existence of a House of Peter. They speak rather of a 'house of Saint John the Theologian' (Epiphanius the Monk, Hag. 10.1; S. Hel. et Const. Vit. 7) or 'a house and a great wall . . . where Zebedee used to live, and his sons John and James' (Hugeburc, Vita Will. 14). Gold tesserae found in the Greek Orthodox excavations may derive from this structure. This may mean that there was some kind of basilical church in the eastern side of the town by the time the relevant part of Epiphanius the Monk's account was written (an addition to the original, see Wilkinson, 1977, 120, 200-1), probably between the 8th and 9th centuries. There remains a possibility that the Piacenza Pilgrim believed he was

seeing the House of Peter when in fact he was shown a new basilical church that, perhaps, became known as the 'House of John', the theologian or apostle. If this is so, then the octagonal church may have been in ruins by AD 570, when the pilgrim wrote.

The 'House-Church'

At the second level - the remains of the so-called house-church - the archaeological evidence has permitted a reconstruction to be made of an area bordered by an enclosure wall measuring 27 metres on the north, west and south sides, and 30 metres in the east (Fig. 2). The enclosed area was entered by a door on the south side, near the corner with the west wall. Another wall ran from this entrance for 16 metres northwards, 6 metres distant from the west wall. A further door was situated opposite the first one in the north wall. It is difficult to know how many of the domestic buildings of the area were preserved as part of the 4th-century complex within the enclosure wall, but there was a central structure which appears to have been utilized as a Christian church. The rooms of a previous dwelling were made into a large room (No. 1), measuring 5.80 by 6.40 metres. This was provided with an arch which subdivided the space into an eastern and western part. Rooms 2, 4 and 5 were included in the central complex, which in total measured approximately 10 by 11 metres. Certain walls were rebuilt. A roof of strong mortar replaced a previous one of branches, earth and straw. The walls were plastered and painted with vegetal and geometric motifs, and on the plaster Christian pilgrims scratched their characteristic graffiti. Additional rooms were constructed to the east and to the north (cf. Corbo, 1975, 59-74).

At the outset it is important to note that the use of the term 'house-church' for the 4th-century structure may be misleading. A house-church is generally thought to be an owner-occupied home in which a room or rooms have been converted for Christian assemblies. Such a house-church would serve as a meeting place for an established Christian community (see Davies, 1968, 5-8). From the beginning, Christians assembled in private houses (Acts 1:13; 2:46; 9:37; 20:9; 1 Cor. 16:19; Col. 4:15, Philemon 2). At Dura Europos, however, the entire house seems to have been made over for Christian use (c. AD 231), incorporating an impressive baptistery and a bema for the cathedra (Rostovtsev, 1938, 129-34). The same is true for the house-church of Kirk-Bizzeh in Syria (c. 300-30); it was almost entirely converted (Davies, 1968, 8), with an eastern sanctuary and a horseshoe-shaped ambo with cathedra. The private owners had in both cases given over the house to the community. The presence of architectural features which reflect the use of the buildings for active Christian ritual and practice (baptistery, ambo, cathedra), and the efforts made in both Kirk-Bizzeh and Dura Europos to expand the available space to accommodate more people, both show that these buildings were used by active Christian communities.

By contrast, the house-church at Capernaum seems bare. There are no vestiges of anything that might have been employed in the course of active Christian

As Strange notes in his review of the Capernaum publications, Corbo and the other excavators appear to treat it as self-evident that the people of Capernaum were Jewish-Christians without ever advancing this as a working hypothesis and testing it against the evidence (Strange, 1977, 68–9).

The Domestic Buildings

Below the level of the 'house-church' lie remains of domestic buildings constructed late in the Hellenistic period (Corbo, 1975, 75–106; and see Fig. 2). The houses in this part of Capernaum were constructed very roughly out of basalt field stones, bound with smaller stones and earth (Corbo, 1975, 76; 1969, 37). The roofs were built of branches, earth and straw, and the floors were of field stones with earth in the interstices (Corbo, 1969, 39). These poor dwellings stand in marked contrast to the buildings excavated in the Greek Orthodox part of the site. There, up against the present dividing wall between the two sectors and partly underneath it, a bathhouse dating from the Roman period marks the dividing line between the area of poor settlements in the western part of town and the better housing to the east. In this eastern part, covered water courses provided a supply of fresh water from the spring further inland (now dry and as yet unlocated); a paved street running north—south contrasts with the rather irregular dirt roads in the western part of the town; a public building complex is constructed with fine masonry. Houses are well built and have lime floors (Tzaferis, Meidonis and Kessin, 1979; Tzaferis, 1983).

The poorly constructed settlement to the west stretches over the excavated part of the Franciscan side, in a total of eight known housing blocks or *insulae*. The block in which the octagonal church came to be built is known as *insula* 1 or the *insula sacra* by the excavators (cf. Loffreda, 1985, 8–9).

It is clear from the remains that the poorer classes lived in the west and the more affluent in the east. As such, the archaeological evidence adds weight to the suggestion that it was in the western part of the town that the historical Simon Peter's house was actually located. It should, however, be noted that the two fish-hooks found in the excavations were located in the destruction level of the 4th-century structure, and not in the floor of the earlest domestic building (Corbo, 1975, 97; Loffreda, 1974, 114). They may then have been placed in the room by pilgrims wishing to recall the activity of Peter. The presence of agricultural equipment, such as grinding stones for wheat, stone bowls and mortars, presses and handmills, in this quarter all show that the people here engaged in agricultural activity and some may have been tenant farmers. This is precisely the area we would expect Jesus to have lived and worked, and it is here we would also expect his first group of disciples to have met. Would they, all the same, have left any traces?

Corbo believes so. What was left, according to him, was a series of beaten lime floors in Room 1, dating back to the first century. No other lime floors were discovered in any other part of the poor western sector of Capernaum; he therefore believes that the floors have a special significance. The fact that it was this room that was made into the central feature of the 4th-century house-church, and later

formed the centre of the octagonal church, convinced Corbo that Jewish-Christians met in here and somehow venerated it. In short, the fact that there was a series of beaten lime floors in the so-called *sala venerata* (Room 1) was considered proof that this was indeed Peter's house.

The stratigraphy of Room 1 is discussed in detail by Corbo (1975, 78–98, cf. Loffreda, 1974, 114), but despite the claims made, the evidence is not chronologically conclusive for the lime floors. Four trenches were sunk in the northern part of Room 1 to explore the area under the mosaic pavement; from the west: Trenches d, a, b, and c (see Fig. 4). Summarizing the results, from the mosaic pavement to the

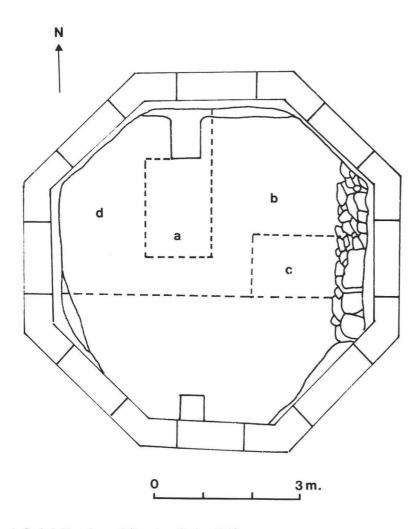


Fig. 4. Corbo's Trenches a-d (based on Corbo, 1975).

virgin soil, the levels were as follows (Fig. 5): (1) the mosaic pavement of the octagonal church; (2) a fill of red earth; (2a) the destruction level of the 'house-church', which included the fragments of painted plaster from the walls; (3) a polychrome floor of beaten lime; (A1) remains of another pavement with fragments of plaster painted red on a bed of stones; (A2) a bed of large stones. From this point on, the strata are not consistent over the excavated region. There is a difference between what was found in the western third of the excavated space and the eastern two-thirds, suggesting that there was a dividing line, perhaps a wall, between these two areas which was removed in later rebuilding. In the western Trench d, beds of basalt stones (B and C) with associated floors of beaten earth follow in close succession to the initial level of fill. Trench a has the same series of basalt beds in the west, but B does not continue underneath the 4th-century northern pilaster (Corbo, 1975, 79). In the east of Trench a there was a stratum of dark-brown earth, under level A2. This stratum of earth is found on the eastern two-thirds of the space, appearing also in Trenches b and c. Under it, in Trenches b

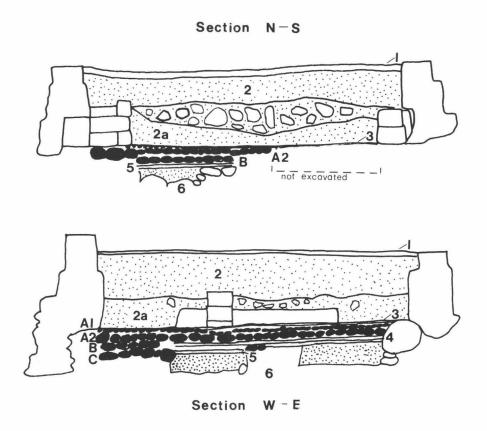


Fig. 5. Stratigraphic sections (based on Corbo, 1975).

and c, is a stratum of very black earth and then three successive beaten-lime pavements (4), each on a thin bed of black earth, followed by a bed of basalt stones corresponding to B, which does not continue towards the north. Adjacent to the east side of the northern 4th-century pilaster, excavation below the level of B uncovered four floors of black beaten earth (5) before striking the initial level of fill (6). In Trench c there was only fill below the floors of beaten lime.

From this it can be seen that the region of three beaten-lime pavements is found between the level of the beds of basalt stones B and A2 (so Loffreda, 1974, 80).

In dating the stratigraphy of Room 1, it must be remembered that Loffreda's study of the pottery and, more importantly, his dating, forms the basis for a chronology of the strata of the area. If Loffreda's conclusions about the pottery dating are at any time found to be in need of correction, the chronology of the area will have to be revised. We shall begin from the bottom, from the earliest level of fill which formed the foundation for the first pavement of the room. In this level (6), pottery from the 2nd to 1st centuries BC (Corbo, 1975, 80) was discovered. The next level is determined by the bed of basalt stones C in the west and a succession of beaten-earth pavements in the east, close to the north pilaster. On the former, was a Hellenistic lamp and fragments of pottery dating from the 1st century BC, as well as Herodian lamps and other pieces (Loffreda, 1974, 117) which bring the occupation period of this level to the 1st century AD and possibly to the first part of the second; in the case of the latter, the beaten-earth pavements, fragments of pottery used from the 1st century BC to the middle of the 2nd century AD (Corbo, 1975, 97) provide evidence of the same general chronology. On the bed of large stones B, there was pottery dated by Loffreda to between the 1st and 3rd centuries. Given also what lies below it, this probably means that bed B was laid in the middle of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd and continued to be used as the western floor until at least the 3rd century. Then comes the succession of lime pavements; but, curiously, the excavators found embedded into them minute fragments of lamps identified by Loffreda as Herodian (Loffreda, 1974, 116), although no descriptions or drawings are offered to enable others to verify this. Two Herodian lamps found between basalt blocks in the eastern wall do not provide any means of dating the floor.

These lime pavements are followed by bed A2. On the bed of small stones (A1) and pavement was a coin of Constans II (341–6) (Spijkerman, 1975, no. 142, 26) and another of the 'Late Roman' type (Spijkerman, 1975, no. 552, 59), along with pottery dating in a range between the late 4th and early 5th centuries (Loffreda, 1974, 114). There was no occupation level on the polychrome pavement (3), but in the destruction level above it was pottery dating mainly to the 5th century, as well as a coin from the time of Valentinian II (364–75), another of 346–61 and a third of the late 4th century (Spijkerman, 1975, nos 3, 4, 18; pp. 13, 15).

It may be well to restate that the presence of a coin of particular date does not date the pavement to the actual years of the coin's issue. While a coin may come from the reign of Constans II, this does not determine the date of the floor, since we do not know how long coins were in circulation. It is possible to conclude only

that the coin of Constans II on the pavement A1 means that the polychrome pavement must have been constructed after the date of the first appearance of this coin, in order to account for it being sandwiched below; but the polychrome pavement (3) could have been constructed fifty or even a hundred years after the date of the coin's issue, if the coin was in circulation for that long. Likewise, the pavement below may have been built at any time before the date of the coin's issue but it could also have been built at any time before the coin went out of circulation.

Much the same goes for pottery. The Herodian lamps found on the bed of stones C and under bed B are therefore much more significant for dating than the tiny fragments of Herodian lamps (if properly identified) found in the lime mixture of the successive pavements (4). The latter could have been embedded in the mix if it was made in a refuse dump outside the city (a probable place for lime-burning), but the lamps sealed under the bed of stones B means that B must have been laid either during or after the Herodian period, to account for their being sealed below. The identification by Corbo of the lime floors coming from a Jewish-Christian veneration of the domestic building of the 1st century AD (Corbo, 1975, 98) on the basis of the minute lamp fragments (Corbo, 1969, 40) seems therefore highly contentious.

In summary, it seems quite clear that the western floor C and the succession of beaten-earth floors were constructed in the 1st century BC on fill. The floor was relaid on a fresh bed of stones (B) at the end of the 1st century AD or the beginning of the 2nd. This continued in use at least as late as the 3rd century, until at some point the room was expanded and beaten lime floors were laid, culminating in a final bed of stones (A2). On this a pavement on a bed of small stones (A1) was laid in the mid- to late 4th century, or even the early 5th, over which was laid a polychrome pavement in the 5th century. It is unclear when precisely the intermediate beaten lime floors were laid; they may have been put down as late as the middle of the 4th century, or as early as the beginning of the 3rd. There is insufficient evidence to be conclusive. They did not, however, come from the 1st century. It should be noted that in Corbo's Tavola III (cf. Fig. 5), the north-south (unlabelled) section of Room 1 and its adjoining rooms has the level A2 labelled as lying under the north, 4th-century pilaster, implying that the pilaster post-dates the laying of bed A2, and certainly B; but the stones under the pilaster are much larger than those of bed A2 and lie below the level of A2. It seems much more probable that these form part of the foundation for the pilaster.

While it is impossible to conclude that the succession of beaten-lime floors on the eastern side of Room 1 comes from the middle of the 4th century, it is equally impossible to prove that they did *not* derive from this century. The assertion that the plaster on the wall of the room predated the polychrome floor (Corbo, 1969, 61, 66–7) seems only to apply to the final layer of plaster decoration, and there were two to three layers before this (Testa, 1972, 40). For example, the pieces of red plaster on the pavement A1 must derive from a previous plastering of the walls. Corbo assigns A1 to the 4th century also (Corbo, 1975, 98), though what lies below he considers more ancient. If the polychrome floor 3 was laid as late as the mid-5th century, and A1 at the beginning of that century, then the lime pavements need not

be prior to the 4th century. Rooms 2, 4 and 5 also had floors of beaten lime (Corbo, 1969, 58–61). Certainly, the location of the lime floors on only two-thirds of the room could suggest that they predate the time of the renovation, which created a larger space supported by an arch. On the other hand, they may also indicate that the eastern part of the room was the more important, and that the builder intended to preserve the memory of the extent of the previous room; the arches themselves divided the space into an eastern and western sector. Given the known plan of the 'house-church', pilgrims may have entered the room somewhere on the west and perhaps have stood only on the part that was not laid with beaten lime. The clergy, who probably occupied the adjoining rooms (2 and 4), would have been able to enter the room from a door leading from Room 4, and would have been the only ones to walk on the beaten-lime floor. Corbo's (1969, 57) identification of Room 2 as an atrium is without foundation.

Nevertheless, it seems more likely that too much is made of these lime floors as evidence of veneration by Christians. It may well be worth considering whether, even if the beaten-lime floors are to be dated prior to the 4th-century developments, this is really so significant. In the Greek Orthodox side of the town, where lime floors have been uncovered in private homes, their existence is testimony only to the higher standard of living in that quarter. In the complete absence of other significant finds, the very most that could be concluded from the presence of 3rd-century lime pavements is that the family who occupied this house were slightly more wealthy than the rest. At any rate, there are no grounds for Corbo's view that the lime floors are evidence of Jewish-Christian veneration of the building from the 1st century onwards.

