ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY
IAA Reports 29

GAMLA I

THE POTTERY OF THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

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CHAPTER 5

THE POTTERY AS EVIDENCE FOR LIFE AT GAMLA

INTRODUCTION

The full range and number of pottery vessels excavated at Gamla have been presented in the preceding chapters. The pottery has been grouped according to fabrics, forms and types, and specific find-spots. These different groupings have revealed patterns and inconsistencies that allow larger conclusions concerning the social habits, marketing networks, and behavior of Gamla's residents from the late second/early first centuries BCE through the year 67 CE. In this chapter, these larger conclusions are presented as a series of essays on life at Gamla.

The EVIDENCE OF THE POTTERY FOR LIFE AT GAMLA IN THE LATE SECOND/EARLY FIRST CENTURIES BCE

The excavators recovered pottery scattered throughout Areas B/D, and occasionally in other areas on the site, that elsewhere in the region occurs in levels dating from the late second and early first centuries BCE (Fig. 5.1). At Gamla, this pottery was usually fragmented and worn, and was almost never found on primary floor levels or in loci comprised of restorable materials.[1] While some of this material must have belonged to residents of the excavated occupation phase of Areas B/D, a good deal is likely to be residual debris from earlier, as-yet unexcavated occupation levels, whether in Areas B/D or close by.[2]

The late Hellenistic-period pottery corpus has a broad and well-connected profile (Table 5.1). The identifiable fabrics and wares, which include BSP, ESA, and semi-fine, all derive from the Phoenician coast, and formal parallels for all types come from sites on the coast and in the Tyrian hinterland, as far east as the Sanctuary of Pan at Banias (see Table 5.1 and nn. 1–13).[3] In addition to these fragments are two stamped handles of Rhodian wine jars, one from Unit B7 and the second from L4151 in Area M, both dated to the very end of the second/beginning of the first centuries BCE (see Chapter 6). This pottery suggests that the site's residents communicated readily and easily with northern and coastal areas. In contrast, some of the most common second-century BCE Judean wares and forms do not appear at all, as for example the jug with an everted, thickened rim and the lentoid flask.[4] In sum, Gamla's late Hellenistic-period residents seem to have lived comfortably enmeshed with gentile neighbors north and west. Their household pottery reflects hellenized behavior, at least in the sense of marketing connections and dining habits.

This conclusion prompts the question: who was living at Gamla in the late second and early first centuries BCE? Did this pottery belong to gentiles, Jews, or a combination of the two? The character of the pottery cannot be used as evidence to answer this question, since pottery reflects behavior rather than ethnic or religious identity.[5] Two other bodies of evidence are pertinent to this issue, however: the coins found at the site, and the testimony of Josephus. First, the coins. Some 4000+ coins, about two-thirds of the site's entire numismatic corpus, were minted in the late second and early first centuries BCE (I distinguish here between minting date and time of circulation). Of this total, several hundred came from the independent Phoenician cities, largely Tyre and Sidon (Syon 1992–1993:42–44; forthcoming). The remainder, comprising 3883 identified coins, are Hasmonean issues of Hyrcanus I (129–105 BCE), Aristobolus I (105/104 BCE), and Alexander Jannaeus (104–76 BCE), minted in Jerusalem (Syon 1992–1993:34–36; forthcoming). Hasmonean coins began to appear in Gamla relatively soon after that dynasty began minting, which was sometime after 129 BCE and certainly before the death of Hyrcanus I in 105 BCE. The coins thus reflect some commercial ties with Phoenician cities, but much stronger and regular contact with Jerusalem. The high number of Jerusalem coins suggests that many, if not most, of the town's residents were Jewish.

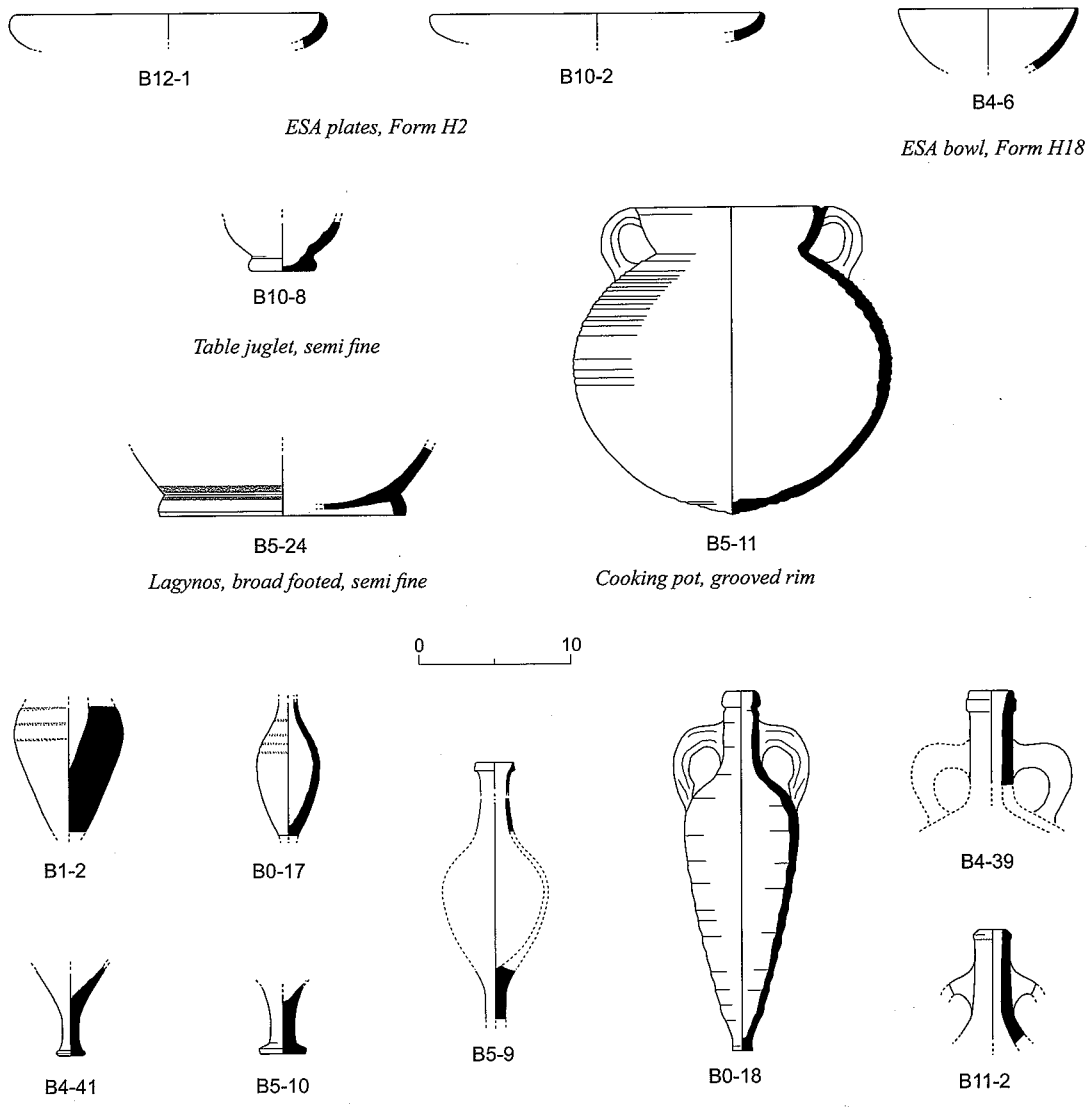


Fig. 5.1. Residual pottery of the later second/early first centuries BCE.

Then there is the evidence provided by Josephus. In the *Antiquities*, the historian reports that in the last military campaign conducted by the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus, which occurred in about 80 BCE, "the king captured ... the fortress of Gamla. And having serious ground for complaint against Demetrius, the governor of these districts, he deprived him of office" (*Ant.* 13.394; cf. *War* I.105). According to Josephus, Jannaeus variously besieged, captured, looted, and/or destroyed a number of cities and towns, but he involved himself in local governance only at Gamla. Some historians have concluded that by destroying pagan (Greek) cities such as Amathus, Pella, Dium, and Ragaba, Jannaeus was following a deliberate policy to

Table 5.1. Datable Pottery of the Later Second/Early First Centuries BCE

	Area						
Type	*B/D*	*R*	*S*	*A*	*G*	*H*	*M/T*
BSP fish plate (TA Type 1)[1]	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
BSP incurved-rim bowl (TA Type 4)[2]	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
BSP hemispherical bowl (TA Type 5)[3]	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
ESA plate (H2)[4]	34	2	1	2	-	-	-
ESA hemispherical bowl (H18)[5]	23	-	-	-	-	-	-
Table amphora, semi fine[6]	3	2	-	-	-	-	-
Table jug, semi fine[7]	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lagynos, broad footed, semi fine[8]	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Juglet, wide mouth, semi fine[9]	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bottle, fusiform, semi fine (body/toe)[10]	4/16	1/3	1/1	0/2	0/1	-	-
Amphoriskos, semi fine (rim/toe)[11]	9/10	0/5	1/0	0/2	-	-	-
Cooking pot, grooved rim[12]	23	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mortarium, extended/curled ridged rim[13]	1/6	-	-	0/2	0/1	-	1/2

[1] Slane 1997:275–276.
[2] Slane 1997:278–279.
[3] Slane 1997:275, 309–310.
[4] Hayes 1985:14.
[5] Hayes 1985:22.
[6] Berlin 1997b:38–39, PW 1–5.
[7] Berlin 1997b:48–49, PW 38–42.
[8] Berlin 1997b:46, PW 29–31.
[9] Berlin 1997b:52–53, PW 53–58.
[10] This total groups several types of semi-fine fusiform bottles: one short shouldered vessel (Berlin 1997b:62, PW 77–79); 3 vessels with painted bands (Berlin 1997b:64, PW 85–93); and 15 elongated vessels (Berlin 1997b:65–66, PW 99–106).
[11] Berlin 1997b:56–57, PW 69–76; Herbert and Berlin 2003:22, Fig. 7.
[12] Berlin 1997b:89–90, PW 197–200.
[13] Two fragments belong to extended rim mortaria (Berlin 1997b:129, PW 360–364; Herbert and Berlin 2003:23, Fig. 8.8); the remaining 11 have curled ridged rims (Berlin 1997b:129–30, PW 365–371).

