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Editorial

The seven major papers in this volume provide a broad sweep through archaeology of the area. The first paper by Katherina Steit discusses a previously unknown 'mega-site' covering perhaps up to 15 hectares, of the Early Chalcolithic Wadi Rabah culture, dating to the 6th millennium BCE. Nava Panitz-Cohen, Bob Mullins and Ruhama Bonfil present here the second preliminary report of their excavations at Tell Abil el Qameh, which is probably the biblical site of Abel Beth Maacah. Some of the most intesting finds include an Iron Age building covered by an almost 1-metre thick destruction layer, and a Middle Bronze Age fortification system. Following this are two papers, the first by Casey Sharp, Chris McKinny and Itzhaq Shai on Iron Age figurines and the second by Yossi Garfinkel and Madeleine Mumcuoglu on an important, but long-forgotton model of a shrine.

Moving into the Roman period, we have David Jacobson's study of Herod's 'year 3' coins, which discusses the vexing question of when Herod's only dated issue was minted. Renate Rosenthal Higgenbottom has written a definitive study of a type of Roman lamp, called 'factory made lamps', that spread throughout the empire, and some are known from sites in Israel.

This issue is the first where we are presenting an archaeological discussion, with a reply by the excavator. Samuel Wolff discusses his objections to the Iron II period dating of the cemetery at Yavne, now a suburb of Tel Aviv, rather than to the later Persian period. Raz Kletter was very kind in offering to respond in writing. Indeed, while there are arguments for both dates, the mystery will certainly continue to intrigue. The last research paper is also by Prof. Kletter, on the little-known history of the IDAM Musem, one of the very first museums started at the time of Israel's independence.

Before the book review section begins, we have a detailed study of one of the most important books to come out recently on the study of Jewish texts from the time of the Bablyonian exile. Caroline Waerzeggars discusses the 6th century BCE clay tablets from the David Sofer collection, recently published by Laurie Pearce and Cornelia Wunsch in the Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology.

My sincerest thanks to all those who have helped produce this volume, and especially Sandra Jacobs for the book reviews. The Society is grateful to Joey Silver for his support towards the costs of printing the journal.

Finally, I would like to encourage anyone who would like to know more to visit our website: www.aias.org and also our new Facebook page: http://www.facebook.com/IsraelArchaeologyLondon.

David Milson
Editor

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Book Reviews

Exploring the Wadi Rabah Culture from the 6th millennium cal BCE: Renewed Excavations at Ein el-Jarba in the Jezreel Valley, Israel (2013–2015)

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The project explores the Early Chalcolithic settlement of the Wadi Rabah culture at Ein el-Jarba. The site is located in the vicinity of Kibbutz Hazorea near Yoqne'am, in close proximity to several other sites which yielded occupational levels from the same period such as Tell Qiri, Hazorea, and Tell Abu Zureiq. Since 2013, four seasons of excavation and one season of high resolution survey uncovered three main occupation phases dating to the Hellenistic Period, the Early Bronze Age IB and the Early Chalcolithic. Two excavation areas (A and G), as well as the survey of field F yielded comparable assemblages ascribed to the Wadi Rabah culture, suggesting that an area of 10–15 ha was occupied within a short period of time, even contemporaneously. The architectural remains uncovered in Area G indicate a permanent settlement at the site, consisting of substantial rectilinear architecture with stone foundations and a mudbrick superstructure, as well as the use of bedrock features and plastered installations. One child burial in a crouched position under a habitation surface can be dated to this period as well. This report presents preliminary results from the excavation, focusing on its contribution to our understanding of the Wadi Rabah culture.

Introduction

Over half a century has passed since the term 'Wadi Rabah culture' was coined by Kaplan in his publication on the excavation of the toponymous site (Kaplan 1958). The meagre progress of Early Chalcolithic[1] research since Kaplan's work has brought little knowledge about this chapter in the history of the southern Levant, stretching over most of the 6th millennium BCE.[2] In Israel, this period suffers from an institutional bias, neither belonging fully either in prehistory, nor Biblical archaeology. While salvage excavations have yielded important assemblages over the last 50 years, the Early Chalcolithic does not currently stand in the focus of long-term research endeavours. The Ein el-Jarba excavation project intends to remedy this gap in our knowledge. The renewed excavations at Ein el-Jarba provide a better understanding of Kaplan's exceptional, yet preliminary

excavation results, and contribute to our understanding of architecture, material culture, burial practice and foreign interaction of the southern Levant in the 6th millennium BCE. Four seasons of excavation have been conducted between 2013 and 2015 at Ein el-Jarba on behalf of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In two areas, we uncovered three occupation phases dating to the Hellenistic, the Early Bronze Age IB and the Early Chalcolithic—Wadi Rabah periods.

Earlier Excavations at Ein el-Jarba

The first excavation in the vicinity of the site was conducted by Jean Perrot in 1962 south of Tell Abu Zureiq (Fig. 1). The excavation lasted only few days and uncovered approximately 70 m² of badly preserved surfaces and clusters of stones. The finds remained unpublished until four decades later (Garfinkel and Matskevich 2002). In 1965, mechanical excavation of a drainage channel in the fields north of the tell uncovered archaeological remains, among which was a holemouth jar with applied decoration (Kaplan 1969: 16; Streit in press). Correctly identifying these first finds as dating to the Early Chalcolithic Period, in 1966 Kaplan conducted one season of excavation at Ein el-Jarba (Kaplan 1969). The ca. 65 m² excavation area yielded four phases of Chalcolithic occupation with architectural remains as well as burials (Arensburg 1970). Kaplan published the site in a cursory manner, while the major part of the ceramic assemblage has been analysed only recently (Streit *et al.* in press). In 1979/80, a second drainage channel was mechanically dug ca. 75 m. west of the Kaplan excavation, again uncovering archaeological remains. Ezra Meyerhof conducted the salvage excavation in 1980, recording substantial architectural remains (1982). No conclusive report of this project has been published, and the data is unavailable. Further research was conducted south and west of the tell in the late 1960s and early 1970s by Emanuel Anati (Anati 1973), further indicating the large extent of the Early Chalcolithic remains at the site and showing great settlement activity in the Jezreel Valley during the Early Chalcolithic period over an area of 10–15 ha.

Nature of the site

While several excavations in the vicinity of Abu Zureiq yielded Wadi Rabah ceramics, flint and small finds, architectural remains were uncovered only by Kaplan (1969) and possibly Meyerhof (1982), yet the latter's dating remains unclear. The nature of the site therefore remained elusive. Different interpretations such as seasonal campgrounds, individual farmsteads at considerable distance from each other or a temporary congregation ground could be envisaged. The limited horizontal exposure in this project can only offer clues regarding the nature of the site. This project aims to offer at least partial answers and a better approximation for the reconstruction of the site.

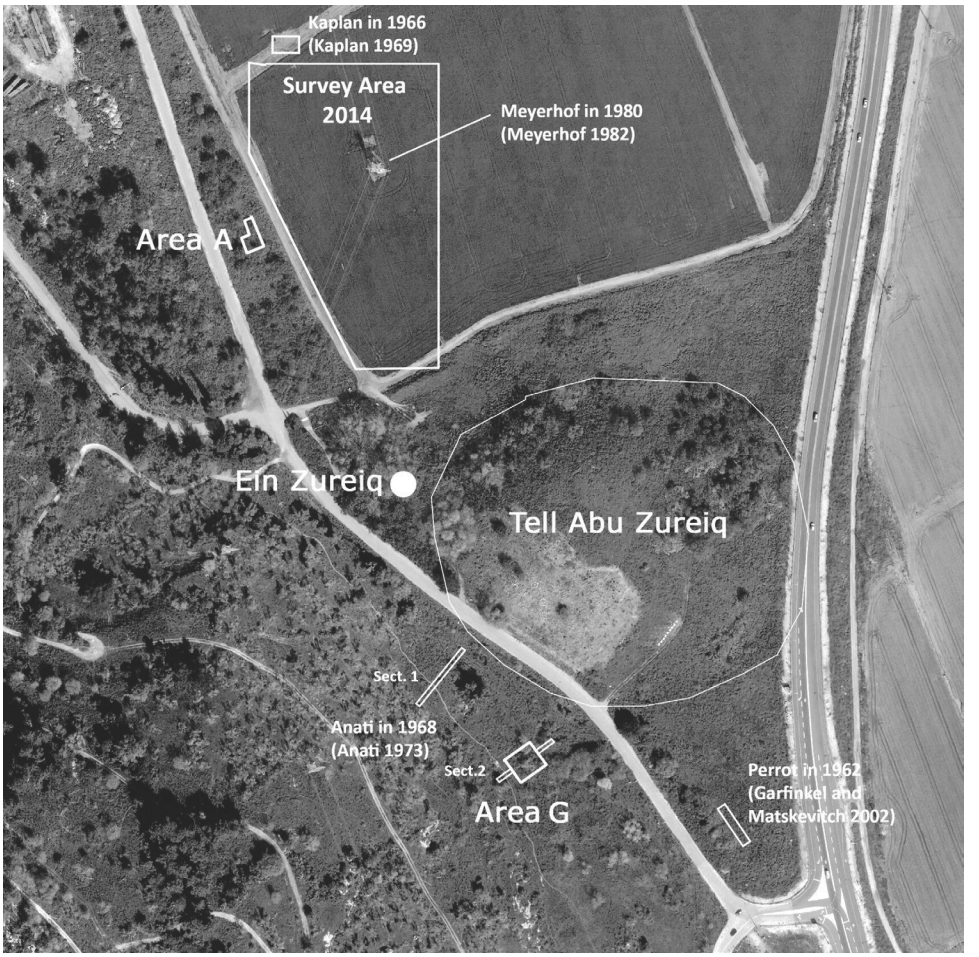

Fig. 1. Aerial photo of excavation Areas A, G and survey Area F as well as earlier excavations conducted in the vicinity

Transregional Contacts

Connections with the northern Levant were first suggested by Kaplan (1960), who pointed out the major similarities between the pottery assemblages of the south Levantine Chalcolithic and sites like Tell Halaf (von Oppenheim and Schmidt 1943), Tepe Gawra (Tobler 1950) and Mersin (Garstang 1953). Diagnostic shapes included bowls, lids, so called 'egg-cups', *omphalos* bases, bow rim jars, straight walled cups, spoons or surface manipulations characteristic of the Wadi Rabah ware. One unpublished obsidian core was in the vicinity. Only three other cores (one from Tel Kabri and two from Hagoshrim) are known in the southern Levant so far (Gopher, Marder and Barkai 2011). Together with the atypical iconography

of the Ein el-Jarba holemouth jar, a strong connection with the northern Levant has been postulated. This connection between the Halaf culture and the southern Levant was confirmed by Kirkbride (1971: 287) and later by Garfinkel (1999: 150–151), yet not explored in detail. In this project, we focus on the identification and sourcing of foreign materials imported to the site.

Early Chalcolithic Megasites?

As mentioned above, several small excavations uncovered Early Chalcolithic remains in the Jezreel valley. Meyerhof (1982) uncovered remains of the same period, ca. 75 m. to the west of Ein el-Jarba. Approximately 400 m. to the south, in 1962 an excavation was conducted on Tell Abu Zureiq by Perrot (Garfinkel and Matskevich 2002) and in 1968 by Anati (1973: 49–68), both yielding Early Chalcolithic remains. Just over one kilometer north, the excavations at Tell Qiri (Baruch 1987) and Hazorea (Anati 1973: 25; Meyerhof 1988/1989) found remains of the same period as well. This density of Early Chalcolithic remains puzzling, for it seems unlikely that several Early Chalcolithic settlements coexisted within less than two kilometers. Therefore, the evidence suggests that these sites might be part of the same settlement, forming a 'megasite' (Gopher 2012a: 1552) of the sort known from the Neolithic (e.g. Sha'ar HaGolan). This project will explore the possible existence of such extensive settlements in the Chalcolithic.

Area A (Fig. 2, Table 1)

This area, about 40 m. west of the Early Chalcolithic remains uncovered by Jacob Kaplan in 1965, was opened in unused terrain, where there is no agricultural cultivation. Six squares were excavated, identifying two main periods of occupation: the Early Bronze Age IB (Str. A2, A3 and A4) and an Early Chalcolithic—Wadi Rabah occupation below (Str. A5 and A6). The average accumulation of archaeological strata in this area is approximately 1.5 m.

The Early Bronze Age IB has three distinct sub-phases. The earliest stratum A4 consists of one massive wall, an abutting paved surface, the adjacent fill and, possibly, a parallel wall. In the following stratum A3, oval House B was uncovered, which seems to have cut the previous structure. House C to its north should be ascribed to the same stratum. In the latest stratum A2, a well preserved domestic unit (House A) with rounded corners and a central pillar base has been uncovered with a rich ceramic assemblage *in situ*. House A cuts into House B from stratum A3, and thus clearly postdates this structure. Further, a silo and a pit should be ascribed to the same phase. A burial adjacent to House A probably dates to the last phase of the EB occupation, but has not yet been dated with certainty. The ceramic assemblage from the Early Bronze Age strata (Fig. 3) shows many characteristics

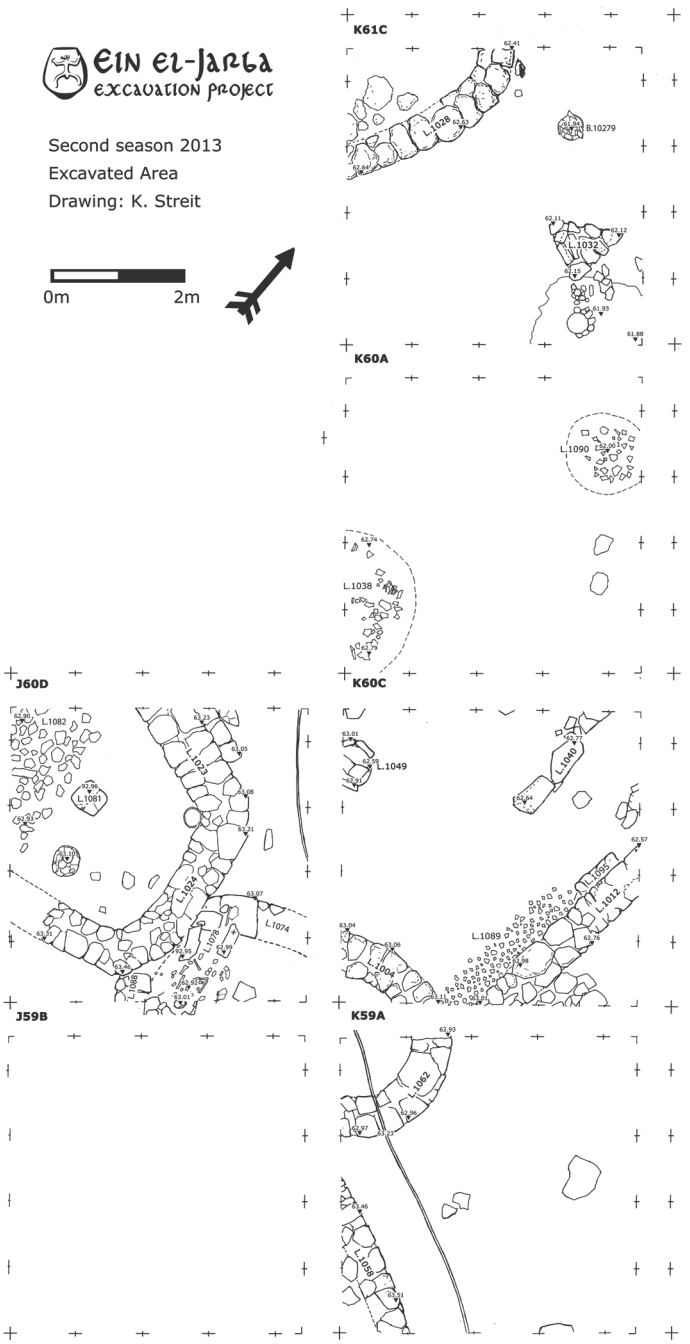

Fig. 2. Plan of Area A.

Period	General	Area A	Area G	Survey F
Topsoil	I	A1	G1	
Byzantine	II			x
Persian/Hellenistic	III		G2	x
Middle Bronze Age II	IV		G3	
Early Bronze Age IB	V	A2, A3, A4	G4	x
Early Chalcolithic-WR	VI	A5, A6	G5	x
Pottery Neolithic	VII		G6	x
Pre-Pottery Neolithic B	VIII		G7	
Bedrock	IX	A7	G8	

Table 1. Comparative Stratigraphy of Areas A, G and Survey F

of the Early Bronze Age IB ceramic, such as Gray Burnished Ware (Fig. 3: 3), large trays (Fig. 3: 4), holemouth jars with thickened rims (Fig. 3: 5,6) and shelf handles (Fig. 3: 8,9). Special finds of this stratum include a copper knife or sickle as well as two fragments of zoomorphic figurines.

The early Chalcolithic occupation yielded two strata. In the earlier stratum A6 a round installation in a plastered floor was found, associated with a rich ceramic assemblage, and a jar *in situ* found in a fill (L.1047). In the following stratum A5, a triangular stone built platform and a beaten earth floor have been unearthed. Reconstructible Wadi Rabah vessels have been found in both strata. The ceramic and flint assemblage (Figs. 4–5) of the Wadi Rabah strata is discussed further below. Special finds include 27 sling stones (Fig. 6), and a wide range of discs, beads and shells. Altogether 30 fragments of obsidian (Fig. 7), and retouched tools as well as core trimming elements, have been uncovered at Ein el-Jarba. This by far exceeds common frequencies in contemporary sites. Furthermore, production debitage indicates that obsidian must have been imported as raw material and processed at the site with the appropriate technological knowledge.

Area G (Fig. 8, Table 1)

After two excavation seasons in Area A, in 2013 Area G was opened as the second excavation area to the south-west of Tell Abu Zureiq. This second excavation area connects to earlier excavations by Anati (1973). Anati's Trenches 1 and 2 where identified with the help of aerial photography and are still discernable in the topography. Anati's excavation uncovered a series of Wadi Rabah occupational levels (1971: 56–59). The aim of the 2014 excavation season was to expand Anati's trench and to explore its Wadi Rabah stratum. Three 5×5 m. squares were opened to the north of his trench and nine further squares to its south, oriented in the same manner (Fig. 8).

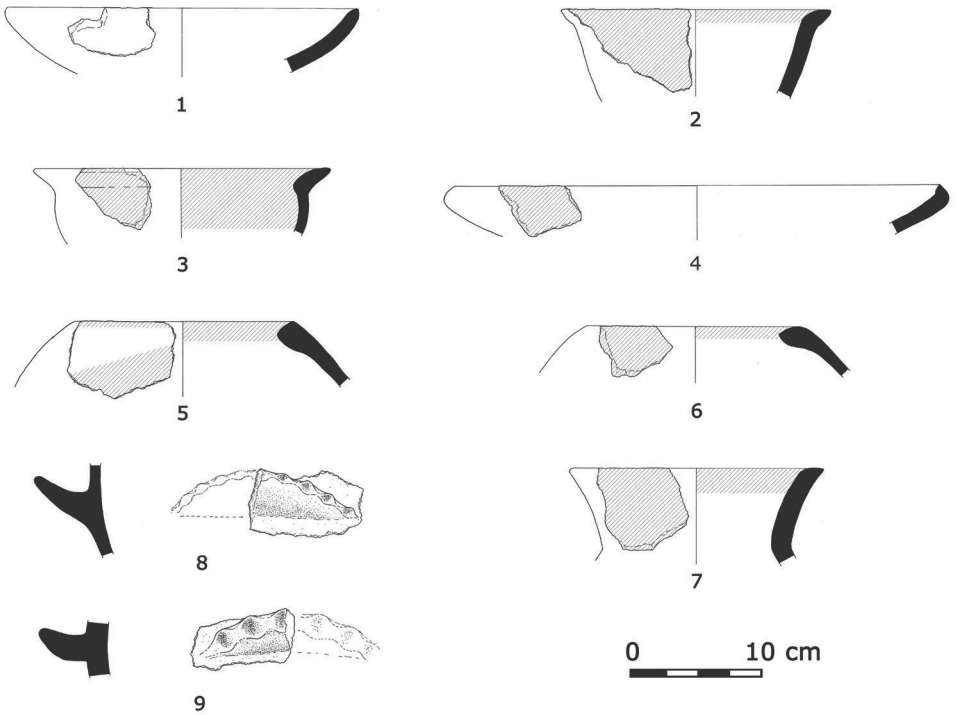

Fig. 3. Pottery from Area A, L.1086—Early Bronze Age I

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Decoration
1	bowl	1086	10410	Inside: red slip band along rim Outside: red slip
2	bowl	1086	10410	-
3	bowl	1086	10410	Inside: grayburnish Outside: grayburnish
4	tray	1086	10394	Outside: red slip
5	holemouth jar	1086	10394	Inside: red slip band along rim Outside: red slip bands
6	holemouth jar	1086	10394	Inside: red slip band along rim Outside: red slip
7	necked jar	1086	10394	Inside: red slip band along rim Outside: red slip
8	shelfhandle	1086	10394	Redslip
9	shelfhandle	1086	10394	Redslip

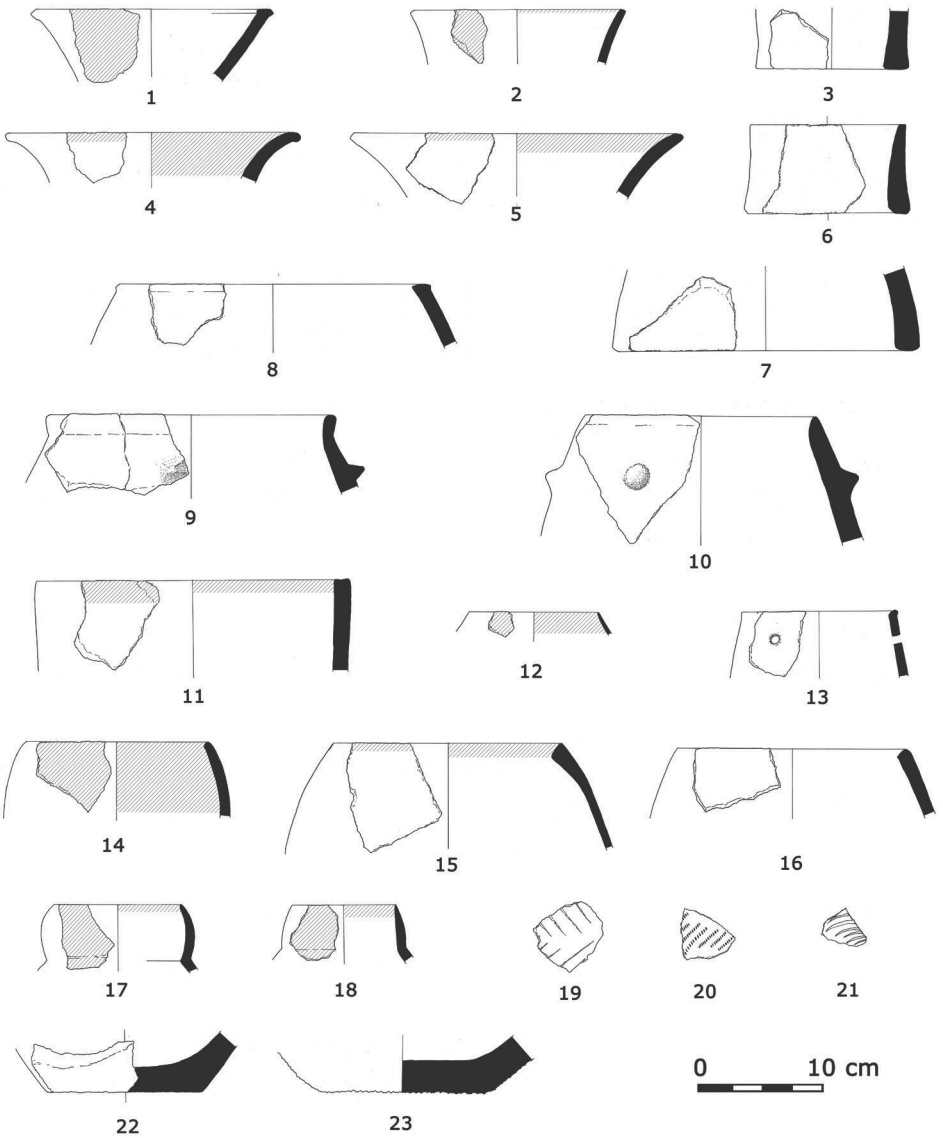

Fig. 4. Pottery from Area A, L.1047—Early Chalcolithic (Wadi Rabah)

Eight strata can be distinguished. Stratum G1 represents the topsoil, Stratum G2 dates to the Persian/Hellenistic period, Stratum G3 to the Middle Bronze Age II, Stratum G4 to the Early Bronze Age IB period, Stratum G5 and G6 to the Early Chalcolithic—Wadi Rabah occupation, Stratum G7 to the Pottery Neolithic, Stratum G8 to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B and Stratum G9 is represented as the

No.	Type	Locus	Basket	Decoration
1	A	1047	10258	Inside: red slip
2	A2	1047	10275	Inside: red slip
3	C2	1047	10232	-
4	A4	1047	10258	Inside: red slip and burnish band along rim Outside: red slip and burnish
5	A4	1047	10190	Inside: red slipped band along rim Outside: red slipped band along rim
6	C2	1047	10183	-
7	C1	1047	10190	-
8	D1	1047	10183	-
9	D1	1047	10279	Lug handle
10	D1	1047	10265	Lug handle
11	D2	1047	10265	Inside: red slipped band along rim Outside: red slipped band along rim
12	E1	1047	10232	Inside: red slip and burnish Outside: red slip and burnish
13	E1	1047	10275	Pierced before firing
14	E1	1047	10258	Inside: red slip Outside: red slip
15	E3	1047	10275	Inside: red slipped band along rim Outside: red slipped band along rim
16	E3	1047	10232	-
17	F1	1047	10232	Inside: red slipped band along rim Outside: red slip
18	F1	1047	10183	Inside: red slip and burnish band along rim Outside: red slip and burnish
19	-	1047	10258	Incised decoration
20	-	1047	10183	Stabbed decoration
21	-	1047	10258	Incised decoration
22	Flat base	1047	10232	-
23	Flat base	1047	10232	-

Fig. 4a. Pottery Area A, L.1047—Early Chalcolithic (Wadi Rabah)

bedrock of the site. Three periods showed a substantial occupation: the Hellenistic period with a large rectangular structure, the Early Bronze Age IB with architectural remains and a stone slab lined silo, and the Early Chalcolithic period with living surfaces, remains of two rectilinear buildings and a burial.

The Hellenistic occupation at the site is represented in all squares

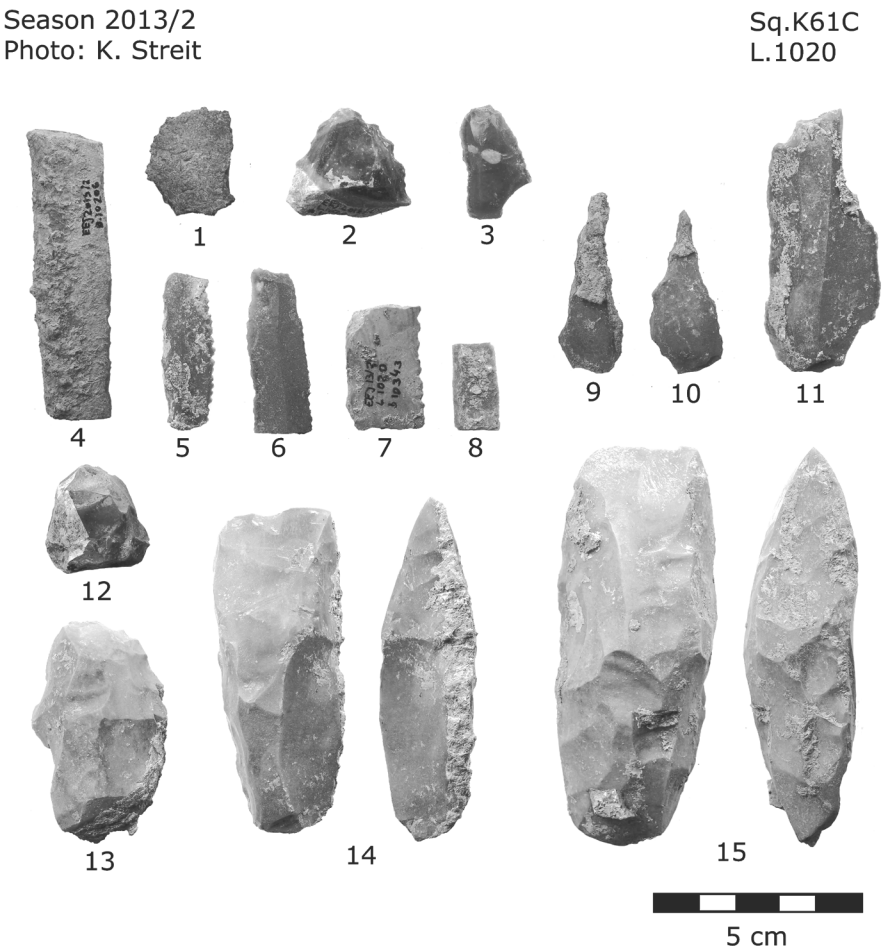

Fig. 5. Flint assemblage from the Early Chalcolithic strata of Area A (L.1020)

either as distinct fill or mixed with the topsoil. This statum is dominated by one rectangular building, oriented north-south (Fig. 8). The building is enclosed by a wall in the west and in the north. The southern wall has not been preserved. In the east, several wall remains lined up north-south have been uncovered and appear related to the western closure of the structure. However, some of these walls are too wide and could have been part of a staircase or tower. The building is subdivided with inner partition walls forming three smaller rooms. The western room was paved. The building can be tentatively dated to the late 2nd or 1st century BCE based on a preliminary analysis of the ceramic assemblage and a fragment of an imported mold-made lamp (Fig. 9: 2) with palmette decoration (Type 11 or 12 of Rosenthal-

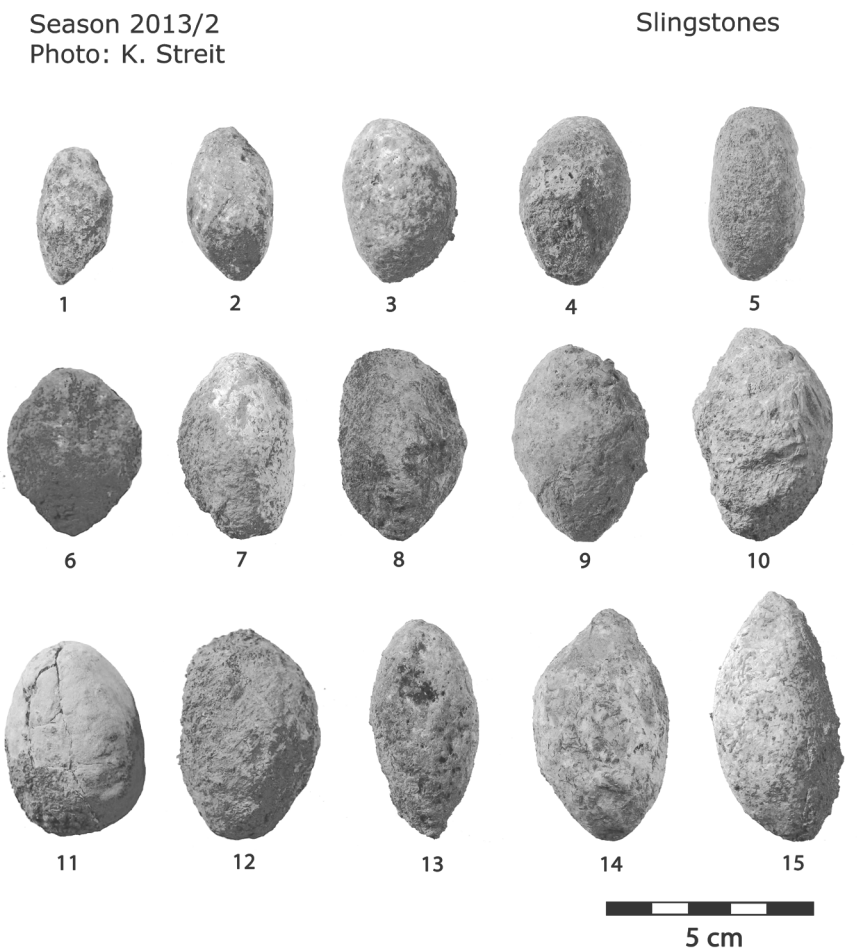

Fig. 6. Biconic sling stones from Area A

Heginbottom 1995: Fig. 5.16: 6,7,11). This dating is further supported by a medical ointment container (Fig. 9: 1). Similar vessels have been reported at Horvat Uza (Getzov 2009: 148, Fig. 4.9: 3–4), Tel Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: fig. 6.25: 14) and Tel Anafa (Berlin 1997, fig. 15 no. 125) and are typically dated to the 3rd to 1st century BCE.

A standing stone was uncovered, facing NW in one square, surrounded by several other large stones, possibly supporting an upright stone slab. Adjacent to it, an intact Middle Bronze Age II empty jug has been found, resting on a fragment of a grinding stone. No diagnostic sherds from the period have been found nearby. The function of this installation remains unclear. One interpretation as an unpreserved burial, with completely disintegrated human remains seems

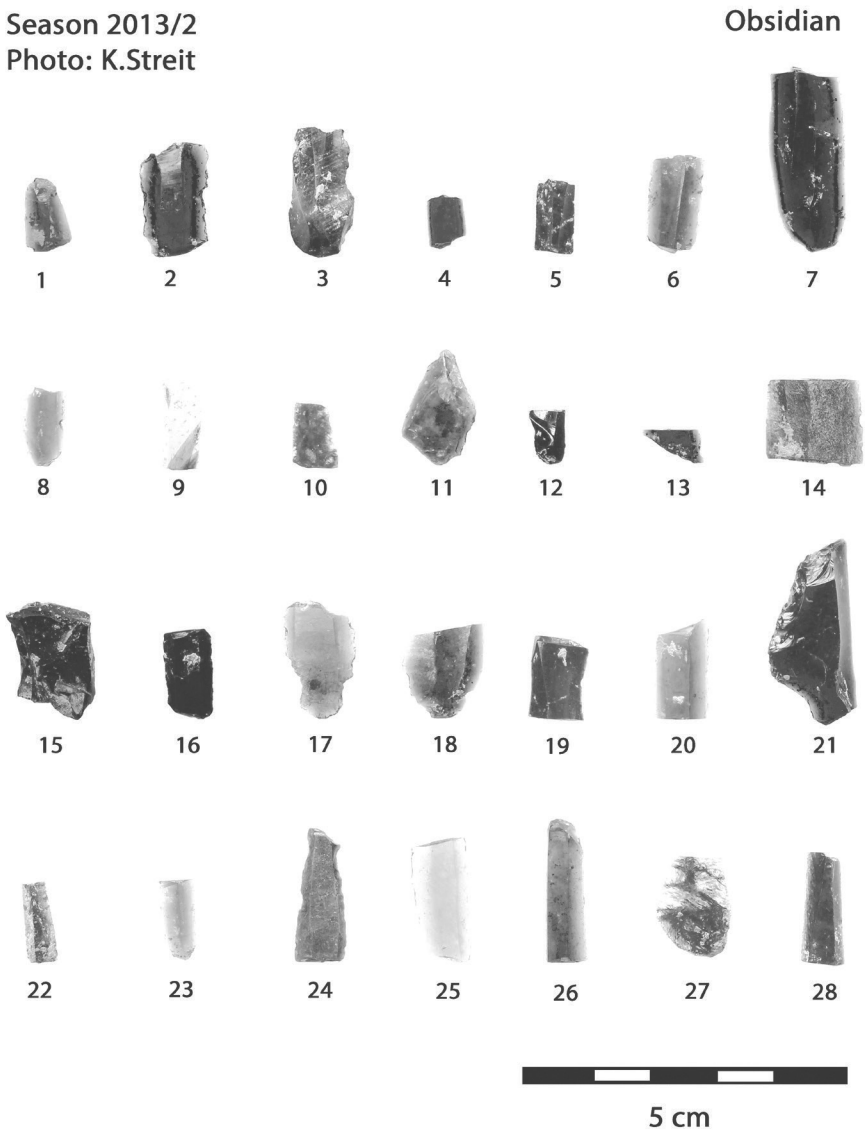

Fig. 7. Obsidian fragments from Area A.

reasonable, yet the excellent preservation of even older burials discovered in 2015 (see below), renders this interpretation unlikely.

The Early Bronze Age IB Stratum (Stratum G4) in one square revealed a small portion of a poorly preserved wall. A habitation surface abutted both sides of this wall. A large number of restorable vessels, predominantly storage containers such as holemouth and necked jars were found nearby. A bin or silo sunken into the ground

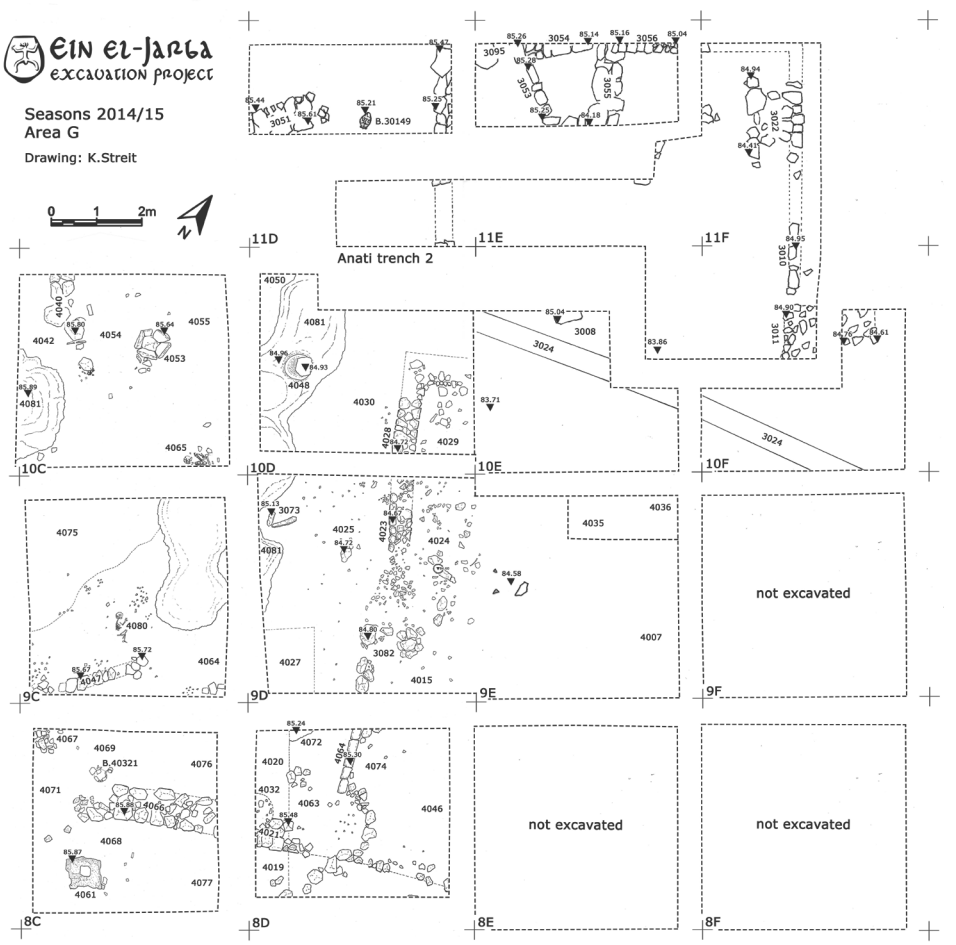

Fig. 8. Plan of Area G.

and lined with stone slabs contained an Early Bronze Age storage jar with bow rim. South of this wall, a cluster of worked stone balls and an Early Chalcolithic biconic sling stone were found *in situ*. These could be sling stones, pounders or even weights. A burial of an adult individual was found with partial articulation, interred in a simple pit burial in a crouched position on its left side, facing north. No grave goods have been discerned, but the ceramic sherds associated with the burial and the fill covering the grave indicate an Early Bronze Age IB date.

Early Chalcolithic remains in Strata G5 and G6 were discovered. Remains of at least two rectilinear buildings have been found. A north-south oriented wall built of partially dressed field stones has been uncovered. The wall is ca. 50 cm wide and preserved to one course high. A poorly preserved corner was found with a floor. On this surface was

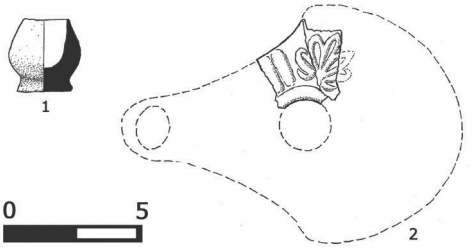

Fig. 9. Finds from the Hellenistic period Area G

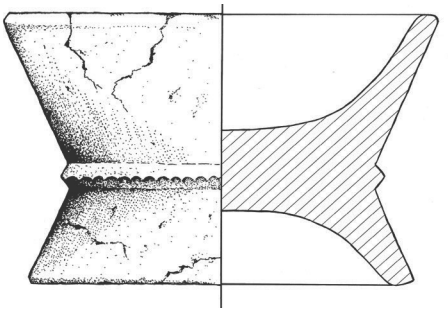

Fig. 10. Chalice from the Early Chalcolithic strata (L.3086, B.30412) of Area A

a complete chalice (Fig. 10). This living surface is rich in ceramics and worked flint and should be interpreted as the inside of a building. To the west the bedrock has been modified to form a mortar, which was found covered with a stone slab.

A ca. 0.7 m. wide second wall preserved to a length of ca. 5 m. was found running east-west. To the south, a square plastered installation of unknown function has been uncovered. To the North, a large, delicately carinated and intensely burnished bowl has been found completely preserved (Fig. 11). Next to this vessel, the foot of a chalice worked into a stand-like vessel was discovered. The vessel was found on a floor level which should be interpreted as the inside of the building. Nearby, fragments of a poorly preserved plastered floor have been discerned. A similar plastered floor was recorded slightly to the north.

A partially preserved wall was found oriented south-west to north-east with a floor to its north with ceramics and small finds. A burial under this floor is discussed below.

Shards of the Pottery Neolithic period (Stratum G7) of the Jericho IX and the Yarmukian style appear occasionally in the lower parts of the Wadi Rabah fill. No architectural features could be ascribed to this phase, but the number, size and preservation of the ceramics exclude the possibility of single stray sherds. While these sherds could have been re-deposited, it is more likely they were contemporary.

Another poorly preserved plastered floor level (Stratum G8) has been uncovered in square 10E. Only about one square meter was found, and little can be concluded from this restricted exposure. The fill above the floor was devoid of ceramics. The lithic assemblage yielded an Amuq arrowhead, which indicates a Pre-Pottery Neolithic B date.

Fig. 11. Carinated bowl and ring-stand from the Early Chalcolithic strata (L. 4051, B.40321) of Area A

Field Survey Area F

A survey of the field adjacent to Abu Zureiq has been conducted in course of the 2014 summer season. The flat terrain and temporary abandonment of the field allowed a filed walking survey of about 16,000 m^2 with complete collection of surface finds. Preliminary analysis indicates that the late Roman/Byzantine activity was restricted to the north-eastern part of the field, while the Early Chalcolithic Wadi Rabah activity has its focus in the western part of the survey field.

Finds from the Early Chalcolithic period

Pottery

The ceramic assemblage of the Early Chalcolithic strata uncovered in Area A and Area G fit well within the assemblages from the area adjacent to the site (Garfinkel and Matskevich 2002; Anati et al 1973; Streit *et al.* in press). The full range of typological shapes as described by Garfinkel (1999: 104–152) is represented, including a wide variety of decoration such as red and black slip and burnish, painted as well as a wide range of surface treatment such as incised,

Site and stratum	No.	Ratio	Reference
Tel Dan (str. A-C)	1	1: 111	Gopher and Greenberg 1987: Table 1
Hagoshrim (str. IV)	538	1: 47	Schechter *et al*. 2013: 512, Table 2
Munhata (str. 2a)	6	1: 1460	Garfinkel 1992: Table 53
Newe Yam	5	1: 195	Wreschner 1977: 264
Abu Zureiq	2	1: 125	Garfinkel and Matskevich 2002
Horvat ‘Uza (str. XVI-XIX)	14	1: 645	Lieberman-Wander 2009: 95
Nahal Zehorah II (str.I-II)	22	1: 1277	Delerue *et al*. 2012
Ein el-Jarba A str. A-5, A-6	23	1: 164	this publication
Ein el-Jarba G str. G-4	10	1: 262	

Table 2: Comparative obsidian frequencies of Early Chalcolithic strata

combed, impressed and applied decoration. No significant difference between the assemblage composition of Area A and Area G could be discerned so far, indicating that the settlement remains uncovered in both areas might represent the same chronological phase.

A selection of diagnostic shapes from L.1047 (see above) is presented in Fig. 4. Diagnostic shapes of this assemblage include large deep carinated bowls (Fig. 4: 2), flaring rim bowls (Fig. 4: 4,5), chalices (Fig. 4: 7), stands (Fig. 4: 3,6), holemouth pithoi (Fig. 4: 8–10), open pithoi or large deep bowls (Fig. 4: 11), decorated holemouth jars (Fig. 4: 12–14), simple holemouth jars (Fig. 4: 15, 16) and bow rim jars (Fig. 4: 17, 18). Flat bases dominated in the assemblage (Fig.4: 19–20). Shards with incised and stabbed decoration (Fig. 4: 19–21) are particularly common. Additional shapes represented at the site are small, delicate bowls, frequently with intensive black burnish; flat bowls and lids. The ceramic assemblage from the renewed excavation at Ein el-Jarba fits well with the finds of Kaplan’s excavation and should be considered part of the ‘normative’ Wadi Rabah (Gopher and Gophna 1993: 324), displaying the full range of ceramic shapes and decorations. Two shards of Halaf pottery imported from northern Mesopotamia have been discovered in Area G (Streit, in preparation) and provide a firm link to the Halaf culture.

Flint

The flint assemblage of Ein el-Jarba also compares well with other assemblages in the closer vicinity such as Nahal Zehora (Barkai and Gopher 2012), and Abu Zureiq (Garfinkel and Matzkevich 2002). The assemblage is marked by a flake-oriented industry producing round cores (Fig. 5: 12,13). Among the retouched objects, scrapers (Fig. 5: 1–3), backed sickle blades with triangular or trapezoidal

section (Fig. 5: 4–8), perforators (Fig. 5: 9,10) bifaces such as axes (Fig. 5: 14,15) are very common. While the flint assemblage of Area A is devoid of arrow heads with the exception of one transverse type, Area G yielded multiple arrowheads of the Haparsa and Nizzanim type. These arrowheads might be, as with the Pottery Neolithic shards discussed above, the result of redisposition from an unknown Pottery Neolithic occupation. An alternative interpretation would be the continuation of both the Pottery Neolithic ceramic tradition and the flint assemblage with arrowheads into the Early Chalcolithic period.

Obsidian

Altogether 34 obsidian fragments have been found in Area A (Fig. 7), and 18 in Area G during seasons 1–3. The typological shapes include predominantly chips and blade fragments, but a few retouched objects such as the fragment of an arrow head (Fig. 7: 17) and a scraper (Fig. 7: 21) have been identified as well. Considering the obsidian fragments uncovered in Wadi Rabah strata, these results compare well with those at Abu Zureiq, Neve Yam and are numerically more significant than those observed at Nahal Zehora II Strata I-II (Table 2). Chemical fingerprinting is currently being undertaken to source the individual obsidian fragments.

Slingstones (Fig. 6)

Biconic sling stones appear in large numbers at most Wadi Rabah sites (Rosenberg 2009) and can be considered as a *fossile directeur* of this period. These biconically shaped objects have no precedents in the southern Levant and appear to be connected to the tradition of clay sling missiles of the Halaf and Dark Faced Burnished Ware culture. In the southern Levant, Rosenberg (2009: 99) observed that clay sling projectiles accompany increasing dependence on herding and domesticating animals. This indicates an element of the herders' tool-kit. He further points out (2009: 108) that large numbers of sling stones have been uncovered at Kabri and the Hazorea sites, while other sites like Hagoshrim, Beisamoun and Munhata yielded relatively few. He explains this discrepancy as a bias created by the limited exposure of excavations yielding few finds *vs.* surveys, such as around Kabri and Hazorea, which yield the largest numbers, as they are conducted in the open areas where these objects were discarded (Rosenberg 2009: 108).

The Burial (Fig. 12)

An infant burial was found under a floor (Fig. 12). The infant or juvenile was found in a crouched position on its left side, facing east. The hands were contracted in front of the face. No grave goods could be discerned. The exclusively Early Chalcolithic ceramic sherds in the fill of the burial pit tentatively date the burial.

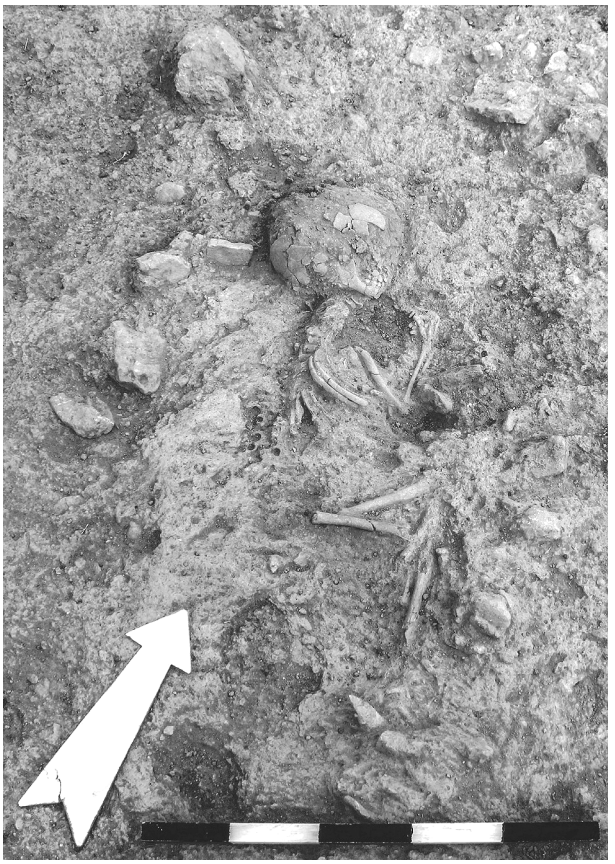

Fig. 12. Burial (L.4080) of an infant/juvenile from the Early Chalcolithic strata of Area A

Fragmentary remains of infant pit burials have been found earlier at Nahal Zehora II, Stratum IIB (Gopher and Eshed 2012: 1390–1391) and En Esur VI (Yannai 2006: 11, 15–17). However, while these examples display a very fragmentary preservation, the burial from Ein el-Jarba can be considered well-articulated and undisturbed. The pending anthropological analysis will doubtlessly reveal further details.

Discussion

Four seasons of excavation contributed tremendously to our understanding of the site of Ein el-Jarba. The finds shed new light on our knowledge particularly of architecture, small finds, burial practice and transregional contacts of the 6th millennium BCE in the southern Levant.

The discovery of substantial architectural remains in Area G provides a clear domestic context for the large quantities of finds. The architecture can be

tentatively reconstructed as free-standing, rectilinear rooms, built with simple stone foundations and mudbrick superstructures. The architectural remains found at Ein el-Jarba closely resemble other structures known from the Early Chalcolithic period in building style and wall thicknesses. Complete rooms of similar style have been found at Wadi Rabah (Kaplan 1958) and Munhata Level 2A (Garfinkel 1992: pl. 1: 1; fig. 8), Nahal Zehora II Stratum IIA (Gopher 2012b: 279–282, 284), Tabaqat al-Bûma Level 3 (Banning *et al*. 1996: 31–37) and Hagoshrim IV (Getzov 2011: 1–5). Partial structures were found at Ein el-Jarba (Kaplan 1969; Meyerhof 1982), Abu Zureiq (Garfinkel and Matzkevich 2002: 131), Teluliot Batashi (Kaplan 1958: 11, fig. 5), Abu Hamid (Lovell *et al*. 1997), Nahal Yarmut (Khalaily 2011: 2*-5*), Tel Teo VIII (Eisenberg, Gopher and Greenberg 2001: 23–27), Nahal Zehora II Stratum IIB (Gopher 2012b: 279–282, 284), Tel Qiri (Baruch 1978: 275–276), Horbat Uza 18 (Getzov 2009: 9–11) as well as Einot Zipori and Ahiud, currently awaiting publication.

Intentional floor preparation has been found in multiple instances at other sites. Beaten earth floors were found at Tel Teo VIII (Eisenberg, Gopher and Greenberg 2001: 24) and at Hazorea B IV (Anati 1973: 79). Cobbled floors with a dense layer of pebbles are very common. Examples have been found at Abu Zureiq (Garfinkel and Matzkevich 2002: 131), Hazorea B IV (Anati 1973: 79), Hazorea C VII (Anati 1973: 101, fig. 66b), Munhata 2A (Gopher 1995: 212, pl. 4), Tel Dan C/D (Gopher and Greenberg 1987: 96*), Horvat Uza 18 (Getzov 2009: 10–11) and Tabaqat al-Bûma Level .3 (Banning *et al*. 1996: 31). Plastered floors have so far only been reported only at Ein el-Jarba in Phases II, III, and IV (Kaplan 1960: 5), Hazroea B IV (Anati 1973: 79), Nahal Zehora II Stratum IIA (Gopher 2012b: 282) and Tabaqat al-Bûma Level 3 (Banning *et al*. 1996: 31).

The finds of Ein el-Jarba reflect intensive transregional contacts of the local community. Obsidian imported from Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia has been observed at other sites ascribed to the Wadi Rabah culture (Gopher and Greenberg 1987; Schechter *et al*. 2013; Garfinkel 1992; Wreschner 1977; Lieberman-Wander 2009; Delerue *et al*. 2012). Other raw materials such as chlorite have been traced back to the same region as well (Rosenberg, Getzov and Assaf 2010). The two Halaf shards uncovered in Area G however, are the first of their kind in the southern Levant and indicate that the import was not restricted to raw materials alone, but also included ceramics. These shards currently represent the southernmost spread of Halaf ceramics recorded to date. A petrographic analysis of those two shards will allow pinpointing their precise origin.

Human remains ascribed to the Early Chalcolithic have been found at fifteen sites throughout the southern Levant, of which fourteen were uncovered at sites ascribed to the Wadi Rabah culture. A range of burial practices has been observed in the rather limited data. The burial practices include pit burials, cist burials in stone

built box-shaped graves, group burials and infant jar burials (Gopher and Orrelle 1995). However, the reliability of the dating of these interments is limited by two factors. First, the absolute dating of many of these sites is rather difficult due to scarce radiocarbon dates. Second, burials are commonly sunk into the ground, and their stratigraphic ascription is frequently difficult to reconstruct. The infant pit burial from Ein el-Jarba adds to this database, as its stratigraphic ascription dates it securely to the Early Chalcolithic.

The size of the settlement can be estimated to c. 10–15 ha, based on the survey of Area F, as well as on excavations in Area A and G, and earlier excavations conducted by Kaplan (1969), Meyerhof (1982), Anati (1973), Oshri (2000) and Perrot (Garfinkel and Matskevitch 2002). An interpretation of Ein el-Jarba as a 'megasite' as suggested by Gopher (2012a: 1552) is likely. It remains unclear however, whether the entire area was occupied at the same time or whether the remains represent a smaller, shifting settlement.

The two radiocarbon dates (GX-786 on bone collagen and GX-787 on charcoal) offered by Kaplan (1969: 25–27) were far too early to be considered reliable with the former sample dating to the mid-4th millennium and the latter to the mid-5th millennium cal. BCE. Additionally, the standard deviation of 280 and 150 years render the results unsound, as already stated by Banning (2007: 88). The test results of short-lived material from the renewed excavation at the site are still pending. Ein el-Jarba appears to fall however into the 'Classic Wadi Rabah' of the Early Chalcolithic period, based on its ceramic assemblage. The beginning of this period has been dated based on Bayesian Modelling of available radiocarbon determinations from different sites to ca. 5746–5578 cal BCE, and the end of the period to ca. 5288–5118 cal BCE at 68.2% confidence (Banning 2007: 87, Table 3). The radiocarbon determinations from Ein el-Jarba are expected to fall into this range as well.

Conclusion

Four seasons of excavation contributed significantly to our understanding of the Wadi Rabah culture. Focusing on a period frequently neglected in the academic discourse, the Ein el-Jarba Excavation Project adds crucial data regarding many aspects of the 6th millennium BCE community in this vicinity. The renewed excavation also provides a wider context for earlier projects conducted at the site particularly by Kaplan (1969), Meyerhof (1983), Anati (1973) and Oshri (2000). The results from Areas A and G further support the reconstruction of a large settlement area of up to 10–15 ha. If the area was settled synchronously, Ein el-Jarba could be considered a megasite as suggested by Gopher (2012a: 1552). The uncovered architecture, living floors, installations and the burial contextualize

domestic life of the 6th millennium BCE. Imported materials such as obsidian and Halaf shards prove the close ties with the northern Levant and might indicate an internationalism in the 6th millennium BCE, which has not been reached again until the Early Bronze Age, over two millennia later.

Acknowledgments

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Second Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell Abil el Qameḥ (Abel Beth Maacah)

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Excavations on the border between Israel, Lebanon and Syria at Tell Abil el-Qameḥ identified with biblical Abel Beth Maacah have been carried out for three seasons (2013–2015). The geo-historical background and the results of the preliminary survey and first excavation season were published in this journal (Panitz-Cohen, Mullins and Bonfil 2013), and the preliminary finds from the second and third seasons are presented here.[1]

Work in the two areas chosen for excavation in the first season continued as follows: on top of the eastern slope of the mound (Area A) in 2014 and 2015 and an area at the southern end of the lower mound (Area F) in 2014. On the western slope of the lower mound, Area O was excavated for one season in 2014. Two sites on the upper mound (Area B) and on the eastern slope of the lower mound (Area K) were each dug for one season in 2015 (Figs. 1–2). Each of these explorations yielded important information concerning the date and nature of the occupation sequence, spanning Middle Bronze Age II until the early Hellenistic period.

Area A[2]

Area A, in the saddle between the upper and lower tell, is the only area that has been excavated for all three seasons to date and has produced a dense sequence of four or possibly five Iron I Age strata (A2 to A6; see Fig. 3).[3]

Stratum A6

In the northeastern corner of Area A, the top of a north–south wall and a related debris layer to its west was reached. The wall is ca. 75 cm. wide with its eastern face flush with the current top of the tell slope; thus, it is not clear whether this was its original width or whether the outer face had eroded down the slope. While the associated pottery suggests a possible Iron I date, we must excavate further to floor level before making any certain determination.

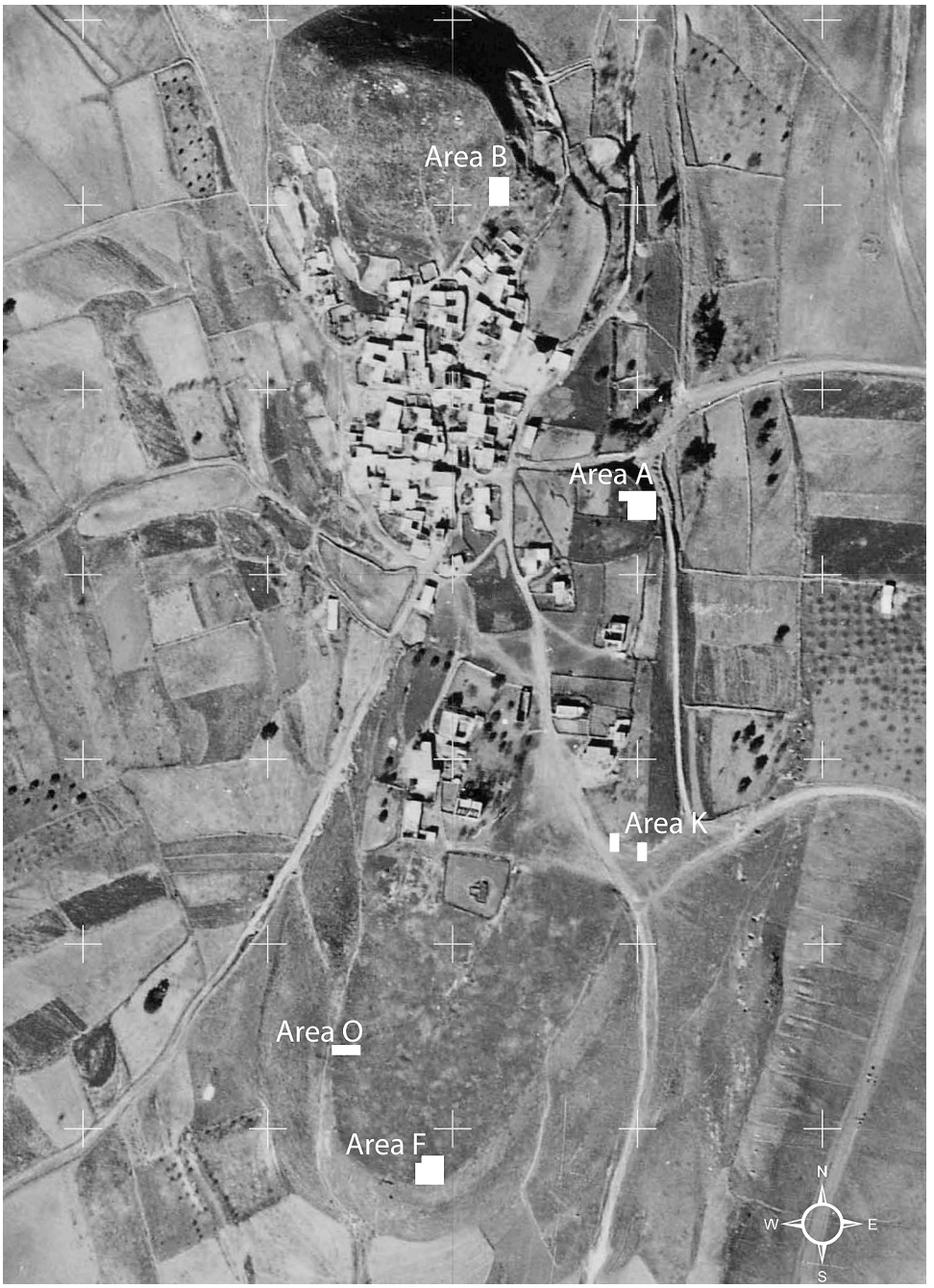

Fig. 1. Aerial view showing the location of excavated areas (1945, with houses of the Palestinian village, Abil el-Qameḥ).

