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Book Reviews

Paolo Matthiae, Frances Pinnock, Lorenzo Nigro, Nicolò Marchetti (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East 5 May - 10 May 2008, Sapienza, Università di Roma.*

Volume 1: Near Eastern Archaeology in the Past, Present and Future. Heritage and Identity Ethnoarchaeological and Interdisciplinary Approach, Results and Perspectives Visual Expression and Craft Production in the Definition of Social Relations and Status, with the collaboration of Licia Romano. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010. Pp xxvii + 1026, incl. figures. €128; \$179. ISBN 978-3-4470-6175-9.

Volume 2: Excavations, Surveys and Restorations: Reports on Recent Field Archaeology in the Near East, with the collaboration of Licia Romano. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010. Pp. xxv + 768, incl. figures. €98; \$139. ISBN 978-3-4470-6216-9.

The two volumes of this conference's proceedings may be appropriately termed monumental, comprising 125 essays covering an enormous range of approaches, sites and periods relevant to ancient Near Eastern archaeology. Unfortunately for the readers of this journal, relatively few of these are of direct relevance to research in biblical studies and its associated disciplines. Among these are Tony J. Wilkinson's 'Models of Human Settlement and Behaviour. The Role of Ethnoarchaeology' and Bradley J. Parker's 'Setting the Stage for a More Productive Ethnoarchaeology', which may be useful as background discussions of methodologies relevant to Israelite identity formation; Pawel Wolinski's 'Will the Real Philistine Please Stand Up? A Case Study of Ethnic Identification in the Early Iron Age Southern Levant' represents an effort to systematise the criteria on which another southern Levantine cultural group may be identified in the material record and will likewise be pertinent to those attempting to elucidate Israel's origins. 'The Neo-Assyrian Colony of Tell Masaikh in the Region of the Syrian

Lower Middle Euphrates Valley: Report on the Latest Excavations', by Maria Grazia Masetti-Rouault and Sabrina Salmon, has the potential to be suggestive for those thinking about centralisation and the Josianic reforms; there are also a handful of other articles relating to sites and the material record of the Neo-Assyrian empire which may be of general interest (Paola Poli, 'The Neo-Assyrian Glyptic from Tell Masaikh: Preliminary Results'; Eleanor Guralnick, 'Color at Khorsabad: Palace of Sargon II'; Guillaume Sence, 'Khorsabad: de l'analyse spatiale à la 3D'; Kozbe Gulriz, 'The Neo-Assyrian Burials Recovered at Kavuşan Höyük in the Upper Tigris Region'). The sole contribution relating directly to Israel or to Judah during the biblical period is Claudia E. Suter's 'Luxury Goods in Ancient Israel: Questions of Consumption and Production', which takes the Samaria ivories as its starting point for a discussion of the origins and stylistic features of Iron Age ivories. There are also two articles relating to the region in the preceding Bronze Age ('Excavations at the Holy Land Compound: Bronze Age Cemetery in the Rephaim Valley, Western Jerusalem', by Ianir Milevski, Zvi Greenhut and Nuga Agha, and 'Tell es-Sultan/Jericho and the Origins of Urbanization in the Lower Jordan Valley: Results of Recent Archaeological Research', by Lorenzo Nigro). The set may accordingly be considered a pair of interesting reference volumes rather than an essential purchase, save for those scholars with the most wide-ranging of archaeological interests.

Carly Crouch
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Jan Dušek, *Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim and Samaria between Antiochus III and Antiochus IV Epiphanes* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, 54). Leiden: Brill, 2012. Pp xviii + 200. €99.00/\$135.00. ISBN 9789004183858.

This book is intended to shed further light on the fascinating excavations from Mount Gerizim, and as such it proves to be a very useful companion to the *editio princeps* by Magen, Y., Misgav, H., Tsfania, L., (2004). *Mount Gerizim Excavations. Volume I: The Aramaic, Hebrew and Samaritan Inscriptions* (Jerusalem). In addition, the book discusses the wider context by offering fresh insights into the identity of the Samaritan community

(Chapter 2) and by sketching the historical and political environment in which these inscriptions originated (Chapter 3).

The first chapter presents a palaeographical analysis of the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions, and this part of the book will probably appeal most to *Strata's* readership. In a systematic and meticulous manner the author reaches a well-founded and convincing dating of these inscriptions, thereby sharpening the hypothesis offered in the *editio princeps*. The palaeographical analysis alone makes the book already a worthy companion to the *editio princeps*.

Interestingly, Dušek revises the terminology employed by Magen and his collaborators. Rather than using the terms “lapidary” and “proto-Jewish” for the Aramaic scripts, the author prefers to call them “monumental” and “cursive”, respectively. After an admirably thorough palaeographical analysis, Dušek concludes that the inscriptions in cursive Aramaic probably date from the first half of the 2nd century BCE. He applies the same dating to the few inscriptions in the so-called “mixed” script, in which the Aramaic cursive style is interspersed with some paleo-Hebrew letters. The dating of the monumental script proves to be more challenging given its conservative style. Dušek nevertheless manages—via careful analysis and comparison with other Persian and Hellenistic monumental inscriptions—to propose a dating. According to him, the monumental inscriptions were carved around the same time as the cursive and “mixed” ones, namely, the first decades of the 2nd century BCE. This dating coincides with the second building stage in the area of Mt. Gerizim under the rule of Antiochus III. To illustrate the author’s painstaking efforts, he even takes the ruling practices into account whilst looking for sparse clues as to the age of the Aramaic inscriptions. In addition, very useful is the list of scribal mistakes that went unmentioned in the *editio princeps*. Particularly helpful is Appendix I, which offers an alphabetically arranged overview of each letter form in the three different scripts. Appendix II presents other Aramaic inscriptions, ranging from 5th –1st century BCE, with which the Mt. Gerizim scripts are compared.

The inscriptions in paleo-Hebrew (or “Neo-Hebrew” according to the *editio princeps*) are more troublesome to date due to their scarcity and fragmentary character. Dušek observes that the paleo-Hebrew characters resemble the script of the Qumran fragments, which may range from the second half of the 3rd century until halfway through the 1st century BCE. The scant evidence hints at a priestly context of the paleo-Hebrew fragments from Mt. Gerizim. This could mean that they originated at

a time when the Yahwistic sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim was still a place of worship. As the *terminus ante quem* for these inscriptions Dušek therefore proposes the destruction of the sanctuary, which happened late in the 2nd century BCE. Accordingly, paleo-Hebrew inscriptions on Mt. Gerizim may date from the period between the second half of the 3rd century and the 2nd century BCE, which could even make them contemporary with the Aramaic inscriptions.

Chapter 2 shows that Dušek is also at home with historical research: he explores the identity of the Samaritan community around the time when the inscriptions were probably carved. He discusses how heterogeneous the Yahwistic community in Samaria must have been, with Israelites, Sidonians, and perhaps Greeks contributing to the sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim. The definite schism between the Samaritan Yahwists and their southerly neighbours, the Judaeans, seems to have taken place under the rule of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Following the events of 168–167 BCE, the Judaeans severed all religious ties with the Samaritans by modifying Deut. 12 and Deut. 27:4, thus denying the legitimacy of the sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim. Up to then the Yahwistic groups in Palestine, including the Samaritan one, seem to have used a “harmonistic” version of the Pentateuch. As a consequence, the Samaritans also modified the Pentateuch, and their version stressed the legitimacy of the Mt. Gerizim sanctuary. However, around the same time the “golden age” of the Samaritan Yahwists came to an end. This period of local prosperity had started with the second building stage under Antiochus III and ended with Antiochus IV Epiphanes taking control of the sanctuaries of both Mt. Gerizim and Jerusalem in 168–167 BCE.

In Chapter 3 the “golden age” in Samaria is framed within the wider historical and political context of the southern Levant. Dušek is aided here by Josephus’ historiography with which he is in a constant and critical dialogue. The prosperity of Samaria coincided with a period of regional stability in between the 5th and 6th Syrian war. Dušek carefully establishes that Josephus’ much debated chronology of this period, as found in *Ant.* 12.129–236, is indeed correct. Furthermore, with the help of numismatics, Dušek confirms the existence of a dotal agreement in the southern Levant. Until recently the existence of such a special financial and fiscal situation during the first decades of the 2nd century had been subject of debate. According to Dušek, the tax collection by two members of the Tobiad family, Joseph the Tobiad and Hyrcanus, son of Joseph, can be understood

in the light of this dotal agreement. He is therefore convinced that Josephus' attestation of these two persons is to some extent historically reliable.

Dušek's book balances skilfully between epigraphy and historical research and therefore it will indeed appeal to the targeted readership: historians of Palestine in the Second Temple period, biblical scholars, and those dealing with Aramaic and Hebrew palaeography and epigraphy.

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Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman (eds.), *The Fire Signals of Lachish: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin.* Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011. Pp. xx + 401. \$69.50. ISBN 978-1-57506-205-1.

Twenty-five studies by 32 individual scholars, all in English, honour Professor David Ussishkin on his 75th birthday. The essays are presented alphabetically according to the surname of the first author, but several do address similar topics.

Eran Arie, Yuval Goren, and Inbal Samet ("Indelible Impression: Petrographic Analysis of Judahite Bullae") examine 64 seal impressions found in controlled excavations (mostly Jerusalem and Lachish) and find they are locally produced in each case and probably sealed official legal and administrative documents, and provide insights into the Judahite bureaucracy of the 7th and 6th century BCE. (For some reason, Yair Shoham's name is spelled "Shoam" throughout the text of the article.)

Itzhaq Beit-Arieh ("Excavations at Tel Malhata: An Interim Report") reports primarily on the Iron II of this as-yet-unidentified site. In the 7th century it was apparently one of a number of fortresses in the Negev area, perhaps defending against the Edomites, but was destroyed about the beginning of the 6th century as an urban site.

Shlomo Bunimovitz and Zvi Lederman ("Close Yet Apart: Diverse Cultural Dynamics at Iron Age Beth-Shemesh and Lachish") examine the cultural differences between two neighbouring cities only 25 km apart, based on their "Sorek seesaw" model. They conclude that the cultural

dynamics of each site were quite different; also, (1) that the common date of the Philistine settlement should remain about 1130 BCE and not be lowered to the end of the 12th century, and (2) the contrast between the destruction/abandonment of the southern Shephelah and western Negev and the continuity of the northern Shephelah marked a cultural boundary which matches the political situation (e.g., the Egyptians contained the Philistine enclave until the Egyptian withdrawal from the region). They are sceptical of an earthquake c. 760 BCE as the cause of the destruction of Lachish IV and Beth-Shemesh 3.

