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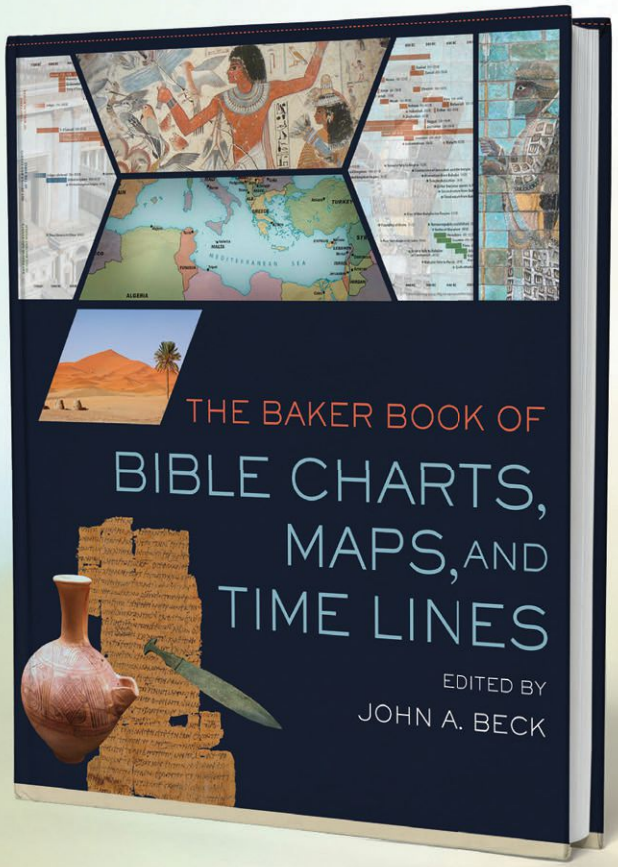

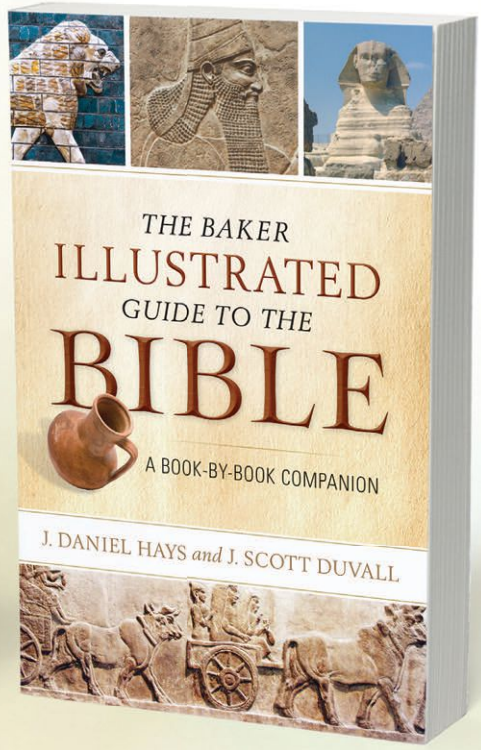

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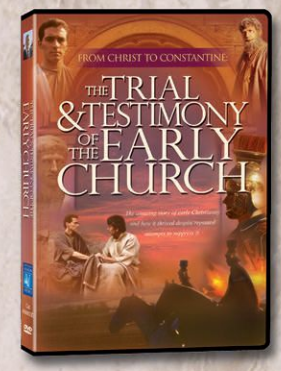

This informative series of six half-hour programs, produced in consultation with an international team of scholars, takes you to the actual locations to show what the early church was like, how it spread, and the persecution it endured. Host for the award-winning series is Steve Bell. Actors Nigel Goodwin, Russell Boulter, and Jane Campion dramatize leading figures and events from the early church. The six programs are Foundation, Spread, Accusation, Persecution, Testimony, and Transition. Included on the DVD in PDF are a leader's guide, student handouts, program scripts, and a script of an early church document, *Octavius of Minucius Felix*. Documentary, 3 hours.

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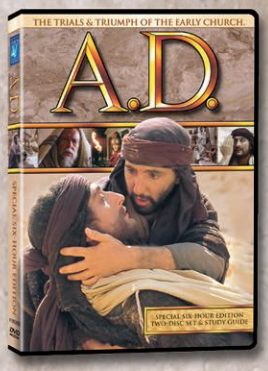
A.D.



A.D. vividly recreates the turbulent years following the death of Christ. The earliest experiences of the Christian church after Jesus' ascension are powerfully dramatized in this remarkably authentic TV miniseries epic covering the years A.D. 30-69. This Biblically and historically accurate drama comes complete with a 56-page study guide in PDF, providing a 12-week course. Performances from an all-star cast, together with the scope of the project, make this great Bible-based family entertainment. This Vincenzo Labella production features Anthony Andrews, Colleen Dewhurst, Ava Gardner, David Hedison, John Houseman, Richard Kiley, James Mason, Susan Sarandon, Ben Vereen and many others. Drama, 6 hours.

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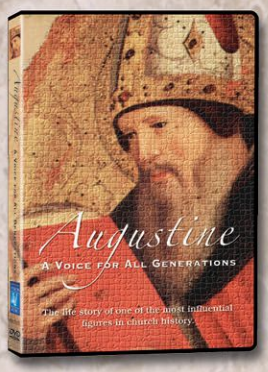
Augustine: A Voice for All Generations



Augustine of Hippo (354-430) is one of the greatest theologians of the Christian Church. His works, including *The City of God, On the Trinity,* and *Confessions,* have had an inestimable impact on the Church and, by extension, on Western Civilization at large. Yet, where did such faith begin? After rejecting his mother's Christianity as simplistic and restraining, Augustine embarked on a path towards self-gratification, marked by the pursuit of money, political power, and sexual pleasure. Hosted by Augustine expert Mike Aquilina and shot on location in Rome and Milan, this documentary travels back to the fourth century to discover why Augustine has become a "Voice for All Generations." Documentary, 55 minutes.

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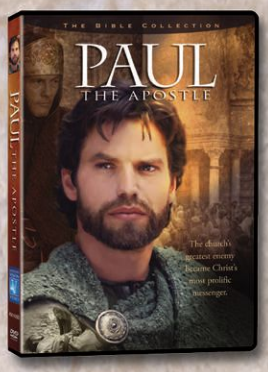
Paul the Apostle



From the Emmy award-winning director Roger Young (*Joseph* and *Jesus*) comes the spectacular story of Paul the Apostle. This augmented adaptation, largely based on the biblical account, profiles Christ's most prolific messenger. Paul, originally known as Saul of Tarsus, was at the forefront of efforts to stamp out the early church until Jesus stopped him on the road to Damascus, forever changing his life and mission. He joyfully faced persecution, imprisonment, and peril in order to share the love and redemption offered by Christ.

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PHOTO: © MELISSA AJA/LEON LEVY EXPEDITION

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Hershel Shanks
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COURTESY OF NATAN SLIFKIN

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ON THE WEB

Bible Animals: From Hyenas to Hippos

biblicalarchaeology.org/bibleanimals

Lions and crocodiles and monkeys, oh my! There are about a hundred different types of animal species mentioned in the Bible. In a Bible History Daily guest post, Rabbi Dr. Natan Slifkin, Director of the Biblical Museum of Natural History in Israel, discusses the animals of the Bible, including some that are no longer present in the region today.

DANNY ROSENBERG

Find a Dig

biblicalarchaeology.org/digs

Find a Dig offers detailed information about dozens of excavations seeking volunteers. We provide expanded descriptions of each dig, including location, director biographies, historical and Biblical significance and goals for the upcoming season. Along with excavation information, download the free eBook *I Volunteered for This?!*—a collection of informative, amusing and touching articles by dig volunteers.

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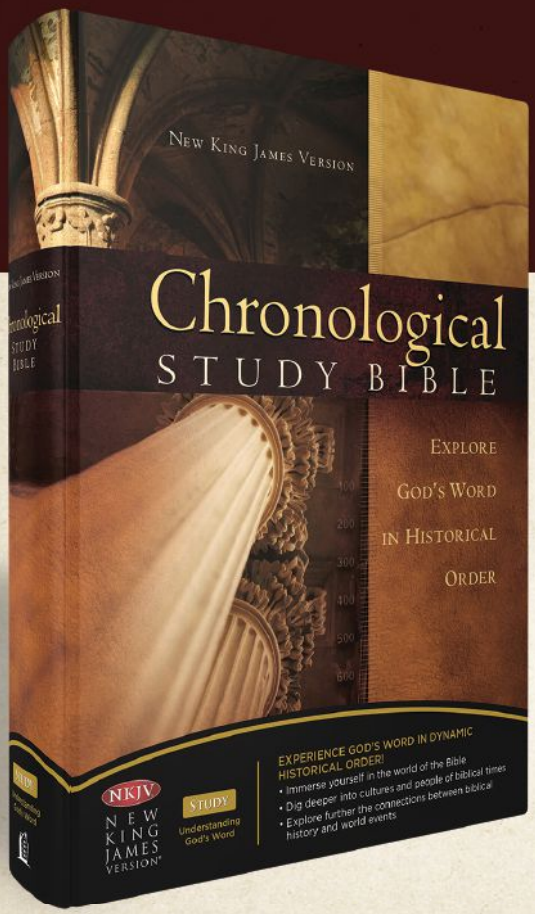
1895 BC
Isaac is born
(Gen 21:2,5)

1275 BC
Moses leads the
exodus (Ex 12:31, 37)

5 BC
Jesus is born
(Matt 1:24, 25)

30 AD
Jesus ascends
to heaven
(Luke 24:51)

56 AD
Paul writes to
the Romans



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Joseph Naveh's *gedenkschrift* snubs two eminent Near Eastern paleographers.

Gedenkschrift

Regardless of how critical you may be of these First Person columns, I think you will learn something from this one that you did not know. If you know what a *gedenkschrift* is, you can stop reading. If you know a little German, you can easily figure it out.

A festschrift is a volume of papers honoring, usually, a highly respected senior scholar. Etymologically it is a "festive writing." If the honoree has passed away, however, it is a *gedenkschrift*, etymologically a "memorial writing," honoring and expressing thanks for the scholar's memory.

Very recently the Israel Exploration Society published a *gedenkschrift* honoring the memory of Joseph Naveh, Israel's leading paleographer who died in 2011 at the ripe old age of 83 (I am 86). (Ada Yardeni wrote a moving obituary for him in **BAR**.*)

Glancing over the table of contents, I noticed at least two surprising omissions: contributions from Robert Deutsch and André Lemaire, both eminent Near Eastern paleographers.

Well, you may say, Robert Deutsch is also an antiquities dealer, which, in some minds, is close to—perhaps worse than—prostitution. But that is partially how Deutsch knows so much; he sees it all. He also holds a Ph.D. from Tel Aviv University and serves as the editor of the *Israel Numismatic Journal*. On the other hand, he was a defendant in the so-called "forgery trial of the century," involving, among many other things, the famous "brother of Jesus" inscription.** But he, like other defendants, was wholly acquitted after a 10-year trial. Recently Deutsch filed a $3 million lawsuit against the Israel Antiquities Authority, which brought the lawsuit against him despite the contrary recommendation of the police. In his verdict, the trial judge said of Deutsch: "[He is] an honest and decent businessman, professional and experienced, who has advised many people without demanding any financial return."

Perhaps Deutsch can be regarded as controversial. But this cannot be said of André Lemaire, a long-time star paleographer of the Sorbonne. Most professional paleographers would regard Lemaire as on a level with Naveh himself.

I decided to make a few discreet phone calls to see if I could find out the reason for these strange omissions. After all, nearly 30 distinguished scholars from around the world had contributed essays to this volume, so I should have no trouble finding out why Deutsch and Lemaire had been omitted.

It did not take me long. The volume had begun as a festschrift and was transformed into a *gedenkschrift* when Naveh passed away. When he was still living, however, he had left instructions that he did not want contributions from Lemaire or Deutsch to be included in the volume.

If you ever wondered if sophisticated, highly educated paleographers like Joseph Naveh (and archaeologists in general) tussle as do lesser lights, think again.

There is another side, however. Yossi Naveh, as he was universally known, was a Holocaust survivor and a special kind of Israeli immigrant who forged the character of the new nation of Israel. He was born in Ukraine and, at 16, was taken to Auschwitz by the Nazis. "He survived the death camp, the work camps and the death marches."[1] After the war, he spent a year in a displaced persons camp. He then made aliyah to Israel aboard an illegal immigrant ship. He fought in Israel's War of Independence and was wounded in the Galilee.

Life is complex.—**H.S.**

*For Joseph Naveh's obituary, see Ada Yardeni, Strata: "Milestones: Joseph Naveh (1928–2011)," **BAR**, March/April 2012.

See "The Storm over the Bone Box," **BAR, September/October 2003; Suzanne F. Singer, Strata: "Defendants Acquitted in Forgery Trial," **BAR**, May/June 2012; Strata: "Looking Behind the Forgery Trial of the Century," **BAR**, January/February 2015; Hershel Shanks, "Predilections: Is the 'Brother of Jesus' Inscription a Forgery?" **BAR**, September/October 2015; Hershel Shanks, First Person: "'Brother of Jesus' Inscription—Authentic or a Forgery?" **BAR**, July/August 2016.

[1] This account is taken from an introduction to the *gedenkschrift* by Shaul Shaked, who expresses his gratitude to Shmuel Ahituv for much of the information. See *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies. Joseph Naveh*, vol. 32 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2016).

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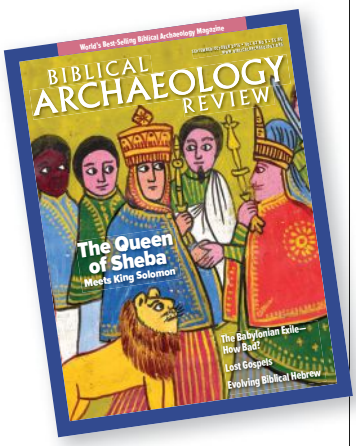

Continued "use" of cuneiform! Titles in unexpected places in ancient manuscripts!

BAR RELEASED BEHIND BARS

BAR Wins "Obscenity" Case

A classic painting of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden by the famous 16th–17th-century painters Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder was declared obscene by California prison authorities. ***BAR*** *contained a copy of this painting, and the entire issue was accordingly withheld from California prisoners (see Queries & Comments,* ***BAR****, September/October 2016).*

BAR *appealed the decision, and the California ruling was reversed by the California Department of Adult Institutions. The issue of* ***BAR*** *has been released to California prisoners.*—**Ed.**

INQUIRING READERS WANT TO KNOW...

Why Not Look?

"Where Is the Land of Sheba" by Bar Kribus (**BAR**, September/October 2016) says that Ethiopians believe that the real Ark of the Covenant resides within the Chapel of the Tablet in Aksum, Ethiopia. Why not look inside and see if the Ark is there?

DICK MARTI
TIFTON, GEORGIA

Bar Kribus Responds: *The contents of the Chapel of the Tablet are one of Ethiopia's best-kept secrets. Only one man is allowed access—a monk who serves as guardian of the Ark. He holds the post for life and is the only one to see inside the chapel. The compound is guarded—and for good reason. Any attempt to break into the chapel would be a violation of the sanctity of the place and an affront to the tradition of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.*

To comprehend why, we must understand the function and symbolic importance of the object within the chapel. This object (which, according to Ethiopian tradition, is the Ark of the Covenant), is known by the Ge'ez term "Tabota Tsion" or "Tabot of Zion." The Ge'ez word "tabot" is parallel to the Hebrew word "teivah" (Ark). The word "Zion" has a complex spiritual meaning in Ethiopian Orthodox theology and is, among other usages, used to refer to the Ark of the Covenant.

The importance, in Ethiopian Orthodox theology, of the presence of the Ark of the Covenant in Aksum cannot be overestimated: It is seen as demonstrating that the Ethiopian people have been chosen by God as the new people of Israel, and it served as a source of legitimacy of the Ethiopian emperors of the Solomonic dynasty (1270–1974). By virtue of its presence in Aksum, the town is considered a "new" Jerusalem, Ethiopia's holiest city in the eyes of its Christian population.

Needless to say, Ethiopian Orthodox believers do not require proof that the Ark is in Aksum. For them it is a matter of faith. Throughout the years, many non-Ethiopians have been intrigued by the Ethiopian claim of possession of the Ark. A number of popular and scholarly attempts have been made to understand the nature of the object inside the chapel. Opinions vary, and it is probable that the mystery will remain an enigma for many years to come.

Babylonian and Biblical Questions

Two recent **BAR** pieces puzzle me. The first, "How Bad Was the Babylonian Exile?" by Laurie E. Pearce (**BAR**, September/October 2016), refers to cuneiform tablets that were inscribed somewhere around the time of the Judean exile (sixth century B.C.E.). Does anyone know why an advanced civilization continued to use clay tablets and cuneiform (both of which seem clumsy ways of recording information) when their rivals and those whom they conquered had already switched to alphabets and papyrus?

My second question regards Biblical Views: "Reading the Bible Through Ancient Eyes" by Richard L. Rohrbaugh (**BAR**, September/October 2016). Given Dr. Rohrbaugh's argument that Jesus' parable of the slaves and talents has been taken out of its historical and cultural context, what does

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he think Jesus was saying to the people who heard him?

ROD STEFFES
OMAHA, NEBRASKA

Laurie E. Pearce Responds: *From its first use in the late fourth millennium B.C.E., cuneiform was employed as a writing system for more than three millennia in the ancient Near East; the latest cuneiform text can be dated to 79 C.E. Although the characteristic wedge-shaped signs could be incised by professional carvers into stone monuments, cuneiform inscriptions were most frequently produced by scribes who used a stylus to impress the wedge-shaped logographic and syllabic signs, representing words and sounds, respectively, into clay tablets. The riverine environment of Mesopotamia ensured the availability of clay as an inexpensive medium. Papyrus was not native to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and in the more humid climate of Mesopotamia, the writing material it produced could not have endured as it did in arid Egypt.*

From at least the eighth century B.C.E. on, evidence for the use in Mesopotamia of alphabetic scripts exists both on clay and pliable media. In the Assyrian Empire, short notices inked in Aramaic script appeared together with cuneiform inscriptions on clay tags used for administrative purposes. Painted decorations and bas reliefs at numerous Assyrian palaces illustrate cuneiform scribes and alphabetic scribes working alongside each other; each holds the medium and tools for his respective task.

The continuing use of Babylonian cuneiform under Persian and Hellenistic rule may be understood both as a politically astute strategy and as a means of perpetuating a social identity. The early Persian kings used cuneiform as the language and script of administration in the satrap of Babylon both because there existed no written form of the Old Persian language, and because they recognized that maintaining linguistic and epigraphic continuity in the bread basket of the Achaemenid Empire would contribute support for and stability in the new regime.

