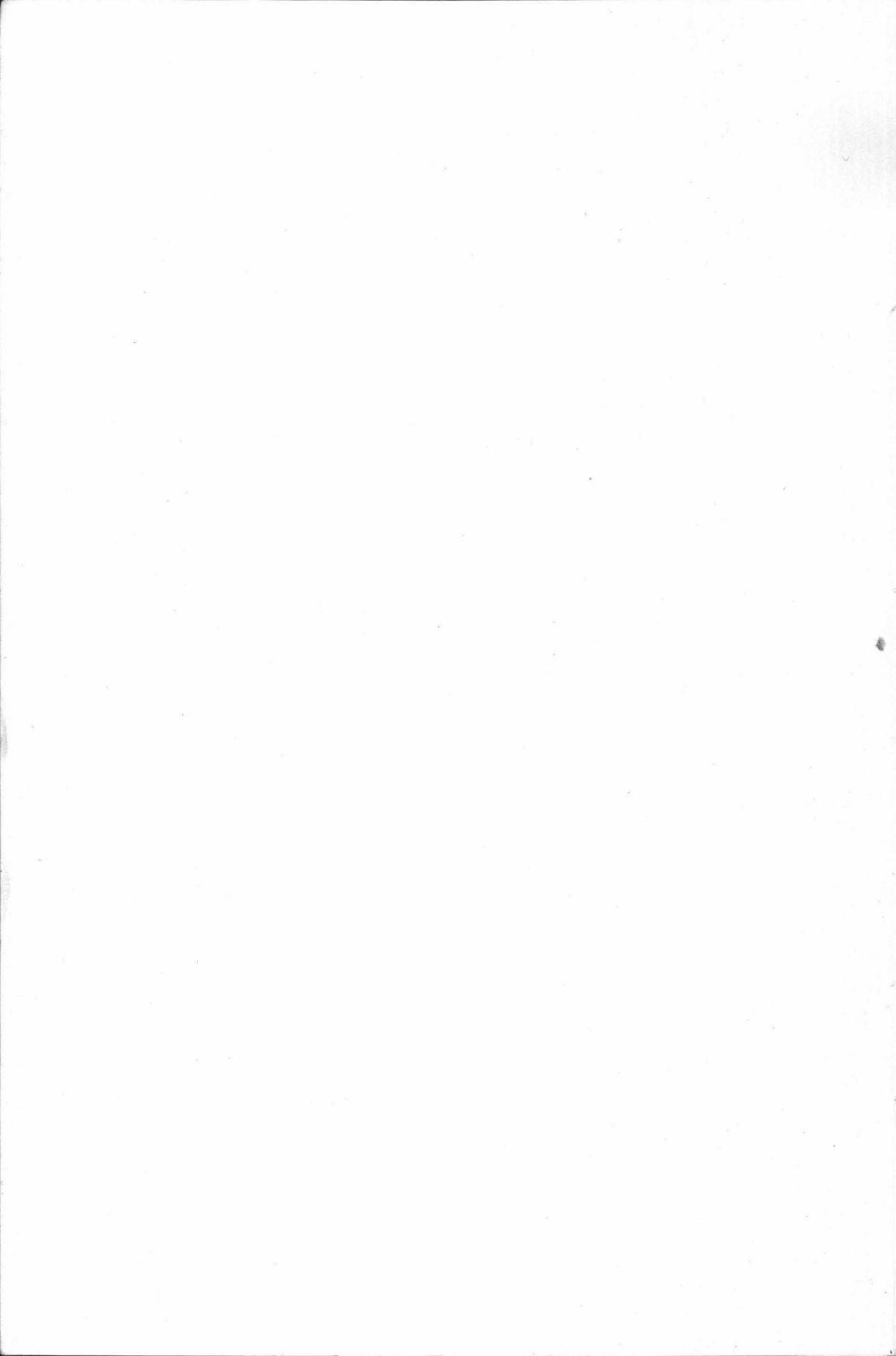


# Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society



Volume 11  
1991-2



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## Editorial

The two main articles included in this edition of the *Bulletin*, as in the previous issue, are dedicated to the topic of ancient Jerusalem. The archaeology and history of this city has increasingly become a specialized subject in its own right. After more than a hundred years of exploration in the Old City, major scientific excavations were carried out during the 1960s by K. M. Kenyon, followed by large-scale Israeli excavations in the 1970s and 1980s at the foot of the Temple Mount, in the Jewish Quarter, in the City of David and elsewhere. Since then our knowledge has been substantially furthered by surveys of the environs of the ancient city and especially by the investigation of its extensive necropolis. The first article deals with the finds from a burial cave dating from the Early Roman period, uncovered during building works on the eastern slope of Mount Scopus. It was excavated by Professor Amos Kloner, Senior Archaeologist in the Israel Antiquities Authority and Lecturer at the Bar Ilan University, and Harley Stark, Inspector of Antiquities in the Israel Antiquities Authority. Their article is followed by Yonatan Nadelman's paper on some finds, perhaps from a *favissa*, discovered in excavations beneath the Temple Mount during work which was initiated by Professor Benjamin Mazar and continued by Eilat Mazar. Nadelman, presently employed by the Antiquities Authority, has worked on the Temple Mount excavations as well as in the City of David excavations under the direction of the late Yigal Shiloh.

The review article discusses a book edited by Guilaine which deals with the various ways one might study the development of ancient man-made landscapes. It is an important subject, which has not always been dealt with sufficiently seriously by archaeologists working in the Near East. I am glad to say that projects of landscape archaeology are now being undertaken in Israel and other parts of the Levant. Dr Claudine Dauphin is an eminent scholar at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, who has excavated a number of sites in Israel, including a Byzantine church at Dor, and has carried out in-depth surveys of settlements and landscapes in the Golan Heights.

Six reviews of recently published books are also included in this issue, including a review by Professor William Dever of an excellent book by Dr Roger Moorey on a century of biblical archaeology. Moorey's book, I myself found, is so well-written that I did not want to put it down until I had reached the last page.

The present *Bulletin* ends with summaries of lectures given in 1991–2 and with reports by grant recipients.

*Shimon Gibson*

## A Burial Cave on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem

AMOS KLONER and HARLEY STARK

In February 1987, a rock-cut burial cave was accidentally discovered on the eastern slopes of Mount Scopus (Israel Grid 1740 1355). Cut into the local Senonian limestone (Menuha Formation), the cave was uncovered when mechanical equipment broke through one of the *arcosolia* (an *arcosolium* was a raised burial shelf or niche, set into the walls of a tomb and covered over by an arch) and destroyed the roof of the tomb. The cave was excavated soon after by the authors.

### The Plan of the Tomb

The tomb originally comprised of a single 2.2 m square burial chamber, 1.8 m high (Fig. 1). The entrance was located along the eastern wall, while *arcosolia* I, II and III were along the northern, western and southern walls respectively.

Entrance to the tomb was through an opening 0.67 m high, 0.45 m wide and 0.35 m deep. A square blocking stone was found *in situ* outside the entrance. A step or narrow shelf ran the entire length of the eastern wall. This step was 0.60 m wide in the north, narrowing to a width of 0.30 m in the south and with a height of 0.30 m.

The three *arcosolia* were between 1.85-2.25 m long, 0.75-0.80 m wide, and 1-1.05 m high; all three were installed between 0.60-0.75 m above the floor. *Arcosolia* I and III were extremely well hewn with straight walls and ceiling, suggesting high-quality workmanship. Chisel marks were visible through most of the cave. *Arcosolium* II, however, was not completed: the northwest corner was left irregularly carved and the roof remained unfinished, although this may have been due to the poor quality of the local limestone.

Both the entrance to the cave and the blocking stone were found covered with soil, some of which had entered the cave through a 2-3 cm wide gap. The soil was concentrated in the centre of the room and was approximately 0.30 m deep. The type of soil and the way it had concentrated in one area only, suggested that the tomb had a courtyard in front of it and not an additional burial chamber. Unfortunately, the area of this 'courtyard' was destroyed by mechanical equipment, so the complete plan of the tomb could not be obtained. At the time of the excavation, the floor of the cave was covered with large quantities of debris from the collapsed roof. This roof debris was very difficult to remove, and so it was decided to excavate only one third of the cave, between *Arcosolia* I and II, down to floor level. Since only a very small amount of pottery was recovered in this excava-

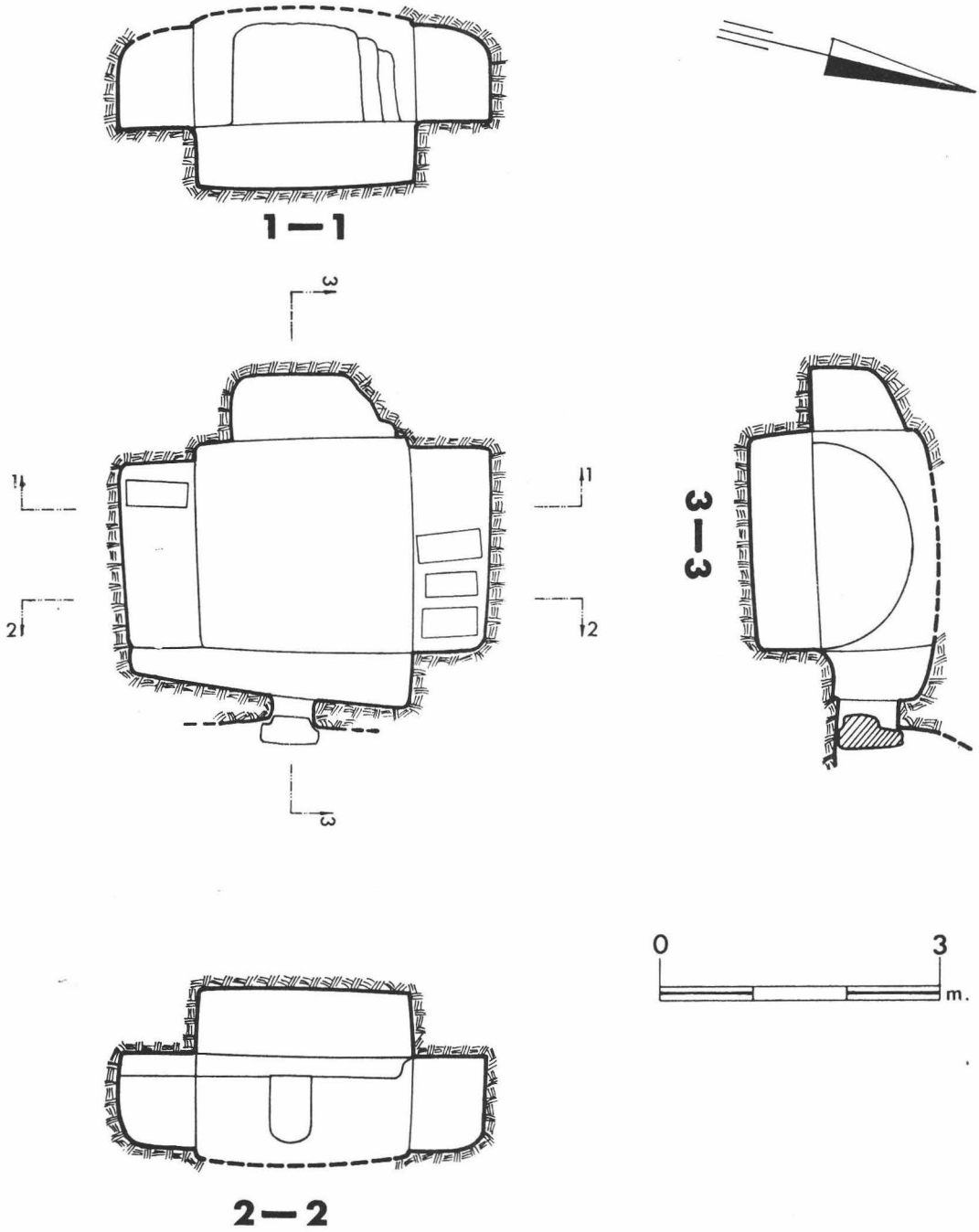


Fig. 1. Plan and sections of burial cave.

tion, the possibility of finding significant quantities of pottery in the unexcavated areas was considered unlikely.

### The Ossuaries

A total of four ossuaries was found in the cave. Ossuaries 1, 2 and 3 were found in a row on *Arcosolium* I, while Ossuary 4 stood alone on *Arcosolium* III. Ossuary 2 was only partially covered with roof debris, while Ossuary 1 was completely filled in with rubble, since its cover had been removed in antiquity. *Arcosolium* III was covered in its entirety with a thick layer of debris which resulted in damage to Ossuary 4; it was only on the third day of excavations that this ossuary was recovered. The location and position of each ossuary was noted before being removed.

The only inscription found in the tomb was incised into one of the side panels of Ossuary 3; the panel on the other side was highly decorated. When found, the inscribed panel faced south and the decorated side faced Ossuary 2, thus neither inscription nor decoration were visible to anyone entering the tomb. The shorter panel, facing the burial chamber, was decorated with a yellow wash, depicting the schematic impression of the façade of a building with a pointed gable, identified as a *nefesh*.

It is difficult to reach any firm conclusions concerning the function of the decorations on Ossuary 3 and its positioning *vis à vis* the burial chamber and adjacent ossuaries. In a large number of cases where ossuaries have been found in burial caves, the decorated panels and/or inscriptions were not visible to those entering the tomb. Thus it seems that the function of the inscription was solely to aid family members in identifying the deceased. Since names very rarely appear on the majority of ossuaries found to date, it can be concluded that such inscriptions were not epitaphs, as on present-day tombstones, but aids for identification purposes only.

Ossuary 4 was also decorated. It was located on *Arcosolium* III, 0.20 m from the western wall. The decorated panel faced the wall and also could not have been visible to those entering the tomb.

### Ossuary 1

This plain, undecorated ossuary measured 59 cm × 26 cm × 31.5 cm high; the sides were 2.5–3.5 cm thick (Fig. 2). It did not have legs and the flat cover would have been moved along grooves located at the top of the box. The cover was not found in place, but nearby. Inside were the skeletal remains of a male and a quantity of brown earth of a type found on Mount Scopus. However, it is also possible that the earth was brought from elsewhere and deliberately placed inside.



Fig. 2. Ossuary No 1.

### **Ossuary 2**

This plain undecorated ossuary with no legs measured 49 cm × 24 cm × 30 cm high; its sides tapered from 3 cm thick at the top to 2.5 cm near the base. The flat cover slid along two grooves. Inside were the skeletal remains of two infants, both 12 months old (Fig. 3).

### **Ossuary 3**

This ossuary measured 72 cm × 29 cm × 37 cm high; the sides were 3 cm thick. The flat cover rested directly on the box which stood on 4 small legs, all 8 cm long and 1 cm high. The entire ossuary (excluding the cover) was covered by a yellow wash and one of the panels was decorated (Fig. 4).

The decorations are surrounded by a border composed of triangles carved in a zig-zag pattern. Two carefully executed branch-formed whirl-rosettes filled most of the remaining space. The whirl-rosettes appeared as a single branch with a leaf pattern on either side of a central stem. Around the outside were 23 individually carved leaves, while the leaves on the inside were compressed in order to fit the limited space. The craftsman succeeded in carving a crowded inner row of leaves in a naturalistic style, rather than resorting to some other technically easier schematic motif. The leaves overlapped each other in such a way that the viewer had the sense of a naturalistic design. Such naturalistic designs of artistic quality are rare on ossuaries, but a similar example of the whirl-rosette motif on an ossuary is known from a tomb in the Mahanayim neighbourhood of Jerusalem (Rahmani, 1961, Pl. XIV:6).



A BURIAL CAVE ON MOUNT SCOPUS, JERUSALEM

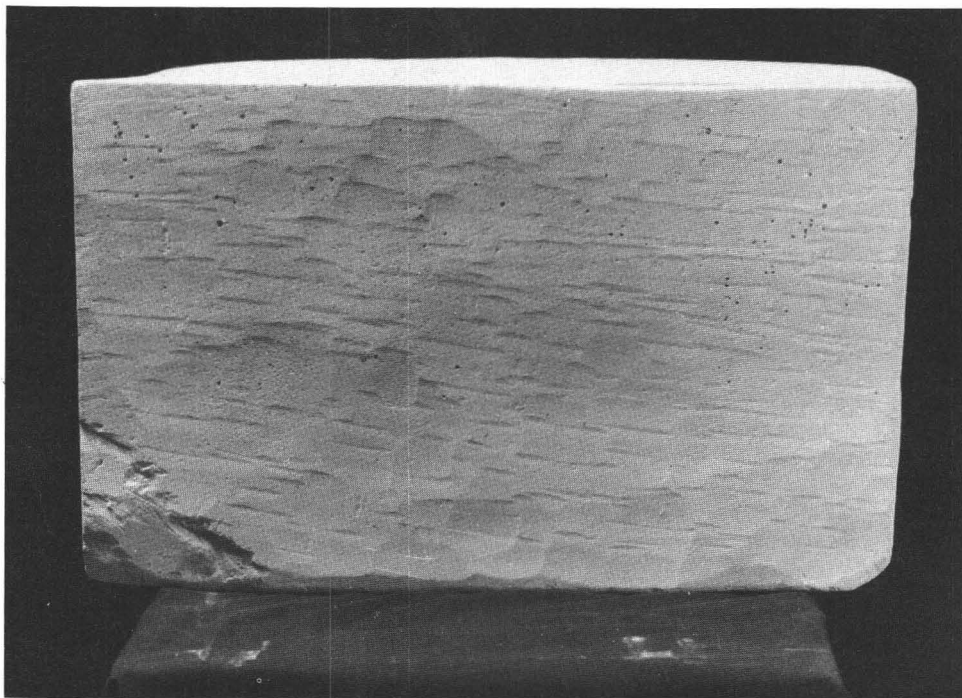


Fig. 3. Ossuary No 2.