Fig. 2. Panorama of the site, looking northeast with the southeastern opening of the Lebanese Beq'a and the foot of the Hermon massif in the background (Photo by M. Cohen).

Stratum A5

The lines of the two walls attributed to this stratum are the same as those of Stratum A4 above. Rectangular basalt ashlars in the earlier walls helped to differentiate between them (Fig. 5). Occupation debris on earthen floors abutted these walls, although the finds were relatively scarce despite clear evidence of destruction from traces of burning, fallen stone and brick.

Apart from these two ashlar walls, a north–south line of stones (Wall 3150) ca. 80 cm high and 90 cm wide was capped by two large, smooth-topped stones that appear to have been added in Stratum A4 (see below). A small stone paving adjoining it on the west of its southern end suggested that this might have been the wall of a tomb, although found empty, possibly as a result of a large animal burrow that damaged this very area.

Stratum A4

Stratum A4 comprises an architectural unit with a unique plan and installations that suffered a violent destruction which left traces of severe burning, fallen bricks and stones, and a large restorable pottery assemblage. As noted above, the walls of this occupation level were built directly above those of Stratum A5, with its earthen floors laid just above the fallen stones and burnt debris of the earlier occupation.

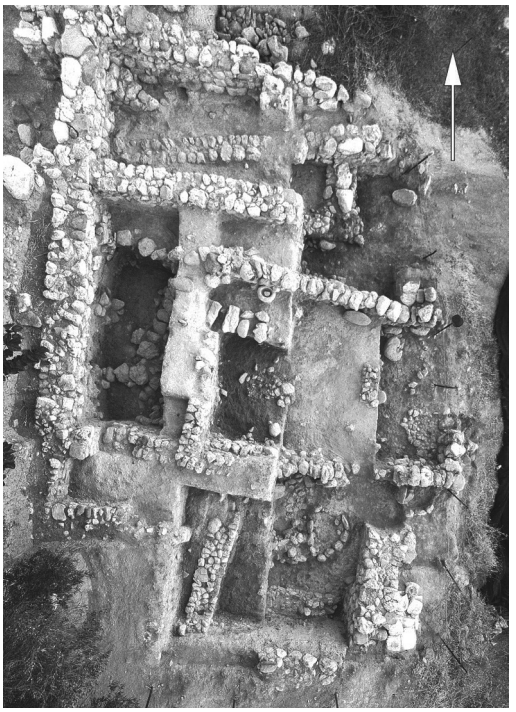

Fig. 3. Aerial view of Strata A2 to A6, showing eastern section of Area A.

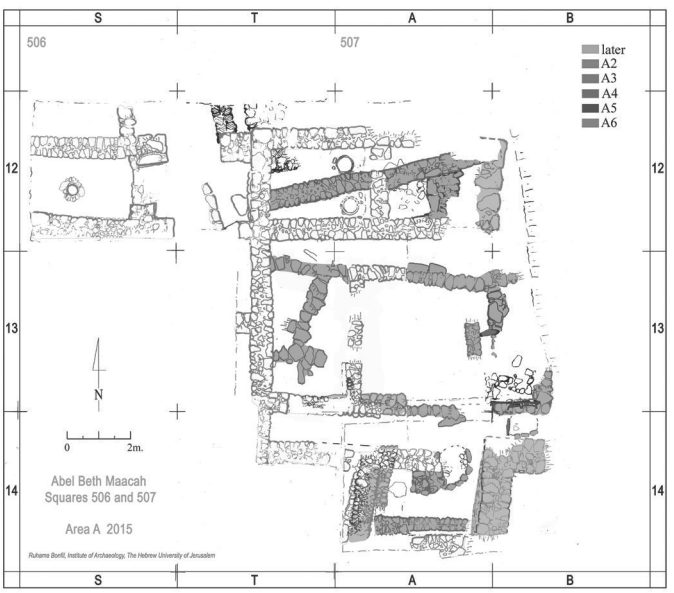

Fig. 4. Plan showing Iron Age Strata A2 to A6.

Fig. 5. Area A, Stratum A4 wall set above Stratum A5 ashlar wall, looking south.

Three spaces divided by four east–west walls have been exposed of the A4 unit. The western side has not yet been reached while the eastern side was mostly eroded down the slope. A curious feature of this unit is that each of its walls is built differently; one is oriented differently than the rest. Nevertheless, all walls clearly delineate these spaces and belong to the same architectural plan.

The southern space contained a one-meter thick layer of burnt destruction, whose debris comprised fallen brick and stone. Considerable amounts of restorable pottery rested on a floor that contained a unique installation west of the northern entrance (Fig. 6). The installation consisted of a semi-circle of stones, along with a square platform of stones (a *bamah*?) to its west, with a round depression or pit between them. A jug was found on the 'bamah' and a collared-rim pithos was set in the depression. A well-built stone pavement was found between the 'bamah' and the northern wall of the room. The stone semi-circle was open to the north and faced a large smoothed whitish limestone with a deep V-shaped cut in its top face. An almost complete upper grinding stone rested in this cut. Just east of this northern entrance was another stone semi-circle which contained a large round-topped standing stone at its western end. The northern wall was built curiously of loosely-laid stones in a herringbone pattern while the southern wall of this 3.2 m-wide room had a stone foundation and brick superstructure. On the floor of the entrance was found the skeleton of a dog that apparently had died of natural causes here, as this was not an intentional burial.[4]

Fig. 6. Area A, Stratum A4 building, cultic(?) installation, looking north.

The central space (3.7 m. wide) was bordered on the north by a wall built in a similar manner as the southern wall (Fig. 7). In line with the southern entrance was another installation that consisted of a stone bench adjoining a round-topped standing stone exactly the same as the one in the southern room. The space was far less burnt but contained a large number of fallen stones, as well as a pit filled with animal bones. The pottery was mostly fragmentary but included part of a small clay bull figurine. Although the southeastern corner of this space was preserved, the eastern wall was eroded due to its position on the edge of the slope.[5] At the western end of this space we exposed lines of large unworked boulders abutted by burnt debris, numerous fallen stones and some restorable pottery. Although the relationship between these walls and debris with that found in the eastern part of the courtyard remains unclear, these walls were probably contemporary.

The orientation of the northern wall of the northernmost space differed from the walls described above. Possibly this is the wall of a yet-to-be uncovered building on a slightly different orientation to the north, that was used by the builders of the A4 cultic unit. The northern space contained burnt debris with fallen bricks and stones, as well as an installation composed of broken pithos sherds surrounding a complete jug, as well as two skeletons near the walls–further evidence of the violent end to this

Fig. 7. Area A, Stratum A4 building, cultic(?) installation with bench and standing stone, looking north; note similar stone in lower right-hand corner.

stratum. The smooth-topped stones laid on top of the earlier A5 wall were west of the head of the northern skeleton.

Stratum A3

Following the violent destruction of the Stratum A4 unit, the area became a domestic occupation composed mainly of large open spaces, ovens, and installations. A new wall (3102) was built directly above the previous wall that divided the southern from the central space of Stratum A4. This wall was abutted on the north and south by whitish earthen floors and two ovens. A fine stone basin was found on the northern floor. The top course of the northern wall of the earlier A4 unit was re-used, apparently as a work platform, since an oven and pithos were found flanking it. No coherent architectural plan was discernable as most of the activity probably took place in open spaces. The total depth of accumulation in Stratum A3 did not surpass 50 cm, with abundant but mostly non-restorable pottery. Other finds included an iron arrowhead and a blade. This occupation was abandoned and the subsequent complex of Stratum A2 was constructed over it.

Fig. 8. Passageway between eastern and western units, with buttresses lining outer walls.

Stratum A2

The entire character of the area changed with the construction of the complex attributed to Stratum A2. This was the first Iron Age occupation beneath topsoil and directly below several flimsy Mandate period agricultural terrace walls (Stratum A1). The complex consisted of a central passageway flanked by well-built stone buildings to the east and west.

The eastern unit consisted of one partially preserved large building (11.5 × c. 6 m.) with rooms built around a central space. The eastern side of the structure is missing due to erosion on the slope of the tell. Additional walls south of the building might be related to an adjoining building or space. Two phases were discerned in the western section, where there are two gaps that might have been entrances leading to the narrow (ca. 2.5 m. wide) western space. Interesting features of this building are three equidistant square stone buttresses adjoining the exterior of the western wall, and which line the passageway between it and the building to its west (see further below). There are few finds on the whitish earth floors, consisting mainly of sherds as well as several complete vessels.

One main space (2 × 3 m.) of the western building, due west of the northern wing of the eastern building, has been excavated so far (Fig. 8). Its well-built stone walls were preserved at least a meter and a half high. Notably, square buttresses identical to the ones

Fig. 9. a: Pot bellows in western Stratum A2 building, sunken in floor with rim lined with stones; b. entire pot exposed.

lining the exterior of the western wall of the eastern building also supported the eastern wall, creating a symmetry that must have been decorative and impressive.

Inside the western space we were able to discern two phases. The upper phase contained debris on an earthen floor that had some restorable pottery and ash, although not definitive enough to suggest a violent destruction. The lower phase contained debris on a hard-to-detect earthen floor into which a large clay pot bellows had been sunk; its rim surrounded with stones (Fig. 9a-b). Inside the pot were found burnt, green-tinted bones and remains of both bronze and iron working.[6] Interestingly, the way the pot bellows was set on the floor indicates that it was in secondary use, as the opening where the tuyère should have been attached was buried below floor level.

The passageway between the eastern and western buildings (1.7–2.0 m. wide) was lined with buttresses on both sides. Adjoining the wall of the eastern building, just south of the northernmost buttress, was a cultic corner built of smooth oval-shaped basalt stones standing approximately half a meter high, fronted by a low diagonal stone wall, and partly paved with small stones (Fig. 10). This passageway possibly led to a city gate somewhat farther north. A dip in the mound's topography here, where the modern approach road passes to the top of the tell, would have favored such a location.

Fig. 10. Cultic corner within Stratum A2 passageway, looking southeast; note stone buttresses lining walls.

Area F[7]

Area F is located at the southern end of the lower mound, overlooking the northern Huleh valley. The central feature excavated in this area is a large tower with a rampart abutting it on the east (Stratum F6, Figs. 11–12). To the north of the tower and rampart three main phases of activity dating to the Late Bronze Age were identified (Strata F5–F3). All three phases abutted the sturdy northern face of the tower and rampart. This fact, along with the large number of Middle Bronze IIB sherds, indicate a Middle Bronze IIB date for this fortification system. The tower was later cut by several Iron Age I pits. Above the latest Late Bronze Age stratum (Stratum F3) were two strata (F2 and F1) dating to the Iron Age I.

Stratum F6

The tower (c. 6.5 × 7.7 m.) is composed of at least four courses of small and medium sized roughly-rounded stones, embedded into a hard chalky white 'cement', possibly *nari*, framed along the edges by large boulders. The tower was cut by later activity on the west and eroded on the south (Panitz-Cohen, Mullins and Bonfil 2013: 39). From the middle of the eastern wall of the tower, a 3.6 m.-wide stone feature, identical to those stones that composed the tower, extended northeast; its western face lined by boulders similar to those along the tower exterior. Although appearing to be the top of a wide wall, this feature was part of the rampart. This rampart consisted of a single course of stones above layers of dark brown soil and dense whitish chalky *nari* material that continued to the south and east. Iron Age I pits and silos were cut into both the top of the tower, the wall

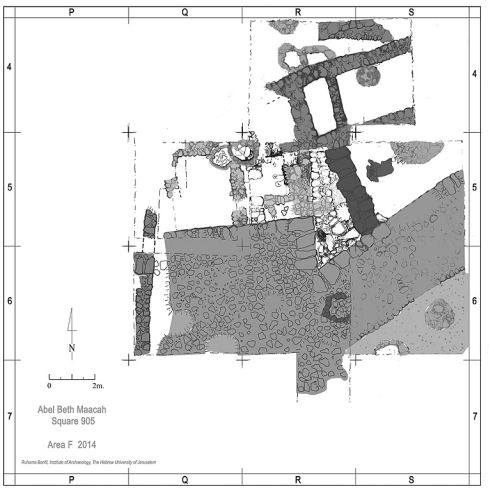

Fig. 11. Area F, Middle Bronze, Late Bronze and Iron Age I Strata F1–F6.

Fig. 12. Area F, Middle Bronze II tower and rampart, looking south. Note stones robbed from rampart lining (north of meter stick) to build a later wall nearby (right).

and the rampart; indicating that the Middle Bronze Age fortifications, later used in the Late Bronze Age, went out of use in the Iron Age I.

Stratum F5

The earliest of the three layers attributed to the Late Bronze Age comprises two north–south walls that abutted the northern wall of the tower, and one east–west wall. Associated with these walls on the west was an accumulation of thin red, gray, and white striations on which a small gold disc was found, similar to discs found in the 'Mycenaean tomb' at Dan (Biran and Ben-Dov 2002: 173, Fig. 2.136), as well as a group of *astragali* near a bronze rod. A large LBI carinated bowl fragment was found on a beaten-earth floor on the east.

Stratum F4

Covering the southern end of the F5 wall attached to the northeastern corner of the tower was a pavement of large, well-worked flat-topped stones. These were set into the corner where the tower and stone rampart met. These had been laid somewhat haphazardly and were apparently in secondary use. Earthen layers associated with the walls of this stratum yielded LBII pottery.

Stratum F3

Above the Stratum F4 walls was another system of walls abutting the northern face of the tower and rampart. These indicate the final Late Bronze Age stratum. The easternmost wall was built from the stones robbed from the northern face of the rampart. The corner of two walls was cut by an Iron I silo and pit (see below). A whitish earthen floor abutted the western face of this wall and the upper course of the tower. On this floor was found a concentration of pottery, including a small jug containing a silver hoard. The jug is a local imitation of a Cypriot bilbil with its neck filed down (Panitz-Cohen, Mullins and Bonfil 2013: 40, Fig. 10). This jug apparently had not been buried or hidden as we previously thought, but rested on the floor against one of the large boulders in the northern wall of the tower. The hoard contained 12 items, including five complete and four partial earrings, a silver ingot and some hacksilver, making it one of the earliest such hoards found in the region and marking one of the first appearances of hacksilver found in this region (Yahalom-Mack, Panitz-Cohen and Mullins, in preparation). This latest Late Bronze II phase of occupation appears to have ended in abandonment, since no traces of destruction in the limited excavation area were found.

Stratum F2

Cut into the top of the tower and rampart, as well as into the walls and layers of Stratum F3, were a series of pits and stone-lined silos dating to the Iron Age I

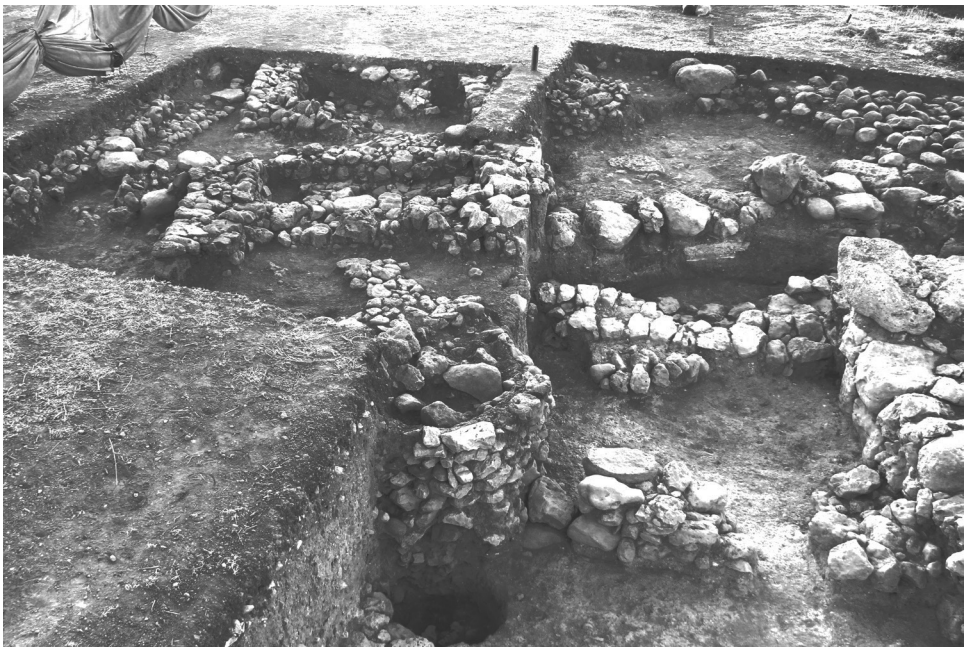

Fig. 13. Area F, Iron Age I building, silos and pits (left) above and cutting into Late Bronze remains; northern wall of MBII tower on the right; looking east.

(Fig. 13). These features effectively eliminated the fortification system, which had evidently been in use during the entire Late Bronze Age sequence. These silos and pits were relatively uniform, approximately one meter in diameter, although the preserved depths varied between them. The pits which had been cut into the tower did not exceed 40 cm deep, while those cutting into the Late Bronze Age walls and into the Middle Bronze Age rampart were double in size, one meter in diameter by one meter in depth. Notably, some of the pits and silos cut others, pointing to intensive activity during this phase. Some of the pits contained a variety of pottery vessels such as collared rim jars, a pyxis, and a jug, as well as a sporadic collection of flint tools, bones, a bronze needle, and a spindle whorl.

Stratum F1

The latest stratum in Area F was uncovered directly below topsoil, where we found part of a dwelling. An open area or street with stone-lined pits was possibly bordered by yet another building. Due to erosion only its lower stone foundation courses were preserved. We excavated three spaces. The western space was cut on its western end by a later disturbance possibly dating to the Persian period, in which we found two fine bronze fibulae. In this street or courtyard were several stone-lined pits and silos. In one, a complete iron blade was found.

Fig. 14. Area O, Middle Bronze II Strata O1–O3.

A special find that came from below topsoil and above the northern wall of the Stratum F1 building was a fine scarab of the *Mnxprra* type imported from Egypt and dating to the period of Ramses II. It had either been kept as an heirloom in the Iron Age I building or inadvertently found its way to its find spot in the topsoil, not far above the Late Bronze layer in which it would have originated (David, Mullins and Panitz-Cohen in press).

Area O[8]

Area O, at the top of the western slope of the lower mound yielded three strata: two belonged to Middle Bronze IIB (Strata O2 and O3) and the third to the Late Bronze Age or early Iron I (Stratum O1). The latter was exposed directly below topsoil. A large pit cut into one of the walls post-dates all the activity in this area and seems to belong to Iron I or IIA (Fig. 14).

Stratum O3

A limited section of the top of a layer of small stones was revealed. These stones continued to the north, south, and west beyond the limits of excavation. A relatively large collection of Early Bronze II sherds, including platters and metallic ware, was found in association with this stone layer. To its east we exposed a surface with an oven and MB IIB pottery. The relationship between this surface and the layer of small stones remains unclear.

Stratum O2

Stratum O2 contained a large and well-built structure on a northeast–southwest axis, reasonably perpendicular to the slope. Four rooms were exposed, each with

Fig. 15. Area O, looking north; stone walls of the Middle Bronze II Stratum O2 building, with Stratum O1 walls above; note threshold in westernmost wall (left).

Fig. 16. Iron IIA seal.

a somewhat different width that ranged from 2.5 to 3.5 m. The building continued to the east and north, while the southern part was badly eroded. Each wall had an entrance which allowed access between all the rooms. In the easternmost room, the skeleton of a large elderly man was found lying on his chest near a large pithos.[9] Whether this was a burial or if the pithos fell when he met his death is unclear. This phase yielded several infant burials in storage jars as well.

Stratum O1

The architecture of Stratum O1 was relatively fragmented due to its depth directly below topsoil. The orientation of the walls was the same as Stratum O2 and they were built directly on top of the latter. The architecture from this phase included the western end of a room that continued beyond the border of the excavated area in its eastern end, and a segment of a wall in the west. A well-made tripod basalt mortar was found on an earthen floor abutting this wall, surrounded by upside-down bowl and jug disc bases. This encircling appears to have been intentional.

Activity Post-dating Stratum O1

The large pit which cut the threshold of the westernmost wall of Stratum O2 contained restorable pottery that appears to be Iron Age I or early Iron Age IIA. This assemblage consisted of several cooking pots and storage jars, as

Fig. 17. Area B, Persian-Early Hellenistic massive building above Iron II remains.

well as a bowl. A small stone seal (Fig. 16), which has parallels to similar seals in secure Iron IIA contexts, was found in the topsoil at the eastern edge of the excavation area (Panitz-Cohen and Mullins, in preparation). These finds point to ongoing activity in this area following the latest preserved building from Stratum O1.

Area B[10]

Area B, near the northern end of the site is the only excavation area in the upper mound. This is mainly due to the ruined overlay of Abil el Qameh, the abandoned Palestinian village, which we chose not to disturb, in addition to the damage to the summit by a military bunker. On a flattened terrace in the middle of the eastern slope of the upper mound this area (see Fig. 15), was selected for excavation because of a large north–south wall identified during the 2012 survey that appeared to have belonged to an ancient building, although it had probably been reused as an agricultural terrace wall in modern times (Panitz-Cohen, Mullins and Bonfil 2013: 36; http://www.abel-beth-maacah.org/index.php/report-2012). Below topsoil we

encountered the poorly preserved corner of two walls and two round pits (Stratum B2) that we were unable to securely date. A substantial architectural stratum below this clearly related to the large 'terrace' wall that consisted of three sub-phases belonging to the late Persian/early Hellenistic period (Stratum B3a-c). Below this building were remains tentatively attributed to the Iron Age II (Strata B4–5) on the basis of the ceramic evidence.

Strata B4–B5

Only sporadic elements of this stratum have been revealed to date and they do not yet comprise a comprehensive plan, and no floors have been identified. These remains may be divided into two sections: those excavated below the Persian/early Hellenistic building of Strata B3 and those remains excavated to the east of this structure.

In a probe below the lowest floor of the Stratum B3 building we encountered a dark-earth fill that mostly contained Iron IIB pottery. This fill rests above a stone wall, oriented northeast–southwest, that appears to be the top of an Iron Age II structure.

The area to the east of Wall 3701 was severely eroded such that *in situ* debris was reached only about 50 cm below its foundations. On the northern edge of this area was an oval-shaped brick construction containing gray-black ash and whitish chunks of rock. This installation continued to the north, clearly covered by a Stratum B3 stone floor. This layer, designated Stratum B4, covered an even earlier layer of burnt earth and collapsed mudbricks, apparently the top of a destruction designated Stratum B5. The skeleton of a child, who had apparently met a violent death, was found in this earlier burnt debris. The pottery, mostly Iron IIA and IIB, included strainer jugs, carinated red-slipped and hand-burnished bowls, and a small fragment of a Cypro-Phoenician juglet. Another find was a storage jar sherd with a large letter incised in it before firing, possibly a bet or a nun.[11] Several Iron I sherds, including a wavy-band pithos, were found as well.

Stratum B3

Excavation of the large north–south wall (3701) made of very large boulders and preserved two courses belonged to a large building with three phases. The entire area to its east had been eroded down to the top of the Iron Age level (see above). The sole exception was a patch of stone pavement abutting its northeastern face.

In the earliest phase (B3c) earthen floors abutted the western face of Wall 3701, as well as two fine stone foundations. On top of this layer, in Stratum B3b and B3a, pebble floors were laid. On the upper pebble floor were three Phoenician semi-fine ware juglets which date this context to the late Persian/early Hellenistic period.[12] Part of a stone pavement abutted Wall 3701 on its northeastern end; however, it is too

Fig. 18. Phoenician semi-fine ware juglet, Stratum B3.

fragmentary to know whether it was used during the entire occupation. This building continues to the west and north, but it is eroded on the east and cut by later burials (Stratum B1) on the south.

Stratum B2

A very patchy remnant of the corner of two walls was revealed abutted on the north and east by round, empty pits. While this stratum apparently post-dated the Persian/early Hellenistic building, no associated finds were available to date it.

Stratum B1

Several rectangular and oval burials were dug into the remains of the Stratum B3 building at its southwestern end, but they contained no datable material and the skeletal material was poorly preserved. Comparison to similar burials at Tel Dan suggests that they probably date to the Mameluke period (pers. comm. David Ilan).

Area K

A limited probe was conducted on the central eastern slope where there is relatively easy access to the summit of the northern part of the lower mound. This area was chosen due to the topography suggestive of the location of a city gate, and the presence of several large stones on a north–south axis in topsoil. These we found to be part of an approximately three-meter wide stone wall abutted on the east by a thick layer of sterile whitish chalky material that might have been part of a rampart laid against the city wall's exterior (eastern) face (Fig. 18). The western face of this wall seems to have a protruding outset. The wall can clearly be traced in the topsoil towards the south. To the north, there is a rise in the mound, ca. 4

Fig. 19. Area K, view of the top of fortification walls, looking south.

meters high. This elevated area continues to northwards until Area A. We surmise that it might be the continuation of the large public complex uncovered in that area further to the north. However, it is not yet certain that the fortification wall from Area K and the building complex found in Area A are related.

No datable pottery was found here except for a number of very worn Early Bronze II sherds. The wall's position on the slope and the chalky 'rampart-like' material against its eastern face suggest that it might have belonged to the Middle Bronze Age fortification system that was revealed in Area F, although further work is necessary to securely date it, as well as to clarify whether there had been a gate and a tower here, and to which periods they belonged.

Summary and Conclusions

The Middle Bronze Age II Fortifications

Traces of the fortification system were only detected in Area F. The architectural remains attributed to the Middle Bronze Age apparently belong to the latter half of this period, including the tower and rampart in Area F and the two phases of the building in Area O. The top course of the stone wall tentatively thought to belong to Early Bronze II could instead be part of the Middle Bronze IIB fortification, though different in form than in Area F. A similar situation exists at nearby Tel

Dan, were the Middle Bronze II fortifications are not uniform (Biran 1990; 1994: 59–73). The impressively wide stone wall revealed in Area K, with the chalky white plaster-like material against its eastern face, might indicate that this is part of the Middle Bronze Age fortification system. Alternatively, the fortification in Area F could be a local feature, meant to overlook the Huleh valley to the south and to serve as a deterrent for attacks from that easily accessible area.

Besides their defensive function, Middle Bronze Age fortifications were certainly symbols of competition and power in peer polity interaction (Bunimovitz 1992; Ilan 1998; Uziel 2010). This latter possibility seems to be supported by the proximity of other heavily fortified Middle Bronze IIB sites, such as Dan, Hazor, and Kiryat Shemona (Gadot and Yasur-Landua 2012). Whatever the extent, nature, and precise date of the Middle Bronze II fortifications in Area F, the evidence indicates that they were reused during the Late Bronze Age, when the buildings were set against the northern face of the tower and rampart. Only in the Iron Age I, when numerous pits and silos cut the surviving top of the tower and rampart, did this system cease to function.

Scope of the Iron Age Occupation

The finds corroborate our conclusions from the first season of excavation in 2013 that occupation on the lower mound terminated at the end of Iron Age I. Important new information gained during the 2015 season includes the exposure of Iron Age IIA and IIB remains in the upper mound to the north, although we are not yet able to determine the nature and scope of this occupation. Traces of destruction and large amounts of pottery from these periods indicate that this was not a scanty occupation, although more exposure is necessary. Iron I and Late Bronze pottery recovered in fills and debris layers in Area B and in the survey on the upper mound, indicate that this area had been occupied during that time as well. Although we conclude at this point that only the upper mound was occupied in Iron Age II, in fact, further excavation in other parts of the lower mound might reveal remains of this period, in light of the pottery and the Iron IIA seal from Area O.

Public and Domestic Occupation in Iron I

An interesting study in contrasts is the nature of the Iron I remains in Area A as opposed to those in Area F. In the latter, what appears to be a domestic building with numerous pits and silos was revealed under topsoil. In Area A, on the one hand, a well-built complex that appears to have been of a public, possibly of an administrative and industrial nature, was revealed just under topsoil. Moreover, the two phases of Iron I in Area F comprising the aforementioned building and several superimposed pits and silos, were built directly over and cutting into the

latest Late Bronze Age level. On the other hand, in Area A, there are at least four major architectural layers dating to this period, one of which suffered from an intense violent destruction (Stratum A4) that was not detected in Area F. While the sparser Iron I remains might be the result of severe erosion and later agricultural activity on the southern end of the mound, it seems that anthrocentric and functional reasons lie behind this difference, which makes this an interesting topic for further exploration.

The Aramean Question

A key research question that guides our excavation agenda is related to the Aramaeans. The first secure mention of these people is in an inscription by Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 BCE) that reveals these people at an early stage of their transition from a non-sedentary rural-pastoralist lifestyle to a settled and national entity. This process took place against the background of the new socio-cultural order that followed the collapse of the Late Bronze Age urban system. This crisis provided opportunities for new ethnic elements, like the Aramaeans, to eventually establish themselves as territorial states. This process was paralleled by the northern kingdom of Israel, so the geo-political interaction between the two entities was intertwined from the start (Berlejung 2014: 341–342).

The Aramaean core territory was in northern Syria, but by the 10th to the 9th centuries BCE, they consolidated their political power in southern Syria into territorial polities establishing the kingdom of Aram-Damascus, as well as the kingdoms of Aram Zobah and Bit Rehov in southern Lebanon. The Aramaeans became politically engaged in the northern parts of modern Israel and Jordan, although the scope and nature of this involvement remains uncertain and a topic to be further explored.

Two small kingdoms, Geshur and Maacah, are especially pertinent to our agenda as they are mentioned only in the Hebrew bible. Apparently, these local tribal chiefdoms became incorporated into the realm of Aram-Damascus in Iron Age IIA. The name ‘Maacah’ is particularly intriguing for us, as scholars have surmising that Abel Beth Maacah was the capital of the kingdom of Maacah (e.g., Mazar 1961: 17, note 3, 27; Arie 2008: 35; Na’aman 2012: 95; Finkelstein 2013: 106).

The Hebrew bible’s narrative about these processes of expansion, occupation, collaboration, and confrontation does not help to clarify the picture owing to the late date of the edited texts and to a paucity of archaeological data. This lack is abetted by the lacuna of excavated and published sites in the Iron Age Aramaean centers in Syria and Lebanon, and compounded by the lack of comprehensive publication of finds from those sites considered to have been within the realm of the kingdom of

Geshur, such as En Gev, Tel Hadar, Bethsaida (et-Tell), and Tel Kinnerot (Tell el-Oreime; Naaman 2012; Berlejung 2014: 345–351). The data from Iron Age II Tel Dan, a key site for understanding the Aramaeans in northern Israel, and possibly part of the kingdom of Maacah, still remains largely unpublished. Thus, the new excavations at Abel Beth Maacah afford a prime opportunity to explore Aramaean presence, political influence, and cultural impact in northern Israel during the Iron Age, particularly in light of the present lacuna of excavated or published data from southern Syria, the heartland of the Aramaeans (Panitz-Cohen and Mullins, in press).

The main excavated data that has potential to shed light on these issues includes identification and dating of the occupation sequence, architectural remains, and ceramic finds relating to the Iron Age I and II.[13]

We now know that the entire mound was occupied in the Iron Age I, when the Aramaeans made their first documented appearance by that name and when the Hebrew Bible first mentions the tribal(?) entities of Geshur and Maacah (Josh 12: 4–5; Josh 13: 11–13; Deut 3: 13–14). At that time, the occupation at Abel Beth Maacah was extensive, comprised of well-built public buildings in one area, and dwellings with multiple storage facilities in another. This suggests some level of zoning. The long-lived Iron I sequence covered all of the 11th and probably at least part of the 12th century BCE. Such intense occupation far surpasses that of Hazor, which was no more than a village, or even a temporary way stop for pastoralists at that time. A comparison with nearby Dan shows similarity in the occupation sequence, with a suggested correlation between the violent destruction of Stratum A4 and that of Dan Stratum V. Following this, it is possible that Dan Stratum IVB can be equated with our Stratum A2. But what were the relations between Abel Beth Maacah and Dan in Iron I? Two large sites with dense occupation so close to each other must have competed for resources and for political dominance. In any event, it is clear that the focus of urban occupation in Iron Age I shifted to the upper Galilee from the area of Hazor in the southern Hula Valley. Possibly, Abel Beth Maacah might have been the main urban entity at that time, although we cannot say with any certainty at this stage whether the political organization followed that of the Late Bronze city-state system, or if a new order was established.

The inhabitants of this Iron I town might have been:

1. Local Canaanites who continued to occupy the site despite the havoc at the end of the Late Bronze Age (as noted above, the evidence in Area F shows a non-violent end to that occupation);
2. New population elements, of unknown identity or
3. A mixture of local and new populations.

The pottery recovered from all the Iron I phases is similar, although more study and a fine-tuning of the typology is required. The corpus comprises large numbers

of pithoi (both collared rim and wavy band) and cooking pots with a variety of rims (but no handles), as well as other typical Iron I forms like hemispherical bowls, painted carinated kraters, piriform jugs, and pyxides. A relatively substantial amount of Phoenician Bichrome sherds has been found, mainly closed vessels. Several forms that are only typical of the northern regions were found here, particularly a one or two handled jug/amphora that also appears at Tel Kinrot, Tel Dan, and Tel Hadar. Our ultimate goal is to examine this rich assemblage on a quantitative basis and to seek comparisons at sites in southern Lebanon and in Syria, with a particular focus on the pithoi, which appear to have affinities with these northern regions as well as the southern parts of Canaan. Study of the ceramics, as well as other datasets, have the potential to shed light on social, cultural, ethnic and economic issues in this border region, located in the interface between Israel, Syria and Lebanon in antiquity as in modern times.

Notes

1 The excavations were conducted under the auspices of Azusa Pacific University, Los Angeles and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, with the project generously funded by the former. R.A. Mullins and N. Panitz-Cohen are co-directors and R. Bonfil is the surveyor and stratigraphic advisor. Omer Sergey of Tel Aviv University is a research partner, in association with the project's participation in the Minerva Center for Relations between Israel and Aram in Biblical Times, jointly with Bar Ilan University (Aren Maeir) and the University of Leipzig (Angelika Berlejung). Participating institutions include Asbury Theological Seminary, Cornell University, Indiana Wesleyan University, Trinity International University, and the University of Arizona. Logistics were provided by Oren Gutfeld of Israel Archaeological Services.

2 Area A was supervised by Ido Wachtel of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Fredrika Loew of Cornell University was the registrar; assistant supervisors were Kenton Williams, Carroll Kobs, Jeff Kobs, Kevin Crow, Dianne Benton and Aviv Toren. For a detailed field report of the 2013–2014 seasons, see http://www.abel-beth-maacah.org/index.php/2014-excavation-report-area-a.

3 The numbering of the Iron Age strata begins with A2, since A1 pertains to several flimsy terrace walls of the recent Ottoman-British Mandate period in topsoil.

4 We thank Nimrod Marom (University of Haifa), who examined the dog skeleton *in situ*, for this information.

5 In the 2012 survey, three superimposed strata were discerned in the slope below Area A which were the impetus for choosing this area for excavation (Panitz-Cohen, Mullins and Bonfil 2013: 34–36, Fig. 4; http://www.abel-beth-maacah.org/index.php/report-2012). The southern wall of the central room of the Stratum A4 unit is part of the uppermost of these three layers, built on top of a north–south wall comprising the middle layer of the three (designated Wall A3/11 in the survey). This latter wall was built above the large basalt stone on which an intact ring flask was found in the survey that represents the lowest layer of the three (ibid; Fig. 6).

6 We thank Naama Yahalom-Mack of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who examined this installation, for this information.

7 Area F was supervised by Ortal Harush of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Adva Danon of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Claire Mackay of the University of Saskatchewan were the registrars; assistant supervisors were Dean Rancourt, Itamar Weissbein, Leann Canady, Scott Booth and Lisa Marsio. For a detailed field report of the 2013–2014 seasons, see http://www.abel-beth-maacah.org/index.php/2014-excavation-report-area-f.

8 Area O was supervised by Christopher Monroe of Cornell University; Ariel Shatil of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was the registrar and assistant supervisor. For a detailed field report of the 2014 season, see http://www.abel-beth-maacah.org/index.php/2014-excavation-report-area-o.

9 We thank Noa Kuriansky and Marina Faerman for identifying the skeletal remains.

10 Area B was supervised by Ariel Shatil of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, assisted by John Harmon, Margot Murray and Josh Errington.

11 We thank Heather D. Davis Parker and Nadav Na'aman for their help in the identification of this letter.

12 We thank Jennifer Gates-Foster, pottery analyst of the Omrit excavation team, for identifying these vessels.

13 An archaeobotanical study conducted by Melissa Rosensweig of Miami University and analysis of the rich faunal collection conducted by Nimrod Marom of the University of Haifa are geared to trace patterns of plant and animal utilization, on both an intra-site and on a regional scale, in an attempt to identify those variables likely to express socio-cultural issues, such as ethnicity and political organization. This has the potential to help us delineate the area of the supposed Aramaean kingdoms of Geshur and Maacah, and to view environmental factors and subsistence strategies as an expression of national-cultural identity.

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The Late Bronze Age Figurines from Tel Burna

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Four figurines were discovered in Late Bronze Age IIB Tel Burna in the Judean Shephelah. The figurines come from a large public building that probably had a cultic function. These include a rare Revadim-type plaque figurine, a nude female plaque figurine, a Mycenaean-style bull figurine, and the head of an equine figurine. Their iconography represents a cross section of Egyptian, Mycenaean, Mesopotamian, and local traditions, illustrating the syncretism of Canaanite religion at the site.

Introduction to Tel Burna

Tel Burna is located in the Judean Shephelah on the northern bank of Nahal Guvrin between Tel Zayit and Maresha. The site was settled from the Early Bronze Age until the Iron II period (c. 3300–586 BCE). The surrounding region includes the towns of Gezer, Beth-Shemesh, Tell es-Safi/Gath, Azekah, Lachish, and Tel ʻEton (Fig. 1). In 2009, the initial surface survey of Tel Burna indicated extensive occupation in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, which has been confirmed by subsequent excavation (McKinny et al. 2015; Shai and Uziel 2014; Uziel and Shai 2010).

Area B1 (Fig. 2)

Excavations in Area B1 at Tel Burna revealed a large structure with a central courtyard measuring approximately 20 × 23 m, dating to the Late Bronze IIB (Building 29305 dating to the 13th century BCE; Shai et al., in press). Foundations of this structure were preserved directly beneath the surface and 0.20–1.20 m. above bedrock. Its central feature is the large courtyard made of a composite surface of bedrock and crushed limestone over a fieldstone sub-surface. Uneven areas of bedrock and cracks in the stone were either filled in or paved with stones to create a flat surface. Deeper cracks and depressions in the bedrock contained fill with a notable amount of Early and Middle Bronze Age ceramics. Other features include two tabuns and a sunken jar installation.

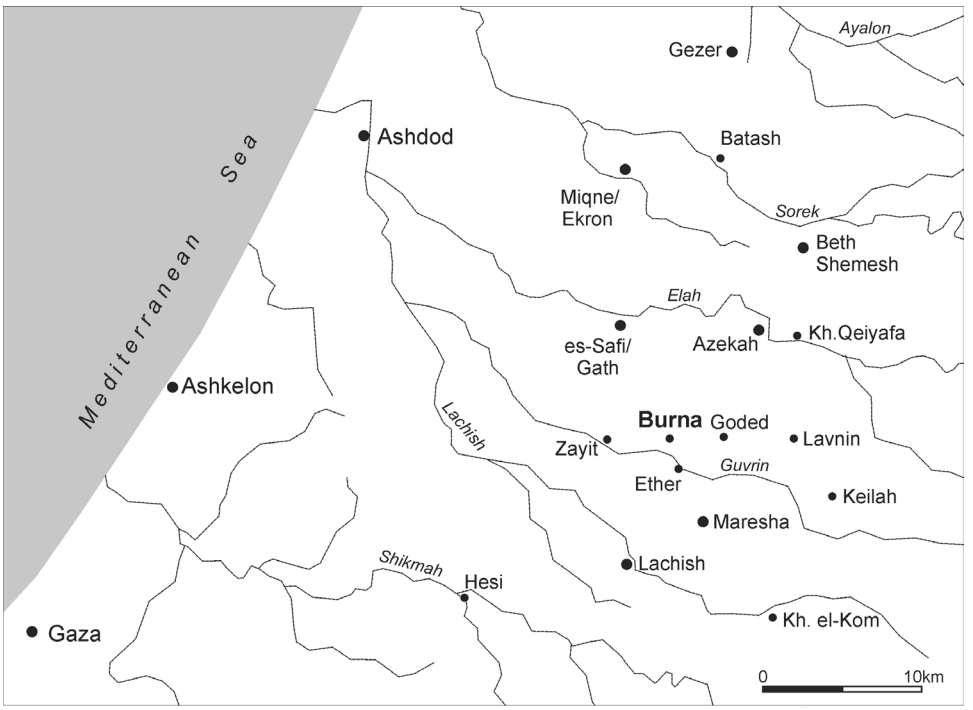

Fig. 1. Map of the Judaean Shephelah, showing the location of Tel Burna.

Although a detailed quantitative analysis of the finds has not yet been concluded, numerous cultic-related objects were found along the western side of the courtyard (Shai et al. in press). Here, we uncovered locally-made goblets and chalices, several cups and saucers, Cypriot votive vessels and fragments of zoomorphic vessels of many different types, a cylinder seal, an Egyptian scarab, fragments of two ceramic masks, numerous animal bones, and two large Cypriot pithoi each with a capacity of c. 200 litres. Furthermore, the head of an equine figurine, and a fragment of a Mycenaean bull figurine found nearby will be discussed below.

This structure was found merely a few centimeters under topsoil in the lower area of the tell, and west of the Iron II fortifications and buildings on the acropolis. Strangely, this area contained few Iron Age finds despite multiple levels of extensive Iron Age occupation on top of the tell. This western side of Tel Burna has a clear view of Philistine Gath. Possibly the lack of structures on this side of the tell during the Iron Age may have been intentional, a strategic decision while the site functioned as a Judahite fortress on the border with Philistia.

The Late Bronze Age figurines of Area B1 are presented below in their iconographic and chronological context. This assemblage provides an introduction

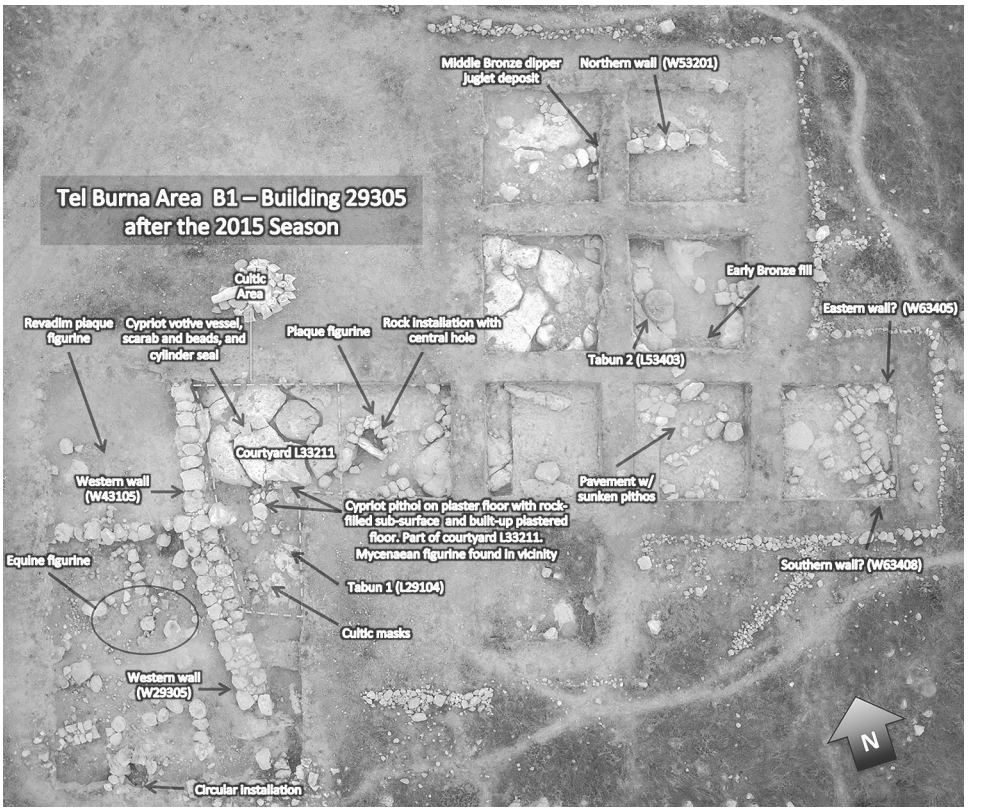

Fig. 2. Aerial photo of Area B1 (©Griffin Aerial Photography, graphics by Chris McKinny).

to Tel Burna's late 13th century occupation as well as indicating the probable religious function of Building 29305.

The Figurines

Revadim-Type Figurine

This fragmentary Revadim-type figurine preserves the upper torso without the head (Fig. 3). The left arm to the wrist as well as the shoulder of the right arm, which probably encircle the woman's torso are preserved. The arms are rendered in a realistic style and show the profile of the woman's chest and armpits. The free right hand of the right side is mostly broken while the free left hand rests on its side. Two small human figures or twins are depicted on the chest area. A horizontal line of three small pellets appears at the neck. Small circles represent the breasts and navel. Two braids depicting hair extend down the chest area, similar to the Egyptian Hathor style, are separated by an amorphous-shaped decoration just

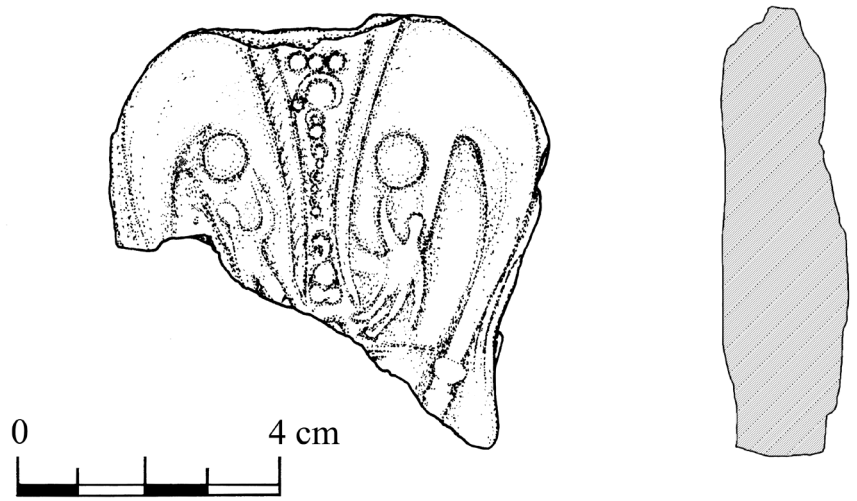

Fig. 3. The Revadim-type figurine.

above the navel. There is a crescent or ring connected to a unique vertical band of eight rings extending down between these braids. This vertical row of rings running down the woman's chest is unique. The crescent (or ring) shape near the woman's neck is also distinctive. Provenance analysis indicates that this figurine was locally made.[1]

This figurine is the fourth confirmed example of its kind in the region. Three examples of a similar figurine are known from Tel Aphek, Tel Harasim and Revadim Quarry (Kochavi 1990: xii; Givon 1995: 44; Beck 1986: 29). The fragmentary example from Tel Aphek was uncovered in the collapsed second story of Palace VI, identified as the residence of the Egyptian governor dating to the late 13th century BCE (Kokhavi 1990). The second figurine comes from a domestic setting at Tel Harasim c. 20 km due south of Tel Aphek on the Nahal Barkai tributary of Nahal Lachish (Givon 1995: 44–6; 2002: 24). The third and nearly complete example was a chance find at the Revadim Quarry within the confines of Kibbutz Revadim, although Beck suggested that this figurine may have originated at nearby Tel Miqne/Ekron (Beck 1986: 29). Ornan pointed out that the first example was found in an elite structure and the second non-elite, possibly indicating a distribution across economic classes (2007: 231), though the sample size is obviously small. This figurine was uncovered in a residential setting, and clearly associated with Canaanite religion. Recently another fragment of this type was discovered at Tel Azekah (Oded Lipschits pers. comm.).

Missing portions of this figurine can be surmised from three other examples, but the Tel Burna figurine also differs from the other three plaque figurines in several key features. Examples from Aphek and Revadim Quarry show simple tube-like arms protruding out from the woman's hair at shoulder level. All or most of the woman's midsection are preserved in the other figurines, and one can discern the hands holding open a deeply cut vulva between non-joined legs. Both thighs are decorated with the common Canaanite motif of a 'sacred tree' and an ibex, which are completely preserved on the Tel Harasim example (Keel 1998: 35). The trunks of the two trees are depicted with rounded pellets resembling the stylized breasts. A fifth pellet on the abdomen representing the woman's navel is partially visible on the Tel Burna example.

In the examples from Aphek and Revadim Quarry the twins raise both of their arms towards the woman's breasts in the expected manner of a suckling infant. Their arms recall the draping arms of the mother encompassing them, which presents a more realistic human form than the examples from Aphek and Revadim.

The Tel Burna figurine also depicts a distinctive level of complexity in the center chest and draping locks of hair. In those from Aphek and Revadim, the depiction of the Hathor-styled hair resembles the arms, and two thick locks of hair end in a split, which points outward at the twins on either side. The Aphek and Revadim figures depict jewelry or pendants in the form of two short horizontal bands with a crescent shape just below.

A possible parallel figurine comes from Iron I Ashkelon, with a vertical chest decoration between the woman's locks of hair (Press 2012: 76). The fragmentary Ashkelon example includes an ibex decoration above the woman's left breast, which is identical to the ibex decoration on the thighs of the Tel Harasim and Revadim Quarry specimens. Press notes that the few Iron I plaque figurines from Ashkelon are probably residual from the LBIIB, which would be similar to the Tel Burna example and the other confirmed Revadim type figurines (2012: 197). Similar decorations appear on the thighs of the Tel Harasim and Revadim Quarry examples.

The figurine from Tel Burna follows the same tradition as these three examples, yet it exhibits a sub-class of its own in the depiction of the twins and the more realistic profile. The apparent stylistic differences of the Revadim-type figurines from Aphek, Tel Harasim, and Tel Burna dating to the second half of the 13th century can be explained as regionally distinctive features.

Nude Female Plaque Figurine

The second nude female figurine depicts a woman with a short cropped and braided hair style and some type of flat headdress. The neck is elongated with a rounded adornment, which is comparable to a nearby parallel from Tel es-Safi/Gath (Maeir

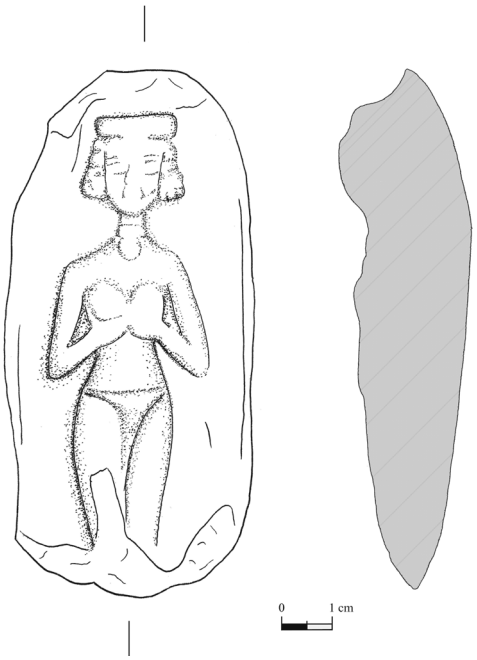

Fig. 4. Nude female plaque figurine.

2003). The feet and a fragment from the top of the plaque are missing, but the complete figurine was probably around 10 × 5 cm. It is made of a light brown-gray clay with a dark core. The back is convex with a light slip.

Nude female plaque figurines are common in the Late Bronze Age Levant, and this nearly complete example portrays a typical mixture of northern and southern Levantine iconographies (Fig. 4). Depictions of nude women holding their breasts are found on both reliefs and figurines of the Late Bronze Age southern Levant (Pritchard 1943: 40–97; Winter 1983: 103–110). The position of the hands on the breasts points towards local or Mesopotamian origin. Nearly identical figurines were discovered at Tell es-Safi/Gath (Maeir 2003) and Tel Harasim (Givon 2002: fig. 2.2). As noted by Maeir (2003: 202), this type of figurine is rare in the southern Levant, but it is quite common in the northern Levant (Conrad 1985; Maeir 2003: 201–202). While Conrad explained the presence of such a figurine in Akko as a by-product of commercial activity, Maeir suggested that it may reflect the northern ethnicity of some of the population of Akko and Tell es-Safi/Gath, which is reinforced by the names of the rulers of those cities in the Amarna archive (Maeir 2003: 202). Depictions of a nude woman holding her breasts are more common in the Levant and Mesopotamia than Egypt (Holland 1974: 133). Egyptian Qudshu type figurines portray a nude female with Hathor style hair holding snakes and/or lotus flowers, and in Egypt the Qudshu figurine depicted the goddess, but it is unclear whether or not a local southern Levantine audience would adopt any

association with the Egyptian cult or a more locally popular divinity like Astarte (Budin 2015: 325–8; Ziffer et al. 2009). The faunal and material remains at nearby Lachish show an increasing emulation of Egyptian culture traits by the local Canaanite elite, which included the intersection of foodways and cultic practices (Koch 2014). Some local Canaanites in this region may have also adopted a connection between this figurine type and Egyptian style Qudshu figurines.

In addition to Egyptianized Lachish (Kletter 2004: 1577. Tufnell 1958: 90), similar figurines have also been found at Tell Beit Mirsim (Albright 1939), Gezer (Holland 1974; Macalister 1912: 412), Aphek (Guzowska and Yasur-Landau 2009), Megiddo (Guy 1938: Pl. 89.11), and the interesting northern style example of Tel es-Safi/Gath noted above (Maeir 2003). This seemingly popular figurine type generally disappears at the beginning of the Iron Age, although some later examples have been found nearby at Tel Zeror (Ohata 1970: Pl. 47.3), Ashdod (Dothan and Freedman 1967: Fig. 35.4), and a fragmentary example from the early Iron Age at Khirbet Summeily (Hallote 2014).

A Mycenaean Zoomorphic Figurine

The head of a relatively rare Mycenaean style zoomorphic figurine depicting either a bull or an ox was found (Fig. 5). A white slip background is painted with stylized black rib lines, which would have extended out from the back of the animal's torso to where they are presently visible on what remains of the head. The tips of the horns are broken but would have measured about 3 cm from the tip of one horn to the other. The head is molded without any incised or painted features such as eyes or nostrils, which are absent in this class of stylized Mycenaean zoomorphic figurines.

Two complete examples of this figurine type have been found in Israel. One comes from Late Bronze II Tel Abu Hawam, with the head and upper torso preserved (Hamilton 1935: 54, 318). In French's corpus of Mycenaean figurines, this example appears in her 'Spine 2' type, dating to the Late Helladic IIIA/B. Comparative examples exist from Cyprus, Mycenae and Minet El Beida (1971: 157; Tzonou-Herbst 2012: 213). The more recent classification by Tzonou-Herbst dates the Spine 2 zoomorphic figurines to the middle to late LHIIIB (2002: 37). The LBIIB anchorage at Tel Abu Hawam revealed a number of other Mycenaean style imports, and neutron activation analysis revealed that some were manufactured on Cyprus (Artzy 2013: 14). The function of these Mycenaean figurines remains a matter of debate, and theories about their use range from children's toys to cultic worship. These zoomorphic figurines have been found among a broad cross-section of Mycenaean, Cypriot, and Levantine cultures, and they may have had more than one meaning or function.

The three largest assemblages of Late Bronze Age Mycenaean imports in Israel come from Tel Abu Hawam, Hazor, and Tel Dan (Zuckerman 2010:

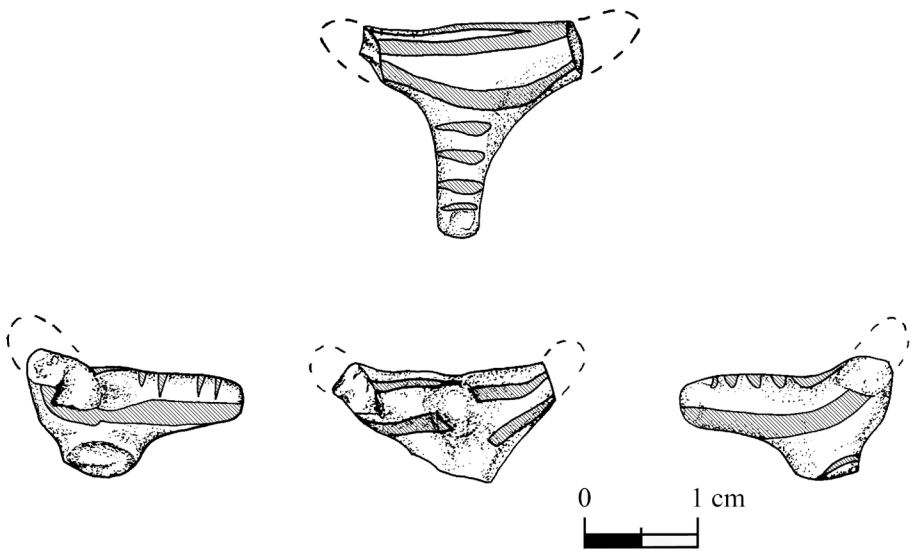

Fig. 5. Mycenaean zoomorphic figurine.

410). The second example of this zoomorphic figurine type was found at Tel Dan in a paved courtyard. This Mycenaean style zoomorphic figurine with only the hindquarters are preserved was found in Phase VII (Biran 1994: 119). Biran suggested some sort of ritual setting for the figurine where it was found (Biran 1994: 120). This is the same courtyard where the unique 'Dancer from Dan' plaque figurine was recovered (Biran 2003: 128). The presence of a paved courtyard with a cultic function recalls the paved portion of SS6 in Tel Burna Area B1. We await final publication of Tel Dan's Late Bronze Age excavation to allow for a better comparison of the imported, local, and cultic assemblages in the religious context of Tel Dan and Area B1 at Tel Burna.

Head of an Equine Figurine

The Tel Burna courtyard contained the unique head of an equine figurine. The head is molded with incised features for the eyes, nostrils, and ears. Unlike a few fragments of Cypriot zoomorphic vessels in Area B1, this horse head appears to come from a solid figurine rather than a hollow vessel. The clay is light brown with small gray inclusions.

Horse or horse-and-rider figurines are by far the most common zoomorphic figurine type in the vicinity of Philistia during the Iron Age, but they are much less common in the Bronze Age (Press 2012: 186). The nearest Late Bronze

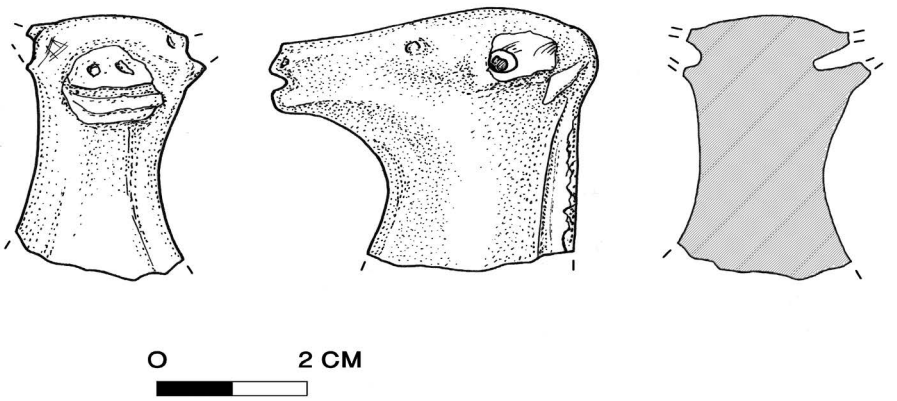

Fig. 5. Head of an equine figurine.

Age parallel comes from a domestic context at Lachish, Area S, Level VIIa (Kletter 2004: 1576). Though similar in outward form, the Lachish example is hollow and may have been the zoomorphic portion of a rhyton, which are common in Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Kletter 2004: 1581; Yon 1997: 51–53). A somewhat degraded example comes from an Iron-I pit in Ashkelon, Grid 38, Phase 18b (Press 2012: 125). Neither equine figurine is complete. Whether a basic zoomorphic figurine, portion of a rhyton, or a solid portion of some other zoomorphic vessel, equine figurines are rare in Late Bronze Age Canaan.

Discussion

The western side of Tel Burna, outside the acropolis, was in plain view of any travelers coming from the coast along Nahal Guvrin. The Tel Burna assemblage certainly reflects a public cultic space rather than a private elite setting. The Revadim-type and nude female plaque figurines have both been found in a variety of contexts, which include elite, non-elite, private, domestic, and public settings. In Canaan, the first candidate for a specific goddess identification would be Astarte, but it is impossible to rule out an association with the Egyptian pantheon owing to their heavy influence in the area, particularly noteworthy at nearby Lachish (Koch 2014).

