

The Cultural and Economic Composition of Late Hellenistic Upper Galilee:
A Case Study of the Squatters at Tel Kedesh

by

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For Mom and Dad, Gail and Jim

.nim, hnr .inda

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¹ D. Syon, "Tyre and Gamla: A Study in the Monetary Influence of Southern Phoenicia on Galilee and the Gola in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2004).

² Peter Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2012).

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List of Abbreviations

Reference Works

- BDB* *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*¹
GLAJJ *Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*²
OCD *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³
OEANE *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Ancient Near East*⁴
NEAEHL *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*⁵
RIA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*⁶
WDSP *Wadi Daliyeh Samaritan Papyri*⁷

Periodicals

- AA* *American Antiquity*
ABSA *The Annual of the British School at Athens*
ADAJ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan*
AE *American Ethnologist*
AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
AASOR *Annual of the American Schools of Archaeological Research*
ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*
BA *Biblical Archaeologist*
BAIAS *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*
BAR *Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBSAJ *Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*
BJPES *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*
CJ *Classical Journal*
CQ *Classical Quarterly*
EI *Eretz Israel*

¹ Francis Brown et al., *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996).

² Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974).

³ Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁴ Eric M. Meyers, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, 5 vols. The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁵ Ephraim Stern, Ayelet Levinzon-Gilboa, and J. Aviram, *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 5 vols. (Jerusalem; New York: Israel Exploration Society & Carta; Simon & Schuster, 1993).

⁶ Erich Ebeling and Bruno Meissner, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (Berlin, Leipzig: W. de Gruyter & co., 1928).

⁷ Douglas Marvin Gropp et al., *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh XXVIII, Miscellanea, Part 2*. Discoveries in the Judean Desert, vol. 28 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

<i>ESI</i>	<i>Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>INR</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Research</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JFA</i>	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
<i>JGS</i>	<i>Journal of Glass Studies</i>
<i>JJP</i>	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>LASBF</i>	<i>Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani</i>
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>QDAP</i>	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Review Biblique</i>
<i>CI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>

Ancient Literature

The abbreviations for ancient literature used herein follow the academic standards (see, e.g., the *SBL Handbook of Style*).⁸ The most frequently used are listed below.

1 Macc.	1 Maccabees
2 Macc.	2 Maccabees
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>
<i>Apion</i>	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Geog.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geography</i>
<i>Life</i>	Josephus, <i>Life</i>
m. Shev	Tractate Shevi'it from the Mishnah Other tractates from the Mishnah are indicated by the use of a lowercase "m." preceding them. See the <i>SBL Handbook of Style</i> .
<i>Nat. Hist.</i>	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i>
<i>Onomast.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Onomasticon</i>
<i>Periplus</i>	Pseudo-Scylax, <i>Periplus</i>

⁸ Patrick H. Alexander, Society of Biblical Literature, and Shirley Decker-Lucke, *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999).

- t. Shev. Tractate Shevi'it from the Tosefta. Other tractates from the Tosefta are indicated by the use of a lowercase "t." preceding them. See the *SBL Handbook of Style*.
- War Josephus, *Jewish War*

Other

- BCW Basaltic Cooking Ware (a fabric type associated with Squatter occupation at Tel Kedesh)
- BSP Black Slipped Predecessor (the black slipped predecessor to ESA), petrographically identified as being from the same clay source as ESA. See Kathleen Slane, "The Fine Wares" in Andrea Berlin and Kathleen Slane, *Tel Anafa II, i, The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 10, ed. Sharon Herbert (Ann Arbor, MI: Kelsey Museum, 1997).
- ESA Eastern Terra Sigillata "A"
- LHSB The Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building at Tel Anafa, Israel. See Sharon Herbert, *Tel Anafa I: Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement Series 10. (Ann Arbor, MI: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 1994).
- PHAB The Persian/Hellenistic Administrative Building at Tel Kedesh. Also used as a shorthand reference to the strata that correspond to the administrative use of the building (i.e., the Persian and *pre-Squatter Hellenistic* strata).
- TGM Tan Grey Marl (a fabric type associated with Squatter occupation at Tel Kedesh)

Abstract

In 1999 a large building was discovered at Tel Kedesh that had been the administrative center for northern Upper Galilee in the Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid periods. The building had been partially destroyed and abandoned around 143 BCE, a date that corresponds remarkably well with 1 Maccabees' account of the defeat of the Seleucid army by the Hasmonaeans (1 Maccabees 11:62-74). Approximately 5 years later it was repurposed for domestic use and inhabited by an otherwise unknown group of people ("the Squatters") whose material culture was very different from both that of the Persian/Hellenistic Administrative Building (PHAB) and that of the Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building, a villa at Tel Anafa, ca. 12 km northeast of Kedesh that was being built at the same time that the Squatters were living in the administrative building. Many of the Squatter vessels came from Lower Galilee and represent shapes that have parallels at Jerusalem, Shechem, Pella, Gamla, and Khirbet esh-Shuhara; they also suggest southern potting traditions. This dissertation explores the possibility that the Squatters at Tel Kedesh could have been Jews settled by Jonathan after his defeat of Demetrius II (or Galileans who migrated northward) within the context of academic debates over early Hasmonaean annexation of and Jewish expansion into Galilee (i.e., prior to 103 BCE). It uses the data from Kedesh to explore important questions about social changes brought about by the decline of Seleucid power and the consequent rise of autonomous "states" on the eve of Roman annexation of the Eastern Mediterranean. On a more theoretical level it raises questions about the degree to which we can equate material remains with actual cultures in history ("Do pots equal people?"), issues of identity in antiquity (individual, group, ethnic, religious, and cultural), and intercultural relations and economic transactions in border regions. In synthesizing the above analyses it concludes that the Squatters were most likely the dispossessed urban poor of the city of Kedesh and exposes the ubiquitous but previously unstudied phenomenon of people making homes in abandoned urban buildings in antiquity.

Chapter 1 Discoveries and Questions

“All archaeological inference about past societies (including, potentially, the identification of social groups and boundaries) hinges critically upon an understanding of the relationship between material and non-material aspects of culture and society: left with only remnants of the former, we seek to use them to perceive and comprehend the latter. That is the essence of the archaeological endeavor.” –Michael Dietler and Ingrid Herbich¹

“The aspects of things that are most important for us are hidden because of their simplicity and familiarity. (One is unable to notice something because it is always before one’s eyes.) The real foundations of his enquiry do not strike a man at all. Unless *that* fact has at some time struck him.—And this means: we fail to be struck by what, once seen, is most striking and most powerful.” –Ludwig Wittgenstein²

In 144 or 143 BCE the Hasmonean Jewish army, led by the High Priest Jonathan, defeated the Seleucid army in the Plain of Hazor, some 20 km north of the Sea of Galilee. The event was recorded in the book of 1 Maccabees, our lone source for the actions of the Hasmonaeans in the period between 167 BCE and 135 BCE and generally regarded by scholars to be an official dynastic record composed by a court writer during the reign of John Hyrcanus I (134-104 BCE). It reads:

(Jonathan) passed through the country as far as Damascus. ⁶³Then Jonathan heard that the officers of Demetrius had come to Kedesh in Galilee with a large army, intending to remove him from office [or

¹ Michael Dietler and Ingrid Herbich, “*Habitus, Techniques, Style: An Integrated Approach to the Social Understanding of Material Culture and Boundaries*,” in *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, ed. Miriam Stark (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1998), 233.

² Die für uns wichtigsten Aspekte der Dinge sind durch ihre Einfachheit und Alltäglichkeit verborgen. (Man kann es nicht bemerken, – weil man es immer vor Augen hat.) Die eigentlichen Grundlagen seiner Forschung fallen dem Menschen gar nicht auf. Es sei den, daß ihm *dies* einmal aufgefallen ist. –Und das heißt: das, was, einmal gesehen, das Auffallendste und Stärkste ist, fällt uns nicht auf.” Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, no. 129. See, e.g., Ludwig Wittgenstein and G. E. M. Anscombe, *Philosophical Investigations*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1997), 50.

“intending to divert him from his mission”].³ ⁶⁴He went to meet them, but left his brother Simon in the country... ⁶⁷Jonathan and his army encamped by the waters of Gennesaret (i.e., the Sea of Galilee). Early in the morning they marched to the plain of Hazor, ⁶⁸and there in the plain the army of the foreigners met him; they had set an ambush against him in the mountains, but they themselves met him face to face. ⁶⁹Then the men in ambush emerged from their places and joined battle. ⁷⁰All the men with Jonathan fled; not one of them was left except Mattathias son of Absalom and Judas son of Chalphi, commanders of the forces of the army. ⁷¹Jonathan tore his clothes, put dust on his head, and prayed. ⁷²Then he turned back to the battle against the enemy and routed them, and they fled. ⁷³When his men who were fleeing saw this, they returned to him and joined him in the pursuit as far as Kadesh, to [the Seleucid] camp, and there they encamped. ⁷⁴As many as three thousand of the foreigners fell that day. And Jonathan returned to Jerusalem. (1 Maccabees 11:62-74)⁴

Given that many, if not most, scholars have understood the Hasmonaeans to have had expansionistic plans to return Israel to its biblical (i.e., God-given) borders – as indeed they nearly did in over the following fifty years, Jonathan’s immediate return to Jerusalem, 150 kilometers to the south, seems strange. One might suspect that Jonathan left a garrison behind, having (re-)established a Jewish foothold in the biblical land of Naphtali.

³ Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*, 1st ed. Anchor Bible Commentary Series, vol. 41 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 442. See Chapter 3 for further discussion.

⁴ καὶ ἠξίωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ Γάζης Ἰωναθαν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δεξιὰς καὶ ἔλαβεν τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν εἰς ὄμηρα καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ διήλθεν τὴν χώραν ἕως Δαμασκοῦ ⁶³καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἰωναθαν ὅτι παρήσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες Δημητρίου εἰς Κηδες τὴν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς βουλόμενοι μεταστήσαι αὐτὸν τῆς χρείας ⁶⁴καὶ συνήτησεν αὐτοῖς τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σιμωνα κατέλειπεν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ⁶⁵καὶ παρενέβαλεν Σιμων ἐπὶ Βαιθσοῦρα καὶ ἐπολέμει αὐτὴν ἡμέρας πολλὰς καὶ συνέκλεισεν αὐτήν ⁶⁶καὶ ἠξίωσαν αὐτὸν τοῦ δεξιὰς λαβεῖν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔθετο ἐπ’ αὐτὴν φρουράν ⁶⁷καὶ Ἰωναθαν καὶ ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Γεννησαρ καὶ ὠρθησαν τὸ πρῶν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον Ἀσωρ ⁶⁸καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ παρεμβολὴ ἀλλοφύλων ἀπήντα αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ ἐξέβαλον ἕνεδρον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν ἐξ ἐναντίας ⁶⁹τὰ δὲ ἕνεδρα ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν καὶ συνηψαν πόλεμον ⁷⁰καὶ ἔφυγον οἱ παρὰ Ἰωναθου πάντες οὐδὲ εἰς κατελείφθη ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πλὴν Ματταθιας ὁ τοῦ Ἀψαλωμου καὶ Ἰουδας ὁ τοῦ Χαλφί ἄρχοντες τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν δυνάμεων ⁷¹καὶ διέρρηξεν Ἰωναθαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθετο γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ προσηύξατο ⁷²καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμῳ καὶ ἐτροπώσατο αὐτούς καὶ ἔφυγον ⁷³καὶ εἶδον οἱ φεύγοντες παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐδίωκον μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἕως Κεδες ἕως τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτῶν καὶ παρενέβαλον ἐκεῖ ⁷⁴καὶ ἔπεσον ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ εἰς ἄνδρας τρισχιλίους καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ἰωναθαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ. Cf. the parallel in *Ant.* 13.154 ff.

Discoveries and Problems: The Squatter Phase at Tel Kedesh

In 1999 a large administrative building was discovered at Tel Kedesh, an archaeological site located ca. 10 km northwest of Hazor and ca. 1 km southeast of the modern Israel/Lebanon border (33.110133°N/35.530943°E; New Israel Grid Coordinates 249997/779517 – see Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3, and Figure 4).⁵ The building was constructed around 500 BCE and its inhabitants appear to have been in charge of the administration of the region for the Persians, Ptolemies, and Seleucids, as is evidenced by the discovery of storerooms, a lavish dining area, an archive room with more than 2,200 bullae (one of which reads “governor over the land” in Phoenician), and a seal with iconography that has parallels in the Persepolis Fortification Archives.⁶ This use of the building ended with partial destruction that can be archaeologically dated to within a year or two of 143 BCE. There is every reason to think that the abandonment of this building and the end of its status as a locus of administrative hegemony was the result of Jonathan’s defeat of Demetrius and the gradual implosion of the Seleucid Empire.

Subsequent to the building’s abandonment it appears to have laid empty for a period of approximately 3-5 years, after which it was reinhabited and repurposed by an otherwise unknown group of squatters.⁷ They divided up the Persian/Hellenistic Administrative Building (PHAB) space by building walls that were inferior to those built

⁵ Sharon Herbert and Andrea Berlin, "A New Administrative Center for Persian and Hellenistic Galilee: Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan/University of Minnesota Excavations at Kedesh," *BASOR* 329 (2003), 13-59; Sharon Herbert, "The Hellenistic Archives from Tel Kedesh (Israel) and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (Iraq)," *Bulletin of the University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology* 15 (2003), 65-86.

⁶ For more information and data, see Herbert and Berlin, "A New Administrative Center for Persian and Hellenistic Galilee: Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan/University of Minnesota Excavations at Kedesh."; Joseph Naveh and Donald T. Ariel, "Selected Inscribed Sealings from Kedesh in Upper Galilee," *BASOR* 329 (2003), 61-80.

⁷ The word “squatter” is used here and elsewhere in this dissertation without the pejorative connotation that often accompanies it in modern contexts. It is defined as somebody having no formal or legal title to the land or building occupied by him or her. It has been capitalized in this work when used in reference to the particular squatters who inhabited the Administrative Building at Tel Kedesh.

during the PHAB phases (0.45-0.65 m wide, vs. the Administrative Building's 0.80-1.0 m-wide walls, and not founded as deeply, not constructed with foundation trenches, and often neither vertically or horizontally straight). Their ceramic and non-ceramic assemblage included cooking pots, table ware, jewelry, loom weights, and spindle whorls, and they built ovens (traditionally called "tabuns" in this part of the world) in the middle of corridors and otherwise repurposed space in such a way as to make it clear that what had been an administrative building was now the locus of domestic use (see Figure 9).

The most remarkable aspect of the Squatters' material culture was their pottery, some of which was very different from that of both the chronologically earlier inhabitants of the PHAB and the chronologically similar inhabitants of the Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building (LHSB) at Tel Anafa, a villa ca. 12 km northeast of Kedesh that was inhabited by wealthy Phoenicians (see Figure 1).⁸ Most of the forms and fabrics represented in the Squatter phases were not found in the earlier PHAB phases: at least 101 reconstructable vessels were recovered that are associated with the final, pre-abandonment phase of the PHAB (i.e., vessels that were left behind and/or destroyed *in situ* when the building was abandoned);⁹ among them are no vessels in Eastern Sigillata A (ESA), Basaltic Cooking Ware (BCW) or Tan Gray Marl (TGM), all pottery fabrics that are associated with the Squatters.¹⁰ Petrographic analysis has shown that the Basaltic Cooking Ware, which

⁸ Sharon Herbert, *Tel Anafa I: Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 10 (Ann Arbor, MI: Kelsey Museum, 1994).

⁹ Peter Stone, personal communication. See also Peter Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2012), especially chapter 5.

¹⁰ As will be discussed below, the reason for ESA not being represented in the PHAB is chronological, not material-cultural, as the PHAB was abandoned just before ESA began to be produced. The pottery that was produced from the same clay source as (but chronologically earlier than) ESA is called Black Slipped

comprised almost all of the Squatters' cooking ware, originated in the Golan Heights or the Chorazin plateau in lower Galilee, ca. 20 km to the southeast.¹¹ It has been found at Gamla in the Golan Heights (a Jewish site in this period), Karm er Ras in lower Galilee, and Khirbet esh-Shuhara, a site located ca. 8 km. southwest of Kedesh at which there are abandonment and rehabilitation phases similar in time to those in the administrative building at Kedesh (see Figure 1).¹² It has not been found in any quantity at Tel Anafa or Dan, both of which are clearly non-Jewish sites located in the Huleh Valley, ca. 13 km and 19 km northeast of Kedesh, respectively, and with arguably the same access to the Golan Heights and Lower Galilee.¹³ On the other hand, the PHAB cooking ware has been petrographically identified as having been produced from clay sources located along the coast, probably in or near the predominantly Phoenician coastal cities of Tyre and Akko, 35 and 45 km to the west, respectively (as the crow flies; overland routes would have been longer).

The shapes of many of the Squatter vessels are also unlike those found in the pre-Squatter phases of the administrative building but have parallels in Jerusalem, Shechem, Pella, Gamla, and Khirbet esh-Shuhara. In fact, "all of the new forms and wares attested

Predecessor (BSP) and is well represented in the PHAB phases. ESA, then, is a chronological marker of post-143 BCE occupation but should probably be viewed as equivalent to BSP with respect to trade patterns (and, perhaps, socio-economic status as well, to the degree that ESA can be an indicator of socio-economic status). See Kathleen Slane, "The Fine Wares," in *Tel Anafa II, i: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*, ed. Sharon Herbert. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series No. 10, Part II, i (Ann Arbor, MI: Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan, 1997).

¹¹ Anastasia Shapiro, Andrea Berlin, and Peter Stone, "Tel Kedesh - Fabrics and Wares," (Unpublished Report).

¹² See Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context."; Mordechai Aviam and Aharoni Amitai, "Excavations at Khirbet esh-Shuhara," in *Erets Zafon: Studies in Galilean Archaeology*, ed. Zvi Gal (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2002); Danny Syon, "Coins from the Excavations at Khirbet esh-Shuhara," in *Erets Zafon: Studies in Galilean Archaeology*, ed. Zvi Gal (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2002).

¹³ Herbert, *Tel Anafa I: Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel*; Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context."

in quantity at Kedesh in [Squatter] loci find earlier parallels at sites inland and to the south, most notably Shechem and Jerusalem in the Central Hills.”¹⁴ The only site north of the Sea of Galilee which has presented parallels for these new forms is Khirbet esh-Shuhara, which, as has just been noted, has a similar abandonment/reoccupation history as the Kedesh squatter phase. The fabric of some of these “southern shapes” also seems to betray southern potting traditions. Basaltic Cooking Ware has an abundance of calcite inclusions, which necessitate very specific techniques during the preparation of the clay and/or the firing of the vessels in order to keep them from being destroyed in the kiln. Calcite has thermal expansion coefficients similar to clay minerals, so a calcite temper can enhance the thermal shock resistance of the pot. However, it begins to decompose into CO₂ and CaO (which combines with H₂O to form the significantly more voluminous Ca(OH)₂) at temperatures as low as 620° C, with the result that spalling and complete vessel failure tends to occur at temperatures above 700-750° C.¹⁵ This problem can be mitigated by firing in a reduced environment, by firing below 650° C or above 900° C, by docking (dunking pots in cold water after firing), or by adding salt to the the clay before

¹⁴ See the “Squatter Kedesh in a Regional Context” section of Chapter 5 in Stone, “Provincial Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context.”

¹⁵ Manuel García-Heras, “Regional Shared Style and Technology: A Minerological and Compositional Study of Celtiberian Pottery from Numantia, Spain,” *JFA* 27, no. 4 (2000), 437-454; Susan I. Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora, Vol. 33, Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares* (Athens: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006), 32. Rye puts the critical temperature at 800° C. See Owen S. Rye, “Traditional Palestinian Potters,” *Research Reports, National Geographic Society* 17 (1984), 769-776: 769. See also Diane E. Beynon et al., “Tempering Types and Sources for Early Bronze Age Ceramics from Bab edh-Dhra’ and Numeira, Jordan,” *JFA* 13, no. 3 (1986), 297-305; Gordon Bronitsky, *Pottery Technology: Ideas and Approaches*. Westview Special Studies in Archaeological Research (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989); Gordon Bronitsky and Robert Hamer, “Experiments in Ceramic Technology: The Effects of Various Tempering Materials on Impact and Thermal Shock Resistance,” *American Antiquity* 51 (1986), 89-101; James K. Feathers, “Effects of Temper on Strength of Ceramics: Response to Bronitsky and Hamer,” *American Antiquity* 54, no. 3 (1989), 579-588; Gordon Bronitsky, “Ceramics and Temper: A Response to Feathers,” *American Antiquity* 54, no. 3 (1989), 589-593.

firing.¹⁶ Calcite had not been used in cooking vessels in the Galilee since the Iron Age or Persian period; it was, however, used as a temper in cooking vessels throughout the Hellenistic period at sites in the Central Hills.¹⁷ As Stone has suggested,

The production of cooking vessels using a temper with specific qualities that were both beneficial for the function of vessels but which required specialized knowledge of firing properties to avoid destruction in the kiln suggests the movement of potters from the Central Hills to the Chorazim plateau and/or the dissemination of particular potting practices.¹⁸

The Possibility of Hasmonaean Expansion into Galilee Prior to 104/3 BCE

The available information suggests that the Hasmonaean defeated Demetrius, “conquered” the city of Kedesh (at least to the degree that it no longer housed the region’s administrative center), after which time people with new commercial ties to Lower Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea converted the administrative building into housing units and lived in it. Nearly all scholars have concluded that the Galilee was not annexed

¹⁶ Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora, Vol. 33, Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares*, 32. See also Prudence M. Rice, *Pottery Analysis: A Sourcebook* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 97-98; Owen S. Rye, “Keeping Your Temper Under Control: Materials and Manufacturing of Papaun Pottery,” *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 11 (1976), 106-137: 120-121; L. Kleptner and P. Johnson, “Technology and the Primitive Pottery: Mississippian Pottery Development Seen Through the Eyes of a Ceramic Engineer,” in *Technology and Style, Ceramics and Civilization, Vol. II*, ed. W. D. Kingery vol. 250-271 (Columbus, OH: American Ceramic Society, 1986), 251-253.

¹⁷ Stone, “‘Provincial’ Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context,” Chapter 5, citing Shapiro’s unpublished report of 2010. Rotroff cites two ethnoarchaeological studies of 20th century Palestinian potters adding calcite to clay in the Central Hill region: G. M. Crowfoot, “Pots, Ancient and Modern,” *PEQ* (1932), 179-187; Rye, “Traditional Palestinian Potters.” See Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora, Vol. 33, Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares*, 32.

¹⁸ Stone, “‘Provincial’ Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context,” Chapter 5. The first known Hasmonaean coins bear the name Yehohanan, which could be either John Hyrcanus I or Alexander Jannaeus (whose Hebrew name was Jonathan). Meshorer finds good evidence for Alexander Jannaeus, while Rappaport thinks that it was John Hyrcanus I and Ronen prefers Aristobulus I. For the evidence in favor of Meshorer’s argument, see Ya’akov Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel Aviv: Am Hasefer, 1967); Ya’akov Meshorer, “The Beginning of Hasmonaean Coinage,” *IEJ* 24, no. 1 (1974), 59-61., which provides new evidence and is *contra* B. Kanael, “Ancient Jewish Coins and their Historical Importance,” *BA* 26 (1963), 38-62. See also Ya’akov Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 2 vols. (Dix Hills, N.Y.: Amphora Books, 1982). For Rappaport’s argument see Uriel Rappaport, “The Emergence of Hasmonaean Coinage,” *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 1, no. (1976), 171-186; Leo Kadman, *The Coins of Akko Ptolemais* (Tel-Aviv: Schocken, 1961). For Ronen’s position see Yigal Ronen, “The First Hasmonaean Coins,” *BA* 50, no. 2 (1987), 105-107.

by the Hasmonaeans until 104/3 BCE, based on one problematic sentence in Josephus (*Antiquities* 13.318-319); is it possible that the Hasmonaeans expanded into Upper Galilee 40 years earlier? Both Galilees (Upper and Lower) and the Golan experienced an explosion of settlement activity in the mid-2nd century BCE,¹⁹ and although this has not been explicitly identified to be the result of Hasmonean expansion, a few scholars have suggested that the Hasmoneans annexed part of (presumably Lower) Galilee as early as 152 BCE on the basis of a letter in which Demetrius I promised Jonathan that he would not collect tribute from “the three districts added to Judaea from Samaria and Galilee.”²⁰ Numismatic evidence from 132-130 BCE includes “a rather surprising number of bronze coins of Antiochus VII from the mint of Jerusalem [that] have been found in Galilee.”²¹ The fortress of Qeren Naftali, located 3.5 km southeast of Tel Kedesh in Upper Galilee,

¹⁹ Galilee in general: Eric Meyers, James F. Strange, and Dennis Groh, "The Meiron Excavation Project: Archaeological Survey in the Galilee and Golan, 1976," *BASOR* 230 (1978), 1-24; Mordechai Aviam, "Galilee: The Hellenistic to Byzantine Periods" in Ephraim Stern, ed., *NEAEHL*, 2:453-458 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 453. Upper Galilee: Rafi Frankel et al., *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee: Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee*. IAA Reports 14 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2001), esp. 108-110, 128 and pls. 113-115, 121-122. Huleh Valley: Andrea Berlin, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine. Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period," *BA* 60, no. 1 (1997), 2-51: 26. Golan: Zvi Ma'oz has come to the same conclusions with respect to the Golan: "From [200 BCE] onward, until the Byzantine period, there is impressive growth in the number of sites in the Golan, the amount of built-up area, and the population: from seventy-eight sites in the second century BCE (thirty-three of them Ituraean settlements), to 108 in the first century CE, and to 173 and more in the sixth." See also Zvi Ma'oz, "Golan: Hellenistic Period to the Middle Ages" in Ephraim Stern, ed., *NEAEHL*, 2:534-546 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 534. See also Zvi Ma'oz, "Golan in the Hellenistic Period," *ESI* 4 (1985), 79-80. Uzi Leibner's survey of the region just west of the Sea of Galilee adds some information to the issue at hand but the survey data is only assessed with regard to the Hellenistic period in general (i.e., 300-100 BCE), and do not include the Persian period. As a result, change within those 200 years, or change between the Persian and Hellenistic periods, is impossible to discern. See Uzi Leibner, *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee: An Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Galilee*. Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

²⁰ 1 Maccabees 10:25-42 – that date of ca. 152 BCE is based on 1 Macc 10:1-2 For an in-depth study of this letter, see Chapter 3.

²¹ Danny Syon, "Numismatic Evidence of Jewish Presence in Galilee before the Hasmonean Annexation?," *INR* 1 (1996), 21-24. Twelve coins of this uncommon type have been found at various sites in Galilee (Gush Halava/Gischala [1], Gamla/Gamala [4], Yodefat/Iotapata [2], Shihin/Asochis [1], Arbel/Arbela [1], Bet She'an/Nysa-Scythopolis [2], and Tel Basul near Bet She'an [1]), as compared to at least 55 in Judaea. Part of the argument centers around the common agreement among numismatists that bronze coins do not travel far from their mints and were not normally accepted as currency in all places. The suggestion is that these coins showed up in these cities as the result of pilgrimage to the Jerusalem Temple.

has been interpreted by its excavator to have been “part of the defense system of Hasmonaean Galilee,” though perhaps not until the reign of John Hyrcanus I (134-104 BCE).²² Finally, Josephus reported that John Hyrcanus I banished his son, the future Hasmonaean leader Alexander Jannaeus, to the Galilee sometime around 125 BCE (*Antiquities* 13.320-322), which some have claimed is evidence for the existence of Jewish urban centers in the region in that period. Perhaps the suggestion that the Squatters are evidence of Jewish presence at Kedesh around 140 BCE is not so far-fetched after all.

Material and Immaterial Aspects of Society

The Squatters’ material remains seem to indicate that they were either new, different people settling at Kedesh – their material remains were new and different from those of the PHAB – or that they were local people reusing the abandoned administrative building after a battle that drastically changed trade routes in the region. Even if the Squatters were not official, “state-sponsored” Hasmonaean settlers (see Chapter 3, below), the nature of the archaeological evidence demands that we take seriously the possibility that the sudden appearance of Lower Galilean ceramic forms and fabrics with the Squatters is evidence of a new ethnicity or society at Kedesh, especially in the face of evidence that Basaltic Cooking Ware and Tan Gray Marl vessels do not appear at nearby Phoenician sites like Tel Anafa and Dan (see Figure 1). Lower Galilee and the Central Hill region were inhabited, to one degree or another, by Jews, a people group that has traditionally been understood to have enforced ethnic boundaries more strictly than other people groups.

²² Mordechai Aviam, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Galilee: 25 Years of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys: Hellenistic to Byzantine periods* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 63.

However, the history of archaeological inquiry has shown that the task of connecting archaeological remains with social and ethnic groups is more difficult than it might seem. The question at the heart of most, if not all archaeological inquiry is that of the relationship between material culture and historical society. Indeed, even this most common of academic phrases used to describe the things that we find in the dirt during the course of an archaeological excavation – “material culture” – betrays its modern *raison d’être*. Material culture, after all, is a social phenomenon: it was created within a culture, and the choices that went into its creation were conditioned by that culture. We ought to be able to “get back to” that culture through the material that its people left behind. Such attempts to say something about a historical society from its archaeological remains go back at least as far as V. Gordon Childe, who used the word “culture” to describe archaeological units that were demarcated on the basis of the regional distribution of associated stylistic similarities of material.²³ This made sense within the conceptual framework that Childe was working, as he was trying to categorize groups of material in order to compare them to one another. But the assumption of a one-to-one relationship between material and social cultures was picked up and exploited in other fields. Within the field of Syro-Palestinian archaeology, the “Biblical Archaeology” of the 19th and early 20th centuries gave rise, in whole or in part, to archaeologists attempting to find material evidence for people and events recorded in the literary (i.e., biblical) sources. So the collared rim storage jars that were first excavated in Iron I strata in the central hill region of Israel, where the Bible says that the Israelites settled, became

²³ V. Gordon Childe, *Piecing Together the Past: The Interpretation of Archeological Data* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1956).

the “Israelite” pottery,²⁴ and the bichrome ware that was found at sites situated along the coast was understood to be the sign of Philistine presence on the basis of biblical evidence that identified those towns and cities as Philistine.²⁵

This sort of one-to-one identification between pots and people was ultimately rejected amongst anthropological archaeologists, largely as a result of the work of anthropological archaeologists like Binford in the 1960s and the rise of processual archaeology. Their methodological conclusions influenced biblical archaeology as well, but a continuing desire on the part of archaeologists to be able to say something about the social significance of material culture dictated that the assumption that archaeological remains can be “read” for ethnic and cultural information persisted, as can be seen in the logical contortions that biblical archaeologists often exhibited. For instance, Dothan was forced to conclude that the city of Beth Shemesh had an Israelite population but was under Philistine economic and political control in the 10th century BCE because the biblical sources said that the city was Israelite but archaeologists found a large quantity of stratified “Philistine pottery.” Some of the more recent studies have represented responsible attempts to explore the boundaries of what we can say about this connection,

²⁴ There are many examples, but see, e.g., William Foxwell Albright, "Excavations and Results at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah of Saul)," *AASOR* 4 (1922-1923), iii-160. On p. i he writes, “The importance of our study largely lies in the fact that it is here possible to date *Israelite and Jewish ceramic types* definitely, thus eliminating much of the indefiniteness which has hitherto prevented the archaeologist from evaluating his finds from a historical point of view” (my emphasis). In his discussion of Clark and Macalister’s publication of over forty vases from tombs at Tell el-Ful, he writes, “Macalister reached the conclusion, from which no archaeologist would dissent, that this pottery was all Israelite and Jewish...” Though he is careful to distinguish between “Hebrew” and “Israelite” occupation (the former being “a gradual, unorganized movement into the country, which continued for some three or four hundred years before the Israelite conquest” – see p. 44, n. 2), it is a foregone conclusion that ethnic groups can be easily discerned in the material record.

²⁵ See, e.g. Trude Dothan’s comment: “Fortunately for us, the material culture of the Philistines is represented by a combination of archaeological and historical evidence that make ethnic identification almost certain. In our discussion of the sites we will...above all...emphasize the pottery, which is the hallmark and chief indicator of Philistine culture.” See Trude Krakauer Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 25. Thanks to Steve Werlin for pointing me to both of these references.

while others have simply replicated the traditional and biblical archaeological approaches while expressing them in the thinly veiled and often ambiguous language of trade patterns, cultural influence, or “food pathways.” For example, a type of pottery called Galilean Coarse Ware (GCW) has been identified as a marker of non-Jewish presence in the southern Levant to such a degree that the presence of GCW at a site that has otherwise been interpreted to have been Jewish has been grounds for identifying two phases – one “pagan” and the other “Jewish.”²⁶ Another type of pottery found at sites in the Golan Heights that were assumed to be Ituraean was initially called “Golan Ware” and later changed to the more ethnicity-indicating “Ituraean Ware.” The result has created a situation in which the presence of this type of pottery is often interpreted as evidence of Ituraean presence (or, alternatively, confirmation of the assumption that a particular site was an Ituraean town or village).²⁷ The ethnic appellation in “Phoenician

²⁶ There are many examples; one will suffice here: “The possible connection between the cult objects from these two sites and the GCW suggests that the GCW could be an identifying feature of pagan residences in the Galilee (mainly Upper Galilee), and that the abandonment of these sites corresponds to the Hasmonaean conquest [which was religiously motivated, as “it is obvious that the Hasmonaean kings aspired to conquer the Galilee” because “their goal was to rule an empire as large as the kingdom of David and Solomon”]. Aviam, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Galilee: 25 Years of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys: Hellenistic to Byzantine periods*, 44, 48. See also Frankel et al., *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee: Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee*. A further related problem is the identification of GCW, as Stone has noted: “The fabric described as Galilean coarseware actually appears to consist of several distinct but related fabrics distributed only in the Upper Galilee.” Stone, “Provincial Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context,” Chapter 5, n. 10. He notes there a forthcoming article by Frankel and Berlin: Andrea Berlin and Rafi Frankel, “The Sanctuary at Mizpe Yammim: Phoenician Cult and Territory in the Upper Galilee During the Persian Period,” *BASOR* (Forthcoming). With respect to GCW, see, for instance, the example of Qeren Naftali: Aviam, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Galilee: 25 Years of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys: Hellenistic to Byzantine periods*, 59-88. In all fairness, it must be noted that Aviam’s conclusion is not based entirely on the pottery: his designation of a stepped pool as a *miqveh* in Room 1 of Square D (pp. 69-70), as well as his interpretation of Josephus’ accounts of the exploits of Aristobulus I and John Hyrcanus, contribute to his overall phasing of the site, and vice-versa. But the logic seems to be largely circular and GCW is explicitly discussed as evidence for non-Jewish occupation of sites prior to Jewish conquest on p. 63.

²⁷ See, e.g., Shimon Dar, *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel: Ituraean Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. BAR International Series (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1993); Shimon Dar, *History of the Hermon: Sites of the Ituraeans* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Meukhad, 1994). E. Myers has written a somewhat scathing critique of Dar’s approach and conclusions. Though she is overly deconstructionistic in her approach and does not delve very deeply into the archaeological evidence, she is

Semi-Fine” represents more responsible in that it indicates the Phoenician source, and not the find spots, of the pottery.²⁸ However, in at least some cases the mapping of its find spots has been described as “Phoenician market routes,” which have then been assumed to represent ethnic boundaries, presumably the result of an assumption that Phoenician market routes would delineate themselves along Phoenician ethnic lines (Phoenicians would only trade with Phoenicians; Phoenician wares would not cross ethnic boundaries) and/or that Jews would have enforced a presumed ideal of little or no interaction with non-Jews (and, perhaps, especially *Hellenized* non-Jews).²⁹ The language used makes the conclusion more palatable than the outright statement of the equation that (Phoenician

nevertheless correct in her critique of Ituraean Ware. See E. A. Myers, *The Ituraeans and the Roman Near East: Reassessing the Sources*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 147 (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²⁸ Andrea Berlin, "Tel Anafa II, i: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery: The Plain Wares," in *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 10*, ed. Sharon Herbert (Ann Arbor, MI: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 1997).

²⁹ Andrea Berlin, "From Monarchy to Markets: The Phoenicians in Hellenistic Palestine," *BASOR* 306 (1997), 75-88; Berlin, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine. Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period." The argument is less that Phoenicians only bought pottery from Phoenicians (or that Phoenicians only sold pottery to Phoenicians, though that is explicitly implied in "From Monarchy to Markets") than it is the assumption that Jews kept to themselves, presumably as a result of conceptions of "separatedness" and "purity." The conclusion is tacitly assumed rather than explicitly argued, and comes out in statements such as "...the material culture and lifestyle of the Jewish central hills did not wash quickly over the land" (my emphasis – the unqualified connection is between material culture, society [including religion, when the statement is read in context], physical location, and cultural influence), as well as in the continual identification of Eastern Sigillata A and Phoenician Semi-Fine as hallmarks of non-Jewish settlements (or, when they are found in Jewish settlements, as evidence of the "Hellenization" of those settlements, often with a sense of Jews becoming "less Jewish" in a religious sense). See Berlin, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine. Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period," throughout, but especially pp. 23, 29, 30, 36, 39, 40, 43, and the inset box on p. 24. The connection between Phoenician Semi-Fine and Phoenician populations is more explicit in "From Monarchy to Markets," in which one finds statements such as "It is reasonable to suppose that [Phoenician vendors] journeying to [the Hula Valley in Upper Galilee], as probably everywhere else that their wares occur, was in response to the demands of the many Phoenicians living in the area" (p. 85, my emphasis). She goes on to cite a "provocative" 1989 theory by M. Stevenson as evidence that "the decidedly 'Phoenician' character of the Hula Valley settlements' Hellenistic-period material culture [i.e., the presence of Phoenician Semi-Fine] may further document the social phenomenon of 'identity-conscious social groups'... [which are defined as] peoples who perceive themselves as sharing important common characteristics distinct from their immediate neighbors." She does not give any evidence of such a perception on the part of the Phoenicians and there is no further discussion of this or other theories of culture. In the end, there is good reason to reject such interpretations of pottery as "signaling" ethnic identity and borders (see below). See Berlin, "From Monarchy to Markets: The Phoenicians in Hellenistic Palestine." throughout, but especially pp. 84-85

Semi-Fine = evidence for Phoenician people and culture), but the conclusion is nonetheless the same.

Another way that scholars have attempted to connect ancient societies to their material remains has been through the study of “style” (i.e., decoration) on pottery as evidence of different cultures. The failure of this approach to produce reliable results with respect to the movement and interaction of ancient people groups has led some scholars in the field of classical archaeology to instead study the form (i.e., the function) of vessels, and to identify function with cultural or ethnic groups on the premise that different cultures had different cuisines and styles of food preparation and consumption. So, for instance, Andrea Zifferero has suggested a link between “domestic pottery, food systems, and ethnicity,” and Jordi Principal has argued for dietary (and therefore cultural, though this word is never explicitly defined) changes being expressed in ceramic forms.³⁰ However, while some of these investigations into the link(s) between form, function, and culture show promise, many fall victim to the complexities involved in discerning *meaningful* differences in form, the possibility that one form can have many functions (including ones which its creator did not envision or intend), and the reality that correlation does not indicate causation. So, for instance, Paul Arthur’s correlation between cookpots collocated with a preponderance of pig bones on the one hand, and casseroles collocated with a preponderance of sheep/goat bones on the other, *might* argue for the identification of culture groups by their pottery, as well as an ability to differentiate between locals and foreigners in the material record, but it does not

³⁰ Jordi Principal, "Late Hellenistic Black-Gloss Wares in the North-Eastern Iberian Peninsula: Production Traditions and Social Practices," in *Old Pottery in a New Century: Innovating Perspectives on Roman Pottery Studies (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Catania, 22-24 Aprile 2004)*, ed. Daniele Malfitana, Jeroen Poblome, and John Lund. Monografie dell'Istituto per i Beni Archeologici e Monumentali - C.N.R., 1 (Catania: Bretschneider, 2006).

necessarily.³¹ Questions of how form relates to function and whether ceramic form can be usefully and reliably used to indicate different people groups, however, are not useful for our analysis of the Squatters at Tel Kedesh because there is no indication that the tiny differences in form were functionally meaningful. (It is one thing to argue for a functional difference in form between a cookpot and a casserole; it is quite another to argue for a functional difference between a cookpot with a 5 cm.-high neck and one with a 10 cm.-high neck. This issue is discussed more fully at the end of this chapter in the text associated with footnote 64.) As a result (and as will be discussed further below), the Squatters' pottery represents a situation in which the differences in form and fabric *might* be a meaningful indication of a new ethnic group had moved into the building, but it need not necessarily. It could indicate, for instance, that a new economic group or social subgroup within the larger ethnic group represented by the PHAB occupants had moved into the building. No conclusions can be reached on the basis of the pottery alone.

Society, Culture, and Material Culture

However, recent anthropological and classical archaeological explorations of theories of identity and socio-cultural borders in human societies have yielded an exploitable link between ancient societies and their material culture that is helpful for our investigation of the Squatters.³² In so doing they have shown that critical questions such

³¹ Paul Arthur, "Pots and Boundaries. On Cultural and Economic Areas Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in *LRCW 2: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry*, ed. Michel Bonifay and Jean-Christophe Tréglia. BAR International Series (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007).

³² Chief among the classical archaeologists (see below for the anthropologists who advocate for theoretical approaches to ethnicity in the interpretation of archaeological evidence) are probably Siân Jones and Jonathan Hall: Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997); Siân Jones, "Identities in Practice: Towards an Archaeological Perspective on Jewish Identity in Antiquity," in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. Siân Jones and Sarah Pearce. *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*

as “What is culture?” and “What is ethnicity?” are not being asked by archaeologists (let alone answered), and that what Wittgenstein observed about epistemology (above, p. 1) is also true of the fields of ancient history and archaeology. The terms, concepts, and people groups that are most familiar to us and, more importantly, the conceptual frameworks within which we conduct our scholarly investigations, are the locale of many of the questions that we tend to neglect: “[That which should be] the real foundations of his inquiry do not strike a man at all. Unless *that* fact has at some time struck him.” These scholars have further shown that identity (whether individual, group, ethnic, or cultural) is dynamic and constantly renegotiated, not bounded by socio-political limits,³³ and therefore that any archaeological interpretation that seeks to say something about ancient culture and cultural interactions must first understand “culture.”

There is no doubt that material culture and the societies that produce and consume it are linked; the questions are *How?* and *To what degree?* Any discussion of society, culture, or ethnicity must begin with a definition of these words,³⁴ and any definition must find its foundation in the theoretical concept of groups, for all of these entities are, at their core, social groups. Social groups of all kinds form identities when (and as) individuals internalize shared group norms and values and segregate themselves (or segregate others from them) by establishing criteria of membership to determine

Supplement Series 31 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³³ So also Jones: “Ethnic groups are not neatly packaged, territorially bounded, culture-bearing units in the present, nor are they likely to have been in the past.” See Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, 104.

³⁴ So also Siân Jones, who has pointed out that one of the problems that plagues the modern study of ancient ethnicities is that these terms too often go undefined in the literature. See Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, xiii, 29.

inclusion and exclusion.³⁵ This process is the result of daily interpersonal and intercultural negotiations, as well as the interpretation of written and unwritten traditions. It is what Bourdieu called *habitus*: the structures, dispositions, and actions of the group influence those of each individual within the group, and vice-versa, and they generate patterns of human action that appear to be operating as though the result of rules, but which in fact operate without rules.³⁶ In Bourdieu's words, the dispositions (i.e., the ways that people learn to act within the context of a group or society; the manifestation of the society or group in a person) are both "structured structures" and "structuring structures."³⁷

Ethnic groups are a particular kind of social group that claim common kinship and blood lines, as well as (in most cases) some conception of a shared history and homeland.³⁸ But ethnic groups' purported biological criteria of membership, as well as the perceived homogeneity that goes along with it, are in fact as much of a social construct as the bounding criteria of any other social group. Although ethnic boundaries are circumscribed in language of consanguineous exclusionary criteria, people who

³⁵ Hall defines a social group as the "internalization by the individual of shared group norms and values... [It] exists alongside a 'personal identity'..." See Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, 30. He continues, "In day-to-day interaction it is going to be a question of one's personal identity that is brought to bear. When, however, the identity of the group is threatened, a response on the individual level is mobilized because the identity of the ethnic group has been internalized by the individual, with the consequence that injury to the group is seen as an injury to the self." See also Jones, "Identities in Practice: Towards an Archaeological Perspective on Jewish Identity in Antiquity," in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 38.

³⁶ Bourdieu defined *habitus* as "systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules..." (original emphasis). See Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 16 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 72.

³⁷ Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72.

³⁸ This is to say that ethnic groups differ from most other social groups in that they define themselves primarily with respect to the same group *in the past*, and so a length time over which the group exists is important for its definition.

should be excluded on these grounds are regularly allowed into the group for a variety of socio-cultural reasons, such as intermarriage, adoption (legal or informal), and friendship. The perseverance of ethnic groups is never (and, over long periods of time, cannot be) maintained by permanent exclusion or by preventing boundary crossing. Indeed, it is in the act of crossing boundaries that the boundaries are affirmed.³⁹ And when the boundaries are crossed, exclusionary criteria must be revised or, more often, reinterpreted. The fact that ethnic groups persist over long periods of time despite the permeability of their boundaries demonstrates just how effective these adaptation strategies can be, and this constant renegotiation of the defining criteria of exclusion or inclusion means that “maintenance” of group identity is actually the perpetual *reconstruction* of group identity.⁴⁰

Archaeologists look for patterns in the material culture of ancient social groups in order to get at what Dietler and Herbich call *techniques* – the human actions that resulted in the production, consumption, and utilization of those objects.⁴¹ These actions are important because they are expressions of conscious and unconscious choices made by individuals within an ancient society, and as such those choices can convey information about how that society was composed, how individuals and groups within it interacted

³⁹ So also Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, 29.

⁴⁰ So also Hall: “Ethnic identity is a cultural construct, perpetually renewed and renegotiated through discourse and social praxis”; Satlow: “A community’s ‘Judaism’ is not made by a collection of texts or norms but by historically and socially situated human beings who engage, filter, and activate their traditions according to their local understandings”; Jones: “Ethnicity involves the subjective construction of identity on the basis of real or assumed shared culture and/or common descent...” See Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, 19; Michael L. Satlow, "Defining Judaism: Accounting for 'Religions' in the Study of Religion," *JAAR* 74, no. 4 (2006), 837-860: 846; Jones, "Identities in Practice: Towards an Archaeological Perspective on Jewish Identity in Antiquity," in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 37.

⁴¹ This term comes from the French tradition of *technologie* or *ethnologie des techniques*, which pays close attention to the process of making choices at all stages of the *chaîne opératoire* of production (essentially, the technical sequence of operations that result in the production of an object). See Dietler and Herbich, "*Habitus, Techniques, Style: An Integrated Approach to the Social Understanding of Material Culture and Boundaries*," in *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, 235 and endnotes 232 and 233.

with one another, and how the society interacted with other societies. But *techniques* cannot be understood as instantaneous action (although they usually are). Choices and actions are, like culture, conditioned by the *habitus*, and consequently they are created through a temporally extended process that Dietler and Herbich have termed the *chaîne opératoire* (essentially, the technical sequence of operations that result in the production or consumption of an object). In other words, although it is true that the material cultural patterns that we find in the archaeological record are the result of purposeful, socially contextualized human actions, to put it into these terms is to oversimplify the issue. It is not the case that a society's culture is *simply* reflected in an individual's actions (and, therefore, that material culture is equivalent to society) because the crucial link between a society and its individuals' actions is choice conditioned by *habitus*. People in antiquity *made choices that led to actions* that produced and consumed objects. Put in terms of Bourdieu, Dietler, and Herbich, the production, use, and disposal of objects is the result of many actors, conditioned by one or more *habitus*, making many choices for different reasons. There *is* a connection between ancient societies and their material culture, and it is to be found in *technique* (i.e., actions that are the result of choices), when understood as a part of the *chaîne opératoire*.

The *habitus* is manifested in material culture through choices made during the production process. These choices produce either a conscious, active expression of the *habitus* – the category of “style,” which includes those aspects of material culture that are not attributable to either the technology or the function of the object, or an unconscious, passive reflection of the *habitus* – the category of “form,” which includes those aspects of material culture that *are* attributable to either the technology or the function of the

object.⁴² Both require that the material culture be “read” and interpreted (i.e., that meaningful information be extracted from it) in order for it to have communicated information about the person, people, or society that produced or consumed it. In the case of the Squatters, the aspects of material culture that are particular to them, when compared with the previous inhabitants of the PHAB, are BCW cooking pots and Tan Gray Marl utility vessels, which are distinctive in their technology and their form, but not their style. As a result, and as noted above, the problems of associating style with particular social groups are not important for our purposes. (We will, however, return to the question of form).

The process of making choices in the procurement and use of material culture is little different from that involved in producing it. It is possible for choices made by consumers to bring about changes in the product, and therefore in material cultural patterns (e.g., in a case in which one culture is producing something to meet the tastes and/or needs of another culture, or the way that market demands – shaped by *habitus* – force changes in market supply), but this will not always be the case, and even when it is, it does not necessitate a change in the producing culture’s *habitus*. More often, the consumer’s *habitus* (when it is different from the producer’s *habitus*) conditions the choices that actors make in the consumption of material culture. So the question to be asked is *Why might people consume certain kinds of material culture and not others?* Why might the Squatters have chosen to use BCW cooking pots instead of Sandy cooking ware, Gritty cooking ware, or Spatter Painted Ware (as the inhabitants of the Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building at Tel Anafa did)? There are four possibilities: (1)

⁴² Dietler and Herbich, "*Habitus, Techniques, Style: An Integrated Approach to the Social Understanding of Material Culture and Boundaries*," in *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, 236ff.

personal or group demands (e.g., aesthetics, religious prohibitions, etc); (2) function; (3) market routes and trade networks (choices being made about interaction with producers or marketers before choices are being made about what to consume. This is different than the question of availability, which is covered in option 4); and (4) economic and market variables like economic class, cost, advertisement, availability, etc. In the first three instances the *habitus* conditions the choice. In the last instance *habitus* plus necessity conditions choice.

We now find ourselves at the crux of the problem: in order to be able to say anything about an ancient society through its material culture, we must interpret the material culture in such a way as to understand the choices that informed *technique* because the production and consumption of objects (the *chaîne opératoire*) can occur in a variety of ways for a variety of reasons. For instance, the interpretation of a stepped, plastered pool as a *miqveh* (a ritual bath known from Jewish texts to be associated with theological purity concerns and used for ritual cleansing) is often problematic, and debates over their interpretation and their status as a marker for the presence of Jews in the material record have not infrequently erupted in scholarly literature precisely because we cannot assume motive on the part of ancient users of objects, even when we know something about the *habitus*.⁴³ Scholars can point to Rabbinic legal requirements that a *miqveh* hold 40 seahs of water, that the water be “living water” (מיים חיים) supplied in a

⁴³ See, e.g., E. P. Sanders, *Jewish law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London; Philadelphia: SCM Press; Trinity Press International, 1990); Ronny Reich, "The Hot Bath-House (*balneum*), the Miqveh, and the Jewish Community in the Second Temple Period," *JJS* 39 (1988), 102-107; Hanan Eshel, "A Note on 'Miqvaot' at Sepphoris," in *Archaeology and the Galilee: Texts and Contexts in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Periods*, ed. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); Hanan Eshel, "The Pools of Sepphoris: Ritual Baths or Bathtubs: They're Not Ritual Baths," *BAR* 26, no. 4 (2000), 42-45; Eric Meyers, "Yes, They Are," *BAR* 26, no. 4 (2000), 46-48; Ronny Reich, "They Are Ritual Baths," *BAR* 28, no. 2 (2002), 50-55; Yonatan Adler, "Ritual Baths Adjacent to Tombs: An Analysis of the Archaeological Evidence in Light of the Halakhic Sources," *JSJ* 40 (2009), 55-73.

way such that it is not drawn by hand, etc., and on that basis argue that a particular plastered pool found at a particular archaeological site is a *miqveh*.⁴⁴ But what of those *miqva'ot* that were not built to the specifications that were codified in the Mishnah, or water reservoirs that were built according to such specifications but that were not used as *miqva'ot*? It is not just a theoretical question, because the identification of a *miqveh* at an archaeological site means not just Jewish presence, but the presence of Jews who were concerned with ritual purity, which suggests that their religious, legal, cultural, ethnic, and economic ties correspond to those expressed by certain authors whose works we possess today. Put simply, the identification of one stepped, plastered installation as a *miqveh* speaks volumes about the culture and society of the people who lived in that town or city.

To translate this discussion into terms of pottery, we can classify and categorize differences in the ceramic record of a given site or region, but how can we determine which differences were culturally significant and which were not? How might we know if a change in a certain form, production method, or style of pottery is indicative of a choice that was meaningful within the producing or the consuming cultures? When dealing with the material remains of a historical society (i.e., a society for which we have a historical account, or from which we have the writings of an author or authors), we can try to understand the *habitus* that has conditioned the *chaîne opératoire*, and from it to understand the choices that were made. But any text provides only a snapshot of the culture taken by a particular individual (who is a member of many social groups) at a

⁴⁴ See m. Miqva'ot.

particular time in history.⁴⁵ Each one of these snapshots in and of itself preserves only a tiny bit of information about the culture in which it was composed, and so we are left to create a whole picture out of a patchwork of bits. When we study “the Jews” in 164 BCE Judaea (however we define the word “Jews”), we rarely acknowledge that they are not only a different group from the *actual* Jews that lived in 164 BCE Judaea (even if they are similar), but also that they are different from “the Jews” of 1 BCE Judaea or those of 164 BCE Galilee. Of course the paucity of evidence for life in antiquity is such that modern scholarship is unable to provide the nuance and resolution that is commensurate with the reality of life in the ancient world, and we must do what we can with what we have (a point to which I will turn shortly). But the lack of nuance in the history of research of these groups has also perpetuated the problem of describing ethnic groups in terms that do not recognize the fact that they are metaphors for (or schematics of) the actual human societies that they represent. In the specific case of the Galilee and the people living in it the situation is complicated further by the fact that extant texts related to Hellenistic and Roman Galilee were nearly all written by elites for elite audiences and are, with the exception of the large portion of the corpus that is represented by Josephus, disproportionately theological in content. As a result, when scholars conclude that “Jews” lived in Lower Galilee in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, the definition of that term cannot help but be overly developed with respect to elite and theological concerns (not to mention under representative of aspects of culture that were not important for the authors’ purposes). Put differently, the constructed societies of

⁴⁵ So also Jones: “A particular group’s identity is unlikely to be monolithic or homogenous, and the same is true for the cultural beliefs and practices which inform that identity.” See Jones, “Identities in Practice: Towards an Archaeological Perspective on Jewish Identity in Antiquity,” in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 39.

historical and archaeological discourse are “second order categories” and the reality of the social practice behind them are “first order realities.”

This intractable problem is new neither to archaeologists nor historians. But it means that archaeologists are, by definition, interpreting the remains of first order categories via isomorphic, temporally static second order categories when they attempt to create a link between ancient cultures and their physical remains.⁴⁶ As a result, to the degree that those second order categories have not accounted for the complexities and fluidities of social and cultural identities or the contextual negotiation of borders (and I am arguing here that modern scholarship has done a poor job of this, especially with regard to the Jews), the interpretation of archaeological remains will remain simplistic and reductionistic.⁴⁷ This is not to say that nothing can be learned from texts and applied to material culture, only that it requires both a caution and the discipline to correct for the problems inherent in recreating ancient societies from texts, and that it is unlikely that it will come easily or produce “some handy simple formula of ready utility to archaeologists.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Jones, applying Bourdieu’s conclusions to questions of ethnicity and archaeology, has come to the same conclusion: “In reconstructing past ethnic groups, historians and archaeologists have colluded in giving precedence to literary representations of ethnicity and searching for an isomorphic reflection of such categories in the archaeological record. Yet to do so, I suggest, is to make the mistake of conflating qualitatively different manifestations of ethnicity. ... The point that I wish to emphasize here is the importance of recognizing the qualitative difference between objectified, inscriptive, representations of ethnicity [i.e., those that are recorded in historical sources] and the praxis of ethnicity.” See Jones, “Identities in Practice: Towards an Archaeological Perspective on Jewish Identity in Antiquity,” in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 46-47.

⁴⁷ This has been put well by Dietler and Herbich: “Where culture is viewed simply as a reflection, or an effect, of uniformly shared cognitive structure rather than as an historical social process, there is little scope within such an essentially static perspective for understanding change in either [material culture] or society.” See Dietler and Herbich, “*Habitus*, Techniques, Style: An Integrated Approach to the Social Understanding of Material Culture and Boundaries,” in *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, 239.

⁴⁸ Dietler and Herbich, “*Habitus*, Techniques, Style: An Integrated Approach to the Social Understanding of Material Culture and Boundaries,” in *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, 234.

In the specific case of the Tel Kedesh Squatters, we have two avenues that we might pursue. One is to investigate the possibility that they were Lower Galilean Jews, in which case we can attempt to say something about the *habitus* that informed their choices based on what we know of Lower Galilean Jews. The other is to start from a less teleological position and treat them as a generic, ahistorical social group. In this case the situation is even more problematic, for the material record is unlikely to provide any solid conclusions in and of itself, and we must be content with the reality that material culture cannot answer all of our questions. It must be supplemented with other information, one option for which is to turn to responsible ethnoarchaeological approaches in order to understand the range of factors that influence choices made in the production and consumption of pots.

The Luo people of western Kenya provide one such example.⁴⁹ They live in an area of approximately 10,000 km² and are surrounded by peoples of different linguistic groups. They are divided by lineage into several “tribes” and “sub-tribes” that are traditional land-holding units and have strong territorial affiliations. But aspects of identity are not confined to issues of territorial, tribal, sub-tribal, or familial identification: for instance, the Luo do not practice circumcision, while the neighboring Luyia do.

The Luo potters, all of whom are women who live on their husbands’ patrilineal homestead, make 13 different types of vessel (excluding two that they produce exclusively for a neighboring people group and a series of recently developed imitations

⁴⁹ Michael Dietler and Ingrid Herbich, "Ceramics and Ethnic Identity: Ethnoarchaeological Observations on the Distribution of Pottery Styles and the Relationship Between the Social Contexts of Production and Consumption," in *Terre Cuite et Société: La céramique, document technique, économique, culturel* (Juan-les-Pins: Association pour la Promotion et la Diffusion des Connaissances Archéologiques, 1994).

of European forms that are produced by a few communities).⁵⁰ The vast majority of pots are sold by the women themselves at local periodic markets, and over 90% of the pots sold to primary customers remain within 15 km. of the market (which makes sense given that most of them are carried to and from markets by foot).⁵¹ Though all Luo pottery can be grouped into 13 vessel types, any one region within Luo territory only uses between 9 and 11 of the forms, and people in all regions seem to use whatever pottery they consume for a roughly identical set of functions. In addition, there are only two types of vessel that are represented throughout the Luo area, and those types are not unique to the Luo. Indeed, no forms are made both by all Luo potter communities and exclusively by Luo potters: the only two forms which are made by all Luo potter communities are also made by Luyia potters. Furthermore, variations on a common type have been found to be the result of different local conceptual traditions, as opposed to being variations on a common ideal type. “There is no global Luo «emic» classification that corresponds to our analytical set of 13 form categories, but rather a number of local classification schemes which we have chosen to aggregate this way.”⁵²

Dietler and Herbich’s study of the Luo also found that choices made in the consumption of pottery was both a socially complex phenomenon and not affected by social borders (whether ethnic, tribal, or linguistic). When micro-styles (i.e., different

⁵⁰ “Types of vessel” here means “a range of shapes produced [that] can be divided for analytical purposes into a polythetic sets of...different abstract form categories.” The production of pottery is not a potter’s livelihood among the Luo. They have the same agricultural and domestic responsibilities as other Luo women, and the sale of their pottery supplies only a small subsidiary income. They are taught how to make pottery by their mothers-in-law and they are found on homesteads that are clustered around a clay source. There are usually several potters per homestead. In total these potters constitute only 1% of the female Luo population.

⁵¹ Dietler and Herbich came to this figure after tracking the location of 1,104 pots. Traders sometimes buy pots in bulk and transport them to further distances for resale at other markets and/or homesteads, thus increasing the distance of those pots from market, but those pots were not included in the 90%.

⁵² Dietler and Herbich, “Ceramics and Ethnic Identity: Ethnoarchaeological Observations on the Distribution of Pottery Styles and the Relationship Between the Social Contexts of Production and Consumption,” in *Terre Cuite et Société: La céramique, document technique, économique, culturel*, 463.

characteristic combinations of decorative, formal, and technical traits that allow one to clearly distinguish the products of different pottery communities) were mapped, they were fairly uniform in all directions, cutting across important ethnic and/or sub-tribal boundaries, whether between the Luo and their Bantu-speaking neighbors or various Luo sub-tribes.⁵³ Furthermore, at markets on the Luo/Luyia border, where potters of both ethnic groups sold vessels of quite distinctive styles, no preference was demonstrated by consumers for the pots produced by potters of their own group. In other words, when the pots' final destinations were mapped, the resulting picture was not of ethnic or cultural boundaries, but of a market catchment area, regardless of market location:

The borders of territories and groups which are clearly important to people are not reflected in the distribution of ceramic styles; and the boundaries of the style zones fall in areas which are of no cultural or social significance... Consequently, it must be admitted that for archaeologists neither the spatial distribution of ceramic styles nor regional resemblances in pot forms are necessarily very good indicators of ethnic identity. Homogenous style zones may pass across traditionally hostile borders, and the boundaries of these style zones may bisect groups with a strong sense of mutual identity.⁵⁴

If social boundaries have little or no effect on the distribution of consumed pots in a system in which pots are transported on women's heads to and from market, resulting in nearly all of the pots moving less than 15 km., how much more will this be the case for large-scale trade in wares over hundreds or thousands of kilometers? The vessels have no role in the maintenance of group boundaries, and there are no messages encoded in the

⁵³ Dietler and Herbich point out that regular armed conflict and invasion and defense of territory have occurred both between Luo sub-tribes and between the Luo and the Luyia over the past few centuries. These acts of aggression were only halted (with difficulty) by the colonial government at the beginning of the 20th century, but arguments about territorial boundaries have continued in the courts since then. Furthermore, both the Luo and Luyia has a rich stock of negative ethnic stereotypes that they apply to the other.

⁵⁴ Dietler and Herbich, "Ceramics and Ethnic Identity: Ethnoarchaeological Observations on the Distribution of Pottery Styles and the Relationship Between the Social Contexts of Production and Consumption," in *Terre Cuite et Société: La céramique, document technique, économique, culturel*, 468-469.

styles that serve as symbols of ethnic, sub-tribal or other group identity. This is not to say that the people groups who lived in Hellenistic Galilee necessarily behaved like the Luo, but rather that any argument that ethnic, tribal, or other social boundaries have an impact on patterns of consumption must bring both evidence for it and reason that the *habitus* governed the actors to act that way. Dietler and Herbich's study of the Luo also highlights just how complex human societies are – a fact that is rarely, if ever, acknowledged by archaeologists and historians of antiquity.

A Brief Excursus on the Special Case of Jews and Judaism

The conclusion that ethnic or social boundaries do not necessarily constrain human interaction (and therefore trade) might seem obvious. However, the assumption that the Jews of antiquity were different from all other people groups as a result of conceptions of religious purity has long insinuated itself into the interpretation of archaeological remains in Israel/Palestine. This situation is the result, in large part, of the phenomenon that I described above: the texts from which we have recreated ancient “Judaism” are predominantly concerned with religious and theological issues as a result of the continued survival of the Jewish and Christian *religions*.⁵⁵ This conception is sometimes expressed in terms of the Jewish religion being a defining criterion of ethnicity, and the existence of the religious category “Judaism” (or “Samaritanism,” or “Christianity”) alongside an absence of categories such as “Phoenicianism,” “Ituraeanism,” and “Syrianity” only serves to underscore the point: we think of Jews in antiquity very differently than we think of other people groups, in large part due to the fact that these are ancient *people groups* that gave us two of the *religions* of the modern

⁵⁵ For a quick survey of the definition of this word as it changed over centuries see Satlow, "Defining Judaism: Accounting for 'Religions' in the Study of Religion," 838-842.

world.⁵⁶ Religion undoubtedly played a role in ancient Jewish identity, as religion played a role in every individual's and group's identity in antiquity. However, we tend to put much greater emphasis on the role of religion for the Jews than for any other people group, again as a result of (a) the survival of the religion and the practice of the religion among modern scholars who study aspects of ancient Judaism, (b) the survival of so much literature about the religion, and (c) the overwhelming focus within that literature on theology. What is even meant by "the Jewish religion"? The "religion of the Bible"? The "religion of the Temple authorities"? The "religion of the people"? Which texts or artifacts should we prefer in order to answer this question, and how do we know if our interpretation of them is representative of an ancient definition? Traditionally the great amount of Rabbinic literature and the obvious fact that there was some connection between the Jewish religion of the Rabbis and that of the Second Temple period has meant that Second Temple Judaism has been interpreted in light of the Rabbinic texts. We find *miqva'ot* and stone vessels in Second Temple Jerusalem and read about *miqva'ot* and stone vessels in the Rabbinic texts; therefore Second Temple Judaism must have

⁵⁶ The Greek word translated into English as "Judaism" (Ἰουδαϊσμός) is unknown in ancient literature before the writing of 2 Maccabees in the late 2nd century BCE. See 2 Macc. 2:21-22; 4:11-13; 8:1; and 14:38. Cohen has argued that this is evidence that the *concept* of "Judaism" was in place by this time, while Mason has argued against this view. See Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 31 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *JSJ* 38 (2007), 457-512. Satlow, accepting at least parts of Boyarin's argument that Christianity brought about the concept of a religion as a category separate from ethnicity (a concept that was ultimately rejected by the rabbis) argues that, "Only in the Middle Ages do we find the penetration of the concept of 'Judaism' into Hebrew. One of the first, perhaps even the first, attestation of the Hebrew term for Judaism, *yahadut*, appears in Abraham Abulafia's *Book of the Testimony*." See Satlow, "Defining Judaism: Accounting for 'Religions' in the Study of Religion," 840. Cf. Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). The point here is that "Judaism" is indeed anachronistic when speaking of Phoenicians, Nabateans, and Syrians, yet that is precisely how it is normally used in modern scholarship and one of the reasons that we have such a difficult time properly categorizing and conceptualizing Jews in antiquity.

been concerned with purity in the same way that the authors and compilers of the Rabbinic texts were.

There is, however, a more problematic issue: modern scholarship on ancient Jews and Judaism has tended to assume the presence of a monolithic orthodoxy (e.g., “Second Temple Judaism”) and tacitly concluded that any departure from this orthodoxy was in some sense deviant from a “norm.”⁵⁷ This is a different assumption of monolithicity than that discussed above; this is the assumption of cultural homogeneity among Jews that is the result of centuries of assumption of religious orthodoxy. The majority of scholarship over the last 150 years has emphasized or explicitly defined “Judaism” as the Yahwistic, Jerusalem Temple-centered *religion* of Judaea, and to then create an ethnicity and culture out of that religion, to the degree that E.P. Sanders changed the face of the study of Judaism as recently as the 1980s (with the results being applied well into the late 1990s or early 2000s) by arguing for a variety of “Second Temple Judaism_s.”⁵⁸ His argument was based primarily on the fact that we find a variety of theological and religious viewpoints in the extant literature. The underlying presuppositions that Sanders was both assuming and critiquing were that of a monolithic (religious) orthodoxy, as well as a relative inability in the modern age to think of “Judaism” as something other than a religion.

However, not only is the assumption that Jewish religion was more or less equivalent to Jewish culture and ethnicity problematic, there is no good reason to assume

⁵⁷ An assumption present in such conclusions is that extant texts, when properly interpreted by modern methods, will provide us with an emic definition of “Judaism” from which we can determine the degree to which other texts and communities were different (usually with *at least* a nuance of deviance).

⁵⁸ E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1977); E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66 CE* (Philadelphia, PA: Trinity Press International, 1992).

that *religious* orthodoxy (let alone cultural orthodoxy) was a concept in the Second Temple period. “Orthodoxy” and “heresy” are concepts that were created by the later *religions* of Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism,⁵⁹ and the requirements for orthodoxy are significant: there must be a person or group with the power to define and enforce that which is orthodox; there must be a motive and a payoff for the group in power to enforce that which is orthodox; there must be a means of communicating that decision to all who are to be affected by it; there must be a method and infrastructure that allows the enforcement of the definitions of orthodoxy and heresy; and there must be a communication network that allows “orthodoxy” to be continuously monitored and standardized.⁶⁰

Most importantly, the typical unstated presupposition that Judaism in antiquity was a monolithic orthodoxy forces the study of ancient Judaism to assume that if there were Jews in Hellenistic Galilee then they can only have defined their “Jewishness” in accordance with or opposition to the “Judaism of the Bible,” the “Judaism of the

⁵⁹ So also Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*; Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*; Satlow, "Defining Judaism: Accounting for 'Religions' in the Study of Religion."; Michael L. Satlow, "Disappearing Categories: Using Categories in the Study of Religion," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 17 (2005), 287-298; Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History." Barclay writes, "There is a further danger in the term 'orthodoxy' if it is employed with Christian presuppositions, which give more weight to 'ideas' than practices." See John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE - 117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 86.n.7 See also the debate on this matter between McEleney and Aune: N. J. McEleney, "Orthodoxy in Judaism of the First Century Christian Century," *JSJ* 4 (1973), 18-42; David E. Aune, "Orthodoxy in First Century Judaism? A Response to N. J. McEleney," *JSJ* 7 (1976), 1-10. Grabbe rightly recognized that 'orthodoxy is in the eye of the beholder' and that this term belongs 'within confessional belief rather than historical investigation'. See Lester L. Grabbe, *Comparative Philology and the Text of Job: A Study in Methodology*. SBL Dissertation Series 34 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977).

⁶⁰ The communication requirement alone was a heavy burden in the ancient world: in the Roman period (in which most regions had better roads than in the Hellenistic or Persian period), travel by land was no faster than 15-25 miles per day (faster by sea at probably 2-6 knots, and with a more direct route to the destination, but also more unpredictable), making the distance between Pisidian Antioch and Ephesus to be 13 days, between Rome and Syria to be between five and ten weeks, and between Jerusalem and Galilee to be at least 4 days. See Tacitus, *Annales* 6.50; Josephus, *Antiquities* 18:122-124 for an account of the 5-week trip of the announcement that Tiberius had died; as well as Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 12.10.2 and *ad Att.* 14.9.3 for his account of ships taking 50 and over 100 days to reach Rome from Syria.

Temple,” or some other modern academic construct. Once any nuance of normality becomes attached to a category of ancient culture, religion, or way of life, all variants are, by definition, nuanced as somehow abnormal. Such a perspective precludes the possibility that people in Hellenistic Galilee negotiated their identities within the immediate historical, cultural, and geographical contexts in which they lived, which is how we understand all ancient people groups except Jews and Christians. Given all of the variables discussed above, it simply does not make sense to conceptualize ancient Jews as having been culturally and economically isolated from non-Jews around them. Indeed, there are dozens, if not hundreds, of textual sources that provide just such “exceptions to the rule.” Nevertheless, this presupposition continues to exert influence in academic thought about the Jews.

One final point: one of the problems inherent in the tacit scholarly consensus that there was some semblance of “Jewish orthodoxy” from which all other forms of Judaism deviated is that it gives “Judaism” agency. Judaism is a system, and it is not the system that acts or is acted on, but the individuals that are a part of the system. “‘Judaism’ does not have agency – Jews do.”⁶¹

The Squatters and Choices of Consumption

Let us return to the proposition of four realms in which choices might be made by consumers in an actual ancient society and apply them to the Squatters. The most important changing variable between the material culture of the PHAB occupants and that of the Squatters is to be found in the cooking pots, in which case aesthetics will not

⁶¹ Michael L. Satlow, *Who Needs Theory? An Historian's Polemic. A Plenary Address Given to the Northeast Regional Society of Biblical Literature Meeting in Newton, Massachusetts on April 16, 2010.* (2010 [cited December 1 2010]); available from <http://msatlow.blogspot.com/2010/04/last-friday-i-delivered-plenary-address.html>.

have been a factor. However, if we begin with the assumption that the Squatters were Jews, then perhaps we would assume that they made decisions to interact with certain salesmen, either for reasons of purity (not with regard to only using a specific type of cooking pot, but with regard to only interacting with certain types of people) or because they were a very closed and segregated society and so only knew Jewish marketers (perhaps analogous to certain modern ultra-orthodox groups). But this would not make any sense at all. For starters, there is absolutely no evidence that Jews were such a closed society, especially outside the borders of Judaea. Josephus and 1 Maccabees consistently represented Jews in the Galilee, the Decapolis, the coastal cities, and Syria as living with non-Jews.⁶² Furthermore, all of the Squatter coins are from coastal mints, including the 26 bronze coins of Antiochus VII, the Jerusalem issues of which have been suggested to be evidence of Jewish presence and economic interaction with Jerusalem.⁶³ They were clearly interacting with coastal markets to one degree or another. In addition, no *miqva'ot* or stone vessels have been found at Kedesh, and although the faunal profile of the Squatters is incomplete, all of the Squatter loci contained pig bones.

Another option is that of an unknown non-Kedesh-affiliated social group who moved into the abandoned building at Kedesh, bringing their “foreign” pottery with them, and who then maintained their trade connections once there (i.e., continued to bring “foreign” pottery into Kedesh). Such people could also be “Galileans” – whether Jews or not – moving north from Galilee or left by Jonathan in the wake of Demetrius’ defeat, or

⁶² See also the discussion of the cultural landscape of the Galilee in the Early Roman period in Chapter 2.

⁶³ Syon, "Numismatic Evidence of Jewish Presence in Galilee before the Hasmonean Annexation?." Twelve coins of this uncommon type have been found at various sites in Galilee (Gush Halava/Gischala, Gamla/Gamala, Yodefath/Iotapata, Shihin/Asochis, Arbel/Arbela, Bet She'an/Nysa-Scythopolis, and Tel Basul near Bet She'an), as compared to at least 55 in Judaea. Part of the argument centers around the common agreement among numismatists that bronze coins do not travel far from their mints and were not normally accepted as currency in all places. The suggestion is that these coins showed up in these cities as the result of pilgrimage to the Jerusalem Temple.

another people group altogether. Such a hypothesis would require one of two scenarios. Either the town of Kedesh was completely destroyed and all of its inhabitants run off or enslaved by Jonathan (i.e., the Squatters moved into an abandoned city for which there were no existing trade relations), or the Squatters were a people group that moved with such a unique culinary culture such that they bought certain vessels because those vessels allowed them to cook the kinds of food that they ate (i.e., vessel form = vessel function). Josephus knew Kedesh to be a Tyrian city in his day, so the first scenario would require the Seleucid-era (Tyrian) city to have been entirely depopulated, reinhabited by another people group who, at some point in the subsequent decades, abandoned the city, after which the city was again reinhabited by Tyrians. Such massive shifts over the course of 250 years are, perhaps, not entirely impossible, but it does seem a little fantastic to imagine that they would have occurred without some mention of it in 1 Maccabees (which is not shy about portraying the Hasmonaeans as destroying cities) or Josephus. Instead, Kedesh is consistently portrayed as a Tyrian city in all of the extant sources. The second possibility would require the form of the high-necked cooking pots to have a function that would not be served by short-necked cooking pots, which is also unlikely. This theory has been advanced for the Frankish crusaders in Corinth in the 14th century CE,⁶⁴ but it hinges entirely on an unfounded argument that the high neck collected so much exiting steam that it changed the water content of the food being cooked in it to such a degree that its users found folded neck cookpots to be unusable. Not only do I find that argument to be implausible, but Squatter cookpots tend to have high *splayed* necks, not high inturned necks, as the high-necked cook pots from 14th century Corinth did, and

⁶⁴ Louise Joyner, "Cooking Pots as Indicators of Cultural Change: A Petrographic Study of Byzantine and Frankish Cooking Wares from Corinth," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 76, no. 1 (2007), 183-227.

so the shift in form does not suggest a shift in function. The only option that is left is that the shifts in material culture are due to economic and/or market variables, a possibility that I will turn to in Chapter 5. In the meantime, Jonathan's presence at Kedesh and the lack of good information about Hasmonaean presence in Galilee prior to 104/3 BCE necessitate a closer look at the literary sources. First, however, we need a geopolitical framework within which to work.

Chapter 2

The Cultural and Political Landscape of Hellenistic Galilee and the Surrounding Regions

*Other than a few way-stations along roads, Galilee was virtually uninhabited from the eighth to the second century B.C.E., when Jews repopulated it.*¹

*The resettlement of the Galilean region began gradually prior to the Persian period [ca. 600 BCE]...*²

*The population density during the Persian period [ca. 600-323 BCE] was similar to the last years of the Israelite period before the onslaught of the Assyrians in the 720s BCE.*³

*Nevertheless,...as descendants of Israelites, the Galileans would have found 'the laws of the Judaeans' different from their own indigenous customs and traditions ... [T]hey had undergone more than eight centuries of separate development.*⁴

*...only a very few Galileans would have been descendants of the northern Israelites or descendants of any gentiles who had lived alongside them.*⁵

The quotes above highlight the fact that there is very little scholarly consensus about the population and ethnic makeup of Galilee in the era prior to Palestine's

¹ John Dominic Crossan and Jonathan L. Reed, *Excavating Jesus: Beneath the Stones, Behind the Texts*, 1st HarperCollins paperback ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 32. They follow Zvi Gal, "Israel in Exile," who wrote that "Lower Galilee was practically deserted by the end of the eighth century [BCE]." See Zvi Gal, "Israel in Exile," *BAR* 24, no. 3 (1998): 52; Zvi Gal, *The Lower Galilee: Settlement Geography in the period of the Bible* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv: HaKibutz HaMeuhad: HaHevrah LaHakirat Erets-Yisrael VeAtikoteha, 1990); Zvi Gal, *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age*. ASOR Dissertation Series, vol. 8 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992). Gal's conclusion seems to hold sway over many of the Biblical historians and archaeologists. See below for a critique of his position.

² Milton Moreland, "The Inhabitants of Galilee in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods: Probes into the Archaeological and Literary Evidence," in *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee* ed. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge, and Dale B. Martin (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 133-159, 144.

³ N Zori, *Land of Issachar: Archaeological Survey* (Jerusalem: Survey of Israel, 1977).

⁴ Richard A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1995), 50-51.

