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Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine

On the cover: Early explorers Peters and Thiersch excavated the Sidonian tomb at Marisha in 1902. The first discovered, this second-century BCE tomb turned out to be the largest and most lavishly embellished of the necropolis. Its painted friezes portray hunting scenes with both real and fantastic animals. *Photo by Richard T. Nowitz.*

Between Large Forces

Palestin

The Sidonian tomb at Mareshah: the interior of the central hall of the largest and most elaborately decorated of the painted tombs found at Mareshah. The doorway at the rear leads to three individual large chambers; the lintel of the southern one carries the epitaph of Apollophanes, who led the town's Sidonian colony. The tomb's painted friezes include both real and fantastic animals, some of which are named ("leopard," "ibis"), wreaths, eagles, and tables carrying prize oil-amphoras—these last are modeled on the famous Panathenaic amphoras of Athens. *Photo by Richard T. Nowitz.*

in the Hellenistic Period

By Andrea M. Berlin

In 332 BCE Alexander the Great led his army south from Cilicia towards Egypt. Although his ultimate goal was Persepolis, the capital of the Persian empire, he realized that proceeding there directly would open his flank to attack from the southwestern Persian satrapies. Egypt was the strongest of these, from both a military and an economic standpoint, and its conquest could not be delayed. Alexander thus turned down the *Via Maris* and led his Macedonian forces through Phoenicia, the coastal plain of Palestine, and the northern stretches of Sinai. With this juncture of military and topographical coincidence, the Persian period in Palestine ended and the Hellenistic period began.

An historical period is usually delineated by specific political events, which often do not affect or coincide with the continual eddies and swirls of ordinary life. In the case of the Hellenistic period, its inaugural and subsequent military clashes comprise the bulk of most historical reconstructions. In order to assess what life was actually like in Hellenistic Palestine, however, the full range of the archaeological evidence also needs to be incorporated. This study presents the period's material and architectural remains, analyzes changes in settlement patterns, and evaluates each region's material culture, in order to understand how the inhabitants in various parts of the country lived, and how their lives changed. Looking outside of the historian's agonistic filter, the country appears to have been largely peaceful. Up until the end of this period, most residents became increasingly wealthy and cosmopolitan. The most common effect of the many campaigns fought in and over the region was simply the abandonment or repopulation of certain areas. Lifestyles and routes of exchange continued in the patterns of previous centuries, because they were ordered by two forces more fundamental and long-lived than battle formations: commercial opportunity and religious affiliation.

> Palestine possesses also harbors, well-situated, which supply its needs, that at Ascalon and Joppa, and Gaza as well as Ptolemais, founded by the king….
>
> Letter of Aristeas 115
>
> Well, ours is not a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us.
>
> Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1.60

Background: Devastation and Recovery (586–301 BCE)

Alexander the Great would probably take poorly to the notion that his were not the decisive campaigns in this region's history. Nevertheless, the archaeological record is unequivocal: the era's most devastating events were the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests of Israel and Judah in the late eighth and early sixth centuries BCE. Their battles left a swath of material effluvium in the form of massive destruction deposits (e.g., Lachish) and collections of weaponry (e.g., Jerusalem). The broadly depopulated zones of Samaria and Judea reflect the consequent exiles of thousands of people. These two human-made events carried the force of natural disaster, at least partially severing the developmental continuum of the preceding centuries. The patterns of the next centuries would be determined by the form and direction of the eventual recovery.

That recovery came from two different sources, for two different reasons. Traders and colonizers were the first source, coming by sea, some from the Greek world, but most from Phoenicia. The entire length of the Palestinian coast was in fact divied up between the southern Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon, a politically clever machination on the part of the Persian king. So the jurisdiction of Tyre extended as far south as Akko (and its hinterland), while the plain between Dor and Joppa was Sidonian, and Ashkelon was again under Tyrian control (E. Stern 1982:238-43; 1995a:432). In this manner, the Palestinian coastal plain was repopulated, turning its face and tying its fate to the currents of the Mediterranean. The cities depended on the agricultural health of their territories for subsistence, but upon small industry and trade for their prosperity.

The Persian administration in the east provided the second source of recovery. Benificent and tolerant rulers

singled out the Jews for repatriation, allowing the exiles to return to Judah and Jerusalem. There they rebuilt not only the temple, but significantly also the city walls. The Jews constituted a religious enclave, with their lives centered around the rebuilt temple and its prescribed rites and duties. Beyond subsistence farming, they pursued only those crafts whose products were of ritual use (see list of professions in Neh 3).

The archaeological remains of the Persian period are thus understandably of two sorts. On the coast, settlement concentrated in cities and large villages, including Nahariya, Akko, Shiqmona, Dor, Tel Mikhmoret, Tel Michal, Joppa, Yavneh-Yam, Tel Mor, Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza. These were bustling with various small industries, including dye installations (found at Dor, Tel Michal, Apollonia-Arsuf, and Tel Mor), wine presses (found at Tel Michal), and commercial storehouses (found at Ashkelon). Mediterranean traders came and went, bringing beautifully painted pottery from Athens and east Greece, sculpture from Cyprus, metal and ivory handiwork from Phoenicia—goods that enlivened the material world of these coastal settlements (Stager 1991a; E. Stern 1993, 1995a).

In the central hills, on the other hand, there was but one city: Jerusalem. Small farmsteads dotted the region; settlement was fragmented and dispersed; few villages can be identified. This area's material remains were poor and simple, the buildings largely unadorned. Lifestyles were untouched by the sophisticated goods available in the coastal plain (E. Stern 1981).

This was the scenario in the days before Alexander's army swept through the land. And after the flames died down and the dust had settled, this is the pattern that largely reasserted itself.

Still Waters: A Subject Land (331–200 BCE)

Alexander met his objective of subduing and taking Egypt in 332/1 BCE. Reversing his route of the previous year, he made for Persepolis as directly as possible. This took him back through Palestine, where he stopped just long enough to assign a second new governor to the former Persian satrapal seat at Samaria. According to one ancient source, unhappy residents had killed his first appointee, one Andromachus (Curtius Rufus 4.8.9-10). The rebels, who had fled upon Alexander's return, were hunted down and killed in turn. This we know from archaeological finds: their remains, along with some pottery, legal documents, and two official bullae, were found by a Bedouin in 1962, in a cave in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh, some miles north of Jericho (Lapp and Lapp 1974).

Alexander took and burned Persepolis within the year, and continued east to India, where his army refused to go any further. Reversing again, he got as far as Babylon. His death there in 323 ignited a firestorm of tactical maneuvering by his generals that lasted for the next twenty-two years. Phoenicia and Palestine were particularly coveted, for their role as a geographical buffer as well as for the economic strength of their coastal cities and harbors. It was not until 301 that something of a settlement was concluded. Two of these generals, Ptolemy and Seleucus, had taken Egypt and Asia, respectively. They divided the intermediate zone between them, with Ptolemy holding Palestine and southern/central Phoenicia (as far north as Aradus) and Seleucus controlling northern Phoenicia and Syria.

Limited but vivid archaeological evidence of these skirmishes remains in the form of conflagration levels at Ashkelon and Dor. These attest to the importance various generals placed upon coastal holdings. More impressive, however, is the almost immediate return to comfort and prosperity throughout this region. Commercial opportunities resumed, afforded by trade in imported goods and the products of local agriculture (including wheat and wine) and small industry (e.g., purple dye). After their takeover, the Ptolemies did impose a new and rigorous economic policy that taxed most commercial transactions, including the exchange of a wide array of goods (see above box). In Egypt itself, Ptolemy I established an official depot for receiving Palestinian

An Outstretched Hand: Ptolemaic Economic Policies

For most residents of Palestine during the third century BCE, livelihood was affected by at least one of three administrative policies: the regulation and heavy taxation imposed on all commercial exchange; tax farming; and royal ownership of good agricultural land ("King's Land"). While this last was in large part inherited from the previous Persian administration, the first two were Ptolemaic innovations. Taxation regulations are particularly interesting for what information they provide on regional commercial activities. One of the Zenon papyri (P. Cairo Zen. 59.012) contained a detailed account of goods imported into Egypt from Syria, according to the rates of taxes levied, respectively 50%, 33⅓ %, 25%, and 20% (Austin 1981:407-10). The list notably included items from around the Aegean, imported and reshipped from Phoenicia, e.g., the honey is specified as from Theangela, Rhodes, Attica, Lycia, and Coracesia. The variety of goods emphasizes the important position of this coast in the eastern Mediterranean economy.

Items taxed at 50%
- grape syrup
- filtered wine
- ordinary wine
- white oil

Items taxed at 33 ⅓ %
- Chian wine
- Thasian wine
- dried figs

Items taxed at 25%
- Chian cheese
- fish (dried, pickled, salted)
- wild boar meat
- Goat-meat
- Samian earth
- nuts (Pontic and "hard")
- pomegranate seeds
- sponges (hard and soft)
- honey

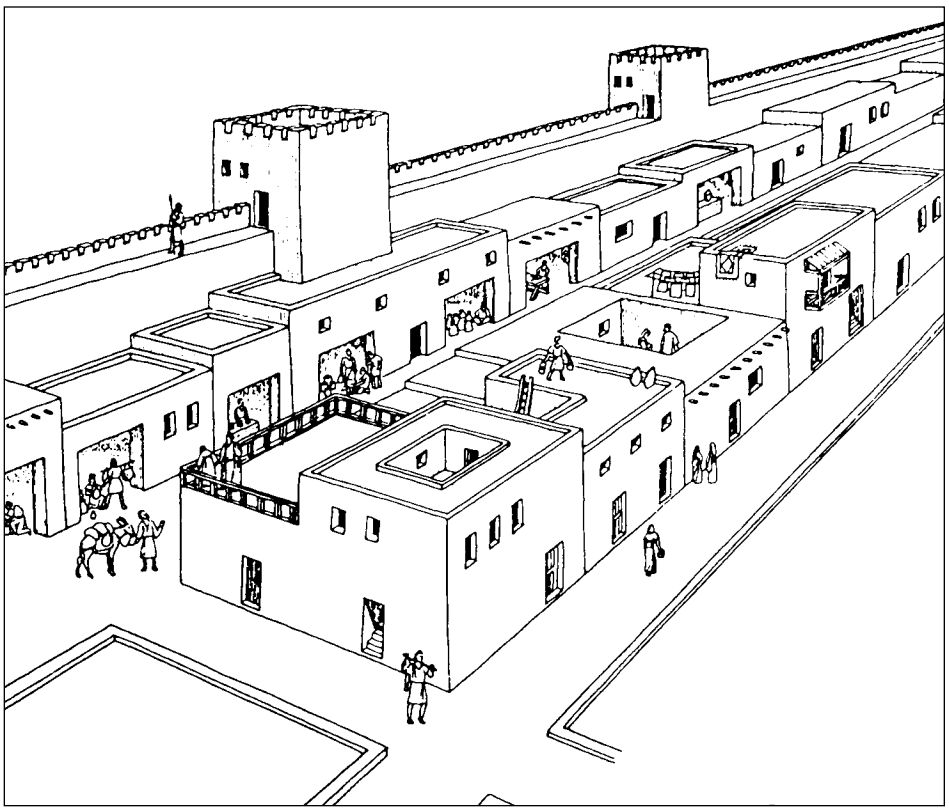
Items taxed at 20%
- pure wool

§ **Coin of Ptolemy I:** a silver tetradrachm found at Dor. Ptolemy's initial coinage carried the image of Alexander on the obverse, and the Ptolemaic eagle on the reverse. Beginning in 301 BCE, however, he replaced Alexander's profile with his own, creating a dramatic statement of independent power and imperial position. *Photo courtesy E. Stern.*

˜ **Dor's fortification wall** depicted in this graphic reconstruction. Built over an earlier wall line, this third-century BCE construction was especially formidable, measuring two m wide at its height. *From Stern 1995b: fig. 4.3.*

products at Pelusium and stationed a special supervisor for "the revenues of Syria and Phoenicia" in Alexandria (both are mentioned in the Zenon papyri, which recount an Egyptian official's "tour of duty" in 260/59 BCE). In Phoenicia and Palestine, new customs houses were built at Akko (now renamed Ptolemais) and Gaza, and Ptolemaic coins were minted at Gaza, Joppa, Akko-Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon (Mørkholm 1983:242). The new controls had little or no dampening effect on the settlement and economy of the coastal region. At almost every site with Persian period settlement, occupation continued, uninterrupted in character, into the following century. Excavations have revealed material prosperity and broad trading connections.

At Ashkelon, three large blocks of villas rose in an area of former seaside warehouses. Excavators unearthed wine amphoras from Rhodes and Italy and fine glazed table wares from Greece, Italy, and Chios. At Tel Mor, the harbor settlement for the coastal town of Ashdod, archaeologists uncovered a sumptuous residential area with numerous installations for purple dye manufacture. Farther up the coast, at Dor, residents rebuilt a huge residential district precisely tracing the orthogonal street plan and wall lines of the Persian period houses. Construction adopted a distinctive Phoenician style called "pier-and-rubble," in which tall monolithic ashlars alternated with tightly packed stone fills. In addition to houses, third century remains included streets of shopfronts and tools and installations for the manufacture of cloth and of purple dye. The city's residents enjoyed a particularly rich material culture: their tables were set with fine imported dishes; their pantries were filled with wine amphoras from Rhodes and Knidos; and their personal effects included earrings and rings of gold and silver and pendants of faience and bone in an Egypto-Phoenician style.



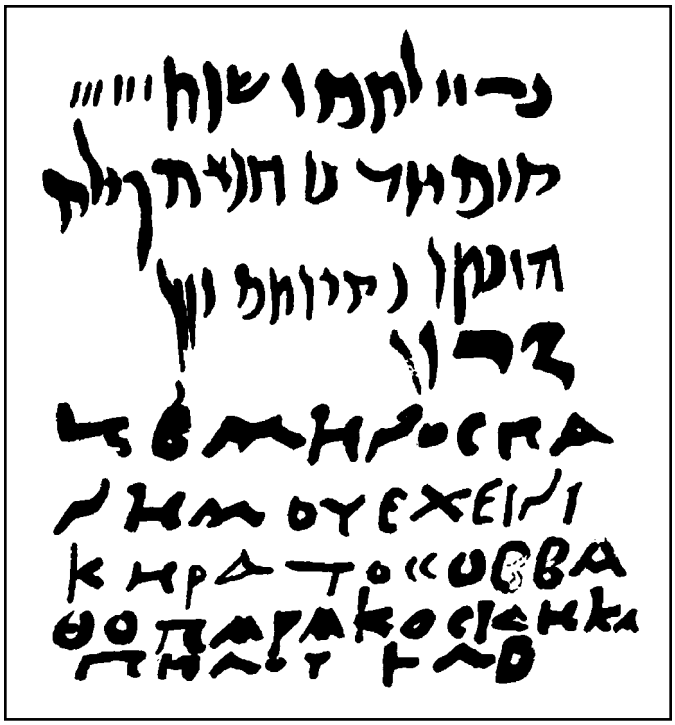
Dor had been a dependency of Sidon in the Persian period, and its Phoencian connections remained strong even after the region came under Ptolemaic rule. The city's new fortification wall represented the only significant physical change. All previous defensive lines had been of Phoenician construction techniques, the most recent rebuilding coming after the Sidonian revolt from the Persians in 348 BCE. A century later, though this wall was still standing, a new one was built, in a different technique. The Hellenistic wall was constructed entirely of stone, mostly one-meter long kurkar blocks laid with their narrow ends facing out (a style called "header" construction). A series of large square towers projected out from the wall at forty meter intervals. Excavations in one wall sector uncovered material of the mid-third century BCE sealed below,

dating its construction shortly thereafter (E. Stern 1995:440-41).

Southern Palestine possessed a number of settlements prior to Alexander's conquest, mostly in the Shephelah. Several large storehouse sites, including Tell Jemmeh, Tell Nagila, and Tell el-Hesi occcupied this region of low hills adjacent to the coastal plain. In the course of the upheavels of the fourth century BCE, these sites, in conjuction with Ashkelon, then the area's major harbor, had taken on additional strategic importance. The administrative changes of the Egypt-based Ptolemies caused some shifts in the settlement patterns and local economies of both this area and the adjacent ones of the northern Negev and Idumaea. The development of Gaza as the region's major mercantile center was the most important change. The city's numismatic record well illustrates this situation: its third century BCE issues numbered eight different types (Rappaport 1970). Gaza's new-found status is further reflected by the Zenon papyri, in which every long-distance caravan mentioned comes and goes from the site. Presumably its warehouse facilities would have obviated those at Jemmah, Nagila, and Hesi. Excavations at each of these sites have found little or no evidence of occupation later than the later fourth century (on Hesi see most recently Betlyon 1991:40-43).

The Gaza customs house served as a protected and dedicated outlet to the lucrative Egyptian market, in which demand was especially high for wheat, oil, wine, spices, and slaves (as amply reflected in the Zenon papyri). In apparent response to this opportunity, a string of new settlements appeared at this time along the Negev's northern rim. Surveys and excavations have identified third century BCE remains at Nessana, Elusa, Oboda, and Moyat ʿAwad (Moʾa). This last was a small fortress, interpreted as a guard station and stopover on the route from Petra to Gaza. In fact, all of these new Negev sites were road stations, founded and peopled by Nabateans—a folk who just now entered the historical record (Negev 1977:522-27). Diodorus Siculus, quoting Hieronymus of Cardia's description from the end of the fourth century BCE, delineates Nabatean territory as the eastern sector of the region between Egypt and Syria. He identifies some Nabateans as pastoralists, raising camels and sheep, but many more as traders, "accustomed to bring down to the sea frankincense and myrrh and the most valuable kinds of spices" (Diodorus Siculus 19.94.4-5).

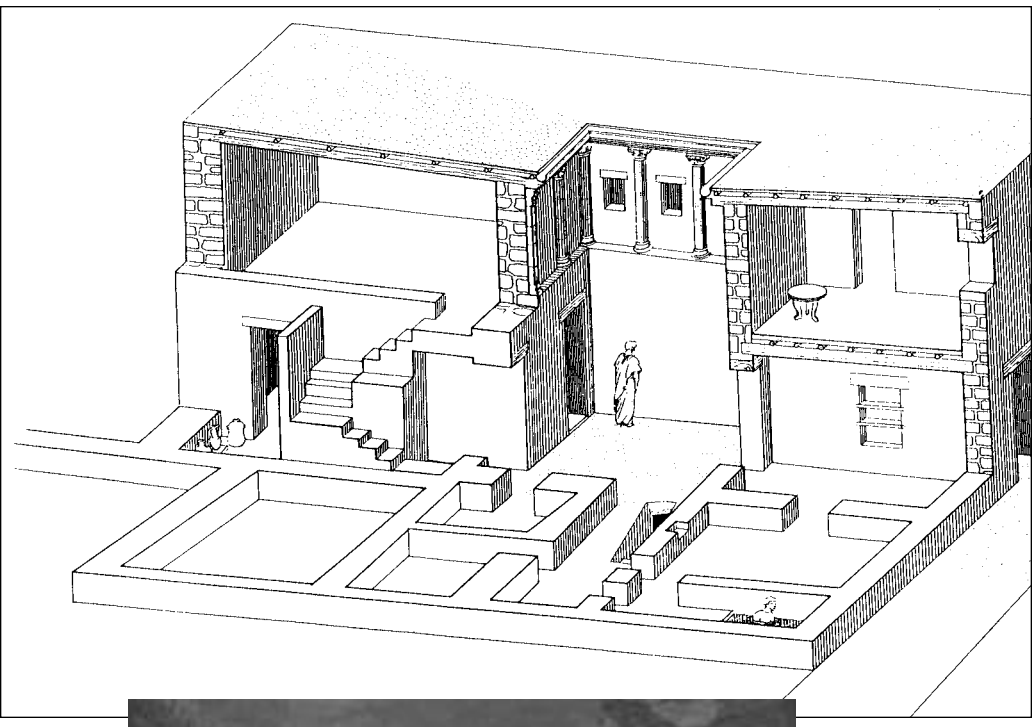
In Idumaea, new or newly enlarged settlements appeared in the third century BCE as well. This area was underpopulated in the Persian period; the development of Ptolemaic markets led to its economic transformation. At Aderet, a salvage excavation in 1980 revealed a large farm, newly built in the third century BCE (the date is based on coins and pottery found). Installations included presses for both wine and olive oil. At Khirbet el-Qôm, a small village site, diggers found six ostraca from the late fourth and early third centuries BCE on the packed earth floor of a house excavated in a salvage operation in 1971. All were apparently business dockets. The longest possessed nine lines and was written



Kh. el-Qôm bilingual ostracon. Using a large, flattish pottery fragment, probably from a storage jar, a third century BCE writer recorded this loan and receipt in Aramaic and Greek, respectively. In each language, the first line records the date ("Year 6"), and the last line the amount (32 drachmas). The middle of the Aramaic section records that "Qôs-Yada the money-lender loaned to Nikeratos"; the middle of the Greek says that "Nikeratos received from Koside." Year 6 refers to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, giving a date of 277 BCE. *Drawing from Geraty 1975:56.*

in both Aramaic and Greek in the sixth year of Ptolemy II, i.e. 277 BCE. It recorded a loan of thirty-two drachmas from an Idumaean shopkeeper/moneylender named Qôs-yada to a Greek named Nikeratos. Both the subject and the language of this ostracon are important: the first provides primary evidence for the monetarization of the local economy, and the second illustrates the region's multilingual character (Geraty 1975).

The most impressive settlement of third century Idumaea was Mareshah (Marisa). Though not a new establishment, Mareshah was neither large nor of any economic importance prior to the Ptolemaic settlement. By the mid third century BCE, however, Mareshah had become thriving market town; in the Zenon papyri slaves, grain, and oil were bought and sold there. This new status resulted directly from the site's location. Mareshah sat about forty-five km from Gaza, an easy day's journey inland—convenient for both traders and government officials en route to and from that major port. Moreover, as an established stop on the way to sites further east, it anchored an "official" east-west road, roughly parallel to and only about fifty km north of the Nabatean desert route. Though the texts do not mention it, archaeological finds make clear that Mareshah served also as a vital



Marisa, southern house, reconstruction. This cut-away reconstruction drawing illustrates features shared by most of the Hellenistic houses at Marisa: side-street entrance way, central, open-air courtyard, classical-style stucco pilasters, capacious upper storey. Also visible is the open stairwell descending to the quarried-out cave below the house. These subterranean spaces were used as cisterns, as well as for storage rooms, olive presses, and columbaria (for raising pigeons). *From NEAEHL, s.v. Mareshah.*

Marisa, underground columbarium. This view inside one of the columbaria carved underground at Marisa shows the neatly stacked roosting holes that provided breeding space for pigeons. More than sixty such columbaria have been found at Marisa; the number of niches is between fifty and sixty thousand. Excavation has shown that the industry declined already towards the end of the third century BCE, and by the beginning of the second century the columbaria were either abandoned or transformed into stables. *From NEAEHL, s.v. Mareshah.*

point in the country's southern defensive line (see further, below).

Mareshah was one of the first Hellenistic sites to be excavated in Palestine. Bliss and Macalister partially cleared the acropolis in 1900. A few years later excavators discovered and cleaned several groups of Hellenistic painted tombs; these remain both the most exotic and most important Hellenistic necropoli to have been found in Palestine (see further below). As with most old excavation sites, however, for years all that could be seen of this once vital town were rolling fields of wildflowers and occasional outcrops of the underlying soft, chalky limestone, or *nari*. That is no longer the case: since 1988, renewed excavations have revealed a large and prosperous town, with a material prosperity and abundance of "western" goods that place its residents on the same economic and cultural footing as those of Ashkelon and Dor. In the third century, Mareshah anchored an Idumaea that was an extension of the coastal region, with commercial opportunity defining the economy of its settlements.

Today visitors to Mareshah can pass by the wild flowers and on into some of the large, well-equipped houses that surround the lower slopes and bottom of the acropolis. Inhabitants built these houses of blocks of the local *nari* and arranged them in rows of three or four, with party walls between them. Their plans are typically Levantine, with windowless exterior walls and a central courtyard open to the high bright sun. The houses contained an unusual feature situated to one side of the courtyard: a small stepped plastered basin that may have functioned simply as a semi-private bath or had ritual uses. Other interior arrangements reflected Mediterranean tastes: stucco Ionic pilasters and beaded mouldings adorned courtyard walls, and pantries were loaded with wine amphoras imported from Aegean islands. A high proportion of the household pottery, especially the table wares (such as plates, bowls, and drinking cups), was imported

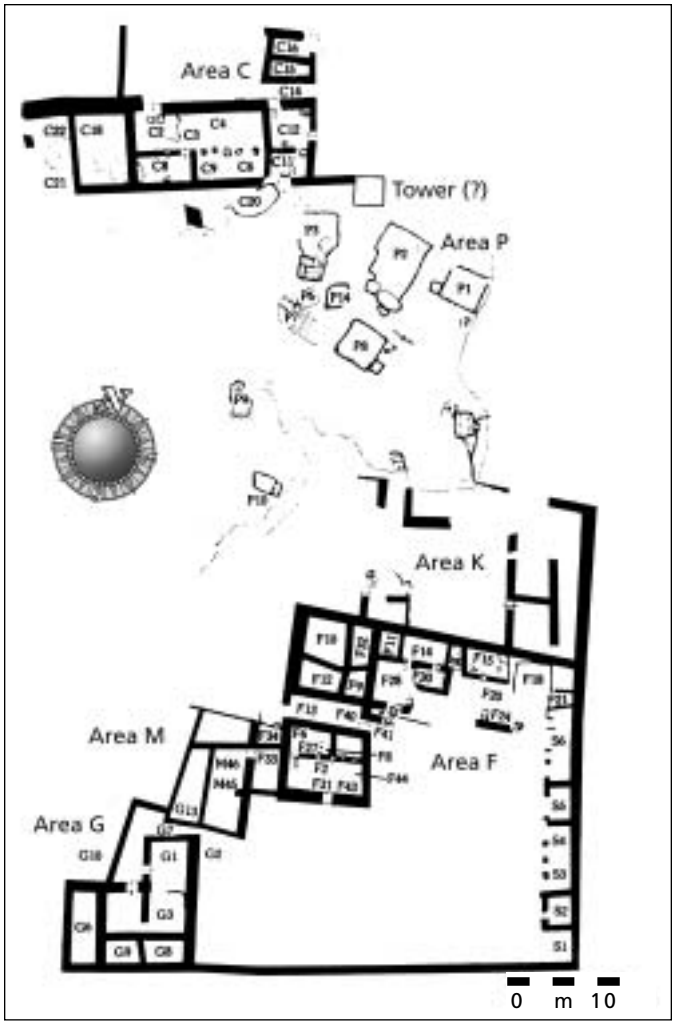
as well, probably from Alexandria, though good locally produced imitations also appeared.

The most fascinating discovery of the new excavations was the extent and arrangement of the town's underground levels. Inside each house, a small central stairway descended into a vast, interconnected series of chambers, comprising a basement living system unique to Mareshah. Residents apparently situated their houses immediately over quarried-out chambers, which they then used for additional rooms, bathing installations, and ritual spaces; as stables, cisterns, and dry storage holds; and to house oil presses. Other subterranean chambers, nearby but unconnected, were used as columbaria (dovecotes). In fact, much of Mareshah's underground levels was given over to workings for two of the town's major industries—olive oil production and the raising of doves. The sale of products from the chambers below at least partially supported the prosperity evident in the houses above.

These finds augment the evidence for the local economy given in the Zenon papyri. Mareshah manufactured a tremendous quantity of olive oil: more than twenty beam presses have been found, with an estimated annual output of 270 tons of oil. In order to supply the necessary fruit, most of the surrounding hills must have been planted in olive trees, and a significant proportion of the town's residents must have been occupied in various aspects of the production. The magnitude of dove breeding was also astounding: more than sixty columbaria have been identified, containing in all some fifty to sixty thousand niches in which individual birds could roost. Doves were commonly raised in Egypt since Dynastic times (and the practice continued well into the Roman period); at Mareshah, the industry was probably developed under Ptolemaic auspices. This would explain why most of the dovecotes went out of use at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century BCE, since it is precisely at this time that control of the country passed from the Ptolemies to the Seleucids.

The new excavations have also traced the extent and clarified the dating of the town's fortification system. Builders erected a huge and deep-founded tower at the northwest corner of the acropolis, part of a defensive line along the entire north side, in ca. 300 BCE. This early date, just a few decades after the death of Alexander, makes this one of the very first defensive structures built by Ptolemy I. Its construction is understandable in light of Mareshah's strategic situation. The site not only served as a southern bulwark against possible Nabataean hostility pushing north from the desert, but it protected east-west access from the coast. The fortified acropolis at Mareshah lies at the western end of a line linking the coast to the Dead Sea. Continuing east, a traveler (or group of soldiers) could arrive next at Beth Zur and then Arad. Both sites witnessed new defensive constructions in the third century BCE.

Throughout the third century BCE, the central hills continued for the most part thinly populated. The material culture of their few settlements was largely uninfluenced by the elaborate array of goods available on the coast (Harrison 1994:106-7). As in the preceding period, patterns of settlement and industry depended more on religious affiliation rather than simple economic opportunity. Jerusalem continued to be the only city in Judea, and the archaeological evidence shows it to have been small and materially rather poor throughout the third century (Avigad 1984:135). Residents occupied only the City of David ridge south of the Temple Mount. Finds in this area included a few imported saucers and bowls (though no examples of the fancier table wares of Italy, Greece, or the Aegean), but most of the pottery was local in manufacture and utilitarian in function. In a letter sent to the council of elders shortly after he took Jerusalem at the end of the third century, Antiochus III commented twice on the city's underpopulation. He enumerated a series of pensions and taxation discharges, dispensed so that the citizens might "retrieve the condition of their city." These benefits included:



Plan of Qalandiyeh. The size and arrangement of buildings at Qalandiyeh reveal a communal settlement organized around specific activities. In their earlier phases, Areas C and F (southern and central) were equipped for the manufacture and storage of wine. Towards the end of the period, however, both areas became pens for sheep and cattle. *Plan from NEAEHL, s.v. Qalandiyeh.*

> for their sacrifices of animals,… for wine and oil, and frankincense, the value of 20,000 pieces of silver, and [six] sacred artabrae of fine flour, with 1460 mendimni of wheat, and 375 mendimni of salt…and for the materials of wood, let it be brought out of Judea itself, and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus, tax free; and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious; and let all that nation live…discharged from poll-money and the crown tax, and other taxes also…(*Ant*. 12.140-42).