The southern Levantine syncretism of Mesopotamian and Egyptian influences are distinctive of the Revadim plaque type figurine. Budin states that the Bronze Age Syro-Mesopotamian nude goddess never appears as kourotrophic (child bearing), and indeed these figurines are typically devoid of any maternal connotation (Budin 2015: 318; Stuckey 2003: 136). Budin and others contrast the depiction of a Bronze Age Mesopotamian nude female goddess with the depiction of a mother goddess

as kourotrophic, maternal, and clothed. A similar distinction holds in Egypt where Nut, Astarte, and Qdeset are depicted as nude but never kourotrophic or obviously maternal, while Hathor, Sekhmet, Isis, Mut, and Nekhbet are depicted as clothed and sometimes holding a child (Budin 2011: 38–86). Clearly, the classification of any nude female figurine becomes obtuse when archaeologists assign a figurine to a category based on the dichotomy of 'clothed and kourotrophic' or 'nude and erotic', but the general consensus holds that both Egypt and Mesopotamia had a strong convention 'that goddesses are not to be shown simultaneously as both erotic (nude) and maternal (kourotrophic)' (Badin 2015: 320).

According to Budin's assessment of southern Levantine figurines, 'all kourotrophic iconography derives from the Egyptian potency figurines', which first appear in the 12th Dynasty and continue into the Late Period (2015: 321; Waraksa 2009). Egyptian potency figurines did not depict any specific goddess *per se*, but they do invoke the gods' blessing (Ornan 2007: 225). The Revadim-type figurine represents a unique regional development of the original Egyptian potency figurines, which were first made in Egypt or locally manufactured by Egyptians living in Canaan (Budin 2015: 321). One example from Beth-She'an with a suckling infant bears a striking resemblance to the Revadim plaque type (Rowe 1940: PL. LXVIIIA.4). The kourotrophic figurine may have come to Canaan from Egypt, but the local population soon incorporated Mesopotamian imagery into its iconography for the syncretistic Canaanite cult. The depiction of the sacred tree is extremely common in Egyptian iconography, and has often (and perhaps excessively) been associated with Asherah in the southern Levant, but in the Revadim-type figurine each tree is flanked by a caprid rather than Bes, as is more common in Egypt (Budin 2015: 322). Of course, the tree decoration on the thighs is only on the Aphek and Revadim examples, which preserved the lower torso.

In her comprehensive 2007 iconographic work of the Revadim plaque Ornan concurs with Budin's claim that the Revadim-type does not depict a goddess but is none the less meant to invoke the divine to overcome the danger of child bearing (2007: 223). Ornan draws on Tadmor's study of realistic and non-realistic elements in Canaanite and later Israelite cult. She concluded that the Revadim plaque type is meant to portray a woman pregnant with twins, and the 'anguished' expression on the woman's face in the Revadim example conveys the pain and danger of bearing twins (Ornan 2007: 222; Tadmor 1982). Her study reinforces Beck's original proposition that the Revadim plaque type is a kind of protective talisman (1986). In Ornan's evaluation the figurine is symbolically pregnant with twins rather than breastfeeding them (Ornan 2007: 219). The example from Tel Burna may support this interpretation with its unique depiction of the twins, who do not reach for the breasts with both arms. Ornan's interpretation would also explain why the arms are opening her vulva rather than holding one or both

of the twins, as is shown in a second contemporary example from Beth She'an (Budin 2015: 320; Winter 1983: 57).

The crescent decoration on the Aphek and Revadim figurines probably derives from a Mesopotamian symbol for the moon god, who also ruled over child bearing. Thus, the Revadim plaque type might invoke the protection of this and possibly some other unknown goddess, possibly Astarte, through the depiction of the sacred trees on the thighs (Ornan 2007: 229).

Another option in the possible identification of the anguished nude Revadim-type figurine is that this figurine could be both a goddess with her divine iconography and simultaneously a mortal woman in the pain of childbirth with her anguished expression. The interpretation of a local Canaanite audience could have been variable, and the debate about the mortality or divinity of the woman could be an anachronistic debate, which is more reflective of modern theological trends than ancient ideologies. What is clear is that this figurine from Tel Burna clearly fits in the Late Bronze Age context of Canaanite cultic syncretism under the influence of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and local developments in Canaan. This figurine also represents a unique sub-type of the Revadim plaque figurine, which derives its function from Egyptian potency figurines and its style from both Egyptian and Mesopotamian iconography.

As with the Revadim Quarry figurine, it remains unclear whether or not the depiction is of a goddess, especially in the absence of overtly divine iconography (Budin 2015: 332; Tadmor 1981; 1982; *contra* Dever 2005; Keel and Uehlinger 1998). Pritchard's initial classification of nude female figurines was refined by Tadmor to distinguish between the divine iconography of Egyptian Qudshu icons and those devoid of divine iconography (Pritchard 1943; Tadmor 1995). The exact meaning or function of these figurines remains a matter of debate despite copious amounts of scholarship on their context and iconography, but the predominant theories suggest some are derivative of the Egyptian potency figurines and as well as an association with Astarte for a southern Levantine audience.

The Revadim-type figurine is more complex in its iconography, and the depiction of 'twins' makes it more overtly kourotrophic, but the rare Revadim-type figurine and the common nude female plaque figurine appear to raise many of the same questions about identification. The mixture of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and local traditions is apparent, but the exact manifestation of this syncretism could have taken many forms and may have appeared very different in an elite or non-elite setting. Similarly, heavily Egyptianized practices developed at Lachish over the course of Egyptian domination.

The Mycenaean-style bull figurine anchors the site to the chronology of the wider Mediterranean in the LHIIIB and its trade networks, which were soon after interrupted with decline and collapse over much of the eastern Mediterranean at

the end of the Late Bronze Age. These bull figurines have the largest distribution by far with parallel examples stretching from the southern Levant to mainland Greece. The exact function or meaning of this figurine in a Canaanite context remains unclear, but it certainly carried a foreign and exotic connotation. The equine figurine head remains a unique outlier from Area B1. Though common in the Iron Age, equine figurines are rare in the Late Bronze Age, and the only parallels are fragmentary.

Conclusion

These figurines demonstrate the rich mixture of imported and imitated foreign styles that came to Canaan during the final era of Egyptian dominance in the Judean Shephelah. If we accept a kourotropic interpretation for both the nude female plaque figurine as well as the Revadim-type figurine, then this building at Tel Burna presents an instance where this fertility cult existed. The sheer diversity of votive and zoomorphic Cypriot vessels, numerous cup and saucers, and a host of other smaller items so far recovered demonstrate a variable use for this space.

Continued excavation and final publication will detail all the finds from Area B1, and final analysis will provide a more comprehensive investigation of these figurines and their context. This introduction to the figurines of Area B1 reveals their syncretic religious setting in the southern Levant at the intersection of northern and southern influences, which were appropriated and adapted to a uniquely Canaanite cult.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. Petrographic analysis was conducted by David Ben-Shlomo, the final detailed results will appear in the excavation report.

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A Shrine Model from Tel Rekhesh

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More than fifty years ago a clay shrine model from Tel Rekhesh near Mt. Tabor was found on the site's surface. Although various scholars have discussed this object, no accurate technical drawings or photographs have been published so far. Here, this artefact is presented in detail and placed within its typological and chronological setting.

Introduction

Shrine models are extremely rare, and only seldom found in archaeological excavations. Most have been discovered in or near temples or in rooms with evidence of cultic activity. Various studies have been devoted to this phenomenon, summarizing the known artefacts at the time (Bretschneider 1991; Muller 2001, 2002; Katz 2006). Three major groups can be defined (Fig. 1; Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu 2015: 101–124):

1. Tower-like models with a flat top and four horns, one on each corner. These apparently functioned as altars (see, for example, Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008: 43).
2. Smaller, model buildings carved with small doors, windows and human figures on all four sides. These are indeed miniature structures (see, for example, Kletter et al. 2010).
3. Closed boxes with a single opening in the form of a door. The open side is often plain but rarely elaborately decorated to represent a building façade. Typically, there is a closing device near the opening, indicating that a door did not survive. These objects certainly contained divine symbols, such as clay or metal figurines (Mazar 1980: 82–84; Stager 2008).

Complete decorated models have been found in controlled excavations at several Iron Age sites in Israel (Fig. 2). For example, an elaborate shrine model was found at Tell el-Far'ah North in the courtyard of a house adjoining a piazza at the entrance of the city. Cultic activity took place in this piazza, as attested by the presence of a standing stone (massebah) and a large basin (Chambon 1984: 25, 77–78, Fig. 66).

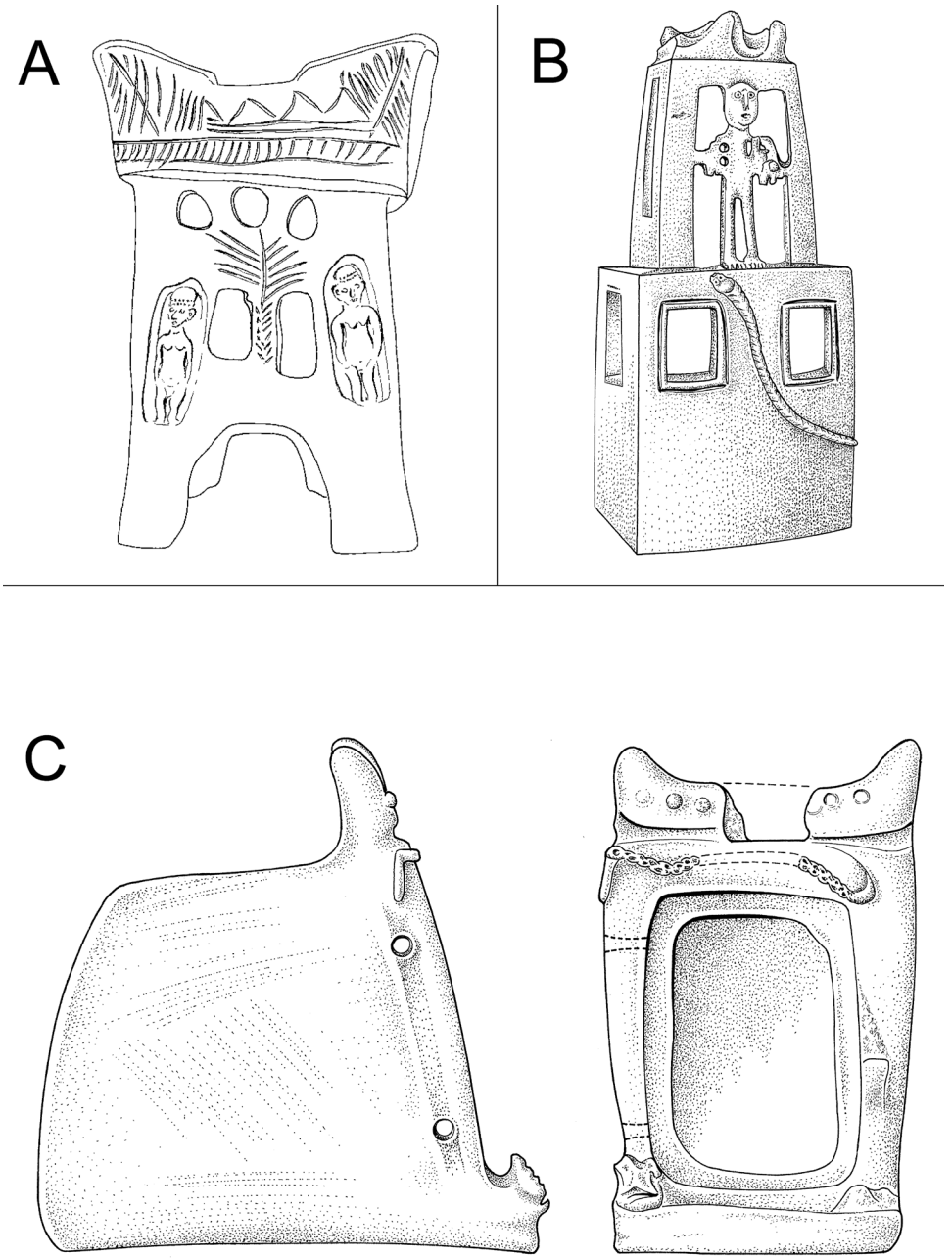


Fig. 1. Typology of the main types of objects commonly designated ‘model shrines’: A. Tower-like altar (Tel Rehov, Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008: 43); B. Model building (Beth-Shean, Rowe 1940); C. Closed box (Tel Rekhesh, Fig. 9 below).

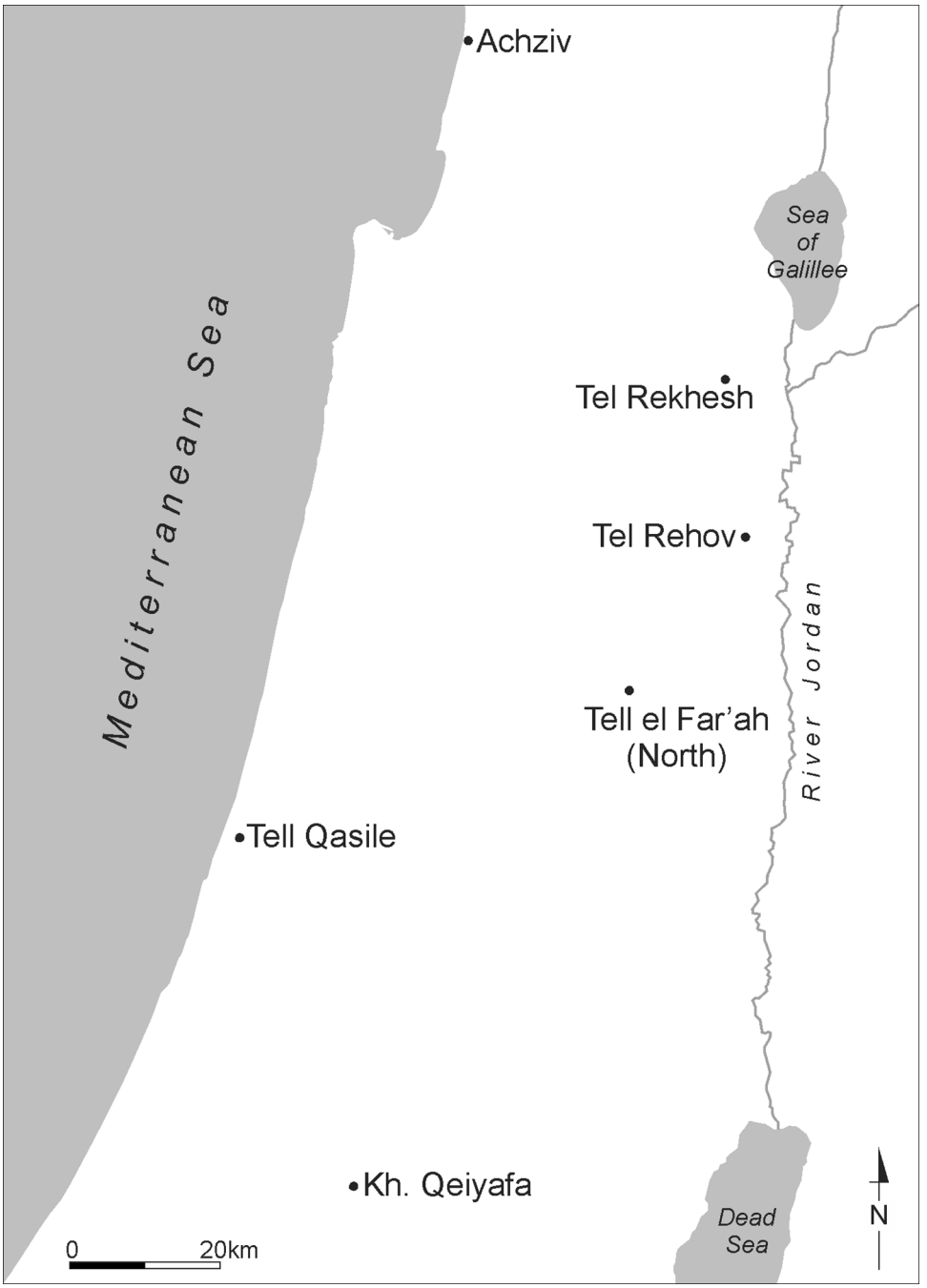


Fig. 2. Map of decorated shrine models in the shape of a closed box from known sites.

At Tell Qasile, three Philistine shrines built one atop another were unearthed. Here, an 11th century BCE cultic *bema* was uncovered, with a clay shrine model found nearby on the floor (Mazar 1980: 82–84). At Tel Rehov in the Beit She'an Valley perhaps in the house of the prophet Elisha, a clay shrine model was discovered. This model was possibly used to hold sacred objects, perhaps cult figurines or other cult objects (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008: 41). Similarly, at Khirbet Qeiyafa in the Valley of Elah, two model shrines were found in a room (Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu 2012). Two other shrine models were found at Achziv and Tel Rekhesh, but not in controlled excavations (Zori 1977: 177; Dayagi-Mendels 2002: 160–163, Fig. 7.25).

The model from Tel Rekhesh discussed here was briefly published many years ago with few illustrations. Taking into account the rarity of this find, this model merits a detailed description, with photographs and technical drawings.

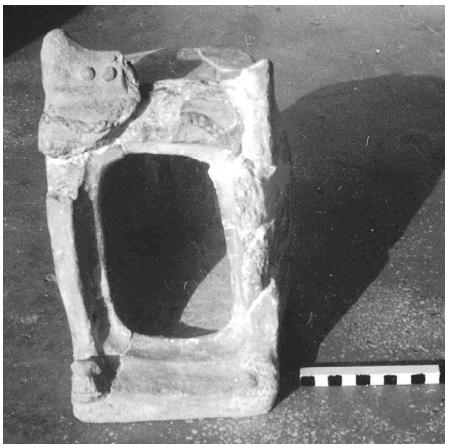
Tel Rekhesh (Tell Mukharkhash) is located in eastern Lower Galilee, on the left bank of Nahal Tabor (Wadi el-Bireh) near Mt. Tabor. The site is oval in shape, c. 4.5 hectares in area, and rises prominently above the stream bed. Aharoni identified the site as the ancient city of Anahartu, mentioned in New Kingdom Egyptian sources, and as biblical Anaharath, mentioned in Josh. 19: 19 (1967).

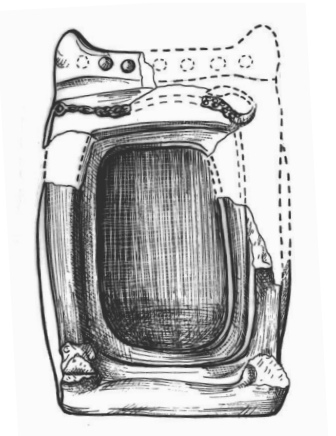
Since 1927, the site has been surveyed several times (Saarisalo 1927; Zori 1977: 116–120, Pls. 31–34; Gal 1981; Joffe 1999; Joffe et al. 1999). In 1998, small-scale excavations were conducted (Joffe 1999; Joffe et al. 1999) and in 2006 Paz began a large excavation project there (Paz et al. 2010).

The site was occupied over an extended period of time, starting from the Early Bronze Age, through the Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Iron Age I, Iron Age II, the Persian and Hellenistic periods (Gal 1981; Paz et al. 2010).

From the archives of the Department of Antiquities (today the Israel Antiquities Authority, IAA), and from various reports and letters deposited at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, including information gathered from scholars, the history of this model can be reconstructed as follows.

The object was found in the early 1960s by a group of schoolchildren who visited the site and 'scraped' the surface. The exact findspot, however, is not known, according to Carmela Arnon, curator of the archaeological museum at Kibbutz Ein Dor. On 12 March 1962 the item was photographed at Kibbutz Ein Dor by N. Zori, the local inspector of the Department of Antiquities (Fig. 3). As can be seen from the photograph, the model had already been reconstructed with added parts made from white plaster. One day later, on 13 March 1962, Zori sent a written report to the Department of Antiquities, describing his visit to Kibbutz Ein Dor and the various antiquities he examined there. He described the shrine model in one short sentence roughly translated as: 'There is a shrine model that was photographed yesterday.'





Figs. 3 and 4. Photograph and drawing of the Tel Rekhesh shrine model. The photo was taken by N. Zori on 12 March 1962 at the local Kibbutz Ein Dor museum. The drawing was made later, in 1966, but never published (both courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

Levi Yizhaq Rahmani, chief curator of the Department of Antiquities, sent a letter dated 31 April 1966 to Kibbutz Ein Dor, mentioning that Claire Epstein, the local Department of Antiquities inspector, took the shrine model from the local museum to Jerusalem. The object was to be registered, reconstructed and sent for exhibit in the Israel Museum for six months, and then it would be sent back to Kibbutz Ein Dor, with Claire Epstein responsible for its publication. In that file we found an unpublished technical drawing of the model with the inventory number 1966.396 (Fig. 4). At this stage the object was further restored and missing parts were filled in with plaster. Yet, these reconstructed details were identical in colour to the original, and consequently it is hard to distinguish them today. The only indications of which parts are authentic can be gleaned from Figs. 3 and 4.

In 1977, fifteen years after its discovery, Zori published the shrine model for the first time in his book describing the survey of the eastern Galilee (1977: 117, Pl. 33: 3–5). He mentioned the model briefly, dating it to the Iron Age I, and suggested that it was made under Phoenician influence.

The model was on display at the Israel Museum for far longer than planned, from 1966 until 2013. In 2014, after 48 years, the model was finally returned to the local museum of Kibbutz Ein Dor, where it is currently exhibited.

According to Katz (2006), fragments of a second shrine model were found at Tel Rekhesh (Israel Antiquities Authority inventory no. 1980–5215). These fragments, however, and their connection to this model, remains an enigma.

Various scholars mention this model, yet no detailed description, reasonable photographs or technical drawings have yet been published (Weinberg 1978; Bretschneider 1991: 237, No. 93; Ward 1996: 13; Zevit 2001: 336–337; Muller 2002: 57, 354, Fig. 156; Katz 2006: 65–66, Pl. 25: 4).

The Tel Rekhesh Shrine Model

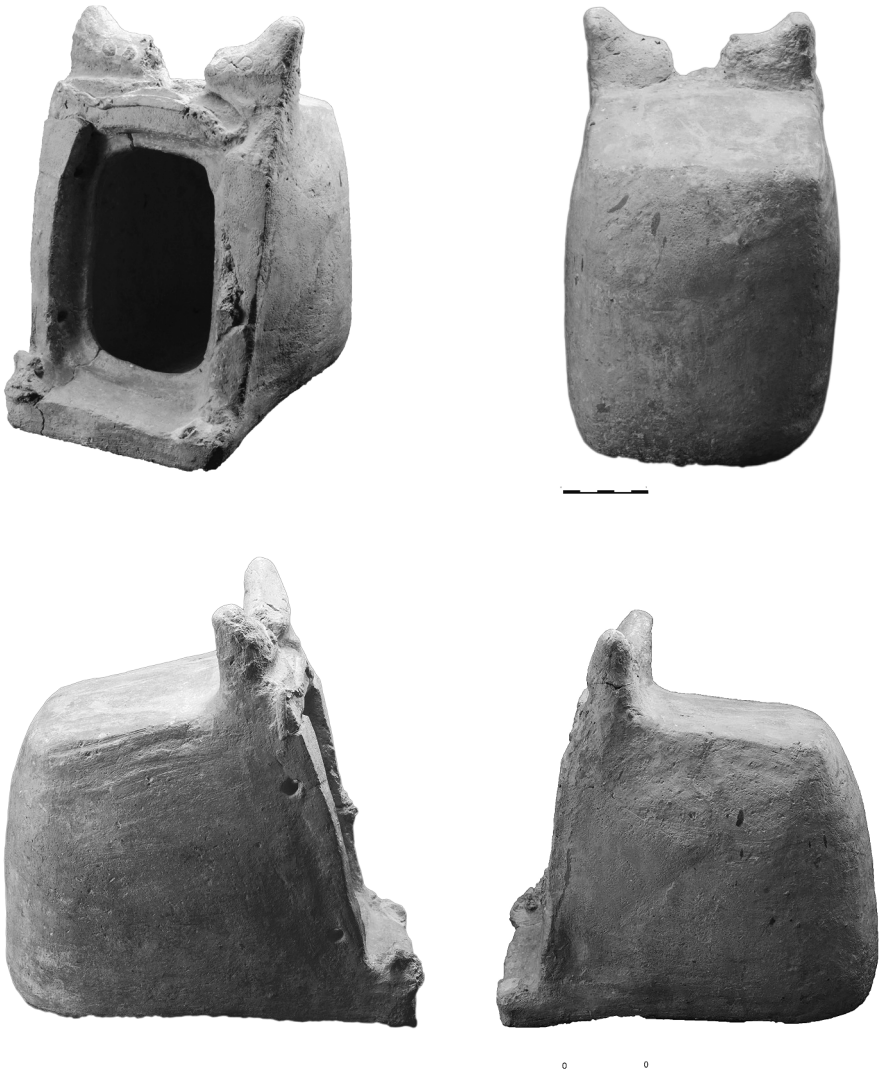
This object is a rectangular box, with a single opening in one narrow end (Figs. 5–10). The front corners are angular and the back corners are rounded. Three sides and the roof are plain, left rather ragged by the potter, while all the design efforts were invested in the entrance façade. The façade's maximum dimensions are 15.5 cm wide and 26.5 cm high. The maximum dimensions of the long sides are 25.3 cm and c.19 cm high. The inner space of the box is about 18 cm wide and 17 cm high (measured from the centre). The item has no handle on its back, resembling in this respect the model shrines of Tel Rehov and Tell el-Far'ah North rather than those uncovered at Ashkelon and Khirbet Qeiyafa.

The façade is tilted diagonally towards the back, as in some others, for example the stone shrine model from Khirbet Qeiyafa. Its base protrudes, creating a flat area in front of the model. Here, there are the remains of two animal figurines. The right one is better preserved and resembles a crouching lion, with its front legs, neck and head visible. The figurine to the left is poorly preserved and only a vague remnant of the body survives.

Beside the opening, there is no obvious decoration. On the left side, there is a protruding scar that might indicate some attached feature. In some shrine models, female figurines were found in this location (Schroer 2007). An alternative explanation might be the remains of a small handle, which helped to affix a door. Above the opening are the remains of an attached ribbon decoration bearing small, dense rounded impressions. This was preserved on the left and right sides; the left end turns to the side of the model and then down for about 3 cm, while the right side turns down and then up. Zori's interpretation of this decoration was that it depicts a snake.

At the level of the roof, there is a narrow depression from left to right. Above this, the front of the roof is emphasized by a thick 'rail'. This decoration is preserved on the left and right sides, while the central section is missing. The rail is decorated with a row of small rounded balls of clay. Two of these balls were preserved on the right side (Fig. 11). Apparently, this is the only authentic part of the upper part of the façade, and all of the left side is a modern reconstruction. Similar bulbs are known on better-preserved models, such as the clay model from Khirbet Qeiyafa.

Today there is a protruding horn at each end of the rail (the left horn may be partly reconstructed). Horns are not known on any other box-shaped shrine models.



Figs. 5–8. The Tel Rekhesh shrine model: view of front, left, back and right sides. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

They are known, however, on tower-like altars like those found at Tel Rehov and at a number of Late Bronze Age sites in Syria (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008: 41; Muller 2002: 30, Fig. 55).

The door is recessed by about 2.5 cm. It is rectangular in shape, with rounded upper and lower corners. It measures c. 13.2 × 8.5 cm. On the right side there

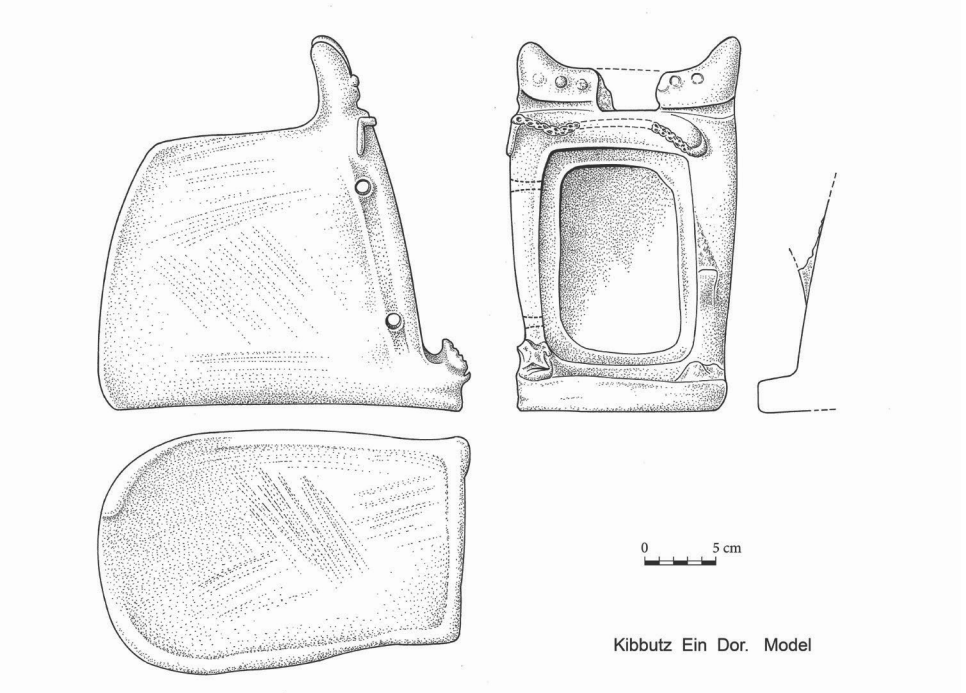


Fig. 9. The Tel Rekhesh shrine model: scale drawing (Courtesy of Olga Dubovsky).

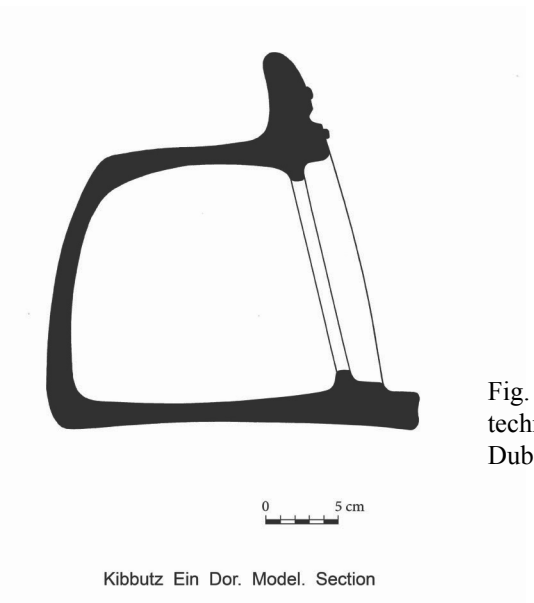


Fig. 10. The Tel Rekhesh shrine model: technical section (Courtesy of Olga Dubovsky).

Fig. 11. The Tel Rekhesh shrine model: close-up view of the left horn and the rounded bulbs of clay (author's photo).

are two rounded holes, c. 0.8–1 cm in diameter, pierced before firing. Such holes beside the opening are known in other shrine models and were used to fix a door. From a technological point of view, the item was hand-made from simple clay. The external colour is light brown and the internal colour is black. The walls are rather thick, 1–2 cm. The outer surface was not well finished and displays traces of scraping, except for the area around the door, which received better treatment and was well smoothed. The potter added plastic decorations: two lions, a ribbon above the door and rounded bulbs. The ribbon was decorated with rounded impressions. It seems that the row of bulbs was made in two stages: in the first stage incisions were made, probably to improve the adherence of the plastic bulbs added in the second stage.

Discussion

Since the shrine model of Tel Rekhesh is a surface find, its date cannot be determined with certainty. Some scholars have suggested an Iron Age I date (Zori 1977; Gal 1981; Zevit 2001; Katz 2006), while others have dated it either to the Iron Age II, the 9th or 8th centuries BCE (Weinberg 1978; Bretschneider 1991; Muller 2002). Since then, a rather similar item (in shape rather than decoration) has been discovered in controlled excavations at Tel Rehov, located about 25 km southeast of Tel Rekhesh (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008: 41). This model was found in a level of the Iron Age IIA, dated to the 9th century BCE. Accordingly, it seems likely that the Tel Rekhesh model is from the Iron Age IIA as well. Shrine models in the shape of a decorated closed box are known from very few Iron Age sites in the northern part of Israel: Tell el-Far'ah North, Tel Rehov and Achziv. The shrine model from Tel Rekhesh thus makes an important contribution to the study of the distribution of these items.

The fact that the item was found on or near the site's surface probably explains the poor state of preservation of the decorative elements. Iconographically, there

were probably two lions, one on each side of the door. It seems that on the left side a large element was attached; based on our knowledge of a few other clay models, it is possible that a female figure was attached here. Above the door and below the roof are the remains of an attached ribbon of clay. This does not seem to be a snake, especially not in this location. It resembles the twisted ribbon of clay in the same position on the Khirbet Qeiyafa clay model. The upper part of the façade was decorated with a horizontal row of rounded clay bulbs.

The unique decorative elements of the Tel Rekhesh shrine model are the two horn-like protruding elements on each side of the façade. Ward (1996: 13) suggested seeing here 'rather rudimentary couchant lion figures facing outwards'. However, close examination of the model does not confirm this possibility. The horns on the roof are reminiscent of the tall altars with one horn on each corner. This model, however, has only two horns on the front corners.

Regarding the possible function of this model, two holes on the right side of the opening indicate that a door did not survive. This model was probably used as a box to hold a divine symbol, certainly a clay or metal figurine, such as the figurines uncovered inside models from Tell Qasile or Ashkelon (Mazar 1980: 82–84; Stager 2008). We hope that the new documentation presented here will enable further study and discussion of this exceptional category of finds.

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank the numerous scholars who assisted us in this study: Carmela Arnon from the Kibbutz Ein Dor museum, Arieh Rochman-Halperin and Silvia Krapiwko from the archive of the Israel Antiquities Authority, and Olga Dubovsky for her skilful drawing of the model.

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Herod The Great, Augustus Caesar and Herod's 'Year 3' Coins

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Various motifs displayed on the series of four coins minted in the name of King Herod and bearing the date-mark 'year 3' and a tau-rho *monogram are re-examined for what they can tell us about their specific date of production. Their themes certainly belong to an iconographic programme reflecting Augustan ideology post-Actium, i.e. after 31 BCE. This strongly suggests that an earlier chronology, including one based on Herod's regnal era beginning either in late 40 BCE or 38/37 BCE should be ruled out. Possible alternative dates for these coins are discussed.*

1. Introduction

Ariel and Fontanille (*CH*: 90–92, 124–126), Mahieu (2012: 366–369, 370–374) and Marshak (2015: 157–162; summarised in Table 1) have recently reviewed the various interpretations for the 'year 3' (LΓ) mint-mark and *tau-rho* () monogram on the only coins of Herod the Great that carry a date. Their proposed minting dates range over four decades, between 40 and 1/2 CE. 'Year 3' must refer to some era of rule. This era is generally believed to commence when the Roman Senate formally appointed Herod king of Judaea by in 40 BCE. 'Year 3' must then have been in 38/37 BCE, perhaps as late as the summer of 37 BCE, when Herod captured Jerusalem from his Hasmonaean rival, Mattathias Antigonus and took absolute control of his realm (*CH*: 90, 97). Year letters also appear on the coins minted in the names of two of his sons, Herod Antipas and Philip, who succeeded parts of his kingdom as tetrarchs (*TJC*: 81–90).[1] Herod's grandson, Agrippa I, and great-grandson, Agrippa II, displayed their regnal years on their coins (*TJC*: 91–101 [Agrippa I], 106–107 [Agrippa II]).[2] For each of these rulers, their coins display several different year-marks, suggesting that these are regnal years. Yet, for Herod the Great, the only year mark on his coins is the 'year 3', always accompanied by the *tau-rho* monogram. How can we be certain this sole year-mark pertains to Herod's regnal era in Judaea?

Inferred date	Event Commemorated	Era Reference Point	Interpretation of Tau-Rho Monogram	Proposer(s)
718 auc = 36 BCE	3rd year of Herod's reign	39 BCE		Eckhel 1828: 486
37 BCE	3rd year of Herod's reign	40 BCE	*Trias* or *trichalkon*	De Saulcy 1854: 128
716 auc = 38 BCE	3rd year of Herod's reign, and the year that he took control of Jerusalem	714 auc = 40 BCE, when Herod was appointed king by Rome	Monogram or *crux ansata*	Cavedoni, 1850: 53–54; 1855: 26
38 BCE or 35 BCE	3rd year of Herod's reign or after the death of Matthias Antigonus	40 BCE, when Herod was appointed king by Rome, or 37 BCE, at the death of Antigonus	A mark of value, *trias* or *trichalkon*	Madden 1864: 84–85; Madden 1881: 108
38/37 BCE	The year Herod gained possession of Jerusalem	40 BCE, when Herod was appointed king by Rome	The signature of *Tigranes*, an officer in charge of Herod's mint	Hunkin 1926
28 BCE, or 25 BCE	Grant of Trachonitis to Herod after the first Actian era), assumed (erroneously) to be 28 BCE, or the third year after that, i.e. 25 BCE.	31 BCE, the reconfirmation of Herod as king of Judaea by Augustus, or 28 BCE, the start of Herod's era as tetrarch of Trachonitis	*Trachonitis*	Narkiss 1934: 9–10
37 BCE	The year Herod took control of Jerusalem from his Hasmonaean rival, Mattathias Antigonus	40 BCE, the year Herod was appointed client king by the Roman Senate	*Trito etei* ('in the third year', in Greek)	Kanael 1951–52: 262–264
37 BCE	Ditto	40 BCE, Herod's appointment by Rome	*Tyros* (Tyre, in Greek) as the minting authority	Meyshan 1959: 112–115
40 BCE	Herod's third year as tetrarch, which coincided with his installation as client king by the Roman Senate.	42 BCE, Herod's appointment as tetrarch by Mark Antony while visiting Syria, based on Jos., *BJ* 1.244; *AJ* 14.324–326.	*Tetrarches* (Tetrarch, in Greek)	Meshorer *AJC*: 9–11; *TJC*: 61–63
39 BCE	Probable date of arrival of Herod in Judaea after his appointment in Rome	Herod's appointment as tetrarch by Mark Antony in Syria in 41 BCE (41/40 BCE, according to Udoh 2006, 109)	Tyre as the minting authority or 'some person with the initials TP'	Richardson 1996: 211–213
37 BCE	The year Herod gained possession of Jerusalem	40 BCE, Herod's appointment by Rome	Mint-mark denoting Herodian authority	Kokkinos 1998: 130–131; 136
20 BCE, or 15 BCE	Visits by Augustus to Syria (20 BCE) or by Marcus Agrippa to Judaea (15 BCE)	The tribunician power awarded to Augustus in 23 BCE and to Marcus Agrippa in 18 BCE	*Tribunicia Potestas* (in Latin)	Magness 2001: 169–170
27 BCE	Foundation of Sebaste at Samaria	30 BCE, reconfirmation of Herod as king of Judaea by Octavian	Initials of the mint-master	Marshak 2006: 230–235; Marshak 2015: 161–162 and n. 28.
38/37 BCE	The year Herod gained possession of Jerusalem	40 BCE, Herod's appointment by Rome	Symbol of the magistrate responsible for the coin issue	Ariel and Fontanille *CH*: 92; 126
1 CE	Celebration of Varus' victories in Judaea	2 BCE, Augustus' proclamation as *Pater Patriae*	The monogram is *PT*, and stands for *Pater Patriae*	Mahieu 2012: 375–394

Table 1: Interpretations of LΓ = 'year 3' and interpretation of the *tau-rho* () monogram.

Rather than attempting to arrive at the correct minting date by interpreting the *tau-rho* monogram, a route which has proved indecisive, in this study a *terminus post quem* for these 'year 3' coins will be deduced from the coin motifs.

2. The Coin Motifs

The coin motifs will be examined to establish their historical context. Examples of the four dated coins are illustrated in Figs. 1–4 (for the respective denominations and their fractional system, see Jacobson 2014). Note that the third coin in the series lacks a monogram and date-mark on its reverse (*CH*, type 3, with reverse R2 [pl. 32]). The smallest coin is similar (*CH*, type 4, R3 [pl. 33]).

2.1 *Pilos* (cap) of a dioscurus on a couch, flanked by 2 palm branches

The motif on the obverse of this coin is unique and there is no consensus among scholars of its meaning (Fig. 1). By the mid-19th century, two contradictory interpretations had gained currency. Nearly 150 years ago, in his landmark study of ancient Jewish coins, Madden (1864: 83–84) noted that some scholars viewed the object depicted as a helmet with cheek pieces, while others, as a vessel comprising a stand and a bell-shaped cover. Later, Wiegand (1912: 27, 79) specifically classified the vessel as an incense burner (*thymiaterion*). This idea was accepted throughout the twentieth century by among others, Watzinger (1935: 24, n.1), Kanael (1963: 48) and Kindler (1974: 29), who expected to find motifs related to the Jerusalem Temple cult or to Judaism on Herod's coins. Yet, this motif is far from the tall and relatively thin *thymiateria* illustrated in Wiegand's Plate IV. Ariel and Fontanille (*CH*: 43–45, 107–109) have highlighted the divergence of opinions on the iconography on this side of the coin (*TJC*: 221, no. 44).

Madden later revised his opinion in favour of a helmet with cheek-pieces (idem 1881: 107), and nowadays most scholars favour some sort of headgear, broadly semi-circular in outline surmounted by a rayed star, or star-like decoration, and flanked by a pair of palm branches. Meshorer thought that it represented an apex, the ceremonial mitre worn by Roman flamines and augurs (*AJC* 2: 18–20; *TJC*: 64). Meshorer's ideas were coloured by his belief that Herod's coinage was heavily influenced by Roman Republican coin types. Nonetheless, his interpretation is unconvincing because this motif bears little true resemblance to the tall, sacerdotal Roman apex (Jacobson 1986: 146, n. 3; *CH*: 44, 107). Meshorer wrote that he was unsure of the attribution, since he also refered to this motif as a 'helmet with cheek pieces, and a star on top' (*AJC* 2: 235).

Hendin (1990–1991; 1998), Brenner (2000; 2001), and Ariel and Fontanille (*CH*: 43, 107–109) have maintained that the motif shown on the reverse of Herod's largest coin should be seen as a military helmet. Brenner interpreted the 'star-like

Fig. 1. Herod the Great (37–4 BCE). Æ octochalkon (23 mm, 7.1 gm). *Pilos* surmounted by a star (emblematic of a dioscurus) on a couch and flanked by pair of palm branches with fillets (ribbons) tied at their tips / Tripod with bowl (*lebes*) and contents alight; date-mark LΓ = 'Year 3' to the left, ☩ monogram to the right, in the field. Inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ('of King Herod'). *CH*, type 1, dies: O unpublished / R39; *RPC* 1.1: no. 490; *TJC*: no. 44. Private collection, with permission.

Fig. 2. Herod the Great. Æ tetrachalkon (22 mm, 4.99 gm). Ornamented Macedonian-type shield / Crested helmet in profile with a trace of a fillet band above the brim; date LΓ = 'year 3' to the left, ☩ monogram to the right; inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. *CH*, type 2, dies O1/R2; *RPC* 1.1: no. 4902; *TJC*: no. 45a. Private collection, with permission.

Fig. 3. Herod the Great. Æ dichalkon (19 mm, 3.49 gm). Poppy-head on a stalk, flanked by ribbons (fillet bands) / winged caduceus; inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. *CH*, type 3, dies O3/R2; *RPC* 1.1: no. 4903; *TJC*: no. 46a; subtype with no date and monogram. Private collection, with permission.

Fig. 4. Herod the Great. Æ 1 chalkon or 1½ chalkoi (14 mm, 2.83 gm). Filleted palm branch / aplustre (aphlaston); date LΓ = 'year 3' to the left, ☩ monogram to the right; inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. *CH*, type 4; dies O1/R1; *RPC* 1.1: no. 4904; *TJC*: no. 47. Private collection, with permission.

object' on top of the helmet as a crest decoration, suggesting that the vertical, downward pointing ray is much longer than the others and joins the tip of the helmet, indicating that it was an attached piece. Although he only referred to a six-rayed 'star', some versions of this coin type depict the star with eight rays, certainly intended as a cosmic symbol rather than a mere decorative device. Brenner viewed the lower part of the design to be an integral part of the helmet, comprising the brim ridge, cheek pieces and straps (Brenner 2001: 212). Then he revealed his bias in the matter, claiming that Herod's normal 'numismatic practice' was not to represent symbols of pagan deities on his coins (cf. Jacobson 1986: 159–165; *AJC* 2: 18–22). It is precisely the point that Herod launched a new series of images on Judaean coins, many drawn from the repertoire of well-known polytheistic symbols, which fits with what we know about the man and his outlook (Kokkinos 1998: 122).

Ariel and Fontanille also diminish the Graeco-Roman character of the motifs on Herod's coins to the extent that in their concluding remarks they emphasise that: 'We have proposed that inoffensiveness was an underlying principle in the selection of Herodian types' (*CH*: 188). While accepting the motif on the obverse as a helmet (*CH*: 43–45), they are prepared to entertain the possibility that the lower feature represents a separate element, namely a couch (*CH*: 109).[3] What remains is a *pilos* topped by a star. Yet, they are reluctant to identify this with a Dioscuri attribute, preferring instead to see it as a representation of Herod's personal helmet, a view with which Lorber concurs (*CH*: 108–109; Lorber 2013: 133–137). Conceivably, this does not have to be an either/or situation, because one cannot exclude the possibility that Herod chose a helmet modelled on a Dioscuri *pilos* to project a heroic image, just as Augustus modelled himself on his real-life hero, Alexander the Great (see below). Lorber has followed Brenner in regarding the lower section of the motif as an integral part of the head-gear, although she, like Brenner before her, was unable to cite another example from antiquity with 'a

substructure comparable to that seen on Herod's module 1 [i.e. his largest coin]' (idem: 126, n. 3). Both seem to brush aside the point made strongly by Madden (1864: 84) that 'the *upper part* of the object is severed from the *lower*'.

Narkiss (1932: 210) was the first scholar to drawn a connection between the upper part of the design on this coin and the characteristic conical cap surmounted by a star, worn by the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, as they are commonly represented in ancient classical art. Narkiss was followed by Vincent (1936: 221–222) and later by Wirgin (1960; 1961: 153–154). Wirgin suggested that the use of the Dioscuri motif referred to Herod's messianic pretensions. The same idea was developed and discussed at some length by Schalit (1969: 450–461). In a more detailed analysis, Jacobson showed how the dominant motif on the obverse is meant to portray a Dioscuri cap (1986: 147–148), an idea supported by the pair of palm branches, another important attribute of the Dioscuri in classical iconography, as Narkiss had first pointed out (1932: 211). Indeed, palm branches are frequently included in representations of the Dioscuri, or their *piloi*, on Greek and Roman coins.[4] On several versions of this coin type, including the one illustrated in Fig. 1, the palm branches are shown with ribbons tied to their tips, an unambiguous victory symbol in classical iconography.

A Dioscuri *pilos* and palm branches can only account for the upper part of the design; however it still leaves the separate, lower features to be explained. I have suggested that the horizontal element below the *pilos* is a couch (Jacobson 1986: 148–149), in which case we might have here a *theoxenia* (literally 'god entertaining' in Greek), a feast in honour of gods (Jacobson 1986: 155–156; 2001b: 100; Kearns 2012). At this ritual meal the celebrants dined together in the presence of images of divinities or their attributes mounted on a dining couch, to represent their participation. The Romans practiced a similar ritual, greatly influenced by the Greek *theoxenia*, and called a *lectisternium* in Latin (Linderski 2012). This characteristic rite was particularly associated with the cult of the Dioscuri, as we know from classical literature, painting and sculpture (Parker 2012; Hermary 1986: 576–577, nos. 110–119; Jacobson 1986: 155–156). A *theoxenia* also appears on at least one coin type and there are other coins showing emblems of Greco-Roman deities, including *piloi* of the Dioscuri, mounted on seats of various kinds (Jacobson 1986: 154–156). This identification of the motif on Herod's largest coin has since received wider recognition (Mahieu 2012: 363–364, 381; Marshak 2006: 214; *RPC* 1.1: 678).

The Dioscuri, as archetypal heroes of classical mythology, could represent an act of homage to Herod, whose Greek name, Herodes means 'reflecting heroism.'[5] The presence of a single *pilos* on this coin rather than a pair of caps makes this possibility far more likely. Perhaps Herod, not wishing to breach the Jewish taboo on human representation by putting his portrait on his coins, would have sought to present himself through well-chosen symbols.

The discovery on some coin specimens of a leaf or wreath-like decoration on the bowl of the headpiece, first pointed out by Hendin (1990–91), is perfectly consistent with a Dioscuri *pilos*. Lorber (2013: 126–127; 135) sees considerable significance in the resemblance of the rather crudely executed heart shaped leaves on this coin to ivy and then claims it demonstrates Herod's 'affiliation or assimilation to Dionysus.' Lorber appropriately notes that an ivy wreath also featured on the largest bronze coin of Herod's Hasmonean rival, Mattathias Antigonus, where it is surrounded by the Greek legend ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (*TJC*, no. 36; Lorber 2013: 136–137). Furthermore, at Samaria, representations of Dioscuri *piloi* encircled by olive or laurel wreaths were carved on a pair of stone panels and probably date from Herod's reign.[6] It is out of character for this Hasmonaean king to wish to associate his kingship with Dionysus, the Greek god of wine and ecstasy: there is not even a glimmer of interest in this deity by Hasmonaean monarchs or their partisans, indicated in ancient Jewish literature, including the Books of the Maccabees and the writings of Josephus. Therefore, the possibility that the representation of ivy in this wreath and the one on the Dioscuri *pilos* on Herod's coin is either incidental[7] or, alternatively, if those responsible for manufacturing these coins were gentile, it could reflect a view which was prevalent among Romans and presumably Greeks as well that Jews were devotees of Dionysus/Bacchus, on account of the prominence given to the vine in their Temple and liturgy (Jacobson 2007b; Hendin 2015, 429–430).

2.2. Tripod and bowl *(lebes)*

The tripod with a bowl (*lebes*) undoubtedly refers to the cult of Apollo (Jacobson 1986: 160–161; 2001b: 102) and this cultic appurtenance is frequently displayed on coins of the Seleucid monarchs, sometimes alone but more often with an image of Apollo shown either alongside, or on the reverse side of the coin. In some of Herod's subtypes of this coin, the bowl is shown lit, with flames represented schematically; (Fig. 1 reverse).

Herod's link to Apollo is known from his sponsorship of the rebuilding of Apollo's temple in Rhodes after it had been gutted by fire (Jos., *BJ* 1.424; *AJ* 16.147).[8] This act of benefaction may be explained by Herod's desire to please his patron Octavian/Augustus Caesar. It is likely to have taken place in the wake of Octavian's adoption of the cult of Apollo after about 36 BCE (Hekster and Rich 2006: 161), and probably as late as 30 BCE when Herod met with the Roman emperor in Rhodes, to win his confidence.[9]

The god Apollo was credited with aiding Octavian at the fateful battle of Actium, in which he defeated the combined navies of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII on 2 September, 31 BCE (Virgil, *Aen*. 8.704–6; Prop. 4.6). A temple to Apollo was built adjacent to Octavian's own house on the Palatine. A story that

Fig. 5. Octavian and Zenodorus, tetrarch of the Ituraean principality. SE 286 = 27/26 BCE. Æ 21 mm, 5.13 gm. Bare head of Octavian right NE ΖΠΣ ('NE [year] 286')/ ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟ[Υ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ] ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΗΡΕΩΣ ('of Zenodorus, tetrarch and high priest'), bare head of Zenodorus left. Herman 2006, type 17 var.; *RPC* 1.1, no. 4775 var. CNG Auction 111 (5 March, 2005), lot 100. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

circulated widely in Rome told of Octavian's mother, like that of Alexander the Great, having been impregnated by Apollo in the guise of a snake. A statue of Apollo in the Palatine library reputedly bore the physical features of Augustus. Among the gold offerings that Augustus made to this temple were tripods, which were reproduced on everyday objects such as pottery and on wall paintings.[10]

2.3 The linked images on Herod's largest coin

What appear at first sight to be two unconnected motifs on this coin now dovetail rather well. With this in mind, these motifs represent Herod on the one hand and Augustus on the other symbolically, in place of portraits.[11] More specifically the shared theme is one of homage to each ruler, in one case denoted by the Dioscuri *pilos* mounted on a couch honouring Herod the hero and a tripod-*lebes*, often with a lit offering, in veneration of Apollo-Augustus. A direct parallel may be found in the coinage of the neighbouring Ituraean client principality, which did not proscribe human images.

These coins were issued by Zenodorus, the third and last of three native rulers (31/30 - 20 BCE), styled tetrarchs, known to have ruled Ituraean territory comprising the inland areas of Lebanon and adjacent south-western corner of Syria (Wright 2013: 62, 66–69; Myres 2010: 166–167). Like the Hasmonaeans, the Ituraean tetrarchs were rulers and high priests, as affirmed on their coins. Zenodorus, appointed to govern Ituraea after Actium, minted several coin types (Herman 2006: 69–72 and pls. 8–9). His largest coins bear the portraits of Octavian/Augustus and Zenodorus on alternate sides[12] (Fig. 5).

Lorber (2013: 138, 146–149) also considers the motifs on the two sides of Herod's largest coin to be directly linked. She reads them as a pairing of contrasting deities, Dionysus and Apollo. If that were actually the case, one might expect

Fig. 6. Macedon, Philip V (221–179 BCE). Æ 12 mm, 1.58 g. Struck circa 186–183/2 BCE. Macedonian shield / crested helmet right. Inscription: [B] A (abbreviation for 'King Alexander') and Ψ below. Mamroth 1935, no. 17, *SNG Alpha Bank* 1102, *SNG Copenhagen*, Macedonia 3, no. 1253. Private collection, with permission.

to see a popular Dionysian symbol as the major motif, such as a *thrysos* (pine-cone-tipped staff), grape-vine, *kantharos* (a large two-handled drinking cup) or ivy wreath to match the tripod-*lebes* standing on its own for Apollo. Lorber's ivy wreath is a minor element in the overall motif and only appears to be visible in about half the 31 dies illustrated in *CH*: pls. 4–29.[13] In the example illustrated in Fig. 1, this detail appears to be replaced by a wing, more appropriate to the Dioscuri as mediators between the gods and mortals. As with the choice of ivy-shaped leaves, this feature too may be simply artistic licence by die engravers. Lorber's interpretation is unconvincing.

2.4. Macedonian shield; crested helmet in profile

Images of a shield and helmet on this second largest of Herod's 'year 3' coins refer to military prowess and success in battle. Herod was not the first Judaean ruler to depict these symbols as one of his Hasmonaean predecessors, John Hyrcanus I (135–104 BCE) (Jacobson 2013b).

The author has identified the specific bronze issue used as the likely prototype for this Herodian coin as a small bronze struck in the name of Alexander the Great but actually minted by Philip V of Macedon; (Fig. 6).[14] Although the Macedonian coin-type was minted about a century and a half before Herod, it was certainly known to Herod. Macedonian bronzes circulated widely and continued to be used as currency (Price 1991: 1, 66). Coin hoards indicate that pieces struck by Alexander the Great were still in use two centuries later.[15] Five examples of this particular Macedonian coin type were present in a small hoard found in Israel, albeit dating from the Hellenistic period (Kindler 1989: 320 and 328, nos. 112–116).

Like his contemporaries, Augustus included, Herod expressed his affinity with Alexander the Great and the Macedonian legacy, by naming his eldest son by Mariamme I, Alexander, and another son Philip. Herod certainly would have sought some kudos by modelling one of his coin types on an issue that was believed to derive from the near-legendary hero, who was greatly admired and emulated by Hellenistic and Roman rulers.

A coin of Herod alluding to Alexander the Great would have been congenial to Augustus, for there is documented evidence that Augustus consistently held up Alexander the Great as his principal role model.[16] More than a decade before the Battle of Actium, in 43 BCE, Cicero compared Octavian, the future Augustus, to Alexander the Great (Cic., *Phil*. 3.14; 5.28, 44, 48; 13.25). In the heart of the forum, he had two great paintings by Alexander the Great's court painter, Apelles, prominently displayed. One depicted Alexander the Great, accompanied by Castor and Pollux, with an allegory of Victory, and the other showed Alexander riding in triumph in his chariot, with a figure of War with hands tied (Pliny, *HN* 35.27; 93–94; cf. Serv., *Ad. Aen*. 1.294; cf. Croisille 1985: 148, §27, 2; 205, §93, 8; §94, 1). Two of the supports of Alexander's tent were set up in front of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the same forum (Pliny, *HN* 34.48). It was said that Octavian's decision to pardon Alexandria after his forces entered the city was due to his admiration for its founder (Plut., *Ant*. 80.1; Dio 51.16.4). He went on to visit and pay his respects to Alexander's mummified body. Another example would be Octavian's use of a signet ring bearing an intaglio image of Alexander (Pliny, *HN* 37.10; Suet., *Aug*. 50).

Although the *clipeus virtutis*, the golden shield inscribed with Augustus' virtues and presented to him by the Senate in 27 BCE does not look similar to the Macedonian shield on this denomination of the 'year 3' series, other than the fact that both were round, there may be a symbolic connection between the two shields (Magness 2001: 168). What is more likely is that by issuing an Alexander-type coin, Herod was laying stress on a paragon of kingship that he shared with his imperial patron.

In some subtypes of this denomination, Ariel and Fontanille (*CH*: 45 and pl. 30) have discerned a fillet band, usually denoting a royal diadem, behind the crested helmet. This would imply that the helmet was intended to be seen as that of King Herod. Part of this fillet band is present in the example shown in Fig. 2, extending from lower right-hand side of the helmet bowl. These authors wrote that the military themes on this denomination celebrate a military victory, which they believe to be Herod's success over his Hasmonaean rival, Antigonus in 37 BCE (*CH*: 110–111). Yet, the possibility that this helmet was meant to be Herod's would weaken the prospect that the rather different headgear on Herod's largest coin should be identified as Herod's personal helmet, mooted by Ariel and Fontanille and repeated by Lorber (see above).

2.5 Poppy-head with fillet bands; winged caduceus (*kerykeion*)

Meshorer connected the presence of the poppy-head (or poppy capsule) on this coin with the cult of Demeter (Ceres) and her daughter Kore (Persephone) (*AJC* 2: 19–22; *TJC*: 64–65), which was practiced at Samaria-Sebaste, the place where

he believed the dated coins of Herod were minted (Fig. 3).[17] On Greek and Roman coins, the poppy often appears together with ears of wheat or barley, signifying fecundity—associated with the goddess Demeter (Ceres).[18] Both became conspicuous symbols of the *Aetas Aurea* of the *Pax Augusta*, and are depicted as such on the so-called Tellus panel, displaying a scene of fertility and prosperity on the Ara Pacis Augustae (Mlasowsky 2010: 60–61), which was commissioned in 13 BCE. Although the Ara Pacis postdates the coin in question, the sentiment that a 'Golden Age' had returned pervaded Rome following the final defeat of Antony and Cleopatra in 30 BCE and this mood is reflected in the poetry of the Augustan poets, particularly Vergil and Horace. Vergil in the *Aeneid* (composed in the years 29–19 BCE) speaks of Augustus 'who shall again set up the Golden Age amid the fields where Saturn once reigned' (Verg., *Aen*. 6.792–794). Horace acknowledges in his Carmen Saeculare (written in 17 BCE) that 'already … blessed Plenty with her full horn is seen' (Hor., *Carm. saec*. 57–60). Even a decade earlier, the very same sentiment is encountered in iconic form on silver cistophori of Pergamum and Ephesus, some portraying six ears of corn and others a Capricorn, the birth sign of Augustus, supporting a cornucopia on its back (*RPC* 1.1: nos. 2208–2209, 2213–2214; Galinsky 1996: 115).

The caduceus is the distinctive emblem of Hermes/Mercury and appears frequently on Greek-Hellenistic and Roman coins alike.[19] Occasionally the figure of the deity appears on the alternate side of the coin. The caduceus is either shown with wings or without. The Romans assigned the caduceus of Mercury to personify virtuous qualities that the deity embodied. These particularly included Felicitas, the personification of good luck and enduring success—financial and otherwise. The use of this symbol on Herod's coins may be influenced by the promotion of the cult of Mercury at Rome and efforts to project the emperor Augustus as the embodiment of the messenger god (Combet Farnoux 1980: 433–471; 1981: 457–501). More likely, though, it refers to the boost to commerce resulting from the onset of peace, the *Pax Augusta* that materialised after the conclusion of the civil wars, with the demise of Antony and Cleopatra.

Just as the caduceus, the potent symbol of Mercury, became linked to Felicitas, on account of their shared attributes as bringers of good fortune so, too, Roman representations of Pax, Concordia and Ceres on Roman coins are sometimes accompanied by a caduceus. As Spaeth has observed, 'Pax represents an end to war; Concordia, harmony among the people of the Empire; and Ceres fertility nourished by Peace' (idem 1994: 93–94). This blending and blurring of attributes of Pax and Ceres is reflected in the Augustan poetry of Tibullus and Ovid (idem 1994: 91).[20] It is noteworthy that the state of harmony characterised by the merging of divine duties and attributions is credited, particularly by Ovid and Horace, to a peace-making leader, in this case Caesar (Octavian), at the helm.[21] The reverse of a cistophorus

Fig. 7. Octavian, c. 28 BCE. AR cistophorus (27 mm, 11.87 gm). Laureate head of Octavian; surrounding inscription: IMP CAESAR • DIVI • F COS VI • LIBERTATIS P • R • VINDEX • ('Imperator Caesar, son of god [Julius Caesar], consul for the sixth time, vindicator of the liberty of the Roman People') / Pax standing left on parazonium(?), holding a caduceus in her right hand; inscription: PAX to the left; to the right, a coiled serpent rising from a *cista mystica*, all within a laurel wreath. *RPC* 1.1: no. 2203; *RIC* 12: p. 79, no. 476. CNG Triton XVI Auction (7 January, 2013), lot 1000. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.

