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Editorial

This issue discusses several fascinating aspects of cultural identity in the ancient world, specifically how groups define themselves through ritual and practice, as recorded in the archaeological record. Ian Stern has been working at the Idumean site of Maresha, south of Tel Aviv for nearly twenty years. His paper discussing circumcised *phalli*, ceramic vessels with unexplained holes, and immersion baths suggests that long before Pharisaic rules of behaviour were written down, some practices already existed in Hellenistic times, and these were not exclusively practiced by Jews.

Estee Devorjetsky has been studying medicine and public health in the ancient world for many years. Her paper reflects on the festival known as the Maioumas in ancient Palestine, with a particular emphasis on Shuni, the suburb of Caesarea, located not far from present-day Binyamina. Ancient writers had much to say about this festival, but were particularly upset by the pagan (?) freedoms and parties that would take place, usually over the duration of a week.

Herod's building projects, and the life's work of uncovering them, by the late Ehud Netzer are examined by David Jacobson. He finds that the transfer of technology, artistic trends and capabilities from Rome is certainly one of the lasting inheritances we have from this great king.

There are also three short papers on small finds: an early 19th century military bonnet badge from the 'Kings' Own Scottish Borderers', found in Lod by Amir Gorzalczany, a contemporary soda bottle from Portsmouth, found in Jerusalem, by Sam Wolff, and a Roman bronze ring depicting Zeus Heliopolites, found in Ramla, also not far from Lod by Yoav Farchi.

We also have fourteen book reviews. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Sandra Jacobs for her hard work in assembling them. Short abstracts of the lectures of the society, Reports from Jerusalem by Stephen Rosenberg, and reports by the students given grants by the society for excavations in Israel this summer round out the volume.

Finally, I am grateful to Martin Goodman, Barbara Barnett, Rupert Chapman, the reviewers, and Sean Kingsley for the help I have received producing this volume.

For updated news, events, and other activities of the society, please have a look at our website: www.aias.org.uk.

David Milson,
Editor

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Ehud Netzer and Herodian Archaeology

DAVID M. JACOBSON

Ehud Netzer was the leading figure in Herodian archaeology right up to his sudden death in October 2010, specialising in the architecture of Herod's palaces. In the course of his career, there was scarcely a site in Israel where there was a known Herodian palace which Netzer did not excavate. His archaeological findings were so considerable that their significance is still being evaluated by scholars. This article examines one aspect, namely the light that has been cast on the extent of Roman influence on the art, architecture and construction methods of Herod's extensive building projects.

Introduction

On October 24, 2010, Ehud Netzer, the doyen of Herodian archaeology and architecture, was conducting a group of visitors around his latest excavations at Herodium when suddenly a wooden railing gave way. He sustained critical injuries from his ensuing fall and died in hospital four days later.

Ehud was born in Jerusalem on 13 May 1934, the son of Joseph and Puah Menczel, well-known in Israel as educators. His formidable mother, Pua Ben-Tovim (1903–1991), born in Jerusalem to Russian immigrants, studied in Prague in 1921–23 where she met Franz Kafka and gave him private lessons in Hebrew (Menczel-Ben-Tovim 1995; Binder 1983). In 1972, Ehud hebraised his surname to Netzer.

Initially, Ehud qualified as an architect, with a BSc from the Technion in Haifa in 1958 and practiced this profession through his life. However, his first love was evidently archaeology and, while an undergraduate, he spent his summer vacations as a site surveyor working under Immanuel Dunayevsky at the archaeological excavations led by Professor Yigael Yadin at Hazor in Galilee. In the mid-1960s, Netzer served as co-architect with Dunayevsky of the famous excavations at Masada, directed by Professor Yigael Yadin. During this period, Netzer also headed the restoration of the Masada site on behalf of Israel's National Parks Authority. While stationed at Masada, in 1964 Ehud met and married Dvorah Dove, who was working there as a pottery restorer.

During the years 1972–1977, Netzer worked on his PhD dissertation at the Hebrew University’s Institute of Archaeology on the subject of the architecture and archaeology of Herod’s palaces at Herodium and Jericho. This involved large-scale excavations at the sites of Herodium, Tulul abu el-‘Alayiq near Jericho and a unique hippodrome-theatre-gymnasium complex nearby, and Herod’s palace-fortress at Cyprus (Kypros), overlooking the Jericho plain, which he continued beyond the award of his doctorate. At Herodium, near Bethlehem, the artificially created conical hill on which Herod built a sumptuous palace had been excavated by Father Virgilio Corbo of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (Corbo 1989) in four seasons between 1962 and 1967. Netzer considerably extended the excavated area of this complex by unearthing the ‘lower city’ at the foot of the hill, with its bath-houses, *triclinia* and large ornamental pool. He thereby confirmed the testimony of the ancient Jewish historian, Josephus, that “around the base (of the hill) he (Herod) erected other palaces for the accommodation of his furniture and friends. Thus, in the amplitude of its resources, this stronghold resembled a town, in its restricted area a simple palace” (Jos., *BJ* i 419–21; cf. *AJ* xv 324–25). At Jericho, Ehud Netzer succeeded in exposing hitherto unknown parts of Herod’s winter palaces and also earlier Hasmonaean palace complexes that included several swimming pools, gardens and plantations equipped with a sophisticated irrigation system, thereby greatly illuminating the architecture of Herod’s predecessors.

Netzer was appointed Senior Lecturer at the Hebrew University in 1981 and awarded a professorship there in 1990. During his career, Netzer continued to direct excavations at a large number of sites connected with Herod the Great (37–4 BCE), including his maritime palace at Caesarea and structures faced with *opus reticulatum* at Baniyas (Paneas) and Jerusalem (Netzer 2006, 132–34, 218–22; Netzer and Ben-Arieh 1983). From 1985 to 1994, Netzer co-directed the excavations at Zippori (Sepphoris) in Galilee (Netzer and Weiss 1994). However, he kept returning to work at Masada (1995–97), Jericho and Herodium (from 1997).

Josephus informs us that Herod was buried at Herodium, although he fails to specify the exact location (Jos., *BJ* i 419–21; *AJ* xvii 199). The search for his tomb has been a quest since the 1860s, when the French archaeologist Felicien de Saulcy tried to locate it. For over three decades, Netzer scoured Herodium for the burial place but without any success. Then, in 2007, his team uncovered a finely executed podium half way up

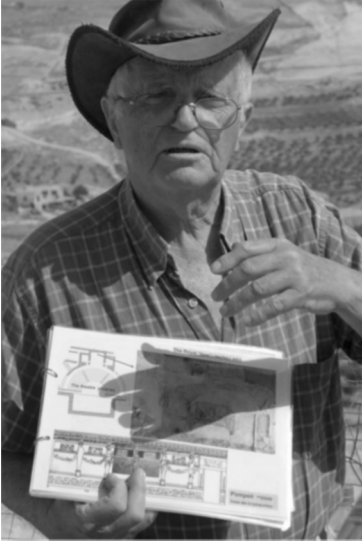


Fig. 1. The late Ehud Netzer at Herodium, describing his discovery in 2008 of the Roman-style theatre and royal box built into the slope of the hill.*

the slope and adjacent to the stairway that ascended to the hilltop palace. In the surrounding fill pieces of a large red limestone sarcophagus were found and also portions of ornamental urns and other architectural fragments, which Netzer supposed formed part of a freestanding mausoleum (Netzer 2008, ix-xiv). He believed that he had, at long last, found Herod's burial place and announced this to the world in a news conference (Anon 2007). However, there was no identifying inscription and, moreover, shortly afterwards the remains of two further sarcophagi were brought to light (Netzer 2011, 38–47; Netzer, Kalman, Porat and Chachy-Laureys 2009, 104–110; Jacobson 2007, 147–48). In many ways, a more spectacular discovery was made by Netzer in 2008, in the form of a small but largely complete theatre built into the slope of Herodium, with a royal box preserved to almost full height and its walls covered with painted and plaster decoration (Netzer 2011, 147–48, 70; Netzer, Kalman, Porat and Chachy-Laureys 2009, 110–114) (Fig. 1).

Netzer published extensively and his contribution to archaeology is significantly greater than just the excavations that he directed himself. Among his publications, his volumes of final reports for the excavations at Masada and Jericho are of particular importance. His volume on the buildings at the former, *Masada III* (Netzer 1991), was awarded the Irene Levi-Sala Book Prize in 1995, and he also published two volumes on his

archaeological work at Jericho and its environs.¹ Following the opening of Jordan to Israelis, Netzer also made a foray into Nabataean architecture, applying his wealth of knowledge of near-contemporary Herodian buildings which display some similarities (Netzer 2003).

An Assessment of Netzer's Contribution

In his final recapitulation on *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder* (Netzer 2006, 2008), based on his findings, Ehud Netzer paints a vivid picture of Herod as an assertive ruler and indefatigable builder who raised Judaea from a backwater to a flourishing Imperial province, studded with spectacular monumental buildings that incorporated the latest Roman architectural ideas. No archaeologist before him furnished anything like this volume of evidence which radically transformed our appreciation of Herod's building programme and is likely to be remembered as Netzer's crowning achievement.

Rather than attempting to provide a comprehensive review of Netzer's wide-ranging contributions to the fields of archaeology and ancient architecture, which were prodigious, I shall use this opportunity to offer a brief assessment of some of the more important clarifications established by his excavations, not all of which he fully realised.

The truly gargantuan scale of Herod's building projects was already known before Netzer's archaeological work but his new discoveries undoubtedly reinforced this point. The extent to which Herod's buildings were influenced by Rome in their design, construction and decoration was one of the more important results of Netzer's discoveries and it is the subject of this article. It has been established that Roman technical and stylistic influences made themselves strongly felt in Judaea sometime after about 20 BCE, near the middle of Herod's reign (Jacobson 2006). I shall focus on four facets of Herod's building projects to illustrate this phenomenon.

The typology of Herod's palatial complexes

Netzer's excavations have differentiated two essential types of palatial building by Herod. We find open-planned, expansive villas only in the heart of his kingdom, at Herodium, Jericho and Caesarea. The other type, exemplified par excellence by Masada and Machaerus (the latter not excavated by Netzer; see Vörös 2011 and 2012, with references),

comprises luxurious suites of apartments placed inside heavily defended fortresses. These two palace-fortress complexes are located at the fringe of Herod's kingdom on the shores of the Dead Sea facing the rival kingdom of Nabataea. Another, Cyprus, overlooks the plain of Jericho and stood sentinel over the opulent palaces and valuable plantations below (Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004, 233–80).

Herod's palace at Jerusalem, only known from the descriptions given by Josephus (*BJ* i 402; v 176–81; *AJ* xv 318) appears to have been a hybrid of the two types. From these accounts, we learn that it consisted of pavilions linked by open courts containing gardens with groves of trees, canals and ponds. This grand estate was enclosed in a high wall reinforced along its length with towers and guarded on its north side by the ensemble of three monumental towers called Hippicus, Phasaël and Mariamme. These were sturdy enough to survive Jerusalem's destruction by Titus (Josephus, *BJ* vii 1).

Netzer's excavations at Jericho (or, more correctly, on the banks of the Wadi Qelt at Tulul abu el-'Alayiq near the town) have revealed that this site served as the principal winter retreat of the Hasmonaean kings and their Herodian successors. Sumptuous palatial buildings grew up amid a vast royal estate covering some 110 acres that contained plantations of date palm and *opobalsamum* (Pliny, *NH* xii 111; Strabo, xvi 2, 41; Stern 1974, 485–90). In time, the relatively modest Hasmonaean palaces, consisting of ranges of rooms built around an internal courtyard were superseded by the palaces of Herod the Great (37–4 BCE). Of these, his Third Palace, built on the flanks of the wadi, represents a major architectural departure (Fig. 2). Unlike its predecessors, it takes as its source not the inward-facing east Greek quadrangular arrangement but a more open scheme, bearing all the hallmarks of the Italian terraced villa, typified by the *villae maritimae* of the Italian Campania that also feature frequently in the wall paintings of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Its north wing possessed a Roman-style bathing suite built of cast concrete faced with regular shaped stones cut to resemble brick, laid in a lozenge pattern, known as *opus reticulatum* (Figs. 3 and 4).² Associated with this palatial residence is an equally Italianate sunken garden on the other side of the wadi, enclosed by walls with an *opus reticulatum* facing. Close-by there is a large pool that was suitable for swimming and boating, and also an enigmatic circular building raised on an artificial mound, the 'Southern Tell,' which was possibly used as an *oecus* (banqueting chamber). The Roman features of Herod's Third Palace, which also

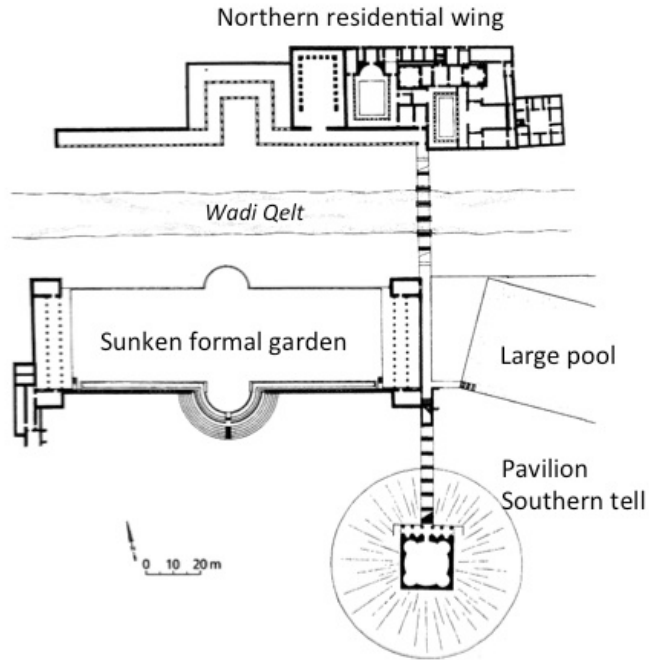


Fig. 2. Herod's Third Palace at Jericho: general plan (after Netzer 2001, 318, Plan 48).

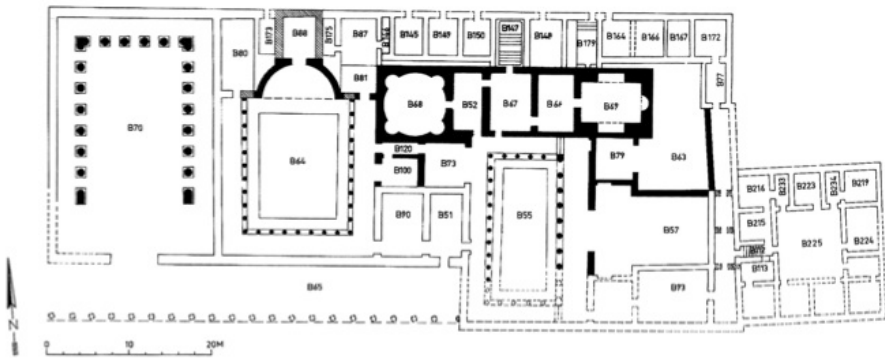


Fig. 3. Reconstructed plan of the north wing of Herod's Third Palace at Jericho (Netzer 2001, 232, Plan 34). Walls built of Roman concrete and faced with *opus reticulatum* and *opus quadratum* are shown in black; the remaining walls are of mud-brick on fieldstone foundations (shown in white) or on concrete foundations (shown hatched).



Fig. 4. Photograph of the Ehud Netzer standing at the entrance of the laconicum of the bathing suite in Herod's Third Palace at Jericho. The walls are faced with *opus reticulatum* and *opus quadratum*.

include fine floors of *opus sectile* (coloured stone tiles arranged in patterns), make it very likely that Italian master-craftsmen played a leading role in its design and construction.

This step change in the architecture is also witnessed at Masada where the earlier Western Palace follows east Greek norms with rooms being built around quadrangular courts (Fig. 5), while the Northern Palace, with its juxtaposed circular and rectilinear structures on three descending terraces perched on a precipitous cliff (Figs. 6a-b) echoes the villa at Punta Eolo, popularly known as the Villa Giulia (after Julia, the daughter of Augustus, for whom this palatial mansion may have been built), on the island of Pandateria (present-day Ventotene) lying off the Tyrrhenian Sea

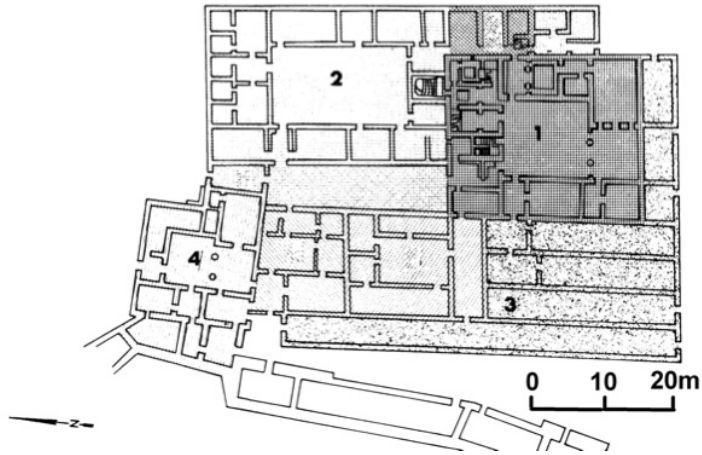


Fig. 5. Plan of the Western Palace at Masada (after Netzer 1991, 234, Ill. 366). The plan is rectilinear. The two main units, numbered (1) and (2) are organised around internal courtyards.



Fig. 6a. View of the Northern Palace of Masada from the north, showing the remains of its constituent sections, built on three levels.

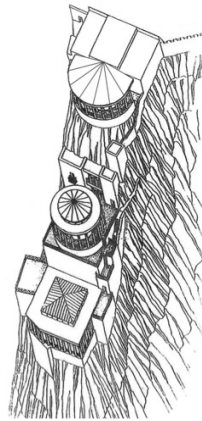


Fig. 6b. Isometric reconstruction of the Northern Palace at Masada (after Netzer 2006, 28, Fig. 6), but with the hemicycle on the upper level modified to conform with C. Kraus' proposal that it was enclosed and functioned as a reception hall or *oecus*).

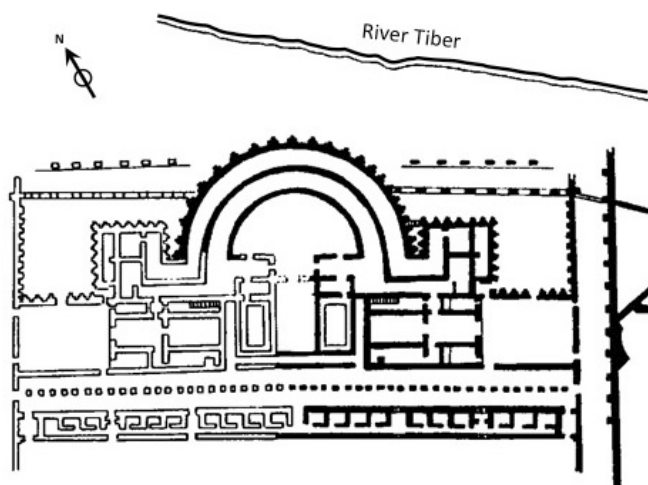


Fig. 7. Ground-plan of the Roman villa in the grounds of the Villa Farnesina in Rome (after Lugli 1938, 12, Fig. 3)

coast of Italy, just north of Campania. This Italian terraced villa, which was also built in a daring setting, occupied a narrow promontory surrounded on three-sides by the sea and facing north (De Rossi 1986, 138–87 and Figs. 207–312 with a reconstructed plan, Fig. 209, and Pl. 18). Like the Northern Palace at Masada, the Pontine island villa had a tripartite division. Just as the plan of Herod’s palace is axially disciplined, the northernmost part of the villa at Punta Eolo, at the end of the promontory, is aligned with the buildings on the summit further south. The upper stage of Herod’s Northern Palace terminates in a hemicycle, which had been assumed to have been part of a belvedere but a more detailed assessment of the visible remains indicate that it belonged to a reception hall (Krause 2003, 89; *idem* 2000, 68–69; cf. Foerster 1995, 171–74). Krause noted that it is related to reception rooms of similar shape in the landscaped villa of the Punto Eolo, the Roman mansion in the grounds of the Villa Farnesina in Rome (Fig. 7) and the Villa Damecuta and the Villa Jovis on Capri. All four had imperial associations. The first two were contemporaneous with Masada, while those on Capri are linked with Augustus’ successor, Tiberius. The similarities of Herod’s Northern Palace at Masada with these imperial villas illustrate the long reach of Imperial fashion to the eastern margin of the Empire.

Just as Herod’s Third Winter Palace at Jericho straddles the Wadi Qelt, so a villa near Sperlonga in the Italian Campagna, of the first half of the first

century BCE and Nero's villa outside Subiaco spanned river gorges in an equally dramatic fashion. Likewise, the 'hanging' Northern Palace of Herod at Masada parallels the Villa Iovis and Villa Damecuta on Capri and also the early Imperial villa on the Punta della Campanella at Sorrento, which are perched on the edge of precipices (Förtsch 1996, 75–78).

Roman bath-houses in Herodian palaces

Roman-style bath-houses with *suspensura* (piers of square bricks supporting a suspended floor that covered a hypocaust) and *tubuli* (square wall tubes used for transferring the heat from the hypocausts to the walls of the *caldarium*, or hot bathroom), as developed in southern Italy (Fagan 2001), are encountered in Herod's palatial complexes, including the one mentioned in connection with Herod's Third Winter Palace at Jericho (Nielsen 1990, 98, 103–104, 111, 114). The Bath Building outside the Northern Palace at Masada is an authentic product of Augustan Italy down to the finest details and in layout it conforms to the standard 'Reihentyp,' with an *apodyterium*, *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium* (changing room, cold bathroom, warm bathroom and hot bathroom, respectively) arranged in series (Foerster 1995, 193–205; Netzer 1991, 76–101) (Fig. 8a). It was equipped with the latest Roman hypocaust technology and surely must have been designed and built by Roman personnel.

The same arrangement applies to the bath suites in Herod's other palaces, including the two at Cyprus (Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004, 251–58, 265–67, 278–79). The *caldarium* of the baths on the summit of Cyprus was found to have two niches on opposite sides, one semicircular and the other rectangular. Preserved in situ in the rectangular niche was the rectangular bathtub (*alveus*), carved from a single monolith of calcite. Remnants of a hemispherical wash basin (*labrum*) were also found in this *caldarium*. The Roman author on architecture, Vitruvius, mentions that *alvei* and *labra* were usual amenities in *caldaria* (Vitr. *De Arch.* v 10, 4), stating that the *labrum* was placed in the apse (*schola*). Fragments of the *alveus* and *labrum* from the *caldarium* of the Bath Building at Masada have also survived (Foerster 1995, 197; Netzer 1991, 93). The elegant bath complex in Upper Herodium has the *apodyterium* followed by the *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium* arranged in a circuit (Fig. 8b) (Nielsen 1990, 14, n. 140; 103–104 and Fig. 243, Cat. C342). The *caldarium* of this bath suite also possesses a semi-circular apse, presumably to accommodate a *labrum*.

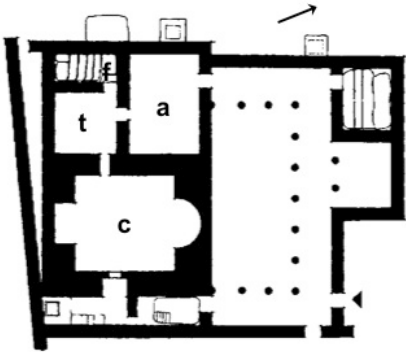


Fig. 8a.

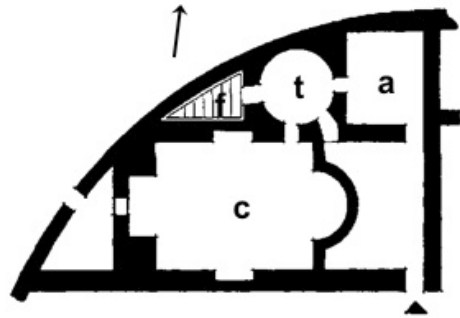


Fig. 8b.

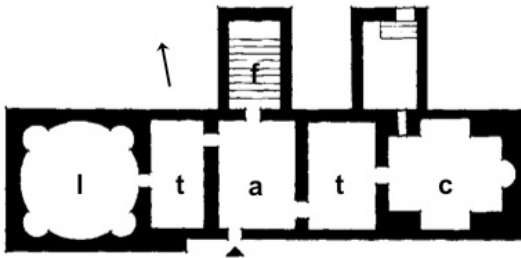


Fig. 8c.

a – apodyterium
 c – caldarium
 f – frigidarium
 l – laconicum
 t – tepidarium

Fig. 8: Comparative plans of the bath-houses of three Herodian palaces (after Netzer 2006, 256, Fig. 55).

8a. Masada, Large Bath Building adjacent to the Northern Palace.

8b. Herodium, bath-suite of the hill-top palace.

8c. Jericho, main bath-suite of Herod's Third Palace.

The bath suite in the north wing of Herod's Third Palace at Jericho is of the axial row-type, with a pair of hot rooms (Fig. 8c) (Netzer 2006, 64–65 and Fig. 14; 2001, 254–60; Nielsen 1990, 14, n. 140; 103–104, Cat. C 342). Its eastern side is occupied by a *caldarium* of the familiar type, while its western end terminates in a rotunda with four apsidal niches for benches. This chamber was probably a *laconicum*, a round sweat-room of dry steam, with a centrally placed heat source in the form of a fireplace, hot stones or a brazier. The rotunda with its four niches represents a characteristic design, which also occurs in the bath-houses of Campania in the first century BCE, where it was built to function as a *laconicum* (Vitr. *De Arch.* v 10, 5; Nielsen 1990, 158–59). Fine examples are to be found in the well-preserved Stabian and Forum and Baths in Pompeii (*ibid.*, 26–33 and Fig. 75, Cat. C40;

30–34 and Fig. 78, Cat. C42). Agrippa's *Thermae*, constructed in 26–19 BCE, possessed a large chamber with a similar plan which is depicted in the *Forma Urbis*, the Severan marble map of Rome.³

Roman construction techniques in Herodian buildings – opus reticulatum, opus quadratum and opus caementicium

During Herod's reign new building technologies made a short-lived appearance in Palestine, including Roman concrete (*opus caementicium*) sometimes faced with *opus reticulatum*, a characteristically Roman type of construction.⁴ Wall ends and corners are usually lined with horizontally-laid rectangular blocks (*opus quadratum*).⁵ This is a construction technique that is very rarely encountered east of the Adriatic (Burrell 2009, 220; Lichtenberger 2009, 50) and has never been found in later Roman buildings in Palestine.

Whereas in Italy the reticulate blocks are of volcanic tufa or baked bricks, in Herodian construction blocks of cut limestone were used instead. Examples are found at Jerusalem, Jericho and Paneas.⁶ The fine examples of *opus reticulatum* in Herod's building projects convinced Ehud Netzer that they were the work of foreign craftsmen (Netzer 1975, 19, n. 18; *idem* 1977, 9; Netzer and Ben-Arieh 1983, 171).

The breakwaters of the artificial harbour built by Herod the Great at Caesarea were constructed of hydraulic concrete (Fig. 9).⁷ This mode of construction is, again, characteristically Roman, and it is likely that it was brought to Judaea with craftsmen invited from Italy.⁸ The occurrence of hydraulic concrete containing pozzolana, the volcanic sand from the Bay of Naples around Pozzuoli (Roman Puteoli), at Caesarea is consistent with normal practice in the early Imperial period, as described by Vitruvius.⁹ Thus, Strabo (v 4, 6) noted that the artificially constructed harbour of Puteoli was made possible through the use of this hydraulic concrete. A great number of Roman harbour installations along the coasts of Italy employed this material, many of them dating from this period, including Misenum, the island of Ponza, Egnazia in the Adriatic (Gianfrotta 1996), Chersonisus in Crete (Brandon, Hohlfelder, Oleson and Stern 2005), Puteoli, Astura, Antium, Cosa, Pyrgi and the Claudian harbour at Portus on the Tyrrhenian coast (Hohlfelder 1996). Concrete construction has also been identified in a Roman quay at Marseille in Provence (Blackman 1996, 49), while nearer to Caesarea remains of a concrete breakwater have been discovered at Side in

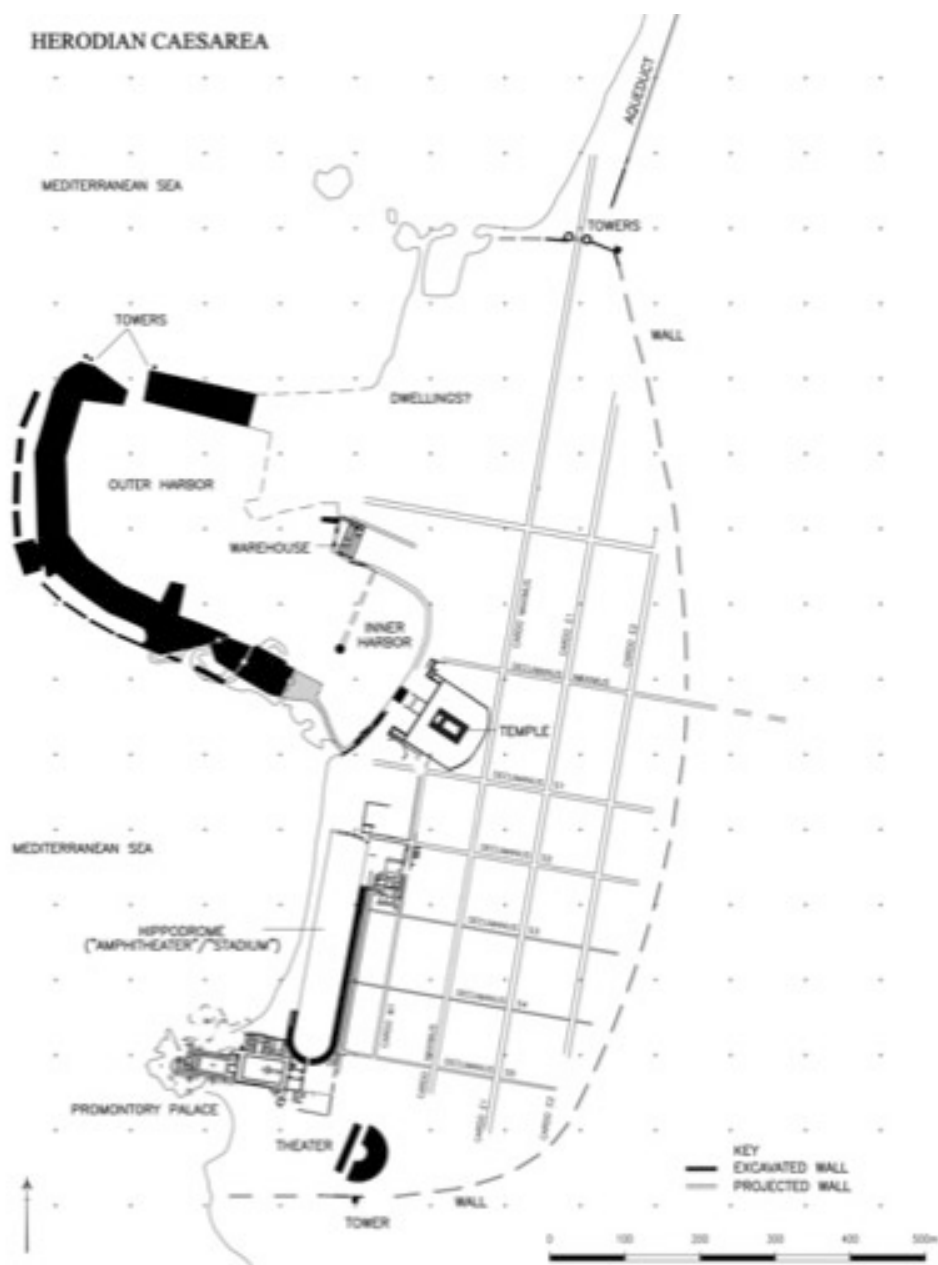


Fig. 9: Plan of Herodian Caesarea, showing the artificial harbour built using Roman hydraulic concrete..

Pamphylia (Blackman 1996, 43–44; Schläger 1971) and at Sebaste-Elaeussa in Cilicia (Ward-Perkins 1958, 82).

Josephus does not mention the use of concrete but relates that the foundations of the breakwaters of Herod's harbour at Caesarea were established by letting down huge stones 50 ft. in length, 10 to 18 ft. in breadth, and 9 ft. in height, to depths of 20 fathoms of water (Jos., *BJ* i 411; *AJ* xv 334). Underwater exploration has revealed that, while Josephus is not quite accurate, the foundations of the southern breakwater actually include large blocks of hydraulic concrete, poured into wooden form-works, or caissons, on the sea bottom (Oleson, Bottalico, Brandon, Cucitore, Gotti, and Hohlfelder 2006). Laboratory analysis has suggested that the volcanic ash and fibrous pumice used in the concrete are consistent with pozzolana and that it was likely that both this material and the wood used in the caissons were shipped from Italy (Liphshitz, Lev-Yadun and Waizel 1989; Oleson 1989).

The construction of the capacious harbour of Caesarea Maritima greatly improved communication and trade between Judaea and other Mediterranean lands, including Italy, because up till that time the nearest substantial port was at Ptolemais (Acre) which lay further away and outside Herod's kingdom, and this had previously made trade circuitous and slow. The opening of Caesarea's harbour accelerated the flow of know-how and materials from the West, including building technology, directly to Judaea.

Décor in the imperial fashion

The décor of Herod's palatial buildings followed contemporaneous imperial fashion in Rome and represented an advance in sophistication from the east-Greek inspired ornamentation that it partly superseded (Rozenberg 2008, 283–331).

Fittschen (1996) was perhaps the first to demonstrate the close relationship of wall paintings found in Herod's palatial buildings with the examples in Italy in the Pompeian Second and early Third Styles (in terms of colours, technique and subject matter). In his analysis of the paintings from Herod's Northern Palace at Masada and the associated bath building to the north of it, G. Foerster observed affinities between the former and those in imperial mansions in Rome, including the *Casa di Augusto*, the *Casa di Livia* on the Palatine Hill and the Roman villa of the Farnesina that is believed to have belonged to Augustus' chief minister, Marcus Agrippa, all dating from c. 20–15 BCE (Foerster 1995, 13–44).



Fig. 10: Fragment of an illusionistic wall fresco in the Second Style from Sebaste (courtesy of Silvia Rozenberg)

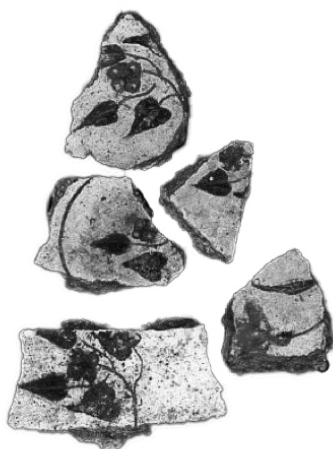


Fig. 11: Fragments of floral decoration from wall frescos in the early Third Style from Room B64 of Herod's Third Palace at Jericho (courtesy of Silvia Rozenberg)

As part of her study of the painted decoration of Herod's Third Palace at Jericho, S. Rozenberg also reviewed the Herodian wall paintings at Alexandria, Machaerus, Jericho, Cyprus, Masada, Herodium, Samaria-Sebaste and Jerusalem (Rozenberg 2008, 333–75). A common pattern emerges, consistent with Fittschen's observations, namely a strong influence of the Pompeian Second and early Third Styles, being two of the four different styles which scholars have devised to classify Roman wall paintings. The Second Style is used to describe painted decoration that includes architectural elements and other subjects which are given an illusionary treatment (Fig. 10). This style was dominant in Italy through much of the 1st century BCE. In about 20 BCE it gave way to the Third Style, which emphasised the flatness of the walls which provided a backdrop for delicately delineated motifs and other subject matter, often constructs of fantasy (Fig. 11).

The Second Style paintings of the circular *tepidarium* in the private bathing suite of the hilltop palace at Herodium include representations of aquatic birds set in square panels (Corbo 1989, Col. Pl. I:1 and Pl. V; cf. Rozenberg 2008, 357–58). Such figurative subject matter is unusual but it is now known that it was not unique in the corpus of wall paintings in Herod's palaces (see below).