Eric H. Cline (“Whole Lotta Shakin’ Going On: The Possible Destruction by Earthquake of Stratum VIA at Megiddo”) investigates the criteria for determining ancient earthquakes and gives detailed arguments for this as the explanation for the destruction of Megiddo VIA.

Yehuda Dagan (“Tel Azekah: A New Look at the Site and its ‘Judean’ Fortress”) seeks to interpret the Bliss-Macalister excavations of Tell Zakariya: although evidence was found for all periods from Early Bronze to Early Islamic, both phases of the fortress construction appear to be Hellenistic (3rd or 2nd century BCE), rather than Iron II.

Alexander Fantalkin (“Why Did Nebuchadnezzar II Destroy Ashkelon in Kislev 604 B.C.E.?”) argues that Ashkelon, alone of all the kingdoms of Syro-Palestine, was attacked by the Babylonians at this time because it was probably a major Egyptian outpost with a garrison. The abundant East Greek pottery probably comes from the two decades before the destruction and is an indication of a Greek mercenary garrison (rather than trade and prosperity).

Israel Finkelstein (“Tall al-Umayri in the Iron Age I: Facts and Fiction, with an Appendix on the History of the Collared Rim Pithoi”) argues that this important Iron I site (probably first half of 11th century) has no connection with the biblical traditions about the Israelite settlement (e.g., the tribe of Reuben) or the campaign of Merneptah. The view that the collared rim pithoi had a different history in Transjordan (versus Cisjordan) and that they continued throughout the Iron Age, and even later, is mistaken; all the sherds so far found belong to Iron I.

Norma Franklin (“From Megiddo to Tamassos and Back: Putting the ‘Proto-Ionic Capital’ in its Place”) reevaluates the Levantine stone volutes, arguing that they represent the rebirth of the date palm (“tree of life”) in stylized form and do not serve as structural capitals (see also Lipschits below).

Baruch Halpern (“Voyage to Yarimuta”) argues that this site in the Amarna letters was the countryside from which Egyptian officials could gather wealth into a particular port, perhaps Jaffa or Gaza.

Ze’ev Herzog and Lily Singer-Avitz (“Iron Age IIA Occupational Phases in the Coastal Plain of Israel”) surveys Tel Gerisa, Tel Mevorakh, Tel Michal, Tell Qasile, ‘Izbet Sartah, Tel Aphek, and Ashdod, and concludes that the settlement of the central and southern coastal plain was generally minimal and limited in duration, usually to either the Early Iron IIA phase or the Late Iron IIA but not both. It was a marginal region at this time with little sign of social complexity.

Hayah Katz and Avraham Faust (“Distribution and Use of Storage Vessels in the Kingdom of Judah”) survey storage jars, holemouth jars, holemouth storage jars, and pithoi of the Iron II. They find no clear pattern of distribution according to type of settlement or geography/ecology; rather, larger storage vessels were usually used in royal storehouses (apparently for long-term storage), whereas smaller vessels (especially holemouth jars) were used for temporary storage of products intended to be transported.

Taking a clue from Alexander Rofé, Ernst Axel Knauf (“Inside the Walls of Nehemiah’s Jerusalem: Naboth’s Vineyard”) relates the story of Naboth to Persian Jerusalem according to Ussishkin’s thesis that the settlement included the Western Hill: the details of the story (such as a council of elders and nobles and the existence of a written law) and the presence of a vineyard within the city fit Jerusalem of that period.

André Lemaire (“The Evolution of the 8th-Century B.C.E. Jerusalem Temple”) argues that what began as Solomon’s private chapel was transformed into a national temple available to all the people by architectural changes made by kings Jotham and Ahaz, primarily a new temple gate and a new (much larger) altar.

Oded Lipschits (“The Origin and Date of the Volute Capitals from the Levant”) surveys all the volute capitals found in Israel and Jordan, concluding that they originated in the Kingdom of Israel under the Omri dynasty, from which they were adopted for a short period by the Assyrians (who seem to have introduced them to the vassal kingdoms of Judah, Moab, and Ammon; see also Franklin above).

Aren M. Maeir and Shira Gur-Arieh (“Comparative Aspects of the Aramean Siege System at Tell es-Sāfi/Gath”) discuss one of the few archaeological evidences for an ancient siege, at least in pre-Hellenistic

times, with a siege trench, berm, and towers; an addendum responds to Ussishkin's published arguments against such an interpretation of this site!

Mario A. S. Martin ("Egyptian-Type Pottery at Late Bronze Age Megiddo") examines local pottery that imitates Egyptian forms and notes that this style is more common in the Ramesside period: he does not propose but seems to allow for an Egyptian official on the site in the 19th and early- to mid-20th dynasties.

Amihai Mazar and Shmuel Ahituv ("Tel Rehov in the Assyrian Period: Squatters, Burials, and a Hebrew Seal") summarize the finds from the later of two major conquests: two apparently unburied corpses, the deliberately destroyed mud brick city wall (with evidence of short-term squatters after the destruction), and five burials (four taken to be of Assyrian soldiers or officials). With one burial were interred a long iron sword and an inscribed West Semitic seal (perforated to wear on a string) having a winged sun-disc and the name "to 'l'm" (suggested to be read 'Ūl'ēm "the mother's babe/child"); the seal is explained as probably looted.

Nadav Na'aman ("The Shephelah according to the Amarna Letters") notes that Egyptian inscriptions generally ignore the Shephelah (except Gezer), but not the Amarna letters, which show widespread rebellions in the rural districts (by 'Apiru and rural and nomadic groups). At least six or seven city-states sent letters, the most important being Gezer, Lachish, and Gath, though archaeology is limited in finding evidence for times of decline.

Ronny Reich ("Reconsidering the Buildings in Area A at Edomite Buseirah") evaluates P. Bienkowski's new framework for the site and concludes that his suggestion of one building with two occupational phases in his Phases 3–4 should be abandoned for C. Bennett's original interpretation of two superimposed buildings.

Margreet Steiner ("The Persian Period City Wall of Jerusalem") focuses on the city wall on top of the eastern side of the City of David (originally uncovered by Macalister and Duncan) that Kathleen Kenyon identified as the Persian-period city wall. She shows how Kenyon mistakenly misdated a Maccabean wall; however, Steiner suggests that the Maccabees first reinforced an existing Persian-period fortification around the City of David that they later rebuilt to include the Western Hill (contra Ussishkin's earlier dating of it).

Ephraim Stern ("Phoenician Clay Masks from Tel Dor") surveys the masks that have been found from the Late Bronze into the Persian period.

He argues that the “grotesque” group (including the Silenus masks) had an apotropaic function, while the “naturalistic” group are more subject to dispute but probably also had an apotropaic function, the larger ones being worn by priests and the smaller ones placed on statues or in tombs.

Hugh G. M. Williamson (“The Waters of Shiloah [Isaiah 8:5–8]”) gives a detailed traditio-historical analysis of the passage, in which Isaiah’s oracle was originally independent of its present context following 8:1–4. He concludes that *ישׁמו* is from the root *šwš* or *šyš* and means “joyfully” or the like (and was attached to the previous line), and “this people” in the original oracle equalled the people of Judah as a whole. Evidently, the “waters of Shiloah” originally referred to Channel II that carried the waters of the Gihon south along the east side of the city, while this line of verse 6 referred to God as the king of Zion who made gracious provision for his people.

Ran Zadok (“On the Toponymy of the Jezreel Valley and Adjacent Plains”) gives a detailed discussion of the place names up to 1948; an alphabetical index of normalized forms of modern toponyms facilitates finding information on specific names.

Anabel Zarzecki-Peleg (“Reexamining Area DD at Megiddo”) seeks to clarify a section in the north of Tel Megiddo excavated segment by segment by different teams over almost a century. She rejects the reconstruction of G. Wightman but argues that there is a discontinuity between the north-eastern area (the 5092/5065 corner and Walls DD2–DD12, with Palace 6000–Stratum VB and VA–IVB), and the south-western area (most of the remains in Square L/11 which belong to Structure 490–Stratum III).

Sharon Zuckerman (“Ruin Cults at Iron Age I Hazor”) suggests a new framework for the Area A cult-site (a standing stone) and the Area B site (a bamah): as “ruin cults”, cults practised among the ruins of the former Late Bronze city, whether by the remnants of the indigenous inhabitants or new settlers.

Each chapter is followed by a bibliography (though Eisenbrauns should consider including first names rather than just initials in its style guide). There are indices of geographical and personal names (but not one of modern scholars), as well as a welcome list of Professor Ussishkin’s publications. This is a valuable collection of studies, a worthy tribute to the honouree.

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Donald T. Ariel and Jean-Philippe Fontanille. *The Coins of Herod: A Modern Analysis and Die Classification.* Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, 79. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Pp xv + 203, incl. 96 plates + 21 figures. €128.00; \$175.00. ISBN 9004208011; 9789004208018.

This monograph is the first book devoted specifically to the coins of Herod the Great. Hitherto, studies of Herod's coins have been limited to relatively short articles in journals or within surveys and catalogues of ancient Jewish coins. As the subtitle makes clear, there are two strands to this publication, namely a substantive analysis of Herod's coins and a die classification, the first of these largely the work of Donald Ariel, which builds on his PhD thesis entitled *A Numismatic Approach to the Reign of Herod the Great* (Tel Aviv University, 2006) and spin-off articles. The die study is principally the work of Jean-Philippe Fontanille. However, as the authors point out (p. vii), their joint undertaking has been considerably enriched by their collaboration over a period of a decade.

Ariel uses the introductory chapter to provide a historical overview including, in particular, a biographical sketch of Herod. He skims somewhat lightly over the chronology of Herod's reign, which is a veritable minefield, as reflected in the literature. On the other hand, it is useful to have a reasonably detailed and up-to-date discussion of the economy of Judaea under Herod, which furnishes some possible answers to the perennial question: how did Herod pay for his ambitious building programme? (pp. 12–20). This chapter also examines Herod's 'Jewishness' (pp. 8–10) and comes down in favour of an affirmative verdict, argued on the grounds that Judaism was less closely defined at that time, so that, for example, the marriages of Herod and some of his sons to unconverted gentile women was considered acceptable in his day.