This picture of general deprivation reflected by the archaeological finds and further supported by the comments of Antiochus probably did not apply to every citizen of third-century Jerusalem. The religious elite, for example, must have enjoyed a greater material prosperity. This, at least, is supported by the words of the third-century aristocratic author of Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth):

***YHD* stamped handle.** These stamps occur only on the handles of larger jars. Such vessels would have contained grain, oil, or wine collected as "taxes in kind." *Photo from Lapp 1963:25.*

> I built houses for myself, I planted vineyards for myself; I made gardens and parks for myself, and I planted in them all kinds of fruit trees; I made ponds of water for myself from which to irrigate a forest of growing trees. I bought male and female slaves, and I had homeborn slaves. Also I possessed flocks and herds larger than all who preceded me in Jerusalem. Also, I collected for myself silver and gold, and the treasure of kings and provinces. I provided for myself male and female singers and the pleasures of men—many concubines (Eccl 2:4-8).

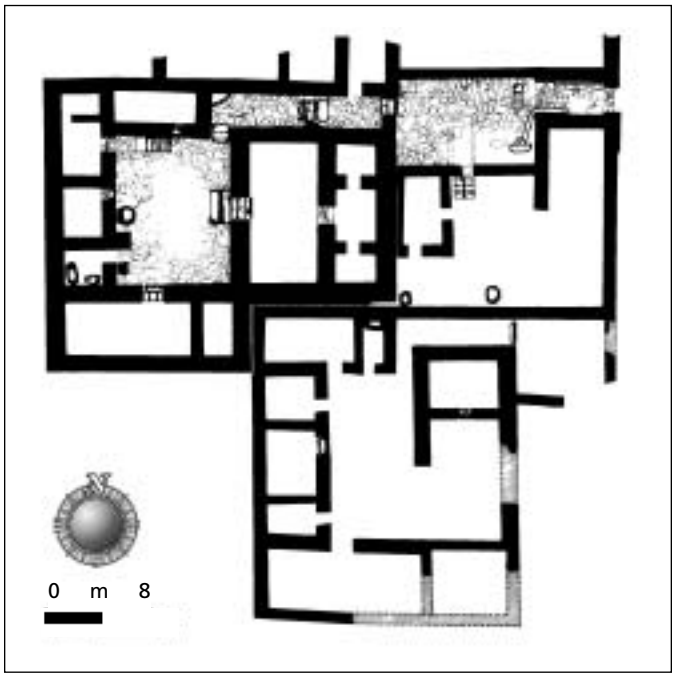
Perhaps the author enjoyed his comforts at some as-yet-undiscovered settlement in the countryside. In any case, Ecclesiastes's description evidences the Jerusalem aristocracy's ownership of large estates worked with slave labor. Such a situation finds further support in a Judean administrative document, also of the mid-third century, which describes the illicit possession of slaves (Applebaum 1989:31-32). This "new class of landlords" would have resided in Jerusalem, but lived off of sales from their agricultural estates. Literary evidence of their personal prosperity notwithstanding, the archaeological record indicates that greater material prosperity came to Jerusalem's residents only in the later third and early second centuries BCE.

Outside of Jerusalem, the few third century BCE settlements that have been found in Judea, such as Bethel and Qalandiyeh, lay within two to three hours walk of the city. Bethel was the site of a small town during the Persian period; four seasons of excavation there recovered only scattered third-century sherds, but no buildings (Kelso 1968). Qalandiyeh, on the other hand, was newly settled in the third century BCE. It was a fairly large establishment, devoted exclusively to the manufacture of wine. Excavations there in 1978 and 1981 recovered extensive equipment, including six large beam presses (similar to the ones found at Mareshah), several treading floors, refuse basins, stone weights, and numerous storage. Profit realized from this production did not lead to a materially elaborate lifestyle: locally made, utilitarian pottery comprised the greater part of the residents' household goods. The population of Qalandiyeh was Jewish, as evidenced by the discovery there of at least one ritual bath.

In Judea, the scarcity of mercantile enterprise made the Ptolemaic policy of directly taxing commercial exchange unrenumerative. The government therefore depended for the bulk of its revenues on two other procedures, both inherited from the preceding Persian administration: a simple annual tax, collected by the High Priest of the temple in Jerusalem (*Ant*. 12.158); and "taxation in kind," whereby staple goods such as oil, wine, and wheat were allocated directly. A dual series of stamped jar handles reflect the administration of the latter system. Both series derive from third-century storage jars of local manufacture. In fact, the handles can be dated precisely because they are identical in form and fabric to unstamped jar handles of the same period. Handles of the first group are stamped with a circular impression containing the letters *YHD* in paleo-Hebrew script. Handles of the second group are similar, but inside the circle is a star with five spiked points and the letters *YRSLM* between the spikes. *YHD* designates *Yehud*, the name of the province of Judea under both the Persian and the Ptolemaic administrations. The *YHD* stamp possibly identified jars containing taxes in kind for the king. *YRSLM* is the city of Jerusalem (the spiked star is identified as the symbol of the High Priest), suggesting that jars so designated were meant for Temple ritual (Lapp 1963). About one hundred stamped handles, evenly divided between the two types, have been found; all but a few have come from excavated contexts in and around Jerusalem itself.

Another epigraphic find from Jerusalem may further reflect the collection of taxes in kind. A small, fragmentary ostracon contains three short lines of script in Aramaic: "chick peas, crushed/sacks (of) pine nuts/fodder" (Cross 1981). Closely paralleling those of the Khirbet el-Qôm ostraca, the letter forms indicate a mid-third-century BCE date. Excavators found the ostracon in a pool south of the Temple Mount, together with *YHD* and *YRSLM* stamped handles and a coin of Antiochus III (late third century BCE).

In the northern hills, the only sizable third century BCE settlements of any size were Samaria and Shechem. At the first, a Macedonian garrison had been put in place already in the late fourth century BCE. The soldiers probably built at least three round towers to strengthen the already existing fortification wall. As with the new Hellenistic wall at Dor, the towers were constructed of large ashlar blocks laid in headers; this technique, which is not native, comprises the evidence for dating. Large-scale excavations conducted at Samaria (1908-1910, 1935-1938) uncovered few third-century remains; one beautifully carved inscription recording a dedication to Serapis and Isis by Hegesander, Xenarchis, and their children, indicates the existence of a temple somewhere on the site (Crowfoot, Crowfoot, and Kenyon 1957:37, no. 13).

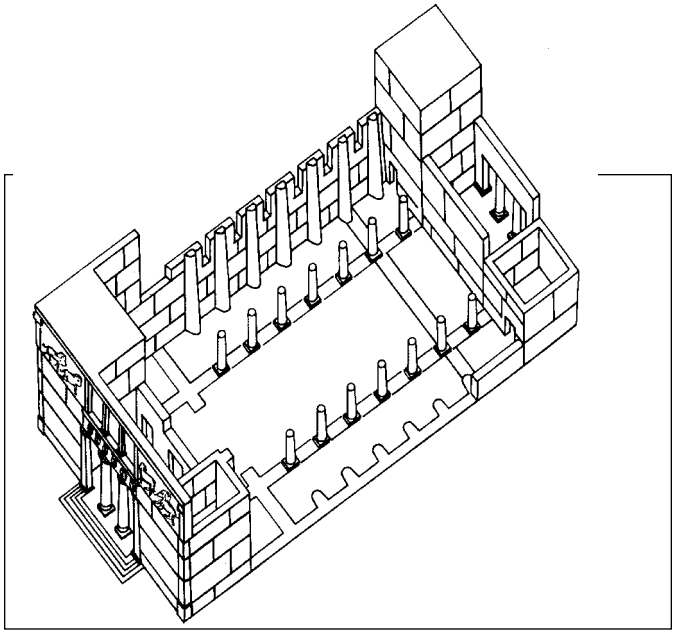


Houses at Mt. Gerizim. One three-part building complex constructed within the fortified compound on the southern slopes of Mt. Gerizim. The southern and western structures are both residences built around a central paved courtyard. Each is equipped with a cistern and a separate bath room. The eastern structure is a service building with two large rooms: an upper paved court, and a lower room with a beaten earth floor, where the cooking was done. F*rom NEAEHL, s.v. Gerizim, Mount.*

Just south of Samaria, Shechem was the second significant settlement of the northern hills. Seven excavation seasons (1957-1968) recovered evidence for four phases of Hellenistic occupation (Toombs and Wright 1961). Settlers reoccupied Shechem in the late fourth century after a period of abandonment. They may have been Samaritans evicted from Samaria at the time of the establishment of the pagan garrison there (Wright 1962 and most scholars since, but see Isaac 1991:143 and n. 46). Shechem thus represented another, albeit schismatic, religious community. Its third-century remains are notable for the extent of both domestic and defensive constructions. The latter included a new city wall made from quantities of soil piled up on top of the cleared Middle Bronze Age circuit. Inside were several courtyard houses with stone walls and flagstone or plastered floors. As at Jerusalem and Qalandiyeh, the residents' material goods largely consisted of local pottery vessels. Imported wares were scarce, and niceties such as architectural or artistic embellishments were lacking. No evidence of industrial activity turned up. Rather the discovery of a few agricultural implements (a plow point, an iron bolt) on one house floor pointed to the settlers' primary livelihood.

Beyond subsistence farming, the Samaritans at Shechem conducted religious activities. These focused on the site of Mt. Gerizim, looming five hundred meters above their new town. Here the construction of a temple had been approved by Alexander himself (*Ant*. 11.321-24). The mountain had long been a sacred spot (as indicated by the parable of Jotham [Judg 9:7-15]), but prior to this had had no buildings upon it. Excavations carried out on the upper ridge and on the summit itself (1983-1990) uncovered an astonishingly well-preserved walled village and sacred enclosure, all dating to the reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus III (223-187 BCE). While a third-century shrine may have existed here, it is also possible that during this time the community was simply gathering its resources.

In any event, by the beginning of the second century BCE the entire summit was enclosed by a wall, with access through two gates on the eastern side. The enclosure contained building stones with Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions and many charred sheep bones, interpreted as sacrificial remains. A



A reconstruction of the Qasr al-Abd at ʿIraq el-Emir. The Hellenistic Qasr al-Abd was never finished; the remains were eventually reconstructed in the Byzantine period, probably by a monastic group. Excavators dug trenches through the Byzantine levels in the main hall and against the east, west, and north walls; to the original Hellenistic building they attribute a stairwell in the northwest tower, and several large interior half-columns that supported a terrace roof. Two of the sculpted animal panels had remained in situ on the northeastern corner, indicating the decorative character of the building's entrance. *From NEAEHL, s.v. ʿIraq el-Emir.*

broad staircase connected this precinct with the fortified village on the mountain's southern slope. Here excavators uncovered three large, well-built houses inside the walls, and three more houses of identical plan and style outside it. All possessed central courtyards, surrounded by dwelling and utility rooms, and an occasional connecting corridor. In plan they were quite similar to the houses at Mareshah. The courtyards and some hallways were partially paved with roughly hewn stones; two of the houses also had bathrooms, with plastered basins and, in one, a stone tub. Every house was equipped with a cistern; most also contained presses, weights, basins, and jars for the manufacture and storage of olive oil. Diggers also found iron tools, and basalt, metal, and pottery vessels, though imported and luxury goods were notably absent. This absence is especially interesting: data from elsewhere indicate that the Samaritan community was by no means isolated. Two beautifully carved inscriptions from the Aegean island of Delos refered to offerings made "to the holy temple at Mt. Gerizim." One was carved between 250-175, the other between 150-50 BCE (Kraabel 1984).

No early Hellenistic settlement of any size has been found in the northern central hills outside of those at Samaria, Shechem, and Mt. Gerizim. But the area was not unutilized. Surveys of this region have identified at least twelve hundred small stone field towers (Dar 1986:88-109). About fifty towers have been excavated, and third-century BCE pottery has been found in and under the lower levels of several of these. The towers functioned as temporary shelter for workers and for occasional storage of produce. The region's topography—hilly, easily terraced, and reasonably well-watered—was highly suitable for both grape vines and olive trees, and scattered field finds of pressing stones and basins indicate such industry.

In Transjordan, the pattern of settlement and the local economy was quite similar to that of the central hill country of Judea and Samaria, with a small, scattered, materially impoverished population, engaged wholly in subsistence agriculture. One of the few sites that remained occupied after the exile and throughout the Persian period was Rabbath-Ammon, which Ptolemy II Philadelphos refounded as Philadelphia. Zenon stopped here in 259 BCE (P. Cairo Zen. 59011); he mentions the (probable) work of quarry men there. Third-century BCE constructions in fact included fortifications, houses, and water channels. By penetrating these channels and cutting off the town's water supply, Antiochus III compelled the Ptolemaic garrison to surrender to him in 218 BCE (Polybius *Hist*. V.71.9). At Aroer (in Moab), several small farmsteads from this period have been found. Further south, at Petra, some houses and altars existed in the second half of the century; this settlement—founded in conjunction with the new Nabatean route across the northern Negev—was the only one with commercial links. In northern Transjordan, evidence for settlement is even scarcer: at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh a mudbrick and stone building dated only "Hellenistic" (and so perhaps from the next century instead), and at Pella, some scattered pottery but no structures.

Central Transjordan had something else in common with the Palestinian central hills: some of the sites were settled by Jews. In the Persian period, part of this area was within the holdings of Tobiah the Ammonite, a man referred to repeatedly in the book of Nehemiah, who was probably the Persian-appointed governor of Ammon. The Ptolemies maintained the Tobiads' status: Zenon traveled to "the land of Tobiah," which included a small military settlement. Tobiah, apparently a kind of client-sheikh of the Ptolemaic king, lived at a place called "Birtha of the Ammonites." This "Birtha," or stronghold, has been found, twenty-nine km east of Jericho at a site called ʿIraq el-Emir.

Situated on a small plain at the edge of a deep wadi, ʿIraq el-Emir included a small mound, two large buildings to its south, some water channels, and a series of both natural and hewn caves in cliffs to the north. Carved over entrances to two of these caves are inscriptions reading "Tobiah"; the letters have been variously dated on paleographic grounds from the fifth through the third centuries BCE.[1] Third-century finds include Ptolemaic coins, the stamped handle of a wine amphora from Rhodes, and most importantly, a monumental gateway near the mound (Gera 1990:25). The French team who excavated the gateway discovered within it two floors: on the upper one were six coins of Antiochus III (208-200 BCE). This construction was probably part of the "Birtha" of Tobiah visited by Zenon.

One of the two large buildings to the south of the mound was a huge edifice with monolithic pillars forming a window wall on one side, and four monumental relief panels each depicting a large feline identified as either a lion or a

leopard. Known as the Qaṣr al-Abd, or Fortress of the Servant, the entire structure was reused in the Byzantine period as a church, so its original internal arrangements are not entirely clear. A series of narrow corridors apparently surrounded a large central hall, creating an environment both imposing and secure. Pottery found within the Qaṣr as well as beneath its founding levels dates its construction to the early second century BCE. This date and the character of the remains allow the Qaṣr to be further identified via a story told by Josephus.

It seems that during the later part of the rule of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221 BCE), the High Priest Onias, described as "one of little soul, and a great lover of money," refused to pay Jerusalem's annual tax. Ptolemy sent an envoy, whom Onias ignored. The Jerusalemites, fearful of retribution, encouraged one Joseph, the son of Tobiah and a nephew of Onias, to deal with the envoy and, later, the king. Joseph went to Alexandria, impressed the king with his humor and extravagent promises, and won the right to "farm" the taxes for all of Coelesyria, Phoenicia, and Judea with Samaria. In this system, as described by Josephus,

> …all the principal men and rulers went up out of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia to bid for their taxes, for every year the king sold them to the men of the greatest power in every city…. And when the day came on which the king was to let the taxes of the cities to farm, those that were the principal men of dignity in their several countries bid for them…(*Ant*. 12.169, 175).

Joseph retained his concession for twenty-two years, during which period, he "gathered great wealth together" (*Ant*. 12.184). When he died, during the reign of Seleucus IV Philopator (187-175 BCE), he bequeathed much of this wealth on (along with his very valuable concession) to the last of his eight sons, Hyrcanus.

Now shortly before Joseph's death, a series of family feuds had caused Hyrcanus to "retire beyond the river Jordan, and ab[i]de there," where he built for himself a fortress (Saris), which he called Turos. Josephus describes it in detail:

> [Hyrcanus] built a strong fortress, constructed entirely of white marble up to the very roof, and had beasts of gigantic size carved on it, and he enclosed it with a wide and deep moat. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. He also made caves of many furlongs in length,… and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping and living in. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the cave so narrow, that no more than one person could enter by them at once.… Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens (*Ant*. 12.230-33).

The congruity of the finds of the Qaṣr al-Abd with the account of Josephus have made its identification as "the strong fortress" of Hyrcanus incontestible.

The fountain sculpture of the Qasr al-Abd at ʿIraq el-Emir. This feline was carved in high relief on a block of locally-quarried red and white dolomite. The opened mouth was intended as a fountain spout, though there is no other evidence for a completed fountain installation here. The panel was discovered in the eastern wall of the Qasr al-Abd during the 1962 excavations. Along with the megalithic sculpted panels that adorned the upper course, this decorative addition illustrates the building's Hellenized character.

The large animal panels that adorned the Qaṣr al-Abd (and so impressed Josephus) have long attracted the attention of scholars. Their very presence raises questions, not only concerning their artistic heritage, but perhaps more interestingly, concerning the cultural orientation of the person who lived there. For though the sculptures are not very distinguished artistically, they are, first and foremost, representational art in the Greek tradition, and they adorn a building constructed by a member of the Jewish elite. We know that by this time, the early second century BCE, the Jewish population of Judea was rent into factions, one of which approved most "Hellenizing" customs, another passionately opposed to them. The sculptures on the Qaṣr are the most graphic evidence that we possess of the taste, or perfidy, of one Jewish Hellenizer.

In the third century BCE, northern Palestine—including the Jezreel and Beth-Shean valleys, the Galilee, the Hula basin, and the Golan—was also thinly populated. This continued the situation prior to Alexander's conquest, and its causes were also identical. In both Persian and Ptolemaic times, large swaths of fertile agricultural land were frequently classified as "King's Land," directly owned by and farmed for the crown (Smith 1990 does not take this into account). Most (if not all) of the Jezreel Valley and Galilee (as well as large tracts of Samaria and northern Judea) fell into this category. These areas were all highly suitable for agriculture and horticulture. Sites with third century BCE occupation included Tell Keisan and Tell Qiri at the western end of the Jezreel Valley and Philoteria (ancient Beth Yeraḥ) and Kinneret on the Sea of Galilee. These few third century BCE settlements were

¶ **Hefzibah inscription**. This remarkable document provided a permanent, public record of Beth-Shean's military governor's requests to the Seleucid king. The fact that the inscription was written in Greek is evidence that some people must have understood the language by ca. 200 BCE. *Photo from Landau 1966.*

˜ **The Jezreel Valley.** This photograph illustrates some of the exceptional agricultural land of the Jezreel Valley. Well-watered, temperate, and covered with rich alluvial soil, the valley floor is one of the most fertile areas of the country. Its level topography also allowed for easy passage between the coast and the Jordan River Valley. *Author's photo.*

apparently villages of agricultural workers; at none was any evidence of industry found.

The Hefzibah inscription indicates that some parts of the Jezreel Valley were indeed royal land (Landau 1966; Bertrand 1982). Unearthed in 1960 seven km northwest of Beth-Shean, the stone is the longest and perhaps the most important Hellenistic inscription yet discovered in Israel. It recorded six official letters beween Ptolemaios, military governor and chief priest, and the Seleucid kings Antiochus III and IV. All were written between 201 and 195 BCE (that is to say, immediately after the Fifth Syrian War, in which Antiochus III won this region from the Ptolemies). In letter IV, written to the king, Ptolemaios requests that nobody be allowed to quarter or supply others from "the villages belonging to me as property and hereditary tenure." As Ptolemaios had originally been a commander in the Egyptian army, apparently defecting to the Seleucid side at the beginning of the war, he may have been granted his villages by the Egyptian king. Antiochus rewarded his defection by guaranteeing and augmenting his possessions (Landau 1966:66, n. 14, noting Woodhead). In any event, the nature of the inscription—a permanent record designed to be set up in a public place—along with the circumstance of its discovery—surely close to its original location—confirm the existence in the vicinity of Beth-Shean of royal and/or official properties.

The Ptolemies "refounded" Beth-Shean sometime in the second half of the third century BCE, renaming the place Scythopolis. Like the establishment of Philadelphia on the old city of Rabbath-Ammon, the founding of Scythopolis also consisted of a new name being draped over an old settlement. In this case, however, the precise area of settlement moved. The old tell of Beth-Shean, site of the Bronze and Iron Age cities, was almost completely deserted after the Assyrian conquest. Persian period remains from the top of the mound comprise only some clay figurines. A coin hoard from the time of Ptolemy II was found here as well, but this is no indication of settlement (Rowe 1930:45). Hellenistic remains otherwise occur only on an adjacent ridge called Tel Istabah, where excavators have found several hundred stamped handles from wine amphoras imported from Rhodes and Knidos (Landau and Tzaferis 1979). The earliest date from the late third century BCE, indicating the period of the town's refoundation. The new inhabitants clearly had the taste for such goods and the means for acquiring them; their markets were easily accessible from the port of Akko-Ptolemais via the Jezreel valley.

The best evidence for considering much of the Galilee, Hula Valley, and Golan as "King's Land" comes from several of the Zenon papyri (Tcherikower 1937:39-40). In one (P. Cairo Zen. 59004), Zenon travels north from "Birtha" (ʿIraq el-Emir) and Philadelphia. He stops at five places to pick up flour for his travelling party: Λακασοί (Λακασοισ), Νοηι (Noēi), Ειτουι (Ειτουι), Beth Anath, and Kedesh. The locations of the first three sites are unknown; they may be in the Hauran or the Golan (Harper 1928). Kedesh is certainly located in the northeastern corner of the Upper Galilee; archaeological evidence for Hellenistic period occupation there is so far confined to pottery found when the high tell was excavated in the 1950s. Beth Anath is generally thought to be somewhere in the Galilee (though it too could be in the Golan or in the Hula valley). Here Zenon stopped to inspect a vineyard, where peasant leaseholders cultivated the land in part for themselves and in part for Apollonius, to whom they owed a fixed percentage of their output. These were the conditions of "King's Land" in Egypt, indicating the same status for this area as well (Tcherikover 1933:39).

Recent excavations at two sites in the northern Hula Valley, Tel Anafa and Banias, provide more evidence for the character of third century occupation here. Tel Anafa is a small mound situated at the foot of the Golan Heights.[2] The combined evidence of the architectural remains, the pottery, and the associated fauna reflects a small, poor community, whose livelihood depended on intensive agriculture and the rearing of cattle and goats. The settlers built house walls using large, rough, basalt boulders; they laid floors of pebbles and tamped dirt. Their material possessions consisted very largely of utilitarian pottery made in the Hula itself, though a few perfume bottles from southern Phoenicia indicate some contact with the coast. They apparently produced their own cloth, as excavators unearthed a considerable number of weaving-related artifacts, including spindle whorls, bone weaving tools, over twenty-five loomweights, and a circular, sludge-filled, stone structure perhaps used for dying. The inhabitants of Tel Anafa were unsophisticated, insular, and self-sufficient—far removed in attitude and lifestyle from the residents of such bustling, cosmopolitan cities as Maresha, Ashkelon, and Dor.

The people who lived at Tel Anafa did, however, share one fundamental characteristic with many residents of the coast and south: they were pagans. And only nine km to their north, at Banias, or as it was called in antiquity, Panion, was a sanctuary dedicated to the Greek god Pan, whose cult must have drawn dedicants from Tel Anafa. The imposing setting—a huge natural cave in the southern face of Mt. Hermon, beneath which emerged the springs of the Jordan River—was ideal for a rural, nature deity. The cult was established sometime in the third century BCE, as indicated by evidence from excavations underway here since 1988. No buildings can be dated to early Hellenistic times; the finds consist solely of about thirty small bowls and saucers, all made of a fabric local to the Hula Valley, and all identical to vessels found at Tel Anafa. In its initial phase, then, the sanctuary received only these few, poor offerings, reflections of the cult, as well as its dedicants.

¶ **Spatter painted ware** vessels found at Tel Anafa. A small jar, or table amphora, and a cooking pot, both made of spatter painted ware. Saul Weinberg, the first excavator of Tel Anafa, identified and named this fabric based on the ware's distinctive decoration, in which paint was spattered and dribbled over the lower section of the pot. Spatter painted ware pottery is found all over the Hula Valley, but practically nowhere else, indicating its probable area of manufacture. At Tel Anafa, vessels made of spatter painted ware account for 10% (by weight) of all identifiable wares found in third century BCE deposits, and 15% in late second century BCE deposits. *Photo courtesy of Sharon Herbert.*

˜ **The Sanctuary of Pan** at Banias. The Sanctuary of Pan was probably established here in the third century BCE. The site includes this large, natural cave in the southern face of Mount Hermon, a narrow terrace immediately in front, and several springs that feed into the Jordan River. The combination of looming mountain, cavernous grotto, and rushing water created an environment ideal for a rural nature deity such as Pan. *Photo courtesy of Zvi Maʿoz.*

New Currents: Seleucid Control (200-160 BCE)

The Ptolemies and Seleucids remained antagonists throughout the third century, fighting five wars for hegemony of

The Yavne-Yam inscription: this block of local limestone carries fifteen fragmentary lines recording a petition from the Sidonian community living in the "Port of Jamnia," and Antiochus V Eupator's response. The texts are in reverse order on the inscription, beginning with the King's letter, in which he agrees to grant the community immunity from some form of taxation. Antiochus V ruled from 164-162 BCE, precisely contemporary with the activities of Judah Maccabee. *Photo courtesy of the archive of Kibbutz Palmaḥim.*

Phoenicia and Palestine. In 200 BCE the Seleucid king Antiochus III effected a decisive end to this state of affairs by routing the Ptolemaic forces near the shrine at Panion (Banias). One of his first official acts was to grant financial clemency to Jerusalem (see above). Josephus reported that he then "made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy," giving his daughter Cleopatra for Ptolemy's bride, and returning the entirety of his newly won domains as dowry (*Ant*. 12.154). Archaeological evidence reflects this rather surprising decision in the form of the continued circulation of Ptolemaic coins. At Shechem, a hoard of thirty-five Ptolemaic silver tetradrachms found in a jug buried fifty cm below a house wall included issues from ca. 300 down to 193 BCE. The ancient historian Appian speculated that Antiochus made his gift in order to be free to make war on the Romans (*Syr*. 5); in fact, however, Antiochus next directed his military energies against Cilicia (as detailed by Livy 33.19.8-11), southern Asia Minor, and the principality of Pergamon. His continued aggressions did eventually bring him into conflict with the Romans, whose superior forces stopped his army at Magnesia-on-the-Meander in 190 BCE. One of the terms of the ensuing settlement required that his younger son, Antiochus IV, be held hostage at Rome. The boy remained there until 178, when his nephew Demetrius was sent from Antioch in his place. Antiochus then moved to Athens, where in 175 BCE he received word that his older brother Seleucus IV had been assassinated. Within the year, the new king, now surnamed Epiphanes, returned to Antioch.

Even before the battle of Magnesia, Antiochus III had reasserted his hegemony over Phoenicia and Palestine. As with the change of political stewardship from the Persians to the Ptolemies, however, the shift to Seleucid dominion had little perceptible effect on the locations and economies of settlements in Phoenicia and Palestine. In central Transjordan, Hyrcanus the Tobiad enlarged ʿIraq el-Emir; in the hill country of Samaria, the enclave at Shechem prospered and the settlement at Mt. Gerizim was founded. Settlements on royal land in the Jezreel Valley and the Galilee were either deeded back to the Ptolemies or turned over to the Seleucids, as the Hefzibah inscription makes clear. For sites on the coast and across southern Palestine, commerce remained paramount, and expensive foreign goods continued to be available. At Ashkelon, excavators uncovered a cistern filled with second century BCE pottery, including wine amphoras from the Aegean, tablewares from Greece and Italy, and small oil jars from southern Phoenicia (Stager 1991b:37). In fact, throughout this region Phoenician connections, both social and economic, increased. A recently published inscription found at Yavne-Yam documents a Sidonian enclave there, apparently first established under Antiochus III (Isaac 1991). Sidonians lived at inland sites as well. At Mareshah, a tomb inscription identified the deceased as the leader of the town's Sidonian colony, one Apollophanes son of Sesmaios, who died at seventy-four years of age, having served for thirty-three years. His burial is dated to 196 BCE, so Mareshah's Sidonian population must have arrived around 230 BCE.

The Sidonian tomb at Mareshah was situated in the town's eastern necropolis, an area containing about twenty-five large rock-cut tomb-caves.[3] All were similar in plan and internal arrangements, having at least two long chambers lined with individual burial niches (loculi). The niches were carved back into the rock, with their openings fashioned as gabled doorways. In the first four tomb-caves found, this pseudo-architecture was further enhanced by painted columns between the niches and a painted frieze course above them. Subjects included wreaths, Panathenaic amphoras on tables, eagles, musicians, and animal processions. Most figures were labelled—quite messily—in Greek. This type of funerary architecture was closely paralleled in Hellenistic Alexandria, where large, multi-chambered tombs with pseudo-architectural adornment surrounded the city. Some of the painted subject matter at Mareshah may also have been linked with Ptolemaic Egypt, especially the parading animals. But Greek and Semitic subjects appeared as well (e.g., the wreaths and amphoras, the eagle) and the artist(s) probably did not rely on a single inspiration.

The central hills became home for new agricultural settlements in the early second century BCE. Settlers founded six new farmsteads in southern Samaria. Their excavator labelled them "military farms," established by Greek ex-officers (Applebaum 1986:260). Tirat Yehuda was a seventh such settlement.[4] Similar to Qalandiyeh, it consisted of a large enclosed area, with workrooms and dwellings. The main activity at Tirat Yehuda seems to have been oil production; excavators found crushing and pressing stones, along with much related equipment, some in such good condition that one entire beam press could be reconstructed (Hestrin

and Yeivin 1977). Tirat Yehuda also may have been a military farm, probably established by Seleucid ex-soldiers. While this interpretation lacks direct support, the farm's destruction in the first wave of Hasmonean expansion under Jonathan and Simon suggests that its inhabitants were not Jewish.