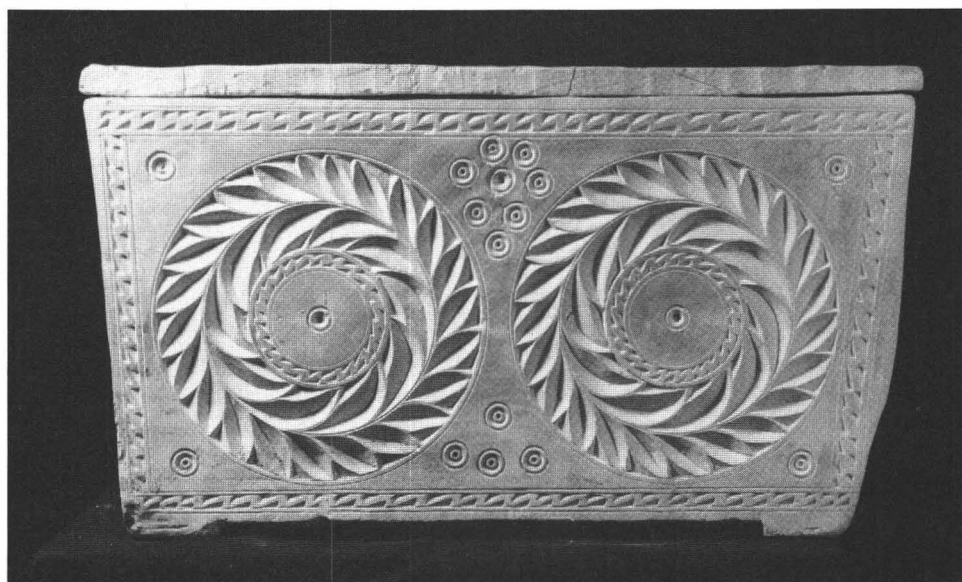


Fig. 4. Ossuary No 3.

The whirl-rosettes surrounded a zig-zag motif of triangles, similar to the one mentioned above, while in the centre of each there was a design of concentric circles. Four more circles appear in the corners of the panel. Two additional groups of circles – one consisting of eight circles in the form of a grape cluster, and the second of four circles – filled, respectively, the upper and lower spaces between the two whirl-rosettes.

The idea of filling up spaces with circle patterns was, it seems, a response to the idea of *horror vaccui* (Avi-Yonah, 1948, 128–30). The two groups of circles between the whirl-rosettes resemble a schematic bush or tree, a well-known motif from other ossuaries, the roots of which were occasionally depicted in a stepped pattern (Kloner, 1980, 200–1, 205–8; Rahmani, 1961, Pls XIV:6, XV:6; 1978; 1982, 116–17).

The second long panel of the ossuary was undecorated, but had an incised Hebrew name  $\text{יהוסף בן דניאל}$  carved along the upper left side (Figs 5–6). All the letters, except for the  $\text{י}$  and the  $\text{ס}$ , were between 4–6 cm high, and the entire inscription was 17 cm long. The inscription had a slight slant and the left side was 2–3 cm higher than the right side. Use of the term  $\text{בן}$  indicates that Hebrew was the language of its author. Similar to other contemporary inscriptions, the letter  $\text{נ}$  was not carved in its terminal form.

There are 160 known individuals from this period bearing the name  $\text{יהוסף}$ ; it was the third-most popular name in the Second Temple period (Ilan, 1987). There are 50 examples of the variation  $\text{יהוסף}$  known from the sources from the epigraphic material of the Second Temple and Bar Kochba periods. The name  $\text{דניאל}$ , who was

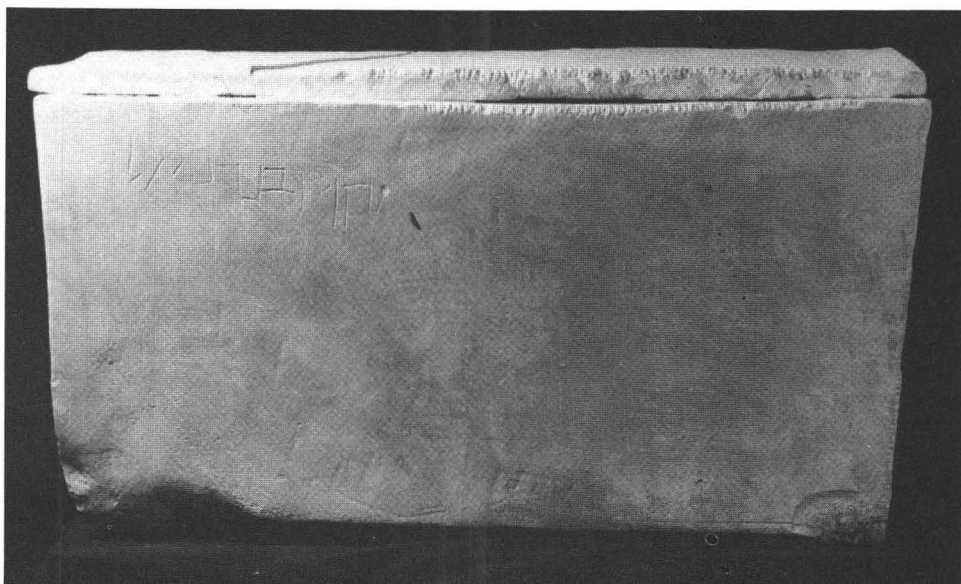


Fig. 5. Ossuary No 3. Note incised inscription, top left.



Fig. 6. Inscription on Ossuary No 3.

the father of יהוסף, is extremely rare in the Second Temple period. One Daniel is mentioned as a translator of the Septuagint (Ilan, 1987; Aristeas 49). Another appeared in a Greek inscription on an ossuary found in a tomb on Haari Street in Jerusalem, which was read as either Dan, Danion or Daniel/Danielon (Kloner 1981: 403–4). However, this ossuary has the first-known example of the Hebrew form דניאל dating from the Second Temple period.

On one of the side panels was a schematic depiction of a rectangular building with a sloping gable. The drawing covered almost the entire height of the side panel (Fig. 7); around the building a yellow wash was applied using either a cloth or a very soft brush. It seems likely that the artisan was attempting to depict a *nefesh*, which was a popular motif found on many ossuaries of the Second Temple period (Rahmani 1978, 107–11; 1982, 113–15).

#### Ossuary 4

This ossuary measured 66 cm × 26 cm × 31 cm high; it had no legs and the cover rested directly on the box. One of the long panels was decorated. A double border framed the long panels as well as the two end panels. This border consisted of two incised lines, the outer rounded and shallow in profile, while the inner line was deeper with a square profile (Figs 8–9).

The decoration consisted of two shallow rosettes incised with the aid of a compass. Each rosette had six leaves and was 10.3 cm in diameter. Between the rosettes was a triglyph containing an oval enclosed between two vertical lines. The oval itself was bisected by two additional vertical lines. This design is unique and is not known on other decorated ossuaries from this period. The ossuary was covered with a red wash before work began on the decorations; the carving was accomplished by use of a nail or a fine awl.

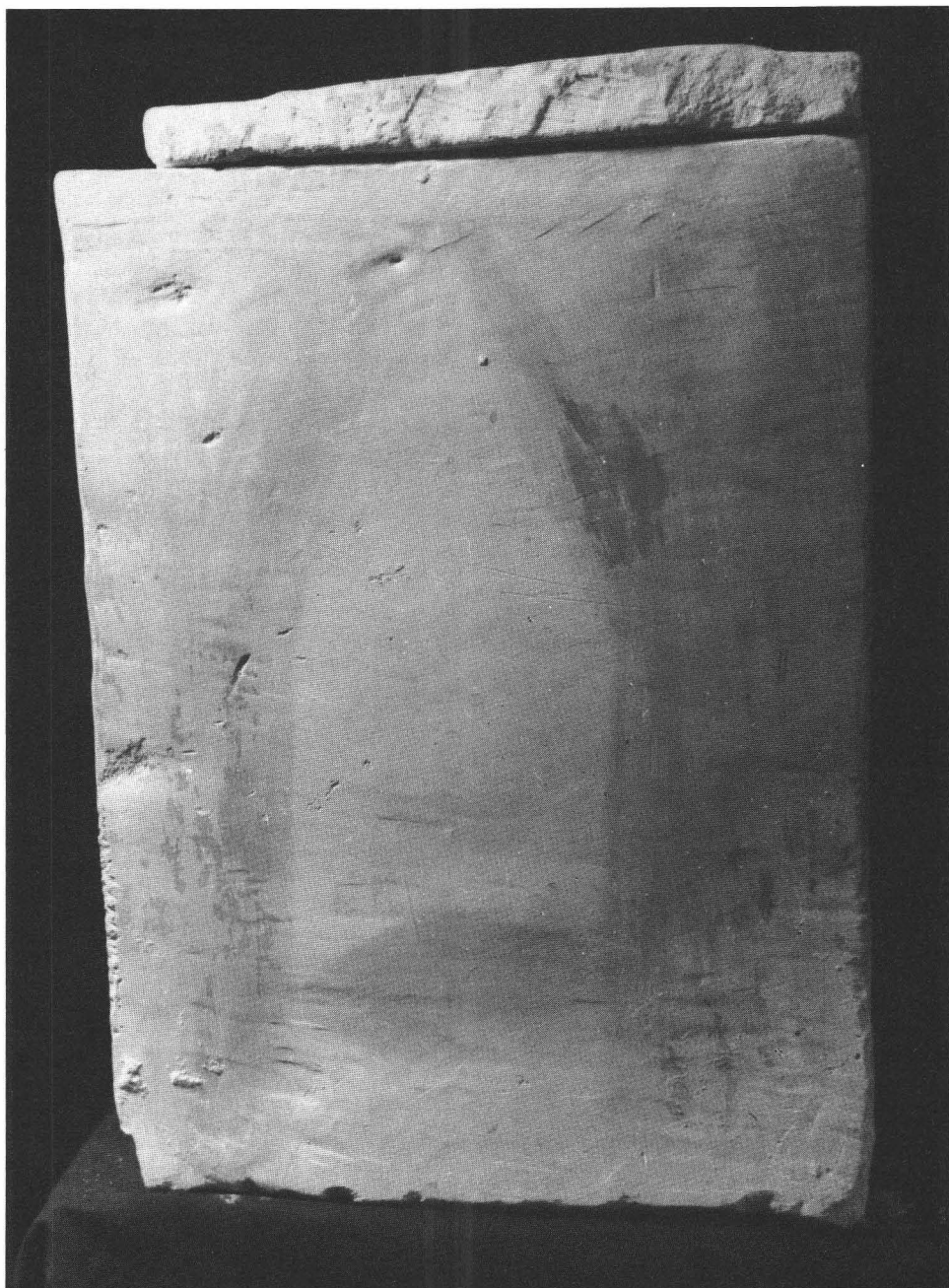


Fig. 7. Ossuary No 3.

A BURIAL CAVE ON MOUNT SCOPUS, JERUSALEM

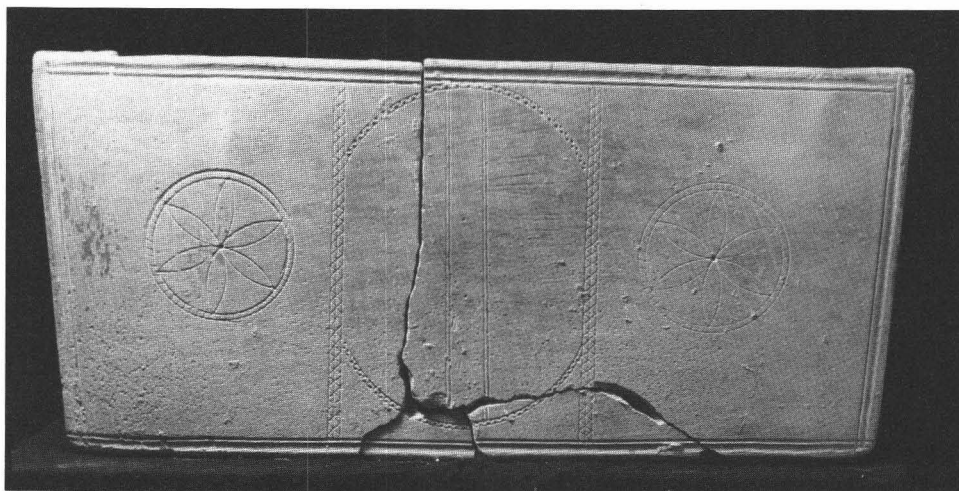


Fig. 8. Ossuary No 4.

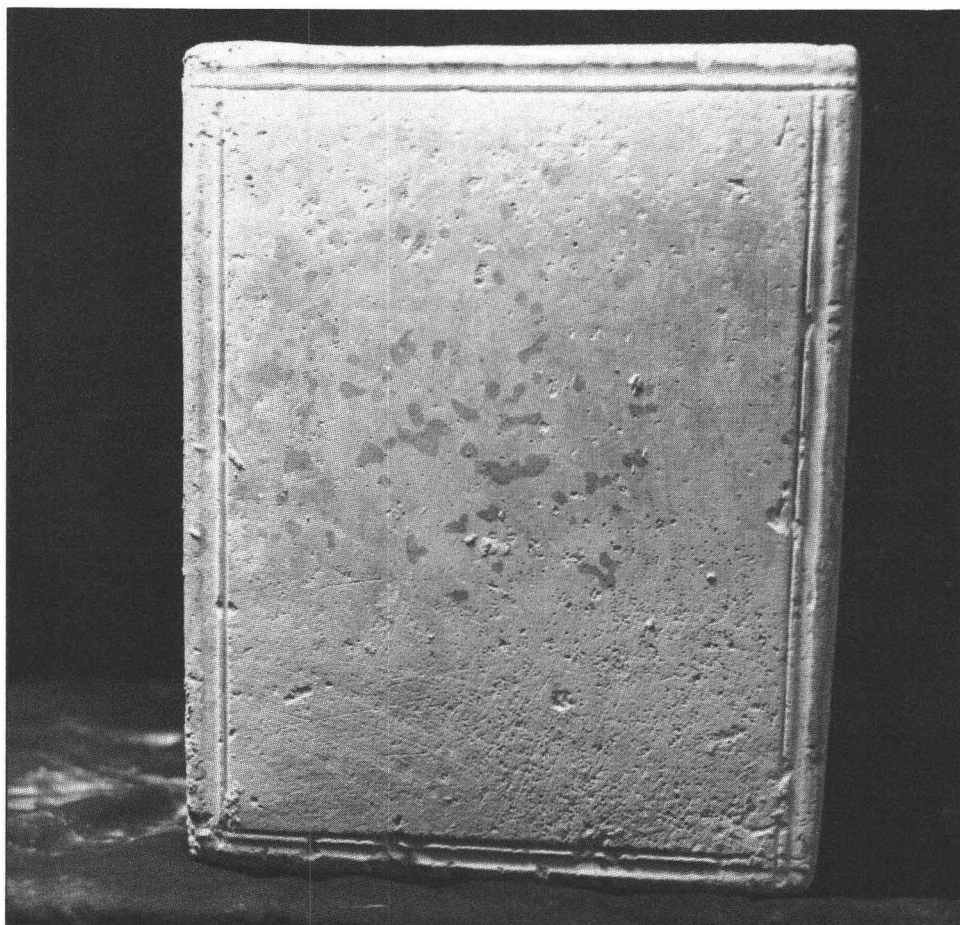


Fig. 9. Ossuary No 4.



The ossuary was badly damaged when the roof collapsed, and it was found broken into a number of pieces. It has proved impossible to identify the small quantity of human skeletal remains recovered.

### Summary and conclusions

The tomb consisted of a single square burial chamber with three *arcosolia*. These were hewn parallel to the walls of the burial chamber and not at right-angles as were *loculi* (*kokhim*). Generally only one *arcosolium* was placed along each wall. However, there are a few examples of tombs with two or more *arcosolia* along the same wall, usually when the wall was 4 m or more in length.

*Arcosolia* have been found in over 100 burial caves around Jerusalem, dating mainly to the Early Roman period (first century AD). In more than half of these burial caves, *loculi* (*kokhim*) were also found either in adjoining rooms or, occasionally, even in the same room.

The function of the *arcosolia* was to store the ossuaries which were used for the secondary burial of skeletal remains. Only in a very few cases were the *arcosolia* themselves used for primary burials. However, since no *kokhim* were found in the present tomb, it is not clear where primary inhumation would have been carried out. Rooms with *arcosolia* which have remained undisturbed since antiquity were used only for the storage of ossuaries. Those situated at the end of large burial systems were also only used for storing ossuaries, and these did not always belong to family members or other notables (Avigad, 1954, 79–90; Macalister, 1900, 54–61).

The tomb discussed here comprised a single chamber and was not part of a larger more complex system. The burial chamber had an entrance along the western wall, and *arcosolia* along the three remaining walls. The few sherds recovered suggest a date in the Herodian period, while the ossuaries and *arcosolia* point to a date of construction and use during the first century AD.

### Acknowledgements

The tomb was discovered during work on land being prepared for the planting of trees by the Jewish National Fund on 22 February 1987. JNF employees informed the Field School at Har Gilo of the discovery, and the staff of the Field School passed on the information to the Israel Antiquities Authority. Excavations (Licence No. 1469) began the following day with the assistance of Anat Richter, Olga Shor, Fiona Gibson and other volunteers. Amos Kloner measured the cave and Avi Hajian drew up the plans. Joe Zias examined the osteological remains, and Tsila Sagiv and Clara Amit photographed the ossuaries.

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## Vessels From a *Favissa* of the First Temple ?

YONATAN NADELMAN

During excavations in 1970 to the southwest of the Herodian Temple Mount, a hewn chamber was discovered containing a large quantity of Iron Age II pottery (Locus 6015). In the following paper I shall present evidence suggesting that this locus should be interpreted as a *favissa*, possibly for disused vessels from the First Temple, which reused a hewn, Phoenician shaft-tomb of a type known from a coastal site near Achziv.