The Graffiti of the Domus-Ecclesia

Despite the extensive discussion of the graffiti by Testa, it is not necessary for each piece to be examined here. Testa considers the graffiti to be largely the work of pilgrims, and somehow concludes that the pilgrims themselves were 'Jewish-Christians' (Testa, 1972, 183). The graffiti found on the plaster of the walls of the domus-ecclesia are mainly written in Greek, of which there are 151 examples, with 13 in Syriac and possibly 2 in Latin (Testa, 1972, 183). There are also 10 alleged Aramaic graffiti that have been used uncritically to assert that writers of Jewish Palestinian Aramiac (viz. Jews) visited the Christian shrine (ergo: they were Jewish-Christians); and these will be examined here. Unfortunately, while photographs exist of some of the graffiti fragments, and others are on display in the museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem, and can thus be checked, still others are available only as figures drawn by Testa from the originals and, since every drawing of this nature may incorporate unconscious interpretations, these must remain a little doubtful. For my own drawings of the graffiti, see Figure 6.

1 Testa (1972, no. 95, p. 93, Tav. XXIII) identified an Aramaic *lamed* on top and a *gimel* underneath. The *lamed* may just as easily be Nabataean (see Diringer,



Fig. 6. Graffiti fragments, nos 1-5 after Testa, 1972.

1968, Vol. 2, Fig. 15.21). This may mean that the shrine was visited by a converted Nabataean, but it would be rash to conclude anything on the basis of such a scratch. The lines interpreted by Testa as a *gimel* recall a cryptogram found in the Bethany cave (Taylor 1989, 273).

2 Identified by Testa (1972, no. 96, p. 93, Tav. XXIII) as an Aramaic *goph*, this letter is as likely to be the remains of a Greek letter *rhô*.

- 3 The letters are read by Testa (1972, no. 97, p. 93, Tav. XXIII) as šin, zain and yod. However, the letters can more easily be read as the remains of a Greek psi followed by omega.
- 4 The letters here are identified by Testa (1972, no. 98, p. 94, Tav. XXIII) as *áin, zain* and final *mem*. They would seem to be more probably Greek: *omicron, iota* and *chi*. It seems likely, moreover, that the letters should be read the other way up to Testa's reading, given the slip of the diagonal of the *chi*, so that the sequence would read XIO (as shown in Figure 6:4). The square form of the *omicron* was easier to scratch than a round form, and is found at Nazareth, as Testa himself has recorded (Testa, 1972, Tav. XXII and no. 117, p. 161, Tav. XXXII, Fig. 16) as well as elsewhere in Capernaum.
- **5** Testa (1972, no. 99, p. 95, Tav. XXIII) sees *qoph* followed by *mem*. The shape with bifid arms on the left may be part of the same cryptogram found in the first example. The letter to the right could be part of an Estrangelo *semkath*. This letter transliterated the Greek *sigma* in names ending in *-os* borrowed from Greek by Syriac.
- 6 This fragment has been split into two and is extremely unclear. Testa (1972, no. 100, pp. 96–7, Tav. XXIII) reads צפרית. Turned upside down, one may just distinguish $\Lambda\Theta$ ETO, though the piece is marked with many scratches and it is difficult to see which are significant. At any rate, there seems no good reason to see the graffito as being written in Aramaic rather than Greek.
- 7 This is clearly Greek, read by Testa (1972, no. 101, pp. 97–9, Tav. XXIII, Fig. 12) the wrong way up. The first line reads: HIE and the second: XNKA. Testa's drawing of the piece is inaccurate, and his reading of: "לי cannot be sustained."
- 8 Again, this appears to be upside-down Greek. The letters are OCI, but the *iota* has met with a long random scratch above it. Testa (1972, no. 102, pp. 99–100, Tav. XXIV, Fig. 12) read: סכן
- 9 This is very indistinct, but even without inverting the piece, the letters appear to be Greek. On the top line a tau or iota is followed by omega and chi. On the bottom line there is probably an epsilon followed by a delta. Testa (1972, no. 103, pp. 100–3, Tav. XXIV) saw אמשך and אמשך.
 - 10 On this piece, Testa (1972, no. 104, p. 104, Tav. XXIV) distinguished:

יבם יחף בי יוחשו ייעף כשו

However, the graffito is exceedingly unclear, and it may be possible to read it as a number of different scripts, especially if random scratches are read as being inten-

tional. Greek seems the most likely, since on the bottom line there appear to be mu, omega, psi (made into an Aramaic waw by Testa) and upsilon.

In conclusion, most of the alleged Aramaic graffiti are quite clearly Greek, and it would be presumptuous to suggest that those that are doubtful are Aramaic purely because of their obscurity. It should also be noted that a sherd found under pavement A of the courtyard 6 west of the *sala venerata* was said by Corbo to be inscribed with 'Hebrew' of a Jewish-Christian cultic nature (see Corbo, 1975, 107–11). He read, 'Purify (the pitcher) of wine, (your) blood, O Yahweh':

It could in fact be read in Aramaic: '(Name) the winemaker; wine which he squeezed. May it be for good':

as Strange (1977, 69) has pointed out.

Joseph of Tiberias

Nothing in the literary sources would require us to imagine that Capernaum was, prior to the 4th century, anything but an entirely Jewish town. In the excavations on both sides of the dividing wall no artefacts of a pagan or definitely Christian nature of any time prior to the 4th century have been discovered. The archaeological remains are therefore consistent with the notion that the town was Jewish. According to Epiphanius, Joseph received permission from the Emperor Constantine to build churches in Jewish strongholds such as Nazareth, Capernaum, Sepphoris (Diocaesarea) and Tiberias (*Pan.* 30.11.10) and 'in Diocaesarea and also in each of the others he completed buildings' (*Pan.* 30.12.9).

It seems indisputable that Joseph constructed the 'house-church' in Capernaum. Not only does the date of this structure parallel the date of Joseph's building programme (c. 337), but the building materials themselves provide added confirmation. The structure was provided with a lime pavement, the walls covered with lime plaster, lime mortar was used to bond the basalt blocks of the new walls, and the same lime mortar was employed in the roof (see Corbo, 1969, 58–9). If there is one thing we know from Epiphanius about Joseph's building technique it is that he employed a great deal of lime. Epiphanius tells the story that outside Tiberias Joseph constructed about seven kilns for burning lime. The Jews put a spell on the kilns so that they would not burn properly (sic!); thereby halting his work. Joseph rushed to the kilns with a pitcher of water, on which he traced the sign of the cross, and invoked Jesus' name to cause the water to counteract the sorcery. After this,

he sprinkled the water on the kilns and the fire blazed up (*Pan.* 30.12.4–8). Lime was clearly essential for his building.

Furthermore, the very idea of building not just a church, but a 'House of Peter' may have been Joseph's. It is very likely indeed that Joseph of Tiberias built the 'House of Mary' church at Nazareth, which in its use of plaster and decoration is very similar (see Taylor, 1987; 1989, 316–76; cf. Corbo, 1987). The language used by the Piacenza Pilgrim in regard to the church he saw is very like that which he used to describe the changes at Nazareth: 'Also we came to Capernaum, and went into the house of Blessed Peter, which is now a basilica' (*Itin.* 5).

One might, incidentally, ask whether Joseph similarly called the churches he built at Sepphoris and Tiberias 'houses' and, if so, why? Interestingly, Egeria reports that at Tiberias there was a church on the site of the house of James and John (Pet. Diac. Lib. V2). She does not say it was the actual house, but 'on the spot where once stood the house of the apostles James and John'. This would therefore not contradict Epiphanius' account that Joseph built his church in Tiberias in a corner of the old Hadrianeum (Pan. 30.12.1-2); the presence of a pagan temple did nothing to dissuade Christians from believing a Christian site lay buried beneath it, and may even have encouraged such a belief. As in so many instances of early-Byzantine churches, the reference by Egeria is the only one we have for this 'house'. Pilgrims certainly visited Tiberias during the Byzantine period (Theodosius, De Situ 2; Piacenza Pilgrim, Itin. 7; Adomnan, De Loc. Sanct. 2.25.1), but none itemizes places of prayer. Hugeburc writes that there was a large number of synagogues and churches at Tiberias (Vita Will. 15), but does not describe them. Even more discouraging, in Sepphoris/Diocaesarea there is no specific reference in the literature to a 'house' of any kind, only the relics of the flagon and breadbasket of Mary (Piacenza Pilgrim, Itin. 4). However, in Theodosius' account (De Situ 4) he mentions that Simon Magus came from Diocaesarea. This may not at first seem significant, but it is in fact quite curious. It is a well-attested tradition in patristic literature that Simon Magus came from Geth or Gitta in Samaria (Justin, Apol. 26.6; Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. 3.26.3). Theodosius' belief, as a pilgrim, could very well have derived from the fact that he saw a 'House of Simon Magus' in Sepphoris. If there was such a place, it would have been perfectly in keeping with the interests of Joseph that he should have constructed a 'house' of the arch-magician (cf. Acts 8:9-24); Joseph was interested in magic, and was a practitioner of its (pseudo-) Christian version (see the 'lime kiln' story above, and Pan. 30.7.1-8.10; 10.3-8). Later on in Sepphoris there was a church associated with a monastery (Ovadiah, 1970, 181-2); but small, quirky, plastered churches covered in pilgrim graffiti have yet to be found in Sepphoris or Tiberias. If ever they are found in these places, there would be quite good grounds for assigning them to the initiative of Joseph.

If Joseph chose to deem his churches to be commemorative of the houses of famous New Testament personages, it would explain why he was successful in building such shrines. The names would indicate the purpose: he built the churches as pilgrimage centres, 'tourist attractions', though he may also have hoped that the visitors would effect some conversions among the Jewish populations. In calling a

church the 'House of Mary' in Nazareth, he must have known that pilgrims would be attracted to the shrine. Furthermore, he would have succeeded in building the churches not simply because he had Constantine's blessing, but because the churches did not seriously threaten the existing Jewish community and, moreover, could be seen as encouraging the influx of wealth. There must have been some reason why the Jewish communities in which he built the churches failed to muster any significant opposition. An economic reason could provide the key.

It is at this stage that the question of the magnificent limestone synagogue of Capernaum, which stands barely 30 metres from the 'House of Peter' and towers over it, must be considered.

The Question of the Synagogue⁵

The synagogue ruins of Capernaum were first surveyed by E. Robinson in 1857 and partly uncovered by C. Wilson in 1866 (Wilson, 1869). After the site became the property of the Franciscans in 1894, Kohl and Watzinger cleared more of the structure (Kohl and Watzinger, 1916, 14–21; and Fig. 12) and Orfali continued this work (Orfali, 1922, 21–101). With Corbo and Loffreda in 1969, modern excavations began and are continuing.

The synagogue consists of four elements: a prayer hall (23×17.28 metres), a courtyard to the east (23×10.8 –12.6 metres), a southern porch, and a side-room near the northwest corner of the prayer hall. The façade faces south, toward Jerusalem.

The dating of the synagogue has been a source of some controversy. Corbo and Loffreda have held that the Capernaum synagogue should be dated to the 5th century, with the building begun in the late 4th century and finished in the middle of the 5th century (Corbo, Loffreda and Spijkerman, 1970; Corbo, 1970; 1972; 1975, Part II; Loffreda, 1970; 1972; 1973a, 1973b; 1981; Spijkerman, 1970). The eastern courtyard has been attributed to the late 5th century on the basis of 5th-century pottery and coins dated up to the reign of Leo I (c. AD 474) found below its pavement (Loffreda, 1979).

Israeli archaeologists supported an earlier dating, based on the proposal by Kohl and Watzinger (1916, 4–40, 219) that the white synagogue was built c. AD 200 and destroyed in the 4th century. B. Meistermann (1921, 163) and Orfali (1922, 67) attempted to argue that it could be dated to the Herodian period, but no one has recently followed such an early dating. Instead, the Israeli view was that the structure should be placed in the 3rd century, before the triumph of Christianity in the region (Sapir and Neéman, 1967; Foerster, 1971a; 1971b; Avi-Yonah, 1973; Fischer, 1986⁶). Doubts about the integrity of levels excavated under the pavement of the synagogue have been answered by Strange (1977, 69–71), who notes that the presence of coins and pottery dating from the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th (Corbo, 1975, 121) cannot be countered by an argument that this indicates later reconstruction, as the layer of mortar on which the pavement was set was not secondary (Strange, 1977, 70). The reasons put forward for an

earlier date for the synagogue owe much to stylistic considerations (Foerster, 1971a, 208–9), but the refusal to believe that the white synagogue could have been constructed in the 5th century also owes much to historical preconceptions. How could a synagogue tower over a small Christian building like this? As Avi-Yonah (1973, 45) wrote: 'Such a state of affairs might be conceivable in our ecumenical age, but it seems impossible to imagine that it would have been allowed by the Byzantine authorities of the fourth century.' The same concern is echoed by Shanks (1979, 72): 'Can we accept the fact that so magnificent and richly decorated a synagogue as Capernaum would be allowed to be built so close to a church whose religion was now the state religion?' This begs the question of how can we be certain that the Byzantine authorities had absolute power over the Jewish towns of Galilee in the 5th century? In the middle of the 4th century the programme of Christianization begun by Constantine was interrupted by the reactionary reign of Julian, who supported the Jews. Jews had already revolted against Gallus Caesar in 351 (Avi-Yonah, 1976, 176–81), ensuring Jewish national authority in Galilee (Avi-Yonah, 1976, 181). Despite the promulgation of anti-Jewish laws (Avi-Yonah, 1976, 208-29), attacks on synagogues and the eventual destruction of the patriarchate, it would appear that Jews continued to exercise authority over their areas (Avi-Yonah, 1976, 237-8) and built synagogues at places such as Beth Alfa, Hammath Gader, Hammath Tiberias, Husifa, Jericho, Naaran, Maon, Gerasa, Ascalon, Gaza and Azotus (Avi-Yonah, 1976, 238-9). Economic conditions in Byzantine Palestine were good (Avi-Yonah, 1958; 1976, 221-3), and the early 5th century saw something of a boom. Economic circumstances would have been particularly good in areas such as Capernaum, to which a constant stream of Christian pilgrims brought valuable revenue. One might suggest that this combination of material prosperity and of the threat from Christian legislation was in fact a prime reason for the Jews of Capernaum to build one of the most beautiful synagogues in Palestine. It should not arouse scepticism that they embarked on a project to make their synagogue literally outshine the neighbouring Christian structure, which was at this stage only the little domus-ecclesia.

Christians had already expressed interest in visiting the synagogue that existed prior to the white synagogue's construction, because of its connection with Jesus' ministry (cf. *Mark* 1:23). Egeria wrote that in Capernaum 'There is also the synagogue where the Lord cured a man possessed by the devil. The way in is up many stairs, and it is made of dressed stone' (Pet. Diac., *Lib.* V2). This earlier, black-basalt synagogue probably occupied the same spot, and was constructed during the 1st century (Loffreda, 1985, 43–9; Corbo, 1982). The new synagogue would have been a source of pride in a community now under threat from the Christians who held authority in the province as a whole. It may well be that the octagonal church was constructed as some recompense, so that the Christians also had a new building.

The contemporaneity of the two buildings is only a problem if we insist that the Christian authorities exercised an effective absolute rule over Capernaum. There is no real evidence that they did. The situation may well have been quite the inverse;

indeed, only this would account for the archaeological evidence. The Jewish authorities of Capernaum permitted the construction of a small Christian pilgrimage site. With the wealth they received from the influx of Christian tourists, and with a desire to promote Jewish religion and culture in an age in which it was threatened, they undertook, by means of contributions from the community, the construction of an elegant limestone synagogue that would indeed tower over the Christian structure.