Turning to Herod's Third Palace at Jericho, Rozenberg notes that “the

close parallels between some of the decorative motifs in the north wing of Herod's palace and decorated Augustan buildings reveal Herod's adoption of the cultural program and ideology of the new Augustan regime" (Rozenberg 2008, 463). But Rozenberg sees the contact with Rome as possibly more direct than that. She notes that mercuric sulphide, responsible for a bright red pigment, was used in the Jericho palace wall paintings. It was exceedingly rare outside Italy at that time and mercury does not occur naturally in Israel. Therefore it must have been imported for use there. This provides yet further evidence that trained craftsmen from abroad, probably from Italy, worked at Jericho, bringing their pigments with them.¹⁰

The figurative motifs normally present in the upper part of Second and Third Style Roman wall paintings are generally absent in the reception areas of the Herodian royal palaces, perhaps with the intention of not wishing to upset Jewish religious sensibilities (Rozenberg 2008, 464). However, there are notable exceptions in private spaces. One example is the series of paintings of birds in the *tepidarium* at Herodium, mentioned above. Another is the painted decoration in the royal box of the theatre, which was found partially intact (Netzer 2011, 38–47; Netzer, Kalman, Porat and Chachy-Laureys 2009, 112–14). The upper sections of the three walls feature painted windows with open shutters within which are depicted genre landscapes of a country scene, the River Nile and a nautical view with a large sailing boat (see Fig. 12). Windows with outfolded shutters constitute a frequently used illusionary device as a frame for diverse subject matter in Second Style painting, appearing for example in a *cubiculum* of the famous Villa of the Mysteries dating from 60–50 BCE. However, landscape scenes of the type represented in the royal box at Herodium only appear during the reign of Augustus and are especially characteristic of the late Second and Third Styles.¹¹ The artists responsible must have been brought from Italy, perhaps shortly before or during the visit of Marcus Agrippa to Judaea in 15 BCE.

We also find birds, along with garlands of leaves and fruit rendered with considerable degree of realism in fragments of wall paintings recovered from the remains of a well-appointed private residence of the late Herodian period on Mount Zion in Jerusalem (Fittschen 1996, Figs. 13, 14 and 19; Broshi 1972, Pl. VII; *idem* 1975, Pl. III). This demonstrates that contemporaneous Roman fashions favoured by the Herodian court were eagerly taken up by upper class Judaeian society.

Roman-style décor extends to the floors of mosaic and *opus sectile* of Herod's palaces. *Opus sectile* tiling covered the floors of all three main rooms of the large Bath House at Masada (Foerster 1995, 161; Netzer 1991, 78–93), in one of the large reception halls (B70) in the north wing of Herod's Third Palace at Jericho (Rozenberg 2008, 526–43; Netzer 2001, 236–39), and in the *caldarium* of the bath suite on the summit of the palace-fortress of Cyprus (Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004, 255–56). The expensive coloured stone tiles of *opus sectile* were much prized. They were entirely stripped from the reception hall (B70) at Jericho and their patterns are only known from the impressions that they have left in the plaster bedding. However, a few of the *opus sectile* tiles survived in the *caldarium* pavement at Cyprus. These tiles are all of marble of different hues and are especially exquisite examples. Probably originating in the East, *opus sectile* became popular in Italy by the Augustan period. The elaborate patterns of the floor tiles in the Jericho reception hall led Rozenberg to consider that this pavement was laid by members of a Roman workshop in collaboration with local artisans (Rozenberg 2008, 533). The same would be true for the same type of floors at Cyprus and Masada.

The two domestic suites (Rooms 78 and 88) on the upper terrace of Herod's Northern Palace at Masada were decorated with black-and-white honeycomb (repeated hexagon) floor mosaics (Foerster 1995, Figs. 260–264) and it also occurs in the *palaestra* (exercise area, originally used for wrestling) 101 of the large Bath Building on the summit. These are so characteristic of mosaics found in domestic contexts in Augustan Rome and unlike earlier decorative pavements in the Levant that Foerster saw this as yet further evidence, if this were needed, of craftsmen brought from Rome to work on Herod's building projects (Ibid, 153–157).

The Augustan Network

As we have seen, the points of contact between Herodian Judaea and Augustan Italy in the sphere of building are so evident that it is difficult not to be persuaded that architects and skilled craftsmen were brought specially from Italy to work on Herod's building projects (Foerster 1995, xviii, xxi).

The adoption of Roman architectural design, decorative styles and building technology by the ruling elite of Judaea makes perfect sense when viewed against political and cultural developments following the triumph



Fig. 12: Paintings of the royal box at Herodium. View towards the south-west corner, showing landscape, in a frame with open shutters, to create an illusion of a view from a window (photograph by Gabi Laron; courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem).

of Octavian Caesar's victory at Actium in 31 BCE marked his attainment of unchallenged rule over a vast empire straddling three continents and consolidation of his power base in Rome. An unprecedented programme of reconstruction and regeneration followed that affected all aspects of life (Galinsky 1996; Zanker 1988). The constitution, the economy, religion and the arts were radically reformed. The title 'Augustus' ("the revered"), with its religious connotation, was conferred on Octavian, and solemnly voted by the Senate and People of Rome in 27 BCE. Central to the Augustan programme of renewal were ambitious building projects, spearheaded by Augustus and his deputy, Marcus Agrippa (Haselberger 2007; Kienast 1999, *passim*; Favro 1996; Roddaz 1984, 434–43). The importance that

Augustus attached to building, restoring and embellishing temples in Rome and the provinces is demonstrated by the prominence that he gave to it in his own account of his achievements (*Res Gestae* 19–21, 24). The Augustan revolution, as we may describe this phenomenon, made an impact on the entire Mediterranean world where social and cultural changes were also being felt. One of the consistent features of the Augustan Principate was the promotion of professional skills and talents (Galinsky 2009), as is so clearly apparent in Herod's building projects.

Among the many important changes resulting from the establishment of this new order was the organisation of the far flung client kingdoms, whose rulers were Roman appointees, some like Herod having kept the thrones that they had been given before Actium, into a close-knit network under Augustus' direct authority. Herod was made a member of a privileged élite, travelling abroad frequently, with Rome, the centre of the empire, as a common destination. His frequent journeys, known from Josephus (Jacobson 2001, 23, Table 1), provide a striking contrast with the movements of his Hasmonaean predecessors who never appear to have strayed far from Judaea.

This restructuring was sufficiently important to attract the following notices in Suetonius:

As to the kingdoms which he gained by right of conquest, he (Augustus) either returned them to those from whom he had taken them or joined them to unrelated kingdoms, with a few exceptions. He also linked the allied kings with one another by establishing connections between them: he was very ready to suggest or support their marriage-alliances and friendships. He took care of them all as if they were limbs and organs of empire. It was also his custom to appoint a man to guide those young in years or unstable in mind, until they became adults or recovered. He brought up and educated the children of many kings together with his own family. *Suet., Aug. 48; transl. Braund 1988, 77.*

The friendly and allied kings each founded cities called Caesarea in their own kingdoms. And they all decided together to complete at their joint expense the temple of Olympian Jupiter at Athens, begun long ago, and to dedicate it to the Genius of Augustus. And they often left their kingdoms to pay their daily respects to him in the manner of clients, wearing togas and without their royal insignia. This they did not only at Rome, but also as he was travelling about the provinces *Suet., Aug. 60; transl. Braund 1988, 77.*

Almost all the above points are corroborated in the literary sources in respect of Herod the Great, including the forging of inter-dynastic marriage alliances, showing how punctiliously he responded to the demands made

of a dutiful client (Jacobson 2001). Thanks, in particular, to the survival of most of the extensive writings of Josephus, we possess much more information about Herod than we do about all the other client kings put together. The relative prominence of Herod's Judaea among the client kingdoms is not only due to the preservation of important literary sources, but also to his exceptionally impressive building programme, no doubt in emulation of those of Augustus and Marcus Agrippa, which has left substantial remains.

As Suetonius informs us, the kings acted in concert to found (or refound) cities in honour of their imperial master. *Urbes Caesareae* sprung up across the Empire (Eutrop. vii 10; cf. Roller 1998, 89, n. 14; Braund 1984, 107–12). Those established in the client kingdoms include Caesarea Maritima and Sebaste-Samaria in Herod's kingdom, Sebaste-Elaeusa and Caesarea-Mazaca in the kingdom of Cappadocia and Caesarea-Iol established by the client king of Mauretania as his capital. Several of the *urbes Caesareae*, including Caesarea Maritima, Caesarea-Iol and Sebaste-Elaeusa, were ports which served as outlets to the Mediterranean and provided improved communications with Rome and between client kingdoms themselves, as we have already seen. It is evident from the small finds at Herodian sites that the royal court and the Judaeian upper class used imported ceramic and glass wares to a far greater degree than did their Hasmonaean predecessors, a consequence of the closer network of communications between Judaea and the lands to the west by sea.¹² Inscriptions from Masada have disclosed that wines, fruit and other foodstuffs imported from Italy graced Herod's table (Cotton and Geiger 1996; Cotton, Lernau and Goren 1996).

That the network of client kings closely bound to Augustus was effective in forging close integration of outlying parts of the Empire with Rome and in establishing effective conduits for diffusing Roman culture, building technology, etc., is vividly illustrated by the diffusion of *opus reticulatum* and hydraulic concrete to not just Judaea but also to other client kingdoms during that period. *Opus reticulatum* is rarely encountered outside Italy, and yet it crops up at Sebaste-Elaeussa (Cappadocia), Caesarea-Iol (Mauretania), Antioch, Emesa (the capital of a client principality in Syria of that name), Samosata (Commagene), Ancoz (north of Samosata) and at four sites in Herodian Judaea (Burrell 2009, 220; Lichtenberger 2009, 50; Deichmann 1979, 473–76). The use of hydraulic concrete in the harbour moles at Caesarea Maritima, Sebaste-Elaeussa and probably Caesarea-Iol has already been mentioned. In these and other

instances discussed, it is likely that local craftsmen were either sent to Italy to learn Roman building techniques or, alternatively, artisans were shipped out from Italy to work in the client kingdoms, bringing with them their skills and materials. A similar process of diffusion has been observed at work in the realm of decoration, with Roman-inspired scroll (*rinceau*) motifs making their debut at Caesarea-Iol and Jerusalem in the Augustan period (Mathea-Förtsch 1996, 187).

Conclusions

The work of Ehud Netzer and other scholars has shed considerable light on Herod's building programme in recent years. We can now appreciate that this monarch ordered the best mix of materials, technologies, and artistic skills that were available in his lifetime to build some of the most innovative, audacious and lavish structures of his day. For the most part, the sought-after technologies and fashionable decorative styles then resided in Rome and, as a favoured client king, Herod had ready access to these resources and he made good use of them, more extensively when the new harbour at Caesarea came into use (by 15 BCE).

However, this infusion of Roman technology and decorative art should not make us lose sight of the fact that the east Greek cultural legacy remained very much alive in Herod's Judaea. An important illustration of a building project carried out largely to Greek norms is provided by Herodium. Thanks to Netzer's series of archaeological investigations around the hilltop of Upper Herodium up to the very end of his life, we are now able to better understand the Josephus' descriptions of this place as a fortress on a hill, equipped with luxurious apartments. He continues:

At the base of the hill are pleasure grounds built in such a way as to be worth seeing, among other things because of the way in which water, which is lacking in the that place, is brought in from a distance and at great expense. The surrounding plain was built up as a city second to none, with the hill serving as an acropolis for the other dwellings
Jos., AJ xv 325

In a parallel description of Herodium, Josephus states that the buildings in the 'lower town' included other palaces for Herod's furniture and his friends (i.e. his retinue) (*Jos., BJ i 421*). This picture has been validated in its essentials by Netzer (Fig. 13). The complex of buildings formed a vast leisure estate, consisting of banqueting halls, pools surrounded by

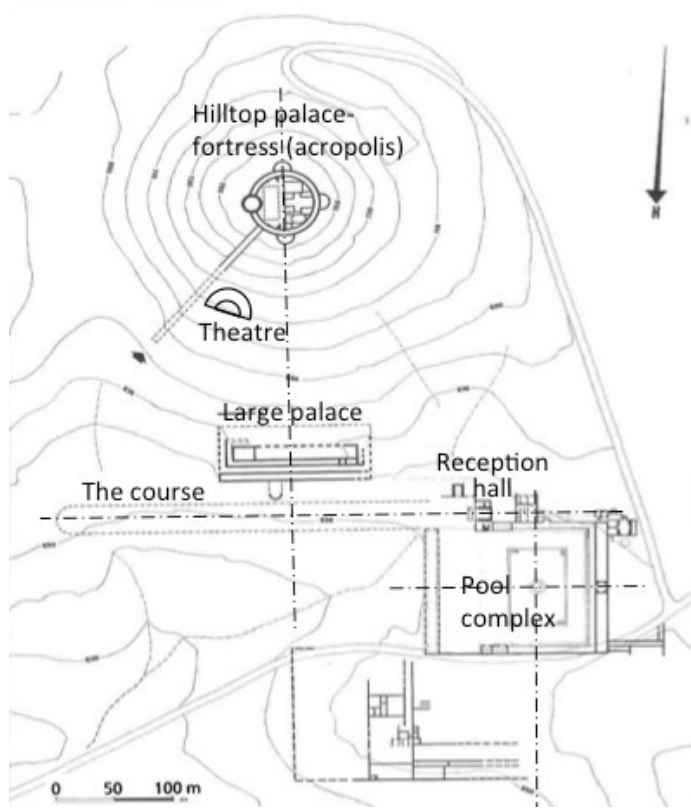


Fig. 13: General plan of Herodium, showing the excavated structures and their rectilinear relationship (after Netzer 2006, 182, Fig. 40).

colonnades, a ‘course’ resembling a stadium, a theatre and palatial blocks equipped with suites of baths, and also the royal mausoleum. Overshadowed by the hilltop with its round fortress-like palace, the whole ensemble was made to resemble a Greek town with its imposing public buildings, entertainment structures, colonnades and pools, presided over by an acropolis with luxury accommodation. This was clearly a vanity project, a Xanadu, designed entirely for pleasure.

It has been suggested that the round hilltop palace of Herodium inspired Hadrian’s *teatro maritimo*, or Island Villa, at Tibur (Tivoli) (MacDonald and Pinto 1995, 87–88). Clearly, Herodium foreshadows Hadrian’s Villa, another immense leisure complex, provided with pavilions, bath houses, watercourses and colonnades, themed as mementos of places in Greece and

the East visited by this wanderlust emperor (SHA, *Hadr.* xxvi 5; MacDonald and Pinto 1995, 6–7).

We are now better able to appreciate Herod's building programme as a product of the Augustan Age. It remains to be seen to what extent it was representative of its time or an exceptional phenomenon. Unfortunately, we shall not have the benefit of the talent, initiative and enthusiasm of Ehud Netzer in this on-going task.

Notes

- * For permission to publish Figs. 1–5, 9 and 13, my thanks are due to the estate of the late Ehud Netzer and the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem and the Israel Exploration Society.
- 1 Netzer 2001; Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004. For a more detailed biographical account of Ehud Netzer's career, see Burrell 2011.
- 2 The term *opus reticulatum* refers to small pyramid-shaped blocks, having equal-sized square bases, laid in a grid with their square faces set at an angle of 45°
- 3 Nielsen 1990, 43–45 and Fig. 49 (Cat. C1). It may be significant that Dio (liii 27, 1) refers to this complex as the *lakonikon pyriatêrion* (literally 'Laconian sweat-bath'), which supports the association of the word *laconicum* with this characteristic type of rotunda (cf. Nielsen 1990, 159).
- 4 Adam 1994, 129–34. It should be noted that *opus caementicium* is not identical with modern concrete, nor does it refer to cement (*idem* 73, 76). As described by Vitruvius (De Arch. ii 4–7), Roman concrete comprised a lime and sand mortar, mixed wet, into which lumps of aggregate (*caementa*), in the form of coarse pebbles or brick, were placed by hand, and its bulk was built up layer by layer.
- 5 The introduction of regular sized blocks used in *opus reticulatum* and *opus quadratum* seems to have been part of a trend of standardization of materials and components that occurred in Roman construction towards the late Republican period and was then maintained (Coarelli 1977).
- 6 For these instances of *opus reticulatum*, see Netzer 2001, *passim* (Jericho); Netzer and Ben-Arieh 1983 (Jerusalem), Netzer 2006, 219–22 (Paneas = Banias). A fourth occurrence of *opus reticulatum* has been identified in a wall of the palace at Caesarea, but it may postdate the reign of Herod the Great; see Lichtenberger 2009, 50, n. 38.
- 7 The building of the harbour would have followed Herod's founding of Caesarea. This is not precisely dated, although Josephus implies that it took place between 24 and 22 BCE (Smallwood 1981, 80, n. 62; Levine 1975, 149–50). By 15 BCE construction of this harbour was sufficiently advanced for Herod to proudly show it to his guest, Marcus Agrippa, during the official visit to Judaea by Augustus' deputy that year (Jos., *AJ* xvi 13). Agrippa probably sailed to and from Judaea via this harbour, because Philo (*Leg.* 297) states that Agrippa was seen off by the "whole population of the country," who escorted him to the harbour. This harbour must have been that of Caesarea as it is unlikely that he was accompanied by the crowds across the border of Herod's domains

- to Ptolemais, which was the next nearest large port. Herod himself is known to have disembarked at Caesarea on his return from the Aegean in 14 BCE (Jos., *AJ* xvi 62).
- 8 Pozzolana is rich in sodium or potassium aluminium silicates (in particular zeolite). Like Roman hydraulic concrete, the modern version is also made of lime, sand and aggregate, mixed together with water (Brandon 1996, 26). However, the lime is first converted to an artificial product, Portland cement, by burning limestone together with clay in a kiln to a high temperature. The clay contributes silicates which impart the strength to the concrete, just as does pozzolana. In other words, the Romans were able to produce a similar (or even a superior) structural material by more elegant means. The similarities in the physical and chemical properties of *opus caementicium* made with pozzolana and modern concrete entitle us to call this Roman material concrete, and to use the terms *opus caementicium* made with pozzolana and concrete interchangeably (contra Dodge 1990, 112).
 - 9 Vitruvius remarked that pozzolana (which he refers to as *pulvis puteolanus*), “when mixed with lime and rubble, not only lends strength to buildings of other kinds, but even when piers of it are constructed in the sea, they set hard under water” (Vitr. *De Arch.* ii 6, 1; transl. by M.H. Morgan in Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture* (New York, 1960), 46–47; cf. Pliny *HN* xxxv 166; Sen. *QNat.* iii 20, 3; Corso and Romano 1997, 183, n. 58). Vitruvius describes in some detail how breakwaters were to be constructed of concrete made with pozzolana (Vitr., *De Arch.* v 12, 2–6; cf. Corso and Romano 1997, 793, n. 413). Josephus may have had in mind the pozzolana from Italy when he wrote that Herod completed the harbour at Caesarea with imported materials, at considerable expense (Jos., *AJ* xv 332). The use of form-work filled with concrete corresponds with one of the procedures recommended by Vitruvius for constructing piers and breakwaters (Vitr., *De Arch.* v 12, 5; cf. Oleson 1985).
 - 10 Forster 1995, xviii; Rozenberg 2008, 274. Also, the close similarities between architectural features and decorative elements of Herod’s Northern Palace at Masada and those found in Augustan palatial buildings in Rome led G. Foerster to suppose that an Imperial workshop (*ergasia*) was operating in Judaea at this period, staffed by artists and craftsmen trained in Rome or imported from Italy (Foerster 1995, xviii).
 - 11 The early 2nd century CE encyclopaedist, Pliny (*HN* xxxv 116–17) mentions that an Augustan artist named Spurius Tadius (or Studius, depending on the manuscript) first introduced the fashion of painting walls with representations of naturalistic landscape scenes.
 - 12 See, e.g. Hershkovitz 2009 and Bar-Natan 2002 (pottery); also, Avigad 1980, 81–202 for a variety of imported wares in Jerusalem during the Herodian period. Hershovitz notes that the large influx of imported ware in the Herodian period triggered changes in local pottery manufacture, resulting in new types and forms. Bar-Natan (*ibid.*, 192) dates these changes to after about 15 BCE.

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A British Mandate Military Bonnet Badge from Archaeological Excavations at Lod, Israel

AMIR GORZALCZANY

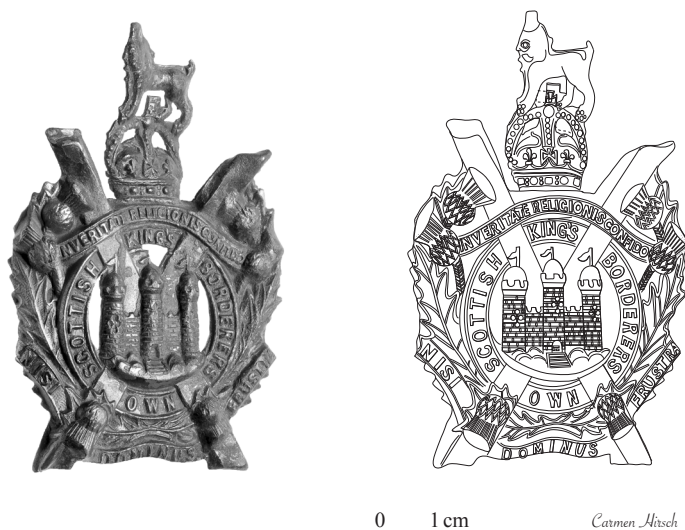


Fig. 1. Photo (after cleaning in the IAA laboratories) and drawing of the badge from Lod (Photo C. Amit, courtesy of the IAA)

During salvage archaeological excavations at the city of Lod (Arabic: *al-Ludd*; Greco-Latin: *Lydda*, *Diospolis*), located some 15 km southeast of Tel Aviv (Avisar 1996; 1998 a; b; 1999, Pls. 2–4; Haddad and Avisar 2003; Yannai 2008; Kaplan 1993), a British Mandate era metal regimental bonnet badge was uncovered. The insignia, albeit rusty and covered with a green patina, was found in a satisfactory state of preservation in topsoil, unfortunately outside of a stratified archaeological context (Fig. 1).¹

The insignia shows a saltire cross (the Cross of Saint Andrew) upon an inscribed circlet exhibiting the words “King’s Own Scottish Borderers.” Within the circle, a three-turreted castle (namely, the Castle of Edinburgh)

can be seen, with flags pointing to the left on the top of each tower. Scrolls are depicted both above and below the circle. The upper one has the motto 'In Veritate Religionis Confido' (*I put my trust in the truth of religion*). The lower one is worn out and therefore hard to read. Nevertheless, the motto 'Nisi Dominus Frustra' (*Without the Lord everything is in vain*), is visible, which is also the motto of the City of Edinburgh. A garland of thistles surrounds the circle; the Royal crest, which depicts one of the British Crown Jewels, with St. Edward's Crown, is above the emblem. The official crown was used for the coronation of English, British, and Commonwealth dominions' monarchs.²

The badge was readily identified as belonging to the King's Own Scottish Borderers (KOSB), an infantry regiment of the British Army, enlisted with the Scottish Division. The unit was founded on March 18, 1689 by David Leslie, the Earl of Leven in the Peerage of Scotland. Its original purpose was to protect the City of Edinburgh from the Jacobite forces of James II. The regiment performed well in battle and therefore was granted the concession of managing its own recruitment procedure, by drum-beating across the main street of Edinburgh with no need of the provost's³ acquiescence. The regiment participated in the Battle of Minden in August 1759 and this battle honour is commemorated each year on 1 August. In 1898, the regiment was granted permission to wear trews of Leslie tartan, the family colors of the Earl of Leven, while the pipers wore kilts of Royal Stewart tartan.

During its long history, the KOSB changed names several times, in accordance with successive redeployments and reorganisations of the British Army. They were consecutively known in 1746 as the Semphill's Regiment of Foot; in 1751 they became the 25th Regiment of Foot. In 1806, the name was changed to King's Own Borderers and then in 1887, to King's Own Scottish Borderers. Finally the KOSB amalgamated with the Royal Scots to form the Royal Scots Borderers (1st Battalion Royal Regiment of Scotland) in 2006. This last merger faced a fierce campaign of opposition, arguing that the Westminster government does not have the right to disperse or fuse the unit, as it was created by the independent Scottish Parliament prior to the creation of the United Kingdom and had been on duty ever since. Eventually, the campaigners went to the Edinburgh court in a final and unsuccessful attempt to bar the amalgamation with the Royal Scots.⁴ The Scottish people nicknamed the unit "Kosbies." Nevertheless, this epithet was never used by the recruited personnel.

The KOSB in Palestine

In November 1917, the 52nd (Lowland) Division was in Palestine, with parts of the KOSB, brigaded together in the 155th Infantry Brigade. On this occasion, the unit carried out operations twice in the Lod–Ramla area (Bruce 2002:151–153). The first was on November 18, 1917, just before it moved to the Bet El area north of Jerusalem, during the Nebi Samuel offensive (the first attempt of British forces to take Jerusalem from the Ottomans) (Bruce 2002:154–159). After being replaced in this task, it was engaged several days in the Beit Horon region. Subsequently, the force retreated again to the Lod–Ramla region at the beginning of December, spent a few days there taking positions south of the Yarkon River, and eventually crossed it on December 20–21 of that year (Pirie-Gordon 1919, 61–62; Pimentel and Schiller 2004, 13–14; Wavell 1936 Rep. 2007, 124–150).⁵

Later on, during the Second World War and its aftermath, the KOSB was active in the region again. At the end of 1945, the regiment moved from Germany to Egypt, and then to Hadera, in the Plain of Sharon, near Caesarea. It then returned to the Canal Zone in Egypt and remained in Camp Fayid on the Great Bitter Lake during 1946, before moving back to Palestine, into a camp in Jerusalem. In 1947, the unit moved to camp 87 (Pardes Hanna) near the coast between Tel Aviv and Caesarea. From Camp 87 the battalion moved to a site north of Beit Lid and then returned to the Tel Aviv area, to the RAF camp at Lydda (Lod). The 1st Battalion moved to the RAF Camp at Lod/Lydda on June 30, 1947. They remained there, except for short intermissions spent training in Jordan, until February 1948, when they were transferred to the Sarafand Camp, between Ramla and Rehovot and employed on guard and vigilance duties. Finally, on May 20, 1948, the KOSB embarked from Port Said heading back to the United Kingdom (Wollcombe 1980, 124–129). Among the duties during the period in the Lod area was the supply of detachments for the Railway Guard at Lydda Junction.

During its stay in Palestine, the KOSB had an active role. It was engaged in both routine and risky tasks, which included escort and protection of motor convoys that were often ambushed and mined, cordon and search operations, curfew enforcement, action against ‘illegal’ Jewish immigrants, identity and road checks, patrols, and above all, the fight against hard-core Jewish underground organizations, such as the Haganah, the Irgun Zvayi-Leumi and the Stern Group. A major task was peace-keeping between Jews and Arabs, who were engaged in a fierce struggle.

The point should be emphasised that the City of Lod was an administrative and logistic center for the British forces. Moreover, the Lod railway station was the gateway through which reinforcements were rushed into Palestine from Egypt. It is also conceivable that the train station was the departure point for practically every soldier on leave, on his way to enjoy a vacation in the big city, that is to say Cairo. Therefore, thousands of British soldiers were in the area on a regular basis, and the badge could have been lost during routine, daily circumstances.⁶

During their second tour in Palestine, the Battalion suffered four casualties in the Lod area: Private W.K. Murray, killed by a mine on 16th July 1947; Private Lindsay, 8th July 1947 (Fig. 3); Private John Nicholson, killed on 14th November 1947, while on patrol guarding the railway line; and Private C.R. Marshall, who was killed while on duty during a patrol near Jaffa. A fifth man, Private A.W.H. Schoolar was killed in a different area, during a surprise attack en route to Jerusalem.⁷

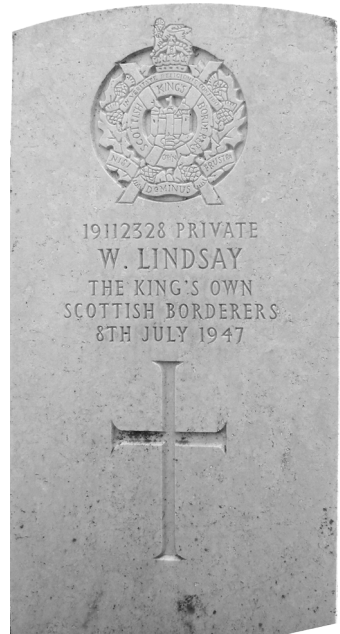
Taking into consideration the theatre of operations in which the KOSB routinely performed during these years, it is conceivable that this badge was worn on the Tam O' Shanter bonnet⁸ and lost by a British soldier during military operations carried out at Lod and its vicinity.⁹ Although the emblem might have belonged to one of the dead reported above, rather, it could just as easily have fallen and become lost during more peaceful duties, such as a routine watch.

Ian Martin, from the KOSB Regimental Museum in Berwick upon Tweed, UK, kindly examined a photo of the badge. In his opinion, the badge shows some interesting features. It is similar to the pattern of Other Ranks' (NCOs–Non-Commissioned Officers) badges issued between 1904 and 1919. The main difference is that the badges from the late 1940's were slightly smaller, and the thistle leaves extended further than the upper arms of the Saltire Cross to reach the base of the crown (Ian Martin, personal communication). Although there are a number of unrecorded variants of the Regimental badge, the possibility that the badge belonged to a soldier active in the area during the first occasion that the KOSB operated in Palestine cannot be ruled out. In addition, as often happens with archaeological artifacts; badges of older patterns were frequently reused and worn long after one particular model became outdated. Thus, regrettably there is no way to possibly establish beyond doubt the date or even the circumstances in which the insignia was lost.



Fig. 2. The Ramla War Cemetery (Photo A. Gorzalczany)

Fig. 3. Pte. Lindsay's tombstone at the Ramla War Cemetery, with the emblem of the KOSB (Photo A. Gorzalczany)



In any case, I believe that the KOSB badge retrieved from Lod, although found close to surface topsoil and despite the lack of identification of its original bearer, has an inherent value. It must still be considered as an archaeological artifact, and is an inseparable part of the site's history. As such, it represents the material culture of the latest strata of the site and it could enlighten us, as archaeologists, about facts and details relating to the more modern and often neglected levels in the archaeological record. Finds from the late periods constitute a tangible part of the site's history and conspicuously broaden the range of periods represented in it. Such an approach is required, in my opinion, to create awareness of historical issues that took place during epochs that we supposedly know everything about. In fact, primary encouraging attempts to apply this approach were carried out recently in Israel, with regard to various fields like weapons (e.g., Ustinova and Nahshoni 1994:170–176, especially Figs. 15–17; Glick, forthcoming a; b; c); pottery (e.g., Boas 2000a; b; Israel 2006; Arbel, forthcoming; De Vincens, forthcoming); clay tobacco-pipes (e.g., Avissar 2005; Dekkel 2008; Saidel 2008; 2011 and others (e.g., Re'em 2010:40–41, Figs. 18, 19). I am confident that present-day archaeologists are more attentive to the significance and potential of these “non-archaeological” finds and efforts should be invested in their recording and publication for the public benefit.

Notes

- 1 The excavation (permit No. A-5685), on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (henceforth IAA) was directed by Miriam Avissar and Amir Gorzalczany in 2009. During the excavation, an outstanding Roman-period mosaic floor was exposed. The badge (labeled B60265) was found during topsoil cleaning works, as the surface layers were removed prior to the opening of the excavation squares. For a survey of the history of archaeological research at Lod, see Yannai 2008; Avissar 2008 and references therein. The author acknowledges his debt to Lilly Gershuny, Davina Shmueli, Danny Syon, Lior Rauchberger and Yoav Arbel, who contributed useful comments to an earlier version of this paper. Zvi Greenhut, head of the IAA artifact treatment department, and Rebecca Cohen-Amin were of assistance. The badge was photographed by Clara Amit and cleaned by Helena Kuperschmidt, both from the IAA artifacts treatment department. The author is also grateful to Yael Barshak and Zehavit Shamul from the IAA artifacts treatment department, and to Carmen Hirsch for drawing the badge. The graphic material in this paper is by courtesy of the IAA.

- 2 Due to its importance, depictions of the crown are widely used in coats of arms, badges, and various other insignia throughout the Commonwealth dominions, as a sign of the reigning monarch's authority.
- 3 Provost is an old word that designates the leader of the council in some Scottish cities and towns.
- 4 The Southern Reporter, 24.02.2005 (accessed 16.02.2012). http://www.thesouthernreporter.co.uk/news/local-headlines/kosb_campaigners_mount_legal_challenge_to_forced_merger_plans_1_113958; The Herald, 01.03.2008 (accessed 16.02.12); <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-23622434.html>; The Herald, 13.03.2008 (accessed 16.02.12); <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-23622987.html>; TheBerwickAdvertiser23.02.2005 (accessed 16/02/12) http://www.berwick-advertiser.co.uk/news/local-headlines/kosb_merger_is_illegal_say_campaigners_1_236555.
- 5 The study of the First World War in Israel was neglected for a long time. Recently we have witnessed a renewed awareness of this crucial event and its impact on the area. For example, during the 27th–31st October, 2007 a re-enactment of the charge from Beit Eshel to the Turkish Bridge was carried out. The 50 participants were descendents of the members of the Australian Light Horse Riders, who carried out the original offensive. They were wearing authentic uniforms and carried weapons, flags and the pennants used by the unit. The event, which was followed by a festive parade in the city of Beer Sheva, was given unprecedented coverage by the media (Pimentel and Shiloni, 2008).
- 6 I wish to thank Abraham Navon from Kibbutz Lahav and Eran Tirosh, both enthusiastic researchers of World War I in Palestine, within the framework of The Society for the Heritage of the Campaign for Palestine in the First World War, who generously shared with me their knowledge on this issue and provided bibliographic references. Oren Shmueli was also of assistance.
- 7 I am deeply grateful to Ian Martin, of the KOSB Regimental Museum (the King's Own Scottish Borderers Association and Museum, Berwick Barracks, Berwick-upon-Tweed), who kindly provided the valuable information quoted above. Nancy Batshon, from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission Office in Ramla, Israel, kindly assisted in the task of locating the tombs of the British casualties. Four out of five tombs were located in the Ramla British Military cemetery, with the kind assistance of the cemetery gardening and maintenance staff, especially Ibrahim Huri.
- 8 Tam O' Shanter is a popular 19th century nickname for the traditional Scottish bonnet. The origin of this name can probably be traced to an eponymous hero of an epic poem written by Robert Burns in 1790.
- 9 Metal helmets were provided for the soldiers and were part of the standard equipment of the infantry troops. Nevertheless, they were used by the soldiers only when heavily engaged, while during routine duties, such as patrols, curfew enforcements, searches and road checks, the bonnet was customary.

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A British 'Hamilton' Soda Bottle From Jerusalem

SAMUEL WOLFF

In 1991 a salvage excavation was undertaken by the Israel Antiquities Authority in the Morasha neighbourhood of Jerusalem, north of Damascus Gate, in anticipation of the construction of a new major road (Fig. 1). The main highlight of this excavation was the discovery of an Armenian monastery dating to the Late Byzantine period.¹ The monastery was covered by the foundations of two massive structures whose date(s) of construction is undetermined. The foundations of these buildings were built with fieldstones and were set into a narrow and deep foundation trench sunk down to bedrock. In certain places these walls “ride” the earlier walls, while in other places they destroyed certain elements of the earlier complex. Nothing remained of the floors and upper parts of these buildings. South of these buildings was a huge plastered reservoir which served as part of the water collection system from the Byzantine phase of occupation but continued to be used into modern times (Fig. 1, upper left corner). The southern building can be found on a map prepared by Conrad Schick in 1895, where it is labeled as part of a neighbourhood of “Christenhausen,” so it was built sometime before that date but apparently after 1885, since it does not appear on a map from that date. The northern building does not appear on that map but does appear on the Survey of Palestine map, revised in 1927, and in aerial photographs dating to 1918. Thus, the two buildings were not erected at the same time. This accounts for the difference in construction noticed in the field.

At the western end of the passage between the northern and the southern buildings was a refuse deposit that post-dated the Byzantine remains (Square Q22, Locus 107). In the refuse debris were modern roof tiles, nails and a broken bottle, the latter of which is the subject of this brief note.



Fig. 1. Morasha excavations. Note the modern walls built over the Byzantine period remains. View to south-southwest.

The Bottle

Description (Fig. 2)

The bottle was found in two large pieces; the neck that connected the opening to the body was missing as was a portion of the body. The reconstructed height of the bottle is 24.7 cm. The mass-produced mould-made bottle features a central medallion with the bottom portion

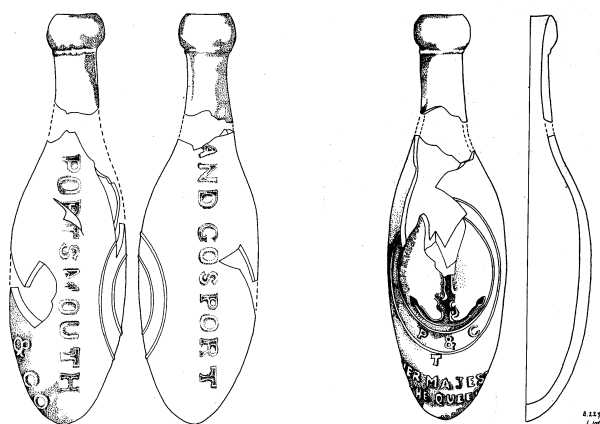


Fig. 2. Drawing of the bottle

of an anchor preserved and the initials P & G in the outer lower ring of the medallion. Below this ring, towards the base, was the inscription HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, which provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1901 (the year of the death of Queen Victoria) for the bottle's date of manufacture. On one side of the body was written PORTSMOUTH & CO; on the opposite side, AND GOSPORT.