Jerusalem remained the only large settlement in Judea, and the lives of its inhabitants remained connected to their religious activities. But changes did come to the city. The generous allotments of Antiochus III had their effects: increased material prosperity, and more importantly, a sympathetic attitude on the part of some of the city's elites towards their new political masters. Both archaeological and literary sources reflect the physical and philosophical changes wrought. In Ecclesiasticus (The Wisdom of Ben Sira), written ca. 190-180 BCE, the author reported on several important construction projects overseen by the high priest Simon at the end of the third century:

> In his lifetime the house was repaired, in whose days the temple was fortified. He laid the foundation for the high double wall, the high retaining wall of the temple precinct. In his day they dug the reservoir, a cistern broad as the sea (Sir 50:1-3).

These are the first large-scale architectural additions attested in Jerusalem since the time of Nehemiah, a fact the author himself emphasizes by omission. While no incontrovertible physical evidence for any of these constructions remains, one section of the eastern wall of the Temple Mount could possibly represent some of Simon's work. This is the piece north of the "seam," a straight vertical line thirty-two meters north of the southeastern corner. From the seam south, the masonry is of Herodian date and was part of Herod's enlargement of the Temple Mount. The section to the north, however, is built in a different, and earlier, technique of ashlars drafted with a projecting boss and laid in an alternating sequence of headers and stretchers. While this piece is thought by many to be Hellenistic in date (though some would attribute it to First Temple times), it cannot be linked with any specific construction (see further below, in discussion on the Akra).

Jerusalem's population was now large enough to have expanded beyond the confines of the City of David to the southwestern hill (now the Jewish and Armenian quarters of the Old City, along with Mt. Zion). Though excavations in this area have uncovered no structures from this period, finds of the early second century BCE indicate the existence of a small settlement here. These include both Jewish (*Yehud*) and Greek (Rhodian) stamped jar handles and coins. The growth of this area, reasonably removed as it is from the City of David hill, may be related to the increasingly divisive social atmosphere of this period.

The constructions overseen by the High Priest Simon benefitted a still wholly traditional community. By the early second century BCE, however, there also existed in Jerusalem a community increasingly open to a Hellenizing lifestyle. During the reign of Seleucus IV, the city market *(agora)* was overseen by an *agoranomos* (2 Macc 3.4), a Hellenistic-style adminstrative official. One fundamental reflection of the new

Tirat Yehuda pressing installation: This multi-stage olive oil production area from the farm at Tirat Yehuda has been reconstructed just below the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. The original situation included a stone bench where baskets of olives could be stacked, a plastered depression in the ground for storing cracked, unpressed olives, and a storage area for jars of oil. In the background is the crushing basin and stone, in the foreground the beam and three stone weights. Three pillars formed roof supports, demarcating the areas for each activity. *BA archive photo.*

Jerusalem, seam in the eastern wall of the Temple Mount: detail illustrating two phases of construction within the Temple Mount wall. To the right, the less regularly carved, roughly finished ashlar blocks characteristic of the second to mid-first centuries BCE. To the left, the large, smoothed ashlar blocks typical of the period from Herod the Great through the destruction of the city. Other than the masonry technique, no evidence exists to date the earlier wall.

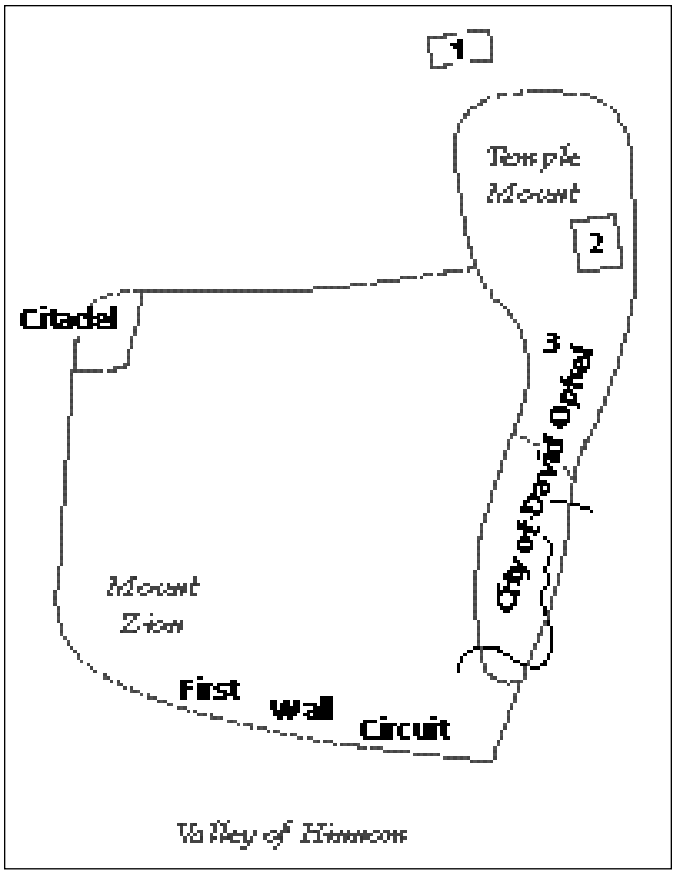
Imported stamped amphora handle from Jerusalem, City of David. This impression was stamped onto the handle of a large wine jar made on the island of Rhodes between 175 and 146 BCE. To the left is the head of Helios, with its distinctive radiant crown; to the right, the name of the official Peisistratos, who was presiding in the year that this vessel was filled and/or shipped. *Photo courtesy of Donald Ariel.*

attitude was the growing use of the Greek language. Greek had already become the language of both commerce and administration for the cities of the coast and Idumaea in the third century BCE. Its use is attested in Jerusalem itself by two long Greek inscriptions from the time of Antiochus IV (Rappaport 1981:175; Applebaum 1980; a possible third is the Greek tariff inscription published by Merker 1975). In 175 BCE, the size and strength of the Hellenizing Jewish community was such that one of their own was assigned the role of High Priest. According to 2 Maccabees, when this man, Jason, came into office:

> he at once shifted his countrymen over to the Greek way of life. He set aside the existing royal concessions to the Jews,… and he destroyed the lawful ways of living and introduced new customs contrary to the law. For with alacrity he founded a gymnasium right under the citadel, and he induced the noblest of the young men to wear the Greek hat. There was an extreme of Hellenization and increase in the adoption of foreign ways…(4:10-13).

Along with the sculpted animal reliefs of the Qaṣr al-abd at ʿIraq el-Emir, the establishment of a gymnasium in Jerusalem comprises the most vivid physical reflection of the "Hellenizing" ways of at least some Jews. In the colonnaded enclosures of the gymnasium, training in both Greek sports and Greek philosophy occured. Such influences acted, in the words of Elias Bickerman, "as a powerful dissolvent [on] the traditional discipline of life" (1962:59).

Material evidence for the "adoption of foreign ways" exists in the copious presence at just this time of foreign wine amphoras. Over one thousand stamped handles of imported amphoras, mostly from Rhodes, have been found by archaeologists in Jersualem since the later nineteenth century. Of these, the 477 found in the City of David excavations have been the most thoroughly studied (Ariel 1990). These include 450 Rhodian handles of which only 10 may be dated earlier



Possible sites of the Akra, Jerusalem. This map indicates the three most likely locations of the Seleucid Akra: 1) at the northwest corner of the Temple Mount, where the Herodian-period Antonia was situated; 2) in the southeastern corner of the Temple Mount itself, incorporating the section of the eastern wall north of the "seam"; or 3) south of the Temple Mount, on the Ophel or at the upper end of the City of David.

than ca. 260 or later than 150 BCE. The single largest group are the 216 handles that date between 205 and 175 BCE. While some of these handles may represent only reused containers, some must derive from vessels bought for the sake of their original contents.

Ptolemaic designs on Phoenicia and Palestine did not disappear after the battle at Panion in 200 BCE. Nor was the Seleucid vision of broad imperium destroyed by the defeat at Magnesia ten years later. In the fifth or sixth year of Antiochus IV (170/169 BCE), a sixth war between the Seleucids and Ptolemies erupted and, almost immediately, Antiochus IV took Pelusium, at the eastern end of the Nile Delta. The Ptolemies quickly sought Roman intervention, which soon arrived in the person of a legate named C. Popillius Laenas. In one of the most famous (or infamous) scenes of history, Laenas forced the withdrawal of Antiochus by demanding his response before he stepped out of a circle drawn in the sand around his feet. Retreat was rapid and, more to the point, wholly without reward: the king returned with neither territorial gain nor spoils. This latter situation he managed

to reverse, however, by stopping in Jerusalem and looting the temple treasury (1 Macc 1:21-24).

Two years later, he sent an occupying force to the city: "they fortified the city of David with a great strong wall and strong towers, and it became their citadel" (1 Macc 1:33). The precise location of this "citadel"—known by its Greek name, the Akra (meaning "the heights")—remains unknown. Josephus provides the most detailed description:

> [Antiochus] built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high, and overlooked the temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers, and put into it a garrison of Macedonians (*Ant*. 12.252).

Several locales fit this description: the northwestern corner of the Temple Mount (on which stood the Herodian-period Antonia); the southeastern corner of the Temple Mount (which would incorporate the possibly Hellenistic piece of wall north of the "seam"); and the Ophel rise just south of the Temple Mount (in which area a pre-Herodian rock-cut cistern was found).[5] While of uncertain location, the Akra is of definite importance for our understanding of the settlement of Jerusalem at this time. With its construction, the city's two Jewish factions now resided in separate neighborhoods: "in that citadel dwelt the impious and wicked part of the [Jewish] multitude" (*Ant*. 12.252).

In the year 166 BCE, two separate historical currents merged. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, whose grand vision of Seleucid empire had been cut off two years earlier in the Egyptian sands, now needed a way to boost his dynasty's prestige without alienating Rome. In the meantime, the Jewish community of Jerusalem had become so divided that upon construction of the Akra, some Jews chose to live within its walls rather than among their co-religionists. Antiochus chose to vent his humiliation and reinforce his position by victimizing Jews (Gruen 1984:661), a reaction perfectly well understood by our lone contemporary witness, the book of Daniel (which describes the event in the form of an apocalyptic vision):

> Therefore [the king] will be disheartened, and will return and become enraged at the holy covenant and take action…. And forces from him will arise, desecrate the sanctuary fortress, and do away with the regular sacrifice. And they will set up the abomination of desolation…(Dan 11:30-31).

The specific actions that Antiochus undertook were spelled out in the more news-like/historiographic account of 1 Maccabees: the king issued orders to forgo the traditional sacrifices and rituals in the Temple, and instead "sacrifice swine and unclean animals" there; to further abandon their laws and customs, including circumcision; and finally, to "build altars and sacred precincts and shrines for idols" (1:44-50). But these actions of Antiochus—hostile though they were—did not bring on confrontation. In fact, as the author of 1 Maccabees

In the winter of 166 BCE Seleucid officers came to Modein, a sm village on the road between Jerusalem and Joppa (Tel Aviv). They ordered an older man named Mattathias to make the sacrifice on t pagan altar erected there, in accordance with the recently issued e of the king. Mattathias vehemently refused. The subsequent actio dramatically described in 1 Maccabees:

> A Jew came forward in the sight of all to offer sacrifice upon t altar…. When Mattathias saw it, he burned with zeal and his heart was stirred. He gave vent to righteous anger; he ran and killed him upon the altar. At the same time he killed the king' officer who was forcing them to sacrifice, and he tore down th altar. (1:23-25)

Then Mattathias, along with his five sons and a small band of followers, "fled to the hills."

During the next year Mattathias and his group operated as a guerrilla band, concentrating their fight against "sinners and lawl men," sneaking into villages and overturning altars, circumcising Jewish boys. In the latter part of 166 or the beginning of 165 BCE, Mattathias died, and his third son Judah, surnamed the Maccabee took command in his place. For the next two years Judah continue these surprise assaults, garnering so much renown that the local administration decided to engage him. Apollonius, the Seleucid governor in Samaria, fielded a force, but Judah defeated and kille him. Seron, the commander of the Syrian army, came towards Jerusalem on the road from the coast with a second force, which Judah's men routed. With this victory, the Maccabeean band also acquired their first piece of territory: the very road that Seron traversed, the so-called "Jerusalem corridor." When Antiochus received this news, he ordered his general Lysias to field a large contingent against Judea and Jerusalem, while he himself took a f towards Persia in order to collect additional funds.

Seleucid intervention on this scale altered—for a time—the character of the conflict. Rather than a fight between factions, a civ war, it became a civil insurrection. The government's troops, now unable to approach Jerusalem via the coast, encamped instead at Beth-Zur, about thirty km south of the city. According to 1 Macca Judah decisively routed Lysias there. It is clear from 2 Maccabees, however, which preserves official correspondances from Lysias to Jews, Antiochus to Lysias, Antiochus to the Jews, and the Romans the Jews (11:16-38), that *all* parties realized the benefits of laying down arms, and quite readily agreed to do so. Elias Bickerman summarized the situation thus: "In point of fact, Epiphanes was a moment engaged in a serious war in the East, the imperial treasur was again empty, and the question of whether the Jews would eat accordance with or in opposition to their dietary laws must now h seemed of little consequence to the government" (1962:117). The persecution thus ended as it had begun, by royal decree.

The persecution ended, but the war did not. The hostilities ha

A Sudden Squall
Civil War (166–160 BCE)

the first place erupted not against the king's edicts and the officers sent to enforce them, but against Jews who had complied with them. At this moment, the most powerful of these was none other than the High Priest, Menelaus (originally named Onias). This Menelaus, upon receipt of Antiochus' first edict, had readily rededicated the temple in Jerusalem to include the worship of Olympian Zeus, and for the past three years he had conducted pagan sacrifices on its altar. In his letter to the Jews, Antiochus markedly omits mention of the Maccabees and emphasizes Menelaus' position as their proper leader. Such an outcome was not the one for which the Maccabees and their followers had been fighting. Their next attack was therefore against the Hellenizing Jews in Jerusalem itself.

At the end of 164 BCE, Judah and his men made a surprise assault on the city. Their goal was the Temple (as opposed to the Akra), and they apparently took it easily. They repurified and rededicated it at once, "choos[ing] blameless priests devoted to the law," after which they quickly established a fortified garrison post on Mt. Zion (1 Macc 4:42, 60-61). This garrison was soon supported by a second established at Beth-Zur, "so that the people might have a stronghold that faced Idumaea" (1 Macc 4:61). According to the account in 1 Maccabees, within the next six months Judah and his brothers led their men in brief forays against settlements in Idumaea (including Mareshah), the Shephelah (Gezer), Transjordan ("the land of Tobiah"), Galilee ("to the gate of Ptolemais"), the Golan, and the coastal plain (Yavneh-Yam, Ashdod). At this last site, Judah "tore down their altars, and the graven images of their gods he burned with fire" (1 Macc 5:68). The corresponding archaeological record is, however, blank: these sites contain no evidence of damage at this time. Judah's activities were likely brief raids, rather than truly disruptive assaults.

In late winter or early spring, 163 BCE, Judah's newly established garrison on Mt. Zion began a siege of the Akra. Word was sent to the court at Antioch, which was then controlled by Lysias (the former general), acting as the regent for the new boy-king, Antiochus V. Such an act by Judah's forces ran counter to the settlement previously negotiated, and Lysias decided on a massive assault to crush the insurgents. He again marched to Idumaea, in order to attack from the south; his first step was a successful siege of the new Maccabean garrison at Beth-Zur. This victory drew Judah out of Jerusalem, and the two sides met in battle at Beth-Zechariah, about halfway to Beth-Zur. The royal army prevailed and advanced to Jerusalem, where they laid siege in turn to the settlement on Mt. Zion. With his food supply almost depleted (it was a sabbatical year, in which observant Jews let their land lie fallow) and much of his fighting force killed, weakened, or scattered, Judah was in desperate straits. And then, in another historical coincidence, he was thrown a lifeline:

> [During the siege of Mt. Zion] Lysias heard that Philip, whom King Antiochus [IV], while still living, had appointed to bring up Antiochus his son to be king, had returned from Persia and Media with the forces that had gone with the king, and that he was trying to seize control of the government. So he quickly gave orders to depart, and said to the king, to the commanders of the forces, and to his men,… "Now then let us come to terms with these men, and make peace with them and with all their nation, and agree to let them live by their laws as they did before" (1 Macc 6:55-57, 58-59).

So a peace was quickly negotiated. In addition, the High Priest Menelaus was deported and executed and a new High Priest assigned: Jakim, who hellenized his name to Alcimus. Though most of the Jewish population of Judea supported him, Judah, who had retreated with the remnants of his band into the hills, remained unsatisfied. Alcimus was accused of having "willingly defiled himself" under the original edicts of Antiochus IV, and so could not be recognized as a legitimate leader (2 Macc 14:3). Judah continued to engage in the sorts of periodic assaults that had characterized the war's initial phases; Alcimus twice complained to the king that "those Jews…are keeping up war and stirring up sedition, and will not let the kingdom attain tranquility" (2 Macc 14:6). In response the Seleucid monarch again dispatched a general, this time Nicanor, and a sizeable force, against Judah.

In the spring of 161 BCE, in quick succession, Nicanor and Judah fought twice. In the first battle, Nicanor defeated Judah and forced the latter's retreat into the Mt. Zion garrison (*Ant*. 12.369-75); but in the second battle, near a pass in the hills about an hour and a half north of Jerusalem, Judah's troops won and Nicanor was killed. Judah returned to Jerusalem, this time victorious. In Antioch, the currrent king Demetrius I at once ordered his general Bacchides to Judea. And in the next spring, 160 BCE, Bacchides arrived—this time from the north, from Galilee. He could feel secure enough to advance through largely Jewish territory because he had travelling with him as an ally none other than the High Priest Alcimus (1 Macc 9:1, but *contra Ant*. 12.394). Bacchides came upon Judah's men at a place called Elasa (it has not been identified), where his superior numbers alone scared off about two-thirds of the defenders; in the ensuing battle "Judah fell, and the rest fled" (1 Macc 9:18).

The victorious Bacchides at once refortified and garrisoned a number of Judaean settlements, including Bethel, Jericho, Beth-Zur, Gezer, Emmaus, and the Akra in Jerusalem: "in them he put troops and stores of food" (1 Macc 9:52). The locations, tightly encircling Judea proper, reflect how focused the now-contained conflict had been; it had not even spread to the northern central hills. There, the schismatic Samaritan communities living at Shechem and Mt. Gerizim had complied with the edict of Antiochus IV early on; in a formal petition, they had "beseeched [the king] to let our temple, which at present has no name at all, be named the Temple of Zeus Hellenios" (*Ant*. 12.261).

Jonathan's Rise: 160 to 145 BCE

All of the energy of Judah Maccabee had not produced any stable political gains. Immediately upon his death in 160 BCE, in the polemical formulation of 1 Maccabees, "the lawless emerged in all parts of Israel; all the doers of injustice appeared" (9:23). Jonathan, the second son of Mattathias, assumed leadership of the small remnant of the Maccabean band. At first, Jonathan's sole accomplishment was to remain at large, though at one point he organized an ambush of a Nabataean wedding party in southern Transjordan. After a few years, however, Jonathan apparently tired of the outlaw life and petitioned Bacchides (the current governor) for amnesty. Bacchides complied, and Jonathan was allowed to settle at Michmash (now Mukhmas), a small village eight miles northeast of Jerusalem. Here he "began to judge the people," much in the manner of illustrious predecessors such as Deborah and Samuel (1 Macc 10:73). But in 152 BCE, an opportunity for greater power presented itself to him, with the arrival in Akko-Ptolemais of Alexander Balas, a pretender to the Seleucid throne.

Alexander Balas' appearance at this time reflects two political realities: the continued power-driven machinations of the various Hellenistic dynasts (in this case, Ptolemy VI Philometer of Egypt, Attalus II of Pergamon, and Ariarathes V of Cappadocia), and the personal instability of the current Seleucid king, Demetrius I. As at other times during this period, far-removed forces impelled events that had immediate local consequences. In this case, Ptolemy decided that the Seleucid's weakness might allow him to retake Phoenicia and Palestine, to which end he took the lead in propping up a pretender. This explains Alexander's choice of landfall; upon his arrival at Akko-Ptolemais, the city's garrison declared its loyalty to him. Demetrius, presented in essence with a *fait accompli*, decided at once to enlist Jewish military assistance. This was an obvious move: if the Graeco-Phoenician cities of the coast were defecting to the Ptolemaic side, the Jewish central hills must be persuaded to remain pro-Seleucid. And the only person in this area whom Demetrius knew to be in control of fighting men was Jonathan. So Demetrius sent a letter to Jonathan, which "gave him authority to recruit troops, to equip them with arms, and to become his ally" (1 Macc 10:6).

Jonathan betook himself at once to Jerusalem. The people there "were greatly alarmed when they heard that the king had given him authority to recruit troops" (1 Macc 10:8). Current events, however, left them without recourse; Demetrius' troubles had become Jonathan's opportunity:

And Jonathan dwelt in Jerusalem and began to rebuild and restore the city. He directed those who were doing the work to build the walls and encircle Mount Zion with squared stones, for better fortification; and they did so. Then the foreigners who were in the strongholds that Bacchides had built fled.… Only in Beth-Zur did some remain… (1 Macc 10:10-14).

No structural evidence from Jerusalem can be associated with Jonathan's efforts. The evidence from Beth-Zur indicates only the most minimal occupation by this time (though Josephus' description of its later conquest by Simon suggests a more substantial occupation; see below). One possible archaeological reflection of Jonathan's new status is the massive new fortification wall constructed around the acropolis of Samaria; it follows the line of the Iron Age period-wall, and is enhanced by square towers at regular intervals. On the evidence of coins and stamped handles found within the foundation fills, its excavators dated the construction to the middle of the second century BCE (Crowfoot, Crowfoot, and Kenyon 1957:218-19). This may well have been the independent work of the local garrison, responding to Jonathan's ascension or a later development.

Jonathan's new energy and position attracted the attention of Alexander (actually, one must assume, Ptolemy), who also began seeking the former rebel's alliance. Upping the stakes, he wrote to Jonathan:

King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting. We have heard about you, that you are a mighty warrior and worthy to be our friend. And so we have appointed you today to be the high priest of your nation; you are to be called the king's friend, (and he sent him a purple robe and a golden crown), and you are to take our side and keep friendship with us (1 Macc 10:10-14).

Within the few months of autumn, 152 BCE, Jonathan had risen from a small-town sheikh to the Jewish High Priest, in whom was also vested military powers.

Jonathan's metamorphosis reflects the first real recession of Seleucid authority. Previously, internal rebellions were met by a successful show of Seleucid military might, and upstarts angling for power were firmly put in their place (Gruen 1984:611-71). With Jonathan's receipt of the fawning offers of Demetrius I and Alexander Balas, the mechanism of Seleucid coercion changed from intimidation to bribery. As various personages struggled for Seleucid hegemony, Jonathan was able to extract more power—administrative, economic, and territorial.

Demetrius I countered Alexander Balas with a series of gifts for Jonathan and Judea that included exemptions from tribute (poll tax), salt tax, crown levies, and other taxes in kind, as well as the addition of three large parcels of King's Land in southern Samaria (these are the districts Ramatayyim, Lydda, and Aphairema). Within two years, however, Demetrius fell in battle against Alexander. Ptolemy VI, seeing the first stage of his plan succeed, then came to Akko-Ptolemais with his daughter, whom he married to Alexander "with great pomp, as kings do" (1 Macc 10:58). Alexander in turn made Jonathan "general and governor of the province" (1 Macc 10:65). In 147 BCE, however, Demetrius II (the son of Demetrius I) arrived from Crete, a challenge sufficient to scare Alexander back to Antioch. Demetrius II appointed one Apollonius governor of Phoenicia; Apollonius, encamped at Jamnia, challenged Jonathan; Jonathan advanced to and took Joppa and then pursued Apollonius as far south as Ashdod. There he burnt the town, including the temple of Dagon, and plundered the countryside (1 Macc 10:84). His success heartened Alexander Balas, who rewarded him with another

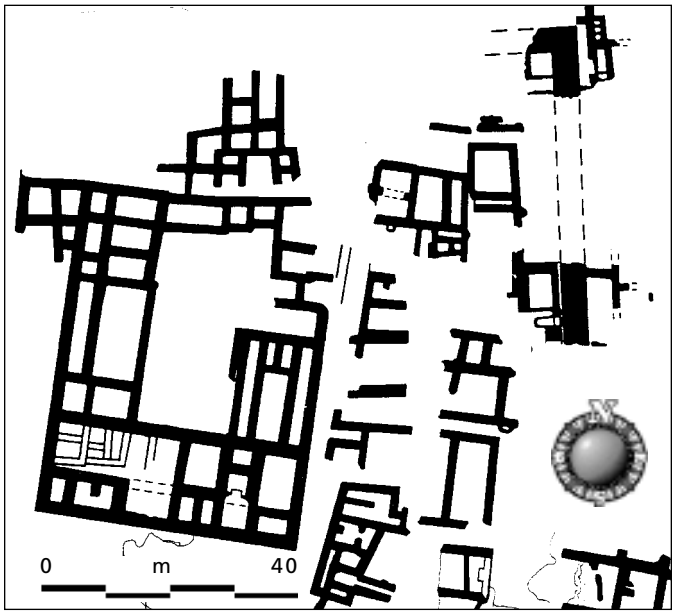
territorial gift, this time the fertile district of Ekron, located on the inner edge of the coastal plain directly opposite Ashdod (1 Macc 10:89). In fact, the lands must have been part of Ashdod's city territory, and the gift retaliation for that community's harboring of Apollonius.

In 145 BCE, Ptolemy VI died. Demetrius II at once summoned Jonathan to Ptolemais, where he promised to honor the concessions granted Judea by his father (1 Macc 11:24-37). But the most obvious and most troublesome (to Jonathan) manifestation of Seleucid power—the continued occupation of the Akra in Jerusalem—remained. Jonathan asked that the imperial garrison be disbanded, and though Demetrius II promised to do exactly that, "he broke his word about all that he had promised" (1 Macc 11:53). In consequence, when another contender for the Seleucid throne materialized within the year, Jonathan shifted his allegiance. He made a treaty with this new Seleucid hopeful, Tryphon, in which Simon, the remaining Hasmonean brother, was "made governor from the Ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt" (1 Macc 11:59).

This was an astonishing reversal of political circumstance. For now the large, strong, and wealthy Graeco-Phoenician coastal cities came under the immediate political and military control of Jerusalem:

Simon went forth and marched through the country as far as Askalon and the neighboring strongholds. He turned aside to Joppa and took it by surprise.… And he stationed a garrison there to guard it (1 Macc 12:33-34).

With this move, so blandly recounted in both 1 Maccabees and Josephus (*Ant*. 13.180), the first bridge over the topographic, political, social, and economic divide between the coast and the central hills was constructed. Judah Maccabee's uprising finally bore fruit.



The complicated overlay of structures on the citadel at Beth Zur bears witness to the site's srategic location. At least three different episodes of defensive constructions mark the Hellenistic site. *Plan from Sellers 1968: plan 1.*

notes, "many of the people joined them" (1:52). It was this Jewish compliance, not Seleucid antagonism, that led to the subsequent armed confrontation: traditional Jews against their hellenizing brothers and sisters, or, in other words, civil war.

The literary sources for this period, primarily 1 and 2 Maccabees and Josephus, tell the convoluted history of the early years of the Maccabean rebellion. Beginning in the winter of 166 BCE, Mattathias, and subsequently his son Judah, led a rebellion directed against those in the hills who complied with Antiochian decrees. Their initial successes in civil insurrection attracted the intervention of the Syrian army. The relative fortunes of the Maccabees, their local opposition, and the forces of the Selucids vacillated through a half-decade of surprise assaults, staged battles, occupations, and flights to the wilderness (see the sidebar: A Sudden Squall: Civil War).

Between 166 and 160 BCE, Judea witnessed a number of battles, but their relentless pace has left little trace in the archaeological record. At Bethel, excavators found traces of a wall and some second-century BCE pottery on a hillock east of the mound; this has been taken as evidence of the Seleucid general Bacchides' refortification. At Gezer, the large city gate built during the period of Solomon (Iron II) was rebuilt around the middle of the second century BCE; this may reflect Bacchides' work as well. Only at Beth-Zur is the frenetic jockying of these times reflected in the archaeological remains. The evidence, collected in two campaigns (1931, 1957), reveals a single third-century settlement phase, then three phases of the early-mid second century (Sellers et al. 1968). Beth-Zur's importance rests in its strategic position on the boundary between the high Judean hills and the gentler slopes of Idumaea. Under Ptolemaic rule, the top of the mound had been fortified; the site probably constituted the next stop after Mareshah on the way to the Dead Sea. By the early second century this citadel had grown into a town, whose residents lived on the slopes and plain outside the walls. As with other settlements in Idumaea, Beth-Zur was economically diverse; the excavators uncovered a large marketplace with an inn, a butcher shop, a tavern, and several other shops. The most interesting find was a public bath house (*balneum*), which included a room with two tubs, a basin, and a foot bath (twelve other single tubs were found scattered throughout the town; Sellers 1933:16-17). Such public bath facilities are known from other sites in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, and the example at Beth-Zur reflects a fairly cosmopolitan community (Reich 1988). Sometime before the middle of the second century BCE, the citadel was rebuilt as a series of elongated rooms around a central court. At this same time the old Middle Bronze Age wall was reconstructed. Both of these projects are attributed by the excavators to Judah's establishment of a garrison here in 164 BCE, soon after the rededication of the temple. The citadel was again

Strato's Tower, round tower and wall. Remains of the north enclosure wall, with one polygonal and one round tower, uncovered by Italian excavators in 1963. The wall is constructed of rectangular limestone blocks, drafted with wide rough bosses, laid in alternating headers and stretchers. Though no evidence exists to date this particular stretch, excavation against a wall segment with identical construction beneath the acropolis indicates the entire circuit was constructed in the second half of the second century BCE. The most likely person to have installed the defenses is Zoilus, who held both Strato's Tower and Dor during the later second century BCE. *Photo courtesy of Richard Cleave.*

modified shortly thereafter by the inclusion of a peristyle courtyard, with a hall running around it on three sides and entrances on the fourth. Both the rapidity of reconstruction, and the Greek-style courtyard, suggest that Bacchides was responsible for this operation. Light occupation apparently continued. A final later-second-century BCE phase is represented by remains outside the citadel (on which see further, below).