To conclude, it is probable that Joseph of Tiberias purchased *insula* 1 at around the time of Constantine's death in 337, when he began building small Christian churches in four Jewish towns. He managed to convince the Jewish authorities that his proposition would pose little threat, perhaps even that it would be politic given the religious persuasions of the emperor, and that it would provide extra income for the town. The old dwellings of the *insula* were renovated to accommodate Christian visitors and to provide a focus for prayer, even though it would have been an unusual, small and unassuming church, with perhaps only a few clergy ministering to its upkeep. As with Nazareth, Christians were also guided to the Jewish synagogue by the local Jews.

From this survey of the archaeological evidence at Capernaum, it seems very unlikely that Jewish-Christians venerated a room or house that was the genuine site of Simon Peter's dwelling. If there was some memory of the site of the actual house, then it may have been part of the folk traditions of the town rather than because an active group of Jewish-Christians lived there. If Jewish-Christians did live in Capernaum after the 1st century, they have left no trace.

Notes

- 1 This article is a modified version of Chapter 13 in the author's doctoral thesis (Taylor, 1989).
- 2 Such an appellation is likely to be that of Peter the Deacon, in whose account the Egeria's description is preserved, see Wilkinson, 1981, 194, n. 7.
- 3 The 'ass of Balaam' also appears in the New Testament in 2 Peter 2:15–16: 'Forsaking the right way they have gone astray; they have followed the way of Balaam, the son of Beór, who loved gain from wrongdoing, but was rebuked for his own transgression; a dumb ass spoke with human voice and restrained the prophet's madness' (RSV). Here the ass plays a somewhat more positive role.
 - 4 'The house of St Mary is now a basilica' (Itin. 5).
 - 5 For good discussions of the architecture see: Chiat, 1982; Shanks, 1979; Sukenik, 1934.
- 6 It should be noted that one exception to the usual Israeli view is that of Z. U. Maoz, who believes that the synagogue itself was built by Christians (Maoz, 1981).

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Temple Fortresses in Jerusalem Part I: The Ptolemaic and Seleucid Akras

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A great deal has been written about the Second Temple period fortresses of Jerusalem, but we have yet to see the emergence of a clear consensus on such basic issues as the location of the Seleucid Akra and the extent of the Herodian Antonia. Besides these, there have been the ever-present problems concerning the Ptolemaic and Hasmonean fortresses, on which history and archaeology have been able to throw only a dim light. The aim of the present articles is to evaluate critically the source material for each of the four fortresses, in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of their nature, extent and location.

The Ptolemaic Citadel

Maccabees II, composed at about the same time as Maccabees I (i.e. in the late 2nd or early 1st centuries BC), focuses on the early stages of the Maccabean Revolt. On three occasions Maccabees II mentions a citadel that existed prior to the construction of the Seleucid citadel in 167 BC: Mac. II 4:12 (c. 174–1 BC), 4:27–8 (c. 171–70 BC), and 5:5–6 (c. 169 BC). In all three cases the Greek word used for the citadel is akropolis, which might simply have been the author's personal preference over the term akra, the two being interchangeable. The second passage states that one of the functions of the citadel was as an administrative centre for the Seleucid eparchos, who was responsible for maintaining public order and collecting revenues. No doubt a garrison was stationed in the akropolis to enforce the commander's decision. The only clues given by the texts as to the location of the akropolis is that it stood within the city walls (Mac. II 5:5–6; and of course it must have been near the summit of the eastern ridge in the vicinity of the Temple).

The same citadel is mentioned also by Josephus in respect to events of 198 BC, when the Seleucids and Ptolemies were battling for political control of Palestine (Ant. XII.133, 138). In both passages Josephus used his favourite word for a citadel, akra. No useful topographical information is supplied on the citadel's location. The importance of these passages is that they carry the early Seleucid akropolis of Maccabees II back into the late-Ptolemaic period. But there is no information available on its construction date, which one may tentatively assume to have been shortly after the Ptolemaic penetration into Palestine at the beginning of the 3rd century BC. The citadel may have been restored by Simon II in line with Antiochus III's favourable edict (Ant. XII.138), but whether it can be identified in

the somewhat cryptic text of *Ben Sira* 50:1-4 is open to question (the *oikos* and *hēykāl* in v.l of the Greek and Hebrew texts respectively might possibly allude to the Ptolemaic citadel as the administrative seat of the *eparchos*).

Another source of possible, if rather questionable, relevance to the Ptolemaic citadel is the so-called Letter of Aristeas, which purports to be an account by a certain Aristeas to his brother Philocrates, describing events that led up to the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. The events are set in the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and more specifically in connection with his queen Arsinoë II (278-70 BC). Aristeas claimed to have been part of a delegation sent to Jerusalem to arrange for a group of Jewish scribes to carry out the translation. The authenticity of the document has been called into question by several scholars. It now seems that the author of the letter was not called Aristeas, that he was a Jew rather than a Greek, and that he lived much later than the reign of Ptolemy II (for bibliography, see Eissfeldt 1965, 603). No consensus has emerged on the date of the Letter, though the main part of it is possibly no earlier than the later 2nd century BC, and certainly no later than the 1st century AD (Josephus, in his Antiquities, paraphrased the Letter and obviously regarded it as of some historical worth). Parts of the Letter may have been added during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Stanzas 100 to 106 contain a brief description of Jerusalem, including the citadel (called the akra), to the top of which Aristeas and his colleagues climbed in order to obtain a good view of the Temple sacrifices (Letter 100–14; qv. Charles 1913; for the Greek text see Pelletier 1962):

But in order that we might gain complete information, we ascended to the summit of the neighbouring citadel [parakeimenēn akran] and looked around us. It is situated in a very lofty spot and is fortified with many towers, which have been built up to the very top with immense stones, with the object, as we were informed, of guarding the Temple precincts, so that if there were an attack or an insurrection or an onslaught of the enemy, no one would be able to force an entrance within the walls that surround the Temple. On the towers of the citadel engines of war were placed and different kinds of machines, and the position was much higher than the circle of walls which I have mentioned. The towers were guarded too by most trusty men who had given the utmost proof of their loyalty to their country. These men were never allowed to leave the citadel, except on feast days and then only in detachments, nor did they permit any stranger to enter it. They were also very careful when any command came from the chief officer to admit any visitors to inspect the place, as our own experience taught us. They were very reluctant to admit us to view the offering of sacrifices . . . they were five hundred in number [but] would not permit more than five men to enter at one time. The citadel was the special protection of the Temple and its founder had fortified it so strongly that it might efficiently protect it.

This would be an important piece of evidence if one could be sure that it referred back to the Ptolemaic citadel. Certainly the conditions described best fit the occupation of a citadel by a non-Jewish garrison, but the description could just as easily refer to the Seleucid citadel as the Ptolemaic, and could even reflect the Hasmonean fortress-palace, which dominated the Temple area at the time the Letter of Aristeas was written. One might not expect the author of the Letter to have gone to the trouble of finding an accurate description of the Ptolemaic citadel; the

one visible in his day might have been considered adequate for a description of a 'typical' citadel.

The Seleucid Akra

The Seleucid citadel, or 'Akra' as it was called in Greek, was built by Antiochus IV in 167 BC following his destruction of the city, and remained in use at least until the time of Simon the Hasmonean, and perhaps until the reign of John Hyrcanus I. The Akra served two main purposes: (1) as a defensive counterpoint to the fortress-like Temple enclosure (built in all probability under the aegis of the highpriest Simon II in the early 2nd century BC – the Temple enclosure stood in ruins at the time of the Akra's construction, but it still represented a potential source of danger to the Hellenists in the City of David); (2) as a safeguard for the Hellenist enclave in the City of David/Lower City. In the latter respect the Akra – whose name signifies a fortified high-place overlooking a town – was a perfectly normal feature of a Greek polis. During the Maccabean revolt the Akra became a symbol of anti-Jewish paganism. As the Temple enclosure was the fortress of the pious, so the Akra came to be viewed by Hassidic Jews as the fortress of the impious and wicked. On more than one occasion the Hasmoneans attempted to oust the Greek garrison from the Akra, until finally Simon succeeded in conquering it (Mac. I 13:49–52, 14:37–7).

Though the history and purpose of the Akra are not open to serious dispute, the same cannot be said for its nature and location, which together have constituted one of the thorniest problems in Second Temple topography. On the basis of certain discrepancies in Josephus' several accounts of the Akra, scholars have suggested many different locations for it: north of the Temple, within the Temple enclosure, south of the Temple, at various places on the southeastern or southwestern hills, or even on the northwestern hill. There are, indeed, very few places in Jerusalem that have not been proposed at one time or another as the site of the Seleucid Akra. Some scholars have debated the parallel question of whether the Akra was a building, a demarcated precinct within the city, a combination of both, or even whether there may have been more than one site in Jerusalem to which the generic name *akra* was applied.

The crux of the problem lies in Josephus' statements that the Akra stood in the Lower City and that it was situated on a hill that overlooked the Temple (Ant. XII.252; War I.39, V.137–9, 253, VI.392). There is no problem in locating the Lower City of Josephus' time: it occupied the eastern hill south of the Temple Mount. The problem is that this area has always been much lower than the summit of the Temple Mount (about 30 metres lower at the south wall of the Haram ash-Sharif). But for Josephus this anomaly harboured no contradiction, for it could be rationalized by a current tradition to the effect that the hill of the Akra had originally been higher than the Temple Mount, but was later quarried back by the Hasmoneans to render it lower than the Temple (Ant.XIII.215–7; War V.138–9). This tradition has been received with considerable scepticism by modern scholars, especially in the light of excavations south of the Temple Mount, which showed

that this area – the highest point in the Lower City – had not been substantially quarried during either the Hellenistic or Herodian periods. Some levelling of the rock had occurred, of course, when the area was reorganized by Herod I into a system of plazas, esplanades and steps fronting the Huldah gates, but adjacent to these structures natural rock remained, in some places preserving intact architectural remains of the Israelite period. Yet even prior to these discoveries some scholars had reached the conclusion that Josephus was plainly wrong and that the Seleucid Akra should be sought elsewhere, on a suitably eminent spot that did overlook the Temple, either on its north side or on the southwestern hill (for a useful summary of earlier views, see Tsafrir 1975a).

Any attempt to locate the Seleucid Akra must start with the most reliable source, Maccabees I, which was written within a short time of the citadel's destruction. Mac. I 1:33 gives the Akra's location as the City of David: 'and they built the City of David with a great and strong wall, strong towers, and it became for them a citadel'. Where in Jerusalem was the City of David during the Late Hasmonean period? For the author of Maccabees I, Jerusalem comprised two parts, the City of David and Mount Zion. The latter was the hill on which the Temple stood, and by association the Temple enclosure itself (hence Antiochus V is said to have entered into Mount Zion; Mac. I 6:62). The site of Zion had thus moved north from its original home on the southeastern hill (above the Gihon spring). Exactly when and why this relocation took place is uncertain, though several factors must have played a part, including (1) the decreasing relative importance of the southeastern hill to Judaism through the Persian and Early Hellenistic periods; (2) the gradual burying of remains of the Jebusite and Davidic citadels, and the exclusion from Nehemiah's city of the Jebusite terraces; (3) the conversion of the area of the former Jebusite citadel into a domestic quarter during the Late Israelite, Persian and Early Hellenistic periods: (4) retention of the knowledge that the palaces of the Israelite kings had been situated somewhere between the City of David and the Temple, so that in due course David's citadel attached itself to that of Solomon and his successors, and was regarded as having lain north of the old City of David; (5) the fact that during the Persian period occupation focused on the Temple Mount, serving to elevate the importance of the northern part of the hill relative to the southern; (6) the fact that in later pre-exilic Jewish writing the name Zion came to be used more frequently as a symbol or metaphor, detached by degrees from its originally physical referents.

Abandonment of the name Zion began to occur perhaps as early as the period of exile; it is not mentioned in *Nehemiah* or *Ezra*. *Nehemiah* does refer, however, to the palace of the Israelite kings in a position just south of the Temple. By the 1st century AD the name Zion was no longer used as a contemporary topographical name, yet there are no grounds for assuming that its position had migrated in the hundred years since the writing of *Maccabees* I. Thus a Jew who happened to come across the word Zion in the Scriptures would have realized that it meant the area of the palaces of the Israelite kings in the vicinity of the Temple. Josephus would have thought along similar lines. For example, in the story of David's capture of

Jerusalem (Ant. VII.62–5) he wrote: 'he seized the Lower City by force, but the Akra remained standing'; 'he evicted the Jebusites from the Akra and rebuilt Jerusalem, calling it the City of David'. For Josephus, the Jebusite akra, i.e. the Fortress of Zion, stood in the same place as the 'Mount Zion' of Maccabees I, on the Temple Mount. Thus the events described in Ant. VII.62–3 took place on the whole of the eastern ridge, not just the hill south of Gihon. However, whereas for the author of Maccabees I the 'citadel of Zion' and the site of Solomon's Temple were coincident (or nearly so), Josephus gives no indication that he believed any citadel to have stood on the site of the Temple. For him, as perhaps for many of his contemporaries, there had at one time been a higher hill between the Temple and the Lower City. It was probably on this real or imagined eminence that Josephus located the Jebusite/Davidic citadel, as also the Seleucid Akra. The tradition was essentially spurious. Without it Josephus probably would have followed Maccabees I in putting Solomon's Temple and the Jebusite/Davidic citadel in the same place, on the summit of the Temple Mount.

In stating that after his capture of the Jebusite stronghold, David rebuilt Jerusalem, Josephus surely meant the area occupied by the Lower City, since in Ant. VII.62 he relates that it was the Lower City that David stormed by force, and that this therefore was the particular area requiring restoration, because of damage sustained during the siege. Thus the expression anoikodomēsas ta Hierosolyma serves to link together, and to establish an identity between, the Lower City of Ant. VII.62 and the City of David of Ant. VII.65, since 'City of David' was the new name for Jerusalem - none other than the rebuilt Lower City. In other words, Josephus' City of David was coincident with the Lower City. Since there is no intrinsic reason to assume a change in the location of the City of David during the 1st century BC, the City of David of Maccabees I must also have been located on the eastern ridge south of the Hellenistic Temple enclosure. So the two parts of Jerusalem identified by Maccabees I - Mount Zion and City of David - occupied the whole of the eastern ridge. This does not, of course, represent the entire extent of the city at the end of the 2nd century BC. By that time the southwestern hill had been occupied and fortified. But the historical events related by Maccabees I pertain to the focal point of the Hasmonean city: the eastern ridge.

Having described David's capture of the Jebusite citadel and of Jerusalem on the eastern ridge, Josephus goes on to recount a rather unusual, and in some respects problematic, event that was not part of OT tradition (Ant. VII.66):davides de tēn te anō polin paralabōn kai tēn akran synapsas autēi epoiēsen hen sōma, kai periteichisas epimelētēn tōn teichōn katestēsen Iōabon. Textual corruption is rife in this passage. Several important Mss read katō polin for anō polin, and reverse the sense of tēn akran synapsas autēi by writing tē akra synapsas en autē (Niese 1955, 104). The Mss in which these alterations occur were written during the later Middle Ages, by which time the transference of Zion and City of David to the southwestern hill was complete. The medieval editors are likely to have emended the available Mss in order to make sense of the passage as they understood it. That the reading anō polin is to be preferred over katō polin is strongly suggested both by

the context of the preceding verses (which intimate that David had already captured the Lower City) and by the reference in *War* V.137 to the existence of 'Davidic' fortifications in the Upper City. The inversion of *tēn akran synapsas autēi* does not alter the essential meaning of the expression, i.e. the incorporation into a single urban unit of the *akra* and Upper City by means of an encircling wall. Thus the passage may be translated as follows: 'Having taken hold of the Upper City and joining it and the *akra*, he made [it as] a single body [i.e. one city] and enclosed it with a wall, charging Joab with the supervision of the walls.'