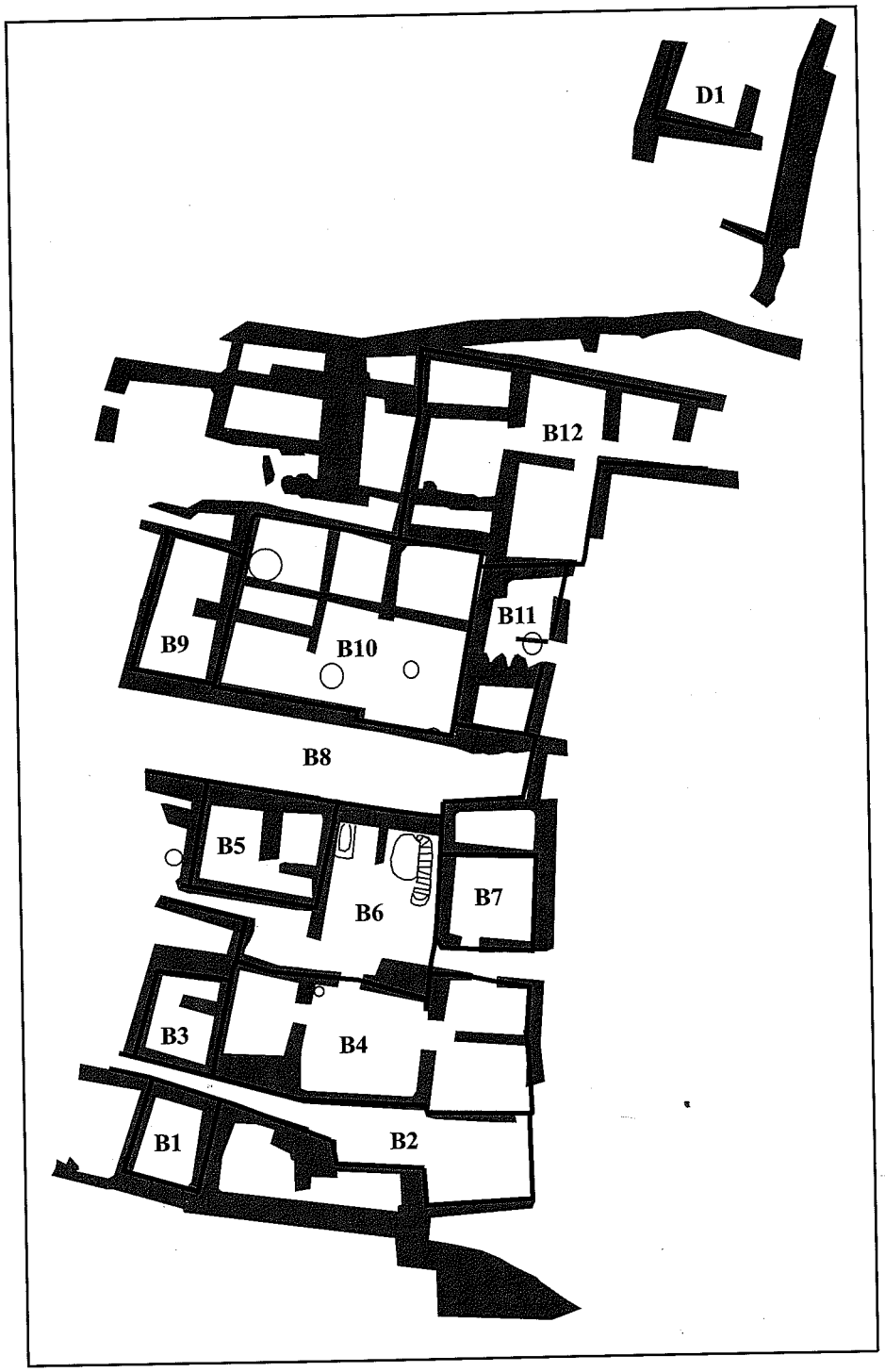
de-hellenize this region (Schürer [rev. ed.] 1973:228; Stern 1981:40, 45–46; Goldstein 1989:337–341). Since Jannaeus did not besiege or assault Gamla, however, but simply replaced the town's leadership, it has also been surmised that the residents were largely or even exclusively Jews.

If we accept that the coins and Josephus' account of Jannaeus' actions together indicate that Gamla had a largely Jewish population, then we may examine the pottery (including the Rhodian handles) as a reflection of the orientation and behavior of Jewish villagers in the Golan in the later second and early first centuries BCE. Whether the soon-to-be-deposed Demetrius was a gentile or a hellenizing Jew (impossible to know from his name alone), it seems that Gamla's residents and their governor were like-minded in their acceptance of at least some Greek habits, and thus that they were more cosmopolitan and less observant than Judean Jews.

Josephus makes no further remarks on events at Gamla over the course of the first century BCE. This might suggest that Jannaeus' anti-hellenizing campaigns were successful, and that further action was unnecessary. The internal politics of the Hasmonean kingdom after the death of Jannaeus were so unsettled, however, that aggressive campaigning may have been impossible. For a view of what did happen at Gamla in the several generations after Demetrius was deposed, it is necessary to examine the only contemporary evidence that exists—the pottery from the first-century BCE occupation of Areas B/D.

The Evidence of the Pottery for Life at Gamla from *c.* 75 BCE through *c.* 10 CE

At Gamla, the excavators recovered significant evidence for first-century BCE occupation throughout Areas B/D (Plan 5.1). Though fragmentary first-century BCE pottery occurs everywhere on the site, restorable vessels are almost all confined to this one area (a few restorable first-century BCE vessels were recovered from Area G as well). In almost every room of every unit in Areas B/D, the excavators reached a floor level—identified by the presence of anywhere



Plan 5.1. Areas B/D. Schematic unit plan.

Table 5.2. Estimated Number of Vessels per Household in Areas B/D

	Individual	*Service*			
Table Vessels	*Buff Saucers and Bowls*	*ESA Dishes and Bowls*	*Table Amphoras*	*Kraters*	*Jugs*
	28	7–9	0–1	0–1	2–3
Cooking Vessels	*Cooking Pots*		*Casseroles*		*Cooking Bowls*
	14–16		8–10		0–1
Storage Vessels	*Large Jars*			*Perfume/Oil Containers*	
	59–78			1–2	

from one to sixteen largely or fully restorable vessels. These restored vessels, along with the thousands of fragments of similar vessels that the excavators found, together comprise the evidence for evaluating life at Gamla in the first century BCE.

Fixing a precise date for the beginning of the occupation assemblages in Areas B/D is not really possible. Every ceramic type uncovered here is attested at sites in the region and in Judea from the very beginning through the very end of the first century BCE. Since all of the units in this area were probably continuously occupied and so kept reasonably tidy, any attempt to isolate earlier and later first-century BCE assemblages would result in arbitrary and thus artificial groupings. In addition, the presence throughout Areas B/D of even earlier pottery and coins (see above, in the discussion of later second/early first centuries BCE pottery) means, at a minimum, that a neat chronological divide is not discernible.

The evidence of the coins, lamps, and datable fine wares indicate that regular occupation in Areas B/D ended shortly after the beginning of the first century CE (see p. 64 for details). Of the 1649 identifiable coins excavated here, only 8 date to the first century CE.[6] Of the 1420 fragments of knife-pared bow-spouted (Herodian) lamps found across the site, only 87 come from Areas B/D.[7] Finally, of the 6628 pottery vessels and fragments from Areas B/D, only 5 date towards the end of the first century BCE.[8] On the basis of the datable evidence, it appears that residents simply abandoned Areas B/D by the beginning of the first century CE.

My starting point for discussion about life at Gamla in the first century BCE is the estimated total number of vessels from Areas B/D (see above, pp. 97–99 and Tables 3.14–3.16). I have divided those totals by the number of living architectural units excavated here, in order to arrive at an estimated number of vessels *per household.* There are thirteen defined units in Areas B/D, of which two are streets or passageways (Units B2 and B8; Plan 5.1); the remaining eleven units are here defined as living architectural units, of which eight are likely houses (or house cellars), one is a public *miqwe* (Unit B6), one is an oil-pressing installation (Unit B10), and one may have been a shop or storeroom, at least in its ultimate use (Unit B5). These non-house units were included in the calculation because they seem likely to have been used as living spaces at various times. Moreover, omitting them would produce much higher numbers of vessels per household, which in turn would amplify the differences between Areas B/D and Area R. I prefer to base my discussion of the social, economic, and possibly religious behaviorial implications suggested by the pottery on less exaggerated figures, rather than more. Table 5.2 presents the calculated estimated total number of vessels per household for Areas B/D.

Make-Up of the First-Century BCE Assemblage: Insights into Behavior

Figure 5.2 shows the average number of vessels from each functional category for both Areas B/D and R, based on the figures in Tables 5.2 and 5.3. Translating these figures into percentages, the distribution of pottery in each household in Areas B/D is as follows: storage vessels comprise 51% of the total; table vessels (including both individual and serving pieces), 30%, cooking vessels, 19%; and small personal vessels (e.g., perfume bottles), less than 1%. Thus table and cooking vessels together account for about half of the assemblage and large storage jars essentially compose the rest. These relationships may be more easily appreciated in Fig. 5.3, which illustrates the relative ratios of each category within households by area.

Each household had between 59 and 78 large storage jars, a figure that makes up fully half of all vessels attributed to each unit (Fig. 5.5: B1-5, B1-6,

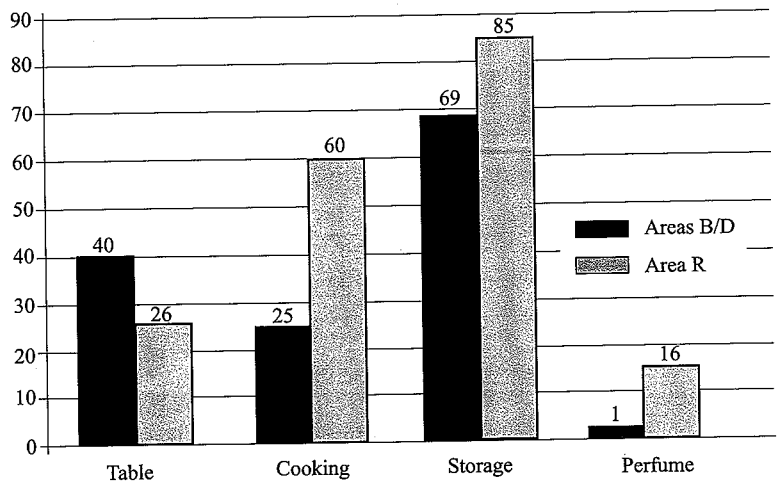


Fig. 5.2. Comparison of estimated total number vessels per household in Areas B/D and R.

B5-20). While so large a number might seem unlikely, distribution over 75 or so years of occupation results in a final figure of about one new jar per household per year. An outstanding but unanswerable question, at least on present evidence, is what residents actually stored in these jars. Likely commodities are dry foodstuffs, such as milled grain, barley, and legumes, liquid staples such as oil and wine, and water. This last, mundane but essential, is a real possibility. The closest fresh supply lay in springs far below the town, while the absence of cisterns in this area coupled with the presence of a public *miqwe* and bathtub (Unit B6) underscore residents' needs.[9] On the other hand, the presence of an enormous oil-pressing complex in Area B (Unit B10, early) suggests that many of the jars would have held oil (this holds true for Area R as well). Further, it is likely that at least some jars would have contained dry food staples. Considering these several possibilities, all vital, the figure of one new jar per household per year is more suggestive of hardship than over-ample supply.

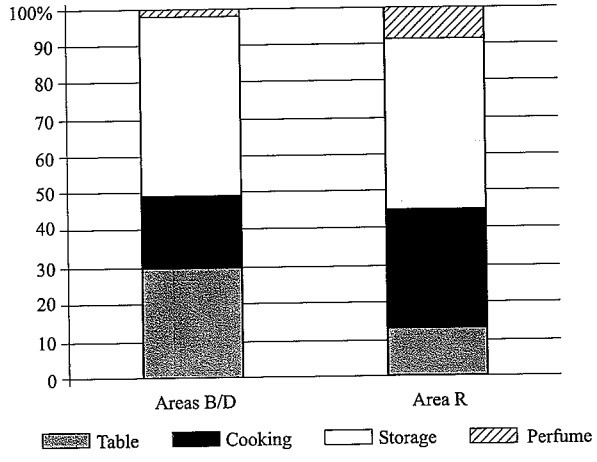


Fig. 5.3. Comparative ratios of table, cooking, storage, and perfume vessels per household in Areas B/D and R.

Vessels for table use—buff saucers and bowls, ESA dishes, table amphoras, kraters, and jugs—make up the second largest category in first-century BCE households at Gamla (Fig. 5.4). Residents must have used small buff saucers and bowls for individual servings of food. Food would have been served on bright red-slipped ESA dishes and bowls acquired from the Phoenician coast. The small number of serving vessels (9–14 per household over a 75 year period) suggests that groups of people dined closely together, sharing one or two common serving platters and bowls, and probably sitting on the floor on mats or rugs.[10] The architecture of the houses supports such a scenario, as only a couple of units have rooms large enough for group dining at tables (e.g., Units B4 and B12).