In re-evaluating the epigraphical material which I published from the Temple Mount Excavations, I can now propose one revision of an inscription from Locus 6015 – which, in turn, points to the probability of its use as a *favissa* (Nadelman 1989a, 130; 1990, 34, note 9).<sup>1</sup>

The inscription, which I have dated to the end of the eighth–seventh century BC, was incised with a chisel on a bowl and should now be read as follows: *q̇d[š]* ('sanctity'). Careful observation clearly reveals the remains of the bottom end of the long vertical stroke of the *qof*, extending below the base of the *dalet*. Remains of the left edge of a large headed *qof* may possibly exist on the break of the vessel. Such a reconstruction of this three letter inscription is strengthened by a parallel from Hazor where the inscription *qdš* appears with the same letter-arrangement formula, one letter per third circumference on the rim of a bowl (from Stratum VA, see: Yadin, 1958, 5; Naveh, 1989, 346).

B. Mazar has suggested that Locus 6015 was originally cut as a tomb and only later cleared when the area was included within the city at a time of urban expansion. Only then was it used as either a storeroom/repository or for dumping purposes (Mazar and Mazar, 1989, xi, 53). This area, close to the foot of the Temple Mount, Mazar identified with the 'Garden of Uzzah', the garden of Manasseh's palace (2 Kings 21:18, 26; LXX 2 Chron. 36:8; Ezekiel 43:7–9), where Manasseh, Amon and Jehoiakim were buried (Mazar 1986, 46; 1989, XI).

The great similarities between the plan of this rock-cut chamber with Phoenician shaft tombs hewn into the rock south of Tel Achziv, has already been observed by A. Mazar (Mazar 1971, 22; 1986, 42–5; Mazar and Mazar 1989, xi, 53–5).<sup>2</sup>

These parallels leave little doubt that Locus 6015, in addition to loci 7037 and 7084, two rock-cut chambers in the same vicinity, were originally intended as tombs of Phoenician style.<sup>3</sup>

A new look at the assemblage from Locus 6015, now that the inscription has been read as *q̇d[š]*, strengthens the possibility of its reuse as a *favissa*. The existence of a



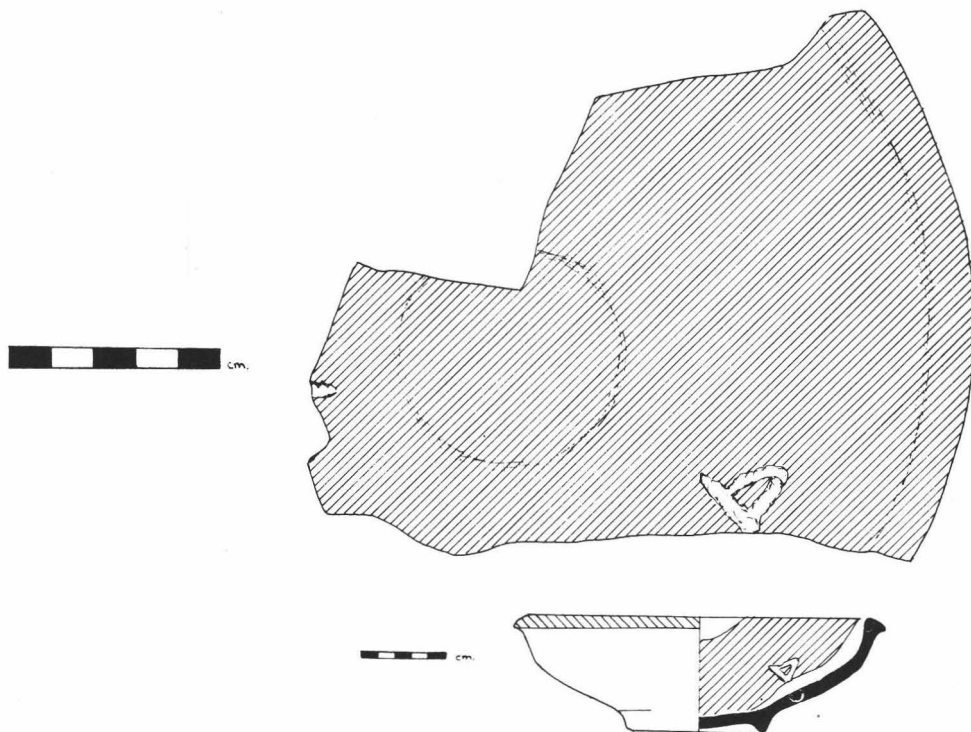


Fig. 1. Iron Age bowl with chiselled inscription.

'cultic' stand (Mazar and Mazar 1989, Pl. 29:3) and rattle<sup>4</sup> (Mazar and Mazar 1989, Pl. 29:5) in the assemblage, lends credence to this interpretation. In addition, nine clay-figurine fragments, the largest single concentration of such objects from the excavation, were found in this same locus (Nadelman, 1989b, 123-7). Although the cultic nature of figurines cannot be proven, the accumulated evidence from this locus points to its special character. The special nature of this locus is also represented by a total of four inscriptions, the largest concentration from this period unearthed in the excavations (Nadelman, 1989a, 129-30, photos 132-7, 139). K. M. Kenyon excavated a similar assemblage (in terms of types and quantities of artifacts) in 'Cave 1' on the eastern slope of the City of David, and it has also been interpreted as a *favissa* (Holland, 1977).

Also from Locus 6015 was an incised representation of a bird, shown together with two unidentified objects, and the remains of an inscription on the shoulder of a northern-type decanter (cf. Amiran, 1969, 259). These also hint at the cultic nature of this locus (Nadelman, 1989a, 129-30, 133, photos 134-5). The appearance of two incised birds on a Herodian stone item, inscribed with the word *qrbn* ('sacrifice', 'offering'), which has been interpreted by B. Mazar as representing offerings for the Temple, also supports our interpretation (Mazar, 1969, 8, 10. Pl. 10:5; cf.

*Leviticus* 12:8; 15:14). With this in mind, perhaps the three Iron Age II cooking-pot handles from Gibeon, uniquely incised with birds, should perhaps also be regarded as indicative of cultic offerings.<sup>5</sup>

Although only a handful of rock-hewn tombs have been excavated in the area of the excavations near the Temple Mount, it seems likely that they represent part of a much more extensive cemetery, now either destroyed by later building activity or covered over by later strata which remain unexcavated. Likewise the proximity of the Temple and the need for the disposal of unusable cultic vessels, taken together with the identification of Locus 6015 as a *favissa*, leads to the suggestion that more *favissae* should be sought nearby.

### Notes

1 I wish to thank Professor B. Mazar and Eilat Mazar for permission to use drawings of the inscribed bowl in this publication.

2 A natural fissure running along the northern wall of this chamber, which B. Mazar believed was the most 'likely reason' for it never having been completed, seems actually to have been a common feature in this type of hewn chamber. On the basis of a number of hewn tombs south of Tel Achziv, the fissure may well have been the incentive for the hewing, perhaps even facilitating the work.

3 There may be some difficulty with this interpretation. No human bones were found within Locus 6015, and apparently little or none of the ceramic material retrieved from it could be assigned to the original period of its utilization. This lack of bones can be explained by their deliberate removal with the ritual purification of this cave-tomb in the preparations for urban expansion. Most of the ceramic material found inside appears to have been broken prior to being placed there. These vessels would have been somewhat inappropriate as grave goods, but clearly compatible if the chamber was being used as a *favissa*.

When I reviewed the material while preparing it for publication, it became clear that there was only a small percentage of restorable vessels in comparison to the total amount of sherds. This is in contrast to B. Mazar's opinion that most of the vessels had been preserved intact (Mazar 1989, XI; Nadelman, 1989b, 123).

4 Rattles have often been interpreted as cultic items.

5 Gibeon, a priestly city (*Joshua* 21:17), was known to have had the 'greatest' of high places and an altar (1 *Kings* 3:4; 2 *Chron.* 1:3, 13). Although these incised handles were found in the fill of Gibeon's pool, they obviously had originated elsewhere. I suggest that they may have come from Gibeon's high place, which continued to be used even after the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem.

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## Book Reviews

### Review Article: Man Makes His Landscape

CLAUDINE DAUPHIN

**Guilaine, J.** (ed.), *Pour une Archéologie Agraire. A la Croisée des Sciences de l'Homme et de la Nature*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1991, Pp. 576, Pls of coloured ills 24, Pls of black-and-white ills and figs 176, Tables 5. Price 470 French Francs.

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This impressive book, both in size and content, will doubtless be for some years the *vade mecum* of both budding and established 'archaeologists of the countryside'. For some time the focus of archaeological enquiry has moved away from sites set in splendid isolation to the relationship between sites and their natural environment. Moreover, the impact of the natural sciences on archaeology has been decisive to the extent that the data provided by ancient sites is now gauged solely according to its relevance to the study of the development of landscapes as manipulated by man. The transformation by man of his environment as an object of research is what all twenty-two contributors to this volume – both archaeologists and environmentalists – call 'l'anthropisation du milieu': Man makes his Landscape.

The very title of the book emphasizes its ambition: to legitimize through numerous examples the claim made by its editor, J. Guilaine, that 'agrarian archaeology' is a discipline in its own right (pp. 25-7). For it is far more than plain Landscape Archaeology, and attempts to investigate the relationship between rural societies and their surroundings from the Neolithic period to present times. It aspires to reconstruct the history of landscapes by tracing its fossilized traits, and to study the technical knowledge as well as the socio-economic conditions, particularly the mechanisms of production, which brought about various forms of exploitation of the environment. At a time when the rural world is rapidly being devoured by urban civilization, it has become most urgent to cast archaeology into an ecological-anthropological mould.

This didactic approach is perceptible even in the layout of the volume. Its glossiness, which includes a wealth of coloured plates and even a hardback coloured cover depicting Flemish peasants sowing, from a painting by Joachim de Patinir (1480-1524) in the Madrid Prado, enhances its attractiveness as a textbook for students. The educational publisher's mark is immediately apparent. Carbon 14 BP and BC, as well as calibration are explained in a simplified form in a preliminary note. At the end of the volume, a glossary (which is useful) clarifies scientific terminology. Numerous headings and subheadings throughout underline the various facets of the new discipline and the questions it seeks to answer, guiding the

reader through a complex maze of often complicated techniques of analysis and interpretations.

Irritatingly, the various contributions in the form of separate articles (whose titles have been translated into English throughout the present review) do not adhere to a stylistic format. Some authors – mainly the natural scientists – use the Harvard system under various guises for references, while others provide footnotes, and some do not even bother to cite their sources apart from a general bibliography. The editor himself offers two different systems in his two contributions. Eighteen footnotes at the end of the Introduction contain bibliographical references, while ‘Towards an agrarian prehistory’, which follows on from it, is devoid of any. The 53-page bibliography at the end of the book is divided up according to chapters and is organized thematically within each chapter. This approach is certainly extremely useful for students requiring reading-lists; their work is further facilitated by one author (A. Ferdière, ‘Gauls and Gallo-Romans: agricultural techniques and tools’) who even summarizes the content of each item in his bibliography. Such a system, however, is infuriating for specialists seeking to investigate certain points. Ferdière, in particular, provides a wealth of most important information, which – to be really useful – required to be supported by detailed references. For instance, wooden yokes (Latin sing. *jugum*) are mentioned as having been discovered on several archaeological sites in Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and France. The excavations are named but the reader is not directed towards any published report. Likewise concerning the wooden *vallus*, the earliest harvester dating back to the second half of the first century AD. The way this machine functioned in the wheat-growing plains of Eastern Gaul is fully described, but not so the evidence for it. Mention of lapidary low-relief depictions of the *vallus* at Trier and Coblenz in Germany, Reims in France, Buzenot-Virton in Belgium and Arlon in Luxemburg would have been welcome, particularly since this data has been conveniently gathered together by Cüppers (1983) in an exhibition catalogue which does not necessarily spring to the mind of archaeologists unfamiliar with Roman Gaul. This is just one of many examples of missed opportunities of an indispensable nature. Nor is any systematization apparent in the depiction of agricultural tools: some line-drawings include scales, but generally the reader is left to guess the measurements of ploughs, hoes, sickles, scythes, billhooks for pruning vines and pitchforks, whether of Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman or Medieval date, which are all photographed in black-and-white.

These shortcomings set aside, this book is an exceedingly valuable contribution both to an exposition of the aims, methods and results of agrarian archaeology, as well as to the transmission of techniques of scientific analyses applied to mineral, vegetal and animal remains on archaeological sites, which enable the reconstruction of ancient environments.

The book falls into two sections. In Part I (‘Archaeologists and the Rural World’) the different methods by which archaeologists study agriculture in antiquity are explained. In Part II (‘Natural Scientists. Attempts to perceive Man’s mark on Nature’) a variety of techniques is presented which contribute to piecing

together the history of the struggle between natural vegetation and encroaching man-used land.

Instead of approaching ancient agriculture by topic – such as field systems and field demarcation (dry-stone walls and hedges), or tools and technological changes – Part I has been set into a traditional chronological framework ranging from the Mesolithic to the nineteenth century. This accounts for its uncomfortable structure. Chapters which primarily discuss methods of analysis and their successful applications, such as aerial photography (M. Guy and M. Passelac), landscape archaeology (E. Zadora-Rio), dry-stone walls in a rural setting (S. Lewuillon), the archaeology of hedges (C. Perrein) and experimental archaeology (G. Firmin), are interspersed between chapters describing agriculture and land use at specific periods: Prehistory (J. Guilaine), the Gaulish Iron Age and the Gallo-Roman period (A. Ferdière), the Middle Ages (J.-M. Pesez) and the early-modern period, that is the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (P. Blanchemanche). The chronological flow is consequently disrupted and repetitions become unavoidable. Thus, fossilized ridges-and-furrows dating to the eleventh century, which have been traced at Lindholm Hoje in Northern Jutland, are discussed in detail twice, first by Pesez (pp. 142–3), and again by Zadora-Rio (pp. 170–1).

Among the natural sciences applied to archaeological material, some have been growing from strength to strength for nearly thirty years, notably pollen analysis (G. Jalut) and carpology which studies fossilized grain or fruit remains (palaeoseeds) preserved in sediments (M.-P. Ruas and Ph. Marinval). The measurement of rates of sedimentation and the observation of erosion (J.-Cl. Revel) are even older, the latter dating back to 1930. With time and increasing success, these methods have become more precise and have encompassed wider areas. Pollen analyses have been undertaken so far on 142 archaeological sites across the width and breadth of France, as mapped on Ill. 5, pp. 360–1. The horizons of these proven methods have also expanded. Carpologists nowadays can evaluate the continued practice of gathering wild plants such as pistachio, olive, vine, apples, mulberries, hazelnuts and acorns, as distinct from the cultivation of ‘noble’ species such as domesticated grain. True spiritual heirs of Levi-Strauss (1964–1971), they may also ascertain eating and drinking habits, both hot and cold, and detect whether grain has been roasted for better storage. They are even able to pinpoint the season of sowing from the association of seedlings with weeds, some of which are toxic like *Claviceps purpurea*, a mushroom growing on rye which can cause widespread poisoning well known in the Middle Ages as ‘The Fire of St Antony’.

Exciting new avenues of research have been opened recently by geoarchaeology, anthracology and various branches of zooarchaeology. Geoarchaeologists aim to distinguish between ancient agricultural and pastoral activities on the basis of differences in the make-up of sediments (J.-E. Brochier, ‘Geoarchaeology of the agro-pastoral world’). Neolithic deposits are characterized by large amounts of mineral dust. This dust is found primarily in animal manure. It combines siliceous phytoliths originally contained in grasses absorbed by sheep and goats, dust from

earth mixed with these grasses, and spheroliths produced by bacteria in the intestines of sheep and of certain types of goats. Mineral dust is also abundant on Neolithic sites as wood ash, of which 90 per cent is calcite. The study both of wood ash and charcoal allows anthracologists to trace the evolution of forest vegetation surrounding archaeological sites, to follow its takeover by man through clearances, and to evaluate the various components of forest economy (J.-L. Vernet, 'The history of the man-made Mediterranean environment as revealed by charcoal').

Zooarchaeology is no longer limited to the identification of animal bones and the calculation of the proportion of hunted species to domesticated mammals (J.-D. Vigne, 'The great mammal fauna'). It is now possible to reconstruct the landscape of archaeological sites from the Neolithic to the Iron Age by comparing the list of excavated species to that of wild beasts whose ecological niches are known in areas of the world least modified by human action and nearest to the archaeological site under examination. For instance, the fauna of the USSR is taken as a yardstick for sites in France. Vigne's examples are illuminating. On the Middle Neolithic site of Berry-au-Bac, north of Reims, the wild faunal remains indicate that the landscape consisted mainly of light forests and wooded wasteland (Skunk, Beaver, Deer, Roe-deer); there were great forests in the vicinity (Marten) and very little cleared land (Hare).

The contribution of birds and rodents to the study of ancient environments, especially in the Neolithic period, is both intriguing and fascinating. Ph. Vilette ('Of birds and fields') explains that most avifaunal remains collected by archaeologists generally in caves or rock-shelters, are the left-overs of meals of birds of prey nesting there in antiquity. The hunting grounds of predatory birds range from 2 km to 15 km. The ancient landscape thus covered a relatively large area around each archaeological site studied, despite distortions brought about by the choice of preys and the better survival of the bones of some birds as opposed to others. Eleven climatic and ecological categories of birds have been defined, the main ones being species of temperate forests, of temperate open spaces, of river banks and lakesides, of rocky and mountainous zones, and Mediterranean species. The proportionate number of finds in each category on a given site enables the reconstruction of the original landscape. Generalizations are also possible. From the early Neolithic period and especially in the Middle Neolithic period, the number of forest birds fell drastically. The introduction of Grey Partridges and Quails in the Middle Neolithic period must be correlated to forest clearances undertaken by the early agriculturalists. Birds from open or semi-open areas then arrived, probably attracted by the earliest wheat-fields.