Josephus mentioned this apocryphal episode to account for the presence of a very ancient wall around the Upper City which had been built originally during the Israelite period and whose remains had been partly incorporated into the Hasmonean city wall (the same as Josephus' 'First Wall'). During Josephus' time these ancient fortifications were attributed to King David. Their existence probably inspired the belief that David's citadel might have been located here rather than near the Jebusite akra in the Lower City. This notion may indeed have originated when the slopes of the Upper City were being cleared of rubble and debris in the late 2nd century BC, bringing the ancient masonry into full view after centuries of obscurity. Having then been incorporated into the Hasmonean city wall, the ancient fragments remained exposed into the 1st century AD. Since the author of Maccabees I remained silent on the possibility of a 'lost citadel' of David on the southwestern hill, one may assume that the idea was only just then beginning to take root. On the other hand, the older tradition was never completely submerged during the Second Temple period. Josephus did not refer to the 'Davidic' fortifications of the Upper City as the akra of David, but more circumspectly as a phrourion, i.e. a garrison-fort or watch-post. His wording may hint at a conflict between the new, visible facts and the received textual tradition.

The older tradition found its own physical support in certain topographical features on the eastern hill which had been there since the Israelite period. These included the Siloam Pool (still in its original location), the Gihon spring (probably the 'Pool of Solomon' mentioned by Josephus), and the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. The tombs of David and most of his successors were situated within the confines of the Zion Fortress and Citadel of David. The tombs were still known in this area at the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 3:16), though possibly by this stage dissociated from the obliterated citadel. Even as late as the 1st century AD the original site of the tombs was well known (Acts 2:29; Ant. XIII.249, XVI.179). The citizens of Herodian Jerusalem, faced on the one hand with the authentic royal tombs in the Lower City - which Scripture told them were within the City of David - and on the other hand apparently 'Davidic' fortifications in the Upper City, were forced to reconcile the archaeological and textual evidence. The dilemma was probably not resolved during the 1st century AD; hence Josephus' somewhat diluted reference to phrourion rather than akra. It was only in the wake of the desecration and obliteration of the royal tombs in the 2nd century AD that the way became clear for the 'new' tradition to supplant the 'old'. During the early Christian era pilgrims were being directed to vestiges of David's citadel and city on the southwestern hill.

The fact that the focal point of Christian Jerusalem was also on the western side of the city probably helped to solidify the new location for David's city. By the Middle Ages even David's tomb had migrated to the southwestern hill, where it is still shown today beneath the Coenaculum.

The net result of this excursus is to demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that, down to the beginning of the First Revolt the City of David was located on the southeastern hill, and that the Jebusite akra, i.e. Mount Zion, was situated to the north of this. For Jews of the Hellenistic period Mount Zion was the hill on which Solomon's Temple had stood. The palaces of David and his successors were believed to have occupied the southern slope of the hill, perhaps still next to the royal tombs, or further north in the vicinity of the ophel. For Jews of the Herodian period 'Mount Zion' was an old-fashioned term for the Temple Mount. Yet a tradition had by that stage developed that placed the Israelite palace, i.e. citadel of David and Solomon (formerly the Jebusite fortress), on a high eminence between the City of David and Mount Zion. This topographical conception is not far removed from that of the 2nd century BC, except in regard to the relative height of this intermediate prominence. According to Josephus it was on this prominence that Antiochus IV erected a citadel for the Greek garrison. In view of the fact that the prominence, along with the citadel that crowned it, were together the highest part of the City of David, the whole of the latter came to be regarded as a citadel, especially after it was converted into a fortified enclave of Greeks and prohellenist Jews, becoming thereby an effective Greek polis.

One final point regarding the general location of the Seleucid Akra needs to be emphasized: it was situated *south* of the Hellenistic Temple enclosure. Neither the Hasmonean City of David nor the Herodian Lower City included the areas north of the Temple. During the Hellenistic period this area was probably unoccupied, while during the Herodian era the suburbs to the north and northwest of the Temple were known as Bezetha or Kainopolis. The border between Kainopolis and the Lower City was probably the bridge over the Tyropoeon Valley, which connected the First Wall to the Temple portico.

Given that the Seleucid Akra stood on the eastern ridge south of the Temple enclosure, what can be said of its form and extent during the 2nd century BC and, after its destruction, in later Herodian tradition? *Maccabees* I presents three aspects of the Akra's nature and extent: (1) as a city in its own right, occupying the whole of the southeastern ridge below the Temple enclosure (*Mac.* I 1:33; 2:31; 7:32; 14:36); (2) as a fortress within the City of David (inferred from references to the Greek garrison within the City of David, which would have been barracked in a fort separate from the residential houses and other buildings; *Mac.* I 2:31; 3:45; 4:41; 6:18; 11:41); the siting of this fort adjacent to the south wall of the Temple enclosure is hinted at in *Mac.* I 13:52: 'and he further strengthened the Temple Mount beside the Akra'; (3) as a city partitioned into an area for the garrison and an area for citizens, merchants and so on; this 'dualistic' aspect of the Akra is stated clearly in *Mac.* I 12:35–6: 'Jonathan returned and gathered together the elders of the people and decided with them . . . to increase the height of the walls of

Jerusalem and to raise a great height between the citadel and the city so as to separate it from the city and to isolate it, so that the inhabitants could neither buy nor sell.' In other words, Jonathan built a wall through the middle of the city which effectively blockaded the Akra. During Jonathan's time there was probably already some settlement on the southwestern hill, but the main area of occupation, including the markets, was still in the City of David. So the 'city' referred to in the above passage was itself a part of the *akra* in its broader sense, i.e. the *polis* of the Gentiles and prohellenist Jews, whereas the *akra* in this same passage must refer to the fort that dominated the '*akra* city' with its houses and markets. Jonathan simply erected a high barrier wall between the fort and the city (and probably blocked the gates in the city wall), thus dividing the *akra* internally and isolating it externally.

The 'trinitarian' nature of the Seleucid Akra is apparent also in the writings of Josephus, mainly because of his heavy reliance on *Maccabees* I. Josephus consistently located the Akra in the Lower City. The term *akra* in its broader sense of a fortified Hellenic city occupying the whole of the southeastern hill was carried over into the Herodian era as a term for the southeastern hill itself: 'the other [hill] is the so-called *akra*, doubly convex in shape, and it supported the Lower City' (*War* V.137). By extension, the general region of the Lower City could also be called *akra*, though the term was archaic and anachronistic: '[Simon] occupied the fountain [i.e. Siloam] and the *akra*, which is the Lower City' (*War* V.253; complete identification between *akra* and the Lower City is implied conjointly by *War* VI.363 and 392).

Josephus also used the word akra at various times to mean the building in which the Greek garrison was barracked. This is the case in Ant. XII.253, which described the aftermath of Antiochus IV's destruction of Jerusalem: 'He burnt down the finest parts, and having demolished the wall he built the akra in the Lower City, for it was high and overlooked the Temple. And it was for this reason that he fortified it with high walls and towers, [and] stationed there a Macedonian garrison.' The wall mentioned here is Josephus' equivalent to the 'encircling wall' of Mac. I 1:31, but it is not known whether Josephus had in mind the city wall or the Temple enclosure. At any rate, his statement that Antiochus built an akra 'within' (en) the Lower City, and on a high point overlooking the Temple, leaves no doubt that he was referring to the fortress of the Greek garrison at the northernmost end of the Lower City. The Akra as a fortress within the Lower City is also mentioned in Ant. XII.362, where Josephus stated that 'the citadel lay over the Temple' (the verb epikeimai, used here, has a range of meanings suggesting close proximity; the prefixed epi connotes that the fortress stood higher than the Temple, as well as being topographically bound to it). Finally, the fortress Akra is mentioned in connection with Simon the Hasmonean: 'and he took the Akra of Jerusalem by siege and razed it to the ground' (Ant. XIII.215); 'he demolished the Akra and mastered the garrison' (War I.50). This account of the citadel's fate is at odds with that in Mac. I 14:37: 'and [Simon] stationed Jewish men in it [i.e. the Akra/City of David and fortified it as a protection for the country and the city; and he heightened the walls of Jerusalem.' For Simon not to have destroyed the hated

Akra would have been contrary to Hellenistic practice (Lawrence 1979, 133–9); so perhaps the *Maccabees* I account should be understood as referring to the Akra as city rather than as citadel. There is a possibility, nevertheless, that the Akra citadel was indeed spared, and remained in use both as a Jewish garrison for the city and as the residence of Simon and his son John Hyrcanus I, until the latter built a new fortress-palace outside the northwestern corner of the Temple enclosure, demolishing the Seleucid citadel in the process.

In War I.50 Josephus stated that Simon 'demolished the Akra and mastered the garrison'. Later, in War V.137–9, he added the following story:

The other [hill] is the so-called *akra*, doubly convex in shape, and it supported the Lower City; opposite this is a third hill, by nature lower than the *akra* and formerly divided from it by a broad ravine. Afterwards, however, in the time when the Hasmoneans ruled, they filled up the valley; desiring to join the city to the Temple they achieved by labour to make level with the ground the height of the *akra*, so that the Temple would appear above it.

This story is further elaborated in *Ant*. XIII.215, where the work is ascribed to Simon's desire to rid the city of the despised citadel.

The story is not based on fact, as noted earlier. Mazar's excavations south of the Temple Mount have shown that during the Late Hellenistic period the summit and slopes of the eastern ridge were occupied by structures built on natural bedrock (all that remains of these structures are fills and rockcut cisterns), and that the only significant quarrying of the rock on the crest took place during the Roman and Byzantine periods. It is inconceivable, moreover, that there had been a high prominence in the thirty-odd metres between the Hellenistic and Herodian southern Temple enclosure walls (the Akra must have stood south of the Hellenistic enclosure because the latter was already in existence when the Akra was built). Josephus was wrong also in claiming that after the hill had been razed the Temple 'stood high above everything', since the new citadel built by Hyrcanus I - and rebuilt by Herod the Great – dominated the Temple area from the northwest. The story of the hill's razing is probably folkloric in origin. As far as the Hassidic Jews were concerned the Greek Akra polluted the very ground on which it stood, so that removal of the building would have been considered insufficient redress. The desire to remove the defiled rock underneath the fortress remained just that - a heartfelt wish - but by nature it was the kind of idea that could easily take root in stories woven around the exploits of the Hasmonean kings and the expulsion of the pagans from Jerusalem.

There could also be one other important aspect to the growth of this tradition. In Jerusalem of the 1st century AD there was a region known in Greek as *ophlas*. Josephus mentioned it four times in the *War* (II.448; V.145.252; VI.354), locating it at the northern end of the Lower City close to the Temple enclosure. Josephus' *ophlas* can be none other than Hebrew 'ōphel, the name and location of which had survived throughout the post-exilic period (cf. *Neh*. 3:26–7, where the 'ōphel and its wall are located in the same place as in Israelite times). *Ophlas* and the Akra fortress must have been in approximately the same place. But here again the people

of Herodian Jerusalem were faced with a topographical anomaly: the 'ōphel of Davidic Jerusalem was understood by them to be a hill on the northern side of the City of David but south of the Temple Mount itself. During the 1st century AD no such hill was to be seen. Rather, there was a steady ascent from Siloam to the Huldah Gates. In order to reconcile the biblical tradition with the evidence before their eyes, the citizens of Jerusalem perhaps invented the aetiology that the 'ōphel hill (an approximate synonym for akra) had been removed, creating the present topographical conformation. This aspect of the tradition may then have associated itself with the razing of the Akra by one of the Hasmonean kings. Since the Akra stood in the same area as the 'ōphel, it was an easy step to join the two in order to rationalize the disappearance of the 'ōphel hill. The argument ran: here is the traditional site of the 'ōphel hill, but there is no hill to be seen; here also had been the Seleucid Akra; but the Akra was razed to the ground by the Hasmoneans; thus they must also have removed the hill on which it had stood, so that the hill is no longer visible.

One final passage concerning the Akra is worthy of note. During the final stages of the siege in AD 70 the Roman troops set fire to the Temple and the Lower City (War VI.354–5): '[Titus] then gave his troops permission to burn and sack the city. On that day they refrained, but on the next day they set fire to the Archives and the akra and the Council House and the so-called Ophlas, and the flames spread as far as the palace of Helena, which was in the middle of the akra.' Two places called akra are mentioned in this passage, and both are dissociated from the place called Ophlas. The first-mentioned akra was evidently a building near the Temple enclosure, given that it is mentioned along with the Archives and Council House. This particular akra might perhaps have been a tower within the Herodian Temple enclosure, but beyond that one can only guess. The second akra is the Lower City itself.

No certain remains of the Seleucid Akra (the fortress as opposed to the city) have yet been discovered. Tsafrir suggested an identification with the Hellenistic masonry under the east wall of the Haram ash-Sharif (Tsafrir 1975a), but as pointed out by Ben-Dov (1985,67) the Akra fortress had been razed to the ground, so it is very difficult to associate this stretch of wall with it. Moreover, the Hellenistic wall here is to be identified as the east wall of the Temple enclosure, built most probably by Simon II in the early 2nd century BC (the problem of the Hellenistic Temple enclosure will be treated in a separate article). The Seleucid fortress must have stood at the summit of the hill south of the Hellenistic Temple enclosure, but not too far south because the rock level falls continuously and steadily toward the south. During Mazar's Temple Mount excavations a series of rooms belonging to a building of the Late Hellenistic period was found beneath the Herodian steps and plazas near the 'Double' and 'Triple' Gates. Their foundations had been dug into natural bedrock. About 50 metres to the southwest of these rooms are the remains of a large rockcut cistern whose upper parts had been cut into by Herodian and later structures. Ben-Dov suggested that the cistern may have belonged to the Akra fortress and that the nearby rooms were erected on the site of the demolished fortress (1986,68–71, plan on p. 66, hypothetical reconstructed elevations on pp. 68, 69; the diagrams indicate a second hypothesis advanced by Ben-Dov: that the rooms had been part of the original fortress; this seems very unlikely in view of the presence of Jewish ritual immersion pools in some of them). The cistern has been dated to the 3rd or 2nd centuries BC on the basis of potsherds found within the fill inside it. The date may be correct, but there is nothing specific about these remains that can be linked with the fortress. The rooms and cistern were, more likely, part of a private house in the vicinity of the fortress, which itself stood further to the north, on the summit of the hill just outside the Hellenistic Temple enclosure wall.

Of the fortress' superstructure little can be said. Josephus described it on more than one occasion as rising above, or overlooking, the Temple. By this he may well have meant not the Temple itself but the southern enclosure wall. This could well be true, since the difference in height between bedrock under the southern wall of the *Haram* and the Dome of the Rock is between 15 and 20 metres, small enough to accommodate a superstructure erected on a high podium, with corner towers rising above it. Josephus gave the heights of some Herodian towers in Jerusalem as between 25 and 45 metres, so the parapets of the Akra fortress could easily have overlooked the Temple courts.

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An Assyrian Glazed Pottery Vase from Lachish

PAMELA MAGRILL

During the 1950s a substantial collection of finds from the Wellcome Marston excavations at Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) was given by the Wellcome Trust to the Weingreen Museum of Biblical Antiquities, Trinity College, Dublin. Among these was a small group of objects from pit D558. During routine cataloguing work on the Weingreen Museum collection undertaken by the writer in the 1980s, the contents of this pit was re-examined in some detail. It soon became apparent that there were a number of problems with the account of these items published in Volume III of the Lachish report (Tufnell, 1953, 227, Pl.56), as some of the objects had not been properly identified or correctly illustrated. Of particular interest was a wellpreserved flask originally published as faience (Tufnell, 1953, Pl.56.32). Closer inspection, however, has shown that it is in fact made of glazed pottery and can now be identified as Assyrian.1 At present it is the only example of its type known from Israel.² Its provenance is also significant as Lachish is a site with wellknown Assyrian connections, but at which very little imported Assyrian material has so far been discovered.³ The piece was not discussed in any detail in the original publication, as its identity and importance were evidently not recognized at the time. The purpose of this present note is to provide a full description of the vase and briefly to discuss relevant parallels and evidence for dating.4

The vase⁵ (Figs 1 and 2) has an oval body, pointed base, concave cylindrical neck and thickened rim with rounded lip. It is 12.8 cms in height and has a maximum diameter of 6.7 cms. The diameter of the rim is 4.1 cms. The exterior surface and the interior of at least the neck and rim are covered with a light-blue glaze. Two bands of linked triangles on a white background cover the upper portion of the body. These bands, although now appearing to be a pale orange, were probably originally deep yellow.⁶ Some evidence remains of a black outline between the bands and along the tops of the triangles.