Identification

The shape of the bottle is known as a "Hamilton," named after William Hamilton who patented a soda filling machine and a bottle of this shape in 1809. The Hamilton was used to hold a carbonated beverage which was sealed by a cork held in place by wire. At Charles Mumby's & Co (see below), "a very large trade is done in 'splits,' the small oval-shaped bottles, and these are filled and corked by machinery also, the wire being afterwards put on by boys. Large quantities of these are sent away for export, and before being wired a thin disc of wood is put over the cork, two wires being used instead of one, the wires for export being of copper." (Local Industries Supplement 1908:14). The bottle was meant to sit on its side in order to allow the cork to remain moist; should it become dry, the cork would shrink, allowing the charged gas to escape. The bottle was hand blown into a two-piece mould.

CHARLES MUMBY & COMPANY,
SODA WATER MANUFACTURERS

TO
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN,
 AND
H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES,

MANUFACTURE

SODA WATER, POTASS WATER,
 Lithia Water, Seltzer Water,
 AROMATIC GINGER LEMONADE & GINGER
 ALE. BEER.

THESE WATERS, which for purity and quality cannot be excelled, are perfectly free from lead, as the water does not touch that metal, either at its source or during its manufacture. The water is of exceptional purity, and by a most careful attention to its manufacture, an article is produced second to none in this Country.

They are used by Her Majesty the Queen, at Osborne, and on board The Royal Yachts, by H.R.H. The Prince of Wales; and were specially selected for the use of His Royal Highness on board H.M.S. Scorpion on his voyage to India. The following Testimonial is submitted:—

H.M.S. Scorpion, Portsmouth, 25th May, 1856.

Messrs. C. Mumby & Co.
 Gentlemen:—The Soda Water supplied by you for the use of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on board H.M.S. Scorpion was of excellent quality, kept in good condition, and gave great satisfaction to His Royal Highness, his Suite, and the Officers of the ship.
 (Signed) J. W. Scarsden, Chief Steward.

They are also in extensive use in Regimental Officers' Messes and on board Her Majesty's Ships: are supplied to the Indian and Imperial Troop Ships, and may be had at the principal Clubs and Hotels at Portsmouth, South Hamt, and the Isle of Wight.

PRICE LISTS ON APPLICATION.

SIX DOZEN CASES CARRIAGE FREE TO ANY RAILWAY STATION.

OFFICES:—34, THE HARD, PORTSMOUTH; & 47, HIGH STREET, GOSPORT.

ALSO,

<p>FOREIGN LAKE ICE MERCHANTS To Her Majesty the Queen and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. <i>A large Stock of PURE ICE always on hand.</i> ICE STORES, EAST ST., PORTSMOUTH.</p>	<p>PHARMACEUTICAL CHEMISTS, 47, HIGH STREET, GOSPORT. <i>A large and fresh Stock of PURE MEDICINES. All Patent MEDICINES of repute kept. Prescriptions prepared with great care. Orders by Post promptly attended to.</i></p>
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Fig. 3. Advertisement for Charles Mumby & Co, c. 1878.

The anchor and accompanying inscriptions allow us to identify the manufacturer of the bottle as Charles Mumby & Co. who opened shop in 1851 in Gosport. An advertisement dating to ca. 1878 features that firm's trademark (Fig. 3). The firm's production facility was located at 47 High Street in Gosport, a major naval town located on Portsmouth Harbour, opposite the city of Portsmouth, where the firm's offices were located. C. Mumby and Co. was a leading manufacturer and purveyor of carbonated beverages (soda water, ginger ale, etc.), remaining in business until 1971. The specific design on the bottle from our excavation dates more specifically to around 1895, which fits well with the date of the structure near which it was found.²

Discussion

How did this bottle make it all the way from Portsmouth to Palestine? Mumby’s was known as the supplier of soda water to ships of the Royal Navy in Portsmouth Harbour. Could this bottle have been brought by a British sailor to Palestine sometime around 1895? This is not likely, given that British sailors were not a common sight in Ottoman-controlled Palestine. Perhaps, however, such finds could have arrived with or, more likely, been sold to European tourists/pilgrims or governmental employees/surveyors (Palestinian Exploration Fund activists, for example) who might have preferred such carbonated beverages over the locally produced soda water (Ben Arie 1986:394, Table 2) or other local beverages whose taste was inferior or contained potentially contaminated water. Thus, the presence of such objects should be viewed in the context of commercial relations between England and Palestine. Mumby’s was, after all, “the largest mineral-water factory in the South of England, and from which the well-known mineral waters are exported to all parts of the world” (Local Industries Supplement 1908).

Although this bottle is not considered an antiquity according to the laws of the State of Israel, I support those who take the time and effort to publish excavations and objects from periods which, despite not being ancient, contribute to our understanding of a particular part of the history of Israel, and in this case, commercial activity between England and Palestine. In addition to Gorzalczyński’s study of a British bonnet badge (this volume), one should add the fascinating excavation of the Convent of the Soeurs de Marie Réparatrice immediately outside the New Gate of Jerusalem’s walled city (Nagar 2008; Finkielsztejn 2010). If such sites and artefacts are neglected by archaeologists, our knowledge will certainly suffer as a result.

Acknowledgements

I am especially grateful to Andrew Appleyard who was the first to identify the bottle as a soda bottle. In addition, I express my appreciation to Mick Wells of the Alton Bottle Club who identified the manufacturer as Charles Mumby & Co. and for providing me with general information on soda bottles, and to Alan King, Historical Collections Librarian at Portsmouth Central Library, for supplying me with information about Charles Mumby & Co. and a copy of the advertisement reproduced here in Fig. 3. The bottle

was expertly drawn by the late Michael Miles of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Notes

- 1 The excavation was directed by David Amit (IAA); see Amit and Wolff 1993 and 1994 for preliminary reports on this excavation.

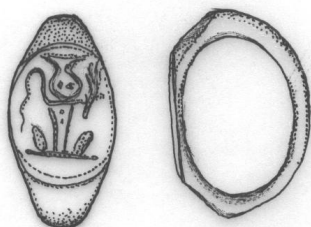
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A Bronze Ring from Roman Palestine Depicting Zeus Heliopolites

YOAV FARHI & YOAV ALON

In a salvage excavation carried out in Neshar-Ramla Quarry in 2000–2001,¹ a bronze ring dating to the early Byzantine period (Fig. 1) was found in a burial cave. The cave belongs to an early Roman – late Roman/early Byzantine period cemetery.² The ring (15×20 mm. diameter with an oval bezel 13×17 mm) has an engraved scene (*intaglio*) that includes a schematic figure of Zeus Heliopolites (Jupiter Heliopolitanus) facing front, wearing a tall *kalathos*.³ He is holding a whip in his raised right hand and an ear of corn in his left. Two elliptic objects, probably depicting foreparts of two bulls, flank the figure. A straight line underneath the scene indicates the ground.



Scale 2:1

Fig. 1. Drawings of the ring from Neshar-Ramla

This ring bears a striking resemblance to a ring found in Syria or Lebanon (Fig. 2), first published by Ronzevalle⁴ in 1938 and again in 1977 by Hajjar.⁵ There is some resemblance to a third ring from the same area, also published by Ronzevalle⁶ and Hajjar⁷ (Fig. 3).

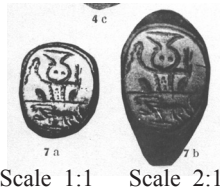


Fig. 2. Ring 'A' from Syria or Lebanon

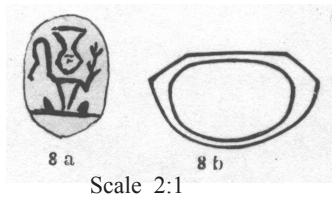


Fig. 3. Ring 'B'

The keeled hoop of ring 'B' is identical to the one from the Neshar Quarry. According to Henig, rings with keeled hoops are typical of the 3rd century although they continue into the 4th century.⁸

In view of the close similarities between these rings, and especially between the figure of Zeus Heliopolites that engraved on the ring from Neshar and those from Syria, they may well have come from the same workshop or perhaps even made by the same engraver.

These three rings were probably made in provincia Syria, perhaps in Heliopolis. A soldier might have brought the ring from Neshar–Ramla to Palestine from a Syrian unit or a merchant may have brought it. Perhaps the owner of the ring lived in Diospolis or bought it there. This would not be surprising since city coins depicting the deity Zeus Heliopolites are well-known, suggesting that he was worshipped there (Fig. 4).⁹



dia. 21 mm

Fig. 4. Coin of Diospolis (after Farhi 2008: 147, no.7)

The typical type, with the deity standing to front between two bulls, holding a whip in his raised right hand and ears of grain in his left, is less common on city coins of Roman Palestine. The first appearance of this type in Palestine, at Neapolis in Samaria, under Marcus Aurelius, may have been prompted by the construction of the great temple of this god at Heliopolis by Antoninus Pius.¹⁰ In Judaea, this coin type is known also from the cities of Eleutheropolis¹¹ and Nicopolis¹² in the vicinity of Diospolis.

Archaeological finds from Eleutheropolis indicate that the cult of this deity was known from the time of Commodus.¹³ The coin evidence from Diospolis, Nicopolis and Eleutheropolis in addition to the other finds from there point to a certain area in which Zeus Heliopolites was popular during the late 2nd-early 3rd century CE. The ring presented here from a 4th century burial cave suggests the continuation of his popularity into the Byzantine period. This is less surprising since historical evidence points to the worship of this deity in Syria at least until 380 CE, when his great temple in Heliopolis was destroyed by order of Theodosius.¹⁴

This rare type of ring, the first found in Palestine, was certainly used as an amulet that was worn by one of the believers of this god. According to some scholars the cult of Zeus Heliopolites spread in the west by the Roman army,¹⁵ but without solid evidence it is impossible to determine whether this particular ring was worn by a Roman soldier, or a local citizen.

Notes

- 1 The excavations were directed by Shlomo Kol-Yaakov on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. We wish to thank the excavator for permission to publish the ring. The drawings were made by Irena Lidski. We also wish to thank Martin Henig from Oxford University for his useful comments.
- 2 See Kol-Ya'akov 2010: 7.
- 3 For this deity see PW, VIII, pp. 50–57.
- 4 Ronzevalle 1937–1938: 20–21, pl. II: 7.
- 5 Hajjar 1977: 175, no. 154, pl. LVIII: 154.
- 6 Ronzevalle (above.), pp. 20–21, pl. II: 8.
- 7 Hajjar (above), pp. 175–176, no. 155, pl. LIX: 155.
- 8 In a letter to us from 18/6/2005. See also: Henig 1978: 35, fig 1: VIII; 38–39.
- 9 Farhi 2008: 159. Zeus Heliopolites appears in Diospolis on two coin types: one minted in the name of Geta (Farhi 2008: 147–148, nos. 7–7a) and the other, Caracalla (ibid, 148: no. 8).
- 10 Hill 1914: xxx–xxxii.
- 11 Spijkerman 1972, nos. 13–16, 22, 28–29.
- 12 Hill 1914: 170, no. 5.
- 13 Kloner and Hübsch 1996: 100–101.
- 14 Cook 1914–1940, I: 552–555.
- 15 Birley 1978: 1518, 1520.

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Ethnic Identities and Circumcised Phalli at Hellenistic Maresha

IAN STERN

Material finds may shed light on the relationship between the different ethnic groups residing in Maresha, particularly the Judeans and Idumaeans. These discoveries lead us to look more closely at certain rituals that were previously seen as ethnic indicators. Circumcised phalli, ritual immersion installations, ceramic vessels whose holes appear to reflect Mishnaic rules of purity and impurity, ossilegium, and an Aramaic marriage contract that bears similarities to later Judean contracts were discovered in excavations at Maresha. While the identification of these finds as ethnic symbols connected to the Judeans is clear, their discovery at Maresha and in a Hellenistic context raises many questions. Are these clues pertaining to early rituals that were shared by the general population of Maresha and gradually coalesced, later in time, into normative Judean/proto-Pharisaic behaviour? The convergence of these materials in this context is too overwhelming to be dismissed as coincidental.

Introduction*

The population of Hellenistic period Maresha (Fig. 1) was rather diverse. This is especially evident in the epigraphic materials discovered in excavations during the past few years. The onomasticon, based on theophoric names, reflects a population made up of Idumaeans, Nabateans, as well as Phoenicians, Judeans, and others.¹ Not only were there many different ethnic groups in Maresha at the time, but it seems that the ethnic boundaries between these groups, as expressed in the onomasticon, were low. This is clearly reflected in the prosopography of the late Persian period ostraca² discovered over the past decade. The prosopography of the Hellenistic period “Sidonian” tomb at Maresha³ also leaves little doubt that there was clear intermixing of ethnic groups in one family tomb. From the inscriptions in this tomb, it appears that the ethnic groups in Idumaea, which were also mentioned in ostraca more than a century earlier, continued to reside and acculturate throughout the Ptolemaic period and into at least the beginning of the Seleucid era.⁴ While this allows us certain insights into the ethnic makeup of the region, the actual published epigraphic corpus is still too small to allow for a detailed reconstruction of the general population of

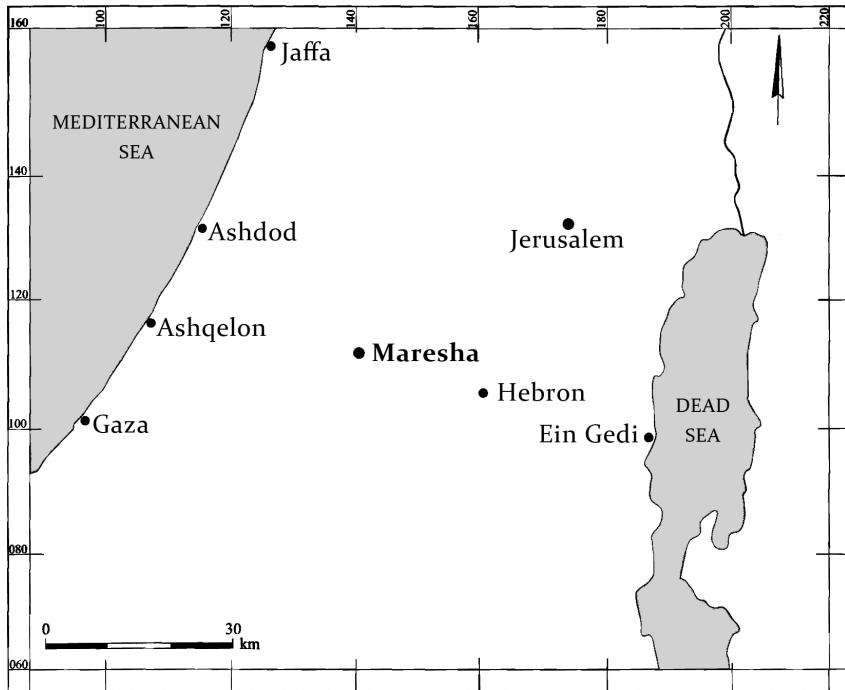


Fig. 1. Location of Maresha

Maresha or more specifically, what, using Bloch-Smith's terminology, might be called "the Idumaeen ethno genesis."⁵ The fact that Idumaea was clearly identified as a province by Diodoros Siculus⁶ in the Ptolemaic period allows one to infer that it was during the Persian period that the various ethnic groups residing there eventually merged into an Idumaeen identity.⁷

Shared interests, often economic or political, can cause unrelated clans or groups to join together into an ethnic nucleus that is referred to as "ethnogenesis."⁸ Ethnogenesis incorporates earlier normative behavior and later defines it as tradition. This process is referred to as an "ideology of authenticity." New institutions are invented to perpetuate the group after the original purpose fades and continue to function in order to maintain the cultural norms of the group. Groups incorporate circumstantial features into their collective consciences creating "collective memories."

What I propose is that during the Persian and later the Ptolemaic periods, coexistence did not provoke or generate a competitive atmosphere that

would have resulted in ethnocentrism.⁹ During the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods the primary ethnic groups in Idumaea maintained what Barth terms “low ethnic boundary maintenance.” This could have resulted in blurring the significance of specific ethnic symbols.

Archaeological Discoveries at Maresha

Recent archaeological discoveries at Maresha, as well as re-evaluations of earlier finds at this site, provide us with a more detailed picture of how the various ethnic groups interacted with each other, especially during the Hellenistic Period. It is accepted that defining the relative symbolic importance of an artifact to establish ethnic boundaries of any given group can be both difficult and subjective.¹⁰ Parallel material finds may have different significance for different groups. Different societies can use similar objects but within dissimilar contexts and for entirely diverse purposes.¹¹

Faust states that the power differential between groups is the most important element in understanding ethnic boundary maintenance.¹² In other words, ethnicity is a result of asymmetrical group relations. Boundary maintenance varies both in time and in place¹³ or as Faust mentions, “Not all aspects of material culture are seen as ethnically meaningful by any society at a given time.”¹⁴ Understanding group identity from an archaeological context, is based upon a *combination of traits* that are correlated within an identified ancient context. The question that must be addressed is: did the respective ethnic group negotiate its identity via the specific object(s) or via *how* that object was utilized?

Do these discoveries pertain to early rituals that were shared by the general population of Maresha and gradually coalesced, later in time, into normative Judean/proto-Pharisaic behaviour? The convergence of all these materials in this context is too overwhelming to be dismissed as coincidental.¹⁵

Circumcised Phalli

The discovery of eighteen models of circumcised phalli in several of the subterranean complexes at Maresha is a case in point. All of the phalli, with one possible ceramic¹⁶ exception, were carved from local (kirton) chalk (Figs. 2a-2b). The phalli were found in unstratified fills. Most are life-size, appear to be erect, and almost all are partially broken. Six have remnants of red coloring, three have black coloring, one has both black and red coloring;



1



2



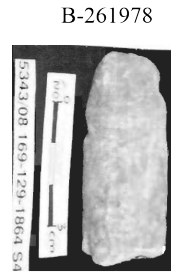
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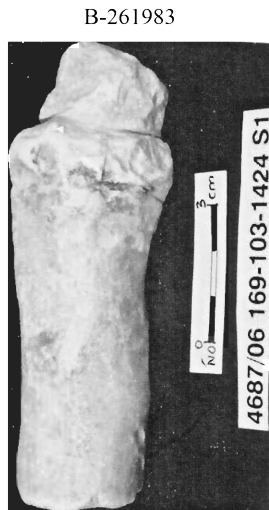
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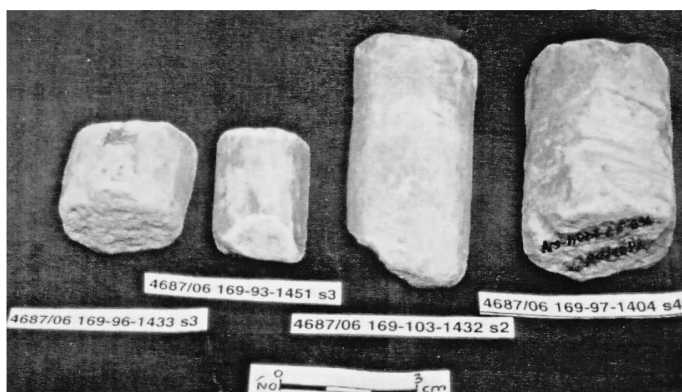
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9

Fig. 2a. Phalli 1-9

B-261984



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11

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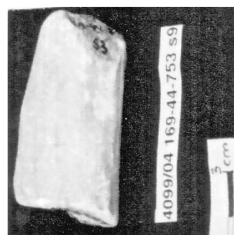
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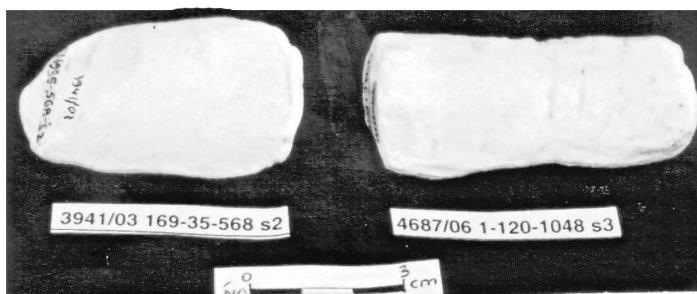
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B-261985



16

17

Fig. 2b. Phalli 10-17

a few are simply schematic in nature. One has a hole drilled through the base which could have allowed it to be hung from a cord. While the appearance of phalli is somewhat common in ancient Egyptian iconography, in ancient Semitic contexts it is exceptional.¹⁷ Ehrlich believes that they are connected to the cult of Dionysius as well as to Hermes, and had an apotropaic value.¹⁸ Roebuck argues that flaccid phalli were used as votive genitals in a healing cult.¹⁹ There are, however, examples of Herm statues with erect phalli. The fact that the phalli we discovered are circumcised is very significant as the depiction of a phallus in the Hellenistic world without the prepuce/foreskin was considered culturally unsightly and even indecent.²⁰ This negative attitude *vis-a-vis* the exposure of the glans applied to phalli that were flaccid or erect. Ancient sources (I Macc. 1:15) mention that Hellenized Jews tried to hide their circumcision when going to the gymnasium by having undergone an epispasm which simulated a “natural” phallus by stretching the foreskin. *Periah*, revealing, a more drastic operation that involved the total removal of the foreskin, was possibly introduced at this time to render epispasm impossible.²¹ The phalli we discovered at Maresha clearly resemble other circumcised phalli found on vase paintings from the Hellenistic world.²² The intention of these depictions was to be comic, lewd or demeaning, designed specifically to mock or denigrate the practice. This general attitude continued into the Roman period. Tacitus viewed circumcision as abominable and summed up its sociological significance: “They (Jews) adopted circumcision to *distinguish* [my italics] themselves from other peoples by this diversity.”²³ Even Philo believed that circumcision was the “object of ridicule among many people.”²⁴

The term used by physicians in the Hellenistic world to describe the condition/disorder in which the glans is exposed was *lipodermos* (“lacking skin”). The existence of a surgical procedure to cover the glans, either in the case of “reversing” a circumcision or correcting a similar “defect” that was natural is described in many sources.²⁵ It seems unreasonable, within this Hellenistic cultural atmosphere, that the phalli of Maresha would be depicted with the glans of the penis exposed unless it reflected an actual accepted local practice.

The probability that the Edomites/Idumaeans, along with many other peoples in the region practiced circumcision seems evident.²⁶ The practice is mentioned in the Zenon papyri dated 259 BCE as a marker that identified runaway slaves from Maresha.²⁷ This is reaffirmed by references in Jeremiah

9:24–25 and implied in Ezekiel 32:29. While the requirement for the rite was prescribed in Priestly sources (Genesis 17:1–21, Exodus 12, Leviticus 12:3, etc.) it is by no means certain that circumcision was normative among ancient Israelites or Judeans, as Exodus 4:24–26 or Joshua 5:2–7 imply. This is reinforced by the fact that the consensus of scholarly opinion (with the exceptions of Y. Kaufman and I. Knohl) dates the Priestly sources to no earlier than the fifth century BCE. Nevertheless, ethnic groups many times define themselves, adopt or redefine a behavior, in contradistinction to an “other” – the “other” being usually an enemy or rival. Despite the fact that other ethnoi in the Levant practiced circumcision its symbolic importance as an act of Judean ethnic identity may very well have occurred or at least have been reinforced, in juxtaposition to the existential Philistine enemy (see, for example, the *arelim* or “uncircumcised” in 2 Sam. 1:20).²⁸ While the ritual may have been historically shared by the Idumaeans and Judeans, its symbolic importance for the Judeans would have increased significantly during the post-Antiochus IV period (174–164 BCE) as a result of his prohibition of the act on penalty of death.²⁹

The *terminus ante quem* at Maresha is *ca.* 111 BCE and therefore these finds predate the conquest by Hyrcanus. It can be cautiously assumed that the phalli are not Judean, despite their circumcision, because the use of human or animal depictions by Judeans was uncommon in this period. This does, however, raise certain questions concerning Josephus’ discussion of the conversion of the Idumaeans by John Hyrcanus:

Hyrcanus took also Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumaea, and subdued all the Idumaeans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals, and *make use of the laws of the Jews* (my italics); and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision, and the rest of the *Jewish ways of living*; at which time therefore this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews. *Jos. Ant.* 13.257–258

While Josephus implies a forced conversion, it should be noted that Strabo wrote that the conversion was voluntary. Strabo, who never missed an opportunity to criticize the Hasmoneans,³⁰ was poignantly silent regarding the forced circumcision. Ptolemy of Ascalon, a 1st century BCE historian also relates to the forced circumcision albeit without mentioning Hyrcanus directly.³¹ In light of the discovery of these circumcised phalli, it appears that Josephus’ version of the event should be reconsidered and

that the conversion should be understood as voluntary. The practice of circumcision at Maresha predates the conquest by John Hyrcanus.³² It seems that after the conquest, those Idumeans who remained in Idumea eventually accepted or were perceived to have accepted the Judean symbolism of the act. It became part of a broader acculturation process with their Judean neighbors. A. Kasher suggests that the relationship was part of “a drawn out process of convergence between Eastern Semitic ethnic groups nursing shared hostility to the Hellenistic world, which threatened their independent existence.”³³ Conversion in the time of John Hyrcanus may have afforded certain families, such as Antipater, quick upward mobility, or at least the ability to maintain a previously held privileged status.³⁴

Ritual Purification Baths

The re-evaluation by Amos Kloner³⁵ of some of the baths discovered by Bliss and Macalester³⁶ as ritual purification baths, is significant to this discussion. According to Kloner, these “small vaulted cisterns,” as Bliss and Macalister described them, were plastered water installations that contained steps leading down to the lowest level allowing easy entrance and exit. The baths were discovered in homes in the Upper and Lower City of Maresha. In Area 53 of the Lower City Kloner identified a small ritual bath with four wide steps that was clearly connected to a house that had been destroyed *ca.* 111 BCE. In addition, Kloner identified approximately twenty small rock-cut chambers in Lower Maresha, that were previously described by Bliss and Macalister as “filter rooms,” as being connected to purification. These rooms are situated above water cisterns and theoretically, water poured over the bather in the small room would then drain into the cistern below.

The discovery of such baths at an archaeological site has traditionally been interpreted as something particularly Judean and has served as an ethnic marker. These baths however, predate any archaeological evidence of *miqvaot* discovered in Judea. It should be noted that in Gezer, R. Reich re-evaluated a Hellenistic period water installation, discovered within the remains of a private house which had previously been described by Macalister as a water cistern.³⁷ Reich concluded that this was not a water cistern but rather a *miqveh* from the Hasmonean period, after its conquest by Simon in 142 BCE who later populated the city with observant Jews.³⁸ This reassessment is based upon the understanding that this plastered installation

was part of a later phase of the dwelling, contained small steps at the bottom to allow easy entrance and exit and had a very small capacity of less than ten cubic meters of water.

The Judean concern for ritual purity is discussed in the Biblical text³⁹ as well as in later rabbinic literature.⁴⁰ The connection of ritual baths to ritual purity is widely accepted. Nevertheless, the extent to which we can make use of the Mishnah as a proof text in understanding the specific use of these installations is limited. R. Reich gives a broad, encompassing definition of a *miqveh* which includes any water installation built or cut into the ground that could contain rainwater, spring water or runoff and which had a staircase allowing easy access into the water.⁴¹ By process of elimination, he maintains that if a water installation is not a cistern, bathtub or swimming pool, and is large enough for a person to immerse himself in it, then it was probably a *miqveh*. Miller notes that while there were certainly criteria, the rabbinic sources “do not at all suggest that there was a single, preferred model or design that was especially thought of as a ritual bath.”⁴²

Wright maintains that “the evidence may be read to support the notion that the sages were normatizing traditions that were already in use among some people likely the Pharisees, in the period *before* their greatest influence.”⁴³ While one may assume that the Pharisees influenced the Hasmonean *miqveh* design, it is not axiomatic that this also applied to ritual baths of the Qumranites. The existence of such pools at Qumran indicates that the use of these pools, while not necessarily uniform in design or in the rules surrounding them, was a common feature for Jews at this time. Miller mentions that domestic concerns for ritual purity of the Tannaim originated with the earlier, probably late Second Temple period preoccupation with the idea. It seems clear, from the twenty purification installations identified at Maresha, that the pre-Hasmonean population of Maresha utilized these baths for ritual purposes. It is also possible, as Miller suggests, that such installations may have been used for both ritual and profane purposes.⁴⁴

An Aramaic Marriage Contract

The discovery of an Aramaic marriage contract written on seven ostraca is also germane to this discussion. It is paleographically dated from the end of the third to the first half of the second century BCE and contains a date, 176 BCE.⁴⁵ The document includes a number of Idumaeans names

such as “Quasram” (“Quas is exalted” – the groom), indicated by the Idumaeen theophoric, “Quas.” According to E. Eshel and A. Kloner, the contract contains distinct parallels to a Judean marriage contract discovered in the Cave of Letters in the Judean Desert, as well as to demotic marriage contracts from Egypt. This suggests that different ethnic groups residing in Palestine and Egypt were part of an Aramaic legal continuum. While this is not necessarily surprising, Eshel and Kloner also claim that the Edomite Aramaic marriage contract “resembles the version found in the *Mishnah* [my italics]”:

A woman is acquired in three ways and the marriage is dissolved in two ways. She is acquired with money, a document, and intercourse ... with a document – it need be said: she is considered married by a document worth a *peruta*!? Surely she can be considered married with anything worth a *peruta*, but even if it was written on the pottery and given to her.... She is considered married.⁴⁶

This is the first marriage contract written on pottery ever found in Israel and it coincides with the above reference in the Tosefta. Eshel and Kloner assume that marriage contracts on pottery were customary in Palestine at that time. Furthermore, the use of the term *nomos* (law) is similar to its use in Jewish marriage contracts from the second century CE (משה ויהודאי כדת) which the authors assert “teaches us that the Jewish *ketubba* preserves phrases also found in documents written in Hellenistic Palestine among the non-Jewish society.”⁴⁷ M. Geller states that there is an impressive list of parallels between the revised rabbinic *ketubbot* and earlier Demotic marriage contracts. He concludes that “it is no longer possible to discern the development of Jewish law in the period of the Mishnah without reference to the legal practices of Ptolemaic Egypt.”⁴⁸ While this certainly portrays the syncretistic nature of another custom of the region in this period, it also reveals an additional commonality between the pre-Hyrceanus Idumaeans and their post-conversion descendents.

Burial

In 1985 an undisturbed burial cave (T561) was discovered in the eastern necropolis of Maresha. This represents the only undisturbed tomb found at the site. Like the other Hellenistic Period burial caves discovered at Maresha its architectural style consists of gabled kochim or loculi which seems to reflect a syncretism of Alexandrian⁴⁹ and Phoenician influences.⁵⁰ The tomb

has been dated according to the ceramic remains to the early third century BCE.⁵¹ The tomb contains 10 *kokhim*, one of which (*koch* 3) contained the remains of 9 adults and 2 children. This represents clear evidence of secondary burial, a practice that is unattested in any Hellenistic necropolis at Maresha. Kloner suggests that the discovery of bones in the other *kokhim* belonged to the remains of inhumated persons whose bones were not yet collected.⁵² While the use of *kokhim* became widespread for many ethnic groups in Palestine during the Greco-Roman period, ossilegium or bone collection is usually associated with Jewish burial practice beginning only in the first century BCE.⁵³ This practice of gathering the bones of the deceased into repositories is characteristic of Iron Age tombs in Judea. By the Herodian Period the use of ossuaries by Jews largely replaced repositories for the final interment of the bones.

While the ethnic identity of the family interred in tomb 561 remains uncertain, its discovery within the context of other Judean ethnic markers raises certain questions. Did the Idumeans also practice secondary burial? Is this another custom that spread from Maresha and only centuries later became normative in Judea, or could this tomb represent a transitional type of burial; an example of internal evolution of Judean burial practice by a Judean family residing at Maresha?

Perforated Vessels

The most fascinating of the recent finds at Maresha are vessels that have been perforated with holes. In the past few years over four hundred vessels have been discovered that have holes punched or drilled into their sides or bases. Initially there was no attempt to separate, label or differentiate them from other vessels and they were categorized typologically with other ceramic finds. It recently occurred to me that this seemingly banal phenomenon may somehow be connected to later Judean rules of purity and impurity described in the Mishnah. I am aware that there are difficulties with this explanation, especially since the dating of our material is much earlier than the earliest written records referring to this phenomenon. What complicates this even more is our understanding of the ethnic makeup of the population of Maresha at this time, which we believe was only marginally Judean.⁵⁴

The existence of ceramic vessels with different types of holes is not

a unique phenomenon in the ancient world or in Maresha. These include strainers that have many holes, usually made before firing; vessels, especially amphora, whose holes were made for a specific purpose, possibly connected to the fermentation of wine;⁵⁵ and mend holes drilled into a clay vessel in order to repair it.

During the course of our excavations at Maresha however, we have uncovered over 400 ceramic vessels that were deliberately drilled or punctured after they had been fired. These vessels are unlike the examples mentioned above (Fig. 3a-c:1–23). Many of the holes show signs of being scraped first in order to better control the size of the hole, as well as not to break the whole vessel. The repertoire of vessels includes cooking pots, jugs, juglets, oil lamps, bowls, amphorae, unguentaria, and more. The vessels were discovered in many of the subterranean complexes (among others, from Subterranean Complexes 1, 57, 89, 169 and T559) that are distributed over widespread areas in the Lower City of Maresha (Fig. 4). The archaeological context of the finds is not from clean closed loci, but rather from unstratified fills we believe were deliberately dumped into the caves in antiquity. The materials can be typologically dated from the third and second centuries BCE. The dates are predicated on the diagnostic pieces as well as stamped handles, coins and imported material discovered within the fills.