One notable point regarding the above reconstruction is how dramatically different this style of group dining is from contemporary Greek and Roman practice. The evidence of texts, house plans, and interior décor from

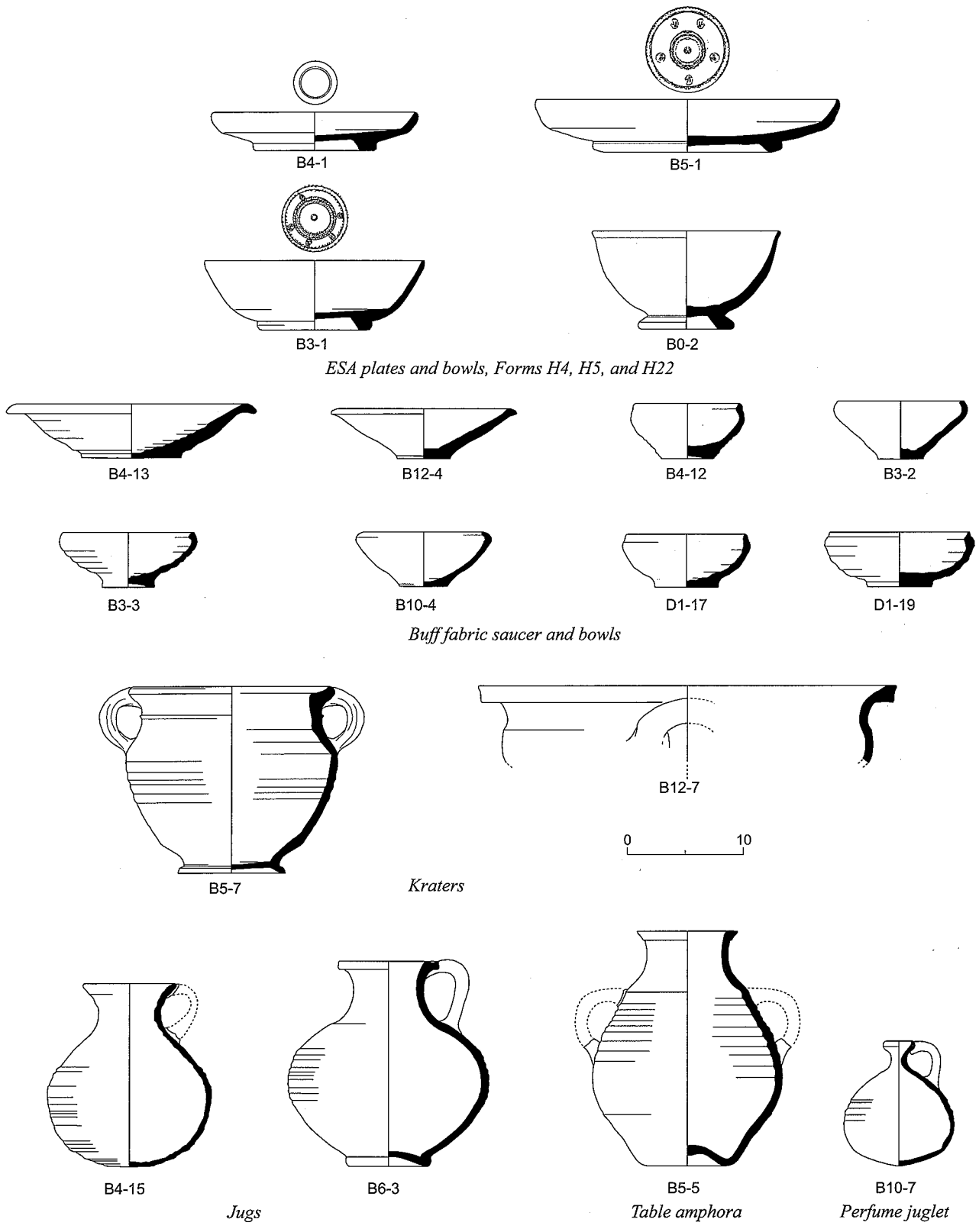


Fig. 5.4. First-century BCE table, serving, and perfume vessels.

the Hellenistic Mediterranean and Near East combines to indicate that across this region formal dining was the social centerpiece of daily life. Written accounts focus on the relaxed conviviality enjoyed by sizeable groups sharing quantities of food and drink; house plans include expanded space for dining rooms, which were usually specially decorated with mosaic floors and stuccoed walls (Bradley 1998:48–51; Dunbabin 1998:82–85, 89–95; Cahill 2002:80, 93–94, 101–102, 107, 130, 140–141, 180–190). Diners reclined next to individual tables, making dishes and drinking cups handy. None of this seems to have occurred at Gamla. Instead, residents would have gathered around one or two shared dishes, using a single small bowl or saucer for individual servings.

What were they eating? A closer look at the cooking vessels provides clues about cuisine (Fig. 5.5). Cooking pots comprise about two-thirds of all kitchen vessels. Such vessels, with their deep round bodies and narrow mouths, are designed to accommodate soups, beans, and other long-simmering preparations (Berlin 1993:41). Cooking pots are the longest-lived and primary form of kitchen vessel throughout the Levant; in fact in Judea they are essentially the only form of cooking vessel from the fifth through the first centuries BCE. The popularity of this form at Gamla is therefore no surprise, and indicates that residents relied on traditional dishes for most of their meals.

What is surprising is that each household also had to hand eight to ten casseroles. Casseroles are not a traditional Levantine form, and in fact they do not appear in this region until a few generations after the conquests of Alexander the Great. When they do finally appear, it is only outside Judea, at Phoenician-dominated northern and coastal sites (e.g., Kedesh, Dor), as well as non-Jewish sites in the interior such as Samaria (Berlin 2005a:437–440). At Jewish sites in Judea, on the other hand, casseroles are completely absent until the middle of the first century BCE, and then they occur only rarely.[11]

With their wide bodies and broad mouths, casseroles are designed for recipes using chunks of meat and vegetables, such as stews (Berlin 1993:41–42; 1997b:94). The form was developed by Greek, probably Attic potters, in the later fifth century BCE, and Greek texts are full of references to dishes requiring casseroles. By the first century BCE, the original linkage of casseroles to Greek cuisine was likely ancient history, but that does not necessarily mean that these vessels were free of all cultural associations. In fact, the remarkably slow adoption of this form in Judea suggests that this region's residents regarded casseroles as unnecessary and perhaps even undesirable. Thus the fact that at Gamla one-third of each household's kitchen pottery consisted of casseroles indicates, at the minimum, an open-minded culinary attitude.

The most common casserole form at Gamla is the 3A, a deep carinated vessel with an angled ledge rim, which was made in both Gamla and Kfar Ḥananya cooking wares (G3A and KH3A; Fig. 5.5: B0-13, B6-6). The 3A casserole seems to have been first manufactured around the middle of the first century BCE and it became very popular immediately. Its specific form, abundant production by two local workshops, and widespread adoption are all worthy of comment. First, the form. Since casseroles are designed for stewing, their introduction may indicate that residents began preparing more meat-based meals. Possibly people kept small animals (e.g., chickens) for food use, or else acquired them by exchanging or selling products such as olive oil.[12]

As for the 3A form's increased capacity, does it reflect the increasing size of households during the first century BCE? Were larger group meals a regular occurrence, such that larger quantities needed to be prepared each time? In this light, one might consider the 28 buff saucers and bowls attributed to each household. Since these vessels were probably used for individual servings, their quantity might also support the hypothesis that each house unit accomodated large nuclear families and/or extended families, all living tightly together.

The fact that two local manufacturies began producing 3A casseroles and that people across the Galilee and Golan rapidly acquired these vessels is also interesting. What was the impetus for, in effect, the sudden in-house production of this type of vessel? Potters in 'Akko and elsewhere on the Phoenician coast had been producing casseroles since at least the early second century BCE. Since almost every household in Areas B/D contained Shikhin ware jars as well as ESA, it is clear that connections with coastal markets existed, and thus that casseroles could have been acquired from coastal suppliers. Why then the sudden emergence of local producers?

In the middle of the first century BCE, new workshops for cooking vessels were established not only in Lower Galilee and near Gamla, but also in Jerusalem, at the site of Binyane Ha-'Umma. The

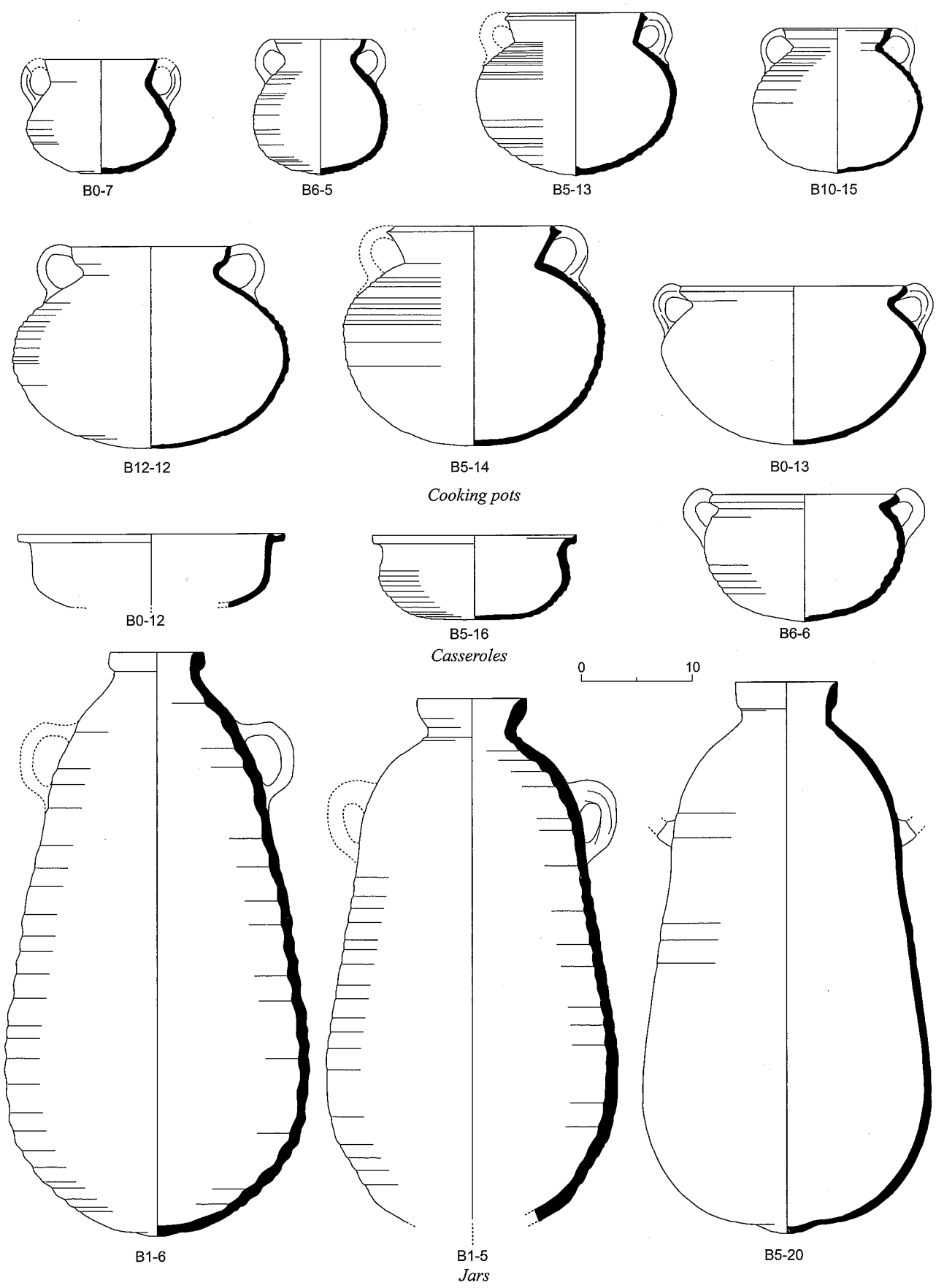


Fig. 5.5. First-century BCE cooking and storage vessels.

likeliest explanation for the sudden establishment of the Jerusalem workshop at this time is that the city's Jewish residents now sought to expand and apply the idea of ritual purity, formerly only a priestly obligation, to their daily lives, including their households and goods (Berlin 2005b:51–54). Proof that Jerusalem clay was considered pure comes from Qumran, where neutron activation analyses have revealed that a large percentage of the pottery discovered there was made of clay from Jerusalem (Yellin, Broshi, and Eshel 2001: 73–77). By the purchase and use of pure Jerusalem-made kitchen pottery people could create and maintain household purity and thereby foster their own individual relationship with the sacred. The chronological coincidence of the Galilee and Gamla workshops being established at the same time as the one at Binyane Ha-'Umma suggests that Jews in this region also sought to expand the notion of ritual purity to their households and daily lives. Such an attitude would also explain the construction of a public *miqwe* in Area B (Unit B6). This is the earliest *miqwe* known in the north; all other early–mid-first century BCE exempla are in Judea.[13] Further evidence for strong social and market contacts between Gamla and Judea is discussed below.

If local production of cooking wares may be linked with the broadened acceptance of purity laws, however, then why did potters at Kfar Ḥananya and Gamla begin producing casseroles, a form of cooking vessel identified with Phoenicians, Greeks, and/or gentiles? Northern producers distinguished themselves in this regard; potters at Jerusalem's Binyane Ha-'Umma workshop did not manufacture such vessels until the early first century CE. One possible reason is that northern Jews had a more accepting, even cosmopolitan, outlook than their Judean brethren. Certainly the continued use of ESA throughout the first century BCE supports such an attitude; it may be noted that ESA does not appear in Jerusalem residences until the end of the first century BCE (when local production of casseroles begins as well).