The second chapter considers the debate concerning whether Herod minted any gold or silver coins. The current consensus is that he did not, rebutting the late Ya'akov Meshorer's hypothesis that this monarch took over the production of Tyrian silver sheqels and moved the mint to Jerusalem. An adequate summary of the available evidence is presented, including the latest suggestion by Brooks Levy that Herod may well have ordered supplies of silver coins from Tyre, possibly involving a reciprocal trade arrangement. As stated in the previous chapter, the compulsion of Herod to mint in bronze was to enable royal expenditure "that entailed small payments ... His military activity and extensive building activity – the

heaviest budgetary items – would have entailed the largest amount of small payments requiring bronze coin transactions” (p. 23). While the authors do not exclude the use of coins for making “political or other statements,” their rejection of the notion that Herod’s bronze coins were used a vehicle for royal propaganda is questionable.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the typology of Herod’s coins. In this reviewer’s opinion the authors understate the Graeco-Roman character of the motifs and symbols on Herod’s coins. Indeed, they try so hard to play down the overtly pagan imagery on Herod’s coins in the face of the visual evidence to the extent that one of their concluding remarks: “We have proposed that inoffensiveness was an underlying principle in the selection of Herodian types” reads like an article of faith (p. 188). No doubt, to hold firm to their cherished belief, the authors persist in asserting that the obverse type of Herod’s largest coin is a ceremonial helmet (pp. 43–45), and go so far as to suggest that it stands for Herod’s ‘personal’ helmet (pp. 107–109). Yet, the motif is very clearly a starred Dioscuri cap (*pileus*) on a couch (probably as an expression of homage to Herod, wishing to represent himself in the image of the archetypal heroes) and is recognised as such in the new compendium of *Roman Provincial Coins* (Vol. 1, no. 4901). In this chapter, there is also a discussion of the denominations of Herod’s coins and their possible relationship with the contemporaneous Roman currency system (pp. 47–52; 57–59). There is a supposition that because there is a fairly wide scatter in weight of each coin type, the denominational relationships between them “are not yet established.” The well-known American numismatic scholar David Hendin has pointed the way to resolve this issue by weighing statistically significant numbers of coins of each denomination. By doing so and limiting the exercise to coins in good condition and showing signs of little wear (i.e. in ‘good very fine’ grade or better – in the parlance of numismatists), it should be possible to arrive at an unambiguous denominational structure.

Other chapters cover such topics as the dies and minting technology (Chapter 4), the location of the mint(s) (Chapter 5), the coin inscriptions (Chapter 6), Herod’s coins in hoards (Chapter 7), the coins in archaeological contexts (Chapter 9), geographical distribution of Herod’s coins (Chapter 10), and a proposed chronology of the coins (Chapters 11 and 12). The last two of these chapters represents a particularly valiant attempt to work out the chronological sequence of the various undated coin types in relation to each other and to the four dated coins. It will be interesting to see if this chronological framework will stand the test of time.

This monograph is accompanied by numerous well-chosen illustrations, including 96 plates of die charts and a comprehensive bibliography. It has been well edited and this reviewer has spotted few typographical errors. Unfortunately, the high price of this Brill publication is likely to deter many libraries and individual scholars from purchasing what is an important addition to the literature of the ancient coinage of the Land of Israel.

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Silvia Rozenberg, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations. Volume 4: The Decoration of Herod's Third Palace at Jericho*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008. Pp. xiv + 608, incl. 797 illustrations. \$92. ISBN 978–965–221–071–5.

This volume is the fourth in the series of final reports on the Hasmonean and Herodian palaces at Tulul Abu al-‘Alayiq, straddling the Wadi Qelt near Jericho. It represents the documentary fruits of 15 years of excavations led by the late Ehud Netzer of the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, which began on the last day of 1972 (see *BAIAS* 21 [2003], 87–91). The first two volumes authored by Netzer deal with the Architecture and Stratigraphy (2001 and 2004), while the third report, by Rachel Ben-Nathan (2002), details the pottery from the site.

Volume 4, mostly written by Silvia Rozenberg, is ostensibly about the wall, floor and ceiling decoration, as well as other decorative architectural elements of Herod the Great's Third Palace, the last and most splendid of all his residences at the site, but it is so much more than that. In fact, it is a fairly comprehensive treatise on the architectural decoration of the southern Levant during the Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial periods, often referred to collectively in the context of Jewish history as the Second Temple period. This book was presaged by appendices on 'Herodian Stuccowork Ceilings' and 'Herodian Wall Paintings' that Rozenberg contributed to Netzer's *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

The first chapter, which accounts for almost half the book, comprises a catalogue of all the fragments of decoration that were recovered from the Third Palace and this is headed by a brief description of the Tulul Abu al-‘Alayiq site and the three sequential residences built there by Herod, which are more fully described in Volume 1 of the excavation reports. All the illustrations – drawings and photographs – in this chapter are in black-and-white. Colour, and liberal use of it, is reserved for the chapters that follow.

Chapter 2 describes the technique, or rather assortment of techniques, used in wall paintings in classical antiquity and Rozenberg shows that both the plaster foundation layers and the application of the paint were executed in conformity with practice elsewhere in the Roman Empire during the period. It has been established that the Jericho murals were frescoes, with the paint applied to the plaster while moist. Specific colours and details were added in tempera, where the pigment is contained in a glutinous medium. Some of the pigments used, such as the bright red cinnabar composed of mercuric sulphide, as ascertained in chemical analysis, were necessarily imported from afar, possibly Spain. This fact taken together with the accomplished quality of the paintings and the methods used, point to Italian craftsmen being responsible for the décor, just as the design and construction of the palace appear to have been directed by Roman architects and building engineers engaged by Herod.

Chapter 3, entitled ‘Hellenistic and Roman Wall Paintings in the Land of Israel and Their Parallels’, is what makes this volume extra special. It includes a valuable review of the first three canonical Roman styles of wall painting, and sets the Herodian corpus in a wider perspective of artistic development, with numerous other examples illustrated, discussed and compared. This chapter was found to be of great help to me in appreciating the moulded plaster and painted decoration belonging to the late Hellenistic phase of the temple of Zeus complex at Jerash, on a recent visit there.

In Chapter 4, Rozenberg analyses the wall paintings in Herod’s Third Palace. Whereas many of the wall paintings adopted Second Style schemes, it is argued that some, especially in public halls and entrance lobbies, belong to a transitional Second-Third Style, which appeared in Rome between c. 20–15 BCE, and is well represented in Imperial residences connected with the Augustan Court. The case for this classification seems to be somewhat marginal in the absence of life forms, apart from some floral motifs, in the

wall paintings of Herod's palaces. By contrast, representations of humans, animals and plants constitute a regular ingredient of mainstream Second and Third Style Roman paintings. Nonetheless, the virtuosity of the painting in Herod's Third Palace does strengthen the argument for the presence of Roman artists and craftsmen at Jericho. The moulded stucco fragments, mostly if not all from ceilings, are dealt with in Chapter 5. Once again, Rozenberg illustrates their affinity with contemporaneous work elsewhere in the late Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial periods.

The tail end of this book involves other authors. The floor decoration of Herod's Third Palace, in the form of mosaics and *opus sectile* (patterned multi-coloured stone tile work) is examined in Chapter 6. Rozenberg is the principal author, but contributions by Oren Gutfeld, Rachel Laureys-Chachy and Ehud Netzer are acknowledged. Naama Viloshni provided the final short chapter, about moulded terracotta roofing decoration. The lack of an overall conclusion or synthesis chapter to tie together the main strands of this study is partly redeemed by helpful summaries ('conclusions') at the end of some of the chapters. A very noticeable omission, though, is an index that would have been extremely useful, especially as some of the decorative elements are discussed more than once in the book. While the illustrations are numbered, these numbers are not generally referred to in the text which means that the reader has to search for the relevant pictures when reading this volume. However, these shortcomings scarcely diminish the value and importance of Rozenberg's magisterial publication. Even at the stipulated retail price, this groundbreaking volume, with its lavish illustrations, is a tremendous bargain and an essential addition to any collection of books on the history and art of the southern Levant, including the Land of Israel.

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Assaf Yasur-Landau, Jennie R. Ebeling, and Laura B. Mazow (eds.), *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, 50. Leiden: Brill, 2011. Pp. viii + 452. €155.00; \$212.00. ISBN 978-90-04-20625-0; 90-04-20625-6.

The household is arguably the most important unit of society. It is the most numerous unit, and it is the locus of daily life for most people in traditional societies. It is also the social unit most directly represented in the archaeological record. One would think that archaeologists working on sites related to ancient Israel would have produced countless reports illuminating the Israelite household. Sadly, this is not the case. The agenda of the biblical text, with its focus on larger socio-political groups, has dictated the agendas of most archaeological projects. Archaeologists working in the Levant constantly dig up the material remains of household life, but the research questions they bring to their discoveries rarely address issues (e.g. gender roles and relations, economic production, food practices, social organization, religious culture) illuminated by the kind of analysis common in the publications of anthropological archaeologists but rare in those of Syro-Palestinian archaeologists. This volume, which contains papers presented at the 2008 meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research, is significant in being the first edited volume dealing with household archaeology of the Levant. The editors' opening essay—'Introduction: The Past and Present of Household archaeology in Israel—duly notes the sparse work in this aspect of archaeology; it then provides highlights of the seventeen chapters that follow and indicates something not evident in the table of contents, namely, that the book has three sections.

The three papers comprising the first section ostensibly deal with methodology, although the first one, by J.W. Hardin, is actually a review of the brief history of household archaeology in the Levant in relation to developments in New World archaeology. This essay, 'Understanding Houses, Households, and the Levantine Archaeological Record', also provides a brief introduction to resources for studying households and to the issues household archaeology might address and concludes with an example—Schloen's holistic study of Levantine households. Methodological issues are explicitly addressed in R. Shahack-Gross's contribution, 'Household Archaeology in Israel: Looking into the Microscopic Record.' Using examples from Iron Age Dor and Megiddo, she shows how geo-archaeological and micro-morphological

analyses can solve two basic problems of household analysis: how to identify surfaces on which artifact assemblages are deposited, and how to deal with the fragmentary and incomplete nature of those assemblages. The other methodological piece, by N. Marom and S. Zuckerman, also provides an example: ‘Applying On-Site Analysis of Faunal Assemblages from Domestic Contexts: A Case Study from the Lower City of Hazor.’ The authors describe the collection of a representative sample of faunal remains from one of the site’s Late Bronze II domestic areas and then explain how these materials may shed light on the protein sources available to the ‘common people’ (53) in the period of Hazor’s decline.