Archaeological parallels to this phenomenon do exist but from different historical periods. A number of cooking vessels with holes were discovered in excavations in Jerusalem, albeit not from the Hellenistic period. In Area A, near Herod's Gate, remains of approximately 150 cooking pots dated to the Second Temple Period were discovered. Some of these vessels had small holes puncturing their walls.⁵⁶ Baruch and Avni believe that the holes were deliberately made and not broken by accident or wear. N. Avigad, in his excavations in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, uncovered cooking pots from the same period with similar holes.⁵⁷ A storage jar with two small holes (not mentioned in the text but visible in Avigad's published plate), one in the middle of the vessel and the second in the top quarter was also discovered in the Jewish Quarter.⁵⁸ Examples of such vessels were also found in the City of David and in the Temple Mount excavations. While Baruch and Avni believe that the holes were connected to laws of purity and impurity, Grossberg maintains that the holes are too small, smaller than an olive, and therefore do not correspond to the minimum size holes

ETHNIC IDENTITIES AND CIRCUMCISED PHALLI AT HELLENISTIC MARESHA

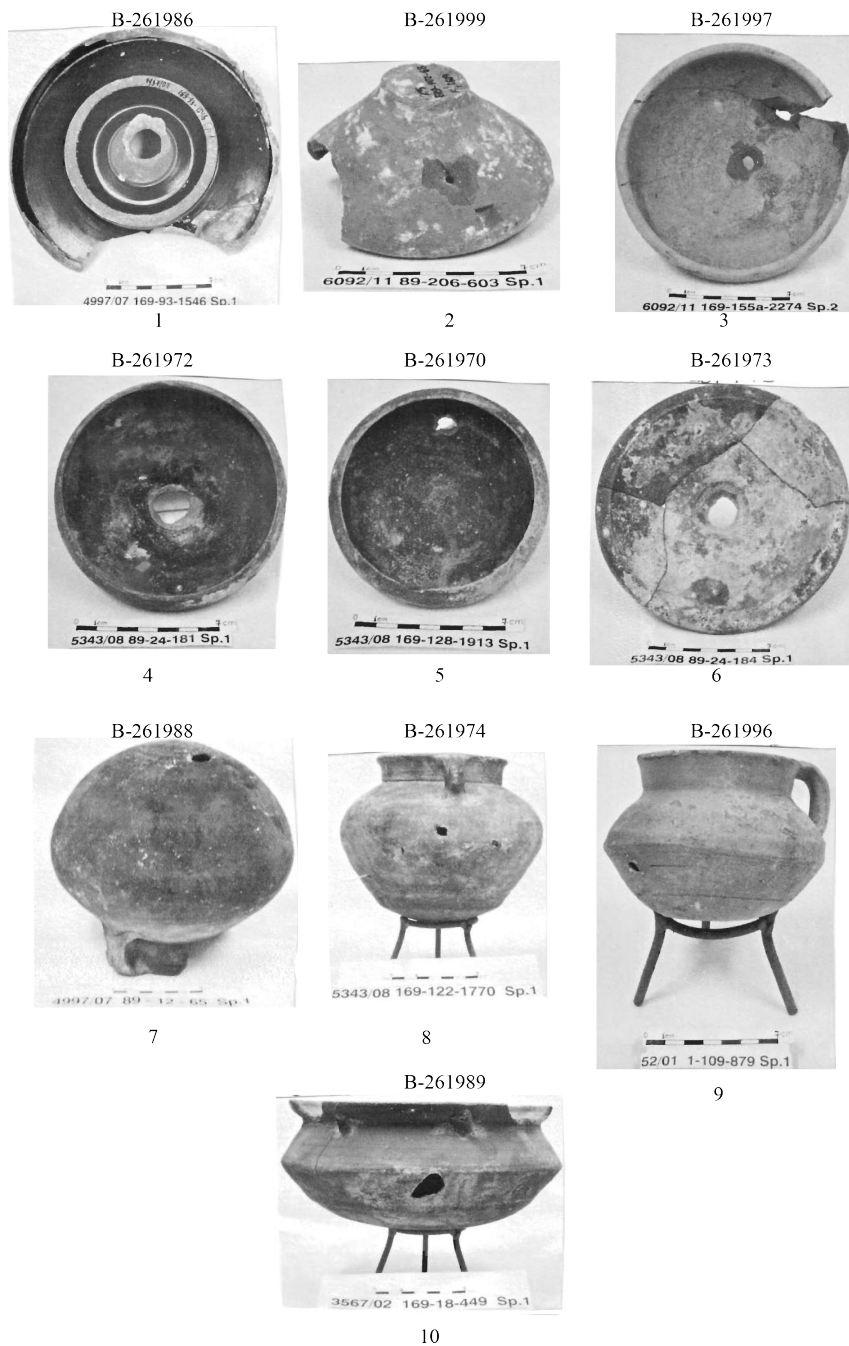


Fig. 3a. Perforated vessels 1-10

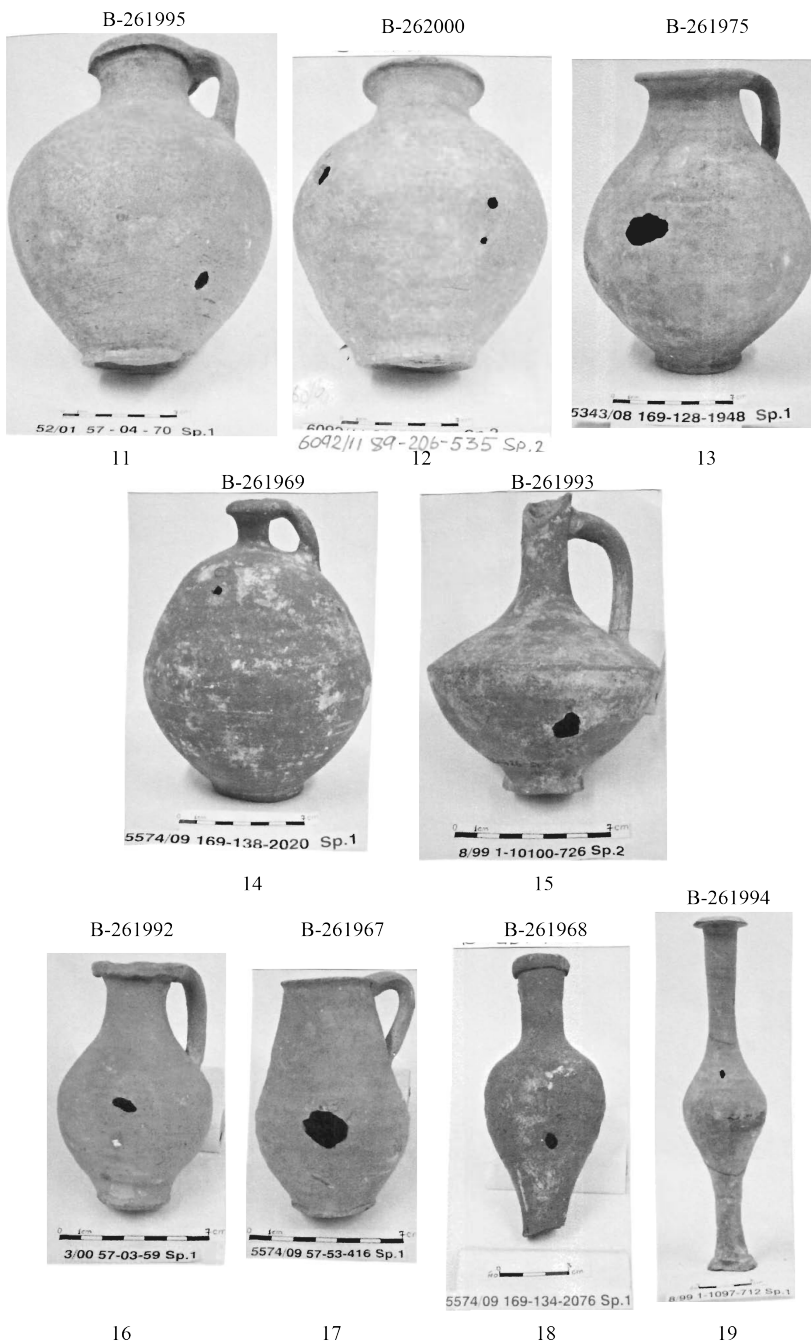
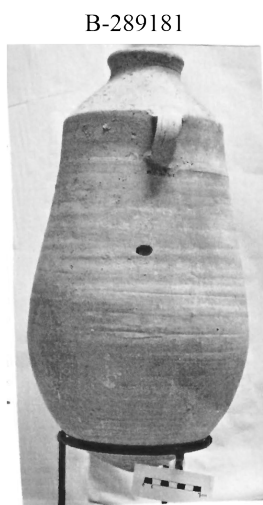
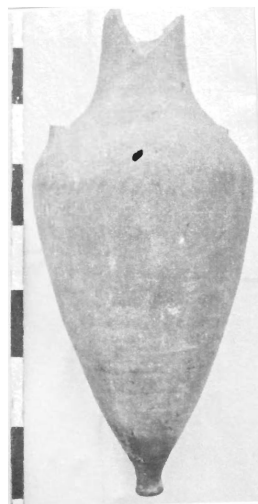


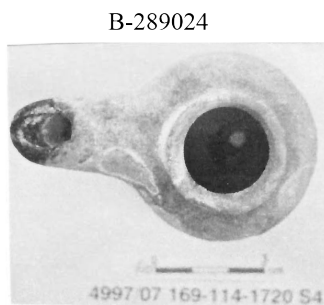
Fig. 3b. Perforated vessels 11-19



20



21



22



23

Fig. 3c. Perforated vessels 20-23

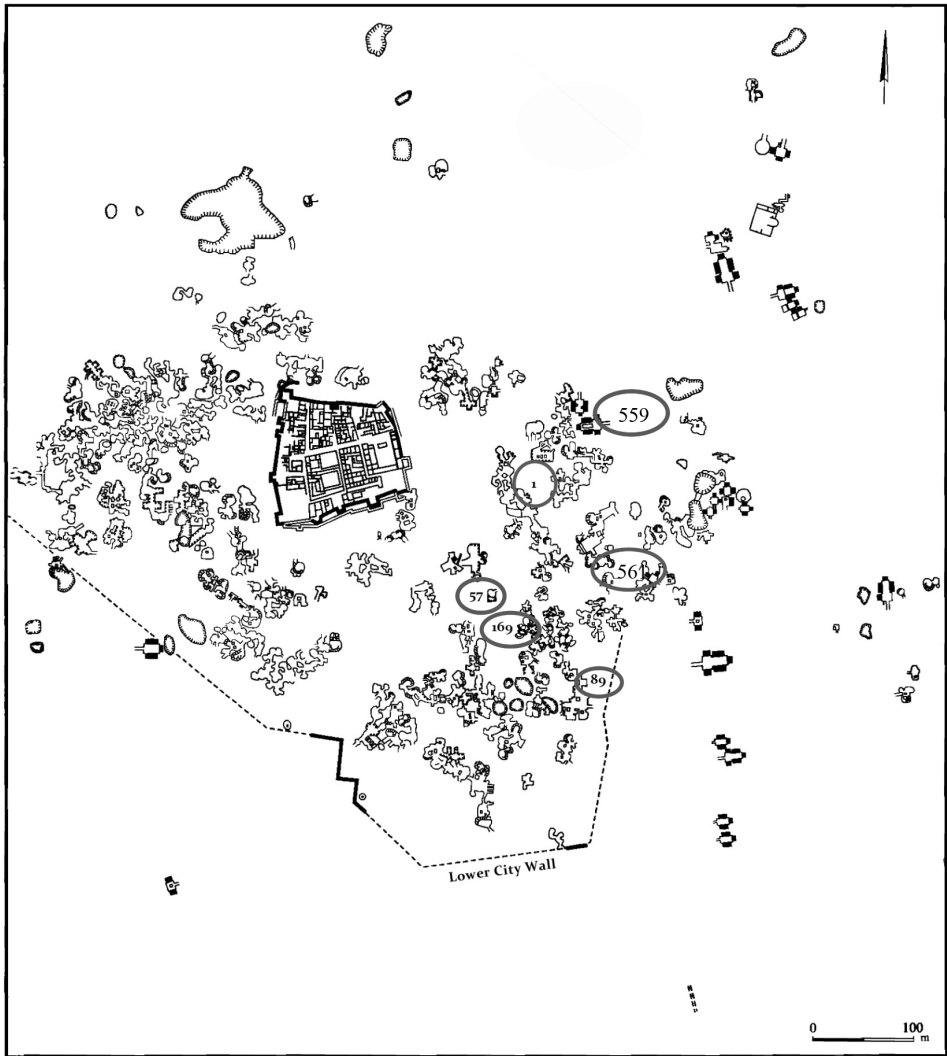


Fig. 4. General Plan of Maresha

required in the Mishnah to purify a vessel. Grossberg's contention is that the vessels were punctured after eating the sacrifice so as not to transgress and eat the נותר (remaining portion), after the designated time and/or to prevent the reuse of the vessel.⁵⁹ Even if this was relevant for the vessels found in Jerusalem, it does not seem applicable to Maresha.

The Pentatechal sources relating to rules of impurity of vessels are

numerous. Leviticus 11:33 states “As for any earthenware vessel into which one of them (“swarming things”) fall, whatever is in it becomes unclean and you shall break the vessel.” In Numbers 19:14–22 the highest form of vessel impurity is an open vessel in a “tent” containing a corpse. In addition, the Temple Scroll 49:5–21 and 50:4–7 state that all earthen vessels and their contents, in the house of a dead person, are unclean.⁶⁰ According to L. Schiffman, the Temple Scroll tries to “extend the priestly legislation of the Bible to all Israel.”⁶¹ The rabbinic sources offer a detailed description of the types of vessels that are susceptible to uncleanness and how they become unclean. The Mishnah devotes much attention to ceramic vessels. It discusses the different sizes of holes that can be made into vessels that render respective unclean ceramic vessels clean or pure again. The size of the needed perforation varies and is a reflection of the vessel’s function. For example, if the vessel was intended for dry food, then the hole has to be large enough for an olive to fall through; if it was for liquids, it should be large enough for liquids to be admitted through it.⁶²

The underlying principle is the idea of function and intent.⁶³ A vessel is susceptible to impurity when it can continue to function in its original form. Once it is broken and can no longer fulfill its original purpose it is pure again. For this reason the vessel is only susceptible to uncleanness after the manufacturing process is completed and it can fulfill its intended function.⁶⁴

The question is, ‘could the holes observed at Maresha have been made in order to render the vessels pure again. According to the Mishnah, rather than destroy an impure vessel one could purify it by drilling a hole large enough to change its original function. The sizes of the holes in our vessels vary.⁶⁵ Some of them correspond to the Mishnaic requirements, while others are smaller. Some but not all of the cooking pots and bowls have holes that are large enough for an olive to pass through. The vessels that could have contained liquids have holes large enough for liquids to pass through. The discrepancy in the size of some of the holes is understandable. The expression used in the rabbinic sources, *ke zayit* (“like an olive”) may echo different interpretations of the size of the legislated holes or reflect a later compromise not observed at this time or in this location. In comparing the Temple Scroll with Tannaitic sources, Schiffman states that “we often found it holds views considered and rejected by the Tannaim later.”⁶⁶ M. Satlow mentions that “undetermined” practices originated many times without rabbinic sanction and were only later retroactively given rabbinic

meaning.⁶⁷ There are many other clues to pre-rabbinic *halakhah*. In the apocryphal Book of Tobit (2:3–10), dated to the early second century BCE, there are vague references to proto-Mishnaic Jewish behavior regarding contact with a corpse. While there is no specific reference to vessels in the Book of Tobit, the similarity to Mishnaic behavior after contact with a corpse suggests that there were behavioral patterns of purity/impurity that were in place preceding the period of the Tannaim and even of the Pharisees. This however, still doesn't explain the discovery of these vessels at a predominantly non-Judean site.

As already mentioned, according to the epigraphic material discovered at Maresha, only a small percentage of the population living in the city in the Hellenistic period was Judean and it is therefore difficult to imagine that this small population could account for over four hundred of these vessels and for their wide distribution throughout the Lower City.

I believe it is probable that many more examples of such vessels are to be found in other excavations from this period. What appear as insignificant holes causes them to go unnoticed and therefore they are categorized as simply part of an overall corpus of materials. Due to the relatively large number of vessels with holes discovered at Maresha, a pattern was identified. In my opinion, these holes reflect an early tradition, either Judean or Idumaeon, which was later transformed or adapted by the rabbis to a standardized “normative” Jewish ritual.

This behavior, like circumcision, ritual immersion, secondary burial and Aramaic marriage contracts, may originally have been shared by different ethnic groups, while conveying completely different meanings. Only in the Second Temple Period was it given a proto-Pharisaic interpretation.

Conclusions

The model of Idumaea in general and Maresha more specifically does not reflect a static check-list of inherent ethnic traits that later either continued or disappeared. Rather, it was a complex ongoing process of morphing ethnicities, a reflection of identification or differentiation affected by interactions with the neighboring ethnic groups.

S. Cohen correctly points out that before the emergence of Hellenism, the term “Judean” was an ethno-geographic label that defined those who were of the Judean people and lived in the Judean homeland, just as an

Egyptian was from the Egyptian ethnos and resided in Egypt.⁶⁸ A Judean (who certainly had his own ethnic characteristics reflected in specific customs, dietary rules, language, religion, etc.) for example, could not become an Egyptian any more than an Egyptian could become an Idumaeen. The contact between Judaism and Hellenism, however, created a situation in which two new definitions of “Jew” emerged, that eventually allowed for other ethnic groups to join the Judean polity.⁶⁹ The first new definition was that of a political community that could extend citizenship to non-members. These new “Judeans” could retain their original ethnic identity as long as they declared their loyalty to the God of the Judeans. This was the mechanism utilized by the Hasmoneans, including John Hyrcanus, to co-opt newly conquered peoples into their polity. The second innovation was cultural. A non-Judean could join if he accepted the one God of Israel whose Temple was in Jerusalem and the “way of life” and laws of this religious ethnos. In short, before the second century BCE, being a Judean was a function of geography and birth but due to the influence of Hellenism the boundary between Judean and Gentile evolved into a more permeable border.

It seems that somewhere in the early first third of the second century BCE there was a dramatic change in the relationship between the Idumaeans and Judeans that created a situation of high ethnic boundary maintenance, or separation. This most likely coincided with the period of the Seleucid ruler, Antiochus IV and its aftermath.

During the Maccabean revolt, some Mareshan families identified with the anti-Judean Hellenistic forces, and Judah launched a punitive expedition into the area. This could have resulted in Idumaeen ethnocentrism. Some Idumaeans would have had their Idumaeen ethnic identity actually strengthened as a reaction to the campaigns of Judah Maccabee. The Hasmonean policies of expansion could have triggered a strong group formation process with all the associated identity symbols that would have resulted in barriers, rather than bridges to Judean culture.

This conflict could have created or reawakened what had been up until then a dormant Idumaeen identity. Before or at the time of the conquest of Maresha in 111 BCE, many Idumaeans probably fled as far as Egypt,⁷⁰ while some Idumaeans who did not leave would have assimilated into what became the Judean majority. Many may have begun to accept an *interpretation* of rituals that were previously shared but did not necessarily have the same

symbolic importance and perhaps even accepted the Judean explanation of their common lineage going back to Abraham and Esau. Herod's family represents one faction that assimilated into the dominant Judean polity and was duly rewarded. Nevertheless, they and others, including Judeans, clearly continued to view the Herodian/Idumaeen "Jews" as ethnic Idumaeans.⁷¹ They had joined the polity but maintained their Idumaeen ethnic identity.

Other Idumaeans continued to maintain elements of their ethnic identity for generations. An Idumaeen reawakening could also have found expression in a renaissance of the use of their ethnic theophoric name, Quas. Josephus (Ant 15.253–255) mentions that in the time of Herod, an Idumaeen priest of Quas, Costabar, was appointed governor of Idumaea and Gaza. He is said to have planned a rebellion against Herod partially in order to re-establish Idumaeen hegemony in the region. Idumaeen ethnic identity continued later in time, as shown in a fragment of the Tannaitic Midrash, *Sifre Zutta*, discovered in the Cairo Geniza, which mentions Idumaeen disciples of the School of Shammai.⁷² Josephus (Wars IV :279–331) describes the zealous involvement of the Idumaeen "Jews" who fought in the Great Revolt against Rome.

Finally, the fact that the Idumaeans, unlike other populations converted by the Hasmoneans, did not revert back to their ethnic traditions when given the opportunity following Pompey's conquest in 63 BCE, further supports the case for voluntary conversion. Pompey even refrains from detaching the eastern portion of Idumaea from truncated Judea. Josephus (War 1:155, Ant. XIV:74) refers to this policy as "confirming the nation within its own boundaries," suggesting that this region identified with Judea as opposed to western Idumaea which was more Hellenized and connected to the coastal cities.⁷³

The building of Idumaeen (?) sanctuaries such as the Machpela in Hebron and Mamre, in the territory of Idumaea, while clearly inconclusive, appears to have at least a loose connection to the revival of an Idumaeen ethnos and possibly also to the worship of their ethnic god Quas.⁷⁴ This is supported by the discovery of a small altar at Mamre with the name "Quas" inscribed on the back. It is curious that neither the rabbinic sources nor Josephus describe these sanctuaries, two of Herod's largest building projects. Magen also maintains that Judeans would not have initiated a shrine that was architecturally similar to the Holy Temple and placed it in Idumaea. Furthermore, he argues, tombs would have been a source of ritual impurity and therefore not a site of Jewish veneration.⁷⁵ The building of the

Machpela may have been a late attempt to create a collective memory that connected Idumaeans to Abraham and Esau, legitimizing the group's past, whether real or imagined.

In sum, the fate of the Idumaeans was not monolithic. Some of the people of Maresha probably continued to practice certain rituals they had practiced prior to *ca.* 111 BCE. While these rituals may have been similar to later Judean practices, it is possible that they had an entirely different purpose and symbolic meaning (albeit unknown to us today) for those involved. Others may have rejected these shared rituals as a reaction to the military campaigns of either Judah Maccabee or John Hyrcanus. The Judeans in this case would have become the proverbial “other.” These Idumaeans were probably those who left either for Egypt or the Hellenistic coastal cities identified as Western Idumaea. Quite a few probably retained varying degrees of Idumaeans ethnic awareness while identifying with the Judean polity and possibly the Judean version of Idumaeans ethnogenesis. They probably accepted some form of Judean interpretation of the shared rituals as in Herod's family. Others may have strongly objected to the Judean conquest as was the case of Costabar.

As in other parts of the Hellenistic world at this time, civic membership could be acquired by adopting particular customs or lifestyles and was not necessarily predetermined by place of birth or ethnos.⁷⁶ In light of our finds it seems that for some Idumaeans the actual change in their rituals following the conquest of John Hyrcanus, was not as dramatic as was once believed. What probably changed was the symbolic value and interpretation of these rituals.⁷⁷

Notes

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1 I. Stern, “The Population of Persian Period Idumea According to the Ostraca: A Study of Ethnic Boundaries and Ethnogenesis” in Y. Levin (ed.) *A Time of Change: Judah and Its*

- Neighbors in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Period* (2007), 205–238; A. Kloner and I. Stern, “Idumea in the Late Persian Period” in O. Lipschits, G. Knoppers and R. Albertz (eds.) *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE* (2007), 139–144; E. Eshel, “Inscriptions in Hebrew, Aramaic and Phoenician Script” in A. Kloner, E. Eshel, H. Korkzakova and G. Finkielsztein (eds.) *Maresha Excavations Final Report III: Epigraphic Finds from the 1989–2000 Seasons (IAA Reports 45, Jerusalem, 2010)*, 35–88.
- 2 I. Stern, “The Population” (op.cit.), 224–228; E. Eshel, E. Puech, and A. Kloner, “Aramaic Scribal Exercises of the Hellenistic Period from Maresha: Bowls A and B” *BASOR* 345 (2007), 39–62.
 - 3 J. Peters and H. Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa (Mareshah) Palestine Exploration Fund*, London 1905, 38–41.
 - 4 I. Stern, “The Population” (op. cit.), 221–222.
 - 5 E. Bloch-Smith, “Israelite Ethnicity in the Iron Age: Archaeology Preserves What is Remembered and What is Forgotten in Israel’s History” *JBL* (2003), 401–425.
 - 6 Diodoros 19.25.2
 - 7 Y. Levin, “The Southern Frontier of Yehud and the Creation of Idumea” in Y. Levin (ed.) *A Time of Change: Judah and Its Neighbors in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods* (2007), 239–242.
 - 8 Bloch-Smith, “Israelite Ethnicity” (op. cit. n.5), 403.
 - 9 F. Barth, “Introduction” in F. Barth (ed.) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Bergen–London: Universitets Forlaget–George Allen and Unwin, 1969), 9–13.
 - 10 A. Faust, *Israel’s Ethnogenesis: Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance* (Equinox Publishing Inc., 2006), 15–16.
 - 11 D. Small, “Group Identity and Ethnicity” in N. Silberman and D. Small, (eds.) *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present* (Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1997), 273–274.
 - 12 Faust, *Israel’s Ethnogenesis* (op. cit.), 18.
 - 13 I. Hodder, *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982) or for a summary see Faust, *Israel’s Ethnogenesis* (op. cit.), 11–19.
 - 14 Faust, *Israel’s Ethnogenesis* (op. cit. n. 10), 33.
 - 15 This is not the place to expand on the depiction of the Edomites, their god Quas, and their relationship with Judah, in the biblical text. Suffice it to say that in the biblical text Quas, in contradistinction to the biblical list of other neighboring regional gods, is given benign neglect. While observed alone, this may seem marginal, but in the context of the above mentioned Judean-oriented finds, in a predominantly non-Judean site, it requires further attention. See J. Kelly, “Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh” *Antiqua oriento* 7 (2009), 255–280. For aniconic/schematic representations of deities at Maresha see A. Kloner, “The Identity of the Idumeans Based on the Archaeological Evidence from Maresha” in O. Lipschits, G. Knoppers, and M. Oeming, (eds.) *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period* (Eisenbrauns, Winoma Lake, Indiana, 2010), 570. The material finds mentioned here were discovered in excavations of the Lower City of Maresha (an area of approximately 32 hectares),

led by I. Stern and B. Alpert, under the auspices of the Israel Antiquities Authority. The work was carried out by participants from Archaeological Seminars Institute with the cooperation of the Israel Nature and Parks Authority.

- 16 A. Erlich, "Typological Study and Catalog" in A. Erlich and A. Kloner, *Maresha Excavations Final Report II: Hellenistic Terracotta Figurines from the 1989–1996 Seasons* (IAA Reports, Jerusalem, 2008), 61, pl. 196; it is not included in Fig. 2. The discovery of Hellenistic period terracotta phalli have been discovered in other sites in the Levant but not circumcised.
- 17 In Iron Age I Philistine sites such as Ashkelon and Tell es Safi/Gath phallic shaped objects have been discovered. Those discovered in Ashkelon are uncircumcised while those in Tell es Safi are not distinguishable. A. Maeir, "A New Interpretation of the term 'Opalim in Light of Recent Archaeological Finds from Philistia'" *JSOT* 32/1 (2007): 23–40.
- 18 A. Ehrlich, *The Art of Hellenistic Palestine* (BAR international Series, Oxford, England, 2009), p 18–20 and see discussion with plates.
- 19 C. Roebuck, "The Asklepieion and Leona" *Corinth Vol. XIV* (American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, N.J., 1951), pp 117–118, Pls. 36–37.
- 20 F. M. Hodges, "The Ideal Prepuce in Ancient Greece and Rome: Male Genital Aesthetics and Their Relation to *Lipodermos*, Circumcision, Foreskin Restoration, and the *Kynodesme*" (*The Bulletin of the History of Medicine* Vol. 75, 2001 Fall), 375–405. For an example of a tapered prepuce on an erect penis in an erotic scene painted on an *oinochos* dated to 430 BCE see C. Johns, *Sex or Symbol?: Erotic Images of Greece and Rome* (Colonnade Books, London, 1982), fig. 34. In this case and in many others, the penis is erect but the prepuce still covers the glans.
- 21 S. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1999), 225. Cohen suggest that the practice began in the Hadrianic period but admits its origin is uncertain.
- 22 Hodges, "The Ideal" (op. cit. n. 19), 387, 394. See also an example of a terra-cotta circumcised phallus in W. Dever, (ed.) *Gezer IV: The 1969–71 Seasons in Field VI, the "Acropolis"* Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology 4 (Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, 1986), 115, Pl. 60.
- 23 Tacitus, *The Histories* 5.5 in M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem, 1974), 2.281.
- 24 Judaeus, *Special Laws* 1.1.2, in F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, (trans.) Philo (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1984), 7: 101; Hodges, "The Ideal" (op. cit. n. 19), p 388. See also Josephus, Ant. 20.38–48 on the danger of circumcision in a hostile environment and compare to L. H. Schiffman, "The Conversion of the Royal House of Adiabene in Josephus and Rabbinic Sources" in L. H. Feldman and G. Hata, (eds.) *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity* (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1987), 293–312. Although this is not the most significant factor in Philo's discussion, it would then explain the particular lengths that he went to re-contextualize the rite as one which was intended to restrain male sexual desire and thereby bring a man closer to God. See *Quaestiones et solutions in Genesin* 3:47, *De migration Abrahama* 16:92, and *De*

- specialibus legibus 1:4–7 and 9–10. See also M. Neihoff, “Circumcision as a Marker of Identity: Philo, Origen and the Rabbis on Gen 17:1–14” *JSQ* 10 (2003):89–123.
- 25 Hodges, “The Ideal” (op. cit. n. 19), 397–400; D. Schultheiss *et. al.*, “Uncircumcision: A Historical Review of Preputial Restoration” *Plastic & Reconstructive Surgery* 101 (1998), 1990–98; *Babylonian Talmud, Yebamot* 72A–B, trans. Neusner (n. 56), 13C: 49–51.
- 26 Herodotus 2:104
- 27 P.Cairo 59006, 59015, 58537. See also Kloner, “The Identity” (op.cit.), 569.
- 28 This contradicts the accepted scholarly view that circumcision only became a marker of ethnicity in the early exilic and post-exilic periods, when Jews were living in an environment where no one else was circumcised, i.e. among Assyrians and Babylonians. See S. Olyan “An Eternal Covenant with Circumcision as its Sign: How useful a Criterion for Dating and Source Analysis?” in *The Pentateuch: International Perspective on Current Research* (FAT 78; ed. T.B. Dozeman et al; Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011, 347–358. Nevertheless the exilic experience would have reinforced signs of ethnicity including circumcision. See also N. Wyatt, “Circumcision and Circumstance: Male Genital Mutilation in Ancient Israel and Ugarit” *JSOT* 33
- 29 I Macc. 1:48 and I Macc. 1:60–61. There is also the possibility that this claim is no more than Hasmonean rhetoric to accentuate the profile of circumcision among Jews, at a time when the rite could have slightly fallen into disfavor, as it subsequently did according to Philo, Tacitus and others. Nevertheless, it reflects a real or perceived symbolic significance to the rite.
- 30 16.2.34 Strabo ; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors* (op. cit. n. 22), 1.306.
- 31 Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors* (op. cit. n. 22), 1, No. 146.
- 32 It is possible, as Steiner suggests, that the circumcision practiced by the Idumaeans, like that of the Egyptians, was initially only a partial circumcision and only after the Hasmonean conquest became total. Nevertheless, the phalli discovered at Maresha appear to be fully circumcised. According to Steiner, Josephus was describing not the beginning of a new practice but a change from what had been an existing incomplete circumcision to what was now complete. R. Steiner, “Incomplete Circumcision in Egypt and Edom: Jeremiah (9:24–25) in Light of Josephus and Jonckheere” *JBL* 118, (1999), 497–505. This would explain the expression in Jer. 9:25 of “nations circumcised with a foreskin.”
- 33 A. Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans and Ancient Arabs*, JCB Mohr (P. Siebeck, Tubingen, 1988), 55. Kasher suggested the conversion was voluntary, that Josephus’s sources were anti-Hasmonean, and these reports were invented to discredit Hyrcanus and his successors.
- 34 For a detailed discussion of the issue of forced conversion see S. Weitzman “Forced Circumcision and the Shifting Role of Gentiles in Hasmonean Ideology” *Harvard Theological Review* 92 (1999), 37–59, and Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (op. cit. n. 20). See also S. Schwartz, “Conversion to Judaism in the Second Temple Period: A Functionalistic Approach” in S. Cohen and J. Schwartz, (eds.) *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Ancient Judaism; Louis H. Feldman Jubilee Volume* (Brill, Leiden/ Boston, 2007) 223–236.

- 35 A. Kloner, *Maresha Excavations Final Report I: Subterranean Complexes 21, 44, 70* (IAA Reports 17, Jerusalem, 2003), 15–16; A. Kloner and Y. Arbel, “Maresha Area 61 (Subterranean Complex)” *ESI* 17 (1996), 157–162; Kloner “The Identity” (op. cit. n. 15), pp 565–566.
- 36 F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898–1900* (London, 1902), 56.
- 37 R. Reich, “Archaeological Evidence of the Jewish Population at Hasmonean Gezer” *IEJ* 31 (1981), 5–48.
- 38 I Macc.13:43–48; Reich, “Archaeological Evidence” (op. cit. n. 34), 48.
- 39 E. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies*, (Trinity Press International, Philadelphia, 1990), 214–217; J. Milgrom, *Leviticus – Anchor Bible 3* (1991–2001), 220–228; T. Frymer-Kensky, “Pollution, Purification and Purgation in Biblical Israel” in C. Meyers and M. O’Conner, (eds.) *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 1983), 399–414.
- 40 B. Wright, “Jewish Ritual Baths – Interpreting the Digs and the Texts: Some Issues in the Social History of Second Temple Judaism” in N. Silberman and D. Small, (eds.) *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present* (Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1997), 292–293.
- 41 R. Reich “The Great Mikveh Debate” *BAR* 19 (1993), 52–53; Wright, “Jewish Ritual Baths” (op. cit. n. 40), 194–195.
- 42 S. Miller, “Stepped Pools and the Non-Existent Monolithic ‘Miqveh’” in *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the “Other” in Antiquity: Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyer* (American School of Oriental Research 60/61, Boston, 2007), p.215.
- 43 Wright, “Jewish Ritual Baths” (op. cit. n. 37), p.193.
- 44 See S. Miller, “Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels and Other Identity Markers of ‘Complex Common Judaism’” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 41 (2010), 214–243 for further discussion. Miller explains that contextual evidence is needed for stepped baths to be seen as ethnic markers, mentioning “a lone stepped pool at Maresha” as an example of an “ethnic marker” interpreted out of context. In light of our finds I believe his cited Maresha example needs to be reevaluated.
- 45 E. Eshel and A. Kloner, “An Aramaic Ostrakon of an Edomite Marriage Contract from Maresha, Dated 176 B.C.E.” *IEJ* 46 (1996), 2.
- 46 *Qidd.* 1:1–2 MS Erfurt.
- 47 Eshel and Kloner, “An Aramaic Ostrakon” (op. cit. n. 48), 21. For the formula ‘*Kedat Moshe and Yehudah*’ see Menachem Kister, “A History of the phrase ‘Kedat Moshe and Yehudah’” *Atara l’Hayim, Research in Literature of the Rabbinic Talmud in honour of Hayim Zalman Dimitrovsky*, ed. D Boyron *et al*, Jerusalem Magness, Hebrew University, 1960. (Hebrew) I thank Vered Noam for referring me to this article.
- 48 M. Geller, “New Sources for the Origins of the Rabbinic Ketubah” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 49 (1978), 227–245.
- 49 L. Rahmani “Jerusalem’s Funery Customs and Tombs, Part Three” *Biblical Archaeologist* 45/1 (1982) 43–53

- 50 O. Tal “On the Origin and Concept of the Loculi Tombs of Hellenistic Palestine” *Ancient West and East* 2 (2003) 288–307
- 51 D. Regev “The Transitional Phase between the Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Marissa.” 272–74 in *Third Scholarly Conference on Hellenistic Pottery, Thessalonika, September 1991*, ed. S. Drougou. Athens
- 52 A. Kloner “The Identity of the Idumeans Based on the Archaeological Evidence from Maresha” (2011) 571–572, in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* eds. O Lipschits, G. Knoppers, and M. Oeming. A. Kloner Maresha Excavations Final Report I: Subterranean Complexes 21, 44, 70 (*IAA Report* 17, Jerusalem, 2003) 26–27.
- 53 E. Meyers “Jewish Ossuaries: Reburial and Rebirth” (1971) in *Biblica Et Orientalia – N. 24* Rome 36.
- 54 Stern, “The Population” (op. cit. n. 1), 212–213; Kloner and Stern, “Idumea” (op. cit. n. 1), 143.
- 55 For the release of gases, see D. Adan-Bayewitz, “The Pottery from the Late Byzantine Building and Its Implications – Stratum 4” in L. Levine and E. Netzer, (eds.) *Excavations at Caesarea Maritime 1975, 1976, 1979* Qedem 21 (1986), 90–129.
- 56 Y. Baruch and G. Avni, “Excavations East of Herod’s Gate” *Qadmoniot* 122 (Israel Exploration Society, 2001) 96–101.
- 57 N. Avigad, “The Upper City of Jerusalem” *Shikmonah* (1980), Fig. 112 (Hebrew).
- 58 H. Geva, *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982 Vol. IV: The Burnt House of Area B and other Studies* (Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem, 2010), 137, plate 4.2.
- 59 A. Grossberg, “Cooking Pots with Holes Found in Jerusalem and the Customs of Haverim and Amei ha-Aretz” in E. Baruch and A. Faust, (eds.), *New Studies on Jerusalem* 8 (2002), 59 (Hebrew). “Cooking Pots” 69.
- 60 11QT 45:17; 48: 10–14; 49: 5–50: 19; V. Noam, *From Qumran to the Rabbinic Revolution: Conceptions of Impurity* (2010), 101–112 (Hebrew). See also Milgrom, *Leviticus* (op. cit. n. 36) and M. Wise, “A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11” *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 49, (Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1990), 138–139.
- 61 L. Schiffman, *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*. JSPSup 8 (JSOT.ASOR Monographs 2, Sheffield Academic, Sheffield, 1990), 135–156.
- 62 *mKelim* 3:1 *Babylonian Talmud: Shabbath* 95b, *Tosefta Kelim Baba Qamma*.
- 63 *Kelim* 2:1–57, 3:1–11; *Shabbat* 14:1 *vis* eight *sherazim*.
- 64 J. Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 2011), 69–70.
- 65 A more detailed study focusing on these vessels with holes, their sizes and the relationship to the sources will be undertaken in the near future by the author and Dr. Vered Noam.
- 66 See n.60.
- 67 M. Satlow, *Creating Judaism: History, Tradition, Practice* (Columbia University

- Press, New York, 2006), 288–292.
- 68 Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (op. cit. n. 20), 104–106. For a further discussion of “Jewish/Judean” identity see C. Baker, “A Jew by any Other Name?” *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 2 (2011), 153–180 and S. Mason, “Jews, Judeans, Judaizing: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 38 (2007), 457–512.
- 69 Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (op. cit. n. 20), 104–106. See also Esther 8:17, an acknowledged Hellenistic period text, “and many people of the land became Jews.”
- 70 U. Rappaport, “Les Idumeens en Egypte” *Revue de Philologie* 42 (1969), 73–82; Kasher, *Jews* (op. cit. n. 30), pp 56; E. Schurer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ I* (1986) 50.
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- 73 Kasher, *Jews* (op. cit. n. 30), 62.
- 74 Y. Magen “Mamre, A Cultic Site from the Reign of Herod” in G. C. Bottini *et. al.*, (eds.) *One Land Many Cultures* (Stadium Franciscanum, 2003), 245–247; Y. Magen, “Elonei Mamre: A Herodian Cult Site” *Qadmoniot* 24 (1991), 46–55; E. Netzer, *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder* (Tubingen, 2006), 228–231.
- 75 Magen, “Mamre” (op. cit. n. 72), 255–256.
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Maioumas Festivities in the Eastern Mediterranean Basin: Maioumas-Shuni as a Case Study

ESTÉE DVORJETSKI

This paper is an abridged version of two papers and presently is divided into two parts. The first is an historical study of the Maioumas, its origins, and the Jewish, Christian, and pagan written testimony of this ancient festival. The second part is an attempt to clarify the precise location of the village known in ancient times as Maioumas-Shuni, a suburb of Caesarea, and to relate this site to historical references of the Maioumas. Two sites contend for the ancient town of Shuni, while the title ‘Maioumas’ was added to it and to several other sites.