Receding Waves: Seleucid Disintegration (160–145 BCE)

Throughout the first half of the second century BCE, the turmoil in Judea had remained almost completely contained, without consequences—political, military, economic, or social—for the larger region. The archaeological remains from settlements in the northern central hills (Shechem, Samaria), Transjordan (Heshbon, Pella), and the central valleys (Beth-Shean-Scythopolis, Tell Keisan) show their peaceful maintenance or expansion during this time. Life along the coast and in Idumaea continued prosperous, the result of long-standing commercial connections, a diverse economic base, and geographic good fortune. Luxury goods and foreign imports of this period found at Akko-Ptolemais, Dor, Ashkelon, and Mareshah reveal residents' material comforts. Some coastal settlements actually expanded, such as Ashdod and Strato's Tower, which had both been relatively small third-century hamlets.

Ashdod, known in Hellenistic times as Azotus, included a low acropolis and large surrounding town in the southern coastal plain.[6] The city had been made an administrative center under the Persians—a position that afforded its residents material prosperity, as reflected in finds of painted Greek pottery, Achaemenid jewelry, and an ostracon refering to imported wine. During the period of Ptolemaic rule, however, Ashdod was both smaller and less well connected; third-century finds included only a few imported table vessels, along with many locally made utilitarian wares (Dothan 1971:42-64). In the late third/early second centuries

Phoenician semi-fine pottery vessels found at Tel Anafa. These vessels, all dating to late Hellenistic times, include forms for table service and personal use. In the upper row, from left to right, are a table jug, a juglet, a table amphora, and a lagynos; in the lower row, from left to right, are two amphoriskoi, a saucer (or possibly a lid for the table amphora), and three unguentaria. Phoenician potters manufactured other shapes in semi-fine as well, including small bowls, flasks, funnels, and large jars for transport and storage. (See box, "To Each Its Own," p. 24, for an illustration of a semi-fine jar.) *Photo courtesy of Sharon Herbert.*

BCE, two large buildings were constructed on either side of a narrow street. These were maintained for over half a century, through two subsequent occupation phases. Evidence for pagan religious practices appeared in one room: several stone slabs that perhaps formed an offering table; two miniature altars made of gypsum, both incised with branches, and on one the letter M; a group of corroded iron tools, including two scimitars and two knives; and a molded lead plaque depicting a possibly fish-tailed female supporting herself on a column. This last might be a votive of the Phoenician deity Atargatis, who, according to Diodorus Siculus, was worshipped at Ashkelon as half-woman-half fish (2.4.2-3). Excavators of these second century phases also unearthed a good number of imported wine amphoras, mostly Rhodian; painted and mold-made pottery from Athens, Asia Minor, and the Aegean; and—from the second half of the century—beautiful red-slipped table vessels from southern Phoenicia (the ware is known as Eastern Sigillata A, or ETS-I; see further, below).

Further north, immediately on the coast, was a small anchorage known as Strato's Tower (the name implies a simple bastion but actually indicates a fortified town). This site might easily have escaped the notice of future archeaologists, except for the fact that Herod the Great built his harbor city of Caesarea directly on its ruins. Though there is no firm date for the eponymous Strato, excavations at the site since the 1950s have uncovered remains that can be associated with the Hellenistic town. A few imported and local fine wares and some cooking pots emerged from the third century, though no structural remains can be dated this early. There must have been a working harbor, however, as Zenon stopped here in 259 BCE (P. Cairo Zen. 59004). By the middle of the second century BCE, the settlement included a series of houses north of the acropolis. Quantities of domestic pottery, including both imported and locally made table vessels, a few Aegean and Phoenician wine amphoras, and local cooking and utility wares, date the expansion (Berlin 1992). Evidence of a Hellenistic period anchorage emerged in the area that later became part of the Herodian inner harbor. Here archaeologists exposed a stone wall with a mooring stone set into the top. Digging down to the wall's base they discovered that it had been set directly on bedrock that had itself been cut away. This ancient inward excavation, a Phoenician practice, provided a more protected haven, and created greater depth for bringing boats up safely (Holum et al. 1988:46-49; Raban 1992:21-22). The construction can be dated only generally as prior to that of Herod, but it does indicate one source of the settlement's economic sustenance during that time.

Meanwhile, in Judea the situation in 160 BCE was thus: the Maccabean band, greatly reduced, had "fled into the wilderness," while the larger part of the population had resumed its life and livelihood in peace. Despite the preceding years of guerilla attacks and occasional large-scale military intervention, the Maccabees had not succeeded in either persuading or running off Judea's Hellenizing Jews. .Jonathan had assumed leadership upon the death of Judah and had managed only to remain outside the grasp of the Syrians. After receiving amnesty from the Syrian governor, however, Jonathan began to build a local power base and was soon embroiled in international politics. A lengthy season of alliance making and breaking between Jonathan and various reigning and aspiring Seleucid monarchs revealed the weakness of Syrian hegemony. Eventually, political machinations placed in Maccabean hands what no military tactics had been able to achieve: political control of the coastal plain, "from the Ladder of Tyre to the border of Egypt" (1 Macc 11:59).

Appointed governor of this new polity, Simon, Jonathan's sole surviving brother, stationed troops at Joppa. Many historians have identified Simon's establishment of a Jewish garrison at Joppa as an initial maneuver allowing the Hasmoneans a Mediterranean outlet (most recently Applebaum 1989:20 and Kasher 1990:99-102). Goods acquired via international commerce do not, however, begin to appear in Judea. The Joppa garrison was, instead, an outpost in an essentially foreign country, a religiously-defined force in a mercantile, maritime land. This force was soon joined by other "colonizing" efforts, whose establishments helped to change the region's long-entrenched socio-economic patterns. But the material culture and lifestyle of the Jewish central hills did not wash quickly over the land. For just as the Hasmoneans found openings in the region's anarchic political situation, so too did other power-seeking cities and leaders. The efforts of these emerging principalities mark the history and archaeology of the ensuing half century.

Merging Currents: Independent Dynasts (145–104 BCE)

Throughout the second half of the second century BCE, many peoples in Palestine and Phoenicia sought to consolidate their territory, revenues, and political power. In the south, the Nabateans expanded their dominion in the Negev and southern Transjordan, while in the north, the Ituraeans moved into the Golan. In central Transjordan, an ambitious dynast named Zeno Cotylas seized Philadelphia and its environs, while on the coast, a local strongman named Zoilus controlled the towns of Dor and Strato's Tower. Ascalon, Akko-Ptolemias, Tyre, and Sidon all declared or purchased their independence from various Seleucids. For the most part, these rulers and "principalities" did not seek to acquire land at another's expense. Rather, each sought to consolidate and maintain their traditional territories and related revenues. Their goal was economic strength, rather than military acquisition. The archaeological record reflects this in several ways.

First, while many of the period's most substantial constructions were walls and towers, there are few destruction levels or conflagrations. Individual towns were protected, but evidence of military strikes is rare. Strato's Tower and Philadelphia offer two good examples of this phenomenon. Zeno Cotylas took Philadelphia in 134 BCE and apparently set about refortifying the city. He rebuilt the Iron Age bastion in the southeastern corner of the southern extension of the acropolis as a large, curved casemate wall (this was the lower city, known today as the citadel in the center of modern Amman). Pottery found within the rubble and earth fill dated to the second half of the second century BCE. The masonry was very much like that of the earlier section of the east wall of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem: bossed stones arranged in headers and stretchers.

Identical masonry also characterized the earliest walls surrounding the town and harbor of Strato's Tower. Several sections of walls, along with one connected polygonal tower, two connected round towers, and a third round tower just offshore, comprise an architecturally consistent series of fortifications. Two stratigraphic probes dug against separate wall sections produced pottery dating down to the later second century BCE, thus fixing their construction to that period when Zoilus controlled both this town and Dor whose third-century BCE walls still stood intact (Blakely 1992:31-34; Raban 1992:18-21). None of these strongly fortified places during this period showed any evidence of attack or destruction.

The maintenance and/or expansion of traditional trade patterns provides the second category of evidence that reveals the essentially economic, rather than military, interests of the various polities of the later second century BCE. At Nabatean sites in southern Transjordan and the northern Negev, for example, Mediterranean trade items began to appear at just this time. At Nessana, one of the largest encampments of the period, archaeologists collected thirty-three stamped handles of Aegean wine amphoras, all dating from the middle of the second to the early first centuries BCE. Fine table wares of this period also appeared, including mold-made bowls

To Each Its Own: Marketing Wine And Oil

Two of the most important commodities of the ancient world were wine and oil, both of which were transported and stored in large jars. All wine and oil jars have several features in common: thick walls, narrow mouths, rounded bottoms or protruding toes, and two wide, sturdy handles. (This last feature is the reason that most such jars are termed "amphoras," which simply means "two handled vessel" in Greek). Every producing locale did, however, use jars with details specific to that area; in this way buyers could recognize the products of specific regions. In Hellenistic Phoenicia and Palestine, the three most common types of wine and oil jars come from Rhodes, southern Phoenicia, and Judea. The map on page 48 indicates which types have been found at which sites. The confinement of Phoenician wine/oil jars to the coastal plain and the north is notable, as is the absence of Judean wine/oil jars from sites in the Hula valley and in some coastal areas. The wide distribution of Rhodian amphoras is somewhat misleading, however; such vessels are essentially absent from Judea before the later third century BCE, as well as after the middle of the second century BCE. They are rare throughout the north in the third century BCE as well, and appear in quantity there only towards the later second century BCE.

Eastern Sigillata A tablewares found at Tel Anafa. This collection of vessels was found smashed in pieces in the eastern colonnade of the Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building at Tel Anafa. Included are three very large platters with wide rims, five medium sized dishes with upturned rims, two small drinking cups, and a locally manufactured brazier (lower left). Production of Eastern Sigillata A began shortly after the middle of the second century BCE; the medium sized dishes with upturned rim are one of the first shapes to be made. This particular group dates from the building's final Hellenistic occupation, between 100 and 75 BCE. *Photo courtesy of Sharon Herbert.*

and the Phoenician red-slipped pottery known as Eastern Sigillata A (see further, below). Excavators have found identical wares at Oboda and at Petra, confirming the economic links between Nabatean and Mediterranean traders. A later second-century BCE reference to Nabatean activity refers to their trade in "frankincense and the other aromatic wares" from upper Arabia (Diodorus Siculus 3.42.5, ascribed to Agatharchides of Knidos).

The mercantile character of the later second century BCE is most emphatically revealed by the connections maintained between various Palestinian coastal communities and the southern Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon. Akko-Ptolemais and Ascalon, for example, continued to mint Phoenician standard tetradrachms (Kindler 1978:53). Wine, oil, and pottery made in Tyre were marketed throughout coastal Palestine (Berlin forthcoming). Phoenician merchants shipped wine and oil in heavy-bottomed, bulky jars made of a distinctive chalky fabric, "semi-fine," examples of which appear at sites along the coast, in the Akko plain, and in the Hula Valley (see box to left). Other semi-fine pottery shapes found at these and nearby sites included vessels for table service—such as small wine amphoras and jugs—and for personal toilette—such as unguent jars and bottles. The distribution pattern of Phoenician semi-fine pottery illuminates this important, but largely unrecognized, aspect of the later second century BCE economy: the close mercantile connections maintained between the southern Phoenician cities and settlements along the Palestinian coastal plain.

The most archaeologically famous and important Phoenician product of this period, was a new pottery ware designed for fancy table use. The ware, known as Eastern Sigillata A (ESA for short; it is also known as ETS-I) had a thick, smooth, bright orange-red slip covering a clean, pale brown clay. Both the origins and date of ESA have been hotly debated since the excavations of Antioch, Tarsus, and Samaria in the 1930s. Recently, a combination of petrographic and chemical analyses have demonstrated the ware's close affinities with Phoenician semi-fine, leading to the still-provisional but reasonable conclusion that it too was a product of the Phoenician coast (Elam, Glascock, and Slane 1989, contra Gunneweg, Perlman and Yellin 1983). Its initial production date, also once a matter of contention, can now be fixed around 140-130 BCE. The Phoenician manufacturers of red-slipped ESA had first experimented with a black-slipped predecessor, examples of which appear by the middle of the second century BCE at sites in Palestine and on Cyprus (Hayes 1985; Slane 1997).

The producers of Eastern Sigillata A (and its predecessor) specialized in vessels for dining and drinking. The earliest shapes were platters and small cups. Some variety was soon introduced for cup shapes, but the platters remained unchanged for over a century (until about 20 BCE). Despite the limited range of styles, however, ESA soon became the single most popular ceramic table ware at sites throughout the southeastern Mediterranean and especially along the Palestinian coast. Its rapid spread was probably due, in part, to its durable and lovely semi-lustrous sheen and its striking new color schema. An equally important factor, however, must have been the unceasing shipping activity of Phoenician merchants, the entrenched strength of their commercial ties, and the continued connections that they enjoyed throughout the region.

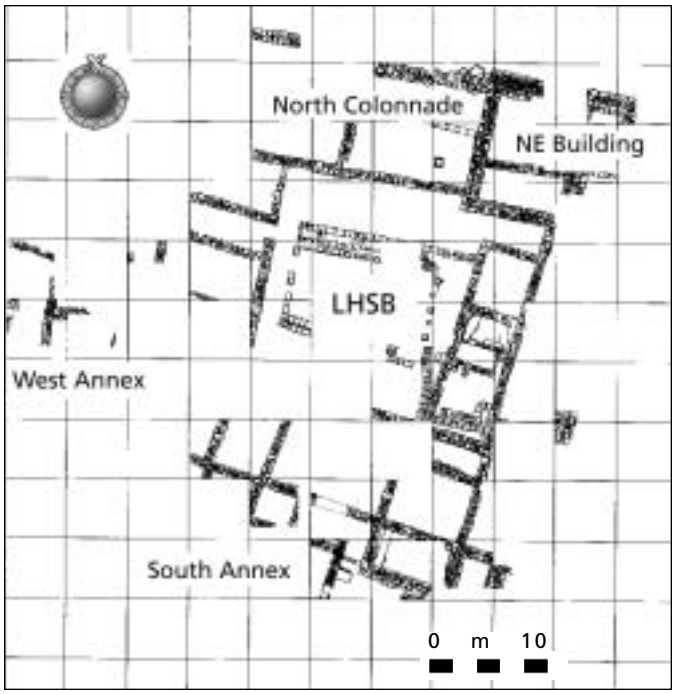
The popularity of the new ESA tableware was such that it appeared at almost every later second century BCE site to which Phoenician merchants had access. In the case of Palestine and Transjordan, this included not only the sites on the coastal plain, but in the northern Negev (see above), Idumaea, southern and northern Transjordan, the Jezreel and Beth-Shean valleys, the Golan Heights, and the Hula Valley. The most interesting aspect of this distribution was not, however, its breadth, but its gaps. The notable omission was Judea and Samaria. Throughout this small but increasingly densely populated area, ESA did not appear at sites occupied in the later second and early first centuries BCE. This omission was, in fact, one of the original factors in the mis-dating of ESA. Since it did not occur at Samaria until after its resettlement by Gabinius in 57 BCE, one of the excavators there, Kathleen Kenyon, posited its initial production date as roughly 60-50 BCE. Now with an expanding data base, a wholly different picture has emerged. Phoenician merchants supplied markets and populations everywhere *but* the central hills.

There, Jewish manufacturers enjoyed a virtual monopoly, producing not only their own wine and oil, but the vessels in which to ship, store, and serve them.

The final category of evidence that reveals the basically non-militaristic character of later second century BCE Palestine is the increased number and prosperity of both coastal and inland settlements. The release from Seleucid taxation that newly independent polities enjoyed was certainly one crucial factor in this growth. Jerusalemites had also experienced increased affluence after their taxes were lifted by Antochus III. Breakaway rulers such as Zoilus and Zeno Cotylas simply asserted their independence. Other cities received their new political status by direct purchase: the payment of a single large sum to the ever-depleted Seleucid treasury. The latest date of a city's Seleucid coinage provides the best evidence for such status. When the imperial mint closed down, independent coinage (generally undated) began. The numismatic evidence indicates that Tyre became independent in 125 BCE, Sidon in 111 BCE, Akko-Ptolemais in 107/6 BCE, and Ashkelon in 104 BCE.

Economic independence and its attendant additional resources also allowed for the establishment of new settlements. The most comprehensive archaeological evidence for a population increase at this time comes from the Upper Galilee and the adjacent Hula Valley, areas traditionally included in the hinterland of Tyre. A survey of the Galilee found three times the number of later second century BCE settlements as early and middle Hellenistic ones (Meyers, Meyers, and Strange 1978). Most of the increase occured in the more rugged Upper Galilee. An intensive survey conducted down in the marshy lowlands of the Hula Valley revealed the identical pattern (Idan Shaked, pers. com.). The size and character of these settlements probably varied, from wholly agricultural to villa-like, though the nature of survey does not illustrate such details. A good example of the latter sort of settlements is the late Hellenistic courtyard-house recently found at Bethsaida (Arav 1995:26-27).

Late Hellenistic remains excavated at the Sanctuary of Pan at Banias and at Tel Anafa have revealed the quality and identity of at least some of this new population. The occupation on the small mound of Tel Anafa probably ended sometime in the latter part of the third century. Excavators found only a few scattered indications for settlement from the early-mid second century BCE. Yet in the last quarter of the second century, new occupants constructed a large and elaborate building, about thirty-eight m^2, over the northern half of the tell (Herbert 1994:14-18). This structure was a single residence, probably originally two stories high, with a central open-air courtyard and suites of rooms on three sides. The walls were a combination of cut limestone blocks and rough basalt fieldstones, and most interestingly, they were covered with painted and gilded stucco. This stucco decor included imitations of drafted blocks, egg-and-dart moldings, and Ionic and Corinthian column capitals. Both the plan and decoration resembled late Hellenistic private houses excavated on the Aegean island of Delos. The



Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building (LHSB) at Tel Anafa on the eastern half of the mound with its five-meter square excavation grid. In the first series of excavations (1968-73), Saul Weinberg concentrated on a five-meter-long step trench on the southern slope, where he uncovered fragmentary remains of houses, ovens, and paved courtyards. He also began work up in the mound's northeastern corner, uncovering parts of what later was recognized as the LHSB's north colonnade, and south and west annexes. Between 1978 and 1981 Sharon Herbert largely excavated the rest of the LHSB, in which process she also clarified the date and nature of the mound's Hellenistic period occupation. *Plan courtesy of Sharon Herbert.*

decoration of the Anafa house suggested its name: it is called the Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building.

The most elaborate, and unique, element of this stuccoed structure was a three-room bath complex along its entire eastern side (Herbert 1994:62-64). The northern two rooms had mosaic floors, the central one of which was recovered intact. A large plastered basin lay along the southern wall of the central room. The southern room contained two stone-lined fire pits, one of which was built into the wall next to the plastered basin, in order to heat its water. Interior drains connected all three rooms, and their floors sloped from north to south to further facilitate drainage. The bath complex was built in the initial stages of the courtyard building and continued in use throughout its occupation. Excavators ascertained a precise and secure date for the construction of the bath complex and of the courtyard house itself through the discovery of coin of Alexander Zebina (128-123 BCE) underneath the original floor of the southern room.

The inhabitants of this extravagently appointed and decorated house acquired and/or brought with them a multitude of luxury goods. In range and sheer quantity, the assemblage of their household products surpasses that of

The Zoilus inscription from Dan. This bilingual inscription, in Greek and Aramaic, was found lying face down some 17 m south of the High Place at Dan. The flat limestone slab is damaged around the edges, but the inscription is largely intact. The Greek carving is fairly neat, though the spacing of the letters is irregular. The Aramaic carving, on the other hand, while probably contemporary, is clearly less practiced—a probable consequence of the rarity of official inscriptions in that language, and so of the carver's lack of practice. *Drawing and Photograph courtesy of A. Biran.*

any other single establishment excavated in the region (the closest parallel would be a late Hellenistic house excavated at Pella). The inhabitants' drinking vessels were most impressive as evidenced by thousands of fragments of cast glass bowls, most with interior grooves and some with exterior ribbing (Weinberg 1970; Grose 1979:54; Grose 1989:193-94). Almost all of the ceramic vessels for table setting and service were made of ESA and Phoenician semi-fine; quantities of each numbered in the hundreds. Diners favored imported wine: fifty-four Rhodian stamped handles dated to this phase, along with about twenty-five Koan handles, several south Italian wine jars, and thirty-seven Phoenician semi-fine wine/oil jars. Finally, there was a fine assortment of bronze vessels, including juglets and ladles, and cut gems of garnet, amethyst, and glass.

Who were these wealthy, self-indulgent late Hellenistic settlers? The archaeological evidence strongly supports southern Phoenicia as their origin. First of all, the bath complex—luxurious and private—was highly unusual. Mareshah had simple plastered basins and individual tubs and Beth-Zur possessed public bathing houses. Only fourth-third century BCE Punic houses in North Africa and Sicily and the second century BCE Greco-Bactrian site of Ai Khanoum (in modern Afghanistan) provide parallels for the facility found at Tel Anafa. The Punic evidence supports the possibility that such elaborate establishments reflect Phoenician customs. The construction techniques of the courtyard building—combining ashlar and rubble masonry in much the same manner as the houses at Dor—were certainly Phoenician. Moreover, the new settlers' material possessions, including the glass bowls, ESA tablewares, and semi-fine pottery, manifested their connection to Phoenician-supplied markets. Finally, it is notable that the site was resettled just after 125 BCE, the year in which Tyre became independent (issues of independent Tyre and Sidon comprise seventy percent of the period's coins). As that city's hinterland already included the site of Kedesh, on the ridge immediately west of the Hula, it is easy to imagine the adjacent valley's fertile lowlands attracting Phoenician settlers as well.

The affluent nature of Tel Anafa's late Hellenistic settlement was echoed in the contemporaneous remains of the nearby Sanctuary of Pan at Banias. Whereas the early Hellenistic remains here were both limited and poor, the later second century dedications were abundant, varied in type, and quite sophisticated. They also included both ESA and semi-fine table wares, additional confirmation of Phoenician coastal connections. In addition, the sanctuary produced about 170 cooking vessels, reflecting the expansion of cult practices to include ritual dining. All of the ceramic types found at the Sanctuary had parallels from Tel Anafa as well as from other newly established late Hellenistic sites in the Hula. The Sanctuary of Pan, the only Greek cult site so far attested in this region, clearly benefitted from the newly enlarged and wealthier population.

The Sanctuary of Pan was not the only religious site in this area. At the adjacent site of Tel Dan, a small, architecturally discrete "cult precinct" occupied the northwestern edge of the immense, mesa-like summit. Dan's "cult precinct" had been established in the tenth century BCE, and continued to be used and modified until the end of the Iron Age. While its history during the Persian period is unclear, numismatic and ceramic finds indicate that by early Hellenistic times activity had resumed. Builders enlarged the central stone structure and installed a plaster basin. Found in 1977, by far the most important discovery in the precinct was that of an inscribed stone with a beautifully carved dedication in Greek and a less well wrought addendum beneath, in Aramaic. The texts read respectively "To the god who is in Dan, Zoilos (offers) a vow," followed by "[This] (is the) vow (of) Zoilos to the [god in Dan]" (Biran 1981; Millar 1987:132-33). The inscription is datable only generally to the Hellenistic period. As Millar explains, we cannot know from

this text whether it represents a Greek or Graeco-Phoenician worshipper's dedication to a "local" deity or a well-educated Syrian adopting the Greek dedicatory custom. But in either case, the inscription does document a "meeting of two identifiable cultures," further evidence of the merging of this period's social currents.

At the beginning of the second half of the second century BCE, Jonathan's political strength was still new. In Jerusalem itself, Seleucid and Hellenizing Jewish settlement of the Akra continued. Jonathan therefore decided to first focus his attention and resources there, to which end, in 144 BCE he

> convened the elders of the people and planned with them…to build the walls of Jerusalem still higher, and to erect a high barrier betwen the citadel and the city to separate it from the city, in order to isolate it so that its garrison could neither buy nor sell (1 Macc 12:35-36).

Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building , central room of bath complex at Tel Anafa. This photograph shows the plaster-lined basin (left) and mosaic floor of the central room of the LHSB's bath complex (looking west). The mosaic is made up of 1–1.5 cm square black diorite and white marble tesserae, arranged in three uneven panels. The uppermost, which is cracked from a later earthquake, has a diagonal checkerboard design, while the two lower panels simply display an irregular arrangement of tesserae. This mosaic, found during the 1981 season, is the earliest intact mosaic discovered so far in Israel. *Photo courtesy of Sharon Herbert.*

While this project was still underway, however, Tryphon lured Jonathan to Akko-Ptolemais and there took him prisoner. Simon was at once acclaimed leader; his first act was to "complete the walls of Jerusalem, and he fortified it on every side" (1 Macc 13:10). He also maintained the siege around the Akra. This led at long last to its residents' capitulation in 141 BCE:

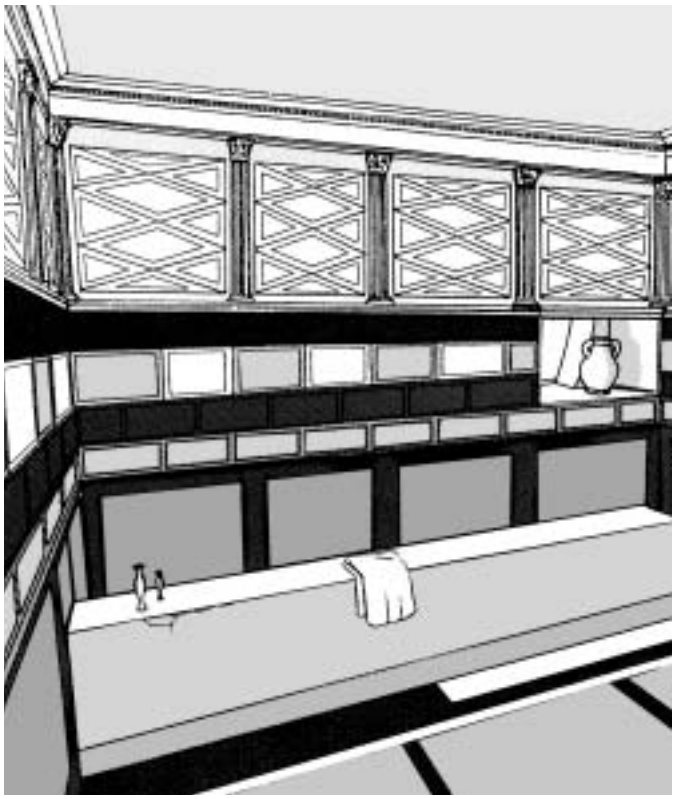
> The men in the citadel at Jerusalem were prevented from going out to the country and back to buy and sell. So they were very hungry, and many of them perished from famine. Then they cried to Simon to make peace with them, and he did so. But he expelled them from there and cleansed the citadel from its pollutions.… The Jews entered it with praise and palm branches, and with harps and cymbals and stringed instruments…. And Simon decreed that every year they should celebrate this day with rejoicing. He strengthened the fortifications of the temple hill alongside the citadel, and he and his men dwelt there (1 Macc 14:49-52).

The account of Simon's capture of the Akra emphasizes not only territorial acquisiton, but religious victory. As both literary and archaeological evidence reveals, religious motives characterized Hasmonean settlement policy in general. Jonathan and Simon actively aimed to enlarge Judea not only by establishing and supporting new Jewish settlements, but also by capturing gentile sites, expelling their residents, and resettling them with Jews (a process that Kasher, among others, terms "Judaization" [1990:105]). The collected evidence has been taken to represent a Hasmonean policy of "internal colonization" (Applebaum 1989:44).

This "colonization" was most clearly evident in the abundant remains of new late Hellenistic sites found throughout Judea and Samaria by regional surveys (Dar 1986; NEAEHL, s.v. "Judea"). Aspects of site architecture and location indicated that many of these new sites comprised joint agricultural villages and strategic outposts that were probably maintained by peasants settled around them. The Samarian sites of ʿAzoun and Qarawat bene Hassan exemplified such small hilltop forts (Dar 1986:218, 230-49). Literary references indicated that other new settlements were established around the towns of Jamnia and Pegae on the coastal plain (Applebaum 1989:41, 45). It is certainly no coincidence that the city territories in which these villages lay were directly adjacent to that of Ekron, which had been deeded to Jonathan by Alexander Balas (see sidebar).

The other side of the "colonization" effort as pursued by Jonathan and Simon included the harrassment and running off of the region's Gentile population. Archaeological evidence for this consists of the destruction and abandonment of non-Jewish settlements, first within the borders of Judea and Samaria. A massive conflagration deposit covered the final occupation of the military farm at Tirat Yehuda, for example, indicating wholesale destruction by fire in the middle of the second century BCE. Residents abandoned the contemporaneous agricultural village settled on Tel Dothan, in central Samaria; they had probably come originally from the Macedonian colony at Samaria.

It is an archaeological irony that at this time, while



Tel Anafa, Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building, central room of bath complex. This perspective reconstruction drawing shows the room's plastered basin, black and white mosaic floor, and stucco wall decoration. The wall design is based on Robert Gordon's reconstruction of a large deposit of stucco architectural fragments and wall panels found in a room in the building's southeastern corner. *Drawing courtesy of Sharon Herbert.*

most sites outside Judea and Samaria were well-fortified, it is only the central hills that show a consistent pattern of destruction. The beginnings of this date towards the end of Jonathan's rule, when Simon successfully beseiged Beth-Zur, replacing its Seleucid garrison with one of his own. The account in Josephus, which mentions "engines of war" and earth embankments, would suggest that a sizeable population remained and that the site's fortifications remained strong (*Ant.* 13.156). Evidence from excavation, however, indicates that the citadel was only lightly populated at this time. Simon's new settlement consisted of a later second century BCE occupation outside the walls. Investigators found primarily a great deal of pottery in cisterns that were probably associated with houses. The ceramics were made exclusively of local utilitarian wares and included jars and jugs, bowls and saucers, and cooking vessels; neither decorated nor imported vessels occured (Lapp and Lapp 1968:75-77).

After Simon became leader of Judea, he continued the policies of territorial acquisition and "Judaization." His first move was against Joppa, where he had recently installed a garrison. He expelled the city's pagan population and resettled it with Jews. He next turned his attention to Gezer, located amidst fertile lowlands along the "Jerusalem corridor" from Joppa (1 Macc 14:43-48). The literary account is explicit about Simon's intentions; after a large and organized siege, he took the city, expelled its previous inhabitants, "cleansed the houses in which the idols were, …cast out of it all uncleanness and settled in it men who observed the law." The importance of Gezer was such that Simon promptly refortified it, built a house there for himself, and subsequently appointed his son John Hyrcanus as its governor (Kasher 1990:108-9).