*Although cuneiform use declined dramatically by the period of Seleucid rule, from 331 to 64 B.C.E., members of traditional urban elite families of Babylon and Uruk continued to produce cuneiform literary and scientific texts and to record the sales of land and prebendary income [Look it up—***Ed.***] as a means of maintaining their elite social status.*

Richard L. Rohrbaugh Responds: *Scholars have long recognized that all language, including the language in stories such as the parables, is dependent on context for its meaning. For example, think of the English word "hot." It means one thing in the desert, another on a basketball court and yet another in a strenuous argument. Add to that the fact that we do not know the* specific *context of* any *of the parables of Jesus. Each of them is placed in the context*

CONTINUES ON PAGE 59

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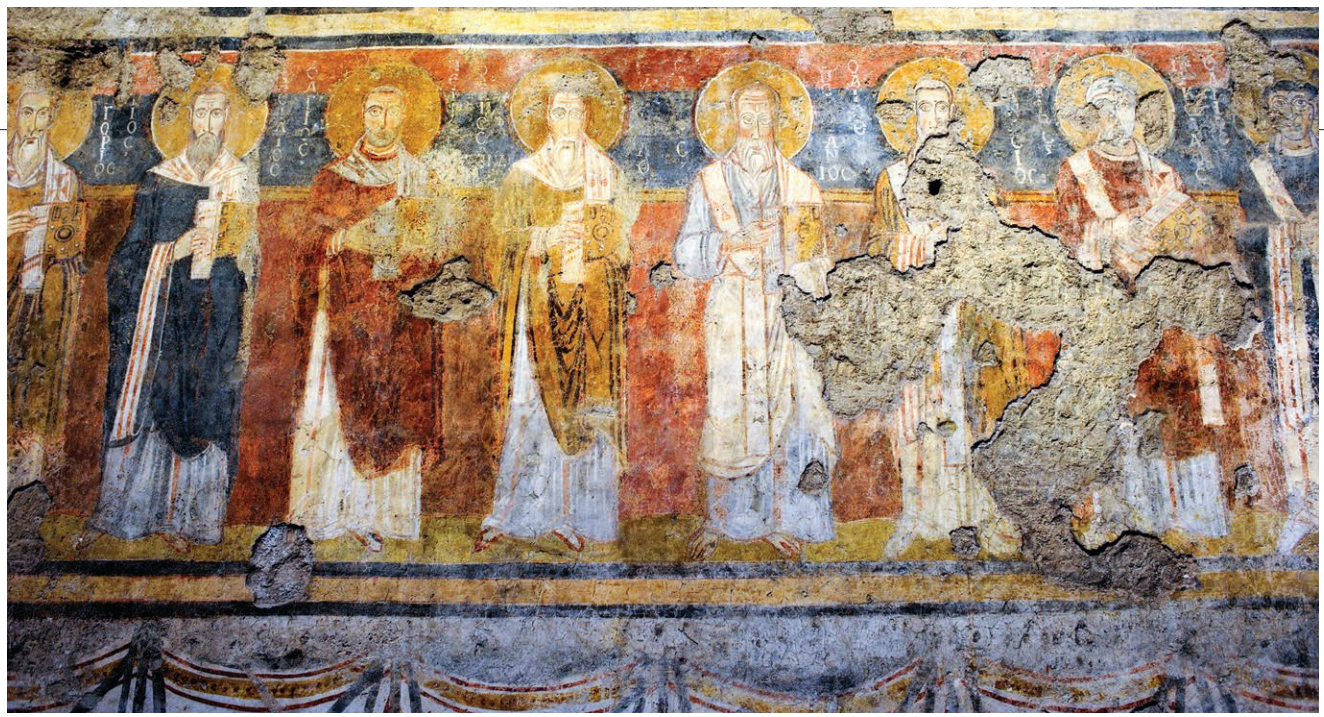

VITO ARCOMANO/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

GIANNI DAGLI/THE ART ARCHIVE AT ART RESOURCE, NY

Rome's Other Sistine Chapel

In 847 C.E. the Santa Maria Antiqua Church in Rome, known as the "Sistine Chapel of the Early Middle Ages," was buried by an earthquake. It was not rediscovered until 1900 by archaeologists.

This entombment meant that the church was preserved from later modifications and alterations, especially during the Counter-Reformation when such renovations were popular. So the church provides a rare sampling of pure early Christian art and iconography. Itself a modification of a Domitian Imperial building, it was originally constructed in the first century C.E. and later repurposed as a church with a central nave and presbytery. Nestled at the bottom of Palatine Hill in the ancient Roman Forum, the sixth-century church contains a plethora of frescoes. The main ones were painted under the direction of Pope Martin I, pontiff between 649 and 655.

For more than 30 years, these stunning historical works have been closed to the public as a team of highly skilled art restorers returned them to their former glory. After all this time, the church is finally resurrected and open to receive visitors.

THE SANTA MARIA ANTIQUA Church in Rome (left) features frescoes (above) of saints, martyrs, queens, popes and emperors. Many of these frescoes were restored at a cost of nearly $3 million over a period of more than 30 years.

Senior BAR Scholarships—Juniors Too

The Biblical Archaeology Society is now accepting applications for the 2017 Yigael Yadin Fellowship and Joseph Aviram Fellowship that will allow scholars to attend the annual meetings of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) and the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), held in the same city each November. The 2017 meetings will be in Boston. The fellowships' stipend of up to $2,500 each is intended to cover the cost of the winners' travel expenses.

The **Yigael Yadin Fellowship** enables a "retired" senior scholar to attend and give a paper at ASOR or SBL. The fellowship honors Yigael Yadin, Israel's most famous and distinguished archaeologist, who passed away in 1984. The **Joseph Aviram Fellowship** brings Israeli scholars to the United States to participate in the annual scholarly meetings of ASOR or SBL. The fellowship honors Joseph Aviram of the Israel Exploration Society (IES). Aviram, at age 100, remains president of the IES; he has been associated with the society for nearly eight decades.

Fellowships were awarded to Professor Bezalel Porten of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for his paper "Akkadian Names in Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt," which was presented at SBL 2015; to Dina Shalem of Kinneret Academic College on the Sea of Galilee for her paper "Secondary Burial in the Chalcolithic Period: A Social Viewpoint," at ASOR 2015; and to Shlomit Bechar, Itamar Weissbein and Shifra Weiss—all of whom are pursuing degrees at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem—for their papers at ASOR 2016. Bechar, who is working with Amnon Ben-Tor at the Tel Hazor excavations, presented a paper titled "The MB–LB Transition: Architectural Evidence from Tel Hazor." Weissbein, working under the supervision of Yosef Garfinkel, gave the paper "The Recently Discovered Late Bronze Age Temple at Tel Lachish." Weiss, who is also working with Garfinkel, presented a paper called "The Judean Shephelah in the Seventh Century B.C.E. in Light of New Results from Tel Lachish."

Further, Mordechai (Motti) Aviam of Kinneret Academic College on the Sea of Galilee received a grant to speak in September 2016 at the Synagogue in Ancient Palestine conference, held in Helsinki, Finland. Aviam's paper discussed supporting a regional typology of ancient synagogues in Israel.

In addition, the Biblical Archaeology Society is offering the **Hershel Shanks Prize**—up to $2,500—for the best paper on the Archaeology of Late Antique Judaism and the Talmudic Period presented at the 2016 annual meetings of ASOR and SBL. This prize was originally supported by a gift from Sami Rohr of Bal Harbour, Florida, who insisted on our calling it the Hershel Shanks Prize, so we called it the Hershel Shanks Prize supported by Sami Rohr. When Mr. Rohr passed away, we asked his three children if we could then change the name to the Sami Rohr Prize. They, however, wished to do just as their father would have done, and so it is now called the Hershel Shanks Prize supported by the legacy of Sami Rohr.

Yigael Yadin and Joseph Aviram Fellowships

Applications for the Yigael Yadin and Joseph Aviram Fellowships should be submitted to the Biblical Archaeology Society, publisher of **BAR**, by September 1, 2017, and should include a *curriculum vitae*, a brief description of the subject of the paper, and an indication of past presentations at the ASOR and SBL meetings. Please send these materials by email to bas@bib-arch.org or by mail to:

Yigael Yadin/Joseph Aviram Fellowships
Biblical Archaeology Society
4710 41st Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016
USA

Hershel Shanks Prize

A copy of the nominated paper may be sent to the Biblical Archaeology Society by January 31, 2017. Email submissions to bas@bib-arch.org with "Hershel Shanks Prize" in the subject line or mail to:

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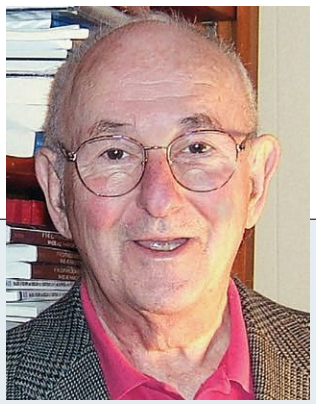
WHO DID IT?

Who coined the term **"Biblical archaeology"?**

ANSWER ON P. 58

MILESTONE

JACOB NEUSNER (1932–2016)



COURTESY BARD COLLEGE

Soon after his death on October 8, 2016, at age 84, obituaries of Jacob Neusner appeared in the international press, including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Tablet*, *Tikkun* and the *Times of Israel*. These obituaries outline his life, highlighting the scholarly productivity that made him the most published author in any language (with more than a thousand books), his devotion to his accomplished wife, children and their families, and—of course—his profound impact on the study of Judaism.

All of that is on the mark and yet does not address the substance of his contribution; still less does it explain why adjectives such as "controversial," "irascible" and "pugnacious" appear in the usually anodyne genre of obituary.

Inquirers have asked me in the past, "Which *one* of Jacob Neusner's books should I read to understand him?" My reply has depended on the interests of the colleague who asks. But if the question is posed to me now, I will have to answer by referring to three books. Other works might be equally appropriate, but by keeping the range of his research in mind, the substance of Neusner's work comes into focus.[1] Some of the passions he has provoked appear less a matter of temperament and more a function of provocative scholarship.

Jacob Neusner shows his devotion to both texts and history in *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus: The Tradition and the Man*.[2] His perspective departs from traditionalist interpretation, and Neusner found himself accused of using methods that had been deployed during the Third Reich. He remarked that this was an "argument from Hitler's dog." His reasoning was that such criticisms "would prohibit all of us from eating sauerkraut and loving our dogs because Hitler ate the one and loved the other. Well, I do not like sauerkraut. But that does not make me a better Jew. And, also, I love my dog, and I am not a Nazi on that account."[3] Controversy in this case, as in others, only seemed to galvanize Neusner.

He embarked on the campaign of translation with colleagues and students so as to render the Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmud in a way that opened the literature to analytic work. If these works are to be appreciated, Neusner insisted, they must be rendered into direct forms of English in a way that permits their relationship to one another and their sources to be laid bare. The massive project required experimentation and a programmatic refusal to harmonize one document with another. The result of that was more controversy, and to this day his translations are a topic of dispute—even among those who have not mastered the relevant languages. The cause of that, more than anything else, was his refusal of traditional harmonization in favor of analytic comparison. That comparison brought him to write *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*,[4] his step beyond the history of the text. Here he interests himself in the issue of how Judaism is a religion, rather than simply a textual repository. Intellectual and emotional engagement, ethical norms and ritual practices are all involved in the Mishnah, as in the case of any religious literature.

Finally, in *The Theology of the Oral Torah: Revealing the Justice of God*,[5] he sets out the principles embodied within rabbinic literature: that God shapes creation along the Torah's plan, that paradigms of human relations and Israel's condition are reflected in the Torah and that restoration to a perfect embodiment of God's plan remains a promise. Discussion continues over whether this approach represents a departure in Neusner's thought or the articulation of an orientation inherit in his career from the outset.

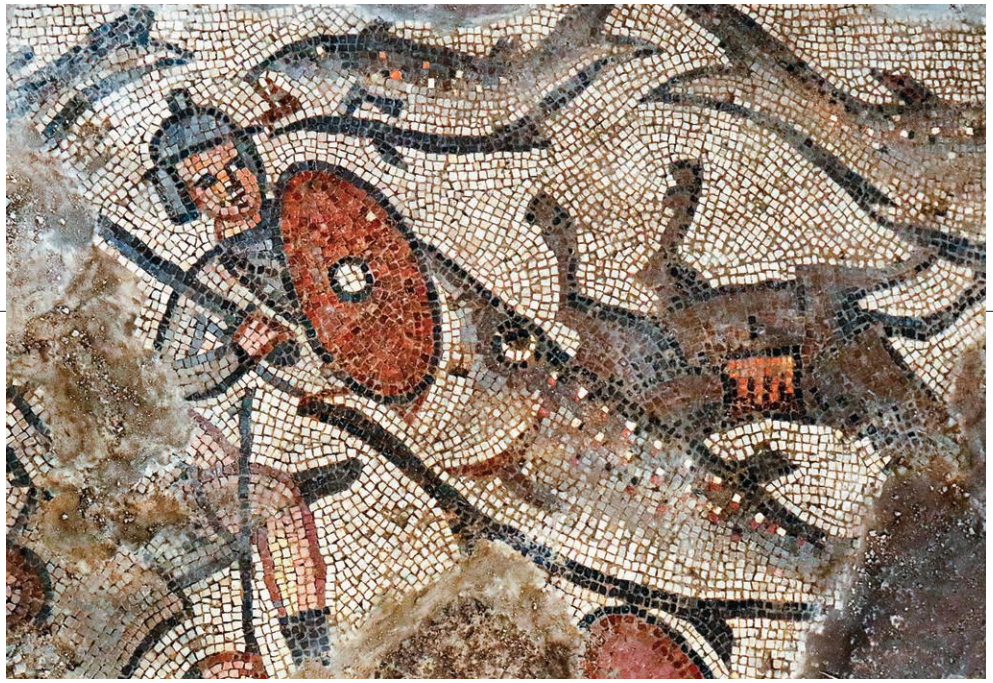
As he framed this intellectual itinerary, Jacob Neusner actively engaged students and colleagues, and he pursued the connections of his discipline into other scholarly areas—into both academic politics and the public arena. Through all those pursuits, he maintained seemingly boundless energy, generosity and critical acumen—all with this taste for controversy. Sometimes it might have seemed to **BAR** readers that he was out of sympathy with archaeological approaches, but in fact he appreciated scholarship in the field (e.g., the discussion demonstrating that Bethlehem in Galilee, as distinct from the place of the same name in Judea, was a Jewish settlement during the first century). He was wary and sometimes acerbic when archaeology was used to give the impression that Biblical or rabbinic documents are direct historical reports, a fault he excoriated in the work of any scholar.

In this and other debates, Neusner maintained a focused appreciation that rabbinic literature is a literature (rather than a unitary body of doctrine or history), that Judaism is a religion (rather than ethnic folklore) and that theology is a critical discipline (rather than pious opinion). In every project that he and I undertook, for example, whether in the classroom or on the page, we regularly disagreed over whether the tradition prior to our documents was better seen as atoms (his view) or as strings, over whether religion is independent of history (his view) or embedded in history

and over whether theology is a collective (his view) or individual concern. These are profound differences, and we often mused whether they were related to the fact that one of us was principally a scholar of Judaism and the other of Christianity. Such differences were too important to be demeaned with controversy. They still demand serious investigation—in the confidence that attending to divergences in terms of history, religious pattern and theology will result in insight. That remains a living program.—**Bruce Chilton**

Bruce Chilton collaborated with Jacob Neusner in writing several books, among them Jewish-Christian Debates: God, Kingdom, Messiah, *which won a Choice Award from the American Theological Library Association in 1998.*

[1] For discussion, see William Scott Green, "Jacob Neusner's Legacy of Learning," in Alan J. Avery-Peck, Bruce Chilton, William Scott Green and Gary G. Porton, eds., *A Legacy of Learning: Essays in Honor of Jacob Neusner*, Brill Reference Library of Judaism 43 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 3–9; Aaron Hughes, *Jacob Neusner: An American Jewish Iconoclast* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 2016).
[2] In the series Studies of Judaism in Late Antiquity III, IV (Leiden: Brill, 1973).
[3] Jacob Neusner, *Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament: What We Cannot Show, We Do Not Know* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994), p. 163.
[4] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
[5] (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1999).



JIM HABERMAN

More Mosaics at Huqoq

LARGE FISH eat some of Pharaoh's soldiers in this unique take on the iconic parting of the Red Sea.

While excavating a new section in the ruins of the central area of a fifth-century C.E. synagogue at Huqoq, Israel, archaeologists exposed a bear's hind leg and, soon after, a leopard chasing a gazelle. As the team moved to the east, they uncovered pairs of animals marching into a large boat. The scene depicts Noah's ark (Genesis 6:19–20).

Next the excavators turned to the south and discovered Egyptian soldiers gripping their shields and spears while the fish-filled waters of the Red Sea descend on them, their horses and their chariots—the Exodus from Egypt (Exodus 14:26).

Previous mosaic depictions of these scenes lack the detail of those found at Huqoq, according to excavation director Jodi Magness, the Kenan Distinguished Professor for Teaching Excellence in Early Judaism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In past seasons at Huqoq, the eastern aisle of the synagogue yielded mosaics of Samson (Judges 15:4; 16:3), a Hebrew inscription and a meeting of men accompanied by soldiers and war elephants.*

*See Jodi Magness, "Samson in the Synagogue," **BAR**, January/February 2013; Jodi Magness, Scholar's Update: "New Mosaics from the Huqoq Synagogue," **BAR**, September/October 2013.

DO YOU REMEMBER WHAT THIS IS?

A Stepping stool

B Animal pen

C Castle turret

D Altar

E Doorstop

ANSWER ON P. 58

ZEV RADOVAN/BIBLELANDPICTURES.COM

Tweeting the Bible

The most translated book in human history, the Bible, can add one more language to its list—emoji (pictographs used in electronic messages). What began as some fun with an online text translator has turned into a popular Twitter account (@BibleEmoji), website (www.BibleEmoji.com) and now book, *Bible Emoji: Scripture 4 Millenials* (intentionally misspelled).

The author wishes to remain anonymous due to concerns over critics' reactions. While many motives have been ascribed to him, and he has been accused of conspiracy from both the left and the right, he claims he is neither mocking the Bible nor out to target youth conversions. "I don't think many people do a good job of understanding the Bible in context," explains the author. "What makes emojis so great and part of the symbolism I wanted with this project is that emojis are universal in the strictest sense. Emojis have no gender, no race and no agenda."[1]

The Twitter account remains light and fun by avoiding the more sensitive and violent parts of the Bible (though these all appear in the book), and the website that allows users to participate in the creation process serves as a "public proofread."

[1] Liam Stack, "Emoji Bible Translates Scripture into Smileys," *New York Times*, June 2, 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/06/03/business/media/the-word-of-god-now-available-in-emoji.html.

THEN AND NOW

JOHN GREGORY DRUMMOND

Luxurious Lavatories

In Mesopotamia, as in most of the ancient world, the more money you had, the more luxurious your house and lifestyle could be. This applied to the toilet as well. As early as the third millennium B.C.E., royal palaces and the homes of the elite had indoor lavatories, which consisted of a seat placed over a terracotta drainage pipe. The pipe would carry human waste out of the house through an ingenious system of drains that ran under the streets—similar to modern sewers. Lavatories such as this were never experienced by the ordinary person, who did not even have access to public latrines. The masses were left to their own devices and would typically leave the city and create their own cesspits in orchards or fields.

Centuries later, the situation for Israelites was very similar to that of the ancient Mesopotamians. Two latrines discovered in the City of David excavations in Jerusalem reveal the wealthy had access to their own private toilets. Dating to the time just before Jerusalem fell to Nebuchadnezzar (586 B.C.E.), these facilities were intended to serve both men and women and involved a single slab of local limestone with two holes—one for defecation, one for male urination—placed over a cesspit lined with plaster. Again, as in Mesopotamia, the average person would not have had access to this type of luxury and would have had to make do with areas outside of the city.

Public lavatories intended for use by the ordinary person became prevalent during the Roman period. In the city of Rome alone, 144 public latrines are known from later Roman sources, although few archaeological remains have been discovered. At Ostia—one of Rome's port cities—public latrines were long pieces of stone (or another material such as wood) that had a series of holes in the top (see above image). Used water from the public baths ran below the latrines to flush away waste. Men and women would go together, and often using the facilities became a social experience—a place to catch up on local gossip.

In modern times, the experience has become much more individualized. Yet public restrooms still retain their functionality as a place to gather and chat, many even including a seating area with couches.