PART I

The name ‘Maioumas’ has been ascribed to several sites in the Land of Israel, and what is common to them all is their proximity to rivers, streams, springs or seashores, theatres and sometimes baths. The meaning of $\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ in Greek is to celebrate a special springtime festival held in May, and $\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ is either the festival itself, or an archaic Roman festival honouring Maia, Vulcan’s consort. The term also was used for the name of a site, and $\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ referred to a resident of that site (Sophocles 1890: 727; Carcopino 1919: 147). ‘Maioumas’ is a Hellenized linguistic form derived from the Semitic word *mayim* or *maya* in Aramaic or Syriac (Perles 1872: 251–254). In late antiquity, the most well known Maioumas festivals were at Maioumas-Gaza and Maioumas-Ashkelon. In addition to these two seaside suburbs there are others, including Maioumas-Shuni, less than five km away from Caesarea (Klein 1930: 54; Avi-Yonah 1976: 77; Safrai 1984: 152; Tsafirir, Di Segni, and Green 1994: 175).

What was the geographical distribution of the sites and what do we know about them? What characterized the Maioumas celebrations in the Eastern Mediterranean? Can the inscription on the Madaba Map, *‘bêth marzēah*

also known as the Maioumas' help in our interpretation of the festivities at Maioumas-Shuni? Did the theatre at Maioumas-Shuni function as an open cultic site for Caesarea? What is the contribution of the Maioumas festive activities to the study of leisure culture in Roman East?

Sites in the Land of Israel called 'Maioumas'

The best-documented historical evidence is for Maioumas-Gaza (Safrai 1980: 167; Dvorjetski 2001a: 100). In the 4th century CE, Emperor Constantine termed it a special city because of its tendency towards Christianity and called it Constantia Maiomas Neapolis (Rubin 1982: 235). Later, under Julian the Apostate, the people of Gaza submitted a legal suit against the people of Constantia, and the Emperor annexed this city to the former one, causing it to lose the name of Constantia that the 5th century CE Church Father Sozomenus called 'the maritime neighborhood of Gaza.' (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 3). On the 6th century CE Madaba mosaic map the port city of Gaza is called [Μαιουμᾶς ἢ καὶ Νεα[πό]λις [=Maioumas which is also Neapolis <New Gaza>] (Alliata 1999: 92). In the second half of the 6th century CE, the Christian pilgrim from northern Italy, Antoninus of Placentia wrote that Civitas Maioma Gazis [=the city of Maioma Gaza] was a mile away from Gaza (Schürer 1991: 102). The name Maioumas-Gaza, and in the Arabic version Mîmâs [=Miyamas], appears later, in the work of the 10th century geographer al-Muqaddasî as 'Mîmâs,' a small fortified town lying on the sea and belonging to Ghazzah (Le Strange 1965: 508).

Less than 20km to the north was Maioumas-Ashkelon, with Ashkelon proper further to the north and Saraphaea (Khirbet a-Sheraf), to the east. At the end of the 3rd century CE, a polis was erected there called Diocletianupolis (Phythian-Adams 1921: 76–90; Abel 1938: 252–253; Avi-Yonah 1966: 150; Fuks 2001: 72–79). In the *Babylonian Talmud* (*Avoda Zarah* 11b), 'Tzrifâ [Saraphaea] in Ashkelon' was listed among one of the "five appointed Temples of idol-worship". In view of the textual connection, it is clear that the reference is to an important fair, a regional market place combined with a pagan festival (Lieberman 1959: 75–81; Safrai 1984: 152; Dvorjetski 1993a: 36). The name of the Bishop of Sarepheae appears in the lists of church councils from the 4th century CE until the end of the Byzantine period (Bagatti 1971: 92). However, the exact location of Maioumas-Ashkelon has not yet been confirmed.

Another site called Maioumas was located southeast of Sebastia [Samaria] at ‘Ain Harūn near Kefar al-Nakura. A temple and cavern were carved into the depths of the Sheikh-Sha‘leh hill near the village. The ‘Ain Harūn spring emerges from within a cavernous space carved out from the mountain. The construction stones of the building are carefully dressed. The height of the vaulted ceiling is 1.65 m, and it is 30m wide. The length of the cavern is over 80m. A large and spacious room in the middle of the cavern, the long corridor leading to it, the splendor of its vaulted ceilings and impressive stone facings, testify to the great effort in its construction (Crowfoot, Kenyon, and Sukenik 1942: 74–80). Ruins bearing the name ‘Maioumas’ nearby hint that pagan cult practices existed here too (Braslavsky 1954: 286–289).

Testimony for the existence of a Maioumas was preserved for Maioumas-Gerasa among the Decapolis cities on the eastern bank of the Jordan. Gerasa bordered on the crossroad of major highways, and commercial traffic gave it great economic importance. The Chrysorrhoas River [=Golden River] flowed within its boundaries (Mentzu-Meimare 1990: 69–73; Schürer 1991: 149–155; Browning 1994: 18–58). From the north gate of Gerasa, at the end of the ‘proceSSIONAL road’ some 1500 m north of Gerasa is the open cultic site of Birketein where a gate stands towards the entrance to the open cultic site with a double pool and a late 2nd century CE theatre (Segal 1995: 71; Ball 2000: 188). The pool (88×44m) has surrounding colonnades, buildings, and the remains of temples and tombs (Kraeling 1938: 159–167; Khouri 1986: 134–136). Such a festival is attested to as ‘most enjoyable’ (χαριέστατος) at Gerasa in the 6th century CE at the two basins of Birketein, north of Gerasa (Welles 1938: 470–471, no. 279; MacMullen 1981: 21). The theatre had 14 rows of seats (*cavea*) built on the natural slope. Segal suggested that the stage structure was low in order to allow the spectators to have a better view of the open pool in which water games were played as part of the Maioumas festivities. The theatre probably was erected especially for celebration of the Maioumas festival (Jones 1973: 1021, note 76).

Another Maioumas site appears on the late 6th century CE mosaic pavement of the Madaba church. To the east of the Dead Sea, south of Charachmoba, the following names are inscribed: BHTOMAPΣEA H K(AI)//MAIOYMAΣ [=bêth marzēah also known as the Maioumas] (Alliata 1999: 59). On the map appears a bathhouse, perhaps the niches of a *nymphaeum*. In front of this building, below the inscription are streams of water emerging from both directions. Around these are plants that

symbolize the rich flora and the abundance of fresh water (Avi-Yonah 1954: 41). According to Musil, the term *Bêth Marzēah* is preserved in the name el-Mezra'a [Μαρσεα] (Musil 1907, Vol. I: 170). Remains of the town were found near Ka Kafr al-Balida (or Baldiyya) south of Wadi Beni-Hammâd. The ruins are about five to six kms from the shore of the Dead Sea. Abel identified the site with Bab-a-Dara'a (Abel 1911: 60–62). Although never excavated, perhaps the 'bêth marzēah' belonged to a suburb, a small port on the seashore.

***Bêth Marzēah* is also (known as) the Maioumas**

The phrase *bêth marzēah* that appears on the Madaba mosaic map can help to clarify the concept of 'Maioumas' in relation to the physical sites (Büchler 1901: 125–128; Dvorjetski and Salem-El-Khoury [forthcoming, 2013]). The word *marzēah* implies feasting, celebration with song and music and also raising the voice in cries and wailings (Even-Shoshan 1969, Vol. II: 779). It is not unlikely that the Semitic name received a Greek form in the Madaba map. The Semitic term *marzēah* is attested to from the 14th century BCE through the Roman-Byzantine period. It existed in a number of geographical locations in the areas where the various North-West Semitic languages such as Punic, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic were used. It was both a religious and social institution, with banqueting as the main feature, familiar to Phoenician, Punic, Israelite, Judean society and to the natives of Athens, Carthage, Elephantine, and Nabataea. The *marzēah* feasts were held under the patronage of one of the high gods of the pantheon. In some bilingual Greek inscriptions from Palmyra and Greek inscriptions from Nabataea, the leader of the *marzēah* is called συμποσιάρχος [*symposiarch*]. At Palmyra feasts were often held at houses of celebrated *hetairai* and attended by waitresses and musicians. These feasts were characterised by heavy drinking, particularly in consumption of wine. Sometimes the *marzēah* was the setting for mourning rites that consisted of eating and drinking comparable to a bacchanalian banquet. The Semitic *marzēah* assimilated with the Greek Dionysiac *thiaos* in the Hellenistic period.¹

The Talmudic tradition also referred to the *marzēah*, characterized by excessive drinking and orgies. On the eve of the conquest of Canaan, the Israelites engaged in sexual intercourse with Moabite women and participated in their sacrifices to Ba'al Peor (*Numbers* 25:1–2). Commenting

on this incident, the *Sifrei* (*Numbers* 131), identified these banquets or sacrifices as *marzēhim*, and invited the Israelites to join and eat, while the *Midrashim* relate the *marzēah* to the Maioumas festivals (*Leviticus Rabbah* 5, 3; *Numbers Rabbah* 10:3, 7; *Tanhuma* 8). Rabbi Aibu of the 4th century CE explains the verse in *Amos* 6:7:

What is ‘banquet of layabouts’? ... thirteen Maioumases they had in the Land of Israel; each for every tribe, and one for all of them. All were destroyed except one in order to make known what abominations were done there.

Leviticus Rabbah 5, 3, (*Margulies ed.*), 108

In this and other Rabbinic texts the most important feature of the *marzēah* is drinking that leads to depravity and licentiousness and culminates in idolatrous worship (McLaughlin 2001: 61–64; Schorch 2003: 403–404). Klein suggested that the only Maioumas festival referred to by Rabbi Aibu was Maioumas-Shuni that took place “in the theatre and surrounding area, near the springs of Nahal Taninim and its baths that were only about 5 km distant from Caesarea” (Klein 1930: 55). Even if there are few details about this particular Rabbi, he clearly knew Greek and lived in Caesarea where he became familiar with the lives of the gentile and Jewish residents of the city. Furthermore, from the Talmudic stories of Rabbi Aibu it is clear that Jewish residents participated in the Maioumas, while he warned them not to do what the Israelites had once done. in the words of the *Genesis Rabbah* 28, 5, “What was done in the coastal cities was not even done in the generation of flood” (Theodor-Albeck ed., 264).

The Maioumas Festivities

During the Byzantine period there existed two types of entertainments and public spectacles: religious festivals in honor of Christian martyrs or the dedication of a church, and secular festivities held on fixed occasions according to the traditions of the city. Festivities and periodic games were conducted in cities during the Second Temple period, such as in Caesarea where King Herod inaugurated festivities to celebrate its founding (πενταετηρικοῦς ἀγῶνας) (Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* I, 415; Bunson 1994: 156). These included music competitions, gymnastics, gladiatorial combats, hunting of wild animals, and horse racing. There is a great resemblance between the festivities in both Roman and Byzantine periods, since in a Christian city as in a pagan one, the celebrations and spectacles were

combined with the religion of the city, such as with the cult of martyrs and patron saints (Dan 1984: 201–203; Jacobs 1998, Vol. I: 334–336).

The characteristics of the Maioumas festivities were given comprehensive coverage in the written sources from the end of the Roman and Byzantine periods. Rhetoricians and Sophists wrote the most testimonies, as they often travelled from city to city giving orations during public celebrations, including church dedications, ceremonies in honour of the Emperor or of city notables, or during various dramatic performances (Dan 1984: 98–99). Particularly in those cities where various festivities were held in the suburbs, such as Gaza, Ashkelon, Caesarea and Gadara, that were famed for their promotion of high classical studies and as important centres for the composition of literary works.

Some of the speeches by Choricus of Gaza were dedicated to these festive occasions. In one of his extant speeches, this head of the school of rhetoric praised Makarianus, Bishop of Gaza, and emphasized the importance of a classical literary education together with a Christian education. The festivities of πανήγυρις in his city reflect a dynamic city, crowded and tumultuous, with throngs of people, citizens, and guests from abroad, as well as merchants of all kinds who took the opportunity of the festive occasion to make some profit. In colourful language he describes the cries of peddlers trying to attract buyers, and the decorated booths, tents and stalls filled with abundant merchandise. The celebrations were for both the citizens and for their guests, including the notables of other cities. He stresses that during the fair and the festival days, Gaza was illuminated at night (Abel 1931: 5–31; Meyer 1966b: 66–67; Dan 1984: 202).² Rabinovitch wrote about Choricus: “He was admired by his pupils and the people of his city; by his very nature he was drawn towards friendly conversation, festivities, and theatre performances, and could not abide crude games such as chariot racing competitions and boxing bouts” (Rabinovitch 1949: 174). As a central figure in the classical school of Gaza and the pupil of the Christian Sophist Procopius, Choricus serves as a primary source of evidence for the fact that the “Festival of Roses” was still being celebrated in Gaza in the 6th century. This festival might have been a local version of the Maioumas festivities. According to a quite late source, the 7th century *Chronicon Paschale*, Emperor Hadrian established the fair in Gaza that bore his name (πανήγυρις Ἀδριανή) and sold there the Jewish captives who had remained in his hands after the suppression of the Bar Kochba Revolt (*Chronicon Paschale* I, p. 474; Choricus, *Dialexeis in Choricus Gazae*:

Opera, I, 88, p. 24; Meyer 1966: 58; Dan 1984: 198–199; Ashkenazi 1995: 53–62; cf. Belayche 2004: 8–10). Clermont-Ganneau described the yearly Maioumas festival as a regional fair to which masses of people came from all over the country (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: 435). South of Gaza there was a village called Shuk Mazai (Συκκαμαζών) [=food market] identified today with Khirbet Suq Mazin indicating perhaps that a central marketplace was once here (Avi-Yonah 1954: 74; Schwartz 1986: 156).

The Talmudic tradition makes clear that the Gaza fair was well known. The fair aroused the interest of Rabbi Yitzhak ben Nahman the Southerner: “Rabbi Yitzhak bar Nahman asked Rabbi Haninah, what is the character of the fair at Gaza?” (*Jerusalem Talmud, Avoda Zarah* 1, 4 [39d]). The *Jerusalem Talmud, Bikkurim* 3, 3 [65d] also relates that this Sage “was in Gaza, and they appointed him on the stipulation that he would return [to the land]”. Sages of the Galilee did not regard Gaza as part of the Land of Israel, and according to the *halakha*, by which an appointment or authorization was not given abroad, they appointed Rabbi Yitzhak only on condition that he return to the Galilee. Nevertheless, Jews came to Gaza for trade (Schwartz 1986: 191–192; Roth-Gerson 1987: 104).

Mime and pantomime performances were staged in the theatres of the Land of Israel. Pantomimes were more favored among the higher social levels and the intelligentsia of Roman society, while the mimes were especially popular among the population because of their lighter character. The main shows had dance and acrobatics accompanied by speeches, caricatures and obscenities (Beacham 1999, s.v. ‘Mimes’, ‘Pantomimes’). Caesarea excelled over other cities in the country in its performances of no lesser quality than those held in a number of cities in Syria and Phoenicia (Dan 1984: 207). From Rabbinic literature and Christian writings we learn about the theatre in Caesarea in which mimes or pantomimes were staged at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th centuries CE. According to the *Jerusalem Talmud, Ta’anioth* 1, 4 [64b], a pantomime appeared on the stage in two types of dance: “five sins does that man [I] do every day, hiring whores, cleaning the theatre, bringing home their garments for washing, dancing, and banging cymbals before them” (Dvorjetski 1999: 122–124; Weiss 2001: 439–440). Clear evidence for mime performances is presented in the *Midrash Lamentations Rabbah* (3:14, Buber ed., p. 127), in the description of anti-Jewish satires that was preserved in rabbinical literature. A text is

quoted in the name of Rabbi Abbahu, the head of the Caesarea academy, and there is little doubt he was testifying to what was being staged in his city during his time as in theatres the people were sitting, eating, and getting drunk. The contemporaneous Bishop Eusebius wrote that pantomime performances were staged in the theatre of Caesarea for public enjoyment when Emperor Maximinus Daia (303–313 CE) visited there (*De martyribus Palaestinae*, IX, 2, p. 920).

A mid-4th century CE text by an unknown author, the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* [A Description of the Whole World and its Peoples] noted that the city also excelled in its pantomime performances (Rougé 1966:166). Epigraphic evidence from Caesarea clearly indicate that the best actors came to Maioumas-Shuni, as for example, the anonymous pantomime from Magnesia in Asia Minor, who performed on the stage in the theatre of Caesarea (Kern 1900, no. 192); and the main comedy actor from Daphne near Antioch who visited Caesarea at the beginning of the 3rd century CE and performed on stage (Brusa Gerra 1966: 224, no. 11; Lifshitz 1977: 510; Lehmann and Holum 2000: 127).

Characteristics of the Maioumas Festivities

Ashkelon gained the prestige of being the sanctuary of the goddess of love and fertility. The consort of Ba'al, Ashtoreth, the Canaanite goddess of fertility, was represented as Tyche-Astarte with a dove, the symbol on the coins of the city (de Saulcy 1878: 178–179; Meshorer 1990: 242–246). Developing alongside this cult was another syncretic cult of Ashtoreth-Derceto (Atargatis or Athargatis), the fish goddess who was displayed as half fish and half woman. Fish and water serve as symbols of fertility and copulation. Her coupling with a mortal expresses the mysteries of her rites. She is typically portrayed as a woman holding a dove. The pantheon of erotic gods in the city also included Dionysus-Bacchus, the god of wine and ecstasy. A god distinctive for Ashkelon was Phanebal-Panebalos (Φανήβαλος), which combines the Phoenician gods Ba'al and Tanith into the figure of one god, male and female together. It may be that the Ashkelon Apollo was the Greek counterpart of the Phoenician Phani-Ba'al which appears clearly on the coins of the city from the reign of Augustus. The gods and their attributes that appear on Ashkelon coinage testify to the temples that were erected in the city (Teixidor 1977: 96–97; Meshorer 1985: 26–28;

idem., 1990: 242–246; Finkielsztejn 1992: 51–58; Stager 1993: 108–111; Fuks 2000: 27–48; Kokkinos 1998: 117–121).

Ashtoreth essentially embodied the mysteries of love and fertility, florescence and withering, and her cult was celebrated with orgies (Meyer 1966: 645–650; Posner, Paul, and Stern 1987: 25). Both Herodotus and Pausanias heard that the temple of the ‘heavenly Aphrodite’, towered above Ashkelon and was the most ancient of all her temples (Herodotus, *Historiae*, II, 105; Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, I, XIV, 6). ‘The House of Ashtoreth’ in Philistia was apparently the famed Ashkelon temple of the Canaanite goddess (Lagrange 1905: 147; Driver 1913: 230). Traces of Ashtoreth are familiar among archaeological finds in Ashkelon. For example, there is a marble panel of the 2nd or 3rd century CE with a relief of the goddess of fertility holding her belly in her hands, the head of a dove that embodies desire, and on either side of her are two nude women associated with her cult (Dussaud 1912: 68–70, no. 80; Efron 1990: 309; Dvorjetski 2001a: 110). From an inscription on a marble monument from Athens of the 3rd century CE, which was written in Greek and Latin, we find evidence of this syncretism in the Hellenized description of the Phoenician Ashtoreth. In Greek it says: “I am Antipatros son of Aphrodisios of Ashkelon”, and in Phoenician: “Anakh [I am] Sham ben Abd Ashtoreth Ashkeloni [of Ashkelon]” (Di Segni 1990: 83–84, no. 28). The colorful style and behavior of the oriental Ashtoreth-Aphrodite were absorbed into the figure of the Roman Venus, although to a more moderate and restrained degree (Wissowa 1912: 290–291).

Although the consort of Ashtoreth was Adonis (Lord-Baal), she was coupled with Dionysus, the god of wine. In the Greek pantheon, Dionysus’ cult involved wine-drinking in excess, and took on aspects of ecstasy and orgiastic wildness. During cult ceremonies, replicas of the male organ, the Φαλος were brandished, which represented the god (Herodotus, *Historiae*, II, 48–49; III, 8; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, I, 22; III, 65; IV, 6; Dixon-Kennedy 1998: 113–116; Dvorjetski 2001c: 79–93). Since ancient times Dionysus was associated with the goddesses of fertility.

Orgies, licentiousness and spectacles in honour of the gods were a major part of the nightly Maioumas celebrations. The concept ‘Maioumas’ may have been coined in view of the ancient custom of water libations that originated in style and cultic nature with the worship of Ashtoreth-Aphrodite and Derceto-

Atargatis, with the hidden significance of a mythological-magic image of fruition. All these explain its location near springs, lakes and seashores (Preisendanz 1930: 610–612; Drexler 1966: 2286–2288).³

Beraivot in Rabbinic literature reflect historical evidence related to our discussion, such as the instruction of the Sanhedrin Patriarch, Simeon ben Shetah, who supposedly hung eighty witches in Ashkelon:

Eighty women did Simeon ben Shetah hang in Ashkelon. They do not judge two capital cases on the same day, but the times required it. It has been taught: Said Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob, 'I have heard that the courts may inflict punishment not in accord with the law and not in accord with the Torah' [when the times require it]. *Jerusalem Talmud, Hagigah 2, 2 [77b-78a] ibid., Sanhedrin 6, 9 [23c]; Efron 1990: 323–324; Dvorjetski 2001c: 107; Ilan 2001: 135–146*

Midrash Lamentations Rabbah (1, 11) hints at the common phenomenon of prostitution in the streets of Ashkelon under the auspices of the gods of lust, and it seems that it reflects the atmosphere known there: "Rabbi Phinehas said, 'It happened that two harlots of Ashkelon were quarrelling'".

Archaeologists have raised the possibility that a 4th century CE bath at Ashkelon might have functioned as a brothel. The bathhouse was built over several earlier villas, including a villa with erotic lamps. Their hypothesis, whether the upper structure was a small public bath or a large private one, is supported both by a fragmentary Greek inscription found on a plastered panel of a bathtub that read "*Enter, enjoy, and [...]*," which is identical to an inscription found in a Byzantine bordello in Ephesus and by a gruesome discovery in which nearly 100 infants' skeletons were found crammed into a sewer under the bathhouse, with a gutter running along its well plastered bottom. The good condition of the bones indicated that the infants had been tossed into the drain immediately after birth. This manner of disposal of the infants shows a rather callous attitude, suggesting that these might represent abortions or infanticide, rather than death from natural causes. Thus, the prostitutes of Ashkelon used the baths not only for hooking clients but also for surreptitiously disposing of unwanted births in the din of the crowded bathing halls (Stager 1991: 35–53; Smith and Kahila 1991: 47; Stager 1993: 111; Dauphin 1996: 62–63; idem., 1998: 189–190; McGinn 2004: 209, 221; Dvorjetski 2007a: 50–51; idem., 2007b: 46–47).

Archaeological finds from Ashkelon corroborate the existence of pagan cults, as for example the fragment of a lintel on which Dionysus and the shepherd god Pan are portrayed within vine tendrils (Iliffe 1934: 165–166, Pl. LXVII) or

Ashtoreth and Aphrodite on the coins of the city (Meshorer 1985: 26: nos. 42, 44, 45; 28, no. 53). A bust of Aphrodite, a Roman statue of Aphrodite emerging from the bath, and another one in which she is kneeling, all of which strengthen this claim (Gersht 1995: 113–116). An inscription from Delos mentions a merchant from Ashkelon who became a citizen of Naples and revered the Syrian Atargatis (Will 1985: 141). In the port city of Puteoli south of Rome, there is a tomb inscription of Herod son of Aphrodisius, a native of Ashkelon, which indicates the popularity of Aphrodite in Roman Ashkelon (*CIL*, Vol. X, no. 1746; Di Segni 1990: 84–86, no. 36). The 3rd century CE cave sepulchers c. 2 km north of Tel Ashkelon and c. 100 m to the east of the seashore, were decorated with wall frescos of doves among vine tendrils in clear association with Aphrodite and Dionysus (Michaeli 2001: 175–202). A miniature model of one of the famous buildings of Ashkelon, the ‘golden basilica’, which was bought by an Egyptian official in the city during his journey from Egypt to Antioch at the beginning of the 4th century CE, was apparently the temple to Aphrodite (Schwabe 1954: 181–185; Dvorjetski 1993: 27–40). Painters integrated into their work the erotic atmosphere of the city by presenting orgiastic elements that characterized Maioumas festivities.

Ashkelon and Gaza excelled in their production of wine, which was exported as far as Londinium (London). In the 4th century CE work by an unknown author, *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, Ashkelon and Gaza are noted for their wealth, abundant merchandise of quality products, especially of their excellent wine:

Ascalon et Gaza... mittunt omni regioni Syriae et Aegypti vinum optimum.
 Ashkelon and Gaza... sends to all the areas of Syria and Egypt the best wine.
Rougé 1966: 162; Mayerson 1985: 75–80

Wine jars from Ashkelon and Gaza also appear in papyri as products imported into Egypt (Johnson and West 1949: 148). Stephanus of Byzantium, in his book *Ethnica* of the 6th century CE, speaks about the jars named for Ashkelon Ἀσκαλωνῖα κεράμια (1849: 132; Dvorjetski 2001b: 126). During excavations at the ‘third mile estate’ in Ashkelon, two workshops were exposed where these Ashkelon jars were made (Israel 2001: 213–226; Oked 2001: 227–250). Ashkelon wine was also mentioned in Byzantine medical texts (Mayerson 1995: 90).

In a speech ‘For the benefit of those representing life in the theatre’, Choricus mentions the celebration, a kind of festival, that was held near

Caesarea, in Maioumas-Shuni, in the presence of the mayor, notables, theatre people and rhetoricians. He notes in Gaza that the governor Stephanus would be able to complete the construction of the theatre for the summer season's entertainment (Choricus, *Dialexeis in Choricus Gazae: Opera*, XXXII; Rabinovitch 1949: 180). Although theatres in Gaza or in Maioumas-Gaza have not yet been uncovered, the Madaba map shows the oval-shaped city and from its main eastern gate a road is depicted leading outside the city walls southwards to the theatre located there (Alliata 1998: 92).

An annual fair (πανήγυρις) was also held in the thermo-mineral baths of Hammat-Gader. From the descriptions of the Church Father Epiphanius of the 4th century CE, a colorful atmosphere prevailed at that site to which cure-seekers came from all over the Empire: "There is an annual gathering [fair] there. Persons who wished to bathe for a certain number of days arrive from every quarter to rid themselves of their ailments... Men and women bathe together" (*Panarion, Adversus Haereses*, XXX, 7; Dvorjetski 2007a: 147–148). Caves were scattered through the burial area of Gadara, and according to him groups of youngsters used to drag women into them for acts of lechery. Efron is of the opinion that the caves of corruption seekers recall the Ashkelon cave both in nature and purpose (1990: 338). Ashtoreth-Aphrodite in her many guises desired many caves in the eastern Mediterranean Basin, and so did the Syrian Atargatis (Dussaud 1903: 109–110; Toutain 1909: 75–76; Tümpel 1928, Vol. II: 2729–2781). Caves dedicated to the cultic rites of Dionysus-Bacchus have also been found (Nilsson 1953: 185). People thronged to the healing baths of Hammat-Gader and the annual celebrations resembled those of the Maioumase festivities, according to Goodman (2000: 48) and Efron (1990: 338). The central events of the fair were the festivities in honour of Heracles, the patron and protector of merchants (Safrai 1986: 485–486). In addition, from numismatic evidence from Gadara, the mother city of Hammat-Gader, and from a *baraita* in the *Jerusalem Talmud* (*Shabbat* 3, 4 [6a]), the pagan fair was also in honour of the Three Graces – τρεῖς Χάριτες – the original name of the Hammat-Gader baths (Dvorjetski 2000: 85–93). The existence of the fair recalls the homily in *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* (5, 10) in which Hammat-Gader is described as a place in which throngs of people come to buy and sell. They are represented as maidens holding each other's shoulders and accompanying Apollo, Dionysus and Artemis, and especially Eros and Aphrodite. In classical Greece, celebrations and festivals were held in their honour. The main celebration was held at night with the accompaniment of

dancing and singing. Special foods were offered to the celebrants, cakes made of flour and honey, χάρισα, that were meant to arouse love (Dvorjetski 1994: 100–115; 2007a: 355–359).

Use of the term *marzēah* for festive celebrations and sacrifices to the gods, either joyful or for sorrow and mourning, shows that theatres and the theatre-like courtyards served as mass gathering places for religious rituals as well as secular events even in Nabataean temples, compounds and theatres (Dvorjetski and Salem-El-Khoury [forthcoming, 2013]).

Antagonism towards the Maioumas

The public spectacles and games were the most important part of the various festivities. But there were also cultural activities and social experiences in which the rise of Christianity brought about change. Christian sources document the struggle of the Church against the Maioumas festivals that were so popular for all ranks of the population. Emperor Constantius II forbade them, but a short while later Julian the Apostate permitted them. Julian then prohibited them once again, and Emperor Theodosius reaffirmed their prohibition. During the reign of Arcadius and Honorius we hear of alternating permissions and prohibitions. In the Theodosian Code special legislation was devoted to the festival. At first it was allowed to be held on condition that it was conducted in “a modest and respectable manner”. This condition was certainly not observed as it was prohibited once again in the Justinian Code (Jones 1973: 978). The latest evidence of the Maioumas festivities being held throughout the Byzantine Empire is from 770 CE, during the reign of Leo IV when the Maioumas festivities were held in Constantinople (Drexler 1966: 2287; Segal 1995: 11).

Both Jewish and Christian sources castigate the licentious and orgiastic character of the Maioumas festivities and their connections with water and the theatre. The very survival of the term pagan, which was often associated with those places on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Basin, and their cultural ascription, may be reflected in the preservation of clear idolatrous elements that are so prominent in classical literature, in Talmudic literature, and in archaeological finds (Levine 1998). According to the Talmud, the practices held in Maioumas-Ashkelon reflect the character and way of life of Ashkelon as a place for erotic cults, orgies, and the performances to Ashtoreth-Aphrodite and Dionysus-Bacchus.

The Greek pagan orator Libanius of Antioch (319–393 CE), who fought

against Christianity and the corrupt practices of its adherents, decried the Maioumas festivities as a whole. He castigated the men who left their families and went to Daphne near Antioch to carouse at their festival for five days or more. He stressed that the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate forbade holding the festivities (*Orationes*, XVI, 1; Preisendanz 1930: 610–612; Liebeschuetz 1972: 230–231; Belayche 2004: 17). The Christian Church Father Ioannes Chrysostomus studied law and rhetoric under Libanius and became a well-known preacher. Ioannes too denounced the mass water spectacles and celebrations in which licentiousness was an essential element. In a sermon delivered in Antioch in 390 CE, he spoke against naked women swimming together with men in the theatre pool:

You rush to the theatres to look at women swimming and displaying their nakedness ... to admire a prostitute swimming and thus to drown your own soul, because these waters are a sea of depravity, that does not drown the body – but leads to the drowning of the soul... many women are floating on those waters, like the bodies of the Egyptians that once floated. What is even more painful is that they call this abandonment pleasure, and call the sea of abandon – the sea of enjoyment ... Even if you have not come into contact with the prostitutes, do not think you are free from sin because you have sinned fully by mere desire ... flee from the fiery water and from the burning river of hell, escape from the pool in the theatre ...

Momiliae VII in Matthaëum, 6, 7; MacMullen 1981: 21; Gilula 1994: 47

The Byzantine chronographer Malalas of Antioch (491–578 CE) defined the Maioumas festivities as an immoral pagan Syrian festival in honor of Dionysus and Aphrodite (*Chronographia*, XVIII, 232). According to him, it was held for thirty days every three years with a nightly theatrical event in the light of torches and fireworks. The sources are not in agreement as to the duration of the festival. Some assert it took seven days, such as the Christian bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, Theodoretus (423–457 CE) (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 14), and some note that it lasted five days (Preisendanz 1930: 611). The anonymous author of the 10th century Greek lexicon *Suidas* referred to the Byzantine period and noted that the Maioumas were celebrated in the month of May on the seashore, and during their course much emphasis was placed on eating, drinking and debauchery. He mentioned that even in Ostia, the port of Rome on the Tiber River, notables and senior government officials used to dive into the sea in honor of Aphrodite and Dionysus (*Suidae Lexicon*, III, s.v. ‘Μαιουμάς’; Perles 1871: 100; Sawyer 1996: 62–65).

The Maioumas festivities held on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean

Basin were unique for each site and had local features preserving culture traditions. Theatrical events were also conducted similar to water dramas. These water spectacles were famous for their questionable character, but were widespread throughout the Roman-Byzantine Empire. The early Church vehemently opposed entertainments of this kind, but found it difficult to uproot this type of performance which was so much enjoyed by the inhabitants of cities in the Land of Israel, southern Syria and Arabia (Beacham 1999, s.v. ‘Mimes’; Dalby 2000: 236–237).

Part II

Maioumas-Shuni and Caesarea

In 1873, the British Survey of Western Palestine noted that near the Jewish settlement of Binyamina on the road leading up towards Zichron Ya’akov was a 19th century Arab house built on the ruins of a theatre. The area was recorded as the Arabic ‘Shuni,’ previously known as ‘Mamas’ (Conder and Kitchener 1882: 66–67). Over fifty years later, Samuel Klein, a noted geographer of Israel, claimed that:

In relation to the first [Maimas] which stands at the foot of the low Khasem mountain [=Hotem HaCarmel], north of the beautiful Jewish settlement of Binyamina there are numerous columns and remains of buildings, and also the remnants of a mosaic, which give evidence that an ancient place once stood here. As already realized from other sources, the very building in which a group of Jewish workers are now living, was built on top of a Roman theatre. The building and its close vicinity were so important to the inhabitants of this area centuries ago that they were given the special name of Maimas or Mamas. ... These two points that we have visited, Maimas [Maioumas] and Shuni, require examination and investigation because of their antiquity.

Klein 1930: 54

Written sources on the Location of Shuni

In the Latin travel itinerary *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, written by an anonymous Christian pilgrim from Bordeaux in 333 CE, there is a list of well-known way stations available to travelers throughout the Roman Empire.⁴ Rarely, events and traditions relating to holy sites were added to the list. Among these, mentioned for the first time in historical sources, was the site in the vicinity of Caesarea:

In tertio miliario est mons Syna ubi fons est in quem mulior si lauerit grauida fit.

At the third mile [=milestone] from there [Caesarea] there is Mount Syna where there is a spring, and women who wash in it become pregnant.

Itinerarium Burdigalense, 13; Tsafir, Di Segni, and Green 1994: 175; Limor 1998: 28

Scholars have often discussed the precise location of Mount Syna. On the one hand, in 1910, Hartmann suggested it was in Nebi Tata south of Shefeya (Hartmann 1910: 172). On the other hand, in 1930, Benvenisti showed that Nebi Tata is far too distant from Caesarea and is not on the ancient road from Caesarea to the Valley of Jezreel (Benvenisti 1930: 51). Benvenisti toured the area in 1930, and correctly located Mount Sina (=Mons Syna) at esh-Shuni, adding that the Arabic name preserves the ancient one.⁵ The identity of Mount Sina is therefore based mainly on the distance from the city of Caesarea and the resemblance of the name ‘Mount Sina’ to the village of Shuni, which apparently had given its name to the mountain. Shuni received its water from the Ein Tzur spring, and was the only Roman-Byzantine site in the region.

The Bordeaux pilgrim set out from Caesarea on the Roman road that passes alongside the aqueduct serving the city. Travelling northeast, after he passed the Sharon region he reached the Carmel ridge, and encamped in the settlement of Syna near the springs there. The distance of three Roman miles and the word ‘mons’ correspond well to the distance between Caesarea and Shuni as well as its topographic features.⁶

The Land of Israel has few rivers with an abundant flow of water throughout the year. The difficult-to-date *Midrash of Psalms* (24, 6, Buber ed., pp. 205–206) mentions that: “... the Land of Israel ... sits upon four rivers, the Jordan, the Yarmouk, Kermeion and Feiga”. The third of these rivers is probably ez-Zarqa, the Crocodile River (*Crocodilon Flumen* [=Nahal Tananim]) so-named owing to the crocodiles in its waters and marshes along its banks.⁷ Not far from its springs stood Kefar Shumi (also Shina or Sina), the Shuni of today. The late antique village was located some distance away from the theatre, approximately where the modern town of Binyamina was built. Whoever wished to go from there to the springs or the bathing place, as noted by the Bordeaux traveler, had to cross over the river by a bridge, although the marshes nearby and rainy season sometimes made crossing difficult. According to the Talmud, it was impossible to bathe in the river because it was visible to persons on the road.⁸

In the *Jerusalem Talmud* (*Hallah* 2, 4 [58c]), it is related:

Rabbi Ami gave instructions in Kefar Shami [Shuni] to prepare a large piece of dough in a state of uncleanness. Now was not that location not four *mils* from water? Since a river ran between his locale and the source of usable water, it was as if the distance was [more than] four *mils*.