A second factor may be that a more diffuse cultural and political atmosphere prevailed in the north. Whereas Judea and Samaria seem to have been almost exclusively Jewish by this time, with both regions under direct Hasmonean rule, Galilee and Gaulanitis remained mixed both in population and in political status. Phoenicians lived along the coast, Itureans remained in villages in the Hauran, the Decapolis cities had been re-established, and in Gaulanitis Gamla remained essentially a Hasmonean toehold. The city's residents may well have maintained contacts with various peoples north and east. In fact there are reasonable parallels for the 3A casserole form from Sî', in the Hauran, though it is certainly also possible that area potters developed the form on their own.[14] In any event, the fact remains that local production of casseroles suggests both a commitment to Jewish suppliers and an acceptance of gentile cuisine—an attitude no less improbable for Gamla's first-century BCE residents than for any modern religious or ethnic group.

The rarity of perfume and oil containers is striking. The estimated total is only one to two vessels per household, less than 1% of all pottery from Areas B/D. Even if this estimate is off by a factor of two or three, there would still be only a few vessels from each household over a period of two to three generations. This figure is especially startling when compared with the very large number of perfume bottles found at Hellenistic-period sites in this region with Phoenician, Greek, and/or pagan populations. In the later second/early first-century BCE villa at Tel Anafa, for example, there are a minimum of 146 perfume bottles—all from a single residence (Berlin 1997b:24). The tiny number of perfume vessels from Areas B/D at Gamla suggests that residents considered scented oils unimportant and/or unnecessary. Why? It is possible that residents had difficulty acquiring such products, although the presence of other imported vessels makes this hypothesis unlikely. It may be that residents considered perfume redolent of a showy and luxurious lifestyle, and therefore unappealing or possibly even inappropriate. Such an attitude, if true, clearly changed by the Herodian period, with the development of balsam and other luxury unguent factories in the Jordan Valley.

Origins of the First-Century BCE Assemblage: Insights into Social and Market Connections

What can the pottery from Gamla tell us about the social and market connections of the site's inhabitants in the first century BCE? Two lines of evidence may be pursued: the origins of the fabrics and wares occuring in Areas B/D, and the origins and distributions of the forms and types appearing there. Fabrics and wares may be regionally grouped. ESA comes from Phoenicia (southern or northern); Shikhin and Kfar Ḥananya wares come from Lower Galilee; Gamla cooking ware and buff fabric come from Gaulanitis, perhaps very

close to the site itself. These five together comprise 90% of all the diagnostic pottery found in Areas B/D (5921 out of 6628 fragments). Various unidentified fabrics make up much of the remainder, though over half of the unidentified fabrics are cooking wares likely to be from Gaulanitis. Figure 5.6 displays the relative frequencies of these fabrics in Areas B/D and R.

In the first century BCE, Gamla's residents acquired most of their household pottery (57%) from local suppliers. This is an important statistic, for it reveals a community rooted in place, sufficiently large and well established that pottery manufacturies were maintained in the vicinity. Strong local production notwithstanding, fully one-third (33%) of the diagnostic fragments from Areas B/D come from locales considerably west of Gamla: ESA from the Phoenician coast (northern or southern), and Shikhin and Kfar Ḥananya wares, both from Lower Galilee. The most abundant of these imports are large jars from Shikhin, 45 km west of Gamla, in Lower Galilee: fully one-third of all the jars uncovered in Areas B/D were made there. Residents must have exerted effort or money (or both) to acquire these vessels (or, more precisely, their contents). The presence at Gamla of so much pottery made elsewhere indicates that residents remained in touch with places and people beyond Gaulanitis.

Most of the locally manufactured pottery consists of two forms: large jars and cooking pots, which together constitute 61% of the vessels made in the vicinity of the site (2290 out of 3753 diagnostic fragments). While their fabrics and wares indicate local production, however, most of the specific forms and types that potters manufactured were Judean in origin. In Areas B/D, 100% of the storage jars are Judean baggy jars in form, either with rounded or squared rims (see above, pp. 48–53). Three of the six cooking-pot forms found here—with an angled neck and a shallow interior ridge, with a splayed/convex neck, and with a high neck—are almost exclusively paralleled in Samaria and Judea; these three forms comprise 57–59% of the Areas B/D cooking pots, with splayed/convex rim cooking pots alone making up 44% of the corpus (see pp. 32–37; Table 3.15). I interpret the appearance in quantity of locally produced versions of southern jar and cooking-pot forms over the course of several generations as a reflection of the emigration of Jews from Judea to Gaulanitis.

Summary

According to Josephus, in *c.* 80 BCE Alexander Jannaeus deposed Demetrius, Gamla's governor, in consequence of numerous accusations (*War* 1.105; cf. *Ant.* 13.394). Though the ancient historian does not discuss what happened next, modern scholars have assumed that Jannaeus installed a leader more in keeping with Hasmonean policies and thereafter left the site and its residents alone. The pottery from Areas B/D allows us to reconstruct what life was like at Gamla over the next two to three generations.

Soon after Jannaeus completed his northern campaign, it appears that Judean Jews moved to Gamla, perhaps in some number. The Judeans joined Jewish residents of long-standing, and the two groups apparently accommodated themselves to one another. For their part, the Judeans brought a newly developed desire

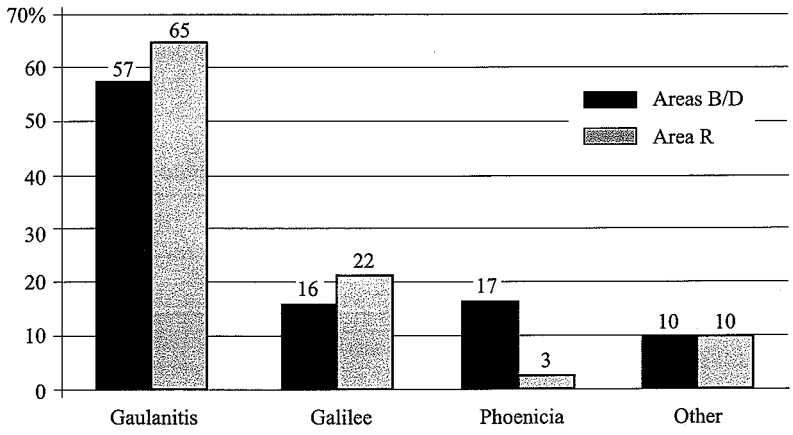


Fig. 5.6. Origins of first-century CE table, serving, and perfume vessels.

for household purity, which, along with the population influx, probably led to the development of local pottery workshops for cooking and storage vessels. Some of the forms produced in these northern workshops are very similar to and sometimes indistinguishable from Judean examples, e.g., cooking pots with splayed/convex necks and baggy jars. Other local products show us another picture, however. In addition to Judean forms, local potters also made a very popular deep casserole, the 3A, which reflects residents' willingness to adopt non-Jewish culinary ideas.

Gamla's older residents had enjoyed long-standing market connections with the Phoenician coast, acquiring bright black- and red-slipped dishes and bowls for table service. These links were maintained throughout the first century BCE: every household had at least a few red-slipped ESA vessels available for serving meals. It may have been via the same market circuits that Gamla's residents purchased large jars that had been made in the village of Shikhin, in the central Lower Galilee. Traffic must have been fairly regular between Gaulanitis, Galilee, and the coast.

Residents lived close together, and perhaps in somewhat crowded circumstances. At mealtimes, one of the most important of daily activities, people gathered around and shared from a common platter. Each person had a small plain buff fabric bowl for his own portion. Dining could sometimes be more festive, as the occasional krater or table amphora for group drinking attests. Nonetheless, the array and number of table vessels suggest that people had a fairly spartan lifestyle, barely even indulging in scented oils or perfumes, though these were likely accessible and probably relatively inexpensive.

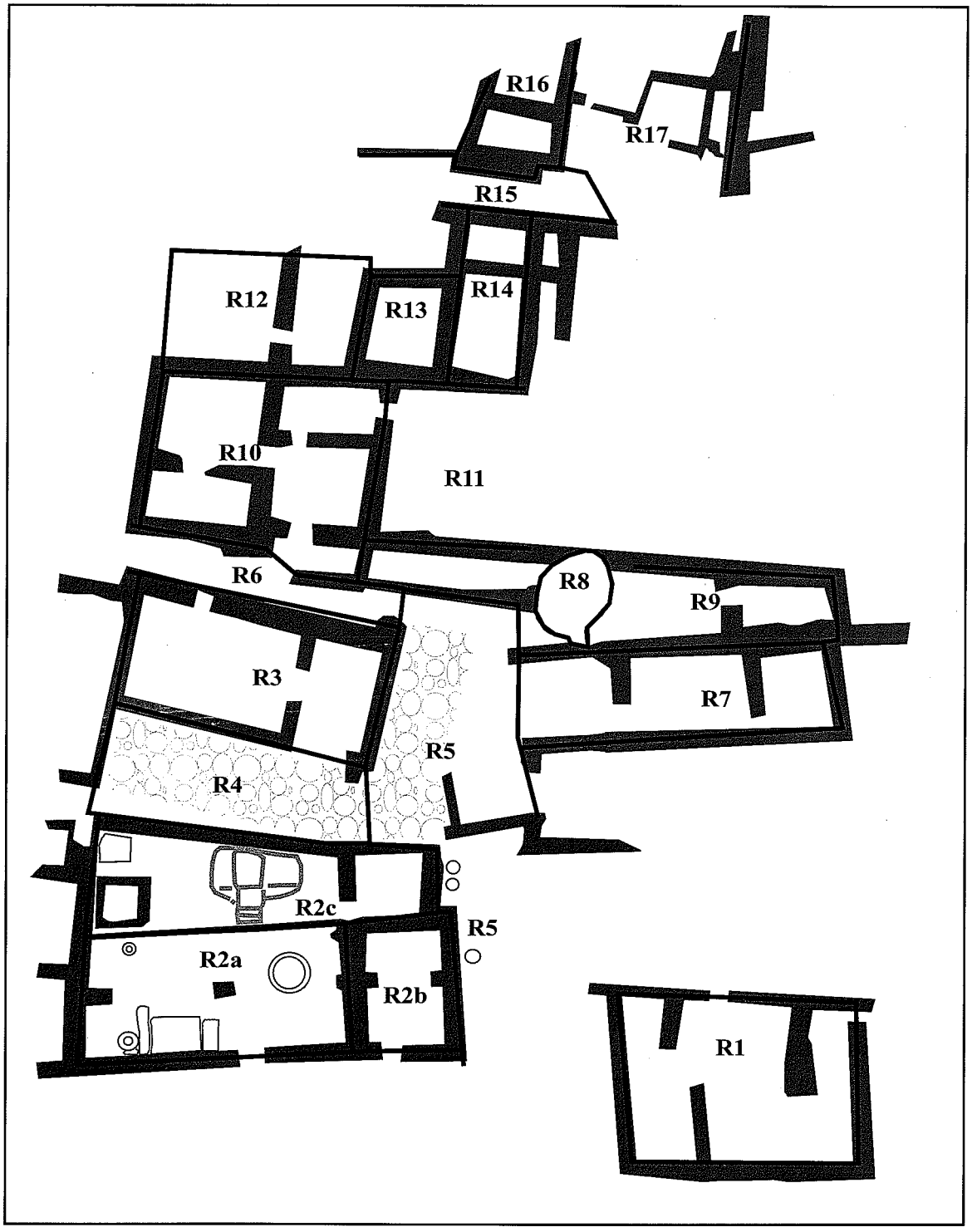
In sum, a combination of old and new, cosmopolitan and insular, northern and southern—the pottery found in Gamla's Areas B/D gives us a picture of normative Jewish village life, at least in Gaulanitis, during the middle and later first century BCE. Over the course of that century, the town's various populations learned to live together. Meanwhile, the world beyond the town's borders changed in substantial ways—politically, economically, and socially. The Hasmonean dynasty imploded. Herod developed from a ruler-in-training in Galilee to a king with his own dynastic succession; his sons divided Gaulanitis and Galilee, unified for almost a century, into two principalities. The Jewish elite became wealthy and willing to show it; Jerusalem's priestly families now lived with the material accoutrements of luxury. Confrontations became regular—between Roman governors and Jewish priests, between priests and the upper classes, between landed and landless, and simply between regular Jews themselves, who disagreed often and sometimes violently about how best to live in the world as it was (Hengel and Deines 1995:58–67; Rajak 2002:164–176). Did any of these events affect the lives of Gamla's residents, and if so how? To answer this question, we must turn to the site's first-century CE pottery.