One Man's Trash, an Archaeologist's Treasure

Is the cure for your illness in the Oxyrhynchus papyri? Maybe if you have an eye disease, fever, ulcers or hemorrhoids. In the 80th volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2014), Marguerite Hirt, David Leith and W. Benjamin Henry published the largest collection of medical papyri to date. The volume, including manuscripts of Hippocrates, Dioscorides and Gallen, provides insight into what these Greco-Roman writers believed about medicine.

The Oxyrhynchus papyri, named after the ancient city (modern El-Bahnasa, Egypt) where they were dumped, were discovered by two Oxford graduate students who followed local rumors about Greek manuscripts and excavated an ancient trash heap.* They uncovered more than 500,000 papyri between 1897 and 1907. Works by Herodotus, Plato and Livy have been found alongside a large collection of Christian apocrypha. One hundred years have passed since the initial discovery, and less than 10 percent of the papyri have been translated. In all probability more treasure will arise from this trash.

*See Stephen J. Patterson, "The Oxyrhynchus Papyri," **BAR**, March/April 2011.

EXHIBIT WATCH

From the Days of King David

The duel between David and Goliath. David's Israelite kingdom. Solomon's Temple and palace.

These Biblical subjects are some of the most famous in the Hebrew Bible, and now, thanks to recent excavations at the site of Khirbet Qeiyafa, we can understand them a little better. Archaeologist Yosef Garfinkel thinks that Qeiyafa in the Elah Valley is the Biblical site Sha'arayim, which is mentioned in the narrative of David and Goliath (1 Samuel 17:52). Incredible artifacts from this site are on display—many for the first time—in the exhibit **In the Valley of David and Goliath** at the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem.

THROUGH FALL 2017
Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem
Jerusalem, Israel
www.blmj.org

As a fortified site from the late 11th century through the early 10th century B.C.E., Qeiyafa stood on the Israelite side of the border between the Philistines and the Israelites. If it is indeed Sha'arayim, then it became part of the Kingdom of Israel under David's rule (according to 1 Chronicles 4:31) and went out of use shortly thereafter. An absence of Philistine pottery and pig bones supports the idea that this was an Israelite site.

MUSEUM PR

Although it appears that the site was no longer occupied by the time of King Solomon, it still sheds light on aspects of his reign. For instance, one of the most intriguing discoveries from the site is a model of a shrine (left). The triple-recessed doorframe of this model gives us an idea of what the doorways in King Solomon's Temple and palace in Jerusalem may have looked like.*

*See Madeleine Mumcuoglu and Yosef Garfinkel, "The Puzzling Doorways of Solomon's Temple," **BAR**, July/August 2015.

biblicalarchaeology.org/exhibits For more on this exhibit and others, visit us online.

CARTOON CAPTION CONTEST

CARLTON STOIBER

"Not only will we keep kosher, but I've seen the future, and vegan is all the rage!"

— Chris Stanley, Yelm, Washington

Thank you to all those who submitted caption entries for our September/October 2016 cartoon (above), based on Daniel 1:8–16. We are pleased to congratulate Chris Stanley of Yelm, Washington, who wrote the winning caption, and our runners-up:

"Jesus must have been here again. There's plenty of wine."

— Michael Aaron Knight, Sugarloaf, California

"But I ordered a pizza!"

— Toni Randall, Ivins, Utah

Write a caption for the cartoon below (see Acts 28:3–4), and send it to us by mail or online on our website (see box below):

BAR Cartoon Caption Contest
Biblical Archaeology Society
4710 41st Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016

Be sure to include your name and address. The deadline for entries is January 31, 2017. The author of the winning caption will receive a copy of the BAS book *The Origins of Things*, a BAS tote bag and three gift subscriptions to give **BAR** to friends. Runners-up will receive a BAS tote bag and two gift subscriptions.

CARLTON STOIBER

biblicalarchaeology.org/captioncontest

- See additional caption entries for this month's featured cartoon.
- Submit a caption for our new cartoon.
- Check out past cartoons and captions.
- Send us your ideas for Biblical scenes that would make good cartoons for future contests.

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Archaeological Remains in Holy Sepulchre's Shadow

Jonathan Klawans

Jerusalem is full of fabulous sites. If you are lucky enough to have been there, you know this is a very visceral place. This new **BAR** feature is meant to highlight slightly out-of-the-way sites, however. These are places you may have missed on your first (or even your second) visit, but that may be worth your time when you are lucky enough to make it back.

The Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem is one such site. If you've been to Jerusalem's Old City, you've seen the building at least from a distance: Its bell tower dominates the Old City skyline. If you have ever walked the *Via Dolorosa*—the traditional 14 Stations of the Cross, starting from just inside St. Stephen's Gate in the Muslim Quarter and ending with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Christian Quarter—you have walked right by the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer. It was on your left as you made your way toward the Holy Sepulchre between Station 9 (Jesus' third fall) and Station 10 (the dividing of Jesus' garments). But it is quite likely that you walked right by; after making nine stops on the way to the Holy Sepulchre, who has time for a tenth? (Stations 10 through 14 are located within the compound of the Holy Sepulchre.)

If you haven't been there, the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer is indeed worth a stop.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER
Jerusalem, Israel

First, the church is worth seeing for what it is: an impressive example of late 19th-century neo-Romanesque architecture. This church was completed for Kaiser Wilhelm's famous 1898 pilgrimage to Jerusalem (the one for which the Ottoman ramparts were breached and opened near Jaffa Gate).

If you have little interest in 19th-century church architecture, you should visit the church for a second reason: the bell tower. If you are willing to pay a small fee and exert some serious effort climbing 178 spiral staircase steps, you can take in fabulous unobstructed views of Jerusalem. You can even look down on the domes of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. But don't worry—if climbing those stairs is not for you, there are more riches in store.

Indeed, the primary reason **BAR** readers should not miss this site is for the archaeological remains visible throughout.

The modern structure was erected on the site of an earlier Crusader church,

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Love Is Strong as Death—but Don't Spend the Family's Wealth

Philip Stern

THE SONG OF SONGS (or Song of Solomon) from the Hebrew Bible is a love song beyond compare—although it has been compared to everything. Some have deemed it ancient pornography. Others have sung its praise. In the second century C.E., Rabbi Akiva called it the "holy of holies."*

Saadia Gaon, a prodigious tenth-century scholar and rabbi, observed that Song of Songs resembles a locked door to which the key is missing. However, I believe that the key to understanding the Song is near at hand:

> 6 Set me as a seal upon your heart,
> As a seal upon your arm.
> For strong as death is love,
> Harsh as the netherworld (Sheol) is passion.
> Her flames are flames of fire,
> a mighty blaze.
>
> 7 Torrents of water cannot extinguish love,
> Rivers cannot sweep it away!
> [Yet] if a man were to expend
> all the wealth of his house for love,
> [People] would surely heap scorn upon him.
> (Song of Songs 8:6–7, author's translation)

Although the translation "strong as death" in verse 6 is long established—going back to the earliest translation we have, the Greek Septuagint (c. 150 B.C.E.)—I would add the nuance, "fierce."[1] "Fierce" has the advantage of being a good parallel to "harsh," and both "fierce" and "strong" are definitions available to the Hebrew reader. Both characterize the attitude toward love of the Song.

Scholars have long tangled with this passage. An example of a scholar armed with erudition and insight, yet who comes to a startling conclusion, is that of Aren Wilson-Wright of the University of Texas at Austin.[2] To Wilson-Wright, "the Song identifies love with the most powerful force in the Israelite imagination—YHWH, the divine warrior." Wilson-Wright uses the comparative method, using texts from within and outside of the Hebrew Bible. However, if you read the Song itself, you realize that Wilson-Wright is wrong. The Song has almost no mention of war, divine or otherwise, and it never uses that ubiquitous Hebrew name of God, YHWH. Wilson-Wright can come to his conclusion only by ignoring the end of the passage, "Yet if a man were to expend all the wealth of his household for love, people would surely heap scorn upon him," which strongly militates against the idea that the poet is making a statement about love as the God of Israel.

There is thus one thing that love does not overpower among the common people, and that is money—a startlingly modern sentiment. Yet the poet probably says this wryly, as something he or she (some scholars believe a woman wrote the book[3]) deplores, based on the attitude toward love manifested in the entirety of this little Biblical book.

The sentiment in the last line of the Song quoted above has the ring of a proverb, and we may compare it to Proverbs 6:30–31. (The words in italics are found in the Hebrew of both Proverbs and Song of Songs):

> [People] should not *despise* the thief who steals
> to fill his gullet because he is starving.
> But if he is caught he shall pay sevenfold;
> he shall *expend all the wealth of his house.*
> (Proverbs 6:30–31, author's translation)
>
> [Yet] if a man were to *expend all the wealth of his house* for love,
> [People] would surely *despise* him.
> (Song of Songs 8:7b, author's translation)

Although the topic in Proverbs is different from the verse in the Song, the overlap in language is striking. The Song has been considered wisdom literature. Yet if we compare it to books that are clearly in the wisdom genre—namely Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes—we see that while the Song here and elsewhere has a connection to wisdom, it is in a class by itself. Where else in the Bible can you find lines

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*Richard S. Hess, "Song of Songs: Not Just a Dirty Book," *Bible Review*, Winter 2005; Jack M. Sasson, "Unlocking the Poetry of Love in the Song of Songs," *Bible Review*, Spring 1985.

Mount Zion's Upper Room and Tomb of David

David Christian Clausen

One of the most fascinating tourist sites in Jerusalem is a building that stands atop Mount Zion, the southwest hill of Old Jerusalem. The lower story of this unique building is traditionally identified as the Tomb of David and the upper story as the room of Jesus' Last Supper. What is the historical evidence for these claims? How likely is it that these sacred sites are actually located on Mount Zion, let alone in this specific building? Can archaeology help answer these questions?

The location of the burial place of King David seems clear in Biblical accounts. The Book of 1 Kings tells of David's burial in the City of David (1 Kings 2:10), later known as the Lower City. The early fourth-century B.C.E. Book of Nehemiah agrees (Nehemiah 3:14–16). Tosefta *Baba Bathra* (c. third century C.E.) also knows the tomb to be near the Kidron Valley,[1] and it apparently was still thought to be there by the time of Maimonides (1135–1204).[2] It was only later, in line with Christian claims, that Muslims and Jews began to venerate the location of David's tomb on Mount Zion. The general view of scholars is that the Mount Zion of the Bible is the southeastern hill upon which the formerly Jebusite City of David stood. It was toward the end of the Second Temple period that Mount Zion came to be identified with the western hill as it still is today. Evidence for this change comes in part from Josephus (c. 30–100 C.E.) who, in his later years, (mis-)characterized the western hill as the stronghold of King David (Josephus, *Jewish War* 5.137; *Jewish Antiquities* 7.62–63).

Archaeologist Raymond Weill excavated a number of ornate tombs in the City of David (1913–1914) among which may be that of the great king of Israel.* On the other hand, the earliest literary record for the presence of a tomb belonging to King David on the western hill is found in the anonymous *Vita Constantini* (*Life of Constantine*) roughly dated to the tenth century C.E.[3] After the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem, Latin Christians recorded that "tombs" belonging to David, Solomon and the early Christian martyr Stephen were found on Mount Zion.[4] Whether this reference was to actual tombs, such as the *kokhim* type found all around Jerusalem, or simply to empty sarcophagi (cenotaphs) that can still be seen in the building today, is uncertain.

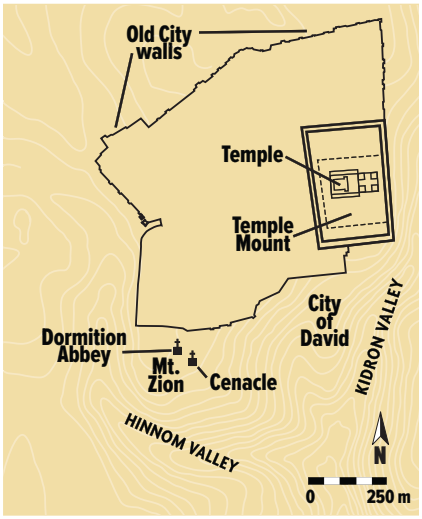
Connecting the site with Jesus' Last Supper presents different problems. Unlike the location of David's burial, the place of the Last Supper is never specifically identified in the Bible—although one presumes it was in Jerusalem, since the first three Gospels describe it as a Passover meal. Also, the literary record associating the location of the meal with the western hill goes back only to the fourth century.[5] There is nothing in the Bible to connect the location of Jesus' Last Supper with David's tomb.

Other events from the New Testament are also traditionally located in the Upper Room/Tomb of David building (hereinafter referred to as the Cenacle, which is derived from the Latin *cēnāculum*, meaning "upper room"): appearances by the risen Jesus, the selection of Matthias as an apostle and the first Christian Pentecost. Fourth-century pilgrims began to celebrate these events on Mount Zion, but unfortunately their accounts are often unclear in which building the events were commemorated. Were the pilgrims describing the building we see today in its original form? Or did they mean to indicate the large Hagia Sion ("Holy Zion") Basilica

Aerial photograph of the Upper Room and Tomb of David.

DAVID CHRISTIAN CLAUSEN

*This identification is disputed. See Jeffrey R. Zorn, "Is T1 David's Tomb?" **BAR**, November/December 2012.



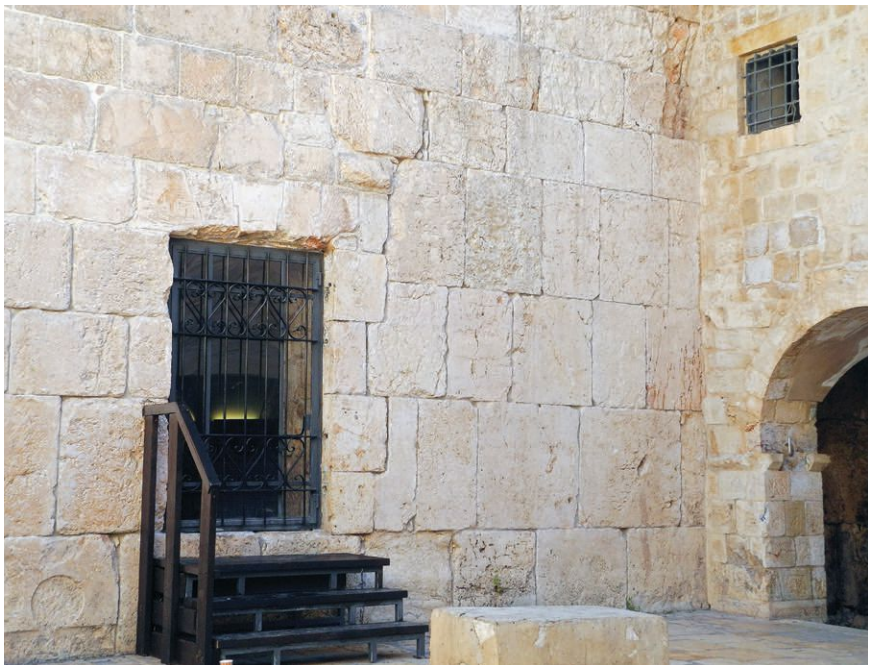
constructed in the late fourth century and located near where the current Dormition Abbey stands in Jerusalem? The accounts leave us in doubt as to whether the Cenacle was a structure that predated the Hagia Sion.

According to some scholars, the Cenacle came first.** They suggest that the building was originally a two-story Jewish or Jewish-Christian synagogue. Proponents of this view date its construction to sometime in the first few centuries C.E. Evidence for the existence

Jacob Pinkerfeld, Bargil Pixner, Rainer Riesner, Richard Mackowski, etc. See Bargil Pixner, "Church of the Apostles Found on Mt. Zion," **BAR, May/June 1990.

DAVID CHRISTIAN CLAUSEN

In the north wall of the first-floor Tomb of David is a niche, which is visible behind the cenotaph. Is this evidence of the building's origins as a synagogue?



DAVID CHRISTIAN CLAUSEN

The earliest ashlars of the Upper Room/Tomb of David building—dated to either the Herodian or Byzantine period—can be seen here in this exterior wall.

of such a synagogue, some suggest, is found in the works of fourth-century writers Optatus of Milevus, Epiphanius of Salamis and the anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux.[6] This structure, some propose, served as the first apostolic church and may have even been the site where Jesus dined with his disciples. If this view is correct, the little synagogue was later honored with the construction of the Hagia Sion next door. Evidence for the two adjacent structures can be seen, for example, in the sixth-century floor mosaic found in Madaba, Jordan.

Other scholars disagree and suggest that the Cenacle that stands today is simply the remaining southeast corner of the Hagia Sion.[7]

Can archaeology help to support or refute either of these conflicting proposals? The lowest foundation stones, or ashlars, of the Cenacle should give us the date of the original building. Unfortunately, scholars disagree not only over the date in which the ashlars were hewn but also the time at which they were used in this building. Despite their disagreement over the ashlars' Herodian or Byzantine origins, scholars do seem to agree that they were not cut for the Cenacle but for an earlier structure and reused here. If Herodian, the ashlars may have belonged to another building that stood prior to the Jewish-Roman war of 70 C.E., become rubble after the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and later used in the construction of the Cenacle. If the ashlars are Byzantine, however, we must wonder under what circumstances a fourth-century building would be so quickly destroyed as to make the stones available once again for constructing the Hagia Sion.

In addition, it seems that archaeological evidence supporting the origin of the building as a synagogue is weak. Early proponents of this view pointed to the large eight-foot-high niche in the original north wall, now visible behind the cenotaph of David, which they identified as a Torah niche. Challenges to this view are numerous.[8] The niche, standing 6 feet above the floor, is quite unlike most niches found in early synagogues—its

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Digging Through Time

Ellen White

You decided you want to pick up a trowel and excavate the Bible, but, like picking up the book itself, you have to choose where to start. If you want to start at the beginning, you will have some difficulty in deciding where to start digging. If you want to find remains from the time of King David, then you need an early Iron Age site. But perhaps you want to excavate a street on which the apostle Paul might have strolled—then you better look for a Roman-period excavation.

Time periods provide context to archaeological excavations, right down to the level of individual squares. "Archaeology brought history to life for me," Michael Doll, Tell Halif volunteer and junior at William Jessup University, mused about his experience excavating the Iron Age. "Digging through the strata, you are literally going back in time and shedding light on things that have been buried for thousands of years."

So what are these periods that divide human history as it relates to Israel and the Levant, a region in the eastern Mediterranean that includes all or part of Cyprus, Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Turkey?

The archaeology of the Levant begins with the Stone Age (1,000,000–3300 B.C.E.), which consists of the Paleolithic (1,000,000–8300 B.C.E.), Neolithic (8300–4500 B.C.E.) and Chalcolithic (4500–3300 B.C.E.) periods. The Stone Age is largely defined as when humans began making stone tools and weapons with a sharp edge or point—without the use of metal. While important human developments, such as the cultivation of fire and the invention of pottery, arose during this period, it mostly predates what is generally thought of as Biblical archaeology.

This of course does not mean that the Stone Age is not excavated in Israel. For example, Tel Tsaf,

CLEANING UP her square at Tell Halif, William Jessup University student Nicky Mut pauses in her work.

COURTESY OF CYNTHIA SHAFER-ELLIOT

Scholarship Opportunities

The Biblical Archaeology Society, publisher of BAR, offers scholarships of $1,500 every year to people who would otherwise not be able to volunteer. To apply, simply send a letter to BAS Dig Scholarships, 4710 41st St., NW, Washington, DC 20016, or send it by email to bas@bib-arch.org, stating who you are, where and why you want to excavate, and why you should be selected for a scholarship. List your mailing address, phone number and email, as well as the names, addresses, email address and phone numbers of two references. Applications must be received by March 14, 2017.