Fig. 8. Vespasian, 76 CE. AR denarius (19 mm, 3.41 gm). Laureate head of Vespasian; surrounding inscription: IMP CAEASAR VESPASIANVS AVG / clasped hands holding caduceus, two poppies and two grain ears; accompanying inscription: FIDES PVBL[ICA] ('public trust'). *RPC* 2.1: p. 169, no. 1452; *RIC* 22: no. 1475. CNG sale item no. 997328. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.

from Ephesus, struck for Octavian in c. 28 BCE, depicts a personification of Pax holding a caduceus (Fig. 7; *RPC* 1.1: no. 476). The association of caduceus and poppy with peace and harmony in Roman iconography is exemplified by a coin type first encountered in a denarius minted in Spain in 68 CE during a period of civil war, comprising a pair of clasped hands holding a winged caduceus between two stalks of grain and two poppies, with the legend PAX (*RIC* 12: p. 206, no. 34). Figure 8 shows the same motif on the reverse of a coin struck by Vespasian in 76 CE, but bearing the legend FIDES PVBL[ICA].

Accordingly, it is possible to conclude that the motifs on both sides of the third largest 'year 3' coin of Herod allude to the *Pax Augusta*.

Fig. 9. Octavian. Autumn 31- 29 BCE. AR denarius (20 mm, 3.84 gm). Winged bust of Victory right / Octavian, as Neptune, standing left, right foot set on globe, holding sceptre and aplustre; inscription, to the left and right, [C]AESAR DIVI F ('Caesar, son of god [Julius Caesar]'). *RIC* 12, p. 59, no. 256. CNG Auction 61 (25 September, 2002), lot 1605. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

2.4 Filleted palm branch; aplustre (*aphlaston*)

The palm branch with a fillet band attached to it was correctly identified by Meshorer (*AJC* 2: 20; *TJC*: 65) as a Greek victory symbol (Newell 1941: 69), often borne by the goddess Athena in images representing her in the guise of the Nikephoros (bearer of victory).[22] A filleted palm branch appears in saltire with a winged caduceus on a denarius struck by Q. Sicinius in Rome, immediately before the outbreak of the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey in 49 BCE (*RRC*, no. 440/1).[23] This motif and a starred Dioscuri *pilos* are among prominent images carved in relief on marble plaques that decorated the walls of a hall dedicated to a hero cult at Pergamon in the Augustan period.[24] On Judaean coins, a palm branch with a fillet attached had already featured on small bronze denomination of John Hyrcanus I (Jacobson 2013b). As this device is employed on one of Herod's 'year 3' coins, it may refer to Actium and/or possibly Herod's victory over Antigonus six years previously, in 37 BCE.

The aplustre, the characteristic stern post of Greek and Roman galley ships, is depicted on Greek and Roman coins as a symbol of naval victory. It appears as major coin types on bronze issues of several Seleucid kings,[25] and on gold and silver coins struck in Asia Minor for Cassius and Brutus (43/42 BCE) (*RRC*, no. 505). Octavian struck a denarius in 31/30 BCE, portraying a winged victory on one side and Octavian posing as Neptune with an aplustre on the other, in celebration of his victory at Actium (Fig. 9; *RIC* 12, no. 256).[26] Indeed, we find ships, or parts of ships, including the aplustre, widely depicted on monuments celebrating Actium.[27]

Because there is no mention of Herod distinguishing himself in a naval contest,[28] it would be most reasonable to interpret the appearance of the aplustre on this coin as an expression of his desire to associate himself with the greatest triumph of his Roman patron, also manifested by Herod's benefactions to Nicopolis, founded to commemorate the famous naval battle (Jos., *BJ* 1.425; *AJ* 16.147).

Ref.	Actual coin motif		Interpretation of coin motif		Note
	Obverse	Reverse	Obverse	Reverse	
RPC 1.1: no. 4901 *TJC*, no. 44	*Pilos* of a dioscurus on a couch; flanked by 2 palm branches	Tripod with bowl (*lebes*), from which flames issue	Homage to an archetypal hero; i.e. abstract image of Herod.	Symbol of Apollo, patron deity of Augustus; i.e. abstract image of Augustus. The *lebes* with a lit offering indicates an act of homage.	Association of Herod with Augustus. Other client kings also struck coins pairing themselves with the Roman Princeps.
RPC 1.1: no. 4902 *TJC*, no. 45	Macedonian shield	Crested helmet in profile	This coin type, which consists of a coupling of two military symbols, first appeared in the name of Alexander the Great and was also issued by his Macedonian successors.		There is evidence that Augustus modelled himself on Alexander the Great and Herod did too.
RPC 1.1: no. 4903 *TJC*, no. 46	Poppyhead with fillet bands	Winged caduceus (*kerykeion*)	Symbol of Ceres, often featuring together with ears of wheat – signifying fertility and abundant crops, associated with peace.	Symbol of Mercury, whose attributes included concord and Felicitas (enduring success, good fortune), all qualities associated with peace.	Both are symbols of the *Aetas Aurea* of the *Pax Augusta* (as expressed on Roman coins and on the Ara Pacis).
RPC 1.1: no. 4904 *TJC*, no. 47	Filleted palm branch	Aplustre (*aphlaston*)	Canonical victory emblem according to Graeco-Roman custom.	Symbol of naval success.	Reference to Augustus' greatest triumph, evidenced also by Herod's benefactions to Nicopolis. An aplustre was among the symbols employed on Augustan monuments and coins to commemorate Actium.

Table 2. Summary of the motifs on Herod's 'year 3' coins and their interpretations

3. The Coin Motifs and the Era of 'Year 3' Coins

Table 2 summarises our interpretations for the motifs on Herod's 'year 3' coins. Clearly, this series of images are demonstrably programmatic; headed by metaphorical references to Herod and Augustus; next follows an acknowledgement

to their hero, Alexander the Great and his military successes; and the last two coins in the sequence commemorate Augustus' momentous victories and achievement of peace. The images therefore mesh well with themes associated with Augustan ideology and some can also be connected with Herod, especially the Dioscuri *pilos* mounted on a couch, shown on the obverse of Herod's largest coin. Only the aplustre on the smallest coin in the series of dated coins would seem to refer directly to the great naval battle of Actium, at the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf in Epirus on 2 September, 31 BCE (Marshak 2006: 215; 2015: 162 and n. 29; cf. Magness 2001: 168–169). On the strength of this identification, the 'year 3' coins of Herod must all postdate that pivotal moment in history.

Lorber (2013) has also sought to identify a unifying theme for the 'year 3' coin series. She has endeavoured to demonstrate that Herod cultivated a special affiliation with Dionysus and the mystery cult centred on this deity, which she sees running through the motifs on the four denominations. Her ideas are ingenious and attractive up to a point. However, in my view, the majority of the symbols depicted, namely the tripod-*lebes*, the plumed helmet, Macedonian shield, caduceus, filleted palm branch and aplustre do not exhibit any direct connection with Dionysus; indeed, the tripod-*lebes* and caduceus are more commonly associated with other deities, namely Apollo and Hermes, respectively, as Lorber admits (idem: 137–138, 141). I therefore find her rather sweeping generalisations somewhat far-fetched. What is certainly clear is that the Graeco-Roman polytheistic symbolism represented on the four dated coins of Herod show that they are the product of a gentile milieu. This would strengthen the case for Samaria-Sebaste as their place of production. It could also help to explain the selection of ivy wreath decoration on the star-topped *pilos* that features on the largest denomination, discussed in Section 2.1. Lorber's Dionysian interpretation of Herod's 'year 3' coins obliges her to commit to a date prior to Mark Antony's defeat at Actium, in view of Antony's well known identification with Dionysus (idem: 127). Therefore she accepts that LΓ stands for the 3rd year of Herod's reign as king (38/37 BCE), in agreement with Ariel and Fontanille.

As I have shown, the iconographic evidence indicates otherwise, namely a date after Octavian's victory at Actium in September, 31 BCE. Marshak (2006: 215, 233) reached this very conclusion, although he based it on his association of two of the coin motifs, the Dioscuri *pilos* and the poppy specifically with Herod's foundation of Sebaste at Samaria in 27 BCE.

If, as has been deduced from the coin iconography, the 'year 3' date-mark on the coins does not to refer to Herod's regnal era in Judaea beginning in the autumn of 40 BCE, then alternative possibilities need to be sought. The latest dating suggested for these coins is February 1/2 CE by Mahieu (2012: 375–394), who argues that the monogram is a ligature of the letters PT (both Greek and Latin), standing for

Pater Patriae, a title that Augustus received on 5 February 2 BCE. According to Mahieu these coins, with their decidedly pagan and military motifs, were issued by the Roman general, Publius Quinctilius Varus to celebrate his victories in Judaea, in the wake of Herod's death. Hers is a somewhat idiosyncratic proposal in view of the fact that she could not cite any independent evidence for PT as an abbreviation for *Pater Patriae* and was unable to supply a sensible reason for coins to be issued by Varus in Herod's name.

A more credible era for the 'year 3' coins is one marked by Herod's re-confirmation as king of Judaea in the spring of 30 BCE proposed by Marshak (2006: 230–235; 2015: 161–162 and n. 28, 346–349). The crucial meeting in Rhodes on that occasion, between Octavian Caesar and Herod enabled the latter to retain his throne, despite having declared support for Mark Antony in the civil war (Jos., *BJ* 1.386–393; *AJ* 15.183–196). Herod's affirmation of allegiance to Octavian not only ensured his political survival by confirming his kingship, but resulted in a considerable enlargement of his realm. The annexed territories included Samaria, the districts of Gadara and Hippos on the eastern flank of the Jordan valley and much of the valuable coastal strip, covering Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa and Strato's Tower, which became Caesarea (Jos., *BJ* 1.396; *AJ* 15.217). To quote Ariel and Fontanille (*CH*: 96): 'From Octavian's perspective, the 30 BCE reconfirmation appears to have been as important as Herod's first coronation in 40 BCE. After all, Octavian took pains to have this second event ratified by the Senate' (referring to Jos., *AJ* 15.196). From this time on, it is hardly likely that Herod would have wished to continue to draw attention to his original appointment as client king in 40 BCE, at the initiative of Antony (Jos., *BJ* 1.284–285; *AJ* 14.385–389). On the basis of an era beginning in spring 30 BCE, 'year 3', was another important milestone in both Octavian's and Herod's reigns. The year 27 BCE marked the bestowal of the title of Augustus (*Sebastos* in Greek) by the Senate on Octavian, probably on 16 January of that year,[29] which Herod promptly commemorated by refounding Samaria as Sebaste (Mahieu 2008: 184–185, 193; idem 2012: 132–138; Smallwood 1981: 77, n. 55; Barag 1993: 4, 16, nos. 6–7). It was probably the first of the many *urbes Caesareae* to be established throughout the Empire.[30]

Herod would have had every reason to publicise this initiative and it would have been a fitting event to commemorate with a special coin issue; the fact that the distribution of finds of these coins is mostly clustered in and adjacent to the site of this town greatly strengthens the case for a connection between this coin issue and the inauguration of Sebaste.[31]

According to Marshak (2006: 235; 2015: 161–162), the *tau-rho* monogram is that of the mint-master responsible for producing this series of coins, whose

initials were *tau* and *rho*, following prior practice in the Levant. If that were so a significant question remains, and that is, why do no other coins of Herod the Great bear comparable monograms?

Ariel (2009: 118–124) earlier supported Marshak's interpretation of the date-mark, but then retracted from that view and has accepted the 40 BCE era and a 37 BCE dating for the 'year 3' coins as the more likely chronology (*CH*: 96–97). He gives two main reasons for his change of mind. The first is chronological—the founding of Sebaste would have been more likely to have occurred in the 4th year after the reconfirmation of Herod as king, counting 30 BCE as year 1; and the second is methodological—only the original date of the king's appointment should be considered as the basis of their era, unless it can be shown that that era is impossible. Moreover, there is no evidence from ancient textual sources or inscriptions of a 30 BCE era for Herod. Yet, at the same time, Ariel offers plausible answers to his own objections, in particular that for an era beginning 30 BCE, 'year 3' could actually fit with the founding of Sebaste.

For a second possible interpretation of the date-mark, let us return to the *tau-rho* monogram. Of the various explanations that have been offered, perhaps the one with the strongest support among scholars is *tetrarches*, on the grounds that it has an indisputable precedent in the coins of Ituraea, over a span of some 20 years down to c. 40 BCE.[32] The ligature is formed of the Greek letters T and P, present in the title ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ. Herod himself had shared that title with his elder brother, Phasael, in 42/41 BCE, before being appointed king by the Romans and in a position to produce his own coinage.[33] However, this makes little sense for Herod to advertise the title tetrarch in of Judaea, when the coin inscription names him explicitly with the more prestigious title, *basileus*.[34]

There could be another reason why Herod might have wished to refer to the title of *tetrarch* on his dated coins. According to an old proposal of Narkiss (1934: 33–34), the *tau-rho* monogram points to Trachonitis. Narkiss took as his preferred start of the era of this coinage as 31 BCE, when believed Herod was reconfirmed as king of Judaea by Augustus (which is more likely to have happened in the spring of 30 BCE). As a possible alternative, Narkiss suggested 28 BCE as the beginning of the era, the year that he supposed Herod was granted possession of Trachonitis. On these two assumptions he arrived at either 28 or 25 BCE for 'year 3' of the coins (Narkis 1934: 9–10). However, it is now widely agreed that Trachonitis, along with Batanaea and Auranitis, were awarded to Herod by Rome sometime later, with several scholars opting for 23 or 23/22 BCE, ruling out much of Narkis's proposal.[35]

When Herod gained possession of Trachonitis, his royal title would probably not have extended to that detached territory and his position there might have been merely that of *tetrarch*, in continuity with previous practice.[36] This, surely, can be

the only rational explanation of the presence of two different titles, *tetrarches* and *basileus* on the same coins of Herod; otherwise they would seem to contradict one-another (*RPC* 1.1: 678). Trachonitis was the first territorial annexation that Herod gained at the expense of another established client kingdom and this would have amply justified his desire to proclaim this achievement publicly on his coins. This acquisition marks the start of a true era of rule of the Judaean monarch as successor to an indigenous line of tetrarchs of Ituraea, in a portion of the latter's principality. Although Herod's gain of Trachonitis may, indeed, have a direct bearing on the monogram and date-mark of these coins, Narkiss was imprecise, in my view, about the place of minting and the chronology.

According to Josephus, on the death of Zenodorus, Augustus 'further assigned to him [Herod] all the territory between Trachonitis and Galilee', comprising 'Ulatha and Paneas and the surrounding country' (*BJ* 1.400; *AJ* 15.359–360). This territorial transfer occurred three years later, in 20 BCE, coinciding with a visit by Augustus to Syria (Schürer 1973: 565–566). So it is possible that the 'year 3' stamped on Herod's coins refers to this event—with most of the motifs corresponding to favourite Augustan themes.[37] Surely it is no accident that the date-mark is always coupled with the *tau-rho* monogram on the coins and they are never shown separately. In the words of Meshorer (*AJC* 2: 10): 'The date and the monogram function as one unit meaning 'year three of the title tetrarch''. What is revealing in this regard is that there are examples of the two smaller coins of the dated series devoid of both the date-mark and *tau-rho* monogram (*CH*: pls. 43 and 33; type 3, reverse R2; type 4, reverse R3). Close inspection of the coins by Ariel and Fontanille revealed that these details were deliberately erased from the dies before the striking of the aforementioned subtypes. It is possible to deduce that, with the consolidation of Herod's kingship and joining-up of his territorial possessions, both his title of tetrarch and the corresponding era became redundant.

A 23 BCE date for the era of the 'year 3' coins happens to be the same as that proposed by Magness (2001: 169–170), but her rationale is very different from the one suggested here. The main premise for her choice of a 'year 3' date of 20 BCE is her interpretation of the *tau-rho* monogram as standing for *Tribunicia Potestas*, a power that was conferred on Augustus when he was voted the title of Augustus in 23 BCE. Since Magness could not cite other examples of coins carrying Greek inscriptions together with a Latin monogram, let alone any precedent of the title *Tribunicia Potestas* being reduced to an abbreviation of two letters in ligature, her proposal is highly implausable (*CH*: 92).

Contemporary Roman client monarchs with Herod generally employed regnal dating on their coins, where dates are given. This applies to Juba I of Mauretania (25 BCE–23 CE) (Mazard 1955: 73–74) and Archelaus Philopatris of Cappadocia

(36 BCE–17 CE) (*RPC* 1.1: 551 and nos. 3601–3619). The era for the year date 60 inscribed on the coins of Pythodoris, widow and successor of Polemo I Eusebes of Pontus, remains an unresolved mystery (c. 8 BCE – c. 22/23 CE) (*RPC* 1.1: 567–568 and nos. 3803–3807).

All native Ituraean rulers of the 1st century BCE, down to Zenodorus referred to the Seleucid era on their coins (Herman 2006, nos. 1–6, 10a-p, 13, 16–17; *RPC* 1.1: 662 and nos. 4768, 4774–4776). They were interrupted by Cleopatra VII of Egypt, who acquired possession of Ituraea along with territory in Phoenicia in 37/36 BCE.[38] She issued coins there in her name, which are double dated to year 21 of her regnal era (in Egypt) and year 6 of a new era, marking her territorial gains in the Levant, both corresponding to 32/31 BCE (*RPC* 1.1: 583, 662 and nos. 4771–4773). In Phoenician Berytus, Cleopatra also struck coins dated to this new era (*RPC* 1.1: 648 and nos. 4529–4530 [year 2 and year 6, respectively]). From this example, we learn that Cleopatra's confirmation as queen by Julius Caesar did not bring about a new regnal count, but her gift from Mark Antony of new territories in Syria, including Ituraea, did. This occurrence could well have provided a precedent for Herod to follow when Ituraean Trachonitis was ceded to him in the following decade.[39]

A third alternative for the era of Herod's 'year 3' coins might be the Actian one, i.e. 31 BCE, which is encountered in the coins struck in Antioch for Augustus (*RPC* 1.1: 608 and nos. 4151–4160). This explanation would correspond well to the motifs on the smallest denomination, but not be quite so pertinent with regard to the other coin types in the series. Also, the significance of 'year 3' in this case would be less obvious, altogether making an Actian era for these coins the least likely of the three possibilities presented above.

4. The gap in time between Herod's assumption of kingship and minting of coins in his name

If the date for the 'year 3' coin series is brought forward as far as 20 BCE, how can we account for the 17-year gap in coin production from the issues produced at the end of the reign of Mattathias Antigonus to the first coins of Herod?

Part of the answer may lie with the substantial group of small bronze coins that are commonly found in Herodian contexts and classified by Meshorer as belonging to subgroups L7–L17 of Alexander Jannaeus-type coins, which are relatively crude.[40] It has long been held that these coins postdate Jannaeus. In his revised monograph on Jewish coins, Madden described these pieces as 'uncertain coins struck between the period after the death of Alexander Jannaeus, in B.C. 78, and the accession of Antigonus in B.C. 40' (Madden 1881: 96; cf. Ariel 2006: 192–193). But their presence in Herodian archaeological contexts, noted by both Ariel (2006: 193) and Shachar (2004: 11), suggests

that a significant proportion were produced later than 40 BCE.[41] In Strata 4–3 of Area E of the Old City of Jerusalem which, from stratigraphic and pottery evidence, has been assigned to the second half of the 1st century BCE, the proportion of identified bronze pieces belonging to the L7-L17 subgroups of Alexander Jannaeus coins to those issued in the name of Herod is 271 to 45, or 6 to 1 (Ariel 2006: 196–211).[42] Ariel's explanation for this relative abundance of Jannaeus-type coins that were present in Strata 4–3 of Area E is that they belonged to coin hoards that were subsequently scattered (idem: 192). However, while this explanation might suit a few particular sites, it could not possibly account for the vast number of the L7-L17 type coins found throughout the Holy Land. Indeed they were still circulating as accepted tender in Palestine at least until the 5th century CE (Bijovsky 2000–2002: 202), and there is little reason to doubt that they may have been produced until Herod decided to strike coins in his own name.

Furthermore, Mahieu (2012: 377) suggested that these undated coins of inferior quality preceded the minting of the superior 'year 3' coins and could have filled the time gap between the coins of Mattathias Antigonus and Herod's dated issue. Indeed, Marshak has put forward a case, based on archaeological evidence, for assigning the pair of denominations issued in Herod's name, but undated, displaying a diadem on one side and a tripod on the other, to 30 BCE.[43]

Concerning placing Herod's 'year 3' coins to a specific date in his reign it should be stressed that their conventional dating to the start of his reign in 37 BCE in no way mitigates the chronological difficulties presented by Herod's coinage. On the contrary, this would require accounting for a dearth of new issues covering the long span of his kingship from 37 BCE to his death in 4 BCE. The meagre and impoverished undated coins assigned to those three decades would accentuate their incongruity in relation to Herod's illustrious achievements, not least his phenomenal building programme.

5. Conclusions

Detailed consideration has been given to the subject matter represented on these coins. The motifs, in particular the aplustre, are consistent with a post-Actian date (i.e. after 31 BCE), because most of the symbols displayed on the 'year 3' coins refer to themes that were heavily promoted from that time, as noted above. Indeed, what appear at first sight to be a motley assortment of motifs on the 'year 3' coins are in fact a reasonably coherent sequence of images that refer to aspects of Augustan political and religious ideology, which were inextricably connected in antiquity, and Herod's commitment to it. When summarising the coin types belonging to the series struck for Octavian from c. 32 to c. 29 BCE (*RIC* 12, nos.

250 - 263), Sutherland (*RIC* 12: 31) remarked that they 'emphasize Octavian as the protégé of a strong Venus (foundress of the Julian line), as the leader who promises peace, as the winner of victory (especially naval), as the devotee of Apollo'. Apart from the first attribute, the others could very well describe the substance of the motifs that appear on Herod's dated coins. It may seem unusual to find sentiments and aspirations of Augustus on the coins of a client king, but Herod had a reputation as a master of obsequiousness towards Augustus. Josephus (*AJ* 16.157) remarks that 'the greatest of his passions [was] what was done by him in honour of Caesar and [Marcus] Agrippa and his other friends'.

The two seemingly unrelated designs on his largest coin come together as a pairing of Herod (obverse) with Augustus (reverse), in an expression of reverence to both, represented by symbols so as to avoid upsetting the religious sensibilities of Herod's Jewish subjects. Such a coupling, but expressed as actual portraits of the Emperor and client ruler, is to be found in the near-contemporaneous coinage of the neighbouring Ituraean principality, where human representation was deemed perfectly acceptable.

We have no reason to believe that the vast majority of Herod's Jewish subjects were aware of the meanings attached to the polytheistic symbols on his coins or were bothered about them. It was surely enough that they were satisfied the coins had no images of humans or animals. Of course, this was not the case for the educated Greek and Roman members of Herod's court (Kokkinos 2007: 289–301), including those involved in the selection of motifs on his coins. Marshak, following Meshorer, was struck by the strong Augustan imagery on this dated series, and believed that the coins and their messages were directed to a non-Jewish audience, specifically the military colonists settled by Herod at Samaria-Sebaste.[44]

Accepting a post-Actian date for the motifs on the 'year 3' coins, this would rule out the regnal era of 40 BCE. More likely eras are either 30 BCE, coinciding with Herod's re-confirmation as king of Judaea after Actium, or 23/22 BCE, commemorating Herod's acquisition of the Ituraean territory of Trachonitis, assuming it occurred then. There are two possibilities. Either the minting of these dated coins celebrated the grant of the title Augustus to Octavian and the founding of Sebaste at Samaria in 27 BCE or celebrated Augustus's visit to Syria and the award of more territory to Herod in 20 BCE. Both occasions furnished a considerable boost to Herod's prestige. Either would have provided the Judaean monarch an ample incentive to strike his finest series of bronze coins, with the largest range of denominations and bearing an important date. Julius Caesar's gift of territory in Syria to Cleopatra VII, including Ituraea in 37/36 BCE (rather than her confirmation as queen of Egypt), was sufficient cause for her to establish a new era. Similarly, such an event might suggest the era on Herod's coins was connected with his award of Trachonitis and the neighbouring areas in the Hauran from Augustus.

The 'year 3' coins are certainly the best designed and executed of Herod's issues and it is reasonable to place their production during the zenith of Herod's reign, when his building programme was in full swing and not in the midst of the turmoil and uncertainty that accompanied his arrival in Judaea in 37 BCE, a point made *a fortiori* by Marshak (2006: 222–223).

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to Professor Rami Arav of the University of Nebraska at Omaha for stimulating discussions which sowed the seeds of this study.

Notes

1 The coins of Herod Archelaus do not bear dates of any kind.

2 For the coin eras employed by Herod's descendants, see also the discussion in Kokkinos 1998: 233 n. 100 (Antipas), 285–287 (Agrippa I), and 398–399 (Agrippa II); cf. a contrary interpretation given by Mahieu 2012: 262–263.

3 On this point, Ariel and Fontanille acknowledge Schwentzel (2007: 591), who remarks that the helmet is shown mounted on a 'table basse'. See also Schwentzel 2011: 136–139.

4 Jacobson 1986: 152–154; 2001b, 100. Archelaus Philopatris of Cappadocia (reigned from to c. 36 BCE – 14 CE), a fellow client king of Rome who was linked to Herod through the marriage of his daughter Glaphyra to two of Herod's sons, Alexander and Archelaus, in turn, struck a bronze coin featuring a palm branch between two Dioscuri *piloi*; see Sydenham 1933: no. 17 = *RPC* 1.1: no. 3612. On Archelaus Philopatris and his relationship with Herod, see Jacobson 2001a.

5 The name Herodes (or Heroides) was not uncommon in Greek-speaking lands in antiquity. See Frazer et al. 1987–2014, s.v. Ηρωΐδης; Kokkinos 1998: 127–128.

6 See Jacobson 2001b: 101–102 and illustration on p. 101; Magness 2001. Narkiss (1932) was the first scholar to draw attention to the iconographic similarity between the coin motif and the Samaria reliefs.

7 What appears to be ivy could simply have meant to stand for a generic creeping plant. Evidence has been provided to show that, on their coins, the Hasmonaeans readily conflated the lily of Biblical tradition with the rose emblem of Rhodes (Jacobson 2013a: 22, 24–25).

8 There is also reported in late sources that Herod's father was a temple-slave (*hierodoulos*) of Apollo at Ascalon Sextus Julius Africanus, quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl*. 1.7.11; Epiphanius, *Panar*. i 20, 1.3). This tale reads rather like malicious gossip after several iterations: the branding of Herod as a *hierodoulos* may well have originated as a derogatory pun on his name.

9 Lorber (2013: 142, 148) reckoned that Herod vowed this benefaction to the temple of Apollo in Rhodes after his safe delivery from a storm at sea while sailing from Alexandria to Pamphylia, en route to Rome in 40 BCE, but this is speculative

because Josephus does not tie this to a specific event, merely mentioning it in roll calls of Herod's donations to Greek cities.

10 On the identification of Octavian/Augustus with Apollo and its manifestations in art and cult, see Levick 2010: 203–204; Hekster and Rich 2006; Galinsky 1996: 213–224, 297–299; Gurval 1995: 91–112; Zanker 1988: 49–53, 85–89. An Apollo type bronze coin (*RPC* 1.1: no. 3611) was issued by Herod's brother-in-law, Archelaus Philopatris, at his capital, Eusebeia (renamed Caesarea by him), which includes a tripod with *lebes* on its reverse, and bears the regnal year 19 (18–17 BCE).

11 This idea arose in conversation with Professor Rami Arav.

12 Herman 2006, types 16–18; *RPC* 1.1: nos. 4774–4775 (31/30 and 27/26 BCE, respectively). From later in the reign of Augustus (c. 11 BCE – 12 CE) there are bronze coins pairing the bust of the Emperor with Rhoemetalces I of Thrace (*RPC* 1.1: nos. 1713–1720), or the jugate heads of this king and his consort Pythodoris (*RPC* 1.1: nos. 1711–1712). Other coins alternate the jugate busts of Augustus and Livia with those of Rhoemetalces I and Pythodoris (*RPC* 1.1: nos. 1708–10). There are also coins of the Armenian kings Tigranes III? (c. 10–5 BCE) or V (c. 6 CE) (*RPC* 1.1: no. 3841) and Artavasdes III? (5–2 BCE) or IV? (4–6 CE) (*RPC* 1.1: no. 3843), which feature the head of Augustus on the obverse and the client king on the reverse.

13 An ivy wreath is not even listed as a coin type in *RPC* 1, which covers the years 44 BCE – 69 CE.

14 Jacobson 1986: 160, n. 56. Cavedoni (1855: 27–28; cf. Madden 1864: 85–86) had noted the general resemblance of this coin of Herod to small bronze Macedonian issues of the type described above, which also feature a plumed helmet and Macedonian shield on opposite faces; he regarded this as evidence that Herod wished to associate himself with the Macedonian kings.

15 See Thompson, Mørkholm and Kraay 1973: *passim*.

16 Gurval 1995: 69–74; Richard 1970: 381; Kienast 1969. Augustus was not the first Roman leader who sought to emulate Alexander the Great. Julius Caesar, Mark Antony and, particularly Pompey, can be counted among them (Kienast 1969: 437–446; Greenhalgh 1980: *passim*).

17 Archaeological excavations have revealed the existence of a temple to Kore and Demeter in Samaria-Sebaste, with indications of a building phase during the reign of Herod (Magness 2001: 160–165, 170–173; Crowfoot, Kenyon and Sukenik 1942: 62–67).

18 Anson 1912: nos. 1063–1067. Ariel and Fontanille (*CH*: 47, 112) reject an identification of this motif as a poppy-head in favour of a pomegranate, notwithstanding Meshorer's cogent arguments for the converse (*AJC* 2: 20–22). Lorber (2013: 139–141) agrees with the opinion of Ariel and Fontanille, associating the pomegranate with both Kore (Persephone) and Dionysus, as deities of fertility, as applies for a poppy-head.

19 On the wand of Hermes, see *RE* 3.1, s.v. 'caduceus', cols. 1170–1171 (Samter).

20 Examples cited by her include Tib. 1.10.45–50, 67–68; Ov., *Fast.* 1.697–704.

21 See, for example, Ovid, *Fasti* 4.407–408; Hor., *Car.* 4.15.4–5, 16–19.

22 Representations of Athena Nikephoros holding a winged Nike in one hand and a filleted palm branch in the other appear as types on Seleucid gold staters minted by Myrina,

Cyme and Phocaea (?) for Antiochus II (261–246 BCE); see *SC* 1.1: nos. 498, 502 and 515, respectively. The palm branch with fillet appears as supplementary symbols on Seleucid tetradrachms of Antiochus Hierax (242–227 BCE) (*SC* 1.1: no. 896.1), Antiochus III (223–187 BCE) (idem: no. 1128.1), and Seleucus IV (187–175 BCE) (*SC* 2.1: nos. 1313.2–3 and 1313.6), and it is the main type on a hemidrachm of Tyre dated 118/7 BCE (NAC Auction 64, 17 May 2012, lot 1517; unpublished).

23 A filleted palm branch recurs as a coin type on an undated bronze issue of Cappadocia possibly struck for Archelaus Philopatris (Sydenham 1933, no. 19 = Wroth 1899: no. 9 and pl. 8.6). The authors of *RPC* (1.1: 552) suppose that these undated coins, with the name ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ, 'belong mainly to the predecessors of Archelaus'.

24 See Radt 1986. For descriptions and iconography of the panels decorated with the Dioscuri *pilos* and a cock with a filleted palm branch (i.e. a victory-bearing cock), see idem: 73–75, 84–89 and Tafs. 18–23.

25 *SC* 2.1: nos. 1849.1–3 (Alexander I Balas, 152–145 BCE; Ascalon mint), idem, no. 2122 (Antiochus VII Sidetes, 138–129 BCE; mint in the southern Levant); idem: nos. 2234.1–2 and 2236 (Alexander Zabinas, 128–123/122 BCE; Antioch mint).

26 Galinsky 1996: 314; Pollini 2012: 283. Zanker (1988: 39–41) disagrees, considering that this coin image is not to do with Actium, but represents a statue raised to commemorate Octavian's naval victory against Sextus Pompey in 36 BCE at Naulochus, and that the coin dates from that time, although he seems to be in the minority among scholars on this issue. Gurval (1995: 5 and n. 12) takes Zanker to task for his 'rather arbitrary and inconsistent treatment' of Octavian's coinage. As an example, Gurval points out that, while Zanker claims that this particular denarius commemorates Octavian's victory at Naulochus, 'later he dates select issues from the same series five years later, after Actium, because of the symbolic allusions to a naval victory on the coins ([Zanker 1988] 79–80)'.

27 Zanker 1988: 82–84. Aplustres feature prominently in an Augustan frieze found in the area of the Circus Flaminius, where the triumphal procession celebrating the great naval victory departed; see Galinsky 1996: 347, ill. 164. These distinctive ship's sterns (and other parts of war galleys) are also included in the altar frieze of the Actian victory monument at Nicopolis in Epirus (Zachos 2003: 83–84 and fig. 28; Pollini 2012: 191–196 and fig. IV.27).

28 Lorber (2013: 142) acknowledges this fact and, in attempting to connect Herod with maritime success, is obliged to associate the aplustre on this coin with Herod's flight from the Parthians and across the Mediterranean to Rome in 40 BCE (Jos. *BJ* 1.280; *AJ* 14.377), which can hardly be construed as a heroic act!

29 Eck 2007: 57. For significance of the title 'Augustus', see Suet., *Aug*. 7.; Dio. 53.16.6–8; *Res Gestae* 34.

30 Roller (1998: 210) suggested that Herod may have been one of the first client rulers of Rome to hail the new Augustus with a new city in his honour. On the *urbes Caesareae*, see Suet., *Aug*. 48; Eutrop. 7.10. Their common characteristics are summarised in Jacobson 2001a: 28–30 (and references).

31 Marshak 2006: 226–230, 344–345; *TJC*: 59–60. Meshorer and Marshak share the opinion that this series of coins was produced at Samaria-Sebaste. Ariel and Fontanille (*CH*: 94–98) are not persuaded that the archaeological evidence makes the minting of the 'year 3' coins in Samaria-Sebaste most likely and prefer Jerusalem as their place of origin.

32 Herman 2006: 54 (Index of Monograms); see especially the identical or analogous monograms on Herman, types 5a-b (Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus, 63/62 BCE) and types 10a-c, 10h-i, 11g (Lysanias, 41/40 BCE); See idem, Catalogue, pp. 62, 65, 67. On the iconography of Ituraean coins and their political and cultural context, see Wright 2013.

33 Jos. *BJ* 1.244; *AJ* 14.326; cf. *TJC*, 62.

34 *RPC* 1.1: 678; Mahieu 2012: 368–369; *CH*: 90–91, 125.

35 Jos., *BJ* 1.398–400; *AJ* 15.343–48 (see Schürer 1973: 291, 319, 565; Myres 2010: 166); late 23 or 22 BCE, according to Shatzman 1991: 170. Mahieu (2012: 133–138) considers that the award of Trachonitis to Herod took place earlier, at the end of 27 BCE, while Wright (2013: 68) believes that this transfer of territory occurred in 24 BCE.

36 For numismatic evidence of the title *tetrarches* borne by Ituraean rulers, see Herman 2006: 68–72 (catalogue); *RPC* 1.1: 662–663.

37 Magness (2001: 169) makes the connection between the minting of these 'year 3' coins and Augustus' visit to Syria in 20 BCE, but does not also tie it to the award of the territory between Galilee and Trachonitis.

38 For the date of this donation of territory by Antony and its attestation in documentary sources, see Schürer 1973: 288–289 n. 5.

39 Herod's great-grandson, Agrippa II employed at least two official eras, attested on his coins and on lapidary inscriptions (Kokkinos 1998: 322, 398; idem 2003: 172–175). According to Kokkinos, the start of one of these eras marked the award to him by Claudius of portions of Galilee and the Peraea in 55/56 CE.

40 See the description of these crude coins in Shachar 2004: 7. Hill (1914: xcv) refers to them as 'wretched' imitations of Jannaeus issues.

41 Hendin believes that these crude coins were issued between the death of Jannaeus in 76 BCE and the rule of Mattathias Antigonus (40–37 BCE) (Hendin 2009: 113), while Shachar (2004: 28) only ventures as far as Madden by stating that they were struck after Jannaeus' death in 76 BCE. See also Ariel 2000–2002: 109, n. 62.

42 All the other subgroups of Jannaeus coins from Strata 4–3, by comparison, account for a mere 18 specimens.

43 Marshak 2015: 165–170, referring to *TJC*, nos. 48–54; *RPC* 1.1: nos. 4905 and 4906. All the other coins issued in the name of Herod and in a similar style, featuring either the tripod or the diadem on one side (*TJC*, nos. 55–58; *RPC* 1.1: no. 4907) were probably issued at the same time.

44 Marshak 2015: 163–165; cf. *TJC*: 63–65. Marshak is surely mistaken in regarding the 'year 3' coins as being struck for a *congiarium* (a donative distributed to a population). Invariably, such donatives were of precious metal, silver (denarii) or gold (aurei), possessing significant pecuniary value; see Harl 1996: 220–221; Phang 2008: 195–196.

By contrast, the rather nominal bronze coins of Herod were hardly appropriate for a donative. Struck in four denominations, these coins were clearly minted for the purpose of very modest domestic transactions.

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Abbreviations

AJC *Ancient Jewish Coinage* (1982), 2 vols., by Y. Meshorer (Dix Hills, NY).

ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (1972-), ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin / New York).

CH *The Coins of Herod. A Modern Analysis and Die Classification* (2012) by D. T. Ariel and J.-P. Fontanille (Leiden / Boston).

OCD[4] *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th edn., 2012), ed. S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (Oxford).

RE *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Pauly-Wissowa), 84 vols., 1894–1980), ed. G. Wissowa et al. (Stuttgart).

RPC 1 *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Vol. 1 (in 2 parts): *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC – AD 69)* (1992), by A. Burnett, M. Amandry and P. Ripollès (London / Paris).

RPC 2 *Roman Provincial Coinage*, Vol. 1 (in 2 parts): *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)* (1999) by A. Burnett, M. Amandry and I. Carradice (London / Paris).

RRC *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974), by M. H. Crawford, Cambridge.

RIC 1[2] *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. 1: *From 31 BC to AD 69* (revised 2nd edn., 1984), by C. H. V. Sutherland(London).

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SC 2 *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue*, *Part 2* (in 2 vols.): *Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII* (2008), by A. Houghton, C. Lorber and O. Hoover (New York / Lancaster, PA).

SNG C *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum*; *Macedonia Pt. III*, *Philip III – Philip V. Macedonia under the Romans. Kings of Paeonia* (1943), Copenhagen.

SNG A *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Greece II. The Alpha Bank Collection. Macedonia I: Alexander I – Perseus* (2000), by S. Kremydi-Sicilianou (Athens).

TJC *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba* (2001), by Y. Meshorer (Nyack, NY / Jerusalem).

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Factory Lamps '*Firmalampen*' in the Levant

Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom

From Augustan times onwards Italian volute lamps with decorated discus were exported to and widely imitated in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire. This was not the case with the mass-produced factory lamps from the Po Valley workshops. Exported to the western parts of the Roman Empire local workshops were established in Lyon and Trier and other locations. Few Italian lamps reached the East, and imitation was sporadic with the exception of the Danube provinces; solely at Palmyra a local industry developed. Thus, it can be concluded that factory lamps were the personal property of individuals like traders and artisans as well as military and administrative personnel.

Introduction

Mass-produced factory lamps, originally named *Firmalampen* by Fischbach in 1896 and studied thoroughly by Loeschcke in 1919, were first manufactured in the Po Valley from about the middle of the 1st century CE,[1] then exported and subsequently imitated for nearly 300 years. Finds indicate that they were popular in the western parts of the Roman Empire and rare in the eastern parts. Three centralised supra-regional production centres near Modena existed, with branch workshops in Lyon and Trier.[2] Provincial workshops imitated both stamped and unstamped lamps for locals or for limited regional distribution. From the late 3rd to the 4th centuries lamp production decreased in the Danube area (Leibundgut 1977: 48; Bailey 1980: 272; Schneider 1994: 140). While morphologically forming a homogenous class of mould-made lamps, the patterns of import, local production, distribution and consumption vary considerably in the provinces and at individual sites.

Although few mass-produced factory lamps were found in the Levant, a substantial number of imitations exist from Augustan times onwards, mainly volute lamps with a discus decorated with pan-Roman figures (Grawehr 2011: 13). These finds suggest that various ethnic and religious groups selectively accepted Roman life-styles and imagery.

In the 1st century CE volute lamps with decorated discus and occasionally with plain discus were the dominant types mass-produced in Italian workshops and subsequently copied throughout the Roman Empire (Fig. 1). Their classification generally follows Broneer's 1930 study of the lamps from Corinth (Broneer Types XXI-XXIII). More recently, Bailey's pioneering studies of the lamps in the British

Fig. 1. Volute lamp with triangular nozzle; on discus head of Satyr. Schloessinger Collection, The Hebrew University; (photo by Zeev Radovan, published in R. Rosenthal and R. Sivan 1978, p. 23, No. 58).

Museum (1980; 1988), present a more elaborate system based on Loeschcke's typology of the lamps from Vindonissa, Switzerland (1919).

Characteristic features are a circular body, a wide nozzle flanked by volutes scrolled at one or both ends and terminating in a triangular or round shape, a deep-sunken or slightly curved discus encircled by rim mouldings, a circular base with a base-ring (earlier lamps) or a slightly raised flat base (later lamps). The relief imagery on the discus is extremely varied and includes scenes, deities and mortals, daily life, animals, plants and floral patterns (for details see Bailey 1980: 6–88; 1988: 3–94). Inscriptions on the base are usually incuse, giving the name of the lamp-maker and of the workshop. There are also initials and marks, particularly the footprint stamp, the *planta pedis*. In the second half of the 1st century lamp manufacture underwent a change to a simpler version with a relatively shallow body, a short round nozzle, a sunken, mostly decorated discus and a rounded shoulder often adorned with a row of ovules and other patterns (Broneer Type XXV; Loeschcke Type VIII). In the 2nd and 3rd centuries derivatives were produced in provincial workshops with a mainly local or regional distribution radius.

Parallel to the appearance of the discus lamps with short round nozzles, a new type emerged, the plain factory lamps. Characteristic features were the deep circular body with a central filling-hole on the plain flat discus, a raised ring separating the discus and the wide or narrow rounded shoulder, a long nozzle with a rounded tip, a groove or channel on the nozzle, two or three raised pierced (or unpierced) lugs on the shoulder and a workshop signature in relief within the base-ring. Some of these were decorated with masks (Loeschcke Types IX-X).[3] The change from Type IX to Type X occurred from the end of the 1st century to the early second (Loeschcke 1919: 293 (105); Leibundgut 1977: 41, 47).

Fig. 2. Jerusalem, Roman dump. Base with broken stamp [C] OMVNIS (photo by Clara Amit, Israel Antiquities Authority).

This paper comprises three sections. In the first section the finds from present-day Israel and Lebanon will be described; in the second the corpus from the East will be presented; in the third, these two *corpori* will be compared.

The Levant

In the southern Levant, these lamps come from three principal locations: Jerusalem, Caesarea Maritima, Masada, and Byblos. These will be treated below.

Find-spots and context

In Jerusalem a sealed deposit was unearthed under the pavement of the eastern portico of the eastern Roman *cardo*.[4] This deposit included diverse Roman military-style pottery vessels, three military bread stamps and a substantial amount of pig bones, probably accumulated as part of the preparation works prior to the construction of the street (Weksler-Bdolah et al. 2009; Weksler-Bdolah and Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2014: 48–49).

One fragment of an imported lamp and a locally produced imitation factory lamp were discovered.[5] The former, imported lamp was a brick-red fragment with the stamp [C]OMVNIS in relief on the base, clearly a product of the Modena workshop of Communis (Fig. 2; Rosenthal-Heginbottom, forthcoming a: Cat. No. 819). Of the different spellings of the fabricant's name, this version is found on Buchi's Type IXb lamps (1975: Nos. 145–147). The latter (Fig. 3) was probably produced using the *surmoulage* technique, as can be deduced from the small pellets[6] on the surface and remains of a faint image (Weksler-Bdolah and Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2014: 50, Fig. 9; Rosenthal-Heginbottom, forthcoming a:

Fig. 3. Jerusalem, Roman dump. Side view of lamp (photo by Clara Amit, Israel Antiquities Authority).

Fig. 4. Jerusalem, Roman dump. Top view of lamp with mask of Jupiter Ammon. (photo by Clara Amit, Israel Antiquities Authority).

Cat. No. 818). This lamp corresponds to Loeschcke-Buchi Type IXb, characterized by the closed ring separating shoulder with a discus and shallow nozzle groove (Fig. 4; Bailey 1980: 273).[7] The mask of Jupiter Ammon is depicted in the centre of the discus, bearded, with ram's horns.[8] The base of the lamp is signed FORTIS in relief (Fig. 5). Although the mask motif appears over a wide geographic area, this lamp probably was manufactured in the legionary kiln works uncovered at the Jerusalem International Convention Center in 1992.[9]

Hartmann pointed out that two slightly different images appear on this type, one combined with the fabricant Fortis and the other with Communis (1992: 61). A north Italian Fortis lamp with the mask was placed in a burial at Trier (Werner 1997: 116, No. 81). In the collection of the Aquileia Museum, there are lamps with the Ammon mask depicted on factory lamps from the workshops of Eucarpus, Fortis, Strobilus, Verecundus (Buchi 1975: 224, Nos. 354, 438, 580, 992, 1032) and Atimetus (Rivet 2003: 92, No. 365). In addition, this mask adorns Italian and Italian-style volute lamps (Leibundgut 1977: 137, Motif 31, Nos. 128–129; Bailey 1988: 235, Q 1907), an Egyptian lamp of Broneer Type XXIII, and stemmed lamp-lids (Bailey 1980: 402–404, Q 1464–1465). Leibundgut pointed out that Jupiter Ammon was a god popular with the army and that its appearance cannot be taken as a sign for the veneration of an Egyptian god (1977: 195).

In the Jewish Quarter excavations a fragment with the broken stamp of the lamp-maker Phoetaspus [PHOET]ASPI (Fig. 6) was found in a fill.[10] Made of fine brick-red fabric, this one too can be attributed to the Modena workshops.

Fig. 5. Jerusalem, Roman dump. Base with stamp FORTIS (photo Clara Amit, Israel Antiquities Authority).

Fig. 6. Jerusalem, Jewish Quarter excavations, Area P3. Base with broken stamp [PHOET]ASPI (photo by Tal Rogovski).

At Caesarea Maritima, several imported lamps, probably from Modena, were discovered. Two bases with Fortis and Festi respectively came to light in the fills of the promontory palace (Sussman 2012: 23, Fig. 16: 2–3). A base fragment inscribed [FO]RTIS (Sussman 2008: No. 70) as well as two Loeschcke-Buchi Type Xa lamps (Fig. 7; Sussman 2008: 229, 270, Nos. 68–69), characterized by the continuous raised ring encircling discus, nozzle channel and wick-hole (Bailey 1980: 273) were found in another fill.

At Masada, a Type IXb lamp dated to 60–100 CE, attributed to the Second Roman Garrison (AD 74 to c. 115), is of uncertain origin. This fragment is certainly not North Italian, but possibly central Italian or a local copy (Bailey 1994: 93, No. 201). Not far from Masada, a locally-made base fragment of a lamp was found at Oboda (Negev 1986: 138, No. 1191; Sussman 2012: Fig. 16: 1, No. 72)[11] and a complete Type IXc lamp of unknown provenance exists in the collections of the Israel Antiquities Authority.[12] Both bear a blurred FORTIS stamp.[13]

At Byblos, a Type Xa lamp retrieved from a fill was decorated with the mask of a Satyr or of Pan. Judging from the brick-red clay description, this was probably an import (Fig. 8).[14] This type of mask has few close parallels: an Italian lamp of the fabricant Octavus (Bémont and Chew 2007: 202, IT 101), factory lamps recorded in the Danube provinces (Alram-Stern 1989: 110, Motif 58; Roman 2009: 126, No. 131) and volute lamps manufactured in Ephesus, copying Italian archetypes (Bailey 1988: 368–369, 374, Q 3027–3028).

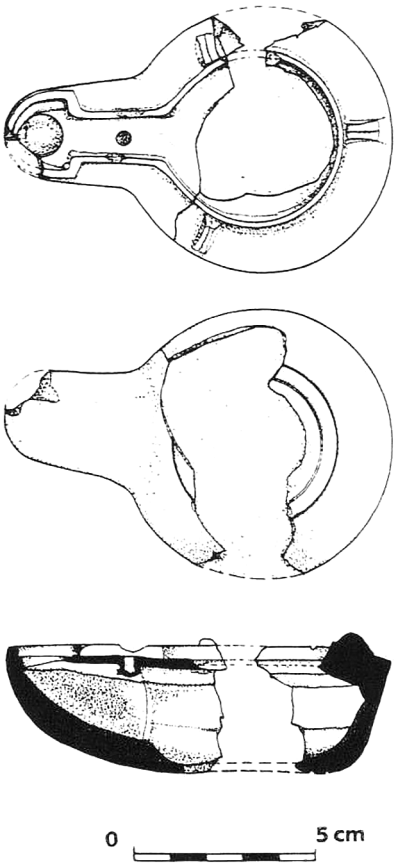

Fig. 7. Caesarea. Imported factory lamp (after Sussman 2008: 270, Fig. 68).

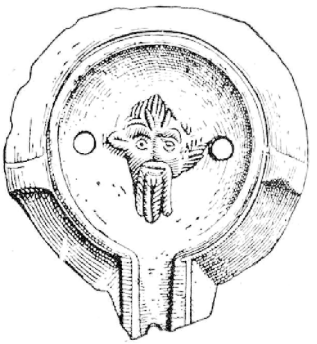

Fig. 8. Byblos. Lamp decorated with the mask of a Satyr or of Pan (after Dunand 1958: Fig. 739: 13774).

The dating evidence

Imported and imitated factory lamps from Jerusalem and Caesarea Maritima, the civilian and military capital of Judea since 6 BCE, are exceptional. The ceramic dump along Jerusalem's eastern *cardo* and the kiln works of the *Legio Decima Fretensis* at the International Convention Centre are crucial for dating and for the question who introduced factory lamps to the province.

The proposed time-span for the ceramic dump[15] is based on the imported fine ware and lamps, two classes of ceramics commonly used as relatively secure dating points. The tableware vessels in Eastern Sigillata A (ESA) and their local imitations fall within the years 75–125 CE, i.e. the last quarter of the 1st century and the first quarter of the second. The lamps include predominantly Broneer Types XXI-XXIII from eastern workshops as well as the local Judean lamps with spatulate nozzle and the Phoenician-Palestinian derivatives of Loeschcke VIII/Broneer XXV.

The kiln works have been extensively excavated.[16] A single local factory lamp fragment was retrieved in the 1992 excavations and can only be placed in the period after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE and before the Bar-Kohkba Revolt (132–135 CE; cf. note 9). The latest excavations at the kiln site, directed by Ron Be'eri and Danit Levi in 2009–2010, revealed three levels associated with the legion: Stratum Vb with pottery mainly in the tradition of the late Second Temple period (post-70 CE to Trajanic times), Stratum IV with an increase of legionary types and counter-marked coins (Hadrian until 132 CE), and Stratum III with military-style pottery (post-135 CE until ca. 180–200 CE).[17] Interestingly, pig bones, always a clear ethnic marker for Roman presence, came to light only in Strata IV and III, which did not yield any factory lamps.

The East

While in the western Mediterranean and in the north-western and northern provinces imported lamps are common and local manufacture existed, the situation is quite different in the East. This survey covers the region from the Black Sea to Egypt and includes Greece. The well-documented finds from sites in the Lower Danube provinces where factory lamps comprise the most common category in imperial times will not be discussed in detail.[18]

In Dacia, it is possible to track the different stages of commercial activities in military establishments and urban centres. Until the beginning of the 2nd century there are modest imports from north Italy, which intensifies after the first quarter of the 2nd century. From the second half of the 2nd century onwards, local workshops produced imitations and indigenous creations. These were widely dispersed in Dacia and reached Moesia via the ports on the Danube (Baluta 1986: 446; Roman 2008).

Excluding the Lower Danube region, less than fifty imported and imitation lamps have been found so far in the East. These were found in Corinth,[19] Athens,[20] western Asia Minor,[21] Pergamon,[22] Ephesus,[23] Antioch,[24] the Black Sea region[25], Chersonesus and Olbia Pontica[26] and Apsarus.[27]

An exceptional number of locally produced factory lamps come from Palmyra.[28] These lamps are imitations of Loeschcke-Buchi Type Xc, the latest development in the series are of lower quality in shape and fabric than the Italian and other provincial products (Buchi 1975: XXVII, XXXII). Saito dated lamps from Tombs A and C in the southeast necropolis to the 2nd century, while Heimberg dated lamps retrieved from Temple Tomb 36 to the 3rd century. These Palmyrene lamps have the characteristic groove surrounding discus and wick-hole, yet the nozzles are relatively short, lacking lugs and only occasionally have potter's marks.[29]

According to Heimberg, the three main lamp types of the Roman period include the Syrian-Palmyrene lamps with eastern late Hellenistic and Italian early Roman elements, the lamps with decorated discus, derivatives of

Loeschcke VIII/Broneer XXV, and the factory lamps that were commonly found in graves, though the proportion of each is different in every burial assemblage (1993: 83–84). So far, no imports of Italian or provincial factory lamps have been uncovered at Palmyra (Heimberg 1993: 112). Local potters developed an autonomous thriving local industry.[30] When and why imitations started remains an enigma. Derivatives of decorated discus lamps appeared approximately 50 years after those of the Levant, in the middle of the 2nd century. The artisans did not imitate pan-Roman imagery, but created a distinctive local spectrum (Heimberg 1993: 113). The contemporary production of factory lamps was part of this industry. Among the two thousand lamps Heimberg inspected in the site's storerooms, factory lamps far outnumbered those with decorated discus, indicating how fashionable they were (1993: 84, note 11).

Factory Lamp 'Derivatives'

The term was introduced by Hayes in his publication of the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (hereafter ROM). A lamp, presumably found in the Fayum and dated to the 2nd century CE, is assigned to the 'Phoenician' derivatives of the 'factory lamp' series (Hayes 1980: 88, No. 357). The lamp corresponds to Dora Type 29 (Fig. 9; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1985: 247). The lamps are found in domestic and funerary contexts on coastal sites from Antioch-on-the Orontes in the north and Dora in the south as well as on inland sites including the Nabatean settlements of Petra, Moa and Mampsis. In view of their widespread distribution several workshops must have existed besides the Phoenician ones.

Since then the term 'derivative' is adopted in several publications. They are present in the Shrine of Apollo in Tyre (Marchand 1986: 65–66, Nos. 69–73), and this author emphasized that the lamps from the Shrine of Apollo in Tyre 'display Phoenician decoration and may indicate Tyrian manufacture' (1986: 57). Lamps from the ez Zantur settlement in Petra (Grawehr 2006: 358) and in the catalogue of lamps in the Israel Antiquities Authority (Sussman 2012: 40–44) are of the same type. Common in the Beirut assemblages, the earlier decorated version is dated to the 1st century CE (Mikati 1998: 160, Pl. 19: 4a-b), the later plain version, to which the lamp in the ROM belongs, to ca. 250–350 CE (Mikati 1998: 160, Pl. 19: 3a-b).[31]

Sussman refers to a group combining features of Ephesus type lamps, Broneer Type XXIII and factory lamps, emphasising her claim that factory lamps 'play a central role in the fashioning of the local Eastern oil lamp industry' (2012: 21). Hayes, on the basis of two lamps from the Fayum, assigns Egypt a key role in the development of Italian factory lamps, defining one as precursor (1980: 95, No. 376) and identifying the second as 'Eastern counterpart (forerunner?) of the early version of the Italian 'factory lamp', Loeschcke-Buchi Type IX' (1980: 95, No. 377). However, this assumption is based on

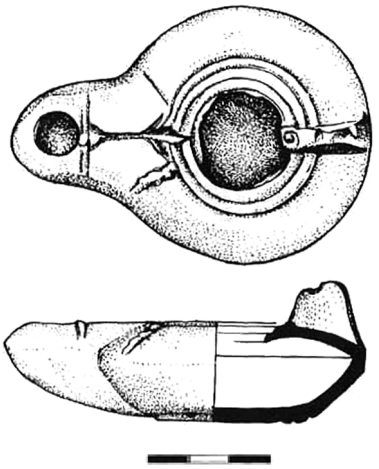

Fig. 9. Dora. After Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 282, Fig. 5.24: 3. (Drawing by Vered Rozen).

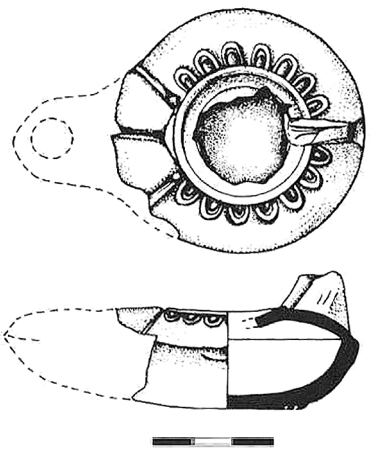

Fig. 10. Dora. After Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 282, Fig. 5.24: 4. (Drawing by Vered Rozen).

the hypothetical and disputed migration of fabricants from Egypt to Italy (see below).[32] In addition, Hayes lists three 2nd century lamps from the Fayum in Nile Valley Fabric as derivatives, combining elements of Italian factory lamps with Egyptian features (1980: 105, Nos. 417–419).

For the Phoenician 'derivative' lamps, this definition is inappropriate on several accounts. Even though their general shape is similar to that of the Loeschcke-Buchi Type Xc there are substantial morphological divergences. On the Phoenician lamps the raised ring is lacking, the shoulder is wider in relation to the discus and separated by ridges, the discus is concave (not flat) and the nozzle is relatively short. The oblique grooves marking the junction of body and nozzle on both sides occur on factory lamps, yet at the same time they recall the cable strip decorative element of Levantine late Hellenistic lamps (Frangié 2011: 332–333; Dobbins 2012: 148–149). The later plain version (Fig. 10) is a simplified continuation of the more variegated decorated group that is dated to the 1st century in the Beirut assemblages (Mikati 1998: 160). There are impressed dots flanking the wick-hole and the grooves at the top; the shoulder can be decorated with a row of ovules (Fig. 10; Sussman 2012: No. 147) or palmettes (Sussman 2012: Nos. 163, 184), with a wreath of myrtle and olive leaves (Sussman 2012: Fig. 33: 2), with rosettes (Mikati 1998: Pl. 19: 4a) and double axes (Sussman 2012: Fig. 33: 3), the nozzles can be decorated with double volutes (Sussman 2012: Nos. 137–140) or with stylised leaves (Sussman 2012: Nos. 141–143). The largest group in the collection of the Israel Antiquities Authority is published by Sussman who defined these as related to factory lamps and dated them the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (2012: 42–44,

Nos. 144–210). These are concentrated in western Galilee, in coastal sites and sporadically in the south of present-day Israel. The unpierced knob handle, which Hayes describes as a late Roman feature (1980: 88), is the rule. On the equally prevalent Phoenician lamps with floral shoulder decoration the handle is generally pierced (Fig. 10 = Dor Type 28; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 246–247, note the corrected time range of ca. 50–250 CE; Mikati 1998: 99, Type 13C dated to the 1st century; Sussman 2012: 42, 2nd – 3rd centuries for Dor Types 28–29).

These finds and the diffusion in the Levant exemplify that the Phoenician lamp manufacture during the 1st to 3rd centuries CE was a thriving industry with specific local features, characterised by an innovative style which can be described as 'neo-Hellenistic' in congruence with the Egyptian production in Roman times incorporating elements of Ptolemaic lamps (Bailey 1988: 226–227; Młynarczyk 2012: 118, Fig. 31: TA III.1; compare also Cahn-Klaiber 1977: 215, 373, No. 296). It is most unlikely that the extremely rare factory lamps in Phoenicia can have served as archetypes for that industry. To date there are no imitations of factory lamps recorded, and to postulate a probable morphological influence is far-fetched particularly in a region with a thriving tradition and industry. Hence it can be concluded that the lamps represent a local amalgam combining the Hellenistic shape with features of the Roman discus lamps. At Athens and Pergamon where altogether few imported factory lamps and local imitations have been found, the latter closely followed the archetypes and the potters did not add any new features (Perlzweig 1961: 109, Nos. 629–630; Heimerl 2001: 62–63). Yet, it is not a general rule; potters from the Lower Danube provinces sometimes added geometric ornaments and inscription on the shoulder and at the same time adhered to the basic shape (Bondoc 2008: Pl. 17: 8–9; Roman 2009: 44, Fig. 5; see also the Type Xc lamp on Pl. 10: 116).

Sussman incorrectly connects the factory lamps with the Roman military presence and states in the Caesarea report that 'they had influenced the fashioning of local lamps, especially lamps made in Phoenicia.' (2008: 229). The same conclusion is repeated in the catalogue of the lamps of the Israel Antiquities Authority: the lamps 'play a central role in the fashioning of the local Eastern oil lamp industry' (2012: 21) and 'had quite an influence on the local Phoenician lamp industry … of the 2nd century AD' (2012: 24). The numerical discrepancy between factory lamps and Phoenician and Phoenician-style lamps is substantial, and the latter outnumber the first by far. An influence on local potters is surely unlikely.