As the vase is complete, it is not possible to describe its fabric in any detail. All that may be said here is that one small patch of exposed clay near the base reveals it to be of a brownish buff colour. On the whole the condition of the piece is quite good. The glaze, although somewhat worn and cracked, still retains a highly lustrous quality. The colours have faded but are still clearly visible.

Parallels for the Lachish vase can be found primarily at Ashur (Andrae, 1925). Although no individual piece illustrated by Andrae is an exact duplicate, it falls comfortably within the range of examples published.⁷ An oval-bodied flask with

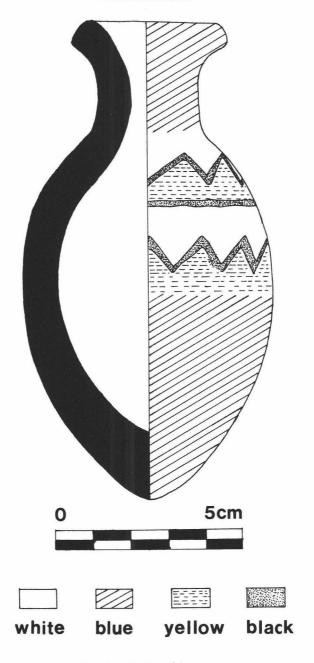
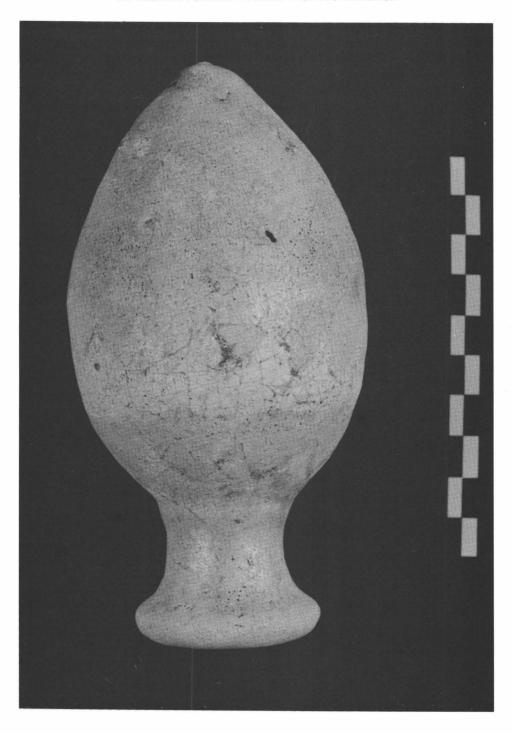


Fig. 1. Assyrian glazed pottery vase (drawing: R. Murphy).

Fig. 2. Assyrian glazed pottery vase (photo: B. Dempsey).



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pointed base and concave neck virtually identical in shape to the Lachish specimen is shown in Fig. 8c (Andrae, 1925, 33). Other examples are closely comparable in colour scheme and decoration. One piece in particular, from grave 928 (Andrae, 1925, Pl.18.a), has an identical arrangement of two bands of linked triangles on a white background on the shoulder. As with the Lachish piece the rest of its surface is covered with a light-blue glaze. Another instance of the same colour scheme and decoration can be seen on the small globular pot with nipple base illustrated in Pl.17.c. Other examples show slight variations, such as Pl.18.b from grave 791, which has a 'strip of squares' between the two bands of triangles; or Pl.17.d, with a blue strip separating the bands and four larger triangles arranged in a cross formation around the lower part of the vase.

At Ashur this type of glazed vessel is dated by Haller (1954, 5) to the Late Assyrian period (824–612 BC), although Andrae suggests that the majority of them actually date 'almost exclusively to the Sargon or Sargonide period' (Andrae, 1925, 33) – the second half of the 8th and the 7th century BC. However, Curtis, on the basis of evidence from his excavations at Khirbet Qasrij in Northern Iraq where a glazed vase with bands of linked triangle decoration was found, has recently suggested that some Assyrian glazed vessels could also date to the first half of the 6th century BC (Curtis, 1989, 50–52). Thus, on the evidence from Ashur and Khirbet Qasrij, it seems that the date of the Lachish example could fall anywhere between the late 9th and the early 6th centuries BC.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Board of Trinity College, Dublin for permission to publish this vase and to Professor John Bartlett, Curator of the Weingreen Museum, Trinity College, Dublin for his help and encouragement. I would like to express special thanks to Dr E. J. Peltenburg of Edinburgh University, Dr John Curtis and Jonathan Tubb both of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum for their help with my research, and to David Symons for numerous helpful discussions and suggestions. Finally thanks are also due to Reiltín Murphy for the line drawing of WM 161 and Brendan Dempsey for the photograph.

Notes

1 Identification of the Lachish vase as an Assyrian piece was first suggested by Dr E. J. Peltenburg (1969, 82 and n.60): 'A faience (?) flask from Lachish is similar in shape to our examples, but in all probability it is an Assyrian vase . . . It is a miniature, height 6.6 cm, and is probably of glazed pottery.' Although Peltenburg's comment about the size of the vase was incorrect (he was misled by the drawing of the vase published at the wrong scale [Tufnell, 1953, Pl.56.32] – for the correct dimensions see below), he has since been proved right in all other respects. In 1987 on a visit to Dublin, he was able personally to inspect the piece and confirm both its material and origin. T. C. Mitchell, formerly Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum, quite independently identified the vase as

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Assyrian on a visit to the Weingreen Museum in 1979. He described the piece in a report on the collection as 'Glazed piriform bottle, Assyrian, 8th–7th century BC' (Mitchell, 1980, 4). He was not, however, aware of its provenance at the time.

- 2 A drawing published in *Hazor III-IV* (Yadin *et al.*, 1961, Pl. CCLVI.8) shows a fragment of a vessel decorated with a band of linked triangles. Its material is described as faience. It is possible that this may be a fragment of a similar vase. I wish to thank Dr E. J. Peltenburg for bringing this reference to my attention.
- 3 To date the only other Assyrian find from Lachish is a fragment of an 'Assyrian bowl' discovered during the Tel-Aviv University excavations directed by Professor David Ussishkin. It came from the fill of the clay platform on the top of the siege ramp. (Professor Ussishkin, personal communication.)
- 4 A full discussion of the remaining items from pit D558 and their context is currently in preparation.
- 5 Museum registration number: WM 161. Original excavation registration number: D558, 3875.
 - 6 Dr E. J. Peltenburg, personal communication.
- 7 Andrae himself admitted that he published only a small selection of the available material. 'This class of vase is not nearly exhausted by the bottles reproduced in Plates 17,18,20. But as we are now more concerned with the colour than the shape, and as the pattern and sequence of colours is repeated in many intermediate forms and varieties, a brief reference to them will be sufficient.' (Andrae, 1925, 46). Thus the lack of an exact parallel to the Lachish vase among the published examples from Ashur should not prove an obstacle to its identification as Assyrian.

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Axes from the Early Bronze Age at a Site Near Nahal Alexander

SHIMON DAR

The site at which the axes were discovered is located on the southern bank of the River Nahal Alexander, 4.5 kms east of Kibbutz Ma'abarot (map ref. 14620 19630) (see Fig. 1). Nahal Alexander's channel meanders across an extensive, flat land-scape. In its lower parts there is a heavy black soil derived from the accumulation of river-deposited silt. The ancient site is on low ground, covered by a layer of alluvial soil (1–2 metres deep). The ground water in the immediate vicinity of the site is relatively high. The ancient site now lies in the area of the fish-breeding ponds of Kibbutz Ma'abarot; approximately half the site lies under Ponds Nos 13–14. The site was first discovered and surveyed in the 1960s (Dar, 1977, 1–6).

Five axe-blades of Early Bronze I date (Table 1), have been found in recent years by the fish-pond workers of the kibbutz. Metallurgical samples taken from Axe No. 1 were assayed and found to contain 99 per cent pure copper (Table 2).

The axe-blades from the Nahal Alexander site (see Figs 2–5) are simple in form, large and heavy, testifying to their careful design and casting. The front part of each blade has a characteristic fan-like shape, undoubtedly the result of being cast in a mould. The cutting edge of the blade was symmetrically bevelled on both sides.

Table 1: Description of the Axe Blades

	Reg. No.	Weight (gms.)	Length (cms.)	Width of Cutting Edge (cms.)	Neck of Blade (cms.)	Maximum Thickness (cms.)
No. 1	89-5001	1,444.4	23.3	10.8	4.0	1.6
No. 2	89-5002	1,120.7	21.3	10.0	3.7	1.5
No. 3	89-5003	1,600.5	21.0	10.5	3.7	2.0
No. 4	89-5004	1,458.0	20.6	10.3	3.7	2.0
No. 5	74-1890	1,420.0	21.5	10.5	3.2	1.8

Table 2: Axe No. 1

Cu	Sn	Zn	Fe	Pb	Ag	Au	As	Bi	Sb	Ni	Co
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
99.0	0.11	0.018	0.11	0.03	0.1	n.d.	0.068	n.d.	n.d.	0.007	n.d

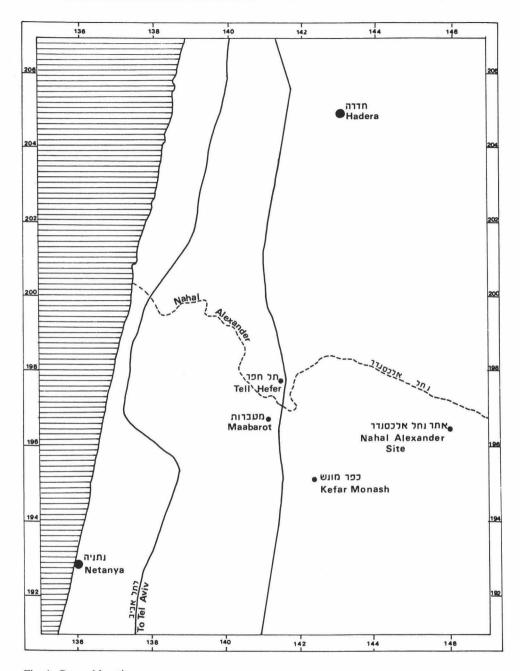


Fig. 1. General location map.

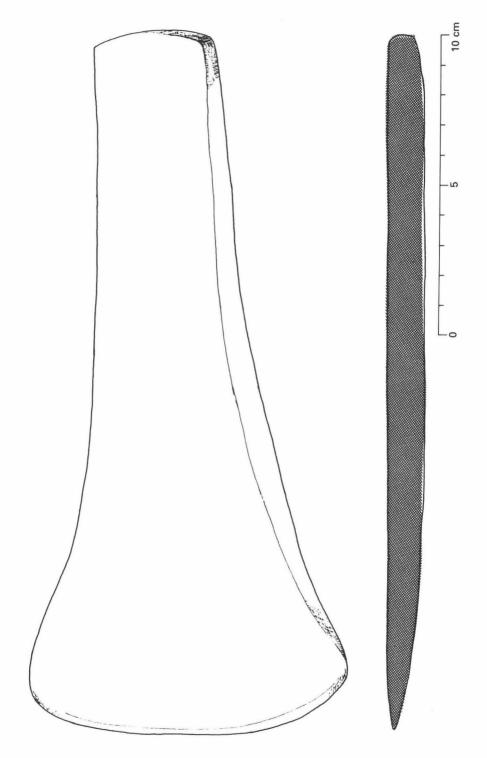


Fig. 2. Axe No. 1 from Nahal Alexander.

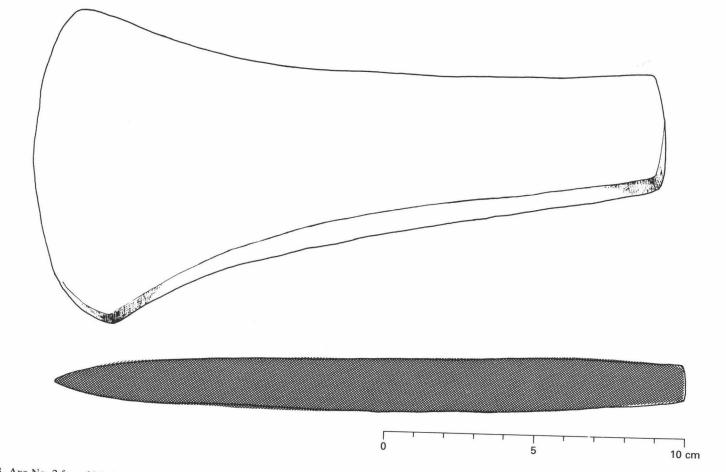


Fig. 3. Axe No. 2 from Nahal Alexander.

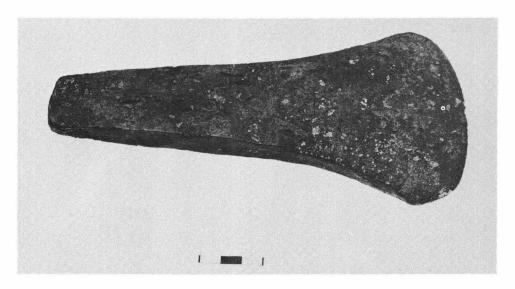


Fig. 4. Axe No. 5 from Nahal Alexander.

After being removed from the mould, the blades were tempered by beating them flat. They may eventually have been fitted into a suitable piece of wood and tied with thongs (Meron, 1985, 37, 47, 50).

Survey and excavations at the Nahal Alexander site revealed two stages of settlement: (a) from the Early Bronze I, and (b) from the Intermediate Bronze Age (known also as the EB IV or MB I). The earliest layer was often found in direct contact with the later one, so it was not always easy to distinguish between the two. In Professor R. Gophna's opinion (personal communication) the Early Bronze I pottery is of relatively early date and possesses a number of Ghassulian Chalcolithic traits. Finds from the settlement at this period consisted of the limestone foundations of curvilinear and rectangular structures. Hearths were also recovered containing animal bones, including those of pig, cattle, goats, sheep and deer, as well as of birds and fish (Hacker-Orion, 1977, 91-101). The pottery included fragments of many holemouth jars, pithoi and bowls. These were distinguished by reddishbrown slip and burnishing. The pottery also included examples with line-painted decorations and grey burnishing. Numerous basalt vessels were unearthed, many with flat bases and concave sides. E. Braun has suggested (personal communication) that these basalt vessels date from the Early Bronze Age; similar vessels are known from Yiftahel Stratum II and elsewhere (Braun, in press).

The site of Nahal Alexander is one of five unwalled villages dating from the Early Bronze I, known in the Emeq Hefer region (Gophna, 1974). According to Gophna (1985a, 44–7), these were permanently settled agricultural villages, abandoned towards the end of the period. It should be noted, however, that it seems unlikely that all five settlements existed at the same time.