Thank You

The BAS Dig Scholarship program is made possible by the generous contributions of donors. Our sincere thanks to the following people, who supported the 2016 volunteers:

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COURTESY OF THE JEZREEL EXPEDITION

SCRAPING BY. Almond Sin, a Ph.D. student at Vanderbilt Divinity School, uses a hoe to scrape loose soil and stones into a bucket at Jezreel.

directed by Danny Rosenberg of the University of Haifa and Florian Klimscha of the German Archaeological Institute of Berlin, is focused entirely on the Middle Chalcolithic period. "There are no Biblical references associated with Tel Tsaf," explains recent University of Sydney graduate Sarah Carter, "and being a prehistoric site, the only accessible history is the one that archaeologists have constructed and continue to construct from the material remains." Despite this, the Stone Age could form the backdrop for some of the legends in the Bible's primeval history (Genesis 1–11).

Because many archaeological sites in Israel arose in the Bronze Age, it wouldn't be hard to conclude that Biblical archaeology also begins with the Bronze Age (3300–1200 B.C.E.). The Bronze Age is divided into three sub-divisions: Early (3300–2200 B.C.E.), Middle (2200–1550 B.C.E.) and Late (1550–1200 B.C.E.). A civilization is considered to be from the Bronze Age either because it smelts its own copper, creates a copper alloy—bronze—or it trades such products. This is also the period in which writing emerges in the Near East, specifically in Mesopotamia (cuneiform) and Egypt (hieroglyphic). Biblically this period provides the setting for the books of Genesis (starting in chapter 12) through Judges.

The setting behind Abraham and the early Founding Families narratives in the Bible (Genesis 12–25) would be the Early Bronze Age (or, alternatively, the Middle Bronze Age). From excavations, such as the one being conducted by Norma Franklin of the University of Haifa and Jennie Ebeling of the University of Evansville at Jezreel, we can gain insight into some of the cultic practices that took place in the "Promised Land" at the time. "I was aware of the general history of the site and its significance in the Biblical narrative," states Emily

COURTESY OF THE JEZREEL EXPEDITION

WASHING THE DISHES. Every dig in Israel needs to clean its pottery sherds to look for diagnostic pieces, but volunteers on the Jezreel Expedition get to kick their shoes off and dip their feet in the spring of Jezreel while doing this daily task.

Stewart, a recent graduate of the University of Evansville. "Such information provides meaningful context either to be disproved or affirmed by the archaeological record." For example, the Jezreel team in 2016 discovered a large standing stone—usually used to represent a deity in the ancient Near East—with restorable pottery that yielded contents for laboratory testing. According to the directors, "even in the [Early Bronze Age], the standing stone once stood on the summit of the site."*

*Jennie Ebeling and Norma Franklin, "Jezreel Expedition 2016: Jezreel Through Time," *Bible History Daily* (blog), originally published on July 7, 2016.

Tel Hazor, under the direction of Ammon Ben-Tor and Shlomit Bechar of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is known from the Bible as the most important city in the region during the Bronze Age (Joshua 11:10). "I was unaware of the pivotal role Hazor played during this period, specifically, its influence and connection to the rest of the ancient world," first-time undergraduate volunteer Jilian Bernstein from the University of King's College in Halifax, Nova Scotia, recounted. "Our time digging at Hazor was supplemented with lectures. This added cultural context to what we were digging and cleaning. Knowing the role the tell played in the Biblical world made finding small personal effects, such as a gold earring, all the more interesting, as it added a personal lens to a grand narrative."

Occupied during the Bronze and Iron Ages, the site identified as the Biblical town Abel Beth Maacah in northern Israel (2 Samuel 20:14; 1 Kings 15:20;

2 Kings 15:29) is being excavated under the direction of Robert Mullins of Azusa Pacific University, Nava Panitz-Cohen of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (HUJ) and Naama Yahalom-Mack of HUJ. A silver hoard found in a small jug, dating to the 13th century B.C.E., the end of the Late Bronze Age (making it one of the earliest of its kind), paired with mundane material culture flesh out the picture of daily Canaanite life. Because of its location on the northern border of modern Israel, this site has the potential to shed light on relations among the Canaanites, Arameans, Phoenicians and Israelites in the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Following the Bronze Age is the Iron Age (1200–586 B.C.E.), which is defined by a transition from tools made out of bronze to iron (although stone and bronze continued to be used). In the Iron Age there is also large-scale advancement in literary productivity and the dominance of alphabetic scripts. The Iron Age represents the period in which Israel as a nation is born, thrives and loses its independence. The Iron Age I (1200–1000 B.C.E.) roughly equates to the emergence of the nation through the establishment of the monarchy; the Iron Age II (1000–586 B.C.E.) covers the period of the monarchy to the Babylonian Exile.

ABEL BETH MAACAH ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

DELIGHTED TO DIG. Izaak de Hulster, a specialist in ancient iconography and a professor at the University of Helsinki in Finland, swings his pickaxe at Abel Beth Maacah.

ARTICULATING ASHKELON. Tom Nakata, a student at Harvard University, uses a carved chopstick to articulate a skeleton in the 10th–9th-century B.C.E. Philistine cemetery at Ashkelon (right, top). Adam Aja exposes the hand and arm of a young child wearing two bronze and one iron bracelets in the Ashkelon cemetery using a sculpting tool (right, bottom). Aja is the Assistant Curator of Collections at the Harvard Semitic Museum and the Assistant Director of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon. He oversaw the excavations of the cemetery in 2016—the final season of the expedition.

According to the Bible, over the span of 800 years, Israel transformed from a loose tribal federation to a monarchy under King Saul. The capital was moved to Jerusalem by King David, and the wise king Solomon built a Temple there during his reign. The Israelites experienced civil war, and the nation divided into the Northern Kingdom of Israel, which was destroyed by the Assyrians in 722 B.C.E., and the Southern Kingdom of Judah, which was conquered by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E. when they finally overthrew Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple (2 Kings 25:9). In a series of three deportations, 4,600 elite Judahites found themselves taken into captivity in Babylon (Jeremiah 52:28–30).

Timna plays an essential role in this period, as a large copper mining and smelting site. Recent radiometric and paleomagnetic dating by Tel Aviv University's Central Timna Valley Project (CTV) has redated Timna to a predominantly early Iron Age site—bringing back the possibility that these were "King Solomon's mines." As long-time staff member and Tel Aviv University graduate student Ilana Peters tells us, "Previous to our survey and excavations, it was not known that there had been such extensive Iron Age copper smelting activity throughout the Timna Valley." Spirits were far from dampened by this new information: "Every day in the field gives us an opportunity to discover remains that can help us better understand the ancient metallurgic industry," says Aaron Greener, the Ernest S. Frerichs Fellow and Program Coordinator at the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research.

Excavations are also shedding light on ancient Israel's enemies, including the Philistines. "Modern excavations at the Philistine sites of Ashdod, Ekron,

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COURTESY OF CYNTHIA SHAFER-ELLIOT

COURTESY OF CYNTHIA SHAFER-ELLIOT

ABOVE: As the sun comes up over Tell Halif, Emory University student Harrison Beliberg carries away buckets of dirt from the sift.

LEFT: "Touching history with my own hands was one of the greatest experiences I could hope for," exclaimed Michael Doll, a junior at William Jessup University and Tell Halif volunteer. In his hand, Doll displays an Iron Age II cosmetic bowl he excavated.

COURTESY OF THE MEGIDDO EXPEDITION

Ashkelon and Gath (Tell es-Safi)—four city-states of the Philistine Pentapolis—have demonstrated that the Philistines brought their own distinctive types of pottery, building styles, weapons, jewelry and weaving with them when they settled on the southern coast of what became Israel around the 12th century B.C.E.," says **BAR** Managing Editor Megan Sauter, who took part in her fifth season at Ashkelon.* This picture is further expanded by a major Philistine cemetery excavated at Ashkelon. The 2016 excavations also illuminated the destruction of Philistine Ashkelon at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, in 604 B.C.E.

When the Persian ruler Cyrus the Great conquered the Babylonian empire in the sixth century B.C.E., he allowed the Israelite exiles to return home (538 B.C.E.). He also allowed the Jerusalem Temple to be rebuilt. This is referred to as the Persian period (586–332 B.C.E.).

At Tell Halif—perhaps Biblical Rimmon—many Persian/Hellenistic figurines were unearthed. How do we date these clay mold-made figurines? By the style of the figurine. In earlier periods they had exaggerated features, but the use of molds in the Persian period allowed for proper proportions, and this is therefore a defining feature for the images made in the Persian period—a process that was

*Megan Sauter, "First-Ever Philistine Cemetery Unearthed at Ashkelon," *Bible History Daily* (blog), originally published on July 10, 2016.

HARD AT WORK. The volunteers and staff members at Tel Megiddo go through the daily dig routine as they excavate the squares on this famous mountain, the place where the armies of light are to gather before the final battle, according to Revelation 16:16.

perfected in the Hellenistic period.

"For the Persian period, the identification of the site has interesting ramifications," explains Tell Halif team member Tim Frank of the University of Bern. "According to Nehemiah (Nehemiah 11:29), Jews returning from the Babylonian Exile settled in Rimmon. The question then arises as to how [Israelite religion] moved from very little cultic depiction in the Iron Age to this plethora of figurines in the Persian period."

Alexander the Great conquered the area in 332 B.C.E., marking the end of the Persian period. Alexander's death begins the Hellenistic period (323–31 B.C.E.), when Greek culture spread throughout the conquered lands.

Situated high above the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, Hippos-Sussita was founded in the mid-second century B.C.E. by the Seleucids, later becoming one of the ten cities of the Decapolis. "While excavating, I was very aware of the history behind the site as it informed how the excavation was conducted," says Tabitha Williams, a graduate student at Carlton University in Ottawa, Canada. "This mattered to me because it provided context while excavating, leading to a greater understanding of the finds and the site itself." The archaeology of the site reveals long-lasting Greco-Roman traditions that extended beyond the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

DIG SITES 2017

These are the 2017 dig opportunities. Visit **www.biblicalarchaeology.org/digs** for additional information, including a full description of each site, the excavation's goals for the coming season, important finds from past seasons, Biblical connections and profiles of dig directors. The right archaeological expedition for you is just a click away!

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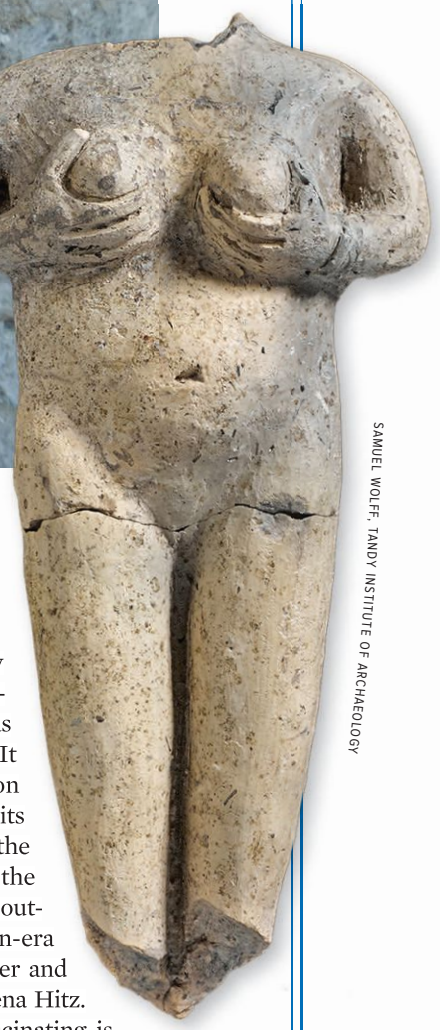


SAMUEL WOLFF, TANDY INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

DELICATE WORK. Lycoming College student Emily Anderson carefully excavates a figurine at Tel Gezer. The figurine might have been attached to a cult stand and is estimated to date to the 10th century B.C.E.

The Roman period in the Levant spans c. 37 B.C.E. to 324 C.E. The Romans appointed local regents to rule for them in Judea. The most famous of them was Herod the Great, who, although often despised by the people, was a major architectural force. He rebuilt the Temple in Jerusalem, built the palace-fortresses at Masada, Herodium and elsewhere, and created the major port at Caesarea Maritima.

During the Roman period, an itinerant teacher was born, ministered and died; his name was Jesus. His followers debated his teachings for many centuries after his death, and some believed he was the longed-for messiah who would start a political revolution. Some of his followers also wrote down stories about him, and some of these stories became the New Testament. Though this religion began as a splinter group of Judaism, it soon emerged as Christianity.

Beyond the Jesus movement, other Jewish locals were not any happier under Roman rule. Two major Jewish revolts occurred: the First Jewish Revolt in 66–70 C.E., which resulted in the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, and the Second Jewish Revolt, led by Simon Bar-Kokhba, which was crushed in 135 C.E. Jews were banned from Jerusalem, and Sepphoris, a Roman town with a distinctly Jewish presence, became the new home of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish religious court.

Magdala, the hometown of Mary Magdalene in the Bible, is historically important in modern times as well as in the first century C.E. It is the first Mexican-led excavation to receive a permit in Israel, and its director, Marcela Zapata-Meza of the Anahuac University of Mexico, is the first Mexican woman to lead a dig outside of Mexico. "Magdala is a Roman-era city, but a Jewish one," says volunteer and St. John's College faculty member Zena Hitz. "Part of what makes the site so fascinating is the interaction and the tension between these two cultures. The archaeologists think the city—or a big part of it—was abandoned when the First Jewish rebellion was crushed. So we find, on the one hand, Roman coins (I found one!) and, on the other, stone walls hastily set up in city streets to keep out Roman soldiers."

With the legalization of Christianity in 313 C.E., followed by the death-bed conversion of Emperor Constantine in 337 C.E., the Byzantine period

COURTESY OF ZENA HITZ

COURTESY OF ZENA HITZ

"LOOK WHAT I FOUND," Zena Hitz, a professor at St. John's College in Maryland, proudly proclaims of this Roman coin she excavated at Magdala.

(324–634 C.E.) begins. Although the period comes after the New Testament was written, many of the Christian apocryphal texts were penned during this time.

These diverse time periods serve as a helpful guide to the past, but they can also contain as much mystery as clarity.

"It is astonishing how interesting dirt becomes when you look at it carefully," concludes Zena Hitz. "But in the end you have to live with a lot of mystery and uncertainty. Why is this wall here rather than there? What kind of building was it, and where is the rest of it? Why are there animal bones in this place? Why is this stone in this shape? A volunteer like me can ask the experts, but the experts often live with even more mystery than we do! But whoever these people were, the human beings of the past who lived and worked in this place made and touched and destroyed these things. Even in the most apparently boring pile of dirt and rocks, there's a profound connection with the past even in the midst of all of our ignorance."

Qeiyafa's Unlikely SECOND GATE

Yosef Garfinkel, Saar Ganor and **Joseph Baruch Silver**

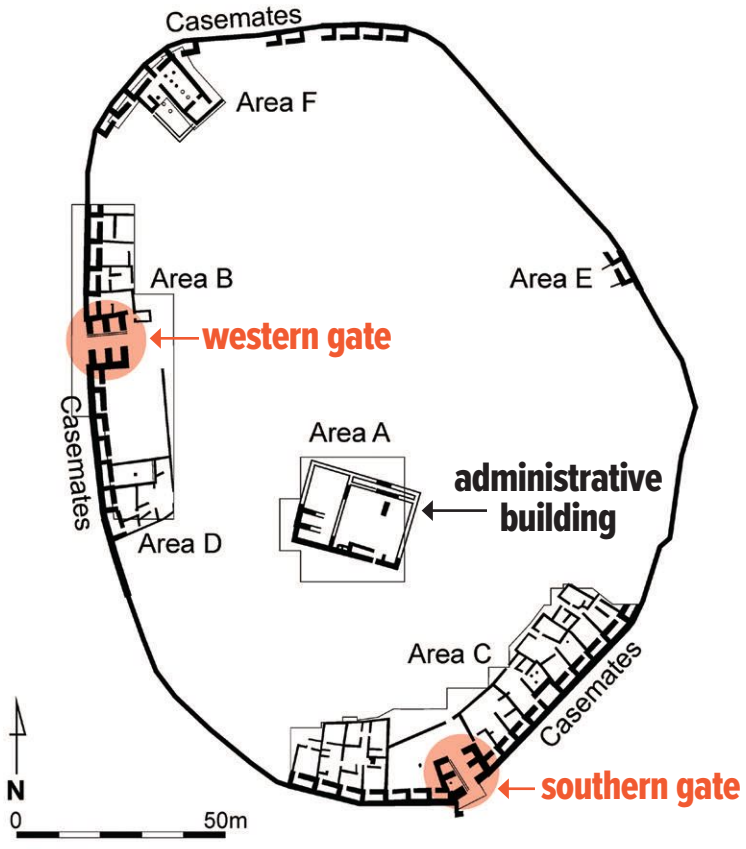
This article was initially rejected by BAR editor Hershel Shanks. The original manuscript recounted a walk three of us took outside the circular wall that encloses Khirbet Qeiyafa. On the walk were the senior author of the article (Yosef Garfinkel, the director of the excavation of Khirbet Qeiyafa); his codirector (Saar Ganor of the Israel Antiquities Authority); and the junior author of the article (Joseph Baruch Silver, a supporter of the excavation). According to the original submission, Joey (as he is known) "suddenly noticed in the southern part of the wall massive stones that stopped in a clear vertical edge, indicating an opening in the wall that had been blocked off with relatively small stones. 'Another city gate!' Joey yelled."

In his letter of rejection, Hershel addressed the senior author: "Dear Yossi: I have your manuscript on the two gates at Qeiyafa ... It looks like you are making Joey a coauthor as an expression of gratitude for his financial support of the excavation. We cannot get into that. Besides, it is just unbelievable that Joey would have noticed a gate in the wall that you and Saar failed to notice after you two had walked outside the walls of the site at least a million times. Even if it is true, we can't publish something like that."

"Dear Hershel," I (Yossi) replied. "To notice a blocked gate is not so easy. It is a matter of how you look, where you stand, the light, the vegetation and so on. The fact is that Joey was the first to notice the second gate of Qeiyafa. He made a great contribution in this respect."

Our (Yossi's and Saar's) first reaction to Joey's identification of a "gate" was to dismiss it as an "amateur" discovery: It couldn't be. We had already excavated a major city gate on the western side of the circular wall. Could there be another gate on the southern side of the wall? No city of this period in Israel had more than one gate.

A test excavation, however, confirmed that Joey's identification was indeed correct. It *was* a city gate—a second one. And it turned out that this was the



COURTESY OF THE KHIRBET QEIYAFA ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

THE GATES OF BIBLICAL SHA'ARAYIM. Excavations at the site of Khirbet Qeiyafa overlooking the Elah Valley in the Shephelah revealed a heavily fortified 10th-century B.C.E. city (right) that clearly had central authority in Judah during the time of King David. The Iron Age city boasted a monumental administrative building, a casemate wall (a wall composed of two parallel walls divided into internal chambers), and not one, but—the authors argue—two massive city gates (above). The second, southern gate is the key to identifying Qeiyafa with Biblical Sha'arayim, Hebrew for "two gates."

key to identifying the ancient name of the site: Qeiyafa was Biblical Sha'arayim, Hebrew for "two gates" (Joshua 15:36; 1 Samuel 17:52; 1 Chronicles 4:31).

Qeiyafa lies about 20 miles southwest of Jerusalem, on the summit of a hill on the northern border of the Elah Valley. This is a strategic location—on the main road from Philistia and the coastal plain to the hill country of Judah. Our excavation uncovered a city dated radiometrically (by carbon-14 tests on 27 olive pits) to Iron IIA (c. 1000 B.C.E.), the time of King David.[1]

Qeiyafa has been a thorn in the side of those scholars who claim that there are no historical memories in the Hebrew Bible from the 10th century


Elah Valley
southern gate
administrative building
western gate

SKYVIEW

SKYVIEW

GATEWAY TO QEIYAFA. The western gate at Qeiyafa was recognized even before the excavations began. This aerial view shows that the gate was a typical four-chamber Iron Age city gate abutted on either side by a casemate wall. Each casemate opened in the corner farthest from the gate, indicating that the casemate wall and gate were built at the same time. The western gate opens onto the road going west toward Philistia.