⁵ Mark A. Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series, vol. 134 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 44.

annexation to Rome in 64/3 BCE. This is due in part to an almost complete lack of historical sources, as those that were deemed unimportant to Judaism or Christianity were not well preserved in the following centuries, and Galilee was, from this perspective, insignificant between the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 722 BCE and the Hasmonean expansion into the region. Conversely, Galilee's status as the stage of Jesus' ministry and the home of many of the Rabbis made it a focal point for Christians and Jews from Late Antiquity onward, resulting in the preservation of texts written about Galilee in the years between 70 and 200 CE to the exclusion of others. Today those texts constitute the vast majority of extant information about Galilee in all periods. This situation has further contributed to a phenomenon in which the vast majority of modern scholarly inquiry into ancient Galilee has been for the purpose of giving a social context to Jesus and the Rabbis.

The late 1st century CE Judaeen historian Josephus described the Galilee as consisting of two parts.⁶ Lower Galilee was the region between the villages of Xaloth in the south and Bersabe in the north, and was bounded on the west by the territory of Ptolemais and Carmel, and on the east by the Jordan River, Hippene, Gadaris, and Gaulanitis on the east. Upper Galilee ran from Bersabe in the south to Baca in the north (which, he noted, was at the edge of Tyrian territory), and from Meroth on the west to Thella on the east (which was a village near the Jordan river – note that here he is referring to that part of the Jordan which flowed from Lake Hula to the Sea of Galilee).⁷ The modern equivalence between the cardinal direction north and the word “up” would have made little sense in ancient times, and it is most likely that “Upper Galilee” was not

⁶ The region might have received its name from the Hebrew גליל, meaning “circle,” as a reference to its topographical encirclement by more mountainous terrain.

⁷ *War* 3.35ff.

understood as “Northern Galilee” but as “Galilee of higher elevation” in antiquity. Josephus’ dividing line between the two Galilees falls in the Beit HaKerem Valley and the Ammud stream to its east, north of which is a significant increase in elevation.⁸ This border and this understanding of Upper and Lower can also be found in the Mishnah, which locates Kfar Hananyah (which is in the Beit HaKerem Valley, next to Bersabe) on the border between Lower and Upper Galilee and notes that Upper Galilee is the region where sycamore trees do not grow.⁹ Although the precise location of its borders may have shifted slightly (especially in the north), the Galilee seems to have been conceived of and treated as a geographical entity throughout history, as it is today.

Josephus also lays out the surrounding regions in specific terms, and the boundaries are again notably topographical. To the south of the Galilee is the region of Samaria, which starts at the village of Ginea (perhaps modern Jenin),¹⁰ where the Jezreel valley begins to climb southward into the central hill that runs south past Jerusalem to the Negev Desert.¹¹ Samaria is bounded on the south by Judaea, and while the eastern and western boundaries are not mentioned by Josephus, it is likely that the eastern and western boundaries of Judaea and the Galilee provide the answer: Samaria was probably bounded on the east by the Jordan river (as both the Galilee and Judaea were), and on the

⁸ It is worth noting that the modern Israeli Highway 85 – which, like ancient roads, was built along a path of least topographical resistance – runs through the Beit haKerem valley and closely approximates this dividing line between Upper and Lower Galilee. Anyone who has driven along Highway 85 will have noted the “lowlands” to the south and the steeply climbing mountains immediately to the north.

⁹ See m. Shev. 9:2; t. Shev. 7:6.

¹⁰ Modern Jenin is widely accepted as the location of Ginea, in part because the modern Arabic pronunciation of “Jenin” is etymologically connected to the Hebrew Bible’s Ein Ganim, and the book of Judith’s “Gini.” This connection was first identified by the 14th century physician and topographer Isaac Ben Moses, who wrote under the pen name Ishtori HaParchi. See אִישְׁתוֹרֵי הַפְּרָחִי וְצִבִּי הִירֶשׁ אֲדִלְמָן, סֵפֶר כַּפְתוֹר (1851) (ברלין: זײטענפעלד, 1851). At any rate, it is clear from Josephus that he considered (a) the Jezreel Valley (“the great plain”) to be part of Lower Galilee, and (b) the region of Samaria to start at the southern edge of the Jezreel and run southward.

¹¹ Though note that at *War* 3.39 Josephus defines the southern border of the Galilee as being at Xaloth (modern Iksal), on the northern edge of the Jezreel. The Mishnah puts it at Kfar Otnay (modern Lejjun) – see m. Git. 7.7.

west either by the Mediterranean or by the region of one or more of the cities in the coastal plain – perhaps Apollonia and Caesarea Maritima (just as the coastal city of Ptolemais bounded the Galilee and the coastal city of Joppa bounded Judaea). To the east of Galilee and Samaria was the region of the Decapolis, which has historically been understood to have been settled by Greek soldiers and to have had predominantly non-Jewish populations.

Galilee in the Iron Age

Josephus' 30 books about the Jewish revolt against Rome and the history of the Jewish people make it clear that the majority of the population of the Galilee in the late 1st century CE was Jewish. However, demographic details about the people who lived in this region during the Hellenistic period are completely missing. Nearly all scholars have founded their conclusions about this period on evidence from *Annals* 18 and 24 of the *Annals* of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III and books of the Hebrew Bible that were written in the 8th-7th centuries BCE. Prior to 734 BCE, when Tiglath Pileser III invaded the region, Galilee was part of the (northern) Israelite kingdom of Israel, which, according to common if disputed scholarly consensus, had split from the (southern) Israelite kingdom of Judah in the 10th century BCE. *Annals* 18 and 24, which are extremely fragmentary, record the number of people deported from Galilee in and after 734 BCE, which, if scholars' readings are correct, totaled 13,520 (see Table 1).¹²

Scholarly estimates of the total population from which this 13,520 should be subtracted

¹² Though the texts are fragmentary, *Annal* 18 gives the numbers 625, 650, and 656 as the number of people taken from what are presumably Galilean cities, while lines 9'-10' of *Annal* 24 read "13,250 [people...] with their belongings [I carried off to Assyria]." See Table 1.

have ranged from 17,600 (for the urban population of the Galilee),¹³ in which case 77% of the urban population was deported, to 93,750 (for all of Galilee), in which case only 14% of the population was deported.¹⁴

The vast difference between these two numbers and their importance for understanding the ethnic, religious, and demographic makeup of the Galilee in the Hellenistic period requires belaboring the point for a moment. The first number was arrived at based on an assumption of 40 people per dunam (a number chosen because it is the midpoint of Broshi and Gophna's suggestions of 30-50 people per dunam) and a group of cities with a total area of 338 dunams.¹⁵ Gal's logic and methodology are as follows:

The site [from] which 625 people were exiled covered an area of [i.e., "would have covered an area of"] 15.6 dunams, and the other two sites [i.e., from which 650 and 656 people were exiled] were [i.e., would have been] 16 dunams. This is a typical size for Lower Galilee cities, including Tel Mador (1.43), Khirbet Abu Mudawer Tamra (1.45), Hurbat Shimshit (1.22), Hurbat Gamum (2.6), and others... Five cities with an area of between 40 and 60 dunams have been surveyed along with three additional sites containing areas between 14 and 20 dunams. Ten more sites had very limited areas and were rural in nature. The cumulative area of these cities is 440 dunams, theoretically representing 17,600 people – 4,048 more than the number listed in the Assyrian source. I argue then, that the Assyrian figures reflect reality, although they do not present the entire picture because of their fragmentary nature.¹⁶

¹³ Gal, *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age*, 109.

¹⁴ Magen Broshi and Israel Finkelstein, "The Population of Palestine in Iron Age II," *BASOR* 287 (1992), 47-60.

¹⁵ Magen Broshi and R. Gophna, "The Settlements and Population of Palestine in the Early Bronze Age II-III," *BASOR* 253 (1984), 41-43.

¹⁶ Gal, *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age*, 109. As noted above, Gal's conclusion has been very influential. For instance, Jonathan Reed has written that "there are no villages, no hamlets, no farmsteads, nothing at all indicative of a population that could harvest the Galilean valleys for the Assyrian stores, much less sustained cultural and religious traditions through the centuries." So also Mark Chancey: "The interior of Galilee, in short, was still relatively sparsely populated on the eve of the Maccabean campaigns." See Jonathan L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 2000), 32; Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee*, 44.

Annal 18	Annal 24
1' ...	1' without (?) [...
2' [... like] a (dense) fog [I covered] him [...	2' without (?) [...
3' [... of 16] districts of Bit-[Humri] (Israel) I [demolished] ut[terly...]	3' of 16 di[stricts of Bit-Humri] (Israel) [...]
4' [...x captives from the city of ...]bara, 625 captives from the city of [...] [...]	4' capti[ves from...] [...]
5' [...x captives from the city of] Hina- tuna, 650 captives from the city of Ku[...] [...]	5' 226 [captives from...] 6' captives [from ...] [...] [...]
6' [...x captives from the city of Ya]tbite 656 captives from the city of Sa...[...] [...] [...] [...] [...]	7' 400 [(+ x) captives from ...] [...] 8' 656 cap[tives from the city of Sa... (altogether)] 9' 13,520 [people...] 10' with their belongings [I carried off to Assyria] [the cities of Aruma and Marum]
7' [...] the cities of Aruma and Marum [...] [...]	11' [situated in] rugged mountains [I conquered (?) ...]
8' [...Mitinti of] Ashkelon [broke] the loyalty oath [... and] [revolted against me ...]	12' Mitinti of Ash[kelon] [broke the loyalty oath ... and]
9' [The defeat of Re]zin He saw and in an attack of [panic/ insanity...] [...]	13' re[volted] against me [...] [the defeat of Rezin]
10' [...Rukibtu, the son of ...] sat on his throne as [king ...]	14' he saw and was fri[ghtened ...] [...]
11' [...] he wandered around and beseeched me. 500 [...	15' [he was stricken] with panic [...]
12' [...] and I entered his city; 15 citi[es ...	16' Rukibtu, the son of [...]
13' ...I] dibi'ilu the Arabian [...	

Table 1: Excerpt from *The Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III*¹⁷

¹⁷ Hayim Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 80-83.

Although Gal's number is cited far more often by scholars of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Broshi and Finkelstein's number of 93,750 for the total population of Galilee seems far more likely. They used a density coefficient of 250 inhabitants per hectare (i.e., 25 inhabitants per dunam; 38% smaller than Gal's), a number that they arrived at by looking at both present-day settlements in traditional societies, which yield 200-250 inhabitants per hectare, and an analysis of the layout of four excavated Iron II sites, which yielded 270 inhabitants per hectare. Their population estimate for all of Western Palestine in the mid-eighth century BCE is ca. 400,000, and their population estimate for regions pertinent to this study are: 25,000 for Upper Galilee; 22,500 for Lower Galilee; 18,750 for the Huleh Valley; and 27,500 for the Jezreel Valley.¹⁸ Gal is right: the evidence is indeed fragmentary; but what we have suggests that it is much more likely that the Assyrians deported fewer than 25% than it is that they deported almost 75%.

The few other extant written sources do not help to clarify the situation. 2 Kings 15:29 recorded that Tiglath-Pileser captured "...Galilee [and] all the land of Naphtali; and he carried off the people to Assyria," but any interpretation even approximating a numerical (or at least statistical) meaning of the phrase כל ארץ נפתלי ("all the land of Naphtali") is impossible.¹⁹ Some scholars have pointed to the fact that Hezekiah is reported to have sent messengers north to call Jews to Jerusalem for Passover, and

¹⁸ Broshi and Finkelstein, "The Population of Palestine in Iron Age II," 53ff. Their population estimates for Samaria are: Mt. Gilboa: 1,250; Mt. Carmel: 3000; Northern Samaria: 50,000; the city of Samaria: 15,000; Southern Samaria: 33,000 (total: 102,250).

¹⁹ E.g., 2 Kings 15:29: "In the days of King Pekah of Israel, King Tiglath-pileser of Assyria came and captured Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried the people captive to Assyria" (בימי פקח מלך-ישראל בא תגלת פלאסר מלך אשור ויקח את-עיון ואת-אבל (בית-מעכה ואת-ינוח ואת-קדש ואת-חצור ואת-הגלעד ואת-הגלילה כל ארץ נפתלי ויגלם אשורה).

(only?) a few Galileans responded.²⁰ 2 Kings recorded that both Jehoiakim and Hezekiah's son Manasseh married Galilean women (but were they Israelites, and were they representative of many?).²¹ And the author of 2 Chronicles wrote that Josiah's reforms in the 7th century BCE reached "as far as Naphtali."²² The information in these passages is so open to interpretation that they have been used as evidence by scholars on both sides of the debate.

Nevertheless, as can be seen in the quotes cited earlier in this chapter, most scholars of the Galilee have stated strong opinions as to whether or not there were Israelites living in the Galilee in this period (nearly all of them concluding that there were not), often using phrases such as "significantly depopulated" or "totally depopulated" to describe the situation after Tiglath-Pileser III. One fact that has been entirely neglected amidst the fray is that one's conclusions about the state of affairs in the wake of the Assyrian conquest of the Northern Kingdom probably matter very little.²³ We have no historical information for events in the Galilee during the rest of the Neo-Assyrian period (which lasted 120 years), the Neo-Babylonian period (which lasted 73 years), or the Persian period (which lasted 207 years). We have only slightly more information for the Ptolemaic and Seleucid periods, when the two empires fought over control of the region for 100 years before the Seleucids established themselves as the sole rulers for the 50 or so years prior to the rise of the Hasmoneans. Many things can happen in the course of 550 years regardless of whether 14% or 77% of the population was deported prior to it,

²⁰ 2 Chronicles 30:10-11.

²¹ 2 Kings 21:19; 22:36.

²² 2 Chronicles 34:6.

²³ This is in contrast to the apparent conclusion of most modern scholars, who uniformly cite the deportations of the Galileans as *prima facie* evidence for the cultural makeup of the Galilee in the late Hellenistic period. See references to Chancey, Horsley, Reed, Freyne, et al., above.

and I can think of no other period of history in which scholars have assumed that one event changed a people group or a region to such a degree that it effectively lay desolate for half a millenium, especially in the face of silence from the sources.²⁴ These scholars' conclusions are all the more problematic given that major roads handling international travel and trade ran through the Galilee from the Iron Age to the Islamic period.²⁵ Indeed, the entire recorded history of this bottleneck of a land bridge connecting Asia and Africa is characterized by kings, nations, and armies traveling through it and warring over it for one purpose or another. Even if that had not been the case and there was not only peace in the Middle East for 550 years, but for some reason there was no significant overland travel through it, Galilee contains some of the most agriculturally fertile land in the region. It does not make sense to conclude that the Galilee was an unknown, forgotten

²⁴ Gal's work constitutes one of the few archaeological surveys of Galilee that focuses on periods prior to the Hellenistic period (though see the references above on page 8, note 19, which include some new evidence). A new assessment of all survey data that includes any Iron or Persian period sites is in order. Such a study could begin with Condor's *Survey of Western Palestine* and its related texts and include the following: William Foxwell Albright, "Some Archaeological and Topographical Results of a Trip through Palestine," *BASOR* 11 (1923), 1-14; William Foxwell Albright, "Archaeological and Topographical Explorations in Palestine and Syria," *BASOR* 49 (1933), 23-31; Moshe Hartal, *Northern Golan Heights: The Archaeological Survey as Source of Local History* (Hebrew; Qazrin: Agaf HaAtiqot VeHaMuzeonim, 1989); Frankel et al., *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee: Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee*; Meyers, Strange, and Groh, "The Meiron Excavation Project: Archaeological Survey in the Galilee and Golan, 1976," Fig. 9; Shimon Dar, *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Samaria 800 B.C.E.-636 C. E.* BAR International Series (Oxford: BAR, 1986); Israel Finkelstein, Zvi Ledeman, and Shlomo Bunimovits, *Highlands of Many Cultures: The Southern Samaria Survey, The Sites*. Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology, vol. 14 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1997); Rafi Frankel and Nimrod Getzov, *Archaeological Survey of Israel: Map of Achziv (1), Map of Hanita (2)* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1997). The reference for Condor is C. R. Conder, Horatio Herbert Kitchener, and Edward Henry Palmer, *The Survey of Sestern Palestine* (London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881). Thanks to Kate Larson for allowing me to use references from her seminar paper on the history archaeological surveys in Israel/Palestine.

²⁵ Not to mention that comparative evidence that suggests that it was standard practice for the Assyrians to resettle areas from which they deported people (as they did in Samaria), though there is no record of such activity occurring in Galilee. For roads, see Israel Roll, "Imperial Roads Across and Trade Routes Beyond the Roman Provinces of *Judaea-Palaestina* and *Arabia*: The State of Research," *Tel Aviv* 32 (2005), 107-118; Israel Roll, "Between Damascus and Megiddo: Roads and Transportation in Antiquity Across the Northeastern Approaches to the Holy Land," in *Man Near A Roman Arch: Studies Presented to Prof. Yoram Tsafirir*, ed. Leah Di Segni, et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2009).

backwater that was immune to change because of isolation.²⁶ We simply cannot conclude that there was cultural and demographic stasis in the Galilee over a 550 year period based on fragmentary information at one end of the chronology and silence in between.

Galilee in the Early Roman Period

The other end of that chronological span is the Roman period. The writings of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, when coupled with those of the New Testament gospels and archaeological finds, paint a picture in which the majority of the population in Lower Galilee was oriented toward Judaea with respect to religion, politics, and loyalty (if not identity). Jesus and his disciples – all from Lower Galilee – were Jerusalem Temple-oriented men who observed the Sabbath and the holy days (if not, perhaps, some of the purity laws).²⁷ This is nowhere more evident than in Jesus' crucifixion in Jerusalem at Passover and the book of Acts' portrayal of Jesus' disciples relocating to Jerusalem in the wake of his death so that they could be closer to the Temple. Although Jesus and his disciples only account for thirteen people in Galilee in the early first century CE, Jesus spent most of his time preaching about Jewish religion and values there, apparently gathering a large following, and it is clear that he both preached to Jews and was opposed by Jews (not gentiles). It is widely accepted that many towns – namely, Nazareth, Capernaum, Sepphoris, Shihin (Asochis), Cana, Jotapata, Tiberias, Terichaea/Magdala, Arbela, Chorazin, and Bethsaida in Lower Galilee, and Kfar Hananyah, Gischala/Gush Halav, Khirbet Shema', Meiron, Nabratein, and Meroth in Upper Galilee – had Jewish populations in the 1st century CE. Gush Halav in Upper

²⁶ In all fairness it should be noted that some have argued that the region was exploited for its agriculture but not inhabited as a result of most (if not all) of Galilee being designated as the King's Land.

²⁷ For examples of Jesus not observing (or at least protesting some contemporary Jewish groups' interpretations of) purity laws, see, e.g., Mark 2:15-17; 7:1-23; Matthew 15:20; 23:25-26; Luke 11:37-41.

Galilee, in particular, seems to have had a population with strong political and religious ties to Jerusalem, for it was the hometown of John of Gischala, who was Josephus' main rival for power over the Galilean forces rebelling against Rome and one of the rebel leaders in the last days of Jerusalem. Yodfat is also commonly assumed to have had a large Jewish population in the Early Roman period, as it was the site of a major battle between Josephus' forces and the Romans and stone vessels have been excavated there.²⁸ Stone vessels were, according to Rabbinic texts, impervious to impurity and therefore have become a universal marker in the archaeological record for the presence of Jews. Though the textual evidence for this practice dates to the 3rd century CE,²⁹ the presence of these vessels in 1st century CE strata, combined with the Mishnah's dependence on the Hebrew Bible and both literary and religious traditions that go back to the 1st century CE, if not before, suggest that at least some shared these purity concerns in the 1st century. Although stone vessels have also been found outside of Palestine in the Roman period (e.g., at Pompeii), and Livy and Varro mention them in non-Jewish contexts, within Palestine they have not been found at "non-Jewish" sites (e.g., the Decapolis and coastal cities), but have been found at the Lower Galilean sites of Sepphoris,³⁰ Capernaum,³¹ Meiron,³² Kfar Hananyah,³³ Gamla,³⁴ Hammat Tiberias,³⁵ Nabratein,³⁶ Khirbet Shema,

²⁸Douglas R. Edwards, "Jotapata" in Ephraim Stern, ed., *NEAEHL*, 3:252 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993); Douglas Edwards, Mordechai Aviam, and David Adan-Bayewitz, "Yodfat, 1992," *IEJ* 45 (1995), 191-197: 195-196; David Adan-Bayewitz and Mordechai Aviam, "Jotapata, Josephus, and the Siege of 67: Preliminary Report on the 1992-1994 Seasons," *JRA* 10 (1997), 131-165: 151-153, 164.

²⁹ See, e.g., m. Kelim 2.1; 4.4; 10.1.

³⁰ Over 100 fragments.

³¹ Up to 150 fragments – see Jonathan L. Reed, "Galileans, 'Israelite Village Communities,' and the Sayings Gospel Q," in *Galilee Through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures*, ed. Eric Meyers (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999).

³² One stone cup – see Eric M. Meyers, James F. Strange, and Carol L. Meyers, *Excavations at Ancient Meiron, Upper Galilee, Israel, 1971-72, 1974-75, 1977*. Meiron Excavation Project (Cambridge, Mass.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1981), 152.

³³ One handle, perhaps dating to the first century CE or earlier – see David Adan-Bayewitz, "Kefar Hananyah, 1987," *IEJ* 39 (1989), 98-99.

Ibelin, Bethlehem of Galilee, and Migdal Ha-Emeq.³⁷ Stone vessels of unknown or unstratified contexts have also been found at Nazareth, Asochis/Shikhin, and Tiberias,³⁸ and the village of Reina, north of Nazareth in Lower Galilee, has been identified as a production center for stone vessels.³⁹ A less certain marker of Jewish presence than limestone vessels (but no less certainly cited as evidence) are *miqva'ot* (Jewish ritual baths), which were also associated with purity concerns. Archaeologists have interpreted them as having been found at Sepphoris,⁴⁰ Yodefat,⁴¹ Nazareth, Tiberias, Gamla,⁴²

³⁴ See Shemaryah Gutman, "Gamla" in Ephraim Stern, ed., *NEAEHL*, 2:463 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); S. Gutman and D. Wagner, "Gamla - 1984/1985/1986," *ESI* 5 (1986), 41.

³⁵ See Yizhar Hirschfeld, "Tiberias" in Ephraim Stern, ed., *NEAEHL*, 4:1468 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); Fanny Vitto, "Tiberias: The Roman Tomb" in Ephraim Stern, ed., *NEAEHL*, 4:1473 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); Moshe Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 63, Figure 64; Roland Deines, *Jüdische Steingefässe und pharisäische Frömmigkeit: ein archäologisch-historischer Beitrag zum Verständnis von Joh 2,6 und der jüdischen Reinheitshalacha zur Zeit Jesu*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2 Reihe (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1993), 147.

³⁶ Eric M. Meyers, Carol L. Meyers, and Gabriela Bijovsky, *Excavations at Ancient Nabratein: Synagogue and Environs*. Meiron Excavation Project (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2009); Eric Meyers, James F. Strange, and Carol L. Meyers, "Nabratein, 1980," *IEJ* (1981), 108-110.

³⁷ Yitzhak Magen, "The Stone Vessel Industry During the Second Temple Period," in *'Purity Broke Out in Israel': Stone Vessels in the Late Second Temple Period*, ed. Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum (University of Haifa) and Ofra Guri-Rimon (Hebrew and English; Haifa: University of Haifa, 1994), 25 and 25*.

³⁸ Nazareth: Bellarmino Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth*. Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, vol. 17 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Print. Press, 1969), 228-231. Note that the presence of marble and the large diameter of the stone vases suggest a later-than-1st-century CE date. Asochis/Shikhin (from surface survey only, so of unknown date): James F. Strange, Dennis E. Groh, and Thomas R. W. Longstaff, "Excavations at Sepphoris: Location and Identification of Shikhin," *IEJ* 44, no. 3-4 (1994), 216-227; James F. Strange, Dennis E. Groh, and Thomas R. W. Longstaff, "Excavations at Sepphoris: The Location and Identification of Shikhin," *IEJ* 45, no. 3 (1995), 171-187; James F. Strange, Dennis E. Groh, and Thomas R. W. Longstaff, *The Location and Identification of Ancient Shikhin (Asochis)*; available from www.colby.edu/rel/shikhin.html. Tiberias (a fragment of a stone vessel found under the floor of a 3rd century CE building): Yizhar Hirschfeld, "Tiberias," *ESI* 9 (1989/1990), 107-109.

³⁹ Magen, "The Stone Vessel Industry During the Second Temple Period," in *'Purity Broke Out in Israel': Stone Vessels in the Late Second Temple Period*, 8. Though it is assumed that Reina was a Jewish village (not least because of its location), it is worth considering that the fact that its inhabitants produced stone vessels does not necessarily mean that Reina was a Jewish village.

⁴⁰ James F. Strange, "Six Campaigns at Sepphoris: The University of South Florida Excavations, 1983-1989," in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York; Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992), 345; James F. Strange, Thomas R. W. Longstaff, and Dennis Groh, *Excavations at Sepphoris*. Brill Reference Library of Judaism, vol. 22 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006). See also the references above, page 21 footnote 43.

⁴¹ Edwards, "Jotapata" in *NEAEHL* 3:252, 3:252; Douglas R. Edwards, "Yodefat," in *OEANE* (New York: 1997); Edwards, Aviam, and Adan-Bayewitz, "Yodefat, 1992," 195-196; Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam, "Jotapata, Josephus, and the Siege of 67: Preliminary Report on the 1992-1994 Seasons."; D. Adan-Bayewitz, "Yodefat," *ESI* 16 (1997), 42-45; D. Adan-Bayewitz, "Yodefat," *Tarbiz* 66 (1997), 449-470; D.

Chorazin, Beit Yinan, Beit Shearim, Har Arbel, Khirbet Shema, and Sasa.⁴³ That said, the interpretation of a stepped, plastered pool as a *miqveh* is often problematic, and, as was mentioned above, debates of their interpretation and their status as a marker for the presence of Jews in the material record have not infrequently erupted in scholarly literature.⁴⁴ The absence of pig bones⁴⁵ and the presence of secondary burial in ossuaries, both of which are less reliable but nevertheless assumed markers of Jewish presence, have been found at Kafr Kanna,⁴⁶ Meiron, Qiryat Tiv'on (near Beit She'arim),⁴⁷ and in the modern town of Nazareth 'Illit.⁴⁸ Finally, first century CE synagogues have been excavated at Gamla in the Golan Heights and at Migdal and (possibly) Capernaum on the northern shore of the Dead Sea.

It is also worth noting that Josephus wrote in multiple places that he and two other priests were sent to the Galilee not just to bring rebel elements under control of the new central government in Jerusalem, but also to collect tithes (*Life* 63). Whether or not this is

Adan-Bayewitz and Mordechai Aviam, "Yodefata," *IEJ* 45 (1995), 2-3; D. Adan-Bayewitz and Mordechai Aviam, "Yodefata," *JRA* 10 (1997), 131-165; D. Adan-Bayewitz and Mordechai Aviam, "Yodefata," *AJA* 98 (2000), 509-510.

⁴² For Nazareth, Tiberias, Yodefata, and Gamla see Reed, "Galileans, 'Israelite Village Communities,' and the Sayings Gospel Q," in *Galilee Through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures*, 87-108.

⁴³ For Chorazin, Beit Yinan, Beit Shearim, Har Arbel, Khirbet Shema, and Sasa see Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-examination of the Evidence*, 47-55.

⁴⁴ See, e.g., Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies*; Reich, "The Hot Bath-House (*balneum*), the *Miqveh*, and the Jewish Community in the Second Temple Period."; Eshel, "A Note on 'Miqvaot' at Sepphoris," in *Archaeology and the Galilee: Texts and Contexts in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Periods*; Eshel, "The Pools of Sepphoris: Ritual Baths or Bathtubs: They're Not Ritual Baths."; Meyers, "Yes, They Are."; Reich, "They Are Ritual Baths."; Adler, "Ritual Baths Adjacent to Tombs: An Analysis of the Archaeological Evidence in Light of the Halakhic Sources."

⁴⁵ Bone profiles have not been published with any consistency, but scholars have made much of the (relative) lack of pig bones at Sepphoris prior to the Byzantine period. See Billy J Grantham, "Sepphoris: Ethnic Complexity at an Ancient Galilean City" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1996).

⁴⁶ One, dating to the late 1st or early 2nd centuries CE, contained ossuary fragments. See Nissim Najjar, "Kfar Kana (A)," *ESI* 16 (1997), 46-47; Hana Abu Uqsa and Nissim Najjar, "Kfar Kana (B)," *ESI* 16 (1997), 48-49; A. Berman, "Kfar Kana," *ESI* 7-8 (1988-1989), 107-108.

⁴⁷ Seven ossuaries made of stone and one made out of clay. One contains the inscription "Maria Caoulos." See Fanny Vitto, "Qiryat Tiv'on," *IEJ* 24 (1974), 274; Fanny Vitto, "Kiryat Tiv'on," *RB* 79 (1972), 574-576.

⁴⁸ One, dating to the 1st or 2nd century CE. See Nurit Feig, "Nazareth 'Ilit," *IEJ* 33 (1986), 116-117; "Nazareth 'Illit," *ESI* 1 (1982), 78-79; Arfan Najjar and Nissim Najjar, "Nazareth," *ESI* 16 (1997), 49.

an indication of piety on the part of Galileans, or simply civil law under the High Priest, is open to debate. In addition, Josephus, as a representative of the Jerusalem government, apparently planned to demolish Herod's palace in Tiberias on account of it containing figures of living creatures (which, he wrote, were prohibited by Jewish law).⁴⁹ And when two nobles of King Agrippa defected from Trachonitis to Josephus, the "Jews" (Ἰουδαῖοι)⁵⁰ wanted to circumcise them if the nobles were to live among them (*Life* 112-113).

All of these examples serve to exemplify what has long been the conclusion of scholars, namely that there was a sizeable Jewish population in Lower Galilee in the Roman period. But to what degree have research questions such as *How Jewish was the Galilee?* determined not only the answers but also the conceptual framework within which we think about the Galilee? Though the absence of pig bones and the presence of stone vessels, *miqva'ot*, and secondary burial practices might indeed be archaeological markers of a Jewish presence, it is important to honestly question just how much they tell us. The total evidence from the archaeological sites listed above accounts for 1 stone cup, 1 stone cup handle, and 250 fragments of stone vessels (all of which came from from two sites); a disputed number of *miqva'ot*, not to exceed 24 (according to Reich, who has an inclusive definition of what constitutes a *miqveh*; or 2, according to Lawrence);⁵¹ and a

⁴⁹ ...καθαίρεθῆναι τὸν οἶκον τὸν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου κατασκευασθέντα ζώων μορφὰς ἔχοντα. – *Life* 64ff.

⁵⁰ There is an ongoing debate as to whether Ἰουδαῖοι should be translated as "Jews" or "Judaean." For a good survey of the discussion and a compelling argument for the latter translation see Mason, "Jews, Judaean, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History."

⁵¹ Ronny Reich, "Miqwa'ot (Jewish Ritual Immersion Baths) in Eretz-Israel in the Second Temple and the Mishnah and Talmud periods" (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1990); Jonathan David Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*. Academia Biblica (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 158-160 and Figures 151-152 (pp. 204-205); B. G. Wright, "Jewish Ritual Baths - Interpreting the Digs and the Texts: Some Issues in the Social

handful of tombs with ossuaries. For how many Jews might we reasonably suggest that these finds are evidence? In raising this question I am not suggesting that population numbers for Jews must match the number of “Jewish” finds, nor that Jews did not inhabit the Galilee in the Roman period. Rather, I am again asking what we mean when we use the term “Jew” for inhabitants of Lower Galilee in antiquity and I am pointing out that modern scholars have routinely assumed a Jewish majority in Galilean villages, towns, and cities based on the New Testament and Josephus, and continue to use the archaeological record to confirm it. The archaeological record, however, contains, on the whole, very little archaeological evidence for the artificial second order academic category that has been labeled “Jews” and that has been used to interpret many archaeological sites..

The textual evidence must be critically examined as well. All of our sources are essentially Jewish in origin,⁵² and Josephus was clearly trying to present a Jewish perspective on Jews to his audiences, with only peripheral concern for non-Jews. Moreover, the presence of non-Jews in Jewish sources is almost always passed over by scholars. Matthew 8.5ff and Luke 7:1-10 note the presence of a non-Jewish centurion in Capernaum, the fishing village in which Jesus based his ministry. Presumably this man came to Capernaum to seek Jesus’ help, and was not a resident of the village, but unless one argues that this story is entirely a literary device, it suggests the presence of a non-Jewish army commander in the region. The city of Tiberias, built ca. 18-20 CE, was apparently built over tombs, rendering the city itself unclean to Jews concerned with

History of Second Temple Judaism," in *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, ed. Neil Asher Silberman and D. Small (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1997).

⁵² Sources such as Strabo and Pliny provide general information, but nothing in depth. And although one can argue that the gospel of Luke, for instance, was written by a gentile, he was obviously focusing on Jewish concerns, not to mention likely working from a Jewish source (the Gospel of Mark).

purity.⁵³ However, as Josephus described it,⁵⁴ this probably would not have mattered very much, since Herod Antipas filled it with “a promiscuous rabble, no small contingent being Galilean, with such as were drafted from territory subject to him and brought forcibly to the new foundation... Herod accepted as participants even poor men who were brought in to join the others from any and all places of origin. It was a question whether some were even free beyond cavil.”⁵⁵ That said, Josephus – a priest – apparently did not have a problem with entering Tiberias, and he met with Jews in a synagogue there to decide how the city would respond to the advancing Roman army.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the *agoranomos* in 31 CE was “Gaius Julias,” not a traditional Jewish name (though that does not necessarily mean that he was not “Jewish”), while in 43 CE the *agoranomoi* were Iaesias [son of] Mathias and Animos (or, perhaps, Aianimos) [son of] Monimos.⁵⁷ There is suggestion of Roman cremation practices at Cana, which, given the common assumption that Palestinian Jews in the Second Temple period were averse to cremation,

⁵³ *Ant.* 18.36-38; *War* 2.168; *y. Shev.* 9:1 (38d); *Genesis Rabbah* 79:6; *Pesiqta deRav Kahana* § 11; *Qohelet Rabbah* 10:8 (26b); Lee I. Levine, “R. Simeon b. Yohai and the Purification of Tiberias: History and Tradition,” *HUCA* 49 (1978), 143-185; Jeffrey L. Rubenstein, *Talmudic Stories: Narrative Art, Composition, and Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 105-138.

⁵⁴ Or, “as Josephus’ source described it...”

⁵⁵ *Ant.* 18.36-38: Ἡρώδης δὲ ὁ τετράρχης ἐπὶ μέγα γὰρ ἦν τῷ Τιβερίῳ φιλίας προελθὼν οἰκοδομεῖται πόλιν ἐπάνωμον αὐτῷ Τιβεριάδα τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐπικτίσας αὐτὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ λίμνῃ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι θερμὰ τε οὐκ ἄπωθὲν ἐστὶν ἐν κώμῃ Ἀμμαθοῦς ὄνομα αὐτῇ ³⁷ σύγκλυδες δὲ ὤκισαν οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ἦν καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτῷ γῆς ἀναγκαστοὶ καὶ πρὸς βίαν εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἀγόμενοι τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει ἐδέξατο δὲ αὐτοῖς συνοίκους καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐπισυναγομένους ἀνδρας ἀπόρους ³⁸ ἔστι δ’ οὐδὲ σαφῶς ἐλευθέρους πολλὰ τε αὐτοὺς καπὶ πολλοῖς ἠλευθέρωσεν καὶ εὐηργέτησεν ἀνάγκασμα τοῦ μὴ ἀπολείψειν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιθείς κατασκευαῖς τε οἰκήσεων τέλει τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ γῆς ἐπιδόσει εἰδὼς παράνομον τὸν οἰκισμὸν ὄντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουδαίους πατρίου διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ μνήμασιν ἄ πολλὰ τῆδε ἦν ἀνηρημένοις τὴν ἵδρυσιν τῇ Τιβεριάδι γενέσθαι μιαιφόνους δὲ ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας εἶναι τοὺς οἰκῆτορας ἀγορεύει ἡμῖν τὸ νόμιμον...

⁵⁶ *Life* 277-9.

⁵⁷ See Shraga Qedar, “Two Lead Weights of Herod Antipas and Agrippa II and the Early History of Tiberias,” *INJ* 9 (1986-1987), 29-35: 29. The inscription on one weight is ΕΠΙ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ / ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ / ΛΔΔ ΑΓΟΡΑ / ΓΑΙ / ΟΥ / ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ / ΕΤΑΛΕΝΤΟ. The inscription on the other weight is: [Verso] ΛΜΓ / ΒΑ ΚΙΑ / ΕΩΣ ΜΕ / ΓΑΛΟΥΑ / ΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ Κ / ΥΡΙΟ; [recto] ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ / ΜΟΥΝΤΩΝ / ΙΑΕΣΑΙΟΥ Μ / ΑΘΙΟΥ, Κ · ΑΙ Α / ΝΙΜΟ Σ ΜΟΝ / ΙΜΟΥ.

would suggest a non-Jewish presence.⁵⁸ In *Life* 368-372 (and the parallel in *War* 2.622) Josephus offers amnesty to the followers of John of Gischala if they join him. Four thousand join Josephus and John is left with none but “his own citizens, and about fifteen hundred strangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre.”⁵⁹ Even Paneas, a patently “pagan” city on the northern edge of Upper Galilee, had Jews living among a non-Jewish majority, for they asked John of Gischala to send them pure oil so that they would not have to transgress the Torah by using the oil of the Greeks.⁶⁰

Again, the suggestion is not that Jews did not make up a large portion of the Galilean population; rather, it is to point out that the foci and agendas of our authors are Judeo-centric, that the extant literary sources have been preserved largely for religious reasons, and that the vast majority of modern historical and archaeological research has had as its goal the project of learning more about the Jews in Roman Galilee. As a result, the picture of an almost entirely Jewish Galilee is entirely understandable...and also not entirely accurate. A further issue, which I will raise but not pursue here, is the question of what “Jewish” means in a statement such as “the majority of the population was Jewish.” Does it mean that they were religiously the same as the Judaeans? That they were politically aligned with the Judaeans? That they worshipped at the Jerusalem Temple? That they followed certain purity laws (e.g., used stone vessels and *miqva’ot*)? That they saw themselves as sharing in the history, lineage, and ancestral laws of the

⁵⁸ Bellarmino Bagatti, "Antichità di Kh. Qana e Kefr Kanna," *LASBF* 15 (1965), 251-292: 260; Richard Mackowski, "Scholars' Qanah: A Re-examination of the Evidence in Favor of Khirbet Qanah," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 23 (1979), 278-284: 281.

⁵⁹ *Life* 372: μόνοι δὲ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρέμειναν οἱ πολῖται καὶ ξένοι τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων μητροπόλεως ὡς χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι περίφοβος ἔμεινεν.

⁶⁰ *Life* 70-76. Cf. *War* 2.585-594.

Judaeans? That they only married other “Jews”? That they attended a synagogue regularly? That they did not have idols or amulets of other gods? That they paid tithes and/or taxes to the Jerusalem Temple? Certainly the outward practice of religion has become a major defining characteristic of the second order academic category called “Jews.” But the real-life situation in Roman Galilee was not quite so black-and-white as the categories that modern academia has created for study.

Galilee in Regional Politics

From a political perspective, it is important to understand the several unions and divisions that occurred in this region between the Hasmonean revolt (167 BCE) and the revolt of 66-73 CE. The Hasmonean revolt began in Modi'in, ca. 20 km northwest of Jerusalem, in 167 BCE, and it initially resulted in a sphere of influence (one can hardly call it a “kingdom” in its earlier phases) centered around Jerusalem, the capital of Judaea. According to Josephus and 1st and 2nd Maccabees, the Hasmonean rulers attained more power and land as time went on. Jonathan (161-142 BCE) annexed a portion of Peraea, a region just east of Judaea along the Dead Sea, and another small area just north of Judaea. Simon (142-134 BCE) annexed Jaffa and Gezer. John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE) annexed Samaria, the coastal region between Jaffa and the territory of Ashkelon, and Idumaea (to the south of Judaea. Aristobulus I (104-103 BCE) added Galilee and Ituraea, if one sentence in Josephus can be trusted. And Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE) added Gaulanitis, Gilead (including a few of the Decapolis cities), the coast from Mt. Carmel to Apollonia, southern Peraea, southern Idumaea, and Gaza. At its greatest extent, under Alexander Jannaeus, the Hasmonean kingdom apparently included Peraea, Gaulanitis, at least part of Ituraea, Galilee, Samaria, Judaea, Idumaea, and Gaza. The only portion of

the coast not controlled by the Hasmonaeans was the territory of Ascalon and the coast north of Mt. Carmel.

When Pompey arrived in the region in 64 BCE, he had to intervene in a civil war between the last of the Hasmonaeans, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II. According to Josephus, the result was that all of these regions were made a part of the Roman province of Syria, and he took the Decapolis cities and the coastal cities away from Judaeian rule, granting them a state of semi-autonomy. In 41 BCE Marc Antony appointed Herod (“the Great”) and his brother Phasael joint tetrarchs of Judaea on behalf of the Romans, and in 38 BCE Herod conquered Galilee. He continued to expand the area of his rule, and by 20 BCE Herod ruled a single kingdom that included the regions of Iturea, Batanaea, Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, Auranitis, Galilee, Samaria, Judaea, Peraea, and Idumaea. When Herod died in 4 BCE, his kingdom was divided between his sons. Archelaus received Idumaea, Judaea, and Samaria; Antipas received Peraea and Galilee; Philip received Auranitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea, Gaulanitis, and Iturea; and Salome received two small areas – one on the west bank of the Jordan River, between Phaesalis and Archaelis, and another on the coast of the Mediterranean, between Yavneh and Ashdod. The Decapolis, the region between Ashdod and Gaza, the Phoenician coast, and Chalcis were overseen by the Roman procurator in Syria.

While it might be tempting to see these imperially-decreed divisions and reunions as having occurred along ethnic lines (on a model such as Pompey taking the Decapolis and coastal cities away from the Hasmonaeans on the grounds of the population not being Jewish), it is unlikely that this was the case. There were times in which imperial powers decided that cities and regions annexed to Judaea either must or were not required to

follow Judaeen ancestral laws (e.g., in the letter from Demetrius to Jonathan – see below, Chapter 3), but the regions themselves were topographically defined (and, as was suggested for the Galilee, above, were likely of mixed populations). So Josephus described the regions of Samaria and Judaea not as “the place that Samaritans live,” or “the place that Judaeans live” – a distinction that he makes elsewhere. Rather, he wrote that “[Samaria] is entirely of the same nature as Judaea, for both countries are made up of hills and valleys, are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fruitful... And, as the greatest sign of excellence and abundance, both [regions] are very full of people.”⁶¹ In like fashion, the “border” between Upper and Lower Galilee is an east-west “line,” to the north of which there is a sharp escarpment and an increase in elevation, and to the south of which are lowland valleys separated by hills. Likewise, according to Josephus, the division between Galilee and Samaria is the wide, flat Jezreel valley (τὸ μέγα πεδίον, “the great plain” – e.g., *War* 3.39),⁶² with Samaria being the hilly region to the south.

The same can be said for the other regions that Josephus describes. When he does make comments that on the surface may seem to be areas designated by people groups (e.g., “Carmel, a mountain that had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians,”⁶³ or “[Galilee’s] northern parts are bounded by Tyre and the country of the Tyrians”),⁶⁴ closer examination makes it clear that he does not have an ethnic group in mind, but cities, inhabitants of cities, and hinterlands controlled by cities.

⁶¹ *War* 3.48-50.

⁶² For another instance of this reference to the Jezreel Valley, see *War* 2.188. For a non-Josephan reference, see *Judith* 1:8 (τὸ μέγα πεδίον Ἐσδρηλων). For a more precise placement of Ἐσδρηλων in *Judith*, see 4:6 and 7:3.

⁶³ *War* 3.35.

⁶⁴ *War* 3.38.

This conclusion is bolstered by the names of the regions themselves. Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee are carry-overs from the Hebrew Bible;⁶⁵ the rest of the regional names probably reflect their topography. Trachonitis (Τραχωνίτις) comes from the Greek word τραχών, referring to a rugged, stony tract of land.⁶⁶ Auranitis (Αυρανίτις) is from the Hebrew name for a regional mountain (חורן), and perhaps from a word meaning “black land,” i.e., a basaltic region.⁶⁷ Batanaea is also a Hebrew name, from the Hebrew locale בשן (which itself is a cognate of the adjective meaning “smooth” or “fertile”), and occurs in the Greek as Βασάν, Βασανίτις, and Βαταναία.⁶⁸ Gaulanitis received its name, according to Eusebius, from a “great city” within it.⁶⁹ Though arguments made from etymologies are notoriously difficult to sustain, and as such I will not push this point very hard, this particular line of reasoning is most significant in that there is no evidence that these regional names have any connection with ethnic groups.⁷⁰ As far as Josephus’ description of Galilee and the surrounding regions goes in *War* 3.35-58, regional borders are topographic determinations, and this can be easily seen not only by observing the way

⁶⁵ Though it is interesting – and important from a historical-etymological perspective – that the first instance of שומרון [“Samaria”] is in 1 Kings, and that its etymology is connected to Omri’s purchase of a hill from a man named Shemer. See 1Kings 16:24. Also, as noted above, it is possible – if not likely – that “Galilee” is geographical as well. See page 35, footnote 6.

⁶⁶ See LSJ, “τραχών”; Strabo, *Geog.* 16.2.16; 16.2.20; Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, “Itouraiā”. Note also Ptolemy 5.15, 26, who refers to Τραχωνίται Ἀραβες. For inscriptional evidence for this name see Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black, 2nd rev. ed., 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1979-1987), I:377.

⁶⁷ See *BDB*, חֹרֶן; Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, I:377.

⁶⁸ See Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, “Basan” – Βασάν... ἅυτη ἐστὶ Βασανίτης, ἢ νῦν καλουμένη Βαταναία.

⁶⁹ Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, “Gaulon or Golan (Golam)”: “Now a great city (large village) called Golan in the Batanaia. The city and the district have the same name. (From this name the whole region is also named.)”

⁷⁰ For an example of somebody writing a geographical description of the Mediterranean based on ethnic distinctions (which, though 400 years earlier than Josephus, nevertheless highlights the differences that an ethnic vs. topographical framework can make), see Pseudo-Scylax’s *Periplus*, e.g., Patrick Counillon and Scylax, *Pseudo-Skylax: le périple du Pont-Euxin: texte, traduction, commentaire philologique et historique*. Scripta Antiqua (Bordeaux; Paris: Ausonius; Diffusion De Boccard, 2004).

in which Josephus describes the regions, but also by simply looking at a topographical map of the area.

Kedesh in the Literary Record

Topographical boundaries probably go a long way toward explaining why Josephus is so often seems to contradict himself when describing where a town or village is. In *Ant.* 5.63 Josephus described Kedesh as “also a place in Galilee,” and in *Ant.* 5.91 as “a place of the Upper Galilee.” However, in *Ant.* 13.154 he describes Kedesh as a place that “lies between the land of the Tyrians and the Galilee.” There are many other examples of this phenomenon, and the most plausible explanation is twofold: (1) the concept of borders as entailing lines on a map is a modern one, and not applicable to the ancient world, and (2) as far as the specific case of Josephus goes, his regional designations were topographical and therefore somewhat general.

The earliest reference to Kedesh is in Joshua 20:7, where it is listed as the Levite city in the territory of the tribe of Naphtali after the Exodus.⁷¹ In the monarchic period, the Israelite king Solomon is said to have put Ahinadab over the affairs of all Galilee as far as Sidon,⁷² and also to have given twenty cities in the Galilee to Hiram the king of Tyre, who was not pleased with them and named the area ארץ כבול (“the land of the border”), which the text says is “a name that they have until this day.”⁷³ Kedesh is not mentioned in this passage, and may not have been associated with this gift (even if we assume the historicity of the text, which is uncertain).⁷⁴ Kedesh is also mentioned twice

⁷¹ Joshua 19:32ff.; 20:1ff.; *Ant.* 5.86, 91. Cf. 1 Chronicles 6:76.

⁷² *Ant.* 8.36.

⁷³ 1 Kings 9:11ff.; *Ant.* 8.142.

⁷⁴ Also interesting is that Josephus does not understand כבול as “border,” but as a Phoenician word for “that which does not please.”

in the Zenon papyri.⁷⁵ However, until the most recent excavations little else was known of Kedesh as a town apart from Josephus' writings at the end of the 1st century CE.

Josephus' mapping of the Galilean borders (above) puts Kedesh either on the northern border of Upper Galilee or just north of it, which makes sense of his seemingly paradoxical statements that the Canaanite kings "pitched their camp at Beeroth, a city of the Upper Galilee, not far from Kedesh, which is itself also a place in Galilee,"⁷⁶ then that Kedesh was "a place that lies between the land of the Tyrians and Galilee"⁷⁷ when retelling a story from 1 Maccabees, and finally that Kedesh was a city belonging to Tyre and hostile to the Jews in his own day.⁷⁸ These statements also stand to underline a few points that have been made above: (a) textually and archaeologically Galilee was divided between Upper and Lower, and the majority of Jews who lived in Galilee in the Hellenistic and Roman periods lived in Lower Galilee; and (b) the most northern village or town for which we have evidence for significant Jewish presence is Gischala (Gush Halav) on the western side of the Huleh Valley (and then only in the late 1st century CE) and Gamla on the eastern side (see Figure 1). So what was Jonathan doing up there, so far from home, and what did he do after he defeated the Seleucid army and encamped at Kedesh?

⁷⁵ P. Cairo Zen. 1 59.004. See C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, 4 vols. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Vols 79, 82, 85, & 90 (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1925); William Linn Westermann, Clinton Walker Keyes, and Herbert Liebesny, *Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University, 1940). Both texts apparently date to 259 BCE.

⁷⁶ *Ant.* 5.63.

⁷⁷ ...μεταξὺ δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῆ τῆς τε Τυρίων γῆς καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας... (*Ant.* 13.154).

⁷⁸ *War* 2.459; 4.105. Cf. *Ant.* 12:331ff.; m. Arak 9:6.

Chapter 3

Evidence for Early Jewish Expansion into the Galilee and an Analysis of 1 Maccabees, Josephus, and the Hasmonaean Settlements

The majority of scholars would say that the Hasmonaean kingdom annexed Galilee to Judaea in 104-103 BCE.¹ The Maccabean revolt against Antiochus IV in 167 BCE had led to a slowly expanding kingdom, and by 145 BCE Jonathan was given military oversight of the region as far north as Damascus, and his brother Simon was, according to 1 Maccabees, made the governor of the coast “from Egypt to the Ladder of Tyre.”² As noted above, Simon, who ruled from 142-135 BCE, added Gezer and Joppa to Judaea, and his son, John Hyrcanus I (ruled 134-104 BCE), expanded Judaea’s borders to include Samaria and Idumaea. However, it was not until the reign of his son Aristobulus I (104-103 BCE) that the borders of the Hasmonaean kingdom were extended as far north as Galilee, at least according to Josephus:

[Aristobulus I] was called a lover of the Greeks; and had conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Ituraea, and added a great part of it to Judaea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the

¹ The following only scratches the surface: Aviam, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Galilee: 25 Years of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys: Hellenistic to Byzantine periods*; Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee*; Mark A. Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Seán Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian, 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E.: A Study of Second Temple Judaism* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1980); Seán Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels: Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988); Sean Freyne, *Galilee and Gospel: Collected Essays*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); Dar, *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel: Ituraean Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*; Dar, *History of the Hermon: Sites of the Ituraeans*.

² 1 Macc. 11:59-62. The Ladder of Tyre is the beginning of the semi-mountainous region at the modern coastal border between Israel and Lebanon.

Jewish laws. ³¹⁹He was naturally a man of candour, and of great modesty, as Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes; who says thus: “This man was a person of candor, and very serviceable to the Jews; for he added a country to them, and obtained a part of the nation of the Ituraeans for them, and bound them to them by the bond of circumcision. (*Antiquities* 13.318-319)³

Galilee is not mentioned in this passage, but given that the Ituraeans were probably located somewhere in the region of Mt. Hermon or in Lebanon,⁴ this passage has consequently been interpreted to mean that Aristobulus annexed Galilee to Judaea by virtue of the fact that Galilee is located between Ituraea and Judaea. However, this conclusion has been challenged by a minority of scholars, who have suggested that Josephus’ evidence is misleading. The passage constitutes the entirety of what we know about any conquest of the Ituraeans; nothing of the sort is mentioned in Josephus’ first composition about Aristobulus, *War* 1.84 (indeed, the only mention at all of the Ituraeans comes in *Antiquities*, which was written ca. 20 years after *War*). Furthermore, what we have comes in an incredibly sweeping, polemical statement that is followed by a third-hand report from Timagenes via Strabo. We know little to nothing about Timagenes; he is probably the rhetor Timagenes of Alexandria who was taken to Rome as a captive in 55 BCE and who wrote many books including an anti-Roman, “hellenocentric and

³ δ’ ἐπισπένδω τοῦμὸν αἶμα τοῖς μαιφονηθεῖσιν ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐπαποθήσκει τοῖς λόγοις βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτὸν χρηματίσας μὲν Φιλέλλην πολλὰ δ’ εὐεργετήσας τὴν πατρίδα πολεμήσας Ἰτουραίους καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκτησάμενος ἀναγκάσας τε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας εἰ βούλονται μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιτέμενεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους ζῆν ³¹⁹ φύσει δ’ ἐπιεικεῖ κέχρητο καὶ σφόδρα ἦν αἰδοῦς ἤττων ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τούτῳ καὶ Στράβων ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαγένους ὀνόματος λέγων οὕτως ἐπιεικῆς τε ἐγένετο οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χρήσιμος χώραν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς προσεκλήσατο καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ τῶν Ἰτουραίων ἔθνους ὠκειώσατο δεσμῶ συνάψας τῇ τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομῇ

⁴ Some have suggested that perhaps they had expanded southward into Galilee, but this is a minority opinion for which there is no evidence whatsoever, archaeological or otherwise. See Dar, *History of the Hermon: Sites of the Ituraeans*; Dar, *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel: Ituraean Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*; Myers, *The Ituraeans and the Roman Near East: Reassessing the Sources*.

barbophile” book called *On Kings*.⁵ His statement that Aristobulus was “a man of candor and very serviceable to the Jews” (and Josephus’ paraphrase of it) is in direct (and bizarre) contradiction to Josephus’ portrayal of him both in *War* and earlier in *Antiquities* as a brutal ruler who killed his mother and brother.

Some have suggested that if Aristobulus had any interaction with the Ituraeans, it was more likely to have been on the level of an alliance than a conquest.⁶ The probability that the process of converting and administering a people group so far from Judaea could have been completed in Aristobulus’ one year reign (104-103 BCE) seems unlikely, and without Josephus’ interpretive comment ([Ἀριστόβουλος] πολεμήσας Ἰτουραίους) we would have no evidence whatsoever of an act of war. Furthermore, there is no reference to any occupation of Galilee or Ituraea after Aristobulus I and, as Bar-Kochva has pointed out, Josephus’ suggestion that inhabitants of certain Galilean settlements did not fight to defend themselves on the Sabbath in 103 BCE seems to be unlikely behavior for new converts (e.g., Asochis in *Ant.* 13.337).⁷ The only other people reported to have been forcibly converted to Judaism through circumcision are the Idumaeans (note the similarity of the name),⁸ an account of which comes to us also from Josephus and Strabo,

⁵ Klaus Meister, "Timagenes," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*.

⁶ See, e.g., Aryeh Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Nations of the Frontier and the Desert During the Hellenistic and Roman Era (332 BCE-70 CE)*. *Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum*, 18 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988), 46-113; Bezael Bar-Kochva, "Manpower, Economics and Internal Strife in the Hasmonean State," in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique: Actes du colloque national, Paris, 14-16 Octobre 1976*, ed. H. Van Effentere. *Colloques nationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique no 936* (Paris: CNRS, 1977), 191-192.

⁷ Bar-Kochva, "Manpower, Economics and Internal Strife in the Hasmonean State," in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique: Actes du colloque national, Paris, 14-16 Octobre 1976*, 192.

⁸ While it is highly unlikely that Josephus would have mixed them up, it is not inconceivable that Timagenes, Strabo, or a copyist might have.

as well as Ptolemy the Historian.⁹ In that case, Josephus and Ptolemy wrote that the Idumaeans were forced to circumcise and observe Jewish laws and customs, while Strabo wrote that the Idumaeans were Nabataeans who joined the Judaeans (“and shared in the same customs with them”) after being banished from Nabataea following an uprising. Kasher has argued that none of these accounts is entirely correct, but that Strabo is likely to be the most accurate on the issue of circumcision because (a) Strabo was repulsed by the Jewish custom of circumcision and disliked the Hasmonaeans, and would likely have seized on any opportunity to report them as forcibly circumcising another nation; (b) Josephus is using a later source (probably Nicolaus of Damascus) whose writings were anti-Hasmonaeans; (c) Josephus reported to his Roman audience on other occasions that he prevented the forcible circumcision of a gentile; and (d) as far as we can tell, the Idumaeans already practiced circumcision.¹⁰

On the other hand, a lack of reference to the occupation of the Galilee after Aristobulus I does not mean that there was not one, and there is no reason to think that the Galilee was entirely devoid of Jews prior to Aristobulus, so Asochis need not be representative of new converts. The complications involved in converting and administering a new people group and region far from Judaea could explain why the Ituraeans are autonomous in all subsequent representations of them. The above critiques of Josephus are valid, but at most they call Josephus’ account into question. This debate over the legitimacy of Josephus’ statements about Aristobulus’ annexation of Galilee

⁹ *Ant.* 13.257-258; 15.254-255; Stern, *GLAJJ* I.146; Strabo, *Geog.* 15, 2, 34. What follows is the argument of Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Nations of the Frontier and the Desert During the Hellenistic and Roman Era (332 BCE-70 CE)*, 46ff.

¹⁰ Kasher also argues from later rabbinic material that forced circumcision was against the law, but this line of reasoning is anachronistic. See Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Nations of the Frontier and the Desert During the Hellenistic and Roman Era (332 BCE-70 CE)*, 46-77.

might be further elucidated by evidence for expansion into the region earlier than Aristobulus (e.g., earlier expansion or attempts at expansion could have laid the groundwork for whatever alliance or conquest that might have occurred in 104/3 BCE). In other words, the important question is not whether Aristobulus expanded Judaeian territory to include Galilee, but whether he was the first to do so. There are two ways to go about answering this question: by comparing the Squatter stratum at Tel Kedesh to known texts and to known archaeological remains.

Judaea and “the Three Districts Being Added To it From Samaria and Galilee”¹¹

Let us return to the argument, mentioned above, that 1 Maccabees’ account of the letters written to Jonathan by Demetrius I and Demetrius II, in which they promise to add three districts to Judaea from Samaria and Galilee, are evidence of either the Judaization or administration of the Galilee (see Table 2 and Appendix III). They are important not only because Galilee appears in these letters in the context of territory added to Judaea by Seleucid rulers, but because the letters are chronologically proximal to the battle below Kedesh in 143 BCE.

The Letter of Demetrius I (ca. 152 BCE)

In 152 BCE Alexander Balas, a pretender to the Seleucid throne, landed at Acco-Ptolemais, threatening the ruling king, Demetrius I. Demetrius decided that it would be best to secure Jonathan’s support before Alexander did, and so he sent Jonathan a letter that authorized the release of Judaeian hostages that had been kept in the citadel in Jerusalem, allowed Jonathan to recruit and arm troops, and made him an ally. Not

¹¹ See Table 2 for comparisons of the texts and Appendix III for all of all texts discussed here.

wanting to be outdone, Alexander also sent a letter to Jonathan, proclaiming Jonathan high priest and a Friend of the King. Jonathan apparently accepted both offers, and Demetrius responded with a more detailed and generous letter. It stated, in part,

[I will not collect taxes] from the land of Judah or from the three *nomes* that are being added to it from Samaritis and Galilee from this day and for all time (τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ γῆς Ιουδα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν νομῶν τῶν προστιθεμένων αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον – 1 Macc. 10:30).¹²

Demetrius continued this train of thought in verse 38, writing,

And as for the three *nomes* that have been added to Judaea from the country (χώρα) of Samaria, let them be annexed to Judaea so that they may be considered to be under one ruler and obey no other authority than the high priest (καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς τοὺς προστεθέντας τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας Σαμαρείας προστεθήτω τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ πρὸς τὸ λογισθῆναι τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑφ' ἑνὸς τοῦ μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι ἄλλης ἐξουσίας ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως).

It is curious that Demetrius here gives three *nomes* to Judaea from Samaria and Galilee, both because the *nome* was a Ptolemaic, not a Seleucid, administrative unit and because Samaria was between Galilee and Judaea, which would have created a situation in which districts added from Galilee would not be contiguous with Judaea.¹³ Josephus' paraphrase of the letter in *Antiquities* 13.50 seems to reveal his confusion, as well as his attempt to make sense of it:

¹² It is impossible to say if the meaning is that the taxes will not be collected ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, that the three districts will be added to Judaea ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, or both, though the latter seems the most likely.

¹³ This would not have been an entirely unique situation – every other coastal city south of the Ladder of Tyre was ruled by Sidon, and the intervening cities were ruled by Tyre (apparently to ensure that there would not be contiguous blocks of power). However, the fact that those were coastal cities may be important, as they can still be accessed, taxed, and ruled without crossing into other regions.

...and as to the tax which was necessary to pay to me for (the head of) each inhabitant of Judaea and of the three *toparchies* of Samaria and Galilee and Peraea¹⁴ which have been attached to Judaea, these I concede to you from now for all time (καὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐκάστης ὃ ἕδει μοι δίδοσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκειμένων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαιᾶς τούτους παραχωρῶ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον).

Josephus' parallel to 1 Macc. 10:38 (*Ant.* 13.54) goes on to make explicit that only the Jews in those districts need obey the Torah (as opposed to all inhabitants, as 1 Maccabees suggested):

I give them permission to use their ancestral laws and to observe them, and I desire that those in the three *nomes* that were added to Judaea be subject to them;¹⁵ and I wish that it shall be the responsibility of the high priest that not a single Jew shall have any other temple for worship other than the one at Jerusalem (ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ τοῖς πατρώοις χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν καὶ τοῖς τρισὶν τοῖς προσκειμένοις τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νομοῖς ὑποτάσσεσθαι βούλομαι καὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι ἵνα μηδὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίῳ ἄλλο ἔχη ἱερὸν προσκυνεῖν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις).

So where 1 Maccabees was ambiguous, Josephus made the situation very clear: three toparchies (namely, Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea) have been added to Judaea and every Jew in them must observe the Torah. Is this just Josephus adding details in his

¹⁴ Nearly everybody has labeled the addition of Galilee and Peraea in this passage as a mistake and moved on without explanation. Seth Schwartz has noted Morton Smith's suggestion that καὶ Περαιᾶς in *Antiquities* is a gloss and therefore it should be translated as "...of the three toparchies being added to Judaea from (= genitive of partition) Samaria-and-Galilee" – in other words, Josephus faithfully translated 1 Maccabees and somebody after Josephus did not understand it. Schwartz goes on to note that this would cause us to expect a preposition after προσκειμένων and perhaps some manuscript evidence that καὶ Περαιᾶς is a gloss, for which there is none. See Seth Schwartz, "The 'Judaism' of Samaria and Galilee in Josephus's Version of the Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan (*Antiquities* 13.48-57)," *HTR* 82, no. 4 (1989), 377-391. 381, n. 9

¹⁵ The subject of the phrase τοῖς τρισὶν τοῖς προσκειμένοις τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νομοῖς ὑποτάσσεσθαι is not entirely clear. It is conceivable that the intent is that the residents of the three toparchies are to be subject to the high priest; it is far less likely that they are to be subject to the Jewish soldiers in Demetrius' army, as Whiston's translation suggests (though I do not think that this was the intent).

paraphrase to fit his rhetorical purposes,¹⁶ or is he including another source that the author of 1 Maccabees either did not have or did not include?

The Letter of Demetrius II (ca. 145 BCE)

1 Maccabees 11:28-38 provides further elucidation. By 145 BCE, Alexander had been killed, Ptolemy VI had died, Demetrius II had become king, and Jonathan was besieging the citadel in Jerusalem. An angry Demetrius II demanded that Jonathan end the siege and meet him at Acco-Ptolemais. When Jonathan came bearing gifts and won Demetrius' favor, Demetrius reconfirmed Jonathan's high priesthood and made Jonathan one of his chief Friends. According to 1 Maccabees, Jonathan then "asked the king to free Judaea and the three *toparchies* of Samaritis from tribute" (καὶ ἤξιωσε Ἰωνᾶθαν τὸν βασιλέα ποιῆσαι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφορολόγητον καὶ τὰς τρεῖς τοπαρχίας καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίτιν – 1 Macc. 11:28). In response Demetrius wrote the following letter:

King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan and to the nation of the Jews, greetings.³¹This copy of the letter that we wrote concerning you to our kinsman Lasthenes we have written to you also, so that you may know what it says.³²King Demetrius to his father Lasthenes, greetings.³³ have determined to do good to the nation of the Jews, who are our friends and fulfill their obligations to us, because of the goodwill they show toward us.³⁴**We have confirmed as their possession both the territory (ὄρια) of Judaea and the three *nomes* of Aphairema and Lydda and Rathamin; the latter, with all of the region bordering them, were added to Judaea from Samaritis** ἔστάκαμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Αφαιρημα καὶ Λυδδα καὶ Ραθαμιν προσετέθησαν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς). To all those who offer sacrifice in Jerusalem we have granted release from the royal taxes that the king formerly received from them each year, from the crops of the land and the fruit of the trees.³⁵And the other payments henceforth due to us of the tithes, and the taxes due to us, and the salt pits and the crown taxes due to us – from all these we shall grant them release.³⁶And

¹⁶ For this argument, see Schwartz, "The 'Judaism' of Samaria and Galilee in Josephus's Version of the Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan (*Antiquities* 13.48-57)."

not one of these grants shall be canceled from this time on forever. ³⁷Now therefore take care to make a copy of this, and let it be given to Jonathan and put up in a conspicuous place on the holy mountain. (1 Macc. 11:30-38)¹⁷

Josephus has an account of Jonathan's meeting with Demetrius as well, in addition to a copy of the letter that Demetrius wrote. Josephus began by paraphrasing 1 Macc. 11:28:

...when [Jonathan] petitioned [Demetrius] that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judaea and the three *toparchies* of Samaritis, and Joppa,¹⁸ and Galilee, [Demetrius] complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants; the contents of which were as follows... (...[Ἰωνάθου] παρακαλέσαντος αὐτόν ,Δημήτριον. ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπάσης καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰόππης καὶ Γαλιλαίας τριακόσια τελεῖ τάλαντα δίδωσιν καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐπιστολάς αἱ περιεῖχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον – *Ant.* 13.125).

Josephus then proceeded to present a letter that, up until the end of the sentence in which Demetrius designates the three districts as “Aphairema, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judaea out of Samaria, with what appertains to them” (παρασχεῖν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθαιν οἱ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσετέθησαν

¹⁷ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν καὶ ἔθνη Ἰουδαίων ³¹τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἐγράψαμεν Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν περὶ ὑμῶν γεγράφαμεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅπως εἰδῆτε ³²βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν ³³τῷ ἔθνη τῶν Ἰουδαίων φίλοις ἡμῶν καὶ συντηροῦσιν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δίκαια ἐκρίναμεν ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι χάριν τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐνοίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ³⁴ἔστακαμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα καὶ Λυδδα καὶ Ραθαμιν προσετέθησαν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς πᾶσιν τοῖς θυσιάζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὧν ἐλάμβανεν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρότερον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γεννημάτων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων ³⁵καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἀνήκοντα ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τῶν δεκατῶν καὶ τῶν τελῶν τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἄλλοις λίμνας καὶ τοὺς ἀνήκοντας ἡμῖν στεφάνους πάντα ἐπαρκέσομεν αὐτοῖς ³⁶καὶ οὐκ ἀθετηθήσεται οὐδὲ ἐν τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ³⁷νῦν οὖν ἐπιμέλεσθε τοῦ ποιῆσαι τούτων ἀντίγραφον καὶ δοθῆτω Ἰωνάθαν καὶ τεθῆτω ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἀγίῳ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ ³⁸καὶ εἶδεν Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἠσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἀνθιστήκει καὶ ἀπέλυσεν πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον πλὴν τῶν ξένων δυνάμεων ὧν ἐξενολόγησεν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἤχθραναι αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων

¹⁸ Whiston's translation has “Peraea” here, presumably as the result of an attempt to harmonize this passage with *Ant.* 13.54. No extant manuscript preserves here Peraea as a variant. E (i.e., the Epitome manuscript, used by Zonaras and dated by Niese to the 10th-11th century) preserves the only variant: Ἰοπης. See Flavius Josephus and Benedikt Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera: edidit et apparatus critico instruxit Benedictus Niese* (Berolini: apud Weidmannos, 1887)., volume III

ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τὰ προσκυροῦντα τούτοις),¹⁹ is nearly a word-for-word copy of the version that we have in Rahlf's edition of 1 Maccabees (see Table 2).

¹⁹ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἔγραψα Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν ἀπεστάλκαμεν ὑμῖν ἵνα εἰδῆτε ¹²⁷ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει ὄντι φίλῳ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλάττοντι τῆς εὐνοίας ἔκρινα χάριν παρασχεῖν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθαιν οἱ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσετέθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τὰ προσκυροῦντα τούτοις ¹²⁸ ἔτι τε ὅσα παρὰ τῶν θυόντων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐλάμβανον οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ προσήκοντα ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς λίμνας τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ τοὺς κομιζομένους ἡμῖν στεφάνους ἀφήμι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδὲν παραβιβασθήσεται τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φρόντισον οὖν ἵνα τούτων ἀντίγραφον γένηται καὶ δοθῇ Ἰωνάθῃ

Demetrius I and Jonathan (ca. 152 BCE)

Text/Passage	Description	Toparchy/Nome	District Names
1 Macc. 10:30	Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan	Three <i>nomes</i>	<u>From Samaritis</u> and Galilee (ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ Γαλιλαίας)
1 Macc. 10:38	Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan (cont.)	Three <i>nomes</i>	<u>From the χώρα of Samaria</u> (ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας Σαμαρείας)
<i>Antiquities</i> 13.50	Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan	Three <i>toparchies</i>	<u>Of Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea</u> (καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῆ Ἰουδαία προσκειμένων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαιίας)
<i>Antiquities</i> 13.54	Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan (cont.)	Three <i>nomes</i>	N/A

Demetrius II and Jonathan (ca. 145 BCE)

Text/Passage	Description	Toparchy/Nome	District Names
1 Macc. 11:28	Jonathan speaking to Demetrius II	Three <i>toparchies</i>	<u>And Samaritis</u> (τὰς τρεῖς τοπαρχίας καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίτιν)
1 Macc. 11:34	Letter of Demetrius II to Jonathan	Three <i>nomes</i>	<u>Of Aphairema, Ludda, and Rathama</u> and the parts adjoining them...added <u>from Samaritis</u> (καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαιρεμα καὶ Λυδδα καὶ Ραθαμιν...ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος ...καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς)
<i>Antiquities</i> 13.125	Jonathan speaking to Demetrius II	Three <i>toparchies</i>	<u>Of Samaria, Joppa, and Galilee</u> (καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰόππης καὶ Γαλιλαίας)
<i>Antiquities</i> 13.127	Letter of Demetrius II to Jonathan	Three <i>nomes</i>	Aphairema, Lydda, and Ramatha...and things pertaining to them...added <u>from Samaritis</u> (οὗς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαιρεμα καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθαιν οἱ τῆ Ἰουδαία προσετέθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τὰ προσκυροῦντα τούτοις)

Table 2: The letters from Demetrius I and Demetrius II to Jonathan, as represented by 1 Maccabees

There are three categories of inconsistency in these letters, all of which are highlighted in Table 2: (1) Shifts in terminology between νόμος and τοπαρχία; (2) shifts in terminology between Σαμαριτις and Σαμαρεία; and (3) a lack of agreement as to what the proper name designations were for the districts that were annexed to Judaea. At first glance it appears that 1 Maccabees, which was probably composed ca. 100 BCE by a member of the Hasmonaean court who therefore probably had access to originals or copies of these letters,¹ used the terms νόμος and Σαμαριτις, while Josephus, writing ca. 100 CE when Palestine was under the administrative control of the Romans, used the terms τοπαρχία and Σαμαρεία. Josephus *does* use νόμος in *Ant.* 13.54 and 13.127, but he was copying 1 Maccabees and his use of νόμος in *Ant.* 13.127 is the only Josephan passage (of those being considered here) that is nearly a word-for-word copy of 1 Maccabees 11:34. And the author of 1 Maccabees *does* appear to use τοπαρχία in 1 Maccabees 11:28, but its presence in the text is likely the result of a later gloss.² This conclusion is further underscored by a quick look at Josephus' use of τοπαρχία and

¹ The majority opinion is that 1 Maccabees was composed ca. 100 BCE, but Seth Schwartz has argued for dating the composition of 1 Maccabees to ca. 132-128 BCE. See Seth Schwartz, "Israel and the Nations Roundabout: 1 Maccabees and the Hasmonaean Expansion," *JJS* 42, no. 1 (1991), 16-38.

² This passage (1 Maccabees 11:28) represents the only instance of τοπαρχία in the entire Septuagint. Its occurrence is most easily and satisfactorily explained as the result of a later gloss that was incorporated into the text. The meaning of the letter is admittedly opaque: how could the three *nomes* of Aphairema, Ludda, and Rathama (along with the region bordering them) be added to Judaea *from Samaria* (ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαριτιδος). Not only were the three "*nomes*" actually toparchies, but *Samaritis* itself was the equivalent of a *nome*, so the text seems to be saying that the *nome* of Samaritis had three *nomes* within it. A gloss, then, was inserted (or copied from the margin) to explain what Demetrius' letter meant without changing the contents of the letter. The Greek of the gloss further suggests this interpretation of events: though English translations have mistranslated the passage as, "Jonathan asked the king to free Judaea and the three districts (toparchies) of Samaria from tribute," the Greek says that Jonathan asked the king to free Judaea and the three toparchies *and* Samaria from tribute (καὶ ἠξίωσεν Ἰωναθαν τὸν βασιλέα ποιῆσαι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφορολόγητον καὶ τὰς τρεῖς τοπαρχίας καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίτιν). As for the other places in the Septuagint in which νόμος is used instead of τοπαρχία, it is either an artifact of translation (a text in Hebrew or Aramaic, translated into Greek by an Alexandrian, would most likely preserve the Alexandrian word for "district" (νόμος), or it is a result of the Ptolemies using the *nome* system throughout their kingdom and Palestine not coming under Seleucid control until 199 BCE (i.e., after most of the books of the Septuagint were translated into Greek).

νόμος. The entities depicted in these letters are stereotypical Josephan *τοπαρχία*,³ and, aside from *Ant.* 13.54 and 13.127, he only uses νόμος with an administrative meaning in five other places, all of which are specific references to the Egyptian *nome* of Heliopolis.⁴ In addition, most scholars have concluded that the Ptolemies administered at least part of Palestine under the Egyptian *nome* system, and that the Seleucids continued this practice Seleucids after the battle of Paneas in 199 BCE, in large part due to the evidence of these letters. It is worth considering, however, that if 1 Maccabees was translated into Greek by an Egyptian, as the existence of the Septuagint makes possible (though hardly certain), the use of *toparchy* in place of *nome* in 1 Maccabees would have required knowledge of Seleucid administrative practices on the part of a translator, and it would make sense that the translator, encountering a Semitic word for “district,” would have used the designation that made the most sense to him (νόμος).

The more illuminating discrepancy in the letters are the differences in occurrence between Σαμαρίτις and Σαμαρείας. Although there is very little difference between the two words (especially to English-speaking ears that are used to hearing about “Samaritans” who lived in or came from “Samaria”), their forms are quite important. According to the Hebrew Bible, the name “Shomron” (שֹׁמְרוֹן), from which the English word “Samaria” comes, is apparently the result of the Israelite king Omri’s purchase of a hill from a man named Shemer.⁵ Whether or not that is the correct etymology, the

³ *Ant.* 8:35, 284; 13:50, 102, 125; 18:31; *War* 1:45; 2:98, 167, 235, 252, 509, 567, 652; 3:48, 54; 4:444f, 504, 511, 551. The Roman administrative system in the east has been well documented. An early example is A. H. M. Jones, “The Urbanization of Palestine,” *JRS* 21 (1931), 78-85.

⁴ *Ant.* 12:388; 13:70; 20:236; *War* 1:33; 7:426.

⁵ 1 Kings 16:24. Note also Josephus’ explanation in *Ant.* 8.312: “[Omri reigned for 6 years in Tirzah] and the rest in the city called Somareon, which was named Samaria by the Greeks. He himself designated it to be called Somaraios, after Somaros, who sold him the mountain on which he built the city.” (ἤρξεν ὁ Ἀμαρῖνος ἔτη δώδεκα τούτων τὰ μὲν ἕξ ἐν Θάρσῳ πόλει τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐν Σωμαρεῶνι λεγομένη πόλει ὑπὸ

Hebrew Bible makes it clear that the city of Shomron (שמרון) was the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel,⁶ and coins from the 4th century BCE and the Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri show that the city or fortress of Shomron (שמרון) was the capital city of a province by the same name (מדינתא שמרין) in the Persian period.⁷ The name Σαμαρίτις, on the other hand, probably comes from the Ptolemaic administration of the region, as regional names ending with -τις are common in areas that were once ruled by the Ptolemies.⁸

It therefore comes as no surprise that Σαμαριτις occurs only three times in the entire Septuagint (as opposed Σαμαρεία, which occurs 107 times), all of which are in 1 Maccabees, and all of which occur in or associated with the official correspondences under consideration here.⁹ These statistics are likely due to the fact that (a) the city of Samaria is referenced far more often in the Hebrew Bible than the district in which it resided; and (b) only the very late books of the Septuagint were written late enough to have any opportunity to make reference to the Ptolemaic district in which the city of Samaria resided, and only the books of Maccabees are of a genre that would have taken

δὲ Ἑλλήνων Σαμαρεία καλουμένη προσηγόρευσε δ' αὐτήν αὐτὸς Σωμαραῖος ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ ὄρος ἀποδομένου αὐτῷ ἐφ' ᾧ κατεσκεύασε τὴν πόλιν Σωμάρου)

⁶ E.g., 1 Ki. 16:29; 20:1; 21:18; 2 Ki. 3:1; et al.