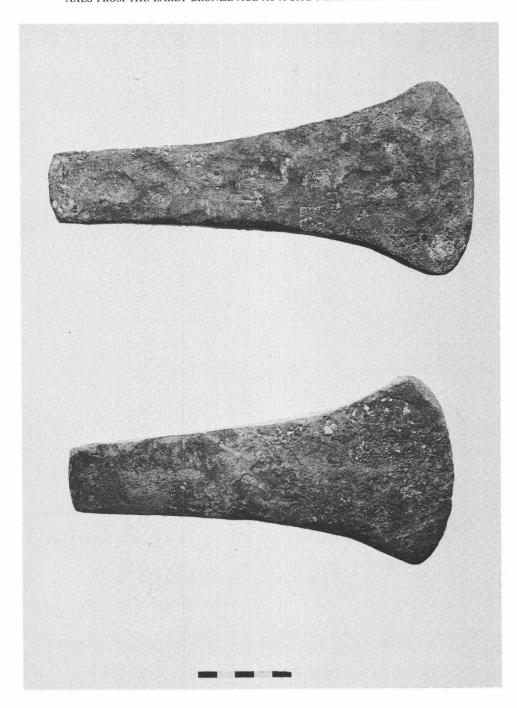


Fig. 5. Axe No. 1 (top); No. 3 (bottom).

Despite the fact that the axes were surface finds, brought to light by earthmoving equipment, it is likely that they were from the EB I layer. Although the EB layer was found to coincide with that of the Intermediate Bronze Age, strong typological considerations rule out the possibility that the axes came from the later layer. A hoard of tools and weapons, with axes similar to those described in this paper, was discovered at Kfar Monash, about 3 kms southwest of the Nahal Alexander site (Hestrin and Tadmor, 1963). Others have been found at Nahal Mishmar, Yiftahel, Arad and Beth Shean (Meron, 1985, 42–60). Various suggestions have been made concerning the date of these axes within the Early Bronze Age–EB I to early EB III (Hestrin and Tadmor, 1963, 285–6; Ben-Tor, 1971, 201–6; Gophna, 1985b, 228–33).

Copper production and the tempering of tools was clearly a widespread activity at many sites in the Early Bronze Age, and these were based on local rather than imported skills.

Notes

- 1 The axes were found by Akiva Doron, Dani Yosef and Gil Dayan, in the area of Kibbutz Ma'abarot's fish-breeding ponds (Nos 12–13). They were drawn by Ms Ada Peri and photographed by Mr A. Hai in the Institute of Archaeology, Tel-Aviv University, and weighed on the electronic scales of Trima Pharmaceuticals, Kibbutz Ma'abarot. For a preliminary publication of the axes, see Porat *et al.*, 1985, 205–9, and Meron, 1985, 37, Table 9
- 2 The axe was assayed by Ms Neta Halperin at the chemical laboratory in the Institute of Archaeology, Tel-Aviv University.

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Book Reviews

Kempinski, A., *Megiddo: A City-State and Royal Centre in North Israel.* Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Bonn, 1989. AVA-Materialen. Pp. 224; illus. 59; photos. 25; plans 14.

This book is a summary presentation of the history and archaeology of Megiddo in northern Israel. Though published in the last year, research for the book was undertaken during the first half of the 1980s.

After a brief introduction to the site's environment and the history of the excavations, Kempinski moves into a survey of the stratigraphy and chronology from the Neolithic to the Persian period. This discussion accounts for almost half of the text. The second half is devoted to short, specialist studies of the architecture, economy, social structure, arts and crafts, and burial customs. The text ends with two appendices, the first summarizing the present state of the visible architectural remains on the tell, and the second (by Miriam Aharoni) outlining the main pottery types of the Iron Age II period at Megiddo and their affinities with contemporary Judahite pottery. The text is elucidated by many clear illustrations and foldout plans, and by a judiciously selected series of dig photographs from the unpublished Oriental Institute archives.

Those archaeologists who have laboured over the stratigraphic complexities of Megiddo would have little cause to wonder that this subject looms so large in Kempinski's book. What is surprising, however, is the degree of simplicity – perhaps deceptive to the non-specialist – with which Kempinski packages the evidence. In the text and footnotes one only occasionally sees references to the intractable stratigraphic/chronological problems involved, or to the opinions of other scholars on such matters. Over-simplification is a constant danger for authors of synthetic, 'generalist', academic literature; but even so, one would have expected in this case a more balanced appraisal of the evidence. It is also clear that Kempinski has made little or no attempt to incorporate the several important studies of Megiddo that have appeared since 1984; these should have been taken into account in some fashion.

The specialist chapters are of varying quality and substance. The most worthwhile, in my opinion, are those dealing with the architecture. These are well complemented by the large, fold-out 'stratum' plans, which allow the reader – perhaps for the first time – a fully integrated perspective on the excavations. On the other hand, because of the (understated or ignored) stratigraphic problems involved in all levels of the site, the plans should be used with caution, and not

without first seeking alternative opinions. Scholars will, no doubt, find much to disagree with in Kempinski's understanding of the stratification and its historical explication. The weakest chapters are those dealing with economic and social structure: Kempinski's population estimates are too subjective to be of much use, and unfortunately none of the Megiddo excavations have provided worthwhile data for reconstructing the local economy and modes of subsistence.

The two appendices would have been better omitted. The first would be more at home in a site handbook for students and tourists; the second, by Miriam Aharoni, is superficial and highly selective, and adds nothing to our understanding of Israelite/Judahite ceramic interaction during the Iron Age II. More to the point would have been an Appendix that outlines a programme for the re-excavation of Megiddo: a list of critical areas that need to be sounded in order to clarify existing stratigraphic problems, as well as areas where new excavations are likely to extend our knowledge of Megiddo's successive cultures, especially those of the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages. Two areas that demand special attention are the Lower Terrace to the northeast of the tell, and the cemeteries to the southwest.

The presentation of the book is well below standard. On almost every page there are errors of spelling, punctuation and grammar. The English style is often very awkward and disjointed, while in many instances the narrative devolves into mere annotation. This renders the task of reading and comprehending the text annoying and, at times, confusing. The method used for reference citations is also irregular and distracting. Finally, a major criticism of the book is the absence of a bibliography and index. Some works are cited in the footnotes, but there are many others that should have been included. Indeed, given the nature of the site, a fully annotated bibliography (up-to-date as at 1987/8) would have been in order.

As a synthetic generalist book on an important archaeological site, Kempinski's book serves its purpose adequately, despite deficiencies in presentation. But as an invitation to further study by students and non-specialists the work leaves much to be desired. What we really need at the moment – and this is a point made also by Kempinski – is a full publication of all the excavations undertaken at Megiddo, in addition to a consideration of proposals for a major re-excavation of the site, preferably by an international team of archaeologists.

G. J. Wightman

Garrard, A. H., and Gebel, H. G. (eds). The Prehistory of Jordan. The State of Research in 1986. (BAR International Series, i-ii), Oxford, 1988. Pp. 601. Price £36.00.

This book is the result of a workshop-meeting held in Tübingen, West Germany, in April 1986, devoted to the prehistory of Jordan. The book consists of twenty-three reports by archaeologists working in Jordan. Although some of the material had already been published in preliminary reports, in *ADAJ*, *Levant* and *Paléorient*,

this is the first time that data from so many excavations has been collected in one publication. The reports are comprehensive and detailed, and are accompanied by maps, sections, drawings of artefacts and photographs. The size of the two volumes, with over 600 pages, reflects the quantity of information included. A large number of C14 datings were used to set the chronological framework for the sites. Although the work includes discussions of sites dating from the Middle-Paleolithic, the Upper-Paleolithic and the Epi-Paleolithic, most of the book is devoted to the Neolithic period, including its Pre-Pottery and Pottery phases. One minor disadvantage is that articles are organized according to geographic regions rather than chronologically, but this may have been thought helpful since some of the articles report on surveys of sites from different periods.

Up to the end of the 1970s one could have counted on the fingers of one hand the number of prehistoric sites excavated in Jordan. Compared with the many prehistoric sites excavated in Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Sinai, the southern Levant, east of the Jordan river, has always been *terra incognita*. However, this situation has changed during the 1980s. Scores of prehistoric sites were discovered during surveys, and many were also excavated. Such excavations have, in some cases, enhanced our knowledge of the prehistory of the region far beyond what was previously known from any other part of the Levant. The book reports on these new discoveries up to 1986, and is a landmark in the archaeological and prehistorical investigation of the southern Levant.

In this short note, it is not possible to discuss all the data, and, we shall therefore limit ourselves to a few points of interest relating to material from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) period, as this is the period from which the most sensational finds have come to light. The two types of settlement patterns – Mediterranean and desert – known from Syria, Israel and Sinai, have also been discovered across the Jordan. In areas with a Mediterranean climate, Neolithic villages had rectilinear architecture, plastered floors and flint assemblages which included sickleblades, arrowheads and bifacial tools. On the other hand, in desert regions, small seasonal camp sites had curvilinear architecture and a flint assemblage with arrowheads, but almost no sickleblades or bifacials. It has also become apparent that the construction of desert kites (animal traps) should also be dated to this period.

The size of two of the Neolithic villages – Ain Ghazal and Basta – exceeds 12 acres. At Ain Ghazal the artistic and ritual finds are of a very high quality, including anthropomorphic statues, almost life-size, many other human and animal figurines, and plastered skulls. Ritual finds of such quantity can only be paralleled at the site of Catal Hüyük in Anatolia. The site of Basta is unique in its complex architecture, unattested elsewhere in the southern Levant, having parallels only at Bouqras on the Euphrates (for further information see *ADAJ* 31, 1987, 77–119). The overall picture from the size of these sites and the level of complexity reflected in them, is that the villages were not egalitarian, but had a hierarchic system. The large villages should be understood as ranking above both smaller villages and sites on the desert fringes. All this data indicates the existence of a complex settlement pattern, in which one can detect signs of trade connections, specialization, a com-

plex religion and art. The chiefdom model recently suggested for the Chalcolithic period may also be suitable for the PPNB.

To conclude, this work has filled a gap in our knowledge of the prehistory of the southeast Levant. In addition, it is a major contribution to the understanding of some unknown aspects of the Neolithic period in the Near East.

Y. Garfinkle

Rosen-Ayalon, M., The Early Islamic Monuments of Al-Haram Al-Sharīf. An Iconographic Study, QEDEM 28. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1989. Pp. 73, 50 illustrations, 15 colour plates. Price \$25 US.

This is the first time that a proper survey of all the monuments on the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* (the Temple Mount) has been carried out. While the two well-known monuments, the Dome of the Rock and the *Masjid al-Aqsa*, have been the subjects of several studies, the rest of the buildings have so far been overlooked. This monograph is devoted to all the standing or excavated monuments remaining on or below the Temple Mount, now known as the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf*. All these structures were erected, the author suggests, during the time of the Umayyads, the first dynasty of Islam (AD 661–75). She also claims that the entire complex is based around the Dome of the Rock.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The first deals with the *Masjid al-Aqsa* (pp. 4–7). Here it should be noted that the author does not mention that after the destruction of Solomon's Temple by the Romans in AD 70 the Temple Mount remained unoccupied for a long time. The Church never attempted to build there. The first building to be erected in this area was a crude wooden structure attributed to Caliph 'Umar (AH 13/AD 634 – AH 23/AD 644), which probably stood where the Aqsa Mosque stands today. This was soon demolished and a second mosque erected on the site. The author attributes both this and the Dome of the Rock to the fifth Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (AH 65/AD 685 – AH 86/AD 705). Previously it has been suggested that the Aqsa was erected by his son and successor Caliph al-Walid I (AH 86/AD 705 – AH 96/AD 715). Thus, if Rosen-Ayalon's theory is correct, the two major buildings formed a basic part of a large overall plan on the former Temple Mount, all of which was envisaged by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan.

Chapter II examines a group of ruins excavated by Israeli archaeologists since 1968. These ruins are to be found below the platform of the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* on its south side (pp. 8–11, ills 2–3). The excavations revealed five building complexes, one of which, No. II, was identified as an Umayyad palace. Once more these are attributed to Caliph 'Abd al-Malik. Perhaps it is a surprise to most readers, but not to experts in Islamic art and architecture, that there was an arch on the upper floor of this building, connecting it with the sanctuary of the Aqsa mosque (a feature well known from later Islamic periods).

The Dome of the Rock, which is the focal point of the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf*, is briefly

described in Chapter III (pp. 12-24), but only closely examined in Chapter VII ('The decoration of the Dome of the Rock and its interpretation', pp. 46–69). The building, as the author points out, is firmly dated to AH 72/AD 691-AD92, although 'Abd al-Malik's name, as patron, was removed during restoration work and substituted with the name of the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun in the 9th century. In discussing the crowns, jewels and winged motifs which decorate the building, the author claims that it is not satisfactory to understand them as symbols of the Muslim victory over the Christians, as Grabar theorizes. Similarly unconvincing, she claims, is Grabar's explanation of the 240-metre-long inscription. The Dome of the Rock, the author suggests, can only be understood when examined together with all the other monuments in the area, since it was part of an overall plan. Her attention focuses on the floral motifs of the mosaics and on the carved-marble decoration presenting a series of arched panels (ills 12-13). Their importance is explained in Chapter VII by means of comparison with the decoration of a Sassanian plate, Coptic tombstones and wooden panels. All of these are decorated with similar arcades (ills 28-30) which the author suggests symbolize Paradise. Jewels, trees, floral and winged motifs all reflect the idea of Paradise (p. 52). According to Jewish and early-Christian apocalyptic literature (later also adopted by Islam), Paradise lies above Jerusalem and represents both the Celestial and the Earthly Temple. Thus the decoration of the Dome of the Rock is more than just the representation of the victory of Islam over two other major religions. It projects a religious rather than a political message, stressing the apocalyptic writings of Judaism and Christianity: it represents Paradise, the Temple where 'the throne of the Day of Judgement will stand and where all will congregate' (p. 61).

Chapter IV describes the *Qubbat al-Silsila*, 'the Dome of the Chain' (pp. 25–9), which, it is claimed, was the place where 'Solomon, the Son of David, administered justice', or, according to some Islamic sources, the *Bayt al-Mal*, 'treasury' (p. 26). Rosen-Ayalon, referring to a recently discovered early-Islamic source from the AH 2nd/9th century and to archaeological evidence, suggests that the *Qubbat al-Silsila* was erected under 'Abd al-Malik (p. 27, note 20). The author demonstrates that the building stands at the physical centre of the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* and is thus the *omphalos*. This is confirmed by the presence of a *mihrab* at that spot (ill. 15).

Chapter V deals briefly with the 'al-Mawazin – platform, stairways and arcades' (pp. 30–2), and chapter VI with the Gates of the Haram (pp. 33–45). Regarding the gates, Rosen-Ayalon considers only two, the 'Double' and the 'Golden' gates, which, she suggests, must have been built at the same period. The author successfully dismisses both a Herodian and a possible Byzantine date for these. Instead she accepts Monneret de Villard's proposal that both are of Umayyad construction, and furthermore that they fit into the overall plan of 'Abd al-Malik.

The final chapter, VIII, deals with the overall iconographic scheme of the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* (pp. 70–3). The author emphasizes that recent excavations confirm that the *Ḥaram* area was unoccupied in Byzantine times and that therefore everything on or just below its surface lies immediately over Herodian remains. She also indicates that there is a strong interrelation among the various monuments on the

platform. The entire complex was planned and built around the Rock, which was considered to be the *omphalos* of the world. Its importance is associated with beliefs concerning Paradise, the Day of Judgement and Resurrection. Every possible architectural and decorative feature serves to symbolize this iconography. The different structures on the platform each play their own iconographic role. The author attributes the overall plan to one person: 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan. She then continues by stating that: 'It was only in Jerusalem that such a merging with Judeo-Christian tradition could have taken place, determining the psychological background for the construction of these new edifices'.

Professor Rosen-Ayalon's monograph offers not only a new overall survey of the monuments in the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf*, but also presents a new theory for the entire complex. The author calls attention to and stresses the importance of Coptic art and its effect on early-Islamic decoration (pp. 42 and 48–9), which have hitherto been overlooked by several scholars, and which are so clearly observable in the decoration of these monuments. This book will be greatly appreciated not only by scholars and students of Islamic art, but also by tourists who will find it easier to visit and admire the achievements of early-Islamic architects.