Neusner 1991: 69

Rabbi Ami, a Palestine Amora of the 3rd century CE and the head of the Tiberias academy, instructed the village of Shumi [=Shami or Shuni] to make a large kneading of dough in a state of impurity. This means that he believed there was no need to go a distance of four miles in order to reach the spring in which to be purified, and then be required to separate the dough donation in a state of purity! Whoever wished to make a dough donation in a state of purity must go and do it there. That location was probably the baths at Shuni, and the ‘village of Shami’ in the ‘pure’ Land of Israel was located four miles from Caesarea. The mountain is three miles from Caesarea, but the bathing place was a mile further away. This account, corresponding to that of the Bordeaux pilgrim, refers to Caesarea and helps to locate the town known as Shuni nearby.

Hirschfeld pointed to Khirbet Umm el-‘Eleq with the Ein Tzur spring nearby at the northeastern edge of Ramat HaNadiv, as the correct identification for the spring noted by the Bordeaux pilgrim (Hirschfeld 1998: 109–116; See also Tepper and Peleg-Barkat 2009). Hirschfeld uncovered there a Herodian fortified estate that was destroyed in the second half of the 1st century CE. Remains of a heated bathhouse and large pool were found nearby. The estate was part of the agricultural periphery of Caesarea, the main Roman port of Provincia Judaea (Hirschfeld 1998: 112). Excavations near the spring revealed that during the 4th to 7th centuries CE water from the spring travelled along an aqueduct to the theatre and the cultic pool located in Shuni (*idem.* 1995: 43–44). The floors of the pools were covered with various mosaics, ranging from simple white to coloured pavements resembling floor tiles, with geometric floral designs. A number of superimposed floors were discerned in several of the pools, indicating continued intensive use. Relatively large and varied quantities of glass vessels were also found (Shenhav 1993: 1384).

A hoard of 2,100 coins, several intact oil lamps, and scores of other lamp fragments was found near the spring. The chronological range of the coins was between the 4th and 7th centuries CE, yet nearly 80% were

from the 6th century CE, mostly of small denominations (Barkay 1997a: 71–73). Their three-hundred-year range supports Hirschfeld and Barkay’s assumption that the coins were thrown into the spring by visitors and passersby for cultic purposes and beliefs (Hirschfeld 1995: 43–44; Barkay 2000: 377–419). This might be one reason why the goddess of health, Hygieia, frequently appears in sculptures and reliefs as well as on coins of the city of Caesarea during the period of the mid-3rd century Emperor Trebonianus Gallus (Kadman 1957: 160, no. 31; Meshorer 1967: 107–109; Gersht 1999, s.v. *‘Hygieia’*). Furthermore, less than one hundred years ago, in 1924, Braslavsky quoted Bedouin women who lived in the marshlands nearby. When asked about their state of health, they answered: “We are pregnant, thank God ... and moreover, our barren women drink the waters of the marshes as having special qualities for pregnancy” (Braslavsky 1924: 4). These finds support the Bordeaux pilgrim’s statements regarding the fertility virtues of the spring lasting from late Roman times through the Byzantine period, even to modern times.

The custom of throwing coins into water reservoirs, wells, fountains, and thermo-mineral springs to which remedial powers were attributed was as widespread in the ancient world as it is today (Dölger 1932: 1–24). Water sources thought to possess special qualities led believers to pray for health, happiness, fertility, and prosperity. Coins thrown into the water either reinforced a prayer or were in gratitude for its fulfillment (Barkay 2000: 416). The 5th century Christian historian Sozomen wrote about an ancient custom shared by pagans, Jews and Christians to throw oil lamps, coins, wine, cakes, myrrh and frankincense into the well of Alonei Mamre near Hebron (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 4, 5). In excavations conducted there, coins dating from the Herodian period until the beginning of the 6th century CE were found (Mader 1957: 166–180). In the thermo-mineral waters of Hammat-Gader in the Golan, nearly three thousand Roman and Byzantine coins were found on the floor of the pools, most of them the smallest Byzantine coins (*nummi*) (Barkay 1997b: 279–300). Similarly, in various sites of the Classical world such as Baiae in the Bay of Naples in Italy, Aquae Helvetica in Switzerland, Bath in the southeast of England, Salus Umeritana and Amélie-les-Bains in the Pyrenees, Otañes in northern Spain, among other places, coins, oil lamps, and pottery models of eyes, ears, wombs, intestines, breasts, and genital organs have been discovered (Jackson 1990: 5–13; Dvorjetski 1997: 463–467; idem. 2007a: 83–123).

Caesarea had one aqueduct that began from the a-Pella River and passed across a bridge over the ez-Zarqa River. A second began from the springs in the Sindianon River and passed near Shuni. The 9 km-long higher-level Herodian aqueduct of Caesarea was fed both by the springs of the upper Nahal Taninim in the region of Sabarin and from the springs of Shuni. Although the British survey team did not find clear traces of the aqueduct near the springs, they discovered the remains of dams and columns. Since then, drainage work and agricultural cultivation have removed most traces of the structures there. The Herodian aqueduct did not supply sufficient water for the developing city, and therefore another aqueduct was built parallel and adjacent to it. This aqueduct still stands today, almost intact. The second was found to have ten Latin inscriptions, eight of them by the Second, Sixth and Tenth Legions, all dating from the time of Hadrian. This aqueduct was repaired in the first quarter of the 2nd century, when the city became a centre for the legions that were rushed to the Land of Israel either to suppress the Bar Kochba rebellion, or in preparation for the visit of Hadrian to the East in 129/130 CE (Negev 1993: 274–275; Dvorjetski 1993b: 567–581; Peleg 2002: 141–147; Dvorjetski 2007a: 294–295, 323–332). One Greek inscription dated 385 CE mentions a later repair. Other repairs were conducted on the aqueduct at the end of the 4th century and in the 6th century during the reign of Justinian CE (Shenhav and Ne’eman 1988–1989: 166–168; Siegelmann 2002: 130–140). Choricus described the activities of Stephanos, governor of the city, in which he repaired the foundations of the aqueduct with the help of experts (Choricus, *Dialexeis in Choricus Gazae: Opera*, III, 44–49; Mayerson 1986: 269–272).⁹

The Theatre and Pools

The theatre at Shuni is located 5 kms from Caesarea, at the foot of the sloping southwestern hills of the Carmel range. During excavations there, finds were exposed that indicate the character of the place and the nature of the Maiomas festivities. The theatre had two phases. Shenhav, the theatre’s excavator, recognized a construction stage dating to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, and a later Byzantine one. The ca. 13 m diameter orchestra was bounded by a semicircle of three low steps (*bisellia*). The lower bloc of seats was grounded on a natural inclined slope while the upper bloc that has not survived was built on an artificial slope supported by an encircling

corridor. Similarly, part of the *proscenium* wall has been preserved and excavated, which shows that it was decorated with alternating semicircular and rectangular niches. The floor was paved with smoothed limestone, quarried on Mount Carmel. Ten rows of stones for seats were uncovered, followed by a narrower row and ten more broad tiers that ended in two rows of shallow steps around the orchestra. The theatre was oriented to the east, so that the audience sat with their backs to the west.

Under the paving stones of the orchestra were pottery shards and a coin from the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Arcadius (395–408 CE) that serve as strong evidence for construction of the second phase. In the centre of the orchestra was a square marble slab with a shallow depression in its centre. The marble slab apparently served as an altar dedicated to Semele, the mother of Dionysus – patron of theatres (Shenhav 1990a: 58–62; Shenhav 1990b: 58–60; Segal 1995: 69–70, Figs. 72–73; Sear 2006: 304–305).

Towards the end of the 6th century CE, after the Emperor Justinian attempted to destroy all traces of pagan cults, the theatre in Maioumas-Shuni fell into disuse and became an industrial area. A wall was set up in the orchestra of the theatre that enclosed a Samaritan type oil press complex with a shaft and screw, typical of the 6th to the 8th centuries (Shenhav 1999: 131). This indicates that when the theatre went out of use, the site was clearly an agricultural settlement.

Adjacent to the stage of the theatre on its eastern side, a large pool was discovered (1,300 m²) fed by the nearby Ein Tzur spring. The wall matrix had Byzantine coins, and shards of pottery and glassware. The pool was maintained during its active period, with visible layers of plaster and repairs in its mosaic flooring decorated with geometric patterns and Greek inscriptions in the form of a *tabula ansata*. One inscription mentions “Flavius Marcianus Antipatros, the great and acclaimed consul in whose days the quarrying of the mountain to its foundations was completed” (Shenhav 1993: 1383). The pool also contained drawings, a kind of chessboard, letters and signs mostly for games. It was used until the end of the Byzantine period as a pool for entertainment, and in the Arab period as a water reservoir. Umayyad period pottery was found on the floor of the pool, indicating its use in the 7th century CE (Shenhav 1997: 65).

South of the Binyamina-Zichron Ya’akov road, near the high aqueduct to Caesarea, a marble statue of a bearded man was discovered (0.87 m high). The statue was identified by Shenhav as the god of medicine, Asclepius, and was

dated to the 2nd century or the beginning of the 3rd century CE. In his view, the find indicates the existence of an *Asclepeion* nearby, a kind of hospital for the sick (Shenhav 1997: 65, 68, Fig. 6). However, his identification is certainly incorrect. In earlier statues, the young Asclepius appears without a beard, and in later figures, from the time of 5th century BC onwards, he always appeared with a beard. In all the Roman and later statues Asclepius leans his right hand on a staff with a snake writhing around it, and in the entire repertoire of his appearances he is always wrapped in a robe (Bailey 1996: 257–263). Gersht correctly identified this figure as Poseidon, the Greek sea god. On his right foot one can see a dolphin with a raised tail, and on his right shoulder are indications of a trident (1996: 435, note 4). This Poseidon would probably have embodied the figure of Ba'al-Zaphon, as in the Phoenician city of Berytus (Teixidor 1977: 42–44; Kasher 1990: 33, 42). As the patron of navigators and fishermen, he ruled over ports, produced springs from rocks, calmed the waves of the sea, and competitions were organized in his honour (Fowler 1899: 185–187; Schachermeyr 1950).

The theatre in Maioumas-Shuni was part of an open cultic site together with this large pool, and provided Caesarea with the same service as the theatre in Hammat-Gader did for Gadara, or the theatre in Birketein for Gerasa. The proximity of the theatre in Maioumas-Shuni to springs and to the large aqueduct of Caesarea raises the possibility that water games as part of the festivities were held in this theatre as well. To the east of the theatre, near Nahal Tananim, a large commercial centre was built that included a *makelum* [marketplace], *cardo*, shops, storehouses, and fountains. The agricultural products of Nahal Tananim and the Ada River valleys were the economic hinterland for Caesarea. From this economic centre of Shuni products were transported to Caesarea. During the Maioumas festivities the *makelum* became a marketplace for the entire region. According to Choricus, one of the duties of the city mayor Marcus Flavius Agrippa was active participation in the Maioumas festivities.

A History of Maioumas-Shuni from the Byzantine Period

Choricus stressed often the importance of Caesarea as a cultural centre, especially with regard to rhetoric, which occupied a place of eminence in his speech, *Apologia mimorum*, “for the benefit of those who represent life in the theatre”. He gives an account of a festival probably held in

Maioumas-Shuni, in the presence of the mayor and community notables, in which all the stage members and rhetoricians in the city appeared. Among the spectators were often many guests including Gazans:

The city was a metropolis and a leader among many beautiful cities ... Those who live there are celebrating at a place not far distant from the city ... you know the place well, since some of you have visited it and some have heard about it, where an annual festival is celebrated... This festival is a pleasant one and filled with illumination, and all the entertainment groups of the city come and orators also appear. *Dialexeis in Choricus Gazae: Opera, XXV-XXVI; Rabinovitz 1949: 185; Dan 1984: 201, 204; Shenhav 1999: 131*

In the 9th century Samaritan chronicle of Abu le-Fatah, Mimas is listed among other cities such as Arzuf, Jaffa, Lod, Ashkelon, Yavne, which were deserted by the Samaritans during the Arab conquest when most of their inhabitants fled. ‘Mimas’ is certainly a corruption of the name Maioumas. The fugitives deposited their property in the hands of their high priest (Hamburger 1959: 43–45; Ben Zvi 1970: 107–108; Holum 1982: 65–73).

The settlement of Shuni was not abandoned during the Moslem conquest of Palestine. The 9th century chronicler Ahmad ibn Yahyá Balādhurī, author of *Futūh al-Buldān* [Book of Conquered Lands] from 869 CE, related that:

There was in Palestine in the early part of the caliphate of ar-Rashīd a devastating plague which in some cases would attack all the members of a household. As a result, their land was rendered waste and useless. Ar-Rashīd put it in charge of some who cultivated it and [by gifts] attracted the farmers and tenants into it, thus making it crown domains. In these places the Samaritans lived. One of those villages called Bait Māma, which lay in the district of Nābulus and whose inhabitants were Samaritans, made a complaint in the year 246 (860/1 CE) to the effect that they were poor and unable to pay the five-*dīnār kharāj*, upon which al-Mutawakkil gave orders that it be reduced again to three. *Hitti 1916: 244–245*

Here, ‘Bait Mama’ doubtlessly refers to Maioumas-Shuni after the name Shuni fell out of use.

From the 12th century, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela mentions that in 1173 CE during his visit to the town he saw two hundred Cutheans, who are Samaritan Jews (Asher 1890: 65). At the end of the 13th century the Muslim cosmographer Zakarīyā ibn Muhammad al-Qazwīnī in his work *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-hibād* [Monument of Places and History of God’s Bondsmen], an important geo-historical description in alphabetical order, described the following:

There is a place between Caisaria [Caesarea] and Casra [the Shuni Fortress], which resembles a granary made of stone ... encircled by stone sculptures of animals and human beings [or half men and half animals], which are eroded by time. Near Caisaria [Caesarea] there is a mountain in which there are numerous snakes, but they do not emerge because of the witchcraft performed by the Sages.

al-Qazwīnī 1960: 553–554

In the vicinity of Shuni, a medieval inscription of the traditional Jewish prayer *Shema Israel* was found by the German explorer Eberhard von Mühlhlin, who conducted a comprehensive study of the Carmel region at the beginning of the 20th century. It was dated to the 14th century and testifies to the continuous habitation of Samaritans at that site (von Mühlhlin 1908: 240–242; Ben Zvi 1970: 199).

The American theologian and missionary, William Thomson, in *The Land and the Book* adds important details about the site, its name and its environs:

That large building some two miles to the north-west of us is the kūsr we heard so much about from our friends at Sindiany; and to reach it we must pick our way through these bushes and tall reeds, over a country not a little infested with bottomless mud. ... Where does this stream come from? There was no water in the wady [wadi] down which we have travelled this morning. It is the joint contribution of many springs which rise out of this spongy plain in all directions, and we shall soon see more of them. Between this and the kūsr are immense fountains, now called Miamās, the water of which was collected in a large pool, and then carried by an aqueduct to Caesarea. These works are of course broken, and we must pass round them on the north in order to find a practicable path to the kūsr. ... There seem to have been many substantial buildings hereabout; and, indeed, we are floundering over the grass-covered ruins of a considerable city. The kūsr itself must have been an immense affair, and in a style of architecture quite peculiar. It was doubtless one of Caesarea's theatres, and the plan of a Roman theatre, which I brought along for the purpose, will enable you to comprehend at once the details of the edifice. It is semicircular, and the *chord* is 160 feet. The seats are all gone, and the *cavea* much changed, but the vomitories and vaults beneath are in good preservation, and are now used for stables and granaries by the peasants. This tower on the south-eastern corner, and these huts inside, are comparatively modern, and were erected probably when the building was turned into a Moslem castle.

Thomson 1859: 490–493

In 1875 the French archaeologist Victor Guérin after visiting the site, published his study *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*. He documented the name of the place as Khirbet Miamas, the remains of the theatre and traces of the aqueduct:

At a quarter past five we arrived at *Kharbt Miamas*, which is also sometimes called by the name of *Kharbet Oumm Eliamas*. These are, on a slightly elevated hill, the remains of an ancient castle of which the façade is flat and which is rounded at the back in a semi-circle, assuming the form of a theatre; ... At the foot of the hill which it crowns, I noticed a certain number of granite column shafts that lay on the surface, alongside a heap of ashlar, the remains of a collapsed edifice. Nearby, I also observed a few traces of the aqueduct that conveys the waters of Sebbarin to Caesarea. A slight distance to the east of *Kharbet Miamas*, I perceived a small ruined village called *Kharbet Oumm el-A 'lak*. ... The three sheikhs... informed me that the two principal sources of Nahr Zerka were adjacent to Kharbet Miamas; that during the winter this river often overflowed into the plain, and that its waters contained crocodiles of a few feet long.

Guérin 1969: 340–341

In 1882 two British army officers, Claude Conder and Herbert Kitchener, published their well-known survey of Western Palestine. They were the first to sketch the plan of the theatre that had been transformed into a fortress. The site, called Ma-mas in their report (Conder and Kitchener 1882: 15–16), had a partially-ruined theatre constructed of sandy limestone. Several barrel vaults were identified in the southeast corner. One arch had a rare capstone. On some of the walls was a hard brown mortar, similar to that used in Caesarea (*idem*: 66–67).

In a Hebrew guidebook of 1891 David Yelin wrote:

Before the village of Miyamas, over the roadway, many remains of columns are scattered around and also traces of the aqueduct that carried water to Caesarea can still be seen. At the village of Miyamas they cross the bridge built over Nahal Taninim.

Yelin 1891: 268

The German Graf Egbert von Mühlinen lived on the Carmel, collected material about the local inhabitants and published his findings in 1907–1908 (von Mühlinen 1907: 117–207; 1908: 1–248). He refers to the various names of the site and its essential nature, its connection with granaries and the remains of the former theatre:

We are turning southwards on the road to Miyamas that lies at the foot of the mountain, which today is generally called esh-Shuni [granary]. ... the ruins of the small Roman theatre and fortress described by previous travelers have disappeared.

von Mühlinen 1908: 240–242

In 1913, a Jewish land surveyor working for agents of Baron de Rothschild, Yitzhak Goldhar, related that Givat Binyamin was called in Arabic ‘Burdajas (Burj) Miyamis’. Burj is the Arabic name of Binyamina

when it was founded. The rich Christian owner of the estate Burdajas Miyamis told him quite innocently that he also wanted to sell this estate of his to the Jews just as he had sold them the Hidiri [Hadera] land. However, this estate was registered in the Turkish government records under the name of Burdajas Miyamis, and the law of the government was not to give title deeds for places with the name of Burdajas (Goldhar 1913: 84). During the period of Turkish rule, Jews were prevented from settling in a place that had a burj [fortress] so that they will not hold strategic places (Cohen 1981). In that period, the name Miyamis was combined with the Arabic name of Binyamina “Burj” (fortress), that is to say, “Burj Miyamis”.

In 1914, Baron Edmond de Rothschild bought Shuni within his purchase of 20,000 dunams of land in order to create a contiguous expanse of renewed settlements between Zichron Ya’akov and Hadera. After its acquisition, this area was settled by members of the ‘Gideonite’ Association of colony members in general and of Zichron Ya’akov in particular. They cultivated the lands and guarded the place that they called Givat Binyamin. Furthermore, this site was used for training farmers and as an experimental agricultural station. During the Mandate period, Shuni was the main training base of the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* (=Etzel). The forces of the famous breakout from the Acre prison in May 1947 came from there (Eylam 1982: 241–246; Lahav 1992: 5–28, 54–66). Today, the restored theatre is used for music recitals and other events. An antiquities museum in the Jabotinsky Park displays some of the finds of the excavations.

Conclusion

Several sites on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Basin were given the name *Maioumas*. They have in common a proximity to water – riverbanks, streams, springs and sea shores, while most were adjacent to theatres and baths. The meaning of ‘Maioumas’ is the special celebration originating in the Syrian water festival, a pagan water festival that involved many festivities, some licentious. The orchestras in some of those theatres were adapted for conducting performances with water, whether by flooding or by building a pool or several pools nearby. At Maioumas-Shuni, the theatre was part of an open cultic site together with a large pool and an adjoining *makelum* that provided Caesarea with the similar services to those in Hammat-Gader for Gadara, or the theatre in Birketein for Gerasa, or the Nabataean small theatre for Petra.

The orgiastic cult was dedicated to Ashtoreth-Aphrodite, to Dionysus-Bacchus, and to the Syrian goddess Derceto-Atargatis. These Maioumas were very popular in the Eastern Mediterranean region, such that each ‘tribe’ had its own Maioumas, as reported in Rabbinic literature. The most famous were those in Gaza and Ashkelon, which were known for their pagan fairs. Maioumas-Shuni functioned from the middle of the 2nd century CE until the end of the Byzantine period. The Maioumas festivities conducted in the region were unique for each individual place, in a particular local version that preserved ancient traditions of the ritual culture. The names Mimas, Miyamas, Aliamas, Mamas or Miamis are earlier variations of the Arabic place name of Shuni. In the archaeological record, the abundance of water installations, the base of a statue and rich numismatic finds, all testify to the florescence of Maioumas-Shuni during the Byzantine period. In view of the vast literary and historiographic evidence, a local version of the Maioumas festivities was also held in Maioumas-Shuni.

The source of the term Maioumas in Greek is associated with water in general, and to the celebrations of the Syrian-Greek festival near water sources in particular. The Arabic name of the Givat Binyamin quarter in Binyamina preserves the ancient name of Shuni, which means granary or produce (Ayalon and Shinar 1968: 190; Vilnaey 1970, Vol. II: 1152). In addition, the Arabic lexicographer Ibn Manhūr (1232–1311), in his comprehensive classical Arabic dictionary *Lisan al-‘Arab* [The Arab Tongue] interprets the word ‘Shuni’ in two ways. The first is an operation for removing growths from the head, and the second is an adulterous woman (Ibn Manhūr 1970: 385). Ma’luf notes in his book *al-Munajjid* that the meaning of the root ‘wamas’ – which exists in the words ‘Mumis’, ‘Maiamas’, and ‘Miyamis’ – is a woman publicly engaged in prostitution (1956: 409, 919). It is not unlikely that the erotic nature of the water celebrations had a strong influence on the name Maioumas-Shuni, which was preserved in it over the generations. In the 19th century, over the ruins of Maioumas, the site belonged to Efendi Selim Khouri, who built buildings and a granary for storing crops, alongside the road that leads up to Zichron Ya’akov, at the southern edge of Mount Carmel.

Notes

1. The literature on the *marzāh* in the Near East is extensive; See the prominent studies: Porten 1968: 167–183; Eissfeldt 1969: 187–195; Pope 1972: 170–203; Bryan 1973; Greenfield 1974: 451–453; Pope 1981: 159–179; Lewis 1989; McLaughlin 1991: 265–280; Healey 2001: 35–53, 165–169; Wyatt 2002; Fabry 2006: 10–15; Greer 2007: 243–261; Maciá 2007: 171–182; Sachet 2010: 249–262; Dvorjetski (forthcoming 2013).
2. It is important to note that the term *πανήγυρις ἀτελής* means the duty-free (for a certain god), shortened to become *ἀτελής* [butcher shop]. Then this term was used for the fair and the market in general; See e.g., Sperber 1998: 28; Rosenfeld and Menirav 2004: 161–163. For the market-days in the Roman Empire, see MacMullen 1982: 333–341; Belayche 2004: 12–13.
3. See, e.g., Wissowa 1912: 290–292; Efron 1990: 323–333; Gawlikowski 1997: 45–49; The character of the Maioumas festival was totally different here, and solely devoted to the cult of the Syrian Atargatis. Moreover, the presence of pools for cultic purposes in these sites and in others is not decisive proof for the existence of orgiastic celebrations as in the Maioumas.
4. Some 4th century CE pilgrimage descriptions were written by or about women, see Weingarten 1999: 291–297.
5. “We crossed the bridge built over Nahal Taninim to the road that leads to the place Arabs call Shuni. A double-storey house of splendor whitish was built on the ruins of a Roman theatre which was later turned into a fort. ... In the other courtyard outside the house lies a square stone, nicely sculpted, on which there is a Roman inscription. The stone is found in the wall of an ancient aqueduct discovered during the draining of the marshes north of the Fawzi Bek estate Strewn around the house and on the road leading to the springs of Nahal Taninim lie scores of marvelous marble columns and fragments of large sarcophagi. ... Near them passes the upper aqueduct that carries water to Caesarea from the springs in Kefar Subarin. ... As it passes near the springs of Nahal Taninim near Shuni and Miamas, the aqueduct widens and receives additional water.” (Benvenisti 1930: 51)
6. A Roman mile is 1475m; Maioumas-Shuni is located on the southeastern slope of Hotem HaCarmel, between the sixth and seventh mile. The fourth milestone on the Caesarea-Sepphoris road was discovered under the aqueduct at Beit Hananiah, about 50 m west of the inscription of the Tenth Legion, at the western bifurcation of the aqueduct. The distance between this milestone on which the Greek letter Δ was inscribed, and the northern wall of Caesarea is less than 4 miles. Measuring four Roman miles from this milestone towards Caesarea and adjacent to the high aqueduct, one arrives at the area of the palace and theatre within the city. Nevertheless, Shuni is between two and three Roman miles from the fourth milestone at Beit Hananiah, and adjacent to the high aqueduct.
7. There were crocodiles in the river Belos in ancient times, and that is why Acre struck coins in the Roman era showing the crocodiles of the Na’aman. Crocodiles existed in Palestine until the beginning of the 20th century in the region of Kabara and Wadi Zarqa, close to Kibbutz Ma’agan Michael. The Arabic name of this location is *Nahar a-Thamasiach* [the Valley of the Crocodiles]. Near the river estuary are the ruins of a town, which was called Κροκοδείλων πόλις [Crocodilopolis, the town of the

Crocodiles], mentioned by Strabo (*Geographica*, XVI, 2, 27) and Pliny the Elder (*Historia Naturalis*, V, 18) and identified with Tel el-Malât on the Difla river; cf. Dvorjetski 2007b: 112.

8. cf. Pené Moshe explanation on *Jerusalem Talmud*, *Hallah* 2, 4 [58c].
9. For other archaeological findings at Maioumas-Shuni, see e.g., Gersht 2000: 43*-47*; Gorzalczany 2004: 116; Peilstöcker and Sklar-Parnes 2005.

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Book Reviews

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stephen G. Rosenberg

W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem

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

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

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

Broad Disciplinary Contexts

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

Inter-disciplinary Contexts

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

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

Qumran Studies: Textual and Conceptual Contexts

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

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

Qumran Studies: Archaeological Context

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

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

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

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

Shani Tzoref
The Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem

Books Received

Walter Ameling, H. M. Cotton, R. Daniel, W. Eck, A. Ecker, M. Shenkar, M. Heimbach and N. Schneider (eds.), *Corpus inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae Vol. II Caesarea and the Middle Coast, 1121–2160* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011. Pp. xxii + 918, incl. illustrations, maps and plans. ISBN 9783110222173.

Mordechai Cogan (ed.), *Hayim Tadmor: “With My Many Chariots I have Gone Up the Heights of Mountains:” Historical and Literary Studies on Ancient Mesopotamia and Israel.* Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2011. Pp. 972. \$120. ISBN 978-965-221-083.

Hannah M. Cotton, L. Di Segni, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price, I. Roll and A. Yardeni (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Volume 1, Jerusalem, Part 1: 1–704.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010. Pp. xxvi + 694. \$195. ISBN: 978-3-11-022219-7.

Anthony J. Frendo, *Pre-Exilic Israel, The Hebrew Bible and Archaeology: Integrating Text and Artefact.* Library of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Series, 549. New York: T&T Clark International, 2011. Pp.144. \$120.00. ISBN 9780567415639.

Gershon Galil, A. Gilboa, A. M. Maeir and D. Kahn (eds.), *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries BCE: Culture and History. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Haifa, 2–5 May, 2010.* AOAT 392. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012. Pp. xviii + 647. € 116. ISBN 978-3-86835-066-1.

Lester L. Grabbe and O. Lipschits (eds.), *Judah Between East and West: The Transition from Persian to Greek Rule ca. 400–200 BC*. Library of Second Temple Studies 75; New York: T & T Clark, 2011. Pp. xviii + 317. \$140.00. ISBN 978–0-56704–684–0.

Jack Green, E. Teeter and J. A. Larson (eds.), *Picturing the Past: Imaging and Imagining the Ancient Middle East*. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 34. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2012. Pp. 184 incl. 168 illustrations. \$29.95. ISBN 978–1-885923–89–9.

Shlomo Kol-Ya‘akov et al., *Salvage Excavations at Neshet-Ramla Quarry: Volume I*. Israel: Zinman Institute of Archaeology, University of Haifa and Ostrakon Press, 2010. \$110; €80. Pp. 371 incl. photographs. ISBN 978–965–91468–2-6.

Martin Worthington, *Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records, 1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012. €99.95. ISBN 978–1-61451–056–7.

Summaries of Lectures

HEROD THE GREAT AS RULER AND BUILDER:

A PANEL DISCUSSION

IN MEMORY OF

THE LATE EHUD NETZER

DAVID JACOBSON, UCL;

NIKOS KOKKINOS, UCL; AND

TESSA RAJAK, UNIVERSITY OF READING

The extraordinary rise to power of Herod the Great, and his long rule over Judaea at the end of the first century BC, have left an indelible mark on world history and on the landscape of the land of Israel. In recent years the remarkable archaeological discoveries of Professor Ehud Netzer have attracted a great deal of public attention to the career of this controversial ruler, and, a year after Ehud Netzer's untimely death, a panel of experts in different aspects of Herodian studies discussed the impact of his excavations on continuing debates about Herod and his accomplishments.

ASSYRIA AND ISRAEL – CONTACT AND CONFLICT

ALAN MILLARD

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL, EMERITUS

The lecture explored the relations between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, investigating the contribution made by Assyrian records such as royal inscriptions to understanding their history

and chronology, and demonstrating the value of these texts in shedding light on the pronunciation of Hebrew names in the 7th century B.C. The lecture also showed how biblical references to Assyria complement the Assyrian records and can be shown to reflect accurately the times they describe.

CANAANITE TEMPLES, RITES AND RITUALS: NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FROM TEL HAROR, ISRAEL

ELIEZER D. OREN

BEN GURION UNIVERSITY

The lecture discussed aspects of temple architecture and diagnostic ritual practices in Middle Bronze Age Canaan against the background of northwest Semitic "Amorite" religious ideology in Syria. The nucleus of this presentation was the Middle Bronze Age sacred precinct that a Ben-Gurion University expedition has been exploring since 1981 at Tel Haror in the western Negev. This site provides an excellent example of Syrian-type temple architecture as well as unique testimony on ritual practices such as dog sacrifices and ceremonial donkey burials. The temple site of Tel Haror exhibits the diffusion of "Amorite" religious ideology and sacred intuition from the Euphrates to the border of Egypt.

**THE KINNERET REGIONAL
PROJECT: THE LATEST FINDINGS**

JUHA PAKKALA
UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

The ancient city of Kinneret (Tel Kinrot/Tell el-‘Orēme) – located on the north-western shore of the Sea of Galilee – is emerging as one of the major sites for the study of urban life in the Southern Levant in the Early Iron Age. Recent excavations have shown that the site developed into a major city during the 11th century BCE. Because of the weakness of traditional power centres in the area (especially Hazor) and on changed trade routes, Kinneret was able to establish itself as a regional centre that controlled the area around the lake. The material culture represents a late survival of Bronze Age Canaanite urban tradition. The heyday of Kinneret was short, because the city was destroyed by a major earthquake in the early 10th century BCE. This lecture presented the results of the excavations and reflected with the historical and political setting of the region in the Early Iron Age. The excavations have been undertaken by the Dutch-Finnish-German-Swiss “Kinneret Regional Project” under the auspices of the Universities of Bern, Helsinki, Leiden and Mainz.

**NEW LIGHT ON THE TEMPLE
MOUNT, JERUSALEM**

GABRIEL BARKAY
BAR ILAN UNIVERSITY

The Temple Mount, which has never been excavated by archaeologists, has been like a black hole in the archaeological map of Jerusalem, but when in 1999 the Islamic authorities of the Mount (the Waqf) dug a

large pit in the south-east sector, extracting more than four hundred truck-loads of earth saturated with the Temple Mount’s history and dumping it in the Kidron valley, they gave archaeologists a golden opportunity to look for the first time into the archaeological record of the Mount. Work over the last six years has painstakingly sifted every ounce of this soil, and tens of thousands of finds have been recovered, producing an original and important corpus of data which contributes much new evidence to the history of the Temple Mount throughout all of its periods of occupation.

The lecture dealt with the methodology of this project, and the problems which have arisen in its implementation, as well as with its results. The finds cover a span of fifteen thousand years, from prehistoric flint implements to modern artefacts. Included among the finds are seals and bullae with ancient Hebrew inscriptions of the First Temple period, probably connected to figures involved in the administration and cult of the Temple of Solomon, and approximately six thousand coins, from the earliest, minted in Jerusalem in the post-exilic period, through the Hellenistic, Hasmonean, late-Roman and Byzantine periods, to Arabic, Crusader and Islamic coins, including modern times.

**FROM CAVE TO GRAVE:
MENACHEM USSISHKIN,
ELEAZAR SUKENIK AND THE
TOMB-CAVE OF AN UNKNOWN
NICANOR ON MOUNT SCOPUS**

YAIR SHAPIRO
ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

The use of archaeology in nation building is common across the world, and early

Zionists were no less keen than others to exploit its potential. This lecture focussed on the use, by a Palestinian Zionist leader and a prominent Hebrew University archaeologist, of a Jewish Second Temple tomb-cave overlooking the old city of Jerusalem and originally discovered by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

In October 1902 a massive Jewish Second Temple tomb-cave was uncovered on the Gray-Hill estate in the area of the Mount of Olives, later known as Mt. Scopus. Based on an inscription found on one of the ossuaries retrieved from the cave, Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister and Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau claimed that the tomb-cave complex belonged to Nicanor of Alexandria, an individual mentioned in early rabbinic texts as having financed part of the Second Temple. Not all agreed with this interpretation: some argued that the inscription was a forgery, and others questioned the reality of Nicanor of Alexandria's contribution to the Second Temple. But this did not prevent Menachem Ussishkin, one of the Zionist leaders in Russia and thereafter the President of the Jewish National Fund, from attempting to turn the Nicanor tomb-cave into the National Zionist Pantheon in Palestine. Ussishkin's aspiration was to strengthen the connection between the golden Second Temple period and the Zionist endeavour. Thus, in 1934 Ussishkin interred in the tomb-cave the remains of Yehudah Leib Pinsker, one of the leaders of practical Zionism and Hovevei Zion. He himself was laid to rest next to his mentor in 1941. Ussishkin's attempt to turn the Nicanor tomb-cave into a modern cemetery received the backing of the Hebrew University archaeologist Eleazar Sukenik, despite the

damage caused to some of the artefacts when adapting the tomb-cave to its new function. Ussishkin was a dominant figure in the Jewish community in Palestine, but on his death his vision of the tomb-cave as the cemetery of Zionist leaders was buried with him.

MATERIAL ASPECTS OF PRAYER IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

DANIEL FALK
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

One of the important contributions of the Dead Sea Scrolls is to provide a large corpus of liturgical texts, a millennium earlier than the earliest known Jewish Prayerbook. They are thus among the most important evidence for the early history and development of Jewish prayer. Such liturgical manuscripts constitute artifacts of prayer, and the material aspects are primary evidence for the social function of prayer. This presentation surveyed the physical features of liturgical scrolls from Qumran and reflects on their status and the social context of their production and use. For example, prayer texts were significantly more prone to be written on papyrus and/or as an opisthograph than any other genre at Qumran. Many such 'budget' scrolls of prayers almost exclusively reflect the practices of the 'Qumran scribal school', and many are in a smaller format with more rustic quality, suggesting that these are personal copies produced by members at Qumran, even of texts that likely did not originate there. This is in marked contrast to 'biblical' scrolls, which tend to be in larger format and luxury editions, and are extremely rare on papyrus. The evidence also includes about 30 Tefillin found at

Qumran which show some continuity with rabbinic regulations for their construction. The survey also included comparison with evidence for the nature and use of written prayers in the Greco-Roman world.