⁷ WDSP 4.1; 5.1; 14.9; 19.1; and 26.1. (See Gropp et al., *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh XXVIII, Miscellanea, Part 2.*) So also Ezra 4:10: קרית די שמרון. For the coins, see Ya'akov Meshorer and Shraga Qedar, *Samaritan Coinage*. Publications of the Israel Numismatic Society: Numismatic Studies and Researches (Jerusalem: Israel Numismatic Society, 1999). The papyri are not pointed, so the vowels are questionable. In the Hebrew Bible it is consistently שמרון in Hebrew and שְׁמֶרִין in Aramaic (Ezra 4:10; 4:17). Though the *qametz* followed by a *sheva* in the Aramaic suggests a long “o” vowel, the Canaanite shift suggests reading it as a long “a” vowel, which probably explains the *aleph* in the Greek. The Targumim are interesting in that they consistently point the word according to the Hebrew pronunciation: שְׁמֶרִין and שְׁמֶרִין (e.g., 1 Ki. 13:32 and 1 Ki. 16:32), as also the Peshitta’s consistent שְׁמֶרִין (e.g., Luke 17:11; John 4:4, 9; Acts 1:8; 8:1, 5, 9, 14; 15:3), though note the curious and unique instance of שְׁמֶרִין in the list of “Judaea, Galilee, and Samaria” in Acts 9:31.

⁸ So A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), 20-21. Note, however, that there are provinces with -τις names in Asia Minor. See Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁹ 1 Macc. 10:30; 11:28, 34. Σαμαρεία occurs twice in 1 Maccabees: 1 Macc. 3:10; 10:38, both of which probably refer to the city of Samaria, even if somewhat circumlocutiously.

note of or made reference to such administrative details. Josephus' use of the terms is slightly inconsistent, as Josephus is often wont to be. For the most part, however, he follows the same pattern. He consistently uses Σαμαρίτις as a reference to the region, including in the sections in which he explicitly delineates and describes the regions of Galilee, Judaea, and Σαμαρείτις,¹⁰ and nearly all of the 105 occurrences of the word Σαμαρεία reflect the explicit or implicit designation of a city.¹¹ The exception to this rule is when Σαμαρεία is preceded by forms of the words κοίλη or χώρα, as in *War* 1.213, 302; *Ant.* 12.154, 175; and 14.411.

Once these nuances inherent in the words Σαμαρεία and Σαμαρ(ε)ίτις are understood, the letters from Demetrius I and Demetrius II to Jonathan begin to make sense. The toparchy of Samaria (i.e., a small administrative unit named according to its “capital” city) that will be added to Judaea in *Ant.* 13:50 and 13.125 is referred to by the name Σαμαρεία, while *the region or district of Σαμαρ(ε)ίτις out of which* a toparchy or nome is to be added to Judaea is referred to by the name Σαμαρ(ε)ίτις (1 Macc. 10:30, 11:34, and *Ant.* 13.127). The only exception is 1 Macc. 10:38, in which three nomes are being added to Judaea from the χώρα of Σαμαρεία. As noted above in the discussion of Josephus' use of Σαμαρεία, this construction ought to be rendered along the lines of “from the vicinity (of the city of) Samaria” or “from the hinterland (of the city of)

¹⁰ *War* 3.37, 48. The only exception is in *Ant.* 7.103, where Josephus is citing Nicolaus of Damascus as saying that Herod “made an expedition against the Jews and laid waste to the city that is now called Samareitis.”

¹¹ Noteable among these instances is *Ant.* 9.278-9, in which Josephus writes that Shalmaneser besieged the city of Samaria for 3 years, took it, and took the Israelites to Media and Persia. He then replaced them by moving people from Kutha “into Samaria and into the country of the Israelites” (εις τὴν Σαμάρειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώραν). There are five exceptions: *War* 2.247 (which is set in the time of, and may reflect the reality of, the Roman administration of the region), *Ant.* 11.21, 167; 12.224; and 20.118 (in which the village of Ginea is described as lying on the border of Σαμαρεία, even though the same village had been described in *War* 3.48 as marking the border between Galilee and Σαμαρείτις).

Samaria.” This usage of *χώρα* is consistent not only with Josephus’, but can also be found elsewhere in 1 Maccabees¹² and the later books of the Septuagint.¹³

Within the framework that has been supplied by the foregoing discussion of the linguistics of these passages we can now turn to the question of exactly *what* was added to Judaea by Demetrius I. Let us first look to the the internal logic and cohesion of the earliest preserved copy of the first letter, that of Demetrius I, as recorded in 1 Maccabees. The letter begins with a typical greeting formula before foreshadowing its structure in 10:27-28: “Now continue still to keep faith with us, and we will repay you with good for what you do for us; we will grant you many immunities and give you gifts.”¹⁴ Verses 29-35 then describe the immunities,¹⁵ and verses 36-45 describe the gifts.¹⁶ In other words, structurally speaking, it is verse 38 (καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς τοὺς προστεθέντας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας Σαμαρείας προστεθήτω τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πρὸς τὸ λογισθῆναι τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑφ’ ἑνα τοῦ μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι ἄλλης ἐξουσίας ἀλλ’ ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως), and not verse 30, that is

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¹³ E.g., 1 Macc. 7:7 (the *χώρα* of the king) and 12:32 (the *χώρα* of Damascus), as well as in many places denoting the “land of Israel” with a clear indication of borders and Jewish authority within those borders. See also 1 Esd. 5:45; 8:13; 9:37. Ezra 7:16, et al. Esth. 4:3 and Neh. 1:3 should also be added to this list, for although they don’t explicitly mention a referent, it can be deduced from the context.

¹⁴ καὶ νῦν ἐμμείνατε ἔτι τοῦ συντηρῆσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς πίστιν καὶ ἀνταποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἀγαθὰ ἀνθ’ ὧν ποιεῖτε μεθ’ ἡμῶν ²⁸καὶ ἀφήσομεν ὑμῖν ἀφέματα πολλὰ καὶ δώσομεν ὑμῖν δόματα

¹⁵ **Immunities:** exemption from tribute, salt tax, crown levies; exemption from the tax of one-third of yearly grain and one-half of the yearly fruit for the land of Judah and the 3 *nomes* being added to it from Samaritis and Galilee – “[which is to say], Jerusalem and its environs, its tithes and its revenues, shall be holy and free from tax; release of control of the citadel; release of Jewish captives within Demetrius’ kingdom; exemption of tax on captives’ livestock; freedom from work for Judaeans on festivals, Sabbaths, new moons, appointed days, and for three days before and after a festival; and freedom from the obligation to provide for the military.

¹⁶ **Gifts:** up to 30,000 Judaeans can be in the army, they will be put into positions of power, and they will be commanded by Judaeans; 3 *nomes* will be annexed to Judaea from the *χώρα* of Samaria and they will be considered to be under one ruler and will obey no other authority than the high priest in Jerusalem; Acco-Ptolemais and its surrounding land have also been given to Jerusalem, to meet the expenses of the temple; the king will pay 15,000 shekels per year, as well as additional funds for the service of the temple; the 5,000 shekels of silver that have in the past been paid to Seleucid officials will now go to the priests in the temple; anybody who takes refuge in the temple because of money owed to the king will be released; the king will pay for the rebuilding and restoring of the temple, the walls in Jerusalem, and the walls in Judaea.

the description of the gift. This conclusion corresponds well with the earlier discussion of 1 Maccabees' use of *Σαμαρεία* and *Σαμαριίτις*: not only does the structure of 1 Maccabees argue for 10:34 as the more reliable of the two passages, but also 10:34 should be preferred because it is more specific: the *nomes* are to be added from the *χώρα* of [the city of] Samaria.

Next let us look to the section of the letters for which there is the greatest amount of agreement among the ancient authors, namely 1 Macc. 11:34 and *Ant.* 13.127. The fact that Josephus paraphrased 1 Maccabees' presentation of the events leading up to the letter from Demetrius II to Jonathan, and paraphrased the last portion of the letter as well, but that Josephus' version of the first portion of that letter is an almost identical copy of the letter preserved in the Septuagint, suggests that Josephus is either copying 1 Maccabees or that both 1 Maccabees and Josephus are copying another text (i.e., the text of this letter that was apparently placed "in a conspicuous place on the holy mountain" – see 1 Maccabees 11:37). It is more likely to have been the former, given that Josephus was writing from Rome and that he returned to paraphrasing before the letter ends and the possibility (if not the likelihood) that the letter would have been originally written in Greek and erected near the Temple in that language, rather than being translated to Hebrew or Aramaic.¹⁷ That said, we must not forget that 1 Maccabees was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic and only later translated into Greek. The differences

¹⁷ The so called "Temple Warning Inscription" from the Temple Mount that prohibited non-Jews from entering into an area of the temple precincts (likely dating to the Herodian period) was in Greek precisely because it was aimed at foreigners. On the other hand, the Theodotus dedicatory inscription was also in Greek, and there is no good reason to think that educated, literate Jews would not have spoken Greek in the Herodian period or even the early first century CE, even if the linguistic picture for the Hasmonaean period is far murkier than for the Herodian period. It is possible that engraving the letter in Greek would project its status as a letter from the Seleucid king; or we could point to the original Semitic language of 1 Maccabees – an official Hasmonaean court document – as evidence for the use and/or importance of the language in the Jerusalem aristocracy and government around 100 BCE.

between 1 Maccabees' and Josephus' versions of the letter could well be the result of one or both translation events.

Whatever the case, the close agreement between 1 Maccabees and Josephus, plus the suggestion in the letter that it was inscribed and placed in public, require us to prefer the first part of the letter as the most authoritative text on the matter and to understand the additions to Judaea to have been the cities of Aphairema, Ludda, and either Ramatha or Rathama, plus their hinterlands. Josephus' statement in *Ant.* 13.125 (three lines prior to his statement that the cities were Aphairema, Ludda, and Ramatha) that Demetrius II annexed the three toparchies of Samaritis, Joppa, and Galilee, which parallels his statement in *Ant.* 13.50 that Demetrius I annexed the toparchies of Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea, is admittedly a problem. Although Josephus has been accused of sloppy work, this seems unbelievable,¹⁸ and there are no textual variants that might explain the text that we have before us. However, it might be possible to explain his quick shift here, as well as his additions of Galilee and Peraea elsewhere, in addition to his apparent changing of 1 Maccabees' Ῥαθαμιν to Ῥαμαθιν.¹⁹ Ἀφαιρεμα is not mentioned elsewhere in Josephus, but it can be found in Joshua codex A (19:17) where it is listed as a city in the tribal allotment of Issachar, in lower Galilee; Lydda is well represented elsewhere in Josephus as a town of Samaritans that was well known to have been given to Judaea;²⁰ and in *Ant.* 8.411 Josephus mentions a Ῥαμαθην that is a city of 9th century BCE Gilead, across the Jordan from Judaea (i.e., Ramoth Gilead, which would have been in the region of the

¹⁸ So also Schwartz, though he comes to a much different conclusion. See Schwartz, "The 'Judaism' of Samaria and Galilee in Josephus's Version of the Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan (*Antiquities* 13.48-57)."

¹⁹ There is one witness each to the textual variants Ῥαμαθαμιν (*I*⁶²), Ῥαμαθεμ (*L*), *ramath(a)e* (*La*^{LV}), *ramath* (*La*^B); רמתיים (*Sy*^I); and רצתא (*Sy*^{II}). All other other manuscripts have a variant of Ῥαθαμιν: Ῥαθαμ(ε)ιν (*A,S,V,q*, 62, 46,55, 58, 106, 311); Ῥαθμινα τιναις (i.e., ραθ<α>μιν αιτινες – 340. Note that αιτινες is added to the text by *L'*, 58, 311, *La*^{BV}, and *Sy*^I);

²⁰ *War*2.242, 567; 3.55; *Ant.* 14.202; 20.130.

Decapolis in the Roman period, just north of the “border” between the Decapolis and Peraea). It is true that the change from Ῥαθαμιν to Ῥαμαθιν could simply be the result of metathesis in the historical transmission of this document, but if it were intentional (or even a mistake of metathesis on the part of Josephus prior to writing), and if Josephus did not know exactly where the city had stood, *Ant.* 13.125 could be read with a partitive genitive: “[Jonathan] petitioned [Demetrius] that he would give him 300 talents for all of Judaea and the three toparchies, [one of which is in] Samaria, [one of which is in] Peraea, and [one of which is in] Galilee.”²¹ This is not to say that Josephus’ paraphrase of *Ant.* 13.125 is more reliable than the beginning of Demetrius I’s letter, but simply one explanation that gives an internal logic to Josephus’ writing (as opposed to an explanation that requires us to throw the passage out with no explanation). Indeed, if this interpretation is correct, it shows Josephus to be doing what he can be seen to do elsewhere, namely, using a historical document to say what he wants his audience to hear about the Jews.

Whatever the case, the fact that (a) this letter, and this letter only, was apparently erected in public in Jerusalem; (b) Josephus is paraphrasing 1 Maccabees in *Ant.* 13.125 but is almost word-for-word in 13.127; (c) that the list of “Samaria, Joppa, and Galilee” in 13.125 neither makes geographical sense nor does it make sense of Josephus’ conceptualization of *τοπαρχία* (see above), but “Aphairema, Lydda, and Ramatha/Rathama” do;²² and (d) that Josephus preserved 1 Maccabees’ *νομοῦς* here – a

²¹ It is worth noting here that Josephus would have known that his audience would not have known where Aphairema, Lydda, and Ramatha were. It is possible that simply expected his readers to assume that one city was in each region.

²² As far as Josephus’ designation of the three regions as being Samaria, Joppa (or Peraea), and Galilee goes, there are a variety of possible explanations. Two likely ones are that Josephus added Galilee and Peraea to 1 Maccabees’ mention of Samaria because both were regions that shared a border with Samaria and both were given to Herod Antipas after Herod the Great’s kingdom was broken up (*Ant.* 17.185, 276;

word that he only ever used with this meaning of the Egyptian nome of Hieropolis (see above) all point to the conclusion that this text is the earliest and most reliable source on the matter, and consequently that the districts added to Judaea were Aphairema, Lydda, and Ramatha. This makes good topographical sense, too. Rather than imagining districts being added to Judaea that were physically disconnected from it (if we understand the situation to have been “three toparchies from Samaria and Galilee,” for instance), or such huge sections of Palestine being added to Judaea that they would have more than tripled its size (if we understand the situation to have been the addition of Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea, which anyway would have been hyparchies or eparchies, but not toparchies), we find the addition of small districts consisting of a city and its hinterland on Judaea’s northern border: most scholars have concluded that that Aphairema was just north of Bethel, Ramathaim was east of Joppa, and Lydda was southeast of Joppa (see Figure 1).

Given the conclusions that 1 Maccabees 11:34 is the most reliable text on the matter and that 1 Maccabees 10:38 is the most specific description *within the letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan* of the regions that were being added to Judaea, it is clear that the presence of Γαλιλαία in 1 Macc. 10/Ant. 13.48-57 must be explained away. There are two possibilities that make the most sense: either the letter from Demetrius I to Jonathan as a whole is saying that three *nomes* are being added to Judah from an administrative district called Samaritis-and-Galilee²³ or the addition of Γαλιλαίας to verse 30 is a later addition

18.240), or that Josephus added Galilee and Peraea because they had concentrations of Jews in his day (so Schwartz, "The 'Judaism' of Samaria and Galilee in Josephus's Version of the Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan (*Antiquities* 13.48-57).").

²³ First proposed by Momigliano and followed by Goldstein, but opposed by Alt and Avi-Yonah (on p. 24, though note that he seems to embrace it on p. 48). See Arnaldo Momigliano, "Errori intorno alle toparchie della Palestina," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 58 (1930), 71-74; Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land From the Persian to the Arab conquests (536 B.C. to A.D. 640): A Historical Geography* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1966), 24, 25, 48; Albrecht Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Munich: Beck, 1953), II.404. According to Avi-Yonah, Alt published his ideas as early as

to the text (perhaps an addition that occurred in the 200 or so years between the composition of 1 Maccabees and the composition of *Antiquities*, which could explain Josephus' addition of Peraea to a version of 1 Maccabees that read ...τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῆ Ἰουδαία προσκειμένων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας...).²⁴

The former explanation, while tidy, has little support: to my knowledge, 1 Maccabees 10:30 preserves the only known evidence for such a name of this well-known administrative district. The latter explanation is simply not very satisfying. On the other hand, these letters in 1 Maccabees preserve what is to my knowledge the only evidence for the widespread scholarly conclusion that the Ptolemies imposed the Egyptian *nome* system in its administration of regions outside of Egypt, and this would be neither the first nor the last time that a later addition has been argued to have made its way into the text. The number of textual variants for any given ancient text might, in and of

1938 in *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, pages 90-92. See also Goldstein, *1 Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*, 408; Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land From the Persian to the Arab conquests (536 B.C. to A.D. 640): A Historical Geography*, 48. Goldstein has concluded that "Samaritis-and-Galilee" arrived here as the result of a well-informed gloss that was incorporated into the text.

²⁴ Most scholars have explained *Ant.* 13.50 in this way, suggesting that he chose to supply Peraea because he knew that Judaea, Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea were the places where the vast majority of Palestinian Jews lived in his day (and, perhaps, figured that this was the historical reason for it). It is clear that this was Josephus' concept of the cultural landscape: see, for instance, *War* 3.35-58, in which the physical landscape of Galilee, Peraea, Samaria, and Judaea is inserted his story of Vespasian and Titus entering the region to make war against the Jews. Although he says that he has "described the country of Judaea and those that lie around it," (τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ πέριξ χώρας ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα συντόμως ἀπηγγέλλομαι), in fact he has neglected Idumaea and the coast. However, this explanation does not that fact does not provide a good reason for Josephus' use of the word *τοπαρχία*. If Josephus meant to use both the word *τοπαρχία* and the names Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea, then *Ant.* 13.50 and 13.125 would be the only two places in all of his works in which *τοπαρχία* does not mean "a city and its hinterland." There are 21 occurrences: *Ant.* 8.35 (Bethlehem), 284 (Bethel and Jeshanah); 13.50 (Samaritis and Galilee?!), 102 (Ekron), 125 (Samaria and Joppa and Galilee?!); 18.31 (Jamnia and perhaps, though elided, Phasaelis and Archelaus); *War* 1.45 (Gophna); 2.98 (Archelaus'), 167 (Salome's *τοπαρχία* and perhaps, although elided, Jamnia and Phasaelis), 235 (Acrabatene), 252 (Abila, Julias in Peraea, Tarichea, and Tiberias in Galilee), 509 (Narbatene), 567 (Thamnia and perhaps, although elided, Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus), 652 (Acrabatene); 3.48 (Acrabatene), 54 (the toparchic cities of Judaea: Gophna, Acrabatta, Thamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumaea, Engedi, Herodium, Jericho, Jamnia, Joppa); 4.444f. (Thamnia and Bethlethephon, and perhaps, although elided, Lydda and Jamnia), 504 (Acrabatene), 511 (Acrabatene), 551 (Gophna and Acrabatta).

themselves, suggest that this is the more likely explanation, however great a cop-out it might seem.

Alexander Jannaeus in Galilee (ca. 125 BCE)

Even if the letters of Demetrius I and Demetrius II do not contain any evidence that the Seleucids put all or part of Galilee under Hasmonaean control, we must also consider Josephus' story that Alexander Jannaeus was banished to Galilee by his father when he was a child (*Ant.* 13.320-322). However, Bar-Kochva rightly notes that it simply cannot be taken as evidence of any dense Jewish settlement in the region, as has often been the case. Josephus' account is both fantastical and likely based on Nicolaus of Damascus' writings that sought to denigrate the Hasmonaean in support of Herod the Great (who was Idumaean and whose power came as a result of the demise of Hasmonaean control):²⁵

When Aristobulus was dead, his wife Salome, who, by the Greeks, was called Alexandra, let his brethren out of prison, (for Aristobulus had kept them in bonds, as we have said already,) and made Alexander Jannaeus king, who was the superior in age and in moderation. This child happened to be hated by his father as soon as he was born, and could never be permitted to come into his father's sight till he died. The occasion of which hatred is thus reported: When Hyrcanus chiefly loved the two oldest of his sons, Antigonus and Aristobulus, God appeared to him in his sleep, of whom he inquired which of his sons should be his successor. Upon God's showing him the countenance of Alexander, he was grieved that he was to be the heir of all his goods, and allowed him to be brought up in Galilee. However, God did not deceive Hyrcanus...²⁶

²⁵ Bar-Kochva, "Manpower, Economics and Internal Strife in the Hasmonean State," in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique: Actes du colloque national, Paris, 14-16 Octobre 1976*, 192.

²⁶ Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου Σαλίνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ λεγομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἀλεξάνδρα λύσασα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ δεδεμένους γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶχεν Ἀριστόβουλος ὡς προειρήκαμεν Ἰαναιὸν τὸν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλέα καθίστησιν τὸν καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν προύχοντα καὶ μετριότητα ᾧ καὶ συνέβη γεννηθέντι εὐθὺς μισηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ μηκέτι εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι τὸ δ' αἴτιον τοῦ μίσους τοιόνδε λέγεται γενέσθαι στέργων μάλιστα τῶν παίδων Ἰρκανὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον φανέντα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἐπηρώτα τίς αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων μέλλει ἕσεσθαι διάδοχος τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τοὺς τούτου χαρακτήρας δείξαντος λυπηθεὶς ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ πάντων οὗτος ἔσται κληρονόμος γενόμενον εἶασεν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ τρέφεσθαι ὁ μὲντοι θεὸς οὐ διεψεύσατο τὸν Ἰρκανόν.

It is well known that one of Josephus' primary sources on the Herodian period was Nicolaus of Damascus, who is widely regarded as having been a prolific anti-Hasmonaean author who has been seen by most if not all scholars as being engaged in a campaign of sorts to denigrate Jannaeus' image. It has also been argued that this story was inspired by the Oedipus myth (cf. also Herodotus, 1.107). It is also not clear how it would be possible that Hyrcanus could have already preferred the two oldest of "all his sons" before Jannaeus was born, seen Alexander Jannaeus' χαρακτήρ in his dream, been advised that the latter would be his successor and regretted it to the extent of banishing the infant immediately after his birth,²⁷ and it is at least possible that this passage is Nicolaus implying that even Jannaeus' father hated him and tried to get rid of him at all costs. Even if not, those who attribute some validity to the story must admit that Galilee was regarded as a desolate place (and this was certainly Nicolaus' meaning) and not as a flourishing and dense concentration of Jewish population.²⁸ Furthermore, it is hard to imagine that the son of a king (even a hated one) actually having been sent to a desolate place, especially one outside of Hasmonaean control (unless he was a hostage, but there is no suggestion of that here).

Furthermore, if 1 Macc. 5:9-54 is to be believed, it would seem that there were few, if any, Jews left in the Galilee before Judas' rescue mission around 164 BCE (and

²⁷ Bar-Kochva, "Manpower, Economics and Internal Strife in the Hasmonean State," in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique: Actes du colloque national, Paris, 14-16 Octobre 1976*, 192; Joshua Efron, "Shim'on ben-Shetakh va-Yan'ai ha-Melekh," in *In Memory of Gedalyahu Alon: Essays in Jewish History and Philology*, ed. Menahem Dorman, Schmu'el Safrai, and Menahem Stern (Hebrew; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1970).

²⁸ Bar-Kochva, "Manpower, Economics and Internal Strife in the Hasmonean State," in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique: Actes du colloque national, Paris, 14-16 Octobre 1976*, 193.

few, if any, afterwards).²⁹ Those who conclude that the majority of the inhabitants of the Galilee in this period were Jewish usually dismiss the expression “Galilee of the Gentiles” in 1 Macc. 5:15 as merely a biblical phrase (Isa. 9:1).³⁰ But this will not do – not least because it does not make sense during the time of John Hyrcanus’ reign, which is when the book was likely written. If the Galilee was inhabited by a Jewish majority at this time, what would be the point of the author of 1 Maccabees disqualifying “historic” claims of Jewish rights to the region when John Hyrcanus’ expansion was just getting underway (1 Macc. 15:33-34), unless it was an accurate depiction of the region as a whole?³¹

I am not arguing here that there were no Jews in Galilee in 125 BCE, but rather that (a) there are at least serious problems with Josephus’ story in *Ant.* 13.320-322, if not enough evidence to consider it entirely fallacious, and (b) there certainly is not enough evidence to conclude on the basis of this passage alone that there was a flourishing Jewish population in Galilee at this time – especially not one that was administered from

²⁹ Josephus’ version of this story in *Ant.* 12.334, in which he says that only the Jews who were rescued from captivity were evacuated from Judaea, would be a happy medium that would allow 1 Maccabees to be correct *and* leave Jews in Galilee. However, Bar-Kochva rightly notes that it can only be understood as an unsuccessful paraphrase of 1 Maccabees because there is no evidence that Josephus had any other source for his knowledge of the campaigns of Judas. Furthermore, Josephus’ version of Hasmonean events between 167-135 BCE is almost entirely paraphrased (often with anachronistic Roman-period interpolations). See Bar-Kochva, “Manpower, Economics and Internal Strife in the Hasmonean State,” in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique: Actes du colloque national, Paris, 14-16 Octobre 1976*, 193 n. 193.

³⁰ 1 Macc. 5:1-15: “When the Gentiles all around heard that the altar had been rebuilt and the sanctuary dedicated as it was before, they became very angry, and they determined to destroy the descendants of Jacob who lived among them. So they began to kill and destroy among the people ... Messengers, with their garments torn, came [to Judas and his brothers] from Galilee and ... said that the people of Ptolemais and Tyre and Sidon, and all Gallilee of the Gentiles had gathered together against them ‘to annihilate us.’”

³¹ Bar-Kochva, “Manpower, Economics and Internal Strife in the Hasmonean State,” in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique: Actes du colloque national, Paris, 14-16 Octobre 1976*, 192-193. 1 Macc. 15:33-34 reads, “Simon said to [Athenobius, Friend of Antiochus] in reply: “We have neither taken foreign land nor seized foreign property, but only the inheritance of our ancestors, which at one time had been unjustly taken by our enemies.”³⁴ Now that we have the opportunity, we are firmly holding the inheritance of our ancestors.” (καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Σιμων εἶπεν αὐτῷ οὔτε γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν εἰλήψαμεν οὔτε ἀλλοτρίων κεκρατήκαμεν ἀλλὰ τῆς κληρονομίας τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ὑπὸ δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν ἀκρίτως ἔν τινι καιρῷ κατεκρατήθη ³⁴ ἡμεῖς δὲ καιρὸν ἔχοντες ἀντεχόμεθα τῆς κληρονομίας τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν)

Jerusalem. Furthermore, there is no reason to think that anything other than Lower Galilee is envisioned here, and as was seen in Chapter 2, there was a vast difference between Upper and Lower Galilee in the Hellenistic period. As a result, any evidence that this passage might lend to an argument for significant Jewish presence by 125 BCE, it would still be well south of Kedesh.

1 Maccabees' Presentation of Jonathan's Settlement Practices

Although 1 Maccabees and Josephus do not present a case for annexation or political control of the Galilee, it does not preclude the possibility that the Hasmonaeans settled people there. 1 Maccabees clearly presents various Hasmonaean rulers settling Judaeans in conquered cities; is it possible that the Squatters at Tel Kedesh are evidence of such practices?

The similarities between 1 Maccabees and biblical histories, especially the Former Prophets (נביאים ראשונים – Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) are so obvious that there is universal scholarly consensus that the author of 1 Maccabees intentionally imitated them.³² The author of 1 Maccabees uses citations from the Bible and makes indirect references to Biblical passages (this phenomenon is not limited to the Former Prophets), he uses Biblical idioms and phrases, and he imitates Biblical prototypes. For example, in 1 Macc. 2:26 Mattathias is presented as an analog to Phineas, the grandson of Aaron and a high priest known for his zealous attack against heresy (Num. 24-25).³³ But

³² E.g., Goldstein, *1 Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*; Schwartz, "Israel and the Nations Roundabout: 1 Maccabees and the Hasmonaean Expansion," 31-32; Uriel Rappaport, "A Note on the Use of the Bible in 1 Maccabees," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center, 12-14 May, 1996*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

³³ 1 Macc. 2:26: "Thus he burned with zeal for the law, just as Phinehas did against Zimri son of Salu." For this and the following parallels (as well as many more), see Goldstein, *1 Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*.

the presentation goes further than simply comparing Mattathias to Phineas and describing the Maccabean revolt as the result of Mattathias' "burning with zeal and...giving vent to righteous anger." The story of Mattathias actually follows the model of Phineas: both are depicted as arising during a time of God's wrath against Israel, and God's wrath ceases as a result of Phineas' and Mattathias' actions (Num. 25:3; 1 Macc. 1:63-2:1). There are also parallels between the story of Mattathias and the spies Joshua and Caleb. In Numbers 13-14 Israel is rebellious ("...do not rebel against the Lord" – ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μὴ ἀποστάται) but Caleb and Joshua are loyal. In 1 Maccabees Mattathias rebels against the enforced non-Jewish religion, and he and his family remain loyal:

“Even if all the nations that live under the rule of the king obey him, and have chosen to obey his commandments, everyone of them abandoning the religion of their ancestors [ἀποστῆναι ἕκαστος ἀπὸ λατρείας πατέρων αὐτοῦ], I and my sons and my brothers will continue to live by the covenant of our ancestors. Far be it from us to desert the law and the ordinances. We will not obey the king's words by turning aside from our religion to the right hand or to the left.” (1 Macc. 2:19)

Mattathias then flees to the hills in language similar to Biblical descriptions of David.³⁴

When he dies, Mattathias is compared to Abraham, Joseph, Phineas, Joshua, Caleb, David, Elijah, and Daniel in his farewell address.³⁵ Such parallels are not confined to Mattathias. Judas and Jonathan are described as judges of Israel in the Biblical tradition, and the author of 1 Maccabees regularly borrows language from Samuel and Chronicles to describe Judas' great deeds in the same terms as the feats of Saul, Jonathan, and especially David.³⁶

³⁴ 1 Macc. 2:27-28, 42-43; 1 Sam. 22:1-2; 23:14

³⁵ 1 Macc 4:60-5: 68. For a more full discussion of these examples and themes, see Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*.

³⁶ Judas: Judges 3:30; 1 Macc. 7:50; Jonathan: Judges 10:9; 11:6; 1 Macc. 9:23, 29, 73.

The use of the Former Prophets' language extends also to descriptions of the Jews and where they live. Throughout Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and 1 Maccabees the word "Israel" is often shorthand for (or in apposition to) "the people" (יִשְׂרָאֵל/τὸν λαόν). But when 1 Maccabees is placed within its proper historical context, the presence of "Israel" is strange. Historically, "Israel" meant something very different in the time of the united monarchy than it did after the kingdom split in the time of Rehoboam (end of the 10th century BCE), when "Israel" came to designate the "Northern Kingdom," as opposed to "Judah" in the south. This existential reality of divided kingdoms lasted for approximately 200 years before Tiglath-Pileser III destroyed the Northern Kingdom of Israel in 723 BCE. "Judah" continued to exist as a political and geographical entity until 586 BCE, when Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and exiled many of its inhabitants. After 586 BCE, the only people who used a name from the root יִשְׂרָאֵל were the Samaritans, who called themselves "Israelites," as we know from from the 4th century BCE Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri, coins from the Hellenistic and Roman periods,³⁷ and even in the Samaritan Chronicles of the 6th-10th centuries CE.³⁸ So the official court history of the Hasmonaean dynasty³⁹ used a word for "his" people – people that both called themselves

³⁷ See the entirety of Meshorer and Qedar, *Samaritan Coinage*.

³⁸ John Macdonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle No. II, Or Sepher Ha-Yamim. From Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, vol. 107 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969); Joshua and Oliver Turnbull Crane, *The Samaritan Chronicle Or The Book of Joshua the son of Nun. Translated from the Arabic* (New York: J. B. Alden, 1890); Jeffrey M. Cohen, *A Samaritan Chronicle: A Source-Critical Analysis of the Life and Times of the Great Samaritan Reformer, Baba Rabbah*. Studia Post-Biblica, vol. 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1981).

³⁹ Rappaport, "A Note on the Use of the Bible in 1 Maccabees," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center, 12-14 May, 1996*, 177; Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*. See also Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, 3.1:180-185; Harold W. Attridge, "Historiography," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Sectarian writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone. Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum II: Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud (Assen, Netherlands; Philadelphia: Van Gorcum; Fortress Press, 1984), 171-176. Schwartz notes that the one person who has argued that 1 Maccabees did not have a

“Judaean” and were called “Judaean” by the nations around them – that (a) in his own time was the self-designation of an “other” people who lived outside his peoples’ borders and who worshiped Yahweh at Mt. Gerizim instead of Jerusalem and (b) that prior to his time had a 450 year-long meaning for “the Northern Kingdom,” expressly distinct from Judah, that had its capital in Samaria. The ideological reasons for using this word are easy to imagine (as is the possibility that it was being used expressly in opposition to the Samaritans, who were politically and ideologically threatening enough that John Hyrcanus destroyed the city of Samaria and the temple at Mt. Gerizim in 113-110 BCE). However, in practical reality it is strange, all the more so because, according to the author of 1 Maccabees, “Israel” lived in “Judah/Judaea.”

The extent of 1 Maccabees’ use of “Israel” is worth dwelling on for a moment because it has important implications for understanding the veracity of 1 Maccabees’ representation of Hasmonaean expansion vis à vis the author’s conception of what “Israel’s” God-given borders ought to be. It is no surprise that the author of 1 Maccabees would compare the Maccabees to Phineas, Joshua, David, and others in order to describe them as leaders of Israel.⁴⁰ Generally speaking, it is clear that “Israel” means “the Jews” as an ἔθνος (that is, both “a people” *and* “a nation”) who are loved and protected by God, and who are led by the “chosen” Hasmonaean.⁴¹ It is not an abstract, disembodied entity, either. Although Ἰσραήλ is grammatically feminine singular, it is consistently followed by 3rd person plural prepositions (“their,” “they,” “those,” etc.) in 1 Maccabees. God is

pro-Hasmonaean agenda was Robert Henry Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times, With an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Harper, 1949). Note also Seth Schwartz’s argument for dating 1 Maccabees earlier, ca. 132-128 BCE: Schwartz, “Israel and the Nations Roundabout: 1 Maccabees and the Hasmonaean Expansion,” p. 17, n. 13.

⁴⁰ E.g., the mourning cry “of Israel” over the death of Judas in 1 Macc. 9:21: “How is the mighty fallen, savior of Israel!”

⁴¹ E.g., 1 Macc. 5:62: “[Joseph and Azariah] did not belong to the family of those men through whom deliverance was given to Israel.”

the “savior of Israel” who performs mighty deeds through the people of Israel, for instance when he is asked to “hem in this army by the hand of your people Israel” (1 Macc. 4.30-31). Antiochus IV is presented as having come to Jerusalem with a large force and “destroying many people of Israel” (1 Macc. 1.30). His officers “kept using violence against Israel” (1 Macc. 1.58), but “many in Israel stood firm and were resolved in their hearts not to eat unclean food” (1 Macc. 1.62). When the Hasideans joined the Maccabees early in the revolt, they are described as “mighty warriors of Israel” (1 Macc. 2.42). In a few places “Israel” is best translated in English as “Israelites,” which further highlights the breadth and depth of 1 Maccabee’s definition of the word – for instance when “the Gentiles in Gilead gathered together against the Israelites who lived in their territory, and planned to destroy them” (1 Macc. 5.9). And when each of the Hasmonean rulers died, “*all Israel* mourned for him with great lamentation.”⁴²

However, “Israel” does not designate “all Jews” but rather “true Jews” – that is, supporters of the Hasmonean regime. Thus in 1 Macc. 6.18-21, the “men in the citadel” who have been “hemming Israel in around the sanctuary” are joined by the “ungodly of Israel” when they go to Antiochus to request reinforcements to stop the Hasmoneans. Likewise, the evil (i.e., “ungodly” – ἄσεβης) Alcimus, who wants to replace Jonathan as high priest, leads “all the lawless and ungodly men of Israel” to Demetrius in an attempt to get him to overthrow the Hasmoneans (1 Macc. 7:5).

It is worth noting that the author of 1 Maccabees uses the Greek words Ἰουδαῖοι (“Judeans”) and Ἰουδαία (“Judaea”) as well, but where “Israel” is clearly used with the biblical histories in mind, Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἰουδαία are practical terms and Ἰουδαῖοι is not a

⁴² Mattathias: 1 Macc. 2.70; Judas: 1 Macc. 9.20 [note that he is also called “the savior of Israel,” a quote from 2 Sam. 1:19]; Jonathan: 1 Macc. 13.26.

strictly interchangeable synonym for “Israel.” Rather, Ἰουδαῖοι is only ever used in reference to “Israel” when non-Judaeans are speaking (in diplomatic letters, treaties, etc.), and by Judaeans themselves in official domestic documents. So, for instance, we find that the Romans and the Spartans write not to “The Israelites” or “The Nation of Israel,” but to the “Judaeans” (Ἰουδαῖοι). The difference serves to further elucidate the point: to the Seleucids (or the Ptolemies, or the Spartans, or the Romans), the people who live in the region called “Judaea” are “Judaeans,” not “Israelites,” in the same way that the people who live in Syria are “Syrians” and those who live in Alexandria are “Alexandrians.”⁴³ In like fashion, “Judah” (or “Judaea”) is always a place in 1 Maccabees.⁴⁴ It is the toparchy in which Jerusalem is the main city and, as mentioned above, it is also the place where “Israel” resides. So we find, over and over, references to “the cities of Judah,”⁴⁵ “the towns of Judah,”⁴⁶ “Jerusalem and the towns of Judah,”⁴⁷ “the men of Judah,”⁴⁸ “the residents of Judah and Jerusalem,”⁴⁹ and, most importantly, “the borders of Judaea” and “the land of Judah,” which is the place that Seleucid kings go when they “invade Judaea.”⁵⁰ In other words, “Judah” and “Judaea” are *always* terms used of a physical locale in 1 Maccabees, and that locale is the place in which “Israel” lives.

⁴³ One interesting exception that proves the rule is 1 Macc. 11:45ff. Demetrius’ troops have revolted and he appeals to Jonathan for help. When the people of Antioch also revolt and take to the streets, the author of 1 Maccabees writes that “the king called the Judaeans to his aid, and they rallied around him... When the people saw that the Judaeans had gained control of the city as they pleased, their courage failed and they cried out to the king... And the Judaeans gained glory in the sight of the king and all of the people in his kingdom and they returned to Jerusalem with a large amount of spoil.”

⁴⁴ There is an almost equal use of the terms (27 occurrences of “Judah” and 26 of “Judaea”).

⁴⁵ Cities of Judah: 1 Macc. 1:29; 1 Macc. 3:8. Cities of Judaea: 1 Macc. 9:50.

⁴⁶ Towns or villages of Judah: 1 Macc. 1:54. Towns or villages of Judaea: 1 Macc. 7:46; 14:33.

⁴⁷ Jerusalem and the towns of Judah: 1 Macc. 1:44.

⁴⁸ Men of Judah: 1 Macc. 2:18 (here possibly referring to non-Jews in Judah). Men of Judaea: 1 Macc. 9:63.

⁴⁹ Residents of Judah: 1 Macc. 2:18; 6:12. Residents of Judaea: 1 Macc. 3:34.

⁵⁰ Land of Judah: 1 Macc. 3:39; 5:45, 53, 68; 6:5; 7:12, 22, 50; 9:1, 57, 72; 10:30, 33, 37; 12:4, 46, 52; 13:1, 12. (Land of) Judaea: 1 Macc. 5:8, 18, 23; 6:48, 53; 7:24; 9:60; 10:38, 45; 11:28; 12:35; 13:33; 15:39, 41; 16:10. Borders of Judaea: 1 Macc. 5:60; 14:33; 15:30. Invasion of Judaea: 1 Macc. 4:35; 15:40.

All of this exploration into the language of 1 Maccabees becomes important for questions related to Hasmonaean expansion when it is placed into a conversation with observations about historiography. 1 Maccabees is a court history that is not simply attempting to tell the story of the Maccabean revolt and Maccabean rule;⁵¹ it is doing so in terms that essentially present them as messiah figures on par with the greatest Israelite leaders who ever lived. Given that Judas and his brothers are presented in terms of biblical figures like Joshua or David, and their deeds as reminiscences of biblical histories, we might expect to find them restoring “Israel” (as opposed to “the Judaeans”) to its God-given, biblical borders – all the more so because so many other historians and authors of the time did exactly this.⁵²

But, surprisingly, this is precisely what we *do not* find in 1 Maccabees. Rather, “Israel” resides in Judaea, and only in Judaea. It is as though the author of 1 Maccabees, in spite of all of his biblical knowledge, does not know that God promised “Israel” more land than the Seleucid region of Judaea; or it is as though the Maccabees never expanded their borders to those extents. The stories in 1 Macc. 5 record the Maccabees rescuing the Jews from the persecutions of the Gentiles...*and bringing them back to Judaea*, not conquering the regions, settling Jews, and resurrecting biblical Israel. When Jonathan is led to his death at Ptolemais by Trypho, he first leaves 2,000 soldiers in Galilee (1 Macc. 12:46ff). When they find out that he and the 1,000 soldiers with him have been killed,

⁵¹ Here I use the term “Maccabean” to refer to Mattathias and his sons. The history that is 1 Maccabees stops when the last of Mattathias’ sons dies. This may be intentional (note the reference to the chronicles of the high priesthood of John Hyrcanus in the last verse of 1 Maccabees), or it may simply be due to a chronological vagary, namely that 1 Maccabees was written shortly after Simon died.

⁵² It has been argued that Josephus often has a very nationalistic geography (especially in *Antiquities*), and that Ben Sira, Jubilees, and the Genesis Apocryphon have Israel’s divinely-promised borders in mind. See, e.g., Ben Sira 44:21, Jubilees 10:29, and Ben-Zion Rosenfeld, “Flavius Josephus and His Portrayal of the Coast (Paralia) of Contemporary Roman Palestine: Geography and Ideology,” *JQR* 91, no. 1-2 (2000), 143-183.

they flee back to Judaea. Not only did they clearly have no reinforcements north of Judaea, but the author of 1 Maccabees wrote that they were pursued and “all reached the land of Judah safely.”⁵³ The clear implication is that only when they reached the borders of Seleucid Judaea were they finally safe.

The point here is that throughout the entirety of 1 Maccabees, “Israel” – which is to say, “the Jews,” reside in Judaea. There are also no pretensions whatsoever on the part of the Maccabees to restore “Israel” to its God-given land, even though they are the “saviors of Israel,” chosen by God.⁵⁴

This discussion of 1 Maccabees’ portrayal of Hamonaeon actions outside of Judaea brings us back full-circle to Jonathan and Demetrius at Kedesh. Jonathan had not been given any of the Galilee by any Seleucid ruler, and 1 Maccabees does not portray Mattathias or any of his sons as having any desire to return Israel to its God-given land, even when doing so would require little more than the strategic insertion of a few sentences. 1 Maccabees depicts Jonathan as simply returning to Jerusalem after defeating Demetrius and overrunning Kedesh – not settling Jews there, not leaving soldiers behind, but winning a battle and going home. There is no good reason to think that anything else happened.

⁵³ Issue of areas added to Judaea – seems to be a totally historical account of what happened....and it’s only a couple of little areas, not a bunch more. There seems to be no exaggeration here. See 1 Maccabees 10:30; 1 Maccabees 10:38; 1 Maccabees 11:28; 1 Maccabees 11:34; 1 Maccabees 11:57; Ant 13:50; Ant 13:127. See also the following for juxtapositions of Judaea and Samaria: Ant 12:7; Ant 12:154; Ant 12:175; Ant 13:50; Ant 13:125; Ant 13:127; Ant 14:411; Ant 14:450; Ant 17:319; Ant 17:342; Ant 19:274; Ant 19:351; Jwr 1:302; Jwr 2:96; Jwr 3:48; Jwr 3:51

⁵⁴ “Savior of Israel” is only explicitly used of Judas at 1 Macc. 9:21, but implied for the other brothers – see 1 Macc. 5:62.

Jonathan at Kedesh

We can explain how (and, in some cases, why) 1 Maccabees depicted the Hasmonaeans and their actions, but that only takes us back to the mind of the historiographer. Why did the Hasmonaeans themselves not attempt to expand Israel's borders? Why did Judas rescue Jews and bring them back to Judaea in 1 Maccabees 5 instead of bringing Judaea to the Jews? More proximal to our purposes, why did Jonathan not establish a foothold at Kedesh (or even further south in Galilee) after defeating Demetrius and, as we know from the archaeological remains, dislodging the Seleucid administrative hold on the region?

For all of the lionizing that goes on when it comes to discussions of the Hasmoneans rising up, throwing off the yoke of the Seleucid empire, and establishing the only autonomous Jewish state that existed between 586 BCE and 1948 CE, we cannot forget that Jonathan was still a client high priest. He was not a king, but rather an ethnarch who had authority over a very small region (namely, Judaea and 3 small districts). He could not mint coins; he had only recently been authorized to have a standing army (and the text makes it clear that it was only after this authorization that he created one), regardless of the fact that there had been a fighting force of one degree or another prior to that; he built walls around Jerusalem only after being given permission. Any degree of autonomy that we can imagine Jonathan having had at this point in time could not have been more than the taking of calculated risks based on the instability, overcommitments, and weaknesses of his Seleucid overlords. 1 Maccabees presents him as a judge, a high priest, and a divinely-appointed leader of Israel who resides in Judaea and is in control of nothing more than Judaea. Although his brother Simon was made governor over the coast, it is important to note that it was done by a usurping Seleucid

king, and the author of 1 Maccabees goes to no lengths to make it seem like the “savior of Israel” acquired that God-given land for God’s people Israel.

The broader context of the battle that ended at Kedesh was Trypho having provoked Demetrius II’s troops to rebel against him and then effectively usurping the Seleucid throne by declaring a very young Antiochus VI to be king in place of the reigning Demetrius. Antiochus (i.e., Trypho), wanting to gain additional support in his bid for the throne, wrote to Jonathan confirming his high priesthood, setting him over “the four districts,”⁵⁵ and declaring his brother Simon to be the governor of the coast from the Ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt (perhaps the most ostentatious offer in the entire history of the Hasmonean dynasty). Jonathan then “set out and traveled beyond the river and among the towns, and all the army of Syria gathered to him as allies” (1 Macc. 11:60). Not long afterward we find the account of Jonathan’s battle with Demetrius II and his apparently immediate return to Jerusalem. It is as a result of these political machinations that Goldstein has suggested reading v. 63 as “...Demetrius’ commanders had come to Kedesh in Galilee with a large force, *intending to divert him from his mission.*” That is, Demetrius II was still in control of much of the coast from Seleucia through Tyre,⁵⁶ and Jonathan had aligned himself with the usurpers Trypho and Antiochus. In Demetrius’ eyes Jonathan no longer held office and Demetrius wanted to stop him from organizing forces loyal to Antiochus VI.

⁵⁵ Cf. the parallel in *Ant.* 13.145. Goldstein, following Abel and Dalman, suggests that this fourth district might be Akrabattene. Avi-Yonah suggests that it was the Tobiad stronghold and/or Madaba in Transjordan. Or perhaps it is somehow a reference to the coast, as Antiochus (i.e., Tryphon) makes Simon the governor of the coast “from the Ladder of Tyre to the border of Egypt” in the same letter. See Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*, 439; Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land From the Persian to the Arab conquests (536 B.C. to A.D. 640): A Historical Geography*, 57.

⁵⁶ Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*, 442.

Hasmonaean Settlement Practices: Gezer, Strato's Tower, and Beit Zur

There *are* explicit and implicit references in 1 Maccabees to the Hasmonaean rulers settling Jews in cities (e.g., Gaza, Gezer, Strato's Tower, Beit Zur, and Joppa – see 1 Macc 9:52; 13:43ff; 14:34; *Ant.* 13.261). According to the sources this practice was not adopted until Simon's reign (e.g., 1 Macc. 14:34, 37) and these settlements were created for the strategic security of Jerusalem, Judaea, and Judaeans access to the coast (intuitively, but also explicitly at 1 Macc. 14:37). Let us set aside all of the foregoing discussions of literary texts for a moment and investigate from an archaeological perspective the possibility that the Squatters in the Administrative Building at Tel Kedesh were Jews. How do their material remains compare with the excavated strata dating to Hasmonaean settlement periods in cities in which we know that the Hasmonaeans settled Jews? Gaza, Gezer, Strato's Tower, Beit Zur, and Joppa are cities that 1 Maccabees and Josephus present as having been "colonized" by the Hasmonaeans. The archaeological evidence from Gaza and Joppa is too meager to provide material for comparison, but Gezer, Beit Zur, and Strato's Tower have yielded enough to at least begin to answer questions about the nature of their inhabitants.

Gezer

In 142 BCE Simon besieged and took the town of Gezer (which had been fortified by Bacchides, who had placed a garrison there), expelled its residents, "cleansed the houses in which there were idols," thereby "casting out of it all uncleanness," and resettled it with "men who observed the law."⁵⁷ Excavations at Gezer have uncovered

⁵⁷ 1 Macc. 13:43-48. Cf. 1 Macc. 9:50-52. Note also the Greek language graffito discovered by Macalister that reads "To blazes with Simon's palace" (*CIJ* II.1184).

houses dated to this period,⁵⁸ as well as evidence of destruction by fire (Stratum IIC, Phase 11) and immediate rebuilding (Stratum IIB, Phase 10). A coin of Antiochus VII that was found sealed underneath a Phase 9 surface established its *terminus post quem* as 133 BCE. As a result, the excavators have suggested that Stratum IIC, Phase 11 and its destruction level should be assigned to Simon's conquest of the city; Stratum IIB, Phase 10 to Simon's settlement; and Stratum IIB, Phase 9 to an extensive rebuilding program that was started after Antiochus VII confirmed Judaea's independence and allowed the Hasmoneans to mint coins.⁵⁹ It has been asserted that the pottery of Stratum IIC is markedly different from that of Stratum IIB, and that the Stratum IIB pottery matches the Jews' "wholesale uniformity of the household inventories of Jewish settlements" that was indicative of their disinterest in (or inability to obtain) imported vessels of any kind – a state of affairs that some have argued to have been found universally in early Hellenistic strata throughout the Central Hill region of Palestine and that "bespeaks a deliberate policy of economic independence" that was "an aspect of Hasmonean policy" and 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."⁶⁰

⁵⁸ See Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer 1902-1903 and 1907-1909. Vol. 1-3*. Palestine Exploration Fund (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1912). Note, however, that Macalister did not date the houses more narrowly than to the "Hellenistic period," and that he did not provide the evidence on which he based his conclusion. Other domestic architecture has been found by the Hebrew Union College team in Field VII. See Seymour Gitin, *Gezer III: A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer*, 2 vols. Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology (Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College, 1990); Joe D. Seger, "The Search for Maccabean Gezer," *BA* 39 (1976), 142-144.

⁵⁹ 1 Macc. 15:1-6; Gitin, *Gezer III: A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer*, I.24-26; 31-32. Stratum IIB is dated to 142-100 BCE; Stratum IIA is dated to 100-64 BCE.

⁶⁰ Berlin, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine. Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period," 29-30.

Further archaeological evidence for the Jewish nature of Gezer's residents in the period after 142 BCE comes from stepped, plastered installations in eight houses that Macalister interpreted to be rainwater cisterns but that have since been shown to be *miqva'ot*.⁶¹ Though Macalister did not date the houses more narrowly than to the Hasmonean period, Reich has argued that the *miqva'ot* should be dated to the period after 142 BCE on the basis of 1 Maccabees 13:43-48 and the fact that the wing of one of the houses containing a *miqveh* was built approximately 30 degrees off-axis from the rest of the house, suggesting that it was built after the house. The construction of the northern part of the house was dated to sometime between 198 and 142 BCE, and the southern part of the house (the part containing the *miqveh*) therefore seems to have been built after 142 BCE.⁶² "This house, like the entire town, was not destroyed but was occupied by one of the Jewish families brought to the site by Simon. This family found on the site a house suitable for living but without a *miqveh*, which was then added to the old house."⁶³ This addition was clearly integrated into the structure of the house, as opposed to being a sort of outhouse, and all of the houses containing *miqva'ot* were built of durable building materials, and were usually roofed with a stone barrel vault.⁶⁴

Aside from these architectural features, not a lot can be said about Hasmonaean Gezer. Most excavators of the site have focused on the Bronze and Iron Ages, and while Macalister claimed to have found a "Maccabean Castle," he has been roundly criticized

⁶¹ Ronny Reich, "Archaeological Evidence of the Jewish Population at Hasmonean Gezer," *IEJ* 31 (1981), 48-52.

⁶² This house is in Trenches 10-12 of Macalister's excavations. See Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer 1902-1903 and 1907-1909. Vol. 1-3.*

⁶³ Reich, "Archaeological Evidence of the Jewish Population at Hasmonean Gezer," 51.

⁶⁴ Reich, "Archaeological Evidence of the Jewish Population at Hasmonean Gezer," 51.

for not excavating stratigraphically enough to have known what he had found.⁶⁵ As a result, even though he found pottery types and forms that have been found to date to between the mid-2nd century to mid-1st century BCE elsewhere in the Mediterranean, there is no evidence to contradict a claim that they were all desposited prior to the Hasmonaean takeover.⁶⁶ However, other finds that have been more securely dated call into question the assertion, noted above, that Hasmonaean Gezer was culturally and economically isolated from the coast, the north, the Transjordan, Idumaea, and the Negev (not to mention the rest of the Mediterranean). Phase IIB, the phase that corresponds to the Hasmonaean takeover of Gezer, contained jars, jugs, flasks, and bowls with parallels at Ashdod,⁶⁷ cooking pots with parallels at Akko,⁶⁸ and many different types of ESA vessels, most of which have parallels at Ashdod, and which include a mold-made “Megarian” bowl and a fish plate with parallels at Akko.⁶⁹ It should be remembered that

⁶⁵ See, e.g., Paul W. Lapp and Nancy L. Lapp, "A Comparative Study of a Hellenistic Pottery Group from Beth-Zur," *BASOR* 151 (1958), 16-27; Reich, "Archaeological Evidence of the Jewish Population at Hasmonaean Gezer."; Seger, "The Search for Maccabean Gezer."

⁶⁶ E.g., Lagynoi: A form that is dated in Athenian Agora strata to the period between 275 BCE and the Augustan period: Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer 1902-1903 and 1907-1909. Vol. 1-3*, 214; pl. CLXXX:210; Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora, Vol. 33, Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares*, 82-83; Figs 16-18; Pls. 15-17. Fusiform unguentaria (could be as early as the mid-3rd century BCE, but need not be so early: note Gitin's Type 190): Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer 1902-1903 and 1907-1909. Vol. 1-3*, pl. CLXXIX:21; Sharon Herbert et al., *Tel Anafa II, i: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series (Ann Arbor, MI: Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan, 1997), 61-62; Gitin, *Gezer III: A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer*, I.245. Phoenician amphoriskoi: Rotroff dates this form of Phoenician amphoriskoi at Athens to 180 BCE – 1st century BCE but points to pages in Gitin's Gezer volume that deal with the Persian period and Late Iron Age II and a plate number that does not exist in the section on Early Hellenistic pottery: Gitin, *Gezer III: A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer*, 76-77, 245., pl. 34:28; Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora, Vol. 33, Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares*, 161-162; Figs. 169-170; Pls. 158-159. Plain pan with handles: dated at Athens to 180 BCE – 1st century BCE and was found by Macalister: Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer 1902-1903 and 1907-1909. Vol. 1-3*, vol. 2, p. 217; vol. 213, pl. CLXXIX:219; Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora, Vol. 33, Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares*, 188; Fig 186; Pls. 170, 171.

⁶⁷ Examples that date between the mid-2nd century BCE and the mid-1st century BCE include (but are not limited to): Jar types 161B, 163A, 164C; Amphora Type 174; Strainer Type 182J; Flask 183B; Juglet Type 185, 187A, 187B; Amphoriskos Type 189, Bowl Types 194A, 194B; 195A, 195B, 195C, etc.

⁶⁸ E.g., Cooking Pot Type 239C, dated to the early 1st century BCE.

⁶⁹ A non-exhaustive list includes Bowl Types 194C, 195C, 197, 203, 205D, 207, 208D, 208F, 209A-D, 201A-C, 211A-B, 212A-B, 213A-B; Fish Plate Forms 214 and 215; Krater 227; etc. A few of these forms

the recent University of Michigan/University of Minnesota excavations at Tel Kedesh have refined the *terminus post quem* for the production of ESA to ca. 145 BCE. As a result, it is unlikely that any of the ESA at Gezer comes from the period prior to Simon's capture of it in 142 BCE, and the excavators concluded that "the continuity of Hasmonean control of Gezer from 142-64 B.C. is strongly supported by the archaeological evidence, which indicates uninterrupted occupation from Phase 9 through Phase 3, during which time the expanded architectural plan testifies to the growth of the city."⁷⁰ Perhaps one of the reasons that Gezer has been held up as an example of a site with only Central Hill parallels for its pottery is because the Gezer volume that deals with most of the Hellenistic pottery uses Central Hill sites almost exclusively for comparanda.⁷¹ Whatever the case, the sudden shift in pottery that has been posited does not seem to be borne out by the ceramic evidence. Indeed, the excavators' description of Phases IIB and IIA are delineated historically, not archaeologically, and a different Field VII excavation of Late Hellenistic (*viz.*, Hasmonaeon) domestic strata uncovered a stamped Rhodian amphora handle and a lead weight stamped with the word ΑΓΟΠΑΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ.⁷²

In conclusion, it seems that there is in fact little or no shift in the cultural and economic associations (certainly not the quarantine that has been asserted). But even if that case could not be made, it is clear that the inhabitants of Hasmonaeon Gezer had well-built houses and *miqva'ot* with barrel-vaulted ceilings. When they reused structures

might be best dated to the very early second century BCE (i.e., just prior to Simon's conquest), but most of them are dated to the late 2nd century BCE. Most of these forms have parallels at Ashdod. Form 213A is the late-2nd century BCE "Megarian" bowl. Form 215 is the late 2nd century BCE ESA Fish Plate with parallels at Akko.

⁷⁰ Gitin, *Gezer III: A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer*, 25-26.

⁷¹ With only a few exceptions, all parallels come from Samaria, Shiqmona, Tiryat Yehuda, Ein Gedi, Ashdod, Ramat Rahel, Shechem, Samaria, Bethel, Tel Mevorakh, Heshbon, and Jerusalem.

⁷² Seger, "The Search for Maccabean Gezer."

for domestic use they built substantial additions with new foundations. In other words, the Hasmonaean settlement of Gezer provides neither an archaeological model nor a parallel for the Squatters at Kedesh.

Strato's Tower

Strato's Tower, the city that later became the site for Herod's building of Caesarea Maritima, is not mentioned in 1 Maccabees, but Josephus says that it was procured by Alexander Jannaeus from Zoilus, and he lists it among the cities possessed by the Jews at the end of Alexander Jannaeus' reign (only to be taken back from the Jews by Pompey).⁷³ The second century CE text *Megillat Ta'anit* records a tradition that the Hasmonaean Jews settled there.⁷⁴ It reads, "On the 14th of Sivan, the capture of Migdal Zur," and a 5th century CE scholion makes the following comment:

This refers to Caesarea, the daughter of Edom, which is situated among the sand dunes; for under Greece (i.e., the Seleucids) she was a peg driven into Israel. They (the Jews) could not capture her, since strong men were to be found there. And when the Hasmonaean became powerful they conquered them (the inhabitants) and drove them out while settling Jews within the city. They declared the day on which they captured it a holiday.⁷⁵

At the beginning of Hasmonaean rule only the region of Samaria and three non-Jewish cities divided Judaea from the next-largest Jewish population in Galilee. John Hyrcanus I subdued Samaria, Scythopolis, the Jezreel Valley, and Mt. Carmel (*Ant* 13.252-8; 275-83;

⁷³ *Ant.* 13.235, 324ff., 356, 395; 14.76; *War* 1.156.

⁷⁴ H. Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle," *HUCA* 8-9 (1931-1932), 257-258.

⁷⁵ Translation by Lee I. Levine, "The Hasmonean Conquest of Strato's Tower," *IEJ* 24, no. 1 (1974), 62-69. Levine is, to my knowledge, the first to identify Strato's Tower as Migdal Zur in *Megillat Ta'anit*.

War 1.64-66), leaving only Strato's Tower and Dor. Alexander Jannaeus took those two cities at the outset of his reign and settled Jews at the former.⁷⁶

Excavations of the shoreline north of Caesarea's Crusader city and west of its Byzantine synagogue have revealed architectural remains that are accepted to have been part of the town of Strato's Tower. Two chambers in a quay designated by the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project as Area J have strata that were dated to the second half of the second century BCE and the latter part of the first century BCE. The pre-Herodian pottery included molded, so-called "Megarian" bowls, ESA plates and bowls, amphorae known from Phoenician and Punic sites to have been used for the preservation of fish, and a few Rhodian amphorae, one of which had a stamp dated to the last quarter of the second century BCE.⁷⁷ Further excavations nearby discovered the same sorts of pottery, along with Rhodian amphora handles dated to 180-108 BCE.⁷⁸ A wall in (Raban's) Area I, which was in a vault inside the Crusader city, produced ESA, cooking ware, and a Rhodian amphora handle from the late 2nd-early 1st century BCE in the foundation trench of a wall and the beaten-earth floor above it.⁷⁹ A finer-grained analysis

⁷⁶ Levine, "The Hasmonean Conquest of Strato's Tower," 67.

⁷⁷ Avner Raban, "Recent Maritime Archaeological Research in Israel," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 12, no. 3 (1983), 229-251: 250; Avner Raban, "In Search of Strato's Tower," in *Caesarea Papers, vol. 1: Strato's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea*, ed. Robert Lindley Vann. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 5 (Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1992), 11.

⁷⁸ Raban, "In Search of Strato's Tower," in *Caesarea Papers, vol. 1: Strato's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea*, 12.

⁷⁹ Avi-Yonah apparently excavated a large Hellenistic building in (or west of?) Field G of the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, as well as a rectangular courtyard house in Area A (west of Field G). Neither were ever published. The plan of the large Hellenistic building, however, is published in Raban, "In Search of Strato's Tower." However, the account is a bit confusing. In 1989 Raban wrote in *The Harbors of Caesarea Maritima* that (a) the bulk of the pre-Herodian finds at Caesarea come from the excavations just south and SE of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project's Area J and from the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima's Field G; and (b) there are five structures in this area: (1) a courtyard-style house in Avi-Yonah's Area A, next to CAHEP's Area J; (2) a quay in CAHEP's Area J; (3) a series of 3 basins; (4) a corner of an ashlar building that was exposed at the eastern end of Negev's Trench D; and (5) the north wall and its towers. However, in 1992 Raban wrote in "In Search of Strato's Tower" that he spent time going over the material from Avi-Yonah's large Hellenistic building in Field G and does not mention the

suggests that fine ware was imported into Strato's Tower up until the time of the construction of Caesarea Maritima (22-9 BCE).⁸⁰ Of the fifteen amphorae that possibly pre-date Herodian reconstruction of Strato's Tower, two are from the Aegean and four come from the eastern Mediterranean generally.⁸¹

Eighteen coins of Alexander Jannaeus (and only ten Seleucid coins of the entire second century BCE) were found "in the Caesarea environs," suggesting that the account in *Megillat Ta'anit* is correct.⁸² Hasmonean coins have also been found at other purportedly conquered sites, such as Dor, Gerasa, and Samaria (Kasher 1990:142; Applebaum 1989: 21 n. 51).

house. Presumably they are the same structure (though not certainly – Avi-Yonah uncovered the corner of "a large house" in Area D in 1962 – see M. Avi-Yonah and A. Negev, "Caesarea," *IEJ* 13 [1963]), and perhaps the later designations are the result of having recently worked with Avi-Yonah's material (Avi-Yonah had excavated in the 1960s and died in 1974, so the differences could not be the result of excavations after 1989). Whatever the case, Raban was mostly interested in the architecture of Strato's Tower (even more so the date of construction of the walls) and not the pottery, so the totality of the published evidence is no more precise than "...fragments of bowls ornamented in relief, pieces of black-glazed vessels and many other utensils typical of the Hellenistic period." See John Peter Oleson and Avner Raban, *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project, 1980-1985*. BAR International Series (Oxford: B.A.R., 1989), Volume 1, part ii, page 272; Raban, "In Search of Straton's Tower," in *Caesarea Papers, vol. 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea*, 20.

⁸⁰ Oleson and Raban, *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project, 1980-1985*, Volume 2, p. 44ff.

⁸¹ Oleson and Raban, *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project, 1980-1985*, volume 2, p. 5ff.

⁸² Lee I. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule*. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 149 n. 144. That said, to my knowledge no Hasmonaean coins have been discovered at Caesarea/Strato's Tower proper. It appears that Levine's number comes from H. Hamburger, "Coins from Caesarea and the History of the City," *BJPES* 15 (1950). However, it is unclear exactly where these coins came from. Hamburger's survey extended from Nahal HaTananim (north of Crocodilonopolis) to approximately 1.5 km south of Sdot Yam. While he provides a map with letters that apparently designate where the majority of coins from different eras were found, the only eras identified were the Arab period, the Byzantine period, the period of Constantine and his sons, and the era of the Roman procurators. If the Hasmonaean coins are to be associated with the areas on the map associated with coins of the Roman procurators, then all eighteen coins came from the area southeast of Sdot Yam, which is 2.5-3 km. south of the excavations that have been identified with Strato's Tower. No Hasmonaean coins, however, are listed in the following works: Oleson and Raban, *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project, 1980-1985*; Lee I. Levine and Ehud Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima: 1975, 1976, 1979, Final report*. Qedem (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1986); Leo Kadman, *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima*. Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium (Jerusalem: Schocken, 1957).

The limited extent of the published Hellenistic material does not, perhaps, allow us to say with certainty that the material culture of Strato's Tower did not change appreciably, even if the actual culture did.⁸³ However, it is worth noting that the excavators found no evidence for either a decrease in imports or the presence of Judaeian pottery in the Hasmonaean era. Twenty-five of the forty-four catalogued ESA vessels have been dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BCE or the 1st century BCE-1st century CE.⁸⁴ Only 4 of the 9 catalogued "kitchen vessels" that have a date span covering the Hasmonaean period are from a Palestinian provenance, along with only 6 of 15 of the coarse wares (and we would expect coarse wares to be local). In addition, a skyphos dating to the Hellenistic period/1st century BCE found, as well as an eastern Mediterranean cup, an Italian jar, and a western Mediterranean jar dated to 125-30 BCE.⁸⁵ If these strata are evidence of Jewish occupation, these Jews did not eschew non-Jewish pottery in the way that many scholars envision them to have done.

Perhaps more important for our purposes, there is also no indication whatsoever that there was any architecture that looked anything like the Squatters' at Kedesh. As with Gezer, the Hasmonaean-period architecture was solid and well-built.

Beit Zur

Beit Zur was also conquered at various points during Hasmonaean rule and occupied, to one degree or another, by Jews. According to 1 Maccabees, it was initially

⁸³ This is partly due to the extent of excavations at the northern edge of Caesarea Maritima, partly due to the fact that Avi-Yonah never published the Hellenistic building, and partly due to the extensive Byzantine building activity that severely damaged earlier levels – see Avner Raban and R. R. Stieglitz, "Caesarea," *IEJ* 38 (1988), 271-278.

⁸⁴ Oleson and Raban, *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project, 1980-1985*, volume 1, pp. 49-57 and 87 ff.

⁸⁵ Jars: p. 95-6;

conquered by Judas, who stationed a garrison there.⁸⁶ It was subsequently retaken by Antiochus V (or, more likely, Lysias), who stationed a guard there,⁸⁷ refortified by Bacchides,⁸⁸ and retaken by Simon, who “removed [the residents] from there, took possession of the city and set a garrison over it” (καὶ ἤξιωσαν αὐτὸν τοῦ δεξιᾶς λαβεῖν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔθετο ἐπ’ αὐτὴν φρουράν).⁸⁹ Beit Zur is also mentioned in the decree passed by the nation lauding Simon’s achievements as a city on the border of Judaea that Simon fortified, which fits the pattern of Hasmonaeans resettling conquered cities with Jews when the cities lie on the border of Judaea.⁹⁰ However, it is unclear as to whether or not he resettled the city or just placed soldiers there. The decree apparently read,

He fortified the cities of Judaea, and Beit Zur on the borders of Judaea, where formerly the arms of the enemy had been stored, and he placed there a garrison of Jews. He also fortified Joppa, which is by the sea, and Gazara, which is on the borders of Azotus, where the enemy formerly dwelt. He settled Jews there, and provided in those cities whatever was necessary for their restoration⁹¹

⁸⁶ 1 Macc. 4:29-61; 6:7, 26-31.

⁸⁷ 1 Macc. 6:28-50.

⁸⁸ 1 Macc. 9:52; 10:12-14.

⁸⁹ 1 Macc. 11:65-66. See also the poem in 1 Macc. 14:7 and the summary of Simon’s accomplishments in 1 Macc. 14: 33. The parallel in Josephus is in *Ant.* 13.155-156: “...[Jonathan left Simon] in Judaea, who raised as large an army as he was able out of the country and then camped before Beit Zur and besieged it, that being the strongest place in all Judaea; for a garrison of Demetrius’ [soldiers] held it, as we have already indicated. But as Simon was making siege ramps and raising his siege engines with being very eager about his siege of Beit Zur, the garrison was afraid lest the place should be taken by Simon by force and they all be killed, so they sent to Simon and requested oaths that they would not be harmed by him, but would be allowed to leave the place and go to Demetrius. And he gave them his promise, threw them out of the city, and placed a garrison of his own in it.” (ὁς στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας συναγαγὼν ὡς ἐνήν ἰκανώτατον τὴν Βεθσοῦραν πολιορκῶν προσεκάθητο χωρίον τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὀχυρώτατον κατεῖχεν γὰρ αὐτὸ φρουρὰ Δημητρίου δεδήλωται δ’ ἡμῖν τοῦτο καὶ πρότερον ὡς δὲ χώματα μὲν ἐγείραντος τοῦ Σίμωνος μηχανήματα δ’ ἰστάντος καὶ πολλῆ σπουδῆ χρωμένου περὶ τὴν τῆς Βεθσοῦρου πολιορκίαν ἔδεισαν οἱ φρουροὶ μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἐξαιρεθέντος τοῦ χωρίου διαφθαρῶσιν πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ἠξίουσιν ὄρκους λαβόντες ὥστε μηδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν καταλιπεῖν τὸ χωρίον καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον ἀπελθεῖν ὁ δὲ δοὺς ταῦτας αὐτοῖς τὰς πίστει ἐκβάλλει μὲν ἐκείνους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸς δὲ φρουρὰν καθίστησιν ἰδίαν).

⁹⁰ 1 Macc. 14:27-46, esp. 33-34. It seems clear that the decree was passed by the bulk of the nation, and not just Simon’s adherents, from the compromises between political factions that make their way into it. See Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*, 493 ff.

⁹¹ καὶ ὠχύρωσεν τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὴν Βαιθσοῦραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Ἰουδαίας οὗ ἦν τὰ ὄπλα τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πρότερον καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ φρουρὰν ἄνδρας Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἰοπηνη ὠχύρωσεν τὴν ἐπὶ

Does the phrase “he settled Jews there, and provided in those cities whatever was necessary for their restoration” (καὶ κατώκισεν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίους καὶ ὅσα ἐπιτήδεια ἦν πρὸς τῇ τούτων ἐπανορθώσει ἔθετο ἐν αὐτοῖς) refer only to the cities mentioned immediately before, namely Joppa and Gazara, or does it refer to Beit Zur as well?

Unfortunately, Josephus only summarizes the first part of this passage (adding Jamnia to Gazara and Joppa as the list of cities that Simon conquered), and Beit Zur is not mentioned at all.⁹² Goldstein has argued that 1 Macc. 14:7 does not refer to the repatriation of Jews, in part because of the possibility that the author of 1 Maccabees here drew on Habakuk 1:9, “the sole biblical parallel,” and notes that the decree of the Jewish people in 14:29-49 does not mention that Simon *captured* Beit Zur.⁹³ Be that as it may, the evidence is sufficiently ambiguous to provide support for either argument.

Furthermore, although it is clear that a Hasmonean garrison was placed in the city sometime between 145-143 BCE, and likely remained there at least to the time of John Hyrcanus, and although there is no elucidation of the ethnic makeup of that garrison, it

τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὴν Γαζαραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρίων Ἀζώτου ἐν ἣ ὄκουν οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ πρότερον καὶ κατώκισεν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίους καὶ ὅσα ἐπιτήδεια ἦν πρὸς τῇ τούτων ἐπανορθώσει ἔθετο ἐν αὐτοῖς (1 Macc. 14:33-34). It is possible that Josephus is right here, as Cendebeus “arrived at Jamnia and began to provoke the people and to invade Judaea and to take the people captive and kill them” (καὶ παρεγενήθη Κενδεβαῖος εἰς Ἰάμνεια καὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ ἐρεθίζειν τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἐμβατεύειν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζειν τὸν λαὸν καὶ φονεῦειν) in 1 Macc. 15:40.

⁹² *Ant.* 13.213-215. Beit Zur is only mentioned in *Ant.* 13.42 with specific reference to Jonathan (it was also besieged by Simon while Jonathan was in the Galilee – see *Ant.* 13.155): “And Jonathan dwelt in Jerusalem...and he gave orders that the city walls should be rebuilt...and when those in the garrisons that were in Judaea saw this they fled to Antioch, all except the ones in the city of Beit Zur and the ones in the citadel of Jerusalem, for the great part of these were the wicked and deserting Jews and on account of this they did not abandon their garrisons.” Goldstein has argued convincingly that 1 Macc. 15:15-24 should come after 14:24, and that a likely explanation for this misplacement is that sheets of the scroll were pasted together in the wrong order prior to Josephus receiving a copy (based on the fact that the displaced passage contains 1005 Greek letters – that is, approximately three full columns – and that a three-column sheet would have been common). Josephus, then, discarded both the letter to the Romans and the decree of the Jewish people about Simon because they did not make chronological sense, yet found a way to relate Simon’s ties to Rome “without giving an embarrassing date” (*Ant.* 13.217). See Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*, 493-494.

⁹³ Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation, With Introduction and Commentary*, 490-491, 502.

was almost certainly Jewish, for although the Hasmonaean army had mercenary units, there is little to no evidence for them prior to the reign of John Hyrcanus I.⁹⁴ We might speculate that if the soldiers were Jewish, then the town was also resettled with Jews – a hypothesis supported by the fact that the population of Beit Zur began to decline after John Hyrcanus conquered Idumaea (ca. 125 BCE – see below), thus obviating the need of a garrison at Beit Zur; but that is by no means certain.

Nevertheless, although Beit Zur might not be representative of an “official” Hasmonaean colony, there was a Hasmonaean presence, so perhaps the archaeological remains can provide some information about the material culture of its Jewish settlement. The excavators note that Beit Zur was a prosperous town under Antiochus IV. A marketplace, cisterns, reservoirs, and numerous bathrooms were found (including bathtubs and foot baths). The old Middle Bronze Age wall was reconstructed ca. 165 BCE (i.e., after Judas took Beit Zur) and it is possible, if not likely, that Phase II of the citadel was constructed at this time as well. The third citadel was apparently built by Bacchides, around 161 BCE. After Simon’s conquest of Beit Zur the town returned to a peaceful existence and the population expanded outside the city walls, as is exemplified by a house that was built against the outside face of the city wall. The population gradually declined and the city came to an end in the first quarter of the first century BCE. Twenty-nine Rhodian or other stamped jar handles were found that date to the Hellenistic period (though more exact details have not been published). The numismatic

⁹⁴ Josephus says that John Hyrcanus I was the first to employ foreign troops (*Ant.* 13.249 and *War* 1.61). Kasher thinks that these passages have been misplaced by Josephus into the events of 129 BCE and thinks it more likely that the enlistment of foreign mercenaries took place between 122 and 108 BCE, based on his belief that it makes more sense that John Hyrcanus would have started to employ mercenaries during a time of tranquility (cf. *Ant.* 13.372). See Aryeh Kasher, "The Changes in Manpower and Ethnic Composition of the Hasmonaean Army (167-63 BCE)," *JQR* 81, no. 3-4 (1991), 325-352: 346.

evidence corroborates this interpretation: 180 Seleucid coins were found, dated to between 225-96 BCE, along with 20 Hasmonaean coins, dated to between 125-78 BCE.⁹⁵

Once again, the architecture and finds in Hasmonaean strata at Beit Zur look very much like those at Gezer and Strato's Tower: not cut off from the trade and commerce of the region, and exhibiting architecture and wealth that is very much unlike that of the Squatters. All of the data and analysis in this chapter leads to only one conclusion: textually and archaeologically there is no reason to think that Jonathan settled anybody at Kedesh after defeating Demetrius in 143 BCE. When the analysis of the history, texts, and material culture of the mid- to late-2nd century BCE are combined with Chapter 1's theoretical discussion of the ways that ethnicity and social culture are expressed in material culture, there is simply no good reason to think that the change in material culture should be regarded as a change in ethnicity.

The question of who the Kedesh Squatters were, and where they came from, must therefore return to the metaphorical Square One and begin by carefully considering the archaeological evidence for them.

⁹⁵ Robert W. Funk, "Beth-Zur" in Ephraim Stern, ed., *NEAEHL*, 1:259-261 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); Robert W. Funk, "The 1957 Campaign at Beth-Zur," *BASOR* 150 (1958), 8-20; Lapp and Lapp, "A Comparative Study of a Hellenistic Pottery Group from Beth-Zur." Lapp characterizes the numismatic evidence as reflecting "'intensive occupation' in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, a very limited occupation between 160 and 145 B.C., and a larger community again in the reigns of Demetrius II, Antiochus VII, and John Hyrcanus." It should be noted, however, that many numismatists, chief among them Ya'akov Meshorer, have argued that Alexander Jannaeus was the first Hasmonaean to mint coins, no matter how 1 Macc. 15:6 is interpreted. The first known Hasmonaean coins bear the name Yehohanan, which could be either John Hyrcanus I or Alexander Jannaeus (whose Hebrew name was Jonathan). Meshorer finds good evidence for Alexander Jannaeus, while Rappaport thinks that it was John Hyrcanus I and Ronen prefers Aristobulus I. For the evidence in favor of Meshorer's argument, see Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period*; Meshorer, "The Beginning of Hasmonaean Coinage.", which provides new evidence and is *contra* Kanael, "Ancient Jewish Coins and their Historical Importance." See also Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*. For Rappaport's argument see Rappaport, "The Emergence of Hasmonaean Coinage."; Kadman, *The Coins of Akko Ptolemais*. For Ronen's position see Ronen, "The First Hasmonaean Coins."