B.C.E. Some time ago, for example, Yehuda Dagan of the Israel Antiquities Authority claimed that the entire Iron Age city, with its gates, casemate city wall and buildings, was built in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic period, based on pottery sherds collected on the site's surface some 20 years earlier.

In an article subtitled "An Unsensational Archaeological and Historical Interpretation," Tel Aviv University archaeologists Israel Finkelstein and Alexander Fantalkin claimed that, although the city and the casemate city wall are from the Iron Age, the two gates, as they are seen today, are not.[2]

We will discuss the two gates and show that they were, indeed, an integral part of the city built in the time of King David.

The earlier discovered gate—in our Area B—on the western side of the city lies at the end of a road leading from the coastal plain. It is 35 feet wide on the outside and 42 feet deep into the city. The gate façade is recessed into the city wall by approximately

YOSEF GARFINKEL

STEP INSIDE. The step of the western gate's threshold stone is aligned with the city wall. This relationship between the threshold stone and the city wall was also found at the Iron Age gate at Lachish, the second most important city in Judah after Jerusalem.

1.5 feet from the line of the wall. This would make it easier to defend the wooden doors of the gate, the weakest points in the city's fortifications. The gate has four inner chambers, two on each side. A drainage channel covered with flat stone slabs that are still in their original location was found on the left-hand side when entering the city.

The threshold of the gate consists of a huge single stone, 10 feet long and weighing roughly 8 tons. This massive monolith is quite unusual. A threshold of similar length and width at nearby Lachish was built from three individual stones, rather than one, as at Qeiyafa.

The southern gate—which Joey found in our Area C—lies at the end of a road leading from the Elah Valley on the south to Qeiyafa. (This gate is similar in plan and dimensions to the western gate.) An unhewn standing stone (*massebah*) or sacred pillar* almost 3 feet high was found in the southwest chamber of this gate.

The façade of the southern gate is even more monumental than that of the western gate. It includes two enormous stones, one on each side. Indeed, this is the most monumental gate façade yet excavated at any Iron Age city in Israel. And the use of a single huge stone followed not only from engineering considerations related to the strength of the construction, but also served as propaganda to convey a political message. The monumental stones at the sides of the southern gate at Khirbet Qeiyafa demonstrated the power of its ruler to all who entered the city.

At the summit of the site, we found a palatial structure that probably served as the central administrative building for this area of the Davidic kingdom. This, along with the rest of the site, disproves the early assumption by some scholars that David was simply a local chieftain who ruled the area around Jerusalem at most.** Excavation showed that more than 200,000 tons of stone was required to construct this administrative center.

Some scholars view King David's kingdom as a simple agrarian society, sparsely inhabited, with no fortified cities, no administration and no writing. These scholars find it very hard to accept the new discoveries at Qeiyafa, which have completely dismantled these hypotheses.

*See Doron Ben-Ami, "Mysterious Standing Stones," **BAR**, March/April 2006.

Yosef Garfinkel, Michael Hasel and Martin Klingbeil, "An Ending and a Beginning," **BAR, November/December 2013.

YOSEF GARFINKEL

EAGLE EYES. In September 2008, coauthor Joseph Baruch Silver (right) noticed in a wall of stones three massive stones that stopped at a vertical edge (below) and shouted, "Another city gate!" The massive stones suggested that there was an opening in the wall that had subsequently been blocked with smaller stones.

YOSEF GARFINKEL

YOSEF GARFINKEL

QEIYAFA'S SECOND GATE. Excavation of the southern wall revealed a four-chamber gate similar to Qeiyafa's western gate. The gate opens onto the road descending directly to the Elah Valley and thereafter toward Jerusalem. No other city from the early 10th century B.C.E. in Israel has more than one gate.

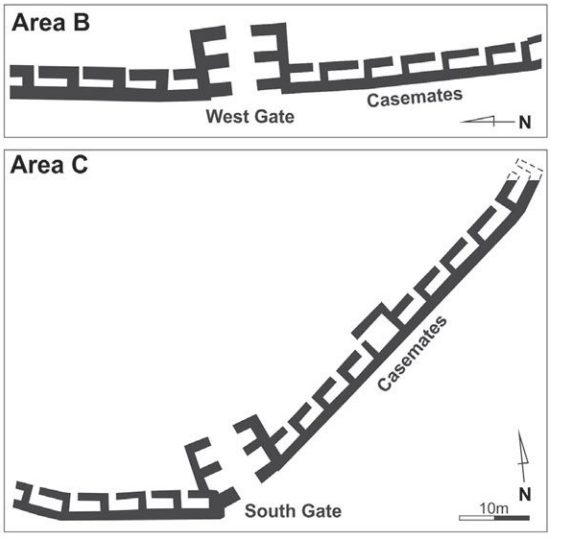
Of course, our prize find at Qeiyafa was a five-line inscription inked on a broken piece of pottery (an ostracon). While scholars have proposed several different decipherments of the text, it is clear that this is not simply a commercial text; it is a literary text, reflecting ethical principles, and was penned by a professional scribe.* It also clearly includes the word *melekh* (king). According to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem epigrapher Haggai Misgav, this is the oldest Hebrew inscription ever discovered.

As new discoveries emerged from the ground at Qeiyafa, scholars have had to change their conclusions. For instance, the eminent Tel Aviv University Biblical historian Nadav Na'aman once suggested that Qeiyafa was a Philistine site and that it was the Biblical site of Gov. Four years later he rejected his own proposal and now claims that Qeiyafa was a Canaanite site whose name could not be identified.[3] He even claimed that a site with one gate could be called Biblical Sha'arayim.

Since the discovery of the second gate at Qeiyafa, Israel Finkelstein and Alexander Fantalkin in their previously cited article raise other questions. The western gate, they argue, is a post-Iron Age construction: "The western gate as seen today at Khirbet Qeiyafa represents, in the main, a post-Iron Age occupation of the site."[4] They make an interesting argument about the gate's nearly 10-feet-long, 8-ton threshold stone: "The original, monolithic threshold ... seems to be dislocated, as it would make the doors close on the *outer* side of the outer piers—which would render the gate vulnerable ... The practice with Iron Age gates was to close the gate on the inner side of the outer piers ... Therefore, the threshold may be a reused one, not in its original location."[5] It is not in its original location, they say. It has been moved; in its present location, the doors would close on the outer side of the gate, making it vulnerable to attack.

At the nearby site of Lachish, however, the threshold of the gate is located exactly in the same location as at Qeiyafa. Apparently the people of ancient Judah organized the city-gate threshold in this specific style.[6]

*Hershel Shanks, "Prize Find: Oldest Hebrew Inscription Discovered in Israelite Fort on Philistine Border," **BAR**, March/April 2010.



COURTESY OF THE KHIRBET QEIYAFA ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

SEEING DOUBLE. The western and southern gates at Qeiyafa are similar in plan and dimensions. Notice that the casemate openings are located in the corners farthest from the gates. Such a pattern indicates that the gates and the city wall were planned and built as one unit.

The two gates at Khirbet Qeiyafa are an integral part of the site's Iron Age fortification. The western gate opens onto the road going west toward Philistia; the southern gate opens onto the road descending directly to the Elah Valley and thence toward Jerusalem. They are identical to one another. Each has a drainage channel in the gate passage, on the left side as one enters the city.[7]

Inside each gate was a piazza (or plaza). Here no houses abutted the city's casemate enclosure wall as are found beyond the piazza area.

Another unique feature at Qeiyafa: Adjacent to each piazza was a cultic room. Each of these cultic rooms was part of a house next to the gate, but in each case the cultic room bordered the piazza.

In the ancient world, the people did not enter temples. They gathered outside the temple in an open area where a variety of public cultic activities would take place, such as the sacrifice of animals, worship or religiously inspired dancing. The gate piazzas at Qeiyafa apparently served in this way, particularly during holidays, when people living in nearby villages would make pilgrimages to the site.

We have already shared with **BAR** readers a small stone model shrine from one of the cultic rooms.** Other exciting cultic paraphernalia include a pottery model shrine, a basalt altar and fragments of a cult stand.

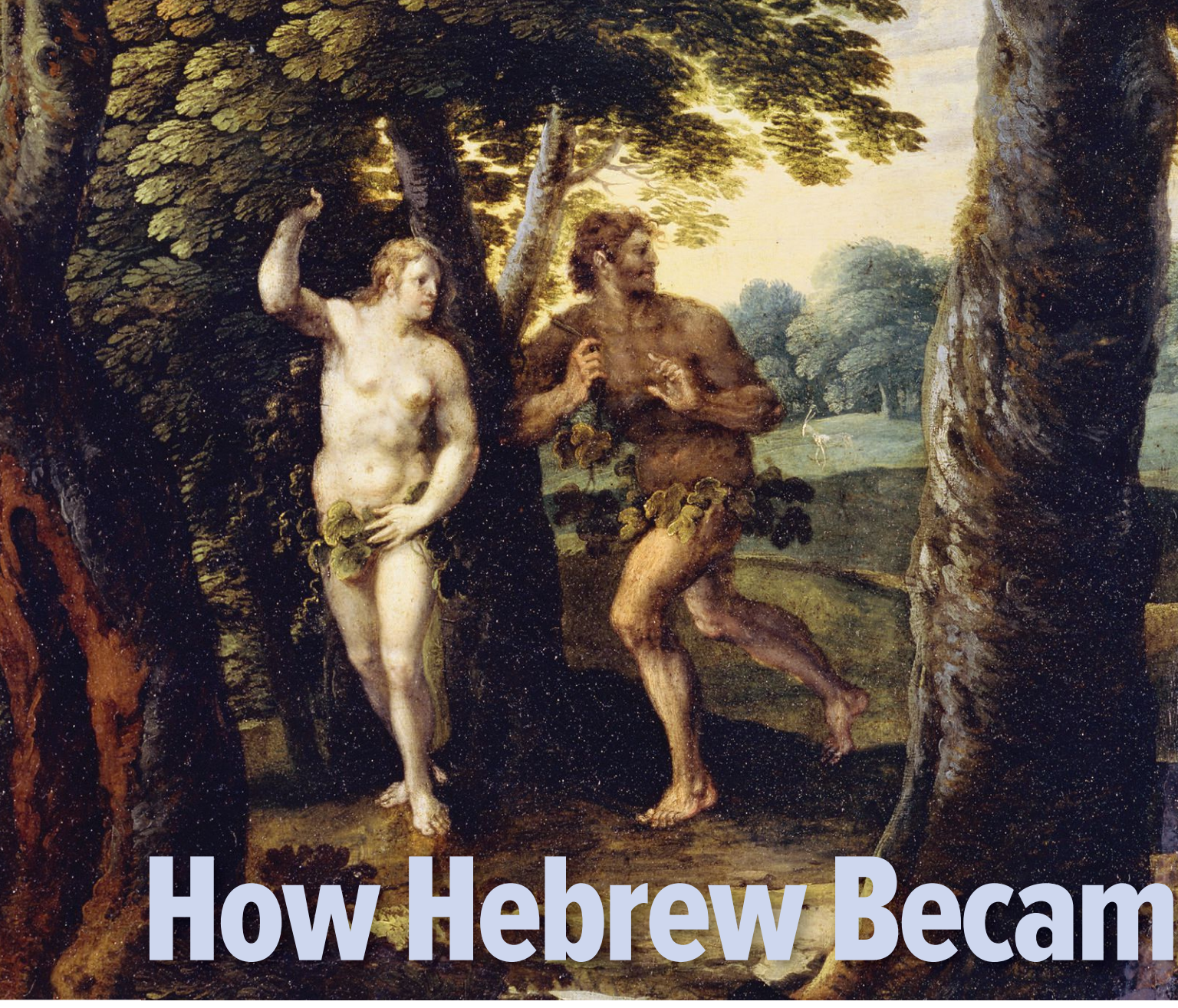
Madeleine Mumcuoglu and Yosef Garfinkel, "The Puzzling Doorways of Solomon's Temple," **BAR, July/August 2015.

SKYVIEW

AERIAL VIEW of the southern gate at Qeiyafa and the casemate city wall abutting it from both sides.

There can be no doubt, however, that Qeiyafa was built according to a single well-designed urban plan. Before the first stone was put in place, it was already clear how the city's fortifications would look with its two gates. No doubt for this reason—because of its unique two-gated city wall—it was called Sha'arayim—"two gates," as referred to in the Bible.

NOTES ON PAGE 59



How Hebrew Becam

Jan Joosten

From time immemorial Hebrew has been regarded as a holy language by Jews and Christians and is still so regarded by many. But is it? Does Hebrew differ from other languages, not just in the purpose to which it has been set—but intrinsically, in its inner workings? Semitics scholars will mostly deny this: Hebrew is a normal human language. A Biblical scholar might add: A human language that rather by accident came to serve as a vessel for revelation.

I would argue that although Hebrew did not start out as a holy tongue, over time it really did become one.

Hebrew lies in the cradle of the western university. Its prestige derives from its importance to two world religions, Judaism and Christianity. From the beginning, the academic study of Hebrew had no other justification than the wish to scrutinize the Scriptures in their original language.

Traditional exegesis—both Jewish and Christian—regarded Hebrew as God's language. Hebrew was the language of creation as described in the Bible, the language of all humanity before the confusion occasioned at the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11:1–8). Rabbinic midrash found proof of this within the Bible itself. According to Genesis 2:22–23, the "Woman" was created from the "Man." "She shall be called Wo-Man because she was taken out of Man." In Hebrew it creates a marvelous play on words: What the Lord God took from the Man (*ish*) was fashioned into the Woman (*isha*) (Genesis 2:23). This play on words works well in Hebrew but not in most other

e a Holy Language

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languages (although it doesn't work badly in English). Consider, for example, Latin *mulier* (woman) which has nothing in common with *vir* (man).

The conclusion is obvious: God must have been speaking Hebrew. And Adam and Eve must have been speaking Hebrew when they were speaking with God.

In different variations, the idea that Hebrew was the primordial language, mysteriously surviving among the descendants of Abraham and Sarah, was adopted by most Jewish and Christian authorities from Antiquity through the Middle Ages. It was embraced by such heavyweights as Origen, Jerome, John Chrysostom and Augustine. Even in the modern period, most scholars continued, until the middle of the 18th century or so, to accept the idea that Hebrew had been the original language of all humankind.

SPEAKING HEBREW? Genesis 2–3 details conversations between Adam, Eve and God. Were they speaking Hebrew? This anonymous painting from the 17th-century Flemish School depicts Adam and Eve being expelled from the Garden of Eden by God for their disobedience.

If Hebrew is of divine origin, one would expect it to be completely different from other languages—more expressive, more precise, more truthful. Confirmation that it did in fact differ from other languages was found again in the creation account. When God created the animals, he brought them to Adam "to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was

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DID GOD ALREADY KNOW the names of the animals before Adam names them in Genesis 2? This Byzantine mosaic from San Marco Basilica in Venice, Italy, depicts Adam naming the pairs of animals with God looking on and directing the action.

the name thereof" (Genesis 2:19). Surely God knew the names of the animals before Adam pronounced them. It follows, then, that Adam did not name the animals arbitrarily—but gave them the names they really had in God's language, that is, Hebrew.

Today, of course, views of the Hebrew language have changed. Hebrew is again, and has been for almost 70 years, a national language. In the State of Israel, Hebrew is used not only to study the Bible, but also to buy ice cream, to discuss football and to talk politics. The phenomenon of Modern Hebrew relativizes the notion that Hebrew is a sacred language.

But long before the creation of the State of Israel, long before the resurrection of Hebrew as a spoken language, the notion that Hebrew was a holy tongue had come to be discredited among specialists. In the 18th century, advanced research on comparative Semitics had shown not only that Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic were closely related—something that had been known full well since the ninth century at least—but also that Arabic retains many features that are more archaic than their equivalents in Hebrew.

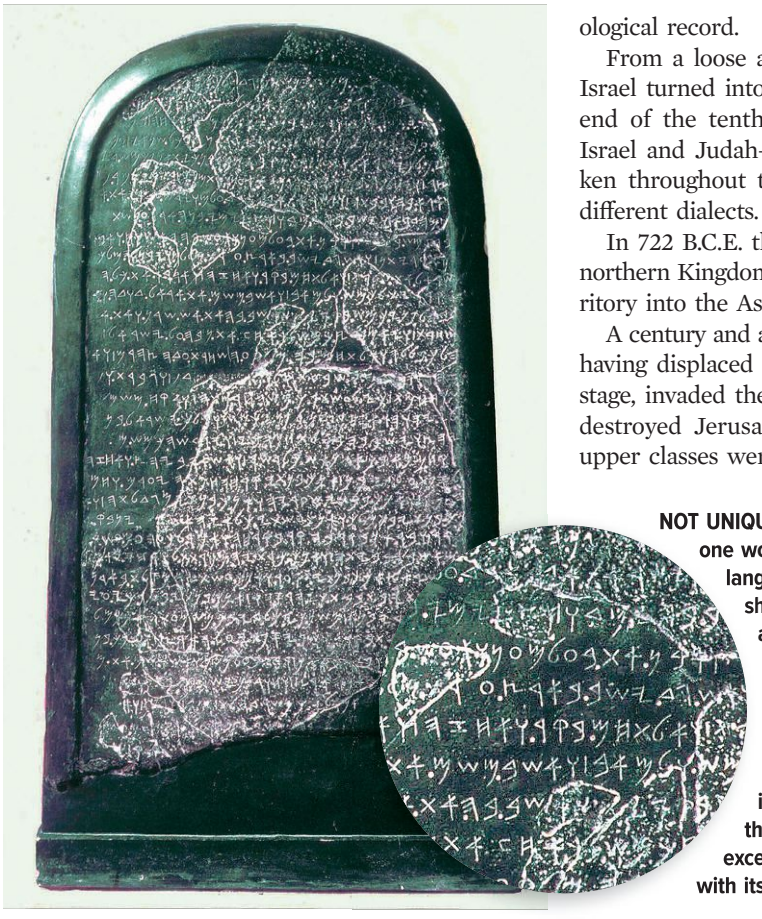
Wilhelm Gesenius, at the beginning of the 19th century, showed in detail how the Hebrew language changed over the Biblical period, manifesting more archaic traits in earlier texts and more modern elements in later texts.* Hebrew is not a divine language, eternal and immutable; it is a human idiom, obeying the general laws of linguistics and adapting to sociocultural and political influences through time.

Nevertheless, I maintain that Hebrew may reasonably be considered a holy tongue. Although originally an ordinary human language, over time it became a sacred idiom, fit for religious purposes and ever so slightly unfit for everything else.

As the Bible itself remembers (Deuteronomy 26:5), Hebrew was not the language of the Founding Families. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were Aramaeans from Mesopotamia or farther afield.

The "language of Canaan," where they journeyed,

*Avi Hurwitz, "How Biblical Hebrew Changed," **BAR**, September/October 2016.



ZEV RADOVAN/BIBLELANDPICTURES.COM

NOT UNIQUE. If Hebrew were a holy language, one would expect it to be unique among the languages of the world, but it is not. It shares many similarities with Moabite and Phoenician. The famous Mesha Stele, or Moabite Stone (left), which details the victory of King Mesha over Israel and dates to c. 840 B.C.E., is one of the best examples of ancient Moabite writing. The 7.5-inch Pyrgi gold tablet (below) from the sixth–fifth century B.C.E. is an excellent example of the Phoenician script with its similarities to Hebrew.

was a local Northwest Semitic dialect spoken in the land long before there is any mention of a "people of Israel."