The second section presents case studies arranged chronologically in three subsections, beginning with Canaanite culture of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. A. Yasur-Landau opens with “‘The Kingdom Is His Brick Mould and the Dynasty Is His Wall’”: The Impact of Urbanization on Middle Bronze Age Households in the Southern Levant.’ By examining changes in land-usage patterns in the Middle Bronze II urban centres of Megiddo, Dan, and Kabri, Yasur-Landau can discern the impact of the construction of monumental structures (e.g. palaces, temples, and fortifications) by ruling elites on ordinary households. The next paper, N. Panitz-Cohen’s ‘A Tale of Two Houses: The Role of Pottery in Reconstructing Household Wealth and Composition’, compares dwellings rather than cities. This study identifies the methodological problems in using ceramic assemblages from two households at Late Bronze II Tel Batash/Timnah as reliable indicators of household wealth, status, or continuity. A study of buildings is the focus of the third essay, ‘Differentiating between Public and Residential Buildings: A Case Study from Late Bronze Age II Tell es-Safi/Gath’, by I. Shai, A.M. Maier, Y. Gadot, and J. Uziel. The authors show that artefact assemblages as well as architecture must be examined in order to determine the use of space and ascertain building function.

The four papers in the next subsection deal with Iron I sites. D. Ilan’s contribution, ‘Household Gleanings from Iron I Tel Dan’, presents the archaeological correlates of specific features of household life. He understands them to reflect a change in community structure at Tel Dan from village to town. Y. Gadot’s essay, ‘Houses and Households in Settlements along the Yarkon River, Israel, during the Iron Age I: Society, Economy, and Identity’, takes a holistic approach in analysing domestic structures at four sites in central Israel. He shows that they represent

four different kinds of socio-economic organization and suggests ways to relate these differences to ethnicity. Ethnicity is also considered in D. Ben-Shlomo's article, 'Early Iron Age Domestic Material Culture in Philistia and Eastern Mediterranean Koiné'. Using an analysis of several artefact classes, he attributes Philistia's connections with Cyprus and the Aegean to cultural commonalities rather than the migration of a single group. The fourth essay in this section, P. Stockhammer's 'Household Archaeology in LHIII C Tiryns', examines several elite households at a Greek site. Close study of ceramic forms allows him to speculate on social hierarchies manifest in Mycenaean feasting practices.

The last set of case studies features Iron II materials, beginning with A.J. Brody's 'The Archaeology of the Extended Family: A Household Compound from Iron II Tell en-Nasbeh', a close study of the architectural features and artefacts of five attached domestic structures. Using a detailed analysis of the contents of the rooms of each structure, he identifies the compound as the abode of an extended family (*beit 'av*) comprised of three nuclear families. A. Faust's essay on the 'Household Economies in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah' uses the location of food-processing installations and storage facilities as evidence for the socioeconomic organization of a group of rural and urban settlements. He finds three interrelated systems: individual households, lineages, and the state. L. Singer-Avitz's contribution, 'Household Activities in Beersheba', examines the distribution of artefacts in the various spaces of all the dwellings excavated at a single site. She concludes that the dwellings exhibited little indication of wealth differential and that some were occupied by families but others had a public function (as hostels?). A.R. Herrmann's essay—'The Empire in the House, the House in the Empire: Toward a Household Archaeology Perspective on the Assyrian Empire in the Levant'—has a wider scope, although it too examines a single site: Sam'al (Zincirli Höyük), located in south-central Turkey. Herrmann highlights excavation and sampling techniques that might shed light on the impact of Assyrian domination on the economy and social structures of a provincial city.

The three essays in the last section deal with household cultic practices. In 'Cult Corners in the Aegean and the Levant', L.A. Hitchcock looks at ritual areas, other than temples, at eight Aegean sites, two Cypriot ones, and one in Philistia. Her analysis of this diverse set of cultic remains affirms the view that structures can have both cultic and secular functions. Insights into household praxis are provided by B.A. Nakhai's 'Varieties of Religious

Expression in the Domestic Setting'. The ritual objects and their spatial location together suggest that Israelite cultic activities, many the province of women, addressed subsistence and reproductive concerns. Finally, M.D. Press also considers household cultic practices in 'A Problem of Definition: "Cultic" and "Domestic" Contexts in Philistia'. Noting that using certain artefacts as markers of cultic activity is problematic, he suggests several methods for identifying cultic contexts and tests them in considering possible cultic spaces in two Philistine sites (Tel Mique/Ekron and Ashdod).

The editors are to be congratulated for organizing the session on household archaeology and for collecting the papers into this important volume. As with any collection of essays, some papers are stronger than others. The several that offer research possibilities but do not provide results are disappointing. But as a whole the work is impressive, and most contributions are commendable for their sophistication in engaging interdisciplinary research in order to understand the nature and function of households in ancient Israel and surrounding areas. It is worth noting that nearly two-thirds of the contributors are Israelis and the rest are mostly Americans. If this signifies that Israeli archaeologists are better prepared than those trained in the United States to do research in household archaeology, then perhaps this volume will not only serve as an impetus for future publications but also inspire American archaeologists to expand their research goals and methods, with respect to both excavation and interpretation, to include a consideration of households.

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Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog Band II: Von Bahan bis Tel Eton. Mit Beiträgen von Daphna Ben-Tor, Baruch Brandl und Robert Wenning*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 29. Academic Press, Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2010. Pp. xiv + 642. CHF 182.75. ISBN: 978-3-7278-1655-0 (Fribourg); 973-8-525-54362-7 (Göttingen); ISSN 1015-1850.

Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit. Katalog Band III: Von Tell el-Far'a Nord bis Tell el-Fir. Mit Beiträgen von Daphna Ben-Tor und Robert Wenning*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 31. Academic Press, Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2010. Pp. vi + 461. CHF 145.50. ISBN: 978-3-7278-1669-7 (Fribourg); 973-8-525-54363-4 (Göttingen); ISSN 1015-1850.

Othmar Keel has drawn heavily on ancient glyptic in his many studies of symbolism and its significance in the biblical world. His researches led him to create a corpus of all stamp seals with secure provenances found in the Holy Land with the purpose of making it public. He published an introductory volume in 1995 and the first volume of his catalogue in 1996. That volume contained 2,139 pieces from twenty sites, now volume 2 presents 1,224 from 45 sites while volume 3 gives 1,009 from four sites (95% from Tell el-Far'a Sud). The three volumes contain 4,372 objects, amounting to about half of the total of the Corpus, which, according to the Foreword is about one tenth of the number of unprovenanced seals found accidentally or by treasure hunters. No other compilation like this exists.

Egyptian scarabs, or local imitations, comprise the bulk of the seals, popular throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and the Iron Age. The title of the volumes, 'Stamp Seals and Amulets' is apt, because it is clear that most scarabs had talismanic value, for only a very small number are known from imprints on jar handles or clay bullae. Local engravers adopted the scaraboid shape for other types of seal, among them Hebrew ones. The oldest 'seals' in these volumes come from Early Bronze Age contexts, a stamp from Bet Josef and imprints on jars from Tell el-Far'a Nord; the latest from the Persian and Hellenistic periods, notably the 69 bullae from Wadi ed-Dalije. Each piece is illustrated photographically and with drawings to show its outline, profile and engraving, a detailed catalogue entry giving details of size, material, design ('Basis'), date, present location, find spot and bibliography. The descriptions refer to entries in the introductory volume for materials and designs, also giving references to comparable pieces in this Catalogue and other works.

As noted, the majority of the pieces are scarabs. They have motifs ranging from three simple parallel lines (Tell el-Far'a Sud 901-906) to the commemorative scarabs of Amenophis III (Bet-Schemesch 168; Bet Schean

234). Most are mass-produced, with simple designs, figures, or hieroglyphs. The hieroglyphs may be divine names, especially Amun-Re', pharaonic names, especially Tuthmosis III that continued in fashion long after his death, or 'lucky' words. The engravers frequently did not understand the hieroglyphs, producing nonsense mottoes, while attempts are not always intelligible to modern scholars who offer discordant readings and translations. (e.g. Bet Schean 226). The great variety of Egyptian inspired scenes shows the pharaoh in worship or smiting a foe, sphinxes and other creatures, and human beings in various poses. Their widespread use attests the influence Egyptian culture had in Canaan and Israel since the appearance of the scarabs and their designs were plainly valued by people at all levels of society, yet as it is unlikely that the owners could read the hieroglyphs or understand the significance of the religious motifs, they were no more than lucky charms. While we may presume they were worn by their owners in life and are found in occupation levels, most are found in tombs and so there is a possibility that some were made for burial. A few retain their metal mounts, for example, very ordinary scarabs from Ekron having silver pendants (Ekron 32–42), one from Bet-Schean a gold mount (no. 123). In these volumes seals with clearly Assyrian designs are absent.

There are no outstanding examples of ancient art in these two volumes, but evidence of the engravers' skill in working with hard stones. That is visible in the three dozen or so bearing alphabetic inscriptions, mostly imprints of Hebrew seals on jar handles, none of them *lmlk* stamps. Apart from one Edomite seal (En Hazeva 2), the inscriptions are all Hebrew, on seals which were previously published in the *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* by Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Sass (1997), except Bet Schean 23, excavated a century ago but only deciphered by Sass in 2007 and a jar stamp from Dothan published in 2005.

Excavators, museum curators and collectors have recognized the importance of Othmar Keel's labours by giving him access to unpublished pieces enabling him to make his *Corpus* as complete as possible. He is producing an invaluable tool for further research on seals and their uses, ancient miniature art and its symbolism; when complete it will make a very significant contribution to our understanding of life and thought in ancient Palestine/Israel.

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Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2011. Pp. xv + 335 incl. b/w 48 figures. \$25.00. ISBN 978-0-8028-6558-8.

In this highly readable book, Jodi Magness presents an engaging overview of some facets of Jewish daily life pertaining to the late Second Temple Period, with a particular focus on ritual purity. The book consists of twelve chapters: an introduction and a conclusion, and ten thematic chapters, each of which tackles a specific Jewish practice (or related practices). A third of the book is made up of notes (pp. 187–270) and of an extensive and impressive bibliography (pp. 271–305).