Chapter 4

The “Squatters” at Tel Kedesh

The chapter that follows provides all of the evidence for the presence and character of the Squatters’ habitation of the building, as well as the logic exercised in the interpretation of the often ambiguous data, which constitute the foundation for the rest of this dissertation.¹ The reason for belaboring the archaeological data in such a technical way is twofold: (1) to provide what might be the first-ever close archaeological analysis of rehabilitation of an abandoned building in antiquity (cf. Chapter 5); (2) to provide a quantifiable and qualifiable argument for where the Squatters were in the building and exactly what Squatter presence looked like. This second point should not be dismissed as unimportant, given the ephemeral nature of the Squatters’ material remains. There is only one Squatter primary deposit: a cookpot in a tabun. Other than this, all of the Squatter material mixed up with PHAB and early Roman wall robbing material. In addition, the identifiable Squatter pottery (BCW, ESA, and TGM) accounts for a mere 58.4 kg of the more than 20,700 kg of pottery that was recovered over five and a half seasons at Tel Kedesh. An argument must be made not only for the existence, but for any conclusion with respect to their presence in the building. The importance of these material remains both for the he larger social historical and questions with which this dissertation is engaged, require more support than a simple, brief overview of the number and dates of

¹ Sharon Herbert devised the recording system used at Tel Kedesh and created the database from which I compiled the total pottery and soil weight totals. Peter Stone for created the database of pottery fabric weights that has allowed me to work closely with and digitally manipulate the Squatter data. I could not have examined the Squatters at this resolution without them. I created the database which matches soil and architectural loci with rooms.

their coins, description of what their pottery looked like, etc. Is there an argument to be made for their permanent habitation in the building, or were they seasonal workers? Were women present? Is there reason to believe that a large amount of arrowheads belonged to them? Answers to questions like these provide a more fine-grained picture of the Squatters that in turn contribute to their identification as e.g., families, shepherds, or soldiers. In addition, there is a long history of archaeological scholarship that has passed over poorly preserved “squatter” occupational remains such as these with little more than a sentence (or paragraph) of description, which has left a hole in our understanding of the poor (i.e., the vast majority of the population) in antiquity. One of the contributions that this dissertation makes is a detailed analysis of the material remains of the urban poor of the city of Kedesh, one that could potentially be of use to others in the way that I wished for archaeological evidence of squatting when I was writing this. Unfortunately, these goals cannot be accomplished without presenting the data.

However, many will only be interested in the larger questions with which this dissertation is engaged and will only care about the archaeological conclusions. Therefore I will begin with a short overview of the chronological and archaeological context for the Squatters and then provide summary of the findings. These will be followed by the in-depth analysis of the archaeological evidence that is divided into two sections: the Squatter-used areas of the building and the uninhabited areas of the building (see the Table of Contents). Appendix I provides the naming and numbering conventions used in this chapter and Appendix II provides a short primer on the significance of the various kinds of pottery found at Tel Kedesh.

PART I: BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

The site of Tel Kedesh (33.110133°N/35.530943°E; New Israel Grid Coordinates 249997/779517) is an oblong double tel located ca. 10 miles northwest of Hazor and ca. 0.65 miles south of the modern Israel/Lebanon border in northern Galilee. It is approximately 31 hectares (76 acres), 800 m. long on a NNW/SSE axis and 115 to 300 m. wide on a SSW/NNE axis. The surface of the upper (northern) tel sits at ca. 490 m. above sea level while the lower (southern) tel sits at ca. 450 m. above sea level (see Figure 2).

Tel Kedesh has been more or less continuously occupied from at the Early Bronze Age until 1948. In 1953 Yohanan Aharoni excavated a 17 m.-long step trench in the northwestern slope of the tel in conjunction with the building of modern highway 899 (see Figure 2). He discovered architecture and pottery dating to the Early Bronze Age; abundant pottery from the Middle Bronze Age; and scattered pottery from the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age I and II, and the Hellenistic and Islamic Periods.² Additional evidence for limited occupation in the Byzantine period, as well as pottery associated with wall robbing from the Roman period that suggests Roman-period occupation somewhere on the tel, has been found on the southern tel and in the saddle between the southern and northern tels by the University of Michigan/University of Minnesota team. The remains of an Ottoman-period “Water House” and of a village from which Palestinians fled that was abandoned in 1948 are still visible on the east side of the tel and on the upper tel, respectively.

² Herbert and Berlin, "A New Administrative Center for Persian and Hellenistic Galilee: Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan/University of Minnesota Excavations at Kedesh," 15.

**Tel Kedesh and the Persian-Hellenistic Administrative Building (PHAB):
A Brief Geographical and Historical Orientation**

It has long been known that there was some sort of settlement at Kedesh, at least in the early Hellenistic period. The city is cited twice in the papyri of Zenon, the secretary of Apollonius (who was himself the treasurer of Ptolemy II), who traveled throughout Palestine, apparently collecting tribute.³ However, until the most recent excavations little else was known of Kedesh as a town aside from Josephus' writings at the end of the 1st century CE, and nothing whatsoever was known of its administrative authority.

A magnetometric survey of the southern tel in 1998 indicated the existence of a large building at its the southern end.⁴ A further five and a half seasons of excavation⁵ have revealed that building to be a nearly 1,900 m² administrative center dating to the Persian and Hellenistic periods (Figure 3, Figure 4). It was built ca. 500 BCE and was used continuously until its abandonment, ca. 145 BCE. Its structure in the final phase was that of a rectangular building with its long axis (ca. 51 m.) oriented east/west and a row of rooms along the outer walls. There is a large courtyard to the west of the center of the building, to the east of which is a dining complex. East of this dining complex is a corridor lined by two north/south-running stylobates (the Stylobate Corridor).⁶

The Persian-Hellenistic Administrative Building (PHAB) was abandoned suddenly, as is clear from at least 101 reconstructable or whole vessels found in the

³ P. Cairo Zen. 1 59.004. See Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*; Westermann, Keyes, and Liebesny, *Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt*. Both texts apparently date to 259 BCE.

⁴ Prior to the magnetometry a surface survey was conducted and two probe trenches were dug in 1997, which exposed well preserved Hellenistic remains 0.5 to 1.3 m. below the modern surface. See Herbert and Berlin, "A New Administrative Center for Persian and Hellenistic Galilee: Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan/University of Minnesota Excavations at Kedesh," 17.

⁵ Excavation was conducted in 1999, 2000, 2006, 2008, 2009, and for a half season in 2010. Another half season is planned for the summer of 2012.

⁶ The southern tel was gridded into twelve 90 x 90 m. areas, designated W (west), C (central), or E (east), and labeled A-D from south to north. The 81 10 x 10 m. squares within each area are numbered from 1.1 in the southeast to 9.9 in the northwest. See Figure 2 and Appendix I.

building, with large groupings found *in situ* in Rooms N2 and W3, as well as primary floor deposits in other rooms, most notably Rooms W7, W3, S10, and N1. In addition, destruction layers covering otherwise undisturbed primary floor deposits were discovered in Rooms S10 and N1.⁷ Among the many whole and mendable vessels were three stamped Rhodian amphora handles dating to 146 BCE.⁸ A closer abandonment date of 144-143 BCE is suggested by a Rhodian amphora handle dating to 144-118 BCE⁹ that was found among 7 other handles dating to the final phase of the PHAB in the floor deposit of Room W3, a room in which no evidence of Squatter use was found (see below). In addition, all coins of Demetrius II's first reign (145-143 BCE) for which we have an archaeological context were discovered in rooms not used by the Squatters.¹⁰

As was noted in Chapter 1, an abandonment date of 144-143 BCE corresponds surprisingly well with the Seleucid general Demetrius II's defeat at the hands of the Hasmonean king Jonathan in the Huleh Valley just east of Tel Kedesh (1 Maccabees 11:63-74). Subsequent to this sudden abandonment the PHAB appears to have lain uninhabited for a short period of time (perhaps 3-5 years), after which it was reinhabited by the people who are the subject of this study. Though the archaeological details of their occupation will be dealt with below, it is worth noting at the outset that their material culture was very different from that of the PHAB inhabitants. It is impossible to tell

⁷ The fill with evidence of burning (CB35037) at the northern end of the Stylobate Corridor might be further evidence of destruction, as its LDM is TGM and a sandy cooking ware necked cookpot. It's at the right elevation for a final-PHAB locus and it is immediately under early modern fill.

⁸ K00SAH010 (146 BCE), K00SAH011 (146 BCE), K00SAH013 (198-146 BCE) in Room N1. K08SAH008 (154/53-146 BCE) was found in the Room S10 floor deposit and, given the destruction layer and proposed function of the room, probably should be interpreted as dating to 146 BCE as well.

⁹ K06SAH014. The other handles dated to 166-146 BCE (K06SAH009 and K06SAH010), 150 BCE (K06SAH006), 154-153 BCE (K06SAH012 and K06SAH013), 154/3-146 BCE (K06SAH011), and 147 BCE (K06SAH008).

¹⁰ K99C022 (CB24012/subsoil), K00C054 (CB46016/Room N4), K00C059 (CB46016/Room N4), K06C017 (CB16040/Room S5), and K06C028 (found in the east dump).

exactly when they showed up and when they left, but numismatic evidence and Rhodian amphora handle stamps suggest that they used the building from around 138 BCE-114 BCE (see Table 1 and discussion, below).

At some point before the second half of the first century BCE the walls of the building were robbed, often quite deeply and sometimes to their Persian-period foundations.¹¹ It has been suggested that these stones were used for the houses and buildings of the Early Roman town of Kedesh (Josephus knows of a town here in the late 1st century CE, as does the Mishnah, which was compiled around 220 CE).¹² The only further evidence of human activity within the building are three Byzantine-era burials, one Islamic burial, and modern pottery, bullet casings, etc. in the topsoil. It is clear that at some point in the more recent past the area in which the building lies was used for agriculture, as east/west rubble patterns in the topsoil and subsoil around walls suggest plowing in those directions, as do east/west-oriented gouges that have been found on some of the stylobate ashlars.

¹¹ This date has been reached as a result of Kfar Hananyah body sherds and form 4a cooking pot rims that were found in the post-robbing fill of many of these walls.

¹² See, e.g., *War* 2.459; 4.105. Cf. *Ant.* 12:331ff., m. Arak 9:6. There is also a Roman-period temple below the tel on the east side (see Figure 2).

PART II: SUMMARY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE SQUATTERS

Any precise conclusion about the use of the building after the PHAB's abandonment is very difficult to arrive at. Nearly everything that was left behind by the Squatters – tabuns, walls, pottery, and objects – was destroyed, strewn about, and mixed up with PHAB material by the people who robbed the walls, and they often dug through floors and into earlier strata in order to retrieve deep wall stones. As a result, Squatter loci are contaminated both with material from earlier PHAB phases and with post-Squatter material. There are only a handful of loci that can be considered to even approximate a primary deposit, and all of the loci with large amounts of material known to be Squatter have both Roman LDMs (Latest Dateable Material - see Appendix I) and a large amount of PHAB pottery. Teasing out what in these loci belonged to the Squatters, what came from the PHAB, and what was deposited after the walls were robbed is incredibly difficult. However, given the things that we know certainly belonged to the Squatters (walls, floors, tabuns, coins, Rhodian stamped amphora handles, ESA, TGM, and BCW – see Figure 5, Figure 6, Figure 7, Figure 8, and Figure 9), some general comments can be made about them.

Date

The Squatters appear to have inhabited the building from ca. 138 BCE to ca. 114 BCE. The abandonment of the PHAB contributes a firm *terminus ante quem* of 144-143 BCE, and the numismatic evidence suggests that that date might be refined to sometime after 140 BCE, perhaps down to 138 BCE. Soil deposition on top of PHAB floors but underneath Squatter architecture in many parts of the building confirms a short abandonment phase between the PHAB and Squatter phases. Eastern Sigillata 'A' (ESA)

pottery was found in Squatter loci but not in PHAB loci (including the abandonment phase), and ESA is known from other sites to have been produced beginning in 140-130 BCE.¹³ Of the 60 Rhodian stamped amphora handles that were found, nine were illegible and therefore undateable,¹⁴ 43 dated to the period between 198-145 BCE,¹⁵ and 4 dated to 143-123 BCE.¹⁶ It is worth noting that all four of the Squatter-phase stamped amphora handles were found in rooms that had Squatter architecture. Fifty-six coins were also recovered dating to the Squatter phase. They evenly spanned the period between 138-114/112 BCE (see Table 1) and although the Squatter occupation only constitutes 6% of the total period in which the building was inhabited, their coins comprise 37% of the coins that were found in the building.¹⁷ Fifty-two of the 55 Squatter coins date to the first

¹³ See, e.g., Slane, "The Fine Wares," in *Tel Anafa II, i: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*. See also the discussion of the Squatters' ceramic assemblage, below, and especially footnote 30.

¹⁴ K00SAH001, K00SAH005, K00SAH017, K00SAH019, K00SAH020, K00SAH021, K06SAH004, K06SAH005, and K08SAH006.

¹⁵ K99SAH003, K99SAH005, K99SAH006, K99SAH007, K99SAH008, K99SAH009, K99SAH010, K00SAH002, K00SAH003, K00SAH004, K00SAH006, K00SAH007, K00SAH010, K00SAH011, K00SAH012, K00SAH013, K00SAH014, K00SAH015, K00SAH016, K00SAH018, K06SAH002, K06SAH003, K06SAH006, K06SAH007, K06SAH008, K06SAH009, K06SAH010, K06SAH011, K06SAH012, K06SAH013, K06SAH014, K08SAH001, K08SAH002, K08SAH007, K08SAH008, K09SAH001, K09SAH002, K09SAH003, K09SAH004, K09SAH005, K09SAH006, K10SAH001, and K10SAH002. Interestingly, all of the Rhodian amphora handles in the building date to the Seleucid period (i.e., after 200 BCE).

¹⁶ K08SAH003 (143/2-128 BCE, from CB37025, in Room C1b); K06SAH001 (140-138 BCE, from CB37003, in Room W2); K00SAH008 (132 BCE, from CB27013, in the Central Courtyard); K00SAH009 (129-123 BCE, from CB27012, in the Central Courtyard). One other handle, K09SAH003, could conceivably be Squatter, as it dates to 145-143/2 BCE, but it was found in the subsoil of CB2.8 NE, so context does not provide any further clues. K10SAH001 and K01SAH002 (145 BCE) could also be Squatter. They are from the handles of one Rhodian amphora (K10P011), the the rim, neck, and part of the shoulders of which were found sitting upright in early modern fill in the middle of the Stylobate corridor, an area of heavy Squatter activity. However, it is equally possible that the upper portion of a Rhodian amphora from the PHAB (or from somewhere outside of the PHAB) was discovered and reused in the Early Modern period. This would explain the absence of the rest of the amphora.

¹⁷ 98 coins and 56 Rhodian stamped amphora handles were recovered from the combined PHAB (i.e., pre-Squatter) phases. Note that this number includes all 29 coins that could not be dated more narrowly than to the Seleucid period ("2nd century BCE"), some of which could conceivably date to the Squatter period. The percentage of Squatter to PHAB coins might drop slightly once the official readings of the 2010 coins are made available. If preliminary field readings are correct then there will be a further 10 PHAB coins and 3 Squatter-phase coins, dropping the percentage of Squatter coins to 35.7%.

15 years of Squatter occupation, a number that can be compared to only 12 coins dating to the final 15 years of PHAB occupation.¹⁸

The coins and stamped amphora handles also give us the closest possible approximation of the beginning and end of the Squatter phase of the building. Squatter use of the building seems to have changed or tapered off sometime after 123/2 BCE, as the corpus of fifty-two evenly-spread coins end suddenly with a coin of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII. A further 3 coins dating to 116-112 BCE were found in loci with Squatter material, suggesting a date sometime after 114-112 BCE as a final abandonment (or early wall robbing?) date. One further coin dating to between 58 BCE and 43 CE has been found in the building;¹⁹ after that there is nothing until the Byzantine period. It is impossible to know how long these coins stayed in circulation in the ancient world, so neither the beginning nor the end dates of the Squatter phase are firm. However, the Rhodian stamped amphora handles, which date to between 143/138 BCE and 129-123 BCE,²⁰ lend further support to this tentative conclusion. Furthermore, the density and even distribution of coins during the period of known Squatter occupation, their sudden end, and the deposition of Early Roman pottery (Kfar Hananyah form 4a)²¹ in the soil overlying the robbed walls of the building leads one to conclude that the Squatters could not have continued in the building much past the first quarter of the 1st century BCE.

¹⁸ Including the 5 coins of Demetrius II that date to 145-143 BCE. K00C027 (CB15001/CB1.5 NE subsoil – 159-158 BCE), K06C032 (CB36029/Room C1 – 159-158 BCE), K08C030 (CB16058/Room S6 – 159-158 BCE), K06C026 (found in the south dump – 159-142 BCE), K08C012 (CB2.6 SE/SW cleaning – 153-144 BCE), K06C007 (CB17002/Room S3 – 153-143 BCE), K06C025 (CB16025/Room S5 – 153-143 BCE), K00C059 (CB46016/Room N4 – 145-144 BCE), K06C028 (found in the east dump – 145-144 BCE), K99C022 (CB24012/CB2.4 NE subsoil – 144-143 BCE), K00C054 (CB46016/Room N4 – 144-143 BCE), and K06C017 (CB16040/Room S5 – 144-143 BCE).

¹⁹ K00C028, found in the subsoil of CB1.5 SE.

²⁰ K00SAH009.

²¹ David Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee: A Study of Local Trade* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1993).

Table 3: Squatter-Phase Coins and Stamped Amphora Handles²²
See Figure 5 for a map of their locations.

Date BCE	Minting Authority	Mint	Inventory Number	Locus	Room
143/2-128	<i>Rhodian Stamped Amphora Handle</i>	N/A	K08SAH003	CB37025	Room C1b
140-138	<i>Rhodian Stamped Amphora Handle</i>	N/A	K06SAH001	CB37007	Room W2
140-132	Autonomous Akko-Ptolemais	Akko-Ptolemais	K00C012	CB24033	Room E2
140-132	Autonomous Akko-Ptolemais	Akko-Ptolemais	K06C002	CB36007	Room C2
138-137	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K08C042	CA95012	Subsoil in CA9.5 NW
138-129	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K06C012	CB26013	Room C3
136-135	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C007	CB39005	Topsoil in CB3.9 SW
136-135	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C011	CB24033	Room E2
136-135	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C037	CB24035	Room E1
136-135	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K08C033	CB37029	Room C1b
136-135	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K09C002	CB36045	Room C2/ Northern Corridor
136-135	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K09C006	CB37042	Western Corridor/ Central Courtyard
136-134	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C008	CB24033	Room E2
136-134	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C030	CB36002	Room C2
136-134	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C033	CB24035	Room E1
135-134	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C002	CB24033	Room E2
135-134	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C020	CB24033	Room E2
135-134	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C034	CB24035	Room E1
135-134	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K08C009	CB16000	Topsoil in CB1.6 NE
135-134	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K09C017	CB37007	Room W2
135-134	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K08C045	CB17000	Surface
135-133	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K09C018	CB15000	Topsoil in CB1.5 NE
134-133	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C001	CB27000	Topsoil in CB2.7 SW
134-133	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C003	CB24033	Room E2
134-133	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K00C041	CB27013	Central Courtyard (SW corner)
134-133	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K06C003	CB37007	Room W2
134-133	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K08C008	CB26037	Room C6
134-133	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K08C015	CB26011	Subsoil in CB2.6 NE
134-133	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K08C019	CB37025	Room C1b
134-133	Antiochus VII	Tyre	K08C028	CB28010	Room W4a

²² Coin and stamped amphora handle were read and dated by Donald Ariel.

132	<i>Rhodian Stamped Amphora Handle</i>	N/A	K00SAH008	CB27010	Central Courtyard (SW corner)
129-128	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K00C006	CB27020	Subsoil in CB2.7 SW
129-128	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K00C032	CB24035	Room E1
129-128	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K00C053	CB24035	Room E1
129-128	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K08C013	CB37018	Room C1b
129-128	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K08C021	CB37025	Room C1b
129-128	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K08C043	CB17008	Room S3
129-128	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K09C022	CB36050	Room C2
129-126	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K00C005	CB24033	Room E2
129-123	<i>Rhodian Stamped Amphora Handle</i>	N/A	K00SAH009	CB27010	Central Courtyard (SW corner)
128-127	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K99C017	CB24011	Room E1
128-127	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K00C036	CB24035	Room E1
128-127	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K00C043	CB36004	Room C2
128-127	Demetrius II (2nd reign)	Tyre	K08C011	CB37007	Room W2
126-125	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K99C004	CB24013	Subsoil in CB2.4 SE
126-125	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K00C004	CB24033	Room E2
126-125	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K00C039	CB24035	Room E1
126-125	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K00C045	CB24035	Room E1
126-125	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K08C014	CB37007	Room W2
126-125	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K08C022	CB37025	Room C1b
126-125	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K09C020	CB23004	Topsoil in CB2.3 SW
126-123	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K00C009	CB24033	Room E2
126-123	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Antioch	K00C013	CB24033	Room E2
126-123	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K00C035	CB24035	Room E1
126-123	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K00C040	CB24035	Room E1
126-123	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Akko-Ptolemais	K06C008	CB37007	Room W2
123-122	Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII	Tyre	K99C008	CB24000	Topsoil in CB 2.4 NW
116-103	Ptolemy IX/X	Paphos	K00C038	CB24035	Room E1
114-112	Antiochus IX	Antioch	K00C017	CB24036	Room E1
114-112	Antiochus IX	Antioch	K09C024	CB36045	Room C2/ Northern Corridor
58BCE-43CE	Unknown	Unknown	K00C028	CB15001	Subsoil in CB1.5 SE

Architecture

The Squatters inhabited the central portion of what had been the Administrative Building. The Squatters divided up the PHAB space by building partition walls,²³ which were built of stone but were not as wide as those of the PHAB (0.45-0.65 m., vs. 0.80-1.0 m.), were shallowly founded, and were often not straight. They also built 7 tabuns (ovens)²⁴ in a way that made it clear that the PHAB had gone out of use (for instance, two tabuns were constructed in the middle of the Northern Corridor and two other tabuns were constructed in the Stylobate Corridor – see Figure 9). Sometimes the Squatters reused PHAB floors, and where they did not they had mostly beaten-earth floors. However, in a few places (namely, the Stylobate Corridor and the northwest corner of the Central Courtyard) they built nice, crushed limestone surfaces.

Squatter architecture exists only in the northern part of the Western Corridor, the northwest corner of the Northern Corridor, the northern part of the Stylobate Corridor, and in Rooms C1, C2, C6, C7, and E3. They also rebuilt or built up the walls between Rooms E1, E2, E3, and E4 – see Figure 9). In other words, there is no Squatter architecture south of Room C6, which is approximately 2.7 m. southeast of the center of

²³ **CB36036** and **CB36037** in Room C1; **CB36022** and **CB36033** in Room C2; **CB37005** between Room W2 and the Western Corridor; **CB26033** in Room C5; **CB25035** between Room E1 and Room E3; **CB24009** and **CB24010** between Room E1 and Room E3; **CB24005** between Room 2 East and Room E4; and **CB23001** between Room 2 East and the Eastern Corridor. The Squatter-built walls in CB2.4 tend to be as wide (or wider) than the PHAB walls because they were built on top of PHAB walls. See the discussion of rooms Room E1, Room 2 East, Room E4, and Room E3.

²⁴ **CB35042/CB36042** in the Northern Corridor; **CB37030** in the Western Corridor; **CB37031** in the northwest corner of the Central Courtyard; **CB36024** in Room C2; **CB25004** in the Stylobate Corridor; **CB25005** (an upside-down Hermon Jar reused as a tabun) in the Stylobate Corridor; and **CB25041** in Room E3.

the building.²⁵ The stamped amphora handles are also concentrated in the northern half of the building, and while four coins were found south of Room C6, three of them were in topsoil (see Figure 5 and Table 1).

This Squatters' building and remodeling activity occurred in at least two phases, as is evident from wall **CB37005** in Room W2 (page 142); the two floors laid around tabun **CB25041** in Room E3 (see below, page 171) floors **CB37040** and **CB37032** in the Western Corridor (page 144); floors **CB35003** and **CB35005** in Room C2 (page 153); and suggested by floors **CB37023** and **CB37019** in Room C1a (page 132).

The Ceramic and Non-ceramic Assemblages²⁶

As was explained in Chapter 1, at least 101 reconstructable vessels were recovered that are associated with the final, pre-abandonment phase of the PHAB (i.e., vessels that were left behind and/or destroyed *in situ* when the building was abandoned).²⁷ Among them were no vessels in Eastern Sigillata A (ESA), Basaltic Cooking Ware (BCW) or Tan Gray Marl (TGM), all pottery fabrics that are associated with the Squatters (see Figure 6, Figure 7, and Figure 8).²⁸ The reason for the ESA is chronological: the PHAB analog to ESA is Black Slipped Predecessor (BSP), which has been shown by Neutron Activation Analysis to be chemically identical to ESA.²⁹ The

²⁵ From the center of Room C6 it is ca. 27 m. to the west wall of the building and ca. 25 m. to the east wall; 20 m. to the north wall and ca. 15 m. to the south wall.

²⁶ For an in-depth discussion of all wares and forms found at Kedesh, including petrographic analysis, see Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context."

²⁷ Peter Stone, personal communication. See also Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context," especially chapter 5.

²⁸ Peter Stone, personal communication. See also Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context."

²⁹ See Slane, "The Fine Wares," in *Tel Anafa II, i: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*.

production of BSP began around 160 BCE,³⁰ while ESA was produced beginning around 140-130 BCE.³¹ As a result, BSP is found in final-PHAB loci and ESA is found in Squatter loci. ESA is a very clean, hard, light pinkish brown (5YR 7/4) fine ware that was fired at an extremely high temperature – as high as 850-900° C. It has a semi lustrous to lustrous red slip that was applied by dipping vessels into a vat of slip, and it was produced on the northern Levantine coast (between Antioch and Beirut, and possibly also on the northern and eastern portions of Cyprus).³²

BCW, which was the main cooking ware of the Squatters (see Figure 6),³³ was made from clays derived from the volcanic soils of the central and northern Golan Heights or the Khorazin plateau above the northern end of the Sea of Galilee, ca. 20 km. southeast of Kedesh (see Figure 1).³⁴ It is characterized by a ferruginous matrix containing some silt-sized grains of minerals derived from basalt (i.e., plagioclase, olivine, iddingsite, and augite) that was tempered with 5-7 percent of crushed crystalline

³⁰ Slane, "The Fine Wares," in *Tel Anafa II, i: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*; Andrea Berlin, "Jewish Life Before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," *JSJ* 36, no. 4 (2005), 417-470: 442-443; Berlin, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine. Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period," 21.

³¹ Slane, "The Fine Wares," in *Tel Anafa II, i: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*; J. W. Hayes, *Paphos III: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery* (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1991); J. W. Hayes, "Sigillata Orientali" in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale. Atlante delle forme ceramiche II: Ceramica fine romana nel Bacino Mediterraneo (tardo ellenismo e primo impero)*, 1-96 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1985), 12-13. See also Elam, Slane, and Berlin, *contra* Genneweg and the early conclusions from Tarsus, Antioch, and Samaria. Note, however, that Genneweg, Perlman, and Yellin correctly identified Cyprus as a source for ESA through Neutron Activation Analysis even if their early date for the start of production has since been rejected. See J. Elam, M. Glascock, and K. Slane, "A Re-Examination of the Provenance of Eastern Sigillata A," in *Proceedings of the 26th International Symposium on Archaeometry, Toronto, 1988*, ed. R. M. Farquhar (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989); Kathleen Slane et al., "Compositional Analysis of Eastern Sigillata A and Related Wares from Tel Anafa (Israel)," *JAS* 21 (1994), 51-64; Berlin, "Jewish Life Before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," 442-443; Berlin, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine. Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period," 21; Jan Genneweg, Isadore Perlman, and Joseph Yellin, *The Provenience, Typology, and Chronology of Eastern Terra Sigillata*. Qedem, vol. 17 (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1983).

³² Shapiro, Berlin, and Stone, "Tel Kedesh - Fabrics and Wares," 1ff.

³³ There were a few gritty cooking ware vessels that were clearly Squatter.

³⁴ Shapiro, Berlin, and Stone, "Tel Kedesh - Fabrics and Wares," 20.

calcite, with rhombic and angular grains varying in size between 0.1 and 1.0 mm.³⁵ This information is important for two reasons, one ancient and one modern. Some ancient potters added calcite to the fabric of cooking vessels to prevent them from fracturing as the elements of the clay expanded and contracted at different rates when heated.³⁶ The calcite increases the fabric's tensile strength without decreasing its ability to conduct heat, allowing potters to create more efficient thin-walled cooking vessels. It was thought that this practice died out in the Iron Age, perhaps as a result of the depopulation of the Galilee after the invasion of Tiglath-Pileser III.³⁷ From a modern archaeological perspective, the calcite temper in the matrix of the fabric, which is visually very different from the main PHAB cooking wares (sandy cookware and gritty cookware), allows easy identification in the field. Basaltic Cooking Ware is known in earlier contexts elsewhere in the Galilee (for instance, at Gamla),³⁸ but it is entirely absent at Kedesh in strata that pre-date the abandonment of the building.

Both the inclusion of calcite in the fabric of BCW and the high-necked forms that have been found at Kedesh are reminiscent of potting traditions from Lower Galilee and the Central Hill region near Shechem and Jerusalem. BCW replaced the cooking wares of the PHAB (sandy cooking ware and gritty cooking ware), which were produced on the

³⁵ See *ibid*, 20 and the references cited there: A. Sneh, Y. Bartov, and M. Rosensaft, *Geological Map of Israel 1:200,000, Sheet 1* (Jerusalem: Geological Survey of Israel, 1998); S Ravikovitch, *Manual and Map of Soils in Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press; The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1969); O. Williams-Thorpe et al., "Archaeology, Geochemistry, and Trade of Igneous Rock Millstones in Cyprus During the Late Bronze Age to Roman Periods," *Geoarchaeology* 6, no. 1 (1991), 27-60: 34-35; M. Wieder and D. Adan-Bayewitz, "Soil Parent Materials and the Pottery of Roman Galilee: A Comparative Study," *Geoarchaeology* 17 (2002), 395-415.

³⁶ For more references, see Chapter 1.

³⁷ Shapiro, Berlin, and Stone, "Tel Kedesh - Fabrics and Wares," 20. Note also a reference cited there: J. Glass et al., "Petrographic Analysis of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I Pottery Assemblages," in *Shiloh: The Archaeology of a Biblical Site*, ed. I. Finkelstein, S. Bunimovitz, and Z. Lederman (Tel Aviv: The Institute of Archaeology, 1993).

³⁸ Andrea Berlin, *Gamla I: The Pottery of the Second Temple Period: The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations, 1976-1989*. IAA reports (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006).

Mediterranean coast (probably in the Acco-Ptolemais region), ca. 40 km to the west. BCW was not found at Tel Anafa, where the Late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building (LHSB) was being built during the time that the Squatters were living in the administrative building at Kedesh, nor at Tel Dan (the cooking wares at Tel Anafa were primarily sandy cooking ware and Spatter Painted Ware). The cooking pots with high splayed necks, which is the most common form in the Squatter assemblage, are also unknown at Tel Anafa.

Tan Gray Marl (TGM) appears to be a Squatter replacement for the Spatter Painted Ware that was found in the PHAB and at Tel Anafa (see Figure 8). There is no evidence that Spatter Painted Ware vessels continued to be brought into the building after its abandonment (though one vessel may have been reused), vessels in both fabrics function as table ware. The provenance of TGM has not been established, but it is thought to have been made locally, perhaps in the Naphtali heights to the west of the Huleh Valley, where Kedesh is located. Spatter Painted Ware was probably made somewhere in the Huleh Valley or the Golan Heights.³⁹

The Squatter assemblage is a domestic assemblage, as is clear when it is compared with that of the PHAB phases and the LHSB at Tel Anafa (which was a villa). Most indicative of this conclusion are the proportions of utility, cooking, and table vessels in the overall assemblage.⁴⁰ The cooking vessels, which made up 34-59% of the

³⁹ Note, however, that Neutron Activated Analysis of twelve samples of what Berlin had identified as Spatter Painted Ware showed that only four came from the same manufacturing center. See Jan Gunneweg and Joseph Yellin, "Appendix 2: The Origin of Some Plain Ware Pottery from Tel Anafa," in *Tel Anafa II, i: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery*, ed. Sharon Herbert (Ann Arbor, MI: Kelsey Museum, 1997), 240.

⁴⁰ The ceramic assemblage data that follows are the conclusions of the Tel Kedesh ceramicist, Peter Stone, based on rim counts and his stratification and phasing of the site. The ephemeral nature of the Squatter material remains requires an upper and lower number of the possible Squatter vessels. See Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context."

Squatter assemblage (371-446 vessels), as compared to 12% of the PHAB assemblage and 31% of the Tel Anafa assemblage, was almost entirely comprised of BCW cooking pots, stew pots, and casseroles, although there were a few gritty cooking ware necked cooking pots with grooved rims and necked pointed rim cooking pots. The table ware consisted of 119 vessels (9-19% of the assemblage, as opposed to 35% of the 3rd century BCE PHAB assemblage, 61% of the 2nd century BCE PHAB assemblage, and 25% of the Tel Anafa assemblage), and included 34 cast glass drinking vessels, Tan Gray Marl bowls and saucers, and ESA plates and bowls. The table vessel assemblage is far more varied in terms of the types of fabrics represented (including imported wares) at Tel Anafa and in the PHAB than in the Squatter phase within the PHAB. However, the ratio of 3-4 small bowls and saucers to large plates in the Squatter phase is the same as at Tel Anafa. Utility vessels account for 9-13% of the Squatter assemblage (83-126 vessels), as opposed to 5% of the PHAB assemblage and 11% of the Tel Anafa assemblage. They include curled rim mortaria, Tan Gray Marl jugs with squared rims and round bottoms, overhanging rim kraters (perhaps), and Phoenician Semi-Fine flasks (perhaps). The Squatter storage/transport vessels make up 4-8% of the total Squatter assemblage (much like Tel Anafa's 3%), and include only mid-sized jars, as opposed to mostly large jars in the PHAB phases.⁴¹ There are a few Phoenician Semi-Fine baggy jars and the four Rhodian amphorae that belong to the Squatter phase (though it is impossible to tell if the Squatters drank the wine that was originally in the amphorae or simply reused the vessels). The Phoenician Semi-Fine vessels, which were produced somewhere on the

⁴¹ This and what follows (with respect to the Squatter assemblage and comparisons to the PHAB and Tel Anafa) are from Peter Stone's work on the ceramic assemblages at Tel Kedesh. See Stone, "Provincial Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context," Chapter 5.

Phoenician coast, seem undoubtedly to have been bought or imported by the Squatters, but their presence in such great quantities in the PHAB phases and the lack of clean, sealed, or primary Squatter loci prohibits any assessment of the quantity in the Squatter phases. As a result we can only say that they comprise 0.5-16% of the Squatter assemblage (3-220 vessels). Squatter service vessels must have been Phoenician Semi-Fine, as no service vessels were found in other fabrics, and so they comprise 0-20% of the assemblage (0-284 vessels).⁴² Toilet vessels comprised less than 1%-9% of the Squatter assemblage (6-122 vessels), which is roughly the same as at Tel Anafa.

The rest of the artifacts that were excavated are much more difficult to assign to either the Squatter or the PHAB phases, given the disturbed nature of the Squatter loci and the undateable nature of the finds. However, again a few tentative conclusions can be reached. When loci with the highest density of Squatter pottery are sorted,⁴³ there are few non-ceramic inventoried items. However, three items that show up in quantity are copper alloy spatulas, loom weights, and fibulae. Three of the six copper alloy spatulas recovered from the building were found in the top twenty most Squatter-pottery-dense loci, and another was found in a locus that had some Squatter pottery in it. Fourteen of the 28 loomweights, and all of the pyramidal loom weights, that were found in the building came from loci with Squatter pottery in them. There were 4 loom weights in the

⁴² Phoenician Semi-Fine is highly represented in all of the PHAB phases of the building, and, as mentioned above, the Squatter phase was highly disturbed, often having been dug through by the wall robbers, thus mixing Squatter-phase pottery with PHAB-phase pottery. The resulting picture is one in which it is very difficult to distinguish the degree to which the Phoenician Semi-Fine in the Squatter phases belonged to the Squatters (as opposed to being intrusive PHAB-phase pottery). For a more full description of the highly disturbed nature of the Squatter phase, see below. Note also Stone's conclusion that the Squatters did indeed have Phoenician Semi-Fine vessels.

⁴³ The loci were sorted not by the greatest *amount* of Squatter pottery, but by the greatest *density*. CB35011 had the greatest amount of Squatter pottery (5 kg of BCW and 0.1 kg of ESA), but the total amount of pottery in the locus was 134.65 kg, so the /density of Squatter pottery to non-Squatter pottery was only 3.8%.

top 25 most Squatter-pottery-dense loci and 6 in the top 35. Finally, eight of the 18 fibulae found in the building (5 copper alloy and 3 iron) were found in loci with Squatter pottery; 3 copper alloy fibulae were in the top 35 most Squatter-pottery-dense loci.

Abandonment

As in modernity, there were a wide variety of reasons for and types of abandonment in antiquity, including catastrophic, gradual, permanent, episodic, seasonal, punctuated, and agricultural.⁴⁴ In the case of the Squatters it is difficult to say which type best represents them. On the one hand, there is a relatively small amount of pottery in the building, and very few whole or reconstructable vessels, suggesting that the vessels that were being used when the Squatters left were taken with them. If abandonment had been rapid, we would expect that things of value and things of small bulk would be taken first; thus pottery would likely have been left behind in greater quantities. On the other hand, the bulk of the coins were found in two pits in Rooms E1 and E2 with a large amount of detritus that suggests that they may have been small hoards that were inadvertently swept into the pit with other trash, probably by the people who robbed the walls (who might have been the Squatters themselves). The coins in the pits, plus the cooking pot that was found *in situ* in a tabun, suggests rapid abandonment – or at least the inability to return to

⁴⁴ The excavation of various mining camps in the southwest Yukon in the 1970s produced evidence of various types of abandonment behaviors. Though abandonment behavior of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Alaska might seem to be irrelevant for the study of the Hellenistic Mediterranean, the study confined itself to questions of the manner in which sites were abandoned (i.e., gradually or rapidly) and whether the inhabitants planned to return. As a result, “even though archaeological sites may differ in content through time and space, the processes responsible for their *initial* formation should remain generally the same. While the exact nature of these processes may vary with level of technology, cultural conditioning, material availability, etc., cultural materials still predominantly are transferred from the systemic to the archaeological context by processes of discard and abandonment, regardless of what is being transferred and why.” See Catherine M. Cameron and Steve A. Tomka, eds., *Abandonment of Settlements and Regions: Ethnoarchaeological and Archaeological Approaches*. New Directions in Archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 261.

retrieve the coins. Furthermore, when BCW and ESA were found in any quantity, they were primarily found in different areas of rooms or the building (i.e., there were no loci with both high amounts of ESA and high amounts of BCW).⁴⁵ It is possible that this is the result of pre-abandonment caching, but we would probably expect any caching to have been in the same place, regardless of vessel type or ware. Rather, the separation of cooking pots and table wares suggests the possibility that they were in their original locations when the Squatters left, which, if true, also suggests rapid abandonment.

⁴⁵ For example, the locus that had the highest amount of ESA and BCW together was CB35011, which had 5 kg of BCW and 0.1 kg of ESA (in a total of 134.7 kg of pottery).

PART III: THE SQUATTER-USED AREAS OF THE BUILDING⁴⁶

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As noted above, the Squatters primarily inhabited the central part of the building (see Figure 5, Figure 6, Figure 7, Figure 8, and Figure 9). What follows is a room-by-room analysis of Squatter presence within the Administrative Building.

The Northern Corridor (Figure 10)

The Northern Corridor presents one of the best cases of both Squatter presence (some of the best-preserved loci are from this area of the building) and of clear

⁴⁶ What follows is the result of my personal analysis of the 1,086 loci that comprise the excavation of the PHAB and Squatter phases of the building at Tel Kedesh, often at the level of one or more of the more than 3,500 units. That said, I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the fact that I came to this project after Sharon Herbert had preliminarily stratified the excavation and thank her for allowing me to see copies of the stratigraphic reports that she submitted to the Israel Antiquities Authority at the end of each season. I would also not have been able to analyze the results of the pottery field readings as quickly if it were not for Peter Stone's digitized database of those readings. It should be pointed out that those pottery readings included 54 separate categories and occurred at the unit [not the locus] level, and so constitute an enormous undertaking.

reappropriation of PHAB space. A column drum and a line of stones⁴⁷ were placed at the east end of the corridor, effectively blocking passage (see Figure 11).⁴⁸ West of this blockage they built a tabun (at the border between trenches CB3.6 and CB3.5),⁴⁹ and a group of stones just west of it seems to be deliberate as well. This tabun constitutes one of the few primary deposits left from the Squatter phase. It was found with a nearly complete Basaltic Cooking Ware cookpot⁵⁰ inside of it, further confirmation that the Basaltic Cooking Ware was the standard ware for Squatter cookpots (see Figure 11).

This tabun's construction is typical of other Squatter tabuns: the interior walls were made of orange clay, and large pot sherds, faced plaster fragments, and flat stones were attached to the exterior (see Figure 13). The internal diameter at the base was 0.69 m. and the walls were 7 cm. thick. The tabun tapered as it rose and the internal diameter at the highest point of preservation was 0.65 m. The cookpot found *in situ* inside the tabun was resting on a layer of ashy gray soil. As with many other (but not all) parts of the building in which we have found Squatter-use installations, no floor was found to be associated with the tabun itself, though there were a few small patches of floor nearby⁵¹ with a surface elevation of 464.58 m. (the bottom of the bottom of the tabun was at 464.62 m.).

There is no reason to think that the walls of the PHAB in the Northern Corridor were not still standing throughout the Squatter phase, but the floors had been covered

⁴⁷ **CB35024**

⁴⁸ The LDM in **CB35024.1** was Coastal Fine South, Spatter, and Sandy cookware, but it does not make sense to posit the column drum as part of the PHAB. Furthermore, the LDMs in and under floor **CB35025**, on which the column drum sits, were BCW and a high-necked sandy cookware cookpot.

⁴⁹ **CB36042/CB35042**

⁵⁰ **K10P056**

⁵¹ **CB35023**

with an abandonment layer of silt. This layer,⁵² a 16 cm.-thick layer of fine, silty yellow-brown soil with virtually no stone or pebble inclusions, was found directly on top of the PHAB Northern Corridor floor.⁵³ Rather than removing this abandonment deposition and reusing the floor that was already there, the Squatters created new surfaces on top of it. To the east of the column drum it was a cobble surface⁵⁴ and between the column drum and the tabun it appeared as 3 small patches of plaster/limestone floor.⁵⁵ To the west of the tabun they reused the floor of the final phase of the building.⁵⁶

Room C1, including areas C1a and C1b (Figure 14)

Room C1, as excavated, presents an interesting problem in that the wall between Room C1 and the Central Courtyard⁵⁷ was robbed down below the level of the courtyard

⁵² **CB35025.1**

⁵³ **CB35026.** Though the LDM in **CB35025.1** was BCW, the BCW was only found in the upper elevations, immediately under the cobbles. Besides, it makes more sense to understand the Squatters' laying a cobble floor 16 cm. above the PHAB floor as the result of the soil being there when they arrived than to interpret it as manual fill (which included some of their own pottery) that was put on top of a nice PHAB floor in order to lay another floor. Furthermore, **CB35025.1** had between 10.4 and 16 grams of pottery per liter of soil (the average was 13.8 g/L), which is a very small amount. This, plus the fact that the soil had virtually no other inclusions, suggests that its deposition was the result of abandonment. How did the BCW get underneath the cobbles? Perhaps it was used as a soil surface for some time before the cobbles were laid.

⁵⁴ **CB35025**

⁵⁵ **CB35023**

⁵⁶ **CB36039/CB46023.** At some point during the life of the PHAB wall **CB36041** (the southern wall of room Room N3) was torn down and floor **CB36039/CB46023** was laid throughout Room N3, over the top of wall **CB36041**, and throughout the Northern Corridor. Room N3 was likely open to the elements after this remodeling (see below). There is also an issue of varying elevations here. The PHAB floor that the squatters reused at the west end of the Northern Corridor and in Room N3 (**CB36039/CB46023**) was found at ca. 465.09 m., while the surfaces east of the tabun are approximately 50 cm. lower. The bottom of the tabun was found to be at 464.62 m., the plaster floor patches were at ca. 464.58 m., the bottom of the column drum was at 464.60 m., and the cobble surface was at 464.56 m. This may be due in part to elevations dropping off as one moves from west to east across the tel (a phenomenon that occurs across the site), but it also means that there was a step down somewhere in the western part of the Northern Corridor. Evidence for the former includes the fact that the upper elevation of the southern wall of the Northern Corridor (**CB36038/CB35012**), which was not robbed, drops from 464.95 m. in the west, to 464.80 m. at the western edge of CB 3.5, to 464.80 m. at the eastern edge of CB 3.5. Evidence for the latter includes the fact that floor **CB35026**, the PHAB-phase floor in the eastern extreme of the Northern Corridor was at 464.33 m. and the PHAB-phase floor in the western extreme of the Northern Corridor (**CB36039/CB46023**) was at 465.09 m.

⁵⁷ **CB36034**, upper elevation of 464.84 m.

floor.⁵⁸ The fact that the wall was robbed before excavation means that we cannot know if there was a doorway through which to access the Central Courtyard from this room, though one possibility is that there was a doorway between Room C1 and the Central Courtyard exactly where the wall is most deeply robbed – namely, in the exact center of that wall, where it crosses the CB3.6 SW/CB3.7SE baulk line.⁵⁹ The argument would be that doorways would present the only possible way to find oneself “on top of” a wall in order to remove its stones (for that is the easiest way to rob stones from a wall) if the mudbrick superstructure of the wall had not yet collapsed.⁶⁰

The final-PHAB configuration of Room C1 is difficult to determine. The Squatters created a small room in the SE corner of room C1, 2.7 x 2.4 m., with an 0.8 m.-wide doorway. They did this by building two partition walls: an east/west wall⁶¹ abutting PHAB wall,⁶² and a north/south wall⁶³ that is bonded to the east/west wall (see Figure 13). No foundation trenches were dug for the construction of these walls, and no floor surface was found in Room C1. Within Room C1a there was an installation consisting of a stone trough⁶⁴ that had been broken into two pieces and set side-by-side,⁶⁵ ca. 0.7 m.

⁵⁸ **CB36035**, upper elevation of 464.92 m. There is no reason to think that this wall was not extant in the Squatter phase. The plaster of the courtyard floor stopped at the wall and did not continue over the top of it, as floor **CB36039/CB46023** did between the Northern Corridor and Room N3 (see above, p. 98, n. 56). It is possible that the Squatters robbed this particular wall in order to allow access between the Central Courtyard and Room C1, but there is no evidence for it.

⁵⁹ Another option, though less likely, is that there was no wall here, but that Room C1 was open to the courtyard. However, if this were the case it would require some sort of columnation to hold up the roof, and there is not enough space between the top of what is left of wall **CB36034** to host the ashlar that we see in this kind of construction elsewhere in the building. Compare the stylobate ashlar that still exist in wall **CB16030**, between Room S4 and Room S5, and the way that the cobble subfloor has been laid up against the top of the drafting on the face of the ashlar, leaving them to stick up above the floor slightly. The same phenomenon occurs in the interaction between the floors laid up against stylobates **CB25001** and **CB25007**.

⁶⁰ Most doorways in the PHAB did not have a threshold stone. Instead, the plaster of the floor was laid over the top of the wall foundation (see, e.g., Figure 29 and Figure 32).

⁶¹ **CB36037**

⁶² **CB36018**

⁶³ **CB36036**

⁶⁴ K06S024

east of the north/south wall and ca. 1.7 m. west of the PHAB wall. Between these trough halves and the PHAB wall were 9 paving stones⁶⁶ that ran up against east/west Squatter wall (see Figure 15). All of these features had roughly the same founding and surface elevations.⁶⁷

The interpretation of Room C1b is more problematic than the Northern Corridor or Room C1a. As noted above, the wall between the Central Courtyard and Room C1b has been robbed down to 464.99 m. (high)/464.81 m. (low). The courtyard floor immediately to the south⁶⁸ is at 464.92 m. (see Figure 16). The wall that divides between the Western Corridor and Room C1b⁶⁹ has been robbed down to 465.36 m. (high)/465.05 m. (low), and that high point consists of only a ca. 70 cm.-long section of wall immediately north of the intersection with the east/west wall that divides between Room C1b and the Central Courtyard. In other words, while there is a lot of Squatter material in this area, it all has been found in highly disrupted contexts. For example, because the wall between Room C1b and the Central Courtyard had been so deeply robbed, the soil on top of the courtyard floor, on top of the pavers in Room C1a, and coming down on the troughs in Room C1a constituted a contiguous soil locus (i.e., the soil looked the same and was dug as one depositional unit until the robbed-out wall was found).⁷⁰ However,

⁶⁵ **CB36033**

⁶⁶ **CB36017**

⁶⁷ The top of the pavers was at 465.09/465.03 m, and they were sitting on a soil surface at 464.87 m. The elevation of the rim of the trough halves was 465.16, and the elevation of the trough portion was at 465.07 m. The trough halves were sitting on a soil surface at 464.91/464.82 m. The founding level of wall **CB36037** was at 464.79 m. and the founding level of wall **CB36036** was at 464.74 m. The distance between the extant pavers and the nearest edge of the trough halves was 0.6 m. It is unknown if there were originally more pavers (taken as part of the robbing episode), or if these 9 stones constituted the entirety of the original surface. It is worth noting that a juglet base with a false ring foot dating to the 1st century BCE-1st century CE was found between the paving stones, undoubtedly from the robbing episode.

⁶⁸ **CB37022**

⁶⁹ **CB37002**

⁷⁰ **CB36027**

even when the soil units that were dug on top of the courtyard were separated out,⁷¹ there was still a significant amount of material that was ambiguous with regard to the question of whether it belonged to the Squatters left it, such as an astragalus;⁷² a Phoenician Semi-Fine juglet,⁷³ a bronze tool,⁷⁴ a basalt hand stone fragment,⁷⁵ a basalt mortar base,⁷⁶ another bronze tool,⁷⁷ two iron tools,⁷⁸ and a glass bowl body sherd⁷⁹ in unit CB3.6.061B, and a bronze tool⁸⁰ and ceramic funnel⁸¹ in unit CB3.6.064.

The same can be said for the rubble that was excavated from above the courtyard floor in in CB 3.7 SW,⁸² which is one of the soil loci which contains large amounts of Squatter material but had pottery spanning from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine period.⁸³ It had Kfar Hananya, ESA, BCW, a coin of Antiochus VIII and Cleopatra,⁸⁴ a coin of Demetrius II's second reign,⁸⁵ a coin of Antiochus VIII,⁸⁶ an ESA dish rim,⁸⁷ a casserole rim,⁸⁸ a Hellenistic Black Glaze cup,⁸⁹ a Hellenistic Black Glaze pottery sherd

⁷¹ CB3.6.060, CB3.6.061A, CB3.6.061B, CB3.6.063, CB3.6.064, and CB3.6.067.

⁷² In CB3.6.060.

⁷³ K06P043

⁷⁴ K06M030

⁷⁵ K06S026

⁷⁶ K06S025

⁷⁷ K06T#1011

⁷⁸ K06T#1006 and K06T#1007

⁷⁹ K06T#1143

⁸⁰ K06T#1020

⁸¹ K06P051

⁸² CB37007

⁸³ The other soil loci containing Squatter material are CB37018 (a 1 m² probe in the NE corner of CB3.7 SE); CB37025 (the remnants of wall robbing activity); and CB37027 (the fill of disturbed soil associated with the construction of wall **CB37021**). There is one coin of Antiochus VII (K08C033) and a fragment of an ESA hemispherical bowl that were found in baulk trimming units CB3.7.142 and CB3.7.111, respectively.

⁸⁴ K08C014 (126-125 BCE)

⁸⁵ K08C011 (128-127 BCE)

⁸⁶ K08C017 (135-134 BCE)

⁸⁷ K08P070

⁸⁸ K08P071

⁸⁹ K08P215

with an “X” on it,⁹⁰ a hollow iron pipe fragment,⁹¹ an Attic lekythos,⁹² a Persian White Ware jar rim,⁹³ and a Persian White Ware saucer.⁹⁴ This is a typical picture of Squatter material remains: the non-ceramic finds cannot be assigned to a period, Squatter or otherwise.

What *can* be said, with certainty, is that the Squatters used this room. The walls that enclose the room certainly were in place, as was the doorway into Room N3. A small piece of floor composed of plaster mixed with soil and pebbles⁹⁵ could have been a Squatter surface; another floor nearby, constructed of limestone chips and soil, probably was not, given its elevation.⁹⁶ Alternatively, this latter floor might be evidence of two Squatter phases, as is the case elsewhere (e.g., tabun **CB25041** and the floors around and under it in Room E3), in which case the pavers (and walls?) in Room C1a constitute a second phase, and this surface, along with some nearby stones⁹⁷ constitute a squatter use surface (perhaps the original building floor) and some sort of wall/installation (perhaps even a wall that was dismantled).

⁹⁰ K08I001

⁹¹ K08M024

⁹² K08P088

⁹³ K08P034

⁹⁴ K08P217

⁹⁵ **CB37019**, at an elevation of 464.97 m. (the pavement in Room C1a was at 465.03-465.09 m.).

⁹⁶ **CB37023** (at elevation 464.72 m. in the west and 464.67 m. in the east). The foundation of the Squatter walls in Room C1a were at 464.74 m. and 464.79 m.

⁹⁷ **CB37021**

The Central Courtyard – Architecture (Figure 17)⁹⁸

The variable nature of elevations within the Administrative Building is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the thick, sturdy Central Courtyard floor, which was found at 464.93 m.,⁹⁹ 464.98 m.,¹⁰⁰ 465.00 m.,¹⁰¹ 464.92 m. (high)/464.55 m. (low),¹⁰² 464.76 m.,¹⁰³ and 464.79 m.¹⁰⁴ Architecturally there are several features in the courtyard that are the result of the Squatters' use of the building. In the northwestern corner of the Central Courtyard (in the southeastern corner of CB 3.7 SE) there is a section paving stones above the courtyard floor (see Figure 32).¹⁰⁵ The LDM of the soil among these stones, as well as in the soil on top of them,¹⁰⁶ was a sherd of a high necked cookpot, and the LDM underneath them was ESA.¹⁰⁷ There were also pieces of PHAB wall plaster found in the soil underneath the pavers, which is a common find in Squatter loci, as well as chert blade fragments.¹⁰⁸

Approximately 2.5 m. west of the western edge of these pavers the Squatters built a tabun and embedded an ashlar¹⁰⁹ in the floor 7 cm. to the south (see Figure 18).¹¹⁰ As with the tabun in the Northern and Western Corridors, chunks of face plaster from the

⁹⁸ The Central Courtyard consists of the area bounded on the north by wall **CB36034/CB37020** (running between the Central Courtyard and Room C1), on the west by wall **CB37002/CB27001** (running between the Central Courtyard and the Western Corridor), on the south by wall **CB27004/CB17003/CB16034** (dividing between the Central Courtyard and Room S2, S3, and S4), and on the east by **CB16030/CB26001/CB36018** (dividing between the Central Courtyard and Room C3, Room C5, and the South-Central Corridor).

⁹⁹ **CB36033**

¹⁰⁰ **CB36033**

¹⁰¹ **CB37026**

¹⁰² **CB26006**

¹⁰³ **CB27008**

¹⁰⁴ **CB17015**

¹⁰⁵ **CB37017**, with an upper elevation of 465.15 m./465.11 m.

¹⁰⁶ **CB37026**

¹⁰⁷ **CB37017.1**

¹⁰⁸ **K08T#1372**

¹⁰⁹ **CB37026**

¹¹⁰ **CB37031**. It stood 22 cm. east of wall **CB37002** and 45 cm. south of wall **CB37020** and was 73-79 cm. in diameter and slightly oblong, with ca. 5 cm.-thick walls.

PHAB walls and pottery were affixed to the outer walls, and no floor was found. The courtyard floor in this area¹¹¹ was found to have three laminates (from 465.00 m. down to 464.84 m.) and the tabun was found to either have been cut through all of the floor laminates or placed on the floor and then the upper laminate(s) laid up against it.¹¹² The limestone ashlar that was embedded in the floor appears in the photos to be lying flat, with an upper elevation not more than 5 cm. above that of the floor and, as noted above, 7 cm. southwest of the tabun.¹¹³ The LDM of the soil both inside the tabun¹¹⁴ and above it¹¹⁵ was BCW, and while no identifiable pottery was found in the 0.1 m. underneath it, there were two pieces of plaster, suggesting that construction post-dated the deterioration of the plaster-faced building walls.

In the southeastern corner of the courtyard (in CB2.6 SW) a plaster bin was found sitting upright on the courtyard floor at a declination of ca. 13 degrees to the east of the north/south axis of the building (see Figure 19). Its dimensions were ca. 0.9 x 0.95 m. and while its north and east sides were well and moderately preserved, respectively, its south and west sides were not preserved at all. It was sitting on a layer of soil at an elevation of

¹¹¹ **CB3702**

¹¹² The locus and unit sheets simply say that the tabun was cut through the floor (see the locus sheet for the courtyard floor, **CB37026**). However, the existence of a 3 laminate plaster floor in relation to a tabun is reminiscent of the (Squatter) three laminate plaster floor in CB 2.5 (**CB25039**, **CB25040**, **CB25042**, **CB25043**). In that case the second laminate was cut through, a tabun was placed on the lower laminate, and the upper laminate was laid up against the tabun. Furthermore, the photos from CB3.7 SE indicate that the upper laminate is laid up against the tabun walls – there is no soil between the plaster surface and the tabun. The final report says that “We came down upon a squatter era tabun, **CB37031**, cut into the courtyard floor, **CB37026**. . . This is on top of a crushed limestone floor, **CB37026**, 22cm East of **CB37002**, and 45 cm south of wall **CB37020**. It is 7cm NW of a limestone ashlar embedded in the limestone floor.” The locus sheet for the tabun (**CB37031**) says the same thing. There is no further evidence on the unit sheets. Taken together, it seems that we have the same situation here as in CB 2.5. The bottom of the tabun wall was at 464.85 m.

¹¹³ The limestone ashlar did not receive its own locus number and it appears that no elevations were taken (it is not mentioned on the unit sheets and was neither drawn nor the elevations recorded on the top plans).

¹¹⁴ **CB37031.0**

¹¹⁵ **CB37039**

464.63 m. that was on top of the courtyard floor (which was at 464.55 m.).¹¹⁶ A sherd of ESA was discovered in the soil sealed by the bin, revealing it to be either used by the Squatters or, more likely, thrown there during the wall robbing episodes. Ca. 1.1 m. southwest of this bin, and similarly oriented with respect to the building walls, was a stone basin¹¹⁷ lying up against the wall dividing the Central Courtyard from Room S4.¹¹⁸ It, too, appears to be the result of a robbing episode; however, its proximity to another similarly-oriented bin and a strangely-oriented wall leave open the possibility that this is a disturbed Squatter installation.

Another wall¹¹⁹ was discovered extending 0.72 m. into the Central Courtyard from the wall that divides the Central Courtyard from Room S4¹²⁰ at a 68 degree western declination from that wall (see Figure 21).¹²¹ It is difficult to determine whether or not it constitutes Squatter construction. When it was first excavated in 2006 it continued into the unexcavated area of CB2.6 SW, but when CB2.6 SW was excavated in 2008, no evidence for the wall could be found. However, there was a cut in the courtyard floor with what appeared to be one course of a wall in it (see Figure 19),¹²² though this course of a wall seemed to be oriented more truly north than that found in 2006. Whether the two walls were connected and the upper courses of **CB26029** were robbed, or **CB16023** had nothing whatsoever to do with **CB26029**, is unknown. It should be noted that the top of the one course of stones that constitutes **CB26029** as found was at 464.60 m., which is

¹¹⁶ The top edge of the bin was at 464.96 m. and the bottom (inside the bin) was at 464.71 m

¹¹⁷ **K06S023**

¹¹⁸ **CB16034/CB17003**

¹¹⁹ **CB16023**

¹²⁰ **CB16034**

¹²¹ **CB16023** had four courses, to an absolute elevation of 465.10 m. (high)/465.03 m. (low), and it was 0.60 m. wide. It was preserved to a height of 0.67 m. Note that this is the same width as the Squatter walls in Room C1 (**CB36037** and **CB36038**).

¹²² **CB26029**

the same elevation as the courtyard floor next to it. A small patch of plaster floor (**CB16024**) to the east of wall **CB16023** was found to be laid up against it and over the lowest course, with a surface elevation of 464.62 m.

The LDM among the stones in wall **CB16023** was Late Roman and Byzantine, but the LDM in the 0.1 underneath the wall and plaster floor was a Phoenician Semi-Fine lagynos, which need not be later than the occupation of the building. Furthermore, there was no deeper floor found – it seems that **CB16024** is the PHAB courtyard floor. That said, there was also mud brick present in the 0.1 m. underneath it, suggesting (but not necessitating) a construction date for both the floor and the wall after the abandonment of the building. The conclusion that these strangely oriented walls belong to a PHAB phase of the building seems unlikely (they are built like, and to the same dimensions as, the Squatter walls in Room C1; besides, what function would they serve?). The most likely explanation is that the floor **CB26006/****CB16024** (or at least the upper surface/laminate of it), as well as walls **CB16023** and **CB26029**, belong to the Squatter phase of the building.

Another patch of floor¹²³ was discovered just west of the stone basin K06S023, at an elevation of 464.79 m. (the courtyard floor here is at 464.79/464.77 m.). This floor is likely the same as a patch of plaster floor found in the southeastern corner of CB 2.7 SE.¹²⁴ It potentially (though not certainly) provides further evidence for a *terminus ante quem* for the Squatter habitation, for a Phoenician Semi-Fine plain rim saucer lid and a (possibly) Roman Jar rim were found in the sealed 0.1 m. underneath it.

In the southwestern corner of the courtyard is a small room (Room S1) that is impossible to say whether or not the Squatters used. It was built by the construction of

¹²³ **CB17015**

¹²⁴ **CB27015**, at 464.85 m.

two walls (see Figure 22).¹²⁵ The east/west wall¹²⁶ is of pier and rubble construction and runs east from the western wall of the Central Courtyard (a PHAB-phase wall),¹²⁷ while the north/south wall¹²⁸ was found to bond with PHAB wall **CB17003/CB27004**. The LDM underneath the two walls was Local Fine and Hellenistic wheel-ridged cookware – nothing that need date later than the PHAB. However, even though these two walls sit higher than the Central Courtyard floor, the fact that they bond with the two walls of the courtyard makes it extremely unlikely that the Squatters built them. However, their existence at the time of excavation (not to mention the LDM of Kfar Hananya cookware within wall **CB27006**) means that they (and therefore room Room S1) existed at the time that the Squatters were in the building. The floor in Room S1, a plaster floor with a surface elevation of 465.01 m. (high)/464.95 m. (low),¹²⁹ was well above the courtyard floor¹³⁰ but had Hellenistic wheel-ridged cookware and a Phoenician Semi Fine baggy jar in it, and the 0.1 m. beneath it had an LDM of Sandy cookware (2nd century BCE).

The Central Courtyard – Soil Loci (Figure 17)

As noted above, the wall that divides Room C1 from the Central Courtyard¹³¹ was robbed down below the level of the courtyard floor (which lies at ca. 464.92 m. in this part of the courtyard). It seems likely that the door between Room C1 and the Central Courtyard was at the place where that wall is most deeply robbed, namely at the center of

¹²⁵ Wall **CB27006**, running north/south and bonding to the southern wall of the Central Courtyard (**CB17003/CB27004**), and wall **CB27005**, running east/west and bonding with the west wall of the Central Courtyard (**CB27001**). It was preserved to 465.22 m. and had a founding elevation of 464.88 m.

¹²⁶ **CB27005**. It was found preserved to 465.22 m. (high)/465.08 m. (low) and was founded at an elevation of 464.95 m.

¹²⁷ **CB27001**

¹²⁸ **CB27006**

¹²⁹ **CB27007**

¹³⁰ **CB27008**, at 464.75 m. here.

¹³¹ **CB37020**

the wall, where it crosses between CB3.6 SW to CB3.7SE (see section on Room C1, above). As a result of the nearby ancient congress between these two areas and the subsequent robbing episode, it is difficult to determine what of the material found in the soil locus on top of the courtyard floor in CB 3.6 SW¹³² might have belonged to the Squatters. On the one hand, the nearby features – the paving stones,¹³³ the tabun,¹³⁴ and the ashlar to its south – testify to Squatter presence. On the other hand, as previously discussed, the precise nature of that presence (are the tools theirs? The chert blades?) is unclear.

Squatter material was found in the upper elevations – for instance a coin from Demetrius II's second reign,¹³⁵ an ESA dish rim,¹³⁶ and a coin of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII.¹³⁷ However, this locus is essentially subsoil, and the lowest of these items was found above 465.35 m. A large amount of Squatter material was recovered from the soil and debris from the robbing of the wall between the Central Courtyard and Room C1b:¹³⁸ 0.85 kg (plus 10 sherds) of ESA in 10 units,¹³⁹ a high necked cookpot in one unit,¹⁴⁰ three coins, and a stamped Rhodian amphora handle.¹⁴¹ However, everything except 3 sherds of ESA were found in units dug north of that wall. On the other hand, the

¹³² **CB36027**

¹³³ **CB37017**

¹³⁴ **CB37031**

¹³⁵ **K08C011** (128-127 BCE)

¹³⁶ **K08P070**

¹³⁷ **K08C014** (126-125 BCE). All of these were found in **CB37007**. Ambiguous finds in the Central Courtyard units of **CB37007** include a hollow iron pipe (**K08M024**), metal and a nail from CB3.7.091, an Iron chisel and a nail from CB3.7.094, and casserole rim **K08P071** from CB3.7.102

¹³⁸ **CB37025**.

¹³⁹ The units with ESA were CB3.7.085, CB3.7.086, CB3.7.088, CB3.7.097, CB3.7.099, CB3.7.105, CB3.7.106, CB3.7.113, CB3.7.116, and CB3.7.117. An incurved rim bowl in ESA was also inventoried from CB3.7.088 (**K08P036**).

¹⁴⁰ CB3.7.144.

¹⁴¹ **K08C019** (Antiochus VII – 134-133 BCE); **K08C021** (Demetrius II, second reign – 129-128 BCE); **K08C022** (Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII – 126-125 BCE). The stamped amphora handle dates to 143/42-128 BCE (**K08SAH003**).

soil associated with the robbing of the wall dividing the Central Courtyard from the Western Corridor¹⁴² had much more Squatter material in the units that overlay the Central Courtyard: 1.55 kg of BCW (plus a further 13 sherds),¹⁴³ one sherd of ESA, one cast glass body sherd, a coin of Antiochus VII, and plaster.¹⁴⁴ As for the rest of the material in these loci, once again it is as yet impossible to determine what belongs to the Squatter phase and what is from the PHAB phase. The Squatter material in CB37025 is mixed in with material that is certainly not Squatter,¹⁴⁵ as well as material that is ambiguous.¹⁴⁶

Throughout the courtyard the picture stays the same. A rubble layer that extended across CB2.6 NW¹⁴⁷ contained a high necked sandy cookware cookpot, 0.35 kg (plus 1 sherd) of ESA, and an ESA platter with a ring-foot base.¹⁴⁸ The soil underneath this rubble layer,¹⁴⁹ which came down on the courtyard floor had a further 6 sherds of ESA, plaster, and glass;¹⁵⁰ and the soil in a cut in the courtyard floor¹⁵¹ had another sherd of

¹⁴² Soil locus CB37042; wall **CB37002**.

¹⁴³ CB3.7.190: 0.6 kg of BCW; CB3.7.195: 4 sherds of BCW; CB3.7.196: 4 sherds of BCW; CB3.7.198: 0.45 kg of BCW; CB3.7.199: 0.5 kg of BCW; CB3.7.204: 5 sherds of BCW.

¹⁴⁴ The ESA is from CB3.7.199; the cast glass body sherd (K09T#584) and the coin (K09C006 – 136-135 BCE) are from CB3.7.197.

¹⁴⁵ K08C018 (Alexander III, 336-323 BCE); K08C020 (Antiochus III, 222-187 BCE); K08C005 (Antiochus IV, 175-173 BCE); K08P035 (a Punic amphora); K08P093 (a spatter ware mortarium); K08P094 (Attic black glaze); K08P095 (and Orange Jar rim); K08P014 (a gritty cookware cookpot rim and handle); K08P105 (a Persian cookpot); K08P117 (an Iron Age bowl); K08L010 (an Eroses lamp fragment); K08L013 (a folded lamp fragment).

¹⁴⁶ K08C024 (a coin unreadable but known to be Seleucid); K08P072 (a BSP bowl fragment); K08P218 (a Peach-Grey Jar fragment); K08P080 (a Phoenician semi-fine amphoriskos); K08M006 (a net hook [?]); K08M010 (a double hook); K08M013 (a fibula arch and pin); K08M025 (an iron tack); K08M011 (a medallion); K08BD001 (a double-pierced trapezoidal agate bead); K08BI005 (a bone spatula).

¹⁴⁷ CB26013, extending from 465.28 m. down to 464.92 m. (the courtyard floor is at 464.92 m. [high]/464.84 m. [low] here).

¹⁴⁸ K06P022. CB26013 had an LDM of Kfar Hananya cookware. The ambiguous material here includes a generic Seleucid 2nd century BCE coin (K06C012); a nail (K06M012); a Delphiniform lamp (K06L010); and a BSP plate rim (K06P023). The non-Squatter material in CB26013 includes an Attic wheelmade lamp (K06L020); a Cypriote black/red rim (K06P001); and a mortarium that joins with fragments from CB26019 (K06P066).

¹⁴⁹ CB26019

¹⁵⁰ CB26019 had 1 small sherd of Early Islamic pottery, as well as Early Roman cookware. Ambiguous material includes a Delphiniform lamp (K06L011); an iron hook or latch (K06M013); a bronze knife fragment (K06M014); a BSP plate (K06P034); illegible Rhodian stamped amphora handles (K06SAH004

ESA, Judaeen style cookware, Late Hellenistic cookware, and wall plaster.¹⁵² The same sort of pattern can be seen in CB 2.6 SW. Fill and rubble covering most of CB 2.6 SW¹⁵³ and coming down on the courtyard floor¹⁵⁴ had an LDM of ESA in five of its seven units. The total amount of ESA (0.1 kg) was complimented by 0.01 kg of BCW, high-necked cookpot fragments, and 0.38 kg of a Brindisi amphora (late 2nd-late 1st centuries BCE).¹⁵⁵

There is further good evidence for Squatter presence in Room S1, but the bulk of it is again in higher elevations. The soil¹⁵⁶ above the floor in Room S1 and the upper floor above the courtyard in the southeastern corner of CB 2.7 SE¹⁵⁷ had 2 ESA rims and a BCW lid.¹⁵⁸ The soil above the wall dividing between the Central Courtyard and the Western Corridor) had an LDM of blown glass (ca. 50 BCE), ESA, a coin of Antiochus VII,¹⁵⁹ a stamped amphora handle dating to 132 BCE,¹⁶⁰ an ESA incurved rim bowl foot,¹⁶¹ and an ESA incurved rim bowl.¹⁶²

and K06SAH005); bronze rods K06T#579 and K06T#641; and nails and glass. Material that is certainly not Squatter in CB26019 includes a Local Fine wheelmade lamp (K06L012); an Iron Age I fragment (K06P027); a 1st century CE lamp discus (K08T#655); an Attic black glaze lamp nozzle; and a Persian folded lamp.

¹⁵¹ CB26021

¹⁵² Five folded lamp fragments were also found in this cut into the courtyard floor, which could as easily be from the soil below the courtyard floor as from the debris scattered on top of it during the wall robbing.

¹⁵³ CB26036

¹⁵⁴ from 464.89 m. down to 464.49 m.

¹⁵⁵ K08P149

¹⁵⁶ CB27017

¹⁵⁷ **CB27015**

¹⁵⁸ As well as a Koan Knidian cup (K00P111), plaster, metal, the base of a moldmade lamp, a folded lamp sherd, a lamp nozzle, and a moldmade bowl. It is worth mentioning that the Koan Knidian cup joins with fragments from CB27019, a fill in the Western Corridor.

¹⁵⁹ K00C041 (134-133 BCE)

¹⁶⁰ K00SAH008

¹⁶¹ K00P162

¹⁶² K00P151. There was a very high pottery density in this rubble locus (19.46 g/L). Ambiguous finds included a Phoenician Semi Fine jug (K00P092); a local motza jar rim (K00P046); a BSP offset rim plate (K00P144); a Phoenician Semi-Fine round mouth table juglet (K00P087); a Phoenician Semi-Fine amphoriskos (K00P156); Rhodian amphora fragments K00P125 and K00P037; a table amphora [WHAT FABRIC??] (K00P189); an amphoriskos or Cypriote juglet (K00P140); a moldmade bowl in ESA or BSP (K00P219); a Phoenician Semi-Fine table amphora (K00P189); a BSP fishplate (K00P157); a BSP hemispherical bowl (K00P107); an imported plate [WHAT FABRIC?!] (K00P147); an imported cookpot

Room W2 (Figure 23)

Though the walls in this northern area of the Western Corridor have been robbed to one degree or another,¹⁶³ it is clear that they were in existence during the Squatter phase. The doorway that existed between the Western Corridor and Room N2 during the PHAB phases was blocked up with ashlar and stones,¹⁶⁴ most likely by the Squatters (see Figure 24). The reasoning for this conclusion is that (a) the room to the north (Room N2) was found with 12 amphorae leaning against the wall, which is typical elsewhere in the building in rooms that went unused after the PHAB was abandoned. Furthermore, it seems very unlikely that the room was blocked off during the life of the Administrative Building. Finally, while the LDM in the soil underneath the doorway blocks was Hellenistic cookware, there was also wall plaster which, while not diagnostic, is suggestive of the Squatters. PHAB wall plaster is associated with many – if not all – of the Squatter loci, probably the result of the degradation of the building over time and the lack of ability or desire on the part of the Squatters to repair the plastered walls. While a good deal of this wall plaster is likely the result of the wall robbing episodes and the subsequent mixing of material from the wall robbing phase(s) with that of the Squatter phase, PHAB wall plaster was used by the Squatters to reinforce and/or insulate their

lid [WHAT FABRIC??!] (K00P158); a sandy cookpot (K00P150); a Western Mediterranean amphora rim (K00P161); an offset rim plate (K00P144); a bone tool (K00BI002); glass; a grindstone; a stone pindle whorl; a cosmetic applicator; the back of a moldmade figurine; nails; metal; and flint. Unambiguously *not* Squatter items in this locus include a coin of Antiochus III (K00C026 – 222-187 BCE); Stamped amphora handle K00SAH012 (188 BCE); a White Ware bowl ring foot (K00P049); a Kfar Hananya 3A casserole in sandy cook fabric (K00P083); overhanging rim kraters [WHAT FABRIC??] K00P121 and K00P222; a Koan Knidian cup in an unknown fabric (K00P111); an Early Bronze platter in spatter ware (K00P146); a curled ridged rim mortarium (K00P160); and the blown glass that gives this locus its LDM.

¹⁶³ **CB37001**, the western wall of Room W2, is preserved as high as 465.75 m.; **CB37004**, the north wall of Room W2, is preserved to 465.86 m.; and **CB37002**, the eastern wall of Room W2, is preserved to 465.12 m.

¹⁶⁴ **CB37003**

tabuns and chunks of it, along with flat fieldstones, have been found on the outside of every Squatter tabun.

The southern wall of Room W2,¹⁶⁵ which has been created out of the northern part of the Western Corridor, is also likely Squatter (see Figure 25). Though the LDM underneath it was a wheel-made lamp fragment (i.e., *terminus post quem* of the 5th century BCE), the wall was poorly constructed, ca. 80 cm. thick at its best-preserved point, and had a well-defined north face, suggesting that its builders were using the area to the north. This, plus the facts that this wall has divided the Western Corridor into a room, that the Squatters were clearly using Room W2 (see below), and that it is above the level of beaten earth floor **CB37010** (see below) make it most likely that this is a Squatter wall/doorway into Room W2. As with many other Squatter-used rooms in the building, no floor or living surface was found to be associated with this wall.

Evidence for Squatter presence in Room W2, in addition to the installations (see below) includes a coin of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII,¹⁶⁶ a coin of Antiochus VII,¹⁶⁷ an autonomous Acco/Ptolemais coin,¹⁶⁸ and an ESA molded bowl fragment.¹⁶⁹ All were found in the rubble subsoil¹⁷⁰ and the non-rubble fill below that,¹⁷¹ both of which covered the entire room.

It is possible that here again we see evidence for two phases. The bottom of (presumably Squatter) wall **CB37005** is at 465.31/465.23 m., which is to say that it's floating 17-25 cm. above (presumably final PHAB phase) floor **CB37010**. Between the

¹⁶⁵ **CB37005**. Upper elevation 465.65 m. (high)/465.63 m. (low); founding elevation 465.31 m. (high)/465.23 m. (low).

¹⁶⁶ **K06C008** (126-123 BCE)

¹⁶⁷ **K06C003** (134-133 BCE)

¹⁶⁸ **K06C002** (prior to 132 BCE)

¹⁶⁹ **K06P025**

¹⁷⁰ **CB37007**; LDM: Byzantine.