Classical Hebrew as attested in the older books of the Bible is very similar to Moabite, a Trans-Jordanian language, and close too to Phoenician, a language attested along the Mediterranean coast. If the Israelites, or some of them, came to Canaan from elsewhere—a notion for which there is little hard evidence but which is affirmed throughout the Hebrew Bible—they must have adopted the language from the local population after their arrival.

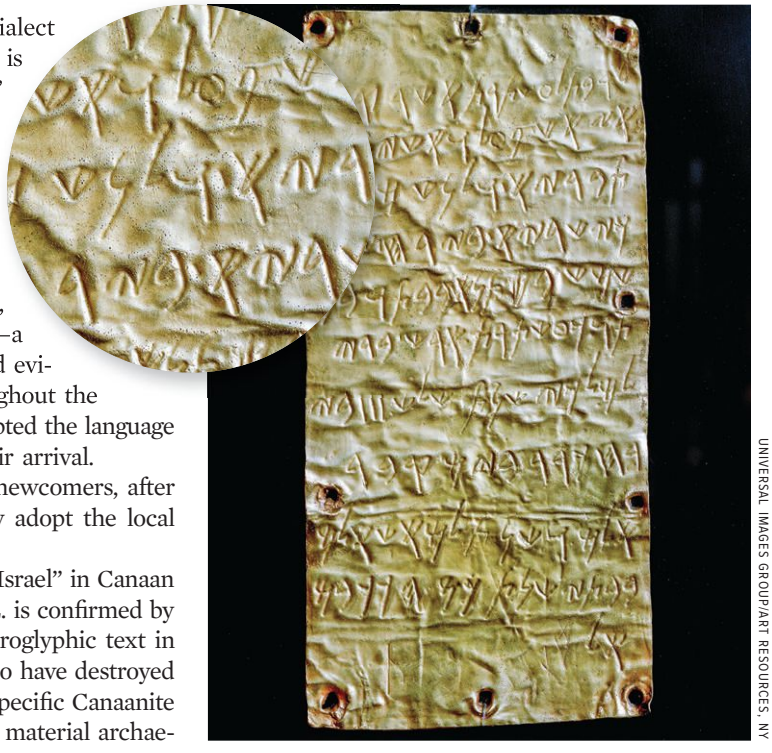
When populations migrate, the newcomers, after one or two generations, commonly adopt the local language.

The presence of a group called "Israel" in Canaan at the end of the 13th century B.C.E. is confirmed by the Merneptah Stele, a lengthy hieroglyphic text in which Pharaoh Merneptah claims to have destroyed "(the people of) Israel" as well as specific Canaanite cities.** Israel also shows up in the material archaeological record.

From a loose association of villages and regions, Israel turned into a more centralized entity; by the end of the tenth century B.C.E., two kingdoms—Israel and Judah—emerge. Ancient Hebrew is spoken throughout the territory of both, although in different dialects.

In 722 B.C.E. the Assyrian empire devastated the northern Kingdom of Israel and incorporated its territory into the Assyrian empire.

A century and a third later, the Babylonian empire, having displaced the Assyrians on the international stage, invaded the southern Kingdom of Judah and destroyed Jerusalem and Solomon's Temple. The upper classes were exiled to Babylonia.



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MARYL LEVINE

ISRAEL WAS HERE. The victory stele of Merneptah, a pharaoh who ruled during Egypt's 19th Dynasty in the New Kingdom, names Israel as a people within the Land of Canaan. The mention of Israel is included with a list of Canaanite cities that the pharaoh claims to have conquered. This demonstrates that by the 13th century B.C.E. Israel was a known entity in Canaan.

In these circumstances we would expect the Judahite exiles to adopt Aramaic, the international *lingua franca,* as their language, at least in writing. But this is not what happened. Hebrew carried on and was kept alive not only in writing but also, as it seems, in day-to-day speech. As a result, the language thrived throughout the Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods, at least until the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, in 132–135 C.E.

Most of the late Biblical books, the Book of Ben Sira, 90 percent of the Dead Sea Scrolls and most of the earliest rabbinic literature are written in a rich and vigorous Hebrew.

Yes, Hebrew thrived, but something happened to it along the way. Subtle changes in the meaning of words and subtle changes in the use of grammatical constructions altered its nature. It is a process we observe even in the Biblical texts in the later books of the Bible. A phenomenon that illustrates this evolution can be found when words with a general meaning came to be used exclusively to designate specific religious items or concepts. For example, take the Hebrew word *torah*. In most of the Biblical books, *torah* simply means "teaching," or "direction." In the late books of the Bible, however, *torah* takes on a different meaning. It now refers to the book in which Jewish law is written down.[1]

This process continues into post-Biblical Hebrew, for example, in the Hebrew of the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls.

In short, we see a tendency in the history of the Hebrew language in which words with a general meaning over time receive a special religious meaning, which in many cases (though not always) comes to represent the only meaning of the word. One might say that these words are transferred from the profane to the sacred sphere: They are "devoted" to a particular religious use.

What is important is not the quantity of words that illustrate the change but the direction of the change. As Paul says, "If the dough offered as first fruits is holy, so is the whole lump; and if the root is holy, so are the branches" (Romans 11:16).

What motivated the Judahites to continue to use

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HOLDING ON TO HEBREW. This promissory note from Al-Yahudu, also known as Judahtown, in Babylonia is inscribed with a Yahwistic name, Shelemyah, in paleo-Hebrew script. The exiles continued to use Hebrew for generations despite being displaced.

Hebrew during and after the Babylonian Exile? In Babylonia they must have used Aramaic to communicate with their neighbors, as is now attested by a newly discovered archive.* This was certainly the norm from the Persian period onward. From all we know, these Judahites blended in perfectly in their new surroundings. Nevertheless, it appears that alongside Aramaic, the Judahite community in exile upheld a tradition of speaking and writing in Hebrew. Among the first generation of exiles, this stands to reason, and perhaps among the second generation it remains understandable. But Hebrew continued to be used much longer. When the exiles returned from Babylonia to their homeland in Israel, in small numbers at first, at the end of the sixth century B.C.E. and more massively from the second half of the fifth century onward, they brought Hebrew back with them.

If Hebrew was kept alive among Jews in the diaspora and in the community around the rebuilt Temple in Jerusalem, the reason must have been at least partly of a religious nature. Exilic and post-Exilic prophets—Second Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah—continued to prophesy in Hebrew because they linked up with a pre-Exilic prophetic tradition. Edifying stories, such as those of Jonah and Esther, were told in Hebrew. Hebrew was used in speech as well, although it changed rapidly under the influence of other languages. The Book of Ezekiel contains dozens of loanwords from Babylonian; Exilic and post-Exilic books of the Bible evidence a high proportion of Aramaic loanwords. The latest Biblical books attest around 20 words borrowed from Persian. Although all this evidence comes from written texts, it strongly suggests that Hebrew was spoken, too.

The Exilic community continued to use Hebrew down the generations because they defined their identity in light of texts to which they attributed religious authority. In the late books of the Bible—Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther—an archaic form of Hebrew is reused in a way that indicates it was "lifted" from the earlier text and revivified on the basis of exegesis. A nice example is the Hebrew word *yomam*, which in classical Hebrew is an adverb, "by day," but in Nehemiah 9:19 is used to mean "day-time." The earlier meaning was forgotten, and the later meaning arose on the basis of a similar-sounding word in Aramaic. Why did Nehemiah use an old Hebrew word whose meaning had been forgotten? Because he found it in the Biblical text!

The reuse of an archaic form of language like this has been described as "pseudo-classicism." Pseudo-classicism sets in the late Biblical books and increases exponentially in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The phenomenon of pseudo-classicism shows that in the late Persian and Hellenistic periods, "classical" Hebrew was not a dead language to be deciphered respectfully, but a living language to be exploited as much as possible. Whether in the diaspora or in their occupied homeland, the Jews considered Scripture their real home country, and its language their native idiom.

The process continues until today. For example, in Modern Hebrew the word for "dwarf" is *grammad*. This usage is ultimately based on a passage in Ezekiel where a people named *gammadim* ("Gammadites") are listed as one of many nations trading with Tyre. In later times, this nation was forgotten, and the name was derived from the noun *gomed*, meaning "a short cubit." The active use of the word *gammad* in the meaning "dwarf" is attested for the first time in 1788 in a work of the Jewish Enlightenment, the *Haskalah*. The process of pseudo-classical derivation characterizes the history of Hebrew over the entire post-Biblical period.

At this point, I suggest, normal human language turns into something else. If Scripture is regarded as divine, and if its language is adopted as a means of communication in preference to all other languages, then this new language is to be regarded as a sacred idiom.

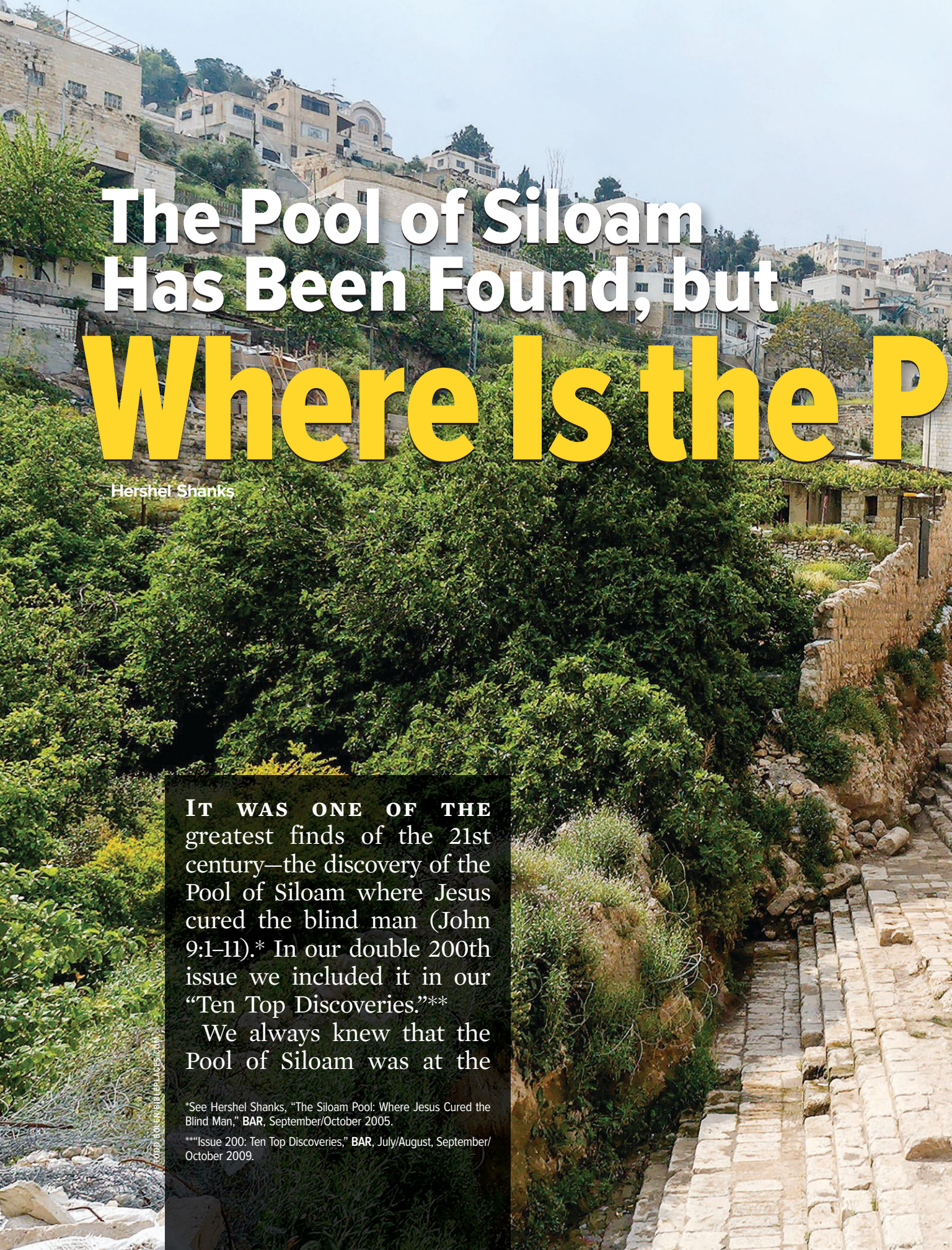
The community of exiles from Judah continued to

CONTINUES ON PAGE 62

*Laurie E. Pearce, "How Bad Was the Babylonian Exile?" **BAR**, September/October 2016.

The Pool of Siloam Has Been Found, but Where Is the P

Hershel Shanks



It was one of the greatest finds of the 21st century—the discovery of the Pool of Siloam where Jesus cured the blind man (John 9:1–11).* In our double 200th issue we included it in our "Ten Top Discoveries."**

We always knew that the Pool of Siloam was at the

*See Hershel Shanks, "The Siloam Pool: Where Jesus Cured the Blind Man," **BAR**, September/October 2005.

"Issue 200: Ten Top Discoveries," **BAR, July/August, September/October 2009.

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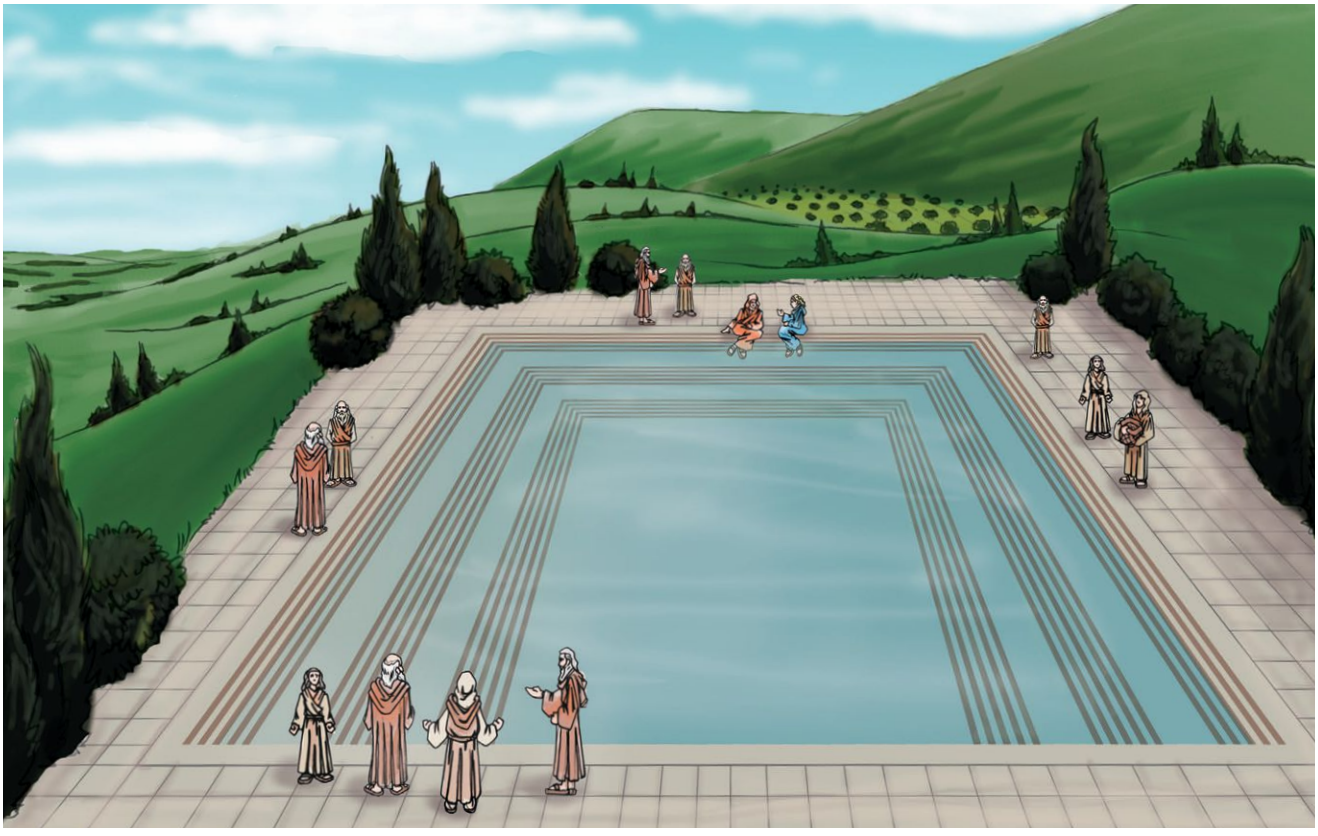
ool of Siloam?



JASON CLARKE

WATERSHED DISCOVERY. The steps of the Pool of Siloam of Jesus' day (pp. 50–51) were uncovered in 2004—southeast of the Byzantine pool, the site traditionally held to be the Pool of Siloam. Archaeologists Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron identified two steps, which were unearthed during a sewer repair by city authorities, as belonging to the Second Temple Siloam Pool. Recognizing the importance of the steps, Reich and Shukron quickly halted the sewer repair and launched their own excavation.

They uncovered one side of the pool—a length of 225 feet—with 15 steps in total. The steps are divided into three segments of five steps each with broad landings between the segments. Reich identified the pool as a large *mikveh* (a Jewish ritual bath). Bathers would have enjoyed a view of the Kidron Valley, east of the City of David. While the entire pool has not been excavated, the above drawing shows what the Pool of Siloam might have looked like in the time of Jesus.

southern end of the Siloam Tunnel, also commonly called Hezekiah's Tunnel, but before the discovery of 2004, the Pool of Siloam was identified as a small pool built by Byzantine Christians in the fourth century who knew only that the Pool of Siloam—where the miracle occurred—was at the end of Hezekiah's Tunnel. They simply built a church and pool at the end of the tunnel to commemorate the New Testament miracle of the blind man's cure. In modern times, Arab women often washed clothes in this Pool of Siloam.

It was widely accepted, however, that this was *not* the Siloam Pool of Jesus' time, but no one knew precisely where that was until the Second Temple Siloam Pool was uncovered in 2004—southeast of the remains of the Byzantine church and pool.

Hezekiah's Tunnel, on the other hand, was well known. It carried the waters of the Gihon Spring, ancient Jerusalem's only fresh water supply, to the other side of the city—where it debouched into the Pool of Siloam. In recent years, many issues have been raised and fiercely debated about this remarkable tunnel. How did the tunnelers digging from opposite ends manage to meet? Why didn't they just dig in a straight line, which would have been much

shorter? Was it to avoid the supposed royal Judahite cemetery above? And most of all: When was the tunnel dug—under which Judahite king—and why?