The introductory chapter discusses three main issues that act as a framework for the whole book: namely, Jewish sectarianism in Palestine during the late Second Temple Period, the concept of purity and holiness in early Judaism, and the socio-economic structure of Jewish society. The following ten chapters deal, respectively, with ritual bathing and the washing of hands, dietary practices, household vessels, dining customs and communal meals, Sabbath observance and fasting, coins, clothing and tzitzit, oil and spit, toilets and toilet habits, and tombs and burial customs. The analysis in each of the aforementioned chapters largely revolves around the three main points discussed in Chapter 1. The final chapter comes full circle by revisiting the issue of Jewish sectarianism, with the difference that it focuses on the aftermath of the First Jewish Revolt. In her preface, Magness states that her “interest in the subject matter of this book evolved out of my work on the archaeology of Qumran” (p. x). Indeed, Qumran figures prominently in many of the chapters. Magness sheds light on the aforementioned aspects of Jewish daily life by using both literary and archaeological evidence. In fact, this integration of text and artefact is one of the main hallmarks of this outstanding work. Through this multi-disciplinary approach, Magness is able to go beyond the limitations of each type of evidence, thereby reaching conclusions that would otherwise have been impossible to attain using either texts or archaeology alone.

Chapter 3, which deals with dietary practices, provides an excellent example of how Magness juggles text and artefact in order to elucidate particular Jewish practices. Magness revisits the buried bone deposits (which have been the subject of various debates) discovered at Qumran.

Through an analysis of the available textual and archaeological evidence, she draws a convincing analogy between the bone deposits at Qumran and the sacrificial practices attested in the biblical material; she argues that the Qumran sectarians might have envisioned their settlement along the lines of the sacred desert camp and that the buried bone deposits at Qumran represent meals that “were considered a substitute for participation in the temple sacrifices” (p. 46). At first, the dearth of poultry bones at Qumran appears problematic, as fowl were among the animal species that were sacrificed in the Temple. However, on the basis of evidence gleaned from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Josephus, and rabbinic literature, Magness argues that some Jewish groups appear to have “sought to ban them [i.e. chickens] as well as dogs from Jerusalem due to purity concerns” (p. 47). Therefore, if the Qumran sectarians truly equated their settlement with the sacred camp, which is identified with Jerusalem in 4QMMT, fowl (as well as dogs) would not have been raised at Qumran (pp. 46–51). Magness integrates the archaeological and the textual evidence only after she considers (and rules out) any practical or environmental factors as possible explanations for the bone deposits and for the dearth of poultry bones among these deposits. Although her overall conclusion cannot be fully substantiated – owing to the limitation of the textual and archaeological data – it remains the most convincing interpretation that has been proposed so far.

Nevertheless, the recent discovery of more bone deposits at Qumran that include gazelle bones (these were permitted for consumption but they were not sacrificial species) as well as a very small number of poultry bones may contradict Magness’ interpretation. Magness notes that these deposits have been dated to the period before 31 BCE and that the method of deposition is not identical to the bone deposits discovered by de Vaux (p. 48). Accordingly, she suggests that after 31 BCE there could have been an ideological shift within the Qumran community, and that it is then that Qumran was conceived along the lines of the sacred desert camp. Further evidence for this ideological shift may be gleaned from the fact that the possible latrine in L.51 does not appear to have been re-used after the earthquake of 31 BCE, which might be linked with the notion that latrines were not permitted within the sacred camp (pp. 48–49, 135). Magness’ conclusion might be seen as an attempt to explain away contradictory data, especially since one cannot trace this post-31 BCE shift in the literary sources; however, her hypothesis is highly plausible considering that the practices and ideologies

of sects seldom remain static, as attested by discernible developments within the very movement behind the scrolls. This, in itself, is another important characteristic of this book; Magness is not afraid to draw adventurous (but simultaneously reasonable) conclusions.

In the same chapter, Magness examines the scrolls to highlight the sectarians' stance regarding the consumption of certain foods. Magness shows that the Qumran sectarians, contrary to other contemporary Jews, believed that fish had to be ritually slaughtered and drained of their blood before consumption, just like animals and birds (pp. 37–39). However, Magness does not stop there; rather, she goes on to explore the ramifications of this stance within the wider cultural context of the late Second Temple Period, by bringing the archaeological evidence into the picture. The presence of amphorae (probably containing Roman fish sauces) at Masada, Jericho, Herodium, and Jerusalem indicates that the consumption of these popular fish sauces was common, at least among the elites. The fact that such sauces were typically made through a process of fermentation and that fish blood was one of their ingredients means that the Qumran sectarians would not have been able to consume these Roman sauces (p. 39). This is one example of how Magness, through her multi-disciplinary approach, fills in gaps in our understanding of certain Jewish practices by putting things – in this case the Qumran sectarians' stance on fish – into their wider cultural perspective, giving an interesting twist to even a most ordinary aspect.

Another feature of the book that is to be lauded is Magness' efforts to ask new questions. In no small way, it is the integration of texts and archaeology that enables Magness to undertake such new avenues of research. For example, Magness discusses the question of whether the Qumran sectarians upheld the notion that holy scrolls defile the hands, on analogy with such notions expressed and debated in rabbinic literature. Her answer is that, on the basis of the literary evidence, it seems unlikely that the Qumran sectarians would have upheld the concept of hand defilement; however, she concludes that it is possible that they considered holy scrolls as imparting impurity to the whole body. Magness believes that “the sectarians might have stored the scrolls in caves because of (im)purity concerns” (p. 28), owing to the fact that scrolls were stored in cylindrical and ovoid jars, just like the pure food and drink of the community (pp. 27, 28). There are certainly various other examples – which testify to the many strengths of this book (including the aforementioned ones) – that one could adduce; the

highly interesting evaluation of the relatively recent claims concerning the tomb of Jesus and the so-called James' Ossuary is another case in point (pp. 164–180). As a result, each chapter is truly an absolute joy to read.

Notwithstanding, there are instances where Magness' conclusions are questionable. For example, she is not consistently cautious in her integration of textual and archaeological evidence; at times, she may be criticized for reading too much into the extant evidence and for interpreting the archaeological evidence within the framework of specific texts, even if other plausible (perhaps more sensible) explanations of the evidence could be made. Her explanation for the phenomenon of embedding cylindrical jars in floors at Qumran is a case in point; she links this phenomenon with Sabbath observance, namely as a means to ensure that jars are not moved about on the Sabbath (p. 88). However, embedding jars within floors could simply have been a means to store food or drink in a cool environment, for example.

In addition, there are instances where Magness uses the evidence quite freely. For example, in chapter 2, she rules out the possibility that the Qumran sectarians upheld the concept of hand defilement on the basis of the silence of the scrolls, which she takes to be “loud in light of the fact that more than nine hundred scrolls had been deposited in the caves around Qumran” (p. 27). However, somewhat inconsistently, she later concludes that “the sectarians might have stored the scrolls in caves because of (im) purity concerns. Perhaps the impurity caused by scrolls is not covered by Qumran legislation because it was taken for granted” (p. 28).

Also, Magness' use of the literary sources could have been accompanied by a lengthier discussion of the various methodological problems involved in the application of these sources. For example, to what extent can data from the New Testament and from rabbinic literature be used to elucidate Second Temple Jewish practices? How reliable is Josephus' description of the Essenes? Do all the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls necessarily relate to the settlement at Qumran? Should data from different scrolls be conflated? How is the complex literary history of some documents to be accounted for? And how are the differences between some scrolls – some of which pertain to purity issues – to be explained? Since there are many methodological debates concerning the use and application of the literary sources that are pertinent to Second Temple Judaism, readers would have certainly benefited from a more extensive discussion of such issues.

In her introductory chapter, Magness states that the book's "aim is not to provide a comprehensive overview, but rather to discuss selected aspects of Jewish daily life based on archaeological and literary information" (p. 15). In this respect, the book successfully fulfils the author's objective, and the fact that she manages to present the selected aspects of Jewish daily life in such an accessible manner is truly commendable. At the same time, however, the book's contents do not accurately reflect its subtitle, which gives the impression that the book tackles Jewish daily life in a comprehensive manner. Many aspects from Jewish daily life are not discussed, including settlement patterns, economy and trade, marriage and family, prayer and worship, social institutions, and various others. Admittedly, this would have called for a particularly massive volume, and Magness expresses her intention to deal only with selected aspects of Jewish practices quite explicitly. Thus, from a marketing point of view, the book's subtitle is somewhat misleading.

A few random and minor points: 1) there is a wealth of information in the notes and, thus, it is a pity that they are placed at the end of the book rather than at the bottom of each respective page; while the system of endnotes enhances readability, it also means that those readers who would like to consult the notes have to constantly flip back and forth between the main text and the endnotes; 2) a map, which pinpoints the various sites and places mentioned in the book would have been very useful for the non-specialist readers; 3) on pp. 80 and 82–83, Magness quotes from 1QSa, but she refers to the document as the Rule of the Community instead of the Rule of the Congregation (or the Messianic Rule); besides the fact that this goes against the standard title for 1QSa, it can lead to some confusion since Magness then refers to 1QS as the Community Rule.

Ultimately, none of the aforementioned negative critiques diminish the value or significance of *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus*. On the contrary, this volume is a most welcome addition to the body of literature on late Second Temple Judaism, particularly because of the multi-disciplinary approach that Magness adopts and because of the fruits such an approach yields. Indeed, this book is undoubtedly a must-have for anyone (scholar, student, and non-specialist alike) who is interested in late Second Temple Judaism.

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Haim Goren, *Dead Sea Level: Science, Exploration and Imperial Interests in the Near East*. I.B. Tauris, 2011. London and New York. Pp. xxiii + 360. £59.50. ISBN 9781848854963.

The Dead Sea – to which *we* usually add the qualifier ‘the lowest point on the earth’s surface’ – has exercised a fascination on travellers, geographers and map makers for centuries. However, it was only in the early nineteenth century that it began to emerge from the realms of natural and biblical curiosity to become an object of empirical exploration. Significantly, it was only then, in 1837 to be precise, that it was recognised that the Dead Sea was ‘significantly lower than the ocean’ (see pp. 158–61). However, this book is far more than simply an account of the development and progress of survey in the region.