Birds of prey also feed on rodents which they digest completely except for their hair, bones and teeth. Together, these form pellets which are regurgitated by the birds of prey and which pile up around the birds' nests or at the foot of their shelters. With time and bad weather, the pellets are broken up, and ultimately all that remains are the bones which get mixed with sediments. Rodents are closely associated with their environment. The field-mouse likes dry, open spaces; its presence points to areas being cleared of trees, later to be tilled for the cultivation



of grain. The country-mouse, on the other hand, prefers open but slightly humid spaces, thus areas devoid of trees or with only a few trees. The appearance or disappearance of a species on a site corresponds to modifications in the environment due to climatic changes, in temperature and humidity, or to man's intervention (deforestation increases light and heat and reduces moisture). Climatic and vegetal phasing of wide areas, such as the French Atlantic coast from the Charentes to the foot of the Pyrenees, is the ultimate result of this method of analysis.

Examples from the Near East are occasionally put forward in this volume: the depictions of ards on third millennium BC Mesopotamian seals, or a layer of vegetal glass of the twelfth century BC found at Tell Yin'am in Israel resulting from the combustion at a very high temperature (900 to 1200°C) of siliceous grasses contained in large amounts of ox manure (Folk and Hoops, 1982). The Near East, however, plays very much third fiddle in this book (the greatest prominence being given to France and slightly less to Britain, Denmark and Central Europe), despite its role in the beginnings of agriculture. It is ignored to the extent that the Institut de Préhistoire Orientale at Jalès in the semi-arid French Ardèche is omitted from the list of thirteen centres of experimental archaeology in Europe. A unique experiment has been undertaken at Jalès: to observe how wild strands (*triticea* and *hordea*) can give rise botanically to domesticated species, and to recreate a predomesticated stage in agriculture in climatic conditions approaching those of the Anatolian plateau and of Northern Syria. In particular, Neolithic wheat has been grown from wild seeds collected in Turkey and harvested with Neolithic sickles (Anderson, 1992).

In two instances, direct parallels in the Levant were available and could have been profitably used. Ancient field systems in Algeria, fossilized under encroaching sand and illustrated by an aerial photograph (Ill. 2, p. 107), have their counterpart south of the city walls of Caesarea Maritima in Israel: 300 agricultural plots of land of the ninth and tenth centuries AD have vanished under the sand dunes (Porat, 1975). Ph. Blanchemanche could have done well to compare the information on terrace-agriculture which he culled in G. B. Landeschi's *Essay on Agriculture* published in Florence in 1770, with the recent detailed archaeological investigation of terraces, their construction, repair and use in the Jerusalem region (Edelstein and Gat, 1980-1; Gibson and Edelstein, 1985, 143-4).

The immense British contribution to the establishment of most of the methods of analysis discussed in this book is rightly acknowledged, notably in aerial photography, and in the study of medieval agricultural techniques. The re-enactment of various methods of ploughing is but one aspect of Experimental Archaeology, the principles of which were laid down by Coles (1979) and are still valid. The study of hedges, which includes the dating of networks of hedges within a landscape, developed out of a method of counting the various species of trees included in a given hedge, the hypothesis being that the older the hedge, the greater the number of species beyond the minimal two or three types (Hopper, 1976). The close examination of field systems started with the study of 'Celtic fields' by Curwen and Curwen (1923) and Crawford (1923), and by way of ridges-and-furrows, lynchets, infields



and outfields combined with information from manuscript sources, progressed to an analysis of cadastral units – villages and their lands. Having assimilated the lessons of site-catchment analysis (Higgs and Vita-Finzi, 1972) and improved on it by methods such as sherd-sampling in order to define ancient manured zones (Wilkinson, 1982), the study of field systems expanded into all-encompassing Landscape Archaeology. The British remain masters in this speciality: the recently-published detailed inquiry into the relationship between tin and agriculture in St Neot parish in Cornwall (Austin, Gerrard and Greeves, 1989) proves this once again.

By emphasizing the role of worms in the formation of vegetal soils, Evans (1972) initiated the geological recognition of fossilized tilled soil. An active worm population inhabits the upper layer of pebbles and light earth of any ancient fossilized soil buried under a later fill. Gradually, this layer is sorted by the worms' digestive system and broken up into two characteristic and easily recognizable horizons (below, a continuous pebbly layer, and above it, worm-sorted soils).

On the basis of types of soils and ancient land-snails (which act as pointers for seasonal, climatic, vegetal and man-made variations) from a great number of excavations in Britain since 1950, Evans (1972) evolved a chronological vegetational sequence for the entire British Isles. This is fully discussed by J. André's presentation of malacology applied to archaeo-environmental studies ('Land molluscs').

This book enables an assessment to be made of the distance covered since these British pioneering experiments. Large-scale photographic coverage of landscapes is now provided by satellites, but this does not eliminate in any way neither traditional aerial photography nor field-survey. The combination and comparison of the results of all methods is still the best approach. G. Firmin warns of the dangers of misused ethnoarchaeological evidence and rightly emphasizes that ethnology offers parallels, not models to be assimilated wholesale. The challenge of applying methods of Landscape Archaeology to the lands of the Mediterranean basin has recently been taken up, notably in southern Italy (Compatangelo, 1989; 1990) and in Israel (Gibson and Dauphin, 1990; Gibson, Ibbs and Klöner, 1991), unbeknown to the editor of this volume. In all aspects of 'agrarian archaeology' enormous strides have been made, and reflections initiated on the aims, methods and limitations of the discipline.

Although the British certainly led the way, it has required the French with their philosophical turn of mind to formulate theoretical concepts and to create a new discipline out of its applications. The proof of the pudding, however, is in the eating. The success of the enterprise of agrarian archaeology may be measured only in terms of a generalized, co-ordinated application of its methods of analysis, that is, the global interpretations of as many sites as possible across the Old World. Isolated samplers are not sufficient, however perfect their needlework – as in the excavations of the lower quarter (30 BC – AD 230) of the *oppidum* of Ambrussum in the south of France, where pollen analysis, carpology, anthracology and malacology were applied concurrently. The threads of the discipline still have to be woven together into a tapestry. Only then will agrarian archaeology be able to

prove that it is truly – as its theoreticians claim it to be – the memory of the land, ‘la mémoire des terroirs’.

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**Moorey, P. R. S.**, *A Century of Biblical Archaeology*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1991. Pp. xvii + 189, four figures. Paperback, price: £9.95.

P. R. S. Moorey, Keeper of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and President of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, is well known for numerous, wide-ranging works on Levantine art history and archaeology, often with reference to the world of the Bible. Here he has turned his formidable talents and energies to a much-needed popular account of the movement known for almost exactly a century now as 'biblical archaeology'.

Moorey begins with the formative years of biblical archaeology from 1800 to 1890, summarizing initial explorations and the recovery of monuments in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine. Chapter 2 begins with Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Hesi in 1890, then takes the story up to 1925, commenting astutely on the first confrontation of excavation in depth with a theological agenda arising out of the impending crisis in biblical studies provoked by Higher Criticism. Already at issue was the 'faith and history' controversy that continues until the present day. Chapter 3 covers the 'Golden Age of Biblical Archaeology', 1925–48, focusing primarily on fieldwork in Palestine and the careers of the real fathers of biblical archaeology, W. F. Albright and G. E. Wright. In Chapter 4, Moorey treats the post-war years and renewed foreign excavations in Palestine, as well as the burgeoning of indigenous as well as 'national schools' of archaeology in the new sovereign states of Israel and Jordan. Chapter 5, aptly titled 'The Passing of the Old Order: Towards an Identity Crisis (1958–1974)', deals with the maturation of biblical archaeology and the first challenges from the professionalism and secularism that had long characterized other branches of archaeology. The final chapter treats the 'New Archaeology' of the 1970s and 1980s, especially the impact of the natural and social sciences.

As one who has frequently written on biblical archaeology for 20 years, I can attest that there are many strengths to Moorey's survey, among them his dredging up of little-known individuals and incidents; his accessible style and smooth-flowing narrative; and his unfailing ability to focus clearly and succinctly on the key issues in the long, complex dialogue between archaeology and biblical/theological studies. By his own admission, Moorey's brief survey, aimed primarily at students of the Bible, is intended neither as a full-scale intellectual history nor an authoritative treatment for specialists in archaeology. Nevertheless, it is the most comprehensive and readable account yet published of one fascinating, albeit minor, tributary in the mainstream of Old World archaeology – and one of particular (shall we say 'peculiar?') interest to the English-speaking world.

Taking seriously Moorey's characteristically modest disclaimers regarding the scope of this work, I may perhaps suggest some *desiderata* for future studies. Despite Moorey's generally balanced and judicious treatment of the major figures in biblical archaeology, his orientation to the non-specialist results in overall assessments that are sometimes misleading. For instance, Macalister's three volumes on Gezer (1912) do not 'endure as one of the major contributions of the pioneer phase of excavation in Palestine' (p. 32), but are largely worthless for historical or cultural

reconstruction. Reisner's Samaria excavations (1908–1910) were not in fact widely appreciated at the time (p. 36), but only came into proper focus with an article by G. E. Wright in 1969. Albright's contributions to biblical archaeology (pp. 67–74), while undoubtedly innovative at the time, are now seen to have been marred by his lifelong positivist bias. Kelso (p. 97), whatever he may have accomplished in promoting archaeology, was a Fundamentalist who did far more harm than good. Kenyon (pp. 94–8; 122–57) was indeed a true pioneer in the techniques of archaeology; but in retrospect most of her scholarly interpretations have been radically modified, and most have now abandoned the 'Wheeler-Kenyon' method, for variants of the 'rolling-baulk' or 'open-field' technique. Lapp (pp. 129–31) was a precocious critic of prevailing standards of fieldwork in the 1960s; but his interpretive work, while brilliant at times, was often idiosyncratic in the extreme. Franken (pp. 131–5), despite a few provocative insights, remains a peripheral figure. Bennett (pp. 125, 126) may have done pioneer excavations in Transjordan, but her work remains almost entirely unpublished. The notion that Wright did not do on-the-spot, expert analysis of pottery in the field, as a cross-check on stratigraphy, while Kenyon did (pp. 100, 101), is puzzling to anyone who knew the fieldwork of both first-hand.

Finally, I must question Moorey's assessment of my own sustained attack on traditional American-style biblical archaeology (pp. 137–40) as 'too pessimistic'. The fact is that that style of biblical archaeology, already moribund when I first commented on it in the early 1970s, is now dead – and not even mourned. What has taken its place in the 1980s and 1990s is an autonomous, professional, secular discipline of 'Syro-Palestinian archaeology', in America, Britain, Europe and the Middle East – exactly as I had predicted. 'Biblical archaeology', then, is now what it always *should* have been: not an academic discipline itself, but a dialogue between two disciplines (i.e., Syro-Palestinian archaeology and biblical studies).

Moorey's failure to distinguish sufficiently between two parallel streams in the archaeology of the Holy Land – the 'sacred' and the 'secular' – obscures the fact that only one survives today as an independent academic enterprise. Moorey suggests that biblical archaeology is still viable but has passed into the hands of the Israelis. Elsewhere, however, I have shown that what the Israelis *mean* by 'biblical archaeology' – usually in an historical and even nationalist sense – is not what the term had meant in Britain and Europe; and in many ways it is radically different from the American, *theological* conception. Here a much more penetrating analysis is needed. This can probably be undertaken, however, only by someone of the older generation, trained both in theology and biblical studies, as well as in Syro-Palestinian archaeology – and at the same time an experienced fieldworker, acquainted first-hand with both the data and the leading institutions and individuals in the discipline.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, Moorey's work should quickly become the standard handbook, indispensable for the laymen and seminarians, one from which even specialists can learn.

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## Note

<sup>1</sup> See my own, preliminary attempt in W. G. Dever, 'Syro-Palestinian and Biblical Archaeology', in D. A. Knight and G. M. Tucker (eds), *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), pp. 31–74. For the 'Israeli school' in particular, see Dever, 'Yigael Yadin: Prototypical Biblical Archaeologist', *Eretz-Israel* 20 (1989), pp. 44\*–51\*.

**Potts, D. T.**, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, 2 vols: I: *From Prehistory to the Fall of the Achaemenid Empire*; II: *From Alexander the Great to the Coming of Islam*. Price £95.00.

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This work is an impressive, extensive and thorough two-volume study by Professor D. T. Potts of the Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near-Eastern Studies in Copenhagen.

Volume I includes ten chapters, in addition to an introduction and list of abbreviations, maps and illustrations. The opening chapter is devoted to the physical infrastructure and morphology of the region, including short discussions of the Gulf, its currents, fauna and flora. This chapter does not deal with the present but is devoted instead to the traces left by nature, to deciphering the evidence and to reaching conclusions as to its limits. Beginning with Chapter 2, the author ceases to deal with the evidence of inanimate nature and sets out on a chronological analysis of human civilization, from that of a prehistoric hunting-and-foraging society until the establishment of cities – or, to be more exact, centres of settlement – in the third century BC such as Umm an-Nar, a possible principality or kingdom which appears in Akkadian and Assyrian sources as Magan / Makkan (see Chapter 4). With this, Professor Potts ends his general description of the Gulf region and begins a series of specific and thorough discussions of the various sub-divisions, which he calls by their contemporary names, such as Oman (Chapter 4), Bahrein (Chapter 6) and the island of Failaka (Chapter 8). The tenth and last chapter of this volume is an exhaustive study of the Bahrein area from 1300 to 300 BC. Volume I, then, presents us with the social, economic and physical history of the area covering a period of some three thousand years.

The first two of the second volume's six chapters deal with the region's relations with Alexander the Great and the Seleucids, and also with its status during the Hellenistic period. The second chapter includes an appendix which succinctly describes the Hellenistic archaeological sites found in the region. The third chapter of this volume deals with the region's status from the Hellenistic to the Sassanian periods, while in the fourth, Professor Potts returns to a discussion of the unique status of the island of Failaka under Hellenistic rule. The last two chapters are devoted to northeastern Arabia during the Parthian and Sassanian periods and to the southeastern part of the peninsula from the Hellenistic to the Sassanian periods. A detailed, useful index is appended to each volume. This general survey

of the two volumes is intended to acquaint readers of this review with their general contents.

There is no doubt in my mind that Professor Potts has presented us with an exhaustive, diligent and scholarly study. He has had to cope with an abundance of variegated material and facts, and has done so most successfully and in an admirable manner. From the text and the notes, it is obvious that he has left no publication unconsulted, even those only marginally touching on the subject of his study. His success in creating a scholarly, learned synthesis deserves our esteem and honour, and must gain the reader's respect. Despite the mass of facts mentioned in each chapter, whether prehistoric archaeological finds or written evidence, the author has succeeded in presenting the reader with a clear depiction of the physical culture, the social structure and the character of the region's society. We learn of the relationship of this society to those of the Euphrates and Tigris valleys and of Persia, on the one hand, and to the society in part of the Hindus valley on the other, all this through Professor Pott's meticulous analysis of the cultural influences of these two spheres of culture. As we read on, we become aware of the manner in which the culture of the Arabian Gulf fluctuated between the influence of these two poles of such diverse civilizations. Furthermore, we learn that despite the fact that each of these was a dominant civilization, the one which emerged in the Gulf region was indeed unique.

One comment is perhaps in place. At first glance, one could ask why Professor Potts chose to devote such an exhaustive study to a region whose cultural, social and religious uniqueness could be questioned. Despite the fact that the Gulf region was a connecting link between the civilizations of the Hindus valley and that of the Euphrates, it is difficult to assume that its society differed in character and cultural attributes from that of northern Arabia. If we infer retrospectively from the contemporary Arabian Gulf, this seems to be a relevant question, for basically there are no different cultural, anthropological or historical characteristics in the inhabitants of northern Arabia and those of Kuwait, Oman, Bahrein and Failaka. We would find meaningful differences should we compare this culture to that of southern Arabia. However, despite this question, one may accept the underlying premise of Professor Pott's study, that this is a civilization in its own right. It would not be mistaken to say that the contemporary definition of the Arabian Gulf as a region, and the manner in which it is presented in the work under review, evolved from the necessities of empire and the interests of oil companies. But, in the face of this statement, one may defend Professor Pott's choice by admitting that a scholar is not obligated to include the entire cultural and social system of the area in his study (in this case, that would have meant including northern Arabia), and may choose to devote it to a significant and important section of the region. In this, Professor Potts has been most successful.

It is to be greatly regretted that the author did not see fit to append a full bibliography, in addition to the list of abbreviations of periodical titles which he did supply at the beginning of each volume. The lack of such a bibliography creates a difficulty for the reader. It was a wise decision to place most of the scholarly



controversies over the identification of sites or variant readings of documents in the footnotes, rather than in the text.

To sum up, we have here a serious work of research from the pen of a very learned scholar of the highest level of intellectual integrity.

*Yehuda Nini*  
(Tel Aviv University)

**Kasher, A.**, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel. Relations of the Jews with the Hellenistic Cities during the Second Temple Period (332 BCE – 70 CE)*. Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum, ed. by M. Hengel and P. Schäfer, 21. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1990. Pp. 372. Price DM 168.00.

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We are reminded in the foreword of this book that 'Eretz-Israel has never been inhabited by a single nation' even during the periods that the country has been under Jewish hegemony, as it is today. In every age, different peoples and cultures have co-existed side by side. This begs one question as to the nature of the relationship and another concerning the lessons that it has for today's Middle East. Kasher has attempted to answer the first in the framework of the four centuries spanning the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great to the destruction of the Second Temple. He urges us to resist the temptation of seeking parallels with our own times, arguing that history does not repeat itself, but his viewpoint is unmistakably coloured by contemporary events and it is difficult to avoid the enticement.

In his task, Kasher is confronted by a fundamental problem, namely a wholly inadequate fund of primary sources of information. It is bad enough that information on the political and social history of the Jews in the period under consideration is patchy and permeated with bias of one sort or another. Two documentary sources, both apologetic in nature, the Books of the Maccabees and the writings of Josephus, largely account for the Jewish side of the equation. On the other hand, the Hellenistic cities and their pagan inhabitants are not represented by a single textual source. Kasher recognizes these difficulties (pp. 11–13) and yet manages to produce a study of more than three hundred pages on the subject.