Fabricants

The appearance of factory lamps in Neronian or early Flavian times after the middle of the 1st century is well known (Leibundgut 1977: 42–43; Bailey 1980: 272; Gualandi Genito 1986: 261; Bailey 1988: 154; Heimerl 2001: 62). Examining

the finds from the Levant, Greece, Asia Minor, the Black Sea shores and Egypt, we find there were twenty fabricants represented by imports and imitations, with seldom more than one on each site, with the exception of Fortis with lamps widely exported and imitated in provincial workshops. To date, many of the north Italian Modena-based fabricants have been identified by chemical analysis, resulting from the study of some seven hundred lamps (Schneider 1994: 132–133, Tables 1A-B; 136, Table 2). The fabricants Atimetus, Communis, Fortis and Strobilis had at least two additional branch workshops located at Lyon and Trier (Schneider 1994: 134) and together with Phoetaspus are represented in Pompeii before 79 CE (Gualandi Genito 1986: 261).

One of the locally produced factory lamps from the Athenian Agora, attributed to the last quarter of the 1st century CE, has the maker's mark A – *alpha* on the base in relief, although its meaning is not clear (Perlzweig 1961: No. 629; on the Attic lamps see pp. 14–17).

Fabricant	Findspot / collection	Workshop	Type	Date / Comments
AGILIS	Alexandria Museum + Petrie Museum, London (Bailey 1988: 99)	Modena (Schneider 1994: Table 1B)	X	From the early 2nd c. onwards (Buchi 1975: 3–4)
APRIO / F[ecit]	Chersonesus (Bukina and Ilyna 2010: 53, Ill. 22)	Modena (Schneider 1994: Table 1B)	X	From the end of 1st c. onwards (Buchi 1975: 7–9; Gualandi Genito 1986: 273–276); first half of 2nd c. (Roman 2009: 55–56)
ARMEN	Olbia (Bukina and Ilyna 2010: 54, Ill. 24)	Provincial imitation	X	Armenius had a workshop in Romula in Dacia, operating in the second half of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd c. (Popilian 1996; Bondoc 2008: 54; Roman 2008: 223, Pl. 151: 11)
ATIMETI	Black Sea region (Waldhauer 1914: No. 556; Bukina and Ilyna 2010: 54)	Modena, branches in Lyon and Trier (Schneider 1994: Table 1A)	mainly IX, few X	Among the early fabricants from the last quarter of the 1st c. (Buchi 1975: 9–14; Bailey 1980: 91; Gualandi Genito 1986: 269–27; Bailey 1988: 96; Bémont and Chew 2007: 402; Roman 2009: 56–58)

List of fabricants (all dates are CE)

Fabricant	Findspot	Workshop	Type	Date / Comments
CAMPILI	Antioch, two lamps (Waagé 1941: 65, No. 119, Fig. 87)	Local production, Modena fabricant (Schneider 1994: Table 1B), probably branches in the Lower Danube provinces (Bémont and Chew 2007: 403)	X	From the beginning of the 2nd c. (Buchi 1975: 16–18; Roman 2009: 58–59)
CASSI	Ephesus, Italian import (Bailey 1980: Q 1175); Chersonesus, probably imported from Pannonia (Chrzanovski and Zhuravlev 1998: 75–76, No. 30)	North Italy (Loeschcke 1919: 296 (108); Buchi 1975: 19–21)	X	Probably worked in in the times of Trajan to Antoninus Pius, in Dacia local production is attested (Bailey 1980: 92; Baluta 1986: 444; Bondoc 2008: 54; Roman 2009: 59)
[C]OMVNIS	Jerusalem (Fig. 2)	Modena, branches in Lyon, Trier and Switzerland (Schneider 1994: Table 1A)	mainly IX, few X	One of the early 1st c. fabricants (Buchi 1975: 27–33; Gualandi Genito 1986: 272–273; Bailey 1988: 96)
CRESCE/S	Chersonesus (Chrzanovski and Zhuravlev 1998: 74–75, No. 29)	Modena, branch in Regensburg and an unknown workshop (Schneider 1994: Table 1A), workshops in the Lower Danube provinces (Bémont and Chew 2007: 404)	IX-X	From end of 1st c. (Buchi 1975: 33–44; Gualandi Genito 1986: 273–276)
FESTI	Caesarea Maritima (Sussman 2012: Fig. 16: 3)	Modena, branch in Trier (Schneider 1994: Table 1A)	IX-X	Active from late Flavian times until the first part of the 3rd c. (Buchi 1975: 61–63; Bailey 1988: 97; Roman 2009: 63)
FORTIS	Imports: two lamps from Caesarea Maritima (Sussman 2008: No. 70; 2012: Fig. 16: 2) and one from Pergamon (Heimerl 2001: No. 1032); Local imitations: Jerusalem (Figs. 3–5), Oboda (Sussman 2012: Fig. 16: 1), IAA collection, unknown provenance (Sussman 2012: No. 74)	Modena, branches in Lyon, Trier and four additional ones (Schneider 1994: Table 1A)	IX-X	One of the most prolific fabricants active probably from the middle of the reign of Vespasian onwards for at least 150 years (Buchi 1975: 65–93; Bailey 1980: 96; Gualandi Genito 1986: 279–284; Bailey 1988: 97, a date range from 70–230 in the northern provinces from Britain to the Black Sea; Bémont and Chew 2007: 405–406; Roman 2009: 64–65)

Fabricant	Findspot	Workshop	Type	Date / Comments
FRONTO	Athens (Perlzweig 1961: No. 120)	Modena, branches in Lyon and Trier by visual attribution (Schneider 1994: Table 1A)	IX-X	Not found in Pompeii, but in Vindonissa, workshop active in the late reign of Vespasian and in the times of Domitian and Trajan (Buchi 1975: 93–96; Alram-Stern 1989: 73)
[IEG]IDI	Olbia (Bukina and Ilyna 2010: 54–55, Ill. 25), probably Iegidius or Jegidius	Modena (Schneider 1994: Table 1B)	X	From Trajanic to early Antonine times, perhaps already in the late 1st c. (Buchi 1975: 107–109; Bailey 1980: 96–97; Roman 2009: 65)
LVCI	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, import (Broneer 1930: 88, No. 3315, unknown provenance)	Modena (Schneider 1994: Table 1B)	X	Active in 2nd and 3rd c. (Buchi 1975: 115–116; Gualandi Genito 1986: 287–290), in Dacia local production is attested (Baluta 1986: 444); it is suggested that some lamps found in Dacia were manufactured in Pannonia (Roman 2009: 65–66)
MYRO	Corinth (Broneer 1930: Nos. 526–527); Ephesus (Bailey 1980: Q 1175); Black Sea region (Waldhauer 1914: No. 555; Bukina and Ilyna 2010: 48–49, Ill. 12)	Central Italy	IX-X	Active ca. 75–90 (Bailey 1980: 98); the workshop produced also Vogelkopflampen and volute lamps with decorated discus (Bailey 1980: 191, Q 972; 265; Schneider 1994: Table 2)
PHOETASPI	Jerusalem (Fig. 6); British Museum (Bailey 1996: 130, Q 1962 bis, formerly in the Mustaki Collection, said to be from Egypt)	Modena, branch in Lyon and two additional ones (Schneider 1994: Table 1A)	IX	Flavian date, one of the earlier north Italian producers, late in the 1st c., the fabricant presumably immigrated to Egypt (Buchi 1975: 134–136; Bailey 1980: 100; Gualandi Genito 1986: 293–294; Bailey 1988: 99; Bémont and Chew 2007: 409)
PRVDE	Olbia (Bukina and Ilyna 2010: 53–54, Ill. 23)	Probably imported from Pannonia/Dacia; Modena fabricant	X	Second half of 2nd or 3rd c. (Bukina and Ilyna 2010: 53; Loeschcke 1919: 297 (109) does not locate the workshop)

Fabricant	Findspot	Workshop	Type	Date / Comments
Q.G.C.	Chersonesus (Chrzanovski and Zhuravlev 1998: 76–77, No. 31)	Modena, branch in Regensburg and one unknown (Schneider 1994: Table 1A)	X	Early 2nd to 3rd c. in Italy, end of 3rd c. in provinces (Buchi 1975: 96–101; Gualandi Genito 1986: 284)
SERENI	Pergamon (Heimerl 2001: No. 1035)	Northern Italy	IX	Active during a short timespan from Flavian times until the end of the 1st c. (Buchi 1975: 144; Gualandi Genito 1986: 294); Loeschcke mentions a lamp which by fabric cannot be a north Italian product (1919: 292 (104), note 257)
STROBILI	Alexandria (Cahn-Klaiber 1977: 100, 213–214, 365, No. 269); Egypt (Franzius 1985: No. 15); Chersonesus (Chrzanovski and Zhuravlev 1998: 73–74, No. 28)	Modena, branches in Lyon, Trier and two additional ones (Schneider 1994: Table 1A); workshops in the Lower Danube provinces (Bémont and Chew 2007: 410)	Mainly IX, few X	Flavian times, probably not later than 100 (Buchi 1975: 147–152; Hayes 1980: 94; Bailey 1980: 101, 274; 1988: 100; Gualandi Genito 1986: 294–296)
TANAIS	Asia Minor, bought in Smyrna, import (Broneer 1930: 88, National Archaeological Museum of Athens, No. 3313)	Modena (Schneider 1994: Table 1B).		

The Egyptian Connection

As in Asia Minor and the Levant factory lamps are rare in Egypt. However, there are discus lamps with volutes bearing Latin relief stamps similar to the lettering on factory lamps by the fabricants Phoetaspus (Cahn-Klaiber 1977: 99, 213–214, 217, No. 313; Hayes 1980: 94; Bailey 1988: 234, Q 1899–1900; 238, Q 1949 with references) and Strobilus (Bailey 1988: 246, Q 2013 with references). Phoetaspus' north Italian output comprises Loeschcke-Buchi Type IX lamps only, dated to Flavian times (Bailey 1980: 100). Loeschcke's reflection whether the fabricant Strobilus, like Phoetaspus, immigrated to Egypt or established a branch workshop in Egypt (1919: 286) is so far supported by a single locally produced factory lamp of Type IXc signed STROBIL (Cahn-Klaiber 1977: 100, 213, 365, No. 269). In addition, a late, probably 3rd century Italian Type X lamp in the Tübingen collection can most likely be assigned to an Egyptian findspot, having been found

together with sherds from the Sieglin Expedition (Cahn-Klaiber 1977: 213, 366–367, No. 276). In north Italy, Strobilus' output included mainly lamps of Type IX with few of Type X, of Flavian date and not later than c. 100 CE.[33] Scholars disagree about the interpretation of the meagre evidence. Cahn-Klaiber repeats Loeschcke's hypotheses that either the fabricants had concurrent workshops in northern Italy and Egypt or for some reason the Egyptian workshops were closed and new ones established in north Italy (1977: 213). Bailey assumes migration from Italy to Egypt (1988: 218; followed by Bémont and Chew 2007: 409, 418), and Hayes, contemplating an Alexandrian origin for the type, considers migration from Egypt (1980: 94). This interpretation would have an impact on the dating. In case Phoetaspus moved to Italy from Egypt he would have produced Type X lamps and the Egyptian lamps must date before 65–70 CE (Bailey 1988: 218). The problem is the lack of information on the dating of the imported and signed Egyptian lamps, for which Bailey suggests a Trajanic date 'on the assumption of the Italy-to-Egypt move' (1988: 99). They comprise two Type X lamps signed AGILIS in the Alexandria Museum and the Petrie Museum in London (Bailey 1988: 99) and two Type IXc lamps, one in the British Museum of the fabricant Phoetaspus with the dramatic mask of a slave (Bailey 1996: 130, Q 1962 *bis*) and the other signed STROBILI in the Museum of Osnabrück (Franzius 1985: 222, No. 15, Fig. 4, Pl. 24: 2).[34]

The Danube Connection

In the Roman-period cemetery of Regensburg in the province of Raetia two lamps were unearthed which recall the Phoenician lamps. The first was from a cremation burial (Schnurbein 1977: 164, Grave 504, No. 5, Pl. 59: 7), and the second was an unstratified find (Schnurbein 1977: 246, No. 7, Pl. 181). These lamps were classified as local products; the former specimen from Grave 504 was once described as having a nozzle reminiscent of volute lamps, connected to the factory lamps (Schnurbein 1977: 69, 164). These burials began not before the middle of the 2nd century CE, more likely towards its end, and ceased after the mid-3rd century (Schnurbein 1977: 123). Hayes mentions these finds (1980: 88), yet does not attempt to explain their presence or implications for dating. According to the typology of the Beirut lamps these could be attributed to the late version with a date range of ca. 250–350 CE (Mikati 1998: 160, Pl. 19: 3a–b), corresponding to Dora Type 29 (Fig. 9). Could they instead be non-local products and imports from Phoenicia? Though hypothetical, it is possibile that the lamps reached Danube military sites as personal property or keepsakes, similar to the coins from the First Jewish Revolt (66–70 CE) recorded at Carnuntum, brought back by army personnel (Reich 2009–10). Additional evidence for mobility from the Levant is the inscribed tombstone of Marcus Marius Apollinaris domo Hascal[one], i.e.

from Ashkelon, who in the 3rd century CE was laid to rest in Heiligenberg near Heidelberg (Reuter 2005: 98, 101, Fig. 95). Apollinaris was probably a trader engaged in long-distance commerce like the Palmyrenes in Rome (see below) and other Syrians who operated in ports and trading-centres such as Rhodes, Delos, Lyon, Augsburg and Tier, as well as sites in Italy and Spain—and are known through funerary inscriptions (Bowersock 1989: 75–77).

Conclusions

Several general trends can be observed. In the western part of the Roman Empire, large numbers of factory lamps have come to light. First, the centralized production in the Modena area and the branch workshops at Lyon and Trier clearly involved long-distance trade and distribution (Schneider 1994: 140). Second, poor quality local imitations generally had only a limited distribution in their area of production (Schneider 1994: 132–133). Third, individual sites display distinct patterns. For example, in the legionary camp at Vindonissa (now Windisch, in northern Switzerland), factory lamps found there dated from the second half of the 1st century to 100/110 CE when the site was abandoned. Chemical analysis showed that the major suppliers were from Modena (43.2 %), Lyon (32.8 %) and Trier (18.8 %), while the remainder came from minor workshops that did not use the local *surmoulage* technique (Schneider 1994: 129–132, Fig. 1). Yet, at a number of sites in Italy, Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia factory lamps were imports 'nearly exclusively from Modena' (Schneider 2000: 104).

Auer's recent comprehensive work suggests that the dominance of Fortis lamps probably resulted from the extension of distribution networks to the East in the wake of Trajan's wars and conquests. He proposed that the army might have imported lamps which were subsequently copied by local potters (2012: 13). Indeed, the role of the Roman army must have been substantial, though whether the situation in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire was similar to the Levant, the Black Sea, Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt is still equivocal. In the East, the numbers of imported and locally imitated lamps are few, while Fortis lamps are exceptions. Thus, these lamps were not dispersed in long-distance trade but reached their find-spots as personal property of individual military and administrative personnel, merchants, travellers and possibly artisans. Nevertheless, a marginal local industry developed at several sites with Palmyra as the exception.

From Levantine sites Jerusalem and Caesarea provide significant evidence. The finds from Jerusalem include two north Italian imports of the fabricants Communis and Phoetaspus, a local imitation lamp signed FORTIS, probably a product of the legionary kiln site at the Jerusalem International Convention Center, where two nozzles, one of a local, the other of an imported lamp were also found. At Caesarea north Italian imports comprise two fragments stamped FORTIS, another fragment

signed by Festus as well as a nearly complete lamp with the stamp missing and an unstamped specimen, both of Type X. The Type IXb lamp from Masada, either central Italian or local, probably belonged to a soldier in the Second Roman Garrison, stationed there from 74 to c. 115 CE. The probably local lamp base with FORTIS from Oboda was discovered in a residential area, while the army camp there is dated later, to Diocletian (Erickson-Gini 2014: 83). Nevertheless, the army units at nearby Mampsis, either during the Roman annexation of the Nabatean kingdom in 106 CE or slightly after is documented by funerary inscriptions (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2013: 52*, 63). The lamp of unknown provenance in the collections of the Israel Antiquities Authority to all appearances is another local product from a workshop within the borders of present-day Israel.

The lamps from Jerusalem are clearly of post-70 CE date. After the destruction by the Romans the city was no longer inhabited by Jews, but by Roman military and administrative personnel. Since north Italian factory lamps were imitated locally, some must have been in circulation among the inhabitants. Yet, this type was not popular. Judging from the assemblage found in the Roman dump of the eastern *cardo* the dominant types were the pre-70 CE wheel-made lamps with spatulate nozzle and eastern derivatives of Broneer Types XXII-XXIII and XXV (Rosenthal-Heginbottom forthcoming a). In the legionary kiln works near the Jerusalem convention centre only a small number of lamps have come to light. Considering the lack of moulds found, we can only assume that local production existed; either the lamp kilns were situated in a section of the vast complex not yet discovered[35] or they were the military potters'[36] personal property.

The specimen from Byblos is extremely rare, and those found in Antioch might have been the result of trade contacts. The Princeton expedition who excavated there published a handful of factory lamps, including an imported, probably north Italian lamp (Waagé 1941: 65, No. 118), two local imitations stamped CAMPILI (only No. 119 with photo), three local specimens of the Type X short version (not illustrated) and the locally produced miniature lamp of Type X (Waagé 1934: 65, No. 127), all probably not earlier than the 2nd century CE.

The extensive local Palmyrene production of factory lamps remains an enigma. So far, none have been found in Beirut, and there are none in the collection of the National Museum of Damascus. Yet, it is possible that in the later 2nd century, Loeschcke-Buchi Type Xc factory lamps reached Palmyra and served as prototypes for the considerable numbers found there. One explanation is that the interaction of Roman and Levantine merchants and traders who engaged in the long-distance trade through Palmyra (Bowersock 1989: 69–77; Fiema 1996: 191–193; Will 1996: 127–128) led to an occasional acquisition of factory lamps. Considering the road system, Tyre and Damascus would have been suited best. However, Antioch should also be considered as a find-spot

of imported and local lamps. Looking at the motifs of the Palmyrene discus lamps with figural decoration from Tomb 36, Heimberg noticed a dependence on figure-types common there (1993: 114, note 111), indicating that Palmyrene potters were influenced by craftsmen from Antioch. In sum, this meagre evidence supports the conclusion that the occurrence of imported and local factory lamps in the Levant was merely sporadic.

Appian of Alexandria, in his Roman history written between c. 145–165 CE, emphasised the role of the Palmyrenes, and informs us that 'as they are trading people, they bring Indian and Arabian products from Persia, and market them in Roman territory' (The Civil Wars, Book V.9; the translation in Carter 1996: 283). Inscriptions record the presence of a Palmyrene community in Rome; there was a temple to Palmyrene gods and Palmyrenes are attested in the *horrea Galbana*, the warehouses of the Galba. To reach the Mediterranean harbours the Palmyrene caravan trade could be directed through Tyre. Alternatively by reaching Emesa on the Orontes it was possible to continue along the river valley. It appears that in spite of their presence in Rome Palmyrenes did not acquire and bring back objects of daily use like lamps. Perhaps the cost of transport was too high and Italian lamps were not superior to locally and regionally produced lamps. This holds true for other urban centres such as Athens, Corinth, Chersonesus, Olbia, Pergamon, Ephesus and Antioch where few factory lamps were imported and imitated and all of which had a thriving local lamp industry.

This picture does not change when examining the evidence from Greece and Asia Minor. In Greece, merely a dozen lamps have been recorded. At Corinth the lamps were imported, while in the assemblage of the Athenian Agora two lamps were most likely Modena products (Perlzweig 1961: Nos. 120–121) and two were local (Nos. 629–630). Perlzweig noted that the Italian imports during Augustan times decreased in the second half of the 1st century (1961: 4), while Broneer suggested the reason for their rarity has to do with the availability of cheap local products. He pointed out that lamp imports from Italy to Corinth ceased at time of Domitian or shortly after (1930: 87–88). Bailey discussed the presence of the lamps signed Myro at Corinth by considering the existing trade networks through which central Italian rather than north Italian products reached the city (1980: 98).

Few lamps were recorded in Asia Minor; mainly imported lamps in Pergamon and fragments from Ephesus and Smyrna as well as local imitations in Pergamene fabric. In contrast to Palmyra, where many more local factory lamps were manufactured, at Pergamon there is evidence that prototypes were available.

Ten stamped lamps from the Black Sea shores are merely single finds. From the northern Pontic sites, Italian imports include lamps of the north Italian fabricants Aprio, Atimetus, Cresces, Iegidius, Q.G.C., Strobilus and Myro, from central Italy. Imports from workshops in the Danube provinces included Cassius and Prudens

as well as Armenius from the workshop in Romula in Dacia. The dating for most of these is between the 2nd and 3rd centuries as these lamps can only be dated by external criteria.

There are two hypothetical possibilities regarding their appearance in the Black Sea region. First, the finds are probably related to Roman military activities. From c. 63–66 to the 80's CE, Roman troops were stationed on the Crimean Peninsula. From the middle of the 2nd to the middle or third quarter of the 3rd centuries, the garrison at Chersonesus was a vexillation of the Moesian army (Chrzanovski and Zhuralev 1998: 21). Second, the lamps might represent the personal property of merchants and traders who engaged in commerce from West to East through the Danube provinces.

The Roman fort of Apsarus, situated on the southeastern shore of the Black Sea south of the Caucasus Mountains provides definite evidence for military activities. This fort was part of the Pontic *limes* and existed at least from the 70s if not earlier (Kakhidze 2008: 311–313). Among the particularly rich finds are an unstamped factory lamp of Type X,[37] tiles with Latin stamps and an Italic bronze tripod with a Latin inscription (Kakhidze 2008: Figs. 19–22). The existence of five cohorts in the fort around the year 132 CE and a 2nd century papyrus fragment, found in the Fayum and written by the veteran Martial who had served in a cohort stationed there (Speidel 1996: 657; Kakhidze 2008: 313) permits us to link the lamp to military presence.

Egypt is a special case. While various theories on the interdependence of Italian and Egyptian workshops have been summarized above, to date, there is no solid and dated evidence for any of these suggestions. Fabricants recorded are Agilis, Phoetaspus and Strobilus. Since these finds do not have archaeological contexts, little can be inferred about the consumers. In Egypt factory lamps are scarce.

For understanding the particulars of lamp production and distribution archaeologists are indebted to Harris's fundamental research published in 1980. Harris observed '… most simple terracotta lamps must have been made near to the places where they were sold at retail. Transport costs alone are enough to make this certain' (1980: 134). As a result long-distance trade is unlikely to be carried out on significant scale (1980: 144). Following some criticism this author modified his position and proposed that 'we should think rather of production centres selling to areas as much as several hundred miles across' (1993: 188). Having had the opportunity to work on three assemblages with hundreds of Roman period lamps and fragments, namely those from the eastern *cardo* dump and the Jewish Quarter excavations in Jerusalem, from the Omrit sanctuaries and the habitation fills at Dora, one may conclude that the manufacturing places were nearby; in urban communities such as Jerusalem and Dora they were local, and in a rural regions like Omrit the lamps mainly originated from the Phoenician

coast some 40 km to the west. Admittedly, in this region few workshops have been identified and only a handful of the lamps from these assemblages underwent archaeometric analyses. Signed factory lamps were manufactured in workshops far away from their original places of production, where local branch workshops were set up, managed by an *institor* who must have operated the concern for the owner (Harris 1980: 140). Schneider's chemical analyses confirmed the existence of branch workshops (Schneider and Wirz 1992: 41; Schneider 1994: 133). While there was some unauthorized imitation (Bailey 1980: 91 'pirating'), local lamps were dispersed in a restricted area in the vicinity of their place of production. At Vindonissa local copying by *surmoulage* was not practised (Schneider 1994: 132). There is no question that throughout the Roman Empire there were regional differences and that the choice of imitating lamps depended on the extent of local production on the one hand and on social, ethnic and religious attitudes on the other. These mechanisms cannot be understood by the material finds only, yet research should be directed to local and regional studies.

In Harris' opinion two groups are accountable for the distribution of factory lamps. First, the Roman army probably brought some Italian lamps with them, and later bought some more from traders attracted by the massive buying power that the military represented (1980: 139). Second, itinerant sellers of lamps were engaged in trading in the less urbanized parts of the Roman Empire, an activity which 'helps to account for the "thin" distribution of many lamp-makers' signatures over so many minor sites'; these travelling lamp- or pottery-traders visited the communities not from Italy but from provincial centres (Harris 1980: 142). This pattern of distribution conflicts with Schneider's conclusion that plentiful pieces indicate branch production and singletons *surmoulage* (1994: 144).

In the East the evidence for the import, local production, distribution and consumption of factory lamps is meagre and regionally different. It is unlikely that there were branch workshops and local production is more likely the result from unauthorized imitation. The Roman army contributed to the dispersion of factory lamps, though on a personal level and not due to trade activities. When traceable, local production was restricted to small numbers. Palmyra is the only exception where lamps are recorded in both domestic and funerary contexts. Acquisition by itinerant traders is possible, though the lamps can also represent their personal property. Factory lamps were of no economic significance; their occurrence is restricted to urban centres and military bases. The finds from the Roman dump in Jerusalem represent a re-deposited assemblage from living quarters of the military and administrative personnel, thus indicating social class. Altogether, there is an unambiguous preference for locally manufactured lamps, particularly the type with decorated discus, either figured or with ornamental design. Since all over the East a thriving industry of mould-made lamps had been

established since late Hellenistic times, there was no need to acquire and imitate these novel Roman factory lamps.

Notes

1 The assumption that Loeschcke-Buchi Type IX lamps appeared already in Augustan times since they were found together with coins minted during his reign is unfounded (Buchi 1975: 134; Roman 2009: 64); already Hayes pointed out that early imperial coins were in use much later (1980: 60, note 1). The question of precursor lamps is still unsolved, yet is not relevant for the present paper. Lamps in museum collections are included when there is reasonable probability that they were found in the region.

2 Chemical analyses of the lamps from Vindonissa revealed that nearly 90 % of the lamps reached the legionary camp from these centres, 76 % from north Italy and Gaul. Furthermore, the analyses demonstrated the verification of Loeschcke's classification into technical groups, the north Italian Group A from the Modena area, the Gaulish Group C from Lyon and the German Group D from Trier (Loeschcke 1919: 262–264; 74–76; Schneider and Wirz 1992: 35, 41).

3 For convenient illustrations see Buchi 1975: XXV-XXVIII, and for a short description see Bailey 1980: 273. See Buchi (1975) and Gualandi Genito (1986) for the most comprehensive research on the signed lamps and their distribution.

4 The excavations (2005–2010) were directed by the late Alexander Onn and Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah for the Israel Antiquities Authority on behalf of the Western Wall Heritage Foundation, and the publication of the Roman period pottery was entrusted to the present author.

5 Following Hayes 1980: 58 I use the definition 'imitation' and not 'copy'.

6 Such pellets form when using plaster moulds, a feature taken as evidence for local production. However, Schneider and Wirz point out that at Modena lamps were produced in clay models as well as in plaster moulds (1992: 38–40, Figs. 6–7). This observation underlines the necessity of chemical analysis for workshop identification. In the case of the lamp from Jerusalem it is the fabric which connects it to the fine ware of the legionary kiln site.

7 Loeschcke defined the two basic Types IX and X with three subdivisions each and Type XK, a less common version with a short nozzle; the earlier Type IX with a closed nozzle channelgroove and Type X with open channel from the turn of the 1st to the 2nd centuries (Buchi 1975: XXV-XXVIII; Bailey 1980: 273; Werner 1997: 108–108). The chronological distinction is between Types IX and X; it is disputed whether the features of the subdivisions have chronological significance.

8 For comparatives, see: (Loeschcke 1919: Nos. 954–956; Buchi 1975: Nos. 354, 438, 992, 1032; Cahn-Klaiber 1977: No. 271; Leibundgut 1977: Pl. 10: 762; Bailey 1980: 278–279, Q 1159, 1189–1191; Hartmann 1992: 61, Motif Catalogue 1709–1710; Bukina and Ilyna 2010: Fig. 4

9 A similar nozzle fragment of probably local manufacture was retrieved there made of the Fine Ware 1 without a slip and of small size, both indicating imitation (Magness 2005: 102–103, Fig. 33: 2, Photo 32 bottom).

10 The lamp, from Area P3, is unpublished. The lamp was retrieved in a post-70 CE fill of a miqveh. I thank Hillel Geva for the permission to include the find.
11 The drawing published in the report (Negev 1986: No. 1191) is incorrect. The six letters read FORTIS.
12 The lamp was among 18 lamps purchased and given by Y. Tzadik to the Israel Antiquities Authority in 1975, thus it is most likely a local find. I thank Adi Ziv-Esduri for this information (Sussman 1989: 25, Fig. 1; 2012: 200, No. 74).
13 In her catalogue of the Israel Antiquities Authority collection Sussman includes a factory lamp from a burial at Lahav, with a suggested 2nd century date or somewhat later (2012: 23, 200, No. 75, Fig. 15). However, the shoulder decoration comprised of three rows of closely-spaced raised points is not found on factory lamps. Furthermore, the brown-red fabric colour can not be considered an indication of either local production or import. This lamp should be a hybrid type of local manufacture. While this lamp displays Hellenistic and Roman elements in shoulder decoration and shape including the elongated nozzle and the large filling-hole, it does not have the essential features of the factory lamps. Relevant morphological divergences comprise the kite-shaped reservoir with a broken large central filling-hole, leaving a rudimentary narrow discus, the decorated shoulder and a solid knob handle; reminiscent of factory lamps Type IX is the ridge separating shoulder and discus and continuing along the nozzle, though it bifurcates above the wick-hole and does not encircle it. Sussman's reference to the Attic production of 'alpha globule' lamps is valid as far as the shoulder decoration is concerned (2012: 23). Appearing around the middle of the 1st century and continuing throughout the 2nd production and consumption reached a peak in the late 1st - early 2nd centuries CE (Perlzweig 1961: 15). Like the contemporary Pergamene production (c. 50–150 CE) the Attic lamps have a round nozzle decorated with scrolled volutes, a plain discus and a pierced handle. The long-lived shoulder decoration continues a Hellenistic tradition (Bailey 1980: 414, Q 713 *bis*; Heimerl 2001: 54, 92, Group 8 c). It is also characteristic of the Italian fat-globule lamps of the late 3rd to the early 5th century CE (Bailey 1980: 377–381) and of Tunisian lamps with a kiln excavated in Carthage, dated to the end of the 3rd and beginning of 4th centuries (Bailey 1988: 181, Q 1725–1731). Relatively uncommon in the Levant the shoulder decoration occurs on lamps with round body and short, rounded nozzles, found in Petra, Gerasa, Jerusalem, and Gaza (Grawehr 2006: 320–321, Nos. 319–320, a date in the first half of the 3rd century is suggested; Sussman 2012: 46, Fig. 38: 1–3; 356, Nos. 211–213—all with two rows of raised points). While the lamp from Lahav is difficult to classify and to date it is unlikely that factory lamps were the archetype.
14 Dunand 1958: 621–623, Fig. 739, No. 13774, diameter 6.7 cm; Frangié and Salles 2011: 286, Pl. 12.
15 The details will be found in Rosenthal-Heginbottom forthcoming a; for a summary see Weksler-Bdolah and Rosenthal 2014: 48–53.
16 See Magness 2005; for a short discussion see Magness 2011: 319–320; Weksler and Bdolah and Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2014: 53.
17 I wish to thank the excavators for entrusting me the pottery publication of Strata V-III which will be presented in Rosenthal-Heginbottom forthcoming b.

18 In Moesia and Dacia imports from Italy and Pannonia as well as local imitations have been recorded (Kuzmanov 1992: 163; Baluta 1986; Bondoc 2008; Roman 2008; 2009: 45–46, 77–78)
19 Broneer 1930: 87–88, Nos. 526–531.
20 Perlzweig 1961: 4, Nos. 120–121; 109, Nos. 629–630.
21 Broneer 1930: 88, the lamp No. 3315 in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens.
22 Heimerl 2001: 62–64, Nos. 684–686, 1031–1035.
23 Bailey 1980: 285, Q 1175.
24 Waagé 1934: 65, No. 127; 1941: 65, Type 45, Nos. 118–119, the author mentions additional lamps.
25 Besides Chersonesus and Olbia Chrzanovski and Zhuravlev (1998: 72, note 149) mention Tyras as find-spot of the unstamped lamp in the Hermitage (Waldhauer 1914: No. 463), a harbour where a unit of the Classica Flavia Moesica was stationed.
26 Chrzanovski and Zhuralev 1998: 71–77; Bukina and Ilyina 2010.
27 Kakhidze 2008: 321, Fig. 22 upper left.
28 The definition of 'local' is supported by three observations: the lack of Italian factory lamps and lamps with decorated discus, the popularity of the type at Palmyra and the existence of a thriving local industry. Of course, only archaeometric analyses can provide definite proof. The results of the chemical analysis performed on factory lamps from the Roman cemetery of Heidelberg in Germania Superior illustrated that lamps judged by low quality fabric to be local products were imported. Among the 23 factory lamps analyzed, 11 were definitely made in Trier and four probably, one was a Modena product and one assigned to a regional workshop, probably Heidelberg (Schneider and Hensen 2009: Figs. 2–3, List 1). Amy and Seyrig 1936: Pl. LII: 21–23; Fellmann 1970: 41; Michalowski 1963: 176, Fig. 230: 72; 1964: 131, Pl. 3: 8, No. 72; 175, Pl. 8: 7–8, Nos. 26–27; Sadurska 1977: 181: Fig. 130; Heimberg 1993: 89–90, Nos. 4–8; Saito 1994: 96–98, Group C.
29 The characteristic feature of the Loeschcke-Buchi Type X lamps is the channel created by the continuous ridge encircling discus and wick-hole. Loeschcke explained it as a technical improvement: drops of oil when filling the reservoir were collected within the closed space (1919: 256–257). While it is possible that this feature was the reason for imitating factory lamps, the concave discus of volute lamps has the same effect.
30 In the western district of Palmyra, three pottery kilns, dated to c. 100–200 CE, were excavated; among the lamps retrieved, there was a single factory lamp (Krogulska 1996: 344, Pl. IIA).
31 For the two plain lamps found at Antioch the tentatively suggested 5th-6th century date is too late and not supported by stratigraphical evidence at other sites (Waagé 1941: 66, Nos. 144–145).
32 To date there is no evidence for such an assumption. Derivatives of factory lamps are also identified in the lamp production in the Golf of Fos (Rivet 2003: 92, Nos. 369–370). Indeed, the lamp No. 369 has two lugs placed on the shoulder close to the nozzle in the manner of factory lamps, and the shape of the lamp with knob handle resembles the Phoenician lamps. On the one hand, in a region like Gaul with factory lamps produced at Lyon, it should not come as a surprise to find local imitations which gradually lead to

morphological changes. On the other hand, the near absence of factory lamps on sites along the Phoenician coast (the exception is the Byblos find Fig. 8) makes it unlikely that the local lamps imitate Italian archetypes.

33 An imported lamp of Strobilus was found in the mausoleum of the Aurelia family at Sarmizegetusa with a coin of Trajan, suggesting that in Dacia his lamps were still in circulation in the early 2nd century (Alicu and Nemeş 1977: 19; Gualandi Genito 1986: 295).

34 The lamp is part of the collection of physician Dr. Schledehaus, who died in the 19th century in Alexandria where he lived and collected antiquities (Franzius 1985: 211). Thus it is most probable that the lamp was found in Egypt.

35 Elizabeth Murphy who is researching the spatial and technological organization of crafts production at legionary sites suggested during a visit to Jerusalem in June 2015 that small pottery vessels such as lamps could have been placed as add-on to tile and brick kilns.

36 The question is whether the potters were Jewish or Romans. From the middle of the 2nd century BCE until 70 CE potters was produced by Jewish potters. It has been argued that after the destruction of Jerusalem Jewish potters could no longer have been active. However, recent excavations close to the site of the Crowne Plaza Hotel clearly indicate two occupation phases between the two Jewish revolts. There is evidence that Jewish potters operated the kiln site for the Roman administration until the late years of Trajan's reign and that thereafter Roman military potters took over; the change could result from repercussions in the wake of the Diaspora Revolt (115–117 CE; Rosenthal-Heginbottom forthcoming b).

37 With no information on the fabric it is not clear whether the lamp is imported or a local product.

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A Newly Identified Persian Period Cemetery? A Response to Kletter and Nagar

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Israel Antiquities Authority

A recently published study by Kletter and Nagar (2015) claims to have identified an Iron Age II cemetery at Yavne. While I do not discount the possibility that this cemetery, or at least a part of it, dates to the Iron Age II, I would argue that the published data better fits what we know from the Persian period.

Most of the tombs from this cemetery were devoid of artifacts, rendering them difficult to date with certainty.[1] The authors date them to the Iron Age II on the basis of the following (Kletter and Nagar 2015: 20*):

1. Both types of burials [cist tombs and pit graves] were found at the same elevation, without any evidence of cist tombs disturbing or cutting pit graves;
2. Almost all the burials were similarly oriented along an east–west axis;
3. Several pit graves were located very near and along walls of cist tombs (e.g., L509a, L1003a, L1009a).

These observations are also valid for Persian period cemeteries. One need not look further than Tel Michal (Davies et al. 1989; Herzog and Levy 1999), where not only are both cist tombs and pit graves found alongside each other, but are also generally oriented along an east-west axis, similar to most Persian period tombs (cf. Wolff 2002: 133).

While Iron Age II finds are present in this cemetery, they are not as numerous as Kletter and Nagar suggest. Several artifacts should be redated to the Persian period.

The storage jar illustrated in Fig. 29: 7 is misidentified as an Iron II vessel. The parallel cited for this vessel from Tel Batash is indeed an Iron II storage jar, known as a Sagona Type 7 (Sagona 1982: 83–85; Fig. 2: 7), but this type differs from the illustrated jar in that it has non-twisted handles and a body that tapers towards a pointed base. This vessel has twisted handles and a 'waisted' body, both characteristic of Persian period straight-shouldered storage jars (cf. Stern 1982: Type H6, Fig. 152). Such vessels are often found in Persian period tombs in coastal sites (Wolff 2002: 138).

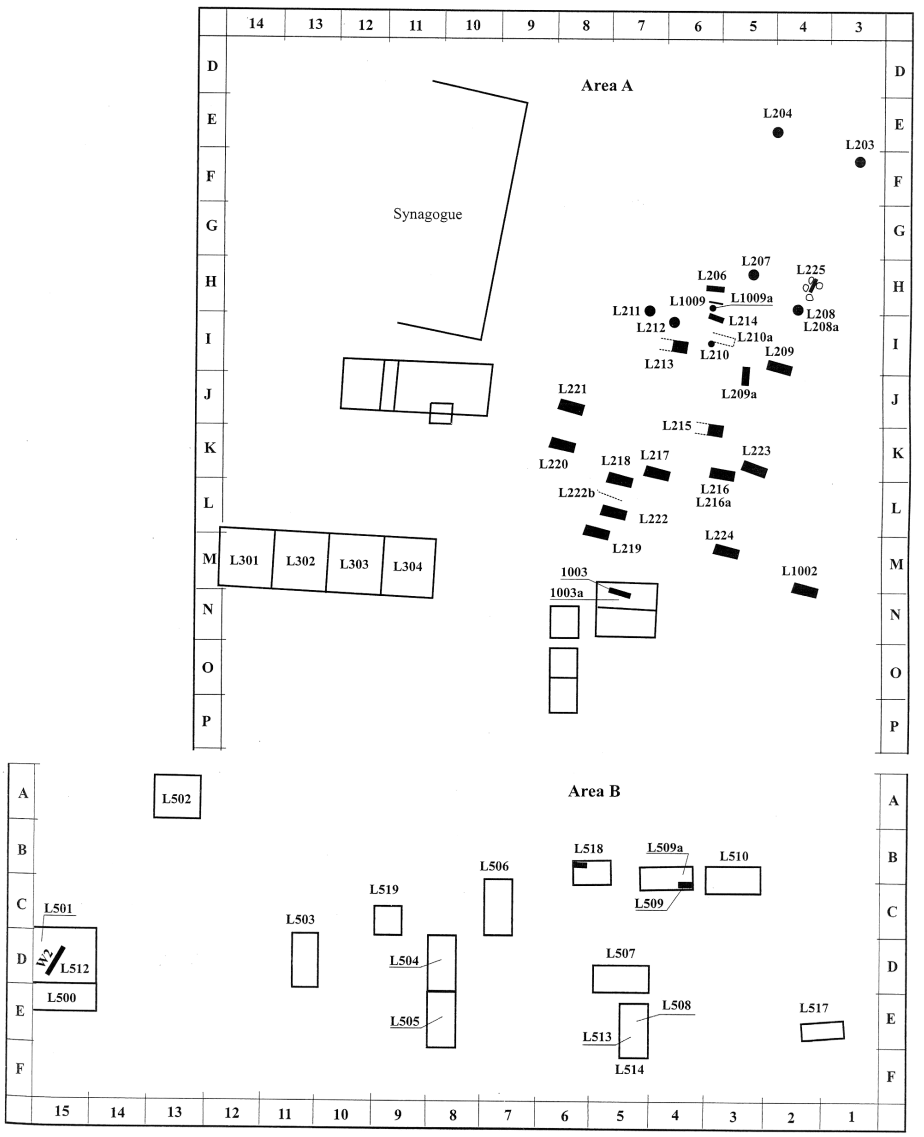

Fig. 1. Plan of tombs from Yavne.

Several years after publication of their finds, Brandl showed that Iron finger rings (Fig. 30: 3, 4) do not appear in the Iron Age and should be dated to the Persian period (Brandl 2012).

The two bronze fibulae (Fig. 30: 7 and one from L509a [not illustrated; Kletter and Nagar 2015: 14*]), which first appear in the Iron II, are more commonly

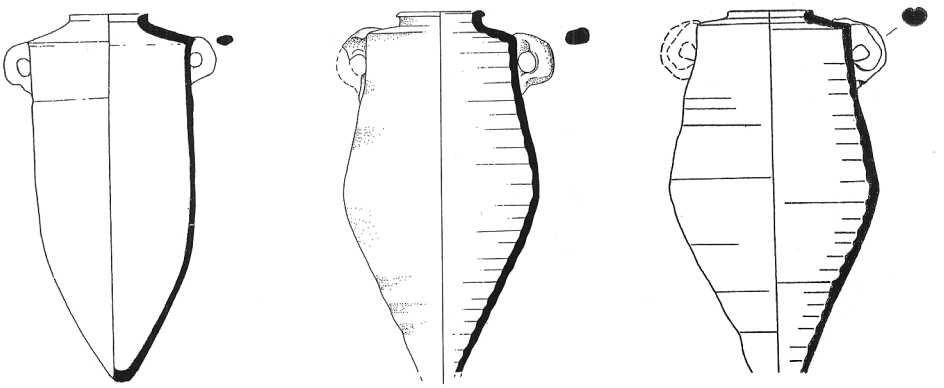

Fig. 2. Persian period storage jars.

encountered in the Persian period (cf. Brandl 2000: 198, 199). A similar fibula was found elsewhere at Yavne along with other metal objects dated to the Persian period (Gorzalczany et al. 2010: Fig. 10: 3).

The bone handle (Fig. 30: 8) certainly belongs to a bronze mirror (cf. Stern 1983: Fig. 248, from ʻAtlit), an object that typically appears in Persian period contexts.

Most of the Persian-period finds mentioned above were found in cist tombs. The bone handle and the second bronze fibula were found in pit burial L509a, which could also date to the Persian period (Kletter and Nagar 2015: 14*). The Iron Age pottery published in Fig. 29 derives from both cist and pit tombs; the three complete or almost complete vessels (Fig. 29: 1, 8, 11) were all found in pit graves, whereas the sherds come from both cist and pit graves. One has to wonder whether the sherd material should be associated with the original phase of these burials or whether they seeped in as a result of post-depositional processes.

I would argue that all of the cist tombs should be dated to the Persian period, and that some of the pit graves should be dated to Iron II. If one accepts Kletter and Nagar's assumption that all of the tombs are contemporary, however, then a problem exists that cannot be resolved given the paucity of evidence. Just as there is a Late Bronze Age tomb in this cemetery (Kletter and Nagar 2015: 6*–7*), the ceramic finds suggest an Iron II presence as well. To argue that the entire cemetery dates to the Iron II is unwarranted, as is the attempt to connect this cemetery to the Philistine finds from the spectacular favissa found elsewhere at Yavne. Rather, the cist tombs (and perhaps some of the pit graves) probably belong to a Persian period occupation, one that is attested by finds from several excavations conducted in the general vicinity of Yavne (Taxel 2005: 144–145, Gorzalczany and Barkan 2006; Gorzalczany et al. 2010).

Notes

1. I am grateful to Baruch Brandl of the Israel Antiquities Authority for providing me with helpful comments and references.

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Still an Iron Age Cemetery: A Response to Samuel Wolff

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First, I would like to thank Sam Wolff for his comments, and wish to clarify some points. Our article was written in 2002 and only updated partially later (Kletter and Nagar 2015: n. 7). It would be unfair to expect it to follow recent scholarship (Gorzalczany et al. 2010; Brandl 2012). Wolff is inexact in assuming that we dated the cemetery by the types of burials, their orientation, or the proximity of cist and pit burials. Rather, these observations were made to support the view that both cist and pit burials are roughly contemporary. This data was used as the beginning hypothesis, not the final argument for dating. We certainly did not overlook the fact that similar burials are found in the Persian period (Kletter and Nagar 2015: 20*). All along the coast, both cist and pit burials appear in these periods (cf. Bloch Smith 1991: 28, 55, 57; Dixson 2013: 478, 485, 490). Wolff (2002: 136) suggested that there was a break between Iron Age and later Persian burial customs. Yet, similar burials appear in both earlier and later periods, including Late Bronze, Byzantine, and Early Islamic periods.

Secondly, we dated the Yavneh cemetery by the finds. Yet, their paucity or complete lack in many burials complicates this task. In addition to meager finds, the Persian Period is difficult to define in the archaeological record (De Groot 2012: 174–175). It is indeed true that some finds such as the jar (Fig. 29: 7), iron finger rings, and perhaps the bone handle, are post Iron-Age. Some finds such as the earrings or *fibulae* appear in both the Iron Age and Persian periods.

Yet, the clear Iron Age II pottery, including complete vessels such as bowls, a juglet and jar (Fig. 29: 8) must be put in context. Hence, the cemetery certainly existed in the Iron Age.

Thirdly, it seems that on the one hand, the cist tombs with stone lining neither only date to the Persian Period, nor do the pit tombs lacking architecture only belong to the Iron Age. On the other hand, pit burials have either Iron Age or Persian period finds. If the cist burials were added later, we would assume they would have cut or disturbed at least some of the nearby pit burials. We found no evidence

Fig. 1. Yavneh, Tomb 224.

for this, even though circumstances were far from ideal as many graves had to be excavated quickly over the course of one day. Six experienced archaeologists, with each one responsible for several graves, and several others were present to assist in the excavation (Kletter and Nagar 2015: 30*, note 1). While clearly some graves date later than others, we believe that the whole area is one continuous cemetery that continued into the early Persian period. Negative evidence such as the lack of items such as coins, late *mortaria*, or Attic/black slipped pottery support this dating.

Fouthly, Wolff suggested that it is unwarranted 'to connect this cemetery to the Philistine finds from the spectacular *favissa* found elsewhere at Yavne.' Since the cemetery existed in the Iron Age, when offering a short summary on Iron Age Yavneh (Kletter and Nagar 2015: 29*), the *favissa* must be mentioned. Similarly, in two extensive volumes on the *favissa* (Kletter et al. 2010: 1, 8; Kletter et al. in press), we mention the cemetery only incidentally. We did not suggest a direct connection between the two.

In sum, this cemetery dates from the Iron Age and continues later into roughly the 6th century BCE.

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A History of the Archaeological Museum of the State of Israel in Jerusalem, 1949–1965

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This paper reviews the forgotten history of the museum of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (hereafter IDAM) in Jerusalem, which until 1965 was the central archaeological museum of the State of Israel. From its humble beginnings with a small temporary exhibition in 1949, the creators of this museum gathered together a large and important collection of antiquities. These founders hoped to create the cornerstone for the future new central museum of Israel. However, the State entrusted the general manager of the Prime Minister's office, Tedi Kollek with the establishment of this new museum. In 1962, Avraham Biran, who worked closely with Kollek, was appointed director of IDAM. Biran eventually transferred the treasures of the IDAM to the new Bronfman Museum, the archaeological section of the Israel Museum.

Introduction

Several museums existed in Jerusalem since the mid 19th century, including a short-lived Ottoman Imperial Museum (St. Laurent and Taşkömür 2013; Shay 2007; Cobbing and Tubb 2007). In 1938, the British Mandate government established the large Palestine Archaeological Museum in Eastern Jerusalem designed by the renowned architect Austen Harrison with a $2M donation given by John D. Rockefeller, still known today as the Rockefeller Museum (Iliffe 1938; 1949; Sussman and Reich 1987; Shay 2009). A small, little-known museum for archaeology, established by the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (IDAM) existed in Jerusalem from 1951 to 1965. The objects from this collection were transferred to the new Israel Museum situated in Western Jerusalem, overlooking the Monastery of the Cross, in 1965, before being inaugurated that year.[1] This study is dedicated to the museum of the IDAM, which closed fifty years ago and has rarely been mentioned since (e.g., Broshi 1994: 325–326; Inbar and Shiller 1995: 20, 32–33).[2]

The Temporary Exhibition in 1949

In July 1948, after the establishment of the new State of Israel, and when the first Israeli Antiquities Unit was established, there were few antiquities and no

physical place to exhibit those objects (Yeivin 1955: 20).[3] After independence, the Rockefeller Museum was under Jordanian control, on the other side of the border. To maintain governmental continuity after the establishment of the State, employees of the Mandatory Department of Antiquities continued to work in the newly formed Antiquities Unit, under the auspices of the Public Works Administration. However, without a central museum building, it was felt that no position for Keeper of the Museum could be established. Hence, one year later, in 1949, Dr. P.P. Kahane was nominated instead as the first Keeper of Regional Museums, even though few museums existed at that time (*Alon* 3, 1951: 64; GL1340/14, Yeivin, memorandum 18.11.1949: p. 1).[4]

In the summer of 1948, excavation of a rich Roman period tomb in Netanya provided the catylist for the first thoughts concerning a public exhibition. Already during the excavation, Emanuel Ben-Dor, then Deputy Director of the Antiquities Unit, raised this idea in an unofficial talk to the Head of the Public Works Administration. In September, the Antiquity Unit's Director Shemuel Yeivin proposed creating an exhibition during the coming Succoth holiday several weeks later, with invited guests including both governmental ministers and civil servants (GL44864/14). In October, a 'series of exhibitions' was discussed after more finds were discovered at Tiv'on, near Haifa (GL44864/14, report 14.10.1948).

By November, Yeivin wrote that when the Antiquities Unit was funded, the fate of the Rockefeller Museum was not yet clear. Hence, discussions about a museum were avoided. Yet, in Yeiven's words the number of antiquities that flooded into the Antiquities Unit:

> …require registration and treatment… Therefore, we suggest in the budget estimation to start modest activity in this field by nominating a treasurer to handle all this museum material. To this unit should belong also the Keeper of Regional Museums and Private Collections. (GL44883/8, attached to letter of 29.11.1948)

Yet, this was merely a plan as there was no physical museum. Preparations for the exhibition lagged, and by June of 1949 there was still no available venue. The opening was postponed several times until, eventually, a temporary exhibiton was opened at School C in Tel-Aviv on July 27th, marking one year of operations for the Antiquities Unit. The numismatist Bruno Kirschner (cf. Kersel and Kletter 2006) helped with the exhibition and David Remez, Minister of Transportation, formally opened it. This first, modest exhibition had several sections: ancient sites, preservation of monuments, excavations of the Antiquities Unit, surveys, relations with the public, and knowledge of antiquities (GL44846/14, May and June 1949; *Alon* 3, 1951: 56). Unfortunately, no detailed descriptions survive.

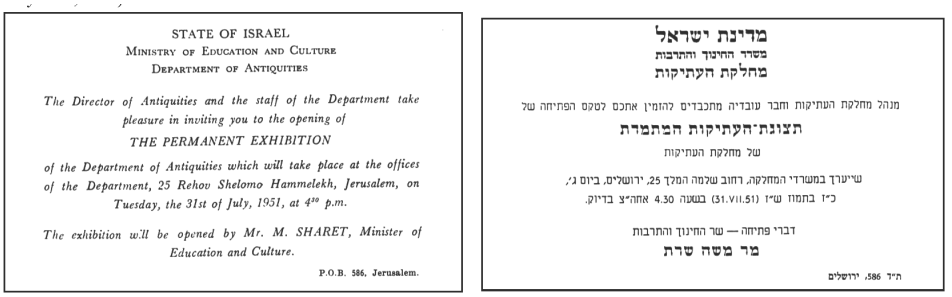
While Jerusalem was besieged in 1948, the Antiquities Unit began work in Tel-Aviv. In August 1949 this Unit relocated to offices in Jerusalem (Kletter 2006: 322–324). The temporary exhibition was moved too and re-opened by Zalmann Shazar,

Fig. 1: Temporary exhibition, Jerusalem 1949, unknown photographer (Courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority, i299).

Minister of Education on the 18th of September in the 'Palace Building' (Fig. 1). For the next three weeks, until its closure on 6.10.1949, more than 7000 persons visited (GL44874/3, summaries; GL44864/14, 14.10.1948; Yeivin 1955: 20; 1958: 54).[5]

In December 1950 the inventory book of the future 'museum' was started. According to Kahane:

> From now on, every item and every group of items shall be registered in the inventory [book] immediately upon entering the Unit's offices. Therefore, all the workers should pay attention to the following rules:
>
> A) Each object will be brought to the room of the museum with an attached label describing its whereabouts (coordinates), date of finding, relation to the file and to the [supervision?] report number, signature of bringer, and date of arrival.
>
> B) An object brought to the Unit for checking or cleaning, or any other treatment, will also be registered in the inventory [book]; therefore it too shall be first brought to the museum room.
>
> C) One should brief the museum about returning any object to owners after cleaning or checking, in order that it will be erased from the inventory. (GL44873/10, Kahane, 29.12.1950).



STATE OF ISRAEL
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES

The Director of Antiquities and the staff of the Department take pleasure in inviting you to the opening of
THE PERMANENT EXHIBITION
of the Department of Antiquities which will take place at the offices of the Department, 25 Rehov Shelomo Hammelekh, Jerusalem, on Tuesday, the 31st of July, 1951, at 4[30] p.m.

The exhibition will be opened by Mr. M. SHARET, Minister of Education and Culture.

P.O.B. 586, Jerusalem.

מדינת ישראל
משרד החינוך והתרבות
מחלקת העתיקות

מנהל מחלקת העתיקות וחבר עובדיה מתכבדים להזמין אתכם לטקס הפתיחה של
תצוגת־העתיקות הבתמדת
של מחלקת העתיקות
שיערך במשרדי המחלקה, רחוב שלמה המלך 25, ירושלים, ביום ג',
כ"ד בתמוז ש"ז (31.VII.51) בשעה 4.30 אחה"צ בדיוק.

דברי פתיחה — שר החינוך והתרבות
מר משה שרת

ת"ד 586, ירושלים

Fig. 2: Invitation for the opening of the permanent exhibition, July 1951 (GL44874/3).

Apparently, there was a museum book before a physical museum existed. The room where these objects were placed must have been part of the director's office. Registration procedures were complicated, as a slightly later document reveals. Objects were registered in two stages according to three different categories. In the first stage, the objects entering the IDAM permanently were registered by a running number preceded by the Hebrew letter 'resh' (Hebrew for *rishum* – registration). Temporary objects (e.g., private antiquities brought for cleaning) were registered under 'resh zayin' (Hebrew for *rishum zemani* – temporary registration). Coins received the label 'resh mem' (Hebrew for *rishum matbe'ot* – coin registration). In the second stage, three separate card indexes were used to identify the objects (by serial number; type; and site name). The basic registration number was composed of the year and a running number. For example, object '53–115' meant the 115th object registered in 1953 (GL 44873/10, letter 30.3.1959). This number is known today as the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) or State Treasures' number.[6]

The Permanent Exhibition (1951)

By the summer of 1950, as the number of antiquities increased greatly, the Antiquities Unit focussed on creating a permanent exhibition.[7] On 31 July 1951, Moshe Sharet,[8] acting as Minister of Education opened this permanent exhibition to 350 invited guests and dignitaries (Fig. 2). In size, the exhibition occupied one room and part of a corridor. A slightly later source (GL44883/9, 13.5.1953) mentions two modest halls with approximately 1000 objects. These finds were exhibited by periods, but also as 'sections' through time (e.g., the oil lamp in various periods) or in an 'educational' (i.e. typological) arrangement (Fig. 3). The periods ran from the Paleolithic to the Byzantine, with one vitrine displaying Umayyad period pottery. There were also some objects from neighbouring countries, acquired by indirect exchanges (GL44874/3, summary 26.7.1951). Yeivin hoped that the exhibition would form a kernel for a future central museum, which must 'fully

Fig. 3: The Permanent Exhibition, 1951, unknown photographer (Courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority, i4502).

display the culture of the Land and the history of its development' (GL44874/3, summary 26.7.1951; letter 27.7.51; *Alon* 3, 1951: 4; *Alon* 4, 1953: 1; Yeivin, 1955: 20; 1958: 54).

The opening was positively portrayed by the journalist Avramski in the *Ha-Dor* newspaper:

> If we take in consideration the short period of work of the Antiquities Unit, the condition of work, and the excavations and surveys it dealt with, than the exhibition will not seem so poor in our eyes. That, since it forms no continuation to Rockefeller Museum, which is detached from us; but creation from zero; as simple as that …

> Anybody who happens to visit the exhibition will see what was done in the field of Archaeology in the State of Israel during three years. At the entrance to the exhibition room are written on a table the places where the Unit made excavations during this time... The capital cities, Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, occupy a major place … The few finds in the exhibition are arranged by periods and also by subjects: lamps, coins, Israeli art. There are no surprising or amazing exhibits, but the material has the power to draw the attention of educated persons, even if they are not professionals… In fact we can divide the remains, in our imagination, into two sections: the practical, material section – house items, lamps, building remains; and the artistic-magic section – earrings, rings, amulets… Few remains – but by added imagination they have the power to reflect some trends of the development of material culture of the Land in many places and periods. (Sh. Avramski, *Ha-Dor* 8.8.1951)

Stressing that archaeology should be a wide humanistic science, rather than a narrow professional one, Avramski praised the Antiquities Unit and Yeivin as having such wide humanistic awareness. Considering Yeivin's professional work, this is a suitable and fitting appreciation of this man, who kept his integrity in the face of severe trials.

Others in Israel at the time were far less supportive. The broadcasting service Israel Voice radio (*Kol Yisrael*) ignored the opening completely. Yeivin was offended and complained:

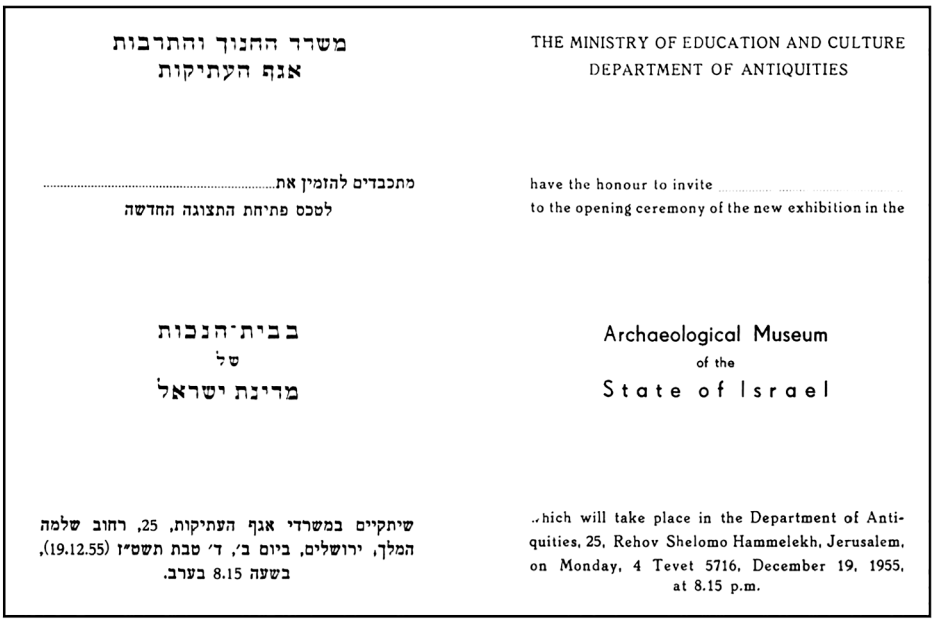
> I heard three times on August 2nd … a fairly detailed broadcast about the opening of an Israel National Fund (*Keren Kayemet LeYisrael*-KKL) exhibition. I do not envy your announcements of KKL activities, which surely are of great interest to all Israel; but why do you discriminate and pass in silence acts of other Governmental Bodies, to which you should allegedly help – since finally you too are a governmental body? (GL44874/3, 5.8.1951)

The Museum Develops (1951–1957)

A permanent exhibition meant that the doors had to be open regularly for the general public. This required two guards and moderately priced entry tickets (GL44874/3, letter 13.8.1951; GL1340/14, budget proposal 1951/2, 15.11.1950; *Alon* 4, 1953: 14). In the summer of 1952 the museum was enlarged by temporary exhibitions in two corridors. In 1953 three more rooms were added, by shifting workers to a wooden hut outside the building. The exhibition grew to a total of 1,400 objects. By September 1955, approxmately 9,000 people had visited (GL44883/9, budget summary 13.5.1953; Yeivin, 1955: 20; 1958: 54; *Alon* 4: 1953: 14).

In 1953 the Keeper, Kahane was responsible for the first exhibition sent abroad, entitled: 'From the Land of the Bible.' This successful exhibition travelled through Europe and the USA, from New-York, to Washington, Boston, followed by Britain, Holland, Sweden, and Norway. In total, 191,000 visitors came to see it (Yeivin, 1955: 20–21; 1958: 56).