¹⁷¹ **CB37008**; LDM: Early Roman.

two (in elevation, not in loci) is soil locus CB37008 (465.23-465.05 m.), which has an ESA mold made bowl in it, as well as loom weights K06TC004 and K06TC005.¹⁷²

Another soil surface was also discovered¹⁷³ that showed signs of having been burnt (it was dark grey to black all the way through its 0.5-1.0 cm. thickness in its best-preserved parts). The few obvious signs of burning elsewhere in the building are, with the exception of Room N1, coterminous with the building's abandonment. The same is likely here, for this floor's elevation is 17-25 cm. below the foundation course of wall **CB37005** and is a good deal deeper than the PHAB floor in Room N2, just through the doorway to the north (at elev. 465.34 m. [high]/465.14 m. [low]). It is possible (likely?) that there was a step up into Room N2 from the Western corridor as there seems to have been between the Northern Corridor and Room N3 (ca. 10 cm. – 30 cm. step up, depending on which elevation we take for Room N2 as being original – the step up from the Northern Corridor to Room N3 was ca. 40 cm.). Equally likely is that this floor is a Squatter-phase floor. The soil sealed underneath the floor contained a Early Roman cookpot bodysherds, as well as a Parthian Green Glazed everted rim bowl fragment.¹⁷⁴ How then would we account for the fact that wall **CB37005** is “floating” 17-25 cm. above this surface? Here again we see two Squatter phases.

There was also a doorway between Rooms W2 and W1. However, as will be covered below, there is virtually no evidence for Squatter occupation in Room W1. For some reason – perhaps the early collapse of the roofs of the outer rooms – the Squatters seemed not to have used the outer rooms (or, if they did, they didn't leave things in them).

¹⁷² Also arrowhead K06M003

¹⁷³ **CB37010**, at elevation 465.06 m.

¹⁷⁴ K06P076

The Western Corridor (Figure 27 and Figure 28)

South of room Room W2 there is further evidence of Squatter use. Tabun **CB37030**¹⁷⁵ was found without a floor but with a founding elevation of 465.16 m. (high, in the east)/465.08 m. (low, in the west) and an upper preserved elevation of 465.56 m. (see Figure 26).¹⁷⁶ The walls of the tabun were constructed differently than other Squatter tabuns, being built in two layers, each 2-4 cm. thick, between which was a 3-4 cm. wall of soil. The soil inside the tabun¹⁷⁷ had PHAB wall plaster and an LDM of BCW. The 10 cm. below the tabun had an LDM of local fine ware. Around the tabun a patchy, friable soil surface¹⁷⁸ was uncovered at an elevation of 464.40 m., an elevation corresponding to a ring of stones around the tabun (see Figure 29). The LDM in this floor was ESA and BCW, and the LDM of the (admittedly unsealed) 10 centimeters below the floor was BCW (there were also two PHAB wall plaster fragments). To the north of the tabun a small section of flat fieldstone pavers was found¹⁷⁹ with a surface elevation of 465.32 m. and an LDM of Roman jar (or Roman cookware). The 0.1 m. underneath it had an LDM of (possible) BCW. Once again, these two floors seem to be evidence of two Squatter phases.

In the southern portion of the Western Corridor there is little architecture associated with the Squatters other than the PHAB walls. No floor was found – neither Squatter nor from the PHAB. Indeed, in Room S2, the room that opens onto the Western Corridor in the south where a very impressive plaster floor was found, the floor continues into the doorway between Room S2 and the corridor but stops there (see Figure 30). The

¹⁷⁵ Ca. 88-96 cm. in diameter.

¹⁷⁶ **CB37030.0**, the soil inside the tabun: 465.43 m. down to 465.16 m. (high)/465.08 m. (low); **CB37030.1**, 0.1 underneath the tabun: 465.16 m. (high)/465.08 m. (low) down to 464.88 m

¹⁷⁷ **CB37030.0**

¹⁷⁸ **CB37040**

¹⁷⁹ **CB37032**

floor in Room S2¹⁸⁰ lay at 465.16 m. in the doorway to the Western Corridor and at 465.08 m. on the east side of the room. Though no floor was found in the southern portion of the Western Corridor, it is interesting to note that tabun **CB37030** in the northern part of the Western Corridor had the same founding levels as the floor in Room S2.

The soil loci in the Western Corridor exhibited the problem typical of Squatter material that got mixed in with Early Roman robbing/post-robbing material. Some things are undeniably Squatter, such as the ESA, BCW, a coin of Demetrius II's second reign,¹⁸¹ and a cast glass body sherd.¹⁸² However, many items may or may not have belonged to the Squatters: an unfired loom weight, chert blades, a copper alloy fibula arch and pin, an iron rasp fragment, a limestone spindle whorl, and two unfired loom weights from CB37042,¹⁸³ a lead fragment, a chert blade, a carnelian bead, an iron tool, a copper alloy fibula arch and hinge from CB37043,¹⁸⁴ a basalt weight, an iron knife blade, a hand stone, and a pestle stone from CB37047,¹⁸⁵ metal and stone jewelry found in CB27018¹⁸⁶; metal, a molded bowl fragment, lead, glass, and a loom weight found in

¹⁸⁰ **CB17052**

¹⁸¹ K00C006 (129-128 BCE), from subsoil locus CB27020.

¹⁸² From CB3.7.197. Unk. T# (look it up).

¹⁸³ K09TC012, from CB3.7.198 (unfired loom weight), K09T#??, from CB3.7.195 and CB3.7.197 (two chert blades); K09M011, from CB3.7.199 (copper alloy fibula arch and pin); K09T#700, from ??? (iron rasp fragment); K09S008 (limestone spindle whorl); and K09TC010/K09TC011 (two unfired loom weights).

¹⁸⁴ K09T#?? (lead fragment); K09T#?? (chert blade); K09BD003 (carnelian bead); K09M017 (iron tool); and K09M020 (copper alloy fibula arch and hinge).

¹⁸⁵ K09S024 (basalt weight); K09S025 (iron knife blade); K09T#??? (hand stone); K09T#??? (pestle stone). Note that this locus is described as "Persian fill ... Persian and likely Iron Age material, below CB37030.1 [the Squatter tabun's 0.1]. However it has 259 fragments of plaster in it and an LDM of Kfar Hananya.

¹⁸⁶ K09T#407, from CB3.7.028 (metal) and K09T#399 (stone jewelry), from CB3.7.027.

CB27019¹⁸⁷; two pieces of glass found in **CB27020**¹⁸⁸; a basalt hand stone from **CB17063**¹⁸⁹ and blue and black spacer beads and an iron tack or nail head from **CB17064**.¹⁹⁰ Many of these items (e.g., the carnelian beads, the fibulas, and the loom weights, the catapult bolt) could tell us a lot about who the Squatters were (domestic households? Soldiers? Seasonal farmers or shepherds?) if we could definitively tie them to the Squatters.

Room S2 – A Room with Questionable Squatter Presence (Figure 31)¹⁹¹

There are two doorways into Room S2, one on the west, leading into the Western Corridor, and one in its northern wall, leading into the small room that was built into the southwestern corner of the Central Courtyard (Room S1). The final-PHAB floor of Room S2 was 3-5 cm.-thick plaster floor¹⁹² with a sturdy cobble subfloor.¹⁹³ It was found intact and running up against all four walls, though the floor and subfloor were discovered to be missing in the extreme northeast corner of the room. In the southwestern corner of the room, a rectangular plaster bin was found to have been built on top of the floor and against the walls.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁷ **K09T#451**, from CB3.7.031 (metal), **K09T#1067**, from CB3.7.040 (molded bowl fragment); **K09T#1067**, from CB3.7.061 (lead); **K09T#1753**, from CB3.7.061 (glass); and **K09T#1521**, from CB2.7.088 (loom weight).

¹⁸⁸ **K09T#114**, from CB3.7.006 and **K09T#115**, from CB3.7.007.

¹⁸⁹ **K09S006** (basalt handstone). CB1.7.212 and CB1.7.215 were the only units in **CB17063** that were dug over/in the Western Corridor. The rest were in Room S2.

¹⁹⁰ **K09T#538** (blue and black spacer beads); **K09T#539** (iron tack or nail head). CB1.7.216 is the only unit in **CB17064** that was dug in the Western Corridor. The others were in Room S2.

¹⁹¹ Room S2 is bounded by walls **CB17003/CB27004** (on the north), **CB17001** (on the east), **CB17005** (on the south), and **CB17026/CB27001** (on the west).

¹⁹² **CB17052**. Its surface elevation was 465.16 m. (high)/465.08 m. (low).

¹⁹³ **CB17052.1**

¹⁹⁴ **CB17051**, built against walls CB17003/CB27004 and CB17026.

The northern doorway (leading into the Central Courtyard) was found to have been blocked.¹⁹⁵ Four large stones had been set vertically in the doorway: one large ashlar up against each door jamb and a two large pieces of limestone blocking the doorway itself (see Figure 33 and Figure 34). Wall plaster was discovered on the eastern door jamb, between the ashlar and the jamb itself, and these were founded at an elevation of ca. 464.92 m., which is to say, at least 10 cm. below the level of the plaster floor in Room S2 (which was at 465.16 m./465.08 m.) and nearly 10 cm. below the plaster floor in Room S1 (**CB27007**, at 465.01 m. just north of the doorway).¹⁹⁶ The door blocks that were placed against the plastered door jambs were flush with the northern and southern faces of the northern wall of Room S1 and one ashlar was found lying as a stretcher in the doorway, flush with the northern face of the wall, with an upper elevation of 465.03 m. (see Figure 35).¹⁹⁷ However, the two limestone pieces standing upright on the south side of the doorway bellied out into Room S2 and were founded at an elevation of ca. 465.12 m. (i.e., at the level of the floor surface – see Figure 33). The LDM of the soil under and around the southern door blocks was Ras al-Fukra (i.e., early modern)¹⁹⁸ while the LDM for the soil underneath the elevation of these door blocks (a pass under the cobbles of the subfloor of CB17052, including in the area of the door block) was two sherds of Kfar

¹⁹⁵ **CB17071**

¹⁹⁶ End CB2.7.056.

¹⁹⁷ The northern half of this doorway was dug in 2000, and that is when this ashlar was found. See the unit sheet for CB2.7.066 and the top plan for June 23, 2000.

¹⁹⁸ Unit CB1.7.207, dug from 465.42 m. (the top of the two large stones that bellied into Room S2) down to 464.90 m. and locused along with CB1.7.232 as **CB17071.1** (see next footnote). Note that, as mentioned in the previous footnote, the northern half of this doorway was dug in 2000 and lay exposed to the elements for nine years before the southern door blocks and the soil around them were excavated. The Ras al-Fuqra pottery (one sherd) found in this unit could be the result of contamination from prolonged exposure, or it could be the result of soil churned up in the early modern period.

Hananya 4a (i.e., Early Roman).¹⁹⁹ When the door blocks and the stones associated with them were removed, the excavators discovered that the plaster floor of the room did not continue underneath them – it was intact to a point just south of the door blocks. However, it was impossible to tell if the floor had been cut when the door blocks were put in or if the floor was too degraded to find (see Figure 34).

There are four possible interpretations of this door blocking event. It is possible that the blocking of this doorway is coterminous with the blocking of the doorways in the eastern rooms (Rooms W1, W3, W4, and W5), and that all of these blocking events occurred after the Squatters abandoned the building, perhaps associated with reuse of these rooms as animal pens (i.e., coterminous with stone structure **CB27002/CB27003** in the Western Corridor, which was at an elevation of ca. 465.70 m.). The second option is that this doorway was blocked in the last phase of the PHAB (prior to the abandonment), at the time that Room S1 was built (the small room in the southwest corner of the Central Courtyard), and perhaps also when the bin in the southwest corner of the room was installed. Room S2 was probably accessed from the Central Courtyard, and this might have been the reason that the door between Rooms S2 and S1 was blocked. This would make sense of the more deeply founded blocking stones that were up against the plaster of the original doorjamb. Furthermore, the door blocking was flush with the northern face of the wall between Room S2 and the Central Courtyard, as opposed to its bellying out on the southern face, perhaps suggesting that the blocking was intentionally executed for the purposes of Room S1's construction. However, such an interpretation requires an explanation for the fact that the thick plaster floor and subfloor of Room S2 seems to

¹⁹⁹ Unit **CB1.7.232**, dug from 464.97 m. down to 464.83 m, and located along with **CB1.7.207** as **CB17071.1** (see previous footnote).

have either been laid or refinished after the doorway was blocked (in which case the floor was laid and the walls were plastered with care, but no care was taken to see that the door blocking was flush with the south face of the northern wall of the room). The third option is that the Squatters blocked this door, and that for unknown reasons they wanted to access this room from the Western Corridor but not from the Central Courtyard. This option requires an explanation as to why the Squatters would have dug down to the stones underlying the doorway in order to found the stones deeply against the door jambs, but then placed the other blocking stones at the level of the floor. The fourth option is that there are two blocking episodes in this doorway.

This last option seems the most likely. The inhabitants of the PHAB, throughout its various phases, exhibited a penchant for well-constructed architecture, while the Squatters often built walls on dirt or plaster floors without digging foundations. It would make sense that if this northern doorway was to be blocked during any of the PHAB phases, the PHAB inhabitants would not have simply placed ashlar on top of the plaster floor in the doorway. Rather, they would likely have dug down below the plaster floor to find the wall below it, and would then have founded their stones on the wall. This excavation to find the top of the wall would account for the disturbance of the plaster floor and subfloor in and just south of the doorway. The fact that the door blocks which were placed up against the plastered door jambs were flush with the north and south faces of the wall fit this scenario as well. The two large stones bellying out into Room S2 would then have been placed there after the abandonment of the building. Indeed, the construction of this door block looks very much like the construction of the door block between Rooms N2 and W2 (see Figure 25), which was clearly placed by the Squatters.

The problem with this interpretation is the question of why somebody (presumably the Squatters) felt a need to further block a doorway that had already been blocked (though at the level of the floors of Rooms S2 and S1 this time). The answer is unclear, but there seem to be two possibilities. Either the doorway was later unblocked (between the PHAB phases and the later blockers), or the doorway was not actually blocked the first time around, but was rather narrowed. As noted above, an ashlar was found stretching across the doorway, flush with the northern face, with an upper elevation of 465.03. This ashlar spanned the distance between the ashlars that were placed up against the plastered door jambs and its upper elevation is very close to the elevation of the floors on either side of the doorway. Why a doorway would need to be narrowed is unclear, but the function of room Room S1, as well as the function of Room S2 before and after the placement of the plastered bin, is also unclear. Perhaps more wall space was needed in Room S2. Perhaps cultural sensibilities included a connection between doorway width and the function of space. What *is* clear is that the original door width (the door with the plastered door jambs) was 1.09 m., an apparently standard width that is similar to other doorways, such as the one between Rooms S12 and S11 (1.06 m.), the one between Rooms S5 and S6 (1.13 m.), the one between Rooms W1 and N1 (1.09 m.), the one between Rooms W3 and W1 (1.09 m.), and others. The narrower doorway, if indeed the doorway was narrowed instead of blocked was between 0.50-0.67 m. (it is difficult to tell exactly because the stones were so degraded). This is a width that is very much like the doorway into storeroom Room W7 (0.52 m.),²⁰⁰ or the door between Rooms S4 and S5 (0.64 m.)

²⁰⁰ Room W7 was found with a thick plaster floor, on top of which at least 5 Hermon jars were found lying on their sides and crushed. The floor continued into the doorway to the north.

The soil on top of the floor in Room S2²⁰¹ had very little Squatter material in it. The LDM was ESA (1 sherd) and BCW (0.14 kg, plus 4 sherds). The rubble above it²⁰² had an LDM of Roman cookware and 0.26 kg of BCW. As with other areas of the building, these two loci included a lot of material that may or may not have belonged to the Squatters: an iron needle, and iron chisel, a carnelian spacer bead, a copper alloy strip, and a stand lamp in CB17063;²⁰³ and a folded lead sheet, iron plate, another carnelian bead, a TA 129 cup rim, and an iron catapult bolt from CB17064.²⁰⁴

Did the Squatters use this room? It's hard to say. The doorway opens into the Western Corridor, where there is good evidence for their presence. The blocking up of the northern door would seem to indicate Squatter activity (unless it was placed there by somebody after the Squatters had abandoned the building), as would the somewhat significant amounts of BCW (0.66 kg plus 4 sherds). But did that cookware end up in the room as a result of disturbance in the Western Corridor, where we have good evidence of Squatter presence? Alternatively, must we only conclude that Squatters were in rooms that contain a good deal of evidence that can only be traced to them (coins, stamped amphora handles, BCW, and ESA)? Or is it possible that they used this room (and the bin in this room), but left no broken pot sherds behind?

²⁰¹ CB17064

²⁰² CB17063

²⁰³ K09T#?? (iron needle); K09T#118 (iron chisel); K09T#250 (copper alloy strip); K09L002 (stand lamp).

²⁰⁴ K09T#155 (lead folded sheet); K09T#156 (iron plate); K09T#160 (carnelian bead); K09P182 (TA 129 cup rim); K09M001 (iron catapult bolt).

Room C2 (Figure 37, Figure 38)²⁰⁵

Room C2 is a relatively large room (48 m²).²⁰⁶ During the final phase of the PHAB this room was likely part of a dining complex that also included Rooms C3, C4, C5, C6, and C7. There is molded, painted plaster on all four walls of Room C2 and there is a fine *opus signinum* mosaic floor in Rooms C3 and C5 that probably once existed in Room C2. The doorway between Rooms C2 and C3 is preserved in the southwestern corner. Another doorway existed in the far northeastern corner (leading into the Northern Corridor) in the final phase of the PHAB.

The Squatters built two walls in the northwest corner of this room.²⁰⁷ The north/south wall reused column drums and large ashlar blocks, while the east/west wall was a rubble wall. As might be expected from Squatter walls, they are not quite perpendicular to one another, they were constructed without a foundation trench, and final-PHAB wall plaster was found between the east/west wall and the western wall of Room C2.²⁰⁸

The southwest corner of Room C2 had a succession of floors. The highest²⁰⁹ was found underneath a Squatter-built tabun²¹⁰ that was founded upon it (see Figure 38). The tabun had been constructed against the western wall of Room C2 and had cobbles around the perimeter of its base. The floor upon which the tabun was founded did not bond with the western wall of Room C2; instead one of the cobbles of the external ring of the tabun

²⁰⁵ Room C2 is bounded by **CB35012** to the north, **CB35021** to the east, **CB35002/CB25003** to the south (which has been robbed down to 464.17 m. [high]/464.15 m. [low]), and **CB36018** to the west.

²⁰⁶ Bounded by **CB35012** to the north, **CB35021** to the east, **CB35002/CB25003** to the south (which has been robbed down to 464.17 m. [high]/464.15 m. [low]), and **CB36018** to the west.

²⁰⁷ **CB36022** (running north/south) and **CB36023** (running east/west). **CB36022** was removed in locus **CB36010**, which had an LDM of “mid-1st century BCE cookware.”

²⁰⁸ **CB36018**

²⁰⁹ **CB35003**, with a surface elevation of 464.39 m.

²¹⁰ **CB35001**. The tabun had an internal diameter of 0.37 m. and an outside diameter of 0.42 m. Its founding elevation was 464.36 m.

had been placed between the tabun and the wall and was sitting on soil. This suggests that the floor was Squatter-built, a proposition that is confirmed by the 0.1 m. of soil underneath it: though the LDM in floor **CB35003** was BSP and CFN, the LDM in **CB35003.1** was BCW.²¹¹ In like fashion, the LDM in tabun **CB35001** was 0.18 kg of BCW (it is worth noting that there was no Sandy Cooking Ware in this locus). All of the sherds in the 0.3 kg of pottery from this locus were small and worn except the BCW, which had good edges, suggesting that the BCW had not been moved or churned up much – if at all – since it was broken.²¹²

The stratigraphy below floor **CB35003** is a bit difficult to parse. There was soil immediately below the floor²¹³ that came down on floor **CB35005**, at 464.29 m. (see Figure 38). Though the LDM of the lower floor was Sandy Cooking Ware and Phoenician Semi-Fine, and the LDM of **CB35005.1** (which extended down to 464.03 m.) was Sandy Cooking Ware, some of the soil²¹⁴ underneath **CB35005** had an LDM of ESA and BCW. Floor **CB35006** was found floating in that soil at an elevation of 464.16 m., and the 0.1 m. of soil beneath it had an LDM of BCW. It is likely that this is again evidence of two Squatter phases, as it seems unlikely that floor **CB35003** was associated with another, later tabun that was positioned nearby.²¹⁵ This tabun,²¹⁶ with a founding

²¹¹ In the spirit of full disclosure I must admit that **CB35003** consisted of two patches of floor, one 2.2 x 1.15 m., the other 0.45 x 0.60 m. Nevertheless, **CB35003.1** was a sealed locus.

²¹² The LDM in **CB35001.1** was Sandy Cooking Ware.

²¹³ **K09 CB35013**, **CB35013** was mistakenly assigned twice – to this soil locus in 2009 and to the west wall of Room N6 in 2010.

²¹⁴ **CB35004**

²¹⁵ **CB35024**. The only other floor (**CB35027**) was found in the northeastern corner of the room at 464.30 m. with an LDM of bricky cookware. The LDM in **CB35027.1** was Spatter, Phoenician Semi-Fine, and Sandy Cooking Ware.

²¹⁶ **CB36024**

elevation of 464.66 m.,²¹⁷ was built in the doorway between Rooms C2 and C3. It was only fragmentarily preserved, but it must have been quite large, with an internal diameter of ca. 1.1 m., and it must have been built up against wall **CB36018**.²¹⁸ The LDM associated with the removal of this tabun²¹⁹ was 1st century BCE cookware, and the locus included two cookpots.²²⁰ That said, given the fragmentary state of preservation of this tabun (not to mention the floors in the southwest portion of this room) it is hard to believe that **CB36009.1** was a truly sealed locus, and therefore the LDM should not be construed as insurmountable evidence for a post-Squatter construction date.

Above these floors were five Squatter occupation loci that were destroyed by the wall robbers. **CB35011**²²¹ covered tabun **CB35001** (that is, the tabun was fully articulated in this locus), floor **CB35003**, and floor **CB35005**. It had an LDM of Kfar Hananya, Roman cooking ware, and Roman jar. It also had 4.0 kg (plus 7 sherds) of BCW and 0.1 kg (plus 4 sherds) of ESA. Inventoried items included an ESA cup,²²² a BCW “kum kum”,²²³ a BCW high-necked cookpot,²²⁴ a BCW cookpot rim,²²⁵ and a reused Spatter jug.²²⁶

²¹⁷ The removal of this tabun was **CB36009** (464.89 m. to 464.66 m.), and **CB36009.1** extended from 464.67 m. to 464.50 m.

²¹⁸ Wall **CB36018** was preserved to an upper elevation of 464.93 m. (high)/464.86 m. (low). The drawings also seem to indicate that there were stones and/or pottery incorporated the walls – also standard for Squatter tabuns – but the locus sheet says very little and the 2000 photos are only extant in negative format. I have not had the opportunity yet to digitize these photos.

²¹⁹ **CB36009.1**

²²⁰ **K00P196** and **K00P171**.

²²¹ 2009 elevations: 464.59 m. to 463.93 m.; LDM: Kfar Hananya and Roman cooking ware; 2010 elevations: 464.62 m. to 464.16 m.; LDM: Kfar Hananya and Roman jar.

²²² **K09P050**

²²³ **K09P188**

²²⁴ **K10P071** (mends with fragments from **CB35010**)

²²⁵ **K10P074** (mends with fragments from **CB35010**)

²²⁶ **K10P034**. Other inventoried items included a lagynos neck and handle stump (**K09P051**), an amphoriskos toe (**K09P177**), an amphoriskos (**K10P070**), a complete intact copper spatula (**K09M033**), a basalt grinding stone (**K10S004**), 5 jar fragments (**K10P034**), a folded rim jug (**K10P069** – fragments mend with fragments from **CB35010**), a baggy jar (**K10P072**), a lagynos (**K10P073**), a cast glass and a blown

The CB 3.6 NE analog to [CB35011](#) was [CB36050](#). It extended from 464.88 m. down to 464.30 m. and had an LDM of Roman cookware (though only one sherd from 28 kg of pottery – the next LDM was BCW).

Covering [CB35011](#), part of floor **CB35005**, and floor **CB35027** was [CB35010](#), which had an LDM of Kfar Hananya, Roman cooking ware, and BCW. It extended from 464.77 m. down to 464.09 m.²²⁷ Six of the inventoried items from [CB35011](#) (the folded rim jug,²²⁸ the BCW high-necked cookpot,²²⁹ the BCW cookpot rim,²³⁰ the amphoriskos,²³¹ the baggy jar,²³² and the lagynos²³³) mended with fragments from [CB35010](#). [CB35010](#) also had 1.8 kg of BCW and 4 sherds of ESA.²³⁴

Elsewhere in the trench 1.75 kg of BCW and 14 sherds of ESA were found in [CB35009](#),²³⁵ which was a rubble locus with a Kfar Hananya, Roman jar, and Roman cooking ware LDM. It extended from 465.02 m. down to 464.35 m.²³⁶ and it covered [CB35010](#), [CB35011](#), and wall **CB35012**. A unit of [CB35034](#) (Early Modern disturbance spanning wall **CB35021**) that was above Room C2 had the upper 1/3 of a high necked

glass body sherd ([K09T#476](#)), a rectangular thin iron plate ([K09T#579](#)), 3 fragments of a lead strip ([K09T#592](#)), and a Phoenician Semi-Fine foot ([K10T#271](#))

²²⁷ 2009 elevations: 464.77m. down to 464.16 m.; 2010 elevations: 464.36 m. down to 464.09 m.

²²⁸ [K09P069](#)

²²⁹ [K10P071](#)

²³⁰ [K10P074](#)

²³¹ [K10P070](#)

²³² [K10P072](#)

²³³ [K10P073](#)

²³⁴ Other inventoried items from [CB35010](#) included: 3 fragments of a copper alloy double-ended... ([K09M003](#)), a Phoenician Semi-Fine jug toe ([K09P042](#)), half of an ointment jar ([K09P049](#)), 3 fragments of a CFN saucer ([K09P046](#)), a coreform black and white perfume bottle body sherd, a clear glass body sherd, a clear blown glass vessel body sherd ([K09T#349](#)), and a tessera ([K09T#351](#)).

The CB3.6 SE analog to [CB35010](#) was [CB36045](#), which had a Kfar Hananya LDM and extended from 464.40 m. down to 464.68 m. It is remarkable for its almost complete lack of Squatter pottery (there were 2 sherds of BCW in CB3.6.103) and 24 inventoried items

²³⁵ Other items included an intact long handled copper spatula ([K09M002](#)) and a cast glass fragment ([K09T#477](#)).

²³⁶ The 2009 elevations were 465.02 m. down to 464.55 m.; the 2010 elevations were 464.89 m. down to 464.47 m.

BCW cookpot.²³⁷ A unit of **CB36002** (the “accumulation debris in the entirety of CB3.6 SE except the northwestern corner” that extended from 464.97 m. down to 464.84 m., had an LDM of Kfar Hananya, and came down on walls **CB36018** and **CB36022**) had a coin of Antiochus VII in it.²³⁸ A layer of “accumulation debris” in the southeastern corner of CB3.6 SE (**CB36002**) had 0.01 kg ESA and an LDM: 1st century BCE cooking ware.

Finally, two pits were uncovered in Room C2. Pit **CB35035** extended from 464.23 m. down to 463.93 m. and was partially covered by floor **CB35027**. It had an LDM of TGM, BCW, and a possible roman jar, as well as **K10I002** (conical green stamp seal with “master of animals” on it); pit **CB35036** had an unguentarium (**K10P066**). It is unlikely that they were created or used by the Squatters, especially given the great span of the material found within them (Persian-Roman). Rather, they were probably pits into which debris was swept, as was the case with the pits in Rooms E1 and E2.

Room C3 (Figure 39)²³⁹

During the final phase of the PHAB this tiny “room” was probably some sort of foyer transition space between the Central Courtyard and the dining complex. It was bounded by **CB36020** to the north, **CB26003** to the east, **CB26002** to the south, and **CB26001** to the west. Two steps lead up from Room C3 to the Central Courtyard and a doorway in the northwest and southeast corners led into Rooms C2 and C5. The mosaic floor²⁴⁰ that was found in Room C5 continued into Room C3 and into the doorway between Rooms C3 and C2. The situation to the east, however, is completely unknown.

²³⁷ **K10P055**

²³⁸ **K00C030** (136-134 BCE). Metal fragments were also found in this locus.

²³⁹ It was bounded by **CB36020** to the north, **CB26003** to the east, **CB26002** to the south, and **CB26001** to the west.

²⁴⁰ **CB26004**

Wall **CB26003**, which had an upper elevation of 464.45 m. at the northern end of Room C5, was robbed completely between Rooms C3 and C4 – down to its foundations (at 463.35 m. – mosaic floor **CB26004** had a surface elevation of 464.47 m.[high]/464.37 m. [low] – see Figure 40). All of the walls had molded and painted plaster on them.

It would seem clear that the Squatters used this room, given their presence in the Central Courtyard, Room C1, Room C2 (though, admittedly, the doorway between Rooms C2 and C3 was blocked by tabun **CB36024**), Room C5 (see below), Room C4 (see below), Room C6 (see below), and Room C7 (see below). The relative lack of material within this room, then, must be due to the small size of the room (and, consequently, its usability), as well as the extensive robbing of **CB26003** and the massive and deep disruption in Room C4 (see below).

Room C4 (Figure 40, Figure 41, Figure 42)

Room C4 was heavily disrupted throughout (see Figure 42). The only floor found was a poorly preserved pebble and soil floor.²⁴¹ Patches of it were found 1 m. west of the western stylobate;²⁴² west of north/south line of rocks **CB25018**²⁴³ it was only preserved in the southwest corner of the room. It stopped short ca. 15 cm. south of wall **CB25003** and was cut through by a layer of heavy rubble debris.²⁴⁴ The LDM of this floor was ESA (4 sherds were found among 13.3 kg [plus 16 sherds] of pottery), and the LDM in the soil underneath it was a Phoenician Semi-Fine juglet foot and BSP.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ **CB25002**. It had a surface elevation of 464.22 m.

²⁴² **CB25001**

²⁴³ These rocks had an LDM of a Judaeen cupped rim juglet (**K08P122**).

²⁴⁴ **CB25017**

²⁴⁵ A small section of this floor was preserved well enough to excavate a sealed locus underneath (**CB25002.1**). This contained the Phoenician Semi-Fine juglet foot. The soil underneath the other patches of floor were excavated as **CB25014** and contained the BSP LDM.

Also found at roughly the same elevation as floor **CB25002** were two ashlar paving stones and a nearby ring of stones.²⁴⁶ The LDM underneath them were fragments of a Cypriote incurved rim bowl and skyphos (need not be later than the 3rd century BCE). Though it is clear that the material under the paving stones is not from the Squatters, it is unclear whether these stones were Squatter-placed, in part because it is unclear when the floor of this room was destroyed. There is at least a case to be made that these stones are from the wall robbing episode, as the surface that they were sitting on was at 464.15 m. Though their surface elevation was just above that of floor **CB15002** (and thus reminiscent of the ashlar in the northwest corner of the Central Courtyard that was embedded in floor **CB37022**, next to tabun **CB37031**) the soil that they were sitting on was the same as the post-robbing upper level of wall **CB25003** (464.17 m. [high]/464.15 m. [low] – see Figure 42).

The soil above floor **CB25002** (and covering stylobate **CB25001** and wall **CB25003**) was **CB25011**,²⁴⁷ the LDM of which was a Broneer Type 23 lamp (dates to the 1st century CE). Five sherds of BCW and a cast glass bowl rim²⁴⁸ were also recovered from this locus.²⁴⁹ Below **CB25011** and floor **CB25002** was massive mixed fill (**CB25017**), more than a meter deep, extending from 464.30 m. down to 463.18 m. It had an LDM of ESA and twenty-two inventoried objects.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ **CB25015**, with a bottom elevation of 464.15 m., and a surface elevation of 464.28 m.

²⁴⁷ **CB25011** extended from 464.73 m. down to 464.17 m.

²⁴⁸ **K08G002**

²⁴⁹ Other items included an iron fibula arch (**K08M003**), an iron net hook (**K08M007**), a stone weight (**K08S001**), a spindle whorl (**K08S025**), a limestone Doric capital (**K08S021**), a PBG rim (**K08P158**), an RBG rim (**K08P159**), an East Greek Kotyle (**K08P160**), an Attic Olpe (**K08P161**), and two stamped amphora handles, one of which was illegible (**K08SAH006**) and the other of which dated to 159-158 BCE (**K08SAH007**).

²⁵⁰ An astragalus (**K08BI004**), an RBG handle with graffito on it (**K08I002**), an intact delphiniform lamp (**K08L011**), a lamp nozzle (**K08L012**), a mold made lamp (**K08L015**), a complete Phoenician Semi-Fine juglet (**K08P074**), an Attic bowl rim (**K08P079**), an Attic Black Glaze bowl rim (**K08P098**), an Attic Black

This room is interesting because of its relative lack of Squatter material. The great degree of disruption in this room (and ESA LDMs down very deep) leads to a conclusion that any primary Squatter deposit has entirely disappeared. But however mixed up it might be, in the end we have the roughly the same amount of Squatter material per liter of soil as we had in the Southern room. One must question, therefore, whether the Squatters were in Room C4 at all. When was the floor of this room destroyed and rubble, pottery, and other material mixed up to such a great degree and so deeply? Is it possible that this is a sort of non-burning destruction layer that was coterminous with the abandonment of the building? In terms of patterns of travel in the building, Room C2 was entered from the doorway in the northeast corner. A tabun blocked transit into Room C3. Rooms C5 and C7 were likely entered from doorways that led into the South-Central Corridor. We have no way of knowing if there was a wall on stylobate CB25001, or whether the Stylobate Corridor was roofed. It is possible that the placement of tabuns in the building was deliberately in areas that were open to the air or immediately adjacent to them. If this is the case, then the placement of the tabun in the doorway between Rooms C2 and C3 could have been due to a lack of roof over Room C3. The same might be said for the tabun(s) in the Stylobate Corridor.

Room C5 (Figure 43, Figure 44)

To the south of Room C3 (and connected to it via a doorway in the southeastern corner of Room C3) is Room C5. Within it was the mosaic floor that was extant in Room

Glaze stamped plate ([K08P099](#)), a Phoenician Semi-Fine jug ([K08P100](#)), a Phoenician Semi-Fine jug/juglet ([K08P101](#)), a grooved rim cup ([K08P120](#)), a Persian White Ware bottle ([K08P121](#)), a painted bowl in an unknown ware ([K08P226](#)), a handstone ([K08S018](#)), a mill frame fragment ([K08S004](#)), a spindle whorl ([K08S005](#)), a Doric capital ([K08S0007](#)), a millstone ([K08S019](#)), and two RBG stamped amphora handles with oval stamps ([K08SAH004](#) and [K08SAH005](#)).

C3.²⁵¹ In the southwestern corner of the room there were two rubble walls standing, one course high and one course wide²⁵² that were built on top of the mosaic floor. Underneath it, in CB26023.1, there was a high-necked cookpot fragment, suggesting that this tiny 1.28 m² room was Squatter-built. The soil above the mosaic floor²⁵³ seems to confirm this interpretation. It had an LDM of ESA and included five inventoried items, two of which (a BCW cookpot that was found sitting on the floor²⁵⁴ and an ESA mastos²⁵⁵) were Squatter (see Figure 44). The other vessel that was on the floor, a Hermon “B” jar,²⁵⁶ could possibly have belonged to the Squatters. The Hermon jar is a form and fabric that was in use in the building when it was abandoned and fragments of Hermon jars were reused in Squatter tabuns and in Squatter architecture in Room C6 (see below). The final two items, a cupped rim juglet²⁵⁷ and a fragment of an alabaster Persian vessel foot,²⁵⁸ were found in the soil above the floor (not sitting on the floor, as the other three vessels were). Covering CB36032 was a fill (CB26030) that covered the entirety of the room and had a Roman/Byzantine LDM.²⁵⁹ In it was 0.28 kg of ESA (plus 2 sherds) and BCW.²⁶⁰

Room C6 (Figure 45)

Room C6 was originally part of the dining complex during the final PHAB phase of the building, as evidenced by the painted and molded plaster on the east face of

²⁵¹ **CB26004**

²⁵² **CB26023**

²⁵³ CB26032

²⁵⁴ K08P108

²⁵⁵ K08P022. Sherds from this vessel were also found in CB26032 (unit CB2.6.106b).

²⁵⁶ K08P064

²⁵⁷ K08P046

²⁵⁸ K08S038

²⁵⁹ CB26030 extended from 464.97 m. down to 464.35 m.

²⁶⁰ There were 8 items inventoried from this locus: a Phoenician Semi-Fine folded lamp fragment (K08L003), a delphiniform mold made lamp (K08L004), an Athenian lekythos (K08P009), two Spatter body sherds that could be imitation Cypriote (K08P010 and K08P011), an Attic cup rim (K08P018), an Attic stamped body sherd (K08P019), and a black spindle whorl (K08S003).

CB26003 and the north face of **CB26025**. Wall **CB25024**, which is an upper wall on top of wall **CB25032**, seems to have been built by the Squatters. Wall **CB25024** extends north from the southern trench line of CB2.5 SW for approximately 1.60 m., where it abuts wall **CB25055**.²⁶¹ At this point **CB25024** ends and the lower wall, **CB25032**, is robbed down to an elevation of 463.74 m. for the rest of its length until it abuts E/W wall **CB25026** to the north (its uppermost elevation was 464.26 m.). BCW cookware was discovered *in* wall **CB25024** (i.e., between the stones in the core of the wall); soil and plaster were found on top of wall **CB25032** and below **CB25024**; and the plaster on wall **CB25055** ran behind wall **CB25024** but above the height of wall **CB25032**.²⁶² To the west of wall **CB25024/CB25032** was a Squatter installation consisting of a pier²⁶³ and a

²⁶¹ Wall **CB25055** is built on top of a lower, wider wall (**CB15036**). Wall **CB25055** is 75 cm. thick, while the lower wall **CB15036** is 90 cm. thick. Given that this is a standard phenomenon in the building for Hellenistic walls built on top of Persian walls, that stylobate **CB25001** abuts **CB15036**, and that **CB25055** is almost undoubtedly second-phase Hellenistic, I suggest that **CB15036** has a Persian foundation.

²⁶² I suggested in my final report for 2009 that wall **CB25032** was an early Hellenistic-phase wall (it has column drums being reused for piers in it) that was plastered over in a late PHAB phase to turn Room C4, Room C6, and Room C7 into one room. If this is true it would account for the soil and plaster found between **CB25032** and **CB25024**, as well as the plaster on wall **CB25055** running down to the top of **CB25032** (wall plaster regularly binds with floor plaster in the final PHAB phase of the building – see, e.g., the photos of the northwest corner of Room S3). Furthermore, to my knowledge this is one of only two places in the building that the Squatters built a wall on top of a PHAB wall (i.e., they put a wall in where one had collapsed or been robbed). The other place is between Room E1 and Room E3.

It at first seems strange that wall **CB25024** could have been built directly on top of wall **CB25032** if wall **CB5032** was covered by floor **CB25029** in a previous phase. However, there are two possible explanations. First, there are other places in the building in which walls were plastered over with floors and the wall is visible in spite of the floor. Secondly, there was a sink hole to the west of **CB25032**, where **CB25032** meets **CB25055**, as evidenced by a sudden 21 cm. drop in the surface of floor **CB25029**. If that surface ran over the top of wall **CB25032** (unknown because it was trenched on both sides, as explained below), the wall would have been evident. Furthermore, in the place where the floor sank we found a small pit that extended from the west face of wall **CB25032** to a small patch of floor **CB25029** at the western trench line, approximately 50 centimeters to the west. We also discovered a small trench, ca. 10 cm. wide and ca. 10 cm. deep, along both sides of **CB25032**. This trench did not cut through the lower crushed limestone floor (**CB25030**) on the east side of **CB25032** and was very straight and clearly not the result of erosion or other random damage. It was clearly not a robbing trench (nothing had been robbed), nor a foundation trench (it was below the foundation of **CB25024**). I suggest, then, that the Squatters cut a tiny trench through floor **CB25029** in order to delineate the line of the wall, removed some or all of the crushed limestone surface that was on top of wall **CB25032**, and then built **CB25024**. This sort of building activity is known in all phases of the building. It should be noted that at the level of the trenching activity, but in the area of the pit, we found a complete delphiniform lamp sitting horizontally on top of a large horizontal piece of a BCW cookpot.

²⁶³ **CB25031**

Hermon jar²⁶⁴ that had been broken in half and wedged between the pier and wall

CB25024.

There were four surfaces in this area: a soil surface north of the pier (but not north of the Hermon jar),²⁶⁵ with a surface elevation of 464.43-464.33 m.; a soil surface south of the pier, with a surface elevation of 464.43 m.;²⁶⁶ a hard-packed soil surface with plaster inclusions²⁶⁷ against wall **CB26003** at 464.35 m.; and a crushed limestone floor below these two soil surfaces at elevations 464.17 m. (N), 464.28 m. (center), and 464.12/464.07 m. (S).²⁶⁸

These surfaces were defined less by soil compaction than by the discovery of sherds, wall plaster, and a piece of worked marble²⁶⁹ lying horizontally. That said, the LDM of **CB25037** was BCW and TGM, while the LDM of CB25037.1 was Phoenician Semi-Fine and Sandy Cooking Ware. The LDM of **CB25045** was BCW and TGM and the LDM of CB25045.1 was BCW, TGM, and ESA. A coin of some sort was found in CB25045.1.²⁷⁰ Floor **CB26028** had an LDM of TGM and ESA.²⁷¹ Floor **CB25029** appears to be the final-PHAB floor in this area, with an LDM of LCWAM and TGM and Spatter as the LDM in CB25029.1. There were also two “paver slabs”²⁷² that abutted each other and the east face of wall **CB26003** and an elevation of 464.58 m. The LDM underneath them was TGM and Local Fine.

²⁶⁴ **CB25025/K09P030**

²⁶⁵ **CB25037**

²⁶⁶ **CB25045**

²⁶⁷ **CB26028**

²⁶⁸ **CB25029**

²⁶⁹ K09S007, the only piece of marble found in the building.

²⁷⁰ K09C003. The coin conspectus has a date of 174-150 BCE, but there is no other information in the entry.

²⁷¹ There was no CB26028.1. This locus also included a bead (K08BD003)

²⁷² **CB26024**

The soil²⁷³ above floors **CB25037** and **CB25045** included 0.16 kg of BCW and 3 sherds of ESA. A further 0.14 kg of BCW and 1 sherd of ESA was recovered from the soil in the robbing trench over the northern section of **CB25032**. In addition, the soil²⁷⁴ associated with Squatter use in this room had 0.16 kg of BCW. The soil²⁷⁵ above floor **CB26028** included two mostly whole vessels, a BCW cookpot²⁷⁶ and a Phoenician Semi-Fine jug.²⁷⁷ The soil²⁷⁸ above that, with a Kfar Hananya LDM, included most of a BCW high-necked cookpot,²⁷⁹ a BCW cooking pot lid,²⁸⁰ and a coin of Antiochus VII.²⁸¹

It is unknown whether wall **CB25024** continued north all the way to wall **CB25026/CB26027**. At some point wall **CB25032**, and perhaps wall **CB25024**, was/were robbed north of the northern end of **CB25024**, down to an elevation of 463.60 m. Though some robbing activity in the building might be attributable to the Squatter phase (they needed stones to build walls too), the proximity of the wall robbing in CB 2.5 SW and SE to known Squatter installations suggests that the robbing must be later. The Squatter surfaces that are so prominent to the east and west of both wall **CB25024** and installations **CB25031** and **CB25025** are missing in the line of wall **CB25032** where it

²⁷³ **CB25046**. The units in **CB25046** were located together as wall robbing disruption of Squatter deposits throughout CB 2.5. The following units belong in the following rooms: In Room C7: CB2.5.107; CB2.5.110; CB2.5.112; CB2.5.117; CB2.5.131; CB2.5.140. In Room C6: CB2.5.105; CB2.5.109; CB2.5.111; CB2.5.118; CB2.5.119; CB2.5.122; CB2.5.129. Units over the robbed northern section of CB25032: CB2.5.108; CB2.5.116; CB2.5.118; CB2.5.120. Stylobate Corridor: CB2.5.157; CB2.5.158; CB2.5.159; CB2.5.160; CB2.5.161; CB2.5.170; CB2.5.175; CB2.5.187. CB2.5.177 was the upper layer of soil in tabun CB25041 (east of the eastern stylobate); CB2.5.168 was at the northern end of the eastern stylobate.

²⁷⁴ **CB25047**. The units in **CB25047** were located together as Squatter use units throughout CB2.5 SW. The following units belong in the following rooms: In Room C7: CB1.5.136; CB2.5.239. In Room C6: CB2.5.125; CB2.5.126; CB2.5.127.

²⁷⁵ **CB26038**

²⁷⁶ **K08P049**

²⁷⁷ **K08P050**

²⁷⁸ **CB26037**

²⁷⁹ **K08P020**

²⁸⁰ Three other items were inventoried in this locus: a Local Fine delphiniform lamp (**K08L005**), a Local Fine or TGM ring foot (**K08P082**), and a stone pendant (**K08S012**).

²⁸¹ **K08C008** (134-133 BCE)

has been robbed. Indeed, there was nothing but rubble in the area north of **CB25024** down to the robbed portion of **CB25032**. The soil associated with this activity had LDMs of BCW cookware and TGM.²⁸²

Room C7 (Figure 45)

Two surfaces were discovered in Room C7: a crushed limestone floor with a surface elevation of 464.25 m²⁸³ and a crushed limestone floor with a surface elevation of 464.07 m.²⁸⁴ (Stylobate **CB25001**'s surface was at an elevation of 464.34-464.29 m.) Immediately above the upper crushed limestone floor (**CB25027**) we found very compact soil which was burnt in one area, next to which we found a ca. 15 cm. x 8 cm. x 1 cm. trace of tabun. The soil²⁸⁵ above floor **CB25027** had more than 0.07 kg of BCW and significant amounts of wall plaster; the soil²⁸⁶ associated with Squatter use in this room had a further 0.1kg (plus 2 sherds) of BCW.

The South-Central Corridor (Figure 46)

The South-Central Corridor is the avenue of congress between the Central Courtyard and the Stylobate Corridor. It is open (or there were doorways) to the east and

²⁸² **CB25051**

²⁸³ **CB25027**

²⁸⁴ **CB25030**

²⁸⁵ **CB25046**. The units in **CB25046** were locused together as wall robbing disruption of Squatter deposits throughout CB 2.5. The following units belong in the following rooms: In Room C7: CB2.5.107; CB2.5.110; CB2.5.112; CB2.5.117; CB2.5.131; CB2.5.140. In Room C6: CB2.5.105; CB2.5.109; CB2.5.111; CB2.5.118; CB2.5.119; CB2.5.122; CB2.5.129. Units over the robbed northern section of CB25032: CB2.5.108; CB2.5.116; CB2.5.118; CB2.5.120. Stylobate Corridor: CB2.5.157; CB2.5.158; CB2.5.159; CB2.5.160; CB2.5.161; CB2.5.170; CB2.5.175; CB2.5.187. CB2.5.177 was the upper layer of soil in tabun CB25041 (east of the eastern stylobate); CB2.5.168 was at the northern end of the eastern stylobate.

²⁸⁶ **CB25047**. The units in **CB25047** were locused together as Squatter use units throughout CB2.5 SW. The following units belong in the following rooms: In Room C7: CB1.5.136; CB2.5.239. In Room C6: CB2.5.125; CB2.5.126; CB2.5.127.

west. Within it a floor was uncovered²⁸⁷ with a surface elevation of 464.35 m./464.43 m.²⁸⁸ Drain **CB16009** ran in the western portion of the corridor, draining the southeastern corner of the Central Courtyard. The top of the capstones was at 464.59 m.

The soil above the floor was subsoil,²⁸⁹ which in CB1.5 NW had 6 sherds of BCW and 0.055 kg (plus 3 sherds) of ESA. Six body sherds and a handle of BCW was also found in a fill in the northeastern corner of CB1.5 NW;²⁹⁰ another sherd was recovered from the robber's trench over wall **CB15023**.²⁹¹ The small amount of Squatter material in this area makes sense, given that it is a corridor that runs between two known-Squatter-use areas (the Central Courtyard and the Stylobate Corridor).

The Stylobate Corridor (Figure 47)

The Stylobate Corridor is bounded on the west by stylobate **CB25001** and on the east by stylobate **CB25007/CB15021**. North of the point where **CB25001** ends, wall **CB35021** forms the western boundary of the Stylobate Corridor and the area to the east is unexcavated. At the northern end of the Stylobate Corridor there is a doorway and threshold that is effectively an eastern extension of the southern wall of the Northern Corridor.²⁹²

Between the stylobates two (or three?) surfaces were uncovered. Moving from north to south they are: a pebbly plaster floor²⁹³ with a surface elevation of 464.31 m. in CB3.5 SE that abutted wall **CB35021** and the doorway into the Northern Entrance; a

²⁸⁷ **CB15029/CB16053**

²⁸⁸ The LDM in **CB16053** was BSP; the LDM in **CB16053.1** was Classical Black Slip, Phoenician Semi-Fine, and Spatter. Floor **CB15029** was not excavated.

²⁸⁹ **CB15001** and **CB16037**

²⁹⁰ **CB15025**

²⁹¹ **CB15026**

²⁹² **CB35012**

²⁹³ **CB35028**

beaten-earth floor²⁹⁴ at elevations 464.31-464.29 m. in CB2.5 SE; and a crushed limestone floor²⁹⁵ that covered the entire area between the stylobates at an elevation of 464.12 m. in CB2.5 SE, at an elevation of 464.05 m. in CB2.5 NE, and at an elevation of 464.35 m. (high)/464.02 m. (low) in CB1.5 NE and NW. **CB35028** had an LDM of Roman Jar and 1 sherd of ESA in it (there was no **CB35028.1**);²⁹⁶ **CB25006** had 3 sherds of ESA in it;²⁹⁷ **CB25034** had an LDM of ESA;²⁹⁸ **CB15029** was not excavated.

The soil on top of these floors yielded far less Squatter material than was expected, given the Squatter features in the Stylobate Corridor (see below). The Early Modern disturbance²⁹⁹ that was on the east and west sides of wall **CB35021** and covered floor **CB35028** yielded good Squatter pottery on the west side of the wall but far less on the east side.³⁰⁰ The soil locus on top of floor **CB25006**³⁰¹ had only 0.02 kg of ESA and the locus on top of floor **CB25034**,³⁰² had only 0.01 kg of BCW.

The only features uncovered within the Stylobate corridor were a tabun³⁰³ and a Coastal Orange Ware jar³⁰⁴ buried upside-down and reused for an unknown purpose (perhaps also as a tabun – the fabric of the jar was discolored to a pinkish color, possibly

²⁹⁴ **CB25033**. N.b.: **CB25033** was over **CB25034**

²⁹⁵ **CB25034/CB25006/CB15029**. Part of **CB25006** was excavated as “contaminated floor,” as its fragmentary nature made it impossible to excavate cleanly. This locus (**CB25014**) yielded an LDM of Ras al-Fuqra, Roman jar, and Roman cooking ware, as well as a pierced lead weight (**K08M036**).

²⁹⁶ **CB35028** also had an imported grey ware lamp (**K10L014**), 4 fragments of a mold made bowl (**K10P060**), and 2 joining fragments of a bone hinge (**K10BI005**), as well as an iron spike fragment (**K10T#522**) and 4 chert blades (**K10T#523**)

²⁹⁷ As well as an Attic red figure body sherd (**K06P190**), and Attic Black Glaze rim (**K06P191**), and ESA mold made bowl fragments (**K06P192**). **CB25006.1** had an LDM of CFN.

²⁹⁸ The amount was not recorded. **CB25034.1** had an LDM of Sandy Cooking Ware.

²⁹⁹ **CB35034**

³⁰⁰ Five sherds of BCW were found in east side units, plus another 3 sherds of BCW and 1 sherd of ESA in units cleaning and defining the top of the wall.

³⁰¹ **CB25020**

³⁰² **CB25046** The units from **CB25046** that were over the Stylobate Corridor were CB2.5.157, CB2.5.158, CB2.5.159, CB2.5.160, CB2.5.161, CB2.5.170, CB2.5.175.

³⁰³ **CB25004**

³⁰⁴ **CB25005**

due to the heat associated with its use as a tabun. See Figure 48.) The rim of the Coastal Orange Ware jar seems to have been purposefully broken off, as it was cleanly broken and was not found inside or under the jar. Both features were sitting on floor **CB25006**. **CB25004** and had an LDM of BSP, while **CB25005** had a Spatter Ware everted rim bowl, Local Fine, Phoenician Semi-Fine, and Sandy Cooking Ware inside of it.

Stylobate **CB25007** has a depression cut into the eastern half of two of the stones (it looks like the threshold to a doorway, going up as one proceeds from east to west) that is between tabun **CB25041** in the south and pier installation **CB25035** in the north.³⁰⁵ At some point – probably in the Squatter phase – this doorway cut into stylobate **CB25007** was filled with cobbles³⁰⁶ and a pier and cobble installation³⁰⁷ was built on top of the wall that is immediately east of stylobate **CB25007** and north of tabun **CB25041**.³⁰⁸ The tops of the cobbles were at approximately the same elevation as the cobbles in the pier installation.³⁰⁹

As noted earlier, the the the rim, neck, and part of the shoulders of one Rhodian amphora,³¹⁰ the stamps of which date to 145 BCE,³¹¹ could also have belonged to the Squatters. It was found sitting upright in the middle of the Stylobate corridor, in early modern fill that covers floor **CB35028**.³¹² However, it is equally possible that the upper portion of a Rhodian amphora from the PHAB (or from somewhere outside of the PHAB) was discovered and reused in the Early Modern period. This would explain both the

³⁰⁵ Depression: 464.03 m.; stylobate: 464.12-464.07 m.

³⁰⁶ **CB25038**

³⁰⁷ **CB25035**

³⁰⁸ **CB25026/CB24009**

³⁰⁹ 464.10 m.

³¹⁰ K10P011

³¹¹ K10SAH001 and K01SAH002

³¹² CB35034

height of the rim and handles above the floor and the absence of the bottom portion of the amphora.

Room E1 (Figure 49)³¹³

A small (0.50 x 0.60 m.) pit cut into the plaster floor in this room.³¹⁴ With the exception of one small sherd of Roman cooking ware that was found near the top, nothing need date later than the middle of the 2nd century BCE.³¹⁵ The excavation of the pit, initially designated CB24023, was continued in 2000 as CB24035, from 463.92 m. down to 463.71 m. This locus had an Augustan lamp fragment for an LDM, as well as 11 coins,³¹⁶ 11 lamp fragments,³¹⁷ and a further 7 inventoried items, including 2 bullae.³¹⁸ The great number of coins that were found very deep,³¹⁹ combined with the clear Early

³¹³ Room E1 is bounded by **CB24006** to the north, **CB24007** to the east, **CB24009/CB25036/CB24005/CB24010** to the south, and Stylobate **CB25007** to the west. The southern wall of Room E1 is required. **CB24009/CB25036** (463.82 m. down to 463.60 m.) was robbed almost entirely but still existed at the southeastern corner, abutting stylobate **CB25007** just east of the Squatter pier installation (**CB25035**). It had an ESA LDM, as well as a coin of Antiochus III in it.³¹³ CB25007.1 had an LDM of Phoenician Semi-Fine and Local Fine. CB25007.1, the soil underneath **CB25007**, came down on a deeper, earlier wall, **CB25010** (upper elevation of 463.38 m.), which is the same wall as **CB25005** (upper elevation of 463.27 m.). “**CB25005**” was assigned to it when it was excavated as the northern wall of Room E4.

³¹⁴ CB24023/CB24035

³¹⁵ The LDM for CB24023 (after the Roman Cooking Ware) was a Phoenician Semi-Fine foot. It also contained a necked, flattened Sandy Cooking Ware cookpot (**K99P111**).

³¹⁶ Sorted by date, the coins are: Antiochus VII (**K00C037** – 136-135 BCE); Antiochus VII (**K00C033** – 136-134 BCE); Antiochus VII (**K00C034** – 135-134 BCE); Demetrius II, 2nd reign (**K00C032** – 129-128 BCE); Demetrius II, 2nd reign (**K00C053** – 129-128 BCE); Demetrius II, 2nd reign (**K00C036** – 128-127 BCE); Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII (**K00C039** – 126-125 BCE); Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII (**K00C045** – 126-125 BCE); Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII (**K00C040** – 126-123 BCE); Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII (**K00C035** – 126-123 BCE); and Ptolemy IX/X (**K00C038** – 116-88 BCE).

³¹⁷ None were inventoried.

³¹⁸ The non-coin inventoried items from CB24034 were: a bone weaving tool (**K00BI003**), a glass bowl (**K00G007**), a core-formed glass bottle (**K00G008**), a clear cast vessel (**K00G018**), a bronze instrument (**K00M046**), an iron tool (**K00M047**), an iron chisel (**K00M048**), an iron fibula (**K00M049**), a Roman cookpot fragment (**K00P169**), a lekythos (**K00P136**), an unidentified cookpot handle and fragment (**K00P164**), a funnel (**K00P257**), an illegible Rhodian stamped amphora handle (**K00SAH017**), and bullae **K00BL314** and **K00BL315**. Fragments of a terra nigra saucer (or is it Pompeian Red Ware, as the locus sheet has it? – **K00P025**) that join with fragments from CB24033 also came from this locus.

³¹⁹ Four of the eleven coins came from CB2.4.192, which was dug from 463.25 m. down to 462.93 m.: **K00C033** (136-134 BCE); **K00C034** (135-134 BCE); **K00C032** (129-128 BCE); **K00C053** (129-128 BCE). Six of the eleven coins, including the coin of Ptolemy IX/X, were from the unit below that (CB2.4.193, dug from 462.93 down to 462.84 m.): **K00C039** (126-125 BCE); **K00C037** (136-135 BCE);

Roman LDM, also from very deep levels,³²⁰ suggests that this pit was dug by the Squatters (or perhaps by the PHAB inhabitants, but this requires an explanation for why a pit would have been dug through the floor) and filled by those who robbed the walls. It is important to note that these walls were likely robbed over hundreds, if not thousands, of years, and the pit in Room E2 contains a coin of Constans I (341-346 CE) in the same locus as a piece of the Terra Nigra saucer that comes from this pit. Why were so many Squatter-era coins found mixed in with Early Roman debris at the bottom of the pit? The same situation occurred in a pit in Room E2 and might suggest that a small coin hoard had been inadvertently swept into the pit with other debris. There is, of course, no way to prove this, but it is interesting that coin hoards are usually evidence of sudden abandonment and that there is other evidence of sudden Squatter abandonment – for instance, the tabun in the Northern Corridor was found with a Squatter cookpot still in it. Another option is that the coins were swept into the pit at such a late date (e.g., the Byzantine period) that they were corroded and not recognized as coins (or not recognized as coins of value).

Another small, irregularly shaped pit (0.10-0.40 x 1 m.) was found in the southeastern corner of Room E1.³²¹ It too contained an extremely dense concentration of broken pottery (19.74 kg of pottery in 300 L of soil). Parts of the pit were found underneath floor **CB24008**, and it is unclear whether the pit was cut through the floor and

K00C036 (128-127 BCE); K00C039 (126-125 BCE); K00C035 (126-123 BCE); K00C040 (126-123 BCE); and K00C038 (116-88 BCE). The two bullae came from the unit below that (CB2.4.194, dug from 462.58 m. down to 462.48 m.).

³²⁰ CB2.4.192 had an LDM of Roman Cooking Ware and included 6 fish plate fragments; CB2.4.193 had an LDM of Roman Cooking Ware and included 16 red slip fish plate fragments, ESA sherds that mended with a Hayes Form 18 hemispherical bowl, 5 fragments of Pompeiian Red Ware (K00P025) and a Roman cookpot fragment. The Augustan lamp fragment that provided the LDM for the entire locus came from CB2.4.207, which was dug from 462.95 m. down to 462.71 m.

³²¹ CB24024

was bell-shaped or the floor was laid over the top of the pit. The LDM of the pit is one sherd of an ESA jar, but other than this sherd none of the pottery need be later than the middle of the 2nd century BCE. As with pit CB24023, pit CB24024 had an inverted stratigraphy. The upper units had LDMs from the Iron Age and Persian period, while only the deepest unit had pottery that dated to the beginning of the 2nd century BCE.

Room E2 (Figure 50)³²²

As with Room E1, the southern wall consisted of one wall (**CB24004**, preserved from 463.67 m. down to 463.22 m.) that was built on top of another (**CB24005**, preserved from 463.27 m. down to its foundation at 462.71 m.), with soil in between (CB24004.1). **CB24004**, ca. 0.70 m. wide and 0.20 m. high, had Byzantine and Roman pottery for its LDM, which makes sense given that the soil within Room E4 at this elevation had Roman LDMs. The sealed soil underneath the wall (CB24004.1), however, had an ESA Hayes Form 20 bowl and Parthian Green Glaze sherds as its LDM.

It is likely that the eastern wall of this room is also Squatter-built. It has not been excavated, so this is impossible to know. However, it has the same poor rubble construction as other Squatter-built walls and is not quite straight.

No floor was discovered in this room. However, a bell-shaped pit³²³ was discovered in the middle of it. It included several large fragments of painted plaster. Some of the pottery fragments from this pit join with vessels from the pit in Room E1 (pit

³²² Room E2 is bounded by wall **CB24006** on the north, **CB23001** on the east, **CB24004/CB24005** on the south, and **CB24007** on the west.

³²³ CB24033

CB24035). It included 13 coins,³²⁴ a glass rod,³²⁵ a complete lamp,³²⁶ two other lamp fragments and a lamp tube,³²⁷ a bronze ring,³²⁸ a bronze pin,³²⁹ an iron inlay,³³⁰ an iron projectile point,³³¹ two bowls,³³² a grinder,³³³ a stone basin,³³⁴ an unfired loomweight,³³⁵ and pieces of the terra nigra saucer found in the pit in Room E1.³³⁶

Room E3 (Figure 51)³³⁷

Room E3 has only been partially excavated (see Figure 4). Four surfaces were discovered just east of stylobate **CB25007**: a beaten-earth surface at elevations 464.19-464.05 m. (**CB25039**) with an LDM of ESA and BCW in **CB25029.1**; a crushed limestone floor (**CB25040**) below **CB25039** at elevation 463.98 m. with an LDM of ESA in **CB25040.1**. **CB25040** was an upper laminate for an earlier crushed limestone floor at elevation 463.91 m. (**CB25042/CB24044**; this relative stratigraphy was made apparent by

³²⁴ In order of date, they were: Antiochus III – 199-188 BCE (**K00C015**); Seleucid, 2nd century BCE (**K00C010**); Autonomous Akko-Ptolemais – 140-132 BCE (**K00C012**); Antiochus VII – 136-135 BCE (**K00C011**); Antiochus VII -136-134 BCE (**K00C008**); Antiochus VII – 135-134 BCE (**K00C002**); Antiochus VII – 135-134 BCE (**K00C020**); Antiochus VII – 134-133 BCE (**K00C003**); Demetrius II, 2nd reign – 129-126 BCE (**K00C005**); Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII – 126-125 BCE (**K00C004**); Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII – 126-123 BCE (**K00C009**); Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII – 126-123 BCE (**K00C013**); and Constans I – 341-346 CE (**K00C014**).

³²⁵ **K00G005**

³²⁶ **K00L003**

³²⁷ 1 grayware lamp fragment (**K00L007**) and 1 other lamp fragment (**K00L008**). The lamp tube was **K00L008**.

³²⁸ **K00M036**

³²⁹ **K00M037**

³³⁰ **K00M038**

³³¹ **K00M040**

³³² **K00P041** and **K00P237**

³³³ **K00S001**

³³⁴ **K00S026**

³³⁵ **K00TC003**

³³⁶ **K00P025**. Much more was found that was not inventoried, such as more than 86 fragments of painted wall plaster, various metal fragments, Hellenistic and Roman pottery, nails, and mud brick.

³³⁷ It is bounded by **CB24009/ CB25036/CB24005/CB24010** to the north (see the description of this wall under Room E1), **CB24001** to the east, an unexcavated baulk to the south, and stylobate **CB25007** to the west.

the tabun – see below).³³⁸ **CB25042** had an LDM of BCW. Below floor **CB25042/CB24044** was another crushed limestone floor at elevation 463.87 m. (**CB25043/CB24045**).³³⁹

Tabun **CB25041** (upper elevation: 464.24 m.; bottom of the inside: 463.97 m.) was constructed against the north side of wall (or, perhaps, pier) **CB25057**, the upper elevation of which was at 464.25 m. This pier and the stones around it were excavated in the last days of the season and only the top is exposed. It is unknown whether this was constructed as part of the tabun installation or if the tabun was built up against a preexisting wall (however, it should be noted that the pier is directly west of and in line with wall **CB25002**). The tabun cut through floor **CB25042**. Floor **CB25040**, the upper crushed limestone floor, was then laid over the top of **CB25042** and against the tabun wall stones (see Figure 53). In the area where the tabun cuts through **CB25042**, floor **CB25040** is nothing more or less than an upper laminate sealing to the tabun wall stones. The soil under tabun **CB25041** (i.e., **CB25041.1**) had an LDM of Late Hellenistic red-slipped fineware

To the north of tabun **CB25041** and to the east of stylobate **CB25007** was a Squatter installation consisting of a pier and some surrounding cobbles³⁴⁰ that sits on top of a lower wall that abuts stylobate **CB25007** from the east.³⁴¹ There is a small

³³⁸ Plaster floor **CB24044** was excavated in the eastern part of the room and had a surface elevation of 464.04 m. (high)/463.93 m. (low). It must be contemporary with **CB25042** (given that it was cut by the tabun and **CB25040** was simply an upper laminate of **CB25042**). It had a Phoenician Semi-Fine flanged-rim juglet for an LDM and **CB25044.1** contained nothing that need be later than Persian.

³³⁹ Plaster floor **CB24045** was excavated in the eastern part of the room and had a surface elevation of 463.90 m. (high)/463.84 m. (low). As such it must be the same floor as **CB25043**. **CB24045** had an LDM of Local Fine and the LDM in the fill beneath it (**CB24046**) the LDM was also Local Fine.

³⁴⁰ **CB25035** – top of pier: 464.56 m.; cobbles: 464.03 m.; stones to north and south of the cobbles: 464.24 m.

³⁴¹ **CB25036**

foundation trench³⁴² for a row of cobblestones to the south of the pier that fill the space between the pier and the floor that was to the south of it, probably **CB25042** (stones: 464.05 m.; floor: 464.00 m.).

South of wall **CB25057** (which sits against the south side of tabun **CB25041**) is a cobble surface of some sort (**CB25058/CB15031**) at 464.17 m. and a patchy, degraded crushed limestone surface (**CB25059/CB15030**) at 464.11 m.

Room E4 (Figure 52)³⁴³

Room E4 is perhaps the least interesting room in the entire building. The upper portion of the northern wall of the room³⁴⁴ is known to be a Squatter wall, but it is important to note that it was installed over the top of **CB24001**. It did not reach to wall **CB24003** in the state of preservation in which it was found when excavated.

Within this room an extremely hard-packed layer of yellow brown soil that was deemed to be a (potential) floor.³⁴⁵ The soil underneath it had an Early Roman LDM that included a coin of Demetrius I's first reign (144-143 BCE).³⁴⁶ The northern wall of the room was also underneath this Early Roman fill. Everything else that was excavated from this room dated to the early 2nd century BCE, 3rd century BCE, or Persian period with the exception of the sub-subsoil rubble that covered the tops of the walls.³⁴⁷ Within this locus, which had an LDM of two Arab smudge ware sherds, there was a coin of

³⁴² **CB25056**

³⁴³ It is bounded by wall **CB24004/CB24005** to the north (see the explanation of this wall under Room E2); **CB24003** to the east; **CB24002** to the south, and **CB24001** to the west.

³⁴⁴ **CB24004**

³⁴⁵ **CB24016**, at 464.30 m.

³⁴⁶ **CB24015**; **K99C022**

³⁴⁷ **CB24013**

Antiochus III (222-187 BCE),³⁴⁸ a coin of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII (126-125 BCE),³⁴⁹ an Eroses lamp,³⁵⁰ a Persian White Ware krater or basin rim and bowl,³⁵¹ an overhanging rim krater in cookpot fabric,³⁵² a PBG jar or bowl rim,³⁵³ a Sandy or Gritty Cooking Ware necked flattened-rim cookpot,³⁵⁴ a Sandy Cooking Ware neckless triangular rim cookpot,³⁵⁵ a spindle whorl,³⁵⁶ and a carnelian bead.³⁵⁷ This locus is clearly far from any primary context.

The Northeastern Corridor (Figure 55)

Stylobate **CB25007** continues north into the NE quadrant of CB 2.5, where it appears to have been robbed at the north end. In place of the remaining stylobate there were cobbles that appeared to be rubble, though more or less in line with the stylobate, at elevation 464.29 m. (the stylobate is at 464.14 m. here). They were sitting on soil, and so removed, and underneath the soil layer there were more cobbles, at an elevation of 463.97-463.85 m.³⁵⁸ On the east and west sides of stylobate **CB25007**, and north of pier installation **CB25035**, there are two crushed limestone surfaces.³⁵⁹ The rest of the Northeastern Corridor has not been excavated.

³⁴⁸ K99C003

³⁴⁹ K99C004

³⁵⁰ K99L001

³⁵¹ K99P102 and K99P103

³⁵² K99P100

³⁵³ K99P104

³⁵⁴ K99P105

³⁵⁵ K99P101

³⁵⁶ K99S008

³⁵⁷ K99BD001

³⁵⁸ **CB25053**

³⁵⁹ **CB25054**, at 464.15 m., on the east and **CB25006**, at 464.05 m., on the west.

The Eastern Corridor (Figure 54)

The Eastern Corridor has not been excavated very deeply. It is bounded by **CB14005/CB24003/CB23001** to the west and **CB13001/CB23002** to the east. There is a wall stublet (**CB23003**) just east of CB24004/CB24005 that is not perpendicular to the other walls. It had an upper elevation of 463.33 m. and **CB23003.1** had an LDM of Phoenician Semi-Fine. There was 1 sherd of BCW and 1 sherd of ESA in subsoil and 2 sherds of BCW in the robbing trench over the intersection of **CB23002** and **CB23008**.

Though a lack of pottery suggests that this area was not used by the Squatters, it is a corridor (and therefore unlikely to have a lot of material) and is immediately east of known Squatter-used areas.

PART IV: UNINHABITED PARTS OF THE BUILDING

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The Northern Rooms (Rooms N3, N4, N6 and the Northern Entrance – Figure 55)

There is virtually no evidence of Squatter presence in Rooms N3 and N4. Though there was some residual Squatter material in Room N4, it was entirely confined to topsoil, subsoil, and wall robbing phases.³⁶⁰ Perhaps more interesting is the almost complete lack of Squatter material in Room N3,³⁶¹ because the Squatters used the Northern Corridor and the rooms to the south of it (e.g., Room C1), and during the Squatter phase there was no wall dividing the Northern Corridor from Room N3 (the plaster floor of room Room N3 continues over the wall that divides it from the Northern Corridor, and is the same floor that was found in the Northern Corridor). There is one other area of the building that shares these characteristics: Room S8, which was an open-air area (see below). Given the length of room Room N3 and the presence of the drain

³⁶⁰ **ESA:** CB46009 (subsoil/rubble – 1 fragment); CB46010 (continued rubble – a Hayes 22A bottom; 20 g. of ES?); CB46011 (a fill that came down on the robbed northern wall of the building and extended slightly below it on the north and south – a Tel Anafa type 16 ESA dish [K00P142] and an ESA fragment); CB46016 (a deep locus in Room N4 that bound pit CB46008 – two coins of Demetrius II [145-140]. CB46016 was dug quickly and pit CB46008 is a post-excavation locus that was assigned on the basis of examination of the southern baulk. It was not found during excavation, cuts through both floors, and was likely part of the Early Roman wall robbing episode. Its upper elevation is 464.80, which is well above the lower elevation of the rubble locus CB46010).

³⁶¹ There were seven body sherds of BCW and no ESA found in the entirety of CB4.6SE: three in CB46021 (topsoil and subsoil), and four in CB46022 (the robbing trench of the north wall of the building that lies directly beneath subsoil and touches the robbing trench of wall CB46002).

going out of it through the north wall of the building,³⁶² it seems likely that this room was unroofed in the final phase of the building as well.

There is also virtually no evidence for the Squatters in Room N6 and the Northern Entrance. A cast glass bowl rim³⁶³ and 10 fragments of an ESA bowl³⁶⁴ were found in a pit (**CB35016**) that was cut through the fallen mud brick in Room N6 and which had an Early Roman LDM. Aside from this there was no other indication of Squatter use of these rooms.

The Northwestern Rooms (Rooms N1 and N2 – Figure 56)

Rooms N1 and N2 were only accessible from the south, and while the Northern Corridor ends at the eastern wall of Room N2, there was no entrance to that room from the east. It is clear that the Squatters did not use Room N1 (the so-called “archive room”) because it was burned prior to the building going out of use (see below). The blocking of the southern doorway of Room N2 (the only doorway into this room) that was found *in situ* (see Figure 25) shows that the Squatters did not use this room, either. The presence of known markers of the Squatters (ESA and BCW) is entirely confined to topsoil, subsoil, and high-elevation disturbed areas.³⁶⁵

Sometime around the time of the building’s abandonment two babies were buried on top of the floor of the archive room (Room N1). At some point afterwards the room

³⁶² **CB46020**

³⁶³ **K10G002**

³⁶⁴ **K10P027**

³⁶⁵ **CB 4.7:** ESA was found in four loci (seventeen units): CB47000 (topsoil); CB47008 (subsoil); CB47009 (upper-level fill with a Kfar Hananya type 4A LDM); and CB47012 (disturbed pink mudbrick fill – one ESA rim). BCW was either not found or not recognized in 1999 – there is no recorded BCW in CB 4.7. **CB 4.8:** ESA was found in four loci (four units): CB48006 (subsoil); CB48020 (subsoil); CB48021 (“subsoil” on unit sheet; “light brown decayed mudbrick” on locus sheet. The unit in question is CB48021 and the ESA is **K00P133**, sent for NAA). A cast glass rim was found in CB48026 (unit CB4.8.156), which is the locus for the plaster and sherd floor in Room N1, and another piece of cast glass was found in CB48024 (the ash/burn locus that included bullae).

was set afire, and the doorway to the south was blocked. The door block between Rooms W1 and N1 had a painted plaster fragment amongst the stones and the soil underneath the stones had a cast glass bowl body sherd.³⁶⁶

The interpretation of the abandonment and destruction of this room is difficult. If we assume that this room was intentionally burned because of the presence of the archive within it, then we have a few historical parallels that might explain the motive. On the one hand, Jonathan's defeat of Demetrius effectively established Antiochus VI and Tryphon as being in control of the Palestinian interior, including Galilee and Syria, as Jonathan was acting as an agent of Antiochus (see chapter 4 for a more full discussion). Assuming that the forced abandonment and partial destruction of the administrative building at Kedesh is indicative of the administrators leaving the city (i.e., that the administrators did not relocate to another part of the city, which seems likely), then Jonathan's defeat of Demetrius would probably have accomplished the annexation of the Tyrian hinterland and the city of Kedesh to Antiochus VI's control. There are three models that might explain the burning of the archive room under these circumstances: Jonathan's army burned the archive, Demetrius' army (or agents) burned the archive, or the people of Kedesh burned the archive.

Though palaces and archives are often burnt when a city is destroyed in times of war (see, e.g., Cicero, *For Archias* 4.8 for the example of Heracleus), the only examples that I know of in which a newly occupying force explicitly and intentionally burning an archive are the Romans' burning of the Jerusalem archive (*War* 6.354) and Alexander the Great's burning of the Persepolis archives, a deed that is variously explained in the sources as revenge for the Persian destruction of the Athenian acropolis and/or a

³⁶⁶ K00T#1968.

drunken challenge. Is it possible that the destruction of temples and palaces in antiquity was understood to include the destruction of archives within them – to the degree that the destruction of the archive is not mentioned and is assumed by ancient authors to go hand-in-hand and not deserve mention? I don't know. In Alexander's case, neither explanation of motive seems particularly satisfactory – Alexander's usual *modus operandus* was to legitimately occupy the throne of kingdoms that he conquered (something that he apparently literally did in the four months that Arrian said that he was in Persepolis), not to destroy it. And although Arrian reports that he drank a lot, there is no example of it affecting policy like this. We could come up with reasons that Jonathan/Antiochus might want to destroy an archive if they were annexing an administrative center to Antiochus' kingdom, but we could also come up with reasons that they would not (e.g., tax records or records of land deeds make taxing the population easier, etc.). Without knowing what sort of archive this was it is difficult to know what the motivation might have been

On the other hand, it is possible that Demetrius or one of his agents burned the archive in order to keep the occupying forces from getting their hands on them. Philip VI sent a *hypaspist* to Lysias to burn his correspondence so that the Romans would not acquire it (Polybius 18.33.1ff; Livy 33.11; cf. Polybius 30.4). In this case Philip acts in order to protect others who had supported him, but if the archive was burned by Demetrius in order to keep the Hasmonaeans from acquiring its contents it would not require that there was a conspiracy afoot.

Another option is that the people of Kedesh burned the archive in order to destroy any record of required tax payments, as the rebels did in Jerusalem during the Roman siege of the city (*War* 2.426-427), and as apparently happened in Rome in 7 BCE (Dio

55.8.5-6) and in Antioch in 70 CE (*War* 7.54-62). Two other archives are known to have been burnt during some sort of unrest, and it is possible, though unconfirmed, that it happened for these reasons. The βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων in the city of Mendes-Thmouis in the central Delta region of Egypt was found with rooms of burnt papyri. It has been suggested that the destruction happened during the Bucolic revolt in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.³⁶⁷ In like fashion, perhaps, the archive at Dyme in Achaea was intentionally burned in either 115 or 144 BCE during “unrest,” according to the inscription of Q Fabius Maximus.³⁶⁸ The reason for the burning is not stated in the inscription, and arguments have been made both for and against debt-cancellation as a motive.³⁶⁹

However, the fact that the relative stratigraphy included soil on top of the floor and vessels, the two infant skeletons on top of the soil (but bullae underneath them), ash on top of the soil and the burials, and mud brick wall collapse on top of the ash suggest that the abandonment, burials, and burning of the archive room were not coterminous. The only access to the archive room was through all of the western rooms (i.e., the archive room had one door that opened into Room W1, which had one door opening to the south, into Room W3, etc.). As a result, the archive room was effectively deep in the recesses of the building. The most likely interpretation (i.e., the one that makes sense of

³⁶⁷ See W. E. H. Cockle, "State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt from 30 BC to the Reign of Septimus Severus," *JEA* 70 (1984), 106-122. The reference to the burning of the archive is in lines 6-7 and 22.