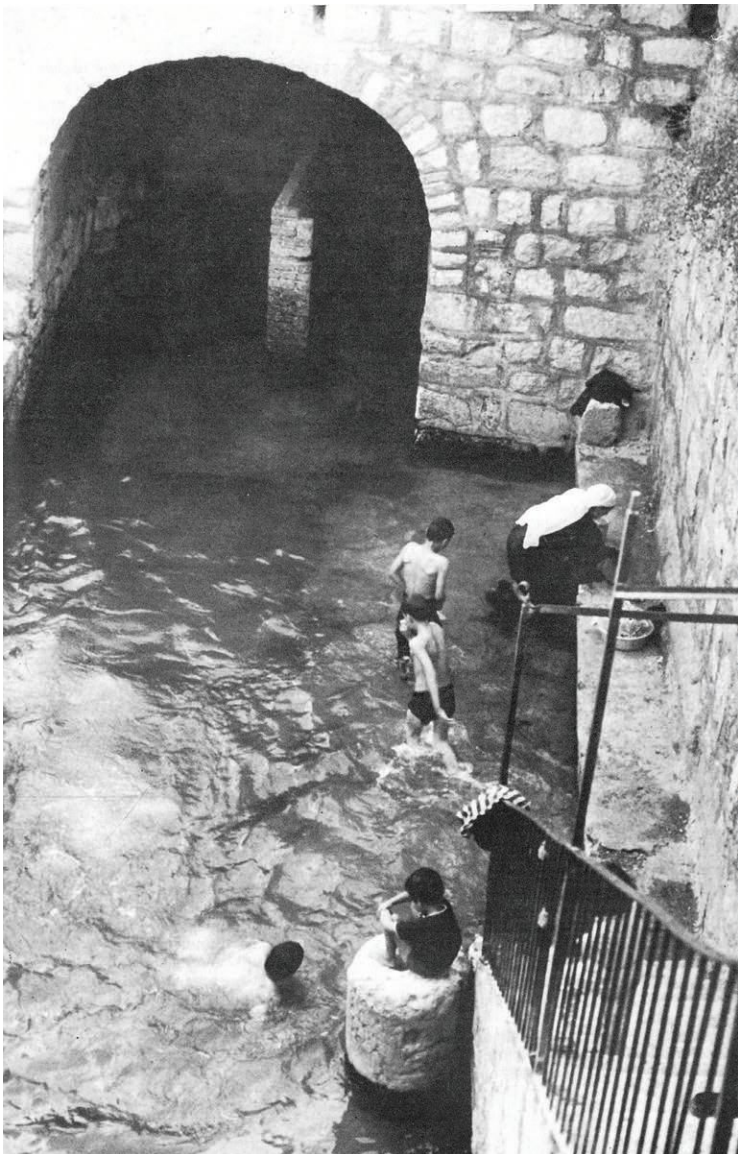
The traditional answer was that it was dug by King Hezekiah in anticipation of the assault on Jerusalem by the Assyrian monarch Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (see 2 Chronicles 32:2–4; 2 Kings 20:20). In this way, besieged Jerusalemites within the walls would be assured of water from the Gihon Spring outside the walls. But this has now been hotly questioned by different groups of scholars. In 1996 two scholars in England argued that the tunnel was not dug until the late Second Temple period, near the turn of the era. This argument was widely and convincingly rejected, however.* Then Israeli excavators of the area around the tunnel, Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, shocked the archaeological world by arguing that the tunnel had been dug not by Hezekiah but by one of his predecessors, perhaps Jehoash (835–801 B.C.E.), in which case it should be called Jehoash's Tunnel, not Hezekiah's Tunnel. This would backdate the tunnel from the late eighth century B.C.E. to the ninth century B.C.E. Another group of scholars argued just as vociferously that the tunnel had been dug *after* Hezekiah's time. We titled our report on the controversies regarding the date of Hezekiah's Tunnel "Will Hezekiah Be Dislodged from His Tunnel?"**

But the question that was never raised is: Where is the Siloam Pool of the First Temple period? Whether it was Hezekiah or Jehoash or someone else who dug the tunnel, where was the Siloam Pool at the end of it?

Recently, Israel Finkelstein, one of Israel's leading and most contentious archaeologists, has gotten into the fight. He is best known as the originator of the so-called Low Chronology, according to which everything we thought was attributed to King Solomon was really a century later; the result is that the archaeological remains from Solomon's time are poor and meager, and, Finkelstein argues, Solomon was just a chieftain of a small tribal entity. In the dating of the Siloam (Hezekiah's) Tunnel, however, Finkelstein has sided with the traditionalists; it was indeed Hezekiah who built the tunnel, he says. But in his view, Hezekiah built it not in anticipation of

*See "Defusing Pseudo Scholarship," **BAR**, March/April 1997.

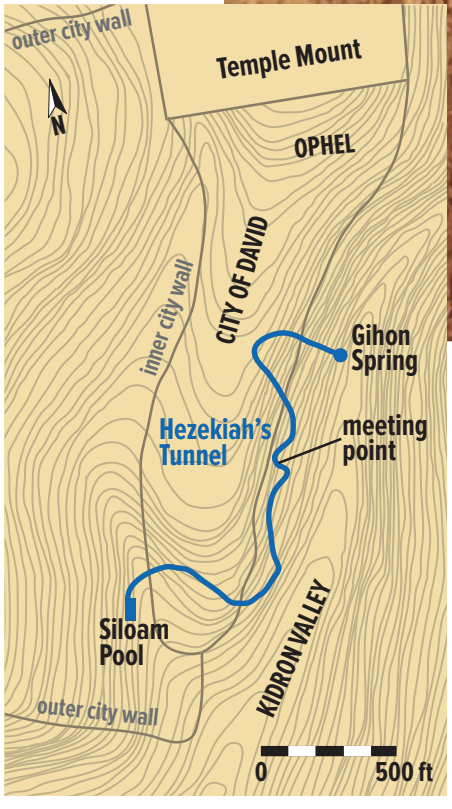
See Hershel Shanks, "Will King Hezekiah Be Dislodged from His Tunnel?" **BAR, September/October 2013.



HERSHEL SHANKS

BYZANTINE POOL OF SILOAM. With youths swimming nearby, a woman does laundry in the clear, clean waters; her basket rests on the edge of the traditional site of the Pool of Siloam—the church and pool built in the fifth century by the Byzantine empress Eudocia at the end of Hezekiah's Tunnel to commemorate the miracle that took place there. While perhaps the best-known "Pool of Siloam," this is actually the *third* Pool of Siloam. The Pool of Siloam of the Second Temple period was discovered southeast of this Byzantine pool in 2004, and the location of the original First Temple period pool is still unknown.

TODD BOLEN/BIBLEPLACES.COM



HEZEKIAH'S TUNNEL weaves its way underneath the City of David, connecting the Gihon Spring in the east to the Pool of Siloam in the southwestern end of the city. The 1,750-foot-long water tunnel was dug by two teams of workers, who started at different ends of the tunnel and eventually met in the middle. While the date and purpose of the Siloam Tunnel—or Hezekiah's Tunnel—is often debated, it is typically attributed to King Hezekiah in the eighth century B.C.E. with the purpose of preparing Jerusalem against the impending siege of the Assyrian king Sennacherib.

Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem, but because of the need to get water to the other side of town. During Hezekiah's reign the population of Jerusalem significantly increased, first, because of the flow of refugees from the north as a result of the Assyrian conquest of the northern Kingdom of Israel in 721 B.C.E. and, second, because of the general prosperity from Judah's incorporation into what Finkelstein calls the "Assyrian world economy."[1] As a result Jerusalem expanded west to the adjacent hill, and these people needed a supply of water without having to go all the way to the Gihon Spring.

One of Finkelstein's reasons for rejecting the early date (ninth century B.C.E.) recently proposed by excavators Reich and Shukron is based on his analysis of the famous inscription originally engraved in the wall of the tunnel (now in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum) recording how the two teams of tunnelers met in the middle. Finkelstein argues that—based on paleography (the shape and form of the letters)—this inscription, which is contemporaneous with the building of the tunnel, cannot be as early as Jehoash's reign in the ninth century B.C.E.

But Finkelstein goes on to ask the next question,

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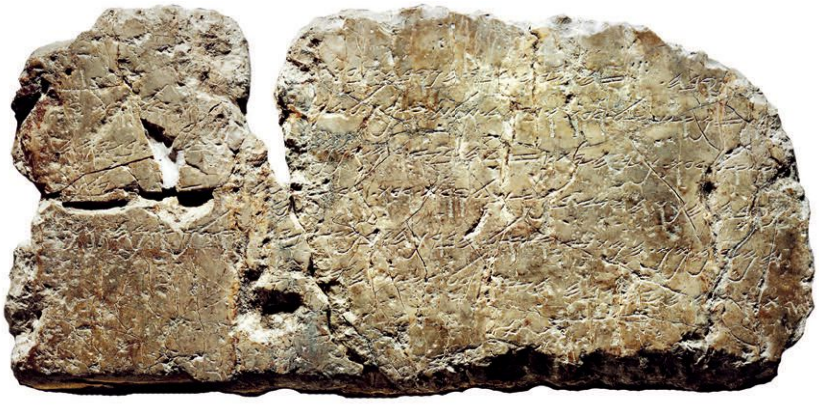
FOUNTAIN OF LIFE. The waters that gushed forth from the Gihon Spring gave life to ancient Jerusalem. To be as close to the spring—Jerusalem's only source of fresh water—as possible, the earliest residents of Jerusalem lived on the narrow eastern ridge of the city, today known as the City of David. The spring was located on the east side of this ridge.

The focal point of Jerusalem's complex water system has always been the Gihon Spring, and at least as early as the Middle Bronze Age II (1750–1650 B.C.E.), the inhabitants of Jerusalem began protecting the spring and directing it through a series of tunnels. The spring was rediscovered and explored in modern times by English captain Montague Parker in the 20th century on his quest to find the treasures of Solomon's Temple.

The Gihon Spring flows into this natural cave from an opening below the steps now leading down to it. The spring's water alternated between a strong and weak flow, which caused some to speculate that a dragon lived beneath the cave. Even in Nehemiah 2:13, it is called the "Dragon's Spring."

which has seldom been asked before: Where is the Pool of Siloam of the First Temple period, the Pool of Siloam of the late eighth century B.C.E. when Hezekiah (or whoever) ruled Judah?



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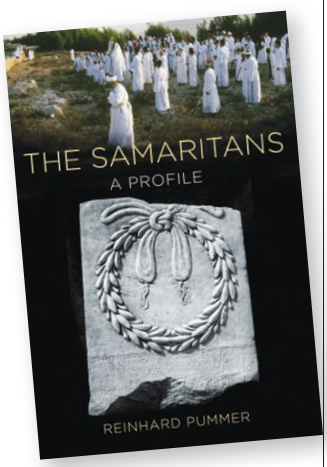
INSCRIPTION OF THE PEOPLE. The excavation of Hezekiah's Tunnel is chronicled in the Siloam Inscription, which recounts the moment when the two teams of tunnelers met in the middle. Written in paleo-Hebrew, the inscription has no mention of Hezekiah or another king; it was not a regal inscription or a public record. Rather it was apparently written by the tunnelers themselves to commemorate the impressive feat of digging the tunnel. Incised in the wall of Hezekiah's Tunnel 20 feet from its southern outlet into the Byzantine Pool of Siloam, the inscription was discovered in 1880 by boys swimming in the tunnel. It currently is on display at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum.

Finkelstein speculates that it is "probably under the Roman Siloam Pool [i.e., the Siloam Pool of Jesus' time] unearthed in recent years."

Of course Reich and Shukron thought about this long ago, but they did not suggest a specific location, as far as I know. They thought about making a cut under the steps of the Second Temple Siloam Pool that they discovered to see if pottery from the First Temple period might be below. Another way to search for the remains of the First Temple period Pool of Siloam would be to dig a few test pits in the orchard south of the steps of the Second Temple Pool of Siloam. This orchard is owned by the Greek Orthodox Church, so presumably any digging here would require the church's permission. But, who knows, they may say yes.

Is all this far-fetched? Maybe. But isn't it worth a try—to locate the Pool of Siloam of Hezekiah's time?

[1] Israel Finkelstein, "The Finds from the Rock-Cut Pool in Jerusalem and the Date of the Siloam Tunnel: An Alternative Interpretation," *Semitica et Classica* 6 (2013), pp. 279–284.



From Biblical Origins to Life Today

The Samaritans: A Profile
By Reinhard Pummer
(Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 42 illust. and photos, iv + 362 pp., $30 (paperback)

Reviewed by Craig Evans

Reinhard Pummer has written another excellent book on the Samaritans. This one traces the history of the people from Biblical times to the present. He assesses all things Samaritan: their scripture, traditions, worship, holy days, marriage, funerals, demographics, topography and relevant archaeological data, both in the Land of Israel and in the diaspora. The book is both informative and readable.

Probably the most important issue regarding the Samaritan people is their relationship to the people of Judea, that is, to the Jewish people. Pummer faults modern scholarship for all too often accepting the tendentious and biased account in Josephus (mostly in *Antiquities* 11, though see also *Antiquities* 9.288–291 and 10.183–184), which itself is based on a jaundiced reading of 2 Kings 17:24–41. In places Josephus is simply mistaken, often with respect to chronology and demographics. Pummer concludes, along with a number of other scholars in recent years, that the "Samaritans are not a sect that broke off from Judaism, but rather a branch of Yahwistic Israel in the same sense as Jews." This issue is no mere academic debate, but a very relevant issue today for Samaritans living in the Land of Israel.

For Samaritans, the only authoritative Scripture is their version of the Torah, which is in Hebrew and is not greatly different from the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible. A number of other writings hold quasi-authoritative status, including several commentaries.

In recent years significant progress has been made in Samaritan archaeology, much of it in Samaria, though some of it in the diaspora. Of special interest is the work on Mount Gerizim, the sacred mountain of Samaritan faith. Despite the efforts of Israeli archaeologist Yitzhak Magen, who from 1984 to 2006 carried out excavations on the mountain, the Samaritan temple has not been found. The large precinct that Magen has uncovered, however, encourages us to think that a temple at one time stood nearby. The precinct dates to the Persian period, not to the Hellenistic period, as Josephus claims. Persian-era coins, animal bones, pottery and carbon-14 dating have confirmed the Persian date of this precinct.

A number of important inscriptions, written in paleo-Hebrew script, have been found in the precinct. All of them support the view that the Samaritan temple once stood here. One inscription contains the Tetragrammaton, one refers to "priests," another reads, "before God in this place," and still another reads, "house of sacrifice."

Several synagogues in Israel, mostly dating to the Byzantine period, have been excavated more recently. Because of the similarities between Jewish and Samaritan synagogues, archaeologists may not initially be sure that a synagogue is, in fact, Samaritan. When inscriptions are found, their content and the use of the Samaritan script often confirm Samaritan identity. Orientation toward Mount Gerizim is another indicator. Ten synagogues have been identified as possibly Samaritan. A few synagogues in the diaspora have also been identified as Samaritan, including one on the island of Delos that in a Greek inscription refers to a "Mount Gerizim temple."

Both scholars and non-experts alike will learn much from this well-researched book.

Craig Evans is the John Bisagno Distinguished Professor of Christian Origins and Dean of the School of Christian Thought at Houston Baptist University in Houston, Texas. He is the author of several books on Jesus and the Gospels. His most recent is Jesus and the Remains of His Day: Studies in Jesus and the Evidence of Material Culture *(Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2015).*

Money Talks: Illuminating the Maccabean Revolt

Antioch and Jerusalem: The Seleucids and Maccabees in Coins

By David M. Jacobson

(London: Spink, 2015), 94 illust. and 2 diagrams, 168 pp., $30 (hardcover)

Reviewed by Paul J. Kosmin

The title of Jacobson's beautifully illustrated book coordinates two of the world's great cities. We are all familiar with Jerusalem—the well-excavated home of God, the single city of Judea, the capital of modern Israel and the troubled heart of our world's great religions. By contrast, Antioch, modern Antakya, is a backwater in the Turkish province of Hatay, a slightly seedy town on the Syrian border with a hint of the Wild West—refugees, journalists and Jihadis—that betrays little of its former greatness. But in the Hellenistic period, the last three centuries B.C.E., their fates were precisely the reverse. Antioch, founded c. 300 B.C.E. by Seleucus I Nicator, was the great western center of the Seleucid empire (the Graeco-Macedonian kingdom that took control of the majority of the territorial conquests of Alexander the Great, from Central Asia to Bulgaria). Jerusalem was but the inland temple-town of a small population, subjects of the Seleucid kings since the beginning of the second century B.C.E.

Jacobson explores the history of the Levant in the second and early first centuries B.C.E. This period witnessed the rapid decline and fracturing of the Seleucid empire, the rise to eastern Mediterranean dominance of the Roman Republic and the progressive emergence of an independent Jewish kingdom for the first time since Nebuchadnezzar II. Jacobson tells this as a tale of two dynasties, toggling between the grand, imperial scale of the declining Seleucid dynasty of Syria, at war with itself, and the miraculous successes of the Maccabean family of Judea (first rebels against the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, then high priests and finally kings). As Jacobson observes, "The combined reigns of John Hyrcanus I, Judah Aristobulus I and Alexander Jannaeus overlapped the reigns of no less than 15 squabbling Seleucid kings, all descendants of Demetrius I Soter."

The book offers a compelling, if conventional, narrative of this zero-sum game, running through, on the one hand, the successive Seleucid reigns from Antiochus III to Antiochus XII and, on the other, the history of Judea from the high priest Onias III to the Roman appointment of King Herod. Jacobson follows rather than interrogates our ancient sources, but readers will be grateful for the collations of the main Classical and Jewish references at the conclusion of each narrative

section. Additionally, the book offers focused, case-study-type discussion of a number of significant archaeological sites and epigraphic dossiers, including the Seleucus IV/Heliodorus stele from Maresha, the Tobiad mansion in Jordan and the Sidonian communities of the southern Levant.

But the book's key attraction is the series of coin images with which the historical narrative is illustrated; these are glorious and reward close observation. The coin issues of all the main players are included, in different metals and denominations, beautifully reproduced, always with obverse and reverse sides shown and with full captions (date, weight, legend and references to the most recent catalogs). While I am less comfortable than Jacobson in reading personality out of the idealizing royal portraits and epithets of the Seleucid coins—there is, of course, no such danger with the nonfigural Hasmonean coins—their sequencing allows the reader to grasp iconographic developments, monetary debasing and expansion of legends. Jacobson offers a helpful survey of Hasmonean coinage and the various sources of its iconography.

STRATA ANSWERS

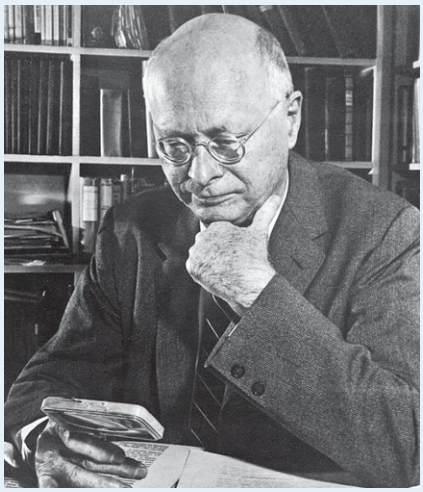
Who Did It? (from p. 13)

Answer: William Foxwell Albright

Considered by many as one of the last great "Orientalists"—an expert in several disciplines related to the study of the ancient Near East—William Foxwell Albright (1891–1971) was born in Coquimbo, Chile, to American Methodist missionary parents. He obtained his Ph.D. in Semitic Languages from Johns Hopkins University in 1916, which led him to the Holy Land. After years in Jerusalem, during which he served as a fellow—and then director—of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), Albright came back to the U.S. and Johns Hopkins in 1929 as the W.W. Spence Professor of Semitic Languages, a position he held until his retirement in 1958.

Throughout his career, Albright was continually at the forefront of Near Eastern studies and Biblical archaeology. He excavated at several sites in the Near East, including Tell Beit Mirsim (identified as Biblical Debir by Albright, but this identification has since been questioned), Beth-zur, Beitin (Biblical Bethel) and Petra in Jordan. From his excavations, especially at Tell Beit Mirsim, Albright transformed the study of Palestinian pottery through his application of the pioneering Egyptologist Sir Flinders Petrie's sequencing principles. After more than 70 years, Albright's pottery chronology is largely unchanged.[1]

Albright's methods and theories are not his only lasting contribution to the scholarly world. Albright mentored several students who themselves rose to prominence (57 Ph.D. dissertations were written under his guidance), including



Nelson Glueck, Frank Moore Cross, David Noel Freedman and G. Ernest Wright. Additionally, the ASOR research center in Jerusalem was renamed the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in honor of Albright in 1970. This institute remains a place for scholars from around the world to gather and study the ancient Near East.