The Evidence of the Pottery for Life at Gamla from *c.* 10 to 67 CE

The excavators recovered pottery of the first century CE from almost every part of the site, excepting only Areas B/D. In order to fairly compare this corpus with that of the preceding century, however, I confine my discussion to the pottery from Area R, since it was only here that I was able to record all of the diagnostic fragments found. As with Areas B/D, my starting point is the estimated total number of vessels in Area R. As represented by both fragments and complete pots (pp. 130–131, Tables 4.20–4.22). I have divided each group of figures by ten, the number of house units excavated in Area R, in order to arrive at an estimated number of vessels *per household* (Table 5.3; Plan 5.2). There are seventeen defined units in Area R (Plan 5.2). Six

Table 5.3. Estimated Number of Vessels per Household in Area R

Table Vessels	*Individual*			*Service*		
	Buff Saucers and Bowls	*Thin-Walled Drinking Vessels*	*Chalk Vessels*	*ESA Dishes and Bowls*	*Kraters*	*Jugs*
	11	0–1	7–10	2–3	0–1	2–3
Cooking Vessels	*Cooking Pots*		*Stew Pots and Casseroles*			*Cooking Bowls*
	26–31		26–32			2–3
Storage Vessels	*Large Jars*			*Perfume/Oil Containers*		
	73–97			16		



Plan 5.2. Area R. Schematic unit plan.

of these are streets or alleys (Units R4–R6, R11, R15, and R17) and one is an oil press and office (Unit R2a–c). While residents probably did not use all of the remaining ten units as houses originally (especially the cave, Unit R8, and the apparent shops of Unit R9), the amount and nature of the pottery found here suggests that all had been turned into dwellings within the final year of the town's life.[15]

Make-Up of the First-Century CE Assemblage: Insights into Behavior

An analysis of the pottery discovered in Area R according to functional category reveals the following division between table, cooking, storage, and personal vessels: storage vessels comprise 45.5% of the total; cooking vessels, 32%; table vessels (including both individual and serving pieces), 14%; and small personal vessels (e.g., perfume bottles), 8.5% (see above, Figs. 5.2, 5.3; Figs. 5.7–5.9). As in Areas B/D, in Area R large storage jars constitute the majority of each household's pottery, though it is interesting to note that while there are more jars estimated per household, large storage vessels as a category represent a smaller percentage of the pottery. There are two significant differences between the Area R assemblage and that from Areas B/D (see Figs. 5.2, 5.3). First, the relative amounts of table and cooking vessels are practically reversed. In Areas B/D, table vessels made up 30% of each household's pottery, and cooking vessels 19%. In Area R, on the other hand, table vessels comprise only 14% of each household's pottery, while cooking vessels make up 32%. First-century CE residents clearly organized their meals quite differently than their parents and grandparents had done. The second significant difference is that perfume and oil containers now account for 8.5% of each household's pottery, as opposed to the almost non-existent 0.1% in first-century BCE households (see further discussion, below).

In Area R, each household had between 73 and 97 large jars, a slight increase over the number attested in Areas B/D. Long-term storage of foodstuffs remained a necessity, and no doubt many residents used some of these jars for dry goods and probably also water. However the discovery of 12 complete jars in the oil-press complex (Units R2a and 2b) makes it certain that such vessels regularly held oil; further, the fact that this complex included a *miqwe* certifies that residents would have considered the oil produced here to be ritually pure. In that regard, it is notable that two-thirds of the jars from Area R houses are identical in type and fabric to those from the press area (straight-rim jars in buff fabric). Many of these may have originally held ritually pure oil produced in the village itself (see further discussion below, p. 152).

There are many more cooking vessels in each household—an average of 60 as opposed to 25 in Areas B/D. Kitchen inventories were equally divided between cooking pots and casseroles, with 26–32 vessels of each, as well as from two to three cooking bowls (on which see further, pp. 151–152). The growing number of casseroles is interesting. Residents may have enjoyed an increasing number of meat-based meals, perhaps made possible by the sale of pure oil. The large number of cooking vessels in general suggests that households were as large or even larger in the first century CE than before, and that people had the equipment to prepare food in batches.

This image of crowded houses and quantities of food would seem to require a considerable number of table vessels. Yet one of the surprises from Area R is the small number of dining and serving dishes: just 18–22 small bowls and only 4–7 serving dishes estimated per household. In all, table vessels comprise just 14% of each first-century CE household's pottery, a notable decrease from the 30% estimated for first-century BCE households. Since the high number of cooking vessels indicates that meals continued to be prepared in the house, the obvious questions are: where and how did people eat?

The diminished number of table vessels cannot be attributed to smaller houses. Most of Area R's excavated houses have one or more large rooms that could have easily accommodated a group of diners (Units R1, R3, R7, R10, and R12). Yet table vessels constitute just as small a percentage of vessels in these particular units as throughout the overall area. In Unit R1, for example, the most complete of the houses excavated in Area R, table vessels represent just 9% of all diagnostic fragments, while cooking and storage vessels account for 53% and 34%, respectively. Various explanations may be offered: perhaps people more often used bread to hold their food, or began depending on vessels in other materials such as wood. While these are possibilities, however, I can find no supporting evidence. The drop in the percentage of table vessels found in Area R as compared to Areas B/D is so substantial, meanwhile, that I take it as an indication that people stopped using their homes for group meals.

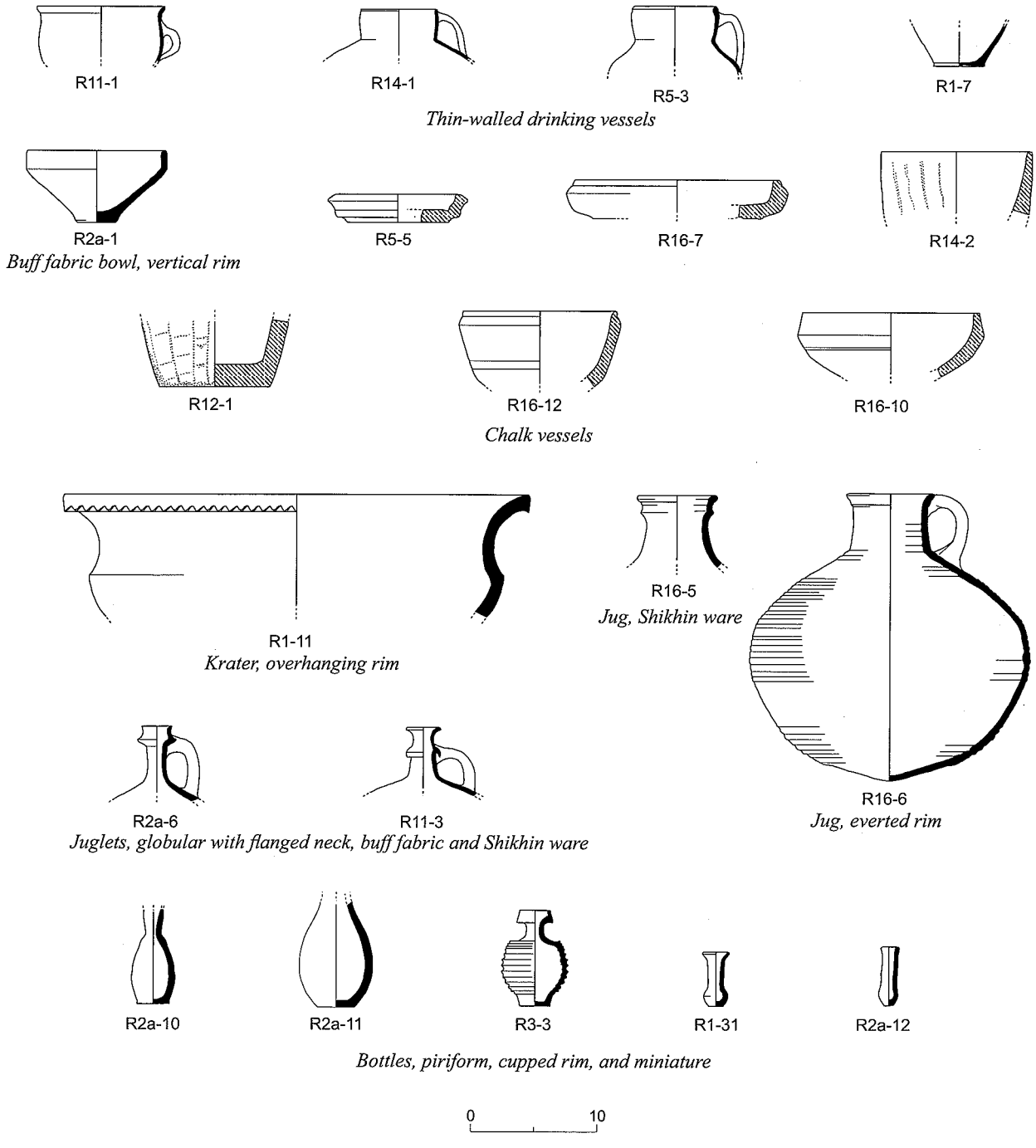


Fig. 5.7. First-century CE table, serving, and perfume vessels.

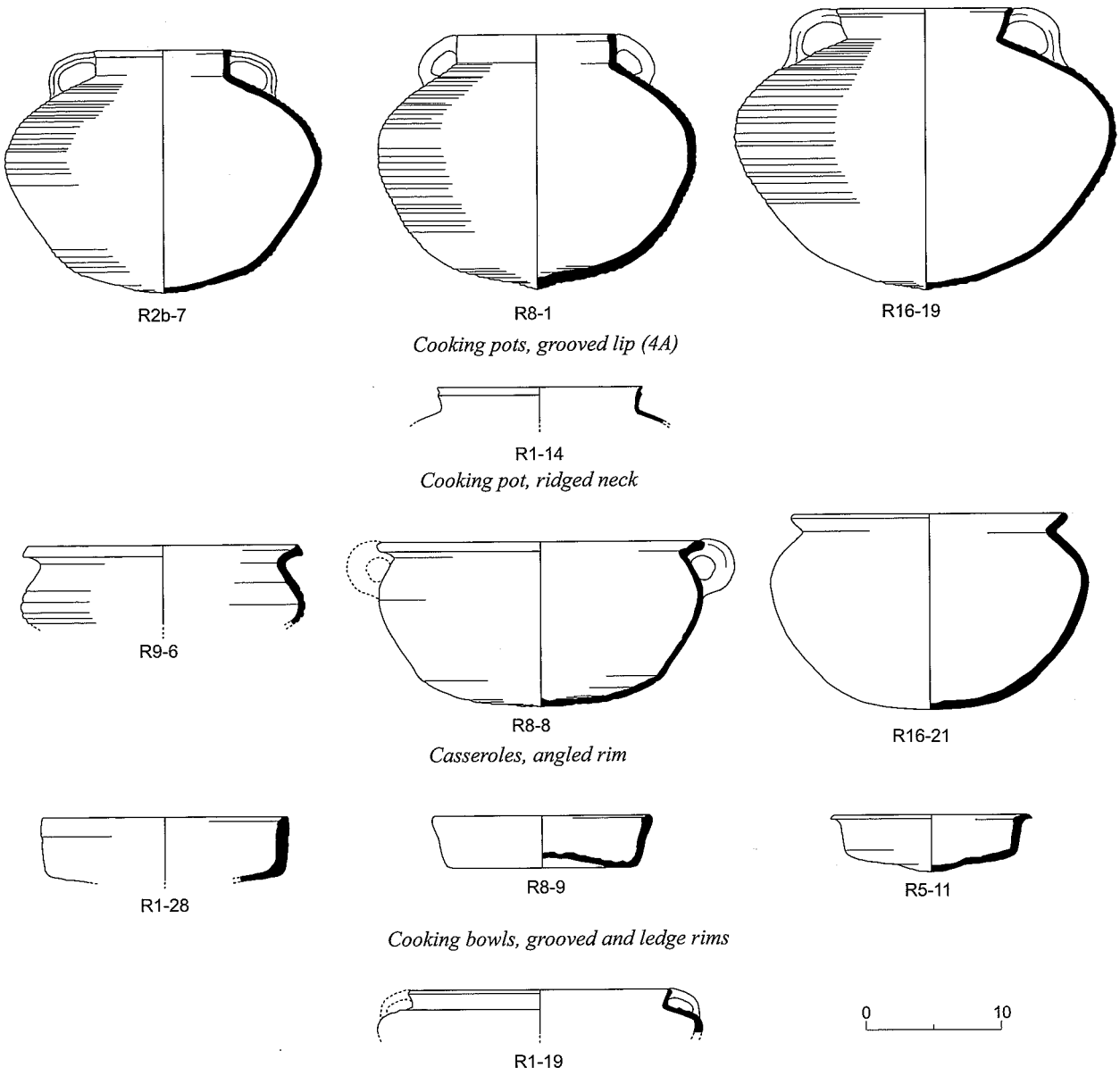


Fig. 5.8. First-century CE cooking vessels.