³⁶⁸ P. P. Dobree, "Greek Inscriptions from the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge," *CJ* 30 (1824), 127-129. For the argument that the inscription should be dated to 144 BCE instead of 115 BCE, as has traditionally been the case, as well as for a full bibliography of places that the inscription has been published and commented on, see Robert Kallet-Marx, "Quintus Fabius Maximus and the Dyme Affair (Syll. 684)," *CQ* 45, no. 1 (1995), 129-153.

³⁶⁹ E.g., A. Fuks, "Social Revolution in Dyme, 116-114 B.C.E.," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 23 (1972), 21-27. *Contra*: Kallet-Marx, "Quintus Fabius Maximus and the Dyme Affair (Syll. 684)," 148ff. For a list of authors who have interpreted the inscription as social-revolutionary struggle against Roman-sponsored oligarchs, see Kallet-Marx, "Quintus Fabius Maximus and the Dyme Affair (Syll. 684)." 148 n. 99

all of the evidence) is that the archive room sat abandoned, after which the two infants were buried in the room. The door of the room was blocked up, and perhaps this is when the other doors along the north-south axis (i.e., the western rooms) were also blocked. To the degree that we can tell, all of these rooms seem to show the same degree of abandonment before their doors were blocked, and it is possible that this strange action of blocking successive doors along the north-south corridor of rooms had the effect of burying the two corpses deeply. The burial of bodies in a building (as opposed to outside the city) might seem strange, but it is known from Jerusalem during the time of the siege by the Romans (*War* 6.355). These were, of course, unusual circumstances in which the siege caused a famine that increased the body count, as well as prohibiting the burial of bodies outside the city. The Temple Scroll from Qumran makes reference to the Gentiles burying their dead “everywhere...even within their houses,”³⁷⁰ and burial in abandoned buildings is known from much later periods in other parts of the Mediterranean and Middle East.³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ 11QT 48:11-13. The burial of dead underneath the floors of houses is also known from Seleucia on the Tigris.

³⁷¹ Purportedly at Zar Tepe in the Kushan and post-Kushan periods (1st century BCE-3rd century CE): see *Encyclopaedia Iranica: Excavations III. In Central Asia: Kushan and Post-Kushan Archaeology*. In Late Antique Spain: “The reuse of structural remains as burial places is a significant break with practice before Late Antiquity... In the past it was generally assumed that the existence of burial automatically implied that the buildings were already abandoned; now, however, knowledge about post-Roman funerary practices permits us to supposed that, at least in some cases, there was a possible cohabitation between the dead and the living (hence examples above show habitational reuse plus burials).” See Christie, *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antique and The Early*, 81ff. In Late Antique North Africa: “Thus in the fifth century abandoned buildings sometimes quickly became receptacles for burial, particularly if they were conveniently located near inhabited areas. This pattern for small plots of graves, or isolated burials, being found near inhabited areas, either inside abandoned buildings or simply in a semi-isolated cluster, is sustained in North African settings, becoming even more common in the sixth and seventh century. Therefore, at Tabarka the “petit enclose” in the Urban Basilica Cemetery and Northwest Chapel/Cemetery may actually be a plot of tombs, familial or not, inserted into an abandoned building in the fifth century.” See Joan Marguerite Downs, “The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town” (University of Michigan, 2007), 76. There is also, of course, the question of Phoenician child sacrifice, for which there is no consensus. See, e.g., Shelby Brown, *Late Carthaginian Child Sacrifice* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991).

If this is the case, then the archive room was not necessarily burned intentionally. Perhaps it was an accidental fire that occurred as a result of Squatter habitation or an event from outside the walls of the building. Such an accident occurred in Antioch during the life of the archive (i.e., not after abandonment – *War 7.55*).

The Western Rooms (Rooms W1, W3, W4, W4a, W5, W6, and W7 – Figure 57)³⁷²

All of the western rooms (Rooms W1, W3, W4, W5, W6, and W7) are, like the northern rooms, almost totally devoid of material that is certainly Squatter.

In Room W1 a small section of plaster surface was found against the southern wall of the room at an elevation of 464.72 m. In addition, a nearly complete Hermon Jar was found against the same wall, though further east, the toe of which was at 464.97 m. No surface was found at this elevation, though it closely corresponds to the elevation of the burnt soil floor **CB37010** in Room W2, to the east. The northern and southern doorways were intentionally blocked at some point (see the section on Room N1 on the interpretation of northern door blockage), and at the bottom of the southern door block one large, flat paver³⁷³ was found with an upper elevation of 464.69 m., which might have been part of the original floor in this room. There was nothing diagnostic of Squatter presence in Room W1, even in Early Roman robbing loci.³⁷⁴

³⁷² Room W4 and Room W4a are two parts of one room (see below). They were initially given separate room numbers for greater precision in analyzing the material.

³⁷³ **CB38023**

³⁷⁴ I don't have Peter's pottery database, but from a perusal of the unit reading sheets from K00 CB 3.8, I find ESA (unknown amount) in units 001 (**CB38010** - topsoil), 002 (**CB38010** - topsoil), 005 (**CB38010** - topsoil - earliest ESA platter X 2 Hayes 2 & triangle rim cookpot), 007 (**CB38011** - fill under subsoil - inventoried - mold-made bowl in ESA fabric Hayes 29 - **CB38011** - not in this room), a fish plate sent to inventory in 118 (**CB38017** - fill/debris on floor **CB38018**), and a white Hell jar (Jerusalem?) in 010 (**CB38011**), as well as a "Rim store jar Jerusalem clay? Motza - to Akko" in 029 (**CB38013**). I don't think that BCW was recognized (or, if it was, I don't think that it was recorded) in 2000. Whatever the case, it probably got lumped into "cookware", for there is no differentiation and no mention of BCW.

What is more curious than the lack of Squatter presence in the western rooms is that they appear to have blocked all of the doorways on a N/S axis. As noted above, (see the section on Room N1), sometime around the time of the building's abandonment the archive room (Room N1) was set afire and the doorway to the south was blocked. The same can be said for the doorways between Rooms W1 and W3, between Rooms W3 and W4, and between Rooms W4a and Room W5. The door block between Rooms W4a and W5 (door block **CB28005** in wall **CB28004**) consisted of ashlar and field stones two courses deep resting on packed soil fill. When the door block was removed, plaster floor **CB28003** was found to run from Room W5 northward into the doorway (Figure 58). The LDM for both the door block and the 0.1 underneath it were Hermon Jar, Local Fine, and a Phoenician Semi-Fine square rim jar (i.e., the final-PHAB phase), but it is most likely that the blocking of this doorway occurred in a post-abandonment phase, given that the door block itself was soil, ashlar, and fieldstone, was not the same width as the wall into which it was being placed, and that it was not plastered over (the plaster originally on the south face of wall **CB28004** ended at the door block). This last point is worth noting. Other places in the building in which a door was blocked during the life of the building (for instance, the door block between the Stylobate Corridor and the northeastern corner of Room C2, in wall **CB35021**), exhibit well made blockages of cut stone that fit the doorway well and were plastered over (see Figure 36).

Room W3

Room W3 presents an interesting example of the Squatter material in the building. As noted above, the northern and southern doorways into Room W3 were blocked, likely by the Squatters. Within the room there is a floor (**CB38031**) at an elevation of 465.14 m.

(high)/465.01 m. (low). The soil on top of this floor³⁷⁵ contained an ESA mold made bowl,³⁷⁶ a cast glass rim,³⁷⁷ and consistent LDMs of ESA and Early Roman cookware. Furthermore, the soil in the places where the floor was degraded and disturbed³⁷⁸ contained Early Roman LDMs in four of the seven units that comprise the locus, as well as another piece of the ESA mold made bowl that was discovered in the soil on top of the floor, a stamped amphora handle dating to 166-107 BCE,³⁷⁹ and a Roman cookware jar rim.³⁸⁰ There were also 3 large storage jars – 2 Galilean and 1 possible Judean.

At first glance this looks much like the Squatter material profile found elsewhere in the building and would likely cause us to wonder if the metal, beads, loom weights, etc. that were also found in this room belonged to the Squatters. However, a closer look at the evidence shows that the Squatters did not use this room (even if they were the ones who blocked the doorways). Aside from the ESA mold-made bowl, the ESA and Early Roman cookware that comprise the LDMs in these two soil loci – which, it should be mentioned, consisted of 16,600 L of soil and 171.1 kg of pottery – amount to three small unidentifiable sherds of ESA weighing less than 0.03 kg, one tiny unidentifiable sherd of Roman cookware weighing less than 0.01 kg, a piece of an Early Roman cookware jar, a piece of a possible 1st century CE Phoenician Semi-Fine baggy jar, and a piece of a possible 1st century CE Early Roman jar rim. Furthermore, the soil on top of the floor (CB38030) contained 38 items that were considered important enough to be inventoried,

³⁷⁵ CB38030

³⁷⁶ K06P036. Note that it mends with sherds from CB38032.

³⁷⁷ K06G010

³⁷⁸ CB38032

³⁷⁹ K06SAH007. Joins with one of the SAHs in CB38030?

³⁸⁰ K06P096. Also found were a bronze fibula (K06T#781), a glass inset (K06T#782), a pierced bone appliqué (K06T#783), and a bone semicircular appliqué (K06T#784).

including three lamps,³⁸¹ seven identifiable vessels,³⁸² eight stamped amphora handles,³⁸³ and two coins that date to PHAB abandonment and pre-abandonment phases.³⁸⁴ The amount and type of finds discovered in CB38030 (and especially the whole or nearly whole vessels) suggest that it is a disturbed primary deposit from the abandonment of the PHAB. Indeed, it can only be interpreted as evidence of either Squatter reuse of PHAB vessels or Squatter non-use of this room. Given the incredibly small amount of unambiguously Squatter material found in Room W3, the fact that we have only one example of possible Squatter reuse of a PHAB vessel for its intended purpose,³⁸⁵ and the fact that whole vessels dating to the abandonment of the PHAB were found on the floor of this room, it seems most likely that this room was blocked off and unused during the Squatter phase of the building.

Rooms W4 and W4a

We find the same situation in Rooms W4 and W4a, which are two parts of the same room.³⁸⁶ In locus CB20828, a rubble and plaster fill with an LDM of BCW and

³⁸¹ The lamps were: a glazed ware lamp body sherd (K06L014); a glazed ware delphiniform lamp body sherd (K06L015); and an Atticizing black glaze lamp (K06L018).

³⁸² The vessels were: a Koan Knidian cup (K06P035); a Phoenician Semi-Fine amphoriskos (K06P037); a Semi-Fine juglet (K06P038); a hemispherical bowl in an unknown fabric (K06P039); a Semi-Fine amphoriskos (K06P040); a black glazed stemmed dish (K06P097); and a lagynos (K06P099).

³⁸³ K06SAH006 (150 BCE); K06SAH008 (147 BCE); K06SAH009 (166-146 BCE); K06SAH010 (166-146 BCE); K06SAH011 (154/153-146 BCE); K06SAH012 (154/153 BCE); K06SAH013 (154/153 BCE); K06SAH014 (144-118 BCE).

³⁸⁴ Both generic Seleucid 2nd century BCE coins (K06C012 and K06C024). A third, unintelligible coin was also found (K06C030). The other inventoried objects from this locus were: 2 carnelian beads (K06BD005 and K06BD067); a bone inlay button (K06BI017); a cast glass rim (K06G010); 2 glass counters (K06G011); 2 unfired loom weights (K06TC003 and K06TC006); 2 sickle blades, on fragmentary and the other intact (K06M010 and K06M021 [intact]); an iron knife (K06M023); a bronze knife (K06M025); a bronze fibula arch (K06M027); a bronze bracelet (K06M029); a nail (K06M031); a hand stone (K06S018); and a Canaanite blade (K06S027).

³⁸⁵ <the Spatter cookpot/jar>. They reused some of the PHAB vessels – for instance, Hermon jars for a tabun in the Stylobate Corridor – but not for the vessels' intended purpose.

³⁸⁶ Only the 3 x 5 m. northern half of CB2.8 NE was excavated, so it is possible that a wall dividing Room W4 from Room W4a could be found in the southern half of that quadrant. However, if that were the case, it would require Room W4 to be between 2.33 and 2.85 m. wide (north/south) and Room W4a to be between

ESA, 24.98 kg of pottery was recovered from 4,610 L of soil. Among them were only 9 sherds of BCW and one sherd of an ESA hemispherical cup. Indeed, in the entirety of the soil excavated from Room W4 (15,680 L) there was 0.012 kg of BCW (plus 15 sherds) and 5 sherds of ESA mixed in with 0.1 kg of Roman pottery (plus 2 sherds). Though a coin of Antiochus VII³⁸⁷ was found in CB28010 (Hellenistic and Roman fill), the pottery and finds were all PHAB phase or earlier, with the exception of one sherd of Kfar Hananya pottery (out of 23 kg of pottery and 6,080 L of soil). If the Squatters used this room then they left far less than 1 vessel behind along with the coin of Antiochus VII. Though there is a bit of residual Squatter material, the overall artifact profile in this room matches that of rooms that were uninhabited by the Squatters. The Squatter coin and pottery here is most likely the result of complete robbing of the wall (**CB28002/CB28016**) that divided Room W4 room from the Western Corridor, which the Squatters used (see Figure 59).

Room W5

Room W5 is yet another room for which there no evidence of Squatter use, though, as mentioned above, it is likely that the Squatters blocked the doorway between Rooms W4a and W5 (**CB28005**). Plaster floor **CB28003**, which lies at an elevation of 465.14 m, runs under door block **CB28005** and over the threshold of the doorway in wall **CB28004**. The fill above the floor (CB28008, from elevations 465.93 m. down to 465.34 m.) is characterized by a high density of large Hermon Jar sherds with good edges, and

1.4 and 2.29 m. wide (north/south). Though conceptually possible for a “broom closet”-like room to exist (the South-Central Corridor is ca. 1.88 m. wide and room Room S5 is ca. 2.14 m. wide), there are no external rooms smaller than Room N5 (which measures ca. 3.2 m. wide), and the Western Corridor measures 3.4 m. wide. Furthermore, when the loci from Room W4 are compared with those from Room W4a, the results are the same – the same soils, the same finds, and the same densities of pottery.

³⁸⁷ K08C028 (134-133 BCE)

within this fill one Hermon Jar was found on its side, crushed, at an elevation of 465.52 m. It seems that there were a number of Hermon Jars being stored in Room W5 that were churned up during the wall robbing episode. The sum total of Squatter pottery found below subsoil in Room W5 was 3 tiny sherds of ESA.

Room W6

The room in the southwest corner of the building, Room W6, shows no evidence of Squatter occupation whatsoever. In fact, in all of the soil dug below subsoil, from 465.73 m. to 464.59 m. (9,910 L of soil), not one ESA or BCW sherd (and only one Kfar Hananya sherd, in the second-highest unit) was found in 86.98 kg of pottery. Within the room two floors were found, **CB18004**, at 464.96 m. (LDM underneath was an Iron Age cookpot) and **CB18005**, at 464.85 m. (LDM was an Iron Age cookpot).

Room W7

The same can be said for Room W7 (that has been said for Room W6): in 12,270 L. of soil and 369.95 kg of pottery there was nothing diagnostically Squatter found below subsoil with the possible exception of one small sherd of cast glass. Like Room W6, this room also had two floors, a white plaster floor, **CB18010**, at 465.09 m. (LDM: BSP rim, Chian lagynos sherd; LDM in the 0.1 was a local fine saucer and Hellenistic cookware), and a blue-grey plaster floor, **CB18011**, at 465.01.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁸ Note that this piece of cast glass likely came from the robbing trench on the south side of the floor that was the result of robbing the south wall of the building down to its foundations.

The Rooms South of the Central Courtyard (Rooms S3 and S4 – Figure 60)

The Squatter material profile of the rooms bounding the southern side of the Central Courtyard is very much like those of the Western and Northern Rooms.

Room S3³⁸⁹

The northern part of the eastern wall was robbed deeply (down to 464.14 m.; it is preserved as high as 465.21 m.).³⁹⁰ The final PHAB phase of the room included a thick plaster floor with pottery sherds pressed into the matrix (**CB17004**), set on top of a cobble subfloor that looked very much like the subfloor of the Central Courtyard. This floor and the floor beneath it (**CB17008**) were cut by a deep post-12th century CE grave that used the north wall of the room for a northern grave wall and into which was placed a southern wall of large stones (**CB17018**), and was capped with very large, flat stones (**CB17002**). The soil (**CB17019**) on top of the plaster-and-sherd floor (**CB17004**) contained a few ESA fish plate and saucer sherds, curiously only appearing in units dug in the southern half of the room (one would assume that these few sherds came from robbing disturbance). All of the other finds in **CB17019** were from the PHAB phases: a coin of Antiochus III,³⁹¹ an architectural fragment,³⁹² and Phoenician Semi-Fine, Local Fine, BSP, and sandy cookware pottery.³⁹³ The only other known Squatter material evidence from the 23,070 L. of soil and 209.8 kg of pottery in this room are 6 sherds of

³⁸⁹ Room S3 is bounded by walls **CB17001** (to the west), **CB17003/CB27004** (to the north), **CB17006** (to the east), and **CB17007** (to the south).

³⁹⁰ The maximum preserved height of the other walls was 465.39 m. (**CB17001**); 465.39 m. (**CB17003/CB27004**); 465.21 m. (**CB17006**); and 464.38 m. (**CB17007**).

³⁹¹ **K06C009** (198-188 BCE)

³⁹² **K06S003**

³⁹³ Ambiguous finds included astragali (**K06BI012**; **K06T#654**) and a possible sling ball (unk. **K06T#**).

ESA, a cast glass fragment,³⁹⁴ and a glass pyxis lid,³⁹⁵ all found in later contexts such as soil that was excavated from elevations above the southern wall of the room and which had a Byzantine LDM, or in soil disturbed by the Islamic burial in the northern part of the room.³⁹⁶

Room S4

Room S4 is bounded by walls **CB16034** (to the north, between Room S4 and the Central Courtyard), **CB16030** (to the east), **CB16029**/?**CB16044**/**CB17005** (to the south), and **CB17006** (to the west). Within the room is floor **CB16032**, on top of which were built two plaster bins, a rectangular one (**CB16027**) that is in the northwest corner of the room, and a square one (**CB16026**) in the northeast corner of the room. In the southeast corner of the room a semicircular installation (**CB16028**) was found attached to the eastern wall (**CB16030**). Floor **CB16032** (surface elevation of 464.72 m. [high]/464.60 m. [low]) bonded with the western wall (**CB17006**), the eastern wall (**CB16030**), the southern wall (if that's what **CB16029** is – it's called a "partition wall" on the **CB16028** locus sheet), the two bins in the north (**CB16026** and **CB16027**), and the semicircular installation (**CB16028**).

Almost nothing belonging to the Squatters was found in Room S4. In the soil

(**CB16040**)³⁹⁷ that came down on floor **CB16032**, 0.031 kg of ESA was found (all in the

³⁹⁴ **K06G007**

³⁹⁵ **K06G003**

³⁹⁶ The glass pyxis lid (**K06G003**) was found in the foundation trench for the Islamic grave; a cast glass body sherd (**K06G007**) and a Brindisi amphora fragment (**K06T#018**), were found in **CB17011**, the Byzantine/Crusader activity above the southern wall of the room. Cast glass body sherd **K06G012** was recovered from the pottery in the plaster and sherd floor and is presumed to be an intrusion.

³⁹⁷ **CB16040** is a 25-30 cm.-thick soil deposit underneath subsoil and on top of plaster floors **CB16031** (Room S5), **CB16032** (Room S4), and **CB16024** (Central Courtyard) and their equivalent elevations throughout CB 1.6 NE and NW (e.g., ashlar blocks that are part of wall **CB16030**). The units from **CB16040** and the rooms in which they were dug are as follows: **CB1.6.081** (Room S4); **CB1.6.083** (Room S4 and Room S5); **CB1.6.087** (Room S4?); **CB1.6.092** (Room S4); **CB1.6.093** (Room S5 and the South-

upper elevations, immediately below subsoil).³⁹⁸ No other ESA was found in Room S4, and no BCW was found anywhere in the room. In addition, the pottery that was excavated from units immediately on top of floor **CB16032**, some of which were almost complete or mendable vessels, belonged to the PHAB.³⁹⁹ In like fashion, no evidence of the Squatters was found in the bins or the semi-circular installation.

The Rooms South of the South-Central Corridor (Rooms S5, S6, S7, S9, and S11 – Figure 61)

The evidence within Room S5 looks very much like that of Room S4. Room S5 is bounded by **CB16034** to the north, **CB16046** (to the east), **CB16033** (to the south) and **CB16030** (to the west). Within the room there is a floor, **CB16031** (surface elevation 464.69 m. [high]/464.62 m. [low]), and a quarter-circle installation (**CB16025**). It is impossible to determine what belongs only to this room, as the soil above the floor (**CB16040**) was dug across wall lines.⁴⁰⁰ However, the units from **CB16040** that were dug in Room S5 but not in Room S4 do not add any Squatter evidence to the equation.

Central Corridor); CB1.6.095 (Room S4 and Room S5); CB1.6.096 (Central Courtyard, South-Central Corridor, and on top of wall **CB16030**); CB1.6.098 (Central Courtyard and South-Central Corridor); CB1.6.106 (Central Courtyard); CB1.6.107 (South-Central Corridor); CB1.6.108 (South-Central Corridor); CB1.6.111 (on top of wall **CB16030**); CB1.6.119 (Room S4); CB1.6.120 (Central Courtyard); CB1.6.121 (unknown – Central Courtyard?); CB1.6.122 (Room S5 and on top of wall **CB16034**); CB1.6.123 (unknown).

³⁹⁸ The ESA comes from units **CB1.6.081** and **CB1.6.083**, and both are underneath subsoil units. The subsoil of this trench (**CB16037**) had 0.055 kg of ESA in it.

³⁹⁹ Objects included 58 sherds of a cookpot in ____ fabric that preserve the rim to the base (**K06P046**), a Phoenician semi-fine unguentarium (**K06P047**), a BSP hemispherical bowl (**K06P018**, N.B., fragments found in **CB16040** mend with fragments found in **CB16037** [subsoil]), a grooved-rim pot in Gritty Cookware (**K06P046**); a delphiniform lamp (**K06L009** – note that fragments of 4 other lamps were also found). Other “ambiguous” objects included a spatter jar rim that joins with a piece inventoried in 2000 (**K06T#1079**); 2 coins (**K06C017** and **K06C019** – entries for both are missing in the IAA conspectus so the readings are unknown); an iron buckle (**K06M018**); half of an iron tool or weapon (**K06M019**); an iron knife (**K06M020**); a nail (**K06M034**); a coreform glass bottle (**K06T#402**); two lead tokens (**K06C016** and **K06C019**), and 5 flat iron fragments (**K06T#548**).

⁴⁰⁰ The units from **CB16040** that belong in this room include **CB1.6.083** (dug in Room S4 and Room S5), **CB1.6.093** (Room S5 and the South-Central Corridor), **CB1.6.095** (Room S4 and Room S5), and **CB1.6.122** (Room S5 and the top of wall **CB16034**).

Furthermore, CB16056, the floor deposit in the eastern half of the room (which is essentially equivalent to CB16040), had no Squatter material at all in 340 L of soil and 6.1 kg of pottery. Though these are relatively small amounts of soil and pottery, it should be noted that that small amount produced five inventoried ceramic vessels,⁴⁰¹ a coin of Antiochus V,⁴⁰² and a coin of Demetrius II's first reign,⁴⁰³ all of which belong to the final PHAB phase of the building. In sum, the only evidence of Squatter presence is an ESA or BSP moldmade bowl⁴⁰⁴ from the units of CB16040 that were dug between Room S5 and the South-Central Corridor, as well as 0.03 kg of ESA that was dug immediately under subsoil in a unit spanning Rooms S4 and S5.⁴⁰⁵

Rooms S6, S7, S9, and S11

Any understanding of the area just southwest of the intersection of the Stylobate Corridor and the Southeastern Corridor is complicated by major remodeling projects during the life of the PHAB, as well as extensive wall robbing after the Squatters left. At some point during the life of the PHAB, the courtyard drain (**CB16009/CA96003**) was rerouted from its original position running north/south through the eastern portion of Room S8 to the southeastern corner of the Central Courtyard by way of Rooms S9, S6, and the South-Central Corridor.⁴⁰⁶ As a result of the rerouting of the drain, either a

⁴⁰¹ A Spatter bowl profile (K08P041); 9 fragments of a large bowl ("measure" – K08P042); a Phoenician Semi-Fine unguentarium (K08P053); a Spatter bowl (K08P054); and a Spatter rim and neck (K08P044).

⁴⁰² K08C010 (163-162 BCE)

⁴⁰³ K06C017 (144-143 BCE), from unit CB1.6.093

⁴⁰⁴ K06P025, from unit CB1.6.093.

⁴⁰⁵ That unit, noted above in the discussion of Room S4, is CB1.6.083. It was noted there that the subsoil locus (CB16037) had 0.055 kg of ESA in it.

⁴⁰⁶ This may perhaps be the result of Room S2, Room S3, and Room S4 being built in what used to be the Central Courtyard. That is, it is possible that **CB16009/CA96003** was a drain for the Central Courtyard throughout the life of the building and that the rerouting of the drain is evidence of the southern wall of the Central Courtyard having moved north (i.e., that it originally extended all the way to wall **CB17005/****CB16044** [i.e., to what is now the southern wall of rooms Room S2, Room S3, and Room S4]).

breach was made in the west wall of Room S9 (**CB16046**), in the south wall of Room S6 (**CB16051**), and in the north wall of Room S6 (**CB16047**) or the drain was rerouted through the doorways of these rooms.⁴⁰⁷

The intersection of walls **CB15018**, **CB16049**, **CB16051**, and **CB16049** (i.e., where these four rooms come together) was robbed completely, as was the intersection of walls **CB16049**, **CB16047**, and **CB15023** (between Rooms S6, S7, and the South-Central Corridor). In addition, wall **CB15018** was found partially covered by floor **CB15019**, suggesting that in the Squatter phase of the building Rooms S7 and S11 constituted one room (or, perhaps, entryway, if there was a southern entrance to the building here.) The designation of Rooms S6, S7, S11, and S9 as separate rooms for the purposes of describing their contents is a bit problematic because of the degree to which the walls were robbed (and thus the consequent inability to say that soil excavated from a given room did not come from another room).

Room S6 is bounded by walls **CB16047** (the northern wall), **CB16049** (the eastern wall, of which only a small stublet remained), **CB16051** (the southern wall) and **CB16046** (the western wall). No floor was found in this room.

Room S7, immediately east of Room S6, is bounded by **CB15023** to the north, **CB15017** to the east, **K09 CB15018**⁴⁰⁸ to the south, and the stublet of **CB15049** to the west. The floor within Room S7 is floor **CB16050/CB15019**, with a surface elevation of 464.40/464.38 m.

⁴⁰⁷ See Ameera Elrasheedy and Henry Colburn's final report for the 2008 excavation of CB1.6 and CA9.6.

⁴⁰⁸ CB15018 was mistakenly assigned twice, and as a result it is here designated "**K09 locus CB15018**" and "**K06 locus CB15018**." **K09 locus CB15018** is the south wall of Room S7. **K06 locus CB15018** is the main N/S wall of CB 1.5 SE, running from the southern edge of **CB15002** to the southern edge of the trench.

Room S11 is bounded by CB15018 to the north, **CB15017/CA95021** to the east, **CA96002/CA95010** to the south, and **CA96030/CB16049** to the west. Floor **CB15019** continued over the top of part of CB15018 and is the floor in Room S11, at an elevation of 464.38.

Room S9, west of the northern portion of Room S11 and immediately south of Room S6, is bounded by **CB16051** to the north, **CB16049** to the east, **CB16048** to the south, and had no extant western wall. No floor was found in this room.

There is no evidence for Squatter presence in any of these rooms. Though the subsoil (**CB16002**) in the 10 m. x 5 m. area of CB1.6 NW and NE included 0.2 kg (plus 23 sherds) of ESA, nothing later than BSP was found below subsoil (and no BCW was found in CB1.6). Furthermore, the units from **CB16002** in which ESA was found were at high elevations and in the very north of Room S7, above or just south of wall **CB16047** (in fact, all three of these units were attempting to find or define wall **CB16034**).⁴⁰⁹ This is important because there is ample evidence for Squatter presence in South-Central Corridor, and it is possible that the ESA that was found in units technically south of the southern face of wall **CB16034** were from the South-Central Corridor. “Possible” becomes almost certain when we look at the rest of the loci from Rooms S6, S7, and S9. Only 6 sherds of ESA were found in these three rooms: one in the Hellenistic phase of Room S6 (**CB16058**), which is immediately below **CB16002**,⁴¹⁰ and five in **CB15027**, the

⁴⁰⁹ CB1.6.166 (465.28 m. down to 464.85 m. – 0.1 kg of ESA); CB1.6.170 (464.93 m. down to 464.70 m. – 4 sherds of ESA); CB1.6.171 (464.96 m. down to 464.28 m. – 6 sherds of ESA).

⁴¹⁰ The sherd of ESA is from CB1.6.187; a cast glass bowl rim, **K08G003**, was also found in CB1.6.189. Other finds in this locus included two generic 2nd century BCE coins (**K08C029** – dated to 163-126 BCE [??!!] and **K08C031** – dated to 159-129[??!!]) and a coin of Demetrius I (159-158 BCE – **K08C030**), a BSP lamp (**K08L007**), a delphiniform lamp (**K08L014**), a Phoenician Semi-Fine flanged rim juglet base (**K08P047**), a Phoenician Semi-Fine juglet (**K08P055**), an Attic base fragment (**K08P059**), a sandy cookpan rim (**K08P087**), and a Pergamene hemispherical bowl (**K08P255**). In other words, the ESA and cast glass do not fit with the chronologically homogenous set of finds in this locus.

robber's trench over **K09 locus CB15017**⁴¹¹ (which is to say, in the area where the wall between Room S7 and the intersection of the Stylobate Corridor and the Southeastern Corridor is missing. Again, there is ample evidence for Squatter presence in the Stylobate Corridor and the Southeastern Corridor.) Only 1 sherd of BCW was found in these three rooms, and that was in CB15026 (the robber's trench over wall **CB15023**, which separated Rooms S6 and S7 from the known Squatter-used area of South-Central Corridor).

Equally as interesting as the fact that the tiny amount of Squatter material that was found in the 45.79 m² that make up these three rooms was found in the very northern reaches of them is the profile of the Early Roman loci associated with the wall robbing episodes. CB16060, the soil in the robbing trench over the intersection of walls **CB15051** and **CB16049** (that is, in the center of the area consisting of these three rooms) has an LDM of Kfar Hananya and a Kfar Hananya cooking bowl⁴¹² but no BCW and no ESA. So also with CB15024, the soil between patches of floor **CB15019** in CB1.5 SW and NW: an Early Roman LDM with no BCW and no ESA. Neither was there Squatter material found in CB15028, the deposit on top of floor **CB15019**, CB16054, the Hellenistic fill in the southeast corner of CB1.6SE, or CB16059, the Hellenistic phase of Room S9. In short, the Squatter material is entirely located against, over, or in association with the robbing of **CB16047** and the northern portion of **CB15017**, on the other side of which were Squatter-used areas, and the Early Roman loci and the soil loci on top of the

⁴¹¹ CB15017 was mistakenly assigned twice, and as a result it is here designated "**K09 locus CB15017**" and "K06 locus CB15017." **K09 locus CB15017** is the east wall of Room S7 and Room S11. K06 locus CB15017 is "the fill below a very large stone in the SE quadrant of CB 1.5." (That is the locus description on the locus sheet. The locus/loci that were over K06 locus CB15017 are not listed.

⁴¹² K08P256

floors south of **CB16047** contain no Squatter material – in marked contrast to such soil in Squatter-used areas of the building.

It is worth noting, though, that **CB16002** includes 25 units and extends from 465.08 m. down to 464.15 m. (the top of the highest extant wall was at 464.88 m. [**CB16047**] and the top of the lowest extant wall was 464.52 [**CB16051**]). While it is true that these units and elevations cover two quadrants (CB1.6 NE and CB1.6 SE) and rubble appears to be the defining characteristic that caused these units to be lumped together, this locus extended only from 464.85 down to 464.62 m. when it was dug in CB1.6 SW in 2000. The subsoil in CB1.6 NW was locused as **CB16037** when it was dug in 2006 and extended from 465.15 (high)/465.00 (low) down to 465.10 (high)/464.66 (low).⁴¹³ Even if we assume that the twenty-five units in **CB16002** ought to be locused together based on the presence of between 35% and 95% rubble (of widely varying sizes), we must ask whether or not the presence of Squatter material in this locus indicates that Squatters used these rooms (and the rubble is wall collapse or the result of wall robbing) or is the result of later plowing and activity (in which case it was dragged or thrown from other rooms into these).

The Southern Rooms (Rooms S8 and S10 – Figure 62)⁴¹⁴

Room S10 is one of the most interesting rooms in the PHAB because of a fantastic primary deposit that was found on the floor and underneath a destruction layer.

Within the room two floor patches were found in the southeast part of the room,

⁴¹³ Unit CB1.6.159 (the last unit dug in 2006, and underneath locus **CB16031.1**), which has beginning and ending elevations of 463.90 and 463.76, respectively, was locused as **CB16037**. Assuming that this unit should not have been locused as such, the lowest ending elevation in locus **CB16037** is 464.66 m. (in unit CB1.6.105).

⁴¹⁴ Room S10 is bounded by **CB16048** (to the north), **CA96029/CB16049** (to the east), **CA96002** (to the south), and **CB16005** (to the west).

CA96031, a thick plaster floor, and **CA96032**, a low-quality plaster floor that bonded with the doorway threshold (**CA96030**) in the eastern wall (in the southeast part of the room). **CA96031** had a surface elevation of 464.09 m. and **CA96032** had a surface elevation of 463.99 m.

Within the room a primary deposit and destruction layer was uncovered.⁴¹⁵ It spanned the entire room, covering both floor patches,⁴¹⁶ and consisted of a ca. 65 cm.-thick ash layer containing very burnt pottery (including and a stamped amphora handle dating to between 154/3 and 146 BCE)⁴¹⁷ and multiple *in situ* vessels.⁴¹⁸ The pottery found in this destruction layer and the date of the stamped Rhodian amphora handle correspond perfectly with the abandonment of the PHAB. The destruction of Room S10 and the abandonment of the PHAB were coterminous. This means that Room S10 provides a wonderful test case for Squatter presence – the room was burned before or

⁴¹⁵ **CA96033**

⁴¹⁶ According to the locus sheets, the primary deposit and destruction layer was only found on top of floor patch **CA96031**. Floor patch **CA96032**, the slightly lower, poorer quality floor that was found bonded to threshold **CA96030**, is explicitly described as having been covered by **CA96021**, a soil locus that includes three units (CA9.6.124, CA9.6.125, and CA9.6.127) and is described as “an exposed/slightly contaminated top of the primary deposit [that] yielded many large and mendable sherds of SF spatter and amphora” and covered primary deposit **CA96033**, threshold **CA96030**, and floor **CA96032**. However, both primary deposit **CA96033** and soil locus **CA96034** (the soil “directly beneath” primary deposit **CA96033**) are specifically described as being bordered by all four walls and threshold **CA96030** (though **CA96034** was below the level of threshold **CA96030**). Given that floor **CA96032** bonded with threshold **CA96030**, it seems possible (probable?) that primary deposit **CA96033** was on top of both floor patches.

⁴¹⁷ **K08SAH008**

⁴¹⁸ Included were one fragment of a clear cast glass grooved bowl rim (**K08G013/K08T#1570**), a baggy jar toe (**K08P181**), three Phoenician Semi-Fine table amphoras (**K08P182**, **K08P189**, and **K08P273**), a Phoenician semi-fine angled-rim table amphora (**K08P272**), a Phoenician Semi-Fine juglet (**K08P198**), a Phoenician Semi-Fine flanged-rim juglet (**K08P274**), a Phoenician Semi-Fine flanged-rim juglet foot (**K08P275**), a sandy grooved-rim jug (**K08P271**), a BSP fish plate (**K08P258**), a Koan/Knidian cup in an unknown fabric (**K08P259**), a CFN or BSP incurved-rim bowl with a rouletted floor (**K08P260**), a spatter everted-rim bowl (**K08P262**), a spatter incurved-rim bowl (**K08P263**), a sandy necked pointed-rim cookpot (**K08P267**), a necked plain-rim cookpot in an unknown fabric (**K08P268**), a sandy flanged, angled-rim casserole (**K08P269**), a footed basalt mortar (**K08S028**), three handstones (**K08S031**, **K08S032**, **K08S037**), a handstone grinder/pecker (**K08S037**), and a stamped amphora handle dating to between 154/3 and 146 BCE (**K08SAH008**).

during the building's abandonment and the destruction layer was left undisturbed until 2008.

There is no BCW and only 5 small sherds of ESA in the entire room: two in the contaminated subsoil⁴¹⁹ and three in the primary deposit/destruction layer.⁴²⁰ Of these three one is from CA9.6.131, which was immediately under CA9.6.127 (described as “topsoil” in the unit description, and removed separate from the rest of the primary deposit because the excavators feared contamination). It seems likely that this sherd was left over from CA9.7.127 (which had a Roman LDM). The other two were in CA9.6.136, a unit which was under CA9.6.131 (just described), CA9.6.133 (removal of the primary floor deposit), CA9.6.134 (removal of the primary floor deposit), and CA9.6.135 (jar removal). Though that information makes these two sherds of ESA are very difficult to explain stratigraphically, the fact that they are two sherds weighing less than 0.01 kg and the remaining 12.1 kg of pottery had nothing later than BSP (ca. 160 BCE), and the fact that there were 5 total sherds of ESA (ca. 0.015 kg) out of 610.8 kg (*sic!*) of pottery that included 17 whole or nearly whole vessels requires us to interpret these two sherds as contamination. The Squatters did not use Room S10.

Room S8⁴²¹

The eastern, central, and western parts of Room S8 are one room that have been divided into west, central, and eastern thirds for greater precision in analyzing the material. This is a very large room (74.25 m²), within which an extension of the drain

⁴¹⁹ CA96021, unit CA9.6.124.

⁴²⁰ CA96033 – 1 sherd in CA9.6.131 and 3 sherds in CA9.6.136.

⁴²¹ Room S8 is bounded by **CB17026** on the west (the wall that forms the western wall of the Central Courtyard further to the north), **CB17005/CB16044**, **CB16001**, and **CB16033** on the north, **CA96005/CB16005** on the east, and **CA96002/CB17025** on the south.

was constructed,⁴²² running from the south wall of Room S2 to an intersection with drain **CB16009** in the eastern quarter of the room. (A small section of plaster over the top of wall **CB17005** immediately north of the drain basin at the extreme west end of the drain makes it clear that there was access to it from Room S2). A multitude of floor patches,⁴²³ and five tabuns were discovered: one (**CB17030**) spanning the artificial boundary between the eastern and central thirds of Room S8, in the northeastern corner of CB1.7 SW, with a bottom elevation of 464.80 m. (K08 elevation)/464.73 m. (K09 elevation); a second (**CB17031**) in the southeastern corner of CB1.7 SW, with a bottom elevation of 464.83 m.; a third (**CB17032**) in the southwest corner of CB1.7 SW, with a bottom

⁴²² **CB17042/CB16010**

⁴²³ The western third of Room S8: **CB17028**, at 464.99 m. and, 26 cm. deeper, **CB17070**, at 464.73 m. **CB17029** was found at 464.70 m. [K09 locus sheet] or, perhaps, 464.54 m. (K08 locus sheet). See the next paragraph (in this footnote) on this discrepancy and the reason that 464.70 m. is more likely. The central 1/3 of Room S8: **CB17041**, at 464.97/464.92 m; **CB17047**, at 464.89 m; **CB17044**, at 464.84 m; **CB17048**, at 464.82 m; **CB17045**, at 464.79 m. (high)/464.71 m. (low); and **CB17046**, at 464.67 m. (high)/464.59 (low) m. The eastern third of Room S8: **CB16003**, at 464.69 m; **CA96011**, (between walls **CA96002**, **CA96007**, and **CA96008**), at 464.65 m; **CB16018**, at 464.63 m, which had a sub-plaster floor **CB16019**, at 464.53 m; **CA96015**, at 464.62 m; **CB16016**, at 464.62 m; **CA96010**, at 464.55 m; **CA96016**, at 464.48; and **CA96012**, at 464.47 m.

There is a possible discrepancy in the floor elevations for floor **CB17029**. They are 464.54 m. in K08 (CB1.7 SW) and 464.70 m. in K09 (CB1.7 SE). This sort of variation in the floors is possible, but the K08 locus sheets are very confusing about which tabuns were on this floor. The locus sheet for the floor (**CB17029**) in K08 says that “the level of this floor lies below that of the NE and SE tabuns (**CB17030** and **CB17031**), but at the level of the SW tabun (**CB17032**).” The trench photos make it clear that the NE and SE tabuns were roughly at the same level, while the SW tabun was founded much more deeply. (These tabuns are the ones that were destroyed by vandalism in 2008. There was not much more to do than clean up the detritus of the NE and SE tabuns, but the SW tabun was excavated to a much deeper level afterwards.) However, the **CB17030/CB17030.0/CB17030.1** locus sheet says that the tabun is “roughly at the level of **CB17029**” (the bottom of this tabun is at 464.66 m. or 464.70 m.), but that the 0.1 “extends downward to floor **CB17029**” (note that the elevations for the 0.1 are 464.80 m. down to 464.66 m.). *This would presumably put the floor elevation at 464.66 m.* The K09 locus sheet for **CB17030.1** agrees with this assessment, stating that that there is 3 cm. of soil between the tabun and floor **CB17029** (K09 **CB17030.1** extends from 464.73 m. down to 464.70 m.), *which would presumably put the floor elevation at 464.70 m.* The locus sheet for **CB17031/CB17031.0/CB17031.1** says that the tabun is “roughly level with floor **CB17029**” (the exact same words that are on the **CB17030** locus sheet – the bottom of this tabun reportedly lies at 464.83 m.), but the 0.1 “extends downward to floor **CB17029**” (elevations for the 0.1 are 464.83 m. down to 464.58 m.). *This would presumably put the floor elevation at 464.58 m.* The locus sheets for **CB17032/CB17032.0/CB17032.1** say that the tabun is “Roughly at the level of the floor **CB17029**” (again the exact same words as on the other two locus sheets – bottom of this tabun lies at 464.56 m.). The 0.1 does not mention floor **CB17029** (its elevations are 464.54 m. down to 464.14 m.). It is important to note here that the trench photos seem to clearly show the bottom of this tabun well below floor **CB17029**. It seems most likely, then, that the K09 elevations (464.70 m., or thereabouts) are the correct elevations for floor **CB17029**.

elevation of 464.54 m.; and a fourth (**CB17038**) in the northern portion of CB1.7 SW with a bottom elevation of 464.80 m.; and a fifth (**CB17039**) near the center of CB1.7 SE with a bottom elevation of 464.88.

One tabun in particular is reminiscent of Squatter presence, **CB17038** (though perhaps also tabun **CB17039**), in the central 1/3 of Room S8. **CB17038** was well preserved, 0.8 m. in diameter, with a founding elevation of 464.80 m. (on floor **CB17044**). It stood against wall **CB17005** and just north of platform **CB17041**, which had a surface elevation of 464.97 m. (high)/464.92 m. (low) (see Figure 64). **CB17039** was much smaller (ca. 0.30 m. in diameter) and heavily damaged by rubble, perhaps from the robbing of nearby walls (see Figure 65). It had a founding elevation of 464.88 m., appropriate for an assumption that it sat on floor **CB17044**, though the heavy damage to the tabun made it impossible to fully articulate the relationship between the tabun and the floor. The LDM for tabun **CB17038** included fragments of a Phoenician Semi-Fine flanged rim juglet, Akko Sandy Cooking Ware, and fragments of a Spatter Ware jug. The base of a Spatter Ware cookpot⁴²⁴ was also found in the soil inside of it.

Floor **CB17044**, which ran under one or both tabuns and platform **CB17041**, was a packed soil and limestone chip floor. It was located on the north side of wall **CB17043** and abutted it. The LDM of floor **CB17044** was BSP, CFN, and fragments of an overhanging rim krater.⁴²⁵ The LDM in CB17044.1 was Local Fine.

⁴²⁴ K09P036

⁴²⁵ The total weight of **CB17044**'s pottery was 1.4 kg (in 140 L of soil); the total weight of CB17044.1's pottery was 0.04 kg (in 20 L of soil). Overhanging rim kraters are known in Greece from the early 2nd century BCE, and they occur in contexts dating broadly to the first three quarters of the 2nd century BCE at Dor. One is known at Akko from a mid- to late-2nd century BCE context and five of twenty-one examples at Kedesh come from Hell 2 loci. (Personal communication with Peter Stone, May 24, 2011.)

Wall **CB17043** was a small section of wall one course high and two courses wide (0.50-0.57 m. wide x 1.20-1.35 m. long x 0.095-0.265 m. high). Underneath it was 6-9 cm. of soil and then floor **CB17045** (at 464.75 [high]/464.71 [low] m.). It divides between floor **CB17047**,⁴²⁶ to the south, and **CB17044** and platform **CB17041**, to the north.⁴²⁷

There is no floor deposit in this room. However, soil locus **CB17054** overlies all of these features except the tabuns.⁴²⁸ It extended from 465.04 m. down to 464.52 m. and had an LDM of Kfar Hananya and Roman jar. It had no ESA or BCW,⁴²⁹ though it did have 0.77 kg (plus 5 sherds) of Sandy Cooking Ware, a cooking fabric for which there is currently no good evidence that the Squatters used. It also had the following PHAB-phase items that fit well with what we know of tabun use: a Sandy Cooking Ware lid rim,⁴³⁰ a Sandy Cooking Ware casserole rim,⁴³¹ a Sandy cookpot rim and handle,⁴³² and a Phoenician Semi Fine lid.⁴³³

There are two other soil loci above these floors. **CB17053**, the Early Modern soil locus that spanned the entire trench and ran over the top of **CB17054** and tabun **CB17030** had one sherd of ESA and no BCW. **CB17056**, the fill in the robbing trench for wall

⁴²⁶ A 1.15 x 0.5 m. patch of plaster floor on the south side of wall stublet **CB17043**. It abuts (and therefore likely post-dates) **CB17043**. Its LDM was Sandy Cooking Ware, Spatter, and Local Fine. The LDM of **CB17047.1** was an overhanging Rim Krater.

⁴²⁷ The one other floor patch, in the northeast corner of CB1.7 SE, is floor **CB17048**, a tiny patch at 464.82 m. that was likely originally part of **CB17045**. The LDM in CB17048 was fragments of a Sandy Cooking Ware casserole. The LDM of **CB17048.1** was Local Fine, Spatter, and Sandy Cooking Ware.

⁴²⁸ With the possible exception of wall **CB17043**. The locus sheet for wall **CB17043** says that it is under **CB17054**. The locus sheet for **CB17054** does not mention wall **CB17043**. The locus sheet for **CB17053**, however, says that it is over wall **CB17043**. Tabun CB17030 is (also?) under **CB17053**.

⁴²⁹ It is interesting for the question of how the Parthian Green Glazed pottery should be phased to note that had 2 sherds in it (in units CB1.7.152 and CB1.7.153).

⁴³⁰ **K09P014**

⁴³¹ **K09P015**

⁴³² **K09P016**

⁴³³ **K09P019**. This locus also had other PHAB-phase items: a Western Asia Minor plate base (**K09P017**), a fish plate (**K09P018**), a BSP plate (**K09P009**), and a Hellenistic Glack Glazed bowl rim (**K09P013**).

CB17036 (in the extreme southeast corner of CB1.7 SW), and **CB17055**, a locus of units that overlay **CB17056**, had Judaeen juglet, Roman Jar, and ESA for LDMs. However, the ESA LDM (in **CB17055**) consisted of three sherds of ESA. There was no other ESA and no BCW among the 91.15 kg of pottery that came out of these two loci.⁴³⁴ As in **CB17054**, there is a good deal of PHAB-phased cooking ware that was probably associated with the use of these tabuns: a Sandy cookpot base⁴³⁵ and a Sandy Cooking Ware casserole in **CB17055**,⁴³⁶ and a Sandy Courseware pan,⁴³⁷ and a Sandy cookpot⁴³⁸ in **CB17056**.⁴³⁹

When we step back even further and look at all of the soil that was excavated from Room S8, there was a grand total of 1 sherd of BCW and 8 sherds of ESA were recovered from more than 36,954 L of soil and 513.74 kg of pottery.⁴⁴⁰ In comparison,

⁴³⁴ The list of inventoried objects is also entirely PHAB-phased. **CB17055** had a copper coin of Antiochus III (**K09C005** – 222-187 BCE), a Sandy cookpot base (**K09P047**), two Local Fine saucers (**K09P047** and **K09P048**), a Local Fine bowl (**K09P054**), a Phoenician Semi-Fine baggy jar toe (**K09P057**), a Spatter jug (**K09P061**), a Sandy Cooking Ware casserole (**K09P056** – joins with fragments from **CB17056**). **CB17056** also had a Phoenician Semi-Fine juglet toe (**K09P058**), a Sandy Courseware pan (**K09P059**), a Sandy cookpot (**K09P060**), and a Hermon ‘A’ jar base (plugging up the drain – **K09P200**)

⁴³⁵ **K09P047**

⁴³⁶ **K09P056** – joins with fragments from **CB17056**.

⁴³⁷ **K09P059**

⁴³⁸ **K09P060**

⁴³⁹ **CB17055** also had a copper coin of Antiochus III (**K09C005** – 222-187 BCE), two Local Fine saucers (**K09P047** and **K09P048**), a Local Fine bowl (**K09P054**), a Phoenician Semi-Fine baggy jar toe (**K09P057**), and a Spatter jug (**K09P061**). **CB17056** also had a Phoenician Semi-Fine juglet toe (**K09P058**) and a Hermon ‘A’ jar base (plugging up the drain – **K09P200**).

⁴⁴⁰ “More than” because I don’t have volume or weight data on the following loci (all of which consist of one unit unless otherwise noted): **CA96006**, **CA96006.1**, **CA96007**, **CA96007.1**, **CA96008**, **CA96008.1** (2 units), **CA96010**, **CA96010.1**, **CA96011**, **CA96012**, **CA96012.1**, **CA96013**, **CA96013.1**, **CA96015**, **CA96015.1** (7 units), **CA96016**, **CA96016.1**, **CA96022** (8 units), **CA96025** (2 units), **CA96026** (3 units), **CA96028**, **CB16003** (2 units), **CB16003.1**, **CB16004**, **CB16004.1**, **CB16006** (2 units), **CB16006.1** (2 units), **CB16007** (8 units), **CB16016**, **CB16016.1** (2 units), **CB16017**, **CB16018**, **CB16018.1**, **CB16019** (4 units), **CB16020**, **CB16021**, and **CB16022**. Note, however, that even though totals were not compiled, the other data from them were still analyzed from the unit and locus sheets (they hadn’t been entered into Peter’s pottery database).

that same soil (some of which was admittedly under the floors, in PHAB-only phases) produced more than 11.49 kg (plus 101 sherds) of Sandy Cooking Ware.⁴⁴¹

It seems clear, then, that the Squatters did not use this large southern room – or, if they did, then they left almost nothing behind. Conversely, the PHAB-phase users of this room left a large amount behind that is associated with tabun use.

The Rooms South of the Southeastern Corridor (Rooms S12, S13, and S14 – Figure 63)⁴⁴²

Within Room S12 There is a cobble surface (**CB15004**) in the middle of the room at 463.97 m.; other than this no surface was found. **K06 CB15018** and **CA95003** were also robbed very deeply, **K06 CB15018** to 463.27 m. and **CA95003** to 463.94 m. Of the four walls, only **K09 CB15017**, with an upper elevation of 464.61 m. (high)/464.36 m. (low) is preserved to an elevation above surface CB15004. Given the situation presented by the widespread deep robbing of these walls and a consequent impossibility of understanding the pre-wall robbing stratification of soil and finds, the discussion of these

⁴⁴¹ N.B. that Hellenistic cooking wares are thin walled and therefore much lighter than thick walled vessels. 11.49 kg of cooking ware is an impressive amount.

⁴⁴² Room S12 is bounded by **CB15002** to the north, which has been robbed down to the Persian portion of the wall (**CB15035** – upper elevation of 463.93 m.), by **K09 CB15017** to the west, by **CA95003** to the south. No Hellenistic wall was found to the east. Perhaps there was once a Hellenistic wall on top of the Persian wall (**K06 CB15018**). Room S13 is bounded by the just-discussed **CA95003** to the north, the just-discussed **K06 CB15018** to the east, **CA95010** (the Persian phase southern wall of the building, robbed down to 463.27 m. – no Hellenistic-phase wall was found here) to the south, and the just-discussed **CA95021/K09 CB15017** to the west. Room S14 is bounded by **CA95006**, (the PHAB-phase southern wall of the building, robbed down to 463.58 m. [high]/463.46 m. [low]) on the south and the just-discussed **K06 CB15018** to the west. **CA95001/CB15003** is a Persian period wall and here too no Hellenistic wall was found. Either a wall was built on top of **CA95001/CB15003** in the Hellenistic period, in which case Room S14 would appear to be a southern entryway and corridor, or the Hellenistic period wall is further east. **CB15017** was assigned twice. In 2006 it was assigned to a soil locus “which was recovered from below a very large stone in the South Eastern quadrant of CB 1.5.” In 2009 it was assigned to the western wall of Room S12. As noted elsewhere, locus number **CB15018** was assigned twice – first here, in 2006, and again, to another wall, in 2008. The **K08 CB15018** is the east/west wall that divides between Room S7 and Room S11.

three rooms as though they are separate is nothing more than an artificial academic construct. Indeed

However, as far as an understanding of the Squatters goes, it does not matter. Within all of the soil in these three rooms there were eleven sherds of ESA found and no BCW. If the Squatters were using these rooms, the evidence of them has been so disrupted that it is impossible to find any meaningful trace. Given the evidence for them just to the north of this area and the depth of wall robbing, it is just as likely that the small amount of Squatter material came from the Southeastern Corridor and the Stylobate Corridor.

Chapter 5

The Squatters as the Dispossessed Urban Poor of Kedesh

It seems probable that there is some connection between the abandonment of the PHAB and 1 Maccabees' account of the battle between Jonathan and Demetrius. Given how closely the Squatter phase follows the abandonment, it also seems likely that the battle contributed to the Squatter rehabilitation of the building. The search outside of Kedesh for a satisfactory explanation for the Squatters' origin, presence, and material culture has not provided convincing possibilities. We have no reason to think that the entire population of the city of Kedesh was killed, enslaved, or run off by Jonathan – the people living in the city of Kedesh prior to Jonathan's arrival continued to live there after Demetrius' defeat. There is no good reason to think that Jonathan settled Judaeans at Kedesh, nor that he annexed any part of the Galilee to Judaea. And there is not enough evidence to ground a conclusion that the presence of a different material culture, by itself, an indication of the presence of a different people group.

Let us briefly recap the evidence. (1) The Squatter assemblage is a domestic assemblage. The presence of tabuns could, perhaps, just as well have been associated with seasonal workers, shepherds, or soldiers, but the fine table wares (including glass vessels) and the likelihood that the pyramidal loom weights, the copper alloy spatulae, and some of the fibulae belonged to the Squatters suggests not only domestic use, but also the presence of women. Furthermore, the proportions of utility, cooking, table, and toilet vessels in the overall assemblage are almost exactly the same as those at Tel Anafa

(a villa) but are very different from those in the PHAB (an administrative building). (2) Of the 142 coins excavated from the building, which span approximately 250 years, 56 (37%) were minted in the 24-28 years between 140/138 and 114/112 BCE. Furthermore, 52 of the 56 Squatter coins date to the first 15 years of Squatter occupation, while only 12 date to the final 15 years of PHAB occupation. (3) Of the 101 reconstructable vessels that are associated with the final, pre-abandonment phase of the PHAB there are no vessels in ESA, Basaltic Cooking Ware (BCW) or Tan Gray Marl (TGM). The Basaltic Cooking Ware was produced in the Golan Heights or the Chorazin Plateau, ca. 20 km southeast of Kedesh, and the inclusion of calcite as a temper, as well as its high-necked forms, is only known in potting traditions from Lower Galilee or the Central Hill region in this period. BCW was not found at Tel Anafa or Dan, ca. 12 and 16 km. to the northeast, respectively, and inhabited at the same time that the Squatters were living in the administrative building. The “southern style” cooking pots with high splayed necks, are also unknown at Tel Anafa. Three to five years before the Squatters were using BCW, the inhabitants of that very same building were using sandy and gritty cooking ware, which was produced on the coast, ca. 45 km to the west. What is more, the inhabitants of the LHSB at Tel Anafa (to the east of Kedesh) were using sandy cooking ware (coming from an area west of Kedesh) while the Squatters were using BCW (coming from an area southeast of Tel Anafa). Furthermore, both the inhabitants of the PHAB (before the Squatters) and the inhabitants of the LHSB at Tel Anafa (at the same time as the Squatters) used Spatter Painted Ware for cooking and table vessels, but the Squatters did not use Spatter at all. Rather, the Squatters used cooking vessels made of BCW and table vessels made of Tan Gray Marl instead of Spatter Painted Ware. Both types of pottery

were probably locally produced. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the PHAB, the LHSB, and the Squatters all used Phoenician Semi-Fine; the inhabitants of the LHSB and the Squatters both used ESA, while the inhabitants of the PHAB used BSP, which came from the same clay source as ESA. (4) The Squatters had cast glass drinking vessels, but in far fewer numbers than at Tel Anafa (34, as opposed to 116).

The phenomenon of rehabilitation and reuse of buildings after their abandonment, especially well built, monumental buildings, is almost entirely unreported in the extant literary sources from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The only two that I have been able to find are in m. Baba Bathra 3.1 and Xenophon's *Anabasis*. M. Baba Bathra 3.1 reads,

Title by *khazaqah* [i.e., claim to rightful ownership without title through proof of sustained possession for 3 years] to houses, cisterns, trenches, vaults, dovecots, bath houses, olive presses, irrigated fields, and slaves, and anything that brings constant gain, is secured by occupation during three completed years; title by *khazaqah* to unirrigated fields [is secured by occupation during] three years and they need not be completed.¹

It is unclear whether the Rabbis had in mind squatting of the sort that we find at Tel Kedesh, for all sorts of structures are included and abandoned municipal buildings are not. Even if they did, there is no suggestion that the behavior extended to Phoenician cities.

The second example comes from Xenophon's description of Larissa:

[6] ...the Greeks continued their march unmolested through the remainder of the day and arrived at the Tigris river. [7] Here was a large deserted city; its name was Larisa, and it was inhabited in ancient times by the Medes... [9] Near this city was a pyramid of stone, a plethrum in breadth

¹ חזקת בתים, בורות, שיחין, ומערות, מרחצאות, ושובכות, ובית הבדים, ובית השלהין, ועבדים וכל שהוא עושה פירות תדיר--
חזקתו, שלוש שנים מיום ליום; שדה הבעל--חזקתה שלוש שנים, ואינה מיום ליום

and two plethra in height; and upon this pyramid were many barbarians who had fled away from the neighboring villages.² (*Anabasis* 3.4.6-9)

It seems most likely that the villagers who “had fled away from” (ἀποπεφυγότες) the villages fled to the ziggurat for defensive reasons. Unfortunately, Xenophon does not confirm this and gives no further information about how long they stayed there.

Nevertheless, it is at least possible that it was for reasons other than defense. Xenophon and his army consistently used villages as a source of provisions and had, over the previous two days, encamped at villages that had provided them with food, supplies, and weapons; 250 of the villagers had also joined Xenophon’s army (*Anabasis* 3.3.20). In the coming days the army would learn that it was easier to defend themselves in a village than while marching on an open plain, with the result that Tissaphernes and his troops began to preemptively burn villages (*Anabasis* 3.4.31-33; 3.5.3). These particular villagers clearly had not fled at the approach of Xenophon’s army, so it seems at least possible that those in the ziggurat had fled there from villages that had been destroyed (they had obviously abandoned them), either as the result of the actions of the Greek or the Persian armies, and were now living in it. Assuming for the moment that this is the correct interpretation of this passage, I must admit that I have not been able to find another reference to people living in abandoned public buildings in the ancient literature.³

² [6] καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν. [7] ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ’ αὐτῆ ἦν Λάρισα· ὄκουν δ’ αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. τοῦ δὲ τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ’ ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασάγγαι· ὠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμεαῖς· κρηπίς δ’ ὑπὲρ λιθίνῃ τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. [8] ταύτην βασιλεὺς Περσῶν ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο εἰλεῖν· ἦλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. [9] παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμῖς λιθίνῃ, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπεφυγότες.

³ There are, however, plenty of examples in the ancient literature of people living in caves, tombs, etc., but that is a different phenomenon than living in abandoned public buildings in cities. It is probably not surprising that there are not more references in the extant literature to people inhabiting abandoned

Archaeologically the picture is the reverse. A quick, certainly not comprehensive survey of the archaeological literature shows that domestic rehabilitation of public buildings after they have been abandoned can be found at Galatas (Crete);⁴ Hazor;⁵ Tell Madaba;⁶ possibly in Area S of the Kinneret Regional Project (Israel);⁷ Tell Halif (Israel);⁸ Beit Shean;⁹ Nineveh;¹⁰ Nimrud;¹¹ Assur; Khorsabad;¹² Olynthos;¹³ Naxçivan;¹⁴

buildings in antiquity. An informal, imprecise analog can be provided by Google. I searched for “squatters” on the New York Times website and got approximately 35,100 results out of a possible 17,700,000, which means that no more than 0.198% of NY Times web pages include the word. When I expanded the search to include the term “squatter” OR the phrases “living in abandoned buildings,” “living in an abandoned building,” “rehabit* abandoned,” “reinhabit* abandoned,” or “living in an abandoned,” the result was never higher than 135,000 hits, or 0.7627%. The results will have had a worldwide breadth (though an admittedly U.S.-centric focus), will have included results that were not actually references to squatting activity (e.g., references to birds living in abandoned buildings), and will have included multiple instances of the same reference (e.g., when the same article is reused in various areas of the website or the same story is covered over weeks or months). The New York Times seemed a good target because it represents a journalistic genre of writing. I would expect that concepts of and problems associated with people living in abandoned buildings to be most highly represented in newspaper articles. To verify this I searched for the same terms and phrases in Google’s ngram viewer (<http://books.google.com/ngrams>), which searches approximately 5.2 million English-language books written between ca. 1820-2008 and displays the number of times that words or phrases occur according to the publication date of the books in which they occur. The highest rate of occurrence was for the term “squatters,” in the 1970s, when it comprised 0.00015% of the searched words. Given that ancient literature primarily reflected the concerns of the elite and the rich (as a result of education and literacy levels, not to mention the cost of ink and paper), not to mention the difference in genre between most works of antiquity and the New York Times, it is unlikely that there was as great a concern with squatters as there is in modern journalism. Even if it were exactly the same as modern journalistic references, it would have shown up in only 3/4 of 1% of ancient literature. Given the small percentage of total literature from antiquity that has survived until today, it is not surprising that I cannot find other ancient references to squatting in public buildings.

⁴ In the Middle Minoan III/Late Minoan IA Palace. G. Rethemiotakis, "The Hearths of the Minoan Palace at Galatas," in *Meletemata. Studies in Aegean Archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener*, ed. P. P. Betancourt, et al. vol. Aegaeum 20 (Liège: Université de Liège, 1999), 721.

⁵ In the Iron I period: Strata 12-11.

⁶ In the Iron Age IIB (FP 7). See http://www.utoronto.ca/tmap/prelim_2008.html and <http://wanderlustinglife.com/2011/05/18/tmap-2010-update-3-%E2%80%9Cshort-and-sweet%E2%80%9D/>

⁷ Dating to the Iron Age. See http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=1080&mag_id=115&print=nopic

⁸ In the late 8th century BCE (Stratum VIa). See <http://www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/htmls/context.htm>

⁹ Stratum P-6.

¹⁰ At least in Area KG in the outer town to the east of the Kuyunjik mound, but possibly also evidenced by repairs to the Nabu Temple and later structures in the South-West Palace. See D. B. Stronach, "Excavations at Nineveh, 1987," *Sumer* 46 (1989-1990), 107-108; J. E. Curtis, "The Assyrian Heartland in the Period 612-539 BC," in *Continuity of Empire: Assyria, Media, Persia. Proceedings of a Conference at Padua 26th-28th April 2001*, ed. G. B. Lianfranchi, R. Rollinger, and M. D. Roaf (Padua: 2004), 98; J. E. Reade, "Ninive (Nineveh)" in Erich Ebeling, Meissner, and Dietz Otto Edzard, eds., *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, 9:188-433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 428.

¹¹ **Phase G in the Burnt Palace and Ezida:** see D. Oates and J. Oates, "Nimrud 1957: the Hellenistic Settlement," *Iraq* 20 (1958), 114-157. **The North-West Palace, the Burnt Palace and the Nabu Temple**

Bylazora (Macedonia);¹⁵ Tell Beydar;¹⁶ perhaps at Delos;¹⁷ perhaps at Gordion;¹⁸ at site 11 of the Via Gabina Villas;¹⁹ at Jerash;²⁰ at Priniatikos Pyrgos;²¹ at Paphos;²² at Sardis;²³

complex: Phase H or phase 3: see M. E. L. Mallowan, *Numrud and its Remains*, 3 vols. (London: British School of Archaeology on Iraq, 1966), I:286-287; J. Oates and D. Oates, *Nimrud: An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001), 125. Note, however, that it also includes kilns in Room 47 of the Burnt Palace, which were dated by Mallowan to the 6th and then 2nd century BCE and by Barag to the Achaemenid period, as well as bronze objects from Room 39 of the Burnt Palace. **The South-East Palace:** see Oates and Oates, "Nimrud 1957: the Hellenistic Settlement," 119. **The South-West Palace:** see J. E. Curtis, "Some Axe-heads from Chagar Bazar and Nimrud," *Iraq* 45 (1983), 73-81; John Curtis and Vladimir Grigorievich Lukonin, *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism, 539-331 BC. Proceedings of a Seminar in Memory of Vladimir G. Lukonin* (London: British Museum Press, 1997). **The Town-Wall Houses:** see Curtis and Lukonin, *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism, 539-331 BC. Proceedings of a Seminar in Memory of Vladimir G. Lukonin*, 8; Oates and Oates, *Nimrud: An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed*, 135. **The Central Palace of Fort Shalmaneser** (possible evidence of rehabilitation), **and the Palace of Adan-nirari III** in the north-west corner of the outer town (PD5): see M. E. L. Mallowan, "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1953," *Iraq* 16 (1954), 59-163: 162; B. Parker, "The Excavations at Nimrud, 1949-1953: Seals and Impressions," *Iraq* 17 (1955), 93-125: pl. XIX/1, 8. See also Curtis, "The Assyrian Heartland in the Period 612-539 BC," in *Continuity of Empire: Assyria, Media, Persia. Proceedings of a Conference at Padua 26th-28th April 2001*, 7.

¹² In **Sargon's Palace, the Sin Temple, the Nabu Temple, Residences K and Z, and Palace F:** see Curtis, "The Assyrian Heartland in the Period 612-539 BC," in *Continuity of Empire: Assyria, Media, Persia. Proceedings of a Conference at Padua 26th-28th April 2001*, 10; G. Loud and C. B. Altman, *Khorsabad II: The Citadel and the Town*. OIP 40 (Chicago: 1938), Pl. 60/167-170.

¹³ In the 4th century BCE. See Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad II: The Citadel and the Town*, v. 29.: Hellenistic Pottery; Athenian and imported wheelmade table ware and related material; pt.21. See, e.g., pp. 19-20.

¹⁴ In the Oğlanqala Citadel, dating to the Hellenistic period. See http://www.oglanqala.net/2008_Introduction.html

¹⁵ In some of the terraced buildings and in the propylon on the acropolis, between ca. 358 and 279 BCE (or, perhaps, ca. 375-275), and again in the late 3rd-early 2nd centuries BCE (perhaps ending ca. 168 BCE). See Eulah Matthews and William Neidinger, "The Acropolis of Bylazora," in *The 2010 Excavation: Bylazora: Republic of Macedonia* (Canyon Lake, TX: The Texas Foundation for Archaeological and Historical Research, 2010); Eulah Matthews and William Neidinger, "The Acropolis of Bylazora," in *The 2009 Excavation. Bylazora: Republic of Macedonia* (Canyon Lake, TX: The Texas Foundation for Archaeological and Historical Research, 2009). There is also a building that was reused in the Second Squatter Phase in Sector 3. See the 2011 preliminary report at www.tfahr.org/Bylazora2011.html.

¹⁶ Phase III of the Hellenistic Palace in Field A. See Marc Lebeau and Antoine Suleiman, *Tell Beydar: The 1995-1999 Seasons of Excavations. A Preliminary Report. Rapport préliminaire sur les campagnes de fouilles 1995-1999*. Subartu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); Lebeau and Suleiman, *Tell Beydar, 1995-1999: Architectural Plans. Plans Architecturaux*; Marc Lebeau and Antoine Suleiman, *Tell Beydar: The 2000-2002 Seasons of Excavations, The 2003-2004 Seasons of Architectural Restoration; A Preliminary Report. Rapport préliminaire sur les campagnes de fouilles 2000-2002 et les campagnes de restauration architecturale 2003-2004*. Subartu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

¹⁷ Philippe Bruneau, "Contribution à l'histoire urbaine de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 92, no. 2 (1968), 633-709.

¹⁸ In the Late Hellenistic period (ca. late 2nd or early 1st century B.C.), or perhaps the period after the 189 B.C. abandonment of the site by the Galatians, recorded by Livy. See G. Kenneth Sams, Brendan Burke, and A. Goldman, "Gordion, 2005," in *Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı 2. Cilt 28.*, ed. B. Koral, H. Dönmez, and M. Akpınar (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Millî Kütüphane Basımevi, 2007).

¹⁹ In the 3rd century CE (Context 6 and Squatter Occupation Phase). See Appendix I at <http://viagabina.rice.edu/potssummary/index.html>.

at Kommos (Crete);²⁴ in the Amman Citadel;²⁵ at Dehes (Syria);²⁶ perhaps at Bosra (Syria);²⁷ and at Hesban.²⁸ In all but one of these cases the squatters inhabited what had been public buildings (e.g., palaces and baths). The architecture of all of these squatting phases, which span from the Iron Age to the Mamluk period, and from Rome to Mesopotamia, is described by excavators in the same way that I have described the Squatters at Kedesh: crudely blocked doorways, beaten earth floors, tabuns, flimsy mud brick or stone partition walls, and makeshift roofs. In most cases the abandonment preceding the rehabilitation was obviously the result of military action and/or destruction. For instance, the first squatter phase at Bylazora probably began just after the destruction of the city by Philip II of Macedon in 358 BCE. Soon afterward people moved into the propylon, part of the destroyed casemate wall, and some of the terraced buildings, dividing them into smaller compartments by building wattle and daub or clay partition walls; floors were typically beaten earth and a number of small hearths were built.

²⁰ In the North Theater complex.

²¹ In the Byzantine period. See <http://www.priniatikos.net/TII.html>.

²² In the theater, dating to the Byzantine period. See the report on trench 1Q – PQ extension at <http://sydney.edu.au/arts/archaeology/paphos/site/tr1pq.shtml>.

²³ In the bath-gymnasium complex, dating to the Byzantine and Ottoman periods (Phase III). See Fikret K. Yegül, Mehmet C. Bolgil, and Clive Foss, *The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis*. Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Report No. 3 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 9-10, 16, 32, 33, 38, 44, 83.

²⁴ Joseph W. Shaw, "Ritual and Development in the Greek Sanctuary," in *Kommos: An Excavation on the South Coast of Crete by the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum Under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, ed. Joseph W. Shaw and Maria C. Shaw vol. Vol. 4, Part 1 (2000), 730; Joseph W. Shaw, "The Architecture of the Temples and Other Buildings," in *Kommos: An Excavation on the South Coast of Crete by the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum Under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, ed. Joseph W. Shaw and Maria C. Shaw vol. Volume IV, Part 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), section 5

²⁵ In the Umayyad Palace at the Amman Citadel. See Bert De Vries, "Archaeology in Jordan," *AJA* 96, no. 3 (1992), 503-542: 531-533.

²⁶ Dating to the 7th century CE.

²⁷ Barry Rowney, "Charters and the Ethics of Conservation: A Cross-Cultural Perspective" (Dissertation, University of Adelaide, 2004), 60ff.

²⁸ Dating to the Mamluk Period (Phase III). See Bethany J. Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād Al-Shām in the Eighth/Fourteenth Century: The Case of Ḥisbān," *JNES* 62, no. 4 (2003), 241-261.

However, the case of Bylazora is unique in that their excavators have provided a fairly extensive description of a squatter phase. Most final reports give little more than a passing reference to the squatter phases, due, no doubt, in large part to the ephemeral nature of the remains of such occupation. This situation is sometimes compounded by excavators who are not interested in squatter occupation of “important” governmental and/or monumental buildings.

The possibility that this interpretation fits the pattern found at other sites with the same sort of material remains. In addition, the fact that this is a *public* building might be instructive. Little to nothing is known about property ownership in Seleucid cities; however, what we know from early Imperial Rome provides a useful analog with which to think about the problem. Only the privileged few could afford to own a single-family dwelling; most rented their homes, often for exorbitant fees. What is interesting is that, even in a city such as Rome that has some degree of infrastructure, however small, to help the poor, there is no concept of public responsibility for constructing sufficient units of housing.²⁹ Where, then, would the dispossessed poor go? There are examples in ancient literature of people moving to the countryside and living in caves and tombs, but why not an abandoned building in town? The only buildings likely to be abandoned are formerly public buildings, as they were well-built enough to still be habitable after years of abandonment and they were not owned by anybody in particular who would charge rent.³⁰

²⁹ Bruce Woodward Frier, "The Rental Market in Early Imperial Rome," *JRS* 67 (1977), 27-37.

³⁰ It is unlikely that the Squatters lost their homes as a result of Jonathan's army ransacking the city, as there is good evidence of the administrative building having been abandoned for some period of time prior to their arrival. This pattern seems to be replicated in the squatter profiles elsewhere in the Mediterranean (to the degree that they have been published), and it makes sense: a bath house, palace, or other such monumental building would have to begin to fall into disrepair before a society is likely to sufficiently change their conception of it to allow squatting.

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that the Squatters were poor families from Kedesh who moved into the building, how might we explain the sudden appearance of BCW and the seemingly out-of-place nature of the ESA, cast glass, and Rhodian amphoras? The Rhodian amphoras are the easiest to explain. To begin with, there is no reason to assume that the presence of Rhodian wine amphoras necessarily indicates the presence of Rhodian wine. They may well have been reused, as the large storage jars in the Stylobate Corridor were. But even if the Squatters drank three amphoras of Rhodian wine over a 24-28 year period, is that so problematic? It is tempting to interpret beaten earth floors and “crude, flimsy partition walls” in an abandoned civic building as signs of life lived in squalor, probably in large part due to the fact that that is what it would mean in 21st century America. However, not only were the Kedesh Squatter floors not all beaten-earth (we have Squatter-built floors – i.e., not just reused PHAB floors – of crushed limestone or fieldstone pavers in the Stylobate Corridor, the Central Courtyard, and Room C1), but the fact is that we know almost nothing about the urban poor in antiquity aside from evidence in Imperial Roman literature that suggests that many lived in travelers’ hotels and in sections of rental buildings that were poorly lit and often loud.³¹ A bronze strainer and an eye of Horus amulet were recovered from the squatter phase in the southwest palace at Nimrud;³² 3 distinctive bronze kohl sticks with castellated heads, 2 triangular bronze fibulae, and 2 stamp seals in Late Babylonian style were found in the squatter phase of the palace of Adad-nirari III;³³ and a silver disc-

³¹ Juvenal 3.234; Petronius, *Satyricon* 94ff; Martial 12.57. See Frier, "The Rental Market in Early Imperial Rome," 31, 35.

³² Curtis, "Some Axe-heads from Chagar Bazar and Nimrud."; Curtis and Lukonin, *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism, 539-331 BC. Proceedings of a Seminar in Memory of Vladimir G. Lukonin*.

³³ Mallowan, "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1953," 162; Parker, "The Excavations at Nimrud, 1949-1953: Seals and Impressions."

shaped earring, two silver bracelets, a square “silver ornament,” a silver fibula, 5 cylindrical silver beads, 20 miscellaneous beads, and 9 silver coins of Alexander the Great were found in the squatter levels at Khorsabad.³⁴ The poor might have had fewer luxuries, but that does not mean that they had none. Aristophanes’ *Plutus* is instructive in this regard:³⁵

Chremylus: And what good thing can you give us, unless it be burns in the bath, and swarms of brats and old women who cry with hunger, and clouds uncountable of lice, gnats and flies, which hover about the wretch's head, trouble him, awake him and say, “You will be hungry, but get up!” Besides, to possess a rag in place of a mantle, a pallet of rushes swarming with bugs, that do not let you close your eyes, for a bed; a rotten piece of matting for a coverlet; a big stone for a pillow, on which to lay your head; to eat mallow roots instead of bread, and leaves of withered radish instead of cake; to have nothing but the cover of a broken jug for a stool, the stave of a cask, and broken at that, for a kneading-trough, that is the life you make for us! Are these the mighty benefits with which you pretend to load mankind?

Poverty: It's not my life that you describe; you are attacking the existence beggars lead.

Chremylus: Is Beggary not Poverty's sister?

Poverty: Thrasybulus and Dionysius are one and the same according to you. No, my life is not like that and never will be. The beggar, whom you have depicted to us, never possesses anything. The poor man lives thriftily and attentive to his work; he has not got too much, but he does not lack what he really needs.³⁶

These parallels likely explain the cast glass drinking vessels and ESA table ware. As noted above, there were far fewer cast glass vessels found in Squatter strata than were found at the relatively wealthy villa at Tel Anafa. And although ESA is classified as “fine ware,” we have no idea how much it cost in antiquity, and African Red Slip vessels were the fine ware of the squatters at Site 11 of the Via Gabina Villas. Furthermore, studies of

³⁴ Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad II: The Citadel and the Town*, 167-170.