The book is written in the form of a historical narrative, with the introductory chapter detailing the demographic make-up of Palestine at the beginning of the period covered and the pagan cults that were practised in the country. Kasher uses the events that unfold to illustrate and underline his central thesis, which can be summarized as follows. The relationship between the pagan population and the Jews was characterized by an abiding enmity that reached back to biblical times, inasmuch as the Hellenistic cities were, in the main, the direct descendants of Canaanite and Philistine settlements. During periods of Jewish ascendancy, in particular, during the rule of the Maccabees and their immediate successors, the Jews suppressed their neighbours, while the situation was reversed whenever the Jews were subjugated by Hellenistic monarchs or Roman rulers. With each turn of

the pendulum the bitterness between the two sides deepened. The tensions were exacerbated by the demographic expansion of the Jewish population. Herod imposed a truce under the aegis of a *Pax Romana*, but this did not outlive him. The provocations of corrupt Roman prefects and military units, including especially the *auxilia* levied from the Hellenistic cities, led inexorably to the outbreak of the Jewish Rebellion in AD 66.

Much the same picture had been painted by others, including U. Rappaport ('Jewish-Pagan Relations and the Revolt against Rome 66-70 C.E.', *The Jerusalem Cathedral*, 1 (1981), 81-95). In the main, the case is cogently argued, but there is evidence that it represents an oversimplification of the situation. Kasher's model of the two opposing camps of Jews and pagans does not take due account of the influential Hellenizing party within the Jewish community, at whose feet at least some of the blame for the strife resided. Thus, he underplays the role of the Jewish Hellenists in encouraging Antiochus IV to proscribe the Jewish religion (cf. C. Habicht, 'The Seleucids and their Rivals', *CAH*, VIII, 2nd ed. (1989), 346-50). Neither does his view square with the occasional friendly attitude displayed by some of the Hellenistic cities, including Ascalon, Tyre, Scythopolis and Gerasa towards the Jews.

Kasher compensates for the inadequacies of the source material by resorting to tenuous inferences and occasionally utter conjecture. Time and again the author is found reading more in the sources than is actually there. A representative example is his interpretation of a passage in Josephus describing the restoration of the Hellenistic cities by Gabinius in 57 bc, following his suppression of a Jewish revolt led by Aristobulus II. Whereas Josephus tells us that the 'towns were repopled, colonists gladly flocking to each of them' (*BJ* 1.166), Kasher recasts this as 'the cities were repopulated by large numbers of exiles, who were very glad to return to their homeland.' (p. 177) There is no indication whatsoever in the ancient text that the 'colonists' (*oiketóroi*, in the original Greek) were 'exiles', i.e. the previous inhabitants. The trouble is that Kasher bases his analysis of events on such assumptions.

An appendix written by Professor Joshua Efron deals with the curious notes in the Mishnah and the Talmud referring to the hanging of a group of women in Ascalon by the sage Simeon ben Shatah. This bizarre tale is unravelled in a highly engaging fashion, spiced with a dash of psychoanalysis. However, the references are dated and do not take account of recent studies such as M. Hengel, 'Rabbinische Legende und frühpharisäische Geschichte. Schimeon b. Schetach und die achtzig Hexen von Askalon', *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philisophisch-historische Klasse*, Heidelberg, 2 (1984), 41-4.

This volume is an English translation of a work originally published in Hebrew. The translation is characterized by various grammatical oddities, including nouns passing as adjectives, mixed metaphors and unfamiliar phrases. There are numerous typographical errors, averaging at more than one per page. On the plus side is an extensive bibliography.

David M. Jacobson



**James, P., Thorpe, I. J., Kokkinos, N., Morcot, R., and Frankish, J.,** *Centuries of Darkness*. Jonathan Cape, London, 1991. Pp. 434. Price £19.99.

This fascinating book, written by five young scholars, deals with the old problem of a real or apparent Dark Age, extending from c. 1200–950 BC in the Near East and the Mediterranean. Did it really exist or was it caused by unreliable conventional chronologies in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece? Have we as ancient historians and field archaeologists been deceived by these dating systems into believing in a Dark Age that did not in fact exist? Such is the thrust of the book, whose authors believe that we lengthened chronology by up to 250 years of ‘ghost history’, a mighty charge indeed, if it could be proved to be true. Professor Colin Renfrew in his foreword to the book wrote: ‘I feel that their critical analysis is right and that a chronological revolution is on its way’. From a champion of European versus Near Eastern archaeology, one could not expect otherwise.

The aim of the authors is evident; from Spain to Palestine and Anatolia they catalogue discrepancies in the interpretation of archaeological findings with the established chronology and come to the conclusion that the Egyptian dating is at fault, whereas the Mesopotamian (Assyrian) one seems preferable, at least for the Dark Ages concerned. These two systems, one should remember, are independent of each other, thus affording a check on Egyptian chronology – in theory at least. Since much of the argument of the book is on what the authors call a faulty Egyptian chronology, it is worth keeping in mind that their emendations should be checked by Assyrian chronology, where possible. No chronology is static when new discoveries are made all the time, and it is inadvisable to ignore new evidence, or fail to liaise with colleagues who might have a contribution to make, even before publication of it.

A large part of the book expresses apparent or real dissatisfaction on the part of archaeologists with their findings *vis à vis* the established Egyptian chronology, and the evident continuity in spite of a 250 year gap. Could it really have been that long? Can it be reduced or altogether eliminated? The authors strongly suggest it could – hence the book – by reforming, although pruning would be a better word, Egyptian chronology. Archaeologists since 1951 cannot really complain about being unable to date their discoveries. They have had 14 C dating at their disposal, but in most cases have resolutely refused to use it for historical periods, evidently content that the established chronologies they used did not need the help of radio-carbon technology, or tree-ring dating. They have only themselves to blame for the impasse.

My third complaint is equally pertinent: what passes for scientific excavations, more often than not, consists of trenches and soundings of a very limited extent, often on enormous tells. Remains of the period of the Dark Age, c. 1200–950 or 850 BC have rarely been excavated on a commensurate scale to reveal entire town plans etc. All too often the scanty material comes from cemeteries without contemporary settlement remains. The basis for a proper judgement of the culture of these periods is as deficient as the historical records. As long as this glaring

imbalance prevails, attempts to eliminate the Dark Ages, the subject of this book, lack an adequate base for discussion. The authors of the book never clearly state how poor and miserable the evidence for the Dark Age (hence its name) is, and how much more should be learned before a reassessment of the type they propose, is reasonable. Archaeology without dates somewhat resembles the proverbial house of cards; it produces sequences floating in time, not improved by art-historical subjective arguments, nationalistic interpretations and the like. The great value of this book, in my humble opinion, is that it focuses our attention on all these deficiencies, and should engender further debate, and better dating methods.

We now come to the crux of the matter: can the Dark Age in the Near East and its effects on the Mediterranean be eliminated (or reduced), as the authors suggest, with beneficent results? Theirs is but a suggestion, and the proof of the pudding is in the eating, i.e. the new chronology they advertise, alas without a synchronistic map, which I would regard as essential to the book, and should not be left to the reader, scholar or layman, to have to construct for himself. If one contends that the Dark Age between the end of the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age, some 250 years on the conventional chronologies, is mere 'ghost history', it should be shown in a chronological chart!

In building up their 'New Chronology', the authors sensibly move from the known to the unknown. In the 'known period' a consensus of scholars would include Assyria from Asur-Dan II (c. 934–912 BC) onwards, and by consent, although it is not strictly historical, lacking contemporary records, the Israelite Monarchy (Saul, David and Solomon) of the 10th century BC, whether it started in c. 1020 or 1000 BC. A crucial point is, and remains, the linkage with Egypt, in the form of king Shishaq in the biblical record, who invaded Israel in the fifth year of Rehoboam, king of Judah, as his ally against Jeroboam, and was paid for it by the Temple Treasures. The usual date is put at c. 925 BC, and the usual synchronism is with Sheshonq I (c. 945–924), the first king of the Libyan XXII dynasty. The authors argue, however for a date, c. 125 years later for this king, c. 810, perhaps not without good reason in a period in which reliable information is particularly scarce and inadequate. Their conclusion that it was Ramses III, who in his 12th year (i.e. in c. 925 BC) plundered the Temple during his invasion of Palestine, and that it was Merneptah whose friendship with Solomon was such that he gave him a daughter in marriage, with Gezer which he had destroyed, as a dowry. This poses grave problems, the implications of which seem to have escaped the authors of the book. Four years earlier, in his eighth year, Ramses III claims to have repelled an attack by the Sea-Peoples, who had (in his words) destroyed Hatti (the so-called Hittite Empire), Kode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alasiya before descending upon Amurru. Their confederation was of Philistines, Tjeker, Shelelesh, Denyen and Weshesh lands united. Ramses III claims to have defeated them as they came against Egypt through Palestine, which still bears their name, and from which he was clearly unable to oust them. The usual date, the eighth year of his reign is computed at c. 1196, or in a more modern version c. 1175 BC (and not c. 930 BC) as the authors of *Centuries of Darkness* ask us to believe. Hence the claim that

Egyptian chronology is out of joint by not less than 250 years; a weighty challenge indeed and one which makes manifest nonsense of the biblical account of *why* the Israelite Monarchy came into being; namely as the result of David's victory over the Philistines, after long oppression by them. The new chronology, as advocated in the book, would place the 'Sea-Peoples' invasion at the end of Solomon's reign, and perhaps as a cause of the fall of the Israelite (undivided) monarchy, from which Ramses III profited. As we have no historical record whatsoever for the presence of Philistines in the land that bore their name before the Sea-Peoples invasion in the eighth year of Ramses III (c. 1175 BC, or thereabouts), it would mean that the biblical account for the ultimate establishment of the Israelite Monarchy's liberation from Philistine dominance and oppression is fictitious. This is something which few historians, and even fewer archaeologists, will be prepared to swallow. Are there then any other ways out of this apparent dilemma which would entail a contraction, or elimination, of 250 years in our chronology? The answer lies in the identity of the Sea Peoples, who Ramses III rightly regarded as creating havoc in Anatolia, Cyprus, Syria and Palestine, a view amply endorsed by Merneptah before him and in the biblical account. They have been a source of mystery for the last hundred years, and have been described as Mediterranean pirates on the supposed resemblance of their names to Sardinians, Sicilians, Etruscans, Lycians, Ahiyawans, Danaans, Cretans (Cheretim), even Illyrians (or Dorians!), Dardanians, Teucrians, etc. An outpouring from Europe that destroyed the civilized Near East at the end of the Late Bronze Age, c. 1200 BC or soon after, like a sort of Crusade, stopped by Egypt and ending up in the Holy Land.

Few scholars shared my view that the Sea-Peoples were the inhabitants of the south coast of Anatolia, were not refugees and did not migrate but were part of a military combined operation, by land and sea, intended to overthrow the so-called Hittite Empire, a rather sober assessment that lacked mystique. So strong was the belief that the Hittite Empire controlled all of Anatolia up to and just beyond the Euphrates that such a scenario seemed impossible. Who would have led such an enterprise? The obvious answer of course, were the Arzawan kingdoms in Western Anatolia, nominal vassals. Rock monuments in Hittite 13th-century style record Great kings (and little kings), titles inconceivable under Hittite rule: Kuwalanazitis, Kupanta-Kuruntas, Asuwantis, Piyamaradus; but for the latter not known from the Hittite texts. The bilingual Karatepe inscription records that the builder of the site, Azatiwatas (c. 700 BC) was a descendant of Muksas (Mopsus in Phoenician), a legendary king of Lydia-Maeonia who is credited with an empire and defeated Egypt, some time after the Trojan War. The Dutch Hittitologist, Ph. Houwink ten Cate ventured the opinion that this was likely to be a reference to the Sea-People war against Egypt. Since then two further kings of Hatti have been found, Kurunta, a son of Tudhaliyas IV and Kuzi-Tesup, son of the 'last king' of Hatti, Suppiluliamas II, or alternately, the son of Talmi-Tesup, king of Carchemish. The author's attempt to equate Talmi-Tesup's predecessor, Ini-Tesup with another Ini-Tesup, also king of Carchemish at the time of Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1100 BC) should be rejected, as they have different fathers. Moreover, the Beyköy Text, an

Arzawan document translated by A. Goetze and a letter of Asurbanipal, to Ardu, king of Arzawa!, the son of Gyges, translated by E. I. Gordon, both in press, add vital material for the chronology. The former text was written for Kupanta-Kuruntas, a brother of Kuwalanazitis king of Arzawa, and commander of the land forces (Muksus, son of the Arzawan king commanded the 'Sea-People' fleet) against Kuzi-Tesup, king of Carchemish and his ally, Ramses III. The Arzawan army crossed the Euphrates into Hanigalbat in the reign of Asur-Dan I (c. 1179–1134), c. 1176. The Arzawans reached Askalon, Gaza and the frontiers of Egypt in 1175, Ramses III made peace in the following year. The Philistines were settled in Palestine at their demand. Kuzi-Tesup made peace, was put on probation, and five years later, when Muksus became king of Arzawa, he was made vassal king of Carchemish, c. 1170 BC. The Asurbanipal letter lists 21 kings of Arzawa from Kuwalanzi to Ardu with regnal years and 18 synchronisms with kings of Assyria from Asur-San I to Asurbanipal himself, as a record of the hostility of Arzawa to Assyria.

This new evidence, unavailable to the authors of the book, makes short shrift of their theory of 250 years of 'ghost history'. Nine to ten generations of ghosts makes a nice dynasty. I have been accused of making Solomonic judgements; may I make another one? In history or archaeology 'do not cut your toes to fit your shoe'. Allow some space for future discoveries, and do not take for granted that our knowledge as it exists is finite and can therefore be pruned. Dissatisfaction with the evidence available is the keynote of this book. My advice is simple, find better evidence and then try again.

*James Mellaart*

**Schur, N.**, *History of the Samaritans* (Beiträge zur Erforschung des alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums 18). Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1989, 305 pp.

This text is a useful introduction to Samaritan studies, aimed at those who are already broadly familiar with Jewish history. It covers almost 3000 years, and therefore does not explore details in any great depth, but key issues are clarified satisfactorily, often by means of an astute use of archaeology and numismatics.

The overall structure of the book, with a concise bibliography and index, makes it a handy reference tool. Apart from those specializing in a study of Samaritans themselves, the book will be of interest to historians of different time periods in the Ancient Near East, who may wish to consider what was taking place in the province of Samaria. Perhaps with this in mind, Schur has divided up the text into six 'books' covering certain periods: I; Old Testament, II; Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine, III; Medieval, IV; early Ottoman, V; the nineteenth century, VI; the twentieth century.

Schur's examination of the early period may be most pertinent to *BAIAS* readers. His extensive use of the findings of archaeological surveys leads him to conclude that the Jewish accusation that the Samaritans were ethnically debased, the result of intermarriage between Israelites and foreigners after 722 BC, is unfounded. Foreigners certainly colonized the area of Samaria, particularly the city of Samaria itself ('Samerina' to the Assyrians) but the evidence shows no trace of the different material culture occurring in the eighth and seventh centuries BC. It seems more likely that the immigrants took on the religion of the people of the region, rather than the other way around. If intermarriage did occur, it was only after these immigrants had become almost indistinguishable from the others.

Schur's approach is to look at Samaritan history with constant reference to the history of the Jews, since both are descendants of the tribes of Israel. The ambivalent relationship between Jews and Samaritans is explored throughout the ages. Schur rightly sees the Samaritans not primarily as a religious sect but, like the Jews, as a people. Nevertheless, the importance of the religious element is repeatedly stressed.

At the time Samaria fell, the religion of the 'Israelites' was evolving and volatile. After all, as Schur points out, 'great parts of the Pentateuch had not yet been written' (p. 29). After the Babylonian exile there came a clear perception among Jewish religious leaders (e.g. Ezra, c. 457 BC and Nehemiah, c. 445-4 BC) that the Samaritans were religiously inferior. The Samaritans allowed Jews to take the lead and accepted the newly-edited Pentateuch brought by Ezra from Babylon, but afterwards they rejected further scriptures, even though they used many of the Psalms through to the fourth century AD. Interestingly, Schur stresses that despite mutual vituperation, the rift between the Samaritans and Jews has never been total, and indeed in the *Mishnah* he finds much evidence for the acceptance of Samaritans on many levels. For example, Samaritan slaughter of meat was regarded as *kasher* as long as the vendor put some in his mouth to show he was not playing a trick on the buyer (*Massachet Kuttim* 17). This neatly encapsulates the position between Samaritans and Jews: tacit approval and deep mistrust.

By the end of the Byzantine period, during which the Samaritans revolted five times against repressive Christian rule, both Jews and Samaritans were minority groups in Palestine and no longer in direct competition with each other. According to Schur, what enabled the Jews to survive so successfully over the centuries, while Samaritans steadily decreased in numbers and importance, was the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the extensive Jewish diaspora. While the Samaritan religion still hinged on a central cult of sacrifices, Jews had 'converted' to a decentralized cult of prayers without sacrifices. This made it possible for Jews to exist in the diaspora while Samaritans continued to be tied to the province of Samaria, and to 'the religious conceptions of an earlier period in history' (p. 91). This outdated religion could not compete with Christianity or Islam, but Judaism could.

The history of the Samaritans therefore makes possible a better understanding of the history of the Jews, from antiquity to the modern era. Schur provides not only a

lucid examination of his subject, but an interesting march through time in Palestine, as well as a novel perspective.

*Joan E. Taylor*

**Walker, P. W. L.**, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990. Pp. 438.

Peter Walker's exploration of the different attitudes to Christian holy places evidenced in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–339) and Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 320–386) will be of particular interest to many archaeologists and historians specializing in the Byzantine period in Palestine.