This certainly does not mean that group dining disappeared. For one thing, literary sources attest to regular gatherings for communal meals by Jews in both Palestine and the Diaspora. Josephus provides especially clear evidence in his citation of a Roman edict to the Jews of Parium, a town on the Hellespont just north of Troy:

> Julius Gaius, Praetor, Consul of the Romans, to the magistrates, council, and people of Parium, greeting. The Jews in Delos and some of the neighboring Jews … have appealed to me and declared that you are preventing them by statute from observing their national customs … Now it displeases me that such statutes should be made against our friends and allies and that they should

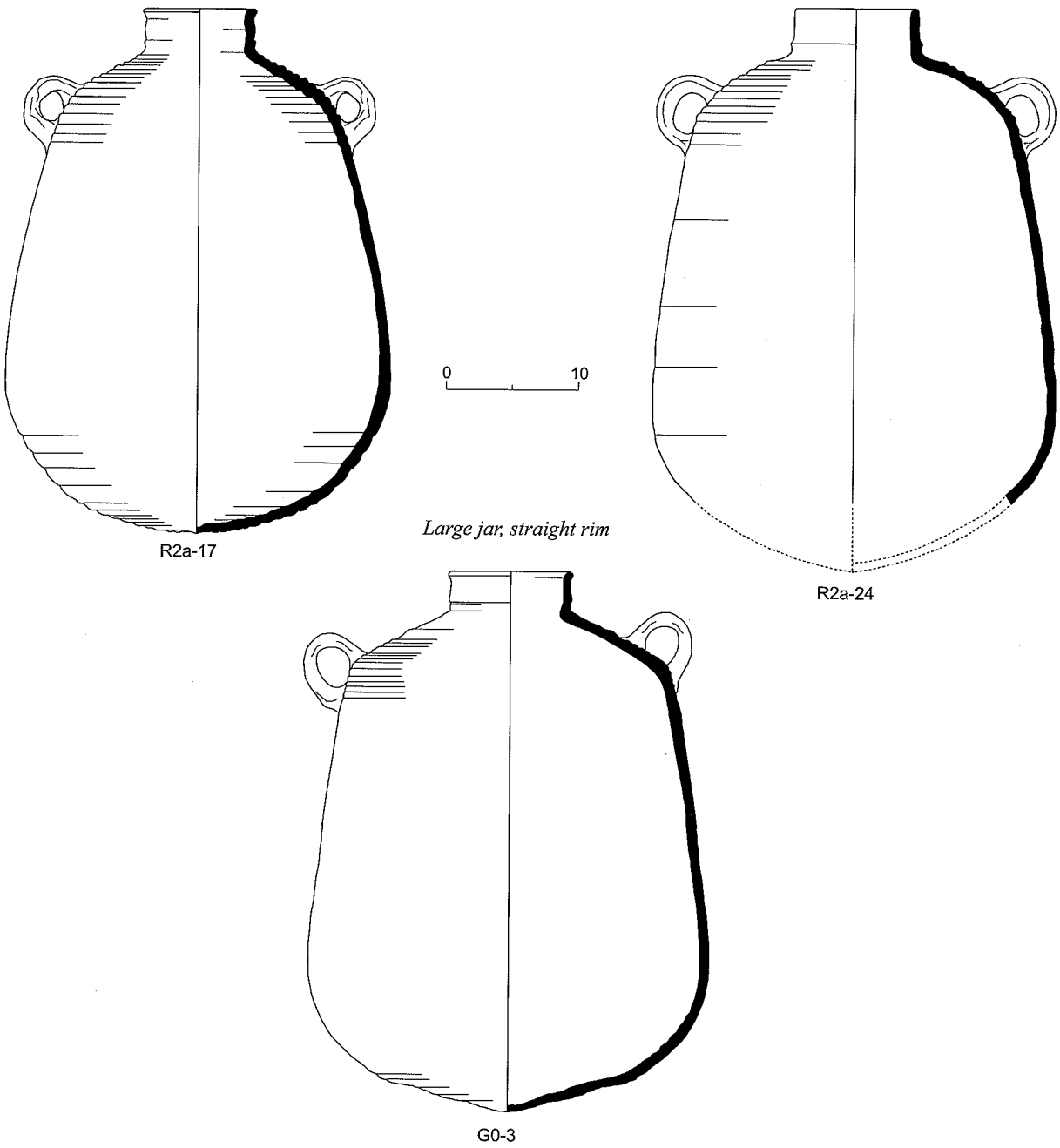


Fig. 5.9. First-century CE storage vessels.

be forbidden to live in accordance with their customs and to contribute money to common meals … for this they are not forbidden to do even in Rome. For example, Gaius Caesar … by edict forbade religious societies to assemble in the city, but these people alone he did not forbid to do so … or to hold common meals. Similarly do I forbid other religious societies but permit these people alone to assemble and feast in accordance with their native customs … (*Ant.* 14.213–216).[16]

A second edict, issued by the emperor Augustus in 12 BCE to the Jews of Asia Minor, confirms that the practice continued: "If anyone is caught stealing sacred books or sacred monies from a Sabbath-house or a

banquet hall, he shall be regarded as sacrilegious and his property shall be confiscated ..." (*Ant.* 16.164).[17] As for Jews in Palestine itself, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher Philo attests to the practice of communal meals specifically in reference to the sect of the Essenes: "They live together, formed into clubs, bands of comradeship, with common meals ..." (*Hypothetica* 11.5).[18]

If not in their homes, however, then where did such meals occur? At Gamla, the likeliest venue during the first century CE is the main hall of the synagogue.[19] While there is no unequivocal evidence for dating the building's construction, the discovery below the floor level of the main room of knife-pared, bow-spouted lamp nozzles, as well as a type of cooking pot typical of first-century CE assemblages in Jerusalem, suggests that the synagogue could not have been laid out before the early first century CE, making it contemporary with the beginning of occupation in Area R.[20] The synagogue is the only building yet excavated with space sufficient for large gatherings, though other such structures, perhaps not specifically religious in character, may have also existed at the site.[21]

It is difficult to reconstruct precisely how meals were conducted because only a small portion of the diagnostic pottery from the synagogue (Area A) was saved. Consideration of the number and types of table vessels from Area R does, however, provide some clues. Residents no longer used small buff fabric bowls and saucers exclusively for their food, as in the first century BCE. Instead, half of the vessels available in each household were small chalk mugs and saucers. Similar vessels occur throughout Galilee and Judea, where workshops producing chalk mugs, bowls, dishes, trays, and jars were established by the later first century BCE (Magen 2002:1–3, 148–162; Gibson 2003). Two workshops are known in Galilee: one at Kafr Reina, near Nazareth, and the second at Bethlehem of Galilee, southwest of Sepphoris (Gal 1991; Magen 2002:160). Most of the chalk vessels from Gamla are small forms; the most common are narrow, deep, single-handled mugs.[22] These could have served various functions, from drinking to pouring water for hand-washing.

The specific distribution of chalk vessels along with various later rabbinic comments has convinced most scholars that their presence indicates faithful adherence to strict purity regulations, and even to the expansion of the notion of priestly purity to include the day-to-day activities of people other than priests.[23] On this point, it is useful to consider the relatively low number of chalk vessels estimated in Area R—only about seven to ten per household, spread over the course of two generations. It is clear that so small an amount could not have served all residents every day as receptacles for food and drink. Instead, the types and number found suggest occasional and/or specific uses: the mugs for pouring water for hand-washing before meals, perhaps, and the small saucers for holding spices in the weekly ceremony that ends the Sabbath. Relevant to this discussion is the fact that none of the houses thus far excavated in Area R contained a *miqwe*. There was only one small *miqwe* in all of Area R, and this was inside the oil-press complex (in Unit R2c). Residents apparently used the single communal *miqwe* in front of the synagogue, where I have suggested that most group meals occurred. These points support the idea that Gamla's first-century residents altered their understanding of household purity from an individual to a community practice.

Another aspect of the Area R table vessel assemblage illuminates the manner in which those meals were conducted, and that is the very low number of serving vessels uncovered. While each household owned one (or no) kraters and two to three jugs (figures identical to those estimated for Areas B/D), the evidence allows for only two to three ESA dishes per house, as compared to seven to nine from Areas B/D—and I suspect that even this figure is too high. With the exception of two tiny rim fragments of mid- to later first-century CE ESA bowls, not a single piece of the ESA from Area R may be dated later than *c.* 10 CE. Moreover, despite this area being less badly damaged in the siege and assault than areas closer to the city wall, excavators discovered only one intact ESA dish here (out of thirty-nine complete vessels retrieved). In comparison, twenty complete ESA dishes and bowls were recovered from Areas B/D. Gamla's first-century CE residents had jugs but few other serving vessels, and especially not ESA dishes and bowls.

All of this combines to suggest that food was served directly from the cooking vessels in which it had been prepared. As in earlier generations, people may still have dined sitting closely together, though now gathered around a cooking pot or casserole instead of a refined red-slipped dish or bowl. At other times, people may have simply served themselves from the pot. In either scenario, the mode would have

been basic, perhaps even ascetic. In the first century BCE, though the style of dining had been discernibly distinct from contemporary Hellenistic practices, some similarities existed—in the use of elegant serving dishes and in the small household settings. The dining practices of first-century CE residents, on the other hand, were completely dissimilar to those of their Greek, Phoenician, and Roman neighbors. The vessels that were used, the manner of serving, and the locale combine to present a mode purposefully and radically different.

It appears that in the first-century CE, Gamla's residents made a deliberate decision not to acquire ESA dishes. As discussed above (p. 21), first-century CE ESA vessels do appear at sites north, east, and south of Gamla, thus indicating that production continued and that market circuits to and from the Phoenician coast remained intact. As it happens, Gamla is not the only Jewish village in the north where first-century CE ESA is not found. At every such village with levels of both the first centuries BCE and CE (e.g., Capernaum, Bethsaida, Yodefat), excavators have uncovered ESA vessels of the first century BCE only (Berlin 2002c:59–64). Across Galilee and Gaulanitis, the disappearance of ESA coincides with the appearance of chalk vessels, a pattern that might suggest that Jews now considered ESA impure (Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997:165). This cannot be, however, since at this same time ESA became a regular part of household assemblages in Jerusalem, especially in the wealthy homes of priests living in sight of the Temple in the Upper City (Avigad 1980:197–198, 202). Another explanation must be sought for the ware's rejection.

The two most proximate effects of rejecting ESA were: (1) that northern Jews severed market contacts with Phoenician suppliers; and (2) that their household pottery no longer included serving vessels. Can we determine if either (or both) effects were intentional, even actually the point? To this end, note that there were at least three active pottery workshops serving this region, at Shikhin, Kfar Ḥananya, and Gamla itself. Had residents wanted to continue dining in small groups in their homes, sharing from common serving platters, surely potters could have produced appropriate vessels. That they did *not* do so strongly favors reading the disappearance of ESA as a rejection of the behaviors and modes it supported, rather than as a boycott of Phoenician goods. Around the early first century CE, therefore, it appears that northern Jews, including residents at Gamla, chose to begin dining in a considerably more simple and communal manner, one quite different not only from their own parents and grandparents, but also from many of their contemporaries in Judea and especially Jerusalem.[24]

There is one final point to be made about dining at Gamla in the first century CE, and this has to do with the types of dishes that residents prepared. As noted above, in addition to numerous cooking pots and casseroles, each household also had several cooking bowls, a new vessel shape that both northern and southern potters began manufacturing towards the end of the first century BCE. Throughout the first century CE (and well beyond) the number of cooking bowls in household assemblages rose steadily, and potters continued to make small design changes.[25] These points reflect both local interest in and increased demand for this new form.