Géza Fehérvári

Campana, D.V., Natufian and Protoneolithic Bone Tools: The Manufacture and Use of Bone Implements in the Zagros and the Levant (BAR International Series, 494) Oxford, 1989. Pp. 156 and 157 plates. Price £10.00.

Bone tools derived from archaeological excavations are usually dealt with in publications from the typological point of view, and so are classified according to their morphology. Campana sets out to obtain even more information about such tools through the technique of micro-ware analysis. Using the microscope, Campana attempts to clarify the way a bone-tool was made and how it was used. The study of use-ware patterns, which was developed mainly for the study of flint tools, is here applied to bone tools, and in this respect it is a unique study.

The book is devoted to the study of tools of two cultural groups from two different regions of the Near East: the Protoneolithic of the Zagros Mountains and the Natufian of Palestine. Despite the considerable geographical distance involved, the two assemblages are relatively close chronologically: the Natufian from the 10th to 9th millennium BC and the Protoneolithic from the 9th millennium BC.

The study of use-ware patterns on flint tools can be problematic, and similar issues arise in regard to the study of bone tools. Campana is fully aware of these, and his study is systematic, methodologically sound and well presented. The text is accompanied by many magnified photographs of tools, and diagrams presenting quantitative data.

Regarding the manufacturing process, Campana was able to produce bone tools using different techniques, with the help of either flint or sandstone grinders. This is

a classical case of experimental archaeology. The patterns created by this manufacturing process were observed under magnification of up to 10; only very rarely did Campana use higher values. During the second stage of his study, Campana compared the patterns evident on the archaeological finds with those on his own tools.

Campana collected data regarding the use of bone tools from ethnographic sources. He then conducted tests on the tools he himself had produced, in order to learn more about their micro-ware patterns. These tests served as the basis for comparison with the archaeological data. In this part of the study, Campana also attempted to distinguish between marks caused by the manufacturing process and marks of tool-use.

The conclusions, however, are very general. First of all, it is easier to determine the way bone tools were produced than how they were used. Secondly it is simpler to discover how the tools were handled than the specific purposes for which they were made.

Y. Garfinkle

Hachlili, R. (ed.), *Ancient Synagogues in Israel. Third–Seventh Century C.E.* (BAR International Series, 499), Oxford, 1989. Pp. 105, Pls of black-and-white ills and figs 58. Price £12.00.

This publication is in fact the Proceedings of a four-day symposium organized by the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum of Haifa University in May 1987 on 'Ancient Synagogues'. Twelve out of the sixteen lectures delivered at the symposium, both in Hebrew and English, are published here in English. They have been grouped under four headings: (I.) New Discoveries in Synagogue Excavations and Research; (II.) Problems of Synagogue Chronology; (III.) Inscriptions and Coins in Synagogues; and (IV.) Synagogue Art and Architecture. The attribution of certain lectures to one of these four groups does not always seem justified. R. A. Seager's paper on 'The Recent Historiography of Ancient Synagogue Architecture', for instance, belongs rather to 'Problems of Synagogue Chronology', than to 'Synagogue Art and Architecture'. Moreover, three papers, S. Safrai's 'Gathering in the Synagogues on Festivals, Sabbaths and Weekdays', Z. Safrai's 'Dukhan, Aron and Teva: How was the Ancient Synagogue Furnished?' and Z. Yeivin's 'Khirbet Susiya – The *Bema* and Synagogue Ornamentation', should have been grouped together under a fifth heading entitled 'Liturgy and Practice'.

This publication reflects well the current state of research on ancient synagogues, and in particular the healthy shift from art history (represented here by three papers: R. Hachlili's 'The State of Ancient Synagogue Research' and 'Unidentical Symmetrical Composition in Synagogal Art', and H. Bloedhorn's 'The Capitals of the Synagogue of Capernaum – Their Chronological and Stylistic Classification with Regard to the Development of Capitals in the Decapolis and in Palestine'), to liturgy and socio-economics, which at least are touched on by the remaining nine

papers, when these are not their main subjects. The discovery of the Treasury of the synagogue of Meroth described by Z. Ilan ('The Synagogue and Beth Midrash of Meroth') provided A. Kindler with a starting-point for a fascinating study of 'Donations and Taxes in the Society of the Jewish Villages in Eretz Israel during the 3rd to 6th centuries CE', where he differentiates between donations by members of the community to build a synagogue, a special tax for the same purpose levied when necessary, and communal taxes for public services, such as water installations and the upkeep of streets. This led him to evaluate the standard of living of the Jewish community of Meroth as represented by its Treasury in relation to wages and prices of foodstuffs in 6th- and 7th-century Eretz Israel, as mentioned by the Rabbinical sources. Likewise at Horvat Rimmon in the southern Judean Shefelah, the two coin hoards found in a room west of the synagogue excavated and published here by A. Kloner ('The Synagogues of Horvat Rimmon'), are indicative of the wealth of the Jewish community of Rimmon between the 3rd century and the end of the 5th century. This contrasts with the gloomy picture usually painted of the economic situation of the Jews under Christian rule in Byzantine Palestine.

Points of view clash within the book: R. A. Seager is emphatic that 'A 2nd- or 3rd-century ce date for the so-called "Galilean" type is no longer tenable' (p. 85), thus contradicting R. Hachlili, whose introductory paper contains the statement that 'Recent excavations of many Galilean synagogues have shown that although most of them were erected in the 3rd century ce and were therefore the earliest group of synagogues, they were constantly restored and reconstructed during the 4th to 6th centuries ce' (p. 4). To Z. Safrai's cautious and well-argued opinion that 'there is no evidence for a central platform in the synagogues of Eretz Israel; it was very likely unknown or at least little known' (p. 75), Seager opposes new discoveries in the synagogues of Nabratein and Kefar Hananyah (p. 86). The conflict in scholary opinions must have given rise to a lively debate during the Symposium; it is thus to be regretted that these Proceedings do not record in any way the discussions which followed the papers.

Several points made by Seager are illustrated by the various papers. The need for a stricter terminology is evident: the *bema* is a 'central platform' according to Z. Safrai, the 'Torah Shrine' according to Z. Yeivin, and a 'lectern' according to R. A. Seager. That the concept of a 'normative' Judaism is obsolete, is reinforced by the discovery of the role held by magic in Byzantine Jewish communities, as suggested notably by the pottery tablet with an Aramaic incantation found to the north of the synagogue of Rimmon and dating to the 5th or 6th century, and the bronze amulet found beneath the threshold of the eastern entrance of the Stage III synagogue (7th century) at Meroth. J. Naveh, in his paper entitled 'Did Ancient Samaritan Inscriptions Belong to Synagogues?', emphasizes the prophylactic nature of the Pentateuchal texts engraved on stone, which belonged mostly to private houses.

The papers are in the main well edited. The lists of abbreviations and of plates would have been more useful if they had been placed at the beginning rather than at the end of the volume. Two Byzantine emperors have had their names

unfortunately mangled: Mauricius has been transformed into Maoritius – the result of phonetically transcribing Hebrew into English (p. 30), and Valentinian has become Valentine (p. 45). Even if some of the contents of this volume has already been superseded by more recent publications – the data presented, for instance, by S. Dar and J. Mintzker in 'The Synagogue of Hurvat Sumaqa', has since been updated by Dar ('Horvat Sumaqa – Settlement from the Roman and Byzantine Periods in the Carmel', *BAIAS* 8, 1988–9, pp. 34–48) – this book is a useful addition to recent works on ancient synagogues, and thus fulfils the stated aim of its editor.

Claudine Dauphin (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris)

Wightman, G. J., *The Damascus Gate, Jerusalem* (BAR International Series, 519), Oxford, 1989. Pp. 116, figs 24, pls 239. Price £28.00.

This book deals with the excavations undertaken by C. M. Bennett and J. B. Hennessy at the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, between 1964 and 1966.

The Damascus Gate is the only Jerusalem gate to have been excavated so the importance of these excavations cannot be overestimated. In the opinion of this reviewer, two main historical problems could have been solved by examining: (1) the relationship between the most ancient remains discovered at the gate in the 1938 excavations, and the northern city fortifications of the Second Temple period, and (2) the precise dating of the later (outer) medieval gate to either the 12th or 13th centuries AD.

The report approaches these two technical problems meticulously through a detailed study of the stratification and ceramic material. Precise information concerning layer numbers and the source of individual finds is also included.

If no decisive answer to the question of whether or not the gate originally formed part of the 'Second' or 'Third' walls is offered by Wightman, this is because of the dearth of well-stratified pottery (p. 40). Wightman has used this material to date the earliest structure to approximately the 1st–3rd centuries AD.

The Crusader gateway, of which only the outer fortification (barbican) has been excavated (the main part of the gate was destroyed when the Ottoman fortifications were under construction), is the other main subject covered in this report. The present reviewer is in complete disagreement with Wightman who has, contrary to the historical evidence, accepted a 12th-century date for this rather splendid barbican. In spite of the detailed discussion concerning this early dating (pp. 57–60), the authors fails to deal with two important historical matters. First of all, if the gate and barbican were constructed during the early part of the 12th century (i.e. during the reign of King Baldwin I), why is it that this beautiful, well-built structure was never ever mentioned in the pilgrims' accounts of that century, which deal with their visits to the city? Secondly, Fretelus, the Archdeacon of Nazareth, stated, in

the mid-12th century, that this gate was rarely opened. This is hardly the way a newly constructed gate would have been used.

This reviewer suggests that the gateway is instead a 13th-century structure and that three coins found in the 'crusader' level (p. 59) actually prove this. The argument put forward in the report, which suggests dating the structure according to the paintings found in the chapel next to the barbican, is not decisive. This is because we believe the gate was probably built in about 1230, at a time when 12th-century artistic styles still prevailed.

Despite these criticisms, the report is one of the most important contributions to the history and topography of Jerusalem. It is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject, even though the poor quality of the printing of both the text and the plates is disappointing.

Dan Bahat

Books Received for Review

- de Miroschedji, P. (ed.), L'urbanisation de la Palestine à l'âge du Bronze ancien: Bilan et perspectives des recherches actuelles. Actes du Colloque d'Emmaüs (20–24 Octobre 1986) (BAR International Series, 5527 i–ii), 1989. 5 Centremead, Osney Mead, Oxford OX2 0DQ. Price £28.00.
- Mazar, E., and Mazar, B., Excavations in the south of the Temple Mount: the Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem. (Qedem 29), 1989. Israel Exploration Society, POB 7041, Jerusalem. Price US \$35.00.
- Bartlett, J. R., *Edom and the Edomites* (*PEF* Monograph No. 1) 1989. Sheffield Academic Press, 343 Fulwood Rd., Sheffield S10 3BP. Price £14.50.
- MacDonald, B., *The Wadi el Ḥasā archaeological survey, 1979–1983, West-Central Jordan*, 1988. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada N2L 3C5. Price US \$45.00.

Obituaries

DR JACOB KAPLAN, 1910-1989

Dr Jacob Kaplan, who died on 14 April 1989, worked for many years as an archaeologist for the Municipality of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, as well as participating in various archaeological projects for the Israel Department of Antiquities and for the Israel Exploration Society. Kaplan was a man with a strong and independent turn of mind who took his place in the community of Israeli archaeologists with distinction. Nobody was more committed to his chosen vocation than Kaplan, or authentically an Israeli archaeologist.

Kaplan was born in 1910 in Bialistok, Poland. He was four years old when he was brought to this country by his parents, who settled in Jaffa. He finished his schooling at a commercial high school in Tel Aviv. He went on to study civil engineering at the Haifa Technical College (Technion), from which he graduated in 1936. His introduction to archaeology came almost by accident. In 1936, Professor Benjamin Maisler (today Mazar), then excavating the ancient Jewish cemetery site of Beth She'arim, asked Kaplan to join his expedition as its surveyor-engineer. During his three seasons at the site Kaplan became increasingly fascinated by the archaeological work. Coming into contact with many Jewish and non-Jewish scholars who visited the excavations, only added to this fascination. He was deeply attracted by archaeology, and while still a student, he explored the country's historical sites under the guidance of some of the most outstanding teachers and guides of the time. After leaving Mazar's expedition, Kaplan went to work as a civil engineer with the British Army in the south of the country, and was with them throughout the Second World War and after. During this time he continued to enrich his knowledge of archaeological subjects, visiting ancient sites and collecting artefacts. Some of his first publications are connected with these early explorations and activities, such as, for instance, his identification of the Chalcolithic pottery 'churn'. His return to archaeology came in 1948, when he joined another archaeological expedition headed by Professor Mazar, at Tel Qasile. His work at this site in the rapidly developing part of north Tel Aviv, made him aware of the existence of other, mostly unrecorded and nameless ancient sites in the area, and of the danger of their destruction before any rescue operations could be undertaken.

Thus, beginning in January 1950, Kaplan launched what was to develop into his life's mission: the study and research of the archaeology and early history of the Tel Aviv region and the Yarkon basin. This culminated in the series of excavations at Tel Jaffa (including the discovery of the Rameses II gate) and in the establishment of the Museum of Antiquities of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. As rescue excavations went ahead

in various parts of the city, increasingly the names of its streets, neighbourhoods, parks, installations and landmarks came to designate archaeological sites. Some of these, like Rehov ha-Bashan, Rehov Jabotinsky, Giv'at Ha-Mitbakhayim (Slaughterhouse Hill) and Wadi Rabba, donate to this day landmarks in the history of the protohistorical archaeological research of Eretz Israel. His researches of the early 1950s show considerable originality and flair; they display a combination of impressive theoretical knowledge, a fund of technical resources deriving from his engineering training, and the keen stratigraphical perception with which he was endowed.

Kaplan's impact on the archaeology of Eretz Israel was most notable in the 1950s and 1960s with his research on the pottery of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, and especially his formulation of a comparative approach to the interpretation of field data, from which he drew his doctoral dissertation. Along with the wide diversity of his activities in the Tel Aviv area (including surveys, excavations, Tel Jaffa excavations, and the Museum of Antiquities of Tel Aviv-Jaffa), Kaplan extended the scope of his excavations over nearly the entire country. Some of these relate to his identification of a specific Early Chalcolithic culture (which he labelled the 'Wadi Rabba culture') and his investigation into its origins and distribution. Moreover, his research into the structure of the Jaffa fortifications was to lead him to excavate sections of, respectively, the Bronze Age earthen rampart at Yavne-Yam and the Iron Age rampart at Ashdod-Yam, in order to discover structural similarities. On the basis of this research, he developed an overall theory concerning the structure of the Middle Bronze Age fortifications in the region.

Kaplan belonged to a pioneering generation of local archaeologists who enthusiastically tackled a wide range of problems and topics encountered in the course of their research and discoveries. One may mention, in this context, his contributions to the history of the Jewish and Samaritan settlement in the coastal region during the Roman-Byzantine period, as well as to the history of the Early Islamic architecture of Ramle.

Jacob Kaplan has left behind a rich legacy of archaeological work, some of which still awaits publication.

Ram Gophna

DR ZVI ILAN, 1936-1990

Born in Tel Aviv on 14 May 1936, Zvi Ilan became known as a distinguished authority on ancient synagogues in Israel. He passed away on 17 February 1990, aged 54 after struggling with cancer.

His childhood was spent in Kibbutz Maoz-Haim in the Beth Shean Valley, where he acquired his lifelong interest in both ancient and modern Eretz Israel.

As a young man he began writing a regular column on local history (yedi 'at haaretz) for the newspaper Le-Merhav and later for the national Davar. His journalistic writing was exact, interesting and authoritative, and within a short time he came to be regarded as one of the best journalists dealing with the archaeology of

Israel. During the same period, Zvi established strong contacts with members of the Settlement Movement who would inform him of accidental archaeological discoveries all over the country.

Zvi settled in Tel Aviv and soon began taking courses in archaeology and the Near East at Tel Aviv University. He completed his BA and MA studies with distinction, during 1968–72, and served as an assistant lecturer to Professor Yohanan Aharoni for a number of years. His doctorate was awarded in 1981 by Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, for a thesis entitled *Jewish Attempts to Settle the Transjordan*, 1871–1947, which was later published in Hebrew by the Yad Ben-Zvi in Jerusalem.