Albright died in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1971, but his contributions are still revolutionizing the field of Biblical archaeology.

[1] Thomas W. Davis, *Shifting Sands: The Rise and Fall of Biblical Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), p. 71.

Do You Remember? (from p. 15)

Answer: (D) Altar

This horned altar from Beer-Sheva appeared in the first issue of *Biblical Archaeology Review* in 1975.* Dated to the eighth century B.C.E., the altar was discovered during Yohanan Aharoni's excavations at Tel Beersheba, an archaeological site about 3 miles east of modern Beer-Sheva in southern Israel. Many—but not all—scholars believe Tel Beersheba to be the Biblical site of Beer-Sheva.

The altar was made of carved sandstone blocks—even though this goes against the Biblical rule that altars should be made of unhewn stones: "But if you make for me an altar of stone, do not build it of hewn stones; for if you use a chisel upon it, you profane it" (Exodus 20:25). The altar was found unassembled; the excavators discovered its blocks reused in the wall of a storehouse. Because the altar was dismantled, its dimensions are not known for sure, but archaeologists believe that the altar measured 5.25 by 5.25 feet and stood 5.25 feet high.

Some of the altar's stones show evidence of burning, indicating that sacrifices took place on them. Aharoni believed that the altar proved there had been a temple at Beer-Sheva, which had been dismantled during King Hezekiah's cultic reform. Yigael Yadin, however, believed that the altar was part of a *bamah* (high place) at Beer-Sheva.** In either case, the presence of an altar at Beer-Sheva, a Judahite site during the Iron Age, shows that worship and sacrifices took place outside of Jerusalem.

*"Horned Altar for Animal Sacrifice Unearthed at Beer-Sheva," **BAR**, March 1975.

Hershel Shanks, "Yigael Yadin Finds a Bama at Beer-Sheva," **BAR, March 1977; Anson F. Rainey, "Beer-Sheva Excavator Blasts Yadin—No Bama at Beer-Sheva," **BAR**, September 1977; Yigael Yadin, "Yadin Answers Beer-Sheva Excavator—Reply to Rainey's 'No Bama at Beer-Sheva,'" **BAR**, December 1977.

Despite a few too many typographic or dating errors, which can easily slip through in the writing of a history as complex as this, and some infelicitous lexical choices, Jacobson offers a very helpful introduction to the fall of the Seleucid empire and the rise and fall of the Hasmonean house. Above all, the book brings to the surface in full color the primary sources from which we historians construct our narratives.

Paul J. Kosmin is Assistant Professor of Ancient History at Harvard University and author of The Land of the Elephant Kings *(Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2015), among other publications.*

Qeiyafa's Second Gate

continued from page 43

[1] Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor, *Khirbet Qeiyafa Vol. 1: Excavation Report 2007–2008* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2009); Yosef Garfinkel, Saar Ganor and Michael G. Hasel, *Khirbet Qeiyafa Vol. 2: Excavation Report 2009–2013: Stratigraphy and Architecture (Areas B, C, D, E)* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2014).
[2] Israel Finkelstein and Alexander Fantalkin, "Khirbet Qeiyafa: An Unsensational Archaeological and Historical Interpretation," *Tel Aviv* 39 (2012), pp. 38–63.
[3] Nadav Na'aman, "In Search of the Ancient Name of Khirbet Qeiyafa," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 8 (2008), pp. 2–8.
[4] Finkelstein and Fantalkin, "Khirbet Qeiyafa," p. 57.
[5] Finkelstein and Fantalkin, "Khirbet Qeiyafa," p. 45.
[6] Regarding the southern gate, Finkelstein and Fantalkin argue that "the restoration of the gate goes far beyond the actual data uncovered during the excavation: evidence for some of the piers of the gate is lacking; in the eastern wing of the gate the central pier is restored from a wall that blocks the gate's entryway; and in the western wing the inner (northern) pier does not exist and the central pier is restored from a short stub" (Finkelstein and Fantalkin, "Khirbet Qeiyafa," p. 46). In fact, however, more than 80% of the original gate has been preserved, including parts of each of the badly preserved piers.
[7] In addition, the casemate entrances in the city wall also indicate that the gates should be dated to the Iron Age. In the casemates located to the right of each gate, the entrances are located in the right-hand corner of the casemates. In the casemates located to the left of each gate, the entrances are located in the left-hand corner of the casemates. Such a pattern could have been created only when the gates and the city wall were built as one unit.

Q&C

continued from page 10

of a story line developed by a given Gospel writer. The parable of the great banquet, for example, is a wedding feast in the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 22:1–14), a dinner at the home of a Pharisee in Luke (Luke 7:36–50) and is cited by Thomas with no context at all.

This means it is often easier to say what a given parable meant to a Gospel writer than what it meant to Jesus. In the case of the parable of the talents, Matthew (Matthew 25:14–30) and Luke (Luke 19:11–27) see it differently. In Matthew, Jesus is on the Mount of Olives and is asked by the disciples what the signs of the end of the age will be. The parable is thus in a series of eschatological responses to the disciples' question. In Luke, however, Jesus is in Jericho. After the story of Zacchaeus, a generous rich man, Luke says those listening think the kingdom of God must be coming immediately. He disabuses them of that wishful thinking with Jesus' story of the greedy master in the parable.

But we do not know when, where and in what circumstance Jesus told the story. So we have only one responsible strategy open to us if the meaning of the story in the lifetime of Jesus is our primary interest. We have to set it in the general social/cultural context of the first-century Mediterranean world. That is the only option available. While that does not offer a specific *context or a* specific *occasion that would definitively clarify the original intent, it does limit us to meanings that would be plausible in* that *particular world. That is what I tried to do in the article on this parable.*

After recreating as much of the social/cultural context as our evidence allows, and then considering ancient literary, historical or archaeological comparanda, the story has to make sense to hearers in that particular world. Obviously there are multiple—but limited—plausible options.

Two seem especially compelling in the world of Jesus. One is viewing this story as a warning to or condemnation of those who might be tempted to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbors by cooperating in such schemes. The other is that holding such behavior up to public view is a way of shaming greedy masters who rob the poor. Both are in concert with much that we know about the teaching of Jesus, and either would gain a ready hearing in the village world of first-century Galilee.

POTPOURRI

Troublesome Homonyms

You seem to have an on-going problem with homonyms. "From Eden to Ednah: Lilith in the Garden" by Dan Ben-Amos (**BAR**, May/June 2016) contained confusion between "penal" and "penile." And in "'Lost Gospels'—Lost No More" by Tony Burke (**BAR**, September/October 2016), it was "horde" and "hoard." A "horde" is a large group—as, for instance, a group of tourists. A "hoard" is a carefully guarded collection, for example, of manuscripts.

CHRISTOPHER SANFORD
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Requesting Clarification Re: Gospel Letter

So, how many letters have you received about the illustration in "'Lost Gospels'—Lost No More" by Tony Burke (September/October 2016, p. 47) labeling the photographed page as from the *Gospel of Thomas*? Even somebody who doesn't read Greek at all can probably make out the large text in the center of the page: KATA IΩANNHN, that is, ACCORDING TO JOHN.

KAREN SADOCK
DUMONT, NEW JERSEY

Tony Burke Responds: *Titles in ancient manuscripts usually occur at the end of the text (what's called the "explicit" rather than the beginning, which is called the "incipit"). The image in question is the ending of the* Apocryphon of John *(Nag Hammadi Codex 2, pp. 1–32), with the title written in Coptic, and then the beginning of the* Gospel of Thomas *(Nag Hammadi Codex 2, pp. 32–51). One can see the name of Thomas in lines 2–3 (Didymos Judas Thomas) as part of the opening saying in the text: "These are the secret sayings which the living Jesus spoke and which Didymos Judas Thomas wrote down."*

Verdict: *No mistake.*—**Ed.**

Site-Seeing

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known as Santa Maria Latina. Various medieval elements have been worked into the newer building. Some ruins are visible from the outside on the north side of the building (along the traditional path of the *Via Dolorosa*), but the better part of these can be seen within the structure. In fact, the complex adjacent to the sanctuary of the church includes a full four-sided medieval cloister. Apparently, it's the only complete cloister in the entire Old City (who knew?). And built into second-floor restored medieval rooms off the cloister is a small, but elegant, museum of archaeology, displaying a range of artifacts discovered during the construction of the church.

But the real highlight for **BAR** readers is down below. Before the church was constructed, excavations took place underneath.* These are now accessible by walking down a staircase near the tower entrance. A short movie (available in German, English, Hebrew, Arabic and Russian—and soon in Spanish, French, etc.) provides a brief orientation to the site. There are remnants of walls from the Hadrianic period (117–138 C.E.), pavement from the fourth century, mosaics from the 12th century and more (but not too much more, because it's a rather small space).

The complex is open to the public from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday through Saturday. (Worship services are held in English, German and Arabic on Sundays and other times, as well.) There is a modest fee (15 NIS) for admission to the tower, museum and excavations. Travel services within the complex are minimal. Booklets about the church, postcards of the church and a guidebook of the excavations are for sale, and there is a clean bathroom. Cold drinks and other refreshments can easily be found right outside along Muristan Road or inside the adjacent Muristan Market. But don't be in a rush to leave: True to its nature, the cloistered courtyard provides a quiet, shady place to rest after walking up (and down) all those steps.

*For more information, see Marcel Serr and Dieter Vieweger, Archaeological Views: "Golgotha: Is the Holy Sepulchre Church Authentic?" **BAR**, May/June 2016.

Jonathan Klawans is Professor of Religion at Boston University. His most recent book is Josephus and the Theologies of Ancient Judaism *(Oxford, 2012).*

Biblical Views

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like, "My love is mine, and I am his"?

The Song (at least on the basic level) doesn't treat God or the fate of the people Israel: The name Israel appears but once in passing in the book—in Song of Songs 3:7. No less a Bible scholar than James Kugel (and among others, Wilson-Wright) has translated the words I translated above, "mighty blaze" (Hebrew *shalhebetyah*) as "flame of Yah," where Yah is a divine name, a sort of abbreviation for the four-lettered name of God, YHWH. However, many scholars disagree and argue that the "yah" of Hebrew *shalhebetyah* is not to be taken as a divine name or epithet, but as a superlative (hence my translation, "mighty blaze"; compare with Jeremiah 2:31, "deep gloom"). And *shalhebetyah* is a reference not to the God of Israel but to love, as the continuation, "Torrential waters cannot extinguish love," shows. "Torrential waters" come as an antithesis to the "mighty blaze," but the word that is in parallel with *shalhebetyah* is love. The word that I translate as "extinguish" always refers to something burning, usually a flame—sometimes the burning of God's wrath. (A good example is Jeremiah 7:20: "Thus says the Lord God: My wrath and rage shall be poured out [singular verb in Hebrew] ... It shall burn, with none to extinguish it" [author's translation].) Here it is love that is burning. Just so it is love whose flames are flames of fire, approaching the text from the other side. The poet's language is crystal clear; it sings in a fresh way of the power of love. We see this, too, in the image of the woman's wishing to be a seal on the male lover's heart and arm to express her love, in a way that Shakespeare imitated when he wrote of Romeo wishing to be a glove on Juliet's hand.

The poet's aim, I would posit, is to sing of love with all the power of the Hebrew tongue. The Song is not a polemic, as some think, but a song of victory celebrating romantic love. And Song of Songs 8:6–7 is the "key" that unlocks the poem. A brief example: Chapter 3 begins with the woman on her bed, apparently dreaming. Yet she awakes and rouses herself in search of her love, encounters the city watchmen, and then finds her man. There are scholars who claim the whole thing must be a dream, because no woman would go out at night in ancient Jerusalem. It seems to me that a young woman—presumably a teenager—who is madly in love would risk going out at night. Chapter 5 fleshes out this contention. The lover knocks, but the woman is slow to answer. He disappears into the night, and she heads after him, only to receive a hiding—perhaps actually a wound—from the watchmen.

The poet isn't naïve: "Harsh as the netherworld is passion." Thus we see that the passage with which we began is the key to these two episodes, for to the impetuous young woman, "love is strong as death."

Dr. Philip Stern is the author of The Biblical Herem: A Window on Israel's Religion Experience *(1991), and his current projects include aiding a colleague with a translation of Job and working on a commentary of the Song of Songs.*

[1] The New Jewish Publication Society translation also reads "fierce."
[2] Aren M. Wilson-Wright, "Love Conquers All: Song of Songs 8:6b–7a as a Reflex of the Northwest Semitic Combat Myth," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 134 (2015), pp. 333–345.
[3] S.D. Goitein, "The Song of Songs: A Female Composition," in Athalya Brenner, ed., *A Feminist Companion to the Song of Songs* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 58–66.

Archaeological Views

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nearest parallel perhaps being that at Dura-Europos. There are no other architectural features (columns, benches, artistic embellishments) normally found in synagogues built in the centuries around the turn of the era.[9]

In terms of habitation, what is the likelihood that a Jewish or Christian community could exist for several centuries on Mount Zion just south of a detachment of the Tenth Roman Legion encamped below the towers of Herod's former palace? Archaeologist Emanuel Eisenberg's 1983 excavation near the southwest corner of the Hagia Sion seems to demonstrate that the area around the Cenacle was continually inhabited from the Early Roman to the Ottoman periods.[10] This makes possible the Church Fathers' claim that an early Christian group settled there a few years after the war of 70 C.E.[11]

The answers to the riddle of the Upper Room/Tomb of David are slow in developing. But with more archaeological work, we will surely come closer to the truth.

David Christian Clausen is an adjunct lecturer in Religious Studies at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. He is the author of The Upper Room and Tomb of David: The History, Art and Archaeology of the Cenacle on Mount Zion *and a researcher currently working with Drs. Emanuel Eisenberg and Shimon Gibson to bring to publication the report on Eisenberg's 1983 excavation at Hagia Sion.*

[1] Tosefta, *Baba Bathra* 1.11–12. The Tosefta may have been compiled early in the Amoraic period, c. 230–500 C.E.
[2] Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah* 8: *Avodah*.
[3] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 11.
[4] Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* 11.
[5] Armenian Lectionary 39bis, www.bombaxo.com/blog/biblical-stuff/lectionaries/jerusalem-tradition-lectionaries/an-early-armenian-lectionary-renoux/ (accessed 8/11/2016).
[6] Optatus of Milevis, *Against the Donatists* 3.2; Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures* 14.54c; Bordeaux Pilgrim, *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 20. The fourth–fifth-century C.E. apocryphal *Anaphora Pilati* (*Report of Pilate*) also knows of a lone Jewish-Christian synagogue in Jerusalem.
[7] Joan Taylor, Denys Pringle, John Wilkinson, Amit Reem, etc.
[8] Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700*, 5th ed. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008), p. 117; Oskar Skarsaune, *In the Shadow of the Temple: Jewish Influences on Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002), p. 189; Joan Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 215; John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 3rd ed. (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 2002), p. 351; etc.
[9] David Christian Clausen, *The Upper Room and Tomb of David: The History, Art and Archaeology of the Cenacle on Mount Zion* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016), pp. 168–175.
[10] Publication forthcoming.
[11] Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures* 14; Eusebius, *Demonstration of the Gospel* 3.5; Eutychius, *Annals*.

Holy Language

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use Hebrew to speak of their religious experience and, so it seems, continued to use Hebrew to carry on with life in general. This decision to continue to use Hebrew was not self-evident, a fact that is emphasized if we compare this decision of the Babylonian exile and diaspora with the western exile and diaspora. Yes, there was a western exile and diaspora, exemplified by the prophet Jeremiah, who fled with a group of exiles to Egypt (see Jeremiah 43–44). As the elite of Jerusalem was led by the Babylonians to the East, other Judahites fled to the West. A sizable colony of Jews was settled in Elephantine, a Nile island in upper Egypt, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., as we know from papyri and ostraca recovered around the turn of the 19th century.* Jews in Elephantine observed the Sabbath and the Pesach festival. They had a Temple devoted to the God *Yaho*, no doubt the same God as designated by the tetragram ("Yahweh") in the Hebrew Bible. Many of them had names with theophoric endings, attested in the Hebrew Bible: Uriah, Isaiah, Gedaliah, Zechariah (-iah = -yah = divine name). In the ancient documents, they are regularly referred to as Jews, *Yehudaie*. But we never learn anything about this community using Hebrew. On the contrary, all the documents that have come down to us are written in Aramaic. The different approach of the Jewish community in Egypt shows with particular clarity that the continuation of Hebrew in the Babylonian diaspora was not a necessary choice.

In the Hellenistic period, the western diaspora produced the Septuagint, a full translation of Israel's Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek. The translation of Scripture, as in Egypt, and the classicizing continuation of Hebrew, as in the East, are in a way polar opposites. In the face of Scriptures written in an ancestral idiom that is on the verge of becoming obsolete, one can opt for translation, transferring the meaning of the text into one's own world—as in the West. But another option is possible too—to turn one's back on one's own world and to project oneself into the world of the ancient texts. The second option is the one taken by the Judahites of the Babylonian exile and followed after them by Judaism of all hues, as it developed in Palestine. The first option, that of translation, was exercised by the Jews of Egypt, who thus followed a distinct path.

In the eastern diaspora, Hebrew changed within the Biblical period, turning from an ordinary language into something different: a holy tongue orienting those who use it toward a history of divine intervention, as related in Scripture. In this sense, Hebrew really is a holy language.

*Bezalel Porten, "Did the Ark Stop at Elephantine?" **BAR**, May/June 1995.

[1] The earlier meaning is attested, for example, in Proverbs 1:8, and the later meaning in Nehemiah 8:4.

AUTHORS

Garfinkel

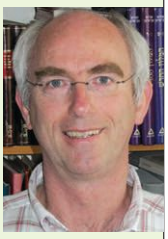
Yosef Garfinkel ("REJECTED! Qeiyafa's Unlikely Second Gate," p. 37) is the Yigael Yadin Chair of Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and director of the renewed excavations at Lachish. Garfinkel has also directed excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa, Sha'ar Hagolan and Gesher.

Ganor

Saar Ganor ("REJECTED! Qeiyafa's Unlikely Second Gate," p. 37) is an archaeologist with the Israel Antiquities Authority and a lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He codirected the excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa.

Silver

Joseph Baruch Silver ("REJECTED! Qeiyafa's Unlikely Second Gate," p. 37), an immigrant to Israel from Canada, served in the Israel Defense Forces and studied toward a B.A. at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is a licensed tour guide.



Joosten

Jan Joosten ("How Hebrew Became a Holy Language," p. 44) is the Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Oxford. Formerly he served as a Professor of Old Testament at the University of Strasbourg. The Belgian scholar specializes in the Septuagint, Syriac texts and the Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls.

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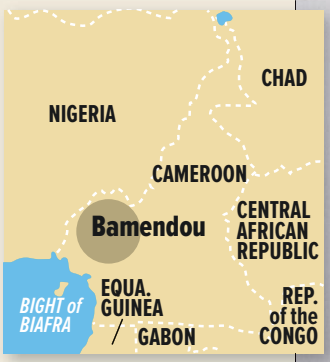
Cameroon (Central Africa)

A prominent forehead, almond-shaped eyes, puffy cheeks and a long, flat nose characterize this wooden royal mask (*tukah*) featuring a latticework headdress with six carved lizards.



Believed to represent power and durability, the mask was carved for a king (*fon*) of the Bamendou chieftaincy in West Cameroon in the first half of the 19th century. Too large (c. 35 by 23 by 24 in) and heavy to have been worn, it was carried at the front of a parade—the only time the public saw it. At all other times, the mask was kept in a box guarded by the high council.

The Bamendou royal mask is on display in Le Musée du Quai Branly, Paris.

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