**COIN CIRCULATION IN
HELLENISTIC AND EARLY
ROMAN GALILEE: POLITICS,
ECONOMY AND ETHNICITY**

DANNY SYON

ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

The analysis of the distribution pattern of bronze coins at 186 sites in Galilee and the Golan yields interesting insights on the relative influence of the various political and ethnic entities in ancient Galilee. When plotted on a map, the coins of the Seleucids, the cities of Sidon, Tyre and 'Akko-Ptolemais, as well as the coins of the Jews show a dynamic interaction over time, at a far greater resolution than could be observed or inferred from the analysis of coins from single sites. Coin distribution patterns show not only trade patterns, as often assumed, but can also suggest political boundaries, administrative changes, and surprisingly, even preferences on ethnic grounds. Coins from a specific site can even be, in certain cases, an independent archaeological criterion in evaluating historical processes at that site.

Cases in point are a reorganization of the Seleucid mint of 'Akko-Ptolemais that is not known from other sources, the formation of the Hasmonean state after the takeover of Galilee, the agricultural hinterland the Phoenician cities depended on and also the location of the boundary of the provincia Iudaea in the first century CE. It is suggested that the Jewish areas can be

traced through the coin distribution patterns even after the cessation of Jewish minting following the Great Revolt (70 CE). The study of Galilee has been dominated in the past decades by Bible and New Testament scholars, who tried to reconstruct the economical realities of the Galilee of Jesus based on, among other criteria, coin finds. As a cautionary tale, it was shown that it is hazardous to project processes happening in one period onto another, as this might lead to incorrect conclusions.

**PALESTINE AND THE WIDER
MEDITERRANEAN: A VIEW FROM
THE MIDDLE AGES**

MARINA RUSTOW

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

How provincial was Palestine in the century before the Crusader conquests? In this period it is usually depicted as a patchwork of rural holdings, bedouin territories, and economically insignificant towns, with more or less tenuous connections to the network of ports along the Syrian littoral and the great Mediterranean cities beyond. Traders' letters found in the Cairo Geniza suggest that it played next to no role in the high-volume, high-profit commerce for which the letters have become justly famous.

But does a lack of high commerce mean a lack of connectedness to far-off places? Archaeological evidence supports the idea that trade took place in small coastwise movements, and also that it reached well beyond the lands of Islam. Documentary and literary sources alike demonstrate that Palestine attracted pilgrims, visitors and permanent settlers from the east and from all shores of the Mediterranean, even

before the influx of Latin Christians in 1097. The lecture presented some of the evidence for the connectedness of Fatimid Palestine to the wider world, considering its surprisingly robust local economy and its long-term viability as an arena for the exchange and transmission of ideas.

QUMRAN: SCROLLS, CAVES AND BUILDINGS

SIDNIE WHITE CRAWFORD

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

This lecture discussed the relationship of Khirbet Qumran, an ancient ruin on the northwest shores of the Dead Sea which was inhabited during the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E., with the eleven caves in Qumran's vicinity in which the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered. She suggested that the scrolls were deposited in the caves by the same community of Jews who lived at Qumran, by demonstrating the many ways in which the scrolls and the site of Qumran are tied together archaeologically. The caves and Qumran share the same geographic/archaeological space, the same pottery repertoire, and the same range of archaeological dates, thus proving they are intrinsically linked together.

**EXPLORING, TRAINING,
CONSERVING: THE ROLE OF
THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF
ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM
IN MANDATE PALESTINE**

AMARA THORNTON

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

In 1918, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ) was founded. This

lecture examined the contributions of the School's staff and students to archaeology in the early Mandate period. From the beginning of the Mandate, the BSAJ as an institution played a major role in shaping archaeology and tourism, through initial conservation and presentation of ancient buildings in Palestine and Transjordan. As a training institution, it welcomed men and women, from a variety of backgrounds, who wished to gain experience in archaeological practice, learning techniques, languages and making connections that would prove useful to them in their future careers. Although the School suffered continually from a lack of proper financial backing, by working alongside other international teams and institutions it was able to build up a significant reputation amongst the scholarly and governmental communities. The lecture used archives and memoirs from students of the BSAJ to illuminate the social history of this institution, which still continues to operate in Jerusalem today.

**IN SEARCH OF (MOST)
ANCIENT ISRAEL**

GARY A. RENDSBURG

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

This illustrated lecture presented the literary and archaeological evidence from both Egypt and Israel relevant to earliest Israel. Biblical accounts concerning the slavery, the exodus, the wandering, and the settlement in Canaan are treated against the backdrop of ancient Near Eastern evidence, with an attempt to dovetail Israel's own narrative with the data emerging from two centuries of archaeological exploration in the Near East. While not every element recorded in the biblical accounts may

SUMMARIES OF LECTURES

be substantiated, the overall picture demonstrates a remarkable degree of coherence between the biblical narrative and the archaeological evidence.

Reports from Jerusalem

REPORT 35
SEPTEMBER 2011

Two-Horned Altar from Tell-Es-Safi

The site of Tell es-Safi is considered to be the Philistine city of Gath and work had been going on there for many seasons, under the direction of Prof. Aren Maier of Bar-Ilan University. A recent find has been a large stone altar with two squarish horns. It was found within the ruins of a large building of the lower city that was destroyed by Hazael of Aram in the 9th century BCE. The altar is made of a single piece of stone, which is unique for its size, according to Prof. Maier. The dimensions are 50cm by 50cm by one metre high, which is equivalent to the cubit by cubit by 2 cubits high of the wooden incense altar of the Mishkan, as described in Exod. 30:1. Although one side is broken, Prof. Maier claims that the altar only had the two horns on the one side, not the usual four, and the reasons for this are obscure, though it may have been a Philistine characteristic. Another important find of the season was a jar with an inscription, which seems to have been in a Philistine version of Hebrew, but is as yet undeciphered.

Damascus Gate Restored

The most ornate of the Jerusalem Gates, the Damascus Gate or Sha'ar Shechem, has been fully cleaned and restored after four years of work on the ancient walls of the city. The restoration work included the reconstitution of the projecting external guardbox that was cantilevered over the main arched entry, and served as a sentry box for one soldier to monitor all who entered from the north. It was destroyed during the 1967 war and was finally restored and unveiled last month. The gate is highly elaborate and was commissioned by Suleiman the Magnificent from the famous Islamic architect Sinan Minmar (1489-1578) of Constantinople in the mid-sixteenth century CE. Sinan was also the architect of the Sulemaniye Mosque, the

second largest in Istanbul, whose huge dome rests on four massive pillars. The Damascus gate is planned with a double chicane which in plan is like the Hebrew letter Lamed, with two right angle turns. In elevation it sports 22 or more stepped finials, and it is founded on an earlier Roman gate from the time of Hadrian. According to Avi Mashiah, the architect of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) who supervised the work, this gate is the most elaborate and therefore it has been amply recorded in drawings and photographs which enabled the restoration to be completed accurately. The work was carried out in carefully planned stages so that the many small-scale Arab merchants, who lined the walls of the gate, were able to continue trading without interruption.

Kenyon Institute: Move into Non-Archaeological Fields of Study

The Kenyon Institute, formerly the British School of Archaeology, in the Sheikh Jarrah area of East Jerusalem, has just announced a new series of lectures on Palestinian politics. The lecture for last week was entitled “The Question of Palestinian Representation in Historical Context and the State Recognition Initiative”, and was given by Dr. Abdel Razzeq Takriti of St Edmund Hall, Oxford. The Centre is also starting a series of classes in spoken Arabic, to run over the next three months.

From the point of view of the archaeological community of Jerusalem and the wider world, it would be most unfortunate if the Kenyon Institute, run by the Centre for British Research in the Levant, abandons the concern for archaeological subjects for which it was originally founded.

Continuous Occupation at Yavne-Yam

The ancient port of Yavne-Yam, that lies on the Mediterranean coast between Jaffa and Ashdod, recently gave up its latest secrets. A complex of a fortress and a bath-house of the late Islamic period were excavated last season by a team from Tel Aviv University headed by Prof. Moshe Fischer. He pointed out that this latest find confirmed the use of the port city from the Middle Bronze Age period up to medieval times, and showed that the Islamic population continued the Roman practice of providing lavish bathing premises alongside their main public buildings. The latest finds, not yet published, indicate that the port was occupied continuously for a period of over three thousand years.

The Underground Passage from Robinson's Arch to Siloam Pool

Work by Prof. Ronnie Reich of Haifa University and Eli Shukron of the IAA has continued on this amazing underground passageway and the sewer that ran below it, where a Roman sword and a tiny golden bell were found recently. The excavators have now been able to continue their exploration right up to the Herodian retaining wall of the Temple Mount (the Haram es-Sharif) and have uncovered the stepped foundations that underlie the massive ashlar of the wall, near to its maximum height of over 40 metres at the south-west corner, where it rises from the bedrock of the Tyropaeon Valley. The discovery of the base of the wall attracted enormous interest and the site was visited by the Mayor of Jerusalem and other important dignitaries and politicians, who were reported to have been seen weeping at the wonder of the exposed foundations of the retaining wall to what is, for Jews, their holiest site. It is hoped that the site can be prepared for public viewing in the near future. It will certainly be interesting to see how Herod's engineers coped with the problem of founding their huge walls on the naturally irregular bedrock of the mountain.

Corpus of Graffiti Inscriptions

Over the years individual explorers have come across graffiti scratched into cave walls and other rough surfaces in many different places and languages. It is now the intention to publish all the known and readable ones that have been found in Israel over many years by several different scholars. Prof. Jonathan Price of Tel Aviv Classics Department says the study of these casual writings has been neglected so far but their importance has now been recognised and the Corpus will be of great interest to historians. The graffiti so far known are dated from the 4th century BCE, the early Hellenistic period, to the early Islamic age of 7th century CE and the Corpus is likely to contain 13,000 items in over ten languages. Some examples are the Greek name "Christo" found on limestone walls in the Judean hills, the Jewish family name "Sh-ph-n" ("rabbit") found in a first century CE burial cave, and the name "Yonatan" in another burial cave. Many scrawls were found in the extended caves used by the Jewish population to hide from the Romans during the Jewish Revolts of 66 and 135 CE. some of which have still to be deciphered.

REPORT 36
NOVEMBER 2011

Dead Sea Scrolls On-Line

As mentioned previously, the Scrolls were to be brought on line in a joint project organized by the Israel Museum and Google, and five of the most complete scrolls went on-line at the end of September. By 5th October, there had been over a million viewers from 213 countries, speaking 236 different languages, including all the Arab countries neighbouring Israel, except for Syria. Nearly half-a-million viewers originated from the US. The site is named <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il>, and the high resolution photographs are considered to show more detail than can be seen by the naked eye. Chief among the scrolls available is the great Isaiah scroll, which is shown in original and translated into English line-by-line, and can be searched by specific phrases and verses in that language. A Chinese translation is in preparation as Biblical studies are very popular in China.

Ancient Assembly-Line at Qesem Cave

In early October, archaeologists Prof. Avi Gopher, Dr. Ron Barkai and Dr. Ron Shimelmitz, of Tel Aviv University, announced that they had uncovered thousands of cutting blades in the Qesem Caves near Tel Aviv, which they date to the lower Paleolithic age of 400,000 to 200,000 BCE. Such blades had previously been associated with the emergence of homo sapiens about 35,000 years ago, but it now appears that they were produced at a much earlier date and in great numbers where the conditions were favourable. The blades were produced in the cave on a kind of production line arranged for selection of the raw material, choice of cutting implements, and the finished product, that being a flint with one sharp edge and one dull edge for easy handling. The cave is attributed to the Amudian culture, and shows use of daily fire and a division of space for specific tasks and functions. The blades were used mainly for butchering animals, whose hides were taken to another spot for processing into skins for several purposes.

Revised Siting of “King’s Garden” in German Colony

The King’s Garden, mentioned in the Song of Songs (4:16; 5:1) has traditionally been located in the area south of Silwan (as mentioned in Nehemiah 3:15) and tradition also has it that Solomon wrote the scroll of Kohelet (Ecclesiastes) there, but now Professors Oded Lipschitz and Nadav Na’aman of Tel Aviv University have said it is to be found in the Emek Refaim valley, at what is today the north end of the German Colony of Jerusalem, between the old Railway Station and Liberty Bell Gardens.

Their argument is that the present excavations at Ramat Rahel, to the south of Jerusalem, conducted by Lipschitz and the University of Heidelberg, show that there was an important government tax centre for vegetable produce in the 8th century BCE at a site on level ground between Ramat Rahel and the City of David, which would place it around the Emek Refaim street that runs through the centre of the German Colony.

They claim that this area was the Valley of Shaveh (the “level” valley), also called the King’s Valley, where the King of Sodom met Abraham (Gen. 14:17). If they are right, then Emek Refaim, famous today for its cafés, boutiques and two vegetable stores, will have acquired a reputable history going back three thousand years and more.

Rebuilding the Mughrabi Gate Bridge, Jerusalem

The original earth ramp to the high level Mughrabi Gate onto the south end of the Temple Mount was damaged by a minor earthquake and stormy weather in 2004, and the plans for a permanent steel and concrete structure had to be postponed because of lack of the necessary permits and a great outcry by the Waqf (the Islamic administrators of the Temple Mount) and other Arab parties, who claimed that the structure, and the accompanying archaeological investigations nearby, would damage El-Aqsa. In 2007 a temporary wooden bridge was built to provide access for non-Moslems and the Israeli security forces. This temporary structure has now been condemned by the City Engineer as unsafe and a fire hazard, and new plans must be implemented within 30 days to replace it.

Whatever is proposed will no doubt provoke furious protests from those who claim that only the Waqf has jurisdiction over access to the Mughrabi Gate. But in 1967, when Jerusalem was unified and authority over the

Temple Mount was left in the hands of the Waqf, an exception was made for security matters, and Israel retained the keys to the Mughrabi Gate for necessary access by its security forces.

Heritage Site in Safed

Trial excavations at the Kahal Centre in mid-Safed, in the Galilee, conducted by Livnot Lehibanot, a private NGO, under the supervision of the Israel Antiquities Authority, have revealed a number of late medieval dwellings, a bakery, a ritual bathhouse, cisterns and courtyards. It is intended to extend the site and prepare it for public viewing to give a picture of Jewish life in the city in the sixteenth century, when it was the premier Kabbalistic centre of the world. To this end, the government is allocating funds to the tune of four million shekels (about £700,000) to complete the work and prepare it for opening to the public within the next five years.

REPORT 37
DECEMBER 2011

Arabic Inscription of the Crusader Period

An inscription in Arabic bearing the name of the Crusader ruler Frederick II and dated 1229 was recently discovered on a grey marble slab on the wall of a building in Tel Aviv, probably fixed there many years ago. According to Prof. Moshe Sharon of the Hebrew University who deciphered it, this was the only Crusader inscription ever found in Arabic and probably came from the citadel that Frederick built in Jaffa, and on which he describes himself as King of Jerusalem. He hailed from Sicily and was the leader of the Sixth Crusade of 1228-1229. It is known that he was fluent in Arabic, his court was attended by many Muslim scholars and ambassadors and for that he was excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX. He was friendly with the Egyptian Sultan and won from him an armistice that made him King of Jerusalem without a fight. The titles of the inscription are readable in the Arabic but the remaining text has not survived. It is not yet clear where and when the slab will be exhibited to the public.

Palestine Authority (PA) Recognised by Unesco: Impact on Archaeology

As a result of the recognition of the PA as a member state by UNESCO on October 31st, the PA is applying to UNESCO for grants to cover repair work to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and in particular for the sum of \$12 million for essential repairs to the roof. The historic building of the Byzantine period is in urgent need of repairs which have not been carried out for many years by the three Christian denominations that administer it. On another tack, the PA, now a member of UNESCO, has threatened to sue Israel for stealing and destroying Arab and Muslim antiquities. The renovation of the Mughrabi Bridge in Jerusalem is on hold until the PA's intentions are clarified and (it is to be hoped), resolved.

Date Palm Grown from Seed Discovered at Masada

A seed uncovered in the 1960s at Masada, later planted in a secret location by scientists, has now sprouted and grown to an eight-foot high date palm. It has recently been replanted at Kibbutz Ketura in Arava, southern Israel. From a rare species it is hoped it will henceforth produce fruit for food and medicinal purposes.

When the sapling was 15 months old the original seed was shown by C.14 investigation at the University of Zurich to be from the period of the Roman siege of Masada in 73 CE. This species of palm was identified with Judaea and depicted on Roman coins as a symbol of the defeat of the Great Rebellion of 66-70 CE.

Coins Found Below Base of Outer Temple Wall

Further excavations by Eli Shukron of the IAA and Prof. Ronnie Reich of Haifa University inside the drainage channel at the foot of Robinson's Arch have uncovered part of the base of the western Herodian retaining wall to the Jerusalem Temple and exposed coins that are dated to the Roman Governor Valerius Gratus of 15-16 CE. As this is some twenty years after the death of Herod the Great, it demonstrates that this part of the wall was built after his death, according to Prof. Reich.

The coins were found in a mikveh (ritual bath) that was part of a residential area that had been destroyed to make way for the massive retaining wall to be founded on bedrock. The coins indicate that this western part of the wall

was probably built later than the one on the eastern and southern sides and was planned by Herod but only constructed by his grandson Herod Antipas. This discovery caused a minor sensation among scholars in the press, but it has always been known that Herod, who started the Temple reconstruction in 22 BCE, never saw it completed at his death in 4 BCE. The work was not totally finished until about 60 CE and then, tragically, the completed Temple stood for only ten years before it was destroyed by the Romans.

The Gospel Trail North of Lake Kinneret

Last week the Minister of Tourism Stas Misezhnikov officially opened the Gospel Trail along the north side of the Lake of Kinneret in the Galilee, which will run for 63 kms (39 miles) from north of Tiberias on the west side of the lake eventually to Kursi on the opposite east bank. The Trail will pass through most of the important Christian sites along the banks, such as Magdala, Tabgha, Capernaum and Bethsaida. Prepared by the Ministry of Tourism and the Jewish National Fund, the Trail consists of comfortable stone footpaths, sun and rain shelters and parking areas. The plan is to include hostels and hotels for the many Christian pilgrims who are expected to visit the area, which is sacred to the memory of Jesus, who spent much time in the fishing villages along the lake after he was evicted from Nazareth.

Archaeological excavations along the route have been conducted over many years by the Franciscan Fathers of Capernaum and the IAA and a joint application was made over the last few years to UNESCO to have the area designated as a site of Historic Interest. The application has so far not succeeded as the management of the Trail has not yet been fully organized between the many different ownerships involved.

REPORT 38
JANUARY 2012

Elephants Out - Homo Sapiens In

It is being claimed that the disappearance of elephants from the Levant led to the emergence of Homo Sapiens replacing the more primitive Homo Erectus some 400,000 years ago. The claim is based on work by researchers

from Tel Aviv University, including archaeologists and anthropologists, at the Qesem Cave at Gesher Bnot Ya'akov, a ford north of the Sea of Galilee, where the teeth of the Levantine Acheulo-Yabrudian species of Homo Sapiens were found recently.

The theory is that Homo Erectus lived in association with the local elephants, using them as sources of meat and fat, and when the large creatures died out a new breed of humans evolved to be able to hunt faster and smaller animals and sustain their necessary level of consumable fats. This, said the scientists from Tel Aviv University, “was the evolutionary drive behind the emergence in the Middle Pleistocene Era of the lighter, more agile, cognitively capable hominin”. The researchers were not able to say whether the new species evolved in Africa and migrated to the Levant, or whether the remains found at the Qesem Cave were those of a local species.

Carvings in Floor of Silwan Dwelling, Jerusalem

In the remains of a house dated to the late Iron Age, three V-shaped carvings were found cut into the limestone bedrock floor. The arms of each V are about 40cm long and 5cm deep and the point of the V is accentuated by a slight widening into a miniature triangle. The excavator, Prof. Ronny Reich of Haifa University, thought the signs were unique but later discovered that similar carvings had been recorded in another nearby house during the abortive Parker Mission of a century ago. As the markings were enigmatic, the excavators put the details on Facebook to ask for suggestions and were overwhelmed by the response, but out of thousands of replies no credible ideas were received. It appears that the floor cuts may have been used to secure the feet of a piece of weaving apparatus. However, as the room was previously filled with rubble to act as a support for a defensive wall believed to have been constructed in the time of King Jehoash (842-802 BCE), the cuts may have served as a base for a framework used to reinforce the rubble fill.

Mughrabi Bridge to Temple Mount, Again

The City Engineer continues to insist that the present temporary bridge is unsafe and a potential fire-risk, but sharp protests from the Waqf and other Islamic bodies, objecting to any change to the “status quo”, have

made it virtually impossible to replace it without causing anti-Israel violence throughout the Arab world. The solution has been to treat the timber structure with a fire-retardant substance and to have a fire-truck on permanent standby nearby.

Byzantine Bath-House in Judaeon Hills

The Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) revealed that an ancient bath-house of c.400 CE has been uncovered at Moshav Tarum, about 25 km west of Jerusalem, near Beit Shemesh. It was found during work on a new water supply line to Jerusalem. The main room is cruciform in plan and heated by a fine hypocaust floor with about thirty squat stone pillars, and fed by a heating channel from a nearby boiler house. The find was open for viewing for a few days and it is not clear if plans will be made for permanent access.

Archaeological Finds Vandalised in the Afula Area

Several archaeological sites in the vicinity of Afula, in the Lower Galilee, have been vandalised and precious remains destroyed. At Khirbet Amudim the contents of a locked steel container were destroyed, including First-Temple pottery and later artefacts. This has set back the work of several rescue digs in the area that were being conducted by the IAA in advance of new road building. The culprits appear to be ultra-orthodox elements that roam the archaeological sites and object to the occasional but necessary moving of ancient graves and the removal of bones for examination and respectful reburial. Police are investigating and plan to bring charges.

Second Temple Token a Seal of Purity

Eli Shukron of the IAA continues to make important discoveries in the area of the channel that leads to the base of Robinson's Arch by the Western Wall in Jerusalem. The latest find to be announced is a small button-sized (1 cm) clay seal that came up in sifting the dirt from the north side of the Siloam Pool, where 30 coins have already been recovered. The seal or token is inscribed with the Aramaic formula "d-k-a l-H" which is translated as "Pure to God". The token is dated to the late Second Temple period, perhaps fifty years before the destruction of 70 CE. The use of similar seals or tokens is recorded in the Mishnah, where it describes how a person wishing to purchase a libation would pay one official, receive a token from him and

pass it on to another official who would hand him the appropriate drink offering (Shekalim 5:4). The find was hailed by Mrs. Limor Livnat, the Israeli Minister of Culture and Sport, as showing the connection of the Jewish People to Jerusalem and the Temple Mount.

Stop Press, ‘Geniza’ Find in Afghanistan

Rumours are surfacing of the discovery of a cache of early medieval Jewish documents in Arabic, Judeo-Arabic and early Persian at Samangan Province on the Silk Road. The 150 fragments, which seem to be a kind of ‘geniza’ of unwanted scrolls, are in the hands of dealers, and Jewish institutions are hoping to purchase them, but details are still very sketchy.

REPORT 39
FEBRUARY 2012

‘Geniza’ Find in Afghanistan

Details of this discovery are still very sketchy but Prof. Shaul Shaked of the Hebrew University has given more information recently. He is skeptical of the many stories of the discovery that are surfacing, as they all revolve around a shepherd who is looking for his flock in a distant cave, fails to find them but sees pieces of parchment scattered over the ground. These stories are clearly based on the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and so are dismissed as fiction. But, like the Scrolls, there is the hope that further caches will be uncovered as to date only about 150 pieces have come to light.

Prof. Shaked, an expert in ancient Persian languages, has no doubt the finds are authentic and has said that they include a medieval copy of the Book of Jeremiah, previously unknown works by Rabbi Sa’adiah Gaon of the 10th century CE, as well as the private financial diary of a Jewish merchant. The documents are in Judeo-Persian and Judeo-Arabic and can be precisely dated to the medieval period. Many are damaged and decayed and the number is small, but Prof. Shaked hopes that search will now be made for others. He is of the opinion that the cache may include the records of a Karaite community, although it is known that Sa’adiah Gaon was fiercely opposed to this Jewish sect.

Prof. Robert Eisenman has said that he hopes the records may shed light on another sect called the Rhadanites, early medieval Jewish merchants

who had set up an extensive trade network connecting Europe and Asia. He raises the suspicion that these Jews may have been descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes, but that is a claim made for all outlandish sects and usually with little justification.

Bread Seal Found at Uza, near Acre

A rescue dig is being conducted at Uza, a Byzantine village east of Acre, prior to the laying of a railway track between Acre and Carmiel. In the course of the dig, headed by Gilad Jaffe and Danny Syon of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), a diminutive clay stamp incised with the reverse of a seven-branched menorah was uncovered. The excavators point this out as a bread seal of the type used in the early medieval period and they date it to the 6th century CE. Bread seals of the period are common but mostly carry a figure of a cross and denote Christian ownership. The Menorah, which clearly marks Jewish ownership, is rare, and probably indicates that there was a Jewish bakery at Uza supplying bread to the Jewish community of Acre, which was mainly a Christian town in the Byzantine period. The short handle of the stamp carries some Greek lettering, read by Dr. Leah di Segni of the Hebrew University as “Launtius”, a common Jewish name of the period.

Prehistoric Evaporation of the Dead Sea

Last year researchers from the Geological Survey of Israel, the Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University conducted drilling at the centre of the Dead Sea, at a depth of 300m, and offshore near Ein Gedi, and they found that the Dead Sea had nearly dried up 125,000 years ago due to climate change. At a depth of 250m below the floor of the lake they found levels of pebbles above substantial salt layers and concluded that these demonstrated a period when the lake had nearly dried up, due to little inflow of water. From sediment cores, the scientists discovered a layer of 45m of salt below nearby pebbles, which indicated a shoreline close by. The condition was attributed to a change in climate that occurred thousands of years ago and was ultimately remedied by increased rainfall and flow into the Dead Sea from the river Jordan. The researchers indicated that such a condition of excessive fall could occur again at the present time and the remedy of replenishment did not exist as so much of the waters of the Jordan was being

syphoned off by the adjoining countries. They warned that the previous ancient fall had been due to climate change whereas the present drop was a man-made disaster.

Archaeological Survey of Lifta, west of Jerusalem

Since 1948 the Arab village of Lifta, standing outside the western approach to Jerusalem, has stood in ruin and virtually unpopulated except for a few Yemenite families. The area contains dozens of stone-built houses that stand derelict on a piece of prime real estate, and two years ago tenders were issued to private developers to build 212 luxury houses on the former village, on condition that the contractor would conduct a full survey of the existing properties before work could begin. The site contains mainly 19th century houses but there are also some Crusader structures and First Temple remains, all in an advanced state of disrepair.

A recent court ruling has annulled the previous tenders and has now stipulated that the area must first be surveyed in depth by an independent multi-disciplinary university team and the IAA, whose interests will be purely scientific and historical and not guided by development opportunities. However it has been agreed that in the long run it is not desirable to leave the area unbuilt and undeveloped as that would continue the neglect and decay that has taken toll of the site over the last sixty years. It is stipulated therefore that there must be in the long run a plan for both development and preservation of the historical core, with convenient access for the public to the sections of historical interest, so as to provide for example an area that would illustrate the physical form of a typical Arab village of the 19th century. It is hoped that the involvement of many university departments and the IAA will bring positive results and not delay the restoration works unduly.

REPORT 40
MARCH 2012

New Tourism Centre on Givati Car Park, Jerusalem

Recently initial approval has been given for a large new tourism centre over the site of the former car park opposite the City of David archaeological

park and south of the Dung Gate of the Old City. The new complex will be built on stilts over the large site, still partly under excavation by the Israel Antiquities Authority, which is considered by some to have been the location of the palace of Queen Helena of Adiabene of the 1st century CE, where many Roman and Byzantine artifacts have been uncovered. The complex will house facilities for tourists as well as a museum of local finds, and will illustrate the history of the area, to include details of its Islamic past from the Arab Conquest to the present day. Further approvals have still to be given, and costs allocated, but once complete the complex will make it easier for visitors to access the southern part of the Old City and the excavations below the southern walls, where a new area has been prepared alongside the city's ancient eastern wall and gate, considered by Dr. Eilat Mazar and others to be of the Solomonic period.

Cultivation of Ancient Citrons (etrogim) at Ramat Rahel, Jerusalem

Excavations at the royal palace of Ramat Rahel, which dates back to the time of Hezekiah in the 8th century BCE, have been going on for some years under the direction of Prof. Oded Lipschitz and Dr. Yuval Gadot of Tel Aviv University and Prof. Oeming of Heidelberg University. The palace boasted a royal garden where the hard local ground had been replaced in antiquity by finer productive soil and the archaeologists were keen to find out what had been grown there. For evidence they decided to examine the plasterwork of the surrounding walls, on the theory that in springtime the plant pollen would have been blown onto the walls while they were being plastered. They carefully peeled off some layers of the plaster and were able to identify several wild species and also evidence of citrus plants from a layer of plaster that they identified as having been applied during the Persian period, after the return of the Jewish exiles from Babylon in the 6th century BCE. The pollen was identified by Dr. Dafna Langut of Tel Aviv University as being that of the citron, or etrog, the fruit which is used as one of the four species to be waved aloft on the festival of Tabernacles. This is the earliest evidence of the etrog in Israel, and it is assumed that the royal palace planted their trees, whose origin is in India, when they were brought to this country by the exiles from Babylon. Further evidence was found of willow and myrtle plants that are also used for the festive Sukkoth (Tabernacles) rituals (Lev. 23:40).

Restoration of Historic Sites, the Montefiore Windmill in Jerusalem

It has previously been mentioned that the Israeli Government has allocated funds to the restoration and preservation of sites of historic interest. At the end of February a list of 13 heritage sites was published and these included Tel Shiloh, where tradition claims that the desert shrine Mishkan was re-erected; the ancient synagogue of the Second Temple Period at Umm el-Umdam in Modi'in, and the Montefiore windmill in the Yemin Moshe area of Jerusalem.

The Government has pledged 72 million shekels (approx. £12 million) for these projects, of which one million is for the windmill, to which further funds will be contributed by the Jerusalem Municipality, the Ministry of Tourism and the Christian Friends of Israel from Holland. The plan for the windmill is to put it back in working order using replica parts made in Britain to the designs of the Holman Company of UK that built the original mill in 1857. The parts will be shipped to experts for assembly in Holland and then transported for final fitting to the mill in Jerusalem. It is hoped to complete the work before the end of this summer, and then have the four storey mill turning and working five days a week on a regular basis.

Another controversial find by Simcha Jacobovici

Simcha Jacobovici, the Canadian-Israeli director of the TV series, "The Naked Archaeologist", claimed recently that he had identified the tomb of some of the disciples of Jesus in Jerusalem. The burial cave in question is situated under a residential building in the Armon Hanatziv area of southern Jerusalem. It was first found in the 1990s, when local ultra-orthodox residents objected to further investigation and covered the cave with a concrete slab and built a block of flats over it. Jacobovici claimed he obtained permission from the residents to conduct further exploratory work and, although he was stopped from opening up the cave, he was eventually allowed to make a small hole and investigate below by means of a camera mounted on a robotic arm. The subsequent image that he obtained shows an incised carving of a fish swallowing, or vomiting out, a human head, which Jacobovici claims is an image of Jonah and the Great Fish (usually described as a whale) and that, he says, designates an early Christian image, as it was used as a symbol of Christ and his resurrection. Jacobovici has therefore concluded that the cave contained the remains of some of the early followers of Jesus, and the Israeli

archaeologist members of his team are reported as agreeing with his findings. Jacobovici was due to hold a press conference in New York at the beginning of March, but I have no further information on this sensational claim.

Sale of Ancient Shekel in New York Auction

A silver shekel, struck in Jerusalem in year 1 of the Revolt by the Jewish rebels against Roman rule, was sold in early March at auction in New York for \$1.1 million. It had been part of the Shoshana Collection of 2,000 ancient Judaeen coins formed by a private collector from Los Angeles, who had purchased it 20 years ago for \$240,000. The only other known example of this coin belongs to the Israel Museum. The collection as a whole will be sold off over the coming year and is expected to fetch \$10 million.

Forgery Trial Verdict Announced

On 14th March the verdict of Judge Aharon Farkash of the Jerusalem District Court was released, declaring that the two defendants were not guilty of forgery. As for the two artifacts in question it could not be proved beyond reasonable doubt that they were forgeries. The trial had been in progress for nearly 7 years and the judge had to consider 12,000 pieces of evidence and the testimony of dozens of experts. The prosecution was brought by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) who had claimed that many artifacts had been forged by a number of defendants. In the course of the trial the number of pieces was reduced to two, the “James, brother of Jesus Ossuary” and the “Yehoash Tablet” and the defendants to two, Oded Golan, an antiquities dealer and Robert Deutsch, an expert in ancient seals. Both were found not guilty, but Golan was convicted of the minor count of dealing in antiquities without a licence, for which he will be sentenced later.

The judge had been unable to conclude that the pieces were forgeries as the testimony of the experts had weighed in on both sides of the argument and, as the judge had said, who was he to make a decision on a matter of contention between professionals.

It was also clear that even if the items were forgeries, the actual work could not be pinned on the defendants. It had been claimed that the alleged forgeries were committed by a named Egyptian craftsman, but the Court had been unable to bring him to court from Cairo. The judge’s decision is

a disappointment for the IAA but they claim that the case has highlighted the questionable authenticity of artifacts acquired from the market and of unknown provenance, and in fact the judge's verdict does not prove that the two items in question are not forgeries. It seems to be the opinion among archaeologists that it is quite possible that, concerning the inscription on the ossuary "James, the son of Joseph, brother of Jesus," the ossuary is genuine and only the last three words were added by a forger. As for the Yehoash (Joash) Tablet, the text is close to passages found in Second Kings 12 and Second Chronicles 24 and, if genuine, would be a remarkable confirmation of the Temple and its description in the Hebrew Bible. However, the texts are so close that experts were very suspicious, and also the origin of the tablet was unclear.

REPORT 41
APRIL 2012

Two Bullae Found in Jerusalem

Two bullae, which were found several years ago by Dr. Eilat Mazar in the City of David, one by the Large Stone Structure (which Mazar thinks may have been the palace of David) and one by the northern or Nehemiah's tower, are currently in the news because they are on display in America. One is in the name of Yehukhal ben Shelemyahu and the other Gedelyahu ben Pashhur, both known as ministers of King Zedekiah (597-587 BCE). They are two out of the four ministers who asked the king for Jeremiah to be put to death for spreading defeatist sentiments, and when the king said, "Behold, he is in your hands", they threw him into a pit of mire (Jer. 38:1-6) from which he was later rescued.

Egyptian Scarab Found in City of David

A tiny scarab in the name of the Egyptian god Amun-Ra, written in hieroglyphics and with the imprint of a duck, was found at the Gihon section of the National Park by Eli Shukron of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) and Dr. Joe Uziel. It is only 1.5 cm long and was probably used to stamp documents in the 13th century BCE when Egypt ruled Canaan and, according to the excavators, it is a unique find in the area.

Stolen Sarcophagus Covers Found in Jerusalem

Inspectors of the IAA have recently seized two Egyptian sarcophagus covers from a dealer's store in the Old City. The covers are of wood with the virtual features of the deceased painted and modelled in plasterwork. They were pronounced genuine by the IAA and dated, one to the Late Bronze Age and one to the Iron Age. The covers had been neatly cut into two for easier transportation and the authorities think that they came to Israel via Dubai and Europe. The IAA say that legislation is now in place, since April 20th, to prevent the importation of any antiquities that have not been certified as legally exported from their country of origin. The Egyptian Government is requesting the return of the two covers and negotiations are in progress with the Foreign Ministry.

Syphonic Water Channel at Bet Yerah

During the construction of a new water carrier from the south to the city of Tiberias, the remains of an ancient water channel to Tel Beth Yerah, were unearthed and the work was delayed to enable a rescue dig to be carried out. The dig uncovered a pipeline from the ancient 'Berenice aqueduct' to the site of Hellenistic Bet Yerah, on the shores of the Kinneret, south of Tiberias. The pipeline had to cross the original riverbed of the Jordan, by sinking down to its level and rising on the other side up to the Tel.

This was done by means of a syphon built out of substantial interlocking basalt blocks, and the excavators found that this line had been built over an earlier pipeline of short interconnecting clay pipes, that had obviously failed under the considerable water pressure involved. The excavators, led by Yardenna Alexandre of the IAA, found that the large basalt blocks, or at least some of them, had probably been taken from the Early Roman-period syphon of Hippos-Sussita, on the east shore of the Kinneret, when it fell out of use. The basalt blocks, one of which had been carved out of a worn Corinthian capital, had a central channel with a bore of 30cm diameter while the earlier clay pipes were of only 8 to 10cm internal bore. The substantial water supply from the syphon was connected to a luxurious bathhouse adjacent to an early Islamic Ummayyad palace, whose remains had been originally misinterpreted as an early synagogue and mikvah. This fact, together with the find of two bronze coins, would date the elaborate syphonic channel to the 7th century CE.