The shape of cooking bowls—broad, shallow, and flat-bottomed—is designed for baked dishes, in which all ingredients set by even and quick exposure to heat. In this region, the earliest known occurrence of such vessels (and so such preparations) comes from Tel Anafa, where *orlo bifido* pans of Italian manufacture were found in levels of the later second and early first centuries BCE (Berlin 1993:35–36). While a gap of several generations separates the use of *orlo bifido* pans at Tel Anafa from the manufacture of similarly shaped cooking bowls in the later first century BCE, it is likely that the source of culinary inspiration is the same for both. An abundance of pan-dependent recipes in the Roman cooking manual compiled by Apicius, along with the prevalence of broad, shallow cooking vessels at Republican-period sites in Italy and the Roman west, identify that source as Roman (Berlin 1993:43–44).

Why the production of Roman-style cooking vessels by potters in Gaulanitis, Galilee, and Judea from the later first century BCE onward? The likeliest reason is that the enthusiastic adoption of various aspects of Roman culture, first by Herod the Great and then by his sons and successors, also included a growing interest in and taste for Roman cooking. Cooking bowls are hardly the only instance of Roman inspiration at this time. Many products made throughout the larger region were modeled directly on Roman examples. The best known are the frescoed walls of wealthy houses in Jerusalem; but in addition there are new shapes of ESA dishes and bowls, thin-walled drinking vessels, chalk dishes, and the new triangular-rim casserole made in the Binyane

Ha-'Umma workshop in Jerusalem—all based on specific Roman models.[26]

In the particular case of Gamla during the first century CE, the acceptance of Roman aesthetics, styles, and models appears in several ways. A number of houses in Areas R and S had frescoed walls in the Roman-Pompeian Second style.[27] People drank from pottery vessels whose shape and exceptionally thin walls were inspired by Roman forms (though in this case, the fact that the Gamla vessels all came from the Binyane Ha-'Umma manufactury in Jerusalem was likely the more compelling aspect). And the discovery of both imported Italian pans and lids as well as locally made cooking bowls indicates that people added Roman-style baked dishes to their repertoire.[28] In the first century CE, some aspects of Roman culture clearly spread far beyond the gentile cities on the coast and the Jewish elite in Jerusalem and Jericho, all the way into the rural Jewish north.

One final example of Gamla residents' acceptance of Roman *mores* may be reflected by the numerous perfume and oil containers from Area R households. There are an estimated sixteen vessels per household, comprising 8.5% of the pottery assemblage—an exceptional increase from the first century BCE, when a mere one to two vessels per household are attested. Unguents became a big business in the first century CE; factories were built from Jericho to 'En Boqeq, and their products were especially targeted to the market in Rome.[29] While greater availability alone may account for the dramatic increase in perfume bottles at Gamla, these vessels may also represent yet another aspect of Roman culture adopted by first century Jews.

Origins of the First-Century CE Assemblage: Insights into Social and Market Connections

In the Area R assemblage, the percentage of pottery from Gaulanitis, which includes all vessels in Gamla cooking ware and in buff fabrics, rose to 65%, a small increase over the 57% represented in the first-century BCE assemblage (see above, Fig. 5.6). The amount of pottery acquired from Galilean workshops at Shikhin and Kfar Ḥananya also increased, from 16% to 22%. Regular contact between Gamla's residents and those living across the Jordan River and the Sea of Galilee continued and apparently even increased somewhat. In the first century CE, however, residents purchased a different array of products. Large jars from Shikhin, which had made up a full third of the storage jars found in Areas B/D, now account for just under 10% of the jars in Area R. The majority of Galilean products are cooking vessels from Kfar Ḥananya (63%), while small juglets and bottles from Shikhin account for the remainder.

The most dramatic difference between the assemblages of the first centuries BCE and CE is the abrupt reduction of pottery from Phoenicia, which now represents a mere 3% of the Area R diagnostic pottery by origin. As discussed above, I believe that the dissolution of market connections between Phoenician suppliers and northern Jewish villagers is a side effect of other decisions, especially concerning dining practices. Even accidental effects have consequences, however, and one result of this apparently collective Jewish decision may well have been a developing alienation between northern Jews and their Phoenician neighbors. Such a process may partially lie behind Josephus' famous characterization of the inhabitants of the Tyrian village at Kedesh in Upper Galilee, who always hated and made war against the Jews (*War* 4.104).

As with the locally manufactured pottery from Areas B/D, that from Area R largely consists of cooking pots, casseroles, and large jars. While the general categories remained the same, however, specific forms and types changed. Local potters of the first century CE did not produce Judean forms of cooking vessels, as had their first-century BCE predecessors. Instead, the most common shape is the grooved lip cooking pot (4A), which northern potters had developed in the middle of the first century BCE along with the 3A casserole. In Area R, Gamla and Kfar Ḥananya 4A cooking pots together constitute about two-thirds of all such vessels found, while 3A's are the only casseroles attested (see Table 4.21). By the first century CE, therefore, it appears that potters in Gaulanitis and Galilee no longer derived formal inspiration from Judean potting styles, but instead relied on their own developing traditions. This is most clearly brought out by the fact that when potters at the Binyane Ha-'Umma workshop outside Jerusalem developed a new casserole form modelled on metal versions of the *ahenum*, a form of Roman cooking vessel with a wide mouth and flat shoulder, neither Kfar Ḥananya nor Gamla-area potters followed suit with their own versions.[30]

The predominant form of locally produced storage jars is a broad-bottomed vessel with a high straight

rim in buff fabric; this type alone comprises 66% of all the jars found in Area R. Where this form originated is difficult to pinpoint. Northern and Judean potters both began manufacturing straight-rim jars in the later first century BCE; by the early first century CE this was the standard form throughout the country. In fact, the jar with an offset lip in brown fabric produced at both Shikhin and Yodefat (see above, p. 48) is simply a slight variant of this same form. The available evidence suggests that the Galilean versions do not appear until the early first century CE, thus about a generation later than the examples from Gaulanitis and Judea. Whether it was northern or southern potters who initially developed this form, or whether both groups relied upon yet a different source, cannot be determined on present evidence.

Whoever first produced them, potters throughout Gaulanitis, Galilee, and Judea all quickly incorporated the same three changes: first, the rim was made higher and finished plainly; second, the vessel was shorter overall; and third, the lower body was broadened, altering the profile from baggy to decidedly piriform. The first of these changes made it easier to stopper the mouth securely, while the second and third made the jars steadier and less liable to tip over. Potters apparently tweaked the shape to allow for more efficient and reliable transport and especially storage. The particular advantages of these changes are perhaps best appreciated by comparison with first-century CE Phoenician storage jars. Unlike the newly shorter, broad-bottomed, straight-rim jars manufactured throughout Gaulanitis, Galilee, and Judea, first-century CE Phoenician storage jars retain an elongated, baggy profile, practically non-existent neck, and internally thickened rim—features not conducive to stoppering, easy movement, or long-distance transport. The fact that Phoenician potters did not significantly change the shape of their jars while Jewish potters did suggests that the Jewish potters had some new and particular impetus that Phoenician potters did not.[31]

In addition to stability and better stoppering, the straight-rim jar is notable for its standardized form. In our own times, producers use standardized shapes for similar products (e.g., slim, elongated bottles for sweet white wine), a practice that allows consumers to confidently identify the contents. Producers in antiquity also developed and maintained specific shapes for specific products.[32] While straight-rim jars could be and probably were used in various ways, it seems reasonable to postulate that they were specially developed for one important commodity.

A single commodity advertised by a single, recognizable shape, broadly distributed throughout Gaulanitis, Galilee, and Judea from the later first century BCE through the first century CE—there is only one possibility: olive oil manufactured by Jewish producers in ritually pure settings. This commodity's privileged status is best illustrated in Josephus' famous story about John of Gischala selling Galilean oil at inflated prices to Jews in Syria "to protect [them] from the use of oil not supplied by their own countrymen" (*War* 2.591–592). The presence in Area R of an enormous pressing installation complete with *miqwe* in which were found eight complete locally produced straight-rim jars in buff fabric indicates that Gamla residents were among those producing this highly desired and widely distributed product (see Berlin 2005a:425–429).

The social and market connections evinced by the jar assemblage from Area R can therefore be summarized as follows. In the later first century BCE Jews in both Gaulanitis and Judea began demanding, manufacturing, and distributing ritually pure olive oil; Jews in Galilee quickly followed suit. Jewish potters throughout these areas developed a standardized container for this oil, which allowed easy identification; this standardization in and of itself indicates broadly shared consumer recognition and thus regular communication. The form's many typological variants indicate at least that many suppliers, and the several variants found at Gamla alone (straight-rim jars in both buff and brown fabrics as well as offset-lip jars) reflect the continuity of market connections between Gaulanitis and Galilee. Nonetheless, jar assemblages from northern villages in the first century CE seem to be dominated by only one type, such as the straight-rim jars in buff fabric at Gamla and the offset-lip jars at Capernaum, which in turn suggests that residents relied on a single local market and/or supplier for most of their oil.[33]

Summary

During the first century BCE, under Hasmonean encouragement, Judean Jews had moved north to Galilee and Gaulanitis. They brought with them more insular social attitudes and strict religious ideas. They discovered well-established market connections with the Phoenician coast, and opened themselves up to

new culinary ideas and the use of fancy red-slipped dishes. Meanwhile, beyond their protected spur in central Gaulanitis, the Hasmonean kingdom imploded and Herod rose to power. At his death in 4 BCE two of his sons, Herod Philip and Herod Antipas, took over Gaulanitis and Galilee respectively. They continued their father's building programs, founding the new cities of Caesarea Philippi, Julias, Sepphoris, and Tiberias. In Judea, the weak and venal Herod Archelaus lasted barely ten years; by 6 CE his entire territory came under direct Roman rule. By this time, the extended family of a Judean emigré who had moved to Gamla in around 50 BCE would include grown grandchildren, third-generation residents with families of their own.

Those families were large, at least judging by the number of cooking vessels owned by each household. Half of those vessels were casseroles, suggesting that in the first century CE people ate more meat, whether stewed or braised. Perhaps the animals were raised in or around the site, though residents also had a valuable commodity for ready exchange in the pure olive oil they produced themselves. Every household had jars of this oil, which, along with the few chalk vessels in each home, reveals residents' steady attentiveness to religious standards.

Third-generation Gamla residents were far more accustomed to using scented oil and perfume than their grandparents had been. Such usage may be the most conspicuous example of the acceptance of Roman cultural practices; others include a new liking for Roman recipes and wall painting. In any event, people now acquired luxurious unguents, which, along with a diet probably higher in meat, indicates that they could afford creature comforts.

Grandsons and daughters, unlike their grandparents, rarely held group meals in their homes. Instead they shared prepared food in the larger communal setting of the synagogue. There people dined simply, serving themselves directly from the vessels in which the food had been cooked, and eating from small, plain buff fabric bowls. Residents stopped buying shiny, red-slipped ESA serving dishes, which had been one of the only material niceties enjoyed by their grandparents. Contacts with Phoenician suppliers ceased, perhaps giving rise to increasingly insular social attitudes. In all this, a third-generation Gamla resident differed not only from his or her grandparents but also from contemporaries in Jerusalem, where members of the upper and priestly classes were now becoming comfortable with foreign goods and more luxurious living.[34]

Over the course of the 140 years or so between the deposition of Demetrius by Jannaeus and the dispatch of Josephus to Galilee, Gamla figures only once in that historian's narratives. In 6 CE, when all Judean Jews were ordered to register themselves and their property to the new Roman authorities, Josephus reports that "a certain Judas, a Gaulanite from a city named Gamala … threw himself into the cause of rebellion … and appealed to the nation to make a bid for independence" (*Ant.* 18.4).[35] Judas left Gamla and went south; Josephus later reports that his sons James and Simon were crucified (*Ant.* 20.102) and still later, that his grandson Menachem seized Masada in the first year of the Revolt (*War* 2.433). Josephus credits Judas with "start[ing] among us an intrusive fourth school of philosophy, [which] won an abundance of devotees [and] filled the body politic with tumult" (*Ant.* 18.9).