Goren’s great strength is that he recognises throughout this meticulous book that three distinct areas of interest came together, with the Dead Sea as a common focus, in the early nineteenth century with regard to the region of Syria. It was the interaction and mutual support of these three areas that alone explains the fact that after 1830, there was a series of expeditions to explore, study, and map the region. The most long standing of the interests was that of biblical geography where the Dead Sea (this name itself is derived from the Latin Vulgate’s rendering of Joshua 3:16) was not only a major boundary between the tribes but was seen as having come into existence as a result of an act of divine wrath that destroyed the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19) – and their ruins were to be sought beneath its waters. The asphalt and the strange smell of the waters were seen as an empirical reminder of the existence of a God of retribution and wrath. There was, second, the theme of geographical exploration: the whole area, the river, the valley and the lake, all presented the traveller with curiosities: water which could kill but which allowed people to float, strange salts just cast up upon the shore, the lush greenery of Ein Gedi, beside some of the most inhospitable places on earth. Travellers sought to note, measure, survey and explain – and were aware that their interests were in direct continuity with the notes made by Pliny the Elder, eighteen hundred years previously. The Irish traveller Christopher Costigan (who died from drinking Dead Sea water in 1835) is typical of someone whose inspiration was primarily biblical, but who then set out (unsuccessfully) to measure and map. While another Irishman, George Henry Moore in

1837 was primarily interested in geography and whose major success was discovering that the Dead Sea level was below sea-level.

These two interests would not alone explain the number of explorations were it not for a third factor: empire. The region was of interest to France through its belief that it was the ‘protecting power’ for Western Christians in the Holy Land and it was also significant in the power play resulting from the long, slow retreat of the Ottoman power. For Britain, quite apart from her competition with France and interest in the politics of Constantinople, the region was important because of the long-standing belief that it there might be a land route to India. The dream was of a sea voyage from Gibraltar to the eastern end of the Mediterranean, then overland to the great rivers of Mesopotamia and by ship again to Bombay (and beyond then to Australasia). Now after 140 years of the Suez Canal and almost a century of *de facto* British rule in Egypt, such schemes look like silly dreams. In the period before de Lesseps all the routes seemed to present almost insurmountable difficulties, while through the Ghor seemed to offer a promising way to cut out the South-African leg of the most important imperial route. So a succession of British naval and military officers set out for Syria to forward the imperial agenda, while collecting valuable geographical data and casting new light on the biblical narratives. Parts of this story have been told in histories of biblical exploration, histories of geography and cartography, and histories of empire and travel – but this is the first time (to my knowledge) that all three strands have been brought together. Goren is to be congratulated for this splendid achievement.

So while this book will be of obvious interest to those working on regional history and the history of nineteenth century map-making, it deserves also to be studied by those engaged in the study of the links between geography and imperial aspirations, and also by those looking at the changes that took place in biblical studies in the nineteenth century. In effect, anyone dealing with the period (1830–50) when this region was opened up to Westerners, needs to read this book. This book covers an enormous range of material in detail, but, in effect, concludes with the expeditions of Molyneux and Lynch (and on the latter it has barely opened the question apart from setting the 2005 work of A.C.A. Jampoler in context) just before 1850 - perhaps it will also stimulate a further study to take the story down to the joint PEF/ Royal Engineers’ survey (scaled at 1 inch to the mile), or even to the eve of the First World War. Lastly, Goren’s topic might be as geography and ‘maps,’

but he is keenly aware that all such work is the produced by ‘chaps’ – and he has followed each one of his explorers as human beings, tracking down their details, their families and their interests: the end result is a book that is a joy to read and which makes one feel that one knows these long-dead travellers as if one was in the cabin or carriage with them!

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Erika Fischer, *Tell el-Far’ah (Süd): Ägyptisch-levantinische Beziehungen im späten 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Orbis Biblis et Orientalis 247. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011. Pp. viii + 430 incl. illustrations, maps and plans. €96; \$130. ISBN 978-3-7278-1691-8 (Academic Press Fribourg); ISBN 978-3-525-54368-9 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Tell el-Far’ah (South) is one of the major fortified sites in southern Israel/Palestine, which Sir Flinders Petrie explored, searching for evidence on the cultural relations between Egypt and Canaan. Two seasons of excavations (1928–9) at Tell el-Far’ah, ca. 25 km south of Gaza and on the bank of Wadi Shellal (Nahal Besor) produced rich and diverse settlement remains and extensive cemeteries ranging in time from the Middle Bronze Age to the Roman period. Architectural and other diagnostic Egyptian-type evidence indicated that during the Late Bronze and early Iron Age (13th – early 12th century BCE) the imposing site of Tell el-Far’ah served as one of the garrisons for Egypt’s provincial administration in Canaan. During the Ramesside period (19th-20th Dynasty) Egyptian governance of Canaan, headquartered in Gaza, was maintained through a network of military installations and garrisons, including residences for Egyptian and local officials. As indicated by its title, the book under review is confined to the material remains of the late second millennium BCE, or Ramesside period, with special emphasis on the subject of Egyptian – Levantine interconnections.

The book is largely concerned with two distinctive features – a sizable courtyard building designated by Petrie “Governor’s Residency” and the decorated ivory panels retrieved from one of its chambers. The so-called “Governors’ Residency” (Building YR), ca. 600 m² in size, consisted of

a central hall or inner courtyard surrounded by small chambers and was fronted by a spacious, cobbled courtyard (YX) which provided access to the building through a flight of steps and a corner entrance room. The “residence” underwent at least two phases of construction on the same foundations, though their precise dating has been debatable because of insufficient data in Petrie’s reports. More than 50 pages (Ch. 3) were devoted in Fischer’s book to a detailed discussion on Building YR, its ground plan, building techniques, modifications and stratigraphy, function of certain units as well as a brief presentation of the pottery and other objects. In a comprehensive comparative study of Egyptian architecture Fischer demonstrated persuasively the overall resemblance of the Far’ah building to domestic Egyptian architecture, particularly private villas, in late New Kingdom sites. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that the Far’ah “residence” was clearly inspired by local Canaanite building tradition. In addition Fischer surveyed systematically nearly 40 LBA - early Iron Age buildings from various sites throughout Palestine, which were designated as residences, forts or palaces and offered a critical classification and reappraisal of their cultural and historical context. The most outstanding discovery in Building YR were the engraved ivory panels which Fischer, following Petrie and others, identified as inlaid decoration which had once adorned a wooden box. The panels depict typical Egyptian scenes such as a hunt in the swamp, fishing in the Nile and a seated ruler with his attendants and dancing girl performing to the piping of another girl behind. These ivory panels became a pivotal piece of evidence for Fischer in her interpretation of the cultural milieu of the officials who occupied the “residence” during the 20th dynasty.

In two major chapters (4–5), including as many as 192 pages, Fischer pursued an exhaustive iconographic analysis of the various themes and individual motifs as well as their composition followed by a thorough synthesis against the background of Egyptian artwork. Indeed, this is a skillful tour de force of art historical and iconographic research work. Fischer, like other scholars who have dealt previously with these ivory panels, was confronted with the dilemma of whether they were truly Egyptian workmanship, local copies of Egyptian originals or combine elements from different cultures – Egyptian, Aegean and Canaanite? Fischer concluded that the depicted themes, motifs, and techniques follow closely Egyptian models and are only marginally influenced by other cultural art forms. However, weighty considerations put forth by some scholars may argue

that the Far'ah carvings were truly influenced by late Ramesside Egyptian fashion (late 19th – 20th dynasty); yet, they seem to combine Egyptian style and iconography with local Canaanite features and Aegean borrowed forms (See Bryan 1996). Accordingly, these were locally crafted, perhaps by an Egyptian trained artisan in the service of the Far'ah garrison. Also, it has been demonstrated convincingly that the ivory sections actually belonged to a continuous panel probably designed to decorate a back chair or footboard of bed (Brandl 1995).

Dr. Erika Fischer should be complimented for her well organized, systematic and carefully researched book. The inclusion of no less than 213 quality photographs and line drawings helps considerably in following the exhaustively detailed discussion. The overwhelming list of bibliographic items (47 pages!) she has consulted demonstrated her intimate familiarity with the literature on this subject matter. No doubt, Fischer's major contribution is the study of the ivory panels and her rigorous analysis in the context of Egyptian art history. Conversely, the selection of two case studies only – the "residence" and ivory panel, however distinctive, for decoding the function of the Egyptian garrison at Tell el-Far'ah and elucidating its material culture during the Ramesside period poses an inherent methodological deficiency. Such a goal can be achieved only by a comprehensive artifactual and contextual investigation of the entire spectrum of material remains from occupational strata and cemeteries alike and in particular all available "Aegyptiaca" or Egyptian – type objects (see Martin 2011).

Brandl, B. (1995) "The Tell el-Far'ah (South) Ivory Reconsidered". P. 26 in C. Eyre (ed.), *Abstract of Papers: Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*. (Oxford: Oxbow).

Bryan, B.M. (1996) "Art, Empire and the End of the Late Bronze Age". Pp. 33–79 in J.S. Cooper and G.M. Schwartz (ed.), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*. (Winona Lake. Eisenbrauns).

Martin, M.A.S. (2011) *Egyptian-Type Pottery in the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant, Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean XXXIX* (Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 69, Vienna), esp. pp. 229–235.

Yannai, E. (2002) 'A Stratigraphic and Chronological Reappraisal of the 'Governor's Residence' at Tell el-Far'ah (South).' Pp. 368–376 in E.D. Oren and S. Ahituv (ed.), *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume: Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines*. (Beer Sheva).

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Hershel Shanks (ed.), *Ancient Israel: From Abraham to the Destruction of the Temple*, Third Edition. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeological Society/Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010. Pp. 440, incl. 41 illustrations, 10 col. plates, 17 maps & charts. \$29.95. ISBN 978–1-935335–41–2 (hardback), 978–1-935335–40–5 (paperback).

For a textbook to reach a third edition it must be doing something right; and indeed Shanks's edited collection on the history of ancient Israel is an attractively produced and presented volume that provides a convenient historical overview of the entire biblical period from the patriarchs to the Jewish Revolt in just over 300 pages (not counting endnotes). It is structured in eight chapters that flow seamlessly on from one another, each written by a specialist or specialists in the history of that particular time-period. Although the arrangement of chapters from the previous two editions is retained, all the chapters have been revised and updated for the present edition, as explained by Shanks in his introduction.

The volume begins with P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., writing on 'The Patriarchal Age: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob'. This difficult period is treated with care, and McCarter adeptly summarizes the various theories that over the years have waxed and waned in their influence upon scholarly opinion concerning the origins and historicity of the patriarchs. For some his conclusions might appear disappointingly negative – that the patriarchal traditions may have originated as tribal lore among the Late Bronze-Age pastoralists of the central Levantine hill country and were expressions of their perceived difference from the inhabitants of the lowland city-states – but the ongoing development of archaeology and of related disciplines means that the earlier naive certainties and the simplistic links that were drawn between material

cultural artifacts and the biblical record are no longer acceptable, as McCarter ably demonstrates.