³⁵ Aristophanes, *Plutus* 550-554. This translation is by O'Neill. See Aristophanes, "Wealth," in *The Complete Greek Drama: All the Extant Tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, and the Comedies of Aristophanes and Menander, in a Variety of Translations*, ed. Whitney Jennings Oates and Eugene O'Neill vol. 2 (New York: Random house, 1938).

³⁶ ὅμεις γ' οἴπερ καὶ Θρασυβούλω Διονύσιον εἶναι ὄμοιον.
ἀλλ' οὐχ οὐμὸς τοῦτο πέπονθεν βίος οὐ' μὰ Δί', οὐδέ γε μέλλει.
πτωχοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίος, ὃν σὺ λέγεις, ζῆν ἔστιν μηδὲν ἔχοντα.
τοῦ δὲ πένητος ζῆν φειδόμενον καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις πρὸς ἔχοντα,
περιγιγνεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ μηδέν, μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ἐπιλείπειν.

silver vessels in antiquity have shown that as their manufacture increased in the Hellenistic period, bronze vessels became middle-class utensils.³⁷ The same phenomenon happened with luxury foods in Roman Europe.³⁸ The presence of ESA in a poor household context must be analyzed within a broader social and market context than simply classifying it as “fine ware” and suggesting that the poor would not have had “nice” implements.

Finally, there is the problem of the arrival of BCW and TGM. As noted in the previous chapter, there is no reason to connect this pottery with a certain people group, and there is no reason to think that trade patterns followed ethnic lines. Rather than replicating early 20th century methodologies that imagine a one-to-one correspondence between pots and people, thus requiring that material cultural shifts be *de facto* evidence of socio-cultural shifts, why not investigate the possibility of a simple economic shift, coupled with a change in trade patterns subsequent to the end of Kedesh as an administrative center? The differences between the Squatters at Kedesh and the inhabitants of the PHAB on the one hand, and between the Squatters and the inhabitants of the LHSB at Tel Anafa on the other, are far more likely to be economic than cultural. Furthermore, it must be remembered that what we have at Kedesh is not a material cultural shift *in the city*, but a material cultural shift *in a palatial administrative building*. The material culture of the PHAB consisted of high quantities of imported pottery from as far away as the Aegean, the west coast of Italy, and Iberia,³⁹ and it seems likely that

³⁷ Katerina Panagopoulou, "Between Necessity and Extravagance: Silver as a Commodity in the Hellenistic Period," *ABSA* 102 (2007), 315-343.

³⁸ Corrie Bakels and Stefanie Jacomet, "Access to Luxury Foods in Central Europe During the Roman Period: The Archaeobotanical Evidence," *World Archaeology* 34, no. 3 (2003), 542-557.

³⁹ See Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context."

the administrative building acted as a sort of magnet. Its inhabitants were people of some degree of power and status in the Seleucid Empire, clearly able to afford and import objects of value, all of which came from the sea via Akko. It bears noting that Kedesh is not located on a major thoroughfare through the region. The closest major route, which ran from Akko on the coast or from the Jordan Valley via the Sea of Galilee into the Jezreel Valley and north to Damascus, ran through the Huleh Valley. And although that road was only 4.5 km from Kedesh (or, perhaps, more like 20 km, if it ran up the east side of the Huleh Valley, where Tel Anafa is located; the Valley was a swampy lake in antiquity),⁴⁰ it was also more than 400 m. below Kedesh, down a very steep mountain. Is it any wonder, then, that some of their cooking ware was effectively imported as well (in the sense that coarse wares are usually bought locally, yet the PHAB's came from 45 km away), probably brought in with other items that were coming from the same place? And once those administrators had left the city (there is no reason to think that Kedesh continued to be a center of administration after the building was abandoned), there was no longer such regular traffic bringing imports from the coast. As a result, other merchants stepped in to fill the void – and the only void that was filled was that of the coarse wares – from a much closer proximity. Tel Anafa, on the other hand, had wealthy inhabitants and imported a good deal of Mediterranean fine wares and objects. As a result, some (though not nearly all)⁴¹ of their cooking ware also came from the coast, just like the PHAB.

⁴⁰ See Roll, "Imperial Roads Across and Trade Routes Beyond the Roman Provinces of *Judaea-Palaestina* and *Arabia*: The State of Research."

⁴¹ The numbers of cooking shapes was tabulated for Tel Anafa, but the amounts of each type of cooking ware were not. The inhabitants of Tel Anafa cooked with sandy, gritty, and bricky cooking wares, as well as with Spatter Painted Wares.

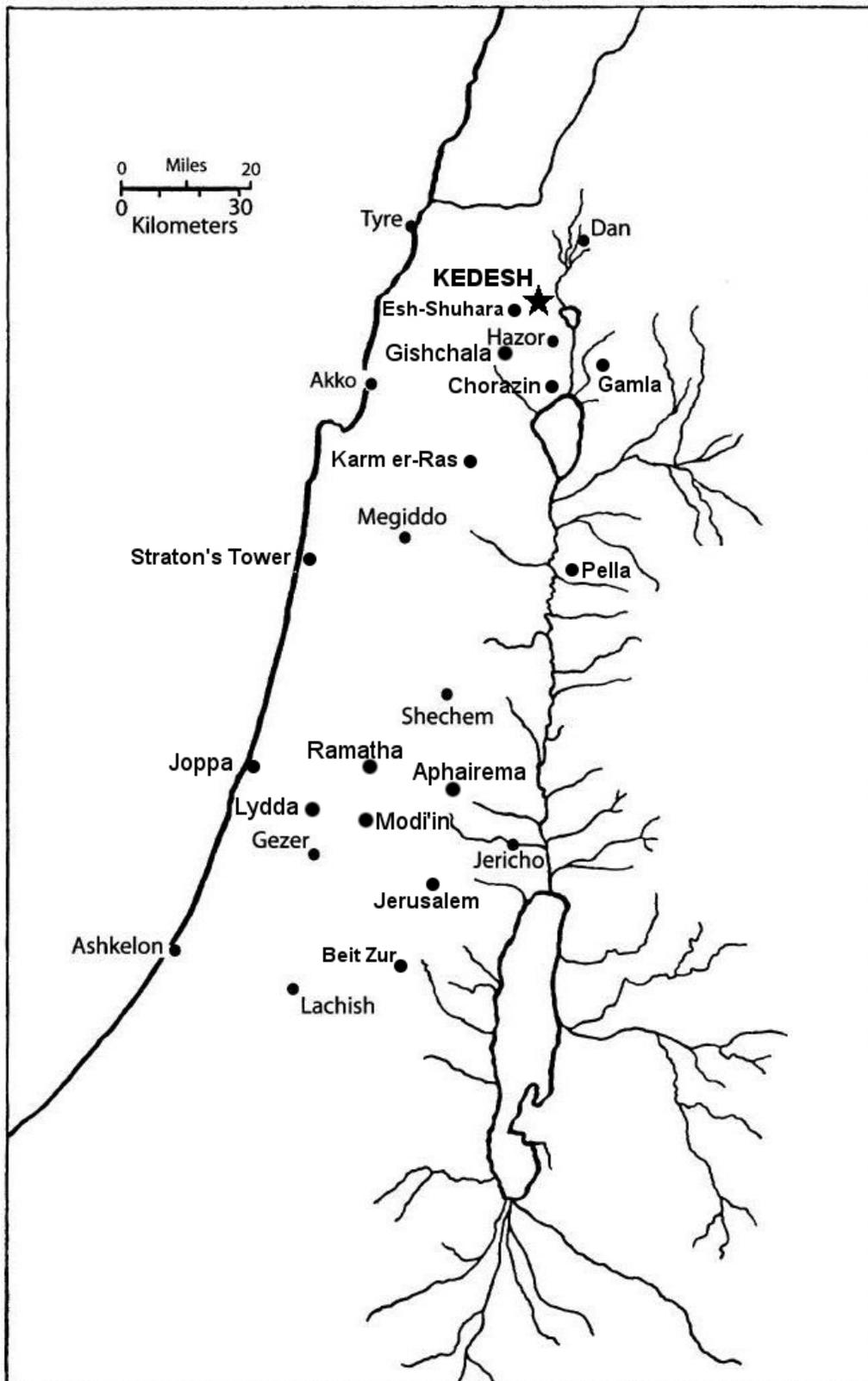


Figure 1: Map of the region showing the location of Kedesh and other sites. Map adapted from Berlin and Herbert, "A New Administrative Center," p. 14.

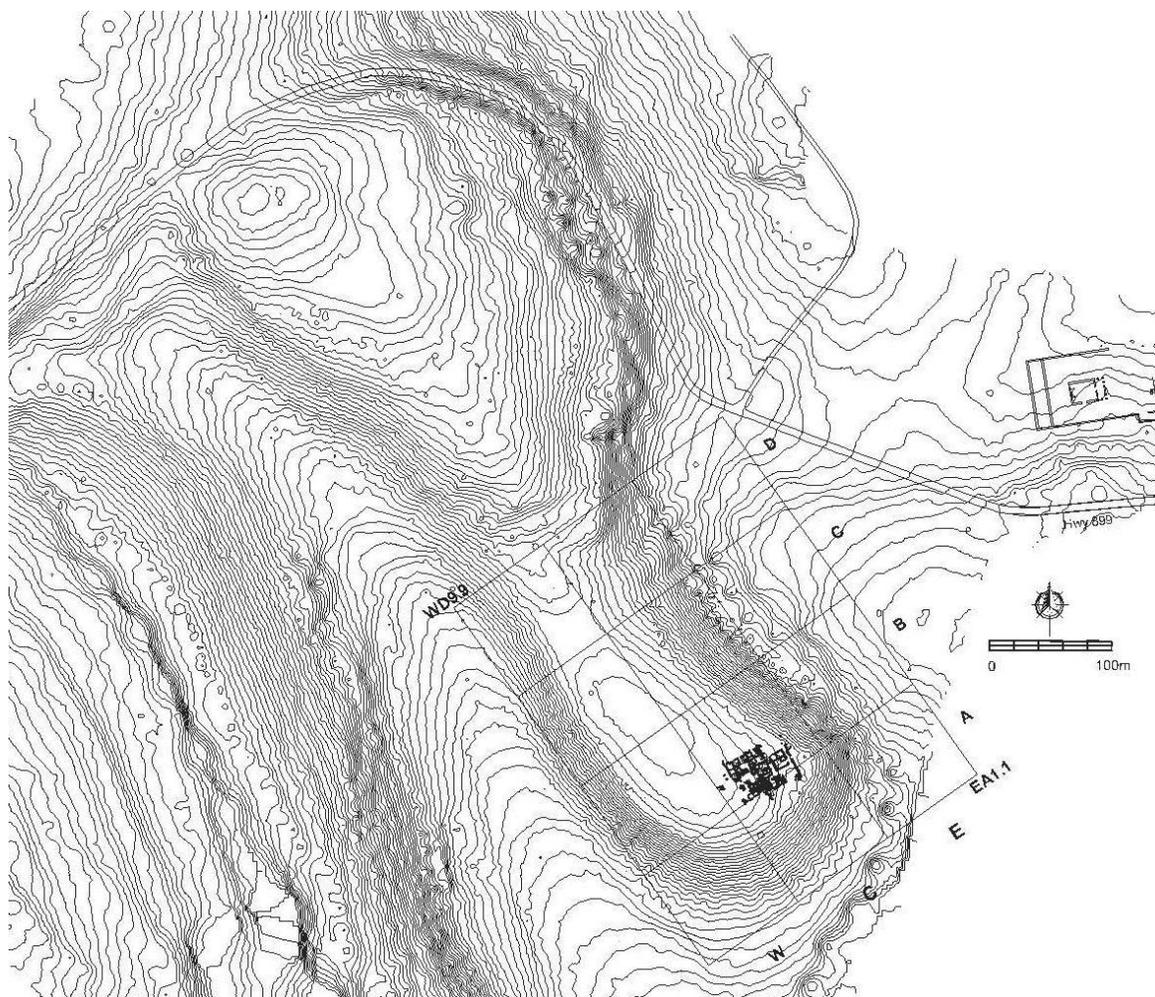


Figure 2: Tel Kedesh with excavation grid. The PHAB is at the southern end of the lower tel. Highway 899 comes toward the tel from the east and runs around the northern end of the upper tel; The Roman temple of Kedesh is northeast of (and below) the PHAB, on the other side of Highway 899.



Figure 3: Aerial photo of the Administrative Building at the end of the 2010 season. The top of the photo is north. Photo taken by SkyView Photography, Ltd.

Tel Kedesh
Israel
2010

University of
Michigan
University of
Minnesota

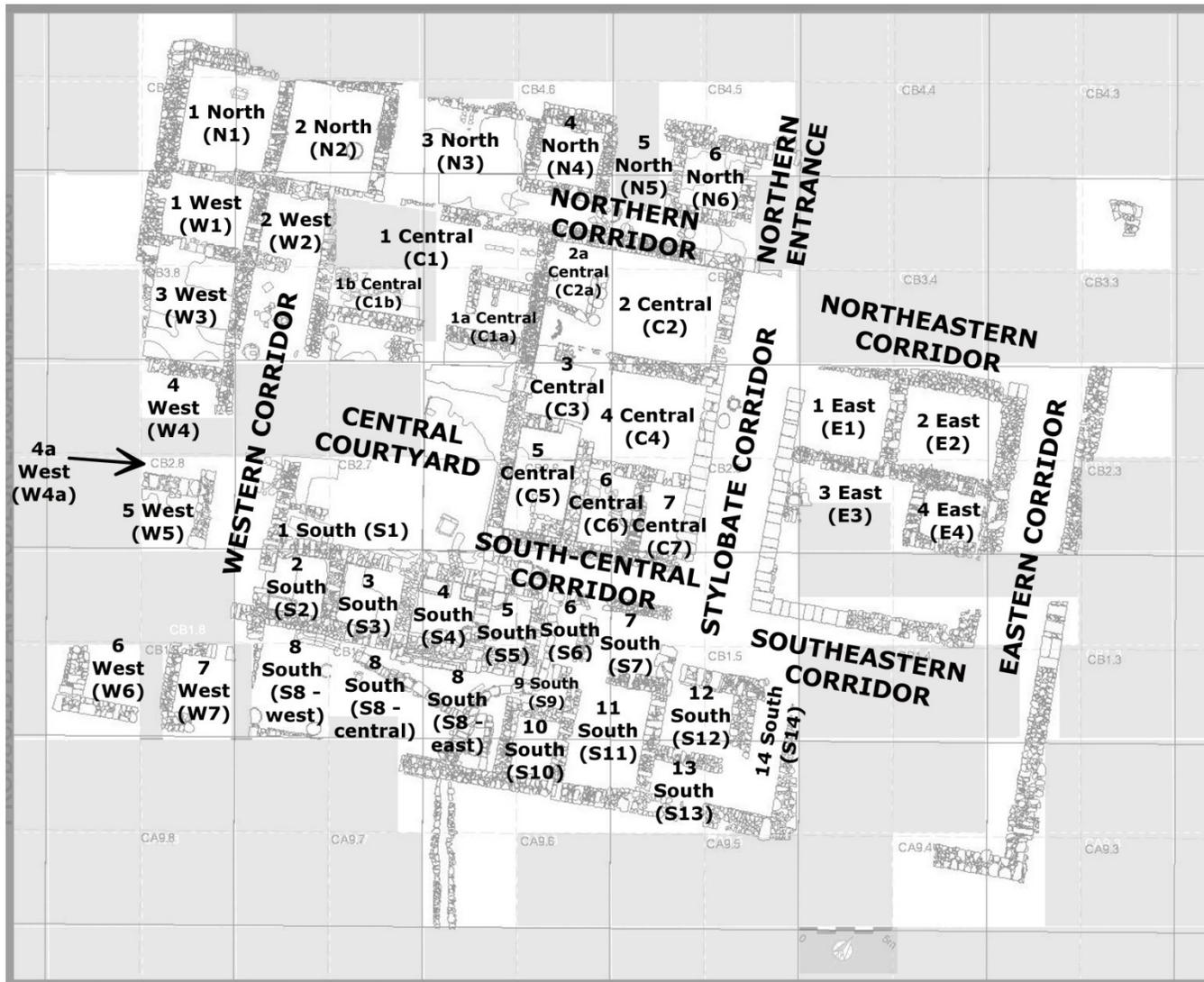


Figure 4: Plan of the Squatter-phase Administrative Building. Grid numbers, room numbers, and unexcavated areas are shown.

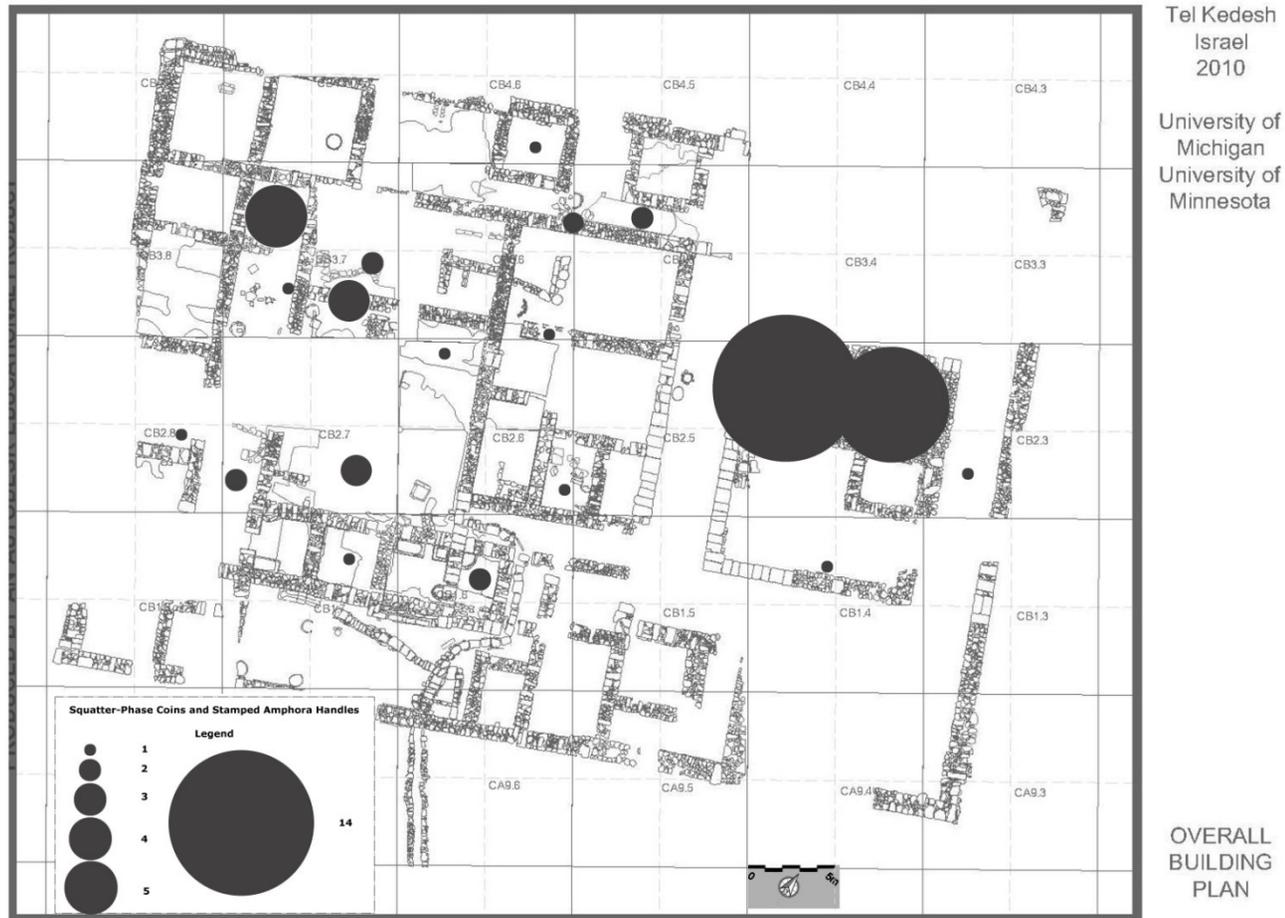


Figure 5: Plan of the Squatter phase showing the location of Squatter-phase coins and Rhodian stamped amphora handles. The density circles have been placed in the rooms (and, where possible, within the quadrant of the room) in which they were found.



Figure 6: Density of Basaltic Cooking Ware (BCW) fragmentary vessels within the Administrative Building. Density circles are centered on the 10 m. x 10 m. trenches, and not on the particular room, in which they were found. Created by Peter Stone and used with permission.



Figure 7: Density of Eastern Sigillata 'A' (ESA) fragmentary vessels within the Administrative Building. Density circles are centered on the 10 m. x 10 m. trenches, and not on the particular rooms, in which they were found. Created by Peter Stone and used with permission.



Figure 8: Density of Tan Grey Marl (TGM) fragmentary vessels within the Administrative Building. Density circles are centered on the 10 m. x 10 m. trenches, and not on the particular rooms, in which they were found. Created by Peter Stone and used with permission.

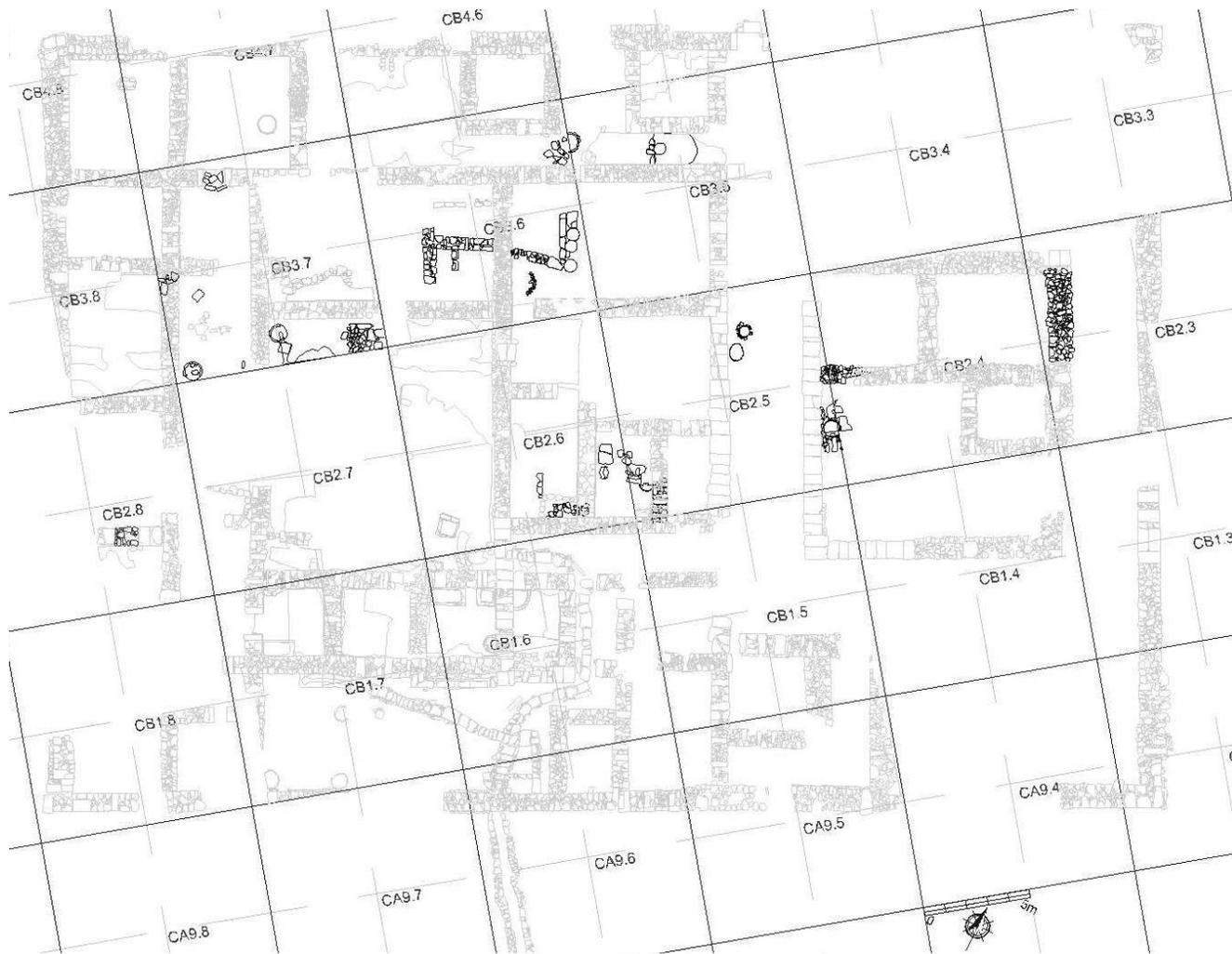


Figure 9: The Administrative Building with Squatter architecture shown in black.

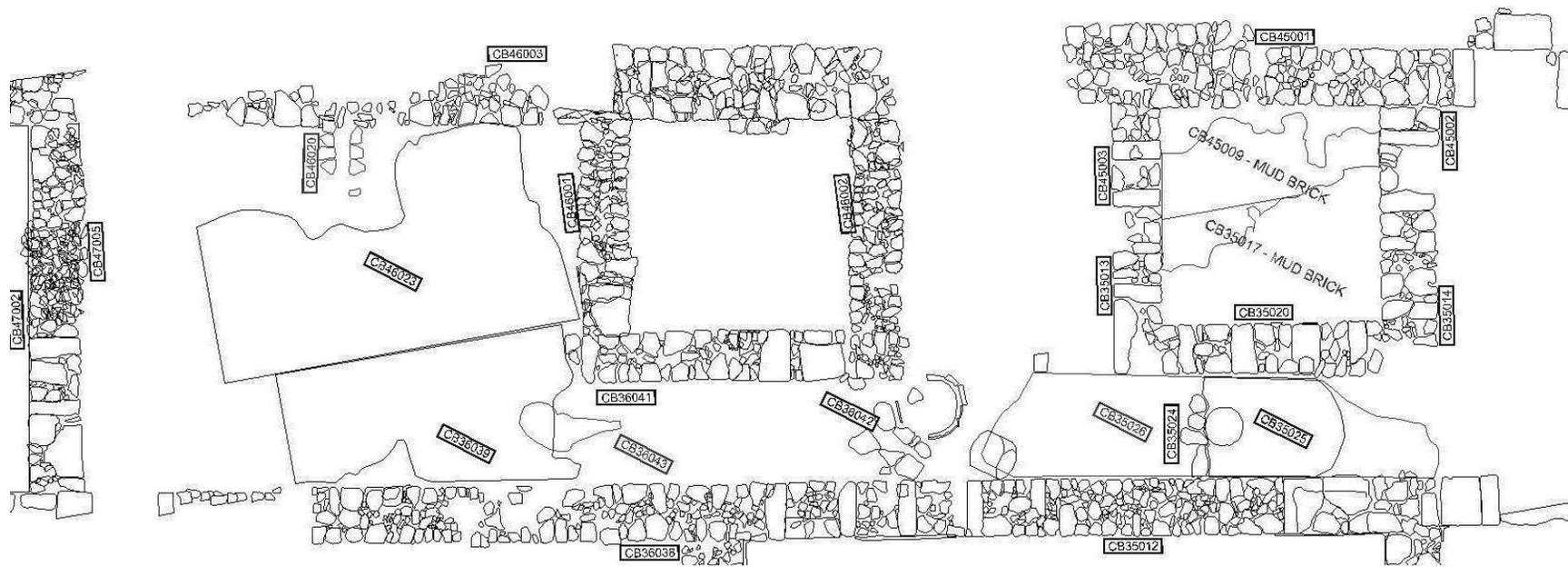


Figure 10: Plan of the Northern Corridor, the Northern Rooms, and the Northern Entrance.



Figure 11: The Northern Corridor, from the east. Cobble surface **CB35025** is in the immediate foreground, underneath and east of column drum **CB35024**. Tabun **CB35022/****CB36042** is in the distance, covered by black buckets. Photo by Justin Winger.



Figure 12: Tabun **CB35022/CB36042**, partially excavated, with BCW cookpot K10P056 *in situ*. Photo by Justin Winger.



Figure 13: Tabun **CB35022/CB36042**. Top: from the east, showing its placement within the Northern Corridor as well as the pottery, PHAB wall plaster, and stones that were used in the construction of the outer wall. Bottom: Tabun **CB35022/CB36042** from the west, after the soil was removed. Photos by Justin Winger.

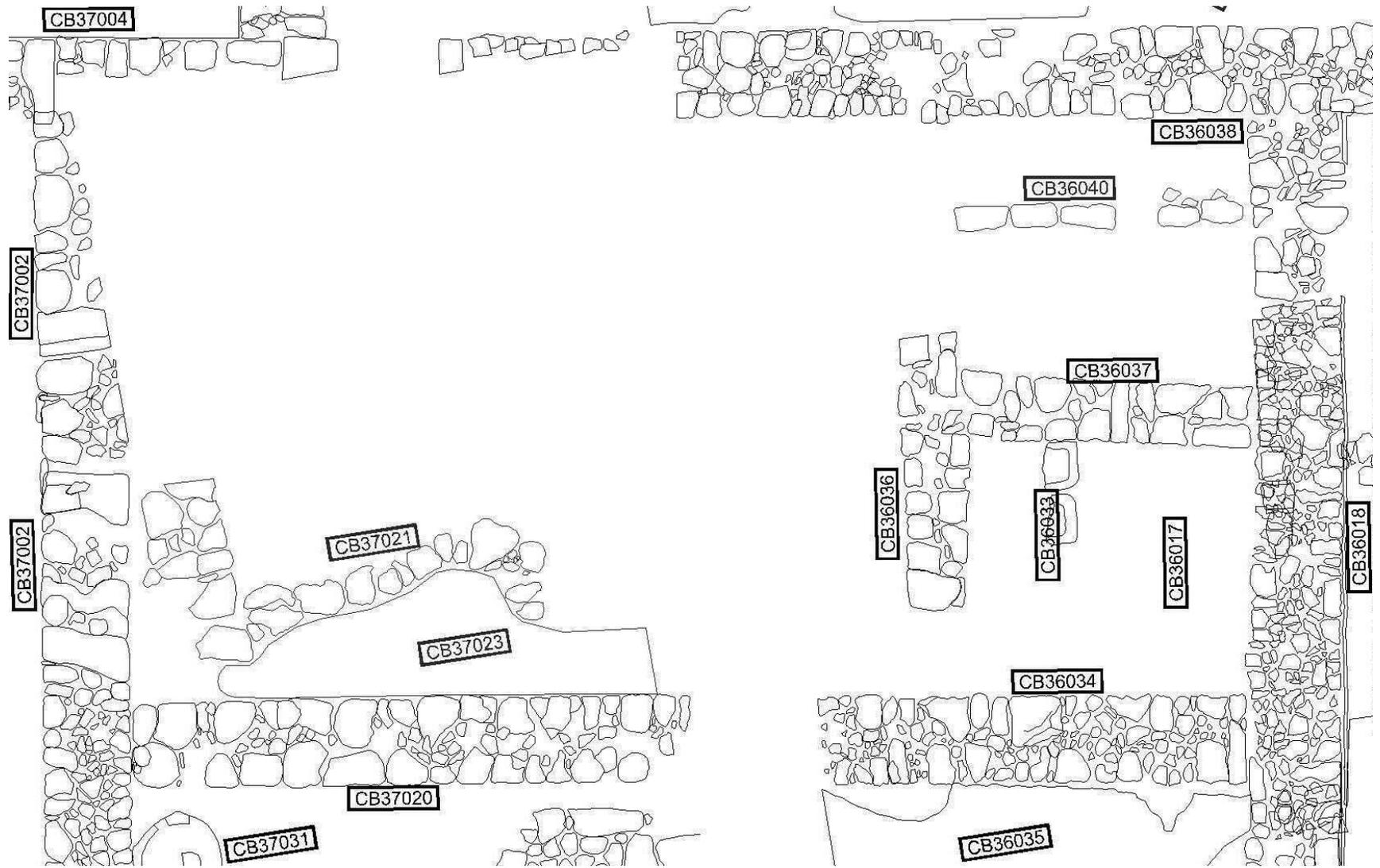


Figure 14: Plan of Room C1, including C1a and C1b.



Figure 15: Rooms C1 and C1a, view from the east. Troughs **CB36033** are visible on the other side of wall **CB36036**, and pavers **CB36017** are visible on the other side of the troughs, abutting walls **CB36037** and **CB36018**, which has been robbed. A Byzantine-era grave rests on top of wall **CB36034** on the right side of the photo. South of wall **CB36034** is the Central Courtyard floor (**CB36035**). Photo by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 16: Wall **CB36037** and pavers **CB36017**, view from the south. The foundation level of both the wall and the pavers is clearly visible. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

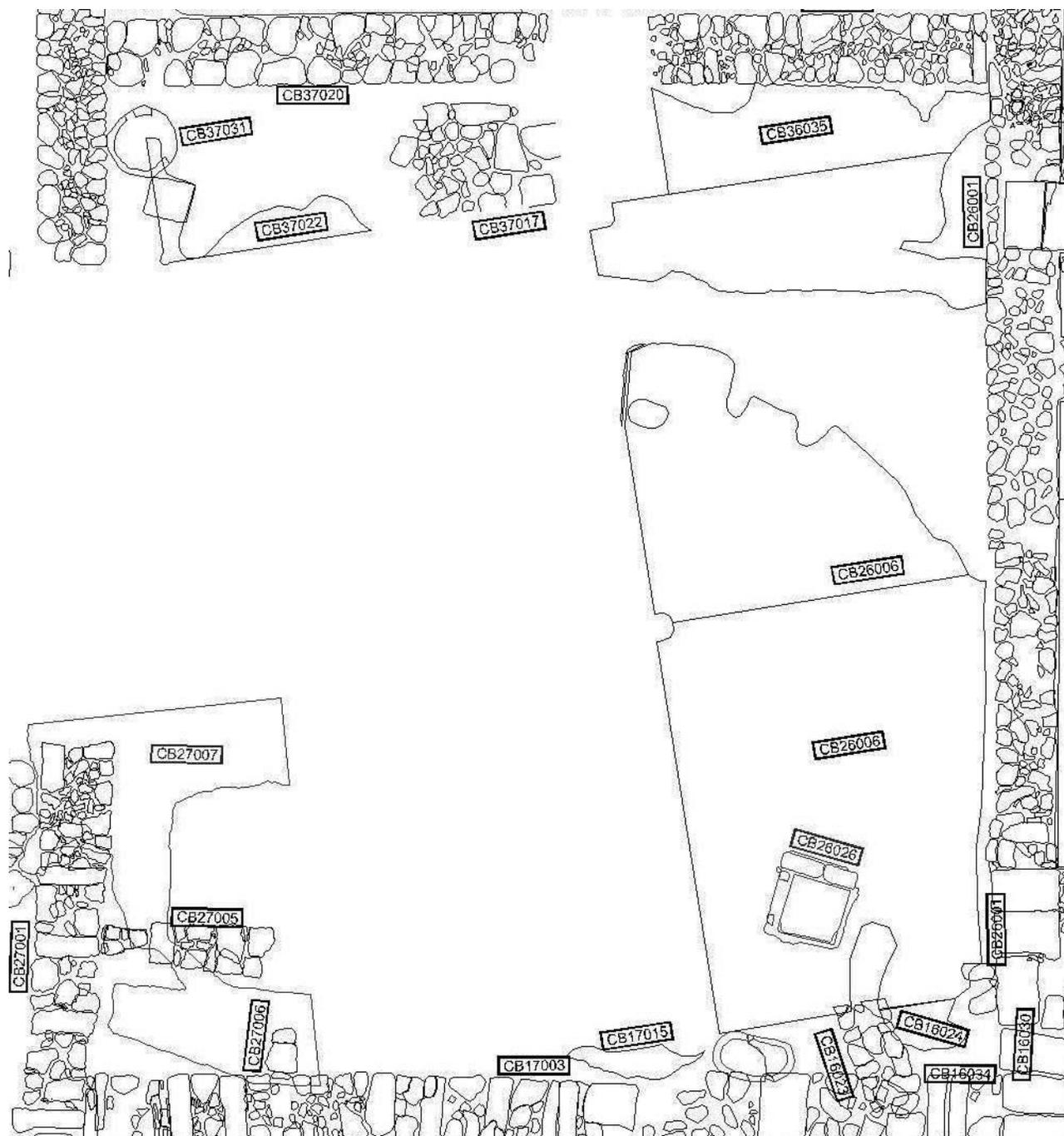


Figure 17: Plan of the Central Courtyard.



Figure 18: Pavement **CB37017** in the northwest corner of the Central Courtyard, view from the west. Wall **CB37020** is to the left of the pavement. Plaster floor **CB37022** is in the lower left corner, partially shaded by the baulk. Photo by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 19: Tabun **CB37031**, in the northwest corner of the Central Courtyard, view from the northeast. Tabun **CB37031** (in the Western Corridor) is visible in the background. Note the ashlar embedded in floor **CB37026** next to tabun **CB37031**.
Photo by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 20: Plaster bin **CB26006**. Top: from the southwest. The cut in the courtyard floor that may be connected to wall **CB16023** is to the right of the bin (cf. Figure ___[the plan of the Courtyard]). Bottom: Detail of plaster bin **CB26006**. Photos by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 21: Wall **CB16023** and stone basin **K06S023**. Top: view from the east, arrow pointing to **CB16023**. Bottom: view from the west. Photos by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 22: The southwestern corner of the Central Courtyard, view from the east. The cobble subfloor is plainly visible, as are walls **CB27005** and **CB27006**. The pier-and-rubble wall at the top of the photo is **CB27001**. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

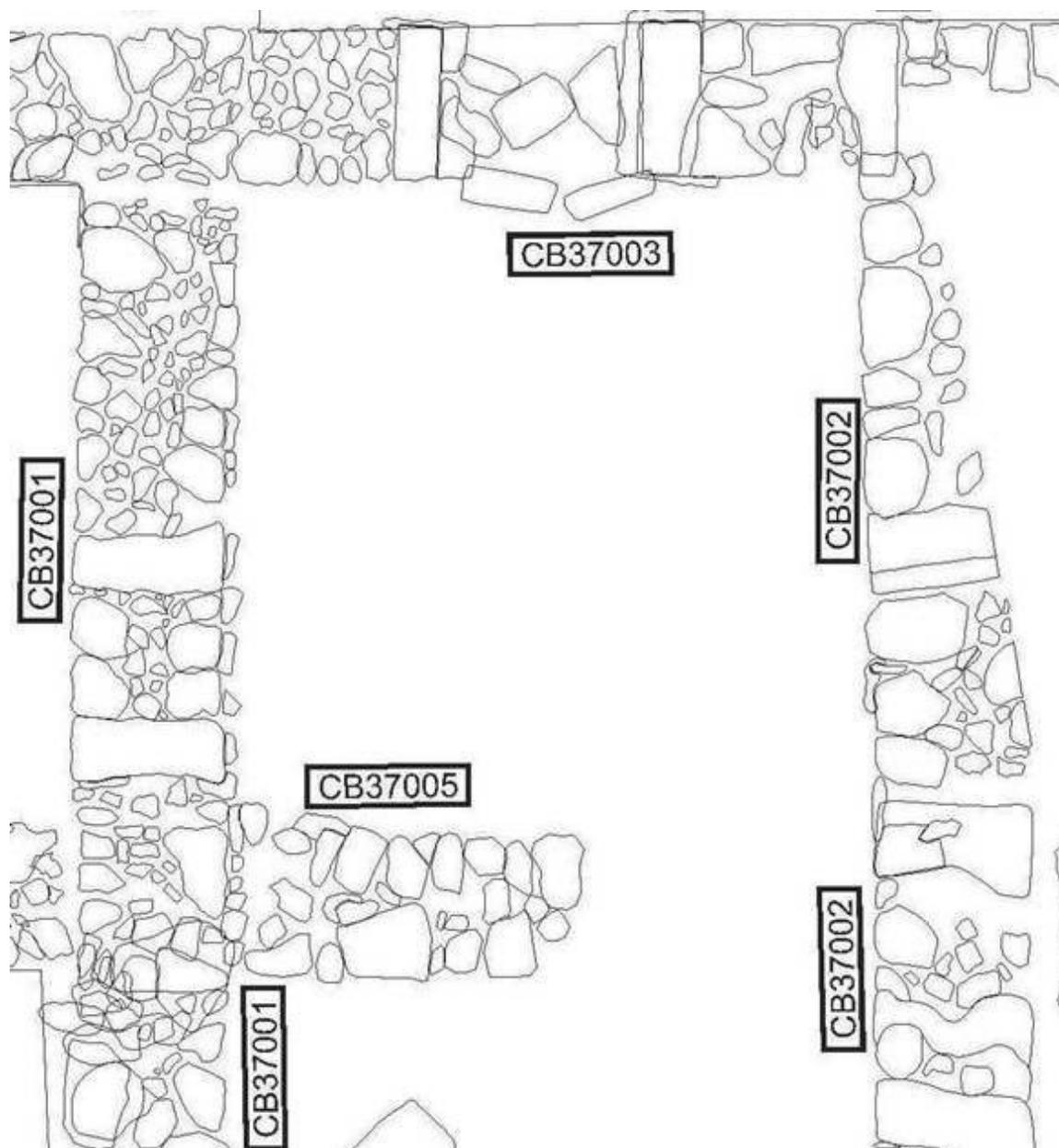


Figure 23: Plan of Room W2.



Figure 24: Room W2. Top: View from the north. Floor **CB37023** is visible in the foreground and surface **CB37017** (in the Central Courtyard) is in the upper left of the picture, on the other side of wall **CB37020**. Two outcroppings of floor **CB37022** are visible to the right of **CB37017**, in the shadow of the baulk. Bottom: Room C1b, view from the east. Walls **CB36018** and **CB36037** are visible in the distance, on the other side of the baulk. Photos by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 25: Door block **CB37003**, between rooms Rooms W2 and N2. Top: View from the south. Bottom: View from the north. Photos by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 26: Room W2, view from the east. Wall **CB37005** (on the left) abuts wall **CB37001**. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

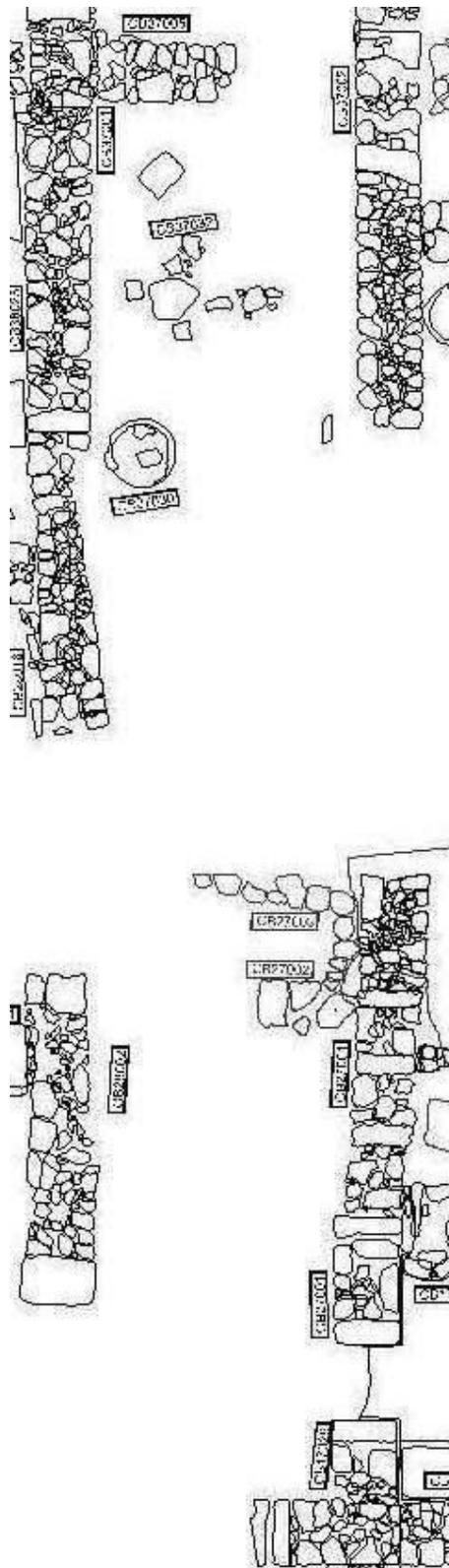


Figure 27: Plan of the Western Corridor.

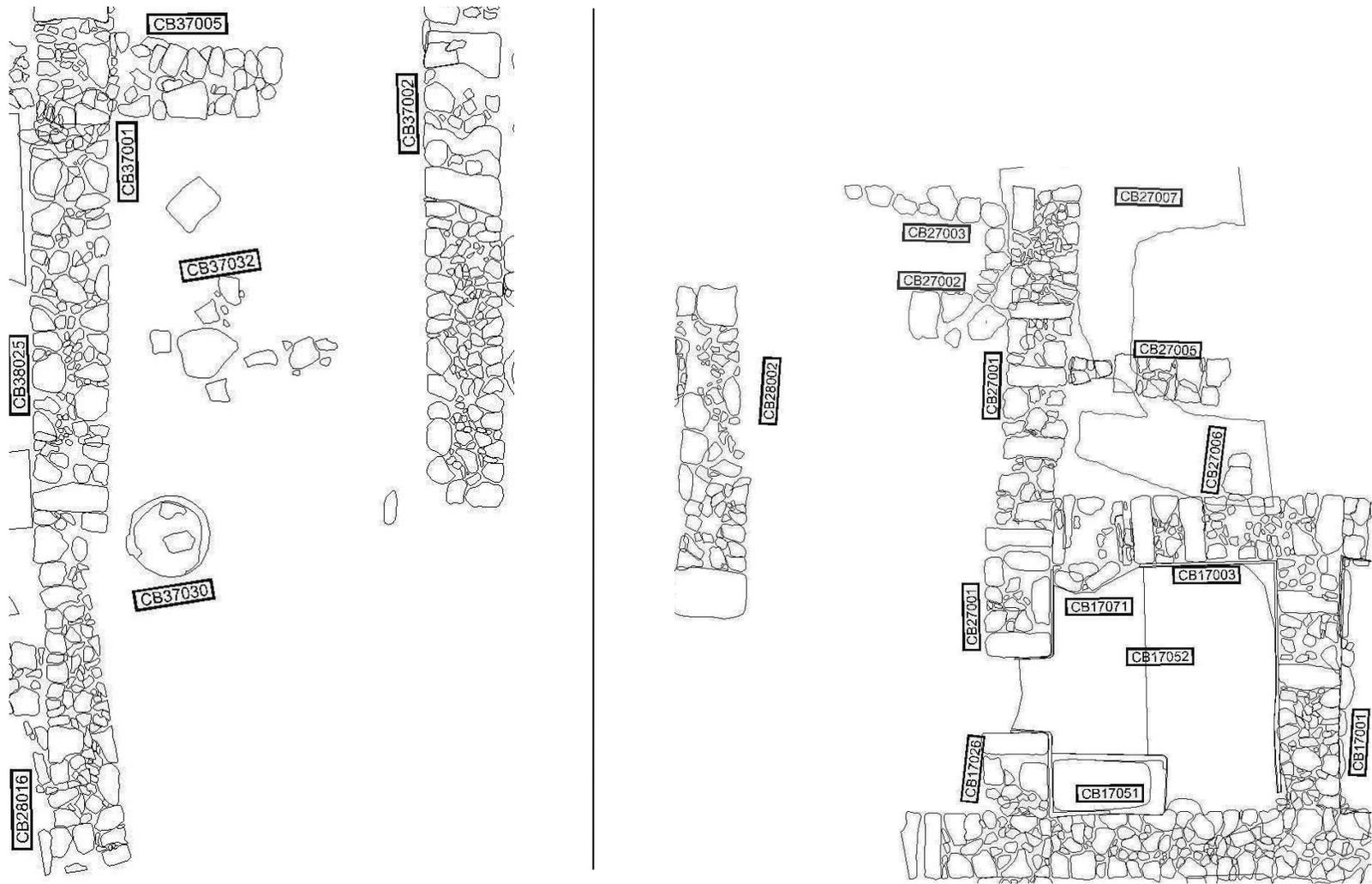


Figure 28: Plan of the Western Corridor (detail). Left: The northern half. Right: The southern half and Room S2.



Figure 29: The northern half of the Western Corridor, view from the north. The doorway between Rooms N2 and W2 is visible in the foreground and tabun **CB37030** sits against the far baulk (Wall **CB37005** has been removed). Paving stones **CB37032** are pedestalled on this side of the tabun. The difference in elevation between the pavers and the bottom of the tabun walls on one hand, and the threshold of the (final PHAB-phase) doorway on the other, is evident. Photo by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 30: Tabun **CB37030** and paving stones **CB37032**, view from the northeast. Tabun **CB37031** (in the northwest corner of the Central Courtyard) is visible at the far left. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

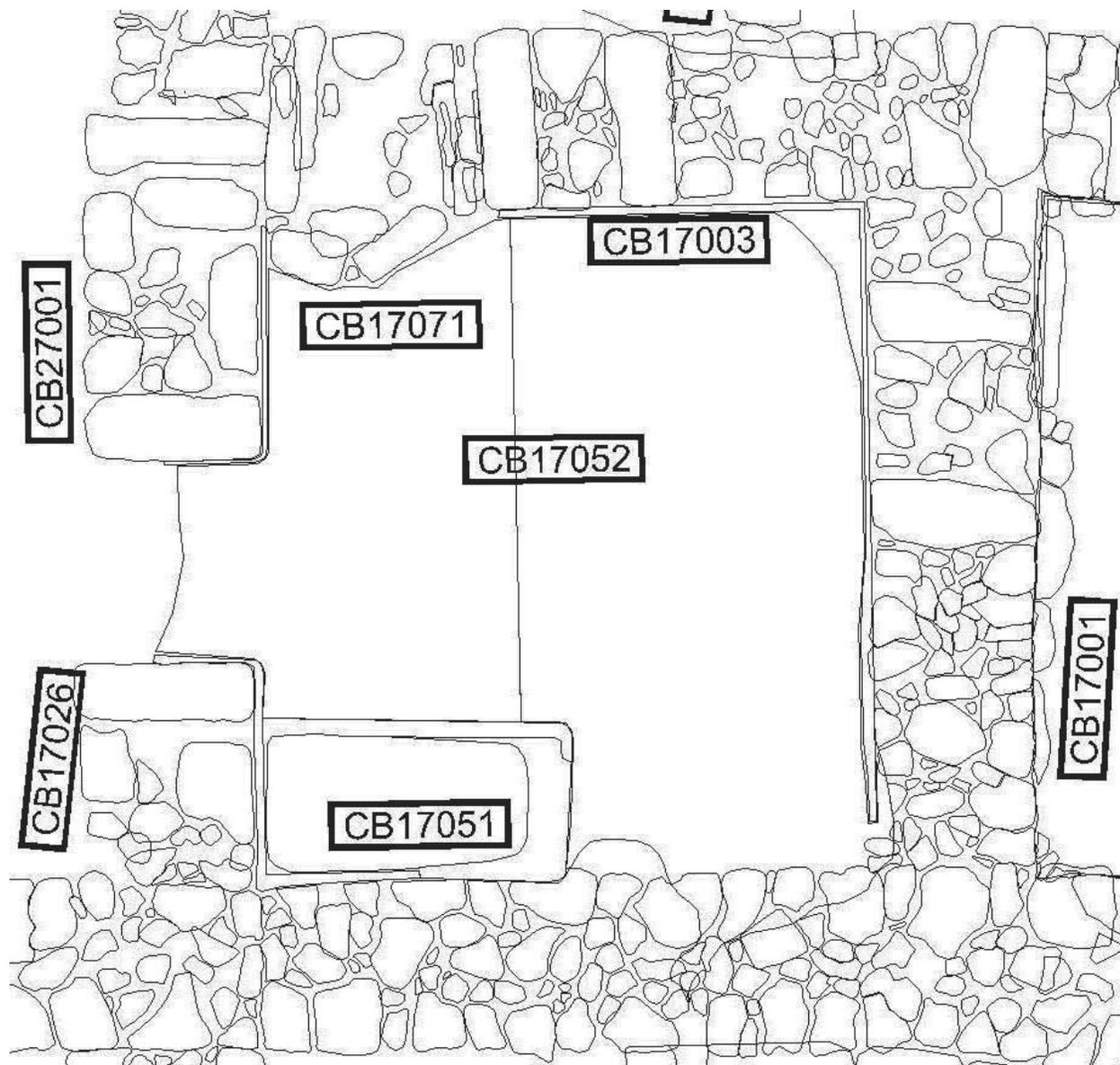


Figure 31: Plan of Room S2.



Figure 32: A view into Room S2 from the west. Visible are the plaster floor (foreground), cobble subfloor (background), and the lack of any floor in the Western Corridor (immediate foreground). Photo by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 33: Door block **CB17071**, blocking the doorway between Rooms S2 and S1 (in wall **CB17003**). Top: Entire room, view from the south (the door blockage is in the northwest corner). Note the plaster on all of the walls but not the door blockage itself. Bottom: Detail, view from the south. Photos by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 34: Doorway between Rooms S2 and S1 (in wall **CB17003**). Top: View from the north. Door block **CB17071** has been partially removed (the two vertical stones against the door jambs were part of the door blocking). Floor **CB17052** can be seen connecting to the wall plaster on wall **CB27001** in the background. Bottom: View from the north. Floor **CB17052** and subfloor **CB17052.1** have been removed and one can see the depth to which the vertical blocking stones against the door jambs have been placed. Wall plaster was found to run behind the eastern stone, on the door jamb. Photos by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 35: The doorway between Rooms S2 and S1 and blocking stones **CB17071**, view from the north. The doorway is in the upper right; the walls that created Room S1 have been removed. The both the ashlar that was used as a stretcher to block the doorway and the blocking stones that were laid against the door jambs are plainly visible, flush with the northern face of wall **CB17003**. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

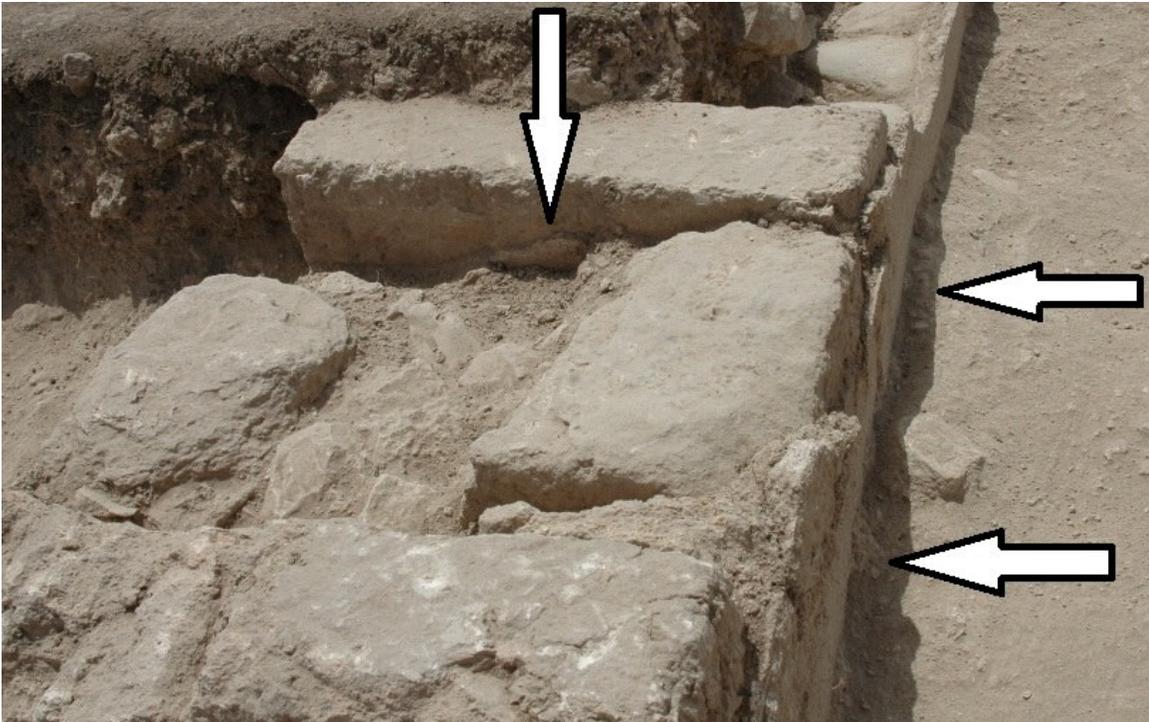


Figure 36: PHAB-phase doorway blockage between the Stylobate Corridor and the northeastern corner of Room C2 (in wall **CB35021**). Top: View from the southeast. Top arrow points to facing plaster on the northern door jamb (now in the wall); side arrows point to wall plaster over the blocking stones. Bottom: View from the northeast. Black line outlines where the original doorway was. One large blocking stone is still *in situ*. Note the wall plaster over it and the original wall. Photos by Sharon Herbert.

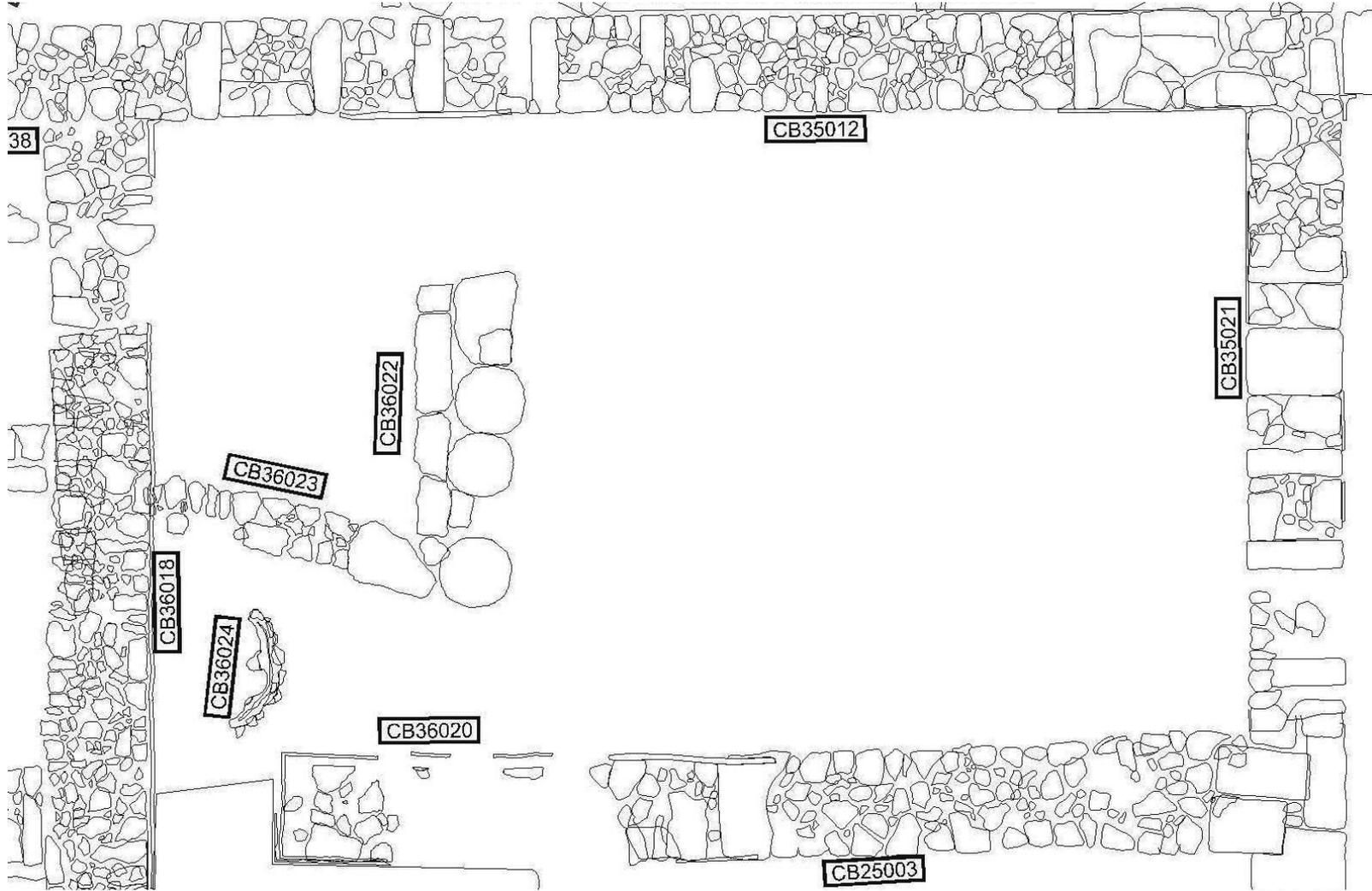


Figure 37: Plan of Room C2.



Figure 38: Room C2, view from the north. Tabun **CB35001** is visible in the center, sitting on floor **CB35003**. Floor **CB35005** is visible to the east of (and lower than) floor **CB35003**. Photo by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 39: Plan of Room C3.



Figure 40: Rooms C4 and C3, view from the east. Stylobate **CB25001** is the wall in the foreground, and the place where wall **CB26003** stood can be seen in the middle distance, where mosaic floor **CB25004** ends. (The small remaining stublet of **CB26003** is visible sticking out of the southern baulk.) The steps leading up from Room C3 into the Central Courtyard are visible in the distance. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

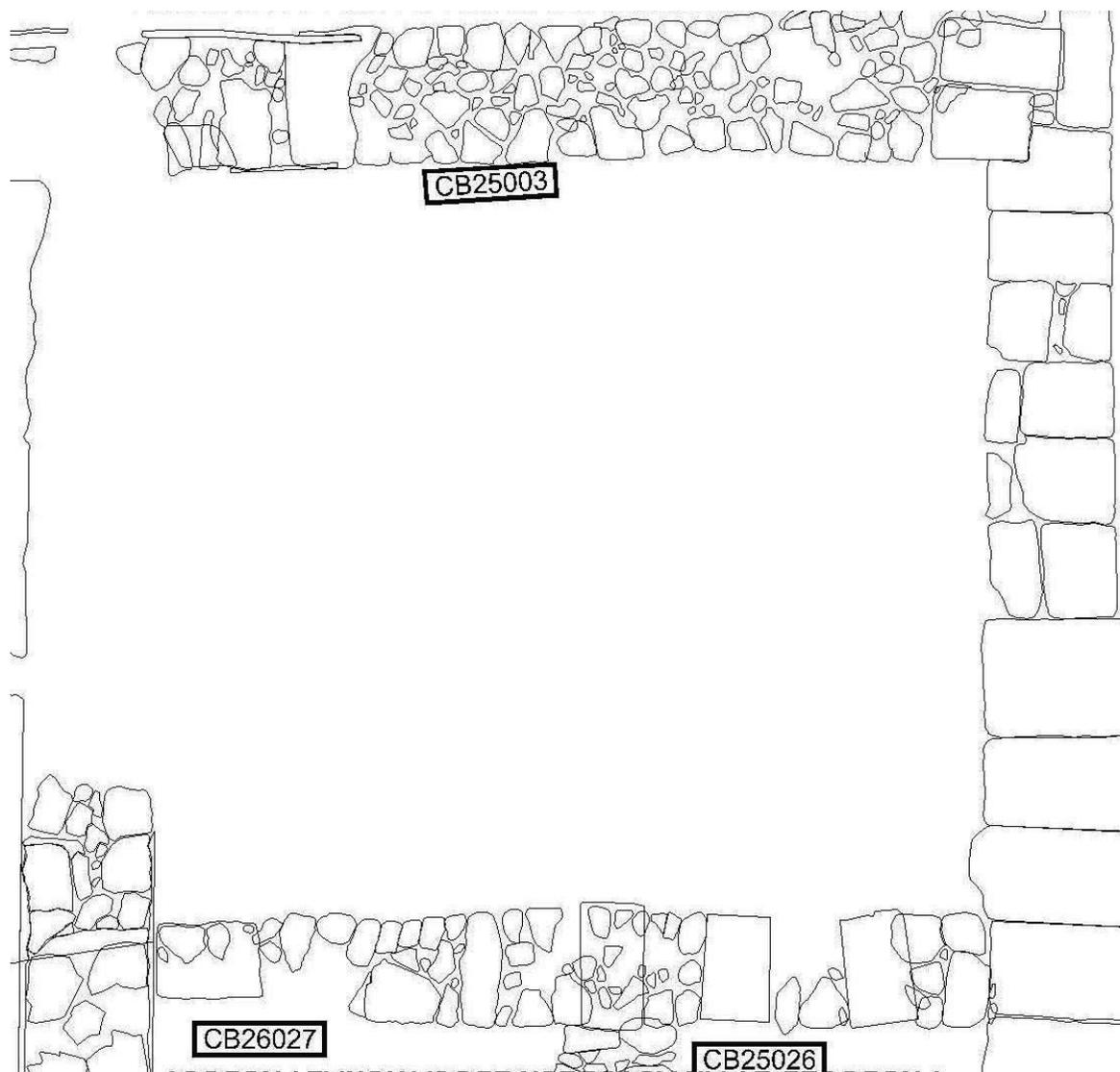


Figure 41: Plan of Room C4.



Figure 42: Room C4, view from the east. Paving stones **CB25015** are visible just south of wall **CB25003**, as is line of stones **CB25018**. The degree of disruption in the room can be seen in the west baulk. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

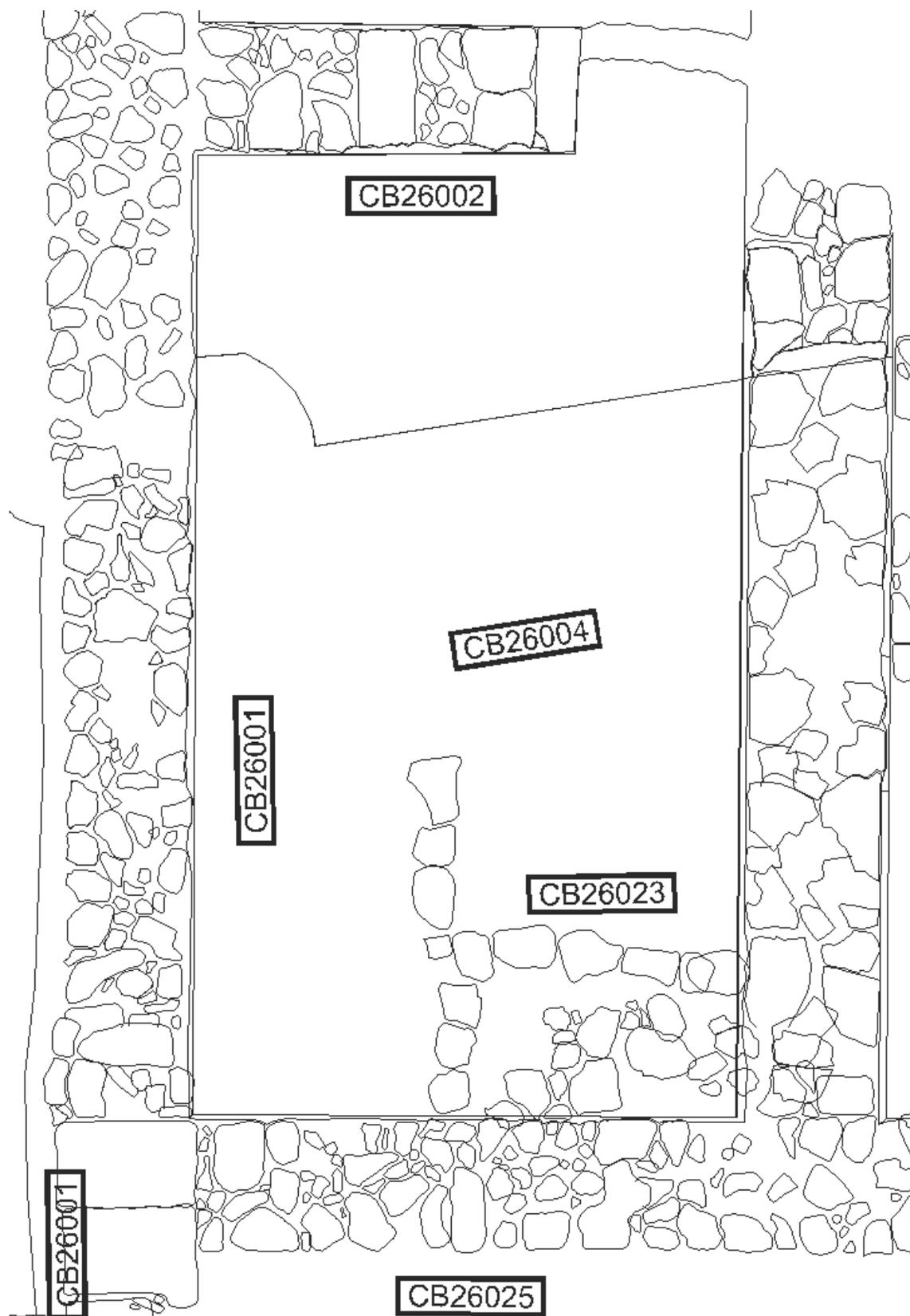


Figure 43: Plan of Room C5.



Figure 44. Below: Room C5, view from the north. The base of Hermon Jar K08P064 can be seen sitting on the floor in the southwest corner. Above: ESA mastos K08P022 (left) and BCW cookpot K08P108 (right), which were also found on the floor. Top two photos by Sue Webb; lower photo by Sharon Herbert.

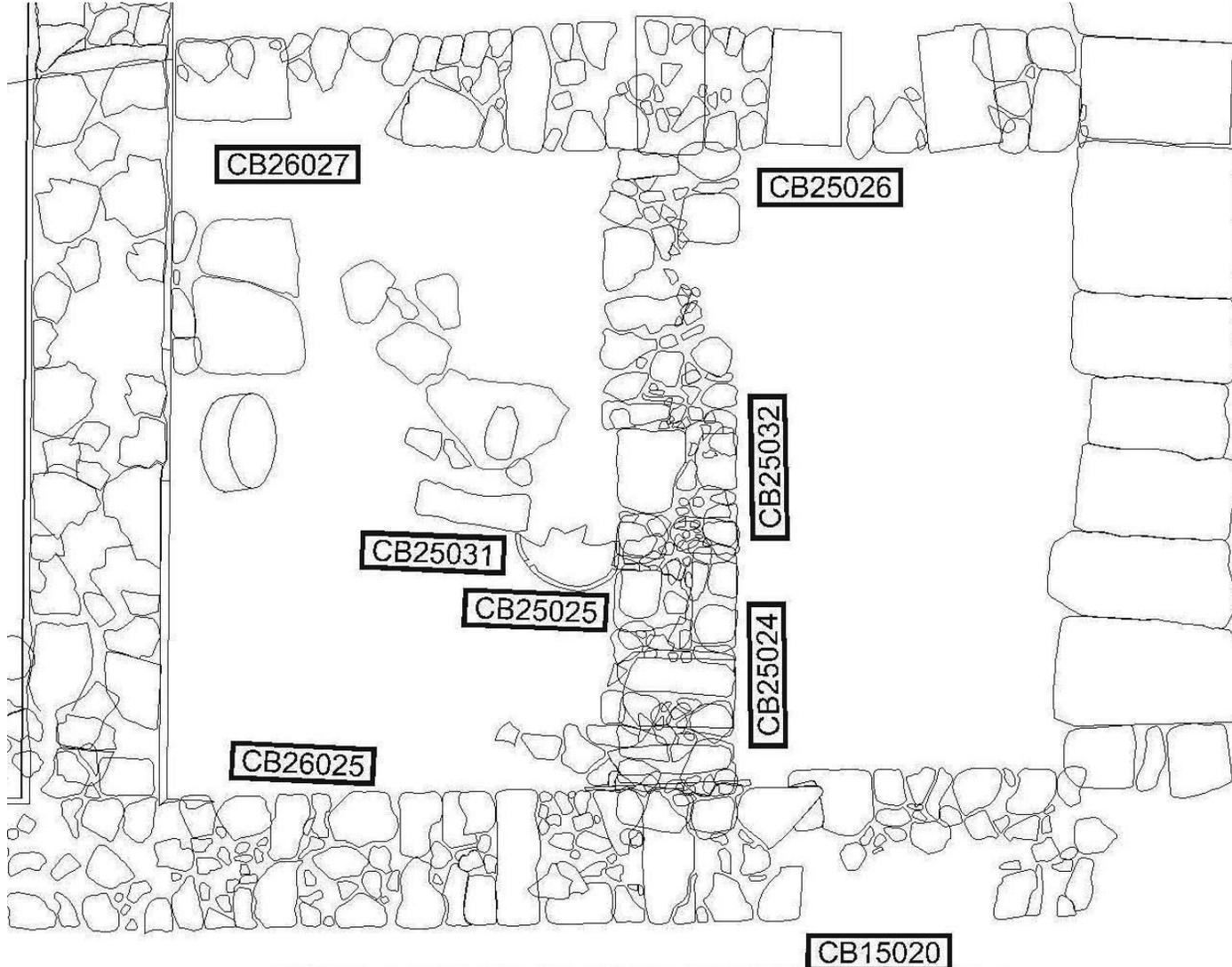


Figure 45: Plan of Rooms C6 and C7.

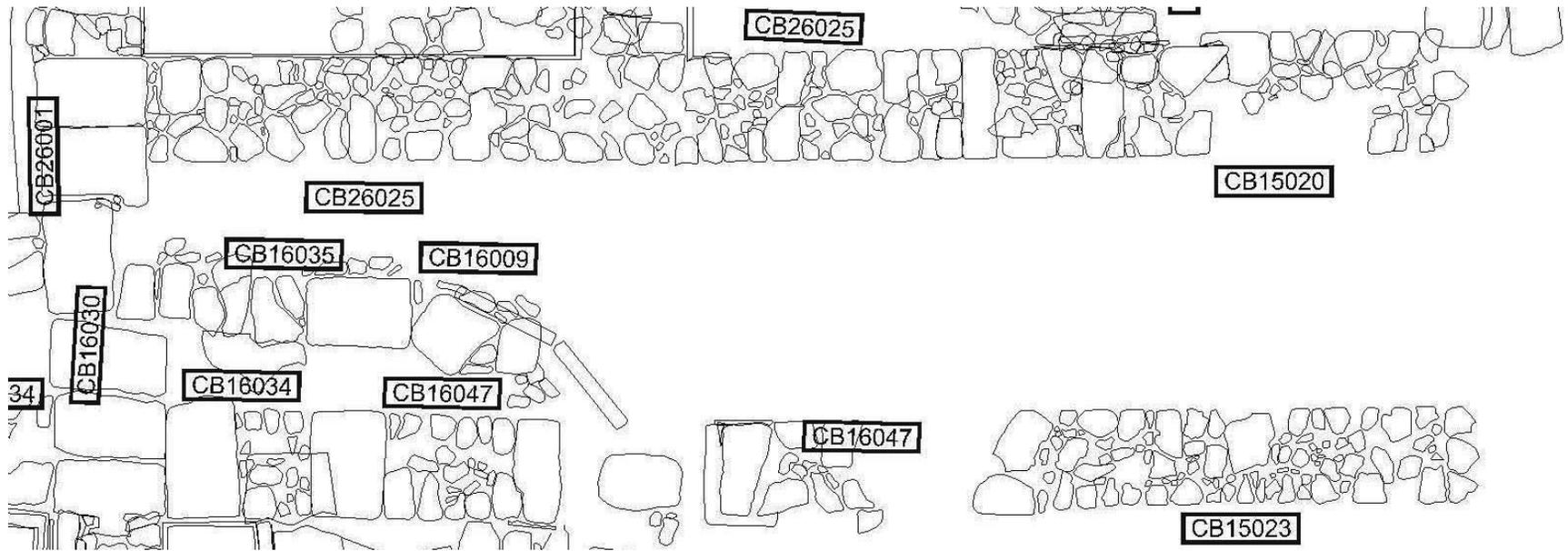


Figure 46: Plan of the South-Central Corridor.

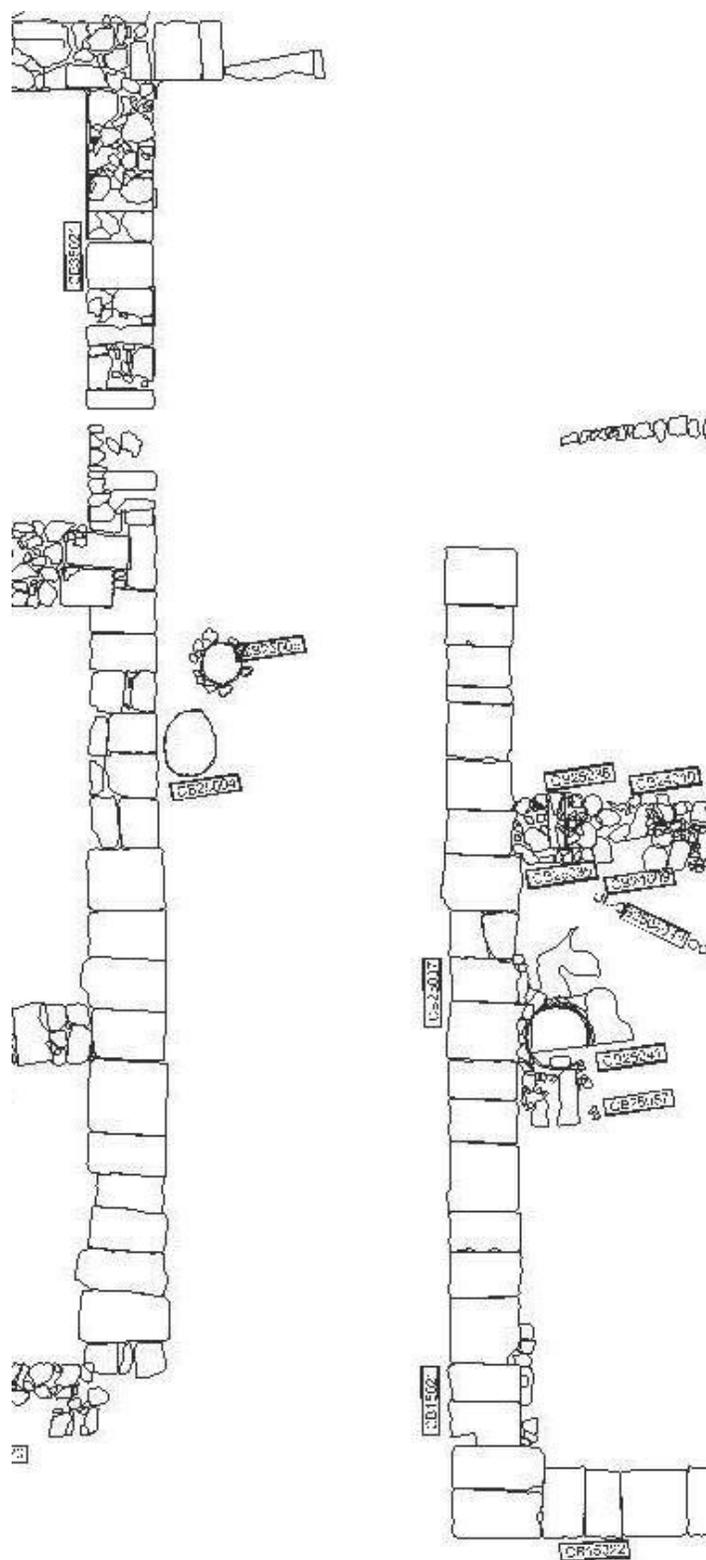


Figure 47: Plan of the Stylobate Corridor.