Excavations at Gezer have recovered a fair amount of evidence relating to Simon's siege and resettlement. A broad destruction level demarcated the late Hellenistic phase; it resulted from Simon's attack. The reworking of the city gate and walls evidenced his refortifications, while a series of fine courtyard houses represented the new settlement. Most of the houses incorporated small *miqva›ot*, demonstrating the new inhabitants' religious scruples, as well as confirming the account in 1 Maccabees of the town's Jewish resettlement (Reich 1981). Although Simon's house cannot be specifically identified, one artifact attests both to its existence and at least one resident's attitude towards it. Found near the city gate, an inscription etched on a stone read: "Pamparas [wishes] that fire should fall on Simon's palace" (*CIJ* 2, 1184). The pottery associated with this period's occupation consisted almost exclusively of plain, locally produced wares; a very few ESA cups appeared, but no other imported pottery (Gitin 1990).

The clearest archaeological demonstration of Simon's settlement policy comes in the form of the famous Gezer boundary stones. Eleven exist in all. Nine have the words "Boundary of Gezer" scratched on them in Hebrew, and of these, eight also have the possessive "of Alkios" inscribed in Greek. The remaining two carry the Greek names of Archelaus and Alexa. The stones had been situated originally so that the Hebrew inscription was to be read when facing the mound itself, and the Greek when facing away. This arrangement reveals their purpose, which was to demarcate the new colony's agricultural lands from those belonging to Alkios, Archelaus, and Alexa (Reich 1985,1990). The Gezer stones circumscribe four km², with the site itself in the northwest corner,"an enclave within land owned by Gentiles" (Reich 1985:71).

This archaeological evidence of new, destroyed, abandoned, and reoccupied settlements provides material counterpart for the historical documentation of Jonathan's and Simon's accomplishments. The author of 1 Maccabees enumerated their deeds. But, unremarked in the literary sources, was one last aspect of Hasmonean policy. The archaeological remains manifest the segregation of the Jewish economy. The material remains found at Jewish sites both in and just outside Judea consisted almost exclusively of Judean-produced household pottery. This region's ceramic assemblages contained no Phoenician ESA, nor any Phoenician semi-fine vessels, Aegean wine amphoras, Hellenistic decorated wares such as West Slope-style plates and cups, Alexandrian white-painted lagynoi, nor southern Italian table wares and wine amphoras. The wholesale uniformity of the household

inventories of Jewish settlements bespeaks a deliberate policy of economic independence. This was in marked contrast to settlements along the coast, in the north, Transjordan, the Negev, and Idumaea, all of which continued to participate in the broader Mediterranean economy.

Shortly after Jonathon and Simon instituted their joint policies of economic isolation and territorial expansion, the Seleucid monarch Antiochus VII Sidetes renewed his empire's interest in Palestine (see the sidebar: Seleucid Resurgence: Antiochus VII Sidetes). Hasmonean settlements were at first unaffected, as Antiochus directed his initial attentions against Tryphon. Josephus (Ant. 13:222-24) mentions that Tryphon eventually removed himself to Dor, and Appian (Syr. 68) remarks that Antiochus only succeeded in killing him after great effort. There is no positive evidence at Dor of their military stand off. The well-built fortification wall remained both undamaged and in use, as did the large residential district just inside (E. Stern 1995b:43). Two interesting groups of finds do, however, evidence Tryphon's sojourn. The first are four lead sling bullets, of which two carry a winged thunderbolt, one is plain, and the fourth is inscribed on both sides in Greek (Gera 1995). The obverse inscription reads "For the victory of Tryphon," and the reverse "Dor. Year 5. Of the city of the Dorians. Have a taste of sumac." Gera interprets this last injunction as a taunt, since sumac was commonly used either medicinally or as a flavoring. The dating of "year 5" is especially important, since this attests to both the fact and the length of Tryphon' s hold on the city.

The second group of finds are 19 stamped storage jar handles (Ariel, Sharon, Gunneweg, and Perlman 1985). The jars are very similar in shape and size to Palestinian baggy jars, but the stamps themselves follow the tradition of imported Aegean wine amphoras, whose Greek impressions officially guarantee capacity (see To Each Its Own: Marketing Wine and Oil). All of the Dor stamps begin with the symbol LB, a Ptolemaic dating formula to be read as "year 2." While this could refer to the era of several different rulers, the combination of the jars' stratigraphic position, their typological date, and the use of a Ptolemaic-style dating strongly suggests that the stamps refer to the second year of Trypon's rule at Dor.

While no evidence of military confrontation appeared at Dor, a substantial skirmish apparently took place just up the coast, at the small settlement of Shiqmona. The site, which was occupied only periodically, had a single level of Hellenistic remains, a stone paved alley separating several multi-roomed stone buildings (Elgavish 1975). All the rooms had been destroyed by fire, certainly at a single point in time. This destruction had been sudden and swift; in every room excavators came upon intact pottery and stone objects on the floors. The latest datable item was a stamped jar handle of the year 132 BCE.

The Hellenistic settlement at Shiqmona was originally identified as a fortress, but little evidence of such was recovered. Certainly its location does not recommend it for either defensive or strategic purposes. The architecture was

A shekel of independent Tyre. This small bronze coin, minted in Tyre in 75/4 BCE, is one of 120 coins of independent Tyre or Sidon found at Tel Anafa. On the obverse (left) is a head of Tyche, the pagan deity of fortune adopted by many Levantine cities; on the reverse (right) is a Galley facing left, symbol of Tyrian maritime prowess. *Photo courtesy of Sharon Herbert.*

domestic rather than military, as were the finds. In almost every room there were milling or grinding stones. Three rooms were full of amphoras and other large vessels, and so had been used for the storage of foodstuffs. The artifacts do indicate that the residents of Shiqmona received most, if not all, of their goods and supplies via Phoenician merchants. Predominant were Phoenician semi-fine table, serving, and storage vessels, along with several of the bulky wine/oil jars. In addition, many ceramic mold-made drinking vessels appear, as do Rhodian and Koan wine amphoras. Interestingly, only a couple ESA cups were found; manufacture of this particular ware may have just recently begun. The assemblage was very similar to the late Hellenistic assemblages found at Dor and Tel Anafa, and strongly argues against the site's occupation by Jews. Since its destruction occurred in the midst of Sidetes' campaigns, and since it was completely abandoned after that, it seems reasonable to associate its end with some military activity.

Antiochus eventually advanced into Hasmonean territory, reaching, in 132 BCE, Jerusalem itself. A cache of weaponry found lying upon bedrock in the citadel has been attributed to his siege (Johns 1950, 130, fig. 7; Sivan and Solar 1994:173-74). Included were scores of ballista stones, arrowheads, and iron spearbutts. Among these finds were also two lead sling bullets, of the same type as the Dor finds, each impressed with a winged device. The location of these finds reflected the existence by this time of a continuous stretch of wall and probably some towers in the citadel area, an achievment that the author of 1 Macc ascribed to Simon (see above).

These military artifacts notwithstanding, Josephus (Ant. 13:245-48) explains that Antiochus and the Hasmonean ruler John Hyrcanus negotiated a settlement. For the next several years, Hyrcanus was a quiet and compliant ally to the Seleucid king. In 129 BCE, however, Antiochus VII died, and the Hasmonean ruler immediately reopened hostilities against the region's Gentile population. Josephus describes his conquests in general, though in no apparent chronologrcal order. Archaeological remains clarify this to a certain extent.

In one summary of Hyrcanus' achievements, Josephus first mentioned Hasmonean strikes against various

Seleucid Resurgence: Antiochus VII Sidetes (139-129 BCE)

In 139 BCE a new Seleucid king declared himself: Antiochus VII Sidetes. Sidetes took Syria within a year, forcing Trypho into the still well-fortified stronghold of Dor, on the coast. The new king commenced a siege, but remained strong enough during its conduct that he not only rejected the assistance offered him by Simon, but actually demanded concessions:

> "You hold control of Joppa and Gezer and the citadel in Jerusalem; they are cities of my kingdom…Now then, hand over the cities which you have seized and the tribute money of the places which you have conquered outside the borders of Judea" (1 Macc 15:28, 30).

Simon's reply was brusque and pointed (and not precisely truthful):

> "We have neither taken foreign land nor seized foreign property, but only the inheritance of our fathers, which at one time had been unjustly taken by our enemies. Now that we have the opportunity, we are firmly holding the inheritance of our fathers. As for Joppa and Gezer, which you demand, they were causing great damage among the people and to our land; for them we will give a hundred talents" (1 Macc 15:33-35).

Sidetes's first move upon receiving this response was to revoke Simon's governorship of the coast (apparently still in place) in favor of one of his own officers, Cendebaeus. Battle was joined near Jamnia, on the coast; the Hasmoneans defeated the Seleucid army (1 Macc 16:4-10). Despite the setback, Sidetes advanced his claims on Seleucid territory. In the midst of his incursions, Simon was treacherously killed (134 BCE; see below), and the assembled elders in Jerusalem acclaimed his son John Hyrcanus as leader and High Priest. Hyrcanus took control only to be forced to retreat from almost every territorial advance that the Hasmoneans had so far achieved. By 132 BCE Sidetes was encamped before Jerusalem itself, with Hyrcanus essentially imprisoned inside (*Ant*. 13.237). Negotiations ensued, Hyrcanus paid an indemnity, an accord was reached, and Sidetes retreated. A few years later, when Sidetes embarked on an acquisitive campaign against the Parthians, Hyrcanus even accompanied him with a small mercenary force.

Antiochus VII Sidetes died in 129 BCE, while pursuing his campaign to recover the original eastern sections of the Seleucid empire from the Parthians. His death freed up John Hyrcanus's resources, and allowed him to proceed with his uncle's and father's policies of territorial acquisition, Jewish "colonizing" settlements, and concomittant attacks on non-Jewish sites.

settlements in Transjordan (Madeba, Samega, and "neighboring places"), followed by attacks against Shechem and Mt. Gerizim, and finally by the capture of the entire region of Idumaea (*Ant*. 13.254-58). No archaeological data from Transjordan can be associated with Hyrcanus's attacks. The archaeological data from Idumaea, on the other hand, indicated that its subjugation preceded the attacks in Samaria. At Mareshah, the final levels of houses throughout the lower city showed heavy damage, after which the site was essentially abandoned. The last-dated inscription within the large Sidonian family tomb was carved in 119 BCE; an inscription from another tomb cave dated to 112 BCE. In one of the well-appointed houses excavated south of the acropolis, a small hoard hidden in a juglet and buried beneath a house floor contained twenty-five silver coins dating from 122 to 112 BCE. Thus the attack on and destruction of Mareshah must have occurred just after 112 BCE.

Josephus specifies that Hyrcanus allowed the Idumaeans "to stay in that country, if they would submit to circumcision, and make use of the laws of the Jews" (*Ant*. 13.257). While the evidence from Mareshah indicates that its residents, at least, did not avail themselves of this opportunity, occupation did in fact continue at most Idumean sites, such as Tel ʿIra and Tel Ḥalif. In addition, new settlements were established in this region at this time, such as Ḥorvat Rimmon, just south of Tel Ḥalif. In connection with his campaign in Idumaea, Hyrcanus also destroyed and sometimes resettled towns in the southern coastal plain. The late Hellenistic stratum at Ashdod, which included the small Phoenician shrine, was destroyed just after 114 BCE (Dothan 1971:64). Here the evidence indicates immediate reoccupation. Other sites in the coastal plain attacked at this time, but not resettled, include the town of Yavne-Yam (Moshe Fischer pers. com.) and a wealthy farmstead and winepress at Mazor (David Amit pers. com.).

Sites in Samaria show that their violent and complete destruction and subsequent abandonment occurred after Hyrcanus's southern campaigns. At Shechem, the latest coins were minted in the year 107 BCE, dating the settlement's end to that year or shortly thereafter. Numismatic grounds also date the destruction of Mt. Gerizim to after 111 BCE. Josephus mentions that Hyrcanus destroyed the city of Samaria itself. He describes Samaria as "very strong" and discusses at length the siege and attendent military constructions necessary for its capture (*Ant*. 13.275-79). Samaria's defenses at this time included the formidable wall constructed in the middle of the century. This fortification system proved inadequate; a comprehensive conflagration covering the town's Hellenistic occupation dated to the year 108 BCE.

Hyrcanus's (probably) final territorial acquisition was the capture of Scythopolis. Again, Josephus described the achievment—twice, but with contradictory chronologies. In his *Jewish War* (I, 66) he placed it after the fall of Samaria; in *Antiquities* (13.280) he put it before (Kasher 1990:128). Whenever it occured, the assault did not entail wholesale destruction, but rather the burning and razing of pagan altars and the confiscation of their idols. This period's archaeological evidence is solely comprised of the continous series of datable stamped amphora handles found at Tel Istabah (see above). The series includes handles that date to the years

between 108-88 BCE (Period VI), confirming the site's continued occupation after Hyrcanus's attack.

One last but notable feature characterized the archaeological record of later-second-century BCE Judea. For the first time in this region, conspicuous displays of individual wealth appeared. This change was inaugurated by the Hasmonean rulers themselves, who are the first to spend lavish sums on elaborate architecture. Two types of remains were endowed: tombs and private residences. Such spending soon became the fashion among the Jewish aristocracy as well. By the later Hellenistic period, the architecture from Jerusalem and Judea revealed an attitude towards personal wealth and its public display in keeping with the larger culture of the Hellenistic Mediterranean.

1 Maccabees' remarkable description of the tomb that Simon built for Jonathan at Modein is evidence of the adoption of Hellenizing habits:

> Simon built a monument over the tomb of his father and his brothers; he made it high that it might be seen, with polished stone at the front and back. He also erected seven pyramids, opposite one another, for his father and mother and four brothers. And for the pyramids he devised an elaborate setting, erecting about them great columns, and upon the columns he put suits of armor for a permanent memorial, and beside the suits of armor carved ships, so that they could be seen by all who sail the sea (1 Macc 13:27-29).

This assemblage of late Hellenistic household goods was found largely intact in one room at Shiqmona. In the upper row, from left to right, is a Rhodian wine amphora and two Phoenician semi-fine wine/oil jars; in front of them are two small bowls, a semi-fine saucer-lid, and two unguentaria. In the middle is a large basalt milling stone; in the lower left are three semi-fine amphoriskoi. In the lower right are three round and one pyramidal loom weight, an iron nail, a semi-fine lamp (lying upside down), a spindle whorl, and a small round stone grinder. *From Elgavish 1974: pl. XIX.*

The description makes it clear that Simon's elaborate constructions were the first at his family's tomb. While large, fabricated family tombs were customary throughout much of the region (as, for example, the Sidonian colony's tomb at Mareshah), such ostentatious *exterior* funerary architecture was new. The Hasmonaean family sepulchre was, however, wholly in keeping with other personally aggrandizing Hellenistic royal memorials. The tomb's most obvious parallel was to that of the mid-fourth- century BCE Carian dynast Mausolus at Halicarnassus, which also incorporated pyramids, columns, and armor and was built on a high podium to allow easy visibility.

By the end of the second century, the Jewish aristocracy itself in Jerusalem began to build outwardly elaborated family tombs. While the heyday for such constructions arrived a bit later, in the Herodian period, some late Hellenistic examples revealed the beginnings of the phenomenon. The most well-known of these was Jason's Tomb, a family sepulchre discovered in a Jerusalem neighborhood (Rahmani 1967). Considerable similarities existed between this tomb and the description of the Modein tomb. Masons constructed the entire exterior of Jason's Tomb of beautifully cut limestone ashlar blocks, erected into an initial arched gateway and laid as paving for an outer court. A single Doric limestone column placed between Doric pilasters embellished the entrance porch. A pyramid of well-cut stones further adorned this porch above. Inside, artists decorated the porch walls with charcoal drawings depicting ships, as well as two menorahs,

Jason's Tomb at Jerusalem. This view, looking north, takes in the perfectly aligned arched entrance way, facade, and pyramidal roof of Jason's Tomb. The finely carved ashlars are local stone; most of the superstructure was reconstructed from the debris recovered during the excavations. The earliest finds date from the late second/early first century BCE; the tomb was used as a family sepulchre throughout the first century BCE. *From Rahmani 1967.*

thus establishing the family's religious affiliation. Carved on the interior walls, several Greek and Aramaic inscriptions included one three-line Aramaic inscription that lamented Jason, after whom excavators named the tomb. Two chambers lay behind the entrance porch, one containing burial loculi (similar to the Mareshah tombs) and the other containing stone ossuaries. The chambers offered excavators coins, lamps, and a great deal of pottery, providing evidence for the tomb's initial use and its duration. The pottery consisted exclusively of locally produced late Hellenistic household wares, primarily cooking pots, small bowls and saucers, and unguent bottles. The earliest coins date to the beginning of the first century BCE.

Jason's Tomb was one of the earliest constructions of the Jewish necropolis of Hellenistic and Herodian Jerusalem. Other late second century BCE family tombs have been excavated on Givʿat Hamivtar (Tzaferis 1970) and French Hill, north of the Old City (Strange 1975; Kloner 1980). The city's necropolis eventually included some eight hundred tombs, all carved directly into the soft *nari* or harder limestone hillsides surrounding the city. The tombs were generally multi-chambered, with at least one of the rooms having rock-cut benches, known as loculi or *kokhim*, for primary inhumations. About half of these tombs had open forecourts (including Jason's Tomb), usually lined with benches, and sometimes containing a small *mikveʾ*. Burial goods were remarkably uniform; the typical assemblage comprised locally made cooking pots, large jars, small bowls and saucers, juglets, unguent bottles, and lamps. The public space provided by the forecourt and the numerous cooking vessels stemmed from some group ceremony, probably including a ritual meal. The presence of ceremonial grave goods expressed belief in an afterlife (Rahmani 1981, 1982). Both the architecture and the finds of these late Hellenistic/Herodian tombs echoed those of Jerusalem's First Temple period tombs. As is frequetly asserted, this suggests the essential continuity of Jewish burial practices and beliefs. Overlooked by this conclusion, however, is the virtual absence of such tombs from the Persian through middle Hellenistic periods. It is only with the military and political success of the Hasmonaeans, and their embrace of some of the showier aspects of Hellenistic culture, that such tombs reappeared.

A second Hellenistic concept that the Hasmonean rulers adopted to their material advantage was that of "King's Land." Simon had taken over the three southern Samaritan districts that had previously belonged to the Seleucid crown; he probably used their revenues to supply some of the new Jewish settlements with food (1 Macc 14:10; Applebaum 1989:41). He also retained the oasis and balsam groves of Jericho, whose local rule he entrusted to his son-in-law, Ptolemy son of Abubos (1 Macc 16:11-12). This proved unwise in the extreme, since this Ptolemy established a small stronghold there, called Dok, to which he lured Simon in the summer of 134 BCE, and there murdered him. Dok (or Dagon, according to Josephus) has been identified with the height of Jebel Qarantal, overlooking the western side of the mouth of the Wadi Qelt (the name is retained in a spring, Ein Duq, which runs at its foot). On the summit, excavators found a series of walls and architectural fragments, including Ionic capitals. Their precise date is impossible to determine; they may well derive from the next century, when the height was again used for strategic purposes.

After Simon's death, Hyrcanus beseiged Dok in an attempt to capture Ptolemy. He was unsuccessful; Ptolemy escaped to Philadelphia, where Zeno Cotylas took him in (*Ant*. 13.230-35). Shortly thereafter, Sidetes military campaign against

Judea ended with the Seleucid's successful siege of Jerusalem. Hyrcanus's military strength was clearly insufficient for his situation. He responded to this problem in the manner of a Hellenistic prince: he raided the tomb of King David for funds to buy a mercenary force (*Ant.* 13.249). With this, he was able to pursue the series of military campaigns summarized above. He also apparently used some of his income to build a fortified mountain-top hideaway in the desert, inspired perhaps by Ptolemy's well-defended stronghold at Doq. This hideaway, named Hyrcania, was identified in 1880 with the Byzantine monastery Castellion in the Judean Desert about ten km west of ʿEin Feshka.[7] Hyrcania was used by later Hasmoneans as well as by Herod the Great. Though it has not been systematically excavated and few of the remains can be precisely dated, Hasmonean structures are identified by their typically Hellenistic masonry of limestone ashlars with drafted edges and a roughly projecting central boss, laid in alternating courses of headers and stretchers. Several aqueducts display such masonry; one supplied two side-by-side rock-cut pools (or reservoirs) at the western foot of the fortress.

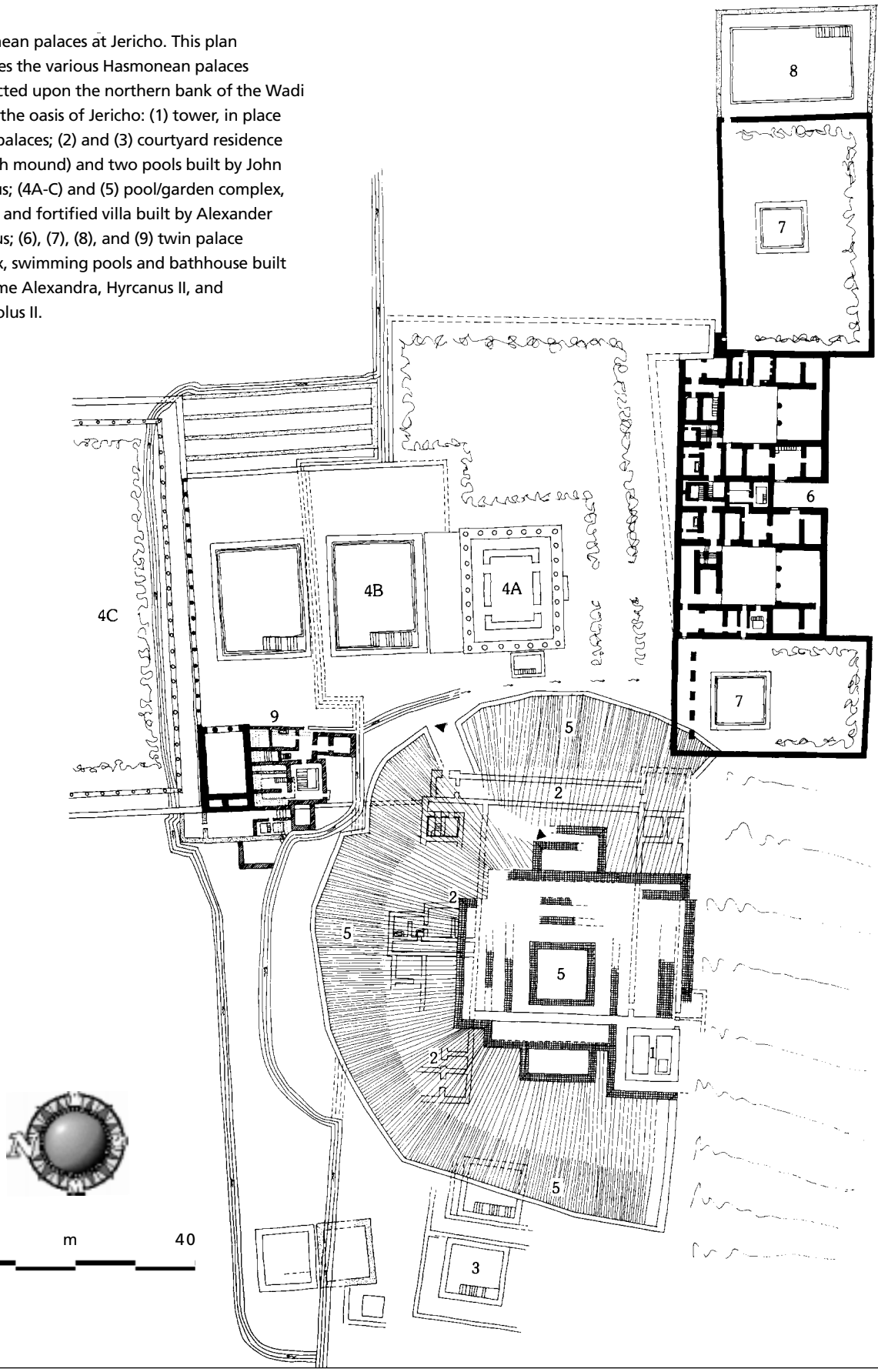
In addition to military conquests and fortifications, Hyrcanus also expended sizeable sums on a palatial private residence. This he built in the oasis of Jericho, just below the stronghold of Dok where his father had been murdered. The area selected by Hyrcanus for his constructions was on the north side of the outlet of the Wadi Qelt, near a double mound with the modern name of Tulul Abu el-ʾAlayiq.[8] The area's earliest constructions were erected in the later second century BCE and comprised a large, lavish residence, probably used as a winter palace (Netzer 1993). This consisted of a huge building (50 by 55 m) with frescoed interiors, a heated bathing room including a plastered tub, and a *miqveʾ*. To the south of this complex were two large side-by-side swimming pools (just as at Hyrcania). Water for the pools came from the Wadi Qelt via a clay pipe off of an aqueduct that irrigated an enormous flat expanse north of the palace. Here a series of long straight walls probably separated plots given over to date palm, persimmon, and balsam trees; Strabo, Pliny, and Josephus mentioned their cultivation here.

The Hasmonean palatial constructions at Jericho vividly illustrate a prescient point made by Elias Bickerman (who wrote a generation before these remains were identified). He noted that "the Maccabees eradicated one kind of Hellenism only to facilitate the growth of another kind" (1962:178). While the extravagant display of personal wealth that this complex reflected was merely of a piece with other contemporary late Hellenistic remains (such as the courtyard house at Tel Anafa), it was shockingly ostentatious in terms of the Judean material tradition (constructions such as the Qaṣr al-Abd aside). The contemporary historical record revealed that the Jewish community at this period had remained riven by conflicting world views and politics. Though Judea was now independent, with its own appointed Jewish leader, the religious controversy that had marked the century and had sparked the Maccabean revolt persisted. The remains of the Jericho palace illustrate the lifestyle of Jews on one side of this debate. On the other side were Jews who believed that such wealthy display was not only selfish, but immoral. Sometime during the second half of the second century BCE, a small group of such Jews moved out of Jerusalem, away from the city's material excess, and into the desert. They came to a place near the northern edge of the Dead Sea, just above the Wadi Qumran.

An amphora from the destruction deposit. at Yavneh-Yam. In recent excavations at the coastal site of Yavneh-Yam, Moshe Fischer found this Phoenician semi fine table amphora in the midst of a destroyed occupation level (compare the example on page 23). The vessel illustrates the town's Phoenician trading connections, as well as providing a late second century BCE date for the conflagration which ended its Hellenistic period occupation. *Photo courtesy M. Fischer.*

The settlers who came to Qumran at this time were not the first to occupy the site. In the late Iron Age Qumran hosted a small fortified encampment: a rectangular building and a large, round cistern. This settlement was damaged during the Babylonian conquest of Judah in the early sixth century BCE. When people returned to Qumran in late Hellenistic times, they reused both of the original structures and dug out two more cisterns as well. This occupation was very small—numbering about fifty people. A small amount of locally made utilitarian pottery is all that remains of its existence. Shortly after this initial resettlement, however, more people joined the community. The residents enlarged the original building and modified it to include a guard tower, several large communal rooms designed for various uses, including dining, and a small pantry. They built a pottery workshop to one side and a nearby complex of storerooms arranged around a courtyard. They added several new cisterns as well as two pools identified as *miqvaʾot*. None of these buildings betray even a trace of decoration. Their residents used no imported or luxury goods. Occupation of this second architectural phase continued until the site was destroyed by an earthquake in 31 BCE. The numismatic evidence suggests that it began sometime during the reign of John Hyrcanus. The first phase probably preceded it only by a little.

Hasmonean palaces at Jericho. This plan illustrates the various Hasmonean palaces constructed upon the northern bank of the Wadi Qelt, in the oasis of Jericho: (1) tower, in place before palaces; (2) and (3) courtyard residence (beneath mound) and two pools built by John Hyrcanus; (4A-C) and (5) pool/garden complex, mound, and fortified villa built by Alexander Jannaeus; (6), (7), (8), and (9) twin palace complex, swimming pools and bathhouse built by Salome Alexandra, Hyrcanus II, and Aristobolus II.



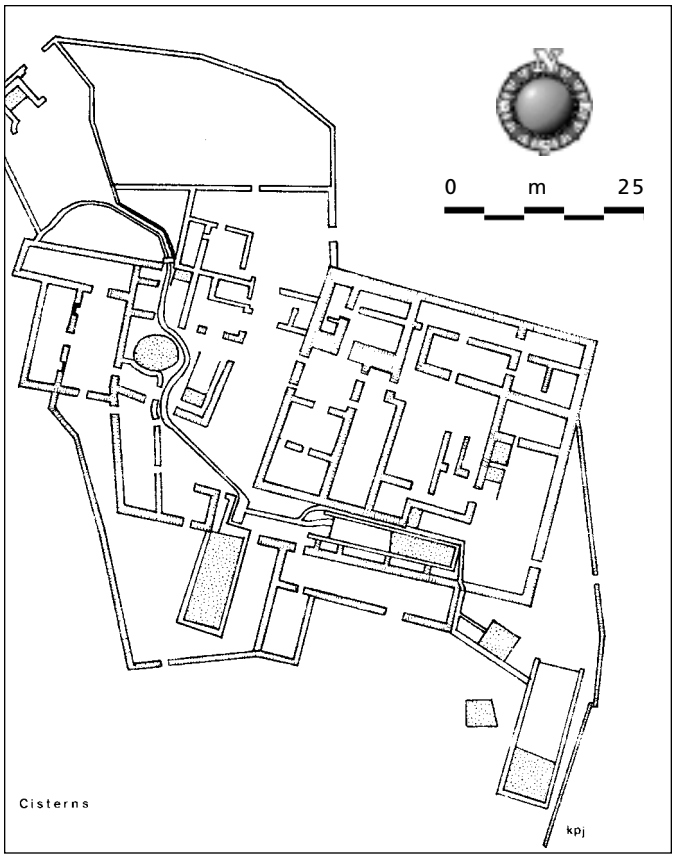
The site of Qumran was situated on a small terrace beneath the Judean hills, only one km south of the cave in which the first manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls were found in 1947. The identification of the site's settlers has remained linked to the identification of the scrolls' authors.[9]

The scrolls contain evidence concerning the founding of the settlement. The sect's first leader, who was called "The Teacher of Righteousness," was also given the title of "High Priest," an honorific inconceivable unless the person actually held that office at some time. In an elegant piece of detective work, J. M. O'Connor showed that this High Priest must have been the one whom Jonathan forced out of office by his own appointment in 152 BCE (O'Connor 1976, 1977). This in turn allowed the identification of the sect's "Wicked Priest" as Jonathan himself, after whose accession the community fled Jerusalem for their isolated life at Qumran. Its writings thus emerged from a Jewish sect whose members embraced especially rigorous religious observances, and who emphatically rejected the more lax interpretation and materialistic lifestyle of the Judean ruling class. While its large rooms and ample water storage system of its settlement served a population of reasonable size, no accomodation for individual comforts appeared. Material goods were restricted to the most basic utilitarian objects; elaboration and luxury were wholly absent (Magness 1994). The simplicity of the site and its finds presented a material counterpoint to the conspicuously affluent lifestyle of the Hasmoneans and their aristocratic supporters.