'Israel in Egypt: The Egyptian Sojourn and the Exodus' is the next chapter, originally written by the late Nahum Sarna and here revised by Shanks himself. This is another tricky period to deal with. Here, the argument for an Egyptian sojourn of some kind is founded on the conviction that no self-respecting people would present itself as having been descended from escaped slaves (and none is known that has), and on the authenticity of the details in the narrative, which are linked to documented Egyptian social and cultural practices of the second millennium. However, difficulties with the exodus narrative as it stands are acknowledged, and those enumerated include the identity of the pharaoh(s) under whom the enslavement and subsequent exodus might have taken place, the route that the Israelites might have taken from Egypt to Canaan, and the locations of the 'Red (or 'Reed') Sea' and of Mount Sinai, to say nothing of the miraculous and folkloristic elements of the narrative that suggest an origin in something other than scientific history. The conclusion is that the exodus experience is attributable to a small group of migrants, who moved from Canaan to Egypt, where they or their descendants settled, were conscripted as foreigners into a *corvée*, escaped, and eventually joined the other people who became Israel in the central highlands of Canaan. The pros and cons of the argument are generally well presented, although the appearance of judicious weighing and critical evaluation is somewhat undermined by a sidebar where Shanks in his editorial capacity draws attention to a BAR article in which Baruch Halpern argues for the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15) as having been composed within living memory of what Shanks calls 'the miraculous defeat of the Egyptians'.

Chapter 3 consists of 'The Settlement in Canaan: The Period of the Judges' by Joseph Callaway, again revised by Shanks. Here there is a review of the various models proposed for the settlement of Canaan by the Israelites: conquest, peaceful infiltration, peasant revolt, and immigration from the east. The conclusion arrived at is that the emergence of Israel in Canaan was far from being a straightforward process, and there is probably some truth in all of the proposed models. Israel's emergence also needs to be seen in the context of the general confusion and meltdown of civilizations that occurred at the end of the Late Bronze Age. In the course of the chapter the usual scholarly cruxes are covered, such as whether the Hapiru are

anything to do with Hebrews, and the presence or absence of pig bones in the archaeological record together with the significance of such presences or absences.

Chapter 4, ‘The United Monarchy: Saul, David and Solomon’ (André Lemaire) has a tone of certainty that contrasts quite markedly with the previous three chapters. Despite a nod towards the difficulties inherent in reconstructing the history of the period from the biblical text alone which is admittedly tendentious, accounts of the reigns of these three kings appear to be largely read off from the text with little qualification, and the main criterion in assessing the biblical texts’ reliability seems to be that of plausibility, often on the basis of comparison to genres of material from other contemporary civilizations. The Tel Dan stele is also appealed to as archaeological evidence for the existence of David. The chapter might have a more critical edge if each element of the account given from the biblical text was assessed when it was presented, but the recounting of the full biblical narrative of each king’s reign before any criticisms of that narrative are offered makes the biblical version the default that still remains with the reader despite the criticisms. True, archaeological evidence from the period is cited, particularly in support of Solomon’s achievements, but a tenth-century BCE date for monumental architecture is not in itself proof either of the existence of Solomon or of any of the events narrated about him.

Chapter 5 is the longest in the book, on ‘The Divided Monarchy: The Kingdoms of Judah and Israel’ (originally written by Siegfried Horn and now revised by P. Kyle McCarter, Jr.). As with the previous chapter, here too there is something of a sense of reading off the history from the biblical text, although the existence of more archaeological and comparative evidence for this period than for the previous one, and the deployment of this evidence throughout in dialogue with the biblical account, means that there is more of a sense that the manner in which the lines of the biblical account are followed is justified. Certainly the broad sweep of events is presented in a way that utilizes perspectives other than that of the biblical text and which looks behind and beyond the text in order to identify motivations and circumstances that are ignored by the biblical writers. Personally I would not set quite as much historical store by some of the details in the biblical text as appears to be done by Horn and McCarter, but in its basic shape the account carries conviction. There is also a welcome section on ‘Everyday life during

the Divided Monarchy', which again indicates that more is being done here than simply reproducing the largely political focus of the biblical text, as well as underlining the partial nature of the biblical record by drawing quite heavily on archaeological evidence and its sometimes unexpected insights.

Chapter 6, 'Exile and Return: From the Babylonian Destruction to the Beginnings of Hellenism', is provided by Eric Meyers, who lays out in detail the enigmatic nature of the period between the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians, and its eventual transference to Greek rule with the coming of Alexander the Great. Meyers helpfully starts with the reminder that the perspective and definition of 'Exile' is an exclusionary one that privileges the minority who were deported to Babylon and who then returned, and so he begins by discussing life in Judah after the fall of Jerusalem, which is after all where the majority of the population of Judah continued to live. Only then does he go on to consider life in Babylon, on the basis of both the biblical record and Babylonian epigraphic sources, followed by a clear-eyed treatment of the notoriously patchily-attested Persian period, including the difficulties of interpretation surrounding the book of Ezra in particular. He ends with the observation that culturally speaking there was no clear break between the Persian and the Hellenistic periods, and that even before Alexander's conquest of the area the influence of Hellenism was making itself felt, as is clear from early fourth-century papyrological and numismatic evidence.

Chapter 7, 'The Age of Hellenism: From Alexander the Great through the Hasmonean Kingdom (332–63 BCE)' is the contribution of Lee I. Levine. As was the case with Meyers's reminder of the partial nature of the terminology of Exile in the previous chapter, here a considered definition of 'Hellenization' is a necessary and helpful precursor to the rest of the discussion in the chapter, which navigates its way with a judicious step through the various sources and what might reasonably be inferred from them about the history of the period. Another useful perspective-adjusting observation later on in the chapter is that despite the stress so often laid on the three Jewish sects of the late Hellenistic period enumerated by Josephus, namely, Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, only a minority of the population would have belonged to them, and 'common Judaism' would have been a somewhat different (though related) phenomenon.

The eighth and final chapter, by Shaye J.D. Cohen, covers 'Roman Domination: The Jewish Revolt and the Destruction of the Second Temple'.

The evaluations of Josephus's value as an historical source, of Herod as king of Judea, and of the causes of the failure of the Jewish Revolt, among other elements, all show appropriate balance and nuance, and contribute to a fascinating account that warns against simplistic readings of what were very complex events.

The content of the volume having been reviewed, three matters of format are worthy of comment. The first is the illustrations: the plates and maps that pepper the volume are eye-catching (especially the colour plates about a third of the way through) and informative. Maps are particularly helpful in histories like this one which are fundamentally political rather than social histories, and the maps in this volume are a valuable resource for the reader, although one could wish for more of them here as well as on occasion for more strategic placement of those that do appear, by locating them nearer to the text in which the events they illustrate are discussed.

The second and third matters of format relate to the referencing in the book, namely, the annotations and the bibliography respectively. To begin with the annotations, for this edition Shanks has adopted a somewhat idiosyncratic policy on endnotes and footnotes. The main supporting sources for the scholarly discussions are relegated to endnotes, presumably so as not to present a distraction for the general reader, although as a scholarly reader I find endnotes inconvenient to say the least. However, that does not mean that there are no footnotes at all; rather, at fairly regular intervals footnote references are made to articles in *Biblical Archaeology Review* that relate to an aspect of the topic at hand. There are also the 'sidebar' information panels that offer focused discussion on particular issues and refer the reader to BAR articles that address the topic in question. Presumably this is a reflection of the audience for which the volume is primarily designed, but it does seem to me to be rather disingenuous, and makes the book into an advert for BAR. I suppose this is hardly surprising, given that it is published by the Biblical Archaeology Society, but the privileging of the BAR articles above other scholarship by putting them in the footnotes where they are readily accessible, unlike the endnotes which are decidedly inconvenient to follow up, does give a rather unhelpful message about the relative value of different sources of scholarship. Nor does the footnoted BAR material often relate to the questions that I find myself asking of the book's text, but that could arguably be because I am not the book's primary intended audience. Related to this is the matter of the bibliography: there isn't one, which again

does not encourage following up any of the material from the chapters in sources other than BAR, the references for which are prominent throughout.

In sum, then, would I give this book to my students to read? I think I would. It has a more positive view of the possibilities of historical reconstruction than some would say is justified, and there are the niggles mentioned above, but it is certainly not an uncritical presentation, and it gives a helpfully compact overview of the entire biblical period. It is a good example of its genre, and while by its very nature as an overview it cannot be the last word on the subject, as a first word it would do nicely.

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Ronny Reich, *The City of David: Excavating the City of David Where Jerusalem's History Began*. Israel Exploration Society, 2011. Pp. 368 incl. 207 figures. \$49.95. ISBN 978-965-221-0821

When Yigal Shiloh died, Mendel Kaplan, who had funded his dig, resolved to write an account of the research that had gone into revealing the secrets of the City of David. Mendel started the book but the excavations went on beyond his expertise, and it fell to Ronny Reich to complete the work. This book is the result, although unfortunately Mendel did not live to see it completed. It is an important book, and a complex one: Important because it gives a comprehensive review of the many excavations that have affected the so-called City of David, and complex because, although written for the lay reader and the archaeological student, it still needs one's full concentration to follow the arguments all along. In spite of over two hundred excellent illustrations, most of them in colour, there are some figures missing, which would have helped to further clarify the text.

On the whole, it is a rather personal account, which is justified, as Reich is such an important excavator of ancient Jerusalem. He expresses his admiration for his archaeological heroes of the past, such as Conrad Schick, Père Hugues Vincent and even Kathleen Kenyon, but the real hero of the book is the Gihon Spring. Its tunnels, channels and associated areas fill nearly half of the archaeological record. And this is a problem, as so much space is devoted to the underground evidence that less is given to the remains above ground. For instance, there is

little on the structures above ground, and nothing at all on the western wall of the city. There may be good reasons for this, but the account of the City should give us some explanation for this lack of research. And there is no plan of the city wall and gates at ground level, though this of course would have to be a tentative one in dotted lines. In fact, the excellent plans of exploration at the different periods (under Ottoman rule, during the British Mandate etc) all have the route of the Siloam Tunnel as their primary element, which underlines the author's profound interest in this underground marvel. Reich is careful to call it the Siloam Tunnel and not necessarily to assume that it was dug for King Hezekiah, as he explains, and he names the other two, probably earlier, waterways as Channel I and Channel II. But in spite of this careful and non-specific nomenclature, there is still some confusion between the two Channels, as on some plans Channel I is a short diversion into the Kidron Valley, and on another it extends all the way, parallel to Channel II., to the pool (p.195), Reich is clearly right to say that neither channel was just for purposes of irrigation but he is not so clear as to what was their exact function.