Walker's first section, on 'Problems and Personalities' is a good introduction to Church politics in the late-3rd and early-4th centuries. It provides a clear overview of the theological issues at stake. The primary lesson Walker would teach archaeologists is that it is important to recognize the hidden agenda in patristic texts, and not to take them at face value. The writers were theologians. Information about sites is always to be seen embedded in the context of a theological argument. What they do not say can be as important as what they do.

A writer such as Eusebius may omit mentioning a certain Christian site out of sheer scepticism about its authenticity, or out of a disagreement about the theological implications of heralding a site as genuine or 'holy'. This point is made continually throughout Walker's second section, on 'The Places of Christ'.

Walker takes pains to integrate archaeological findings, history and theology, and his overall approach is sound. The trouble is that he has taken the views of a few archaeologists as 'facts' on which he can then rest his analysis of the texts. When any of these archaeological 'facts' becomes doubtful, then his whole argument is in danger of falling apart. There are, unfortunately, many instances in which the archaeology is by no means as certain as Walker might hope.

Mount Zion is a case in point. Walker believes that the Jerusalem Church associated itself with the mount before Constantine. He links the supposed ruins of a synagogue with a late reference to a Christian church here. Eusebius' silence about the connection is explained by recourse to theology and Church politics. But Eusebius' silence on any relationship between Mount Zion and the Jerusalem Church may better be explained by suggesting that, prior to the middle of the 4th century, there was absolutely none at all. The ruins may very well not have come from a synagogue, but from the great basilica of Holy Zion, built as the main base for the Jerusalem Church c. 336–8. Even if these ruins are to be considered as part of a synagogue, the idea that they are to be seen as a synagogue-church is wildly hypothetical. After the construction of the Byzantine basilica, traditions gradually accrued to justify its existence at this prime building location, but the 4th century was a time in which 'holy places' and 'traditional sites' were invented everywhere, as Walker himself successfully demonstrates, and it is impossible to verify that any



traditions existed prior to that time unless there is incontrovertible archaeological or textual evidence. In this case the archaeological evidence is doubtful and the textual evidence non-existent. All references to a primitive church on Mount Zion come from a time after the construction of the basilica. Eusebius died shortly after the basilica was begun, and would have had little time to absorb the new claims being made. At the close of his life he chose to ignore them, most likely out of scepticism. Walker's lengthy explanations therefore seem to overstate the case.

Walker rightly sees a huge difference between Eusebius' attitudes to 'holy places' and Cyril's. This represents not simply a difference between Caesarea and Jerusalem, but between the age of Constantine and the age of his son and (eventual) successor, Constantius II. To Eusebius, the conjunction of the divine and the material at any given location was an idea he countenanced only just, while Cyril was brightly confident that there were a plethora of holy places bearing witness to many biblical events. As Walker states, Eusebius was faced with a dilemma: 'he was caught between his natural loyalty to the new emperor who was espousing the Christian cause and his equally natural commitment to his own life-long theological system,' (pp. 312–13). Indeed, Eusebius accepted only the four 'holy places' established by Constantine: Mamre, the cave at Bethlehem, Jesus' tomb, and the site of Christ's ascension from the Mount of Olives. Rather strangely, Walker suggests that it was somehow Eusebius' 'brainchild' that a 'triad' of caves – Bethlehem, Golgotha, Eleona – should be glorified by Constantine. This is quite inconsistent with the picture he presents of Eusebius elsewhere. Walker seems to miss the point about what a 'holy place' really meant to Byzantine Christians. The 4th-century Christian concept of the intrinsically holy place was complex. It was arrived at by combining three basic elements: a growing Christian interest in venerating the remains of martyrs (ultimately formed from Jewish antecedents), an increasingly popular Christian practice of travelling to biblical sites and recalling Scriptural texts (which was adapted from a practice of classical scholars) and the pagan concept of the sacred shrine. The roots of this concept cannot be traced to Eusebius' mind. In Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, his interests were purely historical and exegetical. Only after the establishment of a growing number of Christian holy sites did he manage to accept the first four as being, in some way, valid; these proclaimed the basic elements of the Christian creed. Even though, to Eusebius these were not of the same order as the one holy place of ancient times: the Temple on Mount Moriah which was now destroyed. In accordance with Old Testament theology, Eusebius saw it as being holy because it was the dwelling-place of God's glory, but no intrinsic holiness remained lurking in the ruins. God did not 'dwell' in the new Christian 'holy places'.

Walker's final section explores the change in Christian attitudes towards the city of Jerusalem itself, and is by far his most original and successful discussion. Eusebius reflects the prevailing Christian attitude at the end of the 3rd century that Jerusalem was 'theologically and practically irrelevant' (p. 312). Christians thought of the 'heavenly Jerusalem' not 'fallen Aelia'. The destroyed Jewish Temple had its typological fulfilment in the incorruptible living Christ. According to Walker's

convincing argument, Eusebius never accepted that Jerusalem was a special city; this was more than Caesarean jealousy, it was a principle of the pre-Constantinian Church as a whole. Cyril, on the other hand, was born into a new age. Jerusalem was imbued with a special theological significance. It was the centre of the world and Christians had a right to possess it. Jerusalem was, in a sense, redeemed: 'Jerusalem crucified Christ, but that which now is worships him', (*Cat.* 13.7). The importance of Jerusalem had previously been a notion current among Jews which Christians vilified. Now they embraced it and claimed Jerusalem as their own 'holy city', their inheritance for all time.

No one but a theologian such as Walker could manage the feat of reading through complex Greek texts with apparent ease of understanding in order to extract any evidence that may relate to sites. He has therefore done archaeologists and historians a useful service. He points out many references, allusions and significant omissions that should be considered when reviewing the textual data for holy sites in Israel. While repetitive in places and therefore too long, this book is a learned contribution to the study of the early-Byzantine period in Palestine that significantly contributes to debates about the development of Christian holy places and pilgrimage.

Joan E. Taylor

## Books Received for Review

- Borgehammar, S., *How the Holy Cross was found: from Event to Medieval Legend*. 1991, Bibliotheca Theologicae Practicae 47: Uppsala.
- Bottinu, G. C., di Segni, L., and Alliata, E. (eds.), *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land, New Discoveries. Essays in Honour of V. C. Corbo*. SBF (Collectio Major 36). 1990, Jerusalem Franciscan Press.
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- Ilan, Z., *Ancient Synagogues in Israel*. 1991, Ministry of Defence Publishing House, 25-9 David Elazar St., Tel Aviv, Israel. ISBN 985-05-0522-9.



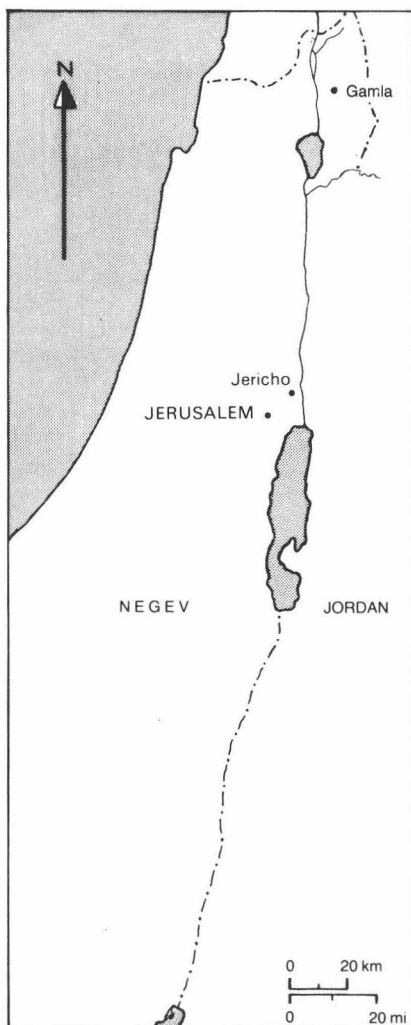
## The Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society: Summaries of Lectures Given in 1991-92

### Excavations at Gamla

D. Goren

Gamla is an important city from the Second Temple period in the Golan Heights which rose up against the Romans in AD 66 at the time of the Great Revolt. The Roman army, under Vespasian with three legions, besieged and conquered the city. Gamla was never settled again and its identification remained forgotten. In 1976, under the direction of Shamarya Guttman, excavations began at the site and the results confirmed its identification as Gamla. The site is situated on a spur between two deep ravines. The main source of historical knowledge about the city and the fierce battle that was waged there is Josephus Flavius (*BJ*, 4:1). Josephus had been in charge of the Jewish defenses in the Galilee and Golan, and was involved in the re-fortification of Gamla. As a Roman captive, Josephus also witnessed the fall of the town. Josephus' description of the site assisted Guttman in identifying it as Gamla. Gamla had previously been identified further southeast along the Rokad gorge. Excavations have revealed only 5 per cent of the city, but the results are exciting.

According to Josephus, three Roman legions (V, X and XV) along with a large force of auxiliary troops, marched up from the Sea of Galilee and besieged the city for a month. Evidence of this battle has been found along the wall, including over 1500 iron arrowheads and a similar number of basalt catapult balls. Josephus described the first attempt by the Romans to storm



Sites mentioned in the lecture summaries.

the city, with the troops in unfamiliar and steep ground. On being ambushed by the Jewish defenders, the troops panicked and fled, leaving behind much equipment and their commander Vespasian, who had to escape by himself. The Romans changed their tactics after this first attempt. Before dawn, the main tower was captured and destroyed in a surprise attack. Gamla was captured and destroyed on the following day; 4000 people were killed by the Romans and another 5000 perished trying to escape in the steep ravines below. This last day of the city, with much of its artifacts, has been preserved under the basalt rubble.

In the excavations a large, well-built synagogue has been uncovered, dating from the Herodian period. The building was of basalt blocks, with several rows of benches around its walls. A large ritual pool (*Miqweh*) was found next to the synagogue. The synagogue at Gamla is one of the earliest found in Israel. It was located on the eastern edge of the city where it probably also served the rural population in the vicinity.

Valuable information about the everyday life of the inhabitants of Gamla has been uncovered during the excavations. It had an economy based on agriculture. Three large installations for the production of olive oil have been unearthed. Much of the olive oil was exported to the Jews living to the East in Syria and

Babylon. Many artefacts attesting to the high living standard of the people living in Gamla, have also been found, including imported pottery (Eastern *Terra Sigillata*), decorated lamps, semi-precious stones, cosmetic items and jewelry.

There are three distinct occupation levels at Gamla. During the third millennium BC, a large Early Bronze Age I-II city occupied the site. Excavations revealed hundreds of sickle blades, stone vessels and decorated pottery vessels from this period. Over two thousand years passed before the site was occupied again. From Josephus' writings we learn that Alexander Jannaeus captured the city during his military campaign in the Golan in 80 BC. According to Rabbi Yeshmael, Gamla was settled by Babylonian Jews returning from Exile (*Tosefta*, *Macot* III:2). In Area B, well-built houses were found dating from the first century BC. An interesting find were two complete skeletons of horses.

One of the most significant discoveries made at Gamla are six bronze coins minted on the eve of the Revolt. These coins, which bear the inscription 'For the Redemption of Jerusalem the Holy', are not known from any other site.

The site is located today inside a large nature reserve. Nearby are two beautiful waterfalls. The area has an interesting wildlife and boasts having the largest concentration of vulture nests in Israel.

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### Gleanings of Jewish Art From the Coins of Bar Kokhba

Dan P. Barag

Since the first publication of a silver tetradrachm (*sela*) of Bar Kokhba (132-135 AD) by Athanasius Kircher in 1653, the

identification of the object between the columns of the tetrastyle temple façade has remained an enigma. Three explanations have been suggested. The first that it is a door. This is very unlikely because the legs of the object terminate in the form of a piece of furniture and the level of the supposed threshold is higher than that of the

base of the object. Furthermore, the supposed threshold is also represented on tetradrachms of the first year as a beaded line. Another explanation is that it represents the Ark of Covenant. This is unlikely as the descriptions of the Ark of Covenant show that it was a rectangular chest without legs (*Exodus* xxv:10-22; xxxvii:1-9). It has also been suggested that the object is an Ark of the Law, i.e. a *Torah* chest. This seems unlikely since there is neither any mention of such an object in the Temple at Jerusalem, nor could it be of special significance in the context of a movement which intended to rebuild the Temple and revive its ritual.

S. Raffaelli described in 1913, and Sir G. F. Hill in 1914, a didrachm of Bar Kokhba, but L. Miltenberg was the first to publish also an illustration of this very rare type and suggested that it showed the Ark of Covenant open. The 'enigmatic object' is shown on the didrachm lengthwise and seems to be a table with raised sides. It is similar to the representation incised on a plaster fragment excavated by N. Avigad in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City in Jerusalem and identified as the Shewbread Table by B. Narkiss. The didrachm thus shows the Shewbread Table from its long side and the tetradrachms from its narrow side, with convex rounded sides. On the first-year tetradrachms, the Shewbread Table is represented with a single convex line at its top, while during the second year of the war a second convex line was added

which turned the representation three-dimensional. The appearance of the Shewbread Table (as envisaged by the Bar Kokhba die engraver) fits well with the other Temple vessels and musical instruments represented on Bar Kokhba's coins, which were to be used if the Temple rituals were to have been revived.

The silver tetradrachms of Bar Kokhba bear on the obverse the tetrastyle façade of the Temple with the Shewbread Table in its centre and on the reverse a *lulab* and *ethrog*, the symbols of *Sukkoth* (the festival of Tabernacles). The religious-political goals of Bar Kokhba are thus expressed on his largest silver denomination emphatically: to rebuild the Temple and revive the permanent rituals, symbolized by the Shewbread Table, as well as to revive the holy pilgrimage festivals symbolized by the *lulab* and *ethrog* of *Sukkoth*.

The obverse of the didrachm differs from that of the tetradrachms not only in showing the Shewbread Table lengthwise, but also in placing it inside a two-columned structure above a flight of stairs leading up to it. It seems that the two-columned structure is the entrance to the Temple rather than a shortened version of its façade. It follows that a combination of the representations of the tetrastyle façade on the tetradrachms with that of the entrance of the Temple on the didrachms, provides fairly accurate clues for a reconstruction of the façade of Herod's Temple in Jerusalem.

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## The Early Development of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem

Leen Ritmeyer

The origin of the square Temple Mount in Jerusalem, which, according to Josephus, had sides of one stadium, may date back to the First Temple period. Despite the later Hasmonean and Herodian additions to the Temple Mount, the outline of the early square platform was always preserved. This square is the subject of *Middoth*, which refers to it as the 'Mountain of the House'. The measurement of 500 cubits, given in *Middoth*, was found to be correct, rather than the stadium of Josephus.

The starting point of our research into the architectural development of the early square Temple Mount, was the odd angle of the lowest step of the staircase at the northwest corner of the raised Moslem platform. This step appears, in effect, to be the remains of an early wall, being composed of a line of single ashlar. Furthermore, the step is virtually parallel to the eastern wall, which is, as generally accepted, of pre-Herodian origin. As the style of masonry used in this step/wall resembles that found in the central section of this same eastern wall, we have therefore identified it as the western wall of the pre-Herodian square Temple Mount.

The excavated ditch found by Charles Warren 52 feet north of this stairway and marked 'fosse' on the accompanying plan, was probably the valley which was filled in by Pompey's soldiers in 63 bc, to enable them to take the northern wall of the Temple Mount. Warren found the remains of a quarried rockscarp below the edge of the northern wall of the raised platform. As lines projecting from this rockscarp form right angles with both the step/wall and the eastern wall, we have identified it as part of the northern wall of the square Temple Mount. The length of such a northern wall would be 861 feet, which is 500 cubits according to the royal cubit of 20.67 inches.

Measuring 500 cubits along the eastern wall from the point where it intersects with the line of the rockscarp, there appears a change in direction in the eastern wall. This bend, we suggest, indicates the existence of the southeast corner of the square platform, deep below ground.

The southern wall of this square platform should be parallel to the northern wall. The southwest corner of the square platform would be formed at the intersection of the southern wall with the southern continuation of the previously mentioned step/wall.

The seam in the eastern wall represents the extent of the Hasmonean addition to the south of the square platform. This extension was made after the destruction of the Seleucid *Akra*, which stood, in our opinion, above cistern 11, which may be identified with the 'Cistern of the *Akra*' mentioned in the *Mishnah, tractate Erubin*.