In the course of the second half of the second century BCE, the Seleucid empire effectively disintegrated and various independent polities developed in its stead—on the coast, in Transjordan, and in the Negev. The archaeological evidence from these regions reveals that, despite occasional military activities, the inhabitants of these regions continued to live peacefully and prosperously, maintaining Mediterranean commercial connections and materially diverse lifestyles. In the central hills of Judea and Samaria, on the other hand, both old and new Jewish settlements contained a limited and consistent series of locally produced goods. During this period secure access to the Mediterranean coast was achieved, and Jewish settlements were established throughout Idumaea and the southern and central coastal plain. But political and territorial expansion did not translate into material diversity. Instead, as Judea's borders expanded, the long entrenched economic isolation of the central hills came to characterize the formerly cosmopolitan regions brought into its realm.

A Rising Tide: Hasmonean Expansion (104–63 BCE)

John Hyrcanus died in 104 BCE, and his son Judah Aristobulus succeeded him. Aristobulus ruled for a single year, during which, according to Josephus, he "made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws" (*Ant*. 13.318). This echoed Hyrcanus's treatment



The small, enclosed community built at Qumran in the later second or early first century BCE (phase Ib). The emphasis on water storage is evident in the number of large cisterns. The absence of a fortified exterior, and the easily accessed entrance, both indicate that the inhabitants were not fleeing some potential attack; their move to this desert spot was motivated instead by its distance from the more materialistic urban center of Jerusalem. The several large rooms make the compound suitable for organized communal activities.

of the Idumeans, but in this case, it is difficult to reconcile the literary account with the archaeological evidence.

The Itureans' original homeland was the mountainous interior of Lebanon, and their capital was Chalcis in the Beqa‹a. By the later second century BCE, they apparently had expanded their territory southward, though not so far as Galilee. In archaeological surveys on Mt. Hermon and in the northern Golan Heights, archaeologists have discovered and labeled a series of architectural remains and a distinctive ceramic ware as Iturean (Dar 1993:200, 210; Hartal 1989:125). Sixty such sites were scattered among the small terraces and ravines of the southwestern Hermon massif and sixty-seven on the high plateaus of the northeastern Golan. About half of these sites seem to have begun in the mid-later second century BCE; almost all continued through the Roman (and sometimes Byzantine) periods. Most consisted of small unwalled farmsteads, each with a few one- or two-room structures, built of rough hewn field stones, and some provision for animal pens. At first, occupants used many of these

seasonally. Two of the early Hermon settlements were, however, large enough to be considered villages and were probably permanent constructions from the start. Khirbet Dura, for example, included about two dozen stone houses and cisterns, as well as a dye (?) workshop and a small stone temple. The Hermon survey identified several other shrines, as well as simple standing stones (*maṣṣebot*) around houses.

At all of these sites, a distinctive pottery fabric occurs—"Golan ware" (Hartal 1989). This was light brownish-pink in color, somewhat soft, and heavily tempered with grit, grog, and chaff. The most common vessel type was a large, heavy-bottomed storage jar, with a short narrow toe that could be ground into a dirt floor for support, and a narrow mouth that could be easily covered over. The jars were probably used for all manner of storage, especially water since none of the Golan sites had cisterns or reservoirs. "Golan ware" was certainly local to this region. Its presence is reasonably taken to indicate an Iturean population.

Two aspects of this archaeological data pertain to the military ventures of Aristobulus. First, there is no evidence of attack or destruction at any site identified as Iturean at this time; rather occupation continued and expanded throughout the next century. Second, there was no indication of Jewish religious practice (such as, for example, *mikva'ot*). To the contrary, local cult sites and traditions persisted. There is, in fact, no evidence that this area ever came under Hasmonean political or economic control. Nor is there evidence for Iturean settlement in Galilee itself. These discrepancies suggest that Josephus misreported the conquests of Aristobulus.

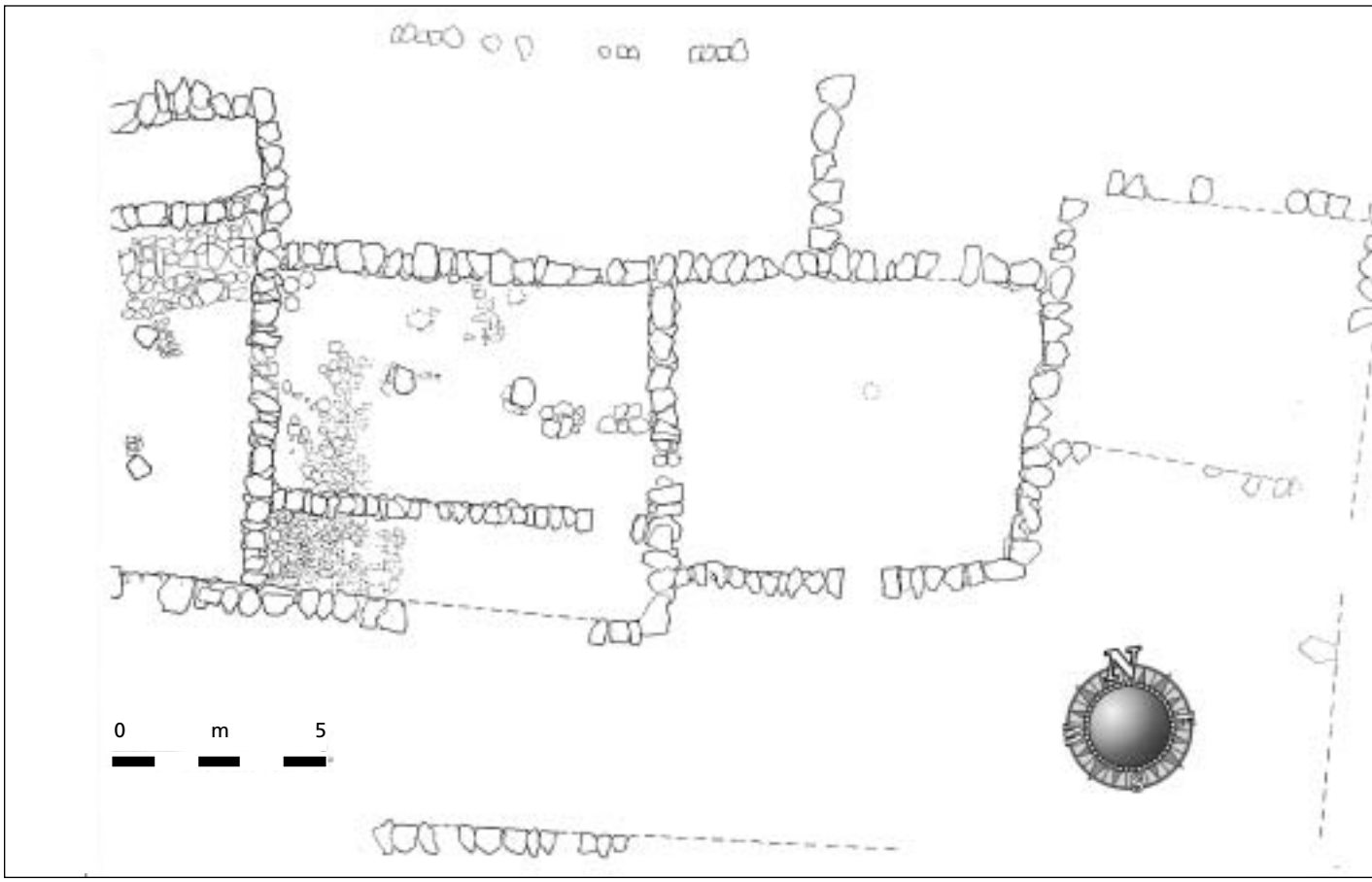
Coins of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE) are some of the most common artifacts found at Jewish sites of the first century BCE. Even down to the time of Herod the Great, Jannaeus coins remained in circulation. This coin, somewhat worn, was found at Gamla. On the obverse (top photo) is an anchor, and the inscription ΛΕΞΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΣΙΛΕΩΣ (Of King Alexander). On the reverse is a star with eight rays (reminiscent of the *YRSLM* stamped handles), with a diadem surrounding, and Hebrew letters between the rays spelling "King Yehonatan." Notable are both the bilingual inscription and the adoption of a royal title. *Photo courtesy of Danny Syon.*

Aristobulus reigned for only one year; upon his death in 103 BCE his brother Alexander Jannaeus succeeded him as High Priest and military commander (M. Stern 1981). His first move was an expedition against Akko-Ptolemais, which he attempted to take by siege (*Ant*. 13.324). The tyrant Zoilus, ensconced just south at Dor and Strato's Tower, sent "some small assistance" to the city, but this proved insufficient to remove Jannaeus. The residents finally sought and received help from Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, to whom Zoilus had been allied. Ptolemy and his army landed at Shiqmona (currently unoccupied); their arrival immediately persuaded Jannaeus to end his siege and begin negotiations. As it turned out, Ptolemy (who was the Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra's rival and had been banished from Egypt to Cyprus) was more interested in money than land. For four hundred talents, he sold out Zoilus and his territories to Jannaeus. Acquisition of Strato's Tower and Dor and their large, fertile hinterlands consolidated Hasmonean control of the central and northern coastal plain (Levine 1974).

The initial conquests of these cities did not include destruction or the deportation of Gentile residents. In fact, the only archaeological evidence for Hasmonean occupation was the sudden and profuse appearance of coins of Alexander Jannaeus—a clear indication of economic redirection.

Jannaeus seemed here not to have subscribed to a policy of forced "Judaization"; his priorities were instead political, legal, and economic (Kasher 1990:142). Numismatic evidence bears this out. Jannaeus was the first of the Hasmoneans to mint in quantity, and his coins comprised some of the most common artifacts of the early first century BCE. The appearance of Jannaeus coins at a previously Gentile site is generally regarded as evidence for its takeover. On this basis, Ashdod, Strato's Tower, Samaria, Dor, and Transjordanian Gerasa are all thought to have been "colonized" (Applebaum 1989:21, n. 51).

Jannaeus apparently worried that concluding an agreement with Ptolemy would so anger Cleopatra that she would in turn invade Palestine. He therefore began negotiating secretly with her as well. Unfortunately, when Ptolemy discovered this, *he* decided to invade. He began marauding about in Galilee and Transjordan. Cleopatra, fearful that his potential conquests could become a springboard for an invasion of Egypt, came after him (*Ant*. 13.348). She attacked and took Akko-Ptolemais, at which place she also solidified an alliance with Jannaeus (Kasher 1990:144). This agreement, along with Cleopatra's turning her own resources against Ptolemy, freed Jannaeus from a defensive posture. He next moved against the cities of northern Transjordan recently taken by Ptolemy. Josephus reports that Jannaeus took Gadara, after a siege of ten months, as well as Amathus, then ruled by Theodorus, the son of Zeno Cotylas (*Ant*. 13.356; *J.W.* 1.4.2). In the meantime, Cleopatra had forced Ptolemy back to Cyprus and herself returned to Egypt. This cleared the way for Jannaeus to complete his conquest of the coastal plain, and



The stone foundations of the remaining walls of Khirbet Zemel, an Iturean site in the Golan Heights. On the right is a single large enclosure, probably for animals; on the left is a large room that may have housed a family. A partially paved corridor runs the length of the southern side. The builders used local field stone. Excavations recovered pottery and coins of the second half of the second century BCE. Several large storage jars were found in situ. *Plan courtesy of Moshe Hartal.*

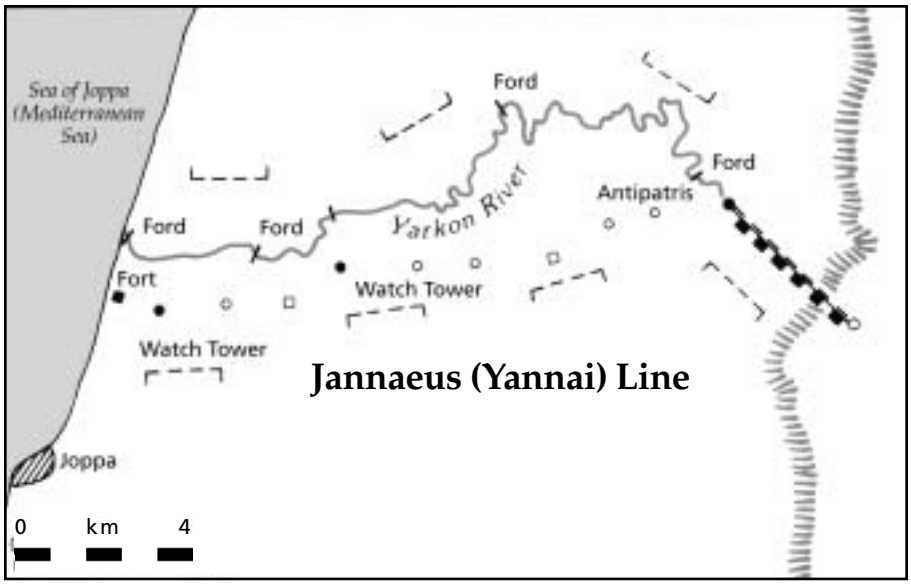
he laid siege to Gaza (*Ant*. 13.358-64). Residents appealed for help to the Nabataean king, but their city fell by internal betrayal before his help could arrive. Scholars disagree about the precise date of this event; correlations provided by Josephus suggest the year 96 BCE, while other computations indicate about 100/99 BCE (M. Stern 1981:40; Kasher 1990:145). In either scenario, after only a few years of his rule, Jannaeus had incorporated the coastal plain from Gaza to Carmel (except for the territory of Ascalon, which remained independent), as well as sections of northern Transjordan, into the Hasmonean state.

Jannaeus's initial gains did not reflect his military superiority, so much as a combination of luck and taking advantage of the hostile engagements of others (M. Stern 1981:22-32). His ability to hold the coastal plain—the region's main north-south thoroughfare—is a case in point. Shortly after the conquest of Gaza, Antiochus XII Dionysus, one of several current contenders for Seleucid hegemony, decided to attack both Judea and Nabatea. Josephus reports that Jannaeus,

> out of fear of his coming, dug a deep ditch, beginning at…Antipatris, to the sea of Joppa.… He also raised a wall, and erected wooden towers, and intermediate redoubts, for 150 furlongs in length, and there expected the coming of Antiochus (*Ant* 13.390).

When Antiochus did come, however, he simply burned the towers, and proceeded through the area towards the Nabateans. They in turn met Antiochus in battle and killed him (*Ant*. 13.391). After this, the Nabateans extended their territory in Transjordan, and for a short time controlled this region as far north as Damascus, taking over that city at the request of its residents. Meanwhile, military activity ceased in the coastal plain, which remained under Hasmonean control.

Archaeological remains indicate that Jannaeus constructed his defensive line along the Yarkon River. In the course of modern development in this area, a series of rectangular and hexagonal-shaped stone foundations have been uncovered. The easternmost was near Pegae (ancient Aphek, Herodian Antipatris), the westernmost in the heart of modern Tel-Aviv. Coins of Jannaeus have been found in associated fills; these, along with their location and similar construction, support the identification of the remains as the "Jannaeus line" described by Josephus (Kaplan 1967). Excavations at the fortified sites of Horvat Mesad and Horvat ʿEqed have also uncovered Jannaeus coins and other late Hellenistic remains, suggesting that the line extended along the "Jerusalem



"Jannaeus line" along Yarkon River. Excavations in and around modern Tel Aviv have uncovered a series of sturdy stone foundations, remains of watch towers and emplacements constructed by Alexander Jannaeus. Josephus describes this line as extending from Antipatris to the sea, and says that Jannaeus intended it as a precaution against Antiochus XII. It was wholly unsuccessful, however; Antiochus simply burned the towers and proceeded down the coastal plain, where he met his demise in a pitched battle against the Nabateans.

corridor" as well (Fischer 1987:125-26).

Both before and after the Nabatean victory against Antiochus, Jannaeus was preoccupied with internal problems. Josephus recounted that "his own people were seditious against him," and Jannaeus turned his resources against Jerusalem itself: "He built a partition-wall of wood round the altar and the temple, …and by this means he obstructed the multitude from coming at him" (*Ant.* 13.373). During this time, the Nabateans continued their political and economic dominion of Transjordan, a fact reflected archaeologically in the appearance of Nabatean coins from the mint of Damascus (Hill 1922:xi-xii, pl. XLIX,1). But by the year 83 BCE, Jannaeus had managed both to repress his enemies and to reorganize his forces, enabling him to embark on another series of campaigns. He moved north, into northern Transjordan and the Golan, obviously in order to cut off this newly-won arm of the Nabatean principality. Josephus summarizes the extent of Jannaeus' conquests (ca. 80 BCE):

> At this time the Jews were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, and Idumeans, and Phoenicians: at the seaside, Strato's Tower, Appollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adora, and Marisa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of the Gaulonites, Seleucia, and Gamala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon, and Madeba, Lemba, and Oronoas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews (*Ant.* 13.395-97).

The conquests and rule of Alexander Jannaeus altered patterns of settlement and exchange that had developed since the return from Babylon in the late sixth century BCE. Despite the sporadic Hasmonean attacks, and occasional political dominion (e.g., under Simon) that began in the mid-second century BCE, the economies and lifestyles of the inhabitants of the coastal plain had continued distinct from those of the religiously-oriented central hills. Now, however, the balance shifted, with those who defined themselves by religious affiliation controlling more territory, more resources, and more power, than those whose lives were oriented towards commerce and material comforts. The archaeological record of early first century BCE Palestine revealed fundamental changes. With a few exceptions (e.g., Ashkelon), the Mediterranean-facing culture of the Graeco-Phoenician coastal plain and Idumaea diminished or disappeared. Jewish settlements established in previously Gentile areas largely contained household products made only in Judea and other Jewish areas (e.g., Lower Galilee). Imports and luxury items were rare or absent, a phenomenon most obviously reflected by the dearth of Aegean wine amphoras and ESA. Architecture was plain; industry was confined to the production of wine and oil for local use.

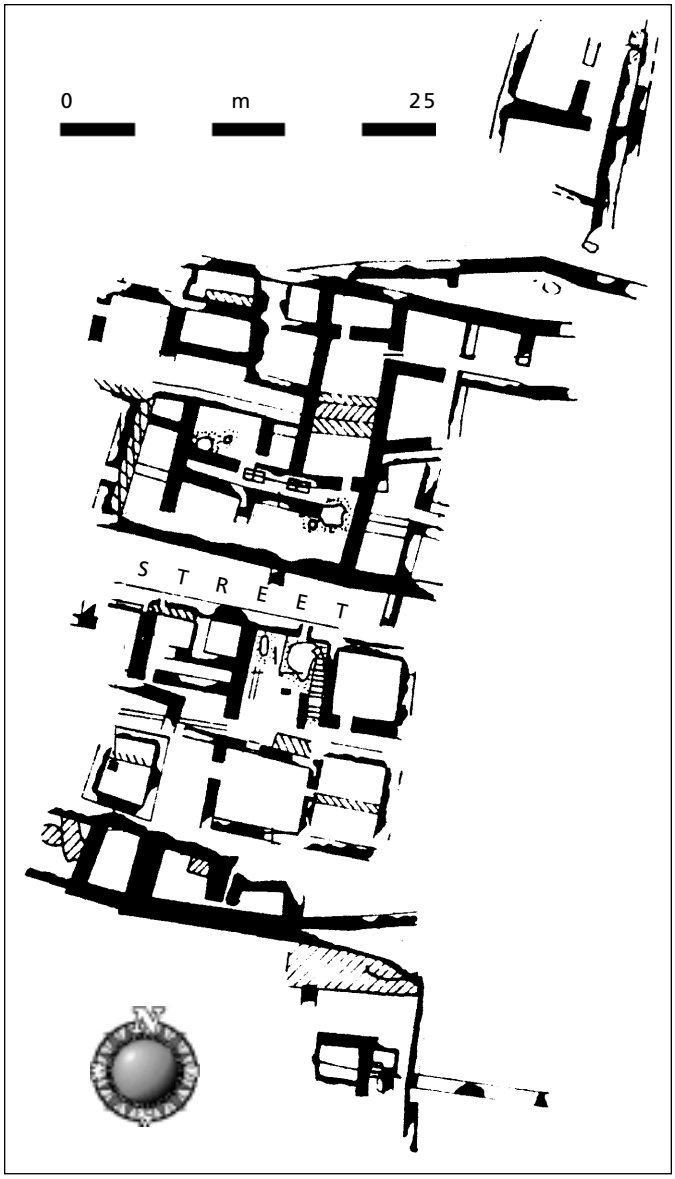
The sites of Pella and Gamla (Gamala) have provided a most compelling illustration of this regional sea-change. Josephus singled out Pella in his summation of Jannaeus's conquests: a pagan town destroyed because the inhabitants refused to change their religion. The city of Pella comprised a large mound in the Jordan river valley, just across the river from Beth-Shean-Scythopolis. Occupation on and in the vicinity of the mound began in the third millenium BCE. Pella was apparently abandoned after the Babylonian conquest and not reoccupied until early Hellenistic times. This period was, however, poorly represented by the remains; it appears that a sizeable settlement did not develop until the second century BCE. Excavators have found several small houses, whose goods included Aegean wine amphoras, Phoenician semi-fine and ESA pottery, other Mediterranean-produced decorated tablewares, and glass and metal vessels. Pella's markets were probably supplied via Beth-Shean-Scythopolis, and its inhabitants enjoyed a similarly comfortable lifestyle—one cut off by the assault of Jannaeus. Across the mound, the final levels of Hellenistic remains were buried in ash and burned debris, evidence of a massive conflagration that effectively ended occupation. Pella remained abandoned until the

beginning of the next century (McNicoll et al. 1982).

The small town of Gamla, located on an isolated spur in the southern Golan Heights, had a completely different fate. A thriving late Hellenistic town was probably established here sometime in the later second century BCE (Syon 1992). Excavators uncovered two blocks of houses in one residential area, separated by a narrow stone-paved street. Just off the street was a two-roomed bath complex, with two stepped pools and a separate tub. This may have been a public *miqveʾ*. The houses were small, having two or three rooms; courtyards were shared. Two large olive presses occupied one courtyard, testifying to the residents' primary industry. Within the houses, excavators recovered a plethora of material remains, including the occupants' household pottery. The earliest remains include ESA table vessels and even a few imported wine amphoras. The household pottery of the subsequent phase, however, was almost exclusively undecorated, utilitarian types—storage jars, cooking vessels, small eating and drinking bowls. The forms were identical to those found at Jewish sites throughout Judea. Gamla was probably a Hellenizing Jewish village until Jannaeus took it over. The site's numismatic profile revealed the intensity of its new connection: of the 6200 coins recovered in excavation, about sixty percent were of Jannaeus. After his conquest, in about 80 BCE, the town continued to flourish; new houses were built, and the population probably increased.

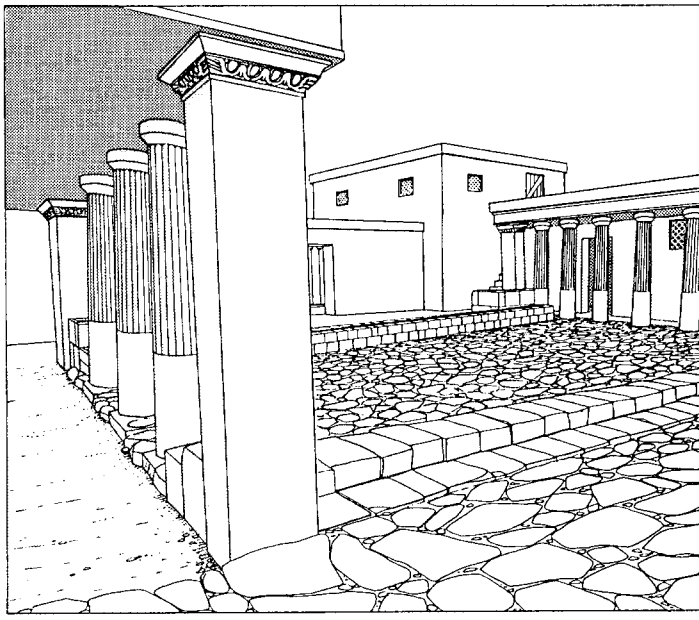
Alexander Jannaeus did not conquer all of Palestine. Both Ashkelon and Akko-Ptolemais remained independent, and Tyre retained control of much of the upper Galilee. The limits of Hasmonean expansion were well reflected by the remains of the final Hellenistic occupation of Tel Anafa. The elaborate villa that was built around 125 BCE underwent an extensive remodeling sometime around 100 BCE, after which occupation continued for another twenty or twenty-five years. The remodeling consisted of partitioning some of the large rooms that surrounded the central courtyard, as well as constructing a new two-room unit at the northeast corner. While these changes resulted in a less impressive plan, the basic character of the occupation was unaltered. The bath complex continued in use, and the courtyard's aspect was actually improved by being completely paved with large flattened basalt stones. Abundant and luxurious ceramic, glass, and metal objects continued to occur. Imported wine amphoras were plentiful. A small group of Italian cooking vessels from this period's occupation attested to outside contacts and influences (Berlin 1992).

Tel Anafa's early first century BCE occupants clearly had the same character and lifestyle as their late second century BCE predecessors. The numismatic profile was consistent as well: a large majority of the approximately 185 identifiable late Hellenistic coins were from independent Tyre or Sidon, and the next largest group were late Seleucid imperial issues. Only three coins of Jannaeus were found (Meshorer 1994). The remains also revealed that the site was never attacked or destroyed; no evidence of conflagration was found in any excavated area (this point has been overlooked or ignored by almost everyone writing about the extent of Jannaeus's conquests, most recently Kasher 1990:159). Instead, the courtyard building was simply abandoned, its eventual collapse caused by rain and snow invading the partially mud-brick walls. The virtual absence of Jannaeus coins and the lack of destruction deposits have provided compelling documentation that Hasmonean expansion stopped short of the Hula Valley.



This late Hellenistic residential area excavated at Gamla (Area B) contains five blocks divided by a street. In the upper block, several large oil pressing stones were found in place. The lower block contained a large room with a miqveʾ and a bathtub; this may have been a ritual bathing area for this neighborhood. Also found were cooking ovens and a great deal of domestic pottery. *Plan courtesy of Danny Syon and David Goren.*

The historical record of Alexander Jannaeus's military activities would suggest that he devoted all of his time to such campaigns. The archaeological record proves otherwise. Some of the largest architectural projects undertaken in Hellenistic Palestine occur in Judea in the period of Jannaeus's



¶ **This reconstruction drawing** shows the central courtyard of Anafa's LHSB after it was paved in the early first century BCE. The view, from the southwestern corner, shows that columns lined only two sides of the court, indicating that the building's upper floors did not extend around its entire perimeter. *Drawing courtesy of Sharon Herbert.*

§ **A Late Hellenistic stuccoed building courtyard** at Anafa. View of the east colonnade and central courtyard of the LHSB, from the northeast. The square courtyard was only paved in the early first century BCE; before that the surface was beaten earth. Visible down the center of this view are the lower drums of four of the supporting columns that lined the court's east side, as they were found. On the far right side was the three-roomed bath complex; this photo was taken after its mosaic floor and lower levels were removed. *Photo courtesy of Sharon Herbert.*

rule—though significantly, most were defensive in nature. In Jerusalem itself, Jannaeus completed the construction of adequate fortifications surrounding the growing residential district on the southwestern hill (the Upper City). Substantial stretches of walls and the lower courses of rectangular towers, all built of drafted ashlars with rough bosses laid as headers and stretchers, occur within the Citadel, as well as to its south. Portions of these constructions were erected under the rule of Simon and Hyrcanus. In its entirety, the Hasmonean wall largely followed the Iron Age line (the so-called First Wall), but by the early first century BCE that original line had been thoroughly rebuilt.

Jannaeus further devoted himself to the development of a series of fortresses along the eastern border of the central hills. While this was probably in part motivated by internal troubles, it also accommodated the region's shifting demographics. In the early first century BCE, scores of settlements in the coastal plain were abandoned, with this region's remaining Gentile inhabitants probably relocating to the few surviving cities, such as Ashkelon and Dor. Jewish control of that region, along with its diminished population, greatly lessened the chance of attack from this direction. At the same time, Jerusalem had become the center of the country's political and economic life, and the population of Judea and Samaria was increasing. The central hills, and especially Jerusalem, remained vulnerable to incursion from the Jordan River valley, and it was along this route that Jannaeus constructed a line of mountain-top fortresses.

Two such fortresses—Dok and Hyrcania—already existed. Josephus indicated that Jannaeus built a third, Alexandrium, north of Dok, and a fourth, Machaerus, south of Hyrcania and east of the Dead Sea (it is possible that another, quite small, fortified encampment was already in place on Masada, at the southern tip of the Dead Sea; Tsafrir 1982). Alexandrium was identified in 1866 with the distinctive high peak of Qarn el-Sartabeh (the horn of Sartaba). The summit hosted walls built of drafted limestone ashlars with wide, rough bosses, arranged in alternating courses of headers and stretchers. The masonry was identical to the Hasmonean walls excavated in Jerusalem. The architecture was

apparently not limited to defensive structures; excavation also uncovered remains of a vaulted pool (cistern?), a *mikveʾ*, and perhaps a stoa. Similar sorts of remains have been found on the summit of Machaerus.

Jannaeus also devoted considerable resources to the Hasmonean complex at Jericho. In the early years of his reign, he built a second aqueduct. This served a large new recreational area, which included another pair of pools, a colonnaded pavilion, plastered patios, and ornamental gardens (Netzer 1993). Security concerns were evident here as well, however: builders enclosed part of the gardens with thick walls. They completely buried the original structure, which was on level ground and so not easily defended, in a huge artificial mound. On its top, a smaller, fortified residence arose. Diggers exposed hundreds of jars—still stoppered—in two tower rooms, perhaps further indications of Jannaeus's "siege mentality."