Two years later, in 1955, the Antiquities Unit was renamed and became the


משרד החנוך והתרבות
אגף העתיקות

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES

מתכבדים להזמין את.....
לטכס פתיחת התצוגה החדשה

have the honour to invite .....
to the opening ceremony of the new exhibition in the

בבית־הנבות
של
מדינת ישראל

Archaeological Museum
of the
State of Israel

שיתקיים במשרדי אגף העתיקות, 25, רחוב שלמה המלך, ירושלים, ביום ב', ד' טבת תשט"ז (19.12.55), בשעה 8.15 בערב.

.hich will take place in the Department of Antiquities, 25, Rehov Shelomo Hammelekh, Jerusalem, on Monday, 4 Tevet 5716, December 19, 1955, at 8.15 p.m.

Fig. 4. Invitation to the enlarged museum, December 1955. Notice the proud title 'Archaeological Museum of the State of Israel' (GL44874/3).

Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (IDAM), receiving more space in a building on King Solomon Street (*Alon* 5–6, 1957: 3). The museum was enlarged, occupying most of the ground floor, (c. 250 m^2) and opened daily, even in the afternoons (Fig. 4). The announcement for the re-opening stated:

> Now it is possible to present the exhibitions in a more educational way, since it is not enough to bring the object itself in front of the viewer; one must exhibit it in context with its technical making and its use in former daily life. Sometimes, even in addition to groups of other finds from a certain place or site.
>
> Near the exhibits are short inscriptions explaining their nature, date and relation to biblical or external written sources. The exhibition includes also side-photos, which describe sites [and] methods of excavation… There are also gypsum replicas of finds that are of interest for an Israeli exhibition, or finds found in Israel but exported (during the Ottoman time) to the central Museum in Istanbul. In addition, the exhibition holds maps and diagrams that explain various aspects of the discussed archaeological periods. (GL44873/4, summary 22.12.1955; *Alon* 5–6, 1957: 4)

The document described the finds by rooms (following is a summary):

> *Entrance corridor*: mosaic pieces, ossuaries and architectural fragments, Hellenistic to Byzantine periods.

> *First Hall:* architectural pieces, mosaics and funerary *stelae* of 'post Second-Temple' periods, mosaics from the Samaritan Synagogue of Sha'alabim (Selbit), and Roman period statues.
>
> *Room 1* (left of Hall 1): educational exhibition with finds from neighbouring cultures (Egypt, Assyria, Syria, etc.); fragments of Rhodian jars; jewellery; Jewish coins from neighbouring countries; indicative shards (Neolithic to Mamluk periods).
>
> *Room 2* (west of Hall 1): Stone Age finds.
>
> *Room 3* (south of Hall 1): temporary exhibitions from new excavations.
>
> *Room 4* (corridor): finds from Beth Shean, 'Talmud and Sages' (=Byzantine) periods.
>
> *Second Hall*: 'early' periods.

The visitor proceeded from the Yarmukian to the Late Bronze Age, but the highlight was reached near the end:

> Finally, in this hall are exhibited the material remains of the Israelite Culture of the days of the Judges and the Kingdom [meaning Israel and Judah], with their wealth of pottery forms, decorated or plain, seals, [seal] impressions, bone tools, jewellery, and a few examples of typical Philistine pottery vessels...
>
> The collection [=Museum] should draw mainly school children, who can see here with their own eyes the material background for the periods on which they study in Bible, History, and Knowledge of the Land classes in school. (GL44874/3, 22.12.1955)

On June 6th, 1956 Yeivin invited Prime Minister David Ben Gurion to visit the museum. Yeivin hoped that the visit would occur soon, before the excavation season, so that he would be able to guide the prime minister personally. However, no such visit materialized.

In 1955–1958 the IDAM Museum presented numerous exhibitions (Table 1). Perhaps the most successful was 'Religion and Cult in Eretz-Israel in Antiquity'. Miriam Tal praised it in *Haboker* newspaper:

> The exhibition touches many periods; it is composed of statues, cult vessels, other vessels, decorations, items from cemeteries, etc. The explanations that accompany the exhibits are clear even to those who are not experts, and the entire exhibition is arranged with good taste, clarity and logic.
>
> From the Neolithic… to the Byzantine period, many are the exhibits. A mysterious-poetic atmosphere overtakes the viewer who is not an expert (perhaps even a few experts too…). The corbelled ceilings of the old house in which the archaeological museum is located add much to the exhibition's atmosphere.
>
> Cult and religion: how large this world, how rich, and how many surprises still await a discoverer! This land, our homeland, was as is well known a meeting place

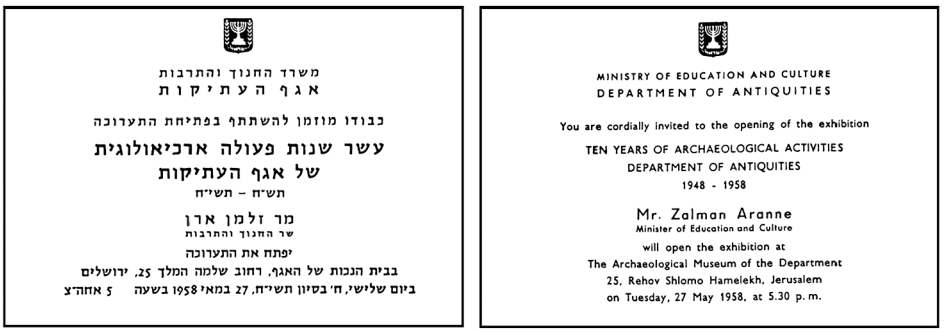
No.	Year	Topic	Theme
1	April 1952	'New acquisitions: Kebara cave, Bney Brak, Beth Yerah, Na'an, etc.'	Sites
2	April 1953	Beth Yerah	Site
3	Early 1954	Chalcolithic sites in the Beer Sheba region	Sites
4	Spring 1954	Excavations at Nahal Hever	Site
5	August 1954	Nahariya excavations	Site, cult
6	1954	New mosaics	Mosaics
7	1955–56	Beth Shearim, Ginosar, Bir Mata, Ma'ayan, Baruch, Caesarea	Sites
8	October 1956	Exhibition for UNESCO Museum Week	Special
9	October 1956	How to arrange an 'antiquities corner'	Educational
10	1956–57	Enlargement, new rooms: prehistory, Israeli (Iron Age), Jerusalem (for IES conference)	Various
11	1957–58	Two week-exhibitions: Gath (al-'Areini); Enan; Metzer; Kh. Sheikh Ali; Yasin Tomb, Jerusalem	Sites + lectures
12	July-Dec, 1957	Religion and Cult, for the 2nd World Congress of Jewish Studies	Cult
13	March 1957	Pottery vessels, lamps and new finds - for the Friends of Antiquities seminar	Pottery
14	May 1958	Ten Years Special Exhibition	
15	1958–59	Two-week exhibitions: Gath, Achzib, Kabri, Azor (two exhibitions); Beer Safad; Ruhama; Kfar Truman; Roglit; Jaffa; Givataim; Adulam region survey.	Sites + lectures

Table 1. List of exhibitions.

of cultures and religions: the Bible told us much about the struggle of the religion of Moses and Israel against the various kinds of idol worship. However, in the last generation the archaeological discoveries filled in a vary tangible way what we knew from the pages of the book of books. Here we see how the Land was full of various beliefs, gods, images, spirits, and magic.

A great French poet, Gérard de-Nerval (who hanged himself in Paris one hundred and one years ago), felt more than any other poet, in any time, the cry of the ancient idols … "They will come back, the gods that I always mourn', said de-Nerval in one of his poems,[9] the poems of a '*Kabbalistic* gentile". In these low rooms with corbelled ceilings I feel as an echo the words of the French poet, who sang on Jesus, Isis, Osiris, Artemis, and the Great Goddess – in the same breath!

One among the idol statuettes was imprinted on my memory – a statue of a horned-Astarte, elongated, tense; the Goddess has a sensuous-cunning smile; the style, if I may say so, recalls the modern sculptures of our age. Another statue (one leg broken) describes, if I am not mistaken, the god Ba'al. He is elongated and 'tense' just like Giacometti's sculptures. Almost all the jugs, plates and other vessels are nicely, cutely beautiful. Those who renew pottery making in our Land can learn from their ancient brothers simplicity and natural sense for the pure form. (Miriam Tal, *Haboker*, 13.9.1957)



משרד החנוך והתרבות
אגף העתיקות

כבודו מוזמן להשתתף בפתיחת התערוכה

עשר שנות פעולה ארכיאולוגית
של אגף העתיקות
תש״ח – תשי״ח

מר זלמן ארן
שר החנוך והתרבות

יפתח את התערוכה

בבית הנכות של האגף, רחוב שלמה המלך 25, ירושלים
ביום שלישי, ח׳ בסיון תשי״ח, 27 במאי 1958 בשעה 5 אחה״צ

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES

You are cordially invited to the opening of the exhibition

TEN YEARS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES
DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES
1948 - 1958

Mr. Zalman Aranne
Minister of Education and Culture

will open the exhibition at
The Archaeological Museum of the Department
25, Rehov Shlomo Hamelekh, Jerusalem
on Tuesday, 27 May 1958, at 5.30 p. m.

Fig. 5: Invitation for the opening of the Ten Years Exhibition, May 1958 (GL44874/3).

Tal's *affair d'amour* with the space was not shared by Yeivin or employees of the IDAM. Time and again Yeivin complained about this inadequate, damp and badly maintained building (Kletter 2006: 194–197).

In 1955 the museum had 1,985 fee-paying visitors (free visitors were not counted). There were 6,008 visitors in 1956 and 8,995 in 1957 (GL44873/4, 1.12.1957). By 1957–58 there was a Museum Unit with eight workers, laboratories for pottery restoration and a small chemistry lab. The Museum occupied three halls, four rooms and two small corridors.

The Anniversary Exhibition (1958)

By late 1957 Yeivin wrote in the annual report of plans for a special exhibition marking the achievements of Israeli archaeology in the last decade (GL44883/12, 4.12.1957:18). This was in tandem with the celebrations of the State's ten-year anniversary.

This particular exhibition was opened by the Minister of Education Zalman Aranne in May 1958 (Fig. 5) with the title: 'Ten Years of Archaeological Activities of the IDAM, 1948–1958' (GL44873/4, 27.5.1958). The exhibition described the achievements of the IDAM in three aspects:

1. Archaeological progress in Israel, from 320 IDAM excavations with finds 'from the prehistoric to the Byzantine periods', including seven synagogues and 25 churches.
2. Conservation of monuments.
3. Establishment and growth of the 'Archaeological Museum of the State of Israel'. The author (unsigned, but certainly Yeivin) described briefly the history of the Museum, various exhibits, and the addition of a special room dedicated to finds from Jerusalem. (GL44873/4, 27.5.1958)

Media coverage of this exhibition was brief and factual:

> As its names indicates, the exhibition covers only exhibits found or acquired from the beginning of the State and those by the IDAM alone. One area was dedicated to surveys and to conservation of monuments. In the large hall there are remains of ancient synagogues … and ossuaries, especially from Herodian period tombs. In a corner in another hall there are Christian-Byzantine exhibits, and in the rest of the hall – Greco-Roman art (mainly sculpture). This creates a kind of an axis covering – Jewish-Christian-Pagan [art]. (GL44873/4 6.6.1958)

Yeivin's decision to stress only the IDAM backfired. Yeivin wanted the IDAM Museum to lead visitors from the pagan through the Christian to the Jewish world, without referring to Moslems. Yet, a reporter sensed the opposite direction: backwards, from the Jewish world to the pagan (GL44873/4 6.6.1958).

Deterioration and Closure (1958–1965)

The summary of the anniversary exhibition concluded:

> Not everything collected by the IDAM can be exhibited in the limited area at the service of the Museum in this building. Steps have been taken for establishing a proper house for the museum, and one should hope to be able to arrange in the new building a permanent exhibition fitting itself and the IDAM too. (GL44873/4, summary 27.5.1958).[10]

These words hide a major power shift in Israeli archaeology, which affected the IDAM Museum. Until 1955, the IDAM's position was strong, with quick growth, and establishment of its own central museum. The IDAM made hundreds of excavations including large-scale excavations with prestigious foreign teams, established a popular magazine called *Alon* and a scientific journal called *'Atiqot*, and was a significant contributor for the preservation of ancient sites.

In 1955, Yeivin was involved in two prolonged and bitter conflicts. The first occurred with the Hebrew University. Yeivin inexplicably refused to allow either of his workers, Ruth Amiran or Yohanan Aharoni, leave to excavate at the university-sponsored excavation at Tel Hazor under Yigael Yadin. This is perplexing, since this occurred after the university had often assisted the IDAM by 'lending' students to help with their salvage excavations. Yeivin certainly did not anticipate the consequences. The archaeological council, an IDAM advisory body, was paralyzed, and later replaced by one dominated by Hebrew University professors. As a result, the IDAM's status quickly deteriorated.

The second conflict occurred with the new Government Tourist Company, headed by Tedi Kollek, later the mayor of Jerusalem and a man of great political influence. Yeivin was misled to think that the IDAM would be an equal partner involved in governmental decisions concerning preservation and development of ancient sites and a new museum building. In fact the opposite happened, and

when the government created a committee to establish a new central museum in 1957, Kollek was given overall responsibility for the project. The IDAM was not represented at all (Kletter 2006: 214–283).

As the number of visitors continued to grow, the IDAM Museum remained open until the end of 1964. By March 1959, 36,291 people visited; almost half were school children. Yet, the museum was living in limbo. As the new Israel Museum started to be built in the early 1960s, the contrast with the IDAM Museum could not be clearer. This status change found expression in the museum's title, from the proud 1955 'Archaeological Museum of the State of Israel', to just the 1958 'Archaeological Museum of the Department [of Antiquities]'.

Few documents exist concerning the museum from 1960 to 1965. Apparently, Yeivin's successor, Avraham Biran, as Director of IDAM from 1961 to 1964 (cf.Ilan 2009) wrote far less than his predecessor. Soon after Biran's nomination, Hanoch Rinot, then General Manager for the Ministry of Education, visited the IDAM and expressed his 'joy from exhibits and archaeological achievements on the one hand, but being aware of cramped, difficult work conditions on the other hand.' Rinot discussed with Biran, 'matters of the national museum… the composition of the managing committee and a representation of the Ministry of Education in it' (GL44871/7, Rinot to Minister of Education, 9.8.1961).

The new Israel Museum was a conglomerate of several entities, including the Bezalel Art Museum, the Shrine of The Book, and Bronfman Museum for Bible and Archaeology.[11] In his handwritten notes, Biran often used the term 'museum' without further specification. Here, we added specific names as possible. A brief note by Biran summarized the conversation with Rinot:

> ...the establishment of [the Bronfman] Museum and the problems related to it concern an institution among institutions (Bezalel, Shrine of the Book). The relationship that will be between the museum and the IDAM, therefore also the Ministry of Education. The [Israel] Museum's committee has no representative from the Ministry [of Education]. (GL44871/7, handwritten note)

Biran viewed these issues from the point of view of the Israel Museum, without even mentioning the IDAM Museum. Two highly surprising handwritten drafts follow (Docs. 1–2). Both are undated and untitled, showing considerable alterations (translated fully, with additions marked by italics; words deleted by strike-through were originally marked). We lack final, printed documents (perhaps Biran decided not to print them, despite the note at the top of Doc. 1: 'print in triple space!').

Note that the first document was written on Hebrew University headed paper (Fig. 6a-b):

> [Page 1] [The] Bronfman Museum is intended to be *in my view* the central museum for archaeology [*in Israel*]. [This should be] a living institute, which reflects

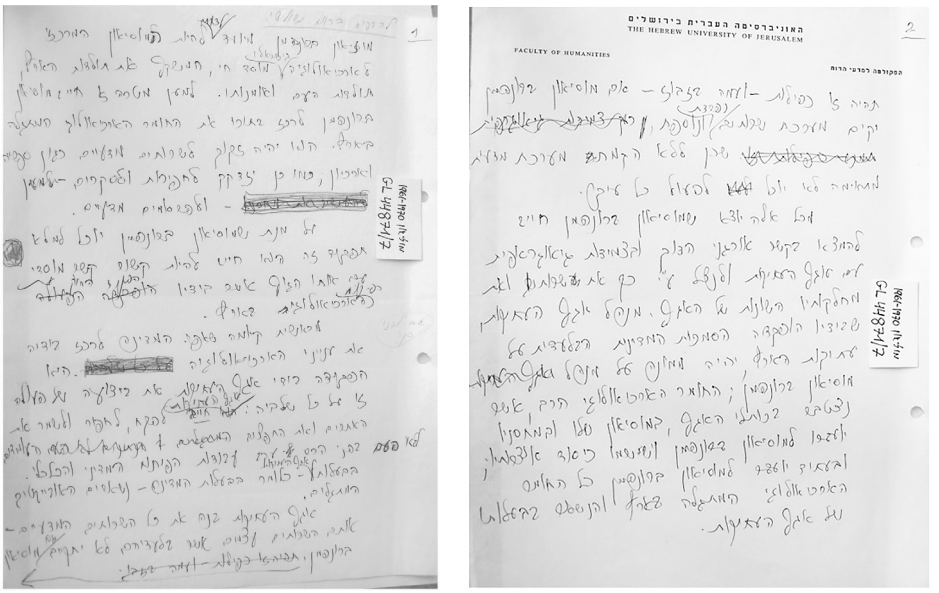


Fig. 6a-b: Biran, Document 1, September 1961 (GL44874/3).

the history of the Land, the history of [its] people and its art. For that aim [the] Bronfman Museum must concentrate inside it the archaeological material that is being discovered in Israel. It will need scientific services such as a library and archive; and also [carrying out] excavations and surveys – ~~for enriching its stores~~ – and [for] scientific publications.

In order to fulfil this role the Bronfman Museum must be tied institutionally with that body, which was entrusted with *the Law and* the archaeological ~~activity~~ [replaced by: supervision] in the Land [of Israel].

From its beginning [right margin note: 'even before that!'] the State strove to concentrate in its hands the matters of Archaeology ~~in all its stages~~. It entrusted the IDAM with performing this activity in all its stages: ~~it~~ [replaced by: the IDAM] must supervise, excavate and preserve the sites and the objects ~~discovered in given at~~ standing not once in the face of destruction due to economic and political development. The discovered objects remain in the IDAM's ownership – that is, in the State's ownership.

The IDAM built all the scientific services – the same services without which the Bronfman Museum will *also* not exist.

[P. 2] It will be a duplicate – with it a waste – if Bronfman Museum will build a *separate* additional system of services. ~~Only an immediate geographical proximity will prevent such duplication~~. Since without establishing a fitting scientific system it could not act at all.

Therefore, it transpires that Bronfman Museum must stand in close, organic

> connection and in immediate geographical proximity with the IDAM, and by this use the various departments and services of the IDAM. The Director of IDAM, in whose hands were entrusted the sole political authority over the antiquities in the Land, will be responsible over the director of ~~IDAM~~ Bronfman Museum; the considerable archaeological material, which was gathered among the walls of the IDAM, in its Museum and in its stores, will be moved to the Bronfman Museum and serve as basis for its treasures. In the future all the archaeological material, which is discovered in the Land and which stays under the ownership of the IDAM, will be moved to the Bronfman Museum. (GL44871/7)

Document 1 begins with the Bronfman Museum. The main issue allegedly concerned services including a library and laboratory, which the IDAM had, but the new Bronfman Museum lacked. As if shocked to realise that this new museum could have been planned without crucial services, and stressing that a double set of services would be wasteful, Biran suggested transferring the IDAM Museum to the Bronfman Museum and placing himself, as Director of the IDAM, responsible for the Bronfman Museum.[12]

Most telling is the Freudian slip: 'The Director of IDAM … will be responsible over the Director of IDAM', later corrected to 'the Director of Bronfman Museum'. It suggests that in Biran's mind the two positions were unified in one person. When he thinks about the future Director of Bronfman, he thinks about the Director of IDAM, namely, himself.

Yet, this raises a thorny problem, since the IDAM Museum belonged to the State but the Israel Museum did not. Could the Bronfman Museum be put under the responsibility of a civil servant, without it becoming property of the state?

A simple solution would have been to lend antiquities from the IDAM to the newly-created Bronfman Museum, as lending to any other non-governmental museum. Placing Biran responsible over the Bronfman Museum did not need to involve the closure of the IDAM Museum. The problem was neither Biran's position, nor duplication of services (such as the laboratory or library), but duplication of museums. Each museum could have had a distinctive character, for example, turning the IDAM Museum into a museum for Jerusalem alone. Yet, such an idea is never mentioned.

This second document is written on plain paper (Fig. 7a-b):

> [Page 1] 'As in all cultural countries, *so in Israel* the antiquities discovered in Israel ~~belong to~~ are the property of the State. ~~Responsibility for them~~ In certain conditions it gives the ownership to another body (excavator) or individual (discoverer). The ancient objects that are State property are gathered in the IDAM Museum, partly exhibited, partly undergoing work (cardexing, mending, photography, etc.), and partly in stores. ~~To a certain extent~~ The Director of IDAM is responsible over them *and on all the antiquities (sites, buildings, and objects)*; the highest authority is at the hands of the Minister of Education and Culture.

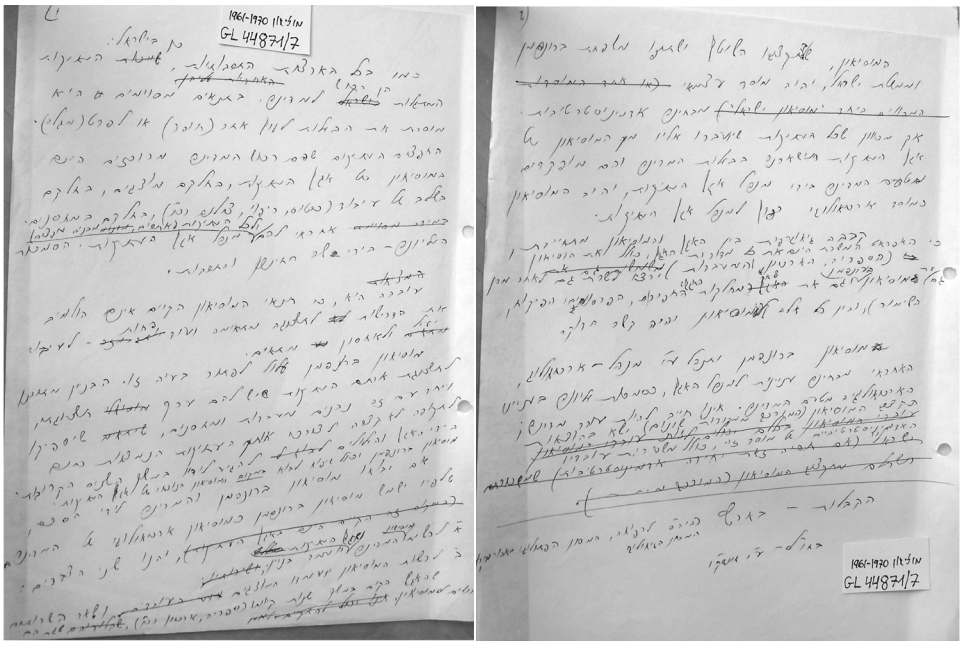


Fig. 7a-b: Biran. Document 2, September 1961 (GL44874/3).

~~The reality~~

It is a fact that the conditions of the present [IDAM] Museum do not fit the requests for permanent exhibition, and even ~~more~~ less so efficient work and proper storage.

Bronfman Museum might [sic, *'alul*] solve this problem. The building fits the exhibition of these antiquities that have ~~museal~~ exhibitional value. Yet labs and stores are built, which will ~~fit~~ suffice for a considerable period for the sake of the antiquities found at present in the hands of the IDAM, and [these] which might reach its hands within the coming years. Therefore, Bronfman Museum can come instead of the present IDAM museum.

Should Bronfman Museum and the State reach agreement, according to which Bronfman Museum will serve as the archaeological Museum of the State ~~instead of the museum existing now in the IDAM~~, than both sides will benefit:

A. At the disposal of the State *Museum and the IDAM* will be placed a building, ~~and its services~~.

B. At the disposal of the [Bronfman] Museum will be placed the exhibits, the workers, and the other services that the IDAM established during the years (library, archive, etc.), ~~without which it cannot exist~~ which are also needed for the Museum.

The Museum, in which running budget the Bronfman family and the State of Israel will share, will administratively be an independent institute (~~or one of the institutions that form together the 'Israel Museum'~~[2]). However, since all the

> antiquities delivered to it from the IDAM Museum will remain under the State's ownership, and are entrusted by the State to the hands of the Director of IDAM, the [Bronfman] Museum will be as an archaeological institution under the Director of IDAM.
>
> Geographical proximity between the IDAM and the Museum is a must, since *the apparatus that serves all the departments of the IDAM, including the [IDAM] Museum (the library, the archive, and the labs)* ~~serves also the~~ will want to serve also later the *Bronfman* museum as well as the ~~IDAM~~ rest of the IDAM's departments, such as: excavations, surveys, supervision, restoration); so between all these and the [Bronfman] Museum will exist a close connection.
>
> Bronfman Museum will be managed by an Archaeologist-Manager [*menahel-archeolog*], responsible factually to the Director of IDAM, as the highest authority in matters of archaeology on behalf of the State. The Manager does not have to be a civil-servant. The budget of the Museum (which is composed of various sources) will carry the *administrative* expenses ~~of the workers of the museum in general can be workers of the Israel museum (if it will be an administrative unit), whose salary is paid by the budget of the Museum (which is composed of…).~~ of this institute, including salaries of its workers.
>
> Comparisons – in Israel, the School of Medicine, the Pathological Institute at Abu Kabir, the Geological Institute.
>
> Abroad – by UNESCO. (GL44871/7)

Here Biran slightly refined his ideas, while keeping the same plan. He wrote at first that the IDAM Museum was the central museum ('instead of the museum existing now in the IDAM'); but erased these words later. Biran declared it unfit as an immutable fate. The main issue remained how Biran could have control over the Bronfman Museum.

This was Biran's suggestion:

1. Bronfman Museum receives the IDAM Museum's treasures, the State's antiquities, and the good IDAM services (laboratory, library). It would become the central Archaeological Museum of the State, but not property of the State.
2. Biran receives responsibility over Bronfman Museum.
3. The Ministry of Education acquires a representative in the Israel Museum management [In theory, Biran himself, since as future director of IDAM, he would also be considered an employee].
3. The IDAM finds new accommodation within the Israel Museum [and leaves its present location].
4. The State saves the rent on the old IDAM building [yet will pay rent for the new IDAM accommodation].[13]

Documents 1–2 date around the time of Rinot's visit. Their location in the file is one clue. A date before 24.9.1961 can be deduced from a letter from Biran to Rinot, in which Biran already took the above-mentioned deal as done: 'To the [Israel]

Museum will be moved all the antiquities in the IDAM Museum, the Hebrew University, and Bezalel' (GL44871/10, Biran to Rinot, 24.9.1961).

Authority over the IDAM was vested with the Minister of Education. The Hebrew University collection was never given to the Israel Museum. Biran letter from 24 September 1961 did not reflect any official ministerial decision, but only his own rather grand plan. This was also Kollek's plan, for, on behalf of the future Israel Museum, Kollek signed on February 1961 an agreement with Bronfman family about Bronfman Museum. Section 7 stated:

> Archaeological objects of museum quality presently at the Hebrew University, the Bezalel Museum and the Department of Antiquities will all be housed in the new 'Samuel Bronfman Museum of Archaeology' (GL 44871/10, 27.2.1961).

This letter is not the first instance where Kollek made promises which were not under his responsibility. In 1958, Kollek headed the establishing committee of the Israel Museum, and nominated Biran to participate (GL44871/10, 21.10.1958). Biran worked closely with Kollek, arranging the architectural competition of the Israel Museum in 1959 and serving as member in various committees.[14]

One issue Biran raised was of the new constitution for the Israel Museum. A committee was established, with a certain Judge Vitkon as chair, to recommend the way forward. In late 1961 Biran wrote letters to several institutions abroad, seeking advice on how to run a 'Biblical Museum'. Two responses are kept on file. One dated 10 August 1961 was from J. Leibovitch, who worked in the Cairo Museum from the 1940s. The second was from James L. Swauger, Assistant Director of Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, dated 11 March 1962. In the same month, Biran reported the results of his tours abroad investigating the issue to the limited management of the Israel Museum.

> Dr. Biran gave a brief report on his visits of various museums. He has reached the conclusion that forms of managements of the institutions are so different [from each other], that it is possible to find a precedent and an example for any suggestion that the Vitkon Committee will hand. Therefore we have, in his view, complete freedom in deciding the final form of management of the Jerusalem Museum. (GL44871/10, protocol of limited management committee, 26.3.1961).

In 1962, in preparation for the same visit by Rinot mentioned above, a list was made of the main exhibits in the IDAM Museum. We present it here in full, as it shows the vast scope of objects given to the Bronfman Museum:

> Dr Biran gave a brief about the composition of the collection in the IDAM Museum. The IDAM has finds from all the periods in the Land. Following is a representative selection from all the IDAM's collections:
>
> *Paleolithic Period.* A lot of material from Gesher Bnot Yaacov, including flint and basalt hand tools and fossilized bones of extinct animals, including elephants' teeth and a tusk.

Mesolithic Period. Material from the excavations at Eynan, including flint and stone tools and skeletons with shell decorations. From Nahal Oren flints, mortars, jewellery and objects of art.

Neolithic Period. Finds from the excavations at Sha'ar ha-Golan, fertility statues and pottery vessels from the beginning of pottery making.

The Chalcolithic Period is represented by very rich material including: 1) material from the Beer-Sheba excavations: pottery such as bowls and churns, fabulous basalt vessels, metal and stone tools and a group of special ivory statuettes. 2) The Judean Desert treasure with c. 450 items, mostly Bronze cult and weapon vessels, ivory vessels and a reed made of papyrus stems. 3) c. 10 pottery, house-shaped ossuaries from the Azor cemetery; 4) Pottery vessels and Bronze axes from the excavations at Metzer, Givataim, etc.

From the Early Canaanite Period material from the Beth-Yerakh excavations including typical Beth Yerakh wares, jewels and figurines. Also a lot of material from various tombs.

From the Middle Bronze Age many weapons and tools from various graves, such as Hazorea, Benaya, Yavneh, Ma'ayan Baruch, etc.

From the Middle Bronze Age II, finds from the Canaanite Temple at Nahariya – various cult vessels, figurines of animals and birds, stone mould for an Astarte figurine, and Astarte figurines made of hammered silver. In addition, many vessels from tells and burials including scarabs and jewels.

In the Late Bronze Age collections there are finds from various tells, including Hazor (the part of the IDAM) – Basalt stelae from the Canaanite Temple and cult and pottery vessels, including large storage vessels. [Also] groups from tombs such as Kfar Yehoshua and Tell Abu-Hawwam; Astarte figurines typical to the period and vessels from neighbouring countries: Cyprus, Greece, Egypt, and Syria. Among the epigraphic material, a fragment of the Gilgamesh epoch found at Megiddo.

From the Israelite Period finds from the tells: Hazor, Tel Mor, Tel Qasile, Afulah, Nir-David, Mesad Hashavyahu, and Ramat Rahel. Tomb groups such as those from the Phoenician cemetery at Achzib and those from [Philistine] Azor. The IDAM has a series of weight-stones and many *Lmlk* stamps. Between the Hebrew inscriptions one should note the 'Gold of Ophir' ostracon from Tel Qasile, a Hebrew ostracon from Mesad Hashavyahu, and Hebrew inscriptions from the Amaziyah cave, including one mentioning Jerusalem. In our collection there is a selection of typical Astarte figurines of the period, including figurines and a pottery mask from the Phoenician cemetery at Achzib. A large number of amulets and scarabs. The IDAM has three Proto-Aeolic stone capitals from the Ramat Rahel excavations.

From the Persian, Return of Zion Period, a large number of 'Yehud' and 'Jerusalem' seal impressions on jar handles, mainly from Ramat Rahe; Phoenician clay figurines and a statue of the 'temple boy' from Tell et-Tuyyur, Achzib, Tel Gath ['Areini] and Machmish.

From the Hellenistic Period an olive press for oil making with all its parts and many pottery vessels from Tirat Yehudah; vessels and snails from purple dye installation and two amphorae of imported wine from Rhodes with seal impressions on the handles – all these from Tel Mazar; a long Greek inscription on marble from Antiochus III' days, found at Hefzibah; and a wealth of impressed handles of Rhodian wine amphorae. In addition, finds from the Jason tomb in Jerusalem; cooking pots, bottle-like vessels, lamps, gaming piece and an ivory fork, net for holding hair, etc.

From the Roman Period, finds from Jerusalem: Iron hewing vessels from the Sanhedriya tombs and many decorated ossuaries, including many with Hebrew, Aramaean, and Greek inscriptions from various tombs; seal impressions of the 10th Legion on bricks from the excavations at Givat Ram and Ramat Rahel; fabulous jewels and a lead coffin from Shemuel ha-Navi Street. Objects bearing inscriptions: Moses Cathedra from the Korazin Synagogue; Aramaean inscription on a lintel from the Almah synagogue; Aramaean inscription on a pillar base from Tel Yizhaki. Architectural items from various synagogues in the Galilee and sections of mosaic floors describing fish, etc., from Beth-Shean. The IDAM collections hold a Roman inscription from Caesarea mentioning Pontius Pilatus and a number of marble statues: Cypriote Artemis from Caesarea, a young God from Beth-Shean, God Pan and a Boy's statue. Also the statue of the Goddess Nemesis with a Greek inscription on the base. A gold crown inlayed with glass and stones and a gold bracelet found in the Kfar Giladi Mausoleum.

From the Byzantine – Talmud Period a collection of finds from the Nirim Synagogue including *Mezuzoth*, various marble decorations and a mosaic describing birds, various animals, *Menorah*, lions, *Ethrog* and *Lulav* and an Aramaean inscription. Also a mosaic floor from a Jewish building in Huldah with decorations of a *Menorah*, *Shofar*, *Lulav*, *Ethrog*, fire-pan, and a Greek inscription. The IDAM has a large number of mosaics from monasteries and churches, including some decorated with floral and animal motifs and others decorated by geometric patterns. Also, two decorated marble screens. The collection also holds Hebrew and Greek inscriptions from the Shaalabim Samaritan Synagogue. From Beth-Shean a rich collection from the Patrician House: various pottery vessels, figurines, statuettes, weight-stones, decorated wooden plaques, lamps, Bronze chandeliers, etc. From Beth Safafeh near Jerusalem several lead sarcophagi with Crusaders' impressions. The IDAM has c. 250 glass vessels from various tombs.

From the Arab period decorated and glazed pottery vessels from Kh. Minya and Tiberias; a hoard of gold and silver jewels; amulets and stone beads found in a glazed jug in Caesarea; a Crusader capital from Nazareth and Crusader period pottery vessels from various sites.

The coin collection of the IDAM holds c 10,000 coins. Mention must be made of one Athenian coin which is the earliest coin found so far in Israel. Twelve hoards from various periods are especially important, including a hoard of *tetradrachmae* from the days of Alexander the Great from Tell et-Tuyyur; a hoard of *prutot* of

> Alexander Yannai from Jaffa; part of the Osfiyeh hoard, and a hoard of gold and silver Arab coins from Caesarea.
>
> The IDAM has pottery and metal vessels from the neighbouring countries: Egypt, Cyprus, Syria, Persia, and Greece. Also gold jewels from the Roman period found in Macedonia. This collection has educational as well as exhibitional values' (GL44871/7).[15]

This list was not made for Rinot or the needs of the IDAM. The probable aim of this list, which included exhibited 'highlights' and finds in storage, was for Biran and the needs of Israel Museum. With this dowry of "IDAM goodies" Biran hoped to seal his permanent marriage to Bronfam Museum.

At that time the Israel Museum was desperately searching for donors of antiquities and art. As the list above shows, here was a very opulent donor, the IDAM Museum. As a benefit, its name would not have to be mentioned anywhere in the new museum.

Biran's efforts for the 'living museum' continued. Biran dryly reported in a budget proposal:

> Already in the present year we have stopped special activities of the [IDAM] museum such as arranging [new] exhibitions and buying equipment for the museum; most of our efforts were addressed to acquiring rare antiquities and completing collections as far as possible. (GL44884/8, budget proposal for 1964–65, 6.9.1963).

With IDAM Museum budgets, Biran took care of completing the Bronfman Museum exhibition which moved in 1965 to the Israel Museum complex. Biran's plan fully materialized. He became chair of the Bronfman Museum Board. Kahane, former Keeper of IDAM Museum, became Chief Curator of the Bronfman Museum. Hanoch Rinot was appointed the Ministry of Education representative in the Israel 'Museum's Acting Board of Governors.'

With the closure of the IDAM Museum, the position of 'Keeper of Museum' became 'Manager of the State Treasures', a department that still exists. This was necessary since the IDAM remained the largest source of antiquities in Israel. The responsibilities of this position included the registry and storage of objects, as well as allocating these to various museums.

The end of the IDAM Museum

From its establishment until 1964, more than 100,000 people visited the IDAM Museum (GL44873/3, summary 29.12.64). The exhibition halls were closed on January 1, 1965 and all the exhibits were moved to the Israel Museum, which opened four months later, on May 1. The following short letter testifies to a literal change of guard from IDAM Museum to the Israel Museum:

To: the Israel Museum Management

For: Dr. P. P. Kahane, Manager of Bronfman Museum

D[ear] S[ir],

After working c. 14 years in the IDAM Museum, I am now on pension. As all know, pension does not suffice for a living, therefore, I ask you to hire me in the Israel Museum as a replacement guard or [to] any other work, even partial, which suits me.

Mrs. H. Kazenstein, Ruth Hestrin and Miriam Tadmor can testify to my loyalty at work.

With blessing, M. Misch' (GL44872/4).

Conclusions

Before the Israel Museum existed there was a central museum for archaeology in Israel, established by the IDAM, the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums. The work conditions were inadequate and the area for exhibition limited and ill-suited. However, a rich collection of important exhibits accumulated. The founders hoped that it would serve one day as the seed for a new, central State Museum. This indeed happened, but in such a way that little mention of the former museum exists. The first Archaeological Museum of the State of Israel was sadly forgotten.

The IDAM Museum was modelled on the Rockefeller Museum. There were close similarities in exhibition methods, aids and labels. The core of the museum was a 'traditional' exhibition that followed a chronological order of periods. In tandem with other museums in Israel at the time, under the heightened nationalism of the young State, a Jewish past (Israelite, Judean, Jewish) was stressed. The visitor progressed from early to later periods, with the culmination of periods of Jewish political rule. To give a few examples, the Islamic periods were not part of the exhibition in 1955. The description of the 1958 exhibition stressed synagogues and churches. In the 1961 long list of exhibits (GL44871/7), the 'Arab period' is not emphasised, and its scope was far less than the earlier periods.

In Israel in the early 1950s, French culture was fashionable as France at that time was a keen political and military supporter of the country (Bialer 2002: 58–60, 68–69; see also Golani 1997; Shemesh and Troen 1994). This is reflected in Tal's report, and her comparison of an ancient Ba'al statue with Giacometti's art is not overly fanciful. A recent exhibition of Giacometti's work stressed how much his art was influenced by ancient art, although Etruscan, not Levantine (Zevvi and Restellini 2011).

Tal's review reflects a time when 'biblical archaeology' was at its zenith (Davis 2004). The Biblical narrative was grasped as historic evidence, which archaeology 'proved.' Israeli 'Biblical Archaeology' of the early decades of the State was mostly secular. Thus, for example, Tal admired the statuettes of Ba'al and Astarte as art,

and treated them as respectable old gods, rather than as lifeless idols. This stands in strong contrast to present Israel, and also to the mainly protestant religious backgrounds of scholars who have funded 'Biblical Archaeology'.

When government officials in 1957 decided to build a new central museum in Jerusalem, the IDAM was ignored. This was largely the result of Yeivin's gallant but hopeless conflict with Kollek. In 1961, Biran, as the new Director of IDAM had a conflict of interest between the IDAM and Bronfman museums. Biran's management of the situation considerably improved the work conditions of the IDAM workers, and one certainly could not foresee that barely two years later the IDAM would have at its disposal the large Rockefeller Museum complex. However, this deal was motivated mainly by Biran's personal ambition to control the Bronfman Museum. Yet, the IDAM paid a high price in losing its museum. When in 1967, the Rockefeller building was allocated to the IDAM, the exhibition halls and the exhibits were consigned to the responsibility of the Israel Museum.

Much has been written on the nationalistic aspects of archaeology in the Levant (cf. Meskell 1998; Pollock and Bernbeck 2005; Oestigaard 2007; Feige and Shiloni 2008; Boytner et al. 2010). Yet documents such as those discussed here reveal a complex reality. Often, nationalistic expressions were one level of the issue. Below the surface, the reality was shaped by power struggles, intrigues and random circumstances. This multi-coloured history leaves traces, often in unexpected places. Visitors to the Israel Museum today can still find in its midst an area which is today occupied by the Israel Antiquities Authority, the last remnant of Biran's deal.[16]

Notes

1 The vision of a complex of museums in Jerusalem was made by J. Avrech at the Ministry of Education. The first plans came from the IDAM. The first donation that established the Israel Museum came from USA's intelligence funds, and the Americans also chose the name of the new museum (Kletter, 2006: 108–113, 197–213).

2 This study is based on written documents, mostly from the Israel National Archive (Ginzach Leumi, hereafter GL). Translations from Hebrew are by the author. The transliteration of names is notoriously complex. Persons 'Hebraised' their names and used various spellings (e.g., Cimbalist, Tsori, Tzori, Zori). I use common spellings whenever possible.

3 By 1949, hundreds of finds arrived from the Custodian of Deserted Property in Jerusalem and from a bequest of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Mordechai Nimza-Bi (Kletter 2014: 396–7).

4 Kahane was later followed by Y.L. Rahmani (Kloner and Zias 2013). Ruth Amiran was Keeper of Regional Museums for a short while (Katz 2011: 99; Kletter 2006: 222–224).

5 The first exhibition of coins at the Bezalel Museum, Jerusalem was opened when Israel celebrated its first Independence Day; the third was a Tel Qasile exhibition at the Tel-Aviv Museum of Art: Alon 3, 1951: 4.

6 Compare today http://www.antiquities.org.il/ProceduesHeb.aspx, procedure 4.1, Hebrew, accessed 1.11.2014.
7 By late 1951 the unit performed 75 excavations.
8 Sharet was Minister of Foreign Affairs, and when Minister of Education David Remez passed away unexpectedly (19.5.1951), Sharet became temporarily Minister of Education too, until the following 1951 elections.
9 From de-Nerval's Delfica, 1854: 'Ils reviendront, ces Dieux que tu pleures toujours!'
10 Compare Yeivin 1958: 55: 'The museum is still very short of space. Plans are being worked for the erection of an appropriate building to house the Archaeological Museum of the Department'.
11 The name derives from a donation from the Bronfman family in February 1961. Earlier the building was called the 'Archaeological', 'Jerusalem', or 'Central' museum. Some correspondence refers to 'Antiquities' or 'Building A'.
12 The Israel Museum did develop services, for by 1969 it had four labs (GL44871/5). These were created mainly after 1962, but it shows that moving the IDAM to the Israel Museum did not save on expenses.
13 The area under discussion was sold to the Ministry of Education by the Israel Museum (GL44781/9, protocol of the establishing committee, 10.4.1963).
14 In 1965 Biran was chair of the Israel Museum 'manpower and appointments committee'; member in five other Israel Museum entities (constitutional board, executive board, finance committee, programmes committee, and building committee); and also of its acting board of governors.
15 Compare the description of Bronfman Museum's exhibits in Inbar and Shiller 1995: 33–36.
16 A new center is now being built for the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem.

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Review Article

Laurie E. Pearce and Cornelia Wunsch, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer* Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (CUSAS) 28

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This volume offers complete editions, translations, copies, and photographs of 103 cuneiform tablets that, for the first time, document in considerable detail the social and economic conditions that Judean, as well as other West Semitic exiles experienced in Babylonia after they had been forcibly resettled by Nebuchadnezzar's armies in the early sixth century BCE. As the authors rightly point out, the clay tablets contain 'transformative data' (p. viii) that promise to shed new light on a major episode of ancient Near Eastern history that remained poorly documented so far. biblical scholars, Assyriologists and ancient historians have eagerly awaited this volume for several years, and their patience has now been rewarded by a text edition that will define research on the Babylonian exile for years to come.

The tablets published in CUSAS 28 document several successive generations of Judean (and other) exiles in contexts that reflect their daily lives as closely as one could wish, considering the conventions of writing in Babylonia at the time. A significant portion of the texts was written in a village called 'Town of Judah' (Āl-Yāhūdu; or simply Yāhūdu, 'Judah'), after the place of origin of the exiles settled there. Nearly two decades ago, it came to light that private collectors of antiquities had acquired clay tablets produced in this Judean village in Babylonia.[1] The idea that these tablets might be the remains of an archive of Judean exiles elicited much excitement, but the texts remained largely

inaccessible to researchers. CUSAS 28 is the first substantial publication of this material. As to contents, the texts document transactions in silver and kind pertaining to the cultivation of land, the payment of taxes, the organization of military service, the purchase of cattle and slaves, the creation of business ventures, and – very occasionally – the financial issues that arose at marriage and death. While written in Babylonian cuneiform by Babylonian scribes, the texts mention hundreds of Judean individuals – many bearing Yahwistic names – as principals and witnesses to the transactions, often engaged with members of other ethnic minorities and with Babylonians of various social backgrounds. All these transactions can be dated to the day, offering us a unique opportunity to study evolving socio-economic conditions and changing cultural practices of a sizeable group of exiles over a long period of time (572–477 BCE).

Why are these texts so important? Until now, the fate and experiences of Judean exiles in Babylonia were poorly documented outside of the literary reflexes found in biblical texts. Most of the available documentary evidence was either sporadic in nature or late in date. For instance, the well-known 'Weidner oil ration lists' provided an invaluable snapshot of the life of Jehoiachin and other Judean royalty at (or near) the court of Nebuchadnezzar (Weidner 1939; Pedersén 2005: 111–27), but the historical value of these cuneiform records is restricted because they are highly bureaucratic and mono-topical in nature and they cover only a few months of what must have been a considerable stretch of time spent by these individuals in captivity. In comparison, the evidence from the Murašû archive about Judeans making a living in the countryside of Nippur is more dense, complex and stretched out over a longer period of time (Stolper 1985), but as these texts date from the late fifth century BCE they are mute about the experiences of earlier generations of exiles.

The texts in CUSAS 28 now help to fill some of the gaps. They do so, firstly, in a chronological sense: the oldest text in the volume is dated only fifteen years after the destruction of Jerusalem (572 BCE) and is followed by a more or less even stream of tablets until the ninth year of Xerxes (477 BCE; pp. 4–5). This means that, apart from the very first years of the Babylonian exile, the entire period traditionally thus labeled is covered in the corpus, including the moment(s) of possible return(s) in the reigns of Cyrus and his successors. The long coverage will enable students to trace more complex historical processes in a single exilic community, in the course of several successive generations and against the backdrop of the changing political conditions of the 6th and early 5th centuries. Secondly, the texts fill a gap in various social senses. Until now, information about Judean presence in 6th century BCE Babylonian society was constricted to the royal entourage in Babylon, as reflected in the Weidner texts, and to a small group of Judean merchants operating in the Sippar area, as

reflected in private contracts preserved in local archives.[2] The texts in CUSAS 28 pertain to Judeans settled in a rural village in south-central Babylonia. These exiles were subject to participating in the land-for-service sector; that is, they were forcibly made to cultivate lands for their own upkeep in exchange for part of the yield and the provision of military and fiscal services to the state.[3] It is very likely that these men and women experienced their exile very differently from those who lived in the metropolis of Babylon and those who operated in the cosmopolitan environment of Sippar's mercantile community.

Beyond their significance for shedding light on the Babylonian exile, these texts also offer valuable new insights in the Neo-Babylonian countryside as a place of expansion and multicultural encounters. In particular, the archive contains much information on the development of the land-for-service system, both in terms of its agricultural economy and its administration. Most Neo-Babylonian archives originate in urban centers (Jursa 2005), so the rural outlook provided by the texts in CUSAS 28 is a welcome change of perspective.

There can be no doubt that the new texts from Judah-town presented in CUSAS 28 will have a tremendous impact in all fields engaging in the study of the Babylonian exile. Readers should be aware, however, that the historical significance of these texts remains impossible to assess properly as long as the companion volume by Cornelia Wunsch and Laurie Pearce is outstanding (*Judeans by the Waters of Babylon: New Historical Evidence in Cuneiform Sources from Rural Babylonia*, announced 'forthcoming' as Babylonische Archive vol. 6 [BaAr 6] with ISLET in Dresden [p. vii]). The 103 clay tablets edited in CUSAS 28 represent no more than half of the total number of tablets that can be assigned to the textual unit associated with the 'Town of Judah'. Since the late 1990s, the existence of the Judah-town texts has gradually become known in scholarship, but access was and is still regulated by the various collectors who own the tablets. The collection published in CUSAS 28 belongs to David Sofer and is presently exhibited at the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, where they are 'accessible to researchers and public alike' (p. viii; cf. Vukosavović 2015). At an unknown date in the future, Cornelia Wunsch (with the collaboration of Laurie Pearce) will publish a second significant group of 95 tablets, belonging to the Schøyen collection, in the aforementioned volume (BaAr 6). At least 11 more tablets in the Moussaieff collection – all of these published – have been identified as belonging to the same group (Joannès and Lemaire 1996 and 1999; Abraham 2005 and 2007; Lambert 2007). In the preface to their volume, Pearce and Wunsch indicate that there are 'other collections' that hold additional material (p. vii), without disclosing how many more tablets we should expect, or in which particular collections they are being held. This situation discourages serious engagement with the texts in print, as any student without privileged access to privately owned material faces the certainty that his or her observations will be

rendered incomplete, if not obsolete, by significant additions of new materials at an unknown point in the future.

What can readers of CUSAS 28 expect? As a critical edition of the 103 clay tablets, the volume seeks to establish a basis for further research and touches only briefly upon the 'transformative' data contained in the texts. The introduction offers a brief outline of the historical significance of the texts (pp. 3–7), a short reconstruction of their archival structure by Cornelia Wunsch (pp. 7–9), and a more in-depth discussion of the onomastic evidence by Laurie Pearce (pp. 10–29). This is followed by an extensive analysis of all personal names in the corpus by Pearce (pp. 33–93). The main part of the book consists of the text editions, indices to the texts, and photographs of the texts (pp. 98–322 and plates I–CV). The indices include references to texts that will appear in BaAr 6, which will eventually aid navigation between the two volumes.

The linguistic and cultural data contained in personal names enabled Pearce to identify the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the people mentioned in the texts (Judean, Babylonian, Iranian, Egyptian, etc.) and to highlight various trends of acculturation visible in the naming patterns (pp. 10–15). Naturally, her discussion focuses on the Judeans, who are mostly (but not exclusively) recognizable through the use of the Yahwistic element in their names, and who form the largest ethnically marked group in the corpus (pp. 16–29; see also Pearce 2015 on identifying Judeans in cuneiform sources). Many Judean names attested in the corpus are already known from biblical passages and epigraphic finds, including from Babylonia (e.g. the Murašû texts), while others are new. This evidence is likely to attract much attention from biblical scholars, whose interest in the cuneiform evidence for Judean exiles in Babylonia has traditionally been onomastic in nature (see Sidersky 1929 for an early example of this scholarship; more recently see a.o. Coogan 1973, 1976a, 1976b; Zadok 1979 and 2002; Pearce 2015). On pp. 33–93, Pearce offers a detailed linguistic and cultural analysis of every single name in the corpus (including the Schøyen texts), whether Hebrew, Aramaic, West Semitic, Akkadian, Arabian, Iranian, or Egyptian. The catalogue also provides a translation and a list of all attested (cuneiform) spellings of each name. In doing so, Pearce has developed a most useful and welcome research tool that will benefit not only students interested in the cultural processes affecting Judeans and other minorities in Babylonia, but also Assyriologists and historians of the ancient Near East working on cuneiform texts from this period.

The archival reconstruction proposed by Wunsch is based on grouping together texts that cluster around one of three villages (Āl-Yāhūdu [54 texts], Bīt-Našar [47 texts], and Bīt-Abī-râm [2 texts]). She associates each of these three groups with one particular individual or family who acts as main protagonist in the transactions recorded in the texts. Group 1 is thus associated with the Judean deportees Rapā-

Yāma and his wife Yapa-Yāhû, their son Ahīqam, and Ahīqam's five sons (Nīr-Yāma, Haggâ, Yāhû-azza, Yāhû-izrī, and Yāhûšu; cf. p. 8). Group 2 clusters around a certain Ahīqar, son of Rēmūt, who may also have been a Judean deportee judging from the Yahwistic names of his grandfather (Samak-Yāma; no. 56 and p. 191; but see my comments below) and son (Nīr-Yāma; p. 9). Group 3 is associated with a royal official, Zababa-šarra-uṣur, who managed large tracts of land and operated at 'an administrative top level' (p. 9), much higher than the protagonists of groups 1 and 2, who dealt more directly with the land. The three clusters thus delineated are, according to Wunsch, 'distinct archival groups' (p. 7), even if they 'appear to be loosely connected through a few faint links' and were stored together 'in an urban administrative center' (p. 9).

These qualifications are all problematic. Firstly, Wunsch does not explain how the 'distinct' nature of these archival groups should be understood in light of the fact that they were eventually stored together. How does labeling Ahīqam and Ahīqar as the 'archive holders' from Āl-Yāhudu and Bīt-Našar (p. 9a) combine with the statement that the 'texts most likely originate from the same locus' (p. 9b)? The preface to CUSAS 28 (p. vii) announces that Wunsch will 'extensively' discuss the interpretation of the archival structures in BaAr 6, the companion volume that is yet to appear, but for the time being we are left to wonder how the author views the tension between the distinct, yet at the same time apparently collective, status of these texts. There is no attempt to resolve that tension, or at least to flag it up as a problem. Wunsch's 2013 statement that 'the three distinct groups did not emerge in three different places at the same time, but, rather, in close proximity to each other, perhaps in an administrative centre of the region where they had been finally disposed off or set aside by their ancient owners' (Wunsch 2013: 251–2) does not really help, as this directly contradicts the presentation of Ahīqam as 'archive holder' in CUSAS 28 (p. 9) and of his 'archive' as having been shaped by events internal to the life cycle of this man's family (p. 8).

Secondly and on a related note, one would have liked to see a discussion of the identity or nature of the 'urban administrative center' where the texts were supposedly deposited. There is no information about the find spot of the texts as they are unprovenanced (below), so Wunsch's suggestion that they were kept in an 'urban administrative centre' cannot be based on external data. On which internal argumentation the suggestion is made, however, remains unexplained. Her description of the Zababa-šarra-uṣur cluster (group 3), as showing 'the framework in which the actors from groups 1 and 2 operate' (p. 9), seems to suggest that she views this person or his bureau as the force that ultimately brought these files together, but this is merely extrapolated from her scattered remarks; no engaged discussion of the topic is provided. In order to understand the raison-d'être of any

archive, identifying the institution that was responsible for storing the texts should be the first priority.

Thirdly, the neat division in three archival groups is artificial: it blots over complexities, both within and between the groups. To start, some attributions based on geographical location are wrong or inconsistent. For instance, why should text no. 101 (written in Hazatu) be put in group 2 and text no. 102 (written in Bīt-Abī-râm) in group 3, when both mention the same creditor? Clearly, it would make more sense to sort no. 101 with the Bīt-Abī-râm texts, even if it was not written there, especially in view of the fact that no. 101 has *nothing* in common with any of the texts in group 2. Another example of the inconsistency of the system is the attribution of text no. 13 to group 1, even though it was drafted in Bīt-našar (the location of group 2). In this case, the attribution is sensible because the text deals with Ahīqam, 'protagonist' of group 1, but it shows that the two parameters of Wunsch's classificatory system (geography + protagonist) do not always match up. In fact, and in my opinion significantly, text no. 13 has *more* than only its geography in common with group 2: it also shares its most prolific scribe, Arad-Gula. Why not take the scribe as classifying factor here? His presence establishes one of the few links between the Ahīqam and Ahīqar files. There are more indications that the figure of the scribe is structurally significant in this corpus of texts, as I will explain shortly.

The most serious flaw in the archival reconstruction proposed by Wunsch is that she assigns tablets to group 1 and group 2 that do not pertain to the individuals she singles out as the 'protagonists' of these groups. While some of these tablets belong to people who were clearly associated with Ahīqam and Ahīqar (e.g. in the case of Ṣidqī-Yāma, who belonged to the inner circle of Ahīqam's father), such a close link is not always detectable. The small cluster of texts written in Āl-šarri (nos. 47, 48, 49, 50, 51) seems only marginally connected to the figure of Ahīqam, to whose archive it is assigned (pp. 176–183). While it is true that one of Ahīqam's records was drafted in Āl-šarri (no. 41), that text has nothing but its locality in common with nos. 47–51 that display a remarkably strong internal cohesion based on the mention of a certain Iqbâ son of Nabû-šumu-ukīn and the scribe Bēl-lē'i. Another case in point is the little dossier made up of texts no. 64 and 65. These two texts were written in Bīt-našar – hence assigned to the Ahīqar file in CUSAS 28 – but instead of Ahīqar, they mention a certain Bēl-ahhē-iddin son of Nūr-Šamaš as protagonist. There is no apparent link between Bēl-ahhē-iddin and Ahīqar, so why does Wunsch include these texts in the latter's archive? No explication or discussion of these matters is offered. As this only concerns two texts, one may object that this is just a small issue of little consequence. In my opinion, it is *exactly* in the places where the system of classification fails to capture the complexity of what is going on, that we have the best chance of uncovering

the structure that really underlies it. How can we explain the presence of texts no. 64 and 65 in the corpus? In my view, the answer to this question could lie again in the figure of the scribe (Arad-Gula): he functions as a connecting factor between Ahīqar and Bēl-ahhē-iddin because he wrote tablets for both men. But we should go a step further: it is not just that these men used the same scribe, these men used the same scribe and subsequently their tablets were deposited together. Would it not be sensible, then, to consider the possibility that scribal activity defined the structure of this corpus, at least in some of its layers?

Most Neo-Babylonian archives were collected and stored by the institutions and individuals who act as main protagonist in the transactions they record (e.g. Jursa 2005) and this is clearly the model that Wunsch followed when ordering the texts in CUSAS 28 in three groups centering on 'protagonists' (Ahīqam, Ahīqar and Zababa-šarra-uṣur). But it seems that the processes of production behind the 'Āl-Yāhūdu archival complex' (or whatever we want to call this mixed bag) were much more diverse, more organic, and less determined by particular 'protagonists' as central points of focalization. For instance, while some parts of the archival complex may consist of 'private' texts of Ahīqam's family, not all the texts from Āl-Yāhūdu that the authors associate with this man in 'group 1' are done justice by such a label. A striking example is the Āl-Yāhūdu marriage contract that was published years ago by Kathleen Abraham (2005) and that remains weirdly unconnected to the rest of the texts written in the village. The slave sale contract published as no. 52 in CUSAS 28 is similarly 'odd', in the sense that it disobeys the principles of archival reconstruction that the authors defined. In order to arrive at an understanding of this archival complex that is inclusive of *all* its tablets, a more open, less dogmatic, approach to its history of formation is required.

In some parts of the archival complex, scribal activity seems to provide such an alternative structuring presence. I have discussed texts no. 13, 64 and 65 above, but as a further illustration, we may now look at texts no. 19 and 20, both from Āl-Yāhūdu. These texts were written a day apart and record almost identical transactions but with partly different 'protagonists'. In no. 19, 6 *kurru* of good dates are owed by Azrīqam son of Šamā-Yāma to Iddinā son of Šinqā, in payment of the harvest due on state lands cultivated by Judeans who fall under the authority of Uštānu, Governor of Across-the-River. In no. 20, 25 *kurru* of good dates are due from two other Judeans (Qīl-Yāma son of Šikin-Yāma and Šalamān son of Rapā-Yāma) to the same person for the same purpose. The scribe of both texts was Nidintu son of Bēlšunu of the Dābibī family. Both texts are sorted under the 'Ahīqam' file (group 1) on account of their provenance from Āl-Yāhūdu. While Šalamān may be a brother of Ahīqam, it is clear that neither of these texts (and especially not no. 19) belongs to the personal file of Ahīqam. Instead, these texts pertain to Judeans who operated on the same level of dependence and obligation

towards the same office or bureau as Ahīqam did. For Ahīqam too owed harvest grown on the very same state lands, cultivated by Judeans in the vicinity of Āl-Yāhūdu, to Iddinā. Texts no. 17 and 18 specify that he was a rent farmer (*ina sūti*, no. 17: 1) leasing the rights to collect harvest from these lands. Iddinā and his colleagues ran the bureau charged with the management of these affairs on behalf of the Governor of Across-the-River. They employed Babylonian scribes who drafted tablets with Judean middlemen, using the conventions of the Babylonian legal system and in the Babylonian language and cuneiform script. Nidintu (of no. 19, 20) was one scribe employed there. Šamaš-ēreš of the Mudammiq-Adad family, who wrote no. 17, 18 and several more tablets for Iddinā, was another. Also to be connected to this office is Iddin-Nabû of the Naggāru family, who wrote a text (no. 21) that again is structurally similar to nos. 19 and 20 and mentions yet another Judean middleman (Šama-Yāma son of Nahim-Yāma).