REPORT 42
MAY 2012

First Temple Shrines at Khirbet Qieyafa

The site, about 30km south-west of Jerusalem, continues to provide surprises. The excavator, Prof. Yossi Garfinkel, recently announced that he had found in three rooms of the site model clay shrines with decorative openings. He dates the shrines to several years before the establishment of the First Temple and suggests that the features of their openings can explain one of the biblical terms used in connection with the Temple. The openings or doorways are formed by triple-rebated frames of a distinctive nature and Prof. Garfinkel suggests that this is the explanation of the obscure term “shequfim” that is related to the Temple windows (I Kings 6:4). Carbon dating by Oxford University on ten burned olive pits has dated the city to between 1020 and 980 BCE, when it was destroyed. However it was later rebuilt in the Hellenistic period, but the model shrines relate to the earlier city, in which there were found no graven images, and no pig bones among the many animal remains of sheep/goat and cattle. This leads Prof. Garfinkel to claim that this was an Israelite city of the time of David located in the valley of Elah, the border area with Philistia. However, the model shrines look as if they may have contained small figurines and so they can be interpreted as having been pagan shrines, but no figures were found and this idea is rejected by the excavator.

Ancient Rabbinic Tomb at Tzipori (Sepphoris)

Three years ago a farmer in the agricultural village of Moshav Tzipori came across a burial cave on his land with a carved stone door inscribed with the name of Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi, a Talmudic sage of the third century CE. The Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) became interested and conducted an excavation and removed the inscribed door. Mitch Pilcer, the farmer, objected but later the IAA filed charges against him for illegal excavation and damage to an ancient site and antiquities. The initial case came to court only recently, and has raised a lot of interest among the ultra-orthodox, who claim that the ancient rabbi may himself appear as a witness, in accordance with the legend that Rabbi Yehoshua’s soul ascended to heaven directly from his tomb, a gateway between heaven and earth. Pilcer is keen to have

the door restored to its site but the IAA is adamant that they must retain it for safekeeping.

Early Gold Jewellery from Megiddo

According to the excavators, the most valuable cache of gold jewellery of the Biblical period has now been discovered at Megiddo. The cache is dated to pre Iron Age I and belonged to the Canaanite inhabitants. It was found in a clay vessel unearthed in 2010 but has only recently been fully cleaned and evaluated. It includes nine large gold earrings, a gold ring seal and over a thousand small beads of gold, silver and carnelian, a semi-precious stone. One of the earrings is in the shape of a basket holding an ostrich-like bird and shows Egyptian influence, according to Professors David Ussiskin, Israel Finkelstein and Eric Cline, leaders of the expedition. The jewels are being studied further at Tel Aviv University and the Israel Museum before being exhibited to the public in due course.

Clay Seal Confirms Status of Bethlehem

During careful sifting of dirt from the passage to the Temple Mount from Siloam Pool, a tiny clay bulla or seal was uncovered with three lines of inscription. The wording reads....” In the seventh....Bat lehem....to the kin(g)”. According to the excavator, Eli Shukron, this will have been the seal of a tax receipt referring to a quantity of produce delivered to the king, who may have been Hezekiah or one of his predecessors or successors, the script dating it to the 8th century BCE, and it shows that Bethlehem was part of the Judaean kingdom. The information was conveniently released to the press just before the festival of Shavuoth (Pentecost) when the book of Ruth, telling of the Moabite girl who came to the city of Bethlehem, is read in the synagogue.

Mosaic Floor of Synagogue Vandalised

Extensive damage to the mosaic floor and walls of the synagogue of Hamat-Tiveryah (southern Tiberias) was discovered earlier this week. The damage included graffiti against the Director of the IAA, blaming him for desecrating ancient Jewish graves in the area. This has suggested that the perpetrators were ultra-orthodox elements. The Synagogue, of the 4th century CE and earlier, has fine mosaics with a central zodiac, representations of the Temple

Ark and candelabra, and several donor inscriptions. The damage will be repaired but the work, according to the IAA and the National Parks Authority who administer the site, will cost millions of shekalim. Some areas of mosaic will have to be replaced by facsimiles based on photographs. The police will do everything possible to bring the vandals to justice.

Forgery Trial Lingers On

Although the seven-year-old forgery trial relating to the Yehoash tablet and the James, brother of Jesus ossuary ended recently, with the two defendants being found not guilty of forgery, the case is now continuing regarding the ownership of the two artefacts. The IAA is adamant that they should not be returned to the defendants, while the defendants claim possession, after having been found innocent of the original charges. One of the defendants, Oded Golan, was found guilty of the minor charge of dealing in antiquities without a licence, to which he has pleaded guilty, and has now been given a commuted prison sentence and fined 30,000 NIS (£5,000). The trial Judge Aharon Farkash has implied that he cannot easily resolve the conflicting ownership claims and may be forced to the “Solomonic” decision to have the two pieces destroyed. This has caused alarm amongst the experts, who were not able to agree on whether the pieces were fakes or not, but who nevertheless do not want to see them destroyed. The ossuary was found to be an original, though the inscription on it was queried, and the dark stone tablet is of great curiosity value, even if not genuine. So the trial judge is back in the hot seat again.

REPORT 43
JUNE 2012

Boundary Stone at Gezer

Another boundary stone has recently been found at Tel Gezer, 30 km. west of Jerusalem. So far 12 such markers have been found with the words “Tehum Gezer” inscribed in Hebrew, but this latest one has a line across the middle with Tehum Gezer on one side of the line and the name Archelaus, in Greek, on the other side. Presumably this was the name of the adjoining owner. The stone is dated to the

Seleucid- Maccabean period of the late second century BCE and was uncovered during the renewed excavation of the site being carried out by the South-West Baptist Theological Seminary of the U.S. under the direction of Professor Steve Ortiz and Dr. Sam Wolff on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Their work will include clearing the underground tunnel to the water source that was located by the original excavation under R.A.S. Macalister in 1902-1909. It is planned to open it to visitors when access to the source has been made secure.

Gold and Silver Hoard at Kiryat-Gath

A cache of 140 coins and jewellery, wrapped in a disintegrating cloth, has been found in a pit within a villa courtyard in Kiryat-Gath, 50 km. south-west of Jerusalem, during an emergency rescue dig before proposed building extensions. The work exposed a small village of the Second Temple period and later Byzantine ruins. Emil Aladjem, director of the dig for the IAA, thinks the treasure may have been hidden by a wealthy woman fleeing from the Romans during the Bar Kochba Revolt of 132-135 CE. Besides the coins there was an earring in the form of a bunch of grapes, a ring with a precious stone inscribed with the seal of a goddess, and two silver sticks for applying cosmetics. The rare gold coins are connected to the reigns of the emperors Nero, Nerva and Trajan and datable to between 54 and 117 CE. The hoard has been sent to the laboratories of the IAA for cleaning and preservation before being shown to the public.

Exhibition of Gold Artefacts at the Bible Lands Museum

In commemoration of its 20th anniversary, the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem is showing a comprehensive display of ancient gold items from its own collection and those of one or two other collectors. The pieces are carefully presented in more than 50 glass showcases and are arranged in groups stemming from Egypt, the Levant, Greece and Rome, Mesopotamia and Iran, Etruria, the Black Sea region and also China and the Far East. Most of the items are fibulae, rings and earrings but there are also one or two small inscriptions on gold plate and a fine gold lion-headed rhyton. At its opening in 1992, the Bible Lands Museum was ostracized by scholars and archaeologists as nearly all the exhibits come from the market, having been bought by the founder Dr. Elie Borowski, and are of doubtful provenance.

However the collection is so important and comprehensive that the Museum has become recognized as a valuable resource, and the collection is now acknowledged by scholars and researchers. It hosts tours and workshops for school children who can appreciate its excellent models of ancient Jerusalem, the Egyptian pyramids at Giza, the city of Babylon and individual buildings like the Persian Apadana audience hall at Susa and the ziggurat of Ur. There is also a good section on the development of the alphabet. The exhibition entitled "Pure Gold" remains open until April 2013.

Headquarters of the IAA on Museum Boulevard, Jerusalem

On a site next to the Bible Lands Museum and opposite the Israel Museum, work has now started on the superstructure of an ambitious new headquarters for the IAA, whose departments are at present scattered among many different locations. The new building will house the IAA library, one of the best archaeological ones in the world, all of the IAA offices, workshops, stores and laboratories, spaces for the Dead Sea manuscripts and fragments, a major exhibition gallery and of course a coffee shop. Work on the deep foundations is already complete and the superstructure will house all the facilities under one enormous suspended roof, designed by architect Moshe Safdie. Funding has come from many different donors, the chief among them being the Schottenstein Foundation. When completed in several years time, many of the departments will move from their present location in the Rockefeller Museum in East Jerusalem, and it is hoped that this splendid building of the British Mandate period, will then be carefully renovated (including its beautiful central courtyard with plaques by Eric Gill), and that its exhibits will be upgraded to a more user-friendly format.

Ancient Arabic Manuscripts to be made Available Online

The Euromed Heritage-4 Organisation is planning to put on line thousands of Arabic documents, manuscripts and books from five major Arabic libraries, the Khalidi, the Budeiri, the Al-Aksa, the Al-Ansari and the Waqf Restoration Centre libraries, all of Jerusalem. Recently ceremonies were held in Jerusalem and Ramallah to inaugurate the Arabic Manuscripts Digital Library of Jerusalem, with the aim of promoting the written heritage of East Jerusalem and to make it accessible to all via an internet connection. The project is scheduled to take three years

and has a budget of \$2 million funded by Euromed Heritage. Some of the books and documents have already been digitalised and will be available shortly. The service will be presented in a multi-lingual format and will be free of charge to viewers.

REPORT 44
AUGUST 2012

Mount Carmel Caves on UNESCO World Heritage List

At its meeting on 29th June at St Petersburg, the World Heritage Committee agreed to place a set of four Carmel caves on its Heritage List. The document read, “The four caves are located in one of the best preserved fossilized reefs of the Mediterranean region, and contain artifacts covering 500,000 years of human evolution, from the Lower Paleolithic era till today”.

They are the Nahal Me’orot caves of Tabun, Jamal, El-Wad and Skhul. The Tabun and other caves were first investigated by Dorothy Garrod in 1929-34 and she found there a complete skeleton of a Neanderthal woman, which was dated from 60,000 to 50,000 BP (before Present). The Jamal cave is a single chamber cave, while El-Wad has an entrance chamber that leads to five others that contain stone house remains and a cemetery with skeleton fragments of a hundred individuals. The listing includes the terraces to the caves that display evidence of artistic activity and agriculture. The caves reflect man’s prehistoric culture and his transformation from hunter-gatherer to agriculturalist that occurred over hundreds of years. The credit for bringing the caves to the attention of UNESCO must go to Prof. Mina Weinstein-Evron of Haifa University, who has been passionate in preserving the evidence of the caves over many years.

Bethlehem Church on UNESCO List

At the same meeting, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem was also placed on the World Heritage List in the name of the Palestine Authority. The PA claimed that the Church was in danger, but in fact the Church is in fairly good condition, although repairs are needed to the roof. The Greek Orthodox and Armenian Church Patriarchs had opposed the original listing

application but the PA has provided written guarantees that it will not intervene in the internal affairs of the site, in particular the “status quo” agreement which defines the full autonomy of the three churches (including the Roman Catholics) in the management of the site.

Early Synagogue to North-West of Sea of Galilee

At Huqoq, a village mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud, archaeologists Jodi Magness, with David Amit and Shua Kasilevitz of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), have found remains of a large synagogue of the late Roman period of the 4th century CE, a time which saw a great increase in synagogue building in the Galilee and the Golan. The synagogue has a mosaic floor that includes an inscription alongside two faces, one of them destroyed, but the other is female, very graphic and most unusual for a synagogue. There is also a depiction of the story of Samson sending flaming torches tied to the tails of foxes into the fields of Philistine standing corn (Judges 15:4ff), which is again used as a mosaic subject in another recently discovered synagogue at nearby Wadi Hamam. The richness of the mosaics and the fact that remains of the structure show impressive use of large ashlar stonework is surprising in a small village setting and indicates the affluence of the area, which was watered by a spring, near a trade route, a centre of fertile land and famous for its mustard plants. “I guess mustard was lucrative” said Jodi Magness.

Crusader Coin Trove Found at Apollonia

At Tel Arshaf, on the coast north of Herzliya, in the course of a three-year dig headed by Prof. Oren Tal of Tel Aviv University, a large cache of golden coins of the Crusader period has been uncovered. The coins had been placed in a sand-filled pottery vessel, now broken, under the floor tiles of the castle, and it looked like a deliberate act of concealment, probably made by the defenders during a prolonged siege by Muslim troops. The excavation has also uncovered arrowheads and catapult stones, evidence of the Arab siege. The Crusaders, who called their castle Apollonia, held the stronghold in the 13th century, when it was eventually conquered and razed to the ground by the Mamluks, who failed to check under the floor tiles. The hoard is of 108 gold coins minted around 1,000 CE in Egypt, and is today valued at over \$100,000. After cleaning, the hoard will be put on exhibition.

Hellenistic Harbour at Akko (Acre)

During conservation work to the southern sea wall of the modern harbour at Akko, evidence appeared of large well laid and dressed stones as used in many other installations along the Phoenician coast, and may have indicated the base of a large building or the foundation of a port installation. The finding of a series of mooring stones along the quay makes it clear that it was the latter, and thus was evidence for a large port in the Hellenistic period of 300-200 BCE. The stone floor was littered with fragments of pottery vessels from across the Aegean, from ports such as Knidos (W.Turkey) and Rhodes, by which it could be dated. The flooring had a slight slope to the south and was flanked on two sides by walls built in the Phoenician style, which suggests that the floor was the base of a slipway used to haul ships onto the shore, according to Kobi Sharvit, director of the IAA Marine Archaeology Unit. The section of the harbour uncovered so far indicates that it was a military installation, probably the chief naval base of Coele-Syria (Palestine/Israel) that was deliberately attacked and destroyed by enemies of the Seleucid powers, who could have been Egyptian forces under the Ptolemies, or even the Hasmoneans many years later.

Tel Hazor, Jars of Burnt Wheat

Excavations at Hazor have been in progress for many years under Prof. Amnon Ben-Tor of Hebrew University and Dr. Tsvika Tzuk, of the Nature and Parks Authority, who administer the archaeological site. Recently fourteen large pithoi storage jars have been uncovered and found to contain stores of burnt wheat that are dated to the Middle Bronze Age of 2,200 BCE. They were found in the storage room of the monumental building, perhaps a palace, of the Canaanite period. When excavation is complete this season, the jars and contents will be transferred to the IAA laboratories for further investigation and conservation, before being exhibited and then replaced on site.

Commemoration of Petrie's Death

On the 70th anniversary of the death of Flinders Petrie a special ceremony was held at his graveside in Jerusalem. This report is by Sam Wolff of the IAA, with an addition in brackets by Shimon Gibson.

“On 30 July 2012 an evening gathering was organized by the IAA to commemorate the 70th year of the passing of Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie, pioneer British archaeologist and Egyptologist. The well-attended event was held in the courtyard of the former Bishop Gobat School, current Jerusalem University College, on Mt. Zion, metres away from Petrie’s grave, which is located in the Protestant Cemetery alongside other prominent archaeologists and architects including James Starkey, Clarence Fisher, and Conrad Schick. After a brief tour of the cemetery and introductory remarks, Gabriel Barkay delivered an appreciation of Petrie’s achievements. This was followed by a brief lecture by Shimon Gibson which, among other items of interest, included a graphic description of his visit to the Royal College of Surgeons in London in order to confirm the identity of a human head preserved in a jar, reputed to be the head of Petrie (who was an advocate of the Eugenics movement and believed that a measure of human intelligence could be based on the measurement of skulls). The evening ended with a screening of a BBC documentary of Petrie’s life and contribution to archaeology, both in Egypt and in Palestine.”

Ancient Pool and Bust at Sussita

At the hilltop Hellenistic site of Sussita, overlooking the east shore of the Sea of Galilee, Prof. Arthur Segal has been leading a team from the University of Haifa for thirteen seasons and recent finds include a bust of an unknown worthy dated to the third century BCE, which the archaeologists think had come from a grave monument. In the last season they have also uncovered the well paved floor remains of an early local swimming pool, but no date has yet been given, This is a surprising find as water supply to the high level town must have been severely restricted.

Restoration to City Walls of Jerusalem Completed

The 4 km. of the ancient city walls of Jerusalem have undergone an eight year programme of repair and restoration under the supervision of Avi Mashiah of the IAA. The National Parks Authority and the Jerusalem Development Authority were also involved in the work and funding came from the Prime Minister’s Office. It is the first time since the British Mandate that the walls as a whole have been surveyed and repaired. The work included restoration of the seven gates of the City and at the Zion Gate nearly 300 bullet holes,

dating from 1967, were filled but the evidence left showing for historical accuracy. The work at the Herod and Damascus Gates was carefully coordinated with the local Arab traders who have open stalls at these gates, and much of the work was carried out at night so as not to disrupt trade. At the Damascus Gate the original ornamental high-level carvings were restored, at first to the angry protests of the locals, but it was explained that the original stonework was likely to collapse and now local residents and traders are happy to see the new work, and realize that the bright colours of the restoration will soon fade and blend in with the old. The whole of the walls have now been restored except for the portion at the south east corner, which is under the control of the Waqf, the Islamic administrators of the Temple Mount, who are proceeding with their repairs more slowly.

REPORT 45
SEPTEMBER 2012

“Seal of Samson” Found Near Beit Shemesh

A small seal has been found on the floor of a house dated to the 12th century BCE at the site of Tel Beit Shemesh, west of Jerusalem. It shows a human figure in combat with a four-legged animal. In size it is only 12mm across and the figures are very diagrammatic, but as the period and location fit with the Biblical story of Samson and his unarmed fight with a lion (Judges 14:6), it has been dubbed the Samson seal, though Prof. Shlomo Bunimovitz of Tel Aviv University, who is in charge of the dig at Beit Shemesh, is careful to say this is for convenience only and does not imply that such a combat took place, nor does it support in any way the existence of the heroic figure of Samson.

Exhibition of Vessels From Tel Qashish

The contents of a *favissa*, or store of disused cultic objects, uncovered at Tel Qashish in 2010 is now on display at the Haifa National Maritime Museum. Tel Qashish lies about 2 km north of Yokneam and 20 km southeast of Haifa. The artifacts are dated to the 13th century BCE and, according to the exhibition’s curator Avshalom Zemer, it is the first time that a discarded treasure of that early date has been found and displayed.

The hoard was found in a pit of limestone rock and comprised 200 artifacts, many rare and previously unknown, that originated from Mycenaean Greece and Cyprus as well as locally. The local items include goblets (one with a human face) large and small cylindrical stands, incense burners and libation chalices, which indicate that they have come from a nearby temple, which has not yet been found, nor has any local deity been identified. The imported ware included bowls, juglets, cooking pots, cup-and-saucer sets from Cyprus, and stirrup jars and flasks from Greece. The imports imply strong trade connections with the Aegean, which suggested that the exhibition be placed in the Maritime museum, but the artifacts are the property of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) who conducted the salvage dig that uncovered the hoard before the Haifa Bay gas pipeline was laid.

Highway Extension Uncovers Early Figurines

During extension of Highway Route One at Motza, west of Jerusalem, archaeologists discovered two small figurines, one of a ram and one of a wild bovine, The carvings in limestone are remarkably precise, according to Dr. Hamoudi Khalaily, co-director of the dig for the IAA . The pieces are dated to the Pre-pottery Neolithic B (approx. 8th millennium BCE) and according to the excavators are contemporary to the period when nomadic hunters were changing to a sedentary agricultural life. The other director of the dig, Anna Elrikh, believes that the figurines are related to the domestication of these animals that took place at the time. Other finds at the site include stone-age tools, and funereal and cultic objects, which have not yet been shown to the public.

Reservoir Under Outer Wall of Jerusalem Temple

During work on the underground tunnel to the Temple Mount from the Gihon area, the excavator Eli Shukron, working for the IAA, uncovered access to a vast underground reservoir or cistern measuring 12m by 5m and 4.5m high. It is dated to the First Temple period (pre 586 BCE) because it has the same type of wall plaster used in nearby cisterns in the Gihon area, which have been dated by pottery. The special plaster used to waterproof the stone walls has been found in several earlier locations and is claimed to be an Israelite invention that made the storage of winter water a practical proposition. The reservoir would have been filled by rainwater seeping

down from the Temple Mount and because of its size Eli Shukron believes it was a public facility used by the Temple priests as well as by pilgrims. This is the first time that evidence of stored water has been found so near to the site of the Temple. It is not yet clear how the water was brought to the surface, though it was probably by means of skins lowered through openings in the roof of the reservoir.

Recording of Heritage Sites in Israel

During the months of September and October 2012 Wikimedia has organized a photography competition that will record cultural sites throughout 32 countries, including Israel. The work is organized by “Wiki loves Monuments” and Wikimedia Israel and will enable the public to download all the photographs free of charge when completed. The images of Israel will include over 600 buildings and ancient monuments, many religious sites as well as listed buildings in the older Jewish and Arab neighbourhoods. The organizers will select the ten best photographs taken in Israel, which will be submitted to the world-wide committee, and the best images will win local cash prizes. But all accepted images will become available to the public at no charge, according to Wikimedia.

REPORT 45
NOVEMBER 2012

Neolithic Beads and Figurines from Western Galilee

A large agricultural settlement extending over 20 hectares (50 acres) has been uncovered at Ein Zippori in the western Galilee. It is related to the Wadi Rabah culture that prevailed in Israel in the sixth to fifth millennia BCE, and collections of decorative beads in a large basin and ostrich images and figurines were found and exhibited to the Press. The site excavators claim that these and other items are evidence of an early agricultural economy with extensive trade links.

Neanderthals and Homo Sapiens Interbred in Carmel

At the Nahal Me'arot caves in the Carmel range, recently granted UNESCO Heritage status, archaeologists have found tools of both Neanderthals and Homo Sapiens in close proximity. Daniel Kaufmann, working at the site, claims that the interbreeding of the two species, which genetic research has suggested existed in non-aggressive mating between the two sub-species, took place at this site where there is evidence of peaceful living side by side as early as 80,000 years ago.

Human Remains in Deep Well in the Jezreel Valley

In an emergency excavation preceding the enlargement of a junction at Enot Nisanit on Road 66 in the western Jezreel Valley, archaeologists from the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) have uncovered a well approximately 8m deep × 1.3m in diameter. The large diameter was reduced by two capstones set over the mouth. At the bottom of the well were found skeletal remains of a young woman and an older man of thirty or forty years of age. The excavation director, Yotam Tepper, thinks the water became undrinkable after the bodies had fallen into the well, and many romantic suggestions have been made as to why the two skeletons were found here together. The well shaft also contained remains of animal bones, charcoal and other organic materials which have enabled the finds, including the human bones, to be dated to the early Neolithic period, about 8,500 years ago. A deep well of this early period is unique in Israel, according to Dr. Omri Barzilai of the IAA Prehistoric Branch, and indicates the population's impressive knowledge of the hydrology of the area and their ability to work together to undertake such a considerable community project.

Stephen Gabriel Rosenberg
W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem

Grant Reports

LAURA GREEN
University College London

Using the generous grant received from the Anglo Israel Society I was able to take part in this years' excavation season at Tel Bet Yerah, located beside the Sea of Galilee. With several thousand years of settlement accumulated across the mound, it is the significant Early Bronze Age levels that have been the focus of this research project co-ordinated by Tel Aviv University and University College London. The large urban centre from this period marks an important stage of development from the earlier small-scale villages of the region. This years' excavations continued to investigate two distinct domestic areas excavated during the two previous seasons, which are set apart by their differing pottery traditions, as well as their differential treatment of faunal and plant remains.

The team this year was relatively small, consisting of around 20 undergraduate students from UCL and a few students from Tel Aviv University. Having excavated there previously in 2010, I was able to increase my responsibilities to a supervisor/student co-ordinator and also pursue my developing interests in environmental archaeology. The excavation team was split across the two areas and I helped to supervise the eastern SA-M trench with Mark Iserlis.

The upper levels of this trench were in the EB III period, which is contemporary with the well-known 'Circles building', and is the source of significant quantities of the Khirbet Kerak ware (KKW) pottery. This distinctive pottery type, which can rarely be found in the domestic spaces of the nearby western SA-S trench, is believed to represent the material culture of a non-local migrant group; the pottery style more closely resembles the ceramic cultures of Eastern Anatolia and the southern Caucasus region. Previous seasons had revealed substantial evidence for differing activities associated with this pottery, such as pieces of cooking andirons, metal



Fig. 1. Processing environmental samples by manual flotation at Bronze Age Tel Bet Yerah. L to R: Catherine Longford (University of Sheffield), Yulia Bondarenko (Tel Aviv Univeristy), Laura Green (UCL)

fragments and bead craft, yet the lack of architectural features in this area further suggests more temporary forms of settlement.

While the discovery of new features was minimal in this area compared with the western SA-S area, this years excavations began to uncover several EB III floor layers, which included further concentrations of KKW pottery, andiron fragments, beads, metal work, and were often rich in organic material. Many of the deposits were extensively sampled for archaeobotanical recovery and wet sieving, and I therefore spent a greater portion of my time processing the large volume of samples towards the latter part of the excavation. The archaeobotanical remains were of particular interest this season as recent analyses by Alice Berger, a postgraduate student from Tel Aviv University, revealed notable differences between the treatments of plant food supplies in each area. While the macrobotanical remains from SA-S largely comprised of cereal grains and little chaff, suggesting their extensive processing for storage, the SA-M data on the other hand was rich in chaff and weedy species, indicating minimal levels of processing. This is yet another aspect that distinguishes the two different communities represented by each area.

The flotation system, which I helped to run for most of the excavation, was carried out by a simple manual bucket method. This system has been used in prior seasons, and while appropriate for the earlier stages of the excavation, with its effective extent of recovery, it was difficult to keep up with the processing of larger volumes towards the end of the excavation. However, due to the great amount of strain it put upon time and resources, we were able to convince the project to construct a mechanised flotation tank for future seasons. This will enable us to process much larger volumes more efficiently.

While the remains from this season are still to be analysed, this challenging process of archaeobotanical recovery has provided me with invaluable experience, which has greatly prepared me for future archaeobotanical work.

MICHAEL LEWIS
University College London

My participation in this year's excavation at Tel Bet Yerah, an Early Bronze Age urban centre on the banks of the Sea of Galilee owes huge thanks to the grant I received from the Anglo Israel Society. I have excavated at the site the previous two seasons (2009, 2010), and this year I was given a more supervisory role under Dr Sarit Paz, the co-director of the excavation and supervisor of Area SA-S where I was working.

This season was relatively small with a group of 20 or so UCL students forming the core of the excavation team under director Professor Rafi Greenberg. Half of the team worked in area SA-M alongside Mark Iserlis of Tel Aviv University to investigate the occupation by the "Khirbet Kerak" migrants of the EBIII city and further illustrate their migration and subsequent settlement at the site following the close of the EBII. The other half of the team worked alongside Dr Sarit Paz and myself where our excavations focused on the native population of Bet Yerah in the EBII and EBIII, providing some interesting comparisons between the native inhabitants of Bet Yerah and the KKW migrants living contemporarily just a few meters away, across the street.

Whilst the excavations in area SA-S were primarily focussed on an Early Bronze Age domestic suburb at the centre of the urban settlement, at

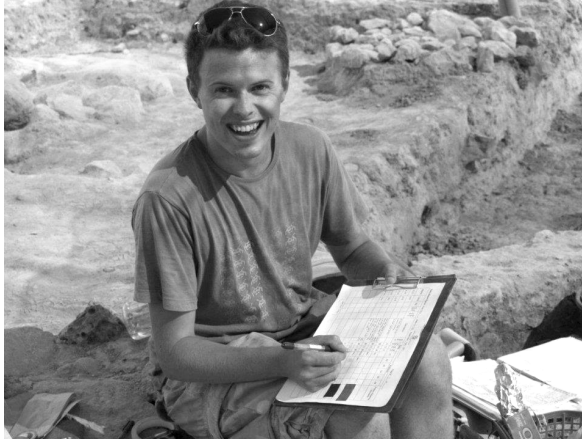


Fig. 1. Supervision of Area SA-S

one stage during the excavations, we were excavating parts of the Islamic Palace, the winter resort of the Umayyad Caliphs, and Hellenistic remains, in addition to the EB II and III remains.

One of the principle aims in this year's excavation was to continue excavating the EBII levels to gain further understanding of the connections between the site and early Dynastic Egypt. We found a number of different destruction layers, mainly of the EBII which proved difficult to interpret and will be further investigated next season, when, hopefully we will get a clearer understanding of their significance. Our efforts then moved to another part of the trench, where in the last few days of the season, we found that the Hellenistic pit we had all thought had destroyed all evidence of the EBIII occupation in the area had caused less damage than we anticipated. The pit itself was cut into the centre of the room and had destroyed all evidence of the EBIII in this space, however at the corners of the room we made a number of hugely interesting finds, and indeed, the Hellenistic activity had not destroyed all of the EBIII archaeology at all: In the SE corner of an adjoining room we found a huge Holemouth jar sunk into the floor, clear evidence of large food storage. In the SW we found a cache of a number of different platters and platter bowls, and in the NE corner came the most interesting find; this was the location of two huge EBIII platters, the largest being 60cm in diameter and beautifully red slipped and pattern burnished. The platters both had drill holes in them, clearly

showing that they were in the process of being mended and put back together before some disaster, possibly an earthquake, destroyed the room they were housed in, and buried them.

The platters formed the core of my MA thesis in which I looked at platters in considerable detail, their chronology throughout the EBA, their geographical spread, and examined in detail their use within feasting situations. The uncovering of these platters, and the other dozens from other locations in our excavation this year provided me with invaluable information regarding further research and study, particularly at PhD level. For this reason I am hugely grateful for the grant I received from the Anglo Israel Society for allowing me to continue to develop my knowledge of the archaeology of EBA Israel, and of the archaeological methods of modern Israeli archaeology.

I owe further special thanks to Rafi Greenberg, Sarit Paz and Mark Iserlis for welcoming me back to the site, for giving me a more supervisory role and thus allowing the development of my understanding of the archaeology of this fascinating site.

STEFFAN MATHIAS
University College London

My trip to Israel and the Palestinian territories forms part of the research for my PhD project, looking into Israelite and Judahite responses to death in the Hebrew Bible and it's contemporary material culture. Firstly, I visited a series of mainly First and Second Temple period tomb sites, in order to better understand the burial culture and the changes in practices over time. This included consulting archaeological records to establish where these tombs were located in relation to their relative population centers. The most striking site was the necropolis at the village of Silwan, which was an unparalleled opportunity to grasp the geographical relationship of death sites to the communities that created them, as well as their vast size and scale. I visited (often begging, or on one occasion bribing!) other sites such as the so-called 'Tombs of the Kings' north of Damascus Gate of the Old City of Jerusalem, the tombs at Ketef Hinnom, the Kidron Valley and others. To compare and contrast sites through different stages in burial culture, from the 8th or 7th Century BCE tombs at the Ecole Biblique to the



Fig. 1. The tomb complex at the Ecole Biblique, Jerusalem, where the entrance to an Iron Age tomb complex meets with the Dominican chapel, and where some highly influential scholars are buried, such as Roland de Vaux.

1st Century BCE Tomb of the Prophets on the Mount of Olives to the later necropolis at Beit She'arim gave me a striking impression of how burial culture changed over time and the ways it may have been combined with cultural understandings of death and afterlife (Fig. 1).

The second part of my research involved visiting a series of tombs still in use today as pilgrimage sites, many of which claim continuity with sites mentioned in the Bible, in order to further understand how tombs are used as sites of religious and political identity. The two most contested sites I visited were the Tomb of Rachel in Bethlehem and the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, the control of which has become a fierce matter of debate in both the Israeli and Palestinian narrative. Understanding the political geography, discussing the tombs with pilgrims and reading the recent history of the sites contributed greatly to understanding how tombs and ancestors are a strategic method of forming identity and political

capital in order to make claims to land. This research contributed to two of my main research interests: the use of archaeology and biblical sites in contemporary Israeli and Palestinian discourse; and the application of anthropology and other material to understand the importance of tombs and ancestors in the biblical narrative.

The opportunity to visit these sites has dramatically increased both my understanding of burial culture in ancient Israel and Judah but also intensified my interest in what material culture can tell us, as well as the extent to which archaeology can be both interesting and important in its own right. One of my first visits was to the Cave of Nicanor; when discovered, the site was a preserved ancient burial site maintaining the burial traditions of secondary temple period, then it was thrust into the 20th century as a political and ideological tool as a proposed pantheon for early Zionist leaders. Potentially, I would never have visited had it not been for the AIAS lecture by Yair Shapiro earlier this year; but thanks to the brilliant series of lectures and the generous grant to enable my trip, I was able to see these different dynamics of material culture, history, religion and politics in action, and understand how archaeology is both a window onto the ancient world but also onto our own.

JON ROSS
University of Sheffield

Thanks to the grant from the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society I was able to participate in the 17th season of excavation at Tell es-Safi/Gath directed by Aren Maeir of Bar Ilan University. It is a large and impressive site overlooking the Elah valley in southern Israel, famed for being the Philistine hometown of Goliath! This year's excavation team was the biggest on record with members coming from all around the world including Australia, Canada, America, Austria, Poland and so on. Among the major finds of the season was the discovery of a Late Bronze Age fortification wall unearthed in Area P of the southern part of the tell. It measures roughly 2.5 m thick, complete with insets, offsets and a square tower running parallel with two buildings where lamp and bowl foundation deposits were unearthed. These finds are particularly significant given that not many Late Bronze Canaanite settlements were allowed to have



Fig. 1. This section spans the Early Bronze III to the LB period with an Iron Age wall above it. Elisabetta Boaretto wanted to collect good samples for radio carbon dating from secure contexts in order to better date the stratigraphy in Area E. There is evidence of around three Early Bronze IIIB phases in Area E and the planning of the extensive Early Bronze neighbourhood seems to continue through several strata. One of the main aims was to get good radio carbon dates from the various phases. In addition, samples were taken to characterise some of the complex stratigraphy using the Infrared Spectrometer, which gave some puzzling results so a block sample was taken to analyse back at the lab.

fortification walls due to Egyptian Imperial policy.

A memorable moment for me was finding a faience bead and some phytolith layers (plant matter) in the structure adjacent to the fortification wall (Fig. 1). A lot of effort was involved in removing the winter wash and cleaning the balks since this area suffered badly from erosion as it is situated on the steep slopes of the southern side of the tell. Excavations in Area F (lower and upper) were focused on exposing more of the Crusader fortress known as Blanche Guard (defended by a dry moat), whereas, Area E concentrated on revealing more of the extensive remains of the Early Bronze neighbourhood. Vast quantities of loom weights, miniature pottery vessels and various small



Fig. 2. Jess is assisting the removal of a large pottery vessel in Area D where the Philistine “lower city” is located and extensive Iron Age IIA levels have been exposed. Among the finds excavated were 120 loom weights, many complete pottery vessels of different types, various small finds and a short inscription.

finds including a stone figurine of a dog were among the treasures unearthed in the Iron Age II levels of the Philistine lower city in Area D (where the celebrated four horned altar was found last year).

I was very fortunate to participate in the Tell es-Safi Archaeological Science Field School organized by the Weizmann Institute and received training to use an on-site laboratory. I learnt to use the fourier transform infrared spectrometer for identifying and characterising sediment samples. This technique draws on the microscopic record to flesh out a more detailed picture of the history of the site. One of the long-term goals of the Weizmann science team is to provide absolute dates for the Late Bronze and Early Iron transition and I was privileged to take part in some of the fieldwork. Everyday we arrived at the tell at 6am to set up the onsite lab, followed by six hours of fieldwork in groups before journeying back to the Kibbutz for a big lunch. The afternoons were mostly spent using the main lab at the kibbutz to complete our analysis of various sediment samples, integrating our results into a broader archaeological picture and planning our work for

the next day. Our findings were then shared and discussed among the rest of the groups before dinner. Finally, lectures were held most evenings to elucidate different aspects of the excavation process whilst giving a history of the region with plenty of time for questions.

My own goals were to further my MA dissertation research on the mechanisms of cultural change in Iron Age Philistia (Fig. 2). I was overjoyed to receive several articles by leading scholars on this very subject (currently in press) and I was able to take advantage of their views and opinions. In addition, I lost my apprehension of the application of material sciences in archaeology and feel inspired to continue my research interests in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Levant. Meeting various renowned scholars and touring different locations I often read about (Tell Qasile, Khirbet Qeiyafa and Jerusalem) whilst learning how research is gathered from the field has proved to be a truly memorable experience. I look forward to returning one day in the future and I am very grateful to the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society for making this trip possible.

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