Zvi Ilan was a member of the State Committee for Naming settlements and also of the Councils of the Israel Exploration Society and the Society for the Protection of Nature.

Apart from his flourishing journalistic activities, Zvi also taught in the Avshalom Institute, a college dedicated to the study of Israel, and published a series of guidebooks about the different regions of Israel. These became extremely popular, going into numerous editions, and establishing his name with the general public.

The last decade of his life was dedicated to the study of ancient synagogues, and he soon became an authority in this field. His greatest discovery – the synagogue of Meroth and its settlement in the eastern part of the Upper Galilee – was made unexpectedly while studying fragmentary documents from the Cairo Geniza in Cambridge. There he found a reference to the unknown Meroth, a Jewish settlement in the Galilee. On his return from England, he began investigating the site, together with Emanuel Damati, and soon unearthed one of the most exciting Byzantine synagogues in Israel.

The speed and skill with which he published the results from his excavations earned much gratitude from the archaeological community in Israel and abroad. During this same period, Zvi carried out a substantial study of the distribution of ancient synagogues in the Golan and the eastern part of the Upper Galilee, in the Hebron Hills and in the Shephelah, proving the existence of many hitherto unknown synagogue structures. This research is a major contribution to the study of Jewish settlement in Israel during the Roman and Byzantine periods.

In recent years Zvi Ilan managed to clear the synagogue of Arbel, together with a colleague, and even published a monograph dealing with the caves of the ancient settlement of Arbel. He also excavated at the synagogues of Ma'on and 'Anim in the Hebron Hills.

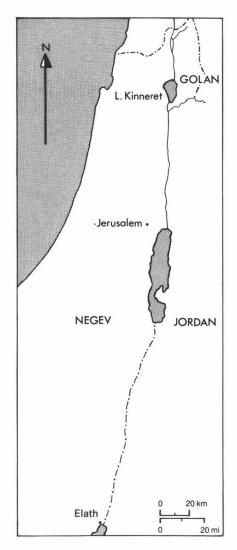
Even though he was involved in publishing numerous articles in professional archaeological journals, he still continued to write articles for newspapers, since he regarded this as an educational priority of the highest order.

In his very last days, Zvi Ilan managed to complete writing two books, one on the tombs of holy saints in Israel and the other on ancient synagogues. These are now in press.

He will be remembered with warmth and admiration.

Shimon Dar

The Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society: Summaries of Lectures Given in 1989–90



Sites mentioned in the lecture summaries.

Ezion-geber/Elath: a study in stratigraphy and topography

J. R. Bartlett

This paper discussed the problem of the identification of the biblical sites of Elath and Ezion-geber, by examining the biblical and archaeological evidence, and the accounts of modern explorers. Crucial to the problem is the interpretation of the stratigraphy of the site of Tell el-Kheleifeh, whose two major phases (the casematewall phase and the solid-offset-inset-wall settlement) probably belong to the 8th-6th centuries BC. The site's history thus fits with the biblical evidence for the history of Elath, founded by Amaziah or Azariah (Uzziah), but not with the biblical evidence for the foundation of Ezion-geber by Solomon in the 10th century BC. Nelson Glueck's identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh with Solomonic Ezion-geber and the later Elath is therefore rejected. Ezion-geber may perhaps be identified (after Laborde and Rothenberg) with the harbour of Jezirat Fara'un. Elath was Tell el-Kheleifeh; the Roman Aila perhaps lies below the mounds observed by many travellers 1 km northwest of modern Agaba.

(Principal, The Church of Ireland Theological College)

The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem

Géza Fehérvári

The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem is not only the earliest, but also one of the most lavishly decorated Islamic monuments. Its octagonal shape (offering the possibility of circumambulation, a tawwaf) and its marble and mosaic decorations have all received attention from archaeologists, historians and theologians alike. Situated in the centre of a city that is considered by three religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam), the original function of the building has provoked debate and speculation. It is not a mosque, nor is it a funerary structure, so what could Caliph 'Abd al-Malik's primary considerations and intentions have been when he ordered its erection? Were his ambitions merely political, i.e. did he wish to substitute the Dome and Jerusalem for the Ka'ba in Mecca? This accusation was put forward by early 'Abbasid historians of the 9th century.

Art historians like Creswell and Grabar suggested that the answers to such questions lie in the position of the building, in its decoration and in the inscription which runs around the inside of the intermediate octagon. Firstly, the building is situated on what is considered to be the scene of the sacrifice of Abraham. Secondly, according to Muslim legends, it was from this place that the Prophet Muhammad made his *mi'raj*, or 'ascension', his night journey to heaven. Finally this was also the site of Solomon's Temple, for which Arabs and Muslims have always had a great respect.

The mosaic decoration, with its gold

background and depictions of vases, baskets and cornucopias decorated with jewels, symbolizes the victory of Islam. The inscription, which is mainly Quranic, gives the date of construction and ends with the profession of Faith: 'There is no God, but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah'. This statement is a message to non-Muslims, particularly to Christians, pointing out the fallacy of the Trinity.

In conclusion then, the purpose of the Dome of the Rock lies in the linking of religion and politics in Islam, for it serves as a monument of faith and consequently as a political challenge to outsiders. It is a monument which propagates and underlines the message of Islam and announces its victory over the other two religions.

There still remains the question of the accusation by the early 'Abbasid historians that Caliph 'Abd al-Malik intended to substitute the Dome for the Ka'ba. By examining the small flat marble panel, known as *Mihrab Sulayman* in the cave under the building (which in the view of the speaker is contemporary with the building), the above allegation can be clearly refuted, for it retains the proper *qibla* direction, i.e. it is oriented towards the Ka'ba in Mecca.

(School of Oriental and African Studies, London)

Grants Given by the Society

Sylvia J. Osgood

In September 1989, with the assistance of a generous grant from the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society, I spent three weeks in Israel.

My objectives were two-fold: to acquire practical experience of an archaeological dig and to investigate the role of terraces in the agriculture of Iron Age Israel, through visits to relevant sites and discussions with archaeologists interested in that period and that aspect of early-Israelite economic life.

The practical experience was acquired as a short-term volunteer on a salvage operation outside the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem under the direction of A. Meir.

The major focus of interest was the uncovering of various facets of an elaborate drainage/sewage system of the Byzantine period and its connection with a row of dwellings or possibly small businesses. The excavation also gave an insight into the pressures under which such salvage operations can take place, when irrespective of the potential for development as a proper dig, official deadlines are immutable.

The role of terraces in the development of Israelite agricultural settlement has come under recent scrutiny by archaeologists. Whereas terracing was once regarded as one of the technological innovations enabling the spread of settlement to the hill country, this is no longer the case. Views as to the primary purpose of agricultural terraces are also changing from an emphasis on their role in the prevention of soil erosion to a realization that their potential for maximizing the use of limited available water resources, by controlling run-off, was equally crucial, if not more so.

Due to the current political situation, examination of terrace systems and their

construction had to be confined to the environs of Jerusalem, but I was greatly assisted in this area by the expertise and advice of Gershon Edelstein, to whom I am indebted for all the time and trouble he took on my behalf.

Pamela Magrill

A short study season of material from the Sataf excavations 1987-9 took place at the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem from 8-22 April. During this period I assisted the director of the Sataf excavations, Shimon Gibson, and the assistant director, Bridget Ibbs, with the study of pottery from the Chalcolithic, Early Bronze I, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman periods; the selection of relevant items for drawing and scientific analysis; and the cataloguing of small finds, animal bones, shells, charcoal and plant remains. Some of this material was then either delivered to specialists in Israel or set aside for analysis and further study.

The importance of the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze I occupation at Sataf was highlighted by an informal afternoon seminar held at the British School, when a number of interested scholars, including Ruth Amiran, Ram Gophna, Eliot Braun, Mikko Louhivuori and Hamed Salem, were invited to examine and discuss a selection of pottery from these periods at the site.

The work completed during this short study season is an important step towards the preparation of the first preliminary report on the Sataf excavations. I wish to thank the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society for a grant which enabled me to participate in this very full and stimulating fortnight of post-excavation work.

Report

SEDENTARIZATION AND NOMADIZATION: ANNOUNCING A MAJOR NEW STUDY OF LONG-TERM CULTURAL CHANGES IN JORDAN

Oystein S. LaBianca

The Madaba Plateau to the east of the Dead Sea has proven a fruitful region for studying diachronically the phenomena of sedentarization and nomadization. When the former process prevailed, the intensity with which the land was cultivated increased, as farmsteads, villages and towns were either started, rebuilt or expanded. When the latter process prevailed, most of these settlements were gradually deserted as people returned to more transhumant livelihoods.

These transformations in landuse and settlement have been found to coincide with system-wide changes in other parts of the local food system, including methods of distributing, processing, preserving, storing, preparing and consuming food. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that high-intensity peaks have been reached five times by the Madaba region food system during Iron I, Late Iron II, Roman, Mamluk modern times. With the exception of the last, each of these periods of intensification has been followed by centuries of abatement, the low-points occurring during the Early Hellenistic, Abbasid, and Ottoman periods.

Of the factors responsible for these oscillations, the most important appear to be historical ones. For example, the major impetus to intensification of the local food system during the Roman period was provided by the Roman Empire, which built roads and fortresses throughout Central Transjordan in order to make the land safe for grain and vine production, for transport

and, during Byzantine times, for pilgrim travel. Abatement at the end of the Byzantine period was caused by several cooperating factors, including weakening of military control over the agricultural hinterland, over-taxation of the rural population, and a series of extreme events including earthquakes, droughts and pestilence. This, in turn, caused local inhabitants gradually to desert their farmsteads and villages and to adopt less conspicuous, more resilient lifestyles involving herding of sheep and goats, cultivating patches of wheat, and living in tents and caves. Such lifestyles minimized their exposure to predation by hostile tribesmen, transiting armies and tax authorities.

The evidence for these long-term cultural changes has, since 1969, been accumulated through excavations and surveys at Tell Hesban and vicinity by Andrews University archaeologists in cooperation with the Jordanian Department of Antiquities and the American Center for Oriental Research in Amman. book-length synthesis by Oystein LaBianca (Andrews University) of the evidence from Tell Hesban and vicinity will appear this summer with the title Hesban 1: Sedentarization and Nomadization, Food System Cycles at Hesban and Vicinity in Transjordan. Other recently published titles in the 14-volume, NEH-sponsored final publication series include Hesban 2: Environmental Foundations; Hesban 3: Historical Foundations; and Hesban 5: Archaeological Survey of the Hesban

Region. Contact Andrews University Press, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104 (1-616-471-9875) for more information.

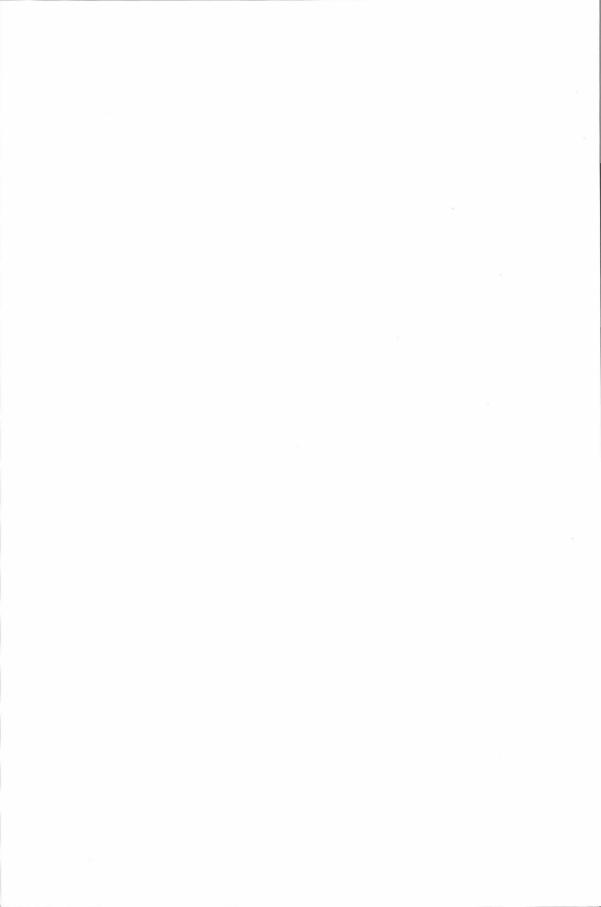
While fieldwork at Tell Hesban and vicinity ended in 1981, it continues at nearby Tell el-Umeiri and hinterland. Here, during field seasons in 1984, 1987 and 1989, the conclusions reached as a result of work at the former site are being tested and refined through improved data collection and analysis techniques. Preliminary reports about this new project have been published in the Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplement 24 (1987) and in the Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (forthcoming). Book-length reports on these seasons are being prepared at the Institute of Archaeology at Andrews University. Individuals interested in participating during the next season of fieldwork, which will take place during the summer of 1991, should contact the Director, Madaba Plains Project, Institute of Archaeology, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104 (1-616-471-3604). Individuals with backgrounds in cartography, surveying, painting, palaeoethnobotany and zooarchaeology are especially urged to apply.

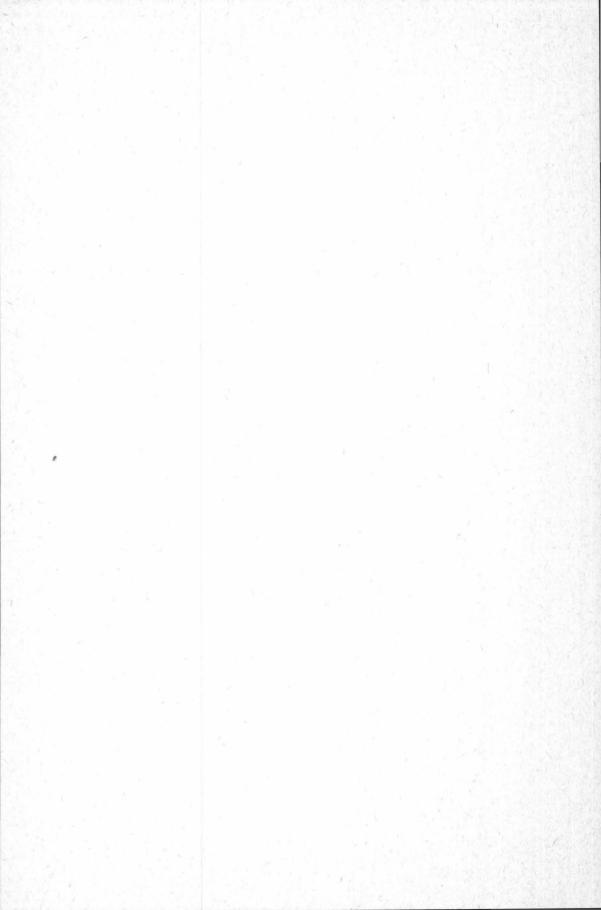
Directors of the Madaba Plains Project are Larry Geraty (senior project Director, Atlantic Union College, Massachussetts), Larry Herr (Tell el-Umeiri excavations and Umeiri publications, Canadian Union College, Alberta), Oystein LaBianca (hinterland surveys and Hesban publications, Andrews University, Michigan), Randy Younker (hinterland excavations, Andrews University), and Doug Clark (Madaba Plains Consortium, Walla Walla College, Washington).

Notes for Contributors

Original manuscripts should be submitted to the Editors of BAIAS, type-written in English, on one side of A4 paper only, double-spaced, and with ample margins on each side of the sheet. Endnotes typed on separate sheets should be kept to a minimum. The 'Harvard' reference system is employed in this publication. Works should be cited in the text by author's name and date of publication, i.e. '(Albright, 1949, 71)'. An alphabetical bibliography should be appended at the end of the text, i.e. 'Albright, W. F., (1949). The Archaeology of Palestine (Penguin Books,

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