One may wonder whether Judas left behind friends and neighbors as angry and outspoken as he or more moderate in their views. Might the changes in dining practices noted above be related to the mood of rebellion that Judas fostered and acted upon? If so, then residents apparently considered such behavior a sufficiently strong statement; in any event, their household goods reflect no more substantial protest. Over the course of another two generations, Gamla's residents continued in the brisk business of living day to day: making pottery; collecting olives and producing oil; occasionally travelling to the markets in Julias and Tiberias; observing a modicum of religious ritual; gathering for meals and meetings in the synagogue.

Upon his arrival in Galilee in the year 66 CE, Josephus noted that the citizens of Gamla still remained loyal to Rome (*Life* 46). Within the year, however, the town's leaders changed their minds and wrote Josephus to send them troops and workmen to repair the town walls (*Life* 186). Excavation has revealed how this request was fulfilled: rough fieldstones laid in between buildings form a crooked, irregular, but still continuous line the length of the town's eastern side (Syon 2002:137). Inside the new wall, more and more people gathered. Crowded together thus, life went on. Ovens were set up in the streets; people camped inside the synagogue. Though Agrippa blocked the roads to Julias, Seleucia, and Gamla to prevent supplies from reaching Galilee (*Life* 398), residents could rely on jars filled with foodstuffs. As the oldest, largest, and now

best defended town in Gaulanitis, Gamla seemed a safe haven.

In early October 67 CE, Josephus found himself looking out at the town he had helped fortify from one of the adjacent heights. Having spent considerable time there, he was well suited to describe both the place and the mood of the people inside:

> Gamala refused to surrender, relying ... confidently upon the natural difficulties of its position. From a lofty mountain there descends a rugged spur rising in the middle to a hump ... so that in form the ridge resembles a camel ... Its sides and face are cleft all round by inaccessible ravines ... The houses were built against the steep mountain flank and astonishingly huddled together one on top of the other, and this perpendicular sight gave the city the appearance of being suspended in air and falling headlong upon itself ... Its occupants felt ... such trust in their position that they would admit no more ... (*War* 4.4–7, 10).

But, as we know, they misjudged both the strength of their position and the size of the force against them. Josephus brings the long story of the siege and battle to a succinct end: "Thus on the twenty-third of the month Hyperberetaeus was Gamla taken, after a revolt which began on the twenty-fourth of Gorpiaeus" (*War* 4.83). Two women who had hidden when Roman soldiers broke through the walls were the only survivors (*War* 4.81–82). Josephus does not say so, but surely some troops and perhaps prisoners stayed behind to retrieve and bury the dead (though no burials have yet been found). Soon enough, however, everybody left. Gamla was reduced from a living place to a memory, then an old, tragic story, and finally a citation in an ancient author. Excavation was the first step in reversing that process. I hope that this publication of humble yet vibrant remains is another.

NOTES

[1] An exception is an intact semi-fine amphoriskos found in Area B, L1259 (this did not form part of any identified house unit in the area).

[2] To some extent, the ceramic evidence for occupation at Gamla in Hellenistic times accords well with the site's numismatic profile. Danny Syon has identified some 600 second-century BCE coins (including 293 from Areas B/D), with the earliest coins dating several generations prior to the earliest unequivocal ceramic evidence (Syon, forthcoming).

[3] For BSP, ESA, and semi-fine vessels at the Sanctuary of Pan, see Berlin 1999:31. Specific vessel types are catalogued in Berlin (Paneion, forthcoming [b]).

[4] For the jug see P. Lapp 1961: Type 21.1 A–C, F–H, from Bethany, Bet Ẓur, Samaria, and Shechem; P. Lapp 1968: Pl. 70:26–31, from Bethel; and Geva 2003:127, JG 1, Fig. 5.1, from the Jewish Quarter excavations in Jerusalem. For the flask see Geva 2003:128–129, FK 1–3, Fig. 5.1.

[5] *Contra* Finkielsztejn 1995:291 and 1999, where he argues that Jews did not import wine at this time, at least not in Jerusalem. If this is accepted, one would necessarily conclude that Jews did not move to Gamla until after the importation of Rhodian wine ceased, which would be around 100 BCE. This is a complicated issue, and one on which the two residual handles from Gamla hardly comprise telling evidence. See further Ariel 2000:268–269, 276–280; 2003:225; and Ariel's comments below, Chapter 6.

[6] I am indebted to Danny Syon for all information on the Gamla coins. A preliminary English account appears in Syon 1992–1993. For a comprehensive presentation see Syon, forthcoming.

[7] The lamps will be published by Shulamit Terem, Bar-Ilan University.

[8] These consist of two ESA H7 dishes in Units B4 and B10 and one ESA H29 dish in Unit B5; one imported thin-walled beaker in Unit B6; and one ledge-rim cooking bowl in Kfar Ḥananya fabric in Unit D1. See discussion above, p. 64.

[9] Danny Syon reminds me that cisterns may yet be discovered in future excavations.

[10] Interestingly, this same pattern of large numbers of small, buff fabric bowls but very few serving vessels (specifically kraters and table amphoras) characterizes the first-century BCE levels in the Upper City of Jerusalem as well (Geva 2003:125–126, 137).

[11] Casseroles are very uncommon until the end of the first century BCE in both Jerusalem (Geva 2003:135; Geva and Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2003:180–181) and Jericho (Bar-Nathan 2002:74–75). See also Berlin 2005a:437–442.

[12] The faunal evidence that will provide such information is currently being studied.

[13] For Jerusalem Upper City, Area A see Reich 2000:88–90, 96–97; for Jericho see Netzer 2001:39–43, 160–161, 167; for Gezer see Reich 1981. See also Berlin 2005a:451–453.

[14] Orssaud 1986:241, 243, Pl. 1:28–31. His few fragments come from one small sounding and are dated to the mid–late first century BCE based on their relative stratigraphic position in Levels 7 and 8, which seem to be prior to the site's major development in the last third of the first century BCE.

[15] In fact it appears that in the final weeks and days, people were encamped even in some of the streets. In the southern portions of R5 excavators uncovered three *ṭabun*s, two

complete cooking pots, and a complete ESA dish. See Syon 2002 for presentation of the evidence for refugees living throughout the town, including the synagogue.

[16] For discussion and further references see Levine 2000: 104–105, 129–131. On the identification of Parium, see Marcus' comments in Josephus *Ant.* 12–13: p. 561, note f.

[17] In the Loeb edition, Marcus argues for the reading 'banquet halls' (ανδρωνος) in favor of 'arks' (ααρωνος), which appears in one manuscript (*Ant.* 15–17: p. 273, note c).

[18] Bilde 1998 draws together much of the evidence regarding communal meals among the Essenes.

[19] In his synthesis of evidence concerning the history of the synagogue, Levine makes a strong case for it serving as an active community center in the Second Temple period, being used for group meetings, as a court and place of punishment, a welcome hostel for visitors, a school, and as a locale for communal meals (Levine 2000:128–134 and especially pp. 129–131).

[20] The lamps came from a trench placed in the center of the main hall, which had only a dirt floor since it was probably covered with rugs when in use. The contexts are therefore unsealed (Gutmann 1981; Yavor, forthcoming).

[21] In 2000, Syon and Yavor (2005) excavated a second large and apparently public building north of Area S. The plan as currently revealed includes an entry porch that leads to a long hall, which in turn has doorways to larger rooms on either side. The side piers of the porch carry base moldings, and scattered among the debris immediately south are fragments of upper moldings and capitals. I am grateful to Dr. Syon for showing me the excavations and permitting me to comment on them here.

[22] Hand-carved cylindrical mugs comprise a full 48% of the entire corpus of chalk vessels found at the site (Gibson 2003: 304–305).

[23] Harrington 1995; Hengel and Deines 1995:45–51; Regev 2000a:230–234, 2000b:181–186; Magen 2002:147. *Contra* Sanders 1990:131–254 and Cahill 1992:232–233. See also Berlin 2005a:429–434.

[24] I have discussed this issue at length elsewhere (Berlin 2002c), where it was concluded that the disappearance of ESA should be read as a social protest against encroaching Roman rule. I continue to believe that the adoption by northern Jews of a new and very simple style of group dining in part communicated disaffection from Roman *mores*. As can be seen from my further discussion here, however, I now believe that this is not the only factor at work. See Berlin 2005a:445–448, 466–469.

[25] Adan-Bayewitz 1993:87–109, Form 1, with Variants a–e, produced until the fifth century CE.

[26] For Jerusalem frescoes, see Avigad 1980:149 and Figs. 166–174. For Roman-style ESA, see Slane 1997:273–274. For the dependence on Roman models of the thin-walled drinking vessels and triangular-rim casserole produced at Binyane Ha-'Umma, see Berlin 2005b:39–42. For the similarities of many chalk dishes to Roman sigillata dishes, see Magen 2002:65–66 (Bowl Form 1), 68 (Bowl Form 2), 69–71 (Bowl Form 3.vi).

[27] For illustrations, see Gutmann 1994:128, 146. Similar wall frescoes are known at Yodefat, a town in western Galilee (Rochman 1997: photograph on p. 26).

[28] Fourteen fragmentary Pompeian Red Ware pans and seven lids, in Areas R and S; see Unit R2b-5, 6, 8 (Fig. 4.6:5, 6, 8). Rosenthal-Heginbottom draws the same conclusion for Jerusalem based on the occurrence of Roman-style pans from the Jewish Quarter excavations (2003:217).

[29] For Jericho see Netzer 2001:334–345; for 'En Boqeq see Fischer, Gichon, and Tal 2000, especially pp. 6–16, 93–126, and 143–144. The excavators of 'En Boqeq conclude that the site was established by Herod the Great and expanded by Agrippa I (pp. 137–142); I believe that it was a Nabatean establishment, probably begun under Aretas IV (Berlin 2002a). For Roman knowledge and admiration of Jordan Valley unguents, see Pliny *NH* 12.112–123; for Roman control of the market in balsam oil especially, see Cotton and Eck 1997.

[30] Berlin 2005b:39–42. Gamla residents acquired a few of the Binyane Ha-'Umma casseroles; they appear in the household inventories of Units R1, R5, R7, and R17; see R1-18, R1-19, and R5-22 (Figs. 4.1:18, 19 and 2.16:17).

[31] See Avshalom-Gorni and Getzov 2002:76–79 and Figs. 5.1, 5.2 for a presentation of both Phoenician and Galilean jars of the first centuries BCE and CE.

[32] Examples include east Greek *lydia*, broad-rimmed mushroom-shaped ointment jars and various forms of Mediterranean transport jars (e.g., Chian wine amphoras and Roman garum jars). See Curtis 1979, 1984–1986:212; Berlin 1997b:68–69; and Lawall 1998:90–97, for discussion of these specific examples.

[33] For Capernaum see Loffreda 1974:26–27 and Fig. 1:1 (Type A1) The offset-lip jar is the only non-residual jar type illustrated from the site's first-century CE groups (Figs. 30:1; 31:1; 33:3, 4, 8; 34:1, 2; 36:1; 37:1, 2; 39:1; 41:1, 43:1).

[34] In a chapter specifically comparing Galilean with Judean Judaism, Martin Goodman characterized the contribution of archaeological evidence as "unhelpful, for insufficient investigation has been undertaken on first-century Galilean sites" (1999:612). The very detailed evidence from Gamla will now allow for more substantive and conclusive discussion. See further Berlin 2005a:442–470.

[35] See Schürer ([rev. ed.] 1973:598–606) and Rhoads (1976:47–60) for full discussions of these issues. Kennard (1945–1946) argued that our Judas was the same as the Judas, son of the bandit-chief Hezekiah, who upon the death of Herod in 4 BCE "raised a considerable band of followers, broke open the royal arsenals [at Sepphoris], and having armed his companions, attacked the other aspirants to power" (*War* 2.56). Kennard's arguments persuaded Feldman, the editor of the Loeb Josephus vol. IX (*Ant.* 18–20: p. 5, note d) and most subsequent commentators. I continue to agree with Thackeray, the editor of the Loeb Josephus vol. II (*War* 1–3, p. 367), who said simply that "there is no sufficient reason for identifying this fanatic … with the brigand Judas, son of Ezechias", and Smallwood (1981:153, n. 40), who provides cogent objections on both chronological and substantive grounds.