Alexander Jannaeus died in 76 BCE, holed up in Ragaba, a fortified settlement across the Jordan. He bequeathed his greatly expanded and highly secured kingdom to his wife, Salome Alexandra. Alexandra, unable to hold the position of High Priest, assigned that role to the elder of her two sons, Hyrcanus (II), while she herself maintained military command. But her younger son, Aristobolus (II), not content with this arrangement, convinced her to divide this power with him. Josephus reports that Alexandra "committed the fortresses to them, all but Hyrcania and Alexandrium and Machaerus, where her principal treasures were" (*Ant.* 13.417). This notion of personal ownership, especially of explicitly defensive settlements, reveals the wholly Hellenized character of Hasmonean rule by this time.

The most vivid illustration of Hasmonean royal pretensions appeared at Jericho. South of the recently completed pool and garden complex, architects laid out a huge new building. The plan consisted of two identical villa-like structures, each with a central open-air courtyard surrounded by rooms. A single rectangular room opened to the south of each courtyard, separated by two columns; these may have served as formal dining rooms. Frescoed walls decorated the interior. Inside were bathrooms and *miqvaʾot*; a second independent bathing facility was built north of the leveled mound. To either side of the villas, which Netzer (1993) has termed the "twin palaces," were square pools surrounded by gardens. All of these new constructions belonged to the period of Salome Alexandra, though their unusual layout probably sprang from the wishes of her ambitious and powerful sons. It is a final archaeological irony that the Jericho palaces—developed and used by Judea's Jewish leaders—are the only "royal" architecture found in Hellenistic Palestine.

In 67 BCE Salome Alexandra died, and control of the Hasmonean kingdom passed to Hyrcanus II and Aristobolus II. Due to the extensive conquests of their father, Alexander Jannaeus, their territorial inheritance included most of Palestine, Gaulanitis, and much of Transjordan. This outline, however, provides a misleading reflection of their kingdom. By the time of their accession, the country's settlement was concentrated almost exclusively in the central hills of Judea and Samaria, in the Lower Galilee, and the Golan. The material remains of this core area included mainly locally produced, utilitarian goods, with few imports and little influence from Phoenician or Mediterranean cultures. Palestine was now in effect Hasmonean: religiously defined, inwardly focused, with a population settled largely in farmsteads and small villages, and organized around the single city of Jerusalem.

By the early-mid first century BCE, most of the regions around the perimeter of the Hasmonean kingdom were very largely depopulated. All sorts of sites—cities and villas, rural farmsteads—were abandoned. In the Hula Valley, Tel Anafa was abandoned by 75 BCE; in the Akko plain scores of

A Religious Panoply: Deities And Shrines

The variety of ethnic groups residing throughout Hellenistic Palestine required an equal number of religious outlets. Some deities and cult sites were known from literary sources and inscriptions; archaeological finds have revealed others. The accompanying map locates Greek, Egyptian, Phoenician, Jewish/Samaritan, and "local" (i.e. native, non-Jewish) shrines throughout Hellenistic Palestine.

Site	Affiliation	Evidence
Akko	Phoenician (Astarte, Atargatis)	inscription
	Greek (Zeus Soter)	inscription
Beth Sheʾan	Greek (Zeus Olympias)	list of priests
Dor	Phoenician	inscription, cultic objects
Makhmish	Phoenician	shrine, figurines
Jaffa	"local"	cult hall
Ashdod	"local"	house shrine
	Phoenician (Dagon)	1 Macc
Ashkelon	Phoenician	
Mareshah	"local"/Idumean?	shrine in city center
	Greek (Apollo)	eagle statue with inscription
Beersheba	Greek	temple, figurines
Jerusalem	Jewish	*Ezra*, *Neh*, *I Macc*, Josephus
Mt. Gerizim	Jewish (Samaritan)	temple, Josephus
Samaria	Egyptian (Serapis-Isis)	inscription
	Greek (Dioscuri)	sculptured stone reliefs
Mt. Mizpe Yammim	"local"	temple, enclosure
Dan	"local"	high place, inscription
Banias	Greek (Pan)	pottery
Mt. Sena'im (Hermon)	"local"/Ituraean?"	temenos
Kh. Dura (Hermon)	"local"/Ituraean?	temple

Hellenistic Household Inventories: A Ceramic Primer

Early Hellenistic Pottery

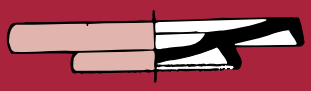
These drawings display typical assemblages of Early Hellenistic household pottery from northern, coastal, and central Palestine. Inhabitants of coastal sites used more various and decorated shapes for table and serving uses than did people living elsewhere. They also had two different forms of cooking vessels, in contrast to the single globular cooking pot common in the north and the central hills. The sophisticated range of household goods found at Early Hellenistic coastal sites was a result of that region's more mixed population, broader trading patterns, and simply greater affluence.

Late Hellenistic Pottery

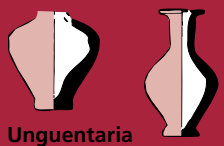
During the late Hellenistic period (beginning ca. 150 bce), household pottery assemblages from northern and coastal sites had much in common: a variety of forms for table and serving; several types of cooking vessels, including cooking pots, casseroles, and baking dishes; and imported Aegean wine amphorae. Northern sites received more vessels of Phoenician manufacture, including a full range of semi fine storage and serving vessels, and the fine red-slipped Eastern Sigillata A table wares. Assemblages from the central hills continued poor in both the quantity and quality of vessels. Inhabitants there primarily used pottery made in the immediate environs, though local potters did copy earlier, imported forms for the table wares.

Early Hellenistic

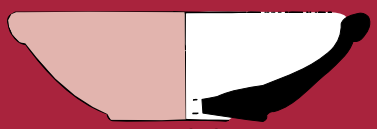
Northern



Fish Plate Sam 37.1

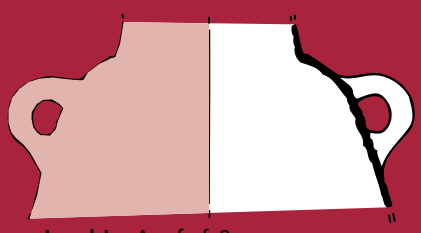


Unguentaria
Anafa f. 9



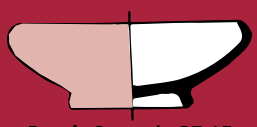
Mortarium Anafa f. 9

Cook Pot Anafa f. 9



Local Jar Anafa f. 9

Central Hills



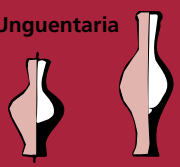
Bowls Samaria 37.15

Samaria 38.1

Tirat Yehuda 9.3

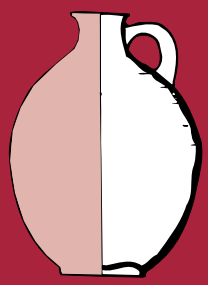
Gezer 43.9

Unguentaria

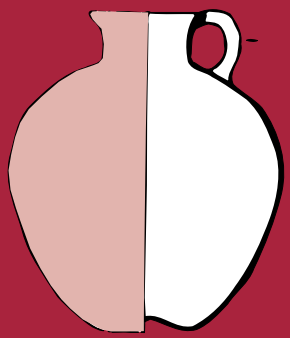


Juglet Tirat Yehuda 7.11

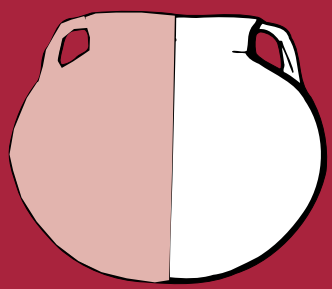
Beth Zur PCC 91.1 B-5, Tirat Yehuda 7.17



Jugs Tirat Yehuda 7.6



Beth Zur PCC 21.1 G



Cook Pots Tirat Yehuda 8.9

Tirat Yehuda 8.8

Early Hellenistic

Coast

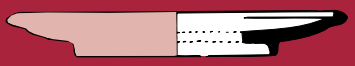
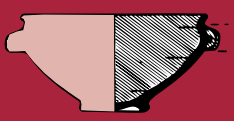


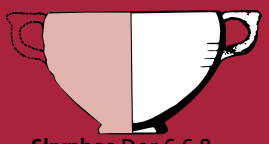
Plate Dor 6.4.2.0

Lamp Dor 5.13.10



Bowls Ashdod 16.1

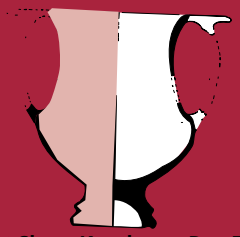
Ashdod 99.8



Skyphos Dor 6.6.8

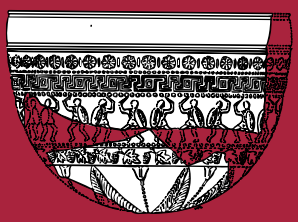
Dor 6.2.3

Dor 6.2.5

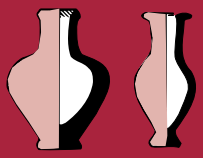


West Slope Kantharos Dor 5.8.6

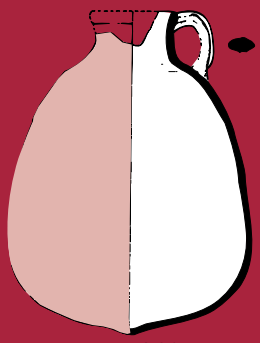
Central Hills



Mold-made Bowl Samaria 61



Unguentaria
Dor 6.26.3
Dor 6.26.32

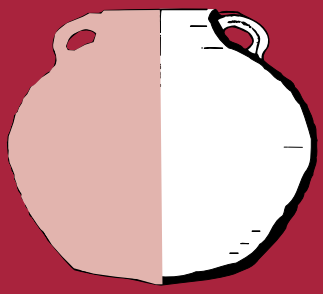


Jug Dor 6.30.1

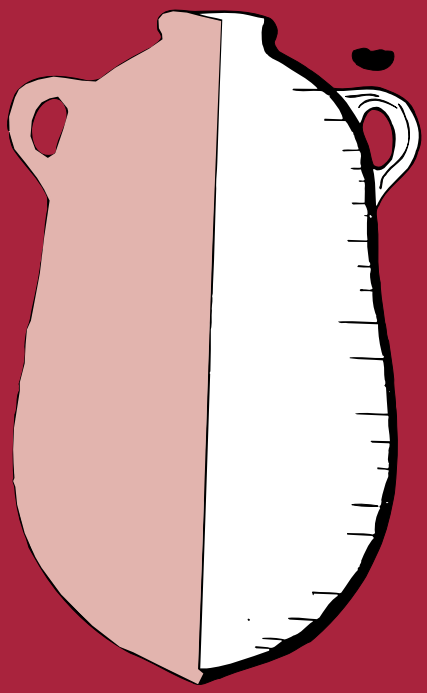
Lamps
Armenian Gardens, Jerusalem 19.42

Beth Zur 83.1A

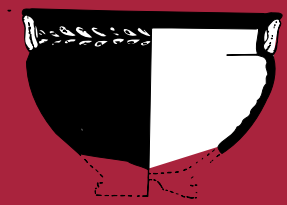
Juglet Dor 6.28.1



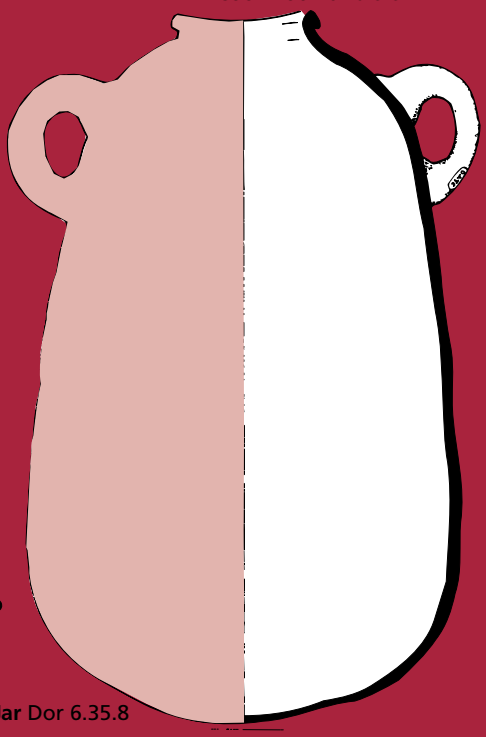
Cook Pot Dor 6.8.8



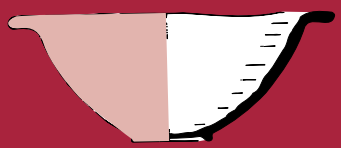
Local Jar Tirat Yehuda 6.5



Kraters Dor 5.11.7

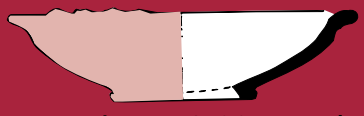


Local Jar Dor 6.35.8

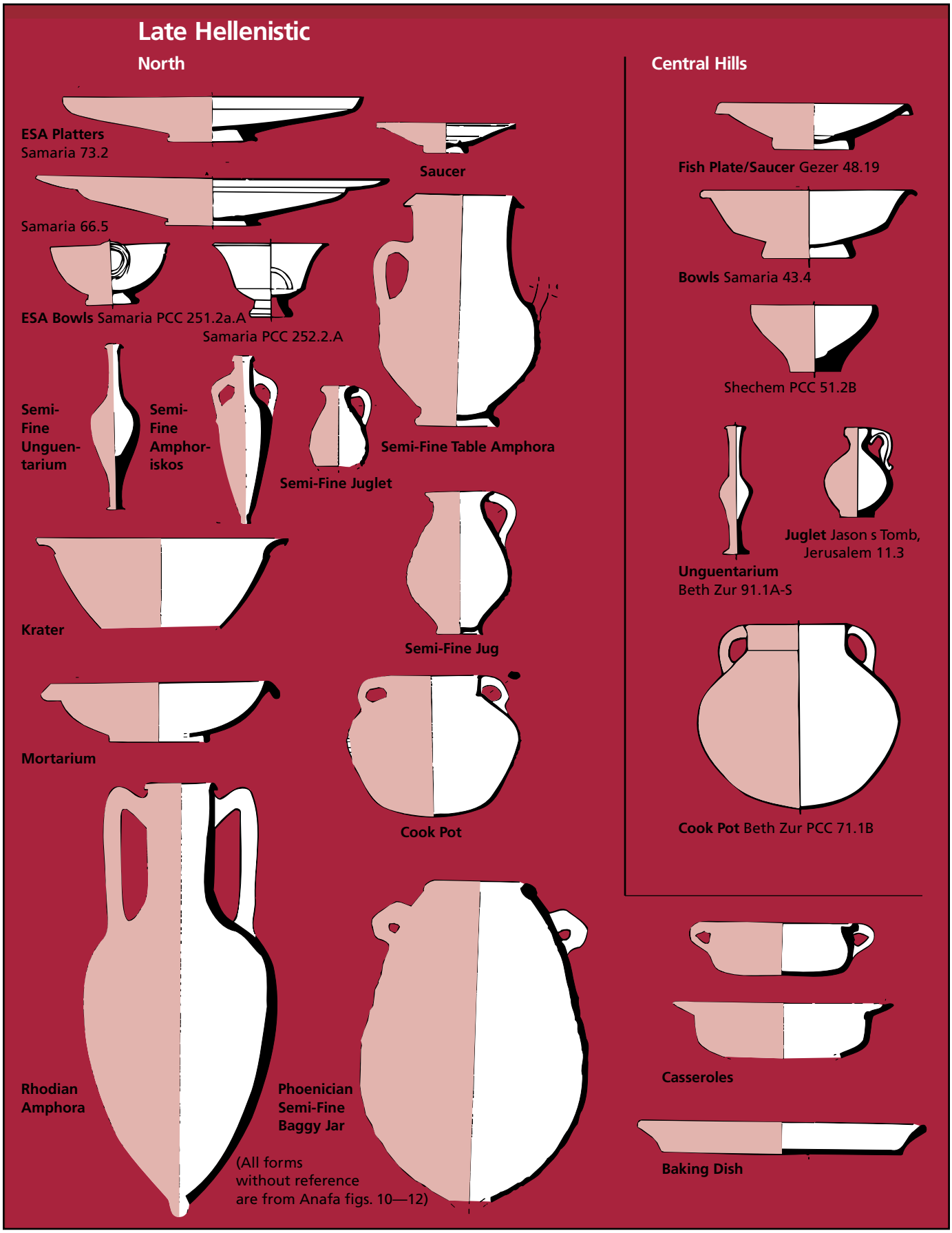


Dor 6.56.14

Casserole Dor 6.20.6



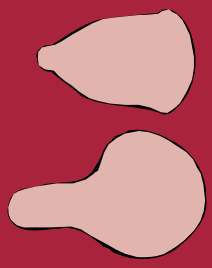
Mortarium Dor 6.10.2


Late Hellenistic
North
Central Hills
ESA Platters
Samaria 73.2
Saucer
Samaria 66.5
ESA Bowls Samaria PCC 251.2a.A
Samaria PCC 252.2.A
Semi-Fine Table Amphora
Semi-Fine Unguen-tarium
Semi-Fine Amphor-iskos
Semi-Fine Juglet
Krater
Semi-Fine Jug
Mortarium
Cook Pot
Rhodian Amphora
Phoenician Semi-Fine Baggy Jar
(All forms without reference are from Anafa figs. 10—12)
Fish Plate/Saucer Gezer 48.19
Bowls Samaria 43.4
Shechem PCC 51.2B
Juglet Jason s Tomb, Jerusalem 11.3
Unguentarium Beth Zur 91.1A-S
Cook Pot Beth Zur PCC 71.1B
Casseroles
Baking Dish

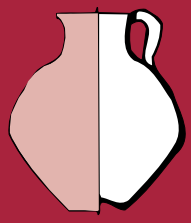
Late Hellenistic

Central Hills

Mortarium Gezer 48.21

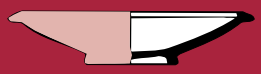


Lamps Jason s Tomb, Jerusalem 9.1
Jason s Tomb, Jerusalem 9.4

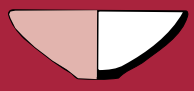


Jug Beth Zur 21.1H

Local Jar Gezer 43.21



Saucer Dor 6.4.19



Bowls Ashdod 16.5

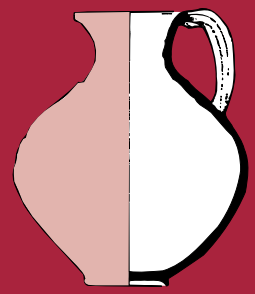
Ashdod 99.2

Coast

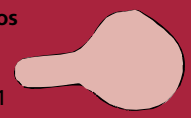
Unguentarium Ashdod 99.19

Amphoriskos Dor 6.29.5

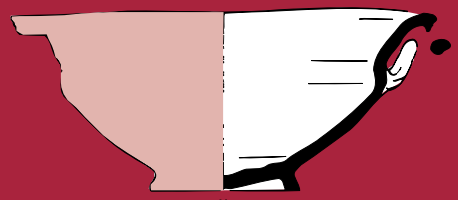
Juglet Dor 6.28.10



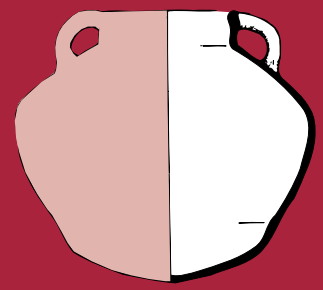
Jug Dor 6.31.6



Lamp Dor 5.17.1



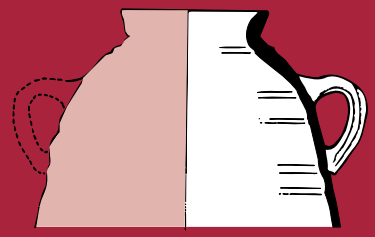
Krater Dor 6.11.6



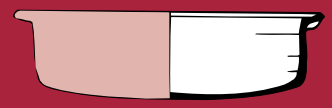
Cook Pot Dor 19.6

Mortarium Dor 6.10.8

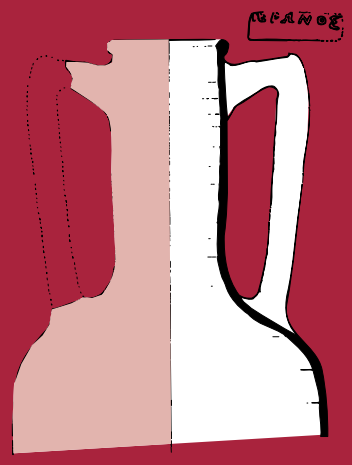
Baking Dish Ashdod 24.6



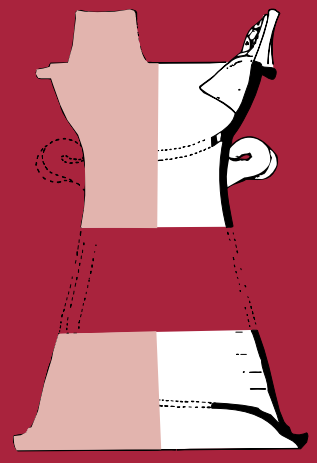
Local Jar Dor 6.37.1



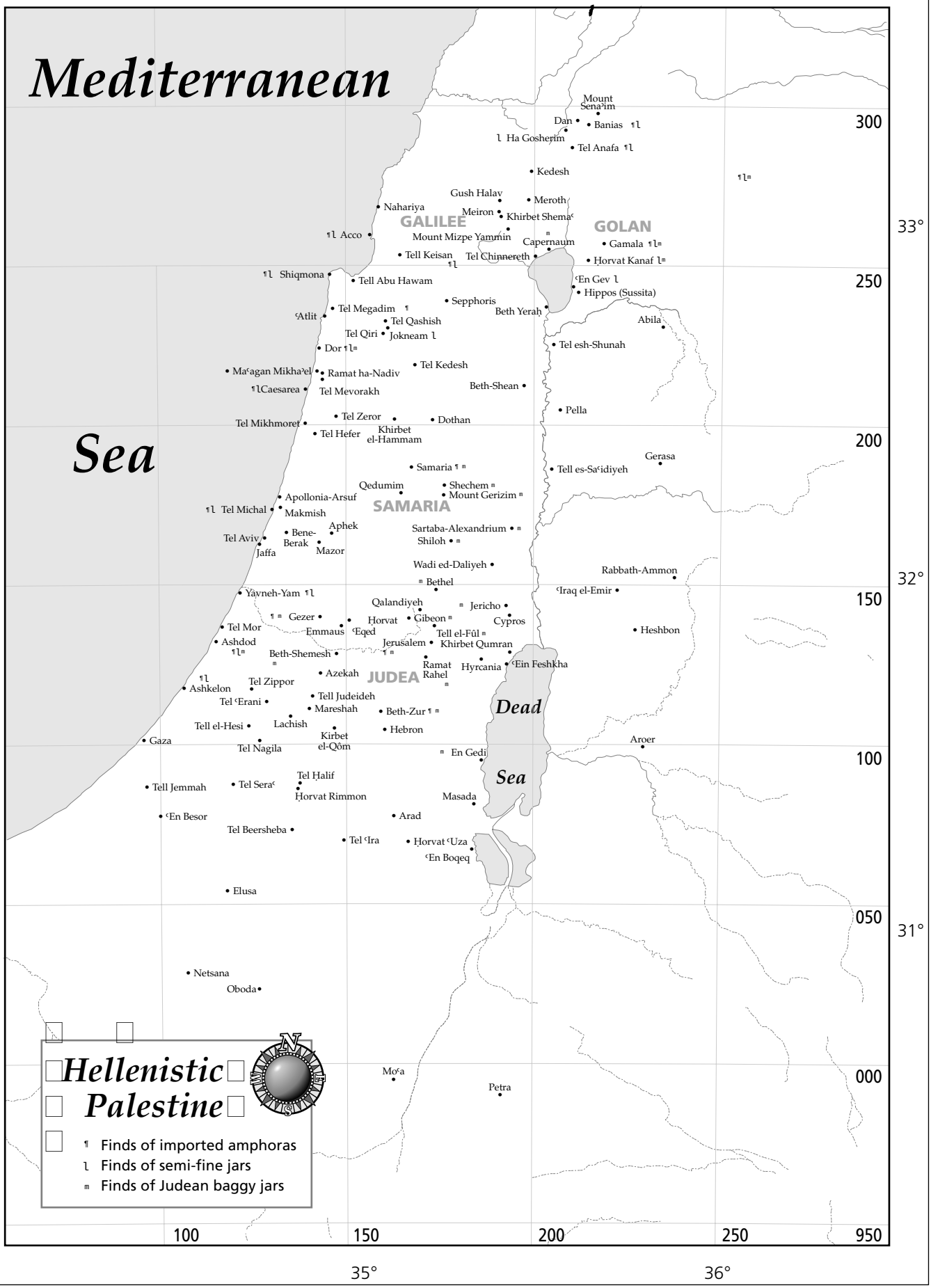
Casserole Ashdod 99.10



Rhodian Amphora Dor 6.45.1



Brazier Dor 5.2.1


Mediterranean
Sea
Dead
Sea
GALILEE
GOLAN
SAMARIA
JUDEA
Mount Senaʾim
Dan
Banias ¶l
l Ha Gosherim
Tel Anafa ¶l
Kedesh
¶lm
Gush Halav
Meroth
Nahariya
Meiron
Khirbet Shemaʿ
¶l Acco
Mount Mizpe Yammin
Capernaum
Gamala ¶lm
Tell Keisan
Tel Chinnereth
Horvat Kanaf lm
¶l
¶l Shiqmona
Tell Abu Hawam
ʿEn Gev l
Hippos (Sussita)
Sepphoris
Tel Megadim ¶
Beth Yerah
ʿAtlit
Tel Qashish
Abila
Tel Qiri
Jokneam l
Tel esh-Shunah
Dor ¶lm
Maʿagan Mikhaʾel
Ramat ha-Nadiv
Tel Kedesh
¶lCaesarea
Tel Mevorakh
Beth-Shean
Pella
Tel Zeror
Dothan
Tel Mikhmoret
Khirbet el-Hammam
Tel Hefer
Gerasa
Samaria ¶m
Tell es-Saʿidiyeh
Qedumim
Shechem m
Apollonia-Arsuf
Mount Gerizim m
¶l Tel Michal
Makmish
Aphek
Sartaba-Alexandrium m
Tel Aviv
Bene-Berak
Shiloh m
Jaffa
Mazor
Wadi ed-Daliyeh
Rabbath-Ammon
m Bethel
ʿIraq el-Emir
Yavneh-Yam ¶l
Qalandiyeh
Jericho
¶m Gezer
Horvat
Gibeon m
Cypros
Tel Mor
Emmaus
ʿEqed
Tell el-Fûl m
Heshbon
Ashdod
¶lm
Jerusalem
Khirbet Qumran
Beth-Shemesh
m
¶m
Ramat Rahel
Hyrcania
ʿEin Feshkha
m
¶l
Azekah
Tel Zippor
Ashkelon
Tell Judeideh
Tel ʿErani
Mareshah
Beth-Zur ¶m
Tell el-Hesi
Lachish
Hebron
Kirbet el-Qôm
Gaza
Tel Nagila
Aroer
m En Gedi
Tel Halif
Tell Jemmah
Tel Seraʿ
Ḥorvat Rimmon
Masada
ʿEn Besor
Arad
Tel Beersheba
Tel ʿIra
Ḥorvat ʿUza
ʿEn Boqeq
Elusa
Netsana
Oboda
Moʿa
Petra
Hellenistic Palestine
¶ Finds of imported amphoras
l Finds of semi-fine jars
m Finds of Judean baggy jars
300
250
200
150
100
050
000
33°
32°
31°
100
150
200
250
950
35°
36°

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Abbreviations

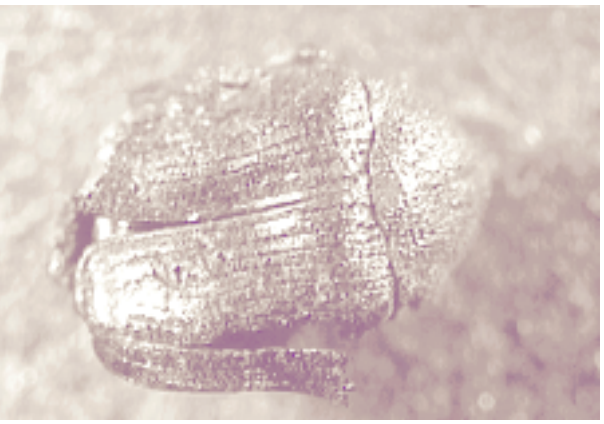
AASOR: Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AJP: *American Journal of Philology*
ANRW: Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ASOR: American Schools of Oriental Research
BA: *Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR: *Biblical Archaeology Review*
BARIS: British Archaeological Reports International Series
BASOR: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
EI: *Eretz-Israel*
IEJ: *Israel Exploration Journal*
HTR: *Harvard Theological Review*
JJS: *Journal of Jewish Studies*
JRA Sup Ser: Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series
RB: *Revue Biblique*
ZDPV: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

Andrea M. Berlin is an adjunct assistant professor in the Department of Classics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She has been excavating in Israel since 1973. Dr. Berlin received her doctorate in 1988 from the University of Michigan. Her specialty is the pottery of the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean; in addition to her recent publication of the Tel Anafa pottery, her work includes the material from Caesarea Maritima, Jerusalem City of David, and the Sanctuary of Pan at Banias, in Israel; from Coptos and Naukratis in Egypt; and from the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project in Messenia, Greece. Dr. Berlin has recently begun work on the Hellenistic and early Roman pottery from the University of Cincinnati's excavations at Troy. She is currently a fellow at The Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington D.C., working on a study of the Hellenistic *koinê*. She is married and has two children, both of whom have already spent considerable time in the field (one from the age of six weeks!).

Arti-Facts

Archaeoentomology's Potential in Near Eastern Archaeology

Archaeoentomology is the interpretation of an archaeological site via its preserved insect remains. A technique of environmental archaeology, it may be applied to specific archaeological questions or may be used to deduce a more generalized picture of the site's environmental setting. This technique is often used in Europe. Its immense scope and power is perhaps best known from the pioneering studies in Britain of Interglacial, Glacial, Lateglacial, Holocene, and urban archaeological sediments. Archaeoentomology is now seeing some application in North America and has potential for use in the Near East. It offers meaningful and unique information, establishing not only the archaeological record of insects, but also their impact upon past agricultural systems and the ancient economy.