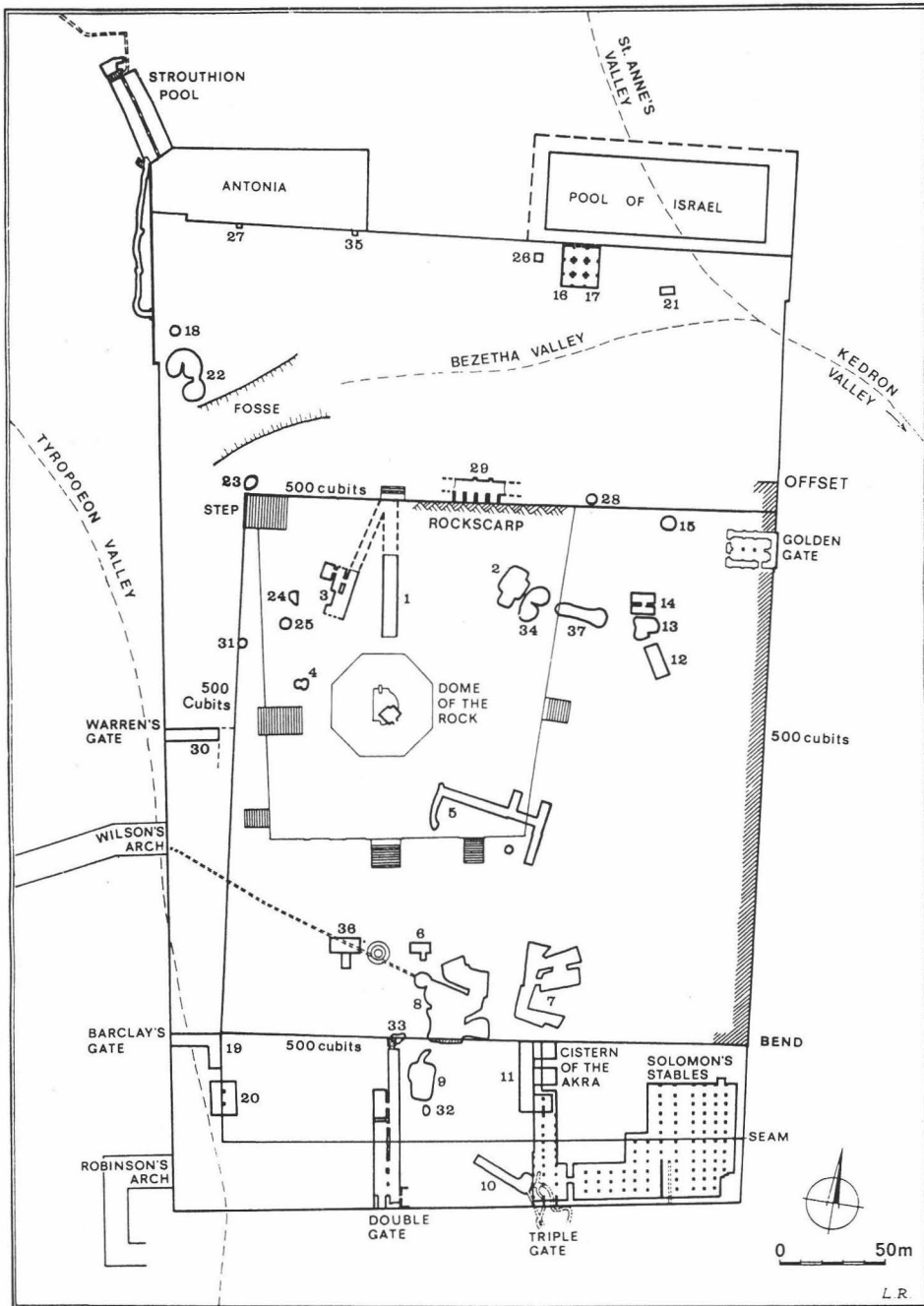
In the first century bc, King Herod the Great enlarged the Temple Mount to twice its original size by adding new courts to the north, west and south. In order to create a level court, the fosse was completely filled in and the bedrock of the natural hill on which the Antonia Fortress was built was partly cut away.

Confirmation for the location of the square Temple Mount and the Hasmonean extension can be derived from the special construction of some of the Herodian gates.

The L-shaped underground passageways of Warren's and Barclay's Gates in the Herodian western wall were apparently built against the pre-Herodian western wall. The underground tunnels of the Double and Triple Gates in the Herodian southern wall still reflect in their length, of some 240 feet, the size of the southern extension of the square Temple Mount.

In this new conception, all the factors including topography, archaeology and the historical sources have been taken into account and everything seems to slot exactly into place.

SUMMARIES OF LECTURES GIVEN IN 1991-92



Plan of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem

## Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament

Kenneth A. Kitchen

The colourful civilization of Ancient Egypt holds a perennial fascination for a very wide public; it offers also vivid background to the biblical writings at various junctures. Egypt first briefly appears in the 'Table of Nations', at *Genesis* 10:13. Here, *Naphtuhim* is most likely \**Na-pa-(i)dhu*, 'those of the Delta', *i.e.* Lower Egypt, while *Pathros* has long been recognized as Egyptian *Pat(a)-ros*, 'the Southland', *i.e.* Upper Egypt. Both are classified under *Misraim*, 'Egypt', an apparent dual form that tempts one to see here a consciousness of the ancient Egyptian duality of valley and delta, of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Egyptian background is both graphic and written, so, for the world of the patriarchs, still solidly early-second-millennium BC, despite misguided efforts to abolish them. The famous Beni Hasan tomb-painting (c. 1850 BC), of 37 Asiatics robed in multicoloured woollens, illustrates West-Semitic dress of the day (Middle Kingdom/Middle Bronze Age). Written in the spelling-style of the Execration Texts, their leader's name is to be read *Ab(i)sharru*, 'the Father [or (my) father] is king' - cf. perhaps Abram, 'the Father is exalted'. By contrast almost unknown, a stela of c. 1750 BC (once in Rio de Janeiro) commemorated a family with friends that include 'the Asiatic and chief craftsman *Dawdi*', *i.e.* a David some 800 years before the sweet psalmist and king of Israel, besides one *Epher son of Abiya*.<sup>1</sup> Also of that period, Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 began life as part of the register of prisoners at the great prison in Thebes, making possible many insights into the 'system' to which a Joseph could have been subject. When finished with, the rear surface of this papyrus was used by a high official to list over 70 servants in his large household - of whom over 40 were Asiatics, many with good West-Semitic names, including a Menahem, a Shiprah, an Asher(at) and a (Ja)'aqob of good biblical stamp.<sup>2</sup> From the Joseph narrative we still derive our expression 'corn in Egypt';

Egyptian tomb-paintings frequently depict bumper harvests, while the reverse of the coin - famine - meets us in the emaciated figures in scenes from the causeway of King Unis, c. 2300 BC.

From the patriarchs to the exodus is, in tradition, some 400/430 years, fitting neatly into the appropriate general period c. 1700-1250 BC. There is no real problem in the Hebrew clans retaining memories of patriarchal times down to the 13th century BC and transmitting them onward. Omitting Western Asiatic data, and staying in Egypt, families of quite modest station did the same. For instance, a modest temple-scribe called Mes or Mose (not a Moses!) won an 80-year family lawsuit over their land c. 1250 BC, given to their ancestor Neshi in c. 1550 BC, the memory of which matter remained very much alive in family memory three centuries later.

Was there an exodus from Egypt? That tradition permeates the biblical record, surfacing in the 'historical' books, in the four major prophets, and in almost half of the minor prophets. Available Egyptian background data supports the Egyptian connection. Goshen (the area of the Hebrew sojourn) was close by Raamses and Pithom in the East Delta. Beyond any serious doubt, Raamses is to be located at Qantir, while Pithom is best located at Tell er-Retaba (well off the exodus-route, on whose itinerary it does not appear). The brickfield labours of the Hebrews (*Exodus* 1:11ff.) evoke those of other foreigners (with overseers and all) from a famous scene of c. 1440 BC. A leather scroll in the Louvre contains brick-production targets for 40 overseers and their crews, while problems of manpower, bricks and straw engross writers in the Anastasi papyri (13th century BC) as well as *Exodus* 5. Pharaoh's opposition to Moses and the Hebrews having a religious holiday becomes readily understandable when one browses through the attendance-registers of the Valley of Kings workforce, noting how often they got time off for so many reasons ('brewing beer with the boss'; burying so-and-so; and 'worshipping (his) god'). The labour-conditions of the eve-of-Exodus period show an intimate consciousness of Egyptian con-

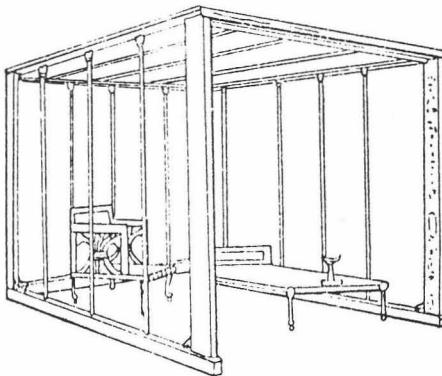
ditions, not least in the 13th century BC.<sup>3</sup>

Of the Exodus itself, we have no extra-biblical record. This is hardly surprising, considering the almost total loss of all administrative records of the Egyptian delta in pharaonic times. From the lawsuit of Mose (engraved in stone in his tomb-chapel in Saqqara some 100 miles southwest), we know that vast papyrus-archives of property-registers and so on once existed in the 'ministry buildings' of Pi-Ramesse in the Eastern delta, but of all this no scrap survives. All we have now is a handful of pottery wine-jar dockets. Were someone to try in 3000 years time to reconstruct the 20th-century history of London from half-a-dozen wine-jar labels excavated in the ruins of Fortnum's or Harrods, there would doubtless be wisecracks saying, 'The supposed '40s Blitz must be an aetiological legend – no evidence of it has ever been found!'

There is still no universal agreement on the identity of the pharaoh of the Exodus. However, as the people of Israel is named as a clear entity in Canaan before Year 5 of Merenptah (1209 BC), then Ramesses II is certainly the latest-possible candidate and still perhaps the likeliest. His Egypt was extraordinarily cosmopolitan, with Semites, Hurrians and others at all levels of society, from favoured courtiers to humblest slaves. In that context, the role of a Moses in *Exodus* is strictly realistic, and not fantasy. As for Israel in Canaan by Merenptah's Year 5, we have no reason to imagine that they somehow magically sprang from the soil like dragon's teeth, to account for the denser land-occupation of the 12th century BC. Nor can one see any logic in the quaint concept that heavy tax-bills should induce some Canaanites suddenly to call themselves Israel, invent a new deity, and pretend to have come from Egypt. Pseudo-sociology of this kind fails to explain the Egyptian Bronze Age background in those traditions, which only the roles of Moses and an actual exodus can satisfactorily account for.

The Sinai traditions feature a covenant at Mount Sinai and the tabernacle and institution of its worship. The term for 'covenant' (*berit*) is already well known in

Egypt and the Levant in the 15th–12th centuries BC, and was not invented as late as the 8th/7th centuries BC – in the late 2nd-millennium contexts it already shows political, religious and commercial usages.<sup>4</sup> And the form of the Sinai covenant and of its renewal in the Plains of Moab (*Deuteronomy*) again belongs to the 14th/13th centuries BC (and *not* later), as is clearly visible from comparison with all other available treaties, covenants and law-codes; a good example is that between Ramesses II and the Hittites (c. 1260 BC). In 19th-century-inspired biblical scholarship it has long been commonplace to relegate the tabernacle to the role of priestly fiction, dreamt up during the Babylonian Exile, in the 6th century BC. However, enquiry into the background technology of the tabernacle indicates otherwise. In Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian temples, there is nothing remotely similar. But the technology of gilded frames covered with curtaining finds striking echoes in Bronze Age Egypt – from the gold-plated (and once curtained) socketed beams and frames of the bedroom suite of Queen Hetepheres (c. 2600 BC) and religious structures such as the Tent of Purification (3rd millennium BC), down to prefabricated structures in the 14th/13th centuries BC. The Midianites at Timna had a tented sanctuary in the 12th century BC; and the word *qerashim* for the tent-frames is



Gold-plated bedroom 'tabernacle' of Queen Hetepheres



ancient: used of El's abode in Ugaritic epics copied in the 14th/13th centuries BC, but originating much earlier. Looked at dispassionately, the Exodus tabernacle is a remarkably simple and modest shrine – little more than 45 feet long by some 15 feet wide and high, and totally dwarfed in size and sophistication by the vast, elaborate, national temples of Egypt and the Near East of this and other periods. The rituals celebrated at the tabernacle (*Leviticus* 1ff.) were, again, of utmost simplicity compared with others of the Late Bronze Age (ten times as long in contemporary, commonplace usage in Egyptian temples, for instance). The special silver trumpets of *Numbers* 11 (*hazozeroth*) were of the same long type as the gold and bronze examples from the tomb of Tutankhamun, and fulfilled the same basic military and festive functions. Even the ox-carts used to transport the tabernacle parts in the wilderness were of the kind used by pharaonic expeditions into the desert that used the same pulling-power (oxen), and bore the same West-Semitic name (*'agaloth*) under Ramesses IV, c. 1150 BC.

Egypt's contribution in later periods of Hebrew history is more episodic, so must be passed through briefly here. In the 960s BC, Solomon married the daughter of a pharaoh who smote Gezer (*1 Kings* 9:16, cf. 3:1). On purely chronological grounds, the relevant pharaoh is almost certainly Siamun (c. 978-959 BC), of whom a triumphal relief shows him smiting a foreign foe. The traditional link of Solomon with parts of *Proverbs* is also realistic on external evidence. *Proverbs* 1-9, 10:1, 10-24 (Title and Prologue, Subtitle, Main Text) conforms exactly to the specific type as a literary unit, of some 15 other known works of instructional 'wisdom' from Egypt and the Near East during the 3rd to 1st millennia BC; consideration of details favours a 10th-century date for *Proverbs* 1-24.

The wealth of Solomon can be better appreciated once his son Rehoboam had lost it to Shoshenq I of Egypt, c. 925 BC. The fact of Shoshenq's conquest is backed up by his triumphal reliefs in Egypt (Karnak, El-Hiba) and by the discovery of a stela-fragment of his at Megiddo itself.



Stela fragment of Shoshenq I from Megiddo

His son Osorkon I spent gold and silver on the gods and temples of Egypt in his Years 1-4 (c. 924-921 BC) on an unprecedented scale. Solomon's income had been 666 talents in one year, i.e. about 20 tons – but Osorkon I was spending at c. 96 tons a year! It is very hard not to link this brash and overpowering display of conspicuous consumption with Shoshenq's prior conquest and looting of the late Solomon's hoarded wealth.<sup>5</sup>

Some 70 years later, a presentation-vase of Osorkon II (c. 860 BC) found at Samaria may indicate the Egyptians making common cause with the Hebrew kings against Assyria, as at Qarqar in 853 BC. Over a century later, still in 725 BC, Hosea of Israel sought help from 'So, King of Egypt' – unwisely, for he received none. If (as is most likely) this was Osorkon IV, then no wonder, as this monarch was but a local shadow-king, inheriting the palace and capital (Zoan, Tanis) of his ancestor Shoshenq I, but none of the power. In 701 BC the relatively new Kushite regime also sought to buttress Judah against Assyria, but prince Taharqa was but a 'broken reed' for Hezekiah. The title 'king' did not apply to him in 701 BC, but it did by 681 BC, the earliest date for the present Hebrew narrative (cf. *2 Kings* 19:37) when Taharqa had been king for a decade.

In the post-exilic period, under Persian rule, Egypt has yielded a different class of background data. Of Nehemiah's three foes, Sanballat I, governor of Samaria, has long been known from the Aramaic papyri of the Jewish garrison at Elephantine opposite Aswan. The third, Gashmu or Geshem, is attested as a king of North-Arabian Qedar on a fine silver bowl dedicated by his son and successor at a pagan shrine in the East Delta. In that geographical location, he was an important vassal of the Persian king, being close to vital routes into Egypt.

In the Hellenistic age, Egypt afforded a home to important Jewish communities such as that at Alexandria whence traditionally came the great enterprise for translating the ancient scriptures into Greek for a 'modern' world, hence in due time the Septuagint. So, in the pre-Roman world, Egypt's contributions to our understanding of the biblical corpus is very varied in extent, nature and scope, and never without value.

### Notes

1 Published in M. Beltraõ, K. A. Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection, National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, (Warminster, 1990), I, 64-7, No. 21; II, pl. 45; cf. Kitchen, in S. I. Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology... M. Lichtheim*, (Jerusalem, 1990), II, 635-9.

2 All well treated long since by W. F. Albright, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 74 (1954), 222-33.

3 See (e.g.) K. A. Kitchen, 'From the Brickfields of Egypt', *Tyndale Bulletin* 27 (1976), 137-47.

4 See for the data and their significance, Kitchen, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 11 (1979), 453-64; cf. *idem*, *Tyndale Bulletin* 40 (1989), 118-35.

5 Cf. A. R. Millard, K. A. Kitchen, in *Biblical Archaeology Review* 15/3 (May/June 1989), 20-34.

### Excavations at Nimrud, Balawat and other Assyrian sites

John Curtis

On the face of it, a lecture about excavations in Assyria, modern Iraq, would seem to be well outside the normal interests of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society. However, developments in Assyria cannot be ignored by students of Ancient Palestine, because in the 1st millennium BC at least, the destinies of the two areas were closely linked. The rise of Assyria in the Early Iron Age and its progress towards becoming the dominant power in the Near East led inexorably to Assyria having territorial ambitions in the Levant. In the 9th century BC this Assyria expansionism is reflected in incidents such as the Israelite king Jehu bringing tribute to Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC), a scene depicted on the Assyrian monument from Nimrud known as the Black Obelisk. It was not until the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BC), however, that all the small kingdoms of Syria and Palestine, including Israel and Judah, were conquered and subsequently incorporated into the Assyrian Empire. Ties were reinforced by the Assyrian policy of mass deportation, which led to foreigners from various parts of the empire, including Palestine, living and working and indeed providing specialist labour in the major Assyrian cities. Also, the unremitting rape of the provinces resulted in precious objects of all kinds flowing into Assyria as booty or tribute, and among the fine ivories, bronzes and other goods found in the Assyrian palaces are many that were manufactured in the Levant, and some perhaps in Palestine at centers such as Samaria. On the accession of Sennacherib (704-681 BC) there were rebellions in various parts of the empire including Palestine, where Assyria was opposed by a coalition headed by Hezekiah, king of Judah. Although Jerusalem was not captured, the rebellion was put down with some severity, and thereafter, until the collapse of Assyria in 612 BC, Judah remained subject to Assyria. After the death of Ashurbanipal (627 BC), however, under the

energetic King Josiah, Judah enjoyed a certain measure of independence.

As is well known, in the 19th century the British Museum excavated extensively in Assyria and made spectacular discoveries at Nineveh, Nimrud and Balawat. These finds now occupy pride of place in the Assyrian galleries in the British Museum. In recent years excavations have been resumed on a much smaller scale. By comparison with the earlier work they have had limited and modest objectives. Since 1983 five Late-Assyrian or post-Assyrian sites have been investigated, three of them in the Saddam Dam Salvage Project, an area on the River Tigris to the northwest of Mosul where archaeological sites have been flooded by the construction of a new dam. We shall treat the sites, as far as possible, in chronological order.