And this is a problem that Reich does not fully confront: Why was the Siloam Tunnel itself cut, why was so much effort and energy expended on this wonderful piece of underground engineering? Reich does highlight this problem, explaining that the earlier conventional wisdom assumed that the Tunnel was intended to bring the water into the city, and would not be sabotaged by the Assyrian siege under Sennacherib in 701 BCE. But Reich has now shown, brilliantly, that the spring was protected by a massive tower, that he calls the Spring Tower, that dates from the MBII period, and that was clearly still standing many years later. It concealed and protected the spring and made the tunnel unnecessary. And anyway, Channel II (or was it I?) that had "windows" to the valley, could easily have been hidden by simply blocking the openings. So why was this complex, innovative and effort consuming, tunnel necessary?

Reich tackles the ever-intriguing question of the sinuous route of the Tunnel, why did it take a longer route and how did the engineers manage to meet at a central point? Many scholars have come up with their ideas, but so far none is conclusive. Now Reich claims to have the answer, which he illustrates with a series of nine ingenious plans. These illustrate his idea of how the engineers may have operated, but the illustrations are all plans at ground level and Reich does not explain how the miners could have worked all this out and executed it underground, without the use of a compass,

which was not yet available. At one point Reich resorts to the idea of the miners being guided by tapping in the Channel overhead, but that idea, also made by others, is not realistic (as I have myself tested) unless one has access to modern sensory equipment. If Reich had solved the problem, that would have made the whole book very valuable, but unfortunately this is still not the case, and the dilemma remains.

Reich's important achievement is the uncovering of the Siloam Pool and above all the massive Spring Tower, whose gigantic monoliths he compares to those used many years later by Herod's engineers on the retaining walls of the Temple Mount. Thus the Jebusites of MBII could do what Herod's men did nearly two thousand years later. How either of them moved these stones into position has never been satisfactorily explained. Reich is generous in his respect for his ever-present co-worker Eli Shukron, and he is full of praise for the group of Palestinian labourers from the village of Siloam, who dug with him until unfortunately local politics put them out of work. Rightly, Reich gives extensive space to the work of his predecessor, Yigael Shiloh, and describes his excavation area by area. This is sometimes hard to follow and would have been made easier by a plan of the areas, A to K, in which he dug. Reich also recounts the recent finds of Eilat Mazar, though he does not agree with some of her interpretations, and he was not able to record all of her important work, much of which post-dates this publication. Thus Reich has completed his admirably comprehensive account, as promised to the memories of Shiloh and Kaplan, but the history of excavation at the City of David, in spite of his best efforts, is not as yet complete, and one doubts if it ever will be.

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Charlotte Hempel (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, Vol. 90. Leiden: Brill, 2010. Pp xvi + 552, incl. maps. €162.00; \$230.00. ISBN 9004167846; 9789004167841.

This volume of collected essays is composed primarily of papers delivered at an international conference organized by Charlotte Hempel, held in Birmingham in 2007. Hempel has divided this collection into four parts:

“The Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Second Temple Judaism”, “Archaeological Context and Cave Profile”, “Temple, Priesthood and 4QMMT”, and “Studies on Particular Texts and Issues”. For the purpose of this review, I suggest an alternative categorization, based on the relevant contexts that serve as settings for the analyses of the texts:

Broad Disciplinary Contexts

These contributions examine issues in Qumran Studies as contextualized within broader disciplines, surveying assumptions and approaches—historical and current—in the fields of Second Temple literature (Michael Stone), Second Temple history (Davies), sectarianism (Eyal Regev), and spatial theory (George Brooke). Stone urges us to bear in mind that extant works represent only a portion of writings produced in the Second Temple era, as is known, for example, from citations of additional “lost works”, and from remaining unidentified fragments of Dead Sea Scrolls. Davies traces a “mnemohistory” of the Qumran scrolls—“history” as a constructed cultural memory. He proposes, specifically, that the Teacher of Righteousness was a real individual, though only “a sectarian messianic claimant” rather than “a figure of national significance” (p.46), and that the Wicked Priest was a fictional sectarian invention. Regev argues, on the basis of his sociological study of modern religious sectarianism, that the Covenant Community of CD and the Yahad Community of the *Community Rule* were two separate sects; the Covenanters derived from the Yahad, and most likely both co-existed for some time, but as unrelated groups. Brooke applies the relatively new discipline of spatial theory to investigate spatial imagery in the pesharim, concluding that relevant terms in the pesharim are used less to describe geography and physical structures, and more as figurative language for the Community itself.

Inter-disciplinary Contexts

Specific topics, or texts, within the context of related ancient literary corpora are examined in relation to rabbinic literature, NT, Pseudepigrapha, and Greek and Latin authors, in each case with methodological consciousness. Vered Noam’s “Qumran and the Rabbis on Corpse Impurity” offers a sophisticated analysis of three passages pertaining to corpse impurity, read comparatively with rabbinic halakhic midrash. Her readings illuminate each of the passages, and the topic of corpse-impurity, but are especially important

for their contribution to changing academic models of the emergence and development of halakha. Bernard Jackson interacts with Noam in “Marriage and Divorce: From Social Institution to Halakhic Norms”, adding NT and sociological insights to the post-biblical and early rabbinic matrix. Jodi Magness also assesses rabbinic writings, together with archaeological evidence, to re-examine the issue of “Scrolls and Hand Impurity”. For Vered Hillel, the comparative corpus is the Pseudepigrapha; she aims to demonstrate that *Jubilees* and the *Testament of Levi* (from the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*) both depend upon *Aramaic Levi Document*, and that, where they diverge from ALD, the former works “shared tradition without sharing text” (p. 336). Helen Jacobus’s contribution “4Q318: A Jewish Zodiac Calendar at Qumran?” based upon a chapter of her award-winning PhD dissertation, contextualizes 4QZodiacology and Brontology within the sub-corpus of calendrical texts from Qumran, and also within the larger historical and cultural contexts of Mesopotamian, Hellenistic, and Jewish-Hellenistic texts. Through appeal to these contexts, Jacobus makes a relatively obscure text meaningfully accessible, facilitating evaluation of her thesis that this is “a working, schematic calendar that is related directly to the Jewish calendar in use today” (p.365). Lastly, Joan Taylor investigates the evidence of Dio Chrysostom on the Essenes, invigorating the well-trodden field of pagan sources and the identification of the people of the Scrolls, by arguing that Dio, as preserved in Synesius, ought to be taken seriously as an independent source for the location of the Essenes, and for a positive evaluation of the Essene way of life.

Qumran Studies: Textual and Conceptual Contexts

In contrast to most of the contributions discussed above, a few papers in this volume aim to *remove* the Scrolls from previous contextualizations. In their discussions of attitudes to the Jerusalem Temple, Martin Goodman, Charlotte Hempel and Hanne von Weissenberg, aim to correct for undue influence of Christian and rabbinic sources (Goodman) and of early impressions in Qumran studies (Hempel and von Weissenberg). Such “Comfortable Theories” as Hempel calls them, led at times to distortion, including an exaggerated emphasis upon separatist rejection of the Temple, especially evident in analysis of 4QMMT. It is worth noting that the centrality of Jerusalem, at least in idealized form, emerged strongly as well from Brooke’s contribution on spatial imagery.

Torleif Elgvin's investigation of "Temple Mysticism and the Temple of Men" discusses different aspects of Temple imagery. He proposes that the Qumran understanding of the Community as a spiritual Temple arose as a theological response to crisis, building upon and transforming earlier foundational biblical and post-biblical texts regarding heavenly and eschatological models of the Temple. Heinz-Josef Fabry re-visits the question of the status of priests at Qumran, specifically the relationship between Aaronides and Zadokites, which he views as two competing groups. Lawrence Schiffman traces scholarship on CD/*Damascus Document* from the initial publication of the medieval manuscripts of this work from the Cairo Geniza, in the early twentieth century, through the discovery and publication of the relevant scrolls fragments, with respect to issues of *halakha*, the identification and history of the sect, and more generally, "the history of Judaism and the formative background of Christianity" (p. 464).

Qumran Studies: Archaeological Context

The survey of textual finds from the Judean Desert by Hanan Eshel י"ל provides a broad context for the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, offering a geographical and chronological catalogue that reads like a narrative, and will surely fill in gaps for many readers who have only partial familiarity with the corpus of Dead Sea Scrolls outside the Qumran caves. In Dennis Mizzi's discussion of the glass findings at Qumran foreground and background are shifted, as the archaeological data is treated as the "text" that is evaluated in the "context" of theories about Qumran and the Community of the Scrolls. The data itself is clearly presented, again, opening up a somewhat esoteric area of Qumran studies. The conversation between Florentino García Martínez and Daniel Stökl ben Ezra regarding the particular character of Caves 1 and 11 will be more familiar territory for most Qumran scholars. Recognition of distinctions between the Caves is important both for matters of dating and for our conception of the content of the corpus. By giving Stökl ben Ezra an opportunity to respond to García Martínez, the editor has succeeded in exemplifying one of the most important contexts for academic progress—the ongoing discourse among scholars themselves.

Hempel has succeeded in creating an exceptionally supportive and encouraging environment at the initial conference (as was so warmly described in the preface by Albert Baumgarten) and in the volume itself. In

this spirit, I would like to add one observation to the specific conversation regarding the significance of the individual caves. In analyzing the physical evidence pertaining to Cave 1 and Cave 11, both García Martínez and Stökl ben Ezra seem to consider primarily rigid options: early or late, sectarian or non-sectarian; is there a single corpus represented by the 11 caves, or were there two deposits? Daniel Stökl ben Ezra presents, and dismisses, the theory of Stephen Pfann that each of the caves stands alone. I suggest that it is worthwhile to consider more complex inter-relationships between the finds in each cave. As Pfann has noted, the texts from Cave 11 are not the classic “Community” works found in Cave 1, and yet they are of a strong sectarian nature: 11QT, whose relationship to the Yahad remains a matter of uncertainty in scholarship; 11QMelchizedek, which is a “pesher” of some sort, but anomalous, for example, in its use of Pentateuchal base-texts.

In summing up, this volume will provide scholars with a new vantage point from which to consider the corpus of texts from Qumran. Its strength lies firstly, in opening new material and textual areas for further discussion, and secondly, in challenging several of the existing assumptions that potentially distort, or oversimplify, the complexity of the scrolls and their origins. It is also set to become a much-cited resource in refining the more general, impressions of the texts and their provenance.

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