The presence of texts such as no. 19, 20, and 21 – pertaining to men who operated *besides* Ahīqam – suggests that the archival processes behind the texts in Wunsch's 'group 1' cannot be properly understood as driven by Ahīqam's personal activities. Though certain texts may rightfully be considered personal documents of Ahīqam's family (such as the inheritance division; no. 45 and Abraham 2007), such a qualification does not do justice to the full range of represented texts. We see traces of a collateral process that affected multiple actors in the same way because they interacted with the state in the same way. In other words, the state (in its local manifestation of Iddinā's office) should be identified as the archive-producing institution behind at least some layers of the corpus. How these layers relate to other sections of the 'archival complex' remains to be investigated. It is conceivable that we have to imagine a more complex organization with several parallel departments and evolving histories. The office dealing with state lands cultivated by the Judeans underwent some changes after the well-documented phase under Iddinā (e.g. no. 23 and 24), and it is possible that the connection with Zababa-šarra-uṣur happened subsequently or through an affiliated bureau. These issues cannot be properly addressed unless a substantially greater portion of the texts is published. Most of the Zababa-šarra-uṣur texts, for instance, are still outstanding (to appear in BaAr 6).

However, these preliminary observations lead to a more fundamental question about the role of Babylonian scribes in the Judean community. At no point during its documented history of almost a century did this community, or any of the other ethnic minorities living in its proximity, take up Babylonian writing. All scribes mentioned in the corpus bear Babylonian names, patronymics, and (often) family names. This means that generations of children grew up in the Judean community without being trained in Babylonian literacy, or, perhaps more accurately, without achieving positions that let

them apply their skills for archival documentation.[4] The Babylonian scribes thus enjoyed a monopoly of legal and administrative Babylonian literacy in this community, putting them in a remarkable position of control over it – a position enhanced by their use of the language of empire and a script that most, if not all, were unable to read. Although Pearce and Wunsch do not explicitly address the role of scribes and literacy in the archive, some scattered remarks suggest that they see the use of scribal services by Judean deportees in participatory and voluntary terms (e.g. p. 106). Earlier, Pearce described the use of Babylonian legal contracts by Judeans in Āl-Yāhūdu as a sign of their 'adaptation' to the Babylonian milieu (Pearce 2011: 274). Kathleen Abraham similarly remarked that there must have been 'pragmatic' reasons why Judean exiles thought it opportune to resort to the services of Babylonian scribes, e.g. in order to seek protection of the legal system should the need arise (Abraham 2015: 35). These interpretations share an optimistic outlook on the use of Babylonian literacy in the Judean community: it is a sign of their acculturation, emancipation, and 'readiness' to integrate. I would like to point out, however, that there are also less comfortable dimensions to these interactions. First, it bears repeating that practicing Babylonian literacy for writing legal contracts remained an exclusive prerogative of members of the Babylonian host society. Second, *at least some* of the scribes who wrote tablets for the Judeans were linked to a state bureau, which would have rendered their position of power over the involuntary immigrants even more critical. How closely these scribes were associated to the state can be seen very clearly in the career of Arad-Gula, the most prolific scribe of the entire corpus and the man who provides a rare link between Wunsch's 'group 1' (associated mainly with Ahīqam) and 'group 2' (associated mainly with Ahīqar). During the turbulent years of 522–520 BCE, when Babylonia was torn between factions supporting Darius and factions seeking to restore 'Babylonian' autonomy (Beaulieu 2014), Arad-Gula was able to continue his activities as long as Bīt-Našar, the village where he worked, was under the control of Darius (nos. 87, 88, 73, 89, 90, 69). When its allegiance switched to Nebuchadnezzar IV, a different scribe took over his business (no. 86), only to make place for Arad-Gula again when the village returned to Darius's zone of influence some months later (nos. 70, 92, etc.). This shows that Arad-Gula's work as a scribe at Bīt-Našar had a political overtone. This was not a man who offered his services to paying customers on a voluntary basis.

Where do the tablets presented this corpus come from? The authors leave the question of when and where in Iraq the tablets were found unaddressed. The tablets are simply said to lack archaeological context like most of the Neo-Babylonian corpus, a situation which, in their opinion, poses no other challenges than the need

to apply the same 'refine[d] methods' of archival reconstruction that specialists already use in Neo-Babylonian studies (p. 9; a similar statement is made by Wunsch 2013: 249 n. 5). Purely from a scientific methodological point of view, this comparison may be valid, but it fails to acknowledge that the ethical and legal issues involved are of an entirely different magnitude if artifacts were excavated in recent years rather than 100 to 140 years ago. The authors treat the lack of provenance merely as a historical-archival problematic and tackle it by screening the tablets for internal clues about the *ancient* place where the *ancient* owners deposited the texts (p. 6–7). These internal clues – mostly consisting of the Babylonian place names mentioned in the tablets – lead to the conclusion that the tablets were deposited in the environs of Nippur (p. 6), 'presumably in an urban administrative centre in the region' (p. 9). This is no more than a reasonable guess: why should the centre be urban, for instance, and is it not true that we know of at least one Syrian exilic community who deposited its clay tablets in Syria, upon their return home from exile, hundreds of kilometers away from the villages where they had resided in Babylonia and where the tablets were originally composed?[5] Hence, purely on the basis of the state of the art, one might just as well ponder a provenance near or in the returnees' hometown, i.e. Jerusalem. This surely is not a serious, suggestion, but it remains owing to the feeling that the volume's readers are not given all the information about the provenance of the tablets that must be available, if not to the authors then at least to the owner(s). At the time of the exhibit at the Bible Lands Museum, several press releases stated that the tablets had been around on the antiquities market since the early 1970s (e.g. R. Kopanz, 'By the Rivers of Babylon', *Ha'aretz*, 2 November 2014). What is the source of this statement? Pearce and Wunsch do not mention it in their volume. In fact, if we look at the history of publication of the archive, a later date seems to be suggested. In 1996, Joannès and Lemaire published the first seven tablets of the archive, belonging to the Moussaieff collection. In 1999, the same authors published another three from the same collection. The first discussion of the tablets in the Sofer collection in print dates to 2006, by Laurie Pearce, in the proceedings of a conference that was held a few years earlier in Heidelberg. The Schøyen tablets were mentioned in print later, but they were around at least already at the same time when the Sofer texts were first discussed (see the preface to CUSAS 28).

It should be clear that Pearce and Wunsch have worked under difficult circumstances to produce the present volume, and they are to be praised for their patient work. The text editions and photographs are of a high quality, and the layout of the volume is very user-friendly, allowing its readers to examine the hand-copy of the cuneiform text and read the transcription and translation without turning a page. The extensive indices are most helpful in combining the data from CUSAS 28 and the yet-to-appear volume BaAr 6. The texts are

often (though not always) provided with a narrative summary of the recorded transaction, which will ease the difficulty for non-specialists to interpret the often-terse language of the contracts. Readers should be aware, however, that some of these narrative summaries are colored by a certain interpretation of the historical conditions of the archive, e.g. the idea that the texts represent Murašû-like activities in their infancy (e.g. p. 6, p. 198), or that the (Judean) protagonists engaging in the Babylonian economy were driven by profit-seeking behavior and entrepreneurial motivations (e.g. p. 5, 8, 173).

A few remarks on smaller issues follow.

xii: The explanation of abbreviation 'J' is wrong: numbers 1–7 (not 1–6) are from Joannès and Lemaire 1996; J8 and J9 are from Joannès and Lemaire 1999.

8: The family tree of Ahīqam is only partly depicted here. Strikingly, Ahīqam's mother (Yapa-Yāhû, mentioned in no. 8; perhaps also in the break of no. 6: 4) is missing. Yāma-kīn son of Samak-Yāma of no. 5: 25 may have been an uncle of Ahīqam, and Šalāmān son of Rapā-Yāma may have been a brother of Ahīqam (p. 133). Pearce 2015: 31 presents a slightly different genealogical chart, suggesting that Ahīqam's children had been born from two marriages. This issue is discussed in CUSAS 28 p. 172.

7–9: There are striking onomastic parallels between the genealogies of Ahīqam and Ahīqar, given the names of Ahīqar's son (Nīr-Yāma) and grandfather (Samak-Yāma; identified as such on p. 191, but note that in no. 60 this would involve the father acting as creditor of the son, which is unusual), and the occurrence of a Rēmūt son of Samak-Yāma in the file of Ahīqar son of Rēmūt (see references on p. 289). It is unclear how the cluster of texts around Rēmūt son of Abi-ul-ide relates to these people; a discussion of Ahīqar's family tree would have been helpful to dispel confusion due to homonymy and (possible cases of) double-naming.

9a.7, 11: 'Ahīqam' > 'Ahīqar'.

14 n. 59: Add Stolper 2001 to publications of the Murašû archive.

98 (no. 1: 1): The damaged personal name probably reads Šumu-ukīn (^{l}mu-gi.na).

99.a.6: This is an incomplete list of Aramaic inscriptions in the corpus, add no. 10 and several of the texts published by Joannès and Lemaire 1996 & 1999. The markings on nos. 60, 68 and 39 may also represent Aramaic, but this requires collation of the original tablets.

100.a.5: 'c. 587 BCE' > 'c. 562 BCE'.

100.a19: *-tì* (not *-ti*).

101.b: One of the occurrences of Ṣidqī-Yāma is left out of the discussion (no. 5,

where he appears as a depositor).

105 (no. 5: 29): It is unclear why the authors correct year 8; year 9 makes more sense, cf. l. 4. They comment on the problematic date (p. 106) but both month and year are reconstructed.

106.b.20: The wage that needs to be paid to the slave is not 'relatively low', cf. Jursa 2010: 674ff.

106: In the last paragraph of the comments, the renter and owner are mixed up.

114.b.6: The reference to Artaxerxes must be mistaken in view of the chronological overview on p. xlii.

130.a.8–9: It is text no. 16 that was recorded in Ālu-ša-Amurru-šarra-uṣur, no. 17 that was recorded in Bīt-Na'innašu, and no. 18 that was recorded in Bīt-Šinqā.

140.b.1–5: *sūtu* (^{giš}bán) is the common designation of the 'rent' due on a rent farm; it is not a capacity measure. Ahīqam's role as a rent farmer is documented in other texts, e.g. no. 17: 1. On *sūtu* and the Neo-Babylonian rent farm system, see a.o. Jursa 1995: chapter 7 and Jursa 2010: chapter 3.2.3.-5.

148.a.10up: *ginnû* > *ginnu*.

149.a.8up, 220.b.3up and 221.a.10up: 'Wunsch 2013' does not appear in the bibliography. The reference is Cornelia Wunsch, 'Glimpses on the Lives of Deportees in Rural Babylonia.' Pp. 247–260 in A. Berlejung and M. P. Streck (eds.), *Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Babylonia and Palestine in the First Millennium B.C*. Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 3. Wiesbaden, 2013.

170 (no. 45: 25): The year date cannot be 16, but 17, 18, or 19.

172.b: Note that Ahīqam's trade connections to Babylon are attested in no. 44; in that sense, it is not so surprising that no. 45 – which deals with the division of Ahīqam's business shares among his sons – was drafted in Babylon.

176.b.3up: 'two' > 'four'.

190.a.3up, 20up: The tablet was written on the 13th day (not on the 23rd).

190.b.8up: The comment to l. 18 seems to miss the point: 'Hamat' was a settlement comparable to 'Yāhūdu' – a colony of deportees from the homonymous Syrian town on the Orontes, which was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar in the last year of his father's rule (ABC 5 99: 6).

228.a.up: In the commentary to l. 6, the signs SU and KU$_4$ are mixed up.

228 (no. 82: 16–17): Judging from the photograph these lines may read ú-ìl-*tì*.meš šá *hal-li-qa e-la-a'* ('the debt notes that were lost have turned up') or something similar, rather than ú-ìl-*tì*.meš šá *ina* en.líl$^{!ki}$ *e-ṭir$^{!}$-'* ('the debt notes in Nippur are paid'). In any event, the only explicit mention of 'Nippur' in the

corpus is based on a very uncertain reading.

232.b.8up: 'Ahīqam' > 'Ahīqar'.

244.a.14: The transcription of the personal name in no. 98: 8 should be AD-*du-ú-nu* if the name is to be read Abdūnu (244.a.13up).

245: Texts no. 98 and 99 are incorrectly described as 'near duplicates'. These tablets record separate transactions between the same people on the same day. Two different scribes were used to indicate the separate status of each of these transactions. Note also that no. 99 has no *elat*-clause. No. 98, therefore, probably refers to 99 and another, now lost, tablet. This also means that the house was more valuable than indicated by Pearce and Wunsch (p. 245): at least 4 (and probably more) shekel of silver was paid; moreover, the owner of the house had already pledged a field to Ahīqar some years earlier (no. 71a-b), so the rent paid for the house might not represent its actual value.

246.b.7up: 'Nergal-aplu-iddin' > 'Nergal-aplu-ibni'.

250.a.9: Line 2 of no. 102 reads UGU, not UGU-*hi*.

250.a.13: Line 4 of no. 102 reads TIL-*tì* (not -tu_4).

250.a.26: Line 15 of no. 102 reads ^{iti}bára (not '^{iti}1').

250.a.28: The Aramaic (*bl'dn*) in line 17 of no. 102 probably represents the debtor's name (Bel-aha-iddin) rather than his patronymic (Bel-iddin).

250: The left hand edge of no. 102 displays the Aramaic number '4'.

251.a.4: Text no. 103 is a promissory note for dates, not barley.

290.a.16: According to p. 250, the duplicate of no. 102 is BaAr 6 no. 58, not no. 57 as listed here.

303.3: Arad-Gula is not the scribe of text no. 5.

304–305: Two of the 'scribes' listed here have names that might suggest a non-Babylonian origin (Iddin-Amurru son of Amurru-silim and Qaṭṭin son of Ṭābia). However, both entries are mistaken; these men do not appear as scribes in the relevant tablets, but as witnesses (no. 55 and 57).

VII: The photograph belongs to text no. 10, not no. 7.

Note that the texts published in CUSAS 28 have previously been cited by the authors using the siglum IMMP – referencing the original title of the volume (*Into the Midst of Many Peoples: Judeans and Other Exiles in Babylonian Texts*), e.g. in Pearce 2011 and Wunsch 2013 – and the siglum TAYN – 'Texts from āl-Yāhūdu and Našar', e.g. in Pearce 2006.

Notes

1 The history of publication is more fully discussed below.
2 The evidence from Sippar is now extensively treated by Bloch 2014; previously it was cursorily discussed by Jursa 2007 and Waerzeggers 2014.
3 For the Babylonian system of agricultural development by forced migration, see van Driel 2002, Jursa 2010.
4 Recent studies suggest that the book of Ezekiel betrays its author's familiarity with Babylonian intellectual and literate traditions; cf. Vanderhooft 2014, Winitzer 2014, Pearce 2014, Stökl 2015a and 2015b.
5 See Tolini 2015 on the Neirab archive.

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Book Reviews

Shimon Gibson, Yoni Shapira, Rupert L. Chapman III, *Tourists, Travellers and Hotels in Nineteenth-Century Jerusalem*. Palestine Exploration Fund Annual, 11. Leeds, UK: Maney Publishing, 2013. Pp. xv + 286. £48.00. ISBN 978 1 907975 28 8.

This book will be fascinating reading for any reader interested in the Old City of Jerusalem and its nineteenth-century visitors. Of the three authors of the book, two became interested in the Mediterranean Hotel in Jerusalem owing to its connections with the early history of the Palestine Exploration Fund: Charles Warren and Claude Reignier Conder, who for example, stayed at the hotel, while Warren left a description of the hotel in its second location near the Damascus Gate. Interest in this hotel led to a full-scale research into the nineteenth-century hotels of Jerusalem—their premises, locations, owners, managers and their visitors. The authors have worked hard to identify the sites of hotels within the Old City and in the area north-west of the Jaffa Gate; a major achievement has been the re-discovery of the site and building of the second location of the Mediterranean Hotel. The book is superbly illustrated; what is especially commendable is that the authors have gone to extraordinary pains to identify historic illustrations and photographs of the hotels in question and to provide contemporary photographs of the same buildings, taken from the same angle to make identification clear.

The plan of the book is straightforward. Chapter 1 sets the scene, describing nineteenth-century guidebooks, the tourists, pilgrims and scholars, the travel agencies who catered for them, the accommodation they sought and used, including hostels, hotels, and tent encampments. The lengthy Chapter 2 lists and describes in historical sequence the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century hotels and their history. Chapter 3 traces the beginnings and history of the Mediterranean Hotel at its first location in the Street of the Patriarchs (or Christian Quarter Street, behind Hezekiah's Pool). Chapter 4 is the centre-piece of the project, describing how the location of the hotel's second phase, near the Damascus Gate, was re-discovered by careful reading of Warren's description of the hotel in *Underground Jerusalem*, by the discovery in the PEF archives of a sketch by Conrad Schick showing a hotel in el-Wad Street, by research based on letters and diaries by Mark Twain, who

stayed in the hotel, and by close examination of maps and photographs, combined with detailed exploration on the ground and rooftops of the Old City. The result is a most convincing piece of detective work.

Chapter 5 turns from the Mediterranean Hotel (II) building to its visitors and their guides, among whom were the American writer Mark Twain, and the dragoman Rolla Floyd (1838–1911), 'who played a pivotal role in the development of tourism agencies in nineteenth-century Palestine, first as an employee of the Thomas Cook & Son company, and later as an independent guide' (p. 183). These two were both Freemasons, as was also Charles Warren, and the chapter goes on to describe the establishment of a lodge in Jerusalem in 1873, with its first meeting in the cave known as Solomon's Quarries.

Chapter 6 returns to the Mediterranean Hotel itself, describing its third location near the Jaffa Gate, and chronicling its later appearances as the Dardanelles Hotel, the Central Hotel, the Hotel Continental, and the Petra Hotel. A final chapter describes secular tourism in the nineteenth century. Three valuable appendices follow: Appendix I describes important nineteenth-century guidebooks and their various editions; Appendix II summarises the hotels described, with their names, dates of activity, locations and proprietors; and Appendix III gives a detailed architectural appraisal of the Mediterranean Hotel in its second, re-discovered, location near the Damascus Gate.

This brief summary does scant justice to an important, fully researched, annotated and illustrated book, and the authors must be congratulated on throwing such light upon the nineteenth-century scene. The illustrations and captions are throughout precise and helpful (though on p. 254, Figure App. III.11 is given as 'towards the east' though surely it is towards the west). More importantly, on pp 28–29, Fig. 2.1 and its caption contain (if I mistake not) a more serious error. No 5 is identified as 'Howard's Hotel (I)/Hotel du Parc/Fast Hotel (II)/Allenby Hotel'; but surely this must be Howard's Hotel (II) (see Figs 2.43 and 2.45 and their captions). No 6 is given as 'Howard's Hotel (II)', but surely this must be Howard's Hotel (I), as is clear from the text on p. 58, which puts Howard's first hotel north of Feil's Hotel (no 10 on the map). This map would be clearer and more accurate if each hotel had been accurately pinpointed on the map—the map's scale is adequate for this - rather than indicated by a large, rather vaguely placed superimposed number. In Appendix II, on p. 248, Lloyd's Hotel is described as being previously the Howard (II) Hotel. But according to the text on pp. 64, 93, 95, Lloyd's Hotel was *opposite* the Hotel du Parc, which itself had been the second Howard's Hotel. The precise identification and location of these hotels in this book is sometimes a little confusing. What is needed for clarity is a list or chart of the *buildings* identified in their exact locations, each shown with the sequence of names by which the building or site was known, with dates for each name, and a more precise map.

In a large work so fully referenced (the notes to Chapter 2 alone number 358 and extend over pp. 108–120, with a wealth of detail), there will inevitably be minor slips, but they will not detract from the value of this intriguing new exploration of the Jerusalem hotels of the nineteenth century. That period saw the beginnings of serious archaeological and architectural exploration of biblical, classical, Byzantine and medieval Jerusalem, and these hotels were an important if hitherto unsung part of that story. Scholars, pilgrims and tourists alike of our own century will be indebted and grateful to the three authors for their researches.

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Oren Tal and Itamar Taxel, with Dana Ashkenazi, Gabriela Bijovsky, Vered Eshed, Ruth E. Jackson-Tal, Mark Iserlis and Lidar Sapir-Hen, *Samaritan Cemeteries and Tombs in the Central Coastal Plain. Archaeology and History of the Samaritan Settlement outside Samaria (ca. 300–700 CE)*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 82. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2015. Pp. xviii + 291 incl. b/w and col. illustrations. €98.00 / $ 110.00; ISBN 978–3–86835–153–8. With ebook €125.00/$140.00; ISBN 978–3–86835–154–5.

In the last two generations scholars have dedicated much attention to the material culture of the Samaritan community in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Synagogues were excavated, sometimes with nearby dwellings, while certain types of oil and wine presses, pottery oil lamps and stone sarcophagi, were attributed by archaeologists to the Samaritans. Less attention, however, was paid to the burial customs and cemeteries of this group.

Professor Oren Tal and Dr. Itamar Taxel, from Tel-Aviv University, have challenged this situation, and made considerable effort to illuminate a dozen rock cut burial tombs in the vicinity of modern day Tel-Aviv. The main cemetery lies in Khirbet Al-'Aura, modern Tel Barukh, in the southern Sharon plain - the Sharon and coastal plains served in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods as areas where new settlements were established. The authors accept the traditional explanation concerning Samaritan communal expansion during this period: i.e. the weakening of the Jewish settlements after the two revolts against Rome, and consider newly suggested motives, such as that of demographic pressure, together with the community's wish to participate in the economic developments of the country in the Roman Period.

The backbone of this important book is its professional analysis of the dozen burial caves, which were excavated in the 1950s, and for which no final publication reports were issued. This fresh re-publication of these earlier excavations is a

meticulous work, utilizing all fields of modern archaeology, including accounts of pottery, glass, iron, coins, jewellery, magic amulets, human remains, etc. The volume is richly illustrated and includes numerous colour plates. Its examination of over 100 pottery oil lamps, enabled their formal classification into six distinct types, with the majority belonging to the main Samaritan type. The large quantity of glass vessels are from local production like the oil lamps, where evidence of local glass and pottery production is demonstrated by the Tell Qasile furnace and Hadar Yosef pottery kiln respectively. Another welcome addition includes the authors' decision to republish Tel Qasile's Samaritan Synagogue materials with a new plan.

The publication presents an impressive synthesis of archaeological and historical data pertaining to the Samaritan settlements between 300–700 C.E. According to Tal and Taxel, the main use of the cemeteries occurred in the 4th-5th centuries C.E., but earlier and later phases were discerned. In addition the varied artefacts from the burial caves enable the authors to reconstruct the rural settlements in the southern Sharon plain, and suggest that many of the artefacts were used in funerary rites, including burial meals. This contribution to the knowledge of funerary customs, beliefs, and daily life, provides new insights on the material culture of the Samaritans in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. Both Dr. Jacob Kaplan and his spouse Haya Ritter Kaplan, the archaeologists who dedicated many years of their life excavating in the vicinity of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, received honourable mention by the authors.

Tal and Taxel, together with the relevant specialist contributors, have reached important conclusions, namely that the Samaritans' cemeteries and burial customs, grave types and offerings were not different from other communities in Erez-Israel of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. This is highly significant for emerging studies of Samaritan archaeology and its material culture. The volume constitutes a major contribution to this field, and its authors deserve special thanks from all of the archaeology community who are interested in Samaritan studies.

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Ya'akov Meshorer† with Gabriela Bijovsky and Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert; **ed. David Hendin and Andrew Meadow**, *Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum (Ancient Coins in North American Collections 8). New York: The American Numismatic Society, 2012, 2013. Volume I: Text, References and Indexes*. Pp. xxvi + 315; Volume II: Plates Pp. 238. $190.00. ISBN 978–0897222839.

Abraham and Marian Sofaer's private collection, collected over more than 30 years, consists of 4,000 gold, silver, bronze and lead coins and related objects (seals and seal impressions) produced by the peoples who inhabited the 'Holy Land' from the Persian period (5th and 4th centuries BCE) through the Crusader Kingdom (13th century CE). This is one of the most important coin collections of this region in the world.

All of the coins have been, or are in the process of being donated by the collectors to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem and to the American Numismatic Society in New York. The city coins will go to the former and the Jewish and Nabataean coins to the latter. The late Professor Yaakov Meshorer, long-time chief curator of numismatics at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, and lecturer at the Hebrew University, accompanied the construction of the collection and delivered his manuscript for the Sofaer Collection to the American Numismatic Society around 1999. The printing of the two-volume work was long delayed by his death in 2004, but was published recently with the assistance of Gabriela Bijovsky and Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert together with David Hendin and Andrew Meadows.

Volume I includes the introduction (pp. vii-xxvi), the catalogue (pp. 3–286), references (pp. 287–300), and indexes (pp. 301–315). Each city or minting authority is introduced with a brief introduction in which the most important historical and archaeological evidence is given before the coinage is discussed. Volume II includes 238 black and white plates illustrating all the coins, which are presented in the catalogue according to the issuing authority, and other related objects. The oldest coins in the collection are dated to the Persian period and the latest to the Crusaders. The majority are Roman, with some Hellenistic and early Islamic exemplars.

Geographically, the boundaries of the region represented in the collection are from the Mediterranean Sea to the west; the Syrian Desert to the east; the mountains of south Lebanon and south Syria to the north and the Sinai Desert and the Arabian Desert to the south. In the Roman period, these areas belonged to the provinces of Judaea (later Syria-Palaestina), Phoenice, Arabia and Syria, with periodic boundary changes. The arrangement of the coins by city is geographically presented, starting from those of the Galilee and Samaria, through Judea, Idumea and Philistia and then to the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia. Subsequently, the

coins presented relate to the Samarians, the Nabataeans and the Ituraeans. The last section in the catalogue deals with 'Jewish coins', including those struck during the Persian period and under the Ptolemies, the Hasmoneans and the Herodian dynasty. The coins of the First and Second Jewish Revolts (commonly known as the Jewish War and the Bar Kokhba Revolt) follow, as well as the coinage of the Roman administration before and after the First Jewish Revolt. A short concluding section deals with countermarks of the Roman legions. The appendix discusses the Tyrian shekels as Temple tribute.

Highlights of the collection include almost complete series of the coinages of the cities of Galilee, Samaria, Judaea, Idumaea and the Decapolis under Roman rule, as well as earlier, principally Hellenistic coins and later Umayyad and Abbasid but also some Crusader coins. These groups include a rich selection of the fractional silver coinage of Samaria and other unattributed 'middle Levantine' issues (pls. 165–182); several unique Nabataean coins (Nos. 9, 15, 19, 27,34 and 51; and impressive collection of Ituraean coins; but most important is the comprehensive assemblage of Jewish coins from the Persian period to the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

A number of observations regarding the catalogue are relevant:

Sepphoris, Nos. 11–12—This rare small type, which was struck under Antoninus Pius, has on its reverse the bust of Heracles with a small club below and the lion's skin knotted around his neck (?). It was suggested by Meshorer et al. that the head could be that of young Marcus Aurelius; however, the small club and the prominent head leave no doubt that this is the head of Heracles. The illustrations of both coins seem to be identical, although without access to them it is impossible to be certain which image was struck. This type from Diocaesarea could serve as the prototype for a similar one which was struck in Gaza under Marcus Aurelius (Nos. 128, 142–143), the only other city west of the Jordan which struck this type (Farhi 2013: 253).

Aelia Capitolina, No. 123—This is probably not an original coin of Aelia Capitolina but rather a re-cut coin of Caesarea Maritima. This seems to be a rare type of Elagabalus, and see Kadman (1957: 112–113, and pl. VII, No. 80) for the same obverse die.

Eleutheropolis, No. 22—This coin should be excluded from this city. It seems to be a Homonoia-coinage of the cities of Abila and Capitolias in Transjordan representing their two legendary founders, Alexander and Seleucus (see Lichtenberger 2003: 73, 445 and pl. 15, MZ 28). One can actually read 'CEΛEY' on the right and '[...]ON' (HOMON?) in the exergue of the coin.

Neapolis, No. 19 is the largest medallion known so far from this region (Deutsch 2009–10); No. 117—This coin should be excluded as it is a coin of Diospolis, struck from the same obverse dies as Diospolis No. 19 (see Farhi 2007–8: 154,

No. 17). Whether this coin was struck under Caracalla or Elagabalus is difficult to determine (Farhi 2007–8: 152).

Gadara, Nos. 1–2—The date on coin No.1 was read by Lichtenberger (2003: 445, and pl. 15, MZ 29), and followed in the corpus, as 'year 6' (59/8 BCE). Thus it was suggested that this is the first series struck by the city. Rather, the date on these specimens seems to be 'year 20', as was already suggested by Rosenberger (1978: 36, No. 5) who was the first to publish this specimen. Spijkerman published a better-preserved specimen, probably struck with the same dies (1978: 128–129, No.5). Therefore, the first series in Gadara was probably the one dated 'year 18' (47/6 BCE), here Nos. 3–5 (See also Spijkerman 1978: 128–129, Nos. 3–4; Rosenberger 1978: 36, No. 2).

Ituraeans, Nos. 11–15—These coins are examples of two types, which belong to an anonymous series bearing the legend LA PΩMHΣ ('year one of Rome'). This series, probably struck in 64/3 BCE, is commonly attributed to Gadara of the Decapolis even though the coins do not bear the city's name (see below).

The large denomination (Nos. 11–13) has the bust of Heracles on its obverse and ram of galley on its reverse; while the smaller denomination (Nos. 14–15) has for the bust Roma (Athena?) with crested helmet and harpa over shoulder on its obverse and helmet on its reverse. This type is hitherto unpublished and these two specimens seem to be extremely rare. Another large-medium type of this series has the bust (Roma/Athena?) with crested helmet on its obverse and aphlaston on its reverse (see Spijkerman 1978: 128–129, No. 2; Syon 2014: 131–132, 221 No. 5870).

Seyrig (1959: 71–75) and later Spijkerman (1978: 128–129, Nos. 1–2) attributed these issues to Gadara based on the geographical distribution of the coins and the similarity of the types to later coins of Gadara. Although adopted by Meshorer (1985: 80, Nos. 216–217) this attribution was later rejected by Kushnir-Stein (2000–2002: 82–83) who argued that these coins are very different in their types and have regular flans instead of the typical beveled edges flans and the types found on the first coins of Gadara of the 40's BCE. Syon (2014: 131–132) argued that the naval attributes of the battering ram and aplustre may, on the one hand, suggest a coastal city, but on the other, may hint at the Romans' naval power.

The naval attributes and the bust of Heracles indicate that these coins originated in a coastal city where the Tyrian cult of Heracles-Melqart existed. Coins showing the bust of Heracles, usually depicted with the lion's skin knotted around his neck and/or accompanied with a small club, are known in this region (always on the reverse), from Diocaesarea (Nos. 10–11), Gaza (Nos. 128, 142–3), Gadara (Nos. 33, 37–40, 53–56, 59–60, 71,75, 88–89) and Philadelphia (Nos. 11–12, 14–16, 20, 24–25). For the figure of Heracles on the coins of Gaza and further discussion regarding this hero in Roman Palestine and Transjordan see: Farhi 2013: 246–253. Since all these coins are much later in date to the one under discussion it is likely

that the LA PΩMHΣ series was struck outside this region, possibly in Phoenicia. However, the strong Tyrian influence on the Decapolis, as evident by the cult of Heracles-Melqart (Lichtenberger 2011), suggests that we should not exclude the possibility that this series did originate in Gadara or elsewhere in Transjordan. The existence of three denominations in this series might indicate some functioning economy in the area where they were struck or at least this is what was expected by the authority who issued them (For Gadara-Spijkerman 1978: 136–151, Nos. 32, 37–41, 53–56, 62, 68, 74, 81; and for Philadelphia-Spijkerman 1978: 246–257, Nos. 9, 11–14, 17, 20, 26–28, 42). For the possibility that the Aramaic letters on some of this 'middle Levantine' (Samarian?) coins (Nos. 70–74) are (בס) rather than (נס) see Farhi 2010: 26.

The importance of the Sofaer collection is both in its extent and representation. It contains many issues of extremely high quality and has particularly well conserved and very rare specimens. Such a wealth of completely new and previously unknown types of coins, especially of the cities, give us new information about the gods, heroes, cults and buildings in the cities of this region that a revision of some earlier corpuses (such as those of Kadman for Caesarea and Akko-Ptolemais) and the completing of some new corpuses (such as for Ascalon, Samaria-Sebaste and Neapolis) seems needed (See Kadman 1957 for Caesarea and Kadman 1961 for Akko-Ptolemais).

This collection is a valuable source of primary information and is of extreme importance to any researcher of the region under discussion. There is no question that these comprehensive volumes will serve as standard reference work for archaeologists, historians and numismatists who are studying the history of the 'Holy Land' from the Persian period to the Crusaders.

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Hermann Michael Niemann, **ed. Meik Gerhards**, *History of Ancient Israel, Archaeology, and Bible: Collected Essays/Geschichte Israels, Archäologie und Bibel: Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 418. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2015. Pp. xx + 569. €119. ISBN 978–3–86835–117–0.

This collection of essays marks Professor Niemann's 65th birthday and his retirement from the chair at the University of Rostock. The essays are in German or English, depending on the language in which they were originally published, with a few having joint authors. I shall give the essay title in English (or an English paraphrase), though the language of the essay is always indicated.

After a *Foreword* by the editor, and two introductory messages from Ernst Axel Knauf and Rainer Rausch, (all in German), the first section is on I: *Archäologie/ Archaeology*. The section begins with an essay (German) on the torso of a statuette from Ḫirbet ʿAṭārūs, which dates between the 11th and the 9th centuries, or during the Late Bronze/Early Iron transition (pp. 1–8). Then there are three articles on Ostracon 1027 from Tell Faraʿ South (which reads 'for our lord'), two in German but the third (and latest) in English (pp. 9–22); he suggests that Tell Faraʿ South could be Ziqlag and that the ostracon was addressed to one of the kings of Judah in the 9th or 8th centuries. A long essay (in German), 'On Surfaces, Strata, and Structures: What Does Archaeology Do for Research on the History of Israel and Judah?' (pp. 23–62), gives three conventional (and unsatisfactory) approaches, before proposing a fourth: along with epigraphy, iconography, and literary critical analysis of the biblical text, archaeology helps to differentiate between 'history' and 'story' in historical anthropology. An English paper on 'A New Look at the Samaria Ostraca' (pp. 63–78) concludes that the texts are evidence of representatives from the tribal elites residing at the royal court as guests of the king to ensure the loyalty of their tribes to him. The last essay in this section (English), 'Observations on the Layout of Iron Age Samaria' (pp. 79–87), interacts with Israel Finkelstein's study on the same question. Here Niemann argues that the upper platform of Samaria

belongs to the Omride dynasty, while the lower platform was built only in the reign of Jeroboam II (early 8th century).

The longest section is *II: Geschichte Israels/History of Israel*. The first essay (English), 'The Socio-Political Shadow Cast by the Biblical Solomon' (pp. 93–126), provides a superb overview and analysis of the biblical tradition on Solomon (first published in a volume on *The Age of Solomon*).Then an essay (German) asking about literacy in ancient Israel and Judah (pp. 127–38): literacy began in Israel in the 9th century and in Judah in the 8th, with the first literary texts of the Bible about 720 BCE (apart from some earlier poetic fragments). In 'Zorah, Eshtaol, Beth-Shemesh and Dan's Migration to the South' (pp. 139–55; English), Niemann takes up the Danite tradition which was the subject of his first dissertation. In this article he argues that contrary to the account in Judges 18, the Danites arose in the north and migrated south only in the time of Tiglath-pileser III (c. 735 BCE) to settle first at Kiriath-jearim and then in the Zorah-Eshtaol region. In English, 'Megiddo and Solomon' (pp. 157–68), is an investigation of the biblical tradition in relation to archaeology. Niemann argues that the biblical tradition of Solomon ruling over northern Israel shows an aim rather than reality; Solomon took a step-by-step approach to expanding influence northwards from his rather limited heartland, though he was less and less successful the further north he pushed. 'Taanach and Megiddo' (pp. 169–76, in German), continues the theme of Solomon's expansion, drawing on Judges 5: 19 and 1 Kings 4: 7–19 as evidence of Solomon's intent and actions. The next essay (pp. 177–236) is the first (German) edition of an article that later appeared in English as 'Core Israel in the Highlands and its Periphery: Megiddo, the Jezreel Valley and the Galilee in the 11th to 8th Centuries BCE' (in *Megiddo IV*). 'Choosing Brides for the Crown-Prince' (pp. 237–47; English) is about matrimonial politics in the Davidic dynasty: in every case the choice of bride for the crown prince of Judah was politically oriented. 'Clan Structure and Charismatic Rulership: Judah and Jerusalem 1200–900 BCE' (pp. 249–74; German) casts considerable doubt on the idea of an evolved monarchy with a complex state organization in the Judahite hill country in the 10th century BCE; the reigns of David and Solomon operated by cultivating relationships with kinship groups, clans, and villages. A German essay on Ahab's chariots at the battle of Qarqar (pp. 275–94) seeks to take forward the question of whether Ahab actually had 2000 chariots by considering the geographical areas in Israel where chariots might have been stationed. 'Royal Samaria - Capital or Residence?' (pp. 295–319; English) argues that Samaria was simply a royal residence for a mobile kingship and only became a capital under Assyrian rule. An essay in German, 'Between Desert and Mediterranean: Qubur al-Walaydah and its Milieu in Southwest Palestine' (pp. 321–45), sketches out a history of this region and how it as a crossroads was always a site of cultural exchange; it changed over

time from a fortified settlement under the Egyptians to a subsidiary agricultural site under the kingdom of Judah. Neighbors and Foes, Rivals, and Kin: Philistines, Shepheleans, Judeans between Geography and Economy, History, and Theology' (pp. 347–69; English) is Niemann's recently published essay from A. E. Killebrew and G. Lehmann's *The Philistines and Other 'Sea Peoples' in Text and Archaeology* (2013), a very astute overview of the Philistines and their relationship with Judah.

III: Bibel und Theologie/Bible and Theology has five essays, all in German. The first is about the people known as Perizzites (pp. 373–94), which argues that the term originally referred to 'Outsiders' and only later came to have an ethnic connotation.'Theology in Geographical Perspective' analyzes the literary growth of the oracles against the nations in Amos 1: 3–2: 16, emphasizing the geographical structure of the developed pericope. 'Farewell to the 'Theology of the Old Testament'?' (pp. 413–21) asks whether a theology of the Old Testament is still viable (as opposed to a history of Israelite religion, among other alternatives). 'Steps and Stairs in the Levant, in the Bible - and in the Pilgrimage Psalms' (pp. 423–47) begins by asking whether the Psalms of Ascent (Psalms 120–34) refer to literal steps; this becomes the basis for a survey of the existence of steps and stairs in Palestine from archaeology and literary sources. 'Between Economy and Theology: Guilt and Debt in the View of the Hebrew Bible' (pp. 449–59) observes that 'guilt' (*Schuld*) is a theological term but 'debt' (*Schulden*) is an economic category; this provides an opportunity to look at the various Hebrew terms and how the economic and theological concepts interrelate.

IV: Forschungsgeschichte/History of Research has two essays, a German one on the archaeologists Gottlich Schumacher and Carl Watzinger and the first excavations at Megiddo (pp. 463–97). The other is an English essay sketching the life of the biblical scholar and archaeological pioneer Ernst Sellin (pp. 499–526). Finally, there is a listing of Niemann's bibliography (pp. 527–44).

This is a valuable collection. Between it and the recent collected essays of Ernst Axel Knauf (*Data and Debates: Essays in the History and Culture of Israel and its Neighbors in Antiquity/Daten und Debatten: Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte des antiken Israel und seiner Nachbarn*; eds. H.M. Niemann, K. Schmid and S. Schroer; AOAT 407; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013) we have what are in my opinion some of the best studies on the history of ancient Israel to come out of Germany in the past 25 years or more.

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John R. Spencer, Robert A. Mullins, and Aaron J. Brody (eds.), *Material Culture Matters: Essays on the Archaeology of the Southern Levant in Honor of Seymour Gitin.* Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, on behalf of the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeology, 2014. Pp. xxii + 321, incl. figures and tables. $59.50. ISBN 978–1–57506-ł298–3 (hardback).

This is a second Festschrift for Seymour Gitin, and contributors express much appreciation for his help to them in their work during their tenure at the Albright Institute, and (in some cases) even in their careers. There is an updated bibliography of the honoree, and two essays of appreciation. A helpful Preface gives an overview of the volume, including brief summaries of the articles. This volume covers a wide-range of topics, from the Chalcolithic to the Modern Period and the whole Southern Levant region, mostly relating to archaeology but including one literary essay. The essays below are discussed in alphabetic order (by name of author) except for the four essays relating to Tel Miqne-Ekron that are treated together at the end.

Marwan Abu Khalaf ('The Umayyad Pottery of Palestine', pp. 1–16) notes that the Islamic pottery of Palestine has not been fully studied, even though production flourished in the Umayyad period. He gives a list of sites and the types of pottery found there. Examples looked at include 'bag' (or 'Palestinian' or Beisan) cooking pots, fine ware, moulded ware, and variously decorated ware. ome objects are of a high standard. There are also figurines, mostly zoomorphic (usually a ram with spiral horns, or a donkey with erect ears). He notes that Palestinian cut ware is more likely Ummayd than Abbasid, though Umayyad traditions continued into the Abbasid period.

Jeffrey A. Blakely, James W. Hardin, and Daniel M. Master ('The Southwestern Border of Judah in the Ninth and Eighth Centuries B.C.E.' pp. 33–51) examine what is thought to be the south-western border of Judah marked by the Sennacherib destruction about 701 BCE. Because of the geology of the region, this is an unlikely border area (poor soil, few water sources), yet a central administration seems to have established several fortified sites here in Iron Age II (Tell el-Hesi, Tel 'Ereini, Tel Burna, Tel Qeshet, Tel Milh)—the authors suggest at the beginning of the 9th century BCE. The authors see a number of architectural parallels between Tell el-Hesi and Tel Lachish.

Aaron Brody ('Interregional Interaction in the Late Iron Age: Phoenician and Other Foreign Goods from Tell en-Nasbeh', pp. 53–67) studies the fragments of three Phoenician pottery vessels from the ancient site of Mizpah, in light of their implications for interregional trade: a Phoenician bichrome jug, a trefoil-mouth jug, and a pedestal bowl. The ceramic markers for interregional trade cluster in the Iron Age IIB-IIC (c. 850–586 BCE), showing limited interaction between Tell

en-Nasbeh and Phoenicia in this period. This was at a time when the economies of Israel and Judah were mainly agropastoralist and subsistence in nature.

Susan L. Cohen and Wiesław Więckowski ('Three Middle Bronze II Burials from Tel Zahara', pp. 69–80) discuss what may have been shallow cist graves (though later Roman foundations seem to have destroyed any shaft lines) of an adult and two children, all poorly preserved. The adult lay in a flexed position, head to the north and facing west; the sex could not be determined. Buried near the feet of the adult was one child, less than six years old, with head apparently oriented to the south. The other child (about 12 years of age, in a flexed position, with head to the south) was buried a bit away from the other two and at a slightly higher level. Several jugs and a bowl were grave goods of the adult. Two whole vessels and two juglets could have been associated with either the adult or the first child. No ceramics were associated with the second child. The three burials show traits typical of MB II, though there are components linking them to MB I.

Garth Gilmour ('A Late Iron Age Cult Stand from Gezer', pp. 81–93) presents a ceramic stand, found in a Hellenistic-period backfill but dated to the late Iron IIC (late 8th to 7th centuries BCE). This is interpreted as a cult stand associated with popular religious observance (function still uncertain), along with pillar and horse-and-rider figurines, marking a significant addition to Judahite cult stands of that time. Other cylindrical stands of Iron Age IIC Philistia and Judah are discussed for comparative purposes.

Salah Hussein al-Houdalieh ('Tomb Raiding in Western Ramallah Province, Palestine: An Ethnographic Study', pp. 95–109) studies tomb vandals in the Palestinian territories, interviewing 45 informants (with questions relating to social, financial, and cultural status and knowledge). The majority were high school graduates or even university graduates, and some had a fair professional knowledge of archaeology. Almost all admitted that tomb raiding had not aided them financially. He concludes that the 'driving forces' behind the looting includes inadequate law enforcement, 'the Israeli antiquities law of 1978 that allows for a licensed, 'legal' antiquities trade; and a lack of awareness among the majority of Palestinians about the importance of heritage resource to their national identity.' Unfortunately, such looting of ancient tombs is a serious problem worldwide.

Beth Alpert Nakhai ('Mother-and-Child Figurines in the Levant from the Late Bronze Age through the Persian Period', pp. 165–98) notes that at the time of writing no study had focused specifically on mother-and-child figurines in the ancient Near East. Figurines of pregnant women are rare until the Persian period, while only three depicting parturition. Those showing nursing mothers were very popular generally in the Near East, though only a few examples are known for Israel, Judah, Transjordan, or Philistia. Figurines of mothers just holding children are less common. Some were made by skilled potters but others seem to be by non-

professional locals (possibly even by women themselves). They seem to have been used in various contexts (including the home) to invoke protection and blessings, though precise rituals are still largely unknown.

Ham Nur el-Din ('The Evolution of the Sacred Area at Tell es-Sultan/Jericho', pp. 199–207) re-examines the material from the sacred area excavated by Garstang and Kenyon, attempting to find an approach to understanding the significance of the location, development, and function of the area. The locus shows evidence of religious use (e.g., a temple complex, plastered skulls, clay statues and figurines, burials, stone pedestals for cult objects) from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (10th century BCE) to the Early Bronze Age (ca. 2000 BCE). The sacred area may have related to the worship of a deity, though there is no proof that it was dedicated to the moon god as Garstang suggested.

Yorke M. Rowan and Morag M. Kersel ('New Perspectives on the Chalcolithic Period in the Galilee: Investigations at the Site of Marj Rabba', pp. 221–37) think that the first two seasons (2009 and 2010) of this dig will help fill out knowledge of the Chalcolithic settlements in the north. Six enigmatic round installations were uncovered. They might be silos, though botanical preservation is poor in the region and no remains were found. Ceramic fragments and chipped stone were extensive, but the concentration and repertoire were inferior to comparable sites (e.g., in the Negev), suggesting a limited exchange system. Golan Chalcolithic sherds were found, however. Substantial wall foundations, a partial room, and the circular structures already mentioned suggest a site unlike others so far known in the Galilee.

Moain Sadeq ('An Overview of Iron Age Gaza in Light of the Archaeological Evidence', pp. 239–53) seeks to provide a single scholarly compendium of Iron Age Gaza, which has been lacking so far. This involves both textual and archaeological data. Unfortunately, later structures currently restrict archaeological activity in the old city of Gaza. Therefore, excavations at Tell el-'Ajjul and Deir el-Balaḥ (both in the region of Gaza) provide material from the Early Iron Age, including Philistine pottery (alongside Egyptian-style vessels in some cases). The Neo-Assyrian conquest of the city is known from texts but also archaeological evidence is found in the sites of Iblakhiyya and Tell el-Ruqeish which were probably part of a trade network. Subsequently, Gaza came under Neo-Babylonian and Persian rule. New technology needs to be applied to finding further remains under the coastal sand dunes.

Benjamin Adam Saidel ('Tobacco Pipes and the Ophir Expedition to Southern Sinai: Archaeological Evidence of Tobacco Smoking among 18th- and 20th-Century Bedouin Squatters', pp. 255–63) interprets the find of three smoking pipes and an apparent rough out of a stone pipe in I. Beit-Arieh's survey of the central and southern Sinai peninsula. The last could have been imported but was probably of

local manufacture. Since the Bedouin did not make clay pipes of similar form or decoration to those from Egypt and Palestine, the clay pipes are an indication of long-distance trade. The pipes are evidence that some Bedouin found shelter among the Bronze Age II and Byzantine ruins during the 18th and mid-20th centuries.

Robert Schick ('King David in Mujīr al-Dīn's Fifteenth-Century History of Jerusalem', pp. 265–80) provides an English translation and literary study. Mujīr al-Dīn's account of David seems to be taken mainly from the Quran and the Hadiths, though his account of David's building the temple and the plague that followed his census come from other sources. However, there is no evidence that he consulted any version of the Hebrew Bible directly. Although his account parallels the biblical account for the most part, there are many differences in detail and emphasis (he especially concentrates on David's piety, giving a prominent place to his repentance for taking Uriah's wife and having him killed). Other Muslim historians apparently provide fuller historical information than al-Dīn.

Hamdan Taha ('An Iron Age II Tomb at 'Anata', pp. 281–94) describes the salvage excavation of a tomb found near what is now regarded as the ancient Anathoth. A main chamber and a subsidiary chamber were excavated (unfortunately, looters had got there first), though there may have been additional chambers (based on blocked entrances in the subsidiary chamber). Except for a few sherds, the main finds (bowls, jugs, saucer lamps, decanters, jars, bronze rings and a bracelet, a bronze needle, and an iron arrowhead) were in the subsidiary chamber, along with the skulls of three females and one male, and a few other bones. It is suggested that this was a family (perhaps of high status) tomb, used over a long period of time. The finds are dated from the early 6th century to the late 5th BCE.

Joe Uziel, Itzhaq Shai, and Deborah Cassuto ('The Ups and Downs of Settlement Patterns: Why Sites Fluctuate', pp. 295–308) make the general observation that sites near each other tend to 'seesaw' in size and importance relative to one another, with one expanding and the other contracting and vice versa. The inner region of the southern coastal plain and western Shephelah are examined from Early Bronze II to Iron Age IIC to study this phenomenon, looking especially at the sites of Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Tell es-Safi/Gath, Tel-Miqra/Ekron, Lachish, Tel Hesi, Tel Batash, and Tel Beit Mirsim. The importance of a site and its distance from other major sites is not always directly related. The supposed carrying capacity of a certain area as a factor may have been overly stressed in previous studies. Other factors, especially political but also economic and even agricultural ones, seem to be important.

Alexander Zukerman ('The Horned Stands from Tell Afis and Hazor and the 'Crowns' from Nahal Mishmar', pp. 309–21) compares several Iron Age II objects from Tell Afis that were recently published. The only known parallels are from Iron II Hazor, but they have affinities to the Chalcolithic 'crowns' from Nahal

Mishmar. There is evidence that the Tell Afis stands were placed on the edge of the roof of the temple (a practice that apparently began only in the Early Bronze Age). The author argues that the 'horns' were symbols of divine power and fertility, while the 'crowns' similarly symbolized the power of a ruler or deity. The two are thus thought to have served similar functions.

The next four articles on Tel Miqne-Ekron do not give a comprehensive overview of the site (though Laura Mazow gives an extensive overview of Iron I), but they all capture various aspects of the ancient city: David Ben-Shlomo ('Marked Jar Handles from Tel Miqne-Ekron', pp. 17–32) observes that a few Aegean handles have Cypro-Minoan signs, but most them and their Levant counterparts have a limited number of simple marks (such as x, +, horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines) or finger impressions. Some of the marks were put on before firing, but others were scratched on afterward. Sometimes there is more than one mark on a handle. The author believes that they belong to a recording system used by a small-scale administrative or redistribution regional system. It is not clear whether the marking system relates strongly to Philistine culture or to a Cypro-Minoan script.

Edward F. Maher ('Lambs to the Slaughter: Late Iron Age Cultic Orientations at Philistine Ekron', pp. 111–30) focuses on the Temple Complex 650 that seems to be the centre of religious life at Ekron. A royal dedication inscription, other dedicatory inscriptions, the temple architecture, four-horned altars, small cult objects, and especially the remains of animal sacrifices are evidence of cultic expression. Much of the discussion concerns the evidence for animal sacrifice. The preponderance of animals included sheep, goats, and bovines, usually young males without any indication of disease. They were probably brought alive to the temple, and the meat seems to have been distributed and used. This may have promoted social solidarity and national identity at a time when the community was under Assyrian hegemony.

Laura B. Mazow ('Competing Material Culture: Philistine Settlement at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Early Iron Age', pp. 131–63) examines changes in 'consumption patterns' (i.e., the four areas of architecture, cooking vessels, fine wares, foundational deposits) in the Iron I settlement to explore the use of material culture to express sociocultural identity. Changes in cooking ware, for example, suggest changes in daily domestic traditions which may be a sign of acculturation by an immigrant population. But there is a move from ordinary domestic ceramics to fine ware. This is seen as a shift toward elite identity. In other words, there was a change from simple assimilation toward the new environment of their settlement to an expression of social power and authority. It requires a careful study of the material culture in its original context to see this, however, and much is missed when context is ignored.

Steven M. Ortiz (''Ashdod Ware' from Ekron Stratum IV: Degenerated and Late

Philistine Decorated Ware', pp. 209–19) talks about what has now been renamed as Late Philistine Decorated Ware, from the last phase of Philistine occupation of Ekron (Stratum IV). Apparently there was an earlier phase of Late Philistine Decorated Ware that arose during the 11th to 10th century transition. This ware from Ekron IV is seen as a new phase, otherwise represented currently only in Qasile X and Khirbet Qeiyafa.

Because of the wide-ranging nature of the essays, there should be something of interest for most archaeologists, as well as for many biblical scholars. It is welcome to see the number of contributions by archaeologists and scholars associated with Palestinian or other institutes in the Islamic world. However, although the volume appeared in 2014, a number of essays were completed some years before this date, one even as early as 2004. Lack of uniformity in archaeological nomenclature clearly continues to be a problem (e.g., the 6th century BCE is referred to as Iron II—see Taha's essay above). It is a shame that there is no index to the volume. Eisenbrauns should insist that their volumes all have indexes.

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Miriam Müller (ed.), *Household Studies in Complex Societies: (Micro) Archaeological and Textual Approaches*. Oriental Institute Seminars 10. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2015. Pp. xlii + 470. 208 illustrations. $25.95. ISBN 978–1–61491–023–7.

Household archaeology is emerging as an essential component in the investigation of past societies. The analysis of the material correlates of human activities - dwellings and their associated artefacts - can reveal otherwise unrecoverable aspects of production, consumption, and the organization of domestic space. Used together with texts and new micro-archaeological methods, household analysis offers fresh perspectives on human behaviour, interactions, and values as well as a household's macro-historical context. This volume presents case studies, based on papers given at a conference at the Oriental Institute in Chicago in 2013, that engage these combined approaches. Intentionally cross-cultural and comparative, the book includes papers on households in the Near East (including Egypt and Turkey) and the Mediterranean; a Mesoamerican perspective is provided by one paper dealing with a Mayan village.

The editor's introductory essay - 'Investigating Traces of Everyday Life in Ancient Households: Some Methodological Considerations' - reviews the emergence of household archaeology, mostly in Mesoamerican studies, with its goal of understanding human behaviour and relationships rather than focusing, as

has been the tradition especially in Near Eastern and Classical archaeology, on the typological features of the built environment and its artefacts. Müller emphasizes the need for an integrated approach that combines multiple data sets. She briefly notes the different trajectories in the development of household archaeology in Mesopotamia, the Levant, Anatolia, and the Classical world, rightly ruing the way most archaeologists until relatively recently failed to record artefacts in a way conducive to understanding household activities. She then explains the thematic division of the book, which groups case studies into four parts and concludes with several responses.

The five papers in the first part, *Method and Theory*, are examples of distinctive methods for using architecture together with artefact assemblages to reconstruct activity areas and processes. Lynn Rainville, in 'Investigating Traces of Everyday Life in Ancient Households: Some Methodological Considerations', defines the terminology of household archaeology and then draws on her work at Early Bronze Age and Iron Age sites in Turkey to explore the potentials and problems in using techniques of micro-artefact analysis. One of those problems, site-formation processes as they affect the identification of activity areas, are addressed in Peter Pfälzner's 'Activity-area Analysis: A Comprehensive Theoretical Model', which presents his meticulous work in developing an integrated methodology (including micro-archaeology) in order to understand the social context of archaeological remains at two Syrian sites - an Early Bronze Age tell and a Late Bronze Age burial site. Another Syrian site, Late Bronze Age in date, provides the case study in Adelheid Otto's 'How to Reconstruct Daily Life in a Near Eastern Settlement: Possibilities and Constraints of a Combined Archaeological, Historical, and Scientific Approach', which shows how multidisciplinary work can yield insights into the diet, religious practices, and social structure of the site's inhabitants. A multidisciplinary approach - using texts, artefact assemblages, and especially architectural remains - also appears in Kate Spencer's 'Ancient Egyptian Houses and Households: Architecture, Artifacts, Conceptualization, and Interpretation', which focuses on New Kingdom Amarna and emphasizes the variability in the function of domestic spaces. The traditional attention to architecture in Classical archaeology is problematized in Lisa Nevitt's 'Artifact Assemblages in Classical Greek Domestic Contexts: Toward a New Approach', an essay that highlights the work on a site that uncharacteristically presents artefact sets situated in their household context, thereby allowing for a taskscape-oriented approach that shows the use of space to be more flexible than previously thought.

The four essays in the second part, *Perception of Space*, all indicate how traditional approaches and perspectives distort the understanding of the use of domestic space and/or settlement organization whereas more nuanced approaches provide greater clarity. Paolo Brusasco's 'Interaction between Texts and Social

Space in Mesopotamian Houses: A Movement and Sensory Approach' examines the organization of domestic architecture of the second millennium BCE in order to critique analyses based only on texts and architecture; adding phenomenological characteristics to those sources can provide otherwise inaccessible information about family dynamics. Felix Arnold's 'Clean and Unclean Space: Domestic Waste Management at Elephantine' notes anachronistic tendencies in assessing room functions; changes over millennia in the use of household space for disposing of the refuse of daily activities preclude the assignment of specific functions to most spaces. Neal Spencer's 'Creating a Neighborhood within a Changing Town: Household and other Agencies at Amara West in Nubia', traces architectural developments across six generations; in so doing, he shows the flaws in attempting to 'normalize' the character of settlements on the assumption that house layouts were standard. Jens-Arne Dickmann's 'Crucial Contexts: A Closer Reading of the House of Casa del Menandro at Pompeii' discloses problems in the typical focus on architectural units; his more integrated approach identifies activities and allows him to infer social relations.

The four essays in the third part, *Identity and Ethnicity*, consider artefacts and installations along with architecture and sometimes texts and micro-artefacts to assess the identity of a structure's occupants. In 'Private House or Temple? Decoding Patterns of the Old Babylonian Architecture', Peter A. Miglus identifies both local and southern Babylonian features in an early Middle Bronze site in Kurdistan, suggesting that on a formal level, local rulers apparently intended to maintain ties with the south. In 'Hybrid Households: Institutional Affiliations and Household Identity in the Town of Wah-sut (South Abydos)', Nicolas Picardo examines elite mansions of a state-established Middle Kingdom settlement and is able to link changes in a specific dwelling complex to officials mentioned in texts. In 'Living in Households: Constructing Identities: Ethnicity, Boundaries, and Empire in Iron II Tell en-Nasbeh', Aaron J. Brody integrates various kinds of material and textual data from a late Iron Age site in Israel and finds the site's inhabitants were likely Judeans influenced by the hegemonic Assyrian empire. In 'Micro-archaeological Perspectives on the Philistine Household throughout the Iron Age and Their Implications', Aren M. Maier presents the innovative micro-archaeological technologies used along with traditional methods in the excavation of a Philistine site in Israel, thus enabling his research team to identify previously unknown aspects of Philistine metallurgy, plaster, and hearths.

The four papers in the fourth part, *Society*, demonstrate how the techniques and 'bottom-up' approaches of household archaeology can enhance our knowledge of past societies. In 'Property Title, Domestic Architecture, and Household Lifecycles in Egypt', Brian P. Muhs is able to link increased written records of property transfers in first-millennium BCE Egypt, compared to earlier millennia, with

shifts in domestic architecture and concomitantly in family configurations. Miriam Müller's contribution, 'Late Middle Kingdom Society in a Neighborhood of Tell el-Dab'a/Avaris', shows how the study of several estates and households over an extended period can provide information about social structure, with wealth accumulation by non-government families perhaps signalling the emergence of a middle class. Heather D. Baker's 'Family Structure, Household Cycle, and the Social Use of Domestic Space in Urban Babylonia' combines texts and archaeological evidence to connect first-millennium BCE houses plans with Babylonian terms for various rooms, thus illuminating concerns for family privacy and patterns of transferring property across generations. Tasha Vorderstrasse's 'Reconstructing Houses and Archives in Early Islamic Jēme' examines texts and house plans of an Egyptian site, enabling her to connect Greek and Coptic terminology and also recover aspects of the social relations embedded in certain economic transactions.

As the title of the book's fifth part, *Responses*, suggests, its three essays review the volume's contributions. In the first one, 'Social Conditions in the Ancient Near East: Houses and Households in Perspective', Elizabeth Stone considers the papers on Near Eastern and Mediterranean households; she helpfully identifies several themes - clean and unclean; activity areas; household reorganization; and gender, class, and status - that appear in a number of papers; she applauds the attention to households rather than monumental architecture and laments the persistent focus on elite rather than peasant housing. Then Nadine Moeller, in 'Multifunctionality and Hybrid Households: The Case of Ancient Egypt', looks at the papers on Egyptian households individually; she notes that many deal with the different functions of household space and also identifies the attention to cultural hybridity in several papers. The last paper, Cynthia Robin's 'A Mesoamerican Perspective on Old World Studies in Complex Societies', is less of a response than it is the presentation of a case study of a Mayan village in Belize; in showing the potential of household archaeology (especially micro-archaeology) for reconstructing household life in a 'humble' farming community, it underscores the value of archaeology for recovering the lives of groups that are too often neglected.

Several aspects of the volume, in relation to its objectives, deserve comment. First, although it advocates an integrated approach and uses the terms '(micro) archaeological' and 'textual' in the title, the extent to which individual contributions represent an integrated approach varies considerably. Only four of the seventeen papers (and one of the three responses) include micro-archaeological techniques. The use of texts appears more often, cited in most - but not all - of the case studies, which is not surprising given that all the studies deal with sites of historical periods. Another methodological feature is strangely absent from the editor's advocacy of an integrated approach, although she does mention it in passing. Six of the papers draw upon ethnographic or ethnoarchaeological data as part of their explanatory

strategies, and two others mention ethnographic analysis. Thus it is curious that the editor has not highlighted and encouraged the use of analogies provided by anthropological field work for the interpretation of integrated data sets pertaining to household life.