The first is a small site in the Dam Project known as Qasrij Cliff. Here, a large circular grain silo was discovered full of Assyrian pottery, but there was no trace of any associated occupation. The pottery seems to form a homogeneous group, and probably belongs to the 8th century BC. The nearby site of Khirbet Khatuniyeh probably overlapped with Qasrij Cliff in that it seems to have been occupied throughout the Assyrian period, but the level that claimed most of our attention was destroyed by a fierce fire in c. 612 BC. Although we were able to excavate only two rooms of a substantial building, that may have been a large private house or more probably the residence of a local administrative official, enough was exposed to show that the site was extraordinarily rich. In these two rooms there was a wealth of pottery vessels, many of which were shattered when the building collapsed. Altogether we managed to reconstruct more than 50 complete or semi-complete forms, ranging from large storage jars to small beakers in Assyrian palace ware. Among the objects in these rooms was a magnificent terracotta drinking-cup ending in a ram's head and with bands of red paint, a stone incense burner, and a seal and a seal impression. Evidence for domestic activity was provided by collapsed looms and large numbers of loom-

weights. Tragically, operations at this promising site were brought to a premature close in April 1985 when it was unexpectedly flooded.

At Nimrud also there is evidence for a fierce destruction in 612 BC; many of the important buildings were burnt at this time, including Fort Shalmaneser, a military arsenal in the outer town, where we elected to work during our first season of excavations in 1989. We concentrated our efforts on one particular store-room near the apartments of state known as T20. The building had been founded in the reign of Shalmaneser III and reconstructed probably in the time of Esarhaddon (680-669 BC); the earlier phase was represented by a deposit at the bottom of the room up to 10 cm thick, in which we found items of bronze horse harness including a decorative blinker and many small round bosses. There were also bronze and iron armour scales and small blue-glass plaques with inlaid flowers. The reconstruction of Esarhaddon was represented by a white plaster floor. This later phase of the building had come to a violent end in c. 612 BC when it was destroyed by a fierce fire. Evidence for this destruction was found throughout the room in the form of burnt roof timbers, scorched plaster walls and thick deposits of ash. A stone roller that had been on top of the roof crashed down into the room below when the roof fell in. Scattered through the debris were bronze holdfasts that had originally been fixed into the walls, fragments of three large pottery jars, faience beads, bone plaques and an iron dagger. An ivory plaque in the unusual Assyrian modelled style shows tributaries or prisoners from different parts of the empire being presented to the Assyrian king.

Perhaps of greatest interest, however, were more than 100 fragments of glazed brick with designs in various colours showing floral and geometric motifs and part of a winged disc. There was also part of an inscription of Shalmaneser III. Such a glazed brick panel had already been found at Nimrud in 1962; it had been set up above a doorway also in Fort Shalmaneser and showed representations of a king beneath a

winged disc. It was just over 4 metres high. Perhaps our panel had also been above a doorway, and the bricks had cascaded into Room T20 when the walls collapsed. The glazed decoration on the bricks was confined to the front side only; an exciting discovery was the presence of fitters' marks in black and white paint on the top, undecorated surfaces of the bricks. These were clearly intended to show the builders in which order to lay the bricks. Written in black paint are signs from the Aramaic alphabet; so far, we have recorded the following letters: *gimel*, *daleth*, *hē*, *lamedh*, *nun*, *resh* and perhaps *taw*. The occurrence of these letters is particularly interesting because their association with the Shalmaneser III inscription means they can be dated to the 9th century BC. This is the earliest certainly attested usage of Aramaic in Assyria by at least a century. Like Early Hebrew, the Aramaic alphabet derived from the North Semitic script. The language and script spread all over the Near East after the conquest of the Aramaean states, including Damascus, by Assyria from the 9th century BC onwards. In Assyria, Aramaic was used alongside cuneiform, and in Palestine the Aramaic alphabet superseded the Early Hebrew alphabet during the period of the Babylonian exile; subsequently it greatly influenced the development of the square Hebrew and Modern Hebrew alphabets. As well as the Aramaic letters on our Nimrud bricks there is a series of pictograms in white paint showing a plough, a mace, a door, a human face, perhaps a cauldron, and other motifs not yet identified. These are also on the flat top surfaces of some of the bricks, and are clearly meaningful. They are probably contemporary with the Aramaic letters, but this is not yet established with certainty. They seem also to be fitters' marks, but they have not yet been recognized as belonging to any known writing system.

At the same time as this excavation was in progress at Nimrud, the opportunity was taken to do some work at the nearby site of Balawat, 15 km to the northeast. It was here in 1878 that Hormuzd Rassam found the famous pairs of bronze gates set up by Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III that are now in the British Museum. The purpose of our mission was to find out more about the site and in particular to put the gates into an archaeological context. We also undertook an intensive sherd survey of Balawat and the surrounding area.

After the collapse of Assyria, the Levant, including Palestine, gradually came under Babylonian control while the Assyrian homeland was probably under Median suzerainty. As is well known, in 587 BC Jerusalem was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, the city was razed to the ground and the inhabitants were deported to Babylon. The history of Palestine during this period is consequently well known. By contrast, what was happening in Assyria is obscure. For this reason, a site of post-Assyrian date in the Saddam Dam Rescue Project was of particular interest. At Khirbet Qasrij, inland from Qasrij Cliff, there was a sizeable settlement which appears to date from the period immediately following the downfall of the Assyrian empire in 612 BC. At this site we found evidence for extensive pottery production. It is possible that after the collapse of Assyria, the inhabitants of the major cities moved into the countryside where they tried to resume life as before. Apart from a very interesting series of pottery types, Khirbet Qasrij produced an especially fine stone duckweight.

The history of Palestine and Assyria converged again in the Persian period, when both areas came under the control of Cyrus the Great. This is a fascinating period, deserving of more work in both areas, but beyond the scope of this lecture.

## Grants Given by the Society

### Joan E. Taylor

In March 1991 I gave a joint lecture with Shimon Gibson entitled 'The Jerusalem Ship and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre' (PEF/AIAS) at the Society of Antiquaries, Piccadilly, London. The Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society provided me with a grant of £100 towards the cost of my return airfare from The Gambia, West Africa, where I currently live.

The lecture presented the argument that the 'Jerusalem Ship' drawing and its accompanying Latin inscription – which may be seen in the Armenian sector of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem – were largely drawn recently. It has generally been thought that the ship and inscription were drawn by a 4th-century Christian pilgrim. They appear on an ancient block of stone unearthed in 1971. But photographs of the ship and inscription when first uncovered show a significantly different design to that which is now apparent. It would seem that an attempt to clean the stone sometime before 1975 obliterated much of the original drawing, so that the present design in bold lines constitutes an inaccurate attempt to restore it. Only faint vestiges of the original drawing now remain.

We argue that the type of vessel depicted in the original drawing comes from the 1st to 2nd centuries AD. The inscription probably reads *domine ivimus*, 'lord, we went', but this need not be interpreted as a specifically Christian proclamation. It is likely that the wall on which the drawing was found was covered up from the time that the Emperor Hadrian built a temple of Venus on the site, in the middle of the 2nd century AD.

A detailed discussion on the 'Jerusalem ship' drawing and the accompanying inscription forms the first part of a book written by Mr Gibson and myself: *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Select Archaeological and Historical Problems*, to be published by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

### Sean A. Kingsley

Uncharacteristically severe sea conditions at coastal Dor (located 13 kms north of Caesarea) reduced the height of the submerged sandbanks within the breaker zone to such an extent in the summer of 1991, that vestiges of some nine wrecks appeared on the seabed within a diameter of 80 metres. The nature of the remains, varying in date from the Persian period (5th–4th centuries BC) to AD 1664, was something of a paradox: within the boundaries of sites where all that remained of the cargo was shattered potsherds intermixed with the ship's ballast, unusually well-preserved material of copper and bronze was also encountered. Five of the wrecks dated between the 5th–7th centuries AD and contained abundant sherds of orange-, black- and lime-coloured bag-shaped amphorae of which the former appear to have been manufactured locally. Alongside these, several domestic items of the ship's crew were examined, all of copper: two wine pitchers, a pan, and a lid.

Wooden structural remains from these Byzantine vessels were discerned in the form of mortice-and-tenoned planking on Dor Wreck No. 4 (in 1.7 metres of water), and a unique rigging block on site No. 6. An unexpected feature of these ships was

the presence of stone anchors, a form of retention previously considered to have been withdrawn from the maritime world in the 7th century BC. The 1991 surveys have been decisive in proving that the city of Dor was not reduced to a provincial backwater at the end of the 4th century AD.

Apart from these stratified concentrations, a complete Greek helmet of bronze from the 5th century BC, adorned with decorated cheek-pieces, and the prow of what is tentatively being interpreted as an ancient warship were exceptional finds. Why such a graveyard of ships foundered in shallow waters not exceeding 3 metres in depth is a perplexing question. Dor's reputation as a reliable harbour, we conclude, was tainted by the shifting of sandbanks on which ships pierced their hulls while entering the natural port basin at velocity, in an attempt to escape storms at sea.

The 1991 underwater surveys at Dor were directed by Kurt Raveh and Sean A. Kingsley of the Dor Maritime Archaeology Project.

#### Raphael M. J. Isserlin

As a professional archaeologist who has worked in the cities of Britain and Europe for a decade or more, the opportunity to get to grips with the urban archaeology of Israel offered considerable attractions. Through the kind offices of Professor Y. Tsafir I was able to participate in the work at an important site for a month; warm thanks are extended to him and Professor G. Foerster, as well as the Society.

The site of Beth She'an is a series of shifting foci of settlements, dominated by the massive *tell*, with almost every period represented either at or around it; to date, little of the Divided Monarchic period, however, so important to the biblical archaeologist. The site was (then, as now) strategically important: at the junction of the eastwest Egypt/Mesopotamia trade axis and the northsouth corridor made feasible by the rift of the Jordan valley. Hence, for example, its choice by Egypt as military strongpoint and administrative centre, in the lush river valley. Despite

this, however, continuous occupation cannot be proven: after the Solomonic period there seems to be a hiatus of activity; work proceeds at the time of writing in the Hellenistic site, but the nature and location of activity in the period preceding this remains to be resolved. The causes of discontinuity remain to be explained: both medieval Jewish and Arab scholars praise the fertility of the area; for the Roman period, Joseph comments (correctly!) on the sheer heat of the site; the ruins of the Byzantine site bear testimony to disruptive seismic activity. Perhaps one cause is the strategic importance of the place: hence, for example the Philistine/Sea-People as a disruptive element, whose funerary culture is a well-known part of the site-sequence.

I was involved in the uncovering of the Byzantine town, which is a particular feature of the town, having evolved from the Roman period as Scythopolis. This has considerable tourist potential: as the National Parks Authority has realized. Clearance for consolidation and display is part of an ambitious programme, aiming to stimulate the local economy: presumably in much the same way as the planting/refounding during the classical period stimulated the construction industry and subsequently trade, so will the presentation of the antique structures. Recording the archaeology may have to be reduced to essentials; though I am used to opening up large-scale areas, I have never before encountered an amphitheatre, bath-house, main street and shops as a single, semi-finite, evolving area of excavation; moreover the depth of stratigraphy poses its own problems of logistics and recording. Modern British techniques of urban archaeology, evolved over the last two decades, would have paid detailed attention to both stratification and architectural remains; however this would have been over an infinitely smaller area, to the detriment of the presentation of the site as a large-scale public amenity. A taste of what is to come is the re-erection of tumbled masonry at the amphitheatre excavated some time ago. I hope that the sections that I drew will be of use; one, through the doorway of a building giving onto the main



street, clearly showed an accumulation of (?windblown) material clearly *sealed* by collapsed plaster and only subsequently by Byzantine earthquake-tumble, indicating that in one place at least, activity ceased *before* the natural catastrophe that is supposed to have caused a general desertion. Mostly, however, I worked in the area of the tetrapylon, under the general direction of G. Mazor; thanks are offered to him and his team of supervisors.

Other aspects are also of note; as the labour force was on a job-creation programme – from Israel, Russia, Morocco, Holland, Argentina and elsewhere; including some Arabs and an American History student – communication was a challenge. Accommodation was self-catering, in flats provided by Menachem Ephroni of the Parks Authority; the start of the day was at 5.00 am, with shopping (in a mixture of Hebrew and French) from the local Moroccan immigrants. The local economy of the development town can only benefit from this Keynesian regeneration; work finished after a long but productive day (sometimes at 6.00 pm, with no siesta), with recourse to the local cafe. On my days off I visited Beth She'arim, Megiddo, Hazor and Beth Alfa; and made contacts also in Jerusalem, with the administration of the Antiquities Authority and the Hebrew University, and in Tel Aviv with the Departments of Archaeology and Classics. The beauty of the wildlife (the ibises and bee-eaters are renowned; few British site-huts can boast a chameleon) was a further attraction. Perhaps the most abiding memory I will retain was of the tell mound, cleared of scrub by fire, the day after, smouldering still in the morning sunlight.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Society for its benevolence in making this visit possible.

### Eleanor Scott

The project comprises an academic assessment of the importance of the Gertrude Bell Photographic Archive for the archaeology and history of Jerusalem and the surrounding areas. The Society gave a number of travel grants to the project team in 1992, to allow completion of the photography in Israel, East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

Gertrude Bell travelled extensively in the Middle East between 1899 and 1926. In the years 1899 and 1900 she lived in Jerusalem, and photographed the city and surrounding areas extensively. Her subjects were always of archaeological, architectural and ethnographic interest, such as Roman and Byzantine buildings, early churches, synagogues, mosques and Beduin encampments. These are early and important views of the Middle East, and it is vital that the archive's potential as a primary tool for archaeological research is understood.

We achieved a substantial part of academic assessment of the archive in 1990, and the work was completed in 1992. The team systematically rephotographed the subjects (and environs of the subjects) of some 200 of Bell's photographs. In effect, we have created a new dynamic archive, by producing approximately 1000 prints in 1991, and 300 in 1992. By comparing this new archive with the original Bell archive it is possible to assess levels of change, preservation and deterioration of structures and whole sites. Dubious identifications of photographs from the Bell archive were clarified; and, where it was demonstrated that the subjects of Bell photographs no longer exist or have deteriorated badly, the value of the original archive photograph increased.

On returning to England, Eleanor Scott processed, fully catalogued and cross-referenced the new archive, and Phil Supple entered it on to computer as a database.



## Notes for Contributors

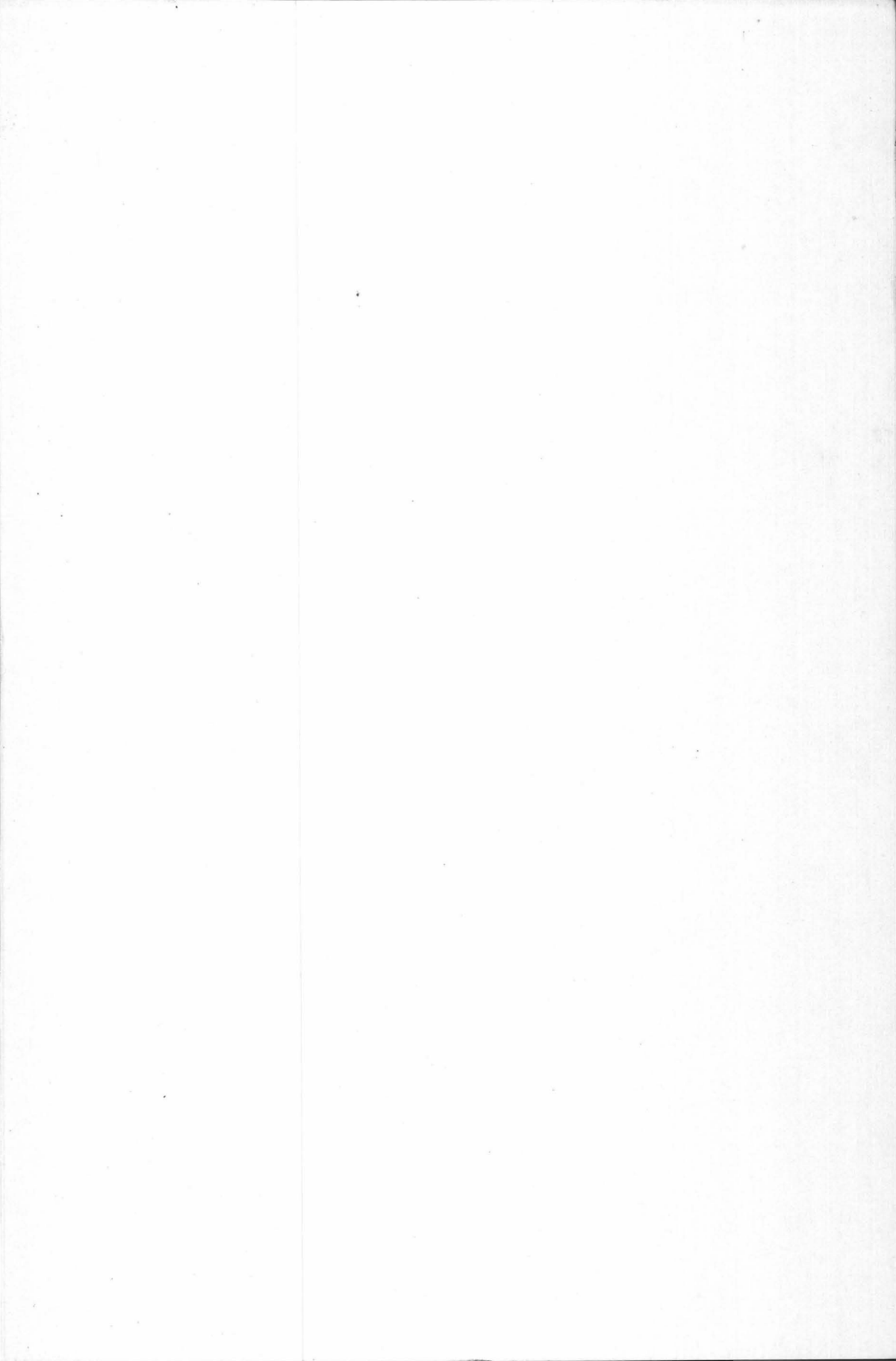
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