Figure 48: Tabuns **CB25004** and **CB25005**. Above: View from the southeast. Tabun **CB25004** has been built up against Stylobate **CB25001**. Below: Detail, view from the east. Coastal Orange Ware jar **CB25005** has been buried upside down and buttressed with soil, stones, and PHAB wall plaster. Photos by Sharon Herbert.

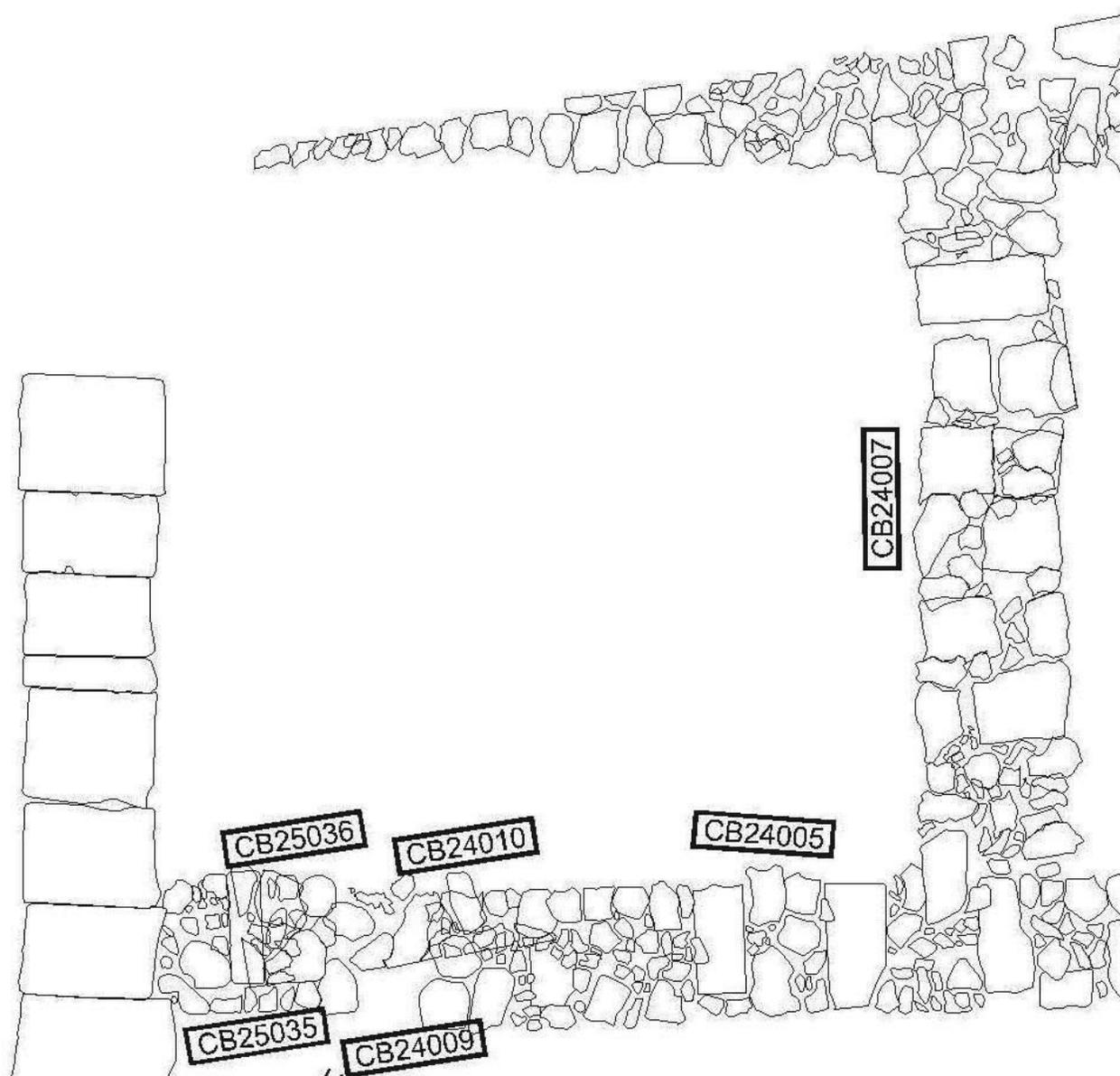


Figure 49: Plan of Room E1.

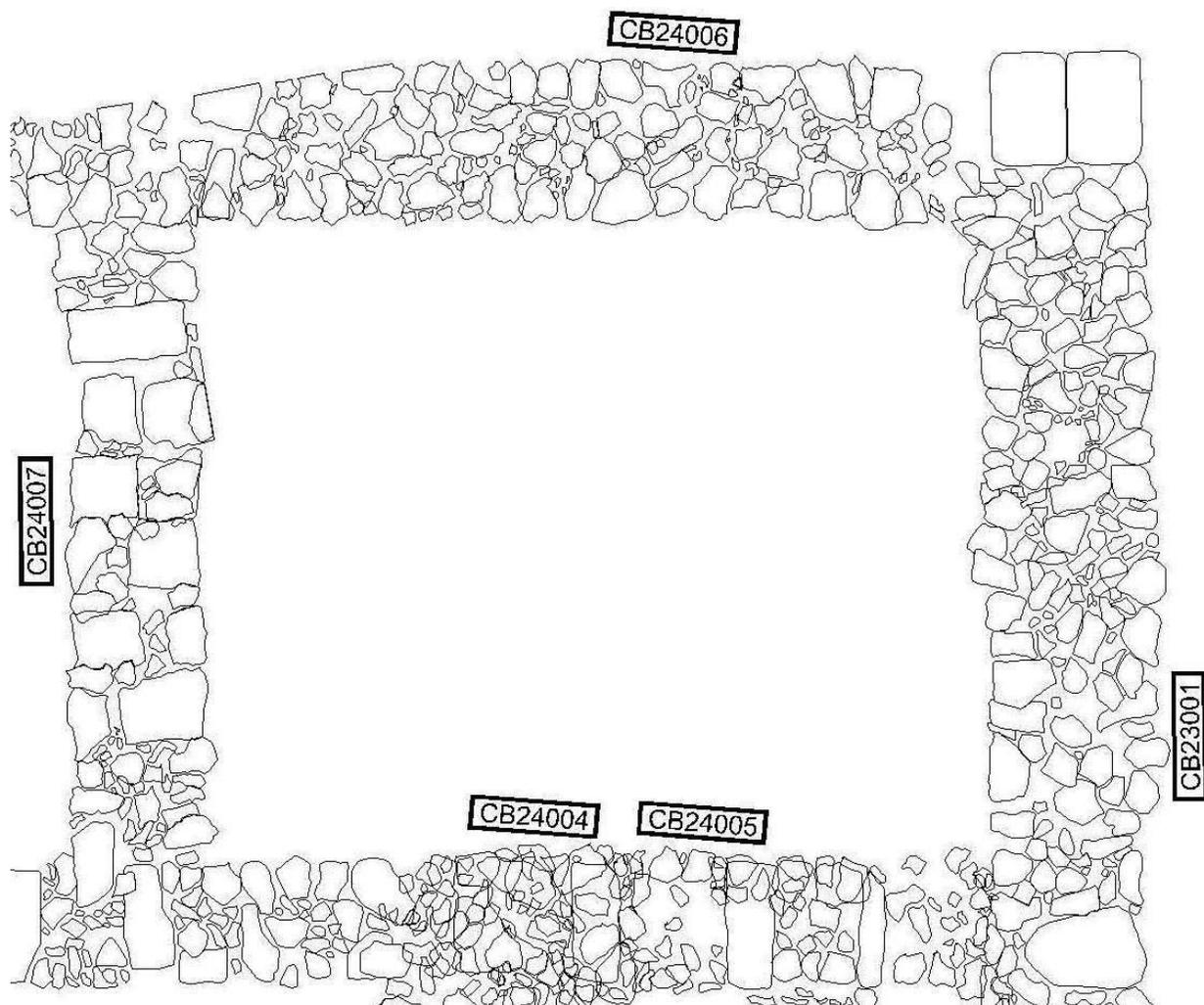


Figure 50: Plan of Room E2.

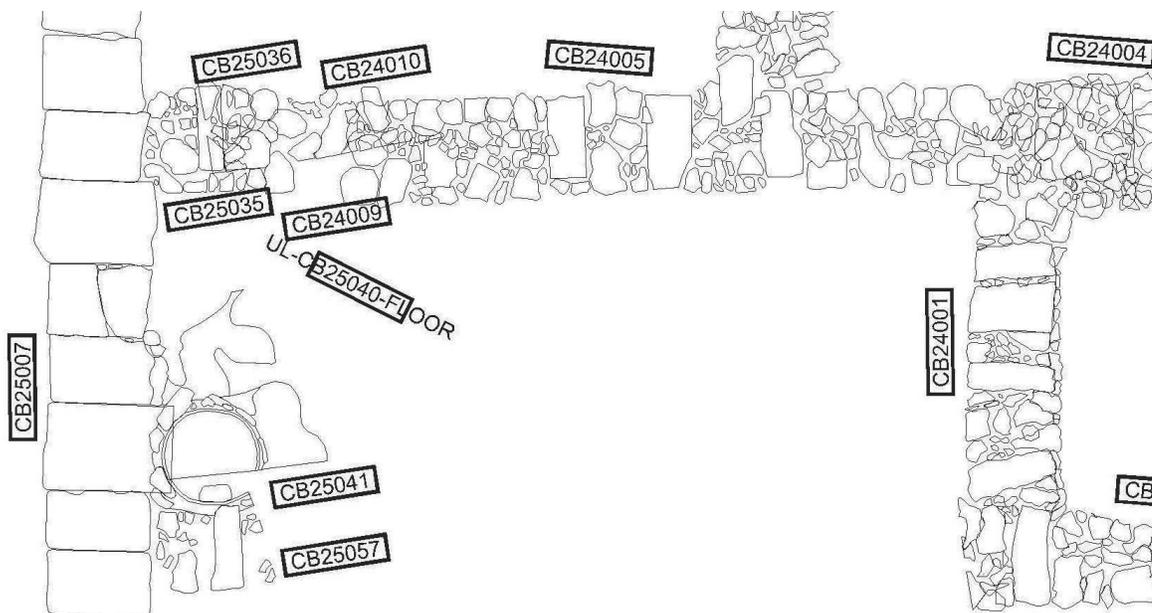


Figure 51: Plan of Room E3.

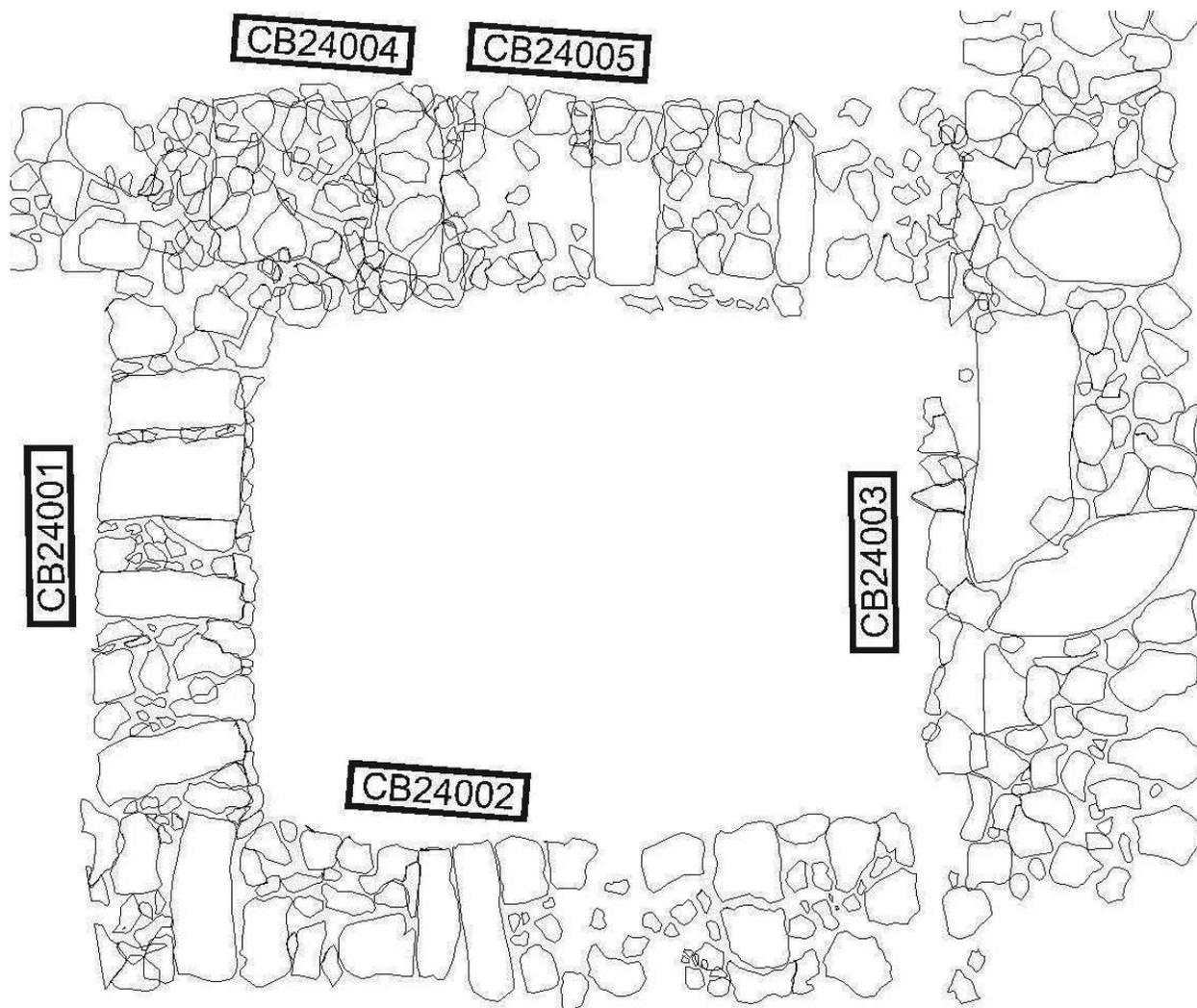


Figure 52: Plan of Room E4.



Figure 53: Tabun **CB25041**. Top: View from the north. Floor **CB25040** can be seen binding to the stones ringing the tabun walls. Bottom: View from the east. Floor **CB25042** has been cut for the placement of the tabun. Photos by Sharon Herbert.

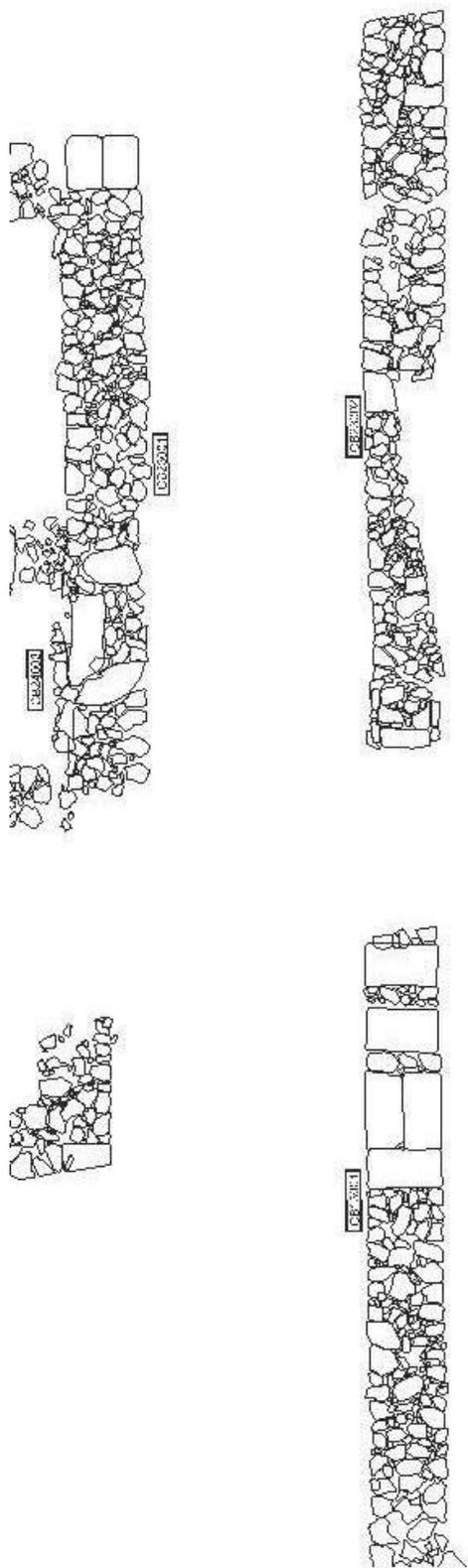


Figure 54: Plan of the Eastern Corridor.

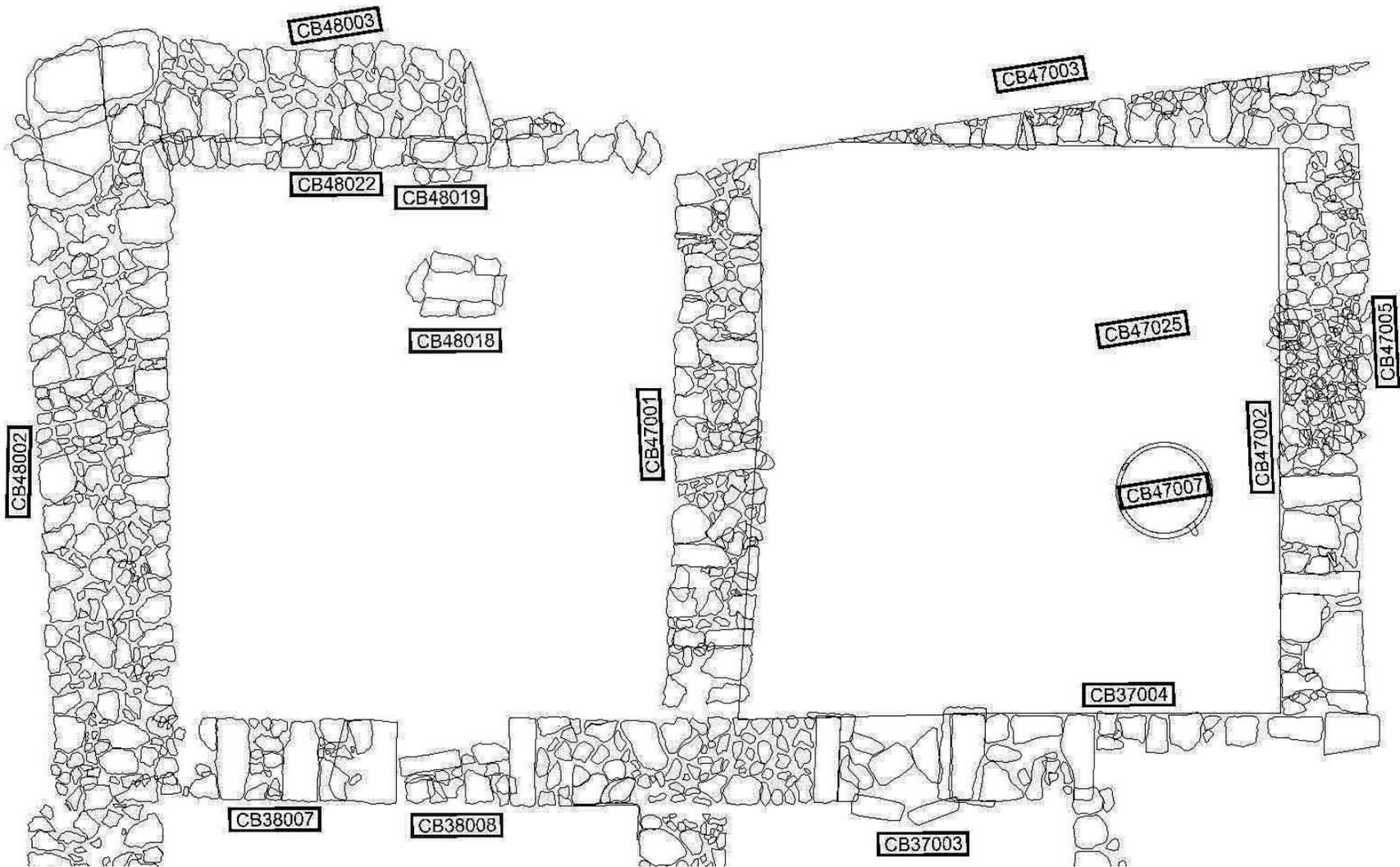


Figure 56: Plan of the Northwestern Rooms (Rooms N1 and N2).

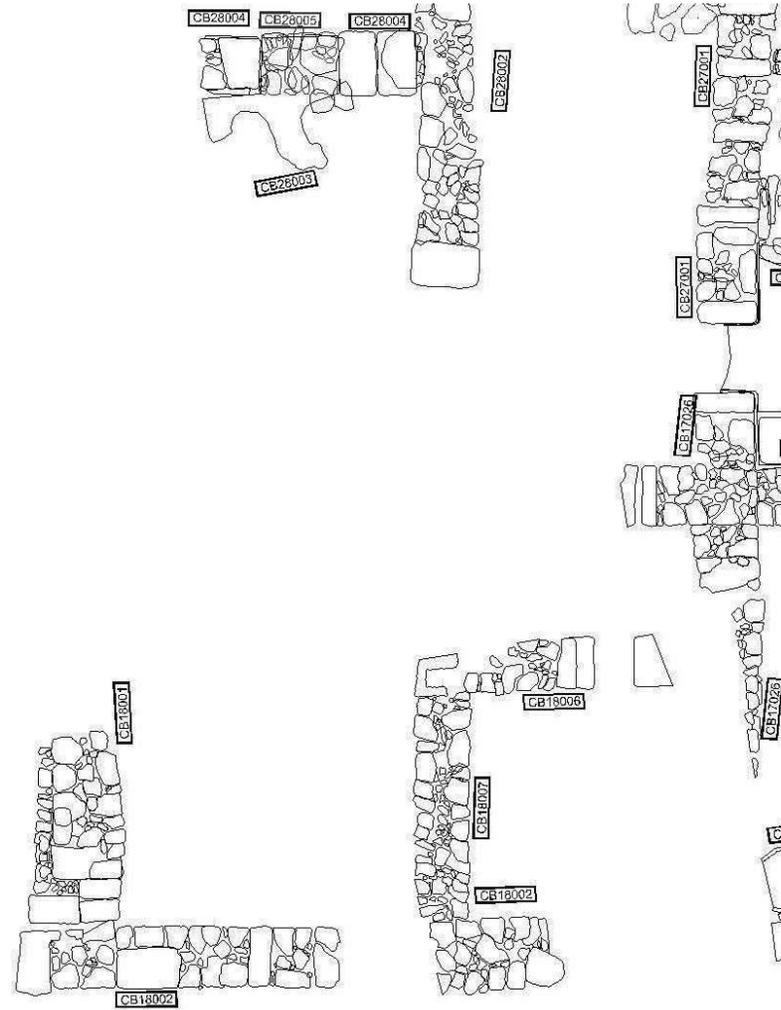
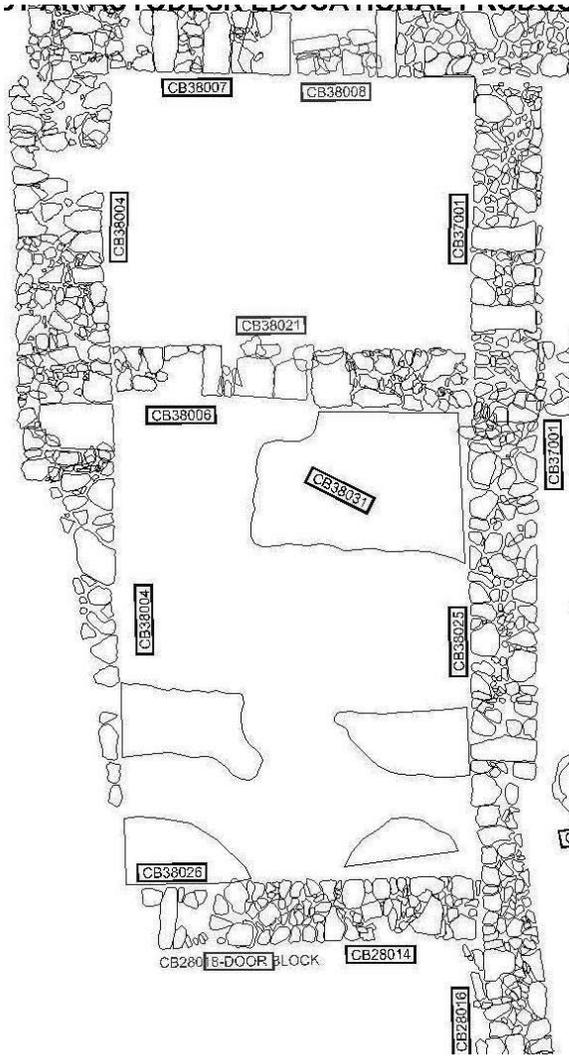


Figure 57: Plan of the Western Rooms. Left: The northern half (Rooms W1, W3, and W4). Right: The southern half (Rooms W4a, W5, W6, and W7).



Figure 58: Plaster floor **CB28003** in the doorway between Rooms W5 and W4a, view from the south. Above: Detail of door block **CB28005**, which is visible to the right of two ashlar of wall **CB28004** (which sit behind the shattered Hermon Jar) and sitting on soil. Below: the door block has been excavated and floor **CB28003** can be clearly seen covering the threshold of the doorway between Rooms W5 and W4a. Photos by Sharon Herbert.



Figure 59: Room W4, view from the north. Note how deeply wall **CB28002/CB28016** (the wall dividing Room W4 from the Western Corridor) has been robbed. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

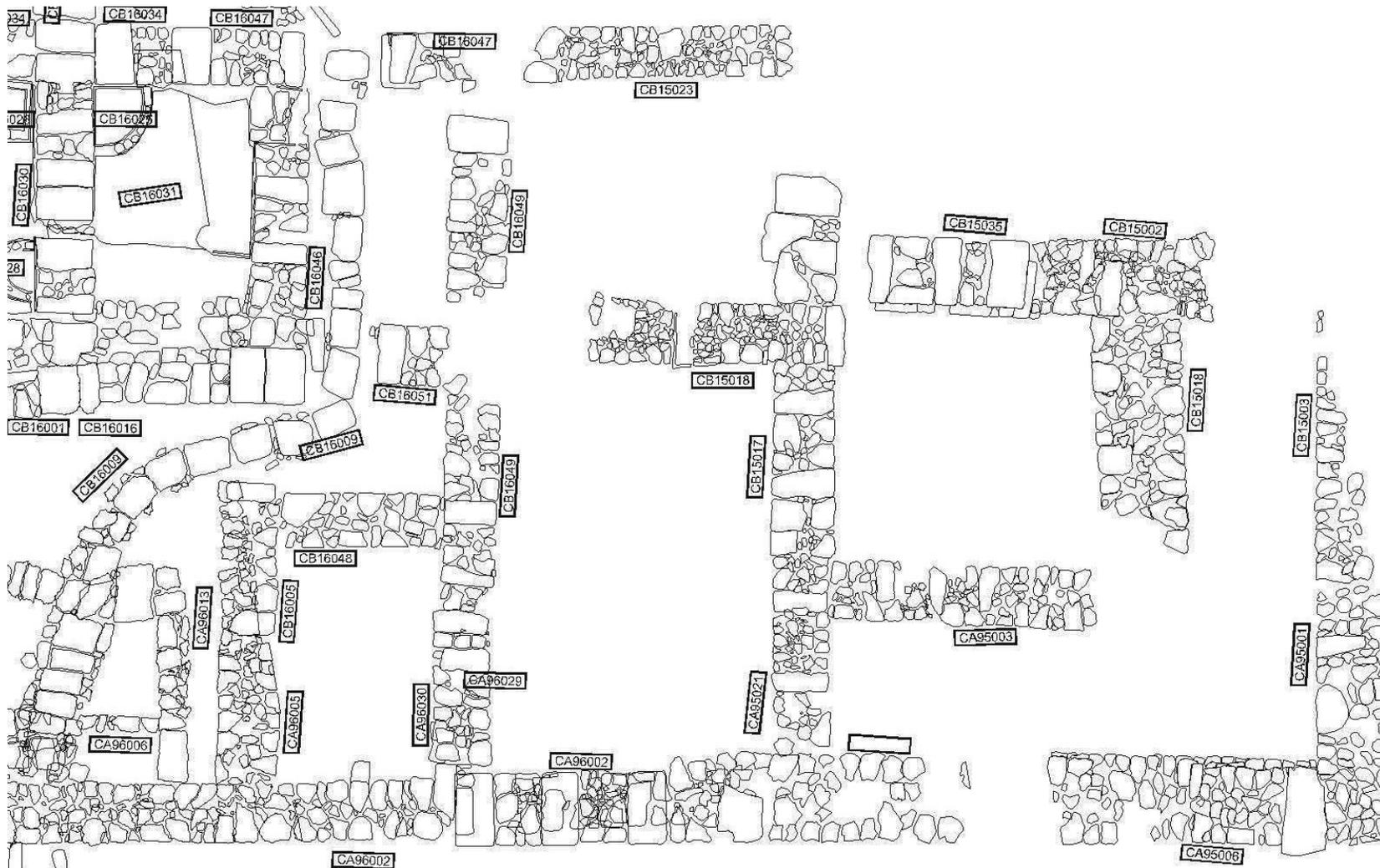


Figure 61: Rooms south of the South-Central Corridor (Rooms S5, S6, S7, S9, S10, and S11).

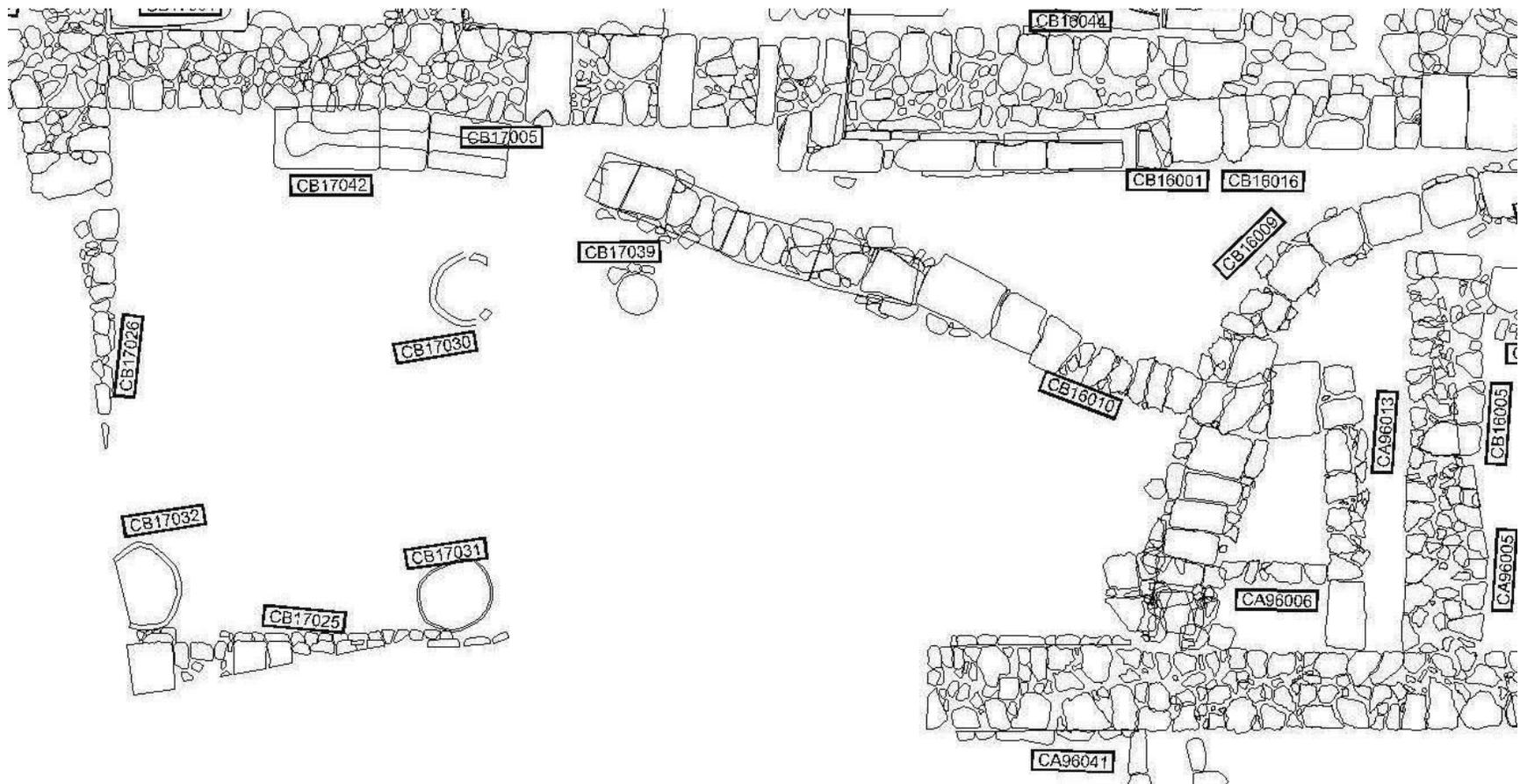


Figure 62: Plan of Room S8.

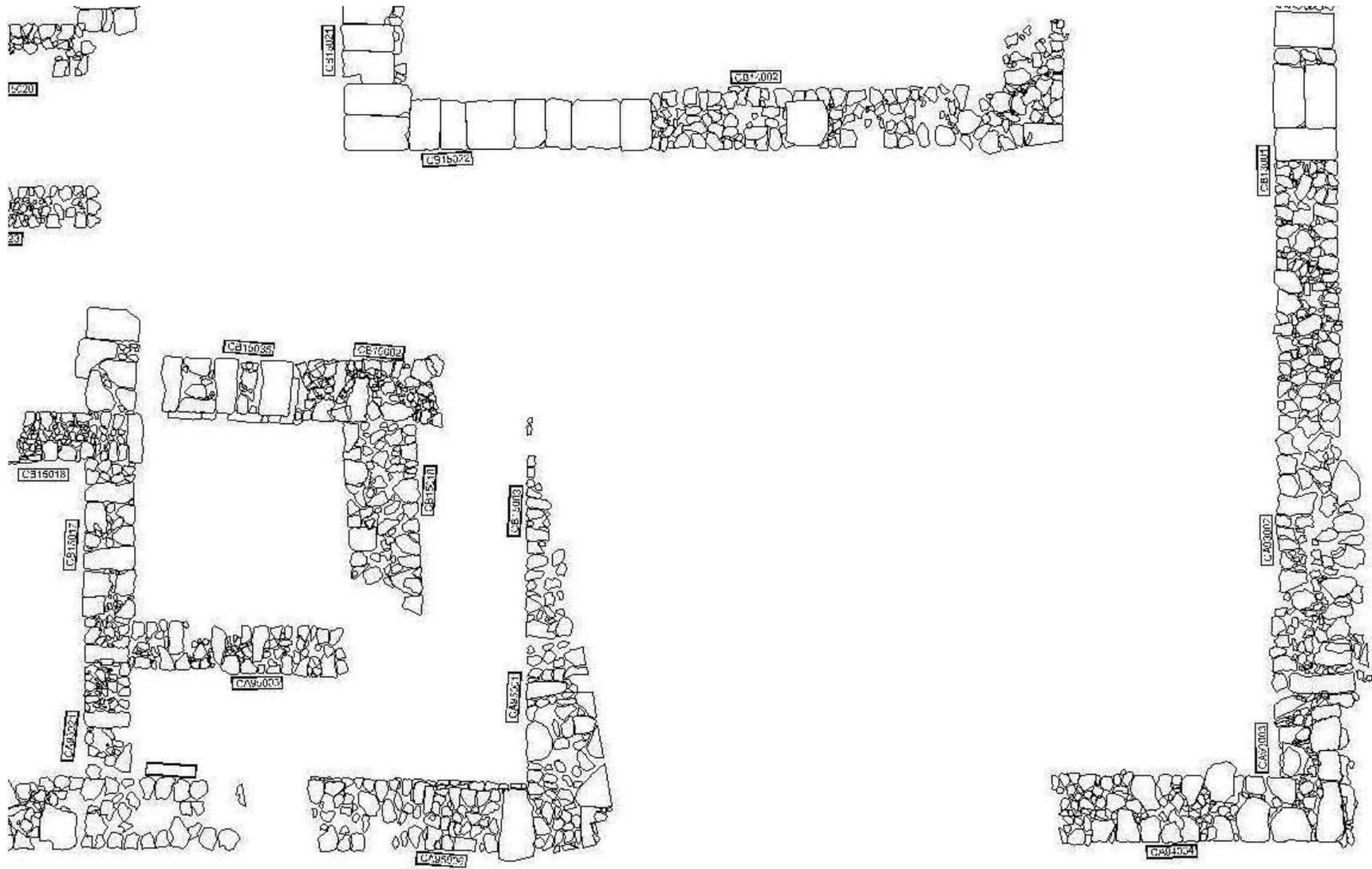


Figure 63: Plan of the Southeastern Corridor and the rooms to the south of it (Rooms S12, S14, and S13).



Figure 64: Tabun **CB17038** and platform **CB17041**, view from the south. Note the Rhodian amphora and Hermon Jar sherds that have been incorporated into the construction of the walls. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

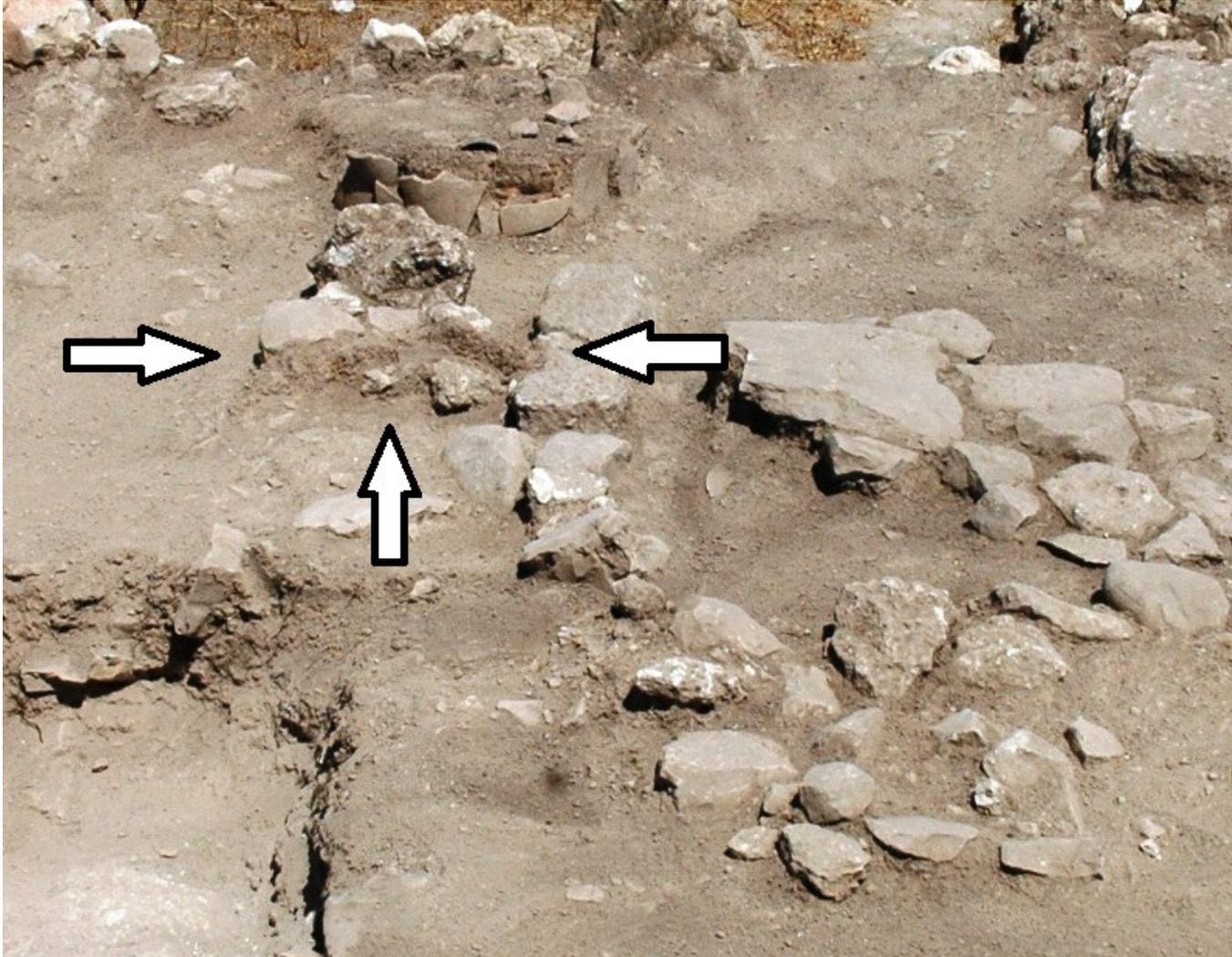


Figure 65: Tabun **CB17039**, view from the south. The tabun is difficult to see amidst the rubble that destroyed it, but the curve of its northern face is visible between the arrows. Photo by Sharon Herbert.

Appendix I: Naming and Numbering Conventions Used in this Dissertation

The Tel

Before exploring the archaeological evidence for the Squatters it is important to set out the conventions that will be used to describe them. The tel is gridded into twelve 90 x 90 m. fields that are further subdivided into 10 x 10 m. squares, each of which have 5 x 5 m. quadrants (see Figure 2 and Figure 4). There are three 90 m-wide east/west fields, designated “East,” “Central,” and “West.” Trenches/squares¹ are designated by two letters followed by two numbers delineated by a period (e.g., CA 9.6). These East, Central, and West fields account for the first letter in a trench’s designation (e.g., in “CA 9.6” the “C” designates the central 90 m-wide field). Each 90 x 90 m. field’s location on a north/south axis is designated by a letter of the alphabet, starting in the south, which is represents the second letter in a trench’s designation (the “A” in “CA 9.6” indicates that this trench is located in the southernmost 90 x 90 m. section). A 10 x 10 m. square’s location within a 90 x 90 m. field is indicated by the two numbers that follow the two letters. The first number is on the south-north axis and again the progression is from south to north. The second number designates the square’s location on an east/west axis, and these numbers increase from east to west. Thus, for instance, CA 9.5 is southeast of

¹ In Israel the word “square” is usually used (at least by American excavations) to designate an area that is being excavated – e.g., “square CA 9.6 SE.” The Tel Kedesh Archaeological Excavations, however, most commonly call them “trenches.” Note, however, that “trenches” at Tel Kedesh are square in shape. The terms are completely interchangeable here.

CB 1.6. Each 10 x 10 m. square is further divided into four 5 x 5 m. quadrants, NW, NE, SW, and SE. As a point of reference, the administrative building at Tel Kedesh is located between CB 4.8 NE (the northwest corner of the building), CB 3.3 NE (the northeast corner of the building), CA 9.3 SW (the southeast corner of the building), and CB 1.8 SW (the southwest corner of the building).

Rooms within the Administrative Building

For the sake of efficiency, the building has been broken up into use areas and rooms have been numbered within those use areas (see Figure 4). The rooms north of the Northern Corridor have been numbered from 1-6 and in the text are referred to as, e.g., “Room N1.” Rooms west of the Western Corridor have been numbered 1-7 and in the text are referred to as, e.g., “Room W1.” Rooms south of the Central Courtyard, the South-Central Corridor, and the Southeastern Corridor have been numbered from 1-14 and are referred to in the text as, e.g., “Room S1.” Rooms east of the Stylobate Corridor are numbered from 1-4 and are referred to, e.g., as “Room E1.” And rooms in the center of the building (i.e., between the Northern Corridor, the Western Corridor, the South-Central Corridor, and the Stylobate Corridor) are numbered from 1-7 and are referred to as, e.g., “Room C1.” In four cases a part of a room has been given a sub-identifier for the sake of higher resolution with respect to analysis of the finds: The southern portion of room W4 (designated Room W4a); the west, central and eastern 1/3 of Room S8; two areas in Room C1 (C1a and C1b); and one area in Room C2 (C2a).

The following conventions will be also used:

When a trench is designated without a quadrant specified (e.g., CA 9.5), it designates an entire 10 x 10 m. square. When the quadrant is specified (e.g., CA 9.5 SW) it designates a 5 x 5 m. square.

A “unit” at Tel Kedesh is the smallest element of excavation – a cohesive three dimensional deposition of soil that is differentiated from other depositions of soil on the basis of compaction, color, inclusions, or division by architectural features. At the end of a season units are grouped into loci, with a locus being a distinguishable phase of deposition or activity.

Unit numbers are distinguished from locus numbers by the inclusion of periods in their designations (e.g., unit CB3.6.034; locus **CB36034**).

Architectural loci will be in bold (e.g., **CB37020**). It should be noted that some features cross trench lines. When they do and this is relevant to the discussion, they will be designated by all relevant locus numbers (e.g., the northern wall of the Central Courtyard is wall **CB36034/CB37020**).

Soil loci will be boxed (e.g., CB37007).

Locus numbers that end in “.0” (e.g., CB37031.0) designate soil that is inside an installation or feature such as a tabun.

Locus numbers that end in “.1” (e.g., CB37031.1) designate the soil underneath a feature (ideally 0.1 m. in depth). 0.1 loci nearly always indicate sealed contexts and are therefore important for dating the feature under which they lie.

Tracking numbers (e.g., K06T#1326) are underlined and have three parts: the year in which it was excavated (e.g., “K06”), the designation as a tracked object (“T#”), and the tracking number (e.g., “1326”). Every object uncovered in the field (with the exception of pottery sherds in a pottery bucket) was “tracked” and received a tracking number as the first act of registration. If an item was subsequently deemed important enough to be inventoried then it also received an inventory number. In this chapter the use of a tracking number indicates an object that was not inventoried.

Inventory numbers (e.g., K06S024) are also underlined and have three parts: the year in which it was excavated (e.g., “K06”), the category of item (e.g., “S” – stone object), and the inventory number (e.g., “024”). The item categories are:

- BD – bead
- BI – bone implement
- C – coin
- G – glass
- I – inscribed object
- L – lamp
- M – metal
- P – pottery
- S – stone
- SAH – stamped amphora handle
- TC – terracotta

Pottery weights and counts: Pottery from each unit was washed, sorted, and weighed. When units had an amount of pottery that weighed in below 0.01 kg, the sherds got counted instead of being weighed. When units were combined into loci it sometimes happened that on unit of the locus would have a weight and another would have a sherd count. As a result, there will be times in the following chapter that pottery will be described as, for instance, “0.1 kg, plus 3 sherds, of ESA.”

Elevations are given in meters above sea level (e.g., 465.39 m.).

The term “LDM” is short for “Latest Datable Material” and refers to the pottery or object(s) in a unit or locus that provide(s) a *terminus post quem* for that soil. LDMs in sealed contexts (e.g., sealed below a floor, wall, or installation) usually provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of that floor, wall, or installation. It should be noted, however, that the LDM is not always representative of the actual *terminus post quem*. For instance, a floor that seals soil with a coin of Antiochus III as its LDM might initially seem to have a *terminus post quem* of 189-188 BCE, based on the reading of the coin. But other factors – for instance, superposition (the floor has been laid over another, deeper floor that has a coin of Demetrius II as its LDM) – might make it clear that the coin of Antiochus III is not representative of the actual *terminus post quem*.

The term “PHAB” stands for the Persian/Hellenistic Administrative Building and refers specifically to the pre-abandonment (i.e., pre-Squatter) phases of the building (ca. 500 BCE – 143 BCE).

Appendix II: A Short Primer on the Pottery Found at Tel Kedesh

It would be nice if coins and stamped amphora handles were found in every unit – we would be able to date each unit and locus very precisely. That is sadly not at all the case and so we must rely on pottery to date features. Fortunately we know a lot about the various shapes and types of pottery found at Tel Kedesh and as a result can use it to fairly precisely date the units in which it is found. What follows can be used as a fabric-date concordance for those unfamiliar with the most common pottery fabrics found at Tel Kedesh.¹

TABLE 2 – CERAMIC FABRICS COMMONLY FOUND AT TEL KEDESH	
Fabric	Building Phase
Akko Sandy Cooking Ware	PHAB (Persian to 2 nd century BCE)
Attic Black Glaze	PHAB (Persian to 3 rd century BCE)
Basaltic Cooking Ware (BCW)	Squatter
Black Slipped Predecessor (BSP)	PHAB (after 160 BCE)-Squatter??
Central Coastal Fine	PHAB
Coastal Fine North (CFN)	PHAB (200-150 BCE)
Coastal Orange Ware	PHAB (Persian to 3 rd century BCE)
Coastal Plain Ware	Iron Age-Persian
Crystal Cooking Ware	Iron Age
Gritty Cooking Ware	PHAB (Persian to 2 nd century BCE)
Hellenistic Black Glaze	PHAB (3 rd -2 nd centuries BCE)
Hermon	PHAB (200-150 BCE)

¹ A wide variety of imported fine ware was also found in the PHAB phases (and therefore Squatter phases), but because of the small total amount and great diversity of fabrics and shapes, they are not included in this table. When they are important the date will be included in the text. For details see Stone, "Provincial Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context."

Kfar Hananya	Post-Squatter (mid-1 st century BCE to the 6 th century CE)
Local Fine B	PHAB (300-150 BCE)
Pink Brown Gritty (PBG)	Iron Age and PHAB (Iron Age to early 2 nd century BCE)
Phoenician Semi Fine	PHAB (Persian-2 nd century BCE)/Squatter
Ras al Fuqra	Early Modern to ca. 1950 CE
Red Brown Gritty (RBG)	Iron Age and PHAB (Iron Age to early 2 nd century BCE)
Spatter Ware	Early Bronze Age to the 2 nd century BCE (PHAB)
Tan Grey Marl	Squatter
White Ware	PHAB (6 th -4 th centuries BCE)

Vessel shapes are also important. Not only are they dateable (shapes went in and out of vogue, as they do today), but a given shape can be made in different fabrics. The forms found at Kedesh and references to comparanda are a major focus of Peter Stone's dissertation on the pottery at Tel Kedesh and can be found there.²

² Stone, "'Provincial' Perspectives: The Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid Administrative Center at Tel Kedesh in a Regional Context," Appendix I.

**Appendix III:
Greek and English Texts of 1 Maccabees 10:25-45; Ant. 13.48-57;
1 Maccabees 11:18-39; and Ant. 13.121-131**

1 Macc. 10:25-45 (NRSV):

King Demetrius to the nation of the Jews, greetings. ²⁶Since you have kept your agreement with us and have continued your friendship with us, and have not sided with our enemies, we have heard of it and rejoiced. ²⁷Now continue still to keep faith with us, and we will repay you with good for what you do for us. ²⁸We will grant you many immunities and give you gifts. ²⁹I now free you and exempt all the Jews from payment of tribute and salt tax and crown levies, ³⁰and instead of collecting the third of the grain and the half of the fruit of the trees that I should receive, I release them from this day and henceforth. **I will not collect them from the land of Judah or from the three districts that are being added to it from Samaria and Galilee, from this day and for all time** (τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ γῆς Ἰουδα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν νομῶν τῶν προστιθεμένων αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ Γαλιλαίας). ³¹Jerusalem and its environs, its tithes and its revenues, shall be holy and free from tax. ³²I release also my control of the citadel in Jerusalem and give it to the high priest, so that he may station in it men of his own choice to guard it. ³³And everyone of the Jews taken as a captive from the land of Judah into any part of my kingdom, I set free without payment; and let all officials cancel also the taxes on their livestock. ³⁴All the festivals and sabbaths and new moons and appointed days, and the three days before a festival and the three after a festival -- let them all be days of immunity and release for all the Jews who are in my kingdom. ³⁵No one shall have authority to exact anything from them or annoy any of them about any matter. ³⁶Let Jews be enrolled in the king's forces to the number of thirty thousand men, and let the maintenance be given them that is due to all the forces of the king. ³⁷Let some of them be stationed in the great strongholds of the king, and let some of them be put in positions of trust in the kingdom. Let their officers and leaders be of their own number, and let them live by their own laws, just as the king has commanded in the land of Judah. ³⁸**As for the three districts that have been added to Judaea from the country of Samaria, let them be annexed to Judaea so that they may be considered to be under one ruler and obey no other authority than the high priest** (καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς τοὺς προστεθέντας τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας Σαμαρείας προστεθῆτω τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πρὸς τὸ λογισθῆναι τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑφ' ἑνα τοῦ μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι ἄλλης ἐξουσίας ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως). ³⁹Ptolemais and the land adjoining it I have given as a gift to the sanctuary in Jerusalem, to meet the necessary expenses of the sanctuary. ⁴⁰I also grant fifteen thousand shekels of silver yearly out of the king's revenues from appropriate places. ⁴¹And all the additional funds that the government officials have not paid as they did in the first years, they shall give from now on for the service of the temple. ⁴²Moreover, the five thousand shekels of silver that my officials¹ have received every year from the income of the services of the temple, this too is canceled, because it belongs to the priests who minister

there. ⁴³And all who take refuge at the temple in Jerusalem, or in any of its precincts, because they owe money to the king or are in debt, let them be released and receive back all their property in my kingdom. ⁴⁴Let the cost of rebuilding and restoring the structures of the sanctuary be paid from the revenues of the king. ⁴⁵And let the cost of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem and fortifying it all around, and the cost of rebuilding the walls in Judaea, also be paid from the revenues of the king.

1 Maccabees 10:25-45 (ed. Rahlfs):¹

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος τῷ ἔθνει τῶν
 Ιουδαίων χαίρειν ²⁶ ἐπεὶ συντηρήσατε τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνθήκας καὶ ἐνεμείνατε τῇ
 φιλίᾳ ἡμῶν καὶ οὐ προσεχωρήσατε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐχάρημεν ²⁷ καὶ
 νῦν ἐμμείνατε ἔτι τοῦ συντηρῆσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς πίστιν καὶ ἀνταποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἀγαθὰ
 ἀνθ' ὧν ποιεῖτε μεθ' ἡμῶν ²⁸ καὶ ἀφήσομεν ὑμῖν ἀφέματα πολλὰ καὶ δώσομεν ὑμῖν
 δόματα ²⁹ καὶ νῦν ἀπολύω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀφήμι πάντας τοὺς Ιουδαίους ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων καὶ
 τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἀλὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεφάνων ³⁰ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τρίτου τῆς σπορᾶς καὶ ἀντὶ
 τοῦ ἡμίσεος τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ξυλίνου τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντός μοι λαβεῖν ἀφήμι ἀπὸ τῆς
 σήμερον καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ γῆς Ιουδα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν νομῶν τῶν
 προστιθεμένων αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ
 εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ³¹ καὶ Ιερουσαλημ ἕστω ἀγία καὶ ἀφειμένη καὶ τὰ ὄρια αὐτῆς
 αἱ δεκάται καὶ τὰ τέλη ³² ἀφήμι καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἄκρας τῆς ἐν Ιερουσαλημ καὶ
 δίδωμι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ὅπως ἂν καταστήσῃ ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκλέξῃται τοῦ
 φυλάσσειν αὐτήν ³³ καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν Ιουδαίων τὴν αἰχμαλωτισθεῖσαν ἀπὸ γῆς Ιουδα εἰς
 πᾶσαν βασιλείαν μου ἀφήμι ἐλευθέραν δωρεάν καὶ πάντες ἀφιέτωσαν τοὺς φόρους καὶ
 τῶν κτηνῶν αὐτῶν ³⁴ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἑορταὶ καὶ τὰ σάββατα καὶ νομηνῖαι καὶ ἡμέραι
 ἀποδεδειγμέναι καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέραι πρὸ ἑορτῆς καὶ τρεῖς μετὰ ἑορτῆς ἕστωσαν πᾶσαι
 ἡμέραι ἀτελείας καὶ ἀφέσεως πᾶσιν τοῖς Ιουδαίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου ³⁵ καὶ
 οὐχ ἔξει ἐξουσίαν οὐδεὶς πράσσειν καὶ παρενοχλεῖν τινα αὐτῶν περὶ παντὸς πράγματος
³⁶ καὶ προγραφῆτωσαν τῶν Ιουδαίων εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τριάκοντα
 χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτοῖς ξένια ὡς καθήκει πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεισιν τοῦ
 βασιλέως ³⁷ καὶ κατασταθήσεται ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς
 μεγάλοις καὶ ἐκ τούτων κατασταθήσονται ἐπὶ χρεῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐσῶν εἰς
 πίστιν καὶ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἕστωσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πορευέσθωσαν τοῖς
 νόμοις αὐτῶν καθὰ καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν γῆ Ιουδα ³⁸ καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς
 τοὺς προστεθέντας τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας Σαμαρείας προστεθήτω τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ πρὸς
 τὸ λογισθῆναι τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑφ' ἑνα τοῦ μὴ ὑπακοῦσαι ἄλλης ἐξουσίας ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ
 ἀρχιερέως ³⁹ Πτολεμαίδα καὶ τὴν προσκυροῦσαν αὐτῇ δέδωκα δόμα τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς ἐν
 Ιερουσαλημ εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν δαπάνην τοῖς ἀγίοις ⁴⁰ καὶ γὰρ δίδωμι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δέκα
 πέντε χιλιάδας σίκλων ἀργυρίου ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων τῶν
 ἀνηκόντων ⁴¹ καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλεονάζον ὃ οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν ἀπὸ τῶν χρεῶν ὡς ἐν τοῖς
 πρώτοις ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δώσουσιν εἰς τὰ ἔργα τοῦ οἴκου ⁴² καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις
 πεντακισχιλίουσιν σίκλους ἀργυρίου οὓς ἐλάμβανον ἀπὸ τῶν χρεῶν τοῦ ἀγίου ἀπὸ τοῦ
 λόγου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ταῦτα ἀφίεται διὰ τὸ ἀνήκειν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς
 λειτουργοῦσιν ⁴³ καὶ ὅσοι ἐὰν φύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν
 τοῖς ὀρίοις αὐτοῦ ὀφείλων βασιλικά καὶ πᾶν πρᾶγμα ἀπολελύσθωσαν καὶ πάντα ὅσα
 ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου ⁴⁴ καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ ἐπικαινισθῆναι τὰ ἔργα
 τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἡ δαπάνη δοθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ βασιλέως ⁴⁵ καὶ τοῦ
 οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὰ τείχη Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ὀχυρώσαι κυκλόθεν καὶ ἡ δαπάνη δοθήσεται ἐκ
 τοῦ λόγου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὰ τείχη ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ

¹ Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Privilegierte württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935).

Ant. 13.48-57 (transl. Whiston):²

“King Demetrius to Jonathan, and to the nation of the Jews, sends greetings. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and when you have been tempted by our enemies, you have not joined yourselves to them; I both commend you for your fidelity, and exhort you to continue in the same disposition; for which you shall be repaid, and receive rewards from us; ⁴⁹for I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer to me: and instead of the third part of the fruits of the field, and the half of the fruits of the trees, I relinquish my part of them from this day: ⁵⁰**and as to the poll money, which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judaea, and of the three toparchies that adjoin to Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Peraea, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come.** ⁵¹**I will also, that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tithes, and from the taxes, to its utmost bounds:** and I so far recede from my title to the citadel, as to permit Jonathan your high priest to possess it, that he may place such a garrison in it as he approves of for fidelity and goodwill to himself, that they may keep it for us. ⁵²I also make free all those Jews who have been made captives and slaves in my kingdom. I also order that the beasts of the Jews be not pressed for our service; and let their Sabbaths, and all their festivals, and three days before each of them, be free from any imposition. ⁵³In the same manner, I set free the Jews that are inhabitants of my kingdom, and order that no injury be done to them. I also give permission to those who are willing to enlist themselves in my army, that they may do it, and those as many as thirty thousand; which Jewish soldiers, wherever they go, shall have the same pay that my own army has; and some of them I will place in my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over those who are in my court. ⁵⁴**I give them permission also to use the laws of their forefathers, and to observe them; and I will that they have power over the three toparchies that are added to Judaea; and it shall be in the power of the high priest to take care that no one Jew shall have any other temple for worship but only that at Jerusalem.** ⁵⁵I bequeath also, out of my own revenues, yearly, for the expenses about the sacrifices, one hundred and fifty thousand [drachmas]; and what money is to spare, I will that it shall be your own. I also release to you those ten thousand drachmas which the kings received from the temple, because they appertain to the priests that minister in that temple. ⁵⁶And whoever shall flee to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the places thereto belonging, or who owe the king money, or are there on any other account, let them be set free, and let their goods be in safety. ⁵⁷I also give you permission to repair and rebuild your temple, and that all be done at my expense. I also allow you to build the walls of your city, and to erect high towers, and that they be erected at my charge. And if there be any fortified town that would be convenient for the Jewish country to have very strong, let it be so built at my expense.”

² Flavius Josephus and William Whiston, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*, New Updated ed. (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1980).

Ant. 18.48-57 (ed. Niese):³

βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθη καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν ἐπειδὴ διετηρήσατε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν καὶ πειράσασιν ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐ προσέθεσθε καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὑμῶν ἐπαινώ τὴν πίστιν καὶ παρακαλῶ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένειν ἀποληψομένους ἀμοιβὰς παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ χάριτας ⁴⁹τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ὑμῶν ἀνήσω τῶν φόρων καὶ τῶν συντάξεων ἃς ἐτελείτε τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῦσιν καὶ ἐμοί νῦν τε ὑμῖν ἀφήμι τοὺς φόρους οὓς αἰεὶ παρέχετε πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ὑμῖν χαρίζομαι τῶν ἄλων καὶ τῶν στεφάνων οὓς προσεφέρετε ἡμῖν καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τρίτων τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσιου τοῦ ξυλίνου καρποῦ τὸ γινόμενον ἐμοὶ μέρος ὑμῖν ἀφήμι ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας ⁵⁰καὶ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐκάστης ὃ ἔδει μοι δίδοσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσκειμένων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαιᾶς τούτους παραχωρῶ ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ⁵¹καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶναι βούλομαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἕως τῶν ὄρων αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης καὶ τῶν τελῶν τὴν δὲ ἄκραν ἐπιτρέπω τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ ὑμῶν Ἰωνάθη οὓς δ' ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάσῃ πιστοὺς καὶ φίλους τούτους ἐν αὐτῇ φρουροὺς καταστήσαι ἵνα φυλάσσωσιν ἡμῖν αὐτὴν ⁵²καὶ Ἰουδαίων δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας καὶ δουλεύοντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀφήμι ἐλευθέρους κελεύω δὲ μηδὲ ἀγγαρεύεσθαι τὰ Ἰουδαίων ὑποζύγια τὰ δὲ σάββατα καὶ ἑορτὴν ἅπασαν καὶ τρεῖς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρας ἔστωσαν ἀτελεῖς ⁵³τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους ἀφήμι καὶ τοῖς στρατεύεσθαι μετ' ἐμοῦ βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέπω καὶ μέχρις τρισμυρίων ἐξέστω τοῦτο τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ὅποι ἂν ἀπίωσι τεύξονται ὧν καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν στράτευμα μεταλαμβάνει καταστήσω δ' αὐτῶν οὓς μὲν εἰς τὰ φρούρια τινας δὲ περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦμοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡγεμόνας δὲ ποιήσω τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐμὴν αὐλήν ⁵⁴ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ τοῖς πατρώοις χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν καὶ τοῖς τρισὶν τοῖς προσκειμένοις τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ νομοῖς ὑποτάσσεσθαι βούλομαι καὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι ἵνα μηδὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίος ἄλλο ἔχη ἱερὸν προσκυνεῖν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ⁵⁵δίδωμι δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν δαπάνην τῶν θυσιῶν κατ' ἔτος μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα τὰ δὲ περισσεύοντα τῶν χρημάτων ὑμέτερα εἶναι βούλομαι τὰς δὲ μυρίας δραχμὰς ἃς ἐλάμβανον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑμῖν ἀφήμι διὰ τὸ προσήκειν αὐτὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς λειτουργοῦσιν τῷ ἱερῷ ⁵⁶καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἂν φύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα ἢ βασιλικὰ ὀφείλοντες χρήματα ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἀπολελύσθωσαν οὗτοι καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς σώα ἔστω ⁵⁷ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ ἀνακαινίζειν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν γινομένης καὶ τὰ τεῖχη δὲ συγχωρῶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομεῖσθαι καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐγείρειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνιστᾶν πάντα εἰ δέ τι καὶ φρούριόν ἐστιν ὃ συμφέρει τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἰουδαίων ὄχυρόν εἶναι καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν κατασκευασθήτω

³ Josephus and Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera: edidit et apparatu critico instruxit Benedictus Niese.*

1 Macc. 11:18-39 (NRSV):

But King Ptolemy died three days later, and his troops in the strongholds were killed by the inhabitants of the strongholds. ¹⁹So Demetrius became king in the one hundred sixty-seventh year. ²⁰In those days Jonathan assembled the Judaeans to attack the citadel in Jerusalem, and he built many engines of war to use against it. ²¹But certain renegades who hated their nation went to the king and reported to him that Jonathan was besieging the citadel. ²²When he heard this he was angry, and as soon as he heard it he set out and came to Ptolemais; and he wrote Jonathan not to continue the siege, but to meet him for a conference at Ptolemais as quickly as possible. ²³When Jonathan heard this, he gave orders to continue the siege. He chose some of the elders of Israel and some of the priests, and put himself in danger, ²⁴for he went to the king at Ptolemais, taking silver and gold and clothing and numerous other gifts. And he won his favor. ²⁵Although certain renegades of his nation kept making complaints against him, ²⁶the king treated him as his predecessors had treated him; he exalted him in the presence of all his Friends. ²⁷He confirmed him in the high priesthood and in as many other honors as he had formerly had, and caused him to be reckoned among his chief¹ Friends. **²⁸Then Jonathan asked the king to free Judaea and the three districts of Samaria¹ from tribute, and promised him three hundred talents. ²⁹The king consented, and wrote a letter to Jonathan about all these things; its contents were as follows:** ³⁰"King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan and to the nation of the Jews, greetings. ³¹This copy of the letter that we wrote concerning you to our kinsman Lasthenes we have written to you also, so that you may know what it says. ³²King Demetrius to his father Lasthenes, greetings. ³³We have determined to do good to the nation of the Jews, who are our friends and fulfill their obligations to us, because of the goodwill they show toward us. **³⁴We have confirmed as their possession both the territory of Judaea and the three districts of Aphairema and Lydda and Rathamin; the latter, with all the region bordering them, were added to Judaea from Samaria. To all those who offer sacrifice in Jerusalem we have granted release from¹ the royal taxes that the king formerly received from them each year, from the crops of the land and the fruit of the trees.** ³⁵And the other payments henceforth due to us of the tithes, and the taxes due to us, and the salt pits and the crown taxes due to us -- from all these we shall grant them release. ³⁶And not one of these grants shall be canceled from this time on forever. ³⁷Now therefore take care to make a copy of this, and let it be given to Jonathan and put up in a conspicuous place on the holy mountain." ³⁸When King Demetrius saw that the land was quiet before him and that there was no opposition to him, he dismissed all his troops, all of them to their own homes, except the foreign troops that he had recruited from the islands of the nations. So all the troops who had served under his predecessors hated him. ³⁹A certain Trypho had formerly been one of Alexander's supporters; he saw that all the troops were grumbling against Demetrius. So he went to Imalkue the Arab, who was bringing up Antiochus, the young son of Alexander...

1 Macc. 11:18-39 (ed. Rahlfs):⁴

καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ¹⁹καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Δημήτριος ἔτους ἐβδόμου καὶ ἐξηκοστοῦ καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ ²⁰ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις συνήγαγεν Ἰωναθαν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τοῦ ἐκπολεμῆσαι τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν μηχανὰς πολλὰς ²¹καὶ ἐπορεύθησάν τινες μισοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἄνδρες παράνομοι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἰωναθαν περικάθηται τὴν ἄκραν ²²καὶ ἀκούσας ὠργίσθη ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν εὐθέως ἀναζεύξας ἦλθεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰωναθαν τοῦ μὴ περικαθῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ ἀπαντῆσαι αὐτὸν αὐτῷ συμμίσγειν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα τὴν ταχίστην ²³ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν Ἰωναθαν ἐκέλευσεν περικαθῆσθαι καὶ ἐπέλεξεν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ κινδύνῳ ²⁴καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἱματισμὸν καὶ ἕτερα ζένια πλείονα καὶ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Πτολεμαίδα καὶ εὔρεν χάριν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ²⁵καὶ ἐνετύγχανον κατ' αὐτοῦ τινες ἄνομοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους ²⁶καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς καθὼς ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὕψωσεν αὐτὸν ἐναντίον τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ πάντων ²⁷καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα εἶχεν τίμια τὸ πρότερον καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν τῶν πρώτων φίλων ἡγεῖσθαι ²⁸καὶ ἤξιωσεν Ἰωναθαν τὸν βασιλέα ποιῆσαι τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφορολόγητον καὶ τὰς τρεῖς τοπαρχίας καὶ τὴν Σαμαρίτιν καὶ ἐπηγγέιλαι αὐτῷ τάλαντα τριακόσια ²⁹καὶ εὐδόκησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔγραψεν τῷ Ἰωναθαν ἐπιστολὰς περὶ πάντων τούτων ἐχούσας τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ³⁰βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωναθαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν καὶ ἔθναι Ἰουδαίων ³¹τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἐγράψαμεν Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν περὶ ὑμῶν γεγράφαμεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅπως εἰδῆτε ³²βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν ³³τῷ ἔθναι τῶν Ἰουδαίων φίλοις ἡμῶν καὶ συντηροῦσιν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δίκαια ἐκρίναμεν ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι χάριν τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐνοίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ³⁴ἔστακαμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Αἰφαιρεμα καὶ Λυδδα καὶ Ραθαμιν προσετέθησαν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς πᾶσιν τοῖς θυσιάζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀντὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὧν ἐλάμβανεν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρότερον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γεννημάτων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων ³⁵καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἀνήκοντα ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τῶν δεκατῶν καὶ τῶν τελῶν τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἀλὸς λίμνας καὶ τοὺς ἀνήκοντας ἡμῖν στεφάνους πάντα ἐπαρκέσομεν αὐτοῖς ³⁶καὶ οὐκ ἀθετηθήσεται οὐδὲ ἐν τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ³⁷νῦν οὖν ἐπιμέλεσθε τοῦ ποιῆσαι τούτων ἀντίγραφον καὶ δοθῆτω Ἰωναθαν καὶ τεθῆτω ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἀγίῳ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ ³⁸καὶ εἶδεν Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἠσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἀνθιστήκει καὶ ἀπέλυσεν πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον πλὴν τῶν ξένων δυνάμεων ὧν ἐξενολόγησεν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἤχθραναι αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων ³⁹Τρύφων δὲ ἦν τῶν παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ πρότερον καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις καταγογγύζουσιν κατὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς Ἰμαλκουε τὸν Ἄραβα ὃς ἔτρεφεν Ἀντίοχον τὸ παιδάριον τὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

⁴ Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*.

Ant. 13.121-131 (transl. Whiston):⁵

But Jonathan the high priest levied an army out of all Judaea, and attacked the citadel at Jerusalem, and besieged it. It was held by a garrison of Macedonians, and by some of those wicked men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers.¹²² These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as depending on its strength; but some of those wicked men went out by night, and came to Demetrius, and informed him that the citadel was besieged;¹²³ who was irritated with what he heard, and took his army, and came from Antioch, against Jonathan. And when he was at Antioch, he wrote to him, and commanded him to come to him quickly to Ptolemais:¹²⁴ **upon which Jonathan did not stop the siege of the citadel, but took with him the elders of the people, and the priests, and carried with him gold, and silver, and garments, and a great number of presents of friendship, and came to Demetrius, and presented him with them, and thereby pacified the king's anger. So he was honoured by him, and received from him the confirmation of his high priesthood, just as he had possessed it by the grants of the kings his predecessors.**¹²⁵ And when the Jewish deserters accused him, Demetrius was so far from giving credit to them, that when he petitioned him that he would demand no more than three hundred talents for the tribute of all Judaea, and the three toparchies of Samaria, and Peraea, and Galilee, he complied with the proposal, and gave him a letter confirming all those grants; whose contents were as follows:¹²⁶ King Demetrius to Jonathan his brother, and to the nation of the Jews, sends greetings. We have sent you a copy of that letter which we have written to Lasthenes our kinsman, that you may know its contents.¹²⁷ **King Demetrius to Lasthenes our father, sends greetings. I have determined to return thanks, and to show favour to the nation of the Jews, which has observed the rules of justice in our concerns. Accordingly, I remit to them the three districts, Aphairema, and Lydda, and Ramatha, which have been added to Judaea out of Samaria, with what appertains to them;**¹²⁸ as also what the kings my predecessors received from those who offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and what else belongs to us; with the salt pits, and the crowns that used to be presented to us. Nor shall they be compelled to pay any of those taxes from this time on. **Take care, therefore, that a copy of this letter be taken, and given to Jonathan, and be set up in an eminent place of their holy temple.**"¹²⁹ And these were the contents of this writing. And now when Demetrius saw that there was peace everywhere, and that there was no danger, nor fear of war, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and diminished their pay, and even retained in pay no others than such foreigners as came up with him from Crete, and from the other islands.¹³⁰ However, this procured him ill will and hatred from the soldiers; on whom he bestowed nothing from this time, while the kings before him used to pay them in time of peace, as they did before, that they might have their goodwill, and that they might be very ready to undergo the difficulties of war, if any occasion should require it.¹³¹ Now there was a certain commander of Alexander's forces, an Apanemian by birth, whose name was Diodotus, and was also called Tryphon, took notice the ill will of the soldiers bore to Demetrius, and went to Malchus the Arabian, who brought up Antiochus, the son of Alexander, and told him what ill will the army bore toward Demetrius, and persuaded him to give him Antiochus, because he would make him king, and recover for him the kingdom of his father.

⁵ Josephus and Whiston, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*.

Ant. 13.121-131 (ed. Niese):⁶

Ἰωνάθης δ' ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν ἔχουσαν Μακεδονικὴν φρουρὰν καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τινὰς καὶ πεφευγόντων τὴν πάτριον συνήθειαν ¹²²οὔτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατεφρόνουσιν ὧν Ἰωνάθης ἐμηχανᾶτο περὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν πεπιστευκότες τῇ ὀχυρότητι τοῦ χωρίου νυκτὸς δὲ τινες τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πονηρῶν ἐξελθόντες ἦκουσιν πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρας ἐμήνυσαν ¹²³ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἠγγελεμένοις παροξυνθεὶς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἦκεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Πτολεμαίδι γράφει κελεύων αὐτὸν σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα ¹²⁴ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν οὐκ ἔπαυσεν τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ πλῆθος ξενίων κομίζων ἦκεν πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον καὶ τούτοις δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν θεραπεύει τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει βεβαίαν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καθὼς καὶ παρὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἐκέκτετο ¹²⁵κατηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν φυγάδων ὁ Δημήτριος οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαλέσας αὐτὸν ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπάσης καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰόππης καὶ Γαλιλαίας τριακόσια τελεῖα τάλαντα δίδωσιν καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐπιστολάς αἱ περιεῖχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ¹²⁶βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἔγραψα Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν ἀπεστάλακαμιν ὑμῖν ἵνα εἰδῆτε ¹²⁷βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ἔθνει ὄντι φίλῳ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλάττοντι τῆς εὐνοίας ἔκρινα χάριν παρασχεῖν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαίρεμα καὶ Λύδδα καὶ Ῥαμαθαῖν οἳ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ προσετέθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τὰ προσκυροῦντα τούτοις ¹²⁸ἔτι τε ὅσα παρὰ τῶν θυόντων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐλάμβανον οἳ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ προσήκοντα ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς λίμνας τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ τοὺς κομιζομένους ἡμῖν στεφάνους ἀφήμι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδὲν παραβιβασθήσεται τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φρόντισον οὖν ἵνα τούτων ἀντίγραφον γένηται καὶ δοθῇ Ἰωνάθῃ ¹²⁹καὶ ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τόπῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἱεροῦ τεθῆ τὰ μὲν δὴ γραφέντα ταῦτα ἦν ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος εἰρήνην οὖσαν καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον μηδὲ πολέμου φόβον ὑπάρχοντα διέλυσε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν ἐμείωσεν καὶ μόνοις τοῦτον ἐχορήγει τοῖς ξενολογηθείσιν οἳ συνανέβησαν ἐκ Κρήτης αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων ¹³⁰ἔχθρα τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ καὶ μῖσος ἐκ τούτου γίνεται παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἷς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐκέτι παρείχεν οἳ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπ' εἰρήνης χορηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως διετέλουν ἵν' εὐνοοῦντας ἔχωσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγῶσιν εἰ δεήσειεν ποτε προθύμους ¹³¹Ἀμέλει ταύτην νοήσας τὴν δύσνοιαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς Δημήτριον Ἀλεξάνδρου τις στρατηγὸς Ἀπαμεὺς τὸ γένος Διόδοτος ὁ καὶ Τρύφων ἐπικληθεὶς παραγίνεται πρὸς Μάλχον τὸν Ἀραβὰ ὃς ἔτρεφε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὴν δυσμένειαν τὴν τῶν στρατευμάτων πρὸς Δημήτριον ἔπειθεν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον βασιλέα γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσειν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκαταστήσειν

⁶ Josephus and Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera: edidit et apparatu critico instruxit Benedictus Niese*.

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