Second, the range of contents does not match the volume's stated focus on the entire ancient Near East and Mediterranean (xv). Egypt clearly dominates, with eight of the seventeen studies devoted to work on Egyptian sites. Research on Mesopotamian sites accounts for only three of the papers. Syrian, Palestinian, and Classical sites are featured in just two papers each. And a Turkish site appears in a single contribution. To be sure, the strong tendency of Egyptian archaeology to focus on monumental remains has meant a relative paucity of attention to household archaeology, making it worthwhile to emphasize these relatively new forays into the study of Egyptian households. And Egyptian archaeology within the context of work in other cultures was the focus of the conference itself. Yet a more balanced table of contents, even if it meant soliciting additional papers (like those of Maier, Muhs, and Vorderstrasse, who did not attend the conference) would have made the overall work more in line with its stated goals.

These considerations, however, do not detract from the significance of this book, which models the value for archaeology of historical periods of using the multidisciplinary techniques that have long been the hallmark of prehistoric archaeology. Employing multiple lines of inquiry provides insights into human society that are not possible using texts or architecture or artefacts alone. The biases created by favouring texts can be challenged and even corrected when they are used together with other sources of information. Perhaps the most important contribution of this book is that it adds to the growing body of research that focuses on the household, the most common setting for human life, rather than on larger social or political structures. Many of the case studies include helpful discussions of the term 'household' and related concepts, thereby contributing to our understanding of households in theoretical as well as material ways.

The volume is also to be commended for its many and varied illustrations, some in colour, and all adding to the clarity of the papers in which they are found. Including maps but not counting tables, there are more than 200 illustrations. Archaeological research involves material culture, and depictions of the artefacts and dwellings that figure in each author's discussion provide a welcome dimension to this collection of informative studies.

Carol Meyers
Duke University

Bart Wagemakers (ed.), *Archaeology in the 'Land of Tells and Ruins:' A History of Excavations in the Holy Land Inspired by the Photographs and Accounts of Leo Boer*. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2014. £14.95-£49.95. Pp. xv + 264, incl. numerous photographs and plates. ISBN 978–1–78297–245–7.

The editor of this volume had a chance meeting with Leo Boer in 1989, ten years before the latter's death. In the early 1950s Boer had gone from his native Holland to Rome to study theology at the Gregorian University and then to work for a doctorate at the Pontifical Biblical Institute. During this period, he went for the year of 1953–54 to study at the École *Biblique* in Jerusalem, taking some 700 good quality photographs of the many sites he visited and also writing a 140-page diary. (The full catalogue of the photographs, each carefully numbered and labelled, is included as an appendix in this volume.) He returned to Holland as a priest in 1955 and worked for over a decade in the church and as a professor at the Major Seminary in Valkenburg. In 1968, however, he was granted a priestly dispensation 'because for me the meaning of the priesthood has almost faded away in the way my life has changed', though he remained a committed churchman. Without giving up his interests in theology and lecturing, he found work in the building trade, and some years later he married. His rolls of film, undeveloped though fully documented, were stored away in his garage and more or less forgotten.

Part of all this came to light during the ten years or so of Wagemakers' friendship with Boer, and upon his death Wagemakers followed up by retrieving the canisters of film and working on them systematically. They show views of many parts of the Holy Land that are now irretrievably changed, and in some cases the photographic documentation of sites where excavations were then in progress retains scientific value. He participated for a short while in the excavation at Qumran under Roland de Vaux of the *École Biblique*, and also visited Jericho, meeting Kathleen Kenyon during one of the seasons of her excavations there. (As a matter of personal interest, I note that these excursions from Jerusalem were already being organized by Father Lemoine, whom as a student I accompanied on his last ever week-long trip to the Sinai in 1974.)

In the present book (following the editor's full introduction to Boer's life and work) nine of the sites visited are discussed by twenty-one scholars. The nature of the coverage varies slightly from one to another, but they all try first to describe the site at the time of Boer's visit, presenting a selection of his photographs (seventy in all) and sometimes comparing the view then with another photograph taken more recently from the same spot. Second, there are full descriptions of the whole history of archaeology at the site both before and after Boer's visit, and this has an independent value as, along with much that will be broadly familiar to specialists, there are also frequent details of smaller expeditions that are less well known but

which have an interest (including sometimes the personal) all of their own. Third, distinctive features of some of the sites are also discussed, such as the work taken to conserve what has been found and to open up the site for public education and tourism, the importance of modern scientific analyses of remains, and (at Jericho) the pioneering research of I.W. Cornwall in archaeothanatology during Kenyon's excavations - a chapter inspired in part by the fact that Boer had a good photograph of the skeletal remains *in situ* which started off the whole process.

The sites treated are: Jerusalem, Khirbet et-Tell (including the question of whether this site is or is not biblical Ai), Samaria, Tell Balata (Shechem), Jericho, Qumran, Caesarea, Megiddo, and Bet She'an. The level of technical detail varies but the style of presentation is nearly always accessible. It provides exactly the kind of survey which the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society seeks also to present in its public lectures, and the format - double columned with photographs and plates on nearly every page - makes it an attractive volume. The editor is surely to be congratulated for having succeeded in rescuing Boer's valuable material from oblivion and, along with some specialized journal articles, for conceiving and overseeing this book which combines presentation of the older and fortuitously preserved material with a modern survey of several major sites which will be of interest and value to us all.

H. G. M. Williamson
Southwold, Suffolk

Books Received

Felicity Cobbing and David Jacobson, *Distant Views of the Holy Land.* Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd. 2015. Pp. 308, incl. 350 col, b/w illustrations, maps, and plans. £81.25 / $130.00. ISBN: 978–1–78179–061–8.

Carly L. Crouch, *The Making of Israel: Cultural Diversity in the Southern Levant and the Formation of Ethnic Identity in Deuteronomy*. Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 162; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014. €115.00 / $149.00. Pp. xii + 280. ISBN 978–9–00427–467–9.

Gil Gambash, *Rome and Provincial Resistance*. Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies 21. New York: Routledge, 2015. Pp. 206. £85.00. ISBN 978–1–13882–498–0 (hardback); 978–1–31574–020–1 (e-book).

Marvin L. Miller, *Performances of Ancient Jewish Letters: From Elephantine to MMT*. Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 023. Pp. 324. €99.99. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015. ISBN: 978–3–52555–093–9.

David T. Sugimoto, ed., *Transformation of a Goddess: Ishtar—Astarte—Aphrodite*. Orbis biblicus et Orientalis, 263 2014. Fribourg, Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014. Pp. xiv + 234 incl. black and white illustrations and maps. €54.00. ISBN: 9783727817489 (Fribourg); 9783525543887 (Göttingen).

Hanan Eshel† (Shani Tzoref and Barnea Selavan, ed.), *Exploring the Dead Sea Scrolls Archaeology and Literature of the Qumran Caves.* Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 018. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015. Pp. 314. €120.00 ISBN: 978–3–52555–096–0.

Lecture Summaries

REFLECTIONS ON THE CHANGING INTERPRETATIONS OF TELL EL-HESI AND ITS ENVIRONS: 1838-2015

JEFFREY BLAKELY
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Early 19th century explorers of south-western Palestine saw numerous khirbets of the Roman and Byzantine periods and concluded that the environs of Wadi el-Hesi in particular had been a productive agrarian region for millennia, with towns, villages, and hamlets dotting the landscape. The coming of Islam, however, was seen as the event that ended sedentary life for the region and soon initiated a millennium of a semi-nomadic lifestyle that was still practiced as they explored the region. With this perspective these 19th century scholars sought biblical sites in what they saw as an agricultural region, focusing on the city Lachish, a site first identified as Umm Lakis and later as Tell el-Hesi. By the mid-20th century Lachish was known to be located east of this region and Tell el-Hesi was thought to be a biblical town, Eglon, but soon even that identification was called in to question. By the start of the 21st century not a single site in the Hesi region could be identified as a specific biblical town or village and many scholars questioned whether the region was even within the borders of Judah. This was a significant shift in scholarly interpretation from a century earlier. The agricultural nature of the region, however, remained unquestioned. A recent reconsideration of the Hesi region's archaeological record suggests that for all periods post-dating the Early Bronze Age, excepting the Roman and Byzantine periods, the region supported nomads or semi-nomads who generally herded sheep and goats. It was not farmland tilled by sedentary villagers as earlier scholars thought. For the 10th, 9th, and early 8th centuries B.C.E., in particular, the Hesi region was a pasturage controlled by governmental installations at Tell el-Hesi and Khirbet Summeily. The identity of the political entity, or entities, controlling Tell el-Hesi and Khirbet Summeily is far less clear, but one entity certainly could have been Judah.

DECODING THE PAST: ANCIENT DOCUMENTS AND MODERN TECHNOLOGY

ALAN BOWMAN
University of Oxford

In the last two decades modern technology has played a vital role in helping ancient historians and documentary specialists unlock the secrets of the past. Building on pioneering innovations in visualization, image-capture and signal-processing, experts in Information Technology, Medical Imaging and Palaeography have been able to develop techniques of reading ancient documents which have remained undeciphered or misread for many decades. Professor Bowman's lecture described how these advances have been achieved, with illustrative examples of stone inscriptions from Egypt and Roman writing-tablets from Vindolanda and other parts of the empire.

AHAB'S IVORY HOUSE: WHEN WAS IT DESTROYED?

RUPERT CHAPMAN

During the Joint Excavations at Samaria from 1932 to 1935 one of the most exciting discoveries was a large group of Phoenician carved ivory inlays. The inlays, which were found dumped and partially burnt, were datable on stylistic grounds to the Iron Age II period by comparison with well-known finds from the Assyrian palaces at Nimrud, and they were immediately connected by the excavators to the 'ivory house' which Ahab is said to have built (1 Kings 22: 39). A small volume with illustrations of some of the best inlays first discovered was rushed out to assist in raising further funds for the work, but the discovery has left two abiding mysteries. It was assumed by the excavators that the palace was destroyed, and the ivories burnt, during the Assyrian conquest of Samaria in 721 B.C.E., and in her final report Kathleen Kenyon identified what she believed was an Assyrian destruction level at the end of her Period V. However, in his brilliant re-analysis of her work, based on the original field records, Ron Tappy found nothing at all to indicate that this identification was correct; indeed, he found no evidence of an Assyrian destruction of Samaria – a conclusion which conforms to the views of J.W. Crowfoot. Tappy found that the heaps of burnt ivory came from various contexts, and that most of them were part of the debris from the remodelling of the hilltop during the wholesale reconstruction of the site during the Hellenistic period. This lecture discussed the implication of these discoveries for the reconstruction of Ahab's 'ivory house' and the date of its destruction.

THE IMAGE OF GOD IN THE ART OF ANCIENT ASSYRIA

PAUL COLLINS
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Assyria emerged as a significant state in northern Mesopotamia and Syria in the 14th century BCE. From 850 BCE it expanded into an empire reaching from the Levant to Iran. Throughout its history Assyrian imagery, most famously as sculpted relief panels from royal palaces, focused on the military achievements of the king as well as on his relations with the gods. The monumental sculptures together with small-scale portable objects – especially cylinder and stamp seal – provide a very rich, diverse set of data. Early scenes depict religious or mythical themes within apotropaic compositions, while later images reflect the increasingly god-like nature of Assyrian kings. With the expansion of the empire from the mid eighth century BCE onwards, a permanent Assyrian presence was established beyond the heartland. A mixed population and a new multi-ethnic ruling class emerged which shared an 'Assyrian' identity and an associated material culture. The relationship between the king and his gods forged an Assyrian world-view. This talk examined in particular images of the gods.

HAVE POTS, WILL TRAVEL: ISRAELITE IDENTITY IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY BCE FROM AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

CARLY CROUCH
University of Nottingham

Discussions of Israelite identity have mostly focused on the emergence of Israel sometime between the twelve and tenth centuries BCE and on the effects of the Babylonian exile in the sixth century. This lecture drew attention to the neglected period between these two extremes, focussing especially on the seventh century, when Assyrian imperialism in the southern Levant was at its height. We surveyed a wide range of sites in the Negev, Shephelah and hill country of Judah, and observed the archaeological evidence for a wide diversity in the material culture remains of this period which suggests that the inhabitants of Judah would have been exposed to alternative cultural practices during this period in a way in which they had not been before. The lecture investigated the possible effects of exposure to such diversity on the population of Judah and on their sense of their ethnic identity.

'ADVERTISING' MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH IN ROMAN PALESTINE

ESTĒE DVORJETSKI
University of Haifa

Many different methods are currently used for drawing attention to medicine and public health. In contrast, in antiquity such advertising was achieved by urban coinage which reflected political, cultic, commercial, and medical propaganda featuring symbols, such as a single snake or a pair of snakes which served as the attributes of gods. The coins of Akko-Ptolemais, Shechem-Neapolis, Jerusalem-Aelia Capitolina, Tiberias, Caesarea-Maritima and Gadara represented symbolically local healing waters or curative thermo-mineral springs as a means of spreading their reputation and boosting the economies of these Roman cities.

ARCHAEOLOGISTS, COLLECTORS, AND MUSEUMS: REDRESSING THE ETHICAL DIVIDE IN THE FACE OF MODERN CONFLICT

MARK MERRONY
Ariadne Galleries, London

Informed by his diverse career in archaeological publishing, the museum world, and the commercial sphere of ancient art, Dr Mark Merrony examined the ethical issues that polarize archaeologists in their relations with public and private collectors, and he examined legislation in the face of modern conflict in the Middle East and of the possibilities of future reconciliation.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE WEST BANK: A VIEW ON ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN DOCUMENTATION

ADI KEINAN-SCHOONBAERT
Institute of Archaeology, UCL

The central hill country of the Holy Land, encompassed by the modern political boundaries of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, has long attracted the interest and curiosity of archaeologists and scholars. Since 1967 the areas occupied by Israel have been subject to intensive archaeological survey, salvage excavations and research projects conducted mainly by Israeli government and academic institutions. Since the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority in 1994, Palestinian institutions have also become engaged in a variety of archaeological projects, surveys and excavations. This lecture examines the results of Israeli and Palestinian data collection, mostly focusing on the West Bank and East Jerusalem Archaeological Database (WBEJAD) – a database covering thousands

of archaeological sites surveyed or excavated by Israel from 1967 to 2007. By examining recording emphasis in West Bank inventories, this lecture interrogated the ways in which social, political, ideological or cultural values may affect different aspects of data collection and management.

REVEALING 'INVISIBLE' GREEK MAGICAL TEXTS FROM THE LEVANT

KATHRYN E. PIQUETTE
Universität zu Köln

Dr Piquette presented the results of new digital imaging techniques on the study of Greek magical texts from the Levant dating from the first to fifth centuries CE. These texts, which range from protective or binding spells to curses that target both humans and animals, are inscribed on thin sheets of lead recovered from sites such as Beth Guvrin, Beth Shemesh, Caesarea, Jerash and Jerusalem. They are very difficult to read, but thanks to the power of new digital imaging methods, it is now possible to make these hidden texts visible once more.

Reports from Jerusalem

REPORT 66
JANUARY 2015

Earliest Evidence of Olive Oil Found

At a salvage dig conducted at Tzippori in the lower Galilee last year by the Israel Antiquities Authority and directed by Dr. Ianir Milevski and Nimrod Getzov, and reported in the Israel Journal of Plant Sciences, pottery was found with a residue of olive oil dating back some eight thousand years. The directors researched fragments of the pottery with scientist Dr. Dvory Namdar of Hebrew University and found by chemical means that the jars had absorbed organic remains containing olive oil, that could be traced back to the Early Chalcolithic period. Of the twenty shards that were examined two samples of the pottery were found to be particularly ancient and could be dated back to 5800 BCE.

Remains of an olive oil industry of this period were found some years ago at Kfar Samir near Haifa, but the find at Tzippori is the earliest evidence of its use in domestic vessels in Israel and perhaps in the Middle East as a whole. Together with evidence of field crops such as grain and legumes, it indicates that the composition of the basic Mediterranean diet existed at the earliest periods, much as it remains today.

Fragment Showing Menorah of Second Temple Period

A rescue dig in the Carmel National Park near Yokne'am, 20 km. south-east of Haifa, being dug before the construction of a water reservoir for the town, exposed an industrial area of the late Roman and early Byzantine period with a number of refuse pits. In one of the pits one of which the directors for the Israel Antiquities Authority, Limor Talmi and Dan Kirzne, found the small fragment of a glass bracelet, about 25 × 12 cm. decorated with the symbol of a seven-branched Menorah (candelabra) like the one known from the Second Temple. The bracelet was of turquoise-coloured glass and was found with many other pieces and fragments of glass vessels, jewellery, and even small window panes, which suggested that the area had included a glass manufactory that served the surrounding residential population, who were clearly living in relative affluence.

Damage to Ancient Sites in Syria

The United Nations, through UNITAR, has reported that more than 290 historic and cultural sites have been damaged by the civil war in Syria, according to evidence from satellite images. The sites included Raqqa and the oasis city of Palmyra, the ancient city of Bosra and early settlements in the north of Syria. In addition, the head of Syria's antiquities and museums agency is reported as saying that thousands of museum artifacts have been moved recently to secure warehouses to avoid the danger of looting.

Looters of Ancient Cave Arrested

Last December two Arabs were caught red-handed digging a large hole into an ancient cave near the West Bank in search of buried gold objects. They had been hired to carry out the work by two Israelis from Hefer, who were also arrested.

The illegal excavators were equipped with drills, lighting units, shovels, buckets and a generator. They were discovered by the Robbery-prevention unit of the Israel Antiquities Authority and taken to the police station at Tayiba for questioning. Unauthorised excavation is a criminal offence and punishable by up to five years in prison.

Ancient Looted Coins Found in Private Home

A man was initially arrested at an antiquities site in the Bet Shemesh area where he was discovered using a metal detector. The police found that he was carrying digging tools and later searched his home where they found 800 ancient bronze coins of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods, as well as other ancient objects and jewellery. Dr. Klein, deputy director of the Robbery-prevention unit of the Israel Antiquities Authority said that unauthorized searching for ancient coins is a criminal offence. Ancient coins are most important to archaeologists and historians and, if found in situ, can provide dates, names of rulers and the place of production.

Temple Outer Wall Destruction Reassessed

The large stones that lie at the foot of the southern end of the western outer wall of the Temple Mount have always been considered to be the result of toppling by the Roman forces, when they destroyed the Second Temple in 70 CE. However, Prof. Shimon Gibson, who is digging nearby near the Zion Gate, has now re-examined them and claims that they fell as a result of a major earthquake that occurred in 363 BCE, one that has been well documented as damaging several monuments in the Jerusalem area and the adjoining Rift valley.

'By The Rivers Of Babylon'

A new exhibition at the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem sets out to describe the life of the Jews exiled from Jerusalem in the years 597 and 586 BCE. It is based on an archive of Babylonian cuneiform documents that describe life in the town of Al-Yahuda (literally, the City of Judah) where the exiles were at first located. The exhibition includes the texts, some models and small sculptures, and remains open until mid January 2016.

REPORT 67
MARCH 2015

Oldest Human Skull Yet Found in the Middle East

Archaeologists and anthropologists have reported the finding of a fossilized partial skull in the Manot Cave in western Galilee seven years ago but only now reported after extensive verification of its date. Dr. Omri Barzilai of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) claimed that the skull was 55,000 years old and 'one of the most important discoveries in the history of human evolution'. He was standing outside the cave of the discovery, 40 km. north-east of the Carmel caves, and pointed out that the cave entrance had collapsed thousands of years ago and thus had hermetically sealed the remains and preserved the skull. He said that morphometric analysis had shown that the skull belonged to modern Homo Sapiens and thus was the earliest modern human skull ever found in the Middle East. Professor Israel Hershkovitz of Tel Aviv University explained that two main migrations of ancient and modern Homo Sapiens from East Africa occurred 120,000 years ago and again between 60,000 and 70,000 years ago and while modern Homo Sapiens went on to conquer the world, his ancient cousin never made it past the Middle East. However the migrant route of modern Homo Sapiens passed through the Levant on its way to Europe and Asia - the Levant being the only land route between Africa and Europe. It is not clear why only the skull of the corpse was found and the explorers (who have had to abseil many metres down into the cave) said that it is hoped to find further remains as the excavation continues.

Arrest of Grave Robbers at Antiquities Site

At the end of January, three young Bedouin men were apprehended by Guy Fitoussi, archaeologist and inspector of the Israel Antiquities Authority Robbery prevention Unit, at an ancient Ashkelon burial site and handed over to the Police. The men had come with a metal detector and digging equipment to the Byzantine-

era tombs, but claimed to the police that they were only searching for worms to fish with at the nearby dock. Fitoussi said that they were attempting to open three 1,500 year old graves to search for artifacts such as jewellery and coins that may have been buried with the dead. He said that their activities in disturbing the graves were causing irreparable damage to future archaeological research and would destroy clues to understanding the lives and culture of the former inhabitants. Due to increasing looting of ancient sites in the area, the Israel Antiquities Authority Robbery Prevention Unit have mounted regular night-time surveys of the area, and it was during one of these that the looters were apprehended.

Fine Wine of the Byzantine Era

During exploration in the Negev desert conducted by Haifa University professors Guy Bar-Oz and Dr. Lior Weisbrod and Dr. Tali Erikson-Gini of the Israel Antiquities Authority, ancient charred grape seeds of the Byzantine era of 1,500 years ago were uncovered in an antique pile of botanical and animal remains. It is claimed that these seeds were of a sought-after wine of the period called the 'Wine of the Negev', an extremely expensive wine drunk by the society's elite.

The seeds were found after careful sifting and it was not clear where they had come from. Guy Bar-Oz said that the vines from which the seeds would have come had not survived but their existence showed that such vines had grown in the Negev and had flourished without the need of large amounts of water, as was needed by vines in Europe. The next step, the explorers said, was to work with biologists to research the DNA of the seeds, and they would also now attempt to try to grow vines from the seeds and make wine from the grapes.

Treasure Trove of Gold Coins Found Off Caesarea

A very large collection of gold coins was recently discovered in the harbour of Caesarea National Park. The stash of coins was found by divers of the local diving club and reported to the Israel Antiquities Authority, who said that the divers were good honest citizens to have immediately reported the collection of coins. The director of the Marine Archaeology unit of the Israel Antiquities Authority, Kobi Sharvit, said that there would likely be a wreck nearby of a Fatimid treasury ship that was on its way to Cairo with tax revenues. Or it may have been that the coins were meant to pay the salaries of the Fatimid military garrison stationed in Caesarea. The discovery consisted of nearly two thousand gold coins of the 11th century CE and was the largest collection ever found in Israel. The coins were in denominations of dinars, half-dinars and quarter-dinars and varied in size and weight. The oldest coin to be found was a quarter-dinar minted in Palermo, Sicily of the ninth century CE, while most of the coins were minted under the Fatimid

Caliphs Al-Hakim and son Al-Zahir of 996-1036 CE who had developed Caesarea and adjoining coastal areas. In spite of their long incarceration, the coins were in good condition but some had been bent and showed tooth marks which, according to the Israel Antiquities Authority, demonstrate that they were physically checked by their owners or their traders.

REPORT 68
APRIL 2015

Prize for Professor Ahituv

It was announced that Prof. Shmuel Ahituv of Ben Gurion University in Beersheba would be awarded the Israel Prize in Biblical Research on Independence Day, which falls on 23rd April this year. The Israel prize is the highest civilian honour awarded in Israel and is given on an annual basis. Prof. Ahituv is one of the leading Biblical scholars in Israel and was founder of the Ben Gurion University Press and the last editor of the Biblical Encyclopaedia, who brought that great and definitive work to a successful conclusion.

Rare Coins Discovered in Northern Cave

Three members of the Israeli Caving club discovered a cache of silver and bronze coins after crawling for hours through narrow caves in Northern Israel recently. They reported their find to the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) who announced that the coins were from the time of Alexander the Great in the late fourth century BCE. Yoli Shwartz of the Israel Antiquities Authority added that near the coins a cloth bag or satchel was also located which contained silver rings, bracelets and earrings. It was thought that the coins and the jewellery had been hidden by their owners during a period of governmental unrest at the death of Alexander, when conflict developed between his successors, and the owners had been unable to return to retrieve their valuables. The finders were commended by the Israel Antiquities Authority for their early notification of the treasure and the Israel Antiquities Authority said that the coins would now be cleaned and examined before being exhibited to the public. The other artifacts would also be examined further to check their dating, which it was believed went back to the Hellenistic period and probably even earlier.

Ancient Beer-Making Pottery in Central Tel Aviv

The Israel Antiquities Authority announced that pieces of pottery used in the manufacture of beer by Egyptians were uncovered in a salvage dig in central Tel Aviv, where the construction of office blocks was due to start. The Israel

Antiquities Authority dated the pieces to the Early Bronze Age of five thousand years ago and, according to Diego Barkan, director of the excavation, some of the pottery fragments were of large ceramic basins made in an Egyptian manner to prepare beer. The pieces were made with some organic material for strengthening, which was not a local tradition, and suggested that it was Egyptians that had manufactured it while living in the area. Barkan said, 'Until now we were only aware of Egyptian presence in the northern Negev and southern coastal plain….. now we know that they also appreciated what the Tel Aviv region had to offer, and they knew how to enjoy a mug of beer just as the Tel Avivians do today !' Other finds at the site included a bronze dagger and flint tools dating to the Chalcolithic period of c. 4000 BCE.

Porcupine Diggers in Central Israel

A clay lamp of about 500 CE was recently found by the Israel Antiquities Authority on a heap of soil, at the Horbat Siv ruins in the Emek Hefer valley, north-east of Netanya. The accumulation of soil was created by the underground activities of a porcupine digging itself a new burrow in the area. The porcupines will dig their underground burrows sometimes fifteen metres long and will throw out the spoil and any archaeological items in their way. The Israel Antiquities Authority announced in humour, ' We call on all porcupines to avoid digging their burrows at archaeological sites and warns that such digging without a licence is a criminal offence that on prosecution can lead to a prison sentence.'

REPORT 69
MAY 2015

Egyptian Style Artifacts from Southern Cave

The Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) recently displayed artifacts unearthed from a cave near Tel Halif, 15 km. north of Beersheba. The items were found during a looting probe and date to the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age, say from 1500 to 1000 BCE. Yuli Schwartz of the Israel Antiquities Authority said that the thieves had been thwarted and the Israel Antiquities Authority were now carrying out a salvage excavation. She said that more than 300 pottery vessels of alabaster, seals and seal impressions had been found, as well as jewellery of bronze, shell and faience in considerable quantities. The appearance of the artifacts were in an Egyptian style and suggest that there had been an Egyptian governmental centre in the area at the time, Many of the stone seals were scarab-shaped with Egyptian images, and several were inscribed on semi-precious stones from Egypt and the Sinai.

Some had the names of Egyptian Pharaohs, one had a sphinx with the name of Thutmose (c.1480 BCE), another with the name of Amenhotep (c. 1370 BCE), and one with the name of Ptah, god of Memphis. It appears the objects were mainly made in Egypt but some were of Israelite work using Egyptian methods and motifs. Dr. Ben-Tor of the Israel Museum noted that most of the finds dated to the 15th and 14th centuries BCE when Canaan was ruled by the Egyptians. The excavation continues and the finds have been transferred to the Israel Antiquities Authority laboratories for cleaning and further study before being put on display again.

Praise for Finders of Undersea Gold Coins

The divers who discovered the largest hoard of gold coins ever found in Israel were honoured at a recent ceremony at the Nebe Shuayb Druze shrine in the Galilee. They had found 2,600 gold coins of the Fatimid period on the seabed in near-perfect condition, and they reported it immediately to the IAA. Most of the coins bear the name of the Fatamid Caliph al-Hakim bi Amra-Allah who is believed to have founded the Druze religion in 1017 CE, and therefore the find was of tremendous interest to the Druze community, and their spiritual leader Sheikh Tarif attended the ceremony. The Israel Antiquities Authority said that they were proud to connect the Druze to their local past. No information was given as to how the coins had ended up on the sea-bed in Caesarea harbour. At the ceremony the six divers were presented by the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Caesarea Corporation with certificates of exemplary citizenship and with a replica of one of the gold coins.

Dome of the Rock, Tension over Carpet Renewal

The Islamic Trust, the Waqf, have recently replaced the worn carpet inside the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The Israel Antiquities Authority were not informed of the change and it only came to the notice of Zachi Dvira, a colleague of Gabi Barkai, who saw pictures of the move on pages of Islamic Facebook and expressed concern to the Israel Antiquities Authority, who were unaware of it. The concern is not with the change of the modern carpet but with the floor below which could have been examined when the old carpet was lifted.

It seems that the floor below is covered with tiles of the Crusader period, and these were removed or changed without proper supervision. Under the tiles the earlier floor might have shown evidence of earlier pavings or the existence of another floor below. The Israel Antiquities Authority should have been informed and could have done the necessary research and taken photographs. The Israeli government will not allow the work to be opened up again due to delicate relations with the Jordanian government, who financed the operation. According to the Waqf management the work was long overdue and they said ‘our work in the Dome is

transparent, we are only putting down carpet, nothing more, nothing less.' The suspicion by some commentators, is that the Waqf are trying to remove all traces of the Crusader geometric flooring of the 11th century CE, as pieces had previously appeared in Gabi Barkai's sifting of the earlier material that was illegally removed by the Waqf without supervision in 1999.

REPORT 70
JUNE 2015

Mummies in Chile Subject to Melting

The Museum at the University of Tatapaca in northern Chile houses a number of mummies dating back to 5000 BCE, believed to be the oldest in the world, according to the curator Mariela Santos. Over the last few years she has noticed that the mummies are melting, disintegrating and turning into a mysterious black ooze. The staff have called in a Harvard scientist Ralph Mitchell, a bacteria specialist, to investigate. He has come to the conclusion that the mummies are victims of climate change, due to the increased humidity over northern Chile in the last ten years, and the common micro-organisms have become voracious consumers of collagen, the main component of the skin of the mummies. Mitchell warned that this was the first case known to him but that the phenomenon may be increasing and affecting other valuable remains in other locations.

The mummies in question are known as the Chinchorro mummies. There are about 120 at the museum and date from a community of hunter-gatherers. They are unusual in that they include human foetuses, and the early deaths are considered to have been due to arsenic poisoning caused by drinking water poisoned by volcanic eruptions. The mummies have survived due to the arid conditions of the Atacama Desert where they were excavated. Mitchell and the museum curators are working on a solution and consider that humidity and temperature control offer the best solution. To achieve that a new museum is planned at cost of $56 million, by the Chilean government, where each mummy will be housed in its own glass cubicle with its own microclimate, and it is hoped that will save them. But Santos is not optimistic and said: 'from the moment they are taken out of the ground they start deteriorating.'

Ancient Treasures of Palmyra Threatened

Islamic State fighters are in occupation of Palmyra, whose remains were designated as a UNESCO world heritage site and listed as being in danger in 2013. The fate of its antiquities remains unclear. Also known as Tadmur, Palmyra was one of the most important cultural centres of the ancient world, and stands at the intersection

of important routes to Damascus and Homs. Two weeks ago, while fighting was proceeding at two kilometres from the city Syrian antiquities Chief Abdulkarim said that the international community was not doing anything to protect the antiquities but 'would weep and despair' after the damage had been done, as had happened in Iraq. In Palmyra, he said, the Roman-era colonnades, some well-preserved temples and a theatre were under direct threat from the Islamic extremists who were converging on the city.

Hasmonean Aqueduct Exposed in Jerusalem

During the construction of a sewage line in the Har Homa district to the south of Jerusalem, a section of the lower aqueduct constructed by the Hasmonean kings to distribute water throughout the city two thousand years ago, was found by archaeologist Ya'akov Billig, director of the excavation for the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). According to Billig, the aqueduct had been built in open areas around the city, but due to modern expansion, it was now buried under several residential areas. The aqueduct was one of the principal sources of water for the inhabitants and was preserved for two thousand years until replaced by a piped and pumped system in modern times. Due to its historic interest, the aqueduct will be further exposed, studied and preserved by the Israel Antiquities Authority, who plan to make sections accessible and visible to the public.

Oldest Musical Image Found in Western Galilee

A cylinder seal impression of the Early Bronze Age of about 3000 BCE was identified by the Israel Antiquities Authority as the scene of a Mesopotamian wedding in which the king has sexual congress with a goddess, and the seated figures are holding a musical instrument that looks like a lyre. Yoli Shwartz of the Israel Antiquities Authority said, 'the seal's engraving includes music and dancing, a banquet, a meeting between the king and the goddess and their sexual union.' Archaeologists claim that the inscription represents the sacred marriage rite conducted by the king with a priestess, representing the goddess, and was a necessary ritual to increase fertility of the crops and animals. The small relic, the oldest representation of a musical instrument yet found in Israel, will be exhibited to the public at a forthcoming symposium at the Hebrew University to be entitled, 'Sex, Drugs and Rock and Roll'.

Visitors Archaeology Centre Approved Conditionally

A large visitor's centre planned to be built over the Givati Parking lot, located opposite the City of David entrance and south of the Dung gate, has been approved by the National Planning Appeals Board, subject to severe restrictions. The plan was to build a large complex of exhibition spaces, offices, parking places and

facilities for visitors on pilotis or stilts so as to preserve the existing archaeological remains on the site. There were objections to the plan, known as the Kedem Centre, from two environmental groups that thought it was very near to the City walls and would oversail them visually and destroy the archaeological remains on the site. The Kedem Centre was the brainchild of the Elad Foundation, who are sponsoring the City of David excavation, and wanted to see a suitable complex to provide facilities for visitors coming to the site and give them an explanation of its importance. The plan has now been approved but with the condition that it be reduced in size and height so as not to dominate this sensitive area. Another condition has been that the plan for the preservation of the archaeological remains must be submitted for public approval before building work commences.

REPORT 71
JULY 2015

Ancient Road Station Near Jerusalem

During construction of improvements to Highway 1 the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, at Abu Gosh at the west entry to Jerusalem, archaeologists uncovered a Byzantine period road station. The station, next to a deep spring called Ein Naka'a, included a 16 m. long church with a side chapel (6.5 m. by 3.5 m.) that had a white mosaic floor and a baptisterium in the shape of a four-leaf clover in one corner. According to Yoli Schwartz of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) who excavated the site, finds included oil lamps, coins, glass vessels, marble fragments and mother-of-pearl shell, indicating intensive activity at the site, just beside the ancient road from the coast up to Jerusalem, much on the lines of the present highway. The finds are being closely studied and documented and the site will be cleared and preserved for public viewing.

Canaanite Inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa

In 2012, Prof. Yossi Garfinkel of the Hebrew University and Saar Ganor of the Israel Antiquities Authority found scattered shards of 10th century BCE ceramic jars at the site of Khirbet Qeiyafa in the Elah Valley. Many of the fragments carried individual letters of Canaanite script and it was finally possible to join matching pieces together, when it was found that one jug, carefully restored, was inscribed with the name Eshbaal ben Beda. Prof. Garfinkel noted that one Eshbaal ben Shaul is mentioned in I Chron, 8: 33. He was ruling over (northern) Israel while David was ruling over Judah. That Eshbaal (whose name had been changed

to Ish-Boshet) was murdered and decapitated and his head brought to David. Prof. Garfinkel said that these letters showed that writing was more widespread at this period than had been thought, since they now had this and three other inscriptions (another from Qeiyafa, one from Jerusalem and one from Bet-Shemesh) which had been published.

Second Temple Mikveh under House Near Jerusalem

The Jerusalem District archaeologist, Amit Re'em, of the Israel Antiquities Authority, announced the discovery of a two-thousand year old ritual bath (mikveh) under the floor boards of a house in Ein Kerem, a suburb of Jerusalem, The mikveh was discovered by opening a trap door in the floor of the house, that gave access to stone steps leading down to a rock-cut basin of 3.5 × 2.4 m. containing stone-cut pottery vessels of the 1st century CE, together with further fragments and traces of fire, that may be some indication of the destruction of the city in 70 CE. The owner and his wife contacted the Israel Antiquities Authority when they opened the trap door and together they cleaned out the mikveh and recorded the finds. Seeing that the salon floor had a ready-made trap door, it is possible that the original builders of the house were aware of the mikveh in their basement but did not give the information to the present owners for fear that it might reduce the value of the property. This is of course not the case and the present owners are very proud that they have an apartment based on an historic mikveh that has been excavated and recorded by the IAA.

Tombs in Galilee Declared World Heritage Site

The Rabbinic tombs in Bet-Shearim, south-east of Haifa, have been declared a World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization at their meeting in Bonn in Germany last week. The committee said that 'Bet Shearim bears unique testimony to ancient Judaism under the leadership of Rabbi Jehudah the Patriarch, who is credited with Jewish renewal after 135 CE.' The initial approach to UNESCO was prepared by archaeologist Dr. Tzvika Gal of the Israel Antiquities Authority and handled over the last four years by archaeologist Dr. Tzvika Zuk of the Israel Nature and Parks Authority. Bet-Shearim is the ninth site to be inscribed on the World Heritage list and it contains many engraved Menorah (candelabra) representations and other Jewish symbols, as well as the tombs of many prominent Rabbinic and other figures of the period, after interment in Jerusalem had become impossible and undesirable due to the Roman and later occupations. There are also numerous inscriptions in Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew in the Bet-Shearim caves.

Burial Cave in Jerusalem Entered Illegally

The Israel Antiquities Authority unit for the Prevention of Robberies recently arrested a Palestinian father and his four children and a family friend, who were digging in an ancient burial cave on Mount Scopus by the Hebrew University. The six were apprehended while working in the cave with shovels and other digging equipment. The father said that two of his children had heard muffled sounds from the cave and he, who claimed to be an exorcist, was looking for the treasure that, he said, the spirits were also searching for. The six suspects were released on bail and will be brought to court shortly and charged with entering an archaeological site illegally, for which the punishment can be up to five years in prison.

REPORT 72
AUGUST 2015

Ancient Torah Fragment Restored

The Byzantine synagogue of Ein Gedi was excavated forty-five years ago and a charred scroll fragment was retrieved from the ark. The fragment could not be deciphered at the time, according to Dr. Sefi Porath, the excavator, and it was eventually scanned by the Israel Antiquities Authority and sent to Prof. Brent Seales of Kentucky University, whose software was able to recognize the first eight verses of the Book of Leviticus of the Hebrew Bible, The discovery was quite astonishing to Pnina Shor of the IAA's Dead Sea Scrolls Project, who said that ' we can now bequeath to future generations part of the Bible from the Ark of a 1,500 year-old synagogue.'

Obscure Drawings Found on Second Temple Ritual Bath

The mikveh (ritual bath) was discovered two months ago during the construction of two nursery schools in the Arnona district of Jerusalem when an ancient cave was uncovered. The mikveh was dated to the first century CE, according to the Israel Antiquities Authority, and one wall was found to be covered with Aramaic inscriptions and drawings of a boat, a palm tree and other plants. The archaeologists, Royce Greenwald and Alexander Wiegmann said such an assembly of symbols from the Second Temple period was extremely rare and for them to be found on the walls of a mikveh was a puzzle, as were the inscriptions themselves. They have now been removed to the conservation laboratories of the Israel Antiquities Authority for further study, decipherment and preservatory treatment. It is hoped that the inscriptions can then be read after which they will eventually be put on show to the public.

Chicken Bred for Mass Consumption in Fourth Century BCE

According to researchers at Haifa University, the first instance of breeding chickens and eggs for mass consumption took place in the area of Lachish two thousand three hundred years ago, before the practice spread to Europe. Professors Gilboa and Bar-Oz said that underground breeding facilities of the Hellenistic period had been found in the lowland area, which indicated local use, and the large numbers of bones at a great number of sites showed the potential for an export industry, which may have supplied other parts of the Middle East and even spread to Europe as well.

Washington Museum to Show Israeli Antiquities

The Museum of the Bible, which is due to open in Washington DC, USA in 2017, will have a large area reserved for temporary exhibitions, and it is planned to set out an area of four thousand square feet for a show of Israeli antiquities, according to a press release issued by Israel Hasson, director of the Israel Antiquities Authority, 'which will make the archaeological heritage of Israel and the vital work conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority accessible to people around the world.'

REPORT 73
OCTOBER 2015

Destruction in Palmyra

Reports continue to circulate that ancient Roman monuments are being destroyed in the city of Palmyra in Syria by Islamic State terrorists, who claim that these antiquities are pagan structures that need to be obliterated. Evidence of the destruction is confirmed by satellite images. The structures include the main amphitheatre, the temple of Baal Shamin, the temple of Bel, the triumphal arch and others of the Roman period; all of these constitute the area designated as a World Heritage Centre by UNESCO, who have declared the destructions to be a war crime. The Islamic State leaders have also killed Khaled-al-Asaad, the 82-year old archaeologist who had looked after the remains for the last forty years. The UNESCO Director General Irina Bokova has declared that the perpetrators must be held responsible for their crimes and it is hoped that UNESCO can organize a suitable court to hand down punishments, and see to it that no further damage is caused to this historic site.

Ancient Sarophagus Discovered in Ashkelon

The local police and an Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) unit recently seized a stone sarcophagus from building workers who were concealing it so that its finding would not delay their construction work on site. The sarcophagus is a rare decorated one and is dated to the late Roman period. The heavy stone coffin is adorned with the figure of a man leaning on his left arm and with a tunic wrapped around his waist. Judging by the image and its clothing, the Israel Antiquities Authority thought that the tomb was not that of a Jew and, in accordance with normal practice, would have been placed near the family vault, but nothing further has been found. Besides the figure of a man, the stonework is also decorated with carvings of an amphora and vines with grapes and leaves. The IAA said it was aware of the need of speed on construction sites but that in an historic city like Ashkelon (on the coast, south of Tel Aviv) there had to be care taken to see that historic artifacts were carefully preserved and if found, they must be inspected by the IAA before they can be removed or inadvertently damaged.

Byzantine Mosaic from Kiryat-Gat

The relic of a floor mosaic from a Byzantine church was discovered two years ago in the industrial park of Kiryat Gat, 25 km east of Ashkelon. It shows a rare street map of a settlement named Chortaso or Kartasa, in Egypt which, according to Christian tradition, was the burial site of the prophet Habakkuk. Other parts of the mosaic depict a number of animals, a goblet with red fruit and a Nile scene with a sailing boat. The images are elaborate and the artist had used tiles of seventeen different colours which, the Israel Antiquities Authority said, made it the most elaborate ever discovered in Israel. The mosaic is being prepared for display to the public at its site in the Kiryat-Gat industrial complex.

Davidic Seal Found at Temple Sifting Project

At the sifting site set up by Prof. Gabriel Barkai, to search through material removed from the Jerusalem Temple site by the Wakf in 1999, a ten-year old Russian boy volunteer, Matvei Tcepliaev, recently unearthed a small dark stone seal that has been dated to the tenth century BCE. According to Barkai, this is the first seal of its kind to have been found in Jerusalem. Its dating corresponds to the period of the Jebusites, the conquest of the city by King David, and the building of the Temple by his son Solomon. It is particularly significant that it comes from the Temple site itself, Barkai added. It is well known that the sifting programme is ongoing and that to date more than half a million finds are in the process of being examined and researched.

REPORT 74
NOVEMBER 2015

Acra Citadel Found

In the second century BCE in the fight with the Maccabees, the Syrian Greek Emperor Antiochus IV Epiphanes erected a citadel called the Acra in Jerusalem to control and watch over events on the Temple Mount, where the Maccabees had recaptured the Temple. As the Temple Mount was higher than the surrounding areas, the Acra would have had to have been a tower high enough to oversee the Mount, and its location has been sought for many years by archaeologists but without avail. However in the last few weeks, scholars from the Israeli Antiquities Authority (IAA) working at the Givati parking lot just south of the Temple Mount have unearthed the massive foundations of what they consider to have been a high tower, perhaps twenty metres in height, and which they now think were the foundations of the Acra tower, which, if high enough, could have been used to supervise the activities on the Temple Mount. In addition to the tower foundations, the IAA found the base of an adjoining wall and the remains of a sloping rampart located to keep attackers away from the base of the wall and the tower. They also found evidence of the remains of a battle around the base of the tower in the form of lead sling shots, ballista stones and arrowheads, some of them in bronze, with the sign of a trident stamped on them, symbolizing the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. These would have been evidence of the battle conducted by the Maccabees in an attempt to storm the tower, which was hampering their activities on the Temple Mount.

Fine Mosaic in Lod

During excavations by the Israel Antiquities Authority at a large villa of the Roman period in th Neveh Yerek area of Lod, twenty kilometers south-east of Tel Aviv, a brilliant mosaic was uncovered in what had been the living room floor of the villa, which stood in a neighbourhood of wealthy dwellings. The mosaic depicts scenes of hunting, figures of animals, fish and birds, with vases and baskets of flowers, and the archaeologists said that the images indicated a highly developed artistic ability. The work was found as the ground was being prepared for a visitor's centre, in the name of Shelby White and Leon Levy, to view another colourful mosaic, already found in the courtyard of the mansion, which had measured approximately twelve metres square. The mosaic will be lifted and shown in several museums at home and abroad and it will then be returned and the villa and the two mosaics will be displayed to the public.

Oldest Domesticated Seeds Found in Galilee

The world's oldest domesticated Fava seeds have been found in the Galilee, in Israel. It is considered that the Fava bean (vicia faba), which bears large pods with edible seeds, dates back for more than ten thousand years, making them the world's oldest domesticated seeds. They were found in storage pits after they had been husked, and the seeds were of a uniform size, indicating they were all cultivated and harvested at the same period of the year. At this time an agricultural revolution was taking place throughout the region, when animals and plants were being domesticated and it is clear from several finds that the Galilee was the main producer of legumes at this period.

Early Statuette Found by Young Boy

Itai Halperin, an eight year old boy on a day trip with is family around Bet Shemesh, picked up a round ceramic object and soon realized it was the ancient head of a small statue and turned it over to the Israel Antiquities Authority, who recognized it as the head of the sculpture of a naked fertility goddess. They considered it to be of the period between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE and its find area would indicate that this was a place controlled by the kingdom of Judah, of which Bet Shemesh was a prominent city. The find was important according to the IAA and Itai was awarded a special archaeological certificate to celebrate his find. He thanked them and said that he wanted one day to be like the celebrated Indiana Jones.

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

Grant Reports

Antanas Melinis
University College London (UCL)

An international team of students as well as experts in various fields of archaeology has been assembled to participate in the continuing excavations of a large Bronze Age Tel of Bet Yerah, which is bordered by the Sea of Galilee on the Eastern and the river Jordan on the Western side. The majority of the student team (around 16 out of 25 people in total) was from UCL with both undergraduates and postgraduates present. Moreover, there were also people from as far as the universities of Louisiana and Buenos Aires, all assisted by students and staff from Tel Aviv University led by director Raphael Greenberg and supervised by Sarit Paz, Yael Rotem and Marcus Goerzen, complemented by zooarchaeology, bioarchaeology and GIS experts- a strong and self-sufficient team. In which I took part in it as a BSc Archaeology undergraduate at UCL.

Tel Bet Yerah is a hugely important site in the Levantine Early Bronze Age as it was an large trade hub as well as one of the first urban settlements in the region which also boasts such famous sites as Ohalo II or Tel Ubeidiya. Its uniqueness arises from the fact that during the transition from the fourth to the third millennium BCE, instead of gradually transforming into a city, the village was completely and rapidly restructured and had public building erected as well as an orderly grid of streets laid down. The town had thick defensive mudbrick walls and towers even though the Early Bronze Age II (EB II) had hardly any evidence of warfare. It also contained one of the most unique public constructions of the whole Near East- the EB III Circles Building, which is a series of 7 round, ~7 m. diameter granaries, possibly constructed for central grain storage and redistribution, but never finished, supposedly due to the lack of resources. This building and some other parts of the town were later occupied by squatters after an earthquake and a general weakening of the settlement's economy- these squatters were the Kura-Araxes people from the mountainous regions of Southern Caucasus.

The movement of these new settlers is witnessed by the arrival of a new style of pottery- the Khirbet Kerak Ware or KKW, which was vastly different form the local produce, both in appearance and use. The standard cooking and food consumption ensemble, for example, consisted of large pots, portable hobs and deep bowls which suggested that stews were mostly eaten, as opposed to the harder food of the local people, usually served on platters. The arrival of KKW therefore could not have been attributed to trade, since houses containing it were often built differently and had different uses of space, so Tel Bet Yerah was one of the few Levantine sites to have the Caucasian migrants. Because of that, the study of the origin and the lifeways of these people have been major focal points in both this and previous years' excavation seasons. However, area GB-H, which was excavated exactly for the purpose of finding out more about the migrants yielded very little KKW, which was very surprising for the whole team. On the other hand, we managed to find out more about the open EB II plaza and the thick adjacent wall, possibly an Eastern wall of the city. Inside the area of that plaza, a new trench called SA-M was opened. It did contain quite a few KKW sherds, but that was expected to happen anyway, so the discovery did not add anything new to our current knowledge on the Kura-Araxes.

The area which I was excavating (SAS) was mostly dedicated to the research of domestic buildings of the town, the continuity of construction and reuse of older building materials as well as EB I layers- the very beginnings of the pre-urban settlement, which still need to be better understood. The EBI were very hard to find- a significant amount of EBI material only began to appear on the last week, after digging down more than 1.5 m. However even then the supervisors were not sure whether it was a true early layer or just a transitional phase. Since the layer was so deep, one of the hypotheses was that EB I in Bet Yerah started earlier than anywhere else in the region, which is a very intriguing, though confusing explanation, since it creates more questions than answers.

There were a lot of other interesting finds in SAS as well, among which were hundreds of charred seeds, a few zoomorphic figurines, complete articulated animal longbones, beads and much more. The reuse of past constructions and installations by the inhabitants has also been witnessed by features such as a house wall that was later used as a threshold foundation or a dug-in mortar that served as a pillar support after cracking due to incessant grinding.

The site is also famous for its past contact with the first dynasty of Egypt, as previously evidenced by artefacts like an Egyptian palette, a carved relief and even a vessel locally made by an immigrant Egyptian potter. Although we excavated very carefully, using almost prehistoric site methods, we could not find any other signs of contact with Egypt this year, but hopefully the team will have more success in the future.

Overall, this year's excavations raised more new questions than they gave answers, since the year's primary goals were not achieved in the way they were expected to be. In any case, the whole team has made interesting discoveries along the way. Some of the students have also made phenomenal contributions to the post-excavation work, volunteering to stay until late evening to help the staff with zooarchaeological identification, pottery registration and picking while also acquiring extra-curricular skills such as GIS and georeferencing along the way. The staff, the kibbutz people and the people of Israel as a whole have been very friendly and made this field school not just an opportunity to learn and contribute on site, but also an opportunity to explore and better understand the landmarks and culture of the country, all thanks to the very generous grant given to me by the Anglo-Israel Society for this project.

Elisabeth Sawerthal
King's College London (KCL)

The AIAS grant enabled me to travel to Israel this past summer to participate in the second season of the Ashdod-Yam Archaeological excavations, a joint expedition between the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures of Tel Aviv University and the University of Leipzig Institute of Old Testament Studies, directed by Dr Alexander Fantalkin and Prof Angelika Berlejung. For the second half of the dig we were also joined by Dr Stefan Fischer and his team of students from the Institute of Old Testament Studies and Biblical Archaeology, University of Vienna. Our international team included volunteers and students from Germany, Austria, Israel, Italy and the United States.

The site of Ashdod-Yam (i.e. 'Ashdod by the Sea'), is near the southern section of the modern city of Ashdod, and about five kilometres northwest of Tel Ashdod. The area features remains from numerous periods, including a Late Bronze mound and an Iron Age mound, Roman-Byzantine ruins, which can be seen on the Madaba map, and a Crusader castle in the North. The Iron Age enclosure was previously excavated by Jacob Kaplan between 1965 and 1968. Kaplan discovered a fortification wall ascribed to the Iron Age. In the 2013 season of this new archaeological venture, in which I also participated, the fortification structure was re-discovered and ceramic finds confirmed Kaplan's dating to the Iron Age. I was particularly excited to return for the 2015 season (July 19 – August 22) in the role of an Assistant Area Supervisor.

This season focussed on two areas, on the acropolis (Area A1) to explore the Hellenistic remains where monumental architecture exists; and in the southeastern section of the tel (Area C), to trace the Iron Age history of the site. Owen Chesnut supervised this area and I was assistant supervisor.

In Area C, we excavated five squares, allocated on the basis of Kaplan's report, LiDAR data and the plans we received from our GPR specialist that pointed out potential architectural remains. The beginning of the excavation was difficult as we encountered a thick layer of extremely hard melted mudbrick, with no sign of individual bricks. Removal of this mudbrick detritus revealed a limestone and kurkar stone wall oriented northwest-southeast and preserved to three courses. On top of the northwestern part of this wall, we identified several individual mud bricks, however, aligned differently than an earlier wall below. The area to the south of this wall appears to have been the outside of an Iron Age building as suggested by several exposed living surfaces, with some directly abutting the wall. Furthermore, two burning installations were exposed, one to the north, and one to the east of the wall. Ceramic finds from Area C, including top soil and occupational layers, date to the Iron IIB-C and to the Persian and Hellenistic periods. Special finds included imported pottery from Cyprus and Egypt, a bronze fishing hook as well as several ancient coins in the top soil.

Taking part in the 2015 season of the Ashdod-Yam excavations was beneficial in many ways. I developed my skills in archaeological fieldwork and gained especially valuable experience in the documentation process of excavations, including context sheets, drawing plans and registering finds. In addition, it was a great opportunity to see old friends and make new ones. Working with a great team of volunteers in Area C was particularly enjoyable. Having weekends off enabled me to make day trips to other Israeli cities, such as Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, as well as to explore some places I had not managed to visit during previous summers, including Ramallah. Once the excavation was over, I travelled to Jordan where I spent some days in Amman, exploring the city and visiting famous archaeological sites such as the Roman Theatre and the Citadel. On my final day in Jordan, before returning to Tel Aviv to fly back to Europe, I fulfilled my dream of visiting the Nabatean city of Petra which was an amazing experience!

I would like to thank the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society for enabling me to be a part of the exciting weeks of excavations at Ashdod-Yam as well as to visit so many other wonderful places in Israel, the West Bank and Jordan.

Rebekah Welton
University of Exeter

With a grant from the AIAS I was able to return this summer to the excavations on Mount Zion in Jerusalem for my third time. The dig site is just outside of the old city by the Zion Gate and is a continuation of the original excavations carried out on the site by Magen Broshi in the 1970s. In previous seasons the remains of

a first century domestic building containing a mikveh, three ovens, a cistern and a bathtub were found. In the deepest area that was excavated a large mosaic and partially constructed archway was found from the Byzantine period. The season this year was led by Rafi Lewis and Shimon Gibson and I was the assistant area supervisor for an area to the west of the site further up the slope which had been opened in 2014.

We began by removing layers of contamination that had collected over the past 11 months and found the top of a wall. We later discovered that this wall had actually been constructed in the 1970s by a terrace builder for the deposition of dirt during Broshi's excavations. Fortunately, Shimon Gibson had actually worked on this excavation and had taken a photograph of the wall after its construction. This meant we could use the image to judge where we were digging in relation to the dig site of Broshi's time. We later came upon what might be an Abbasid fish market surface due to many fish bones and sea shells that were found as well as a number of fish hooks. Finds throughout the fills in this area ranged from Ottoman to some examples of Iron Age II. A crusader bronze token in perfect condition was also found as well as some beautiful examples of jewellery from several periods. Next season we will come upon what are currently thought to be Umayyad walls which may be part of a domestic complex.

In another area a massive water cistern, composed of an upper and lower part and a water channel, was excavated and dismantled. Analysis suggested that this cistern system was constructed in the Mamluk period, but may have been in use as late as the Ottoman period. The cistern cut through remains and deposits from earlier periods, including Abassid, Ayyubid, Umayyad, Byzantine, and Roman. A variety of artefact finds were represented, including numerous coins, an iron dagger blade, bone spindle whorls, a stone bowl, stone cup fragments, a basalt tripod vessel, core formed coloured glass, and a stone oil lamp. The excavations indicate that the area was constantly used throughout the history of Jerusalem, and that deposits of earlier material often accompany later architecture in reuse for foundation construction.

The grant from the AIAS allowed me to stay for a week after the end of the excavation in order to learn how the data recording on site is carried out. This involved learning how to make section/baulk drawings, taking measurements, writing locus cards and photography. I also aided Shimon Gibson and Anna de Vincent with the pottery sorting from which I began to learn how to identify pottery from different periods in this region. I was extremely privileged to have been asked to give a lecture as part of the dig's lecture series for all of the participants. I presented on my PhD research concerning the contribution of archaeology to understanding diet in Iron Age Israel and how this impacts our conception of Israelite and Judahite animal and vegetal sacrifice. I received fantastic feedback from the very

experienced and knowledgeable archaeologists present and insightful questions from the volunteers for which I am extremely grateful. I also benefited from the other lectures in the series, especially one given by Rhona Avissar concerning the impact of children on household archaeology.

I am extremely grateful to the AIAS for supporting me in this practical side of my development as a biblical archaeologist especially as I now embark on my doctoral research.

Abigail Zammit
University of Oxford

In early May 2015, I made a one-week research visit to Israel, as part of my current doctoral research (entitled The Lachish Letters: A Reappraisal of the Ostraca discovered in 1935 and 1938 at Tell ed-Duweir), thanks to a student grant from the AIAS.

The main objectives of this project were to visit two archaeological sites related to my study, Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) and Azekah (Tel Azekah), and to examine four of the ostraca (inscribed pottery sherds) labelled as 'Lachish Letters', which were discovered during the British excavations of Lachish, and are today held in Jerusalem.

I spent a day visiting Lachish and Azekah to photograph key features at both tells. These sites were, apart from Jerusalem, the only fortified cities left in Judah to withstand the Babylonian army in the early 6th century B.C.E. (Jeremiah 34: 7), and the names of the fortresses (lkš and 'zqh) feature in one of the ostraca held in Jerusalem (Lachish 4). For my research purposes, the key point of interest at Lachish is the 'guardroom', on the east side of the outer gate upon entering the fortress, which yielded sixteen of the Lachish Letters in 1935 (Fig. 1). Today, the guardroom and much of the gateway area have been restored with additional stone material onto original, extant infrastructure *in situ*, and any original walls that collapsed after excavations have been carefully restored. Other points of interest at the tell include the rest of the gateway area, which yielded a number of fragmentary ostraca in the 1930s and 1970s, and the ruins of the palace at the centre of the mound, close to which two other ostraca (20 and 21, at the British Museum) were discovered in 1938.

Recent renewed excavations have been taking place at either site. At Lachish, I saw fenced-off trenches of the Fourth Expedition to Lachish, a joint project between the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Southern Adventist University, which has been underway since 2013, under the direction of Yosef Garfinkel, Michael Hasel and Martin Klingbeil. At Azekah, I came across fenced-off excavations

of the Lautenschläger Azekah Archaeological Expedition, a joint project between Tel Aviv University and the University of Heidelberg, which commenced in 2012, under the direction of Oded Lipschits, Yuval Gadot and Manfred Oeming.

Fig. 1. Fig. 1 Standing in the restored guardroom at Lachish, with the findspot of the Lachish Letters marked by the small scale rod to the left, on the reconstructed gravel flooring.

With regards to the four ostraca in question, I examined and photographed Lachish 3, 4 and 6 (discovered in 1935) and Lachish 19 (retrieved in 1938), with the permission of the respective curators of the Israel Museum (IMJ), the Rockefeller Museum (RMJ) and the Bible Lands Museum (BLMJ) in Jerusalem. Lachish 3, a letter by the servant Hoshaiah (hwš'yhw), who mentions 'the prophet' (hnb'), is held at the IMJ. Lachish 4 and 6, two long letters displaying controversial military information, are on display at a current exhibition at the BLMJ, entitled 'By the Rivers of Babylon.' Lachish 19, a list of personal names and hieratic numerals, is stored at the RMJ. I scrutinized certain parts of all four inscriptions under the lens, especially where the handwriting in iron-carbon ink is fading or has faded badly, since such lacunae tend to hold more controversy over how one reconstructs or interprets the inscriptions. Where possible, my close-up observations and digital photographs will enable me to confirm, revise or reject my own palaeographic readings of the Lachish Letters and those of other reviewers over the past eighty years. My results will ultimately be presented in my thesis.

While at Jerusalem, I visited the Israel Antiquities Authority headquarters (IAA) at the RMJ, namely the Archives and Library, and made use of the resources at the National Library of Israel, including the printing of old daily journal entries on the Lachish Letters, today preserved on microfilm. I devoted my last afternoon in Jerusalem to enjoyable sightseeing in the Old City. To conclude my trip in a personally gratifying manner, I made it a point to visit the graves of British archaeologist James Leslie Starkey, who directed the Mandate excavations of Lachish from 1932 until his murder on 10 January 1938, and that of his teacher, British Egyptologist Sir Flinders Petrie, at the Mount Zion Protestant Cemetery, Jerusalem. This last visit drew a meaningful line to a most rewarding academic experience.

I owe immense gratitude to the curators and staff of the respective museums for their permission and support, namely Dr Eran Arie and Ms Shira Dan (IMJ), Dr Filip Vukosavovic, Ms Rachael Arenstein, Ms Sue Vukosavovic and Ms Rachel Balanson (BLMJ), Ms Alegre Savariego (IAA) and Ms Silvia Krapiwko (IAA Archives). I am grateful to the Very Reverend Hosam E. Naoum (Dean of St George's Anglican Cathedral, Jerusalem) for his permission to visit the Mount Zion Protestant Cemetery. Special thanks to Mr Jonathan Sammut for his patience and valuable assistance. Last but not least, I sincerely thank the AIAS for their contribution to my research on the Lachish Letters, and for the opportunity to visit Israel, which I would be glad to repeat in the future.

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