Archaeological remains of beetle *Bruchus rufipes*.

Archaeoentomologists predominantly utilize Coleoptera or beetles, insects whose chitinous exoskeletons preserve well in both very wet and very arid conditions. In the Near East, the aridity of the climate provides optimal preservation of insect remains; charred, mineralized, desiccated, or even calcified specimens can be retrieved.

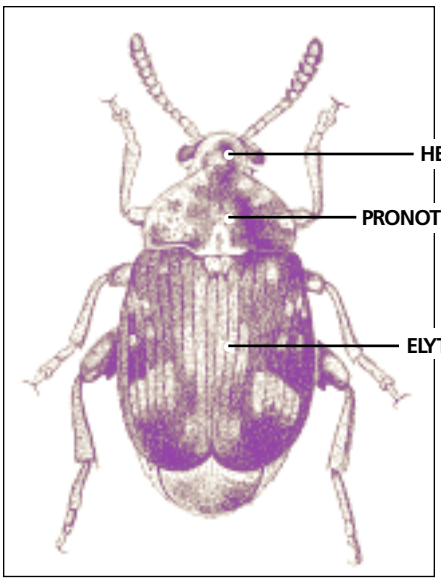
Since the late 1960s, the standard method for the recovery of insect fossils has been kerosene (paraffin) flotation. This technique adapts the wet sieving process, which is primarily used to recover seed remains. By flotation with kerosene after disaggregation over a 300 mm sieve, researchers can recover the insect exoskeletal fragments. While this technique is ideal for waterlogged sediments, it cannot be applied in all situations.

Desiccated and mineralized specimens can be retrieved by wet sieving as the exoskeletons of desiccated fossils are quite sturdy. In theory, kerosene flotation would be ideal in this situation, but high on-site temperatures preclude its use. In fact, in the absence of systematic archaeoentomological work, the only insect material retrieved in the Near East, has been recovered while sorting for seeds using water flotation techniques.

Charred fossil insects tend to be very fragile. After experimentation at the Greek site of Akrotiri on the island of Thera, the best method proved to be dry sieving through stacked 100 mm and 300 mm sieves, creating two samples which were then sorted under a microscope. While very time consuming, this method reduces any destruction of carbonized fossils due to mechanical and water action.

To sample for insects, five liter soil samples should be taken from the same contexts sampled for seeds. Concentrated botanical samples and contents of pots should also be thoroughly checked for insect remains. The sampling framework should respect the particularities of the site and demands the presence of a specialist during excavation as well as coordination with the excavator and other project specialists.

After processing, samples are sorted under a low power microscope into family or species groups. The head, pronotum (thorax), and elytra (wing covers) are the three main body parts studied, but occasionally legs, abdominal sections, and genitalia aid the identification process. A comparative insect collection and entomological identification keys are used to identify the insects to the species level.



Line drawing of beetle *Bruchus ervi*.

The interpretive aspect of the analysis begins when relevant ecological data is gathered on the identified species. In archaeological contexts, Coleoptera can be used to interpret a variety of facets of everyday life that would otherwise pass unnoticed, such as aspects of the environment, economy, living conditions, hygiene, and trade. Insect infestation levels, evidence of the use of insecticides, beekeeping, and wild silk production have been found at the Late Bronze Age settlement of Akrotiri. Research in Egypt showed that locusts were probably eaten at the Roman Quarry of Mons Claudianus. These are some of the fascinating results produced by insect study from Eastern Mediterranean sites, and further entomological work in the Near East could prove even more exciting.

For further information consult:

Buckland, P. C.
1991 Granaries Stores and Insects. The Archaeology of Insect Synanthropy. Pp. 25-26, 69-81 in *La preparation alimentaire des cereales*, edited by D. Fournier and F. Sigaut; and E. Panagiotakopulu.

Buckland, P.C., et al
1995 Natural Insecticides and Insect Repellents in Antiquity: A Review of the Evidence. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 22:705-10.

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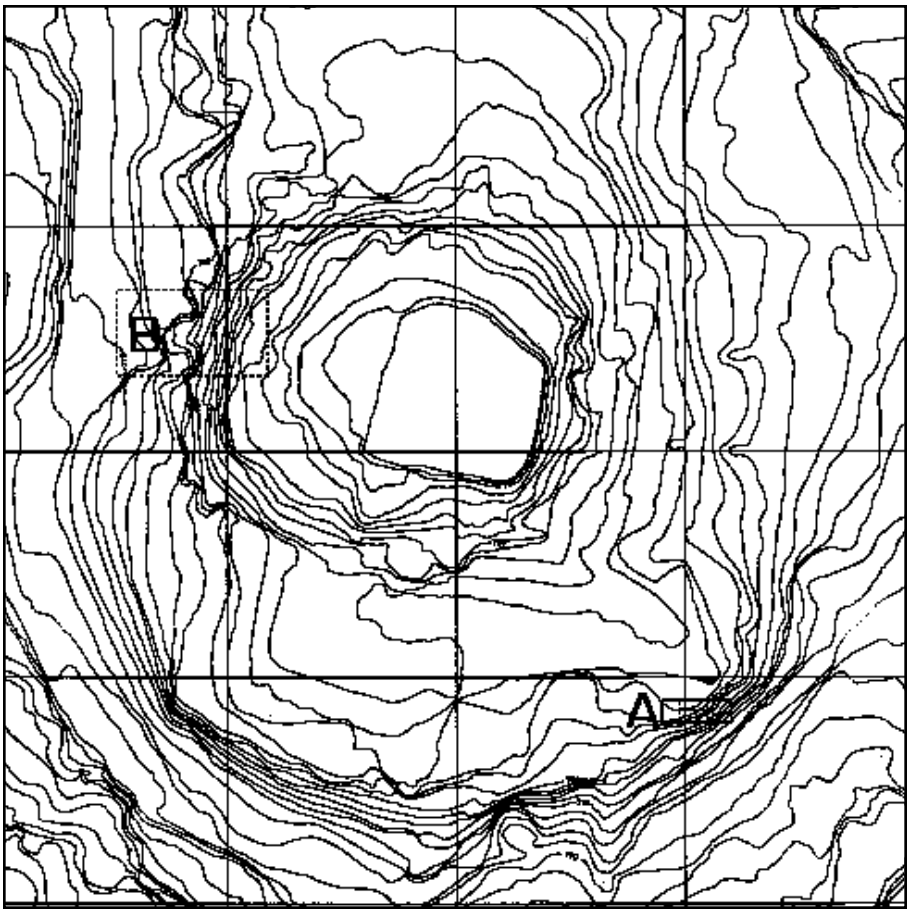
Université Laval

Investigations of Urban Life in Madaba, Jordan

In the modern Middle East, with its long history of urbanism, the consequences of urban continuity present a daunting challenge to archaeological research. The city of Madaba, located thirty km southwest of Amman amidst the fertile rolling plains of the Central Jordan Plateau, is a case in point. Continuing an urban tradition of some 5000 years, the modern town engulfs the ancient settlement, preserved in the form of a large low-lying tell and acropolis (approximately sixteen ha in area at the base and nine ha at the summit) that still forms a visible rise in the town center. Despite the encumbrances, Madaba's historical prominence prevents us from ignoring its role in the rich and eventful history of Highland Central Jordan. The ancient urban core of Madaba, therefore, presents both a challenge and an opportunity to explore the complex remains of a site at the center of the cultural and political life of this region.

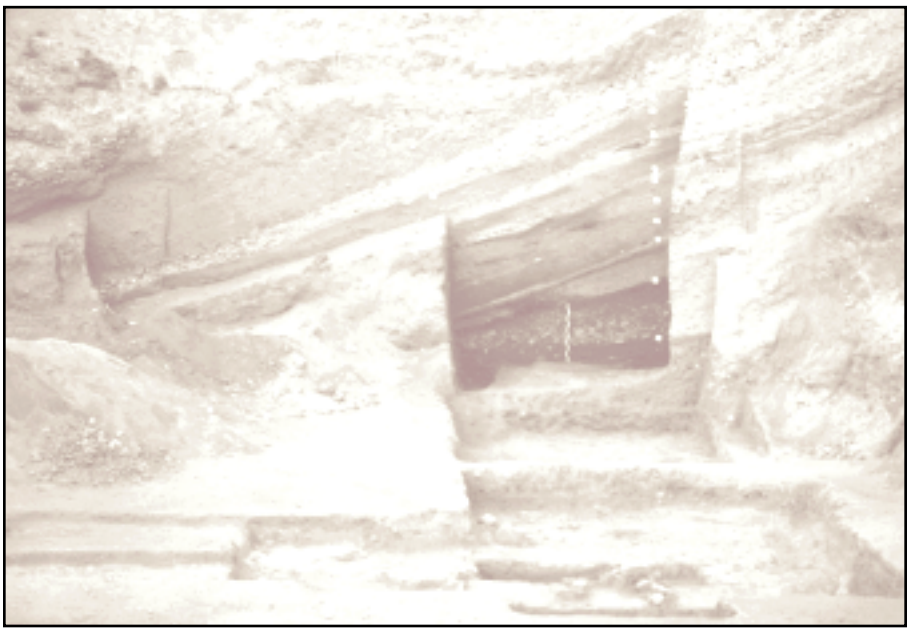
In 1995, the author initiated the Tell Madaba Archaeological Project (TMAP) with the goal of pursuing this investigation. The project constitutes part of a larger ongoing study of the social, economic, and political institutions developed by Bronze and Iron Age communities in the Madaba Plain region. By focusing on the central site of Madaba, the project will expand an emerging regional database that will permit detailed analysis of the changing economic and sociopolitical organization of communities of the Madaba Plains. The study thus enhances our ability to chart the complex and dynamic development of human history in the region.

The primary goals of the 1996 field season were to establish a stratigraphic profile of the Bronze and Iron Age levels on the tell, and assess the feasibility of conducting further, long-term excavations at the site. The season witnessed the creation of a computerized base map defining the topographic extent of the tell, an important accomplishment that will enable future discoveries to be integrated in a single database for the site. Excavations on the southeastern slope of the tell (Field A) resulted in an eight m vertical profile, from the summit to bedrock, of the visible stratigraphy. The earliest occupation levels reached in Field A revealed a



Topographic relief map of Tell Madaba. *Generated by Stephen H. Savage.*

View of Field A looking west, with Early Bronze levels in the foreground and Iron Age midden deposits exposed in the vertical cut.



settlement history that began in the Early Bronze, with the first settlement founded as early as the late EB I/II period (ca. 3100 BCE). Although a lengthy gap ensued, extending for the better part of the third and second millennium, ceramic evidence recovered from superimposed Iron Age midden deposits indicates human activity occurred at the site during this time. The data suggest that settlement was confined further to the west and north during these periods. The Field A excavations also revealed some of the richness of the Iron Age levels at Madaba. Preserved in the secondary context of the midden (or trash) deposits were a wealth of ceramic, faunal, and floral remains, as well as a variety of metal (bronze and iron) objects, jewelry, a number of seals and seal impressions, and other small finds. As a preliminary, exploratory effort, the 1996 field season succeeded in demonstrating some of the considerable potential at Tell Madaba, particularly in the area of the western acropolis (Field B), for further archaeological research into the Bronze and Iron Age history of the Madaba Plain region.

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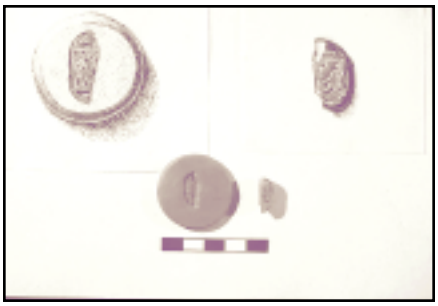

Fragment of an Iron Age seal impression represents the wealth of finds from the midden deposits of this period. *Drawings by Brett McClain.*

North Carolina Museum of Art Presents *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture*

Treasures from an ancient city once described as "the ornament of all Galilee" are the focus of *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture*, an exhibition on display since November at the North Carolina Museum of Art.

The exhibition highlights the archaeological site of Sepphoris (Zippori in Hebrew), once an important city in Roman Palestine. Sepphoris was a thriving provincial capital where Jews, Romans, and later Christians co-existed in relative harmony. In the Roman and Byzantine periods, Sepphoris was a leading center of Jewish scholarship and culture. Because of its close proximity to Nazareth, Sepphoris also offers valuable insight into the cultural setting in which Christianity took root. The gradual emergence of a strong Christian presence at Sepphoris is evident from the excavations of Christian buildings and mosaics. The Arab and Crusader periods also left their traces at Sepphoris.

The exhibition boasts a variety of objects from the rich history of Sepphoris and other related sites. Sculptures, architectural fragments, mosaics, jewelry, coins, ritual objects, and ceramic and glass vessels are supplemented by maps, photomurals, scale models, and facsimiles of other mosaics and architectural fragments. The organizing curator of the exhibit was Rebecca Martin Nagy, Associate Director of Education, North Carolina Museum of Art, in consultation with Eric M. Meyers, Professor of Religion at Duke University. The museum hosted an international symposium on Sepphoris in Galilee, co-sponsored with Duke University, in late January. The exhibit will run until July 6, 1997, after which time it is scheduled to travel to additional venues in the United States and Europe. A catalog of the exhibition, featuring sixteen essays as well as illustrations of its artifacts, is available from Eisenbrauns, Inc. (P.O. Box 275, Winona Lake, IN 46590) for $29.95.

Adapted from Israel/North Carolina Cultural Exchange Press Release (10/14/96)

The Kregel Pictorial Guide to the Temple

By Robert Backhouse, 32 pp. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1996; n.p.

The author's aim for this little presentation on the Jerusalem Temple is to give an idea of its history, from the time of the Tent of Meeting when Israel was a nomadic people to the Wailing Wall, i.e., the only remaining link with the Herod's Temple destroyed by Titus in 70 CE.

Every double page has to do with one main topic: the Tabernacle, Solomon's Temple, Solomon to Herod, Jerusalem in 30 CE, Herod Builds a Temple, Temple Rituals, Herod's Temple, The Altar of Sacrifice, Temple Festivals, Jesus and the Temple, The Temple Destroyed, After 3000 Years, The Temple Mount from the Air, A Heavenly Temple. A more or less short text with several photographs and drawings presents the topics.

But really this book emphasizes the work of the author of a model of Herod's Temple, Mr. Alec Garrard, who spent a great part of his life to realize it "on the basis of information from the Bible, the Talmud, the Mishnah and the latest archaeological discoveries." Seven (of thirteen) double pages are devoted to this phase of the Jerusalem Temple and, in spite of the great interest of this period, it seems that this part of the book bears too much weight compared with the only double page concerning the First Temple. The historical significance of this one would not be well understood by a non-specialist reader.

One result of this imbalance is inadequate space to explain precisely the situation of the Tent of Meeting. The only reference suggests that the Tent contained a Tabernacle fashioned of solid material. But in reality, the outer limit of the Tent was made with curtains hung by bronze frameworks, and the Tabernacle itself was made of acacia covered with gold. Concerning this question, why didn't the author give the references to the biblical texts? And more generally speaking, it is difficult to understand why he does not give references systematically.

For the same reason (lack of balance), the text concerning Solomon's Temple is so brief that there is no real architectural description or presentation of problems. The plan is much too schematic to be valuable and one might wonder why the two columns of the entrance hall (1 Kgs 7-19) are not represented? Moreover, the plan and drawing are not similar: why don't the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, occupy the same place on each one, and why is the Laver (great bronze basin) placed at the right in front of the entrance hall in the drawing and at the left in the plan? Finally, concerning Solomon's Temple, the bronze oxen of the Laver look like Persian designs of the Achaemenid Period, which is not suitable to the Levantine style of the period of Solomon.

The same kind of discrepancies are visible between the plan of Herod's Temple (p. 13)—too schematic again—and the model (pp. 16-17), but the general outlines are reasonable, and we must say that pictures of the model are very evocative.

On the whole we can be unhappy that the richness and the good quality of illustrations of this book were not completely supported by sound and precise method.

Jean-Claude Margueron
École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris)

CAUGHT IN THE NET

ELECTRONIC OPPORTUNITIES IN ARCHAEOLOGY

After a couple of years surfing the web, I feel that we're beginning to get the hang of it, to find out what it really does best. A couple of sites are already beginning to offer standards that we can confidently follow. Of course, one of the Internet's greatest strengths is the e-mail discussion list (more talk is good!), and it is a great relief that "ANE" was resurrected just in time for holidays! Finally, I lurk on "HistArch," the discussion list about historical archaeology, and learn a few things.

The home page of Mark Garrison's syllabus for a course in Greek architecture features his photograph of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth. The innovative syllabus can be accessed at http://www.trinity.edu/~mgarriso/GkArchitecture.html .

Clarifying the Strengths of the Web

I haven't noticed any major revolution in Internet technology for several months—perhaps the Information Superhighway is beginning to find a speed limit with which we can live. People are talking more and more about the same issues and priorities, which I take to be a good sign that we're getting comfortable with the Internet and achieving greater consensus about its strengths and weaknesses.

In previous columns I've outlined some of these strengths, but the two greatest ones are still the web's capability for cross-linking various texts and images and for being continually up-dated. These two strengths can, of course, be played out in the same web-site, but let me give some other examples in order to make these unique qualities clear.

Recently I was trying out "Argos," the new archaeological search-engine managed by Anthony F. Beavers & H. Sonpal, and, for a lark, I was searching on the words "Mycenae" and "Luxor." Within a second, "Luxor" produced 130 matches and Mycenae produced 25; both "hits" were listed in batches of 25 each. Many of the sites seemed to be what I would have predicted; a few, however, were more intriguing. Among them was a set of course syllabi offered by Mark B. Garrison at Trinity University in San Antonio, courses in Greek painting, myth, and architecture.

Setting Up a Standardized Syllabus

I looked into Garrison's architecture course, and I was thunderstruck by what he had done. The structure of the course was typical; it began with a brief survey of preclassical architecture and then focussed in on the archaic and classical periods. It was the syllabus, however, that I thought was innovative: it brilliantly used links to other electronic resources. For its sections on the Aegean Bronze Age, it offered links to chapters in Rutter's course, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of the Aegean," mounted on the web at Dartmouth. Throughout the syllabus, it referred to sites available on Perseus, not only for general discussions of the archaeological sites but also for specific buildings and building parts. When I saw how Garrison so thoroughly employed the World Wide Web, I felt as if I had stumbled onto something obvious. For instance, in his sections on Troy the syllabus linked to the specific Perseus sub-site on Troy and to two of Rutter's chapters; for his section on late classical architecture he again linked to the appropriate Perseus site for the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. Citing just these two examples does not do his site justice—he includes over 130 such links! The result resembles a standardized handbook or short-course.

Replacing the Final Dig Report?

Continually up-dating web sites not only means constant improvement but also constant maintenance. For large web sites this should also mean constant work—and a steady job for someone. Some of the larger archaeological projects are now beginning to build this factor into their budgets. I hear, for instance, that the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP) has recently proposed to hire a site-manager full-time so as to put on-line much of its archaeological data,

thereby allowing scholars the opportunity to see and use material well before it's officially presented in a "final" report. Moving in the same direction, the Lahav Project's *Digmaster Database* was reviewed in last June's *BA* (59:2[1996]:128-129).

Other major projects also make available vast amounts of archaeological data on-line. Perseus is a valuable resource for all classical and Near Eastern archaeology. Ian Hodder's expedition at Catal Hüyük offers an archaeological tour—and a movie; and the Archaeological Data Archive Project (ADAP), run by the Center for the Study of Architecture at Bryn Mawr, proposes to preserve all computerized records from archaeological projects—potentially a mammoth task.

These projects are redefining the "final report," one of the truly major sore points in archaeology. I haven't counted the number of "final reports" in Aegean Bronze Age archaeology, but my feeling is that there are very few. Field archaeologists will often cite, as the major reasons for delays in publishing, the overwhelming amount of material that an excavation produces or the exhausting exactitude that the report demands. These are valid reasons, of course, but since numerous sites and their artifacts have never been published, even just some photographs along the way would have been useful.

I'm hoping that these archaeological web sites, with photographs and raw data, will become more popular—they're fairly easy to set up; the quality of the images can be controlled; and as they are completed, the various analyses can be linked together. Such organically constructed websites can slowly evolve, through up-dating, into the much-desired, but often never seen final report.

ANE Returns!

Last mid-November, ANE returned to great fanfare. In the interim, a new list had surfaced, "Syria," managed by Tilde Binger of the Department of Biblical Studies at the University of Copenhagen. This managed to reduce some of the separation anxiety, but there was little traffic.

When the new ANE returned, it did so with a bang. There were both the standard and digest editions we were used to, as well as another version, a moderated ANENews in both standard and digest forms. The list-owner/manager Chuck Jones, in his advertisement of ANE's resurrection, asked for restraint and scholarly conduct, but it soon became obvious that ANErs were too delighted with its return to remain proper for long. Within the week there were over 600 subscribers, and someone had posted an old chestnut about the width of wheel ruts in ancient Mesopotamia—the merriment had commenced.

If you have any comments or questions, or would like to see a topic discussed, e-mail me: jyounger@acpub.duke.edu or check out my Web home page: http://www.duke.edu/web/jyounger/.

A general list of archaeological e-mail discussion lists

http://www.duke.edu/web/jyounger/archlist.html

For Ancient Near East sites:

ABZU (http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/ABZU/ABZU_NEW.HTML)

For Aegean, Greek and Roman web sites: Kapatija

(http://www.duke.edu/web/jyounger/kapat96.html)

Sites & services mentioned in the text:

Syria, a discussion list for the Ancient Near East and the Bible; to request a subscription, mail "subscribe syria Your@Address.in.full" to "majordomo@list.adm.ku.dkp".

ANE: to subscribe, mail to "majordomo@oi.uchicago.edu" one of the following: "subscribe ane", "subscribe ane-digest", "subscribe anenews", "subscribe anenews-digest".

Argos, an archaeological search-engine: http://argos.evansville.edu/

Courses in Greek painting, myth, and architecture taught by Mark Garrison at Trinity University: http://www.trinity.edu/~mgarriso/GkArchitecture.html

Perseus: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/

Troy at Perseus: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/siteindex?entry=Troy

Bassae at Perseus: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgibin/architindex?entry=Bassae,Temple+of+Apollo&word=bassae

Jerry Rutter's Illustrated Course on the Aegean Bronze Age: http://devlab.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/

Catal Hüyük: http://catal.arch.cam.ac.uk/catal/catal.html

PRAP: http://www.classics.lsa.umich.edu/PRAP.html

ADAP: http://csaws.brynmawr.edu:443/adap.html

HISTARCH list (Historical Archaeology)

In late November the list (about 800 subscribers) was generating about three lively messages a day, sometimes more from a variety of contributors. While some seem also interested in Old World archaeology, most write about Americanist subjects, and many seem to be contract archaeologists with specific questions about their finds.

One archaeologist had excavated a peculiar churn; another asked about measuring pipe stem interior diameters; a query about nineteenth century tanneries apparently spurred someone to upload their own paper on the subject as a web page. A curator of an historical collection in Saginaw, Michigan asked about a William Penn commemorative medallion and how it might have gotten there; she posted a summary of the responses and a thoughtful analysis that considered Anglo-French-Indian relations and medallions as emblems of friendship and honor.

To subscribe to HistArch, mail "subscribe histarch Your Name" to "listserv@asuvm.inre.asu.edu".

From the Editor

Roughly a decade ago, *BA* launched an ambitious project: a major series of articles setting forth the Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine. Then-Associate Editor Lawrence T. Geraty conceived the series, and installments appeared, beginning with Tom Levy's assessment of the Chalcolithic period. Suzanne Richard wrote on the Early Bronze Age, Bill Dever authored the Middle Bronze Age contribution, and Al Leonard surveyed the archaeology of the Late Bronze Age. After this latter article found its way into print in 1989, the series stalled, much to the regret of the editorial team and the readership. *BA's* Editorial Committee and I are delighted to witness the revival of the Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine (ASHP) with this issue's magnificent evocation of the Hellenistic Period by Andrea Berlin. Installments will now appear regularly over the next two years, though not in chronological order, completing ASHP's coverage from the pre-historic to the Ottoman periods.

In recent years, *BA's* editorial office has received more positive comments regarding the pedagogic value of this series than any other of its endeavors. Berlin's contribution will not disappoint on this score. It expertly accomplishes the primary goal of ASHP, namely, to provide an up-to-date overview of the archaeology of a given period and the key issues in debate regarding its character. The presentation includes a discussion of terminology and chronology, a review of the most significant sites and finds (including a basic ceramic typology), a synopsis of the settlement pattern, an outline of economic and cultural developments, and an essential bibliography. Moreover, for the first time, archaeologists, historians, and students of the Middle East have a comprehensive overview of a heretofore neglected archaeological period. While the Hellenistic era has always occupied a large slice of the historian's notebook—based upon a generous constellation of contemporaneous and proximate literary sources—archaeological coverage has appeared patchy. In "Between Large Forces," Berlin has succeeded in stitching together a coherent fabric of archaeological data that broadens and redirects the traditional historical recital. Readers will discover afresh a rich and cosmopolitan Hellenistic Period shaped by commercial opportunity and religious affiliation.

This issue marks the beginning of the sixtieth year of the publication of *BA*. The Editorial Committee is well aware of the irony of this anniversary year being also a transitional year during which we make plans to continue the tradition of *Biblical Archaeologist* under a new name. As explained on the cover wrap, ASOR's decision to outfit its generalist publication with a new name emerged from a lengthy and agonizing process. We can hope that Ernest Wright, who founded *Biblical Archaeologist* in 1938 and edited it for a quarter-century, would himself be satisfied with the primary rationale for the name change: to reach a wider audience with the news of ASOR's critical research and often momentous discoveries about our Near Eastern heritage. When it makes its appearance in 1998, the first issue of *BA's* new manifestation will provide an occasion for celebrating the achievements of sixty years of archaeological publishing.

Biblical Archaeologist

Perspectives on the Ancient World from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean

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Book Reviews All books for review should be sent to: Professor Michel Fortin, Département d'histoire, Universite Laval, Ste-Foy, Quebec, Canada G1K 7P4. Books entering Canada should be marked: Educational Material for Review; No Commercial Value–GST Exempt.

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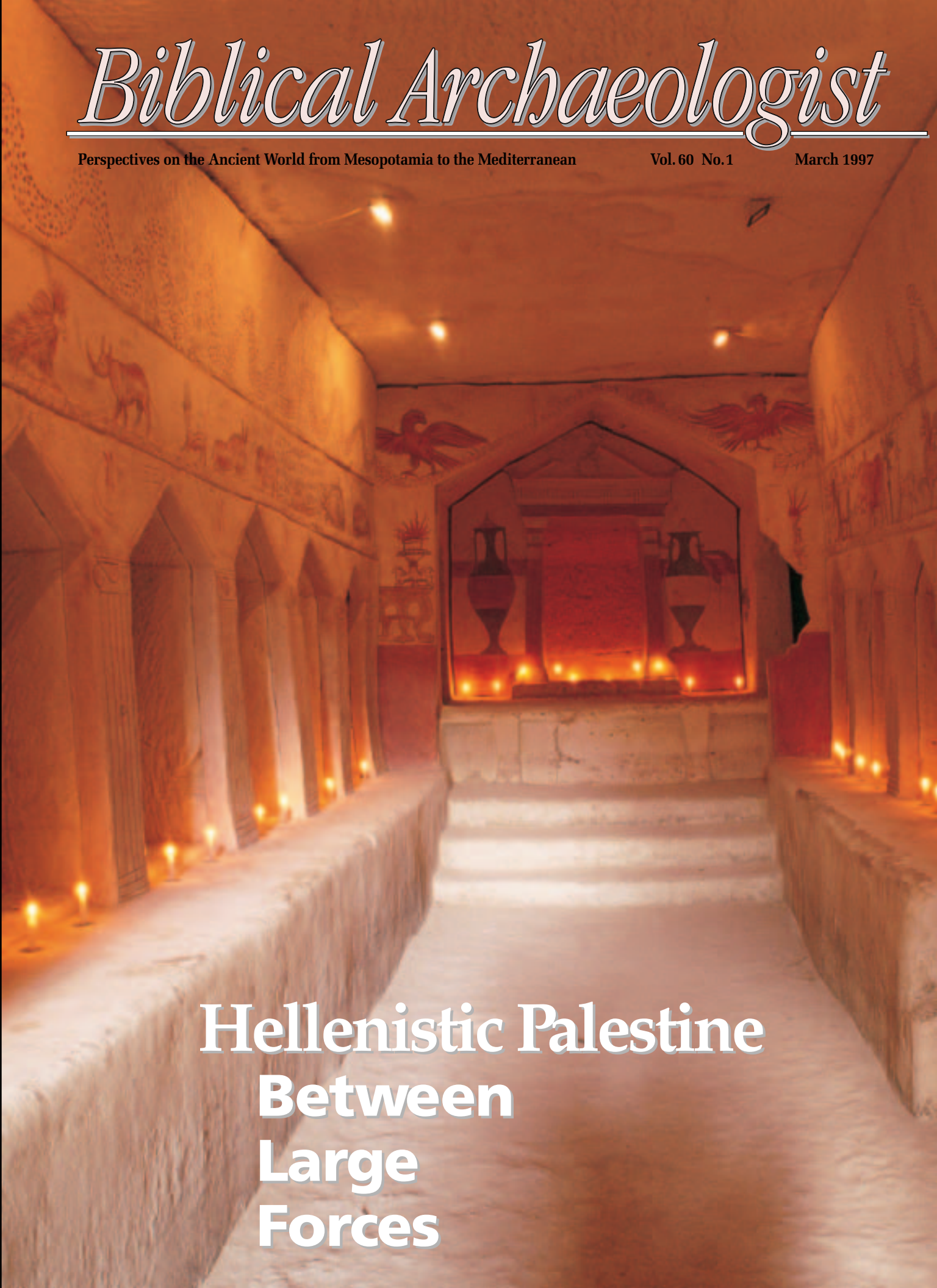
One of a pair of raised-relief felines that adorned Qaṣr al-Abd, the Transjordanian fortress of the Hasmonean ruler Hyrcanus. Representational art in the Greek tradition, the sculpture offers a graphic illustration of the Hellenizing tendencies of at least one faction of the Jewish population of Judea.
Photo from the Beegle Collection.

Biblical Archaeologist

Perspectives on the Ancient World from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean Vol. 60 No. 1 March 1997



Hellenistic Palestine
Between Large Forces